

**WHO WERE THE CULDEES
IN
SCOTLAND**

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SCOTLAND

Compiled from various sources

by

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Above from `Ancient Culdees`
by John Jamieson p.1.

THE CULDEES

A body of teaching presbyters, who, from the sixth century downwards, had their establishments in Ireland, the Hebrides, Scotland, and Wales; were greatly celebrated for their piety; and, acknowledging no bishop, were subject to an abbot chosen by themselves. D *Buchanan*. - Gael, *cuildeach*, a sequestered person, from *cuil*, a retired corner, a cave, a cell.

[Jamieson's Scottish Dictionary p. 140]

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THE CULDEES

FROM

THE HISTORY OF DUNFRMLINE

by A. Mercer (P.24-33)

The original monks that were placed in Dunfermline Priory, were Culdees, and probably thirteen in number. Like all the other Culdee monasteries, it was dedicated to the Holy Trinity. It continued a Priory until the reign of David I, about sixty years.

According to the best authorities, the name of Culdees was derived from the notion of their retreat and seclusion from the world. In the Welch *cel* signifies shelter, or hiding, and would form in the plural *Celydi*, *Celydnys*. The following sketch will be found to contain every important particular of the origin and progress of this order of *religious*, that is worthy of notice.

Columba, the celebrated founder of the Culdees, came from Ireland, and landed at Iona, in the year 563. This is a small island, separated from the west point of Mull, by a narrow sound. He was accompanied by twelve companions, or disciples, with reference to the number of the apostles. His pious purpose was to preach the gospel to the northern provinces; and having obtained the protection of Brudi, then king of the Picts, he was put in possession of the island of Iona, or Hii, for the purpose of erecting a monastery, of which he was Abbot or chief director.

Although, perhaps, Christianity had been partially preached, even in the north of Scotland, for ages prior to this period, yet Columba was the first in this country who instituted a rule, denominated "*The Rule of Iona*;" and who had a regular establishment of monkish observance. The system of monastic seclusion had, long before this, become general throughout the Christian world; and great numbers, from a mistaken principle of piety, reckoned it absolutely incumbent on them, either to retire, individually, into caves and solitudes, or to become members of constituted monastic societies.

In Hii the Culdees spent a great portion of their time in reading the scriptures, in meditation, and prayer. They delighted in seclusion and were altogether devoted to religious exercises, having abandoned the pursuits and vanities of the active world. Differing both in doctrine and in discipline from the established canons of the Romish church, they followed their own traditions, which were alleged to have been directly derived from the followers of the apostles.

But Jona partook of the nature of a college; or seminary, as well as of a monastery. A great number of persons were here instructed in the doctrines of the gospel, who, under the denomination of monks, or presbyters, or bishops, were afterwards as missionaries sent throughout the realm, and either preached to the people as occasions might offer, or were settled in monasteries founded by the piety of kings. During several centuries they formed the regular clergy of Scotland; and in the early age were maintained partly by the work of their own hands, and partly by the gifts of the pious. They were much beloved, and were even held in the highest reverence by every class of people. Indeed it may be safely asserted, that the Presbyterian impress, which they stamped on Scotland at large, was never wholly effaced, even in the most triumphant periods, of Romish ascendancy; but continued to exist, through in a feeble state, even until the Reformation; when this form of church government became (from the

influence of national predilections, and traditions not altogether forgotten) paramount in Scotland.

Although leaning in the age of Columba was confined within very narrow limits, and consisted almost solely in a knowledge of theology, yet it was concentrated in this small spot, and the *Ocean School*, in the dark ages, became celebrated all over Europe, not only for its superior sanctity, but also for the various attainments in wisdom, of which it could boast.

The doctrine and government of this seminary, and of those derived from it, were alone deduced from the scriptures and from the practice of the primitive church, and were maintained independent of the Romish jurisdiction. Columba taught his followers to consult these oracles only, and to receive nothing as of authority but what is to be found in the writings of the prophets, evangelists, and the apostles. Hence it followed that, for several generations, they seem to have been untainted with the errors which at that time prevailed in the church of Rome.

By several ancient writers it is admitted, that the gospel increased greatly by means of the ministrations of the Culdees; that they elected one from among themselves to be their bishop – that the bishop had no fixed diocese – that they themselves were the sole judges of the supposed necessity of an increase of the number of bishops – that these bishops were at first supported merely by free gifts – and lastly, that they retained the right of election until they were forcibly deprived of it.

In the course of time the Culdees extended themselves widely, and had monasteries or cells in various places throughout the country. The town of Abernethy was one of their principal seats, and very high antiquity has been assigned to its religious foundations. It is supposed to have taken place about the year 600, during the reign of the Pictish king Nethan II and continued, until converted into a priory of canons regular in the year 1273. It would appear that this establishment was of a similar nature to that of Iona, where much care was exerted in the instruction of youth in all the learning of the times; and as Abernethy was the capital of the Pictish, monarchy, it was even entitled to the honourable designation of a royal university.

About the year 700 the isle of St Serf, in Lochleven, was given to the Culdees as an establishment; and the priory erected here was enriched by many liberal donations, amongst other Macbeth and Malcolm III bestowed several endowments on these Culdees.

At Dunkeld there was a Culdee monastery established about the beginning of the ninth century.

Awcht hundyr wynter and fyfteen,
Fra God tuk fleysch of Mary schene, -
The kyng of Peychtis Constantyne,
Be Tay then foudyd Dwnkeldyne. -
The Byschope and Chanowngs thare,
Serwys God and Saynct Colme seculare.
Wyntown's Cronykil.

When the Danes had burnt the monastery at Iona, the relics of Columba were removed hither, which succeeded to it in dignity and authority; he was declared the

patron saint of the kingdom, and miraculous virtues were ascribed to his relics.¹ About the beginning of the ninth century, the Culdees had a monastery and various endowments at St Andrews. To this sacred retreat, king Constantine, abandoning the cares of a throne and of the world, retired in his old age, and died abbot of the place.

Nyne hundyr wyntyr and aucht yhere,
 Quhen gayne all Donald's dayis were.
 Heddis sowne cald Constantine,
 Kyng was thretty yhere; and syne
 Kyng he sessed for to be.
 And in Sanct Andrewys a Kylde,
 And there he lyved yhere fyve,
 And Abbot mad, endyed hys lyve.
 Wyntown.

Brechin was, in an early age, a distinguished seat of the Culdees. It is said of Kenneth III who began to reign in 970 – “This is he who gave the city of Brechin to the Lord,” i.e. to the Culdees. At Dunblane there was a convent of this order, which continued even after the erection of the bishopric by David I. In 1010 Malcolm II having defeated the Danes at Mortlach, in Moray, soon after founded a religious house in gratitude for his victory. There was another at Monimusk; and at Portmoak, near Lochleven, a religious house was founded at an early period. It has been supposed, with much reason, that when the fatal stone was transferred. By Kenneth the son of Alpin from Argyle to Scone, a similar foundation would be established here. It has been conjectured, that there was a college of Culdees at Kirkcaldy, which was, and should be called *Kirk-culdee*, and that the ancient name was *Cella-Culdeorum*; it is also said, that the place was named *Kirkceladie*, which was changed during the Scoto-Saxon period to *Kirkcaledie*. At a very early period there was a religious house belonging to the order at Culross. It was here that St Serf resided for many years as we learn from Wyntown.-

And oure the wattyr, of purpos,
 Of Forth he pasyed till Culross:
 Thare he begowth to red a ground,
 Quhare that he thowcht a kyrk to found.

From Culross he went to Lochleven, where he remained several years; he afterwards returned to Culross, where

He yhald with gud devotyowne,
 Hys cors til halowed sepulture,
 And his saule til the Creature.

¹ This appears to have been continued, even long after the extinction of the Culdees; for in the year 1500, a fatal pestilence raged throughout Scotland, from which the city of Dunkeld alone escaped, through the merits of its holy patron. On certain lands in the diocese, where the disease was abounding, the bishop caused the sacraments of the church to be administered to them, but the plague resisting this application, he caused holy water, in which he washed a bone of the blessed Columba, to be sent to the patients, and many drinking of this were completely cured; but one jolly toper, who even in his distress, had not lost the relish for good liquor, replied to the chancellor who brought the holy draught, “why does the bishop send us water to drink? I would much rather he had sent me the best liquor in his cellar!” Of course he, and all who refused to drink the bone-water, died of the plague.

Mailros has a claim to be reckoned the most ancient seat of the Culdees, on the mainland. The name is supposed to be Gaelic, compounded of *Mull*, or *Maol*, bare, and *Ross*, a promontory. This was a famous nursery for learning and religious men, who were filled with zeal for propagating the gospel, among their neighbours the pagan Saxons. There were several other places south of the Forth, where similar foundations existed in very early times.

As might have been supposed the Culdees made various settlements in the Hebrides, and in the Orkney islands, and spread some knowledge of the gospel there at a very remote period. The memory of Columba was long held in the highest veneration, and the number and distances of the churches dedicated to him are the strongest proofs of the extent of his authority. There were Kilcolmkils, a derivation from his name, built in Morven, in Cantire, in Mull, in Isla, in North Uist, in Benbecula, in Skye, in Sutherland, in Harris, in Loch Columkill, in Lewis, in Sandy, in Orkney, in Aberdeenshire, in Wigton-shire, and in many other places.

There is no doubt that, for several ages, the Culdees faithfully adhered, wherever they visited, and in all their monastic settlements, to the tenets and institutes of their founder; they clung fast by their revered *Alma Mater* at Iona – that their doctrine, in many respects, and their external ritual, differed widely from the church of Rome – and that, whenever the legitimate adherents of the latter came into contact, the Culdees kept aloof and strenuously opposed their innovations.

The main points in which they differed from the Romish church, consisted -

- First, in the time of observing Lent; this will be afterwards alluded to.
- Second, they rejected auricular confession, as well as absolution, and confessed their sins to God alone, believing that only He could forgive sins.
- Third, the Culdees, without any ceremonies whatever, baptized in any water they came to.
- Fourth, they denied the doctrine of the real presence, which is so distinguished an article of the Romish faith.
- Fifth, they withstood the idolatrous worship of the Romish church. It was the common practice of the Culdees, to dedicate their principal churches to the Holy Trinity, and not to the virgin or any saint. Thus, the monastery at Dunfermline, was so dedicated like the other Culdean establishments.
- Sixth, they offered no prayers for the dead. They neither prayed to dead men, nor for them. In their public worship they made honourable mention of holy persons deceased; offering a sacrifice of thanksgiving for their exemplary life and death, but not by way of propitiation for sins.
- Seventh, they rejected the doctrine of works of supererogation. They were so far from pretending to do more good than they were obliged to do, much less to superabound in merit for the benefit of others, that they readily denied all merit of their own.
- Eight, the Culdee entered into the marriage state like the laity, but abstained from their wives, when it came to their turn to minister. They had some property in common, but what was of value was at their death possessed by their families; and succession to the sacred office was often hereditary.

On the whole, the Culdees, in their doctrine and simple mode of worship, have been supposed, and not without reason, to have resembled, very nearly, the Presbyterians of modern times. There has been a great deal of controversy on this point. The followers of episcopacy strenuously asserting that the Culdees, in every age, entirely conformed to the institutes of the Romish faith; while the Presbyterians as strongly maintain, that they essentially differed in many important particulars, both of doctrinal principle and of ecclesiastical regulation. Columba and his twelve disciples, and their successors, for a long period, partook largely, there is no doubt, of that ascetic spirit which had pervaded more or less the whole Christian church. Seclusion from the world and solitary meditation in sequestered corners were practices in the greatest repute, and reckoned unequivocal tests of piety. To these were added the strictest habits of temperance, and abstemiousness of every description. The degree of devotion was estimated by the privations submitted to, and the austerities that these anchorites prescribed to themselves. Long fasts and vigils were eagerly practised, and it was firmly believed that in so far as the corporeal senses were unindulged and mortified, in the same degree did the soul partake of spiritual advantages. The Culdees were extremely useful in their age; they widely propagated some knowledge of the Christian precepts, and by exhortation and example, in some degree, mitigated the ferocities of a barbarous people, and thus have deserve the commendation of posterity; but they were ignorant and enlightened, saving in the tenets of religion; they were Celtic priests who had been bred in the kingdom, and who had never seen and had heard but little of the improvements in art, in science, and in all that civilizes mankind which were comparatively known and practised in other countries. Of confined minds, and unimproved by foreign intercourse, they never attempted to carry the present generation a step beyond the narrow limits of the past, in any species of national improvement; and they would have continued to go on in the same rude and unprogressive manner, from generation to generation, without once endeavouring to advance with other nations, or without being conscious that they were at all behind them. In process of time, the Culdees even degenerated from their primitive simplicity; and they gradually gave way, in several places, to the faith and the forms that began to prevail, and that were strongly supported by those in power, until the spirit of the age – the weakness incident to human nature – the terror of expulsion from their monasteries, and the urgent solicitations that were sedulously used, lessened, by degrees, the number of the ancient points of disagreement, and induced to greater, if not to a total conformity with the then prevailing ecclesiastical discipline and ritual. In consequence of the continual oppressions and usurpations of the canons regular, supported by the popes and the patronage of kings, the Culdees rapidly diminished in number, and, after a tedious and severe struggle, seem to have totally disappeared in the thirteenth century.¹

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<sup>1</sup> See Sibbald's History of Fife, Chalmers' Caledonia, vol. 1st. and especially Dr Jameson's History of the Culdees.



# THE MONASTERY

## HISTORY AND STATISTICAL ACCOUNT OF THE TOWN AND PARISH OF DUNFERMLINE.

by P Chalmers ( Vol.1 p.163 - 175)

**M**ONASTERIES were very generally introduced in Scotland in the eleventh and two following centuries. Fifeshire had a fair share of them, viz. five, - 1. Dunfermline; 2. Lundores, on the river Tay, below the town of Newburgh; founded by David, Earl of Huntingdon, brother to King William, about the year 1178; 3. Balmerino, also on the Tay, now in ruins, begun by Alexander II, in the year 1229; 4. Inverkeithing, where was a monastery of Grey Friars, and 5. Cupar-Fife, one of Black Friars, or Dominicans; and three Priories, - 1. St Andrews, founded by King Alexander I.; 2. Pittenween, dedicated to the Virgin Mary; 3. St Serf's Isle, in Lochleven, founded by Brudeus King of the Picts - originally a Culdee monastery. Andrew Wynton, the industrious author of the *Orygynale Cronykil* of Scotland, was prior of this place. (This was anciently a part of Fifeshire, previous to 1426). Near to it, on the north side of the water of Leven, was the Ministry or Hospital of Scotland Well, a monastery of Red Friars, founded for the relief of religious pilgrims before 1250; to which the parish churches of Carnock and Moonzie belonged. The Isle of May, too, at the mouth of the Firth of Forth, had a small religious settlement in it, so early as the ninth century; and had afterwards a Priory, founded by King David I, part of the ruins of which, with its cemetery, are still extant, near the entre of the island. Besides these there were also four Collegiate churches, viz. - 1. Strathmiglo; 2. Crail; 3. Kirkheuch; and 4. St Salvator. These last two named were in the city of St Andrews, each of them with a numerous staff of prebendaries and chaplains, in addition to the ordinary parish churches of the county. There were, besides, another abbey in the island of Inchcolm, two miles from Aberdour, funded also by King Alexander I, about 1123, and dedicated to St Columba, abbot of Iona, connected with this county; and a small religious house (or hospital) at Gateside, at the village of Edenshead, in the parish of Strathmiglo, probably founded by Robert III, or James I.<sup>1</sup>

These religious houses exerted a very extensive, and, according to the times, upon the whole, beneficial influence the civilization and instruction of the inhabitants of the localities, wherein they were situated. "We are often tempted to think," as has been remarked, "that in an age when the rights of the weak were little regarded, and fighting was the profession of every able-bodied man, it was so far lucky that any part of the property of the country should have been staked off for the exclusive use of a peaceful and learned body: it was just so much gained for the cause of humanity - no matter through superstition - from the general system of spoil and ignorance."<sup>2</sup>

The cause of education, doubtless, derived much benefit from monasteries, in an age when learning was in general little attended to, from the warlike and chivalrous spirit which prevailed among the aristocracy. Most of the convents had schools under their superintendence, at which were trained the young aspirants for ecclesiastical

<sup>1</sup> The original matrix of the seal of this house is now in possession of a gentleman in Kinross.

<sup>2</sup> Chambers' Gazetteer of Scot. Edin. 1832, i.242.

preferment, and some of the sons of the nobility. "We find, for example," (says Tytler), "in the Chartulary of Kelso, tht the schools in Roxburgh were under the care of the monks of Kelso, during the reign of David the First, and that the rector of the schools of this ancient burgh was an established office in 1241. Perth and Stirling had their schools in 1173, of which the monks of Dunfermline were the directors; and the same authentic records introduce us to similar seminaries in the towns of Ayr, South Berwick and Aberdeen.

"It seems also probable, that, within the rich and splendid monasteries and convents which at this period were thickly scattered over Scotland, there were generally to be found schools taught by the monks, who were in the habit of receiving and educating the sons of the nobility. It is certain that, attached to the Cathedral Church belonging to the Monastery of St Andrews, there stood a lyceum, where the youth were instructed in the Quodlibets of Scotus; and tht as early as 1233, the schools of St Andrews were under the charge of a rector. A remarkable instance of this is to be found in the Chartulary of Kelso, where Matilda, the Lady of Moll, in the year 1260, grants a certain rent to be paid to the abbot and the monks of this religious house, under the condition that they should board and educate her son with the best boys who were intrusted to their care."<sup>1</sup>

*Monastery.* - It has already been often stated, that the Monastery of Dunfermline is generally believed to have been founded by King Malcolm III, towards the end of the eleventh century. The authority for this rests on King David's confirmations of his father's grants, recorded in the Chartulary, as well as on the fact, of which evidence has been produced, of Malcolm having built a church here, which itself is sometimes styled the Monastery. A foundation charter, indeed, by this monarch, has been published, and was at one time thought genuine. It has been traced to the authority of Sir James Balfour, Lyone (King of Arms to Charles I, and II,) in whose MS. it is found written in his own hand. But the genuineness of the deed cannot now be depended on; and it is strange that it should ever have appeared, without any indication of the source from which it was taken, accompanied, especially, by the statement, that it is an excerpt from the autograph, and agrees with it in all things. Balfour, however, although a laborious, is admitted not to have been a very accurate historian.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Tyt. Hist. Edi. 1829, ii. 353-4; Printed Dunf. Chart. 56.

<sup>2</sup> The deed was printed in "Dugdale's Monasticon Anglicanum," vol. ii. part ii. p. 1054, folio, Lond. 1661, from the MS. volume of Sir James Balfour (now in the Advocates' Library), which has been sent by a friend of his to the learned antiquary, Mr Roger Dodsworth, one of the compilers of the early part of that work. It was afterwards copied by Hay in his "Diplomata varia," written about 1690 or 1700 (MS. adv. Lib. i. p.373); and it appears in the new edition of the Monasteries (Vol. vi. part ii. pp. 1153-1830), a very splendid work in 8 folio volumes, as also in the printed "Registrum de Dunfermelyn," p. 417. I have given a translation of it in the Appendix to this work. It is now generally admitted to be apocryphal. Dalrymple, in his "Collections," pp.228, and 401-2, although he does not positively affirm its spuriousness, acknowledges "that it would have had more credit, if Sir James had told where he had it, or if it was to be found in the 'Register of Dunfermline,'" p. 417. I have given a translation of it in the Appendix to this work. It is now generally admitted to be apocryphal. Dalrymple, in his "Collections," pp.228, and 401-2, although he does not positively affirm its spuriousness, acknowledges "that it would have had more credit, if Sir James had told where he had it, or if it was to be found in the 'Register of Dunfermline,'" and even from certain discrepancies in it, "would rather take it to be a charter by King Malcolm IV." Chalmers, in his "Caledonia." however (i. 754), states decidedly as his belief, that it "is convicted of forgery by its own context;" and Mr Innes, in his preface to the Chartulary, expresses the same opinion, adducing a variety of reasons in its support. "The original," he says, "has never been seen. It is not mentioned in the Register. The style of *Busileus*, though adopted in a seal of a succeeding king, is a Saxon -

The monastery was dedicated, as already stated, to the Holy Trinity; and Queen Margaret, who died in 1093, was afterwards raised to the rank of tutelar saint.

- affectation, not likely to have occurred to Malcolm Canmore, and very likely to have been invented by some Scotch defender of the independence, when that came into dispute. The *Earls* and *Barons* are too ostentatiously put forward, at a time when it may be doubted if their respective ranks were quite ascertained or named. If this is a forgery, the phrase, *acquiescence of the people*, has of course been copied from the charter of David and his successors. The punning translation, *mons infirmorum*, of the Celtic descriptive appellation of Dunfermlin, is like the trick of a more artificial age. All the lands derived from Malcolm are here; while it would seem from the terms of David's confirmation, Fotherif came by a separate gift, whether written or oral. There is reason to suspect, that Muselburge was not a name in the days of Canmore, though the place was conveyed by the name of Inueresk.\* The witnesses are remarkable. The deed bears to be *testimonio episcoporum*, &c.; and in subsequent early charters, the bishops seem alone to have affixed their cross of subscription. But here there is not one bishop. It might be dangerous to give names that would afford easy tests of genuineness. Then, without dwelling on Ivo, the Culdee Abbot, and Earls M'Duff and Duncan, names which might be guessed at any ante-record period of Scotch history, we have an Earl Araldus, who of Nes, son of William, of whom we know nothing in Canmore's time, while a Nes, son of William, is a frequent witness about a century later. Could the writer of the charter have adopted the name carelessly from a charter of Malcolm IV, which he may have mistaken for one of Canmore?" Pref. Note, p. xxi.

Appendix - p.499. Note V. p. 167-8.

*Translation of the Charter of Malcolm III, referred to in the text.*

"AUTOGRAPH.

"In the name of the Holy Trinity. I, Malcolm by the Grace of God, King of Scots, of my royal authority & power, with the confirmation & testimony of Queen Margaret my wife, and of the bishops, earls, & barons of my Kingdom - the clergy also and the people acquiescing.<sup>1</sup> Let all present and future know, that I have founded an abbey *on the hill of the infirm*<sup>2</sup> in honour of God Almighty, and of the holy and undivided Trinity, for the safety of my own soul and of all my ancestors', and for the safety of the soul of Queen Margaret my wife, and of all my successors'; for I have granted, & by this my charter confirmed to the forsaid Abbey, all the lands and towns of Pardusin, Pitnaurcha, Pittecorthin, Petbachichin, Lauar, Bolgin, and the shire of Kirkaladunt & Inneresc the lesser - with the whole shire of Fofriffie and Muselburge, with all their pertinents, as well in chapels and tithes & other oblations, as in all other things justly belonging to these lands, towns, & shires, as freely as any King ever granted or conveyed any gifts, from the beginning of the world until this day. Witnesses, Ivus Abbot of the Kelledees, Mackduffe Earl, Duncan Earl, Arnald Earl, Neis son of William, Merleswain at Edinburgh."

"Agreeing with the Autograph in all respects."

(as added by)

"Sir JA. BALFOUR LYONE."

*Printed Dunf. Chart. p. 417.*

\* The name of "*Muskilburg*" is mentioned as early as in 1226, 1232, 1234 and 1249, in the printed Dunf. Chart. pp. 166, 175., 44; and that of "*Inueresc*" in a charter of King David I, and in a bull of Pope Alexander III, in 1163, ditto p. 152.

<sup>1</sup> This clause has been made the subject of much dispute. (Pref. to Chartulary, p. 22) A note in an unpublished work, by the author of Caledonia, after quoting the formula in No. I. of the Chartulary form "In nomine, &," to "perpetua confirms," goes on, - "Here, then is the written declaration of the King's authority, with the assent of the Lords spiritual and temporal in Parliament assembled. Brady shews that the *clerus* and *populus* of such ancient laws meant merely the *clergy* and *laity*, who were not of sufficient importance to be specially named."

<sup>2</sup> This designation has been applied to Dunfermline by several writers, possibly founded on the charter, but the reason of the original application of it, is uncertain. As the Monks were very attentive to the sick, and the *medicus* and *infirmarius* were two of the *officers* belonging to the monastery, it is not improbable, that there may have been an hospital for the infirm, connected with the institution here. Perhaps St Leonard's Hospital at the *Spital*, S.E. from the town, may be referred to.

Whether it was originally a Culdean or Benedictine establishment seems doubtful. Chalmers states that it was the former, and "that here the Culdees, with their abbot, discharged their usual duties during several reigns" – (Cal. i.438). This opinion has been long entertained, and it is strengthened by the manner of the dedication just noticed, which was the customary form adopted by the Culdees; for they dedicated principal churches to the Holy Trinity, and not to the blessed Virgin or any saint. But the Chartulary affords no positive evidence on the subject. It notices directly, indeed, the existence of the Culdees in seven different deeds, but always only reference to one matter, the gift by David I, of the lands of Balchristie to the monks of Dunfermline, with a reservation of the right which the Culdees used to have to a pension out of these lands, - a right which afterwards came to belong to the Canons of St Andrews, also themselves called Culdees, either by purchase, exchange, or donation. A dispute arose about 1171, the early part of the reign of King William, between the monks of Dunfermline and the Canons of St Andrews as to their respective rights to Balchristie. That monarch decided that the lands should belong to the monks of Dunfermline, and the pension out of them, excepted by King David, to the Canons of St Andrews.<sup>1</sup>

Besides Balchristie, the village of Bolgy or Bolgin, and the shire or district of Kirkaldy, were given to the monastery by King Malcolm III, and his Queen,<sup>2</sup> and both were previously Culdean possessions, - Bogy being bestowed on the Culdees by Macbeth;<sup>3</sup> and the very name of Kirkaldy, as well as general opinion, indicating its origin: Kil-celedi (*Cella Culdeorum*, Cell of the Culdees), which was changed during the Scoto-Saxon period to Kirkcaledei, afterwards Kirk-culdee, and now Kirkcaldy.<sup>4</sup>

The Church of Inveresk also, was given to the monastery by King David I, after the death of the Priest Nicolas,<sup>5</sup> who according to Dalrymple,<sup>6</sup> was a Culdean Presbyter there, and was to enjoy the rights of the Church during his life, after which it was to become part of the Romish abbacy of Dunfermline.

<sup>1</sup> Printed Dunf. Chart. p.5, &c; vide Index, p. 545; Keith's Prel. Diss. pp. lxii. lxiii; Chalm. Cal. i. 437; Sibbald's Fife, part ii. ch. 5; Dalrymple, Col. p. 283.

BALCHREISTIE, i.e., "the dwelling or town of Christ," or "Christ's town," is an ancient village in Fifeshire, on the south shore, near ago Bay, where, according to tradition, the first Christian Church in Scotland was founded. This town and its lands were first granted to the Culdees by Malcolm III, and his pious Queen, but there seems to have been a church served by them there before that time. No mention, however, is made of the particular convent to which these Culdees belonged. (Sibbald, pp. 168, 357; Cal. I, 437). Dalrymple also observes (Col. p. 225), "The excerpt out of the priorie of St Andrews says, that `King Malcolm and Queen Margaret gave to the Culdees *villam de Balchristin*, which seems to take its name from Christ, and so proper lands for the *Colidei*." From this it appears that the Culdees were had in great esteem with this king and queen. The Abbacie of Dunfermline was indeed founded by King Malcolm and Queen Margaret, and black monks brought into it; and in the erection of this Abbacie, certain lands were reserved to the Keldees, as will appear by King David's charter to the Abbacie."

<sup>2</sup> Printed Dunf. Chart. 3, <sup>3</sup> Chalm. Cal. i. 437

<sup>4</sup> Or *Kil* may be derived not from *Cella*, the hut, or "House of the teacher," but from the church, or place of worship, "which was called *Kil*, because it was set apart for divine service. When the Church of Rome dedicated churches to their legendary saints, the word *Kil* was prefixed to the saint's name, as *Kil-Mhuir*, *Kil-Mhylie*, i.e. `dedicated to Mary and Milesius.'" Shaw's Hist. Prov. of Moray, 4to. 1827. p.293.

<sup>5</sup> Printed Dunf. Chart 17. <sup>6</sup> Col. 248.



The Cathedral Church of Dunkeld, too, was given to the monastery by King Malcolm IV,<sup>1</sup> after the decease of Andrew, then bishop of Caithness, but who, as well as Gregory, bishop of Dunkeld, in the time of David I, and Malcolm IV, had been previously Culdean Abbots there;<sup>2</sup> and the church itself was dedicated to the Holy Trinity. The rights of the Dunkeld monastery were to be enjoyed during the lifetime of Andrew, after his promotion to the bishopric of Caithness, but were afterwards to be transferred to the abbey of Dunfermline. Andrew died in 1184.

These facts, at least, evince that there was, previous to the time of David I, a connection between the Monastery of Dunfermline and Culdean possessions; and farther, what might also be shewn, from the Registers of Scone and the Priory of St Andrews, that David I, and his brother Alexander I, exerted themselves to change the form of religion practised in these churches from the Scottish-Culdee to the Anglo-Roman (without, however, any intention of subjecting the Church of Scotland to that of England, particularly to the See of York – indeed, with the laudable desire of still preserving the independence of the former), namely, by erecting bishoprics, to which the presbyters or abbots were advanced, with a life reservation of their former benefices and monastic rights. Although, therefore, we do not find it anywhere positively stated, that the monks serving at Dunfermline were themselves Culdees, yet this is not at all unlikely.

Suffice it to say, as to the Culdees, as an order of ecclesiastics, that their name, originally written *Culdei* or *Keledei*, has been differently accounted for, being according to some, of Latin derivation, and an abbreviation of *Cultores Dei*, worshippers of God, to others, with more probability, from *Ceile* or *Keile dia*, in our old language, or *Gille de*, in Gaelic, "Servants of, or devoted to, God;" and to others, from the Gaelic, *cuil* and *ceal*, or Welsh *Cél*. "a sequestered place, or retreat." There are also other derivations, which it is needless to notice. It is not unlikely that there may have been a combination of these meanings in their name, arising from their early history and character, namely, that they were refuges, and dwelt generally in places of comparative seclusion, - and spent much of their time in devotion and the peculiar life of God. Their founder was Columba, said to have been a native of Ireland, and of royal extraction. Having been obliged to leave the place of his birth, he landed in the small western island of Iona (Hi or Hii) in 563, attended by twelve companions or disciples, with reference to the number of the apostles, over whom he presided for life, but with no other kind of superiority. He laid there the foundation of the monastery, or rather abbey or college, which was the means of disseminating a knowledge of the Gospel over many parts of Scotland, and was himself, as Bede styles him, the first "presbyter-abbot." The other members of the seminary, although generally named monks, did not embrace the tenet of monastic celibacy, but were married men, and were often succeeded in their official station and functions by their sons.

They constituted the council of the institution, and always remained of the same number, twelve, having a life president, chosen out of their own order by themselves, and continuing of the order, than which they owned no higher. They lived according to a certain rule in their monasteries, instituted by Columba, and denominated "The Rule of Iona." They paid little regard to the things of the world, and devoted the gifts conferred on them by kings to deeds of charity. Their manners were very simple, and their habits abstemious; nor did they refuse to support themselves by the labour of their own hands. Making the Scriptures their chief study, and regarding them as their

<sup>1</sup> Chart. 22. <sup>2</sup> Dal. Col. 247.

only authority they remained long untainted with the errors of the Church of Rome, and always in several points of doctrine and discipline differed from it. Besides their dispute with that Church, as to the proper time for observing Easter and other inferior points of form and ceremony, as of the clerical tonsure<sup>1</sup> they rejected its peculiar tenets of auricular confession, penance, and authoritative absolution, transubstantiation, idolatrous worship of angels, saints and relics, praying to saints for their intercession, prayers for the dead, works of supererogation, &c.

They established settlements first in England in the seventh century, and after wards in Scotland. Their earliest and principal seats in Scotland, were at Abernethy, Arbroath, Brechin, Culross, Dunkeld, Kinadin, Kinkel, Kirkaldy, Lochleven, Mailros, Monymusk, Portmoak, St Andrews, Scone, &c. The Culdees suffered in the simplicity and purity of their ecclesiastical government from the Romish advances upon them. From various contests in which they were engaged with the Picts, Danes, and Norwegians, and from the oppressions ultimately exercised upon them by the canons regular under the influence and encouragement of the popes and kings, they were often driven from their settlements, and rapidly diminished in number; and after a tedious and severe struggle, seem to have totally disappeared in the early part of the fourteenth century.

But that they continued till then is clear from an extract from the Register of the Priory of St Andrews, given by Sibbald (p.194), dated 1309. "The only further accounts of them" in the words of Hetherington, "which can be gleaned from incidental notices, represent them as scattered throughout the districts of the western counties of Scotland, especially in Kyle and Cuningham" (Ayrshire), "where, though their name soon became extinct, their tenets were preserved in a great measure pure from papal corruption, till about the time" (14th century), "that the Lollards, the followers of Jerome and Huss, and of Wickliffe, appeared like the faint day-break of the Reformation."

<sup>1</sup> Mode of clipping and shaving the hair on the crown of the head. The Romish innovation as to this and *Pach*, or Easter, was submitted to by the Scots, after a great struggle, only in the year 715. "Possibly it was from the clerical tonsure, tha the (Gaelic) word *Maal* came to be prefixed to some names. The word signifies a servant, and also Bare, Bald; so Maolcoluim (i.e. Malcolm) is Columba the servant, or the shaveling." Shaw's Hist. Prov. of Moray, p. 294.

<sup>2</sup> This designation has been applied to Dunfermline by several writers, possibly founded in the charter, but the reason of the original application of it, is uncertain. As the Monks were very attentive to the sick, and a *medicus* and *infirmarius* were two of the *officers* belonging to a monastery, it is not improbable, that here may have been an hospital for the infirm, connected with the institution here. Perhaps St Leonard's Hospital, at the *Spital*, S.E. from the town, may be referred to. p. 499

#### NOTE - W. p.172

Every monk or Friar used the tonsure, or shaved crown, an emblem as was said, of their hope of a crown of glory." - Shaw's Hist. of Moray.

This cause has been made the subject of much dispute. (See Pref. to Chartulary, p.2.) A note in an unpublished work, by the author of Caledonia, after quoting the formula in No. 1, of the Chartulary from "In nomine, &c.," to "perpetua confirma," goes on, - "Here, then is the written declaration of the King's authority, with the assent of the Lords spiritual and temporal in Parliament assembled. Brady shews that the *clerus* and *populus* of such ancient laws meant merely the *clergy* and *laity*, who were not of sufficient importance to be specially named."

The influence of their simple primitive Christianity in doctrine, worship, and church government, never altogether unremembered and unfelt, doubtless formed the germ of the glorious efforts made in our own country, and particularly in that part of it which they latterly chiefly inhabited to throw off the errors and abominations of the Romish Church.<sup>1</sup>

I cannot refrain from inserting the following beautiful lines, containing a well-deserved tribute of obligation to the memory of the Culdees, just published, from the pen of a young and promising poet: -

Wide o'er these rugged realms its hallowed ray  
Was poured diffusive; nor on these along:  
O'er southern regions, stretching far away,  
With blessed power its heavenly lustre shone;  
And they who sat in darkness joyed to own  
The healing influence of its tranquil light:  
And where a Saviour's name was not unknown.  
Even there it shone with beams more purely bright  
Than 'mid the obscuring clouds till then had reached their sight.

In peaceful union here the brethren dwelt,  
Studious of God's own Word - a holy band,  
Eager to spread the heavenly peace they felt,  
In their own tranquil breasts, o'er all the land;  
To bid the sacred tree of life expand  
O'er nations perishing around, and give  
Its blessed fruits abundant to their hand.  
That, eating of these fruits, their souls might live,  
And from its shadowing leaves a healing balm receive.

Bishop Leslie again affirms, that Malcolm III, gave to the church here monks of the Benedictine order<sup>2</sup> and many writers have followed him in this statement. The opinion is favoured by the circumstance of the long residence of Malcolm, as well as of his Queen in England, where this order extensively prevailed, and the consequent preference which they might thereby imbibe of the pomp and splendour of the English prelacy to the simple constitution and worship of the ancient religion of Scotland. It may have been strengthened, too, by, and if it did not take its rise from, the fact, that David I, who ascended the throne in 1124, added thirteen English monks to the monastery, whom he translated from Canterbury, and who were of the Benedictine order.

These Benedictine monks were so named after their founder, St Benedict, or Bennet, who was borne at Mirsi, in Italy, about the year 480, and established his followers at the beginning of the sixth century. They were also sometimes termed black monks, from the colour of their dress.

Those who were in Dunfermline had relation to the Abbacy of Fleury La Rivière on the river Loire in France.

<sup>1</sup> Jamieson's Hist. Culd. Keith's Prel. Diss. Culd. Dalrymple's Col. Sibbald's Hist. Fife. Chalm. Cal. vol. i. Hetherington's Hist. Ch. Scot. p. 9-19.

<sup>2</sup> Hist. Scot. 1675, p. 203. <sup>2</sup> The Pope.

Ah! not in monkish solitude retired  
 Dwelt they, remote from men, in selfish case;  
 But, with deep ardour and devotion fired,  
 They spread abroad the glorious truth which frees  
 From strong delusions, deadening, while they please  
 The heart led captive in the fetters wrought  
 By Superstition's hand, and formed to seize,  
 The prostrate powers of feeling and of thought,  
 In the seductive snares of some and passion caught.

Such glorious aim o'er all their feelings shed  
 A hallowing power, which purified from earth,  
 And sense, and self; and with strong impulse led  
 The champions of the Cross undaunted forth  
 To deadly warfare with the birth  
 Of the fell Powers of Darkness, that had reigned  
 With gloomiest sway, o'er all the subject North,  
 Nor less resolved the struggle they maintained  
 'Gainst the usurping power<sup>1</sup> which held the South enchained.

They called none Master upon earth, nor bowed  
 The knee to the great Harlot who sits throned  
 On the seven hills, and blasphemous words and proud  
 Gives forth. One Lord and Lawgiver they owned -  
 One Intercessor - Him who bled, and groaned.  
 And died to save them - Him, the great High Priest,  
 Who bore their griefs, and for their sins atoned.  
 By Him from bods of guilty fear released,  
 They bore not on their brow the image of the Beast.

SMALL'S Highlands, &c., Edin. 1843, p. 25-26.

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¹ The Pope.

THE HISTORY OF FIFE

by
SIR ROBERT SIBBALD M.D.

CONCERNING THE CULDEES,

WHO FIRST PLANTED THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION HERE.

Christian priests among the Picts 49, doctrine and other of, 163, & hereditary succession among, 177, n. elect their bishops, 183, n. 242, n. where Irish priests and disciples of Columba, 186, n. controversy with the priory, 193.

The chief seat of the kings of the Picts (while their government stood) was at Abernethy, where they had publick schools of learning and professors of sciences and arts, as shall be shown afterwards.¹ The chief administrators under the king (when they were heathens) in religious matters, were the Druides, and (when they were Christians) the Culdees, of whom shall be treated afterwards. (p.49)

This chapter, containing the state of the Christian religion in this shire, (Fife) must be divided in several sections: the first is concerning the Culdees.

It is probable, that some particular persons amongst the Picts may have been converted to the Christian religion, by the Scots, who very soon embraced it: but the æra of the conversion of the Picts in this shire, is by our historians deduced from the arrival, in the East Nuick of this shire, of St Regulus, (whom they call St Rule) and his companions, with the reliques of St Andrew.

They differ somewhat about the time when this happened: our great historian Archbishop Spottiswood condescendeth on the year of Christ 370, when Hergustus was king of the Picts; and others agree, that it was when Hergustus was king. Mr Maule, in his MS. history, makes Regulus to have arrived here anno 363, in the reign of our king Fethelmachus. The extracts I have out of the great register-book of the priory of St Andrews, make Constantius to have wasted the city of Patras, where the reliques of St Andrew were kept; and to have carried them away anno 345; and that the third night before the Emperour came there, St Rule was warned; by a vision, to take some of the reliques to bring them hither, and it was some years thereafter before he arrived here. Fordun, lib. 2. cap. 46, 47 and 48, has the history of this, and says it was some years after the first vision, before Regulus left Patras; and that he had a second vision, commanding him to bring them hither: upon this coast, when Hurgust the son of Forgius, whom he calls (in the catalogue of the Pictish kings) Forgso, reigned here; and he says, that king "Hungus, suum inibi palatium juxta basilicam ædificans, beato Regulo suisque fratribus terras quasdam pro seminandis frugibus in eleemosinam perpetuam excolendas concessit."² Fordun calleth Regulus an Abbot;

¹ It appears from Adomnan, that till the 7th century the kings of the Picts resided near Inverness, their territories then lying entirely on the north side of the Forth. Afterwards, when Kenneth had added Lothian to his dominions, they came to live at Forteviot. That Abernethy ever was the residence of the sovereign of all the Picts, there is much reason to doubt: - that, however there were public schools at Abernethy, in and before the 11th century, is evident from the charter of Ethelred son of Malcolm III, and Earl of Fife, which will be found in Part II. Chap. v.

² Hungus, building his palace in the same place near the church granted as a perpetual alms gift to St Regulus and his companions, certain lands, to be cultivated for raising corn."

the excerpts of the old register of St Andrew calleth him a Bishop, and his companions his clerks; and showeth, that afterwards they travelled through the country, and built several churches, (which in those times were built of wood, with which this country abounded) the MS. mentioned three, one at Fortevioth, a town then, one at Monechata, which was afterwards called Monichi, and beyond the Moneth one at Doldanha, called afterwards Chondrohedalion. It is not known where these towns stood,¹ the buildings being then of wood, perished, and there is no vestige left of 'em. Sanazar.

Et querimur genus infelix humana labare
Membra ævo, cum regna palam moriantur et urbes.

Regulus made his abode in the East Nuick of this shire, and is reported to have lived there 32 years after his arrival, serving God devoutly in cells, and gave the rise to the Culdees, who lived there for many ages thereafter. Boethius' Hist. lib. 6. says, that Hurgust "Struxit et haud procul a palatio sacram ædem divo apostolo dicatam. Ferunt eam esse quam hodie omnibus venerabilem cernimus, in medio agro canonicorum sepulturæ sacro, monmentis prisco moe celebribus (ut est videre) sine tamen nominibus refertam. Hanc prior ætas Kilreul, hoc est templum Reguli aut Regulo potius suadente struētum, recentior vero vetus Andreae templum, appellitat."² After Hurgust, their greatest benefactor was King Hungus. The excerpts of the MS. register tell, that "deleto funditus Pictorum regno et a Scotis occupato, vicissim res et possessiones ecclesiæ crescebant. ait decrescebant. [rout reges. et principes devotionem, ad S. Apostolum habebant, erat autem regia urbs, Rimont, regius Mons dicta, quam rex Hungus Doe et S. Apostolo dedit."³ This is confirmed by Buchanan, lib. 6. "Sedem (inquit) episcopalem, quam Abrenethii collocarant, ad Fanum Reguli transtulit, quod posteritas, Fanum Andreae, dici maluit."⁴ The Culdees in this place had such reputation, that our king Constantine III, when he abdicate the kingdom, retired amongst them, and spent the five years lived after that, in his retirement, with them. (p.163-167)

¹ The village of Forteviot is well known, Monichi Sibbald elsewhere supposes to be Moonzie, and Chondrohedalion he says is Nachton (a place upon the north coast of Fife)

² "Hurgust built near his place a church dedicated to St Andrew. It is reported to be the same that is still standing in the common burial ground of the Abbey, in which there are many ancient but nameless tombstones. This church was formerly called Kilreul, i.e. the Church of St Regulus, or rather the church built by the persuasion of St Regulus. It is now called the Old Church of St Andrew." The tower and walls of this chapel of St Regulus or Rule, as the name is commonly used, still remain. The tower is square, of about 108 feet in height, without any spire. The wall consists of exterior coatings of hewn stone, the space between which is filled up with small stones and lime, now so hardened as to be more difficult to cut than the stones themselves. The arches of the doors and windows are semicircular. This beautiful specimen of ancient architecture has lately been repaired at the expence of the Exchequer, and a winding stair built from the bottom to the top, which is covered with lead, within a parapet of 4 feet in height. This chapel indeed can have no pretensions to the antiquity ascribed to it by Boeth; but the chaste introduction of the Gothic mode, and it may have probably been reared soon after the foundation of the city of St Andrews, in the 9th century.

³ "After the destruction of the Pictish kingdom by the Scots, the interests of the church flourished or decayed, in proportion to the devotion whih the kings and nobles paid to St Andrew. The royal residence was Rymont, (i.e. Kingshill) which Hungus gave to St Andrew."

⁴ "Kenneth translated the episcopal see, which the Picts had placed at Abernethy, to the church of St Rule, which was afterwards called St Andrew." Buch. Introd. to Book. VI.

After the death of those holy men who brought the relicks of St Andrew, and of their disciples and followers, religious worship was much neglected, as the nation was rude and unpolished; yet in the church of St Andrew, such as it then was, there were thirteen called Culdees, *who came into office by succession to their father*, and who lived, am still live according to their own rule, and the tradition of men, (i.e. in the matter of keeping Easter,) rather than according to the statutes of the holy fathers, i.e. the Popes." - The expression, *tredecim per successionem carnalem*, is attended with considerable difficulty; Sir James Dalrymple interpreted it, as Sibbald seems to do, that there had been thirteen generations or successions of Culdees. But that interpretation cannot be right; for the body of the Culdee, like every other regular body, must have had a continuous existence, and could have no succession: nor, if the expression refers to the individuals who composed this college, can we suppose, that every one of them, at one time, was in the exact thirteen successions from his first predecessor. The translation given in the note is suggested by Keith, or his friend Wal. Goodall, who mentions, that as the Culdees had wives, they were succeeded by their sons, who thus formed a hereditary priesthood. Marriage was certainly as proper in priests as in laymen, and was so considered for many ages in the Christian church. Even till the council of Rheims in 1148, monks might marry; and it cost many a struggle to establish the Popish system. And even till the time of the Reformation, it does not appear to have been completely adopted in Scotland, and other places, remote from the seat of ecclesiastical power. Nor is hereditary succession other priesthood without example in the middle ages. It prevailed in Bretagne, whose inhabitants themselves of a Celtic race, were converted by the Irish or Scots of these days, and followed their customs, and this among the rest, till it was abolished by Hildebert, archbishop of Tours, in his provincial council in 1127. In the end of this same century, or beginning of the next, Giraldus Cambrensis, a zealous Catholic priest, complains, as one of the disgraces of Wales, (where, as well as in Ireland, Culdees remained till his time,) "That sons got the churches after their fathers, by *succession*, and not by election, possessing and polluting the church of God by inheritance." In Ireland, too, as we learn from St Bernard's life of Malachy, the archbishops of Armagh had succeeded hereditarily for 15 generations. It appears tht the number of priests in the colleges of the Culdees was thirteen; the provost or chief, and the 12 apostles, or of their founder Columba, and the 12 priests, who accompanied him from Ireland. The translation, therefore, in the note seems to be completely supported by facts, and is the only way in which sense can be made of the passage. Keith, Preface. Pink. Part VI.

The Keldees were not confined to the priory of St Andrews, but were scattered over the country, some in the Isle of Lochlevin, and some Portmoak and Kirkaldy, some in the Isle of May: and these places, which are designed kills, as Kilmenie, &., were their seats. Some of the seats were designed by the name of the Culdee, as St Monan. Yea there were of them at Culross; and wherever either a monastery or priory came to be built afterwards; yea in the cathedrals there were some of them, as at Abernethy, Dunkeld and Brechin. They lived at first upon the labour of their hands, and the oblations on the altar; afterwards donations were made to them. The excerpta out of the register shows, that "*Simul vivebant, et quædam habebant communia, pauciora scilicet et deteriora, quædam vero propria, plura scilicet et potiora, prout quisque ab amicis suis aliquâ necessitudine ad se pertinentibus, viz., consanguineis et affinibus, vel ab eis quorum animæ charæ sunt, quod est animarum amici, sive aliis quibuslibet*

modis, poterit quis adipisci."¹ Tho' married persons might be Kildees, as we find by the witnesses to the donation of the lands of Admore by Edelradus, some of them are sons to the priests; yet, after they became Culdees, they could not have their wives in their houses, nor other women tht might be suspected. The MS. shows, that "Postquam autem Keldei effecti sunt, non licet eis habere uxores suas in domibus suis, sed nee alias de quibus mala oriatur suspicio."² The MS. extracts show, that

"Personæ nihilominus septem fuerunt, oblationes altaris inter se dividentes, quarum septem portionum, unam tantum habebat episcopus, et hospitale unam; quinque vero reliquæ in quinque cæteros dividebantur, qui nullum omnino altari vel ecclesiæ impendebant servitium, præterquam quod, peregrinos et hospites, cum plures quam sex adventarent, more suo, hospitio, suspiciebant, sortem mittentes, quis quos, vel quot recipere? hospitale sanè semper sex, et infra suscipiebat sex."³

I come now to give account how they came sensibly to loose ground, till they were quite laid aside. The wars with the Picts first, and afterward with the Danes, brought persecutions upon them, and they were forced most of them to retire to woods and desert isles, as Adrian particularly did to the Isle of May, where he and his companions suffered martyrdom by the Danes, who were then Pagans, and as the histories show, destroyed the churches and religious houses, wherever they came. And when our kings got time to make up the breaches the enemies had made, these who succeeded, were not men of that zeal, learning or austerity of life: for the MS. excerpts show, that after these, who imitated Regulus and his companions, died, "Cultus ibi religiosus deperierat, sicut gens et barbara et inculta fuerat;" and these who came to be Culdees at St Andrews then, "Reditus et possessiones proprias habebant, quas, cum è vitâ decederent, uxores eorum quas publicè tenebant, filii quoque, vel filiæ, propinqui vel generi, inter se dividebant, nihilominus et altaris oblationes, cui non deserviebant, quod puidisset dicere, si non libuisset eis facere. Nee potuit tantum auferri malum, asque ad tempus felicitis memoriæ regis Alexandri, sanctæ dei ecclesiæ specialis amatoris; qui et ecclesiam beati Andræ apostoli, possessionibus et redditibus ampliavit, multisque ac magnis muneribus cumulavit, libertatibus et consuetudinibus quæ sui regali juris erant, cum regali possessione donavit. Terram etenim, quæ cursus apri dicitur, quam cum allatæ fuissent reliqui beati Andræ apostoli, rex Hungus, cujus supra mentionem fecimus, Doe et S. Apostolo Andræ dederat, et postea ablata fuerat, ex integro restituit, eo nimirum obtentu et conditione, ut in ipsâ ecclesiâ constitueretur religio ad Doe deservendum. Non enim erat, qui beati apostolo altari deserviret, nee ibi missa celebrabatur, nisi cum rex vel episcopus illo advenerat, quod

¹ "They lived together, and had some things in common and the rest in property. (Sibbald) The things kept in common were but trifling: whatever of value they could obtain from their relations, or friends, or converts, and penitents, they preserved as their own property."

² After they became Culdee, they were not permitted to have in their houses their wives, or other women, who might excite suspicion."

³ By which it appeareth, "that the offerings made at the altar, were divided into seven portions; and the bishop performed the divine offices in the church, for which he had one portion of the offering allotted to him; and there was an hospital, which then received only six strangers or guests at a time, for which one portion of the offerings was allowed to it: there were five other persons who attended this hospital, who performed no service in the church, and they had the other five portions divided amongst them. They always attended these who were in the hospital; and besides, when there happen'd more than six to come, then they were wont to cast lots, who, whom and how many they should receive and accommodate with themselves: they counted obedience, in the performance of these charitable works, as good as sacrifice." SIBBALD.

raro contingebat. Kledei namque in angulo quodam ecclesiæ, quæmodica nimis erat, suum officium more suo celebrabant."¹

The first remedy of this corruption and backsliding of the Culdees, was attempted by king Alexander I, who restored the possessions and privilege, which were given them by king Hungus, and had been taken from them by his successors, kings of the Picts and others. I come now to the give account, how they were deprived of their rights and privileges.

Boethius, Scot, Hist. lib. 6. fol. 92. says, "Pontificem inter se communi suffragio deligebant, penes quem divinarum rerum esset potestas; is multos deinceps annos, Scotorum episcopus, uti nostris traditur annalibus, est appellatus."² Neither (as archbishop Spotiswood observeth, History of the Church of Scotland, lib. 4. pag. 4.) had our bishops any other title, whereby they were distinguish'd, before the days of Malcolm III, who first divided the country into the dioceses, appointing to every bishop the limits, within which they should keep and exercise their jurisdiction &c. (p.177-182)

¹ After the death of any of the Culdees, their wives or children or relations, appropriated their estates, and even the offerings made at these altars whose service they neglected, a sacrilege which we should have been ashamed to mention, had not they, not been ashamed to do it. Nor could this evil be cured till the time of king Alexander, of happy memory, a special friend of the church, who bestowed many lands, and other gifts, on the church of St Andrew. And he restored the land called the *Boars chase*. formerly granted by king Hungus, but of which the church had been deprived; on this express condition, however, that the service of God should be restored in the church; for there was then no body who served at the altar of the holy apostle, nor was mass celebrated, except when the king or the bishop happened to be present. The Culdees performed their service in a private and narrow corner of the church."

² They chose from among themselves, one to chief authority and jurisdiction, who, for many years after wards was called Bishop of the Scots."

P. 182 "The Culdees flourished many years among our ancestors, distinguished by the purity and holiness of their lives; and their society continued to flourish, till it was gradually overpowered and ruined by those bishops who forced themselves into the see of St Andrews, and by the Roman Pontiff, particularly Popes Boniface VIII, and John XXII. Before their time, the power of electing the bishops was vested in the Culdees, who generally chose them from their own society. The first who opposed the ancient custom was William Wishart, who being consecrated at Scone, excluded the Culdees from the election. (While he was bishop, the west side of the cathedral was blown down.) His successor, William Fraser, acted in the same manner toward the Culdees. And when William Lamberton, who succeeded Fraser, attempted the same thing, Cumine, provost or prior of the Culdees, appealed to Pope Boniface VIII, before whom he unsuccessfully opposed the election of Lamberton; for the Pontiff, assuming authority in every thing, both confined the election, and consecrated the bishop. His successor, too, James Bayne, being elected without the participation of the Culdees, while he was at Rome, was consecrated by Pope John XXII, as if it had belonged to the Roman see to appoint to all the bishopricks, of Christendom. When his successor, William Bell, was elected, also without the consent of the Culdees, they, as is said, on account of a compromise into which they had entered, made no opposition." The Culdees continued to elect the bishops till 1140, when a priory was erected at St Andrews, and filled with canons regular. These seem to have joined with the Culdees in the elections of the subsequent bishops till 1273, though the Culdees resisted their intrusion. But after that period, the canons excluded the Culdees, who neglected to make any appeal to the supreme Pontiff till 12297, when they sent Cumine to plead their cause at Rome, before Boniface, where they lost their cause, "*non utendo jure suo*," because they had suffered two former elections to proceed without them, and entered their appeal only against the third. At Dunkeld, Dumblane, and Brechin, the Culdees continued to elect the bishops much later than at St Andrews.

Before I leave these Culdees, I cannot but mention the account of their labours abroad, of which, Midendorpius lib.2. Academ, after he had treated of them says, "Quorum discipuli Kentigernus, Columbus, Patricius, Servanus, Ternanus, Aidanus, et multi alii, tantos progressus in Christianâ fide fecere, ut subsequenti ætate. Scoticis Monachis, nihil eruditius fuerit, et universam Europam sanctissimorum virorum examina emiserunt, quibus Fulda Germaniæ, Sanctus Gallus Helvetiæ, aliæque urbes et monasteria originem debent suam."¹

And, for what they did in our own country, we have a large account, with a great character of them given by the learn'd and pious Mr Robert Boid of Trochrig, the ornament of his age, in his Commentary upon the Ephesians, cap. 6 vers. 23 et 24. (p.183-186 also 242)

¹ Their disciples, St Mungo, &c. &c. &c. made so great progress in Christian knowledge, that in the following age, there were none more learned, than the Scottish monks; and through all Europe they sent swarms of learned men, by whom Fulda in Germany, and St Gall in Switzerland, and many other towns and monasteries, were founded."

Page. 185-6 "We may not only trace, from the histories of Bede and others, the origin and progress of Christianity among our ancestors, but may discover it from the very names of the churches, which in the Gaelic, our ancient vernacular language, express, that they were the *cells* of monks. - For these holy men, retiring from the world, sought not the splendours nor conveniences of the palace or the castle, but content with the squalid hut or narrow cell, they, by their humility exalted the doctrine of Christ, and exhibited in their lives the modesty of Him whom they preached, and the contempt of men, which he suffered for us. What thing was there so difficult, so arduous, so laborious, as to deter them from their purpose, or compel them to relinquish it! It was not the waste and desolate wilds, nor the pathless desert, where scarcely the wild beast or the serpent could live; it was not the rough garment of haircloth, nor hunger endured almost beyond human strength; it was not fasting by day, nor watching by night, nor lying on the cold ground, or on a floor stewed with rushes, nor perpetual contemplation, and meditation and prayer; it was not rigid abstinence from everything but bread and water, nor continual struggles with the temptations of the devil, nor an austerity of life hardly credible, and passing the bounds of human frailty; for in them the love of Christ, burning more vivid than any flame, being more powerful than any obstacle, superior to every difficulty, elevated above trying dangers and seducing pleasures, tempered and softened every condition, and converted the hardship and suffering of their lives into pleasure and joy." - This declamatory eulogy on the Culdees, shews them, after all, to have been only austere and unenlightened monks. They seem to have been harshly used by the Romanists; and the Protestant writers, therefore, seem determined to speak in their praise, and ascribe to them those characters which they ought to have processed, rather than these which they actually acquired. Among the Protestants, too, both the great parties, Presbyterians and favourers of Episcopacy, are disposed to be their panegyrists, because each conceived the disciples of these primitive churchmen to have been in exemplar of their respective systems. That they had bishops, however, in the later periods of their history, is evident from the passage quoted by Sibbald, though they were very unlike the bold ecclesiastic barons of the 9th and following centuries, or the wealthy prelates of later times. The Culdees were the disciples of Columba, missionaries from the seminary of Iona, following the rule of their founder. They were generally Irish priests, with perhaps a mixture of Welsh from Strathclyde, the followers of St Ninian, who converted the southern Picts. Like their masters, they were men of confined minds and of mean education, ignorant of secular learning, and devoted to a severe bigotted piety, and a gloomy superstition. At first they closely followed the regimen of Iona; but in the gradual corruption of the monastic order, they came to marry, to acquire separate property, to leave their place in the monastery as hereditary estates to their sons. And like other corrupted monks, they were at last obliged to give way to the canons regular, whom the Popes were forced to institute, in order to correct the depravity of the ancient orders, and whom the princes gradually introduced into the chief monasteries. Keith, Preface. Hailes's Annals, Vol. 1. page 107. Pink. Part VI. Chap. I, Smith's Columba. - When Boid calls the Gaelic the vernacular language of this country, he assumes what remains to be prove, and what is not to be easily established. That many of the names of our churches are of Celtic origin, is certain; for the reason already alluded to, that the Picts being an unlettered race, imported their religion, and the little learning which the clergy had, from the college of Iona; and down to the 11th century their clergy were Celts. It was natural for the

priests to impose the names of their places of worship in their own language. Accordingly we find a few, in the Welsh, and very many in the Irish, dialect of the Celtic. But if it be only on *Kil*, which begins many names, that Mr Boid, and these who adopt the same pinions, would rest their system, the foundation is feeble indeed; for is not Kilmerely the abbreviation of the Latin *Cella*? (pronounced Kella) the language in which all the services of the clergy were then performed; or if it must be taken from the vernacular language, the Gothic dialects can supply Kel, *cavas*, hollow, Kil, a spring, Kil, a narrow angle; any of which are certainly as applicable in some cases as the Gaelic Kil, which is a contraction of Keil, a church yard; and not a burying place, as some consider it, for this in Gaelic is *Cladb*. The names that are undoubtedly Gaelic, are then to be ascribed to the clergy from Ireland and Iona, who denominated their churches, villages and lands, in their own language; and being the sole literati among the Picts, bestowed names even on large tracts, which passed into charters, and among the people. Pink. I. Part. III. Chap. II. Stat. Acc. passion, particularly Vol. I No. 30. and Vol. XX. No. 3.

Page 242-3 "About the 62d year after the introduction of Christianity into Scotland, and of the Christian Æra 270, the Culdees observing the increase of the church, elected a bishop from their own body, who had no fixed diocese. When however, one who began to fix his residence as Sodor, in the diocese of Argyle, was (as they thought) insufficient for the duty, they elected more bishops out of their own society. Nor ws this enough; for the clergy, passing from a state of dependance on charity, to the enjoyment of fixed revenues, the episcopal order increased, abbeys were founded and enriched, and a love of splendour and rank attached to the office of the church proceeding from that see whih had usurped apostolical authority, prevailed among the kings, the nobles , and he people: then every thing went to ruin in the church; but the Culdees preserved the power of electing the bishops of St Andrews, till it was transferred from them to the regular clergy; which was first done about 1271, at the election of William Wishart."

"That in 1108, in the time of Malcolm III and Margaret, Turgot prior of Durum was elected bishop of St Andrews, which office he held for seven years. In his time, the whole rights of the Culdees, throughout all Scotland, were vested in the bishop of St Andrews." - The mistake of this excellent chronologer will appear from the chapter referred to above. It is obviously arose from trusting too much to the monks of Durham who, to do honour to their prior, ascribed to him powers which he never possessed. - Alexander I, and not Malcolm III, reigned when Turgot was elected bishop.



RUINS OF THE MONASTERY OF DUNFERMLINE
Engraved for R. Tullis' Edition of Sibbald's History of Fife & Kinross

Page 1197, he says, "Præter Bedæ et aliorum historiæ undè primam Christianismi inter majores nostros originem odorari licet et augurari, testantur hoc ipsum, ipsæ nominum priscorum reliquiæ quæ Albinorum linguâ vernaculâ, nobis olim genuinâ ac gentilitiâ, non aliter passim ecclesias nostras quam per monachorum *cellas* designant.

" Nempe viri illi sanctissimi, semoti á turbâ curisque secularibus, non tam celebritatem quam solitudinem affectabant; nec regum palatia, nec spatiosa magnatum habitacula, sibi parabant, aut procurabant, sed casarum vilitate, cellarumque angustiis et humilitate contenti, seipsos deprimendo, Christi Domini ac servatoris doctrinam exaltabant et exornabant, ejus, quem prædicabant, humilitatem, et pro nobis , non verbo tantum sed et facto reque ipsâ adumbrantes, totoque vitæ suæ tenore præferentes."

Page 1195. "Quid ipsis arduum ac difficile, quid asperum ac molestum, quid aut longum eo usque visum est aut laboriosum, ut vel ab incæpto detereretur. vel fractos et fatigatos cogeret ante finem, succumbere atque deficere? non certé desertorum squalentium horror et vastitas, non avia solitudo, vix feris et serpentibus habitata; non cilicii corpus perpetuo prementis asperitas; non suscepta supra vires humanas inedia; non cum noctium vigiliis, dierum continuata jejunia, non cum jejuniis pernox et perdia rerum divinarum contemplatio, meditatio, deprecatio, corporis animique coram Deo prostratio, humi cubatio, vel certe in tegete aut storea (non multo meliore) dormitio; non corpori indicta rerum omnium præter panem et aquam abstinencia perpetua; non cum hostilis illius tentatoris insidiis, insultibus et aggressionem multiplici, continua contentaque luctatio, non reliqua illa nobis vix credenda vitæ et conversationis austeritas, fragilitatis humanæ modum finemque prætergressa; quam tamen Christ amor, in illis omni flamma vehementior, omni obice fortior, omni necessitate cognetior, omni difficultate superior, omni morte violentior, omni vita pretiosior, omni denique sive amarore, sive dulcedine, sive acerbitate, sive amœnitate penitus, et in contrariam suavitatem convertit."¹

SECT.

¹ We may not only trace from the histories of Bede and others, the origin and progress of Christianity among our ancestors, but may discover it form the very names of the churches, which in the Gaelic, our ancient vernacular language, express, that they were the *cells* of monks. - For these holy men, retiring from the world, sought not the splendours nor conveniences of the palaces or the castle, but content with the squalid hut or narrow cell, they by their humility, exalted the doctrine of Christ, and exhibited in their lives the modesty of Him whom they preached, and the contempt of men, which he suffered for us. What thing was there so difficult, so arduous, so laborious, as to deter them from their purpose, or compel them to relinquish it! It was not the waste and desolate wilds, nor the pathless desert, where scarcely the wild beasts or the serpent could live; it was not the rough garment of haircloth, nor hunger endured almost beyond human strength; it was not fasting by day, nor watching by night, nor lying on the cold ground, nor on a floor strewn with rushes, nor perpetual contemplations, and meditation and prayer; it was not rigid abstinence from everything but bread and water, nor continual struggles with the temptations of the devil, nor an austerity of life hardly credible, and passing the bounds of human frailty; for in them the love of Christ, burning more vivid than any flame, being more powerful than any obstacle, superior to every difficulty, elevated above trying dangers and seducing pleasures, tempered and softened every condition, and converted the hardships and sufferings of their lives into pleasure and joy." - This declamatory eulogy on the Culdees, shews them, after all, to have been only austere and unenlightened monks. They seem to have been harshly used by the Romanists; and the Protestant writers, therefore, seem determined to speak in their praise, and ascribe to them those characters which they ought to have possessed, rather than these which they actually acquired. Among the Protestants, too, both the great parties, Presbyterians and favourers of Episcopacy, are disposed to be their panegyrists, because each conceived the discipline of these primitive churchmen to have been an exemplar of their respective systems. That they had bishops, however, in the later period of their history is evident from the passage quoted by Sibbald, though they were very unlike the bold ecclesiastic barons of

the 9th and following centuries, or the wealthy prelates of later times. The Culdees were the disciples of Columba, missionaries from the seminary of Iona, following the rule of their founder. They were generally Irish priests, with perhaps a mixture of Welsh from Strathclyde, the followers of St Ninian, who converted the southern Picts. Like their masters, they were men of confined minds, and of mean education ignorant of secular learning, and devoted to a severe bigotted piety, and a gloomy superstition. At first they closely followed the regimen of Iona; but in the gradual corruption of the monastic order, they came to marry to acquire separate property to leave their place in the monestry as hereditary estates to their sons. And like other corrupted monks, they were at last obliged to give way to the canons regular, whom the Popes were forced to institute in order to correct the depravity of the ancient orders, and whom the priests gradually introduced into the chief monasteries. Keith, Preface. Hailes's Annals, Vol. I, page 107. Pink. Part VI. Chap. I Smith's Columba - When Bois alls the Gaelic the vernacular language of this country, he assumes what remains to be proved, and what is not to be easily established. That many of the names of our churches are the Celtic origin, is certain; for the reason already alluded to, that the Picts being an unlettered race, imported their religion and the little learning which the clergy had, from the college of Iona; and down to the 11th century their clergy were Celts. It was natural for the priests to impose the names of their places of worship in their own language. Accordingly we find a few, in the Welsh, and very many in the Irish, dialect of the Celtic. But if it be only on *Kil*, which begins many names, that Mr Boid, and these who adopt the same opinion would rest their system, the foundation is feeble indeed; for is not *Kil* merely the abbreviation of the Latin *Cella*? (pronounced Kella) the language in which all the services of the clergy were then performed; or if it must be taken from the vernacular language, the Gothic dialects can supply *Kel*, *cavus*, hollow, *Kil*, a spring, *Kil*, a narrow angle; any of which are certainly as applicable in some cases as the Gaelic *Kil*, which is a contraction of *Keil*, a church yard; and not a burying place, as some consider it, for this in Gaelic is *Cladb*. The names that are undoubtedly Gaelic, are then to be ascribed to the clergy from Ireland and Iona, who denominated their churches, villages and lands, in their own language; and being the sole literati among the Picts, bestowed names even on large tracts, which passed into charters, and among the people. Pink, I Part, III, Chap. II, Stat. Acc. passim, particularly Vol. I No.. 39. and Vol. XX. No. 3.

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*SHOWING HOW THE CULDEES WERE DEPRIVED OF THEIR RIGHTS.*

I Meet with no account how the Keledees were turned out of their rights, so good as that I find in the MS. excerpts out of the gret register of the priory of St Andrews; and therefore I shall set it down as I find it in the Latin copy. The Culdees relaxing that strict discipline they had observed before, king Alexander I, took notice of it; and, when he restored to them the lands designed Cursus Apri, (which had been taken from them) he did upon that condition restore them, That they should attend diligently the service of God in the church, which they performed only when the king or the bishop came to it, which was but seldom. The MS. also remarks that, "Keledei in angulo quodam ecclesiæ quæ modica nimis erat, suum officium more suo celebrabant," which insinuates that their way of performing the divine service, differed from the Roman way, which at that tie came to be followed by many of the other clergy;<sup>1</sup> and to keep them to the constant performance of the divine service, in his latter days, he got Robert the first prior of the church of Scoon, to be elected (as the MS. has it) Scotorum Episcopus; for so, in ancient time, the bishops of St Andrews were designed. Hence was it that Fothet a bishop of great authority, caused write on the case of the Evangile these verses.

"Hanc Evangelii thecam construxit aviti  
"Fothet, qui Scotis summus Episcopus est." <sup>2</sup>

And the MS. says, "Nune quoque in vulgari et communi locutione, Escop Alban, Episcopi Albanie appellantur."<sup>3</sup> And the same king Alexander recommended it to king David, who alone of his brethren was then alive, to take care as well of the church, as of the kingdom, and to see Robert, the elect bishop, consecrated, which he performed; who did thereafter apply himself to have the church enlarged, and took care that the divine worship was duly performed; and he did expend the seventh part of the offerings upon the altar, in promoting the work about the church; and because it went but slowly on that way, by the concession of king David, "Oblationes altaris, a manibus laicorum, tam virorum quam mulierum exceptæ;"<sup>4</sup> so the church was founded, and brought thereafter a good length, "Domibus quibusdam inceptis, quibusdam ita extractis cum claustro ut jam possent inhabitatores introduci, qui non nimia quærerent, et interim per patientiam expectarent; D. Adeloldum, episcopum Carleolensem expetilit, tam per literas, quam per missaticos, per vivam quoque vocem regis David, sibi concedi de ecclesiâ S. Oswaldi, cui ipse episcopus, jure prioris,

<sup>1</sup> There is little reason to suppose, that the churches of the Picts, or of present Scotland, north of Forth and Clyde, had much connexion with Rome till the 9th century. Established by Columba and his followers, they continued to regard Iona as their parent, submitted to its rules, and regarded its abbot as their head. The ravages of the Danes in Iona, and the creation of the bishoprick of St Andrews in the end of the 9th century, destroyed this connexion, and left the church open to the influence of Rome, now spreading itself in every direction. Little trace of papal power, however, is to be found in Scotland till the beginning of the 12th century, when John of Crema, under the title Sancti Crysogoni, appeared as the first papal legate, a short time after Alexander I, had brought Robert, canon of St Oswald de Nostellis, (i.e. Nastclay, near Pontefract in Yorkshire) afterwards prior of Scone, and bishop of St Andrews, with five other Englishmen, to instruct his people in the rules prescribed by St Augustine. Keith, Page 6. ink. Vol. II. Part VI. Chap. I.

<sup>2</sup> In some copies, primus is printed instead of summus. The meaning, however, is not that Fothad was the first bishop of the Scots as to time, but that he was chief or first in rank. It will be seen afterwards, that Kellach was bishop of St Andrews before him.

<sup>3</sup> "And so the chief bishops of Scotland are, in common language called Escop Alban."

<sup>4</sup> "All the oblations were after that applied for the use of the church." SIBBALD.

præerat, personam quem in partem sui laboris assumeret, ex canonicis, quos in ecclesiâ S. Andreæ statuere disponebat, priorem constitueret."<sup>1</sup> By this it appeareth, tht when by taking from the laicks the offerings, which were allotted to them formerly they came to fail; he supplied others out of these in England, who conformed to the Roman rites. This the MS. shows thus; "Memoratus frater Robertus, ex præcepto episcopi aliquandiu apud S. Andream conversatus est, sine canonicis, non tamen sine clericis, præcepto D. episcopo necessaria sibi et suis. In ecclesiâ vero nullam habebat, nec habere volebat potestatem, donec ei dominus procuraret, quam optabat, ad Dei servitium, societatem.

"Nihil.

"Nihil tamen de se præsumens, sed totum se Deo deferens; Dei se ordinationi submittens, Deum sedulo deprecabatur, ut cum visitare et consolari dignaretur; et tale donaret ei religionis fundamentum ponere, supra quod, constructum' ædificium firmum esset, et sabile; sicut enim in corde statuerat, nequaquam in alienos laborès introire volbat, quod fortasse sibi facile foret, de aliis et diversis ecclesiis, sibi fratres sociare; ne forte diversi, diversa sentientes, dum qui essent, videri appeterent, in unitatem non convenirent; et sic antequam jaceretur fundamentum, pateretur fabrica, detrimentum; si quos tamen, modo quo ipse disponebat vivere paratos, ei Deus adduceret, eos benigne suscipleret."<sup>2</sup>

By which it is clear, that this Robert was for the ceremonies introduced amongst the Saxons, who were converted to be Christians, by Austine the monk; and he opposed the way of keeping Easter, and the way of baptism without chrism, and the way of tonsure, these of the British church used in a different way from tht the Romish priests observed, and the clergies marrying of wives; also it was upon these considerations, that he did not take from other churches here, such as might supply these he wanted; because in our churches, the most part of our churchmen observed all these rites their ancestors the disciples of St John had conveyed (by a long succession) to them.

"Interea fratre Roberto ex episcopo (ut dictum est) ibidem commorante; D. episcopo autem circa inceptum segnius agentè, venit rex (David) una cum filio suo Henrico Comite, et rege designato; ad S. Andream orationis gratiâ, multique cum eis comitum et potentium terræ, in crastino autem, auditâ, missâ, et horis, ex more, et oblatione

<sup>1</sup> "When some houses with the cloister, were so far finished, as to admit as residents men of moderate and contented minds, who could wait with patience till better accommodation were prepared, Robert requested Ethelwolf, bishop of Carlisle, by letters and messengers, and through the personal solicitation of king David, to send him from the church of St Oswald, of which the bishop was then prior, a person fit to share in his labours, and to be appointed prior to the canons he was resolved to place in the church of St Andrews."

<sup>2</sup> Brother or friar Robert, by the command of the bishop, who maintained him and his followers, lived some time at St Andrews without canons, but not without clergy; for he neither had, nor wished to have, any power in the church, till providence should enable him to procure such men as he wished to employ in the service of God. And presuming nothing of himself, he prayed, that God would visit and support him, and enable him to establish a foundation for his worship which might be stable and permanent; for he had resolved not to associate to himself priests of other churches, lest differing in sentiments, for fabric might be ruined where it was well founded; but he willingly received any who were prepared to observe the rule he was about to establish." - Brought for the purpose of introducing the rule of Augustine, and submission to the Roman see, Robert acted with great prudence in not associating with his canons any of the Culdees, "priests of other churches," as the MS. calls them; for it was not to be expected that the Culdees, a kind of secular clergy, married, and possessed of personal and heritable property, would ever heartily conform to the self-denying ordinances of the canons regular.



factá, veniens rex in claustrum, quale illud tunc erat, simul cum illis qui secum venerat, et residentibus cunctis, primo multa, quæ prudencia in not associating with his nihil attinet, tandem causam, pro quâ præcipuè venerat, aperuit rex. Convenit igitur episcopum, cur sicut disposuisse dixerat, et rex Alexander constituerat, opus et servitium Dei non acceleraret, ut in ecclesiá beati Andreae religionem constitueret, cumque post multas controversias, causaretur D. episcopus, possessiones episcopi, non licere sibi minuere, vel dispergere, ne forte a successore suo, a servis Dei auferretur, quod ab eo conferretur; respondit rex et dixit, ut de terrá illá quæ cursus apri dicitur, quæ de episcopo non erat (it belongeth properly to the Culdees, as was said, who resided there in the church) quam rex Alexander frater eis propter hoc Deo et S. Andreae donaverat, ut in ecclesiá ejus, religio constitueretur, sufficienter eis tribueret; et tam ipse quam filius ejus concederet, et ad instaurandam terram auxilium ferrent, quod et fecerunt, et alios quosdam, cum jocando tamen juvare compulerunt."<sup>1</sup>

I find in the same extracts, that, "David rex Insulam de Lochlevin, et omnia prius donata Keledeis in illá morantibus, (of which donations there is an account already given) concessit prioratui S. Andreae."<sup>2</sup>

"Tunc deminus episcopus quasi sponte coactus, de terris personarum, quæ obeuntibus eis in manum ejus obvenerant, quam libuit portionem, consilio, et assensu regis, et filii ejus, et ceterorum baronum qui aderant, fratri Roberto in manum tradidit unde fratres ad Dei servitium, illo venientes, interim sustentari debuissent, nee tamen circa opus ecclesiæ segnius egit, sed quo citius consummaret, omnibus modis satagit.

"Ipsá

<sup>1</sup> "While friar Robert continued at St. Andrews by order of the bishop, who, however, did not much promote his design, king David came there for the purpose of devotion, attended by Earl Henry his son and heir apparent, and others of his nobles. On the day after his arrival, the king went to the cloister, attended by his nobles and the resident canons. After mentioning several unimportant matters, he explained the cause of this visit; and asked at the bishop why he had not, as he had engaged, and king Alexander had appointed, concurred in establishing the new religious order in the church of St Andrews. The bishop replied, that he could not dilapidate the episcopal revenue, lest come of his successors should entirely grant away the estates which his Majesty had conferred. The king then said, that he would give them enough out of the land called the Boars chase, which did not belong to the bishop, but had been bestowed by his brother Alexander, for this very purpose, and that he and his son would cause these lands to be given up and thus applied, which they both afterwards fulfilled, and prevailed on others to assist." - It appears from Martine, that several noblemen and others assisted the king in founding and endowing the priory. The bishop was Robert whom Alexander I, had made prior of Scone in 1115. He succeeded Eadmer as bishop of St Andrews in the same reign in 1122, but was not consecrated till 1117 or 1128, the 4th year of the reign of David I. He bestowed a large extent of the episcopal estates on the priory and is always considered as its founder. Bishop Robert enjoyed the see till 1158. The other Robert was also prior of Scone, and seems to have been an Englishman. He lived only till 1142. See Part III. Chap. IV. Martine's Reliquiæ. Keith. Hailes, Vol. I.

<sup>2</sup> "King David gave to the priory of St Andrews, the island of Lochlevin, (St Serpinch) and all that had been formerly granted to the Culdees who resided there."

"Ipsá die, piæ memoriæ Robertus presbyter domini episcopi uterinus frater, corde, voce, et opere seculo abrenuntians ad Deo deservendum in ecclesiá beati Andreae, sub canonicá regulá S. patris nostri Augustini, in manum fratris Robert prioris, se reddidit, cum ecclesiá, suá de Tinningham, annuente D. episcopo, ita sané, ut vel ecclesiam illam haberent canonici, vel L solidos per annum."<sup>1</sup>

Thus the art, cunning and fraud of these who conform'd to the Romish rites, in abusing of the simplicity of this good king David I, doth appear: they (as the proverb has it) "Tirr'd the Kirk, to theeke the Quire," and cunningly got these on their side, to be placed in the room of the Culdee, who died, and keep'd the places vacant, till such time as they got, from England and elsewhere, some of their own sentiments, to reimplace; and the bishop, without the council of the Culdees, took upon him to dispose matters thus, to the ruine of the Culdees in favours of the Romanists.

Thus the Culdees sensibly lost much of their right, nor were they insensible of it; there was much struggling before they yielded, tho' both the court and the Pope opposed them. I find, in the index of the extracts of the large register of the priory of St Andrews, the titles of these papers.

#### Relatio.

Relatio quid acciderit de controversiâ post mortem Willielmi Frazer episcopi et instrumentum de eo 1209.

Decisio controversiæ inter Keledeos et episcopum de jurisdictione agri per Th. Ranulphum guardianum citra mare Scoticum, anno 1309.

Petitio Keledeorum, et subjectio eorum episcopo S. Andreae.

So it appears, tht after many contestations, they were oblige to submit to the bishop's terms, who for all that did not think themselves secure, till the Culdees were divested of their lands, and turn'd out of all the right and power they had. There is a record in the Lawiers library of the tenor following.

"Acta in ecclesiâ parochiali de Innerkethyn, anno secundo regni, regis Alexandri, gratiæ anno 1250, crastino Sancti Leonardi, coram domino abbate de Dunfermling, capellano domini papæ et cancellario domini regis Scotiæ et domino R. Thesaurario ecclesiæ Dunkeldensis, fungentibus auctoritate apostolicâ inter dominum priorem et conventum Sancti Andreae ex unâ parte, et magistrum Adam Malkarwistun gerentem se pro præposito ecclesiæ Sanctæ Mariæ civitatis S. Andreae, et Keledeos se gerentes pro canonicis et eorum vicariis ex alterâ, cum dies prænominatus esset præstitus ad publicandum sententiam latam per priorem S. Oswald et de Kircham, in magistrum Adam de Malkarwiston, Ricardum Weyranem, Gulliemum Wischard, Robertum de

<sup>1</sup> "Then the bishop as it were of his own accord, by consent of the king and his son and the barons present, gave such portion as he pleased, of the lands which had come into his hands, to friar Robert, for the maintenance of the canons whom he should establish there. Nor did he go carelessly about this business of the church, but exerted himself that it might be brought to a speedy conclusion. That very day, Robert the Presbyter, of pious memory, uterine brother of the bishop, renouncing the world, gave himself along with his church of Tynningham, for the service of God in the church of St Andrews, under the canonical vows of St Augustine, the bishop consenting that the priory should have either the said church, or fifty shillings yearly."

Insulâ, Patricium de Mouchard, Michael Ruffi, Michaellem Nigri, et quosque alios Keledeos, profitentes se pro canonicis, et quosque alios inobedientes et rebelles ecclesiæ, S. Mariæ, S. Andreæ, et ad inquirendum, utrum diçti Keledei et eorum vicarii *divina celebrarint, sic ligati*, et ad statuendum, quod canonicum fuerit super præmissis. Prefati Abbas et Thesaurarius aëtis præcedentibus inhærentes, usi consilio juris, per eorum sententiam latam per prædiçtos priores de S. Osualdo et de Kyrcham, in personas prænominatas, solempniter publicarunt, super inquisitione faciendâ, utrum *divina celebraverint sic ligati*, testes admiserunt, et eorum dicta in scriptis redigi facerunt, et diem partibus præstiteterunt, die Sabbati proximo post festum S. Andreæ in ecclesiâ fratrum prædicatorum de Pert, ad publicandum attestaciones et dudum in testes et testificata, et ad ulterius procedendum, secundum formam mandati apostolici; et licet diçti iudices, prænominatis præpositio et Keledeis ob eorum manifestam contumaciam, de jure pænam possent infligere. Pænam eis infligendam usque ad diem partibus præstitam distulerunt."<sup>1</sup>

It is like this severe procedure agains them, forced these Culdees to submit to the bishop of St Andrews. (p.187-195)

SECT.

<sup>1</sup> The purpose of this original paper, and the nature of the dispute, are well explained by Keith, though he differs widely from Sibbald in his opinion as to the treatment the Culdees met with. "The controversy was this: The prior and convent of St Andrews claimed tht precedence and superiority in the direction and management of affairs in St Mary's Church of St Andrew, which the Culdees would not allow; for they maintained, and with a good deal of reason too, that Mr Adam Malkiwistun, their prior, was provost of St Mary's Church, and that they themselves were the canons. The matter was appealed to the Pope of Rome, and he delegated the priors of St Oswald and Kyrkham in England, (who being of another kingdom, it was to be supposed, would deal with more impartially) to enquire into the matter, and to determine according to justice. The delegates found the Culdees in the wrong, and in the mean time suspended them from their office; but delayed to pronounce their final sentence, which they appointed to be done by Robert abbot of Dunfermline, one of the Pope's chaplains, and chancellor of Scotland, and the treasurer of Dunkeld, upon the 7th November 1250, whom they ordained to enquire also, whether the Culdees, and their vicars, had in the mean time celebrated divine ordinances, while they were thus under ecclesiastical censure: Et ad inquirendum, utrum divina celebraverint sic legati. The Culdees did not make their appearance at the day appointed; et notwithstanding their contuamcy, the delegates *mildly enough* delayed the publication of the sentence till another time." Keith Preface.

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* "When some houses with the cloisters, were so far finished, as to admit as residents men of moderate and contented minds, who could wait with patience till better accommodations were prepared, Robert requested Ethelwolf, bishop of Carlisle, by letters and messengers, and through the personal solicitations of king David, to send him from the church of St. Oswald, of which the bishop was then prior, a person fit to share in his labours, and to be appointed prior to the canons he was resolved to place in the church of St Andrews.

An EXTRACT FROM
THE
HISTORICAL ACCOUNT
OF THE
ANCIENT CULDEES OF IONA,
AND OF THEIR SETTLEMENTS IN
SCOTLAND, ENGLAND, AND IRELAND.
BY
JOHN JAMIESON, D.D.
F.R.S. & F.A.S.E.



EDINBURGH

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The Culdees are said to have been the Immediate Successors of the Druids. Chap. 1. p.3.

There was a similar foundation at Dunfermline. Of this the following account has been given by a writer of great research; "The splendid abbey of Dunfermlin owed its inconsiderable foundation to Malcolm Ceamore; its completion to Alexander I, and its reform to David I. The monastery of Dunfermlin was dedicated, like the other Culdean establishments, to the Holy Trinity. Here, the Culdees, with their abbot, discharged their usual duties, during several reigns; and David I, who lived much with Henry I, of England, upon his accession, introduced, among the Celtic Culdees, thirteen English monks from Canterbury."¹ Spotiswood mentions that this place "was formerly governed by a prior: for Eadmerus, speaking of the messengers that were sent by - King Alexander I, in the year 1120, to Radulph Archbishop of Canterbury, for procuring Eadmer to be bishop of St Andrews, says, *Horum unus quidem monachus, et Prior ecclesiae Dumfermelinae, Petrus nomine.*"² He conjectures that "it was then an hospital;" especially as it is designed, in some old manuscripts,

¹ Caledonia, i.458

² Account, p. 436.

Monasterium de monte infirmorum. "But it is evident, that this is merely a monkish play upon the name of the place; like *Mons rosarum* for Montrose, properly *Munross*. As Gaelic *Dun* denotes a hill, and *fiar* crooked; it might afford a tolerable foundation for monkish ingenuity. The fact seems to be, that it continued as a priory, till the time of David I, who, A. 1124, raised it to the dignity of an abbey. He wished perhaps, by giving greater honour to the place, to reconcile the Culdees to the introduction of his English monks.

It has been supposed, with great appearance of reason, "that when the fatal stone was transferred by Kenneth, the son of Alpin, from Argyle to *Scone*, a religious house would be established at this ancient metropolis;" and asserted on certain grounds, that "a Culdean church was here dedicated, in the earliest times to the Holy Trinity, like other Culdean establishments."² There can be no doubt, tht there was such an establishment before the reign of Alexander I. For in a charter of his, A.1115, by which its form was changed, it is described as "a church dedicated in honour of the Holy Trinity." And in the Chronicle of Mailros, under this year, it is said; "The church of Scone is delivered up to Canons."

"Some have conjectured," as we learn from Martine, "that there was a company and college of" Culdees" at *Kiirkcaldie*, which, they say, was, and should be, called *Kirkculdee*, and that the old name was *Cella Culdeorum*." It has been also said, that the place was named *Kil-celedie*, which was changed, during the Scoto-Saxon period, to *Kirkcaledie*."⁴

Brudi, son of Derili, King of the Picts, according to Wyntown, about the year 700, "founded a religious house at Culross."³ Several circumstances induce us to view this as a Culdean establishment. It is natural to think, that it would be similar to that which, as we have already seen, the same prince founded at Lochleven. It was to this place tht St Serf retired; and here he resided for many years; as we learn from Wyntown:

And oure the wattyr, of purpos,
Of Forth he passyd til Culros:
Thare he begowth to red a grownd.
Quhare tht he thowcht a kyrk to found.

From Culross he passed to Lochleven, where he remained for several years. He afterwards returned to Culross, where

He yhald wyth gud devotyowne
Hys cors til halowed sepulture,
And hys saule til the Creature.

Cronykil, B.V. ch. 12. ver. 1178. 1333.

As we have occasion to take notice of the religious association between him and Adomnan, it is most probable that he conformed to the Columban rule here, as well as at Lochleven; and that the church, erected at Culross, which bore his name, was on the same establishment. &c..

¹ Reliquiae, p. 23.

² Caledonia, i. p. 439.

³ V. Pinkerton's Enquiry, i. 257, 302, 303. The name of this place was anciently Culeuross. Fordun, Scotichron. Lib. ix.c.31. Also Kilinros; Fundata est Abbathia de Kilinros a Domino Malcolm Comite de Fif. Chron. Mailr, A. 11216. p. 193, 194. It was written Cullinross een after the reformation. V. Scotia Sacra, p. 282.

AN EXTRACT FROM

THE PICTORIAL HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

by

JAMES TAYLOR D.D. VOL. 1. P.48

About the middle of the sixth century, St Kentigern imparted the knowledge of Christianity to the Strathclyd Britons, and is said to have founded the see of Glasgow. In honour of his pious labours the cathedral of that diocese was afterwards dedicated to him, under the endearing name of St Mungo,¹ and many other localities in Scotland perpetuate his memory. St Rule, St Adrian, St Woloe, and St Kieran, are also deserving of notice, as taking part in the good work of preaching the Christian faith to the inhabitants of the southern districts of Scotland. But the conversion of the northern Picts, which took place in the sixth century, was effected as we have seen,² by the labours of St Columba; and the religious establishment which he founded at Iona is justly regarded as the great centre from which the blessings of religion and of civilization diffused themselves over the whole country. It was certainly not owing to its natural features that this island was selected to become "the luminary of the Caledonian regions." It is scarcely three miles in length, and one in breadth. The highest elevation in it is 400 feet, and the surface is diversified with rocky hillocks and patches of green pasture, or of mossy and boggy soil. At the southern extremity, with the exception of a low sandy tract, it is a mere labyrinth of rocks. It has been supposed that the isolation of this little island placed "far amid the melancholy main," and the security which it seemed likely to afford, were the principal attractions to Columba and his twelve disciple, when they sought an asylum among the Scottish Picts, from the troubles of their native land. But the old Celtic traditions seem rather to indicate, that in the true missionary spirit, this noble-minded benefactor of our country "bearded the ancient faith in its stronghold, and reared the primitive Christian fane of Iona, where of old the pagan circle had stood." The Highlanders, to the present day, frequently designate Iona by the name of *Innis nan Druidheanach*, or the Island of the Druids or magicians; and a green eminence, close to the sound which separates it from the west point of the Island of Mull, is still called *Claodh nan Druidheanach*, or the Druids' Burial place.³ Odonellus relates, that when Columba first landed in Iona on Pentecost eve, some Druids who had been there disguised themselves in the habits of monks, and pretended that they had come to that place to preach the gospel, with a request that he and his followers might betake themselves to some other place, but that Columba immediately discovered the imposture, and that they resigned the field to him.⁴

¹ Mungo, in the Norwegian language signifies "dear friend;" in the British, it means "kind, gentle, courteous." - See Caledonai, vol. i. p. 316. note.

² Ante, pp. 25-27.

³ Old Stat. Acc. vol. xiv. p. 199.

⁴ Smith's Life of Columba, p. 92 Vol. I.

We are informed by Bede, that the first churches of the Britons were constructed of timber; but the ecclesiastical structure erected by Columba and his disciples seems not even to have aspired to the dignity of a wooden church, but to have been composed only of stakes and wattles. A curious passage in his Life by Adomnan, speaks of the primitive apostle of the Picts as sending forth his attendants to gather bundles of twigs with which to build their hospice, and as being challenged by the proprietor from whose lands they had collected the materials. After spending two years in erecting the sacred edifice, and the private dwellings of the monks, and in organizing the religious establishment, Columba commenced his pious labours among the northern Picts. In the execution of the arduous duties to which he had devoted himself, the zealous missionary met with astonishing success. He and his disciples seem to have gravelled through every part of the Pictish territories. In a few years the greater part of the nation was converted to Christianity, and hundreds of churches, monasteries, and cells were established throughout the country. The indefatigable zeal of the Culdee clergy induced them to carry the knowledge of the Christian faith to the Anglo Saxon inhabitants of Northumbria; and, not satisfied with the range of action afforded by the mainland of Britain, they undertook voyages to the northern islands and the Norwegian seas, for the purpose of propagating the gospel in these far distant regions.

Columba himself is said to have made a voyage to the North Sea in his *currach*, and to have remained there twelve days. His biographer mentions, that the Saint happening to meet with a prince of the Orkneys in the palace of King Brude, at Inverness, requested him to extend his protection to train monks who had lately sailed to the Northern Seas, and that the missionaries were afterwards rescued by him from a situation of imminent danger.¹ Dicuil, an Irish monk of the ninth century, states that monks from Ireland resided in Iceland for six months, and when the Norsemen first visited that island in the latter half of the ninth century, it was uninhabited, but they discovered traces of the former presence of Irish monks and found their nooks, croziers, and bells. The monks referred to were, in all probability, Culdees of Iona; for it is well known that there existed in ancient times a church in Iceland dedicated to St Columba.² There is ample evidence that the inhabitants of the Western and Northern Isles were converted to the Christian faith prior to any Norwegian settlement among them; and in many of these islands interesting traces still remain of the collegiate establishments founded by St Columba and his followers.³ After a life of unwearied activity in doing good this illustrious benefactor of our country died on the 9th of June, 597, at the advanced age of seventy-seven, "leaving his monastery firmly settled, a people converted by his labours from Paganism to Christianity, and a name for the celebration of every age."

Oswald, who succeeded to the throne of Northumbria in the year 634, had spent his youth in Iona, to which northern sanctuary he had fled for refuge, and having been instructed in the doctrines of the Christian faith by the primitive disciples of Columba, he naturally made application to them for religious teachers who might communicate the knowledge of Christianity to his people also, "He sent to the elders of the Scots," says Bede, "amongst whom, during his banishment, he had been baptized, that they

¹ Vita St Columba, lib. ii. chap. xvii. apud Messingham.

² Wilson's Archæology, p. 485.

³ Chalmers (Caledonia, vol. I p. 320, and note) enumerates upwards of twenty churches, chapels, and monasteries bearing the name of St Columba.

might send him a bishop by whose doctrine and ministry the nation of the Angles whom he governed might be instructed in the Christian faith." A monk, named Corman, was accordingly sent from Iona to Northumberland, but his temper and indisposition seemed to have rendered him unfit for the difficult duty intrusted to him and he speedily returned to the monastery. A council of the elders was convened to hear his report. While he was describing the barbarous dispositions and gross ignorance of the Northumbrians, and vindicating on that ground the abandonment of his mission, a voice was heard exclaiming, "Brother, you seem to have forgotten the apostolic injunction, that little children should be fed with milk, that they might afterwards be fitted for stronger food." Every eye was turned upon the speaker, who was Aidan, a monk of the establishment. The council immediately determined that he should be sent "to instruct the unbelieving and the illiterate - it being proved that he was supereminently endowed with the gift of discretion."¹ He was accordingly ordained and sent to the court of Oswald, where he was eminently successful in instructing and civilizing the rude Northumbrians. He was, it seems, but imperfectly acquainted with the English language, but Oswald, who understood the Celtic tongue, acted as interpreter between the preacher and the people. Aidan was appointed Bishop of Lindisfarne, where he fixed his seat and erected a monastery in the year 635. The northern limits of his bishopric extended into Teviotdale and Lothian, and the monastery of Mailros owes its original foundation to his zealous labours. Finan, his successor in the bishopric, was also ordained and sent by the College of Iona, A.D. 651, and he, as we shall see, sent missionaries to preach the gospel to the East Saxons. Ten years later, on the death of Finan, the Culdees appointed Colman, one of their number, to discharge the duties of the office. But in consequence of a dispute with the Romish bishops respecting the proper mode of observing Easter, in which they were supported by King Oswy Colman resigned his bishopric, and along with his disciples, returned to Iona, about A.D. 664. The religious community which Aidan had established on the island of Lindisfarne continued to flourish for more than two centuries, until it was destroyed by the Danes.

With regard to the doctrines held by Columba, we are informed that he was accustomed to draw them from the unpolluted fountain of Divine truth. As he was himself much given to the study of the Holy Scriptures, he taught his disciples to appeal constantly to the same infallible standard, and declared that only to be the Divine counsel which he found in the word of God.² His followers, as we learn from Bede, would receive those things only which are contained in the writings of the prophets, evangelists, and apostles, diligently observing the works of piety and purity. And of Aidan, one of the most distinguished of their number, who, as we have seen, was sent to instruct the Northumbrians in the truths of Christianity, he says, "All the gifts which were conferred on him by kings, or by the rich of this world, he immediately distributed with the greatest cheerfulness to the poor who came in his way. So far was his mode of living removed from the indolence of our time, that he required of all his associates, whether clergy laity, that they should give themselves to meditation, either by reading the Scriptures, or by being at pains to learn the psalmody."³

¹ Bede, lib. iii. chap. v. ² Vita St Columba. lib. iii. chap. xii. ³ Bede, lib. cha. iv. and v.

The establishments of the Culdees,¹ although they were characterized by not a few of the peculiarities of the monastic societies yet in many important points different widely from these ascetic institutions. So far were they from regarding the marriage relation as inconsistent with their character, that it seems to have been held in honour among them. Although, as members of the same society, they possessed some things in common, yet their wives and children, or their nearest relations after the death of any of them, divided their property and laid claim even to the offering which had been made at the altar.² At a later period, it appears that their abbots, in some places at least, succeeded to their office by hereditary right; and so strictly did they follow this mode of succession in the bishopric of Armagh, in Ireland, that fifteen generations of the same family filled the episcopate. The Culdees of St Andrews, however, were not permitted to keep their wives in their own house; but this regulation is supposed to have been framed in a subsequent age, when the increasing influence of that system of superstition which "forbids to marry," and presumes to put asunder those whom God hath joined together, constrained the Culdees so far to yield to the tide of popular feeling in favour of celibacy.

The members of the Culdee establishments lived under a rule usually called "The Rule of Columbkil," which is said to have been drawn up by Columba himself, and is still extant.³ But though they might deem certain regulations necessary for the preservation of order, they were not like the monastic societies, associated expressly for the purpose of observing this rule. Their main design was to train up others for the work of the ministry. Their establishments were, in fact, seminaries of the church, both in North Britan and in Ireland. Hence it has been justly observed, that they may more properly be viewed as colleges in which the various branches of useful learning, both human and divine, were taught, than as monasteries. The clergy of Iona passed much of their leisure time in working at the mechanical arts and in the practice of music, and their pupils were not only instructed in theological learning and in the knowledge of the arts and sciences which were at that time known, but were also taught experimentally the benefits arising from bodily labour and the exercise of some mechanical art. The purity of their lives, their industry and frugality, and their disregard of secular honour and preferments, obtained for them universal esteem, and gave them vast influence among all classes of the community.

In each of the monasteries or colleges established by the Culdees there were twelve brethren, with a provost or abbot, who had supreme authority over the rest, and who was chosen by the brethren from among themselves. The form of church government established among the Culdees has been the subject of a keen and lengthened controversy.⁴ The zealous Presbyterian maintains, that the church established by Columba was formed on a Presbyterian model, and that it recognized the great principle of clerical equality. The devout believer in the apostolic origin and authority of Episcopacy, can discover nothing essentially different from the diocesan episcopacy which at that time generally prevailed; and the Roman Catholic sees evidence of the existence of his own peculiar doctrines in tht church, which both the

¹ Culdee is supposed to have been derived either from Cuil, or Cel, a retreat, and De, God - or more probably from Gille-De, a servant of God. Excerpt Reg. St Andr. Pinkerton's Esq. i. App. p. 462

² Excerpt Reg. St Andr. Pinkerton's Enq. i. app. p. 462.

³ Smith's Life of Columba, p. 135; Jamieson's Account of the Culdees, p. 33.

⁴ On the Episcopalian side, Lloyd, Stillingfleet, and Keith may be consulted; on the Presbyterian, Selden, Sir James Dalrymple, and Dr Jamieson.

other parties are agreed in pronouncing to be the solitary exception to the universal prevalence of its dogmas, and the earliest witness against its corruptions. Each party has, unfortunately, been more anxious to prove its resemblance to their own cherished system of church-government than to ascertain its actual constitution. They have eagerly seized hold of every circumstance which appeared to favour their hypothesis, and attempted to neutralize and explain away whatever was adverse to their system.¹

The principal authority with regard to the form of government in the Culdee church is the following passage of Bede; "That island (Iona) is always wont to have for its governor a presbyter-abbot, to whose authority both the whole province and even the bishops themselves, by an unusual constitution, ought to be subject, after the example of their first teacher, who was not a bishop, but a presbyter and monk."²

From this passage the Episcopalians argue, that Bede must have used the word bishop (episcopus) in its ordinary sense, and consequently, that the church of the Culdees must have been an Episcopalian one; and they attempt to explain the anomalous circumstance of these bishops being subject to a presbyter, by asserting that the monastery of Iona possessed a bishop as well as an abbot, and that the bishops (episcopi) who were subject to the presbyter-abbot were merely those bishops of Iona over whom the abbot had some jurisdiction in temporal matters. They farther allege, that in mentioning the mission of Aidan and Finan, from the college of Iona, to preach the Christian faith to the Northumbrians, Bede adds, in both cases, that they "received the degree of episcopacy;" that the same author elsewhere states, that "Cedd the presbyter had been, sent to preach the gospel to the East Saxons, and tht Bishop Finan, seeing his success in the work of the gospel, and having called, to him two other bishops for the ministry of ordination, made him bishop over the nation of the East Saxons; and that he, having received the degree of episcopacy, returned to the province, and with greater authority fulfilled the work which he had begun, erected churches in different places, ordained presbyters and deacons, who might assist him in the work of faith and in the ministry of baptism;"³ and that in another part of his work, Bede mentions tht Pope John wrote a letter to the heads of the Scottish or Culdee church, addressed to the bishops, presbyters, doctors or abbots of the Scots, and implying both the existence and the superiority of the episcopal order in the church.³ The evidence of Adomnan is also adduced, who narrates, that Columba upon one occasion sent for a priest at the consecration of the eucharist, and that, suddenly casting a look at him, he desired him to use the privilege of his order and to break the bread according to the episcopal mode.⁴ On the other hand it is argued by the Presbyterians, that if a presbyter possessed the supreme government of the Culdee church, it must have been essentially a Presbyterian church; and in answer to the objection derived from the mention of bishops by Bede, they assert that the word had a different signification in the Culdee church from that in other churches, and did not imply a distinct or superior order of clergy. They deny that the monastery of Iona possessed a bishop as well as an abbot, as there is not, either in the Irish annals - which contain many particulars regarding that island - or in other historians, the smallest trace of any Bishop, of Iona different from the Abbot of Iona, and they contend, that if there was nothing unusual or anomalous in the constitution of the

¹ Skene's Highlanders, vol. i. p. 183.

² Hist. lib. iii. chap. iv.

³ Hist. lib. iii. chap. xxii.

⁴ Ibid. lib. ii, chap. xix.

⁵ Vita St Columb. lib. i. chap. xvi.

Culdee church, with the mere exception that the abbot exercised jurisdiction over the bishop in some temporal matters, it is difficult to suppose that Bede would have intimated the existence of an unusual form of government in the strong and precise terms which he uses. With regard to the mission of Aidan and Finan it is alleged, that they were not only chosen and sent forth, but ordained by the college of Culdees at Iona, in which there were no bishops; and consequently, that though these missionaries were termed bishops, they could not have been diocesan bishops, as they received holy orders from the hands of presbyters. Colman, who succeeded Finan, and was also sent from Iona, expressly declares that he received his episcopal honours of what kind soever they were, from the College of Elders. "The Easter which I keep," says he, "I received from my Elders, who sent me hither as bishop." The missionaries sent to the Northumbrians, though clothed with episcopal honours, considered themselves as still subject to the authority of the Council of Elders, by whom they were ordained and sent out, and supplied from time to time with coadjutors, and to whom, on their return, they gave a report of their mission. The ordination of Cedd took place among the Saxons, and is accounted for by the fact that the Church of Rome had greater influences in the south than in the northern part of Britain, as, half a century before that event, Augustine had been sent to England by Pope Gregory, for the purpose of subjecting it more effectually to his authority. The letter of Pope John, it is affirmed, was addressed to the dignitaries of the Scots in Ireland, not in North Britain; and in proof of this settlement, reference is made to the fact, that mention is made in the superscription of the Archbishop of Armagh, the Bishops of Connor and Clonmaenois, and of the Abbot of Roscree, - all in Ireland; and it is argued that, as the seats and titles of the rest of the bishops and abbots are not known, the presumption is, that they were Irish too. The statement of Adomnan is regarded as of little weight, because it rests on the authority of a very credulous writer, who makes it appear that Columba discovered the bishop by some supernatural impulse, and who, moreover, is known to have strained every nerve to bring the monks of Iona under the papal authority. And at all events, it is alleged, all that can be inferred from this solitary proof is, not that Columba did not claim an ecclesiastical jurisdiction over "bishops themselves," but that he paid this respect to a stranger who had come from a distance, and did not belong to the province over which he presided. The testimonies of various other ancient writers are adduced in support of the account given by Bede. In the Saxon Chronicle it is stated, under the year 560, that "there ought to be always in li an abbot but no bishop, and to him ought all the Scottish bishops to be subject, for the reason that Columba was an abbot, not a bishop." Fordun says, that before the coming of Palladius, "the Scots had, as teachers of the faith and administrators of the sacraments, only presbyters and monks, following the custom of the primitive church."¹ And in the Breviary of Aberdeen it is said, that before the time of Palladius "the Scots had for teachers of the faith and ministers of the sacraments, presbyters and monks, following only the rite and custom of the primitive church."

A theory, differing in some respects from both of these views, has been advocated by Mr Skene, in his "History of the Highlanders of Scotland."² In his opinion, the Culdee church was essentially an episcopal church, but at the same time it differed in

¹ Scotichron, lib. iii. chap. viii. ² Vol. I. pp. 192-197

various respects form that form of church government. To understand the peculiarities of its constitution, he says it will be necessary to bear in mind that the Culdee church included the province of the northern Scots in Ireland, as well as the northern Picts of Scotland; and that it was the work of St Patrick in the fifth century, not that of Columba in the sixth (as generally supposed), who merely added the nation of the northern Picts to its jurisdiction. The churches of Britain, of the southern Scots, founded by Palladius, and of the southern Picts by Ninian, had all emanated from Rome, and unquestionably derived their form of government and worship from her. The Culdee church - the church of the northern Picts and northern Scots - was in a very different situation, for it as unquestionably emanated from the church of Gaul, a church always opposed to that of Rome, and claiming a descent from the church of Ephesus, and its founder, St John the Evangelist; and it was under the teaching of St Martin, of Tours, that St Patrick, framed the system of church-government which he afterwards introduced. In the year 380, about fifty-two years before the Culdee church was established by St Patrick, the monastic system was, for the first time introduced into Europe by St Martin. In the monastery which he established at Tours, the monks consisted of laymen, and the abbot was at first an ordained presbyter. But in a short time a bishop was provided for the exclusive use of the monastery, who was elected by the abbot and monks, and ordained by the adjacent bishops, to the end that he might preach and discharge episcopal offices in the monastery; and this bishop was obliged to reside within its walls, and submit to its monastic rule. St Patrick was the nephew of St Martin, whom he visited at Tours; and Mr Skene contends that the system of church-policy which he afterwards introduced into Ireland, was framed on the model of his uncle's monastic institutions. In the Culdee monasteries, however, the monks were not laymen, but ordained clergymen, and their system presented the still more remarkable peculiarity, that many of the abbots possessed the same character, exercised the same functions, and in every respect occupied the same position with the bishops of the other churches; and the monasteries over which these abbots presided possessed a jurisdiction over a certain extent of territory in the neighbourhood, in the same way as the bishops did in other churches. Mr Skene therefore concludes, that the great peculiarity of the Culdee church was the union of the clerical and monastic orders into one collegiate system, where the abbot and the bishop was the same person, and the inferior orders of presbyters and deacons formed the monks, who were under his control. This conclusion, he maintains, is borne out by the statements of the older historians, in whose works we can distinctly trace a division of the Culdee abbots into two orders of bishop-abbots, and presbyter-abbots; the former being the rulers of the monasteries which had been founded by the primate, the latter, of the monasteries which had emanated from those ruled by a bishop-abbot, and were intended to remain subordinate to the monastery from which they proceeded, and not to form a separate jurisdiction. In its polity, then, the Culdee church may be regarded as a collegiate system carried to its fullest extent; and in its mode of operation it may be viewed as a missionary church, peculiarly adapted to the state and character of the people among whom it was established.

The Culdee church, at first, consisted of the province of the northern Scots in Ireland alone, and the primacy of the whole church was vested in the monastery of Armagh. In the middle of the seventh century, the primacy was removed from Armagh to Iona, the abbot of which, though only a presbyter, assumed the office of primate of the whole Culdee church. On the conquest of the southern Picts by the Scots of Dalriada, the Culdee system of polity was introduced among that race, and appears to have supplanted the system founded by St Ninian, who, as we have seen,

was educated at Rome. In consequence, it would seem of this great accession of territory to the Culdee church, the primacy was removed from Iona to Dunkeld, a monastery; belonging to the northern Picts. After an interval of only forty years, the primacy was once more removed from Dunkeld to St Andrews, during the usurpation of Grig, the Gregory of the chroniclers, probably with the view of conciliating the clergy of the southern Picts. After this period there appears to have been no alteration in the outward form of the church till the reign of David.¹

The most important religious establishments which the Culdees possessed in Scotland were at Abernethy, Dunblane, Scone, Brechin, Monymusk, Mortlach, St Andrews, Dunkeld, and Lochleven. Many of these afterwards became episcopal sees. According to the Pictish Chronicle, a religious house was founded at Abernethy, by Nectan, King of the Picts, who reigned about the year 455. He dedicated the royal foundation to God and to St Brigid, and endowed it with lands "until the day of doom;" the boundaries of which are minutely specified from the stone at Apurfeirt to the stone near Cairfuill.² The structure erected by Nectan was in all probability a wooden church, "after the manner of the Britons," and so remained until about A.D. 711, when we are informed by Bede that a second Nectan, King of the Picts, sent messengers to Ceolfred, Abbot of Jarrow, requesting him to send architects, who, according to the manner of the Romans, should erect a church of stone among his people. A collegiate church was founded here during the reign of William the Lion, and it attained high celebrity as a place of learning. William bestowed the church of Abernethy, with its chapels, lands, and tithes, on the abbey of Aberbrothoe, and the Culdees were replaced by canons regular in the year 1273. Every vestige of the ecclesiastical buildings has been annihilated, except a single round tower, which still remains, as the only evidence of the former glory of this once celebrated seat of religion and learning.

A religious house, which was dedicated to St Servanus, or St Serf, was erected at a very early period on an islet in Lochleven. In the Register of St Andrews it is stated, that Brude, the King of the Picts, about the year 700 bestowed the island of Lochleven on St Serf, and the Culdees residing there and serving God. St Serf was (according to Wyntown, the Prior of Lochleven) contemporary with Adomnan, Abbot of Iona. This religious establishment was enriched by liberal donations from successive kings of Scotland. Macbeth, Malcolm III, Edgar, and his brother Ethelred, appear in the list of its benefactors. The brethren of St Serf were expelled from their secluded retreat by David I, and their establishment was merged into the new priory of canons regular of St Austin, established at St Andrews. a catalogue of the Lochleven library has been preserved,³ at the time of its spoliation by the "soir sanct," as David was termed by one of his successors. It consisted of seventeen volumes among which were the Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, and the three books of Solomon; a Commentary on

¹ Skene's Highlanders, Vol. i. pp. 200, 201.

² Now written and pronounced Carpow - a place about a mile east from the present village of Abernethy.

³ Reg. of St Andr. pp. 44. 45. The remaining volumes consisted of the works of Origen, the Book of Sentences, written by St Bernard; three Quires or Books concerning the Sacrament; the Reader, or Companion; a Lectionarius, or Lectionarium, or book containing the ecclesiastical lessons; a work ascribed to Jerome; the writing of Prosper of Aquitain; a Dictionary; a Book of Sentences; a Pastoral for explaining the duties and Privileges of Bishops and Abbots; the Gradual, or Book of Responses; the Missal, or Mass-Book, and part of a book which is supposed to have been a collection of the writings of the fathers.

the book of Genesis, and another on the Song of Solomon, - no discreditable indication, it has been justly said, of the studies of these recluses of St Serf's Isle. At Portmoak, on the eastern margin of Lochleven, there was founded during the ninth century, by Hungus, the Pictish king, a religious house, where the Culdees performed their accustomed functions for many a generation, till they, too, became the prey of the prior and canons of St Andrews, during the general re-organization of the ancient religious establishments.

Dunkeld was selected for the site of a Culdee house at a very early period, is stated by Abbot Myln, who was a canon of Dunkeld, that Constantine, King of the Picts, "from his devotion for St Columba, at that time patron of the whole kingdom, founded and endowed an illustrious monastery here, about the year 729, land in this monastery he placed these religious called Keldees, having wives, according to the custom of the oriental churches."¹ Dunkeld for some time possessed the primacy of the kingdom, and was long regarded as a second Iona.

The house of the Culdees, at St Andrews, was one of the most celebrated of their religious establishments. According to an old monkish legend, it owes its origin to Regulus, a monk of Achaia, who, being warned of God in a dream or vision, that the Emperor Constantine intended to translate the relics of St Andrew the martyr, then deposited in Patræ, to Constantinople, removed a portion of them, with which he sailed westward, and after being long tossed about at sea, he was driven into a bay near the place where St Andrews now stands, - which then bore the name of Mucros (the Promontory of Swine), and subsequently of Kilrymont (the cell or church on the King's Moor), and there about the middle of the fourth century, he built the tower and church now known by his name. This account places the date of this edifice probably 400 years earlier than that of any building in Scotland, of which the age is satisfactorily ascertained. In all probability, the religious house at St Andrews was founded by Hungus, the Pictish king, who died in 833; for it is certain that, about the year 825, he founded a church at Kilrymont, which henceforth received the name of the Apostle Andrew, to whom it was dedicated.

There is an ancient legend recorded in the Register of St Andrews, respecting the foundation of the church of St Regulus, which is worthy of notice, rather as a curious example of the earliest tradition as to the national emblem of the cross of St Andrew, than on account of the authenticity of its settlements. Hungus, King of the Picts, it appears, had invaded Northumberland, and upon his return was overtaken by Athelstan, King of the West Saxons, at the head of a powerful army, "Having given order for battle against the next day," says the historian, "Hungus betook himself to prayer, spending most part of the night in that exercise. a little time before day, falling into a slumber, it seemed to him that the apostle St Andrew stood by him, and assured him of the victory; which vision being related to the army, did much encourage them. The history addeth, that in the joining of the battle, there appeared in the air a cross in the form of the letter X, which so terrified the enemies as presently they gave back, King Athelstan himself being killed. Hungus, to express his thankfulness for the victory, gave to the church of Regulus, now called St Andrews, divers rich gifts, as chalices, basons, the image of Christ in gold, and of the twelve apostles in silver. He gave, likewise a case of beaten gold for preserving the relics of St Andrew, and restored to the spirituality the tithe of all corn, cattle, and herbage within the realm, exempting them from answering before any temporal judge; farther, he did appoint the cross of St Andrew to be the badge and cognizance of the Picts,

¹ Pinkerton's Enquiry, vol. ii. p. 267; Wyntown, b. vi. chap. vii.

both in their wars and otherwise, which, so long as that kingdom stood, was observed, and is by the Scots as yet retained."¹

These gifts of the Pictish king were undoubtedly intended for the benefit of the Culdees; for the register of St Andrews states, that a tract of land called "the Barony of the Culdees, below the Boar's Raik," was given by King Hungus to St Rule. In the tenth century, such was the celebrity of the Culdee establishment at St Andrews, that Constantine III abdicated his throne, and took up his residence among them and died A.D. 943, abbot of this monastery. It is supposed by some antiquarians of high authority, that the interesting little church of St Regulus or Rule, to which allusion has already been made, owes its origin to the Culdees, and was used by them as a place of worship. Others, however, are of opinion that it was erected by Bishop Robert, the founder of the Priory of Canons Regular of St Andrews, about A.D. 1144.

The ecclesiastical foundation at Brechin belongs to the era of the king of the Scottish race, and is believed to have been erected by Kenneth, the son of Malcolm, who reigned from 967 to 991. The ancient Pictish chronicle sums up the brief record of his reign in these words: "This is he who gave the great city of Brechin to the Lord." Connected with this establishment is one of those curious edifices called round towers, so plentiful throughout Ireland, but of which there are only two examples in Scotland, at Abernethy and at Brechin. The widest theories of antiquarian speculation have, from the days of Giraldus Cambrensis to those of O'Brien, been framed to account for the origin and purpose of these singular buildings. They have been regarded as intended for the performance, respectively, of the religious rites of the followers of Budha, and of the Druids, and of the early worshippers of fire and of the sun. They have been identified with minarets for calling the people to prayer; they have been regarded as the representatives of the material object of Phallic worship; they are supposed by some to have been penitentiary prisons; by others, monumental tombs; while others, again, affirm them to have been the observatories of ancient astrometry. Some writers have maintained that they were erected by the Phœnicians, others by the Danes. At length the conclusion which Mr Petrie has come to in his instructive Prize Essay, published by the Royal Academy of Dublin, seem to be generally acquiesced in. 1. That the towers are of Christian and ecclesiastical origin, and were erected at various periods, between the fifth and thirteenth centuries. 2. That they were designed to answer at least a two-fold use, namely, to serve as belfries and as keeps or places of strength, in which the sacred utensils, books, relics, and other valuables were deposited, and into which the ecclesiastics to whom they belonged could retire for security in cases of sudden predatory attack. 3. That they were probably also used, when occasion required, as beacons or watch-towers.² The round tower of Brechin is a slender turret of freestone, eighty-five feet in height to the cornice, and fifteen feet more to the pinnacle of the roof or spire, of later date, which has been added when the cathedral church was re-erected in the thirteenth century. The sides of the doorway are adorned with sculptures of a singular and very antique style of carving. The tower has a decided inclination in one direction, and in storms of wind is seen visibly to sway from side to side.

¹ Spottiswood's History of the Church of Scotland, p. 28; Pinkerton's Enquiry, vol. i. p. 457.

² Petrie's Round Towers; O'Brien's Round Towers of Ireland; Moore's Hist. of Ireland, vol. i. p. 301; Billing's and Burn's Baronial and Eccles. Antiq. of Scotland, part xx.

The Culdees had establishments also at Mortlach, Dunblane, Scone, Culross, Kirkcaldy, Mailros, or Melrose, and in Oronsay, and Colonsay, and various other places; but these and all the other ancient Culdee houses, were merged by David I, into the monastic establishments which he founded. Columba, as we have seen taught his disciples to appeal to the Holy Scriptures as the source of divine truth, and from a very early period they abjured the errors and strenuously resisted the encroachments of the Church of Rome. It has already been shown that the Culdees denounced, the Romish doctrine respecting the marriage of the priests, and there is reason to believe that their practical opposition to celibacy was one great cause of the suppression. They obstinately refused to conform to the mode in which the Church of Rome observed Easter, and the rite of the clerical tonsure.¹ It is believed, on the authority of the celebrated Aleuin, who was nearly contemporary with Bede, in the eighth century, that the Scottish clergy rejected auricular confession and priestly absolutions.² "They rejected auricular confession as well as authoritative absolution," says Toland, "and confessed to God alone, as believing God alone could forgive sins." And the famous St Bernard denounces the Irish Culdees for this among other reasons, that "they do not go to confession; no one can be found who applies for the prescription of penance, nor any one who will prescribe it;"³ and he elsewhere states that "Malachy, Bishop of Armagh, anew introduced the most salutary use of confession and the sacrament of confirmation." It has been supposed, from the language of Bede, that the Culdees did not administer the sacrament of baptism according to the practice observed in the Romish Church, which is confirmed by the complaint made by Lanfrane, Archbishop of Canterbury, against the Irish Culdees, that "they baptized infants by immersion, without the consecrated chrism." That they were also opposed to the doctrine of the real presence, has been inferred from the commentary which Sedulius, a bishop of Scottish extraction, who lived in the early part of the eighth century, has given on 1 Cor. xi. 24: "Do this in remembrance of me."

¹ As this matter has been very often misunderstood it may be well to quote the following correct explanation: -

"The difference between the Roman and Eastern Church concerning Easter, which began about the year 200, lay in this: - The churches of Asia observed this feast on the fourteenth moon, upon whatsoever day of the week it fell out, being the day, if it chanced not to fall on Sunday; but did not, as the Eastern churches had from perpetual practice and tradition ever done, celebrate Easter on a week-day. Thus the difference between the Roman and Eastern church only consisted in six days at most; and the only question was, whether Easter was to be celebrated on the week-day on which it fell, or on the Sunday following.

"Very different was the dispute between the Roman Church, and those of Britain and Ireland, concerning Easter. It began in the sixth century upon this ground: - in 532, Dionysius Exiguus, a Roman priest, introduced a great variation into the mode of computing Easter, of which the technical terms would neither instruct nor entertain the reader. Suffice it to say, that the rule, adopted by the Roman Church, threw the celebration of Easter a whole month farther back than before. But Britain and Ireland were as obstinate from their old Easter as they were lately for the old style; and thus kept Easter a whole month before the Roman Church. Cuminius, who lived at the time, specially mentions this defence of a month; and the dispute between the Roman and the British and Irish churches was not known till Augustin the monk was sent to convert the Saxons in 597." - Pinkerton's Enquiry, vol. ii. p. 265.

With regard to the tonsure, the Romish priests wore the hair round the temples, in imitation of a crown of thorns, while the Scottish clergy, according to the custom of the Eastern Church shaved it from their foreheads into the form of a crescent.

² Epistle to the very learned Men and Fathers in the Province of the Scots; Sibbald's Fife, p. 169.

³ Vit. Malach. chap. vi. p. 357, ap. Messingham; Jamieson's Culdees, p. 218.

He has left his memorial to us in the same manner as any one who was about to go to a great distance, should leave some pledge to him whom he love, that as often as he saw it he might be able to recollect the benefits and the love of his friend.¹

The Culdees, it would appear, also withstood the worship of angels and saints. "They paid no respect to holy relics or to the mass; and they condemned the Romish practice of appointing masses for the dead, and offering up prayers to them." Toland observes of the Irish Culdees, that "in their public worship they made an honourable mention of holy persons deceased, offering a sacrifice of thanksgiving for their exemplary life and death, but not by way of propitiation for sins." For he says, "They neither prayed to dead men nor for them. And though naming particular men on such occasions gave a handle for creating them afterwards into tutelary saints, yet, at that time, the Irish were as far from addressing themselves to saints as to angels. For they were persuaded (to use the words of Claudius, one of their most celebrated divines) that 'while we are in the present world, we may help one another, either by our prayers or by our counsels; but when we come before the tribunal of Christ, neither Job, nor Daniel, nor Noah, can intercede for any one, but every one must bear his own burden;' which is nonsense, and nowhere authorized in Scripture - I mean the service for the dead - the Irish never practised till they were obliged to do it by the Council of Cashel, convoked by order of Henry the Second, in the year 1172."²

They were equally opposed to the doctrine of works of supererogation. "They were so far," says the same author, "from pretending to do more good than they were obliged to do, much less to superabound in merit for the benefit of others (but such others as should purchase these superfluities of grace from their executors the priests), that they readily denied all merit of their own, and solely hoped for salvation from the mercy of God, through faith in Jesus Christ, whose faith, as a living root, was to produce the fruit of good works, without which it were barren or dead, and consequently useless; for as Claudius observes, from some other sage, 'The faithful man does not live by righteousness, but the righteous man by faith.' This excellent sentence, culled out of numberless testimonies to the same purpose in the oldest writers, comprehends at once and decides the whole controversy."³

Since such doctrines as these were held by the Culdees, it is not to be wondered at that they were the objects of dislike and hostility to the supporters of the Papal pretensions, who denounce their exclusive devotedness to the authority of Scripture, their rejection of the ceremonies, doctrine, and traditions, enjoined in "the statutes of the holy fathers," the rudeness of their forms of worship, and the unauthorized character of their ecclesiastical government. In the acts of the second Council of Chalons, A.D. 813, the Scottish, clergy are denounced in the following terms: - "There are in certain places Scots who call themselves bishops, and, contemning many, without the licence of their lords or superior, ordain presbyters and deacons; the ordination of whom, because for the most part it falls into the Simonian heresy, and is subject to many errors, we all with one consent decree that it ought to be invalidated by all possible means." And the fifth canon of the Council of Ceal-hythe, A.D. 816, decrees, that no Scottish priest shall be allowed to perform any duty of his function in England, - ungratefully overlooking the important fact, that a great part of the north of England was converted by missionaries sent from Iona.

¹ Tolland's Nazar, Lett. ii. p. 28. ² Ibid. p. 26. ³ Tolland's Nazar. pp. 25, 26.

"The chief reasons," says Dr Henry, "assigned by that Council for refusing to keep communion with these Scotch Culdees were - that they had no metropolitan amongst them, paid little regard to other orders, and that the Council did not know by whom they were ordained, i.e., whether they were ordained by bishops or not. The rectors or bishops of the several cells of the Culdees were both chosen and ordained, or consecrated by the members of these societies, which was probably the very thing with which the Council of Ceal-hythe was dissatisfied."¹ It is not without sufficient grounds, therefore, that the following testimony has been given to the noble resistance made by the Culdees to the corruption of Rome: -

"About the end of the seventh age, men from Scotland given to ambition and avarice, went frequently to Rome for preferment in the church; and seeing it lay much that way then, they did their best to advance the design of the Romish party, wherein all the skill of worldly men was employed, both in Rome and among the sects of that party. Many men went to and fro, between Rome and Scotland, to bring the Scots to a full obedience unto Rome, and conformity. By name there was one Boniface sent from Rome to Scotland, a main agent for Rome in these affairs; but he was opposed openly by several of the Scots Culdees, or divine, namely, by Clemens and Samson, who told him freely, 'That he, and those of his party, studied to bring men to the subjection of the Pope, and slavery of Rome, withdrawing them from obedience to Christ;' and so in plain terms, they reproached to him and to his assistants, 'That they were corrupters of Christ's doctrine, establishing a sovereignty in the Bishop of Rome, as the only successor of the apostles, excluding other bishops; that they used and commanded clerical tonsure; that they forbad priests; marriage, extolling celibat; that they caused prayers to be made for the dead, and erected images in the churches;' to be short, 'that they had introduced in the church many tenets, rites, and ceremonies unknown to the ancient and pure times, yea, contrary to them.' For the which and the like, the said Clemens, and those that were constant to the truth with him, were excommunicated at Rome as heretics, as you have in the third volume of the Concel's, although the true reason of their excommunication be not there set down."²

Throughout the whole of Europe, at this period, learning was at a low ebb; but, all circumstances considered, the literature of the Culdees will bear a comparison with that of the clergy in any other part of Christendom. Their Irish brethren were held in the highest estimation for their scholarship; and, in deed, Ireland was at this time regarded as the chief seat of learning in Europe. Bede informs us that it was customary for the English of all ranks to retire for study and devotion to Ireland, where they were all hospitably received, and supplied gratuitously with food, with books, and with instruction.³ His contemporary, Aldhelm, describes Ireland as "rich and blooming in scholars, and adorned, like the poles of the world, with innumerable bright stars," and speaks of the "troops of scholars daily transported thither." We know, from other sources, that at this time, and down to a considerably later period, the most distinguished scholars in Europe were either Irishmen, or had received their education in Irish schools. "That the Hibernians," says the learned Mosheim, "who were called Scots, in this (the eighth) century, were lovers of learning, and distinguished themselves in these times of ignorance by the culture of the sciences beyond all the other European nations, travelling through the most distant lands, both with a view to improve and to communicate their knowledge, is a fact with which I

¹ History of Britain, vol. iii. p. 254. ² Pref. to Knox's Hist. ³ Bede, Hist. lib. iii. chap. xxviii.

have been long acquainted; as we see them in the most authentic records of antiquity, discharging, with the highest reputation and applause, the function of doctor in France, German, and Italy, both during this and the following century." Now the monastery of Iona was an Irish foundation, and man of the Scottish Culdees, in subsequent times, were either natives of Ireland, or were educated there, and must consequently, have been imbued with the learning for which the Culdee establishments of tht country were so famous. So early as the fourth century, the celebrated heresiarch Pelagius, a Scottish monk, enjoyed the highest reputation for his intellectual ability and accomplishments; and some controversial writings attributed to his pen still exist. His disciple, Celestius, whose reputation was nearly as great as his master's appears to have been his fellow countryman; for Jerome, the great opponent of the Pelagian heresy, in one of his scurrilous invectives, calls him a blockhead, swollen with Scotch pottage.¹

St Patrick, the Apostle of Ireland, and the real founder of the Culdee Church, who flourished in the fifth century, was a native of North Britain. He was a great patron of learning, and his chief religious foundation, which was at Armagh, soon became so famous as a school of theology, that at one time it was said to have communicated instruction to seven thousand students. The monastery of Armagh long possessed the primacy of the Culdee Church, both of Scotland and Ireland, and many of the Scottish Culdees received their education in that seminary. The Confession of St Patrick was written in Latin; but the author apologizes for the rudeness of his Latinity, owing to his long habit of speaking Irish. To this period also belongs Gildas, our earliest historian, the author of two declamatory effusions in Latin, the one entitled a "History of the Britons," the other an "Epistle to the Tyrants of Britain." Historians differ both as to the degree of credibility due to this author, and as to his country and parentage; but he appears to have been the son of Caw, Prince of Strathclyd, and to have been born about the end of the fifth or the beginning of the sixth century. He was the brother of Aneurin, the famous bard. The historian Nennius, or Ninian, one of the monks of Bangor, was, in all probability a fellow-countryman of Gildas. Contemporary with Nennius was the Irish Culdee, St Columbanus, who died in 615. "The writings of this eminent man," observes Mr Moor, "display an extensive and various acquaintance, not merely with ecclesiastical, but with classical literature. From a passage in his letter to Boniface, it appears that he was acquainted both with the Greek and Hebrew languages; and when it is recollected that he did not leave Ireland till he was nearly fifty years of age, and that his life afterwards was one of constant activity and adventure, the conclusion is obvious, tht all his knowledge of elegant literature must have been acquired in the schools of his own country. Such a result, from a purely Irish education in the middle of the ninth century, is, it must be owned, not a little remarkable."² Another learned Culdee of this age was St Columba, the author of an epistle, still extant, in defence of the Roman mode of computing Easter, addressed to Segienus, Abbot of Iona, in which he shows a very extensive acquaintance both with the subject of chronology and with the works of the fathers, Greek as well as Latin. "The various learning, indeed," says Mr Moore, "which this curious tract displays, implies such a facility and range of access to books, as proves the libraries of the Irish students at the period to have been, for the times in which they lived, extraordinarily well furnished." Among the Culdee scholars of this age,

¹ "Scotorum pultibus prægravatus."

² Hist. of Ireland, vol. i. p. 267; Pict. His. of England vol. i. p. 290 Vol. I

mention must also be made of Cuminius, the successor of Columba as Abbot of Iona, in 657, and of Adomnan, who succeeded Cuminius in the same office, 679. Both of these learned men wrote a Latin Life of their illustrious predecessor. The work of Adomnan, in particular, gives a most interesting picture of the early condition of the country, and of the arduous labours of these primitive missionaries of the Cross.

Aleuin, the chief ornament of the imperial court of Charlemagne, and the president of the University of Paris, was by birth a Scot.¹ So also was Clement, the undaunted apponent of papal errors, who was at the same time set over a public school in Italy; - Albino, the author of a treatise, published in the name of Charlemagne, against the proceedings of the Council of Nice, which had decided in favour of image-worship, and Dungal, who presided over the institution at Pavia, and was selected by the Emperor Lothaire I, to superintend the whole system of the Italian universities, and who has left various works, "which bear honourable testimony, both to his scientific and his literary acquirements." Among the learned Scotch ecclesiastics of this age, mention must also be made of Sedulius, the author of a celebrated commentary on the Gospel of Matthew and on the epistles of Paul, and of a treatise, entitled "The Concordance of Spain and Hibernia," who subscribed himself at a council of Pope Gregory II, "a British bishop of Scottish descent." His countryman, Virgilius, the Bishop of Sultzburgh, a skilful philosopher and mathematician, as well as a good divine, is the author of a treatise in which he refuted the then received opinion, that the earth is a plain surrounded by the heavens at its verge, and proved tht it is of a spherical form, and, consequently, that every nation had their antipodes. For broaching this opinion, he was persecuted as a heretic by his British contemporary Boniface, and nearly lost his life. Rabanus Maurus, another Scotchman, who finished his education under Alcuin, was an accomplished scholar, and wrote several commentaries on portions of the Sacred Scriptures, a dissertation on etymology, a treatise upon the signification and properties of words, one on the respective duties of parents and children, and various other works which attained to high celebrity, both for scholarship and genius.

But by far the most illustrious of these learned Scots was Joannes Scotus, or Erigenia, who was undoubtedly of Scottish origin, though it has been disputed whether the place of his birth was in Scotland or Ireland. This accomplished scholar, who was probably the most learned man in Europe during the ninth century, is the author of a considerable number of treatise on metaphysics and theology, and the translator from the Greek of certain mystical works on the Divine Names and Celestial Hierarchy, ascribed to Dionysius, the Areopagite, and also it is alleged, of a treatise of Aristotle, on the Right Government of Princes,.

The works of Scotus furnish conclusive evidence that the Greek language was at that time taught in the Culdee schools. His principal work, "On the Division of Nature," is characterized by Mr Turner as "distinguished for its Aristotelian acuteness and extensive information." In one place it is observed, "he takes occasion to give concise and able definitions of the seven liberal arts, and to express his opinion on the composition of things. In other part, he inserts a very elaborate discussion on arithmetic, which he says he had learned from his infancy. He also details a curious conversation on the elements of things, on the motions of the heavenly bodies, and

¹ So great was the resort of learned men from Scotland to the court of Charlemagne at theis period, that Hericus in the dedication of his Life of Cæsarius to that monarch, says, "Why do I speak of Scotland? that whole nation almost despising the dangers of the sea, resort to our country with a numerous train of philosophers, of whom the most famous abdicating their native soil, account themselves happy under your favour, as the servants of the wise Solomon."

other topics of astronomy and physiology. Among these, he even gives the means of calculating the diameters of the lunar and solar circles. Besides the fathers Austin, the two Gregories, Chrysostom, Basil, Epiphanius, Origen, Jerome, and Ambrosius, of whose works, with the Platonising Dionysius and Maximus, he gives large extracts, he also quotes Virgil, Cicero, Aristotle, Pliny, Plato, and Boethius; he details the opinions of Eratosthenes and of Pythagoras on some astronomical topics; he also cites Martianus Capella. His knowledge of Greek appears almost in every page."¹ The subtle speculations of Scotus exercised a very remarkable influence on the philosophy, both of his own age and of succeeding times, and the introduction of the later Platonism of the Alexandrian school into the theology and metaphysics of Europe, has been ascribed to the influence of his writings. The learned Mosheim states that the Scots were also the first teachers of the scholastic theology in Europe, and that so early as the eighth century they illustrated the doctrines of religion by the principles of philosophy.

Among the branches of literary and scientific knowledge taught at this time in the school of the Culdees, were arithmetic, geometry, under which geography was comprehended, astronomy, music grammar, logic, and rhetoric, to which must be added divinity, or the study of the Holy Scriptures, and controversial theology. In the eighth century the seven liberal arts were divided into two great classes; the first, or more elementary of which, comprehending grammar, rhetoric, and logic, was called the Trivium; the second, comprehending music, arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy, the Quadrivium. It is impossible to say when this system originated; but John of Salisbury speaks of it as an ancient one in his day. "The Trivium and Quadrivium," he says, "were so much admired by our ancestors in former ages, that they imagined they comprehended all wisdom and learning, and were sufficient for the solution of all questions and the removing of all difficulties; for whoever understood the Trivium could explain all manner of books without a teacher; but he who was further advanced, and was master also of the Quadrivium, could answer any question and unfold all the secrets of nature."² Latin was the language of the learned at this period; not only the scholastic divines and philosophers, but also all writers on geometry, astronomy, and other branches of science, composed their works in this tongue. But the great body of the people, and even the kings and chiefs, still employed the Celtic speech of their ancestors.³ The oldest existing compositions in the Celtic language are some fragments of metrical productions which have been preserved in the old annals, and are supposed to be of the date of the fifth century. The earliest Irish or Celtic prose writings of this period are the annals of Tigernach and of the four masters of Ulster, which contain a large amount of valuable information respecting the early history both of Ireland and of Scotland. Tigernach, the oldest of these writers, lived in the latter part of the eleventh century, but both his annals, and those of the other chroniclers, are believed to have been compiled from authentic records of much greater antiquity. The Albanich Duan, a metrical composition in the Celtic tongue, written in the early part of the reign of Malcolm Canmore, whatever may be its merits as a poem, has supplied some interesting historical notices.

¹ Turner's Anglo-Sax. vol. iii. p. 393; Pict. Hist. vol. i. p. 292. ² Jean Salis. Metalog. lib. i. chap. xii.

³ "Totaque cum Scotia prisco sermone et institutis uteretur." - Buchanan's Hist. p. 167. see Caledonia, book iii chap. xi.

What learning existed, however, was for the most part confined to the religious and monastic orders. Few, if any, even of the higher classes, appear to have been acquainted with the Latin language, which was then the key to all other erudition. Malcolm Canmore himself, as we have seen, was unable to read. We may easily conceive, then, what must have been the intellectual condition of the great body of his subjects.

The abrogation of the privileges and peculiar observances of the Culdees began with Margaret, the queen of Malcolm Canmore. This pious princess, the grand-niece of Edward the Confessor, not contented with redressing the abuses of the Scottish church, strove to assimilate it to the ecclesiastical system of her Saxon countrymen, which was closely formed after the model of Rome. She appears to have held frequent conferences with the clergy for the purpose of persuading them to lay aside what she termed their novelties, and to embrace the Catholic faith. The proper period for the celebration of Lent was the subject of a solemn conference, held in 1074. When the council met, it was found that the Scottish clergy could only speak Gaelic. Margaret could only speak Saxon; but the king, who understood the English language as well as his own, acted as interpreter between the fair and royal reformer and the Scottish ecclesiastics. As might have been expected, the queen's arguments prevailed. Her biographer states, that "the clergy, overcome by the arguments of reason and truth, abandoned their erroneous usage, and observed Lent according to the Catholic institution." According to Lord Hailes, "conscious of their own ignorance, they dutifully acquiesced in the dictates of a learned queen, as delivered by the royal interpreter."¹ A similar course was followed by the sons of Queen Margaret, Edgar, Alexander, and David, who all concurred in carrying out the reorganization of the Scottish Church on the model of the Church of England. They founded bishoprics, endowed monasteries, and filled them with English monks; merged the primitive societies of the Culdees into the new orders of the canons regular, and superseded their missionary bishop by a complete parochial system. The suppression of the Culdees was completed by David I, who founded or restored most of the Scottish sees and of the principal monasteries. This revolution in the Scottish ecclesiastical system was effected, first, by the establishment of parochial clergy, and consequently superseding the missionary system, which had hitherto supplied the spiritual wants of the people; secondly, by the introduction of the monastic orders of the Roman Catholic Church into the country; and, thirdly, the appointing a bishop over the parochial clergy, and declaring the territory over which the Culdee monastery had exercised their jurisdiction to be his dioceses in the Roman Catholic sense of the word.³

Ecclesiastical districts were not unknown, however, previous to this period, but they were inconveniently large, and were established by private persons rather than by public authority. "That parishes existed during the reign of Malcolm Canmore," says Chalmers, "is certain from unquestionable records. It seems equally certain, that when churches were erected, parishes laid out, and parochial duties stately performed, ecclesiastical dues must have been incidentally paid. In the charters of Alexander the First, and of David, tithes are mentioned as if they were familiarly known and had been long established. It is clear that tithes were paid to the clergy during the reign of Malcolm Canmore, and probable that such ecclesiastical dues were discipline, and rights of the churches."

¹ Annals, vol. i. p. 39 and note. ² Skene's Highlanders, vol. i. p. 203.

³ Aldred, Gen. Reg. Angl. p. 367; Haile's Annals vol. i. p. 53.

We conclude this sketch with the following list of the Scottish bishoprics, according to the date of their foundation, taken from Keith's Catalogue. In some of its dates, paid to the clergy as early as the commencement of the tenth century (910), when Constantine the king, and Kellach the bishop, solemnly vowed to observe the faith, however, it must be regarded rather as an approximation to the truth, as far as it can be ascertained from authentic sources, than as fixing the exact years of the erection. It is to be observed, also, that the See of Galloway, or Whithern, founded by St Ninian, was destroyed about the commencement of the ninth century; and this and some of the other early sees are believed to have been destroyed by David I.

1.	See of the Isles	447
2.	See of Galloway	450
3.	See of Glasgow	560
4.	See of Dunkeld	729
5.	See of St Andrews	892
6.	Mortlach, afterwards Aberdeen	1010
7.	See of Ross.	1128
8.	See of Brechin	1150
9.	See of Caithness	1150
10.	See of Dunblane	1160
12.	See of Moray	1162
13.	See of Argyle	1200

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Extracted from

**CLANS, SEPTS, AND REGIMENTS**

**OF**

**THE SCOTTISH HIGHLANDS**

by

Frank Adam and Sir Innes of Learley, p. 14

*Ancient Alba and the rise of the Highland Clan System.*

Under Malcolm II, whose reign lasted thirty years, the kingdom made material progress. The Danes, who had made a raid on the coast of Moray, were so severely defeated that they abandoned all further attempts to effect a settlement in Scotland. In 1018 Malcolm, along with his tributary, Eugenius the Bald, King of Strathclyde, invaded Northumbria, and inflicted a crushing defeat on Eadulf Cudel, the Earl of that province, at Carham on the Tweed. The result was the cession to the Scottish king of the rich district of Lodoneia, of Lothian. This included not only the territory comprised by the three Lothians, but Berwickshire and lower Teviotdale, as high as Melrose on the Tweed. It was about this time, too, that the Caledonian kingdom began to be named *Scotia* by chroniclers. By the Gaelic inhabitants, however, their land was, as it still is, designated *Alba*.

Eugenius, King of the Strathclyde Britons, died in the year the Battle of Carham was fought. With him expired the direct MacAlpin line of the kings of Strathclyde. Duncan, grandson and eventual successor to King Malcolm of Scotland, was selected, evidently by nomination of the *Ard-righ*, in order to effect the union of the kingdom, to fill the vacant British throne.

On the death in 1034 of Malcolm II, without male issue, he was succeeded, under the law, by his grandson, Duncan, son of his daughter the Princess Bethoc, or Beatrice, and her husband Crinan, Hereditary Abbot of Dunkeld and Dull, who as stated above was already King of the Britons of Strathclyde. Duncan was a young man and had the reputation of being a good king, and his reign lasted until 1040, when after a defeat at the hands of the Norsemen, he was slain near Elgin by Macbeth, Mormaer of Moray.

Macbeth thereupon ascended the Scottish throne in right of his wife *Gruoch nighean Bode*, who under the older alternating order of succession would have, apparently, had a claim to the throne, and tradition probably does not err in attributing to her influence Macbeth's action in disposing of the young Duncan who was apparently not a very effective military leader. Macbeth appears to have made an excellent sovereign, but, from the circumstances of his succession, naturally found himself in opposition to the Church, and consequently was given a bad reputation. He was eventually, in 1057, defeated and slain at Lumphanan, in Mar, by Malcolm, son of Duncan I. The victorious prince was crowned at Scone as Malcolm III. Malcolm is, however, better known to history as Malcolm *Ceann-mór* (or big-head), so named owing to the peculiar shape of his head.

The reign of Malcolm Ceann-mór was remarkable for a variety of circumstances, which tended towards the drifting of the monarch from his Gaelic to his Lowland subjects, but which contributed indirectly to the development of the Highland land system.

Malcolm contributed to the organisation and development of Scotland as a united and organised kingdom, and moreover, to the high degree of tribal development in Scotland, which we recognise in the clan system. About 1066 Malcolm selected for his settled capital, Dunfermline, the picturesque little city in the old Pictish province of Fife, and so much did the Royal house become attached to the cathedral city founded there in his reign that Dunfermline Abbey became the place of sepulture of many Scottish monarchs in place of Scone, which however, with its historic moot hill, still remained the official centre and constitutional seat of the Scottish sovereigns and the spot where their coronations took place. About the very time at which Malcolm settled at Dunfermline occurred the Norman Conquest of England, as a result of which a number of noble Saxon families fled to Scotland, where they were well received by the king, who assigned them grants of land. What actually happened was, as Professor Rait explains,<sup>1</sup> that the kings "did not interfere with the ownership of land as it existed before these grants; the result of his intervention was ultimately to confirm it. What the king gave his friends consisted rather of rights over land than of land itself." The *dominium utile*, as it is called, remained with the Celtic chieftains and their dependents, and by the new tenure they got a legal security of ownership; new lords only got their castle, the demesne, and right of a following, whilst they also got the *dominium directum*, namely, presiding in the new Baron Court as a local Parliament. Among the refugees were Edgar the Atheling, the rightful heir to the English Saxon throne, who was accompanied by his mother and sister Margaret. While later the Norman barons merely consolidated existing Celtic land usages, Margaret, on the other hand, made social innovations. The Princess Margaret was espoused by King Malcolm in 1070, and as she obtained a great influence over the husband, the queen was instrumental in introducing many Saxon innovations at the Scottish Court. Among these was the supersession of Gaelic as the court language by Saxon. Queen Margaret used all her influence to replace the rites of the Celtic Church by those of Rome. She had frequent discussions on the subject with the Scottish clergy whose language was Gaelic. On those occasions, we are told, King Malcolm, who spoke both the Gaelic and Saxon languages, acted as interpreter.

These events we have narrated led to the introduction into Scotland of many new names. Indeed, the introduction of surnames into Scotland is attributed to this reign. The *Chronicles of Scotland* relate that "He (Malcolm) was a religious and valiant king; he rewarded his nobles with great lands and offices, and commanded that the lands and offices should be called after their names." It is not to be supposed that he did this specifically, but he did bring about a state of progress wherein the chiefs of tribes came to be named from, or gave names to, their *duthus*, and began to use such names.

Malcolm Ceann-mór, after a prosperous reign, was killed at the siege of Alnwick, in Northumberland, in 1093. The king's family were then all under age, and his brother Donald (known as "Donald Bane") succeeded to the Scottish throne, as Donald III. During the short reign of this sovereign he acquired a considerable measure of popularity among his Gaelic subjects by the expulsion from Scotland of many of the

<sup>1</sup> *The Making of Scotland*, p. 27.

Saxon immigrants, who had been settled in the kingdom by his brother and predecessor. Donald Bane thus reigned along with Eadmund, eldest surviving son of Malcolm and Margaret. This is usually represented as a usurpation, or assertion by Donald of a supposed earlier system of collateral succession. It is overlooked that under one of the old Scoto-Celtic laws which long survived, and to which attention is drawn by Skene<sup>1</sup> and Fordun, if the heir either male or female, was under fourteen, the nearest agnate (heir-male), became chief or king for life, but when the heir attained majority he also reigned jointly with his - if we may so describe it - "trustee for life," and a situation arose in which there was a "joint reign." In primitive days it was no doubt difficult for the heir, on coming of age, completely to disposes a man who had during the minority taken all the effect give threads of power into his own hands, and a joint reign was perhaps in these days the expedient least likely to lead to civil war or domestic tragedy. However, in 1097, this joint form of monarchy was brought to an end through intervention of Edgar Atheling (brother-in-law of Malcolm Ceann-mór), who succeeded in dethroning both Donald Bane and Eadmund and displaced Eadgar, next brother of Eadmund, on the throne. His reign was an unfortunate one, for during it the Norwegian king, Magnus, surnamed Barefoot, succeeded in obtaining possession of the Western Isles and Kintyre.

Eadgar died in 1107 and was succeeded by his next brother, who became king under the style of Alexander I. King Alexander probably ruled over a still smaller territory than his brother and predecessor, as what remained of the Scottish territory was divided between himself and his younger brother David. Alexander ruled over the territory north of the Forth and Clyde as well as the debatable land, including Edinburgh, with the title of king. His brother, on the other hand, became ruler of the rest of Lothian and Cumbria with the title of Prince of Cumbria. Through his wife, Matilda, daughter of Waltheof, Earl of Northumberland, David became Earl of Northampton and Lord of Huntingdon, in England. These English honours were retained by the Scottish Royal Family until the War of Independence.

On the death of Alexander I, in 1124, he was succeeded by David Prince of Cumbria, his brother, and the Scottish territories became once more united. During Alexander's reign a serious rebellion broke out in the ancient province of Moray. This was subdued by the king in 1116, when a large tract of territory was confiscated.

A further influx of foreigners into Scotland took place in the reign of King David, this time of Normans as well as of Saxons, made by the king to his new subjects Saxons and Normans, were in what are now known as the Lowlands of Scotland, and were feudal ones, namely a written grant by knight-service, in which the older Celtic system of land holding was gradually placed on record and incorporated in the great new and businesslike system of feudal tenure, under which, in Scotland, as in early medieval France, the family, as an organised unit, was given permanent recognition in law, and in connection with the fief *mesnie*, or in Gaelic, *duthus*. The Normans were by far the greatest business-men of the Middle Ages; they were quick to perceive the immense social value and practical advantage of the organised family which we recognise pre-eminently in the clan system, and the machinery which they had adopted in France, although somewhat unpopular in England where it had to be imposed after the Conquest and the national defeat of Hastings, nevertheless instantly appealed to the Scottish king and his Celtic nobles as a highly popular institution for effective co-ordination and perpetuation of the Celtic family system.

<sup>1</sup> *Highlanders*, p. 105.

At a later period some of these non-Celtic families (of whom the Frasers and the Gordons may be cited as notable examples) obtained a footing in the Highlands, where they soon became *Hiberniori quam ipsi Hiberni*, more Highland than the Highlanders. Indeed, the latter of the above-named families (the Gordons) attained such power in the Highlands that their chiefs came to be known as "the Cocks of the North."

Moray, however, was not long at rest; for in 1130, during the absence of King David in England, Angus Earl of Moray, along with Malcolm his brother, sons of Heth, Earl of Moray, raised another rebellion. The revolt, however, was not only completely quelled by the king, but the Celtic Earldom of Moray was forfeited. It was not revived until after the Battle of Bannockburn, when the Earldom of Moray was conferred by King Robert the Bruce on his nephew, Sir Thomas Randolph.

In 1139, Stephen, King of England, ceded to David's son the whole Earldom of Northumberland, with the exception of the castles of Newcastle and Bamborough, and to David, Cumberland.

David's reign lasted till 1153. He was remarkable for the liberal donations made by him to the Church. Indeed, of such a munificent description were these benefactions, that they drew from King James VI, the regretful complaint that David was "an sair sanct for the crown."

David's eldest son, Henry I, having predeceased him, his successor was his grandson, Malcolm IV, who was only twelve years of age at the time of his accession. Young as the king was he soon showed an aptitude for government, though he had a short reign of twelve years only, as he died in 1165. He had to deal with several insurrections, one of the most serious being that of the "Maister Men," namely, several of the great earls who objected to the king's continental expedition to the siege of Toulouse, and it is likely an attempt was made to dethrone him, which would apparently have been successful had good generalship not resented the development of an anticipated rebellion in Moray, as well as others in Ross and Galloway. During this reign the latter - which had hitherto been ruled by its own princes - was brought into immediate subjection to the Scottish Crown. In Moray, which had proved the most recalcitrant of the Scottish provinces, apparently on account of the tradition of the Macbeth claim, King Malcolm instituted a mass-readjustment of population, many of the troublesome Morays being given lands in Ross-shire and in the south of Scotland, whilst the swampy tracts in the Laigh of Moray were feued by knight-service to men competent to drain the marshes and become loyal vassals of the king. The most striking feature of the reign is that all these improvements were effected by amicable arrangement, for in 1160 King Malcolm effected a treaty with Somerled, Lord of the Isles, who had been supporting the MacHeth party in Moray, and which presumably related to these arrangements. Nevertheless they quarrelled four years later in 1164, when their opposing armies having met at Renfrew, Somerled was either killed in battle or, as some say murdered in his tent. whilst Malcolm thus succeeded by firmness and diplomacy in materially consolidating his realm, he was nevertheless obliged in 1157 to cede the Scottish possessions in Northumberland and Cumberland to Henry II, of England.

The proceedings in Moray connected with the MacHeth rebellion also bear on the history of the Can Murray (whose centre was the Castle of Duffus) and the Clan Mackay, which claims descent from *MacHeth*. If so, their seat as *Ri Moreb* was presumably the Castle Hill of Elgin, whilst possibly their territory comprehended the "dominium" of Kilmalemnock, with the "thaneages therein" as one charter express it. If so, there was evidently rivalry between the race of MacHeth and the race of Freskin for the "representation" - indicated by the title "de Moravia." The Crown and

Somerled seem to have agreed that the MacHeth line be transferred to the remotest corner of Scotland - Strathnaver, the Crown thus securing the main fortress of Moray whereupon the House of Freskin took the style "de Moravia," as the principal house of the race left in Moray. Freskin, in this view, had an interest to concur in the expulsion of the line which claimed the "kinship" of Moray and the Castle Hill of Elgin.

Malcolm IV, was succeeded by his brother William I, surnamed the Lion, who occupied the throne until 1214, and is famous in history as the king who first adopted the lion rampant as his heraldic device. During the expedition in 1174 into England with the view of recovering the possessions ceded by his predecessors to Henry II, King William was taken prisoner by the English. He was released at the end of the year; not, however, until as a condition of his release, the Scottish king had agreed to give, as pledges for this, the castle of Roxburgh, Berwick, Jedburgh, Edinburgh and Stirling. During the reign this disgraceful treaty was, however, abrogated by Richard Cœur-de-Lion in 1189 in consideration for the payment by Scotland of 10,000 merks, equal to over £20,000 in silver weight. Of course the purchasing power was immensely greater. Whilst all claims on the Scottish monarchs for homage for Scotland were expressly abrogated, it was stipulated that homage by the Scottish to the English sovereigns should continue for the fiefs and titles held by the former in England.

In 1187 at an important battle - Mamgarvie - Donald MacWilliam, the great-grandson of Malcolm Canmore by Ingibjorg, his first wife, and thus Canmore's lineal heir, was slain, and the position of the line of William the Lion thus firmly established upon the throne. William's successor, Alexander II, did a good deal to consolidate the kingdom, and in 1230 finally crushed the claims of the House of MacWilliam to the throne of Scotland, Gillescop MacWilliam being slain, and his little daughter cruelly put to death at the cross of the burgh of Forfar to extinguish the line.

In 1234, during the reign of King Alexander II, son of William the Lion (1214-1249), occurred the death of Alan, last Prince of Galloway. This Prince left no male issue. King Alexander, therefore, despite the opposition of the inhabitants of the principality (who naturally held that, in any event the heir of line should, by the custom of the country, have succeeded), overcame all resistance and annexed the principality of Galloway to the kingdom of Scotland, dividing it into three feudal districts.

During the Royal campaign in Galloway material aid was rendered to the king by Farquhar Macintagart, second Earl of Ross. In recognition of the Earl's services he received a grant of land in Galloway, of which his successors retained possession for the best part of two centuries. This grant to one of the chiefs of the northern Highlands may be one of the reasons for finding in that province surnames, which in several cases are identical with those borne by families in the Highlands of Scotland. Alexander II, was sympathetic to the ideals of the Highland chiefs and paid several visits to the western coasts, on the last of which he died on the Isle of Kerrera near Oban, may be one of the reasons for finding in that province surnames, which in several cases are identical with those borne by families in the Highlands of Scotland.

Alexander III, son of Alexander II, who occupied the throne between the years 1249 and 1286, had the distinction of commanding the Scottish army at the decisive Battle of Largs in 1263, when the Norwegians, under Haco, their king, were completely defeated and finally driven from Scotland. It was not, however, until the reign of King James VI, on that monarch's marriage to Anne, Princess of Denmark, that the Orkney and the Shetland Isles were by treaty, added to the kingdom of Scotland.

King Alexander was killed in 1286 at Kinghorn, in Fife, owing to the fall of his horse over a cliff. His sole heir was his grand-daughter, Margaret, Princess of Norway. After a "reign" of four years the young heiress to the Scottish Crown died, however, on the voyage to Scotland, and the whole of Scotland was, as a consequence of this untimely death, suddenly plunged into confusion and woe. This period of trouble did not come to an end till, at the beginning of the following century, the kingdom emerged triumphantly from her troubles after the Battle of Bannockburn. The close of the thirteenth century, however, while inaugurating a disastrous period for Scotland, was also noteworthy in that it also heralded the commencement of the Highland clan system, and the War of Independence really had the effect of establishing Scotland as the model tribal kingdom which has become so famous in world history. Indeed, but for the accession of the heroic Bruce, and his accurate conception of the proper model for a free feudal realm in which liberty could really flourish under the wholesome clan-family organisation, Scotland would, under a continuance of the line of Alexander III, probably have sunk into an Anglian province crushed under centralised governance.<sup>1</sup>

The end of the Celtic-Atholl dynasty has been said to mark also the decline of the old Celtic Church, but notices of the Culdees are found at least down to 1332 - the year of Dupplin - but its formal influence had virtually ceased before the end of Alexander's reign. Had this not been so, it would almost certainly have also recovered its position under the Bruce. Its influence, however, continued, as we shall see, to modify Roman practice, and to receive Papal sympathy down to the Reformation; the enemies of the Culdees appear rather to have been fanatic minor proselytes and their sin-conscious patrons, than the princes of the Holy See and the Scottish Episcopate.

Queen Margaret was a narrow-minded and ill-tempered virago,<sup>2</sup> completely under the dominance of her confessor, Turgot, who had inspired her with an intense dislike of the Celtic Church. She exerted such influence upon her husband, so impressed her religious views upon her sons, that a campaign for "conversion" of the Celtic Church to the more recently evolved Roman doctrines was embarked upon. The Celtic Church defended itself vigorously, so its ultimate absorption was achieved not by persecution but by a gradual process of filling Culdee benefices, as they fell vacant, by priests qualified according to the later Roman tenets. The most active of the successors of Malcolm Ceann-mór in this course was King David, who partly from ecclesiastical influence and partly from a belief that the founding of abbeys would assist in developing the resources, and facilitating the government of the country, made immense grants to the now fashionable monastic orders which were spreading through Christendom, but which were moved by motives quite different (the saving of their own monkish souls) from the tribo-religious functions of the Celtic Abbacies - or indeed the episcopates of the Church of Rome. The latter existed to propagate religion internationally in a beautiful form, that same religion, consonantly with the local art and tradition of each Celto-tribal realm. The lesser clans which did not, like the Righ and Mormaers, have abbeys, also continued each to venerate the local *co-arb* (heir) of the primitive saint by whom the tribe had been led from paganism into the fold of Christianity.

The Celtic Church was thus essentially a clan-church,<sup>3</sup> though it was later merged in the Roman system. So incidentally with the development of this we find the

<sup>1</sup> Professor Rait, *The Making of Scotland*. p. 62.    <sup>2</sup> J.R.N. Macphail K.C.

<sup>3</sup> The "Culdees" (*Cèle Dè*, servants of God) do not seem to have been co-extensive with the whole Celtic Church, but one of the branches of its monastic element.



English archbishops endeavouring to assert their supremacy over the Scottish clergy. These English pretensions were strenuously and successfully resisted by the Scottish sovereigns; for, in 1188, Pope Clement III, in a Bull addressed to King William the Lion, recognised the independence of the Scottish Church, and declared "the Church of Scotland to be the daughter of Rome by special grace, and immediately subject to her." However, the Culdee star continued to pale before the rising sun of continental monasticism, and a century and a half later the name of Culdee disappears from the annals of Scotland.

The Celtic Church, like every other institution in Scotland, was tribal and hereditary. It was monachistic rather than episcopal, more analogous to the hereditary priesthood of early civilisations (cf. the Levites of the Old Testament), and the tendency was evidently for each provincial kingship or tribe to have its own saints and hereditary, but uncelibate monastic organisation. "The soul of Celtic monachism was Christianity, but its body was the tribe or family," as Dr. G. G. Coulton says,<sup>1</sup> continuing:

Celtic monasticism, then, was founded on the tribal or family principle as was the society around it. The monastery with its endowments were the possessions of a particular family, and as a natural consequence they became something still more unusual in monastic history - they became hereditary. Columba named his own cousin as his successor<sup>2</sup> and 120 years passed before there was any free election of an abbot of Iona. Out of the first eleven abbots nine were certainly of Columba's family. The common Celtic title for the successors of saints like Patrick or Columba<sup>3</sup> in their abbacies was *co-arb*, which literally means "heir," and throws the emphasis upon inheritance rather than upon choice or appointment.<sup>4</sup>

Six centuries later, when a few representatives of the Celtic Church survived under the name of Culdees, we find that the Abbot of Abernethy is also lord of the lordship of Abernethy, and that he not only grants tithes out of his property there, but asserts that property to be the inheritance of himself and his heirs.

This seems really an instance of the identity of chief and high priest, a doctrine refurbished at the Reformation in the Crown as Head of the Church; but in the Celtic form this, I think applied only to certain families, those of the hereditary abbots, who thus formed an hereditary tribal priesthood. The organisation of the Celtic Church thus differed fundamentally from that of the "regular" monastic orders of the Roman Church, and also in important aspects from the - later - regulations adopted by the Church of Rome.

<sup>1</sup> G. G. Coulton, *Scottish Abbeys and Social Life*, 1933, pp. 16-17.

<sup>2</sup> Here we have an instance of what I might call "ecclesiastical tanistry." It illustrates exactly what was the corresponding practice in the tribe itself; tanistic testate succession was the rule - "election," and later intestacy, was an expedient to cover an unusual emergency.

<sup>3</sup> I feel great doubt about the identity of perambulating saints, as described in G. A. F. Knight's *Archæological Light on the Early Christianising of Scotland*. Travelling conditions, and the span of life, would surely have made it impossible for them to impress their personality on so many districts, and looking to the long period involved and the tribal character of religion, I feel many are different, and strictly local "saints" - who may, of course, have been named after, and derived Christianity from, "the original saint" of the name.

<sup>4</sup> This would be absolutely true of the period subsequent to Malcolm McKenneth, but as elsewhere indicated I think in the earlier tribal period the concept of heir was primarily tanist - nominee - the member whom the chief had selected for his re-embodiment, and who thus got his *universitas*, or heirship. I, of course agree with Dr Coulton that the emphasis was on Inheritance.

In accordance with tribal principles the old Celtic priesthood was traditionally a married one - in that respect like the Greek Orthodox Church, but with a different significance - and this subsisted even in the Scoto-Roman Church where, of course, the custom of the priests perpetuating the old Celtic practice of a married clergy, was frowned on by the officials of the Roman Church - and later seized on as a handle for opprobrious propaganda by Calvinist reformers - who were as opposed to the Celtic as to the Roman Church.

The Celtic abbeys were thus the seats of lines of hereditary abbots whom the Roman chroniclers chose inaccurately to describe as "lay abbots," and it was this tribal priesthood of these abbacies which evolved, and for centuries developed, the beautiful series of carved monuments which are found all over the Highlands including Pictland. Each of the great tribal districts had some peculiar variety of the Cross or other ornaments indicating the high degree of local individuality which has ever continued throughout the old local divisions of Scotland in matter alike lay and ecclesiastical.

The beautiful Celtic Church was anathema to the imported monastics (then obsessed with asceticism) and St Bernard denounced the hereditary monasteries of Scotland and Ireland as "an abominable custom" but gives the interesting information that "men suffered no bishop to be appointed but from men of their own tribe and family, and this execrable succession was of no recent date, for some fifteen generations had now gone by in this wickedness. . . Before Celsus (Primate of Ireland) there had been eight generations (or primates) of married<sup>1</sup> men not in orders<sup>2</sup> yet imbued with letters."<sup>3</sup>

That these hereditary prelates, and their monks, were "imbued with letters" (which the Bernardine ascetics were not!) and exponents of fascinatingly beautiful art (which the early Bernardine foreswore), the magnificent Celtic missals and other "ancient books" of Celtic monasticism amply testify. Moreover, they were nobles - and proud of it. Indeed, it was a dispute with St Finbar regarding the coping of one of these volumes that led to the princely St Columba settling at Iona.

It is only necessary to examine what the Viking raids have left of the beautiful workmanship and carving to realise that this tribal priesthood had raised religion to a far far higher standard than contemporary continental clergy, and that the religious arts and culture which were being handed down by these clan abbots from father to son were an entrancing contrast to the "save-my-own-soul" rules of early continental monasticism before it blossomed into the "custom of Cluny," the great Burgundian abbey which, under the especial approbation of the Papacy, developed the tradition of "splendour in the worship of God," and which - like its daughter-house of Paisley in Scotland - was more in accord with the traditions of the Celtic Church.

Coulton points out that the medieval monks themselves achieved but little in art and scribbling, but both as regards building, and the scriptorium expects "the really vigorous days of the Celtic Church."<sup>4</sup> Such being the effects of hereditary ecclesiasticism - as with other hereditary effort<sup>5</sup> - it is interesting to find he observes, even in the mid-fifteenth century, that "St Columba's monastery of Iona had, naturally kept some of the colour of its original Christianity . . . (and) . . . a remarkable

<sup>1</sup> Married priests are still licensed by the Pope (Sunday Mail, 4th November 1951, p. 10.) So Celtic practice was not *fundamentally* incompatible.

<sup>2</sup> Presumably Celtic orders.

<sup>3</sup> *Scottish Abbeys and Social Life*, 1933, p.44.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 159,189.

<sup>5</sup> F.F. Brentano, *Old Regime in France*, pp. 61-71.

survival from those days of tribal monasticism,"<sup>1</sup> but extraordinarily inconsequent to describe it as "the bad old tribal tradition," this being the tradition of the only Church and period, in which he admits there was vigorous monastic activity in art and learning!

At Iona, St Margaret had endeavoured to introduce the non-Celtic monastical practices, and after the Norse desecrations, Reginald Mac Somerled, by 1203, installed Benedictine monks, regarding whom there was a dispute with the *co-arb* of St Columba, and the Celtic Church apparently retained an office of "Prior of Iona" and still influenced the whole charter of the settlement. Consequently, the position was that until the fifteenth century Iona was continuing the grand traditions of its Celtic past, and its abbots were of princely and noble rank, until the death of Abbot MacFingon. Then an ignoble appointee, Abbot Dominic, resolved to break with Celtic tradition and decided that in future no one of noble rank should be admitted, when, of course, the whole standard of culture and religious splendour would have declined<sup>2</sup>

The low-born monks introduced by the unworthy Dominic based their plot for destroying the ancient Celtic character of the monastery of Icolmkill on the ground that the then deceased Abbot Fingon, had, by a formal contract, openly made the usual and proper provision for the Lady Moire - in Celtic rule, his wife, and under Scoto-Roman terminology "honourably as concubine" - to whom, in Celtic law he was proving (as Dr Warrack expresses it of the Parson of Stobo<sup>3</sup> an "exemplary husband."

The terminology employed in the deed to comply with the ruling Canon Law principles of St Andrews, was none too flattering, but it was a compromise, and the fact is that the Popes did endeavour to find, and apply, a compromise with Celtic tradition, and granted successive appointments to the issue of these unions between "a priest and an unmarried woman" (for which there are many Scottish petitions); and this "ancient Celtic priestly marriage" - not "monastic abuse," as Coulton calls it - was duly "supported by the head of the Church"<sup>4</sup> the low-born monks snubbed, and Lachlan, *duine-uasail* of Clan Maclean, a meet successor the noble Columban monks, duly admitted; whilst towards the end of the century, another Mackinnon Abbot was amongst those who beautified the Cathedral. The Church of Scotland seems fortunately to be steadily finding its way back to the early principles and beautiful ideas and architecture of the Celtic Church.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Abbeys and Social Life*, p. 225.

<sup>2</sup> The Celtic system was based on the family pyramid, in which the best of taste in craftsmanship or other attainments was fostered in hereditary families. It was by the gradual and continued spreading of these liberal attainments, from a purely preserved stock of each, that the high level of tribe-attainments, from a purely preserved stock of each, that the high level of tribe-attainment was achieved. Similarly, hereditary craftsmen were noble-like, or "masters" of their own work; and the co-ordinating of these - very noble - efforts lay with the chieftainly and abbatical *derbhfin*es of *daoine-uasal*. Cutting out this capacity for applying, or functions, of a nation's "nobility" has invariably led to cultural in the case of the Inca civilisation in Peru, when their noblesse was all but extinguished by the Spaniards.

<sup>3</sup> *J. Warrack, Domestic Life in Scotland*, pp. 40, 61.    <sup>4</sup> *Ibid*, p. 226.

<sup>5</sup> *Scotland the Ancient Kingdom*, p 169.

There is still much evidence of the principles of the Celtic Church in Scottish religious sentiment, and these were, of course present even in the time of Roman Catholic hierarchy, for the Scottish prelates were ever vigorously patriotic, and whilst adopting many of the Catholic ways the older Celtic traditions persisted beneath. The "Scottish Sabbath" is directly derived from that observed in the Celtic Church, and just as that Church was abbatial, the earl bishops were in Scotland subsidiary to the tribal abbots.<sup>1</sup> Since abbeys were an indigenous form of religious institution in Scotland, it is significant that, whilst bishops were abolished, Abbot and Prior, as ecclesiastical titles, were not, and continued to be used and applied long after the Reformation.

The ministers who officiate in our many abbey churches (such as Iona, Paisley, Dunkeld, Dunfermline, Glenluce), and priories - such as that of the Culdees at Monymusk - are actually entitled to the old Scottish terms of Abbot and Prior. Moreover, since it is now recognised that the Cross may, in a Scottish kirk, be depicted in a panel behind, though apparently not on, the Communion table, there is again scope for displaying the symbol of the Christian religion in the Church of Scotland. The Cross in a panel above and behind the Communion table - as erected in the Thistle Chapel, St Giles' Cathedral, and unveiled by King George VI, 29th July 1943 - is exactly in accordance with the arrangement still seen in St Columba's cave at Loch Coalisport, an arrangement which, it has been surmised, was fashioned by the saint himself.<sup>2</sup> Reinstatement of the holy symbol in this manner so identified with St Columba himself developed in the beautiful coloured and jewelled Celtic and square-ended Pictish crosses seen on the old Sculptured stones, and glowing with gold and enamel, would make Scottish churches again worthy of comparison with those of other branches of the Christian faith, and re-emphasise what our Celtic and Pictish art has to offer to the service of God and the identification of reverent beauty with the National Church.



In Dunfermline Abbey Nave.

<sup>1</sup> In 1925, however, the Church of Scotland made a profound mistake in abolishing, or consenting to abolition of, the territorial character of kirks and the heritable character of the family pew, which until then, had been related to the ownership and occupancy of land. That is, the Church of Scotland had throughout (even after the Reformation) been related to the family and the land - that is to tribality. The chief's or laird's pew, complete with arms and banner (cf. G. Scott Moncrieff, *Stones of Scotland*, p. 69), still survives, wisely, by "custom" - no doubt a faint sense of its basic significance surviving for it is really the symbol of "the family" as an institution, and, as will be seen, an aspect which traced the National Church back to the earliest and most characteristic feature of Scotland's ecclesiastical and secular civilisation.

<sup>2</sup> I. F. Grant, *Lordship of the Isles*, p. 79.

## DUNFERMLINE HISTORICAL IDYLLS

### CULROSS AND THE CULDEES

by

J. B. MACKIE F.J.I., Dunfermline 1913. p.75.

#### *THE DAWN OF CHRISTIANITY IN SCOTLAND.*

Dr Skene thus summarily starts his view of origin and history of the Culdees: -

"The Culdees originally sprang from that ascetic order who adopted a solitary service of God in an isolated cell as the highest form of religious life, and who were termed Deicolæ; that they became associated in communities of anchorites or hermits; that they were clerics and might be called monks; that they made their appearance in the eastern districts of Scotland at the same time as the secular clergy were introduced and succeeded to the Columban Monks who had been driven across the great mountain range of Drumalban, the western frontier of the Pictish Kingdom; and that they were finally brought under the canonical rule, among with the secular clergy."

This is the view generally accepted by modern historians. There is another, however, with which as a Scotsman and a Presbyterian, I confess to have strong sympathy. It is that the Culdees were ante-Columban, as well as post-Columban; that the great Scottish apostle who worked from Iona, as his ecclesiastical capital and religious centre, was the outcome, not the initiator, of the Culdee faith and system; that the survivors of the ten terrible persecutions directed against the Christians by Roman Emperors from the first century up to the time of Constantine, did for Western Europe a work not unlike that attributed to the Vaudois, who, as Milton says, "kept the truth so pure of old" when other people remained in Paganism, or accepted the form of Christianity corrupted by Romanism; that flying from merciless persecution to Gaul, and then from Gaul they sought and found safety in ancient Caledonia, which to a certain extent they Christianised. Tertullian is quoted as a witness that in his day Christians by reason of the persecutions that scattered the believers far and wide were found in all the borders of Spain, in different nations of Gaul, and in those parts of Britain that the Romans could not reach.

Just as there are perfervid Scotsmen who place the first home of the Scottish race in Asia, and who trace their wanderings across the Continent of Europe, until travelling by way of Ireland they found an abiding habitation in Caledonia, and who, therefore, proudly sing: -

"The music of Arabian rills  
Finds echo in old Scotia's hills;  
The oriental thread remains  
In warp and woof of Gaelic strains."

- so there are students of the religious history of the Scottish people who see traces of the Christian cult in Scotland in the first, or at least the second century, and who

attribute the presence and influence of the Apostolic teaching to the agency of the fugitives who faith and worship harmonise with the Roman title of Deicolæ, which Skene finds associate with the Culdees of a later day. George Buchanan uses a similar designation with the view of accounting for the title that became popular afterwards - viz., Cultores Dei, or worshippers of God, gradually transformed into Culdee. The Rev Duncan M'Callum, in his History dedicated to the late Duke of Argyll, when he was Rector of the University of St Andrews and Rector of the University of Glasgow, suggests a Gaelic origin which also harmonises with the popular view of their mode of life and worship. The ancient Britons he said, called the religious men who came as fugitives from Gaul, Culdich - a combination formed of Cul or cail, retreat, and dich or ich, the refugees - the Culdich or Culdees, who, accustomed to persecution, sought hiding and shelter in cells, where they worshipped God according to their conscience, and studied the portions of the Holy Scripture which they possessed.

While we may smile at the efforts of the Society established to promulgate and popularise the idea that the wanderers who found a home in Britain were remnants of the lost Ten Tribes of Israel, and while we must reject as the scoff of the sceptic the suggestion that the ancient Culdees may have had some association with Abram and Ur of the Chaldees, we can reasonably acknowledge there is room for a good deal of speculation and surmise as to when and how the glad tidings of great joy first reached Scotland. Just as in the dim, distant past, Zoroaster, the founder of the religion of the Persian Fire Worshippers, foretold the advent of one who would promote righteousness, destroy iniquity, and establish rest and peace; and Confucius had premonition of the coming of a world-benefactor "to whom nations look forward as fading flowers thirst for rain;" and Plutarch anticipated the ultimate overthrow of the god of the lower world and the introduction of a reign of happiness; and Virgil forty years before the Christian era foresaw the birth of a child, in whom the golden age of innocence and happiness should be restored, and who was to be the moral regenerator of the world, - so there is some ground for believing that the ancient, one might say the pre-historic, inhabitants of our country, pagans and heathens as they are accounted, were given from time to time some foreshadowing's, however obscure and vague, of the good time coming. The early Christian missionaries, says Dr Cameron Lees in his Lecture on Heathen Scotlands, appealed to the "unconscious prophecies" uttered and cherished in their midst, or harmonising with the teaching of the new faith, - very much, I suppose, as Paul, in his address to the Athenians, on Mars Hill, when speaking of God, as the author of all life cited one of their own poets, who had said, "For we also are his off-spring."

And just as there were given in different ages and to different peoples certain previsions of an Almighty Deliverer, so in the remarkable Augustan age of gold, when the world was at peace, and there was freedom of locomotion throughout the then known world, the echoes of the herald-angels' song heard on the plains of Bethlehem were quickly wafted to divers peoples in different parts of the world. For seekers after the truth and lovers of righteousness and peace in all nations there were then many Prospero's islands "full of sweet sounds that give delight and hurt not." Soldiers, sailors, travellers, carried far and wide accounts more or less distinct of the wonderful sayings of Jesus and of his Apostles, and these appealing to the hearts and consciences, to the finer imaginations and the more spiritual sides of humanity were incorporated with the individual and social life, and made part and parcel of the common national faith. It is not unreasonable to assume that some knowledge of the wonderful story of the redeeming love of God, revealed by the Word, made flesh in

order to show the fullness of grace and truth in the Divinity, should have reached Britain during the centuries of Roman occupation by means not only of refugees from the persecutions, but of Christian soldiers who may have heard Paul preach at Rome, or had become disciples of later Christian teachers. Although, therefore, the authentic historic evidence may be slight, it is not incredible that Pictish and Scottish tribes became nominally Christians, with their chiefs and kings, who had been enthralled by the beautiful story told them by some expounded of the new revelation and its doctrines. In accord with this view we find in Fordoun's Chronicle: -

"In the year 429, according to Sigibert, - or according to others, 430 - Saint Palladius was ordained by Pope Celestinus, and sent as their first bishop to the Scots who believed in Christ. To which also Bede bears witness. . . . We read in the Polychronicon: 'In A.D. 430 Pope Celestinus sent Saint Palladius into Scotia, as the first bishop therein.' It is therefore fitting that the Scots should diligently keep his festival and church commemoration; for by his work and example, he with anxious care taught their nation - that of the Scots to wit - the orthodox faith, although they had for a long time previously believed in Christ. Before his arrival, the Scots had as teachers of the faith and administrators of the Sacraments, priests only or monks, following the rite of the primitive Church. So he arrived in Scotland with a great company of clergy, in the eleventh year of the reign of King Eugenius; and the king freely gave him a place of abode."

Even earlier, however, than St Palladius, St Ninian had done extensive Christianising work in Galloway. Ninian was of British extraction and of Roman culture. The son of a nobleman living near the shores of Solway, he came under the influence of the new religion, and he made a pilgrimage to Rome to be more fully instructed in the way. So fully did he commend himself by his religious life and his studious habits to the Pope, that he was consecrated a Bishop, and was sent back to his native country to evangelise his own people. On the way home through France, he had the privilege of direct religious intercourse with Bishop Martin of Tours, who had been a soldier before he became a Churchman, and in after years he dedicated his church at Whithorn- the Candida Casa - to the great Gullican Bishop. He died two years after the arrival of Palladius; but before his death, in 432, he had induced the Southern Picts, whose territory extended north to the Forth and the Grampian Range, to accept the Christian faith.

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CHAPTER II.

ST SERF AND HIS SUCCESSORS.

Dr Æneas Mackay does not think the Picts of Fife were reached, or at least were not largely influenced by Ninian. They were distinct from the Southern Picts; and the chief agent of their conversion was the remarkable Christian teacher known as St Serf.

"The parentage of Serf," says Dr Mackay, "is not known. One legend makes him son of a Canaanite king and Arab princess, and relates that before came to Scotland he was Pope for seven years, at a date in the sixth century when we know there was no such Pope. Another legend calls him an Israelite; and a third, in a tract on 'The Mothers of the Saints,' gives him an Irish mother, which is probably due to its author having been himself an Irish Celt. His name of Serf, or Latin Servantus, may indicate no more than that he was a servant of God like the Culdees, whose name has a similar meaning." This Serf was the friend and associate, or, as he is otherwise described, a suffragan of Palladius; and his chief interest for us is that he founded a church and religious settlement in Culross, from which, it may be presumed, that the Culdee establishment at Dunfermline, which Queen Margaret found in existence when she came here in the eleventh century, had its origin.

"It was a Pictish race," writes the authority already quoted "and it was a king who gave the island (St Serf on Lochleven) to the Culdees. Nothing is more certain than the fact that the Picts in Fife, as elsewhere, became Christians. Nothing is more singular than the fact that having become Christians, they have left so little record of their history and such meagre vestiges even of their language." Of St Serf himself, however, many memorials survive, in names of churches, and walls, and bridges in the country lying between the Ochils and the Forth, and in an old poem in which he is represented as having a controversy with Satan and putting the Tempter to rout. . Not the least notable of these memorials is the legend which tells how he became the adopted father of St Mungo. Certainly, whoever first told tht story must have been tolerably familiar with considerable portions of the Sacred Writings. As with the British King Arthur, the account of the advent of Mungo reflects not a little of the mystery of the Virgin birth. Like the British Arthur, and the infant Jesus, Mungo is a royal personage. The angelic music which Serf heard, and which guided him to the shore where the helpless babe and mother were lying, recalls the song that filled the plains of Bethlehem and the visit of the shepherds to, the inn, where they found "the babe lying n a manger." In Serf's partiality for Mungo, when he took his place among the other students at Culross, who hated him because of their master's especial regard for him, we have an echo of the touching Biblical story of Joseph and his brethren. Biblical inspiration is also seen in Mungo's departure from Culross in answer to a Divine call, when with Abraham-like fidelity "he went out not knowing whither he went," just as the later part of the journey south of the Forth, westwards, made in a cart drawn by oxen, which of heir own accord made straight for Glasgow, suggest the despatch of the Ark by the Lords of the Philistines in a new cart drawn by two milch kine. Of course, many of the legends associated with the lives of the Roman Catholic saints were invented and written many years after the date of the supposed miraculous occurrences; but the record and the preservation of the story land much that is written, whether authentic or fictitious regarding the works of St Serf and St Mungo,

point to the existence a comparatively early age of a belief in the adoption and the observance of the Christian faith in Scotland, long before the religious revival promoted by Columba, and even before Patrick himself, born near the present Kirkpatrick, in Dunbartonshire, and given to Ireland the purer faith and the higher religious devotion which came back to us from Ireland through the teaching and work of the great Irish missionary-saint.

Columba, co-operating for some time with his contemporary, Mungo, entered into and enlarge the labours of Mungo and Serf as Christian teachers of Scotland, and as self-denying, earnest -minded and stout hearted servants of God, or Culdees. As has already been shown, the Church had a certain Roman connection, Ninian was a Pope-made Bishop, and Serf was at the beginning of his great career subordinate to Palladius. Subserviency to Rome was never, however, a marked feature of the Culdee Church; and the influences of Columba's masterful character probably emphasised the independence of the Scottish Christians, far removed as they wer from the seat of the spiritual Head of Christendom and from the supervision of the Roman authorities. Under the guidance largely of the austere and ascetic Columba, those ideal of religious life and service reflected the character of the Prophet Elijah or of John the Baptist, and who, while indifferent to worldly wealth, strove to establish a spiritual supremacy over nobles and kings and secular governments, an ecclesiastical organisation came into existence and lasted for several centuries - an organisation which was neither Episcopal nor Presbyterian, but primarily and distinctively monastic. These worshippers and servants of God were content to live in cells. Their religious settlements, like their fare and their dress, were poor and humble. Their communities generally consisted of 13 monks, including an Abbot - an imitation of the first Apostolic College, with Christ for its Head and Master. There were no territorial Bishops or Sees. The missionary monks, under the authority of the Abbot, a to secular affairs, retained to themselves the power of ordaining to ecclesiastical service and a certain equality of power.

Columba never made himself a Bishop, yet he seems to have exercised an autocratic power, derived from personal authority due to his learning, his devotion, and his supposed possession of miraculous endowments as special marks of the Divine favour. His authority was for similar reasons felt by the chiefs and nobles and sovereigns with whom he came in contact, as the evangelisation of the North of England and Wales, as well as of Scotland, was prosecuted under his direction. He was a man whom neither priest nor sovereign could easily withstand. With regard to the observance of Easter and the tonsure, he marked out a course in conflict with the directions of the Church of Rome. Resolute, wilful, austere as regards the observance of religious duties alike by himself, the clergy, the rulers, and the people, he yet was a man of warm affections, and he grappled his friends to his soul with hoops of steel. "Angelic in appearance," says his first biographer, Adamnan, "graceful in speech, holy in work, with talents of the highest order and consummate prudence, he live during thirty-four years an island soldier. He never could spend the space even of one hour without study or prayer or writing, or some other holy occupation. So incessantly was he engaged night and day in the unwearied exercises of fasting and watching that the burden of each of these austerities would seem beyond the power of all human endurance. And still in all these he was beloved by all; for a holy joy ever beaming on his face, revealed the joy and gladness with which the Holy Spirit filled his inmost soul."

Dr Hodgkin, in his political history of England, quotes Bede's testimony to the purity and nobility of these Culdee teacher in the days of their greatest activity and influence, to this effect: -

"At that time the religious habit was held in great veneration, so that wheresoever cleric or monk appeared he was joyfully welcomed by all as the servant of God; those who met him on the road with bent necks rejoiced to receive the blessings of his lips or of his extended hand; they listened eagerly to his words of exhortation. The priests and clerics of that day had no care for anything else but preaching, baptizing the sick, - in a word, for the salvation of souls. So utterly were they delivered from the poison of avarice that no one of them would receive lands or presents even for the building of monasteries unless absolutely compelled to do so by secular rulers."

Dr Hodgkin attributes grater importance to this eloquent panegyric by Bede because of that eminent Churchman's loyalty to Rome and abhorrence of the Celtic Easter. "Bede," he adds, "hints at the degeneracy of his own times and seems to mourn that more of the spirit of Iona had not lingered in the Anglican Church. In Columba, Aidan, Colman, and their disciples, we seem to see something of that absolute indifference to wealth, that kinship to nature and her children, that almost passionate love for poverty and the poor which six centuries later was to shed a halo around the head of Francis of Assisi." An Oxford teacher of history has lately differentiated the two Churches thus: - the Roman Church gave us law; the Celtic or Culdee Church gave us love.

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## CHAPTER III.

### THE DUNFERMLINE CULDEE SETTLEMENT.

The evidence of the existence of a Culdee settlement in Dunfermline is disappointingly slight and fragmentary. Indeed, it may be admitted to be traditionary rather than historical in the ordinary sense of the term. Many writers have assumed that Margaret found the Culdees in spiritual possession when she became the Consort of Malcolm Canmore in the eleventh century; and it may be as reasonable to conclude that Malcolm's selection of Dunfermline as his capital city was as much due to the prior establishment there of a religious brotherhood, as that the teachers of the Evangel were themselves first attracted thither - says, from Culross - by the existence of a Royal Court. Dr Henderson in his annals, takes the view that the advent of the Churches preceded, rather than succeeded, that of the secular Court. He assigns to them an existence in Dunfermline as remote as 570. That means, of course, that our city must have been a centre of Christian teaching and influence five centuries before the coming of Margaret, and the Culdees, whom she met in conference at the Court of her husband, and strove to convert as believes in the same faith to what she considered the orthodox practice, must have been the descendants or representative of religious teacher who maintained their testimony and did their work long before the name Culdee was known. A Scottish historian, Chalmers, in his "Caledonia," declares that in Dunfermline "the Culdees with their Abbot discharged heir usual duties during several reigns."

There is some evidence that the usurper, Macbeth, who, some authorities believe, made a pilgrimage to Rome in the hope of expiating his sin in murdering Duncan, paid homage to the Churchmen of this neighbourhood and proved himself a substantial benefactor by the gift to them of the lands of Kirkness, Portmoak, and Bogie, near Kirkcaldy following in this respect the example of Brude, the last Pictish King, who bestowed upon the Serf of Culross the island in Loch Leven, which to this day bears his name. The fact, too, that the stately fane which Malcolm and Margaret founded as a substitute for the humble place of worship which had hitherto sufficed for the native Churchman, was dedicated, not to the Virgin or to a Saint, according to the Roman fashion, but to the Holy Trinity, is accepted by some writers as evidence that though Margaret succeeded in obtaining assent to the Roman date for the beginning of Lent to the Easter Communion, and to the assimilation of the marriage law to that of the other Churches of Christendom, the native Churchmen on their part made their doctrinal testimony prevail as worshippers only and directly of the father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, as Three Persons in One Godhead. And it is further assumed as evidence of their power, even in presence of the reforming Church, that their Majesties sought to placate them and appease their resentment by making valuable territorial gifts as compensation for their acquiescence in changes they did not like, thought they did not regard them as vital.

Dalrymple quotes an excerpt from the "priorie of St Andrews" to the effect "that King Malcolm and Queen Margaret gave to the Culdees, Villam de Balchristin, which seems to take its name from Christ, and so proper lands for the Colidei," or worshippers of God, as distinct from what Knox in a later day called, not "mothers of God," but pented bredds. Of course, it is conceivable that the Culdee Churches with whom Malcolm and Margaret held conference at their Court were representatives of what came to be better known Culdee centres; but I do not think we make too large, or

at all an unjustifiable assumption, when we take it for granted that those ancient religious teachers had an actual settlement in Dunfermline when Margaret came to live in Malcolm's strong Tower, or that they were the representatives and guardians of the Christian faith in Scotland, which had been taught long before the religious devotion of the lonely dwellers in cells made them known as worshipers or servants of God, or before the possession bestowed upon them by Macbeth came to be known as Kil-celedi - or Cell of the Culdees, to be transformed at a later period into Kirkcaledei, or Kirk-culdee, or the modern Kirkcaldy.

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CHAPTER IV.

THE EVANGELICAL ORIGIN AND SUCCESSION.

Men of the spirit and character described by Bede are not easily overcome. Notwithstanding the influence of the Court - of the saintly Margaret and her saintly sons, and notwithstanding the external national conformity which was enforced, the Culdees maintained a place in Scotland national and religious life till the thirteenth century. They had churches and educational centres on St Serf's Island on Lochleven, on Inchcolm in the Forth, at St Andrews, in Perthshire, and Aberdeenshire, as well as in Fifeshire, and in many parts of the West Highlands. The record of their expulsion from Lochleven by David I, furnishes evidence of scholarship which removes from them the reproach Dr Mackay attaches to the earlier Christianisers of the Fifeshire Celts. "We read," says Dr David Wilson, "with no little interest the brief inventory of the Lochleven library thus unscrupulously seized by the `sair sanct.` Among its sixteen volumes were the Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, and the three Books of Solomon, a Commentary on the Song of Solomon, and another on the Book of Genesis - no discreditable indication of the studies of these recluses of Lochleven, whom some have been inclined to rank among the Protestants of their age."

And it is as Protestants in spirit I would like to regard them and would like readers to regard them. The root principle of Protestantism is the sense of individual responsibility to God, with the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament as interpreter and guides to minds and consciences. In the Culdee system we see prominence given to the worship of God as his supreme object of reverence, and to the study of His Holy Word as His rule of direction in preference to Roman tradition or diction. Men and women who in heart and conscience accept that principle of life can never become the slaves of a secular authority or surrender their judgement or their freedom of access to the God who is their merciful and loving Father, at the bidding of any man or of any ecclesiastical organisation. And so Culdeeism, though effaced in from the name from the national life, continued and continues in spirit an overmastering influence. "Saxon, and Norman, and Dane we be," yet our composite nationality in the secular sphere retains a distinctive British type, which dominates it in all its aspects and gives it the capacity for leadership among the nations. So the spirit of the Culdees, of Scotland is equally unconquerable and powerful in the spiritual sphere. It is the best and greatest in our national life - explaining the success of our struggles for national independence, the thoroughness of our Reformation, the intensity of our religious conviction, as witnessed in Covenanting, Secession, Disruption testimonies, the faithful maintenance of our national Presbyterian faith - the true guardian of our liberties, the sure upholder of our primacy in the Pan-Presbyterianism which is the most potent of the factors which make an Empire great, glorious, and free. Let us be Culdees still - worshippers and servants of God, and assuredly under that sign we shall conquer.

I have endeavoured to trace the presence and operation of the religious sentiment, inspired and guided by the Christian faith, throughout those remote centuries, because of my conviction that the development of the force within us, making for righteousness, in response to a realisation of a Divine Sovereignty is essential, alike to individual and national well-being. A thousand years scarce serve to make a State; and during the millennium that elapsed between the advent of the Romans and the advent of Margaret, the tribes and peoples whose ultimate unification formed the Scottish nation, were gradually being trained and equipped for the pioneer work in the

cause of world-civilisation in which they have been ever-increasingly engaged since the Reformation. From time to time in the transitional evolutionary process, the purifying and elevating agency was strengthened by new vivifying currents introduced in turn in the earlier period by Ninian, Serf, Mungo, Columba, and their successors, till the thirteenth century. The religious work done by these teacher and reformers was not by any means as water spilt upon the ground.

The instructors themselves passed away when their day of service was done, but the influence of their testimony remained in the character of the people, and prepared them for still higher advances. The Culdee system was a half-way house between the Paganism of the early centuries and the active, robust, assertive Christianity of the present day, with its recognition of responsibility to all mankind, as the children of a Common Father "full of grace and truth." Though that system gradually faded away from the national life in presence of the powerful and subtle Court influence exercised by Margaret and her religious sons, and as the result of a declension of religious faith during the various outbreaks of civil and tribal strife, the principles and aspirations that vitalised it were not quite uprooted or wholly destroyed. The Culdees' disagreement with Rome on the subjects of head-shaving and the date for the observance of Easter were superficial and secondary. More serious were their differences respecting modes of government, the supreme authority of the Scripture, and the maintenance of local autonomy or spiritual independence. I certainly am not prepared to concede that unpardonable or scandalous slackness of religious discipline is proved when it is shown that the monks of Dunkeld in the later days of Culdeeism were allowed to marry; or that throughout the centuries during which they acted as religious teachers in Scotland they were illiterate men, because apart from the St Serf Library they have left no testimony of their learning or of their industry as translators, or makers of books; or that they can be held guilty of lack of loyalty to the unity of the Christian Church, because through their millennium of existence they maintained the doctrine set forth by the Bishop of Bangor when Augustine demanded his submission to the Pope of Rome: - "We love all men; and what we do for you we shall do for the Pope; but he is not entitled to call himself the head of the Church." The principles of Culdeeism - the faith of the Christian Church - can never die.

Yes, this spirit of Culdeeism, with its exaltation of the service of God, its enforcement of the supremacy of the one Master, its assertion of personal responsibility to the divine Lord of the conscience, its love and study of the Evangel its commendation of the pattern of life set by Jesus Christ, not to speak of its exemplification of parity of rule and its rejection of sacerdotal domination lives in Scottish Protestantism and in Scottish Presbyterianism and the present day. Last is a link in the Evangelical Succession, with its testimony that in the ecclesiastical sphere there can be "nae king, nae king but Christ," as the old Covenanter testified; - no usurpation, whether clerical or secular, but freedom of government, spiritual independence, along with the proclamation of the unity of the Christian Church - *è pluribus unum*, as expressed in the legend that affirms the unity and the freedom of the great Republic of the West - one comprehensive Church of Jesus Christ, formed of the many denominations which are one in faith, one in doctrine, and one in charity.

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