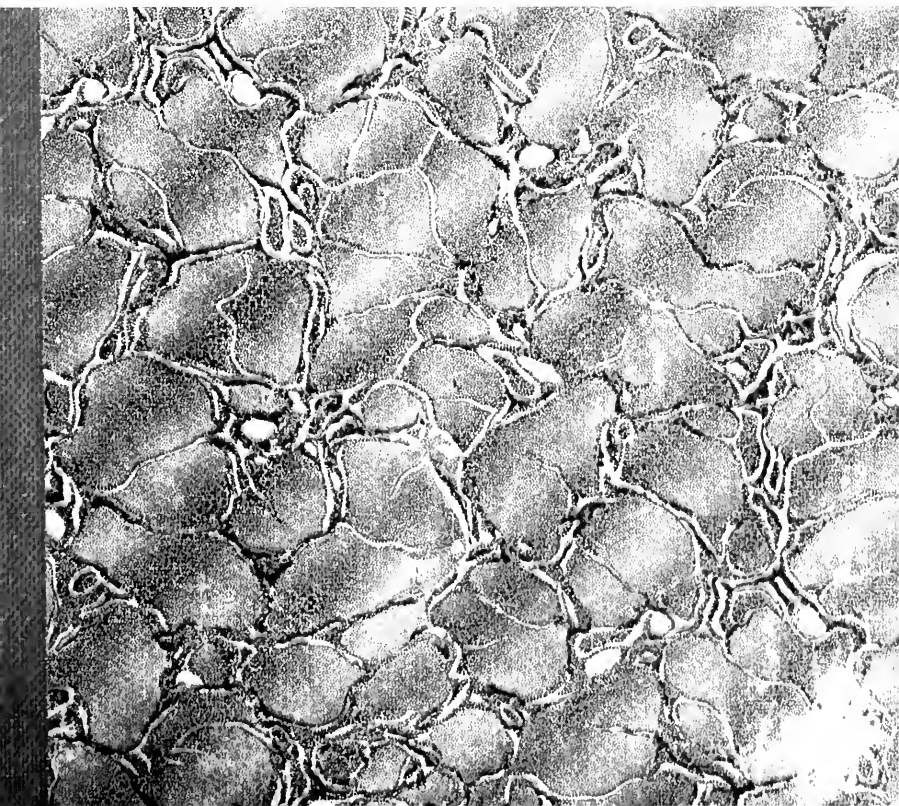
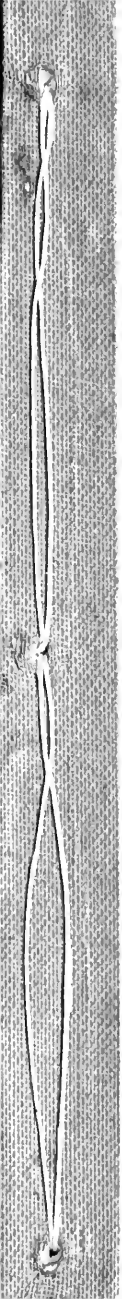
How St. Andrew Came to Scotland





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BY

ANON.

EDINBURGH
TURNBULL & SPEARS, 16 THISTLE STREET

TO

JOHN MACGREGOR, W.S.

Dear Macgregor

The following is as I understand it.

Yours

Anon.

August 1917

HOW ST ANDREW CAME TO SCOTLAND

BY

"ANON."

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IN the beginning of the fifth century there was in Britain a Christian Church — the Pelagian. Two Bishops were sent to Britain to convert the Pelagian Church to conformity with the Roman Church. Lupus, one of them, came in contact with the Picts and Scots. The story speaks of the incident as a "defeat" of the northern armies, caused by the Lupus party, composed of southern Britains, crying "Hallelujah." Lupus was a priest, and the "defeat" was probably a success of his mission against the Pelagian Church. The Picts inhabited the south of modern Scotland. The Pentland (Pictland) Hills are of themselves a record of this. At the foot of the Pentlands, fourteen miles from Edinburgh, is the village of Carlops, on the Biggar Road. Carlops we translate as "Lupus seat." Lupus means "wolf"; Faolan is the Gaelic for a wolf. Dedications to a Faolan stretch from Fife to Argyleshire, and clans are called from one so named, *e.g.* Cleland, Maclellan, etc. Douglas = Cuglas = grey dog, is another description of a wolf, as in the name Linlithgow, meaning

the pool of the grey (liath, Gaelic, "grey") dog. There was thus a widespread reverence for Fillan, and his church can have been no other than that which was called the Culdee Church. If our suggestion of the identity of Lupus and Fillan is right, the Culdee Church was a survival of the Lupus "defeat" of the Pelagian Picts and Scots. There is a Pictish name, Oengus (Angus), applied to Forfarshire. A certain Rule is said to have brought to Scotland relics of St Andrew, and to have made a disciple of a Pictish king, Angus, at a place called Kilrimont, now the city of St Andrews.

The Scots, with whom were joined the Picts, were supposed to be Scythians. St Andrew was the patron saint of the Scythians (he is considered the patron saint of Russia now), and thus the Scots and Scythians were brought under one "rule" influenced from Canterbury; and St Andrews became the archbishopric of Scotland, an archbishopric claimed by Canterbury. The older Culdee Church, which was not an episcopal church, apparently moved its saintly relics to Scone. They were there preserved till about the time of Edward I. of England, who carried off what is now known as the coronation stone.

We have tried to demonstrate the steps by which we reach the conclusion that the old Culdee Church was the British Church previous to the ascendency of Rome, that the Gaelic Fillan is the Gallican Lupus, and that the widespread influence of his name, evident from Fife to Ulster, connotes a localisation of the old Pelagian "heresy." The coronation stone and its bell and crosier, the Scottish regalia, were those of the Culdee Fillan-Lupus.

HOW ST ANDREW CAME TO SCOTLAND

IN the year 429 a Synod of Gallican bishops ordained St Germanus and St Lupus to go into Britain to oppose the Pelagian heresy—Pelagius having died in 420. Pelagius' heresy seems to have had, at least for one of its tenets, multiple marriage. As Celestius his companion when in Rome was said to have been "gorged with Scottish porridge," they evidently came from those northern regions notable for their darkness, the long darkness of winter, where was practised what St Jerome (340-420) speaks of as the immoral Scottish and Attacotish rite: the Scots, according to him (*i.e.* Jerome), not having wives peculiar to each, but as if they had chosen the policy of Plato practised what is euphemistically called free love. What we have received of this journey into Britain relates almost entirely to the doings of Germanus, but speaks of him as if throughout accompanied by Lupus, and informs us they were very active,

quickly filling Britain with their fame, their preaching, and their miracles. Southern Britain during their visit was attacked by the united forces of the Saxons and Picts, and our holy men being with the British as distinguished from the Picts and Scots from the North, by repeating Hallelujah loudly three times so frightened the enemy that they were taken with panic, flung down their arms, and retired to their own district. Germanus and Lupus having accomplished their mission returned to their own dioceses in Gaul. The result of their journey is said to have been that they effectually confuted the heretics and brought back the people to the way of truth. Lupus' sanctity was so great that he was said by another prelate of that age to be the "father of fathers" and "bishop of bishops." We have no further notice of his being in Britain, though Germanus subsequently returned. Lupus, thus brought in contact with the Picts, was born at Toul in Lorraine, a district originally including modern Holland and Belgium, and though Lorraine is said to have received its name from the Emperor Lothair I., to whom it was allotted in 843, this derivation seems doubtful.

We must remember that Ninyas by birth a

Briton, educated at Rome, who died about the year 432 and had been a pupil of St Martin of Tours, according to the tradition of Bede had built the Church of Whithorn in Galloway, and from there had Christianized all the Picts on the south side of the mountains, which in the usual acceptation of the term must mean what we now call the Grampians, more anciently "the backbone of Alba." According to the dates given in these traditions the converter of the Picts was still alive when Lupus reconverted them on his mission into Britain. Lupus' object, however, was a special one directed against the doctrines in favour with Pelagius, doctrines which had caused St Jerome to explain that he did not condemn double marriages. If tradition has any value, we may accept it as well founded that Pictish descent was counted through the female, and, as the same tradition tells us that the Picts having no wives when they came to this country were then given settlements and native women; whatever the literal facts may have been we see that our earliest notices of the sexes among them ascribe to them the continuance, in some degree at any rate, of the predominance of the female. If the shouting of Hallelujah was a

fact at the meeting of Germanus and Lupus with the Saxons and Picts and occurred at all, we suggest, judging from what happens at a revival meeting, it took place as a sort of general acknowledgment of the acceptance of the views of the new preachers, and thus a victory was gained for the anti-Pelagians, and the Picts and Saxons retired to their own homes.

Is there any evidence left in Southern Scotland of a possible visit of St Lupus? About 14 miles south of Edinburgh on the West Linton-Biggar road is a peculiar upstanding plug of igneous rock with a little village at its foot known as Carlops. A rock of somewhat the same formation in the West country is called "the pulpit"; and with this information before us we look for the possible derivation of the name, the translation given when asked for being of the purely fanciful sort, "Carle loups," as if some fellow had jumped from the top of the rock. *Car* is a common factor in Celtic names, and in Welsh is translated a "fort"; and *cathair* in Irish a "city," a "court," a "mansion"; and the same word in Scotch Gaelic a "chair," "bench," "seat"; and *cathair-easbuig* is a cathedral and *cathair-iomchair* was the Gaelic used for a

sedan chair. *Car*, then, we accept as the first part of Carlops with the meaning of "seat," and the *lops* we accept as the name Lupus, Cathair-Lupus being Lupus' seat or pulpit. In the near neighbourhood, now occupied by New Hall House, was a religious foundation to whom consecrated information seems entirely wanting, but the site of its hospitium, the Spital on Spital Hill as it is called, is still the residence of a farmer, and the Monks Burn runs into the Esk close to New Hall House, showing that we have to do with an ancient monastery, which we suggest was probably an ancient foundation, perhaps only traditionally connected with Lupus, tradition being maintained by the Carlops rock. Stone seats of saints are fairly common.

We have seen that according to Bede the Saxons were among the converted at the Hallelujah victory, though Hengist is supposed to have invaded Britain in 454. If Bede is right we have evidence of the presence of Saxons before Hengist's day, and it does in fact seem probable that the Jutes had before this been settling on our east coast, and driving west and north those living about the wall from Forth to Clyde, subsequently

called Cumbrians and Men of Fortrenn. Agricola occupied this district we know, not only on the authority of Tacitus ; but the remains of Roman camps from Delvine on the Tay through to the Moss of Crinan, lately examined, make it perfectly clear that a foreign occupation from the Tay valley to Lorne had existed before the time of which we speak. As the Northumbrian Kingdom spread itself along the shores of Lothian, what was styled "the retinue of the wall," *i.e.* the organized defenders of the dyke between Forth and Clyde found a resting-place in North Wales, and tradition makes it clear that others of them passed into the country partly settled from Agricola's day, who there found a race descended from native women, consequently more or less allied to themselves, genealogically their fathers being men remaining from the previous Roman invasions : a very mixed lot no doubt but with probably more traditional civilization than the more northerly and more purely Celtic inhabitants of Scotland. These latter were the Scots. We must remember that according to the ideas of the Roman geographers the north coast of Ireland and the west coast of Alba lay along nearly the same parallel of longitude,

and were the extreme parts of the world towards the North, and therefore those living there were on that part of the world "pertaining to darkness" (Greek) σκότιος; οἱ σκότιοι those procreated secretly and in darkness. The Picts were, according to our local tradition, descendants of foreign fathers (Roman soldiers? etc.) and native women, becoming the "Men of Fortrenn" (Firu Fortrenn) from whom Southern Perthshire and the parts adjoining received a name "Fortrenn." They were navigators as well as fighters, as they are credited so comparatively lately as A.D. 734 with having sent a fleet to Ireland. These Fortrenn men, whose name betokens "great brave" were also "fierce ones." In the eulogy of St Columba, Dallan the writer says, Columba "subdued to benediction the fierce ones who dwelt with Tay's High King," but the Yellow Book of Lecan explains the "fierce ones" as "thrice nine druids whose blessings and cursings were equally effective." Tay is described as being in the Pictish district of Scotland. It is a little curious ascribing the ferocity of the tribes of Tay to druids, certainly suggesting a religious element being prominent in the locality.

The name Fortrenn seems to have left no traces behind it unless it be in the name Forfar applied to what was a Pictish district meaning the "great men" *mor, vhor* = great, *fear*, plural *fir* = a man, men; the great men, big men, and as in the case of Fortrenn subsequently applied to the district in which they lived. *M* has the same sound as in English but when aspirated as it is called, that is, written with an *h* after it, it has the sound of *v* or *f*. The adjective generally follows its subject, but we have the principal men of these districts called in the old language *Mormaers* where the adjective *mor* precedes, but the more modern way of writing the name is *Maor Mor*, where the adjective as in ordinary Gaelic procedure follows its subject.

On the opposite side of Perthshire from Forfar, included, in fact, in Perthshire and if not a part of Fortrenn immediately to the south of it, is the district called Menteith. If taken in its obvious meaning the "Men of Teith," *i.e.* of the river Teith, which divides that district from the rest of the county, we have a Saxon district name, called by the term originally applied to the men who inhabited it, as we have seen in the case of the Gaelic Fortrenn.

Going further north the next of these ancient districts to that of Fortrenn is Athole, of which we generally speak of the inhabitants as the "Men of Athol." The history of these men is evidently connected with the name Athol, and looking at the derivations of the other localities mentioned Athol must be called for some reason peculiar to its inhabitants.

Fodhla, a heathen goddess; *ath*, a ford; *ath-fodhla* with aspirated *f*, which therefore would be quiescent, Athole. The goddess is a pure philological invention.

About the year 975 King Edgar, who was then, according to Florence of Worcester, king of the English, appointed Adulf Earl over the Northumbrians from the Tees to the Myrcforth. In one MS. of the Saxon Chronicle the reading for this place is Myreforth. The Norse Sagas call the Firth of Forth "Myrkvafiord," and Myrcfirth would be its exact equivalent. Norse, vadill, vödill, a shallow water, a place where fiords can be passed on horseback, appearing in local Norse names, "vödla-thing." Bodotria itself, the old Latin for the Firth, seems compounded of Anglo Saxon *vad*, a ford, and *drygen*, to dry; and this survived

during the Anglo-Saxon occupation of the district at the head of the Firth of Forth, called by them Fothric. *Faodhail* is Gaelic for a hollow in sand retaining water after the egress of the tide, and forms a part of the name of the island between South Uist and North Uist ; as we write it now-a-days Benbecula, being separated from South Uist by a narrow channel which is nearly dry at low water, Beinnfaodhaile, also Beinnebhakla.

In 934 Constantin, king of the Scots, was driven by Ethelstan across the "Vadum Scotorum," the Forth, who crossed the river after them and compelled Constantin to surrender. The Forth is also called the Scot Water. Looking at the Myrkvafiord and Myrefirth we find the Lowland Scotch *mirk*, *myrk* meaning dark ; the Saxon *myrce* having the same meaning, and to *myrk* is to darken or make dark. The Forth in its higher reaches is shallow along the shore, and one can wade a long distance on a muddy bottom towards its centre in certain conditions of the tide, even so far down the Forth as Blackness. Whatever the exact locality of this, Vadum, ath or ford, it is simple to understand how the passage of any body of troops would obscure it. The Myreford then, historically, was

on the Forth, and we are forced to the conclusion that the men of Athole were those who had been driven north at some time from their position at the head of that estuary. The name "Forth" means "the road" (Welsh *ffordd*—passage) and alludes to the road accompanying the wall built from Forth to Clyde called "Gual."

We have thus given appellations of a Celtic derivation of the districts in occupation by northern Picts, viz., the "great bold" (men), the "great men," and the "men of the Myreford."

Let us now speak of the most notorious Scottish relic. In Langtoft's Chronicle, compiled about the year 1300, speaking of Edward's invasion of Scotland in 1296, he says :

"Thair kings Scet of Scone
Es driven ovir doune
To London i led.
In town herd I telle
The baghel and the Belle
Ben filched and fled."

This king's seat being a prominent object in Westminster Cathedral, and perhaps the most interesting property, to speak theatrically, at a British Coronation, has received a great amount of attention and caused considerable speculation. A

thoroughly skilled Scottish geologist on examining it pronounced it sandstone, freestone, common in the neighbourhood of Scone itself.

Scone is apparently called from its being the tabernacle in which the relics mentioned by Langtoft were kept, σκηνη a booth, house, temple.

We now may look for the bell and crozier. First let us remember that there is a well-kown Gaelic saying commemorating the bell of Scone, which says: "As says the bell of Scone, what does not belong to you touch it not."

In 1798, in Glendochart, in West Perthshire, was a bell called of St Fillan which was carried off by an Englishman and taken south, but subsequently returned to Scotland, and is now in the Museum of Antiquities in Edinburgh.

In Strathfillan itself was preserved a crozier known as the *Coigreach*, meaning "stranger," which on examination was proved to contain what seemed a much simpler and, of course, presumably, considerably older crozier head, which explains quite satisfactorily the meaning of the name attached. The crozier of St Fillan, the "Coigreach" as the double crozier was called, was appropriately enough in the hands of a hereditary keeper called

Dewar, the Gaelic word for a wanderer, also a stranger, a pilgrim.

We have located St Lupus in Lothian at Carlops, where we find him under the name by which he was known on the Continent. Lupus, of course, means a wolf, and in Gaelic a wolf is *faol, faolchu*, the older form of which was *fáel* and *fael-chú*. The diminutive *an* added to a word is a sign of affection, therefore *faolan* would be "little wolf" or "dear wolf," and in the older writing *faelan*. This, then, is the meaning of the name Fillan applied to the Saint. St Lupus, then, and St Fillan have grammatically the same meaning. Masculine nouns in the genitive are aspirated, which in practice causes the *fh* of Fillan to be silent in compound words. *Faolchu* means wild dog, *i.e.* wolf, and the wolf is also called *liathchu*, grey dog. Now we know that the Saxon Northumbria extended to the Forth, even at times passing beyond it, the Saxon influence shading off from the district they called Fothrik at the head of the Firth, on a line roughly to be drawn from the west extremity of the Forth to a little east of the Solway Firth, the district inhabited by the Strathclyde Britons, anciently a

part of Cumbria, including Picts, who inhabited Galloway, and where Gaelic is said to have been spoken till comparatively recently, large numbers of Gaelic names remaining there; and, indeed, we do not need to go further than Linlithgow, our modern way of speaking of the "Pool of the Grey Dog," "*linn an liath chu*."

From Carlops, Lupus' seat in Saxon Northumbria, about twenty-five miles directly west as the crow flies, in the Parish of Bothwell, on a rock with a cave overhanging the South Calder Burn, is Cleland, the patrimony of the Clelands of Cleland, who tradition says were the foresters of the Earls of Douglas. The name Douglas, if we take the modern spelling lightly, and compare it with the ancient British names given in Gildas, we come to the conclusion that it should commence with a *C*, making *Cuglas*, *i.e.* the grey dog. The name Cleland, extended in Gaelic, is Mac-Gille Fhillan. Remembering what we have said as to the silencing of *fh* in the genitive of masculine nouns, that *gille* in combination in the modern spelling of names often leaves nothing but the *l* sound, and that *Mac* -son in the genitive is *Mic* contracted to *ic*;

put these together you have *ic-l-aelan*, "Cleland," the son of the servant of the wolf, or, as they say sometimes in Gaelic, the grey dog. We do not believe that the property of the Clelands gave them their name, as is stated in the "Origines Parochiales." Notice the rock and the cave at Cleland House, as we had the rock at Carlops, which we translate "the chair of Lupus."

Casting our eye on the map another twenty-five miles west, with a slight tendency to the north, in Strathgryfe, in Renfrew, in the deanery of Bothwell, hinting at some connection with the name of the Clelands, was the Parish of Kilallan, Killillan, Kilellan, *i.e.* the church of Fillan. An authority for this derivation was the old church bell recording the name of the Saint to whom the church was dedicated, and who was considered the tutelar saint of the parish. Chalmers tells us, "In the vicinity of the church there is a large stone with a hollow in the middle still called Saint Fillan's seat, and near to that St Fillan's well, formerly in great repute for curative virtues." "St Fillan's Fair is still held annually in this place in January" (St Fillan's commemoration day was 9th January). In Bagimont's Roll the

"vicarage of Kilallan" was taxed £2, 13s. 4d. In Strathfillan, again, near the holy pool, were the ruins of St Fillan's Chapel, in a corner of which was the rock bed of St Fillan, to which the insane were tied during the night.

If we now proceed north-west, about four miles directly north of the river Earn, and ten miles directly west of Perth, are the remains of Inchaffray Abbey, in what is now the Parish of Madderty. In Gaelic, *Madadh* is a dog, *madadh alluidh* is a wolf, a wild dog ; *ty* = house. The connection of Inchaffray and St Fillan we will return to.

Proceeding straight west up the river Earn, at the end of the loch of the same name, we come to what is now called St Fillans, in the near neighbourhood of which was Rath Erann, otherwise Dundurn, which Skene tells us was the principal stronghold of the men of Fortrenn. The Saint Fillan, specially mentioned in connection with Dundurn, has the epithet *am lobhar,* translatable either as *am*, the *lobhar* leper, or *am* a negative and *lobhar*, modern *labhair* speaking, therefore not speaking, mute. Now it is interesting that the Felire of Aengus speaks of this Fillan as the "splendid mute," while in Sweden the wolf is

called "the silent." We quote this because that qualification may have struck others as well as the Swedes. Colgan, the Irish hagiologist, calls this Fillan, however, "Leprosus."

North-west from St Fillans is Killin at the west end of Loch Tay, said to have been the principal seat of the worship of St Fillan. Killin is at the mouth of Glendochart, which again after we pass Loch Dochart is prolonged by Strathfillan. The name Killin we take to mean White Kirk—"*in*" =*find*, white—but whatever its connection with Fillan, the first "armed" native mentioned in connection with it, the date is comparatively recent, was Macgillechrist—present day Macgilchrist—son of Christ's servant.

Killin was so called probably from having been, as it was, a settlement of Carthusians, the "white friars" from Perth.

Let us consider the connection of these places from a Church point of view.

Gilbert of Strathearn founded in 1200 the Abbacy of Inchaffray, bringing from Scone the Canons necessary for its foundation. It was the Abbot of Inchaffray who was the principal churchman present with the Bruce at Bannockburn, and

the saintly relic upon which Bruce relied was the arm-bone of St Fillan, and in gratitude for the assistance given him Bruce founded a priory in Strathfillan. Scone was the locality of the Coronation Stone; at Inchaffray we conclude was the arm-bone relic, and in Glendochart and Strathfillan were Fillan's crosier and Fillan's bell. What we are told of the arm-bone puts it in the possession of some priest who had charge of it, and it is not immediately connected with the Abbot himself. Boece tells us Bruce had its silver case in his tent, of course supposing that it contained the relic. The case, however, to use Bellenden's translation, "chakkit to suddanlie," the noise of which closure called the attention of the priest in charge who had left the bone elsewhere for safety. He then examined and found the bone in the case; doubtless it was after the relic had introduced itself that the lid of the case "chakkit." To "chack" is Scottish for the clacking noise made by the check when the quantity of yarn required for a cut has been wound on a reel.

There are a number of Fillans mentioned in tradition. There were nineteen of them according to Colgan, but two have been differentiated in

Scottish story, the southern settlements being ascribed to the one, the northern ones with which we are now dealing being ascribed to the other. We look upon this as an excogitated difference, we consider them one and the same, and the particulars we are told of them, as for instance, the names of their fathers and mothers, as monkish inventions. Thus we hear of Fillan's father being *Feriach*; *fer* is *fir* "man," and *riach* is *riabhag* "the grey one," *i.e.* wolf, grizzled, the grizzled one. His mother was Kentigerna, *Ken*, *ceann* (Gael) "head"; *tighern*—"lord"; a chief, a king, a prince: but as he had a father a wolf, a female termination makes a princess of this head prince. Has this not a distinct suggestion of the crowning place, Scone, of the chief ruler in Pictish Scotland, and according to Pictish tradition where nobility was reckoned through the female, naturally it would be a princess and not a prince who would give the son a right to royal precedence.

The patron saint of Glasgow is well known as Kentigern, but he has another name, Mungo, applied it is said to him by St Servanus, who used to call him "in the language of his country, Munghu, which in Latin means Karissimus

Amicus." Compare Munghu and the Gaelic spelling of Glasgow, Glasghu. Glasghu undoubtedly may be translated "grey dog." Munghu, if we connect it with the Gaelic, Irish, and Scottish *muin*, teach, instruct, the word is formed "the instructing dog." St Mundus is a name evidently connected with the same verb of instruction, and we are told that Fillan succeeded St Mundus of Kilmun, of whom he was a disciple, as abbot of his monastery there. As a disciple and follower then of a pre-existing Mundus, Mund-cu, Mund's dog, describes him fairly well. There is no forcing of a derivation in this case. We refer also to the name of Cuchullin, the "dog of Culan." Culan, evidently an invented personage, we hold to mean "son of Fillan," often spelled Fullan, Cuchullin, *i.e.* dog of son of Fullan. The dog, we know, has been called man's greatest friend. There is no Gaelic word *mun* with an affectionate meaning, but, of course, there is a Latin one meaning "clean," in ecclesiastical Latin "morally pure," free from sin, certainly a cause of great affection by a Christian teacher for his pupil.

Fillan betook himself to an uncle Conganus at a place named Siaracht in Glendochart. Con-

ganus? *cu* genitive plural *con* dogs—*conan*, a snarling, mischievous character in Scottish Ossianic stories. *Conan* = "doggies." Conan is a river name in Ross-shire.

In the Pictish Chronicle, composed about the tenth century, the Picts are credited with being the descendants of a certain Cruithne, who had seven sons. The names given to these are those of districts in what we now call Scotland, in older days Alba; Fife, Athole, Fortrenn, already mentioned, etc., and one to which we now allude for the first time, Circinn. The spellings vary considerably. Athole appears as Fotla; Fife as Fib; and Circinn also as Cirig. Where the Gael write *cu* for "dog," the Welsh use *ci*, forming the plural *cwn* with the Welsh *w*, which has the sound of *oo* in good; the Gaelic plural corresponding, is *cona*, *coin*. Circinn we translate as *ci-air-cinn*, dog-headed; while the other name Cirig, as appropriate to the governor of such people, *ci-rig*, dog-king. The king, called Ciricius or Grig of the Pictish Chronicle, is evidence of an early cultus of some sort of some such name as that of Saint Cyricus or Cyr, and the name Ecclesgreg points to the same thing. There was a Christin

Mack*grig*, a tenant of the Prior of St Andrews, before 1144; and Mal*grig*, Prior of the Culdees of Muthill, in 1214. Saint Fillan, the mute, has for his day the 20th of June; Ciricus day is the 16th June; and the solstice is given in the same authority, the Calendar of Aengus, as the 21st June, rightly enough; and from about that period may be said to have commenced the ancient dog days. From these facts we conclude that there was some connection recognized between this dog-king and Fillan. As the name Forfar does not occur in these traditional histories, Circinn as a district close to what was spoken of as Fortrenn must have included this Plain of the Dog-heads, a frequent designation of it being Magh Circinn, *Magh* meaning "plain." In the Irish story of Conghal Clairinghneach, a king of Ulster, Anadhal, son of the king of the Concheanns, and his Concheanns, having heard that Conghal had made a banding with the son of the king of Alban, also made such a banding. The tale speaks of the land of the Concheanns but does not say where it was, but the connection with Alban, Scotland, is sufficiently clear. Concheanns means "dog-heads," and we can have no doubt the name was

used in allusion to Magh Circinn. Now for a fact to identify locality. In Stewart's "Sculptured Stones of Scotland," plate cxxxviii., is preserved a figure, clothed with the leine (shirt) with a dog's-head carrying a double crosier—not double in the sense of one being inside the other like St Fillan's. The stone on which the figure was cut was found at Strathmartin in Forfarshire, or, as they say, Angus. This stone has, unfortunately, since been destroyed, but there is not the slightest doubt of its appearance and its locality, and the dog's mask—we suppose it was such—upon the figure. Here, then, we would place the locality of Fillan's uncle, Conganus. The use of *ci* in Cirig and Circinn seems a trace of an approximation at any rate to the Welsh dialect of the so-called Picts.

The place to which Fillan is said, in the Breviary of Aberdeen, to have gone to his uncle, was Siaracht in "Glendeochquhy," and it is a natural conclusion that this glen is that of the Dochart, which runs into Loch Tay and is a continuation of Strathfillan. Siaracht has left no trace of its name in the locality, but *siar* is the Gaelic for "the west," and Siaracht would there-

fore be *westward*, undoubtedly pointing out his move to Strathfillan, which lies to the west of the district where was found the dog-headed sculptured figure. If this supposition is correct, it is no use looking for an exact locality "siaracht." Siaracht would also be the direction he (if there had been a man "Fillan") took if he went to what was northern Argyle, and is now Ross-shire, to Loch Alsh, where he is commemorated along with Congan in the churches of Kilkoan and Killellan, the former being a quite normal pronunciation for Kill-Congan, as the latter of Kill *Fh*ellan.

On the line west from Strathfillan we come to the country of the MacGregors—a name the derivation of which we suggested is Groegwr: Latin, Graecor = Greeks—persons living after the manner of the Greeks.[1] In 1630 the Lords of Council granted a commission to the Earl of Monteith and other nobles and prominent men to call together the lieges and pursue with fire and sword certain lymmars of the Clan Gregour, several of whom are styled M'Coull, and in Glenurchy, till quite recently, there were four or

[1] See "Our Ancestors: Scots, Picts, and Cymry," p. 367.

five families known locally by their Gaelic name MacCuail. They, like other MacGregors, in speaking English, called themselves MacDonald, but this proves the connection of the MacGregors with those calling themselves "of the wall"—*Gual.*

Further north than the line Inchaffray, St Fillans, Killin, but in the centre of Athole lying in the neighbourhood of the Falls of Garry and of Bruar is Strowan (the streams), dedicated also to St Fillan. This was in the possession of the Robertsons, considered the chiefs of the Clan Donnachaidh. Here was also an iron bronze-covered bell called the Clag buidheann, the "bell of the troops," lately in the possession of the M'Inroys of Lude, also in the near neighbourhood of the Blair of Athole. Lude, called till 1731 Balnagrew — Balnadhruidh — Druids town — or more directly *druth*, "a *fool*," "a harlot," those who did the "shaving of birds and *fools*," the frontal tonsure of the Culdees and of Simon Magus—compare the druids of the tribes of Tay, p. 9. The name of this bell leads naturally to the supposition that it was subsidiary to *the* bell of Fillan, the troops probably alluding to the clans in the

immediate neighbourhood of Logierait, said on the authority of the New Statistical Account to have been called Bal no Maoir, *i.e.* the "town of the thief-takers," as they say, *maor* being the Latin *major*—now, in English, *mayor*, the principal officer of a town. We may conclude that the Buidheann was, as it were, the diploma of this troop of thief-takers. Logierait (? *Log a rechtaire*), the "place of the steward," the equivalent of the Maor *riaraiche*, modern Scottish Gaelic for *rechtaire*, a word which is still used in Irish.

Consider the name of the Clan Donnachie, Donnachaidh. Tradition and history mixed tell us that Rob Reoch = "freckly Bob," a chief of Clan Donnachaidh, was killed in an encounter with Forrester of the Torwood, Robert claiming as the righteous possession of his people that locality, the Torwood itself being about two miles north of the Roman dyke, "Gual." From this Robert, the Robertsons. His grandfather was said to be contemporary with Bannockburn (1314) and called Donnachadh Reamhar. "Duncan the Fat"—from him the Duncansons. But it is notable, seeing we are dealing with a churchy subject, that Domhnach is applied in Gaelic to a

church and to a holy relic, *e.g.* the *Domnach airgid*, "the silver Domnach"—a copy of the four gospels ascribed to St Patrick preserved in a threefold shrine of wood, copper, and silver. The derivation of the word is from the Latin *dominus*, and is used in Gaelic for Sunday, Di-domhnuich; Irish, Domhnach, "the Lord's Day." The claim advanced for the Clan Donachadh is that it arose from the possession of, or connection with, a holy relic, and, if so, whose relic can it have been but of Fillan—we do not say that it ever was in possession of St Lupus.

We have mentioned the foundation by the Earl of Strathearn, in 1200, of the Abbacy of Inchaffray with the necessary clergy for its foundation brought from Scone. The Abbacy of Scone itself was founded in 1114 by Alexander I. who, we think, may possibly have been the first king crowned on this so-called fatal stone, said to have been brought from Argyle by Kenneth MacAlpine, about 850, its starting-place being guessed at as Dunstaffnage. This we believe to be the commencement of the mythical story of the stone, composed to give it a good basis for reference, Dunstaffnage being accepted as "Stephen's dun."

Stephen's connection with stones, of course, is notorious.

Kenneth MacAlpine is said to have been a "Scot," and the Pict and the Scot have been differentiated as if they were a distinct people. After all, the term Scot was applied to those who were supposed to live in the obscurity, as it were, of the cornice of creation, σκοτία darkness, *Scotia*, a sunken moulding so called from the dark shadow it casts. They were in fact those to whom Tom Moore might have applied his lines as dwelling

> "On the verge of creation
> Where sunshine and smiles must be equally rare."

It was the Abbot of Inchaffray who was with Bruce at Bannockburn; at Scone we had the fatal seat; at Glendochart we find St Fillan's crosier, and further west St Fillan's bell. What about the arm-bone? When St Rule brought St Andrew's relics to St Andrews the principal one was St Andrew's arm which has disappeared. Alexander the First (1078-1124) in his determined fashion accepting the division of the country, made by Edgar the Saxon, assumed the kingship of Scotland north of the Firths, and there maintained the independence of his government with

perseverance during the continual disquiet by the ecclesiastical pretensions of the Archbishops of York and Canterbury to a superiority over the Scottish See. On the death of Turgot, Bishop of the Scots, nominated by the Archbishop of York in opposition to the claims of the Archbishop of Canterbury, Alexander diplomatically applied to Canterbury for a successor. After long delay one Eadmer was nominated who, dying, Alexander nominated Robert Prior of Scone; Culdee Kilrimont, now St Andrews, becoming the cathedral city of the Bishops of the Scots, gifted with large possessions by Alexander (see Appendix, p. 88).

St Andrew was the patron saint of Scythia, and the Pictish Chronicle, drawing for its information from Isidore of Seville who died in 636, says: "The Scots who now erroneously are called Hibernians may also be called Sciti because they come from Scythia from which they had their origin. It may be that they had their name from Scotta, daughter of Pharaoh, king of Egypt, who was said to have been Queen of the Scots." The latter information is not from Isidore. At the end of the tenth century, however, it is clear that the Scot and the Pict were inextricably

mixed in literature, and the relics with which we are dealing were ascribed to the Scots ; the Picts being supposed to have been exterminated. The advent of St Andrew's relics was said to be during the reign of a Pictish monarch, Hungus, Angus (reigned 731-761), who chose for the place of their conservation Rigmund, the traditional locality of his meeting with St Rule, Regulus, the old name of St Andrews being Kil*rimont*, translated as " cell of the king's mount." We suggest that it was during the rivalry of the Archbishops of England that the arm-bone relic disappeared from St Andrews, probably under the care of Robert of Scone. Note that it was not in the charge of the Abbot of Inchaffray, at Bannockburn, but of a separate keeper. Kilrimont was a Culdee and not Roman establishment. In fact there was a prior and brethren of Culdees there in the beginning of the fourteenth century. Now, what was there at Scone ? The Royal Seat ; the fatal stone to which an infinity of attention has been paid, and a crosier and a bell. Where are the baghel (crosier) and the bell ? At Westminster was the big lump of red sandstone, probably from the neighbourhood of Scone, in a prominent position,

though when it was first placed there it was the seat of the officiating priest. On this evidently, when at Scone, stood the bell, certainly the more interesting relic, and the baghel more easily removable would be in the possession of the person who had charge of the bell. The stone was difficult to move, was in all probability without sanctity except in connection with the bell and crosier, so these were carried off and the stone left for Edward to transport. We have no doubt of its having been used in connection with the installation of the Pictish Ruler, and we have a further suggestion of this in what we are told of St Fillan's bell. When St Fillan went west, "siarach," he is said to have built a basilica, the name given to the form of Christian churches built by Constantine; but in Greek, ἡ βασιλική, meant hereditary monarchy and the remains of the building in Strathfillan was said to be his cathedral. Here also in the Fillan Water is the Holy Pool, in which the insane were dipped and where, after having passed the night bound, the bell was set on their head with great solemnity. So far as the remnants of regal initiation were preserved in the district it was the bell that was the property used.

No doubt the stone of Scone had been removed, but a stone seat was not wanting near the pool. Why insanity should be the human failing particularly chosen for treatment is difficult to say. But it is a fact that the bell of St Fillan as we have it is unsound—to put it in ordinary language it is badly cracked. *Sanus* of itself simply means "sound," "whole," and if the bell was not sound it was *insanus*. The curious decoration of its handle will suggest the reason why dipping in a "pool" quieted at any rate an insanity mentioned by Plautus.

The Christianity of Scotland was, till the time of Canmore, entirely, and till the time of his son Alexander I., who died 1124, largely represented by the Culdees, and it is of importance to remember that they rejected the worship of saints and angels. "It was only when they were supplanted by a new order of monks that a change was introduced in the case of the establishment at Scone, which was dedicated anew by Alexander, not only to the Holy Trinity as before, but also to God Himself, St Mary, and others." There seems a strong probability that at this date, 1114, was the commencement of saint worship in Alba. If then,

as we suppose, there were relics of a Lupus reverence preserved at Scone, it would in no wise be strange if these relics had passed into the hands of lay keepers who, when the new forms of government were introduced in the reign of Malcolm Canmore with the advice and assistance of the Saxon Queen and her followers, should retain something of the authority which would naturally follow the possession of such things. The Maors (Mayors) became Thanes, though while William the Lion addressed himself to his Thanes in Perthshire he gave the same sort of orders to his Maors in Galloway, also a Pictish district. Certain of the officials called by these titles held power in what were called Abthaneries. The Culdee monasteries were in modern ecclesiastical terminology "Congregationalist," so their government was largely in the hands of the local superior, and peculiarities in each we have no doubt existed. This superior "Father" (Abba) must have, it is clear, been called at one period of this Church's existence in Scotland an abbot. If the wives of the Culdees were not admitted to the monasteries during residence, they certainly were not forbidden altogether, and from this state of matters the

family of an abbot would necessarily almost retain the prominent position of their progenitor, and this would account quite naturally for the power subsequently exercised by laymen with a church title. Prior seems to have been the title more common to Culdee settlements, and is certainly a preferable translation of Maor than Abbot, and we conclude therefore that the title of Maor is more likely to have been that used by the Picts and Scots, and as we find it a dignity applied to laymen we have another indication of a custom from which the Culdee churchman would become a lay official. We have exactly the same thing in the use of the title of Prior among the religious knightly orders. The clan "Macnab," *i.e.* Mac-an-abba, was subsequently of consequence in the Abthanery of Dull. One of the holders of such an Abthanery was Crinan, father of King Duncan, from whom Alexander himself was descended, and an ordinance of William the Lion, another descendant of Crinan's, seems to carry on tradition, in his instruction to his Thanes, evidently including the Thane of Dull, that if one with a grievance in that part of Argyle which pertained to Scotland, in which is the old Pictish

fortification now called Dunad in Crinan, he was to send with him his own men to guarantee the relevancy of the complaint. We speak of Dunad as a Pictish fortification ; we do so from consideration of the results of the investigations there carried on, and further from the fact recorded in the Annals of Ulster that Egfrid warring with his *cousin* Brude, king of the Picts, burned about the same time, A.D. 685, Tula Aman and Duin Ollaig, *i.e.* Inisthuthill (Delvine) on Tay, and Dunolly in Crinan in Lorne, not the modern Dunolly close to Oban, the name of what was described as " the chief stronghold " of the tribe of Lorn being carried on to the more modern castle.

Crinan of the Abthanery of Dull was no parson ; he was a fighting man though called Abbot of Dunkeld, and was slain by Macbeth in 1045, according to the Annals of Ulster. His Christianity being of the Culdee type, Saint Lupus' relics would be no more to him than, say, Gladstone's walking-stick to a liberal-minded Scot of the present day.

Coming down in the circle of years from Crinan, passing William the Lion to the day of Robert the Bruce, we have seen the stone at Scone carried

off by Edward. The arm-bone said to be Fillan's and which we believe to appear in Romanist Church Records as that of St Andrew, we see not in the possession of the Abbot of Inchaffray but of that of a nameless individual. We find Robert Bruce giving powers of police to a certain Deor (Dewar) of the Coigreach, both words meaning "stranger," the said "Stranger" being the crosier of St Fillan, to pursue and recover stolen cattle for certain perquisites including a pair of shoes. This Dewar was a layman, pure and simple, but his diploma, the staff, disclosed the secret of its name on examination only in our own time, when it was discovered that an ancient bronze was enclosed in the more modern and more ornamental regulation bishop's crook. Thus we find that there were two St Fillan's crooks (?) as well as two St Fillan's bells distributed between the Thanedom of Dulmonych and the Abthanedom of Dull without the *monych* = "monks." The bronze bell and the bronze in the crosier head, which bronze, by the way, has much the same bend as the "bachuill more" the "great staff" of St Moloch long preserved in the family of the Livingstones in Lismore, seem to be

of about the same date, while the Logyrait bell is an iron bell, hammered, not cast, and of the same description as other iron bells in Scotland and Ireland, St Patrick's for instance, and probably of local manufacture. The unmistakable crosier head seems to be the most modern of all the four productions. The short bend of what we have spoken of as the older crook lends itself easily to the supposition that it was so formed as to be used as a hammer for the tongueless bell.[1] There is no historical record ascribing the custody of either bell to any separate family, and it is only when we come down to quite recent times that we find a name in the district where it was located with such a meaning ascribable to it, Macilglegane, Mcglagane. Glagan is more particularly a clapper than a bell itself, and there can be no doubt that those Gaelic-speaking bearers of the name took that view. *Glagan doruis* is a "door knocker." Neither of St Fillan's bells is provided with a clapper. *Clag* is a bell, *an* a diminutive of affection. There is, however, such a thing as a *clach ghlagain* in Gaelic tradi-

[1] We have it on record that the ancient Irish Saints sometime cursed offenders while sounding their bells with blows of their crosiers.

tion. The causeways, *clochain*, for approaching so-called Pictish towers built in fresh-water lochs, were composed of stepping-stones placed in a curve and under the surface of the water. Tradition has it that one of these stones was so balanced that when a person approaching the dun put his foot on it it made a sound, a grating noise. This was called the *clach ghlagain*, the warning stone. All know that rocking stones are called Logan stones, Laggan stones, the initial g (c) having become silent. "Clochan" for a causeway occurs in the Irish name for the Giant's Causeway, "Clochan na bh-Fomorach." *Clach*, *cloch*, a "stone," and if we compare that of one of the clans who fought on the Inch of Perth in 1396, Clachinyha, we see how it may very well be translated "of the causeway." It is not advisable to deduct too much from the spelling of a name; deducting it would be too much in such a case as this, to conclude that any single spelling of the name, however old and however plainly comprehensible, accurately fixes its philology.

In the Lists and Muster Rolls of the Scots Guards in France, A.D. 1424, is "Wastre Laquin Chevalier du pays d'escosse," *i.e.* Walter *Lagan*. In the Muster Rolls of the Life Guards in France

"Walter *Lecky*, Chevalier du pays d'escosse," received certain payments on the 20th July 1435 for him and his people; evidently the same man, and we say so because *leac* or *leag* is the spelling of a word signifying a "flat stone" or a "precious stone," a "jewel." The paymaster of the Guards apparently gave more attention to the Scottish pronunciation in the case of the first entry, and we suggest the second spelling was owing to Walter giving a more noble significance to his patronymic rather than that of a mere slab of sandstone. In 1497, in the same Muster Roll among the men-at-arms, we find Loys de Claquin; the *de* doubtless representing *mac*, therefore MacClaquin, while in 1496, among the Life Guards is a man-at-arms, Patrick Maclelain, *i.e.* Patrick Mac-Gille-Fillan. Loys, judging from his French Christian name, was surely born in France, a descendant of someone of that name, not impossibly Walter above. Present-day experience in the writer's case is that the writing MacLagan is one almost invariably adopted by those who have no Gaelic, the older spellings preferring Mac*l*——. Curious to say, there is a Scotch spelling, 1692, Mack-claquane.

Seeing the ancient bells had no clapper slung in

them, they were necessarily struck like a gong with a separate instrument, that this was so the expression used for sounding a bell in Gaelic still is to "strike it," and so in the list of Patrick's household we find mentioned "Sinell, the man of the striking (*bein*) of the bell." Now this *Sinell* is called in the Gaelic Patrick's *aistiri*; while in Latin he is described as *campanarius*; so we see that the bell-ringer was called an *aistiri*. *Aistiri* is neither more nor less than *ostiarius*, *i.e.* "door-keeper." The *Seanchus beag*, an Irish Brehon tract, does a little philologizing like other people, and explains *uas aitreoir*, so spelling the word *aistreoir* because "noble was his work (*uas-a-threoir*) when it is the bell of a round tower." Thus we see that a high respectability was ascribable to a bellman of sorts. In Penant's day he tells us of the death at Iona of the last of the Clan an Oister, Ostiarii, the door-keepers of the monastery. Here then we find a reason for the frequent occurrence of such names as Durward, the name of his hero in Scott's romance of the Scots Guard, Porteous, Macandorsair, etc. Now the name Macandorsair leads to the only traditional story connected with the name Maclagan, of any value, dismissing such futilities as

a man being so called from swimming the River Laggan; saving the life of a calf, *leogan*, etc. Barbour tells us how that Bruce, when retreating from his foes in the near neighbourhood from which the bronze bell of St Fillan was first taken in modern times, was attacked by two brothers "that were the hardiest of hand in that country," and a third, in a narrow place betwixt a loch side and a brae still pointed out. Bruce disposed of the whole three according to Barbour, but one of them retained Bruce's brooch, which subsequently remained in the possession of the Macdougalls of Lorne. Barbour's Gaelic name for them is *Makyne Drosser*, but he translates it "sons of the Durward." Tradition, naturally, one might say, makes these Doorwards, Macdougalls, the fight having taken place in Lorn. MacDougall, as we spell it now, and as it has been spelt for some time, with the meaning of the "black stranger" (*dhu* black, *gall* stranger, lowlander), has its pronunciation made more or less clear by the spellings we find in various places where clans of these MacDougalls existed. Let us take a spelling of 1528 from the Black Book of Taymouth, *Makcwill* of Ragarra, *MacCoull* of Dunnollycht, Angus *M'Cowle*, dwelling in Glenroy; M'Dougall Reoch, alongside of

his brothers, whose names are spelt *Doullreoch* and Mac*Coulreoch* in 1573. These spellings carry us from Strathtay to Lorne. Now there are other MacDougalls than those we find from the neighbourhood of Fortingall to Dunnollycht, that is in Galloway, the spelling being M'Coull, McQuhoull, and also McOull. On the authority of Campbell of Islay, a first-rate authority in such a matter, the Gaelic pronounciation of MacDougall is Macgooill. We have tried to demonstrate the reasons of our belief for associating the early names of the clans of the Tay and Teith and Athole with those driven north from the head of the Firth of Forth, settled along the Forth and Clyde Dyke, by pressure from Frisian and other Saxon invaders. Now judging from what we see in Strathtay, and knowing that the Cumbrian Britons were also present west, it seems likely that there is a connection between the Galloway name McCoull and the Perth and Argyle MacCoull. All know that there exist still, one may say, very recognizable remains of the wall stretching from Tyne to Solway, and so early as the first part of the fifth century Orosius gave the length of this latter wall as 133 miles,

which really is a fair computation of the length of both the wall and the Scottish dyke. According to Nennius the Roman Vallum was called "Guaul," which, after all, simply means "wall." It seems clear that these clansmen were so called as "sons of the wall." We see them to have been considered Picts, their Christianity apparently Culdee, and they had for regalia certain relics ascribed to a teacher, subsequently called a saint, whose name was "Wolf."

There are other dedications to St Fillan than those we have mentioned ranging over a fairly wide stretch of Scotland. There was a church at Aberdour dedicated to him, and it is in the immediate neighbourhood, on the main land, of the island settlement dedicated to Columba. There was also in Fife a cave at Pittenweem dedicated to St Fillan. At Doune, on the Teith, a chapel within the fortifications, and another "extra castrum" pointing therefore to a reverence for a Fillan among the men of Teith as well as those of Athole and Strathtay, and in Wigton, the country of the southern Picts, is Kilfillan, where were native names such as Maclellan, Clellan, MacClolan, often called Cleland. They were a

strong people in Galloway, and gave their name to Balmaclellan in the Glenkens, and one of them built the castle of Barscobe there. They were also lairds of Bombie, and most of the land about Kirkcudbright. Here we may take in a curious story explanatory of the coat of arms of the MacClelands of Bombie—a Moor's head on the point of a dirk for crest, and a yellow shield with black chevrons. This Moor, it seems, had come to Galloway and laid waste the country. A stranger knight came to Galloway and asked what the king would give him if he slew the Moor; the answer was the lands of Bombie. The Gall, foreigner, Gaul, managed to poison the black stranger with henbane, and cut off his head while lying under the influence of the drug and presented it to the king, who gave him the stipulated reward. The Gall then took for his crest, shall we say, MacCoull's head. The black man's traditional name is Black-Morrow. The pronunciation of the name is evidently connected with a farm in the neighbourhood called Black-Morrow, but there is no doubt of the negro, *dubh Gall*, head crest. Talking of armorial bearings the Lion Office gives us the following as an

addition to a collection of blazons made by Joseph Stacey, a herald who died in 1689 :

> "M'lagan, a branch of the M'Cleland,
> Or two cheverons sable within a
> bordure of the last."

This coat-armour business is, of course, very recent relatively, but it shows indisputably the accepted connection of the Maclagans with Fillan. There is no record of Maclagans in Galloway, but there is an honourable family of Bells. An inscription on a knight's tomb at Dundrennan spelt MacCleland, "Maklolandus," from which was deduced apparently that he was originally from the lowlands of Holland. A like name occurs in connection with the ancient St Patrick's bell, the iron bell preserved in a highly ornamental shrine called the Clog an Eadhachta ; a bell of the same make as that spoken of as at Logierait. The keepers of this bell appear in 1356 in the Annals of the Four Masters in the following terms : "Soloman O'Mellan, keeper of the Bell of the Will, died ; he was the general patron of the clergy of Ireland." O'Mellan means the "descendant of my Fillan." On the case of the bell itself is marked the request

of a prayer for Donnell O'Lochlain through whom this bell was made, and for Donnell the successor of Patrick with whom it was made, and for Chathalan U Maelchalland the *maer* of the bell; *i.e.* the official of the bell. Here, then, we find an undoubted trace of the reverence paid to Fillan in Perth and Galloway, and in Armagh, the keeper of the bell so called of St Patrick describing himself as a descendant of a servant of Fillan. Has the name Black Morrow any connection with Maor, Maer? caused by the misinterpretation of MacCoul as Mac-Dubh-Gall.

Ulster has from the earliest traditional times had among its population a proportion of Cruithnigh, *i.e.* Picts. St Patrick himself came from the Cumbrian coast of England, and when we see in history that Ulster was early settled by Scots, we take it that that statement means men from modern Scotland. Nobody knows exactly when Scotland got that name. At the commencement of the fifth century Claudius Claudianus said that icy Ireland wept heaps of Scots. Ireland is not so icy as Alba, but the geographical idea of the position of Alba was that its west coast was the north coast, running on about the same parallel of

longitude with the proper north coast of Ireland, bending forward towards the east. When its true position was recognized, and it was, so to say, made to sit up, its northern extremity pointing north and not east, and giving full credit to the icy character of the habitation of the Scots, it might then have well been called Scotland, the native tongue, however, retaining, as it does to this day, the name Alba.

Let us look at the Gaelic name for the Picts, Cruitneach, Cruithnigh, etc. In Gaelic corn is called *cruithneachd*, and if we are right, and this derivation of the name for the Picts supports our contention of the Romano-British origin of those so called when we consider Cæsar's statement that the inland inhabitants of Britain did not sow corn, but lived on milk and flesh, therefore those whose principal victual was corn would naturally get a distinctive appellation. We see an exactly parallel case in South Africa, where the Africander Dutch are called Boers, *i.e.* cultivators. This name for corn presumably is not native, and we look upon it as a learned name with its origin in the Greek κρῖθή, "barley," from which we know there was a οἶνο ἐκ κριθέων, "barley wine," mentioned by Herodotus.

The introduction of brewing into these islands is credited by authorities to the Romans. There is no ground really for there being any connection between *cruth*, "form," "appearance," and cruithneach, one who changed his appearance by tattooing his skin, Pictus. The cultivator has always been considered a somewhat unintelligent, stupid person, and our word boor for an unmannerly, uncultured individual is a distinct survival among ourselves of this feeling. Campbell of Islay gives us the "Lay of the Great Fool," whose description of himself is "I am the great Fool," the son of the knight's wife (female descent), the nursling of the nurse, and the foster brother of Donald, the nurse's son. He was a warrior of the best, wrathful and fierce, and is described by the supernatural being the Gruagach of the golden Dun whom he had conquered, as the "mighty fool is his name, the men of the world are at his beck, and the yielding to him was mine." "The Great Fool," *an t'amadan mor*. The Welsh for an agriculturist is *amaethon*; thus the Gaelic for a fool is the Welsh for a boor. There is a Breton tale of Peronnik l'Idiot who, though his adventures differ in detail, is of exactly the same mentality,

so to say, as "the Great Fool"; both were *cruithnigh*, *i.e.* agriculturists, but Firu mhor treun, "men great and warlike."

"Cruithnigh" is continually spoken of as an "Irish" name for the Picts, but that is not so, as the Pictish Chronicle makes Cruithne the forefather of the Picts of Scotland, and the names of the provinces those of his sons. Cruithne is said to have had a father, Cinge, in which we recognize *ci*, the Welsh spelling of the Gaelic *cu*, a "dog," *n* = an "of the"; *ce*, as the Highland Society's Dictionary translates it, "globus terrae," "dog of world." In Irish story a tribe of invaders is spoken of as the Fir Domhnanns, the "men of the Universe," a name excogitated for the Romans: compare also Cinge and Cirigh already spoken of.

It is almost a heresy to express disbelief in the Christianizing of the Picts by Columba. Consideration of the story in Adamnan of his visit to Inverness and his dealings with Brude the Pictish king, of the same name as that given to the king of the Picts who defeated and slew Egbert the Saxon at the battle of Linn Garan, and Brude's druid Broichan, shows it a mere monkish fable.

Put against this the relics of Fillan and the concatenation of folk story from the time of the writing by Bede of the *conquest* of the Picts by Lupus, and the names founded on tradition in the territory of the Culdee Church, there can scarcely be any doubt of the Christianity of the Picts of central Scotland and Galloway—a Christianity of a sort probably taking shape after the mission aimed against the Pelagian heresy. Here let us recall that in the so-called epistle to Coroticus, a British Prince, ascribed to St Patrick, he accuses Coroticus and his people of being companions of the "Scots and apostate Picts." If there is some truth in this tradition, their apostasy was from the Christianity of Pelagius?

If we consider the relics of him whom the Romish Church subsequently called Saint Fillan, we see there were two possible crosiers, two bells, and we suggest one arm, which was ascribed to St Andrew, and one hewn stone. All of these were preserved at one time (we have lost the arm) in the Pictish district stretching across the centre of Scotland from Fife to Argyle. The only one of these relics said to have been originally in the possession of a church was the St Andrew's arm,

for the Scone stone was said to come from Dunstaffnage, and the bells and crosiers were undoubtedly in the keeping of laymen, and it would appear that the arm was so also. There were thus two ecclesiastical outfits, so to say; and when so-called history came to be written it was a natural deduction that there was a Fillan for each of them. Having then two Fillans, each must have a genealogy, and as they were considered "Scottish" saints these genealogies were derived from Ireland. One Fillan is said to have been of the race of Aenghus, son of Nadfraech, a king of Munster. Aenghus is the equivalent of *unicus*, the "only one"; *aen* (Gaelic), one; and is the name of the king who received Saint Rule and St Andrew's arm. Nadfraech, on the authority of Joyce, *nad* in composition means "nest," but *nada* is a "bit"; *nide*, a thing, a jot, a part of anything; and *brae*, *braich*, is an arm; *Nadbhraich*, "of the bit of the arm." Nadfraech, however, was made, a Scot-Irishman, a king of Munster. Of Aenghus of Cashel, we are told that he was the first Christian king of Ireland baptized by St Patrick, who during the ceremony damaged the king's foot with the point of his

crosier. Aenghus died in 489, say the Annals.[1] Feredach, the father of the other Fillan, also spelt Feriach (see p. xii.), is given as probably of the race of Fiatach Finn; Fer-etach, "man of (fine) clothes"; *Fiatach Finn*, Fair Ferocious, son of *Daire, i.e.* of Oak, son of *Dluthach*, of weaving, and his mother, as we already said, Kentigerna, a feminine form of the name Kentigern, otherwise called Mungu, and we are also informed that this Fillan was a pupil of Mun, and succeeded him as Abbot of Kilmun. Kentigerna was a daughter of Cellach Cualan, a king of Leinster. Cellach certainly suggests the Latin cella, a granary, subsequently the cell of a religious person, Cualan, very suggestive of Gualan; and, remembering that there was a Roman roadway from Forth to Clyde along the dyke called Gual, it is curious to notice that the only Cualon in ancient Irish history is a Slighe Cualon, a road called Gualan, finished in Ireland in the reign of Conn the hundred fighter. In what part of Ireland, history sayeth not. The

[1] The Tripartite Life tells us that all the arrachts (= idols) in Aenghus' palace fell on their faces like Dagon before the Ark when Patrick went to Cashel. We must remember that this incident is one in the manufacture of the Sen Patraig by the Romanists claiming seniority in the Christianity of Ireland.

date ascribed to the death of Hungus, who received the relics of St Andrew from St Rule, is the year 736 (Annals of Ulster, say 761), that is two years after the death of Kentigerna, mother of the Fillan, celebrated on January 9th. Curious to say, Hungus is said to have gained a great victory over the Britons at Tynemount by direction, in a vision, of St Andrew; as Fillan subsequently did for the Bruce at Bannockburn. At the time of the controversy regarding the independence of the Scottish Church, the legend of St Andrew and other documents antedate the dedication of St Andrews by four centuries, *i.e.* to the fifth century. The date of the mission of Germanus and Lupus to Britain was 429. It is clear that there were relics enough of quite the same description for two saints; but it is incredible to find two Irishmen of the same name settling themselves, so to say, the one at St Fillans at the end of Loch Earn, the other in Glendochart at the end of Loch Tay, within an easy day's walk the one of the other; and noteworthy to find that in the centre of the district of which the bounds were Glendochart, St Fillans, Inchaffray, and Strowan, is a place called Doul, the Abthanery, from the

official of which apparently the Sons of the Abbot Mac-n-ab claim descent. Lupus of the mission was born at Toul, in Lorraine. Hungus is said, in the French chronicle of the Picts and Scots, to have been slain by treachery at Scone.

When we consider that it had been thought advantageous to conceal the more ancient bronze inside the one subsequently known as the "Stranger," Coigreach, a word apparently derived from the Old Irish, *cocrich*, meaning a "mutual boundary"—the stranger, therefore, was one of a neighbouring province. We may conclude that to whichever of the bronzes of the double staff head the name was originally applied, the older of the two was purposely concealed with a view to its remaining in the hands of its then keepers. Comparing it with the shrine of St Patrick's bell, made some time in the eleventh century, of whom the Maer was called O'Mulholland, *descendant of Fillans bell*, we doubt if the external crosier was much older if at all, and it may very well have been made about the time when Donnell O'Lochlein, who ordered the making of the shrine, came to the throne in Ireland in 1083, according to the "Four Masters," and died

in 1121, while Alexander I. died but three years later in 1124. When Edward I. carried off the stone we presume then that the crosier, which was filched with the bell, was the old one already covered, and the bell was clearly the bronze cracked one now in the Museum of Antiquities. Of course we make no suggestion as to any of these having been in the hands of Lupus; it seems more probable that a tradition of his conversion of the Picts and Scots had continued, and the church properties had been in the possession of those who considered themselves his coarbs—co-heritors. As already mentioned, the iron bell at Logierait, with its title of "the bell of the troop," does not make claim to be the principal bell of St Fillan; nor is it necessary, though compared with the cast bronze bell it has a more primitive look, that it should be as old or older. Bells of iron, folded from a sheet of metal and hammered together, as were those of Patrick, Fillan, and others, were made in comparatively recent times, and, though left exposed to thieves and the weather, the writer himself saw in Glenlyon an ancient hammered-iron bell of the same make resting in an open churchyard in a

hole constructed for it in the dyke with no one apparently to take any charge of it.

When had the bell and crosier fled from the companionship of the stone? Certainly previous to Edward's carrying of it off, and it is equally certain that the crosier was double before the separation. We notice the widespread connection of Fillan names in Pictish territory including Ireland. The name Maelchallain changed to O'Mulholland should mean, the first, "the tonsured servant of the son of Follan," and the other, "the descendant of the bell of Follan," and were those of families of distinction in the counties of Derry and Meath. Derry is the same word as Daire, from whom was descended the Fillan son of Kentigerna, and in Derry their location was in the barony of Loughinsholin which means the "loch of the Island of Fillan"; while in Meath they were the chiefs of Delvinbeg, and Delvin in the parish of Caputh in Perthshire is the name of what was Inchtuthill, that Tula Aman burnt by Egfrid according to the Annals of Ulster in 685, when he was defeated and killed by the Picts. If our deduction is correct, the Christianity of the Culdee Church was the Chris-

tianity of the Picts who therefore rightly enough would call themselves of the family of Faolan, and naturally, if a religious ceremony was a part of the dedication of their rulers, it would be carried out under the auspices of their first "holy man," as they would talk of him judging of the mode of reference to Columba and others in Adamnan's life.

The stone at Scone, as we have said before, has all the evidences from its composition and appearance of being a local product of middle Alba, and might perfectly well have been left in its location at the end of the church wall at Scone by those who carried off what they supposed to be real relics, and who were certainly Men of Fortrenn and considered themselves the descendants of the defenders of the wall, as in fact they probably were. But those with whom the sandstone slab was left would pin their faith to that royal seat which remained with them. Now we find that there were two clans who bore ill-will to each other; one the clan Qwhewyl and other relevant spellings, of which we specially mention here that of John McQuhoull in Arbrak, a Galloway example in 1621, which we take to

mean the "Clan Guall," *i.e.* the "children of the wall"; and the other the "clan of the stone," Clachinyha; *clach*, a "stone," *clachan*, a village with a church (and bell ?), *clochan*, a "causeway." So deadly was the enmity of these two clans that they were persuaded to meet for an armed combat thirty against thirty in A.D. 1396. Between the battle of Cressy in 1346 and the battle of Poitiers in 1356, the war between the English and the French had degenerated, so to say, to partial encounters in which the kings of the two countries took little or no part. In Brittany, Roger Beaumanoir commanded an English party at Jocelyn, and Branborough for the French at Ploermel, at a distance of about three leagues the one from the other. Branborough challenged Roger to come with two or three men and fight him with a like number. Roger offered to bring twenty or thirty if the French captain would do the same, and they would fight it out midway at a large oak in the open moor. Thirty was the number arranged for, and on the day fixed they met and fought to a finish after intervals of repose and refreshment. The historian says the combat of thirty was more spoken of than a great battle,

and its ferocity was distinguished in a proverb that became common, "they fought like at the combat of thirty." The spot is still marked where this combat took place, between, as the present record says, "thirty Breton knights and thirty English knights." We are told they fought on foot, having dismounted from their horses, and though described as knights, they were frankly called brigands by contemporary authority. There can be no doubt that this example had appealed to the authorities in Scotland and caused them to suggest to our Perthshire "caterans (caterva, Latin), as they considered them, to settle some local quarrel resulting in continual raids among themselves. The names of the clans which took part were those given above. We have mentioned the combat in Brittany in some detail to demonstrate the great similarity between it and the combat of Perth, viz., its extreme notoriety and its occurring in 1351, but thirty-five years before the combat of Perth, the characters of those engaged virtually men fighting for their own hand independently of any state connection, though, it is true, the leaders in Brittany were attached to the separate parties contesting predominance in

the state. Doubtless any single individual of the four thirties had a strong inclination to appropriate the goods of his opponent, but the feeling for a fair fight, what in Gaelic has been expressed in terms signifying "Equity of the Feen," speaks well for their inherent chivalry. We are told in the Scotichronicon that the Perth men were armed with bow and axe and knife and sword, and without armour, while the combatants in France were armed with lances, daggers, axes, *long, hand pruning axes garnished with hooks*, while *pole* axes were specially mentioned as permissible to those fighting at Perth. Both parties fought within what we would now call a ring, and ample provision was made for spectators on both occasions. There can be little doubt that the conditions arranged in Brittany were those suggested by Sir David Lindesay and the Earl of Moray to the Scottish "bands" of very irregular free companions.

That the combatants in both cases were near neighbours is almost self-evident, and equally certainly that it was a sort of family quarrel. The name of the clan as given by Wyntoun which has puzzled commentators most is what

he calls "Clachinyha." Commentators have taken *clachin* as the word "clann," and worked their will with the letters *yha*, making it Kay and Hay. Now we all know the story of the Hays of Luncarty, which certainly locates the Hays in the near neighbourhood of Perth. These fabulous Hays were husbandmen, cultivators like the Cruithnigh, and there can be no doubt, especially when we look to the oldest historical mention of them and find the hereditary constable, an office like that of butler, doorkeeper, steward, confirmed in the family "de la Hay," and, as at the time when these offices appear (date of Alexander I.), their occupants were Morevilles, Comyns, etc., French names, the meaning to be attached to "de la Hay" is "of the dyke or hedge," corresponding with that we give as translation of the other clan's name "of the Gual"; the "gual" was a dyke. The possession of Errol by the Hays in the time of Malcolm Canmore when Errol was witness to the king's charter to Scone is much better evidence of a local connection than the story of Luncarty, the manufacture of which, in part at least, is made clear by the statement of the name having originated with the old farmer

lying wounded calling attention to himself by shouting "Hay, Hay."

We have mentioned the possible derivation of the name of the Cruithnigh from the Greek word for barley, and the probability that they were considered growers of that grain as much for brewing purposes as for use as meal. It is among the traditions of the family that a de la Hay was cup-bearer to the king. The name we have said is French, and because it does not appear in Scottish annals before the middle of the twelfth century, they are supposed to be of Norman origin, and yet the Luncarty man was only a peasant. Those with whom the Constables of Scotland at first appear in history were of French origin. We would reconcile tradition and history by the Constables having translated their Celtic patronymic denomination "children of the dyke" into "de la Haie."

Bede, after telling of the defeat of the Picts and Scots as affected by the crying of Hallelujah, says it was a feat by "the prelates, who thus triumphed over the enemy without bloodshed, and gained a victory by faith without the aid of human force, and having settled the affairs of the

island and restored tranquillity as well of the invisible as of the carnal enemies prepared to return home." As the object was the defeat of Pelagianism, it is a fair conclusion that there were Pelagians among the Picts and Scots who. having admitted the sacred character of the Old Testament " Hallelujah," had satisfied the missionaries of their Christian character. The Pelagian heresy still survived, however, as Germanus had to make a second visit to Britain for its confutation in the year 447.

Germanus' first visit to Britain was, according to Bede, the result of a resolution come to by a synod of the bishops of Gaul, but on the authority of Prosper, Palladius was consecrated by Pope Celestine to the Scots believing in Christ as their first bishop about the year 431. Palladius went to Ireland, apparently, to be badly received, and it was at his suggestion that the mission of Germanus was undertaken. After Germanus' second visit the Scottish, including Pictish, Christians were by no means completely converted to Roman doctrine and usage. A century after the death of Palladius the Culdee Church used a different tonsure, and celebrated Easter on

different calculations from the Romish Church, and it was not until about the year 692 that Adamnan, having accepted the Roman usage, persuaded the Scots in Ireland to celebrate Easter according to the Roman cannon, but returning to Iona failed to get the Columban clergy there to accept his views. He died about 704, and after his death only did they accept the Roman Easter. Surely then the Scottish tonsure and Scottish Easter were derived from a time previous to Palladius, who died in the Pictish Mearns one year or so before Patrick is said to have gone to Ireland in 432. Tradition, if it proves anything, proves there were two Patricks, this one called Sen Patraic, and a later one at the end of the seventh century. Old Patrick was a name given to Palladius to carry back the conversion of Ireland to Rome to the earliest likely date. Palladius, according to subsequent authority, died at Fourdoun, in the Mearns, about the date given for Patrick's mission, and his name there was "Pledi," his fair being carried down to quite recent times as "Padie" Fair. When full communion with the Romish Church became the rule among the Scots, and the Culdee Church

was in a small minority, the early missionaries became official saints to the majority, and Patraic was conscribed patron of Armagh. Palladius-Patrick, if localized anywhere, is so in Pictish Ireland, at Armagh, and Palladius, Germanus, Lupus, Fillan, Columba, Ninian, are all also found with a strong Pictish connection, as distinguished from the more comprehensive Scottish, and we therefore claim the subsequent Culdee Church as Pictish; a Church that no doubt originated in Britain, and passed over to Ireland by means of Britons, and we must not forget that the Picts. of all Picts the men of Fortrenn, when they had given their name to a locality, were spoken of as the Britons of Fortrenn.

We have called attention to the connection of the names of the keepers of St Patrick's bell with Fillan, but tradition gives us more to go upon. The Annals of Ulster mention the finding of the three relics of St Patrick in the year 552, "brought by Columba to a shrine sixty years after his death." These were the "Coeach": *cuach*, a cup, a bowl; the Angel's Gospel, and the bell called Clog-indhechta; *clog*, a bell; *udhacht*, a will or bequest, "the bell of the will." Accord-

ing to angelic instruction the cup went to Down, the bell to Armagh, and the gospel to Columba himself. We hear nothing more of that bell till the year 1044, when Carlingford was ravaged for some desecration of the bell, probably the breaking of an oath given upon it, for it was what was called a "swearing relic." The "Tripartite" life of Patrick explains the bell being in Columba's possession. Having converted that part of Armagh, in which is Donaghmore (see p. 29), the "great relic," Patrick placed over the converts the presbyter Columba, and left him his bell and service book. The bell, then, was in the diocese of Armagh before Patrick's death. No doubt the historians who are responsible for these statements allowed for Columba having taken the bell with him to Iona and brought it back. It was "discovered" at Armagh within eighty-three years of Patrick's death.

All tradition admits the presence in Ulster of Picts, Cruithnigh, but it is not necessary here to go into the question of special Irish and special Pictish districts of Ulster, the more so as we are told that the original Picts of Scotland came from Ireland. Whatever tradition we have has come

to us filtered through church records, unless we go back to Cuchullin, said to have been a heathen of the Tuatha De, "the tribe of the divinity." His name seems best explained as "dog of the son of Fillan," and if this is accepted, he is an impersonation of those who were called "Fort-rennibh, and, like his Scotch congeners, a disciple of Fillan. There are other things to be said in support of this view, even without making much of his instruction in military matters, by a female teacher in the Isle of Skye. Cuchullin's special patrimony was a place called Cualgne, located in the present Carlingford Peninsula, but anciently placed in Murthemne, phonetically Murreiv. Compare the name *Cual*nge with Gual, the "wall," and Murthemne with Murtheiv, Moray, a Pictish district of Scotland, a name connected with the Latin *murus* a "wall," *mur* in Celtic dialects; and we may take as an example of the use of the words the following Breton which contains both. "*Gwall* lēdan eo *mur*iou ar gēar-zē," "the walls of this town are very large," more literally, "a broad wall the walls of this gaer" (see p. 6, *car*). It is right to mention that the words Murthemne and Moray have also been derived from *mor* the

"sea," Breton and Welsh; *mur muir* in Gaelic. The Irish Murthemne was, according to authority, the north of Louth, the part containing Carlingford Peninsula and marching with Armagh, and nearly opposite the Isle of Man.

Always going on the principle that traditional tales have a founding in fact, however obscure that foundation may be, we are here trying to point out where traditions correspond in essentials, and we must consider what we are told of another Scottish demigod, equally at home in Alba, Man and Ireland, Finn MacCool. The tenth century Pictish Chronicle says the name Scot and Scythian are the same words, and it says, "the Scythian tribes are born with white hair from the constant snows, and the very colour of their hair gave a name to the nation, and so they were called Albani." This is all wrong to speak at large, but if it was looked upon as history in the tenth century, the same mistakes probably were accepted in the previous centuries. Scythia was a very wide word, and was applicable to the whole north of Europe including the Teutonic tribes, and we have pointed out good reason to believe that before the invasion of Hengist and Horsa, accepted

as a historical fact, there were Teutonic settlers in the east of Scotland who had given a name to the Firth of Forth. If Scythians, then, according to the Pictish Chronicle, they were fair men, and had probably come to that locality and joined themselves on to the Roman settlers in the district of the dyke. Of these large fair men Finn MacCool seems to be an impersonation. *Finn* undoubtedly means "fair," "white," and *Cool* as pronounced, *cumhal*, as written, has no more plain sailing equivalent in fact than Gual, the "wall," the "dyke." He was then "Fair, son of the wall." His date is said to have been just before the coming of Patrick to Ireland—in Irish story at any rate. His followers are called the Feen, and are described as an early Scottish (always accepted as Irish) militia, though it includes naturally men from the far north, Scythian say, Cimmerian, Albannich, as well as Hibernians. The name Feen offers a wide field for philological conjecture, but connecting it with the name of their leader, Finn, Fionn, it should mean the fair-haired men, the Albannich, the Scythians. They were all great warriors, and if we compare it with the Latin *faenus*, meaning capital lent out on interest,

and so applied to seed sown "*Semina quae magno faenore reddat ager*," it would connect them with the Gaelic name for the Picts as seed sowers, *i.e.* husbandmen, and further, considering the Latin saying of a savage ox with hay on its horns applied to a dangerous man, *faenum habet in cornu*, we see how it may have been considered as a title applicable to people, warriors by descent and custom. Describing a man by his possessional status was quite a Gaelic habit, take, for instance, the Irish title "Bo-aire," cow-chief.

Starting with St Jerome's statement that the barbarian of North Britain acknowledged no marriage tie, and that, speaking against Pelagius, he said he did not condemn double marriages, it is fairly clear that, granting there was a Christian Church in North Britain and Ireland, the relation of marriage was by no means so strict as to be likely to satisfy those who maintained that its members should be the husband of one wife. The Culdee Church, even among its overseers (bishops), certainly permitted union of the sexes. No doubt, according to what has been handed down, history shows us settlements of clerics entirely separated from all female society, but these were

special celibates who practized what they considered the carrying of Christian teaching to its extreme, and the account we have of them comes from Romish clerics. The Pelagian Church in general was probably unaccustomed to any such convention, and the primary efforts of Palladius, Germanus, and Lupus may, in the case of the two last at least, have caused a belief in their having influenced in some way the leaders of the people. When Adamnan, said to have been born in 624, was persuaded to accept the Roman Easter and Roman tonsure and did change the opinions of certain of the Scots—let us speak at large—Iona still remained unconvinced, and doubtless the great majority of the Culdee Church. At the date at which Adamnan flourished, the Romish Church took active steps to win the Scottish Church, Pope John IV. himself writing to the heads of the North Irish Church. This brings us to the date of the second Patrick, and doubtless the putting in shape satisfactory to Rome, of the Palladius old Patrick story; but the congregational Culdee Church still remained though the object of attention from the Romanists of the south, who were so interested that it was a con-

tested point between York and Canterbury under which See the Church in the north of the island was to be reckoned as subject. If we compare what we have seen in the action of the Romish Church, fixing a patron saint for Ireland and choosing for that patron him who was known in history as the first bishop commissioned by Rome to the Scots, Palladius, under the name of Patricius, and utilizing as a relic of him the bell of the holy man with the Gaelic name Fillan, reverenced by the Culdee Church in Armagh, when they had "found" it, as they said; we would have an exact parallel to such action when the nominee of Canterbury found a relic of the same Fillan at St Andrews, receiving the same reverence, but with a name unfamiliar to Canterbury, seized upon the conjectured Scythian origin of the Albanic Scots, should instruct that their patron saint was the same as that of other Scythians, viz., St Andrew, and therefore held forth that the arm-bone that had been at Kilrimont was the arm-bone of St Andrew. The older Church, who were in possession of an arm-bone, apparently ignorant of the identity of their Fillan with his original Lupus, retained the Gaelic

name connected with their relic. If these, speculations we admit, but formed on as firm grounds as the history of these times afford, are correct, we explain how but one arm relic, one stone, one bell-knocker remain, all of the one historic Fillan. That every congregation of the Culdee Church had a bell we need not doubt, and so more than one was pretty certain to have remained.

All these relics connected with the name of Fillan were found in Pictland, and establish a fact, viz., the reverence for a Christianity different evidently from that of Rome. Is it the least likely that there was no knowledge of this faith in the Pictish Settlement at the head of the Moray Firth? The writer of the life of St Columba, however, says that Columba visited the king of a fort at the mouth of the Ness, provided him with a druid, and converted him and his people by the help of a stone. He gives the king a name of which thirty are said to have reigned over the Picts, the same name being given to the Pictish chief who defeated and killed Egfred, king of the Saxons; the name was "Brude" = farmer, a name evidently connected with the Gaelic *bruig*, later *brug*, inhabited or cultivated land, the

occupier of which received the name of *brugaid*, and his house was a *bruden*. Adamnan's "Columba" is manufactured history, we have no doubt; and the Romanists, who manufactured it, were utilizing as the converter of the Picts one who was credited with accepting Romish doctrine. His relics were said to have been brought to Dunkeld by Kenneth MacAlpine about the year 850, the same year in which the Scone stone was said to be brought from Dunstaffnage. This constitutes a traditional connection between Columba and the coronation-stone, Dunkeld having become the Romish bishopric of central Scotland. Columba's relics were never seen by anyone apparently, doubtless because, as the Annals of Ulster tell us, they were carried to Ireland about 878.

We have laid considerable stress upon the warlike credit given to the Pictish people of middle Scotland, and have pointed out how Palladius, whom we take as the historical personage represented in Irish tradition as Sen Patraic, died in Fordun, in the Mearns, in modern Kincardine. The difference in name is explicable. Palladius seems to have been a Scot, not necessarily an

Irishman, and to have, of course, had a native name Sochet or Sucat, Succetus, translated "God of war" or "Strong in war," because S*u* in British was the Latin *fortis* and *cat* = war. *So* is still used in Gaelic as the equivalent of fitness for any purpose, *e.g. so-lubadh*, fitness for bending, flexible. Palladius is taken as a Latin translation of this British name; Pallas being the goddess of war and wisdom, therefore Palladius equals "inspired by Pallas," not by Mars, for instance, and we think the use of the name of the goddess accords more particularly with the indications of reverence for the female, of which there are distinct traces both in Goffrey's "British History," and the Irish legend of the "Tribe of the goddess Dana." Patrick also, at a later date, was called Coithrige, which apparently is derived from *cat* "battle," and *rig* "king," and so an Irish version of the British Sucat, which had lost any evident meaning to Gaelic speakers. The well-known fact that for the British "p" the Irish used "q," thus British *map* = "son," Irish *maq*, *mac* = "son," leads to the belief that in this want of attention to their *p's* and *q's*, Quatrig was originally an Irish rendering of *Patricius*.

The interchange of Christian and heathen times of the Gaelic speaking tribes is evident in the connection with the name Oengus. Irish story speaks of a tribe which invaded Ireland called the Tuatha De Danann. Tuatha is the Irish *tuaith*, Albanic *tuath*, a rural district, and its inhabitants the uncivilized, boorish so to speak, and defines in general the north, that is for a Gaelic speaker what lies to the left hand, and so something sinister. One sees, therefore, how anyone coming from the north had been looked upon as more rude than those who had come from the south in these early days. The word *De* is "God," and *Dana* is accepted as name of a "goddess," therefore we see that we have here rude, rustic followers of Dana, whoever she may have been. There is reason for supposing that the name connotes Diana, as "Anna" was said to be the name of the mother of the Irish Gods. The Tuatha De, as they are usually spoken of, *i.e.* the tribes of the goddess, are credited with a leader called the Dagda, who, in the stories that have come down to us, appears a male who had as many cloaks as there are heavens, as stated in the Kabala. The name signifies "Good God" or

"Goddess," and we must therefore consider this deity as originally female. He had a daughter Brigit, the same name as that of the female saint, the Mary of the Gael. Brigit is the female equivalent to the male Brude already considered. The Dagda had also a son called the "Mac-Og," also "Mac-In-Og," meaning either the "young son" or the "son of the youth," the youthful female in this case, Mac-in-Og then, the son of the good goddess, a female. Who the good goddess was, according to the idea of the old writer of what is called Cormac's Glossary, is clear enough, who says "Cera i in Dagdae," Cera, that is the good Divinity. Ceres equal Demeter, mother earth, the more vulgar Latin Bona Dea, good goddess. The most celebrated possession of the Dagda was a "never dry cauldron" (nunquan satis ?), and this he had brought from two places where he had been before going to Ireland, called respectively Dobhar and Iar Dobhar—Dober and West Dober meaning the Water and the West Water, to all appearance Forth and Clyde. The Young Son or the Son of the young female has another name, Oengus, especially of Brugh na Boinne. Oengus, as we have said, is Unicus; Brugh—the *gh* is

silent—is the name given to a hollow tumulus (*bru* is the womb) on the banks of the Boyne. The River Boyne is called from Boand, said to be the wife of a Nechtan, who treated a holy spring, now called Trinity Well, with disrespect, and the water bursting up broke her thigh bone, one hand, and one eye, and when she fled in this condition, pursued her to the sea. Nectan is a Pictish name, meaning apparently *an-ith-an*, "the corn one." We have Nithan, son of Fife, in the chronicles of the Picts and Scots, who also is called Nectan, son of Fotla,—Fotla, the suppositious original of the female from whom the name Athol.

Oengus was remarkable for his beauty, thus Cormac Mac Art, the king of Ireland, is compared for his good looks to Oengus, son of the Dagda. The worship of the Bona Dea was special to females, and we are told by Bede that there was a monastery of virgins at the city of Coludi, identified with Coldingham in Berwickshire, virgins of doubtful reputation, who on the death of Ebba their abbess became even more wicked. So bad were they, they were destroyed by fire as a judgment. In tradition Oengus of Brugh na Boinne is said to have had four birds created from

his kisses, which formed the flagstones of the *lis*, court, palace, church of *Lug* mac Eithlenn. There were four things in all said to be brought from the country from which the Tuatha De came to Ireland, one was the Dagda's cauldron already mentioned, another was the Lia Fail, the "flagstone of the enclosure," and the other two were the sword and spear of Lug mac Eithlenn. The four kisses, the four birds, and the four special possessions of the Tuatha De are certainly intimately connected. Lug means small, also quick, swift. Lug's name is frequently spelt Lugaidh; and with this we may compare the Irish *lughadog* and *luda*, the "little finger." *Mac*, of course, is "son," and *Eithlenn* a female, is to be translated as connected with *ith*, gen. *etho*, "corn," and *lann* an "enclosure," a "repository." We might translate it best by the Lowland Scottish "meal girnall."

Lug's spear was doubtless as certain in its effect as that of Oengus of the poisoned spear, and his sword of that description well known in Gaelic tradition which was so efficient that it left nothing to be done after a stroke with it. The special tribe of Oengus of the poisoned spear was

located in Bregia, of which he was king. The Gaelic for Bregia is Maghbreagh, and it is noteworthy at any rate that *breach* is Gaelic for a wolf, as *fael* is from whence Fillan, and Maghbreagh, Bregia is thus comparable with Magh Circinn, the plain of the Dogheads, in Alba called Angus. Who the Oengus, the king in this wolf's plain, was has its explanation when we see that his people, driven out of Bregia and settling in Waterford, were, according to O'Curry, thenceforward known as the "Deise." *Iosa*, Gaelic for Jesus, therefore the tribe (of the) God Jesus, surely a Mac-in-Og.

How much of this is purely manufactured history it is hard to say.

According to O'Flaherty, the thirty-third king of Ireland, flourishing 1421 before Christ, was a certain Oengus, called *Olmucad*. He was of Ulster, and conquered Picts, Belgians, Longobards, and "Colastians," who O'Flaherty supposes to mean "Caledonians." *Muc* is a "pig," *cad*, *cat*, battle. The boar, as badge of the 20th Roman Legion, appears in sculpture on Antonine's dyke, and also on the rock of Dunad, the fortification in the Moss of Crinan, the early Dunolly.

The 20th Legion was stationed at Chester, and the boar figures largely in Welsh tradition. In Grecian story Oenopion, who instituted the boar-hunt in Chios, is also called Oeneus, and he was king of Calydon, certainly much nearer the name for modern Scotland than Colastia. Though it is hard to believe that a British writer, even in early days, who had got some knowledge of heroic Greek fable could have fancied the Greek Calydon to be the Albanic Caledonia; we cannot doubt that the Greek story of Oeneus was the nest-egg for the Irish story of the Oengus Olmucad.

We maintain that as Brude—let us translate it "landlord"—was used as a title for suppositious kings, so Oengus, Aengus, meaning the "only one," was used more or less in the same way. The oldest calendar of Gaelic saints that we have has appropriately been ascribed to an Oengus called the "Culdee," but the date of the composition of the so-called "list of festivals," Felire, seems clearly that of the end of the tenth century. An Oengus Cele-de is said to have flourished about 200 years before that, and we conclude that his name was taken as author as an appropriate connection with the earliest Christian

Church in Ireland—a common device for giving authority to what purposed to be an ancient work. This habit must be accepted as accounting for the Romish Church giving the name of Oengus to the first royal convert in Ireland made by Patrick, and that given to the first royal Pictish convert accepting the Christianity of Rome, and incidentally St Andrew as Alba's patron saint.

The vague traditions of the earliest church among the Picts in Alba connect with the same idea as that we have given when considering the name of the Dagda. The name Ninian as we have it now, also Ninyas, is said to have been that of the first royal convert to Christianity of the Galwegian Picts—Galwegia being a descriptive name connected with the Welsh Galwydel to be translated like the Irish name Gallgaedel, *i.e.* foreign sylvan dwellers, just as the name Caledonia is connected with *Celydd*, a "sheltered place"; *Celli*, a "grove" or "bower"; so Galwydel, Gallgaedel, was applied to a mixed people connected with the Romano-British garrison of the wall from Tyne to Solway. The name Ninia, like that of Oengus, is connected with *oen*, *aen*, *ean*, *ein*; Welsh, *un*, "one"; and the definite

article, and *dea*—goddess N-ein-dia. If academic philology is right, the masculine name Ninian really is "The one," formed in contradistinction and subsequently to that of Ninia; Ninia, "the one female (goddess)," which would correspond closely with the female worship found in the reverence for the female Dagda.

Finally, we have another instance of the use of this name, and, as we found an Oengus credited with writing the oldest Festology of the Irish saints, so we have in the so-called Nennius the oldest attempt at a native written British history. The older history by "Gildas" is not history. It is a comminatory dissertation; and the very name given to the author—Gildas—suggests *Cele-de*-us, the Culdee. As Nennius history contains a notice of St Patrick, the later Patrick, it was quite possibly written about the same time, or a little later than "Patrick's Confession" and his "Epistle to Coroticus," which calls the Picts apostates. It is surely not a mere coincidence that The One—compare English "Anon"!—who wrote the first native history of Britain had for a baptismal name "*an oen*" with a Latin male termination 'N-aen-ius.

The identity of the grammatical derivation of the two names Ninia and Nennius becomes quite clear when we regard the Irish form of the name Ninian (the old genitive of Ninia used as the nominative of a male name), *Monenn*, "My-Nenn."

That the significance of the name Ninia had become lost, but was recognized as in its origin female, appears in the Calendar of Aengus, who tells of a female saint Monnine, of whom the name is explained as follows: A certain *dumb poet* fasting with her was cured of his infirmity, the first word he said being *ninnin*, whence she was called Mo-ninin or Mo-nindach.

The exclamation of the dumb poet "ninnin" was a stammering attempt at articulation, for, at the 16th September, one of a "great triad of champions" is mentioned as *Moinenn* (Moninn, etc.), "nuall *cach gena*," "the cry (howl?) of every mouth." The female saint was described as a "sister of Mary, for she was a virgin even as Mary." She lived for "nine score years."

The conclusion we come to is that the Culdee Church paid a more actual reverence to the Virgin and child than to the male deity. To counteract

to some extent the reverence for the female, and introduce a greater reverence for the Romish saints, was the ground plan of the doctrine inculcated by later Romish propaganda in Britain.

APPENDIX

(See p. 31)

ALEXANDER's appeal to Canterbury was an apparent admission of Canterbury's claim to superiority over the Scottish Church.

Augustine, the first converter of the Saxons and first Bishop of Canterbury, was originally a Benedictine of the convent of St Andrews at Rome, and with the philological argument that the name "Scot" equalled "Scythian" was found a plausible suggestion for giving St Andrew as patron saint to the Scottish Church now placed under the same rule as the Saxon Church and the Church of St Augustine. The converts of Germanus and Lupus were now under one rule (compare the name of the bringer of St Andrew's relics to Scotland—St Rule) with the "Saxons and Picts," "Scot" taking the place of Bede's "Pict."

CHRONOLOGY

TRADITIONAL AND HISTORICAL

340 to 420 Jerome lived.
400 Claudian wrote "All Ireland moved by Scots."
420 Pelagius died.
425 Patrick went to Ireland. *Ency. Brit.* says "411."
429 Synod of Gallican bishops send Germanus and Lupus.
431 Palladius consecrated.
432 Palladius died.
432 Ninia died.
454 Hengist's invasion.
489 Patrick baptizes Aengus, who died that year.
493 Patrick died. Annals 4 M. Others say 469.
552 Patrick's relics brought to Ireland by Columba.
557 Columba went to Hy. Annals 4 M..
594 Columba died.
597 Augustine converts Saxons and settles at Canterbury.
624 Adamnan born.
636 Isidore died (Seville).
656 Tirechan wrote life of Patrick before.
685 Duin Ollaig burned.
692 Adamnan Romanized.
698 Muirchu wrote life of Patrick before.
704 Adamnan died.
731 Hungus reigned.
731 Bede wrote.
734 Fortrenn sends fleet to Ireland.
761 Hungus died.

843 Lorraine (French) named.
850 Columba's relics taken to Dunkeld.
850 Stone brought from Dunstaffnage.
878 Columba's relics taken to Ireland.
934 Constantine driven across Vadum Scotorum.
975 Adulf made earl as far as the Myreford.
980 Pictish Chronicle written about.
1044 Carlingford ravaged for desecration of Patrick's bell.
1093 Malcolm Canmore killed.
1083 Maker of Shrine of Patrick's bell reigned till 1121.
1106 Alexander First, son of Malcolm Canmore, ascended throne.
1114 Abbacy of Scone founded.
1114 Commencement of Saint worship?
1140 Mackgrig, a tenant of Prior of St Andrews.
1200 Abbacy of Inchaffray founded.
1214 Malgrig, a Culdee, at Muthill.
1296 Bachull and Bell "filched" from Scone.
1300 Langtoft's Chronicle written about.
1314 Fat Duncan at Bannockburn.
1314 Culdees at St Andrews at this time,
1351 Combat of thirty in Brittany.
1356 O'Mellan, keeper of "Bell of the Will," died.
1396 Combat of thirty at Perth.
1424 Walter Lacquin in French Scots Guards.
1497 Lewis de Claquin Man-at-Arms in Scots Guards.
1528 "Maccoull" of Dunolly.
1613 McIlglegane.
1630 McCoull of Clan Grigor.
1687 Stacey's blazons drawn.
1692 Mack-Claquane.
1798 Fillan's bell stolen to England.

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