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ORIGINES BRITANNICÆ;
OR,
THE ANTIQUITIES
OF THE BRITISH CHURCHES.

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TO WHICH IS ADDED,
AN HISTORICAL ACCOUNT
OF CHURCH GOVERNMENT

AS FIRST RECEIVED
IN GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

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A NEW EDITION, WITH ADDITIONAL NOTES
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THE
ANTIQUITIES
OF THE
BRITISH CHURCHES.

CHAP. V.

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OF THE DECLENSION OF THE BRITISH CHURCHES.

BRITAIN never totally subdued by the Romans.—That, the occasion of the miseries of the Britons in the province, by the incursions from beyond the wall.—Of the Picts and Scots, their mortal enemies.—The true original of the Picts from Scandinavia.—That name not given to the old Britons, but to the new colonies.—The Scottish antiquities inquired into.—An account of them from John Fordon compared with that given by Hector Boethius and Buchanan.—Of Hector's authors, Veremundus, Cornelius Hibernicus and their ancient annals.—An account of the antiquities of Ireland, and of the authority of their traditions and annals, compared with the British antiquities published by Geoffrey of Monmouth in point of credibility.—A true account of the fabulous antiquities of the northern nations. Of the first coming of the Scots into Britain.—The first cause of the declension and ruin of the British Churches was, the laying them open to the fury of the Scots and Picts.—Of Maximus's withdrawing the Roman forces; and the emperor's sending numbers of Picts to draw them back.—The miserable condition of the Britons thus forsaken; and supplies sent them for a time, and then taken away.—Of the walls then built for their security, and the Roman legions then placed.—Of the great degeneracy of manners among the Britons.—Of intestine divisions, and calling in of foreign assistance.—The Saxons' first coming hither.—Who they were, and whence they came.—Bede's account examined, and reconciled with the circumstances of 239 those times.—His fixing the time of their coming justified.—Of the reasons of Vortigern's calling in the Saxons; and the dissatisfaction of the Britons upon their coming, and Vortigern's league with them.—Of the valour of Vortimer and Aurelius Ambrosius against the Saxons.—The different account of the battles between the Britons and Saxons among our historians.—The sad condition of the British Churches at that time.—The imperfect account given by the British History.—Of king Arthur's story and success.—Of persons of greatest reputation then in the British Churches, and particularly of St. David.—Of the Britons passing over to Arenorica.—The beginning of that colony stated.—Gildas there writes his epistle; the scope and design of it.—The independency of the British Churches proved from their carriage towards Augustine the monk.—The particulars of that story cleared; and the whole concluded.

BEING now to give an account of the fatal declension of the British Churches, it will be necessary

to look back on the time when their miseries first began. For which we are to consider, that the Romans having never made an entire conquest of the whole island; but contenting themselves with the better part, and excluding the rest by a wall; they still left a back-door open for the poor provincial Britons to be disturbed, as often as the Roman garrisons neglected their duty or were overpowered by their enemies. Who were now very much increased in those remoter parts of Britain; which being abandoned by the Romans, they became an easy prey to the Scots and Picts; who, from different parts, took possession of those coasts which lay nearest to the place from whence they came. Thus, the ^aScots coming from Ireland, entered upon the southern and western parts, as the Picts from
 240 ^bScandinavia had before done on the ^cnorthern. Our learned ^dantiquary was of opinion, “that the Picts were no other than the ancient Britons,” partly settled in those parts before the Roman invasion, and partly retiring thither out of impatience of the Roman yoke, who by degrees grew up into a considerable number of people. It is not to be questioned, that there was a stock of old Britons in those northern parts, as appears by the army under ^eGalgacus, and the actions against Urbicus, Agricola, Marcellus and Severus; but their continual wars with the Roman legions, who were placed about the wall, on purpose to take all advantages against them, must needs exhaust them by degrees, and lessen them so much as to leave room

^a See Preface, p. lx. for quotation from Gildas; p. 242, for another from Bede. Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 578. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 300. Gunn's edition of Nennius, note 24. p. 115.

^b Preface, pp. xxxviii. xxxix. and notes. Lloyd *ibid.* ch. 1. §. 1. p. 3. and notes; *ibid.* Preface,

p. xxxviii. and notes.

^c See Preface, p. xxxix.

^d Camden. Brit. p. 82. vol. 1. p. xc. which compare with the Additions, vol. 3. p. 369. Lloyd *ibid.* ch. 1. §. 1. p. 3. §. 3. p. 6.

^e As to Galgacus, see pp. 244. 247. 283. For his name, see Camden. *ibid.* vol. 3. Additions, p. 415* note i, Gough's edit.

enough for new recruits to come in and take up part of their country. And although for their own security, the parts near the wall might be well supplied on that side, yet when so much blood retired to the heart as was necessary to support life, a great deal must be called off from the extreme parts for a fresh supply of it, and those parts must needs be left destitute of natural heat, and strength enough to maintain themselves. For during the war, which continued for several ages, the very life of the British nation, beyond the wall, was in perpetual danger; and not only the duty and service, but the many diseases and accidents of war, could not, in so long a tract of time, but very much impair the British strength, and leave the remoter parts, if not wholly void of inhabitants, yet not in a condition to withstand a foreign invasion. I grant that Tacitus, Dio, Herodian, Vopiscus, &c. take no notice of any other enemies the Romans had at that time in those parts besides the Britons; but then, I think, the argument may be thus turned upon Camden; What makes the latter writers so expressly and distinctly mention the Picts, if they were no other than the old Britons, so often spoken of by Roman historians? I do not understand, why their continuing an old custom should now give them a new name? The Britons, however rude, were no more Picts then, than they were at Cæsar's coming. What makes the Roman writers so of a sudden alter their style, and leave off a name so famous among the Romans, for the name of Picts, 241 which was not heard of before? The first mention we find of them is in ^fEumenius's Panegyric to Constantius, where he takes notice of the different state of the Britons, when Cæsar subdued them, from what they were

^f Paneg. Const. n. 11. inter fleet and Lloyd. See Preface, Panegyric, Vet. tom. 1. p. 289, et p. lvii. Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. not. in agreement with Stilling- p. 586. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 305.

in Constantius's time: "Then," saith he, "they were a rude, half naked people, and so easily vanquished; ^s but now the Britons were exercised by the arms of the Picts and the Irish." Nothing can be plainer, than that Eumenius here distinguishes the Picts from the Britons, and supposes them to be enemies to each other. Neither can we reasonably think this a name then taken up to distinguish the barbarous Britons from the provincial: for that distinction had now been of a very long standing, and if it had been applied to that purpose, we should have met with it in Tacitus, or Dio, or Herodian, or Zosimus, who speak of the extra-provincial Britons, under no other name but of Britons. ^h Dio is so exact as to set down the names of distinction then used for those Britons, and he saith, "they were of two sorts, the Mæataë, and the Caledonii;" if the name of Picts had then comprehended them all, no doubt he would have mentioned it on that occasion. ⁱ Zonaras likewise calls them all then by the name of Britons. But it is said "^k that the ^l panegyrist himself calls the Caledonians, Picts, who were certainly Britons." His words are, "Non dico Caledonum, aliorumque Pictorum, silvas et paludes:" where ^m H. Valesius observes, it ought to be read, "Non Dicaledonum aliorumque Pictorum;" for ⁿ Ammianus Marcellinus saith,

^g The words "but now the Britons were" are, in the table of errata to the edition of 1685, directed to be omitted; but they are not so in the edition of 1710, in his collected works, vol. 3. p. 150.

^h Xiphil. in Sever. In Dion. Hist. Rom. lib. 76. p. 866. See ch. 2. p. 51. and note ^u; and in this chapter, pp. 283. 285. Usser. de Primord. Addend. p. 1032. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. ch. 15. p. 348.

ⁱ Zonar. Annal. in Sever. tom. 1. lib. 12. cap. 10. p. 609.

^k Mackenzie *ibid.* p. 76.

^l Eumen. n. 7. inter Panegyrr. Vet. tom. 1. p. 378, where Valesius's reading is not followed. Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 586. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 305. Camden. *ibid.* p. 83. vol. 1. p. xci.

^m Usser. *ibid.*

ⁿ Ammian. Marcell. lib. 27. cap. 8. p. 383. Camden. *ibid.* pp. 55. 84. 701. vol. 1. pp. lviii. xcii. vol. 3. p. 367. and the Additions, p. 369. Usser. *ibid.* See p. 287 a. in this chapter.

“ the Picts were divided into the Dicaledones and the ° Vecturiones.” P It is ingeniously conjectured by Mr. Camden, that these names were taken from the situation of the people, the first from ‘ deheu’ and ‘ Caledones,’ or the Caledonians on the ‘ right-hand,’ and the other from ‘ chwithic,’ which signifies the ‘ left-hand’ in the British language; but † archbishop Usher observes, that he is mistaken, in supposing “ the right-hand among the Britons to be the west, and the left-hand the east;” for he plainly proves, “ that by the one is understood the south, and the other the north.” And † Bede shews, that the northern and southern Picts were divided from each other by a ridge of mountains; 242 which † John Fordon saith, was “ Mount Grampius,” which parted the Scots and the Picts. For the Scots came into that part of the Picts’ country which lay next to Ireland; from whence they came thither under the conduct of Reuda, as † Bede saith. † Who, as some think, was “ the chief of the six sons of the king of Ulster, who, as Giraldus Cambrensis saith, with no small fleet, came into the northern parts of Britain, and there settled themselves;” from whom that country was called Scotia. Which if it happened in the time

° Camden. *ibid.* p. 711. vol. 3. p. 415. -

P Camden. *ibid.* p. 84. vol. 1. p. xciii. Usser. *de Primord. Addend.* p. 1021. *Brit. Eccles. Antiq.* ch. 15. p. 306.

q *De Primord. Addend.* p. 1021. *Brit. Eccles. Antiq.* cap. 15. p. 306. See Lloyd *ibid.* ch. 1. §. 3. p. 6. Gunn’s note 100. p. 169. in his edition of Nennius, on this point is interesting. See ch. 4. p. 203, and notes P, q.

r *Bed. Hist. Eccles.* lib. 3. cap. 4. p. 106. Usser. *de Pri-*

mord. Addend. p. 1022. *Brit. Eccles. Antiq.* cap. 15. p. 306.

s *Scotichron.* lib. 2. cap. 7. p. 590. Oxon. 1691. Usser. *ibid.* Lloyd *ibid.* p. 7, and note k.

t *Hist. Eccles.* lib. 1. cap. 1. p. 41. Preface, p. xxxix. Camden. *ibid.* p. 90. vol. 1. p. xcvi. Usser. *de Primord.* cap. 15. p. 587. *Brit. Eccles. Antiq.* p. 306.

u Usser. *ibid.* and in this chapter, p. 281. note, under Giraldus Cambrensis, for reference to Camden.

of Constantius, as ^x archbishop Usher proves from the anonymous Life of St. Patrick, it agrees very well with what ^y Ammianus Marcellinus saith, “that in the latter end of his reign, the Scots and the Picts were both joinèd against the Britons.” “The Scots,” as ^z Gildas and ^a Bede say, “coming from the west, and the Picts from the north;” and so ^b Fabius Ethelwerd saith, “the Picts came from the north, and the Scots from the west; who took possession of the southwest parts of Caledonia beyond Glota, and Bodotria, or Dunbarton, and Edinburgh Frith.” And so, the ^c ‘Mons Grampius,’ or ‘Dorsum Britannicum,’ as some call it, parted the Picts and the Scots; the Old Britons still living between the wall and the two friths; for Bede expressly saith, “that both the Scots and the Picts lived beyond them;” and he likewise adds, “^d that upon the remove of the Roman legion they took in all the country as far as ^e Severus’s wall;” where the Britons dwelt before. I confess, the ^f Roman province had different bounds at several times, it sometimes extending as far as ^g Anto-

^x De Primord. cap. 15. p. 587. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 306.

^y Ammian. Marcell. lib. 20. cap. 1. p. 181. Usser. *ibid.* See p. 286.

^z Gild. Epist. §. 11. p. 13. 1. Hist. Gild. §. 11. p. 4. Hist. Gild. §. 14. p. 21.

^a Bed. lib. 1. cap. 12. p. 49. Preface, p. lx. See on notes ^z, ^a, p. 239. notes ^a, ^b. Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 593. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 309.

^b Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 594. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 310.

^c Usser. de Primord. Addend. p. 1022. cap. 16. p. 733. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. cap. 15. p. 306. cap. 16. p. 383. Lloyd *ibid.* p. 7.

^d Preface, p. lxiii. Usser. de Primord. Addend. p. 1027. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. cap. 15. p. 317.

^e For the various appellations given to this wall, vide Camden. *ibid.* p. 649. vol. 3. p. 211. and in the Additions, p. 215.

^f For a map of Roman Britain, Camden. *ibid.* vol. 1. p. lxxiv. which compare with note ^h following. For a map of the principal Roman camps, forts, walls, &c. in England and Scotland, and map of Antoninus’s wall in Scotland, *ibid.* vol. 3. pp. 293. 358.

^g Preface, p. lxii. and note, p. 297. ch. 2. p. 60. also p. 298. and notes. Horsley’s *Britannia Romana*, b. 1. chap. 10. p. 158,

ninus's wall, or Graham's dike between the two friths; sometimes again it was brought within the compass of ^h Hadrian and Severus's wall, i. e. "between the Tyne and the Esk;" and Bede thinks that the last wall made by the Romans was where Severus's wall stood. If so, that whole country between the two walls must be then abandoned for one hundred miles; which ⁱ some object against as an improbable thing, "the wall being so much longer, and consequently more indefensible by the Britons." But, in probability, the Britons were then willing to let their enemies have the more room to prevent being disturbed by them; and this was the main security they always had, the ^k "linea valli" relating ²⁴³ to this wall from Hadrian's time; ^l and although sometimes in a bravery the Roman soldiers would march to Antoninus's wall, and drive the Britons before them, yet generally the Roman province was bounded by Severus's wall, and therefore ^m Gallio Ravennas might at last choose rather to make up and fortify this for the Britons, when the Roman soldiers left them to defend themselves.

But, as to the several inhabitants beyond the wall, it will be necessary, in order to the following history, to

contains "The ancient and present state of the Roman wall in Scotland, and the forts upon it." See Roy's *Military Antiquities of the Romans in Britain*, b. 4. ch. 4.

^h See ch. 1. p. 35. ch. 2. p. 50, and notes. Camden. *ibid.* p. 652. vol. 3. p. 213. and in p. 215. is an account of these Roman works. *Ibid.* in the Additions, p. 243. Horsley *ibid.* b. 1. ch. 8, 9. pp. 116-158.

ⁱ Usser. de Primord. Addend. p. 1027. *Brit. Eccles. Antiq.*

cap. 15. p. 317.

^k Camden. *ibid.* pp. 638. 641. 644. 652. vol. 3. pp. 173. 174. 176. 213.

^l Camden. *ibid.* p. 651. vol. 3. p. 212.

^m Usser. de Primord. Addend. p. 1027. *Brit. Eccles. Antiq.* cap. 15. p. 317. Camden. *ibid.* p. 651. vol. 3. p. 213. compared with p. 700. ed. 1607. vol. 3. p. 355. ed. 1789. To this Gallio Ravennas, has been ascribed an anonymous work on Britain. Horsley *ibid.* b. 3. ch. 4. p. 489.

set down a more particular account in this place of the different original of them, which hath been so perplexed by the partial conjectures of the Scottish and Irish antiquaries, that it is no easy matter to find out the plain truth amongst them. But I shall endeavour to trace the footsteps of it by the best light which ancient or modern authors afford. And I am so far from any pique or partiality in this matter, that I shall be glad to receive any better information from learned and ingenuous men. For it will appear by this inquiry that the antiquities of both nations do yet stand much in need of being cleared to the satisfaction of inquisitive men. But to the business.

It is certain that in the time of Tacitus, the northern parts of this island were well inhabited, as appears by the following account from him. The Brigantes, who extended as far as the Tyne, were, as ⁿ he saith, subdued by Petilius Cerealis; the Silures, by Julius Frontinus; the Orдовices, the other people of Wales, by Julius Agricola in his first entry upon this province. But in his third year he went as far as the frith of Taus: by which ^o sir H. Saville saith, “some understand the Tweed;” for that it cannot be understood of the ^p Taus, which parts the northern and southern parts of Scotland, seems evident from Tacitus, who saith, “that the Romans had leisure to build castles there:” but this Taus is a great way beyond the two friths; and Tacitus, in the fourth year of Agricola, makes the Roman power to reach no further than to Glota and Bodotria, where

ⁿ Tacit. Agric. cap. 17, 18. inter Oper. tom. 4. p. 85. See ch. 1. p. 33. note ^x, and the following ones. Roy *ibid.* b. 1. ch. 1, 2, 3.

^o As referred to ch. 1. p. 33.

^p See last note. Camden.

ibid. p. 705. vol. 1. p. 379. For many particulars as to Agricola's march to North Britain, Additions to Camden, vol. 3. pp. 323. 381. 399. 409. 414. 415*. ed. 1789. Roy *ibid.* b. 3. and 4.

he thought “ the Romans might have conveniently fixed the bounds of their empire that way.” But, I confess,²⁴⁴ Tacitus’s words may bear another meaning, viz. “ that although the Romans had made excursions as far as the Taus, and set up some forts there ; yet when Agricola went about to settle the province, he reduced it within the compass of the two friths ; there being the most convenient place for the garison to be fixed ; there being so small a neck of land between the arms of the two seas, which was then very well fortified.”

^q But the boundless ambition of the Romans, in the fifth year of Agricola, carried them beyond these limits ; and then he subdued nations before that time unknown ; and furnished with forces that part of Britain which lieth against Ireland ; not out of fear of any invasion from thence ; but rather in hopes of subduing that country by their means. Which shews that Ireland was then well peopled ; and thought by Agricola very fit for the Roman army to conquer ; because it lay so convenient for uniting the parts of the empire together ; and it would help much towards the total subduing of Britain, if there were no appearance of liberty left within their view. And Tacitus insinuates that Agricola had it in his design, if he had been suffered to continue longer after his victory over ^r Galgacus : which Domitian’s incurable jealousy of great men would not permit. However, in order to it, Agricola had taken an account of the ports, and condition of the people, whom he found not unlike the Britons ; and he kept with him till occasion served, one of the ^s princes of that country, who was driven from thence by a domestic sedition. But in the mean time, in his sixth

^q Tacitus in Camden. *ibid.* pp. 240. 283.

39. 728. vol. 1. p. xli. vol. 3. ^s See p. 283. Camden. *ibid.* p. 465. Additions, p. 369. pp. 39. 728. vol. 1. p. xlii. vol. 3.

^r See the next page, and pp. p. 465.

year, he applied himself to the conquest of the several nations beyond Bodotria, among whom a general insurrection was apprehended, and all passages by land were supposed to be beset; and therefore Agricola set out a fleet for discovery of the country; the sight whereof struck great terror into the Britons. And then he saith, “^t the Caledonians armed themselves and set upon the Romans with all the force they could make;” and falling upon the ninth legion unexpectedly, had like to have totally defeated them, if the rest of the army had not come in to their timely rescue. By which
 245 good success, the Roman army, being much encouraged, cried out to march into Caledonia; that they might at last come to the utmost bounds of Britain. But the Britons attributed this not to the valour of the Romans, but to the ill conduct of their general; and therefore resolved to fight it out, and to that end they disposed of their wives and children in places of safety, and by frequent meetings and solemn sacrifices they entered into a strict confederacy, to stand it out to the utmost against the Romans. And in this case of common danger, all the cities were united together, and ^u raised an army of thirty thousand men, under the command of Galgacus, who, in ^x his brave oration, so much commended by Lipsius, tells his soldiers, “they were the last of the Britons, there being no nation beyond them;” and he calls them, “^y the most noble of the Britons, who had never beheld the slavery of others;” upon this the fatal battle was fought at the foot of ^z Mons Grampius,

^t Camden. *ibid.* fpp. 40. 702. vol. 1. p. xlii. vol. 3. p. 368.

^u Camden. *ibid.* p. 82. vol. 1. p. xc. Usser. *de Primord.* cap. 15. p. 584. *Brit. Eccles. Antiq.* p. 304.

^x Camden. *ibid.* pp. 40. 702. vol. 1. p. xliii. vol. 3. p. 368. for

it at length.

^y See Camden. *ibid.* as in last note, and p. 284. as it regards the various races in Britain; and the Preface, p. xxxvi.

^z Small's interesting Roman Antiquities. Camden. *ibid.* Additions, p. 415*. and notes.

where ten thousand Britons were killed, and the rest dispersed; ^a after which Agricola was recalled. This is the substance of Tacitus's relation, wherein we may observe; 1. That these Britons were not merely such as were driven thither by the stress of war, but such as had long inhabited there, and had so little communication with the other Britons, that they had never seen the condition of slavery which the Romans had brought them to. 2. That they were not inconsiderable for their numbers or valour, who were able to oppose the whole Roman army, and make their victory so doubtful. 3. That these had a distinct name from the rest, being in general called the Caledonian Britons: and Tacitus thinks they had a different original from the Silures, and other Britons. Those who adjoined to Gaul, he concludes came at first from thence, and had several colonies followed them afterwards, as appears by their names, customs and language; ^b the Silures he deduced from Spain, which he proves from their complexion and situation; and so probably enough, he thinks them a colony of the old Iberi; some whereof went into Ireland, and peopled some part of it: but ^c besides these two, he makes a third race of men in Britain, whom he fetches out of ^d Germany, and these were the Caledonian Britons; but ^e he takes Germany in a very large 246sense, so as to extend as far as the Sarmatæ; and to comprehend under it ^f the northern nations of the Cimbri, and the Gothones, and the Sueones; from whom

^a Camden. *ibid.* p. 43. vol. 1. p. xlv.

^b See Preface, p. xxxvi. p. 284. and notes.

^c Sibbald, in his *History of Fife and Kinross*, part 1. ch. 4. p. 8, has a lengthened extract from *Stillingfleet*, which com-

mences in this place, and ends in p. 248, where see note ^o.

^d See Preface, as in note ^b; also p. 284.

^e Tacit. *de Mor. Germ.* cap. 1. inter Oper. tom. 4. p. 5.

^f *Ibid.* cap. 43, 44. p. 56.

it seems very probable that the Caledonian Britons descended; as the southern Britons came from the Celtæ, whose language and religion were kept up among them. § But the Caledonians came from the European Scythians, to whose coasts they lay much nearer than to those of the Celtæ, and their larger proportions, which Tacitus observes, agree very well with this supposition.

And these, if I mistake not, were the original ^h Picts, but not called by that name till new colonies came over to people the country, after the terrible devastation of it by the continuance of the Roman wars. For ⁱ Claudian makes ^k Thule the country of the Picts; and after all the disputes which have been about it, ^l Olaus Rudbeck hath made it very probable, that Scandinavia is meant by it; which he proves, not only from the testimony of ^m Procopius, who affirms it; but from the exact agreement of the relations of ⁿ Pytheas, Isidorus, and others with that, and neither with Ireland, nor any other place. Besides, ^o Bede saith, “the common tradition was, that the Picts came out of Scythia;” which

§ See Preface, p. xxxvi. and note there, for authorities.

^h See Preface, p. xxxvii. &c.

ⁱ Claud. de quarto Consul. Honor. v. 32. p. 113. inter Oper. p. 130. et not. ibid. Camden. ib. pp. 57. 850. vol. 1. p. lix. vol. 3. p. 726. Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 579. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 301.

^k See ch. 1. p. 39. and note there for another Thule.

^l Ola. Rudbeck, Atlant. part. 1. cap. 19. §. 1. p. 516.

^m Usser. de Primord. cap. 12. p. 400. cap. 15. p. 578. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. pp. 216. 301. Camden. ibid. p. 850. vol. 3. p.

726. Sibbald's tract on Thule, is to be found near the end of the various editions of Camden, by Gibson; and embraces the substance of chap. 18. p. 100, &c. with the following chapters of Sir Robert's Reply to Bishop Lloyd, ibid. D'Anville's Compendium of Ancient Geography, under Scandinavia, vol. 1. pp. 126. 104, 105. and note*.

ⁿ Camden. ibid. p. 21. vol. 1. p. xx, and note.

^o Bed. lib. 1. cap. 1. p. 41. Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 578. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 300. See Preface, p. xxxviii. and p. 239.

is affirmed by ^p Matt. Westminster, and many others; but they do not mean the Asian, but the European Scythia; which comprehended under it all the most northern nations, “ab extremo Aquilone,” saith ^q Pliny: and elsewhere he saith, ^r that the Getæ, the Daci and Sarmatæ, and even the Germans were called Scythians: ^s Herodotus mentions the northern Scythians to whom “there was no access by those who dwelt near the ‘palus Mæotis’ without the help of seven languages;” and when Darius fought with them, “they retired northwards towards their own country.” ^t Ptolemy places the royal Scythians near the Hyperborean mountains; which could never be found in the vast plains of Poland and Muscovy; there being no mountains there answering to their description, as ^u Hebersteinus and ^x Matthias a Micou confess; and therefore ^y Olaus Rudbeck hath undertaken to prove, not without great show of reason, “that these mountains were no other than the ridge of ²⁴⁷ mountains in Sweden, where the seat of the ancient Scythians was; and that Ptolemy was extremely mistaken in the situation of the northern nations, removing them several degrees more eastward than they ought to have been, and so very much straitening Scandinavia,” which ^z Jornandes calls “the workhouse of nations.” And the same Jornandes affirms from Josephus, “that the Sueones were the true Scythians,” whom

^p Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 583. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 303.

^q Plin. lib. 6. cap. 13.

^r Lib. 4. cap. 12. Camden. ibid. p. 87. vol. 1. p. xcvi.

^s Herod. lib. 4. cap. 24.

^t Ptol. Tab. 8. Europ. in Bert. Theatr. Geograph. Vet. tom. 1.

^u Rer. Muscov. Comment. p. 61.

^x Sarm. Europ. lib. 2. cap. 3. 4. in Polon. Hist. Corp. tom. 1. pp. 147. 149.

^y Atlant. part. 1. c. 9. §. 2. pp. 394. 398, &c.

^z De Rebus Get. lib. 1. cap. 4. inter Gruter. Hist. August. Script. Latin. p. 1089. See Preface, p. xxxvii.

^a Xenophon takes to be “the governing people of Europe in his time;” as the Persians were in Asia and the Carthaginians in Africa. And the old Greek ^b geographers (as is said before) knew of but two nations in Europe besides themselves, viz. the Scythæ towards the north, and the Celtæ towards the west. These European Scythians did make frequent expeditions by sea, as appears by the old Gothic histories; and ^c Olaus Rudbeck observes from them, “that it was a custom for them to go abroad by sea, under the conduct of one of their princes, to see for booty;” and ^d Tacitus saith particularly of the Sueones, “that they were well provided of shipping;” and therefore there can be no improbability that these northern nations should people that part of Britain which lay nearest to them. And ^e Sueno, the first historian of Denmark, saith, “that Helghi, the son of Haldan, the son of Skiold, the first monarch there, was so powerful at sea, that he was called ‘rex maris,’ the king of the sea.” And ^f Saxo Grammaticus saith, “that, having subdued the king of the Sclavi, he sailed into divers passages of the sea.” ^g Andreas Velleius gives this reason why the northern nations were so soon and so much given to expeditions by sea, because their kings having many children, “they thought them best employed abroad, in seeking other countries and getting spoils at sea.” And upon the old boast of the Scythians concerning their antiquity and nobility might be grounded that saying of ^h Galgacus,

^a Mem. lib. 2. p. 428. in Xenophontis Oper. p. 581. ed. H. Stephani.

^b Vid. Strabon. Geogr. lib. 1. et 11. pp. 22. 349. pp. 33. 507. in the margin. See Preface, p. xxxvi. and note.

^c Atlant. part. 1. cap. 7. §. 5.

p. 208.

^d De Morib. Germ. cap. 44. inter Oper. tom. 4. p. 58.

^e Suenon. Opusc. cap. 1. p. 8.

^f Hist. Danic. lib. 2. p. 28.

^g Vide Stephan. not. p. 71. in Sax. Gram. ibid.

^h See p. 240. and note ^e.

“ that the Caledonian Britons were the most noble of any of them.”

Among these Scythians ⁱ Pliny reckons the Agathyrsi, who had their name, saith ^j Olaus Rudbeck, from Aggathyr, one of the Gothic names for Neptune; from ‘ agga,’ signifying ‘ power at sea,’ and ‘ tyr,’ ‘ power at land.’ “ These Agathyrsi,” saith he, “ were ²⁴⁸ a sort of people who lived near the sea, in the ‘ sinus Codanus,’ and were wont to prey upon the spoils of the sea.” Jornandes places them in Scandia, and calls them Agantzyrios. They were remarkable in antiquity for painting their bodies, as not only appears from Virgil’s “ Pictique Agathyrsi,” but from what ^k Solinus saith of them, “ that their bodies were painted ‘ colore cæruleo,’ just as the old Picts were.” ^l Tacitus observes of the Arii, a fierce northern people, “ that they had ‘ tincta corpora,’ i. e. were Picts;” and the same ^m Virgil saith of the Geloni, who were next neighbours to the Agathyrsi: so that ⁿ Hector Boethius’s conjecture is not at all improbable, who deduces the Picti from the Agathyrsi, i. e. from the “ maritime inhabitants of the Baltic sea,” or, as he expresses it, “ from those who came first out of Sarmatia into the Cimbric Chersonese, and from thence into ^o Scotland.”

This being to me the most probable account of the original of the Picts, I now come to that of the Scots: and, to do right to all pretenders, I shall impartially

ⁱ Lib. 4. cap. 12. Natur. Hist. vol. 1. p. 175.

^j Atlantic. part. 1. cap. 30. §. 4. p. 724.

^k Solini Polyhist. cap. 20. p. 47. ed. Stephani.

^l De Moribus German. cap. 43. inter Oper. tom. 4. p. 57.

^m Georg. 2. v. 115.

ⁿ Hist. Scot. lib. 1. f. 4. 2. lin. 75. Camden. ibid. p. 82. vol. 1. p. xc.

Vide Usser. de Primord. Addend. p. 1017. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 300. Nicolson in his English Historical Library, part 2. ch. 1. p. 77. refers to this passage.

^o Sir Robert Sibbald, as referred to in p. 245. note c, adds, p. 9, “ That which the learned Dr. Stillingfleet asserteth, is most agreeable to the tradition handed down to us,” &c.

set down the several claims of the Scottish and Irish antiquaries, and in passing make some remarks upon them.

I begin with the Scottish pretences. ^pDempster hath given a large catalogue of the Scottish antiquaries, (whom he never saw,) such as Marcerius, the first writer of their history, whom he places A. D. 53. From him, ^qhe saith, “Veremundus took his materials,” (whom Hector Boethius professes to follow,) and Cornelius Hibernicus, another of Hector’s great authors, who is said by him to have lived A. D. 1160, about eighty years after Veremundus, according to Dempster’s computation. Lesley (or ^rRobert Turner, as some think) mentions some ancient annals, which Hector takes no notice of in particular, but Dempster doth, as those of Paisley and Scone, and other monasteries. ^sIt would tend very much to the clearing of the Scottish antiquities if some of these ancient annals or leiger books were printed by some of their learned men, who have never been wanting in that nation since ²⁴⁹Hector’s time. And it hath rendered their credit the more suspicious, because they have been so long kept up, when all the old annals which have been found among us have either been carefully published, or our writers have on all occasions appealed to their authority, and made use of their own words to justify their assertions. Whether this hath been done by Hector, Buchanan or Lesley, as to these annals, I leave the reader to determine.

I omit Dempster’s other ancient authors, who were never heard of by any besides himself; but it is some-

^p Apparat. ad Hist. Scotie. lib. 1. cap. 2. p. 9. See Preface, p. 1.

^q Hist. Eccles. lib. 12. n. 881.

^r Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 592. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 309.

^s See Preface, p. xviii.

what strange, that even such as ^tVeremundus and Cornelius should never fall into any hands (that I can find) but those of Hector Boethius; and that he should never so much as mention John Fordon's Scotichronicon. Pits confounds this author with John de Fordam, confessor to our king John, and so places him A. D. 1210, wherein he is followed by the learned ^uGer. Vossius. He was abbot of Ford in Devonshire, saith Leland, and he mentions no historical writings of his: but it is certain that John Fordon, who wrote the Scotichronicon, lived after this time, by the authors he quotes, (such as the ^xPolychronicon of Ranulphus Higden, the Polycraticon of Roger of Chester, who both lived in the fourteenth century:) and Maculloch, who transcribed and enlarged it, lived, saith ^yDempster, A. D. 1482: for it appears by the preface, "Debitor sum fateor," &c. that John Fordon (who is there called a presbyter, and no monk) "finished no more than five books of the Scotichronicon," but left the materials to make up the rest; and that Fordon's own work was but lately done, before Maculloch undertook to finish and enlarge it, who professes himself a disciple of Fordon's: and distinguishes his own additions from Fordon's copy by putting in the margin "scriptor et autor." But ^zDempster makes Maculloch, Scotichronicon, and Fordon, three several authors, which is a sign he never saw them. ^aMr. Camden takes notice how much the later Scottish historians are beholding to Fordon's diligence; and there-

^t Preface, pp. xvi. xviii. xlix. and notes there, &c. and in this chapter, p. 261, &c. as to Veremundus.

^u De Hist. Latin. lib. 2. cap. 56. p. 142. Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 670. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 351. See Pref. p. lvii.

^x Scotichron. lib. 3. cap. 8. p. 625; lib. 1. cap. 35. p. 584. vol. 1. p. 59. ed. Hearnii. cap. 37. vol. 1. p. 34. ed. Goodall.

^y Hist. Eccles. lib. 12. n. 911.
^z Appar. ad Hist. Scot. lib. 1. cap. 2. p. 9.

^a Brit. p. 712. vol. 3. p. 415.

fore out of him I shall give a short account of the Scottish antiquities, and then shew how far Major, Hector Boethius and Buchanan differ from him; for
 250 Lesley doth very faithfully contract Hector where Buchanan was ashamed to follow him, as will appear by what follows.

“There was,” saith ^bFordon, “one Gaithelos, son of Neolus, one of the kings of Greece, who, having displeased his father, was banished his country, and went into Egypt, where he was married to Scota, the king’s daughter. But he quotes another chronicle, which saith, that he was sent to the assistance of the king of Egypt against the Ethiopians, who gave him his only daughter, ^cScota, to wife; and the legend of St. Brendan to the same purpose; and another chronicle, which makes him to be grandchild to Nimrod, who was driven into Egypt, and there married this Scota.” However they differ in lesser circumstances, they agree in the main point; for Scota he must have, or else the name of Scotia would be quite lost. ^d“After the destruction of Pharaoh in the Red sea, Gaithelos is chosen king; but discontents arising, he and his wife Scota, with their company, put to sea and made westward; but after many difficulties they landed in Spain, where, after the conquest of the inhabitants, he built the city Brigantia; ^ebut being wearied out with continual wars, he sent some of his company to sea to find out an island without inhabitants; upon discovery whereof they returned to Gai-

^b Scotichron. lib. 1. cap. 9. c. 8. p. 570. vol. 1. p. 10. See Preface, p. xvi. and p. viii. and note. In p. lii. it appears that bishop Elphinston copied Fordon.

^c Concerning the two Scotas

see Preface, p. lxvi. and in this chap. p. 276.

^d Fordon *ibid.* cap. 12. c. 11–14. p. 572. vol. 1. p. 13.

^e *Ibid.* cap. 14. c. 15. p. 573. vol. 1. p. 14. See Preface, p. lii.

thelos, ^f who soon after died, and charged his children and friends to go thither; and accordingly his sons, Iber and Imec, went to take possession of this island, which from him was called Ibernia, and from his mother Scotia;” “which name was after given to part of Britain, because the inhabitants of the other island settled there,” saith Maculloch, in his Additions to Fordon, “as appears by the affinity of their language and customs, which,” saith he, “continues to this day.” ^g “In Spain some of that race abode,” saith Fordon, out of an old chronicle, “240 years; ^h then arose a king, whom he calls Micelius, who had three sons, Hermonius, Partholomus, and Hibertus, whom he sent into Ireland with a great army: the eldest returned to Spain, but the other two continued there. Afterwards ⁱ Simon Brek, with his company, made a ²⁵¹ third descent into Ireland, who sprang from Hermonius, and carried along with him the ^k marble chair in which their kings were wont to sit, and which Gaithelos brought out of Egypt, as some think; but others say, Simon drew it up from the bottom of the sea with an anchor in a great tempest, and therefore was preserved as a precious relic; and he took it as a presage of his kingdom, which was to continue wherever that stone was, as the soothsayers said. ^l From Ireland, Ethachius Rothay, a descendant from Simon Brek, took possession of the island Rothsay; and many Scots associated with the Picts in the northern parts

^f Ibid. cap. 16. p. 574. vol. 1. p. 15. cap. 17. p. 574. vol. 1. p. 16. cap. 18. c. 17. p. 575. vol. 1. p. 17.

vol. 1. cap. 27, 28. p. 24. See p. 266. vide Camden. ibid. p. 90. vol. 1. p. xcvi.

^g Ibid. cap. 21. c. 20. p. 576. vol. 1. p. 20.

^k See Additions to Camden ibid. p. 388. Camden in Perthshire, p. 709. vol. 3. p. 394, and note ^d.

^h Ibid. cap. 22. c. 21, p. 577. vol. 1. p. 21.

^l Fordon ibid. cap. 30. c. 28. p. 580. vol. 1. cap. 29. p. 26.

ⁱ Cap. 27, 29. c. 26, 27. p. 579.

of Britain; ^m but being hardly used, and having no head, ⁿ Fergus, the son of Fercard, or Ferard, being descended of the royal family, went over and took upon him the government of them; which, he saith, was ^o before Christ three hundred and thirty years, in the time of Alexander the Great, who carried the fatal chair into Scotland and was crowned in it. Some time after him succeeded Rether, whom Bede calls Reuda, who endeavoured to enlarge the borders of the Scots in those parts, and fixed himself in that which from him was called Retherdale, but since Rydesdale; and this ^p he makes the second coming of the Scots out of Ireland. After this, ^q he tells how the kings of the Britons, of the Scots and the Picts lived very lovingly together till Julius Cæsar disturbed them all, who, he saith, went to the very borders of Scotland, and there sent letters to the kings, both of the Scots and Picts, who both returned answers in Latin, although but the chapter before he saith, ‘the very Britons had never heard of the name of the Romans.’ But it happened that Cæsar, hearing of the revolt of the Gauls, made a speedy return out of those parts. ^r Then he relates the bloody wars of the Scots and Picts against the Britons; and how ^s Fulgentius, head of the Britons, joined with the Picts and Scots

^m Ibid. cap. 33. c. 34. p. 583. vol. 1. cap. 36. p. 33.

ⁿ See Preface, p. x. where the great difference in the Scots’ genealogies is shewn. Fordon ibid.

^o Fordon ibid. lib. 2. cap. 12. 13. p. 593. vol. 1. cap. 12, 13. p. 48. Preface, p. xv. and Lloyd therein referred to. Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 612. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 321. concern-

ing Fergus I, Maximus, Fergus II. &c.

^p Ibid. cap. 13.

^q Ibid. cap. 14, 15. p. 594. vol. 1. p. 49.

^r Ibid. cap. 28. c. 26. p. 601. c. 29. p. 63.

^s Ibid. cap. 29. c. 33. p. 605. cap. 38. vol. 1. p. 71. Lloyd ibid. Preface, p. xxxv. and p. 259 of this chapter compared with ch. 2. p. 52.

against Severus, and killed him at York: ^t and so proceeds in the story of Carausius and Maximus, and their wars with the Scots and Picts, till he comes to Fergus II., with whom he begins his third book; and ²⁵² between the two Ferguses he reckons forty-five kings; but he confesses he cannot distinguish the times of their reign, as he can do those from "Fergus II." And he gives this considerable reason for it, ^x "nam ad plenum scripta non reperimus," i. e. he could not find any full account of them in any ancient annals or records. And therefore it ought to be considered from whence Hector, Buchanan and Lesley should be able to give such a particular account of the reigns of those kings which were wholly unknown to Fordon. This is the short account of what Fordon delivers about these remoter antiquities of the Scots.

^y Joh. Major confesseth, "that the Scots were derived from the Irish, which," he saith, "is plain by the ^z language;" for in his time half the nation spake Irish, and before that time more. And so he tells the story of their coming from Spain, of the city Braganza, of Iberus and his mother Scota, and then repeats the tradition of Gaithelos, as Fordon relates it; but very honestly saith, ^a "that he looks on that part of it, about coming out of Greece and Egypt, as a fiction;" and very probably conjectures it was done "because the

^t Fordon *ibid.* c. 36-38. c. 37-40, &c. p. 608, &c. vol. 1. c. 42-45, &c. p. 75, &c.

^u *Ibid.* lib. 3. cap. 2. p. 622. vol. 1. p. 107.

^x See Preface, p. v.

^y *De Gestis Scot.* lib. 1. cap. 9. fol. 16. 2. see Pref. p. lxvi. *Usser. de Primord.* cap. 15. p. 579. *Brit. Eccles. Antiq.* p. 301. where Camden is quoted to the same effect. With these compare note K

Camden *ibid.* vol. 1. p. xcvi. beside Camden *ibid.* p. 85. vol. 1. p. xciv.

^z See Preface, p. xxxv. as to the agreement of the Irish and British languages, noticed by Camden and Ware, &c.

^a See Preface, pp. xxiii. lxvi. Camden agrees herewith, *ibid.* pp. 5. 85. 728. vol. 1. pp. v. xciv. vol. 3. p. 465.

Britons derived themselves from the Trojans," which was subtilely done of the Scots to claim kindred rather with the conquering Greeks than the subdued and banished Trojans. All that Major asserts is, ^b "that the Irish came out of Spain, and the Scots out of Ireland," and the story of Simon Brek he rejects as a fable; and he makes the first settling of the Scots in Britain to be that under Reuda, but he mentions their annals for Fergus, the son of Ferchard, before Reuda; and Rether and Rydesdale, as it is in Fordon. But he makes the kingdoms of the Picts, Scots and Britons to be distinct in Cæsar's time, and that they all joined against him; and so relates Fordon's story to the time of Fergus II. But between the two Ferguses he makes but fifteen kings and seven hundred years.

^c Hector Boethius, before he begins the tradition of Gaithelos, very ingenuously confesses, "that their nation followed the custom of other nations, therein making themselves the offspring of the Greeks and Egyptians;" and so he tells all the story from Gai-
 253 thelos, as Fordon has done, only here and there making additions and embellishments of his own; as when he derives the Brigantes from Brigantia in Spain; when he sets down the deliberation about the form of government upon Fergus's coming to Scotland; and the speeches of Fergus and the king of the Picts; the death of Coilus king of the Britons; the entering the fundamental contract of the Scots with the posterity of Fergus in marble tables in the way of hieroglyphics; the Agrarian law, and partition made by seven, and the division of the tribes; the bringing the Silures, Ordovices, Camelodunum, as well as the Brigantes,

^b Camden. *ibid.* p. 87. vol. 1. p. xcv. has discussed this point. Major. *ibid.* cap. 11. fol. 18. 2.

^c *Histor. Scotor.* lib. 1. fol. 1. 1. lin. 1. See Preface, pp. vi. xv. liv.

within the compass of Scotland; these are the proper inventions of Hector, unless he had them from his Spaniard Veremundus, which no one could tell but himself: thence Leland and ^d Lhuyd charge him with innumerable falsehoods. ^e Dempster confesses that Buchanan frequently chastises him; but he would have it rather on the account of religion than learning: but it is plain that he owns his mistakes and ^f vanity, only he charges Lhuyd with as great on behalf of the Britons.

In the ^g second book Hector enlarges more: for ^h Fordon passeth on from Fergus to Rether, or Bede's Reuda, having nothing to say; but Hector acquaints us with the contest about the regency upon Fergus's death, and the law then made concerning it; the attempt of resignation of Feritharis to Ferlegus, the son of Fergus, and his imprisonment upon it; the death of Feritharis after fifteen years' reign; the flight of Ferlegus into Britain, with the choice of Main, his younger brother, to be king; his good government and annual progress for justice through all places of his dominions; his appointing circles of great stones for temples, and one in the middle for the altar; and the monthly worship of the new moon; and several Egyptian sacrifices, (which one would have thought had been more proper for Gaithelos himself,) with the succession of his son Dornadil; his making the laws of hunting, which were still observed there; and of his brother Nothatus, his son Reuther being an infant; who came in by "the law of regency," saith Hector; "by the power of the people," saith Buchanan; but in 254

^d Monæ Descrip. ad fin.

^e Hist. Eccles. lib. 2. n. 175.

^f Buchan. Rerum Scot. Hist. lib. 2. ad fin.

^g For some of these particulars, see Preface, p. liv.

^h Scotichron. lib. 2. cap. 12. p. 594. p. 47.

truth by neither; for all this succession seems to have been the product of Hector's fruitful invention, which Buchanan follows without authority, as he doth in all the rest of the succession of that race of kings from Reuther to Fergus II.

To make way for ⁱBede's account of Reuda's coming into those parts of Britain, this Reuther is forced back into Ireland, from whence he is said to return with new supplies after twelve years; from whom the Scots were then called Dalreudini: but this return of Reuther Hector places in the year before Christ 204. And after him Reutha his kinsman; in whose time, Hector relates an embassy from Ptolemy Philadelphus to him; and the account of Scotland which he began in a large volume for his satisfaction, which was after finished by Ptolemy the cosmographer. This Buchanan had the wit to leave out (and even ^kDempster himself, though he mentions him for a writer of their history), and so he doth the voyage of the two Spanish philosophers in the time of Josina, and their preaching against the Egyptian worship in Scotland; (but Lesly hath it.) And if Buchanan had believed it, he would have set it down, as well as Josina's bringing physic and surgery into so much request, that there was not a nobleman that could not practise the latter: and yet Hector declares, immediately after the story of the philosophers, that hitherto he had followed Veremundus, John Campbell and Cornelius Hibernicus, the most approved authors of their history. It would have been some satisfaction to the world, if any other person had seen these authors besides; Fordon never mentions them, and yet he used great diligence to search their

ⁱ Lloyd *ibid.* ch. 1. §. 6. p. 14.
See p. 242. note ^t.

^k *Histor. Eccles. lib. 16. n.*
1065.

antiquities, and, if ¹Dempster may be believed, had the sight of their most ancient MSS. Buchanan passes them over; Dempster names them on the authority of Hector. What became of these great authors after Hector's time? ^mdid he destroy them, as some say Polydore Virgil did some of ours after he had used them? But this were madness, to quote their authority and destroy the authors; for these were his vouchers; which ought most carefully to have been preserved. And in truth Hector himself gives no very ²⁵⁵ consistent account of his authors, for in his epistle to James V. he mentions Veremundus, archdeacon of St. Andrew's, who deduced the Scottish history from the original to Malcolm III, and Turgot, bishop of St. Andrew's, and John Campbell, which were brought from the island Iona; to whom he adds an anonymous author, and the imperfect history of William Elphinston, bishop of Aberdeen. "But," saith he, "if any ask" such a material question, "How came these authors to be seen nowhere else?" he answers, "That Edward I. destroyed all their monuments of antiquity; so that had not those been preserved in the island Iona with the chest of books which Fergus II. brought from the sacking of Rome, in the time of Alaric, they had been able to give no account of their antiquities." From whence it is evident that Hector never saw or heard of any ancient authors of their history, but such as were conveyed to him from the island Iona. But in his ⁿ seventh book, where he gives a more particular ac-

¹ Appar. ad Hist. Scot. lib. 1. cap. 6. p. 22, &c.

^m See Preface, p. xlix.

ⁿ Hect. Boeth. lib. 7. f. 118. 1. lin. 33. Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. pp. 595, &c. 698. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 311, &c. 365.

Stillingfleet mentions the library at Iona in his preface, pp. v. xiv. xxii. xxxix. xlv. xlix. liv. and notes there. Jamieson, in his Historical Account of the Ancient Culdees, ch. 14. p. 302. Ibid. App. p. 405.

count of those books which were brought to him from thence, he only mentions some broken fragments of Latin authors, but whose they were, where written, whence they came, he knew not: and as to their own histories, he names indeed Veremundus and Elphinston, and no more. The latter he said before was imperfect and lately done, so that the whole credit of Hector's antiquities rests entirely upon Veremundus, for here he never takes notice of Campbell, or Cornelius Hibernicus; but he saith, "Edward I. had destroyed all their antiquities, but such as were preserved in the island Iona or Hy." And is this now a good foundation to build a history upon? for is it not very strange, that no one copy of Veremundus should be heard of since that time, when there were several of Fordon, not only there, but in our libraries, some with the enlargements and some without? But if our king Edward I. "destroyed all their ancient histories," how came ^o Turgot's to be preserved? He was bishop of St. Andrew's in the time of Malcolm III. and queen Margaret, "whose Lives he wrote, and whose history," Hector saith, "he had." So that not only Turgot's History of the Church of Durham 256 is preserved in the Cotton library, with his own name written in an ancient character, (the same that is printed under the name of Simeon Dunelmensis, with some alterations, as ^p Mr. Selden hath shewed; but if Hoveden be so much to blame, as ^q Leland saith, for concealing what he borrowed from Simeon Dunelmensis, Simeon himself is at least as much to blame for assuming to himself the proper work of Turgot,) but it seems Hector had seen what he wrote in relation

^o See Preface, p. lvi.

^p Præfat. ad Twysdeni Decem Scriptor. p. 3.

^q Leland. Comment. de Script. Brit. in Simeon. p. 189.

to the Scottish history; and Bale and Pits say, “he wrote of the kings of Scotland:” but Dempster saith, “he wrote only the annals of his own time,” i. e. I suppose, the Lives of Malcolm and Margaret: if so, Hector mentions him to little purpose, with respect to the Scottish antiquities. But however, from the fore-mentioned authors, Hector pretends to give an account of the institution of the great council by Finannus; of the order of the Druids, and their chief seat in the island ^r Mona, (which he would have to be the Isle of Man, to the great regret of ^sHumphrey Lhuyd, who hath written a book on purpose to disprove ^thim and Polydore Virgil about it;) of the tyranny and violent death of king Durstus; of the choice of Euenus’s kinsman to succeed him, and his first requiring an oath of allegiance; of the disturbances by Gillus’s natural son, and his flying into Ireland, and his death ^y Cadallus; and Euenus’s setting up Edecus, the grandchild of Durstus; with which he ends his second book.

In his ^uthird book he gives an account of the troubles from Ireland by Bredius, a kinsman of Gillus; of Cassibellan’s message to Ederus for assistance against Julius Cæsar; and the speech of Androgeus before the council, and Ederus’s answer; and sending ten thousand men under the command of Cadallanus, son to Cadallus; who with the British forces quite overthrew Cæsar, by the help of Tenantius, duke of the Cambri

^r See Camden. *ibid.* p. 540. vol. 2. p. 565. Additions, p. 567, &c. and references in the next note. For a short notice of both Anglesea and Man, see Camden. *ibid.* p. 838. vol. 3. p. 697. Gunn’s note 12. p. 110. in his edit. of Nennius.

^s Usser. *de Primord.* cap. 15. p. 642. *Brit. Eccles. Antiq.* p. 335. Rowland’s “*Mona Antiqua*

Restaurata,” sect. 9. p. 78, &c. “Of the removal of these priests (the Druids) upon the conquest of Anglesea by the Romans, into the Isle of Man; which happily adjusts the difference and dispute betwixt Humphrey Lhuyd and Hector Boethius.” Nicolson *ibid.* part 1. ch. 2. p. 20.

^t See p. 253. and note ^d.

^u See Preface, pp. ix. liv.

and Corinei; for which, as we may easily conceive, there was wonderful rejoicing in Scotland, and great friendship upon it between the Britons, the Picts, and the Scots. But next summer they hear the sad news of Cæsar's coming again, and then the Britons refused the Scots' assistance (and it is easy to imagine what 257 must follow) the poor Britons were miserably beaten; and Cassibellan yields himself to Cæsar, and Cæsar marches towards Scotland; but before he enters it, he sends a more eloquent letter to them than that in Fordon; and the Scots and Picts returned a resolute answer. But it seems Cæsar had so much good nature in him as to send a second message to the Scots, which was delivered with great eloquence, but it did not work upon them; for, saith Hector, "had it not been for the law of nations, they had torn the messengers to pieces." But it happened luckily, that while Cæsar was making preparations to enter Scotland, he received letters from Labienus of the revolt of the Gauls; upon which Cæsar returns, having scarce so much as frightened the Picts and the Scots. And here again Hector vouches the authority of Veremundus and Campbell; but notwithstanding, Buchanan very wisely leaves all this out, which Lesley, believing Veremundus, or rather Hector, before Cæsar, keeps in. But here Hector becomes very nice and critical, rejecting the vulgar annals, (which it seems were not destroyed by Edward I.) which say, that "Cæsar went as far as the Caledonian wood, and besieged Camelodunum, and left there his pretorian house," which he used to travel with, called *'Julius hoff.' But for his part, he would write nothing that might be found fault with, and therefore he follows Veremundus again,

* Vide Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 586. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p 305.

“that this was the temple of Victory, built by Vespasian, not far from Camelodunum; only the inscription was defaced by Edward I.” Buchanan, in the Life of king Donald, saith, “this was the temple of the god Terminus, being near the Roman wall.” It was a round building, made of square stones, and open only at the top, twenty-four cubits in height, thirteen in breadth, as ^yCamden describes it. ^zNennius saith, it was built by Carausius in token of his triumph: but this looks no more like a triumphal arch than Cæsar’s travelling palace; and therefore ^aBuchanan’s opinion seems most probable, since Hector saith, “that there was within it a stone of great magnitude,” which was the representation of the god Terminus, especially if the hole in the top were over the stone, as it was in the capitol at Rome. Then follow the wicked life and tragical end of ^bEuenus III.; the good reign of Metellanus, and his 258 friendship with Augustus, which he goes about to prove from Strabo; but he had better kept to Veremundus. After him succeeded Caractacus, born at Caractonium, a city of the Silures, saith Hector; and that he might be sure to confound all, he saith, his sister Voada was married to Arviragus, king of the Britons; but he divorced her, and married Genissa, a noble Roman; upon which Caractacus joined the Britons against the Romans, and was at last beaten by them, and betrayed by Cartumandua, his mother-in-law, who, after his father’s death, was married to Venusius, and

^y Brit. p. 700. vol. 3. p. 356.

^z Nenn. cap. 19. p. 103. As this is an interpolation (see Usher *ibid.*) there is no notice taken of it, §. 24. p. 19. but in n. 7. ed. 1838. and also in n. 51. p. 139. of Gunn’s edit. in 1819. Camden. *ibid.* p. 51. edit. 1607. vol. 1. p. liii. edit. 1789. com-

pared with the last note. In the additions by Gough, vol. 3. p. 363. we are informed, “this curious morsel of Roman antiquity exists no longer.”

^a Horsley, *Britannia Romana*, b. 1. ch. 10. p. 174, thinks it was “a mausoleum.”

^b See Preface, p. ix.

was by Ostorius carried in triumph to Rome, from whence, he saith, he returned to Scotland, and remained to his death a friend to the Romans. After Caractacus, Corbred his brother was chosen king; who joined with Voada against the Romans; and partaking of her misfortune, returned into Scotland and there died. His sons being under age, ^c Dardannus succeeded; who, designing to destroy the right heirs of the crown, was himself taken off: and thereby way was made for Galdus the true heir to succeed; who was the same, saith Hector, with Tacitus's Galgacus, and he confesses was beaten by Petilius Cerealis. This king, Buchanan thinks, was the first of their kings who fought with the Romans. What becomes then of the credit of Hector and Veremundus, from whom we have such ample narrations of their engaging with the Romans so long before? From hence it is plain that Veremundus's authority signified nothing with him; and yet he follows Hector where he professes to rely upon his authority: for Buchanan evidently abridges Hector as to the Scottish affairs, leaving out what he found inconsistent with the Roman history.

Hector begins his ^d fifth book with the short reign and doleful end of ^e Luctacus, Galdus's son, who was succeeded by Mogallus, his sister's son, who continued for some time a brave prince, but at last degenerating, was killed by his subjects. After him, Conarus's son, who was confined for ill management, and the government committed to Argadus. Upon his death the kingdom fell to Ethodius, nephew to Mogallus, who
 259 was strangled in his bed by an Irish harper; and so was Satrael that succeeded him, by those of his bed-chamber. These are sad stories if they were true, but

^c See Pref. p. ix. ^d Ibid. and ch. 2. p. 52. ^e Pref. p. ix.

the comfort is, there appears yet no better authority than that of Hector for them: for Fordon hath nothing of all this, and Buchanan and Lesley take them upon Hector's credit. They served Buchanan's purpose well enough, as appears by his book, *De Jure Regni apud Scotos*; and therefore he was willing to let them stand in history, being none of his invention, and knowing what use was to be made of them. Donaldus, brother to Ethodius, was chosen in his room; and here Hector falls in with Fordon about ^fFulgentius, one of the royal British race, who revolted from the Romans, which Fordon had from ^gGeoffrey of Monmouth, who calls him Fulgenius, and saith he was driven with the Britons into Albany; but after, in a fight with Severus at York, they were both killed. But in this Hector was ashamed to follow them; allowing Severus to die a natural death, and Fulgentius to survive him. As to ^hDonald's embracing Christianity, he follows Fordon, but never quotes him; and here he never mentions Veremundus; as though so considerable a point of history needed no authority but his own. He concludes this book with a brief account of Ethodius, son to the former, who for his ill government was confined by his nobles and killed by his guards.

In the sixth book he begins with a convention of the estates for the choice of a new king. And they set up his son ⁱAthirco, who gave great hopes at first, but falling into debauchery, his nobles combined against him, and finding no way to escape, he killed himself. Nathalacus, head of the conspiracy, succeeds, who was

^fLloyd *ibid.* Preface, p. xxxiv. and p. 251 in this chapter, and note ^s.

^gUsser. *de Primord.* cap. 15. p. 584. *Brit. Eccles. Antiq.* p. 304. See Lloyd *ibid.* p. xxxv.

^hPreface, p. lxiii. and note there.

ⁱ*Ibid.* p. ix. Usser. *de Primord.* c. xv. p. 617. *Brit. Eccles. Antiq.* p. 323.

for a time popular, afterwards cruel, to that degree as raised a general hatred of him, which ended in a design to destroy him ; wherein they were prevented by one of his greatest confidants, who stabbed him. Then Findocus, eldest son to Athirco, recovered the crown, who proved an excellent prince, but was at last murdered by two villains, his brother Carantius being privy to it: the murderers were executed, but Carantius fled, and was afterwards a great soldier under Probus, Carus, 260 and Diocletian. This Carantius is the same whom the Roman writers call ^kCarausius, as Hector afterwards confesses, who set up for himself in Britain ; but, saith he, he purposely disguised himself abroad. Geoffrey of Monmouth makes him a Briton, and calls him Carassius. ¹Fordon tells the main of the story of Carausius well enough : only enlarging on the leagues he made with the Scots and Picts ; and Gothorius, nephew to Fulgentius, who ruled over the northern Britons. But whence had Hector this information, that he was Carantius, son to Athirco, and brother to Findocus ? Buchanan is not ashamed to relate the story of Carantius, as far as to his passing into the Roman army, and there stops. But afterwards he speaks of Carausius's actions in Britain, without any further mention of Carantius ; which shews that Buchanan took and left what he pleased out of Hector's history, without being obliged by any authority he produced to carry it on as he found it there.

After the death of Findocus, his brother Donald succeeded, who was soon killed by Donald of the Isles, who usurped the kingdom, and was at last killed by a conspiracy, whereof Crathlintus, son to Findocus, was

^k Lloyd *ibid.* in his Preface, c. 38, 39. pp. 609, 610. Oxon. pp. xxxvi. xxxvii. 1691.

¹ Scotichron. lib. 2. cap. 44.

the chief, who immediately took possession of the crown : after him succeeded Fincormachus ; both these died peaceably. Then arose a mighty contest about the regency between the three nephews of Crathlintus : at first Romachus prevailed, but governing cruelly, he was taken off ; then followed Angusianus, who was killed in battle by the Picts ; after him Fethelmachus, killed in his bed by his harper ; and last of all Eugenius, killed in battle by the Romans : and soon after, by the instigation of the Picts, their mortal enemies, the Scots were universally banished out of Britain by order of Maximus, the Roman general, whither they returned not till about forty years after, under Fergus II. And in this, as to the main part of this last tragedy, Fordon agrees with Hector, viz. that it was occasioned by the Romans joining with the Picts against the Scots, in the time of Eugenius, who were not only beaten by them, but driven out of Britain into Ireland and Norway, and other countries.

This is the substance of what these Scottish anti-261 quaries deliver concerning their remotest antiquities to the time of Fergus II.

But several arguments are of late produced to justify the history of Scotland, as it is delivered by Hector Boethius out of ^m Veremundus and his other authors ; which must be briefly considered before I proceed to the Irish antiquities. And it is alleged, that the ⁿ Scottish antiquities, as delivered by him, (for it is concerning Hector's authority which I dispute,) " have been received with great applause for many hundreds of years, by all historians, antiquaries, and critics of other nations, who had any occasion to mention their

^m See the Preface and notes, Antiquity, &c. p. 2. See Preface, p. xxi.

ⁿ Mackenzie's Defence of the

affairs." It will go a great way with me, if it be made appear that there was any such account received among learned antiquaries in any part of the world before Hector's time ; but I cannot find any one antiquary, no not in Scotland, before his time, who gives the same account that Hector doth. The tradition of the ^o Scots peopling that part of the island long before Fergus II. I grant was a much elder tradition, and is embraced by Fordon, and probably by others before him. But Fordon doth not own the succession of the same number of kings, and in such a manner as Hector delivers them. From whence then came Hector to know so much more than Fordon in these matters? I yield that "there weresome ancient ^pChronica before Fordon, which he often quotes." But still the argument is the stronger against Hector. For if Fordon had all those helps, and yet knew nothing of those particulars, it is a vehement presumption against Hector, that he took too much liberty in those many particulars, which Fordon passed over as having nothing to say about them. The more ^q copies they have of Fordon in their monasteries, the more easily they may be convinced how little Hector and he agree about the first succession between the two Ferguses. And if ^rFordon did agree with all their annals, as is now pleaded, Hector Boethius could not, because they differ so much from each other ; as will appear to any one that compares them. Why do we not read in ^sFordon the authorities of Veremundus and Cornelius Hibernicus, who were certainly ²⁶² before his time, if ever? For we are told, "that he was ^t archdeacon of St. Andrew's, A.D. 1076, and dedi-

^o Mackenzie *ibid.* p. 34.

^p *Ibid.* pp. 36, 37. and Stillingfleet's Preface, p. xvii.

^q Mackenzie *ibid.* p. 36.

^r *Ibid.*

^s See Preface, p. li. and note.

^t Mackenzie *ibid.* p. 25.

cated his book to Malcolm Canmore ;” which was long enough before Fordon’s time. But it is said, “that he is ^u cited in a particular part of Fordon’s book, which could not be copied from Boethius.” It had been a much clearer evidence if that place had been produced ; for then we might have considered whether it was a passage of Fordon, or of one of those several writers who it seems wrote additions and continuations to him ; such as, besides ^v Macculloch, Arelat and Walter Bowmaker are said to have been, who continued the histories to the reign of James II. And yet I would be glad to see any testimony of Veremundus of that antiquity. As to the testimony of ^w Chambers, who saith “he had these principal authors, Veremund, a Spaniard, Turgot, Swinton, Campbell, &c.” till some further proof be produced, I have reason to suppose, it was the same case as to him with that of sir R. Baker, which immediately follows ; for we are told, that “^x he likewise quotes this Veremund among the authors out of whom he compiled his history, and likewise Campbell and Turgot.” And if we have no more ground to believe that Chambers had them than sir R. Baker, the matter must remain in as much obscurity as before. For no one imagines that sir R. Baker had all those authors by him which he there mentions ; but he sets down the names of those whose authorities he relied upon, although he found them quoted by others. And he is not the only person in the world who hath cited the authority of books which he never saw ; the same is to be said of ^y Holinshed. But if such kind of proofs must pass “for ^z evident demonstrations that the Scots

^u Ibid. p. 28.

^v Nicolson’s Scot. Hist. Lib. p. 25.

^w Mackenzie ibid. p. 26, &c.

See Preface, p. liv.

^x Mackenzie ibid. p. 27.

^y See Preface, p. liv. and note.

^z Mackenzie ibid. p. 28.

had such historians as Veremundus, and the others before mentioned," I wonder the same learned author should shrink so much the faith of history as to allow that despicable thing, called a 'moral certainty,' to be a sufficient probation for it, for scarce any history can be mentioned but may have such kind of evident demonstrations to prove it. Well, "but ^b Balæus, a learned Englishman, and Gesner, and other famous strangers, quote Veremundus." But so do not Boston of Bury, nor Leland, who had written of the British and other
 263 writers before the time of Hector Boethius. And those were men who searched all our libraries for the ancient books in them, and have digested them with great care; and if Veremundus with other ^c MSS. were brought into England by Edward I. as is now suggested, it could hardly have escaped the diligence of those men. But those who lived after Hector Boethius published his History, took his word for Veremundus, and entered him into their catalogues, as Vossius hath done many whom he never saw. But ^d Erasmus saith, "that Hector was a person who could not lie." That was more than Erasmus could know, unless he had been by when he wrote his History, and compared it with the authors he pretended to follow. As to Paulus Jovius, he was a fit second to Boethius; but I am sure Erasmus would not have said of him, "that he could not lie." For ^e Hector's pretending to have his books from the island Iona, I have given an account of it already, and shewed how inconsistent his own relation thereof is. But all this while, ^f where is the great applause of these Scottish antiquities for

^a Ibid. p. 4.

^b Mackenzie *ibid.* p. 28. See Preface, p. liv. and note.

^c Mackenzie *ibid.* pp. 28. 45.

^d See Preface, p. v.

^e See p. 255. in this chap. and notes; also Preface, pp. liv. lv. in particular.

^f See Mackenzie, as quoted in p. 261. note n.

many hundreds of years by all historians, antiquaries, and critics of foreign nations? when not so much as one is produced who lived before Hector Boethius, and I think that was not many hundred years since.

But whatever becomes of Veremundus, we are told, that “^gthe Black-book of Scone, containing the Scottish histories from the beginning, was among president Spotswood’s books, and given to Lambert, and by him to colonel Fairfax.” All this, I am afraid, is a great mistake for a Black-book of Fordon’s, which was brought out of Scotland and presented to the late king by a gentleman of that name, as some yet living can attest. But no such thing as the Black-book of Scone was ever heard of here; and if any such could be found, we should be so far from suppressing any thing that tended to the glory of the Scottish nation, that some here would be very glad to publish it, with all other ancient annals which themselves would think fit to be printed, whether it be the Black-book of Paisley, Pluscardin, or any others. We do not deny that they had any ancient annals or registers in their monasteries, but we desire to be better acquainted with them; and it is no good ²⁶⁴ argument they can tell us where to find them, that they are so careful to let us know how they came to lose them.

But after all this fencing it is positively said, “^h that the surest foundation of all history is the common belief and consent of the natives.” But what if the natives of several countries differ from each other? It may be reasonable to believe neither, but it is not possible to believe both. What if they had for a long time no certain way of conveying their histories from one age to another? It is possible oral tradition may preserve

^g Mackenzie’s Defence, &c. note there.
p. 32. See Preface, p. xvii. and ^h Mackenzie *ibid.* p. 7.

some general strokes of the ancient history of a country, but it is hardly credible that so many particulars as Boethius hath in the first race of kings, could be kept so distinctly by the force of tradition. The case of the old world is vastly different from any other people since the shortening of men's lives; and whatever nation wanted records, could never make out the credibility of their history to other people. We do not deny ⁱ the annals of the Jewish or Roman priests, but we think annals and oral tradition are two things; when annals are produced, we must weigh and consider them, and compare the annals of several nations together, that we may better judge which are to be relied upon.

And yet we are told again, “^k that when histories are already formed out of ancient records, there is no further need to produce them; for papers may be lost by accident, but the histories taken out of them are to be believed, although the records cannot be found; as it is in respect of the histories of Rome and Greece, whose authority remains, although the testimonies on which they relied are not extant.”

So that at last ^l Geoffrey of Monmouth must be believed as to the British antiquities, as well as Hector Boethius as to the Scottish. For Geoffrey doth no more pretend to invent his history than Hector; and Hunibaldus is as good an author as either of them; and Keting as good as Hunibaldus. For they all equally pretend to derive their histories from ancient records and the tradition of the natives; and all these having formed their histories out of these substantial grounds, we are to search no further, but to believe

ⁱ Consult Preface, pp. xxviii. 44, &c. See also Preface, p. xxix. &c. xxvi. &c.

^k Mackenzie *ibid.* pp. 8, &c. ^l See pp. 277, 278.

them all, however improbable in themselves and contradictory to one another.

^m The case is very different as to the learned Greek and Roman histories, from those of the modern barbarous nations ; which were plainly made in imitation of them, as will appear afterwards. And as to the Greeks and Romans, there is a considerable difference to be made between the histories that related to the times before they had written annals and after. Can any man imagine that there is as great reason to believe the first accounts of Greece as those that were written after the Peloponnesian war ? or, that the first beginnings of the Roman monarchy by Romulus are delivered with as much certainty as the Carthaginian war ? The most judicious writers among the Greeks and Romans did make allowance for the obscurity of ancient times, when many things were utterly lost, and others very imperfectly delivered : what reproach then is it to any modern nations to suppose their histories to have had the same fate the Greeks and Romans had ? Only in this respect they are liable to greater dispute, because they pretend to give an exact account of those times before they had any annals or written records ; and in this case, the more exact and particular, the more suspicious. And we have more certain rules of trying their ancient histories, than the Greeks and Romans had ; because we have the accounts of several nations to compare together ; and undoubted testimonies of other writers to examine them by. And if they be not found faulty by some of these ways, we are contented to let them pass.

But as to the Scottish antiquities, we not only object the want of sufficient antiquity in their written

^m See note ^k in last page.

records, but their inconsistency with approved writers, in the most ancient account they give of the first settling of the Scots so early in Britain. And which yet adds more to the suspicion, the ⁿIrish, from whom they descend, give a far more different account of their first coming than themselves do; as will appear by what follows.

For, the Irish antiquaries will by no means allow the 266 account given by Hector Boethius; and say, “he had not regard to truth in the writing of it;” particularly, as to ^oSimon Brek’s coming out of Spain, and bringing the fatal chair with him, which they say are both false, and the main ground they insist upon is, that they are contrary to the relation of the ^pold Irish antiquaries, who deserve far more credit.

I shall therefore set down the account they give, and consider the credit they deserve.

The best account we have from ^qthem is this :

1. “That ^rIreland was first planted after the flood, by one Ciocal, with a fleet, wherein every vessel had fifty men and fifty women;” “and this,” Keting saith, “happened about one hundred years after the deluge.” But since such remote antiquities are very tender things, I shall not with a besom sweep them all away at once, but gently take them in pieces, and lay them open as I pass along. Now I desire to know what foundation there is for our believing a thing so unlikely, as the peopling of Ireland in this manner, with such a fleet, so soon after the flood? It was a long time after this before the Phœnicians had any skill in

ⁿ For various portions of Irish history, see Preface, pp. xxxiii. xxxvii. xlii.

^o See p. 251.

^p Cambrens. eversus per Grat. Lucian. cap. 8. p. 61. Pref. p. v.

note.

^q Prospect of Ireland, by P. Walsh, p. 6.

^r See Preface, p. xxxviii. for another account.

shipping; to whom the Romans attributed the invention of it. And certainly the expedition of the Argonautæ had not made such a noise among the Greeks so long after the flood (but twenty years before the destruction of Troy, as ^s Scaliger saith, which happened in the time of the judges), if the skill in shipping had been so great within a hundred years after it? Yet, if that expedition were such as ^t Olaus Rudbeck describes it, it was far more considerable than is commonly thought. For he saith, they not only entered the Euxine sea, but he proves from Orpheus and Diodorus Siculus, that they sailed up the Tanais, from whence Hornius in his map saith, they went into the ^u ‘mare Cronium,’ and so came round Europe, passing between Britain and Ireland, and returning home by the straits. But Rudbeck finds a passage for them from the Tanais to the Volga, and so to the lake of Fronoe, the head of the Volga, and then by rivers into the Baltic sea, and so about the Scythian promontory to Ierne (Ireland) and Peucea (Britain), and to Ausonia (Italy) and Trinacria (Sicily), and so home to Iolcos. If this were a mere poetical fancy, yet it was extraordinary, since it agrees ²⁶⁷ with the exact description of the northern countries, saith Rudbeck, far more than Ptolemy doth. ^x I will suppose this Orpheus, who wrote the Argonautics, to be neither the old Orpheus, nor Onomacritus, but Orpheus of Crotona, to whom Suidas attributes the Argonautics, who lived in the time of Pisistratus; yet it is very much for him then to describe these parts of the world, as he doth; and to mention Ireland as a

^s Animadv. in Euseb. Chron. p. 744.

p. 46.

^x Usser. de Primord. cap. 16.

^t Atlant. part. 1. cap. 26. §. 1.

p. 724. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p.

p. 665.

378. Camden. ibid. p. 18. vol. 1.

^u Camden. ibid. p. 851. vol. 3.

p. xvii. and note.

country then known to the Greeks. And ^y Festus Avienus, describing the voyage of Himilco the Carthaginian (spoken of by ^z Pliny), speaks of Ireland as then esteemed sacred in these remarkable verses :

a Ast hinc duobus, in sacram, sic insulam
 Dixere prisei solibus cursus rati est
 Hæc inter undas multum cespitem jacit
 Eamque late gens Hibernorum colit
 Propinqua rursus insula Albionum patet.

Nothing can be plainer, than that he here speaks of Ireland and Britain, as then known by Himilco; for Festus Avienus saith, “he took this description from the Phœnician Annals, in which this voyage was inserted.” And it is very strange to me that ^b Olaus Rudbeck should here change the Hiberni into Hyperborei, especially when he allows Albion to stand for Britain. But these are undoubted testimonies of the ancient peopling of Ireland: and of far greater authority than those domestic annals now so much extolled. But must we follow Keting, because he follows the old annals in this tradition of the first peopling of Ireland? And why not then in the story of Seth and three daughters of Cain viewing Ireland? and of the three fishermen of Spain being wind-driven thither the year before the flood? and of ^c Keasar the daughter of Bajoth, son of Noah, coming thither with three men and fifty women, to save themselves from the flood? Are not all these fine stories in the same Irish Annals? “But Keting rejects them;” and what then? Doth this make for or against the authority of these annals, that

^y See this writer referred to, p. 463.
 Preface, p. lxxviii. and note.

^z Nat. Hist. lib. 2. cap. 67. p. 475.
 vol. 1. p. 382.

^a Camden. *ibid.* p. 726. vol. 3.

^b Atlant. part. 1. cap. 15. §. 1.

^c See Preface, p. xlvi.

even Keting looks on these as poetical fictions? But he saith, “the best Irish antiquaries did of old look on these as fabulous.” Possibly the two former they might; but do they indeed reject the story of Keasar and her companions? ^d Giraldus Cambrensis quotes the most ancient histories of Ireland for this tradition; and they confirm it by “the names of the place where she landed, and where she was buried.” And ^e Gratianus Lucius confesses, that “he had the sight of their ancient annals;” and he suspects that he made away many of them. If so, Keting had fewer advantages than Giraldus for the old Irish antiquities. But if these old annals be of so little authority in this story, what credit do they deserve in this early plantation after the flood? But to proceed in the Irish account: it is said,

2. “That ^f Bartholanus and his three sons, about three hundred years after the flood, landing in Ireland with a thousand fighting men, had many doughty battles with the posterity of Ciocal; and at the end of three hundred years they were all consumed by a pestilence.”

This story, I confess, is in ^g Nennius, and ^h Giraldus Cambrensis; but it is a very obvious question, if they all died, how their memory came to be preserved, and even the memory of that pestilence which destroyed them all? But to this Giraldus gives a very substantial answer out of the ancient Annals, viz. ⁱ “that only one Ruanus escaped, who lived to St. Patrick’s days, and was baptized by him:” (in a good old age certainly, for he must be born within six hundred years after the flood; and it was above four hundred and thirty years after Christ before St. Patrick was designed for Ireland.)

^d Topogr. Hib. dist. 3. n. 1. in Camden. Anglica, &c. p. 735. See Preface, p. xlvi.

^e Cambrensis. evers. ibid. p. 40.

^f See Preface, p. xlvi.

^g Nenn. cap. 6. p. 100. Oxon. 1690. §. 13. p. 10. ed. 1838.

^h Dist. 3. cap. 2. in Camden. Anglica, &c. p. 735.

ⁱ Girald. ibid. n.2. Camden. ib.

This Ruanus, say the Irish in Giraldus, was the true relator of the ancient history of Ireland to St. Patrick; and who can question the testimony of such an authentic and truly ancient witness? A late ^k Irish antiquary saith, he continued so long by a Pythagorean transmigration; but it was much he could retain these things in his memory under all his transmutations.

But as to this Bartholanus (who is called by ¹ Nennius Bartholomeus, but by Geoffrey, Partholomeus, by Fordon, Partholomus,) we read in the ^m British History, “that when Gurguintus returned from Dacia, he found thirty ships near the Orcades full of men and women, 269 and, sending to inquire who they were, their commander, Bartholomeus, said, they were driven out of Spain to seek a country to live in, and begged some part of Britain, for they had been a year and a half at sea; but he sent them into Ireland, then void of inhabitants, which they planted, and there continued to this day.” It seems there was a tradition in ⁿ Nennius’s time, A.D. 830, ^o “that Ireland was peopled from Spain; and that one Bartholonus, or Bartholomeus, was the leader of them;” but Geoffrey would not let them go thither without leave from the Britons; but Nennius hath nothing of it, and that part ^p concerning being a year and a half at sea, Nennius applies to Nimech, as he calls him; but the Irish, Nimead; and he saith, “after his abode in Ireland, he returned to Spain.” Then ^q Nennius saith, “three sons of a Spaniard came with thirty

^k Ogyg. Insula, p. 4.

¹ See next page and note ^o.

^m Galfrid. Monemut. de Orig. et Gestis Briton. lib. 1. cap. 20. fol. 21. 2. 22. 1.

ⁿ See Preface to Nennius, §. 2-9. pp. v-x. ed. 1838. et Usser. Index. Chronol. ibid. under A.D.

858. as in ch. 4. p. 210. note ^t.

^o Nennius as in. p. 268. n. 8.

^p Nennius ibid. Usser. de Primord. cap. 17. p. 821. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 428.

^q Nennius ibid. Camden. Brit. ibid. p. 729. vol. 3. p. 466, and note ^k.

vessels, and thirty women in each of them, who saw ⁹⁹ a tower of glass in the middle of the sea, and men upon it, who would give no answer, wherefore they resolved to assault it with all their vessels, except one, which was shipwrecked, having thirty men, and as many women, in it, all the rest were sunk in the attempt of the castle, and from those thirty men and thirty women," saith Nennius, "all Ireland was peopled." Here we see how far Geoffrey differs from Nennius; and alters the old traditions as he thought fit. But ^r Nennius goes on, and saith, "that more still came from Spain, and the last was one whom he calls 'Clamhochor,' and his company." But the interpolator of Nennius (whether Samuel Beulanus or another) there observes, ^s "that there is no certain account of the original of the Scots;" so the Irish were then called. But yet ^t Nennius relates, from the Irish antiquaries, the story of the noble Scythian, who was son-in-law to Pharaoh, and his expulsion out of Egypt, and coming at last to Spain, and thence to Ireland above a thousand years after the Egyptians were drowned in the Red sea; and first settled in Dalrieta, which he understands of that region in Ireland; but the Scottish antiquaries apply it to the country which had the same name in Scotland. So that here we have very different accounts, that were given so long since as the time of Nennius; and no way found then, to distinguish the true from the false, or the certain from the uncertain. But of that more 270

⁹⁹ See note 5. §. 3. p. 11. of Nennius, ed. 1838. Gunn's edition of Nennius, Preface, p. xxxi, from which it appears that this expression had a mystical meaning.

^r Nenn. *ibid.* §. 14. p. 11. ed. 1838. Camden. *ibid.* Usser. de Primord. cap. 16. p. 731. Brit.

Eccles. Antiq. p. 382. Lloyd *ibid.* Preface, p. xxxviii. ch. 1. §. 5. p. 10.

^s Nenn. *ibid.* not. 21.

^t Nenn. *ibid.* §. 15. p. 12. and the notes, ed. 1838. See Gunn's note 30. p. 122. in his edition of Nennius.

afterwards. Now to go on to a further account from the Irish authors, who say,

3. “ That thirty years after, ^u Nemedus, another Scythian, with his four sons, arrived in Ireland with a good fleet, and fought with the remainder of the giants, but by another pestilence were driven off, under the conduct of three captains, Simeon Breac, Ibaath, and Briotan; and the two former sailing to Greece, Briotan, with his adherents, landed in the north of Britain, now called Scotland; and by these and their posterity remaining there, gave the denomination of Britain to the whole island.” And this we are told is affirmed by the holy Cormach, king of Munster and bishop of Cashel, in the Psalter of Cashel. And all the chronologers of Ireland agree with him. This Psalter of Cashel is one of the most authentic histories among them, and so called because done in verse; and ^x it is said, “ that the more remote antiquities in it were taken from another book made twelve hundred years since, collected out of all the former chronicles of that nation and allowed in a solemn convention of the estates at Tarach, ^y under Laogierius, in the time of St. Patrick, who was one of the committee appointed for the supervising of it. And this book was called ‘ the Psalter óf Tarach.’ ”

This I confess goes much beyond what can be said for Geoffrey of Monmouth, or Hector Boethius. But yet methinks there seem to be some reasons, why these annals should not have such a mighty authority with us. For we cannot be certain that there ever were such annals, or that these annals, if they were so exactly drawn up, are still preserved. For not only ^z Gratianus Lucius complains for the loss of their old annals; but

^u Preface, p. xlvii.

^x Walsh’s Prospect of Ireland,

p. 350.

^y Ibid. p. 46. Walsh calls him

Laogierius.

^z Cambrens. evers. ibid. p. 40.

^a Jocelin, in the Life of St. Patrick, concludes with saying, “that many of their writings relating to him were burnt by the fury of the pagans while they governed in Ireland.” By these pagans the Danes are meant, and the slavery under them is ^b said to be worse than Egyptian, Circassian, or any other mentioned in history. And particularly it is said, “that the clergy were banished into bogs, woods and caves, where they were fain to lurk several years like wild beasts; and that ^c none were suffered to keep school, or to be taught any kind of learning, not even in their own houses:” and which is yet more to the purpose, “none were suf- 271
fered to have any kind of book; but all books the Danes could light upon, were either burnt, or taken away from them.” It is possible their annals might escape such a storm as this, but it doth not seem altogether probable; especially considering that this first slavery under the Danes continued forty years, in which, they say, ^d “all their famous monasteries, cells, universities, colleges were destroyed, not one being left in the land.” And it is withal said, “that although other losses might be recovered, yet ^e their libraries were never recovered. Only some few religious men preserved some of their books.” But we have no assurance that the old annals were among them. Or if they were then, that they could escape the second Danish invasion, which continued for a hundred and fifty years. In which ^f Colganus saith, “the Irish antiquities had an irrecoverable loss, at least,” he saith, “not yet recovered.” And yet he had Cormach’s Psalter, or the

^a Vit. Patric. cap. 196. in Messingham. Florileg. p. 85.

^b Walsh’s Prospect of Ireland, p. 139.

^c Ibid. p. 141.

^d Ibid. p. 146.

^e Ibid. p. 150.

^f Acta Sanct. Hibern. Præf. ad Lector. (p. 3.)

§ Psalter of Cashel; Tigernacus's Annals, or the *Annales Cluanenses*; the *Annales Insulenses*, composed by one Magraidin, in the island of All-saints, in the county of Longford, which he deduces to A.D. 1405; the *Annals of Ulster*, by one Maguir, canon of Armagh, deduced to his own time, who died A.D. 1498; and the *Annals of Dungall* composed by four modern authors out of all their former annals: but among all these, there is nothing pretending to antiquity, but the Psalter of Cashel and Tigernacus; yet the Psalter of Cashel falls short of the time of Nennius, for ^h Cormach, king of Munster, the supposed author of it, lived after the beginning of the tenth century, being killed by Flan mhac Siona (called Flannus Siuna by ⁱ Gratianus Lucius), who died A.D. 914, or as sir James ^k Ware thinks, A.D. 916. And for Tigernacus's Annals, the four Magistri, as Colganus calls them, or the *Annals of Dungall*, are positive, that ^l Tigernacus ô Braion, the author of them, died ^m in the eleventh century, A.D. 1088. There remains only the ⁿ *Psaltair Na-Ran*, written by Aonghais Ceile de, or by Ængusius, one of the Culdees, ^o who lived in the latter end of the eighth century, as the same Irish antiquary confesses, who withal saith, ^p "that all the works contained 272 therein relate only to matters of piety and devotion,"

§ Camden. *ibid.* in the Additions, vol. 3. pp. 482*. 522.

^h Nicolson's *Irish Historical Library*, ch. 2. p. 11. Append. p. 66. Tanner. *ibid.* under Cormacus.

ⁱ Grat. Lucius in *Cambr. evers.* p. 78.

^k *Hibern. et Antiq. Disquisit.* p. 23.

^l See Preface, p. xlvi. Nicolson *ibid.* p. 11. Tanner *ibid.*

under Tigernacus.

^m Colgan. *Acta Sanct. Hibern.* p. 108.

ⁿ Nicolson, *ibid.* p. 11, notices this mistaken assertion, which Stillingfleet rectified, in his Preface, p. xxxviii. Tanner. *ibid.* under Colideus.

^o Colgan. *ibid.* in *Præfat.* p. (8) 2. 3. Waræi de *Script. Hibern. lib.* 1. cap. 4. p. 37.

^p Colgan. *ibid.* pp. 579. 582.

which therefore can signify nothing to our purpose. So that nothing appears of the Irish antiquities which can pretend to be written before the Danish invasion; and although we are told, “that these annals were taken out of others more ancient;” yet we have barely their word for it; for those ancient annals, whatever they were, are irrecoverably lost; so that there can be no comparison of one with the other. And how can they be so certain of the exactness used in the ^qparliament of Tarach to preserve their annals, if there be no ancient annals to preserve the memory of the proceedings at that time? It was a very extraordinary care for the estates of the whole nation to preserve their annals; if we could be assured of it: which doth much exceed the library of antiquities which ^rSuffridus Petrus speaks of, set up, as he saith, “by Friso, the founder of the Frisians, at Stavera, near the temple of Stavo, in which not only the ancient records were preserved from time to time, but the pictures of the several princes, with the times of their reigns, from an. 313. before Christ’s coming, to Charlemagne’s time; the like whereof,” he saith, “no German nation can boast of;” but yet methinks the posterity of Gaithelos exceeds that of Friso’s in the care of preserving their antiquities; for the wisdom of the whole nation was concerned in it. But I never read of any who ever saw this library of antiquities at Stavera, but we must believe Cappidus Staverensis and Occa Scarlensis, as to these things; and that they saw the records, as Hector did Veremundus, although none else ever did. But as to this parliament of Tarach, which was careful to preserve the Irish antiquities; whence have we this information? Are the

^q Camden. *ibid.* in the Additions, vol. 3. pp. 482*. 565.

^r De Orig. Frisi. lib. 3. cap. 4. p. 309. See Preface, p. xx.

acts of that assembly preserved? Are any copies of those Annals still in being? “Yes,” we^s are told, “that the keeping of the original book was entrusted by the estates to the prelates, and those prelates, for its perpetual preservation, caused several authentic copies of it to be fairly engrossed, whereof some are extant to this day, and several more faithfully transcribed out of them; their names being the Book of Armagh, the Psalter of Cashel, &c.” It seems then, these are the 273 transcripts of the original authentic book, allowed by all the estates of the kingdom. But the Book of Armagh is a late thing, being the same with the Annals of Ulster composed by a canon of Armagh: so that the whole rests upon the Psalter of Cashel, which must be composed five hundred years after the meeting of that famous assembly. For St. Patrick was one of the number, and it was done in the time of Laogirius, or Leogarius, king of Ireland, who died, saith^t Gratianus Lucius, A. D. 458. But king Cormach lived in the tenth century; and therefore an account must be given, how this original book or authentic copies were preserved for that five hundred years and more, in the miserable condition that nation was in, a great part of that time.

So that the difference is not so great between the^u authority of Geoffrey of Monmouth and these Annals, as is pretended; for I see no reason why the story of Brutus should be thought more incredible than that of Ciocal, Bartholanus and Nemedus, with his son Briotan, that gave the name to Britain; and especially the story of Gaithelos himself, his marriage in Egypt

^s Walsh’s Prospect of Ireland, p. 47.

^t Cambr. evers. *ibid.* p. 73.

^u Lloyd *ibid.* Pref. p. xii. Nicol-

son’s English Historical Library, part 1. ch. 3. p. 30. and note^z in the following page, for later writers.

to Scota, coming to Spain, and thence his posterity to Ireland, which seems to me to be made in imitation of Geoffrey's Brutus. For Brutus married Pandrasus's daughter, the king of Greece, and then was forced to seek his fortune at sea, and passing by Mauritania just as Gaithelos did, the one landed in Gaul and came for Albion, and the other in Spain and sent his son for Ireland: and I wonder to find ^xBrutus's giants in Albion of so much larger proportions than the giants in Ireland, who are said "not to exceed the tallest growth of men;" for I had thought giants had been giants in all parts of the world. ^y"Suppose some learned men have questioned, whether there were such a person as Brute;" I should think it no more heresy than to call in question whether there were such persons as Ciocal, Bartholanus, Briotan or Gathelus. If the silence of good authors, the distance of time, and want of ancient annals complained of, makes the history of Brutus so hard to be believed, I only desire that these Irish traditions may be examined by the same rules, and then I believe the Irish antiquities will be reduced to the same form with the British; only Geoffrey had ²⁷⁴ not so lucky an invention as to have his history confirmed by parliament. For if he had but thought of it, he could have made as general an assembly of the estates at Lud's Town, and as select a committee of nine, as ever was at Tarach. But all men's inventions do not lie the same way; and in this, I confess, Keting or his authors have very much exceeded Geoffrey and his British MS. And upon the whole matter I cannot see that the Irish chronologers and historians have so much more probability in their story of Briotan than the British writers had in the tradition of Brute.

^x Walsh *ibid.* pp. 338. 7.

^y *Ibid.* p. 347.

^z For it is certain, it was not originally the invention of Geoffrey, only he might use some art in setting it off, as he thought, with greater advantage than the Britons had done before him.

But still we are referred “to the authority of the Irish monuments in the Psalter of Cashel, written eight hundred years since by the holy Cormach, both king and bishop of Munster.” Let us then for once examine one part of the history taken from thence, and then leave the reader to judge whether it deserves so much more credit than the British antiquities; and that shall be concerning the kingdom of the ^aPicts, because we are told, ^b “this is the way to end the vexatious questions about them, being taken out of the most authentic records of Ireland, which are of such irrefragable authority, that some are persuaded, had they been known to Camden, he would never have disputed the matter:” and so I think too. But this irrefragable authority is that of the Psalter of Cashel, from whence we are instructed in these particulars: 1. ^c “That the Picts served in Thracia under one Policornus, a king of that country, where their general Gud took away the king’s life to prevent an attempt on his daughter.” And did not Brutus serve king Pandrasus with his army not far off in Greece? And methinks Pandrasus is as good a name for a king of Greece as Policornus for the king of Thrace. But where are either of them to be

^z Chap. 2. p. 59. and in this chapter, p. 278. Usser. de Primord. et Brit. Eccles. Antiq. in Epist. Dedicat. Lloyd *ibid.* Preface, p. xii. and note. Camden. Brit. pp. 3. 487. vol. 1. p. iii. vol. 2. p. 478. and in the Additions, p. 483. for the opinions of various writers concerning Geoffrey; since which, Ellis’s

Specimens of Early English Metrical Romances have been appealed to, in his vindication, by Roberts in his Preface, p. iv. to *The Chronicles of the Kings of Britain*.

^a See p. 239. note ^b, &c.

^b Walsh’s *Prospect of Ireland*, p. 490.

^c *Ibid.* p. 491.

met with elsewhere? 2. "That upon this the general and his army fled the country, roamed up and down at sea till they came to Gaul, and there they founded the city of Pictavia." This is just Geoffrey. For Brutus²⁷⁵ came to Gaul too, and there fought with Groffarius, king of the Picts, and founded the city of Tours, which had its name from Turonus, Brutus's nephew. 3. "That upon the same occasion they were forced to leave Gaul and to go for Ireland," (as Brutus did for Albion,) "where they were entertained to fight with the Britons," who it seems made very early invasions upon Ireland, which still agrees with Geoffrey's history. 4. The story of the advice of Trosdan, "the Pictish magician, for the Irish army to bathe in the milk of one hundred and fifty white crumple-horned cows, as an effectual antidote against the envenomed arrows of the Britons," and the strange success upon it, is hardly to be matched in Geoffrey. 5. "That the Picts growing insolent were forced by Herimon to retire to the northern parts of Britain, only with three Irish women," whatever Bede saith of more; or how differently soever he relates the whole story of the Picts; for what is Bede's, a poor monk's authority, to king Cormach's? 6. "That from Cathluan, son to Gud, there was a constant succession of kings of the Picts in that country;" but not more exact than the succession of British kings from king Brutus. And now I leave the reader to judge whether Geoffrey be not hardly dealt with, when such authors are preferred so much before him. We now return to the further account which the Irish antiquaries give of their own antiquities.

4. We are then to understand, that besides the race descended from Nemedus, there was another called

^d ‘Clanna Gaoidhel,’ or ^e posterity of Gathelos; concerning whom these things are affirmed: 1. “That he was descended from ^f Niul, a younger son to Feanusa Farsa, king of Scythia, who, travelling into Egypt, had a country there given him by Pharaoh Cingeris, called Capacyront,” (I suppose in the old Egyptian language,) “who was married to Pharaoh’s daughter, called Scotia.” Whereas the Scottish antiquaries do peremptorily affirm, it was Gathelos himself was married to her. But we ought not to forget, that “this ^g Scythian king had a celebrated school on the plain of Sennaar, and one Gaodel, being there employed to compose or refine the Irish language, called from him ‘Gaodhelc,’ or 276 ‘Gaodhlecc.’” This is a strain beyond Geoffrey, who never thought of bringing the British language from the plain of Sennaar. 2. “That Gaodhel’s posterity continued in Egypt till the time of his grandchild Sruth, and then being forced thence, they landed in Crete, where he died. And his eldest son, Eibhir Scot, went into Scythia; where one of his descendants killed Refloir, the king of that country, and was forced with his company to the Caspian sea, and landed in an island there,” (just like Geoffrey’s Largecia, where Brutus landed.) “But they went from thence to Caronia, another island in the Pontic, and from thence to the north end of the Riphean mountains;” (a pretty kind of compass!) And here, instead of Diana’s oracle to Brutus, an old Druid told them, “they should never fix till they came to the western island, and so they removed to Gothia, and in the eighth generation they went to Spain.” And doth not this exceed the story of Brute, in the great probability of it, which their

^d Ibid. p. 11.

^e See Preface, p. xxxiii.

^f Walsh *ibid.* p. 324.

^g *Ibid.* p. 332.

latest ^h antiquary knows not what to make of? It is certain, whoever invented it designed to go beyond the author of the former. But this is not all; for we are told further from the same authentic Irish annals, 3. ⁱ “That Calamb,” (called ‘Milead Espain,’ or Milesius the Spaniard,) “great grandchild to Bratha, who brought them into Spain, went back into Scythia, and there served as general under Refloir, king of the Scythians; from whence, upon suspicions, he fled into Egypt, and there married Pharaoh’s daughter, called Scota; ^j and at last returned to Spain and there founded Braganza:” and here the Scottish antiquities fall in. But is it not a little improbable to have the same scene acted twice over? Two Gaodels, two Refloirs, two ^k Scotas, twice passing to and fro after much the same manner? We may well say, as our author doth, ^l “enough of these profound remote antiquities.” For I shall not need now to add any thing about the eight sons of this Milesius coming to Ireland; and how, the rest being killed, ^m the country was divided between Eibhir and Erimhon; and the former being killed, the latter became the first monarch of Ireland, from whom descended one hundred and eighty-one monarchs of this Milesian race: which must depend on the credit of their annals, of which I have already spoken.

But, in short, to give the true account of these fabulous antiquities. We are then to consider, that when the ⁿ northern nations began to have some smattering of the Greek and Roman learning, they were never satisfied, till by one means or other they could deduce

^h Flaherty, *Ogygia Insul.* p. 8.

ⁱ Walsh’s *Prospect of Ireland*, p. 331.

^j *Ibid.* p. 12.

^k See note ^c p. 250.

^l Walsh *ibid.* p. 333.

^m *Ibid.* p. 14.

ⁿ See Preface, p. xvi.

their original from some of the nations most celebrated in ancient books; such were the Trojans, the Greeks, and the Egyptians. As to the Trojans, the Romans themselves had shewed the way to other nations. For there are considerable arguments to prove that neither Æneas nor Ascanius ever came into Italy; as may be seen in ^o Dionysius Halicarnasseus, ^p Strabo and Festus, in the word ‘Roma.’ Hellanicus, in ^q Dionysius, saith, “that Ascanius” (from whom Brutus is derived) “never left Phrygia, but only withdrew for a time to Dascylites, near the lake (from him called the Ascanian), and afterwards returned to Troy.” Strabo saith, “that Ascanius reigned at Scepsis, near the ruins of Troy, and that his posterity continued there a long time after, with a royal title.” Festus shews, “that the old authors were not agreed where Æneas was buried: many were of opinion that he lay buried in the city Berecinthia.” And some in Dionysius say, “he died in Thrace,” others in Arcadia. But the Romans making it so great a part of their glory to be descended from the Trojans, other nations of Europe, upon the dissolution of the Roman empire, would not seem to come behind them in this. So ^r Hunibaldus gives as formal an account of the descent of the Franks from Antenor, and as good a succession of their kings down from him, with the particular names of persons, and the time of their reigns, as either Geoffrey doth of the British kings from Brutus, or Hector of the Scots from Fergus, or the Irish annals from Gaithelos or Herimon. And that this is no late invention appears from hence; that Aimoinus, Ado Viennensis,

^o Dionys. lib. 1. p. 39. inter Scripta omnia.

^p Geograph. lib. 13. pp. 418. 608. See Gunn’s note to Nennius *ibid.* p. 112. n. 16.

^q Dionys. *ibid.* p. 37.

^r Trithem. *Comp. Hist.* lib. 1. in *Oper. Hist.* p. 4. See Preface, p. xix. ch. 1. p. 8. *Camden. ib.* p. 5. vol. 1. p. v.

Abbas Urspergensis, Rorico, Gaguinus, Æneas Silvius, and others, agree with Hunibaldus in the substance of his story. And ^s Vignier mentions several diplomata of the ancient kings of the Franks, to prove the authenticity of this tradition. ^t And it is less to be wondered at, that the Britons should pretend to be derived from the Trojans, because of the mixture of the Romans and them together, while Britain continued so long a Roman province. From whence I suppose the first occasion was taken, which continued as a tradition among the Britons for a long time before it was brought into such a history as we find in Geoffrey. That the tradition itself was elder than his time is certain; for even those who despised Geoffrey embraced it, as appears by ^u Giraldus Cambrensis; and in the Saxon times this tradition was known, as is evident by the Saxon poet, mentioned by ^v Abr. Wheloc: but Nennius's MS. puts it out of dispute, "that there was then a tradition about the Britons coming from Brute;" but he could not tell what to make of this Brute; ^w sometimes "he was Brito, the son of Ysicion, the son of Alan, of the posterity of Japhet:" and for this he quotes the ^x tradition of his ancestors; but this being incapable of much improvement or evidence, he then runs to Brutus the Roman; and sometimes it is ^y Brutus the consul; but that not

^s De Statu et Orig. Vet. Francorum, inter Du Chesn. Histor. Francor. Scriptor. Coetan. tom. 1. p. 171.

^t Camden. *ibid.* p. 61. vol. 1. p. lxiv. See Gunn's Notes to Nennius *ibid.* p. 90. Lloyd *ibid.* Preface, p. xiv.

^u Cambr. Descript. cap. 7. in Camden. *Anglica, &c.* p. 886. Camden. *Britannia*, p. 6. vol. 1. p. v.

^v Not. in Bed. cap. 1. p. 25. Lloyd *ibid.* Preface, p. xvii. and note.

^w Nenn. *ibid.* §. 18. p. 16. with n. 13. p. 6. Camden. *ibid.* p. 6. vol. 1. p. v.

^x Nenn. cap. 13. p. 102. §. 17. p. 15. Lloyd *ibid.* p. xiii.

^y Nenn. *ibid.* §. 7. p. 6. On the word "consul," see Gunn's edition of Nennius, note 6, p. 94. Nenn. *ibid.* cap. 2, 3. p. 98. §.

suiting so well, he then produces the story of Æneas, and Ascanius, and Silvius, and the prediction of the magician, “that his son should kill his father and mother: she died in labour, and his father was killed by him by chance; however, he was banished from Italy into Greece, and from thence again banished, and so came into Gaul, and there built Tours, having its name from one of his companions; and from thence he came for Britain, which took its name from him, and he filled it with ^zhis progeny, which continue to this day.” So that here we have the ^afoundation of Geoffrey’s history laid long before his time; and Nennius’s account is mentioned by ^bWilliam of Malmesbury, under the name of ‘Gesta Britonum;’ and followed by Henry of Huntingdon, and Turgot, or Simeon Dunelmensis; but when Geoffrey’s book came abroad, it was so improved and adorned with particulars, not elsewhere to be found, that the generality of the monkish historians not only followed, but admired it, and pitied those that had not seen it (as they supposed), as ^cRanulphus Cestrensis doth William of Malmesbury; but there were some cross-grained writers who called it ‘an imposture,’ as Gul. Neubrigensis; or ‘a poetical figment,’ as John Whethamsted.

279 But these were but few in comparison with those who

10. p. 7. Geoffrey of Monmouth copied him: see Camden *ibid.* p. 3. vol. 1. p. iii. See p. 274. note ^z.

^z See Camden *ibid.* p. 110. vol. 1. p. cxxviii.

^a See p. 274. and note ^z.

^b De Gestis Reg. lib. 1. cap. 1. pp. 3. 8.

^c Polychron. lib. 1. cap. 47, 48. fol. 57 b. 59 a. fol. 46 a. 47 a. See Lloyd *ibid.* Preface, p. xx. and in this chapter, p. 328.

Camden. *ibid.* p. 5. vol. 1. p. v. has given the passages from John Whethamsted and William of Newburgh, at length. Hearne gave an edition of William of Newburgh; in the Proœmium, p. 7, will be found the place alluded to; the work of Whethamsted still remains in MS., for which consult Tanner’s Bibliotheca, under Joannes Frumentarius.

were better pleased with the particulars of a legend than the dryness of a true history.

But this humour was not peculiar to the Franks and Britons; for the Saxons derived ^d themselves from the Macedonian army of Alexander, which had three captains, saith ^e Suffridus Petrus, Saxo, Friso and Bruno; from whom are descended the Saxons, Frisians, and those of Brunswick. And ^f Abbas Stadenensis adds, “that not only the Saxons, but those of Prussia, Rugia and Holstein came from them.” ^g Gobelinus Persona relates the particulars as exactly as Geoffrey, or Hector, or the Irish annals do; how they were left on the Caspian mountains, and wandered up and down just as Brutus and Gaithelos did, till they settled in Prussia, Rugen and Saxony. The Danes, saith ^h Dudo S. Quintin, derived themselves from the Danai; the ⁱ Prussians from Prusias, king of Bithynia, who brought the Greeks along with him. Only the Scots and Irish had the wit to derive themselves from the Greeks and Egyptians together.

We are now to sit down and consider, what is to be said to all these glorious pretences? must they be all allowed for good and true history? if not, what marks of distinction can we set between them? They all pretend to such founders as came afar off, wandered from place to place, consulted oracles, built cities, founded kingdoms, and drew their succession from many ages; so that it seems unreasonable to allow none but our own. And yet these antiquities will hardly pass any

^d Witikind. Annal. lib. 1. in Meibom. Rerum Germanic. tom. 1. p. 629, et not. p. 666.

^e De Orig. Fris. lib. 2. cap. 5. p. 178.

^f Chron. A.D. 917. p. 99. 1.

^g Cosmodrom. æt. 5. cap. 11.

pp. 105. 106.

^h Sax. Grammat. lib. 1. pp. 5. 1.

See Camden ibid. p. 101. vol. 1.

p. cxx.

ⁱ Matth. a Mich. lib. 2. cap. 8.

Orig. Pruss. n. 7. in Polon.

Histor. Corp. tom. 2. p. 25.

where but with their own nation, and hardly with those of any judgment in any of them. But when all this is said, every one will believe as he pleases; but it is one thing to believe with the will, and another with the understanding.

To return now to the Irish antiquities. And it only remains that we inquire, how the ^kIrish antiquaries give an account of their nation's coming into the northern parts of Britain? And here is something which deserves consideration, viz. that they ^lcharge the Scottish antiquaries "with placing the time of Fergus I. eight hundred and nineteen years before he landed in Britain. For," say they, "the Irish monuments fix on A. D. 280 498. as the time wherein Fergus Mor, the son of Erch," (whom the Scottish writers call the son of Ferchard,) "with his five brothers, invaded the north of Britain." To this purpose they produce the testimony of ^mTiger-nacus, who in his annals saith, "Fergus Mor mhac Ercha cum gente Dalraida partem Britanniae tenuit, et ibi mortuus est." This he writes about the beginning of pope Symmachus, which was about six years after the death of St. Patrick, and very near the end of the fifth century. Besides, another Irish author, who writes of the kings of Albany who were contemporary with the monarchs of Ireland, reckons ⁿtwenty years between the battle of Ocha and the going of the six sons of Eric into Albany; and the Annals of Ulster place the battle of Ocha A. D. 483, so that Fergus's coming into Scotland could not be before the beginning of the sixth century. ^oGratianus Lucius saith, that the battle

^k Preface, pp. xlii. xlv.

^l Walsh's Prospect of Ireland, pp. 20. 367.

^m Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 610. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p.

320. Lloyd *ibid.* chap. 1. §. 8. pp. 30. 31. §. 9. p. 33. See Preface, p. xliii.

ⁿ Preface, p. xliii.

^o Cambr. evers. *ibid.* p. 73.

of Ocha, wherein Oilliol Molt, the Irish monarch, who succeeded Leogarius, was killed, was A.D. 478, which makes but five years difference. "Further," say they, "the Scottish antiquaries make Reuda the sixth king after Fergus;" whereas it appears by their annals, ^p that their monarch Conair had three sons, called the 'three Cairbres,' and the third ^q was Cairbre Riada; from whom that part of Britain was called 'Dal Riada,' or 'Dal Reuda;' but Conair was killed A.D. 165, and therefore this Reuda must be three hundred years before Fergus. The old MS. cited by ^r Camden, makes Fergus to be descended from Conair, with which, as ^s archbishop Usher observes, the old Irish genealogies agree; but he saith, Conair reigned A.D. 215, however, long enough before the time of Fergus. According to this supposition, that part of Scotland called ^t 'Dalrieta,' or 'Dalreuda,' (the bounds whereof are described by the learned primate,) was inhabited long before the coming of Fergus; and so agrees with what ^u Bede saith, "that the Scots came first out of Ireland under the conduct of Reuda, and either by force or friendship found habitations for themselves there, which they still enjoyed, and from their leader to this time they were called ^v 'Dalreudini;'" 'daal' signifying 'a share' in their language. This Reuda seems to be the same with Cairbre Riada, the third son of Conair; and if Fergus were descended from the same Conair, it 281 gives a probable account of Fergus's coming afterwards into those parts, and taking the government upon

^p Ibid. p. 69.

^q Walsh *ibid.* pp. 370, 371.

^r Brit. p. 707. vol. 3. p. 389.

See Preface, p. xliii.

^s Usser. de Primord. c. 15. p. 611. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 320. Lloyd *ibid.* p. 32.

^t Usser. de Primord. p. 612.

Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 321.

^u Bedæ, lib. 1. cap. 1. p. 41.

Usser. de Primord. c. 15. p. 611.

Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 321.

Lloyd *ibid.* §. 6. p. 14, &c.

^v See Preface, p. xxxix. and note.

him. For ^w Keting saith, “that Eochac Mumreamhar, of the progeny of Cairbre Redhfadac, or Riada, had two sons, Earcha and Elchon; and from the former the families of Dal Riada in Scotland are descended, from the latter, those of Dal Riada in Ulster.” Which must be understood of that part of the Ulster Dalriadans which Fergus carried with him: for there were the descendants from Riada in Scotland before, according to the former account; but the whole matter about the reign of Fergus remains still very obscure. For first, it seems strange that Bede takes no notice at all of him, which in all probability he would have done, as well as of Reuda, who was less considerable. Secondly, ^x Jocelin, in the Life of St. Patrick, saith, “that Fergus was one of the twelve sons of the king of Dalredia, and was excluded from his share by his brethren, of whom St. Patrick prophesied, that from him kings should rise, who should not only reign at home, but in a foreign country;” “after which,” saith he, “Fergus in no long time came to be king in his own country; and from him sprang Edanus, who subdued Albany and other islands, and whose posterity still reigns there;” so that if Jocelin’s authority be good, Fergus himself never came into Scotland; but the mistake arose because he was king in Dalrieda; which the Scots understood of their own, and thought they had reason, because the posterity of Fergus reigned there. Thirdly, ^y Giraldus Cambrensis, who had a sight of the Irish annals, never mentions Fergus, but only saith, “that in the time of

^w Walsh *ibid.* p. 93.

^x Vit. S. Patricii, cap. 137. in Messing. Florileg. p. 61. Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 609. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 319. Lloyd *ibid.* §. 8. p. 30. Camden. *ibid.* p. 772. vol. 3. p. 640.

^y Topogr. Hib. dist. 3. cap. 16. in Camden. Anglic. &c. p. 742. Camden. Brit. pp. 90. 772. vol. 1. p. xcvi. vol. 3. p. 640. See p. 242, and note ^u, for the reference to Usher.

Nellus, the monarch of Ireland, six sons of Mured, king of Ulster, sailed into the northern parts of Britain, and there planted themselves, from whom the Scottish nation is derived." This Nellus, whom the Irish call 'Niall the Great,' was killed, saith Gratianus Lucius, A. D. 403. And if the sons of the king of Ulster came then over to plant and settle in Scotland, this must be one hundred years before the time of Fergus, and consequently he could be none of that number: and yet the ^zIrish annalists make the two Ferguses, the two Ænguses, and the two Loarns, to be the six sons of Muriedhach, king of Ulster, who ²⁸² came over to settle in Scotland. But if Giraldus's authority be allowed, the Scots came not to settle in Britain till the beginning of the fifth century; and the monarchy in the posterity of Fergus, according to Jocelin, could not be till towards the middle of the sixth century. And if Edan, king of the Scots, in Bede's history, be the same with that Edan in Jocelin, who descended from Fergus, then the Scottish kingdom did not begin till the seventh century, as appears by ^aBede. But in matters of so much obscurity, I determine nothing.

But it is but justice to consider on the other side, what the Scottish antiquaries do now plead for themselves, to prove that they inhabited Scotland long before this time.

First, they say, "^b Bede mentions them as ancient inhabitants of this island before the coming of the Romans; and describes the wars between the Picts,

^z Cambr. evers. *ibid.* p. 73.
Walsh *ibid.* p. 93.

^a Bedæ *ibid.* lib. 1. cap. 34.
p. 74. See Preface, p. lxix. and
note there.

^b Bedæ *ibid.* lib. 1. cap. 1.

p. 41. Mackenzie *ibid.* p. 61.
Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. pp.
578, 579. Brit. Eccles. Antiq.
pp. 300, 301, which compare
with the Preface, p. lxvi.

Scots, and Britons before that of the Romans." It is very true that Bede, in the beginning of his History, doth set down the several nations which inhabited Britain, and he names five: English, Britons, Scots, Picts, and Romans. And among these he reckons the Britons first, then the Picts, after them the Scots from Ireland, under Reuda; and then adds, "that ^c Ireland was the true country of the Scots, who coming hither made a third nation in Britain, besides the Britons and Picts, and landed on the north part of the Frith, towards Ireland, and there settled themselves." But Bede saith nothing at all of the time when the Scots came first from Ireland, and it is of no force that he reckons them here before the war with the Romans, for so he doth the English as well as the Scots: his business being to give an account of the present inhabitants; and not merely of the ancient, "Hæc in præsentibus quinque gentium linguis, &c." But where doth Bede say "that the Scots were in Britain before the Romans' coming hither?" I cannot find so much as an intimation that way; unless it be in the title of the chapter, "Of the situation of Britain and Ireland, and their ancient inhabitants." And doth not Bede speak of the Britons as the ancient inhabitants of this island and the Scots of Ireland? But if all mentioned must be ancient inhabitants, then so must the English and Romans be, as well as the Picts and Scots.

Well! "but doth not ^d Bede afterwards say, that Severus's wall was built against the unconquered nations beyond it?" I grant it, if he had said, the Scots and Picts beyond it, the controversy had been ended.

^c See pp. 301, 302. and Preface, p. lix. &c. and note in p. lxvi.

^d Ibid. lib. 1. cap. 5. p. 44. Mackenzie *ibid.* p. 65. Usser. *de*

Primord. Addenda, p. 1026. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. cap. 15. p. 317. Camden. *ibid.* pp. 650. vol. 3. p. 212.

But doth not Dio explain Bede, who expressly tells us “these nations were the ^e Mæatæ and the Caledonii?” Why not the Picts and the Scots, if then in Britain? The latter Roman writers never forbear calling them by their own names, when they knew them to be here; as appears by ^f Eumenius, Claudian, and Ammianus Marcellinus: but to say the Scots were called ‘Mæatæ,’ because they came from the Palus Mæotis, will hardly go down in this age. However, it is confidently affirmed, “the ^g Caledonii were the Scots.” Let this one thing be well proved, and I will yield the Scots were in Britain long before Severus’s time; for ^h Tacitus mentions the Caledonians. But it is to no more purpose to quote modern writers, who call the Caledonians ‘Scots,’ than ⁱ Lipsius’s calling Galgacus a ‘Scottish’ king: for we are not bound to follow any modern writers in their improprieties. There is no question the Caledonians were known to Flaccus and Martial, (who certainly lived not in Augustus’s time, unless that name be very improperly given by itself to Domitian or Trajan;) but do any of these Roman authors ever tell us the Caledonians were Scots? if not, to what end are the Caledonians so much spoken of? As far as we can find by Tacitus, or Dio, or any others, they were the ^k northern Britons. And if Tacitus had known that they came out of Ireland, and were a distinct nation, he was so diligent and judicious a writer, he would never have omitted the setting it down, when he gives so punctual an account of the original of the several sorts of Britons, according to his best judgment and

^e See chap. 2. pp. 51, 241, and note ^h, 285, and note ^x.

^f See p. 241, and notes ^l, ⁿ.

^g Mackenzie *ibid.* pp. 76, 77. compare with p. 241. and note ^k.

^h Camden. *ibid.* p. 701. vol. 3.

p. 367. See Preface, p. xxxvi.

ⁱ Mackenzie *ibid.* pp. 78, 79. Stillingfleet, Preface, p. xxv. in this chap. pp. 240. 244.

^k Note ^e in this page, and p. 245, &c.

information ; and none could have better ; relating some things concerning Ireland from Agricola's own mouth, who was then the Roman general against the Caledonians. And he saith, "¹ Agricola had one of the kings of Ireland with him." Suppose we then the Caledonians to have been Scots come out of Ireland ; is
 284 it possible that an Irish king should not be able to inform Agricola who these Caledonians were ? or, if ^m Tacitus had known any such thing, would he have said, "the Caledonians by the habit of their bodies seemed to be of German extraction," when ⁿ he derives the Silures from Spain ? Had it not been as easy for him to have derived the Caledonians from Spain through Ireland, if any such thing had been heard by him, as that the Caledonians were of Ireland, and came first out of Spain thither ? But nothing can be more plain, than that Tacitus took the Caledonians for Britons ; and so doth Galgacus in his excellent speech, wherein he calls them "° the noblest of the Britons," and excites them to recover "the liberty of the Britons ;" and tells them, "they fought the same cause with the other Britons, and now they were to shew what sort of men Caledonia had reserved for their common defence." Was Tacitus so inconsiderate a writer to put such words into Galgacus's mouth, if he knew or suspected the Caledonians to be no Britons, but a different nation come out of Ireland in the time that Alexander took Babylon ? Had Tacitus known any thing of this, he would never have concealed it, when he values himself upon his integrity in relating what he could find about the affairs of Britain. And therefore Tacitus's judg-

¹ See p. 244.

^m As in Preface, p. xxxvi. note, and pp. 245, 246, and notes there.

ⁿ See Preface, *ibid.* and p. 245.

^o As in p. 245, note *y.* Camden. *ibid.* p. 41. vol. 1. p. xliii.

ment in this matter is to be much preferred before ^p Scaliger's criticism about the Scoto-brigantes, or the ^q *Scoticæ pruinæ* in Spartian's poet, or any such uncertain conjectures. And yet the Scoto-brigantes might be Irish; where both Scoti and Brigantes were; and so it proves nothing as to Britain, for Claudius conquered Ireland as much as Scotland.

But it is more plausibly urged, "that ^r Bede, speaking of the Scots being a transmarine nation, he explains himself by saying, that he means not that they were out of Britain, but beyond the two Friths; therefore the Scots then inhabited Britain." This was but a necessary explication; for Bede, who used these words, after he had confessed before "that the Scots, under Reuda, did settle in Britain;" therefore, when he used Gildas's words, he thought it necessary to reconcile them with his own, and so declares that he used 'transmarine' now in another sense. Just as if a Scottish writer in Bede's time had spoken of the transmarine ²⁸⁵ Saxons, using the words of an author who lived before their coming into Britain, and then should explain himself, "that he did not mean the German Saxons, but those who lived in Britain, beyond the two Friths;" would this prove that the Saxons lived here before Cæsar's time? And if this be an argument ^s clear to a demonstration, some men's demonstrations will hardly amount to the strength of a probable argument; and I

^p See Preface, p. xxiii. Mackenzie *ibid.* p. 82, &c.

^q Usser. de Primord. cap. 16. p. 726. *Brit. Eccles. Antiq.* p. 379. *Camden. ibid.* p. 46. vol. 1. p. xlviii.

^r Bedæ *ibid.* lib. 1. cap. 12. p. 49. Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 593. cap. 16. p. 728.

Brit. Eccles. Antiq. pp. 309. 381. Mackenzie *ibid.* pp. 65, 66, with whom agree Smith in his note on Bede *ibid.* and Dalrymple, in the Additions to Camden, *ibid.* vol. 3. p. 369. See arguments of Stillingfleet, Preface, pp. lx —lxiii.

^s Preface, p. lxvi. and note.

am apt to fear no men's way of reasoning more than those who talk most of demonstrations.

† What if St. Jerome mentions the Scoti from Porphyry, and the "Attacotti as a British nation, what doth this prove as to the Scots inhabiting Britain so long ago? Could there be no Scots but in Britain, when it is confessed they came originally out of Ireland? Sidonius Apollinaris doth mention the Scots and Picts in his panegyric to "Anthemius; but what then? who denies that the Scots and Picts did then fight and were beaten in Britain? but could not they be beaten here then, unless they came into Britain before Julius Cæsar? Is this clear to a demonstration? But it is observable, that in the verse before he calls the *Caledonians 'Britons,' even then.

“Victricia Cæsar

Signa Caledonios transvexit ad usque Britannos.

Fuderit et quanquam Scotum, et cum y Saxone Pictum.”

Where it is evident he distinguisheth the Caledonian Britons from the Scots and Picts.

yy “But Claudian mentions the Scots as settled in Britain before his time.” If it be granted, that falls very much short of Alexander or Julius Cæsar's time; yet there appears no demonstration for it. His words are,

“z Scotorum cumulos flevit glacialis Ierne.”

† Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 588. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 307. Camden. ibid. p. 90. vol. 1. pp. xcvi. xcix. and note N.

u See pp. 287 a, 287 b, the latter especially, and note P.

w Sidon. Carm. 7. v. 90. inter Oper. p. 335. inter Sirmondi Oper. tom. 1. col. 1199, 1200. Camden. ibid. p. 85. vol. 1. p. xciii.

x See p. 241. and note h, also p. 283, and notes e and k.

y As in Preface, p. lvii.

yy Mackenzie ibid. in Preface, p. lix.

z Claud. in 4. Consul. Honorii, v. 33. inter Oper. p. 113. p. 131, not. ibid. p. 777. See Preface, p. lix. and note, for references to Usher, Lloyd, Camden, &c.

“But there is a certain place in Scotland called by that name.” I will not dispute it; but are we sure that Claudian knew it by that name? was that so considerable to be taken such notice of by the Roman writers? 286 was not Ireland then called ‘Ierne’ by him? and doth he not mention the Scots moving all Ierne?

“^a Totam cum Scotus Iernen
Movit, et infesto spumavit remige Tethys?”

And is not this very poetical, to say, “He moved all a certain little part of Scotland?” from whence they might pass beyond the wall, without so much as touching the ocean. Must these things pass for demonstrations too?

^b I mention these evidences, which the weight of the cause is laid upon, to shew how far these antiquities are still from being cleared to the satisfaction of impartial men. For I had no ^cLuddus my kinsman, nor Buchanan my enemy; I search for nothing but truth in such inquiries, it being as much to my satisfaction that the Scots came into Britain in Alexander’s time, as any time after, if it can be as well proved. ^d But it doth not become the ingenuity of learned men, when all judicious persons in the nations about us have rejected their fabulous antiquities, to adhere to them without producing better proofs of them; and that with so much violence, as if the interest of the nation, and the succession of the royal family, were concerned in them: which hath far stronger grounds to stand upon

^a 1^o Consulatus Stiliconis lib. 2. v. 251. inter Oper. p. 363. p. 393, et not. ibid. et pp. 875, 876. See Preface, p. lx. and note for references, as before.

^b See Preface, p. lxxii.

^c As in Preface, p. liv.

^d Cunningham, in the Addi-

tamentum to his Versiculus, p. 20, states that Humphrey Lhuyd, who led the way in opposing the Scottish antiquities, was paternal great uncle to bishop Lloyd. See Lloyd ibid. chap. 1. §. 5. p. 11. and note.

than the authority of Hector Boethius, or the race of kings between the two Ferguses, or the certain time when the Scots came first into Britain.

Having thus far given an account of the antiquities relating to the Picts and Scots, the mortal enemies of the Britons, I now come to pursue my main design, which relates to the antiquities of the British Churches, whose declining state and condition I am now arrived at.

And the first occasion thereof was, the laying them open to the fury of their greatest enemies, the Picts and the Scots. It is impossible for us to set down the punctual time when the Scots and the Picts first joined their forces together to give disturbance to the Britons, but it is clear that they did so towards the middle of the fourth century. For ^e Ammianus Marcellinus, 287^a speaking of the incursions they made in the time of Constantius, when Julian was Cæsar, A.D. 360, he saith, “that Julian, being then at Paris, durst not go over to the assistance of the Britons against the Scots and the Picts, as ^f Constans had done before.” Which expedition of his happened A. D. 343, after his success over the Franks; and he passed an edict, still extant in the ^gTheodosian Code, when he was at Boulogne, in his passage, which bears date that year; and a coin of his is mentioned by ^hDu Cange and ⁱSpanheim,

^e Am. Marcell. *ibid.* lib. 20. cap. 1. p. 181. Camden. *ibid.* p. 55. vol. 1. p. lvii. See chap. 4. p. 180, and note 9. Lloyd *ibid.* chap. 1. §. 6. p. 16. Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. pp. 587, 588. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 307.

^f Usser. de Primord. cap. 8. p. 195. not. *. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 105. Camden. Britan. pp. 54. 720. vol. 1. p. lvi. vol. 3.

p. 461.

^g Cod. Theod. de Extraord. XI. tit. 16. l. 5. in Jac. Gothofr. Cod. Theod. tom. 4. p. 117.

^h Histor. Byzant. p. 33.

ⁱ In “Les Cæsars de l’empereur Julien,” p. 134. For coins of the younger Constantine and Constantius, his brothers, see Camden. *ibid.* p. 75. vol. 1. p. lxxiii.

wherein the effigies of Constans is on one side, and on the reverse, “an armed man on shipboard, with the image of victory, and the inscription of Bononia Oceanen;” being coined on purpose to preserve the memory of this passage. And upon his coming over, things were quieted here, but not long after they began to make new incursions within the bounds of the province, as is evident from the foregoing passage of Ammianus Marcellinus, when Lupicinus was sent over, who arrived at London, saith he, “in the middle of winter, to take counsel how to proceed.” In the time of Valentinian, the same historian ^k saith, “that there seemed to be a general disturbance through the whole empire, by the barbarous nations who lay near them:” and, among the rest, he mentions the Picts, (whom some render Redshanks,) the Saxons, the Scots, and the ^lAttacots, “who were continually vexing and doing mischief to the Britons,” so that in a little time “the ^mBritons were reduced to a miserable condition by a new conspiracy of the barbarians, wherein Nectaridus the ‘comes maritimi tractus,’ or Roman admiral, and Bulchobaudes, the general, were both killed.” And then Valentinian sent over Theodosius, a famous captain (father to the first emperor of that name), with considerable forces. “For at that time the Picts of both kinds, the ⁿDeucalidones and Vecturiones, the Attacotti, a fierce nation, and the Scots, dispersing themselves up and down, did abundance of mischief;

^k Amm. Marcell. lib. 26. c. 4. p. 352. Camden. *ibid.* p. 55. vol. 1. p. lviii. Usser. *ibid.* as in note ^e, p. 286.

^l See p. 285.

^m Amm. Marcell. *ibid.* lib. 27. cap. 8. p. 383. Camden. *ibid.* Usser. *ibid.* Lloyd *ibid.* p. 17.

Panciroll. Comment. in Notit. Imper. Occident. pp. 161 b. 162.

ⁿ See p. 241. and note ⁿ. Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 588. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 307.

but °Theodosius, leaving London, dispersed his forces likewise into several parts, who surprised the enemies, and recovered their booty, which they restored to the owners, only reserving a small share for the soldiers; and so in a short time he put the city out of its fears 287b and difficulties, and entered it as it were in triumph; and then took care to have good officers placed here, Civilis for administration of justice, and Dulcitus for military affairs.”

° Who these Attacotti were, who joined with the Picts and Scots, our antiquaries are not agreed; but because of their joining with the other, and yet being distinguished from them, it seems most probable that they were the wild Britons; for ¶ St. Jerome doth say, “they were a British people.” But what the reason of the name was is not yet understood, and I doubt will not be, unless some happen to derive it from the Phœnician language. What great mischief had been done to the Britons, by this combination of their enemies, appears by the care taken by Theodosius, after his beating them out of the country, to restore the cities and garrisons, and to settle the guards upon the frontiers; which being done, that part of the country which he recovered from them, he obtained leave to have it named a new province: and it was called ¶ Valentia, from the emperor’s name.

° Vide Camden. *ibid.* et p. 306. vol. 2. p. 5.

¶ Camden. *ibid.* pp. 55. 91. vol. 1. pp. lviii. xcix. and note N.

¶ C. Jovin. l. 2. in *Oper.* tom. 4. part. 2. col. 201. Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 589. *Brit. Eccles. Antiq.* p. 307.

¶ Camden. *ibid.* pp. 56. 111. 651. 655. vol. 1. pp. lix. cxxix. vol. 3. pp. 212. 231. See Lloyd

ibid. ch. 1. §. 2. p. 4; and compare ch. 2. p. 76. and notes there. Usser. de Primord. cap. 5. p. 97. cap. 17. p. 819. *Brit. Eccles. Antiq.* pp. 51. 427. For a coin of the emperor Valentinian, in commemoration of this event, Camden. *ibid.* p. 76. vol. 1. p. lxxiii., where also for several of Gratian, Maximus, Theodosius, and Honorius.

This was done A. D. 368; and the next year Theodosius returned to the emperor's court. From that time we read no more of their incursions till ^s Maximus, in the time of Gratian, son to Valentinian, was set up by the soldiery in Britain to be emperor. Then ^t Prosper, set out by Pithæus, saith, "Maximus overcame the Picts and Scots, making new incursions:" which he thought he had done so effectually as to fear no disturbance on that side; ^u and therefore took away from hence all the flower both of the Roman and British soldiery, to make good his title against Gratian and Valentinian, and after against Theodosius; so that there was no possibility of their return, to secure the frontiers from their enemies. And this proved the fatal blow to the Britons. For the empire being so divided, and Maximus forced to keep his army together, those parts were left open to the rage and fury of their merciless enemies. And if the ^v author of the Eulogium and Giraldus Cambrensis may be believed, "Gratian and Valentinian entered into a league with the Gothic Picts, and helped them with shipping to convey them into the northern parts of Britain, on purpose to withdraw Maximus's army out of Gaul: 288 who coming thither in great numbers, and finding the country naked and without defence, settled themselves in those parts." Not as though the Picts had not

^s See ch. 4. p. 183. and in this chapter, p. 351, &c., and note ^t following.

^t Chronic. init. inter Histor. Francor. Scriptor. Coæt. Duchesn. tom. 1. p. 196. Camden. ibid. p. 57. vol. 1. p. lx. Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 593. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 309. Lloyd ibid. §. 6. p. 17.

^u Usser. de Primord. cap. 8.

p. 198. cap. 15. p. 590. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. pp. 106. 308. Camden. ibid. p. 60. vol. 1. p. lxxiii., where also is a particular enumeration of the British legions, &c.

^v Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 590. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 308. Camden. ibid. p. 88. vol. 1. p. xcvi.

come hither before, but they never came over in so great numbers and with so much encouragement as they did now. And it seems not improbable, that Gratian and Valentinian should at that time deal with the Gothic nation to give a diversion to Maximus. For ^w Zosimus assigns that as one of the great causes of Gratian's ruin, "that he seemed more fond of the barbarous nations than of the Romans." And Maximus charged Valentinian, "with making use of the Hunns and the Alani against him;" which is not denied by ^x St. Ambrose, who was sent by Valentinian on an embassy to him. These Hunni and Alani were, as is commonly said, inhabitants of Sarmatia Europæa, near to the Palus Mæotis. "The Alani did live upon the Tanais," saith ^y Hadrianus Valesius; and the Hunni, saith he, "were a Scythian people, between the Pontus and the Caspian sea, upon the northern parts of the Caucasus, from whom the Abares, Turks and Hungarians are descended." But whosoever observes ^z Ammianus Marcellinus's description of them, will find that the Hunni were the Asiatic Tartars, and the Alani the European. The Hunni, in the time of Valens, passed over the Palus Mæotis in vast numbers, and after having killed many of the Alani, took the rest into confederacy with them; and having conquered the Goths in those parts, enlarged their power as far as the Danube, where they lay ready to come into the Roman empire on any occasion. And it is not to be wondered if Gratian should employ persons

^w Zosim. *ibid.* lib. 4. inter p. 1058. *Brit. Eccles. Antiq.*
 Sylburgii *Roman. Hist. Script.* p. 308. *Addend.* p. 506.
Græc. Minor. tom. 3. p. 760.

^y *Rer. Franc.* lib. 3. p. 98.

^x St. Ambros. *Ep.* 27. lib. 5. *ibid.* lib. 4. p. 153.

^z Am. Marcel. *ibid.* lib. 31. *cap.* 2. pp. 473. 476.

Oper. tom. 3. p. 129. *ed. Erasmi.*
tom. 2. *col.* 890. *Usser. de Primord.* *cap.* 15. p. 590. *Addend.*

into Scandinavia to draw out greater forces from thence, thereby to make a revulsion, as to Maximus's designs in the northern parts of Britain. However this were, ^a Gildas from this time dates the miserable condition of the Britons, as being in no posture to defend themselves at home. ^b Nennius saith, "that Maximianus" (as he calls him) "carried all the forces out of Britain, and killed Gratian the emperor, and would not let the British soldiers return to their wives, children, or possessions, but gave them another country instead of it:" "^{bb} in the western parts of Gaul," saith the interpolator of Nennius. "^c And 290 these," saith Nennius, "are the Aremoric Britons, who never after returned to their own country. And from hence," he saith, "Britain was seized upon by foreign nations, and its own natives were driven out, and would so continue till God helped them." But the British History, set forth by ^d Geoffrey, hath improved the story in many particulars. First, it makes this Maximianus "to marry the daughter of Octavius, and so to come to the kingdom of Britain." Then it adds, "that Conanus retired into Albany, and raised an army, which was overthrown by Maximianus, who after five years passed into Gaul, and fought first against the Aremorians, whose country he gave to Conanus and his Britons; who, resolving not to marry

^a Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 593. Brit. Eccl. Antiq. p. 309.

^b Nenn. cap. 23. p. 104. §. 27. p. 20. Camden. *ibid.* p. 79. vol. 1. p. lxxxvii. Usser. de Primord. cap. 8. p. 199. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 107. In the Oxford edition it is Maximus; in the London edition of 1838 it is Maximianus. Gunn's notes, 53—58. pp. 141—145. to his edi-

tion of Nennius, may be consulted as to Maximus.

^{bb} Not. 1. in Nennius, p. 21. *ibid.* ed. 1838.

^c Nennii *ibid.* Usser. *ibid.* Camden. *ibid.*

^d Hist. Brit. lib. 2. cap. 3. p. 38. Usser. de Primord. cap. 8. p. 199. cap. 15. pp. 590. 618. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. pp. 107. 308. 324.

any others than British women, he sent over messengers to Dionotus, king of Cornwall, to whom Maximianus had committed the government of Britain, to provide wives for them; and he sent with ^e Ursula, his own daughter, eleven thousand of the better sort, and of the common sixty thousand. But these were unhappily by storms either sunk or driven into those places, where Guanius, king of the Hunns, and Melga, king of the Picts, who were confederates with Gratian, were joined with their armies, who cruelly destroyed them: after which they came into Albany, where they made havoc of all places they came near. Then Maximianus sent Gratianus Municeps with two legions, who subdued the Hunns and Picts, and drove them into Ireland." Here we have many fabulous particulars put together, but none comparable to the 71,000 virgins sunk or destroyed by the Hunns. And yet Geoffrey's relation of this legend is magnified by ^f Baronius, and approved by ^g M. Velserus, ^h Aub. Miræus, and ⁱ Ægid. Bucherius, as most agreeable to the circumstances of the time. Which is a thing to be wondered at; considering how little foundation there is for any one particular of Geoffrey's whole relation, either as to Octavius, then king of Britain; or the marrying his daughter to Maximus; or as to Conanus going first into Albany, and thence into Aremorica;

^e Vide Camden. *ibid.* p. 142. vol. 1. p. 7, where, in note *v*, is added, "The whole legend took its rise from an inscription, 'Ursula et Undecimilla Virgines;' proper names being mistaken for numbers."

^f Baron. *ad Martyrol. Rom.* Octobr. 21. p. 652. *Usser. de Primord.* cap. 8. p. 201. cap. 15. p. 631. *Brit. Eccles. Antiq.* pp. 108. 330.

^g *Not. ad Tab. Peutinger. inter Oper. Velseri*, p. 732. *Usser. ibid.* cap. 8. See an *Essay on Peutinger's Table*, so far as it relates to Britain, by Mr. Ward, in *Horsley's Britannia Romana*; b. 3. chap. 4. p. 505.

^h *De SS. Virgin. Coloniens. Disquisit.* p. 11, &c.

ⁱ *Belg. Rom. lib.* 12. cap. 5. n. 2. p. 369.

or the settling of the British soldiers there, at so busy a time, when Maximus wanted all the assistance he could get; or the sending to Dionotus; or ^k the sending away such a number of virgins at once, without ²⁹¹ any fleet to conduct or secure their passage. But ^l Browerus hath overthrown this legend at once, by proving that Aremorica was not in the Britons' possession till a good time after this; for, as he well observes, Maximus was kindly received in Gaul, and met with no considerable opposition there, Gratian's own soldiers revolting to him, and he passed on and settled himself at Triers, (then the seat of this part of the empire,) as ^m Gildas saith. And besides, in the time of Aetius, the Aremorici enjoyed their own country (as he proves from Constantius's Life of St. German) about A. D. 434. After which time they stood up in their own defence, till they were reduced by Litorius, which he shews from Sidonius Apollinaris. And ⁿ Rutilius Claudius, in the beginning of the fifth century, after Maximus's time, mentions the Aremorici, as still enjoying their country, where Exuperantius was then governor: saying, that after the troubles by the Goths they had 'postliminium pacis;' which evidently proves, they were not then kept out of possession.

Cujus Aremoricas pater Exuperantius oras
 Nunc postliminium pacis amare docet,
 Leges restituit libertatemque reducit
 Et servos famulis non sinit esse suis.

^k Vide Usser. *ibid.* in præfat.

^l Not. in Ven. Fortunat. *Carmin. &c. lib. 3. pp. 59. 65.* Usser. de Primord. cap. 8. p. 201. *Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 109.* See p. 351, &c. of this chapter.

^m Usser. de Primord. cap. 8. p. 198. *Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 106.*

ⁿ Rutil. *Itiner. lib. 1. v. 213. p. 7. et not. p. 131.* Camden. *ibid. p. 80. vol. 1. p. lxxxviii.*

And this was written after the sacking of Rome by the Goths; so that there is no foundation for this legend in the time of Maximus. Ægid. Bucherius, although he approves of Geoffrey, as to the time, and some other circumstances, yet he differs from him in others. For he goes upon these grounds, that Maximus landed at the mouth of the Rhine, as Zosimus saith, that there they left the multitude of women and virgins which followed the army out of Britain; where the Hunns which Bauto sent against Maximus fell upon them and destroyed them. This is no ill-contrived story; but very different from the legend in Geoffrey, in all the considerable parts of it: and yet after all, Bucherius thinks fit to yield up his faith to the old legend, as it is defended by Bebius and Crombachius; and so it is taken off from the time of Maximus.

292 ° Joh. Fordon agrees with Geoffrey about Maximus's giving the country of Aremorica to Conanus and his Britons, A.D. 386, but he is so far from mentioning the eleven thousand virgins, that he supposes "the Britons of both sexes to have settled there together." But he makes a more credible relation of Conanus's going over to Aremorica, which is, that Maximus mistrusted he might set up for himself in his absence, having the legal title to Britain, and therefore he removed him and the chief of the Britons, and settled them in those parts of Gaul. This is no improbable story; but yet the Aremoricians enjoying their country after this time, is an effectual confutation of it.

After the death of Maximus, more troubles following in the Roman empire, "the Picts and the Scots," saith P Fordon, "negotiate a mutual peace and stricter alli-

° Scotichron. lib. 2. c. 63. cles. Antiq. cap. 8. p. 109.
 cap. 50. p. 617. Usser. de Pri- P Scotichron. lib. 3. cap. 1.
 mord. Addend. p. 993. Brit. Ec- p. 621.

ance, in order," saith he, "to the recovering their country again. For Maximus had made use of the Picts to drive out the Scots, and then put garrisons among the Picts to keep them under. And upon this agreement, ^q A. D. 403, in the sixth of Arcadius and Honorius, Fergus the son of Erk, the son of Ethadius, the brother of Eugenius, ^rwho was driven out by Maximus, came with his two brothers" (called there Loarii and Tenegus, in all probability Loarn and Ængus, which were the names the Irish Annals give to the brothers of Fergus, ^s as is observed before) "and great supplies of Scots from the islands of Ireland and Norway, whither they were driven: and the Picts, to prevent all suspicion of treachery, surrendered up their forts to Fergus, ^t who now became king of all Scotland, i. e. of that part which is beyond Drum Albain, as well as on this other, which," he saith "it doth not appear how he came to, whether by the sword or by any other right, none of his predecessors having any power there." ^u Bede saith, "the Romans had the right of dominion to the remotest part of the island:" which is not easy to make out, unless the possession and conquest were better proved than appears by Bede's History. For although he mentions Claudius's conquering the Orcades; yet it is hard to prove it by any Roman authors; and if the possession were after lost, for so long a time, it will be as hard to prove the Romans still enjoyed the right of dominion upon so slender a title. "But the Picts and 293

^q Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 598. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 312.

^r Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 592. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 309.

^s See p. 281. and note z.

^t Fordon *ibid.* ch. 2. p. 622.

^u Hist. Eccles. lib. 1. cap. 11. p. 49. Usser. de Primord. Ad-dend. p. 1042. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. cap. 16. p. 402. Camden. *ibid.* pp. 43. 91. 849. vol. 1. pp. xlv. c. vol. 3. p. 720. See Preface, p. xxxix. and note, as to these islands.

Scots being thus united, their first work," saith Fordon, "was to drive out the Romans and Britons from their country, and then to invade Britain, which was then left destitute of any defence: and so by their incursions they either killed the common people, or made them slaves."

^v Here Fordon transcribes Bede's twelfth chapter of his first book; the foundation whereof he took out of Gildas, concerning the departure of the British forces without returning; the invasion of the Scots and Picts; the Britons sending an address to Rome for assistance; a Roman legion coming and driving out their enemies; and persuading the Britons to build a wall for their own security. But it is observable, that Bede varies from Gildas without reason; for what Gildas speaks of their departure with Maximus, he applies "to the going of the remainders of the British forces under Constantinus and Constans, after Gratianus Municeps was killed in Britain, having usurped the empire here." But that Bede was herein mistaken will best appear by digesting the times wherein these things happened as well as we can.

^w Zosimus saith, that Honorius VII. and Theodosius II. being consuls, viz. A. D. 407, (nineteen years after the death of Maximus, as ^x archbishop Usher observes, ^y Olympiodorus in Photius saith, "the year before," Orosius and Sozomen the year after, viz. the year when Arcadius died;) "the British soldiers in a mutiny set up one Marcus to be emperor, as a man of great

^v Fordon *ibid.* ch. 3. p. 622.

^w Zos. lib. 6. inter Sylburg. Rom. Hist. Script. Græc. Minor. tom. 3. p. 824. Usher. *ibid.* as in following note.

^x Primord. cap. 15. p. 591.

Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 309.

^y Phot. Cod. 80. p. 179. Usher. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 599. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 312. Vide Camden. *ibid.* pp. 58. 195. vol. 1. pp. lxii. 121.

power in these parts; but he, not answering their expectation, they soon took him off, and then set up Gratianus, (who was a native of Britain," for so much ^z Orosius's words imply, when he saith, he was "municipe ejusdem insulæ,") "and made him put on the royal purple and crown, &c. but he not pleasing them, after four months they take away his life." ^a Of him Nennius saith nothing; but he mentions one Severus between Maximus and Constantius, whom others omit; but ^b Geoffrey makes Gratianus to assume the royal authority as soon as he heard of the death of Maximus; "but he was so tyrannical," he saith, "that the common people rose up and killed him; and after his death the Britons, according to him, sent to Rome, to beg ²⁹⁴ help against the Picts and Scots." But ^c Zosimus and Orosius both say, "that, upon the death of Gratianus, they set up here Constantine, a mean person, (for the good omen of his name, saith Orosius,) "who immediately left Britain, and passed over into Gaul, where he gained the army to him, and made his son Constans Cæsar, and sent him into Spain." Olympiodorus saith, "that he sent a message and excuse to Honorius, for assuming the imperial dignity, that he was forced to it by the army; and that Honorius allowed the excuse, and for a time admitted him into partnership with him." But Gerontius a Briton, one of the generals, finding himself slighted by Constans, made a revolt among his soldiers and stirred up the barbarous nations in Gaul against Constantine; upon which occasion, saith Zosimus,

^z Hist. lib. 7. cap. 40. p. 576.
Usser. ibid. as in note ^x above.

^a Nenn. cap. 24. p. 104. §. 27.
p. 21.

^b Galfr. lib. 2. cap. 4. p. 41. 2.
Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p.

591. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 308.

^c Usser. de Primord. cap. 15.

p. 599. cap. 12. p. 372. Brit.
Eccles. Antiq. pp. 312. 200.

Camden. ibid. p. 59. vol. 1. p.
lxii.

^d “ the British islands, and some of the Celtic nations, renounced the Roman empire; and took up arms to defend themselves from the incursions of their enemies: and Honorius by his letters gave them leave to take care of themselves.” Not long after Constans is killed by Gerontius, and Constantine, after the siege of Arles, had his head cut off by ^e Honorius’s order. But ^f Nennius, against the consent of all the Greek and Latin historians, both heathen and Christian, saith, “ that this Constantine reigned sixteen years in Britain, and in the seventeenth died at York.” However he falls much short of ^g Geoffrey; for he saith, “ that Constantine was brother to Aldroenus, king of the Aremoric Britons, to whom Guithelin, metropolitan of London, was sent on an embassy to accept the government, which he put off to Constantine, who was chosen king at Silcester, and had a Roman wife of Guithelin’s education, by whom he had three sons, ^h Constans a monk at Winchester, Aurelius Ambrosius, and Uther Pendragon, who were committed to Guithelin’s care. After Constantine’s death, who was killed by a Pict, there hapened a great contest about the succession; but by Vortigern’s means Constans is taken from the monastery, and set on the throne at London; but Guithelin was now dead, and Vortigern put the diadem on his head, who governed all things, and soon got himself rid of him by a guard of Picts he had placed about him, and so took the government upon himself.”

295 But I shall set aside these fictions or traditions of

^d Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 599. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 313. Lloyd *ibid.* ch. 2. §. 8. p. 66. Camden. *ibid.* p. 59. vol. 1. p. lxxiii. See p. 319.

^e Soz. *ibid.* lib. 9. cap. 15. p. 38c. Phot. Cod. 80. p. 183.

^f Nenn. cap. 25. p. 59. ed. 1819.

^g Galfr. lib. 2. cap. 5, 6. p. 43. Usser. de Primord. cap. 5. p. 67. cap. 12. p. 371. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. pp. 37. 199.

^h Camden. *ibid.* p. 191. vol. 1. p. 118.

Geoffrey and Nennius, and consider now what Bede saith. ⁱ He makes Gratianus Municeps to be set up two years before the sacking of Rome by Alaric, king of the Goths, which happened A. D. 410. And he follows Orosius, about Constantine and his son Constans, without ever imagining their continuing to govern, and losing their lives in Britain: ^k but then he applies the passage in Gildas, concerning “the lamentable condition of the Britons, and their help from the Romans,” to the times after the death of Constantine; ^l whereas Gildas mentions both upon the usurpation of Maximus, and his withdrawing the forces from hence; ^m and therefore this first cruel invasion of the Picts and Scots must be between the death of Maximus, and the setting up of Gratianus Municeps: and then the Britons so earnestly begging for assistance, had Roman governors and forces sent to their relief. Some think that ⁿ Claudius Rutilius mentions Victorinus as “a Roman governor here in that time,” but this is uncertain, when he there speaks of the taking Toulouse by the Goths, which was done by Ataulphus some time after the death of Alaric; and therefore could not be before the time of Gratian and Constantine; for Idatius saith, “that this latter was killed before Ataulphus entered Narbonne,” which was before the taking of Toulouse.

It is evident from many passages in ^o Claudian, that

ⁱ Bedæ Hist. Eccles. lib. 1. cap. 11. et not. 6, p. 49.

^k Ibid. cap. 12. p. 49.

^l See Preface, p. 1x. Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 593. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 309.

^m See the Appendix to Smith's edition of Bede, No. 5. p. 672. line 13, &c. where he differs from Stillingfleet.

ⁿ Itiner. lib. 1. v. 500. p. 14.

et not. p. 281. Camden. ibid. p. 59. p. lxii.

^o De Laud. Stilich. lib. 2. v. 251. De Bello Get. v. 416. In Eutrop. lib. 1. v. 393. in Oper. pp. 363. 431. 278. p. 393. et not. ibid. p. 875. p. 458. et not. ibid. p. 301. et not. ibid. Usser. de Primord. cap. 11. p. 335. cap. 15. p. 594. cap. 17. p. 819. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. pp. 181. 310. 427.

Stilicho took particular care of “the supplies of the Britons against the Scots and Picts:” but Stilicho was killed by the army when Bassus and Philippus were consuls, A.D. 408, before the first siege of Rome by the Goths; and therefore the Roman forces sent by him were before the usurpation of Gratianus and Constantine: Stilicho being killed the same year that these were set up in Britain, it is not possible he should do it after their death; and it seems not probable that any supplies should be sent through Gaul while Constantine remained there, the army through which they were to pass in Gaul taking part with Constantine against Honorius. And withal ^p Gildas saith, “that the Roman legion, having driven out the Picts and Scots, returned
296 in triumph to Rome:” and so much is confessed by ^q Bede. But at what time should we suppose, after the usurpation of Constantine, that a Roman legion should return in so much triumph? For after Constantine’s usurpation the Roman empire began to decline extremely in those parts through which they were to pass: Gaul being upon composition ^r delivered up to the Goths by Honorius, and the Franks and Burgundians making continual impressions there. I conclude it therefore most probable, that the first supplies given to the Britons were not after Constantine’s usurpation, but between the death of Maximus, and the setting up of Gratianus Municeps.

The second time the distressed Britons were forced

Camden. *ibid.* pp. 58. 633. 726.
729. vol. 1. p. lxi. vol. 3. pp. 171.
463. 465. See Preface, p. lx.
and note.

^p Usser. de Primord. cap. 15.
p. 603. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p.
314. Lloyd *ibid.* p. 20. Camden.
ibid. p. 651. vol. 3. p. 213.

^q Bedæ *ibid.* cap. 12. p. 50.
Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p.
605. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 315.

^r Jornand. cap. 30. p. 1103.
inter Grut. Hist. August. Script.
Latin. Paul. Diac. lib. 13. p.
397. Sigeb. Chron. A.D. 412. in
Germ. Script. tom. 1.

to solicit the Romans for supplies, is placed by ^s archbishop Usher, A.D. 426, when Gallio Ravennas was sent hither, as he supposes, because the next year, Prosper saith, "Gallio was sent against Bonifacius in Africa." But then he makes the first supplies to have been in the latter end of Honorius; for which I can see no reason. For he grants, ^t "that after the death of Maximus, the Scots and the Picts did waste Britain; and that then Stilicho did send assistance to them." Why then should "the first wasting of the country," spoken of by Gildas, and the legion sent upon it, be that in the latter end of Honorius, and not rather that in the beginning? For the latter end of Honorius's reign was very perplexed and troublesome. ^u The Alani, Suevi and Vandali were in Spain; the Franks, Burgundians and Goths in Gaul; Jovinus and Sebastian there, after Constantine's death, usurped the empire; and although the Goths, going into Spain, did great service against the other barbarians, yet such were the straits of the Roman empire in Gaul, that Constantius, who then managed the affairs of the empire, was forced to recall them, as both Prosper and Idatius say, Monaxius and Plinta being consuls, (which was the twenty-fourth of Honorius,) and "to give them all that part in Gaul from the Garonne to the ocean." The year before Honorius's death, he was forced to send his forces under Castinus into Spain, against the Vandals, as Prosper affirms; and that proved the occasion of new troubles in Africa, by the difference between Castinus and Bonifacius, who, for his own security, conveyed over ²⁹⁷ the Vandals thither. It is not therefore very probable,

^s Primord. cap. 15. p. 603. p. 310.
 Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 314.

^t Usser. de Primord. ibid. cap. 15. p. 594. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. ^u Smith, in his Appendix to Bede ibid. differs from Stillingfleet.

that the first supplies of the Britons should be in the latter end of Honorius, especially since the learned primate confesseth that Honorius did not in his time recover the province of Britain, and ^x he proves it against Sabellicus from Procopius, Bede, the Saxon Annals, and Ethelwerd. And the single testimony of Sigebert, “that Honorius, at the same time, sent assistance to the Britons, that he did to the Spaniards,” (when Prosper, Idatius and Cassiodore, who all mention the latter, say not a word of the former,) cannot weigh down the reasons on the other side.

But as to the second supplies which were sent upon the mighty importunity of the Britons; ^y they were in probability in the beginning of the reign of Valentinian III. after that Aetius had somewhat recovered the credit of the Roman empire in Gaul: for after his success there, both against the Goths and Franks, he had liberty enough to send over a legion to the assistance of the Britons, who were again miserably harassed by the Scots and Picts. And at this time it was that, ^z Gildas saith, “the Romans, upon the sad representations the British ambassadors made of their pitiful condition, sent them speedy supplies, who, coming upon their enemies on a sudden, like a violent torrent, drove them all before them, and made them repass the seas:” which is an argument they did not then inhabit in Britain. But the Romans then plainly told the Britons, “they were not at leisure to bring over legions as often as their enemies invaded them;

^x Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 600. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 313.

^y Smith, in his Appendix to Bede, p. 672, is of a contrary opinion.

^z Gildæ ibid. §. 17. p. 22. ed. 1838. Usser. de Primord. cap. 15.

p. 604. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 315. Lloyd ibid, ch. 1. §. 2. p. 4. §. 6. p. 21. See Camden ibid. as in note ^a following. For “the final dereliction of the island” by the Romans, see Roy’s Military Antiquities of the Romans in Britain, b. 1. ch. 3.

but they must train up their own people to arms to defend themselves and their wives and children against a sort of men no ways stronger than themselves. And to encourage them the more, they built a wall of stone from sea to sea, and forts on the shore, and exercised them in arms, taking their leave of them, and telling them they must expect their return no more." This is the substance of Gildas's relation, with whom ^aBede agrees; only enlarging the description of the wall, "which," he saith, "was eight foot in breadth and twelve in height, and that it stood where ^bthe wall of Severus stood, being all made of stone, and not of ^cturf, as that unserviceable wall was which the Britons had before, without skill and direction, built for themselves."

It hath been much disputed among our learned antiquaries where this last ^dwall stood, whether in the place where the former of turf was raised by the Britons between the two friths, or where Hadrian's wall was first built, between the Tyne and the Esk. ^eBede puts a great distance between these "two walls, and makes the former to have been between the two friths, beginning at a place called Peneltun, two miles from Abercorn, and ending to the west, near ^fAl-

^a Bedæ *ibid.* lib. 1. cap. 12. p. 50. Camden. *ibid.* pp. 60. 652. vol. 1. p. lxiii. vol. 3. p. 213. Usser. *ibid.* Lloyd *ibid.* §. 6. p. 22.

^b Camden. *ibid.* p. 659. vol. 3. p. 232. compared with the Additions, pp. 216. 225. 244.

^c Bedæ *ibid.* lib. 1. cap. 12. p. 50. Camden. *ibid.* pp. 60. 651. 700. vol. 1. p. lxiii. vol. 3. pp. 213. 355.

^d See Preface, p. lxii. and note,

and in this chapter, p. 242.

^e Bedæ *ibid.* cap. 12. p. 50. Camden. *ibid.* pp. 651. 700. vol. 3. pp. 213. 356. but especially the Additions, p. 358. Usser. *de Primord.* cap. 15. p. 602. Brit. *Eccles. Antiq.* p. 314. Lloyd *ib.* ch. 1. §. 2. p. 3. § 6. p. 20.

^f For a circumstantial account of this ancient fortress, see Camden. *ibid.* p. 697. vol. 3. p. 349, and the interesting Additions, p. 352.

cluyd; which," saith he, "signifies a rock in the river Cluyd. ^g But the latter wall was from sea to sea, in a direct line, between the cities there built for security against incursions, and it stood in the place of Severus's wall." ^h Joh. Fordon distinguishes between the old wall called ⁱ Grimesdike, from Grime, a Briton, (whose daughter Fergus married, and after his death ruled over the Scots during his grandchild's minority; and "which wall," he saith, "this Grime overthrew, and so recovered the ancient possessions due to him, as descended from Fulgenius,") and "the other wall built where Severus's stood:" and he gives very different descriptions of them. ^k "The former wall," he saith, "begins from the east, upon the south side of the Scottish shore, near a village called Karedin, and then for twenty-two miles crosses the land, leaving ^l Glasgow on the south; and ends on the bank of the river Clyde near Kirkpatrick. ^m The other," he saith, "begins on the east in the southern bank of the Tyne to ⁿ Gait-sheved, or Gateshead, where Severus," saith he, "a long time before had made a wall and a trench over against Newcastle; and so it is continued to the river Esk, called Scots-wath, for sixty miles, and ends near Carlisle, on the west." But ^o Buchanan contends, that

^g Bedæ ibid. Camden. ibid. p. 652. vol. 3. p. 213. Usser. de Primord. p. 605. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 315. Lloyd ibid. and p. 22.

^h Scotichron. lib. 3. cap. 5. p. 623.

ⁱ Camden. ibid. p. 700. vol. 3. p. 356. For other fortifications, so called, see Horsley's Britannia, b. 1. ch. 10. p. 173. Camden ibid. in the Indexes.

^k Usser. de Primord. p. 602. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 314.

^l Scotichron. ibid. cap. 4. p. 623.

^m Usser. de Primord. p. 605. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 315. Lloyd ibid. §. 12. p. 44.

ⁿ Scotichron. ibid. cap. 7. p. 625.

^o Hist. lib. 4. Rege 27. lib. 5. Rege 41. Usser. de Primord. p. 605. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 315. See Preface, p. lxii. which compare with Camden. ibid. p. 652. vol. 3. p. 213.

Severus's wall was where Graham's dike, or Grimes-dike was, and at least eighty miles distant from Hadrian's wall; which he proves from the antiquities there found, and the square stones taken up; which do sufficiently prove an ancient stone wall to have been there, but not that of Severus: and the Roman inscriptions in ^p Camden mention Antoninus and not Severus. ^q Joh. Major places Severus's wall, as Fordon doth, between the Tyne and the Esk; but ^r archbishop Usher hath endeavoured to clear this matter by yielding to Buchanan, that the Scottish wall was made of stone, viz. by the Romans under Gallio ²⁹⁹ Ravennas, and by proving that Bede was mistaken as to Severus's wall being made of turf before, which was the reason he thought it turned into stone at this time; "it being not likely that the Romans would bring the Britons at least eighty miles back, and put them to defend a wall so very much longer than the other." But I rather think Severus's wall was now repaired, and a larger scope allowed for the Picts and Scots; as, besides what hath been said before, may appear by this one argument from ^s Fordon. He saith, "that when the Scots made a new incursion, they opened passages in the wall; from whence it was called Thirle-wall, i. e." saith he, "murus perforatus." Now the learned ^t primate grants, that a place called 'Thirle-

^p Brit. p. 699. vol. 3. p. 355.

^q Hist. Scot. lib. 1. cap. 14. fol. 20. 2.

^r Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 605. Addend. p. 1024, &c. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. cap. 15. p. 315. See in this chapter, p. 242.

^s Scotichron. lib. 3. cap. 10. p. 626. Camden. ibid. p. 658. vol. 3. p. 232. compared with the Additions, pp. 226. 243, where it is

thought, contrary to the opinion of Fordon and Camden, the castle might be called Thirlewall, "from the passage of the river (Tippal) through the wall." Usser. de Primord. p. 608. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 318.

^t Primord. Addend. p. 1028. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. cap. 15. p. 318.

wall,' stood "on the borders of Cumberland and Northumberland:"^u "and that Fordon saith, Thirle-wall was built by Severus on the Tyne." And therefore Bede seems to have been in the right as to Severus's wall, but only mistaken in thinking it was made of turf before, which was built of stone by Severus, and accounted^x one of the great works of the Roman empire, which was impossible to be built of stone anew by one legion and the help of the country; but might very well be repaired, and made defensible against the Scots and Picts.

We might now think that the Britons were left by the Romans in a tolerable condition to defend themselves; but as soon as their old enemies understood that their old friends had forsaken them, they came upon them with a greater force and violence than ever. And the spirits of the poor Britons were so broken by their former miseries, that they were not able to withstand the assaults of their enemies: but they forsook their wall and forts, and fled as far as they could, and dispersed themselves, which made them an easy prey to their barbarous enemies, who now destroyed them in a more cruel manner than they had done before: and those who escaped were driven from their habitations, and hardly left in a condition to subsist, having no provision left, but what they did get by hunting. This is the short account of what^y Gildas more tragically enlarges
 300 upon. And being thus reduced to the utmost extremities,^z they resolve once more to send to Aetius their

^u Usser. de Primord. Addend. p. 1028. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. cap. 15. p. 318.

^x Camden. *ibid.* p. 650. vol. 3. p. 212, where also see the place of Bede referred to.

^y Camden. *ibid.* pp. 77. 653. vol. 1. p. lxxxv. vol. 3. p. 214.

Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 606. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 318.

^z Usser. de Primord. cap. 12. p. 369. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 198. Lloyd *ibid.* ch. 1. §. 6. p. 23. Camden. *ibid.* p. 77. vol. 1. p. lxxxv.

last groans; and to let him understand how unable they were to stand out against their enemies, “seeing between them and the sea they were either drowned or butchered.” But all further assistance was now denied them; “Aetius being then,” as ^a Bede saith, “deeply engaged in the war with Bleda and Attila, kings of the Hunns.” This message was sent, saith Bede, in the twenty-third of Theodosius, Aetius being then third time consul with Symmachus. But Bleda, according to Prosper and Cassiodore, was killed by Attila two years before Aetius and Symmachus were consuls (but one year before according to Marcellinus), but the year following he makes the terrible invasion of Europe by Attila to be; and so Aetius having then a prospect of that war, had just reason to deny supplies to the Britons. ^b And when Valentinian was VI. consul, the year before Aetius and Symmachus, it appears by Valentinian’s letters to him, that he was then in Gaul, for then he directed the famous constitution ^c “De episcoporum ordinatione” to him there; wherein he interposes his authority to ratify Leo’s sentence against Hilary of Arles. But this is sufficient to shew that the Britons’ complaints were then sent to Aetius, and not to any Agitius or Æquitius, as ^d some imagine. ^e Fordon saith, “the Britons sent to Agitius and Litorius;” but Litorius some years before was beaten, and taken prisoner by the Goths, as appears by the “Fasti Consu-

^a Bedæ ibid. lib. 1. cap. 13. p. 51. Usser. de Primord. cap. 12. p. 370. cap. 15. p. 608. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. pp. 199. 319.

^b Usser. de Primord. cap. 12. p. 370. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 199.

^c Vide Basnag. Annal. Ecclesiastic. tom. 3. p. 409, &c.

Spanhem. Hist. Christ. sæc. 5. cap. 6. col. 986, 987. in Oper. tom. 1.

^d Usser. de Primord. cap. 12. p. 369. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 199.

^e Scotichron. lib. 3. cap. 11. p. 627, where the reading is Aetius.

lares" both of Prosper and Cassiodore, and ^f Paulus Diaconus out of them.

But the miseries of the Britons were still increased by a famine which then raged; which was not peculiar to Britain. ^g Bede saith, "that there was then a famine at Constantinople, and a great plague which followed it, which consumed abundance both of men and beasts." Which he borrows from Marcellinus who makes both famine and plague to break out the very year Aetius and Symmachus were consuls. Both these are mentioned by ^h Evagrius in the eastern parts, and therefore are not to be looked on as a peculiar judgment on the Britons.

301 After this, as ⁱ Gildas and Bede tell us, finding their case almost desperate, the Britons were resolved to sell their lives and liberties as dear as they could, and by making a fierce assault upon their enemies, they began to get the better of them; which they impute "to their trusting rather to Divine assistance than to the help of men, which they too much relied upon before." The Britons, as appears afterward, did not want courage, but exercise in arms; being kept under so long by the Romans, they durst not so much as pretend to fighting, for fear of being destroyed; and now the Romans, when they had a mind, could not infuse new spirits into them; but their own miseries at last roused and awakened them to that degree, that they made their enemies quiet for some time; "and the Irish robbers," saith ^k Gildas, "returned home, intending to return

^f Hist. Misch. lib. 14. p. 416.

^g Bed. *ibid.* lib. 1. cap. 13. p. 51. Usser. de Primord. cap. 12. p. 371. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 199.

^h Evagr. lib. 2. cap. 6. p. 295.

ⁱ Gild. Epist. §. 18. p. 17. 1.

Hist. Gild. §. 18. p. 6. Hist. Gild.

§. 20. p. 26. Bed. *ibid.* lib. 1. cap. 14. p. 51. Camden. *ibid.* in the place first quoted in note ^m following. Usser. *ibid.* Lloyd *ibid.*

^k Preface, p. lx. Camden. *ibid.*

shortly: and the Picts in the farthest part of the island lay still, only sometimes making excursions." This is a considerable passage in Gildas, which shews, that even then the Scots, whom he calls Irish robbers, were not inhabitants of any part of Britain. For he calls Ireland their home, as before he said upon the "second devastation" (as the margin of Josseline's Gildas hath it) "that they came in their ^l curroghs over the ^m Scythian vale," so he calls the Irish sea; as ⁿ Nennius calls the Scots, "Scytæ." But if they had then inhabited in Britain, there had been no use of curroghs to convey them over, and this had been their proper home. ^o Fordon seems to have been aware of this objection, and therefore saith, "the Scots and Picts took the Irish in to their assistance;" but Gildas takes notice of no other Scots than those that came out of Ireland, and returned back again. ^p Buchanan saith, "that upon the success of Grime against the Britons, many strangers came in to the Scots' assistance, and had their shares allowed them in the conquered lands." But he takes no notice of Gildas' or Bede's saying, "that those very people who fought with the Britons returned home to Ireland; and the Picts were quiet in the utmost parts of the island;" where there is no mention of any third sort of people called the Scots in Britain. But ^q Dempster undertakes from this place of Gildas to prove, "that the Scots and Irish were then distinguished, because 302 Gildas, after he had mentioned the Scots and Picts,

Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 608. cap. 16. p. 729. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. pp. 319. 381. Lloyd ibid. See p. 282. and Preface, p. lix.

^l Preface, p. lxi. Lloyd ibid. ch. 1. §. 6. p. 22.

^m Archæolog. vol. 5. p. 272. Camden. ibid. pp. 77. 86. 653. vol. 1. pp. lxxxv. xc. vol. 3. p.

214. Hist. Gild. §. 19. p. 24. note 17. ed. 1838.

ⁿ Preface, p. xxxvii.

^o Scotichron. lib. 3. cap. 10. p. 626. Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 607. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 318.

^p Hist. lib. 5. R. 41. p. 40. 2.

^q Appar. ad Hist. Scot. lib. 1. cap. 3. p. 11.

here names the Irish robbers." It is true, that Gildas before doth mention the Scots and Picts; but in this place he only speaks of the Irish and the Picts, which is an argument on the other side. For either the Scots had no share in these last incursions, or they must be comprehended under the name of Irish, having then no settled habitations elsewhere but in Ireland. But there is one passage in ^r Gildas which seems to imply "that it was their custom to inhabit this country," but "solito more" being there used, and they being then supposed out of Britain, the word 'inhabit' can only imply making a longer stay here, as they were wont to do when they had success. For their coming is described, like that of the Buccaneers in the West Indies, and their stay was as they liked their entertainment.

From this time ^s Gildas only mentions the vices and the fears, and another great plague among the Britons, before he comes to that "pernicious counsel," as he calls it, "for sending for the Saxons by Vortigern."

But before I speak of that, while we are upon this head of the Britons being thus exposed to their enemies, it will be needful to inquire what that legionary assistance was which is mentioned in the *Notitia Imperii*, and at what time that was made; ^t for if the common opinion be true, that it was made after the time of Honorius, then Britain could not have been left so destitute of Roman assistance as Gildas and Bede say. For by that *Notitia*, here in Britain, under the ^u "dux

^r Gild. §. 20. p. 19. *Hist. Gild.* §. 20. p. 7. *Hist. Gild.* §. 22. p. 29. See Preface, p. lx. and note for references.

^s Camden. *ibid.* p. 77. vol. 1. p. lxxxvi. *Usser. de Primord. cap.* 12. p. 373. *Brit. Eccles. Antiq.* p. 200. *Lloyd ibid.* §. 7. p. 25.

^t See ch. 4. p. 215. note ⁿ.

Camden. ibid. p. 53. vol. 1. p. lvi. *Horsley's Britannia Romana*, b. 3. chap. 3. p. 472, contains "An Essay on the *Notitia*, so far as it relates to Britain."

^u *Panciroll. Notitia Imper.* pp. 176 b. 177, &c. *Labbe Notitia Dignitatum Imper.* p. 116. *Camden. ibid.*

Britanniarum" (^x who seems to have swallowed up the power of the "comes Britanniae," whose bare title is still left in the Notitia) there was the prefect of the sixth legion at York, ^y of the Dalmatian horse at Præsidium, i. e. Warwick, probably first built in the time of Didius Gallus against the Silures, and so continued its name after, as being a convenient station to keep under the provincial Britons; of the Caspian horse at Danum, (Doncaster;) of the Cataphractarii at Morbium, (Moresby in Cumberland;) and so of others, at Albeia (Ireby in the same county), at Dictum (Diganwy in Caernarvonshire), at Concangii (Kendal in Westmoreland), at Lavatræ (Bowes in Richmondshire), at Verteræ 303 (Brough in Westmoreland), at Brovoniacum (Brougham in the same county), at Maglona (Machynleth in Montgomeryshire), at Magi (old Radnor), at Longovicum (Lanchester in the bishopric of Durham), at Derventio (Aldby in Yorkshire); ^z and besides these, there were many cohorts disposed "per lineam valli," along the wall, as at Segedunum (Seton or Seghill in Northumberland), Pons Ælii (Ponteland in the same county), Condercum (Chester in the Street), Vindobala (Wallsend), Hunnum (Shewensheels), Cilurnum (Silchester in Muro), Procolitia (Prudhoe), Borcovicus (Berwick), Vindolana (Winchester), Æsica (Netherby on the Esk in Cumberland), Magna (Chester in the Wall), Amboglana (Ambleside in Westmoreland), Petrianæ (old Perith in Cumberland), Aballaba (Appleby in Westmoreland), Congavata (near Caldbeck in Cumberland), Axelodunum (Hexham in Northumberland), Gabrosen-

^x Panciroll. *ibid.* pp. 161 b. col. 1. 162. 177 a. col. 1. which compare with Camden. *ibid.* under the various stations.

^y Camden. *ibid.* p. 425. vol. 2. p. 328.

^z Panciroll. *ibid.* pp. 176 b. col. 2, &c. 177 b. col. 2, &c. which compare with Camden and Labbe, as before. Horsley's *Britannia Romana*, b. 1. chap. 7. p. 98.

tum (Gateshead by Newcastle), Tunnocelum (Tinmouth), Glanoventa (a place upon the Wensbeck, saith our learned ^a antiquary, whose judgment in the other I have followed, some miles within the wall); Alione (upon the river Alne in Cumberland), Brementuracum (Brampton in the same county), Olenacum (Ellenborough in the same), Virosidum (Warwick on the Eden). Now if all the military forces lay here so near to the wall, after the time of Honorius, how came the Britons to have been in such distress? But we have no certainty when this Notitia was made. If it were, as ^b Pancirol conjectures, in the latter end of Theodosius the younger, about A. D. 445, then all these Roman forces were certainly withdrawn; and any new supplies denied by Aetius in the twenty-third of Theodosius; therefore this Notitia must relate to the Roman settlement here, before the time that ^c Maximus carried over the Roman legions, which never returned to that station which they had before. And although the title seems to imply that it extended beyond the times of Arcadius and Honorius; yet it cannot be understood of what then was, but of what had been in former times. For that the Britons had then no such forces among them is apparent by what hath been said already.

304 I now come to that fatal counsel of sending for the Saxons to come to their assistance. It appears by ^d Gildas, that the Britons could come to no settlement

^a Camden. Brit. p. 669. vol. 3. p. 237.

^b Panciroll. Præfat. in Notit. Imper. p. 2. col. 2. Camden. ibid p. 652. vol. 3. p. 213, which compare with the Additions to Camden. ibid. vol. 3 pp. 196. 255. note ^u, where the writer agrees with bishop Stillingfleet.

^c See p. 287 b.

^d Gild. §. 19, 20, 21, 23. p. 18. Hist. Gild. §. 19-23. p. 6. Hist. Gild. §. 21, 22, 23. p. 27. Camden. ibid. p. 78. vol. 1. p. lxxxvi. Usser. de Primord. cap. 12. p. 373. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 201. Stillingfleet's Works, vol. 1. p. 8. and p. 318. of this chapter.

among themselves. For, saith he, “they anointed kings, not according to the will of God, but such as were more fierce and cruel than others, and not long after they without examination took them off, and set up worse than they. If any one was more gentle and a lover of truth, he was the most hated and maligned, as a betrayer of his country, they minded not what was pleasing or displeasing to God; or rather the latter was more pleasing to them. They acted still contrary to their own interest, and there was an universal degeneracy of manners in all sorts of men; and those who should have given the best examples, their priests and teachers, were as bad as others; excessive drinking, heats and animosities, contentions and divisions, envy and oppression, were then so prevailing, that they seemed to have lost all judgment of good and evil; so that then,” he saith, “the saying of the psalmist was fulfilled, ‘He poureth contempt upon princes, and causeth them to wander in the wilderness, where there is no way.’^e And when neither fear of their enemies nor the judgments of God in a raging pestilence would do them good, then their iniquities,” saith he, “growing full, like the Amorites, they fell into consultation, what was best for them to do against their enemies’ incursions, and they all agreed to invite the Saxons over to assist them.” Upon which he breaks out into a strange^f admiration of that “stupidity and infatuation which the Britons were then under, to call in a nation to help them whom they dreaded worse than death.”

For the^g Saxons had been terrible for some time be-

^e Gild. *ibid.* Usser. de *Primord.* cap. 12. p. 387. Brit. *Eccles. Antiq.* p. 207.

^f Gild. *ibid.* Usser. de *Primord.* cap. 11. p. 336. Brit. *Eccles.*

Antiq. p. 181. Lloyd *ibid.* p. 26. See ch. 4. p. 209.

^g Usser. *ibid.* Lloyd *ibid.* See ch. 2. p. 64. ch. 3. p. 89. ch. 4. p. 209.

fore to the British nation ; which was the occasion of calling the shore on both sides the “ Saxon shore,” and setting up such an admiral here by the Romans, who was called ^h“ comes litoris Saxon’ per Britanniam.” Which shews that the Saxons were then very well known for their great ⁱ piracies, and had been so from the time of Carausius : for then, ^j Eutropius saith, “ he was employed to scour the seas from the Franks and Saxons who were very troublesome.” It appears by 305 ^k Tacitus, “ that Gannascus, with the Chauca, did, in Claudius’s time, infest the Gallican shore with piracy.” ^l Zosimus saith, “ that the Saxons, who were the stoutest of all the barbarous nations, sent out the Quadi, a part of their own people, into the Roman territories.” By these ‘Quadi’ ^m Cluverius and ⁿ Bucherius understand the ‘Cauchi.’ But ^oarchbishop Usher shews, “ that these were neither the Quadi nor the Cauchi, but the Chamavi, from Eunapius, whom Zosimus transcribes, and from Julian himself.” But from hence it appears, that the Chamavi were then accounted a part of the Saxons, who, according to ^p Cluverius, there lived near the river Amisia, a great way on this side the Elbe or the Weser ; and Eunapius places them “ not far from the Rhine.” However, this proves, that the name of ‘Saxons’ then comprehended nations of other denomi-

^h Panciroll. Notit. Imper. p. 161. See Camden. *ibid.* as in ch. 2. p. 64. note p.

ⁱ See Camden. *ibid.* p. 95. vol. 1. p. civ.

^j Eutrop. lib. 9. cap. 19. p. 125. inter Roman. Script. Usser. de Primord. cap. 12. p. 399. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 215. See ch. 2. p. 72.

^k Tacit. Annal. lib. 11. cap. 19. inter Oper. tom. 2. p. 19.

^l Zosim. lib. 3. inter Sylburg.

Roman. Hist. Script. Græc. Minor. tom. 3. p. 707. For this and the following note, see the references in note ^o. Camden. *ibid.* p. 95. vol. 1. p. civ.

^m Germ. Antiq. lib. 3. cap. 18. p. 574, &c. cap. 31. p. 616, &c.

ⁿ Belg. Roman. lib. 7. cap. 5. n. 4. p. 222.

^o Primord. cap. 12. p. 399. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 215.

^p Germ. lib. 3. cap. 14. p. 553. &c.

nations. But, to make this out, we are to consider, that Zosimus saith, “that in the time of Constantius three German nations brake forth as it were at once on the Roman empire; the Franks, the Alemanni and the Saxons; and had taken and destroyed forty cities on the Rhine.” And ^q St. Jerome mentions the Franks, as lying between the Alemanni and the Saxons. “These three,” as ^r Beatus Rhenanus observes, “comprehended the several nations of Germany;” and, as the late learned bishop of ^s Munster saith, “the Saxons was a name belonging to different, but neighbour nations, which joined together upon a common interest.” And, not improbably, had their name at first from the short swords they did commonly wear called Sachs; as the Quirites had their name from Quiris, a sort of spear; and the Scythians, from Scytten, ‘to shoot with a bow.’ ^t Witikindus first mentions this etymology, which is followed by others; but ^u Reinerus Reineccius and ^v Gryphiander do much more incline to another derivation, viz. from Sassen, which in the German tongue is the same with ‘natives’ or ‘inhabitants;’ and which in the modern Saxon is Saten; as Gross is Grote; and so Holsati are the same with Holt-saten, ‘men that lived in woods.’ But why this, which was common to other Germans, should give a particular denomination to one sort, is not so easy to apprehend: but Tacitus, speaking of some of the northern Germans, saith, “that the com-³⁰⁶mon badges of them are round shields and short

^q Hier. Vit. Hil. in Oper. tom. 4. part. 2. col. 81. Usser. de Primord. pag. om. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. cap. 13. p. 210. not. *.

^r Rer. Germ. lib. 1. pp. 55. 99.

^s Monument. Paderbornens. p. 91.

^t Witikind. de Sax. lib. 1. in Meibom. ibid. tom. 1. p. 630. et not. p. 667.

^u Reiner. Reinec. Comment. de Sax. Orig. p. 9.

^v De Weichbild. Sax. cap. 70. n. 5. p. 249.

swords:" and "the arms of Saxony to this day," as ^w Pontanus observes, "are two short swords across." As to those who derive the Saxons from the Sacæ of Asia, as though they were Sacasones; although there be persons of great name who embrace that opinion (among whom our ^x Mr. Camden is one), yet I think it no more probable, than that the Germans are derived from the ploughmen of Persia, some whereof, Herodotus saith, were called 'Germanii.' For a bare similitude of names is no sufficient ground to judge of the affinity of people; nor the agreement of some words, as in the German and Persian languages (which Mr. Camden insists on) to conclude the people of the same original: unless there be a probable account withal given, how they came to be propagated from each other, i. e. how the Persian Germans came into these parts; and how the Sacæ left their own country to people Saxony. But under this name of Saxons, not only those who originally had that name, but all those who joined with them, were comprehended. And it is observable, that not one of the three names of the German nations then in use was known in Tacitus's time. The Alemanni are first spoken of by ^y Spartianus, in the Life of Caracalla; and, as ^z Agathias saith from Asinius Quadratus, "they were an association of many people together under that name," as the word imports. The name of Franks was first known in the time of ^a Aurelian, and took in several of the old German names, the Sicambri, Chatti, Tencteri, and many others; thence ^b St. Jerome saith,

^w Orig. Franc. lib. 2. cap. 2. p. 95.

^x Brit. p. 92. vol. 1. p. ci. from whence Stillingfleet has derived much of his present matter.

^y Vit. Caracal. p. 89. inter Hist. August. Script.

^z De Imper. et Rebus Gestis Justin. lib. 1. p. 17. Camden. ibid. p. 89. vol. 1. p. xcvi.

^a Vopisc. in Aurel. p. 211. inter Hist. August. Script.

^b Hier. in Vit. Hilar. See p. 305. note 9.

that France was that which historians called Germany ; and so the Saxons was a general name for the northern Germans, who chiefly lived upon the sea-shore, from the Ems to the Weser and Elbe, as far as the Eyder, unto the Cimbric Chersonese, that had peculiar appellations. For although the testimony of ^c Ptolemy be commonly produced for the Saxons living on the back of the Cimbric Chersonese, yet Mr. Selden's MS. in both places leaves out the Σ, and Capnio, as ^d Cisnerus observes, contends, it ought to be read "Αξοῖες. But I lay no weight upon this. But it is certain, that the people in Tacitus's time were called ' Fosi,' who lived ³⁰⁷ in the place where the Saxons are supposed to have been. ^e Cluverius makes a very unhappy conjecture, that ' Fosi,' in Tacitus, was corrupted, for ' Sasoni ;' because they lived in Holstein, and about Sleswick : but it is far more probable, that the name of Saxons was then generally assumed by the northern Germans when they joined their forces together, and resolved to make some expeditions abroad, as the Franks and Alemanni had done. Which they did with so great success, that ^f Zosimus saith, " in the time of Julian they went down the Rhine, and drove out the Salii, a nation of the Franks, out of the island of the Batavi." But it seems very probable, ^g that the Saxons had placed themselves near the sea-shore, from the time of Diocletian, when Carausius was employed against them. ^h Orosius de-

^c Geogr. lib. 2. in Bert. Theatr. Geogr. Vet. tom. 1. p. 59. Vide Usser. de Primord. cap. 12. p. 392. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 209. Camden. ibid. p. 93. vol. 1. p. ci. note H.

^d Præf. p. 5. ad Krantz. Sax. Vide Camden. ibid.

^e Germ. Antiq. lib. 3. cap. 21.

p. 588.

^f Zosim. lib. 3. inter Sylburg. Roman. Hist. Script. Græc. Minor. tom. 3. p. 707. Usser. de Primord. cap. 12. p. 399. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 215.

^g Camden. ibid.

^h Hist. lib. 7. cap. 32. p. 549.

scribes them as a people living on the sea-shore; and so do Isidore and Paulus Diaconus after him. Ammi-
 anus ⁱ Marcellinus mentions them, as “bordering, in
 Valentinian’s time, on the parts of Gaul as well as the
 Franks.”

But about this point our two learned antiquaries
 differ. ^k Camden saith, “that the Saxons originally
 came from the Cimbric Chersonese, in the time of
 Diocletian; and after passing the Elbe, they partly
 went into those parts of the Suevi, which are since
 called Saxony, and partly into Frisia and Batavia;
 from whence,” he saith, “all the inhabitants of the
 German shore, who used piracy at sea, were called
 Saxons:” by which he understands the people from
 Jutland to Holland. For which he produces the testi-
 mony of Fabius Ethelwerd, of the royal blood of the
 Saxons; ^l who saith, “that the Saxons lived upon the
 sea-coasts, from the Rhine as far as Denmark.” But
 archbishop ^m Usher will not allow, “that the Saxons
 had seated themselves upon those coasts then, but only
 that they did exercise their piracies along them.” He
 grants, “that before Bede’s time, the Saxons took pos-
 session of the places quitted by the Franks, when they
 went into Gaul, and not only inhabited on the coast
 between the Elbe and the Rhine, but in the inner parts
 of the country;” but he denies, “that this was before
 the Saxons’ coming into Britain.” But then Fabius
 Ethelwerd did not understand where his countrymen
 308 lived before they came into Britain. And if the
 Saxons in Valentinian’s time were still only in the

ⁱ Amm. Marcel. *ibid.* lib. 27.
 cap. 8. p. 383. Usher. *de Pri-
 mord.* cap. 12. p. 393. *Brit.
 Eccles. Antiq.* p. 210. Camden.
ibid. p. 55. vol. 1. p. lviii.

^k *Brit.* p. 93. vol. 1. p. ci.

Usher. *ibid.* as in ⁿ note ^m below.

^l Usher. *ibid.* Camden. *ibid.*
 p. 93. vol. 1. p. cii.

^m *Primord.* cap. 12. p. 399.
Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 215.

Cimbric Chersonese, how comes Ammianus Marcellinus to make them to border upon the parts of Gaul? Are either Jutland, or Holstein, or Sleswick, or any of those countries contiguous to Gaul? Yet his words are, “Gallicanos tractus Franci et Saxones iisdem confines,” &c.; which that it is not to be understood that the Saxons were neighbours to the Franks, but that the Franks and Saxons then bordered upon the Gauls, will appear from hence; the Franks were then in Taxandria, as is plain by ⁿ Ammianus’s words, in the time of Julian, and in Batavia; and withal, ^o Zosimus speaks of the Salii, who were undoubtedly Franks, “being driven out of the island of the Batavi, by some of the Saxons.” And this was no incursion of the Franks; for Ammianus Marcellinus saith, “they did there fix their habitations.” And the Chamavi, whom he makes a part of the Saxons, had that command of the Rhine, that Julian made peace with them, “because without their leave, corn could not be brought out of Britain;” as ^p Eunapius Sardianus saith. And so ^q Libanius and ^r Zosimus say, “that Julian took greater care for the transporting corn out of Britain, as had been accustomed, by building more ships on the Rhine for that purpose.” And ^s Ammianus Marcellinus saith, “he built granaries instead of those which were burnt.” Such a one the “Arx Britannica,” in the mouth of the Rhine, was made from a magazine, and thence probably, saith ^t Camden,

ⁿ Lib. 17. cap. 8. p. 132.

^o See p. 307. and note f. Camden. p. 852. vol. 3. p. 746.

^p Excerpt. Legat. p. 15. in Histor. Byzantin.

^q Orat. Fun. inter Oper. tom. 2. p. 280.

^r Zos. lib. 3. inter Sylburgii Roman. Histor. Scriptor. Græc.

Minor. tom. 3. p. 706. Vide Musgrav. Antiq. Brit. Belgicarum, vol. 4. p. 17.

^s Ibid. lib. 18. cap. 2. p. 145. Camden. *ibid.*

^t Brit. p. 852. vol. 3. p. 746. compared with p. 29. vol. 1. p. xxx. and note F.

had its name, “because the corn was conveyed thither out of Britain.” From thence it follows, that the Saxons, so early as Julian’s time, had the command of the Rhine. For, whether these were the Chauci, the Quadi, or the Chamavi; yet Zosimus saith, “that they were a people of the Saxons.” But it may be said, “that this was only a sudden incursion, and that they were driven out again by the Roman forces.” So indeed Zosimus and Julian relate it; but how then come the Saxons in Valentinian’s time to border still upon Gaul? So that, if they were driven out by Julian, they quickly returned, and fixed their habitations by the sea, as the Salii, who were Franks, did in Taxandria, which was more within land; and where, 309 as ^u Godfrey Wendelin hath endeavoured to prove, “the Salic law was first made.” Which Taxandria, according to him, was bounded by the Maese on the east and north, by the Dermer on the south, and by the Scheld on the west: and here, upon submission, the Franks were permitted to live. And this was thenceforward called ^v Francia Minor: and he mentions a place there still called Vranrijek, the Kingdom of France, (but a very small one;) and others called Seilberg, the Mountain of the Salii; Seלבendens, the Salian Meadows; Seleheim, the House of the Salii. ^w But the other Franks being by Stilicho’s means driven out of their possessions beyond the Rhine, they came into the parts about Tongres, near to Taxandria, and there joined in one body, and set up kings among themselves, as he shews from Gregorius Turonensis, and then they made that body of laws, called ‘the Salic laws.’ But to return to the Saxons.

^u Natale Solum Legum Salic.
cap. 8, p. 79, &c.

^v Ibid. cap. 11. p. 91.

^w Ibid. cap. 13. p. 94.

^x Ubbo Emmius, a learned and judicious historian, gives this account of the Saxons and their neighbour nations, who inhabited on the northern parts of Germany. The Frisii dwelt from the middle stream of the Rhine, about Utrecht, to the river Amasus (Ems); from thence to the Elbe lived the Chauci, divided into the greater and lesser by the Weser: a great part of these, leaving their native soil, joined with the Sicambri on the Rhine, who, from their affecting liberty, were called Franks. Beyond the Elbe were the Saxons and the Cimbri; these Saxons, being pressed by the more northern people, or for their own conveniency, came southwards, and took possession first of those places where the Chauci dwelt; and by degrees prevailing, all the other people, who joined with or submitted to the Saxons, ^y were called by their name. And among the rest the Frisii; from whose coasts he supposes the two brothers Hengist and Horsa to have gone into Britain; and, returning thither, carried over a far greater number with them, not so much to fight, as to inhabit there. He thinks it most probable, that Hengist and Horsa, by their descent, were originally Saxons; but that the greatest part of the people who went over with them were rather Frisians than Saxons; which he proves, not only from the greater facility of passage from the coasts of Friesland, and the testimony of their own annals, but from the ³¹⁰ greater agreement of the English language with theirs than with the Saxon, or any other German dialect. And because ^z Bede reckons the Frisians among those from whom the English are derived; and Wilfrid,

^x *Rer. Frisic. lib. 1. p. 5, &c.* -- 208. *Usser. de Primord. cap.*

^y *Ibid. lib. 3. p. 39, &c.* 12. p. 398. *Brit. Eccles. Antiq.*

^z *Ibid. lib. 5. cap. 10. (cap. 9, p. 215.*

10, 11. 19.) pp. 190—193. 204

Wickbert, Willibrord, preached to the Frisians in their own tongue, as ^a he proves from Marcellinus's life of Suidbert: and ^b Procopius reckons the Frisians among the inhabitants of Britain. But ^c he saith further, that the affinity of the languages continues still so very great, that from thence he concludes many more to have gone out of Friesland into Britain, than either of the Saxons, Jutes, or Angles.

But to all this our learned ^d primate answers, "that Hengist and Horsa might be true Frisians," there being a Frisia in the southern parts of Jutland, which ^e Saxo Grammaticus calls 'the lesser Frisia,' and is parted by the Eyder from the country of the Angli on the east, and of the Saxons on the south. But whatever ^f Suffridus Petrus, or such authors contend for, as to Hengist and Horsa being originally Frisians, Ubbo Emmius quits that point upon ^g Bede's genealogy, and grants they were Saxons: being the sons of Victgilsus, whose father was Vitta, the son of Vecta, whose father was Voden, of whose race the kings of many provinces are descended. It doth not seem at all probable, that these lived in the lesser Frisia, which is hardly taken notice of by any but by ^h Saxo Grammaticus; and ⁱ Pontanus tells us, "is not above four German miles in length upon the sea-shore."

^a Usser. de Primord. cap. 12. p. 399. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 216.

^b See p. 311. and note k.

^c Vide Usser. de Primord. cap. 12. p. 398. et not. e. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 215. and note ^a, as above.

^d Usser. de Primord. cap. 12. p. 397. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 214.

^e Usser. *ibid.*

^f Usser. de Primord. cap. 12. p. 396. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 214.

^g Hist. Eccles. lib. 1. cap. 15. p. 53. Usser. de Primord. c. 12. p. 390. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 208.

^h Hist. Danic. l. 14. p. 260. p. 406.

ⁱ Chorograph. Daniæ Descript. p. 657. ad fin. Rerum Danicar. Histor.

But suppose that Saxo comprehended Ditmarsh under it; yet we have no certainty that the colony of Frisians was removed thither before Hengist and Horsa came for Britain; and Helmoldus seems to imply that it was brought thither by Adolphus II. count of Holstein, about A. D. 1137. But the question is not concerning Hengist and Horsa, but the greater number of the people, which might be still of the greater Frisia; for which the affinity of the language is a considerable argument, which doth not depend merely upon the credit of Marcellinus's Life of Suidbert, but upon the probability of the thing. For since several English went thither to preach, and the affinity of the language continues so great still, it is a good argument³¹¹ to prove, either that the Frisians came over hither, or that the Frisian and Saxon languages were then the same. And ^kProcopius's testimony is not to be slighted, who places the Frisians in Britain; for, although he calls it Brettia, it is certain he means Great Britain, because he places the Angles together with the Frisians in it; so that he might as well question the Angles as the Frisians coming hither, if Procopius's authority signify any thing.

I know that our most learned ¹primate takes this Brettia for the island of the Batavi, because Joh. Leidenensis saith, "^m that upon the Saxons' invasion some of the Britons fled into Holland, and there, in the mouth of the Rhine, built that famous castle called Britton, and subdued the people thereabout." But

^k De Bello Goth. l. 4. c. 20. p. 419. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. in Oper. tom. 1. p. 620. Usser. p. 224.
^m Usser. de Primord. p. 418. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. ibid. See Camden. ibid. p. 94. vol. 1. p. 308. and Camden as quoted in note ^t.

¹ Usser. de Primord. cap. 12.

this seems to be very improbable, for any one that looks into the description of it, in ⁿ Scriverius's *Antiquitates Batavicæ*, will conclude it to have been a Roman work, which a person of his judgment could not but discern; but he saith, "it was possessed then by the Britons;" which depends wholly on the credit of this Joh. Gerbrandus of Leyden, who was a late writer, and of no great esteem with him, as appears by many passages in his book. But how came the Angles to live here with the Frisians and Britons? For that the same Gerbrandus is cited; who saith, "^o that when part of Hengist's army was driven out of Britain, they built the castle of Leyden." And so we have the Britons dwelling there, being driven out by the Saxons, and the Saxons driven out by the Britons, only to make this to be the island Brettia, in Procopius, distinct from Great Britain. But to proceed.

^p Adamus Bremensis, who lived near to Jutland, saith, "that the Saxons, who went over into Britain, lived near the Rhine." ^q Engelhusius, lately published out of MSS. by Maderus, and who lived in the lower Saxony, saith, "that Hengist and Horsa went out of Westphalia, from a place called Enghere, and instead of Engerschen, called themselves Engelschen." ^r Suffridus Petrus saith, "those people were called Angri-varii, and the country Angria, which was subdued by Udolphus, father to Hengist and Horsa, and prince of 312 Frisia; but their mother's name was Suana, daughter

ⁿ *Antiq. Batav. Tabul.* p. 171, &c. ad fin *Infer. German. Antiq.* Usser. *ibid.* as in note ^l.

^o Usser. *de Primord.* p. 419. *Brit. Eccles. Antiq.* p. 224. *Camden. ibid.* p. 93. vol. 1. p. cii.

^p *Hist. Eccles.* l. 1. c. 3. p. 6.

^q *Chron.* p. 111.

^r *De Orig. Fris.* lib. 2. c. 15. pp. 283—285. Usser. *de Primord.* cap. 12. p. 396. *Brit. Eccles. Antiq.* p. 214. See Preface, p. xix. for other matters, as related by Suffridus Petrus.

to Vetgistus, a great man about Hamburg^h.” If he suppose Hamburg then built, he was extremely mistaken; for it was only a castle erected on the Elbe, in the time of Charles the Great, for preventing the incursion of the Sclavi, as appears by the testimonies of ^s Eginhardus and ^t Albertus Stadensis. After which he built a city, and founded a church there, as Adamus Bremensis and Helmoldus agree; which city had its name from a neighbour wood, called in the Saxon, Hamme; as ^u Lambecius saith, in Ditmarsh there are two woods still called Suderhamme and Norderhamme. But to return to Suffridus. “When, according to custom,” saith he, “a colony of Frisians was to be drawn out, Hengist and Horsa were their captains, and so went for old England, or Anglen in Jutland, where they were kindly received, by means of Vetgistus, and from thence took the opportunity of coming into Britain.” From hence he finds fault with Krantzius, for making Angria in Westphalia to be Old Anglen; and saith, “that Bede only reckons the mother’s line, and not the father’s.” But his Occa Scarlensis, on whom he chiefly relies, is much such another author as Hunibaldus, or Geoffrey, or Hector’s Veremundus; and therefore I shall say no more of him. For, I perceive, scarce any of the northern nations wanted such authors, who endeavoured to supply the defect of their histories by their own inventions. So that it is necessary to lay open the pretended antiquities in order to the setting forth the true.

The late bishop of ^v Munster, a person of far greater judgment and learning than Suffridus Petrus, calls his Originals of the Saxons by no better a title than of

^s Annal. A.D. 810, 811. p. 256.
inter Histor. Francor. Scriptor.
Duchesn. tom. 2.

^t Chronicon. A.D. 810. p. 86. 1.

^u Orig. Hamburg. p. 13.

^v Monument. Paderborn. p. 88.

“canoræ nugæ, sounding trifles, having no foundation in good authority.” The account he gives of the Saxons is this, ^w that they at first lived beyond the Elbe, where they had the same situation with Tacitus’s Angli, whom he makes the farthest of the Suevi, and therefore might well be the same people; that in Bede’s time they were come on this side the Weser, and were settled in Westphalia; and so they made a threefold Saxony of the Ostphali, Angrivarii and Westphali, who were called Olt-Saxons by Bede and others.

313 Not that these were all originally Saxons; but they bore the same name, being united in one common league: so that as all the Germans which went into Gaul were called Franks, so those who prevailed in Germany and went into Britain were called Saxons.

But ^x Olaus Rudbeck, after all, hath found the seat of the Saxons more north than Jutland, where, saith he, “the name of the Saxons could never yet be found; and where are no mountains to be met with upon which Ptolemy places them on the back of the Cimbric Chersonese; but in that part of Sweden which lies between Vermelandia and Angermannia he hath found Norsaxen, and Sodersaxen, and Saxehundari, and Saxe-wall, and Saxen, &c. ^y And in Smaland he hath discovered many places taken from the Angles, as Anglested hundred, Angloridia, Anglodorpia, Engelbeck, &c.”

But for our better understanding the condition of that people who were called in by the Britons, it will be most material to consider what is said of them by those who descended from them, and lived here not long after their coming.

^w Ibid. p. 90, &c.

^y Ibid. cap. 24. §. 3. n. 36.

^x Atlant. part. 1. cap. 21. §. 1. p. 623.
n. 16. p. 529.

^z Bede, who was himself a Saxon, and lived nearest the time of the Saxons' coming hither, must be presumed to have understood best who they were, and whence they came. And although at the beginning he makes the Angles and Saxons all one, saying, the Angles or Saxons, being invited by king Vortigern, ^a came hither "in three keels or long boats at first;" yet when he adds, "that numbers came afterwards," he then distinguisheth them into "three distinct sorts of people," viz. the Saxons, Angles and Jutes. The Saxons, he saith, "came from that place which was then called Saxony; the Angles, from the country called Angulus, which remained desert to this day, and lay between the provinces of the Jutes and Saxons." And much to the same purpose ^b Fabius Ethelwerd; only he saith, "that they came 'de Saxonia, Anglia atque Giota.'" Saxony, he saith, "was then called 'Ealdsexe;'" and for ^c Anglia, he saith, "it lay between the Saxons and the Gioti," whose chief town in the Saxon tongue was called Sleswick, and by the Danes, Haithaby. But, by this account, all these people who came hither to assist the Britons, and after conquered them, and possessed their land, must come ³¹⁴ out of that Chersonese called Jutland, taking it in the largest extent, not only to the Eyder, but from the Eyder to the Elbe. For if the Angli came from about Sleswick, and lay between the Jutes and the old Saxons;

^z Lib. 1. cap. 15. p. 52. Usser. de Primord. cap. 12. pp. 405. 392. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. pp. 218. 209. Camden. *ibid.* p. 93. vol. 1. p. cii.

^a Usser. de Primord. cap. 12. p. 408. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 220, with the following pages. Lewis's History and Anti-

quities of the Isle of Tenet, pp. 9. 28. Gunn, in his note 71. on Nennius, p. 151.

^b Ethelw. lib. 1. p. 833. inter Rer. Angl. Script. post Bedam præcip. Camden. *ibid.*

^c Usser. de Primord. cap. 12. p. 392. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 209. Camden. *ibid.*

then the Jutes possessed all that part of the Chersonese which is now called the Northern Jutland; and the Southern Jutland takes within it all that was possessed by the Angli, which reached no further than between Sleswick and Flensburgh, which in the modern maps is still called Angelen; ^d and so the country lying between the Elbe and the Eyder, comprehending Holstein, Ditmarsh, and Stormar, must be the seat of the old Saxons: which by ^eAdamus Bremensis and ^fHelmoldus is called Nortalbingia; and by ^gEginhartus, Saxonia Transalbiana; by ^hAlbertus Stadensis, Transalbia; where the Saxons remained in so great numbers, that Charles the Great could not totally subdue them till after a war of above thirty years, as the forementioned authors assure us. And ⁱEginhartus, whose authority is unquestionable, saith, “that Charles had no war more tedious or more fierce than that which he had with the Saxons; and in the conclusion of it he was forced to remove ten thousand Saxons on both sides the river Elbe, and to disperse them in several parts of the empire.” And as to that part of Jutland which Bede saith “was left desolate to his time upon the remove of the Angli,” ^kAdamus Bremensis gives another reason for it, saying, “that Jutland was the most uncultivated part of all Germany, and the least fit for human habitation, being so barren and unfruitful, and so obnoxious to pirates from both seas.” But since the

^d Usser. de Primord. cap. 12. p. 392. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 209.

^e Hist. Eccles. lib. 2. cap. 8. p. 45. Vide Usser. de Primord. cap. 12. p. 392. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 210.

^f Hist. Slavic. lib. 1. cap. 5. p. 19. Usser. de Primord. p. 393. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 210.

^g Annal. A. D. 785. p. 243. inter Hist. Franc. Script. Duchesn. tom. 2. Vide Usser. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. ibid.

^h Chron. A. D. 785. p. 80. 2.

ⁱ Vit. Carol. p. 96. inter Hist. Franc. Script. Duchesn. tom. 2.

^k De Situ Daniæ, in Hist. Eccles. p. 131.

Saxons, Angles and Jutes, coming into Britain, took possession of so great a part of it, as ¹our historians tell us, viz. “ the Jutes, Kent, the Isle of Wight and part of Hampshire; the Saxons, Sussex, Essex, Middlesex, the south part of Hertfordshire, Surrey, the other part of Hampshire, Berkshire, Wiltshire, Dorsetshire, Somersetshire, Devonshire, and part of Cornwall; the Angles, Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridge, the midland and northern counties;” it deserves to be considered whether, since there were so few inhabitants then in Jutland and so many Saxons left behind, there be not far greater probability that these should come from all the maritime coasts from the Rhine to Jutland, than merely out of such an unpeopled country as that was. I do not deny the distinction of people that Bede mentions, nor their coming originally out of Jutland, or rather through Jutland: but I think, all circumstances considered, it is more probable that the Saxons, before that time, were come nearer to the Rhine, and so had greater conveniency of removing themselves over in such great numbers into Britain, as they did upon Vortigern’s invitation, and the discontents which soon happened between the Saxons and the Britons.

And it is observable, that those who enlarge the bounds of the Saxons do take notice of a difference in their situation agreeable to what Bede saith; for ^mReinerus Reineccius, a learned German antiquary, saith, “ the Saxons were divided into three sorts:” the Ostvali, or the Eastern Saxons, whom the old Saxon poet calls ‘ Osterlingi,’ “ whose limits extended,” he saith, “ as far as the Sclavi,” i. e. beyond the river Elbe: the Westvali, whose bounds, he saith, “ came very near the Rhine:”

¹ Usser. de Primord. cap. 12. vol. 1. p. cxxx.
 p. 393. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. ^m Comment. de Sax. Orig.
 p. 210. Camden. ibid. p. 113. p. 11.

and between these, he saith, were the 'Angarii,' just as Bede puts his Angli between the Jutes and the Saxons.

Inter prædictos media regione morantur
Angarii, populus Saxonum tertius—

If this division of the Saxons be allowed, we have here scope enough for all those people to live in who came over into Britain, and number enough to come hither, and yet not to leave the places desolate whence they came. And it is not improbable that the northern nations thrusting one another forwards, for a greater conveniency of living, those Saxons who lived about Holstein might come into Westphalia, and so be nearest to the Rhine; the Angli came into the place where the Angrivarii are seated; and the most remote inhabitants of the Chersonese would then be the Osterlings, or the Eastern Saxons. This, upon the whole matter, seems to me the most probable way of reconciling what Bede saith with the circumstances of those times, and with the
316 Frisians coming in together with the Saxons, which he elsewhere expressly affirms, as is already shewed.

As to the ⁿ time of the Saxons coming into Britain, in the common printed copies of Bede, it is said to have been A.D. 409, and so it is in the late edition by Chiffletius, out of the old MS. of S. Maximin at Triers; but that cannot be true, because Martianus is said to be emperor at the same time. ^o But in the Chronology, at the end of that edition, it is said to have been A.D. 449, to which Mr. Wheloc's MS. agrees, and ^p Asserius Menevensis, in his Annals; which is followed by Fabius Ethelwerd, ^q the old Saxon Annals, William of Malmes-

ⁿ Bed. Hist. Eccles. lib. 1. p. 220.
cap. 15. p. 52. et not. 22. Usser.

^p Usser. ibid. et de Primord.
de Primord. cap. 12. p. 405. Addend. p. 1005.

Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 218. ^q Sax. Chron. A.D. 449. p. 14.

^o Bed. ibid. lib. 5. cap. 24. Ingram's edition.

bury, Henry Huntingdon, Matth. Westmister, and others. ^r Florentius Wigorniensis, who generally follows Marianus Scotus, places it in the following year; Valentinianus and Avienus, consuls; but, according to Marianus Scotus, in the Basil edition, they were consuls the year before Martianus was emperor, and he makes their coming in to have been when Herculanus and Asporatius were consuls, A.D. 453. But ^s archbishop Usher saith, “that appears by the Fasti to have been A.D. 452,” or the second of Martianus, by Cassiodore. Two characters of the time are certain; viz. that it was ^t after the third consulship of Aetius, and the death of Theodosius; and therefore it is to be wondered ^u Mr. Camden should so confidently affirm that it was before A. D. 449. But there are three things he goes upon which must be considered First, “that Vortigern’s death was before St. German’s return; but ^v St. German died A.D. 435. And therefore the coming in of the Saxons must be some time before.” As to ^x Vortigern’s death, before St. German’s return, he produces only the testimony of Nennius, who, in the affairs of Vortigern, doth romance so much, that even Geoffrey of Monmouth was ashamed to follow him. But as to the time of St. German’s death, there are very convincing arguments to prove Camden mistaken. ^y Honoratus, in the Life of Hilary, bishop of

^r Usser. de Primord. ibid. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 219.

^s Primord. cap. 12. p. 405. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 219.

^t Usser. de Primord. cap. 12. pp. 369. 404. Addend. p. 1028.

Brit. Eccles. Antiq. pp. 198. 218. c. 15. p. 319. See p. 300.

^u Brit. p. 95. vol. 1. p. ciii. where Camden has much more on this point, but incorrectly.

Usser. de Primord. cap. 11. p. 335. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 180.

^v Usser. de Primord. cap. 12. p. 382. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 204.

^x Usser. de Primord. cap. 12. p. 386. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 207.

^y Vincent. Bar. Chronolog. SS. Lerinens. Vit. p. 112. For this and the following note,

Arles, mentions St. German as present when Chelidonius was deposed by Hilary in his visitation; which^z Sirmondus placeth not without reason, A. D. 444, as appears by the epistle of Leo and the rescript of Valentinian upon Chelidonius's appeal, which bears date A. D. 445. But, which is yet more considerable, ^a Bede saith, "that after his second return he went on an embassy to Ravenna, and was there kindly received by Valentinian and Placidia, and there died;" and, not long after, Valentinian was killed in the sixth of Martianus: and therefore St. German's death could not be so soon as Mr. Camden supposeth. Add to this, that ^b Constantius, in his Life of St. German, saith, "that he sat thirty years after St. Amator in his see, who died A. D. 418." But the Sammarthani say A. D. 420.

^c As to the testimony of Prosper Tiro, who saith, "that Britain was brought under the power of the Saxons the eighteenth of Theodosius," it plainly contradicts Gildas; for this was before the third consulship of Aetius, which was five years after; and in matters of the British History Gildas certainly deserves the greater credit, supposing it were the true Prosper.

^d His last argument is from the calculation, at the end of Nennius, on which he lays the greatest weight; which makes their coming in to be when Felix and Taurus were consuls, which agrees with A. D. 428.

Usser. de Primord. cap. 12. p. 382. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 204. ch. 4. p. 190.

^z Sirmond. Concil. Gall. t. 1. p. 79.

^a Lib. 1. cap. 21. p. 58. ch. 4. p. 208.

^b Usser. de Primord. cap. 12.

p. 382. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 205. ch. 4. p. 209.

^c Camden. *ibid.* Usser. de Primord. cap. 12. p. 404. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 218.

^d Camden. *ibid.* Usser. de Primord. cap. 12. p. 401. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 216.

But this was near twenty years before the third consulship of Aetius, when the Britons were not yet in despair of assistance from the Romans; before which they never sought for the Saxons. And I confess the authority of Gildas and Bede, with the series of the British and Roman affairs at that time, sway much more with me than such an anonymous calculation.

It is a strange mistake of ^e Hadrianus Valesius, to make Vortigern “king of the Angles, who were hired to assist the Britons;” but the ambiguity of the words in ^f Paulus Diaconus seems to have been the occasion of it: which had been easily prevented by looking into Bede: and so had another mistake in the same place, viz. “that only the Angles, and not the Saxons, were invited over:” for ^g Bede saith expressly, “that the Britons, with their king Vortigern, agreed to send for the Saxons.” But it is a third mistake, when he saith, “that the Saxons before this time had a part of the island near to the Picts;” which he proves from the words of ^h Constantius as to their joining with the Picts in one of their battles. But the Saxons did³¹⁸ frequently make incursions before, and in one of them might join with the other enemies of the Britons, which is a very different thing from inhabiting in any part of the island, which we have no evidence that they did, till they were called in by the Britons.

ⁱ The Saxons having received such an invitation from the Britons were unwilling to let slip so fair an opportunity of coming into that land, by the consent of

^e Rer. Franc. lib. 3. p. 143.

^f Hist. lib. 14. p. 418. Usser. de Primord. cap. 12. p. 408. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 220.

^g Bed. *ibid.* lib. 1. cap. 14. p. 52, &c. Usser. de Primord. cap. 12. p. 388. Brit. Eccles.

Antiq. p. 207.

^h Usser. de Primord. cap. 11. p. 332. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 179. ch. 4. p. 209.

ⁱ P. 304. and note d. Camden. *ibid.* p. 91. vol. 1. p. c.

prince and people, whose shores they had so long infested. ^k Bede saith, “there was a particular providence of God in it, to make them the scourges of the people’s wickedness.” ^l Gildas imputes it to “mere sottishness and infatuation.” ^m Nennius intimates some domestic fear that was the occasion of Vortigern’s sending for the Saxons, as well as that of their common enemies; i. e. he was very apprehensive of a sudden rising of the Roman party yet left in the island, and of Ambrosius. But he leaves it wholly in the dark who this Ambrosius was, and what cause Vortigern had to be afraid of him. ⁿ Gildas speaks of Ambrosius Aurelianus, as of “a modest man, and as almost the only person of the Roman nation then surviving, whose parents were killed enjoying the purple, and whose posterity was living in Gildas’s time, but much degenerated from the virtues of their ancestors.” This is the only passage which gives us any light into this matter, which is repeated by ^o Bede, who more plainly saith, “that his parents had royal authority, and were killed.” Who these parents of his were, we are left only to conjecture. The ^p British History would clear the matter, if it deserved credit, for there we read, “that Aurelius Ambrosius was one of the younger sons of Constantine, king of Britain, who was forced to fly

^k Lib. 1. cap. 14. p. 52.

^l Gild. §. 23. p. 20. Hist. Gild. §. 23. p. 7. Hist. Gild. §. 23. p. 30. Usser. de Primord. cap. 11. p. 336. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 181. See p. 304.

^m Nenn. c. 28. p. 105. §. 31. p. 24. Usser. de Primord. cap. 13. p. 446. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 239. Camden. ibid. p. 77. vol. 1. p. lxxxv. and as in note ⁱ above. See p. 327.

ⁿ Gild. §. 25. p. 22. 2. §. 25.

p. 33. Usser. ibid. Camden. ibid. as in following note.

^o Lib. 1. cap. 16. p. 53. Usser. ibid. et not. *. De Primord. p. 448. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 240. Camden. ibid. p. 184. vol. 1. p. 93.

^p Galf. lib. 2 cap. 6. p. 45. ed. 1517. Vide Usser. de Primord. cap. 5. p. 67. cap. 12. p. 373. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. pp. 37. 200. Gunn’s note 28. p. 119. in his edition of Nennius.

from Vortigern after the murder of their brother Constans by his contrivance." But we know that Constantine and his sons, Constans and Julian, were killed abroad; and it is not probable the Romans would have permitted any one of his sons to have remained here; or, if they did, this Ambrosius must have been of ripe years for government long before this time. For Constantine's life was taken away when Theodosius was IVth consul, as Idatius and Marcellinus agree, A. D. 411. So that Ambrosius could not be very young when 319 Vortigern took the government, in whose fourth year, they say, "the Saxons were called in." But there is another passage in Gildas which helps to explain this: for he saith, ^q "that after they found themselves deserted by the Romans, they set up kings of their own, and soon after put them down again, and made choice of worse in their room;" this setting up of kings he expresses by their being anointed; whether that custom were then used or not, it is plain that he supposes that the Britons, in that confusion they were in, took upon them, without regard to their duty, to place and displace them. But that he takes 'anointing' in a metaphorical sense appears by what follows, "that the anointers were those who destroyed them." Among these in all probability was the father of Ambrosius, and the rather, because it is said "he was of Roman descent:" for the Britons thought none then able to defend them that had not a Roman spirit in him. ^r At this time the Britons were left to their full liberty by the Roman empire, which, as ^s Bede reckons, "had the dominion here for four hundred and seventy years;"

^q Usser. de Primord. cap. 12. p. 600. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 313. See p. 294. note d. Lloyd Camden. ibid. p. 78. vol. 1. p. lxxxvi. See p. 304. ibid. ch. 2. §. 6. p. 66. Camden. ibid. p. 60. vol. 1. p. lxiii.

^r Usser. de Primord. cap. 15.

^s Lib. 1. cap. 11. p. 49.

and then there was no line remaining to succeed in the government, nor so much as to determine their choice, which made them so easily to make and unmake their kings, who lost their purple and their lives together. This must needs breed infinite confusions among them; and every one who came to be king lived in perpetual fear of being served as others had been before him; and the natural consequence of this jealousy of their own subjects was, looking out for assistance from abroad, which I doubt not was one great reason of Vortigern's sending for the Saxons, hoping to secure himself by their means against his own people: although it proved at last the ruin both of himself and his people. But this jealousy could not but increase upon them, while there was a person descended from a former king, and of Roman parentage in being; so that Nennius seems to have hit upon one of the main reasons which swayed Vortigern to send for the Saxons.

† Some have gone about to defend Vortigern so far as to say, “that he took the most prudent course he could for the benefit and security of his subjects, by 320 placing the Saxons upon the Picts' wall, and upon the Kentish shores, which were thought fit to be secured by the Romans.” But against whom? Was it not against these very Saxons? And is it the best way to secure the flock, to set the wolves to watch them? If they had the command of those shores, could not they let in what numbers they pleased of their own people to strengthen themselves against the Britons? And was this for the people's security? What success had there been in that age, in letting in the barbarous nations upon the several parts of the Roman empire? And what could be expected in such a condition as

† Taylor's Hist. of Gavelkind, p. 40.

the Britons were in, otherwise than what did happen, when a fierce, ungovernable, military people were called in to defend a nation so long kept under, and wholly almost unacquainted with the exercise of brutish valour, and inexperienced in the arts of war? especially when the air, situation, fruitfulness, and all sorts of conveniences, were so much above those of the country which they came from? So that Gildas seems to have a great deal of reason, when he attributes this act of Vortigern's, with a respect to the nation, to mere sottishness and infatuation.

^u Witikindus tells a formal story of a speech made by the British ambassadors to the Saxons, wherein they magnify the Saxons' courage, and lament their own miseries, and in short tell them, "if they would come and help them, their land and themselves would be at their service, for they knew none more worthy to command them, since the Romans had left them." But neither Bede nor Ethelwerd, although both Saxons, mention the least promise of submission; and it is apparent by their quarrel with the Britons afterwards, that they came as mercenary soldiers, upon promise of ^v pay. For ^w Gildas saith, "the first pretence of quarrelling was for greater allowance," which he calls their 'epimēnia,' and Bede, 'annonæ;' which shews upon what terms they came. And ^x Witikindus himself makes no other pretence for their rising against the Britons, but "that the country pleased them, and they found they were able to subdue the inhabitants." For

^u Witikind. *Annal.* l. 1. in Meibom. *ibid.* tom. 1. p. 630. *Usser. de Primord.* c. 12. p. 388. *Brit. Eccles. Antiq.* p. 208. *Camden. ibid.* p. 92. vol. 1. p. c.

^v Lloyd *ibid.* c. 1. §. 7. p. 27.

^w *Gild.* §. 23. p. 21. 1. *Hist.*

Gildæ, §. 23. p. 8. *Hist. Gildæ*, §. 23. p. 31. *Camden. ibid.* p. 78. vol. 1. p. lxxxvi. *Usser. de Primord.* cap. 12. p. 410. *Brit. Eccles. Antiq.* p. 221.

^x *Camden. ibid.* as in note ^u, above.

after Hengist and his company had tasted the sweetness of it, they never left wheedling that weak and
 321 vicious king (as all describe him) with fair promises, and necessity of more succours to secure himself and to defend his country, till they had by degrees got over strength enough to bid defiance to the Britons. At ^y first they seemed very zealous and hearty against their common enemies, and did great service in beating the Picts and Scots; insomuch that ^z Buchanan confesses, “they were driven beyond Hadrian’s wall;” and some think their king Eugenius was then killed. ^a Fordon saith, “they went into Albany, and brought away great booty from thence;” and confesses, “that he found in a certain history, that he was killed south of Humber, by the Britons and the English.” And it is easy to imagine how insolent such a barbarous people would grow upon their success, when they knew the Britons durst not oppose them. ^b Bede saith, “that they entered into a secret league with the Picts and the Scots, after they had beaten them, and then took occasion to quarrel with the Britons; only they still endeavoured to keep Vortigern firm to them.” To this purpose ^c Nennius tells the story of Hengist’s fair daughter Rovenia, and how Vortigern was ensnared by her, to the great dissatisfaction of the Britons. ^d Hector Boethius saith, “that Vodinus, bishop of London, was killed by Hengist, for reproving Vortigern for that marriage.” But we must not be too strict upon Hector, to put him to produce his vouchers.

^y Camden. *ibid.* Usser. *ibid.* contrary.
 Lloyd *ibid.*

^z Hist. l. 5. p. 42.

^a Scotchchron. lib. 3. cap. 13. p. 628.

^b Lib. 1. cap. 15. p. 53. Usser. *ibid.* See Lloyd *ibid.* to the

^c Nenn. c. 37. c. 36. p. 107. §. 37. p. 28. Gunn’s note 82. to his edition, p. 159. Camden. *ibid.* p. 230. vol. 1. p. 210.

^d Usser. de Primord. cap. 5. p. 68. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 37.

And the ^e British History adds, “that Hengist, being a subtle man, insinuated still into Vortigern that his own people did not love him, and that they would depose him, and set up Aurelius Ambrosius:” and by such arts they widened the distance between him and his people, when they designed nothing less than the destruction of both.

It is certain, by what Gildas and Bede have left, that these heats soon brake out into open flames, to the ruin and desolation of the country: but how the war began, and by what means it was first managed on the British side, is not so clear. But ^f Nennius saith, “that when Vortigern’s wickedness grew so great as to marry his own daughter, he was condemned in solemn council of the British nation, both clergy and laity, and upon the advice of his nobles he withdrew himself from affairs to a private castle.” But the ^g British History makes it worse, viz. “that the Britons ³²² forsook him, and set up his son Vortimer, who behaved himself with great courage and resolution against the Saxons;” and then reckons up “four battles, which he fought with them; ^h the first upon the Derwent; the second at Episford, or rather Aylesford; the third upon the sea-shore, when he drove them into their ships, and so home;” but the fourth is not mentioned. After which Geoffrey relates “Vortimer’s being poisoned by his mother-in-law, and the restoring of Vortigern, and his calling for the Saxons back again.” ⁱ Nennius

^e Galfrid. Monemut. *ibid.* l. 3. c. 1. p. 49. 2.

^f Nenn. cap. 39. cap. 38. p. 108. §. 39. p. 30. Vide Camden. *ibid.* p. 478. vol. 2. p. 465. See p. 324. note x. Gunn *ibid.* 94. p. 164.

^g Galfrid. Monemut. *ibid.* l. 3. c. 2. p. 48. 1. 2. 49. 1.

^h Usser. de Primord. cap. 12. p. 411. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 221.

ⁱ Nenn. cap. 45. p. 110. §. 43. p. 34. Usser. cap. 12. p. 413. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 222. Vide Camden. *ibid.* p. 234. vol. 1. p. 213.

speaks of Vortimer's fighting with Hengist and Horsa; and adds, "his success to have been so great, as to have driven them into the Isle of Thanet, and that there he besieged, and beat, and terrified them to that degree, that they sent into Germany for fresh succours, by which they were enabled to manage the war with various success against the Britons." ^k And then reckons up the three battles, just as Geoffrey doth; only the last, he saith, was upon the sea-shore, "juxta Lapidem Tituli;" a little after which, he saith, that Vortimer died, without any mention of poison: ^l but, he saith, "before his death he gave command to have his body buried on the sea-shore, where the Saxons fled, which was neglected;" and to which ^m Nennius imputes their return; "after which they could never be driven out; because," as he saith, "it was the Divine pleasure more than their own valour which made them settle here: and it is He that orders and rules the nations of the earth; and who can resist his will?" It is plain by all this, that Nennius consulted the honour of the British nation as much as it was possible, and nowhere useth that freedom which Gildas doth, in setting forth the great sins among them, which provoked God to punish them in so severe a manner.

The place where Vortimer desired to be buried is called by Nennius "Lapis Tituli;" from whence ⁿ Camden and archbishop ^o Usher conceive it to be Stonar, in the Isle of Thanet, near Richborough; but

^k Nenn. *ibid.* §. 44. p. 34. ed. 1838, as in notes ^l, ^m, ^o.
Gunn's note 102. *ibid.* p. 171.

^l Nenn. *ibid.* p. 36. Camden. *ibid.* p. 405. vol. 2. p. 228. Gunn's notes 103, 104. *ibid.* p. 172. See Lewis, as in note P

below, p. 192.

^m Nenn. *ibid.* §. 45. p. 36.

ⁿ Brit. p. 240. vol. 1. p. 217.

^o Primord. cap. 12. p. 413.

Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 223. See note 7, in Nenn. *ibid.* §. 44. p. 35. to the same effect.

Nennius saith only, "it was upon the shore of the French sea:" from whence ^pMr. Somner rather concludes it to be Folkstone in Kent, because of its lofty situation, whereas "Stonar lies in a low and flat level, apt to inundations." But then Nennius must have mistaken "Lapis Tituli" for "Lapis Populi;" and, I 323 dare say, Nennius was guilty of greater mistakes than that. But, he further observes, "that in the ancient records, the name is not Stonar, but Estonar, which signifies the eastern border, shore, or coast."

^q Matthew of Westminster gives this account of these proceedings: "That the British nobility, forsaking Vortigern, set up Vortimer, who, with their assistance, pursued the Saxons to Derwent, and there killed many of them:" which seems to have been Darent in Kent: thence Dartford, as ^rCamden observes, is the same with Darenford. But he makes Vortigern "to have fled away with the Saxon army, and to have given them all the assistance he could: and then," saith he, "Vortimer began to restore the Britons' possessions to them, and to rebuild their churches, and to shew kindness to the churchmen." The next year, he saith, "the Saxons fought again with the Britons at Aylesford; and after a sharp fight the Saxons fled, and great multitudes of them were slain: not long after, ^sVortimer, with his brothers Catigern and Pascentius, and the whole nation of the Britons made war with the Saxons, and in battle ^tCatigern was killed by Horsus, and Horsus by Vor-

^p Roman Ports and Forts in Kent MS. p. 96. See Additions to Camden, *ibid.* vol. 1. p. 241. Lewis's History and Antiquities of the Isle of Tenet, Preface, pp. iv. 190-193.

^q Mat. Westm. *ibid.* A. D. 454. p. 83. Usser. de Primord.

cap. 12. p. 411. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 222.

^r Brit. p. 233. vol. 1. p. 212.

^s See p. 330. and note ⁿ.

^t Usser. *ibid.* Camden. *ibid.* p. 234. vol. 1. p. 213, which compare with the Additions, p. 231. in the same volume.

timer, upon which the Saxon army fled. The next year," he saith, "Hengist fought three battles with Vortimer, and at last he was forced to go back into Germany; and four years after, Vortimer," saith he, "was poisoned, A. D. 460, and buried in London, and then Vortigern recalled the Saxons."

^u William of Malmesbury saith, "that the Britons and Saxons agreed for seven years after their landing, and then Vortimer, finding their deceit, incensed his father and the Britons against them; and so for twenty years there was continual war and light skirmishes, and four pitched battles. In the first he makes their fortune equal, Horsa being killed on one side, and Catigis on the other. ^vIn the rest, the Saxons being always superior, and Vortimer dead, a peace was made; and so the Britons' affairs went ill, till Ambrosius recovered them."

^w Henry of Huntingdon relates this story after a different manner: he tells us, "that Vortigern, after ³²⁴the marriage of Hengist's daughter, was so hated, that ^xhe withdrew to the mountains and woods, and that he and his castle were consumed together. After which ^yAmbrosius Aurelianus, with Vortigern's two sons, Vortimer and Catiger, fought the Saxons: and he makes the first battle at Ailestreu or Elstree, ^zthe next after Vortimer's death at ^aCreganford or Crayford, in which," he saith, "the Britons were quite beaten out of Kent; and from thence he begins the

^u De Gestis Reg. lib. 1. c. 1. p. 4. p. 9.

^v Usser. de Primord. cap. 13. p. 449. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 240.

^w Hist. lib. 2. p. 310. Usser. de Primord. cap. 12. p. 386. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 207.

^x See p. 321. note f.

^y Usser. de Primord. cap. 13. p. 447. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 239.

^z Usser. de Primord. pag. om. Brit. Eccl. Antiq. cap. 12. p. 227.

^a Camden. ibid. p. 233. vol. 1. p. 212.

Saxons' kingdom of Kent. The next," he saith, "was at ^b Wippedsfleet, which was so terrible on both sides, that from thence" he saith, "the Saxons and Britons did not disturb each other for a great while, they remaining within Kent, and the Britons quarrelling among themselves."

^c Florentius Wigorniensis therein differs from the rest, that he makes the battle at Ægelsthrep to have been between Vortigern and Hengist; but, he saith, after the battle at Creccanford, the Britons fled to London, and left Kent to the Saxons: wherein he follows the ^d Saxon Annals, ^e as he doth in the account of the two other battles; that at ^f Wippedsfleet, and that which he calls the great victory over the Britons by Hengist and Esca his son, which he places A. D. 473, when he saith, "the Britons fled from the Saxons as from fire."

^g Fabius Ethelwerd agrees with the Saxon Annals and Florentius in these particulars; and so doth ^h Asserius in his MSS. Annals, as to Vortigern's fighting with Hengist; wherein they very much differ from the British traditions: but after the translation of the British History by Geoffrey, the monkish historians generally follow that, as to the success of these battles, and as to the treachery used towards Vortigern by Hengist, upon Salisbury Plain, near Amesbury; where it is said by Geoffrey, that "the Saxons killed

^b Ibid. p. 240. vol. 1. p. 217.

^c Chronic. A. D. 455. p. 543. Usser. de Primord. cap. 12. p. 411. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 221.

^d Saxon Chronic. A. D. 455. 457. p. 15.

^e Ibid. A. D. 465. 473. p. 16.

^f Vide Usser. de Primord.

cap. 12. p. 415. not. *. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 228, where it is set down A. D. 465.

^g Chronic. lib. 1. p. 834. inter Rer. Anglic. Script. post Bedam præcip. Usser. de Primord. c. 12. p. 410. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 221.

^h Usser. ibid.

i 470 of the British nobility, under a pretence of a treaty of peace:” ^kNennius saith but 300, “and that ^lVortigern was then taken, and was forced to give Essex, Sussex and Middlesex for his redemption.”

This story passes for current among the monks and our late collectors of English history; and that which seems to add most weight to it is, that William of 325 Malmesbury relates it, but he reports it much as he found it in ^mNennius, only enlarging on the drinking part, that went before the massacre. But when I find the same story in effect in ⁿWitikindus, between the Saxons and the Thuringers, and the very same word given, “nem et eour seaxes,” ^oI am apt to think one was borrowed from the other. But I cannot but take notice of the disingenuity of ^pVerstegan, who lays this to the charge of the Thuringers; whereas Witikindus not only saith, “the Saxons did it,” but adds, “that the Saxons struck terror into their neighbours by it;” and saith, “^qthey were thought to have their name from it,” as Verstegan himself thinks; which were ridiculous, unless the seaxes belonged to the Saxons.

All the certainty we have as to the matter of the proceedings between the Britons and Saxons is what ^rGildas relates, which is very tragical; viz. “that all

i Vide Usser. de Primord. Addend. p. 1007. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. cap. 12. p. 228.

^k Nenn. cap. 49. cap. 48. p. 111. §. 46. p. 38. and notes 3. 5. Usser. de Primord. Addend. p. 1008. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. ibid.

^l Usser. de Primord. cap. 12. p. 415. Index Chronol. p. 1114. A.D. 462. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. cap. 12. p. 227. Index Chronol. p. 521. col. 2.

^m Nenn. ibid. §. 46. p. 37. ed. 1838. Usser. de Primord.

c. 12. p. 414. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 227.

ⁿ Witikind. Annal. l. 1. in Meibom. ibid. tom. 1. p. 630.

^o Gunn, in his note 105. ibid. p. 174, agrees with Stillfleet.

^p Verstegan's Restitution, p. 142. in edit. 1605. p. 130.

^q Vide Usser. de Primord. cap. 12. p. 414. not. *. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 227.

^r Gild. §. 24. p. 21. 21. 2. Hist. Gildæ, §. 24. p. 8. Hist. Gildæ, §. 24. p. 31. Camden. ibid. p. 79. vol. 1. p. lxxxvii.

the cities and churches were burnt to the ground, from the east to the western ocean, the inhabitants destroyed by the sword or buried in the ruins of houses and altars, which were defiled with the blood of the slain; in which horrible devastation, the rulers of the Church and the priests suffered together with the common people. So that he applies to this desolation the words of the psalmist; ‘They have cast fire into thy sanctuary, they have defiled by casting down the dwellingplace of thy name to the ground.’ And, ‘O God, the heathen are come into thine inheritance, thy holy temple have they defiled,’ &c. And ^s Bede saith, “a fire was kindled by the hands of the heathens, which executed vengeance on God’s people for their sins, not unlike that of the Chaldeans which burnt Jerusalem to the ground. So here,” saith he, “the wicked conqueror prevailing, or rather the just Judge so disposing, there seemed to be one continued flame from one sea to another; ^t all public and private buildings demolished, the priests’ blood spilt upon the altars, the prelates and people destroyed together by fire and sword, and no man durst to give them burial. Many of those that escaped at present,” as ^u Gildas saith, “had their throats cut, and were thrown on heaps in the mountains, or delivered themselves up to slavery, to avoid 326 being famished, and thought it a favour to be presently dispatched; and others hid themselves among mountains and rocks and woods to escape the fury of their

Usser. de Primord. cap. 12. p. 416. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 415. Index Chronol. p. 1109. p. 223.

A.D. 453. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. pp. 223. 520. col. 1. Lloyd ibid. chap. 3. §. 8. p. 78. ^u Gild. §. 25. p. 22. 1. 22. 2. Camden. ibid. p. 79. vol. 1. p. lxxxvii. Usser. de Primord. cap. 12. p. 417. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 224.

^s Bedæ ibid. lib. 1. cap. 15. p. 53.

^t Usser. de Primord. cap. 12.

enemies, where they lived in continual fear; and others went over into foreign parts: ^v which was the foundation of the Aremorican colony of Britons; as will appear afterwards.

But that which prevented a total destruction of the Britons now was, that it seems both by ^w Gildas and ^x Bede, “the Saxons having burnt so many cities and towns, and driven the remainder of the inhabitants into inaccessible places, did go home for some time; and in that interval the dispersed Britons gathered together, and after most earnest supplications to God, that they might not be utterly destroyed, they made choice of Ambrosius Aurelianus as their king, and, under his conduct, God was pleased to give them success: ^y and from that time,” saith Gildas, “now one party prevailed, and then another, (whereby God made a further trial of the Britons, whether they would love him or not,) to the battle on Badon Hill, wherein the Saxons suffered so great a loss:” which was forty-four years after their first coming hither, as appears more plainly by ^z Bede. But ^a Gildas adds, “even at this time their cities were far from being inhabited as formerly; and when their enemies gave them respite, they desperately quarrelled among themselves.” So that we have here a conjunction of so much severity and patience, such fears and hopes, and yet such de-

^v See, in this chapter, p. 351. Usser. de Primord. cap. 12. p. 418. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 224.

^w Gild. §. 25. p. 22. 1. 22. 2. Hist. Gildæ, §. 25. p. 8. Hist. Gildæ, §. 25. p. 33. For notes ^w, ^x. Usser. de Primord. cap. 12. p. 420. cap. 13. p. 445. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. pp. 225. 239.

^x Bed. lib. 1. cap. 16. p. 53.

^y Usser. de Primord. cap. 13. p. 475. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 254.

^z Usser. de Primord. cap. 13. p. 477. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 254. See ch. 4. p. 208. and note ^{bb}.

^a Usser. de Primord. cap. 14. p. 534. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 278.

feating of these hopes, by their own follies and divisions, as commonly forerun a Church's destruction and a people's ruin.

This is the best and truest account of the British affairs from the Saxons' coming till the government of Ambrosius, by which we are to judge of the probability of Nennius's traditions.

As to the particular conduct of the British affairs under Ambrosius, we have little more light than what traditions and conjectures give us. However, it may not be amiss to lay together what we can find about them.

^b Nennius saith little more of him, than that "Vortigern was afraid of him;" and afterwards he confounds him with Merlin, when he tells Vortigern, after the story of his being without a father, "that he concealed his father's name out of fear, but that his father was one of the Roman ^c consuls; and so ^d Vortigern gave him the command of the western parts of Britain."

But ^e Geoffrey gives a more ample account of him, not only that he was one of Constantine's sons, but that he, understanding the condition of the Britons, came over from Aremorica with his brother Uther Pendragon and considerable forces, and after his revenge upon Vortigern, ^f burning him in his castle, he makes the Saxons to retire beyond Humber, through the terror of his name: whither Aurelius pursued them, and overcame Hengist in a set battle, who fled to Caer Conan, or Conisburgh, where they fought again, and

^b Nenn. cap. 45. cap. 44. p. 168.

p. 109. §. 31. 41. pp. 24. 31.

Usser. de Primord. cap. 13. p.

446. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 239.

See p. 318 of this chap.

^c See p. 278, note y.

^d Gunn's note 99 on Nennius,

^e Galfr. lib. 5. cap. 1-4. p. 58.

See p. 318.

^f Usser. de Primord. cap. 12.

p. 386. cap. 13. pp. 447. 449.

Brit. Eccles. Antiq. pp. 207.

239.

Hengist was taken by Eldol, duke of Gloucester, and beheaded by him, according to the advice of Eldad, then bishop of Gloucester.

§ Matthew Westminster transcribes these passages out of Geoffrey, and puts them to such years as he fancied; but it is observable that he makes Aurelius Ambrosius to have fought the battle at ^h Wippedfleet, with Hengist and his son Æsc, sixteen years before this, which, according to him, was seven years after his coming into Britain: so that even Matthew Westminster durst not wholly rely on Geoffrey's relation. But as to the death of Hengist, ⁱ Florentius saith, "he died after he had reigned in Kent thirty-four years, and Æsca succeeded him, A.D. 488." ^k The Saxon Annals take no notice of Hengist's death, but place Æsc's reign A.D. 487.

^l Henry of Huntingdon saith, "that Hengist died the fortieth year after his coming into Britain," the thirtieth, saith William of Malmesbury. But neither of them mentions any violent death by the hands of his enemies, and that after a victory by the Britons under Aurelius Ambrosius: which are such circumstances they could not easily have omitted, if they had then heard of them. But if they had heard of them, and yet left them out, it is a shrewd sign they gave no credit to them. ^m We are then to consider, that 328 Geoffrey of Monmouth, according to Leland, flourished in the time of Henry I.; of king Stephen, say Bale and Pits; but Leland observes, "that he dedicated his

§ Flores Hist. A.D. 487. 489. p. 91. Camden. Brit. p. 562. vol. 3. p. 3. and in the Additions, vol. 1. p. 282. Usser. de Primord. cap. 13. p. 450. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 241.

^h See note ^f, p. 324.

ⁱ Florent. Wigorn. Chronicon. A.D. 488. p. 545. Usser. *ibid.*

^k Vide Usser. *ibid.*

^l Huntingd. lib. 2. p. 312. Camden. *ibid.* vol. 3. p. 3. note ^c.

^m See Lloyd *ibid.* Preface, p. xvi. &c.

translation of Merlin to Alexander, bishop of Lincoln, the same that was Henry of Huntingdon's patron ;" and William of Malmesbury dedicates his History to the same Robert of Gloucester, son to Henry I, to whom Geoffrey dedicates his Translation of the British History who died in the twelfth year of king Stephen. So that in all probability Geoffrey's book was seen by both these historians, and since they do not follow him where they have occasion to mention the same matters, they plainly discover they preferred Nennius before him, whom both of them follow ; but it appears by H. Huntingdon, he then passed under the name of Gildas.

But these two historians thought it best for them to decline taking any public notice of Geoffrey's history, it being so great a novelty then, and probably enough in some esteem with Robert of Gloucester, whose father, as ⁿ Giraldus Cambrensis saith, " had lately subdued the Britons in Wales ;" and such a history seemed to add to his father's glory. But after Robert's death, ^o William of Newborough very frankly delivers his opinion of it, charging the original with falsehood, and the translator with insincerity. Geoffrey, in the conclusion of his history, mentions William of Malmesbury and Henry of Huntingdon as then writing the English history ; but he bids them not to meddle with the British kings, since they had not ^p the British MS. which Walter of Oxford brought out of Britanny. But they do not forbear to make use of Nennius ; and Huntingdon transcribes several things out of him ; but they do not enlarge or alter or adorn their history in one point from

ⁿ Cambr. Itinerar. Cambriæ, lib. 2. cap. 1. in Camden. Anglica, &c. p. 856.

^p Usser. de Primord. cap. 13. p. 449. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 240.

^o Seep. 278. Lloyd ibid. p. xx.

the British MS. although in all likelihood set forth before their death.

As to what he next adds, “^q that after his victory over the Saxons, Aurelius Ambrosius called the princes and great men together at York, and gave order for repairing the churches which the Saxons destroyed,” there is far greater probability in it. For after the battle at ^rWippedfleet, which was seventeen years after the Saxons’ coming, H. Huntingdon saith, “things 329remained quiet for a good while between the Britons and Saxons;” and in that time it is reasonable to presume that Ambrosius and the nobles and people did their endeavour towards the recovering the honour of their churches, as well as of the kingdom. And after the care he took in other places, saith Geoffrey, he marched to London, which had suffered as well as other cities; and having called the dispersed citizens together, he went about the repairing of it: all his design being, the restoring the Church and kingdom. From thence he went to Winchester and to Salisbury. And in the passage thither, ^sGeoffrey launches out to purpose in his history of Stonehenge, “translated,” saith he, “by Merlin out of Ireland, to make a monument for the British nobles, slain there by Hengist’s treachery;” which is such an extravagancy, that it is to be wondered any should follow him in it, and yet ^tMatt. Westminster transcribes the main of it, and ^uWalter Coventry sets it down for authentic history; but he adds two circumstances which make it seem probable that Stonehenge had some relation to Ambrosius, viz. that

^q Usser. de Primord. cap. 5. Eccles. Antiq. p. 242. Vide p. 72. cap. 13. p. 450. Brit. Camden. ibid. p. 184. vol. I. p. 92. Eccles. Antiq. pp. 39. 241.

^r See note ^f, p. 324.

^s Usser. de Primord. cap. 13. et Tanner. ibid. under Gualter. p. 451. 453. Addend. p. 1009. Coventr.

^t Flores, A. D. 490. p. 92.

^u W. Coventry in Præfat.

here Ambrosius was crowned, and was not long after buried; from whom ^w Polydore Virgil makes it the Monument of Ambrosius, and ^x John of Tinmouth, in the Life of Dubricius, calls it Mons Ambrosii; and the name of Amesbury near it doth much confirm the probability, that it had rather a respect to Ambrosius than either to the Romans or the Danes. ^y But I cannot now insist on this.

^z Matthew Westminster confirms Geoffrey's relation concerning the great zeal of Ambrosius in repairing the British churches every where, and setting up divine worship in them, and giving great encouragement to the clergy to perform all divine offices, and particularly to pray for the prosperity of the Church and kingdom. ^a But Geoffrey adds yet further concerning him, "that in a solemn council of the Britons, he appointed two metropolitans for the two vacant sees at that time, viz. Sampson, one of eminent piety, for York, and Dubricius for Caerleon." ^b This, saith Matt. Westminster, was done A. D. 490, and he makes them both to live and flourish A. D. 507. But he saith, "^c that Sampson was afterwards driven over to Aremorica, and there was arch-330 bishop of Dole among the Britons." ^d For A. D. 561. he saith, "another Sampson succeeded in that see, the former who came out of Great Britain to the less." ^e Sigebert of the old edition, A. D. 566, speaks of Samp-

^w Polyd. Virg. Hist. lib. 3. p. 58. Usser. de Primord. cap. 13. p. 451. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 241. Camden. ibid.

^x Usser. de Primord. cap. 13. p. 450. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 241. Wharton. Angliæ Sacræ, part. 2. p. 656. Vide Camden. ibid. and the Additions, p. 107.

^y See Stillingfleet's Defence of the Charge of Idolatry against the Romanists, chap. 1. §. 5. in

his Works, vol. 5. p. 412.

^z Flores Hist. A. D. 488. p. 91.

^a Usser. de Primord. cap. 5. p. 72. cap. 13. p. 454. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. pp. 39. 243.

^b Usser. de Primord. cap. 5. p. 72. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 39. See chap. 4. p. 203.

^c See p. 353.

^d Usser. de Primord. cap. 5. p. 74. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 40.

^e Usser. ibid.

son, “ then archbishop of Dole, kinsman to Maglorius, who came from the Britain beyond the sea to that on this side.” ^f This second Sampson’s life is extant in the *Bibliotheca Floriacensis*, where he is said to have been born in Britain, and the scholar of Iltutus, and consecrated by Dubricius. But ^g Giraldus Cambrensis saith, “ the pall was carried over from Wales to Dole, in the time of another Sampson, who was the twenty-fifth from St. David, and went over because of the plague which discoloured people like the jaundice, and therefore called ‘flava pestis:’ ” which is transcribed by ^h Roger Hoveden. But here are several mistakes in this account, for there was no such thing as a pall then known or used in the western Church ; and if this Sampson went over on the occasion of that plague, there could not be twenty-five between St. David and him ; ⁱ for in the Life of St. Teliaus, St. David’s sister’s son, that plague is described, and then Sampson is said to be archbishop of Dole, and to have received Teliaus and his company with great joy, having been school-fellows under Dubricius, and Sampson being consecrated by him. But still we have two Sampsons archbishops of Dole, and in the time of the great controversy about that archbishopric, (of which afterwards,) it was a question from which the title was derived. And Innocent III, as ^k Giraldus relates, said it was from this Sampson, archbishop of York ; but the Samarthani only mention him that came from St. David’s,

^f Usser. de Primord. ibid. p. 75. in marg. not. y. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 40. not. y.

^g Itiner. Camb. lib. 2. cap. 1. in Camden. Anglica, &c. p. 855. Usser. de Primord. p. 73. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 40.

^h Hoveden. Annal. p. 454. p. 798. Usser. ibid.

ⁱ Usser. de Primord. ibid. p. 75. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 41.

^k Usser. de Primord. ibid. p. 74. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 40. See p. 353.

whom Maglorius succeeded among the Aremorian Britons ; but we are not yet come to them.

It is observed by Henry of ¹Huntingdon, that after the Britons had a little respite from their enemies, they fell into civil dissensions among themselves, which is very agreeable to what Gildas had said. Of this the ^m British History gives no improbable account, when it relates that one of Vortigern's sons, called ⁿ Pascentius, raised a rebellion in the north against Ambrosius among the Britons, who were overcome by him, and put to flight ; but afterwards he hired a Saxon to poison ³³¹ Ambrosius at Winchester. This, saith Matthew Westminster, happened A.D. 497. But we are not to pass over what he affirms of him, A. D. 485, viz. "that he commanded in the battle at Meccredsburn against Ælla and his sons, in which they were so much worsted as to send home for supplies," as he saith. ^o This Ælla, and his sons Cymen, Plenting, and Cissa, came into Britain A. D. 477, and landed at a place from his eldest son called Cymenshore, on the coasts of Sussex. ^p Camden saith, "it hath lost its name ;" but he proves from a charter of Cedwalla to the church of Selsey, it must be near Wittering. Here Ælla and his army fought the Britons at his first landing, and forced them to retire to Andredeswald, say the ^q Saxon Annals, and Matthew Westminster, Florentius, and Huntingdon. The ^r Saxon Annals and Huntingdon call it Andredesleage ; by that,

¹ Huntingd. lib. 2. p. 311.

^m Galfr. lib. 5. cap. 6. p. 63.

ⁿ Vide Usser. de Primord. Addend. p. 1009. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. cap. 13. p. 244. Camden. Brit. p. 482. vol. 2. p. 470. Gunn's note 108. p. 176, in his edition of Nennius.

^o See Camden. ibid. in the Additions, vol. 1. p. 192.

^p Britannia, p. 223. vol. 1. p. 188.

^q Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 477. p. 16. Ingram's edition.

^r Ibid.

no question, is meant, ^s the vast wood which began in Kent, and ran through Sussex into Hampshire, ^t called by the Britons Coid Andred, by the Saxons Andred, and Andreswald; from whence, as Mr. Somner observes, that part of Kent where the wood stood is still called the Weald; and ^u Lambard observes, “that no monuments of antiquity are to be met with in the Weald either of Kent or Sussex.” The Saxons after this battle continued to inhabit on the shore, till at last the Britons, finding them to encroach further, resolved to fight them at a place called Meecredsburn. And a different account is given of the success of this battle: the ^w Saxon Annals and Ethelwerd only mention it, boasting of no victory; Florentius makes it a clear victory on the Saxon side; Matthew Westminster saith, “Ælla quitted the field, but confesseth the Britons had great loss;” Henry of Huntingdon saith, “it was a drawn battle, both armies having sustained great damage, and avoiding each other.” After this, “Ælla and Cissa,” say the ^x Saxon Annals, “besieged Andredescester and killed all the inhabitants, leaving not one Briton alive;” and so Florentius and Matthew Westminster relate it. But he ^y saith, “that the Britons came out of the wood, and galled the Saxons so much, that they were forced to divide their army; and the inhabitants perished by famine as well as by the sword:” and he observes, 332 “that the Saxons utterly demolished the city, and the place where it stood was in his time shewed to travellers.” Therefore the question among our antiquaries,

^s Ibid. A. D. 893. p. 114.

^t Camden. *ibid.* pp. 219. 247. vol. 1. p. 185, compared with the Additions, p. 192.

^u Perambl. of Kent, p. 211.

^w Saxon Chronicle, A. D. 485.

p. 17. *ibid.*

^x Saxon Chronicle, A. D. 490.

p. 17. *ibid.*

^y Matt. West. A. D. 492.

p. 93. Vide Camden. *ibid.*

which was the ^z Anderida of the ancients, ^a Newenden, or Hastings, or Pevensey, is quite out of doors, unless one of these be proved to be built in the place of Anderida since Matthew Westminster's days; which were towards the end of Edward III. Those words ^b Camden applies only to Henry of Huntingdon, and he saith, "it was new built in Edward I.'s time, and therefore called Newenden;" but they are likewise Matthew Westminster's, who lived after that time, and therefore it cannot be Newenden if it were rebuilt in the time of Edward I.; for he saith, "the desolate place was shewed in his time;" unless one transcribe the other, without any regard to the difference of their own times.

After Ambrosius's death, according to the ^c British History, his brother Uther Pendragon succeeded, who routed the Saxons in the north, relieved York besieged by them, ^d took the sons of Hengist prisoners, marched to London, and there called a parliament, and was solemnly crowned, and fell out with Goalois, duke of Cornwall, about his wife Igera, and under his shape had king Arthur by her; but her husband was killed at the siege of his castle. After which it is said, that he overcame the Saxons at Verulam, where he was after poisoned by their means, and his son Arthur succeeded.

This is the sum of what is there more at large related; but taking it all together, it is a very blind and partial account of the proceedings between the Britons and Saxons of that time. For even Matthew West-

^z Horsley's Brit. Rom. b. 2. chap. 3. p. 336. Philosophical Transactions, vol. 30. No. 356. §. 2. p. 783. p. 799, with which Horsley *ibid.* b. 3. chap. 3. p. 488, fully agrees. Camden. *ibid.* in the Additions, vol. 1. p. 202.

See note ^b following.

^a Chap. 2. p. 64.

^b Brit. p. 247. vol. 1. p. 223, compared with p. 248.

^c Galfr. lib. 6. cap. 2. 3. p. 65.

^d See note ⁱ in following page.

minster, ^e A.D. 494, takes notice of Cerdic and Kenric his son landing with new forces at a place called from him Cerdicshore, (near Yarmouth, saith ^f Camden, where the name Cerdicsand still remains,) and fought the Britons at their first landing, till they were forced to withdraw, and leave room for them, who after went into the western parts, and laid the foundation of the kingdom of the west Saxons. To the same purpose Florentius, Ethelwerd, and Huntingdon. Seven years after him came Port and his two sons Bleda and Magla, and arrived at Portsmouth, ^g which had its name from
 333 him, as the same authors inform us from ^h the Saxon Annals. Now how comes Geoffrey to think of none of these, but only of ⁱ Hengist's two sons in the north? besides, he lets slip one of the greatest battles that was fought between Cerdic and Nathanleod, and pretends to give no account at all of it. ^k This the Saxon Annals, Florentius, Ethelwerd, and Matthew Westminster, all place A.D. 508, but Huntingdon, the sixtieth year after the first coming of the Saxons. ^l This Nazaleod as he calls him, was "the greatest king of the Britons, one of great fame and pride," from whom the country about Charford did take its name. At this place the whole forces of the Britons were gathered together, and Cerdic procured assistance from Æsc of Kent, from Ælla of Sussex, from Port and his sons; so that here was a pitched battle of the strength of both

^e The Saxon Chronicle, p. 17, assigns this event to A.D. 495. See p. 337, note p, and Ingram's Appendix as above, p. 375.

^f Brit. p. 348. vol. 2. p. 96.

^g Camden. *ibid.* p. 193. vol. 1. p. 120. to the contrary.

^h Saxon Chron. A. D. 501. p. 20. Ingram's edition.

ⁱ Vide Usser. de Primord. cap. 13. p. 450. cap. 15. p. 687.

Brit. Eccles. Antiq. pp. 241. 359. Gunn's note 87. in Nennius, p. 161. *Ibid.* note 111. p. 177. See p. 327. and note ⁱ, &c. Gunn *ibid.* note 114. p. 183.

^k Usser. de Primord. cap. 13. p. 464. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 248. The Saxon Chronicle, A. D. 508. p. 21. Ingram's edit.

^l Usser. de Primord. *ibid.* p. 466. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 249.

sides; and Nazaleod behaved himself with so much courage, that he drove Cerdic out of the field, and pursued him; which his son who commanded the other wing perceiving, followed him close, and cut him off, and 5000 of his men, who fled upon the death of their king. ^m And from this memorable battle the place was called Cerdicsford, and since Charford, upon the Avon between Salisbury and Ringwood. But who was this mighty king of the Britons, who lost his life in this battle? ⁿ Mr. Camden professes he cannot guess, unless it were Aurelius Ambrosius, whose name, he observes, the Saxon annalists never mention, ^o nor the battles wherein they were worsted. And the British History is even with them for that, which takes no notice of this great fight, wherein their king was slain. ^p Matthew Westminster will not have him to be king, but only to be general under Uther, who was then sick; which contradicts ^q Ethelwerd, and Huntingdon, and Florentius, who affirm him to have been then king, and as Huntingdon saith, “rex maximus Britannorum;” which seems to imply, that there were more kings then among the Britons, as there were among the Saxons, and that one was the chief, ^r as in the heptarchy. Archbishop ^s Usher thinks this king was the same whom the British History calls Uther, and that Nathanleod was his true name, and Uther was a nickname to de-

^m Usser. de Primord. *ibid.* p. 465. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 248. Camden. *ibid.* p. 187. vol. 1. p. 115, and the Additions, p. 126.

ⁿ Brit. p. 187. vol. 1. p. 115. and the Additions, p. 126, where Carte follows Camden.

^o Usser. de Primord. *ibid.*

p. 450. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 241.

^p Usser. de Primord. p. 465. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 248.

^q Usser. de Primord. p. 466. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 249.

^r Bed. *ibid.* lib. 2. cap. 5. p. 83.

^s Prim. cap. 13. p. 466. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 249.

334 note his fierceness, as the annotator or ^t Nennius calls Arthur ‘Mab Uter’ in the British tongue for the same reason; and so ‘Arthurus,’ in Latin, from the British ‘Arth,’ which signifies ‘a bear.’ This is an ingenious conjecture: but we are not so sure there ever was such a king as Uther, as we are from Gildas that there was such a one as Ambrosius; but Gildas saith, “that some of the race of Ambrosius were living in his time:” therefore he died not without issue, as the British History supposes, and this might probably be his son, who was slain in this battle.

But what then is to be said to king Arthur, who was ^u son to Uther, and succeeded him, whose mighty feats are so amply related by the British History? I think both sorts are to blame about him; I mean those who tell incredible tales of him, such as are utterly inconsistent with the circumstances of the British affairs at that time; and those who deny there was any such person, or of any considerable power among the Britons. ^x William of Malmesbury takes notice of the British fables about him, (and if I mistake not makes a severe reflection upon Geoffrey’s history without naming it, when he saith, “Hic est Arthurus de quo Britonum nugæ hodieque delirant,”) but he wishes a true account had been given of him, “for he was the support of his country for a long time, who sharpened the broken spirits of the Britons, and made them warlike.” But after all he will not allow him to have been monarch

^t Nenn. cap. 63. cap. 62. p. 114. This annotation is unnoticed in the edition of Nennius of 1838, §. 56. p. 47: but see Gunn’s note 112. p. 178. in his edition of Nennius. Usser. de Primord. p. 467. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 249. Camden. ibid. p. 167. vol. 1. p. 59.

^u Usser. de Primord. cap. 13. p. 449. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 240. Camden. ibid. p. 141. vol. 1. p. 7.

^x Usser. de Primord. cap. 14. p. 519. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 271. Gunn’s notes to his edition of Nennius, p. 178.

in Britain, but only the general under Ambrosius. And in all this William keeps close to Nennius; for Nennius speaking of the wars between the British kings and the Saxons, saith of Arthur, “ ipse dux erat bellorum ;” although he exceeds the bounds of truth in the next words, “ et in omnibus bellis victor extitit,” he came off always conqueror. If this had been true, the Saxons could never have kept footing in England. I will allow the Saxon Annals to be partial in not recounting their losses; and on the other side it is unreasonable to suppose, that the Saxons should be always beaten, and yet always get ground, even in Arthur’s days. For after ^y the great battle wherein Nathanleod was killed, (the only British king mentioned in the Saxon Annals,) Cerdic’s two nephews, ^zStuff and Witgar, landed upon Cerdicshore, which ^aMat. Westminster here ³³⁵ places on the western coasts (and not on the eastern as ^bCamden doth, which seems more probable, because they came with supplies to Cerdic their uncle); but all agree, that as they fought upon their landing, they had the better of the Britons; Huntingdon saith, “ it was such a victory as laid open the country to them; the force of the Britons being scattered, God having cast them off.” Where was Arthur at this time? Again, five years after, saith Ethelwerd, Cerdic and Cenric came the second time to Cerdicsford, and there fought the Britons; the ^cSaxon Annals say nothing of the victory, but Florentius gives it to the Saxons, and so doth Huntingdon, who saith, “ the Britons had a terrible blow that day.” And as an evidence of the Saxons’ conquest, Ethelwerd saith, “ that year Cerdic began the

^y See note k, p. 333.

^z Sax. Chron. A.D. 514. p. 21.
Ingram’s edit.

^a Mat. Westm. ibid. A.D. 514.

p. 96.

^b See p. 332, and note f.

^c Sax. Chron. A.D. 519. p. 21.

Ingram’s edition.

kingdom of the West Saxons:” ^d from that very day, saith Huntingdon, A.D. 519. Here Matt. Westminster is so hard put to it, that taking in king Arthur at A.D. 516, he is forced to leave out this battle, and to tell Geoffrey’s story of king Arthur’s beating the Saxons in the north about York and Lincoln, and driving them as far as the Caledonian wood, and takes no notice of Cerdic’s setting up a kingdom in the west: but the following year, A. D. 520, he brings Colgrin, Badulph, and Cheldric to Totnes with new forces, with which they besieged Bath; and then Arthur with his ^ecaliburne did incredible execution, for he saith, “ he killed eight hundred and forty with his own hands, and so totally routed the Saxons;” and not a word of Cerdic or Cenric, ^f whereas A.D. 528. he remembers them again, and tells what a mighty army they had in the Isle of Wight, which H. Huntingdon calls Witland, and what slaughter they made at Witgareshburgh, which had its name from Witgar, one of Cerdic’s nephews, to whom ^g he gave the Isle of Wight, and was buried at Witgar, saith Huntingdon.

But ^h before this there was another battle between Cerdic and the Britons at ⁱ Cerdic’s-leage; which Huntingdon makes the same with Cerdicsford, in which there was great slaughter on both sides, “ and in that time,” he saith, “ many Saxons came in out of Germany 336 into East Angle and Mercia,” but they were not yet formed into kingdoms; however, innumerable battles were fought in many places by persons whose names are not recorded. And now Huntingdon mentions

^d Sax. Chron. *ibid.*

^g Camden. *ibid.* p. 199. vol. 1.

^e Usser. de Primord. cap. 6. p. 121. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 63.

p. 124.

^h Sax. Chron. A.D. 527. *ibid.*

ⁱ Camden. *ibid.* p. 280. vol. 1.

^f See the Sax. Chron. A.D. 530. 534. 544. p. 22. *ibid.*

p. 315.

Arthur, as a “ most valiant general on the British side, who commanded in twelve battles, in all which he had the better ;” and so reckons them up in order just as ^j Nennius had done, whom he transcribes, and when he hath set down the places of the twelve battles he confesses they were then unknown, but he adds, “ that there was almost perpetual fighting, in which sometimes one side had the better and sometimes the other;” but still the Saxons poured in greater numbers upon them : and ^k Nennius saith, “ they increased here without intermission, and fetched new kings out of Germany to rule over them.” ^l And then sets down ^m the foundation of the northern Saxon kingdom under Ida, who governed all beyond Humber twelve years, which was branched into two, Deira and Bernicia. This kingdom began, saith Huntingdon, in the thirteenth year of the reign of Cenric (who succeeded Cerdic) A.D. 547, and Ida, descended from Woden, was the first king. ⁿ Cenric in his eighteenth year, saith the same author, fought against the Britons, who came with a powerful army to Salisbury, where he dispersed them, and made them fly. But this is supposed to have happened after Arthur’s death, which is placed by ^o Matt. Westminster and others, A. D. 542.

We must therefore look back to judge of Arthur’s prowess. We have already seen several Saxon kingdoms established, that of Kent, of South Saxons, of West Saxons, and Saxons in other parts not yet gathered

^j Nenn. cap. 64. cap. 63. p. 114. §. 56. p. 48, and notes. Gunn, in his note 113. p. 178. on Nennius.

^k Nenn. cap. 65. cap. 64. p. 114. §. 56. p. 49.

^l Cap. 66. cap. 64, 65. p. 114. §. 56, 57. 61. p. 49. See Gunn’s

note 114. p. 183. *ibid.*

^m Sax. Chron. A. D. 547. p. 23. *ibid.*

ⁿ *Ibid.* A. D. 552. p. 23.

^o Usser. de Primord. cap. 14. p. 521. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 272, where many authorities are quoted.

into kingdoms; and besides these, before Cerdic had gained the Isle of Wight, H. Huntingdon saith, “the kingdom of East Saxons was founded by Erkinwin, whom Slede succeeded, who married the daughter of Ermeneric, king of Kent, sister of Ethelbert, and mother to Sibert, the first Christian king there.” Now if Arthur were a king so powerful, so irresistible as the British History makes him, how came all these kingdoms to grow up under him? Why did he not send the Saxons all out of Britain? Nay, how came Cerdic 337 and Cenric to grow so strong in the western parts as they did? Cerdic, saith ^p William of Malmesbury, came hither eight years after the death of Hengist, A.D. 495. ^q He was here twenty-four years before he set up his kingdom, and lived in it sixteen years. This was in the midst of Arthur’s fame and greatness. If it were such as Geoffrey describes, would he have suffered such a terror to the Britons to have been so near him? ^r Ranulphus Higden saith, “that Arthur was so tired out with fighting Cerdic” (so weary of overcoming) “that twenty-six years after his coming he yielded part of the west to him:” and to the same purpose ^s Rudburn speaks. What is the meaning of all this? The plain truth is, they followed Geoffrey as far as they could, but they found at last they must give away Cerdic’s kingdom to him; and so they had better make it a free act of king Arthur.

Let us now compare with this, the account the British History gives of him: which is this in short:

^p De Gest. Reg. lib. 1. cap. 2. pp. 5. 12. Usser. de Primord. cap. 13. p. 468. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 250. See p. 332. note e.
^q Cerdic died A. D. 534. Usser. de Primord. cap. 14. p. 520.

Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 272.

^r Polychron. lib. 5. cap. 6. p. 225. Usser. ibid. as in note p.

^s Chronic. lib. 2. cap. 1. in Usser. ibid. Vide Wharton’s Angliæ Sacrae, vol. 1. p. 187.

^t “ After the death of Uther Pendragon the British nobility met at ^u Silchester, where they desired ^x Dubricius to consecrate Arthur: for the Saxons had conquered from Humber to Caithness. (It seems all was clear on this side Humber.) And so he was no sooner crowned, but away he marches for York, (leaving the Saxons here in quiet possession,) where Childeric came with 600 ships to assist the two brothers, Colgrin and Baldulph, (whose names the Saxon Annals conceal.) Upon this dreadful conjunction, Arthur repairs to London, and calls a parliament: and they send over to Hoel, king of Little Britain, his nephew, and who brings fifteen thousand to his assistance at Southampton, (notwithstanding Port and his sons were so near;) then away he marches for Lincoln, and there ^y kills six thousand Saxons, and pursued the rest into Scotland: and there dismissed them home upon promise of tribute; but they perfidiously returned to Totnes, and so ^z marched to besiege Bath: where, after he had done the execution Matt. Westminster related, the Saxons get upon the hill, which Arthur by the help of his caliburne recovered, killed the two brothers, and made Childeric fly, whom Cador pursued to the Isle of Thanet, (although the son of Hengist had all Kent as his kingdom.) 338 After this he drives Gillomarus and his Irish home, and determined to root out the Scots and Picts; but upon great submission he spared them. This being done, ^a he

^t Galfr. lib. 7. cap. 1-7. pp. 69. 2.-91. edit. 1517. Camden. p. 978. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. cap. 5. p. 35.
 ibid. Additions, vol. 1. p. 155. ^z Usser. de Primord. cap. 13. p. 476. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 254. Camden. ibid. p. 170. vol. 1. p. 62.
^u For a circumstantial history of this ancient city, see Camden. ibid. p. 195. vol. 1. pp. 121. 141. ^a Usser. de Primord. cap. 5. p. 77. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 41.
^x Usser. de Primord. cap. 5. p. 80. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 43.
^y Usser. de Primord. Addend.

returns to York, where he rebuilds the churches, and settles Pyramus archbishop in the place of Samson, and restores the British nobility. Next summer he goes for Ireland, and having subdued that, he sails for ^b Iceland, (not then inhabited saith ^c Arngrimus Jonas, a learned native there,) but upon notice of his coming, the kings of Zealand and the Orcades yielded themselves. Then he returns home, and settles the nation in a firm peace for twelve years (although the Saxons were every where about them). After which time, his name was dreaded abroad, and away he sails for Norway, and there conquered Riculfus and the whole country: from thence to Gaul, ^d where he chopped in pieces the head of Flollos the governor in single combat, and disposed the several provinces to his servants, and returning home resolved to keep ^e a solemn court at Caerleon, (this was well thought upon, for we read of no Saxons thereabouts,) where besides several kings the three metropolitans met, of London, York and Caerleon, besides all his nobility. But to pass over the great solemnities there, the emperor Lucius (^f not to be found elsewhere) sends to demand tribute on the account of Julius Cæsar's conquest, upon which he makes great preparations to conquer Rome; and leaves Britain to Mordred his nephew, who rebelled against him, and forced him to return home, when, after he had conquered Lucius, he was marching for Rome: and here Mordred had associated Saxons, Scots and Picts, all against Arthur; but upon his coming the other fled to Winchester, from thence to

^b Vide Usser. de Primord. Antiq. p. 270.
cap. 14. p. 516. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 270.

^c Crymog. sive Rer. Islandic. lib. 1. cap. 2. p. 20.

^d Vide Usser. de Primord. cap. 14. p. 517. Brit. Eccles.

^e Usser. de Primord. cap. 5. p. 81. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 43.

^f Usser. de Primord. cap. 14. p. 518. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 270.

Cornwall, ^g where near the river Camel he waited for Arthur's coming; the issue of the battle was, Mordred was killed, and Arthur mortally wounded, who was carried into the island of Avalon, and there died and was buried."

This is the British legend of king Arthur, which hath raised the laughter of some, and the indignation of ³³⁹ others. ^h William of Newburgh was the first who openly and in plain terms charged it with falsity and inconsistency; but against some parts of it he makes trifling objections; as about the three archbishops, denying that the Britons had any archbishops, because the first pall was given to Augustine the monk. But this was a piece of monkish ignorance in him, for there were ⁱ metropolitans before, and without palls from Rome; and archbishops or metropolitans did assume the use of palls to themselves, without asking the pope's leave; and when he saith "archbishops came so late into the western Churches," it is true the use of the word did, but the jurisdiction over provinces was long before, as ^k I have already shewed.

Upon the reviving of learning, some were so offended at this ridiculous legend, that they questioned whether ever there were such a person as Arthur, against whom ^l Leland undertook the defence of king Arthur. But some of his authors will not be allowed to bear witness in this cause, being partial followers of Geoffrey; such as Alfred of Beverley, Gray, the author of Scalæ-Chronicon, Joh. Burgensis, Joh. Ross, &c. Others do not

^g See notes ^o, ^{oo}, following. Usser. de Primord. cap. 6. p. 117. cap. 14. p. 536. Index Chronol. p. 1137. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. pp. 61, 280. 529. col. 2.

^h Usser. de Primord. cap. 14. p. 517. Brit. Eccles. Antiq.

p. 270. See pp. 278. 328.

ⁱ See chap. 1. p. 21. Usser. de Primord. cap. 5. p. 97. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 51.

^k Chap. 3. p. 100, &c.

^l Nicolson's English Historical Library, part 1. ch. 3. p. 31.

speak home to the point; such are the testimonies of Nennius, Malmesbury, Huntingdon, which make him only “general of the British forces:” others are too modern, as Trithemius, Volaterranus, Philippus Bergomas, Nauclerus, Hector Boethius, Pontius Virunnius, &c. Others overthrow the main part of it, as to Arthur’s sovereign dominion in Britain; as the ^mChronica Divionensis, which saith, “ⁿ that after several combats, Cerdic had the possession of the West Saxon kingdom by Arthur’s consent:” and as parts of this kingdom he reckons ^o “seven whole provinces from Surrey to Cornwall.” But the British History takes no notice of Cerdic, but supposes all under Arthur’s command, and his nephew Mordred’s in his absence. If Cerdic had the West Saxon kingdom, then how comes no notice of him in the battle at ^{oo}Camblan? how came the fight within his territories? Again, ^p the author of the Life of Gildas, ^q cited by him, saith, “that one Meluas had stolen his wife Guenhere, and defiled her, and that Arthur a long time besieged him 340 in the marshes near Glastonbury. ^r Is this agreeable to the mighty power of king Arthur, to have his queen detained by force so long by such an inconsiderable person as Meluas? especially if it were as Caradoc of Lancarvan there saith, “^s she was restored at last, more by the entreaty of Gildas than out of respect to

^m Usser. de Primord. cap. 13. p. 468. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 250.

ⁿ Assert. Arthuri, fol. 4. b. 5. a. Collectan. App. 1. fol. 4. b. 5. a.

^o Vide Usser. de Primord. cap. 14. p. 520. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 271.

^{oo} Camden. ib. p. 140. v. 1. p. 6.

^p Usser. de Primord. cap. 13. p. 469. Brit. Eccles. Antiq.

p. 251. Vide Vit. Sanct. Gildæ, prefixed to Gildas, §. 10. p. xxxix. ed. 1838.

^q Leland. Assert. Arthur. fol. 24. b. Collect. App. part. 1. fol. 24. b.

^r Preface to Gildas, ibid. §. 4. p. xxviii.

^s Usser. de Primord. cap. 13. p. 469. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 251. Vita Gildæ, §. 11. p. xl.

as in note P, above.

Arthur's authority." As to Arthur's seal, which he lays so much weight upon, it certainly belonged to the ^t diploma he gave to the university of Cambridge, in his time, ^u mentioned by Leland; and the Church of Westminster, if they have it still, ought to restore it. But after all, ^v Leland hath sufficiently proved, that there was such a person as king Arthur, from the ^w Cader-Artur in Wales, two mountains so called; and Arthur's gate in Montgomery; and the abundant testimony he brings about his coffin in lead, found in Glastonbury, either in Henry the Second's time, or at least in the beginning of Richard the First, with an inscription set down often by him, and more exactly by ^x Camden; where the letters appear very rude, and the inscription very plain, and therefore more likely to be true.

^y HIC JACET SEPULTUS INCLITUS REX ARTURIUS IN
INSULA AVALONIA.

Where are all the noble titles given him in the British History, and contained in the inscription about his seal?

PATRICIUS ARTURIUS BRITANNIÆ, GALLIÆ, GERMANIÆ,
DACIÆ, IMPERATOR.

So much greater a man was Arthur living, when he used this seal, than dead, when so mean an inscription was put upon the lower part of his leaden coffin! How soon were all his great titles forgotten!

^t Usser. de Primord. cap. 6. p. 131. cap. 14. p. 513. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. pp. 68. 268. See chap. 2. p. 69.

^u Leland. Assert. Arthur. fol. 12. a. b. Collectan. App. part. 1. fol. 12. a. b.

^v Leland. *ibid.* fol. 20. a.

^w Camden. Brit. p. 482. vol. 2. p. 470.

^x Brit. p. 166. vol. 1. p. 59. and the Additions, p. 73.

^y Usser. de Primord. cap. 6. pp. 117-120. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 62. See chap. 1. p. 10.

But since Leland, sir John ^z Prise hath undertaken to vindicate the story of king Arthur: and the first argument he uses is from the inscription on his coffin, 341 and the antiquity of the letters; but the modesty of the inscription is a better argument to me; for if the monks designed a cheat in Henry the Second's time, and laid this coffin there on purpose to deceive, they might counterfeit such letters, but they could never have held from speaking more glorious things of so great a hero. Then he produces the testimonies of ^a Nennius, Malmesbury and Huntingdon, and proves that these two could not take out of Geoffrey: that they did not I grant, but the other is not proved. The verses of ^b Thaliessin (who, he saith, lived in the time of Maglocunus, mentioned by Gildas) do prove, "that Arthur commanded in the battle at Badon Hill," which I see no reason to question; but Polydore Virgil will have Aurelius Ambrosius to do it, which I see no reason to believe. Besides, ^c he quotes old British Chronicles, which reckon from Vortigern to the battle on Badon Hill, wherein Arthur beat the Saxons, 128 years; from that battle to the battle at Camblan, wherein Arthur was killed, twenty-two years. And he finds the name of Arthur in many ancient British poems, ^d and in the old Register of Llandaff: but that only proves, there was one Arthur, whose son's name was Noe; but what is more material, he finds some passages agreeing with ^e Geoffrey in the old Chronicles of St. David's and Caer-Mardin, as to his fighting against Lucius Hiberus in Burgundy, and the

^z *Historiæ Britannicæ Defens.*
p. 109.

^a *Ibid.* p. 117.

^b *Ibid.* p. 120.

^c *Prisei* *ibid.* p. 121. *Usser.*
de Primord. cap. 12. p. 401.

cap. 13. p. 477. *Brit. Eccles.*
Antiq. pp. 216. 255. In ch. 12.
here quoted, Usher notices a
great chronological error.

^d *Prisei* *ibid.* p. 127.

^e *Ibid.* p. 128.

battle at Camblan ; but it doth not appear, that these Chronicles were before Geoffrey's time. As to ^fking Arthur's crown and seal, they may go together : but as to Gildas's silence, from whence some would prove that there was no such person, ^ghe answers from Giraldus, that “^hArthur having killed his brother Hoel, he purposely left him out ;” which is no clear answer : for if Gildas did this in revenge, he would rather have mentioned his cruelty, as we see he spares not the kings of his own time. ⁱBut his better answer is, “ that Gildas designed no history, but a serious exhortation to the Britons to repent of their sins, and therefore passes over other things, only by the by mentioning Ambrosius Aurelianus, and addresses himself to his main business ;” which is reason enough why he never names king Arthur.

Joh. ^kFordon follows Geoffrey, as far as he thinks ³⁴² consistent with the honour of his country. This appears in the story of king Arthur ; for he saith, “ he was set up by a faction against the lawful heirs, who were ^lMordred and Walwan, the sons of Uther's daughter by Loth, then a great man in Scotland ; but descended from Fulgentius :” but he after excuses it “ on the account of necessity ;” which Dubricius alleged, “ they being then under age so much, as not to be able to go into the field.” But he justifies Mordred's rebellion afterwards against Arthur on this ground, “ that he had the right title to the crown.”

^f Ibid. p. 129.

^g Vide Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 677, &c. cap. 17. p. 859. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. pp. 354, &c. 447.

^h Prisei ibid. p. 143.

ⁱ Usser. de Primord. cap. 14. p. 556. Brit. Eccles. Antiq.

p. 289. De Primord. ibid. p. 535. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 279.

^k Scotch. lib. 4. cap. 25. lib. 3. cap. 24. p. 635. Oxon. 1691.

^l Usser. de Primord. cap. 14. p. 514. cap. 15. p. 681. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. pp. 268. 357.

^m Hector Boethius saith, that Lothius put in his claim, according to the ancient law of the Britons, and that he ought to have the regency during the minority of his sons; but the Britons would by no means hear of strangers coming to their crown, and so Arthur took possession of it; who first conquered the Saxons ten miles from London, then took London, (which it seems the Saxons had before,) and so went towards Humber: and then he goes on with the British History, only interspersing some news of his own. Particulary he tells “ what a profane Christmas Arthur kept with his nobles at York for thirteen days together; and that such jollity and feasting then had its original from him.” ⁿ Buchanan is so pleased with this notable observation, that he sets it down for good history, saying upon it, “ that the old Saturnalia were renewed, only the days increased, and Saturn’s name changed to Cæsar’s; for,” saith he, “ we call that feast Julia.” But why should the name of Saturn be changed into Cæsar’s? Was he worshipped for a god among the British Christians, as Saturn was among the old pagans? But the name Julia imports it. By no means: for Buchanan doth not prove that this name was ever used for that festival among the Britons; and the Saxons, who brought in both the feast and the name, give another reason for it. For ^o Bede saith, “ that December was called Giuli, from the conversion of the sun and the increase of the days.” And ‘ giul,’ as ^p Loccenius observes, signified ‘ a wheel,’ or any thing ‘ that turns round,’ in the Gothic language. At which time among the northern nations, the feast of the new

^m Hist. Scot. lib. 9. fol. 164. 2. in Bedæ Oper. tom. 2. p. 68.
lin. 59. Brand’s Observations, p. 156.

ⁿ Buchanani ibid. lib. 5. p. 44. ^p Antiq. Suec. Goth. lib. 1.

^o De Ratione Temp. cap. 13. cap. 5. p. 25.

year was observed with more than ordinary jollity: 343 thence, as ^q Olaus Wormius and ^r Scheffer observe, they reckoned their age by so many iölas; and Snorro Sturleson describes this new-year's feast, just as Buchanan sets out the British Saturnalia, by "feasting and sending presents or new-year's gifts to one another." Thence some think the name of this feast was taken from 'iöla,' which in the Gothic language signifies 'to make merry.' But ^s Olaus Rudbeck thinks the former more proper, not only from Bede's authority, but because in the old Runic Fasti, a 'wheel' was used to denote that festival: and as he observes, "this festival continued twelve days from their first of the Juul." The true reason whereof was, as ^t Olaus Rudbeck at large proves, from the joy they had at the hopes of the return of the sun; at which time they made solemn sacrifices to the sun. ^u But after Christianity prevailed, all their idolatrous sacrifices were laid aside, and this time of feasting was joined with the religious solemnities of that season, which in other parts of the world were observed by Christians: which is certainly a very different thing from the Roman Saturnalia, although Buchanan thought fit to parallel them.

But to proceed with the story of king Arthur, as it is in Buchanan, who takes his materials from Hector, and puts them into a finer dress. "Arthur," he saith, "made a league with the Scots and Picts, and Lothus brought his sons to him; and then a resolution was taken to drive out the Saxons, and to restore Chris-

^q Fasti Danici, lib. 1. cap. 12.

p. 25, &c.

^r Upsaliæ Antiq. cap. 16. p. 300, &c.

^s Atlantic. part. 1. cap. 5. p. 125.

^t Ibid. p. 100.

^u Stillingfleet, Works, vol. 5. p. 333, has noticed the Saxon idolatry: *ibid.* p. 670. &c. he speaks of their conversion to Christianity.

tianity; then followed the battle against Colgrin;" of which before; and the rest of Arthur's battles. But upon the whole, he concludes "that Geoffrey's relations have no colour of truth;" and yet he makes use of no other, but where he follows Hector's own inventions. The remainder of his story is, "that things being quieted here, Arthur goes over into Lesser Britain, and leaves the government to his nephew Mordred; but while he was abroad, some had prevailed with him to declare Constantine the son of Cador his successor, being born in Britain; which being done, Mordred set up for himself, and in a battle about Humber," saith he, "Mordred was killed, and Arthur mortally wounded."

344 Thus Buchanan having picked what he thought fit out of Hector, concludes with a bitter invective against the fabulous relations about Arthur: but he gives him an extraordinary character, saying, "he was certainly a great man, of mighty courage and wonderful kindness to his country, preserving them from slavery, and keeping up or restoring the true religion."

And that is the subject I am now to consider, viz. the state of religion here in king Arthur's days. It was under great persecution almost wherever the Saxons came, who were cruel both to the bodies and souls of the poor Britons: most of the southern and western parts were under their tyranny; and ^vBrian Twyne quotes a passage out of Matt. Westminster, which is not so full in the printed copies, concerning the persecution of the British Christians in the eastern parts of the land. "For," saith he, "A. D. 527, the pagans came out of Germany, and took possession of the country of the East Angles, 'et omni crudelitatis genere Christianos affecerunt,' they tormented the

^v Antiq. Oxon. Acad. Apol. Primord. cap. 14. p. 515. Brit. lib. I. §. 87. p. 50. Usser. de Eccles. Antiq. p. 269.

Christians with all sorts of cruelty." Although this be wanting in other copies, yet it may be reasonably presumed, the Saxons using the British Christians in such a manner in the most places where they prevailed. It is true that ^w Malmesbury saith, "many of the Britons submitted to Cerdic," and it is probable they were the better used for doing so. ^x Tho. Rudburn saith, "that Cerdic allowed liberty of professing the Christian religion to the Cornish upon a certain tribute." I rather think that Cerdic never went so far, but left that part to the Britons, who still continued there: ^y for in Gildas's time Constantine is said to be king of the Damnonii: and Camden ^z observes out of Marianus Scotus, that "A. D. 820, the Britons and Saxons had a terrible fight at Camelford in Cornwall," which Leland thinks to have been Camlan, where king Arthur fought with Mordred, and near which is a stone, saith ^a Mr. Carew, which bears Arthur's name; but now called Atry. To prove what I have said, that the West-Saxon kingdom did not extend to Cornwall, we may observe, that ^b William of Malmesbury saith, "that Ceaulin, grandchild to Cerdic, was the first who took Gloucester, Cirencester, and 345 Bath from the Britons, and drove them thence into the rocky and woody places." ^c And in the time of

^w De Gest. Reg. lib. 1. cap. 2. pp. 5. 12. Usser. de Primord. cap. 13. p. 468. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 250.

^x Chron. lib. 2. cap. 1. Vide Wharton. Angliæ Sacræ, vol. 1. p. 187. Usser. ibid. Stillingfleet's Works, vol. 5. p. 672. as before.

^y Usser. de Primord. cap. 14. p. 537. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 280.

^z Brit. p. 141. vol. 1. pp. 6. 19. See pp. 338, 339. notes g. °°.

^a Survey of Cornw. p. 122.

^b De Gest. Reg. lib. 1. cap. 2. pp. 5. 12. Usser. de Primord. cap. 14. p. 569. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 295. Camden. ibid. pp. 170. 254. 256. 258. vol. 1. pp. 62. 261. 263. the Additions, 275. Saxon Chron. ibid. p. 26. under A. D. 577. Vide Usser. Primord. cap. 15. p. 709. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 371. Camden. ibid. p. 176. vol. 1. p. 87.

^c Malmesburiensis ibid. lib. 2.

Athelstan, above 400 years after the coming of the Saxons, the Cornish Britons did inhabit in Exeter, and were driven thence by him beyond the river Tamar, and confined by that, as ^d the other Britons were by the Wye. This shews that the Britons in Cornwall, and thereabouts, were free from the yoke of the West-Saxon kingdom. ^e As to the northern Britons, they came to some agreement after a while with ^f Occa and Ebusa, whom Hengist sent thither; and that they had their own government, and the Christian religion among them appears by the history of Ceadwalla, a prince of these Britons, in ^g Bede. But these were but small remnants in the northern and western parts. As to the eastern, ^h we have had the testimony of Matt. Westminster already. And although the kingdom of the East Angles did not begin till afterwards, about A. D. 575, yet in the ninth year of Cerdic, about A. D. 517, Huntingdon observes, that many Angles or Saxons were come out of Germany, and took possession of the country of the East Angles and Mercia, and wherever they prevailed, the poor British Christians suffered to the highest extremity: which is enough, to considering men, to overthrow the credit

cap. 6. pp. 27. 50. Camden. *ibid.* pp. 142. 148. vol. 1. pp. 7. 28. in which latter edition, p. 1. note †, it is said, "ancient Cornwall probably included all Devon." Vide *Usser. de Primord.* cap. 12. p. 394. *Brit. Eccles. Antiq.* p. 211. et not. B. See p. 355. and note ^c.

^d William of Malmesbury, *De Gest. Reg.* lib. ii. 28, quoted by Camden, *ibid.* p. 253. vol. 1. p. 260. *Additions to Camden ibid.* vol. 2. p. 356. col. 2; besides *ibid.* p. 487. vol. 2. p. 478.

^e *Malmesburiensis ibid.* lib. 1.

cap. 3. pp. 8. 16. *Usser. de Primord.* cap. 15. p. 663. *Brit. Eccles. Antiq.* p. 348. Camden. *ibid.* p. 674. vol. 3. p. 241. *Usser. de Primord. Addend.* p. 1004. 1033. cap. 15. p. 665. *Brit. Eccles. Antiq.* cap. 15. pp. 212—214. 348.

^f See p. 292. note ^u.

^g *Bede. ibid.* lib. 2. cap. 20. p. 101. Camden. *ibid.* p. 664. vol. 3. p. 234. and *Additions*, p. 249. *Usser. de Primord.* cap. 15. p. 663. *Brit. Eccles. Antiq.* p. 348. See p. 355. and note ^k.

^h See p. 344.

of the supposed diploma of king Arthur to the university of Cambridge, which bears date A. D. 531. ⁱ But Brian Twyne hath brought no fewer than fifteen arguments against it, which are far more than needed. For I cannot think that Dr. Cajus in earnest believed it; for he goes not about to prove the diploma, but king Arthur: and I cannot think it any honour or service to so famous and ancient an university, to produce any such suspected diplomata or monkish legends, to prove its antiquity. It is not certain in whose possession London was at that time, from whence the charter is dated: for the kingdom of the East Saxons was then set up by Erkinwin, and London commonly was under that; and that kingdom, as ^k Malmesbury observes, had the same limits which the diocese of London now hath, viz. Essex, Middlesex, and part of Hertfordshire. ^l Matt. Westminster agrees “that Middlesex was under the kingdom of the East Saxons,” but ^m he will not yield that Theonus, ³⁴⁶ bishop of London, did retire with his clergy into Wales till A.D. 586; and then he confesses, “that he and Thadioc, bishop of York, when they saw all their churches demolished, or turned into idol temples, did for their security retire thither.”

And there was the freest exercise of their religion kept up, even in the reign of king Arthur; ⁿ there flourished the schools of literature set up by Dubricius and Iltutus, and there were the persons of greatest reputation for learning and sanctity in the British

ⁱ Usser. de Primord. cap. 14. p. 104.
p. 515. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 269.

^k De Gest. Reg. lib. 1. cap. 6. p. 19. p. 35.

^l Matt. West. A. D. 586.

^m Usser. de Primord. cap. 5. pp. 68. 77. 83. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. pp. 37. 42. 45. See ch. 4. p. 204.

ⁿ Chap. 4. p. 204.

Churches, ° such as Dubricius, Iltutus, Paulinus, Gund-leus, Cadocus, Sampson, Paternus, Daniel, and St. David above the rest, whose reputation continues to this day, and was preserved in the Saxon Churches of Britain, as appears by the breviary of Salisbury, where nine lessons are appointed upon his day; and ^p Maihew observes that this was by a provincial constitution in the province of Canterbury; but the nine lessons were taken out of the first chapter of the legend of his Life, a little being added at the end concerning his death. It is the just complaint of ^q Bollandus, “that there is nothing extant concerning him, which was written near his own time; and what is extant hath many fabulous mixtures, so that it is hard to find out the truth.” The oldest MS. of his Life he saith is that of Utrecht, which he hath published; the next he accounts is that in Colganus, which he would have thought to be the Life written by Ricemarchus, quoted by ^r archbishop Usher; whom he supposes to have lived before Giraldus Cambrensis, who transcribed much out of him. But Colganus withal intimates, “that the Life was taken out of an old book, wherein Augustin Macraidin, the author of the Annals of Ulster had written many things,” and probably might write that too; and to confirm this, Bollandus observes only a little difference in style between this and the Utrecht MS. But if we add to these, ^s Giraldus’s Life, with that of John of Tinmouth, or Capgrave, we shall after all find the Life of St. David not much clearer than that of ^t his

° Usser. de Primord. cap. 13. p. 463. cap. 14. p. 524. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. pp. 248. 274.

^p Congr. Bened. Trophæ. t. 1. p. 263.

^q Acta Sanct. Mart. 1. §. 1. n. 5. p. 38.

^r Primord. cap. 17. p. 843. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 439.

^s Vide Usser. de Primord. cap. 17. p. 843. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 439.

^t Usser. de Primord. cap. 13. p. 475. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 254.

nephew Arthur, for he is supposed to have been uncle to him by the mother's side, whose name is said to be Nonnita in Capgrave, Nonna in the Utrecht MS., Ne-347 mata in Colganus, Melari in the Life of St. Kenna; so Colganus and Bollandus say; but in Capgrave I find Melari said to be "the mother to the father of St. David," i. e. to Xantus king of the Provincia Cere-tica, i. e. Cardiganshire (so called from Ceretus father to Xantus say some; from Caraticus, who ruled here, as ^u Camden seems inclinable to believe). That Melari was one of the twelve daughters of Braghanus king of Brecknock; from whom, ^x Giraldus saith, "the county took its name;" and he said from the British histories "that he had twenty-four daughters;" but Capgrave saith "he had twelve sons and twelve daughters." ^y D. Powell in his notes on Giraldus saith, "this Brachanus's father was Haulaphus, king of Ireland, and his mother a Briton," viz. Marcella, daughter to Theodoric, son of Tethwaltus, king of Garthmathrin, afterwards called Brecknock; another daughter of Brachanus, he saith, was wife to Congenus, son to Cadel, king of Powisland, and mother to Brochmiel, who killed Etheldred, king of Northumberland, and routed his army about A. D. 603. By this we see what a number of petty princes there was about that time among the Britons; but whether St. David were uncle by the mother to king Arthur or not, we have not light enough to discover. I shall pass over all the legendary parts of his life; and consider only what relates to the Church history of those times. ^z His domestic educa-

^u Brit. p. 518. vol. 2. p. 524, compared with the Additions, p. 526.

^x Itiner. Camb. lib. 1. cap. 2. in Camden. Anglica, &c. p. 826. Vide Camden. Brit. p. 482. vol.

2. p. 470.

^y Camden. Anglica, &c. p. 829.

^z Usser. de Primord. cap. 13. p. 463. cap. 14. p. 527. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. pp. 248. 275.

tion is said to have been under Pauleus or Paulinus, a disciple of St. German; with whom he continued ten years; in the Isle of Wight, saith Giraldus, but it seems more probable to have been Whiteland in Caermarthenshire; ^a the school of Iltutus being not far off in Glamorganshire at Lantwit, i. e. ‘Fanum Iltuti;’ and in his Life it is said, “that he came to the king of Glamorgan;” and after, that Samson, Paulinus, Gildas and David were his scholars. But Bollandus shews, that there must be a mistake as to David; and that instead of him it should be read Daniel, who was a disciple of Iltutus, and consecrated first bishop of Bangor by Dubricius. After this it is said, “that ^b David and Eliud, or Teliaus, and Paternus went to Jerusalem, and David was there consecrated bishop by the patriarch.”

348 And it is not to be wondered that in such a distracted time at home they should go to Jerusalem, when ^c St. Jerome in his time mentions “the Britons going thither;” especially such as were more inclined to devotion; which humour spread so much, that ^d Gregory Nyssen wrote against it, as a thing very much tending to superstition if not arising from it. But it was most excusable in such a troublesome time at home. Not long after his return, the famous synod at Brevi was held at a place called ^e ‘Llandewi-brevi,’ the Church of St. David at Brevi. Here the Utrecht MS. saith “was a synod assembled of all the bishops of Britain upon the account of the Pelagian controversy then revived.”

^a See chap. 4. p. 204. Us-
ser. de Primord. cap. 13. p. 472.
Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 252.

^b Us-
ser. de Primord. cap. 13.
p. 474. cap. 14. p. 528. Brit.
Eccles. Antiq. pp. 253. 275.

^c Hieron. Oper. tom. i. epist.
17. p. 128. ed. Erasm. tom. 4.
part. 2. epist. 44. col. 551. Us-

ser. de Primord. cap. 8. p. 203.
Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 110.
Camden. ibid. p. 48. vol. i. p. li.

^d Greg. Nyss. Oper. tom. 3.
p. 651. Us-
ser. de Primord. ibid.
p. 202. Brit. Eccles. Antiq.
p. 109.

^e Camden. Brit. p. 518. vol. 2.
p. 524, and the Additions, p. 527.

^f Giraldus saith, “it was a general convention of clergy and laity.” But the former MS. saith, “there were present one hundred and eighteen bishops, besides abbots and others.” One would think it hard to find so many bishops in Britain at that time: and Bollandus startles at it, but Colganus undertakes to defend it; having premised that Giraldus and Capgrave leave it out; but he saith, “there were more bishops at that time than afterwards; and more bishops than bishoprics, dioceses not being then so limited as afterwards; and every monastery almost having a bishop its superior; by which means he justifies St. Patrick’s consecrating,” as ^gJocelin saith, “three hundred and fifty bishops with his own hands.” But after all this, Giraldus did much better to omit such a number in such a time, unless there were better testimony concerning it. However there was a considerable number there present, yet ^hSt. David was absent, and first Paulinus was sent to him; but he prevailed not; then Daniel and Dubricius went, upon whose entreaty he came, and by his authority and eloquence put an effectual stop to Pelagianism: ⁱand before the end of the synod it is said, “that by general consent he was chosen archbishop of Caerleon, Dubricius desiring to retire on the account of his age.”

But here we meet with a considerable difficulty concerning the succession to Dubricius, viz. “that ^kTe-
lianus is said to succeed Dubricius at Llandaff, and to have

^f Usser. de Primord. cap. 5. p. 253.
p. 81. cap. 13. p. 474. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. pp. 44. 253.

^g Usser. de Primord. cap. 17. p. 950. et p. 913. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. pp. 492. et 491. 473. See Lloyd *ibid.* ch. 4. §. 3. p. 92. and notes.

^h Usser. de Primord. cap. 13. p. 474. Brit. Eccles. Antiq.

ⁱ Usser. de Primord. cap. 5. p. 81. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 44. Camden. *ibid.* p. 490. vol. 2. p. 480.

^k Usser. de Primord. cap. 5. p. 87. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 46. See chap. 4. p. 203. and in this chapter, p. 361.

power over all the Churches of the western parts of Britain;” how can this be consistent with St. David’s succeeding Dubricius in the see of Caerleon, which had 349 the metropolitan power over those Churches?

¹ Bishop Godwin out of Bale, and as he supposeth, out of Leland, saith, “ that St. Dubricius was first bishop of Llandaff, being there consecrated by Germanus and Lupus, and that afterwards he was removed by a synod to Caerleon, and Teliaus placed in Llandaff.” But this by no means clears the difficulty; for although Bale doth there exactly follow Leland, yet Leland himself did not seem to have consulted ^m the book of Llandaff; where it is said, “ that when Dubricius was made archbishop, he had the see of Llandaff conferred upon him, by the gift of Mouricus then king, and the three estates, i. e. the nobles, clergy, and people, and all the land between the Taff and Elei :” and ⁿ Leland himself out of another author saith, “ that when Dubricius was made archbishop, Llandaff was made his cathedral Church.” After Dubricius’s time ^o Teliaus is said to be archbishop several times in the book of Llandaff; and after him Oudoceus is called “ summus episcopus;” and ^p the bishop of Llandaff in his petition to Calixtus II. A. D. 1119, saith, “ that it appears by the handwriting of St. Teliaus, that the Church of Llandaff was superior in dignity to all other Churches in Wales.” That which seems to me the most probable account of this matter is, that when Llandaff was given to Dubricius then archbishop, he fixed his see there, and so Llandaff

¹ De Præsul. pp. 617. 591.
Usser. de Primord. ^u Addend. p.
979. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. c. 5.
p. 43. Camden. Brit. p. 497.
vol. 2. p. 493.

^m Usser. de Primord. cap. 5.
p. 79. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 43.

Vide Camden. ibid.

ⁿ Collect. tom. 2. p. 42.

^o Usser. de Primord. cap. 5.
pp. 76. 83. 85. 98. cap. 14. pp.
559. 562. Brit. Eccles. Antiq.
pp. 41. 44. 46. 52. 290.

^p See ch. 4. p. 204.

was the seat of the archbishop of Caerleon. But afterwards, when ^q St. David removed the archiepiscopal see to Menevia, a remote, barren, and inconvenient place, as Giraldus himself confesseth; the bishops of Llandaff assumed the archiepiscopal power, which had been in that see, and would not submit to the bishops of St. David's. ^r This is apparent from that passage of Oudoceus (who succeeded Teliaus) in the book of Llandaff, that he would not receive consecration from the bishop of St. David's, as his metropolitan, but had it from the archbishop of Canterbury. ^s This is a very improbable thing at that time, considering the hatred the Britons did bear to the Saxons, and their bishops to Augustine the monk: it is far more likely that they received it from the archbishop of Dole in Brittany, or from the archbishop of London, then resident in those parts; who probably kept up their succession for some time, as long as there were any hopes of returning to their own see, as is before observed.

^t After this, Giraldus speaks of another great council held by St. David, which he calls Victoria; in which ³⁵⁰ he saith "all the clergy of Wales were present; and the decrees of the former council were confirmed, and new canons made for the government of the British Churches;" but this second synod is not mentioned in the old Utrecht MS. nor in Capgrave, but it is in Colganus; and by the expressions it appears to have been taken out of Giraldus, "who confesseth, "that no copies of those canons were to be seen in his time, that coast being so often visited by pirates," (who no doubt came

^q Camden. Brit. p. 510. vol. 2.

p. 514.

^r Usser. de Primord. cap. 5.

p. 85. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 46.

^s See ch. 4. p. 204.

^t Usser. de Primord. cap. 13.

p. 475. Brit. Eccles. Antiq.

p. 253.

^u Usser. ibid. See p. 362.

to steal MSS. and especially Church canons). I will not deny that the British Churches at that time and in those parts might be said to be in a flourishing condition in comparison with other parts of Britain, and there might be more Christians there, because they had been driven out from other places; and their brethren's afflictions might increase their devotion; but Gildas takes no more notice of St. David than he doth of king Arthur. ^xThe battle at Badon hill, according to archbishop Usher, was the year after the synod at Brevy; and from that time the British Churches had some quiet from their enemies: but then ^yGildas saith, "the Britons quarrelled among themselves: but yet so as that some kind of order and government was then kept up among them, by the remembrance of their late calamities." And at this time he speaks the best of the Britons that he doth in his whole book; for he saith, "that kings and public and private persons, bishops and other churchmen" (for 'sacerdotes' in that age often signified 'bishops,' and ^zGildas calls it 'sacerdotalem episcopatus sedem') "did all keep to the duty of their places." But then he adds, ^a"when the sense of these calamities was worn out, and a new generation arose, they fell into such a degeneracy as to cast off all the reins of truth and justice, that no remainder of it appeared in any sort of men, except a few, a very few; whose number was so small in comparison with the rest, that the Church could hardly discern its genuine children when they lay in her bosom."

^x Usser. de Primord. Index Chron. A.D. 519, 520. p. 1128. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 526. col. 2.

^y Gild. §. 26. p. 23. 1. 23. 2. Hist. Gild. §. 26. p. 9. Hist. Gild. §. 26. p. 34. Usser. de Pri-

mord. cap. 14. p. 534. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 278.

^z Usser. de Primord. *ibid.* p. 549. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 285. Lloyd *ibid.* ch. 3. §. 8. p. 79.

^a Gild. *ibid.* "At illis deudentibus."

But before I come to this last and saddest part of the history of the British Churches, it will be necessary now to give some account of those Britons, who, being wearied out here, went for refuge to that country in France which from them is called Bretagne.

^b It seems hard to determine when the first colony of ³⁵¹ Britons was settled in the parts of Aremorica. For in the declining times of the Roman empire there was so frequent occasion of the British soldiers removing into the continent, and so little encouragement to return hither, that it is not improbable, that after the troubles of Maximus and Constantine a colony of Britons might settle themselves upon the seacoasts near to Britain, where they might be ready to receive or to go over to their countrymen, as the condition of affairs should happen. This I am very much induced to believe, not from the authority of ^c Nennius, or Geoffrey, or William of Malmesbury, or Radulphus Niger, &c., but from these arguments :

First, from Sidonius Apollinaris; and there are two passages in him which tend to the clearing this matter : the first is concerning Aruandus, accused at Rome of treason in the time of Anthemius, for persuading the king of the Goths to make war upon the Greek emperor, i. e. Anthemius, who came out of Greece, and upon the Britons on the Loire, as ^d Sidonius Apollinaris expressly affirms, who lived at that time and pitied his case. This happened about A. D. 467, before Anthemius was the second time consul. From whence it

^b See ch. 4. p. 183, and in this chap. p. 287.

^c Usser. de Primord. cap. 8. p. 199. cap. 12. p. 421. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. pp. 107. 225. Camden. ibid. p. 79. vol. 1. p. lxxxvii.

^d Epist. lib. 1. ep. 7. inter Oper. p. 16. inter Sirmondi Oper. tom. 1. col. 857. Camden. ibid. p. 80. vol. 1. p. lxxxviii. Usser. de Primord. cap. 12. p. 423. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 226.

appears, not only that there were Britons then settled on the Loire, but that their strength and forces were considerable, which cannot be supposed to consist of such miserable people as fled from hence for fear of the Saxons; and it is observable, that about this time Ambrosius had success against the Saxons, and by Vortimer's means, or his, the Britons were in great likelihood of driving them out of Britain: so that there is no probability that the warlike Britons should at that time leave their native country. A second passage is concerning Riothamus, a king of the Britons in the time of ^eSidonius Apollinaris, and to whom he wrote, who went with 12,000 Britons to assist the Romans against Euricus king of the Goths, but were intercepted by him, as ^fJornandes relates the story; and Sigebert places it A.D. 470. Now what clearer evidence can be desired than this, to prove that a considerable number of Britons were there settled, and in a condition not only to defend themselves, but to assist the Romans; which cannot be imagined of such as merely fled thither after the Saxons' coming into Britain. Besides, we find in ^gSirmondus's Gallican Councils, Mansuetus, a bishop of the Britons, subscribing to the first council at Tours, which was held A.D. 461: by which we see the Britons had so full a settlement then, as not only to have habitations, but a king and bishops of their own; which was the great encouragement for other Britons to go over, when they found themselves so hard pressed by the Saxons at home. For a people frightened from hence, would hardly have ventured into

^e Lib. 3. ep. 9. inter Oper. p. 1112. inter Gruteri Hist. p. 73. inter Sirmondi Oper. August. Script. Latin. Usser. tom. 1. col. 919. Camden. *ibid.* *ibid.* and ch. 4. *ibid.*

Usser. *ibid.* See ch. 4. p. 197.

^f De Rebus Get. cap. 45.

^g Usser. *ibid.* Also chap. 4. p. 181, and note ^d.

a foreign country, unless they had been secure beforehand of a kind reception there. If they must have fought for a dwelling there, had they not far better have done it in their own country? From whence I conclude, that there was a large colony of Britons in Aremorica before those numbers went over upon the Saxon cruelties; of which ^h Eginhardus and other foreign historians speak. Archbishop Usher seems to think this Riothamus himself to have been the first leader of them; but it is hard to think a person of his valour and experience would leave his country in that distressed condition it was brought into by the Saxons.

But ⁱ Florentius, the author of the Life of Judocus, son to a king of Bretagne, saith, "that his name was Rioval, a prince here in Britain, who gathered a good army and fleet together, and with that subdued the people who lived on the Aremorican coasts, being then left destitute and unable to defend themselves." For that was the effect of the Roman government, which was kept up by the force of the Roman legions in all parts of it; and so, when these were broken, the nations were so unaccustomed to war, that they lay open to all invaders. So that the aggressors did generally succeed in their attempts where the Roman legions were withdrawn: and next to the wise providence of God, which ordereth all things, there was no one cause which contributed so much to the miseries of those times, and the strange revolutions which happened in them, as the natives being not trained up to martial discipline, but 353 depending wholly on the Roman legions for their defence and security; thence, whatever people had the

^h Annal. A.D. 786. p. 244. p. 1008. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. inter Hist. Francic. Script. coæt. cap. 12. p. 226.

Duchesn. tom. 2. p. 639, misprinted for p. 631. Usser. de Primord. ibid. p. 422. Addend. ⁱ Surii de Sanctorum Histor. in Dec. 13. tom. 7. p. 1008. Usser. ibid.

courage to invade, did usually take possession of the country where the Roman legions were at a distance, or otherwise engaged against each other. Thus in France, the Goths, the Burgundians, the Franks, and the Britons took possession of the several parts they attempted; and the Goths and Vandals in Spain: so Goths and Lombards in Italy itself. So that it is not to be wondered if the Saxons prevailed here at last; but with as much difficulty, and after as many battles as were fought by any people of that time without foreign assistance. But to return to the Aremorian Britons, whether they came over under Rioval in the beginning of the distractions here, “when the people were so rebellious against their princes,” as ^k Gildas relates, or whether they went over to assist Constantine and his son, and so remained there, I shall not determine. But that the Britons were well settled there before ^l Samson, archbishop of York, and his company passed the seas, appears by what ^m Mat. Paris saith, “that they went to their fellow-citizens and countrymen, hoping to live more quietly there.” And after the death of the bishop of Dole, he was by the consent of the Britons put into his place, and from thenceforwards exercised his archiepiscopal power there: the kings of that province not suffering his successors there to pay any obedience to the archbishop of Tours; which begot a suit which held three hundred years in the court of Rome, and was this year manfully decided by ⁿ Innocent III. as Mat. Paris there relates: who states the case very unskilfully, laying the weight

^k Usser. de Primord. cap. 12. p. 373. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 201. See in this chap. pp. 304. 319.

^l See p. 329.

^m Histor. Major. A. D. 1199.

p. 167.

ⁿ Usser. de Primord. cap. 5. p. 74. cap. 14. p. 530. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. pp. 40. 276. See p. 330.

of it upon the archbishop's bringing over his pall from York, which the pope had given him there. Suppose this were true, (although the popes gave no palls then, nor a great while after,) yet this were no reason to contest it in the court of Rome so long together. But the difficulty of the case lay upon another point, viz. according to the old canon of the Church, if a province were divided into two, each province was to have a metropolitan. Now this reason held much stronger when new kingdoms were erected out of the Roman provinces: for what reason was there why the bishop³⁵⁴ of Dole in the kingdom of Bretagne should yield subjection to the bishop of Tours in a distinct kingdom? and there was the fairer colour for this when one, actually an archbishop before, came to be settled there; and from hence they insisted on a prescription of a very long time, wherein no subjection had been made to the bishop of Tours, as appears by the account given of this cause by ° Innocent III. in his epistles lately published by Baluzius. On the other side it was pleaded, that all Brittany was under the jurisdiction of the archbishop of Tours, but that the Britons conspiring against the king of France, and setting up a kingdom of their own, they made use of Samson, archbishop of York, coming to establish a metropolitan power within that kingdom; and upon complaint made to Rome, the popes had put it upon this issue, whether any of their predecessors had granted the pall to the bishop of Dole, which not being proved, the pope, as it was easy to imagine, gave sentence against the bishop of Dole. But it is certain, that they went upon a false suggestion, viz. ¶ that the kingdom of Bretagne was set up

° Epist. lib. 2. ep. 82. in p. 530. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. tom. 1. p. 388. p. 276.

¶ Usser. de Primord. cap. 14.

in rebellion to the kingdom of France. For Childeric had not extended his dominions in France as far as the Loire, and before his time the Britons were in quiet possession of those parts of Aremorica; and the best ^q French historians now grant, that the Britons came thither in the time of Merovée, who obtained but little in Gaul, as ^r Hadrianus Valesius confesseth. And the ^s author of the Life of Gildas observes, “that the power of the kings of France was very inconsiderable in the time of Childeric, son of Merovée,” at what time Gildas went over into Aremorica, as his schoolfellows under Iltutus, Samson, and Paulus had done before him; whereof ^t one succeeded the other Samson at Dole, and the other was made bishop of the Oxismii, the most northern people of Bretagne; which diocese is since divided into three, Treguier, S. Pol de Leon, and S. Brieu.

Here ^u Gildas, at the request of his brethren who came out of Britain, saith the author of his Life, wrote his epistle, wherein ^v he so sharply reproves the several 355 vices of the five kings of Britain, whom he calls by the names of ^w Constantine, Aurelius, Vortiporius, Cune-glasus, and Maglocunus, and speaks to them all as then living. The ^x British History makes them to succeed

^q Mezeray, Hist. de France, tom. 1. p. 18. See Camden. *ibid.* p. 80. vol. 1. p. lxxxix.

^r *Rer. Fran.* lib. 3. p. 146. See Preface, p. xxxv.

^s *Vit. Gild.* cap. 12. in *Biblioth. Floriacens.* p. 439. *Usser. de Primord.* Addend. p. 1006. *Brit. Eccles. Antiq.* cap. 12. p. 222.

^t *Usser. de Primord.* cap. 13. p. 472. *Brit. Eccles. Antiq.* p. 252. See ch. 4. p. 204

^u *Usser. de Primord.* cap. 13. p. 444. cap. 17. p. 904. *Brit.*

Eccles. Antiq. pp. 238. 469. Pref. to *Gildas*, §. 7. p. x. ed. 1838.

^v *Usser. de Primord.* cap. 14. p. 536. *Brit. Eccles. Antiq.* p. 279.

^w *Usser. de Primord.* cap. 14. pp. 540. 542. *Brit. Eccles. Antiq.* p. 281. *Camden. ibid.* p. 81. vol. 1. p. lxxxix. *Epist. Gildæ*, §. 28. p. 37. note 7. §. 33. p. 42. note 11. ed. 1838.

^x *Galfr.* lib. 8. cap. 1. 2. pp. 91. 2. 92. *Usser. de Primord.* cap. 14. p. 536. *Brit. Eccles. Antiq.* p. 280.

each other; ^y Constantine, according to that, was killed in his third year by Aurelius Conanus. He died in his second year, and Vortiporius succeeding him, reigned four years. After him he places Malgo, and leaves Cuneglasus wholly out. ^z But that they reigned at the same time in several parts of Britain is evident from Gildas, because he saith, “^a he knew that Constantine was then living;” now Constantine reigning the first of these, how could he speak to the four kings that succeeded him, if he were still living? ^b For there is no colour for imagining that Gildas still added his reproof as one died and another succeeded: for any one may discern it was written in one continued style, and he writes to them all as then living, without the least intimation that they succeeded each other; besides, he calls ^c Constantine the “issue of the impure Damnonian lioness;” and at this time the Britons in the remote western parts were separated from the other by the West Saxon kingdom, and therefore there is far less probability that all the Britons at that time should be under one monarch; and where they had greatest freedom of living together, they were divided into several principalities. For he whom Gildas calls ^d Maglocunus, is by the British writers called ^e Maelgun Guineth, and ^f Mailgunus, mentioned by John of Timmouth in the

^y Usser. *ibid.*

^z Usser. *ibid.*

^a Usser. *de Primord.* cap. 14. p. 540. cap. 17. p. 904. *Brit. Eccles. Antiq.* pp. 281. 469.

^b Camden. *ibid.* *Vide Cave. Hist. Lit.* tom. 1. p. 539. col. 1.

^c Usser. *de Primord.* cap. 14. p. 538. *Brit. Eccles. Antiq.* p. 280. *Vide Usser. de Primord. ib.* p. 1167. *Brit. Eccles. Antiq.* p. 540. col. 2. *Camden. ibid.* p. 142. vol. 1. p. 8. and *Additions*, p. 21.

^d ‘The Island Dragon.’ Usser. *de Primord. ibid.* p. 544. *Brit. Eccles. Antiq.* p. 283. *Camden. ibid.* pp. 81. 839. vol. 1. p. lxxxix. vol. 3. p. 698.

^e Usser. *de Primord. ibid.* p. 537. *Brit. Eccles. Antiq.* p. 280.

^f Usser. *de Primord. ib.* p. 547. cap. 5. p. 88. *Brit. Eccles. Antiq.* pp. 284. 47. *Vide De Primord. cap. 14.* p. 565. *Brit. Eccles. Antiq.* 293.

Life of St. Paternus, and by ^gThaliessin in sir John Prise, from whom it appears that he was king of North Wales. And as ^hGildas calls Vortiporius the tyrant of the Demetæ, by whom the inhabitants of South Wales are understood: Aurelius Conanus, archbishop ⁱUsher thinks, was king of Powisland, which was sometime a third kingdom. And for Cuneglasus, it seems probable, he had the command of the northern Britons; for it is plain from ^kBede, they had a distinct principality there. All these Gildas doth very severely reprove for their several vices, ^land then taxes the judges and clergy to the conclusion of his epistle, “to the end they might repent of their sins, and acquit the just and wise providence of God in the judgments he brought 356 upon them,” which were very terrible, and ended in the desolation of the country and the ruin of the British Churches, excepting only those remnants which were confined to the corners of the land. For our ^mhistorians say, “that the Saxons left not the face of ⁿChristianity wherever they did prevail.”

This is a very sad subject, which ought not to be passed over without that reflection which ^oSt. Paul made on the Church of the Jews and Gentiles: “Behold the goodness and severity of God: on them which fell,

^g Usser. de Primord. cap. 14. p. 547. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 284.

^h Usser. de Primord. ibid. p. 542. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 282.

ⁱ Primord. cap. 14. p. 537. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 280.

^k Hist. Eccles. lib. 2. cap. 20. p. 101. See p. 345, notes ^e, &c. Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 663. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 348.

^l Usser. de Primord. cap. 14. p. 547. Brit. Eccles. Antiq.

p. 285, &c.

^m Ranulph. Nig. in Chronic. This work is still in MS. See Tanner's Bibliotheca under Nig. The passage is in Usher, below cited. Matt. Westminster A.D. 586. 596. pp. 104. 106. Usser. de Primord. cap. 14. p. 576. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 299.

ⁿ See Stillingfleet's Works, vol. 5. p. 671, in Answer to Cressy.

^o Rom. xi. 22. Vide Usser. de Primord. ib. p. 566. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 288.

severity; but towards thee, goodness, if thou continue in his goodness: otherwise thou also shalt be cut off."

It remains only, that we consider the liberty or independency of the British Churches: of which we can have no greater proof than from the carriage of the British bishops towards Augustine the monk, when he came with full power from the pope to require subjection from them. And this material point relating to the British Churches I shall endeavour to clear from all the objections which have been made against it. In order thereto, we are to understand, that ^p Augustine the monk, by virtue of the pope's authority, did challenge a superiority over the bishops of the British Churches, which appears not only by ^q Gregory's answer to his interrogations, but by the scheme of the ecclesiastical government here, which Gregory sent to him, after he had a fair prospect of the conversion of the Saxons, which was at the same time that he sent Mellitus, Justus, Paulinus and Rufinianus, with the archiepiscopal pall to him. There he declares that there were to be two archbishops' sees, one at London (which out of honour to Ethelbert or Augustine was fixed at ^r Canterbury, or rather by Ethelbert's own authority,) and the other at York, which had been a metropolitan see in the British times, and ^s both these

^p Bed. lib. 1. cap. 27. Interrog. 7. p. 64.

^q Ibid. cap. 29. p. 70. Usser. de Primord. cap. 5. pp. 69. 77. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. pp. 38. 42. Lloyd *ibid.* chap. 3. §. 9. p. 80.

^r Usser. de Primord. *ibid.* pp. 68. 77. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. pp. 37. 42.

^s Usser. de Primord. *ibid.* p. 92. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 49. Schelstrate in his Dissertation against Stillingfleet, ch. 6. n. 8, insists upon Gregory's authority

from this circumstance, but, in reply, see note ^d, chap. 3. p. 122, for Stillingfleet's opinion more at length; add to which, that in the case of Wilfrid, at a subsequent period, the Anglo-Saxon Church maintained its rights against the pretensions of the Roman bishop. Compare Stillingfleet's Rational Account *ibid.* part 2. ch. 5. §. 15. in his Works, vol. 4. p. 396, with Twysden's Historical Vindication of the Church of England, chap. 3. n. 29. p. 28.

archbishops were to have twelve suffragan bishops under them. The bishop of London was to be consecrated by his own synod, and to receive the pall from the pope; but Augustine was to appoint the first bishop of York, who was to yield subjection to him for his time, but afterwards the sees were to be independent on each other. But by all this, it should seem, that he 357 had authority given him only over those bishops who were consecrated by him, and the archbishop of York; what then becomes of those bishops in Britain who were consecrated by neither, and such they knew there were? Concerning these, Gregory gives a plain answer, “that they were all to be subject to the authority of Augustine, and to govern themselves in life and doctrine, and church offices, according to his direction.”^{ss} Augustine being furnished with such full powers, as he thought, desires a meeting with the British bishops, at a place called Augustinaes ac, as ^t Bede saith, in the confines of the ^u Wiccii and the West Saxons. Where this place was is very uncertain, and not at all material; ^x Camden could find nothing like it, and the conjectures of others since have no great probability, either as to Austric, or Haustake, or Ossuntree, but at this place ^y the British bishops gave Augustine a meeting; where the first thing proposed by him was, “that they would embrace the unity of the catholic Church, and then join with them in preaching to the Gentiles, for,”

^{ss} Schelstrate in his Dissertation against Stillingfleet, chap. 6. n. 1, recites this and the remaining portions of this paragraph, except the last sentence; as also that in p. 360. under note ⁿ, which see.

^t Lib. 2. cap. 2. p. 79. Usser. de Primord. cap. 5. p. 91. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 48. Smith in

Bedæ notis *ibid.* p. 79.

^u See in Additions to Camden, *ibid.* vol. 2. p. 356. col. 2.

^x Camden. *ibid.* Britannia, in Worcestershire, p. 436. vol. 2. p. 354, which compare with the Addition to Camden, *ibid.* vol. 2. p. 371. col. 2. Alford. Annal. tom. 2. A.D. 604. n. 3. p. 155.

^y Lloyd *ibid.* §. 10. p. 80.

saith he, “they did many things repugnant to the unity of the Church;” which was in plain terms to charge them with schism: and the terms of communion offered, did imply submission to the Church of Rome, and by consequence to his authority over them. But the utmost that could be obtained from them was, only ‘that they would take further advice, and give another meeting with a greater number.’ ^z And then were present seven bishops of the Britons, and many learned men, chiefly of the monastery of Bangor, where Dinnoth was then abbot; and the result of this meeting was, ‘that they utterly refused submission to the church of Rome, or to Augustine as archbishop over them.’ And for the account of this we are beholding to ^a Bede, whose authority is liable to no exception in this matter.

But against this plain matter of fact, there have been three objections made which must be removed.

I. That ^b Augustine did not require subjection from the British bishops, but only treated with them, about other matters in difference between them.

II. That their refusing subjection to the bishop of Rome depends upon the credit of a spurious British MS. lately invented and brought into light, as the answer of ³⁵⁸ Dinnoth.

III. That if they did refuse subjection to the pope, it was schismatical obstinacy in them, and contrary to the former sense of the British Church.

To all these I shall give a clear and full answer.

I. As to the matter of their conference, it cannot be denied that other things were started; as about the

^z Bedæ *ibid.* lib. 2. cap. 2. p. 79.
 Usser. *de Primord.* cap. 5. p. 89.
 Brit. *Eccles. Antiq.* p. 47. Stil-
 lingfleet's Works, vol. 3. p. 912.

Eccles. Angl. c. 22. n. 29. p. 127.
 Lloyd *ibid.* ch. 2. §. 8. p. 66.
 ch. 3. §. 10. p. 81.

^a Bedæ *ibid.* Crakanthorp. Def.

^b Alford. *ibid.* A.D. 604. n. 5,
 6, 7, 8, &c. p. 155, &c.

^c paschal controversy and some ^d rites of baptism, &c.; but this was the main point; which Augustine did not in plain terms insist upon, because it would look too invidiously to require subjection to himself, but he cunningly insinuates it under the name of ecclesiastical unity. For I dare appeal to any man's common sense, whether upon the principles of the Church of Rome, the British bishops' complying in other things and rejecting the pope's authority would have been thought sufficient? If so, then submission to the pope is no necessary term of communion; and men may be in a very safe condition without it. But if it were necessary, then Augustine must imply it within the terms of catholic peace and ecclesiastical unity. It is therefore ridiculous in ^e Alford and ^f Cressy, and such writers to say, "that Augustine did not insist upon it:" for it is to charge him with ignorance or stupidity, that he should leave out so necessary an article of communion: and yet Gregory had so great an opinion of him, as to make him the director of the British Churches. And therefore it cannot be supposed that he should offer terms of communion without requiring submission to the pope's authority; if those were in a state of schism who denied it.

^c Stillingfleet's Answer to Cressy, chap. 4. §. 8-12. in his Works, vol. 5. p. 685. Smith's Appendix, No. 9. a. p. 694. in his edition of Bede *ibid.*

^d Bingham *ibid.* b. 11. ch. 11. s. 8. p. 525. *ibid.* ch. 9. s. 1-5. p. 514. Usher's Discourse of the Religion anciently professed by the Irish and British, ch. 5. p. 45.

^e Annal. Eccles. A.D. 604. n. 11. in tom. 2. p. 157.

^f Church Hist. lib. 13. ch. 19.

n. 6. p. 306. Schelstrate *ibid.* n. 9. takes the same ground, but n. 10. he afterwards admits that the Britons might be, as Baronius avers, *ibid.* A.D. 604. n. 73, "schismatics from the centre of ecclesiastical unity." As Stillingfleet, in replying to the former, answers the objections also of the latter, it will be sufficient to refer to Bingham *ibid.* vol. 1. b. 9. ch. 1. s. 12. p. 349, for some few additional particulars.

§ But it is said, “ that in the conclusion of the second meeting, Augustine did not insist upon, nor so much as mention any subjection to him from the British Churches, but only required compliance in three points, viz. the time of the paschal solemnity agreeable with the Church of Rome; following the Roman customs in baptism; and joining with them in preaching to the Saxons: and upon these they brake up the meeting.”

To which I answer :

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That these things were required by Augustine, not as conditions of brotherly communion, but as the marks of subjection to his authority; which appears from ^h Bede’s own words, “ Si in tribus his mihi obtemperare vultis,” &c.; which Cressy very unfaithfully renders, “ If they would conform in three points only;” whereas the meaning is, if they would own his authority in those three things; and therefore the British bishops answered very appositely, when they said, “ We will neither do the things nor submit to you as archbishop over us.” Why should they deny subjection if it had not been required of them? Which shews they very well understood his meaning, and gave answer in short, to the main point. And upon this account I suppose it was, that the ⁱ anchoret’s advice was followed about observing “ whether he rose up to the British bishops at their entrance;” not that they were so offended for want of a compliment, as Mr. Cressy suggests, but this was looked on by them as a mark of that superiority which he challenged over them; and therefore they had reason to take so great notice of it, and to infer harder usage from him, when they should be under his authority. They could not be ignorant what authority the

§ Alford. *ibid.* A. D. 604. . ^h Bedæ *ibid.* lib. 2. cap. 2. n. 22. 32, 33, &c. pp. 160. 163, p. 80.
&c. ⁱ Bedæ *ibid.*

pope had given Augustine, and that made them more observant of his whole behaviour, and finding it so agreeing to the character of an archbishop over the British Churches, they give him that resolute answer, “that they would not own any authority he had as archbishop over them.” Which is a sufficient proof, that this was really the main point contested between them.

II. As to the British MS. which contains Dinot’s answer more at large, I answer;

1. ^k Leland observes, “that the British writers give a more ample account of this matter than is extant in Bede;” who is very sparing in what concerns the British affairs. But from them he saith, “that Dinot did at large dispute with great learning and gravity against receiving the authority of the pope, or of Augustine; and defended the power of the archbishop of St. David’s; and affirmed it not to be for the British interest to own either the Roman pride or the Saxon tyranny.” And 360 he finds fault with Gregory, “for not admonishing the Saxons of their gross usurpations, against their solemn oaths;” and adds, “that it was their duty, if they would be good Christians, to restore their unjust and tyrannical power to those from whom they had taken it. For Dinot, out of his great learning could not but know, that the pope under a pretence of bringing in the true faith could not confirm them in their unjust usurpation: for if that should be admitted, no princes could be safe in their dominions.” And no doubt the British bishops looked upon this attempt of Augustine upon them to be the adding one usurpation to another; which made them so adverse to any communication with the missionaries, which otherwise had been inexcusable.

^k De Script. Brit. in Dionot. p. 71. Tanner. Biblioth. ib. in Dionot.

2. The certainty of the British Churches' rejecting the pope's authority and Augustine's jurisdiction doth not depend upon the credit of this British MS., for this is sufficiently clear from Bede's own words, wherein they declare, ¹ "they would not own Augustine as archbishop over them." But if they had owned the pope's authority, they ought to have submitted to him, who acted by virtue of his commission: and it was not possible for them at such a distance from Rome to express their disowning his authority more effectually than by rejecting him whom he had sent to be archbishop over them. And Nich. Trivet in his MS. history cited by ^m sir H. Spelman, saith expressly, "that Augustine did demand subjection from the Britons to him, as the pope's legate, but they refused it." So that if this MS. had never been heard of, the matter of fact had been nevertheless fully attested.

3. The objections against this MS. are not sufficient to destroy the authority of it. ⁿ Sir H. Spelman, who

¹ Bedæ *ibid.* Bevereg. Annot. in Pandect. Canon. tom. 2. p. 58.

^m Concil. p. 111. Wilkins *ibid.* tom. 1. p. 27. col. 1 and 2.

ⁿ Schelstrate *ibid.* ch. 6. n. 1. 9. refers to this and the following sentence, in connexion with other matter noticed under p. 357, note ^s, in order to shew that Dinot's reply was undeserving of attention, because the British bishops in the councils of Arles and Sardica, *ibid.* n. 2, 3, Pelagius and Cœlestine, owned and appealed to the authority of the bishops of Rome, *ibid.* n. 4, 5; and also that Lupus, bishop of Troyes, and Germanus, bishop of Auxerre, were sent into Britain, by the same authority, for the quelling of Pelagianism, n. 6, while Palladius and Patrick were

the missionaries of the Roman bishop for the conversion of the Scots, or Irish, to Christianity, n. 7. By referring to ch. 2. p. 74-77. 83-85, with the notes, especially in the latter pages, the reader will observe how confounded the pretences, to the Roman superiority of power, are from the council of Arles; and from ch. 3. p. 136-144, with the notes, the proceedings relating to the council of Sardica are divested of the false glosses, which Schelstrate has, as in other cases, derived from preceding writers, on behalf of papal assumptions. With regard to Pelagius and Cœlestine, Germanus and Lupus, Palladius and Patrick, produced in favour of the same claims, see ch. 4. p. 180, &c.

sets it down at large in Welsh, English and Latin, tells from whom he had it, and exactly transcribed it, and that it appeared to him to have been an old MS. taken out of an older, but without date or author, and believes it to be still in the ° Cotton library. Here is all the appearance of ingenuity and faithfulness that can be expected ; and he was a person of too great judgment and sagacity to be easily imposed upon by a
 361 modern invention, or a “new found schedule,” as Mr. Cressy phrases it. The substance of it is, that the abbot of Bangor, in the name of the British Churches, declares, “that they owe the subjection of brotherly kindness and charity to the Church of God, and to the pope of Rome, and to all Christians : but other obedience than that, they did not know to be due to him whom they called pope ; and for their parts they were under the jurisdiction of the bishop of Caerleon upon Usk, who was under God their spiritual overseer and director.” But, say the ^pobjectors, “there was then no bishop of Caerleon upon Usk, and had not been since the time the metropolitan jurisdiction was by St. David transferred to Menevia.” I grant that from the time of ^qDubricius the see was transferred first to Llandaff, and then to St. David’s ; but this latter translation was not agreed to by all the British bishops ; and it appears by the foregoing discourse, that the bishops of Llandaff did at that time, when Oudoceus lived, challenge the

ch. 2. p. 52. ch. 4. p. 206, and the notes in their several places.

° Bedæ *ibid.* Appendix, p. 716.

^p Schelstrate *ibid.* here follows Cressy, as he follows Alford *ibid.* but Stillingfleet has, in his reply, sufficiently refuted their objections ; with whom Bingham *ibid.* also agrees, and shews, at

some length, their futility from instances not only in the English but in the Romish Church, in Italy itself. Also various authorities in Usher, de Primord. cap. 5. pp. 83. 88. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. pp. 45. 47.

^q See ch. 4. p. 203. and in this chapter, p. 348.

metropolitan power of Caerleon to themselves, and therefore would not be consecrated by the bishop of St. David's. And Caerleon having been the ancient metropolitan see, it was no absurdity at all to mention that in a dispute which depended upon ancient right. For the authority over the British Churches was not upon the account of St. David's or Llandaff, but the metropolitan right which belonged to the see of Caerleon. ^r As if in the British times the metropolitan see had been removed from London to Canterbury, what incongruity had it been in a dispute of superiority to have alleged, that the British Churches of these parts were under the jurisdiction of the archbishop of London, although at that time the see were removed to another place? And if this be all to make it appear to be a forgery, as Mr. Cressy pretends, for all that I can see, it may be a very ancient and genuine MS.

But Alford goes deeper, for he disproves it, "because it contradicts the sense of the British Churches before, which professed subjection to the Roman see."

This is indeed to the purpose if it be well proved, which in the last place comes to be considered.

III. To this purpose he alleges, I. ^s "the confirmation of St. David's synod by the pope's authority." But from whence hath he this? From no other testi-362
mony than that of Giraldus Cambrensis ^t cited by bishop Usher, who in the same place confesses, "that there was no monument of those synods at all remaining, nor of the pope's confirmation of them;" and the other MSS. and legends of St. David's Life say not a

^r See Stillingfleet's Rational Account of the Grounds of the Protestant Religion, part 2. ch. 5. §. 16. in his Works, vol. 4. p. 397.

^s Alford. *ibid.* A.D. 604. n. 9. and A.D. 529. n. 1. pp. 157. 36.

^t Usher. *de Primord.* cap. 13. p. 475. *Brit. Eccles. Antiq.* p. 253. See p. 350. of this chapter.

word of this. How then came Giraldus to affirm it? We are to remember that Giraldus had a cause depending in the court of Rome, about the bishopric of St. David's, and he knew well enough what doctrine was pleasing there, and therefore the testimony of such a one, having no concurrent evidence to support it, is of very little force in this matter. 2. "He mentions the respect Kentigern shewed to the Church of Rome, "going seven times thither, and having at last his uncanonical ordination purged, or confirmed by the pope;" as the author of his legend relates. But this seems to me a senseless and ridiculous legend: for as ^xBollandus observes, if Kentigern went seven times to Rome, how came he to put off the error of his consecration to the last? If it were good before, why not then? If naught before, then all the acts performed by him by virtue of his first consecration were invalid. But there is no more error supposed in ^ythe consecration of Kentigern by ^zone bishop, than there was in that of Servanus by Palladius, which as ^aJoh. Major saith, "was good in case of necessity." But the writers of the legends, living long after the times of the persons, framed their stories according to the customs of their own times;

^u Alford. *ibid.* A.D. 539. n.6. p.48. Usser. *de Primord.* cap.15. p. 684. *Brit. Eccles. Antiq.* p. 358.

^x *Acta Sanct.* 13. Jan. Vit. Kentigern. cap. 5. n. 29. not. f. p. 819.

^y Usser. *de Primord.* *ibid.* p. 684. *Brit. Eccles. Antiq.* p. 358. From the *Epist. Gild.* §. 106. p.111. and note 4. §. 108. p.114. and note 9. §. 109. p.115. and note 21. ed. 1838, we learn what were some portions "of the ritual of the early British Church;"

also for the British manner of consecrating churches, Bedæ *ib.* cap. 23. p. 128.

^z Usser. *de Primord.* *ibid.* Lloyd *ibid.* ch. 4. §. 5. p. 94. See Mason's *Vindication of the Church of England*, by Lindsay, ch. 5. p. 92. *ibid.* ch. 6. p. 92. Fuller's *Church History of Britain*, cent. 7. p. 84, &c.

^a *De Gest. Scot.* lib. 2. cap. 2. fol. 23.1. Usser. *de Primord.* *ibid.* p. 672. *Brit. Eccles. Antiq.* p. 352.

and because such a consecration was not then held good, therefore the author of his legend takes care to have that defect supplied at Rome, and to make amends he saith, ^b “that Kentigern at his death recommended to his disciples the decrees of the fathers, and the customs of the Roman Church.” But what is this to the necessity of subjection to the Roman see from the general sense of the British Churches? What if Kentigern having been often at Rome, were pleased more with the customs of that Church, than of the Britons? Doth it hence follow, that those Britons who maintained customs contrary to the Romans, did think it necessary to conform to the Church of Rome, when the plain evidence of fact is to the contrary; and which hath far ³⁶³ more authority than such legends as these? 3. “Ninianus is ^c said to have learnt the Christian doctrine at Rome, who converted the southern Picts, and founded the church ‘ad Candidam Casam;’ being the first built of stone.” But what follows from hence? Because Ninianus was made a Christian at Rome, therefore the British Churches always owned the pope’s supremacy. They are indeed to seek for arguments who make use of such as these. 4. He offers to prove the constant submission of the British Churches to the Roman see from Gildas himself, and he makes use of two arguments:

(1.) ^d From his calling the British Churches “sedem Petri,” the see of St. Peter. I confess Gildas hath

^b Alford. *ibid.* A.D. 601. n. 47. p. 149.

^c Bedæ *ibid.* lib. 3. cap. 4. p. 106. Usser. *de Primord.* cap. 15. p. 661. *Brit. Eccles. Antiq.* p. 347. Alford. *ibid.* A.D. 370. n. 1. 6. in tom. 1. p. 468. Lloyd *ibid.* ch. 2. §. 2. p. 50. ch. 4. §. 1.

p. 82. *Camden. Brit.* pp. 84. 693. vol. 1. p. xciii. vol. 3. p. 330. See Preface, p. lxxi.

^d Alford. *ibid.* A. D. 35. n. 3. A. D. 100. n. 15. pp. 13. 95. Usser. *de Primord.* cap. 14. pp. 548. 550. *Brit. Eccles. Antiq.* p. 285.

these words, but quite in another sense; for in the beginning of his invective against the clergy, among other things he charges them, that they did “^e sedem Petri apostoli immundis pedibus usurpare.” Doth he mean that they defiled St. Peter’s chair at Rome? No certainly; but he takes St. Peter’s chair for that which all the clergy possessed, and implies no more than their ecclesiastical function; and so he opposes it to “^f the chair of Judas, into which,” he saith, “such wicked men fell.” But if they will carry St. Peter’s chair to Rome, they must carry the chair of Judas thither too.

(2.) ^g Alford insists on this passage in Gildas, “that they were more ambitious of degrees in the church than of the kingdom of heaven:” and after a bitter invective against their simoniacal contracts, he adds, “that where they were opposed, they ran beyond sea to compass their ends.” Now, saith Alford, “whither should this be but to Rome?” For as ^h Leland observes, in the case of Giraldus Cambrensis, “sunt enim omnia venalia Romæ;” all things are bought and sold there; and therefore whither should such notorious simoniacal persons go but to Rome? This is a very surprising argument, and is more wisely passed over by

^e Bishop Godwin, Fuller, Collier, and others agree with Stillingfleet. Compare Parsons, in his *Three Conversions of England*, part 1. cap. 1. n. 20, with Mason’s *Vindication of the Church of England*, by Lindsay, b. 2. c. 2. p. 51: yet *Ém. Schelstrate*, in his *Dissertation*, *ibid.*, in reply to Stillingfleet, c. 1. n. 1, to serve his cause, still maintains that St. Peter is proved, from this passage in Gildas, to have founded the

Church in Britain.

^f Gild. pp. 58. 60. *Epist. Gild.* §.66. p. 72. ed. 1838. *Usser. ibid.*

^g *Ibid.* tom. 2. A. D. 548. n. 4. p. 61. *Usser. de Primord.* cap. 14. p. 549. *Brit. Eccles. Antiq.* p. 285.

^h Leland. *Comment. de Script.* *Brit.* cap. 196. p. 221. and compare the *Saxon Chronicle*, A. D. 1123. p. 347. and note 1. Stillingfleet’s *Sermon on the Fifth of November*, in his *Works*, vol. 1. p. 207.

Mr. Cressy, than insisted on by Alford, as being a horrible reflection on the court of Rome in those days. But to say truth, there is not one word of Rome in Gildas; but if they will apply it to Rome, how can we help it?

To conclude this discourse, ⁱ Alford is much dis-364
pleased with ^k sir H. Spelman for “paralleling the case of the British bishops and Augustine, with that of the Cyprian bishops against the patriarch of Antioch.” But for what reason? “Why,” saith he, “the council of Ephesus did not permit the Cyprian bishops to decline the judgment of their patriarch, but declared the bishop of Antioch not to be their patriarch.” Very well! ^l And is not this the very case here? The bishop of Rome challenged a patriarchal power over the British Churches, and appoints an archbishop over them; but they deny that he had such authority over them, they being governed by their own metropolitan, as the Cyprian bishops were: and therefore by the decree of the council of Ephesus, they were bound to preserve their own rights, and consequently to oppose that foreign jurisdiction, which Augustine endeavoured to set up over them.

ⁱ Ibid. A.D. 604. n. 10. p. 157.

^k Concil: p. 109. Wilkins ib. tom. 1. p. 26. not. *.

^l Vide Bevereg. Annot. in

6 Can. Concil. Nicen. primi,

tom. 2. Pandect. Canon. p. 58.

col. 1. and 2. See chap. 3. p.

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THE END.



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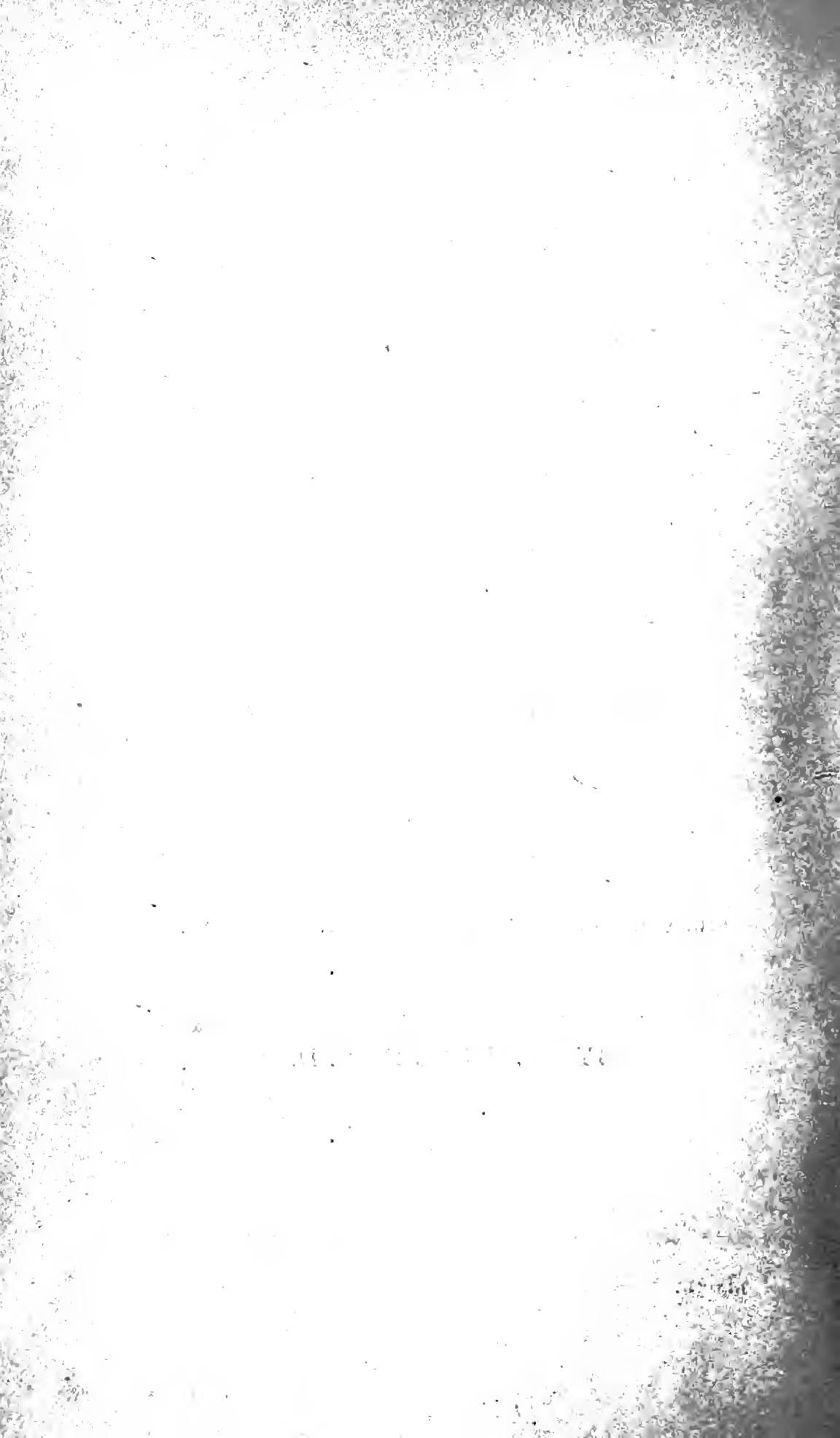
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AN HISTORICAL ACCOUNT

AN
HISTORICAL ACCOUNT
OF CHURCH GOVERNMENT
AS IT WAS IN
GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND
WHEN THEY
FIRST RECEIVED THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION.

BY W. LLOYD, D. D.

BISHOP OF WORCESTER.



PREFACE OF THE EDITOR.

PURSUING, in great measure, the same course as to prefatory matters, which I have traced out with regard to bishop Stillingfleet's *Origines Britannicæ*, or *The Antiquities of the British Churches*; it will be necessary in the first place to observe, that bishop Lloyd states "^a the occasion of the following book" arose from "the arguments against episcopal government...drawn from the example of the ancient Scottish Church," by those who favoured presbyterian notions.

Bishop Nicolson, in his ^b *English Historical Library*, remarks; "The undertaking," which Lloyd thus engaged in, became a bishop of our English Church, and the performance answered the great opinion that men of learning have always had of this worthy prelate. His aim in it, was the encountering an objection against the order of episcopacy, from the story of the Scotch Culdees; an argument put into the mouths of our

^a Lloyd's Preface to his *Historical Account of Church Government*, &c. p. i.

^b Part 2. ch. 1. p. 76.

schismatics by ^cBlondel and ^dSelden, out of the abundant kindness they had for our establishment. In answering of the several cavils of these learned men, the bishop thought himself obliged to give ^ea short history of the first planting of the Scots in Great Britain; which thwarted the common road of their historians since the days of Hector Boethius, and bereaved them of about forty of their first monarchs. This shortening of the royal line his majesty's advocate of Scotland, the late ingenious and learned sir George Mackenzie, presently resented, as an affront little short of what the lawyers of that country call 'lese-majesty,' and therefore published "^fA Defence of the Antiquity of the Royal Line of Scotland." To this "Defence" Lloyd did not reply, but his friend Stillingfleet undertook so to do, ^gas we have already seen; and in consequence Mackenzie published "The Antiquity of the Royal Line of Scotland farther cleared and defended, against the Exceptions lately offered by Dr. Stillingfleet, in his Vindication of the Bishop of St. Asaph." Of the former of these two books, "The Defence of the Antiquity," &c., Nicolson in his ^hScottish Historical Library observes, that therein, "ⁱIt is probably enough maintained, that the true succession of the kings of Scotland might be

^c Lloyd *ibid.* p. v. and notes k, l.

^d *Ibid.* chap. 6. §. 6. p. 121. note z. ch. 7. §. 3. p. 139. note z. p. 140. note zz.

^e *Ibid.* ch. 1. §. 8. p. 28, and note z, &c.

^f Octavo, London, 1685.

^g Editor's Preface to Stillingfleet's *Origines Britannicæ, or Antiquities of the British Churches,*

p. ix. and note i.

^h Part 2. ch. 3. p. 37.

ⁱ Mackenzie's *Defence of the Antiquity*, pp. 17-22. compared with Stillingfleet *ibid.* p. x. and note b, &c. Macpherson, in his Preface to *Wyntownis Cronykil*, p. xxiii. speaks of the kings preceding the second Fergus, as "fictitious kings."

entirely preserved even without the helps of written histories; because their genealogies were usually repeated both at their coronation and interment; the latter of these customs being likewise observed amongst the Highland families to this day. ^k What he says of their ancient historians, is considered, under proper titles, elsewhere; and I shall here allow it him, that their testimony is never to be overturned by the evidence of others less credible; such as he justly reckons those monks to be, ^l who lived in the times of war betwixt the two kingdoms. That the Scots were seated here much more early than the ^m bishop would allow them, ⁿ he endeavours to prove from Gildas and Bede, as well as from ^o Tacitus and other Roman writers. That the words ‘^p Soli Britanni’ in Eumenius’s Panegyric, are misconstrued (in the nominative case) by the bishop’s namesake H. Lhuyd, as well as himself, he shews from the concurrent authorities of ^q Scaliger, Camden, and Buchanan, three great judges of criticism in the Latin tongue. He seems not to be so fortunate in his exposition of ^r Hegesippus’s phrase of ‘*quæ terris*

^k Mackenzie *ibid.* p. 25. compared with Stillingfleet *ibid.* p. xl. and note i, &c. Lloyd’s Preface *ibid.* p. xxvi. &c. and notes. Nicolson *ibid.* ch. 2. p. 20, &c.

^l Mackenzie *ibid.* p. 48. from whence we learn that these writers were Florence of Worcester, William of Malmesbury, Henry of Huntingdon, Roger Hoveden, Thomas Walsingham, and Matthew of Westminster, who are severally quoted by Lloyd *ibid.* Preface, p. xxi. and note g; ch. 1. §. 10. p. 39. and notes z, a; p. 40, and notes f, g; §. 12. p. 44, and notes a, b; p.

45, and note e; p. 46, and note i; ch. 4. §. 2. p. 85, and note n.

^m Lloyd *ibid.* ch. 1. §. 8. p. 31, and note m.

ⁿ Mackenzie *ibid.* pp. 50. 61. 118, &c.

^o *Ibid.* p. 78, &c.

^p *Ibid.* p. 69. Lloyd *ibid.* ch. 1. §. 5. p. 11, &c. and notes.

^q Mackenzie *ibid.* p. 71. as to Camden; p. 72, as to all three writers. Lloyd *ibid.* and Usher and Stillingfleet, with others there referred to.

^r Mackenzie *ibid.* p. 90. Lloyd *ibid.* §. 4. p. 8. and note c.

nihil debet :’ but his reasons, after he has done with his authorities, are more strong and convincing. Some things there are in his book which seem to carry a yet fairer light. An impartial bystander would hardly (for example) think it credible, ^s that the Scots, as our English historians would have it, should yearly transport great armies in small curroghs from Ireland, and look upon their return in the end of summer as less hazardous than staying with their allies ; or, that the Picts should first call in the Irish to settle amongst them, just when they had seen how the Saxons had served the Britons on the like occasion, &c. ‘The Scots being to this day called Albanach, as the English are called Sassanach, in the Irish language, he thinks a probable argument of their being very anciently seated in Albion ; which had changed that name into Britannia before the days of Julius Cæsar : “and his interpretation of Bede’s story of king Egfrid, of Northumberland’s misfortunes in ^x Ireland, seems very just and agreeable to the context. He concludes with an assertion, backed with good evidence, ^y That the royal line of Scotland has an undoubted right to the whole empire of Britain ; all the several titles of the Welsh, Saxons, Danes, and Normans, (as well as both the

^s Mackenzie ib. p. 104. Lloyd ibid. §. 6. p. 21. and note ⁿ, &c. Stillingfleet ibid. Preface p. lxi. and notes, &c. Macpherson, in his MS. notes on Mackenzie ibid. on the title page, and p. 156. insists that the Scots, though not under that denomination, are “the descendants of the very earliest inhabitants of Britain,” and are “the Gael emphatically” so called.

^t Mackenzie ibid. p. 155.

^u Ibid. p. 164.

^x Nicolson ibid. adds by way of note, “In Hiberniam, Eccles. Hist. lib. 4. cap. 26. Though it must be confessed the Saxon translation [on Hibernia Scota Ealonde] is not a very pregnant confirmation of the advocate’s opinion.”

^y Mackenzie ibid. p. 199.

houses of York and Lancaster) concentrating therein. The credit of this treatise was supported by its author, against the objections of the learned ^z Dr. Stillingfleet, in another which he called “^a The Antiquity of the Royal Line of Scotland farther cleared, &c. ;” and on this, as it regards Stillingfleet rather than ^b Lloyd, Nicolson’s observations will be found elsewhere. “^c Both these books were afterwards put into one, and translated into Latin ; which being reviewed by Grævius, was printed in Holland, under the title of ‘^d Defensio anti-quæ Regum Scotorum Prosapiæ.’ The advocate” (sir George Mackenzie) “was seconded in his quarrel by Mr. James Cunningham, a writer to the Signet, and author of the Commentary on Macdaff’s Cross, who slew the bishop of St. Asaph in verse ; having published a poem which he calls, ‘^e In Floidum Asaphensem episcopum, Scotorum Reges, Regnum, Ritus sacros, illaccessitis Calumniis et immeritis, exprobrantem, lacerantem, et traducentem, Versiculus unus et alter Hortatorius.’ To this he subjoins Notes and an Appendix ; ‘in qua’ (you have his own word for it) ‘ex concessis confutatur Floidus :’ after which comes, an Additamentum, in correction of Dr. Stillingfleet’s Preface. There was also a learned and modest ^f Letter of Remarks on the bishop’s book, directed to himself, and bearing date

^z In Præfat. ad Orig. Brit.

^a Octavo, London, 1686.

^b In the following places, however, of his Antiquity &c. farther cleared, Mackenzie has referred to Lloyd *ibid.* in confirmation of points advanced in his Defence *ibid.* c. 1. pp. 2. 5. 9. c. 2. pp. 13. 18. 36. 42. 61. 64.

73. 76. c. 3. pp. 86. 105. c. 4. pp. 128. 138. c. 5. pp. 149. 167. 182. 187. 190. 196. Appendix, pp. 202. 206. 208.

^c Nicolson *ibid.*

^d Octavo, Amstel. 1687.

^e Impress. 1685.

^f MS. 4to. p. D. R. S.

December the eighth, 1684, which was written by Mr. Thomas Price of Llanvyllen.”

In addition to these writers, I may observe from Nicolson, that Lloyd’s work having “^g alarmed all the antiquaries of this kingdom” (of Scotland)—“ amongst the rest, a very large Answer was provided by sir Robert Sibbald, who kindly obliged me with the perusal of it in ^h thirty-four chapters;” of which however he gives no particulars, although, through the kind offices of David Irving, Esq. LL.D., the keeper of the Advocate’s Library at Edinburgh, where Sibbald’s manuscripts are deposited, I am enabled so to do, in a succeeding page.

Of these several replies, it will be sufficient to notice in this place those of Cunningham, Price, and Sibbald, as enough has already been said as to those by Mackenzie. Cunningham’s very scarce production commences with some ⁱ few pages of verse, to which the notes appended rather engage our attention, although in argument they present little difference from what we have already seen urged by Mackenzie. Cunningham commences by insisting on ^k the authority of the Druids, and of tradition; ^l Carrickfergus in Ireland, and Dunstufnage castle in Scotland, and the image of Euenus, as there preserved, in proof of the history of Fergus I.

^g Nicolson *ibid.* p. 37.

^h Nicolson *ibid.* adds “ MS. fol. p. Auct.” There are two copies of this work in the Advocates’ Library; “ both copies are in folio, and are written with his own hand. In the titles there are some small variations,” as

Dr. Irving informs me; that I have referred to is “ the enlarged copy.”

^l Cuningham. *Versiculus unus et alter*, p. 3.

^k *Ibid.* p. 5.

^l *Ibid.* p. 7.

and this latter king Euenus, ^m whose law also as to marriage he insists upon. ⁿ He next refers to the lines of Claudian, in agreement with Mackenzie; and afterwards ^o speaks of the introduction of Christianity amongst the Scots, and of the manuscripts at Nuremberg, probably relating to that event, beside some few other matters. These are followed by ^p additional verses addressed to sir Robert Sibbald, ^q accompanied by notes, reflecting on the fabulous details relating to St. Patrick and St. Columba; the additions made to Adamnanus; Lloyd's objections to the arguments derived from the Culdees, and on ^r the probable causes of Lloyd's and Usher's opposition to the then generally received notions concerning the Scottish antiquities. ^s In his Appendix, Cunningham at some length controverts Lloyd's argument, as it regards the passage in

^m Ibid. p. 11. Mackenzie's Defence *ibid.* p. 114. Blackstone's Commentaries, book 2. ch. 5. p. 83. and note ^a, compared with Mr. Astle's paper in the *Archæologia*, vol. 12. p. 34. Sir David Dalrymple's *Annals of Scotland*, vol. 3. Appendix, p. 1. and Logan's *Scottish Gael*, vol. 1. ch. 5. p. 215. note ^r, from which the error of Cunningham, Mackenzie, and other writers, including Blackstone himself, as to the "mercheta mulierum," will be evident. As to Euenus' image, see Camden's *Britannia*, vol. 3. p. 388. in the Additions; Gough's edition.

ⁿ Cuningham. *ibid.* p. 13.

^o *Ibid.* p. 18.

^p *Ibid.* p. 21. from whence it appears that Sibbald intended to

have published his work in Latin.

^q Cuningham. *ibid.* p. 23. Ryves in his *Regim. Anglican. in Hibernia Defensio*, lib. 2. p. 43. Maurice in his *Defence of Diocesan Episcopacy*, p. 155. and Ledwich in his *Antiquities of Ireland*, p. 57, deny the existence of St. Patrick. The latter also objects against Adamnanus's *Life of Columba*, p. 89. with whom, in some measure, Dr. J. Monck Mason, in his *Primitive Christianity in Ireland*, pp. 29. 130, &c. agrees.

^r Cuningham. *ibid.* pp. 25. 20. compared with Stillingfleet *ibid.* ch. 5. p. 286. note ^d. Mackenzie's *Defence* *ibid.* pp. 2. 10.

^s Cuningham. *ibid.* p. 26. compared with Lloyd *ibid.* c. 1. §. 5. p. 12. note ^z.

Eumenius. † The Additamentum in reply to Stillingfleet closes the whole.

Of Price's Letter to Lloyd nothing now appears to be known, † as it is neither to be found amongst the papers of Sibbald, at the Advocates' Library, † nor amongst those still preserved by the representatives of bishop Lloyd.

Of sir Robert Sibbald's large Reply to bishop Lloyd, I am, † for the reasons just assigned, enabled to give a satisfactory account. It is contained in a folio volume of one hundred and sixty-seven closely written pages, exclusive of "the letter written to a person of quality," which is prefixed. The title is, "A Defence or Vindication of the Scotch History and of the Scotch Historians, wherein the antient Race of the Scotch Kings, ther ancient Possession in this Island of Great Britain, and The Antiquity and Dignity of the Scotch Church are asserted: and the Objectiones of the Bishop of St. Asaph are answered By Sir Robert Sibbald, his Majesties Physitian and Geographer, and President of the Royal Colledge of Physitians at Edinburgh." After "the letter" above mentioned, Sibbald gives "an account of the order I follow in answering the bishop's book. 1. I will in the first place endeavour to prove that other Churches were to be quarrelled upon this head, that they were governed at first by presbyters

† Cuningham. *ibid.* p. 33. compared with Stillingfleet *ibid.* Preface, p. lix. and note z.

‡ From information derived from David Irving, esq.

‡ As I am informed by the

Rev. T. Murray Browne, of Standish, Gloucestershire. See, however, Lloyd *ibid.* Preface, p. xvi. note m. p. xvii. notes p and q.

‡ See p. xii. of this Preface, following note h.

and not by bishops, and that there was no ground in our ancient historians for imputing this to them, and therefore his lordship if he had thought upon this he might have forborn the writing against us. 2. I will endeavour to vindicate our authors, and I will shew that what they writ was confirmed by the English and by other foreign writers. 3. I will make out the antiquity of the nation, and will instruct the account of its rise from foreign authors as well as our own. 4. I will make out the ancient race of our kings from foreign history, and by other unquestionable proofs. 5. I will give an account of the first planting of the Christian religion amongst us, and that from the beginning we had bishops, and that we were more as four hundred years Christians before we acknowledged any dependence upon the pope of Rome, and that during that time we had a different way of tonsure, and observed Pasch otherwise than the Church of Rome did. 6. There is a large account given of the Culdees, their antiquity amongst us made out, and their way of living is shewn. 7. ^z I will shew that we had a metropolitan, and were never subject to the archbishop of York. 8. I will prove that the abbot of Icolmkill was for a long time

^z Mackenzie, in his Letter to the lord Chancellor, p. 3. and in the Defence itself, pp. 167. 170. 177, has, especially in the Letter, much relating to the first point; but on this seventh and the following one not so. See Lloyd *ibid* ch. 1. §. 12. p. 46. and notes ^h, and ⁱ. Sibbald's History of Fife and Kinross, as quoted in p. xvi. note ^b of this Preface. Selden *Præfat.* in Twysden. *Decem Scriptor.* pp. vi. viii. compared

with Lloyd *ibid.* ch. 1. §. 12. p. 46. note ⁱ; ch. 6. §. 6. p. 121. note ^z; ch. 7. p. 133. note ^c; §. 3. p. 141. note ^h. To Lloyd *ibid.* ch. 1. §. 12. p. 46. Sibbald particularly refers in ch. 34. p. 166. of his Reply *ibid.* in support of his seventh point; while in p. 163. *ibid.* he refers to Lloyd, as before, ch. 5. §. 1. p. 100. in support of his eighth point.

primate of Scotland, and that the right of primate was translated from the Culdees there to the see of St. Andrew's." These eight principal points are again divided into thirty-four chapters, the mere enumeration of whose titles would fill several of our pages. But as it has been stated upon the authority of sir James Dalrymple's Historical Collections, that Mackenzie's Defence of the Antiquity of the Royal Line of Scotland " ^a was produced by the joint labours of sir George Mackenzie, sir Robert Sibbald, and sir James Dalrymple" himself, it will be sufficient for our purpose to notice, without instituting a comparison of Sibbald's work with that of Mackenzie, that the latter is, indeed, in many particulars, a mere summary of the former. With this information, passing over other points, it will be desirable to mention that from his printed works, Sibbald's opinions, ^b as to the Culdees, ^c the Picts, ^d and the controverted position of Thule, may be sufficiently ascertained, and which will entitle him to be considered as " ^e a man of industrious research," if " not distinguished by his acuteness or taste."

Among those who have at a later period raised objections to portions of the work of Lloyd, are Goodall,

^a Macpherson's (editor of Wyntownis Cronykil of Scotland) MS. note prefixed to the title-page of his copy of Mackenzie's Defence *ibid.* now in the possession of David Laing, Esq. keeper of the Signet Library, Edinburgh, to which gentleman I am much indebted for its loan.

^b Sibbald's History of Fife and Kinross, ch. 5. p. 163. with the

notes in the edition, Cupar Fife, 1803.

^c *Ibid.* edit. 1710. as quoted in Stillingfleet *ibid.* ch. 5. pp. 245. note ^c, 248. and note ^o.

^d *Ibid.* as quoted in Stillingfleet *ibid.* p. 246. note ^m. Gibson's edition of Camden's Britannia, vol. 2. p. 413. London 1722.

^e Irving's Letter to Tho. P. Pantin, 3rd March, 1840.

Pinkerton, and Jamieson. ^f Goodall, in his Introduction to Fordun, with great pertinacity maintains opinions relating to the ancient history of the Scots in agreement with Mackenzie; Pinkerton, in his Enquiry into the history of Scotland, though much opposed to Goodall upon general grounds, yet insists that ^g Lloyd has assigned the time of the Scots' settlement in Britain several centuries after it actually took place; while Jamieson, in his Historical Account of the ancient Culdees, has employed every argument to overthrow those of the bishop in defence of episcopacy. But though such was the case, yet we find that these and other opponents to Lloyd were in some points equally opposed to each other: for Mackenzie, Sibbald, and Goodall, while they opposed, and were indeed incensed with Lloyd, on the ancient history of the Scots, yet they professed, and indeed truly, ^h the greatest respect for episcopacy. On the contrary, as must be supposed, ⁱ Jamieson was opposed to episcopacy; but he agreed with the views taken by Lloyd, Stillingfleet, and Pinkerton, upon historical matters.

It may be desirable, however, to state, in connexion

^f *Introduct. ad Hist. Scot. prefix. ad Fordun Scotichron.*

^g Pinkerton's *Enquiry*, vol. 2. ch. 2. p. 60, where it is said; "Some English and Irish antiquaries, as Usher, bishop Lloyd, Stillingfleet, O'Flaherty, &c. have in their great zeal against the antiquity of the Scots in North Britain passed this—the first colony of the old Scots, under Riada, about the year 258, being the Dalreudini or Attacotti—in oblivion, and represented the second colony in the year 503 as the first settlement."

^h Mackenzie's *Letter* *ibid.*

prefixed to his *Defence* *ibid.* p. 5. compared with Lloyd *ibid.* ch. 7. §. 9. p. 171. note ^s. Sibbald in the "Letter to a person of quality" prefixed to his *Reply* *ibid.* observes; "Your lordship likewise knows what veneration I have for the sacred order of Churchmen, and particularly for the reverend bishops, the fathers of the Church." Goodall, *Introduct. ibid.* c. 16. p. 63. and his *Preface to Keith's Catalogue of the bishops of Scotland.*

ⁱ See his *Historical Account of the ancient Culdees, Index, under Bishops, Iona, Scoti, &c.*

with the preceding matters, indebted as ^k I am to a learned friend for the information, that Pinkerton's Enquiry into the history of Scotland before A. D. 1056, is "the ablest work on the subject;" while in Chalmers's Caledonia, it "has been arrogantly enough discussed;" that in the Quarterly Review, No. LXXXI. for July, 1829, there is a "pleasant, though somewhat superficial article" by sir Walter Scott, which "produced an elaborate answer from Dr. Jamieson in the Westminster Review," No. XXXI. for January, 1832. To these may be added Irving's "^l Origin and Progress of the English Language, in which the Origin of the Scottish Nation and Language is briefly examined." In reading particularly the articles by Scott and Jamieson, I may be permitted to add, that the objection raised by Dalrymple, lord Hailes, is fast subsiding; that though "^m we (the Scots) are reformed from popery," yet we are "not from Hector Boethius."

But however, as the chief intention of Lloyd's work is to shew that episcopacy was the original form of Church government in these islands, notwithstanding the instance adduced from the Culdees to the contrary, it may not be inappropriate to notice in conclusion, that ⁿ Mackenzie, speaking as to the passage of Bede cited by Lloyd *ibid.* c. 7. §. 10. p. 173, &c. observes, that "many examples can be given of jurisdiction of presbyters, and even of deacons over bishops in the canon law and history. So that this instance from our historians makes nothing against episcopacy. And

^k Irving's letters to Tho. P. vol. 2. p. 672.

Pantin, 25th July, 1840; 4th Dec. 1841.

^m As quoted by Pinkerton *ib.* Preface, p. xxiii.

^l Macculloch's Statistical Account of the British Empire,

ⁿ Mackenzie's Letter to the Lord Chancellor *ibid.* p. 7.

latter historians meeting with these ambiguous words in our annals, ‘designatus, electus, ordinatus,’ were by a mistake induced to appropriate these words to the formal ceremony of ordination and imposition of hands.” And with reference to this same matter, in his *Antiquities of Ireland*, Ledwich adds; “° From Bede’s saying the bishops were subject to the abbots of Hy, and some absurd amplifications of Fordun, Major, and Hector Boethius, affirming that the Scottish Church was originally ruled by monks, who were only presbyters, P Selden, Blondel, Smectymnus, and the London ministers’ *Jus Divinum*, took occasion to ground arguments in favour of the antiquity of presbyterianism, and its precedence of episcopal government. Rather the eminence of the writers than the validity of their proofs, made an impression on the public. In the warmth of controversy, the things that would have ended the dispute are passed over. One instance will suffice: Oswald (*Bedæ ibid.* l. 3. c. 3.) sends to the Culdees, ‘ad majores natu Scotorum, petens ut sibi mitteretur antistes.’ Upon this, ‘acceptit Aidanum pontificem, veniente ad se episcopo.’ In these notices in Bede, the very foundation of Selden and his brethren’s arguments is effectually sapped. Bishop Lloyd (on *Church Government*, c. 7.) has completely prostrated the adversaries of his order, and demonstrated episcopacy to be coeval with Christianity in these isles.”

THO. P. PANTIN.

*Westcote Rectory,
near Stow on the Wold,
25th January, 1842.*

° Ledwich’s *Antiquities*, sect. 9. p. 105. and note ^k. c. 7. p. 134. &c. and notes. §. 3. p. 141. and note ^h, &c.
P Lloyd *ibid.* Preface, p. iii. compared with c. 5. p. 104, &c.



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TO THE REVEREND
DR. STILLINGFLEET,
DEAN OF ST. PAUL'S,
AND THE PIOUS AND LEARNED
MR. HENRY DODWELL.

MY MOST WORTHY FRIENDS,

HAVING shewn you a draught of this book some years since, I was then encouraged by you to make it public; and thereupon I suffered it to go into the press.

It is not worth telling the world why it came out no sooner. God be praised it is not yet too late to do the good that I designed by it. And the Church has not needed the service of this inconsiderable piece, while it has been defended by so many others, and especially by your most learned and judicious labours.

I could not pass by this occasion without making some kind of acknowledgment, to you in particular, of the debt that is owing from the whole Church to all them that have stood up in the breach against her enemies. If men should forget, God will surely remember it. To his grace I commend you, and remain,

Yours in all true affection and service,

W. ASAPH.



P R E F A C E.

i

AMONG all the arguments that have been used of late times against episcopal government, there is none that hath made more noise in the world, or that hath given more colour to the cause of our adversaries, than that which they have drawn from the example of the ancient Scottish Church. And indeed it would be of very great force, if they could prove what they say, that in the ^asecond century, or beginning of the third, there was a Church formed without bishops, and that it continued so for some hundreds of years. There may be some further improvement of this, by suggesting that at last, when the government changed, it was by the means of one ^bPalladius, who was the first that brought episcopacy into that ⁱⁱnation. ^cFor this Palladius having had his ordination at Rome, the very mention of this may make it seem as if he brought in popery with it. And perhaps our adversaries would be willing to have it believed that he did so: though none of them have thought fit to say this in plain terms, for fear of giving advantage to the papists; who would be very glad to have it granted that popery was so ancient as to come within four

^a See chap. 7. §. 4. p. 147.

^b Chap. 2. §. 4, 5. pp. 51-62.
chap. 4. §. 2, 3. pp. 84-90.

Stillingfleet's Antiquities of the
British Churches, Pref. p. lxxv.

^c Chap. 2. §. 4. p. 51.

hundred years after Christ's ascension into heaven. But that the Church of Scotland was so early and so long without bishops, is a thing that seems to have passed without dispute; being acknowledged, as it were with one consent, by all the now extant Scottish historians.

How far their authority hath gone in that nation, we may judge by what we see in archbishop ^dSpotswood's Church History. We cannot have the least doubt of the judgment of that most worthy and reverend prelate, since he hath so fully declared it in ⁱⁱⁱthe solemnest act of his life: it is in his "last will and testament that he gives this account of himself to posterity; "As touching the government of the Church, I am verily persuaded that the government episcopal is the only right and apostolical form." And yet, in the book above mentioned, he doth unawares (as far as I can judge) yield that which affords to our adversaries a great presumption against episcopal government. I say he does this unawares; for it is plain that he designed to write a ^fhistory only of such things as had passed since the reformation. He did not trouble his head to search into the original of the Scottish Church; but as to that, he contented himself to deliver those things which were " ^gthe opinion most commonly received." And yet, in following the received opinion, he must needs bar himself from any way to answer the before mentioned argument against episcopacy. For the same authority that there is for the

^d Spotswood's History of the Church and State of Scotland. Nicolson's Scottish Historical Library, part 2. c. 4. p. 56. gives an account of this work, together with Gordon's, of Stralagh, high character of the same. Vide

Prolegom. p. xliii. in Leland. de Rebus Britan. Collect. vol. 1.

^e As in the Author's Life, before his History.

^f See his Epistle Dedicatory.

^g Spotswood *ibid.* p. 2.

being of a Church there in ^hScotland from king Donald's time, (that is, from the year 203, as he places it,) the same authority there is for a Church that was governed ^{iv} so many ages together by monks and presbyters without bishops. This he found when he came to that part of his history, ⁱ where his authors lay it before him in the terms that I have written. And therefore he makes them such an answer as I do not think it worth the while to repeat. Howsoever he might satisfy himself with it, I do not doubt but his presbyterian countrymen looked upon it as a very insufficient answer, and amounting to little less than a confession, that their Church was first planted, and so long continued, without bishops. In consequence whereof, they might reasonably conclude, that when they covenanted against episcopacy they had only used their own right; and thrown out that which was a confessed innovation, in order to the restoring of that which was their primitive government.

I would to God we had not so much cause to remember how that example was followed in this kingdom. They that were for destroying episcopacy ^v here, as they had the Scottish reformation for their pattern, so they alleged the Scottish tradition for the justifying of it. In that laborious collection of Blondell's, (which was made for the service of our presbyterians,) he, with all his vast reading, could not find one undoubted example of a Church of their way in ancient times, but only ^k that of the Scots. But to

^h As to the first conversion thereof, see chap. 2. §. 2. p. 50. §. 6. p. 63. chap. 5. §. 1. p. 98, &c.

ⁱ Spotswood *ibid.* p. 7.

^k Blondell. *Apol. pro Hieron.* pp. 314. 367. &c. 375. It ap-

pears, however, upon the authority of archbishop Usher, and of John Blondell, the brother of David Blondell, the writer of the work here referred to, that he closed his work with this observation: "By all that we have

make the most of that, he vouches it as a thing out of controversy; and ¹tells his readers how early it began; before pope Victor's death, which was (as he tells us) in the year 197, July 28. And yet, as to the use that he makes of this note, namely, to shew the antiquity of a Church government by presbyters, he very well knew that he had no author for it, that lived within a thousand years of that time. He was so wise as not to set down the year and day when any of them died whom he quotes for this matter; though he constantly does it as oft as he can hope that that punctual notation of time will make his author appear to be of ^{vi}so much the more credit. Nay, he doeth it oftentimes with no other design, that appears, but for mere ostentation of his skill in chronology; which, rather than hurt his cause with it, he thought better to spare on this occasion.

But to shew how little reason our adversaries have to boast of this instance of a Church without episcopal government, it will be necessary for me to shew how little credit there is to be given to those writers upon whose authority it is that they assert this. They seem indeed to make a great muster of witnesses, when they say they have all the Scottish historians to prove it; and some of them speak as if the faith of the nation must needs be engaged for the credit of those historians.

said to assert the rights of the presbytery, we do not intend to invalidate the ancient and apostolical constitution of episcopal preeminence. But we believe that wheresoever it is established conformably to the ancient canons, it must be carefully preserved; and wheresoever by

some heat of contention or otherwise it hath been put down or violated, it ought to be reverently restored." Durel *Of the Government and Public Worship of God, in the Reformed Churches, &c.* p. 339.

¹ Blondell. *ibid.* p. 314.

But for the number of witnesses, I think that is not much to be considered, when they come (as these do) all in file, one after another; so that all their strength is resolved into the credit of ^mone author; and what he was ⁿI shall consider in due time.

For the nation's concernment on the account of ^{vii} their historians, I know no such necessity of that, as our adversaries seem to suppose. The historian obliges the nation whose history he writes, as the painter does the person whose picture he draws; just as far as he does his work true, and no further. If he gives them those ornaments which are not their own, he wrongs them; and gives others occasion to think there was need of it to cover some deformity or other. The Scottish nation have needed no such helps at any time since the histories we speak of were written. They have excelled most other nations in arts and arms, and especially in the purity of religion; abating only for that blemish which hath been contracted chiefly by their giving too easy a belief to those fictions which I am now about to disprove.

But besides, it ought to be considered in this case, and I desire that it may be remembered all along in my Preface, that what I write is only concerning their antiquities. I do not question the truth of any thing ^{viii} that is said to have been done within these ^o eight hundred years; nay, within fourteen hundred by their telling, who make their planting here before Christ's incarnation, and their conversion about two hundred years after it. Now it were very strange if any nation in our part of Europe should think themselves obliged to stand by their historians in what they write, of

^m Fordon; see p. xxvi.

ⁿ Chap. 7. §. 1. p. 133. §. 3. p. 147. and last note.

^o Mackenzie, in his Defence of the Royal Line of Scotland, p. 147, refers to this passage.

things before, or so soon after, Christ's incarnation. In those early times (as all learned men know) ^pthey had no letters, but what they borrowed from the Greeks or the Romans. And especially in Scotland, if there were any Christians so early, as some would conclude from those words of ^qTertullian, where he saith, that "those British nations that could not be subdued by the Romans, yet willingly yielded their necks to the yoke of Christ;" (I say, if those words do import that there were Christians in Scotland at that time,) yet they must be allowed to be of the number of those, who, as Irenæus saith of many of the barbarous nations, "^rheld the faith by tradition, without the help of paper and ink;" meaning, as he explains himself, that for want of letters they could have no use of the Scriptures.

We have much reason to doubt whether those unlettered nations had any desire to convey any knowledge of themselves to posterity. But if they had the will, they wanted the means to do it; and therefore we cannot wonder that we know so little of them or their condition, either in or before the Roman times. But what shall we say of those nations that were subjects of the Roman empire, and therefore wanted not means to convey what they would to posterity? Had they any care to preserve their antiquities, and to deliver over to their children in writing what they had received by tradition from their forefathers? We find little sign of it in most of these nations: so little especially in our island, that we are to thank strangers for any thing that we know of our people and religion, or of our island in the ancientest times.

^p Stillingfleet *ibid.* p. xl.

chap. 2. p. 48.

^q Tertulliani *advers. Judæos*,
cap. 7 *inter Oper.* p. 189. See

^r Iren. *de Hæres.* iii. 4. p. 178.

To begin where I have reason to believe least exception will be taken; What have they to say in ^s France or in ^t Spain of the ancient inhabitants of those countries, before they came to be under the Romans? or what account can they give of themselves, how they came first to be Christians? They have nothing of those times, but what ignorant men have devised, and what the learned are now ashamed to say after them.

In that nation for which I am chiefly concerned, I know no learned man but will freely acknowledge this, and will think it no blemish to the honour of our country.

We had indeed one writer that lived, though not under the Roman empire, yet very soon after it, namely, ^u Gildas; from whom, if from any in that age, there might have been expected an history of his country. But ^x he freely acknowledges that we had no writer to furnish him with materials for a just history; and that, for the writing of that little summary that he gives us, he was fain to borrow what he ^{xi} had from them beyond the seas.

Within three hundred years after him, we had another, called ^y Nennius, that (as himself tells us) was

^s Stillingfleet *ibid.* p. xxxv.

^t *Ibid.*

^u For Gildas, see Nicolson's English Historical Library, part 1. ch. 3. pp. 23. 26. Cave *Historia Literaria*, et Tanneri *Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica*, under Gildas. He flourished, according to Cave, *ibid.* A. D. 581.

^x De *Excidio Britanniae*, c. 1. inter *Orthodoxographa*, p. 1004. *Hist. Gildæ*, §. 2. p. 2. §. 4.

p. 13. Stillingfleet *ibid.* chap. 1.

p. 4. Usser. de *Prim. et Brit. Eccl. Antiq.* in *Epist. Dedicat.*

^y Nicolson *ibid.* pp. 27. 30. Cave *ibid.* Tanner. *ibid.* under Nennius. According to Bale and other writers, says Cave, this author should be set down about A. D. 620. But see Usser. de *Primord.* cap. 17. p. 955. *Brit. Eccles. Antiq.* p. 494. where it is insisted, against Bale, that Nennius flourished A. D.

employed to write a history of our nation. It was indeed at a time when learning ran very low in this island, as we may judge by the preface of king ^z Alfred's Saxon translation of Gregory's Pastoral; which I mention the rather for the credit of this writer, and of them that set him on work. No doubt they chose the ablest man that they knew, and he wanted not a good will to have written a history. But ^a he also confessed that he had not wherewith to perform it; and that the poor fragments that he put together were little else than what he was fain to borrow from other neighbouring nations.

In this want that we have of any ancient historian, but such as these, that acknowledged they knew no other before them; how come we to have the knowledge of persons and things which these good men ^{xii} seem to have never heard of? Whence have we that punctual account of so many particulars that passed at the first and second planting of this island? Whence have we that succession of kings from Brutus downward, with notation of time and place, and other circumstances, more minute than could be conveyed without writing?

All these things we owe to the invention of ^b one that lived in very dark times: and then, knowing that whatsoever he should say of this kind, there was none that was able to disprove him, took the liberty to devise what he pleased, and set it forth as undoubted true history. Indeed I must do him the right to

858. Also the preface to Gunn's edition of Nennius, pp. ix-xxii. and notes there. For other references, Stillingfleet *ibid.* c. 1. p. 8. note 4, &c.

^z Camden. *Anglic. &c. Script.* p. 25. Alfred here speaks of

the extreme ignorance of the clergy, at the commencement of his reign.

^a Nenn. *Hist. Brit. in præfat.* et in *Apolog.* p. 93. *Prolog.* §. 1. p. 1. §. 3. p. 3.

^b Geoffrey of Monmouth.

acknowledge that the mother lie of all in his book, I mean that of Brutus, was not wholly of ^c Geoffrey's devising. He might have had the ground of it from others, and particularly from ^d Merlin or Taliessin; for there is something of our coming from Troy in old verses, that go under their names: but because it is so little that they say, and the authority of that is not ^{xiii} certain, I rather believe he had it from Nennius before mentioned.

Where ^e Nennius undertakes to give account of the original of the Britons, he tells us, that there were two accounts of it then in the world.

^f One of them was that which (as he tells us) "he found by tradition of the ancients that were the first inhabitants of Britain;" namely, that they were so called from one Britto, that was the son of Hysichion, the son of Alanus, of the progeny of Japhet: which Alanus, by his telling, peopled all this part of Europe. For from him, by one son came Francus, Romanus, Alemannus and Britto; by another came Gothus, Walagothus, Gepidus, Burgundus and Longobardus; by a

^c See Stillingfleet *ibid.* chap. 5. p. 274. As to Geoffrey of Monmouth and his writings, see Nicolson *ibid.* p. 30. Cave *ibid.* under Galfridus. Tanner. *ibid.* under Gallofridus, where, in notes ^d, ^e, see his character by various later writers. Stillingfleet *ibid.* note ^z, for additional authorities. Aaron Thompson, of Queen's college, Oxford, translated and published Geoffrey's History of Britain, in 1718, with a large preface concerning its authority, which compare with the writers quoted in Stillingfleet, *ibid.* note ^z. This writer flourished, says Cave,

A. D. 1151.

^d Nicolson *ibid.* part 1. chap. 3. p. 26, compared with p. 30. Tanner. *ibid.* under Merlinus and Taliessin. Tanner mentions two of the name of Merlin, one a native of Caermarthen, A. D. 480; the other of North Britain, A. D. 570; Taliessin about A. D. 540.

^e Nennius *ibid.* cap. 2. p. 98. §. 7. p. 6. and note 13.

^f *Ibid.* cap. 13. p. 102. §. 18. p. 16. Ex traditione veterum, qui incolæ fuerunt in primis Britanniaë temporibus. Stillingfleet *ibid.* chap. 5. p. 278.

third came Wandalus, Saxo, Boguardus and Turingus. The meaning of all this is very plain; not that any single persons called by these names, but that all these nations were descended from Japhet, and were all first called by the general name of Alani; which may have ^{xiv} some truth in it for aught I know; but howsoever, it is observable that this was the most ancient tradition that he found among the Britons in his age.

His other account of our original was, that we came from one Brutus, a Roman ^g consul: and to make out this extraction, he tells us, ^h it is written in the Annals of the Romans, that Æneas came with his son Ascanius into Italy, and that there he begat Sylvius, who had a son called Brutus, that came hither and gave the name to this island. So that plainly this butterfly was not bred in our country, but flew hither out of Italy; where he that will know more of it must look into the Annals of the Romans. I am afraid that some of them that came hither from Rome in the Saxon times played pranks with us, and abused the simplicity of our ancestors in this, as they did in other things.

But howsoever this story came into the world, it was enough for our Geoffrey that he found it in Nennius's book; (for it is Nennius whom he usually quotes ^{xv} by the name of Gildas; and his book is all that I can find he had to shew for his British History.) It was a story so agreeable to the humour of that age, that a soberer man than he was could not forbear to recommend himself with it. In his age it was come to be a very modish thing for writers to derive their nations

^g On the word 'consul,' see Gunn's edition of Nennius, note 6. p. 94.

^h Nennius, cap. 3. p. 99. §.10.

p. 7. *Annalibus Romanorum sic scriptum est.* Gunn's note 5. *ibid.* p. 90. *Stillingfleet ibid.* chap. 5. p. 277. and note ^t.

from the Trojans. There is more than one instance of this in ⁱHenry archdeacon of Huntingdon's history. ^kHe tells us, that when king Henry I. (who was not called Beauclerk for nothing) inquired into the originals of the French nation, one of their learned men told him, that "as most other nations of Europe, so the French, were descended from the Trojans:" and thereupon shewed how their ancestors came from Troy with Antenor, &c. This happened in the year 1128, as the archdeacon there shews. And he tells this without any censure, but rather, as it seems, with approbation. ^lFor in that part of his history which he was then writing, and which ends within seven years after that time, he likewise begins his work with xvi that account of our original from the Trojans. It was very soon after this, that our ^mGeoffrey, archdeacon of Monmouth, writ his History of the British Kings. For, in his Preface before it, he mentions the death of king Henry I. with which Huntingdon ends that part of his history: and he dedicates his book to Robert, earl of Gloucester, son of Henry I., who died within eleven years after him. It is plain that both these historians had that book of Nennius before them, where they could not but see the two accounts that he gives of our original. But, as if they had winked upon one another, neither of them takes notice of that which was properly the British tradition; but they were both alike for the romancing account of our

ⁱ Nicolson *ibid.* chap. 5. p. 48. Cave and Tanner, as before, under *Henricus Huntindoniensis*. The former says, that Henry wrote A.D. 1150.

^k *Henric. Huntindon. Hist. Rerum Anglic.* lib. 7. p. 219. b. lin. 13. p. 383.

^l *Ibid.* lib. 1. pag. 171. b. p. 300.

^m See *Stillingfleet* *ibid.* c. 5. p. 327. That Henry of Huntingdon was acquainted with and copied Geoffrey's work, see Lloyd's Letter to Price, p. 259. as quoted in the next page, not.P.

being descended from the Trojans. Only Henry of Huntingdon, more like an historian, delivers that part as he found it in his author; but Geoffrey, taking that only for a ground, runs division upon it, sports himself xvii with his fancy, and says any thing that came in his head.

When Geoffrey's book came abroad into the world, it was presently looked upon as a new light in history. All the writers of that age did, as it were, run to light their candles at it: and their haste to get before one another was so great, that it hath given occasion to us that live at this distance, to doubt whether some of them did not write before Geoffrey himself. Among these, I do not reckon the old English poem that ⁿ Wheloc quotes in his notes upon ^o Bede: for though it has the language of Geoffrey's age, yet perhaps it might be something older, for it is writ in the old Saxon character; but there is nothing in that poem which might not have been taken immediately out of Nennius's history. But those which are said to have written before Geoffrey, and yet have many of those things that are taxed in his book, are chiefly ^p Sigebert of Gembleurs, and ^q Alfred of Beverley. For the latter of the two,

ⁿ In Bed. Hist. Eccles. p. 25. This poem relates to the descent of the Britons from Brutus. See Stillingfleet *ibid.* ch. 5. p. 278.

^o Concerning Bede, and his editor Wheloc, see Nicolson *ibid.* part 2. ch. 2. p. 81. Cave, Tanner, as above; and his Life, &c. at the end of the Appendix, in Smith's edition. Cave sets down Bede, A.D. 701.

^p Cave *ibid.* under Sigebertus Gemblacensis, notices the interpolations made, and liberties taken, with this writer's Chronicle. Cave states that Sigebert

wrote A.D. 1101. Bishop Lloyd in his Letter to Mr. Tho. Price of Llanvyllen, in the *Miscellanea Curiosa, or Miscellaneous Tracts*, vol. 1. p. 253, shews that Robert, the Norman abbot of Mount St. Michael, was the interpolator of Sigebert.

^q As to Alfred, here mentioned, see Nicolson *ibid.* part 1. ch. 5. p. 47. Tanner. *ibid.* under Alfredus Beverlacensis; who should be consulted as to the period in which Alfred was engaged as a writer. Concerning his Extracts from Geoffrey of Monmouth;

though some would have it that he died before Geoffrey xviii writ, yet their authors, ^r Bale and Pits, have enough to shew the contrary; for in their catalogues of Alfred's works they name his "Extracts out of Geoffrey," and it is the first book that they mention of his writing. The great doubt is concerning Sigebert; for he certainly died in the year ^{rr} 1113, which was above twenty years before Geoffrey writ. It cannot be denied that the contents of his history are summed up in the preface that goes before Sigebert, and are afterward distributed in his Chronicle. But how did these things get into Sigebert? For it is certain they are none of that author's. ^s There are no such things in that edition of his work, which was made from the original copy in his monastery. They must have been put in by some other after Sigebert's death. And from whence, but out of Geoffrey's history?

It is plainly affirmed by the most learned primate, that always knew what he said, but did not always tell his reader so, as he does in this case, ^t "We know that many things out of Geoffrey are thrust into Sigebert." ^{xix} But not to leave this upon any one's credit, the reader may know it himself, if he please, by comparing together the two books of which we speak. Whence did ^u Sigebert learn that "Brutus built the city of Tours in

with further proofs, see Lloyd's Letter, as before. pp. 263. 269. and note following from Hearne.

^r Bale. Script. Anglic. cent. 2. cap. 74. p. 188. Pits. de Illust. Angl. Script. æt. 12. A.D. 1136. n. 192. p. 204. Alfred. Beverl. Deflor. Galfrid. See Hearne's Preface, p. xxv. &c. to Aluredi Beverlacensis Annal. where it is asserted that Alfred compiled no such work, and that he preceded Geoffrey of Monmouth in

writing his Annals.

^{rr} Lloyd's Letter, *ibid.* p. 256.

^s Chronicon Sigebert. in Præf. edit. per Miræum.

^t Usser. de Primord. cap. 8. p. 201. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 109.

^u Preface before Sigebert's Chron. p. 3. *ibid.* compared with Sigebert. in Pist. Script. Germ. tom. 1. p. 478. from Galfrid. Monemutens. Brit. utriusque Reg. et Princip. Orig. et Gest. &c. fol. 8.

France,” and that, “as Homer witnesseth?” Who taught him to say that ^x Brutus found “four generations of Trojans” with Corineus? or to speak of ^y Hengist’s “building a promontory” in Kent? and of the ^z Saxons’ “destroying all the promontories from Scotland to York?” All these are Geoffrey’s own words, as well as his materials; howsoever they happened to come into Sigebert’s preface and Chronicle. But not to hold the reader in doubt any longer; he that put these fine things into Sigebert, is so honest as to tell where he had them. ^a He saith, he had them out of “the History of the Britons:” and to shew what history he meant, he saith it was “lately translated out of British into Latin.” How lately? It was not done while Sigebert was living; if this was our British History, now extant: and yet it could be no other; for Geoffrey himself saith of this, ^b “I translated it out of British into Latin.” Well then, let others bring Sigebert for an author that writ these things before Geoffrey; I shall bring him that foisted these things into Sigebert for an instance how early others copied from Geoffrey: which is a further proof of the credit that was given to his fables, even then in his own age.

It is true, that even in that fabulous age he was censured by some for that licentious way of writing history; especially by ^cGiraldus Cambrensis and ^dWil-

^x Ib. from Galfr. ib. fol. 7. a.

^y Sigebert. Chron. A.D. 434. from Galfr. fol. 47. *ibid.* Compare p. 21. of Miræus’s edition, *ibid.* with p. 495. in Pistorius’s edition.

^z Sigebert. Chron. A.D. 457. in Miræus, p. 28. compared with Pistorius’s edition, p. 502. from Galfr. fol. 65. b. *ibid.*

^a Sigebert. Chron. A.D. 470. in Miræus, as before, p. 30. compared with Pistorius *ibid.* p. 504.

See Lloyd’s Letter, as in p. xvii. note P.

^b Galfr. Monemutens. *ibid.* in Præf. et in fine libri, fol. 101. b.

^c For the life and writings of Giraldus, see Cave *ibid.* under Sylvester Giraldus; and also Tanner. *ibid.* under Giraldus. Nicolson *ibid.* part 1. ch. 2. p. 19, &c. Cave states that Giraldus flourished A.D. 1198.

^d William, the monk of Newburgh, or Newborough in York-

liam of Newborough; men that used so much of it themselves, that they seem to have feared he might bring it in disgrace by writing with too much extravagance. But what had either of them to say against the Trojan part of Geoffrey's history? ^e Giralduſ, for his part, follows him in it; as if this were the only true thing in his book. ^f Neubrigensis, as sharp as he falls on Geoffrey for other things, yet hath not the least reflection on him for this. I know not whereunto I^{xxi} may ascribe this partiality, but that either they believed it themselves, as others did, or at least they durst not disbelieve a thing that took so generally in their age. How much less could others contradict it a hundred years after, when it was come to be a tradition universally received? and that with so great an authority, that it was thought sufficient to prove any thing that could be inferred from it. There can be no greater instance of this than was given in that ^g controversy between king Edward I. and pope Boniface VIII. about the title of the kingdom of Scotland: that king founded his title in the right of king Brutus; the parliament owned it in a writing under their seals; they sent it to the pope, who gave no answer, but yielded the question. About a hundred years after this, it was alleged in a ^h general council, by all our bishops and learned

shire, was surnamed Little. See Cave *ibid.* under Gulielmus Parvus (Neubrigensis); Tanner *ibid.* under Petyt Gulielmus; Nicolson *ibid.* part 1. ch. 5. p. 48. Cave fixes him A.D. 1195.

^e Giralduſ. *Cambr. descr.* cap. 7. p. 886. in *Camden. Anglica, &c.*

^f Gulielm. Neubrigensis in *Procem. ad Hist. Rer. Angl.* tom. 1. p. 7. See *Stillingfleet ibid.* ch. 5. pp. 278. 328. and

note ^e in former page.

^g *Matt. Westmon. Flor. Hist.* A.D. 1301. p. 439. *Walsingham, Hypod. Neustr.* p. 492. *inter Camden. ibid.* Knighton *inter Twysden. Decem Script. Angl.* col. 2484. See p. xliii.

^h Council of Constance, sess. 31. *protest. Anglic.* Vide *Labbei Concil.* tom. 12. col. 1739-1753. for the protestation at length.

men, who stood upon it as an undeniable proof of the nobleness and antiquity of this kingdom.

xxii This might well make our ancestors fond of their Trojan original, when they saw all the great men judge it so honourable, and the learnedest man living vouch for the truth of it. So that we are not to wonder, at this day, that we find the name of Brutus at the top of our pedigrees. If others valued themselves so much in being his successors, we had reason to glory much more that he was our progenitor.

ⁱ But the honour that is got by a lie lasts no longer than till truth comes to light. Now, since printing hath brought so much knowledge into this part of the world, we see our neighbouring nations have sent away their Trojans to the poets from whence they came. And if we are resolved to keep ours, we must do it in spite of all true history. Now therefore, if we are fond of a noble extraction, we must lay out for it some more probable way. And the way is obvious enough to any one that is not either destitute of learning or possessed
xxiii with a love of knight-errantry: it is not without suspicion of one, or both, of these causes, that some are so concerned for Geoffrey's credit, as if the honour of our nation were to stand or fall by his stories.

“ I wonder what they mean,” ^k says the Scottish historian, that, “ in spite of all the truth in antiquity,” they will needs have it that they come from the Trojans, that were at the best a conquered people; and among them, from such as were traitors to their country: when

ⁱ Stillingfleet's Preface, *ibid.* p. xviii.

^k Buchanan. *Rer. Scot. lib. 2.* p. 15. 2. lin. 52. *Oper. tom. 1.* p. 24. Nicolson, in his *Scottish Historical Library*, part 2. ch. 2.

p. 31, &c. gives a copious account of this historical work; see also Tanner *ibid.* under Buchananus; who died, says he, A.D. 1582.

they might content themselves (if they pleased) with that which ¹“many acknowledge, and no learned man will gainsay, that they are descended from them that were the first planters of their country.” This is with great truth acknowledged by that learned writer; not only to be that which we may justly assume, but to be one of the greatest things that can be said of any nation. It was (as he observes) accounted so by the Athenians, who were the most competent judges of honour, as being in their time the wisest and most learned of all nations.

But we have this to say for ourselves so many ages^{xxiv} after the Athenians, when perhaps there are not many nations in the world that can say it beside us. We live still in that country of which our ancestors were the first inhabitants. And though we have been twice conquered since, yet we have still kept our ground, and whatsoever we lost either of those times, we have gained much more by losing it. For by being a conquest of the Roman empire, we got so much the earlier to be subjects to Christ. And by the English conquest, (which was not till after eight hundred years' war; nor even then, but upon an honourable composition,) we obtained a much happier condition than ever our ancestors enjoyed, or than we could have been capable of otherwise.

And we have this to say more, which few can say elsewhere, that we keep still the same language which was spoken first in this country; and we know no reason to doubt, but that, as one of our ancestors told a great king that invaded us, ^m God will have an ac-^{xxv}

¹ Cæsar. Comment. de Bello Gallico, lib. 5. cap. 12. p. 165. Diod. Sicul. Biblioth. lib. 4. p. 209. marg.
^m Camden. Brit. de primis Incolis, p. 17. vol. 1. p. xvii. ex Girald. Typogr. Walliæ. Girald. de Illaudibilibus Walliæ, part. 2. cap. 10. p. 455. in Wharton. Anglia Sacra, tom. 2.

count for this country in no other language but ours at the day of judgment.

Other things I could add, to the just honour of our nation, but this one (in my judgment) is more than we can forego without being very great losers by all the advantage that is given us in exchange for it by our romancing historian.

That the ⁿ Scots have sped no better than we, in the honour that hath been done them by their writers, will soon appear to them that have any skill in antiquity. ^o I do not speak here of the ancient Scots that live in Ireland, who no doubt have some remains of very ancient true history. But our business at present is with them that live in the isle of Britain, the Albion Scots, as they are called for distinction sake: of them it is certain, they have not any history that was written within a thousand years after Christ; except those historical verses in the manuscript annals of ^p Melrose, which perhaps may be of an ancients date. ^q The oldest xxvi writer of their nation that is quoted by their printed historians is ^r Veremund, archdeacon of St. Andrew's,

ⁿ See chap. 1. §. 4. p. 7, &c. of this work, Stillingfleet's Preface, *ibid.* and a large portion of his fifth chapter, p. 248, &c.

^o Stillingfleet *ibid.* Preface, p. xxxviii. &c.

^p Nicolson, in his English Historical Library, part 1 ch. 5. p. 51, has noticed the Chronicle of Melrose: in his Scottish Historical Library, part 2. ch. 2. p. 22, and Appendix, n. 3. p. 105. at greater length. This Chronicle, referred to by Stillingfleet, *ibid.* Preface, p. xlix. was printed at Oxford, in 1684, among the *Rer. Anglic. Script. Vet.* by Fulman. It commences in the eighth, and ends in the thirteenth cen-

tury. Jamieson in his Ancient History of the Culdees, ch. 8. p. 168, thinks that the celebrated Aidan founded the Culdean establishment at Melrose; and of which, as to its history and antiquities, he has given many interesting particulars.

^q Stillingfleet *ibid.* p. 1. &c.

^r Nicolson gives an extended account of Veremundus, in his Scottish Hist. Libr. part 2. ch. 2. p. 20. Stillingfleet *ibid.* Preface, p. xlix. chap. 5. p. 261. and Lloyd in the present work, ch. 7. §. 4. p. 151. Hector Boethius says that Veremundus was archdeacon of St. Andrew's in 1076. Nicolson *ibid.* p. 20.

that lived (as they say) about the time of William the Conqueror : and next to him is ^s John Campbell, who is said to have lived in the time of our ^t Edward the First : but their works are now lost, if ever they were in being. I say, if they were ; for I doubt it, because I have not met with any one that hath seen them ; nor are they quoted, that I know, but by ^u Hector Boethius, who in his preface, and elsewhere, names them for his principal authors. But I doubt whether he had those authors whom he quotes ; for he never quotes him that was his author indeed, the ^v monk of Fordon, whom he seems to have followed in all his antiquities.

^xThis monk of ^y Fordon writ no earlier than in the ^z fourteenth century after Christ, and seems to have had no more knowledge of antiquity than others had that lived in his age. And yet, as far as I can perceive, it was he that helped the later historians to all those discoveries of persons and things, that were unknown ^{xxvii} to all their predecessors. Hector put this monk's tales into the form of an history ; and pieced them out with a very good invention, that part in which he chiefly excelled. Buchanan put them into excellent Latin : he could have put them into as good verse, if he had

^s Nicolson *ibid.* p. 23. Tanner *ibid.* under Campus Bellus.

^t Edward began his reign A.D. 1272, and died A.D. 1307.

^u Nicolson *ibid.* speaks frequently of Boethius :—particularly, part 2. ch. 1. p. 3. ch. 2. p. 29. Tanner *ibid.* under Boethius. Stillingfleet *ibid.* quotes Boethius very often ; among others, Preface, p. liv. ch. 5. p. 255. Boethius flourished at the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth centuries.

^v Stillingfleet *ibid.* Preface, p. lvii. corrects this error.

^x See ch. 7. §. 1. p. 133.

^y Nicolson *ibid.* p. 23. for a considerable notice of Fordon. Tanner *ibid.* under Fordon, Johannes. Stillingfleet *ibid.* frequently quotes Fordon ; Preface, pp. v. lvi., &c. ch. 2. p. 51, &c. ch. 5. p. 249, &c. He must not be confounded with John abbot of Ford in Devonshire, confessor of king John, who wrote one hundred and fifty years previously. Tanner *ib.* under Joannes, abbas Fordensis.

^z Cave *ibid.* under Joannes de Fordun, says A.D. 1360.

pleased ; and that perhaps had been better, for then they would have looked more like ^a a poem.

That they are by no means to be allowed the name of an history, it were easy to prove by all the ways that we have to judge of such matters. I shall only insist upon four ways of proving this, whereof the two first are the same that ^b Buchanan himself useth in his refutation of our British antiquities before mentioned.

First, as to our British originals, he refutes them by shewing the distance of time at which the first author of them lived from the persons and things of which he writ.

xxviii And then, as to other parts of our history, by shewing that they are contradicted by the Greek and Roman historians. These are two such notes of imposture as, wheresoever they are found, may very well shake the credit of any writer.

But besides, there are two other things to be said of the Scots, which Buchanan could not truly say of our British historians. First, ^c that many of their antiquities are nothing else but their superstructures upon such fables of our Geoffrey's as might have been easily convicted by those ways of discovery. And secondly, that the account which they give us of the originals of their nation and religion were not only unknown to their own ancestors, but that they are irreconcilably different from those accounts which their ancestors gave of themselves, and which were held most authentic among them in ancient times. This I take to be a most clear and undeniable conviction of their novelty.

xxix First, it is a shrewd presumption against the truth of any matter delivered in history, when it is said to have

^a Tanner. ib. under Buchanan. &c. Oper. tom. 1. p. 22, &c.

^b Rer. Scot. lib. 2. fol. 14. 1, ^c See p. xxxiii.

been many ages before the time of him that was the first author that mentioned it: and yet he doth not pretend to have seen any ancient record for it, or to have any other author that lived within an age or two of those times. I do not see what we can say for our writers, when this is alleged against them by Buchanan in the case of our Brutus, and of all that succession of kings that are said to have reigned in this isle before Cæsar came hither. And if any one in like manner should question the ^d story of our first Christian king Lucius, it must rest upon the credit of venerable Bede, that writ above five hundred years after the time when king Lucius is said to have lived: unless ^e Bede had it out of the 'Gesta Pontificum,' that mixen of ill-contrived forgeries, which perhaps was made before Bede's time. We may reasonably presume that Gildas never heard any thing of king Lucius: which gives a great suspicion of the truth of that story. But let this pass ^{xxx} as it will.

For Buchanan's part, he might have done well to have remembered this way of trial at home among his own authors: which if he had done, he would have spared many of the chief things of ancient times that he has in his history. For which of his authors, or what other whom they name, can be said to have lived within twelve hundred years of ^f Fergus, their pretended first monarch? or within six hundred years of ^g Donald,

^d For the history and legends relating to Lucius, consult Usser. de Primord. cap. 3-6. pp. 30-141.

Addend. pp. 975, &c. 1055, &c. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. cap. 3-6. pp. 17-73. Stillingfleet *ibid.* ch. 2. pp. 58. 70. Gunn's note 48. p. 133. in his edition of Nennius.

^e Usser. Præfat. ad Primord. et Brit. Eccles. Antiq. Stillingfleet *ibid.* ch. 2. p. 67. and

note z.

^f Compare ch. 1. §. 9. p. 32, &c. with Stillingfleet *ibid.* Preface, p. v., &c. ch. 5. p. 251, &c. Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 612. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 321, &c.

^g Stillingfleet *ibid.* Preface, p. lxiii. ch. 2. p. 52, &c. Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 613. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 322.

their first Christian king? And yet they pretend to give a certain account of the acts of both these kings, and of the years that they reigned, and of their successors, for many ages, before they had the use of letters, for aught that appears in any history.

But some of their writers are so wise as to name no particular author: but to say, ^h “thus we find in our ancient annals;” and under that name they give themselves leave to utter what they please. But when our ^{xxxix} historians do the same, Buchanan takes them up for it; and says, ⁱ “they that pretend to bring things out of old annals ought to give some account who first delivered those things, where they lay so long hid, how they passed uncorrupt through so many ages.” It cannot be denied that these are very reasonable inquiries. But they seem to have been out of Buchanan’s head when he writ the Lives of his forty first kings. For else he would not have thought it worth the while to have mentioned any one of them in his history. But it seems he thought it was sufficient that he found them so in ^k Hector Boethius, whom ^l he follows, without asking any one of those questions that he puts to our British historian.

Another thing which Buchanan often takes notice of, and not without cause, in our old British history, as to that part of it which fell within the time of the Roman emperors, is the great and manifest difference, in some things irreconcilable, between ours ^{xxxii} and the Roman historians. It cannot be denied that this objection cuts off a great part of our British antiquities. And herein indeed the Scots have the odds of us, that their figments are not so easy to be evicted out

^h So Buchanan. *ib.* in *Reg.* 1. *et passim.* lib. 4. fol. 33. 1, &c. *Oper.* tom. 1. p. 53. See Mac-kenzie *ibid.* p. 39.

ⁱ Buchanan. *Rer. Scot.* lib. 2.

p. 14. 1. lin. 42. *Oper.* tom. 1. p. 22.

^k Stillingfleet *ibid.* Preface, p. xvii. &c.

^l *Ibid.* And Lesley also.

of the Roman history. The reason of this is plain. Their Hector lived so much later than our Geoffrey, that by means of the invention of printing, which came into the world about twenty years before him, he could see divers books of Roman history that were scarce to be found in Geoffrey's days. So that he was aware of that danger of lashing out, and knew the bounds within which he might invent without fear of discovery. But yet he did not observe them so well, but that he may be disproved in very many instances. Nay, Buchanan himself, who understood the Roman history exceeding well, perhaps no man better in his age; yet writing after them that were not so well skilled in it, they left too great a task upon that learned man, to make their fictions agree with the Roman history. And sometimes they drew him after them into gross absurdities; ^{xxxiii} of which I shall give a clear instance in what I write upon the next head.

The mean while, to give this note its full scope, I shall extend it to others as well as to the Romans. It is equally due to all that write the things of their own times, or such as they find in good records; that, so far, their writings should be a kind of standard to all those that come after them. This right I ^m assert to Adamnanus, and to Bede among others; and shew that even where they writ of the things of their own times, ⁿ the Scottish historians have taken the liberty to vary from them in sundry particulars.

By what hath been said, it sufficiently appears that ours are not the only antiquities that are to be convicted of falsehood by Buchanan's rules. But whatsoever our antiquities were, it was all one to Buchanan's

^m Chap. 1. §. 10. p. 38. ch. 2. §. 4. p. 58. and §. 6. p. 63.

ⁿ As Boethius; see ch. 1. §. 10. p. 38.

authors. Those men whom he follows in his history were pleased to follow him that was °the worst of our xxxiv writers, when they thought it would make for their turn; though the things they took from him were liable to either of those ways of conviction. I ought not to say this without some kind of proof, though it will take up more room than can well be allowed in a preface.

° Geoffrey having found that Severus the emperor died here in Britain, thought it most for the honour of our country to kill him fairly in battle. And therefore by power of fancy ¹he creates one Fulgenius to be general against him: who being overpowered here at home, went and fetched in the Picts out of Scythia, and with their aid fought Severus, and killed him, and was killed together for company. All this was Geoffrey's own proper invention. And then having found that Severus left a son, Bassianus, that was his successor in the Roman empire; he makes his Britons set up this Bassianus to be their king, on his mother's account, who forsooth was the sister of Fulgenius. Then having xxxv found that ² Britain was governed by Carausius at some time after—he knew not when—to tack these things together, he makes the forementioned emperor ³ Bassianus (being betrayed by the Picts that came in with

° Geoffrey of Monmouth.

° Mackenzie *ibid.* p. 149, &c. Stillingfleet *ibid.* ch. 5. p. 259.

¹ Galfr. Monemut. fol. 34. a. b. Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 584. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 304. Gunn's note 52. in his edition of Nennius, p. 140, states that "the national traditions may have confounded Alexander and Septimius Se-

verus together; for there is a passage in Lampridius, (*Script. Hist. August.* p. 587.) which seems to intimate, that according to some, he was slain in Britain."

² Usser. *ibid.* Stillingfleet *ibid.* ch. 2. p. 72.

³ Bassianus died in Mesopotamia, in the year 217. Carausius usurped in Britain, in the year 286.

his uncle Fulgenius) be killed in fight by this Carausius. There was a distance of some seventy years between them: but that was nothing to Geoffrey: he writ (I dare say) what might be true for aught he knew.

But, true or false, it fitted the turn of John of Fordon, who it seems wanted matter for that part of his ^t Scotichronicon; and to help his invention, he took the hint from our Geoffrey, who seemed to offer it to his hand, by engaging his countrymen the Picts in that war with Severus. Then for congruity, he joins the ^u Scots with the Picts, and heads them with a noble Briton, Fulgentius, (that seemed to be a more genteel name than Fulgenius,) whom he makes duke or ^x consul of the Albanian Britons. Other Scottish writers follow him in this; but Buchanan would not swallow that gudgeon of a British ^y consul, and he knew the Roman ^{xxxvi} writers too well to contradict them so palpably in the story of Severus's death. But ^z Dempster is unsufferable; ^a who, not content to make use of our Geoffrey's Fulgenius as others do, spirits him away from us, and faces us down that he was not an Englishman, (whoever said he was,) but a Scot. And withal he makes him a Christian, and tells us what books he writ, and laments that they are not extant, as if he were in earnest in all

^t Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 615. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 323.

^u Stillingfleet *ibid.* chap. 5. pp. 251. 259.

^x See p. xiv.

^y "The term 'consul,' in the middle ages, became a title of honour, and was conferred on illustrious persons." Gunn's note 6. p. 94. in his edition of Nennius.

^z For Dempster's character, see chap. 7. §. 5. p. 153. Nicolson's Scottish Historical Library, pt. 2. chap. 4. p. 58. Stillingfleet *ibid.* Pref. p. l. chap. 5. p. 248, has given a catalogue of Dempster's pretended authorities. Dempster died at Bologna, in Italy, A. D. 1625.

^a Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 615. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 323.

this. But whereas our Geoffrey makes the emperor Bassianus be killed by Carausius, (wherein I believe he is followed by all the Scottish historians, though at present I cannot come at some of their books,) ^b John Major takes lower; ^c he only says a Roman general of that name was overcome and killed by Carausius and the Scots. ^d Buchanan makes him the Roman lieutenant in Britain, and says only that the Scots and Picts leagued with Carausius against him. But who told him that there was a Bassianus lieutenant of Britain, xxxvii or that there was a man of that name living here in Carausius's time? Sure he could not have this from any of the Roman historians: none ever said it before our Geoffrey. And is he now such an author that Buchanan should think fit to say any thing after him? Yes, so far as to take Geoffrey's seedlings and graft upon them. This he and his authors do familiarly, as I could shew by very many ^e instances; they seem to have thought they had cause to be angry with him, when he left them wholly to invent for themselves.

But that which I chiefly insist on is this, that the now extant Scottish historians give a quite ^f different account of the originals, both of their nation and religion, from that which was given by their ancestors; and which was nationally owned by them in their public instruments and writings.

^g The present nation of the Scots, so far as they differ in extraction from the English, are chiefly composed of the Picts and Irish Scots, as I shall afterwards shew.

^b Nicolson *ibid.* ch. 2. p. 28, for an account of Major's work, which he wrote A. D. 1518.

^c Joh. Major. *de Gest. Scot.* lib. 1. cap. 15. fol. 21.

^d Buchan. *Rer. Scot.* in 34.

Rege. lib. 4. fol. 42. 2. lin. 81. Oper. tom. 1. p. 68.

^e See a notable instance in this book, chap. 7. §. 4. p. 151.

^f See two next pages and notes.

^g See ch. 1. §. 3. p. 5. §. 8. p. 28.

Of the ^h Picts, they are very different accounts that xxxviii were given by Adamnanus a Scottish writer, that lived about the year of Christ 700, and that were given seven hundred years after his time by the monk of Fordon and his followers. This the reader may see more largely, if he please, for his own satisfaction, in the most learned primate ⁱ Usher's book *Of the Beginnings of the British Churches*.

Of the ^k Scots' original there was no certain history, as ^l Nennius saith, in his time, which was about the year 850. But the best account he could get, was that which I have taken out of him and ^m inserted in the following book. There was nothing said then, nor for many ages after, by any writer that I know, concerning Fergus the son of Ferchard and that long succession of kings which are now in all the Scottish historians. And after this succession from Fergus was published by Hector Boethius, it seems it was not then believed by the learned men of his own nation. For Polydore Virgil tells us, that when Hector's book was newly xxxix come forth, ⁿ Gawen Douglas, bishop of Dunkeld, warned him of it, and earnestly prayed him ^o not to follow that history in writing of the Scottish matters. And that bishop gave him another account of their original,

^h Lloyd, in chap. 1. §. 3. p. 5, &c. speaks more at large on this subject. Nicolson *ibid.* part 2. ch. 2. p. 18, for some account of Adamnanus. See Cave *ibid.* and Tanner *ibid.* under his name.

ⁱ Usher. *de Primord.* Addend. p. 1018. *Brit. Eccles. Antiq.* cap. 15. p. 301. Consult *Stillingfleet* *ibid.* chap. 5. p. 240, &c. 274, &c.

^k Nennius *ibid.* cap. 8. p. 100. §. 14. p. 11. note 21. Usher. *de Primord.* cap. 16. p. 731. *Brit.*

Eccles. Antiq. p. 382.

^l See note y, p. xi.

^m Chap. 1. §. 5. p. 10. Nennius, cap. 9. p. 100. §. 15. p. 12. and from him H. Huntingdon. *Hist.* p. 172. a. lin. 12. p. 300. *Stillingfleet* *ibid.* Pref. p. v. &c. chap. 5. p. 255, &c.

ⁿ Pol. Virgil. *Anglic. Hist.* lib. 3. p. 50. *Stillingfleet* *ibid.* Preface, p. liv. compared with Mackenzie *ibid.* p. 30. Tanner *ib.* under Virgilius and Douglass.

^o Vide Tanner. *ibid.*

which, in sum, was the same that was given so many ages before to our ^p Nennius, as was before mentioned. His account is certainly no truer than the other, but it is plain that there is a great difference between them.

For the time of their first coming into Britain, it may be worth noting, that the ancient Culdee of St. Andrew's, ^q whose book bishop Usher had in MS., says that all Britain had received the Christian religion before the Picts and Scots entered into this island. This, though it could not be true, yet it seems was then the current tradition. But now, since the ^r monk of Fordon's time, (howsoever he came to discover it,) ^s all their writers are agreed that they came hither long before Christ's incarnation.

xl For the Scots, they can tell how long before to a year, by a very good token, that it was ^t at the time when Alexander the Great took Babylon.

^u Concerning the Picts, it is now the most received tradition, that they came hither a good while after the Scots. This is directly contrary to the opinion which was in ^x Bede's time: for he saith, that this island was first planted with Britons, who possessed themselves of the greatest part of it; and that next the Picts came and seated themselves north of the Britons; and after both these, in process of time, the Scots come into the Picts' part of this island, to be a third nation. I shall

^p Ch. 1. §. 5. p. 10. and notes.

^q Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 579. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 302.

^r See note v, p. xxvi.

^s Chap. 1. §. 5. p. 10.

^t Buchan. Rer. Scot. in Rege 1. lib. 4. fol. 34. 1. lin. 13. Oper. tom. 1. p. 54. See chap. 1. §. 5. p. 10. Stillingfleet ibid. Preface, p. xv.

^u Vide David. Camerar. de Scotorum Fortitudine. Introduc. p. 5. Appendix ad lib. 3. p. 207.

^x Bedæ Histor. Eccles. lib. 1. cap. 1. p. 23. p. 41. Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 587. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 306. Stillingfleet ibid. Pref. p. xxxix. as to the Picts, ibid. chap. 5. p. 239. and notes, as to the Scots.

not detain the reader here to shew how much of this is true; that will be done ^y in its place in the following book. But it must be confessed that Bede lived while the Picts were a nation apart from the Scots; and no doubt he knew from them, of both those nations in his age, what tradition they had then of their own originals. If his be not a better authority than any that ^{xli} they have to the contrary, yet at least it sufficeth to my purpose, to shew that their tradition in Bede's time was very different from that which is now in the Scottish historians.

^z Of the Picts' and Scots' first conversions to the Christian religion, the reader will find in this book such an account as hath been left us by them which lived in or near the times of their respective conversions. But those ancientest writings were little known, and less considered by them that lived in and after ^a Veremund's age. I name him in this place because Hector Boethius not only pretends to follow him as their most ancient historian, but also mentions him particularly as his author in this matter. But if there was such a man as he is said to have been, and if he writ such a history as he is pretended to have written, and if he had that account of their conversion which is quoted from him, (all which things I may well be allowed to doubt till I see better proof of them,) it is strange that not the least notice should be taken of this man or his ^{xlii} history, or this account of the Scots' conversion, by any writer now extant, of all them that lived before the ^b monk of Fordon's time (whom I still take to be Hector's true author for almost every thing that is not purely

^y Ch. 1. §. 3. p. 5. §. 8. p. 28, &c. lxxii. chap. 2. pp. 51—53.

^z Ch. 2. §. 2. p. 50, &c. Stillingfleet *ibid.* Preface, pp. lxiii—

^a See p. xxvi.

^b *Ibid.* and note v.

his own, or our countryman Geoffrey's, in his account of the Scottish antiquities). But as the account that was given by this monk hath been followed by all their historians that have written since his time, so they that lived in the next age before him gave quite another account of their conversion. I shall prove sufficiently in this book that neither of them is true; but at present I am only to shew that there is no agreement between them.

They that lived an age or two before John of Fordon had a tradition of a wonderful victory obtained by their king Hungus against the Saxons by means of the ^c relics of St. Andrew the apostle, which were then by xliiidivine revelation brought out of Greece into Scotland; and that thereupon the Scots first received the faith of Christ. This was so much believed to be a true account of their first receiving the Christian religion, that the Scots of that age owned it ^d publicly in their apology against king Edward the First, which they gave in to pope Boniface VIII. about the year of Christ 1300. And they made that pope believe it; or else he did not deal fairly with that king in alleging this way of their conversion by a brother of St. Peter's, ^e as a reason why the kingdom of Scotland should belong to him that was St. Peter's successor, and not to the king of England, who then pretended another right to it.

Now this victory over the Saxons, to which the

^c Jamieson *ibid.* ch. 7. p. 145, &c. The editor of Sir Robert Sibbald's *History of Fife and Kinross, Cupar Fife, 1803.* chap. 6. p. 45, note 2, insists, in common with foregoing writers, that Hurgust or Hungus "is a palpable forgery of the priests of

St. Andrew's."

^d *Apologia, &c. Vide Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 646. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 340. See p. xxi.*

^e *Bonifacii VIII. Bulla. in Usser. Primord. ibid. p. 647. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. ibid.*

Scots of that age did relate in this account of their conversion, is said by all the late Scottish writers to have been obtained by ^f Hungus, king of the Picts, about the year of Christ 800. This year 800 was, by the way, more than two hundred years after the ^g conversion of the Saxons. But they that dated their conversion ^{xliv} from the time of this victory could not think it was so late: for ^h they say it was four hundred years before the conversion of the Saxons. It is no matter what they thought, that were so grossly ignorant of all ancient history. If there were any truth in the matter of fact as concerning that victory, it must have been after the time when those relics are said to have been first discovered, which was pretty late in the ⁱ fourth century. And then, indeed, those relics are said to have been received by an ^j Urgust, king of the Picts, whom I believe the monk of Fordon placed there for that purpose. But then the Saxons were not yet come over into Britain, where they must have been for some time before the Scots could have occasion for a victory over them.

And yet to make the matter more difficult, the Saxons were not in this island ^k four hundred years, nor two hundred, before their conversion; so that the pope was certainly misinformed, and the Scots were much more ^{xlv} out in their story.

Therefore, to mend the matter, their late writers

^f Vide Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. pp. 657. 714. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. pp. 345. 373.

^g As to the conversion of the Saxons in Britain, see Stillfleet's Answer to Cressy, ch. 4. §. 2. in his Works, vol. 5. p. 670.

^h Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. ibid. p. 647. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 340.

LLOYD.

ⁱ Dallæi adversus Latinorum de Cultus Religiosi Objecto Traditionem, lib. 4. cap. 20. p. 692.

^j Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 657. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 345, where the king's name is Hungus. See p. xlii. note ^c.

^k Ibid. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 647. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 340.

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have taken it in pieces, and set it up quite another way.

First, they are willing to believe their conntrymen had such a victory over the Saxons, and they pitch upon king Athelstan for the man that suffered in it: from whose death, they say, the place was called ^lAthelstan-Ford. But it falls out unhappily, that the Saxons had ^mno king of that name, but one, that was not born at the time that they set for that victory. Therefore ⁿBuchanan thinks, it should have been rather over the Danes than the Saxons. He should have said, that perhaps all this was but fiction, for he could judge of it no otherwise, according to his own rules before mentioned.

Secondly, for the means by which this victory should have been obtained, which was said at first to have been by the relics of St. Andrew, being brought over ^{xlvi}then out of Greece: ^onow they say, those relics were brought long before; but the victory was obtained by a vision of St. Andrew, and by his cross seen in the air, which ever since hath been the badge of that nation. Here is some alteration, as the reader may see, in these particulars.

But this is nothing to that which they have made in the consequence of it; namely, that hereupon they were converted to the faith. Whosoever had considered that these were Picts, and not Scots, must needs have seen the absurdity of this. For from Bede,

^l See Camden *ibid.* p. 688. vol. 3. p. 303. which compare with *ibid.* p. 671. vol. 3. p. 239. The Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 926. 935. p. 140, &c. Ingram's edit.

^m There was a former Saxon king, named Athelstan; but he reigned over Kent, Essex, Surrey, and Sussex. See the Saxon

Chronicle, A. D. 836. p. 90. *ibid.*

ⁿ Buchan. *Rer. Scot.* lib. 5. LXV. Rege. fol. 57. 2. lin. 66. Oper. tom. 1. p. 90. Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 715. *Brit. Eccles. Antiq.* p. 373.

^o Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. pp. 657. 715. *Brit. Eccles. Antiq.* pp. 345. 373.

who was then in every one's hands, it was evident that the Picts were converted long before king Athelstan's time: ^p the south Picts about the year 412, the north Picts about the year 560, as I shall have occasion to shew. But in these public instruments which I have mentioned, it is said that the Scots, not the Picts, owed to St. Andrew's relics, not his vision, for this victory and for their conversion together.

It was certainly false that the Scots of that age were ^{xlvi} concerned in that conversion or victory, if any thing of this story had been true. And this their late writers seem to have understood well enough; for they have thrown aside all that part on which the pope grounded his pretension, as if their forefathers had devised it only to serve a turn. And now they stick to nothing but only the date of their conversion. Whereas their ancestors said, that the Scots were converted four hundred years before the Saxons; so they say still: but ^{pp} the Saxons were converted about the year 600, therefore the Scots' conversion must be about the year 200.

And indeed they hit upon a fit time, for then ^q Victor was pope; whose next predecessor, Eleutherius, as then it was generally believed, had sent them that converted the Britons. Why might it not as well be believed that pope Victor did as much for the Scots? No doubt it might, if there were any good author for it. And why not? Doth not archdeacon Veremund's name ^{xlvi} sound as well as venerable Bede's? Might one's authority pass for a king Lucius, and not the other as well for a king ^r Donald? Why might not one remember

^p Chap. 2. §. 2. 6. pp. 50. 63. Pref. p. lxiii. cap. 2. p. 51.

^{pp} See p. xliii. note g.

^r Jamieson *ibid.* cap. 1. p. 6,

^q Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 612. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 321. Stillingfleet's Antiq. *ibid.*

attaches little credit to the story of king Donald. See Stillingfleet *ibid.* Pref. p. xii.

things a thousand years before he was born, as well as the other five hundred? No doubt so far they were in the right: and whosoever compares them will see, that one of these stories was a pattern to the other. What our historians made Eleutherius do for our Lucius, the same does Hector Boethius make pope Victor do for Donald.

But if this had been thought of in pope ^s Boniface's time, it might have entitled him to the kingdom of Scotland, much better than that other abandoned account of their conversion. For though it was a wrong way to ground a temporal right upon one's being the author of such a spiritual benefit, yet the pope might judge it a good way, if he pleased; and who could contradict him in that dark superstitious age? But then it xlix would be expected that he should shew how this right came to him or his see in particular. And for this, it was indeed a miserable fetch to claim under St. Peter's brother as he did: though the king was so civil to him as to take no notice of it in his answer. But to have claimed under his own predecessor pope Victor, would have made his title so clear to any one that had but granted his supposition, that it is hard to think why he should use any other pretension. He would certainly have used no other, if he had not been ignorant of this. And if he was ignorant of it, we may be sure the Scottish nation were so too, for ^t they informed him of this, as well as all other matters in his bull. It appears they told him that which was their current tradition: and knew nothing of that which had been more for his turn. King Donald's conversion was not known then, which is the thing I was to prove.

I think it is sufficiently proved, by all those ways

^s See p. xliii.

Flor. Historiar. A. D. 1301. p.

^t Matthæi Westmonstariens. 417. lin. ult. p. 434.

before mentioned, that the Scottish historians are not to be credited in what they write of those matters and times which are to be considered in the following book. But if, after all that has been said, they must still be good authors, and their word must be taken for things in which they have no author but themselves, I shall only desire, that they which have this esteem for them would be pleased not to argue from their authority; and especially, not in matters of religion. Whosoever will not grant me this request, must give me leave to believe, that either he is not in good earnest, or he does not know what he says, when he writes himself 'a hater of false history.'



PRIMITIVE CHURCH GOVERNMENT

IN

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

THE GENERAL DESIGN OF THIS BOOK.

BEING to give account of the primitive Church government in the islands of Great Britain and Ireland, I think it will be necessary to proceed in this order; first, to shew ^a how these countries were peopled in those times, when the Christian religion was planted here; secondly, ^b how the several nations that dwelt in these islands received the Christian faith; and, thirdly, ^c how the Churches were governed in ² these nations, before they came under the yoke of the papacy: lastly, having shewn that they were governed by such bishops as are now among us, I ^d shall answer those objections that are brought on the contrary, by them that pretend to shew that there was anciently another way of Church government in some parts of these islands.

^a Chap. 1. §. 1. p. 2, &c.

^b Chap. 2. §. 1. p. 48, &c.

^c Chap. 3, 4, 5. pp. 71. 82. 98.

^d Chap. 6. §. 1. p. 113, &c.

chap. 7. §. 1. p. 133, &c.

CHAP. I.

§. 1. **F**IRST, I am to shew how this island of Britain was planted at the time when it received the Christian religion.

All the south part of the island, which we now call England and Wales, was then peopled by the civilized Britons, who, having been conquered by the Roman emperors, lived under such governors and garrisons, as were sent hither from Rome, by the conquerors and their successors.

3 The north part of the island, which is now called Scotland, (^e a name which was not used in that sense in many ages after the time of which we speak,) was peopled partly by the Britons before mentioned, and partly by the Picts, who ^f seem to have been a ruder sort of Britons, ^g that would never yield to the Romans, but still kept up their ancient manners and liberty.

§. 2. The ^h frontier of the Roman Britons against the Picts was first placed between the two friths of ⁱ Bodotria and Glotta, that are now called of Edinburgh and Dunbarton. There Agricola, in Vespasian's time, made his forts, and put garrisons in them, to shut the Picts, as it were, into another island, as his son-in-law ^k Tacitus expresses it.

^e See §. 4. p. 9. §. 13. p. 46.

^f Vide Camden. *ibid.* de Pict. p. 83. vol. 1. p. xci. Stillingfleet *ibid.* was of opinion that the Picts came from Scandinavia: see his Preface, p. xxxvi. ch. 5. p. 239, &c. Mackenzie *ibid.* p. 58.

^g See §. 3. p. 6.

^h Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 616. *Brit. Eccles. Antiq.*

p. 323. *Stillingfleet ibid.* Pref. p. lxii. and note; ch. 5. pp. 242. 297. and notes.

ⁱ Usser. de Primord. Addend. p. 1020. *Brit. Eccles. Antiq.* cap. 15. p. 305. *Camden. ibid.* pp. 82. 698. vol. 1. p. xc. vol. 3. p. 355. *Additions*, pp. 358. 360. &c.

^k Tacit. *Vit. Agric.* cap. 23. in *Oper.* tom. 4. p. 91. *Usser.*

And though by the evil government of the emperor Domitian that frontier was lost, so that the emperor ¹Hadrian was fain to make a new one between Tyne and Solway frith, yet the former was recovered by Lollius Urbicus, lieutenant to his successor Antoninus Pius, who ^m built there a wall of turf to secure it against ⁴ the Picts, as ⁿ appears by divers of his inscriptions which have been digged up in that place. When afterwards it was lost again, and Severus the emperor had built his wall of stone upon Hadrian's frontier; yet the former was recovered again by the Romans, and there ^o Carausius built a wall of stone, as we are told by the ^p British historian. This boundary seems to have held till the first Valentinian's time: then being broken through again, it was repaired by his general Theodosius, who ^q reduced all that land between the two frontiers into its former estate, and obtained that it might be a distinct province, called Valentia, from the name of the emperor. Thus it continued till the decay of the Roman empire: but then ^r upon the fresh incursions of Picts and Scots into the civilized country,

de Primord. Addend. p. 1024.

Brit. Eccles. Antiq. cap. 15. p. 316. Camden. *ibid.* Stillingfleet *ibid.* ch. 1. p. 33.

¹ Camden. *ibid.* pp. 46. 650. 699. vol. 1. p. xlvi. vol. 3. pp. 211. 355. Stillingfleet *ibid.* p. 35.

^m Capitolin. Ant. Pius, inter Hist. Aug. Scriptor. p. 19. A. Usser. *ibid.* Stillingfleet *ibid.* chap. 2. p. 60. note P. Camden. *ibid.* pp. 46. 650. vol. 1. p. xlix. vol. 3. p. 211.

ⁿ Vide Camden. *ibid.* p. 699. vol. 3. p. 355. Usser. *ibid.* Stillingfleet *ibid.*

^o Aurel. Victor. Hist. Roman. Breviar. de Cæsaribus, p. 154.

p. 308.

^p Nenn. *ibid.* cap. 19. p. 103. §. 23. p. 19. note 7. Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 586. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 305. Camden. *ibid.* pp. 51. 700. vol. 1. p. liii. vol. 3. p. 356. Stillingfleet *ibid.* chap. 5. p. 257.

^q Ammian. Marcell. Rerum Gestarum, l. 28. pp. 369. 15, &c. cap. 3. p. 406. Camden. *ibid.* pp. 56. 111. 651. 655. vol. 1. pp. lix. cxxix. vol. 3. pp. 212. 231. Usser. de Primord. cap. 5. p. 96. cap. 17. p. 819. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 51. 427. Stillingfleet *ibid.* ch. 5. p. 287. b.

^r See, in this chapter, §. 6. and 7. pp. 16-28.

the works were new made, and ^s first a rampire of earth was built there, and then ^t a wall of stone, with several castles or forts to defend it; the ruins whereof ⁵ ^u are yet to be seen, and ^v are called by the name of ^w Graham's Dike, or Gramy's Dike, or Grime's Dike.

The Roman part of Britain was ^x first made a præ-sidial province by Agricola before mentioned. Afterward ^y by Severus it was divided into two provinces, called Superior and Inferior. Lastly, ^z by Constantine the Great it was divided into four; to wit, Britannia prima, Britannia secunda, Maxima Cæsariensis, and Flavia Cæsariensis; to which ^a a fifth was added by Theodosius, namely, that Valentia which I have mentioned. But whether the provinces were one or more, the Roman part of the island was still under one governor, sent by the emperor: which governor was at first ^b called his proprætor, or lieutenant, till Constantine's time; and then, the division of the empire

^s Gildas de Excid. Britanniaë, p. 1006. inter Orthodoxographa. Hist. Gild. §. 12. p. 4. §. 15. p. 21. Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 601, &c. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 313, &c. Stillingfleet ibid. ch. 5. p. 297, which compare with p. 242. and the notes; from which it will be seen that Stillingfleet differed from Lloyd.

^t Gild. ibid. p. 1007. inter Orthodoxographa, ibid. Histor. Gild. §. 14. p. 5. §. 18. p. 24.

^u Atlas Scotiaë, p. 4. and in maps after pp. 9. 75. 95. in Geograph. Blavian. vol. 6; but there is no map after p. 95. See Nicolson's Scottish Historical Library, part 2. ch. 1. p. 5.

^v Atlas, ibid. pp. 41. 82.

^w Camden. ibid. p. 700. vol. 3.

p. 356. Stillingfleet ibid. p. 298. notes i, o.

^x Camden. ibid. p. 43. vol. 1. p. xlvi.

^y Herodian. Histor. l. 3. p. 526. 4. inter Sylburg. Roman. Histor. Scriptor. Græc. Minor. tom. 3. Et Joan. Xiphilin. Epitom. Dionis, l. 55. p. 214. 9. et 14. inter Sylburg. ibid. Camden. ibid. p. 111. vol. 1. p. cxxviii. Stillingfleet ibid. ch. 2. p. 50.

^z Usser. de Primord. cap. 5. p. 96. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 51. ex Sexti Rufi Breviar. in Galliarum divisione. Stillingfleet ib. chap. 2. p. 76.

^a Ammian. Marcell. ibid. l. 28. p. 369. 19. cap. 3. p. 406. See note 9, in last page.

^b Camden. ibid. p. 44, &c. vol. 1. p. xlvi.

being much changed, the government of this island ^c was by a vicar or deputy under the præfectus prætorio of Gaul, as appears in the ^d Notitia of the empire.

§. 3. The ^e Picts, who had the rest of this island of Britain, inhabited in the north part of Scotland, which ⁶ from Graham's Dike before mentioned extended as far as the North Ocean. They were anciently called ^f Caledones, or Caledonians, that is, perhaps, Cilydion, Borderers, in the British tongue; and were ^g not of a different language from the Britons, nor were called by any other name that we read of, till about 300 years after Christ. Then we find them ^h first called Picts, because ⁱ they still continued the old British use of painting their bodies: and yet they that lived next the Roman frontier were ^k still called Caledones, that is, Borderers; and were by that name distinguished from the other Picts. Who those other Picts were we learn from Ammianus, that writ about fourscore years after. For ^l he tells us, there were

^c Zosim. *Histor. lib. 2. p. 688.*
23. inter Sylburg. *ibid.*

^d Panciroll. *Notitia, &c. p. 117. b. Stillingfleet ibid. ch. 4. p. 215. Camden. ibid. pp. 44. 53. vol. 1. pp. xlvi. lvi. and notes.*

^e Preface, pp. xxxviii. xl.

^f Tacit. *Vit. Agric. cap. 25, &c. inter Oper. tom. 4. p. 92, &c.*

^g Vide Camden. *ibid. p. 83. vol. 1. p. xci. Stillingfleet ibid. chap. 5. p. 240. compared with chap. 2. p. 51.*

^h Eumen. *Paneg. ad Constant. p. 258. inter Paneg. Vet. Hen. Stephani 1591. et inter Paneg. Vet. tom. 1. p. 289. et not. Vide Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 586. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 305.*

ⁱ Claud. de III Cons. Honor. *ver. 54. inter Oper. p. 97. p. 116. et not. ibid. calls them*

“nec falso nomine Pictos;” et vide Claudian. *de Bello Getico, v. 418. inter Oper. p. 431. p. 458. et not. ibid. Vide Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 595. cap. 17. p. 819. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. pp. 310. 427. Camden. ibid. pp. 83. 58. vol. 1. pp. xci. lxi. Stillingfleet ibid. chap. 5. p. 295. and note o. As to the word Picts, ibid. p. 240.*

^k Paneg. ad Constant. p. 235. inter Henr. Stephani, *ibid. 1591. “Caledonum aliorumque Pictorum sylvas et paludes.” Eumen. ib. inter Paneg. Vet. t. 1. p. 378. Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 586. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 305. Stillingfleet ib. p. 241. and note l.*

^l Ammian. Marcell. *ibid. l. 27. p. 346. l. 30. cap. 8. p. 383. Stillingfleet ib. and note n.*

two nations of the Picts, which were called Dicaldones and Vecturiones, perhaps ^m Deucilyddion and Chwithwrion; that is, in British, the Southern Caledones, or Borderers, and the Northern men: no doubt the same that were afterwards called the South and 7 North Picts, which, as ⁿ Bede saith, “were separated from each other by a ledge of high and steep mountains,” that lay between them. These mountains, I suppose, ^o were the same that were called Mons Grampius, by the ancients, and ^p are now called Grampian hills: among which hills ^q the country is called Braidalbin, that is, high Albion; and ^r the highest of them is called Drum-albin, that is, the back or ridge of ^s Albion, or Britain, which I mention as being perhaps the only remains of that most ancient name of this island.

§. 4. ^t Ireland the meanwhile was inhabited by the Scots, and from them was called Scotland by the writers that lived in those times. The ^u first writer

^m ‘Deu’ and ‘Chwith,’ ‘right’ and ‘left,’ were anciently used for ‘south’ and ‘north.’ Vide Usser. de Primord. cap. 5. p. 80. Addend. p. 1021. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. pp. 43. 306. Stillingfleet ibid. chap. 5. p. 241.

ⁿ Bed. ibid. lib. 3. cap. 4. p. 168. p. 106. Usser. de Primord. Addend. p. 1021. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. cap. 15. p. 306. Stillingfleet ibid. p. 241.

^o Atlas Scotiæ, p. 76. in Geographia Blavian. vol. 6.

^p Ibid.

^q Ibid. p. 113. Camden. ibid. p. 707. vol. 3. p. 389.

^r Atlas Scotiæ, ibid. Usser. de Primord. cap. 16. p. 733. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 383. Camden. ibid. and Additions,

p. 282. Stillingfleet ibid. Pref. p. lxxviii. chap. 5. p. 242. Note on Bede, ibid. b. 3. ch. 4. p. 106. to the same purpose. Jamieson ibid. cap. 13. p. 294. note 1.

^s Usser. de Primord. cap. 16. ibid. p. 723. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. ibid. p. 378. Camden. ibid. p. 17. vol. 1. p. xvii. See Stillingfleet ibid. Pref. p. xxxvii. and note.

^t Preface, pp. xxv. &c. xxxviii. &c. Compare Stillingfleet ibid. Pref. pp. lix. lxxvii. ch. 5. pp. 282. &c. 301. and notes. Mackenzie ibid. p. 151, &c. on this and the following sections to the conclusion of the chapter.

^u Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 586. cap. 17. p. 728. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. pp. 305. 380.

that mentioneth the name of Scots is Porphyry, in a book which seems to have been written about the year of Christ three hundred; for there (as it is quoted in ^v St. Jerome) he calleth Britain “a province fruitful of tyrants,” referring chiefly, no doubt, to ^w those that set up then against Diocletian: and there he speaks of the Scottish nations apart, as not living in Britain at that 8 time. But that their dwelling then was in Ireland is affirmed by ^x Orosius, in his history, which was written in the year 417; his words are, “Ireland is inhabited by the nations of the Scots.” With which agrees that of ^y Claudian, who wrote about twenty years before, that “^z the Scots rose all over Ireland, and made the sea foam with their oars;” and again, “^a that Ireland wept over the heaps of Scots that were slain.” So ^b Prosper, within twenty years after Orosius, calls that in which the Scots lived, “the barbarous island,” in contradistinction to Britain, which he calleth “the Roman island.” Therefore Ireland is called Scotia by the

^v Hieronymi Epist. ad Ctesiphon. Oper. tom. 2. p. 259. tom. 4. epist. 43. col. 780. Usser. *ibid.* cap. 16.

^w Carausius, Allectus, Asclepiodotus.

^x Pauli Orosii advers. Paganos Histor. lib. 1. cap. 2. de Europa, p. 28. Usser. de Primord. cap. 16. p. 728. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 380. Stillingfleet *ibid.* Pref. pp. lix. lxvii. Camden. *ibid.* p. 86. vol. 1. p. xciv.

^y Claudian. de Pr. Cons. Stilich. lib. 2. v. 251. inter Oper. p. 363. p. 393. et not. *ibid.* p. 875. “totam cum Scotus Iernen Movit, et infesto spumavit, remige Tethys.”

^z See Stillingfleet *ibid.* Pref. p. lix. which compare with sir

Robert Sibbald on Thule, at the conclusion of Gibson's edition of Camden's Britannia.

^a Claudian. de iv. Cons. Hon. ver. 33. inter Oper. p. 113. p. 131. et not. *ibid.* p. 177. “Scotorum cumulos flevit glacialis Ierne.” Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. pp. 579. 594. cap. 16. p. 728. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. pp. 301. 310. 380. Camden. *ibid.* Stillingfleet *ibid.* Pref. p. lix. chap. 5. p. 285.

^b Prosper. cont. Collat. c. 41. inter Oper. tom. 1. p. 197. col. 1. speaking of pope Celestine, “Ordinato Scotis episcopo, dum Romanam insulam studet servare catholicam, fecit etiam barbaram Christianam.” See ch. 2. §. 3. p. 51. Camden. *ibid.* p. 730. vol. 3. p. 466.

writers of those times ; particularly by him that calleth himself ^c Hegesippus, who ^d was either St. Ambrose, or a writer of that age. So ^e Isidore, about the year 620, saith, “ Scotia is the same with Hibernia.” ^f Gildas, who writ in the year 564, calls the same people sometimes Scoti and sometimes Hiberni. ^g Cogitosus saith of Kildare in Ireland, that it was “ the safest 9 place in all the land of the Scots.” So ^h Adamnanus, about the year 680, calleth it “ the isle of Scotland ;” and ⁱ saith of Columba, that “ he sailed out of Scotland into Britain.” So ^k Bede, in his history, which was writ about fifty years after, saith of the Scots, that “ their country is Ireland,” and sometimes calls it “ the isle of Scotland,” and hath the words Scotland and Ireland used promiscuously for the same in ^l several places : and king Alfred, ^m in his Saxon translation of Orosius, at the passage which I have mentioned, has these words, “ Hibernia that we call Scotland :” and in his translation of Bede he calls it ⁿ sometimes

^c Hegesip. de Bell. Judaic. v. 15. De Excid. Urb. Hierosolym. lib. 5. cap. 15. in Biblioth. Patrum, Bignæi, tom. 5. p. 1189. col. 1. For this and the following notes, with little exception, vide Usser. de Primord. cap. 16. p. 726. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 379.

^d Gronov. Monobibl. p. 6.

^e Isidor. Origin. xiv. 6. p. 193. B. “ Scotia eadem et Hibernia.” Camden. ibid. p. 86. vol. 1. p. xciv. where also for other authorities.

^f Gild. de Excid. Brit. lib. 1. p. 1006. inter Orthodoxographa. Hist. Gild. cap. 11—19. p. 4. §. 14—21. p. 21.

^g Cogitosi Vita Brigidæ, c. 14. in Canisii Antiq. Lection. tom. 5.

p. 641.

^h Adamnani de Columba, lib. 1. cap. 19. “ Insula Scotia,” in Canisii ibid. tom. 5. p. 575. Messinghamii Florileg. Sanctior. Hiberniæ, lib. 1. cap. 12. p. 153.

ⁱ Ibid. lib. 1. cap. 1. Canisii ibid. p. 565. Messinghamii ibid. p. 417. “ de Scotia ad Britanniam enavigavit.” So Epit. Bedæ an. 565. p. 489. p. 220. in Hist. Eccles.

^k Bed. ibid. lib. 2. cap. 4. p. 118. p. 82.

^l Ibid. lib. 2. cap. 4. and lib. 4. cap. 26. p. 345. p. 174.

^m Usser. de Primord. cap. 16. p. 731. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 382.

ⁿ Bed. Hist. lib. 2. cap. 5. p. 120. p. 506.

“Hibernia-Scotland,” and ^osometimes “Hibernia the Scots’ island.” Not to burden the reader with more quotations, I shall refer him to the most learned bishop Usher, who ^pat large proves this use of the word, and ^qthus concludes; “I do not believe that there is any writer, that lived within a thousand years after Christ, that once mentioned the name of Scotland, and doth not mean Ireland by it.” How after that time the name of Scotland came to be used, as ¹⁰now it is, for the northern part of Britain, will be seen at the ^rend of this chapter.

§. 5. But first I am to shew the great change that has been made in the peopling of this island, and that especially in those times before the whole island was Christian. The only difficulty in this matter will be, to find at what time the Scots came first to settle in Britain. Our ^sNennius saith, “the most skilful men among the Scots told him, that the founder of their nation, a Scythian that married Scota, king Pharaoh’s daughter, was he that brought them first into Ireland; and that ^tthey came to the countries of Dalriada at the time when Brutus was consul of the Romans.” But the Scottish historians within these three hundred years tell us another tale; that they came first into

^o Ibid. lib. 3. cap. 7. p. 177. lib. 4. cap. 26. p. 345. ed. Wheloc. pp. 529. 602. ed. Smith.

^p Usher. de Primord. cap. 16. p. 725, &c. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 379, &c.

^q Usher. *ibid.* p. 734. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 383. speaking of the eleventh century, he saith, “neminem qui toto antecedentium annorum spatio scripserit, produci posse arbitramur, qui Scotiae appellatione Alba-

niam unquam designaverit.” See Stillingfleet *ibid.* c. 5. p. 282. note ^c, &c.

^r §. 13. p. 46.

^s Nenn. cap. 9. p. 100. §. 15. p. 12. See Preface, p. xxxviii. and Usher therein referred to. Stillingfleet *ibid.* Pref. pp. viii. xxxiii. lxvi. c. 5. pp. 250. 252. &c. 269. 278. Mackenzie *ibid.* p. 49.

^t Usher. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 612. Brit. Eccl. Antiq. p. 321.

Britain ^u at the time when Alexander the Great took Babylon, ^v that is, three hundred and thirty years before the coming of Christ. These fictions no man can pretend any ground for in ancient history. But that the
 11 Scots dwelt in this island at least in the time of Julius Cæsar, this Buchanan maintains against Humphrey Lhuyd, “an excellent poet against an excellent antiquary,” as ^w Camden well judgeth between them. I leave the reader to him for an account of their authorities: only one, that is the chief, I ought to take notice of, ^x because it proves that the Scots did not dwell here in Cæsar’s time; and yet from the same place Buchanan proves they did, by construing it false, for which Camden ought to have given him correction. The words themselves I have put in the ^x margin; wherein ^y Buchanan saith that ‘*soli Britanni*’ is not the nominative case, but the genitive; and so he construes it thus, that before Cæsar’s coming hither the Britons fought against the Scots and Picts of the British soil, that is, who then dwelt in the British soil; as he explains it. If this be so, the words are clear of his side; but being construed true, they are as plainly against him. For this is it that the orator drives at;

^u Buchan. Rer. Scot. lib. 4. fol. 34. lin. 14. Oper. tom. 1. p. 54. See Preface, p. xl.

^v Hect. Boethii Scot. Hist. lib. 1. fol. 7. lin. 8. Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 612. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 321. Stillingfleet *ibid.* Pref. pp. xiv. xxii. xxxv.

^w Camden. *ibid.* p. 89. in Scoti. vol. 1. p. xcvi. See Stillingfleet *ibid.* chap. 5. p. 286. note d.

^x Paneg. Maximian. A. p. 258. inter Paneg. Vet. H. Stephani,

1591. Paneg. Vet. tom. 1. p. 289. et not. “ad hoc natio etiam tunc rudis, et soli Britanni, Pictis modo et Hibernis assueta hostibus adhuc seminudis, facile Romanis armis signisque cesserunt.” On this passage, see Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 586. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 305. Stillingfleet’s Preface, p. lvii. and the reference there made. Mackenzie *ibid.* p. 70, &c.

^y Buchan. Rer. Scot. lib. 2. fol. 25. lin. 38. Oper. tom. 1. p. 41.

comparing the victory of Constantius over Carausius¹² in Britain, with that which Cæsar formerly gained over the Britons, he would shew that this of Constantius was the greater action of the two: for, saith he, Cæsar had several advantages which Constantius had not; “moreover, the nation” (that Cæsar overcame) “being yet rude,” unskilful of war, “and only Britons, a nation used to no other enemies but Picts and Irish, who were yet half naked, easily yielded to the Roman arms and ensigns; but he whom Constantius overcame, having got a Roman legion of his side, having stopped some squadrons of auxiliaries, having mustered the Gauls that were here on account of merchandise, having drawn in to his assistance no small forces of the barbarous nations, and having all these exercised and trained,” it was no such easy thing to get the victory over him. I think it plain, by this comparison, that “*‘soli Britanni’* is not genitive, but ^a nominative; and if so, then the Irish here spoken of are not said to dwell in British soil, as Buchanan would have it. Indeed, to help the matter, he would have them called¹³ Scots, because it sounds pretty well that the Scots lived in Britain; but the Irish—where should they dwell but in Ireland? It is scarce sense to say, ‘the Irish of the British soil.’ Buchanan was wise, the word Scots was more agreeable to his purpose. But,

^z Cunningham, in his *Versiculus*, p. 26, agrees with Lloyd in giving the preference to Constantius over Cæsar, as to their respective victories. But he is of opinion, that if ‘*Britanni*’ is indeed the nominative case, the ‘*et*’ is unnecessary and inelegant; besides which, the word, in the same sentence, should have been ‘*assueti*,’ not ‘*assu-*

etæ.’ He adds, that the comma after ‘*Britanni*’ is not found in the edition of Paul Stephens, and others; and after some irrelevant matters, declares his dissent from Lloyd’s conclusion.

^a Stillingfleet *ibid.* Pref. p. lviii. and note, for the correct reading, which, in substance, confirms Lloyd’s and Stillingfleet’s reasoning on the passage.

as Camden observeth, the panegyrist is so far from saying the Scots were then in Britain, that he doth not say that yet they were come into Ireland: he only saith, there were Irish then in the world, and that they and the Picts were enemies to the Britons. And yet even that he did not speak like an historian, saith ^b Camden; but as orators use to speak of old things at the rate of their own times. But besides, admit they were Scots that he spoke of, he does not say, they lived in Britain, though the Picts did: he only saith, that both these nations were enemies to the Britons; the Picts indeed living in the same continent, made incursions upon them by land, which was an act of hostility; the Irish, who lived in another island, came ¹⁴ in their ^c curroghs, and robbed them by sea, which was no less an act of hostility. If the author had said, ‘Scoti et Picti,’ this had proved nothing; only it had not made against Buchanan’s opinion, as most evidently it doth when the author saith, ‘Hiberni et Picti:’ he would have called them Scots rather than Irish, if he had thought of any other than Ireland for their country.

§. 6. But when did they first come hither into Britain? It is a question upon which much depends, and therefore I will endeavour to leave nothing unsaid that can be said to it out of the ancient writers.

^d Bede saith they came over first under one Reuda, and settled themselves in that part of Britain which

^b Camden. *ibid.* in Scoti. p. 89. vol. 1. p. xcvi.

^c Usser. *de Primord.* cap. 15. p. 606. *Brit. Eccles. Antiq.* p. 318. *Stillingfleet ibid.* p. lxi. chap. 5. p. 301.

^d Bedæ *Hist. Eccles.* lib. 1. cap. 1. p. 23. p. 41. Usser.

de Primord. cap. 15. pp. 587. 611. *Brit. Eccles. Antiq.* pp. 306. 321. *Camden. ibid.* pp. 90. 706. vol. 1. p. xcvi. vol. 3. p. 383. *Additions*, p. 384. *Stillingfleet ibid.* *Pref.* pp. xxxix. lxvi. &c. chap. 5. pp. 242. 280. 284, &c. See *Preface*, p. xl.

from him is called Dalried, that is, ‘the portion of Reuda.’ But did not that country rather take its name from ^e Dalried in Ireland, now called ^f Routh, from whence the Scots came to plant themselves in Britain? There is nothing more common than this way of carrying the names of places and countries ¹⁵ along with the colonies they send forth. And it seems very probable that this Reuda (whom ^g late romancers call Reuther) might be that Ri Eda, or king Eda, ^h the first king of Dalried in Ireland, who left his name to that country, from whence it came over into Britain in after times. For Bede doth not bring any author for that which he saith of Reuda’s bringing the Scots into Britain; and therefore I suppose he might take it up, as ⁱ he professes he did what he saith of the first planting of the Britons and Picts in that chapter, by hearsay, and no otherwise. And whereas for what he saith of any action out of books, he commonly expresses the time when it happened; here he hath no time for the coming of Reuda into Britain. Therefore archbishop Usher, admitting it to be true, and yet finding nothing of the person elsewhere, has made a guess at the time of his coming hither, from what is said of the Scots first coming into Britain. He finds in the Life of St. Patrick, that when Neil was king of ¹⁶ Ireland, (which was about the end of the reign of Constantius, the son of Constantine,) then the Scots began to infest the northern coast of Britain. He finds in Giraldus Cambrensis, that in the time of that Neil before mentioned, there came six sons of one Mured,

^e See §. 8. p. 30.

^h Usser. de Primord. cap. 15.

^f Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 611. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. pp. 711. 611. Addend. 1029. 321. See §. 8, 9. p. 30, &c.

Brit. Eccles. Antiq. pp. 372. 320. ⁱ Bed. ibid. p. 23. p. 41. ‘ut

^g Hect. Boethii Scot. Hist. fertur—ut perhibent.’—
lib. 2. fol. 20. lin. 45.

out of Ulster, and planted themselves in the northern parts of Britain. "Here it is to be considered," ^k saith he, "whether the chief of these might not be Reuda:" elsewhere he ^l saith, "it seems that it was he."

About that time indeed we find the Scots being in Britain first mentioned by any of the Roman historians; but they speak of them not as coming then to plant here, but only as coming to help the Picts in their incursions, which they made together as often as the Romans gave them any opportunity. It was about the year 360, that, as ^m Ammianus saith, they and the Picts fell into "such places next the Roman frontier as they had agreed upon among themselves," and there ¹⁷ they harassed the country of the Britons. Thus it seems they did for some years, till the country was even beggared "by the conspiracy of those barbarous nations," and then Theodosius was sent against them; "who tamed the Picts," as ^p the panegyrist saith, "and hunted the Scots over the sea." So that, as he says elsewhere, ^q speaking of the same action, "Ireland lamented the heaps of the Scots that were slain."

^k Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 587. Brit. Eccl. Antiq. p. 306.

^l Usser. de Primord. Index Chronolog. p. 1086. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 512. col. 1.

^m Ammian. Marcellin. *ibid.* lib. 20. beginning. pag. 154. cap. 1. p. 181. Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 587. Brit. Eccl. Antiq. p. 307. Camden. *ibid.* p. 55. vol. 1. p. lvii. Stillingfleet *ibid.* ch. 5. p. 286, &c.

ⁿ Ammian. Marcellin. *ibid.* 'Condicta loca limitibus vicina.'

^o *Ibid.* lib. 27. p. 346. 21. cap. 8. p. 383. Usser. *ibid.* Stillingfleet *ibid.* p. 287. Camden. *ibid.* and following pages, for the passages at length.

^p Claudian. in III. Consul. Honor. ver. 55. inter Oper. p. 97. p. 116. et not. *ibid.* 'Pictos edomuit, Scotumque vago mucrone secutus, Fregit hyperboreas remis audacibus undas.'

^q Claud. in IV. Consul. Honor. ver. 33. inter Oper. p. 113. p. 131. et not. *ibid.* et p. 777. 'Scotorum cumulos flevit glacialis Ierne.' Stillingfleet *ibid.* p. lix. &c. ch. 5. p. 285. Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. pp. 588. 570, &c. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. pp. 307. 301. For this and the preceding notes, Camden. *ibid.* pp. 57. 86. 729. vol. 1. pp. lix. xciv. vol. 3. p. 465. with the Additions, pp. 380. 727.

Soon after his return those two nations joined together again, and made another incursion, as ^r Prosper tells us; but then Maximus, who commanded here in Britain, being made emperor by the Roman army, overcame them; and, ^sas the Scottish historians tell us, the Picts joined with him, but the Scots he chased quite out of Britain.

This Maximus afterward, in pursuance of his hopes of the empire, gathered all the forces he could raise here in Britain, and carried them over into France, from whence very few of them did ever return. This was the fatal thing to which Gildas ascribes the de-18struction of his country. For, ^tsaith he, “from that time forward Britain being deprived of all its armed men, its military forces, its commanders” such as they were, “and a vast number of men for service, which going away with that tyrant, never returned home any more, and being wholly to seek what should be done in time of war, came first to be trampled by two transmarine nations fiercely cruel, the Scots from the west, and the Picts from the north, under whom it is astonished, and groans for many years.” Where Gildas calleth them ‘transmarine nations,’ Beda, ^uusing the same expression after him, explains it by saying, we do not mean they lived out of Britain, but that they were

^r Prosper Tyron. Chron. A. 4. Theod. Vide Prosper. Aquitan. Chron. in Labbe. nova Biblioth. tom. 1. p. 47. et inter Oper. tom. 1. p. 396. col. 1. Stillingfleet ibid. p. 287. b. Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 593. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 309. Camden. ibid. p. 57. vol. 1. p. lx.

^s Buchan. Rer. Scot. l. 4. fol. 44. lin. 47. Oper. tom. 1. p. 71. Vide Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 591. Brit. Eccles.

Antiq. p. 309. See §. 8. p. 31.

^t Gild. de Excid. Brit. p. 1006. inter Orthodoxographa. Hist. Gild. §. 11. p. 4. §. 14. p. 20. Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 593. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 309. Stillingfleet ibid. Preface, p. lx. ch. 5. p. 242.

^u Bedæ ibid. lib. 1. cap. 12. p. 52. p. 49, where compare Smith's note 32. with Stillingfleet, as below. Usser. ibid. Stillingfleet ibid. ch. 5. p. 284.

separated from the Britons by the two friths of Edinburgh and Dunbarton. This was true in Bede's time, that not only the Picts, but a nation of the Scots lived in Britain. They had done so for some ages, and they might have lived there from Reuda's time, for aught 19^x he knew. But as Bede takes Gildas aright in what he says concerning the Picts; so Gildas explains himself better concerning the Scots, by saying, in this place, that they came "from the west of Britain:" and afterwards, at their return, ^y he saith, "the Irish returned home." Where should their home be, but in Ireland?

From thence it was, that after Maximus's death, they came again to share with the Picts in their usual prey. Claudian, who lived at the time of this invasion, thus expresseth it in the place before mentioned; ^z "when the Scots rose all over Ireland, and the sea foamed with hostile oars." This incursion lay so hard upon the Britons, that being not able to bear it, they were fain to send to Rome for assistance. They had little reason to expect it from thence, having been in rebellion ever since Maximus's time. But yet upon their submission they had a legion sent them, and that by Stilicho, as ^a Claudian tells us. Which legion ^b drove out the

^x §. 6. p. 14.

^y Gild. *ibid.* p. 1008. inter *Orthodoxographa*. *Hist. Gild.* §. 19. p. 6. §. 21. p. 27. *Usser. ibid.* cap. 15. p. 608. cap. 16. p. 729. *Brit. Eccles. Antiq.* pp. 319. 381. *Stillingfleet ibid.* Preface, p. lx. ch. 5. p. 301. See §. 6. p. 23.

^z *Claud. in pr. Cons. Stilic.* lib. 2. vers. 251. inter *Oper.* p. 363. p. 393. et not. *ibid.* et p. 875. — 'totam cum Scotus Iernen Movit, et infesto spumavit

remige Tethys.' See in this chapter, §. 4. p. 8. note ^y. *Stillingfleet ibid.* p. lix. ch. 5. p. 286.

^a *Clandian. ibid.* inter *Oper.* p. 363. p. 393, &c. 'Munivit Stilicho.' *Camden. ibid.* p. 58. vol. 1. p. lxi. *Usser. de Primord.* cap. 15. p. 594. *Brit. Eccles. Antiq.* p. 310.

^b *Gild. ibid.* p. 1006. inter *Orthodoxographa. Hist. Gild.* §. 12. p. 4. §. 15. p. 21. *Usser. de Primord.* cap. 15. p. 603. *Brit. Eccles. Antiq.* p. 314.

enemy with a great slaughter, and particularly chased the Scots out of Britain, as we are told by ^c their ancientest 20 historian. To make this a lasting benefit they caused the people, who then had no ruler, ^d saith Gildas, to build a wall of turf “across the island between the two seas.” It is not to be doubted that they built it ^e between the two friths, in the place where it formerly stood before the incursion. The guards upon this wall were called their ^f ‘prætenturæ,’ whence the legion was said to be ^g ‘prætenta Britannis.’ This legion being called away ^h to help the emperor Honorius against the Goths, went from hence in great triumph, as ⁱ Gildas saith, reckoning that they had left the Britons secured against the barbarous nations.

But as soon as they were gone, the former enemies came in again “with sails and oars,” saith ^k our author; that is, ^j the Scots came again out of Ireland, as I understand him from ^l Marianus Scotus, who mentioneth only

Stillington ibid. ch. 5. p. 295.
Camden. ibid. p. 651. vol. 3.
p. 213.

^c Marian. Scotichron. A. D. 447. col. 347. Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 608. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 319.

^d Gild. ibid. Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 601. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 313. Camden. ibid. Stillington ibid. Preface, pp. lxii. lxviii.

^e Bed. ib. lib. 1. cap. 12. p. 53. p. 50. Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 602. Brit. Eccl. Antiq. p. 314. Camden. ibid. Buchanan. Rer. Scot. lib. 5. p. 46. l. 88. Oper. tom. 1. p. 74. Stillington ibid.

^f Ammian. [¶] Marcel. Hist. lib. 28. p. 369. 16. cap. 3. p. 406. In Gough's edition of Camden's Britannia, vol. 3. p. 211. note *, we are told; “The frontiers of

provinces were called ‘clusuræ,’ from excluding the enemy; ⁿ ^d ‘prætenturæ,’ because ^{pr} ^æ tended, or drawn before the enemy.” See Pithæus in Advers. 1. cap. 14.

^g Claud. de Bell. Get. v. 416. inter Oper. p. 431. p. 458. et not. ibid.

^h Claud. ibid.

ⁱ Gild. ibid. in Orthodox. Hist. Gild. §. 13. p. 5. §. 16. p. 22. Usser. ibid. as in notes ^d and ^e. Stillington ibid. ch. 5. p. 295.

^k Gild. ib. so Bed. ib. l. 1. c. 12. p. 53. p. 50, ‘advecti navibus.’ Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 603. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 314. Camden. ibid. p. 652. vol. 3. p. 213.

^l Mar. Scot. Chron. ibid. col. 347. ‘Scoti advecti navibus.’

the Scots in this second invasion after the death of Maximus the usurper. “They broke the frontier,” saith ^m Gildas, and destroyed all that came in their way. The Britons being utterly unable to defend themselves, sent again to beg help of the Romans. They sent them a legion, as before; who coming unexpectedly on their enemies, made a great slaughter of them, and ⁿ “drove all that could escape over the seas,” who before that “used yearly to carry away their prey over the seas without resistance:” this again ^o Marianus applieth to the Scots, as being alone in this action.

The Romans having thus rescued the Britons, declared to them that they could not often endure the fatigue of such journeys; nor did they think it worth the while to employ the Roman ensigns against such ^p “poor pilfering robbers:” they would have them take the courage to defend themselves against nations that were not stronger than they, if it were not for their laziness and cowardice. And that they might the more easily do this, they not only furnished them with arms, and taught them the art of war, but they took care to fortify their country against any invasion: particularly, instead of their wall of turf before mentioned, they made another of stone, which ^q “they built in a straight line from sea to sea between the cities which had been placed there before for fear of the enemies;”

^m Gild. *ibid.* Usser. *ibid.* Camden. *ibid.*

ⁿ Gild. *ibid.* p. 1007. inter Orthodox. §. 14. p. 5. §. 17. p. 22. Bed. *ibid.* p. 53. p. 50. Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 604. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 315. Camden. *ibid.* Stillingfleet *ibid.* p. 297, &c.

^o Mar. Scot. *ibid.* col. 347. ‘Romani recurrunt, et Scotos fugant.’

^p Gild. *ibid.* in Orthodox. §. 14. p. 5. §. 18. p. 23. ‘imbelles erraticosque latrunculos.’ Usser. *ibid.* Stillingfleet *ibid.*

^q Gild. *ibid.* inter Orthodox. *ibid.* §. 14. p. 5. §. 18. p. 24. ‘tramite a mari usque ad mare inter urbes directo librant’—Camden. *ibid.* pp. 60. 652. vol. 1. p. lxiii. vol. 3. p. 213. Bed. *ib.* lib. 1. cap. 12. p. 52. p. 50.

that is, between ^r Guidi, near Edinburgh, and Alcluith, which is now called Dunbarton. This I observe, to shew that still the same ^s bounds were continued between the Picts and the Britons; beside, on the shore of the ocean toward the south side [of Dunbarton frith] where their ships lay, because the barbarian wild beasts were feared to come that way, they placed towers at set distances within view of the sea; and having done this, they took leave, as being never to return more. But ^t “no sooner were they gone, but there came by shoals out of the curroghs in which they were carried over the Scythian vale, grim troops of Scots and Picts, partly different in manners, but alike eager for blood, and that had more shaggy hair to cover their faces, than they had clothes over the secret parts of their bodies.” These upon the assurance they had ²³ that the Romans were gone, and would not return, being now more bold than ever, ^u “took possession of all the north and outmost part of the land instead of the natives as far as the wall before mentioned.” And the ^x guards, that were placed there on the towers, making no resistance, they from below with long hooks plucked them down, and dashed them against the ground. Thus the wall being cleared, and the cities forsaken, the enemy had the country open to them; and made such slaughter and spoil there, that the

^r Ibid. p. 52. p. 50. et not. 1. Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. pp. 604. 602. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. pp. 315. 314. Stillingfleet ibid. Preface, p. lxii. ch. 5. p. 298, &c. Camden. ibid. p. 700. vol. 3. p. 355. See p. 4. note ^s.

^s §. 2. p. 3.

^t Gild. ibid. inter Orthodoxographia, §. 15. p. 5. §. 19. p. 24. Bed. ibid. Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 606. Brit. Eccles.

Antiq. p. 318. Camden. pp. 77. 653. vol. 1. p. lxxxv. vol. 3. p. 214. Stillingfleet ibid. p. 301. See p. 14.

^u Gild. et Bed. ibid. Usser. ibid. Camden. ibid. Stillingfleet ibid. Preface, p. lxiii. ch. 5. p. 242.

^x Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 607. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 318. Camden. ibid. Stillingfleet ibid. Preface, p. lxiii.

country seemed like to a wilderness. The Britons that escaped sent over to ^y Aetius the Roman general for help, but none came. ^z The mean while through the spoil that had been made, there came to be a famine in the land, which made them desperate. Then they fought for themselves; and those that skulked in the mountains and caves, and thick woods being joined with them, they drove the enemy out of the country. “Those ²⁴impudent robbers, the Irish, went home,” ^a saith Gildas, “not to return a long while after: the Picts, in the utmost parts of the isle, rested then first, and so they did for the future; only making inroads and spoil between whiles.” This turn of things is placed by Gildas and Bede, in the year when Aetius was in his third consulship; that is, in the year of our Lord 446. Which is a sufficient proof, that as yet the Scots did not inhabit in this island: nor did the Picts in any place on this side of the wall before mentioned, nor it seems very near it. Thus much is plainly expressed in those words, that the Scots (here called Irish) “returned home;” that is, went out of the isle: the Picts stayed in the isle, but it was in the utmost parts of it, beyond the

^y Camden. *ibid.* p. 77. vol. 1. p. lxxxv. Usser. *de Primord.* cap. 12. p. 369. cap. 15. p. 608. *Brit. Eccles. Antiq.* pp. 198. 319. *Stillingfleet* *ibid.* p. 300.

^z Usser. *de Primord.* cap. 12. p. 371. *Brit. Eccles. Antiq.* p. 199. *Stillingfleet* *ibid.* p. 300. *Camden. ibid.*

^a *Gild. ibid.* p. 1008. *inter Orthodox.* §. 19. p. 6. §. 21. p. 26. ‘Revertuntur ergo impudentes grassatores Hiberni domum, (non longo post tempore reversuri.) Picti, in extrema parte insulæ, tunc primum et deinceps,

requieverunt; [prædas et contritiones nonnunquam facientes.]’ *Bed. Hist. lib. 1. cap. 14. p. 56. p. 51.* hath all the same words, except those within the hooks; where he saith of the Scots, ‘post non longum tempus reversuri,’ and of the Picts, ‘prædas tamen nonnunquam exinde et contritiones de Britonum gente agere non cessarunt.’ *Camden. ibid.* p. 77. vol. 1. p. lxxxvi. Usser. *de Primord.* cap. 15. p. 608. cap. xvi. p. 729. *Brit. Eccles. Antiq.* pp. 319. 381. *Stillingfleet* *ibid.* p. 301. See §. 6. p. 19.

Britons in the ^b former quotation; and there, though they had not been at rest for many ages, yet now they rested, say our authors; it was indeed the first time that they rested, and though they robbed between whiles, yet they made no invasion for the future.

§. 7. How the state of things in this island was ²⁵ changed afterward, ^c Gildas proceeds to shew in the historical part of his work. He saith, that the Britons being rid of their enemies, soon after the famine ceased, and there came such a plenty in the stead, that the like was never known in any age. But this fulness made them forget God, and fall deeper into those sins from which he would have reclaimed them by his punishments. A people that profited so little by his rod, God might forthwith have given up as incorrigible: but yet he was pleased to try them once more. There went a flying rumour among the people, that their old enemies were coming again, with a full resolution to destroy them, and to inhabit their country. This every one believed, though there was no ground for it. But (as ^d Solomon saith) “one of a servile disposition is not to be mended with words, yea a fool is scourged and doth not feel it.” There was such a plague among them, that killed more than the living could bury; and yet they were altogether insensible. They did as good ²⁶ as say with those in the prophet, ^e “Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die.” Being thus ripe for destruction, God was pleased to let them bring it upon

^b P. 23.

^c Gild. *ibid.* p. 1008. inter Orthodox. §. 19–21. p. 6. §. 21, 22. pp. 27–29. Usser. de Primord. *ibid.* et cap. 12. pp. 373. 387. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. pp. 200. 207. Camden. *ibid.* p. 77. vol. 1. p. lxxxvi.

^d Prov. xxix. 19, according to the Septuagint. Usser. de Primord. cap. 12. p. 387. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 207. Camden. *ibid.*

^e Isai. xxii. 13. Usser. *ibid.* Camden. *ibid.*

themselves by a strange ^f infatuation. They were in fear of two nations, that were always too weak for them, and that had found themselves so in their ^g last invasion, and were therefore the less likely to trouble them again; besides that a great part of those nations was lately turned ^h Christian. But howsoever, to secure themselves against them, they took a worse enemy into their bosom. The ⁱ Saxons that lived upon the next German shore, were a warlike people, that always kept the Romans upon their guard, and had sometimes attacked them in this island; they were also enemies of the Christian religion. Yet of these, they brought over some troops, ^k about the year of Christ 450, and gave them the ^l Isle of Thanet for an habitation. It was a quarter too far from those parts which they were ^m to defend; but it lay convenient enough for them to bring in more company; ⁿ which they did, till they had made themselves too strong for the Britons. And then they made them see their folly, when there was no remedy. Upon a made quarrel, for want of ^o pay and provisions, they made war upon them in a most barbarous manner, (which Gildas as tragically describes,) and having slaughtered a great part of them, drove the rest out of the best of their country. But first, as ^p Bede saith, they had driven back the Picts, and after-

^f Usser. de Primord. cap. 11. p. 336. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 181. Camden. *ibid.* Stillingfleet *ibid.* p. 318, compared with p. 304.

^g §. 6. p. 23.

^h Chap. 2. §. 2-6. pp. 50-62.

ⁱ Usser. *ibid.* Camden. *ibid.* Stillingfleet *ibid.* ch. 5. p. 304.

^k Bed. Hist. Eccles. lib. 1. cap. 15. p. 57. p. 52. Epit. Bed. an. 409. *ibid.* It should be 449. So the Saxon Chron. Usser. de Primord. cap. 12. p. 405. Brit.

Eccles. Antiq. p. 218. Stillingfleet *ibid.* p. 316, &c.

^l Usser. de Primord. cap. 12. p. 409. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 221. Stillingfleet *ibid.* p. 313.

^m Usser. de Primord. p. 410. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. *ibid.* Camden. *ibid.* p. 78. vol. 1. p. lxxxvi.

ⁿ Stillingfleet *ibid.* p. 320. Camden. *ibid.* Usser. *ibid.*

^o Bed. Hist. Eccles. lib. 1. cap. 15. p. 58. p. 52. Usser. *ibid.* Stillingfleet *ibid.* p. 321.

ward made a league with them: which doth not seem very probable, because there is nothing of it in Gildas. Sure enough they did not give them any share of their conquest. For as the two friths divided the Picts ^p anciently from the Britons, so they did afterward from them and the Saxons. We find that their bounds were the same when Bede writ his history, which was ^q in the year 731. For ^r then, he tells us, Edinburgh frith lay between the Saxons and the Picts; and ^s he saith that at the other frith ^t the Britons yet held the strong ²⁸ city Alcluith, which from them was called Dunbritton, (Dunbarton) that is, the hill of the Britons.

§. 8. It was not long after the Saxons came over, that the Scots, who upon that repulse ^u before mentioned were gone home (that is into Ireland) as ^x Gildas tells us, returned into Britain. This return was, to settle themselves in the country; for there Gildas leaves them; so that no doubt they were there in his age. And therefore the time of their coming to settle in Britain was between the year 450, when the Saxons came hither, and the year 564, when ^y Gildas wrote.

To find the precise time of their coming, we must not look for any help from the Scottish historians that have written within these three hundred years. For they generally take it for granted, ^z (as I have shewn) that their coming into this island was long before Christ's incarnation: and upon this presumption they

^p §. 2. p. 3.

^q Bed. *ibid.* lib. 5. cap. 24. p. 485. cap. 23. p. 219.

^r *Ibid.* lib. 4. cap. 26. p. 346. p. 174.

^s *Ibid.* lib. 1. cap. 1. p. 24. p. 42. On some of these passages of Bede, see Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. pp. 612. 710. cap. 17. p. 819. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. pp.

321. 371. 427. Camden. *ibid.* pp. 697. 706. vol. 3. pp. 349. 383.

^t Camden. *ibid.* vol. 3. p. 353. in the Additions, to the contrary.

^u §. 7. p. 24.

^x Gild. *ibid.* p. 1008. inter Orthodox. See note ^a p. 24

^y Preface, p. x. and note.

^z §. 5. p. 10. and notes.

frame a long series of story, for which they have no ground in any ancient writer now extant.

29 But that before that time there was a different tradition among themselves, it appears by those rhymes which are quoted by ^a archbishop Usher out of the *Scotichronicon*: wherein it is said that “the Scots’ first coming into Argyle” was in the year 439. It is not improbable that their first coming to settle there might be in that year, by agreement with the Picts to share Britain between them, upon the information they had that it was abandoned by the Romans. But before they had been long in possession, they found their measures would not hold, and therefore they returned home into Ireland, some years after the year 439, as ^b I have shewn from our ancientest writers. That their settling here was after that time, we have some reason to judge from their ^c conversion to the Christian religion; which, according to all the ancients, was before their coming into Britain. For, except those legendary writers, which ^d (as I have shewn elsewhere) ascribe it
30 to them that brought the relics of St. Andrew, there is none but makes ^e St. Patrick the apostle of the Scottish nation. But what he did for their conversion was in Ireland; and that before the time of their coming hither, if we may believe what we are told ^f in his Life. For there it is said, that upon the death of a king of Dalried, Fergus, the youngest of his sons, being like to

^a Usher. de Primord. Addend. p. 1023. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. cap. 15. p. 312. ‘Bis bis centeno, quater et deca, sed minus uno, Anno quo sumsit primos Argadia Scotos, Ut referunt isti, fuit incarnatio Christi.’

^b §. 7. pp. 24. 26. and references there.

^c Chap. 4. §. 2. p. 84, &c. com-

pared with Preface, p. xli. &c.

^d Vid. Preface, p. xlii. &c.

^e Chap. 2. §. 2. p. 61, &c.

^f Jocelin. Vit. S. Patr. c. 137. p. 61. col. 1. inter Messingham. Florileg. Sanct. Hibern. Usher. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 609. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 319. Stillingfleet *ibid.* p. 281. Camden. *ibid.* p. 772. vol. 3. p. 640.

have no share of his estate, came and made his complaint to St. Patrick; who not only got him considered in the distribution, but prophetically told him, “As mean as thou seemest to be now among thy brethren, thou shalt shortly be the chief man among them; and out of thee shall come kings that shall rule, not only in their own, but in a remote and foreign country.” It was not long after, saith the author, that this Fergus came to be king of Dalried, and his seed reigned there after him for many generations. This king, as ^g bishop Usher observeth, was that Fergus, the son of Erc, who first planted the Scots in this island. The late ^h Scottish historians, that make them to have been ancient inha- 31
bitants, and say they were driven out by ⁱ Maximus that killed their king Eugenius in battle, will have them restored by this Fergus, who (they say) was grandchild to king Eugenius, about the year 422, that is, as they account, in the forty-fourth or forty-fifth year after their disseisin. Enough hath been said, in this and ^k the former sections, to refute that pretence of an ancient possession. But that Fergus, the son of Erc, was the first of his race that reigned in Scotland, is proved by ^l bishop Usher from an elder Scottish writer that lived about five hundred years since; with whom agree the ancient Irish genealogies, as he tells us. And that the beginning of his reign in this island was much later than the year that Hector mentioneth; namely, that it was “in the time of pope Symmachus,” which began in

^g Usher. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 610. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 320. Camden. *ibid.* p. 707. vol. 3. p. 389. Stillingfleet *ibid.* Preface, p. xlii. ch. 5. p. 279, &c.

^h Hect. Boeth. Scot. Hist. lib. 6. fol. 114. l. 56. lib. 7. fol. 120. l. 80.

ⁱ §. 6. p. 17. Vide Usher. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 610. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 320.

^k §. 5, 6, 7. pp. 10–28.

^l Usher. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 610. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 320.

the year 498, and that it was twenty years after the battle of Oche, which was fought in the year 483. So that his kingdom in Britain was erected in the year 503, this ^m the same great antiquary proves out of the old 32 Irish writers, which herein agree perfectly well among themselves, and are very consistent with all the other testimonies above mentioned.

§. 9. Being thus assured of the time when the Scots were first seated in Britain; it may be next worth our inquiry to know, 1. what countries they were possessed of at first; and, 2. how afterwards they enlarged their quarters; till, 3, at last they gave the name to so great a part of the island.

1. Where the Scots first planted in Britain. If we had no account of the place, we should look for it somewhere near their own country. And there is a part of Britain so near it, that ⁿ the sea is not above sixteen miles over between the two islands. The next part of Ireland is that Routh ^o before mentioned; which was anciently called ‘Dalrieda,’ i. e. ^p ‘the part’ or portion ‘of Ri Eda,’ or king Eda, if there were any such person. But we are told by ^qarchbishop Usher, from the old Irish genealogists, that there was such a person, son of 33 Chonar, king of Ireland; and that his father gave him the dominion of this country, which descended from

^m Usser. de Primord. Ad-
dend. pp. 1028. 1112. Brit.
Eccles. Antiq. cap. 15. pp. 320.
Index Chronol. 524. col. 2.
Stillingfleet *ibid.* p. xliii. ch. 5.
p. 280, &c., which compare with
Mackenzie’s Defence of the
Antiquity of the Royal Line,
p. 2, and the Letter prefixed,
p. 6.

ⁿ Hect. Boeth. Scot. descr.
fol. 8. lin. 10. See Stillingfleet
ibid. Preface, p. lxi. Camden.

ibid. p. 706. vol. 3. p. 386.

^o §. 6. p. 14, and note ^d for
the places quoted in Stillingfleet.

^p Buchan. Rer. Scot. lib. 4.
fol. 35. lin. 34. Oper. tom. 1.
p. 56. See p. 15. §. 6. and note ^b.

^q Usser. de Primord. cap. 15.
p. 611. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p
320. Stillingfleet *ibid.* ch. 5. p.
280, and note ^s, and Camden,
as there quoted in note ^r. See
in this chapter, p. 30. note ^g, &c.

him to Fergus, being one of his lineage. That from hence Fergus brought his Scots into Britain, we are told by ^r archbishop Usher, from old Irish annals that were written ^s before the year 1100; these are the words, “Fergus Mor Mac Erc, with the nation of Dalried, held part of Britain, and there died.” Whereas these Scots are there called ‘the nation of Dalried,’ it seems to me to interpret those words of ^t Bede, where he saith of them in Britain, “they are called Dalreudini to this day:” it seems they brought over their name with them, and gave it to their country in Britain, from which Bede, by ^u mistake, thought that they had received it. But that there, as well as in Ireland, their country had the name of ‘Dalried,’ we find in the quotation of ^x Nennius before mentioned: and we find in the lord Burleigh’s manuscript, which Camden often quotes as a very ancient piece, that it was called ^y “the kingdom of Dalried;” which I take to be the same that is called ³⁴ “the kingdom of Argyle” ^z elsewhere in the same manuscript. That this was their seat, it further appears, from the bounds that are given to their country in Britain; both in the time of king Fergus, and afterwards, for some hundreds of years. For ^a Camden tells us from his manuscript, that the bounds of king Fergus’s kingdom were “from ^b Brun-Albin to the sea of

^r Usher. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 610. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 320. Stillingfleet *ibid.* p. 280, from Tigernac’s Annals.

^s War. de Script. Hibern. lib. 1. cap. 7. p. 51.

^t Bed. Hist. Eccles. lib. 1. cap. 1. p. 24. p. 41. See §. 6. p. 14. note ^d.

^u §. 6. p. 14. and notes ^d, ^f.

^x §. 5. p. 10. and note ^s.

^y Camden. Brit. p. 706. vol. 3. p. 383. Usher. de Primord. cap.

15. p. 611. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 321. See Stillingfleet *ibid.* Preface, p. xxxix. ch. 5. p. 280.

^z Camden. Brit. p. 682. in div. Scot. vol. 3. p. 284. Usher. *ibid.*

^a Camden. Brit. p. 707. vol. 3. p. 389. Usher. de Primord. cap.

15. p. 611. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 320. See Stillingfleet *ibid.*

Preface, p. xliii. ch. 5. p. 280.

^b Usher. de Primord. p. 612.

Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 321, and as in last note.

Ireland, and the Hebrides:” and we find in ^c Adamnanus, that beyond Drum-Albin was the kingdom of the North Picts; and ^d that the river Ness was within the bounds of their kingdom: and in a work of his which is not published ^e he saith, that the mountains of Drum-Albin were between the Scots and the Picts. Which being compared with what hath been said before, that ^f in Bede’s time those mountains divided the North Picts from the South Picts; and again that ^g in his time the Scots dwelt northwards of Dunbarton frith, by which they were separated from the Britons, who
 35 then lived south of the frith, and who had the city of Dunbarton in their possession: these things taken together make it plain that the kingdom of ^h Argyle, or Dalried, which was all that the Scots had in Britain, was divided northward by Lochaber hills from the North Picts, eastward by Lomond hills from the South Picts, southward by Dunbarton frith from the Britons, and westward it was bounded with the Irish sea. So that, as ⁱ archbishop Usher well gathers, it contained all those countries that are now called Cantire, Knapdale, Lorne, Argyle, and Braid-Albin, with the neighbouring isles. What he saith of the isles must not be extended too far: for ^k Bede saith the isle of Hy, which was one of the nearest to Dalried, belonged to the North Picts;

^c Adamnan. de Columb. lib. 2. cap. 28. in Canis. *ibid.* p. 599. Messingham. *ibid.* c. 17. p. 168.

^d *Ibid.* cap. 18. Canis. *ibid.* p. 592. Messingham. *ibid.* cap. 12. p. 164.

^e Usher. de Primord. Addend. p. 1022. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. cap. 15. p. 306.

^f §. 3. p. 6, from Bed. Hist. Eccles. lib. 3. cap. 4. p. 168. p. 106.

^g Bed. *ibid.* lib. 1. cap. 1. p. 24. p. 42. See note ⁿ in p. 6, as above.

^h Mackenzie *ibid.* p. 60.

ⁱ Usher. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 612. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 321.

^k Bed. Hist. Eccles. lib. 3. cap. 3. p. 167. p. 106. Usher. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 703. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 367.

and ¹ was by their king Bridius given to Columba for his monastery. But that all the rest that he mentioneth belonged to the Scots, I am confirmed, by that first division of Scotland that ^m Camden gives us out of his manuscript, which is only the kingdom of the Picts, containing ³⁶ all beyond the two friths, except those five countries. And by what followeth there, in the second division, where the kingdom of Argyle is added by itself, it appears that this was all that the Scots had in Britain, till their conquest of the Picts, which we are next to consider.

§. 10. I do not know that any ancient writer hath mentioned the occasion of the Scots' coming to live in this island. But I find that which may afford us some ground for a probable conjecture at the reason of their coming. For ⁿ we are told, that when the Saxons had begun with the Britons, and had made some progress in conquering the southern part of this island, there came out of Germany a fresh party of them, in forty keels (which was then a very great fleet) ^o over Edinburgh frith, and "possessed themselves of divers countries in this island, ^p as far as the confines of the Picts;" that is, as I understand him, they conquered those parts from the Forth to the Tyne, which were afterwards called the kingdom of Bernicia; and there began the ³⁷ dominion of the Northumbrian Saxons. This could not but give the Picts a very great apprehension of

¹ Bed. *ibid.* lib. 3. cap. 4. p. 169. p. 106. Stillingfleet *ib.* Pref. p. xlii. to the contrary.

^m Camden. *Brit.* p. 682. vol. 3. p. 284. See note ^z, p. 34.

ⁿ Nennii *ibid.* cap. 36. Cambridge MS. c. 38. c. 37. p. 107. §. 38. p. 29. and note 18. Vide Usser. de Primord. Index Chronolog. p. 1108. *Brit. Eccles.*

Antiq. p. 519. col. 2.

^o Nenn. *ibid.* 'trans mare Freticium,' thus interpreted in Camden, *Brit.* p. 688. vol. 3. p. 303. Usser. de Primord. pag. om. *Brit. Eccles. Antiq.* cap. 12. p. 213.

^p Nenn. *ibid.* 'usque ad confinia Pictorum.' Usser. *ibid.* Camden. *ibid.* p. 91. vol. 1. p. c.

danger; and there was little hope of assistance from the Britons, from whom the Saxons had conquered those countries. Therefore, I conjecture, they invited over that colony of the Scots, being a people with whom they had been in league for many ages, and had then received so many proofs of their courage and friendship. I the rather believe this, because I do not find in ancient writers that there was any breach between the two nations, as there must have been if the Scots had come by force into their country. And yet, the Saxons being wiser than to make too many enemies at once, it doth not appear that these Scots had any occasion to shew their valour, till king Ædan's time. Then ^q in the year 603, (which I reckon to have been just a hundred years after their coming into Britain,) that
 38 prince, having a jealousy of Æthelfrid king of the Northumbrian Saxons growing too great for him, began a war; which was soon determined in one battle, with the loss of his whole army. And "from that time" (saith ^r Bede, who writ above a hundred and twenty years after) "there hath not been any king of the Scots that hath ventured to come into Britain to fight against the nation of the English Saxons to this day." To make this the more remarkable, saith ^s Bede, toward the end of his history, "the Scots that dwell in Britain are content with their own quarters, and do not carry on plots or designs against the nation of the English." Others ^t that lived eight or nine hundred years later, have told

^q Bedæ *ibid.* lib. 1. cap. 34. p. 103. p. 74. Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 710. Brit. Eccl. Antiq. p. 371. See the Sax. Chronicle, p. 28. and Appendix, p. 376, Ingram's edition, where it is said the son of Heringhuse led the Scots' army. Stillingfleet *ibid.* Preface, p. lxix.

^r Bedæ *ibid.* p. 104. p. 74. Usser. *ibid.* Camden. *ibid.* p. 90. vol. 1. p. xcix.

^s Bedæ *ibid.* lib. 5. cap. 24. p. 484. cap. 23. p. 219. Usser. *ibid.* where also for Fordon. *ib.* lib. 3. cap. 31. as opposed to Bede. See the next note.

^t Hect. Boeth. *Rer. Scot.* fol.

us of great wars and victories that they had within that space of time. But I should rather believe Bede, who lived then, and had spent all his time in their neighbourhood.

It seems the Scots were 'content with their quarters' for near so much longer time after Bede had done writing. For in a hundred years more we find no change in the peopling of this island, save what the Saxons made in going on with their conquest upon the Britons. They had in ^u Bede's time driven them out of the country of Galloway; and taken from them Candida Casa, or Whitherne, which was their episcopal see, and filled it with Saxon bishops, (of whom our most learned ^x Usher hath gathered a succession till after the year 800.) After Bede's death, in the year 750, they drove the Britons out of Kyle, and the other countries thereabout; and "added them to the kingdom of Northumbria," as ^y we are told by a writer of that age. And ^z about six years after they took the city of Alclud, or Dunbarton; which perfected their conquest of the Western Lowlands, as they are now called. There yet remained another part of those that were called ^a the 'Stræcled-Wealas,' that is, as I guess,

176. 24. and 184. 50. and 185. 20. Buchanan. Rer. Scot. cap. 5. fol. 54. 80. and 55. 88. and 56. 1. Oper. tom. 1. p. 86.

^u Bedæ *ibid.* lib. 3. cap. 4. p. 169. p. 106. Vide Usser. *ib.* as in note ^x. Camden. *ibid.* p. 693. vol. 3. p. 330.

^x Usser. de Primord. p. 666. Brit. Eccl. Antiq. p. 349, where Major is opposed to Dempster.

^y Epit. Bedæ *continuat.* *ibid.* ann. 750. p. 491. p. 224. Usser. de Primord. cap. 17. p. 819. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 427.

^z Sim. Dunelm. Hist. Reg. Angl. col. 105. 24. inter Decem Script. *ibid.* tom. 1. Hoveden. Annual. p. 402. 42. inter Rer. Anglic. Script. post Bed. Usser. *ibid.* as to Hoveden.

^a Sax. Chron. ann. 875. and 924. pp. 535. 555. post Bedæ Hist. Eccles. a Wheloc. p. 102. Ingram's edit. p. 139. Compare Asser. Vita Ælfrid. p. 8. 40. and Flor. Wigorn. Chron. ann. 875. p. 589. Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 719. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 375.

the ^b ‘Clydesdale Welsh’ rather than ‘the painted Britons,’ as Wheloc rendereth it. These seem to have had their chief seat at Glasgow, from whence their country extended to the south, toward ^c Cumbria, which was
 40 another petty kingdom of the Britons; and that reached as far as ^d the cross upon Stanmore in Westmoreland. ^e How they sped afterward, it shall be shewn in due time: but at present, they seem to have escaped by the dissensions that were among their enemies; which dissensions afterward rose to that height, that in the year 794, ^f Ethelred king of the Northumbrians was killed by his own people, their bishops fled out of the country, and the whole frame of their government was dissolved: so that ^g “for three and thirty years they were a prey and a sport to all their neighbours,” and they could never unite themselves more into one body or nation.

§. 11. The mean while, about the year of Christ 800, the Danes began to make their inroads into these islands. Wheresoever they came at first, being heathens, they filled all places with blood, and left nothing but desolation behind them. But afterward they turned Christians, and then they contented themselves with the spoils and servitude of those nations which they over-
 41 came. Thus they were coming and going for more than two hundred years: in which time all the nations of these islands had their turns to receive the cup of God’s

^b Strath was a dale by a river; as, Strath Ern, Strath Navern, &c. See also §. 13. p. 47.

^c Camden. *ibid.* pp. 630. 639. 648. vol. 3. pp. 169. 173. 177. Usser. *de Primord.* cap. 15. p. 664. *Brit. Eccles. Antiq.* p. 348. *Stillingtonfleet* *ibid.* ch. 5. pp. 345. 355, and note.

^d Usser. *de Primord.* cap. 15. p. 581. *Brit. Eccles. Antiq.* p.

303. *Camden. ibid.* p. 595. vol. 3. p. 26. *Additions*, p. 96.

^e §. 12. p. 44.

^f *Flor. Wigorn. Chron. ann.* 794. p. 577.

^g *Gul. Malm. de Gestis Reg. Angl. lib. 1. cap. 3. p. 13. b. lin. 54. p. 26.* Usser. *de Primord.* cap. 15. p. 667. *Brit. Eccles. Antiq.* p. 350, where for the Picts’ and Scots’ conquests.

wrath out of their hands. None tasted of it more favourably than the Picts; and yet, if it be true which ^hJohn of Fordon tells us, it was through their means that the Picts became a conquered people. He saith, that while they endeavoured to guard their coasts against those cruel barbarians, and lost a great part of their military men in that service, it so distracted and weakened them, that they were not able to defend themselves, but became an easy prey to a much weaker enemy. Alpin, the son of Achaius, king of the Scots, (as ⁱ their historians tell us,) being next heir by his mother, who was sister to Hungus, late king of the Picts, had been slain in asserting his title to that kingdom against one Brudus that held it from him by usurpation. His son and successor Kennedy went on with the quarrel: and (as ^k Fordon saith) “passed over the mountains that were in their confines,” namely Drum-⁴² Albin, while the Picts were in that weakness and distraction. Having that advantage against them, ^l “he killed many of the Picts, and put the rest to flight,” and so “gained the monarchy of both the kingdoms.” This was about the year 850, that is, near one hundred and twenty years after Bede’s time: so that till then the Scots were still ‘content with their quarters;’ and Fordon sheweth it, in that they were got no further than Drum-Albin at that time.

But we have better than his authority to prove this, or else I should not be very confident of it. He quotes an ancient ^m verse, that saith this Kennedy was the

^h Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 716. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 374. ex Scotichronico.

ⁱ Buchanan. Rer. Scot. lib. 5. fol. 57. lin. 51. 85. fol. 58. lin. 12. 28. 43, &c. Oper. tom. 1. p. 89.

^k Usser. ibid. ex Scotichron.

^l Usser. ibid. Mackenzie ibid. p. 149. See Gunn’s note to his edition of Nennius, p. 115.

^m Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 715. Brit. Ecel. Antiq. p. 373. ‘Primus in Albania fertur regnasse Kenedus.’

first that reigned in Albania, meaning, I suppose, on the north and east sides of Drum-Albin. For so, in the old manuscript quoted by ⁿ Camden, it is said, that “the kings of the seed of Fergus reigned in Drum-Albin till Alpin,” who was the last king that went no further. And it is said ^o in the same manuscript, that “Kennedy held the kingdom of Dalried two years, before he came into the Picts’ country.” But ^p I shewed that Dalried extended no further than from Drum-Albin to Dunbarton frith and the Irish sea; and here we see that the Scots had still the same bounds, till upon this new conquest the Picts were incorporated with them into one nation.

§. 12. Now the ^q Scots had all the north part of this island beyond Graham’s dike; that is, they had all that was contained in ^r the second division of Scotland; and yet ^s their kingdom was not called Scotland in any writing that is extant, of that age. Before it came to that, it had (as I am now to shew) all the other parts added to it that are known by that name. First, the Saxons’ kingdom of Northumbria being ^t broken in pieces, ^u it is said that all that part of it which we call the Western Lowlands, being so far severed from the rest that it could have no help out of England, was either seized by the Irish, or put itself under their protection; from whom Whitherne, the bishop’s see, and

ⁿ Camden. Brit. p. 707. vol. 3. p. 389. Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 610. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 320.

^o Camden. Brit. p. 706. vol. 3. p. 383. Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 611. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 321.

^p §. 9. p. 35.

^q Mackenzie *ibid.* p. 60, notices this and the following section.

^r Camden. Brit. p. 682. vol. 3. p. 284. Usser. *ibid.*

^s §. 4. p. 9, and notes there.

^t §. 10. p. 40.

^u Camden. Brit. p. 692. vol. 3. p. 330. Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 667. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 350. Concerning the kingdom of Northumbria, and its disputed limits, *ibid.* de Primord. Ad-dend. p. 1003, &c. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. ch. 12. p. 212, &c.

the country about it, were called by the name of ‘Galloway,’ in Latin ^x ‘Gallovidia’ or ‘Gallovedia;’ that is, ⁴⁴ ^y ‘Gallwaith’ or ‘Gallwade,’ the ‘work’ or the ‘walk’ of the ‘Gael,’ as the Irish call themselves. But from them, being no military people, it was no hard matter for the Scots to get it into their possession, as we are certain they did after the year 850, though we have no account of the time, or any other particulars. ^z Next, for what was left to the Britons, which was all comprehended under the name of Cumbria, we read (^a that Edmund, king of the English Saxons, having conquered it, in the year 945, gave it to Malcolm king of the Scots, on condition that he should fight for him by land and by sea; that is, that he should help and defend the north parts of England against the Danes, as it is ^b elsewhere explained. And we read that after his death the next year the Scots did homage for it to Edred his son and successor. How the county of Cumberland was afterward changed for that of Huntingdon, the reader may see in ^c Camden, but that doth not belong to my purpose. In the year 960, Edinburgh was delivered up ⁴⁵ by the English to Indulph king of the Scots, and hath ever since remained in their possession, as ^d Camden

^x Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. pp. 612. 667. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. pp. 321. 349.

^y As the Picts wall was called ‘Scots-waith,’ and the Forth called ‘Scots-wade.’ Camden. Brit. pp. 649. 682. vol. 3. p. 211. 284. Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. pp. 580. 606. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. pp. 302. 316.

^z See §. 10. p. 39.

^a Sax. Chron. p. 558. post Bed. Hist. Eccles. p. 147. Ingram’s edition. Flor. Wigorn. Chron. A.D.

945. p. 604. Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 664. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 348. Camden. ibid. p. 649. vol. 3. p. 177.

^b Hen. Huntington. ibid. lib. 5. p. 203. 9. p. 355. Vide Usser. ibid.

^c Camden. Brit. p. 370. vol. 2. p. 156.

^d Ibid. p. 689. vol. 3. p. 304. Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 667. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 350. As to this MS. in the Burleigh Library, see §. 9. p. 33. note ^y.

tells us out of that ancient MS. of the division of Scotland. Lastly, the rest of Lothian or Lauden was granted ^e by king Edgar to Kennedy king of the Scots, on condition that he should attend him at court upon all collar-days: I suppose the meaning was by this grant, as well as by that of Cumbria, to oblige the Scots to help and defend the north parts of England against the Danes, of whom they were in continual danger in those times. What my author saith of Lauden in this place was meant for all the East Lowlands, according to the ancient extent of the word. For the people of all that country between Tweed's mouth and Edinburgh frith were called 'Ladeni' by the Romans, saith ^f Camden: who also saith, that all that country was called 'Lauden' by the writers of the middle age. We have an instance of this last in ^g Nennius, who placeth 46 Wedale in the province of Lauden, and yet but six miles from Melrose. And that this province was held by grant from the kings of England, we find ^{gg} acknowledged by Alexander king of the Scots, who did homage to his father-in-law Henry the Third, for this province, but refused to do the like for his kingdom. So likewise in ecclesiastical things, ^h the bishoprics of Glasgow, and Candida Casa (or Galloway), which had been formerly erected by the Britons, and being taken from them by the Saxons, were now come into the hands of the Scots, ⁱ were both of them subject without contradiction to the archbishop of York as their metropolitan for many

^e Matt. West. *ibid.* A.D. 975. p. 376. p. 193. Usser. *ibid.*

^f Camden. *Brit.* p. 685. vol. 3. p. 293.

^g Nennius, cap. 61. in Camden. MS. cap. 64. cap. 63. p. 114.

§. 56. p. 49. note 4.

^{gg} Matt. Paris. *Hist. Angl.* ann. 1252. p. 829. 49. p. 710.

Mackenzie *ibid.* p. 147.

^h Usser. *de Primord.* cap. 15. p. 665, &c. *Brit. Eccles. Antiq.*

p. 349.

ⁱ Joan. Brompton. *Chron.*

ages : but when he, or the archbishop of Canterbury, demanded the like obedience of all the bishops of Scotland, it was refused, as being an encroachment upon the ancient liberty of the Scottish Church.

By the addition of these provinces the Scots were come to have a very considerable part of this island. And as the Picts before were taken into their body, so were now the ^kClydesdale Welsh, and Cumbrian Britons, ⁴⁷ and the Bernician Saxons, who together with those Danes that settled among them, were more in number than all the rest. The Saxons had this peculiar to themselves, that they kept their language without any great alteration ; which came in a short time to be used by all the southern Scots ; because it was the language of another great nation so near them upon the same continent. But they and all the rest were called by the name of Scots ; for that was the people that had the chief share in the government, and went for all in their treaties with foreign nations. So that now a great people in this island being called by the same name that those were in Ireland, to distinguish the one people from the other, these being called Scots, those in Ireland were called the Irish Scots, or Irish without any addition : and the island where they dwelt, being sufficiently known by the ancient name of Ireland, began to lose the other name by which it had been called for ⁴⁸ many ages : and so the name of Scotland came in time to be appropriated to the country which we call Scotland at this day.

col. 4. 57. Radulph. Cantuar. Epist. Calixto papæ, col. 1743. 4. 1746. 24. in Twysden. Hist. Angl. Script. Decem. Hoveden. Annal. pp. 550. 599. 714. inter

Rer. Angl. Script. post Bed. Vide Usser. de Primord. cap. 5. p. 72. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 39. ^k See §. 10. p. 39. §. 12. p. 44.

CHAP. II.

OF THE CONVERSION OF THESE NATIONS TO THE
CHRISTIAN FAITH.

§. 1. **T**HE first that received the Christian faith in this island were those Britons that lived under the Roman empire. It is very probable that it was ¹brought hither by some of the apostles, or at least by some other that lived soon after their times. ^mBut that does not concern our question to enquire, how soon, or through whose hands the Christian religion came hither. No doubt there were Christians here, and that in considerable numbers, in ⁿTertullian's and in ^oOrigen's days. And, which is sufficient for our purpose, we find by sure proofs that Christianity flourished here before it came to be the established religion at Rome, which was in the reign of ^pConstantine, the first Christian emperor. Here in Britain it was that his father Constantius ^qlived the latter part of his reign; which was to the great advan-

¹ Eusebii Demonstr. Evang. lib. 3. p. 112. D. Usser. de Primord. cap. 16. p. 740. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 386. Stillingfleet ibid. ch. 1. p. 36. Theodoret. de Cur. Gr. Affect. serm. 9. in Oper. tom. 4. p. 610. B. Usser. de Primord. cap. 1. p. 4. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 2. Stillingfleet ib. p. 37. and note ^a.

^m See Stillingfleet ibid. cap. 1. p. 35.

ⁿ Tertull. cont. Jud. cap. 7. p. 212. D. et 213. A. p. 189. Usser. de Primord. cap. 7. p. 144. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 75. Stilling-

fleet ib. ch. 2. p. 50. Camden. ib. p. 47. vol. 1. p. 1.

^o Origen. in Ezek. Hom. 4. fol. 139. E. et in Luc. Hom. 6. fol. 96. Usser. de Primord. ibid. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 74. Stillingfleet ibid. ch. 2. p. 57.

^p Stillingfleet ibid. chap. 1. p. 36. chap. 2. p. 74. chap. 3. p. 89.

^q Zosimi Hist. lib. 2. p. 672. 21. inter Sylburg. Roman. Hist. Scriptor. Græc. Minor. tom. 3. Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 170. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 91. Stillingfleet ibid. ch. 2. p. 72.

tage of that religion ^r so much favoured by him, that he would suffer no man to die for it in his dominions. Here it was ^s in the city of York, that Constantius died; and that his son Constantine, ^t with great consent of all men, for the love that they bore to his father, took upon him the title of Cæsar. From hence ^u he had the main of the army that was to defend his title against Maxentius, that set up an opposite title at Rome; and it was ^x in their presence that he first declared himself a Christian; which it is not likely that he would have done so publicly, and in such circumstances, if he had not been sure that his army was of the same religion. After this time Britain being always under the Roman emperors till the inundation of the barbarous nations, there is no reason to doubt that in this, as well as in all the other Roman provinces, Christianity was the established religion; and ⁵⁰ that it was in all points the same Christianity that was in this and all the other provinces.

§. 2. ^y The South Picts, who inhabited that part of Scotland which was next to the Britons, received the Christian faith at their hands. Beda ^z tells us, that in

^r Eusebii Hist. Eccles. lib. 8. cap. 13. p. 309. p. 396. Ibid. de Vita Constantini Magni, lib. 1. cap. 13. p. 413. C. D. p. 506. Lactant. de Mort. Persec. c. 15. in Oper. tom. 2. p. 202, &c. Optat. de Schism. lib. 1. p. 25. Sozomen. Histor. Eccles. lib. 1. cap. 6. p. 407. C. p. 15. Usser. ibid. Stillingfleet ibid., where also for other authorities, as Rufinus, Cassiodorus, &c.

^s Eutrop. Histor. lib. 10. inter Sylburg. ibid. p. 128. Et alii, vide Usser. de Primord. cap. 7. p. 171. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 91. Stillingfleet ibid. p. 74.

^t Euseb. de Vit. Constantini Magni, lib. 1. cap. 22. p. 419. B. p. 512. Vide Usser. de Primord. cap. 8. p. 173. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 93. Stillingfleet ibid. for Lactantius, Eumenius, &c.

^u Zosimi ibid. lib. 2. p. 676. 7. inter Sylburg. ibid.

^x Euseb. ibid. lib. 1. c. 37. p. 426. B. p. 519. Lactant. de Mort. Persec. c. 44. in Oper. ibid. p. 239.

^y See the Preface, p. xli. with notes, ch. 4. §. 1-3. p. 82.

^z Bed. Hist. lib. 3. cap. 4. p. 169. p. 186. Usser. de Pri-

the year 412, St. Nennianus, a Briton, brought up at Rome, was the author of their conversion, and that “at his preaching they left the error of idolatry, and received the belief of the truth.” There is no reason to doubt that the religion which he planted there among the Picts, was the same that was established by law at Rome itself, and in the civilized Britain, and in all other provinces of the empire.

§. 3. ^a The Scots, who, as I shewed before, lived then in Ireland, were also converted by Britons that were subjects of the Roman empire. I do not say, but that some of these Scots might be Christians before those Britons came among them. For I dare not wholly reject those ^b Irish legends, of Kiaranus, 51 Ailbeus, Declanus, and Ibarus, who are said to have been all of the Irish nation, and to have gone and lived at Rome for some years, and there to have been ordained bishops, about the year of Christ 400, and from thence to have been sent into Ireland, where they made conversions, and founded the sees of Ossory, Ardmore, Lismore, and Beg-Erin. But though the effect of their labours is said to have been very considerable in some parts of Ireland, yet according to those legends they came very short of converting the body of the nation.

§. 4. ^c Palladius, to whom others ascribe their conversion, was he that (being then a deacon at Rome, as

mord. cap. 15. p. 661. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 347. Camden. ib. pp. 84. 693. vol. 1. p. xciii. vol. 3. p. 330. Stillingfleet ibid. chap. 5. p. 363. Saxon. Chron. ann. 560. p. 511. post Bedæ ib. edit. Wheloc. p. 25. edit. Ingram.

^a Chap. 1. §. 6. p. 14.

^b Usser. de Prim. c. 16. p. 789, &c. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 412,

&c. which compare with the preceding pages. Lloyd again speaks of this subject, chap. 4. §. 2. p. 85. See Stillingfleet ib. ch. 2. p. 53.

^c See Preface, p. 1. and notes there. Stillingfleet ibid. Pref. pp. lxxv. &c. lxxviii. &c. lxx. &c. ch. 2. p. 52. ch. 4. p. 187. See ch. 4. §. 2. p. 84.

^d Prosper tells) in the year 429, got pope Celestine to send Germanus and Lupus to purge Britain of the Pelagian heresy. And the same Prosper ^e saith, in the year 431, that this Palladius being ordained a bishop by pope Celestine, was the first that was sent to the Scots that believed in Christ. Again, Prosper saith ^f elsewhere of that pope, having “ordained a bishop ⁵² for the Scots, while he endeavours to keep the Roman island catholic, he hath also made the barbarous island Christian:” where, as by ‘the Roman island’ he means Britain, which ^g other writers likewise call by that name; so by ‘the barbarous island’ opposed to it, he means ^h Ireland, as I have ⁱ already had occasion to shew. This last passage, which bringeth both the others together, was writ in the beginning of pope Sixtus, the successor of that Celestine; that is, about two years after the sending of Palladius on this mes-

^d Prosper. Chr. Coss. Florentio et Dionysio. In Labbei Nov. Biblioth. tom. 1. p. 50. in Oper. tom. 1. p. 401. col. 1. ‘Actione Palladii diaconi papa Celestinus Germanum Antissiodorensis episcopum vice sua mittit, et deturbatis hæreticis Britannos ad catholicam fidem dirigit.’ Usser. de Primord. cap. 11. p. 320. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 172. See Stillingfleet *ibid.* ch. 4. p. 189. and note ^t to the contrary.

^e Prosper. Chr. Coss. Basso et Antiocho. In Labbei *ibid.* p. 51. in Oper. *ibid.* ‘Ad Scotos in Christum credentes ordinatus a papa Celestino Palladius primus episcopus mittitur.’ Usser. de Primord. cap. 11. p. 320. cap. 16. pp. 799. 801. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. pp. 173. 417, 418.

^f Prosper. cont. Collat. c. 41.

in Oper. tom. 1. cap. 21. p. 197. ‘Ordinato Scotis episcopo, dum Romanam insulam studet servare catholicam, fecit etiam barbara Christianam.’ Usser. de Prim. cap. 11. p. 320. cap. 16. p. 797. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. pp. 172. 416. Stillingfleet *ibid.* ch. 4. p. 188. Camden. *ibid.* p. 729. vol. 3. p. 466.

^g Vopisc. in Floriano, p. 231. inter Histor. August. Scriptor. D. Gild. de Excid. Brit. p. 1005. in Orthodoxographia, §. 5. p. 3. §. 7. p. 15.

^h Gildas *ibid.* p. 1007, calls the Scots ‘Barbaricas feras.’ §. 14. p. 5. §. 18. p. 24. et not 17. Vide Usser. de Primord. c. 16. p. 797. c. 12. p. 409. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. pp. 416. 220. Camden. *ibid.*

ⁱ Chap. 1. §. 4. p. 8.

sage. And these three quotations are much the more to be considered, because they came from one that not only knew what he writ, for he lived in public business at that time, but that is the fountain from whom ^kall others have taken what they have written of this matter. What others say of Palladius and his mission, I shall consider hereafter. But at present I bring these passages together to prove these three things, which will be of very great consequence in our business.

53 1. That Palladius was of the British nation and religion.

2. ^lThat he was sent, not into Scotland, but into Ireland.

3. To these I shall add, that for making Ireland Christian, though Prosper might well enough say that pope Celestine did it, yet it was not done by Palladius, but by another that was sent after him.

1. For the first of these things, that Palladius was a Briton, it is that which ^msome have affirmed, and may seem probable from the care that he took to get this island rid of Pelagianism. For otherwise, it would be hard to imagine why he, living at Rome, should so far concern himself for a place so remote, and which was then almost as good as lost from the empire: or how, being but a deacon, he could follow this suit with such effect as to get the pope to engage in it; much more why he should be chronicled for it, that it was done only at his suit. His mission afterward into Ireland is some confirmation of this, that he was born
54 in Britain; but much more that which followed, if it

^k Beda, Ado, &c. Usser. de Primord. cap. 16. p. 799. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 417. Stillingfleet *ibid.* ch. 2. p. 53.

^l Jamieson *ibid.* c. 1. p. 7.
^m Usser. de Primord. cap. 16. p. 802. Addend. p. 1043. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 418.

were true, that failing in the design of his mission, he came at last to die in this island.

2. For the second thing, that his mission was not into Scotland, but into Ireland; that is so plain in Prosper's words, that none that lived in his age could mistake them. For where should they look for the Scoti, but in Scotia? as I have ⁿ shewed that Ireland was then called. There Prosper placeth these Scoti in the barbarous island, as he calleth it, and not in the Roman island, as there he calleth Britain.

3. Thirdly, whereas Prosper saith, that ^o that barbarous island was made Christian by pope Celestine; he could not probably mean that it was done while Celestine was living, much less that it was converted by Palladius, whom he sent thither. For considering how short a time there was between his mission into Ireland, and the time when Prosper writ this, it cannot seem very likely that he could convert any considerable number there within that time. But that he should go on so far in the work as to make the island ⁵⁵ Christian, seems to me to be next to impossible. Especially if we take in that which hath been said of Palladius by others of the most ancient writers. For they tell us, as I am ^p about to shew, that he found the people in Ireland so averse from the Christian religion, that he could do no good upon them, or so little, that it was not worth mentioning; and that therefore he gave over his design, and intended to return back to Rome; but that taking his way through Britain, he died there in the country of the Picts, or in or near their confines; and all this within the year of his mission.

ⁿ Chap. 1. §. 4. p. 7.

^o Page 52. Stillingfleet *ibid.* ch. 2. p. 53.

^p Page 57.

It was in the year 431, (as ^q Prosper saith, who could not want information in this matter,) that Palladius was ordained, and sent into these parts by pope Celestine. The same ^r Prosper saith in his Chronicle, that pope Celestine died the next year, in which we are therefore to place the beginning of pope Sixtus, that was his immediate successor. And yet in ^s another book the same author saith, that Celestine, ordaining a bishop for the Scots, “made the barbarous island Christian.” If we consider when this last book was writ, it will appear that this conversion that he speaks of, if it was true, was very sudden. For it was writ, as he ^t there saith, within “little more than twenty years after St. Austin was engaged against the enemies of the grace of God;” that is, within such a space of time after the year 412 or 413 as bishop ^u Usher observes: and consequently, in the very beginning of the time of pope Sixtus, as Prosper there ^x adds, while the world was yet in expectation what he would do against the Pelagians. But if we may believe the most ancient writers that say any thing of Palladius which is not in Prosper, they tell us, on the contrary, that there was no such sudden conversion in Ireland; nay, that Palladius did nothing there that was considerable. For these are the words of ^y Nenn-

^q Page 51. Vide Usser. de Primord. Index Chron. p. 1009. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 516. col. 1. et 2.

^r Prosper. Chr. ann. 432. in Labbei Nov. Bibliothec. tom. 1. pp. 50. 58. in Oper. tom. 1. p. 400. col. 1. 401. col. 1. Vide Usser. de Primord. ibid. p. 1100. compared with chap. 16. p. 814. &c. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. ibid. p. 518. col. 2. p. 424.

^s Prosp. contra Collat. c. 41.

See p. 51. note f.

^t Prosper. ib. cap. 1. in Oper. tom. 1. p. 168.

^u Usser. de Primord. cap. 12. p. 365. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 197.

^x Prosper. ib. cap. 44. in Oper. tom. 1. c. 22. p. 197.

^y Nenn. c. 52. in bp. Usher's copy, cap. 55. in Cambr. MS. cap. 54. p. 112. Oxon. 1691. §. 50. p. 41. ed. 1838. 'Missus est Palladius episcopus primitus

nus, who is the most ancient author that I know. Having said that “bishop Palladius was sent at first” (before Patrick) by “Celestine, the Roman bishop and ⁵⁷ pope, to convert the Scots to Christ;” he addeth, that “the Lord hindered him by certain tempests; for no man can receive any thing upon earth, unless it be given from heaven above;” whereupon “that Palladius went from Ireland, and came into ^zBritain, and died there in the land of the Picts.” In like manner saith ^aProbus, in the Life of St. Patrick: “Palladius had been sent” [before him] “by pope Celestine, to convert this island; but God hindered him from converting that nation” (of the Scots); “for ^bthose rugged and wild men would not receive his doctrine, nor would he stay any long time in a land which was not his; but was disposed to return to him that sent him: and when, in order to this, Palladius had passed the sea, and was come to the confines of the Picts, there he died.” In like manner ^cJocelin saith, that “because the Irish believed not his preaching, but most obstinately opposed him, he departed from their country, and in his way to Rome he died in Britain, near the confines of the Picts.” More authors might be produced to this purpose; but these are enough to shew ⁵⁸ that he could do no great matters in Ireland, and

^a Celestino episcopo et papa Romano ad Scotos ad Christum convertendos. Sed prohibuit illum Dominus.’ Usser. de Primord. cap. 16. p. 812. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 423. for the authorities in this and notes ^a, ^b, ^c, following. Stillingfleet *ibid.* ch. 2. p. 53. as to the passage of Nennius.

^z Jamieson *ibid.* chap. 1. p. 9.

^a Probus Vita Patr. lib. 1.

inter Bedæ Oper. tom. 3. col. 229. Usser. *ib.*

^b Probi *ibid.* ‘immites et feri homines nolebant.’ Usser. *ibid.*

^c Jocelin. Vita Patricii, c. 25. p. 13. col. 2. inter Messinghami Florileg. Sanctor. Hiberniæ. ‘Hibernis vero prædicationi non credentibus, sed obstinatissime oppugnantibus, a regione illorum discessit.’ Usser. *ibid.*

therefore whatsoever pope Celestine did there, he must do it by other hands.

To bring us yet nearer to an end of this matter, we are assured that pope Celestine's death was within a year, or little more, of the time when he sent Palladius on his mission. For, as ^d Prosper tells us, his mission was in the year 431: so ^e he and others assure us that Celestine died the next year. And his death was on the sixth day of April, as we are told in the Pontifical. But it will presently appear that ^f Palladius died so long before him, that this pope had the news of his death; and was thereupon moved to send Patrick to succeed him in the mission. This gives a great colour of truth to that which ^g Bale tells us, that the death of Palladius was on the fifteenth of December: for that notation of time is very consistent with all that hath been said by the ancients of this matter. There was time enough between that and the sixth of April, for 59 Patrick to hear of his death, and afterward to go to Rome and receive any thing from pope Celestine before his death. There was also time enough in the year 431, before the fifteenth of December, for Palladius to receive his mission at Rome, and to try what he could do in Ireland, and finding no success there, to come and die in this island of Britain. All this might come within so short a time as that was, between his mission in the fore part of the year, and his death on the fifteenth of December following. ^h I confess it doth

^d Page 51. and notes there.

^e Prosper. Chr. et Marcellin. Comes. A. D. 432. in Labbei Nov. Biblioth. tom. 1. pp. 50. 58. in Oper. tom. 1. pp. 400. col. 1. 401. col. 1. See p. 55. note ^r.

^f Stillingfleet *ibid.* Preface, p. lxxi.

^g Balæi Scriptor. Britan. Cent. 14. cap. 6. p. 186. Usser. de Primord. cap. 17. pp. 814. 836. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. pp. 424. 435.

^h See chap. 7. §. 4. p. 147. &c.

not so well consist with their hypothesis, that make Palladius the founder of episcopacy in that part of Britain which is now called Scotland: much less with the fancy of their prime author ⁱBoethius, that makes him baptize one Tervanus there in his infancy, and afterward consecrate the same person archbishop; this was more than could well be done in part of a year. Nor can it well be reconciled with that which Prosper saith of pope Celestine, that by ordaining a bishop for the Scots, “he made the barbarous island Christian.”⁶⁰ For if he meant this of Palladius, then their conversion in Ireland must be within a small part of a year: and that is so extremely improbable, that, beside that we have all those authors against it, for the very improbability of the thing itself, I know not how to believe it. I should rather think ^kwith bishop Usher, that those words were only a good omination of Prosper’s upon the sending of Palladius thither, possibly upon his hearing at first better news than proved afterwards true: or it must have been written with respect to that mission of Patrick, which though not mentioned by Prosper, because perhaps this Patrick was a stranger at Rome, yet it might be sufficiently implied in those words of his Chronicon, if they are Prosper’s, concerning Palladius, that he was sent to the Scots the first bishop.

§. 5. It appears by these words, that there was sent to the Scots by pope Celestine another bishop after Palladius; and this is all that can be gathered from them without the help of other books. But we find⁶¹ by a general consent of the ancients that this other

ⁱ Hect. Boethii Scot. Hist. chap. 4. §. 2. p. 88.
 lib. 7. fol. 133. lin. 19. Usser. ^k Usser. de Primord. cap. 16.
 de Primord. cap. 15. p. 672. p. 798. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p.
 Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 352. See 416.

bishop was St. Patrick, who was sent to the Scots by that pope after the death of Palladius. Thus ^lNennius goeth on, in the place before mentioned; “Upon the news of the death of bishop Palladius, Patrick, another agent, is sent by Celestine, pope of Rome, to convert the Scots to the faith of Christ.” Thus likewise the before mentioned ^mProbus, and Jocelin, together with many other ancient writers, whom ⁿbishop Usher hath collected to prove this. Particularly ^oMarianus Scotus, whom I mention as being the ancientest that is extant of that nation, saith, that “after Palladius was ^pPatrick, a Briton by nation, consecrated by pope Celestine, and sent to be archbishop of Ireland.” Where Marianus Scotus saith he was a Briton, and yet others say he was a Scot, we are to understand it, as ^qbishop Usher there shews, that he was born in that part of Britain which is since called Scotland. For his birth was at Nemthur, now ⁶²called Kirk-Patrick, near Graham’s Dike, which was in the land of the Britons, but in or near the confines of the Picts, as ^rthose writers describe the place of Palladius’s death. Patrick was then in France, where he had made his studies, under his mother’s uncle,

^l Nennius, cap. 53. al. 56. cap. 55. p. 112. §. 51. p. 42. ‘Audita morte Palladii episcopi, alius legatus Patricius—a Celestino papa Romano—ad Scotos convertendos in fidem Christi mittitur.’ Usser. de Primord. cap. 17. p. 839. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 437. Camden. ibid. p. 730. vol. 3. p. 467.

^m Page 57.

ⁿ Usser. de Primord. cap. 16. p. 814. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 424.

^o Mar. Scot. Ann. 432. col. 340. ‘Post ipsum S. Patricius

fuit, genere Brito, a S. Celestino papa consecratus, et ad archiepiscopatum Hiberniensem mittitur.’ Usser. de Primord. cap. 16. p. 841. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 438. Jamieson ibid. chap. 1. p. 8.

^p Tanner and Cave ibid. under Patricius. Nicolson’s Irish Historical Library, part 3. ch. 4. p. 37. Stillingfleet ibid. ch. 1. p. 16. note ^a.

^q Usser. de Primord. cap. 17. p. 820. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 427.

^r §. 4. p. 57.

St. Martin, and had taken all his orders of deacon, priest and bishop, as I shall ^s shew in due place. But hearing there of the death of Palladius, (which might come the sooner to him, if Palladius died, as I suppose he did, there among his relations,) thereupon Patrick went to pope Celestine, and obtained the like assistances from him as Palladius had formerly received. And therewith going to Ireland, (which he seems to have better understood, because being taken captive heretofore, he had lived there for some years,) he bestowed his labours so successfully, with God's blessing, that, as ^t Prosper saith, he indeed "made the barbarous island Christian," and is therefore justly accounted the apostle of that nation.

§. 6. After these conversions, first of the South ⁶³ Picts in Britain, and then of the Scots in their Ireland, (both which conversions happened in one age, and within a few years of one another,) it was yet above a hundred and twenty years that the North Picts still continued in their state of Gentilism. And then, about the year 560, St. Columba, who was a Scot, came over ^u out of Ireland, and having obtained the isle of ^xHy, where he founded a monastery, he and the monks that he brought with him ^y converted king Brudius and his nation to the faith of Christ.

^s Chap. 4. §. 3. p. 89.

^t §. 4. p. 52.

^u Adamnan. de Columb. lib. 1. cap. 1. in Canisii *ibid.* p. 565. Messinghami *ibid.* p. 147. ^v 'de Scotia in Britanniam.' Tanner and Cave *ibid.* under Columba. Stillingfleet *ibid.* Pref. p. xlii. Jamieson *ibid.* chap. 1. p. 6. c. 2. pp. 13-21.

^x See chap. 5. p. 98. note. Stillingfleet *ibid.* Pref. pp. xlii.

xliii. lxix. Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 703. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 367. Camden. *ibid.* in the Additions, vol. 3. p. 388. Jamieson *ibid.* p. 21.

^y Bed. Hist. lib. 3. cap. 4. p. 169. p. 106. Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 691. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 362. Camden. *ib.* pp. 84. 707. 848. vol. 1. p. xciii. vol. 3. pp. 387. 714. See ch. 1. §. 9. p. 35.

I desire the reader to take notice that this conversion was not from the Pelagian heresy, as some ^zlate authors would have it, but from downright Gentilism. This we are told by a writer who was one of the best able to inform us, namely, by Adamnanus, who was one of Columba's successors in his monastery. He ^atells us, that king Brudius was a heathen, and so were ^bhis people, till Columba came thither and made 64 them Christians. So likewise Bede, who had great opportunity to inform himself, both as being so near those times, and as having been much conversant with that people. His ^cwords are, that Columba was the first teacher of the Christian faith to the North Picts that dwell beyond the mountains.

§. 7. In this interval of time, between these two last conversions of the Scots and Northern Picts, the Roman province of Britain was ^dquite rent away from the Roman empire; and not only the countries between this and Rome were impassable, by reason of the inundation of the barbarous nations, but even Italy itself had divers times changed its lords, till at last it came to settle under the Greek emperors, ^elittle more than twenty years before this last conversion. So that for near a hundred years, there was almost no possibility of communication between Rome and the Britons; and therefore it was no wonder if there was grown a great strangeness between them. Besides, in

^z Hect. Boeth. Scot. Hist. lib. 2. fol. 172. 54. Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 691. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 362.

^a Adamnan, de Columb. ibid. lib. 2. cap. 22. in Canisii ibid. p. 595. in Messinghami ibid. cap. 14. p. 166.

^b Ibid. cap. 10. 18, 19. 21. in Canisii ibid. pp. 587. 592, 593.

595. in Messinghami ibid. cap. 6. 12. 14. pp. 161. 164. col. 1, 2. 166.

^c Bed. Hist. lib. 5. cap. 10. p. 402. cap. 9. p. 191. Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 687. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 359.

^d Chap. 1. §. 6, 7. p. 23, &c.

^e Under Justinian.

that interval of time, the Roman Church was much altered from what it was formerly, that it was scarce 65 to be known by them that had not seen it in many years: it was grown very much in stature, and had, as it were, another countenance in the outward face of its communion.

§. 8. Rome began to shoot up at the time of the ^f Sardican council; when ^g that canon was made in favour of that see, which, about sixty years after, pope Zosimus would fain ^h have persuaded the African fathers to have taken for a canon of the first Nicene council. But as they would not swallow that gudgeon, so neither ^j would the Gallican bishops by their good will: but they were forced to that or worse, by Valentinian the Third; who being a weak and vicious prince, thought to strengthen himself by humouring that see, which had so great an influence on his empire. And no doubt that ⁱ Novel of his, giving the bishop of Rome an authority over all bishops in his dominion, which at that time consisted of Italy, Spain, France, and part of Illyricum, might occasion the barbarous nations, who 66 soon after overrun all those countries, to have a great opinion, and even a veneration for the Roman see.

^f Usser. de Primord. cap. 8. p. 195. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 105. Stillingfleet's Rational Account of the Grounds of the Protestant Religion, ch. 5, Of the Roman Church's Authority; in his Works, vol. 4. p. 403: and his Antiquities of the British Churches, ch. 3. p. 134.

^g Conc. Sardic. can. 7. in Labbei Concil. tom. 2. col. 646. et col. 653.

^h Zosim. Commonit. in Conc. Carth. 6. cap. 3. in Labbei ibid. col. 1589, 1590, which compare

with note ⁱ col. 1602, note ^d col. 686, 687, note ^h col. 690. *ibid.* Lloyd follows a different version of these canons from Stillingfleet, in his Antiquities, *ibid.* ch. 3. p. 137. note ^m. See also Stillingfleet's Works, vol. 4. *ibid.* pp. 391. 399, &c.

ⁱ Novel. Valent. III. in Concil. tom. 3. fol. 1401. ed. Labbei *ib.* Vide Basnag. *Annal. Politico-Eccles.* tom. 3. p. 409. Spanhem. *Hist. Christ. sæct.* 5. cap. 6. col. 986, 987. in *Oper.* tom. 1.

They were converted to that opinion, and Christianity together, by those bishops whom they found upon the place in their conquests; and being wholly ignorant of antiquity, and more intent on other things, they did not trouble themselves with Church matters. But the Britons, whom the emperor had left to themselves ^k before that law was made, might very well be ignorant of it: and therefore continuing in their primitive liberty, a hundred and fifty years after this, when pope Gregory the First would make Austin the monk their archbishop, ^l they told him plainly, “We will not be thy subjects;” they knew of no authority he had over them.

§. 9. In like manner, within that interval of time, there were ^m many things changed in the Roman communion; which, after they had continued an age or two in their Church, themselves did not know, or would not ⁶⁷ own, to be alterations. This appeared especially, in the rule that they had for the finding out of ⁿ Easter, and of all their other movable feasts. They ^o found it by a cycle of eighty-four years, which was called “the Roman account” ^p so lately as in pope Leo’s time. The Scots and South Picts used the same cycle from the time of their conversion; and so did the Britons, without any manner of alteration: but about eighty years

^k Ch. 1. §. 6. p. 21, &c. Stillingfleet’s Antiquities *ibid.* ch. 5. p. 294. Usher. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 599. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 313.

^l Bed. Hist. Eccles. lib. 2. cap. 2. p. 112. p. 80. Stillingfleet *ibid.* p. 357. See ch. 3. §. 10. p. 81.

^m See ch. 4. §. 4. p. 93.

ⁿ See ch. 4. §. 6. p. 97. ch. 7. §. 9. p. 171.

^o Bed. *ibid.* lib. 5. cap. 22.

p. 459. cap. 21. p. 216. Usher. de Primord. cap. 17. p. 930. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 482.

^p Bucher. Doct. Temp. Comment. in Victor. Canon. Paschal. pp. 138. 190. Usher’s Religion of Irish and British, ch. 9. p. 93. Stillingfleet’s Answer to S. Cressy, p. 319, &c., and in his Works, vol. 5. p. 691, &c. Usher. de Primord. cap. 17. p. 925. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 480.

after the rending of the Roman empire, the Romans, having left off the use of that cycle, took up another of nineteen years; which though it was better in many respects, yet was new in these parts, and made a great difference from the former. And when the Romans had used this new cycle another eighty years, coming then to have to do with these northern nations, they would needs have imposed the use of it upon them, as a condition of their communion. They did indeed face them down with ^qtwo things which were palpably false: one was, that the Romans had received their cycle by tradition from St. Peter; ^rthe other, that it ⁶⁸was made use of every where except in these islands. To the first of these assertions, the ^sScots, for want of knowing better, opposed only the authority of St. John for their cycle; as to the other, they could not tell what to say: whereas in truth, though they did not know it, the Roman account came but an age or two before from Alexandria, and was not yet received in all the western Church, ^tnot in some part of France in particular; but that in use among the Scots was the same cycle that they and the Britons had ever used since their conversion, and it was the same that was anciently used in the Roman Church.

§. 10. By these instances it sufficiently appears, that though Rome had not yet proceeded so far as to make new articles of faith, (for that was not done by any act of the Church, that we read of, in one thousand years after Christ's time,) yet she had made great alterations in

^q Bed. *ibid.* lib. 3. cap. 25. p. 235. p. 133. *Usser. de Primord.* cap. 17. p. 931. *Brit. Eccles. Antiq.* p. 482.

^r Bedæ *ibid.* lib. 2. cap. 19. p. 154. p. 100. *Usser. de Primord.* cap. 17. p. 934. *Brit. Eccles.*

Antiq. p. 484.

^s *Usser. de Primord.* (ex *Bed. ibid.* lib. 3. cap. 25. p. 234. p. 132.) p. 940. *Brit. Eccles. Antiq.* p. 487.

^t *Bucher. ibid.* p. 193. &c. See notes ^o, ^p, in the last page.

other things, and made bold to impose them on other
 69 Churches as conditions of her communion. It appears
 that these northern Churches were shut out of her
 communion, they were ^u called the schismatics of Bri-
 tain and Ireland; for no other reason, but only because
 they would not receive these alterations, nor submit to
 the authority by which they were imposed. They on
 the other hand were not willing to break communion,
 but continued it with them that kept Easter with
 the Romans, as some did, without abetting their usur-
 pation. Thus the British bishops joined in the office of
 ordination with ^y Wini, a Saxon, that was ^x made bishop
 in France. Thus the Scots helped Birinus to convert
 the West Saxons, though he had been made bishop in
 Italy. Nay ^z they joined in communion with them of
 Kent, that had been converted immediately from Rome,
 and never broke with them till they were forced to it,
 as I shall shew in ^a due place. Wheresoever they found
 the Roman tyranny abetted against them, there indeed
 70 they stood upon their terms, and ^b laid the schism upon
 them that were the cause of it, and ^c would “no more
 communicate with them than with pagans,” as Bede
 tells us. The ^d Scots of South Ireland stood thus
 little more than thirty years after Austin came over: all
 the other Scots and the Picts held out ^e near a hundred

^u Steph. Hedd. Life of Wil-
 frid. n. 5. inter Mabillon. Act.
 Sanct. Bened. sæc. 4. part. 1. p.
 679. Gal. Hist. Brit., &c. Script.
 15. tom. 1. p. 45. Usher's Reli-
 gion of Irish, ib. ch. 10. p. 106.

^x Bedæ ibid. lib. 3. cap. 28.
 p. 247. p. 137. Vide ibid. cap. 7.
 quoted in the next note, p. 177.
 p. 110.

^y Ibid. lib. 3. cap. 7. p. 176.
 p. 109.

^z Ibid. lib. 3. cap. 25. p. 233.

p. 131.

^a Ch. 5. §. 5. 7. pp. 107. 109.

^b Usher's Religion of Irish, ib.
 ch. 10. p. 109.

^c Bed. ibid. lib. 2. cap. 20. p.
 158. p. 101.

^d Usser. de Primord. cap. 17.
 p. 934, &c. Brit. Eccles. Antiq.
 p. 484, &c. Vide de Primord.
 cap. 15. p. 700. Brit. Eccles.
 Antiq. p. 366.

^e Till the year 716, saith Bed.
 ibid. lib. 3. cap. 4. p. 169; till

years longer: but the Britons ^f much above two hundred years. And yet the Churches that stood at this distance from Rome, all the while continued ^g communion with each other, and kept their religion the same in all points that it was when the Roman empire stood, and the same that was anciently in the purer Roman Church.

A.D. 715, *ibid.* p. 107. Vide *Brit. Eccles. Antiq.* p. 542.
 Usser. *de Primord.* cap. 15. p. col. 1.
 701. *Brit. Eccles. Antiq.* p. 366. ^g *Bed. Hist. lib. 3. cap. 25. p.*
 Stillingfleet *ibid.* Preface, p. lxx. 234. p. 132. 'hos (Scotos) tan-
^f Usher's *Religion of Irish, ib.* tum et obstinationis eorum com-
 ch. 10. p. 113. Usser. *de Pri-* plices, Pictos dico et Britones,'
 mord. *Index Chronol.* p. 1172. &c.

OF THE ANCIENT CHURCH GOVERNMENT IN THESE
NATIONS ; AND FIRST AMONG THE BRITONS.

§. 1. **H**AVING shewn that the Christian religion here in Britain was the same that was in all other provinces of the Roman empire, and that while the empire stood, the Christians of this and the other provinces were all in communion together; this alone were sufficient to prove that they had the same kind of Church government: and that government, at least from the time that Christianity came to be the established religion, being unquestionably in other provinces a diocesan episcopacy; not only in name, but in authority, the same that is now in these kingdoms; ^a it would be reasonable to judge that there was the same government here in ^b Britain, though for want of ancient writings there could be produced no plain instances of it.

72 But (as it hath pleased God) there is no want of such instances to prove that episcopacy was settled here as it was in other countries.

§. 2. First, we find at the council of Arles, (which was called by Constantine the Great in the year 314,) as there were some of all the three orders out of every one of the western provinces, so there were ^c out of Britain, three bishops, one priest, and one deacon.

^a Mackenzie *ibid.* p. 18, notices this passage.

^b Stillingfleet's *Antiquities*, *ibid.* ch. 2. p. 77.

^c *Concil. Arelat.* 1. subscript. post canones. *Spelman. Concil.*

tom. 1. p. 43. *Stillingfleet ibid.* p. 74. *Usser. de Primord.* cap. 8. p. 195. *Brit. Eccles. Antiq.* p. 104. *Camden. ibid.* p. 305. vol. 2. p. 4.

These bishops were (as ^f Mr. Jones observes with great probability) the bishops of the three metropolitical cities. Two are certain, namely those of London and York: and for the third, which was from a colony, he might probably be of Caerleon. Under these three metropolitans there ^g are said to have been twenty-five other bishops; which, considering that the province reached northward as far as Graham's Dike, was much about the same number that is now in that compass of land; and therefore also the dioceses of those bishops were one with another of equal extent with the dioceses that are now in this kingdom.

§. 3. What the power of each bishop was then in ⁷³ his diocese, it may partly be understood from the eighteenth canon of that council; which being so very corrupt that it is hardly sense in the common editions of the councils, I shall here set it down ^h as it is in that ancient manuscript of the councils in the library at Sarum, which was writ before the Norman conquest, as far as I can judge by the character. These are the words of it: "For the deacons of Rome, that they take not upon them there on their own account, but that honour be reserved to the presbyters. And that the presbyters do nothing without leave of the bishop."

^f Jones Of the Heart and its right Sovereign, p. 137. Stillingfleet *ibid.*

^g *Gild. de Excid. Brit. lib. 1. in Orthodox. p. 1004. Hist. Gild. §. 1. p. 1. §. 3. p. 11. et not. saith there were twenty-eight cities in Britain. Usser. de Primord. cap. 5. p. 57. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 31. from Gild. de Victoria Aur. Ambros. lib. 7. and from the British Chron. &c., shews that they were all episco-*

pal sees. Stillingfleet ibid. p. 77, to the contrary; whom also, ch. 1. p. 7, as to the pretended work of Gildas, concerning Aur. Ambrosius.

^h *Concil. Arelat. 1. can. 18. 'De diaconibus urbicis, ut non aliquid pro se ibi præsument, sed honor presbyteris reservetur. Et presbyteri sine conscientia episcopi nihil faciant.' Vide Labbei Concil. tom. 1. col. 1429.*

The last words, which set forth the episcopal power, are the same in effect with those ⁱ in the epistles of Ignatius bishop of Antioch, which have been often produced in defence of the episcopal authority. No man that considers the antiquity of that father, who died within ten years after St. John the apostle, can doubt whether his kind of episcopacy were the ^k government 74 that the apostles left in his Church; no man that weighs the words can doubt whether, in his judgment that used them, all the priests of every diocese were subject to their own bishop; and, as the words stand in that canon, they shew that priests owe no less obedience to their bishop, than is due to priests from their own deacons: which being the sense of all those Churches that sent their clergy to that council, we have no reason to doubt, but that among the rest it was then the sense of the British Church. This instance is so much the more to be considered, because it was not only before the council of Nice, but immediately after the tenth persecution; and therefore it was before there could be any of those temptations of secular greatness and wealth, which are said to have caused the corruptions that altered the primitive purity of ecclesiastical government; so that whatsoever was then in the Church, we have reason to believe had continued from the first constitution.

75. §. 4. Within twelve years after the council of Arles was the ^l first Nicene council, which has always been

ⁱ Ignat. Epist. ad Ephes. p. 30. ad Philadelph. p. 99. et passim.

^k See Cave's Dissertation concerning the Government of the Ancient Church, by Bishops, Metropolitans, and Patriarchs. Parker's Account of the Government of the Christian Church

for the first six hundred years.

^l Usser. de Primord. cap. 8. p. 195. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 104. Cave *ibid.* ch. 2. p. 46, &c. Parker *ibid.* p. 197, compared with Bevereg. Pandect. Canon. tom. 1. p. 62, &c. tom. 2. in Annot. p. 47, &c.

held in so great veneration by all Christian Churches to this day. Among the canons of this council the third, fifteenth, sixteenth, eighteenth, have express mention of bishops, priests, and deacons, which three orders are therein supposed to be in all Churches; and in the fifth, eighth, twelfth, thirteenth, sixteenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth, the bishop is spoken of, as having the sole power of ordination and jurisdiction; and the fourth, sixth, and seventh, are concerning the canonical rights of metropolitan bishops in their provinces.

How far this may concern us, we cannot judge, unless we knew that the ^m British Church consented to these canons. But we may reasonably presume, that this Church consented to them, because the emperor did: nay we have more than presumption for it from the emperor himself; who, declaring that the ⁿ council's rule concerning Easter was received in the provinces, ⁷⁶ saith ^o expressly, it was received in Britain. Therefore it is more than probable that this Church received the Nicene canons, which may serve for a further proof that it had this ecclesiastical government.

§. 5. Sure enough the Nicene creed was received by the bishops of Britain, as well as by those of the other provinces which were not present at the council: so much appeared by ^p their letters to St. Hilary, and ^q the great Athanasius. It also appears, that they approved of the judgment of the Sardican council in behalf of Athanasius against his adversaries. But it does not appear that any of the British bishops were then present at Sardica: though some great men have collected it

^m Stillingfleet *ibid.* ch. 3. p. nod. col. 1149–1151.
88, &c.

ⁿ *Ibid.* p. 91.

^o Euseb. *Vit. Constant. Mag.* lib. 3. cap. 19. p. 588. *Usser. ibid.* Stillingfleet *ibid.* p. 90.

^p Hilar. *Pictav. Oper. de Sy-*

^q Athanas. *Epist. ad Jovianum, A.* in *Oper.* tom. 1. p. 246.

tom. 1. p. 781. *Usser. de Primord. ibid.* cap. 8. p. 196. *Brit. Eccles. Antiq.* p. 105. Stillingfleet *ibid.* ch. 4. p. 175.

from ^r a passage in the Latin translation of his works, who would have thought otherwise if they had consulted the original; for there Athanasius speaks not of them that were present at the council, but of them that gave their consent to the things that were judged there ⁷⁷ in his cause.

§. 6. Yet several of our bishops were present soon after at the council of Ariminum; saith Sulpitius Severus: who ^s tells us, that three of them had their bishoprics so meanly endowed, that they were forced to live there at the public charge. This perhaps might be the reason why we find so few of them at any of those councils that were held beyond the seas; and it seems, in those times, while this nation was under the Roman emperors, there were but slender encouragements for learning or religion: for if there had been a plentiful provision for learned men, it would have appeared in all likelihood by some of their writings; and if religion had been regarded as it ought, it would scarce have been at that low ebb as we find it was when ^t St. German came hither.

§. 7. But that still the Church here continued under the same episcopal government, even after this island was broken off from the Roman empire; (beside what may be gathered from the lives of ^u Dubricius, David, ⁷⁸ Paternus, and many other of the old British bishops,)

^r Athanas. Apol. 2. beginning. In Oper. tom. 1. p. 720. tom. 1. p. 123. Apol. contra Arian. Stillingtonfleet *ibid.* ch. 3. p. 134. Usser. *ibid.* Camden. *ibid.* p. 54. vol. 1. p. lvi.

^s Sulpit. Hist. lib. 2. p. 420. Usser. *ibid.* Stillingtonfleet *ibid.* ch. 4. pp. 176. 180. Camden. *ibid.* pp. 55. 730. vol. 1. p. lviii. vol. 3. p. 467.

^t Stillingtonfleet *ibid.* ch. 5. p. 202, &c., and references to Usher.

^u Tanner *ibid.* under the names of the two first. Usser. de Primord. cap. 5. p. 90. cap. 14. p. 527. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. pp. 48. 275, as to Paternus. Stillingtonfleet *ibid.* ch. 4. p. 202, &c. ch. 5. p. 346, &c., for additional references to Usher.

we find it in two unquestionable authors, which are all that from their own knowledge have given us any information of the things of that age.

§. 8. One was ^xGildas that writ about the year 560, a little more than a hundred years after the Saxons came hither. He ^ytells us, that they being heathens, had destroyed religion where they came; they killed “the governors of the Church, with the presbyters and people:” where, that he means bishops by the ‘governors,’ it appears by that ^z which follows soon after. For ^a he shews that the Britons that escaped out of their hands had still the three orders remaining among them, “of bishops, or other sacerdots, or clerks.” These ^b he calls the “ecclesiastical orders or degrees.” The highest ^c degree was of them whom St. Paul would have to be irreprehensible, (that is surely the bishops, 1 Tim. iii. 2.) These were called ‘sacerdots,’ as well ⁷⁹ as they of the second order; for so he ^d mentions the “sacerdotal seat, of bishop, or presbyter;” where by ‘a bishop’s seat,’ he means a cathedral, and by a ‘presbyter’s seat,’ a parish church: and he ^e distinguishes

^x See Preface, p. x, and notes.

^y Gild. de Excid. Brit. lib. 1. p. 1009. in Orthodoxographa, §. 24. p. 8. §. 24. p. 32. ‘Præpositos ecclesiæ, cum sacerdotibus et populo.’ Camden. ibid. p. 79. vol. 1. p. lxxxvii. Usser. de Primord. cap. 12. p. 416. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 223. See Stillingfleet ibid. ch. 5. p. 325.

^z Gild. ibid. lib. 2. p. 1018. in Orthodoxog. Epist. Gild. as in note ^b following.

^a Ibid. lib. 2. p. 1017. in Orthodoxographa. Epist. Gild. p. 23. §. 65. p. 71. ‘Episcoporum, vel cæterorum sacerdotum, aut clericorum.’ Usser. de Primord.

cap. 14. p. 548. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 285.

^b Gild. ibid. lib. 2. p. 1018. in Orthodoxographa. Epist. Gild. p. 23. §. 66. p. 73. ‘Ecclesiasticos gradus.’ Usser. de Primord. cap. 14. p. 549. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 285.

^c Gild. ibid. in Orthodox. Ep. Gild. p. 24. §. 66. p. 74. ‘Summus gradus.’

^d Ibid. in Orthodoxographa. Epist. Gild. p. 23. §. 66. p. 74. ‘Sacerdotalem episcopatus vel presbyterii sedem.’ Usser. ibid. See Stillingfleet ibid. chap. 5. p. 350. and note ^z.

^e Gild. ibid. in Orthodoxog. Epist. Gild. p. 24. §. 66. p. 74.

between them that have “only the name of sacerdos,” and them ^f that have “the apostolical dignity,” that is bishops, of whom Ignatius bishop of Antioch, he saith, ^g was “sacerdos-summus-potestate.” So it is plain what he means by those words “episcoporum vel cæterorum sacerdotum,” that they were bishops and presbyters. And that by the lowest degree, which is there called of clerks, he means deacons; it appears by his ^hpromiscuous use of those words (“diaconus et clericus,”) clerk and deacon. So that there can be no doubt what the Church government was among the Britons in Gildas’s time.

§. 9. What it was about forty years after, when Gregory the First sent his missionaries hither, we have no better authority to inform us than ⁱBede, who lived within a hundred years of that time. He tells us, that 80 when Austin the monk inquired how he ought to behave himself toward the bishops of the French and of the Britons; the pope, that knew what his monk would be at, answered him to the point, “We give thee no authority over the bishops of France, for we ought not to deprive the bishop of Arles of the authority which he hath received from us,” to be their metropolitan, “but ^kall the bishops of Britain we commit to thee.” I pass by the ambition of the man, and the arrogance of the master: there was enough of the ‘typhus Romanus’ in both of them. But to our purpose, I cannot but observe that in Britain, as well as in France, there were

‘Tantum sacerdotale nomen.’
Usser. *ibid.*

^f Gild. *ibid.* ‘Apostolicam dignitatem.’ Usser. *ibid.*

^g Gild. *ibid.* p. 1020. in *Orthodox. Epist. Gild.* p. 27. §. 75. p. 84.

^h *Ibid.* p. 1027. in *Orthodox.*

Epist. Gild. p. 38. §. 109. p. 115. et not. 21. Usser. *de Primord.* cap. 14. p. 554. *Brit. Eccles. Antiq.* p. 288.

ⁱ Bed. *ibid.* lib. 1. cap. 27. p. 85. p. 65. *Stillingfleet ibid.* ch. 5. p. 356.

^k Bed. *ibid.* p. 86. p. 65.

bishops, that might pass muster well enough, if the pope might be allowed to lord it over them.

§. 10. Accordingly, when Austin came to treat with the Britons, we find ¹ that the treaty on their part was managed first by their bishops and learned men, without any mention of number; and afterwards by their seven bishops and many learned men with them. And when ⁸¹ Austin the monk told them what he would have, it appears they understood him as his master the pope did: and therefore they thought the properest answer they could give him was ^m this, “We will not have thee to be our archbishop.” If they would but have granted him that, it seems that all would have been well enough between them. And therefore, except that dispute about the supremacy, there was no other difference in point of government, between that which the Romans brought hither into England, and that which at their coming they found settled here in the British Church. On both parts there was a diocesan episcopacy, the same that was then in France, and in Italy, from which countries Austin brought his patterns along with him: and as well the Britons as the English have continued that episcopacy by succession in most of the same bishops’ sees that then were to this day.

¹ Bed. *ibid.* lib. 2. cap. 2. p. 110. p. 79. Usser. de Primord. cap. 5. p. 90. not. ^m. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 48. *Stillingfleet* *ibid.* ch. 5. p. 357. ^m Bed. *ibid.* p. 112. p. 80. *Stillingfleet* *ibid.* See ch. 2. §. 8. p. 66.

OF THE GOVERNMENT IN THE OTHER CHURCHES IN
THESE ISLANDS.

IT may seem an over curious diligence in me, that I have been so large in the proof of that which perhaps no man denies. For I know of none that doth not grant that there was in those times such an episcopacy in the British Church. But yet I thought it worth the while to prove this, as I have done, because it will be of great use in the following controversy. For if the British Church was settled under such an episcopacy, it will follow that there was the same government in all the other Churches of this island: for they all were converted by Britons, or held communion with the British Church, and that in such acts as plainly shew that they had the same government.

§. 1. The South Picts, as I ^a have shewn, were converted by Ninian, ^b about the year 412, that is, while Britain was yet under the Roman government. But Ninian himself was a Briton, and he was brought up at Rome, which is enough to assure us of his religion. And if that be not enough to make him thought favourable to episcopacy, this is, that he was a bishop himself when he converted them. His see was at ^c Candida Casa, or Whitherne, in that country which is now called Galloway in Scotland, which was then

^a Chap. 2. §. 2. p. 50. and note 2.

^b Bed. *ibid.* lib. 3. cap. 4. p. 169. p. 106. Saxon Chron. ann. 560. p. 511. post Bedæ

Eccl. Hist. Wheloci edit. p. 25. Ingram's edit.

^c Jamieson *ibid.* ch. 1. p. 11. ch. 15. p. 334.

inhabited by the Roman Britons. There living near the Picts, he was often conversant with them, and so had opportunity to go into their country; where, having made a general conversion of that people, he did all the other parts of an apostle: if we may believe the writer of his Life, ^d he consecrated bishops among them, he ordained priests, and divided their country into parishes; and so having formed and settled their Church, he returned to his own see at Whitherne, and there he died about eighteen years after their conversion.

§. 2. Of the Scots I have ^e shewn that at the time ⁸⁴ of their conversion there were none that lived out of Ireland. Thither it was, as I have ^f also shewn, that in the year 431. Palladius was sent from Rome to be their bishop. This we have from ^g Prosper, an unquestionable writer of that age. He saith, as it is in Labbe's edition, "to the Scots believing Christ, Palladius, being ordained by pope Celestine, is sent the first bishop." There seems to have been another reading of the words in that copy which ^h Nennius had before him: for he has "convertendos" instead of "ⁱ credentes," and "primitus" instead of "primus;" which makes the sense very much different from that in Labbe's edition. And in this variation he goes not

^d Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 668. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 350. Tanner *ibid.* under Nini-anus.

^e Chap. 1. §. 9. p. 32. and chap. 2. §. 3, &c. p. 50, &c.

^f Chap. 2. §. 4. p. 51, &c.

^g Prosper. Aquitan. Chron. Coss. Basso et Antiocho. in Labbei Nov. Biblioth. Manuscript. tom. 1. p. 51; and from him Bedæ *ibid.* lib. 1. cap. 13. p. 55.

p. 51, where, in note 11, the error of Baronius is corrected. Epit. Bedæ. ann. 430. p. 489. p. 220.

^h Nenn. cap. 52. Camb. MS. cap. 55. cap. 54. p. 112. §. 50. p. 41. Usser. de Primord. cap. 16. p. 812. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 423. as in note ^y, p. 56.

ⁱ Vide Usser. de Primord. p. 799. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 417. as in note ^e, p. 51.

alone, but with others, some of whom I have ^k mentioned: according to their sense of the words, Palladius was sent to a people that were ‘to be converted,’ and not to them that were ‘believers’ already; and these say only he was sent ‘at the first,’ that is, before 85 St. Patrick; whereas in our copies it is said that he was sent ‘the first bishop.’ Nay, to make the matter yet more doubtful, it is not certain that Prosper said any thing more but only this, that he was ordained bishop by that pope, and sent to the Scots, &c.; for the word ‘primus,’ as ^l bishop Usher observes, is not in our perfectest copy. But yet we see it was in that copy which ^m Bede had before him, whose reading is followed by most of the later writers. Perhaps it might have been put in by some that knew that St. Patrick was a bishop sent thither also by the same pope; for they might think it worth noting, that ⁿ Palladius was sent before him in the same quality: and that might be Prosper’s own meaning, if the word was in the original copy. It might also signify, according to the ^o Irish tradition, that these Scots ^p had already formed Churches under bishops Kiaranus, Ailbeus, &c. But the pope ordained Palladius, and sent him to be their ‘primus episcopus,’ that is, their primate, as ^q bishop 86 Usher understands it; or that he, and not St. Patrick, was their first archbishop. This last I conceive ^r to be

^k Chap. 2. §. 4. p. 56.

^l Usher. de Primord. cap. 16. p. 799. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 417.

^m Usher. *ibid.* See p. 51. note e.

ⁿ Florent. Wigorn. Chron. ann. 431. p. 539. ‘Palladius primus episcopus missus est: post ipsum S. Patricius.’ So Jocelin, c. 25. in Messingham. Florileg. Sanct. Hibern. p. 13. col. 2.

^o Chap. 2. §. 3.

^p Usher. de Primord. cap. 16. p. 799. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 417. See chap. 2. §. 3. p. 50. and note b.

^q Usher. de Primord. cap. 16. pp. 800. 899. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. pp. 417. 466. from Sigebert and others.

^r Saxon. Chron. ann. 429. p. 506. post Bedæ Eccl. Hist. Wheloc. ed. p. 12. Ingram’s ed.

the true meaning of the words, if ‘primus’ was in the original. But whether it was or no, we are not greatly concerned. For as ^s it is certain that Palladius was sent into Ireland, and not into Britain, so we are sure that in either of these islands he stayed but a very short time, and did nothing worth the remembering; so far was he from erecting a new form of government, or from altering any form that he found already settled in those countries.

As for that which is said by ancient ^t writers, of his coming to die somewhere in the north part of Britain; though that may seem to give some kind of countenance to those ^u fablers that make him to have lived many years among the Scots, and there to have set up episcopacy; yet this colour abates, as soon as it is remembered that the Scots were not then come to live in this island; so that, if he did any thing in that country, it must be among the Picts. And indeed all ⁸⁷ that speak of his dying here, ^v say, it was among them, or in or near to their confines. But then he came either too soon or too late to set up episcopacy any where in their country. It was too soon to do it among the North Picts; for they were not Christians till above a hundred years after, in the time of Columba, who ^w was, as Bede tells us, the first teacher of Christianity in that country. And therefore, if it was any where, it must be among the South Picts, according to ^x the author of *Scotichronicon*, though he did not intend it: for out of his good-will to bestow a saint upon his own town of Fordon, he made Eugenius,

^s Chap. 2. §. 4. p. 51, &c. and notes.

^t Chap. 2. §. 4. p. 57.

^u See chap. 7. §. 4. pp. 147-151.

^v Chap. 2. §. 4. p. 57.

^w Chap. 2. §. 6. pp. 62-64. and notes.

^x *Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 670. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 351. out of John of Fordon's Scotichronicon.*

king of the Scots, give Palladius a settlement there; not considering that Fordon belonged at that time to the South Picts, and that the Scots never had it ^y till above 400 years after. It seems this was new to the monks of that place; and this discovery of John of Fordon's set them upon searching for the body of 88 Palladius, which was found there, as the Scottish writers tell us, in the year 1494, that is, within eleven hundred years after his death. ^zNo doubt they found a dead body there, whosoever it was. But admit it was the body of Palladius, or at least that he died there, or somewhere else among the South Picts, it does not follow that he brought episcopacy, or any thing new into that country. For the South Picts were already turned Christian, by ^aNennianus, who was himself a British bishop, and who had there formed a Church under diocesan bishops, as we have ^balready shewn; and there is no mention of any one bishop that was ordained by Palladius, either there, or any where else, except Servanus and Tervanus, whose ordinations were long after his death, as it is ^cproved by bishop Usher.

§. 3. Therefore to say no more of the effects of Palladius's apostleship among the Irish, or any where else, than we have from ancient writers, that is very little more than nothing; the honour of converting the 89 generality of that nation was reserved for St. Patrick, who ^dcame thither within one year after the sending of the other, and he is generally acknowledged to have been the apostle of that nation.

^y Chap. 1. §. 9, 10, 11. pp. 32-42, &c.

^z Hector. Boeth. Scot. Hist. lib. 7. fol. 133. lin. 10, &c. Usher. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 671. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 352.

^a Chap. 2. §. 2. p. 50.

^b Chap. 4. §. 1. p. 83. and note ^d.

^c Usher. de Primord. Index Chronolog. p. 1100. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 516. col. 2. See ch. 2. §. 4. p. 59.

^d Chap. 2. §. 5. p. 60.

Before we come to shew what he did in that ministry, it will be easy to judge what he would do concerning Church government, if we consider him in all his former relations. For first, he was born in the Roman province of Britain, which was enough to engage both his judgment and his affections to the government of bishops; it being then the only form that was in his country, not to say, as justly I may, the only form that ever was among Christians. But besides, we are told, ^e that he had all three orders in his own family: his father, Calpurnius, was a deacon; his grandfather, Potitus, a priest; and his mother's brother, St. Martin, was bishop of Tours in France. In his younger travels he was taken ^f captive, and carried into Ireland, where he was kept so for some years. The compassion that he had then for the people there being altogether heathens, was that which ^g gave him the first impulse to endeavour their conversion. After he had his liberty, he came to live with his uncle St. Martin; and after his death, and a second travel, he lived with ^h St. German, bishop of Auxerre: both these were diocesan bishops, of whom the first made him deacon, the second made him priest, which was a further engagement to episcopacy. St. German having ⁱ heard of the death of Palladius, persuaded him to take the duty upon himself, as he formerly designed, to go and preach the faith in that country.

^e Nenn. *ibid.* cap. 52. not included in the editions of 1691. and 1838. by Gale and the Historical Society. Usser. *de Primord.* Index Chronolog. p. 1087. *Brit. Eccles. Antiq.* p. 512. col. 2. See chap. 2. §. 6. p. 62.

^f Usser. *de Primord.* cap. 17. p. 827. *Brit. Eccles. Antiq.* p. 431.

^g Stillingfleet *ibid.* chap. 4. p. 206.

^h Nenn. *ibid.* cap. 53. Cambridge MS. cap. 56. 'Audita morte Palladii monente et suadente Germano sancto episcopo, ad Scotos convertendos in fidem Christi mittitur.' Usser. *de Primord.* cap. 17. p. 839. *Brit. Eccles. Antiq.* p. 437.

In order to this, being first ordained bishop in France, he went afterward to ⁱ pope Celestine, who was the best able to furnish him with necessaries, and who had already shewed his good will to the design by sending Palladius thither before him. And that pope did for him as he had done for Palladius; that is, he ^k made him archbishop, and gave him all accommodations for the work; which was thought enough to entitle him
91 to the good success of it. To this sense I should choose to apply those words of ^l Prosper, in his book against Cassian; where, speaking of pope Celestine, he saith, that “by ordaining a bishop for the Scots, he made that barbarous island Christian.”

But by the way, however that pope had the credit of it, our Britons were all that wrought in that conversion: for as Patrick himself was one of this nation, so were all the rest that he took with him for his assistance: of whom ^m Nennius names these three, Segerus a bishop, Auxilius a priest, and Ysernius a deacon, that were all ordained with him, as he saith, by the holy bishop Amatheus, who first gave him, that before was called Maun, the name of Patricius.

Being now come into Ireland, he laboured there with great success: and having in few years made the island Christian, as there Prosper tells us, ⁿ he formed it into diocesan Churches; ^o he ordained thirty bishops

ⁱ Usser. de Primord. cap. 16. p. 814. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 424. from Nennius, *ibid.* cap. 55. p. 112. §. 51. p. 42, Probus, Marianus, Sigebert, &c.

^k Usser. de Primord. cap. 16. p. 815. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 424. from Marianus, Florent. Wigorn, &c. Usser. de Primord. cap. 17. p. 873. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 453. from Sigebert, &c.

^l See chap. 2. §. 4. p. 51.

^m Nenn. *ibid.* cap. 54. Cambr. MS. cap. 57. cap. 56. p. 112. §. 51. p. 42. Usser. de Primord. cap. 17. p. 839. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 437.

ⁿ Usser. de Primord. cap. 17. p. 869. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 452.

^o Usser. de Primord. cap. 17. p. 872. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 453.

of those Britons that came to him; ^p he placed his own see at Armagh, which he made the metropolis: ^q there he sat as archbishop and primate of Ireland, ⁹² ^r there he held his yearly synods, and did all other things according to the patterns that he had seen in other countries. I know not whether it be worth taking notice of, that ^{rr} Nennius saith, and some others after him, that Patrick writ 365 ABC's, founded 365 churches, ordained 365 bishops, or more, and no fewer than 3000 priests. It seems the writers of those times, when they were set upon the pin of multiplying, used to say that things were as many as the days of the year: for so the ^s writer of Kentigern's Life saith, that in his monastery at St. Asaph, he had 365 monks for divine service; which no man will understand literally that knows the place. Perhaps the meaning might be, that beside those thirty bishops which Patrick ordained for the bishops' sees, he also ordained as many suffragans as there were rural deaneries, in each of which there were eight or nine parish priests, taking one deanery with another. If St. Patrick would so ⁹³ far consult the ease of the bishops, or the people's convenience, he might do it without altering the species of the Church government. But no man that writes of the Church matters of Ireland speaks of any thing

^p Usser. de Primord. cap. 17. p. 858. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 446.

^q Usser. *ibid.* Camden. *ibid.* p. 764. vol. 3. p. 612. Additions, p. 714.

^r Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 872. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 453.

^{rr} Nenn. cap. 57. Camb. MS. cap. 60. cap. 59. p. 113. §. 54. p. 45. 'Scripsit Abegetoria 365,

ecclesias quoque eodem numero fundavit 365, ordinavit episcopos 365, aut eo amplius; presbyteros autem usque ad 3000.' Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 950. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 492. Stillington *ibid.* ch. 5. p. 348.

^s Usser. de Primord. cap. 14. p. 565. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 293. from John of Tinmouth. Vide Camden. *ib.* p. 552. vol. 2. p. 588.

there in those times, which was otherwise than it was in the Churches of the Roman empire. And for the sees that were then founded in Ireland, we have an account of many of their bishops in that work which sir ^tJames Ware has published concerning the prelates of Ireland; where also he shews how in some of those sees the succession has been continued ever since till our age.

§. 4. But the Roman empire stood not long after this last mentioned conversion. It was about the time when Prosper writ, that the Saxons overran Britain, and soon after the like was done in other countries: so that these northern Christians were grown strangers to them in Italy; and before they came to be acquainted again, there were those innovations at Rome, 94 which I mentioned ^u in the foregoing chapter. Their not yielding to these real innovations was a bar to their communion with Rome, which by this time was ignorant enough to mistake ancient things for innovations. But yet Rome had nothing to say against their form of Church government; she found it still the same that was in other Christian countries; and therefore, if other things had been agreed, she would have owned their bishops, and communicated with them, as ^v the Saxons and Britons did with one another.

§. 5. For their communicating together, as well while they were strangers to Rome, as after they had refused to submit to her terms of communion, this is so well known, that I need not spend much time to prove it. ^w Kentigern, the British bishop of Glasgow,

^t Waræus de Præsul. Hibern.

^u Chap. 2. §. 9. p. 66.

^v Chap. 2. §. 10. p. 69.

^w Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 684. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p.

358. Stillingfleet *ibid.* chap. 5. p. 362. Nicolson's English Historical Library, part 2. chap. 1. p. 79. Tanner *ibid.* under Chentegernus.

was ordained by an Irish bishop; and for Cedd, a Scotch bishop, Wini being to ordain him, took in two British bishops to his assistance. Divers other such instances we might bring, if there were occasion. But the words of Laurentius, Mellitus and Justus, the 95 Roman bishops that were ordained by Austin the monk, are ^xplain enough: “We have found,” say they, “by conversing with them, that the Scots do not differ from the Britons.”

§. 6. But as ^yI have shewn that the Romans did not dislike the orders that they found in the British Church; so it appears that what were then among the Scots, they either approved, or at least they had nothing to say against them. When the before named Roman bishops sent that epistle into Ireland, the ^zinscription was, “To our lords and dearest brethren, the bishops and abbots, throughout all Scotland;” that is, Ireland, the Scots’ own country, as Bede there interprets it. The matter of this epistle was to invite them into the Roman communion, but not a word they had to say against their orders. In like manner when John, the pope elect, writ his epistle to the clergy of the north part of Ireland, who yet persisted in their former way of reckoning their Easter, when the South Irish were come over to the new way that 96 was used in the Roman Church; the inscription of the epistle to them, whom they at Rome accounted schismatics, was, “To our most beloved and most holy ^aTomianus, Columbanus, Cronanus, Dimanus and Bai-

^x Bedæ *ibid.* lib. 2. cap. 4. p. 118. p. 82. ‘Scotos nihil discrepare a Britonibus in eorum conversatione didicimus.’

^y Chap. 3. §. 9. p. 80, &c.

^z Bedæ *ibid.* p. 118. p. 82. ‘Dominis et charissimis fratri-

bus, episcopis et abbatibus per universam Scotiam.’ Jamieson *ibid.* ch. 5. p. 103.

^a Bedæ *ibid.* lib. 2. cap. 19. p. 154. p. 100. Corrected by bishop Usher, de Primord. cap. 17. p. 968. Brit. Eccles. Antiq.

thanus, bishops; Cronanus, Ernianus, Laustranus, Scellanus and Segianus, priests; Seranus and the other Scottish doctors or abbots." This ^bTomianus was then archbishop of Armagh, Dimanus was bishop of Connor, Baithanus was bishop of Clonmacnois, as it appears in sir James Ware's Catalogue. I have not found the sees of the other two bishops. Those five presbyters, and that one without any title, were all of them abbots, as may be judged by the inscription of the former epistle, which is only to bishops and abbots. Cronanus, the first of the presbyters, seems to have been the abbot of Roscrea: Segianus, the last of them, seems to have been the same with Segenius, abbot of that monastery in the Isle of Hy; for Segenius came to be abbot in the year 623, and died in the 97 year 652, between which two years, on the last day of December 640, was the consecration of John IV. who, while he was yet ^cpope elect, wrote this epistle. ^dSaranus was an abbot that was not in priest's orders; which ought to be remembered, when ^ewe come to consider how true it is that abbots and ^fsenior monks could ordain, as some would have it. The matter of the epistle to these Irish bishops and abbots was chiefly to persuade them that in finding of ^gEaster they followed the Jews: which, as it discovers the pope's

p. 502. 'Dilectissimis et sanctissimis Tomiano, &c. episcopis; Cronano, &c. presbyteris; Sarano, cæterisque doctoribus seu abbatibus Scotis.'

^b Usser. de Primord. cap. 17. p. 938. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 486. Waræi de Præsul. Hibern. pp. 5. 62. 96. Usser. de Primord. cap. 17. p. 969. cap. 15. p. 702. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. pp. 502. 367. See Jamieson *ibid.*

ch. 5. p. 104. in agreement with Lloyd and Usher.

^c Usser. de Primord. cap. 17. p. 938. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 486.

^d He is mentioned by Bede: as in note ^a, in the last page. See ch. 7. §. 9. p. 169.

^e Chap. 7. §. 7. p. 163.

^f Jamieson *ibid.* ch. 4. p. 62.

^g See chap. 2. §. 9. p. 67. and notes.

ignorance in this point, so it shews that he stuck at nothing else in their church, and therefore not at their orders; they are acknowledged in the title of the epistle, and there is nothing against them in the body of it. Therefore we cannot wonder to find that the ^h Saxons admitted the Irish clergy to officiate among them, as sometime they did, and suffered their bishops to join with them in the office of ordination.

This may suffice for the Scots that were in Ireland, to shew that they had the same sort of bishops among 98 them that were in all other Churches.

^h See chap. 2. §. 10. p. 69. and notes.

C H A P. V.

OF CHURCH GOVERNMENT AMONG THE SCOTS AND NORTH
PICTS IN SCOTLAND AND IN ENGLAND.

LASTLY, for the North Picts, and the Scots their converters, who dwelt in the Isle of ^a Hy, and who from thence converted all the north of England, and furnished it with its first bishops. The question is chiefly concerning these, of whom therefore I am to speak more particularly.

§. 1. It hath been ^b shewn that the first conversion of these Picts was by Columba and his twelve monks, who were all Scots that came out of Ireland. And therefore we may reasonably presume that their sense concerning Church government was the same that was generally in their country. And there ^c I have shewn
99 that at the time of this conversion there was a settled diocesan episcopacy. But besides, concerning Columba himself, we are assured that ^d when he was in Leinster, a young man, and then deacon, he was the disciple of ^e Finian, who had been seven times at Rome, and was at that time bishop of Meath; and it is said that it was

^a Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 696. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 364, &c. Camden. ibid. in the Additions, vol. 3. p. 714. Jamieson ibid. ch. 2. p. 22, &c.

^b Chap. 2. §. 6. p. 63.

^c §. 10. p. 69.

^d Adamnan. de Columb. lib. 3. cap. 7. in Canis. ibid. p. 605. in Messingham. ibid. p. 172. Vide Usser. de Primord. cap. 17. p. 909. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 471.

^e Called Findbarrus episcopus by Adamnanus. Ibid. lib. 2.

cap. 1. in Canis. ibid. p. 583. in Messingham. ibid. p. 158. his master, the reverend bishop Finio, Adamn. ibid. lib. 3. cap. 4. in Canis. ibid. p. 603. cap. 2. in Messingham. ibid. p. 171. and Cummeneus in his Life of Columba, n. 3. Vinianus episcopus. in Mabillon. Act. Sanct. Ordin. Bened. sæc. 1. p. 362. Vide Usser. de Primord. cap. 17. p. 901, &c. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 467.

by this Finian's advice, that, being forced to leave Ireland for fear of king Dermot, he chose to make his retreat into that part of Britain. Being there in Iona he knew by revelation the death of 'his dear friend Columbanus bishop of Leighlin. His education under one diocesan bishop, and his intimacy with another, makes it yet more probable that Columba was not against that sort of episcopacy.

It may be asked, why then he was not ordained bishop himself? especially when he was going to convert a heathen nation? which was the same reason for which Palladius and Patrick were made bishops. It seems probable that, when he went upon this service, the bishops in Ireland durst not ordain him, for fear of 100 provoking the king to turn his wrath upon themselves. But besides, it seems that he chose rather to be an abbot than a bishop, having from his youth devoted himself to a monastic life. He was so fond of that way of life, that (as § Bede tells us) he had founded many monasteries even before he came out of Ireland; and adding to them what he founded afterward, a ^h writer of his life reckons them to have been no less than a hundred, all which he subjected to his monastery of Hy, above mentioned. That monastery and that island

^f Cummenus *ibid.* n. 8. in Mabillon. *ibid.* p. 363. and Adamn. *ibid.* lib. 3. cap. 16. in Canis. *ibid.* p. 609. cap. 8. in Messingham. *ibid.* p. 174. 'Columbanus episcopus Lagenensis, carus Columbæ amicus.' Concerning the different persons of the name of Columba, and Columbanus, vide Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 687. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 360. Tanner. *ib.* under their names.

^g Bed. *ibid.* lib. 3. cap. 4. p.

169. p. 107, where it is said that Columba's disciples founded many monasteries. See ch. 7. §. 10. p. 173.

^h Adamn. *ibid.*:—this reference is an error. Vide Jocelin. Vit. Patric. cap. 89. in Messingham. *ibid.* p. 42. Smith's Life of Columba, Appendix, p. 149. Jamieson *ibid.* ch. 2. p. 16. Vide Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 687. cap. 17. pp. 910. 919. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. pp. 360. 471. 476.

were his property; there he was much more than a bishop; he lived like the general of his order, and was truly, as one called our Anselm, a ⁱ pope of another world. But yet that even there he acknowledged the superiority of the episcopal order, and that he did not think bishops unnecessary even in his monastery, these two things I shall shew out of the little that remains to us of those times.

101 §. 2. First, that Columba did acknowledge the superiority of the episcopal order above that which he had being a priest, and that even in his own monastery; of this I shall give an instance out of his Life writ by his successor Adamnanus, who was abbot of Hy when Bede was but seven years old, and both for the place and time when he lived was very capable to be a witness of what he writes. He ^k tells us, that there came to Columba in Hy one that demeaned himself as humbly as he could, that none might know that he was a bishop. But yet that could not be concealed from the holy man [Columba]: for one Lord's day the holy man having ordered him at the communion to consecrate with him, according to the custom, he called to the holy man ^l that they might break the Lord's bread together, as two priests [used to do in their way of consecration]. The holy man therefore coming to the altar, on the sudden Columba looked him in the face, and said to him, "Christ bless thee, my brother; ^m thou
102 being a bishop, break this bread alone as a bishop uses

ⁱ Urban II. bishop of Rome, so called Anselm, at the council of Bar, in Italy. *Cave Hist. Literar.* tom. 2. p. 180.

^k Adamn. *ibid.* lib. 1. cap. 26. in *Canis. ibid.* p. 579. cap. 16. in *Messingham. ibid.* p. 155. See notes to *Bede ibid.* b. 3. ch. 4.

in *Smith's edition*, p. 107. *Jamieson ibid.* ch. 3. p. 54. &c.

^l Adamn. *ibid.* 'Ut simul, quasi duo presbyteri, Domini-cum panem frangerent.'

^m *Ibid.* 'Hunc solus episcopus episcopali ritu frange panem.'

to do. Now we know that thou art a bishop. Why hast thou hitherto endeavoured to conceal thyself ⁿ that we might not give thee due veneration?" ^o These words of Columba to a bishop do sufficiently shew that he acknowledged the episcopal order superior to his own order of presbyter; which was the first thing that I undertook to prove.

§. 3. The other is, that Columba did acknowledge that bishops were necessary for the ordaining of others into the ministry. That he did not think bishops unnecessary, it appears in that there was always one in his monastery, as ^p bishop Usher tells us out of the Ulster annals. And why could not the abbot live there without a bishop? Sure it was to do something which without the help of a bishop he could not do himself, neither singly, nor in conjunction with the rest of his clergy: and whatsoever that was, it was part of an office that made the bishop more than a name. Of this sort, as there was one always resident in his ¹⁰³ monastery; so there was, as ^q Bede tells us, "a bishop of all the province," whether the same with the resident, or another, I cannot yet find. And besides, there were commonly more bishops coming and going; such as either came on visits, or were driven out of their country, or retired thither from the world. For their monasteries (as I ^r shall shew) were the universities of that age: and though the greatest part of the monks were laymen, that maintained themselves by working with their own hands; yet what clergy they had in

ⁿ Adamn. *ibid.* ' Ut tibi a nobis debita non redderetur veneratio.'

^o See Preface to Keith's Catalogue of the Bishops of Scotland, p. xix.

^p Usser. *de Primord.* cap. 15.

p. 701. *Brit. Eccles. Antiq.* p. 367. See ch. 7. §. 9. p. 166. Jamieson *ibid.* ch. 3. p. 48, &c.

^q Bed. *ibid.* lib. 3. cap. 4. p. 169. p. 107. See ch. 7. §. 10. pp. 173. 177

^r Chap. 7. §. 7. p. 160, &c.

those days were bred up in these monasteries, and there for lower orders they were ordained by the resident bishop. To ordain another bishop, the resident might have others there to join with him; though, if more could not be had, ^s one might do it in case of necessity.

§. 4. ^t Thus when king Oswald, becoming a Christian, desired to have a bishop from Hy, to plant a Church among his Northumbrians; first, they ^u sent him ^x one 104 that was ordained perhaps only by the bishop of Hy. When he could not agree with his people, he therefore ^y returned back to his monastery; where, having in a council of the seniors given an account of his ill reception, ^z Aidan being then present, and discoursing well of the matter, all the seniors ^a pitched upon him; and judging him “worthy to be a bishop,” they decreed that he “ought to be sent:” it follows, that “so they ordained him, and sent him.” Then at least there were present ^b two bishops for Aidan’s ordination; and if the see of Dunkeld was then founded, as ^c old writers tell us, the bishop of that place might make a third: or there might be some other, of whom Bede had no occasion to tell us; for he could little think that ever it

^s Usher’s Religion of Irish and British *ibid.* ch. 8. p. 78. Jamieson *ibid.* ch. 4. p. 62.

^t Jamieson *ibid.* ch. 3. p. 36, &c.

^u Bed. *ibid.* lib. 3. cap. 3. p. 166. p. 105. lib. 3. cap. 5. p. 171. p. 108.

^x Hect. Boethius *ibid.* lib. 9. cap. 20, says his name was Cormannus. Note on Bede, b. 3. chap. 5. p. 108. Smith’s edition.

^y Bed. *ibid.* lib. 3. cap. 5. p. 171. p. 108.

^z Stillingfleet *ibid.* Preface,

p. lxx. for Aidan and others.

^a Bed. *ibid.* p. 172. p. 108. ‘Ipsum esse dignum episcopatu, ipsum, &c. mitti debere decernunt, sicque illum ordinantes miserunt.’ So *ibid.* c. 23. p. 480. cap. 22. p. 217. ‘Aidanum miserant antistitem.’

^b Jamieson *ibid.* ch. 4. p. 58. &c. compared with note ^a, p. 107, of this volume.

^c Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 705. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 368.

would come to be a question, whether Aidan were ordained by bishops or by presbyters.

§. 5. But that Aidan was ^d ordained there at Hy, Bede plainly saith in these words; ^{dd} “King Oswald desired to have a bishop sent to him,” and “he received bishop Aidan;” and again, “bishop Aidan came to him;” ¹⁰⁵ again, ^e Aidan was sent from Hy to convert the English, “having received the degree of bishop in the time when Segenius abbot and priest was over that monastery.” By the way, this Segenius is Seginus in other copies, which is nearer to Segianus ^f before mentioned. And that this ordination was into a higher order than that of presbyters, it sufficiently appears by divers things that we read of in Bede’s history: as namely, ^g that he chose “the place of his episcopal see” in the Isle of Lindisfarn; ^h “there he was with his clergy,” and there was “the abbot with his monks,” who all “belonged to the care of the bishop.” For his clergy, he had divers persons that came with him from Hy; of them probably were his chaplains that went about with him, of whom one is called ⁱ ‘presbyter suus,’ his domestic chaplain; and one or two ^k ‘clerici sui,’ his presbyters, in king ^l Alfred’s translation; beside these, there were many presbyters that came out of Ireland, who preached and baptized; and so ^m “churches were built in many ¹⁰⁶

^d Bed. *ibid.* lib. 3. cap. 5. pp. 169. 172. p. 107, beginning and ending. See Stillingfleet *ibid.* ch. 5. p. 362. note y.

^{dd} Bed. *ibid.* lib. 3. cap. 3. p. 166. p. 105. Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 697. cap. 17. p. 919. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. pp. 365. 476.

^e Bed. *ibid.* lib. 3. cap. 5. p. 169. p. 107. ‘accepto gradu episcopatus.’

^f Chap. 4. §. 6. p. 96.

^g Bed. *ibid.* lib. 3. cap. 3. p. 166. p. 105.

^h *Ibid.* lib. 4. cap. 27. p. 350. p. 176.

ⁱ *Ibid.* lib. 3. cap. 14. p. 200. p. 118. lib. 3. cap. 23. p. 226. p. 128.

^k *Ibid.* lib. 3. cap. 5. p. 170. p. 107.

^l *Ibid.* p. 107. p. 526.

^m *Ibid.* lib. 3. cap. 3. p. 167. p. 106.

places" throughout his diocese. Next, for the extent of his diocese, it was as large as ⁿ Oswald's kingdom of the Northumbrians; and particularly, ^o where the king had a town, there he had a church, and a lodging. For a nursery for his clergy, the king gave ^p "possessions and territories for the founding of monasteries;" at one of these, which was Heortea, ^q he consecrated Heru abbess. And no doubt he ordained men of all orders, to fill up his clergy where there was occasion, as well as his successors did, as ^r I shall shew; and governed them and his flock as long as he was bishop, which was ^s for seventeen years, even till his death. All which time Bede calleth him bishop Aidan, as oft as he mentions him. And as more than once he gives him an excellent character for the good he did, and spends some ^t whole chapters in giving account of his miracles; so he dislikes nothing in his whole conduct, but his not
 107 keeping right Easter: and ^u saith, for all that, he was not only in communion with the bishops that came from Rome; but as, while he lived, he was deservedly beloved by them, and was had in veneration by the archbishop of Canterbury, and the bishop of the East Angles; so ^x after his death he was accounted a saint by them of the Roman communion. This sufficiently sheweth that they did not take him for an intruder into their order, but were very well satisfied with his ordination.

ⁿ Ibid. p. 167. p. 105.

^o Ibid. lib. 3. cap. 17. p. 204.
p. 120.

^p Ibid. lib. 3. cap. 3. p. 167.
p. 106.

^q Ibid. lib. 4. cap. 23. p. 321.
p. 168. Heru, or Heiu.

^r §. 6. p. 108.

^s Bed. *ibid.* lib. 3. cap. 17.
p. 203. p. 120.

^t Ibid. lib. 3. cap. 15, 16, 17.

p. 201. p. 119.

^u Ibid. lib. 3. cap. 25. p. 233.
p. 125.

^x Bed. Vit. Cuthbert. n. 4. in
Bed. Oper. tom. 3. col. 155,
et post Bed. Eccl. Hist. p. 231.

ed. Smith. Collier's Ecclesiasti-
^vo History of Great Britain,

l. 1. b. 2. cent. 7. p. 91. col. 2.

§. 6. After Aidan's death, "Finan ^y succeeded him in his bishopric, and ^z in his stead received ^a the degree of episcopacy," saith Bede, again using the same expression; meaning (I suppose) that he received a degree higher than what he had before when he was priest. And he also was ^b "ordained, and sent by the Scots;" that is, by Scottish bishops, as I shall shew ^c afterwards. There was great reason this should be done in Hy, for there was no bishop to do it in ^d Northumbria. When he came thither into his diocese, Bede ^e saith, "he made a church fit for an episcopal see," which it seems ¹⁰⁸ that was not which Aidan had built, for he built only for the present necessity. This Finan ^f baptized Peada king of the Middle Angles with all his court; and then gave him four priests, one Scot, and three English, to baptize all the rest of his people: the Scottish priest, who was named Diuma, he afterward ^g ordained to be ^h bishop of that province of Mercia. Finan also ⁱ baptized Sigebert king of the East Angles with his friends: who having gotten two priests to convert and baptize his people, when that was done, one of them, whose name was ^k Cedd, came to acquaint bishop Finan with their success; who ^l having found the work of the gospel

^y Bed. *ibid.* lib. 3. cap. 17. p. 204. p. 120. 'Successit ei in episcopatu.'

^z *Ibid.* lib. 3. cap. 17. p. 204. cap. 25. p. 233. pp. 120. 131. Usser. de Primord. Addend. p. 1036. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. cap. 15. p. 365. Stillingfleet *ibid.* Preface, p. lxx.

^a This expression is particularly insisted upon, as decisively in favour of episcopacy, in note 36. on Bede, *ib.* b. 3. ch. 5. p. 107. Smith's edition. Jamieson *ibid.* ch. 5. p. 82, &c.

^b Bed. *ibid.* lib. 3. cap. 25.

p. 233. p. 131.

^c Chap. 6. §. 4. p. 117.

^d Usser. de Primord. cap. 5. p. 78. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 42.

^e Bed. *ibid.*

^f *Ibid.* lib. 3. cap. 21. p. 218. p. 125.

^g *Ibid.* lib. 3. cap. 21. p. 219. p. 126.

^h Jamieson *ibid.* ch. 5. p. 85, acknowledges this circumstance to be in favour of episcopacy.

ⁱ *Ibid.* cap. 22. p. 222. p. 126.

^k See ch. 6. §. 5. p. 119.

^l Bed. *ibid.* cap. 22. p. 222. p. 127.

prospered in his hands, ^m “sent for two other bishops to assist him in the ministry of ordination, and he with them ordained Cedd bishop of the East Angles.” These instances may suffice to shew that Finan took upon him to be more than a presbyter, and that Bede meant something more in ⁿ calling him as he does constantly a bishop.

109 §. 7. After his death, ^o Colman ^p succeeded in the bishopric, saith Bede; who addeth, that he also was ^q “sent from Scotland,” that is ^r from Hy, and that ^s “he was a bishop of Scotland,” and the Scots ^t “sent him bishop to Lindisfarn.” So his ordination, his see, and his diocese, ^u were the same with those of Aidan and Finan. The Church at Lindisfarn was ^x that in which he presided, and his diocese also was the kingdom of Northumbria. But some other kingdoms, that had bishops of their own, being then subject to the king of Northumbria, it seems that Colman was their metropolitan bishop: for so I find him called by a ^y writer then living, “Colman, metropolitan of the city of York.” There he governed till the thirtieth year ^z of “the episcopacy of the Scots, which they held in

^m Ibid. p. 223. p. 127.

ⁿ Ibid. lib. 3. cap. 17. p. 204. p. 120. ‘tempore non pauco in episcopatu permansit.’

^o Jamieson *ibid.* ch. 5. p. 83.

^p Bed. *ibid.* lib. 3. cap. 25. p. 233. p. 131.

^q Ibid.

^r *Ib.* lib. 4. cap. 4. p. 270. p. 146.

^s Ibid. where it is said about thirty Anglo-Saxons accompanied him to Ireland. See next page, note ^a.

^t Ibid. lib. 3. cap. 25. p. 234. p. 131.

^u Ibid.

^x Ibid. cap. 26. p. 239. p. 135.

‘Ecclesia cui præerat.’ Vide Usser. de Primord. cap. 17. p. 919. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 476.

^y Steph. Hedd. Vit. Wilfrid. n. 10. in Mabillon. *ibid.* sæc. 4. part. 1. p. 681. in Gale. Hist. Brit. Script. 15. tom. 1. p. 55. Usser. de Primord. cap. 5. p. 78. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 42.

^z Bed. *ibid.* lib. 3. cap. 26. p. 239. p. 134. ‘Episcopatus Scotorum, quem gesserunt in provincia Anglorum.’ Usser. de Primord. Addend. p. 1067. et cap. 17. p. 964. Brit. Eccles.

the province of the English.” For Aidan held the bishopric seventeen years, Finan ten years, Colman three years. And then being fain to leave his bishopric, because he would not comply with the Romans upon the controversy about the ^a keeping of Easter, he went ¹¹⁰ ^b first to Hy, and from thence to Inisbofin in Ireland; where, after all, he died a bishop, and as such is recorded in ^c the Ulster annals.

§. 8. After Colman was gone, ^d the next bishop of the Northumbrians was Tuda. He (as ^e Bede saith) “was brought up, and ordained a bishop, among the South Scots in Ireland.” But these ^f South Scots had, upon the pope’s admonition, received the new rule for keeping Easter, about thirty years before Colman was bishop; and therefore there can be no doubt that their orders were the same as in the Roman Church. So ^g Bede saith, that Tuda had “his tonsure according to the manner of that province, and observed the catholic rule of the time of Easter.” While ^h Colman yet “held the office of high priest,” this Irish bishop was come over into Northumbria, and there “diligently taught by word and deed those things which belong to faith and truth.” The covenanting Scots of our age would first have made him renounce his order of bishop, before ¹¹¹ they would have admitted him to any work of the

Antiq. p. 499, where also for notes ^a and ^b, following. Stillingfleet *ibid.* Preface, p. lxx.

^a Bed. *ibid.* lib. 3. cap. 26. p. 239. p. 134.

^b *Ibid.* lib. 4. cap. 4. p. 270. p. 146.

^c Usser. de Primord. cap. 17. p. 964. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 499. Stillingfleet, Preface, p. lxx.

^d Bed. *ibid.* lib. 3. cap. 26. p. 239. p. 134. ‘Suscepit pro illo pontificatum Northanhymbrorum Tuda.’

^e *Ibid.*

^f See chap. 2. §. 8. p. 70. and note d.

^g Bed. *ibid.*

^h *Ibid.* where for the excellent characters of the Scottish bishops.

ministry : but Colman did admit Tuda to be a teacher, which sheweth that the Churches were yet in communion together, and so they continued, till the breach, upon king ⁱOswy's imposition of the new rule of Easter. When that had driven away Colman, then this bishop, being ready upon the place, ^kBede saith, took upon him "the office of high priest in his stead." And to shew what the high priest's office was, if that word need any explication, ^lBede saith, "he governed the Church : " but it was a very little while, for he died of the plague the same year.

§. 9. The ^m next bishop of Lindisfarn was Eata, who was ⁿ ordained by Theodore archbishop of Canterbury, and made first bishop of Hagulstad, and afterward translated to ^o Lindisfarn. Of him, and all his successors, there is no controversy. The question is only concerning his predecessors; whether they were such bishops 112 as are now in our Church, or whether they were only called bishops equivocally. But if Eata was a proper diocesan bishop, so was Tuda, and so were his other predecessors. For we read of no change of government in Bede, who is the only author between us in this part of the controversy; but he makes them orderly succeed one another, in the see of Lindisfarn, as bishops of the Northumbrian diocese. And to put the matter out of dispute, where he speaks of this last bishop, "the most reverend father Eata," as ^p he calls him; he saith, that he had the abbey and monastery of Lindisfarn under

ⁱ See references in note ^z, §. 7.
p. 109.

^k Bed. *ibid.*

^l *Ibid.*

^m *Ibid.* lib. 3. cap. 26. p. 239.
p. 135, where it appears Eata
was a disciple of Aidan.

ⁿ *Ibid.* lib. 4. cap. 12. p. 291.
p. 155. Hagulstad, now called
Hexham.

^o *Ibid.* lib. 4. cap. 28. p. 353.
p. 177.

^p *Ibid.* lib. 4. cap. 27. p. 350.
p. 176.

him, as Aidan had, who was “the first bishop” of the place. Surely Bede could not have called Aidan the first bishop, in relation to Eata, if Aidan and the rest were not such bishops as Eata was, but only called bishops equivocally.

THAT ALL THE OTHER BISHOPS ORDAINED BY THE SCOTS
WERE PROPERLY BISHOPS.

TO make it plainer yet, what kind of bishops those were in Northumbria; it may be considered what those were whom they ordained for other countries. They ordained bishops over the Mercians, and Middle Angles, and East Saxons. If we find that these were in our sense proper bishops, we have reason to judge that they were so that ordained them.

§. 1. First, of the Middle Angles, we ^q read that Diuma, who was a Scotchman belonging to Finan, and three other presbyters of the Northumbrian diocese preached to them, and converted and baptized them. No doubt they, as being priests, might preach and administer the sacraments. But there wanted something more for the perfecting of a Church. And though 114 Diuma was the chief of these four, he could not yet supply that defect, as being only senior presbyter. Therefore Diuma goes to Finan bishop of Lindisfarn, and gets him to ordain him a bishop, as ^r I have shewn ^s from Bede; who addeth, that he was bishop of the Middle Angles and Mercians; “there being so few priests, that one was fain to be bishop over both those countries,” which ^t contained no less than seventeen or eighteen of our counties; and the Mercians were no less than ^u “twelve thousand families,” as Bede tells

^q Bed. *ibid.* lib. 3. cap. 21. p. 218. p. 125.

^r Ch. 5. §. 6. p. 108.

^s Bed. *ibid.* lib. 3. cap. 21. p. 219. p. 126.

^t Usher's *Discourse of the Religion anciently professed by the Irish and British*, ch. 10. p. 115.

^u Bed. *ibid.* lib. 3. cap. 24. p. 232. p. 130.

us, (though according to their account, it must be a great town that had a hundred families in it, when ^xAnglesea had no more than nine hundred, and the Isle of Man had but three hundred families in it.) It seems if there had been store of presbyters, each people of those two before mentioned should have had a bishop to itself; and yet a bishop for twelve thousand families, so dispersed as they were, had been something more than a congregational or parochial bishop; they must find some other name for him that would not have him called a diocesan.

§. 2. After his death, ^y Bede saith that “Ceollah, or ¹¹⁵ Cellah, a Scot, took the office of a bishop in his stead;” who, not long after, ^z left his bishopric, or office of bishop, and returned to the Isle of Hy.

§. 3. After him, ^a Tromhere “succeeded in the bishopric;” which Tromhere was a religious man, and of monastic education, an Englishman by nation, and of kin to Oswin, king of Northumbria, but “^b brought up and ordained by the Scots.” These are Bede’s words, who tells us there, that ^c he was abbot of the monastery of Ingetlingum; which shews that by that ordination he was only a presbyter. But in another place, speaking of his succession to Ceollah, ^d he saith he was “ordained bishop by the Scots.” It appears that he had at least two different ordinations, of which one was

^x Bed. *ibid.* lib. 2. cap. 9. p. 129. p. 87, where it is said Anglesea had nine hundred and sixty families, and Man three hundred and upwards, according to the English computation.

^y *Ibid.* lib. 3. cap. 21. p. 219. p. 126.

^z *Ibid.* and lib. 3. cap. 24. p. 231. p. 130.

^a *Ibid.*

^b *Ibid.* lib. 3. cap. 21. p. 219. p. 126.

^c *Ibid.* lib. 3. cap. 24. p. 232. p. 130. Ingetlingum has changed its appellation for Gilling, near Richmond in Yorkshire. Note on Bede *ibid.* b. 3. c. 14. p. 117. Smith’s edition.

^d *Ibid.* lib. 3. cap. 21. p. 220. p. 126.

to be a priest, the other was to be a bishop. The question is, whether the Scots that ordained him both times were themselves only presbyters? which question, though we cannot answer from Bede in this 116 place, we shall clearly resolve it from another place of Bede, which will follow in the next section.

§. 4. The East Saxons were converted by means of their king Sigebert, who being to visit his friend king Oswy in Northumbria, was by him persuaded to be a Christian, and baptized by bishop Finan before mentioned. But Sigebert desiring king Oswy to give him some teachers to convert and baptize his people, Oswy sent to the province of the Middle Angles for Cedd, one of the three presbyters that with Diuna had converted that people, as is before mentioned. This Cedd was an Englishman, brought up at Lindisfarn, saith Bede; ^e who addeth, that he was one of four brothers, that were all of them eminent presbyters; and two of them, namely, this Cedd and his brother Chad, came to have the degree of high priest, that is, chief bishop, in the Saxon translation. Of ^f Chad it will be shewn that he was ordained bishop of York, by ^g Wini, bishop 117 of Winchester, and two British bishops. Of this Cedd it cannot be doubted that he was a bishop; for Bede calls him so ten times ^h in one chapter, and near a hundred times in his book; but it may be doubted whether bishops ordained him, because he is ⁱ said to have been ordained by the Scots: for ^k if the Scots were governed only by presbyters, then Cedd was made a bishop by presbyters, which is all that our adversaries would have. But what if Cedd was or-

^e Bed. *ibid.* lib. 3. cap. 23. p. 226. p. 128.

^f *Ibid.* p. 227. p. 128.

^g *Ibid.* lib. 3. cap. 28. p. 247. p. 137.

^h *Ibid.* lib. 4. cap. 3. pp. 261-268. pp. 143-146.

ⁱ *Ib.* l. 3. c. 25. p. 234. p. 132.

^k See Jamieson *ibid.* chap. 5. p. 88, &c.

daind by no other than bishops? Then Bede's saying any one was ordained by the Scots, will not argue that he was ordained by Scottish presbyters; nay, it will argue the contrary, unless our adversaries can bring at least one instance of a Scottish ordination by presbyters.

§. 5. But how far they are mistaken in Cedd's ordination, it will sufficiently appear in the process of the East Saxons' conversion. For when Cedd, and another presbyter whom Oswy sent with him, had gone over all the countries, and gathered a great congregation unto the Lord, saith Bede, ^lit happened once that Cedd returned home into Northumbria, and came to 118 the church of Lindisfarn to speak with Finan the bishop. Which Finan, when he found that the work of the gospel had prospered with him, made him bishop of the nation of the East Saxons, "^m having called to himself two other bishops for the ministry of ordination." So that Finan, and those two other bishops, (three in all, according to the Nicene canon,) were those Scots by whom Cedd was ordained, as ⁿBede saith elsewhere. This deserves to be taken notice of by our adversaries, and considered in other places where Bede speaks of Scottish ordinations: they may see that if he had explained himself, which he could not foresee would be necessary, his words, where he speaks of Scots that ordained, were to be understood of no other ordainers but bishops. And for such as were ordained bishops by them, it appears what kind of bishops they were, by that power which they received and exercised. For thus he ^osaith; when Cedd had received ^pthe degree of episcopacy, 119 he returned to his province, where ^qat London he

^l Bed. ib. l. 3. c. 22. p. 222. p. 127.

^m Ibid. p. 223. p. 127.

ⁿ Ibid. cap. 25. p. 234. p. 132.

^o Ibid. cap. 22. p. 223. p. 127.

^p Jamieson ibid. ch. 5. p. 85.

See ch. 5. §. 6. p. 108. note ^h, &c.

^q Bed. ibid. lib. 3. cap. 26.

p. 239. p. 134.

had his see; and “fulfilling the work he had begun, with greater authority,” (greater than what he had before when he was a presbyter only; for, as it follows, he did now what he could not do before,) “^r he made churches in several places, he ordained priests and deacons to help him in the word of faith, and in the ministry of baptizing.” For that ministry of the word and sacraments, priests and deacons might suffice, though not for the before mentioned ministry of ordination. Farther, ^s Bede tells us, that when one lived in unlawful marriage, and the bishop could not hinder him, nor mend him, he excommunicated him, and commanded all that would hear him, not to enter into the man’s house, or to eat of his meat. To shew what he means by saying “all that would hear him,” Bede addeth, that the king made light of this command, and being invited, went and dined with the excommunicated person; but he dearly paid for his
120 dinner, being killed by him before he went out of the house.

§. 6. Having shewn that this Cedd had a brother, who was also a bishop, and having met with a doubt that hath been raised upon a passage in Bede, which I have quoted concerning his ordination; to illustrate that passage, I shall speak of this matter more particularly, though it doth not properly belong to my business. The person that I spoke of was Chad, who was ordained to be bishop of York; but left it to Wilfrid, and was afterwards ^t bishop of Lichfield, where he was more famously known by being the founder of that see. Bede ^u saith of this Chad, that when king Oswy

^r Ibid. cap. 22. p. 223. p. 127. sul. Angliæ, p. 307.

^s Ibid. p. 224. p. 127.

^t Bed. ibid. lib. 4. cap. 3. p. 247. p. 137. Jamieson ibid. 261. p. 144. See note on Bede ch. 11. p. 226.
ibid. p. 144. Godwin. de Præ-

^u Bed. ibid. lib. 3. cap. 28.

had designed him to be bishop of York, he went first into Kent, to be ordained by Deusdedit, archbishop of Canterbury. But finding that he was dead before his coming thither, he went to Wini, who was then bishop of Winchester. And that Wini consecrated him bishop, "taking in two British bishops to assist him in the ordination; which British bishops kept Easter, not according to the canonical manner, from the four-¹²¹teenth to the one and twentieth moon; for except that Wini there was not then any bishop canonically ordained in all Britain." Here Bede saith that Chad was made bishop by three of the same order; namely, one Saxon bishop, that had been ordained in France, and two British bishops, whom he got to assist him. This was while the British Church was not in communion with the Roman, and therefore I might have ^xproduced it as an instance of the British way of Church government and ordination. But I did not take all the instances I could find, but as many as I thought were sufficient. They that ^yoppose the primitive government by bishops with that monkish dream of Kelledees, or Culdees, being more to seek for proofs than I am, ^zhave hoped to do some service to their cause with the last words of this quotation: as if, because the Scottish bishops are said to have been ordained not canonically, therefore it must be thought that they were ordained by only presbyters.¹²² Indeed if they had been so, that had been uncanonical beyond all example.

§. 7. But then what were those British bishops whom Wini called in to assist him at this ordination?

^x Chap. 3. §. 7. and 9. pp. 77-80.

^z Selden Præf. p. x. ante Twysden. Hist. Angl. Scriptor.

^y Chap. 7. §. 1, &c. p. 134, Decem. &c.

were they uncanonical upon the same account of their being ordained by only presbyters? was the British Church government by Culdees too? that is news concerning which the prophet Hector had no revelation. Or was the ^aSaxon bishop of Dunwich, who was then living, and, for aught that appears, then in Britain, ordained by only presbyters, and therefore ordained not canonically? Perhaps he was not thought of by them that made this allegation: and therefore I shall shew that he was then living, and that he had been ordained by an archbishop of Canterbury, and yet he was not ordained canonically. The consequence is plain: for if the ordinations of all the bishops then in Britain, except Wini, were accounted by Bede to be
 123 uncanonical, he must mean it of the British and Saxon bishops, as well as the Scots. And therefore it cannot be proved from the place of Bede, that the Scottish ordinations were only by presbyters, unless the British and Saxon ordinations were so too. So that either this place proves too much, or else it makes nothing for their purpose.

§. 8. But to put this matter out of dispute, I shall shew plainly what it was that was accounted uncanonical in all their ordinations; and what it was that Bede intended in this place, which indeed particularly concerned the British and Scottish Churches.

First, then, it was accounted an uncanonical ordination of a bishop that was made by fewer than three bishops. It was particularly against the ^bfourth canon of the first Nicene council; the observation whereof had been often enjoined by other councils, and it was particularly given in charge by pope Gregory, in his

^a See §. 8. p. 124.

^b Stillingfleet *ibid.* chap. 3. p. 95. Bevereg. Pandect. Canon.

tom. 1. p. 63. Bingham's Antiquities of the Christian Church, b. 2. ch. 11. s. 4.

answers to Austin the monk, which ^c Bede having brought into his History, might well refer to, in delivering this as both his judgment, and Chad's also ¹²⁴ before him. They acknowledging the pope as the head of their communion, might very well judge an ordination of a bishop uncanonical, if it were made by fewer bishops than were required by that canon. And yet, as ^d it appears by sundry instances, the British and Scottish bishops were many of them ordained only by one bishop. They might be all so at that time. And whereas, beside Wini, there was then but one Saxon bishop; it appears that he was ordained in like manner. That ^e Saxon bishop was Brightgils, surnamed Boniface, bishop of the East Angles, whose see was at Domoceaster, or Dunwich, from whence it is since removed to Norwich. This Boniface, being a Kentish man, was ^f ordained bishop by Honorius, archbishop of Canterbury, and was bishop of Dunwich, as ^f Bede tells us, seventeen years; then he died about the time of Theodore's coming over into England, which was, as ^g Bede tells us, in the year 669, May 27. But Chad's ordination was soon after the death of archbishop ¹²⁵ Deusdedit, which was in the year 664, July 28, as ^h Bede also tells us, which was at least four years before the coming of Theodore. And therefore Boniface was living at the time of Chad's ordination, and was then a bishop; though in Chad's or Bede's judgment, he was not ordained canonically, as appears by those words, that not one in all Britain was so at that time except Wini. To judge what the fault was in Boni-

^c Bed. *ibid.* lib. 1. cap. 27. p. 85. p. 64.

^d Usher's Discourse of the Religion anciently professed by the Irish and British, ch. 8. p. 78.

^e See §. 7. p. 122.

^f Bed. *ibid.* lib. 3. cap. 20. p. 217. p. 125.

^g *Ibid.* lib. 4. cap. 2. p. 258. p. 142.

^h *Ibid.* lib. 4. cap. 1. p. 253. p. 141.

face's ordination, it will not be difficult, if we consider that his ordainer, archbishop Honorius, had at that time no more but one bishop under him, that was ⁱ Ithamar, bishop of Rochester. So that, without fetching a bishop out of France, which was unusual, he could not have the number prescribed by the canon to assist him; and therefore it is most probable that in ordaining of Boniface he had no assistance at all, but did the work singly by himself; which was against the canons that were then in force in the Saxon Church.

126 But for Wini, ^k Bede tells us, he was ordained in France, where were bishops enough to ordain him according to the canon: and there is no reason to doubt that they observed the canons in his ordination.

§. 9. But that which more particularly concerns the case in Bede, and the matter before us, is the irregularity of ordination by bishops that were in schism. That was provided against by the ^l eighth canon of the first Nicene council; which was particularly applied to the British and Scottish bishops, by archbishop Theodore, in the eightieth of his Capitula, in ^m these words; "They which have been ordained by the bishops of the Scots or Britons, who are not united to the catholic Church in their Easter and their tonsure, let them be confirmed again by a catholic bishop, with imposition of hands." Bede might well have this canon in his eye when he writ this, being led to it by

ⁱ Bed. *ibid.* lib. 3. cap. 14. p. 198. p. 117.

^k Bed. *ibid.* lib. 3. cap. 7. p. 177. p. 110.

^l Bevereg. *ibid.* tom. 1. p. 68. tom. 2. Annot. p. 67, &c. Stillingfleet *ibid.* p. 94.

^m Concil. tom. 6. col. 1877. edit. Labb. 'Qui ordinati sunt a Scotorum aut Britonum epi-

scopis, qui in pascha et in tonsura adunati ecclesie catholice non sunt, iterum ab episcopo catholico manus impositione confirmantur.' Vide Spelman. Concil. tom. 1. p. 329. Wilkins, Concil. tom. 1. p. 170. Alford. Annual. tom. 3. A. D. 816. n. 17. Jamieson *ibid.* chap. 11. p. 233. &c.

the great veneration that he had for that archbishop; and it appears that he thought of it by the ⁿ consequence of his writing in the place before mentioned, if the word 'for' have any respect to that which went immediately before it. It further appears by ^o that passage in his History, where, speaking of the archiepiscopal visitation of Theodore, who being made archbishop by the pope, was sure to take all advantage against them that were not in his communion, Bede saith, that this Theodore, coming to Chad, told him, that he was ^p not rightly consecrated; I suppose, because British bishops had a hand in his consecration; and yet, being unwilling to let him lay down his bishopric, ^q he "anew consummated his ordination the catholic way." What was that way of consummating his ordination? It was, saith Bede, by "imposition of hands by a catholic bishop." Which was the same way that he prescribed, as hath been shewn out of his *Capitula*, and the same that was ordered by the Nicene canon above mentioned.

§. 10. But to put this matter quite out of doubt, I shall set down the same things as they are related by ^r Stephen Heddius, who was chaplain to Wilfrid, and writ an account of his life. He saith, that after Colman's departure, the kings of Northumbria would have Wilfrid be their bishop in his stead. So Wilfrid being elected into the place, desired the kings to give him leave to go into France for his ordination. His words ^s were these; "It is to be considered how I may

ⁿ Bed. *ibid.* lib. 3. cap. 28. p. 260. p. 143.
p. 247. p. 137. See §. 6. p. 120, and note ^u.

^o *Ibid.* lib. 4. cap. 2. p. 259. p. 143.
^r Bed. *ibid.* lib. 4. cap. 2. p. 259. p. 143. mentions this Heddi.

^s Steph. Hedd. in *Vita Wilfrid.* cap. 12. in Mabillon. *ibid.* sæc. 4. part. 1. p. 683. in Galei *Hist. Brit.* *ibid.* tom. 1. p. 57.

^p *Ibid.* 'Non fuisse rite consecratum.'
^q Bed. *ibid.* lib. 4. cap. 2.

come to the episcopal degree without the offence of any catholic man: for there are here in Britain many bishops, of whom I would not accuse any one; though in truth I know ^t that they are either ‘quartadecimani,’ as the Britons and Scots, or they are such as have been ordained by them, and that the apostolic see hath neither received them into communion, nor them that consent to schismatics.” (Here is a plain reason why
 129 Bede said, “except that Wini there was not then any bishop canonically ordained in all Britain;” Wilfrid had said the same thing before him, in other words.) “And therefore,” saith he, “I desire you to send me into France, where there live many catholic bishops, that I may be made bishop without any offence of the apostolic see.” Upon this he had leave, and so went into France. But when he did not return so soon as was expected, king Oswin let another intrude into his see, ^u “being thereunto moved by them who sided with the ‘quartadecimani’ against the rule of the apostolic see.” And they ordained the servant of God, Ceadda, a most religious and admirable doctor that came out of Ireland; and without Wilfrid’s knowledge they put him into the episcopal see of the city of York, “unlearnedly and against the canons.” After this, Heddius tells how Wilfrid, having been ordained in France, came and lived three years at ^v Ripon: and

^t ‘Quod aut XIV. anni sunt, ut Britones et Scoti, ab illis sunt ordinati.’ In Mabillonii et Galei *ibid.* Thus the MS. copy in that noble library of sir J. Cotton, and out of it bishop Usher, in his *Discourse of the Religion anciently professed by the Irish and Britons*, chap. 10. p. 106. note d. I wonder that most learned man did not hit on the true reading; ‘Quod aut

quartadecimani sunt, ut Britones et Scoti, aut ab illis sunt ordinati.’

^u *Ibid.* cap. 14. in Mabillon. *ibid.* p. 685. et Galei *ibid.* p. 58, &c. ‘Ab his qui quartadecimanam partem contra apostolicæ sedis regulam sibi elegerunt.’

^v Vide Bed. *ibid.* lib. 5. cap. 20. p. 442. cap. 19. p. 206. *Append.* p. 751. Tanner *ib.* under Wilfridus.

how after those three years Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury, came thither to York in visitation, “bringing with him the statutes of the apostolic see,” from 130 which he was sent. And at his first coming into that country, saith ^w Heddius, he was informed by true witnesses of a thing that was ill done against the canons; that a bishop, robber like, had presumed to catch up the see of another bishop: (here was another uncanonicalness which was particularly in Chad’s ordination, that he intruded into a see, into which another had been elected :) and Theodore, taking it heinously, ordered bishop Ceadda to be deposed from the see which was not his. But, saith ^x Heddius, the true and most meek servant of God, “then fully understanding his sin,” both in his misordination, “being ordained by quartadecimani,” and in his intrusion “into another man’s see,” humbly confessed and made amends, according to the judgment of the bishops; and with his consent put in bishop Wilfrid into his own see of the city of York; and afterward Wilfrid got Lichfield for him. Thus far Heddius. Out of whose relation the reader may easily see what the uncanonicalness was 131 that Bede speaks of; and what need there was of a good imagination to find out any tolerable colour for presbyterian ordination in his writings.

§. 11. There is evidence enough on the contrary, that these Scottish ordinations were by bishops. I have shewn that in some places we are told so expressly; where it is ^y said, that such and such were ordained by “the metropolitan bishop,” together with “other bishops”

^w Heddi ib. c. 15. in Mabill. ibid. p. 685. et Galei ibid. p. 59. ‘Rem contra canones male gestam a veris testibus audivit.’

^x Ibid. in Mabillon. et Galei

ibid. ‘Tunc peccatum ordinandi a quartadecimanis in sedem alterius plene intelligens.’

^y §. 5. p. 118. The metropolitan was Finan of Northumbria.

that were "called for the ministry of ordination." I have ^z shewn that those are to explain other places, where we read of Scots ordaining, without express mention of their office or quality. I have shewn that Bede uses those very words where he speaks of episcopal ordination.

The clearing of this not only proves what we affirm, but takes away all occasion from the adversary. For they that write on the other hand sufficiently shew that it is from those words of 'Scots ordaining,' that they
 132 have all the colour that they pretend from antiquity to prove that ever there was in these Churches an "ordination by presbyters only."

And that these whom I have mentioned, were not only called bishops, but were really such as are settled now by law in these Churches, I have shewn by their doing those acts which they never did before they were made bishops, and which no man hath yet shewn (or I believe can shew) have been done by any mere presbyter: namely, their forming Churches, their ordaining of bishops, priests, and deacons, their exercising an authority over the inferior clergy, their excommunicating of offenders, their commanding obedience to their censures. I have shewn that all these powers were exercised by those bishops that were of Scottish ordination. And I am well assured there can be no instance given of the like things performed in these Churches by any that were not really bishops. So that, for aught that appears hitherto, I have proved
 133 that which I undertook; namely that the ancient and primitive bishops were no other than such as are now established by law in these kingdoms.

CHAP. VII.

A CONFUTATION OF THAT OPINION, THAT BEFORE THERE WERE BISHOPS IN SCOTLAND, THAT CHURCH WAS GOVERNED BY A SORT OF MONKS, CALLED CULDEES, THAT WERE ONLY PRESBYTERS.

HAVING given as full an account of the ancient government of these Churches as I could gather out of the writers that lived in those times, I should not need to add any thing more, if it were not for that ^a monkish dream of an ancient Church government in Scotland by presbyters. This conceit, I suppose, might proceed from a mistake of a passage or two in Bede; whereof one hath been ^b considered, the other I shall give account of afterwards. The first author of it was one that was much given to such things, John of Fordon, who lived in the fourteenth century, and then writ the ^c Scotichronicon; a book ¹³⁴ that hath not been thought worth the ^d printing. Out of two or three lines of this book there hath been a formal story made up by ^e others, which hath been of great use to them that write against episcopacy, and especially of late to Mr. Baxter^f, who hath taken occasion from hence to affirm as undoubted truth divers things that never were in the world.

§. 1. 1. He tells us of a sort of men called Culdees,

^a See §. 4. p. 147. and note ^u.

^b Chap. 4. §. 2. p. 84. Bedæ ibid. lib. 1. cap. 13, &c. as there quoted.

^c Scotichron. endeth an. 1360, saith Selden, Præf. ad Twysden. Hist. Angl. Decem Script. p. xix. See Preface, p. xxvi, and

notes, &c.

^d Nicolson's Scottish Historical Library, part 2. p. 24. Mackenzie ibid. p. 36.

^e Major, Boethius, Lesley, Buchanan, Demster, &c.

^f See his Treatise on Episcopacy, c. 25, p. 224.

that “first guided the affairs of religion in Scotland long before the coming of Palladius;” and yet “were no bishops,” but “monks and presbyters.”

2. He tells us, that these Culdees chose some few among themselves “to be as governors to the rest,” whom writers called ‘*Scotorum episcopos*,’ the bishops of the Scots. (But, by the way, the eldest of these writers was that monk of Fordon, that lived above a thousand years after.)

3. He tells us, that these new-found bishops of the 135 Scots had only the name of bishops, about which he will not contend with us, (a great favour.)

4. He says, that afterward Palladius began “a higher sort of bishops, but the Culdees still kept up the greater part against him.”

5. He says that “Columbanus’s monastery in the Isle of Hy restored the Culdees’ strength;” and the “monks out of that island were the most prevailing clergy of Scotland; who had no proper episcopal ordination,” but “bare election and ordination of presbyters.”

§. 2. To shew what little truth there is in all these late fancies, I think there needs not be said any more than I have said already, and proved out of the most ancient and authentic writers. From them I have shewn, that before § Palladius’s time there were no Christians in Scotland, nor no Scots there a long while after; that his mission was into Ireland, and not into Scotland; and that we have no assurance that ever he came into either of them; much less that he made any bishop there, or any Christian: likewise that 136^h Columba found no Culdees at Hy, nor no Christians; and that he and his monks, who were the only clergy in that part of Scotland where he had to do, knew no

§ See ch. 4. §. 2. p. 84, &c.

^h Chap. 5. §. 1. p. 98, &c. §. 2. p. 101, &c.

other ordination but episcopal, and had a bishop among them for that purpose.

These things being proved out of all the writers that we have of those times, it appears that all those assertions to the contrary have no real foundation, but are in truth, and ought to be considered by learned men, as the figments of those idle brains that brought romances into Church history.

But because some are not willing to be beat out of any error, but will rather catch up any thing to defend it that cometh in their way, I shall take the pains for their sakes (though I know no need otherwise) to search into the bottom of this matter. I shall shew,

1. ⁱ That the Culdees are not mentioned by any writer that lived within five hundred years of Palladius's time, nor are not said to have been in his age, by any that lived within a thousand years after him. 137

2. ^k That monkery was not yet in the world, much less in this island, at that time from which they bring down these Culdees.

3. ^l That the first monks in Scotland were of no other sort than those in France, and other countries, where the Church was wholly governed by bishops.

4. ^m That commonly their monasteries were the schools and universities of those times, where youth were brought up and fitted to be put into holy orders; and then being chosen and recommended by their superiors, were ordained by proper bishops; whether fetched from abroad, or residing in the monastery for that purpose.

5. ⁿ That Columba found nothing in Scotland to be restored, as they imagine; but began a conversion

ⁱ See §. 3. p. 138, &c.

^k §. 4. p. 145, &c.

^l §. 5. p. 152, &c.

^m §. 7. p. 160, &c.

ⁿ §. 9. p. 164, &c. and p. 166.
note ^t.

there, and founded a monastery to carry it on, where his monks (as many as took orders) were ordained by bishops properly so called, as the monks were in all other countries.

138 ° Having proved these five things, which are enough to overthrow all those fancies, I shall further explain that place in Bede, upon a mistake whereof, I believe, this whole fabric was raised by late monkish historians.

§. 3. First, to shew that there is no truth in all that scheme of an ancient Church government in Scotland, which is imagined to have been in a sort of presbyters called ^p Culdees; I am to shew what those Culdees were, and that they were men of another age, long after the time of Palladius.

What they were, their name sufficiently sheweth. For they were called ^q ‘Kelledei,’ or in the old Scotch, ‘Kyldees,’ (as I suppose) from Cylle, which signifies a cell, as well in the Welsh or old British tongue, as in the Scottish or Irish. From hence by ^r addition of Tee (or Dee in composition) which signifies a house, the word Kildee signifies a house of such cells. And ^s thus as Columba was called by the Irish ^t ‘Columbylle;’ 139 that is, Columb of the cell; so all those that lived in such kind of houses might be, and I doubt not were, called by their names with the addition of Kyldee, that is, such a one of the cell-house.

As for the word ‘Culdee,’ it is of a much later edition. I do not remember that I have read it in any

° §. 10. p. 172, &c.

^p Stillingfleet *ibid.* Preface, p. lvi. and notes.

^q Jamieson *ibid.* ch. 1. p. 3. ch. 15. p. 354, &c.

^r As ‘mynach’ being a ‘monk,’ ‘mynachdee’ is a ‘monastery,’ in

the Welsh language.

^s Jamieson *ibid.* chap. 15. p. 355.

^t Bed. *ibid.* lib. 5. cap. 10. p. 402. cap. 9. p. 191. Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 687. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 359.

author before the time of ^u Giraldus Cambrensis. ^xThen it was a very usual thing to find out Latin derivations for those words of which men did not know the original. And thus the Kyldees or Kylledei came to be called ‘Culdei’ or ‘Colidei;’ that is, the ^yworshippers of God; being such as spent their whole time, or a great part of it, in devotion. Either way it appears that they were monks, and that I know will be easily granted me.

But then the question is, concerning their antiquity. And for this, we must not look so high as any writer I have mentioned in my ^{yy}history of Bishops. My latest authors were Bede and Nennius. But Bede writ in the year 730; and ^zSelden, who is (for aught I know) the first that brought this instance of the Culdees into this 140 controversy, yet ^{zz}acknowledgeth that in Bede there is no mention of them. Nor are they mentioned in ^aNennius, who writ about one hundred and twenty years after. I should add they are not mentioned for some hundreds of years after Bede: but because I may be mistaken, I shall name all those places where I find they are mentioned by any writer, till within these two hundred years.

First in Scotland ^b we read of no Culdees that ever were at Hy, or in any other place where the Scots anciently dwelt. But as oft as they are mentioned, we find them still at ^c St. Andrew’s, which was in the country of the South Picts; and they are not said to have been there, ^d till it had been many years the see

^u Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 637. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 333.

^x Jamieson *ibid.* ch. 1. p. 3.

^y *Ibid.* ch. 2. p. 29. ch. 3. p. 35, and note; ch. 7. p. 136, and note; ch. 10. p. 213. See also *ibid.* p. 198, and compare with Usher’s Discourse *ibid.*

^{yy} Chap. 3—6. pp. 71—133.

^z See chap. 6. §. 6. p. 121.

^{zz} Selden in Twysd. *ib.* p. viii.

^a See Stillingfleet *ibid.* ch. 4.

p. 210. note ^t.

^b Jamieson *ibid.* ch. 15. p. 348, &c.

^c *Ibid.* ch. 7. p. 145, &c.

^d *Ibid.* ch. 6. p. 105, &c.

of a diocesan bishop. The see was removed hither from Abernethy, as the ^e Scottish historians tell us, by Kenneth II., who died in the year 854.

About a hundred years after this, namely in the 141 year 943, Constantine the Third, king of the Scots in Scotland, ^f is said to have left his kingdom, and become abbot of the Kildees, or Killidees of St. Andrew's.

In the year 1108, ^g Turgot, prior of Durham, was made bishop of St. Andrew's, and continued seven years. "In his days all the right of the Keledei throughout the whole kingdom of Scotland passed into the bishopric of St. Andrew's." This is taken by ^h Mr. Selden out of Durham history, which he saith is much later than Turgot's time. But whereas Mr. Selden fancies strange things of that 'right of the Keldees' here mentioned, I guess ⁱ it might be the right of confirming the elections of all the bishops in Scotland. This had been done by them as being the primate's dean and chapter; but was now taken from them, and performed by the primate himself. For this interpretation, I think there is ground enough in the account that ^k a Culdee of St. Andrew's has given of the foundation of his Church; where he says, that the archbishopric of all Scotland belongs to 142 that city, and that no bishop in Scotland ought to be ordained without the counsel of the seniors of that place. But this by the way.

^e Buchanan. Rer. Scot. lib. 6. p. 339.
fol. 60. l. 20. Oper. tom. 1. p. 93.
See Keith's Catalogue of the Bishops of Scotland, p. 3, &c.

^f Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 659. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 346. from the Scottish Chron. Jamieson *ibid.* ch. 7. p. 148.

^g Stillingfleet *ibid.* Preface, p. lvi. Jamieson *ibid.* ch. 15.

^h Præf. ad Twysden. Hist. Angl. Decem Script. p. vii. Usser. de Primord. Addend. p. 1032. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. c. 15. p. 346.

ⁱ Jamieson *ibid.* ch. 15. p. 341, &c.

^k Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 651. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 342.

^l In the year 1272, the Keldees of St. Andrew's are mentioned by Silegrave in his Catalogue of the religious houses in Britain.

^m In the year 1297, November the third, the canons of St. Andrew's elected William Lamberton bishop; the Keldees there opposed the election, and their provost Aulmin appealed to the pope: but the pope approved the election, and so for the future the Keldees lost all their right they had before, saith our author, meaning (I suppose) all their right of electing the archbishop, which belonging to them before, as being the dean and chapter of that see, (as the abbots and monks of St. Austin's were at Canterbury,) after this, in their place at St. Andrew's there were brought in canon regulars, to whose prior was given the honour of preceding all the abbots of Scotland, that is, as I take it, they were made the primate's dean and chapter for the 143 future. ⁿ This is all the credible account that I can find of any Culdees in Scotland.

In ^o Ireland we read of Culdees at Armagh, who seem in like manner to have been anciently the dean and chapter of that Church: but afterward they also were fain to give place to monks of a later institution, and yet were suffered to continue in the inferior quality of vicars choral. So ^p bishop Usher saith, the vicars choral of Armagh, (and the like in the [collegiate] Church of Cluanynish were called 'Colidei' till our remembrance; and their chief, who was called their 'prior,' served in the place of præcentor. ^q Bishop Usher also produces a sentence that was passed by an archbi-

^l Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 659. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 346. Tanner. *ibid.* under Silegrave.

^m Usser. *ibid.* Jamieson *ibid.* ch. 13. p. 289.

ⁿ Jamieson *ibid.* chap. 6. p. 105, &c., shews the contrary.

^o *Ibid.* ch. 15. pp. 354. 357.

^p Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 637. Brit. Eccl. Antiq. p. 333.

^q Usser. *ibid.*

shop of Armagh, in the year 1445, and that (as it is said in the sentence itself), upon search of the ancient chronologies of the holy fathers, and of the year-books of the archbishops, his predecessors; that the office of a prior, or an inferior Colidee, should not be accounted a 144 cure of souls; but that one might hold any benefice with one of these offices, provided that he kept his due residence in the Church of Armagh.

Bishop ^r Usher hath also a pope's brief that passed in the year 1447, containing, that the priory of the college of secular priests, called Colidei, was not a benefice, but a simple office, and sinecure.

Besides these we read of no other Culdees, but those mentioned by Giraldus Cambrensis, who lived about the year 1200. He ^s speaks of the Colidei in Bardsey, a little island in North Wales, who were the most religious old monks in his age; and also ^t speaks of the like in an island in Tipperary in Ireland, who there devoutly served in the chapel.

These are all the writers in whom we have any mention of the Culdees; and this is all that I can find of them in any author, before the year of Christ 1500, that is, till about a thousand years after the death of 145 Palladius. And as none of these authors makes them live near his time, much less (as some would have it) long before his coming into Scotland: so neither does any of them speak of their guiding the affairs of religion, either there, or in those other countries where they lived. If they did, we might expect it would have been rather in Ireland than any where else; for

^r Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 637. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 333.

^s Girald. Itin. Cambr. lib. 2. cap. 6. in Camden. Anglica, &c. p. 865.

^t Girald. Topogr. Hibern. lib. 2. cap. 4. in Camden. ibid. p. 716. See p. 139. note ^u. Usser. ibid. Jamieson ibid. chap. 15. p. 358.

there they made the greatest figure; but there is nothing said of their governing there by any of these authors. So that hitherto we have nothing to prove either their antiquity or their authority in the Church.

§. 4. But they that assert these things of the Culdees have authors no doubt for as much as they tell us concerning them. They have authors indeed for as much as concerns our question, but they are such kind of authors as are less to be believed than they themselves. For who would not take Mr. Selden's bare word for things that passed in ancient times, before all them that he quotes in any place where he writes on this subject? They were near as late writers as him-146 self, and knew less of the ancients than he did. I may reasonably say he knew four books to one that they knew. And he knew this so well, that he would never have stooped to such authors, but that in all his reading, he had no other to defend a cause that he was resolved to maintain. Mr. Selden very well knew that in this learned age no wise man will believe any thing of ancient times, but what he sees proved out of very good authors. For want of such, he took the monk of Fordon, and such others, which though they were of no authority, yet for the cause that he had undertaken they were the best that could be had.

But his authors, for their parts, were men that had no such awe upon them. They were secured against their readers by the gross darkness in which they lived; and therefore, without the assistance of books, they could tell of any thing that passed a hundred years before they were born, as well as if it had happened within their own knowledge. If that was a happiness 147 of theirs, that they could so easily impose on their readers, much good may it do them that have readers

that will be satisfied with any thing that cometh from such authors.

To consider them particularly, I am to begin with John of Fordon before mentioned; whom, till I see an ancients author, I shall take to be the first that mentions any Church government in Scotland, before episcopacy.

This dreaming monk, among other strange things, was pleased to discover this, for the honour of his order no doubt, that “^u before the coming of Palladius, the Scots were taught and governed by monks or priests only,” therein “following the way of the primitive Church.” For making the Scots to have been Christians before the coming of Palladius, he might have some kind of colour from those words of Bede before mentioned, where he saith, that Palladius “was sent to the Scots that believed in Christ.” It appears that he
148 understood from those words of Bede, that before the coming of Palladius into Scotland, there were some of that nation that were Christians, though not the body of the nation. And that these Christians were taught and governed by monks or priests only, and that this was the way of the primitive Church.

These things might be true, for aught any man knew that understood so little of antiquity as they did that lived in those days. Nay, who could tell then but that the Scots were seated in this island long before Christ’s time? though now we know there were none till some ages after the death of Palladius. But then the contrary was believed, as appears from that monkish historian.

^u Scotichron. lib. 3. cap. 8. in Galei Hist. Brit. Script. xv. tom. 1. p. 625. Usser. de Primord. cap. 16. p. 800. Brit. Ec- cles. Antiq. p. 417. See Preface, p. 1. ch. 2. §. 4. p. 59. ch. 4. §. 2. p. 86. Jamieson ib. ch. 5. p. 97, &c.

Therefore it is not strange to find the same thing said again by John Major, the Sorbonist. For he also ^x saith, “before the coming of Palladius hither, the Scots were taught by priests and monks without bishops.” By saying ‘hither,’ he meant into Scotland; where as yet there were no Scots inhabiting, and whither Palladius was not sent, and it is a chance if ever he came thither. But what was all this to Fordon, or Major? One writ what came in his head, and for aught the other could tell, it might be true.

But then next comes Hector Boethius, who not only avers the same thing that those authors had said, without naming them; but like Hector himself, he ventures further into the dark, and charges beyond all his company. He was the first, for aught I know, that found that these priests and monks were Culdees, whom he makes to have been there in Scotland, above 150 years before there were Christians in that country. These are his words, by which learned men will soon judge of his authority; speaking of the times of Decius and Aurelian, the persecuting emperors, ^y saith he, “our people began at that time,” that is, about the year 263, saith ^z Blondel, “most studiously to embrace the doctrine of Christ,” which was there at that time for aught he knew, “and this they did by the conduct and authority of certain monks, who, because they applied themselves diligently to preaching, and were frequent in prayers, were called by the inhabitants ‘Cultores Dei:’ and that name took so among the common people,” who it seems all understood Latin, “that all priests, till almost our times, were commonly

^x Major. de Gestis Scotorum, de Primord. cap. 15. p. 636. lib. 2. cap. 2. fol. 23. a. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 332.

^y Hect. Boeth. Scot. Hist. ^z Blond. Apol. pro Hieron. lib. 6. fol. 95. lin. 39, &c. Usser. p. 315.

called ‘Culdei,’ that is, ‘Cultores Dei,’ without any distinction.” He goeth on, and tells us more news; which, I think, he was the first that discovered. He saith, “they chose by common vote among themselves a chief priest, who had power in things belonging to God; and he for many years after was called ‘bishop of the Scots, as,” saith he, “it is delivered in our annals.” The same thing he saith again in ^a another place, where he hath all the rest that is quoted from him; “that Palladius was the first of all that were in holy magistracy among the Scots, being created by the pope; whereas before, by the votes of the people, chief priests were taken out of the monks and Cul-
151 dees.” This is all that I know he saith of this matter. For the proof that he makes, by the Scots’ Annals here mentioned, he can mean no ancients than those of archdeacon ^b Veremundus; for he acknowledges him, in his Preface, to be the eldest that he had seen of the Scottish writers. But ^c Veremundus lived under Malcolm the Third, in times of very gross ignorance: so that unless he could see the further for being so much in the dark, he could tell us little of things eight hundred years before his time.

The best is, that Hector had no need of his, or any other testimony; for he could not only make stories, but authors too when he pleased. And why not? as well as ^d he could make a bishop of St. Alban’s cloak. It was indeed ^e our Geoffrey of Monmouth that first

^a Hect. Boeth. *ibid.* lib. 7. fol. 133. lin. 2. Usser. de Primord. cap. 16. p. 800. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 417.

^b Preface, p. xxvi. and notes.

^c Nicolson observes, that Lloyd here allows the existence of Veremundus: see last note ^b.

^d Hect. Boeth. lib. 6. fol. 102.

lin. 9, &c. Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 641. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 335.

^e Usser. de Primord. cap. 7. pp. 151. 156. 159. cap. 15. p. 641. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. pp. 78. 81. 84. 335. Camden’s *Britannia*, vol. 2. p. 490. in the Additions by Gough.

turned the cloak into a man, and so prepared it for Hector's ordination. The word 'amphibalus,' which is Latin for a 'shag-cloak,' and was used in that sense in the Legend of St. Alban, our Geoffrey had the luck to mistake for a proper name, and so joined this 'Amphi-152 balus' with ^f St. Alban as his fellow-martyr. Man or cloak, Hector brings this 'Amphibalus' into Scotland to king Crathlint, and there ordains it first bishop ^g of the Isle of Man, and ^h seats his Culdees there with him; so that belike they were the dean and chapter to St. Alban's cloak. This was Hector's own invention, unless any one can find it in Veremundus, whom he is pleased to quote for it. He tells us this happened at the time when Constantius, the father of Constantine, cruelly persecuted the Christians in Britain; who never persecuted them in his life, as ⁱ all those writers say that lived with him.

§. 5. To prove Hector Boethius a man of no credit is needless, when so many ^k have done it to my hand; and therefore I forbear to shew it in other instances.

But of that which he says of Church government in Scotland, by a sort of monks called Culdees in those early times, (a thing which Mr. Selden was pleased to vouch, ^l chiefly upon the authority of this writer,) as 153 there is no ground for it in any ancients historian, so it will be sufficiently disproved by shewing that there were no monks of any sort in that age in which he places his Culdees.

^f Stillingfleet *ibid.* chap. 2. Oper. tom. 1. p. 69.

pp. 70-74.

^g Usser. de Primord. Index Chronolog. p. 1082. Brit. Eccl. Antiq. p. 510. col. 2. See p. 151. §. 4. note ^d.

^h So likewise Buchanan. Rer. Scot. lib. 4. fol. 43. lin. 10. in

ⁱ See before, ch. 2. §. 1. p. 49.

^k See Voss. de Hist. Latinis, lib. 3. cap. 13. p. 213. Stillingfleet *ibid.* ch. 5. p. 252. note ^c, &c.

^l Selden. in Twysden. *ibid.* vi.

That indeed was it that stuck with ^mDempster the Jesuit, one that was as well inclined to believe a lie, as any man in his time; but this would not go down with him, though he had Hector's word for it: he could not believe there were monks under any of those emperors. For, saith ⁿhe, "at that time there were yet no monks in the western Church, nor there could be none, the monks' rule being formed long after." And therefore, saith Dempster, "it follows they were all canons regular:" which I would soon grant him, if I were not well assured that, 'at that time,' there were neither Scots nor Christians in that country. But if there were no monks, which he ingenuously confesses, that alone will suffice to prove, that what was said of the Culdees was a mere fable.

154 Now that there were no monks in that age, nor long after, for this we have more than Dempster's authority. ^oHe says, "there were none in the western Church:" he might have said, there were none in the world: for monkery began in the ^peastern parts, as all the ancients agree; and even there it was not till the time of Diocletian's persecution. From thence it was long ere it came over into Europe, saith ^qSozomen. It was first brought to Rome by Athanasius, saith ^rBaronius; that is, Athanasius first gave ^sthem at Rome the relation of St. Anthony, and of the other Egyptian monks.

^m See Preface, p. xxxvi. Mackenzie, *ibid.* p. 41, denies that Dempster was a Jesuit.

ⁿ Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 636. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 333.

^o Usser. *ibid.*

^p Stillingfleet's Answer to Cressy, ch. 3. §. 5. Works, vol. 5. p. 634. and his Antiquities *ibid.*

ch. 4. p. 185. Camden. *ibid.* p. 457. vol. 2. p. 422.

^q Sozom. Hist. Eccl. lib. 3. cap. 14. p. 116.

^r Baron. ann. 340. n. 7.

^s Particularly to Principia, saith Hierom. Ep. 16. in Oper. tom. 1. p. 120. tom. 4. epist. 96. col. 780.

But yet these were not presbyters, as the Culdees were said to have been, but mere laymen, and so were all the monks of those times. The first that brought monks into holy orders in Europe ^t was Eusebius of Vercelles, as also ^u Baronius observes.

From Italy, and particularly from Milan, it was that ^v St. Martin first brought that kind of life into France, where he seated himself ^w first near St. Hilary, bishop ¹⁵⁵ of Poitiers, afterward he was made bishop of Tours, and then he founded a monastery about two miles from that city, saith ^x Sulpitius Severus, who describes his form of monastic life, and ^y saith, his monks increased to that number in his lifetime, that there were near two thousand of them at his funeral. ¶

From this plantation of St. Martin's in France, no doubt it was that monkery came over first into these islands. We read indeed of ^z Pelagius, a lay-monk, that was a Briton, and of his disciple Cœlestius, a Scot, (^a that is, an Irishman, for there were no Scots but what lived in Ireland in that age,) that these two were together at Rome, when their heresy began, which appears to have been about the year of Christ 400. Whether they entered into that ^b course of life at Rome, or whether they took it up in the way thither, or brought it with them out of Britain, we have no

^t Ambr. lib. 10. epist. 82. in Oper. tom. 2. class. 1. ep. 63. cap. 66. col. 1038.

^u Baron. ann. 328. n. 22. See Stillingfleet's Antiq. ibid. ch. 4. p. 206.

^v Sulp. Sever. Vit. Martini, cap. 4. p. 467.

^w Ibid. cap. 5. p. 468.

^x Ibid. cap. 7. p. 470.

^y Ibid. Epist. ad Bassulam. p. 510.

^z Vide Tanner. ibid. under Pelagius; Cave Histor. Literar. tom. 1. pp. 381. 384. for the same and Cœlestius. Stillingfleet ibid. chap. 4. p. 183. note ^y.

^a Usser. de Primord. cap. 8. p. 210. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 113. Stillingfleet ibid. ch. 4. p. 180, &c.

^b Stillingfleet ibid. pp. 183—185.

information. But we read of no monks in these 156 islands, before the Saxons came hither, but what were set up by St. Martin's disciples. There seems to have been one monastery among the Britons in Canterbury; for there was in king Ethelbert's time, as ^c Bede tells us, an old church that was dedicated to St. Martin, while the Romans were yet living in Britain.

Among ^d the South Picts there was a ^e monastery of St. Martin's at Whitherne, founded by St. Ninian in honour of that saint; whom, though I do not believe to have been his uncle, (which ^f Hector saith, I suppose, to make him as near of kin to the saint as St. Patrick,) yet I believe from ^g a better authority, that Ninian both saw St. Martin, and lived with him, in his travel to Rome.

Lastly, among the Scots we cannot doubt the first monks were St. Martin's disciples, when we remember that his nephew St. Patrick was the apostle of that nation. Of which Patrick we are ^h told that his uncle gave him the monk's habit, and institutes to observe, 157 which he devoutly received and continued in them. So ⁱ Probus tells us, in the Life of St. Patrick, that he brought the Christian faith and monastic life into Ireland. From thence, as I have ^k shewn, and shall fur-

^c Bed. *ibid.* lib. 1. cap. 26. p. 78. p. 61. et not. Usser. de Primord. cap. 6. p. 130. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 68. Camden. *ibid.* p. 239. vol. 1. p. 216. Additions, p. 237.

^d Mackenzie *ibid.* p. 149. objects, that what bishop Lloyd has here said, is opposed to c. 1. §. 2, 3. pp. 3—7. as to the Picts.

^e Bed. *ibid.* lib. 3. cap. 4. p. 169. p. 106. See ch. 2. §. 2. p. 50. and notes.

^f Hect. Boeth. lib. 7. fol. 119.

lin. 14. Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 662. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 347.

^g Saxon. Chron. ann. 560. p. 511. post Bedæ *ibid.* Wheloc. edit. p. 25. Ingram's edit.

^h Usser. de Primord. cap. 17. p. 833. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 434.

ⁱ Stillingfleet *ibid.* pp. 185. 206, &c.

^k See above, ch. 2. §. 6. p. 63. ch. 5. §. 1. p. 98.

ther shew, Columba brought it to the Isle of Hy, where, ^lamong the Sunday offices in his monastery, there was wont to be a prayer in commemoration of St. Martin, which I take to be in memory of him as the founder of their order. And I am something confirmed in this opinion, by what I read in ^mMarianus Scotus, that the Irish monks at Cologne, in his time, made St. Martin the patron of their monastery.

I have carried the original of these monks as high as possibly I can, when I fetch their original from St. Martin, who died in the year 401. And yet to make them begin so late in these islands, is enough to shew that all that fabric of Church government by Culdees, who are placed as well before as after that time, hath no foundation in ancient history.

§. 6. This will farther appear, if we consider what ¹⁵⁸ kind of men those monks were that first lived in these islands. If we look into their condition and course of life, it seems in all the monasteries of these islands to have been the same that was in the French monasteries, as might be expected from them that came all from the same original.

ⁿ For their way of life, it was at first designed for a retirement from the world. In that retirement they spent a great part of their time in prayer, and fasting, and spiritual exercises. The rest of their time they bestowed in such works as were necessary for their subsistence; as namely, in dressing their gardens, in providing their meat, drink and clothes. Afterward they turned over this bodily work to those of their own number, that were fit for nothing else; the better

^l Adamnani de Columb. lib. 3. cap. 16. in Canisii *ibid.* p. 609. in Messingham. *ibid.* cap. 8. p. 174.

^m Marian. Scot. anno 975. col. 421.

ⁿ Bingham *ibid.* book 7.

sort applying themselves to study, and that especially in the Scriptures. Thus monasteries came to be the ^o nurseries of religion and learning, out of which, as I
159 shall afterwards shew, the monks were taken into holy orders by the bishops, who had those plantations in or near their episcopal sees for this purpose.

For their offices of prayer in these monasteries, they made use of St. Martin's liturgy; namely, that which was called 'Gallorum Cursus;' this ^p was used among them every where in Britain. In Ireland ^q they had another liturgy, which was called 'Cursus Scotorum,' as bishop Usher ^r tells us from a manuscript of that age.

For their fasting, they observed the yearly time of Lent, and also the weekly fasts of Wednesday and Friday all the year, except betwixt Easter and Whitsuntide. This was the manner of Aidan and his disciples, as Bede particularly ^s informs us, who also gives a short account of all their other bodily and spiritual exercises.

These instances are enough to shew that the Scottish monks, of whom we are speaking, were like the other monks in France, and in other episcopal countries. I do not know wherein there can be shewn any
160 difference between them.

§. 7. That these monasteries were the schools and universities of those times, wherein men were bred up

^o Stillingfleet *ibid.* chap. 4. pp. 185, &c. 205, &c.

^p Usher's *Discourse of the Religion anciently professed by the Irish and British*, chap. 4. p. 34. Consult Stillingfleet *ib.* ch. 4. pp. 216—237. Palmer's *Origin. Liturgic.* vol. 1. sect. 1. p. 176, &c. for this and the following note.

^q Usher. *de Primord.* cap. 11. p. 343. *Brit. Eccles. Antiq.* p. 185. compared with *De Primord.* cap. 17. pp. 840. 916. *Brit. Eccles. Antiq.* pp. 437. 474.

^r Usher's *Discourse of the Religion* *ibid.* p. 31.

^s Bed. *ibid.* lib. 3. cap. 5. et 25. pp. 170. 233. pp. 107. 131.

to religion and learning; this we find in many instances. The most remarkable is that of the monastery of ^tBangor, among the Britons, in which there were, as ^uBede tells us, above two thousand persons together in seven colleges, of which none had fewer than three hundred monks in it. “This we may believe by what we see,” saith ^van historian that writ four hundred years after Bede’s time; “We see,” saith he, “so many half-ruined walls of churches, so many windings of porticoes, so great a heap of ruins as you shall scarce meet with elsewhere.” By these accounts it seems in its flourishing estate to have been not much less than one of our universities at this day.

In Ireland ^walmost all their clergy were elected out of such monasteries. Among these there was also a Bangor, which seems to have been a colony of the 161 other. It seems to have been the more populous of the two, if that be true which ^xwe read of Congal, who was abbot there, and who died in the year 601, that he had at once three thousand monks under him. In Laisrean’s monastery in Leighlin, there were ^yfifteen hundred monks together; and yet there might probably be greater than either of these in that country.

^t See note 8. pp. xxi—xxiv. in the Preface to Gunn’s edition of Nennius. Stillingfleet *ibid.* chap. 4. p. 202. note ^f.

^u Bed. *ibid.* lib. 2. cap. 2. p. 113. p. 80. Usser. de Primord. cap. 6. p. 133. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 69. Stillingfleet *ibid.* chap. 4. p. 205. Camden. *ib.* p. 457. vol. 2. p. 422. Additions, p. 429, &c.

^v Gulielm. Malmesburiensis, lib. 1. cap. 3. de Gestis Regum Angl. p. 9. a. lin. 3. p. 17. Usser. *ibid.* Camden. *ibid.*

^w Girald. Camb. in Topograph.

Hibern. dist. 3. cap. 29. p. 746. in Camden. Angl. &c. Camden. Brit. p. 767. vol. 3. p. 617. Additions, p. 622. See note ^t, as above.

^x Waræus de Scriptor. Hibern. lib. 1. cap. 2. p. 14. Vide Usser. de Primord. cap. 17. pp. 911. 917. 919. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. pp. 472. 475.

^y Usher’s Discourse of the Religion anciently professed by the Irish and British, chap. 9. p. 99. Usser. de Primord. c. 17. p. 936. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 485.

To these Irish monasteries there went many of the ^z first Saxon Christians, as well of the nobility as of the commonalty, to be bred up there, and fitted for holy orders. But when Oswald, king of the Northumbrians, had got a bishop ordained for his country, (that was Aidan before mentioned,) then he also ^a gave possessions and territories for the founding of monasteries in his kingdom. In these monasteries the English were trained up in studies, and the observation of regular discipline, first by those Irish monks whom Aidan 162 brought with him, and afterward by those whom they had enabled to teach others. To one of these monasteries king Oswy gave ^b one hundred and twenty tenements. At Adbærve there was ^c another of fifty families. At Ripon there was ^d another of forty. We may judge how populous they were, by comparing these numbers with the accounts that are given us of whole countries together. For the Isle of Wight had ^e twelve hundred families; Anglesea had nine hundred; Ely ^f had six hundred; the Isle of Man had ^g three hundred families; as Bede tells us, according to the account of them in his age.

When by this monastic education any one was made fit to take orders, in the judgment of them that were his superiors in that place, then he was to be ordained; but by whom? by his superiors in the monastery? It must be so, if they had the power of ordination. And

^z Bed. *ibid.* lib. 3. cap. 27. p. 131.
 p. 241. p. 136. ^e *Ibid.* lib. 4. cap. 16. p. 298.
^a *Ibid.* l. 3. c. 3. p. 167. p. 106. p. 159. Camden. *ib.* p. 198. vol. 1.
^b *Ibid.* lib. 3. cap. 24. p. 231. p. 123.
 p. 129. ^f *Ibid.* lib. 4. cap. 19. p. 309.
^c *Ibid.* lib. 4. cap. 3. p. 261. p. 164. Camden. *ibid.* p. 361.
 p. 144. Perhaps Barton upon vol. 2. p. 127. Additions, p. 143.
 Humber; note in Bede *ibid.* ^g See before, chap. 6. §. 1.
 Smith's edition. p. 114, where for reference to
^d *Ibid.* lib. 3. cap. 25. p. 234. Bede, in note x.

so indeed our adversaries would have it, that the abbot and his senior monks did ordain those that were sent out of their monastery; and that, not only into the lower orders, but into the order of bishops, as they shew us in the ^h example of Aidan, and his successors. But this is so far from being true, that I dare challenge our adversaries to shew any instance, where the abbot and monks, without a bishop among them, ordained so much as one single presbyter. I shall shew, on the contrary, by many instances, that as it was necessary to have orders conferred in the monasteries, without which there could be no administration of sacraments, so bishops were held necessary on this very account, that they might confer orders on those that were judged fit to be ordained in the monasteries.

§. 8. There were indeed in those times, when religion and learning were thought to be much advanced by that way of living, such ⁱ exemptions granted to the monks, for their encouragement, that they were in a manner wholly free from episcopal jurisdiction. They governed all within themselves, and kept some kind of authority over those that were ordained and sent forth out of their body. This gives colour enough to them that are to seek for examples in those times for the depressing of the authority of bishops. But this will do them no service, when it appears that, notwithstanding all their exemptions, those abbots and seniors could not ordain without a bishop, and that many of them were not in orders themselves, even those that had bishops subject to them in their monasteries.

The most ancient privileges of this kind, that I have observed in the western Church, were those that were enjoyed by the African monasteries. They were for

^h See chap. 5. §. 5. p. 104.

ⁱ Bingham *ibid.* b. 7. ch. 3. s. 14.

one while so exempt, that ^k the bishop in whose diocese they were had nothing to do with them, except when they themselves were pleased to make use of his assistance.

§. 9. About the year of Christ 500, we find ^l they might choose what bishop they pleased in the whole 165 province, to ordain, and do other episcopal acts in their monastery. It appears ^m that whomsoever they chose they were tied to; he was their bishop as long as he lived; but when he died, they were not tied to his successor; but might choose either him or any other whom they pleased, for (as they pleased in the council of Carthage) they were ⁿ not under any bishop out of duty, but out of choice, except only the archbishop of Carthage, who was their primate. Afterwards they were confined to the bishop of the diocese; so that ^o he, and no other when they desired it, might ordain any whom they chose out of their number, or might give confirmation, or might consecrate a new oratory. And it is expressed by what pattern this was done, ^p that it was in like manner as the monastery of Lerins in France (now S. Honorè) was confined to the bishop of the diocese.

In France and Spain, how this matter was ordered, 166 it appears in the canons of their councils of ^q Agde and ^r Lerida. There was none to be ordained in any monastery, but by the bishop in whose diocese it was. But then it must be at the desire of the abbot, or at least with his leave, and not otherwise. But besides,

^k Concil. edit. Labbe. tom. 4. col. 1649. et 1785. B.

^l Ibid. col. 1646. D. E.

^m Ibid.

ⁿ Ibid. col. 1648. A.

^o Ibid. col. 1789. B.

^p Ibid. col. 1649. A. B.

^q Concil. Agath. can. 27. in Labbei ibid. tom. 4. col. 1387, 1388.

^r Concil. Ilerd. can. 3. in Labbei ibid. col. 1611.

we find that some greater monasteries had bishops in them of their own; who were elected by the abbot and monks, and were ordained by the adjacent bishops, to the end that they might preach, and do episcopal offices in their monasteries. Of this kind we have ^s examples in St. Martin's near Tours, and the monastery of St. Denys near Paris, which had such bishops in them from ancient times; and we have an account of their successions for some ages. The like we have of the bishops that were in St. Columb's monastery at Hy, of whom ^t there is mention in the Ulster annals. So that in either case, of exempt, or not exempt monasteries, there were bishops to be had for the ordaining of monks; and no pretence to have it done by the abbot that was no bishop, though his leave or consent was ¹⁶⁷ needful to the ordination.

He that had been so ordained in a monastery ^u must still continue a monk, and live in obedience to his abbot, as well after as before his ordination. But this rule I suppose did hold only in inferior orders, and was not obligatory to those monks that were ordained bishops, any longer than while they continued in their monasteries. For when they were dismissed to go to their bishoprics, they were at their own disposal, to do what, and go whither they pleased; without which liberty they could not attend the affairs of their diocese. There is indeed ^x alleged to the contrary a canon of the synod of Hartford, which seems to import otherwise, as it stands in the collection of councils. For there the

^s Mabillon. Acta Sanct. Ord. Bened. sæc. 3. part. prim. Præf. p. xx.

^t Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 701. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 367. See ch. 5. §. 3. p. 102.

^u P. Innocent. I. ad Victricium, epist. 2. c. 10. in Labbei ib. tom. 2. col. 1252.

^x Blondell. Apol. pro Hieron. p. 371.

words are, that the “*episcopi monachi*,” the bishops which are monks, “should not go from place to place,” nor “from monastery to monastery, unless by the leave of their own abbot,” but “they must abide in the obedience they had promised at the time of their conversion.” But this canon, together with the rest of that synod, are taken out of ^y Bede, as all the editors acknowledge. And Bede is corrupted in that place. For, whereas it is ‘*epi. monachi*’ in the MS. and ‘*episcopi m.*’ in the common editions, it should be ^z ‘*ipi monachi*’ in the MS., that is, ‘*ipsi monachi*,’ as Wheloc tells us in his errata; and so it is in king Alfred’s Saxon translation; “Those monks shall not go from place to place,” &c. The meaning is, that monks, who were under the degree of being bishops, should not travel abroad, but should live in their monasteries in obedience to their superiors.

Yet ^a if those that were ordained bishops of any diocese should afterwards come to retire in their monasteries, as Coleman did ^b at Hy for some time after his leaving of York, and as Trumwin did ^c for many years at ^d Streaneshalh under Ælfled, that was abbess there; in that case, there is reason to believe that they ¹⁶⁹ lived under the ordinary government in the monastery, as they did before they were made bishops.

As to the abbots in those times, we find ^e that some of them were bishops themselves, as Cedd and Chad before mentioned were abbots of ^f Læstingæa. Some

^y Bed. *ibid.* lib. 4. cap. 5. p. 346. p. 174.
273. p. 148.

^z Smith’s note on Bede *ib.* p. 148. Wheloc’s errata in his edit. ^d Whitby in Yorkshire; note on Bede *ibid.* b. 3. c. 24. p. 180. Smith’s edit.

^a Jamieson *ibid.* ch. 3. p. 47.

^b See before, ch. 5. §. 7. ^e Mabillon. *Acta Sanctorum Benedict.* Præf. p. xxii.

^c Bed. *ibid.* lib. 3. cap. 23. et ^f Bed. *ibid.* lib. 3. cap. 23. et lib. 5. cap. 20, pp. 226. 443. pp.

were only priests, as ^ε Columba, and seven of his successors at Hy. Some abbots were not so much as priests; but either deacons, or sub-deacons; of which we have many instances in ^h those places quoted in the margin. Some abbots were laymen; as the Irish Saranus ⁱ above mentioned, Fullan that was ^k abbot at Cnobheresburgh, and Suidbert abbot of ^l Dacore. The senior monks likewise, which governed under them, and were like the senior fellows of our colleges, might be ^m such as were not in orders.

And why not? since even women were held capable of governing in those monasteries where men and women lived together. And these abbesses used the same powers that the abbots did in other monasteries. For they elected such of their monks as they ¹⁷⁰ thought fit to be put in orders; and after they were ordained, they kept them still under their government, unless they gave them a mission to go forth upon the work of the ministry. Thus ⁿ Ebba, abbess of Coludesburgh, had several priests in the monastery. St. Bridget, abbess of Kildare, had divers such in her monastery, out of whom she elected Conlian to be bishop there, saith

128. cap. 19. 206. This place is now called Lavington; near Whitby in Yorkshire. Smith's note on Bede, *ibid.* p. 128.

^g Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 701. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 366.

^h Labbei Concil. tom. 4. col. 1642. E. Mabillon. *ibid.* Acta Sanctorum Benedict. in Præf. p. lxxxv.

ⁱ See ch. 4. §. 6. p. 97. Jamieson *ibid.* ch. 14. p. 333. note 2.

^k Bed. *ibid.* lib. 3. cap. 19. p. 210. p. 122. now Burghcastle, at the mouth of the Yare, on

which Yarmouth lies, in Suffolk. Smith's note on Bede *ibid.* p. 122.

^l *Ibid.* lib. 4. cap. 32. p. 365. p. 180. now Dacre, near Penrith, Cumberland. Smith's note on Bede *ibid.* p. 180.

^m Labbei Concil. tom. 4. col. 1644. D.

ⁿ Bed. *ibid.* lib. 4. cap. 25. p. 339. p. 173. From Smith's note on Bede *ibid.* cap. 19. p. 162. it appears this place is now called Coldingham, within the borders of Scotland. Jamieson *ibid.* p. ix. p. 193.

° the old writer of her Life. We have many other instances of this power in abbesses of those times; but I shall only mention one more, that of Hilda, (P great grandchild to king Edwin,) whom Aidan made abbess of PP Streaneshalh, and who for her piety and excellent discipline is famous in the Saxon history. Bede 9 saith, “ She so held her subjects to the reading of Scripture, and doing works of righteousness, that many among them were fit to be churchmen, and to serve at the altar. So that we afterwards saw five bishops out of her monastery,” and Tatfrid, a sixth, was elected bishop, 171 but died before he could be ordained. Being so well stored with learned men as she was, and having such a power over them as she had, it is no wonder that we r read of her being present, with her clergy about her, at the synod that was held at her monastery for the deciding of that great controversy about the right time of keeping Easter. She was there, as became a true disciple of Aidan’s, to maintain the Scottish side against the Roman in that controversy. And therefore, when we read that s she elected and sent forth bishops and priests, though she did not ordain them, nor could do it by reason of her sex, it sufficiently shews us the manner of those Scottish monasteries. The abbots and monks, though simple priests, yea, though laymen, could elect, and send forth, as Hilda did; but they

° Waræi de Script. Hibern. lib. 1. cap. 2. p. 8.

P Bed. *ibid.* lib. 4. cap. 23. p. 320. p. 167.

PP See p. 168. note d.

9 Bed. *ibid.* p. 322. p. 168.

r Bed. *ibid.* lib. 3. cap. 25. p. 234. p. 132. Camden. *ibid.* p. 587. a. vol. 3. p. 18. Additions, p. 80. Usser. de Primord. cap.

17. pp. 931. 940. 964. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. pp. 482. 487.

499. Stillingfleet’s Answer to Cressy, ch. 4. §. 10. 2. in his Works, vol. 5. p. 687, &c. Jamieson *ibid.* ch. 10. p. 222. See ch. 2. §. 9. p. 67. ch. 4. §. 6. p. 97. ch. 6. §. 10. p. 128, &c.

s Mackenzie’s Letter, *ibid.* p. 7, fully agrees with Lloyd.

could not confer holy orders. That could be done only by a bishop: whom therefore they either called from abroad, or they had one residing in the monastery for that purpose.

This account of the ancient monks, and especially of those in these islands, being gathered out of the writers of those times; I take it to be a sufficient confutation of that modern fiction of a Scottish ordination by presbyters, which being formed by popish monks for the honour of their way, has been catched up by some amongst us to give a colour of antiquity to their innovations.

I know not what is more to be done, unless one could shew what it was that set their wits on work for this fable.

§. 10. Perhaps it might be occasioned by that passage of Bede, in the ^t chapter where he speaks of Columba's coming hither. I shall set down his words, that the reader may the better consider it. "Columba came into Britain when Bridius reigned over the Picts.... He by his word and example converted that nation to the faith of Christ, and thereupon he received from them the aforesaid island [of Hy] in possession for the building of a monastery; for it is not great, but contains about five English miles, which his successors hold till this day. Before he came into Britain, he had built a noble monastery in Ireland, which is called "Dearmach in the Scottish language." [By the Scottish here, it is plain that Bede means the Irish.] He adds,

^t Bed. *ibid.* lib. 3. cap. 4. p. 169. p. 106. Usser. *de Primord.* cap. 15. pp. 687. 690. 700. Brit. *Eccles. Antiq.* pp. 359. 361. 366. *Stillingfleet* *ibid.* Preface, p. lxix. See ch. 1. §. 9. p. 35. ch. 2. §. 6. p. 63. ch. 5. §. 1. p. 100, and in this chapter, §. 10. p. 177.

^u Usser. *de Primord.* cap. 15. p. 690. Brit. *Eccles. Antiq.* p. 361. *Camden.* *ibid.* vol. 3. *Additions*, p. 538.

that “ from both these monasteries [of Dearmach and of Hy] there were afterwards propagated by his disciples very many other monasteries both in Britain and in Ireland, [that is North Ireland, and the Picts’ country,] among all which the island-monastery [at Hy] where his body rests, is the principal.” [v So elsewhere he shews that other monasteries were subject to it.] He goes on concerning Hy, “ But that island is ever wont to have for its governor an abbot in priest’s orders, to whose right both all the province, and also the very bishops in an ^wunusual order ought to be subject, according to the example of the first teacher [Columba] who was not a bishop, but a monk in priest’s orders.”

174 From these ^x words of Bede, not rightly understood, I suppose it was that this following note was inserted into the latter copies of the ^y Saxon Chronicle; “ Columba priest came to the Picts, and converted them to the Christian faith, who at that time dwelt in the North Moors, and their king gave him the island which is named Hy, wherein there are five hides of land. There it is said that Columba built a monastery. The place has yet his heirs. There ought to be ever in Hy an abbot and not a bishop, and all the bishops of the Scots ought to be under him, because that Columba was abbot and not bishop.”

These words of the Saxon Chronicle, anno 560, were ^z all put in by a later hand. For the old Saxon Chronicle has nothing of Columba in that year. Nor

^v Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 700. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 366, where for quotations from Bede.

^w Mackenzie’s Letter, *ibid.* p. 6. See p. 177, and note ^k.

^x Jamieson *ibid.* c. 5. p. 93.

^y Saxon. Chron. ann. 560. p. 511. post Bedæ *ibid.* Wheloc. edit. p. 25. Ingram’s edit.

^z Jamieson *ibid.* ch. 5. p. 94, &c., with whom compare Wheloc’s note *, p. 503. *ibid.* as to this and other interpolations.

has ^aEthelward, nor Florence of Worcester, who almost transcribed the old Chronicle. But in the year 565, ^b it has these words: “ Here Columba, priest of the Scots, came into Britain, to teach the Picts, and they built him a monastery in an island.” This is all that ¹⁷⁵ was anciently in the book, and all that both those historians have transcribed. Afterwards those other words before mentioned were inserted in another year of the Chronicle. And it seems they came in late, by what is said ^c concerning the Picts, that they dwelt at that time in the North Moors. It seems the addition was made some time after the year 850, for it was ^d about that year that the Picts were conquered by the Scots, and till then they continued in their old habitation. Perhaps the addition was made after Ethelward and Marianus, whom Florence transcribed, had writ their histories. At least it had not got into the copies that they used, nor is it in the ancients copies at this day.

I shew the lateness of this addition to the Saxon Chronicle, to make it appear, that he that inserted it knew nothing of those times but what he had out of Bede’s history; and that therefore no great use can be made of his authority either way. Yet I set down his ¹⁷⁶ words, to shew whence it was, probably, that the fable was taken by John of Fordon, and his followers, of monks in priest’s orders, governing the Church in Scotland, and of those governing monks being called “ the bishops of the Scots.”

But to shew that there is no ground for it from Bede’s words, I shall now consider them again, and make Bede himself his own interpreter. He saith, the

^a See Ingram’s Preface to his edition of the Saxon Chronicle, p. vii. &c.

^b Sax. Chron. ann. 565. p.

511. post Bed. *ibid.* Wheloci edit. p. 25. Ingram’s edit.

^c Jamieson *ibid.* p. 94.

^d See ch. 1. §. 11. p. 42.

Isle of Hy, which was given to Columba in possession, and on which he built his monastery, is ever since governed by the abbots his successors. He saith that “^e all the province, and also the very bishops, in an unusual order, ought to be subject” to this abbot. The main difficulty is, to know of what province he saith this. Hector Boethius and his followers understand it of the kingdom of Scotland. But that which is now called Scotland had many kingdoms in it, in ^f Bede’s time; and one of them, namely, the kingdom of the North Picts, in which this island was contained, divers 177 provinces, as ^g Bede calls them. And he tells us in ^h this very chapter, that Columba came to preach the word of God to the province of the North Picts. And it is familiar with him to call ⁱ a bishop’s diocese by the name of a province. So that, as far as one can judge by his words, he meant nothing else, but that all the province or diocese which was under the bishop of Hy did then belong to the monastery. And whosoever will have the word ‘province’ to be understood in any larger extent, must shew it out of some other author, that saith it of his own time, or of a time within memory, that then there was a larger province, or that there were several provinces subject to that monastery. But that, I am satisfied, none can justly pretend to do. Bede ^j saith, there were other monasteries subject to it, as cells used to be to that convent from which they were derived. But neither he nor any other author

^e Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 701. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 366. See p. 173.

^f Chap. I. §. 9. p. 34.

^g Bed. *ibid.* lib. 5. cap. 22. p. 459. cap. 21. p. 216.

^h Bed. *ibid.* lib. 3. cap. 4. p. 168. p. 106. Jamieson *ibid.*

chap. 3. p. 40, &c. See p. 172. and note ^t.

ⁱ Bed. *ibid.* lib. 5. cap. 24. p. 483. p. 218.

^j *Ibid.* lib. 5. cap. 16. p. 433. cap. 15. p. 200. et lib. 5. cap. 23. p. 479. cap. 22. p. 216. See p. 173, and note ^v.

saith it of other provinces, or of a larger than that which I have mentioned.

Then for the word ‘bishops’, which Bede has in the 178 plural number, and which late Scottish writers extend to ^kall the bishops in England; as they cannot shew that any other but the bishop of Hy was ever subject to the abbot of that place, so neither doth it appear that Bede did here intend any other. He speaks only of one province, or diocese as I have explained it. And that indeed could have but ^lone bishop at a time. But it might have many successively, and so I understand the place. The bishop of Hy had his seat at ^mSodora in that island; and yet might have all the North Picts in his diocese, at first, as the ⁿbishop of Lindisfarn had all the Northumbrians. And yet afterwards, when the North Picts had more bishops, he that dwelt there at Hy might have only the isles to his diocese. I am not confident of that. But whatsoever diocese they had, it is certain that the bishops that sat there successively, till Bede’s time, were all subject to the abbot of that monastery.

This was indeed, as Bede calls it, an unusual thing. 179 For the manner was otherwise in other places, and especially at the place that was best known to him, that is, at Lindisfarn before mentioned. There was both a bishop’s see and a monastery in the same city, as Bede saith ^omore than once; and so it was probably in all other places that he knew. Therefore he might well say, that for the bishop to be subject to the abbot,

^k That is, of the Scots.

^l Jamieson *ibid.* ch. 4. p. 63.

^m Sodora in the Isle of Hy. See Jamieson *ibid.* p. 44. Camden. *ibid.* in the Additions, vol. 3. p. 715.

ⁿ Jamieson *ibid.* p. 43. See

ch. 5. §. 5. p. 105.

^o Bed. *ibid.* lib. 4. cap. 27. p. 350. p. 176. et in *Vita Cuthberti*, cap. 16. in *Bedæ Oper.* tom. 3. p. 164. post *Bedæ Eccl. Hist.* p. 241. See chap. 5. §. 5. p. 105.

was 'ordine inusitato,' not according to the order that was usual in other places, and at his Lindisfarn in particular.

But at Hy there was a reason for it, which was as unusual as the thing itself. For whereas in almost all other places there were bishops before there were monasteries, and there ^p it was not lawful to build any monastery without the leave of the bishop; here at Hy, on the contrary, there was no Christian before Columba came thither. And when he was come, and had converted both king and people, ^q (they) gave him 180 the island in possession for the building of a monastery; and withal, for the maintenance of it, they gave him the ^r royalty of the neighbouring isles; six of which are mentioned by ^s Buchanan as belonging to the monastery. And therefore, though Columba found it necessary to have a bishop, and was pleased to give him a seat in his island, and perhaps to put the other isles under his jurisdiction; yet it is not strange that he thought fit to keep the royalty still to himself and his successors.

It is no more strange that it should be so there, than that it is so now in many places; and at ^t Oxford particularly, where a bishop now lives, and is as well known to be a prelate of the English Church as any other, the government is vested in the university

^p Concil. Chalcedon. can. 4. in Labbei Concil. tom. 4. col. 757. Concil. Agath. can. 27. in Labbei ibid. col. 1387.

^q Bed. ibid. lib. 3. cap. 4. p. 169. p. 106. See p. 172. and note ^t.

^r Adamnan. de Columb. ibid. The fact here referred to, is rather to be collected from various passages in Adamnanus, than

found in any of them.

^s Buchan. Rerum Scot. lib. 1. fol. 10. lin. 18. Oper. tom. 1. p. 15. Usser. de Primord. cap. 15. p. 700. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 366. Bingham ibid. book 8. ch. 3. s. 14.

^t Dr. John Fell, bishop of Oxford, and dean of Christ Church. See Jamieson ibid. ch. 4. p. 71, &c.

exclusively of him; and not only the chancellor and his deputy have precedence of the bishop, but every private scholar is exempt from his cognizance and jurisdiction: yet notwithstanding this, if any one thus privileged happen to have a parochial cure, whether 181 it be in the diocese or university itself, they become subject to the bishop as others are; and if any episcopal act be to be performed, whether it be the consecration of the chapel of any college or hall in the university, or holy orders, or confirmation be to be received by a private scholar, recourse is had unto the bishop; and in case of ordination, the person ordained makes the same recognition with others, that “he will reverently obey his ordinary.” So that we see here the chancellor and scholars have the same authority by their charter that ^u king Bridius gave to Columba and his monks, only it does not extend through the whole diocese, but is limited according to the pleasure of our kings, who might have extended it as far as they pleased; and yet a farther extent of this liberty, though it had been such an abridgment of the episcopal power as never was known till monkery came into the Church, yet had not been a suppressing of the 182 order, which is the thing our adversaries drive at. How justly they of all men inveigh against monkery, that borrow their patterns from their innovations, and where those will not reach, piece them out with their fables, and do as it were endeavour to restore it, by their darkening the Church history, to destroy the government of it—these things I leave to the reader’s consideration.

^u See p. 179.

THE END.



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