

I.

NOTICE OF THE EARLY ECCLESIASTICAL SETTLEMENTS AT ST  
ANDREWS. By WILLIAM F. SKENE, Esq., F.S.A. Scot.

THE traditionary accounts of the foundation of St Andrews as an  
ecclesiastical establishment, have not yet, so far as I know, been sub-

jected to historic criticism. Although occupying the most prominent position in our ancient church hierarchy, and with a diocese extending from the borders of England to the river Dee, we know little as yet of the early history of St Andrews, except that it was a foundation of unknown antiquity, with a legendary history which derives its origin from Greece; and its historians have hitherto been content to repeat these legends without attempting to reduce them to the sober realities of history. Keith in his Catalogue of Scottish Bishops merely gives the substance of these legends, with a few lists of its Bishops prior to the eleventh century, when he commences its history. His editor, Dr Russell, throws no additional light on its early history; and its latest historian, the Rev. C. F. Lyon, adds nothing to this.

Claiming to be the oldest church in Scotland, to have been at one time the sole episcopal, and in later ages unquestionably the metropolitan see, St Andrews demands that some attempt should be made to clear up its early history. I venture, therefore, to ask the indulgence of the Society while I lay before them some facts which may tend to throw new light upon it; premising, however, that what I have now to lay before you professes to be nothing more than an attempt, and that it is very possible these facts, when further sifted, may not warrant the conclusions I am inclined at present to draw from them.

The traditionary accounts of the earliest ecclesiastical settlements at St Andrews are to be found in the legends of three different saints in our calendar, viz.,—St Cainich or Kenneth, 11th October; St Regulus, 17th October; and St Adrian, 4th March. St Cainich or Kenneth, who is the same with the Irish St Kenneth of Achaboe, the patron saint of Kilkenny, was of the early Irish Church, and a contemporary or companion of St Columba, and is frequently mentioned in Adamnan's life of that Saint. Although Adamnan mentions Columba alone as having made the celebrated visit to Brude, king of the Northern Picts, at his palace near Inverness, which resulted in his conversion to Christianity, the old Life of St Comgall printed by Fleming in his "Collectanea" says that he was accompanied by St Kenneth and St Comgall, who took an equal share in the King's conversion. St Columba was of the Scottish race of the O'Neills, but both St Cainich and St Comgall were of the race

of the Irish Picts of Ulster; and it was probably their affinity of race to the Scottish Picts which led to their being associated with Columba in this undertaking.

The same affinity of race will account for St Cainich having penetrated so far into the Pictish province as St Andrews. There are many dedications to him in Scotland. He is commemorated in the "Festology" of Angus the Culdee, written in the ninth century, on the 11th of October; and in a gloss it is said, "Achaboe is his principal church, and he has a church at Kilrymont in Alba," that is, in Scotland. Kilrymont is, as we shall see, the Celtic name of St Andrews.

The gloss goes on to give the following account of why St Cainich went to so remote a place among the Picts:—"Once upon a time, when Cainich went to visit Finnia, he asked him for a place of residence; I see no place here now, said Finnia, for others have taken all the places up before thee. May there be a desert place there (that is, in Scotland), said Cainich."

It was one characteristic of the asceticism of the early Irish Church, that its clergy were in the habit of retiring to some desert place, to lead the lives of hermits, completely isolated from all intercourse with their fellow creatures for a certain number of years; and we find that almost all their leading saints, at least once in their lives, retired to some solitary spot, where they led the lives of hermits for some years.

From the desire expressed by Cainich to find a *desert* place, his church at Kilrymont seems to have been a hermit church of this description. It is, however, doubtful whether the situation of this hermitage of Cainich's was the same with that of St Andrew's, and whether the name Kilrymont is not used loosely, or in a wider sense, for the district about it, for in the Aberdeen Breviary St Cainich is thus referred to: "Sancti Caiynici abbatis qui in *Kennoguhy* in diocesi Sancti Andrei pro patrono habetur." *Kennoguhy* is a parish in the east of Fife, not far from St Andrews, and, as it seems to have taken its name from him, and is the church with which he is principally associated in the Scottish calendars, it may have been in reality the site of this foundation. Be this as it may, this was a Columban foundation anterior to the year 600, in which year Tighernac records the death of St Cainich.

For the next and the most important foundation at St Andrews, and

from which it took its name, we must go to the legend of St Regulus. There are several editions of this legend, but it is only necessary for our purpose to notice three. One, and apparently the oldest, is a short account of the legend of the foundation of St Andrews, preserved in the Colbertine MS. in the Imperial Library at Paris. The second, which is much larger and more detailed, is to be found in a MS. in the Harleian Library in the British Museum, written in the end of the seventeenth century, apparently a copy of an older MS., containing a list of the contents of the Register of the Priory of St Andrews, now lost, with copies of some of the pieces in it. This legend seems to have been put together in the early part of the fourteenth century; and the third is the legend in the Breviary of Aberdeen.

In comparing these three editions, it will be convenient to divide the narrative into three distinct statements.

The first is the removal of the relics of St Andrew from Patras to Constantinople. The Colbertine account states, that St Andrew, after preaching to the northern nations, the Scythians and Pictones, received in charge the district of Achaia with the city of Patras, and was there crucified. That his bones remained there till the time of Constantine the Great, and his sons Constantius and Constans, for 270 years, when they were removed to Constantinople, where they remained till the reign of the Emperor Theodosius.

The account in the MS. of the Priory of St Andrews states, that in the year 345 Constantius collected a great army to invade Patras, in order to revenge the martyrdom of St Andrew, and remove his relics. That an angel appeared to the custodiers of the relics, and ordered Regulus, the bishop, with his clergy, to proceed to the sarcophagus which contained his bones, and to take a part of them, consisting of three fingers of the right hand, a part of one of the arms, the pan of one of the knees, and one of his teeth, and conceal them, and that the following day Constantius entered the city, and carried off to Rome the shrine containing the rest of his bones. That he then laid waste the Insula Tyberis and Colossia, and took from thence the bones of St Luke and St Timothy, and carried them along with the relics of St Andrew to Constantinople.

The Aberdeen Breviary says, that in the year 360 Regulus flourished

at Patras in Achaia, and was custodier of the bones and relics of St Andrew; that Constantius invaded Patras in order to revenge the martyrdom of St Andrew; that an angel appeared to him, and desired him to conceal a part of the relics; and that after Constantius had removed the rest of the relics to Constantinople, this angel again appeared to him, and desired him to take the part of the relics he had concealed, and to transport them to the western regions of the world, where he should lay the foundation of a church in honour of the apostle.

Here the growth of the legend is very apparent. In the oldest edition, we are told of the removal of the relics to Constantinople, without a word of Regulus. In the second, we have the addition of Regulus concealing a part of the relics in obedience to a vision; and in the third, we have a second vision directing him to found a church in the west. This part of the legend, as we find it in the oldest edition, belongs, in fact, to the legend of St Andrew, where it is stated that, after preaching to the Scythians, he went to Argos, where he also preached, and finally suffered martyrdom at Patras; and that, in the year 337, his body was transferred from Patras to Constantinople with those of St Luke and St Timothy, and deposited in the church of the apostles, which had been built some time before by Constantine the Great.

When I visited Greece in the year 1844, I was desirous of ascertaining whether any traces of this legend still remained at Patras. In the town of Patras I could find no church dedicated to St Andrew, but I observed a small and very old-looking Greek monastery, about a mile to the west of it, on the shore of the Gulf of Patras, and proceeding there I found one of the Caloyeres, or Greek monks, who spoke Italian, and who informed me that the monastery was attached to the adjacent church of St Andrew built over the place where he had suffered martyrdom. He took me into the church, which was one of the small Byzantine buildings so common in Greece, and showed me the sarcophagus from whence, he said, the relics had been removed, and also, at the door of the church, the spot where his cross had been raised, and a well called St Andrew's Well. I could find, however, no trace of St Regulus.

The second part of the legend in the oldest edition represents a Pictish king termed Ungus, son of Uргуist, waging war in the Merse, and being surrounded by his enemies. As the king was walking with his seven

*comites*, a bright light shines upon them; they fall to the earth, and a voice from heaven says, "Ungus, Ungus, hear me an apostle of Christ called Andrew, who am sent to defend and guard you;" he directs him to attack his enemies, and desires him to offer the tenth part of his inheritance in honour of St Andrew. Ungus obeys, and is victorious.

In the St Andrews edition, Ungus's enemy is said to have been Athelstane, king of the Saxons, and his camp at the mouth of the river Tyne. St Andrew appears to Ungus in a dream, and promises him victory, and tells him that his relics will be brought to his kingdom, and the place where they are brought is to become honoured and celebrated. The people of the Picts swear to venerate St Andrew ever after, if they prove victorious. Athelstane is defeated, his head taken off, and carried to a place called Ardcinnichun, or Portus Reginæ.

The Breviary of Aberdeen does not contain this part of the legend.

The third part of the legend in the oldest narrative represents one of the custodiers of the body of St Andrew at Constantinople, directed by an angel in a vision to leave his home, and to go to a place where the angel will direct him. He proceeds prosperously to "verticem montis regis id est rigmond." Then the King of the Picts comes with his army, and Regulus, a monk, a stranger, from the city of Constantinople, meets him with the relics of St Andrew at a harbour which is called "Matha, id est mordurus," and King Ungus dedicates that place and city to God and St Andrew, "ut sit caput, et mater omnium ecclesiarum quæ sunt in regno Pictorum." It must be remembered here, that this is the first appearance of the name of Regulus in the old legend, and that it is evidently the *same* King Ungus who is referred to in both parts of the story.

The St Andrews edition of the legend relates this part of the story much more circumstantially. According to it, Regulus was warned by the angel to sail with the relics towards the north, and wherever his vessel was wrecked, there to erect a church in honour of St Andrew. He voyages among the islands of the Greek Sea for a year and a half, and wherever he lands he erects an oratory in honour of St Andrew. At length he lands in "terra Pictorum ad locum qui Muckros fuerat nuncupatus nunc autem Kilrymont dictus;" and his vessel having been wrecked, he erects a cross he had brought from Patras. After remaining

there seventeen days and nights, Regulus goes with the relics to Forteviot, and finds there the three sons of King Hungus, viz., Owen, Nectan, and Finguiene, who being anxious as to the life of their father, then on an expedition "in partibus Argatheliæ," give the tenth part of Forteviot to God and St Andrew. They then go to a place called "Moneclatu, qui nunc dicitur Monichi," and there Finchem, the queen of King Hungus, is delivered of a daughter called Mourén, who was afterwards buried at Kilrymont, and the queen gives the place to God and St Andrew. They then cross the mountain called Moneth, and reach a place called "Doldancha, nunc autem dictus Chondrochedalvan," where they meet King Hungus returning from his expedition, who prostrates himself before the relics, and this place is also given to God and St Andrew. They return across the Moneth to Monichi, where a church was built in honour of God and the apostle, and from thence to Forteviot, where a church is also built. King Hungus then goes with the clergy to Kilrymont, when a great part of that place is given to build churches and oratories, and a large territory is given as a parochia. The boundaries of this parochia can still be traced, and consisted of that part of Fife lying to the east of a line drawn from Largo to Naughten. Within this line was the district called the Boar's Chase, containing the modern parishes of St Andrews, Cameron, Dairsie, Kemback, Ceres, Denino, and Kingsmuir; and besides this district, the following parishes were included in the parochia, viz. :—Crail, Kingsbarns, Anstruther, Abercromby, St Monance, Kelly, Elie, Newburgh, Largo, Leuchars, Forgan, and Logie Murdoch.

It is impossible to doubt that there is a historic basis of some kind to this part of the legend. The circumstantial character of the narrative is of a kind not likely to be invented. The place beyond the Moneth or Grampians called Chondrochedalvan, is plainly the Church of Kindrochet in Braemar, which was dedicated to St Andrew. Monichi is probably not Monikie in Forfarshire, as that church was in the diocese of Brechin, but a church called Eglis Monichti, now in the parish of Monifieth, which was in the diocese of St Andrews, and Forteviot was also in the diocese of St Andrews.

According to the account in the Breviary, Regulus, after the relics had been removed to Constantinople, takes the portion he had concealed, and sails with them for two years till he arrives "ad terram Scottorum," where

he lands and enters the "nemus porcorum," and there builds a church, and preaches to the neighbouring people far and wide. Hungus, King of the Picts, sees a company of angels hover over the relics of the apostle, and comes with his army to Regulus, who baptises him, with all his servants, and receives a grant of the land, which is set apart to be the chief seat and mother church of Scotland.

Such being the leading features of these legends, the eastern part so closely associated with the general tradition regarding the translation of the relics of St Andrew in the fourth century, and the western or Scottish part so interwoven into the events of the reign of a certain Ungus, son of Uргуist, King of the Picts, the first question is, When did this king reign?

In the oldest lists of the Pictish kings there appear two kings bearing the same name of Angus or Ungus, son of Uргуist, and two only. The first reigned for thirty years, from the year 731 to 761, when his death recorded by Tighernac, and also in the short chronicle appended to Bede in the following terms:—

"761, Ængus mc Fergus rex Pictorum mortuus est.—*Tigh.*

"Anno Dec. lxi., Oengus Pictorum rex obiit qui regni sui principium usque ad finem facinore cruentum tyrannus Carnifex perduxit. Chron. ap. Bedam."

The second reigned in the following century for twelve years, and his death is recorded only in the Annals of Ulster, under the year 834.

"834. Oengus mac Fergus rex Fortrenn moritur."

In the list of kings extracted from the Register of the Priory of St Andrews, the foundation of St Andrews is attributed to this second Angus, as after his name the chronicle adds "Hic œdificavit Kilrymont."

Fordun applies to this king that part of the legend which relates to the war against the Saxons and the victory under the auspices of St Andrew; but he applies the other part of the legend, narrating the arrival of St Regulus, and his reception by the Pictish king, to an early Ungus, son of Uргуist, supposed to have reigned in the fourth century.

The old lists know of no such king, and this is a palpable attempt to reconcile history with the tradition of a St Regulus in the fourth century, which is quite inconsistent with the legends themselves, as it is plain from



all of them that they regarded the whole of the transactions as belonging to the same King Ungus—his victory against the Saxons under the auspices of St Andrew leading to the reception of St Regulus and the foundation of the church. There is one authority, however, for the foundation of St Andrews having been attributed to the first Angus; for Hearne, in his edition of Fordun, in that part where he narrates the war against the Saxons, and the vision of St Andrew, under the second King Ungus, adds in a note—"Hæc omnia tribuuntur ungo filio urgust qui multis annis prior est in fine cujusdam exemplaris Bedæ."

I have been unable to discover the MS. of Bede here referred to; but as there is appended to some MSS. a short Chronicle in which the death of the first and more celebrated Ungus in 761 alone is recorded, we may assume that this is the prior king here meant.

That he was the real King Ungus of the legends, is corroborated by other circumstances:—

1. Bede records, that the King of the Picts placed his kingdom under the patronage of St Peter in the year 710, and knows of no veneration of St Andrew among them, which he could hardly have omitted stating if it had existed at that time; it must therefore have been after the conclusion of his history, in 731, that it took place. St Andrews appears to have existed as a known ecclesiastical establishment in 747, for in that year Tighernac has the death of Tuathalan, Abbot of Kilrymont.<sup>1</sup> If founded between these two dates, it must have been in the reign of the first Ungus.

2. The longer legend points also strongly to this king; for in the part which seems based on history, there are three things told of him,—

- (1.) That he warred against the Saxons of Northumbria.
- (2.) That in the year in which St Andrews was founded, he was absent on a great expedition in Argyll.
- (3.) That he had three sons, who gave a tenth part of Forteviot to St Regulus, the eldest of whom was called Owen.

Now we trace none of these events during the reign of the second Ungus, but we find them all attributed to the first. In 740, during the reign of the first Ungus, Eadbert, King of Northumbria, is said to have

<sup>1</sup> 747. Mors Tuathalain Ab. Cindrigmonaidh.—*Tigh.*

been "occupatus cum suo exercitu contra Pictos," and Athelstane may have been his general.<sup>1</sup> In 736 Tighernac records a great expedition of this Ungus, the son of Uргуist, into Argyll, when he says, "Angus mac Fergusus rex Pictorum vastavit regiones Dailriada et obtinuit Dunad (the capital) et compussit creich et duos filios Selbaiche catenis aligavit id est Dougal et Feradach et paulo post Brudeus mac Angusa mac Fergusus obiit;" and in the same year 736, the "Annales Cambriæ" record the death of Owen, king of the Picts, showing that the Brudeus of Tighernac bore that name, and that he was son of Angus.

We may therefore hold, that the king who placed the kingdom under the patronage of St Andrew, and founded St Andrews, was Angus, son of Fergus, who reigned from 731 to 761, and that the year of the foundation was the year 736, when the expedition to Dalriada, afterwards called Argathelia, took place.

It is plain that, if this was the true date, the tradition which brings St Regulus direct from Patras or Constantinople to Scotland with the relics in the fourth century is a mere legend, connected more intimately with the relics than with the foundation of St Andrews, and that we must look to some nearer quarter as the immediate source from whence they were brought, and from whence the veneration of St Andrews was derived.

It will assist us in this inquiry, if we keep in mind the leading facts in the ecclesiastical history of Northumbria.

Northumbria derived her Christianity and her Church from two different sources, which were in spirit and character opposed to each other. These were the Irish Church, founded by Patrick, and extended over the Picts by St Columba, and the Anglo-Saxon Church, founded by Augustine. The one followed Eastern traditions; the other was closely connected with Rome.

The Northumbrians were converted in 617 by Paulinus of the Augustinian Church; and a bishopric was founded by him, the chief seat of which was York. This church remained till 633, when it was overturned by Cadwalla, king of the Britons.

<sup>1</sup> Anno 740. "Edilbaldus rex Merciorum per impiam fraudem vastabat partem Northanhymbrorum eratque rex eorum Eadbertus occupatus cum suo exercitu contra Pictos."—*Chron. ap Bedam.*

Oswald, who recovered the kingdom in 634, and had been educated in exile in Iona, introduced Columban clergy from Iona, and Lindisfarne became the chief seat of this Church. The Columban Church lasted for thirty years, till 664, when the great council of Whitby was held to determine the contest between the two Churches as to the two great subjects of dispute—the proper time for keeping Easter, and the tonsure. The head of the one party was Colman, Bishop of Lindisfarne, and of the other, Wilfrid. The contest ended with the defeat of the Columban party, who were driven out, and Wilfrid was subsequently made bishop, the seat of the bishopric being restored to York. Bede tells us that Wilfrid administered the bishopric of York, and of all the Northumbrians, and *likewise of the Picts*, as far as the dominion of King Oswy extended. In a former part of his history he tells us that Oswy not only held nearly the same dominions as his brother Oswald, to whom he had succeeded, but also had, for the most part, subdued and made tributary the nations of the Picts. Wilfrid therefore included in his jurisdiction a part of the nation of the Picts. What part that was, we shall see immediately.

In the year 678 Wilfrid was expelled from the bishopric, and it was divided into two dioceses, corresponding to the two provinces of Bernicia and Deira, Bosa being made bishop of the one, and Eata of the other; and in 681, three years after, it was divided into four dioceses, two new districts being created; the one was Hexham, over which Trumberct was made bishop, and the other was the province of the Picts, at that time subject to the King of Northumbria, over which Trumwine was made bishop.

In the year 685, Ecfred, King of Northumbria, in attempting to penetrate through the range of the Sidlaw Hills, was slain in battle at Dunnichen by the Picts.

Bede informs us that, as the result of this battle, the Picts recovered their land which had been held by the Angles, and adds these remarkable words: "Among the many English that then either fell by the sword, or were made slaves, or escaped by flight out of the country of the Picts, the most revered man of God, Trumwin, who had received the bishopric over them, withdrew with his people that were in the monastery of Abercorn, seated in the country of the Angles, but close by the arm of the sea which parts the lands of the Angles and of the Picts."

It is quite clear from this passage, that the part of the country of the Picts which had been subject to the Angles, which was included in Wilfrid's bishopric, and was afterwards made a separate bishopric under Trumwin, was the country on the north side of the Firth of Forth, viz. Fife and Kinross, and perhaps part of Forfar, as far as the Sidlaw Hills; but that for safety the seat of the bishopric was at Abercorn, on the south side.

The influence of the Anglic Church, which had thus held for twenty years the southern part of the Pictish province under its care, seems to have continued after the Church itself had left; for in 710 Bede informs us, that Nectan, King of the Picts, renounced the error by which he and his nation had till then been held, in relation to the observance of Easter, and submitted, together with his people, to celebrate the Catholic time of our Lord's resurrection. He sent messengers to Ceolfrid, Abbot of Jarrow, in Northumberland, requesting instruction, and likewise that he would send architects that he might build a church after the Roman manner, which he promised to dedicate in honour of the blessed Peter; and that he and all his people would always follow the custom of the holy Roman Apostolic Church.

Ceolfrid accordingly wrote a long letter in support of the Roman usages; and Bede goes on to say, that on this letter being read in the presence of the King and many others of his most learned men, and carefully interpreted into his own language by those who could understand it, he rejoiced, and declared that hereafter he would continually observe the Roman time of Easter, and that the tonsure should be received by his clergy. The cycles of nineteen years were sent throughout all the provinces of the Picts; and the nation, thus reformed, rejoiced as being newly placed under the direction of St Peter, and made secure under his protection.

In short, the whole Pictish people passed over from the Columban to the Anglic Church. The Columban clergy were expelled, as appears from a notice in Tighernac under the year 717,<sup>1</sup> and Anglic clergy introduced. The legend of Bonifacius, on 16th March, shows us the introduction of a new clergy and the foundation of new churches, which

<sup>1</sup> " 717. Expulsio familiæ Ie trans dorsum Britanniae Nectano rege."—*Tigh.*

were dedicated to St Peter, and that apostle became for a time the patron saint of the kingdom.

In 674, thirty-six years before this event, Wilfrid had founded the church of Hexham. Bede tells us, that Wilfrid had been educated by the Scottish monks at Lindisfarne, but, having doubts of the correctness of their ways, went to Rome for instruction; and it is recorded of him by his biographer Eddi, that when he first conceived the purpose of endeavouring to turn the Northumbrians from Columba to Rome, he went to a church in Rome, dedicated to St Andrew, and there knelt before the altar, and prayed to God, through the merits of his holy martyr Andrew, that he would grant him the power of reading the Gospels aright, and of preaching the eloquence of the evangelists to the people. His prayer was answered by the gift of persuasive eloquence; and feeling himself peculiarly under the guidance of that apostle, he dedicated his church of Hexham to St Andrew. Bede tells us that on another occasion, when returning through France to Britain, he fell sick at Bordeaux, and, when nearly dead, he saw a vision, in which a person in white garments appeared to him, and told him he was Michael the archangel, and announced to him that he should recover through the intercession of the blessed Virgin Mary.

In consequence of this incident two chapels were erected at Hexham, one dedicated to St Michael, and the other to St Mary.

The Roman dedications in Northumbria had hitherto been usually to St Peter, and thus was introduced among them the veneration of St Andrew. The peculiar combination of the principal dedication to St Andrew, with chapels to St Michael and St Mary, arose out of the incidents in Wilfrid's life, as is very plainly stated by Richard of Hexham, and affords presumptive evidence, wherever they are found, of the church having been derived from some church founded by him.

Wilfrid died in 709, and was succeeded in the bishopric of Hexham by Acca, who was alive when Bede wrote his History. Of him Bede records, that being an active person, and great in the sight of God and man, he much adorned and added by his wonderful works to the structure of his church, *which is dedicated to the blessed apostle Andrew*; for he made it his business, and does so still, to procure *relics* of the blessed apostles and martyrs of Christ from all parts; besides which, he

very diligently gathered the history of their sufferings. The Northumbrian Church already possessed relics of St Peter and St Paul; for the Pope Vitalian, writing to King Oswy, after the Council of Whitby, says, "We have ordered the blessed gifts of the saints, viz., the relics of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul, and of the holy martyrs Laurentius, John, and Paul, and Gregory, and Paucratius, to be delivered to the bearers of these our letters, to be by them delivered to your Excellency;" and it can hardly be doubted that Acca, in collecting relics of the other apostles, would not fail to obtain relics of the patron of his great predecessor Wilfrid, and the apostle to whom his church was dedicated; and this he appears to have done, for in the "*Liber de Sanctis Ecclesiæ Hagulstadensis et eorum Miraculis*" there is this statement,—“ More-over the church of Hexham was decorated with precious ornaments, and enriched with the *relics of St Andrew*, and other saints.”

The parallel between the history of the Northumbrians and the Picts in this respect can hardly fail to strike every one. The Northumbrians, expelling the Columban clergy, dedicating to St Peter, and then receiving at Hexham the dedication to St Andrew, and the Bishop of Hexham active in introducing relics; and, sixty years later, the Picts, expelling the Columbans, dedicating to St Peter, and receiving from some unknown quarter the dedication to St Andrew, accompanied by his relics. It raises a strong presumption, at least, that in searching for the source of the veneration of St Andrew among the Picts, we should turn our eyes first to Hexham.

When Bede closed his History, Acca was still alive, and Bishop of Hexham; and when this great light leaves us, we are in comparative darkness; but a few incidents are still recorded which may afford us some clue out of the mist.

In the year 732 Simeon of Durham has this notice: "Acca Episcopus eodem anno de sua Sede fugatus est." Richard of Hexham, who must have known the Hexham traditions regarding Acca, adds this remarkable passage:—"Qua autem urgente necessitate pulsus est vel quo diverterit scriptum non reperi (no written record of where he went to). Sunt tamen qui dicunt (here is the tradition) quod eo tempore episcopalem sedem in Candida inceperit et præperaverit." It was believed he had founded an episcopal seat in Candida or Whitehern. That Acca founded no bishopric there is certain; for Bede, in closing his History in 731, says, that in the

province of the Northumbrians four bishops now preside—Wilfrid in York, Edilwald in Lindisfarne, Acca in Hexham, and Pecthelm in that which is called Candida, which, from the increased number of believers, has lately become an additional episcopal seat, and has him for its first prelate. Candida was therefore a bishopric before Acca left Hexham, and Pecthelm was the first bishop. But another passage in Richard of Hexham throws light upon his meaning. After the Pictish kingdom had disappeared in the ninth century, and the Picts of Galloway alone remained as a separate people, it was a common mistake among the Anglic writers to attribute to Galloway, and its episcopal seat Candida, what was true of the Pictish province north of the Forth. Thus Florence of Worcester places Trumwine as bishop of Candida, though we know from Bede the Picts he presided over were north of the Firth of Forth; and Richard of Hexham, in quoting the passage from Bede already referred to, when he says that Wilfrid's bishopric of York extends over the Picts subject to Oswy, and over whom Trumwine was afterwards placed, adds, after the words *super Pictos*, "*quia Candida casa nondum episcopum proprium habuerat*," showing that he applied what Bede tells of the Picts north of the Forth to Candida.

It is plain that when Acca was banished by the King of Northumbria, he could not have founded a bishopric anywhere *within his territories*; and I hold the Hexham tradition to have been that Acca had fled out of the country, and it was believed had founded a bishopric among the Picts, where Wilfrid and Trumwine had presided before him—that is, in Fife. Now, it is a remarkable coincidence that Acca, the venerator of St Andrew, the importer of relics, should have fled in 732, and that a report should have got up that he had founded a bishopric among the Picts, and that St Andrews should have been actually founded, as we have seen, by the King of the Picts, and part of the relics of St Andrew have been brought to it in 736, four years after his flight.

Let us see, then, if there are any resemblances between St Andrews and Hexham to corroborate this presumption; and the first we observe is a very striking one—Kilrymont, like Hexham, was dedicated to St Andrew; and in the St Andrew legend a list of its chapels are given, and two of them are as follows, one "*in honorem St Michaeli Archangeli*," and the next "*in honorem Stae Mariae Virginis*." There was

thus at St Andrews, as well as at Hexham, a principal dedication to St Andrew, with chapels to St Michael and St Mary, the group peculiar to churches deriving their foundation from St Wilfrid, or from churches founded by him, as Hexham was.

Another resemblance may possibly be a mere coincidence. Lindores, dedicated to St Andrew and St Mary, is in the midst of a wood termed of old Earnside Wood. It is within the parochia given to St Regulus. Sibbald is puzzled that it should bear the name of Earnside, seeing that the Earn does not flow there; but there was a place with nearly the same name near Hexham, where there was a chapel dedicated to St Michael. Richard of Hexham says,—“*Est enim oratorium quoddam in veneratione Sancti Michaeli Archangeli dedicatum ultra flumen Tinæ in Monte ripæ ejusdem amnis remanenti qui Anglice Erneshou latine mons aquilæ dicitur.*”

It seems to me that Acca's route can be traced by the dedications to St Andrew; for the usual route from Northumbria to the region north of the Forth at that time was by the ferry called Earlsferry, from Gulaneness to Newburn, and the church of Gulane on the south side was likewise dedicated to St Andrew.

According to this view, then, the historical basis of the legendary foundation of St Andrews by Regulus was its foundation in the year 736 by Acca and his refugee clergy, who brought the veneration of St Andrew and his relics from Hexham. The Picts were at the time at war with the Angles; and when expelled from Northumbria, his natural refuge was with the sister-church among the Picts, where the immediate successor of Wilfrid could not fail to have powerful influence; and this view is corroborated by the peculiar respect paid by the Scots to Hexham even as late as the reign of David I. Richard of Hexham informs us, that during the wars of Stephen, when the Scots so repeatedly ravished the south of England, and burnt churches and monasteries everywhere, Hexham was always respected. He says:—“*In this raging and tempestuous period, that noble monastery of Hexham, though in the very midst of the collision, yet, on account of the merits of its tutelary saints, Andrew the apostle, and Wilfrid, bishop and martyr, and of its other patron saints, Acca, Alcmund, and Eata, bishops and confessors, offered the most tranquil security to its people, and those who took*



refuge in it, and afforded them all a safe asylum from hostile assaults." David, King of Scotland, and Henry, his son, guaranteed to that monastery, its brethren, and all belonging to it, continued security from hostilities; and this they confirmed by their charters, which are still preserved.

A successor had been appointed to Acca in Hexham; but he appears to have returned and died there in the year 740, four years after the foundation of St Andrews.

The next legend which bears upon the history of St Andrews is that of Adrian, at 4th March.

The best edition of this legend is in the Aberdeen Breviary, and it is as follows:—"Adrian was a native of Hungary, and after preaching there for some time, was seized with a desire to preach to other people; and having gathered together a company, he set out "ad orientales Scotiæ partes que tunc a Pictis occupabantur," and landed there with 6606 confessors, clergy, and people, among whom were Glodianus, Gayus, Minanus, Scobrandus, and others, chief priests. These men, with their bishop, Adrian, the Pictish kingdom being destroyed, "delato regno Pictorum," did many signs, but afterwards desired to have a residence on the Isle of May. The Danes, who then devastated the whole of Britain, came to the island, and there slew them. Their martyrdom is said to have taken place in the year 875.

It will be observed that they are here said to have settled in the east part of Scotland, opposite the Isle of May, that is in Fife, while the Picts still occupied it; that the Pictish kingdom is then said to have been destroyed, and that their martyrdom took place in 875, thirty years after the Scottish conquest under Kenneth M'Alpin. Their arrival was therefore almost coincident with the Scottish conquest; and the large number said to have come, not the modest twenty-one who arrived with Regulus, but 6606 confessors, clergy, and people, shows that the traditional history was really one of an invasion, and leads to the suspicion at once that it was in reality a part of the Scottish occupation of the Pictish kingdom. This suspicion is much strengthened by two corroborative circumstances: 1st, The year 875, when they are said to have been slain by the Danes, falls in the reign of Constantine, the son of Kenneth Mac-Alpin, in his fourteenth year, and in this year the Pictish Chronicle records a battle between the Danes and the Scots, and adds, that after it, "ocasi

sunt Scotti in Coachcochlum," which seems to refer to this very slaughter. 2d, Hector Boece preserves a different tradition regarding their origin. He says: "Non desunt qui scribant sanctissimos Christi martyros Hungaros fuisse. *Alii ex Scotos Anglisque gregarie collectos.*" There was therefore a tradition that the clergy slain were not Hungarians, but a body composed of Scotti and Angli. But Hadrian was a bishop; he landed in the east of Fife, within the parochia of St Regulus, and he is placed at the head of some of the lists of bishops of St Andrews as first bishop. It was therefore the Church of St Andrews that then consisted of clergy collected from among the Scotti and the Angli. The Angli probably represented the Church of Acca, and the Scotti those brought in by Adrian. The real signification of this occupation of St Andrews by Scottish clergy will be apparent, when we recollect that the Columban clergy, who had formerly possessed the chief ecclesiastical seats among the Picts, had been expelled in 717, and Angli clergy introduced—the cause of quarrel being the difference of their usages. Now the Pictish Chronicle states, as the main cause of the overthrow of the Pictish kingdom, a century and a half later, this very cause. It says: "Deus enim eos pro merito suæ malitiæ alienos ac otiosos hæreditate dignatus est facere quia illi non solum Deum missam ac præceptum spreverunt sed et in jure æqualitatis *aliis* æqui *pariter* noluerunt." They were overthrown not only because they despised "Deum missam et præceptum," but because they would not tolerate the other party. And this great grievance was removed, when St Andrews appears at the head of the Scottish Church in a solemn concordat with the King Constantine, when, as the Pictish Chronicle tells us, "Constantinus Rex et Cellachus Episcopus leges disciplinasque fidei atque jura ecclesiarum evangeliorum que *pariter cum Scottis* devoverunt custodiri." Observe the parallel language of the two passages. In the one, the "Picti in jure æqualitatis *aliis*," that is the Scottish clergy, "æqui pariter noluerunt," and in the other the King and the Bishop of St Andrews vowed to preserve the laws and discipline of the faith "*pariter cum Scottis*," the thing the Picts would not do. It seems plain, therefore, that the ecclesiastical element entered largely into the Scottish conquest; and a main cause and feature of it was a determination on the part of the Scottish clergy to recover the benefices they had been deprived of. The exact coincidence of this great clerical invasion of the

parochia of St Andrews by ecclesiastics, said by one tradition to have been Scots, and the subsequent position of St Andrews as the head of the Scottish Church, points strongly to this as the true historic basis of the legend of Adrian.

The Norman calendar is full of early martyrs of the name of Adrian, who are celebrated on the first few days of March, and probably a confusion of identity led to the idea he was Hungarian. His true name of a Scot was probably Odran, as the name of the patron saint always enters largely into those of the clergy of the place with the usual prefix of Gilla or Maol; and we find a subsequent Bishop of St Andrews called Macgilla Odran, son of the servant of Odran. The corrupt form of it was Magidran, which is simply the Irish Mo, with the insertion of a g, *euphoniae gratia*; and Odran is Macgidran by the same law which makes Colman, Mocholmoc, Aidan Madoc, &c. As Magidrin, he appears on Macduff's Cross, the boundary-stone between the dioceses of St Andrews and Dunblane. The parishes of Flisk and Lindores, both within the parochia, are dedicated to Macgidrin, and a church near Dron is called after him corruptly Exmagirdle.

His day is the 4th of March, and on the same day we find in the Irish calendars—St Magrido or Magrudo, *Episcopi et Confessoris*. Colgan could find no church in Ireland to connect him with; but his day being the same with that of Adrian or Odran, and the resemblance of the name, make me suspect that this is our saint in his Irish disguise.

There are strong reasons for thinking that the Scottish clergy who accompanied Kenneth M'Alpin came from Ireland, and were mainly connected with the diocese of Kildare. The first Abbot of Iona after the Scottish conquest was also Abbot of Kildare.<sup>1</sup> We have seen that two of the chapels of St Andrews were connected with Acca's Church, being dedicated to St Michael and Mary. Other two of them point equally to Kildare. The sixth was in "honorem Stæ Brigidæ virginis," the patron saint of Kildare; the seventh, in "honorem Mouren cujusdam virginis." This could hardly have been the Mouren previously mentioned, as it is differently spelt, and the expression "cujusdam virginis" could not have been used with propriety; but in 829, just before the Scottish conquest,

<sup>1</sup> 865. Ceallach ab Cilledare, et ab Ja quievit. An. ult.

died Muren, Abbess of Kildare.<sup>1</sup> The church of Leuchars, near St Andrews, is dedicated to St Athernasc. His day is the 22d December; but in the same day appears in the Irish calendar St Athernasc of Claonadh, near Clare, in Leinster, in the county of Kildare. The church of Abercromby, now St Monan's, was dedicated to St Monan, who is said to have accompanied Adrian. His day is the 1st of March, but it is the day of St Monan, the first bishop of Clonfert, whose death is recorded by Tighernac in 571, and whose dedication he must have brought from Ireland.

I have reserved till now the difficult question of who was St Regulus? did he ever exist, or was he merely a part of the fable? because the history of this Scottish establishment throws some light upon it.

In the legends, Regulus is closely connected with the history of the translation of the relics from Patras to Constantinople; but he is also interwoven into the history of the foundation of St Andrews by King Ungus, and the one part of the legend belongs to the fourth century, while the other has its historic basis in the eighth. There is thus an interval of four centuries between the two parts of the legend; and it follows, that St Regulus must either belong to the legend of the relics of St Andrew, and his name and veneration have been brought to this country with the relics; or else he was a real man, who belonged to the history of the foundation of the church in the eighth century, and whose name was subsequently added to the legend of the relics.

In favour of the latter view we have the fact, that one of the chapels at St Andrews was dedicated to him, and there are other dedications to him throughout Scotland. On the other hand, he is said to have been accompanied by two clergy from Nola, seven hermits from the insula Tyberis, and three virgins from Colossia; but these places are mentioned in the early part of the legend, and are unquestionably connected with the history of the relics of St Andrew in the fourth century, as appears from St Jerome, Paulinus, and others.

St Regulus is celebrated on two different days in Scotland. In the Aberdeen Breviary, his legend is introduced on the 30th of March; but this is the day on which St Regulus, the first bishop of Silvanectis or Senlis in Gaul is celebrated. This St Regulus was also a Greek, and

<sup>1</sup> 829. Quies Muren, Abbatissa Cilledara. An. iv. Mag.

came from Greece to Gaul in the fourth century. He was popularly called St Rule, and at Silvanectis was a church called that of St Andrew in *nemore*, while the Scottish church of St Andrew was in *nemore porcorum*.

The usual day assigned to St Regulus in Scotland is the 17th October, but again this is the day of St Riaguil of Muicinsi in Lochderg in Ireland, who was a contemporary of St Columba, and Muicinsi is *insula porcorum*. The 30th March was probably the day on which the Anglic Church, established by Acca, celebrated him; and it is not impossible that Acca may have brought the relics of St Andrew from France, and the legend of St Regulus with them; while the Scottish Church which superseded it under Adrian may have identified him with their own Irish St Regulus. But I must own, that I have been unable to satisfy my own mind as to either view.

Allow me a word or two before concluding.

The foundation of that wondrous fabric of fabulous history which has been reared by our historians from John of Fordun to Hector Boece, was laid in the end of the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth centuries, and I venture to hold the clergy of St Andrews entirely responsible for it.

St Andrews was the head of the second Scottish Church which superseded the Pictish Church in the ninth century. It represented in a peculiar manner the Scottish population, and was intimately connected and closely allied with the Scottish Royal House that occupied the throne. The spirit of rivalry which pervaded all ecclesiastical foundations, and a desire to base her high position and pretensions upon spiritual pre-eminence, led her to push her claims to antiquity very far, and to assert a pre-eminence above all other churches. We have seen that, in the third and latest legend, the story had advanced from the foundation of a church to the conversion of the king and people to Christianity by St Regulus; and in the celebrated letter from the Scottish barons to the Pope in 1320, it is broadly stated that the Scottish nation had been converted by the Nuncio who brought the relics of St Andrew, while there is no allusion to either Ninian or Columba, the real apostles of Scotland.

The process by which a fabulous antiquity was given to St Andrews

was a very simple one. The events of the latter part of the eighth and first half of the ninth century were, first, placed at an early period, coincident with the removal of the relics of St Andrew from Patras to Constantinople; and, secondly, they were suppressed at their proper period.

There was thus a fictitious history containing the foundation of St Andrews, placed before the foundation of Whitehern by St Ninian, or of Iona by St Columba, and the true history of the last half of the eighth and first half of the ninth century has disappeared from our annals. Upon this basis the fabulous historians reared the superstructure of their history, and through one channel or another it can be traced to St Andrews. Its germs are found in the end of the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth centuries. It received its first artistic development from John of Fordun, and the crowning capital was placed upon it by Hector Boece.