

II.

AN EXAMINATION OF ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS ON THE QUESTION OF
THE FORM OF THE CELTIC TONSURE. BY THE RIGHT REV.
JOHN DOWDEN, D.D., F.S.A.Scot.

Thomas Innes, who was among the first to examine the early ecclesiastical history of Scotland with something of a critical and scientific spirit, discussing the difference between the Roman and Celtic tonsures, observes,—“Those that followed the usage of Rome and other foreign churches had their tonsure shorn in a circle; whereas the tonsure of the Scots was not fully round, and did not reach the hindermost part of the head, and therefore resembled a crescent or semicircle, such as Father Mabillon hath caused engrave a model of (*Annal. Bened.*, tom. i. pp. 528, 529) in the picture of Mommoleu,¹ Bishop of Noyon, who had been bred in the Scottish or Irish monastery of Luxeu.” (*Civil and Ecclesiastical History of Scotland*, p. 242,—Spalding Club.) This description of the Celtic tonsure, I am satisfied, is the true description.

In our own age, however, several antiquaries of eminence have maintained a different opinion. I will content myself with referring to some three or four. Dr J. H. Todd² writes, “The Irish tonsure consisted in shaving all the hair in front of a line drawn over the top of the head from ear to ear.” Mr F. E. Warren,³ in language almost identical, says, “The Celtic tonsure consisted in shaving all the hair in front of a line drawn over the top of the head from ear to ear.” Dr Reeves, in his notes to *Adamnan's Life of St Columba*, states that in the tonsure *ab aure ad aurem* “the anterior half of the head was made bare, but the occiput was untouched.”⁴ And that Reeves meant that the anterior half was made wholly bare may be gathered from another passage in the same work.⁵ Dr Skene (*Celtic Scotland*, ii. p. 24) uses

¹ There were various ways of spelling this name; but the final ‘u’ here is almost certainly a misreading of Father Innes’ manuscript, who, I doubt not, wrote ‘n.’

² *St Patrick, Apostle of Ireland*, p. 487.

³ *The Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church*, p. 67.

⁴ Page 350.

⁵ Page 351.

language that may perhaps be construed in favour of either view when he says, "their [*i.e.*, the Irish] clergy were tonsured; but at this time there were in the Church various forms of tonsure, and the first form 'from ear to ear,' that is, having the hair removed from the fore part of the head and leaving it grow behind the ears, was also practised in Gaul, from whence it was probably derived."

I am pleased to find that in our own time I am not singular in the conclusion at which I have arrived. Dr Daniel Rock, a high authority on questions of ecclesiastical antiquities in Britain, describes the Irish tonsure as "made by cutting away the hair from the upper part of the forehead, with the convex side before." (See *Church of our Fathers*, i. 185-188.) Dr Friedrich Loofs, who has investigated the history of the Celtic Church in the critical and historical spirit of modern Germany, decides in favour of the same opinion.¹ And within the present year Dr Bright, Professor of Ecclesiastical History at Oxford, has given in his adhesion to this view.²

The investigation of this question is no piece of idle antiquarian curiosity. If, indeed, it did no more than to help us to picture truthfully to ourselves the outward figure and presentment of the monks and clerics of the ancient Celtic Church, it might yet be considered as not wholly wasted time. But, as we shall see, if the view here contended for be correct, it will be necessary to modify and readjust some inferences which have been too hastily drawn from certain figures of ecclesiastics (or supposed ecclesiastics) pictured in ancient manuscripts. The same remark would apply, of course, to figures on early British or Irish sculptured stones, did we find anywhere a representation of a tonsured ecclesiastic seen *in front*. In such a case (as is here contended) we could not, off hand, decide whether the figure was that of an ecclesiastic tonsured *more Romano*, or that of one tonsured *more Scotico*. But of this something further will be said before the conclusion of this paper.

In such an inquiry as the present, it is obvious that our true guide should be original sources, contemporary or nearly contemporary with the tonsure-controversy between the Celtic and Roman Churches.

¹ *Antiquæ Britonum Scotorumque ecclesiæ* (Lipsiæ, 1882), p. 21.

² *The Roman See and the Early Church* (1896), p. 414.

Now, we are so fortunate as to possess an authority of the first rank, both as regards time and fulness of statement, in the letter, preserved by Bede (*H. E.*, lib. v. cap. 21), written (in reply to questions) by Ceolfrid, Abbot of Wearmouth, to Naiton (or Nectan), King of the Picts. This letter is assigned by Haddan and Stubbs (*Councils, &c.*, iii. p. 294) to the year A.D. 710. And it may be asserted with entire confidence that it cannot in any case belong to a date more than a year or two before or a year or two after that time. The receipt of the letter was followed by the King's orders for the tonsuring of the ecclesiastics in his dominion *more Romano*. The document referred to is the more valuable because the majority of the allusions of contemporary writers are brief, and frequently obscure. Nor is this to be wondered at. The writers of that day were not explaining things for the benefit of after ages, but naturally assumed a knowledge of matters of everyday observation, which we do not possess. Ceolfrid's letter is therefore deserving of a careful study.

1. The letter of Ceolfrid is addressed "Domino excellentissimo et gloriosissimo Regi Naitano." It enters at once upon the Easter controversy (with which we are not here concerned); and after dealing with it at length, takes up, in reply to a request of the King, the question of the Tonsure. The letter is written in a conciliatory spirit, commencing with the admission that the Apostles were not all tonsured in the same fashion, and that the Catholic Church had everywhere agreement in faith, hope, and charity, though there were differences in the form of the tonsure. The allusion here is to the then current belief that the Eastern mode of shaving the whole head of ecclesiastics had its origin from St Paul, while the generally prevailing coronal tonsure of the West had St Peter for its author. Ceolfrid goes on to say that he is free to acknowledge that a difference in the shape of the tonsure is not harmful to those who have a pure faith towards God and love unfeigned towards their neighbour; and this more particularly as the matter had not (as in the case of the Easter question and questions of faith) been debated by the Catholic Fathers; yet, he adds, among all the tonsures, whether in the Church or among mankind generally, there was none that deserved to be more readily accepted

than that which was used by him to whom the Lord said "Thou art Peter, and on this rock," &c. ; and none more to be abhorred than that of him to whom the same Peter said "Thy money perish with thee," &c. Here the allusion is to the opprobrious appellation "the tonsure of Simon Magus," commonly bestowed, in this controversy, by the Roman ecclesiastics on the Celtic tonsure. It would be a mistake to allow ourselves at this point to enter upon the discussion of how this appellation came to be given, or what it signified. We proceed with the letter. Besides, added Ceolfrid, we are not tonsured in the form of a crown only because Peter was so tonsured, but because Peter adopted that tonsure in memory of the Lord's Passion. And so monks and clerics ought to bear a crown of the form of the crown of thorns which the Lord bore, so that by their very front (*ipso etiam frontispicio*) they might show that they bore scoffs and derision with a glad mind, and were looking for the crown of everlasting life, which God has promised to those that love Him, and for its sake despised both the prosperity and adversity of this world. The reader will observe that Ceolfrid speaks generally of 'monks and clerics,' and makes no exception, so far, of the monks and clerics of the Celtic Church ; and does not deny that the *frontispicium* of the Celtic monks showed this corona. And at this point we come to what I regard as the illuminative and, as I think, decisive passage :—"Which of the faithful, I ask, would not, instantly on seeing it, repudiate and justly reject, together with his sorcery, that tonsure which they say the sorcerer Simon had? For that tonsure, if indeed you look at the surface of merely the forehead (*in frontis quidem superficie*), seems to bear the appearance of a crown, but as, in looking at it attentively, you follow it to the neck (or back of the head), you will find that crown, which you thought you had seen, is cut short."¹ This is by far the clearest account we have in any early writer of the character of the Celtic tonsure, and the impression made by it is strengthened by a subsequent passage in the same epistle.

¹ "Quae primo aspectu in frontis quidem superficie, coronae videtur speciem praeferre ; sed ubi ad cervicem considerando perveneris, decurtatam eam quam te videre putabas, invenies coronam ; ut merito talem Simoniacis et non Christianis habitum convenire cognoscas ?" &c.—*Hist. Eccl.*, v. 21.

For, after some further moralising on the part of Ceolfrid, we come to a passage where he relates some particulars of an interview he had had with Adamnan a short time previously, and where we read :—“ In conversation I said to him [Adamnan], among other things, ‘ I beseech thee, holy brother, who believest that thou art advancing toward the crown of life that knows no ending (*quae terminum nesciat*), why dost thou, by a fashion contrary to thy belief, bear on thine head the form of a crown that has an ending (*terminatam in capite coronae imaginem*) ? ”¹

The rest of the interesting story does not bear upon the question before us.

Now, in endeavouring to gather the sense of these passages, we must remember that the word *corona* is not used for the tonsured or shaven part of the head, but for the fringe of hair contrasting with the shaven part. We learn that, if you looked in front at the Celtic tonsure, you saw what seemed a *corona*, that is, you saw a fringe of hair contrasting with a shaven surface ; but on looking at the neck (*cervicem*) or back of the head, you learned that the *corona* was incomplete. It was *decurtata* ; it was *terminata*. If the whole of the hair of the front of the head from a line drawn over the top from ear to ear was shorn, there would not be visible even a part of a *corona*. And in that case the natural course of argument for Ceolfrid to take with his opponents would have been to deny that they bore even the semblance of *corona*. This passage seems to me the clearest testimony we possess.²

As already stated, Ceolfrid’s letter was not without effect, and by the Pictish King’s decree all the ministers of the altar and the monks who remained in his dominion were tonsured *in coronam*.³ We may here

¹ The original is as follows :—“ Obsecro, sancte frater, qui ad coronam te vitae quae terminum nesciat tendere credit, quid contrario tuae fidei habitu terminatam in capite coronae imaginem portas ? ”—*Ibid.*

² Dr Giles, in his translation of Bede (*Miscellaneous Works of Venerable Bede*, vol. iii. p. 281), renders *in frontis quidem superficie* by “ upon the top of the forehead.” It may be questioned whether at the date of Bede any example could be found to warrant this sense of *superficies*. But the rendering does not affect the contention that the semblance of a *corona* means a fringe of hair contrasted with the shaven part of the head.

³ “ *Attendebantur omnes in coronam ministri altaris ac monachi.* ”—Bede, *H. E.*, v. 21 *ad finem*.

observe in passing, that if the Celtic tonsure consisted in the shaving all the hair from the front of the head, it would have been impossible, merely by shaving, to produce the proper coronal tonsure. The hair in front would have had to grow; and a delay of this kind (of three months) is actually recorded to have taken place in the case of Theodore of Tarsus, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, who had, after the Eastern fashion, been tonsured with the tonsure of St Paul, *i.e.*, had the *whole* head shaved (Bede, *H. E.*, iv. 1). No such delay is recorded in the case of the clergy and monks of the Pictish kingdom; nor would it have been needed to produce the fringe behind as well as in front of the ears. The razor had only to clear away another semilunar space at the back of the top of the head, and the scissors to clip the long locks below.

We may now proceed to examine other passages from early sources which bear more or less directly on the question before us, though none are so clear as that which has been just cited.

2. There is, it seems, an allusion to the contrast between the *corona terminata* and the *corona non terminata* in Bede's account (*H. E.*, v. 22) of the acceptance of the Roman Easter and Roman tonsure by the monks of Iona in the year A.D. 716, under the influence of the Saxon priest Egbert. "He taught them, as we have said, to keep the celebration of the principal solemnity [*i.e.*, Easter] according to the catholic and apostolic custom, *sub figura coronae perpetis* [*a.l.*, *perpetuae*]." And a few lines further down Bede speaks of the Britons still pertinaciously adhering to the practice of having their heads *sine corona*. Here Bede seems to refer in one sentence to the adoption of the two points so constantly pressed upon the Celtic churches.¹

3. One of the Cotton MSS. contains a collection of Irish canons which were known to Ussher, and from which he occasionally cites. They have been printed by Wasserschleben in his work *Die Irische Kanonensammlung* (2te auff., Leipzig, 1885). Among these we find a passage

¹ I am encouraged in this interpretation of the somewhat obscure sentence by a note in the scholarly edition of two books of Bede's History that has appeared under the editorship of Professor J. E. B. Mayor and Mr Lumby, *Ven. Bedae Hist. Eccl. Gentis Angl.*, lib. iii.-iv. p. 294.

cited as from Gildas,¹ which runs as follows: "Romani dicunt: Brittonum tonsura a Simone mago sumpsisse exordium traditur,² cujus tonsura de aure ad aurem tantum contingebat, pro excellentia [Ussher³ conjectures 'expellenda'] ipsa magorum tonsuræ [Ussher read 'tonsura'] qua sola frons anterior tegi solebat." The text, which is obviously corrupt, presents several difficulties; but we learn that this tonsure "reached only from ear to ear," whatever that may mean. Nothing is said of a fringe of hair being left; and nothing is said of the *whole* of the hair in front being shaved. But, it may be observed, the word *tonsura* was commonly used to signify not merely a shaving of the hair, but a shaving of the hair with its accompanying fringe. The passage should be read in the light of the clearer passage from Ceolfrid's letter to Naiton. In itself it offers nothing decisive on the question before us.

4. In the same MS. from which the last quotation was drawn, there is to be found (fol. 142*b*) the following among other reasons assigned for S. Peter adopting the coronal tonsure,—“Ut a Simone Mago Christianos discerneret in cuius capite cesaries ab aure ad aurem tonsæ anteriore parte; cum antea Magi in fronte cirrum habebant.” Here, as I understand the passage, we have it stated that the Magi used formerly to have a tuft of hair on the forehead, while the rest of the hair was shaved on the front of the head from ear to ear. To distinguish Christians from the followers of Simon Magus, St Peter is represented as adopting the full coronal tonsure. A tuft in front with the rest of the head shaven as far back as the ears would present a sufficient likeness of what (as is here contended) was the Celtic tonsure, to give ground for the gibe that the Celtic tonsure was derived from Simon Magus.⁴

In the curious document first printed by Ussher,⁵ entitled *Catalogus Sanctorum Hiberniæ*, which has been attributed with probability to some writer not later than the middle of the eighth century,⁶ we read of

¹ See the discussion on this passage in Hadden and Stubbs (*Councils*, i. 113).

² Wasserschleben: "tradunt," p. 212.

³ *Brit. Eccl. Antiq.*, p. 479.

⁴ It seems to me probable that the expression *cum antea Magi in fronte cirrum habebant* points to the fact that, at the time of the writer, the magi, or druids, of Ireland, if any were then to be found, did not wear this tuft or fringe.

⁵ *Brit. Eccl. Antiq.*, p. 473 sq. (edit. 1687).—*Works*, vol. vi. 477 sq.

⁶ See Todd's *St Patrick*, p. 89, note.

three orders of Irish Saints. The first order had "*unam tonsuram ab aure usque ad aurem*"; the second order had "*unam tonsuram ab aure ad aurem*"; the third order had "*diversam tonsuram,*" for "some had the *corona*, others the hair" (*alii enim habebant coronam alii cesariem*). Now, as we know that the *corona* was the typical Roman tonsure, it would appear that the *tonsuram ab aure ad aurem* of the first two orders corresponds to the *cesaries* to be found among some of the saints of the third. I cannot help thinking that if the whole of the front of the

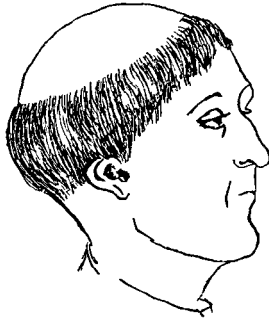


Fig. 1. Roman Tonsure.

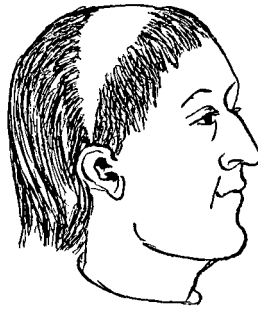


Fig. 2. Celtic Tonsure (according to the view here contended for).

head up to a line drawn over the top from ear to ear had been clean shaved, the expression 'the hair' would have been an unlikely term to apply to such a form of tonsure. If, however, we suppose that there was a band shaven from ear to ear, allowing a full fringe to show in front, while the whole of the back of the head was covered with its natural covering, such a tonsure as contrasted with the Roman *corona* might very well receive such an appellation.¹

6. We have a letter of Aldhelm, Abbot of Malmesbury, to Geruntius [Geraint], King of Damnonia (Dyfnaint, *i.e.*, Devonshire and Cornwall), written at the instance of a West-Saxon Synod in A.D. 705, to press

¹ Familiarity with the literature of the subject makes it plain that *corona* means the *circular fringe of hair* in the Roman tonsure, and not what we familiarly speak of as 'the crown of the head.' Hence, I take it, Bishop Healy has misunderstood the passage when he renders it "they [the third order] had also a different tonsure, for some had the crown (shaven), but others kept their hair (on the crown)." See *Insula Sanctorum et Doctorum*, p. 161.

upon him the duty of accepting the Roman Easter, *et de aliis pluribus ecclesiasticæ orthodoxitatis institutionibus*. The writer says he has heard that certain priests and clerics in the King's dominions pertinaciously refused the tonsure of St Peter, prince of the Apostles, and that they excused themselves on the ground that they were following the example of their predecessors in the faith. But though Aldhelm employs the usual scornful language of the tonsure which he attributes to Simon Magus, he gives us no hint as to what its nature was.¹

I have now noticed most, I think, if not all, of the passages in writers contemporary or nearly contemporary with the controversy. The letter of Ceolfrid is the only one that seems to me tolerably clear and distinct in its meaning. But the others can be readily understood in a sense quite compatible with it. Thus, when we meet the expression that the hair was shaved from ear to ear, it can be readily understood if we suppose that over the top of the head a band was laid bare by the razor, leaving hair in front as well as hair behind; while, when we learn that this shaving was in the front part of the head, it further locates this feature in the picture which we form. That the band of shaven surface was not of uniform breadth, but took a crescentic or semilunar shape, is probable from Ceolfrid's apparently noticing no difference between the appearance of the Celtic tonsure and the Roman, as seen *in front*.

In the passage cited from Thomas Innes, at the commencement of this paper, a reference is made to a picture of Mummolinus (elected 658 or 659 ?), Bishop of Noyon, an engraving of which is to be found in the *Annales Ordinis Sancti Benedicti* (tom. i. p. 487, edit. Verona, 1739).

The picture is one of several figures (*imagines eleganter depictæ*) found in an early manuscript,² the exact date of which—a point of the highest importance—is not assigned (so far as I have observed) by Mabillon.

Unfortunately, it is a mere conjecture of Mabillon that we have the

¹ See Haddan and Stubbs (*Councils*, iii. pp. 268–273), who print the document from Jaffé's edit. of *Epist. Bonif.*

² "Apud Elnonem in Belgio" (*i.e.*, St Amand).

Celtic tonsure represented here ; and he admits that it is improbable that a tonsure of this kind would have been tolerated by the Gallican bishops, who were wont very emphatically to condemn it. But assuming that the picture (fig. 3) is not merely a fanciful representation of an aged man, what can be gathered from it? The *occipitium intonsum* is plain enough, but are the lines crossing the forehead meant to represent the short, sparse hairs of a poorly grown *corona*? Without at least being able to examine the original, it seems useless to speculate. The picture is referred to alike by those who think there was not a frontal fringe, and by those who think there was. Mabillon's description of the Celtic tonsure, as given in the *Annales*, does not help us as to what was his own view on the particular point at issue. He says the Britons and

S. MVMOLEN?



Fig. 3. Mummolen. From Mabillon's *Annales Ordinis S. Benedicti*.

Scoti made entirely bare the front part of the head from ear to ear, the hinder part of the head remaining unshorn.¹ But the meaning of this turns largely on what is meant by the phrase 'from ear to ear.' In another of this scholar's great works, the *Acta Ordinis S. Benedicti*, he says, in language like that of Ceolfrid's letter, "Discipuli S. Columbani tonsuram gerebant Hibernicam, quae dimidiatam coronam reddebat; scilicet ab aure ad aurem per frontem in coronam cesus erat capillus; per occipitum capillus intonsus dependebat."—(*Sec. ii. p. 120.*) This latter passage, speaking of the hair being "cut into [the form of] a crown in front," seems to point to Mabillon supposing a fringe of hair remaining on the forehead.

It would seem to me that the language of Ussher, whose judgment must always be regarded with much respect, is capable of a similar interpretation. The Britons, Picts, and Irish, he says, had a tonsure different from that of the Romans, in that the former "were tonsured only on the

¹ "Brittones et Scotti anteriorem capitis partem capillis omnino nudabant ab aure ad aurem, posteriori intonsa.—*Annales O. S. B.*, tom. i. p. 434.

anterior part of the head, with a rounded tonsure indeed, but in an incomplete circle drawn from ear to ear (*rotundâ quidem tonsurâ, sed imperfecto orbe ab aure ad aurem circumducto*)."¹ Neither Mabillon nor Ussher had more evidence on the subject than we have; and we must judge the evidence for ourselves. It is, however, satisfactory that these authorities have not expressed themselves in language incompatible with the view maintained in this paper.

We may now, in conclusion, turn to consider the bearing this investigation has on some questions of archaeology and history.

(a) There is a small quarto manuscript on vellum of Adamnan's *Vita S. Columbae* preserved in the library of St Gall (No. 555), which Reeves has cited as 'Codex S.' Reeves attributes it to the early part of the ninth century. In antiquity it apparently comes next to Reeves' Codex A., now at Schaffhausen, which he attributes to the beginning of the eighth century. On the last page of the S. Gall manuscript is to be found pictured a figure of St Columba. The picture (fig. 4) represents the Saint with a large frontal fringe of peculiar shape, the upper part of the head being tonsured. Reeves, in his edition of *Adamnan*, writes, "In the St Gall copy of *Adamnan* there is a representation of St Columba, but it gives him the coronal tonsure,—a mistake into which a continental manuscript of the ninth century might fall" (p. 351). Now, if

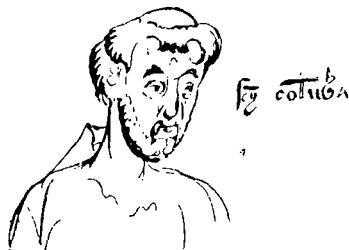


Fig 4. S. Columba, from Reeves' *Adamnan*.

the view contended for in this paper be correct, there may be no mistake here, but an attempt at representing the true Celtic tonsure. In this front view it is impossible to say whether the tonsure is coronal (in the sense of forming a perfect circle) or only that of the *corona dimidiata*, as described in Ceolfrid's letter. There seems to be a large growth of hair at the back of the head, like that of the Celtic monks, and the frontal fringe looks like a separate mass of hair.

(b) Again, Reeves writes—"The Book of Durrow has a picture of an

¹ *Brit. Eccl. Antiq.*, p. 479, edit. 1687.

ecclesiastic in a plaid chasuble, giving a good representation of this tonsure" (*i.e.* the Celtic tonsure).¹ This figure has been reproduced in Mr Westwood's *Fac-similes of the Miniatures and Ornaments of Anglo-Saxon and Irish Manuscripts*. I have examined the original in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, and I do not hesitate to say there is not a particle of evidence to suppose that the figure represents an ecclesiastic, or that his plaid garment is a chasuble; and, if the view here contended for be correct, we may dismiss the notion that we have here a representation of a Celtic ecclesiastical tonsure. Mr Westwood (p. 21) declares that "the head exhibits no sign of tonsure." In truth, the figure in the *Book of Durrow* is merely a grotesque symbol of the Evangelist St Matthew.

(c) Tighernach, under the year 716, marks the adoption at Iona of Easter according to the Roman computation (*Pasca commutatur in Eoa civitate*); and at the year 718 places the adoption at Iona of the coronal tonsure. Whether we are inclined to accept this statement as more historically correct than that of Bede, who seems to place both changes in the year 716 (*H. E.*, v. 22), or not, if the view here maintained be correct, we may perhaps disregard the remark of Dr Reeves that "the practical adoption of a new style of tonsure would require a longer preparation than a mere ritual observance [such as the change of Easter-day]" (p. 350). His reference to the delay in the tonsuring (in the Western fashion) of Theodore of Tarsus, Archbishop of Canterbury, is pertinent only on the assumption that his view of the Celtic tonsure is correct. But, indeed, Dr Reeves' reference to Theodore of Tarsus might have shown him that, if a delay of four months² was all that was needed for giving the coronal tonsure to one whose head was completely shorn, two years would not have been needed for giving (on his hypothesis of the form of the Celtic tonsure) a similar tonsure to the monks of Iona. If Tighernach is to be preferred as an authority to Bede's contemporary evidence, other reasons must be sought for the delay in adopting the Roman tonsure.

(d) The question before us does not, so far as I am aware, arise in the

¹ *The Life of St Columba*, p. 350, note g.

² Bede, *H. E.*, iv. 1.

investigation of the Sculptured Stones of Scotland. One of the St Vigeans¹ stones presents figures of two tonsured ecclesiastics, but they are exhibited in profile (fig. 5); and there can be no reasonable doubt that the tonsure there exhibited, as remarked by Dr John Stuart (*Sculptured Stones of Scotland*) and Dr Joseph Anderson (*Scotland in Early Christian Times*, second series, pp. 53, 54) is the Roman tonsure. And I am somewhat surprised to find so careful a worker as Dr Bright, in a recent lecture on "The Celtic Church in the British Isles,"² pointing to the St Vigeans stone as presenting an example of a Celtic tonsure.³ The reason why I consider that the St Vigeans stone represents a Roman tonsure is not because there is exhibited a fringe of hair in front, but because the hair at the back is also—plainly, as it seems to me—represented in the form of a fringe, and not as if allowed to grow long.⁴

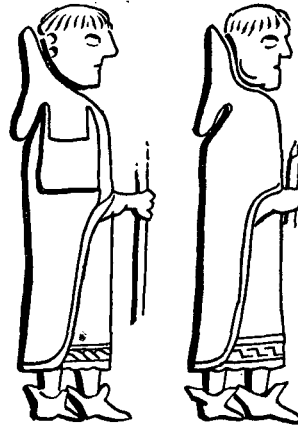


Fig 5. St Vigeans Stone.

¹ See Stuart's *Sculptured Stones*, vol i. plate lxxv.

² See *The Roman See in the Early Church, and other Studies in Church History* (1896), p. 414, note i.

³ Unless it be due to his accepting the picture of St Mommolen as a representation of a normal Celtic tonsure, I cannot understand why Dr Bright (*l.c.*) says, "The peculiarity of the Celtic tonsure consisted in leaving a *small* fringe of hair across the forehead and letting the hair grow behind," &c. In Ceolfrid's letter there is no hint that the Celtic tonsure, *as seen in front*, differed in any respect from the Roman tonsure. It is, however, satisfactory to find that Dr Bright accepts the view that there was a frontal fringe in the Celtic. Whether that fringe was large or small is a matter of less importance.

⁴ Even modern art has been affected by the opinion to which Reeves and Todd have given currency. Dr Chinnery-Haldane (Bishop of Argyll and the Isles, in the Episcopal Church) has recently erected a statue of St Columba in Iona; and, following the current, but, as I maintain, incorrect notion, has caused the sculptor to represent the whole of the front of the head as bare.