

Durham E-Theses

A new survey of contacts between Celtic Scotland and pre-Viking Northumbria

Kirby, D. P.

How to cite:

Kirby, D. P. (1962) A new survey of contacts between Celtic Scotland and pre-Viking Northumbria. Doctoral thesis, Durham University.

Use policy

The full-text may be used and/or reproduced, and given to third parties in any format or medium, without prior permission or charge, for personal research or study, educational, or not-for-profit purposes provided that:

- a full bibliographic reference is made to the original source
- a <https://etheses.durham.ac.uk/id/eprint/10352/> is made to the metadata record in Durham E-Theses
- the full-text is not changed in any way

The full-text must not be sold in any format or medium without the formal permission of the copyright holders.

Please consult the [full Durham E-Theses policy](#) for further details.

A NEW SURVEY OF CONTACTS BETWEEN
CELTIC SCOTLAND AND PRE-VIKING NORTHUMBRIA.

The copyright of this thesis rests with the author.
No quotation from it should be published without
his prior written consent and information derived
from it should be acknowledged.

CONTENTS.

Introduction.

Abbreviations.

Chapter I. Anglo-Saxon and Celt in North Britain during the years of conquest.

- (i) The value of the *Historia Brittonum* for the origins of Northumbria, together with a chronological revision of the regnal years of the earliest Northumbrian kings.
- (ii) The value of the bardic poems and the British genealogies.
- (iii) The British resistance to the Angles of Northumbria.
- (iv) The Picts and the Scots.

Chapter II. The Pre-Viking Church in North Britain.

(A) The Columban Church in Scotland.

- (i) Ninian and the Southern Picts.
- (ii) The missionary activity of St. Columba.

(B) The Scottish Mission to Northumbria.

- (i) The mission of Paulinus.
- (ii) Aidan, bishop of Lindisfarne.
- (iii) The anti-Scottish reaction.

(C) The Romanisation of the Celtic Church in Scotland.

- (i) Preliminary contacts.
- (ii) The Roman triumph.
- (iii) The legends of St. Andrews and their historical significance.

Chapter III. Art relationships in North Britain in the pre-Viking period

(i) General Introduction.

- (a) The advance of the Mediterranean culture.
- (b) Trade as a medium of communication.

(ii)The artistic culture of North Britain.

(a)Manuscripts.

(b)Stone sculpture.

(i)Early Northumbrian Development.

(ii)The crosses of S.W.Scotland and their Cumbrian affiliations.

(iii)The crosses of Dalriada.

(iv)The chronology and geographical distribution of Pictish sculpture.

Appendices.

Appendix I; The Chronology of Bede's Historia Ecclesiastica.

Appendix II; The Historical Poems of Taliesin; Text and Translation.

Bibliography.

INTRODUCTION

This study is concerned with relationships between Celtic Scotland and pre-Viking Northumbria.

In an earlier dissertation for the degree of Master of Arts, a survey was made of military and political relationships between Northumbria and the Celtic peoples of Strathclyde and Scotland, c.500-850. The present thesis, while devoting attention to a reconsideration of the chronology of the Anglo-Saxon Conquest in Northumbria, is primarily concerned with ecclesiastical and artistic links.

The revised chronology of the Anglian conquest of Northumbria is to be related to the revised chronology of Bede's Historia Ecclesiastica which has been inserted in the Appendices (Appendix I) (1). The British background is illuminated by the historical bardic poems of Taliesin and, while extracts from these poems have been quoted in the text, the complete poems, text and translation, have been inserted in the Appendices (Appendix II), together with an important poem attributed to Llywarch Hen.

The history of the early Church in Scotland and Northumbria has been retold several times but often with a considerable degree of bias and the true picture often distorted to serve a private theory or a personal prejudice. An attempt has been made to correct certain chronological errors, to set developments and personalities - Columba,

(1) Both chronological studies are to be published in the English Historical Review.

Paulinus, Aidan, Wilfrid - in their proper perspective, and to unravel the traditions which illuminate the early history of St. Andrews - one of the leading cultural centres of early Scotland.

The Church in North Britain in the pre-Viking period has bequeathed a legacy of stone monuments and illuminated manuscripts to posterity through which an approximate idea of cultural boundaries and artistic relationships may be gained. There remains so much uncertainty among art historians with regard to the origins and homes of the manuscripts and the typology and chronology of the monuments that a final assessment is not yet possible. Nevertheless, certain features of both manuscripts and monuments permit tentative hypotheses with regard to origins, date and relationships; it would appear that while manuscript illumination suggests a common culture in North Britain and Ireland, the evidence of monumental sculpture indicates that this apparent common culture is only a veneer which covers but does not hide the deep-rooted individualities and linguistic and tribal separatism.

The period c.500-875 was a time when North Britain was in the melting pot; after 875 the situation worsened with the Viking irruptions and the addition of further warrior groups to the northern scene. This was primarily the age of the shield and battle-axe. Despite the Conversion and the eighth century renaissance, the great age of the Church was to be the period c.1050-1300 - and in the period with which this study is concerned this was a long time ahead. This point is worth stressing since the pre-occupation of this study with the Church and

art relationships may give an erroneous impression of the climate of civilisation in North Britain in the pre-Viking period. Care has been taken, nevertheless, to avoid as much as possible any duplication of material contained in the previous dissertation.

Professor K.H.Jackson guided the work on the Historia Brittonum, the Church in Scotland, and the poems of Taliesin and his contemporaries; but the conclusions on the nature and trends of the Anglian Conquest, and the evaluation of individual ecclesiastical personalities do not necessarily reflect Professor Jackson's views. Similarly, Miss R.Cramp, who supervised and directed the work on art relationships, is not to be held responsible for every opinion expressed. To both Professor Jackson and Miss Cramp the present writer is very grateful for their help and guidance.

ABBREVIATIONS

A.Ael.	Archaeologia Aeliana.
A.T.	Annals of Tigernach.
A.U.	Annals of Ulster.
B.B.C.S.	Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies.
C.A.	Canu Aneirin.
C.L.H.	Canu Llywarch Hen.
C.P.N.S.	History of the Celtic Place-Names of Scotland.
C.T.	Canu Taliesin.
C.W.	Cumberland and Westmorland Antiq. Society.
D.G.	Dumfriesshire and Galloway Antiq. Society.
E.B.S.	Studies in Early British History.
E.H.R.	English Historical Review.
E.C.M.S.	Early Christian Monuments of Scotland.
E.S.	Early Sources of Scottish History.
H.E.	Historia Ecclesiastica.
I.H.S.	Irish Historical Studies.
L.C.P.S.A.	Liber Cartarum Prioratus Sancti Andree in Scotia.
M.G.H. A.A.	Monumenta Germaniae Historica; Auctorum Antiquissimorum.
N.C.	Northumbrian Crosses in the Pre-Norman Age.
P.P.	Problem of the Picts.
P. & S.	Chronicles of the Picts and Scots.
P.S.A.S.	Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.

R.C.	Revue Celtique.
R.S.	Rolls Series.
S.D.	Symeon of Durham.
S.E.B.C.	Studies in the Early British Church.
S.H.R.	Scottish Historical Review.
T.R.H.S.	Trans. Royal Historical Society.
Y.C.	Y Cymmrodor.

ANGLO-SAXON AND CELT IN NORTH BRITAIN DURING THE YEARS OF
CONQUEST.

(i) The value of the Historia Brittonum for the origins of Northumbria, together with a chronological revision of the regnal years of the earliest Northumbrian kings.

It is now believed that no extant version represents the original form of the Historia Brittonum; the many MSS. which exist of this work have to be put together to form a composite whole(1).

Nennius(2) is not named in the earliest MSS; the Z recension (Chartres 98), an imperfect fragment of c.900, describes itself only as a set of extracts made by the son of Urbagen from the book of St. Germanus(3). The Vatican recension(Vat.Ref.964 M), of the eleventh century, ascribes itself to Mark, a British bishop(4). Mark went to Gaul c.850-873 and in supplying Heiric of Auxerre with information about St. Germanus among the Britons for Heiric's proposed Life of Germanus told him of the existence of British written records of Germanus(5). He could have been referring either to the Historia or to the book of Germanus, one of the sources of the Historia. No doubt this Vatican recension is the work of Mark(6) - and this suggests that he was probably referring to the Historia itself. The Harleian MS. H.3859, of c.1100, contains no note of authorship.

It is the twelfth century Cambridge group of manuscripts which

(1) The Historia Brittonum has been edited by T. Mommsen, M.G.H. A.A. xiii Pt. I. Berlin 1894. pp. 111-222; & by F. Lot, Nennius et l'Historia Brittonum, Paris 1934. (2) The original form of the name was Nennius; I. Williams, Notes on Nennius, B.B.C.S. vii. 1933-35. pp. 380-389 (p. 381). (3) Ed. F. Lot, Ibid, pp. 227-231. (4) Ed. W. Gunn, The Historia Brittonum, Lond. 1819. (5) N. K. Chadwick, Early Culture and Learning in North Wales, S.E.B.C. Cambridge 1958. pp. 104-08. 112. (6) The surviving MS., however, is based on a copy of 943-44; I. Williams, Mommsen and the Vatican Nennius, B.B.C.S. xi. 1941. pp. 43-48.

contain the prologue and the attribution to Nennius, who describes himself as the author and as a disciple of Elvodugus(1). This latter is believed to be the Elfoddw who is credited with having emended the date of Easter among the Britons and who died in 809(2), which gives a date for Nennius himself.

It is not easy to analyse the part played by Nennius in the compiling of the Historia Brittonum or to date the production of the work. In the genealogical tracts incorporated in the Historia the last king named is Ecgferth of Mercia who reigned for a short time in 796(3); but this does not necessarily mean that the Historia was put together in 796 or even soon after that year. H.M.Chadwick argued from a reference to King Fernmail that an early recension of the work was produced c.800(4), and I.Williams is of the similar opinion that there was a pre-820 edition(5). The most that can really be said though is that there may have been a preliminary draft. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the most important date in the evolution of the Historia was 829 which is given by the direct reference to the fourth year of King Merfyn and by calculations in a subsequent chapter (6). If, in fact, the Historia Brittonum is to be set against the background of the rise to power of Merfyn Vrych(7), 829 is obviously a more intelligible date than c.800. It appears to be a valid

(1) M.G.H. A.A.xiii.p.143. I.Williams, The Nennian Preface, B.B.C.S.ix. 1937-39.pp.342-344. (2) N.K.Chadwick, ibid, S.E.B.C.p.44. (3) M.G.H. A.A.xiii.p.204. (4) E.B.S. Cambridge 1954.p.25. (5) Notes on Nennius, B.B.C.S.vii.p.387. (6) M.G.H. A.A.xiii.pp.158. (7) I.Williams, ibid, p.387.
(7) N.K.Chadwick, ibid, S.E.B.C.p.79ff.

hypothesis, since an early ninth century date is given for Nennius by the reference to Elfoddw, to assume that it was Nennius who was responsible for the compilation of the Historia in 839, with possibly an earlier draft nearer c.800.

For the immediate concern of this study, however, it is not so much the precise date at which the Historia Brittonum was put together which is important as the dating and analysis of some of the material which was incorporated by Nennius in his work. Nennius himself lists some of his sources; the chronicles of Jerome, Eusebius, Isidore, Prosper, annals of the Irish and Saxons, and ancestral tradition(1), and elsewhere he refers to material given him by the bishops Renchidus and Elbobdus(2).

The Historia, however, can be broken up more minutely than this. For the study of Northumbrian origins, two sections are of fundamental importance; first, the set of Saxon genealogies, the latest name in which dates to 796 and to which extracts have been added from the second source(3), and secondly the tract now called the Northern History(4). There can be no doubt that the notes included in the genealogies were extracted from this second tract, the Northern History. It begins with Ida of Bernicia and ends with the death of Cuthbert in 687 and consists of British material blended with extracts from Bede's Historia Ecclesiastica but still pro-British in sympathy - there is

(1)M.G.H. A.A.xiii.p.143. (2)Ibid,p.207. (3)Ibid,pp.202-205. (4)IBid, pp.205-208.

obvious joy in the outcome of Nechtanesmere. This blending was not done before 737 for the list, order, and regnal years of the kings of Bernicia are identical with the Moore Memoranda list which dates to 737(1); the blender, in fact, has used the same version, and as he had access to Northumbrian material in this instance he was also probably the man who extracted passages from Bede. There is no evidence elsewhere in the Historia Brittonum that Nennius knew the Historia Ecclesiastica and so the blending had probably been done by someone between 737 and c.800-839.

This post-737 writer, therefore, possessed a body of British material which dealt with the wars of the Northumbrians with the north Britons and subsequently with the Welsh. The important issue is the actual age of this British material. The reference to the nine year reign of Ecgfrith of Northumbria is of no assistance since this is probably the result of an error - the misreading of xiiii years as viiii years(2). Nevertheless, these British traditions are much older than 737(3); the royal nicknames of the Bernician kings seem contemporary and must soon have been written down before they became forgotten. The names Cunedag and Atbret, in these particular forms are almost certainly seventh century. Birdei is a seventh century form of a Pictish name, and Urbgen might also be early - but this

(1)P.Hunter Blair, The Moore Memoranda on Northumbrian History, Early Cultures of North West Europe, ed.C.Fox and B.Dickins, Cambridge 1950. pp.243-259. (2)H.M.Chadwick, Origins of the English Nation,p.325. (3)For guidance with the Historia Brittonum and particularly for the following points I am indebted to Professor K.H.Jackson.

could be eighth century. There seems to be a nucleus of seventh century British notes lying behind this Northern History; a similar set of notes or annals possibly lie behind the early section of the Annales Cambriae(1). H.M.Chadwick believed that a Strathclyde chronicle existed in the eighth century, covering the years 550-750 and used by the Annales Cambriae and the Northern History(2). The references in the Historia to the writings of the son of Urbagen and to the baptism of Edwin by Run map Urbagen suggest the possibility that Run was the Run, son of Urbgen or Urien of Rheged who figures in the Northern History, and that he made the original notes out of which the Northern History grew, but this is difficult if not impossible to prove, and his work must have been continued by others anyway. There were, of course, several centres in the north in the seventh-eighth centuries at which material concerning the Northumbrian-British wars could be put together; N.K.Chadwick suggests two alternatives - Carlisle and Candida Casa(Whithorn)(3) - to which Glasgow or Dumbarton may be added.

The Historia Brittonum is a complicated and interesting source which has not even yet yielded up all its secrets. The chapters on Vortigern have recently been reviewed in a new light in a study, by J.D.Bu'lock, which, though it needs to be treated cautiously, points nevertheless to new provocative lines of thought(4). It is the same with the chapters which make up the Northern History. Here is a source

(1)N.K.Chadwick, ibid,S.E.B.C.p.66ff. (2)Growth of Literature, vol.I. Cambridge 1932.p.148. (3)S.E.B.C.pp.60-73. (4)Vortigern and the Pillar of Eliseg, Antiq.34.1960.pp.49-53.

which bears apparent internal evidence of a seventh century date of origin. It deserves, therefore, the close attention due to material of such antiquity, for this tract tells the historian a certain amount of great value about the Northumbrian conquest and contains information which enables an alternative chronology for the earliest Northumbrian kings to be put forward.

The early kings who are said to have ruled in Bernicia - from Ida in 547 to Aethelfrith(593-617)(1) - were heathen princes about whom little has survived in Northumbrian Christian tradition. Their names, however, together with the lengths of their reigns, have been preserved in several Northumbrian king lists, the oldest of which is the list in the Moore MS. of Bede's Historia Ecclesiastica(2). This is the list which was used by the post-737 writer who blended the Northern History with extracts from Bede; it sets the succession and figures out as follows -

Ida 12 years, Glappa 1; Adda 8; Aethelric 4; Theodoric 7; Frithuwald 6; Hussa 7; Aethelfrith 24.

P.Hunter Blair has dated the Moore list to 737, and has pointed out that if all the regnal years of all the kings are added together and subtracted from the year 737(end of Ceolwulf's reign) the date 547 is reached for the accession to power of Ida(3). On the basis of the Moore figures the following dates are obtained for these kings;-

(1)My revised dating; see Appendix I; The Chronology of Bede's Historia Ecclesiastica . (2)P.Hunter Blair, Early Cultures of North West Europe, pp.243-259. (3)Ibid,p.247.

Ida(547-559); Glappa(559-560); Adda(560-568); Aethelric(568-572); Theodoric(572-579); Frithuwald(579-585); Husa(585-592); Aethelfrith(592-616).

P.Hunter Blair accepts these dates except that he illogically begins Aethelfrith's reign in 593(1). Bede's Historia Ecclesiastica contains evidence that the Moore list has ascribed one year too many to King Ecgrith and that in consequence all these figures are one year behind(2); Aethelfrith's accession date is indeed 593, but Ida's should be 548. There is, however, evidence which suggests even greater error with these early princes.

There is a Deiran king-list incorporated in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle A under 560 and 588. In MSS.B & C of the Chronicle under 560 it is stated that Aelle of Northumbria became king in that year and reigned thirty winters(3). This entry reads like an extract from an early list. So far as can be seen the list took the compiler off the Chronicle no further than Aethelric who is said to have succeeded Aelle in 588 and to have reigned for five years; he is represented as having been succeeded by Aethelfrith actually in 593(4). It will be recalled that the Moore list gave Aethelric only four years. It is probable - as will be shown - that the Chronicler, who has clearly juggled with the dates of Aelle(560-88 is not thirty years), put two and two together and decided that if Aethelfrith succeeded in 593 Aethelric died that year, thereby reigning five years. Nevertheless,

(1)E.B.S.p.149. (2)See Appendix I for full discussion. (3)Earle & Plummer, Two Saxon Chronicles Parallel, vol.1.Oxford 1892.p.18.n.1. (4)Ibid,pp.20-21.

the chronicler was certainly using an early source for it is difficult to see how otherwise, writing c.892, he could have known about Aethelric, an obscure prince to whom Bede makes no allusion.

The appearance of Aethelric in the Chronicle ruling from 588 gives rise to doubts concerning the order of the kings as given in the Moore MS. P.Hunter Blair resolves the difficulty by creating two Aethelrics - a Bernician one ruling 568-572 and a Deiran one reigning 588-593. Florence of Worcester, or whoever produced the Chronicon ex Chronicis resorted to a similar solution by giving Aethelric two years in Bernicia followed by five over Deira.

Aethelric, therefore, presents a problem; so do certain other kings. To preserve his dating, based on the Moore MS., P.Hunter Blair has ignored all the British evidence in the Historia Brittonum which, he states, must be treated with some reserve(1). The Historia contains, as already outlined, a post 737 work which used seventh century British material with extracts from Bede and with an identical king list to that in the Moore MS. The historian's faith in the Moore order of succession must be shaken by the appearance of Aethelric in 588 instead of 568 and he will turn with interest to indications of an entirely different order of succession in the British material used by the post-737 writer.

The Northern History gives the following important facts;

(i) It implies that Hussa reigned before Theodoric. The

(1) E.B.S. p.152.

British chieftains, Urbgen, Riderch, Gwallauc, and Morcant appear to be represented as fighting first against Hussa and then Urbgen and Morcant at least are involved in a subsequent campaign against Theodoric(1).

(ii)Frithuwald is stated to have been reigning at the time of the Augustine mission(597)(1). Frithuwald cannot have reigned, therefore, from 579-585. There are no grounds - apart from rigid adherence to the Moore list - for doubting the authenticity of this note. Bede, in the De Temporum Ratione, got hold of a confused account of such a tradition as this and represented Aelle as being alive in 597(2). Aelle, however, died in 588.

(iii)Aethelfrith is stated to have ruled twelve years in Bernicia and then twelve years over both Bernicia and Deira(1). These periods would be respectively 593-605 and 605-617.

The significance of this is at once apparent. If Frithuwald was reigning c.597 he must have been king in Deira because at that time Aethelfrith was king in Bernicia. It is interesting to note that Roger of Wendover has a faintly lingering glimmer of the true facts when he writes,

"Fretewulfus regnavit in Deira vii annis" (3); subsequently this is adjusted to Bernicia(4).

Two kings, therefore, on the evidence of the Northern History and a whisp of tradition in Wendover were reigning together c.597,

(1)M.G.H. A.A.xiii.p.206. (2)Ibid,p.309. (3)Flores Historiarum, ed. H.R.Luard; Rolls London 1890.vol.1.p.276. (4)Ibid,p.277.

one in Bernicia, the other in Deira. When Bede added and subtracted his king-list figures and obtained 547 for the start of Ida's reign he cannot have considered the possibility that the earliest kings may not have ruled successively. The modern historian, in the light of seventh century evidence which Bede did not possess, must reckon with the possibility that if two kings reigned together c.597, two others may have ruled jointly at some other date; he must consider who else may have been reigning in Bernicia when Aethelric was king in Deira.

Calculating backwards the following dates emerge; for Bernicia - Aethelfrith's first twelve years(593-605), Theodoric's seven(586-593), Hussa's seven(579-586), Adda and Glappa together giving a total of nine(570-579), Ida's twelve(558-570). In Deira - Aelle died in 588; Aethelric reigned four years(588-592), the 593 date being the result of the Chronicler regarding Aethelfrith as the successor of Aethelric. Actually, Aethelric was succeeded by Frithuwald(592-598).

Ida, therefore, began to reign in 558, not 547. It will be recalled that, though the Chronicle B & C states that Aelle was king thirty winters, his dates are recorded as 560-588 - ie. only twenty-eight years. The xxx wintra of the Chronicle does not leave much room for error there. The fact that if Aelle's true dates were 558-588, his accession in Deira would coincide with the advent to power in Bernicia of Ida makes it a strong possibility that 560 is as bogus a date as 547.

From this revision it is apparent that a far closer link between the origins of Bernicia and Deira may be postulated, and the warfare with the Britons much more concentrated than might have been thought, a fact of fundamental importance when the British resistance to the Northumbrians comes to be considered.

With the use of the Historia Brittonum the years of conquest can now be seen against a chronological framework which shows that the internal history of the Anglian kingdoms of Northumbria was closely interwoven. Adda was a son of Ida but Glappa does not seem to have been(1). The Moore list, however, states that Glappa ruled after Ida for one year - he was probably a representative of another line who was quickly vanquished by the son of Ida. In 579 Husa, of uncertain parentage, secured control but in 586 Theodoric, son of Ida, regained power for Ida's dynasty which was to be securely held for many generations to come(2). In Theodoric's time, Aethelric, son of Adda and Theodoric's own nephew(2), went into Deira and made himself king in 588. The late sources, the Vita S.Oswaldi, states that he slew Aelle(3). If more was known of the original relationship between Ida and Aelle it might be possible to say whether Aethelric's undoubted invasion of Deira was the result of some legal claim or whether it was one of pure aggression. The former possibility should not be too lightly dismissed. In 592 Aethelric died and Frithuwald succeeded in Deira until his death in 598, when Hering, son of Husa, who is suspected of having allied with the Scots in 604 against Aethelfrith,

(1) M.G.H. A.A. xiii. p. 202. (2) Ibid, p. 206. (3) Symeon of Durham (S.D.) ed. T. Arnold, Rolls London vol. L. 1882. p. 363.

probably succeeded. For all that is known to the contrary, Hússa may have been a Deiran prince. In 593, Theodoric having died, Aethelfrith, son of Aethelric, succeeded in Bernicia; victorious in 604 over Aedan of Dalriada and probably also over Hering, in 605 he followed the footsteps of his father and mastered Deira, driving out Edwin, son of Aelle(1). On his death, his united Northumbria passed to Edwin(617-638) but in 638 it was recovered by Oswald, son of Aethelfrith.

It must never be forgotten that Northumbria was really two kingdoms and throughout the pre-Viking period the two units were held together only with great difficulty. Oswiu was faced with the Deiran prince Oswine in the southern kingdom until he managed to assassinate him in 652, after which Aethelwald, son of Oswald and a Bernician, set himself up as king in Deira and intrigued with Penda against his uncle. Oswiu probably used Alchfrith and later on Ecgfrith similarly with Aelfwine to conciliate and hold down Deira. Bernicia came to be a battleground for rival families descended from Ida from 716 on, and in 759 Deiran princes seized their opportunity to assert their power over Bernicia(2). These divisions and rivalries are seen in perspective when it is fully appreciated how they seem to have grown out of the forcible fusion of two different units in the sixth and early seventh centuries.

(1)H.E.II.12. (2)This aspect of Northumbrian internal development was fully outlined in the preceeding MA.thesis - Northumbrian relations with the Celtic peoples of Strathclyde and Scotland c.500-850. Durham 1960.p.130ff.

(ii) The value of the bardic poems and the British genealogies.

The Historia Brittonum contains the well known passage that, at some time in the sixth century,

"..Talhaern Tataguen in poemate claruit et Neirin, et Taliessin, et Bluchbard, et Cian, qui vocatur Gueinth Guaut, simul uno tempore in poemate Britannico claruerunt"(1).

Pre-twelfth century Welsh poetry, including some ascribed to Aneirin and Taliesin, two of the poets named above, is found in five MSS. which are all late copies; the Black Book of Carmarthen(B.B.C.) of c.1200, the Book of Aneirin of c.1250, the Book of Taliesin of c.1250-1300, the Red Book of Hergest of c.1400, and the fragmentary White Book of the early fourteenth century. The poems of Taliesin and Aneirin are found throughout these MSS; with them are poems ascribed to Llywarch Hen, a sixth century North British chieftain and a relative of Urbgen or Urien of Rheged.

The evidence afforded by these poems is highly relevant to the origins of Northumbria. There is no doubt now that Welsh existed by the second half of the sixth century and that -

" the poems of Taliesin and Aneirin could have been composed in Welsh, not British, towards the end of that century"(2).

G.Evans criticised the early poems attributed to Taliesin, which deal with Urien and his son Owain, and assigned them to the twelfth century, maintaining that they dwelt with twelfth century events(3). J.Morris-

(1)M.G.H. A.A.xiii.p.205. (2)K.H.Jackson, Language and History in Early Britain, Edinburgh 1953.p.693. (3)Evans produced several works; Facsimile and Text of the Book of Taliesin, Llanbedrog 1910; Poems from the Book of Taliesin, edited, emended, and translated.1915; and Taliesin, Y.C.xxxiv.1924.pp.1-23. None are of any value.

Jones(1) and I.Williams(2), however, have rejected these views and, with a surer knowledge of the development of the Welsh language have set the study of these poems on a sounder footing, establishing a sixth century nucleus.

Linguistic evidence is the surest criterion for judging the age of a poem, and there is clear evidence that earlier written versions lie behind the existing MSS. The Gododdin poem of Aneirin is found in only one MS. but the transcription is the work of two scribes, A - who gives his version in modernised spelling - and B who preserves the unmodernised spelling of the ninth century or even of the eighth(3). One fifth of the poem, in fact, contains archaic spelling(4). The poems of Taliesin contain a nucleus of twelve historical poems(5) which also preserve earlier archaic words and are often quite unintelligible. Both the historical poems of Taliesin and the Gododdin of Aneirin read as if they were contemporary with what they describe. These poems were meant to be panegyrics on famous leaders and warriors; there would be no point in a later writer composing the Gododdin for all the characters are either very obscure or else completely unknown. With the poems of Taliesin, a forger would have had to have possessed wide knowledge of northern events, to have avoided anachronisms and references to later events while also using archaic language, and he would have needed to

(1) Taliesin, Y.C.xxviii.1918. (2) I.Williams, Lectures on Early Welsh Poetry, Dublin 1944. Canu Taliesin(C.T.), Cardiff 1960. (3) K.H.Jackson, The Gododdin of Aneurin, Antiq.xiii.1939.pp.25-37(p.29ff.). The poem is edited in Welsh by I.Williams, Canu Aneirin(C.A.), Cardiff 1938. (4) I.Williams, Lectures on Early Welsh Poetry, p.66. (5) Ibid, p.55ff. These are the poems which are edited in C.T.

be a great realist, a rare poet, and a master of the Welsh language, but to have applied all his gifts, his extraordinary gifts, to forging poems to attribute to someone else(1).

The same, it appears, cannot be said for the poems of Llywarch Hen. These are ninth century poems, reflecting Welsh-Mercian conflicts of that time(2). Nevertheless, there is one lengthy poem attributed to Llywarch which deals with the death of Urien of Rheged and which may embody early traditions, and G.Williams considers it difficult to abandon the sixth century Llywarch as the original composer of "at least the kernal of the poetry" (3). The Myrddin or Merlin poems, for example, are generally considered to be late, but the poem on the Dialogue between Myrddin and his sister Gwendydd, referring to people who fought at Arthuret(573), is now considered to rest on an earlier poem of c.1000(4).

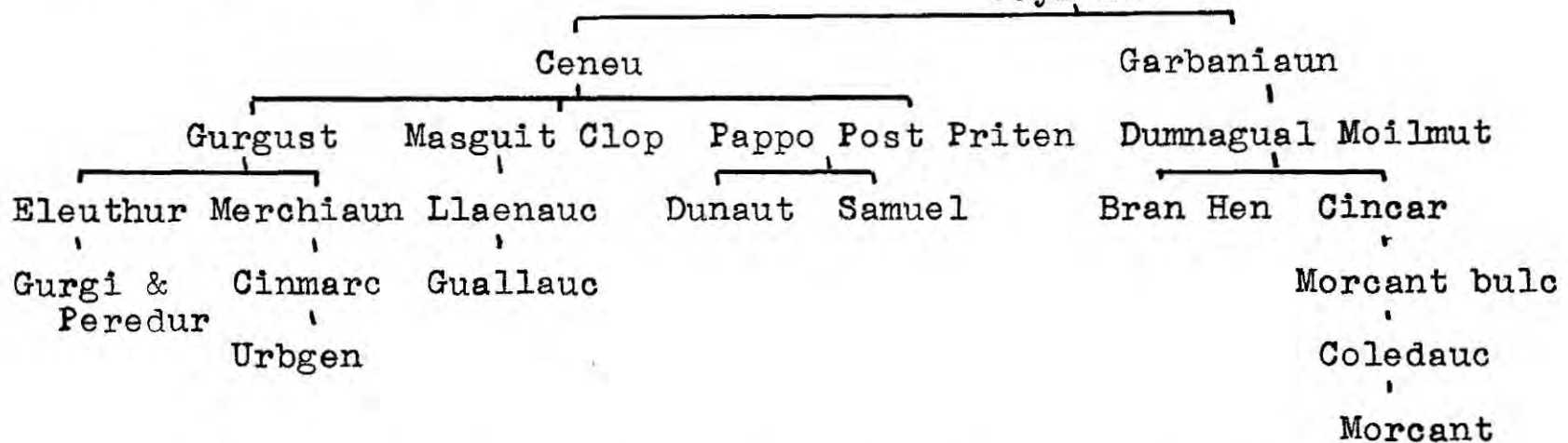
The early bards were a trained hierarchy of poets employed to sing the praises of their aristocratic patrons. It would appear also, from the numerous Celtic genealogies which have survived, that the codification and preservation of dynastic genealogies was the task of professional court genealogists. The genealogies at the end of the Harleian MS.3859, which contains the Historia Brittonum and the Annales Cambriae, bear evidence of having been put together at the last half of the tenth century and, like the poems, contain early spellings(5)

(1) J. Morris-Jones, Taliesin, Y.C.xxviii.1918.p.224. (2) I. Williams, The Poems of Llywarch Hen, Proc.Brit.Acad.xviii.1932.pp.269-302. & Lectures on Early Welsh Poetry, p.34ff. The poems of Llywarch are edited by I. Williams, Canu Llywarch Hen(C.L.H.) Cardiff 1935. (3) An Introduction to Welsh Poetry, London 1953.p.38. (4) Essays and Studies to John MacNeill, ed.J.Ryan. Dublin 1940.p.545. (5) E. Phillimore, Y.C.1888.pp.141-183.

Welsh literature supplies genealogical trees for Wales, North Britain, and South-West Britain. Many of these genealogies concern the princes who ruled between the Walls at the time of the Anglo-Saxon Conquest, and they all reach back to two chieftains, Coel Hen(the Old) and Ceretic Gwledig(1). From the printed editions of the most important versions of these trees(2), the following tables may be constructed.

(a)The Rheged line of Coel Hen.

Aballac - Eudelen - Eudof - Ebiud - Outigir - Oudecant - Ritigirn -
Iumetel - Grat - Urban - Telpuil - Tecmant - Guotepauc
Coel Hen



Gurgi and Peredur are said to have perished in 580 in the Annales Cambriae. Urbgen is the Urbgen of the Historia Brittonum and the Urien of the bardic poems. In one of the poems of Taliesin Owain, son of Urien, appears to be referring to Ceneu son of Coel(3), and the Urien poem of Llywarch describes Urien as the son of Kynvarch(Cinmarc)(4). Taliesin also has two poems to Guallauc in one of which Gwallauc is referred to as the son of Lleennaug(5). There can be no doubt that this

(1)Professor Jackson has pointed out to me that this does not mean overlord, but simply lord or chief. (2)E.Phillimore, The Annales Cambriae and the Old-Welsh genealogies from Harl.MS.3859, Y.C.ix.1888. pp.141-183. A.W.Wade-Evans, Nennius's History of the Britons, Lond.1938. pp.101-114. (3)C.T.p.6.line 11. (4)C.L.H.p.12. verse 7. (5)C.T.p.16. line 38.

is the Guallauc who fights beside Urien in the Historia Brittonum .
The treacherous Morcant of the Historia is most probably to be identified with Morcant map Coledauc. If this is so, it should be noted that he was probably a younger man than either Guallauc or Urien.

(b) The Strathclyde Line of Ceretic guletic.

Confer ip - Fer(?) - Cursalem - Cluim - Cinhil - Cynloyp - Ceretic-
Cinuit - Dumnagual hen

Guipno	Clinoch	Cinbelin
Neithon	Tutagual	Clinog Eitin
Beli	Riderch Hen	
Eugein (Owen)		
Elfin		

Beli - Teudebur - Dumnagual - Eugein - Riderch - Dumnagual -
Artgal - Run.

Artgal, king of the Britons, was slain in 872(1), and this genealogy may have been put together at the end of the ninth century. Riderch map Tutagual is undoubtedly the Riderch who joined Urbgen and Guallauc in the attack on the Angles.

These genealogies enable the leaders of the sixth century British resistance to the Angles to be seen against the ~~xx~~ background of their relationship to one another(2).

(1) A.U.ed.W.M.Hennessy, vol.I.Dublin 1887.p.384. (2) It should be noted that W.F.Skene, Four Ancient Books of Wales, vol.II.pp.454-455, prints the genealogy in the tract the Bonhed Gwyr y Gogled, relating to the descendents of Coel, which differs from that given on p.17 supra.

Ceneu									
Gorust (Gurgust)					Mar(?)				
Meirchawm					Arthwys(?)				
Cynvarch		Elidyr		Pabo		Eliffer		Ceidyaw	
Urien		Llywarch		Dunawt Sawyl		Gurgi Peredur		Gwendoleu	

(iii) The British resistance to the Angles of Northumbria.

When the Romans advanced north they found a political division roughly along the Tyne-Solway line, between the Brigantes south of it, and north of it the Novantae of Galloway, the Selgovae of Dumfriesshire, the Votadini between the Forth and Tyne, and the Damnonii from Ayrshire across Clydesdale into Stirlingshire(1). These tribal units came to form a buffer against the Pictish and Scottish tribes north of the Forth-Clyde line. The later fifth-sixth century kingdoms of Rheged, Manau of the Gododin, and Strathclyde appear to have evolved out of them. How far they did so with the aid of deliberate Roman encouragement(2) is far from certain(3) but there is every reason to maintain that on the rulers of these emerging militaristic states fell the burden of holding off the onslaught of Picts and Scots from c.387 onwards.

At some date in the fifth century(4), Cunedda of Manau Guotodin(5) migrated with his people to Wales from whence he drove out the Scots with great slaughter. Cunedda was a contemporary of the Coroticus regem Aloo, who is undoubtedly to be identified with Ceretic guletic, to whom Patrick wrote c.450 condemning him and his soldiers for trafficking in Christian slaves they had captured in a raid on Ireland.

(1) I.A. Richmond, Roman and Native in North Britain, Edin. & Lond. 1955. pp.32.135-141. (2) As suggested by P. Hunter Blair, Origins of Northumbria Arch. Aeliana xxv. 1947. pp.1-51. (3) I. Williams, Wales and the North, C. & W. Antiq. Soc. li. 1951. pp.73-88 (p.77) and K.H. Jackson, The Britons in Southern Scotland, Antiq. xxix. 1955. pp.77-88 (p.80), sound notes of caution. (4) P. Hunter Blair, ibid. p.35 suggests 420 and H.M. Chadwick, Early Scotland, Cambridge 1949, p.148 a date nearer 350. (5) M.G.H. A.A. xiii. p.205.

Ceredig, therefore, possessed an army and a fleet. His descendant, Riderch map Tutagual, is described by Adamnan as ruling in the Rock of the Clyde(1), ie. Alclut or Alcluith, now Dumbarton. Riderch's father, Tutagual, is named in the Bonedd Gwyr y Gogledd as Tutwal Tutclyt, ie. Tutwal of the people of the Clyde. The kingdom of Ceredig and of his descendants was clearly centred on the Clyde and on Dumbarton, and like Cunedda's, Ceredig's state was a military unit standing against the Picts and Scots. The existence, c.450, of the two British kingdoms of Cunedda and Ceredig on the Forth-Clyde line indicates that since the inroads of 387 the most northerly barbarian tribes had been pushed right back into their own territory and the old units of the Damnonii and the Votadini had reasserted themselves.

By reckoning back by generations from Riderch Hen it appears that Coel Hen was an approximate contemporary of Cunedda and Ceredig. I. Williams has given a salutary reminder that nothing, in fact, is actually known about Coel, apart from his genealogical position(2); all that can be said is what can be deduced from his background. It seems reasonable to suppose that he ruled a militaristic state similar to that of Ceredig or Cunedda. He is thought to have left his name in Kyle in Ayrshire, and if so he probably ruled in this area(3). Urbgen (Urien), his great-great-great grandson is found ruling Rheged in the second half of the sixth century. The geographical location of Rheged

(1) Life of St. Columba by Adamnan, ed. W. Reeves, Historians of Scot. VI. Edinburgh 1874. p. 123. (2) I. Williams, Wales and the North, C. & W. Antiq. Soc. 11. 1951. p. 77. (3) C. P. N. S. Edin. & Lond. 1926. p. 127.

has been a matter of some controversy, but there are several indications. Hywel ab Owein(d.1170) indicates in a poem that in his time Carlisle was thought to have been in Rheged(1). Dunragit, at the head of Luce Bay, Wigtownshire, meaning Fort of Rheged, has a significance to which familiarity with the identification must not blind one. Urien is associated in the poems of Taliesin with Llwyfennydd, which is possibly Lyvennet in Westmorland, in the Eden valley(2). He is also referred to in the poems as defender in Aeron, possibly indicating authority in Ayr though the identification is not certain, and as the ruler of Catraeth; this would suggest that Urien was the original lord of the district where the later battle of Catraeth was fought - generally considered to be in the neighbourhood of Catterick(3). Linked to Rheged is a district called Godeu, which may be Selkirkshire(4).

So successful do the rulers of emerging Strathclyde, Rheged, and Manau Gwotodin seem to have been against the Picts and Scots that by c.450 the Forth-Clyde life was secure and Cunedda moved to new fields in Wales. Cunedda's departure may have weakened the British position in the north, though how far this move was directly responsible for the entry of Anglo-Saxons into north Britain, particularly at the invitation of one of the northern rulers, must remain uncertain(5). Without making too much of the imperfect evidence, two facts seem to support the view that something approaching this reconstruction of events took place. Advances were made to the Angles by the British

(1) J. Morris-Jones, *Taliesin*, Y.C. xxviii. 1918. pp. 66-67. (2) C.T. p. xxix.
 (3) See *infra* p. 35. (4) P. Hunter Blair, *Origins of Northumbria*, Arch. Ael. xxv 1947. p. 37. (5) C.P.N.S. p. 343.

leaders asking for aid in 443 after it had been sought in vain from Rome(1). Gildas, in his De Excidio et Conquestu Britanniae, shows that this appeal was the direct result of a re-massing of the Picts and Scots for a full-scale attack on Britain, and on its failure the "superbus tyrannus" called in the Saxons(2). The Chronicle gives the date of the arrival of Anglo-Saxon mercenary forces as 449, and despite all the assaults on it this date seems as good as any other. These pieces of evidence, taken together, therefore, show that a great invasion was being planned by the Picts and Scots in 443-449, which is roughly the time of Cunedda's migration. The story of how Vortigern settled his new mercenaries in the south-east is well known; also known but less closely considered is the evidence for an early settlement in the north. Archaeological evidence for the presence of pagan Saxons in Yorkshire shows that they probably occupied York early in the fifth century(3); the two warriors, Ohta and Ebussa, the former of whom had very close relationships with the Kentish settlers(4), are said to have visited the Orkneys and then to have established themselves beyond the Mare Frenessicum(5); Soemil, the great-great-great-grandfather of Aelle of Deira, who must have lived c.450 is said to have first separated Deira from Bernicia(6). These facts and traditions show the Anglo-Saxons to have been settled in the north c. 450 onwards - ie. soon after Cunedda's departure.

(1) Two Saxon Chronicles, I.p.12. (2) M.G.H. A.A.xiii.p.37ff. (3) P.Hunter Blair, Origins of Northumbria, Arch.Aeliana xxv.p.37. (4) M.G.H. A.A.xiii.pp.179-199. (5) Ibid, p.179. The sea could be either the Humber or the Firth of Forth, P.Hunter Blair, ibid.pp.15.17. (6) M.G.H. A.A.xiii.p.204.

It may be taken that the migration of Cunedda with his people to Wales had created a vacuum in the north, and that in 443-449 it was necessary to import Anglo-Saxon mercenaries and to settle them in Yorkshire, the nucleus of the later kingdom of Deira. When the Saxon revolt came, c.455, the uprising of Hengist in Kent was probably paralleled by one in Yorkshire in which Soemil played a prominent part, establishing the ruling dynasty which produced Aelle and Edwin.

The period 450-550 is an obscure one for Northumbrian history. The years c.500 saw the rise of the future kingdom of Wessex and that of Dalriada, and these years are the traditional age of Arthur. It may be that Arthur's principal field of operations was north Britain, his enemies the Picts or the Angles of Deira, but the uncertainty over the correct interpretation and location of the list of Arthur's battles as given in ~~the~~ Historia Brittonum(1) makes it dangerous to attempt to tie Arthur down to a specific locality or date(2). This fascinating figure will probably remain an enigma for all time. Welsh, of course, was not developed until c.550 and hence there are no Welsh bardic poems about the earlier princes of the British dynasties before this date. One of the Taliesin poems seems to refer to Ceneu, son of Coel, but this line may simply mean - descendant of Coel(3).

Despite the apparent ease with which the Angles took possession

(1)M.G.H. A.A.xiii.p.199. (2)K.H.Jackson, Once Again Arthur's Battles, Modern Phil.43.1945-6.pp.44-57. P.K.Johnstone argues from evidence in Kullwch and Olwen that Arthur may have formed some sort of alliance with King Domangart of Dalriada(506-511); Domangart and Arthur, Antiq.xxii.1945.pp.127-128. (3)C.T. p.6.line 11.

of Yorkshire in the fifth century, the situation in the north did not continue to deteriorate from the British point of view; in c.550 they still held only Yorkshire, but the Britons controlled the rest of north Britain to the Forth-Clyde line. The latter, however, were soon to be caught between two offensive movements - the Angles pushing north into Bernicia and the Scots of Dalriada pushing south along the Forth.

In 558, when Aelle came to power in Deira, Ida set out in search of new pastures and new battles(1). His fighting force was the new spearhead of Anglian expansion; it took what was undoubtedly a British stronghold at Dingwaroy(2) - which Aethelfrith later gave to his wife Bebbi, after whom it became known as Bamburgh. Outigern, the British opponent of Ida, may have been the local ruler of the fortress(3). There is no other recorded incident for the reigns of Ida and his two immediate successors which cover the years to 579.

The early 570's, on the other hand, were a period of turmoil among the north-western Britons. In 573 was fought the battle of Ardderyd (Arthuret)(4) which passed into bardic tradition as one of the great conflicts of the sixth century. The Annales Cambriae state that it was fought between Peredur and Gurgi, on the one side, and Gwenddolau who was their cousin, on the other; H.M.Chadwick considered that Dunawd, another chieftain of the line of Coel Hen, may have intervened

(1)Accepting the revised chronolgy, which will be the basis of the reconstruction of the following pages. (2)M.G.H. A.A.xiii.pp.205.206. (3)Ibid,p.205. (4)J.W.A.Ithel, Annales Cambriae, Rolls Lond.1860.p.5.

on the side of Peredur and Gurgi, but could find no evidence to connect Riderch of Strathclyde with the conflict(1). W.R.Gourlay associated not only Riderch but also Maelgwn of Gwynedd with it(2), but Maelgwn was now dead and the bardic poem on the battle, as it now stands is a conflation of two separate poems(3). H.Barnes drew attention to the strategic importance of the hills around Arthuret -

"commanding the fords of the river Esk and the road over them from Cumberland into Scotland"(4) -

and W.R.Gourlay advances the suggestion that Gwenddolau may have been considering a rapprochement with the Angles(5). While there is no evidence for this the suggestion is interesting; something must have sparked off the years of concentrated fighting with the Angles of Bernicia which began in the years following 579.

The Historia Brittonum gives the following account of the first phase of this fighting(c.579-c.590);

"Hussa regnavit annis septem: contra illum quattuor reges Urbgen et Riderchhen et Guallan et Morcant dimicaverunt. Deodric contra illum Urbgen cum filiis dimicabat fortiter. in illo autem tempore aliquando hostes, nunc cives vincebantur et ipse conclusit eos tribus diebus et noctibus in insula Metcaud et dum erat in expeditione, iugulatus est Morcanto destinante pro invidia, quia in ipso prae omnibus regibus virtus maxima erat instauratione belli"(6).

Clearly, a new phase of Anglian aggression must have caused the British princes to submerge their rivalries in a united campaign which must

(1) Growth of Literature, vol.I.pp.107.123-32. (2) The Battle of Arthuret, D.& G.Antiq.Soc.xvi.1931.pp.104-112. (3) A.O.H.Jarman, Ymddiddan Myrddin a Thaliesin, Cardiff 1951. (4) On the battle of Ardderyd, C.& W.Antiq.Soc.viii.1908.pp.236-246(p.236). (5) Ibid,p.108. (6) M.G.H. A.A.xiii.p.206. N.K.Chadwick, S.E.B.C.p.73 considers this partisan treatment of Urbgen an argument for Rhun map Urbgen's authorship of the original nucleus of the northern material.

have taken considerable organising. This fighting took place during the reigns of the two Bernician kings, Husa(579-586) and Theodoric (586-593). The order of succession of these two men is uncertain, but the Historia Brittonum indicates that they ruled in the order just given. The chronological revision of these years shows that the fighting was much more concentrated than the datings previously suggested(1). The assassination of Urbgen was followed immediately almost by the terrific onslaught of Aethelfrith.

To consider further, however, this first phase of the intense fighting; K.H.Jackson has suggested that the besieging of Theodoric on Lindisfarne is an index of the weakness and smallness of the Bernician colony at that date(2). It must be recalled, however, that Husa was opposed by an alliance of four British kings acting together, including Urbgen of Rheged and Riderch of Strathclyde, each of whom alone may well have been the equal of Husa, and that Theodoric was besieged not only by Urbgen and Morcant but by a whole host of other kings including Gwallauc again and Dunawd - if the poem on the death of Urbgen, attributed to Llywarch Hen, is to be trusted(3).

Further, the historical poems of Taliesin show that there was fairly widespread fighting with the Angles, and that aggression was not wholly the weapon of the Britons(4).

These Taliesin poems are eulogies to Urien(Urbgen), to his son

(1) On the original dating Theodoric reigned(572-579) and Husa(585-592).
 (2) Language and History, p.213. (3) C.L.H. pp.11-19. eg. stanzas 37.39.
 (4) Translations of all the following poems from which quotations are given are to be found in full in Appendix II. These poems are of great interest for the information, coloured though it be, which they afford of the lives and courts of some of the northern chieftains of c.580.

Owain, and to Gwallauc. The poems concerning the latter are obscure of meaning and difficult to translate, and the main body of the poems centre around Urien.

Urien is described by the poet in the following ways:-

"Uryen yr echwyd. haelaf dyn bedyd."

"Urien of the Erechwyd(fresh water) - most bountiful Christian man(1).

"eurteyrn gogled arbenhic teyrned."

"golden king of the north - chief of princes"(2).

The poet speaks of -

"Vared melynawr yn neuad"

"The splendour of gold in the hall(3)" -

and tells that -

"Ar vn blyned vn yn darwed
gwin a mall a mad. A gwrhyt diassed
Ac eilewyd gorot. a heit am vereu
ae pen ffuneu Ae tec gwyduaeu"

"In a single year there was one who was a fountain
Of wine and malt and mead - payment for valour:
And bands of poets, and a host around the spit,
With their diadems and their fair thrones"(4).

Urien is -

"glyw reget"

"the ruler of Rheged(5).

"lyw katraeth tra maeu"

"the ruler of Catraeth beyond the plains"(6).

"diffreidawc yn aeron."

"defender in Aeron(7).

He dwells -

in- "llewenyd llatreit."

"glittering Llwyfennydd(8).

(1)C.T.p.3.line 1. (2)C.T.p.3.line 26. (3)C.T.p.9.line 21. (4)C.T.p.5.
lines 1-4. (5)C.T.p.2.line 27. (6)C.T.p.9.line 9. (7)C.T.p.9.line 23.
(8)C.T.p.12.line 8.

Much of Urien's career remains obscure, despite the information afforded by the poems - which were not intended to serve as historical documents. The sites of several of his battles - eg. those at Hireurer, Cadleu, Aberioed, and Pencoed(1) - are unknown. The huts of Brewyn(2) may be the Roman station of Bremium(High Rochester) on the Wall. There appear to have been one or two skirmishes at the ford of Alclut (Dumbarton)(3); here Urien fights a battle there while elsewhere Urien's son, Owain, is said to have fought a battle in the ford of Dumbarton(4). In this last incident, Owain appears to be involved in a series of cattle raids. Many of the conflicts in the poems may have been skirmishes among the Britons themselves, and very often little more than hostilities exchanged during a cattle raid.

Not all were such, however; one of the Dumbarton battles was between Urien and Ulf, an Angle:-

"mynan eigyl edyl gwrthryt.
lletrud a gyfranc ac vlph yn ryt"
"The Angles plot a hostile purpose -
the bloody conflict with Ulf at the ford(5)

This is a difficult poem, and in Appendix II only lines 11-29 are translated. In the list of battles in the poem there is a reference to the ford at Dumbarton, and it is reasonable to assume that the battle with Ulf at the ford took place there also and is probably the one referred to. Ulf is clearly with the Angles; the name Ulph is not British nor is it from the Roman Ulpius(6) which would give Ylph(7) -

(1)C.T.p.7.lines 22-25. (2)C.T.p.7.line 22. (3)C.T.p.7.line 21.
(4)This poem is not in C.T. It has a difficult and obscure text - J. Morris-Jones, Taliesin,p.199 - possibly a sign of antiquity. Text in W.F.Skene, The Four Ancient Books of Wales, Edin.1868.II.p.162.
(5)C.T.p.7.lines 28-29. (6)C.T.p.65. (7)I am indebted to Professor K.H. Jackson for this point.

and there is the direct reference to the Angles. The poem asserts that-

"yny doeth vlph yn treis ar y alon.
hyny doeth vryen yn edyd yn aeron.
ny bu kyfergyryat ny bu gynnwys"
"Until Ulf violently attacked his enemies,
Until Urien came in his day to Aeron,
There was no conflict - there was no desire(for one)"(1).

Taken together, these pieces of evidence suggest that some aggression by Ulf, with the Angles, was the cause of renewed warfare between the Angles and the Britons; if the battle did take place at Dumbarton it was fought in the heart of British territory.

There are several allusions to general warfare with the Angles.

gnawt eigyl heb waessaf. am teyrn glewhaf
It is customary for the Angles to be without pledged on
account of the most courageous king(2).

The Angles appear to be the men of Lloegr;

"lloegrwys ae gwydant pan ymadrodant.
agheu a gawssant a mynych godyant.
llosci eu trefret a dwyn eu tudet
ac eimwnc coðlet a mawr aghyffret
heb gaffel gwaret rac vryen reget."
"The men of Lloegr tell about him when they talk with one another:
Death they obtained and frequent vexation,
The burning of their homesteads and the carrying away of their
garments,
And frequent loss and great suffering,
Without obtaining deliverance from Urien of Rheged"(3).

It is the broad host of Lloegr which fights with Flamdwyn(4).

The poems of Taliesin do not refer directly to either Husa or Theodoric, but they do contain allusions to Urien's struggle with a certain Flamdwyn - the Flame Bearer. It is not absolutely certain that

(1)C.T.p.7.lines 11-13. (2)C.T.p.3.line 20. (3)C.T.p.3.lines 9-13.
(4)C.T.p.12.line 13.

Flamdwyn was an Angle, but his prominence, and the British custom of giving the Bernician rulers nicknames, indicates that he was one of the successors of Ida. He is, moreover, the leader of the men of Lloegr who are certainly not Britons and who seem to be Angles; poem III discusses the men of Lloegr and the Angles in almost the same breath(1). One of the best preserved poems is devoted to an account of a single battle between Urien with his son Owain and the Flame Bearer;

"E Bore duw sadwrn kat uawr a uu.
or pan dwyre heul hyt pan gynnu.
dygrysswys flamdwyn yn petwar llu.
godeu a reget y ymdullu
dyuwy o argoet hyt arvynyd."

"In the morning of the day of Saturday there was a great battle,
From the time when the sun rises until it sets:
Flamdwyn hastened in four hosts:
Godeu and Rheged were mustering
to Dyfwy, from Argoed(the forest) to Arvynyd(before the mountain)"(2)

Flamdwyn demanded hostages which Owain refused to give, calling Flamdwyn the scourge of the east(3) - which confirms the view that Flamdwyn was an Angle, and Urien exhorted the Britons to attack;

"A rac gweith argoet llwyfein
by llawer kelein.
Rudei vrein rac ryfel gwyr."

"And in front of Argoed Llwyfein(the forested region)
There were many corpses.
The ravens were crimson because of the warfare of men"(4).

The poem does not make clear who won the battle, but it obviously ~~z~~ implies victory to the Britons. The poem, The Death-Song of Owain, contains the line -

(1)C.T.p.3. (2)C.T.p.6.lines 1-5. (3)C.T.p.6.line 9. (4)C.T.p.6.lines 20-22.

"Pan ladawd Owein fflamdwyn".

"When Owain slew Flamdwyn:

Or When Flamdwyn slew Owein(1).

It is quite impossible to tell which is the correct sense of this line.

The identity of Flamdwyn is uncertain; Ida is out of the question, and Aethelfrith's nickname was Flesaur(the Twister)(2). If Flamdwyn is to be identified with a Bernician ruler, as seems likely and as most scholars have thought, he must have been either Husa or Theodoric. Further than this it is really impossible to go except by pure conjecture. If the line above could definitely be translated - When Flamdwyn slew Owain - then Flamdwyn must have been Theodoric, for Owain was still alive when his father was slain(3), and Urien perished while fighting Theodoric. Theodoric must have carved a reputation of some importance in the north for he appears to have been remembered in the Pictish king lists as Dectotr'ic(4).

Despite the ambiguity of identification, the relevant passage in the Historia Brittonum indicates that these incidents of fighting between the Britons and the Angles should be dated c.579-590. They culminated in the besieging of Theodoric on Lindisfarne by Urien, Owain, Rhun - another of Urien's sons, Dunawd, Gwallauc, Morcant, and others. The best source for the subsequent assassination of Urien from the point of view of detail is the lament on Urien's death, attributed to Llywarch Hen. There appears to have been a pitched battle between

(1)C.T.p.12.line 12. (2)M.G.H. A.A.xiii.p.206. (3)C.L.H.pp.11-19.
stanza 37. (4)W.F.Skene, P.& S. Edin 1867.p.6.

Urien and his sons on one side and the other princes of the Coel Hen line on the other(1).

The poems which have survived about Gwallauc are corrupt and obscure. Only one, poem XI~~7~~, is of use from a historical point of view. This lists Gwallauc's battles, and like those of Urien, many are unidentifiable; the moor of Terra(2), the land of Bretrwyn(3), the wood of Beith(of the wild boars)(4). He did fight in Aeron(5), and at Pencoed(6), where one of Urien's conflicts took place. In fact, Gwallauc's battles were waged over a wide field;

"ymprydein yn eiddin yn adeueawc
yg gafran yn aduan brecheinawc"
'In Pictland, in Edinburgh, in Adefeawc(?),
In Gafran, in the land of Brechinawc'(7)(8).

There is an interesting reference to -

'kat ygwensteri ac estygi lloygyr."
'A battle in Gwensteri(9) and the subduing of Lloegr(10):

but perhaps the most tantalising is -

'gognaw ybrot digones".
'He did a provoking at York'(11).

If ybrot is an early form of Ybrauc, the poem was written down in the eighth century before -o- had become -au-; at some stage in transcription the final c has been misread as t(12). If the identification is correct, this is the one reference to a conflict in the vicinity of York, and Gwallauc, whose territories are unknown, is found waging war from Deira to the Firth of Forth and beyond.

{1}C.L.H.pp.11-19. stanzas 37-46. Sts.32-35 imply Rhun's presence.
{2}C.T.p.13.line 30. (3)Ibid,line 18. (4)Ibid,line 24. (5)Ibid,lines 21-22.(6)C.T.p.14.line 38. (7)In Forfarshire - C.P.N.S.p.112. (8)C.T.p.14. lines 41-2. (9)lit.white rivers. (10)C.T.p.13.line 28. (11)Ibid,line 17 and p.94. (12)I am indebted to Professor Jackson for this information.

The situation immediately following the death of Urien appears to have been one of disintegration. It cannot have been long before the death of Theodoric in 593 brought the terrible Aethelfrith to power, a man whom the Welsh remembered as a cannibal(1). Personally he may have been no worse than his predecessors, but he was a more successful warrior;

"His temporibus regno Nordanhymbrorum praefuit rex fortissimus et gloriae cupidissimus Aedilfrid, qui plus omnibus Anglorum primatibus gentem uastauit Brettonum...Nemo enim in tribunis, nemo in regibus plures eorum terras, exterminatis uel subiugatis indigenis, aut tributarias genti Anglorum, aut habitabiles fecit"(2).

Gwallauc perished violently, if tradition may be trusted -

"Ny buum lle llas gwallauc
mab goholheth teithiauc.
attwod lloegir mab Lleynnac".

"I have not been to the place of the slaying of Gwallauc,
Son of a prince, of rightful qualities,
The calamity of Lloegr, the son of Lleennauc"(3).

Riderch of Strathclyde, a nervous wreck, lived out his last years in constant fear of a violent death. King Dunawd, according to the Annales Cambriae, died in 595. How long Owain survived his father is uncertain; if Theodoric slew him he was dead by 593 - but whenever he died, the court of Rheged appears in Llywarch's poem on Urien's death as a scene of utter desolation. Certainly no new leader of the Coel line appeared; if the Rhun, son of Urbgen, who is said to have baptised Edwin(4), is Rhun, son of Urien of Rheged, then he had evidently entered the Church.

This is not the whole story, however, for, because of the

(1)C.Plummer, B.O.H. Oxford 1896.vol.II.p.64. (2)H.E.I.34. The text used here, and in all quotations from Bede is that of Plummer, B.O.H. vol.I. (3)The Stanzas of the Graves xix, from the B.B.C. W.F.Skene, Four Ancient Books of Wales,vol.II.p.55. (4)M.G.H. A.A.xiii.p.207.

survival of an ancient poem in a single MS., it is known that the Britons made a last desperate effort to shatter the growing Anglian power. The poem is the Gododin of Aneurin(1). In the poems of Taliesin the court of Urien was depicted, with its glittering gold, diadems and fair thrones surrounded by the tumult of stamping horses and wide armies in bright blue armour; in the Gododdin the court is that of Mynyddawg Minvaur(the Mountainous One of Great Wealth), king of the Brythons(Britons), at Din Eidyn or Caer Eidyn(Edinburgh) from where he ruled the Gododdin land - the old Votadini territory and the district of Manau which had once been ruled by Cunedda. Some three hundred picked warriors feasted and trained for a year at his court before marching against the Angles of Deira and Bernicia; they were wealthy, nominally Christian, and lived only for the fury of the fight; they possessed clothes of many colours, gold ornaments and enamelled weapons. Allusions in the poem show the wide area from which these warriors were recruited; from Aruon(Aeron)(2), from Elved(Elmet)(3), from Gwynedd in Wales(4) and Rywonyawc(Snowdonia)(5), from beyond mount Bannauc(6)- ie.from Pictland, and from Strathclyde(7). Two lines refer to the heathen, the Irish, and the Picts among the British ranks (8). This cream of military prowess marched against the men of Lloegr(9) the men of "deivyr a brennych"- Deira and Bernicia(10), and they

(1)I.Williams, C.A. Cardiff 1938. There is a translation, though not a completely satisfactory one, by E.Anwyl, The Book of Aneirin, Trans. of the Soc. of Cymmrodorion, 1909-10.pp.95-136. (2)C.A.line 1182. (3)C.A.line 1179. (4)C.A.line 920. (5)C.A.line 1077. (6)C.A.line 255. (7)C.A.line 1186ff. Neî & Nuithon are Strathclyde names. (8)C.A.lines 475.492. (9)C.A.line 671. (10)C.A.line 50.

encountered the enemy at Catraeth, in land which had once belonged to Urien of Rheged. The Britons were routed and only one man survived the conflict - according to tradition(1).

The significance of the battle of Catraeth depends on when and where it was fought. Elmet was still a unit which suggests a pre-620 date; the identification of Clytno, whose son fought at Catraeth, with Clinog eitin of the genealogies, and Llywarch, whose son also fought, with Llywarch Hen, points to a date c.600 if these identifications are correct(2). No personal English names are given. The poem's evidence must be fitted into the known framework of developments, and a date c.600 does seem most probable. The prevailing opinion is that Catraeth was fought at Catterick, or in the immediate vicinity(3) - and that it was -

"a desperate attempt to drive back the growing Deiran power while Bernicia was still weak"(4).

How far this latter comment represents a correct interpretation is uncertain; it is to be related to the view that the siege of Theodoric on Lindisfarne is a sign of Bernician weakness, when, in fact, the odds against Theodoric were several to one. The Bernician army was the vanguard of Anglian advance, now under Aethelfrith. The poem shows that both Deirans and Bernicians allied together against the Britons; Perhaps when Aethelfrith saw himself faced by another British coalition he profited from the experience of previous reigns and turned to

(1)C.A. lines 694.702. (2)C.A. lines 416.560. (3)K.H.Jackson, The Gododin of Aneurin, Antiq.xiii.1939.pp.25-37. (4)Ibid,p.27.

the Deirans for assistance(1).

In support of this view - that Bernicia was far and away the main threat by c.600 - it should be noted that Bede states that it was concern specifically at Aethelfrith's activities which led Aedan of Dalriada to attack him; this was in 604 while Aethelfrith was still ruler only of Bernicia and when there is a suspicion that the Deiran ruler was in league against him(2), and Aethelfrith, with a small but doubtless first-class army defeated the immense forces of Aedan -

"Unde motus eius profectibus Aedan rex Scottorum qui Brittaniam inhabitant, uenit contra eum cum immenso ac forti exercitu, sed cum paucis uictis aufugit... in loco celeberrimo, qui dicitur Degsastan..." (3).

This passage would seem to dispel any doubts concerning the fighting strength of the Bernician army.

With the defeat of the Catraeth army, British resistance seems to have evaporated. Slowly the Northumbrians spread over north-west Britain; Aethelfrith penetrated to Chester(4); Edwin subjected "omnes Brittaniae fines"(5) and took possession of the Mevanian islands(5); these activities brought the Northumbrians up against the Welsh kings who were finally crushed at Winwaed in 656 by Oswiu(6).

The Bernician frontier probably reached the Firth of Forth under

(1) If Hering was ruler of Deira from 598, and if he was a traitor to Aethelfrith in 604, perhaps the Deiran leader who aided Aethelfrith at Catraeth is more likely to have been Frithuwald, which would date the battle to 593-98 - but this is purely speculative. (2) Two Saxon Chrons. I.p.21. (3) H.E.I.34. (4) H.E.II.2. A.T.Rev.Celt.xvii.p.171. (5) H.E.II.9. Nennius records that he destroyed Eborac, between the Aire and the Wharfe; M.G.H.A.A.xiii.p.206. (6) H.E.III.24. M.G.H.A.A.xiii.p. 208. The struggle between the Welsh and Northumbrians, which dominated Northumbrian political history to 656, has been dealt with at length in the M.A. thesis- Northumbrian relations etc. Durham 1960.

Edwin(1). Areas near to the nucleus of Anglian settlements in Bernicia were being settled as soon as they were conquered in the reign of Aethelfrith(2), but in the more outlying regions only tribute may have been imposed at the time of subjection. Bede gives a concise account of Northumbrian development which indicates that Oswiu was the first to assert his suzerainty north of the Forth(3). Oswiu is said to have subdued the Picts and Scots, but a subsequent chapter, which confirms his lordship over the Picts, makes no reference to the Scots(4). Bede refers to Wilfrid as bishop in the reign of Oswiu of the Northumbrians and Picts(5). The Scots, however, were certainly subject by 685(6), and Egfrith, who had none of Oswiu's connections with Dalriada, is more likely to have been the conqueror. Similarly, there is no clear evidence that Oswiu ever subdued the Strathclyde Britons, but these too seem to have been subject in 685; in that year certain Britons recovered their liberty, and as these were not the Britons of Galloway and Dumfriesshire the probability is that they were the Strathclyde Britons. It may be that Egfrith was the first Northumbrian king to master both Strathclyde and Dalriada. With regard to the Solway area, however, and to Galloway and Dumfriesshire, the marriage of Oswiu to Riemmelth, the Rheged princess, probably took place c.640⁽⁷⁾ at the latest, and this union must have decisively strengthened Northumbrian influence in the Rheged territories. The decade 640-50 must have seen the complete military dominance of this area by the Northumbrians.

(1) It was not, however, until 638 that the northward drive of the Northumbrians brought them to the British stronghold at Edinburgh - K.H. Jackson, *Edinburgh and the Anglian Occupation of Lothian, The Anglo-Saxons*, ed. P. Clemoes, 1959 pp.35-42. (2) H.E.I.34. (3) H.E.II.5. (4) H.E.III.24 (5) H.E.IV.3. (6) H.E.IV.26. (7) M.G.H.A.A.xiii.p.203. Oswiu's son, Alchfrith fought at Winwaed(656) and there is never any suggestion he was illegitimate. he would be the son of Riemmelth.

(iv) **The Picts and the Scots.**

Most of the evidence for the political development of the Picts and the Scots c.550-c.850 is contained in the two primary Irish chronicles, the Annals of Tigernach and the Annals of Ulster. Neither have been edited as well as could be desired, and the projected edition of the Annals of Ulster by S. Mac Airt was unfortunately delayed indefinitely when Mac Airt died(1).

In consequence little is known for certain as yet about the origin and growth of Irish chronicles for this is the great task still facing Irish historians. Preliminary studies were made by E. MacNeill(2) and T.F. O'Rahilly(3) in which there was a considerable amount of disagreement. MacNeill's analysis, however, led him to the conclusion that both sets of annals were based on a common source for the period 489-766, becoming continuously contemporary or nearly contemporary from the end of the seventh century onwards(4). That material of some antiquity, dating at least to the eighth century, lies behind the annals in their present form is evidenced from the considerable number of Old Irish spellings still incorporated in the text. Some of these are as follows: Manonn under 581(5), Coluim under 594(6), Sceth under 667, Cathboth under 700, Cinathon under 774, Monoth under 781(7). The Annals of Ulster contain actual references to earlier sources -

(1) The MS. of his projected edition, however, is at the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, and it is to be hoped it will soon be edited and published. (2) The Annals of Tigernach, Eriu 7.1914.pp.30-113. (3) Early Irish History & Mythology, Dublin 1946.p.253f. (4) Ibid,p.46.80f. (5) A.U.P.p.68. (6) Ibid,p.74. (7) Ibid,pp.122.150.242.254. I am indebted to Professor Jackson for this information; these instances could be multiplied.

the Epistle of Mochta under 471 and 534, the Book of Monks under 511, and the Book of Mochod under 527 - which may be the same(1), and Cuanu's Book under 467, 471, 475, 499, 544, 552 (where there is a quotation), 660, 602, and 628. From the quotation about Columba and St. Patrick's relics(2) it seems very probable that the Book of Cuanu was the product of some Columban foundation, and - to judge from the 628 entry - of a community in touch with Scotland or with material being sent from Scotland(3). Certain of the Irish words in the quotations were not written before the eighth century(4), and it is of interest to note that the death of Cuanu, scribe of Trevet in Meath, is noted in 739(5).

One very interesting feature of the seventh century annals is that they contain clear indications that some material came from Scotland in a written form. Under 667 the sons of Gartnait go to Ireland(6) and in 669 they come from Ireland(7); under 675 Failbhe similarly returns from Ireland(8), in 692 Adamnan went to Ireland(9) and in 696 he went again(10). These materials, possibly from the Columban centre at Iona(11), were contemporary notes; the 667 annal has the Old Irish form of the name of Skye - Sceth, and, in the 675 notice of the Picts who were drowned in Lland Abae, Lland is also Old Irish.

(1) A.U.I. p.37.n.8. (2) A.U.I. p.52. (3) A.U.I. p.98. (4) A.O.Anderson, R.S. L.p.151.n.4. (5) A.U.I. p.196. (6) A.U.I. p.122 (7) A.U.I. p.124. (8) A.U.I. p.128. (9) A.T.Rev.Celt. xvii.p.212. (10) A.U.I. p.144. (11) E.MacNeill, ibid. p.80.

Indeed, there can be little doubt that most of the notices of events among the Picts and Scots were supplied from Scotland in a written form and used by Irish chroniclers. Under 781 there is a notice on the death of Dubhtolarg on this side of Monoth(1); in Ireland the -o- had given place to -a- early in the eighth century, so that these spellings are doubtless from Scotland where the change may be presumed to have been somewhat later(2).

The chronology of the Annals of Tigernach is very confused and the entries in the Annals of Ulster are all a year behind from 486 to 1012(3).

Linguistic and archaeological studies have so far failed to completely resolve the origins of the Picts(4); what is certain is that from the end of the third century onwards they found themselves sharing Scotland with the Scots from Ireland. Bede thought that the Picts at one time held all Scotland above the Forth-Clyde line(5); but the Pictish tradition was one of seven kingdoms named after the seven sons of Cruithne, and in historical times these seven kingdoms appear as -

Cirech(Angus and Mearns), Fotla(Athol and Gowrie), Fortriu or Fortrenn(Strathearn and Menteath), Fib(Fife and Forthreave), Ce(Marr and Buchan), Fidaid(Moray and E.Rosshire), and Cat(Caithness and Sutherland)(6).

(1)A.U.I.p.254. (2)I am indebted to Professor Jackson for this information. (3)A.O.Anderson, E.S.vol.I.p.xxxi. There is also a study by P.Walsh, The Dating of the Irish Annals, I.H.S.ii.1940-41.pp.355-75. (4)The Problem of the Picts, ed.F.T.Wainwright, Edin.& Lond.1955, contains some invaluable studies. (5)H.E.I.1. (6)W.F.Skene, P.& S. pp. 24-25; 135-137, prints the sources. See also C.P.N.S.p.108.

These divisions, excluding - it will be noticed - Argyll(Dalriada), are certainly as old as the historic period; Aedan mac Gabran fought a battle in Circin c.600 if the Circind of the Annals is the province of Circin(1); Fortiu is mentioned in 664(2); Fotla appears in 739 as Ath-Foithle(3). There was a further division into the Northern and Southern Picts; though each subkingdom might have a king, the collective sub-kingdoms of either Northern or Southern Picts, ie. those on either the north or south of the Mounth, might also have a king. Bede states that Columba preached to the provinces of the Northern Picts(4), and in 782 Dubtolarg, king of the Picts on this side of the Mounth, died(5).

There survive several lists of the kings of the Picts, which - as labelled by A.O.Anderson - fall into two distinct groups; the Welsh group A.B.C., and the Gaelic one D.F.K.I.(6). One group often has names which are not in the other and there is considerable difference within groups as to the years of each reign. Recent study has pointed out, however, a basic similarity to the first reign of Nechtan mac Derile(706-724)(7) so that there might have been an early version of the king-list drawn up about that time(8). D.F. state that Constantine mac Fergus, king of the Picts(789-820), built Dunkeld; in the Irish additions to the Historia Brittonum it is said that Constantine, the sexentieth king of the Picts, was the last such king(9). A.O.Anderson

(1)A.T.Rev.Celt.xvii.p.160. (2)A.U.I.sub 663.p.118. (3)A.U.I.sub 738.p.198. (4)H.E.III.4. (5)A.U.I.sub 781.p.254. (6)E.S.I.pp.xlv-xlvi. The lists are printed individually in Skene, P.& S. See also E.S.I.pp. cxix-cxxviii. (7)M.O.Anderson, The Lists of the Kings II, S.H.R.xxix. 1950.pp.13-22(p.17). (8)A.B.C. omit Nechtan's second reign, so perhaps the original list dates to c.724-28. (9)Skene,P.& S.p.30.

has supposed that the Constantine referred to is Constantine mac Kenneth(862-877)(1), but K.H.Jackson takes it as referring to the Constantine of 789-820(2) - which certainly makes better sense of the number seventy. It is possible that another redaction of the Pictish king-list was made in his reign, ending with him, and hence he came to be regarded as the last king of the Picts; perhaps this list was compiled at Dunkeld(3). Records were certainly kept among the Picts (4), and lists possibly from a very early date; Bede was using a c.600 text when he copied out the name of Brude's father as Meilochon(5). Even so, it is unlikely that these Pictish lists are accurate lists of kings much before c.550(6). Pictish kings do not appear in the annals till the 558 mention of the son of Maelchon(7). As with the Bernician lists, it must not be assumed as a matter of course that the earlier kings succeeded each other one by one; some would seem to have ruled together (8).

It was in the pre-550 period that the Scots established themselves in Argyll - Dalriada. They too possessed their king lists which began with Fergus Mor(9). W.J.Watson assembled all the material available to show that the Scots had been infiltrating into Scotland from the third century onwards, but much of this evidence is extremely unreliable(10).

(1)E.S.I.p.353.n.4. (2)The Duan Albanach, S.H.R.xxxvi.1957.pp.125-137 (p.135). (3)F.T.Wainwright, Problem of the Picts pp.18-19 adopts a cautious attitude. (4)H.M.Chadwick, Early Scotland,p.27. (5)Ibid,p.28. (6)Some of the pre-550 names may be very old but more evidence of historicity is needed before the succession can be accepted - Wainwright Ibid,p.18. (7)A.U.I.sub 557.p.54; discounting the misplaced annal sub 504,p.34. (8)Discussed further in connection with St.Columba - infra. (9)M.O.Anderson, The Lists of the Kings I, S.H.R.xxviii.pp.108-118. A.O.Anderson, E.S.I.pp.cxxix-cxxxvi (10)C.P.N.S.pp.213-231.

Many of the place-names which Watson referred to the pre-500 period probably date from the post-850. Certainly the Scots were involved in plundering raids on Britain in the fourth century, but for the origins of Dalriada the annalistic statement that c.500 -

"Feargus Mor mac Earca cum gente Dalriada partem Britanniae tenuit, et ibi mortuus est"(1) -

remains the soundest evidence. It was the descendants of Fergus who extended the territorial possessions of the Scots. The four principal tribes of Dalriada became the Canel Gabran, the Cenel Comgall, the Cenel Loarn, and the Cenel Angus; Loarn and Angus were brothers of Fergus - Gabran and Comgall were sons of King Domangart(506-511), son of Fergus. The Cenel Angus held the isles of Islay and Jura, the Cenel Loarn the district of Loarn with their centre at Dunolly, the Canel Comgall have left their name in Cowal, and the Cenel Gabran held Argyll and Kintyre from their centre at Dunadd. Gabran was king from c.537 to c.559; the father of Aedan, he was the ancestor of the most important line of Dalriadic princes which ultimately produced Kenneth mac Alpin(2).

Scottish expansion in the sixth century involved Dalriada in wars both with the Picts and with the Britons. About the year 559 Brude mac Maelchon defeated the Scots under King Gabran, in which battle Gabran may have perished(3). His son Aedan paid homage to Baedan, son of Cairill, king of the Irish Dal Riata in Ulster, in the early part of

(1)A.T.Rev.Celt.xvii.p.124. (2)A.O.Anderson, E.S.I.p.clv. (3)A.T.Rev.Celt.xvii.p.142. E.S.I.p.21.n.2.

his reign in order to enlist Baedan's military support(1). They seem to have engaged in wars in Manau, ie. in the lands along and at the head of the Firth of Forth(2). Aedan fought there in 583(3); Adamnan refers to him fighting the Miathi(4), a British tribe in the vicinity of the Antonine Wall(5), in which battle Aedan's sons Arthur and Eochaid appear to have fallen(6). The Annals of Tigernach represent Aedan's other sons, Bran and Domangart, as falling in this battle - which it locates in Circhend(Circin)(7), but Adamnan states that Domangart fell "in Saxonia"(6) - either at Degsastan, no doubt, or in some preliminary skirmish. The successes of Aethelfrith of Bernicia alarmed Aedan so much that in 604 he attempted to crush him - but failed disastrously; after the defeat at Degsastan neither Aedan nor any of his immediate successors countenanced challenging the Anglian dominance of the land south of the Forth(8). No doubt this defeat also weakened Aedan's hold on the upper reaches of the Forth; in the first part of the sixth century Dalriadic warriors tended to look rather to Ireland than to southern Pictland for military exercise(9).

Apart from the conflict at Degsastan and any other unrecorded border skirmishes, the Celtic peoples north of the Forth-Clyde line experienced no aggression with the Northumbrians until after 656(10).

(1)W.F.Skene, P. & S. pp.127-29. (2)Manau could be the Isle of Man, but the context suggests the Forth area; C.P.N.S. p.131. Anderson, E.S.I. p.90. M.E.Dobbs, Aedan nac Gabrain, Scot.Gaelic Studs. vii.1951. pp.89-93.

(3)A.T.Rev.Celt. xvii. p.153. (4)Reeves, I.8. p.120. (5)C.P.N.S. p.38.

(6)Reeves, I.8. p.121. (7)A.T.Ibid. p.160. (8)H.E.I. 34. (9)A.T.Ibid. pp.175-6.179.180-1.205. The phase ended with the 639 defeat at Moira.

(10)This was due to Northumbrian Welsh entanglements; as the course of political events was fully dealt with in the M.A. thesis - Northumbrian Relations etc.- only the briefest outline is given here and following.

There is no clear evidence that Edwin or Oswald sought to establish any hegemony over the Picts or Scots by force of arms. Oswiu, however, who had spent his infancy and youth in exile among the Cenel Gabran, who had first married a British princess, and whose nephew Talorcan mac Eanfrith was king of the Picts(653-657), was thoroughly Celtic in outlook; he preferred to establish his lordship over the Celtic North rather than over the Saxon South, and as soon as the Welsh-Mercian coalition was shattered at Winwaed he abandoned all further effort to restrain the sporadic outbursts from Wulphere of Mercia and concentrated instead on the Picts. From c.656 onwards he subdued the Pictish nation, possibly in alliance with the Scots, and may have appointed two puppet kings -Gartnait mac Donald(657-663) and Drust mac Donald(663-672) - over the Picts. The expulsion of Drust in 672 by Brude mac Beli, nephew of Talorcan and second cousin of Ecgfrith of Northumbria, was followed in 673 by the first Pictish uprising against Northumbrian dominance which was crushed by Ecgfrith. Following this, Ecgfrith may well have marched on Strathclyde, the Pictish leader Brude being half-British; by 678 Bishop Wilfrid was claiming ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the Britons but these may be the Galloway-Dumfriesshire Britons. For reasons which remain inexplicable, Ecgfrith sent a raiding party to Meath in Ireland in 684, immediately prior to embarking on another expedition against the Picts. This time Brude was the victor, and Ecgfrith fell at Nechtanesmere in May 685.

This battle was a decisive turning point. The sporadic fighting of the early eighth century resulted in only minor border adjustments. The

Northumbrians were never again lords of the Picts. Nechtan mac Derile, king of the Picts (706-724), initiated a new period of cultural contact with Northumbria, but on the political scene his successor Angus mac Fergus (729-761) was very much master of all; he made himself overlord of Dalriada and crippled the attempts of Eadberht of Northumbria (737-758) to restore Northumbria to its former glory. After 758 Northumbria entered a long period of political isolation, caught between the two giant kingdoms of the Mercians and the Picts. The Pictish kings of the second half of the eighth century seem to have been too preoccupied with Dalriada to concern themselves with Northumbria. The unexpected resurgence of the Cenel Gabran in the ninth century, principally under Kenneth mac Alpin, broke the power of the kings of the Picts and extinguished the royal lines. The surge of the Scots across to S.E. Scotland initiated a renewed epoch of warfare with Northumbria, the new dynasty of Kenneth mac Alpin being determined to carry the southern frontier as far into Bernicia as possible.

This brief synopsis of political relations from 656 to c.850 merely indicates the outlines of the fluctuating currents of fortune. It depicts a world still in the melting pot. In many ways, perhaps, Northumbrian seventh century expansion was only a continuance of the original conquest. Northumbrian political greatness belonged completely to that century. In the eighth it was the Picts who dominated the northern political scene, and in the first half of the ninth, the Scots. The Strathclyde Britons were a strong but uncertain force throughout.

THE PRE-VIKING CHURCH IN NORTH BRITAIN.

(A) The Columban Church in Scotland.

Beginning with the writings of A.B.Scott(1) the part played by Columba in the conversion of Scotland was minimised to the greatest possible degree by a series of scholars(2). As the stature of Columba was reduced, that of Ninian was increased beyond all reasonable bounds - and, together with Ninian, a whole series of lesser known and obscure saints who were said to have worked in Scotland. It is essential for a truer appreciation of the development of the Church in Scotland to establish the part played by Columba in its rightful perspective - and thereby the importance of Iona in Scotland as a whole.

(i) Ninian and the Southern Picts.

Ninian has recently been the object of a vast amount of critical study but little has emerged that can be said with certainty about the historical St.Ninian(3). In the early eighth century an episcopal see was established by the Northumbrians at Whithorn, and Bede is representing current opinion when he associates Ninian with this vicinity(4). It has been established by recent criticism that Whithorn was producing writings on Ninian in the eighth century(5) and two poems

(1) The Pictish Church and Nation, Lond.& Edin.1918. (2)eg. G.A.F. Knight, Archaeological Light on the Early Christianizing of Scotland, 2 vols. London 1933. W.D.Simpson, The Historical St.Columba, Aberdeen 1927. & The Ninianic Controversy, D.& G.Antiq.Soc.xxvii.1950.pp.155-162. (3)N.K.Chadwick, St.Ninian, a preliminary study, D.& G.Antiq.Soc.xxvii.1950,pp.9-54. (4)H.E.III.4. V.23. (5)W.Levison, An Eighth-century Poem on St.Ninian, Antiq.xiv.1940.pp.280-291.

are still extant; Miracula Nynie Episcopi and Hymnus Sancti Nynie Episcopi. In the mid-twelfth century Ailred of Rievaulx wrote a Life of Ninian(1) in which he used a written source which also appears to have been used by the writers of the two poems(2); a Latin Life of Ninian may have been produced soon after the founding of the see under Bishop Pechthelm.

The twelfth century Life is a mass of legendary material, but even in the eighth century little was definitely known about Ninian. Bede was informed that Ninian had worked among and converted the Southern Picts, but he was given no clear evidence as to the date of Ninian and knew only that he lived long before Columba(3). Neither Bede nor the Miracula know of a visit to St.Martin - only of a visit to Rome and that the church at Whithorn was dedicated to St.Martin. In the Miracula Ninian is said to have healed a king - Tudual, ie. Tutgual - and this king has been identified with a king of the same name in the British genealogies(4). Unfortunately there is no real evidence to date the Tutgual of the genealogies with any precision; perhaps he lived c.450.

Archaeological excavations have revealed traces of a very early ecclesiastical site at Whithorn(5), and the very early Christian monuments there confirm the excavation results. All the Irish Saints' Lives in which Irish saints visit Whithorn are late, but there is an

(1)ed.A.P.Forbes, Elves of S.Ninian and S.Kentigern, Historians of Scot. V.Edin.1874. (2)Levison, ibid. and Chadwick, ibid,p.26. (3)H.E.III.4.
 (4)The genealogical material is set out in C.A.Raleigh Radford, Excavations at Whithorn 1949, D.& G.Antiq.Soc.xxvii.1950.pp.85-126(p.90).
 (5)Raleigh Radford, ibid.

interesting eleventh century passage in the Liber Hymnorum in which Finnian of Moville and his companions, and Drusticc, daughter of King Drust, are educated at Whithorn by Mugint, who is otherwise unknown; the date is probably c.525 and Drust probably one of the earlier kings of the Picts of that name(1). There must have been early centres of the Celtic Church in Britain, and there is no reason why Whithorn should not have been one of them. As for Ninian himself, he was probably the British bishop of tradition, with his centre at Whithorn c.450.

There is, however, virtually nothing which can be said of his work among the Picts. The view that he was a native of Pictland is purely conjectural(2). The Miracula does refer to the

"Pictones nationes quae naturae dicuntur"

- and Levison suggested that naturae should be emended to Niduarae(3), the people called the Niduari Picts whom Cuthbert visited(4). The Niduari have been located in Dumfriesshire, but this is very improbable(5), and a more correct location would probably be north of the Forth - in Fife. When this much has been said there is very little left to add. The great number of church dedications to Ninian are not of the sixth century(6) but of the twelfth(7) when the see of Whithorn was revived. It is altogether unknown how extensive the missionary activities of Ninian were and how successful he was. All that can be said is that there was an eighth century tradition that he had worked among the Picts

(1) J.H. Bernard & R. Atkinson, The Irish Liber Hymnorum; Henry Bradshaw Soc. xiii. xiv. London 1898. pp. 22f. (2) Chadwick, ibid. p. 49. (3) Levison, ibid. p. 288. (4) Bede, Vita Cuthberti. xi. B. O. H. (5) C. P. N. S. p. 175. Problem of the Picts, pp. 42-3. (6) As Simpson maintains. (7) C. P. N. S. pp. 50. 58.

(ii) The missionary activity of St. Columba.

There is a far greater wealth of information about Columba than about Ninian. Written records began to be kept in Scotland from the start of the mission; Bede's account of Columba includes the Pictish name Meilochon in a pre-600 form(1). Adamnan, abbot of Iona(679-704), wrote a unique Life of the saint, and he used earlier written material - a Life by Cumine, abbot of Iona(657-669)(2). A Life attributed to Cumine still exists(3) and practically the whole text is to be found word for word in Adamnan's Life. It remains uncertain whether what is now known as Cumine's Life is by Cumine or whether it is not, in fact, merely a later abridgment of Adamnan's work(4). Another early source containing some information of considerable interest is the Amra Coluim-cille which is attributed to the sixth century but which dates in its present form to the eighth(5). The Old Irish Life of Columba is from the eleventh century as it now stands, but goes back possibly to the ninth century(6).

A few words must be said before proceeding to the career of Columba concerning the political situation in Scotland in the second half of the sixth century. The various divisions of the Pictish kingdom have already been outlined briefly(7); but further analysis is necessary for understanding the background to the mission.

(1) H.M. Chadwick, Early Scotland, p.29. (2) W.Reeves, Life of St. Columba by Adamnan, The Historians of Scotland VI. Edin. 1874. 3.vi.p.197. (3) ed. Lives of the Scottish Saints, J.Pinkerton, rev.W.Metcalf, vol.I. 1899. (4) J.F.Kenney, The Sources for the Early History of Ireland, vol.I New York 1929. pp.428-29. (5) ed. Bernard and Atkinson, The Irish Liber Hymnorum. (6) W.Stokes, Three Middle Irish Homilies. 1877. Kenney, p.434. (7) Supra p.40f.

The Pictish king lists present what seems to be a list of successive high kings of the Picts. The first king in this list who also appears in the annals is Brude mac Maelchon whose dates were c.555-584. Bede depicts Columba as preaching to the provinces of the Northern Picts - ie. the Pictish kingdoms north of the Mounth - when Brude was king of the Picts. The problem is as to which Picts Brude was king of. A. O. Anderson considered he ruled both the Northern and the Southern(1), but Reeves showed that allusions in Adamnan's Life indicate that Brude resided near to Inverness, not on the Tay as Anderson thought(2) - unless, of course, Brude alternated his time between the Moray Firth and the Tay. Brude, however, did not rule alone; in 580 Cennaleph, king of the Picts, died(3). He appears in the king lists as Galam Cennaleph with a reign of one year or four years, followed by one year with Brude(4). The only way to take this is to assume that he was a king of the southern Picts for a time and that in 579 he became a sub-king to Brude: at any rate, two kings are found ruling together.

Apart from Brude, early Pictish kings are almost impossible to date. Brude's apparent successor, Gartmait mac Domelch, appears in the lists with reigns of eleven, twenty and thirty years(5). If he succeeded Brude in 584 his dates would be either 584-595, 584-604, or 584-610; the Annals of Ulster place his death in 599(6), and no calculations

(1) E.S.I. p.49.n.2. (2) Reeves, II.34.p.277. (3) AT.Rev.Celt. xvii.p.158. A.U.I. p.68. (4) E.S.I. p.cxxiii. (5) E.S.I. p.cxxiv.

give the date 601(1). If, however, Gartnait succeeded Cennaleph in 580 he would reign 580-599, ie. a reign of nineteen years which is approximately what the lists D.F.I. assign to him. This means that from 580-584 two kings again were ruling the Picts. Gartnait is associated in the lists D.H. with the founding of Abernethy church, which is south of the Tay, and H seems to have accurate written records for the assertion(2). This indicates that Gartnait was king of the southern Picts, and therefore Cennaleph before him.

Gartnait's successor in the lists is Nechtan, grandson of Verb, with a reign of twenty or twenty-one years(3). The annals give the death of Nechtan mac Cano, who is doubtless to be identified with the grandson of Verb, as taking place in 621(4); Nechtan's reign, therefore, was from 599 to c.621 - again approximately that of the lists - and he was the successor of Gartnait over the Southern Picts. He too may have had some connection with Abernethy(5).

Nechtán's successor in the lists appears as Kenneth mac Luchtren, with a reign of fourteen, nineteen or twenty-four years(3). If he succeeded in 621 he reigned either - 621-640, 621-645, or 621-635 - but the annals show that he died in 631(6). The only thing to do is to reckon back from 631; in this way, Kenneth's dates are 607-631, 612-631, or 617-631, and again two kings are found together.

At this stage it is helpful to reckon back from a king whose

(1)As in E.S.I.p.121. (2)Skene, P.& S.p.201. (3)E.S.I.p.cxxiv.
 (4)A.U.I.p.92. (5)Skene, P.& S.p.172. (6)A.U.I.p.98. The notice about Edwin is probably misplaced, and cannot be assumed to give a date for Kenneth's death.

dates are fixed - Talorcan mac Eanfrith(653-657). His predecessor was Talorcan mac Foith who reigned for eleven or twelve years(1) and died in 653; he was king either 641-653 or 642-653. His predecessor was his brother, Brude mac Foith, who reigned five years(1) and died in 641(2); he was most probably king 636-641. His predecessor was another brother, Gartnait mac Foith, who reigned four, five or eight years(1) and who died in 635(3); he very probably reigned 631-635, and may be regarded as the successor of Kenneth. Kenneth, however, had come to power while Nechtan was still king of the southern Picts, and must be regarded as king of the Northern Picts. The Foiths would also, as successors of Kenneth, be northerners(4), and this means that the following reconstruction is possible.

In Columba's time, the Northern Picts were ruled by one king and the Southern by another. The Northern line disappears with Brude in 584 for a time, but at some point in the reign of Nechtan, Kenneth mac Luchtren became king in the north. As the next kings in the king lists follow Kenneth chronologically, and this time the southern line seems to disappear, it may be taken that from the death of Nechtan in 621 the kings of the Northern Picts were lords of all. The centre of Pictish royal power seems to have remained in the north until the time of Angus mac Fergus. This fact will be of great value for the artistic history of the period.

(1)E.S.I.p.cxxiv. (2)A.U.I.p.104. (3)A.M.I.p.102. (4)Even if a date c. 634-5 was accepted for the death of Kenneth, and he be regarded as the southern successor to Nechtan, the Foiths must still have been northerners; but the 631 date for Kenneth's death seems the most acceptable.

Columba was born at Gartan in Donegal in 521, a member of the Northern Ui Neill. He was educated at Moville by St.Finian, at Clonard, and at Glasnevin with Comgall, Ciaran, and Cainnech. In 545 he founded Derry monastery, and in 553 Durrow, together with several other foundations which cannot be precisely dated - including Kells. In 561 Columba was involved in the battle of Cul-dreimbne against King Diarmait of the Southern Ui Neill(1), for which he was very nearly excommunicated. It is difficult to say whether Columba went to Scotland as a penance or whether he went entirely voluntarily, but in 563 he left for Dalriada(2).

The Old Irish Life of Columba states that he crossed from Ireland accompanied by twenty bishops, forty priests, thirty deacons, and fifty students(3), but Adamnan only refers to twelve disciples and fellow soldiers(4). The Amra states that Brude mac Maelchon granted Iona to Columba(5), and this was the tradition Bede received(6). The Annals of Tigernach, however, assert that Conall mac Comgall(c.559-74) of Dalriada gave the island, and in Adamnan Columba appears to have first gone to Conall(7). In 559 the Scots had been put to flight by Brude in a battle in which Conall's predecessor may have been slain(8), so perhaps Brude had established temporary sovereignty over the Scots.

Columba doubtless visited Brude as soon as possible - perhaps in

(1)J.Carney, Studies in Irish Literature and History, Dublin 1955, p.338 suggests that Diarmait was a thorough pagan. (2)On the early part of Columba's life - Reeves pp.xxxiii-xxxvii.xli-xlii. (3)Stokes, Three Homilies,p.116. (4)3.5.Reeves p.196. (5)Liber Hymnorum,vol.I.p.63. (6)H.E.III.4. (7)A.T.Rev.Celt.xvii.p.151. Reeves, 1.7.p.120. (8)A.T.Rev.Celt.xvii.p.142.

564. To reach the Pictish king, Columba sailed up Loch Linnhe and Loch Ness. There is no doubt that he went this way; in Adamnan he visits poor peasants on the shores of Lochaber's Loch Lochy(1), and the incident of the burning village takes place on Loch Lochy(2); he also journeys along Loch Ness(3), and he returns home the same way(4). King Brude's castle or fortress was certainly in the vicinity of the Ness(5) - probably near the modern Inverness.

Scott's view that Columba schemed for "a revival and re-extension on Pictish territory of Gaidhealic power"(6) has been amplified by W.D.Simpson who considers that the mission was political rather than religious(7). One of the reasons to support this view is the fact that at times Columba needed an interpreter(8). The simple fact, however, that Columba - like Aidan - did have to use occasional interpreters is no proof of the political character of the mission. Another argument used to support this particular view is the claim that there is no hint in Adamnan of ceaseless wanderings by Columba and that Columba rarely went into Pictland(9). This is an entirely erroneous representation of the facts; Columba, in fact, appears constantly on the move among the western Isles and between Iona and Ireland. With

(1)Reeves 2.38.p.177. E.S.I.p.59.n.1. Adamnan affords many details of peasant life in N.Scotland. Some were very poor; they were liable to be plundered by marauders - if fortunate they escaped to the hills, but cattle and furniture had to be left behind. In the wars they might be killed or enslaved. In peace, the wild life was their's for the taking.
 (2)Reeves 2.33.p.173. E.S.I.p.59.n.1. (3)Reeves 2.28.p.170. 2.34.p.174. 3.15.p.203. (4)Reeves 2.35.p.175. (5)Reeves 2.34.p.174. (6)The Pictish Church,p.221. (7)The Historical St.Columba,pp.21.27. (8)Ibid,p.26.
 (9)Ibid,pp.25-26.

regard to the Picts, it is impossible to tell from Adamnan how many trips Columba made into Pictland but the following instances may be cited:-

(i)The first visit; Brude would not open his gates to Columba, who nevertheless forced an entry. The chapter begins -

"Allo in tempore, hoc est, in prima Sancti fatigione itineris ad regem Brudeum.."(1).

(ii)It follows from the *Allo in tempore* that the incidents referred to in the three preceeding chapters(2) belong to another missionary trip at a subsequent date. Brude is said to have come to respect Columba on the first visit, but he was still suspicious.

(iii)A third visit; Columba requested protection from Brude for Cormac in the Orkneys(3). The request was granted; this is unlikely to have been achieved in the hostile and stormy circumstances of the above visits.

(iv)A fourth visit; Columba is found in Glen Urquhart and is now an old man(4). This should be dated, therefore, nearer the end of his life.

These instances indicate that Columba maintained personal contact with the Northern Picts throughout his life.

Though Adamnan does not mention it, Columba was accompanied on the first trip by St.Comgall and St.Cainnech, according to the Life of St.Comgall(5). Comgall founded Bangor c.555-59, and was the master

(1)Reeves 2.36.p.176. (2)Reeves 2.33-35.pp.173-76. (3)Reeves 2.43.p.185. (4)Reeves 3.15.p.203. (5)C.Plummer, *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, Oxford 1910.vol.II.p.18. The Life may be based on a tenth century Irish original - Kenney, Sources p.396.

of Columbanus(1). He is mentioned in Adamnan several times(2) but there is no evidence for extensive missionary work in Pictland by him. The Life of Cainnech depicts Cainnech wandering over Scotland; it does not refer to a visit with Comgall and Columba to King Brude, but it does relate how he gave sight, hearing and speech to the daughter of the king of the Picts(3). Adamnan refers to him several times(4). It is quite possible that Comgall and Cainnech were with Columba on his first visit to the Picts. There is no evidence, however, to regard them as the leaders of the expedition; Scott made much of the fact that they were what he termed Irish Picts from Ulster, having common kinship with the Picts of Scotland(5). K.H.Jackson has shown that the Irish Cruithni were not Picts and that there is no reason to suppose they spoke a language other than Irish in historical times(6); Comgall and Cainnech, therefore, would experience the same linguistic difficulties as Columba. Even though Cainnech is said to have wandered through Scotland and to have founded a cell at St.Andrews(7), the historicity of these traditions is uncertain, and in any case there is no way of knowing to what extent he operated independently of the Iona mission.

Bede states that Columba converted the Northern Picts, and the granting of safe-conduct to Cormac shows that Brude had been brought to an attitude of tolerance if to nothing else. Adamnan concerns himself

(1)Kenney, Sources p.396. (2)Reeves 1.35.p.145. 3.14.p.202. 3.18.p.205.
 (3)C.Plummer, Ibid.1.p.159. (4)Reeves 1.4.p.118. 2.13.p.161. 3.18.p.205.
 (5)The Pictish Church,pp.22.132.221.233 etc. (6)The Problem of the Picts
 p.159. (7)The Martyrology of Oengus the Culdee, ed.W.Stokes. Henry
 Bradshaw Soc.29. London 1905.p.222.

exclusively with Columba's mission to the Northern Picts. A further, less documented aspect of the saint's missionary activities, however, was his work among the Southern Picts.

On the death of Conall of Dalriada, Columba made Aedan mac Gabran king(1). Aedan's military ambitions brought Scottish armies south to the upper reaches of the Firth of Forth and ultimately to Degrastan. Columba certainly took the side of the Scots - but in the specific instance in which he prayed for victory it should be noted that Aedan was fighting not Picts but Britons(2). Regardless of wars and hostilities, Columba crossed and recrossed the Pictish border, and at an unknown date moved into the region of the Tay, into the heart of the territory of the Southern Picts. However effective the work of Ninian had been, there is no evidence for an organised Church among these southerners until Columba's time when - the Amra states -

'Cluidsi-us borbb beolu bendacht batar ic toi tolrig'.

"Blessing subdued rough tongues that were at Toi(Tay) with the king who is loved (or - the desirable king.)(3).

It is odd that the Amra should not mention Brude - but then Adamnan never refers to any work along the Tay; perhaps the source for this passage in the Amra was originally a priest who had worked with Columba only in the Tay area. In view of what has been said of the division of the Pictish kingdom between two principal kings at this date, it is unlikely that Tay's king was Brude; the probability is that he was

(1)Reeves 3.6.p.196. (2)Reeves 1.7.p.120. C.P.N.S.p.58. (3)Liber Hymnorum, vol.I.p.179. I am indebted to Professor Jackson for guidance with the translation, which is rather obscure. The gloss of "ardd-rig Toi" - 'Tay's High-king' - is a mistranslation in Irish of tolrig, and points to the antiquity of the original note.

Garbnait mac Domelch(580-599). The founding of Abernethy seems to date from his reign, and it may have been one of the results of this mission of Columba to the Southern Picts, of which only the faintest recollection has survived.

In the attempt to convert the Picts and to establish churches in their lands an organisation was heeded and Columba made Iona his base for this organisation. Other bases would also be needed. Columba sent his uncle, Ernan, to preside over a monastery he had founded in Hinba island, somewhere in the vicinity of Iona(1). A monastery was established in Tiree, of which Baithene, who subsequently became abbot of Iona, was superior(2). One of Columba's workers, Columban, was active as far north as Ardnamurchan(3). Lugne became prior of Elena Island, probably one of the Garveloch Isles(4). Cailtan was in charge of a cell on Loch Awe(5). Columba was spreading a network of centres over western Scotland, but for centres among the Picts the evidence is scanty. The Book of Deer relates that Bede, a Pict, gave Columba and his disciple the town of Deer in Buchan, Aberdeenshire, and that Columba placed Drostan in charge there(6). The story may well be fabulous, but Duke seems to accept that there may be a kernel of truth in it(7). The only other record is for the church at Abernethy.

Other missionaries were establishing centres also. Comgall is

(1)Reeves 1.31.p.143, & n.p.264. (2)Reeves I.24.p.132 & n.p.257. 3.9. p.200. (3)Reeves 2.23.p.166. (4)Reeves 2.17.p.163 & n.p.271. (5)Reeves I.25.p.132. (6)ed.J.Stuart, Spalding Club, Edin.1869.pp.91f. (7)J.A. Duke, The Columban Church, London 1932. p.75.

said to have founded a monastery on Tiree(1). His kinsman, Moluoc or Lugaid, founded one at Lismore where he died in 592(2). In 611 Nemen, abbot of Lismore, died, and in 637 Eochaid, abbot of Lismore(3). Here the record ends. An important centre appears at Kingarth, founded by Blane or Blaen, a disciple of Comgall(4); in c.659 died Bishop Daniel of Kingarth(5) and in 689 Bishop Iolan of Kingarth. Notices continue until the death of Abbot Noah in 790(6). Subsequently, in 873, Maelrubai, Abbot of Bangor, went to Scotland and founded the church of Applecross(7); he died in 722(8) and his successor Failbe in 737(9). There is no doubt that Bangor was sending a stream of missionaries into Scotland - and some of them may have worked over a wide field as Columba did(10) - but there is no reason to postulate antipathy between these Bangor missionaries and Columba's disciples or to maintain that Abbot Adamnan of Iona, for example,

"had no control over, and no communion with, the Pictish Church"(11). This is to go beyond what the evidence warrants. It must be remembered that the traditions about the vast mass of sixth century Scottish missionaries are very late indeed in most cases. The evidence of the seventh and eighth centuries, the contemporary evidence, leaves little doubt - in fact no doubt - that Iona was the foremost ecclesiastical

(1)C.Plummer, *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, II.p.11. (2)A.T.Rev.Celt.xvii.p.159. *E.S.I.*p.95.n.2. (3)A.T.Rev.Celt.xvii.pp.169.183. (4)Martyrology of Oengus p.173.184-5. *E.S.I.*pp.176-7. (5)A.T.Rev.Celt.xvii.p.195. (6)A.U.I.p.268. (7)A.U.I.p.126. (8)A.T.Rev.Celt.xvii.p.228. (9)A.T. Rev. Celt.xvii.p.240. (10)eg.Moluoc is said to have worked in Ross; *E.S.I.* p.19.note. (11)*The Pictish Church*,p.366.

centre in Pictland.

The evidence for this is as follows. Referring to Columba's mission Bede states that Iona was for a long time much honoured by many tribes of the Scots and Picts(1). It could be argued that Bede's source for this statement was an Iona source and therefore unreliable - but an Iona propagandist is unlikely to have viewed Iona's greatness as a thing of the past; the whole statement looks like an independent comment by Bede. Speaking of the plagues of 686 and 688, Adamnan states that the protection of the Picts and Scots from these plagues was due to God's favour to Columba whose monasteries lie within the territories of both these peoples:

"cujus monasteria intra utrorumque populorum terminos fundata ab utrisque ad praesens tempus valde sunt honorificata"(2).

Adamnan's Life of Columba, in fact, never reads as a propagandist work aimed at trying to claim for Columba and Iona a greater share in the conversion of the Picts than was actually the case; indeed, the clues for his continuous missionary activity among the Picts have to be pierced together from scattered allusions, and the Tay mission is omitted entirely. One significant piece of evidence for the primacy of Iona in Scotland is often overlooked. In 640 the clergy of Northern Ireland wrote to Rome concerning the Easter controversy, and when the archpresbyter Hilary replied to the leaders of the communities at Armagh, Clonard, Clonmacnoise, Moville, and Iona(3).

(1)H.E.V.9. (2)Reeves 2.47.p.191. (3)H.E.II.19. & Kenney, Sources p.222.

Columba died in 597. The first three-quarters of the following century are among the most obscure periods in the history of the Church in Scotland. Details of activities among the Picts are virtually non-existent. Dedicatory evidence is thoroughly unreliable(1). One or two historical facts may lie behind some of the traditions of certain saints who are said to have worked in Scotland, but the evidence must be treated very cautiously(2). Contemporary notices are lacking; the event which attracted most attention was the slaying of the obscure community of Eigg in 618(3). Iona's major project in this period appears to have been the Northumbrian mission - but that this mission is known in a fair amount of detail is due solely to Bede. However active Columba and his followers were, the Church in Pictland cannot have been thoroughly organised before 597; a great deal of basic work must have been undertaken during the reigns of Nechtan(599-c.621) and Kenneth mac Luchtren(617?-c.631). The historian, however, must follow where the material leads, and the activities of the Columban Church in this period can only be illustrated by the details of Aidan's mission to Northumbria which initiated - for the Northumbrians - an era of ecclesiastical and cultural contact with the Celtic world(4).

(1) Duke, The Columban Church, pp.158-162. (2) A.P. Forbes, Kalendars of Scottish Saints, Edin.1872, brings these traditions together. (3) A.U.I. 88. A.T.Rev.Celt.xvii.pp.171-2. (4) Since this chapter was written, a new edition of Adamnan's Life of Columba has appeared - with a critical introduction; A.O. & M.O. Anderson, Adamnan's Life of Columba, London 1961.

(B) The Scottish Mission to Northumbria.

(i) The Mission of Paulinus.

During the reign of Edwin, king of Northumbria(617-634)(1), the Roman mission in Kent sent Paulinus north to work in Northumbria. He succeeded~~d~~ in converting Edwin, but abandoned the kingdom on Edwin's death in battle.

These facts are well known, but the chronology of this mission is so uncertain that further analysis is necessary.

Bede states that Paulinus went north with Aethelburga, bride of Edwin, after July 21st.625 - which should be emended to 626(2). Two letters of Pope Boniface are preserved in the Historia Ecclesiastica - one to Edwin and one to Aethelburga - and in the letter to the queen Boniface says that he has been informed by those who came to acquaint him with the news of the conversion of Aedbald of Kent that Edwin still served idols(3). There is no reason to treat these letters as forgeries because they do not square with traditions of some hundred years later. The basic difficulty is that Boniface was dead and buried by October 25th.625; even if the date 625 was correct for the marriage - which it is not - there would still not have been time for an unsuccessful attempt to have been made to convert Edwin and for the pope to have been informed. It is, in fact, inconceivable that the papacy, which sought to maintain the closest possible contact with the Kent mission

(1) The dates used in this chapter are the dates arrived at in the chronological revision at the end of this study -Appendix I. (2)H.E.II. 9. (3)H.E.II.11.

should not have known of the conversion of Eadbald until 625 - assuming the 625 date to have any validity. Archbishop Mellitus died in 624(1) - and had been archbishop five years, ie.619-624(2). He had been in touch with Boniface V(2). Eadbald, however, had been converted by Archbishop Laurentius, who died in February 619. It is difficult to suppose that the papacy was not notified of the conversion - as great a turning point as Augustine's original landing - almost as soon as it took place. The letter to Boniface can have been no earlier than 619, when Boniface became pope, but it must certainly have been c.620.

Eadbald became king of Kent either in 616 or 618. He is said to have been reigning when Edwin sought the hand of Aethelburga(3). The reply given does not necessarily mean that Eadbald was a Christian - only that Aethelburga was - and the marriage must have taken place c.618. Paulinus went north only as Aethelburga's chaplain - as Luidhard had been Bertha's chaplain; nevertheless, he made a determined effort to convert the king which failed at first. Notice of this failure was sent to Boniface c.620 with the other notice of Eadbald's change of heart. Despite the procrastination of Edwin, in 626 Paulinus was made bishop of Northumbria; in 627 Edwin's daughter was baptised, and in 628 the king himself was converted.

The Roman Church, therefore, was operative in Northumbria - not from 625-633 - but from c.618-634, and its roots probably went correspondingly deeper.

(1)H.E.II.7. This date is confirmed indirectly by the fact that Boniface sent Justus the pallium -ie.before 625. (2)H.E.II.8. (3)H.E.II.9.

Edwin was a Deiran prince by birth, and this would make him willing to accept the Roman wish that York should be the site of the principal church in the north and the episcopal seat. A timber church, dedicated to St. Peter, was built there, and before Edwin was killed a stone church had been begun(1). Though much of Paulinus' work was done in Deira and Lindsey(2), he is said also to have baptised in Bernicia at Yeavering in the Cheviots(3). That the whole story of the conversion in Edwin's reign is not known, however, is quite apparent from the enigmatic and controversial statement by the Historia Brittonum;

"Eadgum vero in sequenti pascha baptismum suscepit et duodecim millia hominum baptizati sunt cum eo. si quis scire voluerit, quis eos baptizavit, Rum map Urbgen baptizavit eos et per quadraginta dies non cessavit baptizare omne genus ambronum et per praedicationem illius multi crediderunt Christo(4).

"...sic mihi Renchidus episcopus et Elbobdus episcoporum sanctissimus tradiderunt(5).

If Run did work in Northumbria one would expect his field of operations to be most probably Bernicia.

The death of Edwin in battle may have been regarded by the Northumbrians as a defeat for the Christian God. Osric, Edwin's cousin, in Deira, and Eanfrith, son of Aethelfrith, returning from exile to Bernicia, preferred to put their trust in the old gods of war. Paulinus, probably discredited, withdrew to Kent, but his helper, James the Deacon, continued to dwell near Catterick awaiting developments(6).

(1)H.E.II.14. (2)H.E.II.14.16. 18. Note that Edwin fell in battle on Oct.12.634; Paulinus was still in Lincoln after Nov.10th.634 so his flight cannot have been too precipitous. There is more to Paulinus than meets the eye. (3)H.E.II.14. The excavation report on Yeavering is still awaited unfortunately. (4)M.G.H.A.A.xii.p.206. (5)Ibid, p.207- (6)H.E.II.20.

(ii)Aidan, bishop of Lindisfarne.

When Aethelfrith had been slain in 617, his sons had fled into exile. Oswald, a boy of twelve, and Oswiu, an infant of three, found refuge among the Scots under King Eochaid Buide, son of Aedan, of the Cinel Gabran(1). His son, Donald Brecc, who succeeded in c.630, was remembered as the principal benefactor of the young exiles(2). The sons of Aethelfrith were baptised among the Scots - probably on Iona, for it was to Iona that Oswald sent a request for a bishop when he became king of Northumbria(3).

The first man sent by Abbot Seghine was of such austere disposition that he made no appeal at all to the heathen and returned to Iona convinced that the task of conversion was an impossible one. On hearing the comments of Aidan that this man may have been too exacting in his demands upon unlearned pagans(4) the Iona brethren ~~determined~~ determined that Aidan himself should be sent to Northumbria(5).

Aidan's age is never recorded but a date c.590 for his birth will probably not be far wrong. Aidan's family seems to have come originally from Meath(6) and Aidan is associated in Ireland with Cell Mor in Co. Monaghan(7) and with Scattery Island in the Shannon(8). He was most probably at Iona when Oswald and Oswiu were still among the Scots. Like Columba, he is a particularly interesting figure because he and his mission can be studied in considerable detail.

(1)H.E.III.1. E.S.I.pp.clv.cxxx. H.E.III.9. & IV.5. for the ages of the princes. (2)E.S.I.p.142.n.2. (3)H.E.III.3. (4)H.E.III.5. (5)H.E.III.3.5. (6)Mart.Taallaght, ed.R.I.Best & H.J.Lawlor, H.Bradshaw Soc.68.Lond.1931. pp.64.72. Mart.Oengus pp.17-18.177.195. (7)Mart.Oengus pp.190-191. (8)Mart.Oengus pp.190-191.387. The Marts of Tallaght and Oengus date in origin to c.790-c.800, but additions were made subsequently. The reliability of their evidence is not always certain.

Aidan asked for and received from King Oswald the island of Lindisfarne for his episcopal see(1). Situated only a few miles north of the fortress of Bamburgh, one of the principal residences of the Bernician rulers, Lindisfarne was a convenient choice. Aidan is said to have worked in the closest possible harmony with Oswald, who used to interpret his sermons to the Northumbrian court(1). Aidan possibly arrived in Bernicia in late 635 and he enjoyed the patronage of Oswald until the latter's death in battle in 643. After 643 Aidan is found in association with Oswine of Deira, son of King Osric, rather than with Oswiu of Bernicia, brother of Oswald. The two princes were warring rivals until Oswiu finally accomplished the death of Oswine in August 652(2). Aidan died very shortly afterwards on August 31st. 653 - near Bamburgh(3).

Bede's charming chapters on Aidan require detailed consideration. Bede was writing some eighty years after Aidan's death, and he is the only source. A few historical details of the period in general may be extracted from Reginald of Durham's Vita Oswaldi(c.1165)(4), but there are no grounds at all for assuming Reginald to have had access to primitive lives of Oswald or Aidan(5). Bede's chapters on Oswald and Aidan are certainly drawing on oral, not written, tradition; he says, in fact, that he is drawing his information from those who had known Aidan(3).

(1)H.E.III.3. (2)H.E.III.14. (3)H.E.III.17. (4)S.D.vol.I.pp.326-385.
 (5)C.W.Jones, Saints' Lives and Chronicles in Early England, New York 1947.pp.59.84.

These chapters in the Historia Ecclesiastica devoted to Aidan and Oswald are really saints' lives of these two men. A saint's life was not a historical biography but -

"a panegyric of the hero-warrior of God"

which

"not only delighted the simple-minded but filled them with awe and reverence"(1).

King Oswald is often regarded as worthy almost to be compared with Alfred the Great. The attempt to gain some idea of the real Oswald is complicated by the halo of sanctity which encircles him in the pages of Bede, but there are sufficient incidental references to him to show that he was the most powerful of the Saxon kings of his day, lord of Saxons and Britons, and unpopular with some of his subject peoples - the men of Lindsey(2). The evidence available suggests that it was Oswald who was the aggressor in the campaign which caused his death(3). This is not to deny that Oswald may have been an outstanding Christian king for his time - but Oswald the saint must not obscure Oswald the warrior; he saw the attempt of Osric and Eanfrith to rely on the older gods of war end in disaster, and it was Iona tradition, resting on the personal testimony of Oswald, that Columba appeared to him the night before Heavenfield and promised him victory. The Lord was a greater and a stronger Woden. It was Aidan's task to impress the deeper truths of Christianity on the Northumbrian warriors. There is a

(1)B.Colgrave, The Earliest Saints' Lives written in England. Proc. Brit.Acad.xliv.1958.pp.35-60(pp.40-41). (2)H.E.III.11. (3)H.E.III.9. The Vita S.Oswaldi, S.D.I.pp.350.352 has some interesting details which may be historical. The battle was fought in the vicinity of the hill fort at Oswestry; I.Williams, A Reference to the Nennian Bellum Cocboy, B.B.O.S.3.1926-7.pp.59-62.

hint of almost Merovingian cruelty in Oswald when Bede implies that Oswald would have murdered Edwin's children had he caught them(1).

Before the Conversion the Anglo-Saxon kings had claimed divine descent from the old teutonic gods. As Christianity removed this distinction it became necessary to distinguish the royal family by having among its members an outstanding Christian. The cult of St. Oswald and of many lesser figures in the reigning houses provided Anglo-Saxon royalty with a Christian substitute for the divine ancestry of pagan tradition.

In this light the picture becomes clearer. It is possible to trace in these chapters not simply the Lindisfarne traditions of Aidan but also the Bernician propaganda version of King Oswald and a rival Deiran propagandist account of Oswine. It is possible to trace the developments of these cults. To take Oswald first; Queen Ostryth of Mercia, daughter of King Oswiu, is known to have taken a great interest in the relics of her uncle, Oswald, which she translated from Oswestry to Bardney in Lincolnshire at some time between 679 and 697(2). Every year Hexham abbey used to make a pilgrimage to Heavenfield(3); Hexham was founded c.670-72 and belonged to Wilfrid of York, who from 691-702 was bishop of Leicester in Mercia when he was befriended by King Aethelred and Queen Ostryth(4). Wilfrid's friend and follower, Acca, later bishop of Hexham(709-32), was keenly interested in Oswald and it was from him that Bede gathered two miracle stories

(1)H.E.II.20. (2)H.E.III.11. (3)H.E.III.2. (4)H.E.IV.23.

about Oswald(1). Ostryth and the Hexham ecclesiastics were the ones who did most to develop the cult of Oswald, but the guiding hand was that of the members of the Bernician royal family.

The stories about Oswine reflect the Deiran counter cult. In c.642 Oswiu married Eanflaed, daughter of Edwin(2). Eanflaed and Oswine were second cousins, and when Oswine was murdered in 652 Eanflaed insisted that a monastery be built at Gillingham to atone for the crime(3). After the death of Oswiu, Eanflaed retired to Whitby(4) which, under Abbess Hild - Oswine's third cousin, was a storehouse of Deiran traditions(5). There can be little doubt that the stories about Oswine were circulated from Whitby. These stories probably do embody historical events, but it should be noted that if Oswald was Northumbria's most Christian king, Oswine was too noble a king for Northumbria(6). It will also be noticed that in the stories about Aidan and Oswald or Aidan and Oswine the intention is not to illustrate Aidan's holiness so much as that of Oswald or Oswine. Aidan comes into the narratives to demonstrate what wonderful Christians the kings are; he is a figure of only secondary importance. This is the reason why Aidan's field of operations seems to move after 643 and why he appears to have no connection with Oswiu - except indirectly in a miracle concerning Eanflaed(7): no-one was concerned to show how great a Christian Oswiu was.

(1)H.E.III.13. IV.14. (2)H.E.III.15. (3)H.E.III.24. (4)H.E.IV.26.
 (5)The origins of the Northumbrian material in the H.E. were considered in the M.A. thesis, Northumbrian Relations etc.p.2f. (6)Compare - H.E.III.9. & III.14. (7)H.E.III.15.

Aidan, himself, is an almost idyllic figure, firm but loving, wandering on foot to preach to the peasants of Bernicia, the benefactor of slaves, filled with an infinite compassion and tenderness, the comforter of the sick, the friend and guardian of the poor, the father of the wretched. He neither sought nor loved anything of this world, but delighted in distributing whatever riches came his way among the poor. He did not like dining with royalty but when invited he did so. Whenever the kings came to visit him on Lindisfarne they received the plain and simple food of the brethren. Aidan was ascetical, but his ascetism never led to spiritual pride.

There is no reason to suppose that this picture is a distortion. It might be expected that after the withdrawal of most of the Scottish monks after 664 the traditions about Aidan would be treasured and perhaps embroidered by those remaining - by, for example, Eata who became abbot of Lindisfarne in 664 and later bishop. He had been a pupil of Aidan in the earliest days of the Scottish mission(1) and perhaps a keen interest on his part in the Church of Iona may be detected in the background of Egbert's call to convert the Scots to the true Easter(2). There is no evidence, however, of any considerable interest in Aidan in the early Northumbrian Church. Bede's statement that he has written about Aidan as far as he could learn from those who knew him(3) implies that it was no easy task to collect material about Aidan. Aidan, in fact, had been eclipsed by St. Cuthbert by the

(1)H.E.III.26. (2)H.E.V.9. (3)H.E.III.17.

early eighth century, and while Aidan was among the least popular of Anglo-Saxon saints in subsequent centuries, Cuthbert became far and away the most popular(1). Bede wrote a Life of Cuthbert before he wrote the *Historia Ecclesiastica*, in which he stated that no-one before Cuthbert had dared to lead a hermit life on the Island of Farne because it was inhabited by demons(2). When he came to write about Aidan, however, Bede discovered that Aidan had been in the habit of retiring to pray on the Island of Farne(3) - and his solitary residence could still be seen. It looks as if Aidan's sojourn there, though remembered, was being deliberately obscured to give greater glory to Cuthbert.

A few miracle stories circulated about Aidan. The more successful a miracle worker a saint was - the better were his chances of fame, as the example of Cuthbert bears ample testimony. Miracles were the stock in trade of a Celtic saint. Aidan leaves the impression that he ministered as unostentatiously as possible. It must be noted, however, that the miracle of how a storm at sea was calmed when a priest obeyed a specific command of Aidan(4) was related by a priest, Cynemund, who also seems to have been responsible for a similar story of how another sea-storm was abated when a command of Cuthbert was obeyed(5). Aidan's miracle of turning the wind against the fires of a pillaging enemy force(6) is paralleled by an instance in which Cuthbert's prayers effect a change of wind in a storm(7). This could be due to

(1) There were 72 pre-Reformation church dedications to Cuthbert scattered far and wide - but one to Aidan and that at Bamburgh. (2) *Two Lives of St. Cuthbert*, ed. B. Colgrave, Cam. 1940. pp. 214-5. (3) *H.E.* III. 16. (4) *H.E.* III. 15. (5) B. Colgrave, *ibid*, pp. 266-71. (6) *H.E.* III. 16. (7) B. Colgrave, *ibid*, pp. 160-5.

the fact that saints in the Celtic tradition tended to work the same type of miracle - or it could be a case of anything Aidan could do, Cuthbert could do better.

If, however, Aidan did not devote much time to miraculous deeds, but rather concentrated on the routine business of getting the Church organised, this might account for his lack of popularity(1). He certainly had plenty to do. The fundamental history of the Church is really the development of the organisation of the Church to enable the most fruitful preaching of the Christian faith - and the successfulness of the preaching. In Pictland the first steps in the organisation of a Church cannot be traced, but in Northumbria they can. When Aidan arrived, there was not one single church in Bernicia and that at York was not completed(2). One of the first tasks of the missionaries would be to build essential churches - the primitive wooden structure on Lindisfarne(3) and the completion of the stone one at York(4). Aidan did not make York his centre, but Lindisfarne, and from this base there were long preaching tours to undertake, heavy and arduous, taking the monks into the wildest regions of Northumberland. Many of the simpler folk are known to have been afraid of the new rituals(5). Lonely Cheviot villages, which saw a priest perhaps once a year if they were fortunate, cannot have been all that receptive to Christianity. The task of these early missionaries did not end with the conversion of the king - it began there,

(1) Unless it is attributed to the decision at the Synod of Whitby.

(2) H.E.II.14. III.2. (3) H.E.LLL.25. (4) H.E.II.14. (5) This is indicated by a passage in the Life of Cuthbert; B.Colgrave, Two Lives, pp.160-5.

Aidan's initial difficulty was shortage of priests. As soon as Augustine had converted Aethelbert he had set about training English youths for the ministry(1). Aidan did the same as soon as he settled on Lindisfarne; Oswald gave him twelve boys to be trained(2) - and this number was increased as new recruits came along. Many of the slaves ransomed by Aidan joined the Lindisfarne school(3). One of Aidan's greatest achievements was the creation of this Lindisfarne school; Eata was a product of it, as were Adda - and presumably Betti - who worked in Mercia, and the four brothers Chad, Cedd, Celin, and Cynebelin(4). Chad became bishop of York and then bishop of Lichfield. Cedd founded the monastery at Lastingham, worked in Mercia, and became bishop of Essex. About 648 a boy of fourteen came across to Lindisfarne from Bamburgh(5) - and stayed there for four years; this was Wilfrid, destined to become the champion of Rome in Northumbria, one of the most stormy figures of the seventh century. Many must have been the conversations he had with Aidan and Finan before he decided that to him there was a glory to the worship of God which called for more than the austere simplicity of Lindisfarne.

A second great service which Aidan performed was to introduce monasticism into Northumbria. Oswald gave money and lands for monasteries(6). The monasteries of Melrose(7) and Gateshead(8) appear to date to Aidan's lifetime. Aidan consecrated Hôau - the first North-

(1)P.F.Jones, The Gregorian Mission and English Education, Speculum III. 1928.pp.335-348. (2)H.E.II.26. (3)H.E.III.5. (4)H.E.III.21.23. (5)Life of Bishop Wilfrid by Eddi Stephanus, ed.B.Colgrave, Cam.1937.pp.6-7. (6)H.E.III.3. (7)Cuthbert seems to have entered Melrose c.651 - Colgrave Two Lives, p.6. (8)H.E.III.21.

umbrian to become a nun; she founded a monastery at Hartlepool(1). Hilda founded a monastery north of the Wear(2) and then one at Whitby (3). Aidan used to visit her and instruct her in monastic discipline(3). Whitby produced a succession of bishops, among them Haedde of Winchester, John of Hexham and later of York, and Wilfrid~~II~~ II of York. Though Wilfrid I carried Northumbria over to the Benedictine Rule, the founder of northern monasticism was Aidan of Lindisfarne.

Aidan died on August 31st.652. In his own lifetime he was highly thought of by archbishop Honorius(4). Bede admired and respected his love of peace and charity, his humility, his industry and diligence(5). The Martyrology of Oengus spoke of Aidan as -

'Aedan in grian geldae,
Inse Medcoit molmae.'
'Aidan, the brilliant sun
of Lindisfarne, whom we praise(6).

(1)H.E.IV.23. (2)H.E.Savage, Abbess Hilda's First Religious House ,
Arch.Aeliana xix.1898.pp.47-75 suggests South Shields. (3)H.E.IV.23.
(4)H.E.III.25. (5)H.E.III.17. (6)Mart.Oengus,p.179.

(iii) The anti-Scottish reaction.

Aidan's mission to Northumbria had enjoyed some seventeen years of success when he died - a little longer than the mission of Paulinus had lasted. In another twelve years the majority of the Scottish clergy were to be driven out by Oswiu of Northumbria, brother of the man who had first invited the monks to Lindisfarne, and who had himself been baptised among the Scots many years before. The causes of this complete re-orientation of the Northumbrian Church may never be fully known, but some outstanding pointers may be indicated.

After 656 Oswiu entered into campaigns against the Picts and subdued a considerable number of tribes. It is unlikely that these hostilities led to ill feeling on the part of the Scottish monks, particularly as it is possible that Oswiu installed Scottish princes as rulers of the Picts. The movement which led to the Synod of Whitby appears to have been a wholly ecclesiastical one, the result of the activities of a minority of churchmen who somehow or other managed to influence the mind of King Oswiu.

In this context, the new fact of the much longer residence of Paulinus in Northumbria than was previously thought is of considerable relevance. Paulinus had almost as long a time as Aidan had to strike deep roots, and at least one follower of his remained behind to see the bearing of the fruit - James the Deacon, in his village near Catterick. The Northumbrians can never have forgotten that once they were linked to and in touch with the Church of Rome. A reminder came

with the arrival in Bernicia to be the queen of Oswiu of the daughter of Edwin - Eanflaed with her Roman priest, Romanus(1). This was probably c.643-4(2). During the episcopate of Finan of Lindisfarne (652-662), Ronan, a Scot, educated either in France or Italy, came to Northumbria, prevailing on many, but disputing unsuccessfully with Finan the true date of Easter(1).

The Celtic Church of the Irish differed from the Roman in matters relating to tonsure, administration of baptism, and methods of episcopal consecration(3), but above all others the fundamental difference was that relating to the date of the observance of Easter. The Celtic Churches dated Easter by the eighty-four year cycle which Rome had observed before 343. The British clergy would not change for Augustine and were still obdurate in 731. From the first the archbishops of Canterbury had been concerned about the situation, and Laurentius wrote to the Irish clergy reproaching them for holding the same views as the British(4). In 457 Victorius of Aquitaine worked out a new cycle of 532 years, in which Easter fell between the 16th. and 22nd. of the lunar month as opposed to the previous 14th. to 20th., and this was accepted by Rome. The Victorian cycle began to secure a hold in Ireland in the early seventh century but at this time Rome switched to the cycle of Dionysius Exiguus, a 19 year cycle in which Easter fell between the 15th. and 21st. of the lunar month. This was the confused situation when the Dionysian cycle was brought forward as the orthodox

(1)H.E.III.25. (2)Egfrith was born c.645-6. H.E.IV.26. (3)L.Gougaud, Christianity in Celtic Lands, London 1932.pp.201-209. (4)H.E.II.4.

Roman computation at Whitby(1).

Colman succeeded Finan in 662 as bishop of Lindisfarne and an even greater controversy arose than under Finan(2). The Roman ranks had been increased by the return of the young Wilfrid from Rome c.658; he at once found favour with Alchfrith, son of Oswiu and sub-king of Deira, whom he converted to his own views(3). Alchfrith had recently founded a monastery at Ripon for Eata, one of Aidan's disciples and abbot of Melrose, but on his conversion to Rome he dispossessed Eata and installed Wilfrid in his place(4). During the episcopate of Colman, a Romanising Irishman came to Northumbria - Tuda(5), and the Roman contingent was completed by the arrival c.663(6) of Bishop Agilbert of Wessex with his priest Agatho(2). The disagreement came to a head in 664 because of an incipient confusion between the Victorian and Dionysiac cycles; despite the previous controversy the two tables had been used with reasonable agreement side by side but in the year 665 they would diverge in a wholly new fashion(7). This is why the Synod of Whitby took place when it did.

The accounts of the debate are well known(8). Wilfrid was mercilessly scornful in his attack on Colman, and King Oswiu gave a decision in favour of Rome. Colman took his Scottish companions and some thirty Saxons with him and returned to Iona, from whence he travelled to Inishboffin and to Mageo - Mayo(9).

(1)On the Easter controversy; C.W.Jones, Bedae Opera De Tempōribus, Mass.1943. L.Gougaud, Ibid, pp.187-192. Kenney, Sources, pp.218-223.

(2)H.E.III.25. (3)B.Colgrave, Life of Bishop Wilfrid, pp.14-17. (4)H.E.V.19. B.Colgrave, Ibid, pp.16-19. (5)H.E.III.26. (6)Plummer, B.O.H.II.p.146. (7)C.W.Jones, Ibid, p.103. (8)H.E.III.25. B.Colgrave, Ibid, pp.20-3. (9)H.E.IV.4.

With the decision at Whitby, the historian is faced with the problem of to what extent the influence of the Scottish clergy survived in Northumbria after 664 and how far any possible survival of the religious issue affected the secular and ecclesiastical politics of the post-664 period(1). The sources for this period contain many much that is enigmatic and of uncertain interpretation. The material must be examined without any preconceptions and the difficulties fairly faced.

The attitude of King Oswiu remains unfathomable. He had been steeped in the traditions of the Scottish clergy; his political policy was becoming increasingly Celticised. It may be that he had no wish to divide Bernicia and Deira on a religious issue, and the Roman influence resulting from the mission of Paulinus and the revitalised Roman party was probably stronger than appears on the surface. Bede states that by the end of his life, Oswiu was eager to visit Rome(2), and it may well be that he had been deeply impressed by what had been told him about the Eternal City. On the other hand, for reasons unknown, he restrained his son Alchfrith from going to Rome in 665(3). At the time of the Synod of Whitby he is said to have deeply loved Colman and

(1) J.L. Gough Meissner, The Celtic Church in England After the Synod of Whitby, Lond. 1929., maintained that a deep rift in Northumbria between the Roman and Celtic factions was reflected in the politics of the period, and that the H.E. was a piece of Roman propaganda to influence a Celticised king. All the material, however, was considered from a biased anti-Roman standpoint, and the book is of slight value; nevertheless, some of the problems raised are actual ones. (2) H.E. IV. 4. (3) Bede, in his Lives of the Abbots makes it clear that it was in 665 that Alchfrith wished to go to Rome - not 653 as B. Colgrave, Two Lives p. 345 states.

granted his request that Eata should be abbot of Lindisfarne(1). Eata had refused to accept the Roman Easter only a short time before at Ripon. The man appointed to succeed Colman represented a compromise between Roman and Celt; Tuda was a Romaniser but he was also an Irishman(2). On Tuda's death soon after his appointment, Alchfrith sent Wilfrid to Rome to be ordained canonically(3) - with the consent of Oswiu(4). Wilfrid was to be bishop, not of Lindisfarne, but of York - but how far his jurisdiction was originally intended to extend is uncertain. Wilfrid dallied in Gaul(5), and on his failure to return swiftly Oswiu, following the example of his son, sent Chad, abbot of Lastingham, to be consecrated at Canterbury(6). Finding the see of Canterbury vacant, Chad was consecrated by Wine of Winchester and two British bishops who adhered to the Celtic Easter(6). This is an indication that Chad drew no clear distinction between the two Churches though his consecration was invalid in the eyes of the Romanists(7). Eddius asserts that in the nomination of Chad, Oswiu was stirred up by the ancient foe - ie. by Celtic sympathisers - and this accusation cannot be lightly dismissed(8). Alongside Oswiu's favour to Chad, however, must be set his association with Egbert of Kent c.665 in sending Wighard to Rome(9).

When Theodore finally arrived in May 669 he came to Northumbria and deposed Chad from York on the grounds of his uncanonical

(1)H.E.III.26. (2)H.E.III.26. (3)H.E.III.28. (4)H.E.V.19. (5)H.E.III.28. If Agilbert was already bishop of Paris when he consecrated Wilfrid, the consecration cannot have taken place before June 666 - H.Howorth, The Golden Days of the Early English Church, Lond.1917.vol.I.p.225. (6)H.E.III.28. (7)H.E.IV.2. (8)B.Colgrave, Life of Bishop Wilfrid, pp.30-31. (9)H.E.III.29. IV.1.

consecration(1), installing Wilfrid in his rightful see(2). King Wulfhere of Mercia then asked Theodore for a bishop to succeed Jaruman and Wilfrid - displaying the charity with which he is rarely credited - suggested that Chad should be sent(2). Wilfrid cannot have been the bearer of a grudge against Chad, and neither can Chad's Celtic sympathies have been very pronounced for him to find favour with Theodore. These four years in the life of Chad reveal that contemporaries did not draw such a hard and fast distinction between Celt and Roman as some historians have imagined.

The character of the Lindisfarne monastery after 664 emphasises the absence of this clear line of division. The descriptions of the monastic life there as given by Bede are not too clear(3). There is no evidence that Oswiu pursued a conscious policy of seeking to make Lindisfarne a Celtic outpost. Lindisfarne had never been, in fact, a monastery completely on the Scottish model; Aidan had never relinquished his monastic jurisdiction into the hands of the abbot of Lindisfarne, nor is there any trace at Lindisfarne of a number of monks in episcopal orders(4). A passage in Bede's Life of St. Cuthbert, however, suggests that later bishops of Lindisfarne may have been under the abbot's rule(5). The monastic rule observed at Lindisfarne before 664 was superseded soon after by Cuthbert as prior when an individual ascetic rule was combined with the Benedictine rule thereby creating a way of observing the religious life which was neither fully Celtic or fully Benedictine(6).

(1) H.E.IV.2. Colgrave, *Ibid*, pp.32-3. (2) H.E.IV.3. Colgrave, *Ibid*, pp.32-3
 (3) H.E.IV.27. Colgrave, *Two Lives*, pp.208-9. (4) Bede; *His Life, Times, & Writings*, ed. A. Hamilton Thompson, pp.72-3. (5) *Two Lives*, pp.208-9.347.
 (6) *Two Lives*, pp.94-5.324.

From 671-678, in the reign of Ecgfrith, Wilfrid was supreme in the Northumbrian Church. The reasons for Ecgfrith's quarrel with Wilfrid are never fully revealed in the original sources; it is almost certain that Wilfrid's unsatisfactory relations with Queen Eormenburg (1) are not the whole story, and some unspecified cause seems to lurk continuously in the background. The exact sequence of events in 678 is far from clear. Eddius represents both Ecgfrith and Theodore as conspiring together to oust Wilfrid, and certainly Theodore must have been eager to divide the Northumbrian diocese in view of his declared policy of fragmentation of the vaster dioceses(2). Wilfrid, however, seems to have been prepared to accept the division(3) - his main objections were to the fact of his summary dismissal from York and the churchmanship of the men who had been appointed in his place. Bede and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle 'A' indicate that Ecgfrith alone drove Wilfrid out(4). After this development, Ecgfrith probably summoned Theodore(1) who, seeing that Ecgfrith would not retain Wilfrid and possibly not wishing to endanger the newly won unity of the English Church, accepted the situation and appointed new bishops, using the opportunity to divide the province.

J.L.Gough Meissner maintained that Ecgfrith was a fanatical Romanist whose wars against the Picts and Irish were religious crusades(5). The ecclesiastical appointments of 678, however, indicate

(1) B. Colgrave, Life of Bishop Wilfrid, pp. 48-49. (2) Colgrave, ibid, pp. 48-49. H.E.IV.5. (3) Colgrave, ibid, pp. 60-61. (4) H.E.IV.12. Two Saxon Chronicles I.p.38. (5) The Celtic Church in England, pp. 29-34.

rather a swing towards the ecclesiastical element which had Scottish associations. The men appointed were -

(i) Bosa; he was made bishop of York(1). He was a Whitby product, where Abbess Hild, a supporter of Colman in 664 and afterwards one of Wilfrid's leading opponents(2), presided.

(ii) Eata; he became bishop of Hexham(1). One of the first pupils of Aidan, he had refused to accept the Roman Easter when at Melrose. He became abbot of Lindisfarne in 664 at Colman's request, and as bishop of Hexham was master of the whole Bernician Church.

(iii) Eadhed; he was installed over the recently re-annexed province of Lindsey(1). He had previously been a companion of Chad(3) and a member of the immediate entourage of Oswiu(3). It is reasonable to conjecture that he had probably been educated at Lindisfarne. These three men all had Celtic affiliations, and Wilfrid protested that he could not serve God in unity with them because he considered them strangers to the Catholic Church(4). While all three had no doubt conformed by 678 their background would tell against them in Wilfrid's eyes - though ironically enough he was himself originally a Lindisfarne student. Ecgfrith and Theodore were probably concerned for their part to accommodate the old strongholds of the Scottish Church within the framework of the new order.

Wilfrid's successful appeal to Rome availed him nothing on his return to Northumbria in 680. It is perhaps of significance that the

(1) H.E.IV.12. (2) Colgrave, Life of Bishop Wilfrid, pp.116-117. (3) H.E.III.28. (4) Colgrave, ibid, pp.62-3.

Northumbrian council which rejected the papal bull and imprisoned Wilfrid(1) may have met at Whitby; here a seal of an archdeacon Boniface - the name of the man who befriended Wilfrid in Rome(2) - was found in 1879. Instead of re-instating Wilfrid, the loss of Lindsey in 681 led to a further reorganisation of the Northumbrian Church(3) - Eadhed was made bishop of Ripon, Tumbert - of unknown origin - was installed at Hexham, Eata was restricted to being bishop of Lindisfarne only, and Trumwine was made bishop of the Pictish provinces with his seat at Abercorn. His origins are unknown, but he is found in association with Cuthbert(4) and retired in 685 to Whitby(5); he may be presumed to have had earlier Whitby associations. In 684 Cuthbert joined the ranks of the bishops when Tumbert was deposed from Hexham (6); Cuthbert was elected to Hexham, but on his preferring to stay at Lindisfarne, Eata went to Hexham instead(6). Cuthbert's rule of life which he instituted at Lindisfarne, a blending of an ascetic rule with the Benedictine, probably reflects the churchmanship of most of these bishops who were appointed in Ecgfrith's reign; they had accepted a form of Benedictinism, together with the Roman Easter and links with Canterbury and Rome, but they remained ascetic and in their outlook were far removed from Wilfrid and his companions to whom asceticism was abhorrent. These churchmen were neither fanatical Celts nor fanatical Romans; they were a unique product of the combination of the two - while Wilfrid was completely Romanised.

(1) Colgrave, ibid, pp.70-1. (2) Colgrave, ibid, pp.12-3.114-115. (3) H.E. IV.12. (4) Colgrave, Two Lives, pp.64-65.110-111. 156-7. 238-39. (5) H.E. IV.26. (6) H.E. IV.28. Colgrave, Two Lives, pp.110-111.238-39.

In 685 Aldfrith succeeded his half-brother Egfrith. He was on the island of Iona when Egfrith was slain(1), where he was living a self-imposed exile to gratify his love of wisdom(2).

The ecclesiastical situation under Aldfrith is confused. In 686-7 Theodore engineered the return of Wilfrid to Northumbria(3); it is significant that Theodore first wrote to Abbess Aelfled of Whitby as well as to her half-brother, the king(4). Bede states that Eata of Hexham died at the beginning of Aldfrith's reign, and that he was succeeded by John of Beverley(5). John of Beverley, it should be noted, was another Whitby man(6) - but he had also received instruction from Theodore(7). Both Bede and Eddius maintain that Wilfrid was restored to Hexham on his return, and Bede goes on to say that on the death of Bosa, John became bishop of York - implying that these two events were simultaneous(8). Bede further records that John died in 721 after being bishop thirty-three years(9) - which gives 688 for his consecration. This year can hardly have been the date of his consecration to York, however, because Bosa was still alive in 704(10) - and while he may have been deposed for Wilfrid, it is unlikely that he was deposed

(1) B. Colgrave, Two Lives pp.104-5. (2) Ibid, pp.238-9. Other details are uncertain. The evidence for a six year stay in Ireland depends on the identification of Ehfrith, to whom Aldhelm wrote, with Aldfrith - which is unlikely; A.S. Cook, Who was the Ehfrith of Aldhelm's Letter?, Spec. II.1927. pp.362-373; nor is it certain that Aldfrith is the Acircius to whom Aldhelm dedicated his book on Metres - though William of Malmesbury makes this identification; Gesta Pontificum, ed. N.E.S.A. Hamilton, Rolls Lond.1870. p.344. See R. Ehwald, M.G.H.A.A. xv.1919. pp.61f. & 486f. for relevant texts. (3) Life of Bishop Wilfrid, pp.90-1. (4) Ibid, pp.88-9. (5) H.E.V.2. (6) H.E.III.23. (7) Folcard's Vita; ed. J. Raine, The Historians of the Church of York, Rolls Lond.1879. I. p.244. (8) H.E.V.3. Life of Bishop Wilfrid, pp.90-91. (9) H.E.V.6. (10) Life of Bishop Wilfrid, pp.118-119.

for John and then subsequently re-instated. John of Beverley must have been consecrated to Hexham in 688.

It follows that Wilfrid must have succeeded Eata c.686-7. In 687, on the death of Cuthbert, Wilfrid also administered Lindisfarne for a year(1). The monks are said to have endured so many trials at this period that several chose to depart(2); Wilfrid must have found much still at Lindisfarne that was uncongenial to him. In 688 Eadberht was appointed to Lindisfarne(1) - and it was probably at about the same time that John was consecrated to Hexham.

Eddius maintains that Wilfrid was restored to Ripon and York(3); Eadhed was possibly dead, but if Wilfrid was restored to York also Bishop Bosa must have been deposed. This fact has been doubted(4), but the final break between Aldfrith and Wilfrid came in 691-2 when the king sought to make Ripon an independent bishopric - ie. to appoint a bishop for Ripon, thereby removing that see from Wilfrid's control(5). If this reconstruction of the sequence of events is correct, Wilfrid must have been bishop of York.

It was not until 704 that Wilfrid was again allowed to return to Northumbria. At a Northumbrian council held in that year Abbess Aelflaed was among those who spoke on behalf of Wilfrid before King Osred(6). John of Hexham moved to York at about this time, and Wilfrid was allowed to return to Ripon and Hexham where he lived unobtrusively until his death in 709.

(1)H.E.IV.29. (2)B.Colgrave, Two Lives, pp.286-7. (3)Life of Bishop Wilfrid, pp.90-1. (4)R.L.Poole, Studies in Chronology, Oxford 1934.p.70. (5)Life of Bishop Wilfrid, pp.91-2. (6)Ibid, pp.128-133.

John of Beverley ordained Bede both deacon and priest(1), but Bede has remarkably little to say about him. He appears to have been on good terms with King Osred, who is described as a religious man(2). In 714 John retired to Beverley, and his priest Wilfrid II, another Whitby man(3), became bishop of York, a position he held for thirty years in complete obscurity(4). Wilfrid II witnessed the sequel to the Romanising of the Northumbrian Church - the Romanising of the Scottish Church in Dalriada and Pictland, but he himself seems to have played little part.

There can be little doubt that the rift in the Northumbrian Church in 664 between the Celtic and the Roman elements had ceased to divide the kingdom by 714. The prominence of Whitby in the ecclesiastical appointments of the post-664 period is most noticeable. The degree of Romanism in these churchmen is not to be judged by the yardstick of Wilfrid's standards but neither is their Celticism to be measured by that of Aidan or Colman. Celtic and Roman elements existed side by side in their attitudes and churchmanship; they represented the middle pathway of compromise and were thereby able to bring unity to the Church in Northumbria.

With the passing of Wilfrid, and the predominance of these Whitby bishops, the most Romanised centre in Northumbria was the monastery of

(1)H.E.V.29. (2)J.Raine, Historians of the Church of York,p.254.
 (3)H.E.IV.23. (4)E.Classen & F.E.Harmer, An Anglo-Saxon Chronicle(D) Manchester 1926.p.15.

St. Peter and St. Paul at Monkwearmouth and Jarrow; certainly it was this monastery which exercised the greatest influence on the Scottish Church north of the Forth. Benedict Biscop, born c.628, first appears as the companion of Wilfrid, travelling from Kent to Rome(1). Benedict returned to Northumbria so impressed with Rome that he made a second journey c.664(2). After some months in Rome, he went to Lerins for two years(c.665-667) where he was duly professed a monk(2). From Lerins he went back to Rome and this time his visit coincided with the death of Wighard, archbishop-elect of Canterbury, and the appointment by Pope Vitalian of Theodore of Tarsus; Benedict was despatched from Rome by the pope to act as guide to Theodore and Abbot Hadrian, and after a difficult journey the three men reached Kent in May 669(3).

For two years(669-671) Benedict was in charge of the monastery of St. Peter, Canterbury(4). A visit to Rome 671-2 was designed to obtain as many books as possible from Rome and Vienne(4). On his return to Northumbria, he showed King Egfrith the books and relics he had secured, and his enthusiasm for the monastic life induced the king to grant seventy hides of land to him for the foundation of a monastery. The land was given in 673(5), building started in 674, and in 675 Benedict went to the continent to secure glass-workers and masons(6). He went on to Rome where he secured a letter of privilege for Wearmouth

(1) H.E.V.19. & Vita Beatorum Abbatum(V.B.A), Plummer, B.O.H.I.p.364.

(2) V.B.A.Ibid,p.365. (3) H.E.IV.1; & V.B.A.Ibid,p.366. (4) V.B.A.Ibid,p.367. (5) D.S.Boutflower, The Life of Ceolfrid, Sunderland 1912.pp.93-4 adduces chronological evidence to show that the land was actually granted in 673. (6) V.B.A.Ibid,p.368. Vita Ceolfridi, Ibid,p.390.

monastery, relics, books, and paintings, and John the Archchanter to teach the Roman mode of chanting and order of service(1).

Benedict had been joined at Wearmouth in 674 by Ceolfrid, a priest from Wilfrid's monastery at Ripon, whom he made prior(2). While Benedict was away in 675, the monks of noble birth revolted against Ceolfrid's strict discipline, and Ceolfrid retired to Ripon - but Benedict was able to persuade him to return and resume office(3). On the following journey to Rome, Benedict took Ceolfrid with him so that he might acquire instruction there(4). On their return, early in 681(5) Ecgfrith gave an additional forty hides of land, and building began in 682(6). This monastery was at Jarrow and it was intended that the two communities at Wearmouth and Jarrow should function as one - the former being dedicated to St. Peter, and the latter to St. Paul. After several of the monastic buildings had been erected, Benedict sent Ceolfrid there with twenty-two of the Wearmouth brethren to supervise further developments as abbot(7). When Benedict went on his last trip to Rome in 683 he left his cousin Easterwine as abbot at Wearmouth and Ceolfrid as abbot of Jarrow.

The influence of Rome was all-pervading at the monastery. Ceolfrid, sole abbot from the death of Benedict in Jan. 689(8) till his resignation in 716, desired to end his days in Rome(9). The monastery was enriched with numerous books and paintings brought from Rome or Romanised Gaul.

(1) V.B.A. Ibid, p.369. (2) Vita Ceolfridi, Ibid, p.389. (3) Vita Ceol. Ibid, p.390. (4) V.B.A. Ibid, p.370. (5) Vita Ceol. Ibid, p.394. Boutflower, Ibid, p.94. (6) V.B.A. Ibid, p.370. (7) V.B.A. Ibid, p.370. Vita Ceol. Ibid, p.391. (8) Vita Ceol. Ibid, p.394. (9) V.B.A. Ibid, p.381. Vita Ceol. Ibid, p.395.

On his deathbed, Benedict had commanded that the large library he had brought together should never be broken up, and that the monks should always obey the rule he had given them - based on the rules of seventeen monasteries he had visited(1). A. Hamilton Thompson considered that the real development of Benedictinism in Northumbria was the work, not so much of Wilfrid, but of Biscop(2). It is easy to underestimate the contribution of Wilfrid - and it must be recalled that the strict rule which Ceolfrid imposed on Wearmouth in 675 was a rule he had brought from Ripon and which he could peacefully observe there. Nevertheless, Wilfrid's troubled life prevented him from devoting all his attention to the monastic life, and the part played by Benedict and Ceolfrid may be said to have been of equal importance.

Ceolfrid certainly made St. Peter and St. Paul the foremost monastery in Northumbria, and the centre of Roman influence. It is significant, however, that while relations were maintained with Hexham(3), and with the Roman centres in the South, they were also maintained with the more Celtic centre of Lindisfarne. Bede even wrote a life of St. Cuthbert and dedicated it to the bishop of Lindisfarne. The truth is that there is absolutely no evidence for any deep rift between Celt and Roman ecclesiastical traditions in late seventh and early eighth century Northumbria. The Celtic elements infused by the Scottish monks had been absorbed in Northumbria into the framework of the Roman Church.

(1) V.B.A. Ibid, p.374. (2) Bede; His Life, Times, and Writings, p.83.

(3) V.B.A. Ibid, p.384.

(C) The Romanisation of the Celtic Church in Scotland.

(i) Preliminary contacts.

The mission of Aidan to Northumbria brought the Angles into contact with the Scottish Church centred on Iona. With the wars of conquest undertaken by Oswiu in the period after 656, the Scottish Church in Pictland was brought within the sphere of influence of the Northumbrian Church which was undergoing a Roman revolution from 664 onwards.

The exact extent of Oswiu's imperium over the Picts is not certain, but his lordship may have been recognised by the kings of the Picts during his reign - Gartnait mac Donald (657-663) and Drust mac Donald (663-672). The ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Bishop Wilfrid incorporated the Picts as far as Oswiu was able to extend his dominions-

"Uilfrido administrante episcopatum Eboracensis ecclesiae, nec non et omnium Nordanhymbrorum, sed et Pictorum, quousque rex Osuiu imperium protendere poterat" (1).

In Ecgfrith's reign, even greater jurisdiction was accorded to Wilfrid -

"Sicut ergo Ecgfritho rege religiosissimo regnum ad aquilonem et austrum per triumphos augebatur, ita beatae memoriae Wilfritho episcopo ad austrum super Saxones et ad aquilonem super Brittones et Scottos Pictosque regnum ecclesiarum multiplicabatur" (2).

It is difficult to determine the actual relationship Wilfrid claimed with the Church in Pictland, but there are indications that these statements of jurisdiction were not simply idle boasts. With the division of the Northumbrian diocese in 678 Trumwine was made bishop of Abercorn on the Forth which was designed specifically to be the

(1) H.E.IV.3 (2) B.Colgrave, Life of Bishop Wilfrid, pp.42-43.

episcopal see of a Pictish province -

"Trumuini ad prouinciam Pictorum, quae tunc temporis Anglorum erat imperio subiecta"(1).

The Picts at this time had not been Romanised, and though Trumwine is unlikely to have been as zealous a Roman as Wilfrid this must have been a dangerous experiment. Again, the precise extent of Trumwine's diocese is unknown, but it has been suggested that it may have embraced Fife(2). The diocese enjoyed only a short life for it had to be abandoned on the defeat and death of Ecgfrith in 685(3).

That there was a greater degree of contact between the Northumbrian and Pictish Church than appears on the surface, is clearly demonstrated by Cuthbert's famous if obscure journey into Pictland. Cuthbert made this recorded visit while still at Melrose; the date at which he left Melrose for Lindisfarne is uncertain, but it may have been soon after 664(4) or after 678 as a passage in the Anonymous Life implies(5). At all events, the visit was prior to the establishment of the Abercorn diocese. Accounts are found in both Lives of Cuthbert(6) and taken together they present the following narrative: in mid-winter, at the very festival of Christmas, Cuthbert and some companions set out to journey by sea to visit the Niduari Picts. They were driven ashore at an apparently deserted place, but when conditions improved they did not return home as Bede says but went on to a port of safety. No further details are recorded. The Niduari Picts have been located on the river

(1)H.E.IV.12. (2)W.R.Kermack, Trumwine's Diocese, Antiq.xvii.1943.pp.212-213. (3)H.E.IV.26. (4)This is Colgrave's opinion - Two Lives,p.7. (5)Two Lives,pp.94-95. (6)Ibid,pp.82-85.192-195.

Nith in Dumfriesshire but this is very improbable(1). The journey by sea suggests somewhere north of the Forth - probably Fife. If the emendation proposed by W. Levison of a passage concerning St. Ninian in the Miracula Nynie Episcopi be accepted(2), the Niduari Picts whom Cuthbert visited were the Picts who were said to have been converted by Ninian.

A number of questions spring to mind concerning this visit, as to how Cuthbert should have come to have matters of sufficient importance concerning him in Pictland that he should have gone there at all - let alone in winter at one of the great Christian festivals. There can be no doubt that this would not be the only journey there he made, and it is quite clear that some fairly considerable link must have been established between the monastery at Melrose and some religious community or communities in Pictland. It will be recalled that Cuthbert was foremost in urging Ecgfrith not to attack the Picts in 685(3). The monastery of Melrose seems to date from Aidan's lifetime, and had been presided over until 678 by Eata, one of Aidan's disciples; it was a priest from Melrose who urged Egbert, c.685, to preach the true Easter to the Picts and the Scots(4).

In this period - prior to 685 - a vast number of Northumbrians received their education, or part of it, in Ireland(5); they included Chad(6). Students continued to flock to the Irish schools in the late

(1) C.P.N.S. p.175. & F.T. Wainwright, The Problem of the Picts, pp.42-3.

(2) An Eighth-century Poem on St. Ninian, Antiq. xiv. 1940. pp.280-291 (p.288) -supra p.50. (3) H.E. IV.26. (4) H.E. V.9. (5) H.E. III.27. J. Ryan, Ecclesiastical Relations between Ireland and England in the Seventh and Eighth Centuries, Cork Hist. & Arch. Soc. xliii. 1938. pp.109-112. (6) H.E. IV. 3r

seventh century - as is evidenced by Aldhelm's letter expressing his disapproval(1). Eddius shows that Wilfrid must have possessed wide contacts with Ireland to engineer the return of Dagobert II from Ireland to Austrasia in 676(2). The c.790-800 Martyrology of Tallaght commemorates the following Anglo-Saxons who are known from other sources; Cuthbert(3), Herebert(4), Ethelwald(5), Egbert(6), Wilfrid(6), Euchbrit(7), Echbrian mac Ossu(8), Oswald(9), Oswin(10), Coetl(11), and Paganinus(12) - all Northumbrians. There are also references to Finan the Saxon(13) and Lugan a Saxon(14). Mayo was known as Mag n-Eo na Sachsen - Mayo of the Saxons(15), and there was a Saxon colony in Galway which has left its name in Tisaxan - House of the Saxons, and another in Cork of which a trace again survives in the name Tisaxan(16).

Northumbria was clearly linked through her churchman to the whole of the Celtic world, and through her students particularly to Ireland; there is no evidence that Northumbrian students were educated at Iona - apart from Aldfrith - or at any other Scottish foundation in Scotland, and the recently formed Scottish centres are unlikely to have been so advanced as the older Irish schools. Iona, however, was an important half-way house in the ecclesiastical relationships of the Church in Ireland and that in Scotland, on the one hand, and that in Northumbria on the other and was to be instrumental in the Romanisation of the ^{/former.} ~~latter.~~

(1) M.G.H.A.A. xv.2 p.492. (2) The whole incident is discussed at length by L. Dupraz, Le Royaume des Francs (656-680), Fribourg 1948, p.316f.

(3) Mart. Tallaght, p.25. (4) Ibid, p.24. (5) Ibid, p.35. (6) Ibid, p.36. (7) Ibid p.39. (8) Ibid, p.46. (9) Ibid, p.60. (10) Ibid, p.64 (11) Ibid, p.83 - probably Cedd. (12) Ibid, p.79. (13) Ibid, p.6. (14) Ibid, p.57. (15) Mart. Oengus p. 256. (16) Mart Oengus, pp.256f.325.

(ii) The Roman Triumph.

Adamnan, who became abbot of Iona in 679, was of the same kindred as Columba, and a close confidant of the Irish king Finnachta mac Dunchad(675-695)(1). The early years of his abbacy witnessed the defeat of Ecgfrith of Northumbria by Brude mac Beli, king of the Picts, the year after Ecgfrith had devastated Meath. At the time of the death of Ecgfrith, Aldfrith was on Iona with Adamnan, and in 686, when Aldfrith was king in Northumbria, Adamnan went to him to secure the release of some sixty captives seized by Ecgfrith's army in Meath(2). In 688 Adamnan again visited Northumbria(3) and was urged by Abbot Ceolfrid of Wearmouth and Jarrow not to persist in the Celtic observance of Easter(4). He returned to Iona and did endeavour to lead the monks to accept the Roman Easter - though unsuccessfully; he then went to Ireland where he met with greater success(5). From the Annals of Ulster it appears that he went to Ireland in 692(6). He must have returned to Iona in 693, the year of the death of Brude mac Beli, if there is a grain of historical truth in the story in the Irish Life of Adamnan which speaks of Adamnan's reception of the body of Brude at Iona(7).

Adamnan returned to Ireland in 697 and introduced what was known as the Law of the Innocents which is said to have sought to make the warfare of the period more humane(8). With Adamnan at the Synod at

(1)Reeves, pp.cl.clxxxiv. (2)A.T.Rev.Celt.xvii.p.210. (3)Reeves, II.47. p.191. (4)H.E.V.15.21. (5)H.E.V.15. (6)A.U.I.pp.140-1. (7)W.F.Skene, P.& S.pp.408-9. (8)A.U.I.pp.144-147. Law edited by K.Meyer, Anecdota Oxoniensia, Med.& Mod.Series, part 12. Oxford 1905.

which this ~~Law~~ was accepted were King Eochaid mac Domangart of Dalriada and Brude mac Derile, king of Pictland, and also the Northumbrian Egbert and a bishop Curitan. This is of particular significance because it was probably at this same synod that Adamnan won the Irish over to the Roman Easter(1). Adamnan remained in Ireland until shortly before his death(2) when he came back to Iona only to fail again in trying to effect a change there(2). He died on September 23rd.704.

Egbert was a Northumbrian of noble birth who went to Ireland to complete his education; at the time of the 664 plague, in which his brother died, he vowed always to live in a foreign land(3). At first he resolved to work among the continental Germanic tribes but a priest from Melrose persuaded him that his true vocation was to convert the Scots and Picts to the true Easter(4). Nevertheless, Egbert did not relinquish his interest in a continental mission, and c.688-90 sent first Wictbert and then Willibrord to work there(5). Bede implies that Egbert only arrived in Scotland in 716(6) - but so long a delay is incredible; 716 may be the date of his arrival at Iona, but his work among the Picts must have been done before 716(7) since they were changing by 716. Egbert was well received at Iona and succeeded where Adamnan had failed; the Roman Easter was finally accepted.

With the conversion of Iona under Abbot Dunchad, and the acceptance of the Petrine tonsure in 718(8), the conversion of the Picts - whose

(1)H.E.V.15. Reeves p.clvi. Kenney, Sources, p.246. (2)H.E.V.15. (3)H.E.III.27. (4)H.E.V.9. (5)H.E.V.9.10. (6)H.E.V.22. Bede actually gives the date as 717, but the A.U.I.pp.166-7 indicate 716. (7)H.E.III.27 shows that he worked some time among the Scots and Picts. (8)A.T.Rev.Celt.xvii.p.226.

Church was the Columban Church - was a matter of time, and a natural sequel rather than an event dictated by political considerations(1). Brude mac Derile(697-706) had been closely connected with Adamnan and with the Irish Synod which had accepted the Roman Easter. His brother and successor, Nechtan(706-724) entered into negotiations with Adamnan's Northumbrian contact - Abbot Ceolfrid at Jarrow and Wearmouth, between 710 and 716(2). Nechtan sent messengers to Abbot Ceolfrid, desiring to hear the arguments in favour of the Roman Easter, and asking for stone-masons to build a church in his kingdom after the Roman manner to be dedicated to St.Peter. He received a long letter back, and Bede states that Nechtan gave thanks and immediately ordered the new ruling to be circulated among the Picts(3). The view that approaches were made to Ceolfrid c.710 and that no action was taken until 717, when The community of Iona was expelled across Drumalban(4) makes nonsense of Bede's statement of immediate action on the part of Nechtan. The matter can be resolved by accepting Bede's "Eo tempore" at the beginning of the chapter(3) as merely an approximate - as it was meant to be - and dating Nechtan's overtures to c.715-716, shortly before Ceolfrid's resignation. In this way, Nechtan's changes conform to movements taking place in Iona.

Independent influences were at work in Pictland. According to the Legend of St.Boniface, Boniface came from Rome to Restennet and won

(1)N.K.Chadwick. St.Ninian; a preliminary study, D.& G.Antiq.Soc.xxvii. 1950 pp.9-54 considers possible political implications at length.

(2)This date is deduced from the preceeding chapter - H.E.V.20. (3)H.E.V.21. (4)A.T.Rev.Celt.xvii.p.226.

Nechtan over to Rome(1). This Boniface is doubtless the Boniface of Rosemarkie, whom later authorities identify with the Curitan of the 697 Irish Romanising synod(2). The Life of Servanus(3) depicts that saint as a contemporary of Brude mac Dagart, and the king-list D shows that Dergard is Derile(4). The king who reigned in the time of Servanus was Brude mac Derile(697-706). The Breviary of Aberdeen alludes to a Servanus, an Israelite, who was a contemporary of Adamnan, c.700(5). Israelite is the name applied in the Legend of Boniface to Boniface and would seem to mean a Romaniser; among the companions of Boniface is a Servandus, who may be Servanus; probably Servanus was one of the Romanising party at work in Pictland. The Life of Servanus specifies Culross as his main centre, and he is said to have died at Dunning, near Forteviot - one of the main Pictish royal centres. These Romanisers, therefore, were at work both in the far north and the south of Pictland.

The founding~~g~~ of Whithorn as an episcopal see in the period c.720 has been seen as an attempt by the Northumbrians to replace the mother church of Iona by that at Whithorn - the reputed foundation of Ninian, the converter of the southern as opposed to the northern Picts(6). It is true that the names of the first two bishops of Whithorn - Pechthelm (c.720-735) and Pechtwine(735-776) - mean Protector of the Picts and Friend of the Picts, and it may well be that the Northumbrians, if they intended the see to replace the less fortunate Abercorn chose it for its Pictish associations. It must remain doubtful, however, whether Whithorn

(1)Skene, P.& S.pp.421-423. (2)E.S.I.p.205.n. (3)P.& S.pp.412-20.

(4)E.S.I.p.cxxv. (5)A.P.Forbes, Kalendars of Scottish Saints, Edin.1873. p.346. (6)N.K.Chadwick, ibid, D.& G.Antiq.Soc.xxvii.1950.pp.9-54(p.50).

was ever intended to replace Abercorn, and that Nechtan or the Northumbrians sought to supplant Iona. There is no evidence for Northumbrian hostility to Iona, none to indicate Pictish enthusiasm for Whithorn, and nothing to show that the bishops of Whithorn played a prominent part in Pictish Church affairs(1). Nechtan must not be seen as a great individualist; he was being influenced by the trends of the time and by the actions of Adamnan, Egbert, Curitan, and others, to approach the problem of Romanisation simultaneously with the Iona clergy.

The Iona monks expelled by Nechtan across Drumalban would be recalcitrants who would find that changes had also been made on Iona. There is, however, no real evidence for a schism at Iona between these men and the conformists. Dunchad became abbot c.707 while Conamail was still abbot, but this may have been on account of Conamail's old age or infirmity; Coeti and Dorbene, who appear while Dunchad was still abbot, were possibly bishops and/or priors. In the second half of the eighth century Iona influence in Ireland was at its height; abbots of Iona constantly visited Ireland, the Law of Columcille was several times enforced there, and the Irish kings Donald mac Murchaid(763), Niall Frossach(778), and Artgal mac Cathal(791) all died as pilgrims on Iona. With the ninth century Viking attacks Abbot Cellach made Kells his principal centre, but contact with Scotland was not lost; in 865 Abbot Cellach of Iona and Kildare died in the country of the Picts(2).

(1)Whithorn may have been the centre from which the relics of St. Andrew were translated into Pictland, but even this is far from certain; see infra p.118f. (2)A.U.I.pp.374-5.

(iii) The legends of St. Andrews and their historical significance.

There are three versions of the legend of the founding of St. Andrews, which may be lettered as follows;

- A. Colbertine MS. Paris 4126. It is found together with a king-list (E) and the tract De Situ Albanie, both of which in their present form date to 1165.
- B. Harl. MS. 4628. Originally St. Andrews Priory possessed both a Register and a Liber Chartarum. The latter survives, but the Register has been lost since 1860 and all that remains is a seventeenth century transcript of some extracts, including the B account of the legend.
- C. The version in the Aberdeen Breviary, written down c. 1500.

The first version, A, begins with a heading explaining that the purpose of the story is to explain how it happens that the memory of St. Andrew should exist more widely in the region of the Picts - now Scotia - than in other regions. St. Andrew, after preaching to the northern Sythian nations, was martyred at Patras, from whence his bones were transferred in the time of Constantine the Great and his sons to Constantinople where they remained until the time of Theodosius. The account proceeds that the king of the Picts, Ungus son of Urguist, was fighting the Britons inhabiting the southern part of the island when he decided to winter on the plain of Merc or the Merse. While remaining there he was surrounded by the native Britons who sought to destroy him, but the next day, when the king was walking with his seven closest companions, a divine light surrounded them and a voice from Heaven - the voice of Andrew - guaranteed victory to Ungus if he offered the tenth part of his inheritance as an oblation to God in honour of St. Andrew. On the third day Ungus divided his army into twelve troops and gained the victory - after which he returned home and immolated the

tenth part of his inheritance to God and Andrew. Meanwhile, one of the custodians of the relics of St. Andrew at Constantinople, having fasted and prayed, was ordered in a vision to leave his country and kindred and to go to a land which would be shown him. He departed and was conducted by an angel to the summit of the King's Mount - Rigmund. In the same hour as he sat with his seven companions, a divine light overwhelmed the king of the Picts who was then approaching a place called Kartenan with his army. They fell on their faces, unable to bear the light, and seven deaf and blind were healed and one who had been blind from birth. The next passage states that Regulus, a monk and pilgrim from Constantinople, with the relics of St. Andrew, met the king at the gate called Matha - that is Mordurus (Great Door), that they saluted one another, and that they fixed their tents where now is the Royal Hall. King Ungus then gave that place to God and Andrew, that it should be the head of all the churches in the kingdom of the Picts; Regulus occupied the place, leading a monastic life and administering the third part of Scotia, throughout which he established abbacies. Since his day Scotia has received Danes and Norwegians and received them within her as within their own camp(1).

B states that in 345 Constantius ravaged Patras to avenge St. Andrew and to remove his relics. An angel ordered bishop Regulus to remove three fingers of St. Andrew's right hand, a part of one arm, the pan of one knee and one knoth; Constantius carried off the remainder to Rome. Meanwhile, the Pictish king, Hungus son of Ferlon, fighting Adhelstan,

(1) W.F. Skene, P. & S. pp. 138-140.

king of the Saxons, was encamped at the mouth of the Tyne when St. Andrew appeared to him, telling him that his relics would be brought to Hungus' kingdom and that the place to which they came would be honoured. The Picts were to swear to venerate St. Andrew ever after if they should prove victorious. Hungus divided his army and slew Adhelstan whose head was taken to Ardchinnechun - Queen's Harbour. Some days after this victory the angel of God appeared a second time to Regulus and ordered him to sail north with the relics and wherever he should be wrecked there to build a church in honour of St. Andrew. Regulus sailed one and a half years among the Grecian sea, erecting oratories wherever he landed, and finally he came to Muckros - now Kylrimont - on the eve of St. Michael. He erected a cross and remained there seven days and nights. Entrusting the place to St. Damian and his brother Merinach, Regulus and his followers came to Forteviech (Forteviot) where they found the three sons of Hungus - Howonan, Nechtan, and Phingineghert, who, being anxious for the safety of their father then on an expedition in the region of Argathelia, gave a tenth part of Forteviech to God and Andrew. Regulus proceeded to Moneclatu, now Monichi, and found there Queen Finchem who, being safely delivered of a daughter named Mouren, gave the place to God and Andrew; he then crossed Moneth to Doldencha, now Chrondrohedalvan, and met Hungus returning from his expedition. Hungus gave the place to God and Andrew, and they returned westwards, founding churches at Monichi and Forteviech. When they arrived at Kilrymont Hungus, making a circuit round a great part of that place, immolated it to God and Andrew; they proceeded round the land seven times with Regulus bearing the relics and Hungus

walking with him. In commemoration the holy men surrounded the land with twelve stone crosses. King Hungus then gave th the basilica of St.Andrew - as a parochia - the land between the sea called Ishundenerna and the sea Sletheuma, bounded by a line drawn through Largo, Ceres, and Naughton. The account proceeds that Hungus gave Cilrymonth to God and Andrew - and in token of freedom from the burden of hostings, building castles, and all secular exactions, Hungus took a turf in the presence of the Pictish nobles and laid it on the altar. A list of Pictish nobles who witnessed this rite is included, and finally there is a note that Thana, son of Dudabrach, wrote this for King Pherath, son of Bergeth(1).

C combines features of A with some from B. In the year 360 Regylus was a custodian of the bones of St.Andrew at Patras when Constantius invaded Patras to avenge the martyrdom of Andrew. An angel ordered Regulus to conceal a portion of the relics and to transport them to the western regions of the world, where he was to found a church to St. Andrew. Regulus arrived after two years sailing, and entered the Upland of the Pigs. Hungus saw a vision of angels and came to Regulus who baptised him and received from the king a grant of land on which to found St.Andrews(2).

Before commenting at length on these versions of the legend, the bare details of the early history of St.Andrews may be sketched as follows.

(1)W.F.Skene, P.& S.pp.183-193. (2)Ibid,pp.375-77.

St.Cainnech of Achabo, who lived in the second half of the sixth century, is stated to have founded a cell at St.Andrews in a note in the Martyrology of Oengus(1) - but this evidence is unreliable. In the historical annals the first mention of any ecclesiastical settlement at St.Andrews occurs sub 746(-757), in the reign of Angus mac Fergus I (729-761), when the death of Tuathalan, abbot of Cendrigmonaid, is noted(2). Cendrigmonaid is an early form of the name Kilrymont, and means literally - the promontory of the royal moor. Nothing else is known of Tuathalan, nor is there any notice of any other abbot.

The Pictish king-lists D and F and K state that Angus mac Fergus II (820-834), king of the Picts, built Kilremont(3). Angus' predecessor and brother Constantine mac Fergus(789-820) had founded Dunkeld(4). It was to Dunkeld that Kenneth mac Alpin, at the time of the Scottish conquest, translated the relics of St.Columba(5). In 865 Tuathal, chief bishop of Fortriu and abbot of Dunkeld, died(6). The indications are, therefore, that under the early Scottish rulers Dunkeld was their primary ecclesiastical establishment(7). King Giric(878-889) is said to have been the first to give liberty to the Scottish Church which was in servitude up to that time, after the custom and fashion of the Picts (8). This may be taken to mean that Giric freed the Columban Church lands in Pictland from secular taxation. The final religious settlement came in 906-7 when Constantine mac Aed(900-943), in the company of

(1) Mart.Oengus, pp.222-23. (2) A.T.Rev.Celt. xvii.p.249. A.U.I. pp.208-9. (3) W.F.Skene, P.& S. pp.150.173.202. (4) Ibid, pp.150.173. (5) Ibid, p.8. (6) A.U.I. p.374-5. (7) Angus II and Constantine, themselves, may have been half-Scottish - H.M.Chadwick, Early Scotland, pp.130-31. (8) P.& S. p.151.

Bishop Cellach, pledged that the laws and disciplines of the faith should be kept in conformity with the custom of the Scots(1). This would seem to have completed the gaelicisation of the Church in Pictland; it is of considerable interest to note that for these measures to have been necessary, the Pictish Church - though predominantly of Columban origin - had acquired several distinctive features which were alien to the Dalriadic Columban Church. These features probably resulted from influences brought to bear on the Pictish Church after the Romanisation had begun under Nechtan mac Derile(706-724). Cellach's see is unknown, but the possibility is that it was St.Andrews. Nothing more is recorded of Dunkeld, and it is significant that Constantine mac Aed retired in 943 not to Dunkeld but to the monastery of St.Andrews(2). It may be conjectured that the period of the predominance of Dunkeld was the time when the first Scottish rulers in Pictland were strongly aware of their position as conquerors, imposing a thorough gaelicisation on the Church in Pictland, but that with Constantine mac Aed this process was accomplished and it was possible to set about a conciliation of Pictish sentiment by favouring an old Pictish centre. Certainly from this time on Dunkeld appears to have been completely eclipsed by St. Andrews(3).

Bishop Fothad, who died in 963, was bishop of the Isles of Scotland(4) - which probably means head of the Iona community(5) - and also bishop of St.Andrews, as the record relating to Lochleven in the

(1)P. & S. p.9. (2)P. & S. pp.9.151. (3) The origins and developments of the early episcopal sees in Scotland is considered by G.Donaldson, Scottish Bishops' Sees before the reign of David I. Proc.Soc.Antiq.Scot. xxxvii. 1952-3. pp.106-117. (4) Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland by the Four Masters, ed.J.O'Donovan, Dublin 1854, II.p.682. (5) E.S.I. p.471.n.5.

Liber Cartarum Prioratus Sancti Andree in Scotia bears witness(1).

A series of bishops can be traced at St.Andrews from Fothad's time down to the last Celtic bishop, Fothad III, who died in 1093(2). The see was sufficiently important under Malcolm III(1058-93) and Queen Margaret for Fothad III to be sent to profess canonical obedience to Thomas I of York(3). There can be little doubt that St.Andrews was pre-eminent among Scottish bishoprics by the eleventh century, and Alexander I(1107-1124) was clearly concerned not to allow his chief bishop to fall under the jurisdiction of an alien archbishop. Alexander I was a patron of the Augustinian order and c.1120 brought a small group of Augustinians under Robert from Nostell Priory in Yorkshire and founded a priory at Scone(4). When Eadmer, bishop of St.Andrews, died Jan.13th.1124(5), Alexander resolved to promote Robert to the bishopric; before April 26th.1124, when Alexander died, he restored to St.Andrews the land known as the Boar's Chase - which Angus mac Fergus was said to have granted but which had since been lost - on the understanding that an Augustinian priory should be built at St.Andrews with these lands to support it. This account occurs in the Register of the Priory of St.Andrews and follows on the account of Regulus labelled B(6). It was not, however, until 1144 that the priory was actually founded(7); in the intervening time the bishop drew the revenues from the land, but

(1)L.C.P.S.A. ed.O.T.Bruce, 2 vols.Bannatyne Club, Edin.1841.p.113. The Register of Lochleven, containing the earliest recorded Pictish and Scottish charter notices was copied into the L.C.P.S.A. probably c.1145-50, when St.Andrews obtained possession of Lochleven - ibid,p.188.
 (2)A.U.II.p50. (3)J.Raine, Historians of the Church of York,II.p.126.
 (4)C.W.S.Barrow, Scottish Rulers and the Religious Orders, T.R.H.S.3.193 pp.77-100(pp.82-4). (5)E.S.II.p.166. (6)It is printed W.Reeves, Memoir of the Culdees, EdinDublin 1864.pp.106-09. (7)L.C.P.S.A.I.p.43.

soon after the building of the new priory had begun David I visited St.Andrews and sharply rebuked Robert, ordering him to give the lands to the priory under prior Robert(1). It will be noticed that the B account states that David was a witness of Alexander's original grant, and notes that David is now king; this B version, therefore, has every appearance of having been put together in its present form in the reign of David I(1124-1153), probably c.1145 at the time of the dispute over the land, and by a member of the priory who was anxious to show that the lands granted by Angus to St.Andrews had been restored to St.Andrews and specifically to the priory by Alexander I(2).

With this background, the criticism of the versions of the legends may proceed.

B contains two statements of great significance. The first -

"Haec ut praefati sumus, sicut in veteribus Pictorum libris scripta reperimus, transcripsimus" -

and the second -

"Thana filius Dudabrach hoc monumentum scripsit Regi Pherath filio Bergeth in villa Migdele".

B, therefore, was using ancient Pictish books and one document had been written at Meigle for a king who is to be identified with Ferat mac Bargoit(839-842), one of the last Pictish kings. How much of the B version of the legend was written by Thana c.840 is another matter; it cannot be assumed that all - even most - of what comprises the B St. Andrews account was written down at that time. It is important to note,

(1) The Original Chronicle of Andrew of Wyntoun, ed.F.J.Amours, Edin. & Lond.1906.vol.4.p.388. (2) W.Reeves, Memoir of the Culdees,p.109.

however, that B was using early sources and that one source was some account of St.Andrews which had been written down as early as c.840.

There can be little doubt that of the two versions A and B, in their present form, A reflects the earlier traditions. A and B have sufficient common features not only in arrangement of material but also in certain verbal similarities(1) to suggest that they are ultimately based on a common source - or else that B used A but freely adapted it, interweaving completely independent traditions. This latter is quite possible, but in any case both versions bear internal evidence of having been produced at St.Andrews. The writer of A was in a position to know where the Royal Hall stood, and reasons have already been advanced to support a view that the final redactor of B was attached to the St.Andrews priory; in any case - two documents so intimately concerned with St.Andrews are unlikely to have been produced elsewhere.

A contains some significant features which are indicative of its earlier date. The name of the Pictish king is given as Ungus, son of Urguist - Urguist being a genuine Pictish form; the writer, therefore was close enough to the time of the Picts for the name to be transcribed accurately. The statement is also made that St.Andrews was intended to be the mother and head of all churches -

"quae sunt in regno Pictorum".

The Pictish kingdom was known as such for some time after the Scottish

(1)The verbal similarities are few but significant; both second paragraphs in A and B begin Tunc..Rex Pictorum(P.& S.pp.138.183). Compare particularly the account of the donation of St.Andrews; A - Rex vero hunc locum..Deo omnipotenti, Sanctoque Andree Apostolo..dedit(p.140): B - Rex vero dedit hunc locum..Deo et Sancto Andreae ejus apostolo(p.186

conquest. Constantine mac Kenneth(862-877) was called king of the Picts (1); the Northmen are said to have wasted Pictland c.900(2). In 900, however, Donald mac Constantine(c.889-900) is called ri Alban - king of Scotland(3). A change, therefore, may perhaps be detected c.900, by which time the Picts were becoming fully incorporated in the new Scottish kingdom, and it may be considered unlikely that this passage referring to the kingdom of the Picts was written long after that date. A refers to the place at which Regulus met Ungus as Matha - glossed Mordurus which is Gaelic for the Great Door. A was being written by a Scot at a time when the Pictish kingdom was still an entity and a Pictish name could be transmitted accurately. A, of course, in its present form represents a later redaction of this original source; the final paragraph relating the division of the country into abbacies and the assimilation of Danes and Norwegians is a later comment. A was probably originally written c.900-, and rewritten in its present form c.1165, the date of the other documents with which it is found in the Colbertine MS.

This early version , therefore, records that King Ungus(Angus) attacked the Britons and wintered on the plain of Merc - Merse - when he resolved to found a church to St.Andrew. There is an historical difficulty here; the Merse is the sloping level from the Lammermuir hills to the river Tweed, possibly originally extending west to the Cheviots. One would expect that if a Pictish king was fighting anyone in this

(1)A.U.I. pp.390-1. (2)P.& S. p.9. (3)A.U.I. pp.414-5,

area he would be fighting Northumbrian Angles. The Pictish king in question must be either Angus I(729-61) or Angus II(820-34). The truth must be that this area had remained heavily British, despite the Anglian settlement of Bernicia, and that there survived between Tweed and Lammermuir a British sub-state which had retained its individuality. If this is so, a later twelfth century writer is unlikely to have concerned himself with the historical realities of a pre-850 situation - which would probably be unknown to him anyway - and this odd record of the Britons of this area is to be taken as corroborative of an early original of the A version. Significant alterations will be observed in version B.

W.F.Skene considered that A in fact combines two versions - a very primitive account featuring the un-named custodian at Constantinople who comes with his seven companions, and a later account beginning with

Regulus vero monachus, a Constantinopolitana urbe peregrinus - was subsequently added(1). These two redactions in one may be taken to represent the c.900 account with the c.1165 additions.

B is a most complex source which contains an account of a war between Picts and Saxons, an itinerary of Regulus over Pictland, and a long description of the founding of St.Andrews.

The scene of the vision of Angus - now Hungus - has been elaborated and an obscure campaign against Britons replaced by a war with Athelstan King of the Saxons, who is slain and his head carried away by the victors. When Regulus arrives Hungus is campaigning in Dalriada and he has to go

(1)Celtic Scotland II.pp.263-4.

on a long elaborate journey in search of the king. There are some indications that the writer of B has used several sources; in the list of church dedications at St.Andrews towards the end of B one church is said to have been dedicated to a certain virgin Muren - and there can be little doubt that this Muren and the Mouren who appears earlier in B as the daughter of Hungus are one and the same. This immediately indicates that whoever compiled the list of dedications had no knowledge of the tradition that Hungus was said to have had a daughter Mouren(1). The compiler of B wrote down his account of Regulus' search for the king - mentioning the birth of Mouren - and then incorporated an independent tract on the churches of St.Andrews.

This leads on to the suspicion that the whole story of Regulus wandering in search of Hungus may be very late. The names of the royal family - including Mouren - are Gaelic; Finchem, Howanan(Eoganan), Nechtan, and Phinguineghert(Finguine) are names which might be found among Scots or Picts. These names could preserve genuine tradition or they could have been put together at a later date. There are no demonstrably early place-names in B; Argathelia is Normanised Latin for Argyll - some of the others are inconclusive. Chrondrohedalvan - emending alvan to alban - means Head of the Bridge of Alban, probably to be identified with Kindrochet in the Mounth(2). A, the earlier version, is quite clear that Regulus and Ungus first met at the place which the king gave for the main church of St.Andrews - ie.at St.Andrews.

(1)It may be noted that Skene, Notes on the Ecclesiastical Settlements at St.Andrews, P.S.A.S.iv.1863 pp.300-321 - a very useful study - thought that the two Mourens were not identical, which invalidates this criticism but the present writer does not agree with him. (2)Ibid,p.306.

Further, to return to the sons of Hungus; no suggestion has yet been made in this study as to the identity of Angus but reasons will be adduced to indicate that the king in question was Angus I. Now of the sons named in the legend, Skene considered that the Howanan(Eoganan) alluded to is commemorated in the Annales Cambriae under 736 as Owen (Eogan)king of the Picts, and in the Annals of Tigernach at about the same time as Brude, son of Angus mac Fergus(1); Brude, however, is not the name Eogan, and Eogan is not Eoganan. Anderson gives reasons for regarding Eogan as an obscure Dalriadic prince(2). The name Brude, undoubtedly a son of Angus I, does not occur in B; Eoganan does, however, and this seems to indicate that the writer of B had in mind Angus mac Fergus II who did have a son Eoganan who in fact succeeded him and reigned 836-39(3). It will be recalled that the king-lists D&F, and K ascribe the founding of St.Andrews to Angus II.

Before proceeding to the identification of Angus with Angus I, the criticism of B as a whole must be completed. The fundamental question relates to at what date the original version of B was first written down. The new theme of the war between Angus and Athelstan immediately calls to mind the conditions in the reign of Constantine II mac Aed (900-943), the great protagonist of Athelstan of Wessex. After the decisive defeat at Brunanburgh in 937 Constantine retired in 943 to the monastery of St.Andrews and became abbot there. In 918 he had won what

(1)P.S.A.S. iv.1863 p.309. (2)E.S.I. p.235 n.3. (3)E.S.I. p.cxxviii.

was perhaps his greatest victory on the Haddington Tyne, when he defeated a Viking army(1). His greatest adversary, Athelstan, however, not only got the better of him but slew his son; it is therefore striking to find that in B Angus is no longer fighting the Britons in the Merse but the Saxons under Athelstan on the Tyne. To represent the opponent of Angus as Athelstan, to depict him as being slain at the site of Constantine's victory, would not only serve as a salve to the pride of Constantine and his warrior contemporaries but also offer hope of future glories. Indeed, far from being entirely daunted by the catastrophe at Brunanburgh, Constantine as abbot of St.Andrews is found inciting his successor Malcolm mac Donald(943-954) to invade Bernicia(2). There must have been some forceful reason for the new variants in the story. Later writers - for example Fordun - sought for a King Athelstan in the annals and without considering that the great Athelstan might have been intended found only one other - Athelstan, son of Aethelwulf(3), who is found as king of Kent in 851(4). Angus II, though he died in 834, seemed to be the king of the Picts indicated by the legend as a result of such an identification as this. The hypothesis advanced here, therefore, is that the original of the B story of how Angus came to found St.Andrews was put together at St.Andrews during the abbacy of Constantine(953-952), some fifty years after A.

It now becomes possible to break down B into some of its component sources. There was a c.950 account of Angus' war with Athelstan. It is

(1) A.U.I. pp.436-7. P.& S. p.9. (2) P.& S. p.10. (3) Johannis de Fordun Chronica Gentis Scotorum, ed. W.F. Skene, Hists. of Scot. L. Edin. 1874. pp.77. 155-56. (4) The Saxon Chronicles, I. p.64. He became king in 839 - ibid p.62.

unlikely that the account of the journey of Regulus across Pictland also dates to c.950; from the passage about Muren it seems to be a fairly late composition, possibly of the twelfth century. There can be little doubt that the land bounded by Largo, ~~Ures~~, and Naughton - certainly a prodigious grant - represents not what Angus gave but what St.Andrews was claiming in the twelfth century. To the same period must be assigned the list of Pictish witnesses, which are culled from a Pictish king-list - probably D; they are all very corrupt. Finally to the twelfth century must be assigned the list of dedications and the list of Regulus' companions. Among the galaxy of Roman names they include Kiduana, who is undoubtedly the Tiduana who figures in the Boniface legend and who has a cycle of tradition to herself.

The question remains as to what Tana wrote for King Ferat c.840. This must be restricted to some account of the landed possessions of the Church of St.Andrews. The historian of Anglo-Saxon England is well acquainted with land charters and estate memorandas from the seventh century onwards, but for Celtic Scotland such materials are lacking. The Pictish king-list K has so precise a date for the founding of Abernethy church c.600 and for that of Dunkeld c.800(1) that something approaching charter evidence must lie behind the latter at least. Reference has already been made to the inclusion in the St.Andrews Liber Cartarum of the Lochleven cartulary which contains notices of grants to that community for the period prior to 1093(2). These notices,

(1)P.& S.p.202. (2)L.C.P.S.A.pp. 113-115.

incorporated unfortunately in an abbreviated form, begin with a record that Brude, son of Dergard, the last king of the Picts, bestowed the island of Lochleven on the Culdees of St. Servanus dwelling there(1). The king referred to is probably Brude mac Ferat, king of the Picts (842) whose name is last on the king-lists A, B, and C(2). It was the father of this Brude who is referred to in B as taking an interest in St. Andrews. Angus is said to have given the land between the seas Ishundenema and Sletheuma, names which are hopelessly corrupt and which may go back to c.840. The late writer Boethius preserves a tradition that King Feredach - Ferat - despoiled St. Andrews of many of its possessions(3). One feels a great deal more faith in the truth of this localised tradition than in the more generalised traditions in Boethius relating to the last kings of the Picts. Tana may have written an account of the possessions of the church so that King Ferat could see exactly how matters stood. If he then usurped certain lands this would explain the later statement in B that the lands of the Boar's Chase, which Angus gave, were subsequently lost and that Alexander I restored them.

The detailed narrative of the granting of the land by Angus to St. Andrew and the ceremony involved is of great interest. Those

(1) Ibid, p. 113. (2) The name of this king in the present Lochleven note is related to that in the Life of Servanus (P. & S. pp. 412-20) - Brude mac Dagart; king-list D shows that Dergard is Derile (E.S.I. p. cxxv) and the king who was a contemporary of Servanus was Brude mac Derile (697-706) (supra p. 99). The king who actually granted Lochleven, however, was Brude mac Ferat; king-lists DFK (E.S. p. cxxviii) give him a reign of one month only. Perhaps he was a dying man, and this may lie behind the legend of the sick king Brude in the Life of Servanus. The Servanus material is confused, but the form of Adamnan's name (Odaudanus, P. & S. P. 416) indicates earlier written material behind the existing Life. (3) Scotorum historiae a primis gentes origine, Paris 1526. Lib. X. fo cxcvii

participating in the act of donation walked seven times round the land, twelve crosses were set up to mark the boundaries, and Angus laid a sod of turf on the altar to symbolise the gift and to bind all parties. The prominence of the number seven in both A and B will have been noted; seven, of course, was the sacred number par excellence, and constantly recurs in Christian writings. The similar prominence in both accounts of the number twelve is also to be explained by its Christian associations. The laying of turf on an altar is an interesting primitive ceremony. In the Martyrology of Oengus, Maelruain of Tallaght is said to have been confirmed in possession of certain land when St. Michael cast down from heaven to him a sod and an epistle(1). This was written after 800 at an uncertain date. The same is found among the Anglo-Saxons; two seventh century kings of Kent confirmed grants of land by laying a sod of turf on the altar(2), but subsequently it seems to have become customary to lay the actual charter on the altar(3). There are some interesting features in this account of Angus' donation which suggest that it may go back to c.950 if not to c.840. This particular passage does not mention the donation of any tenth to the Church, which is found elsewhere in B but most particularly in A and may be related in some way to Aethelwulf of Wessex's grant of a tenth to the Church in 855(4) - ie. a desire to depict Angus as doing the same. This strand probably became a part of the tradition in the c.900 A version.

(1) Mart. Oengus, pp. 12-13. (2) W. de Grey Birch, C.S. 40.86. (3) C.S. 510. This record is considered genuine by F. M. Stenton, Latin Charters of the Anglo-Saxon Period, Oxford 1955, pp. 46-7. (4) Two Saxon Chrons. I. p. 66. The grant is discussed by W. H. Stevenson, Asser's Life of King Alfred, Oxford 1904, p. 186f.

To the twelfth century, however, must be assigned the statement that Angus gave to St.Andrews the land within a line drawn from Largo to Naughton through Ceres; this prodigious amount of land was what was being claimed in the twelfth century. To this date also must be assigned the B list of Pictish witnesses to the grant - who were culled from a version of the Pictish king list. Finally to this later date belongs the B list of Regulus' companions. Among a galaxy of Roman names is to be found that of ~~Tiduana~~ - undoubtedly the Tiduana of the Boniface legend and who also has a cycle of tradition about herself.

Skene's most pertinent observations on these legends concerned the close parallels between St.Andrews and Hexham church. Wilfrid of York built Hexham church c.672, dedicating it to St.Andrew, and subsequently a chapel there was dedicated to St.Mary the Virgin(1). St.Michael is said to have visited Wilfrid in a vision shortly before his death(2). In the B list of church dedications at St.Andrews there are dedications to Sts Andrew, Mary the Virgin, and Michael, a coincidence which strongly suggests direct contact between Hexham and St.Andrews.

Wilfrid's friend and companion, Acca, became bishop of Hexham in 709(3). Bede records that he procured the relics of the blessed apostles and martyrs of Christ, and diligently gathered the histories of their sufferings(3). Hexham is said to have been enriched by the relics of St.Andrew(4).

(1)B.Colgrave, Life of Bishop Wilfrid, pp.12-3.44-7.122-3. (2)Ibid, pp. 122-3. (3)H.E.V.20. (4)W.F.Skene, ibid, P.S.A.S.iv.1863.p.313.

Acca was expelled from Hexham in 732(1). Richard of Hexham preserves a tradition that he went to Whithorn(2). Florence of Worcester confused Trumwine's Abercorn see with Whithorn(3) and Skene suggested that Acca may in fact have gone to Abercorn(4). To twelfth century writers the name Pict suggested the inhabitants of Galloway. While the men of Galloway were not Picts(5), if Richard's information had been that Acca went to the Picts he might have concluded - on the terminology of his own day - that Acca went to Whithorn. Acca may well have gone instead to Abercorn and on into Pictland. Two later eighth century kings of Northumbria - Alchred in 774 and Osbald in 796 - fled into Pictland on being expelled from Northumbria, and Acca may have done the same at an earlier date. Nevertheless, the possibility that he went to Whithorn, and that from there either he or another man went into Pictland cannot be entirely dismissed. What does seem certain is that contact must have been established between St.Andrews and Hexham - or someone associated with Hexham - to account for the striking parallels in the deiciations; there is no reason to doubt that the relics of St.Andrew - ie. the reputed relics - were taken into Pictland and as Hexham was dedicated to St.Andrew there is a strong possibility that they were introduced through some Hexham agency. Since Acca was expelled from Northumbria in 732 either to Whithorn or elsewhere, he may well have been instrumental in this.

Skene suggested that the original Regulus was Riaguil of Muicinis

(1)S.D.II.p.30. (2)Prior Richard's History of the Church of Hexham, ed. J.Raine, Surtees Soc.44.1864.pp.34-5. (3)Chronicon ex Chronicis, ed. B.Thorpe, vol.I.246. (4)ibid, P.S.A.S.iv.1863.p.314. (5)The Problem of the Picts, ed.F.T.Wainwright,pp.40-43.

(island of swine)(1). Riaguil was a sixth century saint. If the part played by **Auca** be accepted, the arrival of the relics must be dated to the eighth century and to the reign of Angus mac Fergus I who was the king of the Picts at that time. A late fifteenth century Scottish Chronicle in fact refers to the relics arriving in Scotland in 761(2) - the year of the death of Angus I. While the specific date given is doubtless a mere approximate, the entry affords some confirmation that the **Angus** of the legend was Angus I. The **B** legend, moreover, depicts the king of the Picts as fighting in the Merse - ie. on the northern frontiers of Northumbria. After 711 there is very little evidence for warfare in the eighth century between Picts and Northumbrians, but two pieces of evidence point to hostilities in the early part of the reign of Angus. Bede, in his letter to Archbishop Egbert in 734, refers to barbarian incursions(3), and for 740 the Baedae Continuatio records -

"Aedilbaldus, rex Merciorum, per impiam fraudem uastabat partem Nordanhymbrorum; eratque rex eorum Eadberctus occupatus cum suo exercitu contra Pictos"(4).

This event, and the campaign by Angus in the Merse, may not be one and the same - but here is evidence that Angus was involved in wars in or near Northumbrian territory.

To conclude; there may have been an early sixth century foundation at St.Andrews, but the advent of the relics of St.Andrew is to be dated to the eighth century and most probably was due to the activities of

(1)Celtic Scotland, II, pp.267-8. (2)B. & S. pp.lxxiii.387. (3)C.Plummer, B.O.H.I. p.415. (4)Ibid, I.p.362. Eadberht and Angus were probably at war again after their joint subjection of Dumbarton in 756 - but the annal relating to this event(S.D. II.p.40) is of uncertain meaning - cf.Northumbrian Relations etc. p.119f. - and is not connected with the events alluded to in the legends of St.Andrews.

Acca of Hexham after 732, in the reign of Angus mac Fergus I. This king is known to have been involved in wars with the Northumbrians. The A version reveals that the inhabitants of the Merse were Britons rather than Saxons. In c.840 King Ferat is found taking an interest in St.Andrews, probably in the estates of the church. With the Scottish conquest of c.850 Dunkeld became for a time the principal ecclesiastical centre of Pictland, but the retirement of Constantine mac Aed to St.Andrews in 943 indicates that this centre had not been completely eclipsed. From the time of Constantine's abbacy onwards, St.Andrews acquired increasing importance; the elevation of this centre may well have been deliberately encouraged by the Scottish kings as a sop to the Picts in compensation for the complete gaelicisation of the churches among the Picts. The community at St.Andrews appears to have produced an early version of the legend relating to the advent of the relics of St.Andrew c.900, but a lengthier and more circumstantial account - markedly influenced by recent events - was produced c.950. These two accounts have been labelled A and B. A third account - C - is a mere conflation of A and B. The legends may be disentangled to reveal the historical nucleus outlined above - which is of great importance for the continuance of the contacts begun by Nechtan mac Derile between the Northumbrian and Pictish Churches.

ART RELATIONSHIPS IN NORTH BRITAIN IN THE PRE-VIKING
PERIOD.

(1) General Introduction.

(a) The advance of the Mediterranean culture.

The artistic legacy of the Ancient World was Graeco-Roman naturalistic art. The barbarians beyond the frontiers of the Empire either developed a native non-representational style like the Celts, or borrowed from Rome and treated borrowed themes in a non-representational way like the Anglo-Saxons; that is to say, the barbarian trend was always towards abstract design in diametric opposition to the artistic values of the civilised world. With the fall of the Roman Empire, barbarian art forms came to predominate freely over north and west Europe, in the lands which the fifth and sixth century invaders colonised. The artistic traditions of the ancient world, however, were preserved by the Christian Church at Rome, and pure barbarian art in west Europe only really lasted until the acceptance of Christianity. As Christianity spread, the Latin Church, if it did not destroy, at least modified the native art. With the missionaries came the pictured Gospel books, paintings, and carved reliquaries, all produced in Mediterranean lands(1). J. Bronsted has written,

"It was the introduction of Christianity from the south that made room for and was the support of everything foreign; with it came new culture, new civilization, and, not least, new art(2).

The first effect of the collision in Britain was the borrowing by the Anglo-Saxons of Christian models, the introduction of a new naturalism. In the remoter regions of Scotland or Ireland, the influence

(1) C.R. Morey, Medieval Art, New York 1942, p.181. cf. H.E.I.25, the image of Christ painted on a board. (2) Early English Ornament, trans. A.F. Major, London 1924, p.30.

of the Roman Church was slower to make itself felt, and barbarian traditions survived and flourished longer, never really dying out. Barbarian art also survived in Scandinavia where there was no seventh century Mediterranean influence, and in Ireland the preference for non-representational and abstract patterns was never lost. The abstract character of much Celtic art is so strongly marked that the full appreciation of it may perhaps be lost to the twentieth century observer, standing outside the mainstream of European development. C. Morey considers that in fact the greatest flowering of Irish art was in Anglo-Saxon hands, when it was blended with Anglo-Saxon barbaric traditions, modified by closer contact with the naturalistic art of the Roman Church(1).

The reign of Charlemagne initiated further artistic advances. The culture of the later Merovingian age had been of a low standard, and Charles turned not to Merovingian or Germanic art for renewed inspiration but to Rome and the Mediterranean, and beyond to Greece. Naturalism acquired a new lightness and liveliness, and the portrayal of the human form advanced so far as to enable Carolingian kings to be depicted in an original, lifelike manner. The Carolingian renaissance may have had no popular basis, and confined to book illumination and illustration and to goldwork, a renaissance which was already passing away by c.880, but it remains a striking achievement, a late flowering of ancient civilisation.

(1) Ibid, p.187.

The early art history of Europe, however, does not testify to an easy or complete victory of naturalism. In the tenth century, German Ottonian art drew on Roman, Carolingian, and Byzantine art, but it was in the Ottonian period, that Romanesque may really be said to have originated(1). In Romanesque art, formalisation and love of pattern re-asserts itself in complete antithesis to the naturalism of revived classical tradition. The two forms existed side by side, and at the same time as Ottonian and Romanesque was influencing Anglo-Saxon art, the naturalism which had entered previously was exercising a marked influence on the barbarian Viking culture of North England.

It is difficult to say what changes of outlook were involved in the transition from a purely abstract art to a mixed abstract and naturalistic. Francoise Henry has some interesting observations to make, suggesting that non-representational art represents the primitive fear of the world, the taking of refuge in a fairy-tale land, while naturalism signifies a new outlook, an acceptance of reality, the first step in the understanding of the world(2). The art historian certainly seems to be witnessing in the period c.650- onward a new awakening of the barbarian mind; in the eighth century, the Anglo-Saxon poets were keenly aware of the beauty

"of nature..of shining headlands, of the sailing ships driven by the wind..of the flash of the sun on the gold-adorned helmets.."(3).

In the same period the Irish were producing the finest nature poetry of Dark Age Europe. It may be that there is a relationship between the

(1)W.Oakeshott, Classical Inspiration in Medieval Art, Lond.1959,
 (2)Irish Art, Lond.1940,p.185f. (3)D.Whitelock, The Beginnings of English Society,p.211.

spread of Mediterranean art and the revival of intellectual life.

(b) Trade as a medium of communication.

Recent research has done much to lift the veil covering the subject of trade and commerce in the early Middle Ages. While there is as yet no consensus of agreement among scholars on the significance of the main economic trends of the period, archaeology is constantly revealing fresh evidence to supplement what is known of trading contacts between specific areas. With regard to North Britain and the Celtic West, the picture is far from complete, but certain trends are materialising and forming a background to the artistic evidence for contact.

Pottery and glass have recently yielded interesting results, and the significant fact is that the general picture presented so far is one of Northumbrian isolation. In the pre-850 period Northumbrian pottery did have some links with East Anglia(1), but Yorkshire examples are only stray outlyers and the regions further north are completely isolated(2). Similarly with glass ware, continental imported products predominate in S.E.England, but the pieces found at York and Castle Eden must be regarded as stray pieces - chance links with southern culture(3). If Northumbria appears isolated from the continental contacts of the south, the kingdom is also divorced from the Celtic world. From c.450 to c.600, Cornwall, S.Wales and S.Ireland

(1)G.C.Dunning, J.G.Hurst, J.N.L.Myers, F.Tischler, Anglo-Saxon Pottery; a Symposium. Med.Arch.III,1959,pp.1-78(pp.10-11.26.28-9).(2)Ibid, maps pp.30 & 70. (3)D.B.Harden, Glass Vessels in Anglo-Saxon Britain, Arch. News Letter, 3 II, July 1950,pp.21-27; & D.B.Harden, Glass Vessels in England and Ireland, A.D.400-1000, Dark Age Britain, ed.D.B.Harden, pp. 132-167.

possessed trading links peculiarly their own with the eastern Mediterranean(1), and the pottery classed as type E, of both the sixth and seventh centuries, coming from the Rhineland, is found in Cornwall, Wales, S.Ireland, Ulster, Dalriada, Strathclyde, and Kirkcudbright - but never in Northumbria(2). There is a single find of a type F from Hucknole in Northumberland, but this probably antedates the Conquest(3). Since type E died out in W.Britain in the eighth century, and later Rhenish ware only came to S.E.England, there may have been a complete shift on the part of the eighth century probably related to the Mercian ascendancy(4).

Archaeological evidence, therefore, points to Northumbrian isolation. Whether the evidence reflects an actual isolation, or a distorted picture due to lack of finds from Northumbria is a fundamental question which only further excavation on Northumbrian and Scottish sites will resolve. E.T.Leeds, considering the pagan period, encountered the same difficulty and remarked on the inexplicable lack of evidence in Northumbria(5). It may be due simply to lack of excavated sites; Northumbria's known contact with Frisian merchants(6) would seem to contradict the impression of isolation, and late eighth century Northumbria was in touch with the German mission and with the court of Charlemagne. It is difficult in face of literary evidence to believe that Northumbria was totally divorced from the outside world. On the other hand, two divisions, one topographical and the other

(1) C. Thomas, Imported Pottery in Dark Age Western Britain, Med.Arch. III. 1959, pp.89-111 (pp.90-2.100-101.105.110, & map p.102). (2) Ibid, pp.96-99. 101.104-5, & map p.103. (3) Ibid, p.100. (4) Ibid, p.99. (5) The Archaeology of the Anglo-Saxon Settlements, Oxford 1913, p.71. (6) G.Pertz, M.G.H.S. ii.1889, pp.403-419. G.C.Dunning, Trade Relations between Eng.& the Continent in the Late A-Saxon period, Dark Age Britain, pp.218-33.

chronological should be noted. There was a fundamental cleft in Northumbria between Bernicia, the poorer kingdom, and the richer neighbour, Deira. York, the trading metropolis of the north at this date, was in the latter, which probably helps to account for the persistent determination of the Bernician rulers to control Deira. Bernicia may have been off the usual traderoutes with either S.England or the Celtic West. The chronological division occurs at the end of the seventh century, at which time Northumbria was ceasing to be a great military power, with ecclesiastical links reaching out to Ireland, and military and political links into Pictland and south into Saxon Kent and Wessex. The period after 685 witnessed a contraction which seems to have intensified as the eighth century progressed, despite eighth century ecclesiastical links with Scotland. Northumbria was being economically strangled by Mercia.

Continental gold Merovingian coinage has been shown to have been entering Britain in growing quantities c.575 onwards; it was concentrated in Kent, and to a lesser degree in the Thames Valley, spreading out into East Anglia and Yorkshire(1). Once the importation of gold coins was underway, it was but a short step to the revival of production in Britain - though the evidence for the striking of a gold coinage in London in the pre-616 period(2) has been contested(3). By c.675, however the use of silver had begun to oust that of gold(4), the prelude to a new age of currency (5). The Anglo-Saxon coinage was inextricably

(1)C.H.V.Sutherland, Anglo-Saxon Gold Coinage in the Light of the Crondall Hoard, London 1948, pp.24-25. (2)Ibid, pp.41-44. (3)Anglo-Saxon Coins, ed.R.H.M.Dolley, London 1961, p.9. (4)C.H.V.Sutherland, ibid, p.43. (5)C.H.V.Sutherland, Anglo-Saxon Sceattas in England; Their Origins, Chronology, and Distribution, Num.Chron. II.1942. pp.42-70 (p.42).

linked to the Merovingian coinage and decline in Gaul dictated decline in England. Merovingian coinage experienced a debasement c.600 onwards, but the advent of the Carolingian Pepin(752-768) to power saw a reorganisation of the Frankish currency on a renewed silver basis. In England the silver sceatta was eclipsed by the silver penny which spread from East Anglia(1) and gained a wide circulation in the south under Offa of Mercia(757-796), who sought to bring his currency into conformity with the Frankish with whom he enjoyed active trade relations

In Northumbria, Merovingian gold coins of the c.600 period have been found - again in Yorkshire(2). Aelle of Deira is known to have engaged in the slave trade with the continent. A passage in the Historia Ecclesiastica suggests that nomismas - Byzantine coins - were known in seventh century Northumbria(3), and three coins from York are based on models of Justinian I(527-65), all probably dating to after 675(4). A coin of Tiberius Constantius(578-582) was found at Norrie's Law, but has since been lost(5). A late seventh century anonymous gold coin was found at Buston Crannog, Ayrshire(6). Coin distribution, therefore, supports the impression that in the seventh century Northumbria, particularly Yorkshire, formed some part of the southern economic framework. When the sceatta coinage gained currency in the south, Northumbria tended to drift apart; the coins attributed to Ecgfrith and Aldfrith are now suspect(7), and the Northumbrian sceatta

(1)P.V.Hill, Saxon Sceattas and their Problems, B.N.J.xxvi.1949-51,pp. 129-154(pp.136-7). (2)C.H.V.Sutherland, The Crondall Hoard, p.25. (3)H.E.III.8. C.H.V.Sutherland, ibid,p.50,n.1. (4)C.H.V.Sutherland, ibid p.50. (5)J.Anderson, Notice of the Gold Ornaments found at Lower Largo & of the Silver Ornaments found at Norrie's Law, P.S.A.S.vi.1883-4.pp. 233-247(p.246). (6)C.H.V.Sutherland, ibid,p.88. (7)C.SS.Lyon, A Reappraisal of the Sceatta & Styca coinage of Nthbria, B.N.J.xxviii,1955-7,p.229.

series only begins with Eadberht(737-58); sceattas are known for the reigns of Alchred(765-74), Aethelred I(774-79), and Aelfwald(779-89), becoming progressively scarcer and ending in Aethelred's second reign (790-96)(1). It is clear that the Northumbrians retained the sceatta long after the Mercians switched to the penny. The Northumbrian sceattas were replaced, not by pennies, but by the peculiarly Northumbrian stycas. In his very valuable study of the Northumbrian coinage, C.S.S.Lyon states that the earlier attribution of stycas to Aetherlred I, Eardwulf(796-806), Hoaud(?), Aelfwald II(806-808), and Aelle(c.860) was erroneous(2). Stycas only enjoyed a short life, beginning late in the reign of Eanred(809-41), degenerating after Aethelred II's restoration(844-48), and falling into confusion at about the time of Osberht's accession, their latest date being about 855(3). The styca was a copper coin and far inferior to the southern Mercian penny. It is highly significant that no stycas have been found in the circulation area of the Mercian penny, and as a great number of the latter have been found this seems to afford definite confirmation of Northumbrian isolation. Similarly, no pennies have been found in the north, in the circulation area of the stycas, and again several hoards of stycas have been unearthed. J.D.A.Thompson comments,

"The two currencies were essentially local in their circulation and almost completely isolated from each other"(4).

The Mercian penny was limited in circulation -

(1)C.S.S.Lyon, ibid, B.N.J.xxviii,p.229. (2)Ibid, B.N.J.xxviii,p.232. (3)Ibid, B.N.J.xxviii,p.235. (4)Inventory of British Coin Hoards, A.D. 600-1500. Royal Num.Soc.I.1956,p.xix.

"for all practical purposes to the area south and east of a line from the Solent, through the Northampton Uplands, to the Wash"(1).

If the Northumbrian coinage of the pre-850 period lagged behind or was inferior to the southern, in the Celtic regions there was no currency at all. In a study of the vast literature from several centuries dealing with St. Patrick, W. Stokes observed -

"of coined money in Ireland we have not a trace"(2).

The early Anglo-Saxon coins which have found their way into Celtic lands were probably carried there as Viking plunder; examples are the coin of Eanred(809-41) found at Kiloran Bay, Colonsay(3), those of Cenwulf of Mercia and Aethelwulf of Wessex at Croy, Inverness(4) and the Delgany, Co. Wicklow, hoard containing Mercian, Kentish and West Saxon coins of the early ninth century, mostly struck at Kent(5). In these Celtic kingdoms a more primitive economy must have prevailed in which trade was wholly by barter. Northumbria was an economic unit caught between the more advanced regions of southern England and the less advanced Celtic zones. Of evidence for trading activities in North Britain, there is really none. Only archaeology can resolve the question of how far ecclesiastical or political contacts fostered trade; though Ireland, for example, was in touch with the continental Church in the eighth and ninth centuries, the Havard expedition to Ireland, which excavated Lagore Crannog(Meath), an Irish royal residence from the

(1) R.H.M. Dolley & D.M. Metcalf, Two Stray Finds from St. Albans of Coins of Offa and Charlemagne, B.N.J. xxviii, 1955-7, pp. 459-466 (p. 462, & cf. 465)

(2) The Tripartite Life of St. Patrick, Rolls, 1887, i. p. cli. (3) J. Anderson, Viking Grave-Mound at Kiloran Bay, P.S.A.S. 41. 1906-7, pp. 443-449.

(4) C.E. Blunt, The Date of the Croy Hoard, P.S.A.S. 12. 1949-50, p. 217.

(5) J. Evans, On a Hoard of Early Anglo-Saxon Coins found in Ireland, Num. Chron., 2. 1881-2, pp. 61-86, & Thompson, Inventory, p. 43.

seventh century to the tenth(1), though it found some few Saxon and continental imports, concluded in the preliminary report that -

"The influence of the Merovingian-Carolingian civilisation is barely detectable"(2).

Against this background of apparently isolated units linked together only very slightly by trade - ie. Mercia, Northumbria, and the Celtic lands, the evidence for cultural contacts between Celtic Scotland and pre-Viking Northumbria will assume a double significance; it will show by what stages the northern regions were integrated into the culture of the Mediterranean world, and by whatever indications it gives of geographical areas of contact and exchange it will either confirm or modify this picture of separatism.

(1) Lagore Crannog, ed. H. Hencken, P.R.I.A. 53. 1950-51. Sect. C. pp. 1-247; a remarkably fine report on an archaeological excavation. (2) H. Hencken, The Harvard Archaeological Expedition in Ireland, Suppl. to the American Journal of Archaeology, xlv. 1941. pp. 1-6.

(ii) The artistic culture of North Britain.

(a) Manuscripts.

The most numerous art relics of early Scotland are the carved stones; a preliminary review of manuscript art serves to indicate the extent to which the historian must depend upon these stone monuments for an understanding of the cultural relationships of early Scotland.

For any such understanding, the manuscripts of the period would seem to be of great importance. Unfortunately, no manuscript may be assigned definitely to pre-850 Scotland; there lies at the root of manuscript study the fundamental difficulty that for the majority of early manuscripts produced either in Ireland or North Britain no specific home is known. It is as well to state at the outset that little agreement exists among art historians on this vital matter, and that the margin of disagreement has every appearance of growing wider in ^{the immediate} future.

The source of the difficulty is that by c.700 the Hiberno Saxon art of North Britain was a composite blend of Mediterranean naturalism and Celtic (Irish) and Saxon native traditions, so that it becomes very difficult to analyse the distinct Irish or Saxon contributions. Francoise Henry saw Hiberno Saxon art simply as a mixture of Irish and Mediterranean elements (1). A.W. Clapham (2), and more particularly F. Masai (3), concluded that in reality Hiberno Saxon art owed very little

(1) *Irish Art*, p. 725. (2) *Notes on the Origins of Hiberno Saxon Art*, Antiq. viii. 1934, pp. 43-57. (3) Essai sur les origines de la miniature dite Irlandaise, Brussels 1947.

to Ireland. This view finds reflection in several writings, and is essentially a reactionary view. C.R.Morey considered that Irish art only blossomed when Irish motives were handled by more sensitive Anglo-Saxons(1), while W.Oakeshott almost suggests that Ireland contributed precisely nothing to the cultural and artistic life of West Europe in the seventh century apart from the sanctity of the religious life in the monasteries(2). The re-appraisal of the artistic life of early Ireland was buttressed by the view that the monasteries were not great centres of learning, Latin being badly appreciated and Greek almost unknown. M.Esposito maintained that all references to Irish knowledge of Greek are inconclusive and that there is no evidence that Greek was taught in Irish schools(3). In a review of Masai's study, Father J.Ryan rose to the defence of seventh century Irish learning, with particular reference to Latin knowledge, going some way towards reinstating them as important centres of culture(4), while Aldhelm's annoyance at the flocking of English students to the Irish schools of Greek should be conclusive in the matter of whether or not Greek was taught by the Irish.

Nevertheless, even when the Irish schools are seen in a truer perspective, the problem of the origin and birthplaces of the important MSS. of the period remains. Only the home of the Lindisfarne Gospels is definitely known. For the rest there is no agreement, and they may have produced in Northumbria, Scotland or Ireland, in any of the Columban monasteries spreading in an arc through Ireland and North Britain.

(1) Medieval Art, p.187. (2) Classical Inspiration in Medieval Art, pp.23-5. (3) The Knowledge of Greek in Ireland during the Middle Ages, Studies I, pp.665-683. (4) J.Royal Soc. Antiq. of Ireland, 80, 1950. pp.164-171. & F.Henry, Studies 37, 1948, pp.267-279.

One difficulty is that illuminators may have moved around from place to place, and an Irish artist may have been able to produce an Irish work in Northumbria; there is a literary reference to one such artist - Ultan, who became attached to Lindisfarne and a daughter-house(1). Too much, however, should not be made of this difficulty; it is not so much the home of the artist which matters as the home of the art forms and motives used in a manuscript, and ~~in~~ the place of origin of the manuscript in question.

The MSS. which are relevant may be considered individually and are as follows.

(i) Codex Usserianus: Dublin Trin.Coll.55.(A.IV.15).

Attention has been called to this MS. by C.Nordenfalk(2). The script bears a strong relationship to the MSS. Ambrosiana 6.26 sup., and D.23 sup.(3), both originating in the Columban foundation at Bobbio. The Bobbio MSS. fragments are the earliest known Irish manuscripts, dating to the early seventh century; their distinguishing features are the ornamenting of the first letters of the text with a large capital, the embellishing of the letter with dots, the inclusion of a whole page of decoration - a carpet page, the last two features reflecting Syrian and Coptic influence. From the ornamented capital letter, the following letters decline in size until they reach that which is to be maintained for the remainder of the page; the interlace is simple and fishes are added for decoration(4). It is uncertain

(1) S.D.I. pp.273-4. (2) Before the Book of Durrow, *Acta Archaeologia* 18, 1947. pp.141-174. E.A.Lowe, *Codices Latini Antiquiores*, pt.II.Oxford 1935 p.42. (3) E.A.Lowe, *ibid*, III.1938. pp.13.17. (4) Professor G.Hazeloff, *The Origins of Late Celtic Art*, Rhind Lectures 1961(not yet published) called attention to these features. On the subject of MS.aet, Professor Hazeloff was both controversial and stimulating.

whether Bobbio exerted any influence on later Irish MSS. art, and since these characteristics are found in such MSS. it is more than probable that these Bobbio features were already a part of Irish art in the early seventh century(1).

(ii) The Cathach of St. Columba; Roy. Irish Acad. S.N.

This is a fragmentary psalter, attributed to St Columba himself, but of uncertain date(2). The drawing is of a weak quality, considered by Nordenfalk, with a c.600 date in mind, to be -

"nourished solely from the poor vocabulary the available to culturally isolated Irish art"(3).

The Cathach certainly belongs to the art world which produced the Bobbio fragments, and may even be pre-Bobbio(1); it has the large capital, the declining letters, the dotted decoration and the fish ornamentation, the fish being now a dolphin(1).

(iii) Durham A II 10.

A fragment of a Gospel book, this MS. again has the large capital, the declining letters, the dotted decoration, and a debased form of the Cathach dolphin(1). The interlace is of a more complicated kind than that in the Cathach but not as intricate as that in the Book of Durrow. This is one of the reasons which Nordenfalk advanced for dating this MS. between the Cathach and the Book of Durrow(4), and the interlace does find parallels on the crosses of Fahan Mura and Carndonagh which may date to c.650(5). This is a manuscript of outstanding importance,

(1) G. Hazeloff, ibid. (2) Lowe, ibid., II. p. 41. (3) C. Nordenfalk, Before the Book of Durrow, Acta Archaeologica, 18. 1947. p. 160. Also on the ~~Book of Durrow~~ Cathach, H. J. Lawlor & W. M. Lindsay, The Cathach of St. Columba, Proc. Irish Acad. 33. 1916-17. pp. 36-443; Lindsay (p. 402) would assign it to the sixth century. (4) Ibid., p. 162. (5) Ibid., p. 170.

coming as it probably does before Durrow, since this is the first MS to survive in which the transition is made from the contour drawing of the Cathach to real painting, together with the adoption of interlace as the principal ornamental motive(1). The ultimate question must refer to the home of the MS. Clearly, the affiliations are with the Bobbio - Cathach traditions, but the fact that it now resides in old Northumbria has led several scholars to conclude that it was produced there. E.A.Lowe resolved the issue by suggesting that it was written in Northumbria but in pure Irish tradition(2), and this seems to be the position of T.J.Brown and R.L.S.Bruce-Mitford in their recent study of the Lindisfarne Gospels(3); Hazeloff, however, considers that Ireland has the best claim to the MS.(4), and since it may easily have been brought to Northumbria by the Scottish monks this view would seem to be the most cautious and the most acceptable(5).

(iv) The Book of Durrow; Trin.Coll.57(A.IV.5).

The Book of Durrow preserves all the Cathach features, and a date c.650-675 would appear to be acceptable to most art historians(6). The controversy over Durrow relates to the home of the MS. for it contains decorations which point to an Anglo-Saxon origin;

'The Evangelist Matthew..is an Anglo-Saxon metal-work figure and ..it appears that much of the ornament of the Book of Durrow can be traced to Anglo-Saxon metalwork of the first half of the seventh century"(7).

(1)C.Nordenfalk, *ibid*,p.172. (2)*Ibid*,II.p.9. (3)Codex Lindisfarnensis II (C.L.) 1960.p.89f. (4)Hazeloff, *ibid*. (5)The comments of the authors of C.L. on the relationship of this MS. to the Lindisfarne Gospels are referred to more completely, *infra*, Sub The Lindisfarne Gospels. (6)Nordenfalk advanced the period 665-700, but Kendrick, Anglo-Saxon Art p.94 suggests c.650, and D.M.Wilson, The Anglo-Saxons,p.147, c.675 (7)W.Oakeshott, The Sequence of English Medieval Art,p.39. M.Rickert, Painting in Britain; The Middle Ages,p.13.

The parallels have been found on the Sutton Hoo buckle, gold clasps, and purse mountings - and on the escutcheons of the hanging-bowl(1). The chequered body of the ~~D~~urrow Lion is derived from Anglo-Saxon cloisonné work(2), and W.Oakeshott was left in no reasonable doubt that Durrow was produced in Northumbria. Almost conclusive support to this view, generally considered to be rendered by the Latin Vulgate text of Durrow, used in Northumbria but not definitely known to have been in circulation in Ireland(3). Finally, the MS. has been regarded as the possible work of the scribe who produced the Echternach Gospels, and assigned to c.698(4).

The thesis of a Northumbrian home for Durrow, however, has not been allowed to go without challenge. T.D.Kendrick describes the Book of Durrow as relentlessly barbaric and remains doubtful that it is a Northumbrian product(5). F.Henry, considering Celtic elements in the illumination and decoration, maintains that it is -

"impossible to admit that the book was decorated in Northumbria"(6). Hazelloff has pointed out that the Durrow intertwined and biting beasts are also to be found on a hanging-bowl from Benty Grange, Derbyshire (7) which has certain Celtic elements in it(8), and these art forms may have been in sufficient general circulation to have reached Ireland in time to be incorporated into the decoration of Durrow(7). The Vulgate

(1)M.Rickert, Painting in Britain,p.13. W.Oakeshott, The Sequence of English Medieval Art,p.33f. (2)W.Oakeshott, ibid,p.10. (3)E.Lowe, ibid. II.p.43. F.Henry, Irish Art,p.67. (4)C.L.II.p.90. (5)Anglo-Saxon Art, pp.97.105. (6)Irish Art,p.67. (7)Hazeloff,ibid. (8)T.Bateman, Ten Years Digging in Celtic and Saxon Grave Hills, London 1861,pp.28-33; D.Wilson, The Anglo-Saxons,p.141.

text presents inconclusive evidence. The view that the Vulgate was not known in early Ireland rests on purely negative evidence. As it is, the Durrow Evangelist symbols are not arranged in the correct order of the Vulgate version(1), and, while the Northumbrians appear to have used a South Italian text, Durrow may well be of NorthItalian origin(2). This lends some support to the case for an Irish home for the MS.

(v)Durham A II 17.

Lowe considered that this MS. was probably written in Northumbria in the direct line of Irish tradition, or else in Ireland itself(3). The most recent study has propounded the view that it is a Lindisfarne MS., probably the work of the artist-scribe of the Echternach Gospels(4). Once again, the obvious Irish nature of the decoration points to Ireland rather than to Northumbria. Hazeloff has no doubts that this is really an Irish piece of work; the initial of St.John finds a corresponding initial in Durrow, and the MS. is decorated with the Cathach dolphin(5).

(vi)The Echternach Gospels; Paris Bib.Nat.MS.lat.9389.

Kendrick describes this MS. as a magnificent recrudescence of the Celtic aspect of Northumbrian art(6), and it has been recently attributed to the Lindisfarne scriptorium(4), but while the text is certainly South Italian the decoration is rooted in Irish tradition and could have been produced in any Irish centre(5). M.Rickert describes the Gospels as close to Durrow (7), and Hazeloff has shown that the Luke

(1)F.Henry, Irish Art,p.66f. (2)The Urs Graf Verlag Institute, producing a facsimile edition of Durrow, considers that the text agrees with a North Italian St.Gall text; communicated by W.O'Sullivan, Keeper of MSS, Trin.Coll.Dublin to the present writer. (3)Ibid,II.p.10. (4)C.L.Further reference, infra. (5)Hazeloff,ibid. (6)Anglo-Saxon Art,p.139. (7)Painting in Britain,p.17.

symbol has Durrow links and that the Matthew symbol is pure Irish; for Hazelloff, this is undoubtedly an Irish MS.(1).

(vii) The Lindisfarne Gospels; Cott.Nero D.IV.

In considering the Lindisfarne Gospels, all the preceeding problems of origins are raised anew. According to the tenth-century colophon, entered by the glossator, Aldred, the Gospels were written out by Eadfrith, bishop of Lindisfarne(698-721), bound by Bishop Aethelwald (724-40), and ornamented on the outside by Bilfrith, the anchorite; Lowe commented that "Palaeographically this tradition is perfectly acceptable" (2), and T.J.Brown is convinced that Eadfrith both wrote and illustrated the Gospels(3). It is clear by comparison with the pure Mediterranean art of the Wearmouth and Jarrow Codex Amiatinus produced before 716, on the one hand, and with the Book of Durrow, on the other, that the Mediterranean and barbarian worlds meet in the Lindisfarne Gospels; Bronsted contends that the ornamentation of the Lindisfarne MS. is pure Irish, having nothing in common with the art of North England but its provenance(4), and Kendrick considers that the representations of the Evangelists betray -

"a sympathy with the art of the Roman world that the illuminator of the Book of Durrow did not share"(5).

Nevertheless, the principal ornamental system is the non-representational one, and in the final analysis the Lindisfarne Gospels reflect

"an unmistakeable triumph of the barbarian tradition"(6).

(1) Hazelloff, ibid. (2) E.A.Lowe, ibid. II.p.20. (3) C.L.II.pp.12-13. (4) Early English Ornament, p.92. (5) Anglo-Saxon Art, p.106. (6) T.D. Kendrick, ibid., p.120.

In the Codex Lindisfarnensis are to be found the most recent and most detailed studies of the palaeography(1) and decoration(2) of the Lindisfarne Gospels, by T.J.Brown and R.L.S.Bruce-Mitford. The authors have ascribed to the Lindisfarne scriptorium not only the Lindisfarne Gospels but Durham A II 17 and the Echternach Gospels - both the latter being said to be -

"written in the same scriptorium if not by the same hand"(3) - and they regard as earlier Northumbrian MSS. Durham A II 10 and the Book of Durrow(4). Bruce-Mitford further suggests that Durrow may be the early work of the artist scribe who produced Durham A II 17 and Echternach, and that it dates to c.698(5), finally concluding that from adjacent Northumbrian metalwork shops came very probably the Tara Brooch and the Ardagh Chalice(6).

The location of all these works of art in the Lindisfarne scriptorium or adjacent district is based on palaeographic and artistic affinities. In the case of the manuscripts, it could be argued that it is known that in the late ninth century the community of St.Cuthbert at Lindisfarne is recorded to have abandoned the island taking at least one MS. with them, believed to be the Lindisfarne Gospels, and that if they preserved one they may well have preserved several, and hence it is that all these manuscripts have survived from the one centre. Nevertheless, it is a commonplace of early art history that many early MSS. have been lost, as well as much of value in metalwork, and it would require

(1)C.L.II.pp.61-106. (2)Ibid,pp.109-260. (3)Ibid,p.84. (4)Ibid,p.90.
(5)Ibid,p.90. (6)Ibid.p.250f.

a strange irony of fate to ensure that while countless MSS from many schools have been lost, a whole series of MSS. from Lindisfarne have survived - though scattered far and wide - and not only that, but that two outstanding metalwork pieces from an adjacent metalwork school have had the good fortune to be found in Ireland.

It is not simply the rare chance of the survival of such a group of manuscripts which seems to militate against this reconstruction of the evidence; the evidence for such a reconstruction is weak in itself. The Cathach of St. Columba is recognised as an Irish MS., with a different majuscule writing from that in Durham A II 17, Echternach, and the Lindisfarne Gospels - but the same writing is found in the earlier alledged Northumbrian MSS., Durham A II 10 and Durrow(1). As Bruce-Mitford observes -

"The Irish monks taught the Northumbrians how to write and how to make and copy codices, passing on traditions that they had derived from the vi- and vii- century Italian or Gaulish Churches"(2).

If, at a time when the Northumbrians are the pupils of the Irish, two manuscripts, the Irish nature of which is undoubted, are produced and subsequently found, one in Ireland and the other in north England, there are no grounds whatsoever for regarding them as Northumbrian products. One particular script could be common to many scribes in different monastic scriptoria, and the words of E.G. Millar with regard to decorative motives are worth repeating;

"It must be remembered in dealing with these early books, that only a fraction of their number has survived, and it is always possible that inter-resemblances between two given MSS are due to a lost intermediary or chain of intermediaries"(3).

(1) C.L.II.p.89. (2) Ibid,p.112. (3) The Lindisfarne Gospels, Brit.Mus.1923, p.19.

Even with regard to Durham A II 17 and Echternach, the authors conclude that textually Durham A II 17 is Irish throughout, that Echternach is largely Irish, and that both are far closer to each other than to the Lindisfarne Gospels(1). It is impossible to reproduce here all the arguments with which the authors support their conclusions, or to do justice to their scholarship, but despite their learned and detailed study it cannot be said that they have proved their case. The most that the art historian can say is that Irishmen or Northumbrians so thoroughly trained by the Irish as to be indistinguishable from them produced Durham A II 10, A II 17, Durrow and Echternach; and that the predominant Irish nature of these works, their relationship one to another and to earlier Irish and Bobbio antecedents, makes it most probable that they were produced in Ireland by Irishmen acquainted with certain motives and art forms drawn from the teutonic world. The later the Book of Durrow, for example, is dated(2) the more difficult does it become to even try and postulate a Northumbrian origin for the MS., because by c.700, as T.J.Brown appreciates,

"any attempt to distinguish Irish from Saxon..art is quite meaningless"(3).

If a 698 date for Durrow is valid, which it probably is not, it would be impossible to assign a mainly Irish - part Northumbrian MS. to Northumbria for this reason alone.

Finally, the Book of Kells, produced at an unknown centre c.800(4), shows a mixture of influences - Irish, Northumbrian, Carolingian and

(1)C.L.II.pp.95.99. (2)Supra p.141. (3)C.L.II.p.7. (4)Dublin Trin.Coll. 58(A.I.6). The Book of Kells has been dated by A.M.Friend, The Canon Tables of the Book of Kells, Medieval Studies in memory of A.Kingsley Porter;ed. W.R.W.Koehler, Camb.1939, vol.II.pp.611-666 -to c.795-800 on.

possibly Syrian(1). It has never been doubted that this MS. was produced at some Irish centre(2), and if the reconstruction put forward by T.J.Brown and R.L.S.Bruce-Mitford is correct, the historian is faced with the curious situation that Irish manuscript art begins with the Cathach and Codex Usserianus and ends with Kells, but that there is no manuscript from Ireland for the intervening years c.600-800.

The Lindisfarne Gospels and the Book of Kells show that there was a flow of artistic ideas in manuscript decoration across the Irish sea in both directions. The manuscript artists were drawing on a common stock of material, facilitated by the portability of their medium. Cross sculpture affords conclusive evidence that Anglo-Saxon motives could be known and used in a Celtic land, but at the same time testifies to a far greater provincialism in art than is apparent from the manuscripts of the period. Insufficient metalwork material is available at the moment for any conclusions to be formed on how far metal workers shared in a common Hiberno-Saxon tradition, but the evidence of cross sculpture weighs considerably against the manuscript picture of a single art world in North Britain and Ireland.

(1)M.Rickert, Painting in Britain, p.22 (2)E.A.Lowe, ibid. II.p.43, considers Kells the most elaborate of all Celtic MSS., as it is. It is not known where precisely the manuscript was produced; Iona has been suggested - eg.A.M.Friend, ibid, pp.611-666 - but this is purely inferential, and quite unproven.

(b) Stone sculpture.

It is in the field of stone sculpture that the inhabitants of Dark Age North Britain have left their greatest number of surviving works. Any study of the crosses and slabs of the pre-1050 period gains an advantage over manuscript study in that a heavy carved monument is unlikely to have been moved far from the place of its production, and indicates therefore the art forms current in a particular area at a particular time. In consequence, the vast amount of such remains would appear to afford ample scope for a study of the interaction of artistic influences from area to area. In questions of chronology, however, with regard to the precise dating of these monuments it is essential to tread cautiously. The historian who turns from written sources to works of art in order to extract historical information from them, particularly when the works of art are early sculptured crosses, would do well to heed the warnings of art historians and archaeologists.

"The game of relating art history to political or social history is dangerously attractive"(1),

and the chronology of the crosses presents immense difficulties. For D.M.Wilson, cross chronology is a hazy subject (2), and T.D.Kendrick has written that -

"unless crosses are very closely connected in their general ornamental system, it is very nearly a waste of time to try to assess their relative chronology at ~~eye~~ sight and on grounds of minor typological alternations"(3).

These problems of chronology become even more acute in the century and

(1)W.Oakeshott, The Sequence of English Medieval Art,p.5. (2)The Anglo-Saxons,p.151. (3)Anglo-Saxon Art,p.132.

a half after 850; when a general mediocrity in northern sculpture means that -

"Precisely to trace the evolution of these Anglo-Saxon styles ~~/~~ throughout the first century after the Danish invasion is now an almost impossible task"(1).

Most of the sculptured stones of S.W.Scotland appear to fall in this period. Any attempt to date crosses, therefore, must remain only tentative, and while it may be that most crosses can be assigned roughly to their respective centuries, there remain several important marginal cases to which no final date has been affixed even within the limits of a hundred years. These are often monuments which do not form a part of a regular typological sequence, as, for example, the altar tomb at St.Andrews. Nevertheless, an examination of crosses and their sculpture does give some indication of cultural boundaries in Dark Age North Britain, and pinpoints certain points of contact. It is in what they reveal of cultural boundaries that a great deal of their historical value lies, for the Irish-Scots, Picts, Britons, and Northumbrians, though borrowing certain elements from each other, doggedly persisted in their own individual peculiarities regardless of what their neighbours were doing. The dominant impression of the pre-850 stone monuments is that the cultural boundaries indicated by them are synonymous with political boundaries, each one clearly distinct from the others, confirming the impression that Northumbria tended to be isolated from the Celtic world and underlining the fundamental divisions within the Celtic world itself.

(1)L.Stone, Sculpture in Britain; The Middle Ages,p.30.

(1) Early Northumbrian Development.

The earliest stone monuments of Christian significance in the British Isles are considered to be the primitive proto-British slabs of the fifth and sixth centuries from S.W.Scotland. These stones

"not only represent the primitive menhir tradition, but are really themselves menhirs on a small scale, that is, rude monuments scarcely if at all touched by the tool and set up on end to serve as memorials" (1).

They are incised monuments decorated with the Chi-Ro symbol and sometimes preserving inscriptions (2).

The earliest Northumbrian affiliations, however, are not with these monuments but rather with Irish memorial slabs of uncertain date but possibly of the seventh century, due doubtless to the Scottish mission; yet here, at the outset of the study of northern cross sculpture, caution is advisable. Baldwin Brown was of the opinion that the Irish models are based on prototypes of Saxon origin, such as are found at Lindisfarne and Hartlepool (3), while F.S.Scott is prepared to acknowledge the possibility of independent parallel development in Northumbria and Ireland (4). The coincidence remains striking, nevertheless, and the Scottish mission provides an obvious link. In recent

(1) The Arts in Early England, V. London 1921. p.42. (2) see W.G.Collingwood Northumbrian Crosses in the pre-Norman Age (N.C.), London 1927, p.1f., & The Early Crosses of Galloway, D.& G. Antiq. Soc. x. 1922-3. pp.205-231; also E.C.M.S., ed. J. Anderson & J.R. Allen, Edin. 1903. pp.xii.494f., and R.A.S. Macalister, The Ancient Inscriptions of Kirkmadrine and Whithorn, P.S.A. S. lxx. 1935-6. pp.315-325. (3) Ibid Vpp.76.95-99., & The Hartlepool Tombstones, P.S.A.S. liii, pp.224-228. (4) The Hildithryth Stone and other Hartlepool namestones, Arch. Ael. 34. 1956. pp.196-212.

excavations at another Scottish monastic site, Whitby, fragments of a slab considered to reflect Irish rather than Saxon influence were found(1).

While in manuscript art it appears that Northumbrian artists shared motives and ornamental forms in common with Irish artists, in stone sculpture, after the possible initial Irish phase, Northumbrian artistry deviates entirely from Irish styles. J.Bronsted has commented that stone sculpture in Northumbria stands surprizingly by itself and -

Very rarely can Irish animals be found on North English crosses , the interlace designs, apart from some examples at Lindisfarne, Aberlady and Abercorn, being also un-Irish(2). Northumbria did not import Celtic motives for stone sculpture so much as Mediterranean, which were blended with native ornamentation to culminate in the fine cross carvings at Ruthwell and Bewcastle.

The chronological framework which W.G.Collingwood sought to establish(3) has not yet been fundamentally challenged, and may be set out as follows. Hexham produced what Collingwood regarded as the real beginning of the Anglian series with Acca's cross of c.740(4), decorated with unhabited vine-scroll, a prominent feature in Anglian sculpture; this early eighth century Hexham school was paralleled by a school at Lancaster(5). Out of the Hexham school, but probably not at Hexham, developed the inhabited Tree of Life as found at Ruthwell and Bewcastle,

(1) Sir C. Peers & C.A. Raleigh Radford, *The Saxon Monastery of Whitby, Archaeologia*, 89.1943. pp.27-88(p.33). (2) *Early English Ornament*, p.81. (3) *N.C.* London 1927., and *A Pedigree of Anglian Crosses, Antiq.vi.1932. pp.35-54.* (4) *N.C.p.28* (5) *N.C.p.36. Antiq.vi.p.40.*

and at **St.Andrews, Auckland**(1). About 800, a school was developing at Hoddam, Dumfriesshire, springing from Hexham models and with Lancaster affinities, which produced some fine works on Northumbria's western frontier(2). In the period 800-850 a new school at Ripon exercised a marked influence within Northumbria and in Cumberland, popularising the Lorgnette decoration(3). With the Danish and Norse invasions, c.875 on, the artistic merit of sculpture in Northumbria declined and chronology becomes more uncertain.

The Northumbrian series to 850 is dominated by the two crosses at Ruthwell and Bewcastle, monuments of such outstanding quality that they have been assigned by some art historians to the twelfth century(4). Collingwood favoured a date in the late eighth century, considering them to be based on Hexham examples and carved by Hoddam men(5). The more general view, however, is that these monuments - the most remarkable sculptural achievements of Dark Age Europe - should be dated on their affinities with each other and on Bewcastle's affinities with the Lindisfarne Gospels, to c.700(6). They represent the culminating point of Northumbrian sculpture, not chronologically, but artistically; they may have been the work of foreign craftsmen, but there is no reason to think this except for the apparent unlikelihood of Northumbrian artists producing such fine work - and the runic system of writing is purely teutonic(7).

(1)N.C.p.39. Antiq.vi-p.41 (2)N.C.p.40. Antiq.vi.p.44. (3)N.C.pp.92-95. Antiq.vi.p.48. (4)eg.A.S.Cook, The Date of the Ruthwell and Bewcastle Crosses, Yale 1912. (5)N.C.p.111f. Antiq.vi.p.46. (6)T.Kendrick, Anglo-Saxon Art, p.133. Both crosses are considered at length by Baldwin Brown, Arts in Early England, V.chaps.4-12. (7)Baldwin Brown, ibid.p.182.

(ii) The crosses of S.W.Scotland, and their Cumbrian affiliations.

The Northumbrians probably penetrated to Carlisle c.620-40, breaking down the British resistance and mastering the British kingdom of Rheged. St.Cuthbert is found at Carlisle in 685, in touch with the hermit, Herbert of Derwntwater, and about 720 or a little earlier a bishopric was created at Whithorn which lasted until c.810, after which date records fail. Bishop Eardulf of Linidgarne passed by near Whithorn c.875, but apart from Boethius' assertion that Malcolm III refounded the see in 1070, Whithorn does not reappear until Gilla-Aldan became bishop in 1126.

The Ruthwell and Bewcastle masterpieces belong geographically to this western area, but though there are some indeterminate but possibly late seventh century pieces from Carlisle it ~~was~~^{is} not until c.750 that a fixed and flourishing school of cross sculpture can be located there - and this at Hoddam, Dumfriesshire, near to Ruthwell. Collingwood dated the Hoddam school to c.800, but more recently C.A.Raleigh Radford has given a dating c.750-800(1). Hoddam is unknown to history, unless the Tigbrethingham of the Historia Regum(2) is Hoddam(3). The Hoddam stones have some fine naturalistic work in the tradition of Ruthwell and Bewcastle, while the flat rosette and standing figures in scrolls point to Hexham influence(4). Hoddam's artistic links with Hexham acquire an additional significance when it is noted that Aethelbert, bishop of

(1)Hoddam, Antiq.xxvii.1953.pp.153-160. (2)S.D.II.p.101. (3)W.G. Collingwood, N.C.p.40. (4)Indicated to the writer by Miss R.J.Cramp.

Whithorn, became bishop of Hexham in 789 and officiated at the consecration of Badulf as bishop of Whithorn in 790(1). Hoddam may have been the work-shop of the Whithorn diocese, but why the first school of sculpture in this area should have been there and not at Whithorn it is impossible to say. Apart from a few simple stones Whithorn produced no sculpture which can be dated to the known period of the Anglian bishops. Anglian influence, however, was responsible for the nature of the crosses erected at Thornhill and Closeburn in the Nith valley, Dumfriesshire(2), which Collingwood placed in the tenth century but which may be late ninth(3). Hoddam did continue into the tenth century(4), indicating that the Scandinavian invasions did not completely disrupt the life of the area. The furthest limit of Anglian influence appears to have been Old Kirkcannel in upper Nithsdale(5).

The main series of Whithorn monuments cannot be considered apart from those in Cumberland, which Collingwood considered were copied by Whithorn carvers. There is an early group of pre-850 Anglian crosses at Addingham, Dacre, Irton, Kirkby Stephen, Waberthwaite, and Workington(6). Collingwood detected Ripon influence on the pectoral shaped cross at Irton(7), and this Ripon influence continued for its effects are traceable into the tenth century; Ripon popularised the lorgnette design which is found on a series of Cumbrian monuments,

(1)S.D.11.p.53. (2)E.C.M.S.pp.436-449. (3)N.C.p.54., and W.G.Collingwood The Early Church in Dumfriesshire and its monuments, D.& G.Antiq.Soc.xii 1924-5.pp.46-62. (4)C.A.Raleigh Radford, ibid,p.136. (5)C.F.Charleson, Fragments of Old Kirkcannel, D.& G.Antiq.Soc.xv.1928-9.pp.119-137. (6)W.S.Calverley, Notes on the Early Sculptured Crosses, Shrines, and Monuments in the present diocese of Carlisle; ed.W.G.Collingwood, C.& W. Antiq.Soc.Extra Series xi. Kendal 1899.pp.4.206.223.273.277. Also, N.C. pp.46.83.111. (7)N.C.pp.94-5.107.

attributed to the tenth century(1), at Beckermest St.John's, Bridekirk, Bromfield, Dearham, and Distington(2). Two additional types of decoration on these crosses are spirals and stopped plait, the former at Aspatria and Dearham, appearing as a Cumbrian innovation since it is elsewhere only at Roolwer(Man) and Maen-y-Chwyfan(3), and the stopped plait at Aspatria, Dearham, Beckermest St.John's, and on the Standing Cross and Norse Cross at St.Bees and also thought to be of Cumbrian origin(4). Collingwood's hypothesis was that an artist acquainted with Cumbrian styles introduced stopped plait to the Whithorn area, where it is found on all the distinctive Disc-faced crosses - except Whithorn I(5) - suggesting for them a date c.900-950, since - having no animal forms in the decoration - they do not appear to be late tenth century (6).

It should be noted, however, that the principal form of interlace ornament on the disc-faced crosses is the ring-plait, and where this is found as stopped plait it weaves itself into a coherent pattern of rings(7); on many Cumbrian examples the stopped-plait appears debased and ugly, and the possibility exists that the stopped-plait was transmitted from Wigtownshire to Cumberland. The Wigtown disc-faced crosses are not quite like the Welsh disc-headed type but they have the similarity that their most pronounced feature is a disc, probably an

(1)N.C.pp.95-97. (2)W.S.Calverley, *ibid.*pp.34.60.80.127.133. (3)*Ibid.*, pp.18.127. V.C.H.Cumberland I.p.260. (4)N.C.p.63. (5)E.C.M.S.p.488.

The numbering of monuments follows that in E.C.M.S. N.C.p.64.

(6)W.G.Collingwood, *Norse Influence in Dumfriesshire and Galloway*, D.& G.Antiq.Soc.vii.1919-20.pp.97-118. (7)eg.E.C.M.S.pp.491(fig.524) & 491(fig.526).

attempt to carve in the round the old Chi-Rho symbol of the early rude stones, and it may be significant for dating that the Welsh disc-head had evolved by the late ninth century(1). The disc-faced crosses of Wigtown are found in a very restricted area(2) - at Whithorn, Kirkinner, Monreith, and St.Ninian's Cave(3). One of the earliest examples may be the Kirkinner stone which has proper interlace and which also appears to be evolving into ring-plait. It is not inconceivable that a late ninth century date should be assigned to the earliest and best examples of disc-faced crosses, with ring-plait, in S.W.Scotland.

Apart from certain ornamental ties with Cumberland, these stones are individualistic and isolated. That the most striking Whithorn stones date to a period after historical records for the Church in that area have ceased indicates that complete breakdown is not a certain inference from lack of historical record(4). Nevertheless, these monuments are the products of an art world apparently cut off at this stage from Northumbrian artistic impulses; they do not share the late Anglian affinities of the more easterly crosses at Thornhill and Closeburn. In their general ornamentation the Whithorn stones are far closer to British Govan on the Clyde than to Anglian Hoddam, and it may be that they testify to a strong, new Celtic orientation of the area after the period of the Anglian bishops. The valley of the Nith and Wigtown peninsular, geographically close but artistically distant,

(1)V.E.Nash-Williams, The Early Christian Monuments of Wales, Cardiff 1950.p.140,no.220. (2)The only Northumbrian example is the High Hoyland stone; W.G.Collingwood, N.C.p.82., and Anglian and Anglo-Danish Sculpture in the W.Riding of Yorkshire, Yorks.Arch.J.xxiii.1915.pp.129-299(p.185). (3)E.C.M.S.pp.483.485.587f. (4)Bishop Badulf's officiation at the consecration of Egbert of Lindisfarne in 803(S.D.l.p.52) is the last known act of an Anglian bishop of Whithorn.

reveal the forces of particularism in the absence of a ruling hand. It is possible that Whithorn was never fully Anglicised as Hoddam was - with its closer proximity to Carlisle; and that with the breakdown of Northumbrian power it returned once more to the Celtic world from which it had emerged.

Govan, on the Clyde, was an artistic centre for sculpture which begins at an uncertain date but which certainly carries on into the Scandinavian period as the hogbacks show (1). The vast majority of the monuments are recumbent cross-slabs, and Govan has the appearance of having been an important burial centre. Debased stopped-plait on many provides a general link with Cumberland and Wigtown, and in the use of interlace and plait as the dominant decorative motive these slabs are close to the art world of the Whithorn area - but they retain their own individualistic if nondescript quality being neither Scottish nor Anglo-British, simply British. Two monuments in this area are of additional significance; Govan 1(2) is a sarcophagus sculptured in Pictish manner, with beasts and horseman, and may be compared to Pictish examples at Meigle (Perthshire) 9 & 26(3) - while Barochan free-standing cross (Renfrew) (4) has affinities with the Picto-Scottish art of the late ninth - early tenth centuries.

(1) E.C.M.S. p.463. (2) Ibid. p.462. (3) Ibid. pp.330.303. (4) Ibid. p.454.

(iii) The crosses of Dalriada.

Dalriadic Scotland appears as part of the Irish artistic world, sharing in the artistic developments of Ireland from the seventh century onwards. In that the settlers of Dalriada came from Ireland this is not surprising, but what is surprising is the complete absence from Dalriadic sculpture of any trace of Pictish influence. This remarkable fact (1) that Scotland above the Forth-Clyde line is divided into two monumental areas should go some way towards modifying the view that all North Britain shared in one common art world.

The seventh century in Ireland saw the development of cross-sculpture on a wider and more elaborate scale than ever before (2), and C.L. Curle considers that the crosses at Kilmartin (3) and Riskbuie, Colonsay (4) are late seventh century Dalriadic stones of a completely Irish nature (5). Apart from recumbent slabs, the Dalriadic artists followed the Irish trend towards the production of free-standing crosses and the Pictish preference for retaining the slab as a means of expression was entirely alien to the Scots; the nearest approach to a Scottish cross-slab of the eighth-ninth centuries is that at Ardchattan (6). The date and significance of this piece are uncertain - and it may be post-Viking (7).

(1) E.C.M.S. p. ciii. (2) C.L. Curle, The Chronology of the Early Christian Monuments of Scotland, P.S.A.S. lxxiv. 1939-40. pp. 60-115 (p. 73). On Irish sculpture, F. Henry, La Sculpture Irlandaise, pendant les douze premiers siècles de l'ère chrétienne, Paris 1933., and Irish Art, London 1940. (3) E.C.M.S. p. 394. (4) Ibid. p. 396. (5) C.L. Curle, ibid. p. 78. (6) E.C.M.S. p. 377. (7) C.L. Curle, ibid. p. 79-80. The cowled musicians have affinities with the horsemen of St. Maddes 1 (E.C.M.S. p. 292) and the shield is like David's on the St. Andrews sarcophagus (E.C.M.S. p. 351.)

Dalriada has some fine free-standing crosses - at Iona, Keills (Knapdale), Kildalton and Kilneave(Islay) - and though there has been some uncertainty in dating them, a tenth-century date has now been abandoned in favour of one c.800(1). The Irish shared with the Northumbrians a preference for the free-standing cross, but they decorated their crosses in a different way - eg. there is not the same insistence on panels in the Irish crosses. It is of great interest, however, that traces of Northumbrian influence are to be found on some of these c.800 Dalriadic monuments, traces which cannot be found on possibly earlier stones. The iconography of Iona 1(2) has the Irish themes of Daniel and the Lions and the Sacrifice of Isaac, but also the Northumbrian one of the Virgin and Child which is never found in Ireland. The Virgin and Child are to be found also on Iona 10(3) and Kildalton(4). The theme may have been imported from Pictland where it occurs at Crail(Fife)(5) and Brechin(Forfar)(6), but Iona 8(7) and Kildalton are direct imitations of a normal Northumbrian cross-head as at Ruthwell(8) and point to direct contact with Northumbrian influences. The end pieces of St. Martin's cross(Iona 1) are probably missing, and they may have been separate panels as on a cross at Hoddam(9).

It may be significant that Alpin, the father of Kenneth - later king of the Picts and Scots - had been ravaging Galloway before his

(1) R.B.K. Stevenson, *The Chronology and Relationship of some Irish and Scottish Crosses*, *J. Royal Soc. Antiq. of Ireland*, 86.1956. pp.84-96 (p.85) ., and C.L. Curle, *ibid.* p.97. (2) *E.C.M.S.* p.381f. (3) *Ibid.* p.389. (4) *Ibid.* p.391 (5) *Ibid.* p.363. (6) *Ibid.* p.249. (7) *Ibid.* p.387. (8) R.B.K. Stevenson, *Ibid.* p.86. (9) R.B.K. Stevenson, *Ibid.* p.87.

death in c.841(1), and there may have been some considerable Scottish penetration into this area in the early ninth century. It is probably from this period that the dedications to Irish saints(2) and the great number of Gaelic place-names in Galloway(3) begin to date. Consequently it cannot be assumed that these Northumbrian influences at Iona and elsewhere represent anything more than the results of ninth-century Scottish contacts with Anglian traditions in S.W.Scotland. If this historical background is accepted, a date c.800-50, rather than c.800, could be postulated for the crosses in question.

Haphazard borrowings from a neighbouring culture, however, should not be taken to imply close cultural contacts. The artistic barriers remain; the total impression of the Dalriadic monuments is that they belong to the Irish world. Iona and Northumbria drifted apart before the seeds of a common culture could be sown, and the stone monuments of Dalriada reveal that - despite Egbert and Adamnan - they never came close to each other, culturally speaking, in two centuries before the Scandinavian onslaught.

(1)W.F.Skene, Chronicles of the Picts and Scots, pp.149.172.198.288.

(2)W.J.Watson, History of the Celtic Place-Names of Scotland, Edin.& London 1926.p.161f. (3)H.Maxwell, The Place-Names of Galloway, Glasgow 1930.

(iv) The chronology and geographical distribution of Pictish sculpture.

Pictish monuments form by far the majority of early Scottish monuments, but unlike the Dalriadic stones which may be related chronologically and stylistically to Irish crosses, the highly individualistic nature of their carving means that external guides for dating are lacking.

Pictish stone carving falls into three classes to which the following dates have been assigned.

(a) Class I; Symbols incised on more or less undressed stones: seventh-eighth centuries.

From the point of view of Scottish-Northumbrian relations, these stones are not so relevant since they are thoroughly Pictish with no certain Northumbrian associations, but symbols formed such an enduring part of Pictish art that it is essential to consider them. Pre-Christian Pictish art, apart from these stones, is unknown, and it remains unknown whether these symbol stones should be regarded as pagan or Christian. None are found in Dalriada, which indicates a date for them subsequent to at least 550 and strongly suggests that when used in stonework they had attained a Christian significance. The simple line drawings of the symbols seem to have been borrowed from the metalwork art of England and Ireland of the sixth and seventh centuries (1), but the symbols have an obscure origin. The elephant has been considered to be of Northumbrian derivation(2), which would be of great interest, but again it is necessary to be cautious. Roman monuments in

(1) C.L. Curd, Ibid. p.66. (2) P.P. pp.108-110.

Gaul and the Rhineland bear the possible prototypes of the mirror and comb, crescent and V rod, hippocamph and elephant symbols(1), but there is no known connection between the Rhineland and Pictland. The widespread use of these symbols in Pictland indicates that they represented some corpus of ideas universally acceptable to the Picts, but why they should be so peculiarly Pictish remains one of the mysteries of early art in Britain.

Class I is most abundant between the Beaully Firth and the Dee, centred mainly in Sutherland, Inverness, Elgin and Aberdeen - ie. among the Northern Picts. It is known that Pictland was divided between the Northern and the Southern Picts, each composed of smaller units so that all in all there were seven sub-kingdoms within the kingdom of the Picts. In their initial stages these sub-kingdoms may have been autonomous and culturally distinct from one another in some ways; for example, the Boar and the Bull are confined exclusively to Class I and to Inverness, E. Ross, and Elgin(2) - ie. the area roughly comprising the old Pictish kingdom of Fidaid - while the Elephant is found particularly in Aberdeen and adjacent areas, in the ancient kingdom of Ce, with only one outlier in Fidaid at Inverness, and the Orkneys and Shetlands share in common with Caithness - ancient Cat - the fact that animal forms are entirely absent from their symbols.

(1) E.M. Jope, Review of the Problem of the Picts, Antiq. Journal 37.1957. pp.81-82, citing E. Esperandieu, Recueil General des Bas-Reliefs, called attention to this fact, and Professor Hazeloff will elaborate it further in the forthcoming Rhind Lectures for 1961. (2) There is a possible example at Ulbster in Caithness, but this is conjectural and transitional, E.C.M.S. p.35.

The figures for the distribution of Class I stones have recently been revised by I.M.Henderson. The numbers of stones in each area are as follows; Caithness 5; Sutherland 16; Ross 8; Inverness 20; Elgin 13; Banff 8; Aberdeen 52; Kincardine 7; Forfar 10; Perth 6; Fife 3(1). Aberdeen has by far the greater number, but it is doubtful whether Aberdeen represents the original centre of these stones for many are debased and of late appearance. The district around Inverness has finer examples and a sounder claim to be considered as the origin centre(2). The time of Brude mac Maelchon(d.599) appears a possible era for the first of the symbol stones, with their great period of popularity coming in the seventh century(3); the number of stones and the traces of debasement in Aberdeen may indicate a long period of existence into the eighth century. The whole orientation of Class I is northerly, and if it is to be related to political circumstances the series would seem to reflect a period when the north was the centre of Pictish power. As late as the 780's the division into northern and southern Picts was still a political fact, and there is every reason to believe that the northern kingdoms were as important in the political framework of Pictland as the southern right up to the Scottish conquest. With regard to the distribution of symbol stones of Class I, it may be relevant that from 656-c.715 southern Pictland was in a state of war with Northumbria, and artistic centres may well have established themselves in the north, out of reach of Northumbrian armies.

(1) I.M.Henderson, The Origin Centre of the Pictish Symbol Stones, P.S.A. xci.1957-58.pp.44-60. (2) Ibid. pp.44-60. (3) Ibid. p.57; but R.B.K.Steven-son, P.P. p.111, considers any development before c.650 highly unlikely.

With the very doubtful exception of the elephant the art of Class I is a purely native art, drawing if on anything on continental prototypes. Northumbrian influence is lacking and there was no Pictish influence on Northumbrian art; if the symbols of the stones were influencing in any direction, it was towards Ireland where the Bull of Burghead has some points of resemblance to the Lion of St. Mark in the Book of Durrow(1), but even here the contact is slight. The evidence clearly indicates that in the seventh century the Picts were artistically isolated from all neighbouring peoples.

(b) Class II; Symbols in relief, usually accompanied by a cross and scenes, on a carefully shaped monument - c.700 onwards.

Class II represents a great advance on Class I. Many of the symbols are retained but fully developed patterns appear also of spirals and interlace and foliage scrolls, and beasts, birds and humans are depicted - often in hunting scenes. Perhaps the most interesting artistic aspect of this advance is the introduction of the human figure and the startling new naturalism of the depicted forms.

These monuments have been dated to post-800(2), but recently this date has been brought forward. It is quite obvious that they need not necessarily date to a time subsequent to that of the pure symbol stone; they could have developed alongside of Class I, and, while R.B.K. Stevenson would begin Class II c.750(3), C.L. Curle inclines to an even earlier date - c.700-750(4). Class II monuments reveal a new sensitivity among Pictish artists to Irish and Northumbrian influences.

(1) C.L. Curle, ibid. p.75. (2) E.C.M.S. p.cx. (3) P.P. p.115. (4) C.L. Curle, ibid. pp.75ff. & 82f.

The form of the monument, the Christian iconography, and the majority of the decorative motives were drawn from Ireland, but they were gradually interpreted in a new way alongside purely Pictish motives(1). The Class II monuments never appear as very close to Irish monuments, for the latter gravitated fairly swiftly towards the free-standing cross as opposed to the cross-slab and this led to different artistic conceptions. The sensitivity to Irish themes and styles must have been a result of the work of the Scottish clergy in the second half of the seventh century, but how it was that the Pictish monuments do not share in the Gaelic trends of the eighth century, a century in which several Pictish kings ruled parts of Dalriada and some were half-Scottish, remains one of the main problems in the history of Pictish art. It was not that the eighth century Pictish artists gravitated more to Northumbria, from whence was coming the Romanising influence; it is true that Northumbrian themes and decorative styles are discernible on certain Class II monuments(2), but the degree of Anglicisation remained extremely slight. The cross-slabs of Class II are pre-eminently Pictish in conception, style, and presentation.

They are found mainly between the Dee and the Forth, in Fife, Perth and particularly Forfar. Where, therefore, Class I is found abundantly, Class II is not, and Class I is conspicuously absent from the distribution area of Class II. Neither class is found in Dalriada. This shift in distribution ought to find its motivation in one or another period of Pictish-Scottish history when there was a change in the political centre

(1) C.L. Curle, ibid. p.80. (2) Individually cases will be considered subsequently in an area by area review of Class II & III monuments.

of gravity from north to south. The Viking period, when Norse and Danes were flooding into North Scotland, has been suggested(1); for typological and artistic reasons, the budding of this more mature art has been assigned to c.750(2), which may be taken in conjunction with the c.700 date advanced by C.L.Curle(3). Certainly a date following the cessation of Northumbrian hostilities c.715, and the opening up of Pictland to Northumbrian ecclesiastical influences c.716-717, would provide a sounder background for these stones than a post-800 date. There can be little doubt that the ascendancy of Angus mac Fergus I(724-61), a prince of the southern Picts from Angus and the Mearns, radically altered the balance of political power within Pictland and brought the south into a new prominence. Class II probably covers the late Pictish period and the initial period of the intermingling of Picts and Scots c.850 onwards. It is difficult to set a terminal date on the series; it is impossible to say how long the Picts remained a sufficient force in the new Scottish kingdom to exert an influence on the artistic culture of the land, but a date c.950-1000 would seem~~x~~ to be acceptable.

(c)Class III; Monuments without symbols.

If there is one thing which is certain about the Class III monuments it is that they do not all date to a post 950-1000 period(4). Monuments without symbols may even have been produced by the Picts

(1)E.C.M.S.p.cix. (2)P.P.p.115. (3)C.L.Curle, ibid.pp.75.82. (4)as suggested in E.C.M.S.p.12.

themselves in the pre-850 period, and in the case of a relic like the St. Andrews altar-tomb, based on foreign models, absence of symbols is no indication of date whatsoever. Class III is spread throughout southern Scotland and embraces Dalriada, but in it Scottish as well as Pictish stones are included; it must be stressed that though Class III is said to embrace Dalriada, purely Pictish work of this Class is not found there any more than of Class I or Class II. The true situation is that Class III includes Scottish monuments which are common to Dalriada and Southern Scotland (Pictland), as well as many works which, though without symbols, are purely Pictish.

Class III, like Class II, is primarily concentrated in Forfar, but spreads out to include more completely Fife, Perth, and even Elgin and Ross. Forfar and Perth, however, remain undeniably the strongholds of Class III. Forfar and the adjacent areas tended to become the main Pictish centre in the late Pictish period. The earliest Scottish kings established themselves at first in Fife and south Perthshire, but with Malcolm I (943-954) the beginnings of a more determined drive into Forfar may be detected; Malcolm I perished at Fetteresso in the Mearns, and his son, Kenneth II (971-995), who founded Brechin, was also slain there, while Malcolm II (1005-1034), son of Kenneth II, is said to have founded a bishopric at Mortlach for the area between the Dee and the Spey - ie. Aberdeen. If Scottish power was not completely triumphant over Forfar and northwards until c.950 onwards, the Picts of these areas may have been producing Pictish monuments freely until this time, and any one example, therefore, may date to any time between c.750-c.950.

This division of monuments into classes must not lead to ill-founded clear-cut chronological breaks. Early Scotland was a confused realm of many kingdoms, and its development in the Dark Age period is far from being the open book it appears from the brief, simple narrative of chronicle sources. For the purposes of analysing the monuments to determine their affinities one with another, it is advisable to ignore the division into Class II and III, which is not a chronological division but a typological division, and to view both groups as a whole; a geographical approach is more suitable than a typological one.

(~~iii~~) Regional individualities and affinities.

This approach meets with the initial difficulty that to begin with the northern monuments necessitates constant reference to southern stones, and that to begin with southern stones involves a consideration first of monuments of foreign inspiration as opposed to those of native origin. Nevertheless, the southern stones must be surveyed first if the northern ones are to be seen in their true context. The survey will proceed by modern divisions rather than by the old Pictish territorial units which remain ill defined. Pictorial, decorative, and interlace affinities will be noticed, where such relationships have relevance and importance, but monuments which add nothing to the further understanding of Pictish art and relationships with Northumbria will not be considered.

(a) Fife.

St. Andrews; this is one of the few known Pictish sites with which an

interesting series of monuments is associated. Acquiring a new importance in the mid-eighth century, in the tenth St.Andrews became the chief ecclesiastical centre of the new Scottish kingdom. 1(p.351f.)(1); The famous tomb-shrine is the most interesting of the St.Andrews relics. It is not a purely Pictish piece of work but is based on some alien prototype - probably of Byzantine and Persian origin(2). The subjects depicted on the main panel are from the David cycle of stories, which became very popular throughout Scotland and Ireland(3); David appears rending the lion's jaws on the St.Andrews altar-tomb, a hunting scene represents him as a hunter, and a sheep is the symbol of David as a shepherd(4). If Byzantine and Persian influences are detectable in the figures, however, C.L.Curle points out that the purely Celtic character of the decorative motives, which seem to have been carved by the same hand as the rest of the sarcophagus, shows that the whole monument was carved in Scotland and that it is most likely that the figure scenes were taken from some portable eastern object in ivory or metal(5).

It is in the Celtic ornamentation that the clues to the probable date of this relic lie. Raleigh Radford postulated a tenth century date (6), but the evidence of the decoration points rather to a c.800 period; panel Ia has a square angled cross, indicating a manuscript background

(1) The numbering of the stones, and the page refs. are from E.C.M.S.

(2) C.L.Curle, ibid. pp.98-99; and C.L.Curle (C.L.Mowbray), Eastern Influence on Carvings at St.Andrews and Nigg, Scotland, Antiq.x.1936. pp.428-440. (3) On the Irish cycle, H.M.Roe, The David Cycle in Early Irish Art, J.Royal Soc.of Antiq.of Ireland, lxxix.1949. pp.39-59.

(4) C.L.Curle, Antiq.x.p.429f. (5) C.L.Curle, The Chronology of the Early Christian Monuments of Scotland, P.S.A.S.lxxiv. pp.100-101. (6) C.A. Raleigh Radford, The Early Christian Monuments of Scotland, Antiq.xvi.1942. pp.1-18.

of the Lindisfarne era (1), while six small crosses in the interlace pattern on one of the shrine's corner stones are closely paralleled in the late eighth century Leningrad Gospels and Kendrick notes it as a typical convention of the Book of Kells(2). The side compartments are decorated with animal interlace, very like that on the c.800 Rothbury shaft(3). Further, the decorations on the altar-tomb - the pictorial subject, the style, the bosses on the end panel - have counterparts in the purer Pictish art of the north of Pictland, in monuments which date on other typological grounds to the pre-850 period (4), and it has been suggested that the influence of this relic is traceable westwards to Iona and beyond, to the ninth century Irish crosses(5). While this last connection may seem tenuous, the balance of the evidence permits a date c.800 for the altar-tomb, with a margin of some twenty years either way.

The Northumbrian affiliations of some of the decoration on St. Andrews 1 are of particular interest. Raleigh Radford has dated many of the St.Andrews cross-slabs to the late eighth or early ninth century, on the evidence of panels of fret and interlace and -

"the occasional use of the debased vine-scroll, a typically Northumbrian motive rarely found in the Scottish series"(6).

R.B.K.Stevenson considers this date for these monuments far too early and prefers the late ninth or early tenth century(7). It is to the late

(1)C.L.Curle, P.S.A.S.lxxiv.p.99. (2)Anglo-Saxon Art,p.148. P.P.p.118. (3)Anglo-Saxon Art,pp.157-58. C.L.Curle,ibid.p.99. (4)These stones will be considered in their turn; C.L.Curle comments on this aspect generally - Antiq.x.p.437f. (5)P.P.p.118. (6)Ibid,pp.1-18(4)(7)F.P.p.126.

ninth century that C.L.Curle assigns St.Andrews 19(p.361), down one side of which is a debased vine-scroll pattern;

"this cross-shaft is a blending of Pictish and Northumbrian elements, with the Northumbrian predominating"(1).

The vine-scroll is also found on St.Andrews 30(p.362), and 32(p.363) is decorated with foliage scroll. St.Andrews 14(p.359) has Abercorn affinities: in the post 850 period, the Scots under Kenneth mac Alpin raided far into Bernicia and may have begun to annex lands which were previously in Anglian hands - for example, the Abercorn area where Abercorn 1(p.418) is an Anglian shaft, possibly of the early ninth century - and this may have opened southern Pictland to new Anglian influences. The fact remains, however, that the Lothians are not rich in surviving Anglian monuments of quality, and the St.Andrews stones show that centre to have been in touch with Northumbrian fashions at a time when nothing is known of it and it was not one of the leading Scottish centres.

Mugdrum(p.367) preserves a free-standing, badly defaced cross, a monument reflecting the in-coming Scottish tastes, but decorated by a hunting scene, and by scroll foliage with panels - indications of some Northumbrian influence. Interlace 963 is found here and on St.Andrews 14 which has the Abercorn associations.

(b) Perth.

Perthshire represents not only the old Pictish kingdom of Athol and Gowrie, but also includes part of Fortriu, the remaining part of which lies in Fifeshire; hence some of the monuments considered under Perth-

(1) C.L.Curle, P.S.A.S. lxxiv.p.107.

shire belong more correctly to the Fifeshire orbit, and it is convenient to begin with these.

Dupplin(p.319) is a fine, elaborate, panelled, free-standing cross, again reflective of the new Scottish tastes. Several interlaces(533, 887, 926, 1054) are shared in common with St.Andrews, but a closer link is provided by the pictorial representations of the David cycle; David appears rending the lion's jaws, and the figure playing the harp would seem to depict David the harpist^s. The foliage scroll decoration is to be found on this monument, and C.L.Curle considers the Dupplin cross to be semi-Northumbrian(1). R.B.K.Stevenson describes the beasts as Anglian, dating the cross to the second half of the ninth century(2). It is clearly to be associated with St.Andrews and with the Northumbrian influences flowing through there.

Forteviot 2(p.325); the long moustaches of the horseman and infantrymen on the Dupplin stone give a link with this arch stone from Forteviot, a fascinating piece of stone from some stone building, probably a church. Certainly at Forteviot there must have been a considerable complex of buildings, for Kenneth mac Alpin was in residence here when he died and later Pictish tradition represents Forteviot as a main Pictish centre; archaeological excavation should bring much to light of interest and value to Pictish and Scottish history. It is hard to resist the conclusion that the Dupplin cross and the Forteviot arch stone are from the same period, from the time when Forteviot was an important

(1)C.L.Curle, ibid.p.167. (2)P.P.p.126.

centre still under the Scots - ie.c.850-900. Earlier traces of Pictish art at Forteviot are to be seen in the linear animal of Forteviot L (p.324).

Abernethy 5(p.310); this stone is only of interest in showing that the Northumbrian vine-scroll could be used in the tenth century, to which period this fragment has been dated(1).

Of the important monuments of Perth, north of the Tay, the greatest collection is at Meigle, one of the few known Pictish centres other than St.Andrews where interesting monuments are to be found; King Ferat mac Bargoit was residing here when an account of St.Andrews was written down for him(c.843). Altogether there are thirty stones here, making Meigle, along with St.Andrews in Fife and St.Vigeans in Forfar, one of the three obvious centres of Pictish-Scottish art, and Meigle's particular significance lies in the closeness of its artistry to native Pictish art at its best. While the carved stones and figures are set within the framework of a Christian monument they are manifestly Pictish and demonstrate the native pre-occupation with secular rather than religious themes. Many smaller pieces of sculpture are impossible to date and several are mediocre, but that the centre enjoyed a long life is indicated by the presence there of a recumbent hog-backed monument - Meigle 25(p.338) - which must date from the period of the Norse inroads. The following monuments are relevant to this study.

1(p.296); both on the front and the back are an assorted selection of

(1)C.L.Curle, ibid.p.111.

symbols and figures, and on the back an attempt at a hunting scene. This stone is neither first-class, nor early(1), but on the back, of particular interest, is the small figure of an angel in the midst of other non-Christian symbols.

2(p.297); this is a very interesting slab, the carved cross with bold decoration having strong metalwork affinities. C.L.Curle suggests that an eastern prototype lies behind the depiction on the back of

Daniel in the Lions' Den(2), while immediately below is a hippocentaur, carrying axes and a branch, found on Anglo-Saxon sceattas and Anglo-Danish stones in Yorkshire, but elsewhere in Scotland only on

Aberlemno 3. The animal frieze on the side of the slab is similar to that at Madoes, but more developed(3), and R.B.K.Stevenson points out that the animals on the shaft of the decorative cross are clearly Anglian with parallels on ninth century Northumbrian cross-shafts(4).

4(p.299); a remarkably fine Pictish horseman is to be seen on the back of Meigle 4, which is considered to be an earlier piece of work than Meigle 2(5). The idea of elongated beasts as a surround to the slab has MSS affinities and is reminiscent of decoration in Hiberno-Saxon MSS., eg. the Lichfield Gospels.

5(p.300); an ornate slab of pleasing appearance, this stone probably dates to the late ninth century(6).

26(p.303); on this recumbent monument, the swastika pattern of human

(1) P.P.p.114. (2) C.L.Curle, ibid.p.89. (3) C.L.Curle, ibid.p.88.

(4) P.P.p.121-122. (5) P.P.p.122. (6) P.P.p.115.

figures is found in the Book of Kells(1), the general style resembles that at Murthly, Perthshire, and the griffin is found at St.Vigeans. There is a socket in this recumbent monument for an upright cross, a feature of other such stones - as on Meigle 9(p.330) and 11(p.331). 10(p.331); affording a unique picture of men in a chariot, Meigle 10 is also decorated with a kneeling archer who is paralleled on St. Vigeans 1.

27(p.339); with this fragment of a slab, an ecclesiastical element is introduced by the two seated figures, one of whom at least appears to represent an enthroned ecclesiastic.

29(p.340); again the same element is found on this stone in the two ecclesiastics with crosier and spiral decorated brooches. This belated ecclesiastical element may be due to sustained contact with the strongly ecclesiastical centre of St.Vigeans.

Apart from Meigle, Perthshire has a varied group of monuments. Dunfallandy(p.286); on this interesting slab, the Pictish symbols of the hammer and anvil are taken over from the Class I stone, Abernethy 1(p. 282). The front is divided into panels and there is a depiction of Jonah and the Whale; on the back, the seated cowed ecclesiastical figures on each side of an early looking cross are Sts.Anthony and Paul in the desert(2). The cross on the front of the slab is decorated with bosses, and the slab as a whole is closely related to Aberlemno 2(3). Fowlis Wester(p.289); the back of this monument has what might be a depiction of the Golden Calf story, but which may be a pagan sacrifice -

(1)E.C.M.S.p.304. (2)C.L.Curle, ibid.p.84. (3)P.P.p.122.

and the portable object may or may not be a shrine. In that the ends of the cross carved on the front project from the sides, this is unlikely to be a very early piece, but R.B.KStevenson considers that it may date to the early ninth century(1).

St.Madoes 1(p.292); panelling was a characteristic Anglo-Saxon device, but where it occurs on Scottish monuments it need reflect nothing more than the circulation of an Anglo-Saxon scheme of ornament - unless it is found together with other marked Anglian features. There is nothing particularly Anglian about this stone; C.L.Curle considers that the animal frieze has a falsely archaic appearance(2), and the peculiarly cowled horsemen should be compared with the Scottish cowled musicians of Ardchattan(p.377).

St.Madoes 2(p.328); this stone is worth noticing for the Anglian looking plaitwork.

Rossie Priory(p.306); the double crosses, one on each side of the slab, are unusual. One cross is decorated with hunters, and the slab probably belongs to the early group of Class II - c.750-800(3).

A strong mythological element is detectable in the centaur and the bird-headed man; the depiction of a man holding birds by the neck is found both on stones from White Island, Ireland, and on the eighth century Franks Casket(4). The beasts with their tails in their mouths have ninth century Anglo-Saxon parallels in the Trewhiddle hoard, but the feet of these particular animals are Celtic.

Crieff(p.313); this is an elaborately decorated slab with scroll foliage

(1)P.P.p.115. (2)C.L.Curle, ibid.p.85. (3)P.P.p.114. (4)C.L.Curle, ibid.p.89.

suggesting Anglian influence in some way. Other stones with foliage scrolls and vine-scrolls are found in coastal regions, open to Northumbrian influence, but this Crieff monument is an isolated inland example. Crieff is closely linked to Dupplin(1), which has Anglian affinities, so the stream may have flowed through St.Andrews via Dupplin to Crieff.

Dull(p.315); here the horseman and the marching infantrymen, with their ribbed clothing, would seem to represent warriors rather than hunters.

Dunblane 1(p.315); of no particular significance, Dunblane 1 is a representative of poor provincial art away from the main centres.

Dunkeld 2(p.317); the interest of this monument derives from the fact that Dunkeld is known to have been the site of a church founded by Constantine mac Fergus(789-820), and an important centre under Kenneth mac Alpin and the first Scottish kings. Dunkeld 2 could reflect the Gaelicisation of Pictish tastes c.820, in which case it is to be seen in connection with the half Irish descent of Constantine and the strong Dalriadic links of this period. The stone is certainly far removed from native Pictish work; the general plan is Irish but the depictions on the front are a muddle. There is a strong ecclesiastical element on the back, with several ecclesiastics of the type common on Vigean monuments.

(c)Forfar.

By far the largest collection of Forfarshire stones is to be found at St.Vigeans, on the Forfar coast, monuments which show that St.Vigeans

(1)P.P.p.126.

like St.Andrews but unlike Meigle, was predominantly an ecclesiastical centre. The relevant St.Vigeans stones are as follows.

1(p.234); this is the famous Drosten stone, so called from the inscription which is still largely unintelligible(1). An outstanding decorative feature is the vine-scroll on one of the sides -

"derived from the version which is found on the cross-shafts from Aberlady and Abercorn"(2).

There is a depiction of an archer with a bow similar to bows on the Franks Casket(2), while the eagle catching fish is paralleled on the early ninth century Book of Armagh(3). R.B.K.Stevenson dates the slab to c.850(4). The unicorn typifies a mythological element which seems to be strong throughout the whole slab.

4(p.240); on this fragment, typical of the general array of St.Vigeans stones, there is an ecclesiastical figure with a crosier; the cowl is like that of the horsemen on St.Madoes 1.

7(p.268); an attractive piece of work, possibly of the early ninth century(5), this stone has a strange mixture of Christian and pagan elements; Sts.Paul and Anthony, and monks with tonsured heads and cowls thrown back, are found next to two sacrifices - a man in a cauldron and a man slaying an ox.

10(p.270); a stone to be noted for the enthroned clerics.

11(p.270); here the ecclesiastical element is very prominent, and the bald-headed forward-facing cleric is fairly widespread in Pictland, noticeably so in the northern parts. These particular examples are

(1)P.P.p.140. (2)C.I.Curle, ibid.p.91. (3)E.C.M.S.p.238. (4)P.P.p.123.
(5)P.P.p.115.

holding books and bearing some sort of sceptre, while on the back are two men with staves who are probably laymen. R.B.K.Stevenson considers this slab to be tenth century(1).

The remaining relevant St.Vigeans stones may be arranged in groups.

13(p.272), 14(p.273), 29(p.280); these are recumbent monuments.

17(p.275), 18(p.275); ecclesiastical figures are to be seen here.

19(p.276), 20(p.277); the griffin appears as a decoration.

24(p.278); this stone also has scroll-foliage decoration.

8(p.269), 17(p.275), 19(p.276), 21(p.277), 22(p.277), 25(p.279); all these have traces or possible traces of hunting scenes, but the hunting scene is not at all conspicuous at St.Vigeans.

There is every indication that most of the St.Vigeans monuments were produced in an ecclesiastical centre, subsequent to the end of the Pictish period, by artists unresponsive to native Pictish tradition, but Forfarshire also contains some of the earliest and finest examples of Pictish art.

Aberlemno 2(p.209); on this monument, described as -

"one of the most remarkable relics of Celto-Pictish art now remaining in Scotland"(2) -

there are Hiberno-Saxon interlaced beasts on the side, and S-shaped beasts on the front characteristic of some of the decoration in the Lindisfarne Gospels and the Book of Kells(3), but the most distinctive feature is certainly the fine and very interesting battle scene. The

(1)P.P.p.127. (2)E.C.M.S.p.211. (3)C.L.Curle, ibid.p.90; and P.P.p.113.

immediate question which springs to mind is whether these are Picts and Northumbrians engaged in actual conflict. One of the horses is depicted galloping, a movement found on no other Pictish slab(1) - but most interest centres on the weapons and armour; the circular shields, with spiked bosses, and the helmets with heavy nose-guards are similar to examples found on the Franks Casket(2). Perhaps the helmeted warriors are meant to be Northumbrians and the bare-headed fighters are Picts, for the Picts generally depicted themselves as bare-headed. Aberlemno 2 dates to c.750(3), and is earlier than any Meigle stone.

Aberlemno 3(p.214); this is a highly decorated stone, on which the complicated circle interlacing is similar to that found in the Gospel book of Bobbio, closely related to the Book of Kells(4). The centaur is found only here and on Meigle 2 - but the most distinct affinities of this stone are with the important monuments at Nigg(Ross)(p.75), which is linked closely to St.Andrews.

"The figures of angels on either side of the cross are clearly derived from the figures of St.Paul and St.Anthony on the cross-slab at Nigg"(5).

The David theme is prominent on Aberlemno 3 as at Nigg; David is seen rending the lion's jaws, and the sheep and harp are symbols of the shepherd and the minstrel. Both monuments share interlaces 626, 958, 980. Aberlemno 3 has a good depiction of the Pictish hunting scene, while the hornblowers are like those on the Hilton of Cadboll stone, another

(1)C.L.Curle, ibid.p.90. (2)eg.note The Arts in Early England VI.1. pl.viii,facing p.30. (3)P.P.p.115. (4)C.L.Curle, ibid.p.103.
(5)C.L.Curle, ibid.p.103.

important Ross-shire monument, and the hound - shown jumping on the back of a hunted animal-is very reminiscent of the same scene on St.Andrews 1, though treated in a native manner.

Glamis 2(p.221); considered to be one of the earliest of Class II monuments(1), this slab has a carved cross on the front constituting the sole Christian symbol. Around it are depictions of a centaur, holding two axes, a lion rather like that in the Book of Durrow, and a curious scene apparently representing a human sacrifice. On the back are incised Pictish symbols.

Inchbrayock 1(p.223); the depiction of Samson slaying the Philistines is an unusual theme, but this is not a good piece of work; Kendrick, however, has noticed some resemblances to the Franks Casket(2).

Kirriemuir 1(p.226); once more, the ecclesiastical element is strong. The bird-headed figures probably represent evangelists. The clerics with books are like those at nearby St.Vigeans, and there is a depiction of the popular theme of Sts.Paul and Anthony in the desert.

Kirriemuir 2(p.227); the hunting scene on the back is foreign, and perhaps related to the St.Andrews 1 style; the hound may be an attempt to copy the lion of St.Andrews 1, and the interesting figure of the man with a staff or spear and small square shield is -

"evidently related to the figure of David the warrior on the St.Andrews sarcophagus"(3).

The ecclesiastical influence is less marked than on Kirriemuir 1, but the bird-headed figures appear again.

Kingoldrum(p.226); a poor piece of work, but the bird decorations may

(1)C.L.Curle, ibid.p.82. (2)Anglo-Saxon Art,p.123n. (3)C.L.Curle, ibid. p.104.

point to Northumbrian influence.

Benvie(p.247); this is probably a tenth century slab, and the heavy moustaches of the horsemen are like those at Dupplin and Forteviot.

Kirriemuir 3(p.258) is certainly related to this stone at Benvie, and in plan and individual figure the two stones are close.

Brechin 1(p.249); this interesting fragment, from a known tenth century site, is decorated with the Virgin and Child and with the symbols of two evangelists; one figure possibly represents St.Peter. C.L.Curle considers this piece purely Northumbrian in style and close to Hoddam (1), but Miss R.Cramp remains unconvinced(2). The stone is of uncertain date, being highly individualistic, but is probably to be referred to the tenth century.

Brechin 3(p.252); on this stone, which could be late 11th. or 12th. century, Byzantine influence is detectable in the depiction of the Crucifixion(3). Monifieth 4(p.265) has a similar depiction.

Aldbar(p.245); this eleventh century stone(4) has a strong ecclesiastical element in the tradition of Kirriemuir, and is of interest in demonstrating the continued survival of the David themes into this century.

Commuston(p.252); the Forfar series may be concluded with this interesting free-standing cross, which again has a strong ecclesiastical character. It must date from the late ninth or tenth century, and is of particular interest for the Anglian influence suggested by the panels and the foliage scroll.

(1)C.L.Curle, ibid.p.106. (2)An opinion expressed to the present writer.
(3)E.C.M.S.p.252. (4)P.P.p.127.

(d) Inverness, Nairn, Moray, Banff, Aberdeen and Kincardine.

These counties offer a poor selection of stones, but the following are of some interest to this study.

Elgin(p.135); an arresting piece of work, this stone is a mixture of influences. The Pictish hunting scene is prominent, the hawk on the arm of one of the hunters recalling the figure on St.Andrews 1(1), and the symbols are also very noticeable, but on the front Irish beasts are found beneath an assembly of ecclesiastical figures who represent evangelists - and who are in the same style as similar figures at St.Vigeans. This stone perhaps deserves more attention than it seems to have received, for whoever produced it was both receptive to new ideas and also favourable to conservative forms.

Forres(p.149); decorated with a fine vine-scroll, this unique and thoroughly Irish product must be dated to the tenth or eleventh century.

Aberdeenshire has a group of slabs with distinctive features; on the stones at Aboyne(p.194), Dyce(p.189) and Mygvie(p.191) the arms of the cross terminate in spirals, a feature found both in Ireland and on the continent.

(e) Ross.

North of Inverness is another area rich in early and fine stones. The remarkable feature of this area is its marked affinities with the southern production centres, and the clear indications it affords of Northumbrian influence so far north,

Hilton of Cadboll(p.61); one of the most interesting of northern stones, this monument is now dated to c.800(2). The well executed hunting scene

(1) C.L.Curle, ibid.p.106. (2) P.P.p.116.

is unique in that it portrays a woman and may be a monument to a woman; beside her are two trumpeters of foreign appearance whose drapery is reminiscent of St.Andrews 1. An important distinguishing feature is the Northumbrian animated vine-scroll around the borders of a type found also at Yprk(1).

Nigg(p.75); this slab, said to bring to a climax the love of intricacy (2) probably dates to the early ninth century and -

is closely related to the Sarcophagus of St.Andrews (3).

The triangular space above the cross contains a figure scene representing the popular theme of Sts.Paul and Anthony in the desert, and their drapery, like that of the Hilton trumpeters, has a St.Andrews 1 appearance - while the scene on the back

"is obviously derived, if not actually from the central panel of the tomb of St.Andrews, then from the same source"(1).

The same incident from the life of David appears on both, and on both David's career is symbolised by the depictions of a sheep and a harp - the shepherd and the minstrel. Intertwined snakes, which decorate the arms of the cross, are identical with the snakes on St.Andrews 1, and there are interlace and fret-work links 607, 658, 958 and 964 with St.Andrews 1, 14, 4 & 14, and 30. Reciprocal influence appears highly probable in view of the direct relationship between Hilton and Nigg, on the one hand, and Aberlemno on the other. A further aspect of significance is that the square-angled cross might have been taken from a page of the Lindisfarne Gospels(3), and the front of the slab is divided

(1)C.L.Curle, ibid.p.101. (2)P.P.p.119. (3)C.L.Curle, ibid.p.100.

into panels in Anglian fashion.

Tarbet 1(p.74); the border of scroll scroll foliage on the Tarbet stone -

'is almost an exact counterpart of that on the Hilton of Cadboll stone, which stands by it; so much so, that there can be little doubt that both are the work of the same school of design'(1).

Tarbet 7(p.91); a fragment decorated with -

"a most exquisitely finished piece of spiral ornament, more nearly resembling that in the best Irish MSS. than that on any other stone in Great Britain"(2).

Tarbet 10(p.94); this stone has an inscription in Hiberno-Saxon capitals of the eighth or ninth century(3). The lettering, carved in relief, is very close to that on the Ardagh Chalice(4), while the spiral decoration shows a connection with southern Irish styles(5).

Rosemarkie 1(p.63); devoid of all figure, this is a purely decorative piece of work, including what may be an attempt at a vine-scroll. The cross, with square-angled terminals of a type found in the Book of Kells(6), is taken from manuscript art or from a metal work book plate. The panelled sides confirm an impression of Anglian as well as Irish influence.

(f) Sutherland.

Golspie(p.48); this stone provides an example of the difficulties of dating. C.L.Curle suggests a date c.700(7), but R.B.K.Stevenson favours a date in the early ninth century(8). It is possible that the two sides were carved at different times, but the general tone of the monument points to a late ninth century date(9).

Farr(p.53); on this Irish looking slab, the twisted birds introduce a

(1) E.C.M.S. p.74. (2) E.C.M.S. p.91. (3) E.C.M.S. p.94. (4) C.L.Curle, ibid. p.103. (5) C.L.Curle, ibid. pp.103-4. (6) C.L.Curle, ibid. p.102. (7) C.L.Curle, ibid. p.85. (8) P.P. p.116. (9) Miss R.Cramp inclines to this date.

foreign note, perhaps from St.Andrews.

There is little further of relevance to this study to be gained from the Pictish monuments, and if there is an over-all impression of these slabs it must be that early Scotland presents a medley of motives and decorative forms migrating hither and thither in erratic confusion. Chronology and typology afford no really clear pegs on which to hang whatever trends may be discernible. Nevertheless, certain outlines appear to emerge;

(i)Place-name research shows that the Picts tended to settle in the valleys and along the coastline of N.E. and E.Scotland(1). It is in precisely the same areas that the mass of Pictish monuments are found(2) - but it should be noted that many of the earliest and best pieces do not come from known Pictish centres but from places which receive no mention in Pictish written sources, so far as can be seen. The three great production centres - Meigle, St.Andrews and St.Vigeans - seem to take their origin towards the close of the Pictish period and the beginning of the Scottish.

(ii)Although the free-standing cross was used both in Northumbria and Ireland, and in Dalriada, the Picts resolutely refused to adopt it, and the tall cross-slab, unknown in Northumbria and little used in later days in Ireland, remained their national monument. Pure Pictish art has a highly individualistic, apparently secular, character, possibly drawing for subject matter on pagan Pictish mythology. The number of stones with good native art must not be exaggerated. The native themes

(1)P.P. maps pp.147.150. (2)P.P. maps pp.100.124; and C.L.Curle, ibid. map p.61.

and styles easily, and possibly quickly, became debased.

(iii) Despite the strong conservatism of the Picts, they were susceptible to alien influences. That of the Christian Church is to be seen on all Class II and III stones, and on those at St. Andrews and St. Vigean's particularly. Northumbrian influence seems to be late when it appears - c. 800-50 at the earliest, but it is found among both the southern and the northern Picts. In the south, it penetrated via St. Andrews and the Tay into the hinterland of Forfar and Perthshire but at both Meigle and St. Vigean's Anglian motives are few and far between. The most surprising result of the survey is that N. Pictland should have been so receptive to Northumbrian influence in the 800-50 period. Stones which can be dated tentatively to these years are as follows; among the southern Picts, St. Andrews 1, possibly Meigle 2, Rossie Priory, St. Vigean's 1, Aberlemno 2, and among the northern Picts, Hilton of Cadboll, Nigg, Tarbet 1. The marked relationship of the two important Ross-shire monuments with St. Andrews, however, suggests that only St. Andrews may have been in direct contact with Northumbria; all that can safely be said is that the northern Picts were in touch either with Northumbria - or, more probably, with southern Pictish centres which were in touch with Northumbria. Following on after c. 850, Anglian motives became slightly more diversified, and are found on monuments dating tentatively from the c. 850-900 period at St. Andrews, possibly Dupplin and Buteff, and possibly Camuston and Rosemarkie 1, but it is very likely that by this date artists were drawing on motives

already absorbed into native tradition rather than on new impulses from Northumbria.

The important historical fact which emerges is that close contact existed in the c.850 period between Northumbria and St.Andrews, and between St.Andrews and Ross-shire, if not between Northumbria and Ross-shire. In the first half of the ninth century, the northern Picts were the possessors of a culture as advanced as that of their southern kinsmen. In the face of this northern artistic flowering, there can be no certainty in a complete shift in the centre of the Pictish nation from north to south in the Pictish period. In that the central belt of Aberdeen and adjacent areas is barren of artistic excellence, it would appear that the northern Picts maintained contact with the south by sea rather than by land.

A dominant impression of all the early sculpture of the British Isles, despite the receiving of certain impulses and motives, remains one of linguistic and racial separatism. The Scots, the Picts, the Britons, the Angles were different from one another; they did not express themselves in the same way, they did not all view the world alike, their common culture was a veneer which covers but does not hide the deep-rooted individualities and differences.

Appendices

Appendix I.

The Chronology of Bede's Historia Ecclesiastica.

Bede performed an invaluable service to the historian when he welded together traditions drawn from several independent kingdoms to form a consecutive chronological account of the ecclesiastical history of those kingdoms down to the time at which he was writing (729). It has been necessary for historians, however, to consider the reliability and accuracy of many of Bede's dates; the following study seeks to demonstrate the possibility that Bede was a year behind in most of his dates for Northumbrian history before 685 and that many of his Mercian and Kentish dates are inaccurate.

Before Bede wrote the Historia Ecclesiastica it is ^{un}likely that any event in Northumbrian history prior to 685 has been related to a year of the Incarnation. Judging from the text of the Historia, events appear to have been related only to the specific year of a particular king - as was to be the popular custom for centuries to come; eg. Degsastan was fought in the eleventh year of Aethelfrith (H.E.I.34), Edwin was baptised in the eleventh year of his reign (H.E.II.14), and Winwaed was fought in the thirteenth year of Oswiu (H.E.III.24). Bede appears to have been the first writer to introduce dating by the year of the Incarnation into the north; the early biographers of Pope Gregory I and St. Cuthbert give no fixed dates, and similarly Eddius, writing c.710, dates no event from the Incarnation.

It has been suggested that there is evidence in the Historia

Ecclesiastica for a set of early Dionysiac annals in Northumbria - annalistic notations in Paschal tables made by Paulinus and James the Deacon - and it is to such annals that we owe dates for Northumbrian history of the first half of the seventh century(1). However attractive the theory may be, it suffers from lack of proof; fundamental is the assumption that any event dated by the Incarnation must come from a contemporary notice, but many dates in the Historia could just as easily have been calculated. C.Plummer suggested a set of northern annals for the years 702-716(2), and Dr.Hunter Blair has called attention to evidence for the existence of an annalistic chronicle covering the period 685-721, contemporary with events it records(3), but there is no evidence to show that Bede had access to dated Northumbrian material for the pre-685 period or that there ever existed a pre-685 chronicle.

Regnal lists, however, were kept in Northumbria at an early date. The king-list is one of the most primitive forms of historical record. Bede states that there were men whose task it was to reckon the reigns of the Northumbrian kings and that because of the apostasy of Osric and Eanfrith the names of these two princes were not included(H.E.III.1). King-lists were often used by genealogists to construct the royal genealogies and form the basis of the most reliable and historic parts of these genealogies(4).

(1)C.W.Jones, Saints' Lives and Chronicles, New York 1947,pp.35.47. 174-176. (2)Two Saxon Chronicles Parallel, Oxford 1899(1929 imp.)ii.lxviii n.6. (3)The Northumbrians and their southern frontier, Arch.Aeliana xxvi 1948,pp.98-126. (4)King-lists are considered incidentally by K.Sisam, Anglo-Saxon Royal Genealogies, Proc.Brit.Acad.xxxix,1953,pp.287-348.

In the course of a most valuable study of the king-list at the end of the Moore MS.(c.737) of the Historia Ecclesiastica, Dr. Hunter Blair has shown how Bede actually calculated the dates of the reigns of the Northumbrian kings back to the time of Ida(1). From the time at which he was writing(729), Bede calculated backwards by using the figures for the lengths of the reigns given in a king-list identical with that in the Memoranda at the end of the Moore MS. By this simple process of subtraction, Bede obtained the following dates;

Osric, 11 years(718-729): Coenred, 2(716-718): Osred, 11(705-716): Aldfrith, 20(685-705): Ecgrith, 15(670-685): Oswiu, 28(642-670): Oswald, 9, including the year of the apostates(633-642): Edwin, 17(616-633): Aethelfrith, 24(592-616): Husa, 7(585-592): Frithuwald, 6(579-585): Theodoric, 7(572-579): Aethelric, 4(568-572): Adda, 8(560-568): Glappa, 1(559-560): Ida, 12(547-559).

These dates, be they accurate or not, are clearly the dates Bede used; and the date 547 for the beginning of Ida's reign is precisely that which Bede gives(H.E.V.24). With this chronological framework established, Bede could easily determine the specific year of a particular king; eg. the eleventh year of Edwin ran from some point in 626 to the same point in 627. The first year of a king ran from his accession to the anniversary of that accession in the following year(2).

Bede had three dating systems within a year. Firstly there was the regnal year, and in the case of Oswiu this ran from mid-November to mid-

(1) The Moore Memoranda on Northumbrian History, Early Cultures of North West Europe, ed. Sir Cyril Fox and B. Dickins, Cambridge 1950. pp. 243-259.

(2) W. Levison, England and the Continent in the Eighth Century, Oxford 1946, p. 271, considers that this was not so; he suggests that Bede reckoned the whole year of the Incarnation in which a king died as his last year, and the next year of the Incarnation as the first year of his successor. On this basis, Oswiu's first year was not 642-43, but the whole of 643; Oswiu's dates become 643-670 and Ecgrith's 671-685. Had Bede calculated this way, he ought surely to have written 548 for Ida's accession.

November. That Oswiu's year did not begin before November 15th. is indicated by the fact that November 15th.655 was considered to be in his thirteenth year. Secondly, Bede used the Indiction; there were two Indictions, the Greek from September 1st. to August 31st., and the Caesarian from September 24th. to September 23rd., and both were cycles of fifteen years. Thirdly, the year of the Incarnation presented a novel way of dating; this began either on September 1st. or on December 25th. R.L.Poole advanced the theory that Bede began the year on September 1st., and consequently when Bede gives October 12th.633 for the death of Edwin(H.E.II.20) this should be emended to October 12th. 632(1); the death of Paulinus is dated to October 10th.644, and this should be 643. Poole has been followed in this revision by Sir Frank Stenton and by Professor Dorothy Whitelock. It was clear from the beginning, however, that the emendation dislocated Bede's dates for Paulinus since he could not now have been bishop nineteen years(H.E.III.14) but only eighteen(1). In fact, the theory dislocates everything; if Edwin fell in 632, Oswald must have perished in August 641(1), but Bede places this event in 642 - indicating that he must have considered that Edwin fell in 633, as the king-lists would demonstrate. Such a date as that of Edwin's death appears to be quite independent of when Bede began the Incarnation year, and since Poole wrote W.Levison has marshalled the available evidence to show that in any case Bede did begin his year on December 25th. His arguments, which need not be repeated again here, appear conclusive(2); they confirm the fact that

(1)Studies in Chronology, Oxford 1934.p.45. (2)W.Levison, ibid.pp.265-79.

when Bede wrote October 12th.633 he meant 633, not 632, and if Bede's method of calculating the dates of the kings has been correctly divined there can be no doubt that he meant 633.

Bede's chronology, nevertheless, remains far from completely satisfactory. King Ecgrith is given a reign of fifteen years(670-685), but is said to have been killed in his fifteenth year(H.E.IV.26). The fifteen years were taken from the king-list, but the fifteenth year must represent another tradition altogether - native tradition. It means that Ecgrith only ruled fourteen years. R.L.Poole suggested that fifteenth is an error for sixteenth(1), and this correction might be accepted were it not that a powerful body of evidence weighs against it. The famous inscription in Jarrow church refers to the 23rd.of April in the fifteenth year of Ecgrith; April 23rd. was a Sunday in 685 and this seems to be the year in question. The Historia Brittonum, using a c.800 source, states that Ecgrith "regnavit novem annis"(2), and H.M. Chadwick pointed out this error probably originated from a misreading of xiiii as viiii(3), indicating therefore a tradition that Ecgrith only reigned fourteen years - ie.671-685.

The most valuable, if controversial, evidence is contained in Bede's chapter on the Synod of Hatfield(H.E.IV.17), and in the charters of Hlothere of Kent. The Historia Ecclesiastica contains a document relating to the Synod of Hatfield which Bede incorporated completely, and which dates itself precisely; the Synod took place on September 17th

(1) Studies in Chronology, p.45. (2) Mon.Germ.Hist., Auct.Ant., xiii.I.p.208. (3) Origins of the English Nation, p.325. If this is so, and if, as this study seeks to demonstrate, Ecgrith did reign only fourteen years, the Historia Brittonum must have been using an earlier version of the Northumbrian king-list than that in the Moore MS. cf. supra, p.5.

in the eighth Indiction, in the tenth year of Ecgfrith, and in the seventh of Hlothere of Kent. Levison concluded that Bede, himself, calculated the year of Hlothere(1), but this is clearly part of the original contemporary document. Depending on which Indiction was used, the year of the Synod could be either 679 or 680. R.L.Poole, considering that Ecgfrith succeeded in 670, preferred the year 679 and looked for support to Hlothere; the accession of Hlothere in the summer of 673, Poole claimed, is not disputed, thereby giving 679 for the date of the Synod(2). While, however, Egbert of Kent certainly died in July 673, charter evidence is consistent, and leaves little doubt that Hlothere did not succeed until the summer or autumn of 674. One of these charters is dated April 1st. in the third Indiction(675) - anno regni nostri primo (3), and another of 678 also points to 674 as the date of Hlothere's accession(4). As Hlothere appears to have succeeded in

(1)Ibid.p.275. (2)R.L.Poole, ibid.p.45. Poole adduced further reasons to support his date, based on the movements of John the Archchanter(p.49f); Benedict Biscop and John were in Rome at the beginning of 679, when John was sent to England with Biscop to report on the orthodoxy of the English Church for a council on Monothelitism to be held at Constantinople in Nov 680. Poole maintained that Hatfield must have been held in 679 if John was to have time to return to Rome with his report. If it was held then, John did not hurry back at once as one would expect; he must have spent some considerable time at Wearmouth and Jarrow(H.E.IV.18)- and this must have been because of a delay in the holding of the English synod. That at Constantinople, in fact, lasted until Sept.681, allowing time for the report of a 680 English synod to reach there.(3)W.De G.Birch, Cartularium Saxonicum, no.36.(4)Ibid.no.44. G.Ward, The Usurpation of King Swaebheard, Arch.Cant.50.1938.pp.65-71, on the evidence of his views on the witness list, maintained that Hlothere's name has been substituted for Swaebheard's in the 675 charter, but the hypothesis is not convincing the politics of the period in Kent were highly confused, and one of Ward's suspect witnesses, Osfrid, appears among the witnesses of the 679 charter of Hlothere(no.45), of which the original still survives(Brit. Mus.Cott.Augustus, II.2). Further, no.44 confirms that 674 was the date of Hlothere's accession. No.36(675) is regarded as undoubtedly genuine by Sir Frank Stenton, Latin Charters of the Anglo-Saxon Period.,p.34.

674, therefore, Sept.17th. of his seventh year can only fall in 680, and if this date also fell in Ecgrith's tenth year, Ecgrith must have succeeded in 671. Oswiu must have died in February 671, not 670, and if the other king-list figures are correct - which they would seem to be - Oswiu succeeded in 634 and Edwin's dates are 617-634. The error over the length of Ecgrith's reign would dislocate Bede's dates by one year all the way back to Ida.

The dating of Paulinus helps to substantiate this. Bede arrived at the year of the death of Paulinus by equating it with the second year of Oswiu, which he considered ran from mid-November 643 to mid-November 644; this meant that Paulinus died October 10th.644. He had been bishop nineteen years, two months, and twenty-one days, and so a date in 625 was reached for his consecration - July 20th. Bede, however, wrote July 21st. This difference allowed R.L.Poole to feel justified in subtracting a year from the nineteen, since "there is no more violence in subtracting one from the years than in adding one to the days"(1). July 20th.625 was a Saturday, and Bede obviously thought that the Kentish scribes had made an error and that the true date for the consecration must have been Sunday, July 21st. Bede, in fact, had made the mistake; he was a year out on Oswiu's second year which was not 643-44 but 644-645. Paulinus died in October 645 and, subtracting Bede's figures from this date, Sunday July 20th.626 is obtained for the consecration, and the figures are precisely correct. With regard to the date of Edwin's baptism, April 12th. in the corrected year 628 was not

(1)R.L.Poole, ibid.p.45.

Easter Sunday. Either this fact must weigh in favour of Bede's own dating, despite all the contrary evidence adduced above, or it must be concluded that Bede calculated the date April 12th. when he sought to date the Easter Sunday of Edwin's eleventh year - which he already considered on other grounds to be 627,

With this revision, the following dates are obtained. Aethelfrith succeeded in 593 and this places Ida in 548(1); Degsastan was probably fought in 604; Paulinus was consecrated in 626; Edwin was baptised in 628 and fell in 634; Oswald established himself in 635 and Aidan arrived at the end of that year; Oswald perished in 634 and Oswiu became king in the November of that year; Oswine was killed in 652, which was the year in which Aidan died; Winwaed was fought in 656 and Oswiu died in 671. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle A gives 593 for the accession of Aethelfrith, which is independent of Bede and corroborates the above dating; the Chronicle E also gives 656 as the date of Winwaed. There is no change in the date of the expulsion of Wilfrid from Northumbria. Independently of when the comet actually appeared in Ecgfrith's reign(2), if it was native tradition that Wilfrid was expelled in the eighth year of Ecgfrith(H.E.IV.12) and if Ecgfrith in fact succeeded in 671, the year in question was 678.

Two important events must be considered separately, the Synods of Whitby and Hertford. The Synod of Whitby is said to have been held in the the twenty-second year of Oswiu, in 664(H.E.III.26), and in the same year died King Earconbert of Kent and Archbishop Deusdedit(H.E.IV.1

(1)R.L.Poole, ibid. p.42f., investigated the date of the comet. (2)On the precise dating of the earliest kings, supra p.7f.

Bede has two traditions from Kent respecting the death of Deusdedit, one being that he died the same day as Earconbert on July 14th. The other was that Archbishop Honorius died September 30th.653, and that the see was vacant a year and six months, Deusdedit being consecrated on March 26th.655(H.E.III.20). Stenton would put these dates a year earlier(1), but March 26th.654 has no festal character while March 26th. 655 was Maundy Thursday(2). Bede states that Deusdedit was then archbishop nine years, four months, and two days(H.E.III.20), but this gives July 28th.664 for his death. It is possible that the date of Earconbert's death has been incorrectly transcribed at some stage(3). There can be no doubt that 664 was the year in which Deusdedit died and consequently the year of the Synod of Whitby. As the twenty-second year of Oswiu actually ran from mid-November 664 to mid-November 665, the Synod must have been held late in 664 in preparation for the difficulties of observing Easter at two widely different dates in 665 - actually between mid-November and December 25th., a period which would also fall in the thirtieth year of the Scottish mission (H.E.III.26) if Aidan arrived in the late September-early October of 635(4).

(1)Anglo-Saxon England, p.129. (2)W.Levison, ibid. p.276. (3)Father P. Grosjean, La date du Colloque de Whitby, Analecta Boll. lxxviii(1960), pp. suggests subtracting the nineteen years etc. from July 14th.giving March 12th.655 for the consecration, an important festival in the Canterbury calendar(p.237). This is an acceptable alternative. (4)Grosjean, ibid. pp 243.249 suggests Sept. to Oct.664 for the Synod, which would invalidate much of this revision - but Bede's statement that Winwaed was fought in Oswiu's thirteenth year means that Oswiu's regnal year must have begun after Nov.15th; Oswiu's twenty-second year must also begin after Nov.15th. As it is, Grosjean bases his date on the insufficient evidence of the unsupported tradition concerning the death of Cedd in the Chronicon ex Chronicis, ed.B.Thorpe, 1848.vol.I.p.27.

Bede dated the Synod of Hertford to the year 673 and to the third year of Ecgrith, while the document concerning the Synod which was inserted into the Historia dates itself to September 24th. of the 1st. Indiction(H.E.IV.5). Whichever Indiction was used, this year can be none other than 672. If it was a native Northumbrian tradition that Hertford was held in the third year of Ecgrith, Ecgrith must have succeeded in 670(1). It is unlikely, however, that this was a native tradition since the Synod was not a Northumbrian event; further, the statement that it took place in the third year of Ecgrith is not in the inserted contemporary document, and Bede, seeing that the Hatfield synod was dated to Ecgrith's tenth year, probably wished to date Hertford likewise. The document dated itself to 672, and if Bede reckoned from 670 this gave Ecgrith's third year. The 673 date, however, must have come from somewhere; it cannot have been calculated by Bede on the basis of Ecgrith's regnal years, for these indicated 672 to him. It is possible that Bede knew that Ecgbert of Kent died in 673 and that he also died in the third year of Ecgrith - which was actually 673 - and consequently confused two dates, that of the Synod and that of the death of Egbert.

These dates can be seen to be perfectly consistent with one another. There was also some confusion with Mercian dates which were related to Northumbrian, but again the difficulties may be resolved. On Bede's dating, Penda reigned 633-655; these dates should be

(1)R.L.Poole, ibid.p.41 considered this decisive in favour of 670.

corrected to 634-656. Winwaed was followed by a period of three years before Wulfhere's coup d'etat(H.E.III.24), so this took place in 659. Bede states that Wulfhere died in 675 after a reign of seventeen years, and seventeen on to 659 gives 676. Bede also maintains that Aethelred of Mercia became a monk in 704 after a reign of thirty years(H.E.V.24), but as this means that he was king 674-704 it would seem to invalidate the revision of Northumbrian dates. Bede ought to have written twenty-nine years for Aethelred, however, for the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle A under 704 states that he held the kingdom twenty-nine years - ie. he died in his thirtieth - and this gives 675 for the accession. The error here will strengthen the possibilities of a similar mistake with Egfrith, and makes permissible the assumption that Wulfhere did not reign seventeen years, but died in his seventeenth year, so that his dates would be 659-675. Once again, a consistent interpretation of Bede's figures is possible.

Bede's West Saxon material is unaffected by the revision since Bede was badly informed about West Saxon history and used no dates of importance in connection with it. Bede inserted his material on Birinus at the point he did(H.E.III.7) because of its connection with King Oswald, and the comment of C.W.Jones that there is no sure date for the mission of Birinus is a valid one(1). The dates in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle A for this particular mission are based simply on material in the Historia; the 635 date for the baptism of Cynegils, at

(1)Saints' Lives and Chronicles, p.192.

which Oswald stood sponsor, if not entirely conjectural, is based on the notion that Oswald became king in 634.

A study of Bede's Kentish dates demonstrates how errors could arise in the transmission of historical information in the early eighth century, and throws some light on the written records the Kentish scribes sent to Bede. The date 676 for Aethelred of Mercia's devastation of Kent may have been derived from a written notice made by a scribe who was acquainted with the dated charter of King Suaebhard of Kent, witnessed and confirmed by Aethelred(1). The Kentish scribes did mislead Bede on a number of chronological points, particularly over the career of Paulinus(2). There was also some confusion over the episcopate of Deusdedit, and that of Archbishop Berhtwald was transmitted incorrectly; H.E.*V.8 and H.E.V.24 are inconsistent. The lengths of the episcopates of Paulinus and Archbishop Theodore were exactly right, but there may have been an error with the dating of Wihtrud's reign; Bede gives October 690 for its beginning, but certain charters seem to indicate 691(3).

Bede appears to have been informed that Aethelbert of Kent died in the twenty-first year after the setting out of St. Augustine's mission from Rome and twenty-one years after becoming a christian(H.E.II.5). This is manifestly impossible. The year 597 is certainly correct for the arrival of Augustine, and Aethelbert was undoubtedly baptised in that year. Twenty-one years on from 597, however, gives 618 for the

(1)Cartularium Saxonicum, no. 42. (2) Supra p. 64f. (3) Cartularium Saxonicum nos. 88. 90. 96. 99. 141.

for Aethelbert's death, which is the year implied by the Chronicle E under 565 where it is stated that Aethelbert came to power in 565 and reigned fifty-three years - ie. until 618. Bede's "annus xxi" of the mission is clearly a scribal error for "annus xxii" ; Aethelbert died in the twenty-second year of the mission, twenty-one years after his baptism. It appears that either Bede or Bede's source worked out the date of Aethelbert's death by adding twenty years to 596, while the chronicler added twenty-one to 597. Bede's 616 date is based on the faulty "annus xxi" and may be discarded in favour of 618. It is difficult to say whether Bede's "lvi" years or the chronicler's "liii", for the length of the reign, is correct, but Aethelbert reigned either from 562 or 565 to 618. Fortunately, the repercussions of this mistake were not widespread; if Bede had based the dates of Archbishop Mellitus on 616 and obtained 619-624 for his archiepiscopate, the true dates may have been 621-626, but the dating of Mellitus appears to be independent of the royal dating. Mellitus must have died in 624 since Pope Boniface V, who died in 625, wrote to the successor of Mellitus, Archbishop Justus (H.E.II.8).

Appendix II.

The Historical Poems of Taliesin; text and translation.

Note; The text used is that established by I. Williams, Canu Taliesin, Cardiff 1960. Where the translation is doubtful, the passage is enclosed in brackets. The poems were translated under the direction and guidance of Professor K.H. Jackson, without whose help and criticism these translations could not have been offered.

A poem in praise of Urien(C.T.poem III).

- | | | |
|---|----------------------|----------------------|
| 1 | Uryen yr echwyd. | haelaf dyn bedyd. |
| | lliaws a rodyd | y dynyon eluyd. |
| | Mal y kynnulllyd | yt wesceryd. |
| | llawen beird bedyd | tra vo dy uuchyd. |
| 5 | ys mwy llewenyda | gan clotuan clotryd. |
| | ys mwy gogonyant | vot Uryen ae plant. |
| | Ac ef yn arbennic | yn oruchel wledic. |
| | yn dinas pellennic. | yn keimyat kynteic. |
| | lloegrwys ae gwydant | pan ymadrodant. |

- 1 Urien of the Erechwyd(1), most bountiful Christian man(2),
 Much you give to the men of the world;
 As you gather, so you scatter.
 Joyful the Christian bards while your life lasts;
- 5 It is greater gladness to be with the man of high fame and free fame,
 It is greater glory that Urien is alive with his children,
 And he a chief, a supreme lord.
 He is a place of refuge for strangers - a fierce warrior.
 The men of Lloegr(3) tell about him(4) when they talk with one
 another;

(1)lit.fresh water. (2)lit.man of baptism. (3)The origin of this name is unknown. (4)lit.know him.

- 10 agheu a gawssant
llosgi eu trefret
ac eimwnn collet
heb gaffel gwaret
Reget diffreidyat
- 15 vy mod yssyd arnat.
dwys dy peleitrat
kat pan y kyrchyn
Tan yn tei kyn dyd
Yr echwyd teccaf
- 20 gnawt eigyl heb waessaf
glewhaf eissylllyd
or a uu ac a uyd.
pan dremher arnaw
Gnawt gwyled ymdanaw
- 25 Andanaw gwyled.
eurteyrn gogled
- Ac yny vallwyf hen
Ym dygyn agheu aghen.
ny bydif ym dirwen
- 30 na molwyfi vryen.
- a mynych godyant.
a dwyn eu tudet
a mawr aghyffret
rac Vryen reget.
clot ior agor gwlat
O pop erclywat
pan erclywat kat.
gwnyeith a wneit.
rac vd yr echwyd.
ae dynyon haelhaf.
am teyrn glewhaf.
tydi goreu yssyd.
nyth oes kystedlyd.
ys ehalaeth y braw.
am teyrn gocnaw.
a lliaws maraned
arbenhic teyrned.

- 10 Death they obtained, and frequent vexation -
The burning of their homesteads and the carrying away of their
garments,
And frequent loss and great suffering,
Without obtaining deliverance before Urien of Rheged;
Rheged's protector, the famous lord, the anchor of the land,
- 15 I continually think about you because of everything that has been
heard about you.
Severe was your spearing when battle was heard.
When you approach battle, you make vengeance;
Fire in the houses before day, before the chief of Erechwyd -
Most beautiful Erechwyd with its most bountiful men.
- 20 It is customary to the Angles to be without pledges on account of
the most courageous king.
Of the most valiant offspring, you are the best
Of those who were and who will be;
There is no-one to rival you.
When one looks on him, wide is the terror.
Customary is graciousness around the lord who provokes the enemy;
- 25 Around him, graciousness and many treasures;
Golden king of the north, chief of princes.
And until I die aged,
In the sore straits of death,
May I not be happy,
- 30 If I praise not Urien.

Another poem in praise of Urien(C.T.IV).

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>1 Eg gorffowys
parch a chynnwys
Meuedwys med
a chein tired</p> <p>5 A ryfed mawr
Ac awr a chet
a chyfriuyant.
chwant oe rodi
Yt lad yt gryc</p> <p>10 yt vyc yt vac
racwed rothit
Byt yn geugant
wrth dy ewyllis
rieu ygnis</p> | <p>can rychedwys
a med meuedwys.
y oruled
imi yn ryfed.
ac eur ac awr.
a chyfriuiet
A rodi chwant.
yr vy llochí.
yt vac yt vyc.
yt lad yn rac.
y veird y byt.
itti yt wedant
Duw ryth peris
rac ofyn dybris.</p> |
|--|--|
-
- 1 In my(1) resting place with the men of Rheged(2)
Honour and welcome and riches of mead;
Riches of mead for rejoicing,
And fair lands for me marvellously(3),
- 5 And great riches, both gold and gilt,
And gilt and gifts and esteem,
And honour, and the granting of my desire -
The desire to have (it) given for my gratification.
He slays, he hangs; he nurtures, he honours(4);
- 10 He honours, he nurtures. He slays ...(5).
He gives distinction to the bards of the world.
The men of the world submit to you
According to your will. God has made for you
(lords groaning)(6) for fear of your attack.

(1)C.T.p.42. (2)C.T.p.43 - but this is not certain. (3)C.T.p.44 - richly. (4)C.T.pp.45-6 takes this to refer to Urien's generosity as a host; i.e. he kills cattle, he dresses the meat, he rears cattle and provides cattle. The line more probably means that he slays and hangs his enemies, but nurtures and honours his followers. The meaning of vyc is not certain, but honours makes good sense here. (5)The text reads - He slays beforehand - but appears to be corrupt. (6)The meaning is uncertain, and C.T.pp.46-7 suggests this translation, meaning that Urien is a great conqueror.

15	Annogyat kat	diffreidyat gwlat.
	gwlat diffreidyat	kat annogyat.
	gnawt amdanat	twrwf pystylat.
	Pystalat twrwf	ac yuet cwrwf.
	Kwrwf oe yfet	a chein trefret
20	a chein tudet	imi ryanlloŷt.
	Llwyffenyd van.	ac eirch achlan
	yn vn trygan	mawr a bychan
	taliessin gan	tidi ae didan.
	ys tidi goŷau	or a gogleu
25	y wrdlideu.	Molaf inheu
	dy weithredeu.	

35 Inciter of battle, defender of the country,
 The country's protector, the battle's inciter;
 Customary about you is the tumult of horses stamping,
 The stamping of horses and the drinking of ale;
 Ale to drink(1), and a fair homestead;
 20 And beautiful garments have been given to me.
 Bright Llwyfennydd(2) and all Eirch(3) -
 In one chorus, great and small,
 Taliesin's song, for you it entertains them.
 You are the best of those I heard about;
 25 In respect of merit, I will praise
 Your deeds.

(1)Lit.fot its drinking. (2)Possibly Lyvennet in Westmorland; C.T.p.
 xxix. (3)Probably a placename, now unknown,

The spoils of Taliesin; a song to Urien(C.T.VIII).

- 1 Eg gwrhyt gogyuairch yn trafferth
gwaetwyf a wellwyf yn kerth wir.
gweleis i rac neb nym gweles
pop annwyl. ef diwyl y neges.
- 5 Gweleis i pasc am leu am lys.
Gweleis i deil o dyuyn adowys.
Gweleis i keig kyhafal y blodeu.
Neur weleis vd haelhaf y dedueu.
Gweleis i lŷw katraeth tra maeu
- 10 bit vy nar nwy hachar kymryeu
Gwerth vy nat mawr uyd y uud y radeu
pen maon milwyr am de. preid lydan
pren onhyt yw vy awen gwen
yscwydawl y rac glyw gloyw glas gwen
- 15 glew ryhawt glewhaf vn yw vryen.
nym gorseif gwarthehyd. gordear
goryawc gorlassawc gorlassar
goriaga gordwyre.

- 1 (My courage, it asks hesitatingly;
May I say what I may see is true;
I saw, before, a lord who saw not me;
Every favourite is bold about his affairs)(1).
- 5 I saw Easter(2) bright and full of plants,
I saw the leaves which blossom first,
I saw a branch - all alike its flowers -
And indeed I saw a chief, most generous his ways;
I saw the ruler of Catraeth beyond the plains(3).
- 10 Let him be my leader - fellow kings do not love him;
In return for my song, great will be his favours
The chief of the people(4), ...(5), having wide bounty.
(My poetic inspiration is a spear of ashwood(6);
Shields before the grimly smiling chief).
- 15 The bold, generous, most valiant one is Urien;
He does not oppose me, the noisy plunderer of cattle,
Having armies wearing bright blue armour,
Very wide and exalted.

(1)Obscure; it seems that the poet at first hesitates to make a request to his lord. (2)C.T.p.72. (3)or - in the plains. (4)and/or possibly - of the soldiers; the significance of milwyr is uncertain. (5)am de is unknown. (6)The poet possibly means that his weapons are his poems.

Pop rei

- sag dilew du merwyd ymordei
 20 vd tra blawd yn yd el oth vod.
 Vared melynawr yn neuad
 maranedawc diffreidawc yn aeron.
 mawr y wyn y anyant. Ac eilon
 mawr dyfal ial am y alon.
 25 mawr gwrnerth ystlyned y vrython
 mal rot tanhwydin dros eluyd.
 mal ton teithiawc llwyfenyd.
 mal kathyl kyfliw gwen a gweithen
 Val mor mwynawr yw vryen.
 30 Vn y(w) egin echangryt gwawr.
 Vn yw rieu rwyfyadur a dyawr.
 Vn yw maon meirch mwth miledawr.
 dechrue mei ym powys bydinawr.
 Vn yw yn deuwy pan ofwy y weirin.
 35 eryr tir tuhir tythremyn.
 Adunswn y ar orwyd ffysciolin
 tut ynyeil gwerth yspeil taliessin.

Everyone

- treads on the humble and ...(1) dimwitted in the courts(2).
 20 A lord over the chiefs, very swift wherever he goes according to
 his will;
 The splendour of the gold in the hall;
 Well-provisioned defender in Aeron(3) -
 Great is his passion and his boldness....(4),
 Great and bold is his anger around his enemies,
 25 Great and very strong in his dealings with the Britons(5) -
 Like a wheel of fire around the world,
 Like the rightful wave of Llwyfenyd,
 Like the song of ...(6) prayer and battle,
 Like the wealthy ocean is Urâen.
 30 Here(7) is one like a sprout of generosity - a lord;
 He is a lord, a ruler, and noisy(8);
 He is one who has subjects and swift horses and armies.
 In the beginning of May, in the land, in armies,
 He is in Devwy when he visits his subjects.
 35 Eagle of the land, you pass across the slope of the hill;
 I would have joined on a speedy horse
 A strong people, worth the spoils of Taliesin(9).

(1)du is unknown. (2)ie.one has to be aggressive to survive.(3)This suggests that Urien was lord of Aeron(Ayr?).(4)This whole line is obscure.
 (5)Brython is an ancient term for Britons; a twelfth century writer would have used Cymry. (6)cyfliw(of the same colour) does not fit here.
 (7)This may be a poem about one of Urien's generals - cf.line 48.
 (8)ie.with battle-shouts. (9)Obscure.

- Vn yw gwrys gwr llawr a gorwyd.
 Vn yw breyr benffyc y arglwyd.
 40 Vn yw hyd hydgre yn diuant.
 Vn yw bleid banadlawc anchwant.
 VM yw gwlat vab eginyr.
 Ac vn wed ac vnswn katua ketwyr
 vnswn y drwc yieaian.
 45 ~~U~~ cheneu a nud hael a hirwlat y danaw.
 Ac os it yt wydif ym gwen
 ef gwneif beird byt yn llawen.
 kyn mynhwyf meirw meib gwyden
 gwaladyr gwaed gwenwlat Vryen.

- He is one who is a champion, who charges on horseback,
 He is one who is noble -(a gift to the lord),
 40 He is one who is a stag of the stagherd in the wilds(1),
 He is one who is a greedy wolf in the broom thicket,
 He is one who is a warrior, (like) the son of Eginyr(2),
 And of one appearance and of the same sound as the battle of warriors
(3).
 45 (And Ceneu and Nud Hael and long land under him).
 And I shall be happy;
 I will make the bards of the world joyful
 Before the sons of Gwyden(4) may go to death;
 The ruler of the host of the white land of Urien.

(1) C.T.p.80. (2) If this poem does refer to Urien, like must be inserted, but this may not be the case. (3) This line is virtually unintelligible. (4) Gwyden may well be the subject of this poem, a general or sub-king.

A poem of concern for Urien(C.T.poem V)

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>1 Ar vn blyned
gwin a mall a med.
Ac eilewyd gorot.
ae pen ffuneu
5 ei pawb oe wyt
Ae varch ydanaw
a chwanec anaw
wyth vgein vn lliw
biw blith ac ychen
10 Ny bydwn lawen
ys cu kyn eithyd
A briger wen olchet
a gran gwyarllet
a gwr bwrr byt^hic.
15 Am ys gwin ffeleic.
Am sorth am porth am pen</p> | <p>vn yn darwed
A gwrhyt diassed
a heit am vereu
Ae tec gwyduaeu
dyfynt ymplymnwyt.
yg godeu gweith mynaw.
bud am li am law.
o loi a biw.
a phop kein agen
bei lleas vryen.
y eis kygryn kygryt.
ac elor y dyget
am waet gwyr gonodet.
A uei wedw y wreic.
Am ys gwin mynyc gyltwn.
kyn naphar kyfwyrein kymaran.</p> |
|--|---|

1. In a single year there was one who was a fountain
Of wine and malt and mead - payment for valour;
And bands of poets, and a host around the spit,
With their diadems and fair thrones.
- 5 Everyone went(1);
- 5 They came into battle
Riding on horseback, with the purpose of a battle in Mynaw(2),
(or) in Godeu the battle of Mynaw,
And more wealth and plentiful gain as well;
Eight score cows and calves of one colour,
Milch cattle and oxen and every handsome thing.
- 10 I would not be glad if Urien were slain(3).
He was beloved before he went to the thrusting and clashing of
javelins.
- (And white hair was washed and a beir was brought;
His cheek gory; with the blood of men it was stained;
And a proud man; and would his wife be a widow?
- 15
.....(4).

(1)unknown. (2)Possibly Manau, but this is not certain. (3)lit. if it were the slaying of Urien. The poet is growing concerned for Urien's safety. (4)These two lines are untranslatable; possibly lines 12-14 are from a lament on the actual death of Urien; in fact, the whole poem could be a death-song to Urien.

tauaw gwas yr drws
 ae dayar a gryn
 dygwynyc ychyngar
 20 Ossit vch ymryn
 Ossit vch ym pant
 Ossit vch ymynyd.
 Ossit vch yn riw
 Ossit vch yg clawd
 25 Vch hynt vch as
 Nac ~~vm~~ trew na deu
 Ny bydei ar newyn
 Gorgoryawc gorlassawc
 eil agheu oed y par

gwarandaw py trwst
 ae mor adugyn.
 wrth y pedyt.
 neut vryen ae gryn.
 neut vryen ae gwant.
 neut vryen a oruyd.
 neut vryen ae briw.
 neut vryen ~~ae~~ blawd.
 vch ym pop kamas.
 ny nawd y raceu.
 a phreideu yny gylchyn.
 gorlassar.
 yn llad y escar.

Look, servant, at the doorway - listen! What noise?
 Is it the earth which quakes? Is it an incursion of the sea?
 shout from the infantry(?) (1).
 20 If there is (an enemy) (2) in the mountain, it is Urien who drives him
 If there is an enemy in the valley, it is Urien who smites him;
 If there is an enemy on the ~~slope~~^{hill}, it is Urien who ~~wounds~~ conquers him;
 If there is an enemy on the slope, it is Urien who wounds him;
 If there is an enemy on the dyke, it is Urien who strikes him;
 25 An enemy on the road and in every bend of the river.
 Neither one sneeze ~~or~~ two are protection against falsehood (3).
 There will not be famine with a cattle spoil around him,
 Having hosts and having much bright blue armour.
 Like death was his spear, slaying his enemies (4).

(1) The noise is presumably that of the returning army. (2) vch is unknown, and enemy is conjecture based on the context. (3) This seems to be some sort of adage or proverb. (4) It remains difficult, at the end of the poem, to decide whether Urien is still alive or whether he is dead.

The reconciliation with Urien(C.T.poem IX).

- | | | |
|----|--|---|
| 1. | Lleuuyd echassaf
vryen a gyrchaf.
pan del vygwaessaf.
Ar parth goreuhaf | mi nyw dirmygaf.
idaw yt ganaf.
kynnwys a gaffaf.
ydan eilassaf. |
| 5 | Nyt mawr ym dawr byth
Nyt af attadunt
Ny chyrchafi gogled
kyn pei am lawered
Nyt reit im hoffed. | gweheleith a welaf.
ganthunt ny bydaf.
ar meiteyrned.
y gwnelwn gyghwystled.
Vryen nym gomed. |
| 10 | Lloyfenyd tired
Ys meu y gwyled.
ys meu y dedideu
med o uualeu
gan teyrn goreu. | ys meu eu reufed.
ys meu y llared.
ae gorefrasseu
a da dieisseu
haelaf rygigleu. |
| 15 | Teyrned popieith
Ragot yt gwynir
Kyt ef mynasswn
Nyt oed well a gerwn.
weithon y gwelaf | it oll yd ynt geith.
ys dir dy oleith.
gweyhelu henwn.
kyn ys gwybydwn.
y meint a gagfaf. |
| 20 | Namyn y duw vchaf
Dy teyrn veibon
Wy kanan eu hyscyrnon | nys dioferaf.
haelaf dynedon.
yn tired eu galon. |
-
- | | |
|----|---|
| 1 | Most valiant chief, I will not despise him;
Urien I will approach, to him will I sing.
Whem my guarantees shall come, I will obtain welcome
At the best place, at the feet of the chieftain. |
| 5. | I do not greatly care for the royal race I see;
I will not go to them, I will not be with them;
I will not approach the north for the sake of petty princes.
Though it is for much, I will make a wager -
I have not need to boast; Urien will not refuse me. |
| 10 | The lands of Llewlyfennydd, mine is their wealth,
Mine their graciousness, mine their generosity,
Mine their materials and their luxuries;
Mead out of drinking horns, and goods without stint
From the best lord, the most generous I have heard of. |
| 15 | The chiefs of every language, all are slaves to you.
Before you, men lament; it is necessary to avoid you.
Though I should wish it,(1)
There was not one I loved better, before I knew him;
Now I see how much I will obtain. |
| 20 | Except to the supreme God, I will not renounce him.
Your royal sons - most generous men;
They sing their songs in the lands of their enemies. |

(1)Unknown.

The battle of Gwen Ystrad(C.T.poem II).

- 1 Arwyre gwyr katraeth gan dyd.
am wledic gweithuudic gwarthegydyd.
Vryen hwn anwawt eineuyd.
kyfedeilly teyrned ae gofyn
- 5 ryfelgar. rwysc enwir rwyf bedyd.
Gwyr prydein adwythein yn lluyd.
gwen ystrat ystadyl kat kynnygyd.
ny nodes na maes na choedyd
tut achles dy ormes pan dyuyd.
- 10 Mal tonnawr tost eu gawr dros eluyd.
Gweleis wyt gwydyr yn lluyd.
A gwedy horegat briwgic.
Gweleis i twrwf teirffin traghedic.
gwaed gohoyw gofaran gochlywyd.
- 15 yn amwyn gwen ystrat y gwelit
gofur hag a gwyr llawr lludedic.
Yn drws ryt gweleis y wyr lletrudyon.
eirym dillwg y rac blawr gofedon.

- 1 The men of Catraeth rose with the day
About the king - battle victorious, cattle raider;
Urien is this famous chief;
He subjugates the chieftains and cuts them down;
- 5 He is truly the ruler of Christians.
The men of Britain came in hosts;
Stone-chisel of battle, his position is in Gwen Ystrad(1).
Neither the plains nor the woods protected
Your enemies when they came, O Protector of the people.
- 10 Like the billows - harsh their shout over the land(2);
I saw resolute men in hosts
And after morning battle, mangled flesh.
I saw the host from three regions - dead.
A jubilant, fierce cry was heard;
- 15 In defending Gwen Ystrad were seen
Distressed affliction and wearying champions.
At the entrance to the ford I saw bloodstained men
Laying down their arms before the grey chief.

(1)Gwen Ystrad means Fair Valley, and could apply to the valley of the Eden. (2)Effyd could be Albion, and Professor Jackson has suggested that possibly Albion(Britain) is meant here.

- Vn ynt tanc gan aethant golludyon
 20 llaw yg croes gryt ygro garanwynyon.
 kyfedwynt y gynrein kywym don.
 gwanecawr gollychynt rawn eu kaffon.
 Gweleis i wyr gospeithic gospylat.
 A gwyar a uaglei ar dillat.
 25 A dullyaw diaflym dwys wrth kat.
 kat gwortho ny bu ffo pan pwyllatt
 glyw reget reuedaf i pan ueidat.
 Gweleis i ran reodic am vryen
 pan anwyth a~~w~~ alon. yn llech wen
 30 galystem y wytheint oed llafyn
 aessawr gwyr goborthit wrth aghen.
 Awyd kat a diffo eurowyn.

- They desired peace because they had gone into difficulties;
 20 With hands crosses - woefully wailing and of pallid countenance(1).
 (Very drunk their chiefs on the flowing wine of the Idon)(2).
 The billows washed the horses' tails.
 I saw men disheartened(3) and ragged,
 And blood staining their clothing;
 25 And swift, closepacked array against battle.
 Protector in battle - it was not flight that he intended;
 The ruler of Rheged - I marvel that he was ever challenged.
 I saw a noble detachment about Urien
 When he fought with his enemies at Gwen's stone.
 30 Scatterer of the enemy, he delighted in his frenzy(4).
 Men! Carry your shields into battle(5);
 May the vigour of battle come to Urien.

(1) Pallid countenance or pale-faced(garanwynyon) could be a pun on a nickname for the Angles(C.T.p.32). (2) This line requires considerable emendation to make sense(C.T.p.33); the meaning may be that the opposing chiefs were drowned or half-drowned in the water, and if the emendation of don to Idon is correct, this could be the Eden. (3) uncertain.
 (5) goborthit is an archaic second person plural imperative. (4) frenzy; ie. Urien went berserk.

The battle of Argoed Llwyfein(C.T.poem VI).

- 1 E Bore duw sadwrn kat uawr a uu.
or pan dwyre heul hyt pan gynnu.
dygrysswys flamdwyn yn petwar llu.
godeu a reget y ymdullu.
- 5 dyuwy o argoet hyt arvynydd.
ny cheffynt eiryos hyt yr vn dyd.
Atorelwis flamdwyn vawr trebystawt.
A dodynt yg gwystlon a ynt parawt.
Ys attebwys. Owein dwyrein ffossawt.
- 10 nyt dodynt nyt ydynt nyt ynt parawt.
A cheneu vab coel bydei kymwyawc
lew. kyn as talei o wystyl nebawt.
Atorelwis vryen vd yr echwyd.
o byd ymgyfaruot am gerenhyd.
- 15 dyrchafwn ~~peleidydd~~ ^{peleidydd} oduch ~~pen-gwyr~~ ^{pen-gwyr} mynydd.
Ac am porthwn wyneb oduch emyl.
A dyrchafwn peleidydd oduch pen gwyr.
A chyrchwn fflamdwyn yn y luyd.
A lladwn ac ef ae gyweithyd.
- 20 A rac gweith argoet llwyfein(1)
by llawer kelein.
Rudei vrein rac ryfel gwyr.
A gwerin a grysswys gan einewyd.
Armafy blwydyn nat wy kynnyd.
- 1 In the morning of the day of Saturday there was a great battle,
From the time when the sun rises until it sets;
Flamdwyn hastened in four hosts;
Godeu and Reged were mustering
- 5 To Dyfwy, from Argoed to Arvynydd.
They were not allowed to delay even for one day.
Flamdwyn, of the great boasting, called out,
Will they ~~game~~ give my hostages, and are they ready?
Owain answered - scourge of the east -
- 10 They will not give them, they do not exist, they are not ready;
And Ceneu the bold, son of Coel, would have been sorely grieved
Before he would forfeit anyone as a hostage!
Urien called out - lord of the Erechwyd -
If there will be a discussion about a truce,
- 15 Let us raise a rampart above the mountain,
And let us raise our faces above the rampart,
And let us raise spears above mens' heads,
And let us attack Flamdwyn with his hosts,
And let us slay both him and his host!
- 20 And in front of Argoed Llwyfein(1)
There were many corpses;
The ravens were crimson because of the warfare of men,
And the men charged with the chief.
I prepare for a year a song of their victory.

(1)wooded region.

The war with Ulph(C.T.poem VII).

This poem is obscure and difficult to translate, and in view of this ambiguity only lines 11-29 are given and translated here.

- 11 yny doeth vlph yn treis ar y alon.
 hyny doeth vryen yn edyd yn aeron.
 ny bu kyfergyryat ny bu gynnwys.
 Talgynawt vryrn yrac powys
- 15 ny bu hyfwrw brwt echen gyrrwys
 hyueid a gogodið a lleu towys.
 dewr yn enmyned atheith gwyduwys
 diueuyl dydwyn ygwaet gwyden
 a weles lluyuenyd. Udyd kygryn.
- 20 yn eidied kyhoed yn eil mehyn
 kat yn ryt alclut kat ymynuer.
 kat gellawr brewyn. kat hir eurur.
 kat ymprysc. katleu kat yn aber
 ioed ydygyfranc adur breuer
- 25 mawr kat glutuein gweith pencoet
 llwyth llithyawc cun ar ormant gwaet.
 Atueilaw gwyn gouchyr kyt
 mynan eigyl edyl gwrthryt.
 lletrud a gyfranc ac vlph yn ryt.

- 11 Until Ulph(1) violently attacked his enemies,
 Until Urien came in his day to Aeron,
 There was no conflict, there was no desire(for one).
 Urien wore a diadem before ...(2).
- 15 Frenzied was the fierce tribe of Cyrrwys;
 Hyfeid(3) and Gododin and the bright leader(4),
 Valiant in patience...
 Shameless he took away the blood of Gwyden,
 Who saw Llwyfenyd. Chieftains....
- 20
 A battle in the ford of Dumbarton, a battle in (the confluence),
 A battle in the huts of Brewyn; a battle in Hireurur,
 A battle in the thicket of Cadleu, a battle in
 Aberioed - the battle with noisy steel;
- 25 The great battle of Cludvein, the battle at Pencoeed(5).
 The tribe fed the wolves on the plentiful overflowing blood.
 Valiant men were consumed.
 The Angles plot a hostile purpose;
 The bloody conflict with Ulph at the ford.

(1)Ulph is not known as a British name, and if it came from the Roman Ulpius(C.T.p.65) the form would be Ylph, not Ulph. Ulph was probably a Saxon. (2)powys; uncertain, but unlikely to be the kingdom of Powys. (3)or bold from Gododin. (4)ie.Urien. The following lines are obscure. (5)lit.at the head of the wood. It is impossible to locate most of these skirmishes, except that at Dumbarton, and Brewyn is probaby Bremenium (High Rochester) on the Wall.

The Death-Song of Owain(C.T.poem X).

- 1 Eneit owein ap vryen.
 gobwyllit y ren oe reit.
 Reget ud ae cud tromlas.
 nyt oed vas y gywydeit.
- 5 Iscell kerdglyt clot uawr
 escell gawr gwaywawr llifeit.
 canycheffir kystedlyd.
 y vd llewenyd llatreit.
 Medel galon geueilat.
- 10 eissylut y tat ae teit.
 Pan ladawd Owein fflamdwyn.
 Nyt oed uwy noc et kysceit.
 kyscit lloegyr llydan nifer
 a leuuer yn eu llygeit.
- 15 A rei ny ffoynt hayach.
 a oedynt (hya)ch no reit.
 Owein ae cospes yn drut
 Mal cnut (y)n dylut deueit.
 Gwr gwiw uch y amliw seirch.
- 20 a rodei veirch y eircheit.
 kyt as crontei mal calet.
 ny rannet rac y eneit.
 Eneit. O.ap vryen.
- 1 The soul of Owain, son of Urien,
 May the Lord provide for his need;
 Rheged's lord, whom the heavy green grass conceals.
 Poems about him were not shallow;
- 5 The grave of the one who was of great fame;
 His whetted spears were like the wings of dawn.
 (Since) there will not be found an equal
 To the chief of glittering Llwyfenydd;
 The reaper of enemies, the seizer,
- 10 A worthy descendant of his father and grandfather.
 When Owain slew Flamdwyn(1);
 (It was not more than sleep);
 The broad host of Lloegyr sleeps
 With the light in their eyes.
- 15 And those who did not flee much
 Were bolder than they need be;
 Owain chastised them valiantly
 Like a wolf pack pursuing sheep.
 A vivid man above his many-coloured trappings,
- 20 He would give horses to suitors.
 Though he would gather together like a miser,
 It was shared for his soul's sake -
 The soul of Owain, son of Urien.

(1) This line could be translated; When Flamdwyn slew Owain. There is no means of ascertaining which is the correct translation.

A poem in praise of Gwallawg(C.T.poem XI).

- 1 En enw gwledic nef goludawc. ydrefynt
 bāewyd gyneilluoawc.
 eiric y rethgæen riedawc.
 rieu ryfelgar gewrheruawc.
 5 Ef differth aduwyn llan lleenawc.
 torhyt vn hwch ardwyawc.
 Hir dychyferuydein o brydein gofein.
 o berth maw ac eidin.
 Ny chymeryn kyuerbyn.
 10 kyweith kywæith clytwyn.
 Digonwyf digones y lyghes.
 o beleidyr o bleigheit pren wres.
 prenyal yw y pawb y trachwres.
 Aghyfnent o gadeu digones gwallawc
 15 gwell gwyduwyt noc arthles.
 kat yr agaches o achles gwawt
 gognaw ybrot digones.
 kat ymro vretwryn trwy wres mawr tan.
 meidrāwl yw y trachwres.
 20 kat yrae kymrwy kanhon.
 kat kat crynei yn aeron.

- 1 In the name of the Lord of Heaven, rich in hosts,
 The Supporter who possesses all.
 Warlike his royal lance,
 Warloving lord....
 5 He protected the pleasant enclosure of Lleenawc(1).
 5 Unhwch, the protector, breaks the enemy(2).
 Long will they tell of their memories of Pictland!
 On the part of Manaw and Edinburgh,
 They did not brook opposition;
 10 Companies in the company of Clytwyn(3);
 (He made the making of a fleet
 From spearshafts and
 His fury is to all wood material)(4).
 Gwallawg made battalions weak.
 15 Better a pile of corpses than...
 A battle before the sea, (with) the protection of song;
 He did a provoking at (York)(5);
 A battle in the land of Bretrwyn, through the heat of great fire;
 Powerful is his fury.
 20 A battle before the (fine forts);
 A battle at a fort(6) - trembling in Aeron.

(1)Gwallawg's father; these lines may relate to the Lord of Heaven.

(2)probably Gwallawg's ally. (3)a personal or place-name. (4)The text is corrupt, but there is a possible allusion to building a wooden fleet.

(5)ybrot; C.T.p.94 suggests Ybrot - Ybrawc - Ebrauc - York; in this case, the poem was written ~~known~~ in early 8th.cent - before -o- became -au-.

(6)or - A hundred battles; emending kat to kant.

- kat yn arddunyon ac aeron eidywet
eilywet y veibon.
kat ygcoet beith boet ron dyd.
- 25 ny medyllyeisti dy alon.
kat ynracuydawl a mabon.
nyt atrawd adurawt achubyon.
kat ygwensteri ac estygi lloygyr.
safw(y)awc yn awner.
- 30 kat yn ros terra gan wawr.
oed hywst gwragawn egurawn.
yn dechrau yghenyat ygeirawr.
o rieu o ryfel rydiffawt.
gwyr a digawn godei gwarthegawc.
- 35 haeardur a hyueid a gwallawc.
Ac owein mon mael gynig deuawt.
A wnaw peithwyr gorweidawc.
ym pen coet cledyfein.
Atuyd kalaned gwein.
- 40 A brein ar disperawt.
ymppydein yn eiddin yn adeueawc
yg gafran yn aduan brecheinawc.
yn erbyn yn yscwn gaenawc.
ny wyl gwr ny welas Gwallawc.

- A battle in Arddunyon and Aeron ...
Grief of his sons.
A battle in the wood of Beith(1) - food for spears...
- 25 You did not think much of your enemies!
A battle at Racgwydal with Mabon;
The seizers do not commemorate
A battle in Gwensteri(2), and the subduing of Lloegyr.
Spearbearing in
- 30 A battle in the moor of Terra with the dawn;
(Gwragawn was mighty in battle).
In the beginning my verses will be
Of kings and of war - very unlucky(3);
Men who made cattle sheds for plundered cattle;
- 35 Haeardur and Hyfeid and Gwallawg,
And Owain of Anglesey - worthy descendent of Maelgwn -
Who will make men destroyed - lying dead.
At Pencoed - daggers;
There will be (rotten) corpses,
- 40 And ravens scattered
In Pictland, in Edinburgh, in (Adefeawc),
In Gafran, in the land of Brechinawc.
Swiftly the mailclad warrior -
He that has not seen Gwallawg has not seen a man.

(1)lit.wood of wild boars. (2)lit.white rivers. (3)ie.for the British enemies.

A second poem inpraise of Gwallawg (C.T.poem XII).

- 1 En enw gwledic nef gorchordyon. rychanant
ry chwynant y dragon.
Gwrthodes gogyfres gwelydon lliaws
run a nud a nwython.
- 5 ny golychaf an gnawt beird o vrython.
Ryfed hael o sywedyd. Vn lle
rygethlyd rygethlic
rydylyfaf rychanaf y wledic.
yny wlat yd oed ergrynic
- 10 nym gwnel nys gwnaf ec newic.
Anhawd diollwg awdloed ny diffyc
y wledic ny omed.
O edrych awdyl trwm teyrned
yny uyw nys deubyd bud hynat bed.
- 15 Ny digonont hoffed oe buchynt.
kaletach yr arteith hael hynat.
Toryf pressannawl tra phrydcin tra phryder
rygochowyw rylyccrawr rylyccrer.
rytharnawr rybarnawr.
- 20 rybarn pawb ygwr banher
aeninat ynygnat ac eluet.
Nyt ygwr dilaw y daeret
gwas greit agwrhyt gotraet.
- 1 In the name of the Lord of Hosts of Heaven, they sing,
They lament their leaders.
He expelled an alliance of enemies,
The hosts of Rhun and Nudd and Nwython.
- 5 I will praise in song - customary to the bards of Britain;
(Wonderfully generous of the learned magicians; unanimously
The great singer of great odes).
(As) I have a right to, I sing of the lord -
In his land he was an object of terror.
- 10 (May he not make to me sorrow (as) I will make to him);
(Though) it is hard to give away wealth, it does not fail
The lord who does not refuse.
To one who beholds, gloomy and sad are the lords;
In his life.....(1);
- 15 Harder is the punishment to which they will go -
A host of this world going beyond Britain to extreme anxiety;
The very proud, he will be spoiled - may he be spoiled!
He will be judged...
- 20 Everybody judges the man when he is judged;
Being a judge over Elmet(2).
Not to a man unskilful it belongs -
A youth of ardour and manliness...

(1) These lines appear to refer to the fact that mean lords cannot take their wealth with them when they die and are judged by the Lord of Heaven. (2) the poet now appears to refer to Gwallawg as an earthly judge.

- Eneichawc gwallawc ynlllywet.
 25 hwyrwedawc gwallawc artebet.
 Ny ofyn yneb awnech ud
 neut ym vd nac neut ych
 darwerther tewued yn diwed haf.
 nys kynnyd namyn chwech.
 30 Chwech it gynan o hynnyd
 chwedlawc trwydedawc traeth dyd.
 Teyrned ygwneid nwys med mac
 tebic heul haf huenyd
 soned ganmwyhaf kenhaf
 35 gan doeth ygan llw eilassaf
 bint bydi derwyt bryt haf
 pryt mab lleenawc lliawc.
 Hamgwawl gwnngwawl.
 gwnn gwres. tARTH gwres gwres tARTH
 40 tra gynnys yd eghis heb warth.
 cleda cledifa cledifarch.
 Nyt amtyrr y lu y ledrat.
 nyt amescut y gaw y kywlat.
 Tyllynt tal yscwydawl rac taleu y veirch.
 45 O march trwst moryal.
 rithcar riallu gwynawc
 rigwystlant gweiryd goludawc
 o gaer glut hyt gaer garadawc.
 ystadyl tir penprys a gwallawc
 50 teyrned tewrn tagwedawc.

- Swift Gwallawg in the army,
 25 Slow Gwallawg in retreat;
 He asks no-one what a lord may do;

 Thick mead is sold at the end of summer -
 It continues to get sweeter;
 30 Sweeter to you is the speech of
 Of the storyteller, the reciter - (as a result).
 Lords in battle, vigour of mead fosters them
 Like the brilliant summer sunshine.
 (Praise by the greatest and most fair,
 35 On the part of the learned men, from the noble of the host).
 Let them be! You will be a wise man(1) in summer time;
 The likeness of the son of Lleenawc...

 I know ardour, ardour's mist;
 40 He escaped without disgrace.
 (Sword, blade...)
 His host will not scatter in secret.
 (It is not slothful to (Caw) to the borderland). (horses;
 They pierce the bosses of the shields before the fronts of their/
 45 From Mark the noisy, the greatly bold;
 The host leaves you...
 You have taken wealthy hostages - from Dumbarton to Caer Caradawg;
 The situation of the land of Penprys; O Gwallawc! Lords...at peace.
 (1) lit. druid.

Llywarch Hen's Lament for Urien of Rheged.

This poem, ascribed traditionally to Llywarch Hen, has been edited by I. Williams from fourteenth century MSS; Canu Llywarch Hen, Cardiff 1935. It refers to the circumstances surrounding the death of Urien and seems to picture the subsequent desolation of Rheged.

Unhwch, Dunawd ac Urien.

- 1 Dymkywarwyd yat Unhwch dywal,
Baran yg kyolwch,
Gwell yd lad nogyt ydolwch.
- 2 Dymkywarwyd yat Unhwch dywal,
Preid kyflauan gnif,
Llewenid lluyd llywijf.
- 3 Dymkywarwydyat Vnhwch
Dywedit yn Drws Llech,
Dunawt uab Pabo ny tech.
- 4 Dymkywarydyat Vnhwch
Chwerw blwng chwerthin mor,
Ryvel dorvlodyat, (budic ior).

Unhwch, Dunawd and Urien.

- 1 Savage Unhwch informed me,
Angry in discussion -
Better it is to kill than to entreat.
- 2 Savage Unhwch informed me,
(Booty, crime, action)(1)
The host rejoices to be well led.
- 3 Savage Unhwch informed me,
It was said in the pass of Llech -
Dunawd, the son of Pabo, will not flee.
- 4 Savage Unhwch informed me,
Bitter in anger, laughing like the sea,
Terrifier in war, (victorious lord).

(1) This may mean something like - A fierce warrior in fight.

5. Vryen Reget greidyawl gau(a)el eryr,
Gal Vnhwch glaw hael,
Ryuel godic, budic uael.
6. Vryen (Reget) greidyawl gauael eryr,
Gal Vnhwch berchen mawr
Kell llyr kein ebyr gwyr glawr.

Pen Urien.

- 7 Penn a borthaf ar vyn tu,
Bu kyrchynat rwng deulu:
Mab Kynvarch balch bieiuu.
- 8 Penn a borthaf ar vyn tu,
Penn Uryen llary llywyei llu,
Ac ar y vronn wenn vran du.
- 9 Penn a borthaf ~~mynnedeir~~, vyg crys,
Penn Vryen llary llywyei llys,
Ac ar y vronn wen vrein a'e hys.
- 10 Penn a borthaf y'm nedeir,
Yr Erechwyd oed ugeil,
Teyrn vron treulyat gennweir.

7

- 8 Urien of Rheged, the ardent with the grip of an eagle,
Enemy of Unhwch, bold and bountiful,
Angry in war, victorious chief.
- 6 Urien of Rheged, the ardent with the grip of an eagle,
The enemy of Unhwch who has great possessions,
(Cellar of the sea of beautiful estuaries with tables for men).

The Head of Urien.

- 7 A head I bear by my side,
He was an attacker between two hosts,
The proud son of Kynvarch to whom it belonged.
- 8 A head I bear by my side,
The head of generous Urien who led the host,
And on his white breast, a black raven.
- 9 A head I bear inside my shirt,
The head of generous Urien who governed the court,
And on his white breast, the ravens eat him.
- 10 A head I bear in my hand,
He was the shepherd of Erechwyd,
The lordly breast, the user of a spear.

- 11 Penn a borthaf tu mordwyt,
Oed ysgwyt ar wlat; oed olwyn yg kat,
Oed cledyr kat kywlat rwyd.
 - 12 Penn a borthaf ar vvg kled,
Gell y vvw nogyt y ued.
Oed dinas y henwred.
 - 13 Penn a borthaf o godir Penawc,
Pellynnnyawc y luyd,
(Penn) Vryen geiryawc glotryd.
 - 14 Penn a borthaf ar vy ysgwyd.
Ny'm aruollei waratwyd,
Gwae vy llaw llad vy aeglwyd.
 - 15 Penn a borthaf ar vym breich,
Neus goruc o dir Bryneich
Gwedy gawr gelorawr veich
 - 16 Penn a borthaf yn aghet
Vy llaw; llary ud llywyel wlat.
Penn post Prydein byallat.
 - 17 Penn a borthaf a'm porthes.
Neut atwen nat yr vy lles,
Gwae vy llaw, llym digones.
-
- 11 A head I bear by the side of my thigh,
He was a shield over the land, he was a wheel in battle,
He was a pillar of battle, he was a snare of the enemy.
 - 12 A head I bear on my left hand side,
Better his life than his grave;
He was a refuge for old people.
 - 13 A head I bear from the (border)lands of Pennauc,
Distant his hosts;
The head of Urien, much lauded with free praise.
 - 14 A head I bear on my shoulder;
Disgrace did not seize me.
Woe is me - the killing of my lord!
 - 15 A head I bear on my arm,
He made beir loads from the territory of Bernicia
After the war-cry.
 - 16 A head I bear in the grasp of my hand;
Of a generous chief who governed the kingdom -
The head of the pillar of Britain has been taken away.
 - 17 Ahead I bear which supported me;
I know that it is not to my good;
Woe my hand - a bitter deed it does.

- 18 Penn a borthaf o du riw,
 Ar y eneu ewyn(v)riw
 Gwaet; gwae Reget o hediw.
- 19 Ry thyrrvis vym breich, vy gardes vy eis.
 Vyg callon neur dorres.
 Penn a borthaf a'm porthes.

Celain Urŷen.

- 20 Y gelein veinwen a oloir hediw
 A dan brid a mein.
 Gwae vy llaw llad tat Owein.
- 21 Y gelein veinwen a oloir hediw
 Ym plith prid a derw.
 Gwae vy llaw llad vyg keuynderw.
- 22 Y gelein ueinwenn a oloir (hediw)
 A dan vein a edewit.
 Gwae vy llaw llam ry'm tynghit.
- 18 A head I bear from the side of the slope,
 A foam of blood on his lips;
 Alas for Rheged from this day.
- 19 My arm has been twisted,
 My breast hastrembled, my heart has broken;
 A head I bear which supported me.

The Corpse of Urien.

- 20 The slender, fair corpse will be buried today
 Under/earth and stones;
 Woe my hand the slaying of the father of Owain!
- 21 The slender, fair corpse will be buried today
 In the midst of earth and oak(1);
 Woe my hand the slaying of my cousin!
- 22 The slander, fair corpse will be buried today,
 Under stones it was left;
 Woe my hand the fate which has been allotted to me!

(1)ie.in a coffin.

- 23 Y gelein veinwen a oloir (hediw)
Ym plith prid a thywarch.
Gwae vy llaw llad mab Kynuarch.
- 24 Y gelein ueinwenn a oloir hediw
Dan weryt ac arwyd.
Gwae vy llaw llad vy arglwyd.
- 25 Y gelein ueinwen a oloir hediw
O dan brid a thywawt,
Gwae vy llaw llam ry'm daerawt.
- 26 Y gelein veinwenn a oloir hediw
A dan brid a dynat.
Gwae vy llaw llam ry'm gallat.
- 27 Y gelein veinwen a oloir hediw
A dab brid a mein glas.
Gwae vy llaw llam ry'm gallas.

Anoeth.

- 28 Anoeth byd brawt bwyn kynnull
Am gyrrn buelyn, am drull;
Rebyd uibet Reget dull.
- 23 The slender, fair corpse will be buried today
In the midst of earth and turf;
Woe my hand the slaying of the son of Kynvarch!
- 24 The slender, fair corpse will be buried today
Under the soil and the grave-stone;
Woe my hand the slaying of my lord!
- 25 The slender, fair corpse will be buried today
Under the earth and sand;
Woe my hand the step that has befallen me!
- 26 The slender, fair corpse will be buried today
Under earth and nettles;
Woe my hand the fate that has been prepared for me!
- 27 The slender, fair corpse will be buried today
Under earth and grey stones;
Woe my hand the fate that has grasped me!

A Thing hard to obtain (A Master-feat) (A Wonder)

- 28 A wonder ~~is~~ until Domesday will be the gathering
Around the horns of oxen and the goblets -
The royal host, the array of Rheged.

- 29 Anoeth byd brawt bwyn kynnwys
Am gyrn buelyn, am(u)wys;
Rebyd uilet Regethwys.

Efrddyl.

- 30 Handit Euyrdyl aflawen henoeth,
A lluosydd amgen.
Yn Aber Lleu llad Uryen.
- 31 Ys trist Eu(y)rdyl o'r drallawt heno,
Ac o'r llam a'm daerawt.
Yn Aber Lleu llad e brawt.

~~32~~ Rhun.

- 32 Duw Gwener gweleis y diuyd
Mawr ar uydinawr bedit.
Heit heb uodrydaf hu byd.
- 33 Neu'm rodes i Run ryueduawr
Cant heit, a chant ysgwydawr,
Ac vn heit oed well pell mawr.

- 29 A wonder until Domesday will be the gathering
Around the horns of the oxen and a table,
Theroyal soldiers of the men of Rheged.

Eurddyl.

- 30 Let Euyrdyl be joyless tonight,
And hosts as well;
In Aber Lleu the slaying of Urien(1).
- 31 Euyrdyl is mournful from sorrow tonight,
And from the fate that has befallen me;
In Aber Lleu the slaying of her brother.

Rhun.

- 32 On Friday I saw the great sadness
On the Chistian armies(2);
The swarm will be without a leader.
- 33 Very wonderful Rhun gave to me
A hundred contingents and a hundred shields;
And one troop was better (than the others?)

(1)ie.the river Low, opposite Lindisfarne. (2)lit.armies of baptism.

34 Neu'm rodes i Run, rwyf yolyd,
Can tref a chant eidyonyd,
Ac vn (tref) oed well nog yd.

35 Ym myw Run, reawdyr dyhed,
Dyreïn enwir eu byded,
Heyrn ar veirch enwired.

Anaf.

36 Mor vi gogwn vy anaf
Ar glyw pob un ymhop haf.
Ny wyr neb nebawt arnaf.

Dwy Blaid.

37 Pwylleï Dunawt, marchawc givein,
Erechwyd gwneuthur kelein
Yn erbyn cryssed Owein.

38 Pwylleï Dunawt, vd pressen(t),
Erechwyd gwneuthur catwen(t)
Yn erbyn kryssed Pasgen(t).

34 Rhun, the desirable ruler, gave to me
A hundred villages and a hundred oxen,
And one village was better than they.

35 In the life of Rhun, ruler of war,
The unjust righted their crooked ways,
Fetters on the horses of wickedness.

Wound.

36 (Great woe, I know my wound,
Everyone is gathered for war every summer;
Nobody knows me)

Two Parties.

37 Dunawd, rider of the battlefield, intended
Bringing about a coppse of Erechwyd,
Against the battle-rush of Owain.

38 Dunawd, lord of this world, intended
Bringing about a battle against Erechwyd,
Against the battle-rush of Owain Pasgen.

- 39 Pwyllel Wallawc, marchawc trin,
Erechwyd gwneuthur dynin
Yn erbyn kryssed Elphin.
- 40 Pwyllel Vran uab Ymellyrn
Vyn dihol i, Cloggi vy ffyrn,
Bleid a ugei wrth ebyrn!
- 41 Pwyllel Uorgant ef a'e wyr
Vyn dihol, lloggi vyn tymyr.
Llyc a grauei wrth glegyr!
- 42 Pwylleis i pan las Elgno
Ffrowyllel laun ar eidyo
Pyll a phebyll o'e vro.
- 43 Eilweith gweleis gwedy gweithyen awr
Ysgwyt ar ysgwyd Vryen.
Bu eil yno Elgno Hen.
- 44 Ar Erechwyd ethyw gwall
O vraw marchawc ys gweill.
A uyd uyth Uryen arall?
- 39 Gwallawc, rider of battle, intended
Bringing about a corpse,
Against the battle-rush of Elphin.
- 40 Bran, son of Mellyrn, intended
Expelling me, to burn my hearths;
A wolf who howled by the gaps.
- 41 Morgant and his men intended
Banishing me, to burn my homesteads;
A mouse who scratched at the cliff.
- 42 I saw when Elgno was slain,
A blade beat upon the spear
of Pyll(1)(and tents from his land)
- 43 A second time I saw after the battle-shout
A shield on the shoulder of Urien;
Elgno Hen was a second in that place.
- 44 A loss has come upon Erechwyd,
From the terror of the horseman(of javelins);
Will there ever be another Urien?

(1)son of Llywarch.

45 Ys moel fy arglwyd, ys euras gwrth,
Nys car kegwyd y gas.
Lliaws gwledic rydreulyas.

46 Angerd Uryen ys agro gennyf.
Kyrchynat ym pob bro,
Yn wisg Louan Law Difro.

Diffaith aelwyd Rheged.

47 Tawel awel, tu hirgliw.
Odit a uo molediw.
Mam Vryen ken ny diw.

48 Llawer ki geillic, a hebauc (g)wyrennic,
▲ lithiwyd ar y llawr,
Kynn bu erlleon llaweddrawr.

49 Yr aelwyt honn a'e goglyt gawr,
Mwy gordyfnassei ar y llawr
Med a meduori (yn) eiriawl.

45 Headless my lord; he was bold opposition;
Warriors will not love his enemies;
The prince has consumed much.

46 The vehemence of Urien is grievous with me(1);
An attacker in every region
In the track of Llovan Llawdifro.

The Deserted Hearth of Rheged.

47 The wind is quiet by the long cliffs;
Rarely is one worthy of praise
Since the family of Urien is no more.

48 Many a bold hound and lively hawk
Were fed on the floor,
Before the place was covered with rubble.

49 This hearth, with its grey covering -
It was more accustomed on its floor
(To) mead and drinkers of mead who made requests.

(1)ie.it caused his death.

50 Yr aelwyt honn, neus kud dynat,
Tra vu vyw y gwercheitwat.

51 Yr aelwyt honn, neus cud glessin.
Ym myw Owein ac Elphin,
Berwassei y pheir breiddin.

52 Yr aelwyt honn, neus cud kallawdyr llwyt.
Mwy gordyfnassei am y bwyd
Cledyual dyual diarswyt.

54 Yr aelwyt honn, neus cud drein.
Mwy gordyfnassei y chyngrein
Kymwynas kyweithas Owein.

55 Yr aelwyt honn, neus cud myr.
Mwy gordyfnassei babir
Gloew, a chyuedeu kywir.

56 Yr aelwyt honn, neus cud tauawl.
Mwy y gordyfnassei ar y llawr
Med a medwon (yn) eiryawl.

50 This hearth, nettles hide it;
While its guardian was alive

51 This hearth, buglass covers it;
In the lifetime of Owain and Elphin
Its cauldron boiled booty.

52 This hearth, grey moss covers it;
It was more accustomed for its food
A bold and fearless sword stroke.

53 This hearth, beautiful brambles cover it;
It was a refined custom there that
That Urien of Rheged used to give gifts.

54 This hearth, thorns cover it;
More accustomed were its chiefs
To the benefactions and companionship of Owain.

55 This hearth, (ants) cover it;
More accustomed it was to bright rushlights
And festivities of the faithful.

56 This hearth, dock leaves cover it;
More accustomed on its floor
Was mead and mead-drinkers making requests.

- 57 Yr aelwyt honn, neus clad hwch;
Mwy gordyfnassei elwch
Gwyr, ac am gyrn kyuedwch.
- 58 Yr aelwyt hōnn, neus clad kywen.
Nys eidigauei anghen
Ym myw Owein ac Vryen.
- 59 Yr ystwffwl hwnn, a'r hwnn draw.
Mwy gordyfnassei amdanaw
Elwch llu a llwybyr arnaw.
- 57 This hearth, swine root in it;
More accustomed it was to the shout of men's joy
And banqueting round the drinking horns.
- 58 This hearth, hens scratch in it;
Necessity used not to injure it
In the lifetime of Owain and Urien.
- 59 This pillar, and that one yonder;
More accustomed around them
The joy of a host than a pathway over them.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

- Adamson, J. An Account of the Discovery at Hexham .. of a brass vessel containing a number of Anglo-Saxon coins called Stycas, *Archaeologia* 25 1834.pp.279-310.
- Allison, T. Pioneers of English Learning, Oxford 1932.
- Amours, F. J. The Original Chronicle of Andrew of Wyntoun, vol.IV. Edin.& London 1906.
- Anderson, A. O. Scottish Annals from English Chroniclers(A.D.500-1286), London 1908.
- Anderson, A. O. Early Sources of Scottish History(A.D.500-1286), 2 vols. Edinburgh 1922,
- Anderson, A. O. Ninian and the Southern Picts, S.H.R.27.1948.pp.25-47.
- Anderson, A. O. & Anderson, M. O. Adomnan's Life of Columba, London & Edinburgh 1961(1).
- Anderson, J. Notice of the Gold Ornaments found at Lower Largo and of the Silver Ornaments etc., found at Norrie's Law, near Largo, P.S.A.S.vi.1883-4.pp.233-247.
- Anderson, J. & Allen, J. R. The Early Christian Monuments of Scotland, Edinburgh 1903.
- Anderson, J. Viking Grave Mound at Kiloran Bay, P.S.A.S.xli.1906-7. pp.443-449.
- Anderson, M. O. The Scottish Materials in the Paris MS.Bib.Nat., Latin 4126., S.H.R.28.1949.pp.31-42.
- Anderson, M. O. The List of the Kings I, S.H.R.28.1949.pp.108-118.
- Anderson, M. O. The List of the Kings II, S.H.R.29.1950.pp.13-22.
- Anwyl, E. The Book of Aneirin, Trans.of the Soc.of Cymmrodorion, 1909-10.pp.95-136.
- Arnold, T. Symeon of Durham, R.S.2 vols. London 1882 & 1885.
- Baldwin Brown, G. The Arts in Early England, 6 vols.London 1903-37.
- Baldwin Brown, G. The Hartlepool Tombstones, P.S.A.S.liv.1918-19. pp.195-228.

- Bark, W.C. Origins of the Medieval World, 1958.
- Balfour, J.A. Notice of a Viking Grave-Mound, Kingscross, Arran, P.S.A.S.3.1908-9.pp.371-75.
- Barnes, H. On the battle of Ardderyd, C.& W.Antiq.Soc.viii.1908. pp.236-246.
- Barron, R. St.Adamnan and his Life of St.Columba, Trans.Gaelic Soc. of Inverness xli.1951-2.pp.26-46.
- Barrow, C.W.S. Scottish Rulers and the Religious Orders, T.R.H.S.3.1953.pp.77-100.
- Bateman, T. Ten Years Digging in Celtic and Saxon Grave Hills, London 1861.
- Beradis, V. England and Ireland in the Middle Ages, Dublin 1950.
- Bernard, J.H.& Atkinson, R. The Irish Liber Hymnorum, Henry Bradshaw Soc. xiii.xiv. 2 vols. London 1898.
- Best, R.I.& Lawlor, H.J. The Martyrology of Tallaght, Henry Bradshaw Soc. lxviii. London 1937.
- Birch, W.De G. Cartularium Saxonicum, London (vol.I) 1885.
- Blair, P.Hunter Symeon's History of the Kings, A.Ael.xvi.1939.pp.87-100.
- Blair, P.Hunter Origins of Northumbria, A.Ael.xxv.1947.pp.1-51.
- Blair, P.Hunter The Moore Memoranda on Northumbrian History, Early Cultures of N.W.Europe, ed.C.Fox & B.Dickins, Cambridge 1950.pp.243-259.
- Blunt, C.E. The Date of the Croy Hoard, P.S.A.S.12.1949-50.pp.217.
- Blunt, C.E. The Anglo-Saxon Coinage and The Historian, Med.Arch.iv.1960.pp.
- Boethius Scotorum historiae a primis gentes origine, Paris 1526.
- Boutflower, D.S. The Life of Ceolfrid, Sunderland 1912.
- Brett, T. Mayo of the Saxons, Irish Ecc.Records 21,1923.pp.247-260.
- Bromwich, R. The Historical Triads, B.B.C.S.xii.1948.pp.1-15.
- Bronsted, J. Early English Ornament (trans.A.F.Major), London 1924.
- Brown, G.F. Alcuin of York, London 1908.

- Bruce, O.T. Liber Cartularium Prior. Sanct. Andree, 2 vols, Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh 1841.
- Bruce-Mitford, R.L.S. & Brown, T.J. Codex Lindisfarnensis II. 1960.
- Bu'lock, J.D. Vortigern and the Pillar of Eliseg, Antiq. 34. 1960. pp. 49-53.
- Burkitt, F.C. Kells, Durrow, and Lindisfarne, Antiq. ix. 1935. pp. 33-37.
- Calverley, W.S. Notes on the Early Sculptured Crosses, Shrines and Monuments in the present diocese of Carlisle, edited by W.G. Collingwood, C. & W. Antiq. Soc. Extra Series XI. Kendal 1899.
- Carney, J. Studies in Irish Literature and History, Dublin 1955.
- Chadwick, H.M. Growth of Literature, vol. I. Cambridge 1932.
- Chadwick, H.M. Early Scotland, Cambridge 1949.
- Chadwick, N.K. St. Ninian; a preliminary study of sources, D. & G. Antiq. Soc. xxvii. 1950. pp. 9-54.
- Chadwick, N.K. Studies in Early British History, Cambridge 1954.
- Chadwick, N.K. Studies in the Early British Church, Cambridge 1958.
- Chambers, R.W. Bede, Proc. British Academy 22. 1936. pp. 129-156.
- Charleson, C.F. Fragments of Old Kirkconnel, D. & G. Antiq. Soc. xv. 1928-9. pp. 119-137.
- Clapham, A.W. Notes on the Origins of Hiberno-Saxon Art, Antiq. viii. 1934. pp. 43-57.
- Classen, E. & Harmer, F. An Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, Manchester 1926.
- Cockburn, J.H. The Celtic Church in Dunblane, Dunblane 1954.
- Colgrave, B. The Life of Bishop Wilfrid by Eddi Stephanus, Cambridge 1937.
- Colgrave, B. Two Lives of St. Cuthbert, Cambridge 1940.
- Colgrave, B. The Earliest Saints' Lives written in England, Proc. Brit. Academy xliv. 1958. pp. 35-60.

- Collingwood, R.G. & Myers, J.N.L. Roman Britain and the English Settlements, Oxford 1936 (1949 ed.)
- Collingwood, W.G. Anglian and Anglo-Danish Sculpture in the West Riding of Yorkshire, Yorks.Arch.J.xxiii.1915.pp.129-299.
- Collingwood, W.G. Norse Influence in Dumfriesshire and Galloway, D. & G.Antiq.Soc.vii.1919-20.pp.97-118.
- Collingwood, W.G. The Early Crosses of Galloway, D. & G.Antiq.Soc.x.1922-3.pp.205-231.
- Collingwood, W.G. The Early Church in Dumfriesshire and its Monuments, D. & G.Antiq.Soc.xii.1924-25.pp.46-62.
- Collingwood, W.G. Northumbrian Crosses of the Pre-Norman Age, London 1927.
- Collingwood, W.G. A Pedigree of Anglian Crosses, Antiq.vi.1932.pp.35-54
- Cook, A.S. The Date of the Ruthwell and Bewcastle Crosses, Yale 1912
- Cook, A.S. Who was the Eghfrith of Aldhelm's Letter? Speculum 2.1927. pp.362-373.
- Cooper, T.M. The Numbers and the Distribution of the Population of Medieval Scotland, Scottish Hist.Review xxvi.1946.pp.2-9.
- Coulton, G.G. Scottish Abbeys and Social Life, Cambridge 1933.
- Craw, J.H. Excavations at Dunadd and at other sites on the Poltalloch Estates, Argyll, P.S.A.S.lxiv.1929-30.pp.111-146.
- Crawford, H.S. Carved Ornament from Irish Monuments, Dublin 1926.
- Crawford, O.G.S. Iona, Antiq.vii.1933.pp.453-467.
- Crawford, O.G.S. The Vine-Scroll in Scotland, Antiq.xi.1937.pp.469-473.
- Curle, C.L. (Mowbray, C.L.) Eastern Influence on Carvings at St. Andrew and Nigg, Antiq.x.1936.pp.428-440.
- Curle, C.L. The Chronology of the Early Christian Monuments, P.S.A.S. lxxiv.1939-40.pp.60-115.
- Davis, H.W.C. Cumberland before the Norman Conquest, E.H.R.xx.1905.pp.61-65.

- Diack, F.C. The Inscriptions of Pictland, ed. W.M. Alexander & J. Macdonald, Spalding Club, Aberdeen 1944.
- Dobbs, M.E. Aedan MacGabraín, Scottish Gaelic Studs. vii. 1951. pp. 89-93.
- Dolley, R.H.M. & Metcalf, D.M. Two ~~S~~tay Finds From St. Albans of Coins of Offa and Charlemagne, B.N.J. 28. 1955-57, pp. 459-466.
- Dolley, R.H.M. Anglo-Saxon Coins, London 1961.
- Donaldson, G. Scottish Bishops' Sees before the reign of David I, P.S.A.S. xxxvii. 1952-53. pp. 106-117.
- Dowden, J. The Bishops of Glasgow, S.H.R. v. 1908. pp. 76-88.
- Duke, J.A. The Columban Church, London 1932.
- Duke, J.A. History of the Church of Scotland to the Reformation, Edin. & London 1937.
- Dunbar, A.H. Scottish Kings; a revised chronology of Scottish History, 1005-1625, Edinburgh 1906.
- Dunning, G.C. Trade Relations between England and the Continent in the Late Anglo-Saxon Period, Dark Age Britain, ed. D.B. Harden, London 1950, pp. 218-233.
- Dunning, G.C., Hurst, J.G., Myers, J.N.L., Tischler, F. Anglo-Saxon Pottery; A Symposium, Med. Arch. III. 1959. pp. 1-78.
- Dupraz, L. Le Royaume des Francs (656-680), Freiburg 1948.
- Earle, J. & Plummer, C. Two of the ~~S~~axon Chronicles Parallel, 2 vols. Oxford 1892 & 1899.
- Ehwald, R. M.G.H.A.A. xv. Berlin 1919.
- Esperandieu, E. Recueil des bas-reliefs, Paris I (1907), VI (1915), XIV (1955)
- Evans, A. Notes on Early Anglo-Saxon Gold Coins, Num. Chron. II. 1942. pp. 19-41.
- Evans, G. Facsimile and Text of the Book of Taliesin, Llanbedrog 1910
- Evans, G. Poems from the Book of Taliesin, 1915.
- Evans, G. Taliesin, Y.C. xxxiv. 1924. pp. 1-23.

- Evans, J. On a Hoard of Early Anglo-Saxon ~~Gold~~ Coins found in Ireland, Num.Chron.ii.1881-2.pp.61-86.
- Flower, R. The Irish Tradition, Oxford 1947.
- Forbes, A.P. Kalendars of Scottish Saints, Edinburgh 1872.
- Forbes, A.P. Lives of St.Ninian and St.Kentigern, Edinburgh 1874.
- Fowler, J. St.Aldhelm. 1947.
- Fox, A. Some Evidence for a Dark Age Trading Site at Bantham, near Thurlestone, South Devon, Antiquaries J.xxxv.1955. pp.55-67.
- Fox, C.& Dickins, B. Early Cultures of N.W.Europe, Cambridge 1950.
- Friend, A.M. The Canon Tables of the Book of Kells, Medieval Studies in Memory of A.Kingsley Porter, ed.W.R.W.Koehler, Cam.1939. vol.II.pp.611-636.
- Fyson, D.R. Anglian Patterns, Arch.Ael.35.1957.pp.64-71.
- Galbraith, J.J. The Chi-Ro Crosses of Raasay, P.S.A.S.lxvii.1932-33. pp.318-320.
- Gentilhomme, P.Le La Circulation Des Monnaies D'Or Merovingiennes en Angleterre, Brit.Num.J.23.1938-40.pp.395-98.
- Gougaud, L. Christianity in Celtic Lands, London 1932.
- Gourlay, W.R. The Battle of Arthuret, D.& G.Antiq.Soc.xvi.1931.pp.104-12
- Grabar, A. Early Medieval Painting, trans.S.Gilbert, 1957.
- Green, A.S. History of the Irish State to 1014, London 1925.
- Gresham, C.A. The Book of Aneirin, Antiq.xvi.1942.pp.237-257.
- Grierson, P. Commerce in the Dark Ages; a critique of the evidence, T.R.H.S.ix.1959.pp.123-140.
- Grosjean, P. Recherches sur les debuts de la controverse pascalle chez les Celtes, Analecta Boll.lxiv.1946.pp.200-244.
- Grosjean, P. Les Pictes Apostats dans l'Epitre de s.Patrice, Analecta Boll.lxxvi.1958.pp.354-378.

- Grosjean, P. La date du Colloque de Whitby, Analecta Boll. lxxviii. 1960. pp. 233-274.
- Gunn, W. The Historia Brittonum, London 1819.
- Hamilton Thompson, A. Bede; his Life, Times and Writings, Oxford 1955.
- Hamilton, N.E.S.A. Gesta Pontificum, Rolls, London 1870.
- Harden, D.B. Dark Age Britain, London 1950.
- Harden, D.B. Glass Vessels in Anglo-Saxon Britain, Arch. News Letter III no. 2. July 1950. pp. 21-27.
- Harden, D.B. Glass Vessels in Britain and Ireland, A.D. 400-1000, Dark Age Britain, ed. D.B. Harden, London 1950.
- Harrison, K. The Pre-Conquest Churches of York; with an Appendix on Eighth-Century Northumbrian Annals, Yorks. Arch. J. xl. 1960 pp. 232-249.
- Havighurst, A.F. The Pirenne Thesis; Analysis, Criticism, and Revision, Boston 1958.
- Hencken, H.O. The Harvard Archaeological Expedition in Ireland, Suppl. to the American J. of Archaeology xlv. 1941. pp. 1-6.
- Hencken, H.O. Lagore Crannog, Proc. Royal Irish Acad. liii. 1950-51. Sect. C. pp. 1-247.
- Henderson, G. The Norse Influence on Celtic Scotland, Glasgow 1910.
- Henderson, I.M. The Origin Centre of the Pictish Symbol Stones, P.S.A.S. xci. 1957-58. pp. 44-60.
- Hennessey, W.M. & McCarthy, B. Annals of Ulster, vol. I. Dublin 1887.
- Henry, F. La Sculpture Irlandaise, pendant les douze premiers siècles de l'ère chrétienne, Paris 1933.
- Henry, F. Irish Art, London 1940.
- Hepple, R.B. The Monastery School of Jarrow, History vii. 1922-23. pp. 92-102.
- Herbert, J.A. Illuminated Manuscripts, London 1911. Rev. ed. New York 1959.

- Heywood, N. A Parcel of Stycas from the York Find, 1842, B.N.J. vñi. 1910. pp. 331-334.
- Hill, P.V. Saxon Sceattas and their Problems, B.N.J. xxvi. 1949-51. pp. 129-154.
- Hinks, R. Carolingian Art, London 1935.
- Hogan, E. Onamasticon Goedelicum, Dublin & London 1910.
- Howorth, H. St. Augustine of Canterbury, London 1913.
- Howorth, H. The Golden Days of the Early English Church, 3 vols. London 1917.
- Ithel, J.W.A. Annales Cambriae, R.S. London 1860.
- Jackson, K.H. The Gododin of Aneurin, Antiq. xiii. 1939. pp. 25-37.
- Jackson, K.H. Once Again Arthur's Battles, Modern Phil. 43. 1945-46. pp. 44-57.
- Jackson, K.H. Language and History in Early Britain, Edinburgh 1953.
- Jackson, K.H. The Britons in Southern Scotland, Antiq. xxix. 1955. pp. 77-88
- Jackson, K.H. The Pictish Language, The Problem of the Picts, ed. F.T. Wainwright, Edin. & London 1955.
- Jackson, K.H. The Duan Albanach, S.H.R. 36. 1957. pp. 125-137.
- Jackson, K.H. Edinburgh and the Anglian Occupation of Lothian, The Anglo-Saxons, ed. P. Clemoes, 1959.
- Jarman, A.O.H. Ymddiddan Myrddin a Thaliesin, Cardiff 1951.
- Jones, C.H. Early Celtic Missionaries, Y.C. 39. 1928. pp. 39-67.
- Jones, C.W. Bedae Opera De Temporibus, Mass. 1943.
- Jones, C.W. Saints' Lives and Chronicles in Early England, New York 1947.
- Jones, P.F. The Gregorian Mission and English Education, Speculum III 1928. pp. 335-348.
- Jones, T.G. Catraeth and Hirlas Owain, Y.C. xxxii. 1922. pp. 1-57.

- Joep, E.M. Review of The Problem of the Picts, Antiq.J.37.1957.pp. 81-82.
- Kendrick, T.D. Anglo-Saxon Art, London 1933.
- Kenney, J.F. The Sources for the Early History of Ireland, vol.I. New York 1929.
- Kermack, W.R. Early English Settlement in S.W.Scotland, Antiq.xv.1941. pp.83-86.
- Kermack, W.R. Trumwine's Diocese, Antiq.xvii.1943.pp.212-13.
- Kermack, W.R. The Scottish Highlands; A Short History, Edin.& London 1957.
- Koehler, W.R.W. Medieval Studies in Memory of A.Kingsley Porter, vol.II. Cambridge 1939.
- Knight, G.A.F. Archaeological Light on the Early Christianising of Scotland, 2 vols. London 1933.
- Lawlor, H.J. The Cathach of St.Columba, Proc. of the Royal Irish Acad. 33.1916-17.pp.36-443.
- Lawrie, A.C. Early Scottish Charters Prior to A.D.1153, Glasgow 1905.
- Leeds, E.T. The Archaeology of the Anglo-Saxon Settlements, Oxford 1913.
- Leeds, E.T. The Distribution of the Angles and Saxons Archaeologically Considered, Archaeologia 91.1945.pp.1-85,
- Levison, W. An Eighth-century Poem on St.Ninian, Antiq.xiv.1940.pp.280-291.
- Levison, W. England and the Continent in the Eighth Century, Oxford 1946.
- Lloyd, J.E. A History of Wales from the Earliest times to the Edwardian Conquest, vol.I.London 1912.
- Lot, F. Nennius et l'Historia Brittonum, Paris 1934.
- Lowe, E.A. Codices Latini Antiquiores, Part II; Great Britain and Ireland, Oxford 1935.

- Luard, H.R. Flores Historiarum, R.S. London 1890.
- Luce, A.A. The Book of Kells and the Gospels of Lindisfarne; a Comparison, Hermathena, 79.1952.pp.61-74 & 80.1952.pp.12-25
- Luff, S.G.A. AA Candidam Casam, Irish Ecc.Records 80.1953.pp.17-27.
- Lyon, C.J. History of St.Andrews, 2 vols.Edin.& London 1843.
- Lyon, C.S.S. A Reappraisal of the Sceatta and Styca Coinage of Northumbria, B.N.J.28.1955-57.pp.227-242.
- Macalister, R.A.S. Ancient Ireland, London 1935.
- Macalister, R.A.S. The Ancient Inscriptions of Kirkmadrine and Whithorn, P.S.A.S.lxx.1935-36.pp.315-325.
- MacDonald, A. The Place-Names of West Lothian, Edin.& London 1941.
- MacDonald, C.M. The History of Argyll, Glasgow 1930(?).
- Mackie, J.D. St.Ninian and the Picts, D.& G.Antiq.Soc.xxx.1953.pp.17-38
- MacNaught, J.C. Celtic Monasticism, Trans.Gaelic Soc.of Inverness, xxxv 1929-30.pp.321-342.
- MacNeill, E. The Annals of Tigernach, Eriu 7.1914.pp.30-113.
- MacNeill, E. Phases of Irish History, Dublin 1919.
- MacNeill, E. Celtic Ireland, Dublin & London 1921.
- Maguire, E.C. Life of St.Adamnan, Dublin 1917.
- Mahr, A.& Raftery, J. Christian Art in Ancient Ireland, 2 vols.Dublin 1932 & 1941.
- Masai, F. Essai sur les origines de la miniature dite Irlandaise, Brussels 1947.
- Mattingly, H. Coinage of the Dark Age in Britain, Antiq.xvii.1943.pp.162-166.
- Maxwell, H. Notice on a Hoard of Personal Ornaments, and Anglo-Saxon and Northumbrian Coins from Talnotrie, Kirkcudbrightshire, P.S.A.S.47.1912-13.pp.12-16.
- Maxwell, H. The Place-Names of Galloway, Glasgow 1930.

- Meissner, J.L.G. The Celtic Church in England after the Synod of Whitby, London 1929.
- Menzies, L. St. Columba of Iona, London 1920.
- Meyer, K. Cain Adamnan, Anecdota Oxoniensia, Med.& Mod. Series Pt.12. Oxford 1905.
- Mommsen, T. M.G.H. A.A. xiii. Pt. I. Berlin 1894.
- Morey, C. Medieval Art, New York 1942.
- Morris, J. Celtic Saints, Past and Present 11. April 1957. pp.2-16.
- Murphy, G. St. Patrick and the Civilizing of Ireland, Irish Ecc. Records, 79. 1953. pp.194-204.
- Myers, J.N.L. The Teutonic Settlement of Northern England, History xx 1935. pp.250-262.
- Nash-Williams, V.E. The Early Christian Monuments of Wales, Cardiff 1950
- Nicholson, E.W.B. The Dynasty of Cunedag and the Harleian Genealogies, Y.C. xxi. 1908. pp.63-104.
- Nordenfalk, C. On the Age of the Earliest Echternach Manuscripts, Acta Archaeologia 3. 1932. pp.57-62.
- Nordenfalk, C. Before the Book of Durrow, Acta Archaeologia 18. 1947. pp.141-174.
- Oakeshott, W. Classical Inspiration in Medieval Art, London 1959.
- Oakeshott, W. The Sequence of English Medieval Art, London 1949.
- O'Donovan, J. Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland by the Four Masters, 2 vols. Dublin 1854.
- O'Donovan, J., Todd, J.H., Reeves, W. The Martyrology of Donegal, Irish Arch. and Celtic Soc. Dublin 1864.
- O'Rahilly, T.F. Early Irish History and Mythology, Dublin 1946.
- Paor, M. & L. de Early Christian Ireland, London 1958.

- Petrie, H. Monumenta Historica Britannica, London 1848.
- Phillimore, E. The Annales Cambriae and the Old-Welsh genealogies from Harleian MS.3859, Y.C.ix.1888.pp.141-183.
- Piggott, S. An Iron Object from Dunadd, P.S.A.S.lxxxvii.1952-53.pp.193-4.
- Pinkerton, J. Lives of the Scottish Saints(rev.ed.W.M.Metcalf), vol.I. 1889.
- Plummer, C. Venerabilis Baedae Opera Historica, 2 vols. Oxford 1896.
- Plummer, C. Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae, 2 vols. Oxford 1910.
- Poole, R.L. Studies in Chronology and History, Oxford 1934.
- Raine, J. The Priory of Hexham, Surtees Soc.44.1864-5.
- Raine, J. Historians of the Church of York and Its Archbishops, R.S.vol.I.London 1879.
- Raleigh Radford, C.A. The Early Christian Monuments of Scotland, Antiq.xvi.1942.pp.1-18.
- Raleigh Radford, C.A. Excavations at Whithorn, 1949, D. & G.Antiq.Soc.xxvii.1950.pp.85-126.
- Raleigh Radford, C.A. Two Scottish Shrines; Jedburgh and St.Andrews, Arch.J.cxii.1955.pp.43-60.
- Reeves, W. Life of St.Columba by Adamnan, Edinburgh 1874.
- Reid, R.C. Dunragit, D. & G.Antiq.Soc.xxix.1952.pp.155-164.
- Richmond, I.A. Roman and Native in North Britain, Edin. & London 1955.
- Rickert, M. Painting in Britain; The Middle Ages, London 1954.
- Rivoira, G.T. Antiquities of St.Andrews, Burlington Mag.xii.1915.pp.15-25.
- Robinson, S.F.H. Celtic Illuminative Art in the Gospel Books of Durrow, Lindisfarne, and Kells, Dublin 1908.
- Roe, H.M. The David Cycle in Early Irish Art, J.Royal Soc.Antiq. of Ireland, lxxix.1949.pp.39-59.

- Romilly Allen, J. On Some Points of Resemblance between the Art of the Early Sculptured stones of Scotland and Ireland, P.S.A.S. 31. 1896-97.
- Romilly Allen, J. The Early Christian Monuments of Iona, P.S.A.S. xi. 1900-01. pp. 79-91.
- Romilly Allen, J. The Early Christian Monuments of Scotland, Edin. 1903.
- Ryan, J. Irish Monasticism, Dublin 1931.
- Ryan, J. Ecclesiastical Relations between Ireland and England in the Seventh and Eighth Centuries; St. Berchert of Tullylease, J. Cork Hist. & Arch. Soc. 43. 1938. pp. 109-112.
- Ryan, J. Essays and Studies presented to E. MacNeill, Dublin 1940.
- Ryan, J. The Convention of Druim Ceatt, J. Royal Soc. Antiq. of Ireland lxxvi. 1946. pp. 35-55.
- Ryan, J. Irish Learning in the Seventh Century, J. Royal Soc. of Antiq. of Ireland, 80. 1950. pp. 164-171.
- Savage, H. E. Abbess Hilda's First Religious House, A. Ael. xix. 1898. pp. 47-75.
- Scott, A. B. The Pictish Church and Nation, London & Edinburgh 1918.
- Scott, F. S. The Hildithryth Stone and the other Hartlepool Namestones, A. Ael. xxxiv. 1956. pp. 196-212.
- Shetelig, H. Manx Crosses relating to Great Britain and Norway, Saga Book of the Viking Soc. ix. 1914-18. pp. 253-274.
- Simpson, W. D. The Historical St. Columba, Aberdeen 1927.
- Simpson, W. D. The Celtic Church in Scotland, Aberdeen 1935.
- Simpson, W. D. St. Ninian and the Origins of the Christian Church in Scotland, Edin. & London 1940.
- Simpson, W. D. The Ninianic Controversy, D. & G. Antiq. Soc. xxvii. 1950. pp. 155-162.
- Sisam, K. Cynewulf and his Poetry, Proc. British Academy xviii. 1932. pp. 303-331.
- Sisam, K. Anglo-Saxon Royal Genealogies, Proc. British Academy xxxix. 1953. pp. 287-348.

- Skene, W.F. Notice on the Early Ecclesiastical Settlement at St. Andrews, P.S.A.S.iv.1863.pp.300-321.
- Skene, W.F. Chronicles of the Picts, Chronicles of the Scots, and other Early Memorials of Scottish History, Edin.1867.
- Skene, W.F. The Four Ancient Books of Wales, 2 vols, Edin.1868.
- Skene, W.F. Notice on the site of the Battle of Ardderyd or Arderyth, P.S.A.S.vi.1868.pp.91-98.
- Skene, W.F. Johannis de Fordun Chronica Gentis Scotorum, Edin.1862.
- Skene, W.F. Celtic Scotland, 3 vols. Edin.1876-80.
- Smith, A.H. Place-Names and the Anglo-Saxon Settlement, Proc.British Academy xlii.1956.pp.67-88.
- Smith, J.A. Notice of an Anglo-Saxon Styca of Osberht, King of Northumbria, P.S.A.S.iii.1857-60.pp.300-03.
- Stenton, F.M. Anglo-Saxon England, Oxford 1943.
- Stenton, F.M. The Latin Charters of the Anglo-Saxon Period, Oxford 1955.
- Stephenson, R.B.K. Pictish Art, The Problem of the Picts, ed.F.T. Wainwright, Edin.& London 1955.pp.97-128.
- Stevenson, R.B.K. The Chronology and Relationships of Some Irish and Scottish Crosses, J.Royal Soc.Antiq.of Ireland, 86. 1956.pp.84-96.
- Stevenson, W.H. Asser's Life of King Alfred, Oxford 1904.
- Stokes, J. Three Middle Irish Homilies, Dublin 1877.
- Stokes, W. The Tripartite Life of St.Patrick, R.S.London 1887.
- Stokes, W. The Martyrology of Gorman, Henry Bradshaw Soc.ix.London 1895.
- Stokes, W. The Annals of Tigernach, Rev.Celt.xvii.1896.
- Stokes, W. The Martyrology of Oengus the Culdee, Henry Bradshaw Soc.xxix.London 1905.
- Stuart, J. Sculptured Stones of Scotland, Spalding Club, 2 vols. Aberdeen 1856 & 1867.
- Stuart, J. The Book of Deer, Spalding Club, Edinburgh 1869.

- Stubbs, W. Willelmi Malmesbiriensis monachi De Gestis Regum Anglorum, R.S. vol.I. London 1887.
- Sutherland, C.H.V. Anglo-Saxon Sceattas in England; Their Origin, Chronology, and Distribution, Num.Chron. II. 1942. pp. 42-70.
- Sutherland, C.H.V. Anglo-Saxon Gold Coinage in the light of the Crondall Hoard, London 1948.
- Sullivan, E. The Book of Kells, 2nd.ed. London 1920.
- Thomas, C. Imported Pottery in Dark-Age Western Britain, Med.Arch. III 1959. pp. 89-111.
- Thompson, J.D.A. Inventory of British Coin Hoards, A.D. 600-1500, Royal Numismatic Soc. I. 1956.
- Thorpe, B. Chronicon ex Chronicis, English Historical Soc. 1848-49.
- Wade-Evans, A.W. Nennius's History of the Britons, London 1938.
- Wade-Evans, A.W. Vitae Sanctorum Britanniae et Genealogiae, Cardiff 1944.
- Wainwright, F.T. The Problem of the Picts, Edin. & London 1955.
- Walsh, A. Scandinavian Relations with Ireland during the Viking Period, Dublin 1922.
- Walsh, P. The Annals attributed to Tigernach, I.H.S. II. 1940-41. pp. 354-359.
- Walsh, P. The Dating of the Irish Annals, I.H.S. II. 1940-41. pp. 355-375.
- Ward, G. The Usurpation of King Swaebheard, Arch.Cant. 50. 1938. pp. 65-71.
- Waterford, D.M. Late Saxon, Viking, and Early Medieval Finds from York, Archaeologia 97. 1959. pp. 59-105.
- Watson, W.J. History of the Celtic Place-Names of Scotland, Edin. & London 1926.
- Watson, W.J. St. Cadoc, Scottish Gaelic Studs. II. 1927. pp. 1-12.

- Whitelock, D. Beginnings of English Society, London 1952.
- Whitelock, D. English Historical Documents, vol. I. London 1955.
- Williams, A. H. An Introduction to the History of Wales, vol. I. Cardiff 1941.
- Williams, G. Introduction to Welsh Poetry, London 1953.
- Williams, I. A Reference to the Nennian Bellum Cocboy, B.B.C.S. iii. 1926-27. pp. 59-62.
- Williams, I. Bellum Catscaul, B.B.C.S. vi. 1931-33. pp. 351-54.
- Williams, I. Notes on Nennius, B.B.C.S. vii. 1933-35. pp. 380-389.
- Williams, I. Canu Llywarch Hen, Cardiff 1935 (1953 ed.).
- Williams, I. The Nennian Preface; a possible emendation, B.B.C.S. ix. 1937-39. pp. 342-44.
- Williams, I. Canu Aneirin, Cardiff 1938.
- Williams, I. Mommsen and the Vatican Recension Nennius, B.B.C.S. xi. 1941 pp. 43-48.
- Williams, I. Wales and the North, C. & W. Antiq. Soc. li. 1951. pp. 73-88.
- Williams, I. Canu Taliesin, Cardiff 1960.
- Wilson, D. The Anglo-Saxons, London 1960.
- Winmill, J. M. Iona and Lindisfarne, Irish Ecc. Records 80. 1953. pp. 106-14.