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CURADÁN, BONIFACE

and the early church of ROSEMARKIE



AIDAN MacDONALD

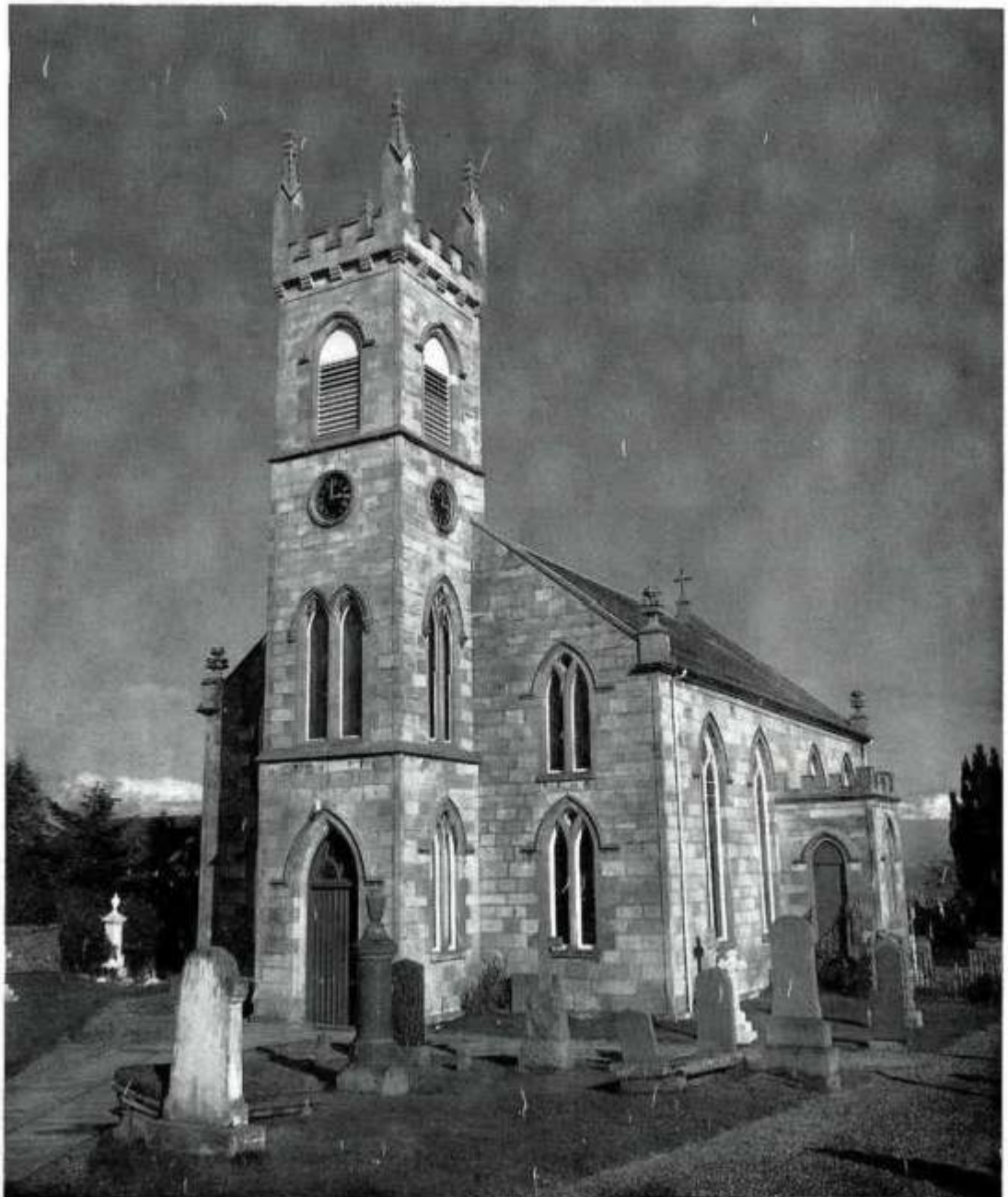
Front cover: Seal of old burgh of Rosmarkyn, St.Peter, c.1300
Opposite: Diocesan Seal, St.Peter and St.Boniface, Chapter of Ross, c.1300.

CURADÁN, BONIFACE

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Rosemarkie Church from the west.

Introduction

The invitation to give the third Groam House lecture gave me both the opportunity and the necessary incentive to investigate as thoroughly as I could a figure who had intrigued me for some time. Who, really, was he? When, if at all, did he live? What, if anything, did he do? But, though I have managed to avoid the issue in the title, I am forced, at the very outset, to beg a fundamental question by calling the subject of my enquiry, if only for convenience, "Curadán-Boniface" and "he". The importance of this underlying question will become apparent as we proceed. As the traditional saint of the church of Rosemarkie, however, (whether originally single or multiple), he has some claim to be considered also patron of the Black Isle.

A word of warning is owed potential readers at once. Those who approach this study in the hope or expectation that their questions are going to be answered, their curiosity satisfied and factual information supplied, are bound to be disappointed. The most that I can promise, if I have been in any way successful in what I set out to do, is that they will be better informed, at the conclusion, about the nature and extent of the problem. But the problem remains: if there is, in an exercise such as this, more than an element of fictional detective work, I have, in the final chapter, no dramatic solution to unfold.

I have not been concerned here to play the 'devil's advocate': time may have played that role successfully enough in any case. But, while inclining towards an optimistic view overall, I have tried to project a fair and balanced outlook; and I have not hesitated to point out what I (or others) see as the weaknesses in the case for a positive interpretation of the evidence. There are, I am afraid, all too many of them. The result, I am aware, is that inconsistencies of approach or treatment may have crept into my text unnoticed from time to time: if so, I can only hope that they are neither too numerous nor too serious.

I cannot claim, therefore, to have contributed anything new or revolutionary to the study of St.Curadán-Boniface: I have failed to lighten significantly the darkness that still surrounds him. I do think, however, that I may justifiably claim to have done two things. The first is that, by bringing together and examining all the categories of evidence and all the information they contain (so far as I could find), I have produced a more comprehensive and detailed survey than has been attempted hitherto; and therefore, perhaps, opened up a new perspective that may prove helpful in the longer term. The second is that I have succeeded (though I cannot really claim much credit for following up documentary references that seem to have attracted little previous attention - and none for having them drawn to my attention) in pushing the native tradition of our saint back to the twelfth century. This may improve the situation a little, though, as so often in early Scottish history, we seem thereby to be taken to the threshold of

the unknown, only to be unceremoniously left there.

Hagiography is a special kind of literature. Saints' lives (scarcely biography in the sense that we understand that term) and other traditions of saints - certainly written and perhaps oral too - whatever they say that is strange, surprising or incredible to the modern western mind, however incomprehensible or uncomfortable their outlook generally seems to us now, must be treated with due respect as a literary genre in their own right: one that was increasingly popular and important from late Roman times throughout the middle ages. Whatever use historians and archaeologists may put hagiography to as a quarry of raw material, it must still be treated with consideration, not as failed history or archaeology, but as hagiography.

I wish to thank the Scottish Text Society, through its secretary, Lorna Pike, for permission to quote verbatim from its editions of Bellenden's translation of Boece's history and Dalrymple's translation of Leslie's; and Donal Anderson for redrawing my maps.

Chapter 1

Curetán Epscop[1]

In 697, Adomnán,[2] ninth abbot of Iona and author of the *Life* of Columba, convened an important assembly of Irish churchmen at the monastery of Birr in County Offaly. The primary purpose of this assembly was to legislate for the protection of non-combatants - women, children and clerics - and probably also of church property, in time of war or other disturbance of the peace. Its enactments are preserved in a composite text, the dating of the various parts of which is disputed: *Cáin Adamnáin*, "The Law of Adomnán". This text contains a list of the names - ninety one in all - of those whose authority guaranteed the legislation of the Synod of Birr: the first forty those of clerics, so far as they can be identified more or less certainly; the second fifty one (with the same qualification), those of lay magnates. It seems likely that the list of guarantors, at least, is a contemporary document of 697, though it has suffered from the attentions of successive generations of editors.

The twenty-second name in the list is *Curetán* (variant, *Cuirtan*) *epscop*, "bishop Curetán". He is immediately preceded by *Ceti epscop* (no. 21); and followed by *Conamail mac Conain(n) epscop* (no. 23). Ceti is probably Coeddi, bishop of Iona, who died in 712. Conamail has probably been assigned by an editor, through mistaken identification, the wrong patronymic and, possibly, too, an office that he did not in fact hold: he is, in all likelihood, Conamail mac Failbe, who died as abbot of Iona in 710. Thus, if numbers 21 and 23 have been correctly identified, Curetán appears in the list between two Scottish guarantors - making his own Scottish provenance a reasonable conclusion.

There may have been other clerical guarantors of Scottish provenance, or at least with Scottish connections: *Feradach hoa Artúr* (no. 30); and *Ioain ecna mac in Gobann* and *Ihain mac Samuél* (nos. 38, 39). They are not, however, relevant to the present discussion.

Two secular guarantors should, on the other hand, be noted. The first is *Euchu ua Domnaill* (no. 85), whose kingdom is not given, but who must be Eochu or Eochuid (Eochaid(h)) mac Domangairt m. Domnaill Bricc, ruling king of Scottish Dál Riata. He died in 697, after a reign of perhaps two to three years: A.O. Anderson suggested c.695-697.[3] The second is *Bruide mac Derilei ri Cruithintuathi* (no. 91) - Bruide son of Derile, King of the Picts, who seems to have begun his reign in 697 and who died in 706. He was succeeded then by his better-known brother, Nechtán (below).

In Irish calendars, a Curetán appears at 16 March. In the late eighth century Martyrology of

Tallaght, the entry is *Curitani sancti episcopi et abbatis Ruis Mind Bairend* - "of Curitan holy bishop and abbot of Ros Mind Bairend".[4] The twelfth century Martyrology of Gorman has *Curitan*, with the note *epscop ocus abb Ruiss Meinn* - "Curitan, bishop and abbot of Ross Meinn".[5] The seventeenth century Martyrology of Donegal has, similarly, *Curitan, epscob, acus abb Rois Meinn* - "Curitan, Bishop and Abbot of Ros-Meinn"; with the further note (I omit the Irish text) - "The Cáin Adamnáin states that Curitan, the Bishop, was one of the saints who went security to free the women [of Ireland] from the bondage in which they were".[6] This last, however, while interesting as the opinion of Michael O'Clery in 1630, has no independent value in the context of the present enquiry.[7]*

The Irish scholar William Reeves identified the place-name(s) of these entries with Rosemarkie:[8] as we shall see, Scottish and other later sources associate saint(s) *Bonifacius* and/or *Kiritinus-Queritinus* with 16 March and Rosemarkie. As Reeves observed, the two latter names could represent *Curetán*. But he appears to have conflated the entries of Tallaght and Gorman, giving the reading "Ruis *mic* Bairend" (?) of the seventeenth century abstract of Tallaght (rather than "Ruis *Mind* Bairend", with the Book of Leinster) and suggesting that "'Ros mBaircinn' would more nearly agree with the Scotch form". And referring to the form "Ros-mein", which he attributes only to Donegal, he concedes that "there is clearly some uncertainty as to the exact name". He is, moreover, doubtful, with regard to Donegal's note, that the Curetán of 16 March is he of Birr, rather than Cairitan of Druimlara (7 March), or Curitan of Cillmordithruibh (9 August). Noting the name among the guarantors of Cáin Adomnáin of Bruide son of Derile, he objects: "But S.Boniface's Acts state that "Nectanius rex Pictorum" was his (i.e., Boniface's) contemporary and benefactor. The former (Bruide) died in 706, the latter (Nechtán) in 621". I am not sure that I understand this objection, in view of the fact that Bruide was succeeded in 706 by a brother named Nechtán. Later tradition, however, as we shall see, identified St.Boniface with one or other of popes Boniface III (607), or Boniface IV (608-15).[9] Clearly, this problem cannot be resolved with certainty. The safest course, it seems to me, is to accept the fact that, on the available evidence, *Ros Mind (Mic?) Bairend* and *Ros(s) Meinn* cannot be equated with Rosemarkie. Both names, or one or other of them, may indeed refer to Rosemarkie; but, in that case, an earlier specific element has apparently been replaced by a later one, at some unrecorded period, but presumably before the early twelfth century. (For an alternative possibility, see footnote 13.) On the other hand, the Irish names, either or both, may refer to a place or places elsewhere in Scotland - Restenneth (below) is also a *ros*-name[10] - or to one or more places in Ireland: Ni Dhonnchadha draws attention to *Cell Cuiridáin*, Kilcredaun, parish and barony of Moyarta, County Clare.

The name Rosemarkie shows great consistency throughout its recorded history - and casts no light on the matter in question. The following historical forms and dates are taken from the *Origines Parochiales Scotiae*:[11] (Macbeth) Rosmarkensis episcopus 1124-28;[12] Rosmarkyn 1224, 1226 (church of St.Peter of R.), 1227; Rosmarc (*sic*) 1255; Rosmarkyne 1338; Rosmarkyng 1420; Roismarkie 1455, 1612; Ros(e)marky 1510, 1529, 1554, 1557, 1561-66, 1576, c. 1578, 1640; Rosmerky 1546, 1563, 1561-66; Roismerky 1549; Rosmerkie

1553, 1561-66; Rosmerkyne 1524; Rosmerkin, Rosmarkin(e) 1561-66, 1568; Ros(e)markny 1567, 1574-76; Roismarkne 1578; Roismerkie 1580; Rosemarkie 1580, 1592, 1621, c.1640, 1655, 1661; Rosmarkie 1578, 1584, 1619, c.1640, 1649. W.J.Watson gave the Gaelic as Ros-mairenidh or Ros-marcanaidh; also Ros-mharcanaidh; in Book of Clanranald, Ros-mhairenì: referring the specific element, a stream name, to *marc*, "horse", he suggested that the whole name means "point of the horse-burn" (*ros*, "cape, point", or "wood").[13]

In his earlier work, Watson had noted Reeves' identification in a footnote without comment (p. 128). By 1926 and with the local commemorations of a saint Curadán (below) in mind, he had cautiously accepted the equation of "Ross Meinn", "Ross Maic-Mend Bairend" with Rosemarkie (p.315). A.O.Anderson, however, was doubtful.[14] Earlier, the historian W.F. Skene had incorporated Reeves' identification into his historical reconstruction of the Boniface-Kiritinus legend(s) (below).[15]

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* In a tract preserved in Ms.Rawlinson 480 in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, entitled "De Quibusdam Episcopis" and compiled in 1665 or 1666, the Irish scholar Dubhaltach Mac Firbhisigh undertook to give "brief memorials here of certain Bishops of Erinn, for whom episcopal sees are not now reckoned; although they were reckoned in their own times and sees". He lists under "Ros-Bairenn", "Cuiritan (no) Ciriac epscop agus ab Ruis menn, no Ruis bairenn. Marta 16"- "Cuiritan, or Ciriac, bishop and abbot of Ros-menn, or Ros-Bairenn, March 16". See D.H. Kelly, ed., *Of Certain Bishops of Erinn ... by Dudley McFirbis*, Dublin 1869, 46-7. Kelly does not attempt to identify "Ros- Bairenn". I doubt, however, that this tract has value as evidence here independent of that of the martyrologies, with which Mac Firbhisigh was presumably familiar. "Curiacae" appears among the non-Irish saints under 16 March; and "Ciriacae" among the non-Irish saints under 17 March, in the Martyrology of Tallaght - A. O'Sullivan, ed., *The Book of Leinster*, Vol. VI, Dublin, 1983, 1606-7. What is probably more to the point here, the first two entries for 16 March in the Martyrology of Gorman (see n.5) are "Curitan *is* Ciriac", "Curitan *and* Cyriacus". See also D.H. Kelly in *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 9 (1867), 182-90, esp. 188-90.

Footnotes and references: Chapter 1

The first citation of a work below, book or journal article, contains full bibliographical details. Thereafter the same work is referred to in abbreviated, but (it is hoped) recognisable form. Thus, a bibliography is built into the system of references.

1. In this section, much of what I have to say is based on a paper by Máirín Ní Dhonnchadha, "The Guarantor List of *Cáin Adomnáin*, 697," *Peritia* 1 (1982), 178- 215.

2. For a brief account of Adomnán, see A.O. and M.O.Anderson, eds., *Adomnan's Life of Columba*, Edinburgh 1961, 92-8.
3. A.O.Anderson, *Early Sources of Scottish History, A.D.500 to 1286*, Edinburgh 1922 (2 vols.), I, cxii, cxxxii, 205.
4. *The Martyrology of Tallaght*, ed. R.I.Best and H.J.Lawlor, London 1931 (Henry Bradshaw Society, Vol. 68), 24: the reading of the 12th century Book of Leinster (vol.VI, ed. A. O'Sullivan, Dublin 1983, 1606). The 17th century abstract (from a Brussels MS) of the Martyrology of Tallaght has, under 16 March, "Curitani Eps. ocus Abb. Ruis mic Bairend" according to M.Kelly, ed., *Calendar of Irish Saints: The Martyrology of Tallagh*, Dublin 1857, xviii. See also Anderson, *Early Sources*, I, xci.
5. *The Martyrology of Gorman*, ed.W.Stokes, London 1895 (Henry Bradshaw Society, Vol.9), 56-7.
6. *The Martyrology of Donegal*, eds., J.H.Todd and W.Reeves, Dublin (Irish Archaeological and Celtic Society) 1864, 76-7.
7. For a brief discussion of the early Irish martyrologies, see K.Hughes, *Early Christian Ireland: Introduction to the Sources*, Cambridge 1972, 205-10. See also A.O.Anderson, *Early Sources*, I, lii (Donegal), lx (Gorman), xci (Tallaght).
8. W.Reeves, "On the Céli-dé, commonly called Culdees". *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy*, 24 (Antiquities), Dublin 1873, 119-263, esp.162-64. See also E.Hogan, *Onomasticon Goedelicum* (Dublin 1910), 584 (ros mbaircind, following Skene), 587 (ros mac(mic) bairend, ros meinn, ros mic baircend, ros mind bairend).
9. Irish annals record the death at ? 621 of Nechtán, Cano's son, who may be the "Nectu, grandson of Uerd" or "Uerb", to whom the Pictish regnal-lists assign a reign of twenty years at this time - perhaps 601 to 621. Either he or his predecessor, Gartnait, may have founded the church of Abernethy. See Anderson, *Early Sources*, I, cxxiv, 121-22, 145. Anderson refers the legend of St.Boniface in the Aberdeen Breviary to pope Boniface IV and thus to the reign of this Nechtán, explicitly rejecting Skene's setting of it in the reign of Nechtán, son of Derile (145). On the other hand, in the context of the death of Brude, son of Derile, in 706, he apparently identifies the "Nectauius King of the Picts" of the legend of Kiritinus in the *Acta Sanctorum* with Nechtán, son of Derile, suggesting that Nechtán's baptism by Kiritinus might be dated 706-10 (n.3, p.211). Anderson may, in fact, have regarded the legends of Boniface and Kiritinus as originally separate (below).
10. Rostinoth etc., the specific element probably from Old Irish *tene* "fire", gen. *tened*, later *teineadh*, as Tennet of Glen Tennet in Angus, "the stream name *Teinntidh*" and, probably, Tynet or Tynot, a stream in Banffshire: W.J.Watson, *History of the Celtic Place-Names of Scotland*, Edinburgh and London 1926, 475.
11. *Origines Parochiales Scotiae*, ed. C.Innes, 3 vols., Edinburgh 1851-55, vol.2, part 2 (1855), 567-92, 843-5.
12. Actually 1127 x 1131: see I.B.Cowan and D.E.Easson, *Medieval Religious Houses in Scotland*, 2 ed., London 1976, 207; J.Dowden, *The Bishops of Scotland*, Glasgow 1912,

209. A late 12th century form, Rosmarcin, is given by Roger de Hoveden, c.1201, with reference to the year 1195 (below). Cf.also Rosmarkine(n)sem episcopum 1161, Rosmarkin, Rosmarkis 1195: - *Chronica de Mailros*, ed. J.Stevenson, Edinburgh 1835 (Bannatyne Club, no.49), 78, 102.

13. W.J.Watson, *Place-Names of Ross and Cromarty*, Inverness 1904, 128. See also Watson 1926 (as n.10 above), 441, 496.

A possible alternative explanation for the apparent disagreement between the place-name(s) of the Irish martyrologies - if they are relevant here - and the name "Rosemarkie", is as follows. The name(s) recorded in the Irish sources denoted some other, perhaps more general attribute of the *ros* - Chanonry Ness - as a whole, whereas "Rosemarkie" denoted specifically the site of the church settlement beside the mouth of the Rosemarkie Burn. The place-name "Fortrose" may have had similarly restricted application: see Watson 1904 (as above), 128-9. In this case, the different names could have co-existed for a long time. (Is there a further possibility that, because of the early ecclesiastical importance of the locality, Chanonry Ness is in fact the *ros* from which eventually diocese, earldom and county took their name? But cf.Watson, *ibid*., xxi).

14. *Early Sources*, I, 202.

15. W.F.Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, 3 vols., Edinburgh 1876-80, vol.2 (1877), 229-32.

Chapter 2

Bonifacius-Kiritinus: Queritinus

As I mentioned earlier, Scottish and other late sources, especially calendars, notice a saint (or saints) having these names under 16 March. These sources are sometimes not easy to follow and afford numerous opportunities for confusion - which I can by no means always resolve. So the best procedure, it seems to me, is to present each document and to discuss it individually; then to try to draw them all together in a more general discussion at the end. Where the original is in Latin, I have made my own translations.[16]

A. The entry in the *Acta Sanctorum*: J.Bollandus, *Acta Sanctorum Martii*, vol.II, Antwerp 1668, 449.

"16 March. Concerning Saint Bonifacius Kiritinus, Bishop in Scotland. Historical synopsis.

1."Among the apostolic men, who in the seventh century of Christ illuminated northern Scotland - then the region of the Picts - with the sacred doctrine of Christ and with various exercises of virtues and with miracles, is 'Saint Bonifacius the Bishop' surnamed 'Queritinus' by others 'Albanus Kiritinus, surnamed Bonifacius': whose acts we have obtained from a manuscript codex of Utrecht, but intermingled with several fables: of whom this is a statement: 'Albanus Kiritinus, surnamed Bonifacius, by nationality an Israelite, of the family of Radia, sister of the apostles Peter and Andrew, seventh etc.' The same acts, but altered to some extent by the authority of Adam King, were inserted into the Breviary of the Church of Aberdeen; separated into readings and recited at Matins on 16 March, the day on which he is entered in the Martyrology of Cologne compiled in the year 1490; and in the Clerics' Manual, published in the same year also at Lubeck; in the German martyrology of Canisius; in the general Catalogus of Ferrarius, in these words: 'In Scotland Saint Bonifacius, Bishop and Confessor'. Hermannus Greuen of Cologne, a Carthusian, in the supplement of Usuardus,[17] proposes three separate saints, as it were, in these words: 'In Scotland Bonifacius, Bishop; Albanus, Bishop and Confessor; Saint Kinitimus' (*sic*), who is called above in the Utrecht Acts,'Kiritinus', in others 'Queretinus'. In a certain manuscript martyrology of Utrecht, written two hundred or perhaps three hundred years ago, the following is said of him: 'Of Niritinus (*sic*) Confessor and his companions, whose wonderful acts can be read'. In the

martyrology compiled in English in the year 1526, Witfordus begins his eulogy as follows: 'In Scotland (was kept) the feast of Saint Abbanus, also called Saint Kyrynus (*sic*). His surname was Bonifacius, and he is most commonly called Bonifacius'; and thereafter many details are inserted from the Acts referred to above. In a manuscript anthology of saints these things are set forth differently: '*In Effordia* (Fulda ? see n.97, below) of Saint Bonifacius Bishop and Confessor'. And after other material which has been inserted in between: 'Also of the holy Bishops and Confessors Gumbertus and Kirithimus' (*sic*), the last of these, (known) to others as 'Kiritinus' or 'Quiritinus', is actually 'Saint Bonifacius', also called 'Albanus', because he lived in the Pictish region of Albion.

2. "David Camerarius in his Scottish Calendar pays him this tribute of praise: 'Saint Bonifacius Bishop of Ross, whose purity of soul, innocence of life, love of the salvation of others, led him to leave Italy for Scotland, in order, namely, that the Scottish Church might conform to that of Rome in every respect, even in external usages: for which purpose he travelled to various places of that kingdom and selected for himself the province of Ross; and in its principal city, named Rosemarkie, he carried out the duties of bishop for many years, earning considerable renown for his sanctity and glory for his miracles. Having successfully accomplished this, he devoutly bowed to fate about the year of Christ 630'. Thomas Dempster in his Scottish Calendar has the following: 'At Rosemarkie in the Mearns[18] the feast of Bonifacius Bishop of Ross, who, after laying aside the supreme pontificate, travelled with dutiful diligence over all Scotland, preaching and celebrating the sacred mysteries'. The same Dempster in his Ecclesiastical History of the Scottish People, chapter 131, compiled various items of information concerning 'Saint Bonifacius Queritinus', 'having decided that he was an apostolic legate rather than supreme pontiff'; following Hector Boece, who in Book 3 of his History of the Scots writes that 'he was sent as legate by the Roman pontiff, and for that reason believed to be pope by the uneducated people'. We append the rest of Hector's statement purged of very many fables; and it is of such a kind.

3. '"When the venerable bishop Bonifacius Queritinus came on his way from Italy with a company of pious men, he was carried in a boat into the Firth of Tay, to the mouth of the little river, which now separates the district of Gowrie from Angus and first landed ... (He was) a man of remarkable piety, and exceedingly learned in sacred scripture (and) has been brought down to our times by means of many signs. For in the place where he landed, he built from the foundations a church to be dedicated to Blessed Peter, Christ's apostle. From there he set off to preach at the village of Tellein (Tealing), three miles from A.[19], and founded another church dedicated to the name of the same apostle: (he founded) a third at Restenneth, now a monastery of the canons of the Blessed Augustine. Having stayed there some years, that he might thereby strengthen in sound doctrine the people who flocked to him with very frequent discourses; he penetrated the rest of Angus, Mearns, Mar, Buchan, Strathbogie (?) and Moray, instructing the pagan nations in the doctrine of Christ: and founding and consecrating quite a

few churches, in various places of those regions, in honour of the apostle Peter. At last, however, he went also to Ross, where having stayed to the end of his life, many and pious labours having been expended for the cultivation of true piety, eminent in sanctity and learning, happily rendering his soul to God, he left his body to be buried at Rosemarkie'. John Leslie, Bishop of Ross, book 4 concerning the deeds of the Scots in (the reign of) Eugenius IV, 51st king, has this: 'Under Eugenius the most holy bishop Bonifacius came to Scotland: by whose labour the people had been illuminated by the light of Christ, after all darkness of superstition and Pelagian error had been dispelled, and various churches had been planted and built to various saints; he was buried at the village of Rosemarkie in the territory of Ross'. He then asserts that king Eugenius died in the year of Christ 620.

4. "To this we add a few things selected from the manuscript Acts of Utrecht, in which he is called 'Kiritinus'. These are as follows: 'Then Nectauius King of the Picts inspired by the will of God, was baptized, and he gave the place of the baptistery to Saint Kiritinus with its entire province, to be administered by the pilgrim servants of Christ, free from any dependence ever after. And after receiving a blessing the king returned to his court. And Saint Kiritinus bearing with him many relics of the apostles and martyrs and other saints, founded a church at the mouth of the river Gobriat in Pictland, and consecrated it. And he evangelised the Picts and Scots for sixty years, and built a splendid church in Rosemarkie. Here the saint of the Lord Kiritinus performed apostolic miracles, enlightened the blind, cleansed the leprous, made the deaf hear, the dumb speak, put demons to flight: he raised seven dead, redeemed many captives: he built one hundred and fifty churches, converted thirty six thousand people to the faith of Christ. At last, when he had completed eighty years of his life, three months and seventeen days,[20] he departed to the Lord on 16 March, and was buried in the same city in the church of Saint Peter before the altar, where he shines forth in daily signs and miracles'. There (we find) almost the same things as are related in the Aberdeen Breviary. For the rest, the places mentioned above can be easily identified from adjoining provinces situated in northern Scotland".

This is not a coherent account, so much as a commentary on various sources. The first section above reflects a degree of confusion and uncertainty, made more perplexing for the modern reader by the faulty transmission of the name *Kiritinus-Queritinus*. If conflation of two or more individuals has occurred, it seems not to be a recent development: but doubt remains as to whether one, two or even three saints are in question. Leaving aside for the present the problem (which underlies, of course, much of this enquiry) of the identity or otherwise of Boniface and Kiritinus, it seems advisable at this point to try to clear some ground by tackling *Albanus-Abbanus*.

In the English Martyrology of 1526, in the "Addicyons" for 16 March,[21] Richard Whytford has the following: "In scotlond ye feest of saynt Abbane, called also saynt Kyryne, whose symame was Boniface; and therfore of many called saynt Boniface. borne in ye countree of

galilee at bethsayda and by nacyon a iewe (Jew); and ordered a bysshop by saynt Iohn patriarke of Ierusalem. and after he was a grete pylgrym vnto all the places where Chryst had ben. and than to Rome by reuelacyon. and from thens to scotlond where he conuerted the kynge and the countree; and after he went in to ye out yles, where he buylded .C. (100) chirches and conuerted of the people vnto Chryst .XXXVI.M. (36,000); and reysed .vii. persones from deth. and he made ye defe to here, the blynde to se, ye lame to go; and he cast out wycked spirytes with many other myracles. and he lyued vnto the age of .C. yeres and moo."

Whytford does not identify "saynt Abbane" with the Irish saint Abbán; and such was probably not his intention. But Bishop Forbes of Brechin did suggest this identification, even to the extent of saying that the "Ros-Mac-Truin" of the life of Abbán "seems the same name as Rosmarky".[22] Now it is true that one of the two dates assigned to St.Abbán of Magh Arnaide in the Irish Calendars is 16 March - the other being 27 October, the date of his death in the lives. And it is also true that the Latin life of him in the Salamanca codex consistently calls him "Albanus" rather than "Abbanus". Furthermore, he may be commemorated in Knapdale.[23] On the other hand, the lives that I have read of Abbán, Latin and Irish, contain no hint, that I can detect, of a traditional association of this saint with any place in Scotland. Indeed his cultus, as reflected in the lives, seems emphatically southern Irish - being located mainly in Leinster and Munster, so far as I can tell. Furthermore, there seems to be a distinct possibility that the Abbán of the lives is himself a composite figure.[24] On balance, it seems most likely that (in the present context) "Albanus" is, as Watson observed, "Albanach";[25] and that the epithet was attached in the first place either to Curetán, to distinguish him from specifically Irish saints of that name, or to Boniface, to distinguish him from numerous and often better-known saints of that name. In other words, as the *Acta Sanctorum* note, he was called "Albanus", "because he lived in the Pictish region of Albion".[26] It seems improbable, then, that the Irish Abbán has any part to play here; and, in any case, *Ross meic Treoin* is actually New Ross, on the River Barrow, in County Wexford.[27]

For discussion of the entry in the Aberdeen Breviary, see below.

As regards the second and third sections of the entry in the *Acta Sanctorum*, I will discuss presently the statements of Thomas Dempster, Hector Boece and John Leslie. It seems that the earliest Scottish calendar to enter St.Boniface is that of (New) Fearn: "Bonifacii episcopi" at 16 March: it is, presumably, a local calendar in origin.[28] I take it that the Bollandists' statement (in the first section of the entry in the *Acta Sanctorum*) that the entry in the Aberdeen Breviary had been altered by the authority of Adam King, actually means that their own copy of the Aberdeen Breviary, or a copy accessible to them, had been so annotated. The Aberdeen Breviary was originally published at Edinburgh in 1509 and 1510.[29] Adam King (who died in 1620) published his own calendar at Paris in 1588; his entry for 16 March reads: "S. Boniface bischope of ross. send out of Italie in scotl. vnder king Eugenius 2. (A.D.) 620".[30] David Camerarius' calendar is contained in his book *De Scotorum Fortitudine*, likewise published at Paris, in 1631. The abridged version given by Forbes has merely, under 16 March, "Sanctus Bonifacius Rossensis Episcopus".[31]

At this point, I think that the most interesting thing to note in the fourth section is the stream-name *Gobriat*. Though it does not appear to be discussed explicitly by Watson, it seems to me, on the face of it, that it may belong to a group of Irish and Scottish place- and stream-names ending in *-ad, -aid*. This termination has apparently a long history and is not uncommon in names of streams.[32] I am not competent to suggest how ancient (or, what may be more crucial in the present context, how recent) such a form might be: but it may be compared with "... (Ecclesiam de) Inuergouerin ...",in a charter of Malcolm IV confirming the church of Invergowrie to Scone Abbey, dated 1162 x 20 September 1164.[33] The district of Gowrie is *Gouerin* in the twelfth century geographical tract *De Situ Albanie*.[34] Watson was inclined to refer it to a personal name, that of Gabrán, King of Dál Riata (c.537- c.559) and father of Aedán. It seems, however, that he did not consider the stream-name to have the same etymology, suggesting that it might be derived either from *gobhar*, goat, or from Welsh *gofer*, rill, like *Gobhraidh*, Gowrie, a tributary of Conon.[35] It may be, then, that the name of the burn, originally independent, has become assimilated to that of the district, because it forms here the eastern boundary of Gowrie.[36] The form *Gobriat* may, of course, be well and truly garbled. But it need not be: it seems plausible enough linguistically and could scarcely have been invented by a late or post-medieval continental author or copyist (who had, presumably, no knowledge of insular Celtic languages), save by accident. Is *Gobriat* (or *Gobrait*?) actually a pre-twelfth century Gaelic name embedded more or less intact in a seventeenth century compilation? If it is, it could have a significant bearing on the antiquity and historicity of a written tradition concerning Saint Kiritinus, the bare relics of which may be enshrined in the Utrecht MSS. At present, however, this must remain speculation.[37]

As we shall see, the place of King Nechtán's baptism is said to be Restenneth in Angus, near Forfar.

B. *Legend of Saint Bonifacius*, from the Aberdeen Breviary (vol.II, Pars Hyemalis, fol. lxix): Appendix, no.VII in *Chronicles of the Picts, Chronicles of the Scots, etc.*, ed. W.F.Skene, Edinburgh 1867, 421-3.

"Bonifacius, by nationality an Israelite, was born of the family of Radia, sister of the apostles Peter and Andrew. And he had his origin in the village of Bethsaida of the province of Galilee. He succeeded the blessed Pope Gregory in the papal dignity and held office for seven years and three months and seven days. For he (the seventh man from John (father) of the apostles Peter and Andrew and sixth from Radia) was filled from childhood with the grace of the Holy Spirit and in the age of his youth strove to please God and worshipped the true God at the palace of celestial life by virtuous acts. In this way he preserved purity of mind and body and lived an irreproachable life.

"But in the eighth year of his life he showed himself a keen student of the divine scriptures, where he found in abundance the true wisdom of the word; and he learnt various languages from every race and spoke them correctly. He was ordained to the episcopate[38] by John

Bishop[39] and Patriarch of Jerusalem in only the thirty-sixth year of his life, where he afterwards followed the life and ways of the most holy apostle Peter.

"But on reaching about his forty-sixth year,* when Maurice reigned as Emperor of the Romans, he came to Rome, where after some time he was appointed bishop and cardinal: afterwards by choice of all the cardinals and by the providence of the Holy Spirit of the most high God himself, in the fortieth year* of his life he was raised to the papacy by divine providence. From this time he enjoined (the recitation of) certain canonical hours and the performance of a number of other acts of divine worship in the church of God: he duly and in legal form drew up constitutions and beneficial methods of praying and speaking.

"Finally he privately called back certain[40] of his brothers into his chapel that from there he might reveal to them the secrets of his heart. Speaking thus: 'My brothers in our Lord Jesus Christ,[41] belief in whom is professed everywhere: from the time when we left our ancestral homes, for love of the same God and of those peoples who (dwell) beyond the bounds of Europe as far as the northern regions, we have determined to be pilgrims within the bounds of the world for a short time'. They said to him in reply,[42] 'Send thither religious and judicious men to that part, just as the blessed Celestine and Gregory your predecessors gave originally to the same (peoples) Palladius, Patrick and Augustine.'

"So Saint Boniface answered saying, 'We have asked our almighty God through Saint Peter: as through his merit we have deserved to receive this grace of pilgrimage, by whom it was entrusted in the world to the Apostle Paul to proclaim the word of God to those in Europe (?),[43] whence by his grace we have offered the sacrifice of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ upon this altar, that the same thing might be entrusted to us by the same (God), which indeed has been recently revealed to us for certain in an angelic vision through Saint Peter, and continually persevering in prayer until now I have been strengthened by the same vision.' And they all said to him: 'May God grant you according to your heart and may he confirm all your deliberation in good.'[44]

"When this was finished he said to them in conclusion,[45] 'May you be blessed by the Lord who made heaven and earth'.[46] But as they prayed for and blessed eachother, he took leave of them there with God's blessing; and when everything required for the journey had been got ready, he shortly afterwards left for Rome.[47] And as he embarked upon his journey,[48] there arose among his brethren and the people of the whole city of Rome a very anguished cry and considerable grief and with deepest lamentation they said, 'Ah, most holy father, why are you abandoning us orphans'; and as they were saying this, he blessed them and went away.

"As this same (Boniface) had undertaken this journey, Bonifandus,[49] Benedictus, Servandus, Pensandus, Benevolus, Madianus (and) Principuus (*or* Precipuus?), bishops and very devout men, followed after him dutifully and faithfully; and two noble virgin abbesses, Crescentia and Triduana; seven priests; and seven deacons; seven subdeacons; seven acolytes; seven exorcists; seven readers; and seven doorkeepers;[50] and a very great multitude of God-fearing men and women of either sex. And when the said man of God Boniface had appointed each one in due order, they reached Pictland harmoniously after a favourable journey and a

prosperous voyage; but a sign was sent forth by divine providence from heaven and they came by the Scottish Sea almost as far as the district of Restenneth. Approaching this district humbly, they glorified God chanting[51] the greater litany.[52]

"It happened meanwhile that Nectauius[53] king of the Picts, on seeing the sign, had come to this place with his army (and) in seeing (and) wondering at so great a multitude of pilgrims, was affected[54] with no ordinary astonishment; but suddenly inspired by the grace of the Holy Spirit they (he) received the sacrament of baptism in that hour from Blessed Boniface and his bishops, with all his magnates and officers, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ. In fact the king of those God-fearing men handed over and delivered to Blessed Boniface the place of the baptistery in the name of the Holy Trinity.[55] In which place an almost countless number of people were (was) signed with the holy chrism of the christian faith by the same (Boniface); and to instruct them in his faith he busied himself in the building of churches and of other holy places right into old age with all sanctity and model of life.

"At length Blessed Boniface, after very many other indications of miracles, enlightened the blind, cleansed the leprous, and made the deaf hear; and the dumb speak; raised seven dead from death to life; and ransomed various people from captivity to freedom with his own gifts. He wrote one hundred and fifty gospel books, and founded as many churches for God, (confirmed) as many bishops, and one thousand priests. And he converted to the faith of Christ and baptised thirty-six thousand men and women. In the eighty-fourth year of his age, however, full of grace and virtue, he departed to Christ on 16th March."

The text is not of the best; and Skene, his amanuensis, or his printer, has not improved matters. I have compared Skene's transcript with the text of the Aberdeen Breviary (the facsimile edition of 1854), when I have been in doubt, or where I have thought it advisable. I have not, however, compared the two texts systematically and in detail.

Three things about the saint's legend in the Aberdeen Breviary stand out on first impressions:
1. He does not actually reach Pictland until a late stage in the narrative, though much of the earlier narrative is concerned with deliberations over and preparations for his missionary undertaking.
2. He is only called Boniface.
3. There is, apart from the mention of Restenneth, no direct topographical detail. (I am not concerned here with the legend before or outwith Pictland.)

Some years ago, Dr.Isabel Henderson, discussing Skene's historical reconstruction of the Boniface-Kiritinus legend, argued that conflation had taken place: that, in fact, "the double name plays the usual role of serving to conflate two originally independent personalities" - in this case Pope Boniface IV and St.Kiritinus. She maintained that the Aberdeen Breviary "preserves the legend of a visit of Bonifacius IV to Pictavia": since he reigned as pope from 607 to 614, he was brought into contact with the Pictish King Nechtán who reigned at that time (see here note 9 above). An originally quite separate legend of Kiritinus (who appears in the Martyrology of Tallaght and might be the Curetán of the *Cáin Adamnáin*), on the other hand, involved his meeting with a King Nechtán, possibly Nechtán son of Derile, and his death

at Rosemarkie on 16 March. Thus the Utrecht text in the *Acta Sanctorum* "represents the attempt of some writer to conflate the Boniface and Nechtan story with the Kiritinus and Nechtan story and the Boniface-Kiritinus of the 16th March is thereby created". The Aberdeen Breviary, Dr.Henderson concluded, enters Boniface at 16 March under the influence of this conflated tradition, but the legend it relates is actually that of Boniface IV originally, whose feast-day is 25 May: "if there is any scrap of history in this late legend it is in the Kiritinus aspect of the story".[56]

Dr.Henderson was suspicious - and rightly so - of reliance in detail on late sources, especially in the absence of demonstrably relevant early (and thus putatively reliable) texts. Though she has, I think, now modified her more rigorous views in favour of at least a qualified acceptance of the historical basis of the Boniface-Kiritinus legend,[57] her earlier criticism remains in principle an example of strictly correct methodological procedure in the face of such material.

I would offer the following comments. In the first place - and at the risk of what may seem special pleading - the text of the Aberdeen Breviary here scarcely inspires confidence in its overall accuracy. I suggest, therefore, that reference to Rosemarkie - Ross could have been omitted through carelessness. Similarly, carelessness or an editorial desire to gloss over potential complications in pursuit of at least an appearance of consistency in what is, after all, only one calendar entry in a very large work, may have led to the omission or suppression of the name *Kiritinus* in favour of the better-known *Bonifacius*. *Bonifacius* was, in any case, most likely the preferred "official" name. These observations, however, must be treated as no more than suggestions. (I should add that, in the entry for Pope St.Boniface IV in the *Acta Sanctorum* (*AASS* May, vol.VI, Antwerp 1688, 75-7) at 25 May, I cannot see anything to connect him with Boniface-Kiritinus of 16 March).

In the second place, though, as I have said, there is no *direct* topographical detail apart from the reference to Restenneth, at least some topographical detail is reflected by the names of some of Boniface's companions.

I cannot comment on the significance of the list of names in general. Some of the names seem to be paired: Bonifacius and Bonifandus; Benedictus and Benevolus; perhaps Servandus and Pensandus; and the two abbesses, Crescentia and Triduana. Are we to envisage adjacent chapels, altars or shrines in Fortrose Cathedral or elsewhere? There seems to have been a local tradition that St.Boniface settled in Ross in the company of his relations: "That toune is ancient and of gret antiquitie called Rosmarkine, throuch the Reliques of S.Boniface; and decored throuch the Sepulchres, and monumentis of alde of his fatheris..."[58]

Benedictus is surely commemorated in Bennetsfield, G. *Baile Bhenneit*, "Bennet's town" and the nearby *Clach Bhenneit*, "Bennet's Stone" (1) in Avoch parish;[59] and in St. Bennet's Chapel at Navity (2) in Cromarty parish.[60] I doubt the equation of Benedict with Bonoc or Bonach, attributed by MacKinlay to Bishop Forbes.[61] (See Map 2.)

Forbes and MacKinlay both thought that Pensandus was commemorated in Kilspindie in the Carse of Gowrie.[62] This seems doubtful to me. Kilspindie (Errol) is Kynspinedy, Kinspinithin, c.1250; Kilspynde, c.1470: the name occurred also at Aberlady in East Lothian.[63]

Forbes thought that Madianus was commemorated in St.Madoes, also in the Carse of Gowrie.[64] MacKinlay, however, thought that more probably St.Madoes "may be attributed not to St.Madianus but to St.Modoc". MacKinlay's Madoc or Modoc is St.Maedóc of Ferns in County Wexford.[65] Watson ascribed St.Madoes to the saint's name that also appears in Kilmadock near Callander, "my-Doc's church", i.e., Docus the Briton, Docus being a shortened form of Cadoc.[66] I suggest that Madianus may be commemorated in St.Maddan's chapel at Freswick (3) in Caithness; and in St.Madden's Well (4) near Kirkton of Airlie in Angus.[67] *Madián* occurs as an Irish form of the name of the apostle Matthew.[68] (See Map 2.)

From the hagiological point of view, however, probably the most significant of Boniface's followers is Triduana. I am not here concerned to discuss whether or not she was a historical personage: her name means "lady of the three days' fast". But elsewhere she accompanies to Scotland, not St.Boniface, but St.Regulus, who traditionally brought relics and introduced the cultus of St. Andrew among the Picts. The association of Boniface and Triduana, on the other hand, is probably older than and independent of the Aberdeen Breviary, if both are commemorated in the island of Papa Westray in Orkney (below).

Triduana's name appears under a variety of forms: Treddles,Tredwall (-well),Trallew, Trallen (Trullen), Tradlins, etc. and (in composition) - tradwell; the Norse form is *Trollhaena*. Her chief church and shrine were at Restalrig (5) near Edinburgh; though a variant version of her legend says that she and her companions were buried at St.Andrews (6). She is also commemorated at Rescobie (7) in Angus, where the church was dedicated to her; in Caimtradlin (8) near the church of Kinellar in Aberdeenshire - this church may also have been under her invocation; in Kintradwell, G. *Clin Trolla* (9), near Brora in Sutherland, where there was a chapel bearing her name; in *Croit Trolla* (10) at Ballachly in Caithness, where the adjacent chapel and burial ground may have been dedicated to her too; and, as mentioned above, in Papa Westray (11), where her name appears in Trallyo according to Watson, and where St.Tredwell's Chapel is close to the shore of St.Tredwell's Loch.[69] (See Map 2.)

The legend of St.Andrews and the significance of St.Regulus pose difficult problems.[70] For reasons that cannot be discussed in detail here, I believe that the historical events which most probably underlie the various versions of the legend are as likely to belong originally to the reign of Angus I, king of the Picts (i.e., somewhere between 729 and 761), as to that of Angus II (?820-34). Topographically, dedications to Regulus seem to be widely distributed, but mostly contained within an area of eastern Scotland from Fife to Aberdeenshire: at St. Andrews in Fife; Monifieth in Angus; St.Cyrus in Kincardineshire; Kennethmont and Meikle-Folla (Folla Rule), Fyvie, in Aberdeenshire. According to the Aberdeen Breviary, he was specially honoured in St.Andrews and its diocese. If, therefore, Triduana does link the legends of Boniface and Regulus, it is worth noting that the commemoration of Regulus at Cromarty, which is on record in 1561,[71] seems to be conspicuously the furthest north - bringing him, in fact, right into the territory of Boniface-Curadán.

It is possible, I think, that, just as Regulus was (or came to be) traditionally associated with the introduction of the cultus of St.Andrew to Pictland, so Boniface-Kiritinus was especially

connected (originally or as the legend developed) with the cultus of St.Peter and its introduction or wider dissemination among the Picts. Admittedly, the association is not as explicitly stated as it is in the case of Regulus and Andrew. But the churches said to have been founded by Boniface-Kiritinus are all dedicated to St.Peter at a later date, on more or less reliable evidence. The point I am making here is not new, but it seems to me to be worth making again.

S(imon) of St.Peter's in Ross is among the bishops of Scotland addressed by a bull of Pope Adrian IV dated 27 February 1155, commending to the bishops Roger, archbishop of York and enjoining on them obedience to him as their metropolitan.[72] This means, at this time, Rosemarkie (1). The church of St.Peter of Restenneth (2) in Angus is on record 1161-2 and 1189-95.[73] This evidence is, of course, of twelfth century date, not seventh or eighth: in Scotland, few churches have contemporary or reliable documentation (except sometimes, one may say, certain kinds of sculpture) prior to the twelfth century. In Malcolm IV's charter, however, a number of existing properties of Restenneth are itemised by name: Restenneth itself, "in which the aforesaid church is built" and, five names intervening, *Egglespether*, "church of (Saint) Peter" - a name probably Pictish in origin and perhaps as early as the early eighth century. Restenneth is considered, in fact, a likely site for the church which King Nechtán son of Derile undertook to build in honour of St.Peter (see below).[74] Tealing church (3), Angus, was traditionally dedicated to St.Peter - St.Peter's Well is nearby; as was the church of Invergowrie (4) or Dargie, also in Angus.[75] (See Map 1.)

Finally, two further points may be noted here. First, the late twelfth century northern English chronicler, Roger de Hoveden, provides us with clear evidence, as we shall see, that already by the end of that century a tradition was established at Rosemarkie that Pope St.Boniface IV was buried in the cathedral church there. Second, by a charter dated 20 February 1379/80, Walter de Lesly, lord of Ross and Eufame his wife, granted "to the blessed Virgin Mary and Saint Boneface, patron of the church of Ross, the whole town of Drwme (Drummarkie ?) ... for ever for the sustenance of one chaplain doing divine worship in the chapel of St.Boneface adjacent to the town of Rosemarkie, which is called Cuthyl Curitin ..."[76] There may be some doubt as to the reading *Cuthyl Curitin*, but, if it is correct, this charter seems pretty clearly to identify Boniface with Curadán and, if so, is the earliest such identification, so far as I am aware. (I shall suggest below that *Cuthyl Curitin* is now Kincurdy). So, whether or not the legend has ultimately a historical basis, we can say with some confidence that some of its main developments had occurred well before the time of the sixteenth century and later sources in which we find it most fully described.

C. Thomas Dempster, *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Scotorum* (Ecclesiastical History of the Scottish People), 2nd ed., 2 vols., Edinburgh 1829 (Bannatyne Club), vol. 1, 74-5.[77]

Saint Bonifacius Queritinus 131.

"Concerning Saint Bonifacius Queritinus, and his remarkable deeds among the Scots, the words of H.Boece will suffice, from Book IX of his Scottish History, page 172. 'Bonifacius Queritinus, a venerable bishop, coming from Italy with a company of pious men, carried in a boat into the Firth of Tay, to the mouth of a little river, which now separates the district of Gowrie from Angus, first landed. They affirm indeed that this man, having been elected in the place of the deceased Gregory the Great, the Roman pontiff, retired after a brief pontificate, and crossed over into Albion to strengthen in sacred doctrine the Scots, a people situated in the farthest corner of the world; but that he is not numbered among the popes by the Roman writers who write their acts in life and their end, because he had of his own accord renounced the most sacred office too soon to be able to perform anything worth recording for posterity, while he held the chair of Peter. But whoever he was, whether Boniface the Third, successor of Sabinian, who held the office of the Roman pontificate for scarcely nine months, as some suppose, or sent as legate by this pontiff, and for that reason believed to be pope by an ignorant people, a man of remarkable piety, and exceedingly learned in sacred scripture, has been brought down to our times by many signs. For in the place in which he landed, he built a church from the foundations to be dedicated to Blessed Peter, Christ's apostle: from there he went on his way preaching to Tellein (Tealing), a village three miles from A.,[78] and founded another church consecrated to the name of the same apostle; (he founded) a third at Restenneth, now a monastery of the canons of the Blessed Augustine. After a stay of some years there for the purpose of strengthening in sound doctrine by very frequent sermons the people flocking to him, he penetrated the rest of Angus, Mearns, Mar, Buchan, Strathbogie (?) and Moray, instructing the pagan nations in the doctrine of Christ and founding and consecrating quite a few churches in various parts of those regions, in honour of the apostle Peter. But he finally came to Ross also. There he remained to the end of his life; and after exerting much devoted effort for the cultivation of true piety, eminent as he was in sanctity and learning, he gave back his blessed soul to Heaven and left his body to be buried at Rosemarkie'.[79] This (is what) that (writer recorded). Personally I would have thought that he was rather apostolic legate, than pontiff. The anonymous monk of Paisley (?)[80], a writer of Scottish affairs, mentions (him); and John Lesley, in book IV, page 154. He exercised his episcopate in Ross. Concerning this apostolic man there was once a tradition, which, besides the unanimous agreement of our countrymen, Roger Hoveden also follows (in his) Annals, part II, page 427. 'It is said that in the cathedral church of the bishopric of Ross, which is called Rosemarkie, Blessed Boniface the pope, who was fourth from Blessed Gregory, was buried.' From this account it is established that he was Boniface IV, who received the Pantheon as a gift from Phocas Caesar; and because it was (the sanctuary) of all the demons, he made (it the sanctuary) of the most blessed Virgin and all saints, as the same Hoveden relates concerning him, whose word (i.e., Hoveden's) Baronius regards as reliable. He (Boniface) also instituted the feast of all saints, as (apart from (? Henry of) Huntingdon, Hoveden, (? William of) Malmesbury, and our (historians)), hagiologists are agreed, and among them Platina, Ciaconus, and all. (There is) a profound silence, however, among all writers on ecclesiastical matters of our own age and

ages past. But (the following) are considered to be of this Boniface, from the same (monk of) Paisley (?), as they propose:

Concerning the Prerogative of Peter ..... one book.
Exhortation to the Scots ..... one book.
Textbook of the Faith, a manuscript once kept at Aberdeen .... one book.

He had come to Scotland in the year 606; or indeed, as others (say) more correctly, 620. He is honoured on 16th March. Scottish Breviary".

Since Dempster actually says very little on his own initiative, I give here, in order to further the discussion, the translations into Scots of the relevant passages in the histories of Hector Boece and John Leslie.

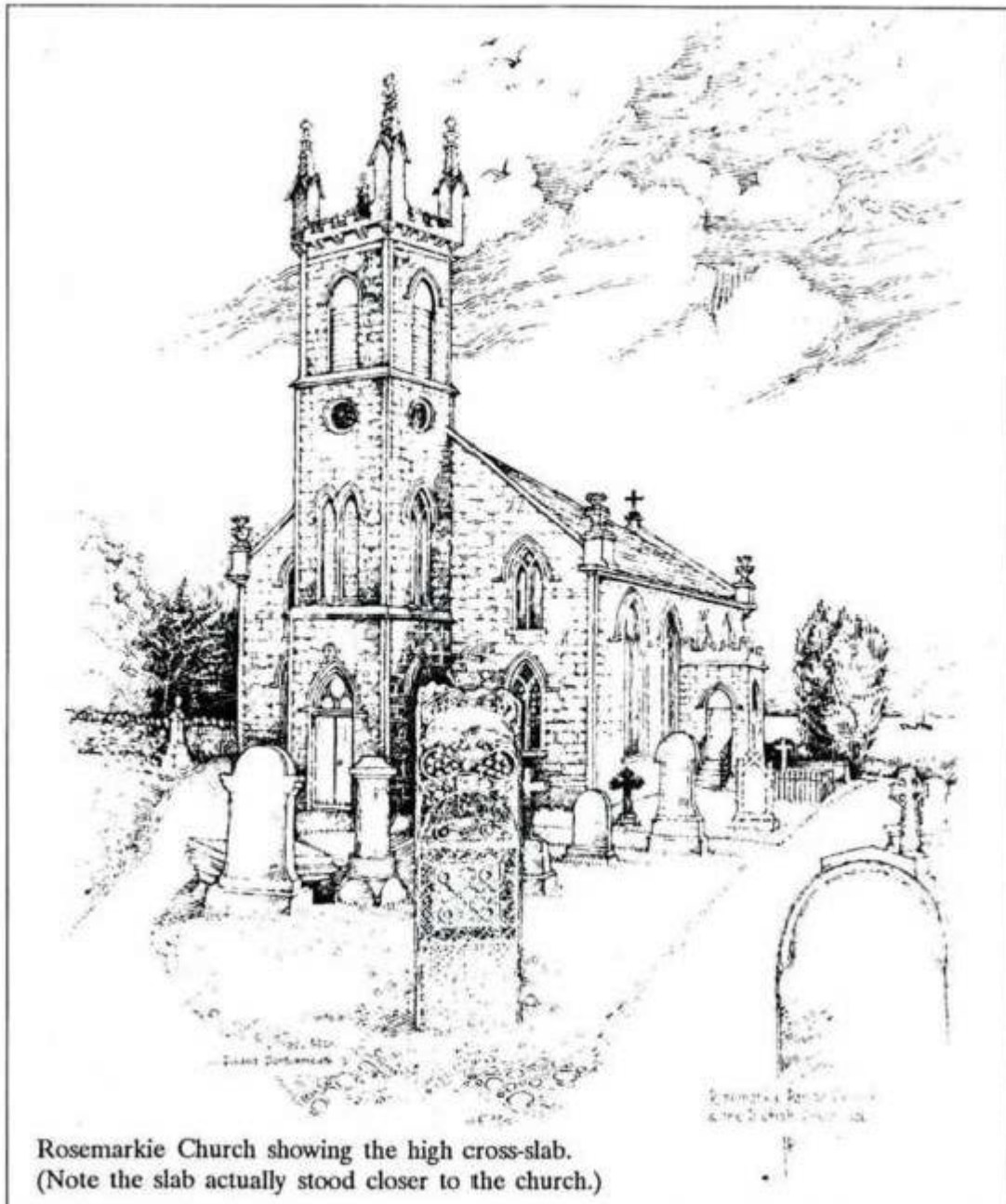
The Chronicles of Scotland Compiled by Hector Boece: Translated into Scots by John Bellenden 1531 - ed. R.W.Chambers and E.C.Batho (Vol. I), E.C.Batho and H.W.Husbands (Vol. II), Edinburgh and London 1938-41 (Scottish Text Society), I, 392-4 (Book 9).[81]

"Ane conuencioun was maid in Ergile eftir deth of King Aydane, in the quhilk Kennethus Keir, son to Convallus afoir rehersit, was maid king, and decessit the fourte moneth eftir his coronacioun. Eftir his deth Eugenius, the fourte king of that name, and son to Aydane, wes maid king. ... Eugenius ... decessit the xv zere of his regnne.

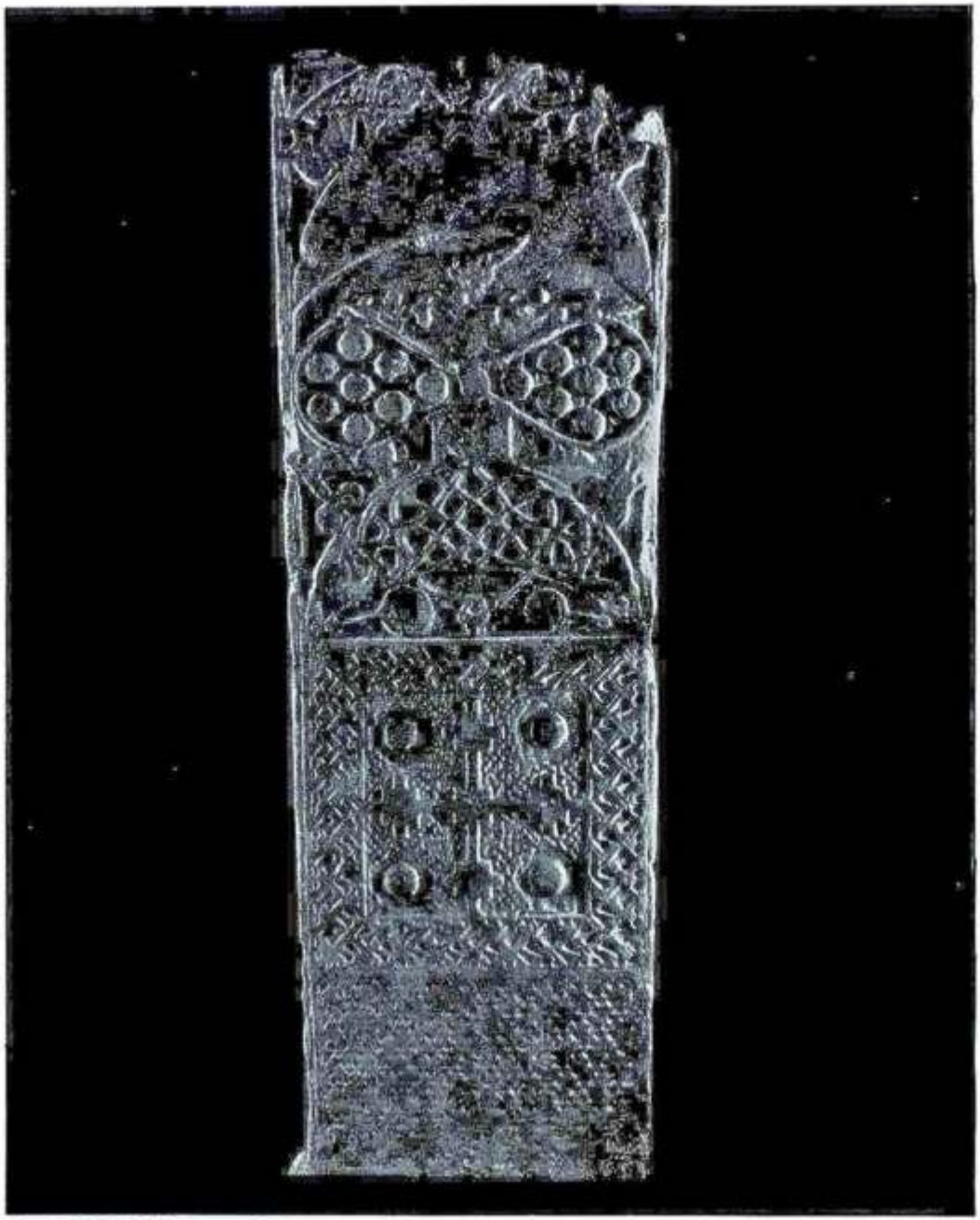
"The samyn tyme Bonifacius Bischop come with ane cunpany of halymen oute of Italy in the mouth of Taye. Sum autouris sayis he was chosin paip eftir Sanct Gregour, and wilfullye exonerit him self, syne come amang the Scottis; and thocht he be nocht novmerit amang the legend of papis, zite wee fynd him ane man of singulair lyffe and doctryne. The place quhair he landit in Scotland was ereckit be him in ane kirk in honour of Sanct Petir Apostill. Eftir this he went to ane toun namyt Tullyne, thre myle fra Dunde, quhair he rasit ane vther kirk, sic like in the name of Sanct Petir. He beildit eik ane kirk of Restennath, quhilk is now ane Abbaye of Channonis regulair. Efter this he come in sindry partis of Scotland, quhair he prechit the wourdis of God, and foundit sindry kirkis in the honour of Sanct Petir. At last he come in Ross, quhair he perseverit to the end of his liffe, and wes berijt at Rosmarken. The samyn tyme wes the haly bischop Sanct Molok, ane grete prechoure, and wes beryitt with Sanct Boniface ... This ilk tyme Paip Boniface dedicat the tempill of goddis callit Pantheon in the honoure of Mary, the Moder of God, and All Sanctis".

The Historie of Scotland by Jhone Leslie, translated in Scottish by Father James Dalrymple, 1596, ed. E.G.Cody and W.Murison, 2 vols., Edinburgh and London 1888-95 (Scottish Text Society), I, 235-7 (Book 4).[82]

"The 4 Buke. LI-Eugenie IIII. Eugenie 4. Aidanis sone, is maid king ... Vndir Eugenie, that maist haly Bischope Boniface, (quha eftir the opinione of our peple, was Pape, and was beleiuet willinglie to haue resignet it) cam out of Jtalie to Scotland: throuch quhais diligens, quhen the peple throuch the lycht of Christe was illuminat, maid cleine of al superstitione, and Pelagian



Rosemarkie Church showing the high cross-slab.
(Note the slab actually stood closer to the church.)



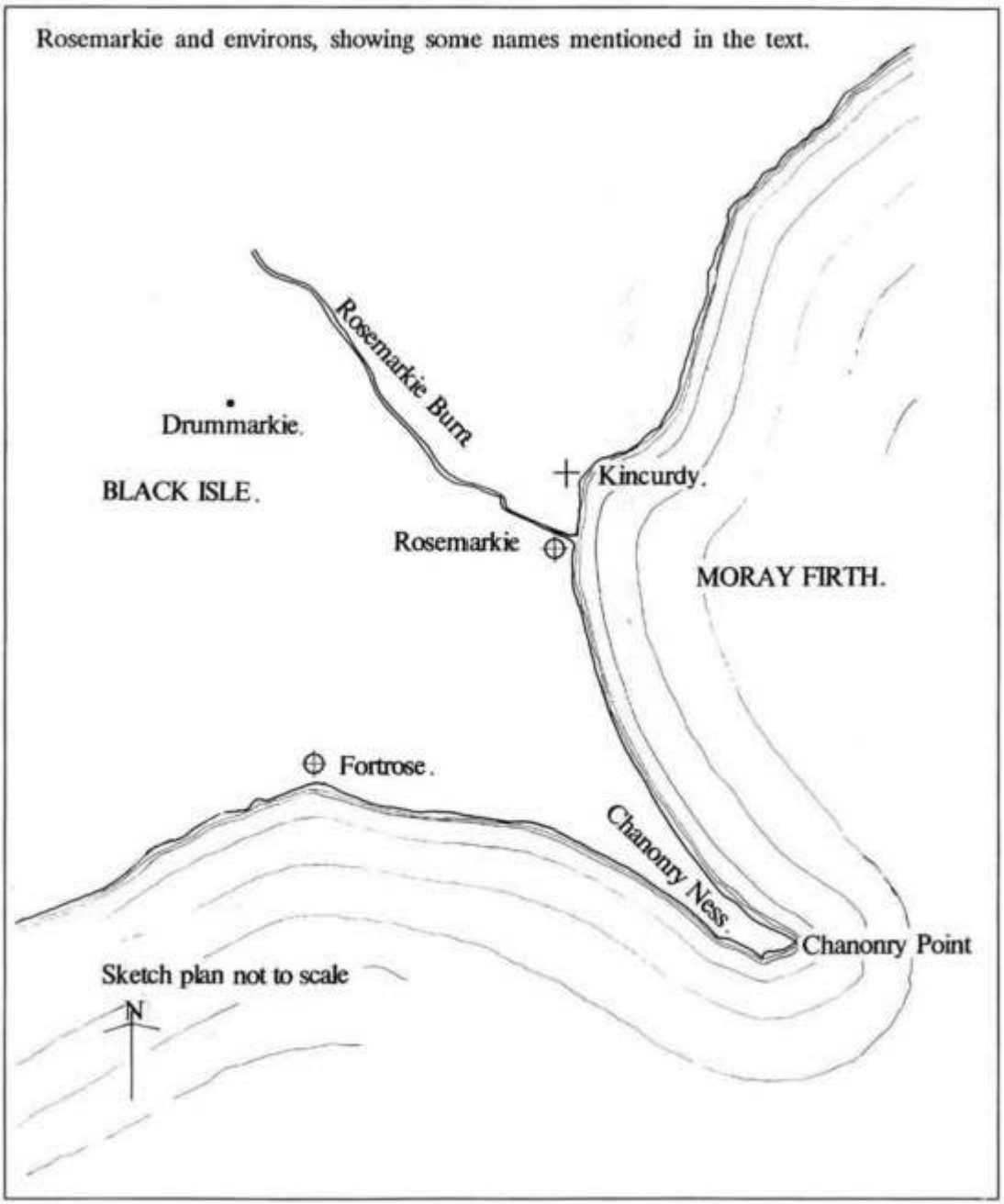
The Pictish high cross-slab.

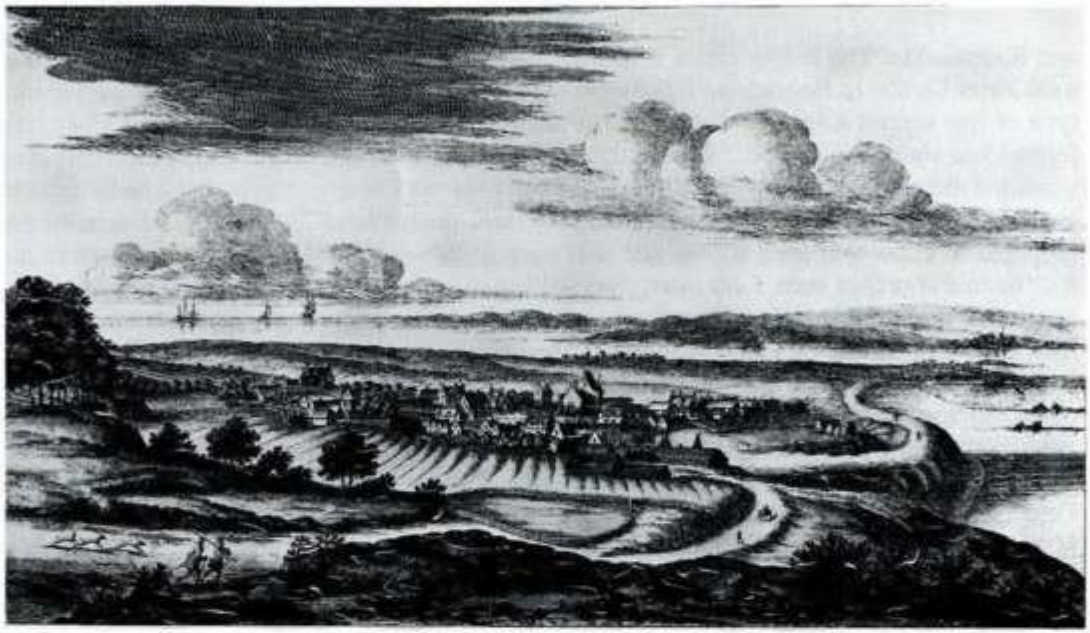
Map 1
The named churches.
Dedications to Curadán and Boniface.



Map 2
Companions of St.Boniface
from the Aberdeen Breviary.




Rosemarkie and environs, showing some names mentioned in the text.
Rosemarkie Burn
Drummarkie.
BLACK ISLE.
Kincurdy.
Rosemarkie
MORAY FIRTH.
Fortrose.
Chanonry Ness.
Chanonry Point
Sketch plan not to scale
N



Fortrose and Chanonry Ness in the late 18th century.

heresie, and sindrie kirkes to sindrie Sanctes had appointed, in Rosmarkine is he laid. Heir lykwyse S.Molokie, a man of meruellous pietie, in mirackles verie notable, is affirmet wt him to ly, quhome thay say was his marrow (companion), and quhair evir he trauelit, bure him cumpanie in al his Jornayes throuch Scotland. King Eugenie dies, the xv zeir of his Reygne (A.D. 620) ..."

In calling the saint *Bonifacius-Queritinus*, Dempster is following Boece. Boece, on the other hand, was a close associate of William Elphinstone, bishop of Aberdeen, founder of the University and author of the Breviary of Aberdeen.[83] Boece's retention of the double name may or may not have a bearing on my reservations (above) regarding the reliability overall of the Boniface legend of the Aberdeen Breviary. But it is at least interesting to note, in that context, that Elphinstone had been bishop of Ross from 1481 (though without formal consecration) until his translation to Aberdeen in 1483.[84] It may also be noted that Boece has made some attempt to distance St.Boniface-Queritinus from Pope Boniface IV, though they are still, for him, contemporaries.

Despite his sweeping claim for the scope of the missionary activity of St.Boniface-Queritinus - "he penetrated the rest of Angus, Mearns, Mar, Buchan, Strathbogie (?) and Moray", founding churches wherever he went in honour of St.Peter - Boece names in connection with the Boniface - Peter tradition only Invergowrie (implicitly) and (explicitly) Tealing, Restenneth

and Rosemarkie. The bolder claim is based, I suspect, largely if not entirely, on dedications to St.Peter known to Boece himself or to his sources. "Where churches are mentioned in this type of late legend it is almost certain that some motive relevant to the period at which the legend was written is at work. The contemporary affiliations and dedications of the churches provided the hagiographer with material. He can only very rarely, if ever, have had access to independent tradition concerning foundations and dedications".[85] While I personally am prepared to allow that such access *was* still open to late medieval writers with regard to the four *named* churches here, I am more than willing to concede that Dr.Henderson's strictures, applied as general principles, are entirely valid so far as the wider and vaguer claims made by Boece are concerned. St. Peter's Church at Meigle on the eastern boundary of Perthshire, may form a geographical link between the Angus group of Petrine dedications and those further north. In the north-east, the churches of Drumdelgie (Strathbogie), Fyvie, Glenbucket, Peterculter and Peterhead, in Aberdeenshire; Inveravon and Rathven, in Banffshire; Bellie, Duffus and Essil, in Moray; and Duthil in Inverness-shire, were all apparently dedicated to St. Peter.[86] The grant to the monastery of Deer in Aberdeenshire of the unidentified estate *Pett Meic-Gobraig* "for the consecration of a church of Christ and of Peter the apostle" in "the eighth year of the reign of David" (i.e., April 1131/April 1132), appears among the Gaelic notes in the Book of Deer: among the witnesses is "Mal-Petair son of Domnall" (*Mal-Petir mac Domnaill*) - "servant of St.Peter".[87]

Boece's and Leslie's king Eugenius IV, "son to (king) Aydane", "Aidanis sone", is Eochaid Buide, son of Aedán son of Gabrán, king of Dál Riata, who died in ?630, after a reign of perhaps fifteen, sixteen, or seventeen years.[88] A prophecy of St.Columba concerning the succession to Aedán of him and his descendants, instead of one or other of his older brothers, is told by Adomnán in his *Life of Columba*, bk. I, ch. 9.[89] The chronology is doubtless dictated by the identification of St.Boniface with Pope Boniface IV (608-15); and the reign deduced accordingly. Dempster gives 606 or 620 as alternative dates for St.Boniface's arrival in Scotland, preferring 620. Both Boece and Leslie state that king Eugenius died in the fifteenth year of his reign, Leslie giving the date as 620.[90] (Adam King's Calendar, above, gives 620 as the date of St.Boniface's journey from Italy to Scotland, "under king Eugenius 2". Camerarius, as quoted by the Bollandists above, says that St.Boniface died "about the year of Christ 630"). The association of the saint with a Scottish, rather than a Pictish, king, is presumably equally artificial. But there may be here the faintest hint that the historical contemporaneity, if nothing closer, of bishop Curetán and another Eochaid king of Dál Riata, co-signatories of the Synod of Birr, has been dimly and confusedly remembered. King Eugenius IV, according to the late fourteenth century chronicler John of Fordun, is "son of Dongardus, son of Donald Brek".[90] This is Eochaid, son of Domangart, son of Domnall Brecc, guarantor of *Cáin Adomnáin*, who died in 697: see Section 1, above. I would not, however, press this suggestion too far.

"Sanct Molok(ie)" is St. Moluóc (Moluag), traditional founder of the monastery of Lismore, in the Firth of Lorn, whose death is entered by Irish annals at c.592.[91] He was thus an (older?)

contemporary of St.Columba, but their relationship, if any, is quite unknown: Lismore was not a dependency of Iona. The death in Ross and burial "in great veneration in the church of the blessed bishop Boniface, in Rosemarkie" of "Molocus" is recounted also, among other details of his life and labours, by the Aberdeen Breviary.[92] Clearly, as reflected in the Aberdeen Breviary (and Martyrology), Boece and Leslie, the cultus of St. Moluóc was an important one at Rosemarkie by the end of the Middle Ages. Dr.Henderson suggests that, if bishop Curitan was responsible for carrying out the reforms promulgated by King Nechtán son of Derile, "Rosemarkie would have been a suitable northern centre from which to monitor the changes. Rosemarkie's association with St.Moluag may be relevant here, for to work from a traditionally non-Columban foundation would have made Curitan's essentially anti-Columban work easier".[93] This suggestion is, of course, perfectly possible. But it assumes that the connection of Rosemarkie with Moluag and Lismore is earlier than the early eighth century: that, in other words, Rosemarkie was an early dependency of Lismore. On geographical grounds alone, Lismore must have been closely associated with the Dalriadic kindred of Loarn (*Cenél Loairn*) and its territory (Lorn).[94] The genealogy of the eleventh century rulers of Moray, given in translation by Anderson basically from the early fifteenth century Book of Ballymote, makes them descend from Ferchar Fota of the kindred of Loarn, who died c.697.[95] If this is so, I suggest that, at the time of the final union of the Picts and Scots under Kenneth son of Alpin and his descendants from the mid ninth century, elements of the kindred of Loarn moved into the lands around the Moray Firth and established themselves there, bringing with them, *inter alia*, their saints. Of these, one of the most important - if not the most important - must surely have been Moluóc of Lismore. In this view, the cultus of St.Moluóc would probably not have been established at Rosemarkie before the latter half of the ninth or the tenth century. In the hinterland of the heads of the Moray and Cromarty Firths, there are also *Cill Mo-Luáig* and *Croit Mo-Luáig* at Ballaggan near Inverfarigaig on Loch Ness; and *Dabhach Mo-Luáig*, Dochmaluag, in Strathpeffer.[96]

D.Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Houedene, ed. W.Stubbs, 4 vols., London 1868-71, vol. III, 284.

"In the same month of February (February 1195), in the land of the King of Scots, died Gregory bishop of Ross. He was succeeded by Reginald called *Macer* (i.e., "the Lean" ?), monk of Melrose. It is said, moreover, that in the cathedral church of the bishopric of Ross, which is called Rosemarkie (*Rosmarcin*), Blessed Boniface, the pope, was buried, who was fourth after Blessed Gregory. Concerning which Boniface, we find in the ecclesiastical histories, that he brought it about that the temple at Rome, which was formerly called the Pantheon, was given to the church of God by Phocas Caesar, emperor of the Romans; that he also, after banishing the filth of demons, dedicated (it) in honour of the Blessed Mother of God and Ever-Virgin Mary, and All Saints, appointing that feast to be celebrated each year on the first day of November."

Stubbs believed (*op. cit.*, vol.I, Preface, xxiv) that Roger of Hoveden did not long survive the somewhat abrupt termination of his Chronicle in 1201. What we have here, therefore, is a contemporary witness that the identity of St.Boniface and Pope Boniface IV was already established at Rosemarkie by the end of the twelfth century. This is still not, of course, valid evidence for the Pictish or Picto-Scottish periods, but it does carry us back considerably further in time than most of the documents we have been examining hitherto are able to do. It may be observed at this point, moreover, that, although we are probably no nearer a solution of the problem posed by the identification of local (?) saint and pope, Hoveden's statement can probably be taken as the earliest surviving evidence for the cultus of a saint called Boniface at Rosemarkie.

Boniface IV was actually third in succession to Gregory the Great. But the reference to his conversion of the Roman Pantheon into a church - the first such conversion of a pagan temple - confirms that he is the pope in question here.[97]

The salient points to emerge, it seems to me, from examination of the documents assembled and discussed in Section 2, are as follows.

The saint is credited with two names - Boniface and Kiritinus-Queritinus. The latter at least resembles Curetán; and may, in fact, be the same name. The cultus of a saint called Boniface, already identified with Pope Boniface IV, is attested at Rosemarkie by the end of the twelfth century. By the late fourteenth century, Boniface and Curetán (Curadán) appear to have been identified there also.

Some confirmation of the original identity of Saint Boniface-Kiritinus-Queritinus and a saint Curetán noticed in Irish calendars - whether or not this Curetán is also the guarantor of *Cáin Adomnáin* - seems to be provided by the coincidence of feast-day: 16 March. (Attempts, on the other hand, to further this line of argument by equating the place-name(s) of the Irish calendars with the name "Rosemarkie" seem fruitless at present).

The churches named, implicitly or explicitly, by various versions of the legend, indicate a southern and a northern sphere of activity of the saint. The southern embraces Restenneth, Tealing and Invergowrie; the northern, Rosemarkie. The important churches are clearly Restenneth and Rosemarkie. All these churches were dedicated to St.Peter at some stage: it may be a point in favour of the ultimate historicity of the core of the legend that the churches are so dedicated - and not to St.Boniface-Kiritinus-Queritinus himself. The distribution of certain, probable, or possible dedications to companions of St.Boniface listed by the Aberdeen Breviary, to whom it has been possible here to assign at least tentative topographical locations (see Map 2), reinforces the impression of a basically southern and a basically northern sphere of activity. One cannot, however, be confident that this distribution stems from earlier association with the tradition, rather than later; or, indeed, that grafting of these essentially

secondary figures onto the Boniface legend has not been suggested merely by the accident of prior geographical proximity of dedications.

At Restenneth, the saint is brought into contact with a king Nectauius (Nechtán), who is baptised there. Restenneth may be the site of the stone church that, according to Bede, king Nechtán son of Derile told abbot Ceolfrith he wished to build in the Roman style and dedicate to St.Peter (see further below).

The various versions of the legend contain, apart from the names of churches and dedications and the names of the bishop and the king who are the protagonists in the play, very little solid biographical or other information. In view of the likely absence at any stage of contemporary or reliable written documentation sufficient to have marshalled and disciplined to some extent the collective memory, this is hardly surprising - though, of course, it inspires no confidence in these late legends as they survive. Whether or not there is ultimately a historical core embedded in the foundations of the later superstructure, we are, I think, dealing here basically with popular hagiography dependent largely on oral tradition. Among the contemporary or later Pictish population at large, the subtleties of ecclesiastical controversy and the considerations of ecclesiastical and civil policy that may have swayed the personalities and influenced the events reflected (however murkily) in the legend, would surely not have been appreciated and so would have been easily and quickly forgotten. What remained in the popular memory, to be worked on by the popular imagination, were isolated but readily assimilable details of fact that became immediately integral to the living cultus of a saint and were thus habitually associated with familiar and hallowed localities. Such details, woven into written narrative form at a later date (and subsequently rationalized by historians such as Boece, Leslie and Dempster), are not therefore necessarily valueless; but they are practically impossible to evaluate satisfactorily as historical evidence in the almost complete absence of sound corroborative material.

Footnotes and references : Chapter 2

16. I am grateful to Dr.Seán Connolly, University College, Cork, for reviewing and, where necessary, correcting or emending my translations. I have incorporated some of his comments in the notes. Any remaining mistakes, peculiarities, or inconsistencies in these translations are entirely my responsibility.
17. *In Auctario Usuardi*. For a brief discussion of the martyrological and calendrical tradition, see A.P.Forbes, *Kalendars of Scottish Saints*, Edinburgh 1872, ix-xiii. "The Carthusian Herman Grevenius, in his additions to Usuardus, must have had access to a Scottish list of Saints": *ibid.*, xliv.
18. *In Mernia ad Rosmarken*. So also in Forbes, *Kalendars*, 194. *In Morauia* may have been intended: it would still have been wrong, of course, but less dramatically so.
19. *Ab Alecto*: Bellenden's Scots translation of Boece (see below) has here - "Eftir this he went to ane toun namyt Tullyne, thre myle fra Dunde, ...".

20. With these very precise figures, compare, perhaps, in the *Annals of Tigernach*, under the year [722]: "Maelrubai rested in Applecross, after completing the eightieth year of his life, three months and nineteen days; on the eleventh day before the Kalends of May ..." (i.e., 21 April) - Anderson, *Early Sources*, I, 219-20.
21. *The Martiloge in Englysshe ... With addicyons ...* "The Martiloge translated into English by Richard Whytford, with additions, 1526", eds., F.Procter and E.S.Dewick, London, 1893 (Henry Bradshaw Society, vol.3), 41-2. For clarity's sake, I have silently expanded here a number of contractions and supplied a certain amount of punctuation: but I have kept such "editorial" work to a bare minimum.
22. *Kalendars*, 282-3 (Boniface).
23. Forbes, *Kalendars*, 299-300 (Charmaig); Watson, *Celtic Place-Names*, 282-3, where a perhaps more likely alternative is suggested.
24. The lives of Abbán that I have consulted are to be found (Latin) in C.Plummer, ed., *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae* (Lives of the Saints of Ireland), 2 vols., Oxford 1910 (1968), I, 3-33 (see also xxiii-xxvi); W.W.Heist, ed., *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae* (from the Salamanca codex), Brussels 1965, 256-74; and (Irish) in C.Plummer, ed., *Bethada Náem nÉrenn* (*Lives of Irish Saints*), 2 vols., Oxford 1922 (1968), I, 3-10 (Irish text : see also xiv-xv) and II, 3-10 (translation: see also 323-4). The Irish life is incomplete. For the "Abbanus" - "Albanus" variation, see Plummer, *Vitae*, I, 3, note 1; Heist, 256, note: it is apparently a matter of hand-writing originally.
25. *Place-Names of Ross and Cromarty*, lxix.
26. *Quod in Albania Pictorum regione degeret*: it might be preferable to retain "Albania" in translation here, as being more specific (*Alba* in the sense of the Pictish or Picto-Scottish kingdom in the first instance) than the vaguer and more general "Albion".
27. Plummer, *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, II, 339 (Index Locorum); see also A.Gwynn and R.N.Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses in Ireland*, Irish Academic Press (reprint) 1988, 399.
28. Forbes, *Kalendars*, 69, xxv-xxix. The calendar is in a MS. then in the possession of the Duke of Sutherland at Dunrobin Castle. It was described for Forbes by Rev.J.Maxwell Joass, minister of Golspie, who judged it to belong "probably to the close of the fifteenth century". For the Premonstratensian abbey of Fearn, probably a daughter-house of Whithorn, see Cowan and Easson, *Medieval Religious Houses in Scotland*, 101-2. The calendar of a Scottish Breviary then belonging to the Marquis of Bute, of unknown origin, but written, according to Forbes, "after the middle of the fifteenth century", has, at 16 March, "S. Bonefacii pape" - Forbes, *Kalendars*, xxiv-xxv.
29. Anderson, *Early Sources*, I, xxxix.
30. Forbes, *Kalendars*, 147, xxxvi. "... in Adam King's Kalendar we find the distinctest traces of the influence of the Breviary of Aberdeen ...": *ibid.*, xxxvii.
31. *Kalendars*, 236, xxxvii-xxxviii.
32. *Celtic Place-Names*, 444-5.

33. *The Acts of Malcolm IV, King of Scots 1153-1165*, ed. G.W.S.Barrow, Edinburgh 1960 (*Regesta Regum Scottorum*, vol. I), 268-9 (no.251).
34. M.O.Anderson, *Kings and Kingship in Early Scotland*, Edinburgh and London 1973, 236-7, 242. For an English translation of *De Situ Albanie*, see Anderson, *Early Sources*, I, cxv-cxix.
35. *Celtic Place-Names*, 107-08, 111-13, 442. Cf.Anderson, *Kings and Kingship*, 199. Earlier, Watson had discussed stream-names ending in *-ie*, which he (then) regarded as probably Pictish or at least showing strong Pictish influence; and which he thought derived from ancient forms ending in *-ios* or *-ia*, possibly also in *-ēta*. With regard to the latter, he noted 'Gaulish Albēta, White River; Gabrēta, Goat-wood; cf.Gowrie; "flumen Gobriat in Pictavia" '- *Place-Names of Ross and Cromarty*, xlix-li, esp. li, note 1.
36. Cf.Reeves, *Culdees*, 162-3, note.
37. The *-b-* of *Gobriat* was presumably lenited (i.e., it would now be written *-bh-* and pronounced *v* or *w*). If the final *- t* (or *-d*) was also lenited (thus *-th* or *-dh*), it would be silent, assuming that the original ending was *-ait(h)* or *- aid(h)*, rather than *-iat(h)*. In which case, we have apparently a name at least formally identical with the northern *Gobhraidh*; and the final *-n* of the form in King Malcolm's charter to Scone may have arisen under Scots (English) influence, as with some of the *nemed* names (see Watson, *Celtic Place-Names*, 244-50). According to this alternative line of reasoning, the apparent identity of stream- and district-name could be merely coincidental. Nevertheless, the name remains potentially interesting: how late was Gaelic spoken in southern Angus? The *spelling* seems to betray no sign of anglicization.
38. *In sacerdocium est ordinatus*: the context requires "episcopate" rather than "priesthood".
39. Reading *Episcopo* for *Episcopi*, with *Brev(iarium) Aber(donense)*.
40. Reading *quosdam* for *quosdem*.
41. Reading *nostro* for *nostri*, with *Brev.Aber*.
42. *Rendendo* = *reddendo*.
43. *Qui sibi in seculo Apostolo Paulo creditum est euangelizare illis in Europa verbum Dei.* Dr.Connolly points out that, as it stands, this passage does not make sense: *qui sibi* hangs in the air. *A quo* would yield tolerable sense and he suggests it as an emendation. The translation here offered follows his suggestion accordingly.
44. Cf.Psalm 19(20), verse 5, Vulgate.
45. *Per orando* in Skene = *perorando*: in *Brev.Aber*. *per* comes at the end of one line and *orando* at the beginning of the next.
46. Cf.Psalms 113B, verse 15, 133(134), verse 3, Vulgate.
47. *Paulo post Romam deserit*: the context requires that he depart *from* Rome.
48. Reading *inicium* for *inicicum*.
49. With *Brev.Aber*.: not *Bonifacius*.
50. Boniface has with him seven bishops; and seven of each of the seven clerical grades.
51. Reading *psallentes* for *psallentis*, with *Brev.Aber*.

52. The Greater Litany was celebrated on 25 April: *Rome Letania Major ad Sanctum Petrum celebratur* - Drummond Calendar (25 April); cf. Calendar of Hyrdmanistoun (26 April, incorrectly, but with St.Mark), *Calendar* of Arbuthnott (25 April) - Forbes, Kalendars, 11, 39, 99.
53. With *Brev.Aber.*: not *Nectanius*.
54. *Effectus* = *affectus*.
55. *Rex vero ipsorum virorum timencium Deum locum baptisterii in nomine Sancte Trinitatis Beato Bonifacio tradidit et deliberauit.* I think I have translated correctly what the Latin says, but doubt that it is what the writer actually meant to say. Comparing this sentence with its apparent counterpart in the *Acta Sanctorum* entry, section 4, I suspect that, at the least, some such phrase as *in servitutem* has been omitted before *ipsorum virorum timencium Deum.*
56. "North Pictland", Isabel Henderson, *The Dark Ages in the Highlands*, Inverness Field Club 1971, 37-52: Appendix B, "Rosemarkie and the Reformation of the Pictish Church in the early eighth century", 50-2.
57. *Rosemarkie's Pictish Monuments*, Isabel Henderson, Groam House Museum Trust, 1990.
58. *The Historie of Scotland* by Jhone Leslie, translated in Scottish by Father James Dalrymple, 1596, eds., E.G.Cody and W.Murison, 2 vols., Edinburgh and London 1888-95 (Scottish Text Society), I, 42. In a footnote the Latin text is given (of the reprint of 1675): *S. Bonifacii reliquiis et parentum ejus sepulchris decoratum* "adorned with the relics of S.Boniface, and the tombs and monuments of his relatives". Possibly Pictish and Picto-Scottish monuments of various kinds were still visible in the later middle ages.
59. Watson, *Place-Names of Ross and Cromarty*, 133.
60. *The Archaeological Sites and Monuments of the Black Isle, Ross and Cromarty District, Highland Region*, Society of Antiquaries of Scotland Archaeological Field Survey, Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland, October 1979, p.19, no.117.
61. J.M.MacKinlay, *Ancient Church Dedications in Scotland: Non-Scriptural Dedications*, Edinburgh 1914, 481-2.
62. Forbes, *Kalendars*, 282, 434; MacKinlay, *Ancient Church Dedications*, 481.
63. J.B.Johnston, *Place-Names of Scotland* (3rd ed.), London 1934, 222. I am also doubtful of Johnston's suggested etymology.
64. Forbes, *Kalendars*, 282, 382.
65. MacKinlay, *Ancient Church Dedications*, 147, 481.
66. *Celtic Place-Names*, 327.
67. Watson, *Celtic Place-Names*, 290: "There is nothing to determine the saint of St.Maddan's chapel at Freswick in Caithness. St.Madden's Well is near Kirkton of Airlie, Forfar".
68. *Félire Óengusso Céli Dé: The Martyrology of Oengus the Culdee*, ed. W.Stokes, London 1905 (Dublin 1984), 432.
69. For Triduana, see Forbes, *Kalendars*, 453-4; MacKinlay, *Ancient Church Dedications*,

476-9; Watson, *Celtic Place-Names*, 334-5. Watson also mentions a probable commemoration of her "in Banffshire"; and observes - "The variety of forms of her name is due to the fact that it is not native" (335).

70. For a succinct account of the various versions of the Regulus-St.Andrews legend (largely after Skene), see Forbes, *Kalendars*, 436-40. See also MacKinlay, *Ancient Church Dedications*, 473-6.

71. Watson, *Place-Names of Ross and Cromarty*, 127. See also MacKinlay, *Ancient Church Dedications*, 475-6.

72. A.O.Anderson, *Scottish Annals from English Chroniclers, A.D.500 to 1286* (London 1908), 238. *S(imeoni) Sancti Petri in Ross*: the Latin text of this bull is in *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents Relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, ed. A.W.Haddan and W. Stubbs, 3 vols., Oxford 1873-8 (1964), vol.II, part 1 (1878), 231-2.

73. *Ecclesiam Sancti Petri de Rostinoth*, in a charter of Malcolm IV confirming the church of Restenneth to Jedburgh Abbey for the foundation of a priory there: at Roxburgh, 6 Jan. 1161 x 24 Jan. 1162: Barrow, *Acts of Malcolm IV*, 231-2 (no.195). *Ecclesie Sancti Petri de Rostinot* in a charter of King William to Restenneth Priory, dated at Forfar 1189 x1195: *The Acts of William I King of Scots 1165-1214*, ed.G.W.S.Barrow, Edinburgh 1971 (*Regesta Regum Scottorum*, II), 345-6 (no.343). The Aberdeen Breviary seems to imply, however, that the place of King Nechtán's baptism, i.e. Restenneth, was dedicated to the Holy Trinity: did the Augustinians rededicate the church here at some stage? Something like this may have happened at Scone: Anderson, *Early Sources*, II, 159-60, 250; cf. *ibid.*, I, 475 (church of St.Michael). For the Augustinian priory of Restenneth, see Cowan and Easson, *Medieval Religious Houses in Scotland*, 95-6.

74. G.W.S.Barrow, "The Childhood of Scottish Christianity: a Note on Some Place-Name Evidence", *Scottish Studies*, 27 (1983), 1-15, esp.8.

75. J.M.MacKinlay, *Ancient Church Dedications in Scotland: Scriptural Dedications*, Edinburgh 1910, 220. In 1189 x 95 King William confirmed the church of Tealing to St. Andrews Cathedral Priory, with the priest's toft and the toft of the *deòradh* (relic or relic-keeper - *dewar*: see Watson, *Celtic Place-Names*, 264-6) etc.: *ecclesia de Thelin cum Tofto sacerdotis (et) Tofto dereti* ... Barrow, *Acts of William I*, 354 (no.358). King Malcolm confirmed to Scone Abbey the church of Invergowrie (*Ecclesiam de Inuergouerin*), with the half carucate of land lying on the west side of the church, called Dargie (*Dargoch*) - at Stirling, 1162 x 20 Sept.1164: Barrow, *Acts of Malcolm IV*, 268-9 (no.251).

On the other hand, Dr.Henderson once again sounds a salutary note of caution: "Even if we accept the relevance of the dedications of the churches at Restennot, Invergowry and Rosemarkie, to the motives which lay behind the composition of the legend, unless they could be proved to date to the period of the historical Picts, they can in no way confirm the evidence in a sixteenth-century source. Where churches are mentioned in this type of late legend it is almost certain that some motive relevant to the period at which the legend was written is at work. The contemporary affiliations and dedications of the churches provided

the hagiographer with material. He can only very rarely, if ever, have had access to independent tradition concerning foundations and dedications". - "Rosemarkie and the Reformation of the Pictish Church ..." (see n.56), 50.

76. *Calendar of Writs of Munro of Foulis 1299-1823*, Scottish Record Society, vol.71, parts 136 and 137, Edinburgh 1938- 40, part 1 (1299-1711), 4-5 (no.12). I owe this reference originally to Mr.David Sellar, Dept. of Scots Law, University of Edinburgh.
77. Thomas Dempster, 1579?-1625. His *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Scotorum* was first published at Bologna in 1627. "The book is chiefly remarkable for its extraordinary dishonesty." *Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. L.Stephen, vol.14, London 1888, 335-40.
78. See above, note 19.
79. There are one or two minor differences between the text of Boece as given in the *Acta Sanctorum* and the same text as given in Dempster. They are of no importance in the present context.
80. *Anonymus ille monachus Paslatensis*: I do not know who is meant.
81. Hector Boece or Boethius, 1465?-1536. First principal of Aberdeen University. His lives of the Bishops of Mortlach and Aberdeen were originally published at Paris in 1522. His history of Scotland from the earliest times to the accession of James III was first published, also at Paris, in 1527; a second edition, with the continuation of Ferrerius of Kinloss down to the death of James III, was published at Paris in 1574. It was translated into Scots prose at the request of James V between 1530 and 1533 by John Bellenden, archdeacon of Moray, and printed at Edinburgh in 1536. There is also a Scots metrical version. "That part of his narrative prior to the reign of Malcolm Canmore is as unreliable as the early books of Livy ..." *Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. L.Stephen, vol.5, London 1886, 297-300.
82 John Leslie or Lesley, 1527-96, bishop of Ross. He became bishop of Ross in 1566. He was a staunch partisan of Queen Mary, both in Scotland and in England. He went to France in 1574, later to Rome. His Latin history of Scotland was first published at Rome in 1578. Subsequently he returned to France. Eventually he took up residence in an Augustinian monastery near Brussels, where he died. The Latin edition of his history extends from the earliest times to 1562. It was republished in 1675. "The earlier part of the work is an epitome of Major and Boece ..." A Scottish translation of the Latin version was made by Father James Dalrymple of the Scottish monastery at Regensburg, dated 1596. *Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. S.Lee, vol.33, London 1893, 93-9.
83. See in brief Ranald Nicholson, *Scotland: The Later Middle Ages*, Edinburgh 1974, 585-8, 592, 560.
84. Dowden, *Bishops of Scotland*, 220-1; D.E.R.Watt, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae Medii Aevi*, Edinburgh 1969 (Scottish Record Society, New Series 1), 269.
85. Isabel Henderson, "Rosemarkie and the Reformation of the Pictish Church.." (as n.56), 50.
86. MacKinlay, *Scriptural Dedications* (as n.75), 221-5.
87. Kenneth Jackson, *The Gaelic Notes in the Book of Deer*, Cambridge 1972, 31, 34-5, 51,

58-60, 67.

88. Anderson, *Early Sources*, I, 151-2, cxxx.

89. *Adomnan's Life of Columba* (as n.2), 228-9.

90. *Eugenius quartus, filius Dongardi, filii Donaldi Brek*, bk.III, ch. 43. Fordun gives him a reign of three years, beginning in 684 (English translation), 674 (Latin text: 1 MS, 684): *Johannis de Fordun Chronica Gentis Scotorum, John of Fordun's Chronicle of the Scottish Nation*, ed. W.F.Skene, 2 vols., Edinburgh 1871-2, i, 128, ii, 122. (According to Fordun, bk.III, ch.32 "Eugenius Buyd" or "Eochodius" succeeded his father, "King Aydan", in 606, and reigned 16 years (ii, 109, i, 117)).

91. Anderson, *Early Sources*, I, 95.

92. *ibid*.,19. At 25 June, the Martyrology of Aberdeen (early sixteenth century) has : *In Scocia Sancti Moloci episcopi cuius reliquie gloriose apud Rosmarky ... Huius est Lismorensis ecclesia cathedralis*... "In Scotland (of) the bishop Saint Moloc, whose glorious relics (are) at Rosemarkie ... His is the cathedral church of Lismore ..." - Forbes, *Kalendars*, 132, xxxiv.

93. *Rosemarkie's Pictish Monuments*.

94. Discussed by Watson, *Celtic Place-Names*, 121-4.

95. *Early Sources*, I, clvi-clvii (nos. V and VIII) and genealogical chart, 580; 202. Though descendants of his were kings of Dál Riata for much of the time between 697 and c.740, it seems a moot point whether or not Ferchar Fota himself was ever king: see M.O. Anderson, *Kings and Kingship in Early Scotland*, 9-10, 111-12, 179.

96. Watson, *Celtic Place-Names*, 293; *Place-Names of Ross and Cromarty*, lxviii, 100.

97. J.N.D.Kelly, *The Oxford Dictionary of Popes*, Oxford 1986, 69.

MacKinlay quotes (*Scriptural Dedications*, 225, n.4) a short treatise, "De Antiquitate Christianae Religionis Apud Scotos" ('Concerning the Antiquity of the Christian Religion among the Scots') to the effect that : "... in Ross-shire ... there exists a town 'Rosmarky', where there is a tradition, accepted unanimously by the elders of that people, that St. Boniface was born there ... But because he taught for some period of his monastic life in England, he was commonly thought to be English". This treatise, by George Thomson, the original Latin text of which was first published simultaneously at Rome and at Douai in 1594, was translated and edited for the Scottish History Society by Henry D.G.Law (*Miscellany of the Scottish History Society*, vol.2, Edinburgh 1904, 115-32). The relevant passage is on p.126. The context makes it clear that Thomson has identified St.Boniface of Rosemarkie with the West Saxon St.Boniface, the Apostle of Germany, who, Thomson asserted, was a Scot. He has adduced the Rosemarkie tradition in support of this assertion and interpreted it accordingly. The English St.Boniface, whose feast-day is 5 June, was martyred at Dokkum in Frisia in 754. A few years before his death, he had founded the abbey of Fulda, where his body now rests. (*The Book of Saints*, compiled by the Benedictine monks of St.Augustine's Abbey, Ramsgate, 6th ed., London 1989, 98-9). One of the sources cited by the Bollandists (see above, Section 2A, 1) may have made, wittingly or unwittingly, the same identification, if by *Effordia* there is meant *Fulda*.

Chapter 3

Curadán and Boniface (MAP 1)

Place-name evidence indicates a local cultus of a saint Curadán.[98]

5. *Cladh Churadáin*, "St.Curitan's graveyard, a small rectangular burying-ground north of the farmhouse of Assynt, Novar, used within living memory (i.e., in 1904), and stated to have contained stones with inscriptions and carvings".

6. *Cnoc Churadáir* (for *Churadáin*: "the *n* of Cladh Churadain is sometimes heard as *r*"), "St. Curitan's Hill:" a (still?) wooded hill east of Lealty and north of Ardoch, in Alness parish. Watson had heard (1904) no tradition of a chapel here.

7. *Cladh Churadáin* (at the church of Bona) and *Suidhe Churadáin*, "C.'s Seat", at Lochend, Inverness.

8. *Cladh Churadáin* at Struy in Strathglass.

9. *Cladh Churadáin* at the church of Corrimony in Glen Urquhart. On the adjacent lands of Buntait are *Croit Churadáin*, "C.'s Croft" and *Tobar Churadáin*, "C.'s Well".

10. The old church of Fearnua, now in Kirkhill parish, Inverness, was traditionally dedicated to "Corridon".

In 1926, Watson added further: "'Ecclesia de Ciridan' in the deanery of Buchan, 1275 (Theiner) is an interesting trace of influence from Rosemarkie in this region subsequent to the time of Mo-Luag".[99] *A priori, Ciridan* is unlikely to be the name of the saint, *Curetán* or *Curadán*. The common formula used in medieval cartularies and elsewhere to refer to a church and its patron is *ecclesia sancti(-e) X de Y*, "church of saint X (male or female) of Y." Here, one would immediately suspect that *Ciridan* is intended for the name of the place-church or parish - the patron, as often enough, not being given. If the church *were* being identified by the name of its patron, one would expect, not *ecclesia de Ciridan*, but *ecclesia sancti Ciridani*, or, at least, *ecclesia Ciridani*. The use of *de* here without a Latin genitive ending indicates

place rather than person. Watson's somewhat airy reference is presumably to Theiner's edition of (the fragmentary) Bagimond's Roll.[100] This is the record for Scotland of the great levy of tenths imposed upon all Latin Christian countries for the relief of the Holy Land by the General Council of Lyons in 1274. In that year, Pope Gregory X appointed Master Baiamundus de Vitia Collector-General in Scotland, with authority to organise and supervise there the collection of the tenth.[101] In the entries for the first year of the collection, 1274-5, under (the diocese of Aberdeen) *Decanatus de Bughan*, "deanery of Buchan" (p.111), we find *ecclesia de Ciridan*. In the entries for the second year, 1275-6, however, we find, under *Decanatus de Buthan* (*sic*, p.115), *ecclesia de Crudan*. The corresponding (and doubtless correct) readings in Dr.Dunlop's text are (p.43) - *Ecclesia de Crudin* under *Decanatus de Bughan*; and (pp. 67-8) - *ecclesia de Crudan* under *Decanatus de Buthan*. The church of Cruden was traditionally dedicated to St.Olaf - the only such dedication, apparently, on the east coast.[102] There is thus no good evidence, so far as I am aware, for the extension of the cultus of St.Curadán this far eastward.

Kincurdy, on the northern outskirts of Rosemarkie (1). I suggested above (section 2) that this name now represents the *Cuthyl Curitin* of 1379/80, with its chapel of St.Boniface. In 1436, one Alexander Fayshar, acolyte, diocese of Ross, having been dispensed by the pope to be promoted, defect of birth as son of a priest and an unmarried woman notwithstanding; and having consequently obtained the perpetual chaplaincy of Cuthilcurdy, diocese of Ross - now supplicates the pope to dispense him to hold compatible benefices with power of exchange as often as he pleases.[103]

We find, in 1591-2, *capellam et hortum capellani de Kincowrdrie*, in Rosemarkie - "the chapel and chaplain's garden of Kincurdy";[104] in 1593, *Kincurdy, cum capella in K. et horto capelle*, in the diocese of Ross - "Kincurdy with the chapel in K. and the garden of the chapel", once part of the patrimony of the bishopric of Ross;[105] in 1615, *Kyncurdy, cum capella in K. et horto capelle*, in the diocese of Ross;[106] in 1641, *Kincurdie* (*inter alia*, belonging to the bishopric of Ross); in 1642, *Kincurdie, cum capella de K. et horto capelle*, in the diocese of Ross; and in 1649, *Kincurdie* and *Kincurdy*, associated with Rosemarkie.[107]

I have not been able to search for earlier record forms of the name as systematically as I would have wished - let alone exhaustively. Nevertheless, the line of descent from *Cuthyl Curitin* to *Kincurdy* is probable, it seems to me, rather than merely possible: the form *Cuthilcurdy* of 1435-6 acting as a link, as it were, with *cuthil*-looking back to *Cuthyl Curitin* and *-curdy* forward to *Kincurdy*. There are, of course, problems. One is the etymology and significance of *cuthy(i)l*. The word order and the specific element (assuming it to be originally *Curetáin*, *Curadáin*, "of C.") makes it likely that the generic *cuthy(i)l* is also Gaelic, or gaelicised. It may be the term often appearing in modern guise variously as Cuthel, Cuthill, Cothal, Quithel, etc., some (at least) instances of which Professor G.W.S.Barrow has referred to Gaelic *comhdhail* (Old Irish *comdál*), "assembly, meeting, conference, tryst" and denoting in a more specialised sense (he argues), particularly in north-eastern Scotland, a local court of

law that probably originated in the period from the ninth to the eleventh centuries.[108] If so, one might compare Cuthylgrudyn 1266, Cothelgurddy 1290, Cuthilgurdy 1471 - Culthill, in Caputh parish, Perthshire (no.1.19 in Barrow's list, Appendix I, p.14); Cothilduran(e) 1363-9, Cuthildurane 1391 - Coldrain, in Fossoway parish, Kinross (no.1.22, *ibid.*, p.15); Login cuthel 1243 - parish of Logie-Pert in Angus (no. 2.13, *ibid.*, p.18); Cuthel, Chutel, 12th-13th cent., Cuthilmyre before 1364 - parish of Fowlis Easter in Perthshire (no.2.24, *ibid.*, p.20). Admittedly, these names do not seem to be associated usually or even frequently with churches, but Login cuthel refers to the church of Logie-Pert (see also *ibid.*, p.9). There was also a Courthill in Rosemarkie, possibly a motte site.[109] A second is that *cuthy(i)l*, whatever its etymology, will not give *kin-*. This problem is rendered the more acute by the long gap, which I have not hitherto been able to close, between 1435-6 and 1591-2. The most straightforward explanation that I can suggest at present is that, because of the existence of the chapel, a form with generic *cill*, "church", existed alongside the form with *cuthy(i)l*, possibly not recognised officially while *cuthy(i)l* remained in force. At some stage, however, the court (or whatever else *cuthy(i)l* denoted) became obsolete: so *cuthy(i)l* gradually died out too and *cill* eventually supplanted it altogether. Scotticised *kil(l)* - (though not Gaelic *cill*), can and does become *kin-*.[110] The specific element *-curdy* (*Curadán*) has, I think, developed in a Scots- rather than a Gaelic-speaking milieu. Indeed, a Scots familiar form of the saint's name, "Curdie", may have existed at one time. If these observations are broadly correct, then I suggest further that the Gaelic form of the name given by Watson, *Cinn-chùrdaidh*,[111] has no independent value here, being simply a Gaelic rendering of the Scots form. It may be, in fact, a comparatively recent creation.

In discussing Kincurdy, Rosemarkie, Watson also mentioned Kincurdy on Speyside, Gaelic *Cinn-chaordaidh*, "where the difference in vowel sound may be dialectic".[112] I have met no earlier forms of this name and have no information about the place. If it is the same name and if I am right in the views I have just expressed above, then I suspect that it has been transferred here from Rosemarkie at some time. For the present, it seems safest simply to note its existence as requiring further investigation. I have not included it on Map 1.

11. Hurdyhill. "With it (Kincurdy) goes Cnoc-gille-chùrdaidh, Avoch, Englished Hurdyhill ... This very difficult word might be compared with Cùrr in Duthil, G. cùrr, corner or pit, Welsh cwr, corner, but for the fact that the formation Cnoc-gille-chùrdaidh strongly suggests some proper name".[113] Under Knockbain (p.141), Watson adds, "This hillock is famous for fairies and possesses a holy well once in great vogue and still visited." The well has been resorted to for some centuries at least: "On a small hill north west from the church (i.e., Suddy church), named Hurdyhill, there was in the seventeenth century a well, imagined to have the virtue of curing sick children when left one night beside it".[114]

Watson might well have added that, in personal names, *gille* ("boy, servant") is frequently followed by a saint's name. It looks to me, in fact, as if we are dealing again here with the gaelicisation of a Scots familiar form "Curdie" or the like, as I have suggested above in relation

to Kincurdy. But I do not know how late *gille*-plus-saint names could have been created in Scots Gaelic. It would probably be safer to assume that, here at any rate, the name dates to pre-Reformation times. The well itself might (but need not) have been originally known by the name of St.Curadán.

Dedications to a saint, or saints, Boniface, seem to be rare. Following MacKinlay,[115] we have only:

A spring and an annual fair in the parish of Rosemarkie(1).

12. A chapel "about half a mile south of Forfar".

13. A chapel north of Holland in Papa Westray.

The dedication of Fortrose Cathedral to SS.Peter and Boniface is essentially secondary.

A search of all the medieval parishes of the Black Isle, in the *Origines Parochiales*, has failed to produce any further material relevant to either Curadán or Boniface.[116]

Assuming, for the sake of the argument, that we are dealing here with one and the same individual, then Map 1 shows a pattern broadly similar to that of Map 2: a northern and a southern grouping. This time, the two groupings are generally much more compact and therefore more striking: we may take it that we are in more immediate contact with the saint himself and with his main spheres of activity, than we were in the case of that aspect of the legend reflected in Map 2. This is the hard core of the tradition, historical or otherwise.

It is noticeable that most of the relevant dedications to St.Peter are in the southern grouping; and that all of the dedications to Curadán are in the northern. The surviving written tradition has made no use explicitly of these local commemorations of Curadán - this, like the dedications to Peter discussed earlier, may be a point in favour of the ultimate historicity of the core of the legend - but it represents Rosemarkie as the final settlement and place of death and burial of Boniface-Kiritinus. Pursuing this line of thought further, it might be reasonable to envisage a bishop, Curetán, who carried out the work of his royal commission (see further below) mainly if not entirely within the region that is now Angus and under the Roman name of Boniface, a name which may have been assumed for this purpose. Subsequently, he retired, with King Nechtán's blessing, to Rosemarkie: he may, indeed, have been a native of the area. After his death, and originating in or encouraged by the translation of his relics, a cultus developed locally which, while apparently neither particularly intensive nor extensive, very likely reflects more or less faithfully on the ground the immediate sphere of influence of pre-twelfth century Rosemarkie.

Both Skene and Dr.Henderson have noted the tradition, preserved by the fifteenth century chronicler Andrew of Wyntoun, that king Nechtán son of Derile founded the church of Rosemarkie.[117] The passage in question is worth quoting in full as, though quite explicit, it raises a now familiar problem.[118]

Sevyn hundyr wynter and sextene,
Quhen lychtare wes the Virgyne clene,
Pape off Rome than Gregore
The Secund, quham off yhe herd before,
And Anastas than Empryowre,
The fyrst yhere off hys honowre,
Nectan Derly[ng] wes than regnand
Owre the Peychtis in Scotland.
In Ros he fowndyd Rosmarkyne,
That dowyd wes wyth kyngys syne,
And made was a place Cathedrale
Be-north Murrave severalle;
Quhare chanownys ar seculare
Wndyr Saynt Bonyface lyvand thare.
The tyme off this fundatyown
Wes efftyre the Incarnatyowne
To be reknyd sex hundyr yhere,
Quhether mare or les, bot thare-by nere,
Quhen Schyre Morys wes Emprioure,
And held that state in gret honowre.

The problem is, of course, that Wyntoun has apparently juxtaposed, without any attempt to reconcile them, two mutually contradictory statements. On the one hand, he says that in the year 716, Nechtán son of Derile, reigning king of the Picts, founded Rosemarkie; on the other, that the date of this foundation was about the year 600, during the reign of the Emperor Maurice (582-602). Skene ignored the problem: he did not quote beyond "Wndyr Saynt Bonyface lyvand thare". Dr.Henderson noted this and, quoting the last six lines, commented, "That is, in the time of Boniface IV. Wyntoun is clearly attempting to separate the Boniface-Kiritinus and Boniface stories". It seems to me more likely, however, that Wyntoun has, first, given the gist of a tradition known to him (whatever its ultimate source) of the foundation of Rosemarkie. Then he has added information that must have been generally well-known or readily accessible to contemporary ecclesiastical circles: that Rosemarkie had been erected into a cathedral church, served by secular canons, under the patronage of St.Boniface.[119] At this point, I think, the mention of Saint Boniface reminded him of the tradition that St.Boniface of Rosemarkie was actually Pope Boniface IV; and he has given an "adjusted" chronology accordingly. I suggest that, either he decided not to attempt any editorial work to try to reconcile the two traditions; or he simply failed to notice what he had done. If he was actually attempting to separate them, as Dr.Henderson has suggested, he has not, it seems to me, gone far enough. But the tradition that Nechtán founded Rosemarkie is at least interesting; and, if genuine,

historically valuable. Only excavation could tell, in the latter case, whether this was a foundation *de novo*, or the reconstitution of an existing church.

Footnotes and references : Chapter 3

98. See Watson, *Place-Names of Ross and Cromarty*, lxix-lxx, 82; *Celtic Place-Names*, 315; MacKinlay, *Ancient Church Dedications* (1914), 481.
99. *Celtic Place-Names*, 315. For the cultus of St.Moluóc in Aberdeenshire, *ibid.*, 293.
100. Augustinus Theiner, *Vetera Monumenta Hibernorum et Scotorum Historiam Illustrantia 1216-1547*, Rome 1864, no.CCLXIV, pp.109-16.
101. For discussion of Bagimond's Roll and its historical significance, see Annie I.Dunlop's introduction to her edition in *Miscellany of the Scottish History Society*, vol. 6, Edinburgh 1939, 3-77, esp. 3-23.
102. MacKinlay, *Ancient Church Dedications* (1914), 293-4.
103. *Calendar of Scottish Supplications to Rome, vol.iv, 1433-1447*, eds., Annie I.Dunlop and David MacLauchlan, Glasgow 1983, no.239. I am indebted to Mr. K.W.Nicholls, Dept. of Irish History, University College, Cork, for bringing this entry to my attention. See also *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Papal Letters, vol.VIII, A.D. 1427-1447*, prepared by J.A.Twemlow, London 1909, pp.532-3: "To Alexander Faychar, rector of the chapel of Cuchilcurdy (*sic*) in the diocese of Ross (in Scotland), bachelor of canon law. Dispensation to him - who was formerly dispensed by papal authority, as the son of a priest and an unmarried woman, to be promoted to all, even holy orders and hold a benefice even with cure, after which, having been promoted to all minor orders, he obtained the above chapel, collated to him by authority of the ordinary - to hold three other benefices with or without cure, compatible with one another and with the said chapel, and to resign all four, simply or for exchange, as often as he pleases". 5 Eugenius IV. Lateran Regesta, vol.cccxxx, f. 25d. Dated 16 January 1435(-6). At Florence. In the index of persons and places, p.719, Cuchilcurdy is identified with Culcraggie, in Alness parish. This is scarcely possible. Culcraggie, Alness, Culcragy 1479, is Gaelic *Cuilchreagaidh*, "Rocky-nook": *Place-Names of Ross and Cromarty*, 76.
104. *Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum: The Register of the Great Seal of Scotland*, A.D. 1580-1593, ed. J.M.Thomson, Edinburgh 1888, no.2071 (Hereinafter, *RMS*).
105. *RMS*, A.D. 1593-1608, Edinburgh 1890, no.13.
106. *RMS*, A.D. 1609-1620, Edinburgh 1892, no.1249.
107. *RMS*, A.D. 1634-1651, Edinburgh etc. 1984, nos.1033, 1181, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2149, 2150.
108. G.W.S.Barrow, "Popular Courts in Early Medieval Scotland: Some Suggested Place-Name Evidence", *Scottish Studies* 25(1981), 1-24; *ibid.*, 27(1983), 67-8.
109. *The Archaeological Sites and Monuments of the Black Isle* (as n.60), p.21, no.136.

110. I have discussed briefly the various elements that scotticised *Kil(l)-* may represent in "Gaelic *Cill (Kil(l)-)* in Scottish Place-Names," *Bulletin of the Ulster Place-Name Society*, Series 2, vol.2 (1979), 17-18.
111. *Place-Names of Ross and Cromarty*, 130.
112. *Ibid.*
113. *Ibid.*
114. *Origines Parochiales Scotiae* (as n.11), vol.2, part 2 (Edinburgh 1855), 538, with reference to Macfarlane's Geographical Collections.
115. *Ancient Church Dedications* (1914), 479-82.
116. *Origines Parochiales*, vol.2, part 2. The medieval parishes of the Black Isle appear to be, in alphabetical order: Avoch, Cromarty, Cullicudden, Kilchrist, Killearnan, Kilmuir Wester, Kirkmichael, Logie Wester, Rosemarkie, Suddy and Urquhart.
117. Skene, *Celtic Scotland* (as n.15); Henderson (as n.56), 51, n.4.
118. I have used the edition available to me: *The Orygynale Cronykil of Scotland*, by Androw of Wyntoun, ed. D.Laing, 3 vols., Edinburgh 1872-9, vol.II, 58 (bk.V, ch.XIII, lines 5813 to end). See also *Early Sources*, I, c-ci.
119. Wyntoun's remarks applied, in his own day and for long before, rather to Fortrose than to Rosemarkie. He has in mind, I think, Ross, not Rosemarkie specifically, as he writes. It is to be noted that he refers to the secular canons in the present tense.

Summary

Brude son of Derile, king of the Picts, guarantor of *Cáin Adomnáin*, died in 706. He was succeeded by his brother Nechtán.[120] Around 710, Nechtán, whom Bede represents as himself actively interested in and well-informed about ecclesiastical matters, sought the advice of Ceolfrith, abbot of the Northumbrian monastery of Monkwearmouth-Jarrow (Bede's own monastery). He wanted arguments, Bede tells us, in favour of the accepted Roman discipline and observance concerning then vexed questions such as, chiefly, the correct method of computing the date of Easter and the approved form of the clerical tonsure. Armed with these against any opposition he might encounter, the king intended to bring the church of his realm into conformity with Roman usage. He also asked that masons be sent him to build him a stone church in the Roman manner, which he would dedicate to St.Peter. On receipt of Ceolfrith's reply (in which Bede himself probably had a hand), Nechtán caused the current nineteen-year cycles of Easter to be substituted for the obsolescent eighty four-year cycles throughout his kingdom; and at the same time imposed the crown tonsure on the personnel of the Pictish church. The Pictish nation, says Bede furthermore, was placed under the patronage of St.Peter. The likely opponents of his schemes that Nechtán appears to have had in mind when approaching Ceolfrith were adherents, Bede implies, of Celtic usage - presumably clergy owing allegiance, directly or indirectly, to Iona. Ceolfrith also sent the builders whom Nechtán had requested, but Bede says no more than this.[121]

Bede's testimony is partly first-hand; his authority certainly first rate. Upon this foundation Skene erected his interpretation of the legend of St.Boniface (which he took mainly from the Aberdeen Breviary).[122] While I believe that Skene may well have been working along broadly the right lines, I think that his treatment was over-confident both in general and in detail. Some of his statements, moreover, are open to doubt. Lismore could not have founded a *Columban* monastery at Rosemarkie. As Dr.Henderson observed,[123] there is no good evidence that Scone was, at this time, "the chief seat of the kingdom": to think in terms of fixed political capitals at this period is, in any case, anachronistic. There is really no reason why Curetán-Boniface should have been Irish (if this is what Skene meant), rather than a native Pict: certainly his presence at the Synod of Birr is not direct evidence of his ethnic origins, as distinct from his probable ecclesiastical affiliations in 697. I doubt that the account of the Aberdeen Breviary is reliable grounds on which to postulate the introduction of a body of secular clergy into the kingdom of the Picts at this time. And as I pointed out earlier (n.119), Wyntoun says that secular canons serve the cathedral of Ross: he does not say that Nechtán or Boniface introduced them there. Skene's imagination, it seems to me, sometimes ran away with his sense of caution.

I suggested earlier that bishop Curetán, as a (the?) chief clerical agent commissioned to

implement King Nechtán's new ecclesiastical policy, might have taken the Roman name Boniface as a surname, to mark his new allegiance to Roman usage. Bede provides us with examples of Roman surnames among English churchmen during this period. Berhtgisl, from Kent, bishop of the East Angles 652/3-669/70, was also named Boniface.[124] The Northumbrian missionary Willibrord, on being consecrated archbishop of the Frisians in 695/6, was given by the pope the name of Clement: he died in 739.[125] Similarly, a little later, the West Saxon St.Boniface, Apostle of Germany (d.754), was given this name by Rome, in addition to his own name of Winfrith.[126] I am not aware that this custom prevailed to any significant extent among insular Celtic churchmen at this time. If it did not, then the gesture I have attributed to Curetán could be seen also as influenced more immediately by the Northumbrian church, a leading representative of which (Ceolfrith) Nechtán had recently consulted. If this were so, then the Boniface whose name Curetán adopted (assuming that it is reasonable to try to identify a particular individual) might have been Pope Boniface V (619-25). This pope, like Boniface IV, took a special interest in the English church, writing to Mellitus, archbishop of Canterbury (d.624) and to Justus, bishop of Rochester (d.c.627); and conferring the pallium and the status of metropolitan on Justus, when he became archbishop of Canterbury (624). More important for present purposes, Boniface V also wrote directly to Edwin, King of Northumbria (616-33) and to his queen, Aethelburh, who was already a christian, to try to secure the conversion of Edwin and his people.[127]

Any attribution of motive and action to Curetán must, of course, be entirely conjectural: perhaps I can be justly accused of indulging temptation in the same way as Skene may have done. The exercise will have been of some use, however, if it shows no more than the fact that there is nothing inherently improbable in a saint's having two names at this period - at least during his lifetime. Why, then, was it apparently felt necessary, at some stage, to identify our saint, as Boniface, with a pope Boniface?

Again, any answer to this question that one may attempt must be (and remain) tentative. A suggestion occurs to mind, however, that is, I think, at least plausible. At the time of the creation (or reconstitution) of the diocese of Ross, in the early twelfth century (?),[128] Rosemarkie may not have felt sure of her automatic choice as the location of the cathedral church. Other locally important churches may have been seen as rivals, actual or potential, for the honour. In these circumstances, she may have decided to reinforce her claim: so she revealed that her saint, as Boniface, had actually been a pope of that name. An existing dedication of the church of Rosemarkie to St.Peter would no doubt have given some additional credibility to the story. Pope Boniface IV may have been the original choice: certainly he had become so by the time that Roger of Hoveden noted the tradition at the end of the century. Choice of him may have been influenced, directly or indirectly, by Bede's account of his dealings with the English church. At the time of the visit to Rome of Mellitus, then bishop of London, to confer with Pope Boniface about the needs of the English church, the pope had summoned (in 610) a synod of the bishops of Italy to regulate monastic life. Mellitus participated in this synod, communicating its decisions to the English churches on his return

home. The pope also sent with him letters addressed to archbishop Laurence of Canterbury and to all the clergy; and a letter to king Aethelberht of Kent and to the English people.[129] The ruse, at any rate, if such it was, was successful and the story took root: it seems to have been an established tradition by the time that it came to Roger's attention.

When all is said and done, however, we are not really very much further forward. We have, it may be, defined the problem with greater precision and in more detail; but we have not solved it. We have reviewed three categories of evidence - the early Irish, the late medieval hagiographical and the toponymic: but it still cannot be shown that they all refer to one and the same individual. The bishop Curetán of the guarantor list of *Cáin Adomnáin* may be the same as the bishop Curetán of the Irish martyrologies, but it is not possible, at present, to equate the place-name(s) of these martyrologies with Rosemarkie. (This is the more unfortunate in that it is only here, in this first category of evidence, that we could have contemporary documentation of our saint). This Curetán (if he is one person) may be the Kiritinus/Queritinus-Bonifacius (if he, likewise, is one person) of the much later hagiographical tradition represented by Scottish calendars and the entry in the *Acta Sanctorum*: apart from the similarity of names (Curetán: Kiritinus etc.), the feast-day, 16 March, is common to both. Any core, moreover, of the Scottish tradition that might be cautiously accepted as historical, has been reduced to little more than a handful of names: essentially those of bishop and king-Nechtán - and of four named churches dedicated to St.Peter. The broader historical background, the interplay of personalities and events, of no interest to the popular imagination, have simply been lost - if they ever existed at all. Lastly, we have a local cultus of a saint Curadán, whose name is probably Curetán , but of whom we actually know nothing more than his name for certain. This is a pessimistic view of the situation in detail: not so much a series of weak links, as of no clearly demonstrable links at all. On the other hand, it may be allowed that the material we have examined does, cumulatively, favour a more optimistic interpretation of the evidence: I personally am inclined to believe so. The harsh fact remains, however, that rigorous negative criticism, impartially applied, would have little difficulty in demolishing most of the case for a more positive approach that I have tried to maintain.

We know little or nothing for certain about pre-twelfth century Rosemarkie. Dr.Henderson's discussion of the sculpture, in her Groam House lecture, shows a flourishing, wealthy and artistically sophisticated ecclesiastical community here in the eighth and ninth centuries, during the later Pictish and early Picto-Scottish periods.[130] If the Scottish Church generally experienced a period of inertia or even of decline during the tenth and eleventh centuries, Rosemarkie probably shared that experience. But the church must have remained at least locally important. Two thirteenth century sources list *céli dé* (culdees) under the bishopric of Ross.[131] If such a body of clergy did exist in this region, Rosemarkie is a very likely location for it: its survival into the eleventh or even twelfth century could then have been a factor in the choice of Rosemarkie as the original see of the bishopric.

As far as written documentation goes, Scotland is very poorly served in general for the period

before the twelfth century. Native sources are scarce and the information they provide usually meagre. Often they raise more questions than they answer. In order to reconstruct any kind of coherent historical narrative for the early Scots and the Picts (who have left us almost nothing), we must rely heavily on Irish and, to a lesser extent, northern English authorities. More often than we would like, perhaps, we are led to try to fill some of the many gaps in the record by recourse to later medieval or even post-medieval writings. Some of these probably do contain ancient and valuable material: the trouble is that, too frequently, we ourselves have no means of distinguishing such good material (which is likely to be present, if at all, only in small quantities and possibly in barely recognisable form) from the indifferent and the downright bad. In using such documents, therefore, one must always bear in mind that, overall, they have to be regarded as more or less untrustworthy witnesses of the early medieval centuries.

Footnotes and references: Summary

120. *Early Sources*, I, 211.
121. Bede's account, but omitting Ceolfrith's long and closely argued reply, will be found conveniently, in translation and with notes and further references, in Anderson, *Scottish Annals* (as n.72), 47-9. See further *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, eds., B.Colgrave and R.A.B.Mynors, Oxford 1969, 532-53 (bk v, ch.21: Latin text and English translation).
122. As n.15.
123. "Rosemarkie and the Reformation of the Pictish Church ..." (as n.56), 50.
124. *Berctgislum cognomine Bonifatium: Bede's Ecclesiastical History*, eds.,Colgrave and Mynors, 276-7 (bk.iii, ch.20); see also bk.iv, ch.5 (352-3).
125. *Bede's Ecclesiastical History*, 486-7 (bk.v, ch.11): "Willibrord ... surnamed Clement" - *Uilbrord cognomento Clemens*.
126. J.M.Wallace-Hadrill, *The Frankish Church*, Oxford 1983, 150.
127. Kelly, *Oxford Dictionary of Popes* (as n.97), 69-70. See further *Bede's Ecclesiastical History*, 156-7 (bk. ii, ch.7); 158-61 (bk.ii, ch.8); esp.166-75 (bk.ii, chs.10, 11).
128. The see of Ross, or of Rosemarkie, first appears on record 1127 x 1131 - *Medieval Religious Houses in Scotland* (as n.12), 207. Donaldson thought it "more than likely" that David I found, on his accession, a bishop in Ross, amongst other places: G.Donaldson, "Scottish Bishops' Sees before the Reign of David I," *Proc.Soc.Antiq.Scot.* 87 (1952- 3), 106-17, esp.116. An earlier bishop, or bishops, need not, perhaps, have administered precisely the same territory as that of the medieval diocese; or have had a fixed see.
129. *Bede's Ecclesiastical History*, 146-9 (bk.ii, ch.4); Kelly, *Oxford Dictionary of Popes*, 69.
130. *Rosemarkie's Pictish Monuments* (as n.57).
131. Anderson, *Early Sources*, II, 697-700; *Scottish Annals*, 327-8.

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CURADÁN, BONIFACE
and the early church of
ROSEMARKIE

Appendix:

Notes on the local sites dedicated to, or named after, St Curadán.

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Appendix: Notes on the local sites dedicated to, or named after, St Curadán.

1. (No. 5 in text). Cladh Thuradain (*sic*), nat. grid. ref. NH 585673. A small square banked enclosure situated in a slight hollow. There is no trace of a building and the interior is featureless (Ordnance Survey (= OS) field reports 1963, 1976). On Cnoc Thuradain. Parish of Alness. (See also *The Archaeological Sites and Monuments of Easter Ross, Ross and Cromarty District, Highland Region*, Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, Archaeological Field Survey, Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland, 1979, 25, no. 215, with refs.).

2. (No. 6). Cnoc Curuidan (*sic*), height 195m., at NH 613730, above the E bank of the Lealty Burn. No church or burial ground site is shown on OS 1:10,000 sheets. "Cnoc Curuidan. (No variant forms of the name cited; three authorities for this form given.) 'Is situate on the south side of the River Alness, about half a mile NE of Lealty Farm... It is covered over with young fir'." OS Original Name Books, Parish of Alness, 1874.

3. (No. 7). *Cladh Churadáin*: Church (site of) and burial ground, at NH 602385. The site of an old church situated in the centre of the burying ground known as Cladh Uradain (*sic*). This is pointed out as the site of the old church of the parish of Bona, but no trace of it remains. Cladh Uradain is a burying ground said to have been attached to the old parish church. It is still used as a churchyard. The present Free Church stands on its western extremity. The name signifies Uradain's burying ground. (Original Name Books 1870, *per* OS records). There are no traces of the church; the burial ground is still in use (OS field report, 1962).
Suidhe Churadáin: "Suidhe Uradain (*sic*): no variant forms of the name cited; three authorities for this form given. 'This name is applied to a small knoll or rise situated a short distance to the west of Glackossian farmhouse. It is covered with heathy pasture and it signifies Uradan's Seat.'" Original Name Books, Parish of Inverness and Bona, 1870. This name is now Ruighe Uradain (*sic*) on OS 1:10,000 sheet NH 53 NE, at NH 595386.

The church site and burial ground are at Kirkton on Loch Dochfour, on the S bank of the Lochend Burn. Ruighe Uradain is a short distance above them to W, a little to S of the Lochend Burn. Curadán was presumably the saint to whom the medieval church itself was dedicated.

4. I cannot identify no. 8 on the OS 6in. - 1:10,000 sheets; and it does not seem to be given in the Original Name Books. Struy is in the parish of Kilmorack. I find no mention of the site in the *New Statistical Account*. (There is certainly no reference to it in the (Old) *Statistical Account of Scotland, 1791-1799*, ed. Sir John Sinclair, reissued Wakefield 1981 under the general editorship of D.J. Withrington and I.R. Grant, vol. XVII (Inverness-shire, Ross and Cromarty) Parish of Kilmorack, pp.165-73. There is, likewise, no mention of it in the *Origines Parochiales of Scotiae* (note 11), vol. 2, part 2 (1855), Kilmorack, 507-18, 840). Site in general area NH 3940?

5. (No. 9). "There is in the valley of Urquhart two burial places... The other place, still used for sepulture, is at the head of the valley, in Corrimony; it is called *Claodh Churidan*, which expresses properly the burial place of Curidan." *Statistical Account of Scotland 1791-1799*, vol. XVII (as above), Parish of Urquhart and Glenmoriston, 254-55.

"The public burying-places in this parish were all probably formed round the shrines of saints or ancient chapels; and in Urquhart there is... another in the height of the country at Corrymony, called *Claodh Churidan*, the burial-place of Curidan." *New Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol. XIV, 1845, 45-6 (Urquhart and Glenmoriston).

"Near the mansion of Corrimony, at the head of Glen Urquhart, there exists an ancient graveyard... called Kilhuradan, or the graveyard of St Uradan, to whom a well near it is also dedicated. It is an oblong, secluded enclosure, containing the tombs of the old Grants of Corrimony and the present Ogilvies, as well as the graves of the common people." W. Jolly, "On Cup-Marked Stones in the Neighbourhood of Inverness..." *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.* 16 (1881-82), 300-401, at 381-2.

St Curitan's Chapel (? site of), with associated graveyard and well. The graveyard is at NH 376300. It is still in occasional use and surrounded by a 19th century wall; there is no trace and no local knowledge of St Uradan's Well (OS field report, 1975). Parish of Urquhart and Glenmoriston (OS records).

A rectangular enclosure on the E bank of the River Enrick.

The form Killuradan (i.e. *Cill Churaddin*) is interesting, though it appears to rest solely on the authority of W. Jolly. While they may reasonably be regarded as independent witnesses to the name, it seems quite likely that the *New Statistical Account* has been influenced by the *Old*. *Cill* and *cladh* could probably have alternated (for a time at least) in the same name (cf. Kilpheder (*Cill Pheadair*), S. Uist, I.B. Cowan, *The Parishes of Medieval Scotland*, Scottish Record Society, vol. 93, Edinburgh 1967, 109: *Cladh Pheadair* on OS lin. map); but the available evidence indicates that *cladh* was the usual generic element by the late 18th century - by which time, presumably, any medieval church here had long since disappeared.

6. (No. 10). Farnaway (Farnua) Church (site of), NH 605452, at Kirkton. The graveyard is an enclosure about 20 yards square, but once much larger (*Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.* 16 (1881-82), 375-6). The graveyard wall is not old, but incorporates a probable fragment of the old church wall in its E side (OS field report, 1962). Parish

of Kirkhill (OS records). See also *The Archaeological Sites and Monuments of North-East Inverness, Inverness District, Highland Region*, Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, Archaeological Field Survey, Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland, 1979, 24, no. 183, with refs.
Church (remains of) on W bank of the Kirkton Burn.

7. Kincurdy: the chapel site is not shown on OS 1:10,000 sheet NH 75 NW; and OS records have no further information. Kincurdie House is shown at NH 737580. See also *The Archaeological Sites and Monuments of the Black Isle, Ross and Cromarty District, Highland Region*, Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, Archaeological Field Survey, Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland, 1979, 19, no. 115. Local information, on the other hand, locates the "Chapel Field" approximately 150 yards NE of Kincurdy House. (I am indebted for this to David Alston, Curator, Cromarty Courthouse Museum.)

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