Myth and the Legends of Lowland Scottish Saints

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The tales which form the subject of this paper are legends in both the etymological and the developed sense of the word. They were appointed to be read on certain stated occasions, and they were regarded as true by the original audience. As is often the case with legends, they also have close affinities with myth—a term the boundaries of which have recently been redrawn by G. S. Kirk (Kirk 1970:2. 252–4). Myth, he declares, is characteristic of every society, not merely the primitive; he talks of 'men's endearing insistence on carrying quasi-mythical modes of thought, expression and communication into a supposedly scientific age'—the present, that is to say. (If this is so, one may add in parentheses, it is likely that the early centuries of the Christian era in Scotland also witnessed the survival, and indeed the creation, of myth). Myths, secondly,

> can possess significance through their structure, which may unconsciously represent structural elements in the society from which they originate or typical behaviouristic attitudes in the myth-makers themselves. They may also reflect specific human preoccupations, including those caused by contradictions between instincts, wishes and the intransigent realities of nature and society.

Consideration of Mesopotamian myths suggests

> that the development of nature-gods into city-gods may also have had special motives: to emphasize the limitations of human institutions and relate them to the natural environment as a whole, to establish the natural and social order as products of inevitability and divine mastery, and to elicit new conclusions about natural and human fertility, nature and culture, life and death, by the juxtaposition of separate mythical episodes.

Kirk suggests 'a simplified working typology of mythical functions. The first type is primarily narrative and entertaining; the second operative, iterative and validatory; and the third speculative and explanatory.' The myths found in the legends of Lowland Scottish saints belong substantially to the second class; they are intended to affect the lives both of readers and hearers; they were recited as part of a ritual at least once a year on the official anniversary of the saint's death, and, as I hope to show, certain aspects of society might be regarded as validated (or alternatively invalidated, which is just as important) by the existence of a myth. Other aspects are present, but these, I think, are the most important.

Myths concerning saints however differ from those discussed by Kirk in one important aspect. Greek and Mesopotamian myths are primary to their respective cultures.

The question of opposed and competing systems and solutions scarcely arises. In contrast, the replacement of one system by another is basic to the myth of the early Christian saint—by its very nature the myth is an agent in the process of acculturation, through which a new system more or less completely replaces an older one, but is itself necessarily adapted and modified to satisfy the needs which had previously given rise to the older system.

In what follows I assume that saints' legends form some part of a mythology for southern Scotland in the Dark and early Middle Ages, the period, say, from the Roman withdrawal in the south to the arrival of Queen Margaret at the court of Malcolm Canmore in the late eleventh century. The saints themselves belong to the earliest part of this period, but the documents concerning them are mostly later, in some cases much later, and vary considerably in date. The oldest is the verse *Miracula Nynie Episcopi* (W. W. MacQueen 1961; Strecker 1923), composed in Latin at Whithorn (Candida Casa) during the eighth century, and preserved at Bamberg in the eleventh century manuscript (Codex Bambergensis BII.10) of an anthology compiled on the continent by Alcuin (735–804), with whom the monks of Candida Casa maintained a correspondence. Four hundred years later a Latin prose *Life* was written by Ailred of Rievaux (Forbes 1874: 1–26, 137–57), who died in 1166. This is preserved in a twelfth century Bodleian manuscript (Laud Misc. 668), probably of English provenance, and in a thirteenth century British Library manuscript (Cotton Tiberius D. iii) which according to Planta (Planta 1802) in 1801 had been 'burnt to a crust' in the Cottonian fire, but from which a later editor, Bishop Forbes, was able in 1874 to produce variant readings. Forbes also refers vaguely to a volume of Lives of the Saints in the Burgundian Library at Brussels (now part of the Bibliothèque Royale), in which Ailred's *Life* appears in abbreviated form. He gives no precise reference.

Verse and prose *Life* alike were based on a lost Anglian original, probably written in Latin, which in turn was an enlargement of an earlier British (Cumbric) *Life*, most probably to be dated in the seventh century.[1] Nynia himself died somewhere between 400 and 450.

The extant *Lives* of Kentigern or Mungo (the date of whose death is given as 612 in *Annales Cambriae*) are based on lost sources, the oldest of which, on one theory (J. MacQueen 1956; 1959), belongs to the eighth century, on another (Jackson 1958) to the late tenth or early eleventh century. The material (Forbes 1874: 29–133, 159–252) survives in two main redactions. First is the fragmentary *Life*, composed perhaps by a foreign-born Tironensian monk of Kelso, during the episcopate of Herbert in Glasgow, that is to say, between 1147 and 1164. With it is probably to be associated at least one of the two Lailoken narratives (Ward 1893), preserved together with the *Life* in a fifteenth century British Library manuscript (Cotton Titus A. xix), probably of English provenance. The relevant section, folios 63–80, is primarily devoted to the exploits of Merlin, with whom Lailoken is usually identified. The Offices of Kentigern, preserved in the late thirteenth century Sprouston Breviary (N.L.S. MS.

18.2.13b) and in the *Aberdeen Breviary* (Maitland Club 1852; 1854), printed in 1510, seem to preserve other fragments of the Herbertian *Life*.

Second is the more complete, but also more bowdlerized *Life* by Jocelyn of Furness, composed probably before 1185 and during the episcopate (1175–99) of another Jocelyn in Glasgow. This is preserved in two thirteenth century manuscripts. The more interesting is Marsh's Library, Dublin, 24.5.5, which contains a *Life* of Servanus as well as Jocelyn's *Life*; this, almost certainly, is the *Vita sancti Kentigerni et sancti Servani in parvo volumine*, recorded in 1432 as part of the fairly extensive library of Glasgow Cathedral. The manuscript is thus probably of Glaswegian, or at least Scottish, provenance; it may well have been written in Glasgow Cathedral. The other manuscript is British Library Cotton Vitellius C. viii, probably of English provenance.

The third major saint is Servanus (Skene 1867:412–20), who lived at some time during the period from 450 to 700, most probably perhaps in the first half of the sixth century. As has been noted, his *Life* is preserved in the Marsh's Library manuscript. A single reference (Forbes 1874:167) shows that when Jocelyn wrote his *Life* of Kentigern, the *Life* of Servanus was already in existence; the early history of the text is otherwise obscure.

Other material of some importance is preserved in a fifteenth century Scottish vernacular manuscript, Cambridge University Library Gg.II.6 (Metcalfe 1896), and in the *Aberdeen Breviary*.

Myth forms part of the intellectual and cultural history of a people. In Scotland that history has to a considerable extent been governed by geography, the position of the country to the north and west of the British Isles and Europe. Most cultural movements are from the centre to the periphery, and the usual post-glacial experience in Scotland has been adaptation to changes emanating from outside. And while Scotland as a geographical unit has tended to exist on the European cultural frontier, the geological structure of the country has ensured that internally a number of lesser cultural frontiers have also developed. The most obvious is the fault-line dividing Lowland and Highland, but on occasion others have been of substantial importance. In early historical times, the major frontier would seem to have been, not the Highland Line, but the Clyde–Forth isthmus, where the construction by the Romans of Grim's Dyke, the Antonine Wall, was a factor of lasting importance. To the south, in the region between Grim's Dyke and Hadrian's Wall from Tyne to Solway, the Celtic-speaking peoples had been subjected to considerable Roman influence; northward that influence was much weaker. Nor was Roman influence confined to the period between the establishment in AD 81 of Agricola's line of forts and the abandonment of the wall, perhaps a century later; if anything, it increased after the withdrawal of Roman forces to the more southerly frontier. This may well have resulted from the establishment of several client states in the area between the two walls;[2] one, for instance, which formed

the nucleus of the future kingdom of Strathclyde; another which developed into Lothian; still others, possibly, in the Tweed valley, Ayrshire and Galloway. The Celtic language of these states eventually developed into Cumbric, closely related to Welsh, (Jackson 1953:9–10) but in some ways the people, or at least their rulers, seem to have been more Roman than the Romans. Their kings bore Roman or Romanized names like Caelius, Marcianus, Urbigenus, Eugenius and Constantinus (Wade-Evans 1938:101–14), and seem to have regarded themselves and their people as *cives*[3]—citizens, that is to say, of the Roman Empire, and thus to be sharply distinguished from the barbarian Picts and Scots to the north and west; later also from the Angles to the south and east. Their bards developed a vernacular panegyric poetry which has distant affinities with the panegyrical verse and prose of the rhetorical schools of the later Western Empire, with the work, let us say, of Sidonius Apollinaris and Claudius Claudianus (Chadwick 1954; 1955). Grim's Dyke marked the northern frontier of this civilization, and the importance of the wall is indicated by the later place-names which have preserved references to the rampart. Duntocher, Kirkintilloch and Kinneil[4] are the most important. Equally for the people of the north, the wall remained a symbol of oppression and hostility. In the long run, it was the northern tradition which prevailed, and it is significant that Grim's Dyke, the name of the wall in vernacular Scots, contains a reference not to the builder of the wall, but to Grim, the legendary northerner who destroyed it, and who was ultimately, if inaccurately identified as the founder of the Anglo-Norman Graham family (Skene 1871; 1872:III.v.; Chambers and Batho 1938; 1941:VII.9). As late as the sixteenth century, the ruins at Inchtuthil in Perthshire, well north of Grim's Dyke, were regarded not as the remains of a Roman legionary fortress, but as the traces of a Pictish town abandoned and destroyed by its inhabitants when they adopted a scorched-earth policy in face of the advancing army of Agricola (Chambers and Batho 1941:IV.13). The chief distinction between the Britons, who lived south of Grim's Dyke, and the Picts, who lived north of it, was, I suggest, the presence or absence of a conscious degree of Romanisation.

So far, the situation is relatively straightforward. It is complicated by a further development—the fact that in the fourth century the terms Roman and Christian became virtually synonymous. In southern Scotland, as might have been expected, the results were not long in showing. The oldest known Christian establishment in Scotland, Candida Casa at Whithorn in Wigtownshire, was founded by AD 450, and is situated in the south-western part of the British territory between the walls. Effects further north, however, were almost as swift. A reasonably well-documented tradition links the founder of Candida Casa, Nynia or Ninian, with a successful missionary journey to the Picts beyond Grim's Dyke (MacQueen 1961:20–28). The names of other missionaries from the south, in particular Servanus and Kentigern, are also associated with this area, and it seems fairly certain that, although southern Pictland had decisively rejected Roman military and civil imperialism, it rapidly accepted

Romano–Judaic Christianity, almost certainly well before Columba's missionary expedition from Ireland to the northern Picts, which began in 563.

Some of the evidence for this is archaeological; much, however, is derived from the saints' legends already mentioned. None of these, it is clear, is a scholarly biography by a near-contemporary; their value, rather, is as documents in cultural history, and the features which upset most historians—the ubiquity of the miraculous, the improbabilities and impossibilities, even where miracles are not involved, the apparently random repetition and transference of material from one *Life* to another—these, paradoxically enough, are the very features which render the *Lives* important for the cultural historian and the student of myth. We find in them a late record of the effect the saints, with their alien cultural ideals, had on societies which they influenced, an effect which inevitably, because these were the features most affected, to a considerable extent became expressed in terms of pre-Christian, and indeed pre-Roman, ideals and assumptions, in terms, if you like, of the folk-lore and folk-belief, the mythology and traditions which were superseded by the work of the individual saints. Equally inevitably, the form taken by the *Lives* differed significantly in the more and less Romanised areas under consideration, in Cumbric, that is to say, and in Pictish territory.

In what follows, I shall take the leading features of Christian Roman society for granted. Irish and Welsh sagas and poetry have preserved a reasonably full version of late Iron-Age Celtic society and its beliefs (Sjoestedt 1949), of which in this place only the briefest outline is possible. It was organised round an elaborate system of kingships, with tribal and provincial kings of predominating influence. Kingship depended on ultimate descent from a divine being. Kings and certain powerful individuals who with their followers sometimes operated outside the tribal system, had a particularly close relationship with the supernatural Otherworld. The Otherworld, in turn, was not so much a different world, as a different face, the supernatural aspect of *this* world, and the two came into joint view at certain seasons of the year—Hallowe'en and Mayday especially—and in certain places or in relation to certain objects; trees, springs, mounds, to name no others. Otherworld beings exercised their powers in terms of the natural world. Marriage or fruitful sexual union between people of the two worlds was an accepted part of general belief, an exceptionally gifted mortal being often regarded as the offspring of such a union. Insular Celtic beliefs, it is clear, were very different from most current in the later Roman Empire and from Christian doctrine, but on the periphery of the Roman world they survived (as medieval Welsh saga illustrates) to a surprising degree, and beyond the Roman frontier, in Ireland and (one presumes) Pictland, they retained much of their pristine vigour. Christianity everywhere in the Roman Empire entailed a very considerable 'cultural shock'; in Britain the evidence seems to suggest that the shock was at its mildest during the pre-monastic fourth century, and in proximity to the secular organisation of the Empire; with increasing distance, the passage of time, and the

triumph of monasticism, the effect was magnified. Everywhere it was necessary for the old beliefs and assumptions to reach some kind of cultural accommodation with the new faith. The extent of the shock and disturbance is a measure of the power of the new ideas.

Elsewhere (J. MacQueen 1962) I have written on the significance of the documents which deal with the earliest saint of southern Scotland, the *Lives* of Nynia or Ninian. Here only a few points need be added. Nynia is the most Roman, and in some ways the most secular, of these saints, and operated in what was by local standards a highly Romanised context. It seems possible that his mission belonged to the actual time of the Empire in Britain—the late fourth and early fifth century—and that Candida Casa was chosen as the centre of his operations at least partly because of its position north and west of Hadrian's Wall, but within relatively easy distance of Roman Carlisle (*Luguvallium*), a town which retained its importance even after the end of the Western Empire'. To judge by the most characteristic of a saint's myths, the miracle stories, the cultural achievement of Nynia included the establishment of a working relationship between the tribal or provincial king and a church based on moderate monastic ideals, the acceptance of monastic ideals as a new way to power over nature, and so to power over human society, and the establishment of new and more secure methods of pasture and agriculture, with a corresponding decrease in the number of cattle-raids which form so striking a part of early Celtic story-telling, and so presumably of early Celtic society. The saint's bull, which in the *Lives* kills the leader of the raiding party, is a less colourful version of the Brown of Cuailnge, the great Ulster bull which dominates the Irish epic *Cattleraid of Cuailnge* (O'Rahilly 1970), but whereas in the Irish the bull is guarded by an invincible hero, Cú Chulainn, in the *Lives* the saint merely draws a line round the herd with the point of his crozier. No other protection is necessary. Once the raiders have entered the charmed circle from which they are unable to escape, the bull itself deals with them. The initial stage of the replacement of physical strength by abstract legal and moral sanctions here finds appropriate mythical expression.

The crozier, the symbol of the bishop's authority, soon became regarded as an instrument of supernatural power,[6] even when separated from the bishop. The saga of Nynia contains the story of a truant boy pupil, who stole the crozier. By its power he was enabled to escape across the sea to Ireland in a coracle frame which had not yet been equipped with its outer leather cover. This remarkable fact filled him with so much veneration that, when he reached Ireland he planted the crozier, which at once became a wonder-working tree with a healing spring welling up from its roots. Tree and spring both belong to the older stratum of myth, but they have been Christianised and Romanised, or rather the Christian ideals of the late Empire have been made acceptable by the process of acculturation, in terms of which Nynia's exotic crozier has been credited with the virtues once believed to inhere in tree and spring—or rather the virtues inherent in tree and spring have become simple conse-

quences of the power inherent in Nynia's exotic crozier. The process closely parallels that seen in the episode of the cattle-raid.

These are processes within society, and for the most part the traditions connected with Nynia are concerned with such activities. He is associated, however, with the eremetical figure of St Martin of Tours,[7] and the most obvious departure from the social norm previously accepted is the emphasis laid on celibacy as a religious ideal, an emphasis which in Britain as elsewhere in the Roman Empire was sometimes felt to threaten the very existence of society. The conflict between Nynia and the local king Tudwal may be a mythological representation not so much of conflict between Christian and pre-Christian beliefs and attitudes as between pre-monastic and monastic Christianity in a society which under Roman influence had already moved some distance from Celtic paganism. The myth of the newly-born child speaking to clear a celibate priest accused of the paternity points in the same direction. In Celtic lands generally monastic celibacy came to be fully accepted only with the recognition of the saint as head of a monastic body which existed apart from secular society, and which on occasion might altogether withdraw in a way roughly parallel to that of the dedicated hero outside society, the secular Finn and the Fenians or possibly Arthur and his warrior companions. For part of the time at least the home of the saint was the wilderness, and it is as a consequence of this fact that the characteristically early Irish poetry of wild nature is normally either monastic or Fenian. The monasticism of the Egyptian and Syrian deserts had already given a precise form to the religious impulse away from society; this was adapted to more northerly conditions, and the word *desertum* is not uncommon among place-names of early ecclesiastical origin (Watson 1926:256–57); in Scotland, the best-known example is Dysart in Fife, where the most striking feature is the cave inhabited for a time by St Servanus. The word *Desert* has not survived in connection with Nynia, but his cave in Glasserton parish on the coast of Luce Bay contains signs of early ecclesiastical occupation, and is mentioned in the oldest extant form of the saint's *Life*.

Another saint, in late records associated with Nynia, is Medana, the patroness of the two Kirkmaidens in Wigtownshire; she too has her cave on the west side of Luce Bay, more or less directly opposite that of St Nynia. Her myth, incidentally, illustrates (Maitland Club 1854:fos. 158^{v}–159^{r}) another method of acculturation; it is a variant of the international folk-tale type A.T.706 'The Maiden Without Hands', classified as A.T.706B 'Present to the Lover', and summarised by Stith Thompson (Aarne and Thompson 1961:242) in these words: 'Maiden sends to her lecherous lover (brother) her eyes (hands, breasts) which he has admired.' Myths of this kind, we must assume, were already familiar in secular versions, which centred perhaps on the fear of incest, and could easily be adapted to express the new ideals which, by this very fact, themselves became the more acceptable.

The *Life* of Nynia is the quietest, the least sensational of all the early Scottish legends and this, I suggest, results from the proximity in time and space of Nynia's

Candida Casa to the civic actualities of the Christian Roman Empire. The myth of Medana stands in marked contrast, and it is worth noting that although her church-sites are in the neighbourhood of Candida Casa, the saint herself is presented as a refugee from unRomanised Ireland, forced into exile as a result of her adherence to monastic ideals. The element of mythical wonder-story is still more increased when we turn from these southern *Lives* to that of the more northerly saint, Servanus. The difference, I suggest, is to be explained by the greater distance from the Roman cultural centre of the society affected by the labours of Servanus. He is the saint of the westerly part of the area round the Forth estuary, which in early Christian times fell into three main territorial divisions. To the north, entirely outside the Roman frontier, lay Fife, later one of the seven provinces of the kingdom of the Picts, and itself originally perhaps a separate Pictish provincial or local kingdom. To the west lay Manaw,[8] consisting of the county of Clackmannan and the eastern part of Stirlingshire, with the Stirlingshire parish of Slamannan possibly marking the southern boundary. Manaw lay partly inside, but mainly beyond the Roman wall. South of the estuary and east of the river Avon lay Lothian, represented by the modern districts of East, Mid and West Lothian and Edinburgh. This area was entirely Romanised, and included such important centres of Roman activity as Cramond and Inveresk, each the site of a Roman fort, commemorated in the first element, *caer*, of the place-name Cramond.[9] In terms of his legend, the missionary activities of Servanus are almost confined to the western and northern areas of this region—to Manaw, that is to say, and Fife. He is a saint of the un-Romanised Picts rather than of the Britons, and although his historical period is not known with any precision, he is certainly a later figure than Nynia.

His *Life* falls into two main sections, both of which it is interesting to compare with parallel episodes in the various *Lives* of Nynia. The latter, for instance, is described as a native Briton, whose first-hand knowledge of Rome was gained during a single, comparatively brief, visit. Southern audiences, it is clear, had sufficient confidence in their own status as *cives* to require no more than a minimum token of imperial recognition for their saint. On and beyond the frontier, in Manaw and Pictland generally, additional reassurance was required—clear proof that the credentials of the local saint were not themselves merely local, but derived from the cultural centre. Very few Pictish saints are said to have been Picts. The most notable incomer, of course, is the apostle Andrew (Skene 1867:138–40, 183–93, 375–7), who later became patron saint of Scotland, with his seat at St Andrews in Fife. Regulus, who brought the relics of the apostle to St Andrews, is described (Skene 1867:140, 183, 375) as a Greek from Constantinople or the great monastery of Patras in the Peloponnese. Boethius, the patron of Kirkbuddo in Angus, was an Irishman who had spent long years in Italy.[10] Adrian, who suffered martyrdom on the Isle of May, was a Pannonian, a Hungarian (Skene 1867:424–5). Apart from Andrew and Servanus, Bonifatius, who founded Restennet near Forfar in Angus, has the most impressive

dossier (Skene 1867:421–3). He is described as an Israelite, descended from the sister of the apostles Peter and Andrew, who had been Pope before he set out to evangelise Pictland. On his journey from Rome, he was accompanied by six other bishops (one presumably for each Pictish province), among whom was Servandus, perhaps the same as Servanus, and if so, presumably the patron-designate of Fife, or at least Manaw.

A quite different story is told in the first part of the *Life* of Servanus, which gives the myth of the saint's life from conception to his sixty-seventh year. He was born by a miraculous conception, the elder twin son of the king and queen of Canaan. He was educated and made his monastic profession at Alexandria in Egypt, after which he spent twenty years as bishop of Canaan and seven as patriarch of Jerusalem. During the latter period, an angel made him a crozier with wood cut from the tree which had provided material for the True Cross, while he himself carved three other staffs from the wood of the same tree. Thereafter, he spent three years in Constantinople, and seven years as Pope in Rome, after which he made the journey to Britain, finally arriving at the island of Inchkeith in the Firth of Forth. Everything and every place that might redound to the ecclesiastical credit of Servanus is included in this part of the narrative. At the same time, the narrator exhibits an essential geographical vagueness—he does not, for instance, know the position of Canaan, which he seems to confuse with Libya; he invents an island of the Saviour somewhere between Constantinople and Rome, while between Rome and the English Channel he places a Hill of Tears and a Valley of Beasts, in the latter of which Servanus routs a company of diabolical animals. The landscape is more that of the Otherworld than of the Christian Roman Empire. The aim of the narrator is fairly obviously to awe and inspire the simple inhabitants of a remote territory.

This however is not his sole aim; he wishes also to persuade his hearers or readers that Servanus was intimately associated with them, with their immediate surroundings, their daily lives and needs. Rome, Constantinople, Jerusalem, Alexandria, Canaan—these are names which lend *numen* to the narrative. Flesh and blood is provided by names more local and familiar such as Kinneil, Culross, Loch Leven, Dysart, Tullibody, Tillicoultry, Alva, Aithrie and Dunning. Of these nine, Kinneil is in West Lothian at the eastern extremity of Grim's Dyke; all the others are in Pictish territory, Fife, Perthshire or Manaw. By contrast with the miracles in the earlier narrative, many of the later ones are homely, even humble, concerned with matters likely to interest a community of hill farmers and their dependents. At Tullibody, Servanus cured a man afflicted with an insatiable hunger. At Tillicoultry he restored life to the still-born twin sons of a poor little woman. In Alva one evening a peasant farmer sacrificed his only pig to provide a meal for the saint, but found it alive on his domestic altar the next morning. Servanus had a pet ram which was stolen and eaten by a thief who attempted to deny his crime. The ram however gave him away by bleating from his stomach. The subject-matter of these myths stands at a long remove

from the wood of the tree of the True Cross, or the monsters in the Valley of Beasts, but equally it comes very close to the business and bosoms of people in Dark Age Manaw. The figure of Servanus unites in itself the numinous authority and domestic immediacy necessary for the adaptation of Pictish society into the Romano-Christian cultural community of western Europe.

The second part of the legend contains no geographical uncertainty; the author knows the exact location of each place mentioned, and on occasion—sometimes in a slightly disguised fashion—provides additional individualising touches. In Culross, for instance, which he obviously knew well, he singles out two features. One is the actual meaning of the name, 'holly-wood'.[11] This is present in the text, but is concealed beneath the remark that Servanus came to Culross 'and cleared away all the thorns and thickets which abounded in the place'. At some point in transmission, one presumes, an additional remark such as 'and that is why the place was called Culen-ros' has dropped out. The myth, that is to say, belongs to Kirk's third speculative and explanatory type. The second local feature emphasised in the presence at Culross of a remarkable apple-tree 'which among the moderns is called Morglas' ('Sea-green'?). This apple-tree, it is explained, grew from a staff which Servanus threw across the Forth estuary from Kinneil in West Lothian, a more than Olympic distance of some 2½ miles. One is at once reminded of the miracle of Nynia's staff, and the importance of trees in pre-Christian Celtic belief. Kinneil stands at the end of Grim's Dyke, and the name itself means 'Wallsend'. Servanus threw his staff from Romanised into non-Roman territory, where it took root and became a tree, in the vicinity of which Servanus, as he was told by an angel, was destined to be buried. The importance of the move from known Roman into unknown non-Roman territory could scarcely be given more powerful and at the same time entirely mythical expression. The narrative does not actually say so, but it is tempting to identify the staff with one of those hewn by Servanus from the tree of the True Cross.

It is more certain that the crozier with which Servanus effortlessly slew the hitherto invincible dragon of Dunning in Perthshire is to be identified with the one cut for him by the angel. In the *Lives* of Nynia and Servanus alike, the image of the crozier, the sign of episcopal authority, seems above all to come into its own when the influence of the bishop is extended into new territory beyond the frontier; in the case of Nynia, Ireland; in that of Servanus, Manaw and Pictland generally. The effect is made mythic by the transformation of crozier into living tree, or by its successful use as a weapon against the monstrous powers of evil.

On the evidence of the miracle stories, the mission of Servanus was essentially to the community of Manaw. Fife, Kinross and Perthshire seem to be regarded as circumjacent desert regions, ideally suited for spiritual retreat or solitary encounters with the powers of evil. St Serf's Isle of Loch Leven, Kinross, is a typically Celtic island sanctuary; it was in a cave at Dysart in Fife that Servanus had his celebrated theological encounter with the Devil, and at Dunning in Perthshire that he fought

the dragon. But the mythopoeic heart of the narrative is Manaw, its Pictish inhabitants and their spiritual and physical needs.

However interesting the distinction between Cumbric and Pictish ecclesiastical myth, it is less important than the non-Christian Celtic heritage, shared by both. I have already mentioned the late Iron-Age belief that kings and heroes stood in a particularly close relationship to the supernatural Otherworld. The prosperity and fertility of the land depended on the maintenance of this relationship, and exceptionally powerful or beautiful wild animals were regarded as possible intermediaries between the two orders of existence. Thus, in *Manawydan son of Llŷr* (Jones 1949:46; Williams 1930:55), the third of the four more or less mythical Welsh tales which form the *Mabinogi*, Manawydan himself and his step-son Pryderi during a hunt encounter a shining white wild boar.

> And they pursued the boar until they could see a huge lofty caer all newly built, in a place where they had never seen either stone or building, and the boar making swiftly for the caer, and the dogs after him. And when the boar and the dogs had gone into the caer, they marvelled to see the caer in a place where they had never before seen any building at all. And from the top of the mound they looked and listened for the dogs. However long they remained thus, they heard not one of the dogs nor aught concerning them.

When Pryderi and his mother Rhiannon (the personified sovereignty of Manawydan's territory, Dyfed in south-west Wales) rashly entered this obviously preternatural caer, they were captured by the Otherworld enchanter Llwyd son of Cil Coed, who had already magically devastated Dyfed, and now thought that by the capture of Manawydan's wife and son, he would remove all possibility of recovery. The interest of the episode is partly the fantastic development of events, but the underlying mythical significance is clear. The white boar initiates contact between the two world-orders, in this case with apparently disastrous results.

With the arrival of primitive monastic Christianity in Scotland, as elsewhere, the saint as a figure in myth took over many of the functions which had previously belonged to the heroic warrior. Natural fertility still was felt to depend on the relationship between king and an Otherworld now substantially Christianised, but the relationship was protected and fostered by the new monastic hero. When in the *Life* of Nynia, for instance, the king Tuduvallus, quarrels with the saint, the land at once loses its fertility, and Tuduvallus is disqualified from office by incurring the physical blemish of blindness. Tuduvallus,

> despising the admonitions of the man of God, alike secretly depreciated his doctrine and manners, and openly opposed his sound teaching, so that the earth seemed rejected and nigh to cursing, in that, drinking in the rain that came oft upon it, it brought forth thorns and thistles and not wholesome herbs. But at a certain time, when he had been more than usually hostile to the man of God, the heavenly Judge suffered no longer that the injury to his servant should go unavenged, but struck him on the head with an unbearable disease, and broke the crown of the head of him that walked in his sins. To such an extent did his

> sickness prevail that a sudden blindness darkened those haughty eyes, and he who had opposed the light of truth lost the light of sense (Forbes 1874:12).

The failure of the crops and the blinding of the king are two aspects of a single situation, the break between the natural order usually subject to the king, and the supernatural, with which king and saint alike have contacts, although only the saint keeps them in proper order. It is not the saint who invokes the curses of infertility and blindness; they are the inevitable consequences of the king's behaviour. Only the saint, however, can mediate a remedy. Compare in Jocelyn's *Life* of Kentigern how an Old Testament quotation (*Deuteronomy* XXVIII, 22, 23) is used to describe the devastation of Strathclyde which results from the expulsion of Kentigern by King Morken. 'All men have departed, all the cattle died, the heaven above was as brass, and the earth as iron, devouring the inhabitants thereof; and a consuming famine prevailed for a long time over all the earth' (Forbes 1874:88). In *Manawydan son of Llŷr*, the devastation of Dyfed, which resulted from the ill-considered action of Manawydan's predecessor, Pwyll, is described in very similar terms.

> And when they looked the way they were wont before that to see the flocks and the herds and the dwellings, no manner of thing could they see: neither house nor beast nor smoke nor fire nor man nor dwelling, but the houses of the court empty, desolate, uninhabited, without man, without beast within them, their very companions lost, without their knowing aught of them, save they four only (Jones 1949:43).

Supernatural animals—a shining white boar, for example—often figure in those myths where the saint functions as the new heroic intermediary between the worlds. Chapter XXIV of Jocelyn's *Life* of Kentigern describes how in the course of his exile Kentigern founded the monastery of Llanelwy in Wales.

> With a great crowd of his disciples along with him, he went round the land and walked throughout it, exploring the situations of the localities, the quality of the air, the richness of the soil, the sufficiency of the meadows, pastures and woods, and the other things that look to the convenience of a monastery to be erected. And while they went together over abrupt mountains, hollow valleys, caves of the earth, thick-set briers, dark woods and open glades in the forest, as they went along, they discoursed as to what seemed necessary for the occasion, when lo and behold a single white boar from the wood, entirely white, met them, and approaching the feet of the saint, moving his head, sometimes advancing a little, and then returning and moving backwards, motioned to the saint and to his companions, with such gesture as he could, to follow him. On seeing this, they wondered and glorified God, who worketh marvellous things, and things past finding out in his creatures. Then step by step they followed their leader, the boar, which preceded them. When they came to the place which the Lord had predestinated for them, the boar halted, and frequently striking the ground with his foot, and making the gesture of tearing up the soil of the little hill that was there with his long tusk, shaking his head repeatedly and grunting, he clearly showed to all that that was the place designed and prepared by God. Now the place is situated on the bank of a river which is called Elgu, from which to this day, as it is said, the town takes its name (Forbes 1874:76).

This boar is as friendly an intermediary as the one in *Manawydan son of Llŷr* was hostile, but his function is virtually identical, to establish contact between the natural and the supernatural order. It is notable that in both examples a 'mound' or 'little hill' is mentioned. There can be little doubt that this is a fairy-mound, a place which contains, and belongs primarily to, the Otherworld, but which also has natural terrestrial dimensions.

Llwyd son of Cil Coed, it is suggested, exercised his power from the interior of the mound; Llanelwy was built on a fairy-mound, and thus gained for the monastic church the virtue which had once been thought to reside in pre-Christian Otherworld localities.

Myths also have survived in which the saint wards off famine by maintaining the fertility of the land—on one occasion quite literally by harnessing the resources of the wild which subsists on the frontier of the Otherworld. When Kentigern found himself with no domestic animals to pull the monastic ploughs, he summoned a herd of forest deer to take their place. When one was killed by a wolf, the wolf in turn was yoked with a surviving stag, and so formed a plough-team which kept up the good work. When the land had been ploughed, no seed was available, and the saint was forced to sow grains of sand, which of course produced a miraculously abundant harvest.

In most respects, belief in the power and authority of the king were unaffected by the transition from pre-Christian to Christian society—always provided that the Christian king treated the honour of the saint with the same consideration which his non-Christian predecessor had extended to the honour of the warriors. The saint in turn might behave like a warrior; the stories of Nynia's bull and Servanus's dragon-fight show how on occasion ecclesiastical myth might parallel, or even parody, its heroic equivalent. Elsewhere in the British Isles such parodic ecclesiastical myths are not uncommon, for example, in the generally discreditable stories about Arthur which occur in some Welsh *Lives* of saints (Wade-Evans 1944:26–9, 68–73), or in the apparently heroic treatment of Christian material found in such Anglo-Saxon poems as *Andreas* (Krapp 1906). The adult life of a saint, however, particularly of one who did not suffer martyrdom, offered relatively few opportunities for such treatment. Fortunately for ecclesiastical myth, many secular heroes were credited with remarkable stories of their birth and boyhood deeds, stories which often followed a more or less set pattern.[12] Cú Chulainn's parentage and birth, for instance, is mysterious, perhaps incestuous; during the first seven years of his life, he performs three major sets of feats, the first of which establishes him as the king's fosterchild at the court of Ulster, the second of which gains him his warrior-name, Cú Chulainn, 'the hound of Culann', and the third of which celebrates his acquisition of weapons. Lleu, the hero of the fourth branch of the *Mabinogi*, after an incestuous birth, first has to earn himself a name, second, win himself arms, and third, find a wife. The clearest ecclesiastical parallel to all this occurs in the most elaborate among the saints' legends of lowland Scotland, that of Kentigern. Like that of Cú Chulainn and Lleu, his birth was

complicated and mysterious in its circumstances. I shall turn to them in a moment. He was not reared by his parents, but fostered at Culross by Servanus, who also gave him the three names by which he is known, Mochoe, Mungo and Kentigern. During his childhood at Culross, he performed three major feats, the restoration to life of Servanus's pet robin, the miraculous rekindling of the extinguished holy fire, and the raising of the dead monastic cook. To me it seems not impossible that the three names of the saint might originally have been connected with his three boyhood deeds.

It is the birth-story of Kentigern, however, which links him most firmly to heroic myth. As I have attempted to show elsewhere (J. MacQueen 1956), it is a variant version of the international tale, now classified as A.T. 934C, Man will Die if he ever Sees his Daughter's Son, a Greek version of which is the myth of Acrisius the tyrannical King of Argos and his daughter Danae. She, with some help from Zeus, and much against her father's will, becomes the mother of Perseus. In accordance with prophecy, Perseus eventually kills Acrisius, and so restores order to Argos. In Irish, the same story survives as part of the Mythological Cycle. Balor is king of the Fomorians, who have established a tyranny in Ireland. MacKineely, a young man of the oppressed Tuatha Dé Danann, gains access to Balor's well-guarded daughter, Ethne, who thus becomes the mother of Lugh, the chief hero of the Tuatha Dé when eventually they overthrow the Fomorians and kill Balor. In the birth story of Kentigern, as preserved in the fragmentary *Life*, the corresponding figures are Leudonus, the tyrannic and irreligious king of Lothian (*vir semipaganus*), and the young prince Ewen, by whom Thaney, the daughter whom Leudonus keeps in seclusion, becomes the mother of Kentigern. In each case, the subject of the myth appears to be the restoration of kingship to a proper relation with the society for which it is responsible. The birth-story of Moses in *Exodus* may well be an adaptation of the same tale-type: here the figures are the tyrannical Pharaoh, who oppresses the Israelites, and his daughter who, in effect, becomes the mother of Moses, the Israelite prince who eventually kills Pharaoh and restores good order to his people.[13]

The good order restored by Kentigern differs very considerably even from that found in the Old Testament version of the myth, and is best seen, I suppose, in chapter XXXIII of Jocelyn's *Life*, where King Rederech of Strathclyde pays homage to Kentigern, 'and handed over to him the dominion and princedom over all his kingdom, and willed that he should be king, and himself the ruler of his kingdom under him as his father' (Forbes 1874:94). The appropriateness of this act is recognised when Rederech's queen, Languoreth

> long bowed down by the disgrace of continued barrenness, by the blessing and intercession of the saintly bishop, conceived and brought forth a son, to the consolation and joy of his whole kindred; and the saint baptizing him called him Constantine. . . . He grew up a boy of good disposition, in stature and grace, beloved of God and man, and by hereditary right, when his father yielded to fate, succeeded him in the kingdom, but always subject to the bishop, like his father before him. And because the Lord was with him, he overcame all the

> barbarous nations in his vicinity without bloodshed, surpassing all the kings that had reigned before him in Cambria, in riches, glory and dignity, and, what is better still, in holiness. So that, famed for merit, and finishing his course in peace, he was deemed meet to triumph over the age, and to be crowned with glory and honour in heaven; so that to the present day he is called St. Constantine by many (Forbes 1874:95).

The myth of Kentigern's birth is an ecclesiastical version of a Cumbric myth which has also been preserved in more secular form. In chapter I of the fragmentary *Life* the anonymous author introduces the father of Kentigern as Ewen, the son of Erwegende, to which he immediately subjoins a parenthetic gloss, 'in the stories of the minstrels he is called Ewen, son of King Ulien'. The reference is to vernacular poems or tales, and Ewen son of King Ulien is the same as Owein son of Urien of Rheged, a historical figure, for whom the poet Taliesin composed an elegy somewhere before the year 600. (Williams 1968:12; Bromwich 1954:87–8).

> The soul of Owein ap Urien,
> May the Lord have mind to its need.
> The Prince of Rheged, whom the green turf covers,
> It was honourable to sing his praise.
> The hero famed in song lies in a narrow vault;
> His keen-edged spears were like the wings of the dawn!
> Never again will be found the like
> Of the brilliant lord of Llwyfenydd,
> A reaper of his enemies, a marauder,
> In nature like his father and his grandfather.
> It was nothing to Owein to slay Fflamddwyn,
> He might have done it in his sleep!
> The host of broad England sleeps
> With the light (shining) in their eyes,
> And those who would not flee
> Were bolder than they had need.
> Owein punished them soundly
> Like a pack of wolves after sheep.
> A fine man in his many-coloured gear
> Who gave horses to his dependents.
> Though he might gather wealth like a miser
> He relinquished it all for his soul.
> The soul of Owein ap Urien
> May the Lord have mind to its need.

In the course of oral tradition, the historical Owein became a hero of saga, whose central mythical exploit was developed and preserved in two versions, one ecclesiastic (the birth-story of Kentigern), and one secular. The latter became attached to the Arthurian cycle, passed to the Continent, and was given permanent artistic form by Chrétien de Troyes in his *Yvain* (*Le Chevalier au Lion*) (Roques 1967), a verse romance composed in the last quarter of the twelfth century, perhaps about 1185. During the next fifty years, a cognate Welsh prose version, known generally as *The*

Lady of the Fountain (Jones 1949:155–82), also made its appearance. In both, style and atmosphere differ strikingly from the fragmentary *Life*, still more from Jocelyn's emasculated version. Many of the significant incidents, however, parallel details from the fragmentary *Life* in a way characteristic of the oral tradition, which can scarcely be coincidental. In isolation, some of the correspondences might appear fortuitous: in combination, they are much more convincing. I quote first the incident from the fragmentary *Life* and follow with that from the romances. Ewen, the name in the fragmentary *Life* is the same as the romance forms Yvain and Owein; all three occur in primary Welsh documents. The other parallels are these:

1 (a) Thaney is the daughter of Leudonus.
  (b) Laudine, the lady of the fountain, is the daughter of Laudunet.

2 (a) Leudonus hands Thaney over to the humiliating safekeeping of a swine-herd.
  (b) A monstrous herdsman directs Yvain to the magic fountain, which protects Laudine from the attentions of wandering knights.

3 (a) Ewen sends a woman, who unsuccessfully tries to persuade Thaney to marry him.
  (b) Laudine's serving-woman, Lunete, acts as a successful intermediary between Yvain and her mistress.

4 (a) Ewen eventually finds Thaney by a spring.
  (b) Yvain defeats and mortally wounds Laudine's husband at the magic fountain, and in pursuit of him, comes to Laudine's stronghold and falls in love with her.

5 (a) Ewen makes Thaney pregnant when, disguised as a woman, he comes to her at the spring.
  (b) Lunete gives Yvain a ring of invisibility, which enables him to enter Laudine's stronghold and so eventually to become her suitor and marry her.

6 (a) Ewen deserts Thaney.
  (b) Yvain deserts Laudine.

7 (a) The swine-herd kills Leudonus.
  (b) Yvain mortally wounds Laudine's first husband at the fountain.

The relationship of these narratives to A.T. 934C is most clearly established by the fragmentary *Life* in the punishments inflicted on Thaney, when she is found to be pregnant. She is first hurled from a rock, as was the new-born Gilgamesh, and when this does not bring about her death, like Danae the mother of Perseus, she is set adrift in a rudderless boat. (Gilgamesh and Perseus were each destined to kill their maternal grandfather). The romances, on the contrary, preserve no hint of Laudine's pregnancy, much less that she was punished for it, a feature which, on the hypothesis here put forward, is central to the original myth, but which no doubt was felt to be alien to the ethos of courtly romance. Although Laudine's father, Laudunet, is mentioned, he plays no part in the romances, and it may be that at some stage the mortal combat between Yvain and Laudine's first husband has become a substitute for his death. The death of Leudonus, though at the hands of the swine-herd rather than the saint, has been retained in the fragmentary *Life*.

The birth-story also differs from the romances in that it preserves much mythical material of Kirk's third speculative and explanatory type, material which is primarily intended to explain features of Lothian life and the Lothian landscape. When Thaney is sentenced to death, she is first pushed over the edge of the hill Kepduf in a waggon—perhaps in order that the guilt of her death may be attached to the vehicle rather than to the human executioners. She reaches the foot of the cliff unhurt. The pole of the waggon becomes fixed in the earth, and when it is drawn out 'a most limpid fountain straightway began to gush forth, which has not ceased to flow to the present day. Moreover the ruts of the two wheels in the hard flint still present a great miracle to the beholders' (Forbes 1874:129). She is next set adrift at a place called Aberlessic (perhaps Aberlady or the mouth of the Lothian Tyne)

> that is, the Mouth of Stench, for at that time there was such a quantity of fish caught there that it was a fatigue to men to carry off the multitude of fish cast from the boats upon the sand, and so great putrefaction arose from the fish which were left upon the shore, where the sand was bound together with blood, that a smell of detestable nature used to drive away quickly those who approached the place (Forbes 1874:130).

The fish however deserted Aberlessic and followed Thaney's rudderless boat when it was towed out to sea as far as the Isle of May.

> And the river-mouth, so prolific in fish as mentioned above, because it received the young girl unjustly condemned, remaineth unproductive unto the present day; but the fish who followed her remain where she was abandoned. From that time until now the fish are found there in such great abundance, that from every shore of the sea, from England, Scotland, and even from Belgium and France, very many fishermen come for the sake of fishing, all of whom the Isle of May conventionally accommodateth in her ports (Forbes 1874:131).

Two standing stones, one carved and superimposed on the other, about a mile to the south of Dumpelder (Traprain Law), mark the spot where Leudonus was killed by the swineherd.

I noted already that the mythopoeic heart of the *Life* of Servanus was Manaw and the spiritual and physical needs of its inhabitants. Lothian and the Firth of Forth, correspondingly, is the heart of the birth-story of Kentigern. By comparison, the mythical content of the romances is poor, even poverty-stricken. If myth is in any sense still an appropriate term, it belongs almost solely to Kirk's first type, the narrative and entertaining; almost nothing is left of the operative, iterative and validatory, or of the speculative and explanatory. The Lowland saints' *Lives* in general are specimens of living myth, the romances derived from the same tradition scarcely even corpses.

NOTES

1 J. MacQueen 1961:3–6. Bede, it should be added, almost certainly did not receive the material about Nynia in the form in which it appears in *Historia Ecclesiastica* III. iv. Traditions about saints were transmitted in a very different form, better represented by *Miracula* and Ailred. I wish

therefore to withdraw the statement in *St Nynia* that 'it is by its quality as history that it' (Bede's account) 'is to be distinguished from a hagiographical poem, the *Miracula Nynie Episcopi*, written later in the eighth century, and from Ailred's *Vita Niniani*, written in the twelfth'. Bede's narrative represents the historicisation of hagiographical tradition, rather than the historical foundation for hagiographic elaboration.

2 See particularly H. M. Chadwick, 'The British Kingdoms' in *Early Scotland* (Cambridge 1949) pp. 137–58. Chadwick suggested a fairly late re-extension of Roman power north of Hadrian's Wall. 'The evidence seems . . . to point to some transaction on the part of a later *Dux Brittaniarum*, whereby he handed over to native princes what was left of the northern frontier army, with its equipment and stores. That might be Maximus, or the officer whom he left in charge. Or it may be that native princes had succeeded to the command, and transformed the army into dynastic forces.' For a more recent view, see S. Frere, *Britannia* (London 1967) p. 165: 'Under Commodus a new phase opened in which Roman influence was accepted in the Lowlands in return for local autonomy, and the tribes could accordingly be used as a buffer between Hadrian's Wall and the North.' p. 352: 'Much greater reliance came' (*i.e.* after AD 369) 'to be placed upon the federate tribes of the Lowlands; there were now no Roman forces north of the Wall. This change probably marks the inception of a new arrangement under which the Votadini were granted more complete independence with client or federate status, and the assumption of responsibility for frontier protection under their own leaders. . . . A similar arrangement may possibly have been made with the dynasty of Strathclyde.' It is now commonly held that the new province of Valentia, established in 369, was northern and centred on Carlisle in Cumberland. The first hint of this was provided in J. C. Mann, 'The Administration of Roman Britain', *Antiquity* XXXV (1961) 316–20. If the location is accepted, it is likely to be important in any consideration of the career of Nynia.

3 See, *e.g.* St. Patrick's *Epistola ad Milites Corotici* 2, in A. Marsh, *Saint Patrick's Writings* (Dundalk 1961) p. 23: *non dico civibus meis neque civibus sanctorum Romanorum sed civibus daemoniorum*: Nennius, *Historia Brittonum* 63, in F. Lot, *Nennius et l'Historia Brittonum* (2 vols., Paris 1934) vol. 1 pp. 202. *Deodric contra illum Urbgen cum filiis dimicabat fortiter—in illo autem tempore aliquando hostes, nunc cives vincebantur.*

4 Duntocher is Gaelic, and means 'fort on the causeway', *i.e.* Grim's Dyke itself or perhaps more probably the Military Way which ran immediately to the south. See W. J. Watson 1926:486. The fort itself is now called Golden Hill; see Anne S. Robertson, *The Antonine Wall* (revised edn., Glasgow 1973) pp. 85–8. Kirkintilloch is a hybrid Cumbric-Gaelic name meaning 'fort at the top of the hill' (Watson:348). Kinneil is another hybrid Cumbric-Gaelic or Pictish-Gaelic name (Watson:346–8), and means 'end of wall', corresponding precisely to Wallsend in Northumberland at the eastern extremity of Hadrian's Wall.

5 C. Thomas, *Britain and Ireland in Early Christian Times AD 400–800* (London 1971) pp. 78–80. The suggestion in the *Lives* that the area round Whithorn was already Christian before Nynia became bishop is supported by the fact that 'it was entirely unknown in the ancient church for a bishop to be sent to a place where there was no flock for him to minister to'. (R. P. C. Hanson, *Saint Patrick, His Origins and Career* (Oxford 1968) p. 54. *Cf.* E. A. Thompson, *The Visigoths in the Time of Ulfilas* (Oxford 1966) p. xvii. As late as 685, Cuthbert on a visit to Carlisle was taken by his hosts to see the Roman walls and the Roman fountain. 'There is no positive ground for thinking that the continuity of its occupation was broken between Romano-British and Anglo-Saxon times.' (P. Hunter Blair, *An Introduction to Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge 1956) p. 280.

6 In terms of the Stith Thompson *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature* (6 vols., Bloomington and Helsinki 1932 ff.), Magic crozier is motif D1277.1 (T. Peete Cross, *Motif-Index of Early Irish Literature*. Bloomington n.d.). Other motifs in the miracle stories mentioned include: (*Lives* of Nynia): B.182.3, Magic bull; *D1272, Magic circle; D1294, Magic footprint; D1567.5, Saint's crozier produces fountain; D1673, Magic staff blossoms; D1841.4, Man proof against wet from rain; F952, Blindness miraculously cured; *F971.1, Dry rod blossoms; F971.7, Sowing and reaping same day; Q451.7, Blindness as punishment; Q552.3, Failure of crops during reign of wicked king; Q466, Embarkation in leaky boat; T585.2, Child speaks at birth; (*Life* of Medana): D1524.3, Magic stone serves as boat; (*Life* of Servanus): A2711.2, Tree blessed that made the cross; *D954, Magic branch;

D1318.7.1, Flesh of animals reveals guilt; D1524.1.2.1, Saint casts staff to distant island; D1817.0.1, Magic detection of theft; D1817.2*, Saints magically detect crime; E32, Resuscitated eaten animal; E168, Cooked animal comes to life; M416.1, Curse; appetite of twelve men; Q572, Sickness as punishment remitted; T540.1, Supernatural birth of saint; V224.2, Food (animals) eaten by saint miraculously replaced. The motifs preserved in *Lives* of Kentigern are too numerous for listing here.

7 Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica* III.iv, is the earliest authority for this connection, which may have more substance than I was inclined to allow in *St. Nynia.*

8 Manaw is not the same as the territory of the Gododdin or Votadini, as seems to be assumed, for example, by S. Frere (*op. cit.* p. 381). See rather K. H. Jackson, *The Gododdin. The Oldest Scottish Poem* (Edinburgh 1969) pp. 70–5. The phrase 'Manaw of the Gododdin' is on record once only, in Nennius, *Historia Brittonum*, 62 (F. Lot, *op. cit.* vol. I p. 202, where Lot falls into the same error as Frere). Professor Jackson suggests that it is called 'of the Gododdin' to distinguish it from Manaw, the Isle of Man in the Irish Sea. If the position of Manaw in relation to Grim's Dyke is significant, the name may in effect mean rather 'that part of Manaw south of Grim's Dyke and so subject to the Gododdin', as opposed to the more northerly portion which was not so subject. It is also worth noting that the only place-names in Scotland commemorating the powerful tribe of the Maeatae, Dumyat and Myothill, both occur in the Stirlingshire area of Manaw north of Grim's Dyke (Watson 1926: 56–9). It is usually assumed (as by Watson, *loc. cit.*, and Frere, *op. cit.* p. 164), that when the early third century historian Dio Cassius, as abbreviated in the eleventh century by Xiphilinus, refers to the Maeatae as living 'close to the Wall which divides the island into two parts' (LXXVII, 12), he is referring to Hadrian's Wall, reconditioned by the emperor Severus in or about the year 205, some twenty years, perhaps, after the final abandonment of Grim's Dyke. The place-name evidence strongly suggests that this is erroneous, that Manaw was the original tribal territory of the Maeatae, even possibly that Servanus was their first bishop. The *oppidum* may have been Stirling. Glasgow, the Strathclyde episcopal centre, is situated at much the same distance from the *oppidum*, Dumbarton, as Culross from Stirling.

9 It seems improbable that the first element in another place-name, Carriden in West Lothian, is *caer.* See Watson 1926: 370; A. Macdonald, *The Place-Names of West Lothian* (Edinburgh and London 1941) pp. 25–6; K. H. Jackson, *The Gododdin* pp. 75–8. The Roman fort at Carriden is three-quarters of a mile from the east end of Grim's Dyke; see Robertson, *op. cit.* pp. 42–3. Cramond means 'fort on the river Almond' (Watson: 369). Compare such names of Roman sites in Wales as Caernarvon, Carmarthen and Caerleon (also Kirkintilloch; footnote 4 above).

10 Skene, 1867: 410–11. For the name Kirkbuddo, Carbuddo, see Watson: 313–14. A Roman marching camp of first century date is situated nearby.

11 Watson 1926: 497. Watson understood the name to be Gaelic; it may however have been Gaelicised from a Pictish or Cumbric original, compounded from elements cognate (as is the Gaelic) with Welsh *celyn*, 'holly' and *rhos*, 'moor'. There is no obvious 'point' at Culross.

12 See J. G. von Hahn, *Sagwissenschaftliche Studien* (Jena 1876); A. Nutt, 'The Aryan Expulsion-and-Return Formula in the Folk and Hero Tales of the Celts', *Folklore Record* 4 (1881) pp. 1–44; O. Rank, *Der Mythus von de Geburt des Helden* (2nd ed. Leipzig and Vienna 1922); V. Propp, *Morphology of the Folktale* (Leningrad 1928); Lord Raglan, *The Hero: A Study in Tradition, Myth and Drama* (London 1936); J. Campbell, *The Hero with a Thousand Faces* (2nd printing New York 1953); J. de Vries, *Betrachtungen zum Märchen* (Helsinki 1954).

13 W. J. Gruffydd, *Math vab Mathonwy* (Cardiff 1928) pp. 368–72. Gruffydd's book is sometimes over-ingenious, but it remains a very important study of some manifestations of A.T. 934 C.

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