NOTES ON THE HISTORY OF THE RUINS AT IONA. By W. F. SKENE, Esq., LL.D., F.S.A. Scot.

The ruins which at present exist on the island of Iona may be considered as the remains of four distinct ecclesiastical foundations. There is, first, the chapel of St Oran, with the cemetery, called in Gaelic, Reilig Oran, secondly, the church of St Mary, with the cloisters and monastic buildings connected with it; thirdly, the Nunnery; and fourthly, the remains of the building called Teampull Ronaig, and believed to have been the parish church.

Any one examining these ruins, and desiring to learn something of their history, will be surprised to find how very little is really known concerning them. He will learn generally that an ecclesiastical establishment was founded in the island in the sixth century by St Columba, and that for several centuries it was the chief seat of the early Scottish Church, till the ravages of the Norwegians and Danes destroyed it in the ninth century; but none of these ruins belong to that period. If he refer to his guidebook, he will not get much satisfaction there. Murrav's Handbook for Scotland will tell him, for instance, that St Oran's chapel is a work of considerable antiquity, though probably not earlier than the twelfth century; that though much later than the time of St Columba, it was the permanent chapel of the cemetery, and therefore older than the cathedral-reasoning not very easily followed; that the Nunnery was founded in the thirteenth century, and the cathedral of St Mary built in the fourteenth century, but not a syllable as to who founded them, or to what order of clergy or monks they belonged.

If he turn to Dr Reeves' able and exhaustive edition of Adamnan's Life of St Columba, probably the ablest and most exhaustive work which has appeared in our time, he will find a full and detailed account of every event connected with this island and its ecclesiastical history, down to the end of the twelfth century. The last event recorded by Dr Reeves is in the year 1203, and he then adds :---"The passage here cited is the parting mention of Hy in the Irish Annals, and as it closes a long list of notices running through nearly seven centuries, it leaves the island, as it found it, in the hands of Irish ecclesiastics, an important out-post of the Irish Church," &c.

The Chapel of St Oran, and perhaps part of the monastic buildings, may reach back to the twelth century, but in the main these ruins are not older than the end of the twelfth or beginning of the thirteenth centuries. Dr Reeves, therefore, who has so admirably conducted us through the history of St Columba and his successors, down to that period, leaves us without his guidance, just as the history of these buildings probably commenced, and of the subsequent history of the island all is dark and uncertain.

The object of this paper is to endeavour to restore some part of this forgotten history.

Dr Reeves, before he parts with us, gives us one important fact in connection with the church of St Mary. I do not call it with the guide books, the Cathedral Church, because it was not a cathedral till shortly before the Reformation. In a note, he says, "On the capital of the south-east column, under the tower, near the angle of the south transept and choir, are the remains of the inscription-'Donaldus O'Brolchan fecit hoc opus,' in Lombardic letters" (p. 409); and in another part (p. 411), he says, talking of Flaherty O'Brolchan, Bishop and Abbot of Derry, "Bishop O'Brolchan was busily employed towards the close of the twelfth century, in re-edifying the ecclesiastical buildings of Derry; and to a kinsman of his is probably attributable the commencement of the most important structure now existing in Hy. The unusual record on the capital of the tower column, 'Donaldus O'Brolchan fecit hoc opus,' and the coincidence of that record with the obit of Domhnall Ua Brolchan, in the Annals of Ulster at 1203, and of the Four Masters at 1202, are sufficient, if not to satisfy the mind, at least to afford material for reasonable conjecture as to the builder." In a note, he says "that this capital is the most ornamented with grotesque reliefs of any in the building," and adds, "could these designs, so characteristic of the Irish school, be the hoc opus of O'Brolchan?"

Without going so far as to limit his work to the capital, it is probable that he only built a part of the church, for these early churches, when of considerable size, were usually gradually built in parts, first, the chancel and choir, then, the transepts and centre tower, and finally, the nave. Dr

Reeves thinks that this Donald O'Brolchan was Prior of Derry, but he is not so called in the Annals. The entry as he gives it, is simply "Domhnall Ua Brolchain, prior et excelsus senior, obiit die Aprilis xxvii." He may have held the priory of Iona as well. Fordun, who wrote in 1385, in noticing Hy Columbkille, or Iona, merely says," ubi duo monasteria sunt, unum monachorum, aliud monialium, ibidem itaque refugium;" but Bower, who wrote sixty years later, says that two monasteries had been founded there, one "nigrorum monachorum." or of black monks, and the other of holy nuns of the order of Saint Augustine bearing the rochet. Bower was himself Abbot of Inchcolm, and knew probably what he was talking about when he thus describes them; but he confounds the monastery with the chapel of St Oran, when he adds that it had been the place of sepulture and royal seat of almost all the kings of the Scots and Picts to the time of Malcolm Canmore. Maurice Buchanan, who wrote some twelve years later, repeats the statement of Fordun.

Now, the first piece of additional information I have to give you is from the Book of Clanranald, which contains a record kept, from time to time, by the Macvurichs, of the history of the Lords of the Isles and the great clan of Macdonald. Macvurich says of Reginald, Lord of the Isles, that, "he was the most distinguished of the Galls and the Gael for prosperity, sway of generosity, and feats of arms. Three monasteries were founded by him, viz., a monastery of black monks in I, (or Iona.) in honour of God and Columchille; a monastery of black nuns in the same place; and a monastery of grey friars at Sagadal (or Saddle) in Kintyre." This Reginald was the son of Somarled, the regulus of Argyll. who was slain at Renfrew in 1166, and succeeded him in the Lordship of the Isles, which he ruled till the year 1207, when he died. He was thus Lord of the Isles during the greater part of the reign of William We know from the Paisley chartulary that he was the founder the Lion. of the religious house at Saddle, and there seems no reason to doubt the statement that he founded the monastery and nunnery at Iona.

By black monks, the Benedictines are meant, who were so-called, and among the documents found by Professor Munch in the Vatican, and printed in his edition of the Chronicle of Man (p. 152), is the confirmation by the Pope of the foundation of this Benedictine monasterv. It is dated the 9th December 1203, and is addressed to "Celestinus Abbas Sancti Columbæ de Hy insula," and to the brethren present and future professing a religious,---that is, a monastic life; and he takes under his protection and that of Saint Peter the aforesaid monastery of Saint Columba, in order that the monastic order which has been instituted in that place according to God and the rule of Saint Benedict, may be preserved inviolate in all time to come, and he confirms to them the place itself in which the said monastery is situated, with its pertinents, consisting of churches, island, and lands in the Western Isles. This document throws light upon a charter in the chartulary of Holyrood (p. 41), where King William the Lion grants to the Abbey of Holyrood, "ecclesias sive capellas in Galweia quæ ad jus abbatiæ de Hy Columcille pertinent, videlicet Kirchecormack, Sancti Andreæ, Balincros, and Cheletun." These churches are not contained in the Pope's confirmation of the possessions of the new monastery, and must have belonged to the prior abbacy, which had fallen into decay, and been granted by William the Lion to Holyrood when the new monastery was founded.

Now observe how all the dates here accord. The monastery is founded by Reginald, Lord of the Isles, in the reign of William the Lion, sometime between 1166 and 1207. It is confirmed by the Pope on 9th December 1203, and the church bears an inscription on one of the pillars, which shows that part of it at least had been built by a prior who died in 1203, and these dates correspond with the architectural character of the buildings.

The next point to be determined is, to what particular order of Benedictines did this monastery belong?

Spottiswoode, in his account of the religious houses, states that "the old cloisters, being ruined by the several incursions of the Danes, the monastery became in the following years the dwelling of the Cluniacenses, who, in the reign of King William, took all their benefices 'cum cura animarum' in Galloway, which were bestowed upon the canons of Holyrood House at Edinburgh, the Benedictines not being allowed by their constitutions to perform the duties and functions of a curate."

The previous detail will have shown that this view of the loss of the Galloway churches is not strictly correct; and there is a serious difficulty in supposing that the monastery founded by Reginald, Lord of the Isles,

was one of Cluniac monks. The Cluniacenses were a reformed order of Benedictines, so called from the Abbey of Cluny, in Burgundy, where Berno revised the rules of Saint Benedict with some new constitutions, and when dying placed Odo as abbot or superior of this new monastery; but it was a peculiarity of this order that the parent house at Cluny was alone governed by an abbot, and the affiliated houses were priories governed by a prior only. The principal monastery of Cluniacs in England was Wenloch, but it was a priory only, governed by a prior. Walter Fitzallan, the high steward of Scotland, brought Cluniac monks from Wenloch to Paisley, where he founded a monastery in 1164; but Paisley, too, was at first only a priory. Great efforts were made to obtain for Paisley the privilege of electing an abbot, which were strenuously resisted by the abbot of Cluny, and it was not till the year 1245 that the monks of Paisley obtained this privilege, and the priory became an abbacy; but, as we have seen from the Pope's confirmation of the monastery of Iona in 1203, it was from the first governed by an abbot. This objection appears to me fatal to the claims of the Cluniacs,-other objections will be noted afterwards,---and I think there is strong reason for concluding that the monastery belonged to another order of reformed Benedictines, viz., those called Tyronenses. They were so called from their first abbey, Tyron, in the diocese of Chartres, and were founded by St Bernard, abbot of St Cyprian in Poitou, in the year 1109. The Benedictines of Tyron were introduced into Scotland by David the First, who placed them at Selkirk, when earl, and after he became king, removed them to Kelso, and this was their only monastery in Scotland prior to the reign of William the Lion, but most of the monasteries founded in his reign belonged to this order. The great foundation in his reign was the monastery of Arbroath, founded by himself in 1178, and the monks were Benedictines of Tyron, brought from Kelso. In the same year his brother David, Earl of Huntingdon, founded the Abbey of Lindores for Benedictines of Tyron. In the following year the Earl of Buchan founded Fyvie, which was affiliated to Arbroath, and belonged to the same order; and in the same reign Richard de Moreville founded Kilwinning, for Benedictines of Tyron.

Now I find the closest resemblance between these monasteries and that of Iona.

1st, The Benedictines of Tyron, as appears from a list of foundations in

Scotland of the thirteenth century, which comes down to 1272, annexed to Henry of Silgrave's Chronicle, were called black monks.

2d, The confirmations of two of them by the Pope have been preserved —that of Arbroath in 1182, in the Arbroath chartulary (p. 151), and that of Lindores in 1198, in that chartulary (p. 39). The monastery of Kilwinning was confirmed in 1218, but the deed has not been preserved. Now on comparing the confirmations of Arbroath in 1182 and Lindores in 1198 with that of Iona in 1203, I find that they are verbatim the same, and the monasteries are described in exactly the same terms, viz., "ordo monasticus, qui in eodem loco secundum Deum et beati Benedicti regulam institutus est," while in the Pope's confirmation of the Monastery of Paisley in 1226, printed by Theiner (p. 23), the qualifying expression "atque institutionen Cluniacensium fratrum" is added, which is not in the others.

3d, The monasteries of the Benedictines of Tyron, or the churches attached to them, were dedicated to St Mary, either alone or along with a local saint. Kelso was dedicated to her. Arbroath to St Thomas the martyr, but an altar in the choir to St Mary, and the monastery is occasionally called of St Mary and St Thomas. Fyvie was dedicated to St Mary. Lindores to St Mary and St Andrew. Kilwinning to St Mary and St Winnin, and Iona to St Columba, and the church to St Mary. If I am right in conjecturing that it also belonged to this order of Benedictines, it throws light upon another deed of King William the Lion, for at the time that he gave the Galloway churches, which had belonged to the older abbacy, to Holyrood, he gave, the church of Forglen with the "Bracbennach" or standard of Saint Columba, to the abbey of Arbroath, the chief monastery of this order, founded by himself.

The next point I have to bring before the Society, is the connection of this abbey of Iona with the diocese of Nidarös or Trontheim in Norway. This connection, of course, arose from the Isles being under the dominion of the Norwegians. The Bishops of Man and the Isles had at first been consecrated by the Archbishop of York, whose suffragans they were considered to be, but when the metropolitan see of Nidarös or Trontheim was erected in 1154 by the bull of Pope Anastasius IV., the Sudreys or Western Isles were expressly annexed to this province as a suffragan diocese. Accordingly, we find that the Bishop of Man and the Isles at

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this time was a Norwegian called Ragnald, who appears to have been nominated and consecrated by the metropolitan Bishop of Nidarös. In the Icelandic Annals he is termed the first Bishop of the Sudreys, the previous bishops, who had been consecrated by the Archbishop of York, being ignored in those annals. After his death, in 1170, the rights of the Bishop of Nidarös seemed to have fallen into abeyance till the year 1210, when the titular Bishop of the Isles was consecrated by him, and during this period of 40 years, the Icelandic Annals declared that the diocese of the Isles was vacant, thus ignoring all bishops not consecrated by the Bishop of Trontheim. In the year 1225 he received the pallium from the Pope, and thus became vested with the full rights of a metropolitan; and in the following year (1226) Simon, Bishop of the Isles, was consecrated, along with three Norwegian Bishops, by Peter, Archbishop of Nidarös.

In the MS. "Liber Censuum Romanæ Ecclesiæ," compiled by Cencius Camerarius in 1192, we find under the head of "Norwegia" the dioceses comprehended within the province of Nidarös, and among these is the "Episcopatus Sudreiensis alias Manensis," to which is added "Ecclesia Sancti Columbi de insula Hy;" and the Saga of King Hacon relates that in the autumn of 1226, Simon, Bishop of the Isles, John, Earl of Orkney, and the Abbot of Iona, met King Hacon at Bergen, so that the Abbot of Iona was with Bishop Simon in Norway when he was consecrated, and, no doubt, did homage to the Archbishop of Nidarös at the same time. The next notice of the Abbot of Iona is in the year 1234, when, in an agreement made in that year between Andrew, Bishop of Morav, and Walter Comyn, in regard to the lands of Kynkardyn in Strathspey, recorded in the Moray Chartulary (p. 99), we find it was made in presence "Domini Abbatis de Hy, and fratris Alani monachi," that is, of the abbot and one of the brethren who accompanied him. The probable object of this journey, we learn from the next document I have to bring before you. It is a letter of Pope Innocent IV., in 1247, preserved in the British Museum, in which, "on a representation by the abbot of the monastery of the order of Saint Benedict, in the diocese of the Isles of the kingdom of Norway, that, although a general Chapter was celebrated within his province (that is, of Nidarös), according to the constitution of the Apostolic See, the abbots of that order within the kingdom

of Scotland compelled him to attend their general council on the ground of his holding certain possessions in Scotland, the Pope ordered the abbots in future not to molest him" (Orig. Par. II. p. 834). There were at this time seven Benedictine Abbots in Scotland,—one of original Benedictines at Dunfermline, one of Cluniacs recently established at Paisley, and five of Benedictines of Tyron, who must be the abbots alluded to.

In the same year, Pope Innocent addresses a letter "to the abbot of the monastery of Saint Columba of the order of Saint Benedict," who had gone to Lyons to meet the Pope, and personally represented the great distance of his monastery from the Norwegian province to which it belonged, and grants him the use of the mitre and the ring, and other Episcopal privileges, within certain limitations (Chron. Man. p. 157).

It will be seen from these notices that the abbacy of Iona was not at this time under subjection to the Bishop of the Isles, but appears as a separate foundation under the immediate jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Trontheim, and the abbot seems now to have established his independence, both of Episcopal and of monastic control, and to have become a mitred abbot.

When the Western Isles were finally ceded to Scotland, and the Bishopric of the Isles became a Scottish diocese, and all connection with Norway was severed, the Abbot of Iona did not even then consider himself as within the diocese of the Isles, but placed himself under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Dunkeld, as inheriting the rights of St Columba, and representing the old primacy of Iona in Scotland, as Kells, and afterwards Derry, did in Ireland. Abbot Mylne tells us that in the Episcopate of William St Clair, who was Bishop of Dunkeld in the reign of Robert Bruce, Dominus Finlaius, a monk of the monastery of Icolmkill, who had been elected abbot, came to him to receive confirmation; and that, at the request of the king, he confirmed him as abbot, and conceded to him some of the Episcopal privileges his predecessor had received from the Pope; and Bower tells us that in 1431 the abbot of the Island of Icolmkill or Iona, did manual obeisance to Robert de Cardeney, Bishop of Dunkeld, as his ordinary diocesan. Between the years 1492 and 1498, John, Abbot of Iona, was elected Bishop of the Isles, and in

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1506, the Abbey of Iona was permanently annexed to the Bishopric of the Isles, the bishop being *ex-officio* perpetual commendator of Icolmkill. It was only at this period that the abbey church of St Mary's became the cathedral of the Isles.

Reginald, Lord of the Isles, was also the founder of the nunnery. According to Macvurich, he founded it for black nuns. Macvurich also states that his sister, Beathog or Beatrice, the daughter of Somarled, was a religious woman, and a black nun; and the Knock MS. tells us that Somarled had one only daughter, Beatrix, who was prioress of Icolmkill. By the black nuns Benedictine nuns are meant, and it seems probable that they belonged to that order; for we find, from subsequent notices. that it was a priory dependent upon the Benedictine abbey, and was likewise dedicated to St Mary. Thus, in 1509, King James IV. grants a letter of protection to the prioress of the monastery of nuns of the most beloved Virgin Mary, in the Isle of St Columba; and in 1567, Queen Mary grants to Marioun Makelaine, the prioressie and nunrie of the abbey of Ycolmkill. On the other hand, Bower says distinctly that the nuns were Augustinian nuns, wearing the rochet, whose dress was white; and as he was Abbot of Inchcolm, which was occupied by Augustinian canons, he must have known if nuns of the same order were in Iona. The only explanation of this difference which occurs to me is. that the nuns may originally have been black or Benedictine nuns, having Beatrice, the sister of their founder, Reginald, Lord of the Isles, for their first prioress, but that Augustinian nuns may have been substituted for them before the time of Bower. This may have taken place when the abbey of Iona became connected with the Bishop of Dunkeld, under whose jurisdiction the abbacy of Inchcolm likewise was.

We have thus a very distinct account of the foundation of two of the ecclesiastical establishments the ruins of which remain, viz., the abbey, and the nunnery. For the others we must look a little further back in the history.

The ecclesiastical foundations in Iona seem to have fallen into utter decay after the ravages of the Norwegians and Danes; and the rule of the Norwegians over the Isles, even after they became Christian, seems not to have been favourable to any revival of them. The monastery of Kells, and afterwards that of Derry, became the head of the Columban order in Ireland, and frequently held nominally the abbacy of Iona, while Dunkeld claimed to be the head of the order in Scotland; and it is only occasionally, and at rare intervals, that a separate abbot of Iona appears in the Annals. Queen Margaret is recorded by Ordericus Vitalis to have rebuilt the "Huense Cœnobium," and repaired it, giving the monks sufficient provisions for the work of the Lord. Dr Reeves seems to imply that what she built was the chapel of St Oran, but the word "cœnobium" can, I think, only refer to the monastery. The Irish Annals record in 1099 (six years after her death), the death of Donnchadh or Duncan, son of MacMaenaigh, Abbot of Iona, the last mentioned in the Annals; and she seems, therefore, to have for the time restored the abbacy; but when the Isles were ceded to Magnus, King of Norway, it soon fell into decay, till the year 1154, when the division of the kingdom of the Isles took place, and those south of Ardnamurchan were ceded to Somarled, the regulus of Argyll. Whatever his descent may have been, the relations between his family and Ireland were very close, and he appears to have at once attempted to restore the abbacy, under the auspices of the Abbot of Derry. The passage which shows this also exhibits to us the exact position at the time of the Christian The Annals of Ulster contain the following passage establishment there. at the year 1164 :--- "The chiefs of the family of Ia (or Iona), viz., Augustin the "Sagart Mor" or great priest, and Dubhsidhe the "Ferleighin" or lector, and MacGilladuibh the "Disertach" or superior of the Hermitage, and Mac-Forcelaigh the head of the Culdees, and the chiefs of the family of Iona in general, came to meet the Abbot of Derry, Flaherty O'Brolchan, to get him to take the abbacy of Iona, by the advice of Somarled and the men of Argyll and the Isles, but the Abbot of Armagh, the King of Ireland, and the chiefs of Tyrone prevented it."

The "Sagart Mor," or great priest, belonged obviously to the secular clergy, who entered Scotland on the failure of the Columban clergy, and appears in many places, holding an independent position, under the name of "Sacerdos." We should now call him the parish clergyman. The "Ferleighin," or lector is what we should now call the parish schoolmaster. The "Disertach" I may put aside, as I have nothing to add to the account given by Dr Reeves (p. 366). The head of the Culdees, Dr Reeves has shown in his work on the Culdees, is usually called the prior, so that there was at this

time no abbacy, but merely a priory of Culdees. In John of Silgrave's list of religious houses in the thirteenth century, Iona appears also as occupied by Culdees. It is clear, therefore, that they were the immediate predecessors of the Benedictine monastery founded by Somarled's son, Reginald.

It would, of course, be quite out of place to enter here into any discussion as to who the Culdees really were; but I may state that the opinions I have always held regarding them entirely accord with those expressed by the late Joseph Robertson, in his masterly introduction to the "Statuta Ecclesia." He had such a wonderful grasp of the spirit of our old ecclesiastical establishments, that his instinct was almost unerring, and he is the only Scottish historian who, according to my apprehension, has at all approached a solution of this intricate question.

There is a mysterious entry in the Irish Annals, the last indeed regarding Iona, in 1203. It is as follows :—"A monastery was erected by Cellach without any legal right, and in despite of the family of Iona, in the middle of the Cro of Iona, and he did considerable damage to the town. The clergy of the North (of Ireland), assembled to pass over to Iona—viz., the Bishop of Tyrone, the Bishop of Tirconnell, and the Abbot of the abbey church of Paul and Peter at Armagh, and Aulay O'Ferghail Abbot of Derry, with many of the family of Derry, and a great number of the northern clergy beside. They passed over into Iona, and in obedience to the law of the Church, they subsequently pulled down the monastery, and the aforesaid Aulay was elected Abbot of Iona by the suffrages of Galls (or Norwegians) and Gael."

Dr Reeves thinks that the Ceallach here mentioned may have been a Nicolas, also called Colas, Bishop of the Isles, who was improperly interfering with the island; but, as we have seen, at that time there was no connection whatever between Iona and the Bishop of the Isles, and it is difficult to see why he should have made such an attempt. Dr Reeves was not aware of the existence of Celestinus, the first abbot of the new Benedictine monastery, who appears in the same year, and it appears to me more probable that Ceallach was the Irish equivalent of his name, and that on the death of Donald O'Brolchan, the prior at that time, he had attempted to eject the Culdees, and place them in a separate monastery, which was defeated by the opposition of the Irish. The parties opposed to him were the family of Iona, obviously the same ecclesiastics mentioned in 1164, who preceded the Benedictines, and the same Irish clergy who supported them, and tried to revive the older abbacy.

That there did exist a parochial church in Iona, and a secular priest who filled the position of parson or sacerdos, we find from one of the documents discovered by Professor Munch in the Vatican, viz., a presentation by the Pope on 10th September 1372, of Mactyr, son of John the Judge, a "clericus" or clergyman of the diocese of the Isles, to the parish church—*parochialis ecclesia*—of St Columba of Hy or Iona, in room of Dominic, son of Kenneth, late rector of that church(p. 183). This parsonage or rectory appears, however, to have been soon after acquired by the abbot, who appointed a vicar to do the duty, for Macvurich calls the clergyman of Iona in 1380 a vicar; and in the rental of the possessions of the Abbot of Iona in 1561 are enumerated the "teindis of Ycolmkill, called the personiage of Tempill Ronaige." It was probably about the time the abbot acquired the parsonage that the building was erected of which the ruins remain, and are known by the name of Tempull Ronaige.

It only remains to refer to the chapel of St Oran; but this paper has already extended too far to admit of any inquiry into its history, and I shall conclude what I have to say with some passages from the Book of Clanranald, which throw light upon some of the monuments. These monuments may be divided into two classes : the Celtic slabs, which belong to the period anterior to the foundation of the Benedictine monastery, and those more elaborate monuments connected with the subsequent period. It is to these latter alone that the passages refer. The Book of Clanranald contains an account of the burial of some of the Lords of the Isles and chiefs of the Macdonalds, which will enable us to identify some of these monuments; and first, of Reginald, Lord of the Isles, the founder of the Benedictine monastery, Macvurich says-"" that having obtained a cross from Jerusalem, and having received the body of Christ and extreme unction, he died, and was buried at Reilic Oran, Iona, in A.D. 1207." There is a stone of this period, having upon it the sword, which marks the grave of a warrior; in a corner at the upper end a small cross, and below a treasure box, which marks a founder of some church, which is probably his monument.

The death of his successor, Donald, is not recorded. His son and successor, Angus Mor, is said to have died in Isla; but of his son and successor.

sor, Angus Og, the Lord of the Isles of King Robert Bruce's time, it is said, "This Angus Og died in Isla. His body was interred in Iona, A.D. 1306."

Of the burial of his son, John, Lord of the Isles, a more particular description is given. "He died in his own castle at Ardtornish, while monks and priests were over his body, and having received the body of Christ and extreme unction, his fair body was brought to Icolmkill, and the abbot and the monks and vicars came along with him, as it was customary to accompany the bodies of the Kings of Fingall, and his service and waking were honourably performed during eight days and eight nights, and he was laid in the same grave with his father at Teampull Odhran, or the church of St Oran, in the year 1380." He was twice married. By his first wife he had Ranald, ancestor of the Clan Ranald, and Mary, married to MacLean of Duart. By his second wife he had Donald, his successor as Lord of the Isles. Of him it is said, "he was an entertainer of clerics, priests, and monks in his companionship, and he gave lands in Mull and Isla to the monastery of Iona, and every immunity which the monastery had from his ancestors before him; and he made a covering of gold and silver for the relic of the hand of St Columcille, and he himself took the brotherhood of the order. He afterwards died in Isla, and his full noble body was interred on the south side of Teampull Odhran, or the church of St Oran."

Ranald, the son by the first marriage, had four sons, Allan, Donald Angus Reabhach, and Dugall, of all of whom it is said that they were interred in the same grave with their father, in Releig Oran; but to one of them, Angus Reabhach, it is also said that he had taken upon him the brotherhood of the order of Mary in the church of Iona.

Of Mary, the daughter of John, Lord of the Isles, it is said that she was interred in the church of the nuns.

Donald, Lord of the Isles, had a younger son Angus, who was Bishop of the Isles, and died in 1437. Of him it is said, "His illustrious body was interred, with his crosier and episcopal habit, in the cross on the south side of the great choir, which he selected for himself while alive."