The meanderthalltale of the *Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin* in Joyce’s notetaking

Viviana Mirela Braslasu and Robbert-Jan Henkes

*The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin*, written as a meandering series of footnotes and side notes and appendixes, reminiscent of the Night Lessons chapter in *Finnegans Wake*, looms large in Joyce’s 1930 notebook VI.B.29. The merchant-historian Charles Haliday published his account of Dublin as a Viking seaport in 1881 (republished 1884, M. H. Gill & Son, 50 Upper Sackville Street, Dublin), but it’s not only about the era of the ninth century till 1014, when the Vikings after the battle of Clontarf were sent back to sea. We learn immediately that the pyramids in Egypt were called, in the middle ages, ‘the seven granaries of S. Joseph’ and almost one-third of the book is taken up by equally heavily footnoted appendixes, about the ancient name of Dublin. Haliday’s reveling in details and his unique inability to stick to the story is one of the things that must have appealed to Joyce in the book. In VI.B.29, Joyce read only up to page 173, but that was, as Vincent Deane mentions in his introduction, because Joyce had already read the book in the Spring of 1925 and made notes in VI.B.7.
A random double page of The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin

It now turns out that Joyce not only made notes in VI.B.7, but also in the next notebook, the non-extant VI.D.2 of April-May 1925, and (on rereading a passage) in Notebook VI.B.8 of July-September of that year – with in Notebook VI.B.9 of June-July 1925 perhaps an intermediate insight.

This article will list the indexes of Joyce’s Haliday-reading. Viviana Braslasu found the source and prepared the Haliday indexes to B.7, B.9 and B.8, and Robbert-Jan Henkes found and listed Haliday in VI.D.2. Each will be preceded by a small introduction.


**VI.B.7**

The Haliday notes take up the greater part of the second half of the Notebook, and are interspersed with notes from other sources, such as Vico’s Scienza Nuova (the 1725 version in as yet an unspecified edition), A. Mawer’s succinct history of the Vikings (see the companion article by the present authors in this issue of the Genetic Joyce Studies) and numerous (presumably) newspapers. The fragmentation of the notes indicate that Joyce probably did not read the book himself, but had it read to him at opportune moments. Corroborative evidence for this hypothesis is found in the fact that he sometimes mistranscribes names, obviously going by the sound alone, like ‘Liffy’ instead of ‘Liffe’ (179(a)) and the name, as in Haliday, of ‘Hryngr’ (‘Eric’) first as ‘Herynkr’, after which he crosses out the letter ‘e’, possibly after asking his aide-de-lire about the right orthography (192(a)).

Not many notes were put to use through this Notebook, but it is nice to know that the repeated sequence ‘esker, newcsle, saggard, crumlin’ on FW 555.25-27 refers to the four royal manors of Henry II (Scandinavian Kingdom 4n1, VI.B.7.150(g)), and especially to be able to interpret HCE’s walking around Erin with his left hand to the sea (‘went round the coast of Iron with his lift hand to the scene’, FW 138.20-21) as a reenactment of the course that “Muircheartach of the Leather Cloaks” took to arrive at Ath Cliath and take Sitric’s son as a hostage. (Scandinavian Kingdom, 72, VI.B.7.193(b)).

The notes in VI.B.7 end on page 130 of The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin, but are resumed in VI.D.2.

**VI.B.7.150**

(c) 3 W/L/ >

(d) runaway Lord >

(e) ‘Eva d. of K of / Leinster >

2
MS 47478-16, PrTMA: when he landed in ourland’s leinster of scamps and sinners for the twicedhecame time off Lipton’s launch strongbowed launch, the lady Eva+^ |

(f) H II lands of Danes >
VI.C.5.262(j)

(g) 4 royal manors / Newcastle / Esker Crumlin / Saggard

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 3-4: Our annals refer to the Dubhlinn or harbour, which was the resort of ships, and to the Ath Cliath, or bridge of hurdles, which crossed the river; but if there were a dun or rath near the harbour, that fortress never was the seat of an Irish king, the capital of an Irish territory, or the centre of Irish dominion; and as regards the present metropolitan supremacy of Dublin, it is manifest that Henry the Second made Dublin the metropolis of his royalty, not because he considered it to be the capital of Ireland (over which he only claimed a “lordship”), or because its position was more advantageous than that of Wexford or Waterford (then the ports of communication with England), but because it was the principal city of the Ostmen he had conquered, and over whose subjugated territories he did claim [3] to exercise regal privileges. Henry found that Dublin was the seat of Ostman sovereignty; it thence became the capital of his Irish dominion, and from the extension of that dominion it has become the capital of Ireland.

3n2: The communication was chiefly between Bristol and Waterford. It was not until Edward had conquered Wales that there was any communication with England through Holyhead and Dublin. The first notice probably of that line of communication is that in Rymer, vol. iv., p. 524:—“Pro navibus arrestandis ad Holyhead pro passagio regis in Hiberniam.”

4n1: Henry left Strongbow in possession of the territory he had acquired by marriage with the daughter of the King of Leinster, but he claimed, by right of conquest, the Ostmen cities of Dublin, Wexford, Waterford and Limerick, and out of the lands which belonged to the Ostmen [kings] of Dublin he formed his four royal manors of Newcastle, Esker, Saggard and Crumlin.

[McMurrough ruled over the city of Dublin and the town of Wexford, as well as the rest of Leinster. This is evidenced by the following entry of his grief made by one of his followers in the Book of Leinster, on the very day (1st August, 1166) when the king was driven out of Ireland, and went to seek foreign aid:—

“Oh, Mary! It is a great deed that is done in Erinn this day. Dermot, son of Donchadh Mac Murchadha, King of Leinster and of the Danes, was banished by the men of Ireland over the sea eastward. Uch! Uch! Oh now, what shall I do?”—War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill, p. xii.

“The Danes meant the Danes of Dublin.”—Note by Dr. Todd, ibid. Yet King Henry took from Strongbow Dublin and Wexford, though equally acquired by marriage with Eva, McMurrough’s daughter. He feared probably that they might render him too powerful for a subject.]

MS 47485-29, ScrLMA: and their oldtime poly bogass, playing copers fearsome with Jules Guy Walker, the cuddy with his poor old dying boosy cough+, esker, newcsle, saggard, crumlin, dell me, donk, the way to Mumblin. Follow me beeline and you’re bumblin, esker, newcsle, saggard, crumlin, +^ |

VI.B.7.151

(a) AD 852

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 5: respect to the Ostmen who founded the Kingdom of Dublin in A.D. 852, as very slight research would have discovered the high position they held among surrounding nations, and that so far from being a mere band of pirates, who only constructed a fortress as a receptacle for plunder, and who left no monuments which could indicate that either religion or legislation existed among them, there was abundant evidence to show that the Ostmen of Dublin were colonists, who settled in the land they invaded, and that Pagan and barbarian as they were their religion was less idolatrous, their civil institutions not less perfect, and their laws more consonant with human freedom, than the religion, institutions, and laws of those civilized Romans who invaded Britain.

VI.C.5.262(k)
The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 5-6: The statement is, that before the end of the 8th century the Franks had suffered much from the hostility of their Saxon neighbours, and [5] that Charlemagne, desirous to terminate these hostilities, and influenced by zeal for religion and love of conquest, invaded Saxony in A.D. 772.¹ His first attack was on the fortress of Eresbourg,² which contained the temple of Irminsul, the great idol of the nation. He took and destroyed the fortress, pulled down the temple, broke in pieces the idol; and believing that the mild doctrines of Christianity could alone restrain the barbarous habits of the Saxons he had conquered, “he built monasteries and churches, founded bishoprics, and filled Saxony with priests and missionaries.”³ But the Saxons were neither easily conquered or converted. In A.D. 774, and again in 775,⁴ they revolted; and although in 776 and 777 many came to Paderborn to be baptized,⁵ they again revolted in A.D. 872, and abjuring Christianity as a badge of slavery, they burned the churches, slew the clergy, and returned to the worship of the idols which Charlemagne had overturned.

6n5: *Ibid.* , 776, 777. To commemorate this supposed conversion a medal was struck with this inscription, “Saxonibus sacro lavacro regeneratis, 777.”

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 11-2: According to the Annals of the Four Masters in A.D. 795, “The ‘heathen men’ burned the island of Rechru” (between Scotland and the north coast of Ireland), “and broke and plundered the shrines.” In [11] A.D. 798 they burned St. Patrick’s Island (on the east coast), and bore away the shrine of St. Dachonna.¹

12n1: *Id.* 793 (=798). [“Dr. Donovan understood the Inispatrick here mentioned of the island so called on the coast of Dublin. But the mention of Dachonna, who was Bishop of Man, proves that Peel, on the west of the Isle of Man, formerly called Insula Patricii, is intended. See Colgan Actt.S.S. (ad 13 Jan.), p. 50; Chronicle of Man, by P. M. Munch, p. 23, Christiania, 1860.”—Wars of the Gaedhil with the Gaill, p. xxxv., n. 1.] This identification is due to the Rev. Dr. Reeves.

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 13-4: In France, where the bishops had large territorial possessions, they voluntarily led their vassals to battle, and the inferior clergy followed their example. In England and Ireland the clergy were compelled to serve in the armies of their sovereign: and from this military service the Irish clergy were not relieved until A.D. 804; nor was it until A.D. 854 that the English clergy obtained a similar exemption.

In 832, when King Egbricht was defeated by the Danes, “Bishops Hereferth and Wigfert, with two dukes, were slain in the battle,” Hen. Hunt. ap. Twysden, p. 198. In A.D. 868, King Buhred is said to have thanked the bishops, abbots, and others of lower rank, who, although freed from all military services by King Ethelwulf, “yet had joined the army of the Lord against those most wicked Pagans” the Danes. Ingulph. ap. Gall., vol. i., p. 20. Codex Dip. Sax., vol. ii., p. 93. Bishop Heahmund was slain fighting against the Danes. Sax. Chron., A.D. 871. And Cenulf, the Abbot, met the same fate, A.D. 905.

In Ireland, so late as A.D. 915, Archbishop Maelmaedhog was slain fighting against the Danes; and Fergus, Bishop of Kildare, and Abbot Dunchadh, met the same fate, A.D. 885. Cormac Mac Cuileannan, King and Bishop of Cashel, with the Abbot of Trian-Corcaigh were slain fighting against the King of Leinster, A.D. 903, Ann. 4 Mast.; and it is even recorded, *ibid.* A.D. 816, that the monks of one monastery fought [13] with those of another, “400 of lay and churchmen being slain” in one of these contests. Todd’s Life of S. Patrick, p. 158-166. “About this time (1174) Peter
Leonis, the Pope’s Legate, came to England, and obtained from Henry II., amongst other articles, that clerks should not be compelled to go to war.” Roger de Wendover.

VI.C.5.263(e)

(g) AD 795 / AD 819 / Howth >>

VI.C.5.263(f),(g)

VI.B.7.152

(a) They spoiled >

VI.C.5.263(b)

(b) Lannlere (rectè / Luraegh / Maghera) >

VI.C.5.263(i),(j)

(c) Cluaindaillkin >

VI.C.5.264(a)

(d) 833 Glendaligh >>

VI.C.5.264(b)

VI.B.7.153

(a) <Morlipt> Moyliphtha >

VI.C.5.264(c)

(b) gentiles / pagan

*The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin* 15-8: There is no record of any attempts made to settle for twenty years after 795, when the Pagans first came [15] to Ireland. During that time they landed, plundered and departed.

In 819 they plundered Howth and the islands at the mouth of Wexford harbour. In 820 they plundered Cape Clear and Cork. In 821 they spoiled and ransacked Bennchoir. [...] In 827 they “burned Lannlere and Clonmor.” [...] In 831 they plundered Rath Luirigh. In 832 they plundered Cluain [16] Dolcain; [...] In 833 they plundered “Glenn-da-locha, Slaine and Finnabhair,” but were defeated by Dunadhach, son of Scannlan, lord of Ui Fidhgeinte, and many of them killed.” [...] They had fleets on the Boyne and the Liffey, out of which “they plundered and spoiled Magh Liphthe and Magh Breagh,” both churches and habitations of men, goodly tribes, flocks and herds;” and, after being defeated by the “men of [17] Breagh,” they defeated “the Ui Neill from Sinainn to the sea.”

In A.D. 815, however, “Turgesius, a powerful Norwegian chieftain, landed,” and from that time it is recorded that the foreigners began to form settlements in Ireland. Nevertheless, the same system of plunder and bloodshed, which marked the earlier invasions, long continued; and, year after year, we find records of outrages by those Scandinavians, whose fleets infested our coasts.

Throughout these records of plunder and devastation there is no intimation who the invaders were, or whence they came. The Irish gave to those invaders who came one common name of “Gaill,” or foreigners, no distinction appearing in the Annals of the Four Masters before A.D. 847, when it is stated that “a fleet of seven score ships of the king of the foreigners came to contend with the foreigners who were in Ireland before them.” After the arrival of this fleet, and the commencement of the contest which followed, two tribes are recognised, and as enemies to each other—the “Dubhghoill” (or Black foreigners), supposed to be Danes, and the “Finnghoill” (or White foreigners), supposed to be Norwegians.

16n9: [*Id.*, The ancient name of Dunleer.]
16n14f: [*Id.*, rectè Rath Luraigh (Lurach’s fort) the ancient name of [16] Maghera, in the County of Londonderry.]
17n1: [*Id.*, Clondalkin, six miles S.W. of Dublin.]
17n4: [*Id.*, Glendalough, in the county of Wicklow; Slane, in Meath; Fennor, on the river Boyne, near Slane, in Meath.]
17n8: [Id., Magh Liphthe, the plain of the Liffey, now the county of Kildare.]
17n9: [Id., Magh Breagh, a great plain in the east of ancient Meath, comprising five cantreds or
baronies, lying between Dublin and Drogheda.]
18n3: Ann. 4 Mast., A.D. 790, 793, 797. In the Annals of Ulster they are termed “Gentiles” or
Pagans; subsequently they are called Dubh Lochlannaigh and Finn Lochlannaigh.

**VI.B.7.170**

(a) Carlingford >
   VI.C.5.271(m)
(b) Armlef >
   VI.C.5.271(n)
(c) Inguald >
   VI.C.5.272(a)
(d) Dyflinarskidi >
   VI.C.5.272(b)
(e) Clondalkin / (scatt) / rent >
   VI.C.5.272(c),(d)
(f) *Olaf Dub >
   VI.C.5.272(e),(f)
(g) *Sitric Water >
   VI.C.5.272(f),(g)
(h) *Ivar Limr >
   MS 47471a-22, ScLMA: ^+& each harmonical has a point of its own: Olaf on the right and Ivar
   on the left with Sitric’s place between them.+^ | JJA 44:067 | Nov 1926 | 1.1§1.*1 | FW 012.31-2
   VI.C.5.272(g),(h)
(i) whitefoot >>
   VI.C.5.272(i)

**VI.B.7.171**

(a) γ. C. >
   *Note: Joyce uses the Greek symbol of the letter gamma for the initial G of the name Giraldus
   Cambrensis.*
   VI.C.5.272(j)
(b) Oisile >
   VI.C.5.272(k)
(c) Hist. of Ireland

*The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin* 19-21: In A.D. 850, the Finnghoill, “with a fleet of eight
score ships arrived at Snamh Eidhneach to give battle to the Dubhghoill, and they fought with each
other for three days and three nights, and again the Dubhghoill gained the victory.” But in 852
their hostility was terminated. For in that year, “Aulaf, son of the king of Lachlann, came to
Ireland (and) all the foreign tribes of Ireland submitted to him.”

This young chieftain, mentioned at the close of the first chapter as having defeated the
Fingoill, and received the submission of all the Scandinavians in Ireland, and settled at Dublin,
was known by the [19] various names of Aulaf, Aulaiv, Amhlaeibh, Amaleff, and Amlevus, was
“Olaf the White,” son of Inguald, king of Uplands, a descendant of Regnar Lodbrog, one of the
preceding invaders.¹

Northern history states that in one of his expeditions Olaf took Dublin, and was made
king of it, and of the “Dyflinarskidi,”² a territory around the city, and this statement is corroborated
by Irish annals—that he was made king of Dublin, and “of the land in Ireland called Fingall”—that
he build a “Dun” at Clondalkin, and that he exacted rent (scatt) from the Irish.” Fingal being the northern part of the Dyflinarskidi, and Clondalkin being in the southern part, about four miles from the city fortress.

Modern history adds that, Aulaf was accompanied by his brothers, Sitric and Ivar—that “they built first the three cities of Dublin, Waterford, and Limerick, of which Dublin fell to the share and was under the government of Aulaf, Waterford of Sitric, [20] and Limerick of Ivar;” but of this legend, which apparently originated with Giraldus Cambrensis, there is no trace whatsoever in the Annals of Ulster, of Clonmacnois, or of the Four Masters, or in the Chronicon Scotorum, or in the War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill, or in any Irish manuscript known to us. There is no allusion in any of them to the building of cities by Aulaf or his followers, or to his having had brothers named Ivar and Sitric. […]

In fact, if we except the interpolated Annals of Innisfallen, the only Irish authority for stating that Aulaf had any brothers, is Dudley M’Firbis’s “Three Fragments of Irish History,” in which it is said that he had brothers named Ivar and Oisile, and that, in a fit of jealousy, he slew the latter.4

In Landnamabok, p. 106, he is stated to be “son of King Inguald, son of Helgi (and Thora), son of Guðrøtt, son of Halfdan Whitefoot, king of Uplands.”

20n2: Landnamabok, Havniae, 1774, p. 106, “Dyflina á Irlandi oc Dyflinarskidi.” In Magnus Barefoot’s Saga, c. xxv. it is called Dyflinarskiri.

20n3: Ann. 4 Mast. A.D. 866.—This Dun or residence of Aulaf was burned by the Irish during his absence in Scotland in A.D. 868. [“Amhlaeibh’s fortress ([?]) at Clondalkin had been burned by the Irish (865=868, Four Mast.), who gibbeted 100 heads of the slain. The next year his son Carlus fell in battle. These outrages probably excited his thirst for vengeance; and on his return in 870 he plundered and burned Armagh (Four Mast. 867=870).”—War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill, p. lxxx. (Dr. Todd’s Note.)]

21n1: Giraldus Cambrensis, Top. Hib., lib. 3, cap. xliii.—Giraldus was copied by Higden, Polychronicon, lib. 1, Rer. Scrip., vol. iii., p. 182; and Higden was avowedly copied by Keating, Hist. of Ireland; and M’Geoghegan, Histoire d’Irlande, vol. i., p. 387. Ware (Ant. Irel., Lon., 1705, p. 59), also copies from Giraldus the story of the three brothers building the three cities.

VI.B.7.172

(a)  Dyflin >
VI.C.5.272(m)

(b)    Duvelina

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 23: The place where Aulaf fixed his residence the Irish called “Aith Cliath,” or “the ford of Hurdles,” from the wicker bridge by which the great road from Tara was continued across the Liffey into Cualann. The Scandinavians called it “Dyflin,” a corruption of the Irish name for that inlet at the confluence of the Poddle and the Liffey, which formed a harbour where ships were moored, and which the Irish called “Dubhilinn” or “the Black pool,” from the dark colour given to the water by the bog which extends under the river.
The Anglo-Norman charter writers of Henry the Second latinized its Ostman name into “Duvelina,” and those of King John brought it nearer the name it has since retained. About ten years before the arrival of Aulaf a body of foreigners, probably Norwegians, landed at “Dubhlinn of Ath Cliath” and erected a fortress near where Dublin Castle now stands, and around this fortress the city grew and continued to be the scourge of their Irish neighbours.

23n1: Irish writers celebrated it under various names, while in possession of the Ostmen as “Ath Cliath of ships,” “Ath Cliath of swords,” and call the harbour “The Dubhlinn of Ath Cliath,” &c.

VI.C.5.272(n)

(c) 2 or 3 C.S.P >
VI.C.5.272(o)

(d) perish

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 27-8: And further, if the Northern legend were true, Ella must have captured Regnar Lodbrog some years before Northumbria was invaded by Regnar’s sons. But, there is only one authority for the statement that Ella reigned, except during the years 866 and 867; and, even supposing that Simeon of Durham is correct in stating that Ella’s reign commenced in 862, Regnar must have invaded Northumbria, and have been captured by Ella between that year and 866. Yet, not only is there no record of such events, but there is no record of any invasion whatsoever, or any landing in Northumberland by Regnar or any other Scandinavian during that period.

Northern historians also differ respecting the period in which this celebrated leader lived. Nor do they agree about his death—they either make no allusion to it, or differ about the date of it. And so glaring are their anachronisms that Torfœus suggests the existence of two Regnar Lodbrogs, and Suhm of three, with two successive Ellas, by whom the three Regnars were killed.

All English history being thus opposed to the story of Regnar’s death in Northumberland, and the torture [27] of Ella by Regnar’s sons, and this story having little support from Northern history we may claim attention for the much more numerous Scandinavian authorities, which state that Regnar Lodbrog perished in Ireland, being captured and put to death by Hella (Ailill), an Irish prince.

27n2: Rafer, who was misled by the statements of Turner, says, in a preface to the Krakas Maal, Copenhagen, 1826, p. 40—“Vers la fin du huitième siècle de l’ère chrétienne Regnar Lodbrog, roi de Danemark, fut fait prisonnier par son ennemi Ella,” &c., &c. But Ella did not commence his reign until after the middle of the ninth century, and was slain by Regnar Lodbrog’s sons in 866.

27n3: Torfœus Series Dynastarum, &c., Hafniæ, 1702, p. 346. Suhm, Hist. of Denmark, Kiobeh, 1828. Mallet (Hist. Danemarc, Geneve, 1787, vol. iii., p. 35) also supposes that there were two Regnar Lodbrogs.

VI.C.5.273(a)

VI.B.7.173

(a) Thorsman >
VI.C.5.273(d)

(b) Xunar >
VI.C.5.273(e)

(c) ‘Tomar’s / wood >

MS 47472-153v, TslLA: nor sunkenness ^+in Tomar’s wood^+ to bewray how erpressgangs score off the rued. | JJA 45:194 | early 1927 | I.3§1.3.2.3/3.3 | FW 068.13-31

(d) Prince Tomar >
VI.C.5.273(f)

(e) ring of

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 31-32: From this coincidence of dates and facts, it might be inferred that the Irish Turgesius and the Scandinavian Regnar were identical, Turgesius* being the Latin form of Thorgils (pronounced Turgils), literally signifying “the servant of Thor;” and Tomar, or Thormodr, signifying “Thorsman,” or one devoted to Thor, the Scandinavian deity. Such names
might have been assumed by, or applied to, Regnar and his [31] successor, as worshippers of Thor and enemies of Christianity, these virulent Pagans being designated as Thorsmen, or followers of Thor, in contradistinction to Christmen, or followers of Christ.

This suggestion is rendered more probable when we observe that those who are known to be the descendants and successors of Regnar Lodbrok, are called, by the Irish “the race of Tomar.” The name is given to the pagan kings of Dublin who succeeded Ivar, the son of Regnar. Their chieftains are called “Tomar’s chieftains,” their subjects “the people of Tomar”; the king of Dublin himself being called “Prince Tomar,” the badge of his authority “the ring of Tomar,” and a wood near Dublin “Tomar’s wood,” probably from having been devoted to the religious services of Thor.

31n6: Thorgils is a common name in Northern history, but there is no mention of any king, prince, or chieftain of the name of Turgesius. It is a name unknown to all history except as used by the Irish.

31n7: Thoroddr was a very general name of the priests of Thor, *vid.* Landnam, p. 70. Thoroddr Godi; p. 19; Thoroddr Allsheriar Godi; Thoroddr Godi; Thoroddr pontifex, &c. Thors Rolf, who fled to Iceland, was Thorlf or Thors Rolf, from being priest of Thor.

(f) a swell of Liffy >

Note: Unit (f) is transferred before unit (e).

(g) Abbacy

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 33-35: Chapter VI. records the first invasion of Ulster (A.D. 824); Chapter VII. gives the invasion and plunder of Leinster; Chapter VIII. the arrival of a fleet at Limerick (A.D. 834); Chapter IX., is as follows:—

“There came after that a great royal fleet into the north of Erinn with Turgeis, who assumed the sovereignty of the foreigners of Erin; and the north of Erinn was plundered by them; and they spread themselves over Leth Chuinn” (the northern half of Ireland, as divided by a line drawn from Dublin to Galway). “A fleet of them also entered Loch Eathach (Lough Neagh), and another fleet entered Lughbhadh (Louth), and another fleet entered Loch Rae (Lough Ree, a swell of the Shannon between the counties of Longford and Roscommon). Moreover Ard Macha (Armagh) was plundered three times in the [33] same month by them; and Turgeis himself usurped the abbacy of Ard Macha; and Farannan, abbot of Ard Macha, and chief comharba of Patrick, was driven out and went to Mumhain (Munster) and Patrick’s shrine with him; and he was four years in Mumhain, while Turgeis was in Ard Macha, and in the sovereignty of the north of Erinn.”

Chapter XI. “There came now Turgeis of Ard Macha, and brought a fleet upon Loch Raí, and from thence plundered Midhe and Connacht; and Cluan Mic Nois-” (Clonmacnois, on the left bank of the Shannon, five miles south of Athlone), “and Cluan Ferta of Brennan” (Clonfert, in the county of Galway), “and Lothra and Tir-dá-glass” (Lorrha and Terryglas, on the banks of Lough Derg, a swell of the Shannon, in the county of Tipperary), “and Inis Celtra, and all the churches of Derg-dheirc” (the churches in the islands of Lough Derg), “in like manner. And the place where Ota, the wife of Turgeis, used to give her audience was upon the altar of Cluan Mic Nois.”— (pp. ix.-xiii).

Dr. Todd, after fixing the dates and series of the earliest ravages of the Scandinavians, says:—

“Finally, in A.D. 815, according to the Chronology of O’Flaherty or more probably, as we shall see, about 830), Turgesius, a Norwegian, established himself as sovereign of the foreigners, and made Armagh the capital of his kingdom.”— (p. xxxvi.) “After this our author says” (continues Dr. Todd), “came ‘a great royal fleet into the north of Ireland,’ commanded by Turgeis or Turgesius, ‘who assumed the sovereignty of the foreigners of Ireland,’ and occupied the whole of Leth Chúin, or the northern half of Ireland. In addition to the party under the immediate command of Turgesius, three ‘fleets,’ probably in connexion with him, appeared simultaneously. One of these took possession of Lough Neagh, another of Louth, anchoring in what is now the bay of Dundalk, and the third, having, as it would seem, approached Ireland from the west, occupied Lough Pee. The chronology of this invasion is fixed by means of the particulars recorded. Armagh was plundered three times in the same month. This, the annalists all say, was the first plundering of Armagh by the Gentiles, and is assigned to the year 832.” Dr. Todd then shows that, in A.D.
845, Turgesius was made captive by Malachy, “and drowned in Loch Uair, now Lough Owel, near Mullingar, county of Westmeath.”— (*Ibid.*., pp. xlii., xliii.)

This and another event “enables us (Dr. Todd says) to ascertain [34] the duration of Turgesius’ dynasty with tolerable certainty.” He fixes its commencement with, the seizing of Armagh after three assaults in one month, in A.D. 832. “For nine years afterwards he seems to have remained content with his secular possession of the country, or [was] unable to overthrow the power of the ecclesiastical authorities. It was not until the year 841 that he succeeded in banishing the bishop and clergy, and ‘usurped the abbacy,’ that is to say, the full authority and jurisdiction in Armagh and in the north of Ireland. From these considerations we may infer that the entire duration of the tyranny of Turgesius cannot have been more than about thirteen years, from 831 or 832 to his death in 845.”— (*Ibid.*., xlii., xliv.)

**VI.B.7.175**

(a) **Bridgetmas**

*The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin* 39: When Aulaf and Ivar returned to Ireland, the “Lords of the foreigners” plundered part of Munster “during the snow of Bridgetmas” in 870. Their ally Cearbhall had plundered both Munster and Connaught in the preceding year; and, in 871, “the foreigners of Ath Cliath” again plundered Munster, and Cearbhall again plundered Connaught.

**VI.B.7.177**

(d) **Anguis S >**

VLC.5.274(b)

(e) **Gormo = Gudrum >**

VLC.5.274(c)

(f) **Oscytel = Ketell**

*The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin* 41-2: When Aulaf and Ivar left Scotland, the army under the command of Hinguar and Hubba set sail for “East Anglia, and took up their winter quarters at Thetford” in 870, and the same winter they defeated and slew King Edmund.¹

“After the death of St. Edmund,” East Anglia was governed by Gormo, son of Frotho, King of Denmark, another of Regnar Lodbrog’s descendants,² and after the death of Ivar, his reputed brother, Halfden and Bœgsec (whose genealogy is unknown) became kings of Deira and Bernicia, the two divisions of Northumbria.

Bœgsec was slain in 871,³ and in 873 and 874 the Danes subdued the whole kingdom of Mercia, and placed it under the viceroyalty of Ceolwulf,⁴ who gave [41] hostages, and swore “that he would be ready to resign the kingdom” on whatever day they would have it.

Elated by this success, and contemplating further conquests, “the three kings Gudrum, Oscytel and Anwynd, went with a large army from Repton to Grantabridge”⁵ to take possession of Wessex.

41n1: Sax. Chron. 870.—Also Asser and Ethelwerd say that Edmund was slain in battle; but Hen. Hunt; Flor. Wig., and Sim. Dun. say he was “martyred.” They differ, however, respecting the manner in which he perished. Edmund was canonized.

42n1: Sax. Chron. 876. Gudrum is a corruption of the name Gormo, and Oscytel of Ketell, a name celebrated in the sagas. Anwynd is called Anuth by Ethelwerd, Amund by Asser, and Anwend in the Saxon Chronicle.

VI.C.5.274(d)

VI.B.7.178

(a) depart his /,:/ dominions >
   VI.C.5.274(e)
(b) locusts / Godfrey’s } 890 / death
   The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 47, 49: In A.D. 890, Gormo Enske, or “Gudrum, the Danish king who governed East Anglia, departed this life,”3 and “the Gaill left Erin and went into Alba under Sitric, the grandson of Imhar,”4 to claim Gormo’s dominions, or to assist Hastings in the invasion of Wessex; [...] [48]
   Godfrey’s death having left the throne of Dublin vacant, the Irish, who, since the defeat of Flann in 885, had watched an opportunity to restore a native dynasty, considered this a moment favourable to the attempt.
   The year of Godfrey’s death Ireland was visited by a strange calamity. Wafted by an unusual wind a flight of locusts came to our shores, and spreading over the land “consumed the corn and grass throughout the country.”1
   The dearth thus caused influenced many to emigrate from Dublin to Iceland, and the garrison, further weakened by the departure of numbers who had followed Godfrey into England, and by the loss of those who had joined Thorstein the Red in Scotland, became inadequate to repel the assaults of the Irish.
   47n3: Hen. Hunt., 890; Sax. Chron., 890; Hamsfort Chron., Langebek, vol. i., p. 269, places his death in 894, and adds that he was succeeded in Denmark by his brother Harald, and in East Anglia by Harald’s son Gormo.
   47n4: Book of Danish Wars MSS. [Wars of the Gaedhil with the Gaill, pp. lxxxi. and 29.]
   49n1: Ann. Cambr., 896; Chron. P. of Wales, 896; Caradoc, 897, p. 42; where they are described as “vermin of a mole-like form each having two teeth, which fell from heaven.”
   VI.C.5.274(f),(g)

(c) black pagan >
   VI.C.5.274(h)
(f) Caerbal >
   VI.C.5.274(i)
(g) K of Liffy / of Ships >>
   VI.C.5.274(j)

VI.B.7.179

(a) Saltus / Salmonis
   The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 54-5: In A.D. 913, Reginald crossed over to the Isle of Man, where he found a fleet of the Scandinavians of Ulster, and in a “naval battle between Ragnall (the grandson of Ivar) and Barrid mac Octer, Barrid, with many others, was slain,” the “navy of Ulster” having previously been defeated “on the coast of England.”3 While Reginald was thus engaged Sitric directed his attention towards Dublin, which had remained under dominion of the Irish since the expulsion of the “foreigners” in 897, and was now probably under the dominion of Niall Glundubh, monarch of Ireland, whose sister had married Olaf the White, the nephew of Cearbhall.4
   “An immense royal fleet came with Sitric and the children of Imar, i.e., Sitric, the blind grandson of Imar, and forcibly landed at Dubhlimn (the harbour) of Ath Cliath.”3 Having gained possession of the city, Sitric proceeded to occupy the territory attached [54] to it, and, sailing up
the Liffey, “encamped at Cenn Fuait,” now Confey, near Leixlip, the extreme boundary of the Dyflinarskiri, while “Ragnall, grandson of Imhar, with another fleet went to the foreigners of Loch-Dachaech (Waterford),” over whom and the foreigners of Limerick, Ragnall, or Reginald, apparently claimed dominion.

54n4: For thirteen years, between 899 and 912, there is no notice in the Annals of the Four Masters of any Ostman King of Dublin, but Cearbhall is called “King of Liffe of Ships.” Cearbhall was slain by “Ulf, a black pagan,” in 909; during his life there is no record of any battle between the Irish and the Ostmen of Dublin.

55n1: [“Cenn Fuait,” “Fuat’s Head.” This place, Dr. Donovan conjectures (Four Mast. 915, notes, pp. 589, 590) is now Confey, in the county of Kildare, near Leixlip, (the Danish Lax-lep, Salmon Leap), in the barony of Salt (Saltus Salmonis). But the Annals of Ulster, at 916 (Four Mast. 915), tell us that Cenn Fuait was [...] “in the East, or anterior part of Leinster,” and it must have been near the sea, as Sitric “with his fleet” settled there. A poem quoted by the Four Mast. seems to speak of the battle (if it be the same) as having taken place in “a valley over Tigh Moling,” which may signify either Timolin, in the south of the county of Kildare, or St. Mullin’s on the Barrow, in the south of the county of Carlow. The latter place may have been approached by water, from Waterford, and as it is situated at the foot of Brandon Hill, the battle may have been in some “valley over Tigh Moling,” and the Danish fortress called Cenn Fuait on some head in the mountain, accessible to light ships by the Barrow.—Wars of the Gaedhil with the Gaill, p. lxxxix., n. 1.]

VI.C.5.274(k)

VI.B.7.184

(a) was certified of

*The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin* 58: Either to support the pretensions of his brother, or to assert his own, Sitric then left Ireland, and entering Mercia, besieged Devenport, while “Leofrid, a Dane, and Gruffyth ap Madoc, brother-in-law to the Prince of West Wales, came from Ireland with a great army, and overran and subdued all the country (about Chester) before King Edward was certified of their arrival.”

VI.C.5.275(k)

(b) Kilmashogue

*The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin* 59: “The battle of Ath Cllath, (i.e., of Cillmosamhog, by the side of Ath Cliath), was gained over the Irish, by Imhar and Sitric Gale on the 17th of October,” A.D. 919, “in which were slain Niall Glundubh, son of Aedh Finnliath, King of Ireland;”¹ “the King of Ulidia, the King of Breagh,”² with many other nobles, including “Conchobhar, heir apparent to the sovereignty of Ireland.”³

59n1: Ann. 4 Mast. A.D. 917 (=919). [Cill Mosamhog. The Church of Mosamhog, now Kilmashogue, in the mountains, near Rathfarnham, about six miles from Dublin. The remains of a very large cromlech are still to be seen on Kilmashogue mountain, in the grounds of Glen Southwell, near St. Columba’s College. This, in all probability, marks the grave of the chieftains and kings slain in the battle. Dr. Todd, Wars of the Gaedhil with the Gaill, Introd., p. xci., n. 1.]

VI.C.5.275(l)

(c) speckled boss >

VI.C.5.275(m)

(d) green javelin

*The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin* 58: Confident of success Niall had promised the plunder of the fortress to his followers, saying “before the battle”—

"Whoever wishes for a speckled boss, and a sword of sore-inflicting wounds, And a green javelin for wounding wretches, let him go early in the morning to Ath Cliath;”⁴

but the result was fatal to him and his allies.

58n3: Ann. 4 Mast., A.D. 917.
VI.C.5.275(n)
(e) Reginald >>
VI.C.5.275(o)

VI.B.7.185

(a) Black and White / Gents >
*The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin* 60-61: Secure in his Irish kingdom “Sitric forsook Dublin”¹ in 920, and to maintain their English dominions he and his brother Reginald “with the English and Danes of Northumbria and the King of the Strathclyde Britons and the King of the Scots” submitted to the victorious Edmund and “acknowledged him for their father and lord.”² Secured by this submission Sitric took possession of one division of Northumbria and “Reginald won York”³ the capital of the other, the claim of their brother Niall to some share of dominion being settled after the barbarous manner of the times, for “A.D. 921, King Sitric slew his brother Niall.”

The dates of these events are variously given in English chronicles which contain no further account of Reginald. It is supposed that he went to France,⁴ and was that “Ragenoldus Princeps Nordmannorum”⁵ who fell in battle in A.D. 925; the [60] only record in Irish annals being that “A.D. 921 Reginald O’Hivar, King of the Black and White Gentiles died.”⁶

Unit partially transferred.
VI.C.5.276(a)

(b) Succeeded by / illegit s — / who to secure / throne drowned / his legitimate / brother E—
*The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin* 64: Such was the situation of affairs in Ireland when Edward, king of the Anglo-Saxons, died in 925,⁸ and was succeeded by his illegitimate son Æthelstan, who to secure the throne drowned his legitimate brother Edwin,⁹ and entered into an alliance with the Northumbrian Danes, then governed by Sitric.

64n8: Sax. Chron., A.D. 925.
VI.C.5.276(b)-(e)

VI.B.7.190

(c) arrow >
VI.C.5.277(i)
(d) Knut nocturno / tempore >
VI.C.5.277(j)
(e) s of Gormo >

Note: A line unites the first part of unit (d) with (e).
VI.C.5.277(k)
(f) apoplexy

*The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin* 67: While Godfrey was thus engaged the sons of Gormo, that is to say “the Mac Elgi,” aided by “the sons of Sitric took Dublin on Godfrey,”¹¹ an aggression quickly followed by the death of Canute, the eldest of the mac Elchi, who was slain near the city by the arrow of a native king.⁷ As one of the pagan worshippers of Thor, Canute’s death is recorded in Irish annals by the statement that “Torolbh the Earl was killed by Muircheartach,” son of Niall;³ and the statement of Northern historians that Gormo, King of Denmark, died of grief for the loss of his son Canute killed in Ireland,⁴ is charitably recorded in the Annals of Clonmacnois, by the statement that “Tomar Mac Alchi, King of Denmark, is reported to have gone to hell with his pains, as he deserved.”⁵
VI.B.7.191

(a) **illfavoured / death**

_The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin_ 68: In 932 “Godfrey, King of the Danes, died a filthy and ill-favoured death,² and Aulaf, king of Dublin, became by right King of Northumbria also. But this claim was not admitted by Athelstan, who, although he permitted Reginald to remain at York, had determined to govern Northumbria by a Scandinavian viceroy of his own selection.

VI.C.5.277(m)

(b) **of the { <scrab> / <scrapped> / scabbed } head >**

*Note:* Scabbed head. Ringworm of the scalp. (OED)

VI.C.5.278(a)

(c) **</Ca> Ceamn / Chairech >**

VI.C.5.278(b),(c)

(d) **Lammas**

_The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin_ 69: While Athelstan was thus providing for the government of Northumbria Aulaf, King of Dublin, was preparing to assert his right to it. “The foreigners of Loch Erne,”¹ under the command of “Amhlaeibh Ceannchairech,² had crossed Breifne (Cavan and Leitrim) to Loch Ribh, and had remained there for seven months plundering the country on the banks of the Shannon.³ Their assistance, however, was now required, and in 936 “Amhlaeibh, son of Godfrey, lord of the foreigners, came at Lammas from Ath Cliath, and carried off Amhlaeibh Ceannchairech from Loch Ribh, and the foreigners that were with him.”⁴

69n2: Aulaf Ceannchairech—that is, “of the scabbed head.” Aulaf is called the Red King of Scotland.

VI.C.5.278(d)

(e) **went to hell**

*Note:* For the source, see VI.B.7.190(f).

VI.C.5.278(e)

(f) **help of G & a / few P.C. >>**

VI.C.5.278(f)

VI.B.7.192

(a) **H<e>rynkr >**

*Note:* See reproduction of the notebook page. Letter e vertically crossed out.

VI.C.5.278(g)

(b) **'mercenary >**

MS 4747a-20, ScrMT: And we all love Merryanne because she is mercenary. | _JJA_ 44:065 | Nov 1926 | 1.1§1.91 | _FW_ 012.06

(c) **Alf disguised >**

VI.C.5.278(h)

(d) **shame in / mind >**

VI.C.5.278(i)
VI.B.7.193

(a) Greece / Mullaghmast >
VI.C.5.279(b)

(b) left hand / to sea

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 69-72: Aulaf’s preparations being complete “the Danes of the North of Ireland” and “the foreigners of Ath Cliath left their fortress, and went to England,” where they were joined by Howel Dha, King of Wales, “Hryngr” (Eric), son of Harald Blaatand, and [69] Constantine, King of the Scots whose daughter Aulaf had married, and whose dominions Athelstan had made tributary. Aulaf was also joined by some Irish and Orkney allies, and from the assembled “fleet of 615 ships” he landed “at the mouth of the Humber” A.D. 927. Athelstan was not inattentive to the preparations of the invaders. He also collected a formidable host, having the assistance of his tributary king, Eric, with many of the Danes of Northumbria, and among his foreign auxiliaries Thorolf and Egils, two celebrated Vikings, who joined his standard with 300 warriors on hearing of large rewards offered for such mercenary assistance. Aulaf here showed that he combined the caution of a general with the courage of a soldier. With equal credibility it is told of him, as of Alfred, that on the eve of the battle, and in the disguise of a harper, he entered and examined the camp of his enemy; but fortune was unkind—Aulaf was defeated in the terrific struggle at Brunanburg, and fled

“O’er the deep water
Dublin to seek
Again Ireland
Shamed in mind.”

Langtoff’s Chronicle says that he returned at [70] Easter, and, after the custom of the Northmen, challenged Athelstan to try his right to Northumbria by wage of battle, for which purpose he selected a redoubtable champion; but his champion was vanquished, and “Aulaf turned again, he and all his to their ships,” and after plundering the Isle of Man, “Aulaiv mac Godfrey came to Dublin” in 938.

Brunanburg, however, had destroyed his power. The Irish took advantage of his weakness or were the allies of another line of Ostmen kings and “Doncheadh (King of Ireland) and Muircheartach (of the Leather Cloaks) went with the forces of both [71] fully assembled to lay siege to the foreigners of Ath Cliath,” and although they failed to take the city, “they spoiled and plundered all that was under the dominion of the foreigners from Ath Cliath to Ath Truisten.” Either in retaliation for this or as a mere piratical expedition, the Northmen of the Scottish Isles, the subjects or allies of Aulaf, plundered Aileach and carried Muircheartach prisoner to their ships. The captive, however, escaped, and fitting out a fleet pursued his captors to their island homes from which he returned laden with plunder. Nor was he content with this exhibition of his power, he marched from Aileach with a thousand chosen men, prepared for a winter campaign by sheep skin mantles (an improvement in military costume, which gained for him the name of “Muircheartach of the Leather Cloaks”), and “keeping his left hand to the sea,” “he made the circuit of Ireland until he arrived at Ath Cliath,” from whence “he brought Sitric, lord of Ath Cliath,” or more probably the son of Sitric, “as a hostage.”

69n8: Langebek, vol. ii., p. 148. It adds that Hrynkr (or Herich or Eric) was killed in Northumbria: doubtless he was killed at Brunanburg. See Egil’s Saga, and Ann. Ulst., A.D. 931 (=937), where he is called “Imar, the King of Denmark’s own son.”

“Aulaf sent messengers vnto Athelstan,
And bad him yeld the lond, or fynd another man
To fight with Colebrant, that was his champion,
Who felle to haff the lond, on them it suld be don.”

This “trial by battle” continued among the Anglo-Normans in all disputes of title to land, until Henry II. instituted “Trial by great Assize;” yet his son, Richard I., was challenged by King Philip to try his right to the crown of France. Previously Canute fought Edmund in single combat for the crown of England. William the Conqueror challenged Harald for the same purpose. So it was offered between John of England and Lewis of France (vide Selden Duello, Lond., 1610). Olaf Trygvesson, with twelve champions, fought Alfen with an equal number. Heimskr. Olaf Trygvesson’s Saga, chap. 34, vol. i., p. 126; and throughout the Sagas we find numerous instances of single combat, or of combats with a stated number on each side, to try not only titles to land, but claims of other kinds.

72n1: Ann. 4 Mast., 936; Ann. Ult., 937 (=938). Ath Truisten, a ford of the river Greece near the hill of Mullaghmast, in the southern part of the county of Kildare.

MS 47473-185, ScrLMA: ^+ , was born with a nuasilvar tongue in his mouthe and went round the coast of Iron with his left hand to the seen, lifted up but two fingers yet smolt it was would day, ^+ for whom it is easier to found a see un Ebblannah than for I and you to find a dubbleyee in Dampsterdump, to live with whom is a lifemayor and to know him a liberal education^+^+^+ | JJA 47:051 | Jul-Aug 1927 | L.6§1(AB).*1 | FW [138.21]
(c) calones >>
VI.C.5.279(c)

VI.B.7.194

(a) Dan peste

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 74: “Plundering all Breagha, Ruaidhri reduced Conghalach to great straits,” encamping “for six months” in the midst of the country until “the dues” payable to Conghalach as “King of Ireland, were sent to him (Ruaidhri) from every quarter.” Godfrey, with “the foreigners of Dublin,” endeavoured to arrest his progress, and a sanguinary battle was fought, in which “the foreigners of Ath Cliath were defeated,” with a loss of “sixty thousand mighty men, besides boys and calones.” “Godfrey, the son of Sitric,” escaped from the field, but “Imhar, tanist of the foreigners,” was slain; and on the other side “Ruaidhri himself fell in the heat of the conflict.”

In 949 “Godfrey, the son of Sitric, with the foreigners of Ath Cliath, plundered Ceanannus” “and other churches in Meath” carrying “upwards of three thousand persons with them into captivity, besides gold, silver, raiment, and various wealth, and goods of every description,” which (say the Annals of Clonmacnois) “God did soon revenge on them,” for there broke out great disease, “leprosie and running of blood, upon the Gentiles of Dublin” in that year.

(b) divorced

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 76-9: In the eleventh century Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury, wrote to Turlough O’Brien, King of Ireland, that it was reported to him that within Turlough’s dominions “there are men who take to themselves wives too near akin, both by consanguinity and affinity; others who forsake at will and pleasure such as are lawfully joined to them in holy matrimony, and some who give their wives to others in matrimony, and receive the wives of such in return by an abominable exchange.”

If such were the practices in the eleventh century they do not appear to have been very different in the tenth.

Among the Scandinavians repudiation and polygamy were royal privileges. Polygamy continued in Norway down to the thirteenth century, and Harald Harfagre put away nine wives when he [76] married “Raughill the Mighty.” We find no trace of polygamy among the royal
families of Ireland; but in their alliances with Aulaf there is evidence that repudiation and divorce were not unknown to them. [...] 

Aulaf Cuaran, however, had other alliances, for Aulaf also married Gormflaith, daughter of Murchadh, son of Finn, King of Leinster, by whom he had Sitric. She then married Brian Borumha, by whom she had Donnchadh, and being repudiated by Brian, who married Dubhcrobealaig, daughter of the King of Connaught. Gormflaith married Maelseachlainn, by whom she became mother of Conchobar. 

Aulaf’s royal connexions were further extended and complicated by the marriage of his daughter Radnalt with Conghalach, King of Ireland. Conghalach being the son of Maelmithigh, by Ligach, daughter of Flann Sinna, and step-sister of Niall Glundubh and Gormflaith; and by the marriage of Aulaf’s son, Sitric with the daughter of Brian Borumha, Brian subsequently marrying Sitric’s mother. [...] 

78n3: For a history of Gormflaith see “Wars of the Gaedhil with the Gaill,” p. cxlviii., n. 88. “The three ‘marriages’ of Gormflaith are described in some verses quoted by the Four Masters (A.D. 1030), as three ‘leaps,’ ‘or jumps’ which a woman should never jump.” This seems to hint that three leaps were not legitimate marriages. They were a “leap at Ath Cliath, or Dublin,” when she married Olaf Cuaran; “a leap at Tara,” when she married Malachy II., and “a leap at Cashel,” when she married Brian. Ibid., p. clxi. n.1.] 

78n7f: Ann. 4 Mast., “Lighach died,” 921. Niall’s [sic] Saga, cap. clv., p. 590, says she was first married to Brian and then to Aulaf Cuaran, Murchadh, Gormflaith’s father, died in 928. If she were born that year and died 1030 she was then 102 years old. It is not improbable that she was first married to Brian, [78] and that divorced by him she then married Aulaf [See note 3, supra].

VI.C.5.279(e) 

(c) Olaf’s pilgrimage > VI.C.5.279(f) 

(d) Babylonian / captivity D 

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 79-80: In 968 Kells was plundered by Aulaf Cuaran and the Leinstermen; and in 979 this Aulaf Cuaran, or, as he is termed, Amhlaeibh, son of Sitric, chief lord of the foreigners of Ath Cliath, went (to Iona) on his pilgrimage and died there after penance and a good life.” Our annals do not give the date of his death, but if we could rely on the statement of the Sagas he must have returned to Dublin and survived his pilgrimage many years; for when [79] messengers were sent from Norway to seek Olaf Tryggrasson they are said to have found him in Dublin, at the court of his wife’s brother, Aulaf Cuaran. Aulaf was the first Scandinavian pilgrim from Ireland, and the year in which he abdicated, Domhnall, King of Ireland, died, and was succeeded by Maelseachlainn, Aulaf Cuaran’s step-son and son-in-law. On this relationship Maelseachlainn possibly founded some claim to the throne of Dublin, and having defeated the garrison and slain “Ragnall, son of Aulaf, heir to the sovereignty,” he laid siege to the city “for three days and three nights,” and ultimately succeeded in reducing it to subjection. It was then Maelseachlainn issued his famous proclamation, “that as many of the Irish nation as lived in servitude and bondage with the Danes (which was at that time a great number) should presently pass over without ransom and live freely in their own countries according to their wonted manner.” The captivity of these unfortunate Irishmen being described in our annals as “the Babylonian Captivity of Ireland (and) until they were released by Maelseachlainn, it was indeed next to the captivity of hell.” 

79n5: Ibid., 979. The Four Masters record Aulaf’s pilgrimages both in 978, recte 979, and in 979, (=980); possibly he went to Iona twice. 

80n3f: Ann. Clonmac., 974 (=980). [“He carried thence the hostages of Ireland, and among the rest, Domhnall Claen, King of Leinster, and all the hostages of Ui-Neill. Two thousand was the number of the hostages, besides jewels and goods, and the freedom of Ui-Neill from the Sianainn to the sea, from tribute and exaction. It was then Maelseachlainn himself issued the famous proclamation in which he said, ‘Every one of the Gaedhil who is in the territory of the foreigners in servitude and bondage, let him go to his own [80] territory in peace and happiness.’ This captivity was the Babylonian Captivity of Ireland until they were released by Maelseachlainn. It was indeed next the captivity of hell.” — Ann. 4 Mast., A.D. 979 (=980), vol. ii., p. 713]. 

VI.C.5.279(g)
VI.B.7.195

(a) Dan / coins / minted / by AS / moneyers

_The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin_ 81: We trust, however, that the narrative, such as it is, embodies conclusive evidence that Dublin and Northumbria were sometimes governed by the same king, and almost always by kings of the same race. That it not only shows the high position which Dublin held among the Scandinavian colonies, but that it discloses the origin of confederacy and wars between the Ostmen and the Irish, and, as a matter of local interest, it tends to explain why our early Danish coins, although minted for Dublin, were coined by Anglo-Saxon moneyers, and only bear the names of Ivar, Sitric, Reginald, or Aulaf, the “high kings of the Northmen of Ireland and England.”

VI.C.5.279(h)-(j)

VI.B.7.201

(a) 8 Kings / row Elgar

_The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin_ 82: Magnus, one of the eight kings who rowed King Edgar’s barge on the Dee.

VI.C.7.002(d)

(b) Mona >

 Note: Latin for Anglesey.

VI.C.7.002(e)

(c) paynim >

 Note: A pagan.

VI.C.7.002(f)

(d) Manx cat >

VI.C.7.002(g)

(e) <4>[V] 1M = 100 >

VI.C.7.002(h)

(f) mistraiser >

VI.C.7.002(i)

(g) Marana / = Orbsen >>

VI.C.7.002(j)

VI.B.7.202

(a) Manxman of the Sea / macLir >

VI.C.7.002(k)

(b) Lough Corriben >

VI.C.7.003(a)

(c) (Yellow Book / of Leccan)

_The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin_ 82: Lying within view of the north-east coast of Ireland, the Isle of Man, like the islands surrounding, was known to the Irish at an early period, and was by Ptolemy considered to be an Irish island.¹

82n1f: Between Manx traditions and Irish historical legends there is a curious coincidence respecting the early connexion of the Isle of Man, the Orkneys, and Hebrides, with Ulster and Connaught.

Sacheverell* says—“The universal tradition of the Manks nation ascribes the foundation of their laws to Manannan MacLir, whom they believe the father, founder and legislator of their country, and [82] place him about the beginning of the fifth century. They pretend he was the son of a king of Ulster, and brother to Fergus II., who founded the kingdom of Scotland, A.D. 422”
Johnson* adds, “That the Manks in their ancient records call him (Manannan) a paynim and that at his pleasure he kept by necromancy the land of Man in mists, and to an enemy could make one man appear one hundred.”

In Irish historical legends we find four Manannans, three of whom are thus noticed—“Manannan, the son of Alloid,” “Manannan, the son of Athgus,” and “Manannan, the son of Lir.”

Of the last, that is Manannan MacLir, the Book of Fermoy says, that he was a pagan, that he was a law-giver among the Tuatha De Danann, and that he was a necromancer (a Druid), possessed of power to envelope himself and others in a mist (or “Feth Fiadha”), so that they could not be seen by their enemies. (Druids were supposed to possess the power of raising mists.—See Todd’s “Life of St. Patrick,” p.425.)

Of Manannan, the son of Alloid (also a Druid), it is said† that his real name was Orbsen—that he was a skilful seaman, and traded between Ireland and Britain, being commonly called Manannan Mac Lir—Manannan from his commerce with the Isle of Man, and MacLir, that is “son of,” or “sprung from the sea,” from his skill in navigation. The Yellow Book of Lecan‡ adds “that he was killed in the battle of Cuilleann, and buried in Connaught, and that when his grave was dug Loch Oirbsen burst over the land, so it is from him Loch Oirbsen (now Loch Corrib) was named.”

Of the other Manannan the Yellow Book of Lecan says “that Manannan, son of Athgus, King of Manain (Man) and the islands of the Galls (the Hebrides, &c.), came with a great fleet to pillage and devastate the Ultonians, to avenge the children of Uisnech,” an Ulster chieftain. These children of Uisnech when compelled to fly “from Erinn” had sailed eastwards, and conquered “what was from the Isle of Man northwards of Albain,” and “after having killed Gnathal, king of the country,” were induced to return to Ireland under a pledge of safety from Conchobhar, king of Ulster. The sons of Gnathal, who also sought the protection of Conchobhar, “killed the sons of Uisnech,” in consequence of which Gaiar, the grandson of Uisnech, banished Conchobhar to the islands of Orc and Cat (the Orkneys and Caithness), and Gaiar having reigned over Ulster for a year, went into Scotland with Manannan, and died there.§

VI.C.7.003(b)

(d) Ulidia >

Note: Latin for the province of Ulster, Ireland.
VLC.7.003(c)

e) Monabia >

VLC.7.003(d)

(f) Menavia >

VLC.7.003(e)

(g) Eubonia >>

Note: Latin for the Isle of Man.
VLC.7.003(f)

VI.B.7.203

(a) Mona Ulterior

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 84: Fergus, son of Ere, lord of Dalriada, sailed from Ulster into Scotland, and in A.D. 503, founded a Dalriadan kingdom there. He also visited Man and the Hebrides, and about A.D. 850, Baedan, king of Uladh (or Ulidia) cleared Man of the foreigners, and received tribute from Munster, Connaught, Sky, and Man. From this time it is said that the island belonged to Ulster.

While the Romans were in Britain Man was an Irish island, and it will be seen that a connexion long existed between them.

84n6f: By Ptolemy (Lib. ii.) called Monada, or the further Mona, to distinguish it from Anglesey, the Mona of the Romans; by Pliny Monabia; Menavia by Orosius and Bede; and Eubonia by Gildas. [84] (Rolt’s Hist, of the Isle of Man, p. 3, Lond., 1773.)
VLC.7.003(g)

(b) Ragnal / = Reginald >
VI.C.7.003(h)  
(c)  \textbf{Badr} = \textit{Barid / Baldir}  
VI.C.7.003(i)  
(d) Barrett  

\textit{The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin} 85: The Scandinavians invaded Mann in A.D. 798. Those who came to Dubhlinn of Ath Cliath in A.D. 836,—had doubtless visited Man. In 852 they devastated Mona. Nevertheless, the earliest notices connecting our Ostmen of Dublin with the island is, that in 913, “a naval engagement was fought at Man between Barid Mac-n-Oitir and Ragnall Mac-hUa Imair, in which Barid, with almost his entire army, was slain.”

Ragnal or Reginald, was king of part of Northumberland, and brother of Sitric, then king of Dublin, and Barid, or Baidr was chief of the Norwegians who had settled in Dal Aradia, on the northeast coast of Ulster, and probably grandson of that Barid who in A.D. 873, “drew many ships from the sea westward to Loch Ri,” and thence sailed down the Shannon to Limerick, where he married the daughter of Uathmharan, and thus their son Colla became Lord of Limerick in A.D. 922.¹

85n1: Ann. Ult., 913, \textit{alias} 914. In O’Connor’s Rer. Scrip., vol. iv., p. 247, he is called Barid MacNoitir, and his opponent Ragnall-h-Imair. In Johnston’s Antiq. Celto-Norman., p. 66, this sea fight was between Barred O’Hivar and Reginald O’Ivar; and the “black pagans,” who devastated Mona in 852, were probably part of the fleet of Aulaf, who came to Dublin in that or the following year.

85n2: Ann.4 Mast., A.D. 878, “Barith, a fierce champion of the Norsemen, was killed, &c.”

85n3: Uathmharan was son of Dobhailen, Lord of Luighne in Connaught, and died 920 (Ann. 4 Mast.). Barith, who married his daughter, had by her a son named Uathmharan, who came with a fleet of twenty ships to Ceann Maghair in 919 (Ann. 4 Mast.). He had another son, Colla, who was Lord of Limerick, and had a fleet on Loch Ree in 922 (Ann. 4 Mast.). By an earlier marriage Barid had a son named Elixir, who was killed in Mayo in 887 (Ann. 4 Mast.). […]

VI.C.7.003(j)

(e) steer for »>

VI.C.7.003(k)

VI.B.7.204

(a) Archipirata

\textit{The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin} 86-88: The cause of warfare is not stated, but “the fleet of Ulster” had made a descent on the Danes of Northumberland, of whom Reginald was king; and Reginald, perhaps for himself, or for his brother, Sitric, claimed the Isle of Man from the Scandinavians of Ulster, of whom Barid was chief.

The son of Reginald, however, remained \textit{de facto} King of Man, and in A.D. 940, he landed from thence on the opposite coast of Ulster, the territory of Barith, and plundered Downpatrick, “for which deed,” the “Four Masters” say, that “God and Patrick quickly took vengeance of him, for foreigners came across the sea, and attacked him and his people on their island, so that the son of Ragnall, their chief, escaped to the mainland (where), he was killed by Madudhan, King of Ulidia, in revenge of Patrick, before the end of a week after the plundering.”¹¹

The immediate succession of the son of Reginald is uncertain.

Shortly after this period, however, a king of the name of Maccus, or Magnus, was sovereign of Man. The signature “Ego Maccus rex insularum” appears to a charter of King Edgar in 966. This charter, however, is alleged to be a forgery;² but the signature of “Maccusius Archipirata” appears to a charter of [86] 971,¹ the latter title being that of admiral or chief of seamen, derived from the command of some portion of the fleet which Edgar had organised³ for the protection of his kingdom, and which annually sailed round its coast. Maccus, however, was one of the eight tributary kings who attended Edgar at Chester in A.D. 973, and rowed his barge on the Dee,³ the name being placed next after that of “Kenneth, King of the Scots, and Malcolm, King of Cumberland, as Maccus, King of Man, and many other isles;” nor can be much doubt that
the connexions of this tributary king with Dublin, Waterford, Limerick, &c., and his exploits in Meath and on the Shannon, were the grounds for Edgar’s forged claim to dominion over “all the kingdom of the islands of the ocean, with their fierce kings as far as Norway, and the greater part of Ireland, with its most noble city of Dublin.” Maccus, like Reginald, was a descendant of Ivar. He was the grandson of Sitric, King of Dublin, and “son of Harald, Lord of Limerick,” who was slain in 938. Nor would he have been unjustly styled “archi-pirata,” supposing that title synonymous with the Scandinavian term “Vikingr,” for according to Welsh historians, “Mactus, the son of Harald, with an army of Danes, entered the island of Anglesey (Mona), and spoiled Penmon” in 969, and although he could not retain possession, “being forced to return home,” yet in the following year [87] his brother, “Godfrey, the son of Harald, devastated Mona, and by great craft subjugated the whole island.”

86n1: Ann. 4 Mast., A.D. 940. The foreigners here mentioned were probably from the fleet of King Eric, son of Harald Gœfeld, who had left Northumberland in A.D. 947, “on a Vikingr cruise to the westward,” and had visited the Orkneys, Hebrides, and isles of Scotland, before he steered for Ireland.


(b) circuit / (Scand) >

(c) with lagmen

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 88: In 972, “the son of Harald sailed round Ireland with a numerous fleet,” and visiting his father’s territory in Limerick, carried off the reigning chieftain, this expedition forming a remarkable record in the Annals of the Four Masters, as again referring to “the Lagmanns of the islands,” and showing that Magnus, claiming to be supreme chief, accompanied by the “lawmen,” or judges, made the “circuit” of Ireland according to the Scandinavian custom, for the settlement of rights or punishment of criminals; and, as in the former case to avenge the murder of Ain, so in this case “Magnus, the son of Aralt, with the Lagmanns of the islands along with him,” came to Inis Cathaigh, one of the islands in the Shannon, “and Imar, lord of the foreigners of Luimneach, was carried off from the island, and the violation of (St.) Senan thereby.”

88n4: It was customary in Scandinavia for a chief and his Lagmen to make a circuit at stated intervals round the province to dispense justice, whence these circuits obtained the significant name of “Circuit Courts.” Hibbert’s Tings, p. 182.

(d) Bretland / (Wales) >

(e) dissipation >

(f) grief for / loss of his / Q >

(g) pillage

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 89: But the Isle of Man, although now under the dominion of Scandinavians, was not exempted from Viking ravages. The sagas relate that Olaf Trygvesson, to dissipate grief for the loss of his queen, sailed on a Viking expedition, and after plundering in England, Scotland “and the Hebrides, he sailed southwards to Man, where he also fought, and thence steered to Bretland (Wales), which he laid waste with fire and sword.”

89n4: Olaf Trygvesson’s Saga, chap. xxxi.

VI.B.7.205

(a) Harold the Black
The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 90: For later events we are generally referred to the “Chronicle of Man,” an authority which cannot be implicitly relied on, either for facts or dates. This chronicle, which commences A.D. 1000, contains nothing relating to the island until A.D. 1065, when it states, that “Godred Crovan, son of Harald the Black of Ysland (Ireland), fled to Godred, the son of Sytric, at that time King of Man,” and after his death Godred Crovan is said to have conquered Man, and in A.D. 1066 (=1075), to have “reduced Dublin, and a great part of Laynester.” Godred Crovan probably was son of Reginald (whose son was elected King of the Galls in A.D. 1046), as many of the Scandinavians of Ireland had been at the battle of Stamfordbridge with Earl Tostig and King Harald Hardraad, in A.D. 1066; but whoever he was, or whatever conquests he may have made elsewhere, there is no allusion in Irish annals, or contemporary history, to any conquest of Dublin, or of any portion of Leinster.

(b) Donatus † /Dub/ / (Black Book / of † Church) >

(d) went beyond the seas

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 91-92: Aulaf also undertook a pilgrimage, but “was slain by the Saxons on his way to Rome,” A.D. 1034. He [91] was succeeded by his son, Sitric, who endowed Christ Church, Dublin, A.D. 1038. Sitric, too, “went beyond the seas, and was succeeded by Eachmarcach, son of Raghnall,” in A.D. 1036. Eachmarcach also “went beyond the seas,” A.D. 1052, (probably to aid Earl Godwin), and Diarmid, the son of Maelnambo, assumed the kingship of the foreigners, in right of his descent from these kings, he having married “Dearbhforghaill, daughter of Donnchadh,” son of Brian Boruma by the widow of Aulaf Cuaran.

92n1: Sitricus, King of Dublin, son of Ablef, Earl of Dublin, gave to the Holy Trinity and Donatus, first bishop of Dublin, a place to build a church to the Holy Trinity, &c. Ware, Antiquities (from The Black Book of Christ Church).

VI.C.7.004(h)

VI.B.7.207

(c) Dub prize court

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 94: Dublin the port for sale of Scandinavian prizes, cargos of merchandise.

VI.C.7.005(k)

(d) Ir allies >

Unit transferred twice.

VI.C.7.005(l)-VI.C.7.006(a)

(e) Westmen >

VI.C.7.006(b)

(f) White Shield >

VI.C.7.006(c)

(g) Walska >>

VI.C.7.006(d)

VI.B.7.208

(a) Onund / Trefotr

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 95: In 872 the Ostmen of Dublin fought for Norwegian liberty at the fatal battle of Hafursfiord, where the Irish allies, or “Westmen,” distinguished by their “white shields,” where probably led by Eyvind Austman, son-in-law of Cearbhall, King of Ossory, or by Cearbhall himself, as after their defeat Cearbhall was met in the Hebrides, and accompanied to Ireland by Onund, surnamed “Trefotr,” from his wooden substitute for the foot or leg he had lost in the engagement.
The Valscra, or people of Valland, also named the Galli-Bretons, or West-Welch, inhabiting Bretagne, Cornwales (Cornwall).

This is not a singular instance of [95] supplying the loss of a limb. The Eyrbyggia Saga, p. 67, mentions Thorrêr Vidlegg, or wooden leg, from the substitute he used for a leg lost in battle.

VI.C.7.006(e),(f)

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin

Kings Trygve Olafson, Harald Grafeld, Olaf Trygvesson, and Magnus Barefoot all visited Ireland. Olaf Trygvesson married a sister of Aulaf Quaran, King of Dublin, and was in Dublin when he was called to the throne of Norway. Barefoot attempted to take possession of Dublin, and after remaining a year in Ireland, was killed there. His son, King Sigurd, was to marry Biadmynia, daughter of the King of Connaught.

VI.C.7.006(g)

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin

Ingolf and Lief did not meet again until A.D. 874, when Lief brought to Iceland ten Irish captives, to whom he owed his safety during the voyage, as the stock of fresh water in the ship being exhausted they taught the crew to allay thirst after the manner of the Irish, by the use of meal and butter kneaded into a substance named “Mynnthak;” yet the life they had saved they did not preserve, for not long after their arrival in Iceland they slew their captor, and flying to neighbouring islands, yet called Westmen’s, or Irishmen’s, islands, were pursued and slain by Ingolf.

VI.C.7.006(h)

Kjarval Dub

The Landnamabok, which minutely describes the colonization of Iceland, states that when the Norwegians took possession of the country Alfred the Great reigned in England, and “Kiarval was King at Dublin.” Through the disguise of Icelandic orthography, there is no difficulty in discovering that this King Kiarval was Cearbhall, King of Ossory, who governed Dublin from the death of Ivar in 872 until his own death, and the restoration of a Scandinavian dynasty in 885.

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin

The Landnamabok was begun by Ari Froda about the year 1075, and may be termed the Doomsday Book of Iceland. Ann. Clonmac., A.D. 929, calls him Cerval.

VI.C.7.009(c)
(a) Kormlöd

_The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin_ 101: Thorgrim was another of Cearbhall’s grandsons, his father Grimolf having married “Kormlöd,” or Gormflaith, Cearbhall’s daughter.³

(b) cause for W / in’s short

_The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin_ 102: The family of Aulaf, the Ostman king, no less than that of the Irish Cearbhall, contributed to connect Iceland with Dublin. After Aulaf’s death his widow and her son, Thorstein, left Dublin, to which kingdom Ivar and the Irish Cearbhall succeeded. The _Laxdæla Saga_ relates that “Auda while in Caithness heard that her son Thorsteinn the Red was betrayed by the Scots and killed, and her father, Ketill Flatnef, being also dead, she deemed that her prosperity was at an end. She (Auda) therefore caused a ship to be secretly built in a wood, and when the ship was completed she furnished it, placed all her wealth on board, and, with all those of her kindred who remained alive,” she sailed away to the Orkneys, thence to the Fœroe islands, and ultimately to Iceland, where her ship was wrecked.⁷

(c) slave of / lamp } SP

_The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin_ 104: Such were among the emigrants furnished by the royal families of Aulaf and Cearbhall; but, added to these we find a large number of settlers of Irish extraction. According to the _Landnamabok_, one of the slaves brought to Iceland by Auda was “Erps, son of Meldun, a Scotch earl, slain by Sigurd the Powerful.” The mother of Erps was Mirgeol, daughter of Gljomal, King of Ireland. Sigurd took Mirgeol and Erps, and enslaved them,⁴ but being enfranchised by Auda, Erps married and fixed his residence at Saudafels, where a numerous progeny sprung from this mixture of Irish and Scandinavian blood.⁴

(d) weigh LSD >

_The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin_ 105: The connexion between Dublin and Iceland thus cemented by family ties continued throughout the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries, and the voyages for friendly intercourse, or commercial objects, led to the discovery of America by Norsemen connected with Dublin centuries before it was seen by Columbus.

About the year 983 Ari, the son of Mar, a descendant of the Irish king Cearbhall,⁴ was wrecked on the coast of Florida, which he called “Irland er Mikla” or Great Ireland, it being also termed “Hvitra Manna Land,” or Whitemens Land.⁷ Subsequently Gudlief sailing from Dublin, landed on another part of the American continent, the incidents of his voyage forming one of the most interesting episodes in the _Erybyggia Saga_.

(e) Gudlief

_The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin_ 106: The connexion between Dublin and Iceland thus cemented by family ties continued throughout the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries, and the voyages for friendly intercourse, or commercial objects, led to the discovery of America by Norsemen connected with Dublin centuries before it was seen by Columbus.

VI.B.7.217

(a) Ari mac Mar >

(b) Florida >

(c) Irland er Mikla / Gt Irela >

(d) Hvitra Manna / Land >

(e) Gudlief

_The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin_ 105: The connexion between Dublin and Iceland thus cemented by family ties continued throughout the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries, and the voyages for friendly intercourse, or commercial objects, led to the discovery of America by Norsemen connected with Dublin centuries before it was seen by Columbus.

About the year 983 Ari, the son of Mar, a descendant of the Irish king Cearbhall,⁴ was wrecked on the coast of Florida, which he called “Irland er Mikla” or Great Ireland, it being also termed “Hvitra Manna Land,” or Whitemens Land.⁷ Subsequently Gudlief sailing from Dublin, landed on another part of the American continent, the incidents of his voyage forming one of the most interesting episodes in the _Erybyggia Saga_.

(f) weigh LSD >

(g) Russian hat >

24
The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 108: Slaves were then articles of commerce in Scandinavia, as they long after continued to be in England; and Hoskulld, desirous to purchase a female slave, entered the tent of Gille, a wealthy slave merchant, who was distinguished by a “Russian hat”.\(^1\) Behind a curtain which divided the tent twelve young maidens were arranged for sale. Eleven of these were valued at one mark each, but the twelfth, who was valued more highly, was purchased by Hoskulld. As money had not yet been coined in Norway, he paid for her from “a purse which hung at his girdle” three marks of silver, “weighed in a scales.”\(^2\) The girl was beautiful, but apparently dumb, and Hoskullid gave her to his wife as a handmaid, having by her a son, whom he called Olaf, after his grandfather, Olaf the White,\(^3\) and “Pa,” or the Peacock, from his stateliness and beauty.

108n1: A Russian hat appears to have been a valuable article. It was one of the presents made by King Harold to Gunnair. Niall’s Saga. p. 90.

108n2: In the Museum of Antiquities of the Royal Irish Academy at Dublin, may be seen several pairs of small scales, found with Danish armour, used probably for this purpose.

108n3: Hoskuld [sic] was son of Thorgerda, daughter of Thorstein the Red, son of Olaf the White, otherwise Aulaf, King of Dublin. Landnamab., p. 43.

VI.B.7.219

(a) 1st tooth / ring >
   VI.C.7.011(b),(c)

(b) 18 of age >
   VI.C.7.011(d)

(c) Tandsel >
   Note: See reproduction. Units (a) to (c) are united with an S-shaped line.
   VI.C.7.011(e)

(d) golden helmet
   The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 109-10: As soon as Olaf had passed the age of Scandinavian manhood, Melkorka became anxious that he should visit his Irish relations, and Hoskulld declining to assist in this project, she clandestinely married another, on condition that he would provide means for the prosecution of Olaf’s voyage. The stipulation was fulfilled, and Olaf, then
eighteen years old, sailed for Norway, where he was graciously received by King Harald Greæfeld
and Queen Gunhild, who gave him a vessel, which had the appearance of “a ship of war, having a
crew of sixty men.” Sailing for Ireland they lost their course during a storm, and came to a part of
the Irish coast “which strangers could not frequent with safety,” not being in possession of the
Ostmen. Here they anchored, but when the tide ebbed, the Irish came towards the vessel intending
“to draw her ashore,” and we thus obtain an idea of the size of their ships, for it is added that “the
water was not deeper than their armpits, or the girdle of the tallest,” but yet deep enough to keep
the ship afloat. Olaf, who had been taught the Irish language by his mother, began to parley with
the assailants, who insisted that, according to their laws, vessels in such a position could be
claimed as [109] wreck. Olaf admitted that such might be the law if foreigners had not an
interpreter on board, but as he spoke Irish, his property was not liable to seizure, and he was
prepared to defend it. Olaf and his companions, therefore, seized their arms, “and ranged them
along the sides of the vessel,” which “they covered with their shields as a bulwark.” Olaf himself
ascended the prow, “having on his head a golden helmet,” in his hand a spear, his breast being
covered with a shield “on which a lion was emblazoned,” and thus prepared, awaited the attack. At
this critical moment the King of Ireland arrived, an explanation ensued, as evidence of identity
Olaf produced “a gold ring” which Miarkartan had given to his daughter Melkorka “on the
appearance of her first tooth”¹ and the King recognizing the token, acknowledged his grandson,
and invited Olaf and his companions to land, having first appointed proper persons to take charge
of the ship, and “draw it upon the beach,” the usual practice when the voyage was ended.

110n1: The appearance of the first tooth was celebrated in Scandinavia by a feast. “It appears to
have been a solemn occasion when the child received its first tooth, at which time friends and
relations presented it with a gift called Tandsel.” Baden’s Hist. Norw., p. 78.

VI.C.7.011(f)

(g) Samus

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 111: In spring “a Thing” was assembled, at which
Miarkartan proposed to make Olaf heir to his kingdom, as being fitter to maintain its dignity than
his own sons. Olaf, however, declined the honour, and loaded with presents, returned to Iceland,
where “he drew his ship ashore,” and was visited by his mother, who during his absence had given
another son to her new husband. Nial’s Saga adds that Olaf brought from Ireland an Irish dog of
huge size, equal to a second man as a follower, and endowed with sagacity which enabled him to
distinguish friends from foes. This dog which he called “Samus,” Olaf gave to his friend Gunnar,¹
but, like the celebrated Irish dog “Vig,” which Olaf Tryggvasson had brought from Ireland,² Samus
was killed defending his master.

VI.C.7.011(h)

VI.B.7.228

(b) Haardfagr >

(c) Soder and Man >

(d) Kettle’s daughter / Auda

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 114: King Harald Haarfagr attempted to terminate their
depredations, and having fitted out a great fleet, pursued these plunderers to their island fastnesses.
Many he slew, but scarcely had he returned to Norway ere those who had escaped by flight
returned to their old haunts, and Harald, tired of such warfare, sent Ketill Flatnef⁴ to reconquer the
islands, and expel the Vikings. But when Ketill had subdued all the southern isles he made himself
king over them, and refusing to pay Harald the stipulated tribute, endeavoured to sustain his
usurpation by alliances with neighbouring chieftains, of whom one of the most influential was
Olaf, the White, King of Dublin, who married Auda, Ketill’s daughter.
114n2: The Hebrides were termed the “Sudreyar,” or the Southern Islands, in contradistinction to the Orkneys, or Northern Isles. The name still survives in “Soder and Man.”


VI.B.7.229

(a) Cantabrian / (Ir and Sp) >
VI.C.7.016(j)

(b) Gaditanian >
VI.C.7.017(a)

(c) Mauri / Mauri >
VI.C.7.017(b)

(d) Blaaland ~
MS 47484b-352, PrRMA: ^+from Blawlawnd-vier-Brigstow,+^  |  JJA 59:065  |  Jun-Jul 1929  |  III§3B.10'  |  FW 537.24-25

(e) hit Mikla / Africa >>
VI.C.7.017(c)

VI.B.7.230

(a) Afferika >
VI.C.7.017(d)

(b) York 869 >
VI.C.7.017(e)

(c) Saracens >
VI.C.7.017(f)

(d) Halfdan / /Malar illi / Mildi/ / (Bad entertainer) >
Unit partially transferred.
VI.C.7.017(g)

(e) son /of/ /Eysteinn/

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 115-7: The words of the Annals are that—“Not long before this time” (A.D. 869) “the two younger sons of Albdan (Halfdan), King of Lochlann, expelled the eldest son, Raghnall, son of Albdan, because they feared that he would take the kingdom of Lochlann after their father; and Raghnall came with his three sons to Innsi Orc (Orkney), and Raghnall tarried there with his youngest son. But his elder sons, with a great host, which they collected from every quarter, . . . rowed forward across the Cantabrian Sea, i.e., the sea which is between Erin and Spain, until they reached Spain, and they inflicted many evils in Spain, both by killing and plundering. They afterwards crossed the Gaditanian Straits, i.e., where the Mediterranean Sea goes into the external ocean, and they arrived in Africa, and there they fought a battle with the Mauritani, in which a great slaughter of the Mauritani was made.” “After this the Lochlanns passed over the country, and they plundered and burned the whole country; and they carried off a great host of them [the Mauritani] as captives to Erin, and these are the blue men [of Erin], for Mauri is the same as black men, and Mauritania is the same as blackness.” And “long indeed were these blue men in Erin.” [115]

The term blue men here applied to the Moors affords some evidences of a Scandinavian connexion with parts of the narrative. The term, which is not Irish, was doubtless adopted by the Irish from those Scandinavian Vikings who first brought these coloured men into Ireland, for in the Icelandic Sagas and Swedish history Bluemen is the name always given to Moors or Africans, and “Great Bluealand,” the name by which Africa is designated.

The very confused history and unsettled chronology of the reigns of the early kings of Scandinavia, and the number of kings of the name of Halfdan, renders it difficult clearly to identify
the King Halfdan referred to in the Annals. It may be asserted, however, with some degree of confidence, that he was Halfdan the Mild, son and successor of King Eysteinn. According to Schöning’s chronology Halfdan was born in A.D. 738, and was succeeded by his son Gudrod, who died in A.D. 824. The names of his other sons are not recorded, but there are reasons to suppose that one of them was called Rognvald, or Raghnal, and, if the supposition be correct, it is not improbable that he may have been driven into the Orkneys by his brothers when they saw their father suffering from that sickness of which he died.

But whatever difficulty there may be in identifying the King Halfdan who was the father of Rognvald, there is none in establishing the fact that at the time mentioned in the Annals a fleet of Scandinavians came to the coast of Spain, and after plundering the country, captured and carried off a number of Moors, the blue men of the narrative.

115n2: This time “the capture of York by the Danes,” A.D. 869.
115n3: The Straits of Gades in the south of Spain. The modern Cadiz preserves the name.
116n1: Ynglinga Saga, cap. 1.—“Blaland hit Mikla,” or Great Blueland, being the name of Africa, and Blae men, the name for Africans.
116n2: Sigurd Jorsalafain Saga cap. 24—Blalande, Saracen’s land, and Blamenn, Saracens. Tuyell’s Sweden, Blamenn, negroes, &c.
116n3: Ynglinga Saga, cap. 41I—Halfdan “had been long on Viking expeditions.” “He died on a bed of sickness, and was buried at Borre.” He was called Halfdann hinn Mildi oc hinn Malar illi (the bad entertainer).
116n5: The Norsemen never named the son after the father, but generally after the uncle, granduncle or grandfather, and Gudrod’s grandson was named Rognvald (Raghnal), the son of Olaf, the son of Gudrod.

Not transferred.

(f) Kettle - lord of / /the Isles/
The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 118: CHAPTER 5.
DUBLIN AND THE MAINLAND OF SCOTLAND.
Difference between the Scandinavian invasions of Scotland and Ireland.— In Scotland they were as conquerors.—The Scandinavians at Dublin, colonists.—Aulaf, King of Dublin, intermarries into the families of Irish Kings.—Enumeration of Aulaf’s connexions with Irish royalty.—His connexions with the Scandinavian Lords of the Isles.—Marries Auda, daughter of Ketill, Lord of the Hebrides.—
Partially transferred.
VI.C.7.017(h)
son, Thorstein the Red, whose Scandinavian father, Eyvind Austman, was husband of Rafarta, one of Cearbhall’s daughters.

We have already seen that the Picts of Scotland had a common origin with those on the sea coast of Ulster, where the Northmen first settled. While they were thus plundering and settling among the Irish and Irish Picts, they were pursuing the same course with the Scots and Picts of Scotland.

MS 47482b-119, TsEM: ^+And ^+speaking of Tiberias & other incestuish salacities+^ ^+among gerontophils+^ ^+a warning note ^+about the tender passion hinted at+^ ^+Some softnosed peruser might take it up as the usual ^+perfectly usual+^ ^+case of spoons the heroine deliberately ^+falling off her bike, ^+like,+^ ^+at the feet of usual soutane suit ^+who+^ ^+picks her up as tenderly as any woman ^+inquiring ^+to see ^+where are you ^+was she ^+hurt, ^+& ^+have you been chaste,+^ ^+my child, etcetera ^+by whom, father? etc+^, but we ^+psychos+^ ^+who have done our unsmiling bit on ^+in the penumbra of the coaxing ^+coaxing room could ^+(did we care)+^ ^+tell our very moistnostrilled one that father in such contexts is not ^+always+^ ^+that dear relative who settles ^+our gasbill for us and what an innocent enough adverb such as Michael looks can be suggestive of ^+under the purdendoscope+^ ^+and finally a neurasthenic female ^+endocrine - pineal typus+^ ^+Copyright 2023
deliberately ^+under her lubricitous meiosis+^ ^+some+^ ^+man she fancie’s face.+^ | JJA 46:365 | Feb-Mar 1925 | L.5§1.3+ | 4.3 | 15.33 | FW 115.33
VI.C.7.017(j)

(d) **Albanenses**

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 121: It might be suggested that when “all the foreign tribes of Ireland” had submitted to Aulaf, he may have desired to extend his dominion over the Picts of Scotland also. Certain it is that he proceeded to subdue them in A.D. 865; for in that year according to the Annalists of Ulster, “Amlaiv and his nobility went to Fortren together with the foreigners of Ireland and Scotland, and spoiled the Cruithne, (the Picts), and brought all their hostages with them.”

In A.D. 869, Aulaf in conjunction with Ivar, again invaded Pictland, and after a siege of four months took and destroyed its capital; but Aulaf being slain while leading an army against Constantine, King of the Scots, Ivar returned to Dublin, where he died, A.D. 872.

The sons of Aulaf, however, did not abandon the conquests of their father. Oslin remained in Pictland, where he was slain by a stratagem of the Albanenses, in A.D. 875.

(e) /lr/ygy/a/

(f) awn? /?? /??

Units (c) to (f) not transferred.

(g) pagan /since/ >

VI.C.7.017(k)

(h) Europe >

VI.C.7.017(l)

(i) 1038 / — bishop >

VI.C.7.017(m)

(j) 1st papal / legate

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 123-4: To the Christian Monks who wrote their annals and chronicles (and they were almost the only writers and Latin their only language), it seemed profane to mention the names of Thor or Frega or of any heathen deity, or to allude to their temples or worship. We are told only that our Ostmen were pagans, and they remained pagans for 500 years after all Europe was christianized. The Welsh chronicles state that they were pagan to the middle of the 11th century, the Annals of Cambria and Brut y Tywysogain recording that “A.D. 1040 Grufudd (King of Wales), was captured by the pagans of Dublin.”

This statement of the Welsh chronicle however will prolong the existence of Scandinavian paganism in Dublin much beyond the period usually assigned for its termination; for although it was not until A.D. 1038 that the first Ostman bishop of Dublin was consecrated, we
may confidently assert that some of our Ostmen had been previously converted; and that they had
been converted in England; and hence their connexion with Canterbury and Rome instead of with
Armagh and the Irish Church, and thence also it was that their bishops were consecrated in [123]
England after the Roman formula and that an Ostman bishop was the first Papal Legate in Ireland.¹

Limerick, and first Apostolic Legate in Ireland A.D., 1139.”

VI.C.7.018(a)

VI.B.7.232

(a) baptise armies >
(VLC.7.018(b)

(b) bapt. RC & Norse >
(VLC.7.018(c)

(c) Thor’s hammer / = [†] >
(VLC.7.018(d)

(d) Sign of the / hammer / (auctioneer) >
(VLC.7.018(e)

(e) Doomring / (circle of stones) >
(VLC.7.018(f),(g)

(f) Thorstein >>
(VLC.7.018(h)

(g) C
Not transferred.

VI.B.7.233

(a) Stifle in water

*The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin* 125-6: There is no proof, however, that this conversion was
general, and the progress of Christianity among the Scandinavians elsewhere, would lead us to
infer that it was partial, as we find, that although Hakon (Athelstan’s foster son) introduced
Christianity into Norway in A.D. 956;² and although Olaf Tryggvasson established it there by law,
in A.D. 1000 (it being legally established in Iceland the same year),³ yet many Norwegians
remained pagan at the close of the 11th century, refusing to submit even to the nominal Christianity
then required, districts and armies being baptized without any instruction whatsoever.⁴ The forms
of pagans and Christians were in some respects similar, pouring water over the head and giving a
name, being ceremonies of Odinism;⁵ “Thor’s hammersign” being used like that of the cross (and
sometimes mistaken for it) in religious rites and blessings.⁶

Our evidence therefore only proves that the Ost-[125]men of Dublin were not exclusively
pagan in A.D. 1040, as the Welsh chronicles seem to imply.

But that those who remained pagan adhered to the worship of Thor, then the religion of
Norway, can only be inferred from the few events, which are recorded in our Annals. For instance,
we know that the Scandinavians sometimes sacrificed their prisoners to Thor or Odin, by
“crushing the spine” (or “breaking the back on a stone”),¹ or by plunging the victim head foremost
in water, and auguring from the sacrifice future victory or defeat. Such sacrifices may be alluded
to in the statements, that, “A.D. 859. Maelgula Mac Dungail, King of Cashel, was killed by the
Danes, *i.e.*, his back was broken with a stone;² and A.D. 863, that, “Conor Mac Dearmada, half
King of Meath was stifled in water at Cluain Iraird, by Aulaf, King of the foreigners” of Dublin.³

125n6: *Ibid*, vol. i., p. 143. Saga Hakon Guda, c. xviii. “The king then took the drinking horn and
made the sign of the cross over it. What does the king mean? said Kaare of Gryting”—Earl Sigurd
replied—“He is blessing the full goblet in the name of Thor by making the sign of his hammer
over it.”
126n1: Thordus Gallus mentions the Thorstein on which men were sacrificed (broken), and where also is the circle of stones “Domhring,” or place of justice. Landnamabok, p. 94. And the Eyrbyggia:—“Here (at a spot in Iceland) was set up (A.D. 934), the place of judgement; and here is seen to this day (A.D. 1250), the judicial circle of stones where human victims were offered up to the gods; and conspicuous in the centre of the circle, Thor’s stone where the backs of the victims were broken, still showing signs of blood.” Eyrbyggia Saga, cap. x., p. 27; 4to, Havniæ, 1787.


VI.C.7.018(i)

(b) two rings / Nor and Dan

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 127-8: It has been already observed that the ‘godar’ were princes, judges, and priests. The emblem of military jurisdiction being a sword, and the marks of the ‘godi’s’ sacredotal [sic] dignity being a massive ring, generally kept at the temple of Thor, but sometimes worn attached by a smaller ring to the armilla of the godi, and having some mystery connected with it.\(^3\)

When the “godi” acted in his judicial capacity, witnesses were sworn on this “holy ring,” and the “godi” gave solemnity to the oath by dipping the ring in the blood of a sacrifice. Such was the “the great gold ring” which Olaf Tryggvasson, when he became a Christian, took from the temple door of Lade, [sic] and sent to Queen Sigrid,\(^4\) and such was the “holy ring” whereon the Danes “sware oaths” to King Alfred.\(^5\) Of these “great gold rings with the smaller ring attached” there is a splendid specimen in the museum of the Royal Irish Academy.\(^6\)

We therefore infer that the “ring” and sword which Maelseachlain carried away, had been preserved by the Ostmen as tokens of investiture, spiritual and temporal, of their two races of kingly \(^{127}\) worshippers of Thor, Carlus, slain in A.D. 866, being the eldest son of Aulaf, then King of Dublin, and Tomar (Thormodr or Thorsman), “Earl tanist of the King of Lochlann.\(^2\) 127n2: This ring was sometimes of silver weighing “two ores or more,” and was placed on the altar of Thor. For its use on judicial and religious matters, see Landnamabok, p. 299, also Eyrbyggia Saga, cap. x., p. 27.

127n6: This ring with a large number of other gold articles was found in the county of Clare, and purchased by me for the Academy.

VI.C.7.018(j),(k)

(c) Gill >>

VI.C.7.018(l)

VI.B.7.234

(a) Backthief

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 129-30: We think that the appearance of the name “Gille” in the Irish Annals, also affords evidence that the worship of Thor was the paganism of our Ostmen. Heretofore, Irish scholars have considered the word Gille to be of Irish origin, notwithstanding the opinion of an eminent etymologist, who, in recently tracing the derivation of the modern Scotch term “Gilly,” assumes as “more than probable that the term has been borrowed from Scandinavian settlers in Ireland and the Isles, as there is no similar term in Cambro Britannic, and as the Icelandic Gilla and Giolla both signify a boy (servant), it is more likely that the Irish received it from their Norse conquerors than that they borrowed it from them, and incorporated it into their Gothic language.”\(^1\)

Our suggestion, however, extends a little farther. There can be no doubt the word ‘Gille’ was used by the Scandinavians as a proper name, as we read of “Gille the Lagman [or Law maker] of the Faroe Islands,”\(^2\) “Gille, Count of the Hebrides,”\(^3\) “Gille [129] the back thief of Norway,”\(^1\) “Gille the Russian Merchant,”\(^2\) and we might even add to our list “St. Gille of Caen in Normandy,” whose history appears to have perplexed the Bollandists.

And the Scandinavians not only used the name in this manner, but they also used it as a religious adjunct, in the same sense in which it is used among the Irish, as it appears, that many Scandinavians who dedicated themselves to Thor, and were “godar” in his Temples, took the name
of the deity they served adding to it some epithet indicative of their connexion with him. Among others they added the words, Kal or Gil, that is to say “man” or “servant of,” as Thorkel or Thorgil the man or servant of Thor. We therefore venture to suggest, that not only is the term Gille, of Scandinavian origin, but that it was introduced into Ireland by the Scandinavian worshippers of Thor. They therefore used the name in this manner, but they also used it as a religious adjunct, in the same sense in which it is used among the Irish, that is to say, that many Scandinavians who dedicated themselves to Thor, and were “godar” in his Temples, took the name of the deity they served adding to it some epithet indicative of their connexion with him. Among others they added the words, Kal or Gil, that is to say “man” or “servant of,” as Thorkel or Thorgil the man or servant of Thor. We therefore venture to suggest, that not only is the term Gille, of Scandinavian origin, but that it was introduced into Ireland by the Scandinavian worshippers of Thor.4

129n1: Jamieson’s Etym. Dic. Supplement, Edinburgh, 1825, on the word Gillie. At a later period the term Gille was also used by the Irish to signify a boy, servant, see Ann. Four Mast., 1022. “Muiren was slain by two Gillies of the Luighni.”

[In Cleasby and Vigfusson’s Icelandic English Dictionary at the word Gilli “Gilli, [Gaelic, Gillie], a servant, only in Irish proper names.” 4to, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1874. The statement of Jamieson’s as to the use of the words Gilla and Giolla in the Icelandic language does not seem to be borne out by any other dictionary.]

130n4: [In Cleasby and Vigfusson’s Icelandic — English Dictionary, Thorgil is stated to be “the same as Thorketil (by contraction). “In poets of the 10th century the old uncontracted form was still used; but the contracted form occurs in verses of the beginning of the 11th century, although the old form occurs now and then. The frequent use of these names, combinations of Ketil, is no doubt derived from the holy cauldron at sacrifices as is indicated by such names as Vekell (holy kettle). Compare Kettleby in Yorkshire.” P. 337. 4to, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1874.]

Not transferred.

VI.D.2 / VI.C.3

The lost Notebook VI.D.2 we know only through the transcription of the unused items, in the 1930s, by Mme France Raphaël. Accidentally, she copied this Notebook twice, on VI.C.3.179(j)-199(l) and on VI.C.15.179(j)-(k), before it got lost. We have made only made some tentative guesses as to which words and phrases Joyce could have lifted from Haliday and used them before he handed the notebook to Mme Raphaël for copying. These so-called ‘conjectural reconstructions’ or ‘inbetweenies’, as discussed in the Genetic Joyce Studies by Mikio Fuse & Robbert-Jan Henkes, ‘INSIDE D1’, issue 12, 2012, will be further looked into as soon as a sufficiently large database is established to attribute words in the manuscripts to definite sources. As in VI.B.7, the Haliday notes alternate with notes taken from other sources, such as Freud, the Scienza Nuova, the newspaper The Leader etc. Many C-notes were left unused, and going by the evidence of VI.B.7, perhaps not many notes from D.2 were used either.

VI.D.2 / VI.C.3.179

(j) Kal = Gll / Thorkel

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 130: And the Scandinavians not only used the name in this manner, but they also used it as a religious adjunct, in the same sense in which it is used among the Irish, as it appears, that many Scandinavians who dedicated themselves to Thor, and were “godar” in his Temples, took the name of the deity they served adding to it some epithet indicative of their connexion with him. Among others they added the words, Kal or Gil, that is to say “man” or “servant of,” as Thorkel or Thorgil the man or servant of Thor. We therefore venture to suggest, that not only is the term Gille, of Scandinavian origin, but that it was introduced into Ireland by the Scandinavian worshippers of Thor.4

VI.C.15.179(j)-(k) Kal = Gill [green-deleted] / Thorkel

(k) Kettle

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 130n4: [In Cleasby and Vigfusson’s Icelandic — English
Dictionary, Thorgil is stated to be “the same as Thorketil (by contraction). “In poets of the 10th century the old uncontracted form was still used; but the contracted form occurs in verses of the beginning of the 11th century, although the old form occurs now and then. The frequent use of these names, combinations of Ketil, is no doubt derived from the holy cauldron at sacrifices as is indicated by such names as Vekell (holy kettle). Compare Kettleby in Yorkshire.” P. 337. 4to, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1874.]

VI.C.15.179(l) Ketter

(l) Connachste

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 134-5: We also know that the termination of the names of three of the provinces [134] is Norse, the Norse word “ster” being added to the Irish name, as Mumha-ster or Munster, Ulad-ster or Ulster, and Leighin-ster or Leinster; and that Connaught had a similar termination, although it was not retained by the Anglo-Normans, the Scandinavian name being Kunnakster.

VI.C.15.179(m) Connachiste

(m) 1st inte pare

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 136n1: The Palls, however, and consequent pre-eminence were accorded to four provinces only, an ordinary pre-eminence inter pares, in recognition of her former greatness, being the only privilege granted to Meath.

VI.C.15.180(a) 1st into pare

[Possible conjectural reconstructions: “the Dyflinarskii” from Dyflin the Scandinavian name of the city (138); the Salmon Leap at Leixlip, the name “Laxlöb,” (or Salmon Leap) being purely Scandinavian (138), Hofud (now Howth) (138) etc.

(n) Dublin and Glend = Danis-^+sees^+ = Danish >>

Note: The deleted item was crossed out by Mme Raphael.

VI.C.15.180(b) Dublin & Glen / = sees = Danish

VI.D.2. / VI.C.3.180

(a) 180 / division / Church dio >

Note: The first item is Mme Raphaël’s page numbering.

VI.C.15.180(c) /2/ division / - / Church div

(b) Sultu Solem

The Scandinavian kingdom of Dublin 141: The Scandinavian kingdom of Dublin 140-141: We find that the boundaries of the united diocese of Dublin and of Dublin and Glendalough, are the same as those here assigned to the Dyflinarski. Originally ecclesiastical jurisdiction was concurrent with that of the civil ruler. We have seen that the Scandinavian chief was both priest and king; in this case, however, we find two bishops in the one territory. This originated in the decrees of the Irish Synod of Rath Breasail, by which dioceses were defined, in A.D. 1110. For the Ostman bishops, not being consecrated as Irish bishops were, but consecrated according to the Roman ritual by the archbishops of Canterbury or York, the Irish clergy refused to recognize their authority, and part of this Ostman territory being inhabited by Irish Christians, the synod decreed that the whole should be placed under [140] the Irish bishop of Glendalough; the Ostman bishopric of Dublin not being even named, and when subsequently mentioned, only mentioned as being in the diocese of Glendalough.

The diocese remained until A.D. 1151 in this state, when it was certified to Pope Innocent III., that “Master John Papiron, the legate of the Roman church, coming into Ireland, found a bishop dwelling in Dublin, who at that time exercised his episcopal office within the walls. He found in the same diocese another church in the mountains, which likewise had the name of a city, and had a certain Chorepiscopus.” But the legate delivered the Pall to Dublin, “which was the best city,” and doubtless, also, because its bishop was already in connexion with Rome. “And he appointed that that diocese in which both cities were, should be divided; that one part thereof
should fall to the metropolis.” “And this he would have immediately carried into execution, had he not been obstructed by the insolence of the Irish, who were then powerful in that part of the country,” and who denied the authority of the Roman legate.¹

It is also to be observed that the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the united bishoprics still extends from beyond Arklow, along the sea shore, to the Delvin rivulet, a little south of the Nanny water, and inwards along the Liffey, to the “Salmon Leap,” at Leixlip. The church, “De Saltū Salmonis,” being its limit in that direction.

VI.C.15.180(d) Sultu Solinn

(c) Dolnehet

The Scandinavian kingdom of Dublin 142: The residence which Aulaf had at Clondalkin in A.D. 866, and Sitric’s town and lands of Baldoyle, Portrane, and Ratheny, in 1038, were all within it. So was the territory “from Ath Cliath to Ath Truisten,”¹ which Donnchad, king of Ireland, and Muirchearachtach spoiled and plundered, A.D. 936, as being “all under the dominion of the foreigners of Ath Cliath.” So, likewise, was Swords, Luske, and all the country of Fingal,² which we find in the possession of the Northmen, in A.D. 1035; and in 1135, devastated by the king of Meath, to revenge his brother, “killed by Donnough Mac Gill mo chomac, and the Danes of Dublin.”

VI.C.15.180(e) Dolnetsch / fnj —

(k) spincemen / better >

VLC.15.181(c) pincener / bith

(l) All Hallas

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 144-145: Our oldest Anglo-Norman records frequently refer to an extra mural district, east of Dublin, denominated “The Stein,” or “Staine,” a flat piece of ground extending southwards from the strand of [144] the Liffey to “the lands of Rath,” and eastward from near the city walls, to the river Dodder.¹

It was on this plain the priory of All Hallowes and other religious establishments were founded before the arrival of Strongbow;² whose followers took possession of all that the Church could not claim. About the year 1200, Theobald Walter, pincerna (or butler) to Henry II., and ancestor of the Butlers of Ormond, exercised ownership by granting to Radulf and Richard Clut “all his land of Stayn, except what the canons of All Saints ought to have.”³

VI.C.15.181(e) All Hallow

[Possible conjectural reconstruction: ‘among other possessions of the suppressed monastery, to William Taaffe’ (146)]

(m) S. Stephen >

VLC.15.181(e)

(n) S James

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 148-149: On this elevated ridge, about the year 1220, an hospital is said to have been founded for pilgrims intending to embark for the shrine of St. James of Compostella, the patron saint of lepers, and from which the termination of Townsend-street received the name of Lazar’s-hill. Pope Innocent III., when confirming the union of Glendalough with the See of Dublin, enjoined an appropriation of revenues to the support of an hospital, and Archbishop De Loundres, therefore, with the assent of the chapters of the Holy Trinity and St. Patrick’s, assigned the lands of Killmohghenoc and other lands, with the church of Delgany, &c., to maintain this hospital “on the sea shore outside Dublin, called Steyn, where pilgrims to St. James’ shrine awaited an opportunity to embark,”¹ Theobald Fitzwalter granting two acres of “his land of Stein” as a further endowment. But if this hospital were ever built no remains of it can now be discovered, the Lepers’ hospital of Dublin, which was dedicated to [148] St. Stephen, having been built on another part of the Stein, between Stephen’s-street and Stephen’s-green.

VLC.15.181(f) S. James

(o) port franco

?The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 149: The point of the Stein, however, long continued to be used for landing and embarking passengers, and for purposes of trade, the Memoranda Rolls of
Henry IV. mentioning, “the Stayne and Dodyr,” with “the key of Dublin,” as places from whence merchandise was exported.

But the Northmen had a peculiar object in selecting their landing place. Their ships were long and shallow, lightly built, and for the greater part without decks. These they ran ashore, when about to land, and in winter drew them up the beach, there to remain until summer enabled them “to keep the sea.” The bank of a river, a flat sandy strand, such as the north side of Stein presented, was, consequently, best adapted for their purposes, and at all times was preferred to a deep-water anchorage.

*Note:* Reading in both scribal notebooks extremely doubtful.

[p] 4Steyn >>

MS 47486b-436: – But that steyne what stiles its neming? | JJA 61:500 | 1936-1937 |
III.3§3A.10+ | FW 505.21
[Notesheets set 2 | MS 47486a-219: – And the steyne what stetes it [neming]? | JJA 61:294 | 1936]

**VI.D.2. / VI.C.3.181**

(a) 3Danish now

*The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin* 151: But the document referring to the mill of the Stein points to another fact more intimately connected with our subject. It was from the “Long Stone,” mentioned in this record, that the Stein derived its Scandinavian name. This remarkable pillar stone stood not far from the landing place near where Hawkins-street and Townsend-street now join. From the rough outline drawing which I possess it does not appear that the stone was in any manner inscribed, but it appears to have stood about twelve or fourteen feet above ground, and it remained standing until the surrounding district was laid out for streets and houses when it was overturned to make room for them. That it continued to be an object of some interest, long after the Northmen were expelled from Dublin, we find from municipal records and from reference to it when the citizens began to build on the adjoining strand.

*The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin* 152: The name of “the Stein” connected with the pillar stone may not be considered sufficient evidence of Scandinavian origin, that name not being found in Irish manuscripts, or in any record earlier than the Anglo-Norman invasion. But it should be recollected that there are no Hiberno-Danish writings extant, and that the Irish who called it “the Green of Ath Cliath,” and allude to it as a place of council, never used the Scandinavian name for it, or for any part of Ireland, while on the contrary the Anglo-Norman monks, the charter writers of their countrymen, rarely, if ever, used an Irish name when any other existed, and invariably called the city, and even the provinces by their Scandinavian names.

*Note:* Possible conjectural reconstructions: the Eyrbjogga Saga (159), the Blackstone of Odin (159), the Thingmount on the Stein of Dublin (159), the Thingmote of Dublin (162)

(b) Nassen / <Shet> Shel / Patrick / Well Lane

*The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin* 165-6: In 1682 the mount itself was demised to Sir William Davis; he had been Recorder of the city, and was then Chief Justice of the King’s Bench. He had a suburban residence adjoining the mount and a fee-farm grant was made to him with the avowed object of clearing the ground. His petition for this grant states that “the ground on which the mount stands, being very small and the mount itself being very high the cost of levelling it and carrying it away would be a vast charge.” A mass of earth, 40 feet high and 240 feet in circumference, could not be removed without great expense, but the site was valuable and the earth was useful in raising Nassau-street, then called Saint Patrick’s Well-lane, the street being elevated 8 to 10 feet above it. Although these documents indisputably fix the position of the mount within the district of Thingmotha, a doubt whether the word Thingmote in 1241 designated a
mount, or merely a place of meeting, the want of early records to identify the mount I have described with the ancient Thingmote and the ambiguity of modern descriptions of the vicinity leave room for controversy, which we must endeavour to anticipate.

VI.D.2. / VI.C.3.182

(b) Gallow R

_The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin_ 170n1: In the “Survey of the City and Suburbs of Dublin,” by Jean Rocque, Folio, London, 1756, the road leading from Stephen’s-green to Ball’s-bridge (now known as Lower Bagot-street) is styled “Gallows Road.” On the north side of this Gallows-road near Lower Pembroke-street is shown a Quarry and over it a Windmill; opposite on the south side of the road is the Gallows.]

VI.C.15.183(b) gallow RI

(c) Gillon KP

_The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin_ 170: These facts and circumstances we think may be safely relied on as proof of the identity of the mount here described with the Scandinavian Thingmote. And we have now to add that about 200 perches eastward of the mount was the Hangr Hoeg or Gallows hill of Dublin, the usual accompaniment to the Thingmount. Here on a rocky hill, surrounded by a piece of barren ground, the gallows was erected and here criminals were executed until the beginning of the last century, when the gallows was removed farther south to permit the rock to be quarried for building purposes, the city then rapidly extending in this direction. The “Gallows hill” is marked on the maps of Dublin until after 1756, and the quarry is yet to be traced between Bock-lane and Mount-street, both places being very probably named from this rocky gallows mount.

VI.C.15.183(c) Gillow K.P

(d) Bowing / Storm

_The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin_ 172: Hence we frequently find the pillar stones or bowing stones either marked with a cross, or overthrown and stone crosses raised where they stood, and the sacred wells of Baldur, the son of Odin, with the sacred wells of other heathen deities, becoming the holy wells of St. John or St. Patrick.1 With similar views the great Saxon and Scandinavian festivals were exchanged for Christian festivals occurring at the same period of the year, the slaughter of oxen to idols, and the feasts which followed, being exchanged for innocent banquets and revelry. Nevertheless the pagan practices which Gregory endeavoured to turn to Christian purposes were not wholly eradicated.2

VI.C.15.183(d) Bowing / storm

(f) going to stars / — — R.C. / Clachan

_The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin_ 175: It is only necessary to observe that among efforts to attract the pagan from his old superstitions to a pure worship was that recommended by Pope Gregory, of either converting the temple into a church or of placing the church in proximity to it, a practice which is said to have originated the Gallic term, used in the Orkneys, of going to the “Clachan” (or stones), for going to the church, connecting this fact of the church being placed where the temple stood,1 with the statement of northern Archæologists, that religious ceremonies preceded all legal or legislative acts of the Scandinavians, and that the Thingplace itself was used as a temple, or that a temple was erected near it, we should expect to find the site of the “hof” or temple near that of a church adjoining the Thingmote, where the heathen rites which attended the election of a chief or a trial by combat were exchanged for the Christian ceremonies of an inauguration and of an ordeal.

VI.C.15.183(f) going to stan. / — — R.C. / Clackan

(g) Norse not Irish / dedicate to B.M / (Abbey)>

VI.C.15.183(g) Norse not Irish / dedicate to BpM. / (Abbey)
Laurenci O’F dele O Torli / 1163 / cas by Humph

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 176-7: For it has not escaped observation that when the Northmen in Ireland dedicated a church to a female saint, they never dedicated to the Irish St. Bridget or to any Irish virgin, but always to the Virgin Mary. Whereas the Irish clergy who were not so intimately connected with Rome, if they called any church except by the name of the founder (and they called many after St. Bridget) never dedicated a church to the Virgin Mary until after Northmen set the example; indeed, St. Bridget is styled “The Mary of [176] the Gaeidhili” or Irish, in one of the oldest manuscripts of her life, nor has the research of any Irish scholar, so far as I can ascertain, as yet discovered a single church dedicated to the Virgin Mary in Ireland; but, until the middle of the tenth century, when the Northmen converted to Christianity, began to dedicate churches to her within their own territories, the earliest being that of St. Mary’s Ostmanby, better known as St. Mary’s Abbey Dublin, alleged to have been founded about the year 948.

As regards the Anglo-Saxon missionaries who converted the Northmen, they were not likely to dedicate a church to an Irish Saint, their connection being with Canterbury and Rome, but not with Armagh and the Irish Church. For it is to be recollected that the Northmen did not acknowledge the authority of the Irish Church until the Irish archbishops received the palls from Rome through Cardinal Paparo, in 1152; Laurence O’Toole in 1163 being the first Bishop of Dublin (under the Ostmen) who was consecrated by the Archbishop of Armagh, all previous bishops of the Ostmen being consecrated by the Archbishop of Canterbury. Note: The deleted items were crossed out by Mme Raphael.

VI.C.15.184(a) Laurence O’Tosh / 1163 / castleslurph

VI.D.2 / VI.C.3.183

(a) Runnymede / 19 Council

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 181: To this we may add that the plain of Runnymede, famous in connexion with Staines, was like the Stein of Dublin, the title of a Scandinavian Althing, probably so made by Aulaf and Svein, and so remaining while Canute and other Danish sovereigns governed England. Mathew of Westminster tells us it was called “Runymede, that is, the Meadow of “Counsel,” because of old times councils about the peace of the kingdom were frequently held there, apparently being the general name of the place, the letters of safe conduct from King John when the Barons demanded his assent to the laws subsequently embodied in Magna Charta specifying “Staines” and not Runymede as the place of meeting. But if the inquiry be pursued it will be found that all the places called Stane in the Domesday Book were on the banks of rivers, and that most of them had been Scandinavian landing-places, and it is of some importance as connected with the name of the Stein of Dublin that we should do so.

VI.C.15.184(b) Runnymede / 19 Council

(b) Laws not / tem / but personal

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 185n1: [In the confusion of races that followed the irruption of the northern barbarians, and introduced the feudal system, the laws administered were not territorial as in more modern times, but personal, each race in actions between one another, being ruled by its own code: Thus Roman, Frank, Burgundian, had each his law. (See Robertson, Hist of Charles V., Von Savigny on [185] Roman law, &c.)

(c) H. H = R

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 185: It is manifest that Henry himself had no idea that he had been elected king of Ireland by the chiefs assembled at the Thimgote or that they had yielded to him dominion over the country. The most diligent research has not discovered a single charter, granted by him in Ireland or in England (not even in that by which he granted to his men of Bristol his new gotten city of Dublin), nor a single instance in any other record in which he has styled himself “King” or even “Lord of Ireland” although he rarely if ever omitted his minor titles of Duke of Normandy and Aquitaine and Count of Anjou. While he remained in Ireland he exercised
no legal prerogative except over that territory the royalty of which Strongbow had surrendered to him, and over that from which the Ostmen enemies of Dermot M'Morrough had been driven, and where it was indifferent to the Irish, whether the Ostmen or the Anglo-Normans were the rulers. The only laws he made were for his English subjects and for the [185] Ostmen towns, and these he promulgated at the Thingmote, and possibly after the manner of the Scandinavians.

VI.C.15.184(d) H H = D
[Conjectural handwriting reconstruction: “H.II = R[ex]”]

VI.D.2. / VI.C.3.184

(d) Brehon law >
VI.C.15.185(k)

(e) ab 16 n— >
VI.C.15.185(l) afl. 16th
Note: Not found as such in the source passage.

(f) Mint / Deb Webs / L. M

_The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin_ 186: There is no trace of an attempt to make laws for all Ireland. Even at the Synod of Cashel the only proceeding was to modify the Irish ecclesiastical law in accordance with that of the Church of Rome; and this was done through the introduction of the clergy, who were his supporters. The Irish chiefs and people retained their Brehon laws, and acknowledged no other, and according to these laws they continued to elect their own magistrates, and to judge, punish, or pardon all criminals. Neither did Henry coin money in Ireland or for Ireland, although the Ostmen had mints in Dublin, Waterford, and Limerick. Nor had he a seal for Ireland, nor has there been discovered a single record on which the word “conquest” is used by him, although Strongbow’s barons, who had conquered the Ostmen, used that word in grants of their thus acquired lands. 185n1f: And in Ireland the English did not admit the Danes or the Irish to use English law unless they paid largely for the privilege. Between themselves the latter were ruled (even before English seneschals) by Danes’ law or Brehon law, which last was only abolished in the 12th year of King James I. That the laws of England were not given to the meere Irish, was one of the defects of English rule in Ireland.

VI.C.15.185(l)-186(a) Mint // Dub. Wits / Line

(g) lord acc. / King —

_The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin_ 187: The claim to dominion over Ireland on which Henry relied was evidently Pope Adrian’s bull, and even had the title of Lord of Ireland which it granted been then admitted Henry was not ignorant of the limited authority which it conferred, for in his own person he had but recently done homage to the King of France, acknowledging the King as his feudal Lord for Normandy, Aquitain, and Anjou; and subsequently received the homage of William, king of Scotland, who acknowledged Henry to be his Lord. 190: This distinction between the lordship and the kingdom of Ireland was acted on at Rome at a subsequent period, as appears from the course pursued by Pope Paul IV. in A.D. 1555. For when at the Reformation Henry VIII. renounced his allegiance to Rome, and was by an Act of Parliament declared king of Ireland, and that his successors, Philip and Mary, although Roman Catholics, continued to use that title, the Pope refused to see their ambassadors under that title until he had first prepared and published a bull making Ireland a kingdom and had authorized Philip and Mary to assume the legal title, and thus for ever surrendered his asserted claim to the land.

VI.C.15.186(b) lord acc / King —

(h) Dr. Carey

_The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin_ 190: The importance of such a bull was well known to the
Privy Council of England, for it is stated by the eminent Roman Catholic historian, Dr. Lingard, that "as the natives of Ireland had maintained that the kings of England originally held Ireland by the donation of Adrian IV. and lost it by their defection at the Reformation, the Council delivered the bull to Dr. Cary, the new (Roman Catholic) Archbishop of Dublin, to be deposited in the treasury, after copies had been made and circulated throughout the island."

VI.C.15.186(c) Dr. Carey

(i) near to — / S. Lanes >
VI.C.15.186(d)

(j) b. in law / ∆ en Mac Mu / d. of O.'Connoll >>
VI.C.15.186(e) line law. / Sen. Mec. Mer : / d. of O’Carroll

VI.D.2. / VI.C.3.185

(a) Mynechens / Mantle

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 192-3: A manuscript in the British Museum states that “the nuns were not of the younger sort but of elderlike persons, and for those who desired to live single lives after the death or separation from their husbands,” and the manuscript adds, “that Alice O’Toole, near to the Archbishop of Dublin, in one night’s time left her husband and conveyed all his wealth into this abbey, and it was not known for seven years’ time where she went or how she conveyed away his wealth” till Laurence O’Toole’s death, when she appeared at the funeral, and so was discovered. The Alice O’Toole here mentioned was [192] the sister of the archbishop, married to the profligate Dermot M’Murrogh, the founder of the nunnery, who abandoned her and married the daughter of O’Carroll. And the statement respecting the class of females inhabiting the nunnery is supported by the fact that ground on which the nunnery stood was called “Mynechens mantle” and its possessions, Mynechens fields thereby making it as the residence not of young nuns but of those elderly nuns of the superior class termed “mynechens” by Du Cange.

VI.C.15.186(f)

(b) Joseph Lason / 1738

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 193n1: Johannes Cosgrave .... seizitus de nuper abbatiâ de le Hoggs et de una shoppâ et camerâ in Mensions fields juxta Hoggen Green ... et de peciâ terrae vocatae Mensions mantle. Inquisitiones Lagenniae, 19th February, 15th James 1st (A.D. 1618), Folio. Record Publication. [Joseph Leeson in 1735 demises to Edward Knatchbull for lease of lives renewable for ever, part of his (Leeson’s) garden, 40 feet wide from east to west, and 231 feet in depth, which said premises are part of Minchin’s Mantle, near Stephen’s-green (Registry of Deeds). In a rental of sale of the estate of Christopher O’Connell Fitzsimon, owner and petitioner, to be sold in the Landed Estates Court, on 21st November, 1871, is named a perpetual annuity of £11, “issuing out of part of Menson’s fields, being part of Kildare-street and Kildare-place near Stephen’s-green, including part of the grounds of Leinster House and Shelburne-place.”]

VI.C.15.187(g) Joseph Leeson / 1738

(c) Mynechens.

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 193: [see quotation at (b)]
VI.C.15.187(a) Mynechens.

(d) Delhille / — Dane / — port

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 193: And, secondly we find that the old churches in the eastern suburbs of Dublin were almost invariably distinguished by local names, and those names Scandinavian. St. Andrews was called Thengmotha, from proximity to the Thingmote, St. Peters del Hulle, or “of the Hill” from its situation on the rising ground above Ship-street, St. Michaels del Pol from “the pool” or puddle adjoining, and St. Mary’s “del Dam” from the dam or mill-pond close to which it stood.

VI.C.15.187(b) Delhille / — Dane / — paid

39
1 roisold (<beim> being) / 2 hoighold ( / 3 witemad

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 195: Olaus Wormius tells us that the Scandinavians distinguished three ages by the mode in which the dead were treated. The first was the Roisold or age of Burning. The second was the Hoighold or age of tumuli, in which the body of the chieftain with his arms and ornaments was placed under a mount. And the third was the age of interment or Christian burial. Hence the name of Hogges so frequent in all the settlements of the pagan Northmen. Their descendants, the Anglo-Normans, in whose records we first find the name of St. Mary del Hogges, were not ignorant of its meaning.

VLC.15.187(c) 1 roisold (bun) / 2 hoighold (tinal) / 3 witemad

(f) p 196. note

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 196n1: Hogue; Collis, tumulus, locus editus. Vieux mot qui signifie une colline, un lieu clevé. Dictionnaire Universel, Francois et Latin, vulgairement appelé Dictionnaire de Trevoux, Paris, 1752. “Haugr; a How, a mound, a cairn over one dead: Names of such cairns,—Korna-Haugr, Melkorka-Haugr. Hauga-thing, an assembly in Norway.” Icelandic—English Dictionary by Gudbrand Vigfusson, M.A., 4to, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1874. 196n2: “Hogges” changed for the Saxon plural became Hoggen (as oxen, hosen, &c.), hence “Hogg Green.” Reconverted into modern English it became “Hog’s Green,” as in the following order of the year 1615: “Ordered that the Provost and Fellows of Trinity College, Dublin, shall have the precinct of a house called Bridewell, upon Hog’s Green, at ye rent of 2 shillings, to be converted by them to a Free School only.” Easter Assembly, 1615, City Records. The memory of the origin of Hoggen Green being lost it became “Hogan’s Green,” as in the following order of the year 1615: “Ordered that the Provost and Fellows of Trinity College, Dublin, shall have the precinct of a house called Bridewell, upon Hog’s Green, at ye rent of 2 shillings, to be converted by them to a Free School only.” Easter Assembly, 1615, City Records. The memory of the origin of Hoggen Green being lost it became “Hogan's Green”: Thus the City having demised (6 November, 1764) a lot of ground near Hogan’s Green, for three lives renewable for ever, to Garret Earl of Mornington, the said Garret (13 May, 1766) sold his interest to Peter Wilson, bookseller, (Registry of Deeds).

196n3: In A.D. 1605 a lease is ordered to be made to Jacob Newman of a lot near the end of Hoglane. Assembly Roll. In Brooking’s ...

VLC.15.187(d)

(g) Customs M>

VLC.15.187(e)

(h) W welcom W

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 202-3: It is generally known that until 1791, when the new Custom House was opened on the north side of the river, there was a custom house and quay at the south-east side [202] of Essex-bridge, where vessels trading to our port discharged their cargoes; and previously to 1620 vessels unloaded at Merchants’-quay and Wood-quay, the custom house or crane being then opposite to the end of Winetavern-street. 2 VLC.15.187(f) W. metwen St.

(i) pier

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 205: This Act recites in French Ford that many Irish enemies and English rebels coming by the ford at the pier of St. Mary’s Abbey, &c. (“la vade par le pier de Seint Mary Abbay”) enter Fingal by night and rob and destroy the liege people of the King, and for remedy enacts that a wall 20 perches long and 6 feet high and also a tower shall be built at Saint Mary’s Abbey to stop the ford there (“une toure ove une mure del XX. perches de longour et vi pees del hautesse soient faitz par le mure de Sēint Mary Abbay avantdit”), and that 140 marks shall be levied on lands in the vicinity to defray the expense of this and similar works. 2 VLC.15.187(g)

VI.D.2. / VI.C.3.186

(a) Aha / † her death >

VLC.15.187(h) I tha death

Note: The deleted item was crossed out by Mme Raphael.
The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin, 207n3: Dublin, for so this city was more called in those days, lay on the South side of the Liffey and seemingly at some distance from the river, and would seem was so called from ‘Dubh,’ black, and ‘lin,’ a port, because built down Patrick-street and Kevin’s-port, and the Poddle, which last probably got its name from its low, dirty situation, quasi Puddle. The north side was called Atha Cliath or the Ford of Hurdles, communicating with Dubhlin by that means, and from its contiguity to the water was more convenient for traffic. ‘General History of Ireland,’ by Silvester O’Halloran, 2 vols., 4to, London, 1778. ‘Introduction,’ p.120.

VI.C.15.187(j) Budu p.

[Entries sorely in need of conjectural handwriting reconstructions.]

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 207: O’Halloran is singular in the opinion that it was the north side of the river which was called “Ath Cliath,” and that it communicated with Dublin, which was on the south side, by a ford of hurdles, and Vallancey asserts that the name was “Bally Lean Cliath” from being built in or near a fishing harbour where certain weirs made of hurdles were used.

VI.C.15.188(a) Baile Lcan Chath

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 208: At the close of the last year, in making a large sewer through High-street, Castle-street, Winetavern and Fishamble-street, the ground was opened to the depth of 8 to 14 feet, and a section was thereby exposed of the elevated ridge and one side of the hill on which the old city stood.

VI.C.15.188(b) Fishshanble

Harris, in his “History and Antiquities of Dublin,” says, the site on which the city was founded was called “Drom Choll Coill” (the Brow of the Hazelwood), and a considerable quantity of hazel nuts having been found intermingled with the stratum of leaves and portions of trees already mentioned, I had ten specimens of trees which had been dug up in different parts of Castle-street excavation, submitted for the inspection of Professor Allman.

VI.C.15.188(c) Drom. Choll / coll. / hazehound

Another instance may be found in the alleged origin of the name Pill-lane, which is stated by De Burgho (in his “Hibernia Dominicana”) to be from some fancied connexion with the English Pale, instead of being from a way leading to the “Pill” or little harbour of St. Mary’s Abbey, where the Bradogue river entered the Liffey.

VI.C.15.188(e) Bradogue / R –

It is probable, however, that it was a passage formed by hurdles and stems of trees laid on piles of stone placed at intervals in the stream. Vestiges of such rude structures yet exist, and whether across rivers, swamps, or bogs, are denominated “tochars,” or causeways, in contra-distinction to the more regular structure which is termed “droichet” or bridge. But even in more regular structures, hurdles appear to have been used, as Irish writers distinguish as “droichet,” a bridge of timber or stone, and a “droichead cleithe,” or
The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 214n1: A.D. 1116 this year (the Four Masters say 1120), three principal bridges were built by Toirlheach Ua Conchobair (Turlough O'Connor), viz.---the bridge of Athluain (Athlone), and the bridge of Ath Crocha (near Shannon Harbour), and the bridge of Dunleodha (Dunlo). Chronicum Scotorum: A Chronicle of Irish Affairs from the earliest times to 1135, with a Supplement from 1141 to 1150. Edited with a Translation by William Maunsell Hennessy, M.R.I.A., 8vo., Dublin, 1866 (Master of the Roll's Series). A.D. 1125: The bridge of Athluain and the bridge of AthCroich were destroyed by the men of Meath. Annals of the Four Masters, by John O'Donovan, LL.D., 7 vols., 4to Dublin, 1851. A.D. 1129: The Castle of Athluain and the bridge were erected by Toirdhelb Ua Conchobhair in the summer of this year "in the summer of the drought." Ibid. A.D. 1133: The wicker bridge of Athluain and its Castle were destroyed by Murchadh Ua Maelseachlainn and Tighearnan Ua Ruairc. A.D. 1155: The bridge of Athluain was destroyed, and its fortress burned by Donnchadh, son of Domhnal Ua Maelseachlainm. Ibid. A.D. 1159: A wicker bridge (Cliath Droichet) was made at Athluain by Kuaidhir Ua Conchobhair for the purpose of making incursion into Meath. The forces of Meath and Teathba ... went to prevent the erection of the bridge, and a battle was fought between both parties at Athluain. Ibid. A.D. 1170: The Ua Maine plundered Ormond on this occasion, and destroyed the wooden bridge of Cille Dalua (Killaloe) Ibid. A.D. 1140: A wicker bridge was made by Turlough O'Connor across Athliag (Ballyliag, near Lanesboro').

VI.C.15.188(h)

(b) Coppyer >
VI.C.15.189(a) Coppyer.

(c) 21.J. >
VI.C.15.189(b) 2.D

(d) Dublin Br
The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 217: There is in the Tower another charter of King John confirming a grant to Hugo Hosee of land “at the stone gate near the bridge,” a document which through the kindness of Thomas Duffus Hardy, esq., Keeper of the Tower Records, I had also an opportunity to examine, leaving no doubt respecting the date, which is the 4th June, 1200; and further, if it were necessary to add to such instances, we might refer to the transcript of Urban the Third’s bull in Alan’s Register (in the Archiepiscopal Library, Dublin) to show that the bridge existed in 1177, or to the chartulary of St. Thomas’s Abbey, known as Coppinger’s Register (which is now in my possession), to show from a grant by Thomas La Martre that the bridge existed in 1177, and to other ecclesiastical documents which refer to this bridge at an earlier date.

VI.C.15.189(c) Dublin Br.

VI.D.2. / VI.C.3.189

(e) King John’s /2/ / bridge Deb >
Note: the unreadable item was crossed out by Mme Raphael
VI.C.15.191(f) King John’s 1215 / bridge Dub
The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 215-6: In our published histories it is almost invariably stated that the first bridge at Dublin was built by King John; and his charter of the 3rd July, 1215, is considered to afford proof of the fact. By that charter (which greatly increased the privileges conferred by Henry II., and also those given in 1192 by John, when Earl of Morton), the King grants to his citizens of Dublin that they “may make a bridge over the water of the Avenlithe wherever it may appear most expedient for them.” The inference deduced being, that as there was no similar grant in any preceding charter, there had not been previously any bridge at Dublin; and, as William of Worcester states, that in the same year King John built the first bridge at Bristol (having shortly before sent to France for Isenbert, the Architect, to complete the first stone bridge at London), his desire for bridge-building had led to the building of the bridge at Dublin, the Chief City of his lordship of Ireland, and the seat of his Bristol colony.

VI.C.15.191(g) *Bristol

Chartulary >
Not located in MS/FW.

Coppinger’s Registry
The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 217: There is in the Tower another charter of King John confirming a grant to Hugo Hosee of land “at the stone gate near the bridge,” a document which through the kindness of Thomas Duffus Hardy, esq., Keeper of the Tower Records, I had also an opportunity to examine, leaving no doubt respecting the date, which is the 4th June, 1200; and further, if it were necessary to add to such instances, we might refer to the transcript of Urban the Third’s bull in Alan’s Register (in the Archiepiscopal Library, Dublin) to show that the bridge existed in 1186, or to the chartulary of St. Thomas’s Abbey, known as Coppinger’s Register (which is now in my possession), to show from a grant by Thomas La Martre that the bridge existed in 1177, and to other ecclesiastical documents which refer to this bridge at an earlier date.

Dublin Bridge >
VI.C.15.192(a)

Mervyn Ardidut
The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 217n3: Thomas La Martre gave to the Abbey of St. Thomas (Thomas court, Dublin), a plot of ground at Dublin Bridge, situate between the ground which he had given to his wife, Margaret, and that which he had granted to the Hospital of Kilmainham. Witnessed by Godfrey of Winchester in the latter end of K. Hen. II. Coppinger’s Register of St. Thomas’s Abbey, p. 88. Haliday MSS., Roy. Irish Academy, Monasticon Hibernicum, by Mervyn Archdall, p.182, 4to, Dublin, 1786.

Commonalty
The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 218n2: “Know ye that we, the Mayor and Commonalty of Dublin, have given by this our charter to William Nottingham, our fellow citizen, a certain stone tower near the Ostmen’s bridge, and joined to the tower beyond the Ostmen’s gate, &c. Dated Sunday next after the Feast of St. Bartholomew, 12th Edward I. (A.D. 1285).” White Book of Dublin, p. 54.

Quarry of Ostmas’ Bridge
The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 218: As yet the assumption that any bridge was built at Dublin during King John’s reign rests solely on the fact that permission was then given to destroy one bridge and to build another, whilst we have records to prove that both before and considerably
after that period there was a bridge at Dublin called “the Bridge of the Ostmen.” In a grant to Ralph la Hore in 1236, the land is described “in capite pontis Ostmannorum.” The name is repeated in a grant to William de Nottingham so late as 1284, which describes a stone tower as being “juxta pontem Ostmannorum,” and as these records also refer to “the gate of the Ostmen,” to “the old quarry of the Ostmen” (“a veteri quadrivio Ostmannorum”), &c., there are grounds for supposing that the works so denominated had been executed by the Ostmen, and were not works thus called from proximity to the suburb of Ostmantown.

VI.C.15.192(c) & (e) Ostmast Bridge / quarry of

VI.D.2. / VI.C.3.190

(a) 190 / Dubbgall’s Bridge >

Note: The first item is Mme Raphael’s page numbering
VI.C.15.192(f)

(b) Situe Rex x 1014

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 218-9: However, having proved from Anglo-Norman documents that there was a bridge at Dublin prior to the year 1200, I will now trace it through native records, and establish for it a much higher antiquity. And here I may observe that whatever may have been the name [218] of this bridge after the Danes were expelled from Dublin, unquestionably it was previously called “Droichet Dubghall,” Dubghairs Dubghall being the name of a man, probably that given by the Irish to the Danish founder of the bridge, as Dubghall (literally the black foreigner) was a name which they frequently gave to their Danish invaders. They so called one of the Danish Chieftains killed at the battle of Ciontarf, [1] who is mentioned in the Annals as “Dubghall son of Amahlaeibh,,” the brother of Sitric, Danish King of Dublin in 1014. We find that the bridge is thus called in the “Four Masters,” where it is stated that “A.D. 1112, a predatory excursion was made by Domhnall, grandson Lochlan across Fine-Gall, that is to say, as far as Droicht Dubghall.”

VI.C.15.192(g) Sitric Rex 1014

(c) Draway = bridges >

VI.C.15.192(h) Drawing = bridges

(d) nailer bark / deeper water / Are to seek

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 220: Beyond this period, that is, 150 years prior to the Anglo-Norman invasion we cannot produce distinct evidence of “a droichet” or bridge at Dublin, although it is highly probable that there was, previously, a regular structure of that kind across the Liffey. We know that these Northmen, who had only established their sovereignty on the sea-coasts of Ireland, had subjugated all England, and held frequent intercourse with it. Godfred II., who was King of Dublin in 922, was also King of Northumberland; and the “Saxon Chronicle” states that Anlaf (the Danish King of Dublin), after his defeat at Brunanburg, by Athelstan in 937, tied with his Northmen in “their nailed barks over the deep waters, Dublin to seek.”

VI.C.15.192(i) nailer bark / deeper water / Due to seek

(e) 1014 >

VI.C.15.192(j)

(f) S. Tochar >

VI.C.15.192(k) S’s Tochar

(g) to [1/2] of river / take breath

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 220-1: Yet if we cannot find the term “bridge” applied to any [220] structure at Dublin prior to the year 1014, we have no difficulty in finding evidence that a roadway had been formed across the river before that period. Again referring to the “Annals of the Four Masters” we find that in the year 1000, “the Tochar,” or Causeway of Athluain (Athlone)
was made by Maelseachlainn, son of Domhnall, King of Ireland, and Cathal Ua Conchobhair, King of Connacht, and that they made the Tochar or Causeway of Athliag (Ballyliag near Lanesboro’) in the same year, each carrying his portion to the middle of the Shannon. This is referred to as illustrating the statement of the “Chronicon Scotorum” that in the year 999 King Malachy made a tochar at Ath Cliath (Dublin), until it reached “one half of the river,” apparently the custom being that when a tidal or non-tidal river divided the territories of Irish kings, each claimed one-half of it and only built to the middle of the stream, and to this (irrespective of the division of land made by Mogh Naudhat and Conn) we may attribute that the earliest charters of Dublin only granted to the citizens the southern half of the Liffey being that within the kingdom of Leinster (Strongbow’s portion with M’Morrough’s daughter), the other half of the river being in the territory of Meath.

VI.C.15.193(a) to 1/2 of river / ²take breath²

(i) S. Manfred † >
   VI.C.15.193(c) S. Mans †

(j) arches under 948 >
   VI.C.15.193(d) arche until 948

(k) Cer Chr

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 221-3: It is not necessary to the present inquiry to ascertain the precise position of this tocher (A.D. 1001.) Whether it had been made at the ford opposite St. [221] Mary’s Abbey, and was the origin of the well known tradition of an ancient communication between the Abbey and Christ Church. (St. Mary’s, on the north bank of the Liffey, alleged to have been built in 948, and the arches under Christ Church built on the south bank at as early a date) or whether this tocher led to the old “bothir,” or road, now anglicised into Stonybatter, or had occupied the site of that which long continued to be called the “old bridge”—although [222] the old bridge had been destroyed in 1314, its substitute swept away in 1385, and at least twice subsequently rebuilt—it is sufficient to have traced so far the existence of Dublin; an artificial passage across the Liffey at Dublin; but between this link and the next, by which we should form our chain of corroborative evidence, there is a long interval.

VI.C.15.193(e) Chr.

VI.D.2. / VI.C.3.191

(a) purposeth / = means >
   VI.C.15.193(f) “purposeth / = means

(b) Battershore / — sea >
   VI.C.15.193(g) “Battershore” / — Sea

(c) Boberboy > / = na glogh >
   VI.C.15.193(h) Boherboy / — na Glogh

(d) Usher’s Island >
   VI.C.15.193(i)

(e) O.P. School boys >
   VI.C.15.193(j) O.P. School

(f) (Oximan’s / bridge, Old / bridge (toll - 1 cf. / Six holywater / pile old bridge

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 222n1: “As for the word Bater, that in English purposeth a lane bearing to an highway. I take it for a meere Irish word that crept unawares into the English through the daily intercourse of the English and Irish inhabitants.” (Stanyhurst, quoted in same.) “The word occurs in early Anglo-Irish documents, in the form of bothir or bothyr, which was
easily converted into *botter* or *batter*. It forms part of the following names:—Batterstown, the name of four townlands in Meath, which were always called in Irish, Haile-an-bhothair, *i.e.*, the town of the road ... Near Drogheda, there is a townland called Green Batter, and another Yellow Batter, which are called in Irish, *Boherglas* and *Boherboy*, having the same meanings as the present names, viz., *green road* and *yellow road*. We have also some examples, one of which is the well known name of Stonybatter. Long before the city had extended so far, and while Stonybatter was nothing more than a country road it was as it still continues to be the great thoroughfare to Dublin from the districts lying west and north-west of the city, and it was known by the name of *Bothar-na-gcloch* [Boheranaglogh], *i.e.*, the road of the stones, which was changed to the modern equivalent, Stoney-batter, or Stony-road.” The origin and history of Irish Names of Places, by P. W. Joyce, L.L.D., M.B.I.A., pp. 43-45. 12mo. Dublin, M’Glashan & Gill, 1871.]

222n2f: “In the year 1428, the Friars Preachers of this convent of St. Saviour’s had a school in an old suburb of Dublin, now called Usher’s Island, with a large recourse of scholars of philosophy and theology. As the professors and students from Ostmantown could not conveniently come and go because of the river Lifley, a bridge of four arches, still standing, built at the cost of the Friars’ Preachers, being the first of the six bridges of Dublin, called everywhere to this day, the Old Bridge. To repay the cost, a lay Domini-[222]can, by leave of the City Council, took a toll, and I myself, when a boy, have seen the holy water vessel (as tradition had it) for sprinkling the passengers.”—*Hibernia Dominicana*, by Thomas De Burgo. 4to, 1762, p.189.

VI.C.15.194(a) Oxman’s bridge / *briga* bridge, old / bridge (toll) - 1 of / Six, holwater / pile, old bridge

(g) tochar

*The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin* 224: We have records of bridges over small rivers in Ireland, in 924, and are told that a king of Ulster was celebrated for bridge-building in 739; but we cannot refer to any incident connected with the existence of a bridge or tochar at Dublin, between the commencement of the fifth century and the close of the tenth.

VI.C.15.193(b)

(h) 5 royal / road to Tore >

VI.C.15.194(c) 5 royal / road to Tower

**VI.D.2. / VI.C.3.192**

(a) Sligh Cu...lam / Dolkers O Powerwot / Bu - Cualam / Bray / Ath Auk / Cualam

*The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin* 225: In our oldest manuscripts it is stated that, in the first century, Ireland was intersected by five great roads, leading from different provinces, or petty Kingdoms, to the seat of supreme royalty at Tara. Of these “slighe,” or roads, the “Slighe Cualaun” was one traced with the greatest apparent certainty by the Ordnance Survey. It struck off from the Fan-na-g-carbad, or “Slope of the chariots,” and led via Ratoath and Dublin into Cualaun; a district extending from Dalkey, southwards and westwards, and part of which, including Powerscourt, is designated in Anglo-Norman records, as Fercullen, or “the territory of the men of Cualaun.” This road, consequently, must have crossed the Liffey, and that it did so near Dublin is confirmed by the fact, that the passage across the river there is frequently Slighe Cualaun termed “Ath Cliath Cualaun.”

VI.C.15.194(d)-195(a) Sligh Cualaun / Dolkey O’Powerscot / Bu - Cualan / Bray / $\Delta$/th. cleak / Ceralam

(b) Bealach Dubhlinn >

VI.C.15.195(b) Bealach Dubhliner

(c) “Dublin part of $\Delta$ / pass of — — >

Not located in MS/FW.

VI.C.15.195(c) Dubl. part of $\Delta$ / pass of

46
Whitworth Rd

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 225n3f: The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 225n3: Mr. Joyce in continuation of his remarks on the name of Stonybatter (supra, p.222, and note ibid.), says “One of the five great roads leading from Tara which were constructed in the second century, viz., that called Slighe-Cualaun passed through Dublin by Ratoath and on towards Bray, under the name of Bealach Duibhlinne. Duibhlinn was originally the name of that part of the Liffey on which the city now stands (the road or pass of the [river] Duibhlinn), it is mentioned in the following quotation from “the Book of Rights”—[225] “It is prohibited to him (the King of Erin), to go with a host, on Monday over the Bealach Dubh-linne.” “There can be, I think, no doubt (continues Mr. Joyce), that the present Stonybatter formed a portion of this ancient road, a statement that is borne out by two independent circumstances. First, Stonybatter lies straight on the line and would, if continued, meet the Liffey exactly at Whitworth bridge. Secondly, the name of Stonybatter, or Bothar-na-gcloch, affords even a stronger confirmation.

VI.C.15.195(d)

Hurdles

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 226n1f: “Ath Cliath Meadrighe, now Clarensbridge in the county of Galway. “When the Seven Maines carried off the cattle of [226] Dartaidha, &c., they were overtaken by Eochaid Beag, &c., whereupon the Maines placed a barricade of hurdles of whitethorn and black in the ford until relief should come to them from Aitill and Meane.” Information of Eugene O’Cuny.

VI.C.15.195(e) White & Black
Not located in MS/FW.

3 pronged Judea

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 226-7: “Thus [226] disclosing a remarkable coincidence in the mode of defensive warfare practised by the ancient inhabitants of Ireland and of Britain, Caesar informing us that the Britons, in a similar manner, had endeavoured to prevent his Army from crossing the Thames, by driving stakes in the river and on its banks and thereby obstructing the ford.1

VI.C.15.195(f) 3. pronged Judea

Sir Bernard / de romme

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 228: II. OBSERVATIONS EXPLANATORY OF SIR BERNARD DE GOMME’S MAP, MADE A.D. 1673.

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 230n1: [Sir Bernard de Gomme, was Engineer General to Prince Rupert at the Prince’s siege and capture of Bristol in 1643, and wrote a journal of the siege intended to form a chapter in an account of Prince Rupert’s life and actions. Memoirs of Prince Rupert and the Cavaliers, by Elliot Warburton, vol.ii., pp.236-267, 3 vols., 8vo. London, 1849.]

VI.C.15.195(g) Sir Bernard / de Gomme

Vi.D.2. / Vi.C.3.193

citadel / Ravelines / curtain / Costion >

VI.C.15.195(h)-196(a) citadel / ravelines // curtain / bostron

Shemon Sqr.

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 230-1: The citadel at Dublin was designed to be a pentagon, occupying a space of 1,946 yards, with ramparts, ravelins, curtain, and bastions, the walls being intended of brick, faced with stone, and built on a frame of timber, and piles. It was to contain barracks for 700 men and officers, with a governor's house, and store houses for munitions of war, a chapel, a prison, a clock-tower, and gateway and draw-bridges similar to those at Tilbury fort and Portsmouth, the estimated cost being, £131,227 5s. 9d.; the estimate for constructing a fort at Rincurran, to defend Kinsale, being £10,350.
The site chosen for the Dublin citadel was near the space now occupied by Merrion-square, and it would be difficult to understand the grounds assigned for this choice, viz., its being capable of being relieved by sea without realizing to [230] the mind the fact, that at that day the sea flowed almost to the foot of Merrion-square.¹

VI.C.15.196(b) Merrion Square

(c) **Artichoke Rd**

*The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin* 231n1: [“26th January, 1792: A part of the Southwall suddenly gave way and a dreadful torrent broke into the lower grounds inundating every quarter on the same level as far as Artichoke-road. The communication to Ringsend and Irishtown is entirely cut off and the inhabitants are obliged to go to and fro in boats.”]

VI.C.15.196(c) ²Artichoke Rd.

(d) **Sea air very / preprotnal >**

VI.C.15.196(d) Sea air very / pragmatical

(e) **Marmi >**

VI.C.15.196(e) Marme

*Note: Not found as such in the source quotation (conjectural handwriting reconstruction: “Moore”).*

(f) **Pigeon House**

*The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin* 231: That such however were the grounds for the selection, appears in the letters of the Earl of Essex, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, the report of Mr. Jonas Moore, in the year 1675, stating, “that if his Majesty should think tit to proceed in the design of building a fort royal on the strand, near Ringsend, as was designed by Sir Bernard de Gomme, it is doubtless the only proper piece of ground where a fort can be built so as to be relieved by sea, although for arms the sea air will be very prejudicial”² an objection, however, which did not prevent a fort being subsequently erected at the Pigeon House, nearly a mile seaward of the site selected by the royal engineer.³

VI.C.15.196(f)

(g) **hotel / blockhaus >**

VI.C.15.196(g) hotel / blackhouse

(h) **fr. wreck >**

VI.C.15.196(h) for week

(i) **rockers / wreckers >**

VI.C.15.196(i) rockers / – wreckers

(j) **Mullar Ry / and Pigeon >**

VI.C.15.196(j) ⁹Mullarthy / of Pigeon

(k) **Chr. Tunstall’s**

*The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin* 231n3: [The Pigeon House, first as an hotel, and then as a fort or magazine was preceded, by a block house for storing wreck. The Dublin newspapers of 1760 mention that a vessel being wrecked, a number of ‘rockers’ who always came down for plunder, were by this means disappointed. It got perhaps the name of Pigeonhouse from John Pigeon employed there. “8th June, 1786, ordered that John Mullarky and John Pigeon do attend on Saturday next.” Journal of Ballast Office. “25th August, 1787: Your committee have provided a ground plan of the block-house which accompanies this report,“ and thereby allot one portion to Mr. Francis Tunstall, the inspector of the works of the Ballast Board, and other part of, O’Brien and his wife during pleasure as housekeeper” without salary but with liberty to retail spirits, they undertaking to keep the Corporation rooms clean and in good order and provide breakfast when directed for any members of the Board.”]

VI.C.15.197(a) Mr. Turnstall’s

48
In considering the grounds for selecting this site, it must be borne in mind that any landing by an enemy on the north bank of the River, was nearly impossible by reason of the shoals of slob or sand extending to a great distance, and preventing access to the shore; but had an enemy been ever able to disembark, they would have the river between them and the object of their attack, as the city then lay altogether on the south side of the river, except the district called Ostmantown (the ancient settlement of the Danes or Ostmen), adjoining St. Michan’s Church and Smithfield, the latter being long familiarly known under the corrupted name of Oxmantown-green.

Upon the South side of the river, Ringsend was the chief landing place at the period of Sir Bernard de Gomme’s design. The river not being yet quayed and deepened, as it has since been, flowed at low water in streams, winding in devious courses through a labyrinth of sands, as may be seen on Sir Bernard’s map.

Note: The deleted item was crossed out by Mme Raphael.
(d) Scuffling

*The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin* 232n1f: Boate writes A.D. 1645, “Of dangerous brooks there are two [232] hard by Dublin, both running into the haven ... the one at the north side a little below Drumconran [the Tolka] ... the other at the south side close by the Ringsend. This called Rafernarn water from the village by which it passeth [the Dodder.] ... is far the worst of the two, as rising out of those great mountains southwards from Dublin, from whence after any great rain ... it groweth so deep and violent that many persons have lost their lives therein; amongst others Mr. John Usher, father to Sir William Usher that now is, who was carried away by the current, nobody being able to succour him although many persons and of his nearest friends, both a foot and horseback, were by on both the sides. Since that time a stone bridge hath been built over that brook upon the way betwixt Dublin and Ringsend.” Ireland’s Naturall History, written [A.D. 1645], by Gerard Boate, late Doctor of Physick to the State in Ireland, and now published by Samuel Hartlib, Esq., and more especially for the benefit of the Adventurers and Planters therein, London, 1652; chapt. vii., sec.7. “Of the Brooks of Drumconran and Rafernarn by Dublin.” Reprinted in a collection of Tracts illustrative of Ireland, by Alexander Thorn, 2 vols., 8vo. Dublin, 1850. Mr. Usher was drowned in the beginning of the year 1629. For letters of administrations “of the goods of Mr. John Usher, Alderman of Dublin,” were granted forth of the Prerogative Court, Dublin, 16th of March, 1629, to “Sir William Usher, son of the deceased.” Grant Book, Public Record Office, Four Courts, Dublin. It must be remembered that the only way to Ringsend on those days when the tide was in was to cross the ford of the Dodder where Ball’s Bridge now stands (for the sea then flowed to the foot of Holles-street). And at this ford, without doubt, Alderman Usher was drowned. The Dodder, it may be observed here, divides the lands of Baggotrath on the Dublin side, from Simmonscourt on the other. The stone bridge mentioned by Boate occupied the site of Ball’s Bridge, and must have been built between 1629 and 1637. It was suggested in 1623. “Easter 1623. To the petition of Richard Morgan praying an allowance for erecting of a bridge going to Ringsend, Ordered that as private men have a lease upon the land it therefore convenienceth themselves to build the said bridge.” Assembly Rolls. “Midsummer 1 640. Certain of the Commons petitioned, that in the year of Mr. Watson's mayoralty [A.D. 1637], there were some charges expended in the repairing of the bridge of Symons-court alias Smoothescourt, since which time the same has fallen to much decay, ordered that ten pounds be expended.” C. Haliday’s abstracts of City Assembly Rolls. Haliday [233] MSS., Royal Irish Academy.) Even at low water there was no passing on foot between Ringsend and Dublin. Dunton writes as follows in 1698: “The first ramble I took this morning was to take my farewell of Ringsend ... T’is about a mile irom Dublin. ... After an hour’s stay in this dear place (as all seaport towns generally are.) I took my leave of Trench, Welstead, and three or more friends and now looked towards Dublin; but how to come at it we no more knew how than the fox at the grapes; for, though we saw a large strand yet t’was not to be walked over because of a pretty rapid stream which must be crossed. We inquired for a coach and found that no such thing was to be had there but were informed we could have a Ringsend carr, which upon my desire was called and we got upon it, not into it. It is a perfect carr with two wheels and towards the back of it a seat is raised crossways long enought to hold three people ... The fare to Lazy Hill is four pence .... we were told that there were a hundred and more plying. ... “Some account of my conversations in Ireland,” p. 419. The Dublin Scuffle, by John Dunton, 12mo. London, 1699.

VI.C.15.198(f) scuffley face / Kiss

(e) for a Kiss >

VI.C.15.198(f) scuffley face / Kiss

(f) Old Shore

*The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin* 233-4; 238-9: Above Ringsend the navigation became still more intricate and difficult. The long line of South Wall, nearly three miles and a quarter in length, from Ringsend to Poolbeg, [233] carried over the South Bull, through the water towards the bar, and terminated by the Poolbeg lighthouse, marking the entrance of the river, was not then thought of; the sea [234] not banked out from the south Rogerson’s-quay, spread itself over ground now laid out in [238] streets, so that Ringsend true to its name Rin or Reen meaning a spit or point presents itself in Sir Bernard de Gomme’s map as a long and narrow tongue or spit of land running
out into the sea, the water on its western side spreading over all the low ground between Irishtown and the slightly rising ground on which stand the barracks at Beggar’s Bush, and under Sir Patrick Dunne’s hospital, along the line of Denzille-street and Great Brunswick-street, to Townsend-street, called Lazey, otherwise Lazar’s Hill, and flowing even to that front of the Parliament House called the Lord’s entrance, facing College-street, as may be seen on the ground plan of Chichester House (the site of which the Parliament House occupies), where ground under this face is described as “the Old Shore.”

VI.C.15.198(g) Old shore

(g) Coll. Green

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin [facing] 238: [facing p.238 is a survey plan of College Green, also featuring, at the right, the name of ‘The Old Shore’, cf. (f) — see illustration]

VI.C.15.198(h) Coll. Green

Text continues after illustration.
(h) Cartville B >
VI.C.15.199(a) Carlisle B.
The following particulars concerning the forming of a new channel for the river Liffey, from near the site of the present Carlisle bridge to the Poolbeg Light House, a distance of nearly four miles, are derived from Mr. Haliday’s collections. 16th January, 1707-8: Three Aldermen and Six of the Commons appointed by the Corporation to be a Quorum [Committee of Directors of the Ballast Office] to give directions to Ballast Master. (Ballast Office Journal). 26th January, 1707-8: That two iron Tormentors be made, and that the first fair day it be tried what depth of sand or gravel there is in places (to be pointed out) in the Channel. (Ib.) 29th January, 1707-8: Committee went to Cock [Cockle] lake and found that the water which was there when the tide is out may be prevented that course. The manner how not decided. River tried from Mr. Vanhomrigh’s house to Ringsend point; found 5 feet depth of sand and gravel. Thence to Clontarf bar, 4 feet deep; No rocks (Ib.) 13th February, 1707-8: Mr. Morland, City Surveyor, to draw a map of the channel of the river from Essex bridge to the bar; [234] […]

VI.D.2. / VI.C.3.196

(a) in writing >
   VI.C.15.199(i)

(b) M’ Mercer’s >
   VI.C.15.199(j) M’ Mercer’s

(c) piling >
   VI.C.15.199(k)

(d) contribute and >
   VI.C.15.199(l) contribute &

(e) stake out means >
   VI.C.15.199(m) shake out mean

(f) faggot >
   VI.C.15.199(n)

(g) fishets >
VI.C.15.199(o)

(h) Kisho of stone >
VLC.15.200(a) Kishing of stone

(i) Rogerson >
VLC.15.200(b) Rogerson

(j) oak timber

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 234n2f [235 misnumbered 233]: Mr. Morney, and two or three others best experienced in the channel from Vanhomrigh’s house to the bar, to give their opinions in writing. (Ib.) 20th February, 1707-8: Mr. Holt brought the opinions (as ordered), that the Channel should run from Mr. Mercer’s (formerly Vanhomrigh’s) house directly with Green Patch, a little without Ringsend point. (Ib.) 21st July, 1710: Report of Committee of Ballast Office: Had conferred with persons interested in the ground on the north side of the Channel relative to piling there, who would not contribute to the expense. Directions for dredging the channel and to make a bank on the north side. (City Assembly Rolls). 20th October, 1710: The Committee appointed to stake out the mears and bounds [of the Channel] between Ringsend and Lazy Hill have not done so: The old channel will soon be filled up. The mears and bounds to be staked out, (City Assembly Rolls). 13th April, 1711: Instructions given for bringing great quantities of stone and faggots which will make good that part of the banks not already secured on both sides of the channel, and fill up the mouth of the old, and will keep the freshets within the bounds of the new channel, and will make the new channel deeper (Ib.) 2nd May, 1712: It is necessary to enclose the channel to carry it directly to Salmon Pool. Had consulted many who are of opinion that the best way will be by laying kishes filled with stones and backing them with sand and gravel, which is found by the experience of some years past to withstand all the force of the floods that come down the river (Ib.) 22nd July, 1715: Are laying down kishes to secure the north side of the channel and when a sufficient number of kishes are made will go on with the piling below Ringsend as formerly proposed: are now raising stones at Clontarf (Ib.) 14th October, 1715: Are laying down a quantity of kishes on the north side which has made good the bank as far as opposite Mabbot’s mill. The remainder will be completed next summer, (Ibid). 4th Friday after Christmas, 1715: It is the opinion of merchants that the south side of the channel below Ringsend should be filled in, which will raise the south bank so high as to be a great shelter to shipping in the harbour, (Ibid). Same day: Petition that the strand between that taken in by Mercer and that granted to Sir John Rogerson be taken in, being now overflowed: that a wall be built to the east: sand and rubbish would fix it: length of wall 606 feet: Sir J. Rogerson would then be encouraged to take in his strand: Ordered that the work do proceed, and that the Ballast Office do back said wall (Ibid). 20th January, 1715-16: Have not been able to go on with the piling below Ringsend for want of oak timber: propose to carry the kishes up to Morney’s dock (Ib.)

Note: The next thirteen notes were not transcribed in C.15.

(k) furze >

(l) wattling >

(m) pans flocks / out from / Blackweh >

(n) Venus >>

VI.D.2. / VI.C.3.197

(a) Mr. Recider >

(b) gut

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 234n2f: [236] […] 17 January, 1717-18: Have laid 348
kishes on north side since last report (Ib.) 25th April, 1718: Have filled up the breaches made in the South Bull by last winter’s storms with furze and stones, (Ib.). 13th July, 1718: Are proceeding with the wall on the South Bull. […] 20th July, 1720: The sea scarcely leaves the East End of the piles which makes the work slow: Are wattling between the piles which they hope will in time raise a bank (Ib.), 21st April, 1721: Instead of piling by the Engine which is found impracticable so far at sea, have used frames made of piles about twenty-two feet in length and ten feet in breadth twenty-four piles in each frame. These are floated out from Blackrock accompanied by two gabbards filled with stones quarried there, and the frames are then filled with stones and sunk, (Ib.) […] 17th January, 1728-9: One frame of piles for piling the channel of [236] the Liffey went adrift. Some of the piles which composed it are in possession of Lord Howth, and some of Mr. Vernon who refuse to deliver them: Mr. Recorder to advise, (Ib.) [They were after- wards given up], 10th April, 1729: Could not proceed with the work at Blackrock by reason of the stormy weather, nor with the new frames at Cock [Cockle] Lake, (Ib.), 8th July, 1729: The work having been left incomplete a deep gut has been formed between this summer and last winter at the east end of the frames which has carried a spit a great way into the Channel and is dangerous for shipping; and will be worse if the carrying on of the frames be longer delayed: Suggest an Act of Parliament giving power to borrow, (Ib.), […]

(c) floating light >
(d) in forward dress >
(e) p 238 / gibbet >
(f) pendit corded

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 234n2f: [237] […] The double dry stone wall filled between with gravel (which now forms the road from Ringsend to the Pigeonhouse fort) was completed in 1735, (Tidal Harbour Commissioners second report. Captain Washington’s report and evidence to the report annexed, [237] Parliamentary Papers, vol., xviii., Part I.) In October, 1735, a Floating Light was placed at the east end of the Piles. In June, 1761, (the long wall of cut stone from the present Pigeonhouse was begun by erecting the present Poolbeg Lighthouse (Ibid.) This wall was completed in 1790. […] “28th August, 1788: So great is the progress already made in the Mole or Jettie in our harbour, commonly called the South Wall or Ballast Office Wall that besides the mile and a quarter from Ringsend to the Block house, there are upwards of 3,000 feet in length of it completed from the new work from the Lighthouse westwards” (Dublin Chronicle), “10th January, 1789: The work is in such forwardness that it will be completed in about eighteen months.” (Ibid.,) […] “25th February, 1744: On Wednesday last were tried in the King’s Bench (amongst others), Peter Fagan and James Flanagan and were (as sentenced), whipped on Thursday from Irishtown to Merrion for digging up piles at the Strand, Dublin News Letter,” “17th May, 1766: The two murderers who were hung in gibbetts at a little distance from the new wall were put up in so scandalous a manner that they fell down on Tuesday, and now lie on the piles, a most shocking spectacle.” Pue’s Occurrences, vol., lxiii., No.6488, W.M.G."

(g) Lord Chf. Justice >

VI.C.15.200(b) #Lord Chief Justice

(h) Mary Str.

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 238n1: [23rd August, 1741: Died at his house in Mary-street of a fever the Right Hon. John Rogerson, Esq., Chief Justice of the King's Bench. He came to the Bar in 1702. Was made Recorder of Dublin, 3rd November, 1714. Same year became Solicitor-General; and Attorney-General May, 1720, and Lord Chief Justice May, 1727. (Dublin News Letter, Richard Reilly’s No. 485, 23rd March, 1744.) To be sold that part of the South Strand in the city of Dublin which lies eastward of the arch on the High road from Dublin to Ringsend, containing 133 acres plantation measure the estate of the late Right Hon. Chief Justice Robinson whereof 2A. 2B. are bounded by Rogerson’s-quay, and laid out for building. Dublin Journal, No.1883, W.M.G.]
May it please your honours, in obedience to your honours’ order to us directed dated 28th of May last, whereby we were required jointy to survey all and singular the outgrounds and gardens belonging to a certain house demised to Sir William Robinson, Knt., by His late Majesty King Charles the Second excepting such parts of the premises thereby demised as hath been purchased by His Majesty in pursuance of the before recited Act. And having given due notice in writing to Mr. John Williams, Agent to your honours and to the other parties concerned in interest to attend said survey, and having heard what was offered by said John Williams in behalf of His Majesty and what was offered by Mr. Hutchinson on behalf of himself and of Richard Gering, Esq., did proceed to survey the same and having then and at sundry times informed ourselves by divers witnesses, persons capable to give us true information of the mears and bounds thereof. We have made a true survey; a Map whereof we have hereunto annexed, and do find that of all and singular the premises in the said Letters Patent contained and demised as aforesaid nothing now remains to be purchased by His Majesty in pursuance of the said Act, except the following parcels, viz., No.1, No. 2, and No.3, whose boundaries and dimentions are described in the said Map and Table of Reference thereto belonging. All which is most humbly submitted to your honours, this Eleventh day of September, 1734, by

Your Honours Most dutyfull and
Most Obedient Servants.
THOMAS CAVE.
GABRIEL STOKES.
From the Original, Public Record Office, Four Courts.
VI.D.2. / VI.C.3.198

(a) James Gardon
   VI.C.15.200(k) James Gordon

(b) comittee col / > James order / because E door / of B of I on shore >
   VI.C.15.201(a) Cornish col / > Tom’s order / because E does / of B of I an shore

(c) (in let) Pill from Δ / to B of I
   The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 239n2f: […] [In 1784, when making the present portico in Westmoreland-street for a separate entrance to the House of Peers it was found that the buildings on this east side of the Parliament House stood on ground with declivities so sudden and so great as to make it difficult to bring the line of cornices, windows and rustic basement of the new portico into harmony with the lines of the original building; for here on the east the foundation was the ‘Old Shore’ line marked on the plan of Chichester House. It was only overcome by James Gandon the architect employing Corinthian Columns which are taller than the Ionic Order used in the main building, and even then the portico was ascended by steps. Life of James Gandon, architect by his son. Edited by Mulvany, pp. 83-85. Hodges and Smith, Dublin, 8vo., 1846. In Speed’s map of 1610, there is a pill or narrow inlet from the Liffey running up to this eastern front. The regular course of the shore line seems to have been Fleet-street by the same map.] [240]
   VI.C.15.201(b) Pill from Δ to B of I (inlet)

(d) Timothy Avons
   VI.C.15.201(c) Timothy Avory

(e) firsete / Lanbay catch
   The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 240-1: Among the Treasury warrants issued by the Commissioners of England for the affairs of Ireland, is an order dated the 24th March, 1657: “That James Standish, Receiver-General, do issue forth and pay unto Mr. Timothy Avery the sum of £100, on account, the same being to be by him issued out towards the finishing and speedy fitting to sea the new frigigatt, called the Lambay Catch, now rebuilt and lately launched, att Lazey Hill, Dublin, according to such orders as he shall receive in writing under the hand of Captain Edward Tomlins, and Joseph Glover, who is to command the said shipp, for payment whereof this is a [240] warrant,” &c.¹
   VI.C.15.201(d) figsete / Lanbay catch

(f) privatee
   The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 241n1: Book of Treasury Warrants, A.D. 1656-1657. Record Tower, Dublin Castle. [As late as 1744 there was another launch. “Last Thursday, ‘the Boyne’ privateer was launched at George’s-quay, at which vast numbers of spectators were present who wished her a good voyage and to take her enemies,” 29th September, 1744. The Dublin Journal, W. M. G.]
   VI.C.15.201(e) ²privateer

(g) be it remembered
   VI.C.15.201(f)

(h) Newcomer
   VI.C.15.201(g)

(i) showed their love
   The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 241n2: Be it remembered that on Saturday the 12th of March, 1614, the Honorable Sir Arthur Chichester, Lord Chichester of Belfast, Deputy General of Ireland, after holding the sceptre of that Kingdom for nine years, five weeks and upwards, embarked in the King’s Sloop called ‘the Moon,’ Beverley Newcomen, son and heir of Sir Robert Newcomen, Commander, on his voyage to England, being escorted from his house called
Chichester House to the place called ‘the Hinge’s Ende’ where the Sloop’s boat awaited him, by
the Lords Justices, Privy Council and others, Officers of the Army, Pensioners, and Members of
Parliament, and the Mayor and Sheriffs, and the greater part of the Citizens of Dublin, all anxious
to show their love, &c., &c. Exchequer Roll, 11th James I., (translation). Lord Berkely landed
here, 1679, De Ginkle sailed hence, 1691. (Story’s War of Ireland, p. 285). Earl Wharton landed
here, 1709. [The great guns were sent down to Ringsend to wait the arrival of the Duke of
Devonshire our Lord Lieutenant, who is hourly expected here, Dublin News Letter, 29th
September, 1741. W. M. G.]

(j) Vavassour

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 242n1: The ground for Bath-avenue blew one [ship] to sea,
where was only recovered from the sea about 1792. [“31st May, 1792: The marsh between
Beggar’s-bush and Ringsend, through which runs the Dodder on its way to Ringsend-bridge, is,
we take, by Mr. [Counsellor] Vavasour from Lord Fitzwilliam, for 150 years, at 190 per
annum. This tract, which is inundated every tide, Mr. Vavasour will (it is said) reclaim by a
complete double embankment of the Dodder. The river is to be turned to its own channel, which is
the centre of the piece of ground south of Ringsend-bridge ...” Dublin Chronicle. W. M. G.]

VI.C.15.201(i) Vavasour

(k) 50T — 100T >>

VI.C.15.202(a) 50 T - 100 T

VI.D.2. / VI.C.3.199

(a) bride

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 243: The plans of Yarranton and De Gomme directed
attention to the improvement of the port of Dublin, the trade of which was then carried on by
vessels of from fifty to one hundred tons burden.

VI.C.15.202(b) burden

(b) Chaste SK sob / SA and strand = Ebl’s

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 243-4: As there was no corporate or other body in Dublin
History of the Ballast Board [243] entrusted with the conservancy of the river, and especially
empowered to raise ballast, Henry Howard petitioned the Lord Lieutenant in 1676 that a patent
might be granted to him, pursuant to the king’s letter, which he had obtained, for establishing a
ballast office.1 This, however, was opposed by the Lord Mayor and citizens, on the ground that the
charter of King John gave to them the strand of the river,2 where ballast should be raised,2 and
they, therefore, prayed that permission to establish a ballast office might be granted to them, they
applying the profits thereof to the maintenance of the intended “King’s Hospital” (since better
known as the Blue Coat School).

VI.C.15.202(d) Charte K. Job / SA & strand = 3 bl’s

(c) in fee / farm

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 244n2: A.D. 1200. King John confirms former charters, and
grants to the citizens the fishery of one half of the Liffey, with liberty to build on the banks at their
will. Dated at Upton, 6th of November, in the 2nd year of his reign. Historic and Municipal
Documents from the Archives of the City of Dublin, &c., 1172-1320. Edited by J. T. Gilbert,
F.S.A., 8vo, Dublin, 1870. A.D. 1215. Confirms to them the city in fee farm with that part of the
Liffey which belongs to them together with one part of the said river, except such fishings as we
have granted in free alms [to St. Mary’s Abbey, &c.], and such others as are held by ancient
tenure. Dated at Marlbrege, 3rd of July, in the 17th year of his reign.

VI.C.15.202(e) — / in fee / farm

(d) Bluecoats’ School
The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 244: [see quotation at (b)]
VI.C.15.202(f) bluecoat’s school

(e) get up her

MS 47486b-475: any bompriss’s bound to get yp her if he pool her leg | JJA 61:485 | 1936-1937 | III.33A.10+ | FW 525.34-35
[Notesheets set 2 | MS 47486a-222: ^+bound^ to get up her | JJA 61:296 | 1936]
VI.C.15.202(g) get up her / Δ

(f) Ballast / officer

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 245: The Corporation of Dublin, still anxious to improve the port, petitioned the House of Commons in 1698, stating that “the river had become so shallow, and the channel so uncertain, that neither barques nor lighters of any burden could get up except at spring tides, much merchandise being unloaded at Ringsend, and thence carted up to Dublin;” and, therefore, prayed that they might be permitted to establish a Ballast Office.1 On this petition the “Heads of a Bill,” were prepared and transmitted to England, conformable with Poyning’s law,2 but the Bill was stopped in England by some persons there (as was alleged), who endeavoured to get a grant from the Admiralty for the benefit of the chest at Chatham.”

VI.C.15.202(h) Ballast office

(g) lord Mayor / = admiral of Dub

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 246-7: It is more likely, however, that the opposition origin in some jealousy respecting the Admiralty jurisdiction of the Port, the Lord Mayor being “Admiral of Dublin,” over [246] which the Lord High Admiral of England claimed to be supreme.

VI.C.15.202(i) lord Mayor / = admiral of Dub

(h) ammon

Not found in The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin.

VI.C.15.202(j) ammon

(i) ad quod daimos

VI.C.15.202(k) ad quod daim

(j) abercornshed / (Arklow)

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 246n2: 21st March, 1372. Upon an inquisition ad quod damnum the jury find that it would be of no damage to the king or others to grant to the Mayor and citizens of Dublin, the customs of all merchandise brought for sale, either by land or sea, between Skerries and Alercornshed, otherwise Arclo. 46 Edward III. “White Book of City of Dublin.”

VI.C.15.202(b) abercornshed / (Arklow)

(k) water bartiff

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 246n2f: A.D. 1582, 25 January, (24 Elizabeth) the Queen, by her charter, granted the office of Admiralty to the Mayor, &c., of Dublin, wherever the sheriffs of the said city may lawfully receive customs, namely—between Arclo and the Nannywater. Exchequer Mem. Roll 24th, 25th, 26th of Elizabeth, membrane 11th. [Three years later the Corporation obtained an amended charter; but in 1615 the city lost this jurisdiction by a judgment of the Court of King’s Bench. In that year Sir John Davys, Attorney-General, filed an information against the city of Dublin for (amongst other things) usurping Admiralty jurisdiction. The city pleaded a Charter of Edward VI., and a grant by Queen Elizabeth, dated at Weald Hall [in Essex], the 13th of August, in the 27th year of her reign (A.D. 1585), confirming the charter of Edward VI., and giving the city the office of Admiralty, with a court of Admiralty, water bailiffs, &c., between Arclo and Nannywater, “in order that they may the better apply themselves to the defence of the city.” Judgment for the crown. King’s Bench Roll, 4th to 19th Jas. I., Exchequer. But the Corporation still claimed anchorage fees. In 1708, Easter Assembly—That water bailiffs of the Lord High Admiral of England exact fees for anchorage in the port of Dublin. Ordered that the Lord Mayor prevent such exactions in future by prosecuting such as pretend to exact anchorage fees. City Records. § 15th February, 1727-8—The Corporation addressed Lord Carteret, Lord
Lieutenant, alleging that Queen Elizabeth, by charter dated 26th of June, in the 24th year of her reign, granted them the office of Admiralty, which they always exercised until the reign of King James II., “and the government of the city being then in the hands of Papists, the Protestants who succeeded were unacquainted with their privileges, and have but lately discovered that the said power was vested in them. Haliday’s Abstracts of City Assembly rolls. Haliday MSS., Royal Irish Academy.

Not transferred in VI.C.15.

(l) white duck / sail cloth

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 247: This obstacle was removed in 1708, when the Ballast Office was created by an Act of the 6th of Queen Anne: for the city had privately promised the Queen’s Consort, Prince George of Denmark, then Lord High Admiral of England, an annual tribute “of one hundred yards of the best Holland duck sail cloth, which shall be made in the realm of Ireland,” although there was no clause to that effect inserted in the bill; and this tribute was for a time regularly sent to London, and on one occasion when it was omitted it was formally demanded by the Admiralty, and then forwarded by the Corporation.[1] To the establishment of this Ballast Office in 1708, and the remodelling of it in 1787, under the name of “The Corporation for Preserving and Improving the Port of Dublin,” we owe the extraordinary improvement manifested by an inspection of the map.

VI.C.15.203(a) white duck / sail cloth

VI.B.8

The last Haliday note in VI.D.2 was taken from page 247, four pages before the table of contents. Although Joyce showed considerable interest in the nitty gritty, the endless particulars that Haliday is not able not to part with and must divulge to the public (the urge being stronger than himself), surprisingly few notes were employed in the end.

In VI.B.8, Joyce rereads pages 221-225 and makes some more notes, some others and some the same as in VI.D.2 (VI.C.3.190(a)-192(d) / VI.C.15.192(f)-195(d)), but his reading is much more purposeful: five notes were used from a single passage on page 225.

VI.B.8.072

(h) Jimmy Pigeon / Ned — / Rachel —

?The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 231n3f: [The Pigeon House, first as an hotel, and then as a fort or magazine was preceded, by a block house for storing wreck. The Dublin newspapers of 1766 mention that a vessel being wrecked, a number of ‘rockers’ who always came down for plunder, were by this means disappointed. It got perhaps the name of Pigeonhouse from John Pigeon employed there. “8th June, 1786, ordered that John Mullarky and John Pigroa do attend on Saturday next.” Journal of Ballast Office. “25th August, 1787: Your committee have provided a ground plan of the blockhouse which accompanies this report,” and thereby allot one portion to Mr. Francis Tunstall, the inspector of the works of the Ballast Board, and other part of, O’Brien and his wife during pleasure as housekeeper” without salary but with liberty to retail spirits, they undertaking to keep the Corporation rooms clean and in good order and provide breakfast when directed for any members of the Board.” Ibid. In 1790, was built an hotel, and in 1798, arose [231] beside the hotel a magazine of arms. […] In the Dublin Penny Journal for September, 28th 1832, is to be found a legend entitled “The Pidgeon House, a tale of the last century.” It is stated that there was then living at Ringsend one who had resided there near a century, and is vouched as the author of the story, of which it is enough for the present to say that from Ned Pidgeon, living in the
house built “at the pile ends,” the Pigeon House is alleged to have got its name. Dublin Penny Journal, vol. ii., No. 65, p. 99.

VI.B.8.088

(f) former (Dane)

?The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 231-2: In considering the grounds for selecting this site, it must [231] be borne in mind that any landing by an enemy on the north bank of the River, was nearly impossible by reason of the shoals of slob or sand extending to a great distance, and preventing access to the shore; but had an enemy been ever able to disembark, they would have the river between them and the object of their attack, as the city then lay altogether on the south side of the river, except the district called Ostmantown (the ancient settlement of the Danes or Ostmen), adjoining St. Michan’s Church and Smithfield, the latter being long familiarly known under the corrupted name of Oxmantown-green.

VI.B.8.091

(h) marsh pond >

MS 47477-77, TsILA: ^+Yon marshpond is visited by the tide.+^ | JJA 51:101 | late 1932 | II.1§4.4/5.2 | FW 244.14

(i) visited by tide

?The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 241-3: From Ringsend the direct approach to Dublin lay across ground overflowed by the tide, bat passable at low water for man or horse about the place where the Ringsend bridge now stands. At full tide the way lay more inland, through the fields of Baggot Rath, the line of approach being through Irishtown, nearly along the course of Bath-avenue, and by the line of Mount-street and Merrion-square to the castle.1

In the year 1674—that following the visit of Sir Bernard de Gomme—Andrew Yarranton,2 the publisher of some plans for the improvement of harbours in England, came to Dublin, and was, as he states, “importuned by Lord Mayor Brewster to bestow some time on a survey of the port,” the result of which was, that considering it impossible to deepen the water on the bar, he offered suggestions for an artificial harbour and fort for its defence on the strand (then covered by the tide) between Ringsend and “the Town’s End street;” the want of some protection for the trade of Dublin being then a subject which engaged public [242] attention, in consequence of a French privateer having entered the bay, and captured and carried off a Spanish ship from near the bar of the river.1

242n1: The ground for Bath-avenue was only recovered from the sea about 1792. [“31st May, 1792: The marsh between Beggar’s-bush and Ringsend, through which runs the Dodder on its way to Ringsend-bridge, is, we hear, taken by Mr. [Counsellor] Vavasour from Lord Fitzwilliam, for 150 years, at £190 per annum. This tract, which is inundated every tide, Mr. Vavasour will (it is said) reclaim by a complete double embankment of the Dodder... The river is to be turned to its own channel, which is the centre of the piece of ground south of Ringsend-bridge ...” Dublin Chronicle. W. M. G.]

[1796. The branch of the Dodder which ran out between Tritonville and Irishtown was diverted by the Ballast Board into the New Channel. Ballast Board Books. W. M. G.]
VI.B.8.092

(a) \[A\] tries to regain / old lot

?The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin cxix: At all events it was so far advanced in 1717 that the Corporation anticipated its early completion, and the consequent building of the North Wall. They also anticipated the gaining of the land behind the wall. For in 1717 they proceeded to a lottery among themselves of the land to be thus gained. And there is a reprint of a map, by no means scarce, showing the various lots as set out in Easter Assembly, 1717, and perfected (by lottery) in the year 1718. Hence the origin of the name of the “North Lots.” By this scheme each allottee had a small frontage, but a wide allotment at the rere.

MS 47477-58, TsTMA: \[+, quit to catch the Paname-Turricum and regain ^+that^+ tarry easty, his \[ \text{citta immediata, by an alley and detour. From the safe side of distance! Libera, nostalgia!}

Sanete Laurentie O’iuio O’uli! Euro pra nobis^{+} | JJA 51:070 | late 1932 | II.1§2‡ | FW 228.22

VI.B.8.226

(f) cowsway >

VI.C.7.131(e)

(g) purposeth a / lane leading / to a highway >

VI.C.7.131(f)

(h) botter >>

VI.C.7.131(g)

VI.B.8.227

(a) \[Batterstown\] / John

Note: For the source see: 222n1 below.

MS 47484a-271, TsILA: \[+, from Batterstown+\] | JJA 58:361 | Dec 1928-Jan 1929 | III§3A.8/3B.8 | FW 507.35

VI.C.7.131(h)

(b) Bully

Not found in The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin.

VI.C.7.131(i)

(c) Greenvoie >

VI.C.7.131(j)

(d) Bottesboy

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 221-2: This is referred to as illustrating the statement of the “Chronicon Scotorum” that in the year 999 King Malachy made a tochar at Ath Cliath (Dublin), until it reached “one half of the river,” apparently the custom being that when a tidal or non-tidal river divided the territories of Irish kings, each claimed one-half of it, and only built to the middle of the stream, and to this (irrespective of the division of land made by Mogh Naudhat and Conn) we may attribute that the earliest charters of Dublin only granted to the citizens the southern half of the Liffey being that within the kingdom of Leinster (Strongbow’s portion with M'Morrough’s daughter), the other half of the river being in the territory of Meath.

It is not necessary to the present inquiry to ascertain the precise position of this tocher (A.D. 1001.) (sic) Whether it had been made at the ford opposite St. Mary’s Abbey, and was the origin of the well known tradition of an ancient communication between the Abbey and Christ Church. (St. [221] Mary’s, on the north bank of the Liffey, alleged to have been built in 948, and the arches under Christ Church built on the south bank at as early a date)—or whether this tocher led to the old “bothyr,” or road, now anglicised into “Stonybatter,”
221n2: ["The causeway of Ath Cliath was made by Maelseachlainn as far as the middle of the river.” Chronicon Scotorum, p. 239. But the editor says in a note that the Annals of Clonmacnoise and the Four Masters specify Athliag and are probably correct as Dublin was at this time subject to O’Brien, and neither that monarch nor his Danish subjects of Dublin would tolerate such an assumption of authority on the part of Maelseachlainn who had recently been forced to resign the supremacy in his favour. Note ibid. This work was not published till after Mr. Haliday’s death.]

222n1: ["A remarkable instance of this hardening process occurs in some of the Leinster counties, where the Irish word bόthar [boher] a road is converted into batter. This word “batter,” is, or was well understood in these counties to mean an ancient road; and it was used as a general term in this sense in the patents of James I. It signifies in Wexford a lane or narrow road. “Bater, a lane leading to a high road.” (“Glossary of the dialect of Forth and Bargy,” by Jacob Poole; edited by William Barnes, B. D.”) “As for the word Bater, that in English purpozeth a lane bearing to an highway. I take it for a meere Irish word that crept unawares into the English through the daily intercourse of the English and Irish inhabitants.” (Stanyhurst, quoted in same.) The word occurs in early Anglo-Irish documents, in the form of bothir or bothyr, which was easily converted into botter or batter. It forms part of the following names: —Batterstown, the name of four townlands in Meath, which were always called in Irish, Baile-an-bhothair, i.e., the town of the road... Near Drogheda, there is a townland called Green Batter, and another Yellow Batter, which are called in Irish, Boherglas and Boherboy, having the same meanings as the present names, viz., green road and yellow road. We have also some examples, one of which is the well known name of Stonybatter. Long before the city had extended so far, and while Stonybatter was nothing more than a country road it was—as it still continues to be—the great thoroughfare to Dublin from the districts lying west and north-west of the city, and it was known by the name of Bothar-na-gcloch [Bohernaglogh], i.e., the road of the stones, which was changed to the modern equivalent, Stony-batter, or Stony-road.”—The origin and history of Irish Names of Places, by P. W. Joyce, LL.d., M.R.I.A., pp. 43-45. 12mo. Dublin, M’Glashan & Gill, 1871.]

VI.C.7.131(k)

(e) *divileen / (part of Liffey) >
MS 47484a-46, TsBMA: ^+the divileen+^ | JJA 58:186 | Jan 1925-Apr 1926 | III§3A.4/3B.4 | FW 511.12

(f) ‘Booterstown

Note: For the source see: 222n1 above.
?MS 47477-66, TsTMA: ^+, the briskly best from Booterstown Bootieestown.+^ | JJA 51:067 | late 1932 | II.1§2.1+ | FW 235.36 / FW 386.24

MS 47482a-40, MT: change here for Looterstown! | JJA 60:178 | Oct-Nov 1925 | III§4K.*0+/4MN.*0+/4P.*0+ | FW 582.33

(g) *Slee >
MS 47482a-8, MT: for Sligo ^+slygo+^ Slee. | JJA 60:129 | Oct-Nov 1925 | III§4A.*0/4G.*0/4JK.*0/4MN.*0 | FW 577.34-35

(h) *fag a ballagh

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 225: In our oldest manuscripts it is stated that, in the first century, Ireland was intersected by five great roads, leading from different provinces, or petty Kingdoms, to the seat of supreme royalty at Tara. Of these “sligees,” or roads, the “Slighe Cualna” was one traced with the greatest apparent certainty by the Ordnance Survey. It struck off from the Fan-na-g-carbad, or “Slope of the chariots,” and led via Ratoath and Dublin into Cualna; a district extending from Dalkey, southwards and westwards, and part of which, including Powerscourt, is designated in Anglo-Norman records, as Fercullen, or “the territory of the men of Cualna.” This road, consequently, must have crossed the Liffey, and that it did so near Dublin is confirmed by the fact, that the passage across the river there is frequently termed “Ath Cliath Cualna.” Now it is impossible that a roadway for any general purpose could be carried across a river like the Liffey, subject to winter floods and the daily flow of the tide, unless that roadway was formed by a bridge, tochar, or structure of some kind raised above the ordinary high water mark. Such a structure, formed of timber or hurdles, the only material then used for that
purpose, was doubtless that which, in the figurative language of the time, was termed an “Ath Cliath” or Ford of hurdles.  

225n3: Mr. Joyce in continuation of his remarks on the name of Stonybatter (supra p. 222, and note ibid.), says “One of the five great roads leading from Tara which were constructed in the second century, viz., that called Slighe-Cualaun passed through Dublin by Ratoath and on towards Bray, under the name of Bealach Dubhlinne. Duibhlinn was originally the name of that part of the Liffey on which the city now stands (the road or pass of the [river] Duibhlinn), […]

MS 47484b-352, PrRMA: ^+I braved Brien Berueme to berow him against the Loughlin, all the talkies shrakings: *Fugabollags* ^+Fugabollags+^! $Lusqu’au bou!+^$ | JJA 59:065 | Jun-Jul 1929 | III§3B.10 | FW 541.19

VI.B.9

In VI.B.9 a couple of entries are listed as possibly deriving from the same source, afterthoughts of Joyce as it were – unless they don’t turn out to find their origin in other publications.

VI.B.9.054

(a) ‘Mr Vanhomrigh’s / house

Note: For the source see: 056(a).

MS 47474-43, TsILA: ^+Mr Vanhomrigh’s house, at^ | JJA 47:435 | Jun-Jul 1925 | I.7§1.4/2.4 | FW 174.26

VI.B.9.055

(h) tormentor / (dredge) >

VI.C.4.178(n)

(i) stake out mears >>

VI.C.4.179(a)

VI.B.9.056

(a) *kishes of brogues

Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 234n2f: The following particulars concerning the forming of a new channel for the river Liffey, from near the site of the present Carlisle bridge to the Poolbeg Light House, a distance of nearly four miles, are derived from Mr. Haliday’s collections. 16th January, 1707-8: Three Aldermen and Six of the Commons appointed by the Corporation to be a Quorum [Committee of Directors of the Ballast Office] to give directions to Ballast Master. (Ballast Office Journal). 26th January, 1707-8: That two iron Tormentors be made, and that the first fair day it be tried what depth of sand or gravel there is in places (to be pointed out) in the Channel. (1b.) 29th January, 1707-8: Committee went to Cock [Cockle] lake and found that the water which was there when the tide is out may be prevented that course. The manner how not decided. River tried from Mr. Vanhomrigh’s house to Ringsend point; found 5 feet depth of sand and gravel. Thence to Clontarf bar, 4 feet deep; No rocks (1b.) 13th February, 1707-8; Mr. Morland, City Surveyor, to draw a map of the channel of the river from Essex bridge to the bar [232] Mr. Morney, and two or three others best experienced in the channel from Vanhomrigh’s
house to the bar, to give their opinions in writing. (1b) 20th February, 1707-8: Mr. Holt brought the opinions (as ordered), that the Channel should run from Mr. Mercer’s (formerly Vanhomrigh’s) house directly with Green Patch, a little without Ringsend point. [...] Directions for dredging the channel and to make a bank on the north side. (City Assembly Rolls). 20th October, 1710: The Committee appointed to stake out the mears and bounds [of the Channel] between Ringsend and Lazy Hill have not done so: The old channel will soon be filled up. The mears and bounds to be staked out, (City Assembly Rolls). [...] Had consulted many who are of opinion that the best way will be by laying kishes filled with stones and backing them with sand and gravel, which is found by the experience of some years past to withstand all the force of the floods that come down the river (1b.) 22nd July, 1715: Are laying down kishes to secure the north side of the channel and when a sufficient number of kishes are made will go on with the piling below Ringsend as formerly proposed: are now raising stones at Clontarf (1b.) 14th October, 1715: Are laying down a quantity of kishes on the north side which has made good the bank as far as opposite Mabbot’s mill. The remainder will be completed next summer, (Ibid).