

Dubhlinn of Ath Cliath

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The Dynasty of Scandinavian Kings at Dublin.

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No cities among the early Irish.—The site of Dublin a place of no distinction amongst them.—Dublin founded by Scandinavians, and made their capital.—Thence became the capital of the English.—Denmark filled by Saxons who escaped thither to avoid forced baptism by Charlemagne.—The Norsemen, infected by these exiles with their hatred, ravage the coasts of France.—Their ravages of England.—They plunder the islands and coasts of Ireland.—Their ravages on the mainland of Ireland.—The Dubhgoill and the Finnghoill Aulaff of the Dubhgoill settles at *Dubhlinn of Ath Cliath*, A.D. 852.

It must surprise those who examine the history of Ireland that so little appears known respecting the social position of those Scandinavians who, under the common name of Ostmen, or of Danes, occupied our principal seaports from the 9th to the 12th century, and that even local historians are silent respecting the civil and religious institutions, the works and monumental remains, of a people, who not only inhabited and ruled over Dublin for more than three hundred years, but who, if not the founders of the city, were unquestionably the cause of its metropolitan supremacy. For notwithstanding Ptolemy's supposed notice of Dublin under the name of Eblana, [1] and the inflated description of its splendour by Jocelyn, [2] it is almost certain that before the Scandinavian invasion the Irish had no cities or walled towns in any degree resembling those spread over England, France, Germany, and wherever the Romans had penetrated. There were large ecclesiastical establishments at Armagh, Clonmacnois, &c. [3] At Emania, Aileach, Tara, &c., there were cashels, duns, or raths, in which kings and chieftains, with their attendants, resided, the bulk of the population being scattered over the territory inherited by each tribe, moving with their cattle from pasture to pasture, having little tillage, and ever ready to assemble at the call of their chief, either to repel invasion or to invade the territory of their neighbours. But cities they had none. Consequently, in all our annals of intestine warfare, although we have records of the destruction of Armagh and Clonmacnois, of Emania [4] and Aileach, [5] and of duns, fortresses, and fastnesses, there is no allusion to the siege of an Irish town, or the destruction of an Irish city.

And not only is there no Irish record of a "City of Dublin" before the 9th century, but before that period there is no record that the place where the city now stands was a place of any importance. [6] 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 either Wexford or Waterford (then the ports communication with England), [7] but because it was the principal city of the Ostmen he had conquered, and over whose subjugated territories he did claim to exercise regal privileges. [8] 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.

Yet even if Dublin were not founded by the Scandinavians, or that the Ostmen were not the cause of its present pre-eminence, the silence of local and general historians respecting

the social position, religion, laws, and monuments of those who occupied Dublin for more than three hundred years on all facts connected with the first Scandinavian invaders, excepting such as relate to their inroads and devastations, has contributed to strengthen very erroneous opinions respecting that remarkable people. And although this silence may be justified, in some degree, with regard to the first invaders, their history being obscure, it certainly cannot be so justified with 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.

To the history of these Dublin Ostmen we will presently refer, but previously we will endeavour to mark the distinction between them and those ruthless Pagans who first invaded Ireland, and who, under the name of Northmen or of Danes, ravaged also the coasts of England and France, at the close of the eighth or at the beginning of the ninth century.

According to some French historians, the “barbarians” who sailed along the coasts of France in A.D. 800, were persecuted and banished Pagans, who, with aid from their allies, were in search of new homes, and were seeking to avenge on Christian clergy and Christian churches the destruction of their temples and their idols by the Christian armies of Charlemagne. The statement is, that before the end of the 8th century the Franks had suffered much from the hostility of their Saxon neighbours, and that Charlemagne, desirous to terminate these hostilities, and influenced by zeal for religion and love of conquest, invaded Saxony in A.D. 772. [9] His first attack was on the fortress of Eresbourg, [10] 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.” [11] But the Saxons were neither easily conquered or converted. In A.D. 774, and again in 775, [12] they revolted ; and although in 776 and 777 many came to Paderborn to be baptized, [13] they again revolted in A.D. 782, 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. This outbreak, instigated by their beloved chieftain, Witikind, was soon suppressed, and Witikind, with the fiercest of the Saxon idolaters, fled into Denmark, where Sigefroi, his wife’s father, then reigned. [14] Enraged by the conduct of the revolters, and the escape of Witikind, Charlemagne forgot the precepts of that Christianity he desired to spread, and with unparalleled cruelty he beheaded four thousand five hundred Saxons in cold blood, and in one day. [15] Yet, fearing that even this horrible butchery would not secure the lasting submission of the survivors, “he added to it a secret order to put to death those who would excite the Saxons to revolt.” [16] Still revolt succeeded revolt, and revolt was ever accompanied by a return to idolatry, the re-establishment of idols, the burning of churches, and the massacre of priests. Charlemagne, however, had decided that the Saxons should be Christians, but unfortunately he decided on making them Christians by means which Christianity abhors. He ordained that “Every Saxon who refused to be baptized should be punished with death ;” and that “those who to avoid baptism should say that they had been baptized should be similarly punished.” [17] And subsequently he established a secret council, composed of men whose duty it was silently to traverse the country, to watch the actions and words of the people, and instantly to put to death those who renounced Christianity or excited revolt. Yet even this was insufficient. The Saxons and their neighbours still

clung to their Paganism, and Charlemagne ultimately proceeded to banish the idolaters from the scene of their idolatry. He spent part of the years 795, 796, 797 in destroying with fire and sword the countries between the Elbe, Upper Saxony, the German Ocean, and the Baltic, [18] the population flying into Denmark and the North. Ten thousand families of the Saxons were transplanted into Switzerland and the forests of Flanders ; [19] and in A.D. 795, men, women, and children were transplanted into France, [20] and their lands given to the Abrodites, the inveterate enemies of the Saxons, and the faithful allies of the Franks. [21]

In fact Charlemagne's war was now a crusade. Its object was alike to conquer and convert. The military and religious habit were united in his camp, which was the scene of martial exercises, solemn processions, and public prayers ; [22] and hence the clergy, who crowded around his standard, participating in the objects and results of his victories, sharing the gold and silver (plunder of the countries he conquered), [23] and baptizing the infidels he captured and spared, that clergy became hateful to Pagans, who attributed to them and the religion they preached, the destruction of temples [24] the desolation of homes, and all the means employed to extirpate idolaters and to make Christians.

Nor was Charlemagne's hostility confined to the Pagans he subdued. Those who fled from his arms were pursued by his policy. Sigefroi could not obtain his friendship, or rather his forbearance, except on condition that the refugee Saxons, Frizons, Soarbes, &c., should be expelled from Denmark, [25] and his successor Godfrey found it necessary to conclude a treaty binding himself to drive out of his states the Pagans who had sought an asylum there. [26]

Thus compelled to seek other homes, these infuriated Pagans, or, as De Mezeray writes, "The banished and their descendants, burning with a cruel desire to avenge their gods and their liberty, made continual sorties, and principally exercised their rage on the priests and on the monks who had destroyed their temples and their superstitions." [27]

The Danes, who saw with uneasiness the progressive conquests of Charlemagne, quickly imbibed the feelings of their homeless kinsmen, and in A.D. 800 "they dared to infest the coast of France." [28] Sailing from sea to sea they approached the shores of Languedoc, where Charlemagne, recognising their fleets from the windows of his palace, wept for the misery he foresaw they would bring on his descendants and on France. Nor was it long until the destruction of churches, the slaughter of clergy and of people, justified the fears of the emperor.

On the English coasts the Northmen appeared within five years after Witikind had fled into Denmark and carried the story of Charlemagne's cruelties to the subjects of King Sigefroi.

According to the Saxon Chronicle, "A.D. 787, first came three ships of the Northmen out of Hæretha land," and it adds what is confirmed by every English historian—that these were "the first ships of Danish men which sought the land of the English race." [29] Roger de Wendover says, "It may be suspected they came to spy out the fertility of the land," and therefore sailed along the coast in search of some spot on which to settle. But in 793 and 794 these "heathen men" came with larger fleets and with other objects ; for soon "they dreadfully destroyed the churches of Christ." [30] They trod down holy places with their unholy feet ; they slaughtered priests and Levites and multitudes of monks and nuns ; undermined the altars, and carried off all the treasures of Holy Church." The great monastic establishment at Lindesfarne, celebrated for the sanctity and number of its inmates, lying directly opposite those Scandinavian districts into which the Saxons and other Pagans had fled or were driven, being easily accessible from the creeks of Jutland, from the Baltic and the Elbe, became the first objects of attack from Pagans seeking vengeance on Christian communities. Lindisfarne

was totally destroyed in A.D. 793 ; and in 794, after the “ heathen men” had ravaged Northumberland, they destroyed Ecgferth’s monastery at Weremouth.

The Pagans who invaded Ireland probably sailed on from the fiords of Norway about the same time that those from Denmark had sailed for England ; but, sailing round the north of Scotland, and passing from island to island, and probably forming settlements in the Orkneys, Hebrides, and Shetland isles, they did not reach the north-east coast of Ireland until A.D. 795. [31] The words of the annals of Innisfallen are : “ A.D. 795. The Danes were first seen cruising on the coasts of Ireland prying out the country.” They attacked and plundered the ships of the Irish, and then proceeded to plunder those Irish islands on which the desire for a hermit life had led many ecclesiastics to form small religious establishments.

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.” [32] In A.D. 798 they burned St. Patrick’s Island (on the east coast), and bore away the shrine of St. Dachonna. [33] In A.D. 807 they burned the churches in the island of Innishmurry on the coast of Sligo ; [34] and in A.D. 812 plundered the island of Scelig Michel [35] (off the coast of Kerry), took the anchorites and kept them captive until they perished for want of food. [36]

From proceedings so closely resembling those of the invaders of France, commenced at the same period, and by the same people, it might be inferred that the invasion of Ireland originated in the same cause, and had the same object ; and that the sacrilegious devastations on our coasts, so far from being unprovoked aggressions on Christian lands, were acts of retaliation and revenge for injuries inflicted on a Pagan people by a Christian Emperor, and his propagandist army.

Nevertheless, the love of piracy, which characterized the Scandinavians of the 8th and 9th centuries, and the Viking expeditions which closely followed, and which perhaps, in some cases, were contemporaneous with the successes of the first invaders, has apparently influenced the opinion, that they were alike the effect of a desire for plunder and bloodshed.

It is urged that, when we read of clergy slaughtered, of churches plundered, and of relics shaken from their shrines, we should recollect that relics were worthless to Pagans, pirates who only valued the gold or silver shrines in which these relics were enclosed ; that churches were the repositories of coveted treasure, and that the slaughter of clergy might not be in all cases a religious martyrdom, as in the 8th and 9th centuries the clergy fought and fell like other soldiers in the ranks of armies opposed to the invaders.

In France, where the bishops had large territorial possessions, they voluntarily led their vassals to battle, and the inferior [37] 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. Yet long after these periods they continued to wield the temporal sword, and alternately to wear the casque and the cowl.

These raids, however, are insufficient to show that all the first invaders were mere pirates, and plunder their sole object. Such a theory requires to be sustained by stronger evidence, opposed as it is to historical statements, supported by incontrovertible facts.

Unquestionably, the invasion commenced almost immediately after Charlemagne had driven Witikind and his Saxon followers into the sterile regions of the North ; and whatever might have been the piratical tendencies of the Northmen, they had never invaded a Christian

territory, destroyed a Christian church, or slain a Christian priest, until Charlemagne had destroyed the homes, the temples, and the idols of the Saxons. It is questionable, indeed, whether previously they had ever sailed out of the Baltic ; but if they did, it is certain that previously they never had attempted to colonize or dwell in Christian lands.

Those who came between A.D. 795 and 807, appear to have had no other object than devastation and pillage. They landed, plundered, and departed. But whether these invaders were Norwegians, Danes, Swedes, or Jutes, it is difficult to determine. In A.D. 807 they began to make incursions into the interior of the country. [38] In that year, after burning the Island of Innishmurry, [39] they marched into Roscommon. [40] In 812 they landed again, and entered Connemara, where they “slaughtered the inhabitants.” They also entered Mayo, where “they were (defeated) by the men of Umhall ;” [41] and in A.D. 813, having again entered Mayo, and defeated “the men of Umhall” they slew Cosgrach, son of [42] Flannabhrad, and Dunadhach, lord of the territory.

Their course can be clearly traced. Issuing from the fiords of Norway, they sailed along the east coast Ireland, of Scotland to the Frith of Forth, and territory of the Scottish Picts, and thence to Northumbria and East Anglia, where the invaders first became settlers in England. Their course along the west side of Scotland was among the Orkneys, the Hebrides, and Western Isles, to the North of Ireland, and thence by Larne (or Ulfricksford), Strangford, and Carlingford, down to Dublin ; the first settlement being in Ulster, and the territory of the Irish Picts. There is no record of any attempts made to settle for twenty years after 795, when the Pagans first came to Ireland. During that time they landed, plundered, and departed.

In 819 they plundered Howth, and the islands at the mouth of Wexford Harbour. [43] In 820 they plundered Cape Clear and Cork. [44] In 821 they spoiled and ransacked Bennchoir. [45] In 823 they plundered Dun da-Leathghlas. [46] They defeated “the Osraighi,” but were worsted by “the Ulidians.” In 824 they burned Lusk, [47] and spoiled all Meath. In 825 they “destroyed Dun-Laighen,” and slew the “son of Cuchongelt, lord of Forthuatha.” [48] In 826 they were overthrown by the Ui Ceinnsealaigh, [49] and again by the Ulidians.” [50] In 827 they “burned Lannlere [51] and Clonmor.” [52] In 829 they plundered Conaille, and took “its king and his brother, and carried them with them to their ships.” In 830 they plundered “Daimhliag, [53] and the tribe of Cianachta, with all their churches ;” and took “Ailill, son of Colgan,” and plundered Lughmhadh, [54] and many other churches ; and “carried off Tuatal, son of Fearadhach,” plundering Ard Macha [55] thrice in one month, as it had never been plundered by strangers before. In 831 they plundered Rath Luirigh. [56] In 832 they plundered Cluain Dolcain ; [57] and, although they were defeated with great slaughter at Doire-Chalgaigh [58] by Uiall Caille and Murchadh, they plundered Loch Bricrenn, [59] in opposition to Conghalach, son of Eochardh, whom they took prisoner, and afterwards killed at their ships. In 833 they plundered “Gleann-da-locha, Slaine, and Finnabhair, [60] but were defeated by Dunadhach, son of Scannlan, lord of Ui Fidhgeinte, and many of them killed.” In 834 they plundered Fearná, Cluain-mor-Maedhog, and Drum-h-Ing, [61] and burned “Mungairid, [62] and other churches in Ormond.” In 835 they burned “Cluain-mor-Maedhog on Christmas night, slaying many, and carrying off many as prisoners ; they likewise burned the oratory of Gleann-da-locha, desolated all Connaught, plundered Cell-dara, [62] and burned half the church. In 836 Dublinter Odhar, of Teamhair, was taken prisoner, and put to death in his gyves at their ships.” They had fleets on the Boyne and the Liffey, out of which “they plundered and spoiled Magh Liphthe [63] and Magh Breagh, [64] both churches and habitations of men, goodly tribes, flocks and herds ;” and, after being defeated by the “men of Breagh,” they defeated “the Ui Neill from the Sinainn to the sea,” [66]

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. [67] 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 devastaion 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,” [68] 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.” [69] 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 “ Finnghoiii” (or White foreigners), supposed to be Norwegians.

In A.D. 849, “ the Dubhghoill arrived at Ath Cliath, and made a great slaughter of the Finnghoill, [70] who had settled there.” In the same year there was “ another depredation of the Dubhghoill on the Finnghoill at Linn Duachail.” [71] 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. [72] But in 852 their hostility was terminated. For in that year “ Aulaff, son of the king of Lochlann, came to Ireland (and) all the foreign tribes of Ireland submitted to him.” [73]

[1] Ptolemy, who wrote in the 2nd century, never saw Ireland, but gave from the report of others the supposed latitude, longitude, and names of eight or ten Irish cities. Ptolemy Geogr. Rome, 1490. Dublin is not mentioned by Strabo, who wrote his Geography in the time of Augustus Caesar, but he knew little of Ireland.

[2] Jocelin, Vit. S. Patricii, c. 69. His description is self-rofuting. Jocelin wrote in the 12th century.

[3] Around these establishments towns subsequently grew up, but previously the term Civitas was frequently applied to monastic establishments. Bk. of Hymns, p. 156.

[4] [Anciently the seat of the Kings of Ulster ; “ Emania Ultoniæ ; regum pulcherrima sedes.” Ogygia, Preface, p. 14. Now the Navan fort, near the city of Armagh (a corruption of the Irish “ An Amhain”). (J. O’Donovan, LL.D., Ann. 4 Mast.)]

[5] [Now Elagh, in the barony of Inishowen, county of Donegal.]

[6] Colgan gives a list of Bishops of Dublin from the arrival of S. Patrick to the arrival of the Northmen. Most of his bishops died or were martyred on the Continent. The list is evidently fictitious. The only notice of Dublin in the Annals of the Four Masters at A.D. 765 records a battle at Ath Cliath, and that “ Numbers were drowned at the full tide, returning.”

The seat of the Kings of [all] Ireland, at an early period, was Tara : the chief residences of the Kings of Leinster were Naas and Ferns.

[7] 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.”

[8] 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 Erin this day. Dermod, son of Doncliadh 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.]

- [9] Eginhardi de Gest. Carl. Mag. Imp. ap. Du Chesne, A.D. 782 ; Ann. Franc., A.D. 782.
- [10] Eresbourg, now Stradbourg, between Cassel and Paderborn.
- [11] Hist, de Charl., vol. ii., p. 246.
- [12] Eginhard, A.D. 774, 775.
- [13] *Ibid.*, 776, 777. To commemorate this supposed conversion a medal was struck with this inscription, “ Saxonibus sacro lavacro regeneratis, 777.”
- [14] Pontanus, Her. Dan. Hist., p. 91. Witikind’s wife was Geva, daughter of Sigefroi—Hist, de Danemarck, par Des Rocbes. Paris, 1782. Vol. ii., p. 20 :— “ Il y mena aussi sa femme Geva, fille du Roi de Dannemarck.” Pontanus, Rer. Dan. Hist., p. 89.
- [15] Annales Fuldenses, A.D. 782 Eginhard, 782 ; Ann. Franc., 782 ; Hist. de Charl., vol. ii., p. 253.
- [16] Hist, de Charl., vol. ii., p. 241.
- [17] Hist, de Franco, par De Mezerai. Paris, 1643, p. 191, A.D. 804.
- [18] Hist, de Charl., vol. ii., p. 267. De Mezerai, p. 208, Medal xii.
- [19] Hist, de Charl., vol. ii., p. 268. Chron. St. Denis, lib. ii., cap. 3.
- [20] Ann. Bertiniani, A.D. 804.
- [21] Eginhard, A.D. 804.
- [22] Hist, de Charl., vol. ii. p. 280.
- [23] Hoveden, Rer. Ang. Scrip. Lon., 1596, p. 233. Chron. Mailros, A.D. 795.
- [24] Montesquieu, Esprit des Lois, liv.xxxi., cap. x.: “ The Normans plundered and ravaged all before them, wreaking their vengeance chiefly on the priests and monks, and devoting every religious house to destruction. For they charged those ecclesiastics with the subversion of their idols, and with all the opprressive measures of Charlemagne, by which they had been successively obliged to take shelter in the north.”
- [25] Pontanus. Her. Danic, p. 90.
- [26] Hist, de Charl., vol. ii., p. 273.
- [27] “ L’Idolatrie, &c., &c., étant vivement pressée par les armes des François, elle s’etait jettée au-delà de l’Elbe et en Danemarck comme en son dernier fort, d’ou ces bannis et leurs descendants brulant d’un cruel désir de venger leurs Dieux et leur liberté, faisoient de continuelles sorties et exerçoient principalement leur rage sur les prestres et sur les moines qui avoient destruit leurs temples et leurs superstitions.” Hist, de France, De Mezeray, Paris, 1685, vol i., p. 423. “ Vitikind (roi de Saxe) alia porter sa haine et sa douleur à la cour de Sigefroi son ami, Roi des Danois ou Normands ; démarche importante, première époque d’une grande révolution dans l’Europe. Ce fut cette alliance de Vitikind avec Sigefroi, ce furent ses continuelles instigations qui attirèrent sur les côtes de la France ces Normands,” &c.— Hist, de Charlemagne par Gaillard, Paris, 1782, vol. ii., p. 231.
- [28] Depping Hist, des Expéditions Marit. des Normands, p. 66. Mo- - nachi Sangall De Reb. Bel., lib. ii., cxxii. Montesquieu, Grandeur et Decadence des Remains, cap. 16.:— “ The conquests and tyrannies of Charlemagne had again forced the nations of the south into the north. As soon as his empire was weakened they passed a second time from the north into the south.”
- [29] Sax. Chron. Mon. Brit., p. 257. Ingram in his Edition of the Saxon Chronicle, translates Hærethasland “ the Land of the Robbers.”
- [30] Sax. Chron. A.D. 793, 794. Hen. Hunt. Rerum Anglicanarum Scriptorum, Lon., 1596, p. 197. Simeon Dunhelmhelmensis Hist. Ang. Scrip. Lend., 1682, p. 11.

- [31] Ogygia, p. 433. Brut y Tywysogion, A.D. 795. Ann. Ulst. give the date 794.
- [32] Annals of the Four Masters, translated by J. O'Donovan, LL.D., 7 vols., 4to., Dublin, 1851 (here after quoted as Ann. 4 Mast.), vol. i., p. 397, n. [" This was one of the many names of the island of Rathlin, off the north coast of Antrim ; but it was also the ancient name of Lambay, near Dublin, which is probably the place here referred to." J. O'Donovan, *Ibid.* Such also is Dr. Reeves' opinion. " Wars of the Gaecihil with the Gaill," p. xxxii., n. 5.]
- [33] *Id.* 793 (= 798). [" Dr. O'Donovan understood the Inispatrik 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 Insuln 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.
- [34] *Id.* 807.
- [35] *Id.* 812.
- [36] *Ibid.*
- [37] Cap. Reg. Franc., p. 405. In the first capitulary, A.D. 769, p. 1 89, the clergy were forbid to fight as soldiers ; but apparently they disregarded the ordinance, as, in A.D. 803, the chiefs of the army, and the people solicited Charlemagne to prevent bishops, abbots, and clergy, from joining the army and fighting in its ranks. The Italian bishops and clergy also fought against the Pagans at the close of the 8th century, although not compelled to do so. Epist. ad Fastrad. ap. Du Chesne, p. 187. Concilia Ant. Gall., vol. ii., p. 158. Ann. 4 Mast., A.D. 799, (= 804).
- In 832, when King Egbrecht 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 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 Leouis, 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.
- [38] Ogygia, P. 433. " Hiberniam primùm incursionibus intrarunt." 802 (== Ann. 4 Mast., A.D. 807).
- [39] [An island off the coast of the barony of Carbury, county of Sligo.—J. O'D., LL.D., *ibid.*]
- [40] *Ibid.*, Ann. Clonmac., A.D. 804. Ann. Ult., A.D. 806.
- [41] Ann. 4 Mast., A.D. 812 [Umhall Lower was the barony of Borrishool : Umhall Upper was the barony of Murrisk].
- [42] *Ibid.*, A.D. 813.
- [43] Ann. 4 Mast.
- [44] [*Id.*]
- [45] [*Id.*, Bangor in the county of Down.]
- [46] [*Id.*, Downpatrick.]
- [47] [*Id.*, Lusk, in the county of Dublin, twelve miles to the north of the city.]
- [48] [*Id.*, In the county of Wicklow, near Glendalough.]
- [49] [*Id.*, The Hy Kinshelas, now the county of Wexford.]
- [50] [*Id.*, The Ulster men.]

- [51] The ancient name of Dunleer.]
- [52] [*Id.*, Now Clonmore, a townland in the parish of Clonmore. in the barony of Ferrard, and county of Louth.]
- [53] [*Id.*, Duleek, in Meath]
- [54] [*Id.*, Louth in the county of Louth.]
- [55] [*Id.*, Armagh.]
- [56] [*Id.*, rectè Rath Luraigh (Lurach's fort) the ancient name of Maghera, in the County of Londonderry.]
- [57] [*Id.*, Clondalkin, six miles S.W. of Dublin.]
- [58] [*Id.*, Derry (Londonderry).]
- [59] [*Id.*, Loughbrickland, in the county of Down.]
- [60] [*Id.*, Glendalough, in the county of Wicklow ; Slane, in Meath ;Fennor, on the river Boyne, near Slane, in Meath.]
- [61] [*Id.*, Ferns in the county of Wexford ; and Clonmore, in Leinster ; and Dromin (probably), near Dunshaughlin, in Meath.]
- [62] [*Id.*, Mungret, in the county of Limerick.]
- [63] [*Id.*, Kildare.]
- [64] [*Id.*, Magh Liphthe, the plain of the Liffey, now the county of Kildare.]
- [65] [*Id.*, Magh Breagh, a great plain in the east of ancient Meath, comprising five cantreds or baronies, lying between Dublin and Drogheda.]
- [66] [*Id.*, Sinain, the Shannon.]
- [67] [Ogygia, Part iii.,c. 93, p. 433.
- [68] Ann. 4 Mast., A. n. 790, 793, 797. In the Annals of Ulster they are termed “ Gentiles,” or Pagans ; subsequently they are called Dubh Lochlannaigh and Finn Lochlannaigh.
- [69] *Id.*, A.D. 847.
- [70] *Id.*, A.D. 849.
- [71] [*Ibid.* Not Magheralin in the county of Down, as at first supposed by J. O'Donovan, LL.D., but (as since ascertained by the Rev. Dr. Reeves) a place near the village of Annagassan, at the tidal opening of the junction of the rivers Glyde and Dee, in the county of Louth. Todd's “ War of the Gaedhil with the Giaill.” p. Ixii., n. 1.]
- [72] *Ibid.*, A.D. 850. Snamh Eidhneach or Aighneach is Carlingford Lough. Cearbhall, A.D. 873, assisted by the Danes under Gorm, attacked the Lochlans or Norwegians in Munster. Gorm then went to sea and was killed by Ruaidhri, king of the Britons—Three Fragments, 133.
- [73] Ann. 4 Mast. 851 Ann. Inisf. 853 Ann. Ult. 852, “ Aulaiiv, king of Lochlann, came into Ireland, and all the foreigners submitted to him, and had rent from the Irish.”

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