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THE VIKINGS IN NINTH-CENTURY IRELAND: SOURCES AND SETTLEMENTS

Presented by
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For the Degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
In HISTORY

August 2014

IN MEMORY OF MY MOTHER

MARY ROSE COTTELL-PURCELL

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DISCLAIMER

I declare that the work in this thesis is my own and has not been submitted for another degree, either at University College Cork or elsewhere

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ABBREVIATIONS

AB	*The Annals of Boyle*
AClon	*The Annals of Clonmacnoise*
AFM	*The Annals of the Four Masters* (AFM)
AI	*The Annals of Inisfallen*
AR	*The Annals of Roscrea*
ATig	*Annals of Tigernach*
AU	*The Annals of Ulster*
BL	*Book of Leinster*
CCD	*Christ Church Deeds*
CGG	*Cogad Gaedel re Gallaib*
CS	*Chronicum Scotorum*
DIL	*Dictionary of the Irish language; based mainly on Old and Middle Irish materials*
FA	*The Fragmentary Annals*
OG	*Onomasticon goedelicum*
HDGP	*Historical dictionary of Gaelic placenames*
LL	The annals in the *Book of Leinster*
MGH	*Monumenta Germaniae Historica*

ABSTRACT

Archaeological excavations, particularly those of the last fifty years, have greatly advanced our understanding of Viking settlement in Ireland, and this study sets out to present a complementary analysis of the historical sources. Increasingly, evidence suggests that Viking occupation encompassed a more diverse range of settlement types than previously acknowledged. Major urban excavations such as those carried out in Dublin and Waterford, are now complemented by small scale excavations and studies of sites such as: Cherrywood, Co Dublin, a rural settlement; Beginish, Co Kerry, a maritime haven; Truska, Co Galway, a possible farmstead; *longphort*-settlements at Dunrally, Co Laois and Athlunkard, Co Limerick; and significant Viking settlements at Woodstown, Co Waterford and at Annagassan, Co Louth.

This thesis sets out to examine patterns of Viking settlement in ninth-century Ireland; an interdisciplinary approach is adopted that attempts to combine evidence from both the extant primary sources and the archaeological evidence. It is argued that the Vikings had bases in Ireland even in the earliest period of activity 795-836, traditionally characterised as the 'hit-and-run' phase. The downturn discernible in Viking-related annalistic entries occurs at a time when there are increased references to Viking settlements in the Irish annals; therefore, it is proposed that this change in the ninth-century recorded pattern of Viking activity reflects their increased involvement in trade and settlement. To support this hypothesis, the evidence for settlement, settlement patterns and trade at Dublin and Waterford in the ninth century is then discussed.

INTRODUCTION

Archaeological excavations, particularly those of the last fifty years, have greatly advanced our understanding of Viking settlement in Ireland, and this study sets out to present a complementary analysis of the historical sources. Increasingly, evidence suggests that Viking occupation encompassed a more diverse range of settlement types than previously acknowledged. Major urban excavations such as those carried out in Dublin and Waterford, are now complemented by small scale excavations and studies of sites such as: Cherrywood, Co Dublin, a rural settlement;[1] Beginish, Co Kerry, a maritime haven;[2] Truska, Co Galway, a possible farmstead;[3] *longphort*-settlements at Dunrally, Co Laois and Athlunkard, Co Limerick;[4] and significant Viking settlements at Woodstown, Co Waterford and at Annagassan, Co Louth.[5] Chapter 1 examines the advances in our understanding of Viking settlement since the Wood Quay excavations of the 1960s-80s and provides the context for this study.

The Irish annals are our chief source of information and so all Viking entries from the period AD 795 to AD 900 have been extracted and a concordance created in an attempt to understand how the annals relate to one another and how this may (or may not) influence our understanding of Viking-related entries, and to see if we can determine levels of Viking activity based on the number of annalistic entries relating to them. In Chapter 2, I discuss the results of an intensive quantitative analysis of the period AD 825-875. Most scholars acknowledge a decline in Viking activity in the ninth century, but they disagree about its precise date; generally, they choose sometime between the late 840s and the 880s. An attempt is made in Chapter 2 to

[1] John Ó Néill, 'A Norse settlement in rural County Dublin', *Archaeology Ireland* 13.4 (1999) 8-10; Id. 'Excavation of pre-Norman structures on the site of an enclosed early Christian cemetery at Cherrywood, County Dublin', in Seán Duffy (ed.), *Medieval Dublin* VII (Dublin 2006) 66-88.

[2] John Sheehan, Steffen Stumman Hansen and Donnchadh Ó Corráin, 'A Viking-Age maritime haven: a reassessment of the island settlement at Beginish, Co Kerry', *Journal of Irish Archaeology* 10 (2001) 93-119.

[3] Erin Keeley Gibbons and Eamonn P. Kelly, 'A Viking-Age farmstead in Connemara' in *Archaeology Ireland* 17.1 (2003) 28-32; Eamonn P. Kelly, 'The Vikings in Connemara', in John Sheehan and Donnchadh Ó Corráin (eds), *The Viking Age: Ireland and the West: proceedings of the XVth Viking Congress, Cork, 2005* (Dublin 2010) 122-9.

[4] Eamonn P. Kelly and John Maas, 'The Vikings and the kingdom of Laois', in Pádraig G. Lane and William Nolan (eds), *Laois: history and society* (Dublin 1999) 123-59; Eamonn P. Kelly and Edmond O'Donovan, 'A Viking *longphort* near Athlunkard, Co Clare', *Archaeology Ireland* 12.4 (1998) 13-16.

[5] Richard O'Brien, Patrick Quinney and Ian Russell, 'Preliminary report on the archaeological excavation and finds retrieval strategy of the Hiberno-Scandinavian site of Woodstown 6, Co Waterford', *Decies* 61 (2005) 13-122.

identify the date of decline more closely. The possible reasons for this downturn in activity are also discussed.

How did the transmission of information and the transmission of manuscripts in the medieval period influence which Viking references were retained, augmented or interpolated into the Irish annals? Chapter 3 attempts to answer this question by deciphering the complex inter-textual relationships between the annals based purely on the Viking entries. Though this is a little pre-emptive, and isolating material in this fashion may distort the picture slightly, nevertheless it proved to be a worthwhile exercise. This is most clearly seen when examining the complex history of the *Chronicle of Ireland*, where marginal and interlinear glosses may have been inserted into the text before it was copied to form the versions of the *Annals of Ulster* and *Annals of Tigernach* / *Chronicum Scotorum* extant today.

Based on their analysis of the Viking entries in the Irish annals, F.J. Byrne and Charles Doherty published four maps of Viking-Age Ireland in 1984, in volume 9 of the *New History of Ireland*.[6] Their work was ground breaking in its attempt to map Viking activity and the three ninth-century maps are of particular interest to this study. Byrne and Doherty devised the following chronology:

1. Viking raids: the first generation 795-836.
2. Viking penetration and Irish reaction: 837-873
3. Viking wars and Viking settlements: the forty years' of peace 874-912

No textual commentary/analysis accompanied the maps; however, both writers were to offer explanation for some of their choices in later studies. In a review article in 1998, Doherty noted that 837 marked the arrival of large fleets at the mouth of the Liffey and the Boyne.[7] In 2005, Byrne stated 'The second phase of their activity in Ireland had already begun in 837 when two fleets of *Nordmanni*, each of sixty ships, arrived on the Boyne and Liffey estuaries'.[8] We may infer that Byrne and Doherty's choice of 873 was based on the death of Ímar, king of Viking Dublin, in that year.[9]

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[6] T.W. Moody, F.X. Martin and F.J. Byrne (eds), *A new history of Ireland* ix: *maps, genealogies, lists* (Oxford 1984) 19-21.

[7] Charles Doherty, 'The Vikings in Ireland: a review', in Howard B. Clarke, Máire Ní Mhaonaigh and Raghnall Ó Floinn (eds), *Ireland and Scandinavia in the early Viking Age* (Dublin 1998) 288-330: 295.

[8] F.J. Byrne, 'The Viking-Age', in Dáibhí Ó Crónín (ed.), *A new history of Ireland* i*: Prehistoric and early Ireland* (Oxford 2005) 611. Also noteworthy this is the first use of the term *Nordmanni*.

[9] AU 873. Translation of all annal entries is provided alongside the text, and quotes are only indented when more than one line. For the date of each entry according to the annal referenced and amended date, please refer to the accompanying concordance of annal entries in Appendix A of this study.

Over 25 years have passed since the publication of Byrne and Doherty's maps, and a revised chronology of the ninth-century Viking activity may now be proposed, based on advances in our understanding of the primary source material and on examination of recent archaeological excavations. In the intervening years, other historians, such as Colmán Etchingham and Mary Valante have prepared maps of Viking activity, but in each case their maps were devised with a specific focus in mind.[10] Etchingham outlines Viking raids on Irish church settlements, which he divides as follows 795-830; 831-850; 851-880; 881-900.[11] Valante draws attention to the economic motivation of Viking raids; though she does create one further division (837-852), generally she adheres to Byrne and Doherty's dating. Though not explicitly stated, presumably she chose 853 as a nodal point due to the arrival in Ireland of Amlaíb and Ímar.[12]

The three phases identified by Doherty and Byrne are re-examined in this study. Recent archaeological excavations have unearthed five male Viking burials in Ship Street Great and South Great George's Street in Dublin dating to the late eighth and ninth centuries. Contemporary habitation evidence found at the South Great George's Street site, dating to the early to mid-ninth century, suggests that this may have been the location site of the earliest Viking settlement at Dublin.[13] This evidence has prompted a re-examination of early ninth-century references to the Vikings in Ireland, in particular, the phase traditionally characterised as the 'hit-and-run' phase. In Chapters 4 and 5, the possibility that some Viking bands established bases on islands along the coast before the traditional date of the late 830s and 840s is examined.

The concordance of Viking-related annal entries is also very useful for analysis of settlements, the terminology associated with them, place-names and personal names. It is also useful for tracing settlement terms such as *longphort, dúnad*, and *dún*. These terms and the evidence for ninth-century settlement are discussed in Chapter 6. In particular, the term *longphort* is examined. Some of these bases may have lasted for a number of years; some evolved and developed into more

[10] Colmán Etchingham, *Viking raids on Irish church settlements in the ninth century*, Maynooth Monographs, Series Minor 1 (Maynooth 1996); Mary Valante, *The Vikings in Ireland: settlement, trade and urbanization* (Dublin 2008).

[11] Etchingham, *Viking raids*, 18-9 and 26-7; Doherty, 'Vikings in Ireland', 295, fn 34, saw no good reason to adopt this revised chronology.

[12] Valante, *The Vikings*, 167-72.

[13] Linzi Simpson, 'Viking warrior burials: is this the *longphort*?', in Seán Duffy (ed.), *Medieval Dublin* VI (Dublin 2005) 11-62.

permanent settlements that were to eventually to emerge as towns in the mid- to late tenth century, the classic example being Dublin. Two complementary case-studies have been selected for specific study: ninth-century Dublin and Woodstown. There are documentary references to settlement at Dublin and some very interesting archaeological evidence has emerged from excavations in the city. In contrast, we have no identified references to Woodstown in the Irish annals, but evidence from limited survey and excavation of the site suggest that it was a major Viking settlement in the ninth century.

This thesis sets out to examine patterns of Viking settlement in ninth-century Ireland; an interdisciplinary approach is adopted that attempts to combine evidence from both the extant primary sources and the archaeological evidence. It is argued that the Vikings had bases in Ireland even in the earliest period of activity 795-836, traditionally characterised as the 'hit-and-run' phase. The downturn discernible in Viking-related annalistic entries occurs at a time when there are increased references to Viking settlements; therefore, it is argued that this change in the pattern of Viking activity reflects their increased involvement in trade and settlement. To support this hypothesis, the evidence for settlement and trade at Dublin and Waterford in the ninth century is then discussed.

Overall in the thesis, close reading and analysis of the documentary record is combined with discussion of the archaeological evidence in an effort to increase our understanding of Viking activity and settlement in ninth-century Ireland.

CHAPTER 1

VIKING SETTLEMENT IN IRELAND: FROM WOOD QUAY TO WOODSTOWN[1]

Traditionally in Irish historiography, the Scandinavians who came to Ireland in the early medieval period — the Vikings — were viewed as pagan raiders who came to plunder monastic settlements, churches and lands. An entire conference of the International Celtic Congress in 1959 was devoted to an examination of their impact on Ireland.[2] The views then expressed on their detrimental impact on Irish art, literature and social organisation have now been modified.[3] There is no doubt that the image of the Vikings as plunderers originates in contemporary sources such as the annals; for example, in 821 AU records: *Orggan Etir o genntibh; pred mor di mnaibh do brid ass* 'Étar was plundered by the heathens, and they carried off a great number of women into captivity'. This Irish poet, Oliver St John Gogarty turned this entry into verse:

> The chronicles say
> That the Danes in their day
> Took a very great prey
> Of women from Howth.
> They seem to imply
> That the women were shy,
> To be taken from Howth
> From busy and thrushy, sequestering Howth.[4]

However, this modern view of the Vikings was also was heavily influenced by Middle Irish historicist texts, in particular, the twelfth-century text *Cogad Gaedhel re Gallaibh* [CGG].[5] Though CGG is primarily an artful piece of propaganda designed

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[1] This chapter originated as a paper delivered as part of the campaign to re-route the N25 away from the Viking site of Woodstown: 'Viking settlement in Ireland from Wood Quay to Woodstown', *Save Viking Waterford Group*, Tower Hotel, Waterford 25th November 2004: www.savevikingwaterford.com.

[2] Brian Ó Cuív (ed.), *Proceedings of the international congress of Celtic Studies, Dublin 1959* (Dublin 1962) 119-32. Reprinted as *The impact of the Scandinavian invasions on the Celtic-speaking peoples, c.800–1100 A.D.*, ed. B. Ó Cuív (Dublin 1975).

[3] For the most recent synthesis, see Doherty, 'The Vikings in Ireland: a review'.

[4] 'Foghorns' in A. Norman Jefferies (ed.), *The poems and plays of Oliver St John Gogarty* (Gerard's Cross 2001) 103.

[5] J.H. Todd (ed. and trans.), *Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaibh*, Rolls Series 48 (London 1867). Todd's edition was a collation of three extant manuscripts: L the Book of Leinster, D a fourteenth-century manuscript from TCD, and B a copy of a seventeenth-century manuscript found in the Burgundian Library. In some instances, where L provides a better reading, I have taken quotes directly from R.I. Best, Osborn J. Bergin, M.A. O'Brien, and Anne O'Sullivan (eds), *The book of Leinster* 6 vols

to glorify the dynasty of Brian Bóroma — the Dál Cais or the Uí Briain — it also contains genuine annalistic entries not extant elsewhere including unique Viking material.[6] CGG contends that the Dál Cais was the only dynasty in Ireland able to give relief from Viking oppression, and in a typical literary flourish it recounts:

> *Bai, imorro, arali ciniud suairc sairclanntha socheneoil segaind in nErind na ro odaim ecomnept na anforran no dochrati ingantaig o ciniud ele is in domun riam, .i. [Dail Cais Boruma]*.
> There was, however, a certain gracious, noble, high-born, beautiful tribe in Erinn, who never submitted to tyranny or oppression, or unwonted injury, from any other tribe in the world, namely … [the Dál Cais Borúma].[7]

The traditional view of Viking settlement in Ireland is that they were urban dwellers, mostly confined to the towns of Dublin, Wexford, Waterford, Limerick, and Cork, and to a few other coastal settlements such as Wicklow and Arklow on the east coast, Strangford and Carlingford Lough on the north coast. The names of some of these settlements are derived from, or influenced by, Old Norse:[8] Wexford, *Ueigs-fjörðr*, may mean 'water-logged island or piece of land' fjord; Waterford, *Ueða(r)-fjördr*, may mean 'ram' or 'windy' fjord; and Limerick, *Hlymrek*, is an Old Norse borrowing of Irish *Luimnech*.[9] The English form of the name is borrowed from the Scandinavian. In the medieval period, there were two names for Dublin: the Irish referred to the settlement as *Áth Cliath* meaning 'ford of the hurdles' and the Scandinavians called it, *Dfylin*, derived from *Dublinn*, which referred to the Black Pool scoured out by the ebb and flow of the river Liffey and its confluence with the river Poddle. Dónall Mac Giolla Easpaig points out that the Scandinavian adaptation won the day and argues that Dublin is the best known legacy of Scandinavian influence on the toponymy of Ireland.[10] In many respects, the survival of these

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(Dublin 1954-83) v [hereafter BL], rather than from Todd's edition. Note BL has only the first 28 chapters of Todd's edition, the remaining chapters were supplied by D and B.

[6] Máire Ní Mhaonaigh, 'Bréifne bias in *Cogad Gaedel re Gallaib*', *Ériu* 43 (1992) 135-58; ead. '*Cogad Gaedel re Gallaib*: some dating considerations', *Peritia* 9 (1995) 354-77; ead. '*Cogad Gaedel re Gallaib* and the annals: a comparison', *Ériu* 47 (1996) 101-26.

[7] CGG 52-3.

[8] Magnus Oftedal, 'Scandinavian place-names in Ireland', in Bo Almqvist and David Greene (eds), *Proceedings of the seventh international Viking congress* (Dublin 1976) 125-34; Gillian Fellows-Jensen, 'Nordic names and loanwords in Ireland', in Anne-Christine Larsen (ed.), *The Vikings in Ireland* (Roskilde 2001) 107-13.

[9] Dónall Mac Giolla Easpaig, 'L'influence scandinave sur la toponymie irlandaise', in Elizabeth Ridel (ed.), *L'heritage maritime des Vikings en Europe de l'ouest: colloque international de la Hague* (Caen 2002) 441-82: 473; 476-7; 444. See also Gearóid Mac Eoin, 'The original name of the Viking settlement of Limerick', in Séamus Ó Catháin (ed.), *Northern lights: essays in honour of Bo Almqvist* (2001) 165-77.

[10] Mac Giolla Easpaig, 'L'influence scandinave sur la toponymie irlandaise', 442-3.

settlements as Ireland's most important towns, and the names of these towns, has left a slightly skewed legacy, one that is, perhaps, biased toward urban foundations.

The two traditional views of Vikings, one as pagan raiders and the other as urban dwellers, are generally ascribed to different phases of the Viking-Age in Ireland. The ninth century is viewed as the period of raiding and plundering, while the tenth century and later is seen as the period of urbanisation and trade. In the case of Dublin, according to the annals, Vikings first established a base there in 841.[11] The following year, 842, the annals relate that the heathens (Vikings) were still at Dublin; they had over-wintered.[12] They were to remain until they were expelled in 902 (AU) by the kings of Brega and Laigin:

> *Indarba n-gennti a h-Ere, .i. longport Atha Cliath o Mael Findia m. Flandacain co feraibh Bregh ⁊ o Cerball m. Muiricain co Laignibh co farcabsat drecht mar dia longaibh co n-erlasat leth-marba iarna n-guin ⁊ a m-brisiuth.*
> The heathens were driven from Ireland, i.e. from the fortress of Áth Cliath, by Mael Finnia son of Flannacán with the men of Brega and by Cerball son of Muiricán, with the Laigin; and they abandoned a good number of their ships, and escaped half dead after they had been wounded and defeated.

This expulsion of the Scandinavians from Dublin, and indeed from Ireland as the entry states, has traditionally formed a convenient point of division in studies of the Viking period in Ireland. The second phase of Scandinavian settlement in Ireland is felt to begin with the re-founding of Dublin in 917 (by Sitruic Cáech) and to end with the taking of the town by the Anglo-Normans in 1170. Were the Vikings completely expelled in 902? Michael Kenny's study of the distribution of Viking-Age hoards in Ireland raised some interesting issues with regard to this period; in particular, his evaluation of the Lough Ennell hoard, dated *c*.905–10.[13] According to the historical evidence, the Vikings were no longer present in Dublin, but if this was the case, how then did the hoard containing York, East Anglian and Kufic coins find its way into

[11] AU 841.
[12] AU 842.
[13] Michael Ryan, Raghnall Ó Floinn, Nicholas Lowick, Michael Kenny and Peter Cazalet, 'Six silver finds of the Viking period from the vicinity of Lough Ennell, Co Westmeath', *Peritia* 3 (1984) 334-81. Michael Kenny, 'The geographical distribution of Irish Viking-Age coin hoards', *Proc Roy Ir Acad* 87C (1987) 507-25; I discussed the implications of this study in 'Oxmantown, Dublin: a medieval transpontine suburb', unpublished MPhil diss. UCD, National University of Ireland, 1999, 16-8.

the heartland of Clann Cholmáin kingdom?[14] The find-spot of the hoard suggests Dublin as the point of entry, and Kenny argues that:

> this in turn indicates either a residual Viking presence in Dublin or the possibility that the coins found their way across through independent trading activity on the part of the Irish. On balance, the former would appear to be the most likely explanation. Dublin had been occupied by the Vikings, apparently continuously, for over sixty years before the major defeat of 902. It is not unreasonable to suggest that some traders and settled townspeople may have decided to accept their changed circumstances and consequently been allowed to stay on as vassals of the victorious Irish when their more warlike brethren had fled abroad.[15]

Excavations in Parliament Street by Georgina Scally in 1996 found domestic structures and associated buildings that date to the ninth and early tenth century. Of more interest is the fact that there is no evidence of a break in occupancy at the site, when the Vikings were supposedly absent from Dublin in 902-917. In fact, evidence suggests continuity of settlement.[16] Similarly, continuity of settlement was found at the adjacent Temple Bar West site excavated by Linzi Simpson.[17]

The 902 date is a crucial one, because it is used as the demarcation point between the ninth- and tenth-century periods of Viking activity, and traditionally marks a change in how the two centuries on either side of that date have been interpreted. To some extent, the Dublin excavations of the 1960s–1980s compounded the impression of two distinct phases of activity as the archaeological evidence dated primarily from the tenth century onwards, and clearly showed Dublin as a town. There is no doubt that the world of the Vikings was opened up, literally, when the excavations were carried out in the city. Excavations began with the Dublin Castle site under the Office of Public Works, followed by the major excavations of the National Museum by Breandán Ó Ríordáin (High Street, Winetavern Street, Christchurch Place) and Patrick Wallace (Wood Quay, Fishamble Street and John's

[14] The importance of Dysart 4 hoard was first articulated in Ryan, et al. 'Six silver finds of the Viking period from the vicinity of Lough Ennell', 352, 'The military defeat and expulsion of the Dublin Vikings in 902 may not have been followed by the severance of commercial and trading links'.

[15] Kenny, 'Viking-Age coin hoards', 516.

[16] Margaret Gowen and Georgina Scally, *Summary report on excavations at 5-7 Exchange Street Upper/33-34 Parliament Street, Dublin* (Temple Bar Properties 1996) 21.

[17] Linzi Simpson, *Director's findings*: *Temple Bar West*, Temple Bar Archaeological Report 5 (Dublin 1999); subsequently discussed in, 'Forty years a digging: a preliminary synthesis of archaeological investigations in medieval Dublin', in Seán Duffy (ed.), *Medieval Dublin* I (Dublin 2000) 11-69; ead. 'Pre-Viking and Viking-Age Dublin: some research questions', in Seán Duffy (ed.), *Medieval Dublin* X (Dublin 2010) 49-92: 52.

Lane).[18] The material from these excavations presented a picture of the Scandinavians as merchants, craftsmen and settlers. Specialised studies based on these excavations are still forthcoming.[19] No evidence of ninth-century settlement was found in the initial Dublin excavations, though we know from documentary sources that Scandinavians were settled in the area at this time. It is possible that the ninth-century settlement was not identified during these earlier excavations, especially as excavation of areas such as Wood Quay, were carried out under extreme pressure.[20] Simpson has recently suggested that the ninth-century evidence from Temple Bar West was probably part of a settlement that stretched along Wood Quay and reached as far west as Winetavern Street.[21] She thinks that some of the evidence from earlier excavations should be now revisited in the light of recent discoveries. For example, the sunken-floored buildings at Temple Bar West have been dated to the ninth century, and she suggests that those found at Winetavern Street, originally dated to the tenth century, should now be properly re-dated to the ninth.[22]

Our understanding of ninth-century settlement has grown with the more recent excavations in Dublin, in particular, those of Parliament Street and Temple Bar West in the 1990s. The Essex Street West site revealed evidence of Type 1 houses and suggests a settled population, living in houses, very similar to those found in the tenth century.[23] There is also evidence of plot divisions, craft-production, and metal-working. This raises the thorny question of when Dublin became an urban settlement (or town), but this largely depends on how one defines a 'town'.[24] One may have trouble defining ninth-century Dublin as a town, but it was certainly more

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[18] Breandáin Ó Ríordáin, 'The High Street excavations', in Howard B. Clarke (ed.), *Medieval Dublin: the making of a metropolis* (Blackrock 1990) 162-75: Patrick Wallace, 'The Archaeology of Viking Dublin', in Howard B. Clarke and Anngret Simms (eds), *The comparative history of urban origins in non-Roman Europe: Ireland, Wales, Denmark, Germany, Poland and Russia from the ninth to the thirteenth century*, i (1985); J.T. Lang, *Viking-Age decorated wood: a study of its ornament and style* (Dublin 1988); Patrick Wallace, *Viking-Age buildings of Dublin*, Medieval Dublin Excavations 1962-81, Series A, 2 Parts (Dublin 1992).

[19] The most recent is that of Andrew Halpin, *Weapons and warfare in Viking and Medieval Dublin*. Medieval Dublin Excavations 1962-81, Series B, Volume 9 (Dublin 2008).

[20] John Bradley (ed.), *The Wood Quay Saga* (Dublin 1984); Simpson, 'Pre-Viking and Viking-Age Dublin', 79.

[21] Simpson, 'Pre-Viking and Viking-Age Dublin', 79.

[22] Ibid.

[23] Simpson, *Director's findings*, 27.

[24] Howard B. Clarke, 'Kingdom, emporium and town: the impact of Viking Dublin', *History Studies: University of Limerick History Society Journal* 2 (2000) 13-24: 20-1; argues that the evidence from these sites shows Dublin to be similar to many other village settlements at that time in Europe, and that plot division and organisation is not enough to satisfy the requirements for an urban definition.

than a raiding base. As we shall discuss in Chapter 4, it is impossible to determine when a raiding base (and there were many in Ireland) became a more formal settlement (surely any base is a settlement of a kind); the transition must have been gradual and natural in many cases. The main question might be posed thus: when was a more significant proportion of Dublin's population engaged in activities other than raiding?

Further evidence of ninth-century settlement at Dublin was discovered in 2005, when Simpson excavated South Great George's Street. Here four Viking burials and evidence of ninth-century houses and hearths were unearthed.[25] However, the best evidence for ninth-century settlement in Ireland may come from a site outside the traditional Viking towns. In 2003, during test trenching for the construction of the N25 Waterford Bypass, archaeologists discovered evidence of a Viking settlement at Woodstown on the banks of the river Suir, just 5km from Waterford city.[26] Part of the importance of the Viking settlement at Woodstown, is that initial reports indicate that the site dates from the mid-ninth century to the early eleventh century.[27] Excavation of the site would have much to tell us about ninth-century Viking settlement and settlement in general in Ireland at that time. It would also shed light on the snippets of archaeological evidence we possess from Dublin. One might argue that if we are looking for a parallel site then Woodstown just might be it. More recently, research excavations have been carried out at Annagassan, Co Louth, a documented Viking site in the ninth-century Irish annals called Linn

[25] Linzi Simpson, 'Viking warrior burials: is this the *longphort*', in Seán Duffy (ed.), *Medieval Dublin* VI (Dublin 2005) 11-62.

[26] Richard O'Brien and Ian Russell, 'A preliminary note on the archaeological site of Woodstown 6, Co Waterford', *Decies* 60 (2004) 65-70; Richard O'Brien, Patrick Quinney and Ian Russell, 'Preliminary report on the archaeological excavation and finds retrieval strategy of the Hiberno-Scandinavian site of Woodstown 6, Co Waterford', *Decies* 61 (2005) 13-122; Richard O'Brien, 'The Hiberno-Scandinavian site of Woodstown 6, Co Waterford', in Jerry O'Sullivan and Michael Stanley (eds), *Recent archaeological discoveries on National Road Schemes 2004; proceedings of a seminar for the public* (Dublin 2005) 111-24; Ian Russell, Stephen H. Harrison, John Nicholls, Jonathon Kinsella, Siobhan McNamara and Méabh O'Hare, *Woodstown 6 Supplementary Research Project* (Department of the Environment, Heritage and Local Government 2007).

[27] Russell and O'Brien suggest that the site was occupied from fifth century, and was probably taken over the by Vikings in the ninth. This suggestion is based on radiocarbon dates taken from two samples of charcoal found in old ground surface from the enclosing ditch. John Sheehan (amongst others) has rejected this analysis and argued that they only provide a *terminus post quem* for the construction of the ditch: see Sheehan, 'The *longphort* in Viking-Age Ireland', *Acta Archaeologica* 79 (2008) 282-95: 285. The evidence will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 7.

Duachaill.[28] No doubt the material from excavations at Annagassan will also make a significant contribution to our understanding of ninth-century Viking settlement.[29]

The Vikings returned to Ireland in the early tenth century: in 914 to Waterford and in 917 to Dublin (AU). Dublin was to emerge as the most important Viking town in Ireland, and was second only to York in the Viking world of Western Europe. There is considerable debate as to when Dublin emerged as a town: most scholars agree that this happened sometime in the tenth century. Wallace would argue for the early part of the century while Clarke favours a date more in the mid-tenth century.[30] Much of the debate about urbanisation turns on the definition of a town, I would argue that the ninth-century settlement at Dublin was more than a raiding base and that it housed a settled population. Many of the questions raised with regard to the later Viking town are equally applicable to the ninth century: What kind of settlement was it? How did it obtain sufficient supplies to support its population? What was the extent of its hinterland? How much of that hinterland did the Vikings control? How much of it did they settle?

The biased portrayal of the Vikings in the Irish source material was scrutinised in the 1960s by Peter Sawyer and A.T. Lucas but it was the excavations at Dublin that led to a fundamental reassessment.[31] Ó Corráin suggested in 1972 that Scandinavian settlement in Ireland was perhaps more widespread than previously believed, and Wallace, when he assessed the implications of the Dublin material, argued that the settlement must have relied on its hinterland.[32] But it was an article by John Bradley in 1988, fittingly in honour of F.X. Martin, prompted primarily by the excavations at Dublin, which led to the first substantial re-assessment of

[28] Micheál McKeown, 'Annagassan, a study of the Viking *longphort*', *County Louth Archaeological and Historical Journal* 26 (2005) 67-79.

[29] For most recent updates on the site see www.linnduachaill.ie.

[30] Howard Clarke,'Proto-towns and towns in Ireland and Britain in the ninth and tenth centuries', in Clarke et al. (eds), *Ireland and Scandinavia in the early Viking-Age*, 331-80: 334.

[31] P.H. Sawyer, *The age of the Vikings* (1st ed, London 1962); A.T. Lucas,'Irish-Norse relations: time for a reappraisal?', *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society* 71 (1966) 62-75; id. 'The plundering and burning of churches in Ireland, 7th to 16th century', in Etienne Rynne (ed.), *North Munster studies: essays in commemoration of Mgr Michael Moloney* (Limerick 1967) 172-229.

[32] Donnchadh Ó Corráin, *Ireland before the Normans* (Dublin and London 1972); Patrick F. Wallace, 'A reappraisal of the archaeological significance of Wood Quay', in Bradley, *Viking Dublin exposed*, 112-33; Wallace, 'The archaeology of Viking Dublin', in Clarke and Simms (eds), *Comparative history of urban origins*, 103-45.

Scandinavian settlement.[33] Bradley argued that the Dublin material raised a number of important issues. Firstly, the town required a food supply and he posed a central question — could Dublin have obtained its needs purely from booty or trade? Similarly, the craft-workers required a steady and reliable supply of raw materials: for example, antler-bone to make combs. A great deal of wood was required to build post-and-wattle houses, and fences, and to make every-day objects such as buckets. A good supply of fuel was also needed for the fires necessary for cooking and craft-working. He argued that the hinterland must have been under the control of, and settled by, the Hiberno-Scandinavians from the late-tenth to the twelfth century. This hinterland is referred to in the Icelandic sagas as *Dyflinarskíri*, or 'Dublinshire'.[34]

Bradley attempted to define the extent of 'Dublinshire' based on references in the annals and in the later Anglo-Norman sources; he combined this material with the archaeological evidence and some analysis of place-names, and suggested that 'in the twelfth century *Dyflinarskíri* covered a substantial area, incorporating all of the modern county of Dublin and parts of Wicklow, north Wexford and Kildare'.[35] Since the publication of Bradley's article, his estimation of the extent of 'Dublinshire' has drawn criticism from some scholars. Mark Clinton, in particular, has taken issue with the model proposed, and has suggested that while the argument presented by Bradley for South Dublin and North Wicklow is persuasive, the model is less so for North County Dublin.[36] There is no doubt about the evidence from the south of the town: the Hiberno-Scandinavian decoration of the Rathdown slabs and the documented landholdings of the Mac Torcaill dynasty. Such evidence is lacking for the area to the north.[37] In addition, Bradley suggested that the hinterland of Dublin, and some other

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[33] John Bradley, 'The interpretation of Scandinavian settlement in Ireland', in John Bradley (ed.), *Settlement and society in medieval Ireland: studies presented to F.X. Martin, O.S.A.* (Kilkenny 1988) 49-78.

[34] Sigurður Nordal (ed.), *Egils saga Skalla-Grímssonarr,* Íslenzka Fornritafélag 2 (Reykavík 1933) 12; See more recent edition Bjarni Einarsson, *Egils Saga* (Viking Society for Northern Research 2003) 5; Bernard Scudder and Svanhildur Óskardóttir (ed. and trans.), *Egils saga* (London 2002) 7-8.

[35] Bradley, 'Scandinavian settlement', 58.

[36] Mark Clinton, 'The souterrains of County Dublin', in Conleth Manning (ed.), *Dublin and beyond the Pale: studies in honour of Patrick Healy* (Dublin 1998) 117-28; Mark Clinton, 'Settlement patterns in the early historic kingdom of Leinster (seventh to mid twelfth century)', in Alfred P. Smyth (ed.), *Seanchas: essays in early and medieval archaeology, history and literature in honour of Francis J. Byrne* (Dublin 1999) 275-98; id. 'Settlement dynamics in Co Meath: the kingdom of Lóegaire', *Peritia* 14 (2000) 372-405. See also Clarke, 'Kingdom, emporium and town', 16.

[37] P. Ó Héailidhe, 'The Rathdown slabs', *J Roy Soc Antiq Ire* 87 (1957) 75-88; id., 'Early christian grave slabs in the Dublin region', *J Roy Soc Antiq Ire* 103 (1973) 51-64; id., 'Three unrecorded early graveslabs in county Dublin', *J Roy Soc Antiq Ire* 112 (1982) 139-41; id., 'Decorated stones at Kilgobbin, county Dublin', *J Roy Soc Antiq Ire* 114 (1984) 142-4; id. and E. Prendergast, 'Two unrecorded graveslabs in county Dublin', *J Roy Soc Antiq Ire* 107 (1977) 139-42; Thaddeus C.

towns, were settled by Irish, Scandinavian and monastic tenants living side by side. The hinterlands of Waterford, Wexford, Cork and Limerick were known in the Anglo-Norman sources as the 'cantreds of the Ostmen' (Ostmen derives from *Austmenn* meaning 'men from the east').[38] Traditionally, these cantreds were viewed as the areas to which the Ostmen or Hiberno-Scandinavians fled, or were expelled to, when the Anglo-Normans arrived. Bradley argued that these areas had always been home to the Ostmen.[39] Jean Young had made a similar point many years before.[40]

Bradley himself acknowledged that there was a difference, first of all, between control of the hinterland and actual settlement of the land by the Scandinavians or the Hiberno-Scandinavians, and secondly, between the extent of settlement and its control which must have fluctuated over the centuries. Perhaps, the crucial issue in the debate is the need to differentiate between the four centuries of Scandinavian activity and settlement in the area, and the need to acknowledge that much can change from decade to decade. The article was written in the light of (or in the shadow of!) the Dublin excavations and they had a major impact on Bradley's interpretation.

Whatever about the modifications to Bradley's original model, and he himself has recently revisited the material, it is a seminal article.[41] Fundamentally, he was right to view the towns as part of a hierarchy of settlement that included a hinterland — whether that hinterland was settled or ruled by the Vikings is a different matter. The same holds good for ninth-century settlements. The material from more recent Dublin excavations and from Woodstown, suggests that these settlements also relied to some extent on their hinterlands. Evidence of ninth-century Viking settlement at

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Breen 'A pre-Norman grave-slab at Rathfarnham, county Dublin', *J Roy Soc Antiq Ire* 111 (1981) 120-3; Chris Corlett, 'The Rathdown slabs: Vikings and Christianity', *Archaeology Ireland* 17.4 (2003) 28-30; Eric St John Brooks, 'The de Ridelesfords', *J Roy Soc Antiq Ire* 81 (1951) 115-38 and 82 (1952) 45-61; Liam Price, 'The grant to Walter de Ridelesford of Brien and the land of the sons of Turchil', *J Roy Soc Antiq Ire* 84 (1954) 72-7; id. *The placenames of Co Wicklow*, 5 (1957) 287 and 297. For an overview of Viking settlement in Wicklow, see Colmán Etchingham, 'Evidence of Scandinavian settlement in Wicklow', in K. Hannigan and W. Nolan (eds), *Wicklow: history and society* (Dublin 1994) 113-38, and the recent synthesis by Clarke, 'Kingdom, emporium and town', 13-24.

[38] Emer Purcell, 'The expulsion of the Ostmen: the documentary evidence, 1169-1171', *Peritia* 17-18 (2003-2004) 273-94: 273-4.

[39] Bradley, 'Scandinavian settlement', 62.

[40] Jean I. Young, 'A note on the Norse occupation of Ireland', *History* (new series) 35 (1950) 11-33; the lack of contemporary accounts of this expulsion is discussed in Purcell, 'The expulsion of the Ostmen', 273-94.

[41] John Bradley, 'Some reflections on the problem of Scandinavian settlement in the hinterland of Dublin during the ninth century', in John Bradley, Alan J. Fletcher and Anngret Simms (eds), *Dublin in the medieval world: studies in honour of Howard B. Clarke* (Dublin 2009) 39-62.

Cherrywood, Co Dublin, may represent one such 'rural' settlement supporting the main base(s) on the Liffey.[42] In the past, scholars have viewed ninth-century *longphoirt* and Viking settlements as enclaves from which the Vikings ventured forth only to raid and plunder. Certainly, the archaeological evidence from the Dublin excavations for the tenth and eleventh centuries shows, as Bradley argued, evidence for reliance on the town's hinterland, and increasingly the ninth-century evidence suggests a similar model.

However, while the initial settlements may have been defensive in origin, it is also possible that the arrival of large fleets indicates that the Vikings came with the intention of settling as well as raiding. In 837, one hundred and twenty Viking ships arrived according to AU. This was either a massive raiding campaign mounted from the homelands, or an alliance formed by separate Viking bands of raiders. I think in its inception it is a planned campaign, and I suggest that the prime motivation for this expedition was to acquire and settle land in Ireland. Recent English scholarship shows that women were involved in the very earliest phases of Viking activity. This indicates that many of the expeditions in the ninth century were motivated by the desire to establish settlements.[43] There is no reason to assume that the same is not the case for ninth-century Ireland. As we shall discuss in Chapter 4, it would seem from the burial evidence at Kilmainham-Islandbridge that women were part of the ninth-century settlement at Dublin, although, Ó Floinn estimates that only 10% of the known burial evidence can be identified as female.[44] The recent excavation of a female burial at Golden Lane is an interesting case in point. Radio-carbon dates for this burial date point to the early ninth century, and analysis suggests that she was a middle-aged or elderly woman.[45] Another recent discovery of a high-status female

[42] This will be discussed further in Chapter 7. Ó Néill, 'A Norse settlement in rural County Dublin', 8-10; id. 'Excavation of pre-Norman structures on the site of an enclosed early Christian cemetery at Cherrywood', 66-88.

[43] Jane F. Kershaw, 'Culture and gender in the Danelaw: Scandinavian and Anglo-Scandinavian brooches', *Viking and Medieval Scandinavia* 5 (2009) 295-325; Shane McLeod, 'Warriors and women: the sex ratio of Norse migrants to eastern England up to 900 AD', *Early Medieval Europe* 19 (2011) 332-53.

[44] Raghnall Ó Floinn, 'The archaeology of the early Viking-Age in Ireland', in Clarke et al. (eds), *Ireland and Scandinavia in the early Viking-Age*, 131-65: 140-2.

[45] Edmond O'Donovan, 'There is an antiquarian in all of us', *Archaeology Ireland* 19.3 (2005); id. 'The Irish, the Vikings and the English: new archaeological evidence from excavations at Golden Lane, Dublin', in Seán Duffy (ed.), *Medieval Dublin* VIII (2008) 36-130. Simpson, 'Pre-Viking and early Viking', 65. Radiocarbon dates AD 678–869 for male burial and AD 680–870 for female, these dates are remarkably consistent with those from South Great George's Street and Ship Street as we shall discuss in Chapter 4.

burial at Finglas, Co Dublin, dates to the ninth century.[46] These women have been identified as Scandinavian by the accompanying grave goods, but only oxygen isotope analysis will tell whether they were Scandinavian in origin, or if they were Irish women who had adopted Scandinavian style of dress and ornamentation.

The Dublin excavations of the 1960s–1980s led to a radical reassessment of Viking impact on Ireland. This debate is still going on and is now accelerated by the more recent ninth-century settlement evidence from Dublin, Woodstown and Annagassan. The question of impact and settlement are inter-linked: one must understand the extent and nature of Viking settlement before one can truly evaluate their impact. One could simply examine the Viking raids on their own, but the nature of raiding changed during the ninth century: sometimes they plundered for portable wealth, sometimes they plundered for foodstuffs or people. Increasingly as the century progressed, however, their raiding formed part of their political strategy. They recognised the economic, social and political importance of the monastic settlements in early medieval Ireland, and once familiar with the religious calendar they deliberately raided on feast days. They quickly became familiar with the nature of the Irish political scene and deliberately targeted border areas to maximise rivalries and form strategic alliances.

The physical nature and form of initial settlements on land are also important, for to some extent these influenced the nature and extent of Viking interaction with the Irish. The initial raids and settlements were primarily navigational explorations, and therefore settlement naturally concentrated on the coastal areas and on river-ways. One of the current themes of Viking settlement studies in Ireland is the question of *longphort* settlements. The initial debate regarding *longphoirt* began primarily due to the identification of two sites, Dunrally, Co Laois and Athlunkard, Co Clare.[47] In 2004, in a paper delivered to the Save Woodstown Campaign, I remarked:

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[46] Maeve Sikora, 'The Finglas burial: archaeology and ethnicity in Viking-Age Dublin', in Sheehan and Ó Corráin (eds), *The Viking Age: Ireland and the west*, 402-17.

[47] Eamonn P. Kelly and John Maas, 'Vikings on the Barrow; Dunrally Fort, a possible Viking longphort in County Laois', *Archaeology Ireland* 9.3 (1995) 30-2; Eamonn P. Kelly, and John Maas, 'The Vikings and the kingdom of Laois', Pádraig G. Lane and William Nolan (eds), *Laois: history and society* (Dublin 1999) 123-59; Eamonn P. Kelly and Edmond O'Donovan, 'A Viking longphort near Athlunkard, Co Clare', *Arch Irl.* 12.4 (1998) 13-16. For reaction to this proposed site typology see Michael Gibbons, 'The *longphort* phenomenon in Early Christian and Viking Ireland', *History Ireland* 12.3 (2004) 19-23; id. 'Athlunkard (Ath-an-Longphort): a reassessment of the proposed Viking fortress in Fairyhill, County Clare', *The Other Clare* 29 (2005) 22-25; id. 'The

> Whatever about a typology of *longphort* settlements, there may never have been a settlement form that was a *longphort* in the same way that we categorise ringforts or motte-and-baileys. But it is clear that the Scandinavians showed a preference for certain sites which share common features. Generally they preferred sites at the confluence of rivers providing access inland via the river system, border locations preferably between rival kingdoms, proximity to river crossings and they were also attracted by natural defensive features such as marshlands or the Black Pool at Dublin.[48]

In light of recent discovery of *longphoirt* at Woodstown and Annagassan, I would now revise that statement. Surveys and excavations carried out at these settlements confirm the work of Eamonn Kelly, who has long argued that *longphoirt* are an identifiable site type.[49]

One of the most innovative aspects of Bradley's study was his discussion of various types of Scandinavian settlement: temporary bases some of which evolved into more permanent settlements or *longphoirt*; towns supported by settled hinterlands; isolated burials and stray finds which he argued hinted at Scandinavian activity or influence, if not settlement. Fundamentally, he moved the debate away from Viking settlement as a purely urban phenomenon to the possibility of rurally settled Scandinavians in Ireland. He drew attention to sites outside traditional areas associated with Scandinavian settlement (some of these will be discussed in Chapter 6). Many of these sites have subsequently been the focus of more detailed re-examination. I cite just two examples. Bradley drew attention to the middens at the site of Truska, Co Galway; this site has been surveyed recently by Erin Keeley-Gibbons and Eamonn Kelly, and they suggest that it may have been a Norse farmstead. [50] Bradley also discussed the Viking material from Beginish, Co Kerry. A subsequent review of the site has led Ó Corráin, Sheehan and Stumann-Hansen to suggest that it may have been a Viking way-station. [51] It is important to stress that there is a difference between acknowledging a diverse range of settlements and arguing for extensive settlement.

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search for the ninth-century *longphort*: early Viking-Age Norse fortifications and the origins of urbanization in Ireland', in Seán Duffy (ed.), *Medieval Dublin* VIII (2008) 9-20.

[48] 'Viking settlement in Ireland from Wood Quay to Woodstown', Tower Hotel, Waterford 25th November 2004.

[49] Kelly and Maas, 'Vikings on the Barrow'; eid. Vikings and the kingdom of Laois'; Kelly and O'Donovan, 'Athlunkard'.

[50] Keeley-Gibbons and Kelly, 'Viking-Age Farmstead'; Kelly, 'Vikings in Connemara'.

[51] Sheehan, Stumman Hansen and Ó Corráin, 'A Viking-Age maritime haven: a reassessment of the island settlement at Beginish, 93-119; for a reaction to this proposed model see Michael Gibbons and Myles Gibbons, 'A critique of the evidence recently presented for the existence of Viking maritime havens and associated rural settlement in Ireland', *Journal of the Kerry History and Archaeological Society* 2.8 (2008) 28-79.

As previously stated, Viking impact and Viking settlement are interlinked: one cannot assess one without addressing the other. In addition, one must also attempt to understand the nature of pre-existing Irish settlement when the Vikings arrived. Did the Vikings fit in to or remain outside Irish settlement patterns? What was the main settlement form in the Irish landscape when the Vikings came? Ireland in the early ninth century was a network of settlements which comprised ringforts, crannógs and ecclesiastical foundations. Viking interaction with these settlements is most keenly reflected in the archaeological evidence, in particular, Viking-Age hoards. These hoards, dating from the ninth and tenth centuries, seem to show clear differences in social and economic interactions with these various types of settlement. In early medieval Ireland, the dominant settlement form may have been the ringfort or *ráth*.[52] These ringforts are among the most common features in the modern Irish landscape, and perhaps this dominance has influenced our interpretation of Irish settlement to some extent. Matthew Stout estimates that there are approximately 45,000 ringforts extant today.[53] The majority date between *c*.AD 600 – *c*.AD 900, though some show evidence of earlier occupation, and others evidence of occupation, or perhaps re-occupation, well into the seventeenth century.[54]

Viking interaction with ringfort settlements manifests itself in the archaeological evidence; for example, hoards from ringforts tend to contain complete ornaments (usually arm-rings), which contrasts with those from ecclesiastical sites which are mainly composed of coin, and sometimes hacksilver. Hoards from crannóg settlements are mainly composed of ornament with hack silver, or just hack silver. Graham-Campbell and Sheehan suggest that these different types of hoards served different purposes, circulating in different economic and social environments.[55] Ó Floinn suggests further that this represents two different silver economies, one operating in secular circles in the form of ornaments which emerged around the mid-ninth century and the other in the form of coins and ingots in an ecclesiastical/urban milieu which developed at the beginning of the tenth century.[56]

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[52] Gregory Toner, 'Settlement and settlement terms in medieval Ireland: *ráth* and *lios*', *Ainm* 8 (1998-2000) 1-40.
[53] Matthew Stout, *The Irish ringfort*, Irish Settlement Studies 5 (Dublin 1997).
[54] Elizabeth Fitzpatrick has recently argued for greater continuity of settlement in these sites up to and into the early modern period: 'Native enclosed settlement and the problem of the Irish 'ring-fort', *Medieval Archaeology* 53 (2009) 271-307, however, her study area is quite specific.
[55] J.A. Graham-Campbell and John Sheehan, 'Viking-Age gold and silver from Irish crannogs and other watery places', *The Journal of Irish Archaeology* 18 (2009) 77-93.
[56] Ó Floinn, 'Archaeology of the early Viking-Age', 161.

Ringfort hoards such as those from Rathmooley, Co Tipperary, Kilmacomma, Co Waterford, and Carraig Aille II, Co Limerick,[57] are defined as social hoards that may have been assembled through political alliances/tribute and/or marriage alliances that were secured by gift-giving. The hoard from Rathmooley, Co Tipperary, a circular enclosure with three ramparts, dates to the early tenth century and contains two arm-rings, one of Norwegian origin and one of Hiberno-Scandinavian design.[58] The hoard from Kilmacomma, Co Waterford, comes from a levelled ringfort overlooking the river Suir, near Clonmel. The hoard was discovered through illegal searching of the site and seems to have contained twelve items of hack-silver (ingots and arm-rings) which date to between *c*.880 and *c*.940. Sheehan has argued that the hoard may now be associated with the Viking settlement at Woodstown, Co Waterford.[59] The hoard from Carraig Aille II, at Lough Gur, Co Limerick, forms part of a complex archaeological assemblage which contains many Scandinavian artefacts and this has led to the suggestion that the Vikings may have had a base there. Ó Floinn points to the reference in AI 926 where we are told that the fleet of Waterford came and settled on Lough Gur (*Longes Puirt Lairgge iar tír co ragbaiset i Loch Gair*).[60]

Similarity in material culture is also evident from sites as widely dispersed as the ringfort at Lissue, Co Antrim and the ringfort of Béal Boru, Co Clare. Motif-pieces from these sites display Hiberno-Scandinavian designs which are similar to those found in the Dublin excavations. They indicate interaction and communication with the Viking settlements of Dublin and Limerick which was facilitated by overland route-ways, such as the Slige Mór and Slige Midluachra, but also by sea-lanes and river-ways.[61] Trade may account for the exchange of these artefacts and

[57] John Sheehan, 'Early Viking-Age silver hoards from Ireland and their Scandinavian elements', in Clarke et al. (eds), *Ireland and Scandinavia in the early Viking age*, 166-203: 175; id. 'The Viking-Age silver hoard from Kilmacomma, Co Waterford: a Woodstown connection?, *Peritia* 20 (2008) 276-90.

[58] John Sheehan, 'The Rathmooley hoard and other Viking-Age silver from Co Tipperary', *Tipperary Historical Journal* 5 (1992) 210-6. See Kelly and Maas, 'The Vikings and the kingdom of Laois', 157; they suggest that it is not a typical Irish ringfort and that it may have been a Viking fort.

[59] Sheehan, 'Viking-Age hoard from Kilmacomma'.

[60] Ó Floinn, 'Archaeology of the early Viking-Age', 150; Sheehan, 'Viking-Age hoard from Kilmacomma', 288.

[61] Colm O Lochlainn, 'Roadways in ancient Ireland', in John Ryan, (ed.), *Féil-sgríbhinn Eóin Mhic Néill: essays and studies presented to Eoin MacNeill* (Dublin 1940) 465-74; Emer Purcell, 'A reconsideration of the Ballinderry game-board', unpublished MPhil Minor diss. UCD (National University of Ireland, 1995), 106-09.

motif-styles, but as Ó Floinn points out itinerant craftsmen may also be responsible.[62] It is also worth noting that many tenth-century hoards are from find-spots, or sites, located along the Slige Mór and its minor routes-ways: to cite just two examples, see Durrow *c*.940 and Rahan 1 and 2 *c*.970.[63]

Charles Doherty in his discussion of the dates of ringforts poses an interesting question: what replaced the ringfort in the tenth century as the dominant settlement form?[64] He proposes a nucleated settlement which led to the evolution of *baile* — an unenclosed settlement that did not necessarily manifest itself physically in the landscape. Were more powerful Irish kings better able to defend their territories, and thus defences were less needed? Doherty compares the *baile* to the English *hundred* which emerged as an administrative unit around the mid-tenth century, and he suggests that *baile* developed around the same time.[65] Paul MacCotter disagrees with this dating and suggests that *baile* did not emerge until the eleventh century, and he argues that it is linked to the evolution of patronymics in Ireland.[66] In addition, he argues that *baile* should be equated with the later Anglo-Norman *villate*.[67]

In recent years, new archaeological evidence has to come light as a result of the National Road Authority excavations and trial trenches. This evidence suggests a much more diverse range of settlement forms in early medieval Ireland; plectrum-,

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[62] Raghnall Ó Floinn, 'Viking and Romanesque influences AD 1000-1169', in Michael Ryan (ed.), *Treasures of Ireland: Irish art 3000 BC - 1500 AD* (Dublin 1983) 58-69: 58.

[63] This tenth and eleventh-century material is discussed in more detail in Purcell, 'Ballinderry game-board', 60-65, where I argue that it formed the context of the Hiberno-Scandinavian presence at Ballinderry.

[64] Doherty, 'The Vikings: a review', 315: he acknowledges that Chris Lynn was the first to pose this important question in 'The medieval ringfort – an archaeological chimera?', *Irish Archaeological Research Forum* 2 (1975) 29-34.

[65] Doherty, 'The Vikings: a review', 317. For a review of scholarship on origins and meaning of *baile*, see Gregory Toner, '*Baile*: settlement and landholding in medieval Ireland', *Éigse* 34 (2004) 25-43.

[66] Paul MacCotter, *Medieval Ireland: territorial, political and economic divisions* (Dublin 2008) 94-5. Though Diarmuid Ó Murchadha, 'The formation of Gaelic surnames: choosing the eponyms', *Nomina* 22 (1999) 25-44, dates the practice of turning *ua* from its literal meaning into that of surname to *c*.925–1125, MacCotter claims that 30 of the 52 names analysed show that adoption as surname does not occur until the twelfth century. Toner, presents evidence that the terms do not occur until the twelfth century: '*Baile*: settlement and landholding' 25-43.

[67] MacCotter, *Medieval Ireland*, 59. See also Tadhg O'Keeffe, *The Gaelic peoples and their archaeological identities, A.D. 1000–1650*, Quiggin Pamphlets on the sources of medieval Gaelic history 7 (Cambridge 2004), he draws an interesting parallel with Gaelic Scotland, 20-1: 'The evidence that the pattern of ring-fort-construction in Ireland had been abandoned at the end of the first millennium A.D. is strong, and the abandonment of small hillforts in Gaelic Scotland was perhaps a parallel process. In both lands these processes can be attributed to radical social change, involving the emergence of centralized institutions of government and the assessment for taxation-purposes of land-units rather than social groups'.

heart-, and d-shaped enclosures.[68] These sites are now referred to as 'cemetery settlements' because generally they comprise burials, associated settlement and agricultural and/or industrial activity.[69] It is difficult to determine if these were cemetery-settlements or settlements with an attached cemetery: my understanding is that they were the latter. There are examples from Raystown and Collierstown, Co Meath, and Carrowkweel, Treabaun and Owenbristy, Co Galway, to name just a few.[70] These cemetery settlements seem to range in date from the late Iron-Age and until the tenth century. Some were familial settlements while some seem to have served the wider community; they appear to have gone out of use by the tenth century, perhaps due to the influence of the Church which encouraged burial in ecclesiastical sites.[71] Though these cemetery-settlements broaden our understanding of the range of settlements in early medieval Ireland, they still leave us with the same question: what was the major settlement form when the Vikings arrived?

On interesting factor must be addressed viz., if the Vikings posed such a massive threat to the Irish, then surely the archaeological evidence should display significant or radical attempts to fortify secular and ecclesiastical settlements. For generations, many believed that crannóg settlements were built by the Irish in an effort to defend themselves against the Vikings. Although this theory has long been discarded, it still feeds into some interpretations. For example, Eamonn Kelly suggests that it is tempting to view the additional construction of palisades around the Uí Néill crannóg of Cró-Inis, in the ninth century, as a response to water-borne

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[68] Frank Coyne and Tracy Collins, 'Plectrum shaped enclosures—a new site type at Newtown, Co Limerick', *Archaeology Ireland* 17.4 (2003) 17-9: Jonathan Kinsella, 'A new Irish early medieval site type? Exploring the 'recent' archaeological evidence for non-circular enclosed settlement and burial sites', *Proc Roy Ir Acad* 110C (2010) 89-132.

[69] The phrase was coined by Tomás Ó Carragáin, 'Cemetery settlements and local churches in pre-Viking Ireland in light of comparisons with England and Wales', *Proceedings of the British Academy* 157 (2009) 329-66. Stout and Stout suggest that many cemetery settlements sites have sparse evidence for settlement and therefore should be called secular cemeteries, Matthew Stout and Geraldine Stout, *Excavations of an early medieval secular cemetery at Knowth site M, County Meath* (Bray 2008).

[70] Matthew Seaver, 'Against the grain; early medieval settlement and burial on the Blackhill. Excavations at Raystown, Co Meath', in Christian Corlett and Michael Potterton (eds), *Death and burial in early Medieval Ireland, in light of recent archaeological excavations*, Research Papers in Irish Archaeology, no. 2 (Bray 2010) 261-80: Rob O'Hara, 'Roestown 2, Co Meath: an excavation on the M3 Clonee to North of Kells motorway scheme', in Jerry O'Sullivan and Michael Stanley (eds), *New Routes to the Past: Proceedings of a public seminar on archaeological discoveries on National Road Schemes, August 2006*, Archaeology and the National Roads Authority Monograph 4 (Bray 2007) 141-51: J. Lehane, Pérez M. Muniz, J. O'Sullivan, and B. Wilkins, 'Three cemetery-settlement excavations in county Galway at Carrowkeel, Treanbaun and Owenbristy', in Corlett and Potterton (eds), *Death and burial in early medieval Ireland*, 139-56.

[71] Kinsella, 'A new early medieval Irish site type?', 124, citing the work of Elizabeth O'Brien.

Viking attacks.[72] Indeed Karkov and Ruffing go so far as to suggest that the Uí Néill decision to re-locate their royal centre from Uisneach to Cró-Inis and the ringfort of Dún na Sgiath, on the shore of Lough Ennell, in the eighth and ninth centuries may even have been prompted by the arrival of the Vikings.[73] However, as they themselves point out, a more likely reason for the establishment of these bases may have been the strategic control of important river and route-ways.[74] The majority of crannógs are not on major loughs but on tributary rivers and minor lakes. Kelly draws attention in particular to the artefactual assemblage from three crannógs: Lagore, Co Meath, Ballinderry Crannóg No. 2; and Newtownlow, Co Westmeath, all of which display evidence of trade with and/or influence from Viking Dublin.[75] In fact, the presence of Viking artefacts at Ballinderry — for example, a Viking sword of the ninth century and a tenth-century game-board — has led some to suggest that the site may have been a Hiberno-Scandinavian settlement.[76]

Graham-Campbell and Sheehan point out that most of the silver finds from crannóg sites were economic rather than ritual or social in function.[77] Crannógs are generally regarded as the homesteads of important farmers and/or craft-workers, though some were royal centres. In particular, they draw attention to two hoards (now lost) from Hare Island in Lough Ree. The gold hoard which weighed *c*.5kg is the largest ever discovered in Ireland. The hoards have been traditionally dated to the tenth century. However, John Sheehan has recently suggested, based on new evidence from Woodstown and Linn Duachaill, that these hoards may very well date

[72] Eamonn P. Kelly, 'Observations on Irish lake dwellings', in Catherine Karkov and Robert Farrell (eds), *Studies in Insular art and archeology*, American Early Medieval Studies 1 (Oxford OH 1991) 81-98: 90; Aidan O'Sullivan, *The archaeology of lake settlement in Ireland*, Discovery Programme Monograph 4, Royal Irish Academy (Dublin 1998).

[73] Catherine E. Karkov and John Ruffing, 'The southern Uí Néill and the political landscape of Lough Ennell', *Peritia* 11 (1997) 336-58: 338.

[74] Ibid. 349.

[75] Kelly, 'Observations on Irish lake dwellings', 86.

[76] H. Hencken O'Neill, 'Ballinderry Crannog No. 1' *Proc Roy Ir Acad* 47C (1942) 1-76: Uaininn O'Meadhra, 'Irish, Insular, Saxon, and Scandinavian elements in the motif-pieces from Ireland', in Michael Ryan (ed.), *Ireland and insular art AD 500–1200* (Dublin 1987) 159-65: 160-1, first suggested that the motif pieces and evidence of wood-working from Ballinderry indicate that the game-board may have been made on site. Ó Floinn, 'Archaeology of the early Viking-Age', 152, argues that the material signifies either 'sustained contact with Viking Dublin or its inhabitants were of mixed Hiberno-Norse origin'. Ruth Johnson, 'Ballinderry Crannog No. 1: a reinterpretation', *Proc Roy Ir Acad* 99C (1999) 23-71, suggests that the site was settled by Hiberno-Scandinavians. In any case, whether these artefacts mean that Vikings were living in Ballinderry, or not, they certainly demonstrate that trade and interaction with Dublin was consistent and steady. The board's ring-chain motif (of the Borre style) is quite accomplished while the Insular patterns are less so, this might support the idea that the craftsman who produced the Ballinderry board was Scandinavian.

[77] J.A. Graham-Campbell and John Sheehan, 'Viking-Age gold and silver from Irish crannógs and other watery places', *The Journal of Irish Archaeology* 18 (2009) 77-93: 77.

to the ninth century.[78] Therefore, it is all the more tempting to associate them with the band of Vikings operating on Lough Ree in the mid-840s. In 845, AU tells us that Turgéis had a camp on the Lough Ree; a position that enabled the fleet to raid both sides of the Shannon. Tom Fanning originally thought that this base may have been located at Ballaghkeeran Little, Co Westmeath, on Killinure Lough, a large inlet on the eastern shore of Lough Ree.[79] Sheehan suggests Hare Island itself as a possible alternative for the location of this *longphort*.[80] Graham-Campbell and Sheehan also point out that seven of ten crannóg sites with silver hoards are found in the Westmeath area, though they date to the tenth and eleventh century. This concentration confirms Kenny's analysis that the Southern Uí Néill kings of Clann Cholmáin were trading on a regular basis with the Viking kingdom of Dublin.[81] Two crannógs in Coolure Desmense, Lough Derravaragh, show a high concentration of Viking material; two hoards were found, one of ingots and one of arm-rings. Two scales and three weights were also found near the findspot of the second hoard.[82] The evidence suggests that the local kings, Uí Fhiachrach Cúile Fobhair and their overlords, must have been trading and interacting with Dublin on a regular basis.[83] The Coolure hoards may date to *c*.850 – *c*.930, John Sheehan has said (once again in the light of material from Woodstown and Linn Duachaill) that he would be happy to date this material more closely in the late ninth century.[84] Graham-Campbell and Sheehan conclude by demonstrating that hoards associated with crannógs display two main characteristics: they are composed mainly of ingots and hack-silver, and they rarely contain complete ornaments. This confirms that they were economic hoards.[85] The revised dating of some of these hoards calls for a re-examination of the

[78] Personal communication.
[79] Thomas Fanning, 'Ballaghkeeran Little, Athlone, Co Westmeath', *Medieval Archaeology* 27 (1983) 221.
[80] John Sheehan, 'The *longphort* in Viking-Age Ireland', *Acta Archaeologica* 79 (2008) 282-95: 291.
[81] Michael Kenny, 'The geographical distribution of Irish Viking-Age coin hoards', *Proc Roy Ir Acad* 87C (1987) 507-25.
[82] Aidan O'Sullivan, Rob Sands, and P. Eamonn Kelly, *Coolure Desmesne crannóg, Lough Derravaragh: introduction to its archaeology and landscapes* (Bray 2007); this information is based on interviews with the two men who illegally searched the site.
[83] Graham-Campbell and Sheehan, 'Viking-Age gold and silver', 85: O'Sullivan, et al., *Coolure Desmesne crannóg*; Ó Floinn, 'Archaeology of the early Viking-Age', 150, states: 'Whether this is sufficient evidence to suggest that the occupants of the this site were Scandinavian rather than Irish remains problematic'.
[84] Personal communication.
[85] Graham-Campbell and Sheehan, 'Viking-Age gold and silver', 87.

relationship between the powerful kings of Clann Cholmáin and the Viking kingdom of Dublin, particularly in the ninth century.[86]

Early Irish ecclesiastical settlements were major centres of population. While there is considerable debate as to whether we may consider these settlements 'monastic towns',[87] there is little doubt that they were centres of economic, social, and industrial activity. Though at their core they were religious foundations, early ecclesiastical settlements were intimately linked with secular society. Bell towers or round towers were traditionally interpreted as the refuge of monks from Viking attack, though it is more likely that these towers represent conscious displays of wealth and power.[88] As we will see in Chapter 7, when we examine the history of Dublin in the pre-Viking period, settlement along the river Liffey had a strong ecclesiastical character with a number of churches and monasteries.[89] Many of these settlements survived the Viking period and formed the core of medieval parish churches. As the Vikings sailed into Dublin Bay and further upriver, the most impressive settlements must have been the monastic centres of Duiblinn and Kilmainham. In many respects, the complex hierarchical social structure of early medieval Ireland manifested itself in the landscape of the Liffey. In addition to these monasteries, Howard Clarke in his model of pre-Viking Dublin proposes a secular settlement associated with *Áth Cliath*, the natural fording point on the Liffey.[90]

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[86] Emer Purcell and John Sheehan, 'Viking Dublin: enmities, alliances and the cold gleam of silver', in Dawn M. Hadley and Letty Ten Harkel (eds), *Everyday life in Viking towns: social approaches to towns in England and Ireland c.800–1100* (Oxbow, forthcoming 2013) 35-60.

[87] The argument in favour of 'monastic towns' was first articulated by Ó Corráin, *Ireland before the Normans*, 70-3. See also the work of Charles Doherty, 'Exchange and trade in early medieval Ireland', *J Roy Soc Antiq Ire* 110 (1980) 67-89; id., 'The monastic town in early medieval Ireland', in Clarke and Simms, *Comparative history of urban origins*, 45-75. The model has received staunch criticism, mostly recently by Colmán Etchingham, 'The organisation and function of an early Irish church settlement: what was Glendalough?', in Charles Doherty, Linda Doran and Mary Kelly (eds), *Glendalough: city of God* (Dublin 2011) 22-53. This article contains a good review of scholarship on the matter.

[88] George Petrie challenged the traditional interpretation of round towers in the nineteenth century, see *The ecclesiastical architecture of Ireland, anterior to the Norman invasion, comprising an essay on the origins and uses of round towers of Ireland* (2nd Ed. Dublin 1845). The contribution of Petrie to Viking historiography is discussed by Holm, 'Between apathy and antipathy: the Vikings in Irish and Scandinavian history', *Peritia* 8 (1994) 151-69. For recent scholarship on round towers see Christian Corlett, 'Interpretation of round towers: public appeal or professional opionion', *Archaeology Ireland* 12.2 (1998) 24-7; Tadhg O'Keeffe, *Ireland's Round Towers* (Tempus 2004); see also Clare Downham, 'The Viking in Southern Uí Néill to 1014', *Peritia* 17-18 (2003-2004) 233-55: 248-9, where she reviews the debate on round towers and souterrains.

[89] Ó Carragáin, 'Cemetery settlements', 329-66, argues that the approximate density of church settlements in Ireland was 1 per 9/12km; this would mean the ecclesiastical settlement pattern along the Liffey was not so unusual.

[90] Howard B. Clarke, 'Gaelic, Viking and Hiberno-Norse Dublin', in Art Cosgrove (ed.), *Dublin through the ages* (Dublin 1988) 4-24.

It is the wide range of their activities, their political importance and their wealth that attracted the Vikings to ecclesiastical settlements in the first place. Consequently, the Viking raided these settlements for ecclesiastical artefacts, wealth, people, cattle and foodstuffs. Unsurprisingly, some initial Viking bases were established inside, alongside, or at least in close proximity to, church settlements. Ó Floinn draws attention to an entry in AU 845 which relates that the Dublin Vikings established a base at Cluain Andobair and also to the reference to a base at Clondalkin in AU 867.[91] He argues:

> It seems more like that the bases at these two sites were located within the pre-existing monastic buildings commandeered by Viking forces and there would therefore be no need to propose the construction of fortresses by their Scandinavian occupants.[92]

Similarly, they seem to have established bases in or near the monastic settlements of Dublin, Annagassan and St Mullins.[93] Not only were they store-houses which offered huge potential for exploitation, but monastic settlements were often located on major route-ways and river-ways, providing the Vikings with a ready-made travel infrastructure.

In the tenth to twelfth centuries, the Vikings made a significant contribution to the development of urbanisation, and to the establishment and utilisation of trading links that brought Ireland into contact with medieval Europe on a scale not witnessed before. There is ample evidence, both literary and archaeological, that Ireland had ongoing contacts with continental Europe before the arrival of the Vikings; however, the links established by the Vikings marked a radical departure as trade and contact were placed on a regular and sustained footing. The Hiberno-Scandinavian content and character of the Lough Ennell hoards and the contemporary Cuerdale hoard, reflect a complex social and economic relationship between the Vikings and the Irish in the late ninth century.[94] Increasingly, the archaeological evidence emerging from Woodstown, Dublin, and now Linn Duachaill, confirms that the Vikings were a settled population engaged in trade and interaction with their Irish neighbours.

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[91] Ó Floinn, 'Archaeology of the early Viking-Age', 163.
[92] Ibid. 163.
[93] Ibid. 164. And one could add to this list: Cherrywood is located close to church of Tully; Viking settlement in Cork was located next to St Finbarrs.
[94] Ryan, et al., 'Six silver finds of the Viking from Lough Ennell', 334-8; Kenny, 'Geographical distribution of Irish Viking-Age coin hoards', 507-25; James A. Graham-Campbell (ed.), *Viking treasure from the north-west: the Cuerdale hoard in its context*, National Museums and Galleries on Merseyside Occasional Papers, Liverpool Museum 5 (Liverpool 1992).

A number of terms are used in the sources to refer to Viking settlements in the Irish annals: *longphort*, *dún*, and *dúnad*.[95] In addition, the Vikings often occupied existing settlements such as monasteries. These settlements can no longer be viewed as mere raiding bases. This is partially confirmed by the fact that there appears to be no evidence extant of a radical attempt by the Irish to fortify their settlements in the ninth century; instead, we seem to witness a change in the tenth century to a more dispersed settlement pattern — the *baile*, even if the term for this settlement does not appear until the eleventh century. Herein lies the crux of the problem: while attempting to analyse Viking settlement, we still have a very imperfect understanding of Irish settlement patterns in the ninth and tenth centuries. As a contribution to this debate, this thesis sets out to examine the Irish annalistic evidence to see what it can tell us about the establishment and growth of Viking settlement in the ninth century.

[95] These terms will be examined in Chapter 6.

CHAPTER 2

'NO FORTY YEARS' REST': A QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS OF NINTH-CENTURY VIKING ENTRIES IN THE IRISH ANNALS

The Irish annals preserve one of the best records of Viking activities in north-western Europe. Though they contain very little detail about the nature and form of Viking settlement in Ireland, they indicate where and when the Vikings were most active. This study began with the extraction of all ninth-century Viking-related entries from the Irish annals and the compilation of a concordance (Appendix A). The primary sources consulted were as follows:

The Annals of Ulster (AU)

The Annals of Inisfallen (AI)

Chronicum Scotorum (CS)

The Annals of Clonmacnoise (AClon)

The Annals of Boyle (AB)

The Annals of Roscrea (AR)

The annals in the *Book of Leinster* (LL)

The Annals of the Four Masters (AFM)

The Fragmentary Annals (FA)

Cogad Gaedel re Gallaib (CGG) [1]

Unfortunately, one cannot use the *Annals of Tigernach* (ATig) for this period, as there is a lacuna in the text from 766 to 973.[2]

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[1] W.M. Hennessy and B. Mac Carthy (ed. and trans.), *Annala Uladh: annals of Ulster* 4 vols (Dublin 1887-1901) i; Seán Mac Airt and Gearóid Mac Niocaill (ed. and trans.), *The annals of Ulster (to A.D. 1131)* (Dublin 1983), all references to AU are to this edition unless otherwise stated; Seán Mac Airt (ed. and trans.), *The annals of Inisfallen* (Dublin 1951); W.M. Hennessy (ed. and trans.), *Chronicum Scotorum*, RS 46 (London 1866; repr. Wiesbaden 1964); Denis Murphy (ed.), *The annals of Clonmacnoise* (Dublin 1896); A. Martin Freeman (ed.), 'The annals in Cotton MS Titus A. XXV', *Revue Celtique* 41 (1924) 301-30, 42 (1925) 283-305, 43 (1926) 358-84, 44 (1927) 336-61; Dermot F. Gleeson and Seán Mac Airt (eds), 'The annals of Roscrea', *Proc Roy Ir Acad* 59C (1958) 137-80; R. I. Best, Osborn J. Bergin, M. A. O'Brien, and Anne O'Sullivan (eds), *The book of Leinster* 6 vols (Dublin 1954-83); John O'Donovan (ed. and trans.), *Annala rioghachta Éireann: Annals of the kingdom of Ireland by the Four Masters, from the earliest period to the year 1616.* Edited from MSS in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy and of Trinity College Dublin with a translation and copious notes, 7 vols (Dublin 1848-51) i and ii; John O'Donovan (ed. and trans.), *Annals of Ireland: three fragments* (Dublin 1860); Joan N. Radner (ed. and trans.), *Fragmentary annals of Ireland* (Dublin 1978) all references to FA are to this edition unless otherwise stated; Todd, *Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaibh*.

[2] Whitley Stokes (ed. and trans.), 'The annals of Tigernach', *Revue Celtique* 16 (1895) 374-419; 17 (1896) 6-33, 116-263, 337-420; 18 (1897) 9-59, 150-303, 374-91 (repr. 2 vols, Felinfach 1993)

It is impossible to discuss Viking activity in the annals without addressing the complexity of the annals themselves. The textual history of the Irish annals is a subject of much scholarly debate with regard to their origins, chronological structure, and inter-textual relations. Scholars generally agree that a lost common source, known as the 'Iona Chronicle' because of its origins in the Columban foundation at Iona, forms the ancestor text that lies behind the extant annals.[3] This chronicle left Iona *c.*740 and was continued at a monastery in the Irish midlands until *c.*911; this text which is no longer extant is generally referred to as the 'Chronicle of Ireland'.[4] At this point, a version of the chronicle seems to have been continued at Armagh (AU) and another (or others) at Clonmacnoise (ATig, CS, AClon). Hence close textual similarities are evident between AU and CS in the ninth century.

Methodology

All the Viking entries in the annals from the period 795 to 900 were extracted and a concordance was compiled, in the hope that this would shed some light on how the annals relate to one another and how this might influence our understanding of the Viking references. Material was excerpted from printed textual editions and/or from editions available on the Corpus of Electronic Texts (www.ucc.ie/celt). As some form of structure was necessary, AU was chosen as the anchor text because it has the fullest geographical range and also preserves the oldest orthographical forms of Irish.[5] Each annal entry was entered in Latin and/or Irish and in English translation, thus providing the basis for a comparative study of the texts and their transmission. This had the additional benefit of drawing attention to issues of editorial translation. Each text was colour coded and thus unique entries were easily identified. As a review of the entire century is beyond the scope of this study, the period AD 825–875 was chosen for intensive quantitative analysis.

The dating of the entries was cross-checked with Daniel Mc Carthy's synchronisation of the Irish annals

[3] Gearóid Mac Niocaill, *The medieval Irish annals*, Medieval Irish History Series 3 (Dublin 1975); Thomas M. Charles-Edwards, *The chronicle of Ireland: translated with notes and introduction*, 2 vols (Liverpool 2006).

[4] Kathleen Hughes, *Early Christian Ireland: introduction to the sources* (Dublin 1972) 107; Kathryn Grabowski and David N. Dumville, *Chronicles and annals of medieval Ireland and Wales: the Clonmacnoise group of texts* (Woodbridge 1984) 55. Daniel Mc Carthy disagrees with this model — for his most recent argument, see *The Irish annals: their genesis, evolution and history* (Dublin 2008).

[5] Tomás Ó Máille, *The language of the Annals of Ulster* (Manchester 1910).

www.cs.tcd.ie/Dan.McCarthy/chronology/synchronisms/annals-chron.htm).[6] All place-names associated with Viking activity or settlement, in the annals, were identified with reference to Edmund Hogan's *Onomasticon*, Diarmuid Ó Murchadha's study of the placenames in ATig, the work of the *Locus* Project (www.ucc.ie/locus) especially their *Historical dictionary of Gaelic place-names*, and with reference to specific publications (for example, Paul Walsh's study of the place-names of Co Westmeath and Dónall Mac Giolla Easpaig's work on Scandinavian place-names in Ireland).[7] Place-names were identified (where possible) by parish, townland, and barony name, and at a future date an interdisciplinary study of these place-names and their hinterlands will be undertaken. The following analysis is based on references as excerpted from the annals, and one must acknowledge the dangers inherent in isolating information in this way. Frequent recourse to the annals themselves was necessary in order to view each entry in context and, to some extent, a qualitative analysis of the entries from 795–900 (in Chapter 3) also helps resolve the problem of separating out specific material.

Quantitative Analysis

Quantitative analysis of references to the Vikings in the Irish annals for the period 825-875 was based on entries in four sets of annals: AU, CS, AI and AFM. Though AFM is a seventeenth-century compilation, it contains some unique entries evidently contemporary in origin with the events they describe, and some additional material not recorded in other annalistic compilations. AClon, FA, CGG, AR, AB and LL were excluded. The problem with excluding FA or CGG is that they do contain unique entries and therefore these texts will be included in the qualitative analysis. As David Dumville has pointed out, A. Martin Freeman's edition of the *Annals of Connacht* was the first modern edition in which annal entries for each year were demarcated and numbered.[8] Seán Mac Airt's edition of AI, and Mac Airt and

[6] Daniel P. Mc Carthy, 'The chronology of the Irish annals', *Proc Roy Ir Acad* 98C (1998) 203-55.

[7] Edmund Hogan, *Onomasticon goedelicum* (Dublin 1910, repr. 1993), hereafter OG; Diarmuid Ó Murchadha, *The annals of Tigernach: index of names*, ITS Subsidiary Series 6 (London 1997), hereafter ATIN; Pádraig Ó Riain, Diarmuid Ó Murchadha, and Kevin Murray (eds), *Historical dictionary of Gaelic placenames*, 4 fascicles (London 2003-), hereafter HDGP; Paul Walsh, *The placenames of Westmeath* (Dublin 1957); Mac Giolla Easpaig, 'L'influence scandinave sur la toponymie irlandaise', 441-82.

[8] David N. Dumville, 'On editing and translating medieval Irish chronicles: *the annals of Ulster*', *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies* 10 (1985) 67-86, 76; Freeman (ed. and trans.), *The annals of Connacht*. Mc Carthy, 'The chronology of the Irish annals', 215, argues that Mac Niocaill was the

Gearóid Mac Niocaill's edition of AU followed that practice, and it is adopted and extended in CELT's online editions of the annals (www.ucc.ie/celt). The practice has also been implemented by Thomas Charles-Edwards in his reconstruction of the 'Chronicle of Ireland'.[9] Numbering of entries allows one to see the importance of the Vikings in a given year; for example, five out of nine entries in AU 837 are concerned with the Vikings (*c.*55 per cent). However, conclusions based simply on the number of entries are a crude indication of Viking activity in a given year. Firstly, one entry may record two events that should really be counted as two separate entries. Secondly, some entries have become conflated in the transmission of the text. Thirdly, numbering of entries is a matter of modern editorial judgement. Conversely, two events are sometimes separated when, clearly, they formed part of the same episode. Even if the entries are straightforward, i.e. one entry per event, they may not accurately reflect varying levels of Viking activity. For example, only one reference out of three in a particular year may refer to the Vikings, but that one reference may be twice as long as the two non-Viking entries combined. A more effective (though still problematic) method of conducting this kind of analysis is to count the number of words devoted to the Vikings per per annal. For example, in AU 837, 94 out of a total of 139 words (*c.*67 per cent) are devoted to them. The results of these calculations are shown in Table 1 (Appendix B), a year-by-year calculation of the number of entries and the number of words per annal. A fundamental problem encountered in this work is that AFM's chronology is sometimes seriously dislocated; for example, in the years 831-832, 843-844 and 856-57, events recorded are anywhere from two to three years behind the dates supplied for these events by other annals. In the concordance, some attempt was made to synchronise the AFM entries with the other annals, but for present purposes the solution was to average the number of entries and words for these years and, when spread over a five-year period, the overall numbers were not affected. Thus Table 2 (Appendix B) contains totals for 825-875, divided into five-year periods.

There are inherent difficulties in the selection and the objective treatment of source material in this way. The criteria adopted for inclusion of entries were quite broad. All references to acts perpetrated by, or on, the Vikings, or on their

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first to suggest numbering entries but the *Annals of Connacht*, and AI (1951) were published before Mac Niocaill's masterful study of the Irish Annals in 1975.

[9] Charles-Edwards, *The chronicle of Ireland*.

settlements were included. All records which detail their involvement, whether or not they were the principal agents, were counted. For example, I include the entry for AU 850 where Cináed mac Conaing, king of Northern Brega, rebelled against Máel Sechnaill mac Máele Rúanaid, king of Southern Uí Néill, with the aid of the Vikings.[10] Entries regarding expeditions or exploits conducted overseas by Vikings who were (or who had once been) based in Ireland, were also included in calculations. For example, I include the entry in AU 866 where Amlaíb, king of Dublin, and his brother Auisle, along with the foreigners from Ireland and Scotland went to Foirtriu, plundered Pictland, and exacted hostages as guarantee of tribute.[11] Likewise, AU, CS and FA §254, all record the death in 856 of Horm, *toísech na n-Dubgennti*, in Wales. This death notice is included in the word count because Horm had been active in Ireland for some years previously; unfortunately, we have to rely on FA for the most detailed account of his deeds, particularly his alliance with Cerball mac Dúnlainge, king of Osraige. Some of the annal entries are augmented by quatrains of verse and where these poems make reference to the Vikings they have been included; for example, AFM 868 contains additional verses on the battle of Cell Ua nDaighri (Killineer, near Drogheda, Co Louth).[12]

In some cases, problems occur because an event may be recorded in a number of annals but only one source may attribute the event to the Vikings; for example, AU 840 records the burning of Armagh but only AClon and AFM specify that Armagh was burned by the foreigners.[13] Unless the entry clearly states the involvement of the Vikings, then the reference is not included in the calculations for those annals, even when other annals assign the same event to them. At times, the annals disagree as to who was responsible for an event; for example, AU 842 records that Commán, abbot of Linn Duachaill, was killed by the heathens and the Irish, while CS and AFM (perhaps deliberately) do not mention Irish involvement.[14] The possible reasons for these inconsistencies will be discussed in the qualitative analysis

[10] For a discussion of Cináed mac Conaing and his appropriation of Ciannachta territory, see Donnchadh Ó Corráin, 'High-kings, Vikings and other kings', *Irish Historical Studies* 21 (1979) 283-323: 305-8.

[11] FA and AClon explicitly state that these hostages were taken as guarantee of tribute.

[12] OG s.n. Cell Ua nDaigri; HDGP s.n. Ceall Ua nDaighre.

[13] Charles-Edwards, *The chronicle of Ireland*, 840.3, does not include the additional reference to the Vikings found in the AFM and AClon entries. Is there a tacit understanding that this material was added to these 'later' chronicles?

[14] Charles-Edwards, *The chronicle of Ireland*, 842.12, 300, notes that CS omits the reference to the Irish while AClon has 'some of the Irishmen'. It seems puzzling that he acknowledges the variant entries here but not at 840: the burning of Armagh.

to follow in Chapter 3. Surprisingly, despite the many statements of modern historians to the effect that the annalists/monks/scribes are biased observers, they are, on the contrary, remarkably frank and matter-of-fact in their descriptions of Viking raids.[15] In addition, scribes had ample opportunity during the transmission and/or transcription of a chronicle to attribute attacks to them, particularly in laconic entries where no perpetrator is mentioned.

Numbering entries causes many problems, not least, in regard to the unbalanced impression they may convey of Viking activity. Obituary notices seem to pose particular problems for modern editors when dividing entries. Sometimes all the ecclesiastical or secular obits are grouped together as one entry (as they may or may not have been in the original chronicle), but sometimes they are demarcated separately; thus, an unrepresentative picture is created. For example, there may be 12 entries for a year but five of these may be obits. Dumville has argued that 'the criteria for division, though never explicitly stated, have been that a combination of new subject and new sentence defines a new entry ... This method has made for a revolution in precision of reference to entries in Irish chronicles, and has therefore made text-historical exegesis significantly easier'.[16] Unfortunately, these criteria have not been consistently applied, and for precise referencing to annals there must be an agreed standard for demarcating entries. For this reason, I have avoided referencing annal entries as 842.1 or 842.2 etc. and have merely cited the year in which the event occurred.

Editorial judgement determines the division of entries; for example, in Charles-Edwards' reconstruction of the *Chronicle of Ireland*, he chooses separately to demarcate the Kalend entries (854.1), but sometimes Kalends are merely included with the first entry (855.1). Though not explicitly stated, this demarcation seems to be based on his decision to include Kalends with the first entry when it is derived from AU but to treat the Kalend entry separately when the first entry comes from another set of annals.[17] Dumville draws attention to another problem, that is, what he regards as the inappropriate grouping of unrelated *mirabile*-statements into single entries in Mac Airt and Mac Niocaill's edition of AU.[18] For example, in their edition of AU, they make the following two notices into one entry s.a. 836.10: *Uastatio*

[15] Byrne, 'Viking-Age', 609.
[16] Dumville, 'Editing and translating', 76-7.
[17] Charles-Edwards, *The chronicle of Ireland*, 310
[18] Dumville, 'Editing and translating', 77; and other examples 78-80.

crudelissima a gentilibus omnium finium Connachtorum. Ar catha forsin Dess Tuaisceirt o genntib 'A most cruel devastation of all the lands of Connacht by the heathens. The heathens inflicted a slaughter in a battle won over the Déis Tuaisceirt'. The common factor in these accounts is the Vikings, and perhaps the understanding that these acts may have been carried out by the same band: this seems to determine how the events are presented in the edition. Similarly, in the online edition of AFM available on www.ucc.ie/celt, s.a. 835.10 (*recte* 836), three separate events are recorded as one entry:

> (1) *Cluain Mhór M'Aedhocc do losccadh oidhche Nodlacc la Gallaibh, 7 sochaidhe mór do mharbhadh leo, amaille lé braighdibh iomdhaibh do bhreith leo.* (2) *Derthech Glinne Da Locha do losccadh leó dna.* (3) *Crioch Connacht uile do diothláithriughadh leó mar an c-cédna*.
> Cluain Mor Maedhog was burned on Christmas night by the foreigners; and a great number was slain by them, and many prisoners were carried off. The oratory of Gleann Da Locha was also burned by them. All the country of Connaught was likewise desolated by them.

The common factor once more is the Vikings. Is there an inherent assumption that it was the same band of Vikings that conducted these raids on Clonmore, Co Wexford, Glendalough, Co Wicklow, and in Connacht? The demarcation of this entry is based on the fact they are the principal agents in these three events.[19] According to the original numbering, only two entries out of 15 relate to the Vikings in this year, when in fact there are five Viking entries out of 15 (55 words out of 94). Editorial judgement again comes into play in AU 841, when the establishment of the *longphoirt* at Dublinn and Linn Duachaill are grouped as one entry, while in CS (online edition www.ucc.ie/celt) and in Charles-Edwards' *Chronicle of Ireland*, the events are divided into two separate entries.[20]

When it comes to translation, editorial judgement has a significant impact on the presentation of the Vikings in the annals. For example, William Hennessy, in his edition of CS, translates the last entry for 842: *Cennetigh d'argain ocus do loscadh Cluana muc Nois,* as 'Cennétigh plundered, and Cluain-muc Nois burnt', he then adds '*by Gentiles*' even though this is not in his Irish transcription, nor is it found in

[19] Charles-Edwards, *The chronicle of Ireland*, 836.5, links the raid on Glendalough with the raid on Kildare by the Vikings from Inber nDée.
[20] Ibid. 840.4 and 840.5.

the surviving manuscripts.[21] He interprets Cennétigh as a place-name rather than a personal name.[22] Mac Niocaill, in his edition of CS, available online at CELT, translates this line as 'Cennétigh plundered and burned Cluain moccu Nóis'. Obviously he interprets Cennétigh as a personal name and does not involve the Vikings.[23] Charles-Edwards translates the entry as 'Cenn Etig was sacked and Clonmacnoise burnt' with no reference to the Vikings.[24] Ambiguity regarding this entry may date to the seventeenth century when Conell Mageoghagan translated the *Annals of Clonmacnoise*; he too conveys that 'Cennetigh' is a place-name: 'Kennety and Clonvickenois were destroyed and burnt by the Danes'. Unfortunately, we do not have access to the original Irish text of AClon. Perhaps, AClon influenced Hennessy. Likewise, Colmán Etchingham, in his study of Viking raids on Irish churches, considers 'Cennetigh' to be the place-name Kinnity.[25] In 842, CS records an earlier raid on Clonmacnoise by the Vikings from Linn Duachaill. In the same year they also plundered Birr and Saigir, but CS does not note where these Viking came from. AU states that Vikings from Dublin carried out these raids, while AClon and AFM blame the Vikings of Linn Duachaill or the Boyne respectively.[26] Kinnity is approximately 17km east of Birr. It is, therefore, possible that it was attacked at the same time. CGG records a raid on Cenn Etigh (Kinnity), which may be loosely dated by the attack on Dún Masc to *c.*845, and, therefore, quite possibly to 842 as raids in CGG are often conflated:

> *Ro hinred leo, dna, Cell Dara, ⁊ Cluain Edneach, ⁊ Cend Etig, ⁊ Cell Ached la longes Atha Cliath fos; ⁊ ro toglad Dun Masc .i. du in drocair Aed mac Duibdacrich, comarba Coluim mic Crithaind ⁊ Findtain Cluana Ednig. ⁊ ro hinred leo, dna, Cenannus, ⁊ Manistir Buti, ⁊ Damliac Cianan, ⁊ Sord Coluim Cilli, 7 Findglas Cainnig; ⁊ ro losced sin uli leo ⁊ ro hinrit.*
> Cell Dara, also, and Cluain Eidhneach and Cenn Etigh, and Cell Ached were plundered by them, that is, by the fleet of Áth Cliath; and Dun Masc was

[21] Manuscript H.1.18, Trinity College Dublin, nor is it found in Manuscript 23.P.5, Royal Irish Academy.
[22] Hennessy, *Chronicum Scotorum*, 145, s.a. 845.
[23] Kevin Murray has pointed out to me that the syntax in this entry is a little odd. One might expect either *Cenn Etigh d'argain ocus Clúain mac Nois do loscadh* or (with the omission of *do*), *Cenn Etigh d'argain ocus loscadh Cluana muc Nois*. Even if Mac Niocaill's interpretation of Cennétigh as a personal name is correct, it is a little early for the Cennétig in question to be Cennétig mac Gáethíne, king of Loígis, whose career spanned 862-902.
[24] Charles-Edwards, *The chronicle of Ireland*, 842.16, despite the fact that he gives the additional reading from AClon that both churches were 'destroyed and burnt' in the footnotes.
[25] Etchingham, *Viking raids*, 63 and 69, and fn 77.
[26] Charles-Edwards, *The chronicle of Ireland*, 842.8, takes the reading from AU and assigns the raid to the Vikings from Dublin; he does not mention the alternatives offered by CS, AClon and AFM.

demolished, where fell Aedh, son of Dubh-da-Crich, Comharba of Colum Mac Crimthainn, and of Finntan of Cluain Edneach.[27]

Entries are also influenced by the transmission of the extant text. An example of this occurs in 837; the annals relate that the heathens inflicted a defeat on Uí Néill at Inber na mBarc. AClon alone states that Uí Néill defeated the Vikings. John O'Donovan suggested that Mageoghagan reversed the victory to glorify Uí Néill.[28] Inber na mBárc was identified by O'Donovan as Ráith Inbhir, near Bray, Co Wicklow, and Edmund Hogan cites this identification but questions its accuracy since it is outside Uí Néill territory.[29] The literal translation of Inber na mBárc is 'river mouth of the ships' and could perhaps refer to a site (or temporary Viking base) on the east coast located within Uí Néill territory. F.J. Byrne identifies Inber na mBárc (without explanation) as the Boyne estuary.[30]

Scribal bias also affects the presentation of the Vikings in the annals in other ways. In 847, AU and CS state that Loch Ramor, Co Cavan, was attacked by Máel Sechnaill, king of Southern Uí Néill, in the course of a war against Luigne and Gailenga who had been plundering Mide 'in the manner of the heathens'.[31]

AU 847
Toghal Innsi Locha Muinnremair la Mael Sechnaill for fianlach mar di maccaibh bais Luigne ₇ Galeng ro batar oc indriudh na tuath more gentilium.
Mael Sechnaill destroyed the Island of Loch Muinremor, overcoming there a large band of wicked men of Luigni and Gailenga, who had been plundering the territories in the manner of the heathens.

AFM
Toghail insi Locha Muinreamhair lá Maol Sechlainn, mac Mael Ruanaidh, for fiallach mór do mhacaibh báis Luicchne ₇ Gaileng ro bhádar occ innredh na t-tuath a h-ucht Gall, go ro mallartnaighit lais.
The demolition of the island of Loch Muinreamhar by Maelseachlainn, son of Maelruanaidh, against a great crowd of sons of death i.e. malefactors of the Luighni and Gaileanga, who were plundering the districts at the instigation of the foreigners; and they were destroyed by him.

[27] CGG 18-9.
[28] AFM i, 455.
[29] OG s.n. Inber na mBarc.
[30] Byrne, 'The Viking-Age', 612.
[31] Charles-Edwards, *The chronicle of Ireland*, 847.2; 'in the manner of the heathens'.

More (in the AU entry) is the ablative of the noun *mōs* meaning 'manner'.[32] In the seventeenth century, the Four Masters (drawing on AU) chose to render *more* as *a h-ucht* which O'Donovan translates as 'at the instigation of'.[33] AFM's *a h-ucht Gall* is a tendentious interpretation that inculpates the Luigne and Gailenga, as it deliberately implies collusion with, rather than mere imitation of the Vikings.[34] The difference between 'manner' and 'instigation' is a significant one. The transmission of this entry demonstrates how nuance of translation and meaning have influenced our reading of the annals.

The only previous Irish-Norse alliance recorded was the 'martyrdom' of Commán of Linn Duachaill by the heathens and the Irish in 842. Three years after events at Loch Ramor, in 850, Cináed was to rebel against Máel Sechnaill with the aid of the Foreigners. In 854, AU relates that Máel Sechnaill marched against the men of Mumu, as far as Inneóin na nDéise (Mullaghnoney, Newchapel, near Clonmel, Co Tipperary).[35] AU and CS do not mention the Vikings, but AFM, rather tendentiously, state that he did so because the men of Munster had opposed him at 'the instigation of the foreigners':

> *Maoil Sechlainn, rí Ereann do dhul a Mumhain, co ráinicc Indeoin na n-Déisi, ₇ do-bert a n-gialla ₇ a oighréir uatha, ar ro thriallsat frithbhert fris a h-ucht echtaircheinel.*
> Máel Seachlainn, King of Ireland, proceeded into Munster, until he arrived at Inneóin na nDéise; and he enforced hostages and submission from them, for they had given him opposition at the instigation of the foreigners.[36]

Máel Sechnaill himself was not adverse to their assistance as AU relates in 856 that he opposed the heathens with the support of the Gall-Goídil (Foreign-Irish).[37]

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[32] P.G.W. Glare (ed.), *Oxford Latin dictionary*, combined edition (Oxford 1982) 1136-1139. Hennessy, *Annals of Ulster*, 353, s.a. 846: translates the phrase as 'after the manner of the Gentiles'.

[33] E.G. Quin (general editor), *Dictionary of the Irish language; based mainly on Old and Middle Irish materials*, Royal Irish Academy, compact edition (Dublin 1983) hereafter DIL, 624-5.

[34] Ó Corráin, 'High-kings, Vikings', 304-5; suggests that the description of the Gailenga and the Luigne as *maicc báis* ('sons of death') may reflect a partisan account by scribes based at Clonard, given that community's connection with Clann Cholmáin. Richard Sharpe, 'Hiberno-Latin *laicus*, Irish *láech*, and the devil's men', *Ériu* 30 (1979) 75-92: 91, discusses the phrase in a wider context; see also Kim McCone, 'Werewolves, cyclopes, *díberga*, and *fíana*: juvenile delinquency in early Ireland', *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies* 12 (Winter 1986) 1-22; Ann Dooley and Harry Roe (trans.), *Tales of the elders of Ireland: a new translation of Acallam na Senórach* (Oxford 1999) xiii.

[35] OG s.n**.** Inneóin na nDéise.

[36] Charles-Edwards, *The chronicle of Ireland*, 854.3, does not include reading from AFM.

[37] David N. Dumville, *The churches of North Britain in the first Viking-age* (Whithorn 1997) 26; suggests the Gall-Goídil 'were either people of mixed race or Gaels who behaved like foreigners'. See also Diarmuid Ó Murchadha, 'Nationality names in the Irish annals', *Nomina* 16 (1992-93) 49-

Table 1

Calculating the total number of words devoted to the Vikings in the Irish annals is probably the most effective means of identifying the many peaks and troughs of recorded ninth-century activity. Most scholars acknowledge a decrease in activity during the ninth century, but they disagree about when it began; decline is usually assigned to sometime between the late 840s and the 880s. Discussion of this subject, in the past, has been influenced by the idea, presented in CGG, that Ireland experienced 'forty years rest' from the Vikings.[38] However, Donnchadh Ó Corráin has shown this to be a biblical topos borrowed by the compiler(s) of the saga.[39] We shall return to this subject in more detail below but first we will examine the results of the overall calculations.

Irish texts were downloaded from the CELT website, and words were counted electronically. Therefore, these calculations include all interpolated entries and all words as expanded or supplied by editors. The aim was to get an overall impression of the percentage of words devoted to the Vikings and the same principles were applied to all annals. Table 1 shows the total number of words recorded per annal and the number of words devoted to the Vikings in each source. Table 2 shows the total number of words recorded as calculated over five-year intervals, 825-875 (Appendix B).

Table 1 allows the material to be viewed in context. For example, we can see clearly whether there were few Viking entries in a particular set of annals, or whether the year was a quiet one, at least for record-keeping in general. The figures may either confirm or undermine our expectations of activity for a given year. There are certain years when one would expect a high proportion of words to be devoted to the Vikings. For example, 837 marks the arrival of large fleets on the river Boyne and on the river Liffey, 120 ships in total. The expected rise in activity is confirmed; in AU a total of 94 of 139 words are concerned with the Vikings. In contrast, we know they over-wintered in 840 and 841, and one would possibly expect a significant increase in words concerning them, but these years appear relatively quiet. In 840, AU devotes 40 of 113 words to the Vikings, and CS 14 of 57. In AU 841, 31 of 102 words detail Viking activity, though in CS all 45 words relate to them. In this year,

70: 66-7. For the most recent analysis, see Andrew Jennings and Arne Kruse, 'From Dál Riata to the Gall-Gháideil', *Viking and Medieval Scandinavia* 5 (2009) 123-49.

[38] CGG 27-9.

[39] Donnchadh Ó Corráin, 'Vikings I: "Forty years' rest"', *Peritia* 10 (1996) 224.

the annals acknowledge the Viking base on Lough Neagh, the establishment of the *longphoirt* at Dublinn and Linn Duachaill (from which they raided into Tethba, Laigin and Uí Néill), as well as raids on Clonenagh, Clonard and Killeigh (all in one expedition?). It is tempting to interpret the relative lack of raiding as an indication that the Vikings were occupied with establishing their base camps. In 842, AU devotes 82 of 127 words to them. This rise in activity is accompanied by a greater geographical spread in raiding. If any year typifies the model of Viking bands wreaking havoc on monastic settlements, then perhaps that year is 842: Vikings from Cael Uisce (Co Louth)[40] raided Castledermot (Co Kildare); Vikings from Linn Duachaill (Co Louth) raided Clonmacnoise, Co Offaly; and AU states that Vikings from Dublin raided Birr and Saighir Ciaráin (Co Offaly) — CS remains silent about their origins while AClon and AFM record that the raiders were Vikings from the river Boyne, or from Linn Duachaill, respectively. Despite some confusion, the annalists seem keen to identify each Viking raiding-party and the base from which it came. Obviously there was some degree of communication and interaction during raiding, but one wonders what difference the base camp of the heathens made. Was there a contemporary relevance for these distinctions? No doubt the location of the raiding party's base would dictate how likely (and/or how often) the victims could expect to be subjected to other attacks. In addition, the noting of these bases is in itself a tacit recognition of the settlement of the Vikings in Ireland in the 840s.

There are no Viking entries for 843; however, there is a general decline in the number of words in the record of this year: for example, AU is down from a total of 127 words in the previous year to just 85. Is this decline in recorded Viking activity a reflection of reality? It is important to be aware that this discussion is based wholly on the annalistic record; many raids both on ecclesiastical and secular sites went unrecorded, particularly in areas that were not well served by the extant annals. Etchingham notes that the 'two regions [the central east and the Shannon-Brosna basin] in which Viking raids on churches are concentrated happen to be those in which ecclesiastical affairs in general can be shown to be disproportionately well documented'.[41]

[40] Traditionally identified as Narrow Water, Co Down, but a more likely identification is suggested by V.M. Buckley and P.D. Sweetman, *Archaeological survey of Co Louth* (Dublin 1991) 268, no. 1019, i.e. that the base might have been located at Killansnamh, said to have stood opposite Cornamucklagh, Co Louth; see Ó Floinn, 'The archaeology of the early Viking-Age', 164.

[41] Etchingham, *Viking raids*, 21.

Table 2

From the statistical analysis, the most striking calculation is the overall percentage of words devoted to the Vikings in each of the annals. The figures are unexpectedly low when one considers that the second quarter of the ninth century is generally regarded as the peak of Viking activity in Ireland. For the period 825-875, the annals devote the following percentages of their total word count to the Vikings: AU 32 per cent, CS 40 per cent, AI 18 per cent and AFM 30 per cent. I kept the criteria for inclusion of references deliberately broad. In fact, if the criteria were limited to pure Viking activity, then the numbers would be even lower. According to these figures, the peak period of Viking activity is 841-845, there is a slight decline in 846-850, and a more marked decrease is evident in 851-855, and the lowest figures occur in 856-860. There is a slight decline in the overall number of words written in the 850s, with a decline in tandem in the number of words devoted to the Vikings. For example, in AU 856-860, only 77 out of a total of 473 words are concerned with the Vikings. In the period 866-870, the number of words devoted to the Vikings rises significantly but this is due to the relatively long description of the destruction of the *longphoirt* in the north by Áed Finnliath, king of Northern Uí Néill, and his subsequent defeat of the Vikings at Loch Foyle. Viking word-counts are also augmented by the long accounts of the battle of Killineer in 868.

Generally, the data presented in Table 2 confirm that there is a discernible drop in Viking activity, as recorded in the annals, in the mid-ninth century. Etchingham argues that the paucity of Viking entries in the late ninth century reflects a change in the nature of annalistic writing rather than a decline in activity.[42] It is important to emphasise that the figures presented in here include both raids on churches and secular encounters. The annalists were writing quite a lot at the peak of Viking activity though the peak and trough years vary slightly from one source to another. It must be stated, however, that there is a complex inter-textual relationship between the annals in this period and it is an over-simplification to treat them as independent sources.

[42] Etchingham, *Viking raids*, vi.

'Forty years' rest'

Numerous and varied arguments have been advanced in regard to the impact of the Vikings on the monastic *scriptoria*. There is no evidence of D.A. Binchy's much quoted 'profound — one might say shattering effect upon native Irish institutions'.[43] The figures indicate that, in the ninth century, the Vikings had minimal impact in terms of productivity, i.e. the number of words written by the annalists in this period compares favourably with other periods of history.[44] The number of words recorded does fluctuate but, in general, there is no radical change in the quantity of material. Dumville argues for the impact of the Vikings on annalistic writing itself in the ninth century, and this may be true with regard to content, style, and the increasing use of the vernacular, but it seems to have no bearing on the quantity of material recorded.[45]

Proinsias Mac Cana argued that the Vikings had a massive impact on the production of heroic literature, and where that literature was produced. He suggested a deliberate shift from production in monastic *scriptoria* in coastal and eastern areas (such as Bangor) to central midland centres (such as Clonmacnoise).[46] Ó Corráin later rejected these claims and argued that the Irish monastic schools flourished in the ninth and tenth centuries.[47] Máire Herbert attributes an increase in literary activity in the eleventh century to a revival of learning after a hiatus caused by Viking activity, and subsequent stability achieved during the reigns of Máel Sechnaill II and Brian Bóruma in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries.[48] Kathleen Hughes argued the Viking raids may have suppressed the smaller monastic houses but that larger houses

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[43] D.A. Binchy, 'The passing of the old order', in Brian Ó Cuív (ed.), *Proceedings of the international congress of Celtic Studies Dublin 1959* (Dublin 1962) 119-32.

[44] In the future I hope to carry out a detailed comparative study of the tenth-, eleventh-, and twelfth-century entries.

[45] David N. Dumville, 'Latin and Irish in the *Annals of Ulster*, AD 431–1050', in Dorothy Whitelock, Rosamond McKitterick and David N. Dumville (eds), *Ireland in early mediaeval Europe: studies in memory of Kathleen Hughes* (Cambridge 1982) 320-41: 327-8: 'The early ninth century brings the Vikings into this world. Not the least result of Viking activity was to transform annalistic writing: the exploits of these Scandinavians made the conventions of both Irish society and of Irish annalistic writing look very inadequate indeed. The annalists were thrown back on their own resources, and they met this challenge as they had coped with the eighth-century beginnings of the trend towards greater inclusiveness of record – for the most part, in Irish. But the kind of writing required to chronicle the Viking wars was essentially different from previous annalistic writing. Phrases, clauses and whole sentences in Irish now become common'.

[46] Proinsias Mac Cana, 'The influence of the Vikings on Celtic literature', in Ó Cuív (ed.), *Proceedings of the international congress of Celtic Studies Dublin 1959*, 78-118: 103-6.

[47] Donnchadh Ó Corráin, 'Ireland, Wales, Man, and the Hebrides', in Peter Sawyer (ed.), *The Oxford illustrated history of the Vikings* (Oxford 1997) 83-109: 94-5.

[48] Máire Herbert, 'Crossing historical and literary boundaries: Irish written culture around the year 1000', *Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies* 53/54 (2007) 87-101: 87-8.

such as Armagh, Clonmacnoise and Clonard maintained their *scriptoria*.[49] In any case, as Ó Corráin has pointed out, the annals were written at the major churches.[50]

With regard to the decline of Viking raids in the ninth century,[51] Hughes had suggested that 830-880 was the 'period of intense Viking pressure', and that this was followed by a period of calm, 880-920.[52] Peter Sawyer, in his original review of the material, proposed that 873-913 was the period of 'forty years' rest', but in a subsequent analysis argued that there was a concentration of Viking activity in 820-850 and a reduction thereafter.[53] Ó Corráin believes that the period of the great raids was over by the early 850s or 860s.[54] Mac Cana argued that decline in Viking activity began about 875 and, taking CGG at its word suggested that the lull 'stretched back into the reign of Máel Sechnaill son of Máel Rúanaid, who died in 862'.[55] Obsession with the notion of a period of forty years' rest, as referred to in CGG, has muddied the waters and has led to misguided attempts to link: (1) the ninth-century decline in Viking raids, (2) the expulsion of Vikings in 902, and (3) their subsequent return to Waterford in 914 and Dublin in 917. This is impossible. As we have seen, the decline begins in the late 840s, and the lowest figures occur in the late 850s. In addition, there is a slight increase in Viking entries in the late ninth century; either way one cannot find a period of forty years' respite from Viking attack or incursion, despite the statement in CCG:

> *Bai, imorro, arali cumsana deraib Erend fri re .xl. bliadan can inred Gall .i. o remis Maelsechlainn mic Mailruanaid cusin mbliadain re nec Flaind mic Mailseclaind, ⁊ co gabail rigi do Niall Glundub. Is and sin ro hathlínad Eriu do longsib Gall. Is and dna tanic longes la Hacond ⁊ la Cossa Nara corgabsat ar Loch Da Caech, ⁊ h-indred Mumain leo.*
> Now, however, there were some rest to the men of Eirinn for a period of forty years without ravage of the foreigners; viz., from the reign of Maelseachlainn, son of Maelruanaidh, to the year before the death of Flann, son of Maelseachlainn, and the accession to the throne of Niall Glundubh. It was then

[49] Kathleen Hughes, *The church in early Irish society* (London 1966) 208.
[50] Personal communication.
[51] Etchingham, *Viking raids*, 2, presents a review of previous scholarly opinion on this debate.
[52] Hughes, *Early christian Ireland*, 157.
[53] P.H. Sawyer, *The age of the Vikings* (2nd. ed. London 1971) 206-7; id. *Kings and Vikings* (London 1982) 84-5.
[54] Ó Corráin, *Ireland before the Normans*, 94 and 109; id. 'Prehistoric and early Christian Ireland', in R.F. Foster (ed.), *The Oxford illustrated history of Ireland* (Oxford 1989) 1-52: 33-4.
[55] Mac Cana, 'Influence of the Vikings on Celtic literature', 102.

> came a fleet under Haconn and under Cossa-Nara, and seized on Loch da Caech, and Munster was plundered by them.[56]

As previously stated, Ó Corráin argued that this reference is in fact a biblical topos which CGG borrowed: 'He [the author of CGG] sees the lull in Viking attacks in the late ninth century in biblical terms'.[57] Etchingham quite correctly has drawn attention to the way in which the notion of the 'Forty years' rest' influenced Charles Doherty's and Francis John Byrne's maps of Viking activity in the *New history of Ireland*.[58] In a recent synthesis, Doherty presents a review of the progress in our understanding of the Viking period. However, he continues to view the period from 837 to 876 as one of intense raiding and semi-permanent settlements and, though he cites Ó Corráin's work, he maintains the view that 'the period 876 to 916 saw a relative respite from raids, hence the term 'forty years' rest' as the writer of *Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaibh* called it'.[59]

Etchingham argues that Sawyer's tabulations were the most scientific but were based only on AU and did not include AFM, which, quoting Kelleher, he regards as the fullest of the extant compilations, especially for the later ninth century.[60] While AFM does contain some unique references, and some additional material not found in the other annals, the figures clearly show that the total number of words used to relate Viking activity of all kinds, including church raids, amounts to approximately 30 per cent of AFM's word count for the period 825-875 and only 19.5 per cent of entries (as they are currently presented in the CELT edition). More importantly, figures calculated over five-year intervals demonstrate that AFM witnesses a decline in Viking entries in line with AU, the lowest figures for both annals occurring in 856-860. Decline impacts slightly later in CS with the lowest figures being in 861-865. The analysis of AU, CS, AI and AFM across five-year periods demonstrates a marked reduction in the number of words devoted to the Vikings in the late 850s, approximately ten to fifteen years before the traditional date of the 870s as proposed by some previous studies.

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[56] CGG 26-7; Todd (introduction, lxxvi-lxxxiv.), based on a literal translation of *can indred Gall* as 'without incursion by foreigners', maintained that this referred not to a respite from Viking raids on churches or battles, but from 'new arrivals of Scandinavian invaders'.
[57] Ó Corráin, 'Vikings I: 'Forty years' rest', 224.
[58] Etchingham, *Viking raids*, 4; Moody et al. (eds), *A new history of Ireland* ix, 19-21.
[59] Doherty, 'The Vikings in Ireland: a review', 295, fn 35.
[60] Etchingham, *Viking raids*, 5.

As noted above, Etchingham attributes the decline to a change in the nature of annalistic recording. He argues that the annalists cease to record events in relation to ecclesiastical affairs, with the exception of obituary notices:

> On the face of it there is a loose coincidence between this contraction in the record of ecclesiastical events generally after 840 and the observed drop in recorded Viking raids on churches after 850. Indeed, the reduced frequency of Viking raids on churches is manifest in the annals already by the second half of the 840s, which makes the coincidence closer.[61]

However, the evidence does not correspond exactly; there is a gap of close to a decade before contraction in the recording of ecclesiastical events impacts on the recording of Viking raids. One must ask why a change in the nature of recording took so long to affect the Viking entries. On closer examination of Etchingham's analysis of ecclesiastical events (excluding obits of churchmen) in the annals 731-900 (his Figure 4), there is a noticeable decline in their presence in the annals from 841, perhaps because the annalists were concerned with the arrival of the Vikings themselves. This is followed by a modest recovery at 851, precisely the point at which there is a decline in Viking church raids as shown by Etchingham's figures, or a decline in all Viking activity as shown by my figures.[62] He does acknowledge that the change in church raids is perceptibly greater than other ecclesiastical events:

> Granted this important caveat about change in the character of the annals, a real pattern in the chronology of Viking raids on churches in the ninth century can, in fact, be detected ... the mid-century down-turn is perceptibly greater in the case of Viking raiding activity than in the case of other ecclesiastical events.[63]

He points out that in the 830s and 840s there were an average of 30.5 incidents per decade, but that this decreased in the 851-880 period to just 3.7 per decade, a fall of almost 90 per cent. Figures for other ecclesiastical events (obits excluded) show an average of 17 per decade in the 821-840 period, and 6.4 per decade in the period 841-890. Again, the figures are out by a decade, and why did it take a decade for this change to be reflected in Viking entries? More importantly, as Etchingham himself states, 'the reduction of Viking raids is also appreciably steeper'.[64] At the end of the ninth century, Etchingham points out that there is an increase in ecclesiastical and

[61] Ibid. 12.
[62] Etchingham offers no explanation for the largest dip in the record of ecclesastical events which occurs a century earlier in 761.
[63] Etchingham, *Viking raids*, 14-5.
[64] Ibid. 15.

Viking entries but, as he himself emphasises, the increase in both type of entries is not chronologically synchronised: 'One cannot determine with confidence whether there was a modest recovery in the real level of Viking raiding of churches at the end of the century, or merely a return to rather fuller chronicling of ecclesiastical doings in general'.[65] The records are not chronologically synchronised in the mid-ninth century (840s and 850s) nor in the last decades of the ninth century because they are not related. A more interesting question might be why the annalists would ignore 'ecclesiastical doings' for three or four decades but then choose to recommence recording them? He offers no explanation for this fluctuating interest on the part of the annalists, and furthermore he acknowledges on a number of occasions that there was a genuine decline in Viking raids on Irish churches.[66]

Etchingham argues that 'the period designated a "forty years' rest" in CGG was not characterised by any appreciable change in the pattern of church-raiding, but by a reduced involvement in Irish dynastic politics on the part of the Vikings'.[67] Hence, he is implicitly acknowledging that there was a real decline in Viking raiding in the late ninth century. Decline in Viking activity in the annals is reflective of a change, not in the nature of the source material, but in the volume and nature of this activity itself. In the mid-ninth century, as Clarke and Ó Corráin have shown, the Irish were quite successful in resisting the Vikings which may partly account for this change.[68] According to AU, the year 848 was a devastating one for the Vikings for they suffered considerable losses at the hands of Irish kings: at Forach they lost 700 men, at Sciath Nechtain 1200, at Daire Dísert Do Chonna 1200, and at Dún Maíle Tuile 500.

In the past, scholars have also attributed the decline to the loss of the effective leadership of Amlaíb and Ímar in the 870s, and in the later ninth century to a concentration of Viking interests overseas particularly in north-west England and

[65] Ibid.

[66] Ibid. 22: 'It has been proposed that, while this is to a significant degree a function of a marked decline in the volume of annalistic records of ecclesiastical events in general, apart from plain obits, some real decrease in raiding probably took place'.

[67] Ibid. 4.

[68] Howard B. Clarke, 'The bloodied eagle: the Vikings and the development of Dublin, 841–1014', *Irish Sword* 18 (1991) 91-119: 97: 'the most striking feature of recorded battles is that Vikings lost most of them'; Donnchadh Ó Corráin, 'Viking Ireland—afterthoughts', in Clarke et al. (eds), *Ireland and Scandinavia in the early Viking age*, 421-52: 425: 'The mid-ninth century Irish counter-attack was violent and successful'.

Iceland.[69] The figures discussed earlier show a marked reduction in Viking activity as recorded in the annals from the late 840s through to the 860s, approximately six years before the capture of York (*c*.866), almost 10 years (if not more) before the loss of Amlaíb and Ímar, and perhaps a few decades before the settlement of Iceland in the late ninth century.

In Ireland, the late 840s through to the 850s are distinguished by the establishment of more bases, both temporary and permanent, and the arrival of the sons of the king of Laithlinn: Amlaíb, Ímar and Auisle.[70] Leaving aside AFM's record that Mumu opposed Máel Sechnaill at the instigation of the foreigners, in 854 and 855 there are no Viking-entries. Byrne, based on an account in FA §239, suggests that Amlaíb organised the colony in Dublin and then left for Man or the Hebrides.[71] The lack of activity in these two years may testify to Amlaíb's success in taking control of the situation in Ireland; in 853, AU records *Amhlaim m. righ Laithlinde do tuidhecht a n-Erinn coro giallsat Gaill Erenn dó, ₇ cis o Goidhelaibh* 'Amlaíb, son of the king of Lochlann, came to Ireland, and the foreigners of Ireland submitted to him, and he took tribute from the Irish'; perhaps, more importantly, he may have gained the submission of other Vikings already operating in Ireland.

Political alliances cemented through inter-marriage between the Norse and the Irish also increase in this period; for example, Amlaíb was married to the daughter of Áed, king of Northern Uí Néill. Scholars have argued that, in the second half of the ninth century, Viking attacks on monastic settlements were also motivated by their involvement in secular politics.[72] Archaeological evidence for the ninth

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[69] Etchingham, *Viking raids*, 53: notes 'the coincidence between the greatly reduced incidence of Scandinavian encounters with Irish secular dynasts in the 870s and the removal of the two Viking leaders most frequently noticed in the Irish annals for the 850s and 860s'; Ó Corráin, 'Ireland, Wales, Man, and the Hebrides', 92.

[70] Traditionally, *Laithlinn* or *Lochlainn* was identified with Rögaland, a part of western Norway, see Carl Marstrander, 'Lochlainn', *Ériu* 5 (1911) 250-1; however, Donnchadh Ó Corráin, 'The Vikings in Scotland and Ireland in the ninth century', *Peritia* 12 (1998) 296-339, suggests that initially *Lochlainn* in the ninth century refers to the Viking kingdom(s) in Scotland and the Scottish Isles, and in the late eleventh century it came to mean Norway. See also Anders Ahlqvist, '*Is acher in gaíth... úa Lothlind*', in Leslie Ellen Jones and Joseph Falaky Nagy (eds), *Heroic poets and poetic heroes in Celtic tradition: studies in honor of Patrick K. Ford:* CSANA Yearbook 3-4 (Dublin 2005) 19-27; Máire Ní Mhaonaigh, 'Literary Lochlann', in Wilson McLeod, James E. Fraser and Anja Gunderloch (eds), *Cànan and Cultar / Language and Culture: Rannsachadh na Gàidhlig* 3 (Edinburgh 2006) 25-37; Colmán Etchingham, 'The location of historical *Laithlinn*/*Lochla(i)nn*: Scotland or Scandinavia?, in Mícheál Ó Flaithearta (ed.), *Proceedings of the Seventh Symposium of Societas Celtoglogica Nordica* (Uppsala 2007) 11-31; id. 'Laithlinn, "fair foreigners" and "dark foreigners": the identity and provenance of Vikings in ninth-century Ireland', in Sheehan and Ó Corráin (eds), *The Viking age: Ireland and the west*, 80-8.

[71] Byrne,'The Viking-Age', 617.

[72] Etchingham, *Viking raids*, 54.

century has until recently relied upon stray finds, hoards and the grave-goods discovered in a small number of isolated burials, and from the cemeteries unearthed during the construction of the railway line at Kilmainham-Islandbridge in Dublin.[73] In historical discussions, the ninth century is characterised as the pure Viking period, but Stephen Harrison has recently shown that many of the ninth-century shield-bosses and spear-heads show distinct insular influence,[74] and the same may be said of some types of Viking silver brooches.[75] An increase in Irish and Viking interaction and integration may partly explain the decline in references in the source material. Perhaps an element of the Viking population had become more settled by this time. In 866, AU records:

> *Aedh m. Neill ro slat uile longportu Gall, .i. airir ind Fochla, eter Chenel n-Eugain ⁊ Dal n-Araide co tuc a cennlai ⁊ a n-eti ⁊ a crodha a l-longport er cath*. Aed son of Niall plundered all the strongholds of the foreigners i.e. in the territory of the North, both in Cenél Eógain and Dál Araidi, and took away their heads, their flocks, and their herds from camps by battle (?).

This victory was gained over the Vikings at Loch Foyle and twelve score heads were taken.[76] Both *éit* and *crod* have the same meaning 'cattle, herd', which is probably why Mac Airt and Mac Niocall opt to translate one as flocks. However, *crod* has a second wider meaning 'property, wealth' that seems more accurate here. Indeed, that is AFM's understanding when it paraphrases this entry (with some additions); *⁊ do-beart a crodh ⁊ a n-étead, a n-édala ⁊ a n-iolmhaoine* 'and he carried off their cattle and accoutrements, their goods and chattles'.[77] If we read *er* as *iar* 'after', i.e. after the battle, the original meaning might be that having defeated the Vikings at Lough Foyle, Áed then proceeded to attack their settlements. Clearly, these *longphoirt* housed settled populations. More importantly, the reference implies that there were several along the coastline, and Ó Corráin proposes that Áed Finnliath, king of Northern Uí Néill, was taking back the littoral from the Vikings.[78] It also reflects just how successful the Vikings had been in establishing bases in the mid-ninth century

[73] For the most recent summary of this evidence, see Ó Floinn, 'The archaeology of early Viking-Age'.
[74] Stephen H. Harrison, 'Viking graves and grave-goods in Ireland', in Anne-Christine Larsen (ed.), *The Vikings in Ireland* (Roskilde 2001) 51-75.
[75] Sheehan, 'Early Viking-Age silver hoards from Ireland and their Scandinavian elements', 181-3.
[76] Charles-Edwards, *The chronicle of Ireland*, separates these events and makes them two entries: 866.4 the destruction of the *longpoirt* and 866.5 the battle at Lough Foyle. I think they belong together as a single campaign.
[77] AFM 866.
[78] Ó Corráin, 'Ireland, Wales, Man, and the Hebrides', 90.

with settlements at Linn Duachaill and Dublin 841, Cork 848, Carlingford Lough 852, Youghal 866, and Clondalkin 867.

In 2003, during test-trenching for the construction of the N25 Waterford Bypass, archaeologists discovered evidence of ninth-century Viking settlement at Woodstown, on the banks of the river Suir, 5km upriver from Waterford city.[79] The site has yet to be decisively identified in the source material.[80] Archaeological evidence to date indicates that the site was occupied from the mid-ninth to mid-eleventh century and that the initial establishment of Woodstown clearly belongs to a key period in the mid-ninth century when the Vikings were keen to establish bases in Ireland. Is it mere coincidence that it corresponds to a period of decline in annal entries? John Sheehan suggests that some of these bases may have been established with trading in mind, as the archaeological evidence for trade — weights, silver, balance scales etc. — that has come to light in Woodstown and Dublin, as well as various potential *longphort* sites, is very impressive.[81] Trading accounts for a reduction in raiding in the late 850s. It also means that a *modus operandi* may have been reached between the Irish and the Vikings.

The entire question of the inter-relationship between the Irish annals and Viking settlement bears comparison with the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (ASC) on a number of different levels.[82] Hughes first suggested the worth of a comparative textual study of the history of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* and the inter-relationship between ASC's recensions and the Irish annals.[83] One might also compare the peaks and troughs of Viking activity as recorded in the chronicle with those recorded in the Irish annals. More importantly, it is interesting to examine the correlation between cited Viking raids in ASC and Viking settlements known from corroborative archaeological and/or toponymic evidence.

In conclusion, my analysis of the ninth-century Viking entries in the Irish annals shows that there is a reduction in references in the late 850s. Furthermore,

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[79] See Chapter 7 for a discussion of this site.

[80] Breandán Ó Cíobháin, 'Cammas hUa Fathaid Tíre and the Vikings: significance and location', www.savevikingwaterford.com; Clare Downham, 'The historical importance of Viking-Age Waterford', *The Journal of Celtic Studies* 4 (2005) 71-96. The identifications suggested in these articles will be discussed in Chapter 7.

[81] Sheehan, 'The *longphort* in Viking Age Ireland', 290-3.

[82] Dorothy Whitelock (ed.), *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: a revised translation* (London 1961); Sawyer, *The age of the Vikings*, 14-25.

[83] Hughes, *Early christian Ireland*, 147; Dumville comments on ASC and use of the vernacular in 'Latin and Irish in the *Annals of Ulster*', 333-4.

these figures show that there is no radical decrease in the number of words written by the annalists, and even where there is a slight decrease, a more marked decrease in Viking references can be determined. Decline in entries would seem to be reflective of a change in the nature of Viking activity in Ireland due to (1) the successful resistance of Irish kings, (2) the arrival and subsequent reign of Amlaíb and Ímar, and (3) the establishment of strategic bases and settlements which allowed for more peaceful interaction with the Irish such as trade.

CHAPTER 3

A QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS OF NINTH-CENTURY VIKING ENTRIES IN THE IRISH ANNALS

> However much we must be aware of the changing nature of the sources and however enlightening a statistical enquiry may be, these approaches can be no substitute for an analysis of each entry in its own context.[1]

Doherty made the above remarks in response to Etchingham's study of Viking raids on Irish settlements (and in defence of the chronology of Viking activity proposed in the *New history of Ireland*). My concordance of Viking references compiled from the Irish annals enabled detailed qualitative analysis of each entry. A spread-sheet was compiled from the concordance which allowed for easy recognition of common and unique material. The spread-sheet is similar to Daniel McCarthy's synchronisation of the annals: 'Any compilation may be reduced to a compact sequence of record tokens delimited by chronological tokens'.[2] However, I have synchronised, where possible, the full annal entries as this allows greater comparison of the accounts. Broadly speaking, the entries may be categorised as follows:

1. *common entries*: an entry is recorded, almost verbatim, in a number of different annals
2. *additional information*: these entries share a common core, again usually verbatim, but one or more annals may add unique extra detail
3. *unique entries*: an event is recorded in only one annal
4. *uniquely attributed entries*: all annals may record a particular event but only one annal attributes the event to the Vikings, or records their involvement.

By examining the unique entries, and those with unique additional information, it may be possible to trace patterns or discern trends in the inter-relationship between the annals. Analysis of this material also raises crucial issues regarding the transmission of information during the medieval period, and the history or transmission of each of the extant collections of annals.

Etchingham's study of Viking raids on Irish church settlements is not concerned with the complexity of the annals. Though he does acknowledge that they

[1] Doherty, 'Vikings in Ireland', 295, fn 34.
[2] Mc Carthy, 'The chronology of the Irish annals', 216. On page 215, he defines a record token as 'consisting of the first proper name encountered in the text of the entry, which may be accompanied by the first letter of the principal verb of the entry or its action'.

are not a homogenous source, for the purposes of his study he treats them as such.[3] In respect of the issue, he quotes John Kelleher: 'apart from interpolations, (it) appears that up to 910 all the annals are but selective versions of one common source, a text very likely composed in that year and both fuller and more national in its purview than any recensions derived from it'.[4] Etchingham then comments: 'whether or not this, rather than an admixture of local chronicling, best accounts for the partial divergence of the extant texts before the tenth century is a question which for the purposes of this study, may remain open'.[5] His reluctance is understandable given the complex nature of the annals but some attempt must be made to uncover the inter-relationships between the extant annals if we are to understand the Viking entries and the nature of Viking activity in ninth-century Ireland.

The annals are derived from the *Iona Chronicle* that originated in the Columban foundation on the island of Iona.[6] A version of the chronicle was brought to Ireland *c*.740 and was incorporated into, what T.F. O'Rahilly termed, the *Ulster Chronicle*, perhaps at the monastery of Bangor, Co Down.[7] Eoin MacNeill had originally entitled the lost exemplar behind AU and AT, the *Old Irish Chronicle*.[8] Kelleher, amongst others, questioned its location in Bangor, because the entries seem to show more interest in the Uí Néill dynasty, particularly Southern Uí Néill, and therefore he proposed compilation within their sphere of influence, perhaps at the monastic settlement of Louth.[9] Alfred Smyth suggested that the compilation of the chronicle occurred at the monastic settlement of Clonard, Co Westmeath, where it was interwoven with a more local chronicle.[10] Thomas Charles-Edwards has

[3] Etchingham, *Viking raids*, 10.
[4] Ibid., 5; John V. Kelleher, 'Early Irish history and pseudo-history', *Studia Hibernica* 3 (1963) 113-27: 126.
[5] Etchingham, *Viking raids*, 5.
[6] Thomas F. O'Rahilly, 'Some questions of dating in the early Irish annals', *Early Irish history and mythology* (Dublin 1946; 6th Edition 1999) 233-59; John Bannerman, 'Notes on the Scottish entries in the early Irish annals', *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 11 (1968) 149-70, repr. in *Studies in the history of Dalriada* (Edinburgh 1974) 9-26; Daniel P. Mc Carthy, 'The chronology and sources of the early Irish annals', *Early Medieval Europe* 10 (2001) 323-41.
[7] O'Rahilly, *Early Irish history and mythology*, 253.
[8] Eoin MacNeill, 'The authorship and structure of the Annals of Tigernach', *Ériu* 7 (1913) 30-113: 73-92.
[9] Kelleher, 'Early Irish history and pseudo-history', 126.
[10] Alfred P. Smyth, 'The earliest Irish annals: their first contemporary entries, and the earliest centres of recording', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 70C (1972) 1-48: 26-8; Liam Ó Buachalla, 'The construction of the Irish annals, 429-66', *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society* 63 (1958) 103-16: 109, where he argued for an early Leinster stratum or chronicle. See also Liam Ó Buachalla, 'Notes on the early Irish annals, 467-550', *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society* 64 (1959) 73-81.

attempted to reconstruct this lost chronicle which he terms *The Chronicle of Ireland* and suggests compilation at either Lusk or Trevet.[11] AU, AT, and CS are said to derive from this chronicle. AU and CS diverge in the early tenth century, *c*.913 according to Hughes,[12] a date refined to *c*.911 by Grabowski and Dumville.[13] AT has a lacuna from AD 766–973, but when the text resumes in 974, it too has diverged from AU. CS is a copy of an exemplar of AT, but not of the extant version of AT.[14] Hughes remarked that the *Chronicle of Ireland* was already glossed before the texts diverged.[15] A version of the *Chronicle of Ireland*, then found its way to Clonmacnoise, and the texts associated with this *scriptorium* are AT, CS, AClon and AR, that is the Clonmacnoise-group of texts as discussed by Grabowski and Dumville.[16]

Mc Carthy suggests that AClon is an English translation of an exemplar closely resembling AT.[17] AI is an abbreviated version of the *Chronicle of Ireland*, and Grabowski, in agreement with Mac Niocaill, concluded that AI is closer to Clonmacnoise-group than to AU, but that it also contains a now-lost set of Munster annals.[18] A recent study of AI has identified a substratum of two dozen references to affairs in western Ulster, particularly associated with the Cenél Conaill.[19] AFM is a seventeenth-century compilation based on the annals available to Mícheál Ó Cléirigh and his fellow scribes and editors, which includes some important sources now no longer extant.[20] Joan Radner, in the introduction to her edition of FA, proposed that

[11] Charles-Edwards, *Chronicle of Irleand*, 15.
[12] Hughes, *Early christian Ireland*, 107.
[13] Grabowski and Dumville, *Chronicles and annals of medieval Ireland and Wales*, 55.
[14] Ibid. 6.
[15] Hughes, *Early christian Ireland*, 103.
[16] Grabowski and Dumville, *Chronicles and annals of medieval Ireland and Wales*, 6.
[17] Mc Carthy, 'The chronology of the Irish annals', 226 and 236-7.
[18] Grabowski and Dumville, *Chronicles and annals of medieval Ireland and Wales*, 25 and 60; Mac Niocaill, *Medieval Irish Annals*, 26.
[19] Tomás G. Ó Canann, 'The Annals of Inisfallen: an independent witness to northern events', *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society* 113 (2008) 31-9:
[20] O'Donovan, AFM, i, introduction, xii, includes a letter from Bernadinus O'Clery and Brother Maurice Dunlevy which lists the sources available to them: 'the old books they collected were the Annals of Clonmacnoise … the Annals of the Island of the Saints, on the Lake of Rive: the Annals of Senat Mac Magnus, on the Lake of Erne (now called the Ulster Annals): the Annals of the Maolconarys; the Annals of Kilronan, compiled by the O'Duigenans. These antiquarians had also procured the Annals of Lacan, compiled by the Mac Firbisses, and from those Lacan Annals they supplied what they thought proper in the blanks let for any occasional information they could obtain'. See also Paul Walsh, *The Four Masters* (Dublin 1944) 1-5, where he discusses the source material used by the Four Masters. See more recent work by Bernadette Cunningham, *The Annals of the Four Masters: Irish history, kingship and society in the early seventeenth century* (Dublin 2010); Bernadette Cunningham and Edel Bhreathnach, *Writing Irish history: the four masters and their world* (Dublin 2007).

FA and AFM also drew upon a now-lost set of south-eastern annals, primarily concerned with Laigin and Osraige.[21] CGG, compiled in the early twelfth-century,[22] is principally a propagandist text designed to bolster the Dál Cais dynasty but it also contains genuine annalistic material detailing raids and encounters not found in other annals. A.J. Goedheer, initially, suggested that the annals embedded within CGG showed close affinity to AU.[23] Roger Leech later proposed that they were closer to AI,[24] and more recently Máire Ní Mhaonaigh has concluded CGG material bears closest resemblance to AI and to the Clonmacnoise-group of texts, and that a redactor drew on material from a now-lost Munster/Clonmacnoise conflation of annals.[25]

Daniel Mc Carthy, initially in a series of articles and now in a full-length study, has questioned the traditional outline of the textual relationship of the Irish annals. He argues that AT/CS preserves the oldest chronological apparatus, kalend plus ferial, though with some scribal corruption of numerical data and he privileges those annals, along with AClon, over AU.[26] As the annals continue to share common entries well into the eleventh century, he argues that they diverge not at 911 but at 1022, when a revision was taken from Clonmacnoise to Armagh to form AU.[27] Nicholas Evans accounts for this shared material by arguing that chroniclers shared the same news networks.[28] Herbert proposes that AU and the AClon group of annals share a common source until the year 1054, which she identifies as 'the book of Dub dá Leithe'.[29] Only a detailed study of the tenth- and eleventh-century entries can address this issue. Nonetheless, Mc Carthy's model has come in for heavy criticism from scholars, in particular from Charles-Edwards and Evans.[30] Evans has published

[21] Radner, *Fragmentary annals of Ireland*, introduction, xvi-xix. See also F.W. Wainwright, 'Ingimund's invasion', *English Historical Review* 63 (1948) 145-69; repr. in F.W. Wainwright, *Scandinavian England*, ed. H.P.R. Finsberg (Chichester 1975) 131-61: 139, where he argues that the outlines of the Ingimund story found in FA 'are genuine history'.

[22] Máire Ní Mhaonaigh, '*Cogad Gaedel re Gallaib*: some dating considerations', *Peritia* 9 (1995) 354-77.

[23] A.J. Goedheer, *Irish and Norse traditions about the battle of Clontarf* (Haarlem 1938) 19-45.

[24] Roger H. Leech, '*Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaibh* and the *Annals of Inisfallen*', *North Munster Antiquarian Journal* 11 (1968) 13-21.

[25] Máire Ní Mhaonaigh, '*Cogad Gaedel re Gallaib* and the annals: a comparison', *Ériu* 47 (1996) 101-26: 118 and 125.

[26] Mc Carthy, 'The chronology of the Irish annals', 232.

[27] Ibid.

[28] Evans, *Medieval Irish chronicles*, 93-101.

[29] Herbert, 'Crossing historical and literary boundaries', 95-6.

[30] Nicholas Evans, review, *The Medieval Review* 09.04.09; Thomas Charles-Edwards, review, *Studia Hibernica* 36 (2009-2010) 207-10. In turn, see Mc Carthy's review of Evans, *The Medieval Review* 10.10.04 and of Charles-Edwards, *Peritia* 20 (2008) 379-87.

his own study of the Irish annals. It follows the traditional model of the textual relationship of the annals, but it is not without its problems and inconsistencies.[31] Kevin Murray has pointed out that one of the the main problems with Mc Carthy's interpretation is that it takes no real account of the linguistic evidence for the early period, as AU is the most linguistically conservative text.[32] One possible way to resolve some of these issues is to establish a collaborative research project which would create a digital concordance of the Irish annals. This would involve writing an XLST sheet to extract the entries from the TEI files of the annals as they are currently available on the CELT website.[33] This material would not only benefit our understanding of the origins and evolution of the Irish annals, but, as the concordance would be searchable, it would also prove an invaluable research tool for early medieval dynastic, political, ecclesiastical and social history.

However, for present purposes we are concerned with the ninth-century entries and where they were recorded. Though the research and analysis to follow was completed before publication of Mc Carthy's model, it does not support his suggestion that Clonmacnoise was the main centre of chronicling in Ireland from the eighth century; there is an undeniable emphasis in the annals on Brega and the east coast.[34] As we will see below, a study of the Viking entries does not neatly conform to either the traditional textual relationship nor to Mc Carthy's emphasis on the importance of Clonmacnoise texts. The process of compilation, transmission and revision is far too complex to fit the annals neatly into either paradigm.

Common entries

Some events are recorded almost verbatim in each of the extant annals. Are we to conclude that these entries were part of the original *Chronicle of Ireland*? This may be the case for one of the earliest records of Viking exploits in the annals in 806, the attack on the Columban foundation of Iona itself:

[31] Nicholas Evans, *The present and the past in medieval Irish chronicles*, Studies in Celtic History 27 (Woodbridge 2010). Unfortunately, his study is mainly confined to AU, AT and CS; see the review by Dáibhí Ó Cróinín, *The Scottish Historical Review* 92 (2013) 149-51.

[32] Personal communication.

[33] I currently have a number of scholars interested in this research project; Dr Kevin Murray, Professor Donnchadh Ó Corráin, Peter Flynn, and Francis Ludlow. This research project would benefit from advice from Thomas Charles-Edwards, Daniel Mc Carthy and Nicholas Evans and it is hoped that they would form an advisory panel.

[34] Charles-Edwards, concurs with this point in his review of Mc Carthy's book in *Studia Hibernica* 36, 210.

AU: *Familia Iae occisa est a gentilibus, id est .lxuiii.*
CS: *Muintir hIe do marbadh o gentibh .i. .lxuiii.*
AR: *Familia Iae occisa est a gentibus, .i. 68.*
AFM: *h-I Coluim Chille do ionnradh la h-allmhurachoibh, ₇ sochaidhe mor do laochaibh ₇ do cléircibh do mharbhadh leo .i. ochtar ar thríbh fichtibh.*
AClon: There was 68 of the familie of Hugh of St. Columb Kill, slain by the Danes.

Sometimes the annals differ only slightly in date or detail. In two consecutive years, 823 and 824, the Vikings raided the monastic settlement of Bangor, Co Down, and a record of these attacks is preserved in AU, CS, AI, AClon and AFM. AI's account differs slightly from that of the other annals, for in 823 AI reports that the shrine of Comgall was broken during the attack while the other annals report that this did not happen until the following year. AI also records an attack on Mag Bile (Movilla) at the same time as the attack on Bangor in 824. AU, CS and AFM record an attack on Movilla but not until 825. Thus, the raids have become conflated in AI. Attacks on monastic sites are more commonly recorded, and are more often preserved than secular events simply because the annals were composed within the *scriptoria* of the monastic settlements. So, in essence, we have a somewhat distorted impression of Viking raids on Irish churches as opposed to their encounters with secular society. Furthermore, monastic centres were concerned with their *familiae*, which explains why events at sites geographically removed from centres of learning are also recorded. Secular entries were, perhaps, more a matter of immediate local concern.

In terms of secular events, the death of the Viking leader Turgéis, in 845, highlights a number of problems with regard to the interpretation of references. His death is recorded in most of the extant annals, except AI (FA, part IV, does not commence until 849).[35] AU records *Turges du ergabhail la Mael Sechnaill ₇ badudh Turges i l-Loch Uair iarum* 'Tuirgéis was taken prisoner by Mael Sechnaill and afterwards drowned in Loch Uair'. Etchingham argues that Turgéis was quite powerful in Ireland and that his death signals a reversal of Viking fortunes in the late 840s.[36] Ó Corráin has argued that the author of CGG created the extravagant legend of Turgéis, basing himself on the interpolated annals, in order to glorify Brian

[35] FA §233.
[36] Etchingham, *Viking raids*, 48-9.

Bóraime.[37] The more contemporary AU and CS do not give Turgéis a title, but AClon refer to him as 'Prince of the Danes' and AFM call him *tigherna Gall*, a natural inference. In fact, in AU's earlier account of the establishment of a Viking base on Lough Ree in 845, the crediting of its foundation to Turgéis occurs in an interlinear gloss by scribe H^2.[38] Significantly, this gloss is incorporated into the text of CS. Tradition, as recounted in CGG, is that Turgéis usurped the abbacy of Armagh, and that his wife Ota, held court from the altar of Clonmacnoise.[39] Thus, Turgéis is seen to appropriate two of the most important ecclesiastical sites in Ireland: Armagh and Clonmacnoise. Turgéis' death is recorded in AU, CS, AR, AB, LL, CGG and AFM.[40] How does this compare with later leaders of the Vikings? Amlaíb's death is not recorded in the Irish annals; FA §400 *c*.871 reports that he returned to *Lochlainn* to aid his father Gofraid, after which point he disappears from the Irish source material.[41] Ímar's death in 873 is recorded only in AU, AI, AB and AFM. Are we to infer that Ímar's death was not as important as that of Turgéis? Clearly, one must exercise caution when basing assumptions on the appearance of shared annal entries or the absence of entries. Generally speaking, most major events, such as, the arrival of the large Viking fleets in 837 and the establishment of the *longphoirt* on the Liffey and the Boyne in 841, are preserved in common.

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[37] Ibid.; Ó Corráin, *Ireland before the Normans*, 91-2; id. 'High-kings, Vikings and other kings', 302-3.

[38] Mac Airt and Mac Niocaill, AU, page 302, b-b.

[39] CGG 8-9: *Ocus ro hindred tra Ard Macha fo tri isinn in mís leo sin, ocus ro gab Turgeis fein abbdani Arda Macha, ocus ro hinnarb Faranan abb Arda Macha ocus ard comarba Padraic, co toracht Mumain, ocus scrin Padraic leis; ocus buí cethri bliadhna im Mumain, ocus Turgeis inn Ard Macha, ocus irrígi tuaiscirt Erend; amail ro tairngir Bercan …* 'Ard Macha was plundered three times in the same month by them; and Turgeis himself usurped the abbacy of Ard Macha, and Farannan, abbot of Ard Macha, and chief comharba of 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'. CGG 12-3: *Tanic [tra Turgeis Arda Macha, ocus ro toccaib] longes ar Loch Rai, ocus ro hinred Midi uad as, ocus Connachta; ocus ro hinred Cluain mic Nois leis, ocus Cluain Ferta Brenaind, ocus Lothra, ocus Tir dá Glas, ocus Inis Cealtra, ocus cella Dergderc arcena, ocus is and dobered Ota ben Turges a huricli ar altoir Cluana mic Nois*. 'There came [now Turgeis, of Ard Macha, and brought] a fleet upon Loch Rai, and from thence plundered Midhe and Connacht; and Cluain Mic Nois was plundered by him, and Cluain Ferta of Brenainn, and Lothra, and Tir-Dá-Glas, and Inis Celtra, and all the churches of Dergdheirc, in like manner; and the place where Ota, the wife of Turgeis, used to give her audience was upon the altar of Cluain Mic Nois'. As indicated by brackets, the L, B, and D manuscripts give variant readings for this reference (CGG 13, fn 5) but they all include the name Turgéis.

[40] Giraldus Cambrensis in his *Topographia Hiberniae* records that Turgéis was stabbed to death by a group of fifteen men disguised as women, sent by Máel Sechnaill: J.J. O'Meara (ed.), 'Topographia Hibernie: text of the first recension', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 52C (1948-50) 113-78: 174. See also James Stewart, 'The death of Turgesius', *Saga-Book of the Viking Society for Northern Research* 18 (1970-71) 47-58.

[41] There is evidence from Scottish sources to suggest that he died there: Downham, *Viking kings*, 23 and 143.

Additional information

The annals often share the basic details about an event but one annal may contain more specific information. The problem is to ascertain, if possible, when and where this information may have been added. Was the additional information part of the *Chronicle of Ireland* but then ignored in subsequent copies, or was it interpolated? Orthography is one of the more effective tools to establish how contemporary the recording annal entries are, but a detailed analysis of the language is not part of this study. A comparative analysis of tenth-century entries may shed more light on the issue. In some cases, it is possible to identify the reasons why the annalists had access to the extra detail, or to identify where the source material was composed. A series of entries in AU regarding the Ciannachta confirm that a chronicle was kept somewhere in Brega/Mide in the ninth century.[42] AU and AFM record that the Vikings attacked the monastic settlement of Lusk, north Co Dublin in 827; AU continues that they also raided the Ciannachta as far as Uachtar Ugán:

> AU: *Orggan Luscan do genntib ₇ a loscadh, ₇ innreadh Ciannachta co rici Uachtar n-Ugan, ₇ organ Gall ind Airthir olchena*.
> AFM: *Luscca do orgain la Gallaibh.*

We know that the compliers of AFM had a full copy of AU, but it was not concerned with the additional detail. Likewise, they often omit weather reports.

A close textual relationship between AU and CS is acknowledged by most scholars up to the early tenth century, when the texts diverge; however, both before and subsequent to this divergence a number of entries were interpolated. A small additional detail is found in CS in the entry about the rebellion of Cináed against Máel Sechnaill in 850: AU records that Cináed, along with his Viking allies, plundered Lagore, and then raided the oratory of Treoit (Trevet, Co Meath) while CS mentions that they also attacked the 'oratory of Nuarrach' (as yet unidentified)**:**

> AU
> *Cinaedh m. Conaing, rex Ciannachtae, du frithtuidecht Mael Sechnaill a n-neurt Gall cor indridh Ou Neill o Shinaind co m-muir etir cella ₇ tuatha, ₇ coro ort innsi Locha Gabur dolose corbo comardd fria lar, ₇ coro loscad leis derthach Treoit ₇ tri .xx.it dec di doinibh ann.*
> Cinaed son of Conaing, king of Cianacht, rebelled against Mael Sechnaill with the support of the foreigners, and plundered the Uí Néill from the Sinann to the sea, both churches and states, and he deceitfully sacked the island of Loch

[42] Smyth, 'Earliest Irish annals', 26-8.

Gabor, levelling it to the ground, and the oratory of Treóit, with seventy people in it, was burned by him.

CS
Cinaodh mac Conaing ri Ciannacda do fhritthaighect re Mael Sechlainn mac Mael Ruanaidh a nert Gáll gurro inder o Sionainn co muir eitir cella et túatha et gur ort innsi Locha Gabor 7 ra loisccedh les durtech Treoite cum cclx. hominibus et durtech Nuarrach cum .lx. hominibus.
Cinaed son of Conaing, king of Cianacht, rebelled against Mael Sechnaill with the support of the foreigners, and plundered from the Sinann to the sea, both churches and peoples, and he sacked the islands of Loch Gabor, and the oratory of Treoit, with two hundred and seventy people in it, was burned by him, and the oratory of Nuarrach with sixty people.[43]

Additional information may be quite specific pointing to local knowledge. For example, in 837 the annals relate that the men of Brega inflicted a defeat on the Vikings in Mugdorna of Brega, but AU specifies that this defeat occurred at Deoninne.[44] Equally, of interest is that CGG records (*c*.837) that a fleet of 65 ships landed at the 'Dubhlinn of Áth Cliath', which seems specifically to imply the Black Pool of Áth Cliath,[45] though here this may reflect early twelfth-century topographical knowledge of Dublin, at the time when the saga was composed. In this particular instance, I think we should take CGG literally to mean the pool which was scoured out by the confluence of the river Poddle with the tidal waters of the river Liffey.

In a similar fashion, additional information may be found in other literary sources. For example, in 882 AU records a raid on Armagh by Flann Sinna mac Máele Sechnaill, king of Mide, along with 'foreigners'; *Baile in scáil* specifies that these foreigners were the sons of Ímar.[46] Significantly, this extra detail is found in

[43] OG s.n. Nuarrach; Durtech N. (or nUarrach?) in Meath seems near Loch Gabor and Trevet.
[44] OG s.n. Deoninne; merely states that it is in Mugdorna Breg in east Co Meath. OG s.n. Mugdornai; Mugdorna Breg was west of Co Louth and north of Co Meath, bordering on the barony of Farney. Byrne, 'The Viking-Age', 612 suggests it must have been somewhere north of Slane. See also Edel Bhreathnach, 'Authority and supremacy in Tara and its hinterland, *c*.950–1200', *Discovery Programme Reports* 5, Royal Irish Academy (1999) 1-23: 7; ead., 'Medieval sub-kingdoms of Brega: the kingships of Calatrium, Déssi Breg, Mugdornae Breg and Uí Maic Uais Breg', in Ailbhe MacShamhráin (ed.), *The Island of St Patrick: church and ruling dynasties in Fingal and Meath, 400–1148* (Dublin 2004) 38-51.
[45] CGG 12-3: *Tancatar iar sin .u. longa ocus tri fichit, cor gabsat in Dublind Atha Cliath, ocus ro hindred Lagin co fargi leo, ocus Mag mBreg.* 'After this came three score and five ships, and landed at Dubhlinn of Athcliath and Laghin was plundered to the sea by them and Magh Bregh'. Though all other sources record that 60 rather than 65 ships arrived. Alternatively this could reflect the compilers's knowledge of Dublin in the early twelfth century.
[46] Kevin Murray (ed. and trans.), *Baile in scáil*, ITS 58 (London 2004) §52: *Firfid forbais for táilcentaig (.i. Ard Macha) co n-echtrandaib (.i. Gaill .i. maic Ímair)*. I am grateful to Dr Murray for bringing this reference to my attention.

the gloss on the word *echtrand* meaning 'stranger, foreigner'.[47] *Baile in scáil* was originally composed in the ninth century but was reworked by a compiler with an interest in Cenél nEógain affairs in the early eleventh century.[48] The reference clearly demonstrates the manner in which scribes of literary texts could also incorporate extra material gathered either from local knowledge or from local chronicles.

Unique entries

Unique entries are the most fascinating because they raise issues concerning the communication of information in the medieval period. In addition, we are then faced with the matter of the survival, either deliberate or accidental, of information in the manuscript tradition. In essence, we are dealing with the transmission of information on one level, and the transmission of manuscripts on another. Obviously, in both instances, scribes could choose to include that which had an impact on, or was within, their area of concern — geographically, politically or ecclesiastically. Thus, to some extent, the information extant in the annals regarding the Vikings was influenced not just by the degree of importance of the event but also by regional bias. The annals in general are particularly concerned with matters relating to the Uí Néill, and in particular Southern Uí Néill, which may substantiate the claim of a chronicle compilation at a monastic settlement in their territory.[49] This may also explain the references, quoted above, concerning the Vikings and the Ciannachta (though this may be explained by chronicling of events at a centre in Louth) and also a unique reference in AU 836 to the plundering of Brega at Telcha Dromáin and Dairmag of the Britons (both unidentified). More interestingly, in 836 the annals record a raid by the Vikings on Connacht, but only AU contains a separate unique entry that records heathens also slaughtered In Déis Túaiscirt (originally based in eastern Co Limerick and Co Clare).[50] The unique entry regarding the geographically removed people of In Déis Túaiscirt may derive from the original chronicle, which is embedded within AU. Similarly, a unique entry regarding a Viking attack on the monastic settlement of Baislec (Baslick, Co Roscommon) may have been ignored by other chroniclers when copying from the ancestor text. However, one cannot rule out the more likely

[47] Ibid. glossary, 139.
[48] Ibid. introduction, 29.
[49] Smyth, 'Earliest Irish annals', 26-8.
[50] OG s.n. Déisi Tuaiscirt. They were the progenitors of the Dál Cais. See Ó Corráin, *Ireland before the Normans*, 7-8; Byrne, *Irish kings and high-kings*, 181; John V. Kelleher, 'The rise of the Dál Cais', in Rynne (ed.), *North Munster studies*, 230-41.

possibility that the entry was added after the texts diverged in the early tenth century.[51] In summary, unique entries were either retained from the ancestor text which lies behind our extant annals, or the information was interpolated at a later stage of transmission. It is often very difficult to tell which.

Unique Viking entries in AU

Mide/Brega: 828, 833, 836, 844
North: 831
Mumu: 836
Laigin: 839
Connacht: 846
Ireland: 840
Dublin Vikings: 875, 893, 894
Scotland (Foirtriu): 839

There are twelve unique ninth-century Viking entries in AU; nine of these entries occur in the first half of the ninth century, three in the second. Of the first nine entries, four concern events in Mide/Brega: 828, the killing of Cináed mac Cumuscaig, and the raids on Lann Léire and Cluain Mór; 833, the raid on Druim Inasclainn (Dromiskin, Co Louth);[52] 836, the plundering of southern Brega and Telcha Dromáin and Dairmag of the Britons; and 844 the slaying of Máel Mithig mac Cináeda. The rest of the entries are dispersed: one in the North, the battle of Snám Aignech against the community of Armagh near Carlingford Lough in 831;[53] one in Mumu, the slaughter of the people of In Déis Túaiscirt in 836; one in Laigin in 839, and one in Connacht, 846, the raid on Baslick, Co Roscommon. One raid outside of Ireland is noted, the battle of the heathens against the men of Foirtriu in Scotland in 839.[54] In the Rawlinson B 489 manuscript of AU, the last entry for 840 is an interpolation which reads: *Annsa m-bliaghain-so thios tangadur Lochlanaidh a n-Erinn ar tus do reir an t-sencusa* 'In this year below the Norsemen first came to Ireland, according to the *senchus*'. Clearly, the annalists regarded 841 as a significant year in the history of the Vikings in Ireland, the year of the *longphoirt* at Linn Duachaill and Dublinn. All three entries in the second half of the ninth century are

[51] HDGP ii, s.n. Baisleac. See Charles Doherty, 'The basilica in early Ireland', *Peritia* 3 (1984) 303-15: 309-10, where he discusses the connections between Baslick and Armagh in the seventh century.
[52] OG s.n. Druim Enesclaind.
[53] Doherty, suggests that *Aignecha* was Armagh's coastal port: 'Exchange and trade in early medieval Ireland', 80.
[54] Ó Corráin, 'Vikings in Scotland and Ireland', 296-339.

concerned with the Vikings of Dublin, particularly, the descendents of Amlaíb and Ímar: 875, Oistin mac Amlaíb was killed by Alband; 893, Ímar grandson of Ímar departs (AI records that the heathens left Ireland in this year which probably refers to this departure); and the last unique entry in AU records the return of Ímar in 894. To sum up: most of the unique entries occur in the first half of the ninth century, and geographically they are mainly concerned with Mide/Brega and Dublin. Only two entries relate to Leth Moga. These unique entries are consistent with a contemporary chronicle kept within the territory of Southern Uí Néill.

Unique Viking entries in AI

Mumu: 833, 857, 867, 873, 883.
Connacht: 866.
Ireland: 796, 893.
North: 795, 824.

There are ten possible unique ninth-century Viking entries in AI, four in the first half of the century and six in the second. Of the first five events, only one is definitely unique as the first three events are probably conflated; in 795, the Vikings are said to have raided Iona, Inismurray and Inisbofin;[55] in 796, AI records that 'the heathens were in Ireland' — this is probably a misdated entry as AU and AClon have a similar entry in 795; in 824, raids on Bangor and Movilla are recorded — Bangor is recorded in the other annals but the Movilla raid is not recorded until 825. The majority (five) of the references in AI are, as one would expect, concerned with Mumu. In 833, like the other annals, AI records a raid on Lismore but also adds a raid on Kilmolash.[56] Unique references in the second half of the ninth century begin in 857 when AI records the arrival of the fleet of Búitíne in Ireland; there are no other details but presumably this fleet arrived somewhere within Mumu. In 866, AI relates that Tomrar the Earl plundered Cluain Ferta Brénainn (Clonfert, Co Galway) but died three days later due to the revenge of St Brendan.[57] FA records this event but with a little more detail which will be discussed below.[58] AI records two raids on Lismore in the second half of the ninth century; in 867, Amlaíb attacks the site and liberates

[55] Ó Canann, 'The Annals of Inisfallen: an independent witness', 32, suggests that the Inisbofin in question may be the island off the Donegal coast between Tory and the mainland, rather than the island off Galway.
[56] As noted above, CGG also records a raid on Kilmolash.
[57] OG s.n. Cluain Ferta Brenaind. This entry will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 6.
[58] FA §337 and FA §340.

Martan,[59] and, in 883, there is mention of a raid by the son of Ímar. These entries are clearly derived from the ninth-century Lismore source which Grabowski and Dumville identified within AI.[60] In 873, the annals relate that the foreigners of Áth Cliath invaded Mumu, but AI and CGG, in very similar terms, report that Barith invaded Ciarraige Luachra: *Barid co morc(hoblach o) Ath Ch(l)iath iar muir siar diaro ort Ciarraige Luachra fo thalmuin, .i. crec na n-huam* 'Bárid with a great fleet from Áth Cliath (went) by sea westwards, and he plundered Ciarraige Luachra under ground, i.e. the raiding of the caves'.[61] The final possible unique AI entry in the ninth century occurs in 893, which records that 'the heathens left Ireland'; as stated above, this probably refers to dissension amongst the Vikings of Dublin and the departure of Ímar. AI clearly draws upon a now-lost Munster set of annals for many of these Viking references.

Unique entries in CS

Upon first analysis, CS contains very few unique ninth-century Viking entries: there are only two unique raids, and even these are found in conjunction with raids recorded in the other annals. For example, in 822 CS records that the Vikings raided Daiminis along with a raid on Cork. The other annals record the Cork raid along with a raid on Inis Doimle.[62] Daiminis is probably a scribal error for Dairinis ('Oak Island' or Molana, on the river Blackwater, above Youghal, Co Cork). A raid on Dairinis (and Begéire — Begerin Island, in Wexford harbour) is recorded in the previous year in the other Clonmacnoise texts (AClon and AR) and in AFM; geographically it would also make more sense. Recently, Máirín Ní Dhonnchadha suggests that CS uses Daiminis in error for Inis Daimle (Great Island in the estuary of Suir, the Barrow and the Nore).[63] Ó Murchadha concurs with Hogan's original identification of Inis Daimle as Little Island in Waterford Harbour.[64] Three years

[59] Etchingham, *Viking raids*, 65. Etchingham identifies Martan as an abbot whose obit is recorded in AFM s.a. 878 (recte 881).
[60] Grabowski and Dumville, *Chronicles and annals of medieval Ireland and Wales*, 93.
[61] CGG 24-5.
[62] OG s.n. Inis Daimle, identified as Little Island, on the river Suir, near Waterford.
[63] Máirín Ní Dhonnchadha, 'Inis Teimle, between Uí Chennselaig and the Déssi', *Peritia* 16 (2002) 451-58: 456; the identification is based on a reading of an entry in the *Martyrology of Oengus*. Kenneth Nicholls had offered an alternative identification that it was Saltee Island, off the Wexford coast (Ó Corráin agreed, 'Viking Ireland—afterthoughts', 436, fn 61). However, Diarmuid Ó Murchadha, 'Ainm Gaeilge ar an Great Saltee', *Ainm* 8 (1998-2000) 60-4, has shown that the Irish name for Great Saltee was probably Éninis 'bird island'.
[64] Ibid.

later, CS records a raid on Inis Daimle: why use alternate names within such a short time-frame? The second unique entry occurs in 850, while the other annals record the plundering of Trevet, CS, as discussed above, also records the plundering of the 'oratory of Nuarrach'.

In 883, the death of the son of Auisle at the hands of the son of Iergne and the daughter of Máel Sechnaill is recorded in AU. Interestingly, CS supplies the names of these individuals and tells us that Ottir son of Eirgne, and Muirgel daughter of Máel Sechnaill, killed Auisle's son. This Ottir is presumably the son of Iernce who, along with Stain, was defeated during the battle between the Dubgennti and the Findgennti at Carlingford in 852.[65] FA even suggests that Iargna formed an alliance with Matudán mac Muiredaig, king of Ulaid.[66] In the late ninth century, Ottir's brother Eoloir is responsible for the death of Éremón, son of Áed, one of two kings of Ulaid in 886 (incidentally a rival branch of the family to that of Matudán son of Muiredaig), so this may support FA's record of an alliance, demonstrating once again how involved the Vikings were in Irish dynastic disputes.[67] This suggests that the dynasty of Iercne maintained a presence in, or at least a firm association with, the north. Byrne and Doherty include Eoloir son of Járnkné (mac Iercne) as a doubtful king of Dublin in the early to mid-880s.[68] The annalists obviously grappled with the ON name Járnkné which they rendered faithfully as AU 852 *Iercne*; FA §235 *Iargna*; AU 883 *Iergni*; CS 883 *Eirgni* and AU 886 *Ergní*, that is until they understood its meaning 'Ironknee' and could provide its Irish equivalent/translation: Glún Iairn. Glún Iairn emerges as a personal name associated particularly with the Dublin Vikings. AU 895 records that Glún Iairn attacked Armagh and took 710 prisoners. In the tenth century, the name was favoured by the descendents of Sitriuc Caech: his grandson was called Glún Iairn, king of Dublin AD 980–989, and his great-grandson

[65] Niels Lukman, 'An Irish source and some Icelandic *fornaldarsögur*', *Mediaeval Scandinavia* 10 (1977) 41-57, discusses the use of a version of FA by Icelandic saga writers. A certain *Járnnefr* features in *Hálfdanar saga Brönufóstra*'s where is beheaded; after the battle of Carlingford Lough, AU and CS maintain that Iercne was beheaded while Stain escapes; FA does not mention Iargna again after the defeat. Lukman (page 51) also notes that FA refers to Stain and Iargna as *leith-ríg na Lochlannach*.

[66] FA §235.

[67] AU: *Eiremhon m. Aedho, leth-ri Ulath, o Eoloir m. Ergní occissus est*. In Irish tradition, Elóir or Alóir Derg was the name of Ailill Ólom's dog: see Sharon Arbuthnot (ed and trans), *Cóir Anmann: a late middle-Irish treatise on personal names*, Part I, ITS 59 (London 2005) 112, 147, 183 and 190.

[68] NHI 9, 208.

Glún Iairn (son of Sitric Silkenbeard).[69] In AU 914, Ottir's son Barid was killed by Ragnall, grandson of Ímar, in a naval battle near the Isle of Man.[70] The battle suggests that both dynasties were competing for control of the Irish Sea in the early tenth century. It also signifies the end of the Járnkné dynasty, which had been active in the area for over sixty years.

On another occasion in 896, AU records that the foreigners were slaughtered by the Conaille with Laigne's son, and that Amlaíb grandson of Ímar fell.[71] CS again supplies additional names of the individuals involved in this encounter:

> *Ár Gall la Conaille ₇ la Aiteid mac Laigne in qua ciciderunt Amlaibh h. Imair et Glun Tradna mac Glúin Iaráinn cum .dccc.*
> A slaughter of the foreigners by the Conaille and Aitéid son of Laigne, in which Amlaíb son of Ímar fell, and Glún Tradna son of Glún Iarainn, with eight hundred.

Many references found in CS are also found in AClon (one of the Clonmacnoise group of texts), and are also present in AI and CGG, both of which also have a loose association with the Clonmacnoise texts. As AT is lacunose for this period, AU and CS are the best sources for the ninth century; therefore, a comparative study of Viking references in both texts was undertaken. Rather than clutter this narrative, references are cited in Appendix C with enclosed brackets [ ] citing the other annals where the reference may also be found.

CS entries not found in AU

Brega/Mide: 837, 841, 844, 850, 891
Dublin: 837, 849, 861, 873, 883, 896
Mumu: 837, 847, 848, 856, 858, 864
Laigin: 836, 841, 841, 891, 900
Connacht: 887
Northern Uí Néill: 837, 898.

[69] These names are discussed further in Donnchadh Ó Corráin, 'Old Norse and medieval Irish: bilingualism in Viking-Age Dublin' in Bradley et al. (eds), *Dublin in the medieval world*, 63-72.

[70] Charles Haliday, *The Scandinavian kingdom of Dublin* (Dublin 1881; repr. Shannon 1969) 54, refers to Baird Mac Oittir's fleet as the 'Scandinavians of Ulster'. He also suggests (page 85) that Barid 'was chief of the Norwegians who had settled in Dal Aradia [Dál nAraide], on the north coast of Ulster', but he maintains that he was the grandson of the Barid who in 873 had plundered Lough Ree (FA §408).

[71] *Ar n-Gall ra Conailliu ₇ la m. Laighne in qua cecidit Amlaim h. Imair* 'A slaughter of the foreigners by the Conaille and Laigne's son, in which Amlaíb son of Ímar fell'.

There are a total of 25 ninth-century references to the Vikings in CS that are not found in AU.[72] When were these references added? Were they interpolated after the two texts diverged in the early tenth century or does CS draw upon an exemplar of the *Chronicle of Ireland* different from that used by AU? CS contains an additional six references to Viking exploits in the Brega/Mide area. In 837, the heathens won a battle at the Fertae (perhaps Fertae Fer Féc on the Boyne, near Slane, in Co Meath).[73] In 841, the Vikings plundered Cluain Iraird (Clonard, Co Meath).[74] In 844, the Vikings of Lough Ree killed Tolorg mac Allailed, while Finnacán mac Allailed escaped. In 850, there is the unique reference to the plundering of the oratory of Nuarrach already mentioned. Clonard is plundered once again in 891.

CS has an interesting series of entries concerning the Viking settlement of Dublin, and acts perpetrated by the Vikings of Dublin, beginning in 837 with the first taking of Dublin: *Cedgabail Atha Cliath o ghentibh*. The expression suggests that they took over some form of pre-existing settlement. The use of the term *cédgabáil* may imply that the reference was not contemporary and must have been added or edited later. Nevertheless, it lends some support to the view that there was settlement in the Dublin area in the pre-Viking period as argued by Clarke,[75] and as confirmed by the archaeological evidence.[76] In 837, Armagh was plundered three times in one month; the expression *cetna orgain* is used. Similarly, in 847, CS and AFM record *Cedorgain Imlicch Iubair o gentibh*; generally this is regarded as the first plundering of Emly, Co Tipperary. If we accept the validity of these CS references to the first plunderings of Armagh and Emly, then perhaps the same credibility should be extended to the record of the first taking of Dublin.

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[72] Total number of unique entries is less but I have separated the raids, for example, in 841, one entry records the raids on Clonenagh, Clonard and Killeigh.

[73] OG s.n. Fertae Fer Féc. Fertae is common in place-names but the most well known and regularly cited is Fertae Fer Féc, traditionally believed to be the site of the first celebration of Easter in Ireland. See Catherine Swift, 'Pagan monuments and Christian legal centres in early Meath', *Ríocht na Midhe* 9/2 (1996) 1-26: 10-13, 21, where she argues that Fertae Fer Féc 'is more likely to have been located south of the Boyne, possibly in the area around Navan and Trim'.

[74] Raid on Clonard is recorded along with the raids on Clonenagh, Co Laois and Killeigh, Co Offaly.

[75] Howard B. Clarke, 'The topographical development of early Dublin', *Journal of the Royal Irish Society of Antiquaries* 107 (1977) 29-51, repr. Howard B. Clarke (ed.), *Medieval Dublin: the making of a metropolis* (Dublin 1990) 52-69. Clarke argues that there was Gaelic settlement in the area prior to the arrival of the Vikings: a monastic settlement Dublinn, and a secular settlement associated with the ford of Áth Cliath, most clearly articulated in 'Gaelic, Viking and Hiberno-Norse Dublin', in Art Cosgrove (ed.), *Dublin through the ages* (Dublin 1988) 4-24; id. *Dublin c.850 to c.1540: the medieval town in the modern city* (2nd edition, Dublin 2002), where he superimposes a reconstruction of the medieval city onto a modern OS map of Dublin.

[76] For a summary of the pre-Viking archaeological evidence, see Simpson, 'Forty years a digging', 11-20; ead. 'Pre-Viking and Viking-age', 49-92.

The first raid by Irish kings on Viking settlement at Dublin (presumably the *longphort* established in 841) is recorded in CS 849: *Inradh Duiblinne la Maol Sechlainn et la Tigernach rí Locha Gabur* 'Duiblinn was attacked by Mael Sechnaill and by Tigernach, king of Loch Gabor'. It is interesting that CS uses both terms, Áth Cliath and Dublinn, within a period of 12 years (CS 837).[77] Of more interest is that in 849, it is specifically Dublinn that is attacked. Support for CS's identification may be found in recent archaeological excavations, directed by Linzi Simpson, that have discovered five male Viking burials in Ship Street Great and South Great George's Street, dating to the late eighth and early ninth centuries. Contemporary habitation evidence found at the South Great George's Street site, and dating to the early to mid-ninth century, suggests that this may have been the location of the earliest Viking settlement at Dublin.[78] More recently, a Viking burial (a young male *c*.20–30 years old with grave-goods) was discovered at Golden Lane, and Edmund O'Donovan suggests that this burial forms part of a series of graves stretching from Bride Street across to Golden Lane, Ship Street Great and Georges Street.[79] Further support for the existence of a chronicle with information on Dublin is given by the reference in CS to the battle of Druim Dá Maighe in Co Offaly in 861, in which Máel Sechnaill, king of Southern Uí Néill, defeated the foreigners of Áth Cliath.[80] In 873, CS merely states that the Vikings of Dublin invaded Mumu but does not give any other detail. Additional information on the Vikings of Dublin, as in their names, is specified in 883 and in 896 as discussed above.

The Mumu entries commence in 837 with a defeat of the Vikings at Carn Feradaig (Cahernarry, Co Limerick).[81] The first recorded raid on the important ecclesiastical centre of Emly, Co Tipperary, occurs in 847. Significantly, in 848, the first mention of Viking settlement at Cork is recorded when the site is plundered by

[77] Clarke, 'Proto-towns and towns in Ireland and Britain', 346-48, argues that the *longphort* moved upstream *c*.843 to the site now known as Usher's Island. His argument is mainly based on the annalist's use of Dublinn and Áth Cliath to refer to the Vikings or their settlement(s) on the river Liffey in the ninth century. However, this argument was made before Simpson's excavations and the discovery of evidence of settlement around the 'black pool'. In any case, as Simpson aruges the Liffey is tidal and Usher's Island would probably flood at high tide.

[78] Simpson, 'Viking warrior burials in Dublin', 59.

[79] O'Donovan, 'There is an antiquarian in all of us', 16-7.

[80] *Cath Droma da Maighe la Maolseclainn mac Maolruanaidh ar Gallaibh Atha Cliath*. Druim Dá Maige has been located east of Drumcaw, Co Offaly, near the river Figile by Paul Walsh, 'Some placenames of ancient Meath' i-iii, *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* ser. 4, vol. 32 (1912) 601-10; ser. 5, vol. 1 (1913) 180-91; ser. 5, vol. 2 (1913) 197-210 (repr. in *Irish Leaders and Learning through the Ages*, ed. Nollaig Ó Muraíle [Dublin, 2003] 238-61: 253 §59).

[81] HDGP iii s.n. Carn Fearadhaigh.

Ólchobar mac Máele Dúin, king of the Eóganacht Locha Léin. In 856, the Vikings killed Gormán mac Lonáin, heir to the kingship of Cashel, in Loch Cenn (New Inn, Co Tipperary);[82] this is a marginal entry in the manuscript of CS but Hennessy relates that it was added in the original hand.[83] So we have a clear example of a marginal entry, which undoubtedly explains why the record is not found in AU. In 858, Cerball mac Dúnlainge, king of Osraige, and Ímar, king of Viking Dublin, accompanied by the Gall-Goídil, inflicted a defeat on the Cenél Fiachach, on the border of Araid Tíre (now mainly the barony of Owney and Arra, Co Tipperary).[84] The final unique Mumu entry in CS occurs in 864, when the killing of Diarmaid mac Catharnaigh, *taoisech* of Corca Bascinn, by the foreigners is recorded.[85] Though the events occurred in Munster, the participants were from all over Ireland; thus we must be wary about conclusions we draw about the centres of chronicling from such events.

Laigin has a total of four unique entries (five if we include the battle of Drumcaw) beginning in 836 with the record of a raid on Cluain Mór Máedóc (Clonmore, Co Carlow) on Christmas Eve. Raids on Cluain Eidnech (Clonenagh, Co Laois) and on Cill Achaid (Killeigh, Co Offaly) in 841 are recorded in CS along with the raid on Clonard cited above. Strictly speaking, Clonenagh is within the territory of the Loígis but within broader Laigin territory. There is a significant gap until 891 when a raid on Kildare is recorded, followed by another raid on Kildare in 900.

There are also two unique entries regarding the North: in 837, CS relates that the Vikings were defeated at Ess Ruaid (Assaroe, Co Donegal).[86] In CGG's account, the victory at Assaroe is attributed to Cenél Conaill. Did CGG obtain this detail from another source or did the compiler(s) of the saga simply infer the dynasty given the location of the defeat? In 898, CS records that the Vikings plundered Armagh from

[82] Hogan (OG s.n. Loch Cenn) gives numerous different alternative locations for this name including New Inn, Co Tipperary, first proposed by T.F. O'Rahilly in *Hermathena* 48 (thanks to Dr Kevin Murray for bringing this article to my attention).

[83] Hennessy, CS, 154, footnote 3. [Was he really an heir to Cashel?]

[84] HDGP i, s.n. Araidh Tíre; in OG s.n. Ara Tíre, Hogan had suggested baronies of Ara or Duharra in Co Tipperary.

[85] OG s.n. Corcu Bascinn, now baronies of Clonderalaw, Moyarta and Ibrickin in Co Clare.

[86] OG s.n. Es Ruaid, falls of Assaroe, on river Erne at Ballyshannon, Co Donegal. Mac Cana, 'Influence of the Vikings on Celtic literature', 86, notes a reference in *Acallam na Senórach* [Standish H. O'Grady (ed. and trans.), *Silva Gadelica* 2 vols (London 1892) i 94-233; ii 101-265: 254] which details how Caoilte aided the Túatha Dé Danann of the *síd* of Assaroe to defend themselves against an attack by the Lochlannaig. He suggests that this is 'a very obvious compound of the semi-realistic Viking attack with the traditional conflict between the peoples of the Otherworld': see Dooley and Roe, *Tales of the elders*, 196-7.

Lough Foyle.[87] There is only one unique Connacht entry, dating to the second-last decade of the century when the men of Connacht attacked the Vikings of Limerick in 887.

In total, there are four unique entries recorded in CS 837: the taking of Dublin, the defeat of the Vikings at Cahenarry, Co Limerick, at Fertae, Co Meath, and at Assaroe, Co Donegal. These entries are added in a block at the end of the year along with two unique non-Viking entries: one relates the birth of Cormac mac Cuilennáin, which must be a retrospective entry by a scribe with an interest in Eóganacht Chaisil, and the second concerns the death of Cathal mac Muirgiussa, king of Connacht. These last two items may suggest that these entries were added retrospectively at Clonmacnoise. However, the redactors were also drawing on a 'Chronicle' with a wide geographical range from Limerick to Donegal that contained important references to the Viking settlement at Dublin. Was it a different version of the *Chronicle of Ireland*? Some entries appear to be conflated such as the raids in 841 on Clonard, Killeigh and Clonenagh, though it would not have been a physical impossibility to hit these settlements in one expedition. Similarly, the raids on Clonard and Kildare may simply record that these sites were plundered in 891 but perhaps not at the same time. Does conflation automatically imply interpolation? Of more interest is the fact that CS records two raids on Clonard not recorded in AU. Was AT/CS a different version of the *Chronicle of Ireland*, which was already glossed before it left Mide/Brega, i.e. before it came to Clonmacnoise? I think the evidence may point in this direction.

The raid of 836 on Clonmore is the second in a series of entries for that year, which may indicate that it was added before the *Chronicle* left Mide/Brega, though equally, it may originally have been an interlinear gloss incorporated into the text of CS. The Clonard (and perhaps the Nuarrach, Kildare, and Dublin) entries suggest that CS (AT) was derived from a glossed version of the *Chronicle of Ireland*, or from another local chronicle held in Mide/Brega, but the interlinear gloss concerning Turgéis in AU 845, incorporated into the main text of CS, suggests that CS also drew on the version of the *Chronicle of Ireland* that was to become AU. It is possible that two glossed versions of the *Chronicle of Ireland* were circulating in Mide/Brega in the early tenth century. A glossed version of CS/AT then made its way to

[87] At the end of the ninth century, the Vikings had bases on Lough Foyle and Lough Neagh.

Clonmacnoise where further interpolation of ninth-century material took place. A broader comparative study of the annals is required to shed more light on these issues. In all, CS has a total of six entries for Dublin and Mumu and five for Brega/Mide and Laigin. Given the text's association with Clonmacnoise, one might have expected a higher number of entries for the west and south-west. A balance to this study would be to look at Viking references found in AU and AFM but not found in CS.

Unique entries in AFM

Osraige: 846, 846, 847, 861, 887, 895, 898
Mumu: 866, 888, 892, 898, 900
Laigin: 827,[88] 868, 888, 892
Mide/Brega: 837, 889
Connacht: 850, 892
Airgialla/Ulaid: 897, 900
Inis Gall: 853.

AFM and FA share a number of entries regarding the deeds of the Vikings not found in the other annals, but individually they also contain some unique material, which we will examine before looking at the shared references. AFM has a total of 21 unique ninth-century entries regarding the Vikings, six in the first half of the century and 15 in the second half. Of these 11 are found in the last 13 years, that is, from AD 887–900. Significantly, this balances the bias of the unique material in AU towards the first half of the century. A wider geographical range is evident in the references though there is a concentration on Osraige and on Leth Moga generally. Four entries concern events in Laigin: 827 a raid on Dún Laigen (also recorded in AU) but in AFM this entry appears to be conflated and relates that this raid occurred at Druim (unidentified). The second Laigin record concerns the slaying of Conn mac Cináeda of Uí Bairrche Tíre, in 868, while he was demolishing the fortress of the foreigners (the entry does not state where this fortress was).[89] A raid on Glendalough, Co Wicklow is mentioned in 889 (discussed below). In 892, we are told that the foreigners of Waterford, Wexford and Tech Moling killed Riaccán mac Dúngaile.

[88] Strictly speaking, the reference to Druim is not unique and seems to be a conflated entry.
[89] Kelly and Maas, 'The Vikings and the kingdom of Laois', 144, suggest this base was on the river Barrow.

This is the only reference to a Viking base at the monastic settlement of St Mullins (Co Carlow).

Mide/Brega have a total of three unique entries: in 837, Duiblitir Odar from Tara was taken prisoner and killed by the Viking in their ships; in 889, a series of raids on Ard Brecáin (Ardbraccan), Domnach Pádraig (Donaghpatrick) and Tuilén (Dulane), all in Mide, along with Glendalough in Laigin are recorded. There are two references which concern Connacht: the slaying of Máelán mac Cathmoga, of Uí Briúin in 850 by the Vikings; and the death of Elóir son of Barith, which is recorded twice in AFM. First, in 891 AFM records that Uí Amalgaid killed him; in the following year it relates that a battle was gained by North Connacht (Uí Amalgaid) over the foreigners during which Elóir was slain. The first record of Elóir's death in 891 seems to mirror that in CS; the second reference in 892 may have come from a different set of annals.[90]

There are no unique entries for Mumu in the first half of ninth century, but those of the second half are quite significant for they contain the only reference to a previously unrecorded Viking base at Youghal, Co Cork: in 866, the Déisi destroyed a Viking fortress at Eochaill.[91] In 888, the abbot and prior of Cloyne were killed by the Vikings. In 892, the Vikings of Waterford were involved in the killing of Riaccán mac Dúngaile as mentioned above.

In 898, three sons of Dubgilla, son of Bruadar, were killed in the territory of the Déisi and late in 900, the Vikings killed Ríán son of Bruadar. There are two entries regarding the North both of which occur in the late ninth century: in 897, Máel Étig lord of Fir Rois was killed by the Vikings;[92] in 900, AFM relates that the Vikings were on Lough Neagh. Earlier, in 853, AFM uniquely records the death of Gofraid, son of Fergus, of Inse Gall.[93]

There are a number of unique references to the Vikings in Osraige and their encounters with Cerball mac Dúnlainge. In 846, Cúil Chaissíne (Coolcashin, Co

[90] There was two Elóirs in existence at the end of the ninth century, Elóir son of Barith, son of Ímar and Elóir son of Járnkné.
[91] OG s.n. Eochaill.
[92] In 851, Eochu son of Cernach, king of Fir Rois, was killed by the heathens (AU and AFM).
[93] Dumville, *Churches of North Britain in the first Viking-age*, 17 fn 40, asserts that this reference is almost certainly anachronistic; for a more detailed study, see Alex Woolf, 'The origins and ancestry of Somerled: Gofraid mac Fergusa and "The Annals of the Four Masters"', *Mediaeval Scandinavia* 15 (2005)199-213.

Kilkenny)[94] was burned by the Vikings, and in the same year the fleet of Caille plundered Cúil Muine. Hogan identifies this as either Collooney, five miles east of Sligo, or Clonmany, Co Donegal.[95] Kelly associates this reference with a possible new Viking site, Knoxspark, on the Ballysadare river and draws attention to the important route-way that ran from west Ulster through Carbury and across the river and continued into Collooney gap.[96] Another possible identification might be Coolmoney, a townland in the barony of Upper Talbotstown, Co Wicklow, and this would be more within reach of Cerball and his sphere of interest.[97]

In the following year, 847, the Vikings of Dublin were slaughtered at Carn Brammit by Cerball.[98] In 861, Cerball made a hosting into Mide to assist Máel Sechnaill against Áed Finnliath and Amlaíb. There is a gap of approximately 20 years from 868 to 887 with no unique references. In 887, the foreigners killed Cuilén mac Cerbaill and Máel Febail mac Muirchertaig. In 895, Ruadán mac Catháin, lord of Fir Chúil (now baronies of Upper and Lower Kells, Meath),[99] and Innrechtach mac Máele Dúin, lord of Caílle Follamain (now parish of Killallon, barony of Fore, Co Meath),[100] were slain in Osraige in the army of Máel Ruanaid mac Flainn, and grandson of Ímar. Finally, in 898, the Vikings in alliance with the Déisi and with Cellach mac Cerbaill led an attack over Osraige as far as Gowran where Máel Mórda mac Máele Muaid was slain. Overall, one-third of the 21 unique entries relate to

[94] OG s.n. Cúl Caissine. For a description of the townland, see Owen O'Kelly, *The place-names of Co Kilkenny* (Kilkenny 1985), repr. of *A history of County Kilkenny* (Kilkenny 1969) 56.

[95] OG s.n. Cúl Maine. Downham, 'Career of Cearbhall of Osraighe', 9-10, discusses the fleet of Cailli and suggests that it must be somewhere in Osraige. The foreigners were besieged for two weeks after the plundering of Cúil Moine, not after the plundering of Cúil Chaissíne, as implied by Maas and Kelly, 'Vikings and the kingdom of Laois', 126. For discussion of the meaning of *Cailli* see Chpapter 7.

[96] Eamonn P. Kelly, 'Re-evaluation of a supposed inland promontory fort: Knoxspark, Co Sligo-Iron Age fortress or Viking stronghold', in Gabriel Cooney et al. (eds), *Relics of auld decency: essays in honour of Barry Rafferty* (Dublin 2009), 485-97: 489. Knoxspark will be discussed in Chapters 4.

[97] *Townland index*, 291. Liam Price, *Place-names of Co Wicklow*, iii: *the barony of Talbotstown Upper* (Dublin 1983) 170, gives a possible derivation for Coolmoney from *cúil a' mhuine* [The identification is mine not Price's].

[98] OG s.n. Carn Brammit, merely states that is in Ossory, or between it and Dublin; however, Kelly and Maas, 'Vikings and the kingdom of Laois', 126, identify Carn Brammit as Bramblestown, Co Kilkenny, but do not cite their evidence for this identification. Dr Kevin Murray points out to me, however, that O'Kelly, *Place-names of Kilkenny*, 70, gives Baile Bhramail as the Irish form of Bramblestown (www.logainm.ie suggests Baile an Bhramailigh).

[99] OG s.n. Fir Cúl.

[100] OG s.n. Caílle Fallamain. Hogan following O'Donovan mistakenly identified Caille Fallamain as Russagh near Street in barony of Moygoish, North Westmeath; this was corrected by Paul Walsh, *The place-names of Westmeath* (Dublin 1957) 38, who suggested that their territory (though originally much greater) is now represented by the modern Killaloan parish, barony of Fore, Co Meath.

events involving the Vikings in Osraige or concerning the men of Osraige. AFM has a total of five unique entries for Mumu and three for Laigin.

Unique Viking references in FA

North: 852, 856, 860
Mumu: 852, 852, 852-54, 858, 860, 864, 866
Mide/Brega: 854, 856
Osraige: 851, 859, 860
Connacht: 866, 867, 873
Outside Ireland: 866
Dublin Vikings: 867, 871, 871-72

FA is a composite source which contains annalistic entries embedded within longer pseudo-historical accounts which themselves also contain some credible detail. Radner argues that the kingdom of Osraige is of central importance in the narrative portion of FA, parts IV–V, and terms this section the 'Osraige Chronicle'.[101] The unique references in FA are difficult to disentangle from the narrative, and perhaps it is more correct to speak of unique events rather than unique entries. In total, there are approximately 21 unique Viking events contained in FA.[102] Chronologically, the references range from *c*.852 to *c*.873. Two references are concerned with Viking exploits in the north of Ireland; two relate to Connacht; two to Mide; three to Osraige; a total of seven to Mumu; three concerning the Dublin Vikings and one pertains to outside Ireland.[103]

The third fragment of FA finishes in 736 and the fourth fragment begins in 849 with FA §233: a long account of the arrival of the *Aunites* (simply [D]annites), *i.e. Danair* (the Danes) and their first encounter with the *Lochlannaig* (the Norwegians). In 852, FA §235, though not a unique reference, contains a long account of the battle at Snám Aignech (Carlingford Lough) between the Danes and the Norwegians led by Stain (ON Steinn) and Iargna (ON Járnkné). This entry also records our first (and only) introduction to Horm (ON Ormr), leader of the Danes,

[101] Radner, *Fragmentary annals of Ireland*, introduction, xxii and xxvi, draws a comparison between FA and CGG; Ó Corráin, 'Viking Ireland—afterthoughts', 443, suggests that much like CGG, the 'Osraige Chronicle' was contrived by the descendents of Cerball to elevate the dynasty, in this case to validate the rise of Mac Gilla Pátraic.

[102] Radner, *Fragmentary annals of Ireland*, introduction, xvi: '10 annal entries in FA IV and V which are found in *no* other Irish annals, six pertain to south-eastern Ireland'.

[103] Kelly and Maas, 'Vikings and the kingdom of Laois', 154, fn 48: 'FA seems to have been compiled from a number of sources including a set of south-eastern annals, an Ossory Chronicle and possibly one or even two Viking sources from Limerick and Dublin'. However they do not cite the evidence for these Viking sources.

who invokes St Patrick before engaging in battle with Stain and Iargna. FA maintains that Zain and Iargna formed an alliance with Matudán mac Muiredaig, king of Ulaid. The Dál Fiatach kings of Ulaid were not averse to forming alliances with the Vikings, and may have found common cause with them against the power of the Cenél nEógain. As discussed above, Ottir's brother, Eoloir, was responsible for the death of Éremón, son of Áed, one of two kings of Ulaid; incidentally a rival branch of the family to that of Matudán son of Muiredaig, so this may support FA's record of an alliance, demonstrating once again how involved the Vikings were in Irish dynastic disputes.

In 856, the annals record the defeat of the Gall-Goídil, by Áed Finnliath, in Glenn Foichle (Glenelly, Co Tyrone). FA §247 attempts to define this group and maintains that there were apostate Irish *.i. Scuit íad, ⁊ daltai do Normainnoibh íad, ⁊ tan ann ad-bearar cidh Normainnigh fríu*. In 860, the annals record the hosting of Máel Sechlainn, king of Southern Uí Néill, and Cerball mac Dúnlainge, king of Osraige, to Mag Dumae; FA records this event but uses the regular name for the plain of Armagh, Mag Macha.[104] The references in CS and AU maintain Flann mac Conaing and Áed Finnlaith attacked their *dúnad* — presumably a temporary base established by Máel Sechnaill and Cerball. The use of the term *longphort* by FA (and AFM) may imply that they regarded it as a Viking base or that they acknowledge the involvement of Vikings. FA maintains that Amlaíb was in alliance with Áed and Flann during this encounter.[105]

The two Mide references are questionable; on two occasions FA maintains that the Vikings submitted to the king of Tara; firstly, *c*.854, an unnamed Norwegian king submitted to Máel Sechnaill,[106] and again in the 850s Horm (leader of the Danes), under the guidance of Cerball, submitted to the king of Tara after the battle of Crohane.[107] These accounts may have more to do with the inter-play of relations between Mide, Laigin and Osraige in the eleventh century than with historical accuracy. The Connacht references concern the plundering of Clonfert by Tomrar, of which there is an abbreviated account in AI. The FA account is quite elaborate, but it

[104] FA §279.
[105] Clearly, there is some clever propaganda at work here; AU and CS record that Máel Sechnaill was accompanied by Laigin, Mumu and Connacht but do not specifically mention Cerball. However, FA neglects to mention their involvement.
[106] FA §243. These pledges did not last as he immediately plundered the territories of Máel Sechnaill.
[107] FA §254. Though this could refer to the same submission, as the events are close in date, the Battle of Crohane occurred *c*. AD 852–854.

specifically mentions that Cormac mac Elóthaig, *comarba* of Saigir Chiaráin, was killed there.[108] AI reports that Tomrar died three days later at his *longphort*, but FA states that he died a year later in Port Manann, identified as the harbour of the Isle of Man by O'Donovan and accepted by Hogan.[109] Downham has recently suggested that Port Manann was more likely located in Ireland, and suggests the possibility of an unidentified *longphort* near Clonfert.[110] FA relates that Tomrar had come from Limerick, so there is every possibility that AI means he died in Limerick. The second Connacht reference, *c.*867, relates that Barith and Ímar, came through Connacht in order to attack Limerick, but were ambushed by the men of Connacht and an unnamed Munster hero.[111] In 873, Barith (described by FA as the fosterfather of the king's son) arrived on Lough Ree and plundered the surrounding territories including Mag Luirg (Moylurg, Co Roscommon), and he seems to have taken the successor of Colum (presumably the abbot of Terryglass) prisoner. He later escaped by turning into, or pretending to be, a 'pillar stone'![112] These references more accurately relate to early Viking settlement at Limerick and Viking activity along the river Shannon.

Three entries relate to events specifically involving the Uí Dúnlainge of Osraige;[113] *c.*851, FA records the arrival of the Danar, Horm, and the formation of his alliance with Cerball mac Dúnlainge, against the Lochlannaig.[114] In the mid- to late-850s, the Norwegians, under their leader Rodolb, invade Osraige, and a battle against Cerball ensues at Áth Muiceda.[115] Another encounter between the Osraige and Rodolb is recorded, *c.*860, at Slieve Mairge (Co Laois). Rodolb and his men had just plundered the monastic settlement of Leithglenn (Co Carlow).[116]

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[108] FA §337.
[109] FA §340; O'Donovan, *Three fragments*, 167; OG s.n. Port Manann.
[110] Clare Downham, 'Tomrar's death at Port Manann: a possible *longphort* site in Ireland', *Ainm* 9 (2008) 57-64.
[111] FA §350.
[112] FA §408.
[113] Radner, *Fragmentary annals of Ireland*, introduction, xxii-xxv. Downham, 'Career of Cearbhall of Osraighe', 18, proposes that the 'Osraige Chronicle' was composed independently of the 'The Fragmentary Annals of Ireland', and that the redactor of FA divided up the text to incorporate it into his compilation. Her appendix separates the OC from the rest of FA: 'it can be shown that the records run in rough chronological order'. This does not seem different in essentials from Radner's original thesis.
[114] FA §251.
[115] OG s.n. Áth Muiceadha, offers no identification and merely cites this reference. See Diarmuid Ó Murchadha, 'A reconsideration of some place-names from *Fragmentary Annals of Ireland*', *Ainm* 8 (1998-2000) 41-51: 42. HDGP i, s.n. Áth Muiceadha, gives a more detailed location, 'on the river Nore at Anker's Island, in townland of Ballyconra, parish of Aharney, barony of Galmoy'. Despite victory, Cerball is said to have been separated from his men and captured by the Norwegians, though he miraculously escapes by shedding his clothes and his fetters.
[116] FA §281.

Most unique entries in FA concern Munster or Munster septs; in 852, the Vikings were defeated at Belach Conglais by the Ciarraige.[117] As CGG records an encounter between the Vikings and Ciarraige Luachra, one may suggest that it is this Kerry people, who were involved in this defeat.[118] However, the identification of this place-name is controversial, Hogan identifies it as 'one of the three Bealachs of Erin ... nr city of Cork', but Ó Murchadha argues that there is only one Belach Conglais, i.e. Baltinglass, Co Wicklow.[119] Furthermore, he suggests that the tradition of a Belach Conglais in Munster is derived from texts associated with the Dál Cais.[120] Clearly, the context in FA would place Belach Conglais in the south-west, within reach of the Ciarraige; FA may lend some continuity to the location when it relates that the same band of heathens were defeated in Araid Chliach (eastern Co Limerick).[121] A battle ensued at Cruachan in Eóganacht (Crohane, Co Tipperary) *c*.

[117] FA §252.

[118] FA §341 narrates another encounter between the Ciarraige and the followers of Tomrar, *c*.866. FA §377 describes an interloper of Ciarraige Luachra as one of the chieftains of the Laigin, and assign him great victories over the Norwegians. CGG records three encounters with the Ciarraige though one seems to be a duplication (pp 14-5, *c*.845): *Tanic iarsin tola murbructa mor du gallaib inn Erinn, co nach rabi aird innti can longes. Is leoside do hargead Brigoband, ocus ro marbad Tressach mac Mechill* 'A fleet came to Ciarraighe Luachra, and all was plundered by them to Cell Íte and Cuil Emén; and the Martini of Mumhain were plundered'; (pp 18-21, late 840s): *Tanic iarsin longes ele ro gab iCiarragi, ocus ro hinred leo co Lumnech, ocus Cell Iti, ocus Imleach Ibair, ocus Cassel na ríg, ocus airerd Cethtraigi, ocus Liath Mocaemaoc i remis Fedlemeda mic Crimthaind do ronait uli na h-argni sin.* 'After that another fleet came and landed in Ciarraighe, and all was plundered by them to Luimnech, and Cill-Ita; and Imleach-Ibhair, and Caisel of the Kings, and the eastern Cethtraighi; and Liath Mocoemhoc. It was in the reign of Feidlimidh, son of Crimhthann, that all these ravages were perpetrated'; (pp 25-27, *c*.873): *Ro hinrid, dna, la Baraid ocus la mac Amlaib Lagin ocus fir Muman la longes Atha Cliath corruachtadar Ciaraigi, gunar facsat uaim fo thalmain and gan tachailt, ocus nís facsat ní o Luimneidh co Corcaig can inred, ocus ro loscset Imlech Ibair, ocus ro hinriset na Desi deisciurt* 'Then Laighen and the men of Mumhain were plundered by Baraid and Amblaibh's son, with the fleet of Ath Cliath, until they reached Ciarraighe; and they left not a cave there under the ground that they did not explore; and they left nothing from Luimneach to Corcadh that they did not ravage'. This last entry is also recorded in AI 873 (as discussed above).

[119] OG s.n. Belach Con Glais; Diarmuid Ó Murchadha, 'Belach Conglais: one or two?', *Peritia* 16 (2002) 435-43: 435.

[120] Ibid. 442, he offers three explanations for the misguided location of Belach Conglais in Ciarraige Luachra: (1) perhaps it was derived from the same source as CGG, and Mac Fhir Bhisigh improvised the name from *Lebor Gabála*; (2) Mac Fhir Bhisigh embellished another reference again from CGG, and (3) he, or his exemplar, may have come aoss a reference to Belach Conglais in Co Wicklow and decided to attribute it to the Ciarraige. Ó Murchadha rejects Anthony Candon's identification of the Ciarraige with the Ciarraige Cuirche in 'Belach Conglais and the diocese of Cork, AD 1111', *Peritia* 5 (1986) 416-8, remarking that they were a small [tribal] group and unlikely of great slaughter; however, Ciarraige Cuirche were involved in a significant campaign in 828 when AI relates that under the leadership of the community of Cork, and others, they defeated the Vikings in Múscraige Mittaine. An inqusition of 1224 refers to a cantred in Kerrycurrihy formerly held by the Ostmen of Cork. Kenneth Nicholls, 'Inquisitions of 1224 from the 'Miscellanea of the Exchequer'', *Analecta Hibernica* 27 (1972) 103-12: 111

[121] OG s.n. Ara Chliach; HDGP i, s.n. Araidh Chliach; FA §253. Whilst I acknowledge that is dangerous to interpret any significance in the order of entries in FA, it is perhaps worth noting that

AD 852–854, when the men of Mumu sent a request to Cerball, and his Danair, to come to assist them in their fight against the Norwegians.[122] After this triumph, FA relates that Cerball escorted Horm and his people to the king of Tara where he was received with honour, before departing from Ireland.[123] In 858, the annals record that Máel Sechnaill invaded Osraige, but as discussed below, this seems to have been in retaliation for the plundering of Mide by Amlaíb and Cerball. FA *c*.860 records that the Viking leaders, Hona (ON Auni) and Tomrir Torra,[124] arrived in Limerick. They proceeded to Port Láirge (Waterford), but the Eóganacht and Araid Chliach mustered against them and forced them to retreat.[125] CGG also mentions these leaders.[126] In 864, in revenge for the raiding of Laigin, the Leinstermen along with the Norwegians raided Osraige, but the men of Osraige fled into Mumu, where they sought, but did not receive, support from the Eóganacht. Subsequently, Cerball gathered a force of Norwegians and attacked Mag Femin (now mainly in barony of Iffa and Offa, Co Tipperary),[127] and Fir Maige (people located around Fermoy, Co Cork). Norwegian kings, *c*.866, invaded Mumu, but were met by Cennétig, king of Loígis (nephew of Cerball of Osraige), and defeated. At the same time, Cennétig also inflicted a second defeat on the Norwegian king (and his horse-troops) somewhere in Munster.[128] The final Munster entry concerns the men of Tomrar, who were besieged by the men of Ciarraige as they prayed at the edge of the sea, presumably as they attempted to depart from Ireland *c*. 866.[129] The territories of Ciarraige Luachra and of Corcu Baiscinn located on the south-west and mid-west coast must have been first point of contact for the Vikings as they approached the Shannon estuary and sought access inland via the river.

FA §252 (the encounter with the Ciarraige) is followed by FA §253 a slaughter of the same heathens by the Araid Chliach.

[122] FA §254.

[123] FA §254. Horm was killed in Wales.

[124] Carl Marstrander, *Bidrag til det norske sprogs historie i Irland* (Christiania [Oslo] 1915), 54-5, Torra is a nickname from Þorri showing alliteration with Tomrir.

[125] FA §278.

[126] CGG 22-3: *c*.853/9?: *Cid tra acht ro rochradar sin uili fos ic feraib Muman .i. Ona ocus Scolph, ocus Tomar, teora ocus ced* 'However, they were all killed by the men of Mumhain, i.e., Ona, and Scolph, and Tomar, an hundred and three'.

[127] FA §314. See Donnchadh Ó Corráin, 'Femen, Mag Femin and some early Irish annals, *Ériu* 22 (1971) 97-9.

[128] FA §338. Bhreathnach, 'Authority and supremacy', 8, draws attention to a reference in AU 1000 that may offer a parallel for this encounter, when an advance raiding party (*crech marcach*, 'a raiding party of horsemen') of the Norse and the Laigin were slaughtered by Máel Sechnaill.

[129] FA §341. Donnchadh Ó Corráin, 'Vikings III: Dún Mainne', *Peritia* 10 (1996) 273, argues that these Vikings had a base at Castlemaine harbour, Co Kerry.

The last three references loosely concern the Vikings of Dublin. In 867, there is a long, though not unique, account of the killing of Auisle by his brothers Amlaíb and Ímar. FA seem favourably disposed to him (describing him as 'a man of great valour') perhaps because Osraige was regularly opposed to his brother, Amlaíb.[130] In 871, FA is the only annalistic collection to offer an explanation for the disappearance of Amlaíb from the source material, when it relates that he returned to Lochlainn to aid his father, Gofraid.[131] The last unique reference is very general: FA records *c*.AD 871–72 that Ímar and his nephew plundered from the west to east and from north to south.[132] FA seems to contain a surprising amount of unique information on the Vikings in Mumu, a total of seven accounts in all compared with just three for Osraige and three for Dublin. One might have expected a higher proportion of Osraige and Laigin entries.

References found only in AFM and FA

Osraige: 860, 863, 866, 870, 872
Loígis: 862, 866, 867
Mumu: 867
Laigin: 869
Mide: 859

As is evident from the references discussed below, AFM and FA shared a common source or sources, but both also contain unique entries covering a similar geographical area. Were these individual entries derived from a selective use of a common source or from separate sources? Radner originally suggested that AFM and FA drew upon a set of south-eastern annals, probably kept at Cell Dara, for a considerable period of time.[133] Downham recently noted that the fourth fragment in

[130] FA §347: *Rá chúas iar sain fa longport an brathar ro marbhadh ann, ar c-cur deargáir a muinntire. Rob iomdha maithios isin longport sin.* The entry refers to Auisle's camp or *longphort*; whilst I acknowledge that this a quasi-historical account, perhaps, it is noteworthy that in the same year (AU 867) the existence of Dún Amlaíb is recorded. The possibility that each of three kings of Dublin in the ninth-century had their own base in the area will be discussed in Chapter 7.

[131] FA §400. Peter Hunter Blair, 'Olaf the White and the three fragments of Irish annals', *Viking* 3 (1939) 1-35, repr. in *Anglo-Saxon Northumbria*, ed. M. Lapidge (London 1984) [pagination retained] 12-3, discusses this reference. On p. 25 he suggests that this is a late interpolation and actually refers to the tenth century, and an appeal by Goffridh, i.e. king of York, for the help of his son Amhlaeibh, i.e. Anlaf Guthfridsson, against the English in the battle of Bruanburh in 937. See above for evidence that the ninth-century Amlaíb died in Scotland.

[132] FA §401.

[133] Radner, *Fragmentary annals of Ireland*, introduction, xvii and xix, proposes that the source chronicle for Egerton 1782 (*Mionannála*) and FA, parts I-III, suggest that a chronicle was compiled in Durrow, Co Offaly.

FA shares a total of 29 records exclusively with AFM, and concludes: 'Thus it seems that the compilers of AFM drew from a version of FA which has now been lost. At times this lost version gave a fuller account of events'.[134] Downham argues that the 'pseudo-historical Osraige Chronicle' is interspersed with entries from a version of a lost 'Chronicle of Clonmacnoise'.[135] Dumville suggests that this chronicle was composed of four elements: Late Latin world-chronicles, Gaelic national pseudo-history, the *Chronicle of Ireland* and a mass of other information about Clonmacnoise.[136] Dumville and Grabowski first postulated the existence of a 'Chronicle of Clonmacnoise' in 1984, and their comparative study of AT and CS provided strong evidence for contemporary annal keeping at Clonmacnoise from 974 to 1113. At that point, they also allowed for the fact that 'more than one chronicle may have been kept' at Clonmacnoise.[137] If the 'Osraige Chronicle' drew entries from the 'Chronicle of Clonmacnoise', would one expect to find more parallels with the Clonmacnoise-group of texts: CS, AClon and AR? However, Ó Corráin argues that AFM and FA draw from a south-east chronicle which he identifies as the *Book of Clonenagh*. This chronicle, no longer extant, had annals going back to the eighth century and was used by Geoffrey Keating in the seventeenth century.[138]

FA and AFM together contain 11 unique entries including two entries with some additional unique detail, from *c*.AD 859–872. The first entry regarding Mide concerns the meeting at Rahugh, Co Westmeath, discussed further below. Though the other annals record this meeting, they do not mention the presence there of Amlaíb, joint king of Viking Dublin. AFM relate that Amlaíb, along with Cerball, submitted to Máel Sechnaill; FA does not mention his submission but does relate that Cerball and Amlaíb had spent the previous forty nights plundering the territory of

[134] Clare Downham, 'The career of Cearbhall of Osraighe', *Ossory, Laois and Leinster* 1 (2004) 1-18: 1, fn 4; ead., 'The good, the bad, and the ugly: portrayals of the Vikings in "The Fragmentary annals of Ireland"', *Medieval Chronicles* 3 (2004) 28-40; repr. in ead., *No horns on their helmets? Essays on the insular Viking-age*, Celtic, Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian Studies 1 (Aberdeen, 2013) 111-25: 125.

[135] Downham, 'Career of Cearbhall of Osraighe', 2.

[136] David N. Dumville, 'A millennium of Gaelic chronicling', in Erik Kooper (ed.), *The medieval chronicle* (Amsterdam and Atlanta 1999) 103-15: 109.

[137] Grabowski and Dumville, *Chronicles and annals of medieval Ireland and Wales*, 183. An initial suggestion has now become fact: discussions now seem to accept the existence of the 'Chronicle of Clonmacnoise' as proven.

[138] Donnchadh Ó Corráin, 'What happened Ireland's medieval manuscripts?' *Peritia* 22-23 (2011-12) 191-233: 21-8.

Máel Sechnaill.[139] Similarly, in 870, though the other annals record that Áed Finnliath overran Laigin from Áth Cliath to Gowran, FA and AFM give a more detailed account and specifically mention Áed's camp at Belach Gabráin (a strategic pass between Laigin and Osraige).[140] Another entry regarding Laigin occurs in 869, when we are told that Éoduis mac Donngaile was martyred in Dísert Diarmata (Castledermot, Co Kildare) by the foreigners.[141] One entry specifically concerns the Vikings of Cork; AFM relates that Gnímbeola, chief of the foreigners of Cork, was slain by the Déisi, but FA gives a more detailed account of this event. The Vikings of Cork attacked Fir Maige Féne (Fermoy, Co Cork) and though the Déisi were traditional enemies of Fir Maige, they came to their defence. Additionally, they state that Gním Cinnsiolaigh called upon a former ally Cenn Fáeled (perhaps Cenn Fáeled hua Mugthigirn, king of Eóganacht Airthir Chliach), but to no avail and eventually he was killed.[142] Marstrander discusses the form of this name found in AFM, Gnimbeolu, which he identifies with ON *Grímr Bióla*. He draws attention to FA's Cinnselaig which he suggests is the Irish equivalent of ON s*els-hǫfuð* 'seal's head'. He goes so far as to propose the Vikings may have perceived this to be the meaning of the name of the Irish Uí Cheinnselaig dynasty of Wexford.[143] That the ON name was known and used in Ireland is confirmed, as Marstrander shows, by the runic inscription found on a strap-end in Greenmount, Co Louth.[144] The strap-end has been dated to the eleventh century and the inscription reads: *domnall selshofuð á sverð þetta* 'Domnall seal's head owns this sword'.[145]

Three unique entries relate to or involve Cennétig mac Gáethíne, king of Loígis; in 862, there is a reference to the destruction of *longphort Rothlaíb* (Dunrally, Co Laois).[146] AFM and FA differ on a crucial point: FA attributes the attack to

[139] FA §268; however, FA §265 states that they spent the previous three months plundering Mide. This demonstrates that FA was drawing on a number of sources, which is why duplications such as these occurred.

[140] FA §387. OG s.n. Belach Gabráin: 'a well known passage from Leinster into Ossory, probably at Goresbridge, on the Barrow, leading to Gowran'; HDGP ii, s.n. Bealach Gabhráin, at or near townland/parish of Kimacahill, barony of Gowran, Co Kilkenny.

[141] FA §371.

[142] FA §342.

[143] Marstrander, *Bidrag*, 49.

[144] Ibid.

[145] Michael P. Barnes, Jan Ragnarr Hagland and R.I. Page, *The runic inscriptions of Viking Age Dublin*, RIA Medieval Dublin Excavations, 1962–81, ser. B. 5 (Dublin 1997) 50-3.

[146] FA §308. John O'Donovan suggested *longphort Rothlaith* was Dunrally, Co Offaly, in *Letters containing information relative to the antiquities of the Queen's county collected during the process of the ordnance survey in 1838*, ed. M. O'Flanagan, 2 vols (Bray 1933) i, 79. Kelly and Maas, 'Vikings on the Barrow', 30-2 and Kelly and Maas, 'Vikings and the kingdom of Laois', 127,

Cerball mac Dúnlainge and Cennétig mac Gáethíne, while AFM assigns the attack solely to Cennétig. Was the inclusion of Cerball deliberate propaganda on the part of FA? AFM dates the attack precisely to the ninth of September; Kelly and Maas suggest that this means 'AFM was drawing on a well-informed and accurate source'.[147] Downham argues that both AFM and FA took their accounts about Rodolb from the 'Osraige Chronicle', which is somewhat at odds with her earlier suggestion that AFM draws material from a non-extant copy of FA; she seems to imply that the Four Masters had a copy of the 'Osraige Chronicle' in addition to a non-extant version of FA.[148] Though this is possible, no further evidence is adduced to support this position. In 866, Cennétig and the men of northern Osraige are attributed with a victory over the foreigners at Mendroichet (Mundrehid, near Borris-in-Ossory, Co Laois).[149] The following year, the son of Gáethíne gained a victory over the Foreigners of Áth Cliath in which Odolb Micle was killed.[150] Most of the unique material shared by FA and AFM is concerned with Osraige. In 860, Cerball mac Dúnlainge defeated the Vikings of Waterford at Achad Mic Erclaige (Agha, St John's Well, near Kilkenny),[151] and again in 863 at Ferta Caireach (Fertagh, near Johnstown, Co Kilkenny).[152] FA and AFM 866 disagree slightly in their account of a series of raids on the churches of Sruthair (Shrule, Co Laois), Sléibte (Sleaty, barony of Slievemargy, Co Carlow), and Achad Arglais (Agha, Co Carlow); FA assigns responsibility to the Vikings while AFM attributes the attack to the men of Osraige.[153] Finally, in 872, AFM and FA record the plundering of the Trí Maige and

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identify an earthwork on west bank of river Barrow at Dunrally, Co Laois, at the place where it is joined by the river Glasha, as the possible *longphort*. However, they do not rule out the possibility (p. 141), that the earth work may be 'a medieval ring-work of the Norman era'. Ó Floinn, 'Archaeology of early Viking age Ireland', 163, echoes this point and draws attention to a reference in the annals which relates that the foreigners of Dublin had a fort (*dúnad*) at Cluain Andobair in 845 (AU). He highlights that Cloney, Co Kildare, is located on the east bank of the river Barrow, opposite Dunrally, and suggests that *longphort Rothlaíb* and Cluain Andobair may be alternate names for the same site. I will discuss this site in more detail in Chapter 6.

[147] Kelly and Maas, 'Vikings and the kingdom of Laois', 134 and 154, fn 56. Radner, *Fragmentary annals of Ireland*, xxvii, lists FA §308 (the account of the destruction of the fleet of Rodolb) as one of the entries she believes to be conflated.

[148] Downham, 'Career of Cearbhall of Osraighe', 12. See also, her stemmatic representation of the deduced textual history of FA: 'The good, the bad, and the ugly', 125.

[149] OG s.n. Men-droichet, townland Mondrehid, parish of Offerlane, barony of Upperwoods, Co Laois.

[150] AFM 867; FA §362. Odolb is from the ON name Auðólfr; the epithet Micle is from ON *mikill* 'great, tall'.

[151] OG s.n. Achadh; HDGP i, s.n. Achadh Mic Earclaighe, perhaps ecclesiastical site and townland in parish of Killahy, barony of Knocktopher, Co Kilkenny.

[152] FA §277 and FA §310. OG s.n. Fertae Cairech.

[153] FA §345.

the Trí Commainn as far as Slíab Bladma by the kings of the foreigners, on the feast of St Brigit.[154] O'Donovan placed both of these in Osraige, but Ó Murchadha proposes that Trí Maige was probably in the east Carlow area and the Commainn were certainly in Co Laois.[155] The majority of the unique entries shared by AFM and FA concern Osraige, followed by four entries for Loígis/Laigin.

Unique attribution

In some annals, incidents are uniquely attributed to the Vikings or they are uniquely recorded as being present or involved in events. What factors governed the inclusion or exclusion of the Vikings in these records? Information may be accidentally or deliberately omitted, and/or simply abbreviated as it often is in AI. For example, in 842, both AU and CS record that the foreigners killed Commán, abbot of Linn Dúachaill; both references have identical wording except that AU also notes the involvement of the Irish.[156] Was this involvement recorded in the ancestor text(s), which lies behind AU and CS? Was the Irish presence omitted by the scribe of CS or was Irish involvement added during the transmission of AU? More interestingly, perhaps, is the fact that AClon agrees with AU in saying that the Irish were involved while AFM (as one would expect) concurs with CS that it was a purely Viking affair. Of course, it is possible that CS and AFM deliberately ignored the involvement of the Irish whilst blaming the Vikings. Traditionally, CS and AClon are regarded as part of the Clonmacnoise-group of texts and thus it is interesting when they diverge on such detail (minor though it is). The Vikings had been present at Linn Duachaill on river Glyde since 841. Why did they not kill the abbot when they first established the *longphort*? Perhaps, his death was also motivated by local political concerns, and the involvement of the Irish may have instigated the killing. Both parties may have profited; the Vikings could plunder the monastic settlement (and perhaps establish a

[154] FA §407. OG s.n. Trí Comainn and Trí Maige, Hogan followed O'Donovan's identification of these place-names; see AFM, fn s.a. 870.

[155] Diarmuid Ó Murchadha, 'Early history and settlement of the Laígis', in Lane and Nolan (eds), *Laois: history and society*, 35-63: 50, suggests that the Trí Comainn may have comprised Uí Buide, Uí Chrimthannáin and Uí Fhairchelláin whose combined territory would have stretched from the eastern boundary of Laois westwards to Slíab Bladma.

[156] Alfred P. Smyth, 'The effects of Scandinavian raiders on the English and Irish churches: a preliminary assessment', in Brendan Smith (ed.), *Britain and Ireland, 900–1300: Insular responses to medieval European change* (Cambridge 1999) 1-38: 22, has the term 'renegade' Irish. David N. Dumville, *The churches of North Britain in the first Viking-age* (Whithorn 1997), 27 fn 76, asks if *Commán, abbas Linne Duachail, do guin ocus loscadh o genntibh ocus Goídhelach* is another way of saying *o Gallgoídelaib*? However, the earliest reference to the Gallgoídil in the annals does not occur until fourteen years later in AU 856.

more permanent base) and the Irish may have benefited by the removal of the abbot. In 856, Sodomna, bishop of Slane was killed; AU states: *Sodomna, episcopus Slane, martirizat*. Though the term 'martyred' may imply the presence of the Vikings; the rest of the annals (CS, FA and AFM) specifically state that the Vikings killed him.

Initially, some entries may appear to be unique but often an event is uniquely attributed to the Vikings in a particular annal while the rest of the annals merely record that it happened. For example, in 833, AU and AFM state that Lismore was plundered. They do not attribute the event to the Vikings as CS and AClon do. AI relates that Lismore and Kilmolash, Co Waterford, were plundered by the Vikings. The only other source to record an attack on Kilmolash is CGG.[157] Given the number of unattributed attacks on church settlements recorded in the annals, it is perhaps surprising that more are not blamed on the Vikings.[158]

Sometimes the inclusion of the Vikings is more subtle. In the period AD 858–860, a series of major expeditions, battles and meetings, took place which involved the leading dynasties in Ireland: Máel Sechnaill, king of Southern Uí Néill, Cerball mac Dúnlainge, king of Osraige, and Áed Finnliath, king of Northern Uí Néill. Most of the annals relate that Máel Sechnaill led an expedition into Munster in 858, and that a battle ensued at Carn Lugdach.[159] FA provides the background to this battle (though influenced by eleventh-century politics) and reports that Máel Sechnaill invaded Mumu because they would not pay tribute, and Osraige, because Cerball was exacting tribute from Laigin. FA uniquely relates that Cerball, at the battle of Carn Lugdach, was accompanied by 'his Danes' — (*do neoch ra thairis do*

[157] CGG 6-7, maintains that this fleet originally came into Uí Chennselaig, and also credits them with demolishing: *Ro toglad leo Dun Dermugi, ocus Inis Eoganan, ocus Disiurt Tipraiti, ocus ro hindred leo Leas Mor, ocus ro loisced Cell Molassi, ocus Cluain-ard Mubeoc, ocus ro hindred dna Land Lerí, ocus Cend Slebi la fairind eli dib* 'Dun Dermuighe, and Inis Eoganainn, and Disert Tipraiti, and they devastated Leas Mor, and burned Cill Molaisi, and Cluain-ard Mubeoc, Lann Leiri, also Cenn Slebhi were plundered by another part of them'.

[158] Lucas, 'The plundering and burning of churches in Ireland', 174. Though he takes a very wide chronological range from 600–1163, Lucas maintains that between this period a total of 309 ecclesiastical sites were plundered; 139 by the Norse, 140 by the Irish and 11 un-attributed attacks. Similarly, he maintains that 313 sites were burned during the same period; 50 by the Irish and 37 by the Norse, and 5 by both. This leaves a total of 221 un-attributed burnings, though some of these may have been due to natural or accidental causes.

[159] OG s.n. Carn Lugdach, 'seems in Decies in Waterford and south of it and near the sea'; Ó Murchadha, 'A reconsideration of some place-names from *Fragmentary Annals of Ireland*', 43 (followed in HDGP iii), 'a hill at Currane (known locally as 'Corran Hill') in parish of Desertserges, barony of East Carbery, Co Cork, a prehistoric burial site traditionally associated with 'Mc Con' which usually denotes Lughaidh Mac Con, and could well be Carn Lughdhach in question'. He points out that the hill commands extensive views of the surrounding area.

mhuinntir Horm ra thairis i f-farradh Cearbhaill).[160] Ó Corráin links the production of FA directly with the reign of Cerball's descendant, Donnchad mac Gilla Pátraic, who became king of Laigin (AD 1033–9), the only king of Osraige ever to do so.[161] FA's account of Cerball's relationship with Laigin in the ninth century must be read as an attempt to legitimise Donnchad's overlordship of Laigin in the eleventh century. The year after the battle of Carn Lugdach, in 859, a royal conference was held at Ráith Áeda Meic Bricc (Rahugh, Co Westmeath). Again, only FA record, that the son of king of Lochlainn submitted to the king of Tara, in addition to, or in conjunction with, Cerball, king of Osraige.[162] Osraige's allegiances were now firmly placed with Mide rather than being focused on its traditional subjugation to Mumu. This seems to have been sanctioned by Máel Guala, king of Mumu.[163] AFM, though it does not record the submission of the Vikings, agrees with FA's assertion that Cerball and the son of king of Lochlann had spent the previous forty nights plundering the territory of Máel Sechnaill, specifically Irarus/Ereros.[164] A battle of Iroros is listed amongst a number of battles attributed to Máel Sechnaill in *Baile in scáil*.[165] In 860, Máel Sechnaill led an army (composed of Laigin, Mumu and Connacht) into the north to Mag Dumae near Ard Macha, and he was victorious over Áed Finnliath, king of Northern Uí Néill; again it is FA that relates that Amlaíb was in alliance with Áed (this alliance was probably secured by the marriage of Áed Finnliath's daughter to Amlaíb).[166] The more contemporary annals do not mention the Vikings in their accounts of these events. The presence of the Vikings is recorded in FA and AFM — more interestingly, it is reported with remarkable simplicity and without fanfare — they are acknowledged as allies (though perhaps not permanent) and certainly not as instigators or as the principal agents in these events. What motives do FA and AFM (presumably drawing on a lost south-east chronicle or chronicles) have for the inclusion of the Vikings? Did they simply regard the Vikings

[160] FA §260.
[161] Ó Corráin, 'Viking Ireland—afterthoughts', 443. See also Downham, 'Career of Cerball', 3.
[162] FA §268.
[163] Binchy, 'Passing of the old order', 130.
[164] OG s.n. Ereros, Irarus: Oristown, a townland in Meath near Kells; or Oristown a townland near Navan; or Oris or Ories in barony of Clonlonan, Westmeath; Murray, *Baile in scáil*, 175, identifies Iroros as near Áth Féine (see HDGP i, s.n.) in parish of Tyframham, barony of Corkaree, Co Westmeath. See also Cathy Swift, 'The local context of *Óenach Tailten*', *Ríocht na Mídhe* 11 (2000) 24-50: 25 and 46, where she identifies the royal site of Ráith Airthir as Oristown, a large triple-ramparted fort immediately to the east of the modern church of Donaghpatrick.
[165] Murray, *Baile in scáil*, §57.
[166] FA §279.

as another component of ninth-century politics, or was their inclusion intended to taint the reputations of those to whom they were allied?

Inter-relationship of the Irish annals

> Until some attempt has been made to analyse the whole corpus of annalistic data to discover the main and subsidiary centres at which the information was collected in the first instance, it is next to impossible to evaluate what relation the statistics of the Viking attacks bear to reality.[167]

This study attempts, through the compilation of a concordance and an abbreviated spreadsheet, to collate all Viking references in the Irish annals. The annals, to an extent, are influenced by scribal/editorial bias, but this bias is not overriding. The extant annals are also influenced by other factors, such as how information was transmitted in the medieval period (which helps account for why certain events are recorded in some annals and not in others); how information filtered through to the monastic *scriptoria*; and what determined whether or not an event merited an entry in the annals. The transmission of the manuscripts themselves influenced which Viking references were retained, augmented and/or interpolated. This is exemplified by the complex history of the *Chronicle of Ireland*, where marginal and interlinear glosses may have been inserted into the text before it was copied to form the versions of AU and AT/CS extant today. Analysis of CS has shown that we cannot simply assume the interpolations in the AT exemplar were inserted at Clonmacnoise, as some seem to have been added before the chronicle arrived there. An attempt to decipher the inter-relationships between the annals based purely on the Viking entries is a little pre-emptive, and isolating material in this fashion may slightly distort the picture. However, it is possible to make some tentative suggestions: for example, the unique material in AU and in CS points towards a complex compilation process in Mide/Brega, though a specific location must remain speculative; some entries were also interpolated into CS at Clonmacnoise; a Munster chronicle (or chronicles) evidently lies behind the unique and shared entries in AI and CGG; and while FA and AFM do seem to concentrate on Osraige and Laigin, FA also contains a significant proportion of unique Munster Viking material.

The more usual discussions of the annals concentrate on their origins and the period prior to 900. There has been little comparative study of the annals in the tenth

[167] Lucas, 'Plundering and burning of churches in Ireland', 209.

to twelfth centuries, though recent work by Evans has attempted to redress this imbalance.[168] The published history of the survival of the manuscripts themselves is not yet adequate. Dumville makes the point: 'It is in the nature of text-historical investigation that it should in principle start from the latest stage of textual development. But it is precisely the late-fifteenth- and sixteenth-century period of creation of MSS H and R [AU] that has been least studied'.[169] Mc Carthy has made a valiant effort to commence a study of manuscript traditions themselves.[170] Ultimately, the situation may only be remedied through the re-editing of the extant annals. Any new edition of the annals should set out a comprehensive methodology which ideally should include a detailed palaeographical study of the manuscript, a detailed orthographical study, clear demarcation (where determined) of interpolations, and agreed criteria for the division of entries and clear numbering of entries. Indeed, counter to the norm, I might go so far as to suggest that numbering of entries is unnesscessary and is problematic as it is often a matter of editorial judgement. Then, and only then, will we have a basis from which to complete a comprehensive comparative study of the sources.[171] This must be completed before we can truly understand, both quantitatively and qualitatively, the importance of the references to the Vikings in the Irish annals which in turn would help our understanding of the distribution of Viking activity and settlement in Ireland.

[168] Evans, *Medieval Irish chronicles*, passim.
[169] Dumville, 'Editing and translating', 82.
[170] Mc Carthy, *The Irish annals*, passim.
[171] As mentioned above a digital concordance of the Irish annals would facilitate such an analysis.

CHAPTER 4

VIKING RAIDS AND VIKING BASES I: THE FIRST GENERATION AD795-812[1]

The first generation of Viking activity in Ireland, *c*.AD 795–836, is traditionally characterised as the period of 'hit-and-run' raids. They came, they plundered and they left; either to return to their homelands or to other colonies within the Irish Sea province. Evidence from recent archaeological excavations may call for a reassessment of this view; for example, four male Viking burials excavated in South Great George's Street and Ship Street Great in Dublin city have 'intercept' radiocarbon dates which fall in the late eighth and early ninth centuries.[2] Contemporary habitation evidence found at the South Great George's Street site dates to the early to mid-ninth century.[3] This chapter will focus on the annalistic record of the very first raids AD 795-812, and discuss the possibility that, even during this early period, the Vikings had temporary bases on islands off the Irish coast and/or along the coast itself.

Historiography of 'hit-and-run' raids

In the words of Peter Sawyer: 'for several decades the Vikings mounted what were, in effect, hit-and-run raids, rarely venturing far inland';[4] Byrne also adopts this view.[5] Ó Corráin, in an effort to counter the then wholly accepted 'disaster'

[1] I have presented aspects of this research at a number of conferences and I am grateful for comments and suggests received from those present at: *Save Viking Waterford Group*, Waterford, 2004; *XVth Viking Congress*, Cork, 2005; *23rd Conference of Irish Medievalists*, Limerick, 2009, and *New Directions in Scandinavian Studies*, Fordham University, New York, 2010. This chapter will be published as an article in the *Journal of Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* Special Viking volume (forthcoming 2014)

[2] Issues regarding the use of 'intercept' radiocarbon dates will be addressed below.

[3] Simpson, 'Viking warrior-burials: is this the *longphort*?', 11-62.

[4] Peter H. Sawyer, 'The age of the Vikings and before', in Peter Sawyer (ed.), *The Oxford illustrated history of the Vikings* (Oxford 1997) pp 1-18: p. 9. See also id., *The age of the Vikings* (1st ed. London 1962)

[5] *Irish kings and high-kings*, 263: 'But in 837 large war fleets had arrived on the Boyne and Liffey and inaugurated an era of intense activity different in character to the hit-and-run raids on coastal monasteries which had been the dominant feature of the previous generation'; Id., 'Viking-Age', 609-10, discusses the raids themselves but does not use the phrase 'hit-and-run'.

hypothesis of the 1900-70s advocated by Binchy, Henry and Hughes,[6] argued in 1972:

> For the first four decades, from 795 to about 836, raiding follows a clear pattern. The raids themselves were hit-and-run affairs by small, sea-borne but fast-moving forces, probably independent freebooters, who appear suddenly, attack island and coastal monastic settlements, and disappear with equal rapidity.[7]

He also commented:

> One thing is clear: they made little or no impact on secular society. In the first quarter-century of Viking attack, only twenty-six plunderings, or other acts of violence to be attributed to the Vikings, are recorded in the Irish annals.[8]

Similar opinions are advanced by Poul Holm: 'In the 820s and 830s the Vikings primarily adhered to hit-and-run tactic in which the taking of slaves was a fairly regular feature, though probably not on a large scale',[9] and by Clarke:

> Viking activity took the form of occasional freebooting raids, mainly along the Irish Sea coast and only short distances inland ... As far as we know, they always went back home with their loot: there is no indication of overwintering in Ireland at this stage.[10]

In the most recent analysis, Mary Valante mentions the first recorded Viking raid in 795: 'From then until 837, Viking raids in Ireland and elsewhere in Europe were sporadic, largely coastal and the raiders left quickly with their plunder', and subsequently notes that a change took place in 837 with the arrival of large fleets on the Boyne and the Liffey.[11] Later she uses the phrase 'Before the settlements' in reference to the 795-836 period: 'these raids were lightning strikes in which the raiders quickly grabbed whatever seemed valuable and then vanished'.[12]

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[6] Binchy. 'The passing of the old order', 119-32; F. Henry, 'Effects of the Viking Invasions on Irish Art', in Ó Cuiv (ed.), *Proceedings of the international congress of Celtic Studies Dublin*, 61-72; Ead. *Irish art during the Viking invasions, 800-1020 A.D.*(London 1967); Hughes, *The church in early Irish society*.

[7] Ó Corráin, *Ireland before the Normans*, 80; twenty-five years later he reiterated this view: 'Ireland, Wales, Man and the Hebrides', in Sawyer (ed.), *Oxford illustrated history of the Vikings*, 83-109: 87, 'for the first forty years, raids were mostly hit-and-run, by small seaborne forces led by freebooters with ships fast enough to surprise defence'.

[8] Ó Corráin, *Ireland before the Normans*, 81.

[9] Poul Holm, 'The slave trade of Dublin, ninth to twelfth centuries', *Peritia* 5 (1986) 317-45: 319.

[10] Howard B. Clarke, 'Proto-towns and towns in Ireland and Britain in the ninth and tenth centuries', in Clarke et al. (eds), *Ireland and Scandinavia in the early Viking-Age* (Dublin 1998) 331-80: 343.

[11] Valante, *The Vikings*, 37.

[12] Ibid. 40.

Reassessment of the first generation of Viking raids on Ireland was prompted by my work on ninth-century Viking annalistic entries, particularly those from the period 825-875 and the concept of the 'forty years' rest' (discussed in chapters 2 and 3). It was also motivated by recent archaeological evidence from Simpson's excavations of South Great George's Street and Ship Street Great, Dublin, where a total of five Viking male-burials were found. Osteological analysis of three of the five skeletons revealed that they were under 25 years of age, and oxygen isotope analysis suggested that two warriors may have originated in Scandinavia and that two others were probably from somewhere within the British Isles, possibly as Simpson suggests the western coast of Scotland.[13] Four of these burials had carbon-14 determinations between the late seventh and the late ninth centuries and 'intercept' dates of *c.*780-800.[14] An early date for these burials may be supported by other evidence from these sites themselves and from other sites in Dublin.

Contemporary habitation evidence found at the South Great George's Street site dates to the early to mid-ninth century, Simpson states that 'while the habitation deposits are difficult to date, they certainly predated the mid-ninth century, as this area was then used for at least four male Viking warrior-burials, which were spread throughout the eastern side of the site'.[15] She continues: 'The most startling new information, however, must be the results of the carbon-14 determinations, which show a consistent probability that these warriors are early in date, perhaps even pre-dating the establishment of the *longphort* in AD 841. Thus in the absence of documentary evidence that might otherwise have been provided by the annals, the archaeologist would probably look at a date between the late eighth and early ninth century for these individuals'.[16]

Despite improvements in the science of radiocarbon dating, different programs and curves are used for calibration; furthermore, there is considerable variation in how dating results are reported.[17] Robert Chapple has set out the standard practice for citing radiocarbon data, and I have endeavoured where possible to include all available published data on the burials discussed below.[18] The

[13] Simpson, 'Viking warrior-burials', 11.
[14] Ibid.
[15] Ibid. 37.
[16] Ibid. 50.
[17] R.E. Taylor, *Radiocarbon dating. An archaeological perspective* (Orlando, 1987).
[18] Robert Chapple, 'The absolute dating of archaeological excavations in Ulster carried out by Northern Archaeological Consultancy LTD, 1998-2007', *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* 67 (2008)

calibrated radiocarbon dates from the three burials from South Great George's Street and the burial from Ship Street Great range from the late seventh to late ninth century: burial F196 has a calibrated radiocarbon date to 2 sigma of AD 670–880 which means it has 95% probability of falling within that period. Simpson calculates an intercept date of *c.*770 for this burial.[19] Burial F223 has a calibrated radiocarbon date to 2 sigma of AD 670–880 (95% probability) with an intercept date of AD 770.[20] Burial F342 is a little more problematic: it has a calibrated radiocarbon date to 2 sigma of AD 670–880, and an intercept date of AD 782, but with a 1 sigma calculation (68% probability) of falling between AD 771–851, and an intercept date of AD 851.[21] The fourth burial (F598) from South Great George's Street has a later date range AD 786–955.[22] The Ship Street Great burial (F12) has a date range similar to those from South Great George's Street with calibrated radiocarbon date to 2 sigma of AD 665–865, and Simpson suggests an intercept date of AD 790.[23] The probability method of radiocarbon dating is now favoured over the use of intercept dates.[24] Nevertheless, is it striking that the radiocarbon dates of at least three (four if one includes F342) of these burials may suggest that they were more than likely interred sometime in the late eighth to early ninth-century.

Evidence from other sites excavated in Dublin may strengthen an early date for the material from South Great George's Street and Ship Street Great and may hint at a temporary base in Dublin before the establishment of the *longphort* in 841. Most interesting are the two Viking-burials excavated in Golden Lane by Edmond O'Donovan.[25] A furnished male burial (LVXXX) has a calibrated radiocarbon date to 2 sigma of AD 678–832, which suggests that he was buried sometime prior to AD

53-181; Id., 'Just an expensive number? A plea for clarity in the reporting of radiocarbon dates', *Archaeology Ireland* 24.2 (2010) 29-31. I am grateful to Robert Chapple and Mick Monk for many email exchanges and discussions with regard to matters surrounding radiocarbon dating.

[19] Simpson, 'Viking warrior-burials', 40; (1 sigma) 68% probability AD 690–790. Lab Beta Analytic Radiocarbon dating laboratory, Miami, Florida.

[20] Ibid. 44; 68% probability AD 690–790. Lab Beta Analytic Radiocarbon dating laboratory, Miami, Florida.

[21] Ibid. 44: Lab: Radiocarbon dating laboratory, Queen's University, Belfast.

[22] Ibid. 47: (1 sigma) 68% probability AD 859–893 (intercept date AD 885). Lab: Radiocarbon dating laboratory, Queen's University, Belfast.

[23] Ibid. 34; (1 sigma) 68% probability AD 690–775. Lab: Centrum voor Isotopen Onderzoek, Groningen.

[24] http://c14.arch.ox.ac.uk/embed.php?File=calibration.html [accessed 3rd September 2012].

[25] O'Donovan, 'There is an antiquarian in all of us', 16-7; Id. 'The Irish, the Vikings and the English, 36-130.

832.[26] Another furnished Viking burial (CXXIX) from the site, that of a middle-aged or elderly woman, has a radiocarbon date to 2 sigma of AD 680–870.[27] O'Donovan states that 'the two burials date, at the very latest, to mid/-late ninth century; however statistically the burial LXXXV is 90% more likely to have been interred before AD 832'.[28] The female burial demonstrates the presence of women in the earliest phase of Viking settlement at Dublin. Simpson also notes the presence of neo-natal remains and juvenile bones at the lowest levels at South Great George's Street.[29] Recent work on the earliest phase of Viking activity in Anglo-Saxon England has drawn attention to the importance of women settlers.[30]

O'Donovan holds that the Golden Lane burials form part of a collection from Dublin which may suggest that they originally belonged to a Viking grave-field which stretched from Bride Street to George's Street with burials dating from the first quarter of the ninth century.[31] In a previous study, Raghnall Ó Floinn had drawn attention to the spread of Viking burials on both sides of the river Liffey,[32] but it is the early dates coming from the scientific analysis of the burials from this concentration around the confluence of the Liffey with the Poddle which is most relevant to this study. As Simpson has emphasised, it is the consistent dates from South Great George's Street, Ship Street Great and Golden Lane which is most striking.[33] The challenge for Viking studies in Ireland, and in general, is to examine, not just the traditional relationship between the historical and archaeological evidence, but also to engage with the sophisticated level of scientific and technological evidence now at our disposal, radiocarbon dating, and genetic and oxygen isotope analysis. I do not propose to address that challenge directly, as it is a subject for a much larger interdisciplinary study.

In this, and following, chapter, I will review the contemporary annalistic references and examine the possibility that, even during this early period, the Vikings

[26] Ibid. 52-53. At p. 129: BP 1249± 32; (1 sigma) 68% probability AD 688–754. Lab: Radiocarbon dating laboratory, Queen's University, Belfast.
[27] Ibid. 50-1. At p. 130): BP 1247± 33: (1 sigma) 68% probability AD 688–780. Lab: Radiocarbon dating laboratory, Queen's University, Belfast.
[28] Ibid. 70.
[29] Simpson, 'Pre-Viking and Viking-Age Dublin', 65.
[30] McLeod, 'Warriors and women: the sex ratio of Norse migrants to eastern England up to 900 AD', 332-53. Also worthy of mention is the ninth-century high status female burial found in Finglas, Co Dublin, see Maeve Sikora, 'The Finglas burial: archaeology and ethnicity in Viking-Age Dublin', in Sheehan and Ó Corráin (eds), *The Viking-Age: Ireland and the west*, 402-17.
[31] O'Donovan, 'Golden Lane', 70.
[32] Ó Floinn, 'The archaeology of the early Viking-Age', 131-65.
[33] Simpson, 'Pre-Viking and early Viking-Age Dublin', 73.

may have had some temporary bases on islands off the Irish coast and/or along the coast itself. Thus, I will draw attention to entries in the Irish annals that might provide an historical context for the early date of these Dublin burials. Viking raids were not as straightforward as the terse entries in contemporary annals might lead us to believe. In an attempt to understand the more complex issues which lie behind a raid, the minimalist entries in the Irish annals are teased out here. At times, the more detailed contemporary or near-contemporary entries from the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* [henceforth ASC] and from continental chronicles, such as the *Royal Frankish Annals* and *Annals of St-Bertin*, will be used to supplement the Irish evidence.[34] Though comparison of annalistic and chronicle writing is a subject for another study, one could suggest that we have underestimated the significance of the nature of the source material, i.e. the differences in style between the terse Irish annals and the more detailed ASC and continental chronicles may have influenced our understanding of Viking activity in the ninth century. Early medieval Irish settlement patterns were substantially different from European counterparts, and this must have influenced Viking decisions and settlements.

However, whatever the differences between Viking settlement patterns that emerged in Ireland compared to those of Anglo-Saxon/Anglo-Scandinavian England and Continental Europe, the first generation of Viking raids, and the establishment of temporary bases, was probably very similar. This is often overlooked in discussions of ninth-century Viking activity in Ireland and of the first generation of raids in Western Europe. The central question is: what constitutes a temporary base? Duration may differ. It may last anything from a few days, to a few weeks, to a few months, to something more lasting, such as a summer or a seasonal encampment. Eventually, the Vikings remained at their bases over winter and in consecutive years. The annals provide evidence for all of these in the period AD 795–836. Indeed, the line between a raiding-base and a settlement is often blurred. How, or indeed, can we draw such distinctions? Perhaps a defining characteristic is the element of defence and fortification. Is this what we are witnessing when the annals announce the

[34] Dorothy Whitelock (ed. and trans.), *The Anglo-Saxon chronicle: a revised translation* (London 1961); B.W. Scholz (ed. and trans.), *Carolingian chronicles: the 'Royal Frankish annals' and Nithard's 'Histories'* (Ann Arbor 1970); Janet L. Nelson (ed. and trans.), *The annals of St-Bertin* (Manchester 1991); Timothy Reuter (ed. and trans.), *The annals of St Fulda* (Manchester 1992); 'Annals of St-Vaast', in P.E. Dutton, *Carolingian civilization: a reader* (Peterborough 1993).

longphoirt at Lough Neagh (840) and Linn Duachaill and Dublin (841)? This will be discussed further in Chapter 7.

In 794, AU record the devastation of all the islands of Britain by *gennti*. This announcement focuses on islands and, indeed, for the first few raids it is the islands that suffer most. The incursion of *gennti* into Ireland and Britain is noticed in 798 but it is not until 807, with a raid on Ross Camm, a coastal church (in townland of Roscam, parish of Oranmore, Co Galway), that a raid on the mainland is recorded.[35] In 795, the annals relate *Loscadh Rechrainne o geinntib ⁊ Sci do choscradh ⁊ do lomradh*.[36] Downham has shown that the Isle of Skye was not attacked, but that this entry actually records the breaking of the shrine (*scrín*) of Rechru.[37] The identification of Rechru is much debated, and credible arguments are advanced both for Rathlin Island, off the coast of Antrim, and Lambay Island, off the coast of Dublin. Rathlin would fit well with a sequence of raids on Iona, Inismurray (Co Sligo) and Inisbofin (Co Galway) recorded in 795. James Graham-Campbell and Colleen Batey point out that a number of poorly recorded pagan Norse graves from Rathlin Island 'suggest the existence of a cemetery — and thus actual settlement — rather than just a chance location for burial' on the island in the ninth century.[38] They also draw attention to the strategic location and proximity of Rathlin in relation to the Scottish Isles.[39] However, Lambay (Rechru Breg) also makes geographical sense. Máire Herbert highlights that Rechru was part of the *familia* of Columba (though so was Rathlin) and thus that it fits with the raid on the Iona (795), the mother house of the Columban federation.[40] The entry in AI 795 (*Orcain Iae Coluim Chille ⁊ Inse Muirethaig ⁊ Inse Bó Finne*) is probably a conflation.[41] What is clear, though often overlooked, is that initial Viking attacks were on both the east and west coasts of Ireland. In fact, if Rechru is identified with Rathlin (rather than with Lambay), then they reached further south on the west coast first. There is some debate about Viking

[35] Donnchadh Ó Corráin, 'Vikings II: Ros Camm', *Peritia* 10 (1996) 236.
[36] AU 795: 'The burning of Rechru by the heathens, and Scí was overwhelmed and laid waste'.
[37] Clare Downham, 'An imaginary Viking raid on Skye in 795?', *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 20 (2000) 192-6. The entry would then read 'The burning of Rechrann by *gennti* and its shrine was broken open and despoiled'.
[38] James Graham-Campbell and Coleen E. Batey, *Vikings in Scotland: an archaeological survey* (Edinburgh 1988) 94.
[39] Ibid. 36.
[40] Máire Herbert, *Iona, Kells and Derry; the history and hagiography of the monastic familia of Columba*, (Dublin 1996) 42.
[41] 'The plundering of Í Coluim Chille, and of Inis Muiredaig, and of Inis Bó Finne'. Ó Canann, 'The annals of Inisfallen: an independent witness', 32, suggests that the Inisbofin in question may be the island off the Donegal coast between Tory and the mainland, rather than to the island off Galway.

settlement on the west coast; however, it is clear that in the initial period of attack it suffered in a similar fashion.

In AU 798, the Vikings attacked the island of Inis Pátraic off the coast of Dublin:

> *Combustio Inse Patraicc o genntibh, ₇ borime na crich do breith ₇ scrin Do Chonna do briseadh doaibh ₇ innreda mara doaib cene eiter Erinn ₇ Albain.*
> The burning of Inis Pátraic by the heathens, and they took the cattle-tribute of the territories, and broke the shrine of Do-Chonna, and also made great incursions both in Ireland and in Alba.

The account in AClon reads:

> The island of St Patrick was burnt by the Danes, they taxed the Landes with great taxtions, they took the Reliques of St. Dochonna and made many Invassions to this kindome and tooke many rich and great bootyes, as well from Ireland as from Scotland.[42]

The theft or destruction of a religious shrine during a Viking raid was not an unusual event; but of more interest is the taking of cattle as tribute for it has greater significance both in terms of practical implications and symbolic meaning.[43] In practical terms, taking cattle provided badly needed sustenance, particularly if these Vikings had come directly from the Scandinavian homelands or even from Viking colonies within the Irish Sea province.[44] Regardless of whether the cattle were taken for immediate consumption,[45] or to provide food for a base/settlement elsewhere, they must have had somewhere to corral the cattle. Could they have taken them to their ships, and then, perhaps, to Inis Pátraic?

The size of cattle-tribute in the late eighth century is difficult to determine, but we can assume it involved a number of cows. In early Irish society, the unit of currency was the *cumal* (originally meaning 'a female slave' or 'bondwoman') as a

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[42] No mention of taxation in AFM: *Inis Pádraicc do losccadh la h-Allmuirechaibh, ₇ sgrín Do Chonna do bhreith dhoibh, ₇ inredha do dhenamh dhóibh chena etir Erinn ₇ Albain* 'Inis Padraig, was burned by foreigners, and they bore away the shrine of Dochonna; and they also committed depredations between Ireland and Alba Scotland'.

[43] Michael Ryan, Kevin Mooney, Frank Prendergast, and Barry Masterson, 'Church Island: a description', in Aibhle Mac Shamhráin (ed.), *The island of St Patrick: church and ruling dynasties in Fingal and Meath, 400-1148* (Dublin 2004) 106-124: 107, suggest that it was probably the stone tomb-shrine of the saint which was broken

[44] Slaughtered cattle must be allowed to hang for at least two days before butchering and consumption. I am grateful to Dr Michael O'Grady, Food Science, University College Cork, for discussions on this matter.

[45] Though more recent research stresses that there is no archaeological evidence extant to support the theory that the Scottish Isles were settled before AD 800; see summary in James H. Barrett, 'What caused the Viking-Age?', *Antiquity* 82 (2008) 671-85: 674.

unit of value equal to three milch-cows.[46] *Críth Gablach*, an early eighth-century law tract, outlines the renders exchanged between lords and their vassals, and while cattle formed a significant component, the number of milch cows or heifers exchanged was dependent on status.[47] Annalistic accounts serve us no better; cattle-tribute is specifically referred to three times in AU 458, 695 and 721. AU 458 is an anachronistic account of the exchange of tribute between the Laigin and the kings of Tara outlined in the literary tale 'the Bórama' (discussed below).[48] In AU 695, reference is made to a cattle-tribute in a verse eulogising the slaying of Fínnechta at Grellach Dollaig.[49] The entry for 721 is an account of cattle-tribute taken by Fergal son of Máel Dúin from the Laigin, in the run up to the Battle of Allen of 722, also narrated in the tenth-century Irish tale *Cath Almaine*.[50] The numbers taken are not specified. It is not until three centuries later, that AU records an ecclesiastical tribute, in 1106, where Cellach, coarb of Patrick, while on his circuit of Munster received his full due, viz. seven cows and seven sheep and half an ounce for each area of a *trícha cét* in Munster.[51] Later in the twelfth century, cattle feature as a means of payment for the military support of the Foreigners of Dublin: in 1154, Muirchertach Mac Lochlainn gains their support with a stipend of 1200 cows;[52] in 1166, Ruaidrí Ua Conchobair levied the men of Ireland for 4000 cows in order to insure the support of the Dubliners.[53] These *túarastla* (wages or stipends) were payments to secure the Dubliners as mercenary force and to gain control of the port of Dublin.[54]

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[46] DIL, 616; Fergus Kelly, *A guide to early Irish law*, Early Irish Law Series 3 (Dublin 1988), 8-10; id., *Early Irish farming: a study based mainly on the law-texts of the 7th and 8th centuries AD*, Early Irish Law Series 4 (Dublin 1997) 33; A.T. Lucas, *Cattle in ancient Ireland* (Kilkenny 1989); Byrne, *Irish kings and high-kings*, 33.

[47] D.A. Binchy (ed.), *Críth gablach*, Mediaeval and Modern Irish Series 11 (Dublin 1941); Eoin MacNeill, 'Ancient Irish law: the law of status or franchise', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 36C (1923) 265-316.

[48] AU 458: *Cath Atho Dara for Laighaire re Laighnibh in quo ₇ ipse captus est, sed tunc dimissus est, iurans per solem ₇ uentum se boues eis dimissurum* 'The battle of Áth Dara was won by the Laigin over Laegaire, and in it he himself was taken prisoner, but was then freed on swearing by sun and wind that he would remit to them the cattle-tribute'.

[49] AU 695: *Mo Ling Lochair cecinit:/ Ba dirsan do Fhinsnechta,/ indiu laigid crolige;/ ra-mbe la firu nime/ dilgud ina boraime* 'Mo-Ling of Luachair recited:/ Alas for Fínnechta/ Today he lies in a gory bed;/ May he have among the men of heaven/ reward for remitting the cattle-tribute'.

[50] Pádraig Ó Riain (ed.), *Cath Almaine*, Mediaeval and Modern Irish Series 25 (Dublin 1978); Whitley Stokes, 'The Battle of Allen', *Revue Celtique* 14 (1903) 41-70.

[51] AU 1106: *Ceallach for cuairt Muman cetna chur bes co tuc a lan-chuairt .i. secht m-bae ₇ .uii. cairigh ₇ leth-unga cech fuind tricha cet i Mumain la taebh shét n-imda olchena. Ocus ar-roet imorro Ceallach gradha uasal-espoic don chur-sin a forcongra fer n-Erenn.*

[52] AFM 1154: *Luidh ais-sidhe co h-Ath Cliath, ₇ do-ratsat Goill Atha Cliath a ríghe dhó. Do-rad-somh dá chéd décc bo do Ghallaibh ina t-tuarastal, ₇ sóidh dia tigh iar t-tain.*

[53] AFM 1166: *Slóighedh lá Ruaidhri Ua c- Conchobhair go Connachtaibh, go b-Fearaibh Midhe, ₇ go b-Feraibh Tethbha co h-Ath Cliath, ₇ ro ríghadh ann Ruaidhri Ua Concobhair febh as onóraighe ro*

The evidence of literary texts serves us no better. The most infamous account of tribute is that outlined in a tale of the same name 'The Bórama' which recounts the exchange of tribute between the Laigin and the kings of Tara. The tale is dated to the ninth century, and states that fifteen thousand cows formed part of the tribute owed, but one must remember that this is a literary text.[55] Two early Munster texts (dating to ninth or tenth century) recount the *frithḟolaid* or 'mutual obligations' of the kings of Cashel; for example, the Uí Liatháin were to receive thirty *cumala* while the king of Fir Maige Féne receives twenty *cumala* and the king of Déisi fifty *cumala* every seven years in return for their obligations to the king.[56] The early twelfth-century compilation *Lebor na Cert*, 'The Book of Rights', outlines the tributes and stipends exchanged between kings and their over-kings, and at various points suggests anything from 30 to 1000 cows and/or milch-cows.[57] A forthcoming study by Catherine Swift based on *Uraicecht Becc* and *Críth Gablach* estimates that a single *túath* (depending on the number of *céili gíallnae*) could produce as render each winter somewhere between 350 and 1750 milch cows, 350 to 2100 two-year-old bull calves and 1050 to 3150 male yearlings.[58] Such figures seem very high, and in general, I think the evidence is too slight and the numbers too inconsistent to determine the expected size of a cattle tribute given to the Vikings in 798.

However, it is clear that this was not merely a cattle raid and that some degree of organised payment is implied. Significantly, AU states that the Vikings took *borime na crich*, 'the cattle-tribute of the territories'; if this was merely tribute from the island, then it may not have amounted to much. An alternative worth

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ríghadh rí riamh do Ghaoidhealaibh, ⁊ ro thíodhnaic-siomh a t-tuarastal dona Gallaibh do bhuar iomdha, uair ro sreathait da fichit céd bó for fearaibh Ereann dóibh.

[54] AFM 1154 and AFM 1166; though accounts in AFM may not be contemporary and even if we allow for some exaggeration, nevertheless, they imply that large payments were required to secure the support of the Foreigners of Dublin.

[55] Whitley Stokes (ed. and trans.), 'The Borama', *Revue Celtique* 13 (1892) 32-124, 299: 39-41, *Tri choicait cét bó*.

[56] J.G. O'Keeffe, 'Dál Caladbuig and reciprocal services between the kings of Cashel and various Munster states', in J. Fraser, P. Grojean and J.G. O'Keeffe (eds), *Irish Texts*, i (London 1931) 19-21. These texts are discussed and dated by Byrne, *Irish kings and high-kings*, 196-7. Thomas Charles-Edwards, *Early Christian Ireland* (Cambridge 2000) 522-4,

[57] Myles Dillon (ed. and trans.), *Lebor na cert: the book of rights*, ITS 46 (London 1962), see Appendix B, Table of stipends and tributes, 179-89; also include oxen. See also Catherine Swift, 'Royal fleets in Viking Ireland: the evidence of *Lebor na cert*, A.D. 1050-1150', in John Hines, Alan Lane and Mark Redknap (eds), *Land, sea and home: Proceedings from a conference on Viking settlement, at Cardiff, July 2001* (Maney 2004) 189-206.

[58] Catherine Swift examines these eighth- and ninth-century law tracts in an attempt to estimate the financial resources of a twelfth-century king: 'Follow the money: the financial resources of Diarmait Mac Murchada', in Emer Purcell, Julianne Nyhan, Paul McCotter and John Sheehan (eds), *Clerics, kings and Vikings: essays on medieval Ireland* (Four Courts Press, forthcoming).

considering is that the tribute was regularly collected on Inis Pátraic by the church or by Irish leaders, and that the Vikings just continued the practice. Ó Corráin suggests that it refers to 'a forced levy for provisions on the mainland nearby'.[59] There are parallels for such use of island settlements in Ireland, though admittedly at a much later date, at sites such as Scattery Island in the Shannon estuary which Ó Corráin suggests may have been where the Vikings of Limerick collected their tribute. There is no doubt that by the tenth century, it was a more established practice.[60] A later example of the use of island settlements by the Vikings may be found in the name of the Copeland Islands, off the coast of Co Down. There is some debate about the Scandinavian origins of this place-name, but most recently Mac Gilla Easpaig, has argued that *Kaupmanneyjar* (whence Copeland) is a compound of Scandinavian *kaupmann* 'merchant', and the plural of *øy* 'island' and signifies 'merchant's islands'.[61] The toponmy of Inis Pátraic is also interesting; the parish later became known as Holmpatrick, a direct translation of the Irish name into Norse. Clarke argues that many of names on the east coast that derive from Old Norse have their origin as navigational markers; for example, Howth, Lambay Island, and Dalkey Island.[62] However, Mac Giolla Easpaig maintains that this kind of translation, and mutual understanding of language, could only occur where there was close contact and significant interaction between Irish and Norse.[63] Though, these hybrid place-names may have only emerged at a later date, of more interest is the fact observed by Mac Giolla Easpaig that island-names make up almost half the total of place-names of Scandinavian origin in Ireland.[64]

Regardless, 798 is very early for tribute to be exacted in a 'hit-and-run raid' in an Irish context. Tribute may have been taken by the Vikings: 1) to gain the submission of the island; 2) as protection money to prevent further attack; or 3) as an annual levy. There is plenty of contemporary evidence for the exaction of tribute in such a fashion by raiders in Anglo-Saxon England and Continental Europe. Niels Lund in his discussion of tribute-taking on the Continent, has argued that burning and other atrocities may have served 'to remind the opposite party of the alternative

[59] Donnchadh Ó Corráin, 'The Vikings in Scotland and Ireland in the ninth century', *Peritia* 12 (1998) 296-339: 323-4.
[60] Sheehan, Stumman Hansen and Ó Corráin, 'A Viking-Age maritime haven', 113.
[61] Mac Giolla Easpaig, 'L'influence scandinave sur la toponymie irlandaise', 456-7.
[62] Clarke, 'Proto-towns and towns', 341.
[63] Mac Giolla Easpaig, 'L'influence scandinave sur la toponymie irlandaise', 456.
[64] Ibid. 466.

to successful negotiations'.[65] Burning may not have been a meaningless destructive act, but may have been a deliberate tactic used, by the Vikings, to enforce submission from local populations. In the case of Inis Pátraic, the island may have been subdued and then used as a base from which to conduct raids on the mainland in Ireland and in Britain, if we are to take the annalist at his word.

807: Another island base?

AU 807 records *Gentiles combuserunt Insolam Muiredaigh ₇ inuadunt Ross Camm* 'The heathens burned Inis Muiredaig and invade Ros Camm'.[66] Again an island off the coast is overrun before raids are launched on the mainland, specifically the monastic settlement at Ros Camm. In such fashion, it may be comparable to their taking of Inis Pátraic in 798. However, it must be acknowledged that there is a considerable difference between the proximity of Inis Pátraic to the mainland (approximately one mile) and the distance from Inismurray to Ros Camm in the inner reaches of Galway Bay. Nevertheless, islands such as Inismurray may have been used as temporary bases, both from which to launch attacks on monastic settlements along the coast of the mainland, but also as places to rest on the way back from raiding. Temporary island bases could provide necessary time for respite and recovery, and time to prepare and regroup for the journey back to the Homelands or to other Viking colonies. This would have allowed the Vikings sufficient time to organise their spoils, and to ensure that they had adequate supplies to last the journey home. Writing in the late ninth-century, Adrevaldus describes a Viking camp on the Island of St-Florent-le-Vieil, on the Loire river:

> *… stationem navium suarum acsi asylum omnium periculorum in insula … subposita conponentes, mappalia quoque instar exaedificavere burgi, quo captivorum greges catenis asstrictos adservarent ipsique pro tempore corpora a labore reficerent, expeditioni ilico servitura. Ex qua inopinatos discursus agitantes, modo navibus, modo equis delati, totam circumcirca delevere provinciam.*
> … they had an island ... organized as a port for their ships — as a refuge for all dangers — and they built a fortification like a hut camp, in which they held crowds of prisoners in chains and in which they rested themselves after their

[65] Niels Lund, 'Allies of God or man? The Viking expansion in a European perspective', *Viator* 20 (1989) 45-59: 56.

[66] The vocabulary used by the Irish annals merits further comparative study, to see if there is a correlation between what verbs are used and what happened during the attack; For example, *inuadunt*: did it mean that they literally invaded the settlement rather than just plundered (*orgain*) it? Again, a digital concordance of the Irish annals would facilitate such research.

> toil so that they might be ready for warfare. From that place they undertook unexpected raids, sometimes in ships, sometimes on horseback, and they destroyed all the province.[67]

While Viking ships could, and often did, double as bases, the Vikings may also have had temporary bases on land where they regrouped before they hit the high seas. I am in no way attempting to diminish what was in essence the characteristic image of the Vikings as raiders, nor am I trying to deny the advances in ship technology which facilitated this accumulation of wealth and characterised the Viking-Age itself. Their success as raiders and plunderers was based on speed and on the element of surprise. There is no doubt that from the late 790s through to the 820s small Viking fleets made hit-and-run attacks along the coast of Ireland.

Five years after the raid on Inismurray and Ros Camm, the Vikings returned to the west coast. Of particular interest is a sequence of recorded encounters between the Vikings and the men of Umall and Conmaicne during the years 812-13:

> AU 812
> *Ar gennte la firu h-Umhaill. Ar Conmaicne la gennti*.
> A slaughter of the heathens by the men of Umall. A slaughter of the Conmaicne by the heathens.[68]

> AU 813
> *Ar n-Umill la gennti ubi ceciderunt Coscrach m. Flainddabrat ⁊ Dunadhach rex h-Umill*.
> The slaughter at Umall by the heathens in which fell Coscrach son of Flannabra and Dúnadach, king of Umall.

Details of the 812 encounter between the Vikings and the men of Umall (a name preserved today in the barony of Burrishoole (Buiríos Umhaill), Co Mayo, but originally a much larger territory) are slim, but one may assume that it happened during an attempted raid, or in retaliation for a raid. In either case, Fir Umaill were quick to react; this is only the second recorded Irish dynasty to defeat the Vikings.[69] Or, is it possible that the men of Umall were on the offensive? Is it possible that the

[67] O. Holder-Egger (ed.), 'Ex Adrevaldi Floriacensis miraculis S. Benedicti', *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptores* 15 Part 1, 474-501: 494. Discussed by Holm, 'The slave trade of Dublin', 325.

[68] The demarcation of these two entries as one by MacAirt and MacNiocaill, as AU 812.8, compounds the impression that it was the same band of Vikings involved in both encounters.

[69] In the previous year AU 811; the men of Ulaid are the first recorded dynasty to inflict defeat on the Vikings. Byrne 'The Viking-Age', 610, draws attention to entry in the *Royal Frankish annals* 812: 'Also a fleet of the Norsemen landed in Ireland, the island of the Scots, and in a battle with the Scots many of the Norsemen were killed, and the fleet returned home after shameful flight'. *Scoti* is the term used by the chronicler at this date it means Irish rather than Scottish.

account may reflect an attack by the Irish on a stationary band of Vikings? In the same year, we are told that the Conmaicne (a people settled in various parts of Connacht, though mainly in the modern barony of Ballynahinch, Co Galway, but originally a much larger territory) were slaughtered by the Vikings; again there are no details as to where this encounter took place.

In the following year, 813, the Vikings exact revenge when they kill Coscrach son of Flannabra and Dúnadach, king of Umall. This is first non-obit entry recorded for this year in AU which may suggest that the event took place early in 813. Where exactly the encounter occurred is impossible to determine; the annals simply tell us is that it was in Umall. The annalists themselves may not have known; they may have only been told that it was in the territory of the dynasty rather than given an exact location. Pádraig Ó Riain has argued that 80-90% of the battle-sites involving disputes amongst the Irish can be readily identified as either territorial limits or recognisable boundary areas. Encounters regularly occurred on the immediate boundary of the tribe [*sic*] under-going aggression.[70] Battle-sites are under-explored in early medieval Irish history, particularly Viking battle-sites.[71]

These early ninth-century raids on the west coast are traditionally interpreted as evidence of summer or seasonal raiding ventures, with the assumption that the Vikings returned to these areas on the west coast two years in a row. It is possible, as has always been assumed, that they familiarised themselves with the territory and thus were able to sail back to the same place the following year. If this were the case, there is a strong element of continuity here, and it may imply that it was the same band of Vikings. Alternatively, perhaps word had spread at home, or along the sailing routes, that the west coast of Ireland was a good place to raid. There must have been some degree of exchange of information amongst raiders perhaps along similar lines to that recounted in the *Life of St Findan of Rheinau*. For example, in the Life (which dates to the ninth century, shortly after Findan's death),[72] when Findan is captured for a second time, he is held captive on a Viking ship which is boarded by another Viking raider. He enquires of his compatriots as to *insulae*

[70] Pádraig Ó Riain, 'Boundary associations in early Irish society', *Studia Celtica* 7 (1972) 12-29: 24; id., 'Battle site and territorial extent in early Ireland', *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* 33 (1974) 67-80: 68.

[71] Colmán Etchingham, 'The battle of Cenn Fúait', *Peritia* 21 (2010) 208-232 is a welcome contribution to this topic.

[72] Máire Ní Mhaonaigh, 'Friend and foe: Vikings in ninth- and tenth-century Irish literature', in Clarke et al. (eds), *Ireland and Scandinavia in the early Viking-Age*, 381-402: 392-93.

qualitatem, et qualiter ibi erga illos accidisset [the nature of the island [Ireland] and how they had fared there].[73] Such intercourse must have been common-place.

However, the annal entries from AD 812 and AD 813 may actually reflect something more than a seasonal base; they may indicate that a small band of Vikings remained on the west coast over the winter. Ó Corráin argues that these attacks were motivated by the desire for land and the area 'may not have appeared altogether inhospitable to seaborne raiders already familiar with similar coastlines'.[74] Until recently, the archaeological evidence for Viking activity on the west coast of Ireland focused mainly on a ninth-century male burial at Eyrephort, Co Galway. The burial, discovered in 1947, was first analysed and discussed by Joseph Raftery and dated to *c.*850 AD.[75] In 1988, this burial was reassessed by John Bradley and John Sheehan respectively; both suggested independently that it may in fact represent Viking settlement in the area.[76] Sheehan, in particular, argues that the burial may be indicative of an attempt to establish a base on the west coast. He remarked that 'the coast environment of western Ireland with its indented littoral and offshore islands, is one which would have appeared neither alien or unfamiliar to the Vikings and one where their native techniques of fishing and bird-catching could easily have been put to use'.[77]

In 1988, Bradley also drew attention to the site of Truska, located four miles across Mannin Bay from Eyrephort; at that time he remarked on the middens in particular, and on the possibility they were evidence of Scandinavian settlement.[78] In 2003, Erin Keeley-Gibbons and Eamon Kelly examined two male-burials and a sunken-floored building at the site, and suggested that they might represent evidence of a Viking-Age farmstead.[79] The two male burials are orientated east-west, with heads to the west, but there are no grave-goods. A fragment of a decorated double-sided antler comb was found inside the house; Keeley-Gibbons and Kelly point out

[73] Oswald Holder-Egger (ed.), 'Vita Findani', MGH SS 15:1, 502-06. See text and translation in Reidar Th. Christiansen, 'The people of the North', *Lochlann* 2 (1962) pp 137-64: 155 and 157.
[74] Ó Corráin, *Ireland before the Normans*, 83.
[75] Joseph Raftery, 'A Viking burial in County Galway', *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society* 29 (1961) 3-6; 5.
[76] John Sheehan, 'A re-assessment of the Viking burial at Eyrephort, Co Galway', *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society* 41 (1987-88) 60-72; John Bradley, 'The interpretation of Scandinavian settlement in Ireland', in id. (ed.), *Settlement and society in medieval Ireland: Studies presented to F.X. Martin OSA* (Kilkenny 1988) 49-78; 60.
[77] Sheehan, 'Re-assessment of Viking burial', 70.
[78] Bradley, 'Interpretation of Scandianvian settlement', 60.
[79] Keeley-Gibbons and Kelly, 'A Viking-Age farmstead in Connemara', 28-32.

that the closest parallel is from Fishamble Street and dates to the tenth century.[80] The sunken-floored building has parallels with those from ninth-century levels at Essex Street West and tenth-century levels at Christ Church Place and Winetavern Street,[81] though Simpson has recently suggested that the sunken-floored buildings from Winetavern Street and Christ Church should now be re-dated to ninth century.[82] Re-examination of the sunken-floored building from Beginish, Co Kerry, suggests that it may also belong to this type of house.[83] Habitation evidence at Truska dates to before the burials, and Keeley-Gibbons and Kelly suggest that the burials are to be associated with the abandonment of the site.[84]

In a more recent review of the site, Kelly includes an analysis of the skeletal remains, which gives calibrated radiocarbon dates to 2 sigma of AD 680–890 and AD 660–870. He points out that these dates accord well with a date of AD 700–900 from the midden material.[85] A cattle bone from the house yielded a calibrated radiocarbon date to 2 sigma of AD 773–897.[86] Evidence from other middens (these may provide evidence for Sheehan's suggestion of fishing and bird-catching) dotted along the west coast have been analysed by Kelly, they have proved difficult to date; however, Kelly is certain that the majority date to the Viking-Age.[87] What is most striking is that the radiocarbon dates from Truska are remarkably similar to those

[80] Ibid. 30.
[81] Simpson, *Director's findings*, passim.
[82] Simpson, 'Pre-Viking and early Viking-Age Dublin', 84-5.
[83] Sheehan, Stumman Hansen and Ó Corráin, 'A Viking-Age maritime haven', 96.
[84] Keeley-Gibbons and Kelly, 'A Viking-Age farmstead', 30. Michael Gibbons has rejected the interpretation of the sunken floored buildings at Truska and Beginish as evidence of Scandinavian settlement and suggests they are of Irish origin. See Gibbons and Gibbons, 'A critique of the evidence recently presented for the existence of Viking maritime havens and associated rural settlement in Ireland', 28-79.
[85] These calibrated radiocarbon dates (2 sigma) are cited in Eamonn P. Kelly, 'The Vikings in Connemara', in Sheehan and Ó Corráin (eds), *The Viking-Age*, pp 174-187: 179. The more detailed information that follows is found in Eamonn P. Kelly, 'Vikings on Ireland's Atlantic shore', in Purcell et al. (eds), *Clerics, kings and Vikings* (forthcoming). Burial 1 BP 1225 ± 40 while Burial 2 BP 1265 ± 40 (Lab not referenced). Robert Chapple recalibrated the radiocarbon dates from Truska using Computer Program: Calib Rev 6.1.0 and Curve: IntCal09. It produced the following results: Burial 1 Radiocarbon Age 1225±40 One Sigma Ranges: [start:end] relative area [cal AD 769: cal AD 870] 0.819297; Two Sigma Ranges: [start:end] relative area [cal AD 685: cal AD 889] 1. Burial 2 Radiocarbon Age 1265±40. One Sigma Ranges: [start:end] relative area [cal AD 682: cal AD 776] 1. Two Sigma Ranges: [start:end] relative area[cal AD 665: cal AD 830] 0.931375. The broad calibrated date range for the radiocarbon dates from Truska is because of both a flattening out and then an extreme fluctuation of the calibration curve from the late seventh into the ninth century. This is characteristic of all the calibration curves.
[86] Kelly, 'Vikings on Ireland's Atlantic shore'.
[87] Kelly, 'The Vikings in Connemara', 174. Middens at Eyrephort, on Omey Island, around False Bay, Doonloughan Bay, Mannin Bay and Ballyconnelly Bay, in the vicinity of Slyne Head and in the Roundstone area.

from the burials at Ship Street and South Great George's Street, Dublin, i.e. late seventh to early ninth-century. In 2005, I suggested that the radiocarbon dates emerging from the excavations at Ship Street Great and South Great George's Street strengthened the possibility that the annalistic entries of Viking activity in Conmaicne and Umall in 812/13 attested to the presence of a Viking base, or bases, on the west coast in the early ninth century.[88]

Bradley argues that 'the Viking archaeological kit is distinctive, as the burials at Kilmainham-Islandbridge, Eyrephort, Larne, and Arklow testify. This ninth-century phase is characterized by isolated coastal settlements'.[89] Ó Floinn, in a re-examination of the grave goods from the Kilmainham-Islandbridge cemeteries (which includes swords, shield bosses, weights and scales) as well as material from other burials and stray finds from the Dublin area, suggests that the assemblage may date to the 850-950 period, though perhaps with an emphasis on the late ninth century.[90] However, drawing on the new evidence emerging from the scientific analysis of recent burials excavated in Dublin, there is every possibility that some of this material may date to the early ninth century. For example, if we did not have radiocarbon dating for the burials from Ship St, South Great George's St, Golden Lane and Truska, the analysis of artefactual material would suggest that they date from the mid-ninth to early tenth century. In the case of Dublin, the documentary evidence has influenced the dating of the burials, because traditionally we date the foundation of Viking settlement to 841 when AU tells us that the heathens established a *longphort* on the Liffey. For the west coast, we have annalistic entries for the 812-813 period, which might support the existence of a Viking base, or bases, on the west coast the area in the early ninth century.

Over the course of the last ten years, there have been remarkable advances in the sciences associated with burial evidence, particularly radiocarbon dating and genetic and oxygen isotope analysis. As Stephen Harrison has pointed out, discussion of Viking burials in Ireland has tended to focus on grave goods, and latterly on the

[88] Emer Purcell, 'Vikings and Viking settlement in Ireland: the ninth-century annalistic evidence', poster presentation, *XVth Viking Congress*, Cork 2005.
[89] Bradley, 'Scandinavian settlement', 68.
[90] Ó Floinn, 'Archaeology of the early Viking-Age', 131-148; See also R.A. Hall, 'A Viking grave in the Phoenix Park, Co Dublin', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 104 (1974) 39-43; R.A. Hall, 'A Viking-Age grave at Donnybrook, Co Dublin', *Medieval Archaeology* 22 (1978) 64-83: 70; Elizabeth O'Brien, 'A re-assessment of the "great sepulchral mound" containing a Viking burial at Donnybrook, Dublin', *Medieval Archaeology* 36 (1992) 170-3

location of the cemeteries/graves and their relationship to settlement.[91] We have yet to engage fully with the social and cultural aspect of Viking burial in Ireland. Work is forthcoming from the Viking Graves Project and from the two archaeologists associated with the project, Ó Floinn and Harrison, which will no doubt redress this imbalance. [92] In terms of this study, it is important to ask how ceremonial were these burials? They were part of a ritual practice which, in most cases, must have involved a deliberate choice of location, as well as, considered deposition of grave-goods. Burials can also be read as a form of power politics; in the larger cemeteries in particular, there was an implicit message which relayed an element of intent — 'we are here to stay', and this must have been clear to the contemporary local Irish population. In some cases, such as those at Kilmainham and Islandbridge, Viking burials were inserted in or located beside Christian cemeteries.[93] Were they simply taking advantage of the designated space? Or, was it a more deliberate choice? What would it have meant to the local population to see these burials in or beside their own traditional Christian burial grounds? Some of the burials had a lasting impact on the landscape; for example, medieval Hoggen Green derives its name from Old Norse *haugr* indicating burial mounds. Even in the case of the isolated burials or smaller grave-fields — these sites may also be viewed as a statement of Viking right to settle and control the territory where their ancestors were interred. Harrison has gone so far as to suggest that these choices were often deliberate Viking attempts to associate themselves with places of ritual and significance to the local population.[94] Simpson draws attention to the evidence from South Great George's Street where the burials were in shallow graves and suggests that it was likely that there may have been some sort of covering material in the form of a stone cairn or mound.[95] There is also indirect evidence of cremation from both South Great George's Street and Golden

[91] Stephen Harrison, 'Separated from the foaming maelstrom: landscapes of insular "Viking" burial', in S. Semple and H. Williams (eds), *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History*, 14 (2008) 173-82. I am grateful to Stephen for sending me a PDF of this article. See also 'Bride Street revisited: a re-evaluation of a tenth-century burial at Dublin', in S. Duffy (ed.), *Medieval Dublin*, 10 (Dublin 2010) 126-52; 'Viking graves and grave-goods in Ireland', in A.C. Larsen (ed.), *The Vikings in Ireland* (Roskilde 2001) 61-75.

[92] S.H. Harrison and R. Ó Floinn, *Viking Graves and Grave-Goods in Ireland. Medieval Dublin Excavation* Ser. B vol. 11. Dublin, National Museum of Ireland (forthcoming).

[93] Elizabeth O'Brien, 'The location and context of Viking burials at Kilmainham and Islandbridge, Dublin', in Clarke et al. (eds), *Ireland and Scandinavia*, 203-21; ead., 'A reconsideration of the location and context of Viking burials at Kilmainham/Islandbridge, Dublin', in Manning (ed.), *Beyond the pale*, 35-44.

[94] Harrison, 'Separated from the foaming maelstrom', 178

[95] Simpson, 'Pre-Viking and early Viking-Age Dublin', 67.

Lane; though none of the skeletons themselves were burned, there was charcoal and fire-reddened clay associated with some of the burials.[96] These burials were the result of ceremonial and ritual processes that must have taken some planning and some time to execute which suggest that they were not the hurried actions of a defeated Viking army in flight. The associated habitation evidence strengthens the suggestion that these burials were the work of a settled population who took time to bury their elite.

There may be further evidence of Viking activity in the territory of Umall; it has been suggested that there may be a possible ship-burial located at Treanbeg townland, near Newport.[97] The hinterland of the site is formed by Killary habour, Ireland's only fjord, not far from Clew Bay. In 1939, just 8km south of Treanbeg, the Cushalogurt hoard containing 25 silver arm-rings was found.[98] Richard Hall dated the hoard to the tenth-century; at the time, it was the largest-known Viking hoard in terms of the number of objects and weight.[99] Sheehan suggests this hoard may now be re-dated to the late ninth-century in light of the recent excavations at Kaupang which have considerably altered our understanding of the use of silver in the ninth century.[100] Interestingly, Mac Giolla Easpaig suggests that the second element in *Caiseal Logairt* (Cushalogurt) 'is a local dialectal reflex of Old Irish *longphort*, and thus refers to a type of Viking ship-encampment'.[101]

There is a further significant site from the west coast, that of Knoxspark, located on the Ballysadare river in Co Sligo. The site was originally interpreted by Charles Mount as an Iron-Age inland promontory fort consisting of habitation, as well as, containing evidence of cremation and inhumation burials, some with grave-goods.[102] However, some artefactual evidence (a gold and amber mount possibly from an eighth or ninth-century penannular brooch), and the radiocarbon dates from the site, point towards a date in the early Viking period. It was this evidence that prompted Kelly's review. His analysis of the physical layout and fortification of the

[96] Ibid. 70.
[97] Brendan Walsh, 'A possible Viking ship setting at Treanbeg, Co Mayo', *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society* 59 (2007)158-69.
[98] Walsh, 'Viking ship at Treanbeg, 161: Raferty 'Viking burial', 6: R.A. Hall, 'A hoard of Viking silver bracelets from Cushalogurt, Co Mayo', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 103 (1973) 78-85.
[99] Hall, 'A hoard of Viking silver bracelets', 83.
[100] Indeed, the material from Woodstown, Co Waterford shows many similarities with Kaupang (John Sheehan, personal communication).
[101] Mac Giolla Easpaig, 'L'influence scandinave sur la toponymie irlandaise', 450.
[102] Kelly, 'Re-evaluation of a supposed inland promontory fort: Knoxspark', 485.

site suggests that it was an example of a Viking-Age *longphort*. A cemetery, associated with what Kelly identifies as the 'citadel', may even have been focused on a ship-burial, if his interpretation of Mount's description of a curving linear pattern of ship-nails above some burials proves correct.[103] Of more interest for present purposes are the radiocarbon dates emerging from the site: animal bone from the ditch yielded calibrated dates of AD 660–880 and AD 690–960, habitation layer associated with the 'east cairn' gave calibrated dates of AD 680–880, and an animal bone from a cremation deposit associated with this cairn has a calibrated date of AD 720–970.[104]

Kelly draws attention to an important route-way that ran from west Ulster through Carbury and across the Ballysadare river and continued into Collooney gap.[105] He quotes the entry from AFM 846:

> *Orgain Cúile Moine do loinges na c-Caillech, ₇ forbaisi coicthighisi la Cearbhall, mac n-Dunlaing, forru, ₇ a n-dearg-ár do chur iar sin.*
> The plundering of Cuil-moine by the fleet of the Cailli; and a fortnight's siege was laid to them by Cearbhall, son of Dunlaing, and they were afterwards dreadfully slaughtered.

As discussed in Chapter 3, Hogan identified Cúil Moine as either Collooney, five miles east of Sligo, or Clonmany, Co Donegal.[106] There are no other references to this fleet in the Irish source material. Byrne drew attention to a reference in the *Tripartite Life of Patrick* (a composite text which dates to the ninth and tenth centuries) which mentions a Viking presence in Killasprugbrone (Caiseal Iorra),[107] on the southern peninsula of Sligo Bay, just 14km from Knoxspark:

> *Doróand Patraic Caissil nIrre, ₇ atá for lár inliss indlecc foratorchair fiacail Patraic. Forcmaid epscop Bróin inport, et protetauit Patricius quod gentilibus desereretur locus ille, quod factum est.*
> Patrick marked out Caissel Irre, and in the middle of the hall stands the flagstone on which Patrick's toothfell. Bishop Bron ... the place, and Patrick

[103] Ibid. 489.
[104] Ibid. 488.
[105] Ibid. 489.
[106] See Chapter 3, where another possibility Coolmoney, a townland in the barony of Upper Talbotstown, Co Wicklow is suggested.
[107] HDGP s.n. Caiseal Iorra.

> prophesied that that place would be deserted by the heathen, which thing came to pass.[108]

If we accept the radiocarbon intercept dates, then the Vikings may have had a presence in the area from the early ninth century. Indeed, the island of Inismurray just before you enter Sligo Bay could have proved a nice stepping stone to Killaprugbone and Knoxspark.[109]

Association with the west coast is also remembered in Norse tradition. The the twelfth-century *Landnámabók*, 'The Book of Settlements', describes the sailing routes from Iceland to the west: 'From Reykjaness in the south of Iceland there is five sailing days at sea to *Jölduhlaup* in Ireland'.[110] Éamonn Ó Tuathail identified Jölduhlaup as Slyne Head, the most westerly point of Connemara.[111] Of more interest is that the Irish name for the head is *Léim Lára* 'Mare's Leap'; Jölduhlaup is almost a direct translation.[112] Ó Tuathail suggested that there must have been a tale circulating in the area to explain how the head got its name.[113] It is impossible to date when such knowledge-exchange may have taken place, but it represents evidence of interaction between the Irish and the Scandinavians, the type of sustained interaction that can only take place when there is settlement. Though this exchange might have taken place any time between the ninth and early twelfth-century, annalistic accounts and archaeological evidence suggest that the Vikings had a long association with the west coast with initial settlement, perhaps, dating to the first decades of the ninth century.

Examination of the early ninth-century annalistic evidence reveals a clear progression in Viking activity: a pattern begins to emerge from the initial raids on the islands, to raids on the coast, and eventually to raids further inland. This change occurs in 812 with more encounters with secular dynasties, both on the west coast as we have seen and in Munster as we will discuss in Chapter 5.[114] In the period, AD

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[108] Byrne, 'The Viking-Age', 613; Whitley Stokes (ed. and trans.), *The tripartite life of Patrick*, RS 89, 2 vols (London 1887) 140-1; Kathleen Mulchrone (ed.), *Bethu Phátraic: the tripartite life of Patrick* (Dublin 1939) 86.

[109] For a discussion of Inismurray and its relationship with ecclesiastical settlements on the mainland, see Jerry O'Sullivan and Tomás Ó Carragáin, *Inismurray: monks and pilgrims in an Atlantic landscape* (Cork 2008) 30-41.

[110] *Landnámabók* or 'The book of settlements', in Gwyn Jones, *The North Altantic saga* (Oxford 1986) 115. See now the edition by Hermann Palsson and Paul Edwards (ed. and trans.) *The book of settlements: Landnámabók* (Manitoba 2007).

[111] Éamonn Ó Tuathail, 'Varia', *Éigse* 6 (1948-52) 153-4.

[112] Ibid.

[113] Mac Giolla Easpaig, 'L'influence scandinave sur la toponymie irlandaise', 480.

[114] AU records: *Ar gennte la Mumain, id est la Cobthach m. Maele Duin, ri Locha Lein* 'A slaughter of the heathens in Mumu, viz. by Cobthach son of Mael Dúin, king of Loch Léin'. Traditionally,

812–836 further evidence can be found in the annals to support the hypothesis that the Vikings had bases in Ireland before the traditional foundation of the *longphoirt* at Lough Neagh, Dublin and Annagassan in the early 840s.[115] However, even during the very first generation of raids, AD 795–812, the Vikings must have had temporary bases on islands off the coast of Ireland, and along the coast itself. Whilst one must be careful not to over-interpret the annalistic evidence; the reference to the attack on Inis Pátraic may not imply that they had a base on the island, but the taking of cattle as tribute signifies that it was something more than a simple hit-and-run raid. Record of Viking activity on the west coast in the years AD 812–13 hints that, at the very least, they had seasonal bases there two summers in a row. The radiocarbon dates from South Great Georges St, Ship St Great, Golden Lane, Truska and Knoxspark, may indicate the presence of a Vikings base, or bases, at Dublin and on the west coast in the early decades of the ninth century.[116] Perhaps, we have been over-influenced by the documentary record which suggests that the Vikings did not have a base in the area until 841. Leaving aside the complex issue of radiocarbon dating, close examination of the annalistic evidence alone suggests that there were much more complex processes at work. In the initial period of Viking attack, it seems that independent bands of Viking were conducting raids. In these exploratory raids, they took artefacts, people, and food supplies. As we progress into the first half of the ninth century, it is clear that they launched raiding expeditions. These raids must have required some degree of organisation in terms of where the target sites were in relation to one another, how to get there; how long would it take; what supplies were necessary to conduct the attack and to ensure sufficient resources to complete the return journey, or indeed to make it to the next target. The Vikings certainly used 'hit-and-run' raids to their advantage but repeated use of the term somehow implies mere opportunism (no doubt the Vikings were opportunists supreme), but some degree of forward planning was also necessary, and there is no doubt that strategy

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this dynasty's territory was centred around Killarney and the upper Laune. This raid and Viking activity around Dingle Bay are discussed in more detail in Chapter 5.

[115] The presence of Viking bases on the east coast as early as the 820s is noted in Colmán Etchingham, 'Evidence of Scandinavian settlement in Wicklow', in K. Hannigan and W. Nolan (eds), *Wicklow: history and society* (Dublin 1994) 113-38 and Kelly and Maas, 'The Vikings and the kingdom of Laois', 124. In a similar fashion, archaeological material and radiocarbon dates from sites Woodstown and Cloghermore Cave will be examined in Chapter 5.

[116] Recalibration of all dates from Viking burials using the same programme and calibration curve would improve the accuracy and reliability of the results, and should form the foundation of a much larger interdisciplinary study.

was a vital component in the success of these adventures who left their homelands in the late eighth and early ninth centuries.

CHAPTER 5

VIKING RAIDS AND VIKING BASES: CONTINUITY AND CHANGE AD812-836

John Maas and Eamonn Kelly suggest that: 'From the mid-830s (and possibly as early as the mid-820s) it appears that the first Viking bases were founded in counties Louth and Wicklow — on the east coast — and in the north of the island as well'.[1] They identify the mid-820s as a turning point: 'Until around the year 825 the raiding was sporadic and most probably seasonal, taking place during the summer'.[2] This chapter will show that even in the period before 825 the raids were more than just simple hit-and-run affairs. As in Chapter 4, I will analyse the annalistic record for the years 812–836. This analysis reveals a clear progression in Viking activity viz., a pattern emerges beginning with initial raids on the islands, leading to raids on the coast, and eventually progressing to raids further inland. More raids are recorded on monasteries located on inland rivers and significantly this brings about more encounters with secular dynasties. In the case of Munster there is a very early example in AU 812: *Ar gennte la Mumain, id est la Cobthach m. Maele Duin, ri Locha Lein* 'A slaughter of the heathens in Mumu, viz. by Cobthach son of Máel Dúin, king of Loch Léin'. The king of Eóganacht Locha Léin slaughters the Vikings. This is the most inland encounter or account of the Vikings recorded to that point. We are told that the slaughter took place in Munster; we can assume within the territory of Locha Léin. Traditionally, this dynasty's territory is centred around Killarney and the upper Laune. Byrne and Doherty mark the direction of the encounter with a green arrow on their map which seems to indicate that they thought the Vikings approached the territory through Kenmare Harbour, but it is more likely that they sailed in through Dingle Bay; this is also the opinion of Ó Corráin.[3] However, I would go one step further and suggest that they approached the area from the west rather than the east. They may have sailed down the west coast around the Shannon Estuary to the south-west. Annalistic evidence indicates that Vikings were more active on the west coast than the east coast of Ireland at this time.

In practical terms, if the Vikings had approached the territory via Kenmare Bay then they would have had to cross the MacGillycuddy Reeks which is impossible

[1] Kelly and Maas, 'The Vikings and the kingdom of Laois', 124.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Donnchadh Ó Corráin, 'The Vikings and Iveragh', in John Crowley and John Sheehan (eds), *The Iveragh peninsula: a cultural atlas of the ring of Kerry* (Cork 2009) 141-7: 142.

and/or the Magerton Mountains; though there are some passes across these mountains, I cannot imagine the Vikings hiking across Moll's Gap at this point. However, the record of the encounter in CGG would seem to confirm that they came via Dingle Bay:

> *Is re reimes tra Airtri mic Cathail, ₇ Aodha mic Neill, ro tinnscainset Goill indrad Erenn ar tús, dáigh is nanaimsir sin tangadar Gaill i gCamas ó Fothaid Tíre .i. fiche ar céd long; ₇ ro hindredh leó an tir, ₇ ro hairgedh ₇ ro loiscedh léo Inis Labraind, ₇ Dairinis; ₇ tugsad Eoghanacht Locha Léin cath dóib, ₇ ro marbadh se fir deg ar .cccc. do gallaibh and, .i. an bliadhain ar marbhad Dímain Arad sin, .i. .x. mbliadhna ar nécc Airtri mic Chatail.*
> It was in the time of Artrí, son of Cathal, and of Áed, son of Niall, that the foreigners first began the devastation of Eirinn; for it was in their time the foreigners came into Camas ó Fothaidh Tíre — viz, a hundred and twenty ships, and the country was plundered and devastated by them.
> Inis Labrainne and Dairinis were burned by them.
> And the Eóganacht Locha Léin gave them battle, when four hundred and sixteen men of the Foreigners were killed.
> This was the year after that in which Dímmán of Araid was killed, and ten years after the death of Artrí, son of Cathal.[4]

The placename Cammas hUa Fathaid Tíre, mentioned in the text, was placed by Todd in the barony of Iffa and Offa, Co Tipperary.[5] More recently, Breandán Ó Cíobháin has suggested that it could be Woodstown; a Viking settlement on the river Suir.[6] Hogan was unable definitively to identify Dairinis but agreed that it could be Oak Island in Wexford as suggested by O'Donovan;[7] though it could be be Molana, upriver from Youghal, on the Blackwater as Ó Cíobháin suggests.[8] Ó Corráin proposes that it is a misreading of *Dairbre*, that is Valentia Island (Inis Dairbre), which one must pass on the way into Dingle Bay.[9] Hogan was unsure of Inis Labrainne but suggested that it may mean 'mouth of the river Labrann', which he identified as the river Casheen, Co Kerry.[10] Ó Corráin's has recently shown that Inis Labrainne is Inch, originally an island, but now a townland in the parish of

[4] CGG 4-5.
[5] Ibid.
[6] Ó Cíobháin, '*Cammas hUa Fathaid Tíre* and the Vikings: significance and location', available online at www.savevikingwaterford.com. This suggestion will be examined in Chapter 7.
[7] OG s.n; AFM s.a. 945. All ninth-century annals references are synchronised in Appendix A, for the tenth century, annal references are cited *sub anno*.
[8] Ó Cíobháin, '*Cammas hUa Fathaid Tíre*', 10.
[9] Personal Communication.
[10] OG s.n.

Ballinvoher attached to the mainland, in Dingle Bay.[11] CGG relates that these fleets were challenged by the Eóganacht Locha Léin, and that this all took place the year after the death of Dímmán Arad; his obit occurs in AU 811. This battle also helps to date this section of CGG; other encounters recorded in the text are obviously conflated to some degree, but this account, in particular, demonstrates that it contains some very early (and often unique) annalistic material.

If they entered through Dingle Bay they would have then sailed up the river Laune, through the territory of Corco Duibne, into the lands of Eóganacht Locha Léin. Corco Duibne were subject to this branch of the Eóganacht at the time, and may have proven ready allies in a raid against their overlords, or, at the very least, complacent bystanders. The Vikings were obviously active in the area and may have had some kind of temporary base which allowed them to raid on both sides of the bay; the plundering of Inis Labrainne on the north side and the battle with Eóganacht Locha Lein on the south side. Later in the ninth century, the Vikings were active on the Laune again:

> *Ra brissitar dano Ciarraige ⁊ Eoganacht ⁊ Corco Duibni cath forro oc Lemain. du i torchair Roalt Putrall ⁊ .ccc. immi. ⁊ Smurull*.[12]
> Moreover, Ciarraige, Eóganacht and the Corco Duibne gained another battle over them at Lemain; in which fell Roalt Pudarill, and three hundred with him, and Smuraill.

This is the text of CGG taken from the *Book of Leinster* — and there is some interesting material worthy of note in this version. Victory in the battle on the Laune is attributed to Ciarraighe, Eóganacht Locha Léin and Corco Duibne rather than to Ciarraighe and Corco Bascinn as it is in the TCD and Brussels manuscripts of CGG. The fact that the Laune flows through the territory of the Eóganacht Locha Léin and Corco Duibne suggests that the BL text is correct. CGG chronology is quite confused at this point, but the battle probably occurred sometime between 863-883.

The first record to an actual Viking base in the area dates to *c.*867. They had a base at head of Dingle Bay, in the inner reaches of Castlemaine harbour. Accounts of this camp are not found in the more contemporary annals, but FA §341 records the following:

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[11] Donnchadh Ó Corráin, 'To Chellóc mac Oíbléni: saints and places', in John Carey, Máire Herbert and Kevin Murray (eds), *Cín Chille Cúile: texts, saints and places. Essays in honour of Pádraig Ó Riain* (Aberystwyth 2004) 258-67.
[12] BL 1324.

> *Isin tan so do ronsad Ciarruighe forbaisi for mhuintir an Tomrair sin, ⁊ ar n-attacht dóibh Brénainn ar bhrú an mhara, ⁊ ro bhaoí an Coimdhe ag furtacht dona Gaoidhiolaibh: uair baoí an mhuir og badhad na Lochlannach, ⁊ na Ciarraighe 'ga marbhadh. Congal an seanóir, rí Ciarraighe, rug búaidh isin congail chatha sa. As .uaitheadh tra lomnocht ⁊ gonta tearna dona Lochlannachaib; bá mór n-óir ⁊ airgid ⁊ ban caomh ro fagbhaid ann sin.*
> At this time the Ciarraige besieged the followers of that Tomrar, and since they had prayed to Brénaind at the edge of the sea, the Lord was helping the Irish: for the sea was drowning the Norwegians, and the Ciarraige were slaying them. Old Congal, king of the Ciarraige, took the victory in this conflict. A few of the Norwegians escaped, naked and wounded; great quantities of gold and silver and beautiful women were left behind.

CGG gives us the name of the settlement, Dún Mainne:

> *Ro toglad dna Dun Main i n-iarthur Erend ⁊ co cured ar dermair diasnesi for Gallaib and la Coinligan mac Mail Croin ⁊ la hEoganacht Lacha Lein ⁊ re Flandabrat ua nDunadaigh, ri Ua Conaill ⁊ re Congalach mac Lachtnai, ri Ciaraigi ⁊ la Iartur Erend arcena.*
> Dún Mainne, in the west of Erinn, was demolished, and an extraordinary and indescribable slaughter of the foreigners was effected there by Conlingan, son of Maelcron, and the Eoganacht of Loch Lein, and by Flannabrat, grandson of Dunadach, King of Ui Conaill; and Congalach, son of Lachtna, king of Ciarraighe; and by the whole west of Eirinn [i.e. the people of west Munster].[13]

FA, if it is to be believed, records that they left beautiful women behind after this defeat; although, this may be an eleventh-century embellishment of events, it is possible given AU's account of Áed's attack on the *longphoirt* in 866 where women were also recorded present at similar Viking bases in the north. The identification of this base as Castlemaine was first suggested by Ó Corráin.[14] In the same river valley, upstream from Castlemaine in the townland of Rathmore, Michael Connolly and Frank Coyne have identified a D-shaped enclosure that may have been a *longphort,* they suggest that is mostly likely the site of Dún Mainne.[15] Ó Corráín also drew attention to the alliance of Irish dynasties involved in the attack.[16] Three major dynasties from the region joined forces: Eóganacht Locha Léin, Ciarraige Luachra and Uí Fhidgente, all of which must have been enduring Viking attacks, possible from this base at Dún Mainne. The gathering of the three dynasties implies that it required a significant force to take on the Viking attackers. A base in the area may

[13] CGG 32-3.
[14] Donnchadh Ó Corráin, 'Vikings III: Dún Mainne', *Peritia* 10 (1996) 273.
[15] M. Connolly and F. Coyne, *Underworld: death and burial in Cloghermore cave, Co Kerry* (Bray 2005) 172-3.
[16] Ó Corráin, 'Dún Mainne', 273.

explain how the Irish became familiar with the names of Viking leaders, such as Roalt Pudraill, Sumaril and Tomas Cinn Crete. Marstrander suggests the nick-name Pudraill is from ON *Butralda* which was rare and only found in Iceland,[17] Sumaril he thought was derived from ON *smyrill* (a falcon or kind of hawk),[18] and Todd (quoting O'Donnovan) suggests that Tomas Cinn Crete may have been a Viking who came from Creadan Head, in Co Waterford.[19] I think Tomas is most likely a misreading of the more common Hiberno-Scandinvian name *Tomrar* from ON *Þórir,* perhaps in the corrupt form *Tomar*; these names are not recorded in the annals, but derive from a source that underlies CGG.[20]

In Cloghermore cave, just 13km north-west of Castlemaine harbour, in the townland of Cloghermore, parish of Ballymacelligott and barony of Trughanacmy**,** evidence of ritual activity dating to the early Christian period was discovered. Cloghermore Cave is a complex site, originally it seems ritual activity dates to the eighth century and Connelly and Coyne explain this by a residual pagan Irish community in the area.[21] Significantly, excavation also revealed a second phase that demonstrated evidence of Scandinavian ritual burials (horse burials, cultic practice, animal sacrifice and cremation) in the ninth and tenth centuries.[22] The cave is located within a D-shaped enclosure, inside the cave system excavation concentrated on two chambers, the Two-star Temple and the graveyard as well as the Entrance Gallery.[23] Artefactual evidence from the site comprised items of silver, iron, bone, amber, glass, ivory etc … and the silver hoard, bone combs and ringed pins suggest a date *c*.850-950.[24] The closest parallel for the assemblage is that from Carraig Aille, Lough Gur, Co Limerick, excavated by Seán Ó Ríordáin, a site that has itself evidence of Viking presence — silver hoard and ringed-pins, as well as a possible Viking type 1 house.[25] The ritual nature of deposits suggests that these burials were not the result of combat, the bone assemblage was difficult to assess because of the disarticulated

[17] Marstrander, *Bidrag*, 53.
[18] Ibid., 54; cf. Cleasby, *Icelandic Dictionary*, s.n..
[19] CGG 26-7, fn 12; see HDGP iv, s.n. Ceann Criadáin.
[20] For a discussion of this chronicle behind CGG, its association with the Ciarraige and location at Lismore, see Ní Mhaonaigh, '*Cogad Gaedel re Gallaib* and the annals: a comparison', 121.
[21] Connolly and Coyne, *Underworld: death and burial in Cloghermore cave*, 167.
[22] Ibid. 168.
[23] Ibid. 4.
[24] Ibid. 164.
[25] Connolly and Coyne (ibid. 164), draw attention to the parallels with Carraig Aille; the suggestion that one of the houses at Carraig Aille is a Viking Type 1 house came from Cathy Swift (personal communication). Cf. Seán Ó Ríordáin, 'Lough Gur excavations, Carraig Aille and the "spectacles"', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 52C (1949) 39-111.

nature of the deposits but as many as 43 individuals were interred. Of the nineteen samples of bone and charcoal that were subjected to radio-carbon analysis, ten have produced a calibrated date ranges of *c.*AD 635–900.[26] This range is very similar to the the calibrated radio-carbon dates we have already discussed from Dublin, Truska and Knoxspark, and may support the suggestion that Viking settlement in the area dates to the early to mid-ninth century.

Returning to CGG's account of the first encounter with Eóganacht Locha Léin in 812, which records the arrival of 120 ships. This is very early for such large fleets and Ó Corráin suggests that *.i. 120* looks like a gloss. It is not until 837 that the contemporary annals such as AU record the arrival of 120 ships when 60 went to the Boyne and 60 went to the Liffey, likewise not all of the 120 may have gone to Kerry. The size of fleets and the reliability of the sources is a subject long debated in Viking historiography, from the work of Peter Sawyer and Nicholas Brooks to more the recent work on Irish fleets by Valante, Bradley, Etchingham and Holm.[27] However, CGG was written almost 300 years after the events it narrates and the compliers may have had the benefit of annalistic accounts, so the number may be retrospective. It is not found in the contemporary annalistic accounts. Whatever its source, CGG tells us that 416 of the foreigners were killed, roughly the crew of thirteen ships. This is the first recorded Viking incursion in CGG. On the one hand, CGG could be exaggerating in an attempt to show that early Viking incursions into Munster were formidable and hence all the more glory for later accounts of Dál Cais resistance. But perhaps we have also underestimated the reliability of certain sections of CGG and the size of some of the early fleets. Evidently, it has its foundation in annalistic record of the event, but what is clear is that it is marking the arrival of the Vikings in Munster. It is possible that this information reflects the arrival of a very large fleet, one that divided into two: one fleet to the Nore/Suir and one fleet to Dingle Bay and

[26] M. Connolly and F. Coyne, 'The underworld of the Lee Valley', *Archaeology Ireland* 14.2 (Summer 2000) 8-12; eid. 'Cloghermore cave: the Lee valhalla', *Archaeology Ireland* 14.4 (2000) 16-9. Cf. Connolly and Coyne, *Underworld: death and burial in Cloghermore cave*, 165-6.

[27] Sawyer, *Age of the Vikings*, 12; N.P. Brooks, 'England in the ninth century: the crucible of defeat', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 29 (1979) 1-20; Mary Valante, 'Viking kings and Irish fleets during Dublin's Viking Age', in Bradley et al. (eds), *Dublin in the medieval world*, 73-82; Bradley, 'Some reflections on the problem of Scandinavian settlement', 39-62. Colmán Etchingham, 'Skuldelev 2 and Viking-age ships and fleets in Ireland', in Purcell et al. (eds), *Clerics, kings and Vikings* (forthcoming, 2014); Poul Holm, 'The naval power of the Norse of Dublin', in Purcell et al. (eds), *Clerics, kings and Vikings* (forthcoming, 2014); Holm's analysis of the Irish sources supports Sawyers conservative estimation of fleet sizes.See also an excellent undergraduate third year dissertation by Leigh Dowling 'Viking fleets and Ireland' (2013) School of History, UCC.

the river Laune. Such naval fleets would bring with them a concomitant need for bases on land, in due course some of these bases may have become *longphoirt*.

Indeed, there seems to have been a more complex settlement pattern associated with Dingle Bay (and the Iveragh peninsula as we shall see presently) over the course of the ninth to eleventh century. In the inner reaches of Dingle Bay, along the river Maine was Dún Mainne. The base was destroyed in *c.*867, but we have no idea when it was founded. Did the settlement continue (or re-establish itself) after the Irish attack? In addition, Ó Corráin has drawn attention to the place-name Lonart — a townland on the south shore of Dingle Bay between Glenbeigh and Killorglin — which may reflect the term *longphort*.[28] Connolly and Coyne also discuss Lonart and point out that there is an enclosing bank feature in the landscape; a note in the Ordnance Survey records 'a monument' (KE056-048), described as a 'fortification', situated on a small, ragged, subcircular peninsular headland and consists of what is effectively a D-shaped enclosure. [29] A base at this site would have provided access via the river Laune to territory of Eóganacht Locha Léin. Furthermore, Ó Corráin has shown the existence of Norse or Hiberno-Scandinavian place-names in the west Kerry landscape, pointing to the increased possibility of an extended period of Viking settlement in the area.[30]

East

In 813, AU records the defeat of the men of Umall by the Vikings, this reference has already been discussed in Chatper 4, where it was cited to support the suggestion that the Vikings had a temporary base on the west coast at this time. From 813 there is a gap of seven years when no Viking incursions are recorded in the annals until the plundering of Howth in 821: *Orggan Etir o genntibh; pred mor di mnaibh do brid ass* 'Étar was plundered by the heathens, and they carried off a great number of women into captivity'. What kind of settlement did they plunder on Howth Head? Some have suggested it was a nunnery, but perhaps the annalists simply focussed on the capture of the women and did not record what happened to the men present (if any).[31] Why and where did they take these women? There are a number of

[28] Sheehan et al., 'Viking-age maritime haven: Beginish', 113.
[29] Coyne and Connelly, *Underworld: death and burial in Cloghermore cave*, 173.
[30] Sheehan et al., 'Viking-age maritime haven: Beginish', 113-4.
[31] Charles-Edwards, *Early Christian Ireland*, 69: 'If raiders killed, they were more likely to kill the men but enslave the women'.

possibilities: they took them for the slave-trade, they took back to the homelands, they took them to help establish settlements in the Scottish Isles, and/or they took them to help establish a base somewhere along the east coast of Ireland. The taking of woman for slave-trading formed a considerable aspect of Viking economy.[32] But women were also essential in terms of the establishment of camps and settlements, such as we have seen for the Viking base at South Great George's St in Dublin.

The modern English name for the site, Howth, is derived from Old Norse *hofuð* meaning 'head'. Magnus Oftedal pointed out that a more correct derivation would be form ON *hofði*, found more commonly in Scandinavia; it has a more exact meaning 'a prominent project rocky eminence, usually a steep one, often connected with some larger land feature (mainland, mountain) by a lower and narrower neck'.[33] Anyone familiar with Howth Head knows what an accurate description that is of its physical features. When this name into existence is difficult to determine but, as Mac Giolla Easpaig suggests, it was probably used before the Scandinavians settled in the Dublin region.[34] It must have featured in the earliest descriptions of the entrance to Dublin Bay, as raiders exchanged directions to Dublin. In origin, it is a description and/or a navigational marker; navigational names tell us little about settlement *per se*, their value lies in the fact that in many cases they naturally had their origins in the earliest phase of Viking activity.

However, the Old Norse name was not adopted by the local Irish population; the Old Irish name for the head is Benn Étair and this name continues to be used in the Irish sources throughout the medieval period.[35] Even in the praise poem written by Cináed ua hArtacáin for Amlaíb king of Dublin — he is said to have gained the kingship in Benn Etáir.[36] In some respects, it is similar to the case of Dublin itself, the Irish referred to the settlement as Áth Cliath meaning 'ford of the hurdles' and the Scandinavians called it Dfylin, derived from Dublinn 'black pool'.

South and South-East

[32] Alfred P. Smyth, *Scandinavian York and Dublin: the history and archaeology of two related Viking kingdoms*, (Dublin 1987) 130-3; Holm, 'The slave trade of Dublin, ninth to twelfth centuries', 317-45; Clare Downham, 'The Viking slave trade', *History Ireland* 17.3 (May/June 2009) 15-7.

[33] Oftedal, 'Scandinavian place-names', 131.

[34] Mac Giolla Easpaig, 'L'influence scandinave sur la toponymie irlandaise', 453.

[35] This is one of the earliest attested place-names in Ireland; the simplex Étar is a regular development of the form Anδpou found on Ptolemy's map, see Alan Mac an Bhaird, 'Ptolemy revisited', *Ainm* 5 (1991) 1-20. I am grateful to Dr Kevin Murray for this reference.

[36] In a poem by Cináed ua hArtacáin, *Achaall ar aicce Temair*: Edward Gwynn (ed. and trans.), *The metrical dindshenchas*, vol. ii, Todd Lectures Series 7 (1900) 52-3; *Amlaib Átha Cliath cétaig rogab rígi i mBeind Étair*; 'Amlaíb [Cuarán] is said to have gained the kingship in Benn Etair'.

The 820s are a key period in Viking activity. When the location of raids and subsequent ninth-century settlements are compared, a pattern emerges whereby sites raided in the early part of the century become temporary bases and eventually some of them become more permanent settlements. This is a natural progression. Through raiding and other interactions, the Vikings became familiar with the local landscape, with the workings of Irish society, and with the geo-political structure of Irish kingdoms. This began in earnest in the 820s; they evidently identified the importance of political boundaries and in many cases they chose to establish bases along these borderlands. These were informed decisions, based not just on geographical or topographical concerns and considerations, but on a knowledge and understanding of Irish political divisions and inter-dynastic rivalries. The best-known example is their choice of site on the Liffey, the boundary between Brega and Laigin. The river also marked a greater political divide between Leth Chuinn and Leth Moga. They also made use both of inland river-ways and overland route-ways.

In many cases, as the raids of the 820s show, that they must have had some degree of communication with the local population to acquire valuable information such as to where churches were located (though most of these were visible in the landscape) and where the political divisions lay. In 821, as the raid on Howth demonstrates, the Vikings were very active on east and south-east coasts. In 822, AR and AFM record the plundering of Begerin and Dairinis Cáemáin, both monasteries located in Wexford harbour. The *Tripartite life of Patrick* contains information concerning this event and it adds that the relics of Erdit and Agustín were removed to Sleaty because the pagans had 'taken' the Island:

> *Into Oengus hisin roort inrig iartain Cremtan macc Censelaig dodigail aloingsi. Hishitrichtaib 7 cethrachtaib ataat innacella dorat do Patraic inairther Laigen 7 la Uu Censelaig im Domnach Mór Maigi Criathair 7 im Inis Fáil hita Mochonoc 7 Mochatóc. Erdit 7 Augustin hisindinsi aslaigiu. 7 iarna gabail dogentib hi Slebtiu ascrína atáat*.
> That Oengus afterwards slew the king Cremthann son of Censelach, to avenge his exile. In thirties and forties are the churches which he (Cremthann) gave to Patrick in the east of Leinster and in Húi-Censelaig, including Domnach Mór Maige Criathair and including Inis Fail wherein are My-Conóc and My-Catóc. Erdit and Agustín are in the lesser island, and since it was taken by the pagans their shrines are in Sleibte.[37]

[37] Stokes (ed. and trans.), *Tripartite life of Patrick*, i, 192. Mulchrone, *Bethu Phátraic*, 117.

This suggests that Vikings had taken control of the island in Wexford Harbour which they may have used as a temporary base from which to plunder other monasteries in the vicinity. They were eventually to establish a more permanent base in the area: Wexford is derived from ON *Ueigs-fjörðr* and like the Irish name Loch Garman, it originally applied to the harbour area; *ueig* may mean 'water-logged island or piece of land'.[38]

Many of the locations of these early raids, like Wexford, were later to become more permanent settlements; for example, the first recorded plundering of Cork took place in 822 along with the plundering of a place called Daiminis (CS) and/or Inis Daimhle (AFM/AClon). The arguments regarding the identification of these place-names were discussed in Chapter 3, but once again I think these raids suggest that they had a base somewhere in the south-east, either in Cork harbour or at Waterford. Vikings raid Cork again in 839, but there is no record of a settlement; the first mention of it occurs in CS 848 when we are told: *Dunadh la h-Olcobar do toghail duin Corcaighe for gentibh* 'An encampment was set up by Ólchobur to take the fortress of Corcach from the heathens'.

South West

A temporary base in the south-west may also be inferred from events that surround the plundering of the island hermitage on the Skelligs in 824. AI record: *Eitgal Sceiligg a gentibus raptus est ₇ cito mortuus est fame ₇ siti* 'Étgal of Scelec was carried off by the heathens, and died shortly afterwards of hunger and thirst'. The Skellig islands are located 11.6 km off Bolus Head at the tip of the Iveragh Peninsula. The largest of the two islands is home to the monastic hermitage.[39] Oftedal had mistakenly aruged that *Sceilig* was derived from Old Norse *Skellingar*; Ó Corráin has shown that the name is Irish and found as early as the eighth century, and means 'a rock, crag, reef'; a most apt description.[40] The settlement was originally dedicated to St Fíonán, perhaps, from as early as the sixth century. The dedication to St Michael does not appear in the documentary record until the tenth century.[41] The

[38] Oftedal, 'Scandinavian place-names', 133; Mac Giolla Easpaig, 'L'influence scandinave sur la toponymie irlandaise', 476.
[39] For the layout of the island, see Walter Horn, Jenny White Marshall and Grellan D. O'Rourke, *The forgotten hermitage of Skellig Michael* (Berkeley CA, Los Angeles and Oxford, 1990).
[40] Donncadh Ó Corráin, 'Is Sceillec Old Norse?', *Peritia*, 13 (1999) 310-1.
[41] Horn et al. *The forgotten hermitage*, 10: AFM 950.

earliest reference to the islands is found in the tale of Conall Corc and Corcu Luigde, where Daui, king of West Munster, flees from Óengus, king of Cashel to Skellig and Garinis.[42] Indeed, the Skelligs hold a very special place in Irish historical tradition; according to *Lebor Gabála Érenn*, Ír one of the eight sons of Míl drowned near and was buried there.[43] While LGÉ blames the sorcery of Donn (Ír's brother), *Foras Feasa ar Érinn* maintains that it was a storm at sea caused by the magic of the Túatha Dé Danann which results in the death of Ír.[44]

As discussed above, the Vikings were active in the Dingle Bay/Iveragh Peninsula area from as early as 812. A little more detail about the 824 raid may be gleamed from CGG's account:

> *Tanic dano longes aili ar sain coro innretar Corcaig. ⁊ Inis Temli ⁊ Becherinn ⁊ Cluain Úama. ⁊ Ros Níallain. Et Scelic Míchil Et rucsat Etgal in Scelic leo. i mbrait. conid tre mírbail atrulla úadib. ⁊ ba marb de gortai ⁊ d'íttaid occo hé.*[45]
> There came another fleet after that, and Corcach was plundered, and Inis Temhni; and Beccherinn, and Cluain Uamha, and Ros-niallan. And Skellig Michael, and Etgal of the Skellig was carried off by them into captivity, so that it was by miracle he escaped from them, and he died of hunger and thirst with them.[46]

CGG states that these raids occurred in the second year after Feidlimid mac Crimhthainn became king of Cashel, this would place the raids in 822. Though it can be difficult to date some of the references in CGG, in this instance it is remarkably accurate as it differs only two years from the contemporary annalistic record. In CGG's account, the Vikings plunder Cork and this is supported by record in CS and AFM. As discussed in Chapter 3, Inis Temhni may be Great Island in the estuary of Suir, the Barrow and the Nore as argued by Ní Dhonnchadha or Little Island in Waterford harbour as suggested by Hogan and Ó Murchadha. CS records a raid on Inis Doimle in 825. 'Bennchair' or Bangor found in the Brussels MS of CGG may be a geographical outlier and could be a reference to the Vikings raids on Bangor, Co Down in 823 and 824, but I think Todd was correct when he suggested that it is actually a mis-transcription of 'Becherinn' (the reading from BL). It refers to a raid

[42] Ó Corráin, 'Is Sceillec Old Norse?', 311.
[43] R.A.S. Macalister (ed. and trans.), *Lebor Gabála Érenn: The Book of the Taking of Ireland*, 5 vols, ITS 34-5, 39, 41, 44 (Dublin and London, 1938-56) v, 31, 59, 73, 93, 107. Hereafter abbreviated to LGÉ.
[44] David Comyn and P. S. Dineen (eds), *The history of Ireland by Geoffrey Keating*, 4 vols, ITS 4, 8-9, 15 (London 1902-14) ii, 88-9, 92-3.
[45] BL 1319.
[46] CCG Appendix A, 222-3.

on Begerin in Wexford harbour.[47] As discussed above, AR, AClon, and AFM all record a raid on this island, and more significantly, Viking association with this island is preserved in the tradition recounted above from the *Tripartite life of Patrick*, that when the island was taken by the pagans, the monks moved the relics of Erdit and Augustine to Sleaty.[48] There is no annalistic record of a raid on Cloyne until AFM 888, and there is no documented account of a raid on Rostellan, so it is unique to CGG.

CGG contains a reference to another raid on the Skelligs which is a little more difficult to date:

> *Tanic longes o Lumniuch i ndescert nHerend. ⁊ inriset Scelec Michil ⁊ Inis Fathlind. ⁊ Disiurt Donnain ⁊ Clúain Mór. Coro marbsat Rudgaile mac Trebthaidi. ⁊ Cormac mac Selbaig anchora. is desside ra hoslaic angel fo di ⁊ ros cenglaitis na Gaill cach n-uairi.*
>
> *Ra hinnred leo dano Corcaig. ⁊ (ro losced Ros Ailithri) ⁊ Cind Mara. ⁊ Achad (⁊ Árd) Fera(daig) Tugsat dano descert Herend cath dóib. ⁊ darochair (Clochna rig Corca) ac ⁊ Dondchad mac Amalgada ríg (Eoganacht ua Neit) ac Corcaig ro marbad.*[49]
>
> There came a fleet from Luimnech in the south of Erinn, and they plundered Scelig Micheal, and Inisfallen, and Disert Donnain, and Cluain Mór. And they killed Rudgaile, son of Trebhthaidhe, and Cormac son of Selbach, the anchorite. It was he whom the angel set loose twice, and the foreigners bound him each time.
>
> Moreover, Corcaigh was plundered by them [and Rosscarbery] and Kenmare and Achad and Cahernarry were burned. The south of Erinn also gave them battle and (Clochna king of Corca) fell, and Dondchad son of Amhalgaidh, king (of the Eoganacht Ua Néit) was killed at Cork].[50]

The TCD and Brussels manuscripts of CGG merely note that a fleet arrived in the south of Ireland; but only BL states that these Vikings came from Limerick. In addition to the Skelligs, they raid Inisfallen, Lower Killarney lakes, Dísert Donnáin (unidentified, though Hogan suggests that it was somewhere in Limerick), and Cluain Mór (which both Etchingham and Ní Mhaonaigh suggest may be Cloyne).[51]

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[47] Todd, CGG 222, fn 3.

[48] See above, 114. In the Anglo-Norman period, fitz Stephen was imprisoned and trapped by the Ostmen on the island, A.B. Scott and F.X. Martin (ed. and trans.), *Expugnatio Hibernica: the conquest of Ireland by Giraldus Cambrensis* (Dublin 1978) 84-5; G.H. Orpen (ed), *The Song of Dermot and the Earl: an old French poem about the coming of the Normans to Ireland* (Oxford 1892) ll. 176-9. See also Evelyn Mullaly (ed), *The deeds of the Normans in Ireland: la geste des Engleis en Yrlande* (Dublin 2002).

[49] BL 1322.

[50] CGG Appendix A, 228-9; cf. pp 16-9.

[51] Etchingham, *Viking raids*, 69; Ní Mhaonaigh, '*Cogad Gaedel re Gallaib* and the annals: a comparison', 122.

The context of these raids, the arrival of the large fleets on the Liffey and the Boyne suggests a date post 837. And indeed, they may coincide with the plundering of Cork recorded in the annals for 839, though there is no reference in the annals to the plundering of Rostellan, Kenmare, Achad,[52] and Cahernarry; all of these are unique to CGG.[53] Ó Corráin dates these events to 840s and argues once again that the Vikings came via Dingle Bay.[54] I was unable to identify Rudgal, son of Trebtade; though the name is not a common one, it is found twice in the genealogies of two branches of the Ciarraige.[55] Ní Mhaonaigh suggests that Cormac, son of Selbach, the anchorite, was of the Uí Shelbaig of Cork.[56] These records from CGG provide unique references to Viking activity in the south-west. Consequently, Ní Mhaonaigh has argued the compilers of the saga may have had access to a chronicle that was originally kept at Lismore.[57]

But why did the Vikings raid the Skelligs in the first place? The 824 raid raises a number of interesting questions, particularly for anyone who has made the perilous landing on the island and ascended the steep steps of the monastic hermitage. Dumville suggests that it may have been the Viking sense of adventure and high levels of male testosterone that made them see the attack on the island as a challenge.[58] What were they looking for when they attacked the Skelligs? Why did they go to all that trouble — travailing the rough seas with the added difficulty of landing on the island — making the perilous ascent up the steep face of the rock?[59] Why, when there were more accessible targets dotted along the south coast of the mainland? On this island hermitage did they really expect to collect wealthy artefacts and shrines? Did they expect a hidden stash of food reserves? Or, was there so little there in terms of portable wealth that the only possible way to recoup their efforts was to attempt to ransom Étgal? Did they deliberately attack the monastery in order to take him hostage? Had they an expectation of ransom? The hermitage is not

[52] This could be *Achad Aible* in Corcu Loígde near Dunmanway, Co Cork, and the death of Clochna king of this dynasty may add weight to this suggestion: OG. s.n.; equally, it could be *Cell Achaid Coinchinn*, 'Killagh Abbey' in townland / parish of Kilcolman, barony of Trughanacmy, Co Kerry.
[53] See above.
[54] Ó Corráin, 'The Vikings and Iveragh', 144.
[55] M.A. O'Brien (ed.),*Corpus genealogiarum Hiberniae* (Dublin 1962), 314: *Rudgal m. Comdellaich m. Bāeth* [161 a 21]; 296, *Ruidgal m. Sētnai Thōmmāin m. Scandlāin* [159 b 23]
[56] Ní Mhaonaigh, '*Cogad Gaedel re Gallaib* and the annals: a comparison', 123.
[57] Ibid. 120.
[58] David N. Dumville, *The churches of North Britain in the first Viking-age* (Whithorn 1997) 11.
[59] Horn et al., *The forgotten hermitage*, 7 There were three landing places on the island, which one was used was usually determined by the prevailing winds.

actually visible from sea, so either they saw smoke from cooking, or more likely, they learned of the site during the course of raiding elsewhere in the area. Daphne Pochin Mould has recently suggested that the island was not as barren or as austere as we may imagine and that the monks would have had a plentiful supply of food from the sea and quite possibly from bird-catching, and this may have been what attracted the Vikings to the site.[60] Though the drive for the establishment of this early Christian hermitage was probably isolation, the site is not as isolated as it might first appear. It is situated in what was to become a busy sea-lane for the Vikings between Limerick and Cork. As discussed above, there is plenty of evidence from the early ninth century for Viking activity around Dingle Bay and the Iveragh Peninsula. Further archaeological evidence for Viking settlement comes from Beginish Island, Co Kerry, which Michael Kelly excavated in the 1950s. The excavation report and site have subsequently been re-examined by Sheehan, Stummann-Hansen and Ó Corráin. They conclude that the site was a Hiberno-Scandinavian settlement with two distinct phases: one focused on the tenth century, and the second on the eleventh/early-twelfth century. Furthermore, they suggest that the site may have operated as a way-station between the Viking towns of Limerick and Cork. [61]

The Étgal of the 824 raid on the Skelligs cannot be identified in the surviving genealogical record. If Étgal were connected to the local dynasty of Corcu Duibne, then perhaps they were ransoming him to a local king rather than back to the monastery. Did someone inform them that Étgal was worth taking? Were they colluding with the Irish even at this very early stage as they were to do in 842 when the Abbot of Linn Duachaill was killed by the Vikings and the Irish?[62] Interaction is implicit in this raid; they must have learned of the site, and quite possibly the potential value of taking Étgal, when plundering other monasteries in the area. More importantly, if you take someone hostage with the intention to ransom them, in order to conduct negotiations you must remain somewhere in the vicinity of the monastery itself or within adequate distance to communicate with the local dynasty who patronised the settlement. Thus, this was not a simple hit-and-run raid. It infers a temporary base somewhere in the region; this need not be land-based as Viking

[60] Daphne Pochin Mould, 'The fat monks of the Skelligs Rocks', *Mizen Journal* 12 (2004) 31-41.
[61] Sheehan et al., 'A Viking-Age maritime haven', 109.
[62] AU 842: *Comman, abbas Linne Duachail, do guin ⁊ loscadh o genntibh ⁊ Goidhelaibh* 'Comán, abbot of Linn Duachaill, was fatally wounded and burned by heathens and Irish'.

regularly used their ships as bases and indeed it is often recorded that captives died 'at the ships of the foreigners'.

Of more interest is the fact that some degree of communication was necessary in order to ransom church and/or secular leaders. The Vikings must have been able to negotiate the terms and conditions of the ransom, and they must have remained present in the vicinity for some days in order to expedite such deals (though in Étgal's case it was unsuccessful). *The Life of St Findan of Rheinau* gives an account of one such ransom negotiation; the Life dates to the ninth century, shortly after Findan's death.[63] The Vikings raid and kidnap a group of women, amongst them Findan's sister. Findan is dispatched by his father with a sum of money. We are told that he took some followers with him (presumably for protection) but more importantly he also took an interpreter (*comitibus pariter et interprete*).[64] The interpreter could presumably speak Old Norse well enough to negotiate between the two sides. It seems his followers did not offer much protection as Findan himself is captured by the Vikings. He is brought to their ships moored offshore, where he is chained for at least two days without food or water. The foreigners hold a conference; some of them object that those who have come for the purpose of ransoming, should not be held captive and Findan is released. They take the women; whether they knew that one of them was Findan's sister is irrelevant. They had a base, or at the very least their ships were moored in the one spot, for a few days. St Findan was later captured for a second time by the Vikings; indeed, they were assisted by Irish enemies of the saint. I am not attempting to attach any historical veracity on this story of the life of St Findan, but it does lend an insight in to such negotiations, and provides an interesting analogy for the taking of Étgal from the Skelligs in 824.

In many cases, we only hear of the ransom situations that went wrong — many successful negotiations probably went unrecorded. There are references in the ninth-century to the taking of secular or clerical individuals. Etchingham notes that of the eleven clerics captured, four died or were killed, while seven survived.[65] I am particularly interested in those captures of high-status clerical and secular individuals that took place relatively early in the ninth century, before 850. In 832, Tuathal was

[63] Ní Mhaonaigh, 'Friend and foe', 392-3.
[64] 'Vita Findani', 148 and 156.
[65] Etchingham, *Viking raids*, 40.

taken from Donaghmoyne, Co Monaghan along with the relics of Adomnán; at the time of his death in AU 850 he is said to be abbot of Durrow and Rechru. The Columbans were not the only ones to suffer at the hands of the Vikings. AU 845 records that Forannán of Armagh was captured in Cluain Comarda (Cloncowardy, Co Limerick) and taken to the Viking ships at Limerick. He was alive and well the following year (AU 846) when he brought the halidoms of Patrick out of Munster. In the case of two clerics, Tuathal and Forannán, we know that they survived their encounters with the Vikings. Whether they escaped or they were ransomed is not made clear. Escape from the Vikings seems to become a literary or hagiographical motif and a saint may do it more than once, like Findan, Cormac of the Uí Shelbaig escaped twice but the Vikings recaptured him each time. Todd points out that the details of Étgal's death are confused in BL and that it might represent the conflation of two accounts; however, I think the original meaning, following the hagiographical motif, is that Étgal managed to escape but was recaptured and it was then 'he died at their hands of hunger and thirst'.[66]

North and East

Annalistic accounts of Viking raids, and particularly the recent tendency to demarcate annal entries, compound the impression that they were individual or isolated raids. One of the great benefits of Byrnes and Doherty's maps of Viking Ireland is that when these raids are mapped, it becomes clear that many were part of raiding expeditions which must have required some degree of planning and organisation. This is especially evident in the 820s along the north and the east coasts: the raids follow a clear geographical pattern. Where were they getting their information from? Did they simply set out and follow the visibility of monastic settlements in the landscape? In AU 823, we have the first of three raids on Bangor, Co Down: *Gentiles inuaserunt Bennchur Mor* 'Heathens invaded Bennchor the great'. The vocabulary used by the Irish annals merits further comparative study, to see whether there is a correlation between what verbs are used and what happened during the attack. For example, does *inuaserunt* mean that they literally invaded the settlement rather than just plundered it (*orgain*). Again, a digital concordance of the Irish annals would facilitate such analysis. AI adds that they broke the shrine of

[66] Todd, CGG Appendix A, 223, fn 1.

Comgall and put holy men to the sword. AU, in recording this event the following year (824), specifies that the relics were taken from the shrine.[67] Did they remove the relics of the saint before taking the more valuable shrine to be exchanged or broken up for ornamentation or melting? Or did they understand the importance of the relics to the local monastic community? The early 820s point to a change in behaviour. The Vikings raid further inland, and they put sites like Bangor and the surrounding monastic settlements under serious pressure. This might indicate that they had a temporary base somewhere in the region from which they launched raids on monastic settlements. In 825, they plundered Downpatrick. Next, Movilla is burned along with its oratories.[68] Subsequently, the Ulaid go on the offensive and defeat the heathens in Mag nInis in which many of them were killed.[69] This attack is in revenge for the raids on Bangor, Downpatrick and Movilla, but it is also an attempt to pre-empt an attack on Armagh. It is noticeable that the Ulaid were one of the first Irish dynasties to inflict defeat on the Vikings in 811.

Is the sequence of raids and encounters in 823-825 enough to suggest a base in the region at this early date? Or, is it evidence of seasonal raids on the same locations two years in a row? The Vikings were to establish a *longphort* in Strangford Lough in 842; the precise location of this camp is unknown, though the most recent commentator Rosemary McConkey suggests that it is possible that it was located at Strangford village at the mouth of the Lough.[70] An alternative location, also discussed by McConkey, is somewhere in the vicinity of Ballyholme, where, in the early part of the nineteenth century, a female Viking burial was found.[71] Ó Floinn has suggested that this burial dates to the late ninth century and may even have been a boat burial.[72] Most interesting perhaps is a reference from the tenth century which suggests the Vikings used islands within the lough as a base AU 942, *Dún Lethglaisi do arcain do Ghallaib. Do-rigal Dia ₇ Patraic forru; tuc Gaillu dar muir coro gabsat a n-insi forru co n-erlai in ri coro marbsat Goidil for tir*. This entry implies that the Vikings held an island in the Lough, other Vikings came and plundered it, but their

[67] AI 823: *Indred Bennchoir o gentib ₇ scrín Chomgaill do brissiud doib ₇ a suíd ₇ a h-epscoip do thecht fo gin claidib*; AU 824 *Orggain Benncair ac Airtiu o gentibh ₇ coscradh a derthagi ₇ reilgi Comghaill do crothadh asa scrin*.
[68] AU 825: *Slat Duin Lethglaisi du genntib: Loscuth Maighi Bile cona derthigib o ghentibh.*
[69] AU 825: *Roiniudh i m-Maigh Inis re n-Ultaibh for gennti in quo ceciderunt plurimi*.
[70] Thomas McErlean, Rosemary McConkey and Wes Forsythe, *Strangford Lough: an archaeological survey of the maritime cultural landscape* (Belfast 2002) 87.
[71] Ibid.
[72] Ó Floinn, 'Archaeology of early Viking age', 146-7.

leader escaped and was slain by the Irish. The full meaning of this entry is better understood by AFM:

> *Dún Lethíglaisi do orgain lá mac Raghnaill cona Ghallaibh. Ro díoghail Dia 7 Pattraicc a t-traitte an gníomh-sin fair, uair tángattar Goill dar muir go ro ghabhsat ina n-insi forra, co n-erla mac Raghnaill, a t-toiseach, go ro ghabh tír. Ro marbhadh é lá Madudhán lá righ n-Uladh ria c-cind sechtmaine iarsan orccain a n-eineach Phattraicc*.
> Dun-Leathghlaise was plundered by the son of Raghnall and his foreigners. God and Patrick quickly took vengeance of him for this deed, for foreigners came across the sea, and attacked them on their island, so that the son of Raghnall, their chief, escaped to the main land; he was killed by Madudhan, King of Ulidia, in revenge of Patrick, before the end of a week after the plundering.[73]

This is not to suggest continuity between the ninth and the tenth century as it is possible that they had many bases within the Lough; however, the 823-825 references suggests that they may have had a presence there since the early ninth-century.[74]

Gaill ind Airthir

Etchingham and Maas/Kelly have suggested independently that there may have been Viking bases in Ireland from the late 820s and suggest one on the coast of Wicklow and one on the coast of Brega respectively.[75] I want to examine the possibility here that the Vikings may have had more than one base on the east coast in the 820s. Maas and Kelly have raised the possibility that they established bases as early as the mid- to late 820s and they suggests one such base may have established on the modern-day Co Louth/Co Meath coast (Brega).[76] Maas draws attention to the record of the Vikings killing porpoises off the coast of Brega in AU 828:

> *Mucar már di muccaibh mora i n-airer n-Ardde Ciannachta o Gallaibh, 7 martre Temhnen anchorat.*
> A great slaughter of porpoises on the coast of Ard Cianachta by the foreigners; and the violent death of the anchorite Teimnén.

[73] AFM 940.9.
[74] Barnes et al. *Runic inscriptions*, 2, reject the identification of inscriptions on a grave slab from Nendrum, on Mahee Island in Strangford Lough as runic.
[75] Etchingham, 'Scandinavian settlement in Wicklow', 113-4; Kelly and Maas, 'The Vikings and the kingdom of Laois', 124.
[76] Kelly and Maas, 'The Vikings and the kingdom of Laois', 124.

and suggests that they had a seasonal base in the area.[77] Ard Ciannachta is represented by the modern-day barony of Ferrard, roughly from Annagassan to the Boyne estuary. However, if we examine the annalistic entries in a little more detail, I think that something more permanent is present in the region in the 820s. Attention may be drawn to one entry in AU from the previous year:

> *Orggan Luscan do genntib ₇ a loscadh, ₇ innreadh Ciannachta co rici Ochtar n-Ugan, ₇ organ Gall ind Airthir olchena*.

The plunder of the Vikings of *Int-Airther* seems to imply a place-name rather than a geographical description as is the usual translation of this entry. Mac Airt and Mac Niocaill in their edition of AU translate it as 'Lusca was plundered by the heathens and burned; and Ciannachta was invaded as far as Uachtar Ugán; and also a plundering of the foreigners of the East'.[78] Charles-Edwards in his reconstructed *Chronicle of Ireland* translates this entry as 'Lusca is sacked by *gennti* and burnt, and the Ciannacht are invaded as far as Óchtar Ugán; and the Gaill of the East are also plundered'.[79] William Hennessy, in his edition of AU, translates it as 'i.e. the Gaill (or Foreigners) of the eastern part of Meath'.[80] To date, this phrase has been largely overlooked in discussions of this early period of Viking raids, perhaps, because the concept of a settled band of Vikings (even if only in a temporary base) has not been sufficiently considered. Bradley is the first person to address this entry directly; he associates this base with that referred to in *Félire Oengusso* as Inber Domnann, identifed as the mouth of the Malahide river.[81] However, I think the 827 reference implies that the Gaill ind Airthir were based north rather than south of Lusk.

Identification of the location of these *Gaill* might be possible if we could identify more precisely *Óchtar Ugán*. Hogan infers from the annal that it was 'in Ciannachta Breg, or a boundary of it'.[82] It is not possible that it refers to an early settlement at Dublin, because if they plundered Lusk and invaded Ciannacht it would appear that they were heading northwards — away from, rather than towards, Dublin. Later in 852, AU records:

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[77] Ibid. 149, fn 4.
[78] MacAirt and Mac Niocaill, AU.
[79] Charles-Edwards, *Chronicle of Ireland*, 285.
[80] Hennessy, *Annals of Ulster*, 323, fn 12.
[81] Bradley, 'Hinterland of Dublin', 51-2.
[82] OG s.n.

> *Ar di Gallaibh oca naib insibh Airthir Breg 7 ar aile uc Raith Aldain la Ciannacht in uno mense*.
> A slaughter was inflicted on the foreigners at the islands of eastern Brega, and another slaughter of them at Ráith Alláin by the Ciannacht in the same month.

This implies that the Vikings held the islands off the coast of north Co Dublin and Co Meath, possible contenders might be Lambay and/or St Patrick's island.

Bands of Vikings attacking other Viking bands was not uncommon, but the 827 reference appears to imply or identify the Foreigners with the eastern part of Ireland in a very specific way. The 827 entry is significant for another related reason; two terms are used to refer to the Vikings. *Gennti* is used for the heathens who raided Lusk and the Ciannachta, whereas the other Vikings of the East are referred to as *Gaill*. This is the first attested use of *Gaill* to refer to the Vikings.[83] Is this use of terminology significant? Is the annalist attempting to draw a distinction between the *Gaill* (with whom he is somewhat familiar) and the *Gennti*, a new band of heathens who have come to raid? Who were the *Gaill*? Were they a settled band of Vikings? Why the designation 'foreign' instead of 'heathen'? Whether they had a base on the east coast or not, the annalist was attempting to distinguish between two bands of Vikings operating in the area. It is possible that *gennti* were raiders from the Scandinavian homelands and the *Gaill* were Scandinavians who had been living in Ireland, or were from other Scandinavian colonies within the Irish Sea province (for example, the Northern Isles). This would fit with Ó Corráin's identification of Lochlainn as an early Viking kingdom based in Scotland and the Isles.[84] Interestingly, such a diverse mix is suggested by the oxygen isotope analysis from the Viking burials at South Great George's Street and Ship Street which indicates that two warriors may have originated in Scandinavia and that two others were probably from somewhere within British Isles; Simpson suggests the western coast of Scotland.[85]

The entries from 827 and 828 make clear that the Vikings were making inroads into Ciannachta. As mentioned above, in 828 AU records that they took the anchorite Temnén and that they slaughtered porpoises off the coast. This is clear

[83] See also Ó Murchadha, 'Nationality names in the Irish annals', 49-70.
[84] Ó Corráin, 'The Vikings in Scotland and Ireland in the ninth century', 323-324. As mentioned in Chapter 4, more recent research stresses that there is no archaeological evidence extant to support the theory that the Scottish Isles were settled before AD 800; see summary in Barrett, 'What caused the Viking age?', 674.
[85] Simpson, 'Viking warrior burials', 11.

evidence that they were fishing and hunting in the area. Were these the very 'foreigners of the East' who were attacked by heathens the previous year? Hunting for porpoises could be to feed a hungry fleet after a long journey or it could be the actions of a band of warriors attempting to feed their base camp. Etchingham suggests that Temnén may have belonged to one of the churches recorded as plundered in the following entry:

> *Guin Cinaedha m. Cumuscaigh, ri Ardde Ciannachtae, o Gallaibh; ₇ loscadh Lainne Leire ₇ Cluana Moer o Gallaibh.*
> The mortal wounding of Cináed son of Cumuscach, king of Ard Cianachta, by the foreigners; and Lann Léire and Cluain Mór were burned by them.[86]

Clearly, the entries discussed above indicate that the Vikings had a strong presence somewhere in Ard Ciannachta in the first quarter of the ninth-century, and this more than likely was in the form of one or more temporary bases somewhere along the coast.

Wicklow bases

The evidence of Viking activity further south on the east coast, around modern day Co Wicklow, shows many similarities with that discussed above for Brega. There are hints that they may have had a base somewhere in the area from *c*.827 when AU records:

> *Cosradh dunaidh Laighen do gentibh ubi ceciderunt Conall m. Con Congalt, rex na Fortuath, et alii innumirabiles.*
> An encampment of the Laigin was overwhelmed by the heathens, and Conall son of Cú Chongalt, king of the Fortuatha, and countless others fell there.

AFM relates that this event took place at Druim (unidentified), but even if we could identify the place, the entry is conflated.[87] Though AU does not specify the location of this *dúnad*, the involvement of the king of Fortuath (Uí Garrchon dynasty) gives us some idea. Etchingham points out that this dynasty had long been confined to coastal area of Wicklow between Newcastle and Ennereilly.[88] As we shall see below, the Vikings from Inber nDée plundered Kildare in 836.[89] This is clear evidence that

[86] AU 828.
[87] AFM 827: *Coscradh Dunaidh Laighean i n-Druim la Geintibh, du in ro marbhadh Conaing, mac Con Congelt, tigherna na f-Forthuath co sochaidhibh ile*.
[88] Etchingham, 'Scandinavian settlement in Wicklow', 114; see also Kelly and Maas, 'Vikings and the kingdom of Laois', 149.
[89] *Ceall Dara do orgain do gentib o Inbir Deae ₇ ro l-loscad a leth na cille*.

they had a base in the area; whether the site is identified as Arklow or Wicklow is irrelevant for the moment.[90] I think there are hints of a sustained presence in the area starting with the 827 encounter at 'Dúnadh Laighen'. Also of some significance is the coin-hoard from Delgany, on the coast just north of Wicklow town, with a deposition date of *c.*830; it is one of the earliest dated hoards and contains 115 Anglo-Saxon coins and one papal one.[91] It is a wonderful example of cross-channel Viking activity, with the Vikings active in Anglo-Saxon England in the early part of the ninth century taking their newly acquired treasure/loot/tribute to Ireland. Many years ago, Bradley drew attention to a reluctance to associate hoards with settlements in Ireland as is generally the case with similar material in Viking-Age Scotland; that question has yet to be fully addressed but it is worth noting nonetheless.[92]

Other archaeological evidence from Wicklow includes material which suggests two Viking burials. A Viking sword dated to the ninth century was discovered at a site north of Wicklow town known as the Morragh; it is not possible to refine the date further.[93] Ó Floinn has pointed out that the decoration of the hilt is unique amongst the corpus of Irish swords and that the closest parallel is found on a late Anglo-Saxon sword pommel of ninth-century date from the Seine.[94] There is also some evidence which suggests a female burial at Three Mile Water (south of Wicklow town); again the date range for this burial is quite broad from the tenth to the early eleventh century.[95] Etchingham suggests that it probably dates to before the mid-tenth century, i.e. before Christianisation of the Norse of Dublin.[96]

The Vikings continued to be active on the east coast as AU 828 records:

> *Cathroinedh .ii. for gennti re Coirpri m. Cathail rí H. Ceinnselaig ₇ re muinntir Tighe Mundu.*
> Another battle-rout was inflicted on the heathens by Cairpre son of Cathal, king of Uí Cheinnselaig, and by the community of Tech Munnu.

[90] For discussion of this place-name, see below 134.
[91] R.A. Hall, 'A check list of Viking-Age coin finds from Ireland', *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* 36-37 (1973-74) 71-86: 71.
[92] Bradley, 'Interpretation of Scandinavian settlement', 49.
[93] Johs Bøe, *Norse antiquities in Ireland*, in Haakon Shetelig (ed.) *Viking antiquities in Great Britain and Ireland*, 6 vols, (Oslo 1940-1954) iii, 83-4.
[94] Raghnall Ó Floinn, 'Two Viking burials from Co Wicklow', in Christian Corlett and Aidan O'Sullivan (eds), *Wicklow Archaeology and History*, 1 (1998) 29-35: 30.
[95] Bøe, *Norse Antiquities*, 73-74; George Coffey, 'A pair of brooches and chains of the Viking period recently found in Ireland', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 32 (1902) 71-73; Ó Floinn, 'Two Viking burials', 29-35.
[96] Etchingham, 'Scandinavian settlement in Wicklow', 118.

This is possibly in retaliation for the raids which CGG records occurred at Tech Munnu (Taghmon, Co Wexford), Tech Moling (St Mullins, Co Carlow) and Inis Teóc (Inistioge).[97] These are all monastic settlements located along the Nore/Barrow. Again, though there is a danger in over-interpreting the evidence, we know that at the end of the ninth century the Vikings probably had some kind of base at Tech Moling; AFM 892 relates that Riagán, son of Dúngal, won a battle over the foreigners of Port Láirge, Loch Carman, and Tech Moling. I am not suggesting that they had a permanent base or presence there throughout the ninth century, but there is an element of geographical continuity between some of these early raids and the location of later bases. The significance of the 828 encounter is that the Vikings were defeated by Uí Cheinnselaig and the community of Tech Munnu. The community of Tech Munnu, like the community of Armagh in 831 (to be discussed below), were actively involved in defending themselves. To an extent, these entries in the late 820s may indicate that these communities had suffered previous attacks from the Vikings and that they now had some understanding of what they were dealing with, and more importantly, how to counter-act the Vikings.

830s

The records from the 830s bear witness to a concentration of Viking attacks on the larger monasteries; they clearly knew where the real wealth in Ireland lay. Interactions over the previous years had given them a solid knowledge and understanding of the geography of the country, its inland waterways and route-ways. There is a slight respite from raids in 829 and 830, then in 831 AU relates:

> *Indred Conaille do genntibh co n-arrgabad Mael Brighti a r-ri, ₇ Canannan a brathair, ₇ co ructha i l-longa.*
> The *gennti* harried the Conailli, and Máel Brigte, their king, was taken prisoner, together with Canannán, his brother, and they were taken to the ships.

Again, we see the taking of the high-status individuals presumably for the purposes of ransom, brought to the ships to await negotiations. The taking of high-status individuals was also symbolically significant — it was an effective means to induce submission; by taking Irish kings they were disempowering the local population. AU 831 records:

[97] CGG 7-9.

> *Cath do madhmaim i n-Aighnechaib re genntib for muinntir n-Airdd Machae co n-arrgabtha sochaide móra diib.*
> The heathens defeated the community of Ard Macha in a battle at Aignecha, and great numbers of them were taken captive.

It seems that the community of Armagh were on the offensive, though ultimately losing to the heathens at Carlingford Lough. Though it was an unsuccessful move, it hints at a complex set of circumstances; clearly the community had heard of the arrival of the Vikings in the area and, rather than wait to be attacked, they took the initiative. Did the Vikings have a camp in the area? Or, did they meet a roving band of Vikings on the march? Where the heathens impinging on Armagh's territory and ancillary lands, not necessarily on the monastic/ecclesiastical settlement itself? Doherty suggests that Carlingford was Armagh's coastal port.[98] Holm notes that the first grand inland operation from the Boyne to Armagh occurred in 831-32 where prisoners are taken.[99] He points out that hit-and-run operations could not possibly be effective slave raids, but were certainly very successful when it came to the taking of portable wealth like church treasures and the pressing of ransom payments.[100] It could very well be that Armagh was reacting to Viking presence at Carlingford Lough and to Viking attempts to gain a foothold in surrounding lands.

Viking reaction was quick and strong. After the battle at Carlingford, they plundered the monastery of Armagh three times in one month the following year.[101] Again this raises the question as to what they plundered? What did they take? Archaeological evidence from Scandinavian homelands, in particular the western coast of Norway, testifies to the fact that many of these raids resulted in the procurement of booty: the taking of ecclesiastical metal work and ornamentation which were often refashioned as personal decorations.[102] As Ó Corráin has pointed out, as wealthy as Armagh was, it could not possibly have replaced its material goods so quickly.[103] Some of the community itself may have been taken for slave-trading but the frequency of these raids suggests a base in the vicinity, a base established and supplied on the back of looting the monastery. They must have taken foodstuffs (such as cattle and grain) and perhaps even forced labour. Carlingford, with its

[98] Doherty, 'Exchange and trade in early medieval Ireland', 80.
[99] Holm, 'Slave trade', 319.
[100] Ibid. 322.
[101] *Cétna orggain Airdd Machae o genntib fo tri i n-oen-mhís.*
[102] Egon Wamers, 'Insular finds in Viking-Age Scandinavia and the state formation of Norway', in Clarke et al. (eds), *Ireland and Scandinavia*, 37-72.
[103] Ó Corráin, 'Ireland, Scotland and Hebrides', 84.

known Viking base in the 840s, is the scene of a significant battle between the Dubgeinnte and Findgeinnte in 852.[104] Whatever distinction the annalists are attempting to make between the different bands of Vikings, it is clear that the Findgeinnte had a base in Carlingford Lough, and the evidence suggests that they may have had since the early 830s.

Carlingford is again quite interesting, Oftedal suggests it is ON *Kerlingafjörðr* 'fjord of the hags' and gets its name from the Three Nuns, three mountain stacks visible as you enter the mouth of the Lough. He posits an Irish form Loch na gCaillech which was then translated into Old Norse.[105] Mac Giolla Easpaig disagrees and argues that the form is of independent Old Norse origin;[106] as he points out, it is one of a number of ON place-names in the region, the two most important being Strangford, which the Vikings called *Strangfjörðr* ('strong or rapid fiord') and Larne which the Vikings referred to as *Úlfreksfjörðr* ('Ulfrekr's fiord'). Mac Giolla Easpaig puts forward a more interesting origin; he suggests that the Irish name Inber nOllarba may have been adapted into ON as **Ollarvafjörðr* and through a series of changes became *Úlfreksfjörðr*.[107] Regardless of derivation, it is clear that there was a significant level of interaction between the Irish and the Vikings for this kind of mutual linguistic understanding to occur. As we will discuss further in Chapter 6, there is documentary and archaeological evidence to support Viking settlement at these sites in the ninth-century. As always, there is the question of the date of the place-names, but like the material examined for Dingle and the Iveragh Peninsula, it suggests a sustained Viking presence in the region.

In 832, the Vikings raid a number of church settlements: *Orggain Mucshnama ₇ Lughmaidh ₇ Oa Meith ₇ Droma moccu Blae ₇ ala n-aile ceall* 'The plundering of Mucnám, Lugbad, Uí Méith, Druim Moccu Blae, and other

[104] *Lucht ocht .xxit long di Fhindgentibh do-roachtadur du cath fri Dubgennti do Shnamh Aighnech; .iii. laa ₇ .iii. aithchi oc cathugud doaib act is re n-Duibhgennti ro m-meabaidh co farggabsat a ceile a l-longa leu. Stain fugitiuus euasit ₇ Iercne decollatus iacuit*. For recent scholarship see Alfred P. Smyth, 'The black foreigners of York and the white foreigners of Dublin', *Saga-Book* 19 (1974-77) 101-17; David N. Dumville, 'Old Dubliners and new Dubliners in Ireland and Britain', in Seán Duffy (ed.), *Medieval Dublin* VI (Dublin 2005) 78-93; Colmán Etchingham, 'Laithlinn, "fair foreigners" and "dark foreigners": the identity and provenance of Vikings in ninth-century Ireland', in Sheehan and Ó Corráin (eds), *The Viking age: Ireland and the west*, 80-8; Clare Downham, 'Viking identities in Ireland: it's not all black and white', in Seán Duffy (ed.), *Medieval Dublin* XI (2011) 185-201.

[105] Oftedal, 'Scandinavian place-names in Ireland', 132-3.

[106] MacGiolla Easpaig, 'L'influence scandinave sur la toponymie irlandaise', 472-73.

[107] Ibid. 474.

churches'.[108] When the location of these sites is plotted on a map of Ireland (as Byrne and Doherty have done), we can follow the pattern of this raiding expedition. What may seem at first appearance to be isolated raids actually make more sense interpreted as expeditions, not just single raids. In 832, Duleek was plundered and Ailill son of Colgu was taken prisoner by the Vikings. The first named Viking leader in the annals is *Saxolb*, killed by the Ciannachta in 837. Ó Corráin points out that this is a careful and accurate Irish rendering of *Sǫxulfr*.[109] Byrne has recently argued that this suggests the Irish and the Vikings were on speaking terms.[110] The raids on Lusk and Ciannachta in 827, and the killing of porpoises off the coast in 828 were discussed above. In 837, the annals simply tell us that Saxolb was killed by the Ciannachta but CGG specifies that he was killed by the Uí Cholgan.[111] This killing was probably not just revenge for the extensive plundering of Brega at the hands of the large fleets which had arrived in 837, but perhaps also for the plundering of Duleek (837), and even perhaps belated revenge for the taking of Ailill. Only sustained contact between the Irish and the Vikings could facilitate the accurate rendering of the name Saxolb. Some years later, the Ciannachta were also amongst the first of the Irish dynasties to form alliances with the foreigners: in 850, Cináed son of Conaing rebelled against Máel Sechnaill, king of Mide, with the aid of the foreigners plundering Mide and raiding the oratory of Trevet and the oratory of Nurrach.[112] The question remains as to why CGG alone specifies Uí Cholgan? Was it working from an additional source with more detail? Or, did the compiler of CGG simply infer that it was Uí Cholgan because they were of Ard Ciannachta?

The last entry in AU for 832 records: *Orggain Ratha Luraigh ₇ Connire o genntibh* 'Ráith Luraig and Connaire were plundered by the heathens'. The Vikings seemed to have maintained a presence for some time in area as the first entry in following year relates: *Roiniudh re Niall ₇ re Murcadh for Gallu i n-Daire Calgaidh* 'Niall and Murchad routed the foreigners in Daire Calgaig'. These sites are located

[108] AFM records this as follows: *Orgain Lughmhaidh, ₇ Mucshnamha, ₇ Ua Meith, ₇ Droma mic h-ua Blae, ₇ aroile cealla archena leó beos. Tuathal, mac Feradhaigh, do bhreith do Ghallaibh leo, ₇ scrín Adhamhnáin ó Domhnach Maighen* 'The plundering of Lughmhadh and Mucshnamh, and Ui Meith, and Druim Mic hUa Blae, and of other churches, by them also … Tuathal, son of Fearadhach, was carried off by the foreigners, and the shrine of Adamnan from Domhnach Maighen'.

[109] Donnchadh Ó Corráin, 'Old Norse and medieval Irish: bilingualism in Viking-Age Dublin', in Bradley et al. (eds), *Dublin in the medieval world*, 63-72: 63.

[110] Byrne, 'The Viking-Age', 612.

[111] BL 1322.

[112] AU 850 and CS 850 only witness to the plundering of Nurrach, unidentified.

further north in Derry. These Norse/Irish interactions left a more permanent mark. Although Niall mac Áeda and Murchad mac Máele Dúin routed the foreigners, the genealogies credit Niall with a son named *Erulb*, which could be from the Anglo-Saxon *Herewulf* but is more likely to be from Old Norse *Herulfr*. Though the details are sketchy, two early modern genealogies of Clann Eruilb have survived; they are said to descend from Áed Allán who was the brother of Niall Frossach, great grandfather of Áed Finnliath. David Thornton has analysed the surviving evidence and argues that the high proportion of Gaelicised Scandinavian names found in this family suggest they were of mixed ethnicity.[113] Byrne points to the other members of the Uí Eruilb in the tenth and eleventh century who had Old Norse names: Thorir (gaelicised as Tomrair) another son of Erulb was called *suartdubdae* — a homonymous hybrid of Norse *svart* and Irish *dubdae*, both meaning 'black'.[114] This strengthens the identification of the name with a Scandinavian rather than Anglo-Saxon origin. If the genealogy is reliable, Erulb mac Murchada the eponymous ancestor of this dynasty appears to date to the mid-ninth century. The name may have come to the fore because of political alliances which were often secured by intermarriage.[115]

The next year AU records: *Orggain Locha Bricerna for Conghalach m. n-Echdach ₇ a marbad oc longaibh iarum* 'Loch Bricrenn was plundered to the detriment of Congalach son of Echaid, and he was killed afterwards at the ships'.[116] Presumably, the plundering of Lough Brickland refers to crannógs or settlements in or around the lough; the implication seems to be that the Vikings were active across a wide area. Congalach was taken to the ships, and was eventually killed; perhaps they had planned to ransom him or to sell him for the slave trade. Again, it is the king who was taken; perhaps the Vikings were trying to exact submission, not merely ransom.

The following year the Vikings are back on the Shannon and reaching further inland. In AU 834 we read:

[113] David E. Thornton, 'Clann Eruilb: Irish or Scandinavian', *Irish Historical Studies* 30 (1996) 161-6: 162.
[114] Byrne, 'Viking age', 612; Thornton, 'Clann Eruilb: Irish or Scandinavian', 161-6.
[115] Purcell and Sheehan, 'Viking Dublin: enmities, alliances and the cold gleam of Silver', 43. This will be discussed further in Chapter 7.
[116] Lough Brickland is in the barony of Upper Iveagh, Co Down.

> *Cath for gennti re n-Dunadhach m. Scannlain righ H. Fidgennti, du i torchratar ili*
> Dúnadach son of Scannlán, king of Uí Fhidgeinte, won a battle against the heathens, in which many fell.

Similarly, they are venturing further inland on the east coast; in AU 833, the Vikings raid inland as far as Clondalkin in west Co Dublin: *Orggain Cluana Dolcan o ghenntibh.* How did they get to Clondalkin? They may have sailed along the Liffey and then along a tributary river such as the Camac; however, there is every possibility that they made at least part of this journey overland. Eventually, in 867, they were to have a fort there known as Dún Amlaíb.[117] In 834, the monastic settlement at Glendalough was raided for the first time, followed by raids on Slane and Fennor: *Orgain Glinne Da Locha o genntib. Orgain Slane 7 Finnubrach h-Abe o gentibh*. Though, the recent edition of AU groups these raids as one entry, the distances involved and the topography of the sites suggests that they may have been two separate raids or raiding parties. These entries may have originally been recorded at the same time when news reached the scriptorium, but we need to be mindful of the process of transmission of information in the medieval period, the transmission of the annals themselves, and how these sources have been influenced by modern editorial decisions. The raid on Glendalough would have proved a considerable undertaking as it is 30km inland over difficult terrain.[118] Mogens Herman Hansen has suggested that the maximum expected daily march of a Viking army was 30km.[119]

As suggested earlier, the nature of the brief annalistic entries may have led to an under-estimation of the practicalities involved in raiding; even when raids were hit-and-run, there was still a considerable degree of organisation involved. Certainly, in the case of inland sites such as Glendalough, the Vikings were unlikely to get in and out in one day. And even sites with relatively easy access on the coastline would have required time for the raiding parties to regroup and to organise their spoils. Certain sites must have been prominent/visible in the rural landscape, especially as many monastic settlements were located along rivers. But how did they know where

[117] AU. This fort will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 7.
[118] Colmán Etchingham, 'The Viking impact on Glendalough', in Charles Doherty, Linda Doran and Mary Kelly (eds), *Glendalough: city of God*, (Dublin 2011) 211-22.
[119] Mogens Herman Hansen, 'Introduction' *A comparative study of thirty city-state cultures: an investigation conducted by the Copenhagen Polis Centre*, Hist-Filos Skrifter 25, Kgl Danske Videshabernes Selskab (Copenhagen 2000) 11-34, 17; See also Poul Holm, 'Viking Dublin and the city-state concept: parameters and significance of the Hiberno-Norse settlement', in Herman-Hansen (ed.), *A comparative study of thirty city-state cultures*, 251-62; Carroll Gillmor, 'War on the rivers: Viking numbers and mobility on the Seine and Loire, 841-886', *Viator* 19 (1988) 79-109.

to go? Who told them about Glendalough and how to get there? It is possible that this raid marks the establishment of a base on the coast of Wicklow and that the Vikings were in a position to acquire more detailed and local knowledge of sites in the area.

The first clear indication of a base on the east coast occurs in 836 when we are told that Kildare was plundered by Vikings from Inber nDée. *Ceall Dara do orgain do gentib o Inbir Deae ₇ ro l-loscad a leth na cille*. Hogan suggests that Inber nDée was the mouth of the estuary of the river Dee just below Arklow, Bhreathnach argues for Bray, Charles-Edwards for the estuary of the Vartry river near Wicklow town, and recently Etchingham agrees with Liam Price's identification of the estuary of the Avoca river at Arklow.[120] Etchingham suggests that there were two routes by which Kildare could be reached from Inber nDée, either 'directly over the mountains via Glendalough or by traversing the southern foothills in the vicinity of Clonmore'.[121] Byrne argues that this over-land raid 'must have involved the use of horses commandeered locally'.[122]

For the same year, CS records the Viking plundering of Clonmore on Christmas Eve which is clear evidence that in 836 they had over-wintered.

> *Uastatio Cluana Moir Maodoig a gentibus i nocte Natiuitatis Domini: mortificauerunt multos, plurimos abstulerunt.*
> The devastation of Cluain Mór Maedóc by the heathens on the eve of the Nativity, they slew many and carried off many more.

They were present not just during the traditional months of summer raiding season. This entry also shows that they had familiarised themselves with the church calendar and knew when to strike for the maximum value.[123] Clonmore had been raided the previous year so they knew how to get there and when to target it. In 836, the annals tell us that many people were carried off from Clonmore; presumably they were taken to be traded, but it is also possible that they were needed as labour, to build a camp/base. Glendalough was raided again in 836, and according to AClon it was attacked at the same time as Kildare by the Vikings from Inber nDée. Charles-Edwards follows AClon's account when he makes these two events one entry in his

[120] OG s.n.; Etchingham, 'Scandinavian settlement in Wicklow', 114; Edel Bhreathnach, 'Saint Patrick, Vikings and Inber nDée — *longphort* in the early Irish literary tradition', in *Wicklow Archaeology and History* 1 (1998) 36-40; Charles-Edwards, *Chronicle of Ireland*, ii, 150; Etchingham, 'The Viking impact on Glendalough', 214.
[121] Etchingham, 'Scandinavian settlement in Wicklow', 116.
[122] Byrne, 'The Viking age', 612.
[123] Ó Corráin, 'Ireland, Scotland and Hebrides', 85. Similarly, in 852 they were to raid Armagh on the Sunday before Easter (AU).

reconstruction of the *Chronicle of Ireland*.[124] The other annals record these events separately and again it is a nice example of how different sources treat this material. Consequently, when entries are conflated in our annalistic sources or editions, this can obscure the fact that more than one raiding party may have been involved.

Etchingham points out that Inber nDée is the 'first Viking base identified by name in the annals, although the sequence of recorded raids after 831 implies that there was a base somewhere between the north Dublin coast and Carlingford Lough in the early 830s'.[125] In Chapter 6, I show that there were in fact a number of bases between Inber nDée and Carlingford between 820s and 860s. However, these two accounts of events at Kildare and Clonmore mark a departure; we have clear and unequivocal evidence that the Vikings had bases in Ireland and that they had over-wintered. Previously, we could only infer that in order to conduct raids and engage with the Irish that they had temporary bases. This marks a definite change from temporary and/or seasonal bases, to something more permanent.

Conclusion

In the period 795-836, there is evidence for all types of bases: temporary bases for a few days, for a few weeks, for a few months; bases that were used over the winter season; and eventually bases that last a year or more. One often served as the forerunner of the other. It is true that the initial period of Viking activity from 795 to 836 is characterised by sporadic raiding and battles. In the initial years, it seems that these were discrete bands of Vikings operating independently in Ireland. In these exploratory raids, they took artefacts, people (especially high-status individuals) and presumably food supplies. The annals rarely, if ever, refer to the taking of food stuffs, and there is the additional problem that food supplies do not manifest in the archaeological record, in the same way as, for example, insular metalwork; hence, we have tended to underestimate their importance to Viking raiding. When reading individual entries in the Irish annals, particularly with the current trend numerically to demarcate the entries, the impression is built up that the raids are isolated events. When the raids are mapped physically, as Byrne and Doherty have done, it becomes clear that they represent raiding expeditions which must have required considerable organisation in terms of: where the target sites were in relation to one another; how

[124] Charles-Edwards, *Chronicle of Ireland*, 294.
[125] Etchingham, 'Scandinavian settlement in Wicklow', 114.

to get there; how long would it take; what supplies were necessary to conduct the raid; how to ensure sufficient resources were available to complete the return journey.

It can be easy to over-stress the argument for the existence of bases. We have documentary evidence of Viking activity in 812 in Eóganacht Locha Léin, along with the burial evidence from Clonmore Cave, with similar radio-carbon dates to the burials from South Great George's Street, Truska, and Knoxspark. More importantly, the base at Dún Maine would suggest that the Vikings may have had a base in Dingle from the early to mid-ninth century. Along the east coast, the reference to the *Gaill ind Airther* in 827 and to Viking activity in Ciannachta Breg, in general, shows that there was much more going on than simple hit-and-run raids. Even in cases such as the raid on the Skelligs, where Étgal is seized, they must have anchored at some place in the vicinity in order to attempt to ransom him. The Vikings must have interacted frequently with the Irish, on some level, to even attempt to negotiate the conditions of ransom. The combined evidence from the coastal area of modern-day Co Wicklow suggests that they had a sustained presence, or repeated association with the area from the late 820s onwards. The establishment of a more permanent base at Inber nDée again underlines the point that these were often established in areas where we have clear and early evidence of earlier Viking raids, repeated attacks or expeditions. The base at Inber nDée was just one of many on the east coast. In the following chapters we examine the evidence for these bases and attempt to discern patterns in Viking settlement in the ninth century.

CHAPTER 6

SETTLEMENT TERMINOLOGY AND SETTLEMENTS IN THE NINTH CENTURY

The concordance of Viking entries from the Irish annals proved very useful for the analysis of the location of, and the terminology used about Viking settlements: *longphort*, *dúnad*, and *dún*. In some cases no special terms are used and the Vikings are merely associated with a specific place, for example, the Vikings of Inber nDée. This may mean that they had some kind of base there for a certain period, but unless there is corroborative annalistic or archaeological evidence it is impossible to say much more. This chapter will explore the evidence for ninth-century Viking bases in Ireland.

Settlement terminology: *longphort, dúnad,* and *dún*

Eoghan Moore first examined the use of the terms *longphort* and *dúnad* in the Irish annals in 1983, followed by Doherty in 1998 and the most recent study is by Maas in 2008.[1] Though entries and references in AFM, CGG and FA were included in my analysis, one must be cautious when using these sources particularly for terminology because they are not contemporary and in some cases, as we shall see below, it is possible that these terms were introduced retrospectively. For example, Maas draws attention to the fact that AFM contain a series of annalistic records that come from a now lost south-eastern set of annals, which have important references to Viking *longphoirt*.[2] While the references to the actual settlements may be reliable, one might question the reliability of the specific terminology. AFM were compiled in the seventeenth century and there is every possibility that they substituted the Irish terms for 'encampment' with *longphort* because they knew of the association of the Vikings with this settlement type/term and location.

A curious example from 860 and the terminology used in the various annalistic accounts underlines the need for caution when dealing with non-contemporary annals; in AU (and in CS) the term used is *dúnad* while in AFM and FA the term used is *longphort*.

[1] Eoghan Moore, '*Longphort* and *dúnad* in early medieval Ireland', *Trowel* 1 (UCD Dublin 1983); Doherty, 'The Vikings: a review', 325; John Maas, '*Longphort, dún* and *dúnad* in the Irish annals of the Viking period', *Peritia* 20 (2008) 257-75.
[2] Maas, '*Longphort, dún* and *dúnad*', 259.

AU
Sloighedh Laigen ⁊ Muman ⁊ Connacht ⁊ Oa Neill in Deisceirt isin Fochla la Mael Sechnaill rig Temro, co n-deisidh oc Maigh Dumai i comfhocus Aird Machae. Do-forbairt Aedh m. Neill ⁊ Flann m. Conaing a ***n-dunadh*** *i n-aithchi coro marbsat doine for lar in* ***dunaidh****, ⁊ ro memhaidh for Aed n-iaramh, co farcaib ili stante exercitu Mael Sechnaill in statu suo.*
Mael Sechnaill, king of Temair, led an army of the Laigin and Mumu and Connacht and the southern Uí Néill into the North, and he halted at Mag Dumai near Ard Macha. Aed son of Niall and Flann son of Conaing attacked their **camp** by night and killed some people in the middle of the **camp**; and Aed was subsequently overcome and left many dead behind him, Mael Sechnaill's army holding to its position.

FA in particular, when recounting the deeds of Cerball of Osraige, is rather fond of the term *longphort*:

FA §279
Isin bliadain si do ronadh mórshluagh la Maoil Seachlainn, righ Eireann, ⁊ Cearbhall mac Dunlaing lais go Magh Macha. Ra ghabhsat ***longphort*** *ann sin … Ra impu Maoilseachlainn da thigh a h-aithle an cosguir sain. Ra bhaoi dna Amlaibh i f-farradh Aod 'sin maidhm sa.*
In this year Máel Sechlainn, king of Ireland, made a great hosting with Cerball son of Dúnlang to Mag Macha. They encamped there ... against Aed son of Niall … Máel Sechlainn returned home after that victory. Moreover, Amlaíb was along with Áed in this defeat.

It uses the term to describe an encampment by Máel Sechnaill and Cerball at Mag Macha – against Áed and Amlaíb but it is too early (*c*.860) for a *longphort* to be built by the Irish and underlines the need for caution when using FA in terms of terminology. That is not to say that there was no encampment, but I think a *longphort* at this stage in the ninth century was something that incorporated a base and ships and was built by Vikings.

Longphort is not the only term used to describe Viking settlement in the Irish annals. Doherty has argued that *longphort* was synonymous with *dúnad* which he interpreted to mean variously 'an army on the march', or an 'encampment thrown up by army on the march'; in the later period equated with *foslongphort* — 'a siege camp'. In the late tenth century, *longphort* also came to be used of any type of military base utilised in an offensive attack (including land-based attacks), and from this period on there are references in the annals to the Irish establishing *longphoirt*.[3]

[3] Doherty, 'The Vikings: a review', 324.

Doherty argued that *dún* 'fort' was a permanent settlement.[4] Given the recent evidence emerging for *longphoirt*, it is all too easy to neglect the evidence for other types of Viking bases. Whatever the terminology used to describe their settlements, the Vikings showed clear preference for sites at the confluence of rivers, next to marsh land or forest to offer extra defence; they favoured borderland locations to maximise raiding potential, and/or to form alliances with Irish kings on either side (the classic example being Dublin, on the river Liffey, the border between Laigin and Brega).

[4] Ibid. 325.



Fig. 1. Map of sites mentioned in Gazetteer

The evidence is laid out as a gazetteer. Sections A – C examine those refered to as *longphort*, *dúnad*, and *dún*. Section D discusses what we will call 'base by association' with a location. In addition, Section E has some examples of references from other non-annalistic sources. Unfortunately, many of the sites discussed below have not been subject to full archaeological excavation.

(A) *LONGPHORT*

The term *longphort* is first used in the annals in the early 840s to describe Viking settlements at Dublin and Linn Duachaill. *Longphort* is derived from two words borrowed from Latin into Irish: *long* (< (*navis*) *longa*) meaning 'ship', and *port* (< *portus*) meaning 'port or landing spot'.[5] Edel Bhreathnach draws attention to a passage in the *Tripartite life of Patrick* which describes the saints landing at Inber nDée:

> *O fororbaí dano Pátraic a immram ₇ ro gab port a long oc Inbuir Dea i crich Laigen, tuc a lungo dochunn thíri.*
> When Patrick had completed his voyage and his vessel took harbour at Inber Dea in the territory of the Laigin, he brought vessels to land.[6]

Both terms occur in the same sentence, indeed in the same phrase, but not as a compound.[7] The compound term is used for first time in the ninth century to describe Viking settlements in AU 841:

> *Longport oc Linn Duachaill asar orta tuatha ₇ cealla Tethbai. Longport oc Duiblinn as-rorta Laigin ₇ Oi Neill etir tuatha ₇ cealla co rice Sliabh Bledhma.*
> There was a naval camp at Linn Duachaill from which the peoples and churches of Tethba were plundered. There was a naval camp at Duiblinn from which the Laigin and the Uí Néill were plundered, both states and churches, as far as Sliab Bladma.

In his edition of AU, Mac Airt translates *longphort* as 'naval encampment' (841). Clarke has defined a *longphort* as a fortified ship enclosure.[8] Essentially, it was a site along a riverbank, or at the confluence of two rivers, and in theory one needed to defend or build man-made defences only on the landward side. In the early 840s, the

[5] Ibid.
[6] Mulchrone, *Bethu Pátraic*, 23: 355-6.
[7] Bhreathnach, 'Saint Patrick, Vikings and Inber nDée', 36-40.
[8] Clarke, 'The topographical development of early Dublin', 29-51.

Vikings introduced a clear element of fortification or defence of their bases and this is reflected in the introduction of use of the term *longphort* by Irish annalists. It might have more to do with fortification than with over-wintering. Perhaps we have underestimated the significance of the ship element in the term, if indeed it was an encampment to protect their ships. The ships themselves would have been the most visible from a distance, not any defensive embankment — unless of course it had a very high palisade. Kevin Murray proposes that the term points to overwintering with ships. I think this is correct, but as we have seen they may have been over-wintering for over a decade before the term *longphort* is attested. There is also a difference in scale, with the arrival of large fleets such as those in 837 on the Liffey and the Boyne.

Some *longphoirt* were established initially as temporary bases from which to launch more organised raids on sites in their vicinity. Some became long-term bases that may have lasted for years while others developed into more permanent settlements that were to emerge as towns in the mid- to late tenth century. The classic example is Dublin. No defensive features of the *longphort*, or ninth-century settlement, have been found at Dublin even in the recent excavations.[9] This raises questions as to what exactly we are looking for. The potential to identify this settlement type in the landscape was first proposed by Maas and Kelly in their discussion of Dunrally, Co Laois in 1995 and was followed by a more detailed assessment of the site in 1999.[10] In 2003, Eamonn Kelly along with Edmond O'Donovan, identified another possible *longphort* site at Athlunkard, Co Clare.[11] The scholars who investigated these sites acknowledge themselves that only full excavation will confirm the hypothesis that these sites were *longphoirt*; and at the very least would help present a typology of *longphort* settlements.

Dunrally is located on the west bank of the Barrow river, between Monasterevin and Athy. The name is site specific and does not refer to a modern townland, and seems to derive from Dún Rothlaíb, meaning the *dún* or 'fort of Rodulf'. This usage is similar to the designation Dún Amlaíb of Clondalkin in west Co Dublin in 867 which also suffered an attack by Cennétig mac Gathíne. A Viking

[9] Discussed in more detail in Chapter 7.
[10] Kelly and Maas, 'Vikings on the Barrow', 30-32; Kelly and Maas, 'The Vikings and the kingdom of Laois', 123-59.
[11] Kelly and O'Donovan, 'A Viking longphort near Athlunkard', 13-6.

leader called Rothlaíb was active in the area in the mid-ninth century, for about five or six years. AFM and FA record the destruction of *longphort Rothlaíbh* in 862:

> AFM
> *Cosccradh longphuirt Rothlaibh la Cind Éittidh, mac n-Gaíthín, tighearna Laighisi isin cúiccidh Id September, ⁊ marbhadh Conuill Ultaigh ⁊ Luirgnen, go sochaidhibh oile immaille friú*.
> The destruction of *longphort* Rothlaibh by Cinnedidh, son of Gaithin, lord of Laighis, on the fifth of the Ides of September; and the killing of Conall Ultach and Luirgnen, with many others along with them.
>
> FA §308
> *Deargár do thabhairt do Chearbhall mhac Dunlaing ⁊ do Cinnedigh mhac Gaithine, .i. mc. deirbhseathar Chearbhaill, for longus Rodlaibh, ⁊ bá gairid remhe tangattar a Lochlann; ⁊ Conall Ulthach do mharbhadh ann agas Luirgnen, cum plurimis alíis*.
> Cerball son of Dúnlang and Cennétig son of Gáethíne (i.e. the son of Cerball's sister) defeated Rodolb's fleet, which had come from Lochlann shortly before that; and Conall Ultach was killed there, and Luirgnén, and many others.

There is no reference to the establishment of this base or settlement, only to its destruction.

Dunrally is located at the confluence of the river Barrow and a tributary river, the Glasha. The Glasha once formed the boundary between Loígis and Uí Fhailge, while the Barrow formed the border with Uí Muiredaig. Perhaps the Vikings took advantage of a borderland location as they did at Dublin and at many other sites. The current site consists of a very large D-shaped enclosure, measuring 360m by 150m, inside of which there is a smaller oval enclosure. The site is protected on its north side by marshland, bog-land and a forest. In relation to the earthworks at Dunrally, Ó Floinn argues that morphologically it could be a ring-work of Anglo-Norman date; a possibility also commended by Maas and Kelly.[12] But given recent discoveries since this material was published — Woodstown and Linn Duachaill — and their similarity to Dunrally, I think, we are now on safer ground in identifying the site as a *longphort*.

Ó Floinn, commenting on Dunrally, draws attention to a reference in the annals which relates that the foreigners of Dublin had a fort/encampment (*dúnad*) at Cluain Andobair in AU 845: *Dunadh di Gallaibh Atha Cliath oc Cluanaib Andobuir* 'An encampment of the foreigners of Áth Cliath at Cluana Andobuir'. Cloney, Co Kildare, is located on the east bank of the river Barrow and opposite Dunrally, and Ó

[12] Ó Floinn, 'Archaeology of the early Viking Age', 163.

Floinn suggests that *longphort Rothlaíb* and Cluain Andobair may be alternate names for the same site, one the secular name and the other the ecclesiastical. This is similar (as we shall see below) to the case of Clondalkin (as Cluain Dolcáin was the name of the monastic settlement) and Dún Amlaíb may have been the name of the co-located secular Viking settlement. Ó Floinn argues the Vikings may have placed their bases within the monastic enclosures themselves.[13] This was point was also made by Dumville who went one step further and suggested that the Viking settlements may have been subordinate to the monastery rather than the other way round.[14]

Athlunkard is a townland in Co Clare, located on a bend of the river Shannon where it meets a tributary stream 5km north of Limerick city. Gearóid Mac Spealáin first suggested that the name means 'ford of (the) longphort', *áth* from 'ford' and 'lunkard' from *longphort*, thus hinting at Scandinavian settlement.[15] This argument is given further support by the existence, just below St Thomas' Island, of the place-name *laxweir* meaning 'salmon weir' partly derived from Old Norse. Athlunkard is much smaller than Dunrally, measuring 75m long and 30m wide, but perhaps with some associated settlement on St Thomas' Island. It has an internal oval enclosure inside the main earthworks. The site is also protected by marsh ground. Kelly and O'Donovan suggest that it may fit with annalistic references to other *longphoirt* dating to the same period.[16] As suggested in Chapter 2, the foundation of these bases in the mid-ninth century may account for the downturn in the annalistic recording of Viking events, in particular church raids. Kelly and O'Donovan also suggest that 'if it [Athlunkard] was an outlying fortification protecting the ford and related to the defence of the main settlement on King's Island — i.e. Viking Limerick, a longer period of use could be envisaged'.[17] There is a danger of over-interpreting the evidence, but one cannot help but note that Athlunkard may have been an outpost of Limerick, as Clondalkin may have been an outpost of Dublin, and as Woodstown may have been outpost of Viking Waterford. I argued for this settlement pattern in

[13] Ibid.
[14] David, N. Dumville, *Churches of northern Britain in the first Viking-age* (Whitthorn 1997) 18.
[15] Gearóid Mac Spealáin, *Cathair Luimnighe*, 2 vols (1948-50) i, 194. HDGP i, s.n. *Áth Coille* suggests that Áth Coille 'wood ford' may have been an alternative or earlier name for the same ford. Donál Mac Giolla Easpaig is currently completing an extensive survey of all Irish place-names that contain the element *long* or *longphort* .
[16] Kelly and O'Donovan, 'A Viking longphort near Athlunkard', 13.
[17] Ibid.

my talk to the Saving Viking Waterford Campaign in November 2004.[18] I also drew attention to this in my poster presentation at the 15th Viking Congress Cork in August 2005[19] and I will explore this model further in my case-studies of Dublin and Woodstown in Chapter 7.

However, the evidence emerging from recent surveys and excavations at Woodstown, Co Waterford and now from Annagassan (Linn Duachaill), Co Louth, has the potential to increase our understanding of this settlement type. Whereas before we were able to identify the characteristics of a *longphort* settlement, I think once the full excavation reports from these sites have been published it will be possible to idenitify *longphort* as a distinct monument type.

The contemporary *Annals of Ulster* document only two site specific *longphoirt* in the ninth century, Linn Duachaill and Dublin, though they also note a number of *longphoirt* along the coast from Cenél nEógain to Dál nAraide. If we include later uses of the term in AFM that adds an additional three documented ninth-century *longphoirt*.

1. Lough Neagh

In 839, AU note an expedition of the foreigners of Lough Neagh. The following year, AFM record:

> *Orgain Lughmhaidh la Gallaibh Locha h-Eathach, 7 ro ghabhsat braighde iomdha d'espuccoibh 7 do dhaoinibh eaccnaidhe foghlamtha, 7 ruccsat iatt dochom a longphort iar marbhadh sochaidhe oile leó bheós.*
> The plundering of Lughmhadh by the foreigners of Loch nEchach; and they made prisoners of many bishops and other wise and learned men, and carried them to their fortress, after having, moreover, slain many others.

Maas takes AFM at its word and argues that this is the first reference to a *longphort* (or indeed *longphoirt*) in the Irish annals.[20] I am slightly more cautious about the use of the term in the non-contemporary annals and would follow AU which does show a clear association of the Vikings with Lough Neagh; and this may mean that they had a base there, but AU makes no reference to the type of settlement:

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[18] Lecture, 'Viking settlement in Ireland; from Woodstown to Wood Quay', *Saving Viking Waterford Campaign*, Tower Hotel, Waterford, 25 November, 2004.

[19] 'Vikings and Viking settlement in Ireland: the ninth-century annalistic evidence', Poster Presentation, 15th Viking Congress, Cork 2005; see now Clare Downham, 'Viking camps in ninth-century Ireland: sources, locations and interaction', in Seán Duffy (ed.), *Medieval Dublin* X (2010) 93-125.

[20] Maas, '*Longphort*', 267.

> *Orggain Lughmaidh di Loch Echdach o genntibh qui episcopos ⁊ praespiteros ⁊ sapientes captiuos duxerunt ⁊ alios mortificauerunt.*
> Lugbad was plundered by the heathens from Loch nEchach and they led away captive bishops and priests and scholars, and put others to death.

In AFM, these Vikings are also credited with the burning of Armagh whereas AU does not assign responsibility for the burning to any named group.[21] The following year, we are told that the heathens were still on Lough Neagh. We have, therefore, a clear association between *longphort* and over-wintering.

2. Dublin

The *longphort* recorded at Dublin in 841 will be discussed in detail in the next chapter.

3. Annagassan, Co Louth

> *Longport oc Linn Duachaill asar orta tuatha ⁊ cealla Tethbai.*
> There was a naval camp at Linn Duachaill from which the peoples and churches of Tethba were plundered.[22]

Linn Duachaill has been identified with Annagassan, Co Louth. Archaeological investigation of this site is proceeding and we await publication of the excavation report.[23] As the entries from 841 show, the Vikings utilised the location of this base to raid the surrounding territory and to go inland. Numbers must have been significant if there were both sufficient men to go on major expeditions and also enough to stay behind to defend the newly established camp. The *longphoirt* at Linn Duachaill and Dublin were still in existence in 851 when AU records:

> *Tetact Dubgennti du Ath Cliath co ralsat ár mór du Fhinngallaibh ⁊ coro [sh]latsat in longport eitir doine ⁊ moine. Slat do Dubhgenntib oc Lind Duachail ⁊ ar mor diib.*
> The dark heathens came to Áth Cliath, made a great slaughter of the fair-haired foreigners, and plundered the naval encampment, both people and property. The dark heathens made a raid at Linn Duachaill, and a great number of them were slaughtered.

[21] *Losccadh Arda Macha cona derthaighibh, ⁊ cona daimh liacc, lasna Gallaibh reimhráite.*
[22] AU 841.
[23] In the meantime, updates are available online at http://www.linnduachaill.ie/.

There is much debate in historiography as to what is meant by Dubgeinnte and Findgeinnte.[24] The annalists were making a clear distinction between the foreigners who had been active in Ireland for a while and a new band of foreigners who had arrived in 849.

4. Dunrally, Co Laois

Longphort Rothlaíb (AFM 862) is discussed above.

5. *Longphoirt* in the North

> *Aedh m. Neill ro slat uile longportu Gall, .i. airir ind Fochla, eter Chenel n-Eugain ⁊ Dal n-Araide co tuc a cennlai ⁊ a n-eti ⁊ a crodha a l-longport er cath. Roiniudh foraib oc Loch Febail asa tuctha da .xx. dec cenn.*
> Aed son of Niall plundered all the strongholds of the foreigners i.e. in the territory of the North, both in Cenél Eógain and Dál Araidi, and took away their heads, their flocks, and their herds from camp by battle (?). A victory was gained over them at Loch Febail and twelve score heads taken thereby.

As discussed in Chapter 2, this reference from AU 866 is significant for a number of reasons. Firstly, the plural term indicates that there was more than one *longphort*. This is especially interesting given my suggestion that Viking camps may have been deliberately founded in close proximity to one another. Ó Corráin suggests that Áed was taking back the littoral from Viking control,[25] but this entry also implies that these camps were more than just military bases; they housed a settled population who had cattle, flock and property.

6. Youghal, Co Cork

> *Maidhm for loinges n-Eochaille riasna Désibh, ⁊ cosgradh a longphuirt.*
> A victory was gained over the fleet of Eochaill by the Deisi, and the fortress was destroyed.

This entry is unique to AFM 866, but it clearly indicates that the Vikings had a base at the mouth of the Blackwater at Youghal. How long this remained is impossible to determine. However, if CGG is to be believed, they were long familiar with the area as Dairinis, or Molana, upriver from Youghal, was one of the earliest recorded raids

[24] See fn 582.
[25] This point is discussed in Chapter 2.

in the area.[26] The entry is not extant in any of the other annals so it is impossible to determine what term was originally used to refer to the base.

(B) *DÚNAD*

Maas draws attention to an entry in AU 730, which shows that the term *dúnad* was used by the annalists before the arrival of the Vikings.[27] The term is first used in the context of the Vikings in AU 827:

> *Cosradh dunaidh Laighen do gentibh ubi ceciderunt Conall m. Con Congalt, rex na Fortuath, et alii innumirabiles*.
> An encampment of the Laigin was overwhelmed by the heathens, and Conall son of Cú Chongalt, king of the Fortuatha, and countless others fell there.

This is all the more interesting if *dúnad* is interpreted as a marching camp, as it might suggest that the Laigin had established this base in order to lay siege to the Vikings, but were outsmarted by them when they attacked their camp. There are three Viking *dúnad*-type bases documented in the annals: Lough Ree and Cloney in 845, and Cork in 848.

7. Lough Ree

> *Dunadh di Gallaibh .i. la Tuirgeis for Loch Ri coro ortadur Connachta ₇ Midhe, ₇ coro loscaiset Cluain M. Nois cona dertaigibh, ₇ Cluaen Ferta Brenainn ₇ Tir Da Glass ₇ Lothra ₇ alaile cathracha*.
> There was an encampment of the foreigners i.e. under Tuirgéis on Loch Rí, and they plundered Connacht and Mide, and burned Cluain Moccu Nóis with its oratories, and Cluain Ferta Brénainn, and Tír dá Glas and Lothra and other monasteries.

The earliest attested usage of the term *dúnad* in association with a Viking base occurs in AU 845 (above). In an interlinear gloss, we are told that this encampment was under the leadership of Tuirgeis. As discussed in Chapter 2, the importance of this Viking leader is much a contested issue. What is clear is that the base provided the Vikings with ample opportunity to raid on all sides of Lough Ree. As we shall see the bases are often clearly associated with a particular leader and in some cases

[26] CGG documents the arrival of the Vikings at Cammas Ua Fothaid Tíre, whatever about the identification of this place, there is no implication that they established a base there. See also Downham, 'Viking camps', 94-6.

[27] Maas, '*Longphort*', 273. He also cites an entry from AU6 41 which uses the Latin term *castra*. The context of this camp's establishment suggests that it might be an offensive attack. I am not sure I would equate the use of the two terms *dúnad* and *castra* by scribes in the annals, it needs further study and comparison.

even named after that leader. This would imply that some bases, particularly those that were to become known by the leader's names, may have had a more permanent or established basis than others. O'Donovan in his notes to the entry in AFM records the existence of Dún Tuirgéis at Lough Leane, near Castlepollard, Co Westmeath, and notes that traditional stories were told in the area about him and his encounters with the Uí Néill king, Máel Sechnaill. He also drew attention to another fortress at Rinn Dúin, near St Johns on Lough Ree, on the Co Roscommon side.[28] Tom Fanning suggested that the *dúnad* may have been located at Ballaghkeeran Little, on Killinure Lough, a large inlet on the eastern shore of Lough Ree in Co Westmeath.[29] Sheehan believes it might have been located on Hare Island, perhaps, within the enclosure of the important monastic site of Inis Ainghin.[30] Record of this encampment in CS drives home the point that we should exercise caution in our examination of terminology for it describes Tuirgéis' encampment as a *dún*.[31] When was this base established? It is possible that the Vikings had maintained a presence on Lough Ree since 844 when AU records that Clonfert was raided by heathens.

8. Cloney, Co Kildare

In 845, AU records one of the very few references to the actual establishment of a Viking base:

> *Dunadh di Gallaibh Atha Cliath oc Cluanaib Andobur.*
> An encampment of the foreigners of Áth Cliath at Cluana Andobuir.[32]

AFM (here below) and AClon contain a little more information on this event:

> *Sloighedh la Gallaibh Atha Cliath a c-Cluanaibh Andobhair, 7 argain leiss Chille h-Achaidh, 7 martradh Nuadhat mic Seigeni leo.*
> An army was led by the foreigners of Ath Cliath to Cluana An Dobhair, and burned the fold of Cill Achaidh; and Nuadhat, son of Seigen, was martyred by them.

This base at Cluain Andobuir (Cloney, Co Kildare) was clearly founded by Vikings from Dublin. As Ó Floinn has pointed out, this *dúnad* was almost directly across the

[28] O'Donovan, AFM s.a. 843, 466, note, d.
[29] Fanning, 'Ballaghkeeran Little, Athlone, Co Westmeath', 221.
[30] Sheehan, 'The *longphort* in Viking Age Ireland', 291.
[31] *Dún la Turges do Gallaiph for Loch Ribh goro loitetor Connachta(?) et Mide et cor loisccsiot Cluain Muc Nois cona dertighibh et Cluain Ferta Brenuinn et Tír da Glass et Lotra et catracha iomdha.*
[32] This is the form of the name used by AU, though its normal is the singular. Cluain Da Andobur is also attested.

river from another Viking encampment known as *longphoirt Rothlaíbh* (AFM 862) discussed above.[33] It is interesting to note that it was established by the Foreigners of Dublin as an outlying fort which demonstrates the extent of influence of the Dublin Vikings in the mid-ninth century. As we shall see below, they had established a base (*longphort*) at Dublin in 841, and were secure enough in that settlement to venture further inland and form dependent settlements. It is possible that this outpost was one of several. It may have been established to protect and guard certain route-ways such as the nearby Slige Dála? Or, perhaps they were founded in an attempt to dominate the countryside?

9. Cork

In 848, a year when the Vikings suffered a number of defeats at the hands of the Irish, CS relates that:

> *Dunadh la h-Olcobar do toghail duin Corcaighe for gentibh.*
> An encampment was set up by Ólchobur to destroy the fortress of Corcach against [i.e. to the loss of] the heathens.

So here we see the two terms used — *dúnad* established by Ólchobar, the Irish king, as he launched an assault on the *dún* at Cork. There is no reference to the establishment of a base at Cork and there is every chance that they took over an existing Irish settlement. Many have suggested that the earliest Viking base in Cork was founded on the south side of the river Lee, near the monastic settlement of St Finnbarr's. Ó Floinn has suggested that they may even had taken over the monastic settlement itself as they did at Cloney, Co Kildare, and were to do at Clondalkin in 867.[34] Perhaps, it is over-interpreting the evidence but the necessity of establishing an encampment to take Cork back from the heathens suggests that Vikings had a firm foothold in the area. Gnímhbeolu, chief of the Foreigners of Cork, was slain by Déisi, in 867.[35] This implies that the Vikings were well established in Cork in the 860s, perhaps, with a semi-dependent base at Youghal.

[33] Ó Floinn, 'Archaeology of the early Viking Age', 163.
[34] Ibid.
[35] AFM: *Gnimbeolu, toiseach Gall Corcaighe, do mharbhadh lasna Désibh*. FA §342 also has an account of the episode.

(C) *DÚN*

Dún 'fort' is a Celtic term and was used frequently in the Irish annals before the Vikings arrived. The first recorded Viking association with this type of settlement occurs in 837 when we are told that churches, forts (*dúine*) and dwellings in Mag Life and Mag mBreg were plundered by the fleets that had arrived on the Boyne and on the Liffey.[36] There is one documented reference to a Viking *dún* in the contemporary annals, Clondalkin, in addition they are two references in CGG, Dún Maine and Dún Medóin, and we may presuppose that *longphoirt Rothlaíb* may have originally been known as *Dún Rothlaíb*, which might lend further evidence to support the contention that later scribes such as the Four Masters substituted terms for these settlements.

10. Clondalkin, Co Dublin

The first contemporary use of this term in relation to a Viking base is found in AU 867:

> *Loscadh duine Amhlaim oc Cluain Dolcain la m. n-Gaithini ₇ la Mael Ciaran m. Ronain, ₇ ár .c. cenn di airechaibh Gall in eodem die apud duces predictos in confinio Cluana Dolcain.*
> Amlaíb's fort at Cluain Dolcáin was burned by Gaíthíne's son and Mael Ciaráin son of Rónán, and the aforesaid commanders caused a slaughter of a hundred of the leaders of the foreigners in the vicinity of Cluain Dolcáin on the same day.

Clondalkin will be discussed in detail in the next chapter; however, it is worth noting that once again that the base was close to or perhaps within the monastic settlement itself.

[4. Dunrally, Co Laois]

In 862, *longphoirt Rothlaíb* is referred to in AFM, but the place-name belies an origin as *Dún Rothlaíb*, as discussed above.

[36] AU 837: *Longas tre-fhichet long di Norddmannaibh for Boinn; longas .ii. tre-fhichet long for abaind Liphi. Ro slatsat iarum in di longais-sin Magh Liphi ₇ Magh m-Bregh eter cealla ₇ dune ₇ treba. Roiniudh re feraib Bregh for Gallaibh ec Deoninni i Mughdornaibh Bregh conid-torchradar se fichit diibh.*

11. Dún Maine, Co Kerry

Dún Maine (discussed in Chapter 5) has been identified as having been located at Castlemaine harbour in Co Kerry. The site is referred to by name in CGG and by inference in FA. Another possible location for this fort, at Rathmore, Co. Kerry, has recently been proposed by Connolly and Coyne.[37] There is a possibility that the CGG reference may be an interpolation;[38] this would be unsurprising considering CGG's complex compilation history both in terms of the text and the manuscripts from which it is reconstructed. Even if it is an interpolation, I can see no reason to doubt its veracity, especially given that FA also contains an account of this encounter; furthermore, there is much evidence of Viking activity in the area.

12. **Dún Medóin* (unidentified)

Another fort referred to in CGG is Dún Medóin (*c*.867) which remains unidentified:

> *Is ísin bliadain i drochair Colphin ⁊ longes Duni Medoin .i. Cind Curraig. Ro bas ica marbad o Cind Curraig co Lis Mor, ⁊ do drocradar socaidi dib .i. la Rechtabrat mac Brain.*
> It was in that year that Colphin, and the fleet of Dun Medhoin, were destroyed at Cenn Curraig. And the slaughter of them was continued from Cenn Curraig to Lis-Mor and numbers of them were killed by Rechtabrat, son of Brat.[39]

The Book of Leinster reads *im R.m.B* but this is less accurate then *la R.m.B.*[40] Rechtabra was king of the Déisi and died in 876.[41] A possible identification for this site is found within the kingdom of the Déisi. *Dún Medóin* means 'middle fort', may be identified as Affane (Áth Meadhóin 'middle ford') a townland in the barony of Decies without Drum and located along the Blackwater river.[42] The townland derives its name from the ford located at the confluence of the Blackwater with the river Finisk. The perfect location for a Viking base. The Locus project identifies Cenn Curraig with *Cnoc Rafann a fortified hill in the townland of Knockgraffon, barony of Middlethird, Co Tipperary, near Cahir.[43] There is no river system connecting the

[37] See Chapter 5.
[38] Downham, 'Viking Camps', 101, fn 38.
[39] CGG 24-25.
[40] The Book of Leinster reading helps little with the meaning of this account as there are gaps in the manuscript: Best et al. In their edition reconstruct it as follows: (BL 1323) *Iss isein bliadain i torchair Colphin ⁊ longes Duni Medoin ac Cind Currig. ro bas ica marbad ac Cind Curraig. O Cind Curraig co Less Mor ⁊ dorochadar [...] im Rechtabrat mac mBrain*
[41] AI 876.
[42] OG s.n. Áth Meadhóin.
[43] HDGP s.n.

Suir and the Blackwater, so Rechtabra would have had to pursue the fleet of Colphin over land and through the Knockmealdown Mountains. However, I think the meaning is clear, Rechtabra defeats Colphin and his men at Cenn Curraig and then pursues them as far as Lismore which is just 10km upriver from their base at Affane. This event may well be connected with the following event recorded in AI 867 *Fell do Amlaíb for Les Mór ₇ Mártan do soerad ass* 'Amlaíb committed treachery against Les Mór, and Martan was liberated from him'.[44] Dún Medóin like Dún Amlaíb and Dún Rothlaíb was a ninth-century base. Perhaps some of these bases were associated with the personal name of the current leader and therefore they did not last long enough for the names to be remembered, or perhaps it reflects the fact the Vikings often took over established secular or ecclesiastical sites.

(D) BASE BY ASSOCIATION WITH THE VIKINGS

In many cases the annals and other sources do not refer to a specific site type, but merely that the Vikings came from a place; a place that is clearly associated with them which implies that they settled at a certain location for at least a period of time. Unfortunately, it is often not possible to determine for how long. In Chapter 5, the association of the Vikings specifically with the coast/east of Brega in 827 (Gaill ind Airthir) was discussed which may suggest that they had some kind of base in the region at that time.[45] Similarly, they were defeated at *Inber na mBarc* by Uí Néill, in 837. This place was originally identified as Ráith Inbhir, near Bray, Co Wicklow but more recently Byrne suggests that it was the Boyne estuary.[46] However, the clearest example of base by association recorded in the contemporary sources is the raiding of Glendalough by the Vikings of Inber nDée in 837, as discussed in Chapter 2.

Áth Dá Fherta

CGG (*c*.824) records the following:

> *Tanic longes ele i tuaiscert Erend iarsin; cethri bliadhna iar néc Aeda mic Neill* a) *ic Ath dá Fert,* a) *₇ ro airgset Bencur Ulad, ₇ ro brisitar scrin Comgall, ₇ ro marbadh a epscop, ₇ a suidí, ₇ a sruthí; da airgset dna mag fos.*
> There came, after that, another fleet into the north of Erinn, four years after the death of Aedh, son of Niall, a) at Ath-dá-Fert a); and they plundered Bennchur

[44] I am grateful to Donnchadh Ó Corráin for making the connection with this entry in AI.
[45] AU *Orggan Luscan do genntib ₇ a loscadh, ₇ innreadh Ciannachta co rici Ochtar n-Ugan, ₇ organ Gall ind Airthir olchena.*
[46] Byrne, 'The viking age', 612. See Chapter 3 for discussion.

> of Uladh, and brake the shrine of Comhghall, and killed its bishop, and its doctors, and it clergy; they devastated, also, the plain.[47]

This site is probably on the river Fane at Knockbridge, Co Louth.[48] Downham suggests that a base may or may not be implied here.[49] The phrase *ic Ath dá Fert* looks very much like a gloss and my understanding is that it refers to the death of Áed at Áth Dá Fherta in 819 rather than to a Viking fleet arriving there.[50] The reading in BL makes no mention of the site and includes a reference to the raid on Moville;

> *Tanic longes aili i tuasciurt nHerend* a) *.i. in cethramad bliadain ar n-éc Aeda ríg Herend.* a) *Et ra argsetsaide Bendchor Ulad 7 ra brissetar scrín Chomgaill. Ra marbsat epscop in bali 7 a ecnaidi 7 a sruthi. Ra airgset Mag mBili.*[51]

The inclusion of the specific reference to Áth Dá Fherta occurs only in the later tradition of CGG found in the TCD manuscript and Brussels manuscript.

13. Limerick

Though the documentary evidence for Viking settlement at Limerick in the ninth century is scanty, it is possible to build up a picture of Viking activity in the area. There are raids on Mungarit and western Munster in 835.[52] CS and AFM record a slaughter of the heathens at Carn Feradaigh in 837. Other accounts of Viking activity in Limerick harbour (the Shannon estuary) are present in CGG:

> *Tanic longes aile i cuan Lumnig. Et ra hindrit Corco Bascind uathusaide. Et Tratraigi 7 Hui Chonaill Gabra. Acht tucsat Hui Chonaill cath dóib la Dondchad rí Hua Conaill in tansa. 7 Domnall mac Cindfaelad ri hua Cairpri. 7 ni fess ca lín dorochair and.*[53]
> Another fleet came into Limerick harbour, and by them were plundered Corca Bhaiscin, and Tradaighe, and Hy Conaill Gabhra. But Ui Conaill gave them battle [under Donnchadh king of Ui Conaill, at that time, and Domhnall, son of Cennfaeladh, king of Ui Charbre], and it is not known what number fell there.[54]

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[47] CGG 6-7.
[48] HDGP s.n.
[49] Downham, 'Viking camps', 99, does not believe that it implies a base, but that it records the beginning of the devastation of Ireland.
[50] AU 819: *Mors Aedha m. Neill, Aedh-Oirnidhe mc. Neill-Frassaig, iuxta Uadum Duarum Uirtutum, i ag Atha Dha Ferta, in Campo Conaille*.
[51] BL 1319: a) – a) may have originated as a gloss.
[52] AU 835.
[53] BL 1320.
[54] CGG Appendix A, 224.

This account in CGG is probably a more detailed notice of that in AU which simply records that Dúnadach son of Scannlán, king of Uí Fhidgeinte, won a battle over the heathens in 834. The first suggestion of something more permanent at Limerick is found in AU 845:

> *Forindan, abbas Aird Machae, du ergabail du genntibh i Cloen Comardai cona mindaibh 7 cona muinntir, 7 a brith do longaibh Luimnigh.*
> Forannán, abbot of Ard Macha, was taken prisoner by the heathens in Cluain Comarda with his halidoms and following, and was brought to the ships of Luimnech.

CGG record of this event is persuasively more detailed:

> *Ra gab longes díb i Ciarraigi Luachra. 7 ra hindretar co Cill Íti 7 co Cill Eimni. Ra hindretar dano longes Lumnig Marthin Muman 7 rucsat Forannan comarba Patraic. ó Chlúin Comarda leo co Lumnech. 7 ra brississet scrín Patraic.*[55]
> A fleet of them came to Ciarraighe Luachra, and they plundered as far as Cill Ita and Cill Eimni. And the fleet of Luimnech plundered the Martini of Mumhain, and carried off with them Foranann, successor of Patrick from Cluain Comharda to Luimnech, and they broke the shrine of Patrick.[56]

Of course the advantages of a settlement at Limerick are obvious in that it controlled access to the river Shannon. It is also around this time (845) that we have reference to the *dún* on Lough Ree. This practice of Limerick Vikings having bases on Lough Ree and Lough Erne was to continue into the tenth century.[57]

In 856, Gormán son of Lonán was killed by the Vikings at Loch Cenn (Knocknany, Co Limerick) which was the seat of the Eóganacht Glendomain.[58] FA §278 records the arrival of two Viking leaders at Limerick: Hona and Tomrar (*c*.860). Certainly, Tomrar remained active in the area if FA is to be believed. He plundered Clonfert and later died at Port Manann, ostensibly at the retribution of St Brendan.[59] Similarly, FA §350 records the arrival of two other Viking leaders (*c*.867), Barid and Haimar. Barid seems to have been active in the area for a number of years and was probably related to the Dublin dynasty, if we are to credit CGG:

> *Ro hinrid, dna, la Baraid 7 la mac Amlaib Lagin 7 fir Muman la longes Atha Cliath corruachtadar Ciaraigi, gunar facsat uaim fo thalmain and gan*

[55] BL 1321.
[56] CGG Appendix A, 227.
[57] AU 924 tells us that the foreigners stayed on Lough Erne until the following summer; and CS 924 documents that Colla son of Baired, king of Luimnech was on Lough Ree.
[58] CS and AFM.
[59] Discussed in Chapters 3 and 5.

> *tachailt, 7 nís facsat ní o Luimneidh co Corcaig can inred, 7 ro loscset Imlech Ibair, 7 ro hinriset na Desi deisciurt.*
> Then Laighin and the men of Mumhain were plundered by Baraid and Amblaibh's son, with the fleet of Ath Cliath, until they reached Ciarraighe; and they left not a cave there under the ground that they did not explore; and they left nothing from Luimneach to Corcadh that they did not ravage. And they burned Imleach Ibhair, and they ravaged the southern Desi.[60]

The Book of Leinster simply calls them the sons of Amlaíb.[61] Later in 873, Barid is described by FA as the fosterfather of the king's son when they relate that he arrived on Lough Ree and plundered the surrounding territories.[62] In the same year, the annals report that the foreigners of Áth Cliath invaded Mumu, but AI and CGG, in very similar terms, report that Barid invaded Ciarraige Luachra and plundered all underground caves.[63] Barid seems to have been particularly associated with the south-west, Limerick and the river Shannon, and more interestingly, his dynasty continues to be associated with Limerick and Lough Ree. In 924, CS documents that Colla son of Barid, king of Luimnech was on the lough. Colla would have been quite old at this time to be the son of Barid of the 860s and 870s, or perhaps the name was a popular one with the Limerick dynasty. All the same, it suggests that the Limerick dynasty (like their Dublin cousins) either maintained some connection with the settlement in the period of exile 902-917, or that they returned to claim the kingdom of their ninth-century fathers and grandfathers.

The last ninth-century account of the Vikings of Limerick records their slaughter at the hands of the Connachtmen.[64] Mac Eoin notes the gradual progression from the Viking raid of 845, to their clear association with Shannon Estuary in 887, to the occupation of Inis Sibtond (an island in Limerick harbour) in 921.[65] There have been some suggestions that the proposed *longphort* settlement at Athlunkard, 5km miles up-river from Limerick city was the site of the first Viking base at Limerick.[66] As will be argued in the following chapter, it is more likely that Athlunkard represents one of many semi-dependent bases in the area.

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[60] CGG 24-7.
[61] BL 1323: *Ra hindred dano Lagin 7 fir Muman la longes meic Amlaib iar tain co rrochtatar Ciarraig conna fargsat uaim can telud. 7 ni farcsat ni o Lumneich co Corcaig can indriud. 7 ra locset Imlec hIbair.*
[62] FA §408. This material is discussed in Chapter 3.
[63] CGG 25-7.
[64] CS 887.
[65] Mac Eoin, 'The original name of the Viking settlement of Limerick', 166.
[66] Kelly and O'Donovan, 'A Viking longphort at Athlunkard', 16; Lenore Fischer, 'The sacking of Viking Limerick', *Old Limerick Journal* 39 (2003) 25-30.

14. Linn Rois

Longas Nordmannorum for Boinn, for Linn Roiss. Longas Nordmannorum oc Linn Sailech la Ultu.
A naval force of the Norsemen was on the Bóinn at Linn Rois. There was also a naval force of the Norsemen at Linn Sailech in Ulaid.

In 842, AU records two Viking bases one at Linn Rois and one at Linn Sailech. Linn Roiss has been identified as Rossnaree on the river Boyne in Co Meath. One season of excavation has taken place at this site which forms part of Brú na Bóinne World Heritage site. It has been suggested that the D-shaped enclosure located along the river may be a *longphort*.[67] Downham suggests that the settlement at Rossnaree, only a short distance from Knowth, the royal centre of northern Brega, may have been founded with the consent of the Síl nÁedo Sláine kingship, and it may be significant that this is also the year of the earliest recorded alliance between the Irish and the Vikings, when Commán, abbot of Linn Duachaill, was killed.[68] In 849, Máel Sechnaill laid siege to the Vikings at Crufait (Cruford) also on the river Boyne.[69]

15. Linn Sailech

Longas Nordmannorum oc Linn Sailech la Ultu.
There was also a naval force of the Norsemen at Linn Sailech in Ulaid.

Linn Sailech is regularly confused with Lough Sailech (perhaps Lough Swilly, Co Donegal);[70] however, AU specifies that it was in Ulaid. So a location or inlet on the coast of Co Down is indicated. Such has been proposed by Ó Floinn who would locate Linn Sailech in the Ards Peninsula near Bangor.[71] As discussed in Chapter 5, a female Viking burial was found in the vicinity of Ballyholme in the nineteenth century.[72] Ó Floinn has suggested that this burial dates to the late ninth century and may even have been a boat burial.[73] Ballyholme is just 2km east from the monastery of Bangor where Viking activity was intense in 824-825.

[67] Online report of excavation progress at http://rossnareedig.wordpress.com/.
[68] Downham, 'The Vikings and the Southern Uí Néill', 238.
[69] AFM 849.
[70] Viking activity around Lough Swilly in Co Donegal is evident in 845 when AU/AFM relates that the foreigners were defeated in Magh Itha by Niall, son of Áed.
[71] Ó Floinn, 'Archaeology of early Viking Age', 147.
[72] Ibid.
[73] Ibid., 146-7.

16. Cáel Uisce, Co Louth

Orgain Disirt Diarmata o genntibh di Chóel Uisce.
Dísert Diarmata was plundered by heathens from Cael Uisci.

The entry from AU 842 refers to the plundering of Castledermot, Co Kildare by the Vikings of Cáel Uisce. This is traditionally identified as Narrow Water, Co Down (near Carlingford Lough) though it has been suggested suggest that it might have been located at Killansnamh, (opposite Cornamucklagh), in Co Louth.[74] I have always been slightly puzzled by this entry. What were these Vikings doing plundering so far from their base? It's not that they could not travel long distances or raid inland, but the combination raises some questions. They would have had to travel by sea to the coast of Laigin and then make their way overland to Castledermot. It is also possible they could have got near the site via the river Slaney, if it was navigable it would be only 8 or 9 km to Castledermot. Furthermore, they would have been raiding in the newly established sphere of influence of the Vikings at Dublin, though perhaps all were controlled by the main settlement at Dublin. In any case, there were considerable logistics involved in this raid. Later in 848, the Vikings were to suffer considerable defeat at Sciath Nechtain, near Castledermot, by Ólchobor, king of Mumu, and Lorcán son of Cellach, with the Laigin. Tomrar, tanist of the king of Lochlann, and two hundred about him were killed.[75] In 869, AFM relates that Éodos, son of Donngal, suffered martyrdom from the foreigners at Dísert Diarmada.[76] The Vikings had association with Castledermot in the ninth and tenth century and there is every possibility that they had a base there. One of Ireland's only hogback monuments is from Castledermot and dates to the tenth century.[77]

[74] V.M. Buckley and P.D. Sweetman, *Archaeological survey of Co Louth* (Dublin 1991) 268, no. 1019.
[75] AU 848.
[76] FA §371 is the only other source to record this event.
[77] J.T. Lang, 'The Castledermot hogback', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 101 (1971) 154-8.

17. Tulach na Rígna (Oughterard, Co Kildare)

After its account of the battle at Sciath Nechtain, CGG mentions another Viking base. We might assume that this entry dates to the same period (*c*.848) but one can never be certain with CGG. What we can say is that it probably dates to the mid-ninth century and belongs to a series of bases recorded at that time.

> *Ro toglaig, dna, Olcubur cétna i Tulaig na Rigna forthu, du i drocair sochaidi; 7 ro marb Leth Moga uli iat.*
> The same Olchobhar demolished Tulach-na-Rigna against them, where numbers of them were killed; and Leth Mogha killed all of them.[78]

Hogan identified Tulach na Rígna as Oughterard, in barony of Salt, Co Kildare.[79] It is possible that the Vikings had taken over the early monastic settlement itself. It is approximately 57km from the known Viking base at Castledermot and just 18km from the Clondalkin base in late 860s.

18. Carlingford

As discussed in Chapter 5, a number of references in the early 830s suggest that the Vikings may have had a campaign-base at Carlingford; for example, in 831 Conaille was invaded by the heathens and Máel Brighte the king and his brother were taken away to the ships. In the same year, the heathens defeated the community of Armagh at Snám Aigneach. And in 832, Armagh is repeatedly plundered — three times in one month which suggests that the Vikings were raiding for food supplies and other essentials necessary to support a campaign-base.[80] The Dubgeinnte arrive in 852 and do battle with the Findgeinnte of Carlingford:

> *Lucht ocht .xxit long di Fhindgentibh do-roachtadur du cath fri Dubgennti do Shnamh Aighnech; .iii. laa 7 .iii. aithchi oc cathugud doaib act is re n-Duibhgennti ro m-meabaidh co farggabsat a ceile a l-longa leu. Stain fugitiuus euasit 7 Iercne decollatus iacuit*.
> The complement of eight score ships of fair-haired foreigners came to Snám Aignech, to do battle with the dark foreigners; they fought for three days and three nights, but the dark foreigners got the upper hand and the others abandoned their ships to them. Stain took flight, and escaped, and Iercne fell beheaded.

[78] CGG 20-1.
[79] OG s.n.
[80] AU 832 and see discussion in Chapter 2.

This is not to suggest continuity of settlement at Carlingford, but continuity of association at the very least. The dynasty of Iercne, and its continued presence in this area in the ninth-century is discussed in Chapter 3.

19. Uí Bairrche Tíre (Co Wexford)

> *Conn, mac Cionaedha, tighearna Ua m-Bairrchi Tíre, do mharbhadh oc toghail in dúine forsna Gallaibh*.
> Conn, son of Cinaedh, lord of Ui Bairrchi Tire, was slain while demolishing the fortress of the foreigners.

This entry from AFM 868 while it does not specifically state where this fortress is located we may presume that it was somewhere within the territory of Uí Bairrche. If that is the case, and if their territory is most closely represented today by the barony of Bargy around Wexford town, then perhaps it was the Viking settlement at Wexford that Conn attacked.

20. Waterford

The Vikings were active in the Waterford area from the 820s, when they attacked Inis Doimhle. A raid on Lismore and Kilmolash in 833 also demonstrates a presence. But the first attribution to the Vikings specifically of Port Láirge is found in AFM 860:

> *Maidhm ria c-Cerbhall for loinges Puirt Lairge oc Achodh Mic Erclaighe*.
> A victory was gained by Cearbhall, over the fleet of Port Lairge, at Achadh Mic Erclaighe.

Cerbhall, king of Osraige defeats them at Agha, St Johns near the modern city of Kilkenny, on the banks of the Nore, between New Ross and Kilkenny city.[81] It clearly shows that the Waterfordmen were on the offensive. The next direct reference to the Vikings of Waterford occurs in 892:

> *Maidhm ria Riaccán, mac Dunghaile, for Ghallaibh Puirt Lairge, Locha Carman, 7 Tighe Moling, i farccbhadh dá chéd ceann*.
> A battle was gained by Riagan, son of Dunghal, over the foreigners of Port Lairge, Loch Carman, and Teach Moling, in which two hundred heads were left behind.

This reference also indicates that the Vikings had a base at Wexford and at St Mullins.

[81] OG s.n.

21. St Mullins

St Mullins is a monastic settlement on the banks of the river Barrow in Co Carlow. In the early tenth century, the direct descendants of the founders of the Viking dynasty of Dublin returned to Ireland to lay claim to their kingdom. Two significant battles were fought as part of this campaign: Sitriuc led the fight at Cenn Fuait while Ragnall led the battle for Dublin. The identification of Cenn Fuait is controversial and previous suggestions included Confey in Co Kildare; however, recent analysis of the battle tactics involved in both campaigns by Etchingham strongly indicates that it took place at Glynn in Co Carlow. Glynn is just 2km upriver from St Mullins; this is significant as it indicates that Vikings had a particular association with this area on the river Barrow in the late ninth century and they may have deliberately returned there in the early tenth century.[82]

19. Wexford

The Viking were active in Wexford harbour in the early 820s, in 821 they raid and take the island. Around this time, CGG records (*c*.823):

> *Tanic dano longes aili i nHuib Cendselaig. ₇ ra argset Tech Munnu ₇ Tech Mo Lling. ₇ Inis Teoc.*[83]
> There came another fleet into Ui Cennselaigh, and plundered Tech Munnu, and Tech Moling, and Inis Teoc.[84]

Interestingly, in AU 828, Uí Cheinnselaig and Tech Munnu go on the offensive and defeat the Vikings, perhaps in revenge for the earlier attacks only recorded in CGG.[85] In 835, Ferns and Clonmore were raided.[86] In 868, Conn of the Uí Bairrche Tíre overthrows the fort of the heathens but it does not say where the fort was; perhaps, this is the settlement at Wexford. Final reference in the ninth century is the collective one cited above where Riagáin, son of Dunghal gains a battle over the foreigners of Wexford.

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[82] Downham, *Viking kings*, 31, fn 118; Etchingham, 'The battle of Cenn Fúait', 208-32.
[83] BL 1319.
[84] CGG Appendix A, 223.
[85] *Cathroinedh .ii. for gennti re Coirpri m. Cathail rí H. Ceinnselaig ₇ re muinntir Tighe Mundu* 'Another battle-rout was inflicted on the heathens by Cairpre son of Cathal, king of Uí Cheinnselaig, and by the community of Tech Munnu'.
[86] AU.

22. Port Mannan

FA §340
Isin bliadain si ba marbh Tomrur Iarla, namha Brénainn, do dhásacht i Purt Manann, ₇ ba h-eadh ad-chíd Brenainn 'ga mharbadh.
In this year Earl Tomrar, the enemy of Brénaind, died of insanity at Port Manann, and he could see Brénaind killing him.

The death of Earl Tomrar at Port Manann has been traditionally associated with the Isle of Man, more recently Dowham has suggested that it may be an unidentified *longphort* site in Ireland, one possible suggestion she makes is Dunmanann near Fermoy, Co Cork.[87] If it were indeed a base in Ireland that would add to the number of *longphort* sites, but taking FA at its word I think it is more likely that Tomrar's base was at, or somewhere near, Limerick. AI record his death as follows:

Tomrar iarla do orcain Cluana Ferta Brenaind conro marb Brenaind tres ló iar richtain a longphoirt.
Tomrar the Jarl, plundered Cluain Ferta Brénainn, and Brénainn killed him on [the] third day after he had reached his camp.

Most interesting as we shall see in other cases, wherever it was, the *longphort* is clearly seen as Tomrar's. The possessive is used, similar to other forts that were under the control of specific Viking leaders. Is this partly why fewer place-names survive, once that leader died the camp passed to the leadership of others which resulted in constant name changing in some cases?

23. Mundrehid, Co Laois

In 866, AFM record an attack by Cennétig son of Gáethíne, king of Loígis, and the northern Osraige on Vikings at Mendroichet (Mundrehid, north of Borris-in-Ossory) Co Laois (on the river Nore?).[88] A more interesting account from FA documents another raid led by Cennétig on a Viking camp which could very well be that of Mendroichet.[89] Nevertheless the details of this raid are interesting for it relates that Cennétig slaughtered the foreigners in the middle of their *longphort* and those that escaped were later chased into the bog and were killed there. Many Viking bases were located close to marshlands and bogs as these provided additional natural defence against potential attack. In 862, Cennétig attacked *longphort Rothlaíb*

[87] Clare Downham, 'Tomrar's death at Port Manann: a possible longphort site in Ireland', *Ainm* 9 (2008) 57-64: 61.
[88] FA §329 also records this event.
[89] FA §338.

(Dunrally, Co Laois) and in 867 he attacked the Viking settlement at Clondalkin. These attacks were part of a concerted campaign by Cennétig against the Vikings operating in his territory and those on its borders.

24. Strangford Lough

Strangford is derived from Old Norse *Strangfjórðr* meaning 'strong or rapid fjord', and as Oftedal pointed out this referred to the strong tidal currents of the Lough.[90] AU 877 records an encounter between the Findgeinnte and the Dubgeinnte at Loch Cuan (Strangford Lough). Two years later the same annals record that Máel Coba son of Crunnmael, superior of Ard Macha, and the lector Mochta, were taken prisoner by the foreigners.[91] AFM has slightly more detail on this event and records that it was the 'foreigners' of Strangford who were responsible for the taking these clerics:

> *Maol Cobha, mac Crunnmhaoil, abb Arda Macha, do erghabháil do Ghallaibh Locha Cuan, 7 an fer leighinn .i. Mochta*.
> Maelcobha, son of Crunnmhael, Abbot of Ard Macha, was taken prisoner by the foreigners of Loch Cuan, as was also the Lector, i.e. Mochta.[92]

As argued in Chapter 5, the Vikings had a strong presence in the area in the early 820s. This is not to suggest a permanent base on Strangford Lough throughout the ninth century but it shows continuity of association with the general area. They may have established many bases in different locations round the Lough at different times.

25. Lough Foyle

> *Árd Macha d'argain ó Gallaibh Lochu Feabhail et Cumusccach do gabáil dáiph et a mac .i. Aodh mac Cumusgaicch do marbadh*.
> Ard Macha was plundered by the foreigners of Loch Febail and Cumascach was taken prisoner by them and his son, Aed son of Cumascach, slain.

CS records the activities of Vikings of Lough Foyle in 898, but they may long have had an association with this area. In 866, the annals record that Áed expelled the Vikings from their *longphoirt* in Cenél nEógain and Dál nAraidi and this expedition finished with a victory over the Vikings at Lough Foyle in which 1200 of them were

[90] Oftedal, 'Placenames', 132; Mac Giolla Easpaig, 'L'influence scandinave sur la toponymie irlandaise', 470-1
[91] AU 879.
[92] CS notes the taking of the clerics but does not mention by whom, nor does it mention Loch Cuan.

killed (see above). It may infer that they also had a *longphort* or base in the Lough itself at this time. It is a considerable distance to travel from Lough Foyle to Armagh whether by sea and/or land.

(E) REFERENCES TO VIKING BASES IN HAGIOGRAPHICAL SOURCES

There are some interesting references to Viking bases in some of the hagiographical sources, this is not an exhaustive study, but some of the more interesting examples are brought together below. They are discussed by source rather than chronologically as these texts are often difficult to date precisely.

26. Killaspugbrone, Co Sligo

As discussed in Chapter 3, a reference in the *Tripartite life of Patrick* implies that the Vikings had a base at Killaspugbrone in Co Sligo. This is a composite text which dates to the late ninth century and tenth century.[93] Donnchadh Ó Corrain dates this passage of text to the mid-ninth century:

> *Doróand Patraic Caissil nIrre, ocus atá for lár inliss indlecc foratorchair fiacail Patraic. Forcmaid epscop Bróin inport, et protetauit Patricius quod gentilibus desereretur locus ille, quod factum est.*
> Patrick marked out Caissel Irre, and in the middle of the hall stands the flagstone on which Patrick's tooth fell. Bishop Bron ... the place, and Patrick prophesied that that place would be deserted by the heathen, which thing came to pass.[94]

The verb is *desereo*, Stokes translation reads 'would be deserted by the heathens', perhaps a better meaning would be 'deserted because of the heathens', i.e. abandoned to the Vikings. The case for a base at Killaspugbrone is strengthened by recent discovery of a possible Viking *longphort* site at Knoxspark, Co Sligo (about 14km away). The *Tripartite life of Patrick* also contains reference to the occupation of an island in Wexford harbour by the Vikings and implies that the relics of Erdit and Augustine were moved to Sleaty. These raids are consistent with those recorded in the area in the annals for the 820s. This material demonstrates how useful this type of hagiographical material can be, particularly, when it is possible to corroborate with annalistic references or archaeological material.

[93] Bhreathnach, 'Saint Patrick, Vikings and Inber nDée', 36, suggests it dates to the first half of the ninth century.
[94] Stokes (ed. and trans.), *Tripartite life of Patrick,* i, 140-41

27. Dún Dubchomair, Co Meath

Three Viking camps are referred to in the fourteenth-century *Life of St Findchua of Brigown* at specific sites.[95] Dowham rightly urges caution in the use of this hagiographical text, but they are some curious features of the text itself and of the bases it describes.[96] In the case of two of the three bases, there is additional supporting evidence to suggest that the Vikings may indeed have had settlements (temporary or more long-term) in the area.

> *O at-conncatur Clanna Néill na cleirig chuca do-bhi do mhett a n-eicne cu r' eirighset uile ar fhailti fria Findchua. IN adaig immorro do-rocht Findchua co Temraig ba sí adaig do-rochtatar na dibergaigh, 7 tucsat agaid a long gu Clannaibh Neill an deisceirt co Dubhcomar.*
> When the clans of Niall perceived the clerics coming towards them, so great was their need that they all arose for welcome to Findchua. Now the night that Findchua reached Tara was the very night that the marauders [*dibergaigh*] arrived, and they brought the bows of their vessels to southern Húi Néill to Dubchomar.[97]

Dun Dubchomair i Crich na Ross i mBreg is located where the river Boyne meets the Blackwater.[98] As Mark Clinton has shown this base was located in close proximity to a Viking burial, perhaps a horse burial, at Athlumney near Navan. In fact examination of a small Anglo-Norman motte at Athlumney by Kelly, discussed by Clinton, led him to suggest that it may actually constitute a Viking *dún* or *longphort*.[99] The burial was first discussed in detail by Rhoda Kavanagh, and most recently been re-examined by Ó Floinn who suggests it may represent the burial of a high-status female.[100] It is difficult to date the material found, though Kavanagh argued that the bridle-bit was an earlier type than those at Dublin dating to the tenth century and Maeve Sikora suggests that the harness mounts are similar to those found at Donore, Co Meath and may very well date to the ninth century.[101] Ó Murchadha proposed that the Vikings may have used Navan (*Odhbha*) itself as a

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[95] Whitley Stokes, 'The Life of Findchú of Brigown', *Lives of the Saints from the Book of Lismore* (Dublin 1890). Padraig Ó Riain, *A dictionary of Irish saints* (Dublin 2011), 336, suggests that the Life may have been written in the Cistercian abbey of Fermoy, Co Cork.
[96] Downham, 'Viking camps', 93, fn 2.
[97] Stokes, 'The Life of Findchú', 89.
[98] OG s.n.
[99] Clinton, 'Settlement dynamics in Co Meath', 387.
[100] Rhoda Kavanagh, 'The horse in Viking Ireland', in Bradley (ed.), *Settlement and society*, 89-121; Ó Floinn, 'Archaeology of the early Viking-Age', 144-6; Maeve Sikora, 'Diversity in Viking-Age horse burial: a comparative study of Norway, Iceland, Scotland and Ireland', *The Journal of Irish Archaeology* 12/13 (2003/2004) 87-109: 91.
[101] Kavanagh, 'Horse in Viking Ireland', 103.

base in the ninth and tenth centuries.[102] It is interesting that the documented Viking presence at Linn Rois (Rosnaree) is less than 20km away.

The terms used in the Life to describe the Vikings are *dibergaigh* 'marauders' and *allmuraig* 'outlanders'. Of passing interest is that there is an initial attempt to negotiate with the Vikings before Findchua works his magic. On at least three occasions, Findchua is credited with driving the Vikings from the territory of Uí Néill.

28. Cúil Cnámrois, Co Roscommon

Cúil Cnámrois is said to have been quite close to Cruachan, the seat of the kings of Connaght.

> *Eirgheas iar sin cogad allmurach i coicedh Connacht re linn Fhinnchua. Tomaltach mac Muiredhaigh ba rí Connacht in tan-sin. A n-indmhusa immorro no bertis allmharaig uatha gacha bliadne tar muir sair, gur fhacuibhset gorta 7 terce bidh insin coiceadh. Lotar fesa o Thomaltach co Finnchua cu ro dhingbad na h-allmuraig dhe 7 a breth fesin do. Luidh Finnchua lasna techtaibh gu Cruachain Maigi h-Ai. Batur failthig Connachta roime. Batar dono na h-allmuraig i bh-fosadh a lar longpuirt ina bh-farrad i Cuil Fedha, frisi n-abar Cul Cnam Rois inniu.*[103]
> Then a war of the foreigners arose in the province of Connaught during Findchua's time. Tomaltach, son of Muiredach, was then king of Connaughtmen. Now, every year foreigners used to take from them their goods over sea to the east, so that they (the foreigners) left famine and scarcity of food in the province. Messengers went from Tomaltach to Findchua (entreating) him to expel the foreigners, and (offering him) his own award. Findchua went with the envoys to Cruachan of Mag Ái. The Connaughtmen rejoinced to see him. Then the foreigners were encamped near them in Cúil Feda, which is today called Cúil Cnámrois.

The story in the Life of Findchua is essentially an account of how this place acquired its name. But it also contains an interesting description of the Viking camp, Stokes translates it as follows:

> *Geibhidh iarum teasbach dermhair na h-allmuraig annsin tria cumachtaibh an cleirig a medhon a longphuirt dona sonnuibh iarnaidbh batur i timcheall an longphuirt imacuairt, conná frith dibh aramharach acht a cnama 7 a taisi a*

[102] Diarmuid Ó Murchadha, 'Odhbha and Navan', *Ríocht na Mídhe* 8 (1992) 112-24: 114-6. He draws attention in particular to a reference in a metrical fragment in the Book of Ballymote: *Odba i tir Tomair toghaig taebaig* 'Odhbha in the choice many-sided land of Tomrar', this reference could refer to the earl Tomrar slain in 848 or to a later Tomrar slain in 923.
[103] Stokes, 'The Life of Findchú', 94.

> *medhon a longphuirt, 7 frasa dia n-armaib na bh-farrad conadh Cuil Cnamh Rois ainm ann inaid o sin ille*.[104]
> Then through the mighty powers of the cleric a terrible heat seizes the foreigners there, in the midst of their camp, from the iron posts that stood all around the camp, so that on the morrow there was found of them naught save their bones and their remains amidst their camp, and showers of their weapons near them. Wherefore Cúil Cnámrois ('Recess of Bone-wood?') is the name of the place from that to this.

The term used repeatedly to describe the Viking settlement is *longphort*. In his notes to accompany the text, Stokes suggests that the description of the iron posts may be some attempt to describe *chevaux de frise*. Perhaps it is a description of a palisade on top of the enbankments that enclosed the *longphort*. Again Findchua is credited with riding Connaght of the Vikings.

29. Inis Fuamnaige, Co Cork

The third base referred appears to have been an island held by the Vikings off the coast of Cork. This section of the Life serves as pseudo-origin legend as to the Ciarraige Cuirche and indeed as to how Finchua himself acquired his name. What is interesting is that Kerrycurrihy was the district to the south of Cork city and was said to have suffered most at the hands of the Vikings;[105] indeed, it formed a substantial part of what was to become known in the Anglo-Norman period as the cantred of the Ostmen. In 1177, Kerrycurrihy was taken into the king's hands and an inqusition of 1224 refers to a cantred in Kerrycurrihy formerly held by the Ostmen of Cork.[106] In essence, Kerrycurrihy formed the hinterland of Cork and was perhaps equivalent to Fine Gall or *Dyflinaskíri* around Dublin. In the case of Inis Fuamnaige, we are unable to identify the island in question but it was located within an area that was strongly associated with Viking settlement and control. As a result of what appears to be an account of the struggle for power amongst the Ciarraige Cuirche, Ciar is targeted by his uncle, Mothla, and an attempt is made on his life, after intoxication he is blown towards Inis Fuamnaige, where he finds refuge with a Viking leader named Magor Dubloingsech. One cannot but wonder if this is some attempt to render some form of a name derived from a corrupt form of Mac Ímhar. In any case, the terms of Ciar's stay are very interesting:

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[104] Ibid. 94.
[105] Diarmuid Ó Murchadha, 'The Ciarraighe Cuirche', *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society* 73 (1968) 60-70.
[106] Nicholls, 'Inquisitions of 1224 from the "Miscellanea of the Exchequer"', 111.

> *eolus cusan crich asa táinic cu ro airgeadh hi, ar ni bhídh arbhur na treabhad aige 'na innsibh eidir. Lotor iarum i Ciarraigi fria re tri bh-faghmhar, gu rucsat a harbhur eisdi ana mbarcaibh iarna crechad, co ro fhas gorta mor a Ciarraige uili dhe sin*.
> even guidance to the territory whence he had come; so that Magor might ravage it, for he had no corn or cultivation whatever in his islands. So for the space of three autumns they invaded Ciarraige, and carried its corn out of it in their ships after raiding it, so that a great dearth increased in all Ciarraige thereby.[107]

The Vikings are given guidance around the territory and the biggest sin they are said to commit is the taking of corn — not the plundering of churches, not the taking of slaves but the taking of foodstuffs.

The final aspect of the Life worthy of mention is that it contains one of the few references in the Irish source material to the Old Norse term *nef-gildi* or nose-tax:[108]

> *Cinnit Muimnigh ima rígh cana Finnchua forru .i. ub cet laegh ⁊ in cét uan ⁊ in cét arc d'Finnchua ⁊ d'fir a inaidh o feruib Muman, ⁊ coimhet a inaidh ar Clannaibh Cairpri do gres. Et almsa as cech sroin o Feruib Muighi d'fir a inaidh, ⁊ a ghuidi-sium dhoib-sium ind am eicne, ⁊ guidhed-sium Dia um shlicht Coirpri ⁊ Chathail d'foirithin iar bh-fir.*
> The Munstermen with their king determine Findchua's tributes upon them, to wit, the first calf and the first lamb, and the first pig to Findchua and his successor from the men of Munster, and protection of his place from Cairbre's children always, and an alms from every nose in Fermoy to his successor.[109]

30. Inber Domnann, Co Dublin

These stories of Findchua's encounters with the Vikings are similar to the way in which an account in *Félire Óengusso* relates that Diarmait mac Cerbaill implored St Ultan to aid him in the expulsion of the Foreigners.[110] As discussed in Chapter 5, *Félire Óengusso* dates to the ninth century, but the notes to the text are more difficult to date but can be assigned to the tenth/twelfth-century period. The notes for Cronán of Glas Mór (February 10) are particularly interesting:

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[107] Stokes, 'The Life of Findchú', 95 and 242-3.
[108] As Stokes notes, this tax is also found in the Book of Rights; see Dillon (ed. and trans.), *Lebor na Cert*, l. 1732: *unga cacha sróna* 'an ounce [of tax] for each nose'. Also in the 'Life of St Maignenn' cited in Eugene O'Curry, *On the manners and customs of the ancient Irish* 3 vols (Repr. New York 1971), i, 240: 'a *screapall* from every nose'; and in CGG, 50-1: 'an ounce of silver Findruni for every nose', B ms adds some embellishment when it states that if a man could not pay this tax then his nose would be cut off.
[109] Stokes, 'The Life of Findchú', 97 and 245.
[110] FO, 200-01.

> *Cronan. Cronan mac Mellan o Glais Moir i nDesib Muman nó o Glais Moir [.i.] cell robói i taeb Suirt don leith indeas, co tancatar Goill Inbir Domnand [chuice L.] gur ro marbatar a muntir uili in una nocte*.
> Cronán, son of Mellán, of Glas mór in the Dési of Munster, or of Glas mór, a church that was beside Swords on the south. Foreigners of Inber Domnann came to it and killed the whole of its community *in una nocte*.

Inber Domnann is the mouth of the Malahide river, and this reference would suggest that the Vikings had a base there at some stage. Bradley draws attention to the notes attached to Mag nElta (the plain of Clontarf) and Glasnevin in FO, both are described simply as *i nnGallaib* 'among the foreigners'.[111]

CONCLUSION

One final reference from CGG dates to the early tenth century but provides a window on some possible ninth-century settlements in Co Cork. This account narrates the return of Ragnall to Waterford and his subsequent efforts to gain control of key settlements in Ireland. The death of Gébennach son of Áed, king of Uí Fidgente is recorded in AI 916.

> *Tanic morchoblach la Ragnall mac Imair. ₇ la hOttir iarla. co rragbaiset for Loch da Chaec. Ra marbad leo Domnall mac Dunchada rigdomna Casil. Et ra raindset ₇ ra hindriset Hu Chairpri ₇ Muscraigi eturru.*
> *Ra scailset iar sain .i. a train i Corcaig. Et a train i nInis Eidnigi. Et a train for Glaslind. Ra hindred in Mumain lasin longessin cona raba tene o Luí fodess. Is lasin longissin ra marbad Gebennach mac Aeda ri Hua Conaill Gabra ₇ rucsat a chend leo*.[112]
> There came a great fleet with Raghnall, son of Imar, and with Ottir the Earl, and they landed at Loch da Caech. Domhnall, son of Dunchadh, heir apparent of Cashel, was killed by them, and they divided and ravaged Carbre and Muscraighi between them. They separated afterwards; one-third of them in Corcach, and a third in Inis na hEidhaighi, and a third in Glaslinn. [All Munster] was plundered by that fleet, so that there was not a fire from the Lee southwards. It was by this fleet that Gebennach, son of Aedh, king of Ua Conaill Gabra, was slain, and they carried his head with them, ... [113]

The division of Viking fleets was quite common and the possible significance of this in terms of the establishment of base-camps has been discussed elsewhere. In this case the fleet divides into three, one goes to Cork, one goes to Inis nEidgnigi, and one to Glaislinn. Ó Murchadha in an insightful study identified Inis nEidgnigi as

[111] FO 243; Bradley, 'Some reflections on the problem of Scandinavian settlement', 43.
[112] BL 1325.
[113] CGG, Appendix A, 234.

Haulbowline Island in Cork harbour, and Glaislinn as the estuary of the Bandon river at on the western side of Kinsale.[114]

This reference seems to document the taking of Cork and the establishment of another base on Haulbowline. Clearly the Vikings were attempting to guard and protect the main settlement in the inner reaches of the harbour. Ó Murchadha notes the strategic advantages of the island. This why it was chosen in the early seventeenth century for a star-shaped fort, and was later to house as a British naval base. Niall Brunicardi proposed that second element of Haulbowline is derived from a proper ON name such as *Bjorling*.[115] Ó Corráin and Mac Giolla Easpaig draw attention to other Hiberno-Scandinavian placenames such as Fota Island from ON *fótr* meand 'foot' Island in Cork harbour.[116] Could one of these islands be Inis Fuamnaige, off Kerrycurrihy, said to be held by the Vikings, in the Life of St Findchua?

One other notable place-name in Cork harbour is Dunkettle (Dún Caitill); derived from the Irish element *dun* and ON *Kettill*. It is similar in designation to Dún Amlaib and Dún Rothlaíb. This particular site is not documented in the primary source material. Though there are references to a Viking leader called Caitil Find operating in ninth-century Ireland. For example, in 857 Amlaib and Imar attack him and his Gall-Goídil in Munster.[117] CGG uniquely records that *Is leo ro marbad Caetil Find lin a longphuirt* 'It was by them Caetil Find was killed along with his *longphort*'.[118] It is not possible to identify the location of this base, but it noted in connection with a series of encounters between the kings of Dublin and the the Déisi.[119] This pattern of bases at Haulbowline and Dunkettle focused around the main settlement at Cork mirrors that outlined for Dublin, Limerick and Waterford.

Interestly, Ó Murchadha suggests that one of the reasons Glaislinn proved so difficult to identify is that the name was probably replaced by the Scandinavian name for Kinsale: Endilford.[120] The establishment of a temporary base in Kinsale harbour

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[114] Diarmuid Ó Murchadha, 'Glaislinn and Inis na hEdnigi', *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society* 109 (2004) 111-8.
[115] Niall Brunciardi, *Haulbowline, Spike and Rocky islands* (Cork 1968) 4. See Ó Murchadha, 'Glaislinn and Inis na hEdnigi', 114.
[116] Sheehan et al. 'Beginish', 115; Mac Giolla Easpaig, 'L'influence scandinave sur la toponymie irlandaise', 459-462.
[117] *Roiniudh re n-Imar ⁊ re n-Amlaiph for Caittil Find cona Gall-Gaedelaibh h-i tiribh Muman* 'Ímar and Amlaíb inflicted a rout on Caitil the Fair and his Norse-Irish in the lands of Munster'.
[118] CGG 22-3, Todd translates this as 'garrison'
[119] Ibid.
[120] Ó Murchadha, 'Glaislinn and Inis na hEdnigi', 113.

in the early tenth century probably reflects Viking association with the area in the ninth century. One notable account from CGG documents some unique raids:

> *Ro toglad leo Dun Dermugi, ⁊ Inis Eoganan, ⁊ Disiurt Tipraiti, ⁊ ro hindred leo Leas Mor, ⁊ ro loisced Cell Molassi, ⁊ Cluain-ard Mubeoc, ⁊ ro hindred dna Land Lerí, ⁊ Cend Slebi la fairind eli dib*.[121]
> By them was demolished Dun Dermuighe, and Inis Eoganainn, and Disert Tipraiti, and they devastated Leas Mor, and burned Cill Molaisi ... [122]

The reference seems to imply that they plundered Dunderrow, near Kinsale, and then proceeded up the Bandon river to Inis Shannon. Disert Tipraiti is unidentified. As the raids on Lismore and Kilmolash are also recorded in AU and CS it is therefore possible to date this material to 833. Endilford may be derived from either Andil or Endil's *fjǫrðr*.[123] Ó Córrain draws attention to a concentration of Hiberno-Scandinavian place-names in the area, Olderness, Scilly Island and Oysterhaven, and suggests that Kinslae must have been an important settlement engaged in shipping and trade.[124]

In conclusion, in 2004, in a paper delivered to the Save Woodstown Campaign, I remarked:

> Whatever about a typology of *longphort*s, there may never have been a settlement form that was a *longphort* in the same way we categorise ringforts or motte-and-baileys. But it is clear that the Scandinavians showed a preference for certain sites which share common features. Generally they preferred sites at the confluence of rivers providing access inland via the river system, border locations preferably between rival kingdoms, proximity to river crossings and they were also attracted by natural defensive features such as marshlands or the Black Pool at Dublin.

However, almost ten years later, I think we are now in a position to identify *longphort* as a site monument. [125] The evidence from Woodstown and Annagassan would see to confirm the work of Kelly, Maas, and O'Donovan on Dunrally and Athlunkard sites respectively. The most defining feature of these sites seems to be the D-shaped enclosure. Yet, it is not clear from the documentary record what the annalists and medieval chroniclers of these sites perceived as the difference (if any)

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[121] CGG 6-9.
[122] See BL 1319; CGG, Appendix 223-4: has a slightly different sequence and states that after they plundered Lismore and Kilmolash they then plundered Dunderrow etc
[123] Sheehan et al. 'Beginish', 114.
[124] Ó Murchadha, 'Glaislinn and Inis na hEdnigi', 113.
[125] Sheehan, 'The *longphort* in Viking Age Ireland', 285 and 293; Gibbons, 'The longphort phenomenon in Early Christian and Viking Ireland', 19-23; id. 'Athlunkard (Ath-an-Longphort): a reassessment of the proposed Viking fortress in Fairyhill, County Clare', *The Other Clare* 29 (2005) 22-5; id. 'The search for the ninth-century *longphort*: early Viking-Age Norse fortifications and the origins of urbanization in Ireland', in Seán Duffy (ed.), *Medieval Dublin* VIII (2008) 9-20.

between *longphort*, *dún* and *dúnad*. Only detailed archaeological excavation and survey of these sites would determine the difference, Dunrally is a classic example documented in AFM as a *longphort*, but the name belies an original *dún*. This study has identified at least thirty bases established by the Vikings in the ninth century. Some of these may have only been temporary campaign-bases, others like Dublin, Cork and Limerick were to form the core of the later tenth-century towns. Some were founded *de novo* by the Vikings, others bases seem to have been appropriated secular and monastic sites.

Though there were bases on the west coast, and in the south west, it is the east coast that seems to have particularly attracted the Vikings, though the annals in general show a bias towards this area of the country. However, there seems to have been a concentration of bases between modern-day Co Down and Co Wicklow; we can identify at least eight bases between 827 and 842; Gaill ind Airthir 827, Inber na mBarc 837, Inber nDée 837, Dublin 841, Linn Duachaill 841, Linn Rois 842, Linn Sailech 842, and Cáel Uisce 842. Likewise, clusters of bases can be identified along some of the major river systems for example, the river Boyne, with a base at the estuary in 837 (Inber na mBarc), at Linn Rois in 842, along with the archaeological evidence for bases at Athlumney and Navan later in the ninth-century. Similarly, from their base at Limerick with some dependent bases on the river Shannon (in particular on Lough Ree), the archaeological evidence suggests a settlement at Athlunkard in the ninth century. Similar networks around Dublin and Waterford will be discussed in the next chapter.

As stated repeatedly, these bases often receive only a cursory mention in the annals, more commonly when they are destroyed or attacked rather than when they were founded. Some like Dublin are referred to a number of times, and others like Clondalkin only once. As we shall see in the next chapter, some like Woodstown seem never to have been mentioned in the documentary sources at all.

CHAPTER 7

'AFTER THAT THE *LONGPHORT* OF THE SLAIN BROTHER WAS ATTACKED': PATTERNS OF VIKING SETTLEMENT AT DUBLIN AND WOODSTOWN

As this study has shown, there is a discernible down-turn in Viking activity recorded in the Irish annals from the 850s onwards. The establishment of settlements and more engagement by the Vikings in peaceful interactions with the local population may account for this decline. This chapter will examine two such ninth-century settlements. In the case of Dublin, there are a number of references to the kingdom in the extant primary source material and some archaeological evidence of settlement has been found. This material will then be compared with the evidence from Woodstown; in contrast, we have no identifiable documentary references to this site, but the archaeological evidence indicates that it was a significant Viking settlement in the ninth century.

In Chapter 1, I posed the question what kind of settlements and settlement patterns did the Vikings find when they arrived in Ireland? As the Vikings sailed into Dublin Bay and along the river Liffey, the most impressive sites must have been the monastic centres of Dublin and Kilmainham. Indeed, it seems there was a network of settlements on both sides of the river with a strong ecclesiastical character, and with developed interactions and relationships between these churches.[1] Many of these survived the Viking period and formed later medieval parish churches. In addition to these ecclesiastical settlements, Clarke in his model of pre-Viking Dublin proposes that there was a secular site associated with Áth Cliath, the natural fording point on the Liffey.[2] In many respects, the complex hierarchical social structure of early medieval Ireland manifested itself in the landscape along the banks of the Liffey. Of central understanding to the history of Dublin is the acknowledgement that there was settlement in the area before the arrival of the Vikings.[3] The argument for Gaelic

[1] Ó Carragáin, 'Cemetery settlements', 329-66, argues that the approximate density of church settlements in Ireland was 1 per 9/12km²; this would mean the ecclesiastical settlement pattern along the Liffey was not so unusual.

[2] Clarke, 'Gaelic, Viking and Hiberno-Norse Dublin', 4-24; id. 'The topographical development of early Dublin', 52-69.

[3] Indeed, we have much to learn about the pre-Viking period at Dublin; most notable is the Anglo-Saxon house-type discovered at Copper Alley dating to late eighth and ninth century containing a comb of Romo-British type (fifth/sixth century). This highlights the need to engage fully with the

settlement has been advanced by Clarke, particularly in his topographical analysis of the town, and forms the background to the present discussion.[4] AU refers to two sites: Áth Cliath and Dublinn in the late eighth century. Both names are derived from a description of geographical features. Áth Cliath meaning 'ford of the hurdles' referring to the river crossing and Dublinn meaning 'the black pool', scoured out by the confluence of the Liffey with the Poddle river.[5] The entries in AU, although brief, are informative with regard to the possible nature of the sites themselves. Áth Cliath formed the main connection between the north and south banks of the Liffey. The earliest Irish annalistic reference to the ford is occurs in AU 770:

> *Coscradh Atha Cliath ria Ciannacht for Hu Teig. Ar mor di Laignibh. Ro bbadhad sochaidi di Chiannucht i llan mora oc tinntud*.
> The overthrow of the Uí Teig by the Ciannacht at Áth Cliath. There was a great slaughter of the Laigin. A number of the Ciannacht were drowned in the full tide as they returned.

The Ciannacht are drowned as they make their way back across the river, this episode indicates the nature and importance of the ford as a river crossing, and its political significance, given that the Liffey formed the boundary between the kingdoms of Brega and Laigin.

In the early medieval period, the use of the ford was hampered by the tidal nature of the Liffey and the fact that the river was subject to flash floods.[6] Despite such hazards, Áth Cliath must have been very important because of the connection it provided between the north and south banks of the river. The crossing takes on greater significance when examined in the light of the course of the five main route-ways in early Ireland as outlined by Colm O Lochlainn.[7] His study suggested that four of these route-ways intersected in some fashion in the Dublin area. His analysis was based on texts of a wide chronological range, and in some cases he projected evidence back into the early medieval period, so some degree of caution must be exercised in utilising his model. Nevertheless, one may assume that natural features

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settlement history of Dublin and the surrounding area in the pre-Viking period: see Simpson, *Director's findings*, 9-11.

[4] Clarke, 'The topographical development of early Dublin', 52-69.

[5] Ibid., 57-8.

[6] John W. de Courcy, 'A bridge in its time: the river Liffey crossing at Church Street in Dublin', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 90C (1990) 243-57.

[7] Colm O Lochlainn, 'Roadways in ancient Ireland' in John Ryan (ed.), *Féil-sgríbhinn Eóin Mhic Néill* (Dublin, 1940) 465-74. For criticism of this model, see Geraldine Stout and Matthew Stout, 'Patterns in the past: county Dublin 5000BC-1000AD', in Aalen et al. (eds), *Dublin city and county*, 5-42: 15.

such as Escir Riada (the backbone of the Slige Mór) must always have formed a natural corridor or route-way. Three route-ways –Slige Midluachra from Ulster in the north, Slige Mór from Connacht in the west, and Slige Cualann from Leinster in the south, intersected on the prominent ridge overlooking the ford of Áth Cliath, and Clarke draws attention to the modern street pattern in this area, which may reflect some form of enclosure. The boundary of this settlement may be preserved in the slight curve of Schoolhouse Lane.[8] It is also possible that there were two early Christian churches, St Colum Cille's and St Mo-Lua's, in the area that may have served an early settlement at Áth Cliath.[9] George Little, utlising work by Aubrey Gwynn, first suggested that the original dedication of St Audoen's was to St Columba.[10] A late twelfth century list of Dublin churches contains a reference to 'Richard a priest of St Columba'.[11] There are no subsequent references to a church of St Columba, hence Little's conclusion that it was rededicated to St Audoen in the late twelfth-century.[12] The possible early origins of this church were rejected by Bradley, though he cites evidence of the pre-Norman cross-slab in the porch of the church, and record of a cleric, Turstin, all of which hint that it dates to the pre-Norman period at least.[13]

The reference to Dublinn in AU 790 consists of a death notice for Abbot Siadal.[14] Clarke has presented evidence for the existence of an ecclesiastical settlement, perhaps with a concentration of early Christian churches, in this area.[15] His topographical analysis identified an oval enclosure partly preserved in the modern street pattern curving around Stephen Street Upper, Peter's Row and Whitefriar Street and he argued that that this may preserve the outline of the

[8] Clarke, 'Gaelic, Viking and Hiberno-Norse', 9-10. Clarke's proposal is discussed by Stout and Stout, 'Patterns in the past', 15-16 and examined further in Emer Purcell, 'St Michan: cult, saint and church', in Bradley et al. (eds), *Dublin in Medieval World*, 119-40.

[9] Clarke, 'Topographical development', 58-9; id, 'Christian cults', 154-7; id, 'Gaelic, Viking and Hiberno-Norse', 9-10.

[10] George Little, *Dublin before the Vikings; an adventure in discovery* (Dublin 1957) 116-9.

[11] M.J. McEnery and Raymond Refaussé (eds), *Christ Church Deeds* (Dublin 2001) [hereafter CCD] §364; H.J. Lawlor, 'A calendar of the Liber Niger and Liber Albus of Christ Church', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 27C (1908-9), 1-93: 24.

[12] Little, *Dublin before Vikings*, 117.

[13] Bradley, 'Topographical development', 49, rejects Little's identification and suggests that Richard may have been a priest of another Columban foundation possibly Swords or Lambay, but he is listed amongst witnesses from other churches within Dublin — preceded by St Brigid's, St Patrick's, St Michael's and St Michan's, and succeeded by St Martin's. P. Ó Héailidhe, 'Early christian grave slabs in the Dublin region', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 103 (1973) 51-64; CCD §447, *c.*1200, 'Turstin, parson of St Audoen'.

[14] AFM records the death of an earlier abbot of Dublinn, St Beraid in 650, but this is questionable.

[15] Clarke, 'Topographical development', 60-5.

monastic enclosure.[16] No archaeological evidence has been found to support his theory.[17] Perhaps the modern street preserves the outline of a cemetery settlement.

Nevertheless, there appears to have been a concentration of churches in and around Dublinn: St Peter's, St Patrick's, St Brigit's, St Kevin's, St Mac Táil's (later St Michael's), and St Martin's.[18] The foundation date of these churches is difficult to determine, Little and Clarke argued that they had their origins in the pre-Viking period. The documentary evidence dates to the Anglo-Norman period and in some cases we may infer that they were founded in the tenth and eleventh centuries. However, support for Clarke's theory, is found in recent archaeological evidence from excavations at St Peter's and St Michael's as both provide evidence of pre-Viking activity. In addition to this concentration of early churches at Dublin, the hinterland also possessed a substantial number of monastic sites: at Kilmainham (St Maigniu), Clondalkin (St Crónán), Tallaght (St Máel Ruain), Clontarf (St Comgall), Santry (St Papán), Glasnevin (St Mo Bí), Finglas (St Cainnech), Swords (St Brigit and St Colum Cille),[19] and Lusk (St Mac Cuilinn).[20]

The monastic settlement of Dublinn itself seems to disappear from the documentary record after the arrival of the Vikings, but it is the only recorded monastery in the Dublin area to do so (that we know of).[21] In the ninth century, the Vikings had bases in or alongside a number of monastic settlements: Cloney, Cork,

[16] Ibid., 60.

[17] For a summary of the evidence, see Simpson, 'Forty years a-digging', 11-68: See also Tim Coughlan, 'Excavations at the medieval cemetery of St Peter's Church, Dublin', in Seán Duffy (ed.), *Medieval Dublin* IV (Dublin 2003) 11-39.

[18] Clarke, 'Topographical development', 60-61. John Bradley, 'The topographical development of Scandinavian Dublin' in Aalen and Whelan (eds), *Dublin city and county*, 43-56: 52, questions the pre-Scandinavian origins of some these churches and argues that they may have been attracted to the area in the eleventh century by the presence of the town itself, 'the churches dedicated to Patrick, Brigid and Kevin were intended to function as the houses of Armagh, Kildare and Glendalough at Dublin. They would have provided a place to stay as well as acting as sources of information on what was happening in the town'. Ailbhe Mac Shamhráin, 'The *Monasticon Hibernicum* project: the diocese of Dublin', in Seán Duffy (ed.), *Medieval Dublin* VI (Dublin, 2005), 114-43: 116, suggests that sites within urban core are included because 'they are indeed likely to have been native ecclesiastical settlements of early date'; he remarks further (p. 129). that St Brigit's grave-slabs could be as early as the ninth century.

[19] Swords has an earlier tradition of association with St Brigid.

[20] Clarke, 'Topographical development', 63, suggests that the monastic settlement at *Dublinn* should be viewed within the context of the transition from episcopal to abbatical control which took place in the Irish church in the seventh century. Richard Sharpe, 'Some problems concerning the organisation of the church in early medieval Ireland', *Peritia* 3 (1984) 230-70, has questioned this traditional assumption, and argued that in many churches monastic and secular clergy lived side by side, possibly with a division of temporal and pastoral jurisdiction respectively.

[21] I have added a number of churches and dedications to the original list in Clarke, 'Topographical development', 63. For a recent calculation of the number of ecclesiastical sites in Dublin, see Mac Shamhráin, 'The *Monasticon Hibernicum* project', 115-16 and 126; where he states that 131 sites date to the twelfth century or earlier.

Clondalkin, St Mullins, to name but a few. It is worth noting that the monastic settlement at Kilmainham continued as did others in the immediate vicinity of Dublin; for example, Clondalkin, Tallaght, Finglas and Swords. The survival of these churches is confirmed by reference to them (and others) in grants from the early Anglo-Norman period; in *c.*1178, Archbishop Laurence O'Toole granted a number of Dublin churches to the Augustinian canons.[22] The following year, Pope Alexander III confirmed these churches to the canons of the church of Dublin.[23] In 1202, King John confirmed 'to Holy Trinity church its lands and possessions granted before and after the arrival of the English in Ireland, as confirmed by Laurence, Archbishop of Dublin'.[24] Jocelyn Otway-Ruthven calculated that at the end of the Middle Ages the church held at least 104,000 acres of land in Dublin, while approximately 74,300 acres had been held by the church in the county (out of a total of 227,710) before the coming of the Anglo-Normans.[25]

As noted above, archaeological evidence from the site of St Peter's and St Michael's shows that these ecclesiastical settlements pre-date the Viking period, and more importantly they demonstrate continuity of settlement and of Christian burial practice in and around Dublin in the Viking-Age. Simpson suggests that St Michael's is a strong candidate for the monastic site of Dublinn.[26] Burials at the site date from the seventh to the twelfth century with the construction of a stone church *c.*1100.[27] At the Chancery Lane area of the site, habitation evidence dating to 680 and 964 was found along with a cobbled roadway which may have formed part of the Slige Dála.[28] Though the earthen enclosure seems to date to *c.*1100, the earliest levels of occupation at the St Peter's site date to the eighth or ninth centuries.[29] Most importantly the evidence from St Peter's and St Michael's shows no evidence of disturbance or disruption in the Viking period, suggesting that Irish Christians lived

[22] CCD §364.
[23] Charles McNeill (ed.), *Calendar of archbishop Alen's Register c.1172–1534* (Dublin 1950) [hereafter AR], 7.
[24] AR 29.
[25] A. Jocelyn Otway-Ruthven, 'Church lands in Co. Dublin', in J.A. Watt, J.B. Morrall and F.X. Martin (eds), *Medieval studies presented to Aubrey Gwynn SJ* (Dublin 1961) 54-73: 56.
[26] Simpson, 'Forty years a-digging', 18.
[27] Ibid., 59.
[28] O'Donovan, 'The Irish, the Vikings and the English', 36-130.
[29] Coughlan, 'Excavations at the medieval cemetery of St Peter's Church', 16; date of burials, 26.

alongside their Viking neighbours; perhaps it also indicates that the Hiberno-Scandinavians may have adopted Christian practices quite early on.[30]

Over the course of this study we have witnessed the clear association between Viking choice of base and proximity to church settlements. Initially, these choices were probably influenced by desire for portable wealth and the need for a steady supply of food. But choice was also determined by the pre-established communication and trade networks that these sites provided. Monastic settlements were often located on major route-ways or river-ways; this point is underlined by the fact that many silver-hoards dating to the tenth century are found at locations (some of which were monastic centres) along the Slige Mór and other routeways leading to Dublin.[31]

The Viking era: the location of the *longphort* at Dublin

Debate about the initial Scandinavian settlement at Dublin has always focused on the elusive *longphort*, not just its location but the nature of the settlement itself. It has been suggested that the *longphort* was located at the confluence of the river Liffey and the river Poddle, near Dublinn. The Liffey provides some access inland to the modern counties of Dublin and Kildare, and the *longphort* also benefited from proximity to the river crossing at Áth Cliath. In the pre-Viking period, the Liffey formed a natural boundary between the kingdoms of Brega and Laigin. The unification of the river's north and south banks, as part of the formation of the Hiberno-Scandinavian kingdom of Dublin, transformed the political and economic geography of the east coast of Ireland.

No defensive features of the *longphort*, or the ninth-century settlement, were found at Dublin even in the more recent excavations. However, the question must be posed: what exactly are we looking for? The OPW and National Museum of Ireland's excavations of Dublin in the 1960s-1980s did not produce any evidence for this phase of ninth-century Viking settlement. There is every possibility, as Simpson suggests, that the ninth-century evidence was investigated but not identified as such at the time. She argues that it is unlikely that there was no ninth-century activity

[30] Dumville, *Churches of northern Britain*', 18, in part attributes the continuity of the church to the strength of the parish among local populations in the early medieval period.

[31] The transmission of material goods and artistic motifs along these route-ways is explored further in Emer Purcell, 'A reconsideration of the Ballinderry game-board', MPhil. Minor dissertation (UCD 1995).

along the Liffey frontage at Temple Bar West and Wood Quay.[32] To support this hypothesis, she draws attention to the work of Ó Ríordáin and his identification of mid-ninth century levels at Winetavern Street which was mainly based on coin evidence.[33]

In the nineteenth century, during the construction of railway lines for King's Bridge, or Heuston Station, a large number of Viking burials were found.[34] Originally referred to as the Kilmainham-Islandbridge cemetery, in the late 1990s Elizabeth O'Brien's re-analysis of the material suggested that there were in fact two separate cemeteries. One cemetery was associated with the monastic settlement of Kilmainham, and the second with a secular settlement at Islandbridge which grew up alongside the monastic settlement. Both cemeteries were re-used by the Vikings.[35] There are striking similarities between the model proposed for Kilmainham-Islandbridge (secular settlement at the ford of Kilmehanoc (named after a nearby church) and the monastic settlement of Cell Maignenn), and that proposed by Clarke for Dublin (secular settlement at Áth Cliath and the monastic settlement at Dublinn). I have pointed out elsewhere that there must have been a Viking settlement at Kilmainham-Islandbridge that was in some way dependent on the main settlement downstream at Dublin and this is supported by recent work by Simpson.[36] Two Viking burials at the site now known as Bully's Acre have been excavated which indicates that there may indeed have been a greater spread of burials across the area. Simpson compares this to the combination of concentrated and dispersed Viking-burial pattern found in the Poddle valley downstream (discussed in Chapter 4). In addition, Simpson raises the possibility that there may have been another *longphort* somewhere in the locality of Kilmainham and the site at Bully's Acre.[37]

[32] Simpson, 'Pre-Viking and Viking-Age Dublin', 79 and 87.
[33] Ibid., 87.
[34] W.R. Wilde, 'On Scandinavian antiquities lately discovered at Islandbridge, near Dublin', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 10C (1866-9), 13-22; G. Coffey and E.C.R. Armstrong, 'Scandinavian objects found at Islandbridge and Kilmainham', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 28C (1910) 107-22; Bøe, *Norse antiquities*, 11-69.
[35] Elizabeth O'Brien, 'The location and context of Viking burials at Kilmainham and Islandbridge, Dublin', in Clarke et al. (eds), *Ireland and Scandinavia*, 203-21; eadem, 'A reconsideration of the location and context of Viking burials at Kilmainham/Islandbridge, Dublin', in Manning (ed.), *Beyond the pale*, 35-44.
[36] Emer Purcell, 'Oxmantown, Dublin: a medieval transpontine suburb', MPhil Thesis (UCD 1999) 21.
[37] Simpson, 'Dublin's famous 'Bully's Acre', 48-50.

However, because of the location of these cemeteries and lack of ninth-century evidence from Dublin, archaeologists have traditionally favoured Kilmainham-Islandbridge as the location for the ninth-century settlement.[38] As a consequence of the documentary references (always to Áth Cliath or Dublinn and never to Kilmainham) and topographical analysis, historians and historical geographers have always argued that the ninth-century settlement was located at Dublin, perhaps around Dublin Castle.[39] However, excavations carried out in the 1990s by Georgina Scally, as part of Temple Bar rejuvenation project, found evidence of ninth-century settlement in Parliament Street.[40] In 1999, excavations in Temple Bar West, by Simpson also found ninth-century evidence of habitation.[41] This indicates that the *longphort* may have been located here rather than in the Dublin Castle area. More recent evidence from South Great George's Street suggests that the *longphort* may have been located on the south side of the Black Pool rather than on the north side.[42] An interesting alternative offered by Simpson is that the origins of the *longphort* lie to the south of the Blackpool and that it was extended to the north side at a later stage in the ninth century; she estimates that in total it measured 300m in length and 200m-300m in width.[43] Simpson also poses the question: 'was Dublin possibly the site of two settlements, one at *Dublinn*, the other further upstream at Kilmainham, suggesting a combined settlement that stretched for at least 1.5km in length?'[44] She asks whether it is possible that Dublinn referred to the pre-existing monastery, where people continued to live, with Áth Cliath referring to the Viking base nearby at the fording point?[45] Though both names are used briefly in the annals in the 840s, in general the Irish refer to the site as Áth Cliath. The later Icelandic texts call it Dyflin. Mac Giolla Easpaig argues that Dyflin is the most lasting contribution of the Scandinavians to the the topomny of Ireland.[46] However, that does not necessarily mean they are referring to two separate or even to two co-

[38] Bradley, 'Topographical development', 44-5; Patrick Wallace, 'The origins of Dublin', in Clarke (ed.), *Medieval Dublin*, 1, 70: 'It seems probable that the extensive late ninth-century cemetery at Islandbridge-Kilmainham was the burial ground for the inhabitants of the *longphort*'.
[39] Clarke, 'Gaelic, Viking and Hiberno-Norse', 12; Simms, 'Medieval Dublin', 31.
[40] Gowen and Scally, *Summary report on excavations at 5-7 Exchange Street Upper / 33-34 Parliament Street, Dublin*, 10 and 21.
[41] Simpson, *Director's findings*, 17, and 27-8; eadem, 'Forty years a digging', 21.
[42] Simpson, 'Viking burials', 16-7, discusses the possible alternatives for the location of the *longphort*,
[43] Simpson, 'Pre-Viking and Viking-Age Dublin', 52, the area of the tenth-century *dún* of Áth Cliath measured 250m north-south and estimated 350m wide.
[44] Ibid., 63.
[45] Ibid., 74.
[46] Mac Giolla Easpaig, 'L'influence scandinave sur la toponymie irlandaise', 473.

dependent sites; by way of comparison, we have the example of Howth a place-name that is derived from Old Norse, which the Irish continued to refer to by its original name, Benn Étair.

The possibility that the *longphort* stretched from Dublin to Kilmainham raises some very interesting questions; how many Vikings arrived on the Liffey in the ninth century? What was the population of the *longphort*? The earliest indication of the size of the fleets that arrived in Ireland is the report in AU that 60 ships went to the Boyne and 60 went to the Liffey in 837. Even a very conservative estimate of the size of the crew that manned these ships (perhaps 30-40 warriors each), would lead us to estimate that as many as 3000-4500 men arrived.[47] The record of the establishment of the *longphort* makes no mention of numbers, and the years 841 and 842 are remarkably quiet years in terms of the annal record of raiding. There is every possibility that the Vikings were more concerned with establishing and defending their settlement than with launching raiding expeditions. Duffy attempts to estimate the population of Dublin in the 840s; he notes the arrival of 140 shiploads of warriors recorded in AU 849, and suggests that this was a deliberate effort to replace the troops lost at the hands of the Irish in 848.[48] In 871, as Duffy notes, 200 ships arrived back from Alba with slaves on board.[49] Again, a conservative estimate of the crew required to man these ships would be somewhere in region of 6000 men, even before the number of slaves on board is factored in.

Based on botantical analysis of material from the excavations of the 1970s and 1980s, Siobhán Geraghty estimated that the population of the eleventh-century *dún* was approximately 4500.[50] Population estimates for the later medieval town by J.C. Russell suggested Dublin had somewhere in the region of 10,000 people in the thirteenth century.[51] The original walled Hiberno-Scandinavian town measured approximately 12 hectares, and Anglo-Norman reclamation increased the size of the

[47] See Chapter 5 fn 505.
[48] Simpson, *Director's findings*, historical context by Seán Duffy, 15.
[49] Ibid.
[50] Siobhán Geraghty, *Viking Dublin: botanical evidence from Fishamble Street*: Medieval Dublin excavations 1962-81, Series C, 2 (1996), 59-60.
[51] J.C. Russell, 'Late thirteenth-century Ireland as a region', *Demography* 3 (1966) 500-12. His analysis is based on the fee farm, calculated at 1*s.* per burgage, and with an allowance of 5 people per household. There are a number of problems with this method of calculation: it does not allow for the subdivision and subletting of plots, nor does it include those people who lived in cottages and/or on the fringes of the suburbs (as it is possible that a significant proportion of the population of the Dublin actually lived in the suburbs).

walled city. [52] Holm quotes recent estimates from an educational DVD issued by the Friends of Medieval Dublin, which estimates that by *c.*1000, Dublin had a population of 5000 people, rising to 8000 by *c.*1100. However, he suggests that given the man power required for the town's fleet the number was probably a lot higher. He also notes that some of the population may have been garrisoned outside the banks of the town.[53] Attempts to estimate the size of the population of Dublin's ninth-century *longphort* are complex. The settlement must have been at its peak during the kingship of Ímar and Amlaíb, but even then its stable permanent population numbers must have been regularly augmented by transitory Vikings. I think a conservative for the ninth-century *longphort* would be somewhere in the region of 4000 men and women. A *longphort* that could accommodate this number of people must have relied upon its hinterland for food supplies and the necessary raw materials for craft-working and daily living. How much hinterland would you need to supply a settlement of this size? For the later Hiberno-Scandinavian town, Holm's analysis of the evidence led him to postulate that Dublin claimed land within a 10-15km radius, perhaps stretching further south and southwest to County Wicklow.[54] But it difficult to determine how much hinterland was required to support the ninth-century settlement. Undoubtedly, fish was a major component in the diet of ninth-century Dubliners, both from the sea and from the Liffey.[55] Indeed, what resources would be necessary to support two or three bases spread out along the Liffey? It is impossible to determine how long the base at Clondalkin endured, but the archaeological evidence from Kilmainham-Islandbridge suggests a lasting settlement. In terms of necessary resources, it is important to note a distinction here between base camps established to conduct military campaigns and more permanent ninth-century settlements such as the *longphort* at Dublin.

As discussed in Chapter 4, the evidence from South Great George's Street (Ship Street and Golden Lane) would suggest that Vikings had a base in the Dublin area before the traditional date of the foundation of the *longphort* recorded in the annals in 841. This material calls for a re-examination of the period we would traditionally characterise as the hit-and-run phase. It also strengthens the argument raised earlier that the *longphort* was something distinctive — why else would the

[52] Bradley, 'Scandinavian settlement', 46.
[53] Holm, 'The naval power of the Norse of Dublin', (forthcoming).
[54] Holm. 'Viking Dublin and the city-state concept;, 255.
[55] I am grateful to Mick Monk, Department of Archaeology, UCC, for conversations on this matter.

annalists create a new term? Such settlements are a natural progression following on from the arrival of large fleets on the Liffey and the Boyne in 837, as naval forces naturally establish naval camps. It is curious then that in AU 841 and 842 respectively, the annalists express surprise that the Vikings had over-wintered and were still at Lough Neagh and at Dublin (*Gennti for Loch Eachach beós. Geinnti for Duiblinn beos*). As argued in Chapter 5, it was obviously not the first time the Vikings had overwintered (the raid on Clonmore at Christmas is evidence alone they had done so in 836). But perhaps we are witnessing a distinction here, that not only had the Vikings over-wintered but that the settlements had lasted a calendar year or more, and some form of defence features had been constructed to protect their ships and their camp. The annalists clearly understood, and were trying to express, that these Vikings were here to stay.

Rá chúas iar sain fa longport an brathar: Three brothers? Three bases?

In the case of Dublin, Ó Floinn proposes a move away from this *longphort*-centred debate and towards a more dispersed model of settlement on both sides of the Liffey. This is based mainly on his reassessment of the stray finds and, particularly, on the burial evidence from Kilmainham-Islandbridge, College Green, Phoenix Park, Parnell Square and further afield at Donnybrook.[56] A more interesting model of dispersal emerges if we acknowledge that there may have been some form of ninth-century Viking settlement associated with the monastic site of Kilmainham. Viking settlement seems to have reached further inland to Clondalkin in west Co Dublin. There are no references to the foundation of a base at Clondalkin; however, we know that they raided the monastic settlement in AU 833. Amlaíb arrived in Ireland in 853 so we may suggest that it was established sometime between the early 850s and 867, when Irish kings attack his fort.

> *Loscadh duine Amhlaim oc Cluain Dolcain la m. n-Gaithini ₇ la Mel Ciaran m. Ronain, ₇ ár .c. cenn di airechaibh Gall in eodem die apud duces predictos in confinio Cluana Dolcain*.
> Amlaíb's fort at Cluain Dolcáin was burned by Gaíthíne's son and Mael Ciaráin son of Rónán, and the aforesaid commanders caused a slaughter of a hundred of the leaders of the foreigners in the vicinity of Cluain Dolcáin on the same day.

[56] Ó Floinn, 'Archaeology of the early Viking Age', 132.

The site is referred to as Dún Amlaíb which is a cautionary reminder that *longphort*-settlements were not the only type favoured by the Vikings in the ninth century. Máel Ciarán mac Ronáin was, as Doherty points, a member of the Uí Ronáin, the hereditary abbots of the monastery.[57] His involvement strengthens the suggestion that the Vikings may have taken over the monastic centre and lands of Clondalkin. The other leader Cennetig mac Gaíthíne, was king of Loígis and had led a number of offensives against the Vikings at Dunrally (862) and Mundrehid (866). Doherty argues that the attack may in fact have been an attempt to control the border of the Viking kingdom with Laigin. In the eleventh century, the Bishop of Dublin had jurisdiction over Clondalkin and Doherty suggests that an incipient diocese of Dublin was being carved out of the Norse kingdom.[58] Sheehan underlies this point when he states: 'the outlying bases at Cloney, Co Kildare and Clondalkin probably formed the original core of the broader settlement's agricultural hinterlands, which were later to be called *Fine Gall*/*Crích Gall* and *Dyflinarskíri* in native Irish and Icelandic sources respectively'.[59]

In 867, AU records that Auisle, one of three kings of the heathens, was killed by his kinsmen in guile and parricide: *Auisle, tertius rex gentilium, dolo 7 parricidio a fratribus suis iugulatus est.* AClon records: 'Husey, third prince of the Danes, was murthered by his owen bretheren'. FA's account of this account is most interesting:

> *Rá chúas iar sain fa longport an brathar ro marbhadh ann, ar c-cur deargáir a muinntire. Rob iomdha maithios isin longport sin.*
> After that the longphort of the slain brother was attacked, his followers having been slaughtered. There were many valuables in that *longphort*.[60]

The entry refers to Auisle's *longphort*. As noted in Chapter 3, FA seems to favour Auisle over his brother Amlaíb. This is the same year that AU notes the destruction of Dún Amlaíb. Is it possible that the three Viking leaders each had their own base? If Amlaíb's base was at Clondalkin, then Ímar may have held control of the main settlement at Dublin; so where was Auisle's *longphort*? I would tentatively suggest that Auisle's base was at Kilmainham-Islandbridge. These bases and settlements along the Liffey may reflect similar patterns at Athlunkard and Limerick and

[57] Charles Doherty, 'Cluain Dolcáin: a brief note', in Smyth (ed.), *Seanchas*, 182-8.
[58] Ibid., 187.
[59] Sheehan, 'The *longphort* in Viking-Age Ireland', 290.
[60] FA §330.

Woodstown and Waterford (discussed elsewhere).[61] Indeed this pattern first became evident to me when debate began about the identification of Woodstown with the early site of Waterford.[62]

There may be comparative evidence from the Continent which supports the evolution of this pattern. Is it possible that these bases were formed under different leaders in much the same way as temporary bases were formed on the river Seine as described in the *Annals of St Bertin* 861?:

> Meanwhile the other group of Danes with sixty ships sailed up the Seine and into the *Tellas* and from there they reached those who were besieging the fort, and joined up with them. The besieged were forced by starvation, filth and general misery to pay the besiegers 6,000lb made up of gold and silver and to make an alliance with them. So they sailed away down the Seine as far as the sea. But they were prevented from putting out to sea by the winter now coming on. So they split up according to their brotherhoods [*sodalitates*] into groups allocated to various ports, from the sea-coast right up to Paris. Weland with his company came up the Seine to the fort of Melun. Former occupants of the besieged fort, with Weland's son, now occupied the monastery of St-Maur-des-Fossés.[63]

These *sodalitates* or bands of brotherhoods were an essential part of Viking military organisation; Lund describes them as warrior guilds.[64] An additional benefit of dividing fleets out along a river bank was that each base-camp was not forced to try and look after ship-loads of men. We have previously noted the association of settlements with particular leaders: the *longphort* or *dún* of Rothlaíb, the *dún* of Amlaíb; and even Tomrar about whom we are told that he returned to his *longphort* at Port Manann in 866 (wherever it was located), and the place-name Dunkettle belies an origin Dún Caitil.[65] It is possible that these bases may have only lasted the life-time of their leader, or for the length of time that the leader was at the height of his power and military prowess. These bases were initially supported by plunder, but

[61] Woodstown is 6km from Waterford; Kilmainham is 2-4km from Dublin; Athlunkard is 5-6km from Limerick.

[62] I laid out my initial thoughts on this pattern at 'Viking settlement in Ireland from Wood Quay to Woodstown', *Save Viking Waterford Group*, Tower Hotel, Waterford 25th November 2004: www.vikingwaterford.com and 'Vikings and Viking settlement in Ireland: the ninth-century annalistic evidence', poster presentation, *XVth Viking Congress*, Cork 2005.

[63] F. Grat, J. Vielliard, S. Clémencet and L. Levillian (eds), *Annales de Saint Bertin* (Société de l'histoire France 1964) s.a. 861; Nelson (ed. and trans.), *Annals of St-Bertin*, s.a. 861.

[64] Nelson (ed. and trans.), *Annals of St-Bertin*, s.a. 861, p. 96, fn: 'these bands, perhaps fictive kin-groups, were apparently basic to the Vikings' military organisation'; Lund, 'Allies of God or man?', 52.

[65] See above, Chapter 6.

gradually other mechanisms such as tribute, political alliance and trade developed to sustain them.

Downham, commenting on what she terms multi-core settlement pattern at Dublin, draws attention to Neil Price's study of Rus settlement at Staraja Ladoga on the Volkov river, where he notes that a complex variety of settlement forms, in particular, how burial monuments were used to express colonial control.[66] It is possible that there were more Viking settlements along the Liffey, perhaps as far out as Leixlip, Co Kildare, though (as always) it is difficult to date this place-name. Leixlip is derived from Old Norse *lax-hlaup* which means 'salmon leap' or from *lax-hløypa* which means 'salmon's leaping place'.[67] It must have been an important source of fish. Clarke insists that the name itself does not necessarily indicate settlement, but the presence of a Viking burial at nearby Barnhall might strengthen the possibility.[68] Evidence of ninth-century Viking settlement at Cherrywood in south Dublin, located close to the confluence of the Loughlinstown river and Shanganagh river, and in close proximity to the early medieval church of Tully.[69] This area is home to the infamous Rathdown slabs first identified as Hiberno-Scandinavian monuments by Paddy Healy.[70] Most significantly, Anglo-Norman records confirm that these lands had once been held by the Mac Torcaills, the last ruling Hiberno-Scandinavian dynasty of Dublin.[71] Three structures were identified at Cherrywood with the suggestion that one of them might represent a longhouse. The whalebone plaque similar to those found elsewhere in the Scandinavian world indicates the presence of women on the site.[72]

Interpretation of the evidence from Kilmainham-Islandbridge demonstrates how far we have advanced in our understanding of Viking settlement, and the extent to which the picture is evolving and constantly changing. For example, it was

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[66] Downham, 'Viking camps', 107; Neil Price, 'Ethnic attitudes, ethnic landscapes: some thoughts on the Viking-Age, in B. Johnsen and S. Welinder (eds), *Etnicitet eller kultur* (Östersund 1998) 37-59: 50-4.

[67] I first explored this more dispersed settlement pattern leading out from Dublin to Clondalkin, and further afield to Leixlip, in Purcell, 'Oxmantown, Dublin: a medieval transpontine suburb', (1999) Chapter 1.

[68] Ó Floinn, 'Archaeology of the early Viking Age', 144-5. Description in antiquarian accounts of axehead and iron weapons would suggest that it was a male burial.

[69] Ó Néill, 'Excavation of pre-Norman structures on the site of an enclosed Early Christian cemetery at Cherrywood, 66-88.

[70] For bibliographical detail for the Rathdown slabs, see Chapter 1, fn 50

[71] Price, 'The grant to Walter de Ridelesford of Brien and the land of the sons of Turchil', 72-7; see Chapter 1.

[72] Ó Néill, 'Excavation of pre-Norman structures', 66-88.

traditionally believed that there was one large cemetery; then O'Brien narrowed the burial pattern to two cemeteries; however, recent excavations reveal that there was a spread of burials over a much larger area. The evidence from Bully's Acre indicates that there was a base somewhere in close proximity. Though we do not necessarily have to identify it or agree with my supposition that it was founded by, or was under the control of, Auisle. Ímar, Amlaíb and Auisle are presented in the source material and interpreted historically as brothers, but whether they were blood brothers or brothers by bond is difficult to determine. However, they must each have had their own retinue of warriors and may even have had distinct bases in the Dublin area in the ninth century.

As discussed in Chapter 1, Clinton and Clarke have questioned Bradley's model of *Dyflinarskíri*; both suggest that the survival of certain dynasties such as the Gailenga and Saithne support their contention that the Vikings had limited control and impact on the hinterland of Dublin. This depends to some extent on how one defines control and what one means by impact. In some respects, I think the 'survival' of secular dynasties is comparable to the survival of church settlements from the pre-Viking period into the Anglo-Norman era and beyond. It has more to say about our perception of Viking impact (than the practicalities of Viking settlement) and about their interaction with secular and ecclesiastical settlements in the area. There may have been different accommodations which do not manifest themselves in the source material simply because they were matters of daily life. This is not to minimise the dramatic impact the Viking must have had, but continuity of both secular dynasties and ecclesiastical settlements in the Dublin region does not suggest that the status quo ante continued unchanged; rather that the Irish and Vikings found ways of living side by side.

The ninth-century kingdom of Dublin reached accommodation with its neighbours through a complex process of subjugation, alliance, tribute-taking, and trade. Acculturation is most keenly reflected in the archaeological record, but the primary sources also give some insight. Therein, it is notable how the Vikings gauged quickly the political dynamics of early medieval Ireland. For example, by the late 840s, the Vikings were only too happy to ally with Cináed son of Conaing, king of Northern Brega, when he rebelled against his over-king Máel Seachnaill, king of Southern Uí Néill. Cináed also took the opportunity to subjugate his rival Tigernach, king of Lagore, plundering his royal site (AU 850). Máel Sechnaill and Tigernach

took their revenge the following year, and drowned Cináed (AU 851). These alliances were often secured through marriage: FA §234 preserves a tradition that Auisle was married to one of Cináed's daughters, though it has been suggested that the Cináed in question might have been Cináed mac Alpín.[73] FA §292 also preserve a tradition that Áed Finnliath, king of Northern Uí Néill, was married to Amlaíb's daughter. It is difficult to date this marriage alliance though the most appropriate context is the early 860s, when the two kingdoms were in military alliance against Máel Sechnaill. If the genealogy of Clann Eruilb – another branch of Cenél nEógain, descended from Áed Allán – is reliable, it may also have formed marriage alliances with the Vikings at this time.[74] In the tenth century, when the primary sources are fuller, the Dublin dynasty, under the auspices of Amlaíb Cuarán was deeply embedded within the network of political dynasties secured through marriage alliances. Amlaíb married Dúnlaith, daughter of Muirchertach of Cenél nEógain (Northern Uí Néill), and they had a son, Glún Iairn. Dúnliath also married Domnall, king of the Clann Cholmáin of Southern Uí Néill, an alliance which produced another son, Máel Sechnaill. He married Máel Muire, Amlaíb's daughter.[75] Another of Amlaíb's daughters, Ragnailt, was married to Domnall son of Congalach, of Síl nÁedo Sláine of Northern Brega, and their son was Muirchertach. In addition, and to further complicate matters, Amlaíb married Gormlaith, daughter of Murchad son of Finn, king of Uí Fháeláin, and their son was Sitriuc Silkenbeard. Sitriuc married Sláine, daughter of Brian Bóruma, to whom his mother had been married; there is a tradition that Gormlaith was also married to Máel Sechnaill.[76] This tangled web of marriage alliances reflects the military, economic and social significance of the position that the kingdom of Dublin had come to occupy.[77]

[73] Downham, *Viking kings*, 140.
[74] Thornton, 'Clann Eruilb: Irish or Scandinavian?', 161-6.
[75] AClon, s.a.1014.
[76] AFM s.a. 1030; M.E. Dobbs (ed. and trans.), 'The Ban-Shenchus', *Revue Celtique* 47 (1930) 282-339; 48 (1931) 163-234. See also M. Ní Bhrolcháin, 'The manuscript tradition of the Banshenchas', *Ériu* 33 (1982) 109-35 and Anne Connon, 'The Banshenchas and the Uí Néill queens of Tara', in Smyth (ed.), *Seanchas*, 98-108.
[77] This is explored further in Purcell and Sheehan, 'Viking Dublin: enmities, alliances and the gold gleam of silver', 54-5.

Viking Waterford and Woodstown

The history of Waterford city and the results of the archaeological investigations carried out there in the 1980s have had a significant impact on the initial discussions and interpretation of the site at Woodstown. Viking or Hiberno-Scandinavian settlement at Waterford was probably located in the area between Reginald's Tower and Henrietta Street. The natural defensive features of this site include the river Suir to the north and marshland to the south. John Bradley and Andrew Halpin argue that the earliest Viking settlement, dating at the latest to the tenth century, was located in the triangle with Reginald's Tower at its tip,[78] and there is every possibility that the origins of the ninth-century settlement lie there too.

Excavations conducted in Waterford city from 1986 to 1992 concentrated mainly on High Street, Peter Street and Arundel Square. The material found dates from the mid-eleventh century onwards. The remains of the buildings were similar in construction to those found at Dublin and to the typology developed by Patrick Wallace for Type 1 and sunken-floored buildings. No remains of the houses themselves survive but merely their ground plans, as indicated by post-holes or roof supports; some plans indicated the presence of a central hearth. The artefactual assemblage is very similar to that found at Dublin, and again shows a strong Irish influence; Maurice Hurley remarks that this was particularly apparent in the decorative artefacts.[79] No evidence of specialisation emerged within the excavated areas but one house, and the adjacent plot, at the end of Peter Street had a large number of antler off-cuts which suggests comb production took place there. There was some evidence for metal working at the eastern end of the street. A stretch of the original medieval street surface dating to the late eleventh century was also found. Peter Street was excavated because it fell out of use as a thoroughfare; one of the reasons why so few medieval streets have been investigated is precisely because the majority of them lie buried beneath their successors. Back Lane produced evidence of the town's defences including the remains of part of a stone wall built in the first quarter of the twelfth century. St Peter's Church was also excavated.[80] Hurley

[78] John Bradley and Andrew Halpin, 'The topographical development of Scandinavian and Anglo-Norman Waterford', in William Nolan and Thomas Power (eds), *Waterford: history and society* (Dublin 1992) 105-29: 105.

[79] Maurice Hurley, 'Late Viking age settlement in Waterford City', in Nolan and Power (eds), *Waterford: history and society*, 49-72: 56; Maurice F. Hurley and Orla M. B. Scully (eds), *Late Viking-Age and medieval Waterford: excavations 1986–1992* (Waterford 1997) 899.

[80] Hurley, *Late Viking Age and medieval Waterford*, 190-243.

concludes that eleventh- and twelfth-century Waterford was 'a port town, integrated with its hinterland, where agriculture played an important part in the economic life but where the economic surplus created by international trade generated a need for products and services'.[81] However, excavations did not find any evidence of Viking settlement in the ninth century. This brings us on to the site of Woodstown.

Woodstown is located within the parish of Killoteran, in the barony of Middlethird, approximately 5km from Waterford city.[82] The site measures approximately 500m by 350m,[83] with finds recovered from an area concentrated within two fields. Over 5000 artefacts have been found to date. The vast majority of these were found in the topsoil, in what the writers term 'the finds retrieval program'.[84] Initial analysis by Ian Russell and Richard O'Brien suggests that the site was occupied in the fifth century, was taken over the by Vikings in the ninth century and subsequently abandoned by them in the eleventh century. This early fifth-century date was based on radio-carbon analysis of two samples of charcoal found in the old ground surface of the enclosing ditch.[85] Though these have now been shown to be oak samples and may very well represent 'old wood' effect, representing when the inner tree rings grew rather than when they were felled.[86] Most of the evidence from the site seems to point to occupation in the ninth century. Initial reports also suggested the site was occupied until the eleventh century and then abandoned; however, subsequent studies have shown that there is no definitive evidence either from radio-carbon dates or artefacts to indicate eleventh-century activity.[87] At present, the evidence suggests an extended period of settlement and several phases of occupation in the ninth-century, with a question mark over whether or not there is even any evidence of tenth-century settlement.

Canon Power in his survey of place-names in Waterford records that in the parish of Killoteran there was a Seán-Dún, an 'Old Fort': it was the name of a field in which stood a mound, demolished during building of the railway, and found to

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[81] Ibid.
[82] O'Brien and Russell, 'A preliminary note on the archaeological site of Woodstown 6', 65-70; O'Brien, Quinney and Russell, 'Preliminary report on the archaeological excavation and finds retrieval strategy of the Hiberno-Scandinavian site of Woodstown 6', 13-95; Ian Russell et al. *Woodstown 6 supplementary research project*.
[83] O'Brien et al., 'Preliminary report on the Hiberno-Scandinavian site of Woodstown', 65.
[84] It is used in the title of the paper itself.
[85] O'Brien et al., 'Preliminary report on the archaeological excavation and finds retrieval strategy of the Hiberno-Scandinavian site of Woodstown', 15.
[86] Sheehan, 'The *longphort* in Viking Age Ireland', 285.
[87] Russell et al. *Woodstown 6 supplementary research project*, 22.

contain a large quantity of bones.[88] The railway line transects the riverward side of the Woodstown site which suggests that the remains of the Viking burial found may not have been an isolated burial. The importance of this furnished male-burial is significant for a number of reasons; clearly it was associated with the settlement, but the grave-goods are important for they contain typically Viking artefacts such as the sword, but also artefacts which demonstrate other influences. Three conical mounts are Irish in style, and the shield boss may be of Anglo-Saxon origin.[89]

Woodstown belongs to the ninth-century period of Scandinavian settlement in Ireland when temporary bases were established. Some, though not all, of these are called *longphoirt* in the annals. Woodstown has yet to be identified in the contemporary documentary sources, even though it seems to have been a substantial settlement.[90] As mentioned previously, Ó Cíobháin has recently suggested that a reference to Cammas hUa Fathaid Tíre, in CGG, may refer to an early Viking base in the Waterford area near Woodstown.[91] Todd, the editor of CGG, placed Cammas hUa Fathaid Tíre in the barony of Iffa and Offa, Co Tipperary.[92] *Cammas* may mean 'a bend in a river' and Ó Cíobháin attempts, based on his analysis of references to the Uí Fhathaid dynasty in the annals, to place the family near Waterford harbour. This he supports by the fact the cantred of Offath, referred to in the thirteenth century, preserves the name Uí Fhathaid, and corresponds to the modern barony of Gaultier.[93] The identification of Uí Fhathaid and Offath was first made by Kenneth Nicholls.[94] Gaultier is derived from *Gailltír*, 'land of the foreigners', traditionally interpreted as land of the Scandinavians. More recently, Nicholls has suggested that, since Gaultier is not attested until the late medieval period, the foreigners in question may be the Anglo-Normans rather than the Scandinavians.[95]

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[88] Patrick Power, *The place-names of the Decies* (2nd ed. Cork 1952) 362.
[89] Stephen Harrison in Russell et al. *Woodstown 6 supplementary research project*, 23.
[90] The earliest documentary references to the site date to the Anglo-Norman period, were the forms *Balleode* and *Baliwodan* are found, see P. Power, 'The priory church and hospital of St John the Evangelist, Waterford', *Journal of the Waterford and South-east of Ireland Archaeological Society*, 1 (1896) 81-97, 83. Colmán Etchingham has postulated the existence of a **Baile Ua Fothaid*, anglicised as **Wothadstown* which finally gave Woodstown, unpublished paper: www.savevikingwaterford.com.
[91] Ó Cíobháin '*Cammas hUa Fathaid Tíre* and the Vikings: significance and location', unpublished paper (2004) available at www.savevikingwaterford.com.
[92] CGG 5-6.
[93] Ó Cíobháin, '*Cammas hUa Fathaid Tíre*', 1.
[94] This identification by Kenneth Nicholls was first published and discussed in C. A. Empey, 'County Waterford in the thirteenth century', *Decies* 13 (1980) 6-16; reprinted as 'County Waterford: 1200-1300', in Nolan and Power (eds), *Waterford: history and society*, 131-46.
[95] Comments made by Kenneth Nicholls at the 18th Conference of Irish Medievalists in 2004.

Ó Cíobháin concedes that the references he cites may be to Uí Fhathaid Mara and that Uí Fhathaid Tíre may refer to inland Iffa and Offa in Tipperary; this is the regular way of interpreting the evidence. AI 896 notes the killing of Flann mac Lonáin; CS and AFM place the killing at Waterford. Certainly in the case of the topographical poem utilised by Ó Ciobhán, 'Tuilledh feasa ar Éirinn óigh', Uí Fhathaid Tíre seem more likely given the reference to Uí Eóghain in the first stanza.[96] Iffa is derived from Uí Eóghain which forms the first component of the barony of Iffa and Offa (the original identification by Todd). It seems more likely that the cantred of Offath preserves Uí Fhathaid Mara (the *Uí Fhathaidh eile go tuinn* mentioned in the poem) rather than Uí Fhathaid Tíre.

Notwithstanding this, Ó Cíobháin identifies a bend in the river Suir in the townland of Mountcongreve as a possibility, and argues that this location had many advantages to offer the Vikings in terms of mooring their ships, defensive features as well as the potential for salmon fishing. Killoteran and Woodstown lie to the east of this river bend. Mountcongreve and Woodstown are not in the cantred of Offath (modern barony of Gaultier) but are within the barony of Middlethird. Prior to the amalgamation of the dioceses of Waterford and Lismore in 1363, however, Ó Cíobháin argues that the diocesan boundary of Waterford was the Clodagh river and thus incorporated Killoteran and Woodstown. He argues that the diocesan boundary reflects Viking influence, and may even reflect the extent of the Viking kingdom of Waterford.[97] This is very similar to the position of Clondalkin and Dublin as outlined by Doherty.

Interestingly, Ó Cíobháin cites evidence of a landholding known as 'Langeport' in the possession of the de la Rokele family (the name later survives in Rockets Castle). In the thirteenth century it is referred to as 'Adlangport' which may derive from *Áth Longphoirt. This is just 8km upriver from the site which he identifies as Cammas hUa Fathaid Tíre.[98] If the Vikings showed a preference for sites next to river crossings, it comes as no surprise to find place-names such as Athlunkard and Adlangport (though one must be cautious as the Irish established

[96] Ó Cíobháin, '*Cammas hUa Fathaid Tíre*', 9.
[97] Ó Cíobháin, 10.
[98] Ibid.

longphoirt in the eleventh century); for more analysis, we await Mac Giolla Easpaig's promised study of *longphort* as a place-name element.[99]

Another identification for Woodstown has been put forward independently by both Downham and Ó Corráin.[100] Two names are used in the annals to refer to Waterford, Port Láirge and Loch Dá Cháech. Ó Corráin and Downham suggest that Port Láirge was the ninth-century settlement at Woodstown, so that essentially Woodstown may have been the location of early Waterford.[101] The argument is that when the Scandinavians returned in the early tenth century, they settled at a different place: Loch Dá Cháech, the site we would traditionally associate with the settlement at Waterford city. Both Ó Corráin and Downham argue that this hypothesis is supported by the fact that no ninth-century evidence was found during the excavations of the city.

There is a tradition that Port Láirge is named after a Viking leader called Láraic, noted in AFM in 953,[102] but it is generally accepted that it is derived from *lárac* (Old Irish for 'thigh'), hence 'port of the thigh'.[103] Loch Dá Cháech means 'the lough of the two blind ones', and was originally used to refer to Waterford harbour. Port Láirge is the name used in the annals in AFM/FA 860, AFM 892 and AFM 914,[104] but in AU 914 and exclusively from 915 to 918, Loch Dá Cháech is used.[105] It is to Loch Dá Cháech that the Vikings return in 914; and again in 917, following a massive campaign led by Ragnall (a member of the Uí Ímair dynasty of Dublin) to attempt to regain control of his ancestral lands in Ireland.[106] The name Loch Dá Cháech ceases to be used after 918 and Downham connects this to the departure of

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[99] Personal communication.

[100] Both views were expressed independently at 18th Conference of Irish Medievalists in 2004. Claire Downham has since published her study, 'The historical importance of Viking-Age Waterford', *Journal of Celtic Studies* 4 (2005) (reprinted in Clare Downham, *No horns on their helmets? Essays on the Insular Viking-Age*, Celtic, Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian Studies 1 (Aberdeen, 2013) 129-156). All references are to the journal article.

[101] Downham, 'The historical importance of Viking-Age Waterford', 83.

[102] O'Donovan, AFM s.a. 951, note.

[103] Mac Giolla Easpaig, 'L'influence scandinave sur la toponymie irlandaise', 476.

[104] AFM uses both terms. We find s.a 910: *Guill do thecht i nd-Erinn go ro ghabhsat h-i Port Lairghe* 'Foreigners arrived in Ireland, and took up at Port-Lairge' which it shares verbatim with CS. AFM has a second record of this event s.a. 912: *Nocobhlach mór do Ghallaibh do thocht go Loch Da Chaoch, go ro gabhsat longport* 'A great sea-going fleet of foreigners came to Loch-Dachaech, and made a *longphort* there'; this is taken verbatim from AU with the addition of the building of the *longphort*.

[105] Downham, 'The historical importance of Viking-Age Waterford', 83-4.

[106] AU 914: *Nocoblach mar di gentibh oc Loch Da Caech* 'A great sea-going fleet of the heathens on Loch dá Caech'.

Ragnall from Waterford when he ventures across the Irish Sea to take the kingship of York.[107]

There is no further mention of the Vikings of Waterford until 926 when Port Láirge is used and is the name used henceforth in the annals. Downham suggests that this could represent a change in chronicling or it could reflect the foundation of a new Viking camp at Loch Dá Cháech. Support for this suggestion may be found in the recent re-analysis of Woodstown which indicates that settlement may have had a narrower focus in the ninth-century than previously thought. However, as discussed above, this was a common argument used in relation to the location of the initial *longphort* in Dublin: as no ninth-century evidence of Scandinavian settlement was found in the excavations of the city in the 1960s-1980s, many believed that it must have been located upriver at Kilmainham-Islandbridge. Yet, in the last twenty years, ninth-century settlement evidence has come to light, particularly in the excavations at Parliament Street, Temple Bar West and South Great George's Street. Therefore, we must be wary of over-interpreting the material, particularly as it is so difficult to evaluate negative evidence.

One entry in the ninth-century Irish annals provides important information about Viking settlement at this time; AU 866 records that Áed Findliath plundered all the strongholds of the foreigners (*ro slat uile longportu Gall*), i.e. in the territory of the North, both in Cenél nEógain and Dál nAraidi, and took away their heads, their flocks, and their property from their camps. There are references to bases in the north; for example on Lough Neagh, Carlingford Lough and Strangford Lough, but the above reference implies that they had a number of bases (supported to some extent by hinterland) along the coast. Perhaps, in a similar fashion, the Scandinavians had a network of bases located along the inland river systems of Ireland with Woodstown representative of one of (perhaps) many settlements in the Nore/Suir/Barrow river valley. Clearly, there were more Viking bases, and perhaps more settlements than those recorded in the annals. This is underlined by the fact that we hear only of the destruction of sites at Clondalkin and Dunrally and not of their establishment. The documentary evidence is so partial that is it difficult to be certain,

[107] AU 918: *Gaill Locha Da Caech do dergiu Erenn, .i. Ragnall rí Dubgall, ₇ na da iarla, .i. Ottir ₇ Graggabai ₇ sagaith dóoib iar sin co firu Alban* 'The foreigners of Loch dá Chaech, i.e. Ragnall, king of the dark foreigners, and the two jarls, Oitir and Gragabai, forsook Ireland and went afterwards to the men of Scotland'. See Downham, 'The historical importance of Viking-Age Waterford', 83.

but undoubtedly there were Viking settlements, temporary and long-term, which did not merit mention in the annals, or which may have been situated in areas not well served by the records. This is one of the more puzzling aspects of this wonderful site at Woodstown, if we do not accept its identification with Port Láirge: it would then represent a significant ninth-/tenth-century settlement not referenced in the annals.

There is no documentary record of the establishment of a base at Waterford though tradition holds that the town was founded in the 850s by a Viking named Sitriuc.[108] Analysis of the record of Viking activity in the general Waterford area proves quite informative and there are a number of encounters along the Nore, Suir and Barrow rivers which suggest Waterford harbour as the point of entry and may even hint that they had a base in the harbour itself. The Vikings were active in the south-east from the early 820s. In 825, they raid Osraige and plunder Inis Doimhle;[109] according to CGG Inistioge on the Nore and St Mullins on the Barrow were also plundered at this time.[110] CGG contain some unique material concerning raiding along these river systems which may have originated in a chronicle kept at Lismore.[111] In some cases, like that of Lismore and Kilmolash in 833, the contemporary annals confirm that the raids took place.[112] In 837, they were active in the heartland of Kilkenny at Freshford and Killiney, and it is possible that they reached here via the Nore.[113] In 848, AU records that the Eóganacht of Caisel inflicted a rout on the heathens at Dún Maíle Tuile, in which five hundred fell. This place was, according to Hogan, either in Co Tipperary near the seat of Cashel or in Co Waterford.[114]

The barony of Galmoy in north Kilkenny has an interesting sequence of raids and activities, but how the Viking reached the area is impossible to determine. The most likely route may have been along the river Nore. In 846, Coolcashin is burned by the Vikings and in the same year Cerball inflicts defeat on the fleet of at Cúil

[108] Charles Smyth, *The ancient and present state of the county and city of Waterford* (Dublin 1774) 96: Downham traces the origin of this tradition to a reading of Gerald of Wales; see 'The historical importance of Viking-Age Waterford', 81-2.
[109] AU 825.
[110] CGG 7-9: maintains that this fleet originally came into Uí Cheinnselaig, and also credits them with demolishing Dunderrow, Inis Shannon and Disert Tipraiti (unidentified) as well as Lismore and Kilmolash.
[111] Ní Mhaonaigh, '*Cogad Gaedel re Gallaib* and the annals: a comparison', 118 and 125.
[112] AU only notes Lismore while AI notes both Lismore and Kilmolash.
[113] AFM 837.
[114] OG s.n.

Muine; unfortunately this place has proven difficult to identify.[115] It is difficult to make sense of *Loinnges na cCaillech* as it is genitive plural in form and translates as 'fleet of the nuns'. Downham revists the argument, made by Charles O'Conor, that it derives from *Caille* the former name of the river Burren. She explains the genitive plural form found in AFM as a possible copying error. [116] It could very well be a nickname for one of the Viking leaders, Ó Corráin points out that *Caillech* also means 'cock'.[117] The most we can say is that it was a Viking fleet active in the area, the name of which was known to some of the local population, but somewhere in the transmission and recording of this encounter its meaning has become lost.

Maas and Kelly suggest that the raid on Coolcashin was conducted from a base on the river Callan.[118] Later in the 850s, one of the battles between Rothlaíb and Cerball (according to FA §248) takes places at Áth Muiceda, a ford on the river Nore at Anker's Island, in the townland of Ballyconra, parish of Aharney, in the barony of Galmoy.[119] In 863, Cerball inflicts another defeat on the Vikings at Fertagh, near Johnstown, and he takes their spoils.[120] Finally, *c*.872 during the snow of Bridgetmas, the Vikings plunder the men of the Trí Maige and the Trí Commainn as far as Slíab Bladma.[121] O'Donovan placed both of these in Osraige, but Ó Murchadha argues that Trí Maige was probably in the east Carlow area and the Commainn were certainly in Co Laois.[122] Gowran was the seat of the kings of Osraige; this partly explains why there is a concentration of Viking activity in the barony of Galmoy and also why so many battles and encounters occurred there. Before the main battle at Carn Lugdach *c*.858 (discussed below), an encounter occurs there, and in the late 890s, the Déisi, Osraige and the Vikings confronted Máel Morda, king of Laigin at Gowran. In AU 870, Áed son of Niall plunders Laigin from Dublin to Gowran where he encounters Cerball. Is Áed able to plunder this territory because Amlaíb and Ímar were busy plundering overseas in Scotland?[123]

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[115] AFM 846. See Chapter 3.
[116] Downham, 'Career of Cerball mac Dunlainge', ??
[117] Personal communication.
[118] Maas and Kelly, 'The Vikings and the kingdom of Laois', 126.
[119] See Chapter 3 for a discussion of this place-name.
[120] AFM 863 and FA §310.
[121] AFM 872 and FA §407.
[122] For discussion of these place-names, see Chapter 3.
[123] AU 870: *Obsesio Ailech Cluathe a Norddmannis, .i. Amlaiph ⁊ Imhar, duo reges Norddmannorum obsederunt arcem illum ⁊ distruxerunt in fine .iiii. mensium arcem ⁊ predauerunt* 'The siege of Ail Cluaithe by the Norsemen: Amlaíb and Ímar, two kings of the Norsemen, laid siege to the fortress and at the end of four months they destroyed and plundered it'.

There is a notable gap in the documentary record to specific events in Waterford, until the late 850s and 860s when we are forced to rely mainly upon the testimony of FA. The annals record an expedition by Máel Sechnaill into Munster to exact tribute from the province and to curb the growing power of Cerball mac Dúnlainge. FA §260 has a detailed account of this venture. It relates that there was an initial encounter at Gowran, before Máel Sechnaill proceeds to Carn Lugdach where he leads a force against Máel Guala, king of Munster and Cerball, king of Osraige. As noted in Chapter 3, alternatives are offered for the identification of Carn Lugdach: Ó Murchadha thinks it might be Curranes, Co Cork, but Hogan (OG s.n.) may have been correct in his original identification of Currane as located in 'Decies in Waterford and south of it and near the sea, between the Blackwater and the sea'. Cerball is said to be accompanied by the remaining forces of Horm (his former Viking ally). FA §260 relates that their encampment was a brambly, dense, rough wood and that Cerball had a great muster about him (*as eadh ba longphort dhoibh, caill drisioch dluth aimhréidh, ₇ rá bhaoí tionól mór ann sin um Chearbal*), hinting perhaps that Cerball used this camp as his military headquarters. Given the mention of Gowran, Co Kilkenny and Emly, Co Tipperary, I think that Carn Lugdach might be more likely to be Currane in Waterford than Cork. At a slight push, it might even be supported by proximity to Dungarvan (less than 4km away) which was home to a community of Ostmen in the medieval period.[124] Helvick Head overlooks the entrance to Dungarvan bay and contains the ON work *vík* meaning 'bay'. The Irish name for the head is *Ceann an Bhathala* 'the head of Bathail', which may be derived from Old Norse *vadill* 'a sea-ford' or may reflect Old Norse *ál-vík*, signifying 'eel-harbour'.[125]

[124] *The 35th Report of the deputy keeper of the Public Records in Ireland* (1903) 36 and 39; *The 38th Report of the deputy keeper of the Public Records in Ireland* (1906), 58; Edmund Curtis (ed.), *Calendar of Ormond deeds*, 6 vols (Dublin1932-43) i, 259. The Ostmen of Dungarvan and Waterford city are discussed further in Purcell, 'Oxmantown', Chapter 4. A tenth-century Hiberno-Scandinavian motif piece and an eleventh-century coin were found at excavation of a site at Shandon, nor

th of Dungarvan: see John Tierney et al., 'Medieval moated site, at Shandon townland, Dungarvan, Co Waterford', *Eachtra* 14 (2012) 1-109 (available online: http://eachtra.ie/index.php/journal/). The writers note the possibility that there may have been some Hiberno-Scandinavian settlement on the site but that the evidence is slim, and would require further excavation.

[125] Mac Giolla Easpaig, 'L'influence scandinave sur la toponymie irlandaise', 468-9: he also draws attention to other Irish language place-names in the area which indicate Scandinavian influence or settlement: *Baile na nGaill* and *Cill Longfoirt*. See also Mícheál Mac Cárthaigh, 'Norse "*Vadil*", a Sea-ford', *Dinnseanchas* 1/3 (1965) 77.

After the battle, Máel Sechnaill proceeds to Emly, where he remains for a month collecting his tribute. Significantly, FA notes that he took hostages from Comar Trí nUisce to the west of Ireland; from the meeting of the three waters, the Nore, the Suir and Barrow at Cheekpoint, Co Waterford.[126] These events are recorded in the more contemporary annals but no mention is made of the involvement of the Vikings. Máel Cróin son of Muiredach, one of the two kings of the Déisi, was killed in this battle. As discussed in Chapter 3, FA is heavily influenced by the politics of the eleventh century; nevertheless, it contains genuine records of a greater level of interaction between the Vikings and the men of Osraige and Déisi Muman than we find in the contemporary annals.

The first reference specifically to the Vikings of Port Láirge is found in AFM 860:

> *Maidhm ria c-Cerbhall for loinges Puirt Lairge oc Achodh Mic Erclaighe*.
> A victory was gained by Cearbhall, over the fleet of Port Lairge, at Achadh Mic Erclaighe.

Cerball, king of Osraige defeats them at Agha, St Johns near the modern city of Kilkenny, on the banks of the Nore, between New Ross and Kilkenny city.[127] FA §277 presents a rather more elaborate account of these events which involve Cerball drinking too much but immediately sobering up when he learns that two fleets of the Norsemen have entered Osraige. Cerball vomits, which apparently gives him the strength to slaughter the Vikings, while the Vikings who escaped flee to their ships. It clearly shows that the Waterford men were on the offensive once again using the river Nore.

Downham points to 'a radical increase' in Viking activity in the Waterford area in the 860s, which she connects to a downturn in recorded activity elsewhere, and suggests this reflects the foundation of a base in the area.[128] She argues that it may also relate to other factors, such as the weakness of the Eóganacht dynasty after

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[126] The entry in CS 858 lays out some rather extravagant claims for Mael Sechniall: *Sluaccadh mor diar loisccedh Muma a n-áon lo la Maolseclainn mac Maolruanaidh co feraibh Erenn co ttugsad maidm for feraib Muman oc Carn Lugdach gur faccbadh ann Máolcróin mac Muiredhaigh leithrí na n-Dése. Tucc Maelseclainn gialla Muman ó Comur Trí nUisce co Innsi Tarbna iar n-Érinn ₇ o Dún Cermna co hArainn nAirthir* 'Mael Sechnaill son of Mael Ruanaid with the men of Ireland brought a great army, by which Mumu was burned in one day, and they inflicted a defeat on the men of Mumu at Carn Lugdach, Maelchrón son of Muiredach, one of two kings of the Déisi. being left dead there. Mael Sechnaill then took the hostages of Mumu from Comar Trí nUisce to Inis Tarbnai off the Irish coast, and from Dún Cermna to Ára Airthir'.

[127] OG s.n.; FA§277.

[128] Downham, 'The historical importance of Viking-Age Waterford', 77.

the loss of its king Ólchobur in 851, the decline of Laigin, and/or alternatively it may also relate to the rivalry between the Dubgeinnte and Findgeinnte, and their desire to control this important and strategic site.[129] Maas and Kelly argue that the Viking leader Rothlaíb may have had an operations base in Waterford in the 850s and 860s from whence he launched raids into Osraige and Loígis, and that he may even have founded Dunrally.[130]

FA and CGG contain unique references to other Viking leaders operating in the area, unfortunately there is no record of these men in the contemporary annals. FA §278 (*c.*860) relates that Hona and Tomrar Torra came from Limerick to Port Láirge, on the way they encounter the Eóganachta and the Araid Chliach, after a battle the Vikings are chased into 'a small place with strong fortification around it' (*i m-baile beag ⁊ cloch dhaingean ime*).[131] Apparrently, as Hona is a druid, he goes up on the rampart and prays to his gods, but unfortunately, this does not save him from death by stoning by a Munster man. The other leader (Tomrar Torra) was chased into nearby marshland. CGG chimes in around the mid-860s to claim that a Viking named Ossil (presumably Auisle?) was killed 'by the men of Erinn and Mumhan', and it also documents the presence of another leader named Colphin in the more immediate area of Waterford. Rechtabra, son of Bran, king of the Déisi inflicts a defeat upon Colphin (ON *Kolfinnr*) and the fleet of Dún Medóin at Cenn Curraig (Knockgraffon, Co Tipperary) and then seems to chase them back to Lismore.[132] CGG states that the earl Baethbarr escaped from this encounter and went back to Ath Cliath which confirms that the Dublin Vikings were very active in the area.[133] In Chapter 5, it was suggested that Dún Medóin may have been located beside or near Affane (Áth Meadhóin 'middle ford') a townland in the barony of Decies without Drum.[134] Affane is situated at the confluence of the Blackwater with the Finisk river and is approximately 10km from Lismore. So although the reference may be difficult to decipher, as discussed elsewhere, the geographical proximity of these places adds some plausibility to the record. The importance of the Blackwater is confirmed by the fact that Vikings had a base at Youghal located at the mouth of the river in 866.

[129] Ibid. 80. Similar arguments were made by Maas and Kelly in their discussion of the foundation of Dunrally, 'Vikings and the kingdom of Laois', 124.
[130] Maas and Kelly, 'The Vikings and the kingdom of Laois', 132 et passim. Although they also note the involvement of the Dublin Vikings in this area.
[131] Russell and O'Brien suggest that this fortification may be Woodstown,
[132] See Chapter 6.
[133] CGG 22-4.
[134] For discussion, see Chapter 6.

As yet it is impossible to identify the Dún Medóin in the landscape, it does demonstrate once again that the Vikings had bases along the banks of the Blackwater, Nore, Suir and the Barrow. These river systems provided the perfect opportunity for the establishment of temporary campaign bases, but must also have been home to semi-dependent, or daughter, bases from the main settlement at Waterford.

From the 860s until the 890s there is another gap in the documentary record of the Waterford Vikings. It is interesting that there is an almost an equal lack of references either side of the 860s, and proves a cautionary reminder that they may have had a base at Waterford before 860 but it simply does not feature in the documentary record. In AFM 892, we read:

> *Maidhm ria Riaccán, mac Dunghaile, for Ghallaibh Puirt Lairge, Locha Carman, 7 Tighe Moling, i farccbhadh dá chéd ceann.*
> A battle was gained by Riagan, son of Dunghal, over the foreigners of Port Lairge, Loch Carman, and Teach Moling, in which two hundred heads were left behind.

Not only does this document the presence of Viking at these sites but it also demonstrates how camps in the region worked together in common cause against their enemies. In this case, it appears that Riagán mac Dúnlainge, king of Laigin, inflicts a significant defeat on them. The last ninth-century record, as discussed above, is recorded in CS 896 which notes that Flann son of Lónán, was slain by the Uí Chuirrbuidhe, i.e. by Uí Fhothaid, at Loch Dá Cháech.

What can we tell about Woodstown from the archaeological evidence thus far? Ian Russell, director of excavations at Woodstown, suggests that the site 'appears to represent a defended, riverside settlement, with an out-lying area of associated industrial activity'.[135] Test trenching and limited excavation conducted so far suggest that settlement was concentrated in two fields. Field 23 lay within an oval-shaped double-ditch enclosure with a high concentration of pits, hearths, postholes, stakeholes, and linear features and represents a large domestic area which contained a number of possible structures or houses. Field 22 has a large number of pits, postholes, stakeholes and linear features. It appears to be outside the double-ditch enclosure and may represent possible outlying domestic and industrial activity.

[135] O'Brien and Russell, 'A preliminary note on the archaeological site of Woodstown', 65.

Judging by the wealth of silver (over forty pieces) and 206 lead weights found, trade seems to have been a central function. The high number of iron nails/rivets found proves shipbuilding and/or ship repair also took place at the site. Indeed, there are striking similarities with the range of material coming from recent excavations at Linn Duachaill and Rossnaree.[136] The balance of evidence at the moment would seem to suggest that Woodstown was an important trading and manufacturing settlement.

In two forthcoming papers, Sheehan outlines the significance of the silver found, pointing out that it is an assemblage rather than a hoard, meaning that it circulated and was used as currency across the site (rather than deposited in bulk).[137] It comprised two complete ingots, twenty-four hack-silver ingot fragments, six hack-silver fragments of arm-rings, six pieces of casting waste, hack-silver of a sheet and a rod, a brooch fragment, and a weight. Only two of the finds were retrieved from stratified contexts, one small ingot was recovered from the fill of a metal-working furnace.[138] Whilst acknowledging the dangers of interpreting the material given that most of it comes from un-stratified contexts, Sheehan points out that the furnace indicates the strong possibility of silver-smithing and artefact production at Woodstown.[139] How the settlement interacted with its hinterland is explored by Sheehan's analysis of silver-hoards from Mohill 1 and 2 (Dunmore Cave), Dysart Glebe, Derrynahinch, all located in Co Kilkenny, and Kilmacomma, Co Waterford. These hoards share several consistent patterns with the assemblage and may ultimately derive from Woodstown. As Sheehan points out, these sites are all located or feed into the network of river systems that flow out into Waterford harbour. Distribution of these hoards also shows a bias towards Osraige, which may hint at a particular relationship with Cerball mac Dúnlainge, one that may mirror Clann Cholmáin's relationship with Dublin, whereby these hoards found their way into the

[136] The Rossnaree Archaeological Project Blog: http://rossnareedig.wordpress.com/. For Linn Duachaill, see McKeown, 'Annagassan, a study of the Viking *longphort*', 67-79; for most recent updates on the site, see www.linnduachaill.ie.

[137] I am grateful to John Sheehan for access to these papers in advance of publication. John Sheehan, 'Fighting with silver', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, Special Viking Issue (forthcoming 2014); idem, The Woodstown silver assemblage, in context', Chapter 7a in Maurice Hurley and Ian Russell (eds), *Woodstown; a Viking-Age settlement in Co. Waterford* (forthcoming). Cathy Swift explored the emphasis on trade at Woodstown in her lecture to the 'Save Woodstown Campaign' in October 2004. See www.savevikingwaterford.com.

[138] Sheehan, 'Fighting with silver', forthcoming.

[139] Ibid.

hands of dominant Irish kings through a variety of means, trade and tribute being the two of the most important.[140]

Also noteworthy is the weight from Woodstown which may be made of silver; the only other silver weights on record from Ireland comprise two conical examples found in close proximity to the probable *longphort* at Athlunkard. The Woodstown example dates to the ninth century.[141] The silver assemblage from Woodstown shows closest parallels with southern Scandinavia, in particular with that found at Kaupang, Birka and Uppakra. Kaupang, in particular, is important because hack-silver was found there in secure stratified contexts which are dated to the decades leading up to *c*.850. This provides evidence for the use of silver as currency from the mid-ninth century onwards and Sheehan argues that the date for hack-silver found in Viking-Age Ireland should likewise be extended back to the same date.[142] On balance, Sheehan argues that most of the occupation and related activities on the site seem to have taken place during the ninth century.[143]

Yet, it seems strange that such a wealthy site was not subject to an attack. Perhaps it was but that it was just not recorded in the annals. Alternatively, the settlers at Woodstown may have quickly reached a working accommodation with their neighbours. The Vikings were adept at forming alliances with the Irish which is one of the reasons why they favoured borderland locations that presented opportunities for alliances on both sides. In the 890s, the annals record an alliance between the foreigners (probably of Port Láirge) and the Déisi:

> *Sluaiccheadh lásna Deisibh, la Gallaibh, ⁊ lá Ceallach, mac Cearbhaill, tar Osraighibh go Gabhrán dú in ro marbhadh Maol Mordha, mac Maol Muaidh, ⁊ drong mór oile amaille friss.*
> An army was led by the Déisi, the foreigners, and Ceallach, son of Cearbhall, over Osraighe, as far as Gabhran, where Maelmordha, son of Maelmhuaidh, and a great number of others along with him, were slain.

A base at Woodstown would have provided access northwards into Osraige, eastwards to into Laigin and south-westwards into Mumu.

When and why was Woodstown abandoned? When the site was abandoned has become a grey issue. Initial reports by Russell et al. suggested sometime in the mid-eleventh century. More recent re-analysis of the site seems to suggest a

[140] Ibid.
[141] Sheehan, 'The Woodstown silver assemblage', 22.
[142] Ibid. 21.
[143] Ibid. 22.

concentration in the ninth century. But it is unclear at present how much evidence supports continued occupation in the tenth century. It is possible that the Vikings left Woodstown in 902 and that when they returned in 914 they set up base at Waterford. Is this reflected in the lack of tenth-century evidence from the site? However, we must await the publication of a new collection of essays on the site which contains specialised study of the artefactual evidence, as well as detailed information on radio-carbon dates.[144] But, the forthcoming paper survey cannot substitute for full excavation; the quantity of material available from Woodstown tends to obscure the fact that the site was not scientifically excavated. In some ways, the wealth of evidence available may mislead one into thinking that full excavation has already taken place. The evidence comes from test trenching and limited excavation in certain areas such as that of the burial. However, it is important to stress that most finds come from the top-soil and from the finds retrieval program, which included metal-detecting of spoil heaps. Incidentally, this may account for the high proportion of silver artefacts found to date.

There is the possibility that the Vikings did not return to the original site in the tenth century. However, I think Waterford (like Dublin and Limerick) must have maintained communities of settlers engaged in trade, while the Viking warrior elite were in exile in the 902-914/7 period. Other factors in the tenth century may account for the abandonment of Woodstown. The Vikings of Waterford faced tough competition from the Limerick Vikings who seem intent on extending their power base across the south of Ireland.[145] Waterford initially seems to have maintained allegiance to their Dublin relatives, but this changed in the second half of the tenth century when they become more closely aligned with the Dál Cais, and fought against Dublin and their Laigin allies.[146] Strife between the rival dynasties of Dublin and Waterford continued until the eleventh century, when the settlement may have faced further pressure from the rise of Díarmait mac Máel na mBó, king of Uí Cheinnselaig.[147]

How does Woodstown fit with other Viking sites? At first sight, it appears similar to the sites identified at Dunrally and Athlunkard. It was a river-based settlement, concentrated within two fields, which gives it a B-shaped form, defended

[144] Ibid.
[145] AI 927; AI 930; CS 930; AFM s.a. 942.
[146] Downham, 'The historical importance of Viking-Age Waterford', 85-7.
[147] AU 1037 records that Diarmait attacked Port Láirge.

on the landward side by a double ditch. Further defensive protection was afforded by the wetland to the west of the site. Preliminary aerial photographs and geophysical survey seem to suggest that the settlement extended beyond the two fields and perhaps even across the river in Co Kilkenny.[148] Ultimately, Woodstown was much more developed than Dunrally or Athlunkard, and the best parallel is probably ninth-century Dublin. Further excavation and publication of the material from Linn Duachaill and Rossnaree will no doubt add to the picture.

The fact that there was no subsequent development on the site provides us with a unique opportunity to excavate since most excavations, such as those at Dublin and Waterford, have always had to contend with the impact of subsequent urban life. Woodstown has the potential to tell us much about life in a Viking settlement in Ireland, and about settlement in general in Ireland in the ninth century. As mentioned, the vast majority of the 5000 artefacts were found in the topsoil or in what the writers term 'the finds retrieval program'. Artefacts need to be viewed within as full a context as possible, hence the importance of a complete excavation. This would provide a stratigraphy from which to date the artefacts from Woodstown. This would also have implications for the corpus of Viking material generally regarded to be of ninth-century date in Ireland. It would provide a base from which to re-examine the grave-goods from Kilmainham-Islandbridge, as well as grave-goods from other isolated burials and stray-finds.

One of the most fascinating prospects in future excavation is to see how much habitation evidence remains, what type of evidence for houses or buildings is extant, and how these compare with Wallace's typology for the Dublin houses, and with other Hiberno-Scandinavian buildings from Waterford and Wexford.[149] It will be interesting to see the extent of Irish influence, if any, on construction methods, this may give some insight into how the Vikings integrated with their neighbours. Excavation may also reveal how these houses were laid out in relation to each another, and how the settlement worked internally. Analysis of some of the aerial

[148] O'Brien and Russell, 'A preliminary note on the archaeological site of Woodstown', 68.

[149] Wallace, *The Viking-age buildings of Dublin*; Edward Bourke, 'Two early eleventh century Viking houses from Bride Street, Wexford, and the layout of properties on the site', *Journal of the Old Wexford Society* 12 (1988-89) 50-61. Wallace had argued that his Type I building were Hiberno-Scandinavian houses that developed in Ireland; however, more recent material from excavations at Kaupang suggests that these houses may be more like those from the Scandinavian homelands than previously thought: see Dagfinn Skre (ed.), *Kaupang in Skiringsal* 1 (Arhus 2007) 214-7; see also Rebecca Boyd, 'The Irish Viking-Age — a discussion of architecture, settlement patterns and identity', *Viking and Medieval Scandinavia* 5 (2009) 271-94.

photographs suggests that part of the settlement may have been divided into plots. Focus should also be on how fields 22 and 23 relate to one another. As it is a river-based settlement, one would expect to find more evidence of fishing. Hopefully, we will discover an on-site explanation for the large number of iron nails and rivets present.

Excavation will shed further light on how Woodstown interacted with neighbouring territories: Mumu, Osraige and Déisi, with the ecclesiastical settlement at Killoteran, and with the Viking settlement at Waterford. The two settlements may have been contemporary from the tenth century onwards. I believe a study of this relationship will have implications for our understanding of Dublin and of other possible Viking bases in its vicinity, such as those at Kilmainham-Islandbridge and further afield at Clondalkin.

The evidence from Woodstown comes at a very exciting juncture in Irish studies of Viking settlement, particularly with the current debate regarding the nature of *longphoirt*. More evidence is coming to light to support the view that Vikings were not confined to urban areas but that there may have been a much more diverse range of settlements – urban, rural, and coastal, but as the material from the south-east shows inland riverine settlements were crucial in the ninth century. There is growing evidence for much more interaction and integration with the Irish as the archaeological material from the Dublin and Waterford city excavations have demonstrated. Indeed, the material from Woodstown and possibly Linn Duachaill and Rossnaree will have much to tell us not just about Viking settlement, but about settlement in general in ninth-century Ireland. A full-scale excavation at Woodstown should be accompanied by an interdisciplinary study of fieldwork analysis, place-names and documentary studies which would place the settlement within the broader context of Viking Waterford and Ireland. It seems to me that the way forward is through focused regional studies such as Etchingham's investigation of Vikings in Wicklow.[150]

The documentary record of the ninth century suggests that the Viking base or bases at Woodstown and Waterford were at the heart of a network of rivers systems: the Nore, the Suir and the Barrow, with the Blackwater feeding in from the east.

[150] Etchingham, 'Evidence of Scandinavian settlement in Wicklow', 113-38.

From this location on the river Suir, they fought against, and aligned themselves with, the neighbouring Irish kingdoms of Mumu, Osraige and Laigin.

The close proximity of Athlunkard and Limerick, Woodstown and Waterford and the more complex relation of Dublin and Kilmainham and Clondalkin may represent a pattern in Viking settlement in ninth-century Ireland. Only further discoveries, and excavation of ninth-century material at these sites, can confirm this suggestion. However, strategically it makes sense as the bases at Woodstown and Clondalkin were located on the borders or limits of the ninth-century kingdoms of Dublin and Waterford. As Ó Cíobháin has shown for Woodstown and Doherty for Clondalkin these bases were situated on the later diocesan boundaries of each town. Some of these bases, like those along the Three Sisters river system, may have been founded under the command of specific leaders like Colphin or Rothlaíb. The annals are primarily concerned with raids and battles, occasionally we hear of political alliances between the Vikings and the Irish, and in some cases these arrangements were sealed through marriage. However, apart from some snippets, they have little to tell us about settlement; for this, we must rely on the archaeological record. It seems that the way forward is through inter-disciplinary studies of specific regions.

CONCLUSION

My interest in Viking activity in ninth-century Ireland is motivated by my long-term research interest in determining what happened to the descendants of the Vikings (the Ostmen) who settled in Ireland, when the Anglo-Normans arrived in the late twelfth century. The main objective of this study was to gain a better understanding of the 'Viking Age' in Ireland to create a foundation upon which to analyse the later period. So what have I learned from this study?

Viking raids were complex. Temporary bases seem to have been established quite early even during the phase traditionally regarded as the period of 'hit-and-run' type raids. In some cases, it is clear that raiding was not only a means of acquiring portable wealth, but also a valuable way to assess the political and economic potential of establishing a base in a particular area. For example, well documented attacks across Brega and Ciannachta were followed by the establishment of early camps on the east coast in the 820s and 830s culminating eventually in the foundation of *longphoirt* at Linn Duachaill and Dublin in the 840s. Given the nature of the documentary record, it is difficult to distinguish between a temporary camp, a military/campaign-base, and/or a naval camp. The sources have little to tell us about the nature of the settlements themselves, whether they are called *longphort* or *dún*. We can determine that a *longphort* was some form of enclosure that initially provided protection for warriors and their ships. They were mainly located at the confluence of rivers, on political boundaries, next to important fording points, and they often had added natural protection such as marsh lands. But little specific detail can be determined about the internal operations of such settlements; for this we must rely on the archaeological record where available.

In terms of the distribution of these settlements, one problem is the bias of the documentary record towards the east and south-east of the country. The annals sometimes tell us the name of specific Viking settlements such as those at Linn Duachaill and Dublin. More often we must rely on inference from the record to determine where they had settlements. Though these types of references do bring a much larger number of possible ninth-century bases to the record. However, even then we are not in position to determine how long these bases were in operation. Some, like Dublin, have a lasting documentary record; others, like Woodstown, have no identifiable associated documentary record. The archaeological evidence from

Woodstown has proven controversial. Initial analysis suggested occupation in the ninth century until the site was abandoned in the eleventh century. More recent unpublished studies, however, suggest that there is little evidence of tenth-century occupation at the site. Interpretation remains a problem at this key juncture (when the Vikings were supposedly in exile) as recent work on Dublin suggests continued occupation of that site by Vikings engaged in trade and craft-working during 902-917. The same may be true of settlements at Woodstown, Limerick and Linn Duachaill. We must await full publication of the most recent studies on Woodstown. At present, however, I am sceptical about the revised dating which limits settlement there to the ninth century as it difficult to be so definitive about the evidence. For example, can one differentiate between occupation or artefactual evidence that dates to 890 from that which dates to 920? I think not.

Close reading of the documentary record combined with the archaeological evidence suggests networks of bases along the east coast, along the river-systems of the Nore, Suir and Barrow. There are clusters of settlements in close proximity to one another, for example, at Dublin, Kilmainham, and Clondalkin. One possibility is that these bases, and others like them, were established under the leadership of the three ninth-century kings of Dublin. These clusters may have been founded as daughter settlements, predicated on the existence of the main bases. In many cases, they must have served defence considerations as at Cork, Haulbowline and perhaps Dunkettle. Our understanding of Viking activity in Cork harbour was greatly enchanced by an early tenth-century reference in CGG, and it demonstrates how a similar study of the tenth-century annalistic evidence, particularly in the crucial early decades, may influence or change our perception of the ninth-century evidence. For example, how prevalent was continuity of settlement and/or re-use of previous bases? How did settlement patterns develop and/or change? The tenth-century record allows for a better understanding of how these bases related to one another as in the documented rivalry between Viking Waterford and Viking Limerick, for example.

The identification of a settlement pattern, with (temporary) bases clustering relatively close to one another brings its own questions. For example, one important challenge will be to determine the relationship between Waterford and Woodstown and the possibility that there was settlement at both sites in the ninth century. One site in particular, Dún Medóin, requires fieldwork and further investigation.

Mentioned in CGG, and previously unidentified, I suggest that it was located in the townland of Affane, at the confluence of the Blackwater and Finisk rivers.

The prime motivation for the establishment of these ninth-century bases seems to have been to maximise trading opportunities. Again, it is the archaeological record in the form of the silver hoards rather than the documentary record that gives us the best insight into the importance of trade. The networks along the east coast seem to have been designed to maximise profit from Ireland's proximity to Anglo-Saxon England and Frankia; equally, however, the evidence suggests clusters of settlements in and around the bays and inlets of Cork and Kerry, with a focus perhaps on Cork harbour, Kinsale harbour, and Dingle Bay. On a more local level, certain settlements seem to have been founded deliberately to take advantage of the economic potential of an area, and were located close to established trading and infrastructural networks such as those provided by monastic centres. There are a striking number of Viking bases documented at monastic sites: Dublin, Clondalkin, Cork and Cloney to name but a few. In the case of Dublin, continuity of settlement at two ecclesiastical sites, St Peters and St Michael le Pole, demonstrates that the Vikings were willing to reach accommodation with their Christian neighbours or perhaps were more than happy to have profitable subjects paying them dues.

This study has confirmed the importance of inter-disciplinary approach to the Viking-Age and a key component of this study has been the balancing of the documentary and archaeological evidence. In particular, the sophisticated level of scientific analysis now at our disposal demonstrates the need for larger inter-disciplinary projects. The archaeological evidence from South Great George's Street, for example, has led to a reconsideration of the earliest Viking settlement at Dublin. Archaeological evidence from the west coast, particularly, that studied by Eamonn Kelly, balances the documentary evidence for the east coast. At times, we can assess varying rates of Viking activity and what this might mean. For example, a downturn in the annalistic record of raiding in the mid-ninth century may suggest that the Vikings were more readily involved in peaceful activities such as settling and trading. But the annals are primarily concerned with obits, kings, battles and conflict: they tell us very little about the nature of the ninth-century settlements. We do not find details regarding the types of houses the Vikings built or the types of crafts they practised. We rely on the archaeological remains for information of this kind. Integration and assimilation are less tangible than conflict. Again, the archaeological

finds demonstrate that there was considerable interaction and integration between the Irish and the Scandinavians –essentially what we are witnessing is the emergence of Hiberno-Scandinavian settlements – it will be most interesting to see whether we can determine the balance between the two. Woodstown may provide the answer to some of these questions, particularly concerning the degree of Irish influence evident in its archaeological remains.

Locations were deliberately chosen also for political purposes. Vikings favoured borderlands such as the river Liffey which divided Brega and Laigin. They were quick to take advantage of Irish dynastic rivalries. The kings of Brega rebelled against their Uí Néill overlords with the assistance of the Vikings. These political alliances were often secured through marriage. For example, Áed Finnliath's daughter was married to Amlaíb in the mid-ninth century, a marriage that must have occurred while Áed was high-king in waiting. By the time he had attained that position in the mid-860s, he may no longer have had any need of his Vikings allies. Hence his attacks on a number of *longphoirt* on the north coast. Marriage alliances may account for the adoption of personal names, such as Glún Iairn (ON Járnkné) found amongst the Viking dynasty of Dublin; such examples bear witness to the emergence of a Hiberno-Scandinavian identity by the end of the ninth-century, an identity forged by a complex set of relationships between the Irish and the Vikings. No doubt they were often in conflict with one another, but through military and political alliances secured through inter-marriage, tribute and trade, it seems there was a considerable degree of integration and assimilation between the Irish and the Vikings.

Vikings had temporary bases at an early date. More permanent settlements evolved in 830s and 840s, and it seems that the Vikings quickly became involved in settlement and trade. Many Viking bases became long-term settlements, some became permanent settlements which later developed into our primary towns: Dublin, Cork, Limerick, Waterford, and Wexford. To a certain extent, this has influenced the historiography of Viking settlement and skewed the picture in terms of urban settlement. This is not to suggest that there was widespread settlement, but the evidence does seem to indicate that settlement types were much more diverse than heretofore suspected.

Ireland was changing rapidly in the ninth century and we are still learning about Irish settlement patterns in this period; however, they show no evidence of

fortification or of increased defence works in response to the Viking presence. In fact, we see the opposite, a movement towards more unenclosed nucleated settlements such as the *baile* in the tenth and eleventh centuries. That is why the application of the methodology of this study to those centuries is crucial. If we can get a better understanding of Viking settlement in the tenth, eleventh and twelfth centuries, we might better understand the complex social and economic relationships that they developed with the Irish and which their descendants, the Ostmen, were to have with the Anglo-Normans after their arrival in 1170.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

A CONCORDANCE OF VIKING RELATED ENTRIES IN THE IRISH ANNALS AD 795-900

AB	*Annals of Boyle*
AI	*Annals of Inisfallen*
AClon	*Annals of Clonmacnois*
AFM	*Annals of the Four Masters*
AR	*Annals of Roscrea*
AU	*Annals of Ulster*
CGG	*Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaibh*
	[BL CGG from *Book of Leinster*]
CS	*Chronicum Scotorum*
FA	*Fragmentary Annals*
LL	*Annals from the Book of Leinste*r

Date	Source	Reference
794.7	AU	*Uastatio omnium insolarum Brittannię a gentilibus*.
794.7	AU	Devastation of all the islands of Britain by heathens.
794 791.5	AClon	All the islands of Brittaine were wasted and much trouble by the Danes; this was theire first footing in England.
795.3	AU	*Loscadh Rechrainne o geinntib ₇ Sci do choscradh ₇ do lomradh*.
795.3	AU	The burning of Rechru by the heathens, and Scí was overwhelmed and laid waste.
795 792.2	AClon	Rachrynn was burnt by the Danes.
795.6	AFM	*Losccadh Rechrainde ó dhibhearccaibh, ₇ a sccríne do chosccradh ₇ do lomradh*.
795 790.6	AFM	The burning of Reachrainn by plunderers; and its shrines were broken and plundered.
795.2	AI	*Orcain Iae Coluim Chille ₇ Inse Muirethaig ₇ Inse Bó Finne*.
795.2	AI	The plundering of Í Coluim Chille, and of Inis Muiredaig, and of Inis Bó Finne
796.1	AI	*Geinte i n-hErind*.
796.1	AI	The heathens in Ireland
797		
798.2	AU	*Combustio Inse Patraicc o genntibh, ₇ borime na crich do breith ₇ scrin Do Chonna do briseadh doaibh ₇ innreda mara doaib cene eiter Erinn ₇ Albain*.
798.2	AU	The burning of Inis Pátraic by the heathens, and they took the cattle-tribute of the territories, and broke the shrine of Do-Chonna, and also made great incursions both in Ireland and in Alba.

798 795	AClon	The island of St Patrick was burnt by the Danes, they taxed the Landes with great taxtions, they took the Reliques of St. Dochonna 7 made many Invassions to this kindome 7 tooke many rich 7 great bootyes, as well from Ireland as from Scotland.
798 793.7	AFM	*Inis Pádraicc do losccadh la h-Allmuirechaibh, 7 sgrín Do Chonna do bhreith dhoibh, 7 inredha do dhenamh dhóibh chena etir Erinn 7 Albain.*
798 793.7	AFM	Inis Padraig, was burned by foreigners, and they bore away the shrine of Dochonna; and they also committed depredations between Ireland and Alba Scotland.
799		
800		
801		
802.9	AU	*I Columbe Cille a gentibus combusta est.*
802.9	AU	Í Coluim Chille was burned by the heathens.
802 797.12	AFM	*h-I Choluimb Chille do losccadh la h-allmurachaibh .i. la Nortmanoibh.*
802 797.12	AFM	Hi Coluim Cille was burned by foreigners, i.e. by the Norsemen.
804		
805		
806.8	AU	*Familia Iae occisa est a gentilibus, id est .lxuiii.*
806.8	AU	The community of Í, to the number of sixty-eight, was killed by the heathens.
806	CS	*Muintir hIe do marbadh o gentibh .i. .lxuiii.*
806.3 804	CS	The community of Ia was killed by heathens, i.e. sixty-eight.
806	AR	*Familia Iae occisa est a gentibus, .i. 68.*
806	AClon	There was 68 of the familie of Hugh of St. Columb Kill, slain by the Danes.

803		
801.4	AFM	*h-I Coluim Chille do ionnradh la h-allmhurachoibh, 7 sochaidhe mor dó laochaibh 7 do cléircibh do mharbhadh leo .i. ochtar ar thríbh fichtibh.*
806 801.4	AFM	Hi Coluim Cille was plundered by foreigners; and great numbers of the laity and clergy were killed by them, namely, sixty eight.
807.8		*Gentiles combuserunt Insolam Muiredaigh 7 inuadunt Ross Camm*
807.8	AU	The heathens burned Inis Muiredaig and invade Ros Comáin.
807	CS	*Losccadh Innsi Muirgdhaigh o gentibh et inradh Roiss Caim.*
807.3	CS	The heathens burned Inis Muiredaig and invaded Ros Cam.
807 804	AClon	The Danes burnt Inismoriey 7 invaded Roscomman
807 802.6	AFM	*Inis Muiredhaigh do losccadh la h-allmhurachaibh, 7 a n-dol istegh for Ros Cam.*
807 802.6	AFM	Inis Muireadhaigh was burned by foreigners, and they attacked Ros Commain. [check]
811.6	AU	*Strages gentilium apud Ultu.*
811.6	AU	A slaughter of the heathens by the Ulaid.
811	CS	*Ár gente la hUlltuibh.*
811.2	CS	A slaughter of the heathens by the Ulaid.
811 808	AClon	There was a Great slaughter of the Deanes in Ulster.
812.9	AU	*Ar gennte la firu h-Umhaill.* *Ar Conmaicne la gennti.*
812.8	AU	A slaughter of the heathens by the men of Umall. A slaughter of the Conmaicne by the heathens.
812	CS	*Ár gente la firu Umaill.*

812	CS	A slaugther of the heathens by the men of Umall.
812 807.11	AFM	*Ar lá Fiora Umhaill for allmhurachaibh.*
812 807.11	AFM	A slaughter was made of the foreigners by the men of Umhall.
812	CS	*Ar Conmaicni la gentibh.*
812	CS	A slaughter of the Conmaicne by Gentiles [heathens].
812 *809*	*AClon*	*They of Iarthar Connaught made a Great slaughter.*
812 807.12	AFM	*Ar la h-allmhurachaibh for Chonmaicnibh.*
812 807.12	AFM	A slaughter was made of the Conmaicni by the foreigners.
812.11	AU	*Ar gennte la Mumain, id est la Cobthach m. Maele Duin, ri Locha Lein.*
812.11	AU. 11	A slaughter of the heathens in Mumu, viz. by Cobthach son of Mael Dúin, king of Loch Léin.
812	CS	A slaughter of the heathens in Mumu i.e. by Cobthach.
812	CS	
812 809	AClon	Mounstermen made a Great slaughter of the Danes.
812	AFM	*Ar la Cobhthach mac Maile Dúin, tighearna Locha Léin, for allmhurachaibh.*
812 807.15	AFM	A slaughter was made of the foreigners by Cobhthach, son of Maelduin, lord of Loch Lein.
812	CGG pp 4-5	*Is re reimes tra Airtri mic Cathail, ocus Aodha mic Neill, ro tinnscainset Goill indrad Erenn ar tús, dáigh is nanaimsir sin tangadar Gaill i gCamas ó Fothaid Tíre .i. fiche ar céd long; ocus ro hindredh leó an tir, ocus ro hairgedh ocus ro loiscedh léo Inis Labraind, ocus Dairinis; ocus tugsad Eoghanacht Locha Léin cath dóib, ocus ro marbadh se fir deg ar .cccc. do gallaibh and, .i. an bliadhain ar marbhad Dímain Arad sin, .i. .x. mbliadhna ar nécc Airtri mic Chatail.*
812	CGG pp 4-5	It was in the time of Airtri, son of Cathal, and of Aedh, son of Niall, that the foreigners first began the devastation of Eirinn; for it was in their time the foreigners came into Camas ó Fothaidh Tire – viz, an hundred and twenty ships, and the country was plundered and devastated by them, and Inis Labrainn and

		Dairinis were burned by them. And the Eoganachts of Loch Lein gave them battle, when four hundred and sixteen men of the foreigners were killed. This was the year after that in which Diman of Aradh was killed, and ten years after the death of Airtri, son of Cathal.
813.4	AU	*Ar n-Umill la gennti ubi ceciderunt Coscrach m. Flainddabrat ₇ Dunadhach rex h-Umill.*
813.4	AU	The slaughter at Umall by the heathens in which fell Coscrach son of Flannabra and Dúnadach, king of Umall.
813	CS	*Ar ffer n-Umaill la gentibh ubi ceciderunt Cosgrach mac Flaind Abrat et Dunchadh rí Umaill.*
813	CS	A slaughter of the men of Umall by the heathens in which fell Cosrach son of Flannabra and Dúnchad, king of Umall.
813 808.7	AFM	*Iomaireacc etir Fiora Umhaill ₇ allmhuraigh, in ro ládh ár f-Fer n-Umaill, ₇ i t-torchair Cosccrach mac Flainnabhrat, ₇ Dúnadhach, tigherna Umhaill.*
813 808.7	AFM	A battle between the men of Umhall and the foreigners, in which the men of Umhall were slaughtered, and Cosgrach, son of Flannabhrat, and Dunadhach, lord of Umhall, were slain.
813 810	AClon	There was a Great slaughter of these of Iarhar Connaught by the Danes againe.
814		
815		
816		
817		
818		
819		
820		
821.3	AU	*Orggan Etir o genntibh; pred mor di mnaibh do brid ass.*
821.3	AU	Étar was plundered by the heathens, and they carried off a great number of women into captivity.
821 819.4	AFM	*Orgain Edair la Gallaibh, ₇ broid mhór do mhnáibh do bhreith leo.* *Orgain Becc-Ereann, ₇ Dairinsi Caomháin leo doridhisi.*

821 819.4	AFM	The plundering of Edar by the foreigners, who carried off a great prey of women. The plundering of Beg Eire and Dairinis Caemhain by them also.
	AR225	*Eodem anno orgain Beachereann ⁊ Dairinnsi Caomain a gentibus.*
821 818	AClon	Beighrenne ⁊ Darensie to Eawynn by the Danes was spoyled.
822	CS	*Orgain Daiminsi et Corcaighe o gentib.*
822.3	CS	Daiminis and Corcach were plundered by the heathens.
822 819	AClon	The Ileand of Corck and Inisdoicble was spoyled ⁊ Ransackt by Danes.
822 820.12	AFM	*Orgain Insi Doimhle, ⁊ Corcaighe la Gallaibh.*
822 820.12	AFM	The plundering of Inis Doimhle and Corcach Cork by the foreigners.
823.8	AU	*Gentiles inuaserunt Bennchur Mor.*
823.8	AU	Heathens invaded Bennchor the great.
823	CS	*Gentiles inuaserunt Bendcur Mór.*
823.7	CS	Heathens invaded Bennchor the great.
823.1	AI	*Indred Bennchoir o gentib ⁊ scrín Chomgaill do brissiud doib ⁊ a suíd ⁊ a h-epscoip do thecht fo gin claidib.*
823.1	AI	Kl. The invasion of Bennchor by the heathens and the shrine of Comgall was broken by them, and its learned men and its bishops were put to the sword.
823 820	AClon	The Danes invaded the Church of Beanchor.
824	AU	*Orggain Benncair ac Airtiu o gentibh ⁊ coscradh a derthagi ⁊ reilgi Comghaill do crothadh asa scrin.* *Bidh fir fir,* *do dheoin Airdrigh inna righ* *berthair mo chnama cen chron*

		o Benncor bagha d'Oentrob.
824.2	AU	The heathens plundered Bennchor at Airtiu (?), and destroyed the oratory, and shook the relics of Comgall from their shrine. It will be true, true, By the will of the High-king of kings, My bones shall be borne without harm From Bennchor of the fighting to Aentreb.
824	CS	*Orgain Bendcair a gentibus*.
824.1	CS	The plunder of Bennchor by heathens.
824.1	AI	*Mag m-Bile 7 Bennchor do orgain d(o) gentib*.
824.1	AI	Mag Bile and Bennchor plundered by the heathens.
824 821	AClon	Beanchor was spoiled 7 Ransackt by the Danes together with St. Cowgalls church yard.
824 822.3	AFM	*Orgain Beannchair la Gallaibh, 7 cosccradh a derthaighe, 7 relcci* *Comhghaill do chrothadh as an sgrín ina rabhsat, amhail ro thairngir* *Comghall féisin, dia n-ebairt:* *Bidh fír, fír,* *do dheoin áirdrigh na rígh,* *Berthor mo cnámha gan crón,* *ó Bheandchuir bagha do Eantrobh*.
824 822.3	AFM	The plundering of Beannchair by the foreigners; the oratory was broken, and the relics of Comhghall were shaken from the shrine in which they were, as Comhghall himself had foretold, when he said: It will be true, true, by the will of the supreme King of kings, My bones shall be brought, without defect, from the beloved Beannchair to Eantrobh.
824	CGG p. 6	*Tanic longes ele i tuaiscert Erend iarsin; cethri bliadhna iar néc Aeda mic Neill* a) *ic Ath dá Fert,* a) *ocus ro airgset Bencur Ulad, ocus ro brisitar scrin Comgaill, ocus ro marbadh a epscop, ocus a suidí, ocus a sruthí; da airgset dna mag fos*
824	CGG	There came, after that, another fleet into the north of Erinn, four years after the death of Aedh, son of

	p. 7	Niall, at Ath-dá-Fert; and they plundered Bennchur of Uladh, and brake the shrine of Comhghall, and killed its bishop, and its doctors, and it clergy; they devastated, also, the plain.
824.9	AU	*Eitgal Sceiligg a gentibus raptus est ₇ cito mortuus est fame ₇ siti*.
824.9	AU	Étgal of Scelec was carried off by the heathens, and died shortly afterwards of hunger and thirst.
824.3	AI	*Scelec do orgain do gentib ₇ Etgal do brith i m-brait co n-erbailt gorta léo*.
824.3	AI	Scelec was plundered by the heathens and Étgal was carried off into captivity, and he died of hunger on their hands.
824	CGG [BL p. 1319	*Tanic dano longes aili ar sain coro innretar Corcaig. ₇ Inis Temli ₇ Becherinn ₇ Cluain Úama. ₇ Ros Níallain. Et Scelic Míchil Et rucsat Etgal in Scelic leo. i mbrait. conid tre mírbail atrulla úadib. ₇ ba marb de gortai ₇ d'íttaid occo hé*.
824	CGG pp 222-3	There came another fleet after that, and Corcach was plundered, and Inis Temhni; and Beccherinn, and Cluain Uamha, and Ros-niallan. And Skellig Michael, and Etgal of the Skellig was carried off by them into captivity, so that it was by miracle he escaped from them, and he died of hunger and thirst with them.
825.9	AU	*Slat Duin Lethglaisi du genntib*.
825.9	AU	Dún Lethglaise was plundered by the heathens.
825	CS	*Argain Dúin Lethglaisi ó gentibh*.
825.4	CS	The plundering of Dún Lethglaise by the heathens.
825 823.14	AFM	*Dún Da Lethghlais d'orgain la Galloibh*.
825 823.14	AFM	Dun Da Leathghlas was plundered by the foreigners
825.10	AU	*Loscuth Maighi Bile cona derthigib o ghentibh*.
825.10	AU	Mag Bile with its oratories was burned by the heathens
825	CS	*Losccadh Muighe Bile cona erdaimibh ó gentibh*.
825.5	CS	The burning of Mag Bile with its oratories by the heathens.
825 823.15	AFM	*Losccadh Maighe Bile cona dearthaigibh leo bheós*.
825 823.15	AFM	The burning by them, moreover, of Magh Bile, with its oratories,

825.11	AU	*Roiniudh i m-Maigh Inis re n-Ultaibh for gennti in quo ceciderunt plurimi.*
825.11	AU	The Ulaid inflicted a rout on the heathens in Mag Inis, in which very many fell.
825.6	CS	*Rainiudh i Maig Inis re nUlltaib for gentibh in quo ceciderunt plurimi.*
825.6	CS	The Ulaid inflicted a rout on the heathens in Mag Inis, in which very many fell.
825 822	AClon	There was an ouerthrow of the Deanes at Moynis by the Ulstermen.
825 823.17	AFM	*Roinedh i Muighinis ria n-Ultoibh for Ghallaibh, du in ro marbhadh sochaidhe*
825 823.17	AFM	A battle was gained in Magh Inis [Lecale] by the Ulidians over the foreigners, wherein many were slain.
825.12	AU	*Roiniudh for Osraigi re n-genntibh.*
825.12	AU	The heathens inflicted a rout on the Osraige.
825.7	CS	*Raoiniudh for Osraigibh ó gentibh.*
825.7	CS	The heathens inflicted a rout on the Osraige.
825 825.18	AFM	*Raoineadh ria n-Gallaibh for Osraighibh.*
825 823.18	AFM	A victory was gained by the foreigners over the Osraighi.
825.15	AU	*Orgain Innsi Daimle o genntib.*
825.15	AU	The plundering of Inis Daimle by the heathens
825.8	CS	The plundering of Inis Daimle by the heathens.
825.8	CS	*Orgain Innsi Daimle o gentibh.*
825 823.16	AFM	*7 orgain Insi Doimhle.*
825 823.16	AFM	And the plundering of Inis Doimhle.
825.17	AU	*Martre Blaimhicc m. Flainn o genntib i nh-I Coluim Cille.*
825.17	AU	The violent death of Blamac son of Flann at the hands of the heathens in Í Coluim Chille.
825.9	CS	*Martra Blaithmaic meic Flainn o gentibh i n-I Coluim Cille 4.*
825.9	CS	The violent death of Blamac son of Flann at the hands of the heathens in Ia Coluim Chille.

825	AR	*Martra Blait[h]mic mic Flaind o geintibh in Hi Colum Cille*
825 822	AClon	Blathmac mcfflaynn was martured by the Danes in the island of Hugh.
825 823.13	AFM	*Blathmac, mac Flainn, do ghabháil coróna mairtir, uair do marbhadh-somh la Galloibh i nh-I Coluim Cille.*
825 823.13	AFM	Blathmac, son of Flann, received the crown of martyrdom, for he was killed by the foreigners at I Coluim Cille.
826		
827.3	AU	*Orggan Luscan do genntib ₇ a loscadh, ₇ innreadh Ciannachta co rici Ochtar n-Ugan, ₇ organ Gall ind Airthir olchena.*
827.3	AU	Lusca was plundered by the heathens and burned; and Cianacht was invaded as far as Uachtar Ugán; and also a plundering of the foreigners of the East.
827 825.9	AFM	*Luscca do orgain la Gallaibh.*
827 825.9	AFM	Lusca was plundered by the foreigners.
827.9	AU	*Cosradh dunaidh Laighen do gentibh ubi ceciderunt Conall m. Con Congalt, rex na Fortuath, alii innumirabiles.*
827.9	AU	An encampment of the Laigin was overwhelmed by the heathens, and Conall son of Cú Chongalt, king of the Fortuatha, and countless others fell there.
827 825.13	AFM	*Coscradh Dunaidh Laighean i n-Druim la Geintibh, du in ro marbhadh Conaing, mac Con Congelt, tigherna na f-Forthuath co sochaidhibh ile.*
827 825.13	AFM	The destruction of Dun Laighen, at Druim,] by the Pagans, where Conaing, son of Cuchongelt, lord of the Fortuatha, was slain, with many others.
828.3	AU	*Mucar már di muccaibh mora i n-airer n-Ardde Ciannachta o Gallaibh, ₇ martre Temhnen anchorat.*
828.3	AU	A great slaughter of porpoises on the coast of Ard Cianachta by the foreigners; and the violent death of the anchorite Teimnén.

828 826.8	AFM	*Martra Themhnen angcoire la Gallaibh.*
828 826.8	AFM	The martyrdom of Temhnen, anchorite, by the foreigners.
828.4	AU	*Guin Cinaedha m. Cumuscaigh, ri Ardde Ciannachtae, o Gallaibh; 7 loscadh Lainne Leire 7 Cluana Moer o Gallaibh.*
828.4	AU	The mortal wounding of Cinaed son of Cumuscach, king of Ard Cianachta, by the foreigners; and Lann Léire and Cluain Mór were burned by them.
828.5	AU	*Cathroinedh re Lethlabhar m. Loingsigh, ri Dal Araidhe, for gennti.*
828.5	AU	A battle-rout was inflicted on the heathens by Lethlobar son of Loingsech, king of Dál Araidi.
828 828.10	AFM	*Cath-raoinedh ria Lethlobhar, mac Loingsich, rí Uladh, for Ghallaibh.*
828 828.10	AFM	A battle was gained by Leathlobhar, son of Loingseach, King of Ulidia, over the foreigners.
828.6	AU	*Cathroinedh .ii. for gennti re Coirpri m. Cathail rí H. Ceinnselaig 7 re muinntir Tighe Mundu.*
828.6	AU	Another battle-rout was inflicted on the heathens by Cairpre son of Cathal, king of Uí Cheinnselaig, and by the community of Tech Munnu.
828.2	CS	*Cathraoinedh for gentibh re Coirpri mac Cathoil ri h. Cinsilaigh 7 ré muintir Tighe Munda.*
828.2	CS	A battle-rout was inflicted on the heathens by Cairpre, son of Cathal, king of Uí Cheinnselaig, and by the community of Tech Munnu.
828 825	AClon	There was an overthrow given to the Danes by the Keansealies 7 those of Tymonna.
828 *825* *833*	CGG pp 6-9	*Tanic longes ele innuib Cendselaig, ocus ro airgset Teach Munnu, ocus Teach Molind, ocus Inis Teoc.* *Tancadar iar sin inn Osraigib, ocus ro hindred in tir leo. Tucsat Osraigi cath doib, ocus idrocar .c.lxx. dib and.* *Ro toglad leo Dun Dermugi, ocus Inis Eoganan, ocus Disiurt Tipraiti, ocus ro hindred leo Leas Mor, ocus ro loisced Cell Molassi, ocus Cluain-ard Mubeoc, ocus ro hindred dna Land Lerí, ocus Cend Slebi la fairind eli dib.*

		Ro hairged leo, dna, Sord Coluimcilli, ocus Damliag Cianan, Slani, ocus Orllasaili, ocus Glend dá lacha, ocus Cluain Uama, ocus Mungarit, ocus ur mor cell Erend
828 *825* *833*	CGG pp 6-9	Another fleet came to Ui Cennselaigh, and they plundered Tech Munnu, and Tech Moling, and Inis Teoc. They afterwards went into Osraighe, and the country was devastated by them. The Osraighe gave them battle; and they were killed of them there one hundred and seventy. By them was demolished Dun Dermuighe, and Inis Eoganainn, and Disert Tipraiti, and they devastated Leas Mor, and burned Cill Molaisi, and Cluain-ard Mubeoc, Lann Leiri, also Cenn Slebhi were plundered by another part of them. There were plundered also by them Sord Coluim-cilli, and Damliag Chianain, Slaini, and Orlla-saile, and Glenn-dá-Locha, and Cluain Uamha, and Mungarit, and the greater part of the churches of Erinn.
828 826.9	AFM	*Cath-shraoineadh for Gallaibh ria c-Coirpri, mac Cathail, tighearna Ua c-Ceinnsealaigh.*
828 826.9	AFM	A battle was gained over the foreigners by Cairbre, son of Cathal, lord of Ui Ceinnsealaigh
829		
830		
831.6	AU	*Indred Conaille do genntibh co n-arrgabad Mael Brighti a r-ri, ₇ Canannan a brathair, ₇ co ructha i l-longa*.
831.6	AU	Conaille was invaded by the heathens, and Mael Brigte, its king, and his brother Canannán, were taken prisoner and taken away to the ships.
831.3	CS	*Inradh Conaill do gentibh gur gabattur Maol Brighde a rri et Cananan a brathair et co ructa a lonccoib*.
831.3 828	CS	Conaille was invaded by the heathens, and they captured Mael Brigte, its king, and his brother Canannán, and they were taken away to their ships.

831 829.5	AFM	*Ionnradh Conaille la Gallaibh co ra gabhabh Maol Brigdhe an rí, 7 Canannan a bhrathair, 7 ruccsat leo iad dochum a long.*
831 829.5	AFM	The plundering of Conaille by the foreigners, who took Maelbrighde, its king, and Canannan, his brother, and carried them with them to their ships.
831.7	AU	*Cath do madhmaim i n-Aighnechaib re genntib for muinntir n-Airdd Machae co n-arrgabtha sochaide móra diib.*
831.7	AU	The heathens defeated the community of Ard Macha in a battle at Aignig, and great numbers of them were taken captive.
831 828	AClon	The landes about the Liffie were preyed 7 spoiled by King Connor o Melaghlin.
832.1	AU	*Cétna orggain Airdd Machae o genntib fo tri i n-oen-mhís.*
832.1	AU	The first plundering of Ard Macha by the heathens three times in one month.
832.1	CS	*Cedna orgain Aird Macha ó gentibh fo tri a n-aon mis.*
832.1	CS	The first plundering of Ard Macha by the heathens three times in one month.
832 830.2	AFM	*Cédna-orgain Arda Macha. Ard Macha do orgain fo thrí i n-aoin-mhí la Gallaibh, 7 ní ro h-oirgedh la h-eachtarchenela riamh go sin.*
832 830.2	AFM	The first plundering of Ard Macha. Ard Macha was plundered thrice in one month by the foreigners, and it had never been plundered by strangers before.
840s *839 - 845* *832*	CGG pp 8-9	*Tanic iarsin riglonges adbulmor la Turges, i tuascert Erenn, ocus ro gab rigi Gall Erend, ocus ro hindred tuascert Erenn leo, ocus ro scailset fo Leith Cuind.* *Ro gab tra longes dib for Loch Eathach; ocus ro gab longes ele ic Lugbud; ocus ro gab longes ele for Loch Raí.* *Ocus ro hindred tra Ard Macha fo tri isinn in mís leo sin, ocus ro gab Turgeis fein abbdani Arda Macha, ocus ro hinnarb Faranan abb Arda Macha ocus ard comarba Padraic, co toracht Mumain, ocus scrin Padraic leis; ocus buí cethri bliadhna im Mumain, ocus Turgeis inn Ard Macha, ocus irrígi tuaiscirt Erend; amail ro tairngir Bercan …*
840s	CGG	There came after that a great royal fleet into the north of Erinn, with Turgeis, who assumed the

	pp 8-9	sovereignty of the foreigners of Erinn, and the north of Erinn was plundered by them, and they spread themselves over Leth Chuinn. *839 - 845* A fleet of them also entered Loch Eathach, and another fleet entered Lughbudh, and another fleet entered Loch Rai. *832* Moreover Ard Macha was plundered three times in the same month by them; and Turgeis himself usurped the abbacy of Ard Macha, and Farannan, abbot of Ard Macha, and chief comharba of 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, as Bercan prophesied…. … (AD 839)
832.2	AU	*Orggain Mucshnama ₇ Lughmaidh ₇ Oa Meith ₇ Droma moccu Blae ₇ ala n-aile ceall.*
832.2	AU	The plundering of Mucnám, Lugbad, Uí Méith, Druim Moccu Blae, and other churches.
832.2	CS	*Orgain Lucchmaigh et Mucrima ₇ O Meith et Droma hUbla ₇ araile cell.*
832.2	CS	The plundering of Lugbad and Mucnám and Uí Méith and Druim Ublae and other churches.
832 829	AClon	The first outrages ₇ spoyles committed by the Danes in Ardmach was this year, ₇ Ransacked these ensuing churches, Louth, Mucksnawe, oaMeith, Droym mcawley, and Divers other Religious houses were by them most Paganlike Ransacked. Alsoe the Relicks of St. aDawnanus was outragiously taken from Twahall mcfferaye out of Downagh Moyen by the Danes, ₇ with the like outrage they spoyled Rathlowrie and Conrye in Ulster
832 830.4	AFM	*Orgain Lughmhaidh, ₇ Mucshnamha, ₇ Ua Meith, 7 Droma mic h-ua Blae, ₇ aroile cealla archena leó beos. Tuathal, mac Feradhaigh, do bhreith do Ghallaibh leo, ₇ scrín Adhamhnáin ó Domhnach Maighen.*
832 830.4	AFM	The plundering of Lughmhadh and Mucshnamh, and Ui Meith, and Druim Mic hUa Blae, and of other churches, by them also. Tuathal, son of Fearadhach, was carried off by the foreigners, and the shrine of Adamnan from Domhnach Maighen.
832.3	AU	*Orggain Duim Liacc ₇ fini Ciannactai cona chellaibh h-uilibh o genntibh.*
832.3	AU	The plundering of Dam Liac and the sept of the Cianacht with all their churches by the heathens.
832.3	CS	*Orgain Daimliag Cianain ₇ fine Ciannachda cona cellaibh o gentib.*
832.3	CS	The plundering of Dam Liac of Ciannán and the sept of the Cianacht with their churches by the heathens.
832	AFM	*Orgain Daimh Liacc Chianáin, ₇ Fine Chiannachta, cona c-ceallaibh uile, la Gallaibh. Oilill, mac*

830.3		*Colgan, do erghabhail leo dna.*
832 830.3	AFM	The plundering of Daimhliag and the tribe of Cianachta, with all their churches, by the foreigners. Oilill, son of Colgan, was also taken prisoner by them.
832.4	AU	*Ergabail Ailella m. Colgen o gennntib*.
832.4	AU	Ailill son of Colgu was taken captive by the heathens
832.5	AU	*Tuathal m. Feradhaich do breith do genntib ₇ scrin Adomnain o Domnuch Maghan*.
832.5	AU	Tuathal son of Feradach was taken away by the heathens, and Adamnán's shrine from Domnach Maigen.
832.4	CS	*Tuathal mac Feradaigh do breith do gentibh ₇ scrin Adamnain o Domnoch Magagen.*
832.4	CS	Tuathal son of Feradach was taken away by the heathens, and Adamnán's shrine from Domnach Maigen.
832.6	AU	*Orggain Ratha Luraigh ₇ Connire o genntibh*.
832.6	AU	Ráith Luraig and Connaire were plundered by the heathens
832 831.3	AFM	*Orgain Rátha Lúirigh, ₇ Condire ó Ghallaibh*.
832 831.3	AFM	The plundering of Rath Luirigh and Connor by the foreigners.
833.4	AU	*Roiniudh re Niall ₇ re Murcadh for Gallu i n-Daire Calgaidh*.
833.4	AU	Niall and Murchad routed the foreigners in Daire Calgaig
833.1	CS	*Raoinedh re Níall ₇ re Murchadh for Gullu a n-Dairi Calcaigh.*
833.1	CS	Niall and Murchad routed the foreigners in Daire Calgaig.
833 830	AClon	*King Neale 7 Murrogh of Ulster gave an overthrow to the Danes of Derycalgie*.
833 832.5	AFM	*Raeineadh ria Niall c-Caille ₇ ria Murchadh for Ghalluibh, h-i n-Doire Chalgaigh, co ro ládh a n-ár*.
833 832.5	AFM	A battle was gained by Niall Caille and Murchadh over the foreigners, at Doire Chalgaigh, where a slaughter was made of them.
	AClon	The Danes intending the fool conquest of Ireland, continued theire invassion in Ireland from time to tyme, useing all manner of crueltyes euer untill the latter end of king Brian Borowes raigne, by whome they were either Drowned or slaine in the Battle of Clontarfe, where himselfe alsoe was slaine, ₇ the Danes quite overthrone ₇ expelled out of the kingdome. They were most troblesome to this land, ₇ continued

		putting their crueltyes in execution, 219 years during the Raignes of 12 kings, 7 still the natives, by all means Possible, withstood them during that time. Diuers great fleetes 7 armyes of them arriued in Ireland, one after another, under the leading of sundry Great 7 valiant Captaines as Awus, Lir, Fatha, Turgesius, Imer, Dowgeann, Imar of Limbrick, Swanchean, Griffin a herauld, ffynn, Crioslagh, Albord Roe, Torbert o'Duffe, Tor, Wasbagh, Gotman, Allgot, Turkill, Trevan, Cossar, Crouantyne, Boyvinn, Beisson, the Read Daughter, Tormyn mcKeilebaron, Robert Moylann, Walter English, Goshlyn, Tahamore, Brught, 7 Awley King Of Denmark 7 King of the Land in Ireland called Fingall, Ossill, and the sonnes of Imer, Ranell o'Hemer, Costry Hemer Ottyre Earle, and Altyre Duff earle. The aforesaid Captaines 7 other armyes Did ouerrunn all Ireland to utter Destruction allmost to Both sides. The Irishmen striuing to Defend theire Patrimony 7 Liberties which themselves 7 their forefathers enjoyed, the Danes as a most barbarous, Riotous, Proud Tyranicall 7 ungodly people of Infidles to conquer them, 7 after conquering them using them much worse than the Turks doe the Christians now a Dayes; useing theire cruelty with all the Spight and Tyranny that could be Devised. There was noe Province, Contry, Teritory, Citty, or Principall towen or Good village that had not a Governour of the Danes to oversee it, and that by the name of soeveraigne or Lord Dane, which commanded the Place wherein he executed his charge in as ample manner as if he had been lord and absolute king thereof. As many women as they coud Lay hands upon, noble or ignoble, young or ould, married or unmarried, whatsoever birth or adge they were of, were by them abused most beastly, and filthily, and such of them as they liked best, were by them sent over seas into their one countryes there to be kept by them to use theire unlawfull lusts. They had another Custome that the cheefe Governour of them should have the bestowinge . . . . . . There was noe creature Living from the smallest chicken to the Greatest and full growen beast, but paid a yearly Tribute to theire King, noe not soe much as the youngest infant newly borne, but paid a noble in gold or silver or the nose from the bare bone. If the owner of the house where a Deane would lodge, had noe more in the world to live upon but one milch cowe for the maintenance of himselfe and his familie, he was compelled presently to kill her to make the Dane good cheere, if it were not otherwise Redeemed with money or some other good Thing to his Likeing. The howses of religion generally throughout the whole Kingdome were by them turned to be Brothell houses, stables, 7 houses of easment. Yea, the sacred alters of God, that saints had in great Reverence were broken, abused 7 cast down by them most scornfully, Paganlike and wickedly, to the great Grief of all Christian people. The great

		Tamberlane, called the scorge of God, could not be compared to them for Cruelty, Couetousness, 7 Insolency. Neale Caille son of king Hugh Orney began his reign after the Death of King Connor, and reigned 16 yeares. After whose Raigne the most part of the kings that were in Ireland, untill King Bryan Borowes tyme had no great Profitt by it but the bare name, yet they had kings of their own that paid intolerable tribute to the Danes.
833.5	AU	*Orggain Cluana Dolcan o ghenntibh.*
833.5	AU	Cluain Dolcáin was plundered by the heathens.
833.2	CS	*Orgain Cluana Dolcan o gentibh.*
833.2	CS	Cluain Dolcáin was plundered by the heathens.
833 832.6	AFM	*Orgain Cluana Dolcain do Ghallaibh.*
833 832.6	AFM	The plundering of Cluain Dolcain by the foreigners.
833.10	AU	*Loscadh Liss Moer Mo Chutu 7 ar Desmuman.*
833.10	AU	The burning of Les Mór Mo-Chutu and a slaughter of the people of Desmumu.
833.1	AI	*Les Mór Mo Chutu d'orgain do gentib 7 Cell Mo Laisse.*
833.1	AI	Les Mór Mo-Chutu and Cell Mo-Laise plundered by the heathens.
833.7	CS	*Orgain Lis Móir o gentibh.*
833 832.7	CS	The plundering of Lis Mór by the heathens.
832/3 830	AClon	Lisse-more was Ransackt by the Danes.
833 831.4	AFM	*Orgain Lis Móir Mo Chuda.*
832/33 831.4	AFM	*The plundering of Lis Mor Mochuda.*
833.11	AU	*Loscadh Droma Inasclaind o genntibh.*
833.11	AU	Druim Inasclainn was burned by the heathens

833.12	AU	*Orggain Locha Bricerna for Conghalach m. n-Echdach ₇ a marbad oc longaibh iarum.*
833.12	AU	Loch Bricrenn was plundered to the detriment of Congalach son of Echaid, and he was killed afterwards at the ships.
833 832.9	AFM	*Orgain Locha Bricrenn for Conghalach, mac Eachdach, ₇ a erghabhail, ₇ a mharbhadh occá longaibh iaramh.*
833 832.9	AFM	The plundering of Loch Bricrenn, against Conghalach, son of Eochaidh, by the foreigners; and he was taken prisoner, and afterwards killed at their ships.
834.8	AU	*Cath for gennti re n-Dunadhach m. Scannlain righ H. Fidgennti, du i torchratar ili.*
834.8	AU	Dúnadach son of Scannlán, king of Uí Fhidgeinte, won a battle against the heathens, in which many fell.
834.4	CS	*Cath for gentibh ré Dunchadh mac Scannlain rí h. fFi{dh}gente dú a ttorcair ile diubh.*
834.4	CS	Dúnchad son of Scannlán, king of Uí Fhidgeinte, won a battle against the heathens, in which many of them fell.
834 833.8	AFM	*Cath for Gallaibh ria n-Dunadhach, mac Scannláin, tigherna Ua Fidhgeinte, du i t-torchrattar ile.*
834 833.8	AFM	A battle was gained over the Danes by Dunadhach, son of Scannlan, lord of Ui Fidhgeinte, wherein many were slain.
834 830/1	AClon	Clondalkan was preyed, ₇ spoyl'd by the Danes.
834.9	AU	*Orgain Glinne Da Locha o genntib.* *Orgain Slane ₇ Finnubrach h-Abe o gentibh.*
834.9	AU	Glenn dá Locha was plundered by the heathens. Sláine and Finnubair Abae were plundered by the heathens.
834.10	AU	Nearly half of Cluain Moccu Nóis was burned.
834.5	CS	*Orgain Glinne dha Locha ó gentibh.*
834.5	CS	Glenn dá Locha was plundered by the heathens.
834 830/1	AClon	Gleandalogha was ransacked and preyed by Danes.
834 833.10	AFM	*Orgain Glinne Dá Locha, Sláine, ₇ Fionrabhrach Abhae la Gallaibh.*

834 833.10	AFM	The plundering of Gleann Da Locha, Slaine, and Finnabhair Abha, by the foreigners.
835.5	AU	*Orggain Fernann ₇ Cluana Moer M' Oedhoc o genntibh.*
835.5	AU	Ferna and Cluain Mór Maedóc were plundered by the heathens.
835.1	CS	*Orgain Ferna Móir et Cluana Móir Maodóig o gentibh et losccadh Mungairde et araile cell d'Irmumhain.*
835.1	CS	Ferna and Cluain Mór Maedóc were plundered by the heathens, and Mungairit and other churches of Iarmumu were burned by the heathen.
835 832	AClon	Fernes and Clonmore of Moye were ransacked ₇ spoyled by the Danes.
835 834.8	AFM	*Orgain Fearna, ₇ Cluana Móir M' Aedhócc, ₇ Droma h-Ing la Gallaibh.* *Losccadh Mungairdi ₇ araile ceallu i n-Urmhumhain leo din.*
835 834.8	AFM	The plundering of Fearna, Cluain Mor Maedhog, and Druim hIng, by the foreigners. The burning of Mungairid and other churches in Ormond by them also.
835.10	*AU*	*A third part of Cluain Mac Nóis was burned on the second of the nones [6th] of March.*
835.11	AU	*Loscadh Mungairit ₇ ala n-aile cheall Irmumen o gentibh.*
835.11	AU	Mungairit and other churches of Iarmumu were burned by the heathen.
835.12	AU	*Orggain Droma h-Iung o Gallaibh.*
835.12	AU	The foreigners plundered Druim Ing.
836.5	AU	*Ceall Dara do orgain do gentib o Inbir Deae ₇ ro l-loscad a leth na cille.*
836.5	AU	Cell Dara was plundered by heathens from Inber Dea, and half of the church was burned.
836.2	CS	*Ceall Dara d'argain ó gentibh o Inber Dex ₇ ra loisccsiod leth na cille.*
836.2	CS	Cell Dara was plundered by heathens from Inber Dea, and half of the church was plundered.
836 835.12	AFM	*Ceall Dara do orgain do Ghallaibh Inbhir Deaa, ₇ do loisccedh leth na cille leo.*
836	AFM	Cill Dara was plundered by the foreigners of Inbher Deaa, and half the church was burned by them.

835.12		
836.4	CS	*Uastatio Cluana Moir Maodoig a gentibus i nocte Natiuitatis Domini: mortificauerunt multos, plurimos abstulerunt.*
836.4	CS	The devastation of Cluain Mór Maedóc by the heathens on the eve of the Nativity 24 Dec.: they slew many and carried off many more.
836 835.10	AFM	*Cluain Mhór M' Aedhocc do losccadh oidhche Nodlacc la Gallaibh, 7 sochaidhe mór do mharbhadh leo, amaille lé braighdibh iomdhaibh do bhreith leo.* *Derthech Glinne Da Locha do losccadh leó dna.* *Crioch Connacht uile do diothláithriughadh leó mar an c-cédna.*
836 835.10	AFM	Cluain Mor Maedhog was burned on Christmas night by the foreigners; and a great number was slain by them, and many prisoners were carried off. The oratory of Gleann Da Locha was also burned by them. All the country of Connaught was likewise desolated by them.
836 833	AClon	The church of Gleandologha was burnt, 7 the church of Kildare ransacked by the Danes.
836 833	AClon	The Danes upon the nativity of our Lord in the night entred the church of Clonmore Moyoge and there used many crueltyes, killed many of the clergie, 7 tooke many of them captives
836.7	AU	*Prima praeda gentilium o Deisciurt Bregh, .i. o Telcaibh Droman 7 o Dermaigh Britonum, 7 captiuos tam plures portauerunt 7 mortificauerunt multos 7 captiuos plurimos apstulerunt.*
836.7	AU	The first prey was taken by the heathens from southern Brega, i.e. from Telcha Dromáin and Dairmag of the Britons; and they carried off many prisoners, and killed many and led away very many captive.
836.10	AU	*Uastatio crudelissima a gentilibus omnium finium Connachtorum.* *Ar catha forsin Dess Tuaisceirt o genntib.*
836.10	AU	A most cruel devastation of all the lands of Connacht by the heathens. The heathens inflicted a slaughter in a battle won over the Déis Tuaisceirt.
836.5	CS	*Uastatio crudelissima omnium Connachtorum a gentibus.*

836.5	CS	A most cruel devastation of all the lands of Connacht by the heathens.
836 833	AClon	The Danes this year harried and spoyled all the province of Connaught, and confines thereof outrageously.
836 835.15	AFM	*Gofraidh, mac Ferghusa, toiseach Oirghiall do imthecht go h-Albain do nertughadh Dhail Riada, tré fhorchongradh Chionathe mic Ailpin.*
836 835.15	AFM	Gofraidh, son of Fearghus, chief of Oirghialla, went to Alba, to strengthen the Dal Riada, at the request of Cinaeth, son of Ailpin.
837 836.9	AFM	*Duibhlitir Odhar ó Temhraigh do ergabhail do Gallaibh, 7 bás cuimhrigh do imbirt fair ina longaibh iaromh, co n-dorchair leó.*
837 836.9	AFM	Dubh Litir Odhar, of Teamhair, was taken prisoner by the foreigners, who afterwards put him to death in his gyves, at their ships, and thus he fell by them!
837.3	AU	*Longas tre-fhichet long di Norddmannaibh for Boinn; longas .ii. tre-fhichet long for abaind Liphi. Ro slatsat iarum in di longais-sin Magh Liphi 7 Magh m-Bregh eter cealla 7 dune 7 treba. Roiniudh re feraib Bregh for Gallaibh ec Deoninni i Mughdornaibh Bregh conid-torchradar se fichit diibh.*
837.3	AU	A naval force of the Norsemen sixty ships strong was on the Bóinn, and another one of sixty ships on the river Life. Those two forces plundered the plain of Life and the plain of Brega, including churches, forts and dwellings. The men of Brega routed the foreigners at Deoninne in Mugdorna of Brega, and six score of the Norsemen fell.
837.2	CS	*Longas tri .xx. lóng do Normaindibh for Boinn. Longus oile tri .xx. long for abainn Liffe. Ro lasad an dana longais sein Magh Life et Magh mBregh edir cella et tuatha.*
837.2	CS	A naval force of the Norsemen sixty ships strong was on the Bóinin, and another one of sixty ships in the river Life. These two forces plundered the plain of Life and the plain of Brega, including churches and laity.
837.3	CS	*Raoinedh ré feroibh Breg for gentibh contorcrattur se .xx. dibh.*
837.3	CS	The men of Brega routed the foreigners and six score of the Norsemen fell.
837 834	AClon	A fleet, of 60 sailes was on the River of Boyne by the Danes, 7 another of 60 on the river of Liffie, which two fleetes spoyled 7 destroyed all the borders of Liffie and Moybrey alltogether. Moybrey gave an overthrow to the Danes in Mogorne, where there were 120 of them slaine 7 killed.
837	AFM	*Cobhlach trí fichit long do Nortmannibh for Bóinn. Lucht trí fichit long oile for Abhainn Liphthe. Ro*

836.10		*airgset ₇ ro ionnraisset an dá mhór-chobhlach sin Magh Liphthe, ₇ Magh Bregh, eitir cealla ₇ congbhala, daoine ₇ deighthrebha, crodh ₇ cethra.*
837 836.10	AFM	A fleet of sixty ships of Norsemen on the Boyne. Another fleet of sixty ships on the Abhainn Liphthe. These two fleets plundered and spoiled Magh Liphthe and Magh Breagh, both churches and habitations of men, and goodly tribes, flocks, and herds.
837 836.11	AFM	*Raeinedh ria b-Fearaibh Bregh for Ghallaibh i Mugdhornaibh Bregh, cot-torchrattar sé fichitt do Ghallaibh isin n-gleo-sin.*
837 836.11	AFM	A battle was gained by the men of Breagh over the foreigners in Mughdhorna Breagh; and six score of the foreigners were slain in that battle.
837 *839*	CGG pp 12-3	*Tancatar iar sin .u. longa ocus tri fichit, cor gabsat in Dublind Atha Cliath, ocus ro hindred Lagin co fargi leo, ocus Mag mBreg.* *Tuscad, dna, Dail-réta cath ele doib, du indrocair Eogan mac Oengussa rí Dalritai.*
837 *839*	CGG pp 12-3	After this came three score and five ships, and landed at Dubhlinn of Athcliath and Laghin was plundered to the sea by them and Magh Bregh. But the Dal Riada met them in another battle, in which was slain Eoghan, son of Oengus, king of Dal Riada.
837 *839* *837*	CGG pp 16-7	*Tanic iarsin longes tri ficit long do Normandaib for Booind, ocus ro inrit Bregha leo, ocus Midi.* *Tanic longes [aile] cor gab for Loch Ecach, ocus ro hinred leoside co hArd Macha.* *Tanic longes ele cor gabside fro abaind Liphi, ocus ro hinred Mag mBreg leo, ettir tuaith ocus cill.*
837 *839* *837*	CGG pp 16-7	There came after that a fleet of three score ships of the Norsemen upon the Boinn; and Bregia and Midhe were plundered by them. [Another] fleet came and settled on Loch Echach, and these plundered all before them to Ard-Macha. Another fleet came and settled on the river of Liffe, and Magh Bregh was plundered by them, both country and churches.

837.4	AU	*Bellum re genntibh oc Inbiur na m-Barc for h-U Neill o Shinaind co muir dú i r-roladh ar nad-ráirmedh, acht primi reges euasserunt.*
837.4	AU	The heathens won a battle at Inber na mBárc against the Uí Néill from the Sinann to the sea, in which an uncounted number were slaughtered, though the principal kings escaped.
837.4	CS	*Cath re gentibh for Uibh Néill o Inber na mBarc o muir go Sinuinn dú ra laeedh ár nár hairmedh riamh act optimi reges inuaserunt.*
837.4	CS	The heathens won a battle at Inber na mBarc against the Uí Néill from the sea to the Shannon, in which a never-counted number were slaughtered, though the principal kings escaped.
837 836.12	AFM	*Cath-shraoinedh ria n-Gallaibh oc Inbhear na m-Barc for Uibh Néill ó Sionainn co muir, dú in ro ládh ár nat r-airmhedh riamh, acht nama ternaiset na riogha 7 na ruirigh, na triatha 7 na toisecha gan airleach gan athchuma.*
837 836.12	AFM	A battle was gained by the foreigners, at Inbhear Na mBarc, over all the Ui Neill, from the Sinainn to the sea, where such slaughter was made as never before was heard of; however, the kings and chieftains, the lords and toparchs, escaped without slaughter or mutilation.
837 834	AClon	The o'Neales gave a great overthrow to the Danes at Inver ne marke, where they were pursueing them from Synan to the sea, and made such slaughter on them, that there was not such heard of in a long space before, but the chiefest Captaine of the Danes escaped.
837.5	AU	*Loscadh Innseo Celtre o gentibh.*
837.5	AU	Inis Celtra was plundered by the heathens
837 834	AClon	Iniscealtra and all the Islands of Logherny were taken, spoyled and ransacked by the Danes.
837 836.14	AFM	*Cealla Laichteine, Inis Cealtra, 7 Cill Finnche, do losccadh la Gallaibh.*
837 836.14	AFM	The churches of Laichtene, Inis Cealtra, and Cill Finnche, were burned by the foreigners.
837.6	AU	*Cella Locha Eirne n-uile im Chluaen Eoais 7 Daiminis do dilgiunn o genntibh.*
837.6	AU	The churches of all Loch Éirne, including Cluain Eóis and Daiminis, were destroyed by the heathens
837.5	CS	*Losccadh Cluana Muc Nois et Insi Celtra et cella Locha hErne uile et Daiminis do dithlaitriuccadh o gentibh.*
837.5	CS	The burning of Cluain moccu Nóis and Inis Celtra. The churches of all Loch Éirne, and Daiminis, were

		destroyed by the heathens.
837 834	AClon	Clonvickenois and Dauinis were alsoe spoiled by them, 7 banished out of their howses.
837 836.13	AFM	*Cealla Locha h-Eirne do dhílgent la Gallaibh im Cluain Eoais, 7 im Daimhinis, 7c.*
837 836.13	AFM	The churches of Loch Eirne were destroyed by the foreigners, with Cluain Eois and Daimhinis, 7c.
837.9	AU	*Marbadh Saxoilbh, toisigh na n-Gall, la Cianacht.*
837.9	AU	Saxolb, chief of the foreigners, was killed by the Cianacht.
837.6	CS	*Marbadh Saxoilbh taisigh na n-Gall la Ciannacht.*
837.6	CS	Saxolf, leader of the foreigners, was killed by the Ciannacht.
837 834	AClon	Saxolve, chiefs of the Danes, was killed by those of Kyannaghta.
837 836.16	AFM	*Saxolbh, toiseach na n-Gall, do mharbhadh la Ciannachtaibh.*
837 836.16	AFM	Saxolbh, chief of the foreigners, was slain by the Cianachta.
837.7	CS	*Ar gente a c-Carn Feradhaigh.*
837.7	CS	A slaughter of heathens at Carn Feradaigh.
837 834	AClon	There was an overthrow and slaughter of them at Carneferay, another at Ffear and another at Easrow.
837 836.18	AFM	*Ar forra ag Carn Feradhaigh.*
837 836.18	AFM	A slaughter of them at Carn Fearadhaigh.
837.8	CS	*Maidm na Fertae ria gentibh.*
837.8	CS	The heathen inflicted a defeat at the Fertae.
837 836.19	AFM	*Maidhm na b-Fearta ria n-Gallaibh.*
837	AFM	The victory of Fearta was gained by the foreigners.

836.19		
837.9	CS	*Ár gente ag Es Ruaidh.*
837.9	CS	A slaughter of the heathen at Es Ruad.
837 836.17	AFM	*Ar for Ghallaibh occ Eas Ruaidh.*
837 836.17	AFM	A slaughter was made of the foreigners at Eas Ruaidh.
837.10	CS	*Cedgabail Atha Cliath o ghentibh.*
837.10	CS	The first taking of Áth Cliath by the heathens.
	AR235	*Cetgabail Átha Cliath o geintibh.*
837 834	AClon	The first taking and possession of the Danes in Dublin was this year 834.
837 836.20	AFM	*Céd-ghabháil Atha Cliath lá Gallaibh.*
837 836.20	AFM	The first taking of Ath Cliath by the foreigners.
837	CGG pp 8-9	*Tanic longes ele for cuan Lumníg, ocus ro hinrit Corco Baiscind, ocus Tradraigi, ocus u Conílll Gabra leo. Tucsat o Conaill cath doib ic Senatib .i. Donnchad mac Scannlan rí ua Conaill, ocus Niall mac Cindfaelad; ocus ní fer ca lin idrocair andsin dib.*
837	CGG pp 8-9	Another fleet came into the harbour of Luimnech; and Corco-Baiscinn, and Tradraighe, and Ui Conaill Gabhra were plundered by them. The Ui Conaill defeated them at Senait, under Donnchadh, son of Scannlan, king of Ui Conaill, and Niall, son of Cennfaeladh, and it is not known how many of them were slain.
838.9	AU	*Bellum re genntib for Conachta in quo ceciderunt Mael Duin filius Muirgusa $_{7}$ alii multi.*
838.9	AU	The heathens won a battle against the Connachta, in which Mael Dúin son of Muirgius and many others fell.
838.2	CS	*Cath ria ngentibh for Connachta in quo ceciderunt Mael Dúin mac Muirgessa et alii.*
838.2	CS	The heathens won a battle against the Connachta, in which Mael Dúin son of Muirgius and others fell.
838	AClon	The Danes gave a great battle to the Connaughtmen, where Moyledwyne mcMorgissa was killed with

835		many others.
838 837.13	AFM	*Sraoinedh ria n-geintibh for Connachtaibh, in ro marbhadh Maol Dúin, mac Muirghesa, mic Tomaltaigh, co sochaidhibh amaille fris.*
838 837.13	AFM	A battle was gained by the Gentiles over the Connaughtmen, wherein was slain Maelduin, son of Murgheas, son of Tomaltach, with numbers of others along with him.
839.7	AU	*Fecht di Ghallaibh for Loch Ecdhach cor ortadur tuatha ₇ cella tuaisceirt Erenn ass.*
839.7	AU	A raiding party of the foreigners were on Loch nEchach, and from there they plundered the states and churches of the north of Ireland.
839.2	CS	*Gaill for Loch Ecach gur airgetor tuaisgert Erend as etir cill is túaith.*
839.2	CS	The foreigners were on Loch nEchach, and from there they plundered the churches and peoples of the north of Ireland.
839 836	AClon	The Danes made a fforte, and had shipping on Logh Neaagh of purpose and intent to wast and spoyle the north from thence, and did accordingly.
839 838.10	AFM	*Ro ghabhsat murchobhlach do Ghallaibh for Loch Eathach. Ro h-urtha ₇ ro h-airgthe tuatha ₇ cealla tuaisceirt Ereann leó.*
839 838.10	AFM	A marine fleet of the foreigners took up on Loch Eathach. The territories and churches of the North of Ireland were plundered and spoiled by them.
839.9	AU	*Bellum re genntib for firu Fortrenn in quo ceciderunt Euganan m. Oengusa ₇ Bran m. Oengussa ₇ Ed m. Boanta ₇ alii pene innumerabiles ceciderunt.*
839.9	AU	The heathens won a battle against the men of Foirtriu, and Eóganán son of Aengus, Bran son of Óengus, Aed son of Boanta, and others almost innumerable fell there.
839.10	AU	*Loscadh Fernann ₇ Corcaidhe o genntibh.*
839.10	AU	Ferna and Corcach were burned by the heathens.
839.3	CS	*Losccadh Ferna ₇ Corcaighe ó gentibh.*
839.3	CS	Ferna and Corcach were burned by the heathens.
839 836	AClon	Fearnes and Corcky more were burnt by the Danes.
839 838.11	AFM	*Losccadh Fearna ₇ Corcaighe Móire lá Gallaibh.*

839 838.11	AFM	The burning of Fearna and Corcach Mor by the foreigners.
839	CGG BL	*Ra hinnred leo dano Corcaig. 7 (ro losced Ros Ailithri) 7 Cind Mara. 7 Achad (7 Árd) Fera(daig) Tugsat dano descert Herend cath dóib. 7 darochair (Clochna rig Corca) ac 7 Dondchad mac Amalgada ríg (Eoganacht ua Neit) ac Corcaig ro marbad*
839	CGG pp 228-9	Moreover, Corcaigh was plundered by them [and Rosscarbery] and Kenmare and Achad and Cahernarry were burned. The south of Erinn also gave them battle and (Clochna king of Corca) fell, and Dondchad son of Amhalgaidh, king (of the Eoganacht Ua Néit) was killed at Cork].
840.1 839.1	AU	*Orggain Lughmaidh di Loch Echdach o genntibh qui episcopos 7 praespiteros 7 sapientes captiuos duxerunt 7 alios mortificauerunt.*
840.1 839.1	AU	Lugbad was plundered by the heathens from Loch nEchach and they led away captive bishops and priests and scholars, and put others to death.
840.1	CS	*Orgain Lugmaigh do Loch Echach ó gentibh: episcopos 7 prespiteros 7 sapientes captiuos duxerunt.*
840.1	CS	Lugbad was plundered by the heathens from Loch nEcach. They led away captive bishops and priests and scholars.
	AR	*Orgain Lugmaig di Loch Eac[h]ac[h] o geintibh, qui episcopos et presbyteres et sapientes captiuos duxerunt et alios mortificauerunt.*
840 837	AClon	Louth was destroyed by the Danes of Loghneagh and lead with them many Bushopps, Prelates, and Priests captives from thence, 7 killed many others.
840 839.10	AFM	*Orgain Lughmhaidh la Gallaibh Locha h-Eathach, 7 ro ghabhsat braighde iomdha d'espuccoibh 7 do dhaoinibh eaccnaidhe foghlamtha, 7 ruccsat iatt dochom a longphort iar marbhadh sochaidhe oile leó bheós.*
840 839.10	AFM	The plundering of Lughmhadh by the foreigners of Loch Eathach; and they made prisoners of many bishops and other wise and learned men, and carried them to their fortress, after having, moreover, slain many others.
840.3	*AU*	*Loscadh Aird Machae cona dert[h]ighibh 7 a doim liacc.*
840.3	AU	Ard Macha was burned with its oratories and stone church
840 837	AClon	Ardmach, the town church 7 all, was burnt by the Danes.

840 839.14	AFM	*Losccadh Arda Macha cona derthaighibh, 7 cona daimh liacc, lasna Gallaibh reimhráite.*
840 839.14	AFM	The burning of Ard Macha, with its oratories and cathedral, by the aforesaid foreigners.
840.8	AU	*Annsa m-bliaghain-so thios tangadur Lochlanaidh a n-Erinn ar tus do reir an t-sencusa.*
840.8	AU	In this year below the Norsemen first came to Ireland, according to the senchus.
841.1	AU	*Gennti for Loch Eachach beós.*
841.1	AU	The heathens were still on Loch nEchach.
841.1	CS	*Gente for Loch Echach béos.*
841.1	CS	The heathens were still on Loch nEchach.
841 838	AClon	The Danes continued yett in Loghneaagh practizing their wonted courses.
841.4	AU	*Longport oc Linn Duachaill asar orta tuatha 7 cealla Tethbai.* *Longport oc Duiblinn as-rorta Laigin 7 Oi Neill etir tuatha 7 cealla co rice Sliabh Bledhma.*
841.4	AU	There was a naval camp at Linn Duachaill from which the peoples and churches of Tethba were plundered. There was a naval camp at Duiblinn from which the Laigin and the Uí Néill were plundered, both states and churches, as far as Sliab Bladma.
841.2	CS	*Longport og Lind Duachaill as ar loitedh tuatha et cealla Teabtha.*
841.2	CS	There was a naval camp at Linn Duachaill from which the peoples and churches of Tethba were plundered.
841 838	AClon	They had forte at Lynndwachal, from whence they destroyed all the temple 7 church lands of the contry of Teaffa.
841 840.3	AFM	*Longphort acc Linn Duachaill la Gallaibh, as ro h-urtha 7 ro h-airgthe tuatha 7 cealla Teathbha.*
841 840.3	AFM	A fortress was erected by the foreigners at Linn Duachaill, out of which the territories and churches of Teathbha were plundered and preyed.

841.3	CS	*Longport og Duibhhnn as ar loitedh Laighin et h. Néill eidir tuathaibh et cellaibh co Sliab Bladma*.
841.3	CS	There was a naval camp at Duiblinn from which the Laigin and Uí Néill were plundered, both peoples and churches, as far as Sliab Bladma.
841 838	AClon	They had another fort at Dublin, from whence they did alsoe destroy the lands of Leinster and of the o'Neales of the South to the mount of Slieue Bloome.
841 840.4	AFM	*Longport oile ag Duibhlinn, as ro h-urtha Laighin 7 h-Uí Néill, etir tuatha 7 cealla, co Sliabh Bladhma*.
841 840.4	AFM	Another fortress was erected by them at Duibhlinn, out of which they plundered Leinster and the Ui Neill, both territories and churches, as far as Sliabh Bladhma.
841.4	CS	*O{r}gain Cluana Edhnech et dilghenn Cluana Iraird et Cille Aichidh o gentibh*.
841.4	CS	The plundering of Cluain Eidnech and the laying waste of Cluain Iraird and Cell Achaid by the heathens.
841 839	AClon	Cloneyneagh was destroyed by the Danes, and the clergie of Clonard quite Distroyed or banished out of the same, and for the most part killed.
841 840.6	AFM	*Orgain Cluana h-Eidhnech, 7 dilgend Cluana h-Ioraird 7 Cille h-Achaidh Drumatai, la Gallaibh*.
841 840.6	AFM	The plundering of Cluain Eidhneach, and the destruction of Cluain Iraird and Cill Achaidh Droma Fota, by the foreigners.
842.2	AU	*Geinnti for Duiblinn beos*.
842.2	AU	The heathens still at Duiblinn
842.1	CS	*Gente for Duiplind béos*.
842.1	CS	The heathens still at Duiblinn
842 839	AClon	The Danes continued in Dublin this year
842.5	AU	*Mael Duin m. Conaill, ri Calatroma, do ergabhail do ghenntibh*.
842.5	AU	Mael Dúin son of Conall, king of Calatruim, was taken prisoner by the heathens.
842 841.15	AFM	*Maol Dúin, mac Conaill, tigherna Calatroma, do erghabhail do Gallaibh*.
842 841.15	AFM	Maelduin, son of Conall, lord of Calatruim, was taken prisoner by the foreigners.

842.6	AU	*Orggain Cluana M. Nois o genntibh di Linn Duachail*.
842.6	AU	Cluain Moccu Nóis was plundered by heathens from Linn Duachaill.
842.2	CS	*Orgain Cluana Muc Nois o gentibh do Linn Duachaill.*
842.2	CS	Cluain moccu Nóis was plundered by heathens from Linn Duachaill.
842 841.9	AFM	*Orgain Cluana Mic Nois la Gallaibh Linne Duachaille.*
842 841.9	AFM	The plundering of Cluain Mic Nois by the foreigners of Linn Duachaille.
842.7	AU	*Orgain Biror ₇ Saighre o genntibh di Duiblinn*.
842.7	AU	Biror and Saiger were plundered by heathens from Duiblinn.
842.3	CS	*Orgain Birra ₇ Saighre o gentibh.*
842.3	CS	Biror and Saiger were plundered by heathens.
842 841.11	AFM	*Orgain Biorra ₇ Saighre la Gallaibh Bóinne.*
842 841.11	AFM	The plundering of Birra and Saighir by the foreigners of the Boinn.
842 839	AClon	and the Danes of Lynndwachill preyed and spoyled Clonvickenois, Birre, and Sayer.
842.8	AU	*Longas Nordmannorum for Boinn, for Linn Roiss. Longas Nordmannorum oc Linn Sailech la Ultu*.
842.8	AU	A naval force of the Norsemen was on the Bóinn at Linn Rois. There was also a naval force of the Norsemen at Linn Sailech in Ulaid.
842.4	CS	*Loinges Normaindech for Bóinn oc Linn Roiss. Loinges ele occ Linn Duachaill.*
842.4	CS	A naval force of the Norsemen was on the Bóinn at Linn Rois. There was also another naval force of the Norsemen at Linn Duachaill.
842 839	AClon	There was a fleet of Normans at Lynnrosa upon the river of Boyne, another at Lynsoleagh in Ulster, and another at Lyndwachill aforesaid.
842 841.12	AFM	*Longas Nortmaoinorum for Bóinn occ Linn Rois.* *Longus oile díobh occ Linn Saileach la h-Ulta.* *Longus oile díobh occ Linn Duachaill.*
842	AFM	A fleet of Norsemen on the Boinn, at Linn Rois.

841.12		Another fleet of them at Linn Saileach, in Ulster. Another fleet of them at Linn Duachaill.
842.9	AU	*Moran m. Indrechtaigh, abbas Clochair M. n-Daimeni, du ergabail do Gallaibh Linne, 7 a éc leo iarum.*
842.9	AU	Mórán son of Indrechtach, abbot of Clochar Mac nDaiméni, was taken prisoner by the foreigners of Linn, and later died on their hands.
842 841.7	AFM	*Morán, mac Indrechtaigh, abb Clochair Mic n-Daimeni ...d'écc.*
842 841.7	AFM	Moran, son of Innreachtach, Abbot of Clochar Mic nDaimheni…. Died
842 839	AClon	Morain mcInreaghty, Bishop of Clochar was killed by the Danes.
842.10	AU	*Comman, abbas Linne Duachail, do guin 7 loscadh o genntibh 7 Goidhelaibh.*
842.10	AU	Comán, abbot of Linn Duachail, was fatally wounded and burned by heathens and Irish.
842.4	CS	*Coeman abb Linde Duacháill do goin et do losccadh do gentibh.*
842.4	CS	Coemán, abbot of Linn Duachaill, was fatally wounded and burned by heathens.
842 839	AClon	Keowan abbot of Lyndwachill was both killed and burnt by the Danes, and some of the Irishmen.
842 841.2	AFM	*Caomhán, abb Linne Duachaill, do mharbhadh, 7 do losccadh la Gallaibh.*
842 841.2	AFM	Caemhan, Abbot of Linn Duachaill, was killed and burned by the foreigners.
842.11	AU	*Orgain Disirt Diarmata o genntibh di Chóel Uisce.*
842.11	AU	Dísert Diarmata was plundered by heathens from Cael Uisci
842.5	CS	*Orgain Disirt Diarmada do Cael Usque o gentibh.*
842.5	CS	Dísert Diarmata was plundered by heathens from Cael Uisci.
842 839	AClon	Disertt Dermott was destroyed by the Danes of Keyle Usge.
842 841.10	AFM	Orgain Dísirt Diarmada la Gallaibh Chaoil Uiscce.
842	AFM	The plundering of Disert Diarmada by the foreigners of Cael Uisce.

841.10		
842	CS	*Cennetigh d'argain 7 do loscadh Cluana muc Nois*.
842	CS	*Cennétigh plundered and burned Cluain moccu Nóis. [MacNiocaill]* *Cennetigh plundered, and Cluain-muc-Nois burnt by gentiles [Hennessy]*
842 839	AClon	Kennety and Clonvickenois were destroyed and burnt by the Danes.
843		
844.1	AU	*Mael Mithigh m. Cinaedha iugulatus est a gentilibus*.
844.1	AU	Mael Mithig son of Cinaed was killed by the heathens.
844.4	AU	*Loscadh Cluana Ferta Brendain o gentibh do Loch Ri*.
844.4	AU	Cluain Ferta Brénainn was burned by heathens from Loch Rí.
844 841	AClon	Clonfert was burnt by the Danes of Loghrie.
844 842.14	AFM	*Losccadh Cluana Fearta Brénainn lasna Gallaibh cédna*.
844 842.14	AFM	The burning of Cluain Fearta Brenainn by the same foreigners.
844.3	CS	*Tolorg mac Allailed flaith Fella occissus est o Galloibh Locha Ribh et ternum Finnacan mac Allailed uatoiph*.
844.3	CS	Tolarg son of Aillailed, lord of Fella, was killed by the heathens of Loch Rí, and Finnacán son of Allailed escaped from them.
844 842.13	AFM	*Tolorg, mac Allailedh, flaith Fealla, do mharbhadh la Gallaibh Locha Ribh, 7 Findacán, mac Allailedh, do thérnadh uadhaibh*.
844 842.13	AFM	Tolorg, son of Allailedh, chief of Fealla, was slain by the foreigners of Loch Ribh; and Finnacan, son of Allailedh, made his escape from them.
845.1	AU	*Forindan, abbas Aird Machae, du ergabail du genntibh i Cloen Comardai cona mindaibh 7 cona muinntir, 7 a brith do longaibh Luimnigh*.

845.1	AU	Forannán, abbot of Ard Macha, was taken prisoner by the heathens in Cluain Comarda with his halidoms and following, and was brought to the ships of Luimnech.
845.1	CS	*Forandán ab Áird Macha du ergabail ó gentibh a c-Cluain Comarda cona mindaibh et cona muintir et a mbreith a longaibh go Luimnech.*
845.1	CS	Forannán abbot of Ard Macha, was taken prisoner by the heathens in Cluain Comarda with his halidoms and following, and they were brought to the ships of Luimnech.
845.2	AI	*Forannán, abb Aird Macha, do brith do gentib ó Chluain Comardae 7 scrín Patraic do brissiud 7 do brith dóib.*
845.2	AI	Forannán, abbot of Ard Macha, was carried off by the heathens from Cluain Comarda, and the shrine of Pátraic was broken and carried off by them.
845 842	AClon	Forannan, abbott of Ardmach, was taken captive by the Danes at Cloncowardy, together with all his familie, rilickes, 7 books, and were lead from thence to their shipes in Lymbrick.
845 843.12	AFM	*Forannán, primhaidh Arda Macha, do erghabháil do Ghallaibh i c-Cluain Chomharda, cona mhionnaibh 7 cona mhuinntir, 7 a m-breth leo dia longaibh go Luimneach.*
845 843.12	AFM	Forannan, Primate of Ard Macha, was taken prisoner by the foreigners, at Cluain Comharda, with his relics and people, and they were carried by them to their ships at Luimneach.
c.845	CGG pp 14-15	*Tanic iarsin tola murbructa mor du gallaib inn Erinn, co nach rabi aird innti can longes. Is leoside do hargead Brigoband, ocus ro marbad Tressach mac Mechill.* *Ro gab, am, longes igCiarraigi Luachra, ocus ro hinred leo co Cill Iti, ocus co Cuil Emni, ocus ro hinred tra, re longes Luimnig Martini na Muman, ocus rucsat Farannan comarba Arda Macha o Cluain Comairdi co Lumnech ocus ro brissidar scrin Padraic.*
c. 845	CGG pp 14-15	After this there came great sea-cast floods of foreigners into Erinn, so that there was not a point thereof with out a fleet. It was by these that Bri-Gobhann was plundered, and Tressach, son of Mechill killed. A fleet came to Ciarraighe Luachra, and all was plundered by them to Cill Ita and Cuil Emhni; and the Martini of Mumhain were plundered by the fleet of Luimnech, who carried off Farannann, Comharba of Ard Macha, from Cluain Comairdi to Luimnech, and they broke Patrick's shrine.
c. 845	CGG pp 14-15	*In bliadain, dna, ro gabaidh Faranan ocus ro brised scrin Padraic, ocus ro hinred cella Mumhan, is and sin tancatar [Gaill] ro Ros Creda, la feil Poil ocus Pedair, ocus int aenach innillti and; ocus tucad cath*

		doib, ocus ro muid for Gallaib tria rath Poil ocus Pedair, ocus ro marbait co di-airmiti and; ocus ro bualed Onphile iarla and do cloich, cor marb de é
c. 845	CGG pp 14-15	Now the same year in which Farannann was taken prisoner, the shrine of Patrick broken, and the churches of Mumhain plundered, [the foreigners] came to Ros Creda on the festival of Paul and Peter, when the fair had begun; and they were given battle, and the foreigners were defeated through the grace of Paul and Peter, and countless numbers of them were killed there; and Earl Onphile was struck there with a stone by which he was killed.
845.2	AU	*Orggain Duin Masc o genntibh dú inro marbad Aedh m. Duibh Da Crich, abbas Tire Da Ghlass ₇ Cluana Eidhnigh, ₇ dú inro marbad Ceithernach m. Con Dinaisc, secnap Cille Daro, ₇ alaile ile*.
845.2	AU	Dún Masc was plundered by the heathens, and there were killed there Aed son of Dub dá Crích, abbot of Tír dá Glas, and Cluain Eidnig, Ceithernach son of Cú Dínaisc, prior of Cell Dara, and many others.
845. 2	CS	*Orgain Dhúin Masc o gentibh dú ro marbadh Áodh mac Duibh da Crioch ab Thíre da Ghlass et Cluana Eidnigh ₇ Ceiternach mac Con Dinaisc secnab Cille Dara*.
845.2	CS	Dún Masc was plundered by the heathens, and there were killed there Aed son of Dub dá Crích, abbot of Tír dá Glas and Cluain Eidnech, Ceithernach son of Cú Dinaisc, prior of Cell Dara.
844.1	AI	*Orgain Duin Masc h-i torchair Aed macc Duib da Chrich, ab Tire da Glass*.
844.1	AI	The plundering of Dún Másc, in which Aed son of Dub dá Chrích, abbot of Tír dá Glas, fell.
845 842	AClon	Dunn Masse was assaulted ₇ destroyed by the Danes, where they killed Hugh mcDuffe Dachrich, abbott of Tyredaglasse and Cloneynagh, and alsoe there killed Kehernagh mcComasgagc, old abbott of Killdare.
845 843.11	AFM	*Orgain Dúin Mascc la Gallaibh, dú in ro gabhadh Aodh, mac Duibh Dha Chríoch, abb Tíre Dá Ghlas, ₇ Cluana h-Eidhneach, ₇ ruccsat leó é i Mumhain, ₇ ro fodaimh martra ar Dia, ₇ ro marbhadh Ceithernach, mac Con Dinaisg, prióir Chille Dara, co sochaidhibh oile amaille friu, isin orccain cédna*.
845 843.11	AFM	Dun Masg was plundered by the foreigners, where Aedh, son of Dubdhachrich, Abbot of Tir Da Ghlas and Cluain Eidhneach, was taken prisoner; and they carried him into Munster, where he suffered martyrdom for the sake of God; and Ceithearnach, son of Cudinaisg, Prior of Cill Dara, with many others besides, was killed by them during the same plundering excursion.
845	CGG pp 18-9	*Ro hinred leo, dna, Cell Dara, ocus Cluain Edneach, ocus Cend Etig, ocus Cell Ached la longes Atha Cliath fos; ocus ro toglad Dun Masc .i. du in drocair Aed mac Duibdacrich, comarba Coluim mic Crithaind ocus Findtain Cluana Ednig. Ocus ro hinred leo, dna, Cenannus, ocus Manistir Buti, ocus Damliac Cianan, ocus Sord Coluim Cilli, ocus Findglas Cainnig; ocus ro losced sin uli leo ocus ro hinrit*.

845	CGG pp 18-9	Cell Dara, also, and Cluain Eidhneach and Cenn Etigh, and Cell Ached were plundered by them, that is, by the fleet of Ath Cliath; and Dun Masc was demolished, where fell Aedh, son of Dubh-da-Crich, Comharba of Colum Mac Crimthainn, and of Finntan of Cluain Edneach. They also plundered Cennannas, and Mainister-Buite, and Damhliac-Cianan, Sord-Coluim-Cille and Finnglas-Cainnigh; and all these were burned and plundered.
845.3	AU	*Dunadh di Gallaibh .i. la Tuirgeis for Loch Ri coro ortadur Connachta ₇ Midhe, ₇ coro loscaiset Cluain M. Nois cona dertaigibh, ₇ Cluaen Ferta Brenainn ₇ Tir Da Glass ₇ Lothra ₇ alaile cathracha*.
845.3	AU	There was an encampment of the foreigners i.e. under Tuirgéis on Loch Rí, and they plundered Connacht and Mide, and burned Cluain Moccu Nóis with its oratories, and Cluain Ferta Brénainn, and Tír dá Glas and Lothra and other monasteries.
845.3	CS	*Dún la Turges do Gallaiph for Loch Ribh goro loitetor Connachta(?) et Mide et cor loisccsiot Cluain Muc Nois cona dertighibh et Cluain Ferta Brenuinn et Tír da Glass et Lotra et catracha iomdha*.
845.3	CS	There was an encampment of the foreigners under Tuirgéis on Loch Rí, and they plundered Connacht and Mide and burned Cluain moccu Nóis with its oratories, and Cluain Ferta Brénainn, and Tír da glas and Lothea and many monasteries.
845 842	AClon	Turgesius Prince of the Danes, founded a strong force on Loughrie, from whence Connaught and Meath were destroyed, burnt Clonvickenois, Clonfert, Tyrdaglasse, Lothra, and withal theire churches and houses of religion.
845 843.13	AFM	*Slóighedh la Tuirgheis, tigherna Gall for Loch Ribh, co ro airccseat Connachta ₇ Midhe, ₇ ro loiscseat Cluain Mic Nóis cona derthaighibh, ₇ Cluain Fearta Brénainn, Tir Dá Ghlas, Lothra, ₇ cealla iomdha archena*.
845 843.13	AFM	An expedition by Tuirgeis, lord of the foreigners, upon Loch Ribh, so that they plundered Connaught and Meath, and burned Cluain Mic Nois, with its oratories, Cluain Fearta Brenainn, Tir Da Ghlas, Lothra, and many others in like manner.
c. 845	CGG pp 12-3	*Tanic [tra Turgeis Arda Macha, ocus ro toccaib] longes ar Loch Rai, ocus ro hinred Midi uad as, ocus Connachta; ocus ro hinred Cluain mic Nois leis, ocus Cluain Ferta Brenaind, ocus Lothra, ocus Tir dá Glas, ocus Inis Cealtra, ocus cella Dergderc arcena, ocus is and dobered Ota ben Turges a huricli ar altoir Cluana mic Nois.* Tucsat, *imorro, Connahta cath doib du in drocair Maelduin mac Muirgissa rigdomna Connacht*.
c. 845	CGG	There came [now Turgeis, of Ard Macha, and brought] a fleet upon Loch Rai, and from thence plundered

	pp 12-3	Midhe and Connacht; and Cluain Mic Nois was plundered by him, and Cluain Ferta of Brenann, and Lothra, and Tir-dá-glas, and Inis Celtra, and all the churches of Derg-dheirc, in like manner; and the place where Ota, the wife of Turgeis, used to give her audience was upon the altar of Cluain Mic Nois. The Connachtmen, however, gave them battle, in which Maelduin, son of Muirghes, royal heir apparent of Connacht, was slain.
845.6	AU	*Cathroiniud for gennte re Niall m. Aedha i Maigh Itha*.
845.6	AU	Niall son of Aed inflicted a battle-rout on the heathens in Mag Ítha.
845.4	CS	*Cathrainedh for gentibh ria Niall mac Aodha a Maigh Itha*.
845.4	CS	Niall son of Aed inflicted a battle-rout on the heathens in Mag Itha.
845 842	AClon	King Neale gave a great over throw to the Danes in the plaines of Moynith.
845 843.14	AFM	*Cath-raoineadh for Ghallaibh riasan righ, Niall, mac Aedha, h-i Maigh Iothha, 7 drong dirímhe do thuitim lais*.
845 843.14	AFM	A battle was gained over the foreigners by the king, Niall, son of Aedh, in Magh Itha; and a countless number fell.
845.8		*Turges du ergabhail la Mael Sechnaill 7 badudh Turges i l-Loch Uair iarum*.
845.8		Tuirgéis was taken prisoner by Mael Sechnaill and afterwards drowned in Loch Uair.
845.6	CS	*Turges do ergabad la Maol Sechlainn mac Mail Ruanaidh et badhadh Turges i lLoch Uair*.
845.6	CS	Tuirgéis was taken prisoner by Mael Sechnaill and drowned in Loch Uair.
845	AR	*Turgeis du ergabail le Mael Seachnaill, 7 badudh Turgeis i lLoch Uair iarum*.
845	AB251	*K (2) Turges do dul ar Loch Ri 7 dun do denum do air 7 a gabail ria Maelsechnaill mac Mailruanaid 7 a badud illoch Uair*.
845	LL	*Bàdud Turgéis I lLoch Úair la Mael Sechnaill mac Mael Ruanaid*.
845 843.15	AFM	*Tuirgheis do ghabháil la Maol Seachlainn, mac Maol Ruanaidh, 7 a bhádhadh h-i Loch Uair iaramh, tré mhiorbhaile Dé 7 Ciaráin, 7 na naemh archena*.
845 843.15	AFM	Tuirgeis was taken prisoner by Maelseachlainn, son of Maelruainaidh; and he was afterwards drowned in Loch Uair, through the miracle of God and Ciaran, and the saints in general.
845	CGG pp 14-15	*Lisí sin bliadain ro gabhad Turgeis re Mael-sechlainn, ocus ro baithead iarsin i Loch Uair .i. in bliadain re nec Fedlemeda mic Crimthaind, ocus is re remis na deissi sin doronait na gníma sin uli*.
845	CGG	It was in this year Turgeis was taken prisoner by Maelsechlainn; and he was afterwards drowned in Loch

	pp 14-15	Uair, viz., the year before the drowning of Niall Cailli, and the second year before the death of Fedhlimidh, son of Crimhthann; and it was in the time of these two that all the events took place. Now, when Turgeis was killed, Farannann, abbot of Ard Macha, went out of Mumhain [to Ard Macha] and the shrine of Patrick was repaired by him.
845.12	AU	*Dunadh di Gallaibh Atha Cliath oc Cluanaib Andobur*.
845.12	AU	An encampment of the foreigners of Áth Cliath at Cluain Andobuir.
845 842	AClon	The Danes of Dublin founded a forte at Clondewer and spoyled LisKeilleachie and executed martiredom therein upon Nwadat mcSegenye.
845 843.10	AFM	*Sloighedh la Gallaibh Atha Cliath a c-Cluanaibh Andobhair, 7 argain leiss Chille h-Achaidh, 7 martradh Nuadhat mic Seigeni leo*.
845 843.10	AFM	An army was led by the foreigners of Ath Cliath to Cluana An Dobhair, and burned the fold of Cill Achaidh; and Nuadhat, son of Seigen, was martyred by them.
846.2	AU	*Orggain Baislicce do ghenntibh*.
846.2	AU	Baislec was plundered by the heathens.
846.6	AU	*Bellum for Connacta re Gallaibh in quo Rigan m. Fergusa 7 Moghron m. Diarmota 7 Aedh m. Cathrannaigh 7 alii multi ceciderunt*.
846.6	AU	The foreigners won a battle against the Connachta, in which fell Rígán son of Fergus, Mugrón son of Diarmait and Aed son of Cathrannach and many others.
846.4	CS	*Cath for Connachta re Galloibh ubi Rígán mac Fergusa et Mughrón mac Diarmada et Aodh mac Catharnaigh 7 alii ceciderunt*.
846.4	CS	The foreigners won a battle against the Connachta, in which fell Rígán son of Fergus and Mugrón son of Diarmait and Aed son of Cathrannach and others.
846 844.12	AFM	*Sraoineadh for Connachtaibh ria n-Gallaibh, in ro marbhadh Riagán, mac Feargusa, 7 Mughron, mac Diarmada, 7 Aodh mac Catharnaigh, co sochaidhe oile*.
846 844.12	AFM	A battle was gained over the Connaughtmen by the foreigners, in which Riagan, son of Fearghus; Mughron, son of Diarmaid; and Aedh, son of Catharnach, with many others, were slain.
846 844.13	AFM	*Cúil Caissine do orgain 7 do losccadh la Gallaibh*.
846	AFM	Cuil Caissine was plundered and burned by the foreigners.

844.13		
846.14	AFM	*Orgain Cúile Moine do loinges na c-Caillech, 7 forbaisi coicthighisi la Cearbhall, mac n-Dunlaing, forru, 7 a n-dearg-ár do chur iar sin.*
846 844.14	AFM	The plundering of Cuil Moine by the fleet of the Cailli; and a fortnignt's siege was laid to them by Cearbhall, son of Dunlaing, and they were afterwards dreadfully slaughtered.
847.3	AU	*Toghal Innsi Locha Muinnremair la Mael Sechnaill for fianlach mar di maccaibh bais Luigne 7 Galeng ro batar oc indriudh na tuath more gentilium*.
847.3	AU	Mael Sechnaill destroyed the Island of Loch Muinremor, overcoming there a large band of wicked men of Luigni and Gailenga, who had been plundering the territories in the manner of the heathens.
847.2	CS	*Togail Innsi Muinremair la Maol Sechlainn di macoib bais Luigni et Gaileng ro battur og innrad na tuath more gentilium.*
847.2	CS	Mael Sechnaill destroyed the island of Loch Muinremor, overcoming there a large band of wicked men of Luigni and Gailenga who had been plundering the territories in the manner of the heathens.
847 845.6	AFM	*Toghail insi Locha Muinreamhair lá Maol Sechlainn, mac Mael Ruanaidh, for fiallach mór do mhacaibh báis Luicchne 7 Gaileng ro bhádar occ innredh na t-tuath a h-ucht Gall, go ro mallartnaighit lais.*
847 845.6	AFM	The demolition of the island of Loch Muinreamhar by Maelseachlainn, son of Maelruanaidh, against a great crowd of sons of death i.e. malefactors of the Luighni and Gaileanga, who were plundering the districts at the instigation of the foreigners; and they were destroyed by him.
847.4	AU	*Roiniudh már re Cerball m. Dungaile for Agonn in quo ceciderunt da cét déac*.
847.4	AU	Cerball son of Dungal inflicted a great rout on Agnonn, in which twelve hundred fell.
847.3	CS	*Ráoinedh mór ré Cerball mac Dunghaile for Agond in quo ceciderunt .m.cc.*
847.3	CS	Cerball son of Dúngal inflicted a great rout on Agond, in which twelve hundred fell.
847 845.12	AFM	*Ar for Gallaibh Atha Cliath oc Carn m-Brammit, la Cearbhall, mac n-Dungaile, tigherna Osraighe, dú in ro marbhadh da chéd décc díobh.*
847 845.12	AFM	A slaughter made of the foreigners of Ath Cliath, at Carn Brammit, by Cearbhall, son of Dunghal, lord of Osraighe, where twelve hundred of them were slain.
847.4	CS	*Cédorgain Imlicch Iubair o gentibh.*
847.4	CS	The first plundering of Imlech Ibair by the heathens.
847	AFM	*Cédna h-orgain Imligh Iubhair la Gallaibh.*

845.13		
847 845.13	AFM	The first plundering of Imleach Iubhair by the foreigners.
c.847	CGG pp 18-21	*Tanic iarsin longes ele ro gab iCiarragi, ocus ro hinred leo co Lumnech, ocus Cell Iti, ocus Imleach Ibair, ocus Cassel na ríg, ocus airerd Cethtraigi, ocus Liath Mocaemaoc i remis Fedlemeda mic Crimthaind do ronait uli na h-argni sin.*
c.847	CGG pp 18-21	After that another fleet came and landed in Ciarraighe, and all was plundered by them to Luimnech, and Cill-Ita; and Imleach-Ibhair, and Caisel of the Kings, and the eastern Cethtraighi; and Liath Mocoemhoc. It was in the reign of Feidlimidh, son of Crimhthann, that all these ravages were perpetrated.
848.4	AU	*Cath re Mael Sechnaill for genti i Foraig in quo ceciderunt .uii. cét.*
848.4	AU	Mael Sechnaill won a battle against the heathens at Forach in which seven hundred fell.
848.3	CS	*Cath ré Maol Sechlainn mac Maeil Ruanaidh i Foraig in quo ceciderunt uii.ced.*
848.3	CS	Mael Sechnaill won a battle [over the gentiles] at Forach in which seven hundred fell.
848	LL	*Cath Farcha* ria Mael Sechnaill for Gallaib ubi .dc. ceciderunt.*
848 846.7	AFM	*Cath-sraoinedh ria Maol Sechlainn, mac Maol Ruanaidh, for Gallaibh, i Foraigh dú in ro marbhadh vii. céd lais díobh.*
848 846.7	AFM	A battle was gained by Maelseachlainn, son of Maelruanaidh, over the Danes, at Forach, where seven hundred of them were slain by him.
848	AClon	King Moyleseaghlin did overthrow them in the battle of ffarcha.
848.5	AU	*Bellum re n-Olcobur, ri Muman, ₇ re Lorggan m. Cellaig co Laighniu for gennti ecc Sciaith Nechtain in quo ceciderunt Tomrair erell, tanise righ Laithlinne, ₇ da cet dec imbi.*
848.5	AU	Ólchobor, king of Mumu, and Lorcán son of Cellach, with the Laigin, won a battle against the heathens at Sciath Nechtain, in which fell the jarl Tomrair, tanist of the king of Lochlann, and two hundred about him.
848.2	AI	*Cath Sceth Nechtain h-i Laignib ré n-Ólchobur for Gullu i torchair Tomrair iarlae.*
848.2	AI	The battle of Sciath Neactain in Laigin [gained] by Ólchobar over the foreigners, in which Tomrair the Jarl fell
848.4	CS	*Cath re n-Olcobhur rí Muman ₇ re Lorcán mac Cathlaich co Laignibh for gentibh is Sciaigh Nechtain in quo cecidit Tomrair iarla tanaissi righ Lochlánn et da ced dec immi.*
848.4	CS	Ólchobur, king of Mumu, and Lorcan son of Cathlaech, with the Laigin, won a battle against the heathens

		at Sciath Nechtain, in which fell the jarl Tomrair, tanist of the king of Lochlann, and twelve hundred about him.
848	AFM	*Cath oile ria n-Olchobhar, rí Mumhan, 7 ria Lorcán, mac Ceallaigh, rí Laighen co Laighnibh 7 Muimhneachaibh iompa for Ghallaibh, acc Scéith Nechtain, in ro marbhadh Tomhrair Erla, tanaisi righ Lochlainne, 7 dá céd déce uime.*
848 846.8	AFM	Another battle was gained by Olchobhar, King of Munster, and by Lorcan, son of Ceallach, King of Leinster, having the Leinstermen and Munstermen along with them, over the foreigners, at Sciath Neachtain, wherein Tomhrair Earl, tanist of the King of Lochlann, and twelve hundred along with him, were slain.
837 *837* *848* *848*	CGG pp 20-1	*Ro brisedar am Cenel Conaill cath forrtho ic Aes Ruaid.* *Da brisedar Dail Caiss cath ele forru for Loch Deircdeirc.* *Da brisedar Ua Neill cath ele ic Ard Brecan.* *Ro marbsatar, dna, U Cholgan Saxulb iarla.* *Do rain Olchubur mac Cineda ríg Cassil, ocus Lorcan mac Cellaig rí Lagen cath Sceith Nechtain forru, du i drocair tanaissi ri Lochland, ocus da cet dec do maithib Lochland umi.* *Ro toglaig, dna, Olcubur cétna i Tulaig na Rigna forthu, du i drocair sochaidi; ocus ro marb Leth Moga uli iat.*
837 *837*	CGG pp 20-1	The Cenel Conaill defeated them in a battle in Eas Ruaidh. The Dal Cais defeated them in another battle on Loch Deirdeirc. The Ui Neill defeated them in another battle at Ard Brecain. The Ui Colgan killed Earl Saxulb.

848 *848*		Olchobhar, son of Cineadh, king of Caisel, and Lorcan, son of Cellach, king of Laighen, defeated them in the battle of Sciath Neachtain, where the heir of the king of Lochlainn fell, and twelve hundred of the nobles of Lochlainn along with him. The same Olchobhar demolished Tulach-na-Rigna against them, where numbers of them were killed; and Leth Mogha killed all of them.
848.6	AU	*Roiniudh re Tigernach for gennti n-Dairiu Disirt Do Chonna in quo ceciderunt da .c. deac.*
848.6	AU	Tigernach inflicted a rout on the heathens in the oakwood of Dísert Do-Chonna, and twelve hundred fell there.
848.5	CS	*Raoinedh re Tigernach ri Locha Gabar for gentibh i n-Daire Disirt DaConna in quo ceciderunt da ficet dec.*
848.5	CS	Tigernach, king of Loch Gabor, inflicted a rout on the heathens in the oakwood of Dísert Do-Chonna, in which twelve score fell.
848 846.9	AFM	*Raoinedh ria t-Tighernach, tigherna Locha Gabhar, for allmhurachaibh i n-Daire Disirt Da Chonna, in ro marbhadh dá fhichit décc díbh lais.*
848 846.9	AFM	A victory was gained by Tighearnach, lord of Loch Gabhar, over the foreigners, at Daire Disirt Dachonna, where twelve score of them were slain by him.
848	CGG pp 20-1	*Ro bris tra Maelsechlainn rí Temrach cath Caslen Glinni forrthu, du i drocradar .uii. cet.* *Ro bris, dna, Tigernag cath [forra] ic Dairi Disiurt Daconna, du i drocradar .u. cet.*
848	CGG pp 20-1	Maelsechlainn, also, king of Temhar, defeated them in the battle of Caislen-Glinni, where seven hundred were killed. Tighernagh, too, defeated [them] in a battle at Daire-Disuirt-Dachonna, where five hundred fell.
848.7	AU	*Roiniudh re n-Euganacht Caisil for gennti ecc Dun Maele Tuile in quo ceciderunt .u. cet.*
848.7	AU	The Eóganacht of Caisel inflicted a rout on the heathens at Dún Maíle Tuile, in which five hundred fell.
848.6	CS	*Raoinedh re n-Eoganacht Caisil for gentibh ag Dun Maoile Tuile in quo ceciderunt cuig céd.*
848.6	CS	The Eóganacht of Caisel inflicted a rout on the heathens at Dún MaíIe Tuile, in which five hundred fell.
848 846.10	AFM	*Raoinedh ria n-Eoghanacht Caisil for Ghallaibh, occ Dún Maele Tuile, airm in ro marbhadh cúig céd díobh.*

848 846.10	AFM	A victory was gained by the Eoghanacht Caisil over the foreigners, at Dun Maeletuile, where five hundred of them were slain.
850 847	AClon	Olchover king of Cashell did overthrow the Danes in a battle in Mounster, where he slew 1200 of their best men.
848 *852*	CGG pp 20-3	*Ro bris, dna, Olcubur cetna, ocus Eoganacht Cassil cath fortu ic Dun Maeltuli du i drocradar do ficet déc.* *Drocradar, dna, tri cet .lxuii. la Findgenti.* *Drocradar d aced dib re Cianacht ic Inis Finmic; ocus idrocradar, dna, tri cet dib fos re Cianachta i cind mís Ráith Altan.* *Ro bris, dna, Maelsechlainn cath ele forthu ic Raith Commair.* *Ro brisidar, dna, Ciarraigi Luachra cath ele forthu.*
848 *852*	CGG pp 20-3	The aforsesaid Olchobhar, and the Eoganachts of Caisel, defeated them in a battle at Dun-Mael-tuili, where twelve score fell. There fell, also, three hundred and sixty-eight by the Fair-Gentiles. Two hundred of them fell by the Cianachta at Inis-Finmic; and there fell, too, three hundred more of them by the Cianachta in a month after that, at Rath-Altan. Maelsechlainn gained another victory over them at Rath-Commair. The Ciarraighi Luchra also gained another victory over them.
848.7	CS	*Dunadh la h-Olcobar do toghail duin Corcaighe for gentibh.*
848.7	CS	An encampment nwas set up by Ólchobur to take the fortress of Corcach from the heathens.
848 846.11	AFM	*Slóighedh la h-Olchobhar do thoghail Dúin Corcaighe for Ghallaibh.*
848 846.11	AFM	A hosting was made by Olchobhar, to demolish the fort of Corcach against the foreigners.

849.4	CS	*Inradh Duiblinne la Maol Sechlainn et la Tigernach rí Locha Gapur*.
849.4	CS	Duiblinn was attacked by Mael Sechnaill and by Tigernach, king of Loch Gabor.
849 847.16	AFM	*Indreadh Duibhlinne la Mael Sechlainn, mac Mael Ruanaidh, 7 la Tigernach, tigherna Locha Gabhar*.
849 847.16	AFM	The plundering of Duibhlinn by Maelseachlainn, son of Maelruanaidh, and by Tighearnach, lord of Loch Gabhar.
849.6	AU	*Muirfhecht .uii.xx. long di muinntir righ Gall du thiachtain du tabairt greamma forsna Gaillu ro badur ara ciunn co commascsat h-Erinn n-uile iarum*.
849.6	AU	A naval expedition of seven score ships of adherents of the king of the foreigners came to exact obedience from the foreigners who were in Ireland before them, and afterwards they caused confusion in the whole country.
849.6	CS	*Muirfecht seacht ffcit long do muintir righ Gáll do tiachdain do tabairt greama for na Gallaibh battur ar a ecinn commescsat hÉrinn uile iarum*.
849	CS	A naval expedition of seven score ships of adherents of the king of the foreigners came to exact obedience from the foreigners who were before them, and afterwards they caused confusion in the whole of Ireland.
849 847.17	AFM	*Muirfhecht secht fichit long do mhuinntir rí Gall do thocht do thabhairt ghrema forsna Galla ro bhádar ar a c-cinn i n-Erinn, gur mhesg-bhuaidhirset Ere etorra*.
849 847.17	AFM	A fleet of seven score ships of the people of the king of the foreigners came to contend with the foreigners that were in Ireland before them, so that they disturbed Ireland between them.
849.10	AU	*Mael Bresail m. Cernaigh, rex Mughdorna, iugulatus est a gentilibus post conuersionem suam ad clericos*.
849.10	AU	Mael Bresail son of Cernach, King of Mugdorna, was killed by the heathens after he had changed to clerical life
849 847.18	AFM	*Mael Bresail, mac Cernaigh, tigherna Mughdhorn, do mharbhadh la Gallaibh iarna bheith i c-cléircecht iar c-cor in t-saoghail dé*.
849 847.18	AFM	Maelbreasail, son of Cearnach, lord of Mughdhorna, was slain by the foreigners, after having embraced a religious life and retired from the world.
c.840s	CGG BL 1322	*Tanic longes o Lumniuch i ndescert nHerend. 7 inriset Scelec Michil 7 Inis Fathlind. 7 Disiurt Donnain 7 Clúain Mór. Coro marbsat Rudgaile mac Trebthaidi. 7 Cormac mac Selbaig anchora. is desside ra hoslaic angel fo di 7 ros cenglaitis na Gaill cach n-uairi*
c. 840s	CGG	There came a fleet from Luimnech in the south of Erinn, and they plundered Scelig Micheal, and

	pp 228-9	Inisfallen, and Disert Donnain, and Cluain Mór. And they killed Rudgaile, son of Trebhthaidhe, and Cormac son of Selbach, the anchorite. It was he whom the angel set loose twice, and the foreigners bound him each time.
850.3	AU	*Cinaedh m. Conaing, rex Ciannachtae, du frithtuidecht Mael Sechnaill a n-neurt Gall cor indridh Ou Neill o Shinaind co m-muir etir cella ₇ tuatha, ₇ coro ort innsi Locha Gabur dolose corbo comardd fria lar, ₇ coro loscad leis derthach Treoit ₇ tri .xx.it dec di doinibh ann.*
850.3	AU	Cinaed son of Conaing, king of Cianacht, rebelled against Mael Sechnaill with the support of the foreigners, and plundered the Uí Néill from the Sinann to the sea, both churches and states, and he deceitfully sacked the island of Loch Gabor, levelling it to the ground, and the oratory of Treóit, with seventy people in it, was burned by him.
850.2	CS	*Cinaodh mac Conaing ri Ciannacda do fhritthaighect re Mael Sechlainn mac Mael Ruanaidh a nert Gáll gurro inder o Sionainn co muir eitir cella et túatha et gur ort innsi Locha Gabor ₇ ra loisccedh les durtech Treoite cum cclx. hominibus et durtech Nuarrach cum .lx. hominibus.*
850.2	CS	Cinaed son of Conaing, king of Cianacht, rebelled against Mael Sechnaill with the support of the foreigners, and plundered from the Sinann to the sea, both churches and peoples, and he sacked the islands of Loch Gabor, and the oratory of Treoit, with two hundred and seventy people in it, was burned by him, and the oratory of Nuarrach with sixty people.
850 851?	FA §234	*K. u. Isin aimsir sin dono ra chuir Maoil Seachloinn teachta ar ceann Cionaoth meic Conaing, rí Cianachta —₇ as eisidhe ro loisg cealla ₇ dirthighe na naomh (amhail rá innisiomar reamhainn)—amhail bidh do chomhairle ris cionnas do ghéndaois im caingin na n-Danar, úair rá bhaoi amhail bídh sídh eidir Maoil Seachlainn ₇ Cionaoth, ₇ cia ra bhaoí Cionaoth i n-galar súla, as eadh do righne, tuidheacht d'ionnsoighidh Maoil Seachlainn, ₇ slúagh uime mar badh da chóimhéad.* *Ra comhraighsiot iaramh Maoil Seachlainn ₇ Cionaodh a n-aoin ionadh, ₇ Tigearnach, rí Breagh. As eadh rab áil do Maoil Seachlainn, é fén ₇ rí Breagh do marbhadh rígh Ciannachta. Ni dhearna dno Maoil Seachlainn a c-cedóir sin, uair ba sochaidhe do Chionaodh, ₇ rab eagail leis comhmarbhadh do dhénamh ann. As eadh do róine, a fhuireach go maidean arnabharach. Ro dheilbh dno Maoil Seachlainn cuisi bréagach go t-tiosdaoís gonige an ionadh cédna arnabharach, ₇ ra fhuagair dona sluaghaibh imtheacht.*

		O rá imthigh a shlúagh ón Chionaodh, tainig Maoil Seachlainn go slúagh mór lais d'ionnsoighidh an Chionaodh, 7 níor bó la go maith ann 7 as eadh ra ráidh Maoil Seachlainn o ghuth mór cródha naimh dighe fría Chionaodh: 'Cid,' ar sé, 'mara loisgis dirthíge na naomh, 7 cid mara mhillis a nemhadha 7 sgreaptra na naomh, 7 Lochlannaig lat?'
850 851	FA 234	At that time Máel Sechlainn sent messengers for Cináed son of Conaing, king of Cianachta—and it was he who had burned the churches and the oratories of the saints (as we recounted before)—as if to consult with him as to what they should do about the matter of the Danes, for it seemed there was peace between Máel Sechlainn and Cináed; and although Cináed had an eye disease, he came to Máel Sechlainn, with an army about him as if to protect him….. Máel Sechlainn and Cináed and Tigernach, king of Brega, met together in one place. Mael Sechlainn desired that he and the king of Brega should kill the king of Ciannachta..…. Máel Sechlainn said in a loud and harsh and hostile voice to Cináed: 'Why,' he said, 'did you burn the oratories of the saints, and why did you, along with Norwegians, destroy their holy places and the books of the saints?' [then he kills Cinead].
850 848.10	AFM	*Cionaodh, mac Conaing, tigherna Ciannachta Bregh, do fhrithtoidhecht fri Maoil Sechnaill, mac Maol Ruanaidh, 7 tocht co nert Gall lais, co ro indir Uí Néill ó Shionainn co muir, etir cealla 7 tuatha, 7 ro oircc insi Locha Gabhor, 7 ro loiscc iaramh, gur bho comhard frí lár. Ro loisccedh din leo derthech Treoit, 7 tri fichit ar da chéd do daoinibh ann.*
850 848.10	AFM	Cinaedh, son of Conaing, lord of Cianachta Breagh, rebelled against Maelseachlainn, son of Maelruanaidh, and went with a strong force of foreigners, and plundered the Ui Neill from the Sinnainn to the sea, both churches and territories; and he plundered the island of Loch Gabhor, and afterwards burned it, so that it was level with the ground. They alsoburned the oratory of Treoit, within which were three score and two hundred persons. *and he plundered the island of Loch Gabhor and afterwards burned it
850 848.8	AFM	*Maelán, mac Cathmogha, tigherna Ua m-Briuin Deisceirt Connacht, do mharbhadh la Gallaibh.*
850 848.8	AFM	Maelan, son of Cathmogha, lord of Ui Briuin of South Connaught, was slain by the foreigners.
850s?	CGG	*Tanic iarsin longes adbul mor in desciurt Atha Cliath, ocus ro hinred leo urmor Erend, ocus ro hinred leo*

	pp 16-7	*am I Coluim Cilli, ocus Inis Muireoc, ocus Daiminis, ocus Glend da locha, ocus Lagin uli co hAchudúr, ocus co hAchudbo, ocus Liath Mocaemhoch, ocus co Daire Mor, ocus co Cluain Ferta Molua, ocus Ros Cre, ocus co Lothra, co ro bristetar, scrin Ruadan, ocus co ro millset Cluain Mic Nois, [ocus so Saighir], ocus co Durmaig*.
850s?	CGG pp 16-7	There came after that a very great fleet into the south of Ath-Cliath, and the greater part of Eirinn was plundered by them; they plundered, also, Hí of Colum Cille, and Inis Muireoc, and Damhinis, and Glenn dá Locha, and the whole of Laighin, as far as to Achadh Ur, and to Achadh Bo, and Liath Mocaemhoc, and to Daire-mór, and to Cluain Ferta Molua, and to Ros Cre, and to Lothra, where they broke the shrine of Ruadhan, and they spoiled Cluain Mic Nois, [and as far as Saighir] and on to Durmhagh.
851	AU	*Tetact Dubgennti du Ath Cliath co ralsat ár mór du Fhinngallaibh 7 coro shlatsat in longport eitir doine 7 moine. Slat do Dubhgenntib oc Lind Duachail 7 ar mor diib*.
851.3	AU	The dark heathens came to Áth Cliath, made a great slaughter of the fair-haired foreigners, and plundered the naval encampment, both people and property. The dark heathens made a raid at Linn Duachaill, and a great number of them were slaughtered.
851.3	CS	*Tect Duiphgente do Ath Cliath gur ralsat ár mór for Fionngallaibh et gur indirsiot an longport edir daoinibh et maoinibh. Slat ele do Duibhgentibh co n-ar mor for Finngentibh oc Linn Duachaill*.
851.3	CS	The dark heathens came to Áth Cliath, made a great slaughter of the fair foreigners, and plundered the naval encampment, both people and property. The dark heathens made another raid on the fair foreigners at Linn Duachaill, with great slaughter.
851	FA233	*K. u. Forchoimhedaighe imorro na Lochlannach mar ro bhattar go frithgnamhach ag feaghadh an mara uatha, ad-chonnchattar an murchobhlach mór muridhe dá n-ionnsoighidh. Ro gabh uamhan mór 7 eagla íad: acht dream díbh as eadh ad-berdís conidh Lochlannaig da f-furtacht-sam, 7 da f-foirighin. Dream oile—7 as fearr ra tuigsiot-saidhe—conidh Aunites, .i. Danair, ra battur ann da n-airgain-siomh 7 da n-indreadh; 7 as eadh ón bá fíre ann. Ra chuirsiot na Lochlonnaigh long lánluath 'na n-aighidh da f-fius.* *Tainig dna long lánluath an giolla óig reimraidhte a énar résna longoibh oile, go t-tarlattar na da loing d'aighid it aighid, go n-ebeart stiurusman na loinge Lochlannaighe: 'Sibh-si, a fhiura,' ar sé, 'ga tír asa t-tangabhair ar an muir si? An ra sidh tangabhair, nó an rá cogadh?' As é fregra tugattar na Danair fair-sin: fross romhór do shaighdibh fotha. Cuirid a c-cédóir ceann i c-ceann lucht na da long sin; ro fhorúaisligh long na n-Danar long na Lochlannach, marbaid na Danair lucht loinge na Lochlannach.*

		Leangait a n-aoinfheacht uile na Danair i c-ceann na Lochlannach gur ro batar 'sin traig. Cuirid cath go crúaidh, 7 marbhaid na Danair a t-trí coimhlíon fén díobh, 7 ra dhícheannsad gach áon ro marbsat. Tugsat na Danair longa na Lochlannach leó go port. Ra gabsat tra na Danair ar sain mna, 7 ór, 7 uile mhaithius na Lochlannach; go rug an Coimdhe uatha amhlaidh sin gach maith rugsat a ceallaibh 7 nemeadaibh 7 sgrínib naomh Eireann.
851	FA233	Then as the sentinels of the Norwegians were looking attentively across the sea, they saw a vast sea-going fleet coming towards them. Great terror and fear seized them: but some of them were saying that it was Norwegians coming to reinforce and relieve them. Some others—and those understood better—said that it was Aunites, i.e. Danes, who were there, coming to destroy and plunder them; and that was more accurate. The Norwegians sent out a very fast ship to meet them to investigate. Then the swift ship of the young man who was mentioned before came alone in front of the other ships, until the two ships met face to face, and the helmsman of the Norwegian ship said, 'You, men,' he said, 'from what country have you come onto this sea? Do you come for peace, or for war?' This is the answer that the Danes gave him: a great shower of arrows upon them. The crews of those two ships set to at once; the Danish ship overcame the Norwegian, and the Danes killed the crew of the Norwegian ship. The Danes rushed all together against the Norwegians so that they reached the shore. They battled harshly, and the Danes killed three times their own number of them, and they beheaded everyone that they killed. The Danes brought the Norwegians' ships with them to port. Afterwards the Danes seized the women and gold and all the goods of the Norwegians, and thus the Lord took from them all the wealth they had taken from the churches and holy places and shrines of the saints of Ireland.
851	FA234	*K. u. Isin aimsir sin dono ra chuir Maoil Seachloinn teachta ar ceann Cionaoth meic Conaing, rí Cianachta —7 as eisidhe ro loisg cealla 7 dirthighe na naomh (amhail rá innisiomar reamhainn)—amhail bidh do chomhairle ris cionnas do ghéndaois im caingin na n-Danar, úair rá bhaoi amhail bídh sídh eidir Maoil Seachlainn 7 Cionaoth, 7 cia ra bhaoí Cionaoth i n-galar súla, as eadh do righne, tuidheacht d'ionnsoighidh Maoil Seachlainn, 7 slúagh uime mar badh da chóimhéad.* *Ra comhraighsiot iaramh Maoil Seachlainn 7 Cionaodh a n-aoin ionadh, 7 Tigearnach, rí Breagh. As eadh rab áil do Maoil Seachlainn, é fén 7 rí Breagh do marbhadh rígh Ciannachta…… tainig Maoil Seachlainn go slúagh mór lais d'ionnsoighidh an Chionaodh, 7 níor bó la go maith ann 7 as eadh ra ráidh Maoil*

		Seachlainn o ghuth mór cródha naimhdighe fría Chionaodh: 'Cid,' ar sé, 'mara loisgis dirthíge na naomh, 7 cid mara mhillis a nemhadha 7 sgreaptra na naomh, 7 Lochlannaig lat?.'
851	FA234	At that time Máel Sechlainn sent messengers for Cináed son of Conaing, king of Cianachta—and it was he who had burned the churches and the oratories of the saints (as we recounted before)—as if to consult with him as to what they should do about the matter of the Danes, for it seemed there was peace between Máel Sechlainn and Cináed; and although Cináed had an eye disease, he came to Máel Sechlainn, with an army about him as if to protect him….. Máel Sechlainn and Cináed and Tigernach, king of Brega, met together in one place. Mael Sechlainn desired that he and the king of Brega should kill the king of Ciannachta..… Máel Sechlainn said in a loud and harsh and hostile voice to Cináed: 'Why,' he said, 'did you burn the oratories of the saints, and why did you, along with Norwegians, destroy their holy places and the books of the saints?' [then he kills Cinead].
851 849.9	AFM	*Dubhghoill do techt do Ath Cliath, co ro lasat ár mór for Fionnghallaibh, co ro indirset an longport etir daoine 7 maoine.*
851 849.9	AFM	The Dubhghoill arrived in Ath Cliath, and made a great slaughter of the Finnghoill, and plundered the fortress, both people and property.
851 849.10	AFM	*Slatt oile do Dubhgallaibh for Fionnghallaibh occ Linn Duachaill, 7 ro chuirset ár mór forra.*
851 849.10	AFM	Another depredation by the Dubhghoill upon the Finnghoill, at Linn Duachaill, and they made a great slaughter of them.
851.9	AU	*Echu m. Cernaigh, rex Fer Rois, interfectus est a gentilibus.*
851.7	AU	Eochu son of Cernach, king of Fir Rois, was killed by the heathens.
851 849.13	AFM	*Eochaidh, mac Cearnaigh, tighearna Fear Rois, do mharbhadh la Gallaibh.*
851 849.13	AFM	Eochaidh, son of Cearnach, lord of Feara Rois, was slain by the foreigners.
852.2	AU	*Uastatio Aird Machae o Gallaibh Linde die Samchasc.*

852.2	AU	Ard Macha was laid waste by the foreigners of Linn on the day following Summer-Lent.
852.2	CS	*Uastatio Áird Macha o Gallaibh Linne Duacaill die Samhchasg.*
852.2	CS	Ard Macha was laid waste by the foreigners of Linn Duachaill on the day following Summer-Lent.
852	FA244	*K. ui. Isin bliadain si dno ro treigsiot sochaide a m-baitis Críostaidhachtsa 7 tangattar malle risna Lochlannachaib, gur airgsiot Ard Macha, 7 go rugsat a maithius as. Sed quidam ex ipsis poenitentiam egere, et uenerunt ad satisfactionem.*
852	FA244	In this year, moreover, many abandoned their Christian baptism and joined the Norwegians, and they plundered Ard Macha, and took out its riches. But some of them did penance, and came to make reparation.
852 850.17	AFM	*Ard Macha do fásughadh lá Gallaibh Linne Duachaille an domhnach iar c-Caiscc.*
852 850.17	AFM	Ard Macha was devastated by the foreigners of Linn Duachaille, on the Sunday before Easter.
852.3 851	AU	*Lucht ocht .xxit long di Fhindgentibh do-roachtadur du cath fri Dubgennti do Shnamh Aighnech; .iii. laa 7 .iii. aithchi oc cathugud doaib act is re n-Duibhgennti ro m-meabaidh co farggabsat a ceile a l-longa leu. Stain fugitiuus euasit 7 Iercne decollatus iacuit.*
852.3 851	AU	The complement of eight score ships of fair-haired foreigners came to Snám Aignech, to do battle with the dark foreigners; they fought for three days and three nights, but the dark foreigners got the upper hand and the others abandoned their ships to them. Stain took flight, and escaped, and Iercne fell beheaded.
852	CS	*Luct oct .xx. lóng d'Finngentibh do rocttattur do cath fria Duibgentibh do Snam Aignech .iii. laithe et tri aidhche og cathuccadh doibh acht as re Duibhgentibh ro meabaidh go fargsat a cheli o a longaibh leo. Stain fugitiuus euasit et Iercne decollatus est.*
852	CS	The complement of eight score ships of fair foreigners came to Snám Aignech, to do battle with the dark foreigners; they fought for three days and three nights, but the dark foreigners got the upper hand and the others abandoned their ships to them. Stain took flight and escaped, and Iercna fell beheaded
852	FA235	*K. ui. Isin bliadain si, .i. an coigeadh bliaghain flatha Maoil Seachlainn, rá thionolsat dhá thoiseach loingsi na Lochlonnach, .i. Zain 7 Iargna, slóigh mora as gach aird a n-aighidh na n-Danar. Tionolaid iaramh go rabadar .x. longa 7 tri fichid, 7 teaghaid go Snámh Aighneach, 7 is annsaidhe bhattar na Danair an tan sin. Comraicit ann sin leith for leath, 7 cuirit cath crúaidh duaibhsioch leath for leath: úair ní cualamar reimhi sin a n-ionnadh oile riamh ár mar an ár rá chuirsiot eaturra ann so, .i. eidir Danara 7*

		Lochlannaig. Acht ceana as forsna Danaroibh ro mhaidh. *Ra thionoilsiot na Danair íar sin, ar m-briseadh madhma forra, 7 an gorta 'ga marbhadh, 7 as eadh ra ráidh a t-tiagarna, .i. Horm, fríu, 7 conige so bá fear crúaidh cosgrach eisidhe: 'Rugsabhair-si conige so' ar se 'cosgair imdha, cia ra foruaisligheadh sibh sonn tré iomarcaidh slúaigh. Estidh risna briathraibh ad-ber-sa ribh: gach búaidh 7 gach cosgar, 7 gach blad fúarabhair tríd sin, ra malarteadh ra bloigh m-big aonláoi sin. Féghuidh libh iaramh an cathughadh doridhisi do gheantaoí risna Lochlannachaib, uair atád bur mná, bhar n-uile maithius aca, 7 bur longa; 7 as subhach iad-sum do breith buadha 7 cosgair úaibh-si. As eadh as cóir duibh anosa, dul go h-aonmeanmnach 'na g-ceann, amhail na saoileadh sibh far m-beathadha, acht na beith sibh og iornaidhe báis; 7 far n-dioghail fén forra; 7 gen go raibh cosgar sainmheach duibh-si desin, 7 bíaidh do berad ar n-dee 7 ar d-toicthe dúin; muna raibhe maith dhúin ann, biaidh commarbhadh coitcheann leith for leath ann.'* *'Ag so comhairle oile leam dhuibh: an Pádraicc naomh sa as airdepscop 7 as ceann naomh na h-Eireann, risa n-dearnsad na naimhuid faileat ogainne uilc imdha, guidhmidh-ne go diocra, 7 tabhram almsana onorach dó ar bhúaidh 7 cosgar do breith dona naimhdibh sin.' Ra freagruttar uile é, 7 as eadh ra raidhsid: 'Ar comaircce,' ar síad, 'antí naomh Phadraicc, 7 an Choimdhe as tigearna dhó sin fén, 7 ar c-cosgar dhá eaglais 7 ar n-iondmhus.'* *Teaghaid iar sin go h-aonmeanmnach, feardha 7 fearamhail, i n-aoineacht i g-cionn na Lochlannach, 7 cuirit cath.* *Isin uair sin tainig Zain, leithrí na Lochlannach, 7 Matodan, rí Uladh, d'ingrim na n-Danar do mhuir 7 tír; gion go rabha a fhios sin remhe ag Zain Lochlannach, tainig, 7 an t-uaitheadh ra bhaoi 'na fharradh, d'ionnsoighid na n-Danar don dara leith, agas Iargna, leithrí oile na Lochlannach, don leith eile dona Danaroibh. As cruaidh trá ra cuireadh an cath sa. Ra chlos ar leith sgeamhgal na sleagh, 7 gloinnbhemneach na c-cloideamh, 7 tuairgneach na sgiath 'ga mbualadh, 7 beiceadach na milead ag imirt eccomhloinn orra. Acht trá cidh fada ra bhás imi sin, as forsna Lochlannachaib ro maidh, 7 is íad na Danair rug búaidh 7 cosgar tria rath Padraicc, ge ro badar na Lochlannaig tri chuttruma risna Danaroibh, nó ceithre cudruma.*

		Tiaghaid na Danair iar sin for longport na Lochlannach, 7 marbhaid dream ann, gabhaid dream eile, 7 cuirid dream oile i t-teitheadh, 7 gabhaid gach maithius óir 7 airgit, 7 gach maithius ar cheana, 7 a mná, 7 a longa. Acht cheana ní raibh Zain fén ag cur an chatha, uair ní thainig maille ra mhuinntir ar ammus an longpoirt, uair rá bhaoí aige comhairle a n-ionadh oile. An uair tainig dochum an longpoirt, as síad na námhuid ad-chonnairc ann, 7 ní h-íad a mhuintir féin. *A n-égmais anneoch ro marbhadh dona Danaraibh fén, as eadh ra marbhadh dona Lochlannachaib .u. .m. fear soichinelach. Sochuidhe imorro do mhileadhaibh ar cheana, 7 do dhaoínibh i n-gach áird ra marbadh a n-égmais na numhire sin.* *As in tand sin ra chuir Maoil Seachlainn, rí Teamhra, teachta uadh d'ionnsoighidh na n-Danar. As amlaidh ro bhattar na Danair, ag luchtaireacht ara g-cionn, 7 as iad ba gabhla do c-coireadhaibh, cairn do corpaibh na Lochlannach, 7 cidh na beara ara m-biodh an fheóil, as for corpaibh Lochlannach no bhídis a leithcinn, 7 an tine ag losgadh na c-corp, go m-biodh an fheóil 7 an meathradh ra chaithsiot an adaigh remhe ag maidhm asa n-gailibh amach. Ra battar dna teachta Maoil Seachlainn 'ga f-féghadh amhlaid sin, 7 ra battar 'ga thathaoír um na Danaraibh sin. As eadh ra raidhsiot na Danair: 'As amhlaidh sin budh maith leo-sum ar m-beith-ne.' Clas mór lán aca do ór 7 da airgead da thabhairt do Pádraicc. Uair as amhlaidh ra bhattar na Danair, 7 cinele crabhaidh aca, .i. gabhaid sealad fri fheóil 7 fri mhnáibh ar chrabhudh.* *Tug tra an cath so meanma maith do Gaoidhealaibh uile ar an sgrios so do thabhairt ar na Lochlannachaib.*
852	FA235	In this year, that is, in the fifth year of Máel Sechlainn's reign, two chieftains of the Norwegian fleet, Zain and Iargna, mustered large armies from every place against the Danes. They assembled, then, so that there were seventy ships, and they went to Snám Aignech; and that was where the Danes were at that time. They drew together there and fought a hard and terrible battle on both sides; for we have never before heard anywhere of a slaughter like that which took place between them there, that is, between the Danes and Norwegians. Nevertheless, it was the Danes who were defeated.

		The Danes gathered together afterwards, after they had been routed, and they were dying of famine; and this is what their chieftain, Horm, said to them (and before then he had been a hard, triumphant man): 'Until now,' he said, 'you have won many victories, although you have been overcome here by a more numerous army. Listen to the words I will say to you: every victory and every triumph, and all the glory that you have gained thereby, that has been destroyed by a small bit of a single day. Look, then, to the next battle you would fight against the Norwegians, for they have your women, and all your wealth, and your ships, and they are gloating at having won victory and spoils from you. What you must do now is to go single-mindedly against them, as if you did not expect to live, but were not waiting for death either; and revenge yourselves. And though you may not have a lucky victory thereby, we will have what our gods and our fate will give to us; if it does not go well for us then, there will be general slaughter on both sides. 'Here is another of my counsels to you: this Saint Patrick who is chief bishop and head of the saints of Ireland, against whom our enemies have committed many offenses: let us pray diligently to him, and let us give honorable offerings to him, to bring victory and triumph over those enemies.' All answered him, and this is what they said: 'Let our protector,' they said, 'be this Saint Patrick, and the Lord who is master to him, and let our spoils and our treasure be given to his church.' After that, they proceeded together single-mindedly, virile and manly, against the Norwegians, and gave battle. At this time Zain, one of the two kings of the Norwegians, and Matudán, king of Ulaid, came to ravage the Danes on sea and land; although Zain the Norwegian had not known about that before, he came, along with the small number who had accompanied him, to attack the Danes on one side, and Iargna, the other king of the Norwegians, came against the Danes from the other side. Then the battle was fought hard. The shrieking of the javelins, and the crashing blows of swords, and the hammering of shields being struck, and the cries of soldiers being overcome, were loudly audible. Though it lasted a long time, it was the Norwegians who were defeated, and the Danes took victory and spoils, by grace of Patrick, although the Norwegians were three or four times the number of the Danes. Afterwards the Danes attacked the camp of the Norwegians, and killed some there, and took others captive, and put others to flight, and seized all the wealth of gold and silver, and all other goods, and their

		women, and their ships. However, Zain himself was not fighting in this battle, for he did not come along with his people towards the camp, because he had been taking counsel in another place. When he came to the camp, it was the enemies he saw there, and not his own people. Besides the Danes themselves who were killed, five thousand Norwegian men of good families were slain. Moreover, many other soldiers and men of every rank were killed in addition to those numbers. It was at that time that Máel Sechlainn, king of Temair, sent messengers to the Danes. When they arrived the Danes were cooking, and the supports of the cooking-pots were heaps of the bodies of the Norwegians, and even the spits on which the meat was roasting rested their ends on the bodies of Norwegians, and the fire was burning the bodies, so that the meat and fat that they had eaten the night before was bursting out of their bellies. The messengers of Máel Sechlainn were looking at them thus, and they were reproaching the Danes for it. This is what the Danes said: 'They would like to have us like that.' They had a huge ditch full of gold and silver to give to Patrick. For the Danes were like that, and they had kinds of piety—that is, they abstained from meat and from women for a while, for the sake of piety. Now this battle gave good spirits to all the Irish because of the destruction it brought upon the Norwegians.
852 850.16	AFM	*Lucht ocht fichit long do Findghallaibh do-rochtadar do chath fri Dubhghallaibh co Snamh Eidhneach, trí la 7 teora h-oidhche dóibh acc cathucchadh re 'roile, co ro mebhaidh ria n-Dubhghallaibh, go f-fargaibhsiot Fiondghoill a longa leó.*
852 850.16	AFM	A fleet of eight score ships of Finnghoill arrived at Snamh Eidhneach, to give battle to the Dubhghoill; and they fought with each other for three days and three nights, and the Dubhghoill gained the victory; the Finnghoill left their ships to them.
852	CGG pp 18-9	*Tancadar iarsin Duibgeinti Danarda, ocus ro laeset fo Erind, ocus da badar ic diucur na Findgenti a hErind, ocus tucsat cath, ocus do marbrat .u. mili dono Fingentib ic Snam Ergda*.
852	CGG pp 18-9	There came after this Black-Gentiles Danars and they spread themselves over Eirinn, and they endeavoured to drive the Fair-Gentils out of Eirinn; and they engaged in battle, and they killed five thousand of the Fair-Gentiles at Snamh Ergda…..
852.8	AU	*Ar di Gallaibh oconaib insibh Airthir Breg 7 ar aile uc Raith Aldain la Ciannacht in uno mense*.

852.8	AU	A slaughter was inflicted on the foreigners at the islands of eastern Brega, and another slaughter of them at Ráith Alláin by the Cianacht in the same month.
852 850.18	AFM	*Ar for Gallaibh i n-Airthear Bregh, aroile oc Raith Aldain la Ciannachtaibh i n-aoin-mhí.*
852 850.18	AFM	A slaughter was made of the foreigners in the east of Breagh; and another slaughter was made of them at Rath Aldain, by the Cianachta, in one month.
852	FA236	*K. ui. 'Sin bliadain seo dna ro bhris Maoil Seachlainn cath forsna paganaibh, 7 dna ro brisisit Ciannachta cath fá dhó forsna gentib.*
852	FA236	In this year Máel Sechlainn defeated the pagans in battle, and the Cianachta, moreover, defeated the heathens twice.
?852	FA252	*K. ui. Ar mór lá Ciarraighibh og Bealach Conglais for Lochlannachaib, ubi plurimi trucidati sunt permissione Dei.*
?852	FA252	?852 A great slaughter of the Norwegians by the Ciarraige at Belach Conglais, where many were slain by God's will.
?852	FA253	*K. ui. Ár dno la h-Aradha Cliach forsna gentibh cedna.*
?852	FA253	?852 A slaughter of the same heathens, moreover, by the Araid Cliach.
853.2	AU	*Amhlaim m. righ Laithlinde do tuidhecht a n-Erinn coro giallsat Gaill Erenn dó, 7 cis o Goidhelaib.*
853.2	AU	Amlaíb, son of the king of Lochlann, came to Ireland, and the foreigners of Ireland submitted to him, and he took tribute from the Irish.
853.1	CS	*Amlaibh mac rí Lochlainne do toigecht a n-Erinn gur giallsat Gaill Erenn dó et cíos o Gaoidealaibh dho.*
853.1	CS	Amlaíb son of the king of Lochlann came to Ireland, and the foreigners of Ireland submitted to him and he took tribute from the Irish.
853	FA	*Isin m-bliadain si bhéos, .i. in sexto anno regni Maoil Seachlainn, tainig Amhlaoibh Conung, .i. mac rígh Lochlann, i n-Eirinn, 7 tug leis erfhuagra cíosa 7 canadh n-imdha ó a athair, 7 a fagbhail-sidhe go h-obann. Tainig dno Iomhar an bhrathair ba sóo 'na deaghaidh-sidhe do thobhach na c-cios ceadna.*
853 *849	FA239	Also in this year, i.e. the sixth year of the reign of Máel Sechlainn, Amlaib Conung, son of the king of Norway, came to Ireland, and he brought with him a proclamation of many tributes and taxes from his father, and he departed suddenly. Then his younger brother Imar came after him to levy the same tribute.
853	FA259	*K. i. Amlaibh mc. rígh Lochlann do toidheacht i n-Eirinn, 7 rá giallsat Gaill Eireann dó.*

853	FA259	Amlaib, son of the king of Norway, came to Ireland, and the foreigners of Ireland gave him hostages.
853 851.15	AFM	*Amhlaeibh, son of the King of Lochlann, came to Ireland, so that all the foreign tribes in Ireland submitted to him; and they exacted rent from the Gaeidhil the Irish.*
853 851.15	AFM	*Amhlaoibh, mac righ Lochlainne, do theacht i n-Erinn, gur ro ghiallsatt i m-báttar do eachtair-chenélaibh i n-Erinn dó, 7 do-bert cíos ó Ghaoidhelaibh.*
853 *857* *859* *859*	CGG pp 22-3	*Tanic iar sin Amlaib [mac] Lochland ocus longes adbul mor leis .i. dech m-bliadna ar nec Mailsheclainn, gor gab rigi Gall Erend, ocus is leis ro bathed Concubar mac Donchada rigdomna Temrach.* *Is leoside ro ronad cath Cluana daim for na Desi, du i drocairdar mathi na Desi uli.* *Is leo romarbard mac Cindfaelad rig Muscraigi Breogain, ocus ro muchad Muchdaigren mac Reachtabra in nuaim.* *Is leo ro marbad Caetil Find lin a longphuirt.* *Is leo ro marbad Maelguala mac Dungaile ríg Cassil, .i. a druim da brised im cloich.* *Cid tra acht ro rochradar sin uili fos ic feraib Muman .i. Ona ocus Scolph, ocus Tomar, teora ocus ced.*
853 *857*	CGG pp 22-3	After that came Amlaibh, [son of] the king of Lochlainn, with a prodigious fleet, i.e., ten years after the death of Maelsechlainn, and he assumed the sovereignty of the Gaill of Erinn, and it was by him that Conchobhar, son of Donnachad, heir apparent of Temhair, was drowned. It was by them the Desi were overthrown in the battle of Cluain-Daimh, where all the nobles of the Desi fell. It was by them the son of Cennfaeladh, king of Muscraighe-Breoghain, was killed, and Muchdaighren, son of Reachtabrat, was suffocated in a cave. It was by them Caetil Find was killed, with his whole garrison.

859 *859*		It was by them Maelguala, son of Dungaile, king of Caisel, was killed; i.e., his back was broken by a stone. However, they were all killed by the men of Mumhain, i.e., Ona, and Scolph, and Tomar, an hundred and three.
853.6	AU	*Cathmal m. Tomaltaigh, leth-ri Ulath, a Norddmanis interfechtus est*.
853.6	AU	Cathmal son of Tomaltach, one of two kings of Ulaid, was killed by the Norsemen.
853.3	CS	*Catal mac Tomaltaigh leitri Uladh a Normandis interfectus est.*
853.3	CS	Cathal son of Tomaltach, one of two kings of Ulaid, was killed by the Norsemen.
853 851.8	AFM	*Cathmal, mac Tomaltaigh, leithri Uladh, do mharbhadh la Gallaibh*.
853 851.8	AFM	Cathmal, son of Tomaltach, half king of Ulidia, was killed by the foreigners.
853 851.16	AFM	*Gofraidh, mac Feargusa, toisech Innsi Gall, d'écc*.
853 851.16	AFM	Gofraidh, son of Fearghus, chief of the Innsi Gall, died.
854.2	AU	*Mael Sechnaill, rex Temhro, do dul co firu Muman co rici Indeuin na n-Dese 7 a n-gialla do tabairt*.
854.2	AU	Mael Sechnaill, king of Temair, marched against the men of Mumu to Inneóin na nDéise, and took hostages from them.
854.1	CS	*Maolseclain ri Temra do dul co feroib Muman corige Indein na nDesi et a ngialla do tabairt.*
854.1	CS	Mael Sechnaill, king of Temair, went with the men of Mumu to Inneóin na nDéise, and took hostages from them.
854 852.8	AFM	*Maoil Sechlainn, rí Ereann do dhul a Mumhain, co ráinicc Indeoin na n-Déisi, 7 do-bert a n-gialla 7 a oighréir uatha, ar ro thriallsat frithbhert fris a h-ucht echtaircheinel*.
854 852.3	AFM	Maelseachlainn, King of Ireland, proceeded into Munster, until he arrived at Indeoin Na nDeisi; and he enforced hostages and submission from them, for they had given him opposition at the instigation of the foreigners.
854	FA243	*Isin bliadain si ra tocuireadh righ Lochlann dochum Maoil Seachlainn d'ól, 7 ro bhoí fleadh lánmhór ara*

		chionn. Agas gach ní ra gheall rí Lochlann do comhall cona luighe. Acht cheana ni ra chomhail a bheag ar n-dul a tigh Maoil Seachlainn amach, acht ra ghabh a g-cédóir ag ionradh fearainn Maoil Seachlainn. Acht ceana ní feachtnach rainig leis an cogadh sin.
c. 854?	FA243	In this year the Norwegian king was invited to Máel Sechlainn to drink, and there was a great feast waiting for him. And the Norwegian king swore to perform everything on his oath. But all the same he did not observe the least thing that he had sworn after he went out of Máel Sechlainn's house, but began immediately to plunder Máel Sechlainn's territories. However, he did not profit by that war.
855		CS 3 AI 1 AU 6
856.3	AU	*Cocadh mor eter gennti ₇ Mael Sechlainn co n-Gall-Ghoidhelaib leis.*
856.3	AU	Great warfare between the heathens and Mael Sechnaill, supported by Norse-Irish.
856.3	CS	*Coccadh mor eidir gentibh et Maelseclainn co Gall-Gaoidelaibh leis.*
856.3	CS	Great warfare between the heathens and Mael Sechnaill supported by Norse-Irish.
856.4	CS	*{Occissio Gormain meic Lonain ridamno Caisil o gentibh i Loch Ceann anno Domini dccclui}.*
856.4	CS	The slaying of Gormán son of Lonán, heir designate of Cashel, by the heathens at Loch Cenn, A.D. 856.
855	FA270	*K. iii. Orgoin Locha Ceand iar n-aighreadh rommhor i t-torchair .cxx. do dhaoínibh.*
855	FA270	*The plundering of Loch Cenn, after a very great frost, in the course of which 120 men fell.*
856 853.8	AFM	*Orgain Locha Cend la Gallaibh iar n-dol fair for lécc oighredh, ₇ torcratar fiche ar chéd do dhaoinibh leo im Gormán.*
856 853.8	AFM	The plundering of Loch Cend by the foreigners, after they had entered it on the ice; and one hundred and twenty persons were slain by them, together with Gorman.
856.4	AU	*Derthech Luscan do loscadh a Norddmannis.*
856.4	AU	The oratory of Lusca was burned by the Norsemen.
856.5	CS	*Duirtech Lusca do losccadh a Normandis.*
856.5	CS	The oratory of Lusca was burned by the Norsemen.
856	FA272	*K. iiii. Derthach Lusca do losccadh do Lochlannachaib.*
856	FA272	The oratory of Lusca was burned by the Norwegians.

856 854.9	AFM	*Duirtheach Luscca do losccadh la Nortmannaibh.*
856 854.9	AFM	The oratory of Lusca was burned by the Norsemen.
856.5	AU	*Roiniudh mor re n-Aedh m. Neill for Gall-Gaeidhelu i n-Glinn Foichle co ralad leis ar dimhor diib.*
856.5	AU	Aed son of Niall inflicted a great rout on the Norse-Irish in Glenn Foichle and a vast number of them were slaughtered by him.
856	FA247	*K. iiii. Cath do thabhairt d'Aodh, do rígh Ailigh, .i. don righ as fearr eangnamh 'na aimsir, do loingius na n-Gall n-Gaoidheal, .i. Scuit íad, 7 daltai do Normainnoibh íad, 7 tan ann ad-bearar cidh Normainnigh fríu. Maidhidh forra ré nd-Aodh, 7 cuirthear a n-deargár na n-Gallghaoidheal, 7 cinn imdha do bhreith do Aodh5 leis; 7 ra dhlighsiot na h-Eireannaigh an marbhadh soin, uair amhail do nidis na Lochlannaig, do nidis-siomh.*
856	FA247	Áed, king of Ailech, the king of greatest prowess in his time, gave battle to the fleet of the Gall-Gaedil (that is, they are Irish, and fosterchildren of the Norse, and sometimes they are even called Norsemen). Áed defeated them, and slaughtered the Gall-Gaedil, and Áed brought many heads away with him. And the Irish deserved that killing, for as the Norwegians acted, so they also acted.
856 854.10	AFM	*Roinedh mór ria n-Aodh, mac Néill, for Gallgaoidheala h-i n-Gliond Fhoichle, co ro ladh a n-ár leis.*
856 854.10	AFM	A great victory was gained by Aedh, son of Niall, over the Gall Gaeidheala, in Gleann Fhoichle, where he made a slaughter of them.
851? No date	FA251	*Isin aimsir si tanagattar Danair, .i. Horm cona muinntir, d'ionnsoighidh Cearbaill mc. Dunlaing, go ro congnaidh Cearbhall leo i c-cean na Lochlannach, uair bá h-eagail leo a f-foruaisliughadh tre chealgoibh na Lochlannach. Ra ghabh dono Cearbhall go h-onorach chuige iad, 7 ro bhattar maille ris go minic og breith chosgair do Ghallaibh 7 do Ghaoidealaibh.*
851? No date	FA251	At this time the Danes (i.e. Horm with his people) came to Cerball son of Dúnlang, and Cerball assisted them against the Norwegians, since they were afraid that they would be overcome by the stratagems of the Norwegians. Therefore Cerball took them to him honourably, and they were together with him often gaining victories over foreigners and Irish.
c. 852-854	FA254	*Isin bliadain cédna ra chuirsiot fir Mumhan teachta d'ionnsoighidh Cearbhaill mc. Dunlaing go t-tiosadh na Danair leis, 7 tionol Osraighe da f-furtacht 7 do f-foirithin a n-aighidh na Normainneach ra badar 'ga*

		n-ionnradh, {MS page 38} 7 'ga n-argain an tan soin. Ra fhreagair dno Cearbhall sin, 7 ra fhuagair dona Danaraibh 7 d'Osraighibh toidheacht go léir d'furtacht fear Mumhan, 7 as eadh on do ronadh fair. Tainig iaramh Cearbhall reimhe d'ionnsoighidh na Lochlannach go slógh mór Danar 7 Gaoidheal. *O d' choncuttar na Lochlannaig Cearbhall cona shlúagh nó muinntir, ro ghabh adhuath 7 uamhan mór íad. Ra chúaidh Cearbhall i n-ionad árd, ra bhaoí ag agalladh a mhuinntire féin ar tús. As eadh ro ráidh, 7 se og feghadh na f-fearann f-fasaigthe imme: 'Nach f-faicthi libh,' ar sé, 'mar ra fasaighsiot na Lochlannaig na fearann sa ar m-breith a chruidh, 7 ar marbadh a dhaoine? Madh treisi dhaibh iniu iná dhuinne, do ghenad na cédna 'nar t-tír-ne. Uair imorro ataim-ne socraidhe mór aniu, cathigheam go crúaidh 'na n-aighidh. Fáth oile ar nod cóir dhúin cathughad crúaidh do dhénomh: nar fhionnat na Danair failet maille frinn meatacht no miodhlaechus foirn. Uair ra téighemhadh, gídh maille sinn atád aniu, go m-bedís 'nar n-aghaidh doridhisi. Fath oile, gur ro tugad fir Mumhan i t-tangamar foirithin ar cruas forainn, uair is minic as namáidh íad.'* *Ra agaill iar t-tain na Danair, 7 as eadh ra ráidh riu-saidhe: 'Denidh-si calma aniu, uair as namhuid bhunaidh dhuibh na Lochlannaig, 7 ra chuirsit catha eatturibh 7 áir móra anallana. As maith dhuibh sinne maille ribh aniu 'na n-agaidh; 7 dna ní eile ann, ní fíu dhuibh treithe no laige do thuigsin dhuinne fhoraibh.'* *Ra freagrattar uile edir Dhanaru 7 Ghaoidhealu na fionnfaithe treithe nó meatacht forra. Ro eirgeadur iar t-tain eirghe n-áoinfhir isin uair sin d'ionnsoigidh na Lochlannach. Na Lochlannaig imorro o do chonncuttar sin, ní cath ra iomruidhsiod do thabhairt, acht as teitheadh fona cailltibh, ar f-fagbail a maithiusa do ronsat. Ra gabhaid na caillte da gach leith forra, 7 ra marbadh a n-deargár na Lochlannach. Acht cheana conigi so ní ra fhuilngiottar na Lochlannaig don coimhlion so a n-Eirinn uile. A c-Cruachán i n-Eoganacht tugadh an maidhm si. Tainig Cearbhall go m-búaidh 7 cosgur amlaidh sin da thigh.* *Ro h-iodhnaiceadh Horm iar t-tain cona mhuinntir o Chearbhall go rí Teamhrach. Rá fhear rí Teamhrach fáilte ris, 7 tug onóir mhór dhó. Ra chuaidh as sin dochum mara.*
856		*Ra marbadh iar t-tain an t-Horm la Rodri, rí Breatan.*

c. 852-854	FA254	In the same year the men of Munster sent messengers to Cerball son of Dúnlang, asking him to come with the Danes and the muster of Osraige to relieve and reinforce them against the Norse who were plundering and destroying them at that time. Now Cerball responded to that, and he commanded all the Danes and the Osraige to go to assist the men of Munster, and he was obeyed. Then Cerball proceeded against the Norwegians with a large army of Danes and Irish. When the Norwegians saw Cerball with his army, or retinue, they were seized by terror and great fear. Cerball went to a high place, and he was talking to his own people at first. This is what he said, looking at the wasted lands around him: 'Do you not see,' said he, 'how the Norwegians have devastated this territory by taking its cattle and by killing its people? If they are stronger than we are today, they will do the same in our land. Since we are a large army today, let us fight hard against them. There is another reason why we must do hard fighting: that the Danes who are along with us may discover no cowardice or timidity in us. For it could happen, though they are on our side today, that they might be against us another day. Another reason is so that the men of Munster whom we have come to relieve may comprehend our hardiness, for they are often our enemies.' Afterwards he spoke to the Danes, and this is what he said to them: 'Act valiantly today, for the Norwegians are your hereditary enemies, and have battled among you and made great massacres previously. You are fortunate that we are with you today against them. And one thing more: it will not be worth your while for us to see weakness or cowardice in you.' The Danes and the Irish all answered him that neither cowardice nor weakness would be seen in them. Then they rose up as one man to attack the Norwegians. Now the Norwegians, when they saw that, did not think of giving battle, but fled to the woods, abandoning their spoils. The woods were surrounded on all sides against them, and a bloody slaughter was made of the Norwegians. Until that time the Norwegians had not suffered the like anywhere in Ireland. This defeat occurred at Cruachan in Eóganacht. Cerball came back home with victory and spoils.
856		Horm and his people were escorted by Cerball to the king of Temair after that. The king of Temair welcomed him and gave him great honour. Then he went to sea. That Horm was killed later by Rhodri,

		king of the Britons.
856.6	AU	*Horm, toesech na n-Dubgennti, iugulatus est la Ruadhraigh m. Meirminn righ m-Bretan*.
856.6	AU	Horm, chief of the dark foreigners, was killed by Rhodri son of Mervyn, king of Wales.
856.6	CS	*Horm taoisioch na nDuibgente iugulatus est la Ruadraig mac Mermein ri Breton*.
856.6	CS	Horm, chief of the dark foreigners, was killed by Rhodri son of Merfyn, king of Wales.
856.8	AU	*Sodomna, episcopus Slane, martirizat*.
856.8	AU	Sodomna, bishop of Sláine, suffers a violent death.
856	FA275	*K. iiii. Sodomna, epscop Sláine, do marbadh do Lochlannachaib*.
856	FA275	Sodomna, bishop of Sláine, was killed by the Norwegians.
856.7	CS	*Sodomna episcopus Slaine martirizatur a Normandís*.
856.7	CS	Sodomna, bishop of Sláine, suffers a violent death at the hands of the Norsemen.
	AR250	*Sodomna, episcopus Slaine, martirizatur a Normannis*.
856 854.2	AFM	*Sodomna, epscop Sláine, do fhulang martra ó Nortmannaibh*.
856 854.2	AFM	Sodhomna, Bishop of Slaine, received martyrdom from the Norsement
857.1	AU	*Roiniudh re n-Imar ₇ re n-Amlaiph for Caittil Find cona Gall-Gaedelaibh h-i tiribh Muman*.
857.1	AU	Ímar and Amlaíb inflicted a rout on Caitil the Fair and his Norse-Irish in the lands of Munster.
857.1	CS	*Raoinedh re nÍomur ₇ re n-Amlaíbh Cathal Finn co n-Gall-Gaoidealaibh a tirib Muman*.
857.1	CS	Ímar and Amlaíb inflicted a rout on Cathal the Fair and his Norse-Irish in the lands of Munster.
857.2	AI	*Longes Butíne do thíchtain dochum h-Érend*.
857.2	AI	The fleet of Búitíne came to Ireland.
858	FA260	*K. uii. Isin bliadain si, an dara bliadain deg flatha Maoil Seachlainn, do ronadh mórsluagh la Maoil Seachlainn i n-Osraighib ₇ i m-Mumhain, arna rádh d'fearaibh Mumhon ná tibhridís braighde dhó; gonadh airi sin ra fhugair Maoil Seachlainn cath forra; ₇ fáth mor oile ag Maoil Seachlainn, .i. Cearbhall mc. Dunnlaing, rí Osraighe, duine on garbo dingbála Eire uile de bheith ar fheabhus a dhealbha ₇ a enigh ₇ a eangnamha, císa móra bliadnaidhe do bhreith dhó, .i. óna tuathoibh do Laighnibh rá bhattar aige. In lucht imorro rá chúaidh do thobhach an chíosa sin, .i. máoir Chearbhaill mc. Dunlaing, imcosnam mór do*

		dhénamh dhóibh ag tobhach an chíosa, 7 tarcossal mór do thabhairt dhoibh for Laighnibh. Laighin do dhola ar soin go gearánach d'ionnsoighid Maoil Seachlainn, 7 a indsin do Maoil Seachlainn. Fearg mhór do ghabhail Maoil Seachlainn, 7 an tionól mór sa do breith d'ionnsoighidh Cearbaill 7 fear Mumhan bhattur ag congnamh la Cearbhall. *Tangattar iar soin Maoil Seachlainn cona shlóigh go Gabrán, 7 as ra bruinne Gabrain ra bhattur na slóigh oile. Gér bo líonmhaire imorro do Maoil Seachlainn, ní h-eadh ra chúaidh 'na c-ceann; acht as conair oile na ra saoileadh a n-dola rá chuattar, go rangattur Cárn Lughadha, 7 ro bhaoi Maoil Seachlainn armtha eidighthe ann sain ar cheann cháich. O d' choncudar fir Mumhan sin, rá fagsat a longphort 7 rá rainnsit a slúagh ar dhó, 7 tainig ri Mumhan, .i. Maol Guala, co marcsluaghaibh móraibh ime a n-aighidh Maoil Seachlainn. Cearbhall imorro 7 a Dhanair —do neoch ra thairis do mhuinntir Horm ra thairis i f-farradh Cearbhaill—as eadh ba longphort dhoibh, caill drisioch dluth aimhréidh, 7 rá bhaoí tionól mór ann sin um Chearball. As eadh ra innisit na h-eolaigh, go rabha búaidhreadh mór ann sin for Chearbhall, ar n-imirt draigheachta do Thaircealtach mc. na Cearta fair, go m-badh lughaide nó dhigsid dochum an chatha, go n-erbeart Cearbhall as codladh do ghénadh ann sin, 7 ní dochum an chatha do raghadh.* *Ra chúaidh Maoil Seachlainn don Mumhain, go rabha re ré mís og ionnradh Mumhan a nn-Eimli, go t-tug braighde Muman ó Comur tri n-Uisge go h-Innsi Tarbna ar n-Eirinn. Cath Cairn Lughdhach sain. Isin chath soin ro marbadh Maol Croin mhac Muireadhaig, leithrígh na n-Déisi. Gen go t-tíosadh Maol Seachlainn an turus so do ghabháil ríghe Mumhan do fén, ro bo thuidheachta do mharbadh an ro marbadh do Ghall-ghaoidhealaibh ann, úair daoíne ar t-tregadh a m-baiste iad-saidhe, 7 ad-bertais Normannaigh fríu, uair bés Normannach aca, 7 a n-altrum forra, 7 ger bó olc na Normannaigh bunaidh dona h-eaglaisibh, bá measa go mór iad-saidhe, .i. an lucht sa, gach conair fo Eirinn a m-bidís.*
858.3	CS	*Maidm ria Cerball 7 ria n-Iomar a ccrich Aradh Tire for Cinel Fiachach go Gall-Gaoidhealaibh Leithe Cuinn .i. cccc. ar se míle a lin side.*
858.3	CS	Cerball and Ímar inflicted a defeat on the border of Ara Tíre on Cenél Fiachach with the Norse-Irish of Leth Cuinn to the number of six thousand four hundred.
858	FA263	*K. uii. Maidhm re Cearbhall mc. Dunlaing 7 re n-Iomhar for Ghall-ghaoidhelaib i n-Aradhaibh Tíre.*
858	FA263	A victory by Cerball son of Dúnlang and Imar over the Gall-Gaedil in Ara Tíre.

858 856.8	AFM	*Maidhm ria c-Cearbhall, tighearna Osraighe, ⁊ ria n-Iomhar h-i c-crich Aradh Tíre, for Cenel Fiachach, co n-Gallgaoidhealaibh Leithe Cuinn. Ceithri chéd ar sé mhílibh an líon táinicc Cearbhall ⁊ Iomhar.*
858 856.8	AFM	A victory was gained by Cearbhall, lord of Osraighe, and by Imhar, in the territory of Aradh Tire, over the Cinel Fiachach, with the Gall Gaeidhilthe [Dano Irish] of Leath Chuinn. Four hundred above six thousand was the number which came with Cearbhall and Imhar.
c. 858?	FA249	*Isin aimsir si acht bheag tainig Rodolbh cona shlogaibh d'innradh Osraighe. Ra thionoil dno Cearbhall mc. Dunlaing slogh 'na n-aghaidh, ⁊ tug cath dhóibh, ⁊ ro mhaidh forsna Lochlannachaib. Ra chuadar imorro buidhean mhór do lucht na madhma fora n-eachoibh i t-tiolaigh n-áird, ⁊ ra bhattar ag feghadh an mharbhtha immpu, ⁊ ad-chonncuttar a muinntear féin 'ga marbhadh amhail na marbhdais cáoirigh. Ra ghabh airéd mór iad, ⁊ as eadh do ronsat, a c-claidhibh do nochtadh, ⁊ a n-airm do ghabhail, ⁊ tuidheacht chum na n-Ossraigheach gur ro marbhsat dream dhíobh; gidh eadh ar aba ra cuireadh iad-saidhe ar c-cúla 'na maidhm; .i. ag Ath Muiceadha tugadh an maidhm si. Do rala imorro glifit sonn do Chearball fén, .i. a n-úair tabhartha an madhma, ⁊ sgaoilidh da mhuinntir úadh, dream dona Lochlannachaib do thoidheacht chuige ⁊ a erghabhail doibh. Acht tré fhurtacht an Coimdheadh fúair a fhoirithin: ra bhris fén a edach, ⁊ na ceangail ra bhattar fair, ⁊ ra chuaidh slán úaidhibh. As mór trá an t-ar tugadh ann so forsna Lochlannachaib.*
c. 858?	FA249	Almost at this time Rodolb came with his armies to plunder Osraige. Cerball son of Dúnlang assembled an army against them, and gave them battle, and routed the Norwegians. However, a large troop of the defeated people rode their horses up a high hill, and they were looking at the slain around them, and they saw their own people being killed in the manner in which they slaughtered sheep. Great passion seized them, and what they did was to draw their swords and take their arms, and to attack the Osraige so that they killed many of them; nevertheless they were driven back in rout. At Áth Muiceda that defeat was given. Then trouble occurred for Cerball himself there; that is, when the defeat was accomplished, and he was separated from his attendants, a group of the Norwegians came to him and took him captive. But through the Lord's help he was aided: he himself tore his clothes and the fetters that were on him, and he got away from them safely. Great indeed was the massacre that was made of the Norwegians there.
859.2	AU	*Slogad mor la h-Amlaiph ⁊ Ímar ⁊ Cerbball i Midhe.*
859.2	AU	Amlaíb and Ímar and Cerball led a great army into Mide.
859	FA265	*K. i. Slúagh mór la Cearbhall mc. Dunlaing ⁊ slúagh Lochlannach lais i m-Midhe, ⁊ ni ra deigh [gap:*

		extent: space for one word left blank] a braighde battar ag Maoil Seachlainn, go rabha ra trí míosaibh ag innradh fearainn Maoil Seachlainn, 7 ní ro an gur ro fhalmaigh an tír uile 'ma maithius. Is sochaidhe tra d'fearaibh dána Eireann do ronsat dúana mholta do Cearbhall, 7 taithmead gach cosguir rug inntibh; 7 as mó do ríne Aongas, an t-airdeagnaidh, comarba Molua.
859	FA265	A great hosting by Cerball son of Dúnlang with a Norwegian army into Mide, and his hostages that Máel Sechlainn had did not ... so that he was plundering Máel Sechlainn's territories for three months, and he did not stop until he had despoiled all the land of its goods. Many of the poets of Ireland made praise-poems for Cerball, and mentioned in them every victory he had won; and Óengus the scholar, successor of MoLua, made the most of all.
859 857.6	AFM	*Sloicchedh mór la h-Amhlaoibh 7 la h-Iomhar, 7 la Cerbhall, tighearna Osraighe h-i Midhe.*
859 857.6	AFM	A great army was led by Amhlaeibh and Imhar, and by Cearbhall, lord of Osraighe, into Meath.
859	FA266	*Uch thra an ní ad-bearam go minic: as truagh dona h-Eireannchaibh an mibhés doibh tachar eaturra féin, 7 nach a n-aoineacht uile eirgit a c-ceann na Lochlannach.*
c. 859	FA266	Alas, indeed, as we say often: it is a pity for the Irish that they have the bad habit of fighting among themselves, and that they do not rise all together against the Norwegians.
859.3	AU	*Righdhal mathe Erenn oc Raith Aedho m. Bricc im Mael Sechnaill rig Temhra, 7 im Fethghna comurba Patraicc, 7 im Suairlech comurba Finnio, ic denum sidha 7 caincomraicc fer n-Erenn, conidh asin dail-sin du-rat Cerball, ri Osraighi, oghreir samtha Patraic 7 a comurba, 7 conidh and do-dechaidh Osraigi i n-dilsi fri Leth Cuinn, 7 ad-rogaidh Mael Gualai, ri Muman, a dilsi.*
859.3	AU	A royal conference was held at Ráith Aeda Meic Bric of the nobles of Ireland, including Mael Sechnaill, king of Temair, and Fethgna, successor of Patrick, and Suairlech, successor of Finnia, to make peace and amity between the men of Ireland, and as a result of that meeting Cerball, king of Osraige, gave his full dues to Patrick's congregation and his successor, and the Osraige were alienated to Leth Cuinn, and Mael Guala, king of Mumu, warranted the alienation.
859.3	CS	*Rigdail maithe Erenn og Raith Aodha meic Bric um Maelseclainn rí Temra & um Fethgna comarba Padraig et im Suarrlech comurba Finnein ag denamh shithe et caoincomraic fer n-Erenn conidh ánd do rad Cerball ríOsraighe i ndilsi fri Leth Cuinn & ro gaid Maolgúala mac Dondgaili {.i. ri Muman} a dilsi.*

859.3	CS	A royal conference was held at Ráith Aeda meic Bric of the nobles of Ireland, including Mael Sechnaill, king of Temair, and Fethgna, successor of Patrick, and Suairlech, successor of Finnia, to make peace and amity between the men of Ireland, and there Cerball, king of Osraige, gave his full dues to Patrick's congregation and his successor, and the Osraige were alienated to Leth Cuinn, and Mael Guala son of Donngal, king of Mumu, warranted the alienation.
859	FA268	*Ríghdhál maithe Eireann og Rath Áodha, um Maoil Seachlainn, rí Eireann, 7 um Fhethgna, comarba Padraicc, 7 um Shuairlioch, comarba Finniain, do deanamh síodha 7 cáonchomhraic na h-Eireann uile. Gonadh isin dáil sin tug Cearbhall mac Dunlaing a oighréir do Maoil Seachlainn do réir comarba Phadraicc, ar m-beith do Cearbhall reimhi sin a n-Irarus, 7 mac rígh Lochlann maille fris, ra ceathrachait aidhche og milleadh fhearainn Maoil Seachlainn.*
859	FA268	A royal assembly of the nobles of Ireland at Ráith Áeda, by Máel Sechlainn, king of Ireland, and Fethgna, successor of Patrick, and Suairlech, successor of Finnian, to establish peace and tranquillity for all Ireland. And it was at that assembly that Cerball son of Dúnlang made full submission to Máel Sechlainn in obedience to the successor of Patrick, after Cerball, along with the son of the king of Norway, had been in Irarus for the previous forty nights destroying the territory of Máel Sechlainn.
859 857.7	AFM	*Ro tionóileadh ríoghdál mhaithe Ereann lasin righ Maoil Seachlainn, go Raith Aodha Mic Bric, im Fethghna, comharba Patraicc, 7 m Suairleach comharba Finnia, do dhénamh síodha agus caonchomhraic fear n-Ereann, conidh ann do-rad Cerbhall, tighearna Osraighe, oighréir comharba Phádraic, 7 Finnia do righ Ereann, iar m-beith do Cearbhall ceathrachat oidhche i n-Ereros, 7 mac righ Lochland immaille fris i t-tosuch oc indreadh Midhe. Conadh iar ro riaraighsiot rígh Osraighedo bheith i n-dilsi fri Leth Chuinn. Ro gaidh Mael Ghualai, mac Donnghaile, rí Mumhan, a dilsi din.*
859 857.7	AFM	A great meeting of the chieftains of Ireland was collected by the King Maelseachlainn to Rath Aedha Mic Bric, with Fethghna, successor of Patrick, and Suairleach, successor of Finnia, to establish peace and concord between the men of Ireland; and here Cearbhall, lord of Osraighe, gave the award of the successors of Patrick and Finnia to the King of Ireland, after Cearbhall had been forty nights at Ereros, and the son of the King of Lochlann at first along with him plundering Meath. And after they had awarded that the King of Osraighe should be in league with Leath Chuinn, Maelgualai, son of Donnghal, King of Munster, then tendered his allegiance.
859.4	AU	*Mael Guala, rex Muman, a Nordmannis occissus est.*
859.4	AU	Mael Guala, king of Mumu, was killed by the Norsemen.

859.4	CS	*Maolguala rí Muman a Normandís occissus est lapidibus*.
859.4	CS	Mael Guala, king of Mumu, was killed by the Norsemen with stones.
859 855	FA264	*K. i. Anno Domini .dccclu. Maol Guala, rí Caisil, do ghabhail do Normannoibh, 7 a écc a l-laimh acca.*
859 855	FA264	Kl. 855 A.D. Máel Guala, king of Caisel, was captured by the Vikings and died in captivity among them.
859 857.8	AFM	*Mael Guala, rí Mumhan, do clochadh la Nortmannaibh, co ro marbhsat é.*
859 857.8	AFM	Maelgualai, King of Munster, was stoned by the Norsemen, until they killed him.
860	FA277	*K. ii. Lucht da chobhlach do Normannaibh do thoidheacht i f-fearann Cearbhaill mc. Dunlaing da innradh. An úair thangus da innisin sin do Chearball, as ann ro bhaoí Cearball for meascca. Ra battur daghdhaoíne Osraighe 'ga rádha ris go h-aloinn 7 go socraidh 'ga neartadh: 'Ní h-adhbhar measga do bheith for dhuine i n-Osraighibh do níad na Lochlonnoighibh anosa, .i. an tír uile do lot. Acht cheana go ro coiméda Dia thu-sa, 7 go ruga búaidh 7 cosgar dot naimhdibh amhail rugais go minic, 7 amhail béra bhéos. Léig as tra do mheasga, uair namha an mheasga don eangnamh.'* *O do chúala Cearbhall sin rá chúaidh a mheasga uadh, 7 ra ghabh a arma. Tainig imorro trían na h-oidhche an tan sin. As amlaidh táinig Cearball immach asa grianán 7 rioghchainnel mhór reaimhe, 7 rá bhoí soilsi na caindle sin go fada ar gach leith. Ra ghabh úamhan mór na Lochlannaig; 7 ra theichsiot fona sleibhtibh faigsibh dhóibh 7 fona cailltibh. An lucht imorro ra thairis ra h-eangnam díobh ra marbadh uile.* *O thainig maidin a m-mucha arnamharach, ra chuaidh {MS page 42} Cearbhall gona shochraidhe 'na c-ceann uile, 7 ní ra ghabh uatha ar marbadh a n-deargáir, go ra cuirit a m-madhmuim, 7 go ro sgaoilit íad for gach leith. Ra immir Cearbhall féine go crúaidh isin ammus sain, 7 tainig ris go mór a méd attibh an aidhche remhe, 7 ra sgé go mór, 7 tug sonairte mór do-somh sain; 7 ra ghreiss go mór a muinntir go diochra forsna Lochlannachaib, 7 as móo ina leith an t-slóigh ra marbadh ann, 7 na t-tearna ann ra theichsit ar ammus a longa. Og Achadh mc. Earclaighe tugadh an maidhm si. Ra impu Cearbhall iar t-*

		tain go m-búaidh 7 go n-eadáil móir.
860	FA277	The men from two fleets of Norsemen came into Cerball son of Dúnlang's territory for plunder. When messengers came to tell that to Cerball, he was drunk. The noblemen of Osraige were saying to him kindly and calmly, to strengthen him: 'What the Norwegians are doing now, that is, destroying the whole country, is no reason for a man in Osraige to be drunk. But may God protect you all the same, and may you win victory and triumph over your enemies as you often have done, and as you still shall. Shake off your drunkenness now, for drunkenness is the enemy of valor.' When Cerball heard that, his drunkenness left him and he seized his arms. A third of the night had passed at that time. This is how Cerball came out of his chamber: with a huge royal candle before him, and the light of that candle shone far in every direction. Great terror seized the Norwegians, and they fled to the nearby mountains and to the woods. Those who stayed behind out of valor, moreover, were all killed. When daybreak came the next morning, Cerball attacked all of them with his troops, and he did not give up after they had been slaughtered until they had been routed, and they had scattered in all directions. Cerball himself fought hard in this battle, and the amount he had drunk the night before hampered him greatly, and he vomited much, and that gave him immense strength; and he urged his people loudly and harshly against the Norwegians, and more than half of the army was killed there, and those who escaped fled to their ships. This defeat took place at Achad mic Erclaige. Cerball turned back afterwards with triumph and great spoils.
860 858.6	AFM	*Maidhm ria c-Cerbhall for loinges Puirt Lairge oc Achodh Mic Erclaighe.*
860 858.6	AFM	A victory was gained by Cearbhall, over the fleet of Port Lairge, at Achadh Mic Erclaighe.
c. 860	FA278	*Isin aimsir sin tainic Hona 7 Tomrir Torra, dá thoiseach soichinélach, 7 drui an t-Hona, 7 fir bhéodha crúaidhe go m-blaith móir íad eittir a muinntir féin; lán saorchlanna dno iad d'erchiniudh Lochlann. Tangattur tra an dias sin gona sochraide go Luimneach, 7 ó Luimneach go Port Lairge. Acht cheana as mó ra tairisnighsit ina m-brioghaibh féin ina 'na sochraide. Ra thionoilsit Eoganachta 7 Araidh Cliach dóibh, 7 ra chuirsit ceann i g-ceann, 7 ra cuireadh treas crúaidh eattura, go ra cuirit na Lochlannaig i m-baile beag 7 cloch dhaingean ime. Ra chúaidh dna an draoí, .i. Hona, 7 fear ba sine díobh, ar an chaisiol*

		'sa bhél oslaigthe, og atach a dhée 7 og denamh a draoigheachta, 7 'ga earail ara mhuinntir adradh na n-dee. Tainig fear d'fearaibh Mumhan chuige go t-tug buille do cloich mhóir dara mhant dhó, go t-tug a fhiacla uile assa cheann. Ra impa iar sin a aigidh ara mhuinntir fén, 7 ass eadh ro ráidh ag cur a fhola teassaidhe dara bhél amach: 'Bam marbh-sa de so,' ar se; 7 ra thuit ar ais, 7 ra chúaidh a anam ass. Ra gabhadh dhóibh iar t-tain do chlochaibh gona ra fedsat a fhulang, acht fagbhaid an ionad sin, 7 tiaghaid fon seisgeann ba neassa, 7 marbhthar ann-saidhe an taoiseach oile; go ro marbat amlaidh sin an dá thaoiseach, .i. Hona Luimnigh, 7 Tomrir Torra. Ní tearna dna da maithibh acht días namá, 7 uaitheadh beg leó; 7 rugsat fir Mumhan búaidh 7 cosgur amhlaidh sin.
c. 860	FA278	At that time came Hona and Tomrir Torra, two noble chieftains, and this Hona was a druid; and they were brave, hard men of great renown among their own people; moreover they were of fully noble stock of the great race of Norway. That pair then proceeded with their troops to Luimnech, and from Luimnech to Port Láirge. Nevertheless they relied more on their own strength than on the troops. The Eóganachta and Araid Cliach mustered against them, and they met face to face, and there was hard fighting between them, with the result that they drove the Norwegians into a small place with strong fortification around it. Then the druid, Hona, who was the elder of them, went up onto the rampart with his mouth open, praying to his gods and doing his druidry, and urging his people to worship the gods. One of the Munster men came up to him and gave him a blow across the jaw with a large stone, and knocked all of his teeth out of his head. He turned then to face his own people, and this is what he said as the hot blood poured out of his mouth: 'I shall die of this,' he said; and he fell backwards and his life went out of him. They were attacked with stones after that, until they could not stand it, but left that place, and went into the nearest marsh, and the other chieftain was killed there; and that was how they slew the two chieftains, Hona of Luimnech and Tomrir Torra. Only two of their noblemen escaped, and a small number with them; and thus the men of Munster won victory and triumph.
860		*Sloicchedh Laighen et Mumhan et Connacht et H. Néill an deisgeirt isa fochla la Maolseclain rí Temra co ndesidh ag Maigh Duma a ccomfocus Áird Macha co forbart Aodh mac Néll & Flann mac Conaing an dunadh a n-aidchi cor marbsat daoini for lár an dunaidh & ro meabadh for Aedh go ffargaib ile.*
860.1	CS	Mael Sechnaill, king of Temair, led an army of the Laigin and Mumu and Connacht and the southern Uí Néill into the North, and he halted at Mag Dumai near Ard Macha. Aed son of Niall and Flann son of Conaing attacked their camp by night and killed some people in the middle of the camp, and Aed was defeated and left many dead.

860	FA279	*K. ii. Isin bliadain si do ronadh mórshluagh la Maoil Seachlainn, righ Eireann, 7 Cearbhall mac Dunlaing lais go Magh Macha. Ra ghabhsat longphort ann sin…* *Ra impu Maoilseachlainn da thigh a h-aithle an cosguir sain. Ra bhaoi dna Amlaibh i f-farradh Aod 'sin maidhm sa.*
860	FA279	In this year Máel Sechlainn, king of Ireland, made a great hosting with Cerball son of Dúnlang to Mag Macha. They encamped there. ….against Aed son of Niall]…. Máel Sechlainn returned home after that victory. Moreover, Amlaib was along with Áed in this defeat.
c. 860	FA281	*Ár la Cearbhaill mc. Dunlaing for mhuinntir Roduilbh i Slebh Mairge, 7 a marbadh uile, acht fioruathad tearna dhíobh i c-cailtibh. Creach Leithghlinne, 7 dna a braid ra bhoí aca ar marbadh dreime móir do muinntir Leithglinne dhóibh.*
c. 860	FA281	A massacre of Rodolb's followers by Cerball son of Dúnlang at Sliab Mairge, and they were all killed except for a few of them who escaped in the woods. They had plundered Lethglenn, and they had its hostages after killing a great number of the community of Lethglenn.
861.1	AU	*Indredh Midhe do Aedh m. Neill co n-Gallaibh.*
861.1	AU	Mide was invaded by Aed son of Niall with foreigners.
861.1	CS	*Inradh Midhe d'Aodh {.i. Finnliath} mac Neill Caille co n-Galloibh.*
861.1	CS	Mide was invaded by Aed Finnliath son of Niall Caille with Foreigners
861 859.4	AFM	*Indreadh 7 orgain Mídhe la h-Aodh b-Finnliath, mac Néill Chaille.*
861 859.4	AFM	The plundering and devastation of Meath by Aedh Finnliath, the son of Niall Caille.
861.3	CS	*Cath Droma da Maighe la Maolseclainn mac Maolruanaidh ar Gallaibh Atha Cliath.*
861.3	CS	The battle of Druim dá Maighe won by Mael Sechnaill son of Mael Ruanaid over the foreigners of Dublin.
861 859.3	AFM	*Cath Droma Da Mhaighe do thabhairt la Maol Sechlainn for Ghallaibh Atha Cliath, airm a t-torchradar sochaidhe do Ghallaibh lais.*
861? 859.3	AFM	The battle of Druim Da Mhaighe was given by Maelseachlainn to the foreigners of Ath Cliath, here many of the foreigners were slain by him.
861 859.6	AFM	*Sluaigheadh la Cerbhall i Midhe co Maol Seachlainn i n-aghaidh Aedha, mic Néill 7 Amhlaoibh, i torchair Ruarc, mac Braoin, lá h-Uibh Néill.*

861 859.6	AFM	An army was led by Cearbhall into Meath, to assist Maelseachlainn against Aedh, son of Niall, and Amhlaeibh, where Ruarc, son of Braen, was slain by the Ui Neill.
862.2	AU	*Aedh m. Neill co riga Gall i m-Mide, 7 la Flann m. Conaing do indriudh Midhe.*
862.2	AU	Aed son of Niall went with (?) the kings of the foreigners into Mide, and plundered Mide with Flann son of Conaing.
862	CS	*Sloiccedh la Aodh mac Néll la rígh Ailigh et la Flann mac Conaing do indradh Midhe*
862.2	CS	Aed son of Niall, king of Ailech, and Flann son of Conaing brought an army to plunder Mide.
862	FA292	*K. u. Aodh mc. Neill 7 a chlíamhain, .i. Amlaibh (ingean Aodha ro bhaoi ag Amhlaoibh) go slóghaibh móra Gaoidhiol 7 Lochlannach leo go magh Midhe, 7 a ionnradh léo, 7 saorclanna iomdha do mharbhadh leo.*
862	FA292	Áed son of Niall and his son-in-law Amlaib (Áed's daughter was Amlaib's wife) went with great armies of Irish and Norwegians to the plain of Mide, and they plundered it and killed many freemen.
862 860.2	AFM	*Aodh Findliath, mac Néill Chaille, 7 Flann, mac Conaing, do dhul la tighearna Gall do iondradh Midhe co n-dearnsat airccne móra foraibh.*
862 860.9	AFM	Aedh Finnliath, son of Niall Caille, and Flann, son of Conang, went with the lord of the foreigners to plunder Meath, and committed great depredations there.
862	FA308	*K. u. Deargár do thabhairt do Chearbhall mhac Dunlaing 7 do Cinnedigh mhac Gaithine, .i. mc. deirbhseathar Chearbhaill, for longus Rodlaibh, 7 bá gairid remhe tangattar a Lochlann; 7 Conall Ulthach do mharbhadh ann agas Luirgnen, cum plurimis alíis.*
862	FA308	Kl. Cerball son of Dúnlang and Cennétig son of Gáethíne (i.e. the son of Cerball's sister) defeated Rodolb's fleet, which had come from Norway shortly before that; and Conall Ultach was killed there, and Luirgnén, and many others.
862 860.11	AFM	*Cosccradh longphuirt Rothlaibh la Cind Éittidh, mac n-Gaíthín, tighearna Laighisi isin cúiccidh Id September, 7 marbhadh Conuill Ultaigh 7 Luirgnen, go sochaidhibh oile immaille friú.*
862 860.11	AFM	The destruction of Longphort Rothlaith by Cinnedidh, son of Gaithin, lord of Laighis, on the fifth of the Ides of September; and the killing of Conall Ultach and Luirgnen, with many others along with them.
863.3	AU	*Murecan m. Diarmata, rex Naiss 7 Airthir Liphi, a Nordmannis interfechtus est.*
863.3	AU	Muirecán son of Diarmait, king of Nás and eastern Life, was killed by the Norsemen.

863.2	CS	*Muirecan mac Diarmada rí Nais et Airthir Life a Normandis interfectus est.*
863.2	CS	Muirecán son of Diarmait, king of Nás and eastern Life, was killed by the Norsemen.
863 861.5	AFM	*Muiregan, mac Diarmada, tighearna Náis ⁊ Airthir Life, do mharbhadh la Nortmannaibh.*
863 861.5	AFM	Muiregan, son of Diarmaid, lord of Nas and Airther Life, was slain by the Norsemen.
863	FA311	*K. ui. Muiriogan mc. Diarmada, rí Náis ⁊ Laighean, cid do marbad la Gentibh, ⁊ sochaide mór do mhaithibh Laighean.*
863	FA311	Muirecán son of Diarmait, king of Nás and Laigin, was slain by the heathens, with a great many of the noblemen of Leinster.
863.4	AU	*Uamh Achaidh Alddai ⁊ Cnodhbai ⁊ uam Fheirt Boadan os Dubadh ⁊ uam Mna Angobann ro scruidiset Gaill, quod antea non perfectum est, .i. a fecht ro slatsat .iii. righ Gall feronn Flaind m. Conaing, .i. Amhlaim ⁊ Ímhar ⁊ Auisle; ⁊ Lorcan m. Cathail leo occa, rí Mide.*
863.4	AU	The caves of Achad Aldai, and of Cnodba, and of Boadán's Mound above Dubad, and of Óengoba's wife, were searched by the Foreigners—something which had never been done before. This was the occasion when three kings of the Foreigners, i.e. Amlaíb and Ímar and Auisle, plundered the land of Flann son of Conaing; and Lorcán son of Cathal, king of Mide, was with them in this.
863	FA309	*K. ui. Inreadh Breagh la Lochlannachaibh, ⁊ dul ar uamhannaibh iomdhaibh, ⁊ as eadh ón na dearnadh go minic reime.*
863	FA309	A raid on Brega by the Norwegians, and they went into many caves, and that had not been done often before.
863 861.7	AFM	*Amhlaoibh, Iomhar, ⁊ h-Uisli, tri toisigh Gall, ⁊ Lorcan, mac Cathail, tighearna Midhe, do ionnradh fearainn Floinn, mic Conaing.*
863 861.7	AFM	Amblaeibh, Imhar, and Uailsi, three chieftains of the foreigners; and Lorcan, son of Cathal, lord of Meath, plundered the land of Flann, son of Conang.
863 861.8	AFM	*Uaimh Achaidh Alda h-i Mughdhornaibh Maighen, Uaimh Cnoghbhai, Uaimh Fert Bodain .i. buachaill Elcmaire, os Dubhath, ⁊ Uaimh Mná an Gobhand ag Droichead Atha, do chrothadh, ⁊ d'orgain lasna Gallaibh cedna.*

863 861.8	AFM	The cave of Achadh Aldai, in Mughdhorna Maighen; the cave of Cnoghbhai; the cave of the grave of Bodan, i.e. the shepherd of Elcmar, over Dubhath; and the cave of the wife of Gobhann, at Drochat Atha, were broken and plundered by the same foreigners.
863	FA310	*K. ui. Ár na n-Gall lá Cearbhall mc. Dunlaing ag Fearta Caireach, 7 a creach d'fagbhail.*
863	FA310	Slaughter of the foreigners by Cerball son of Dúnlang at Fertae Cairech, and he took their spoils.
863 861.10	AFM	*Marbhadh na n-Gall, i Fertai na c-Caírech, le Cerbhall, co fargaibhset xl. cenn lais, 7 gur ro innarb as a crich iad.*
863 861.10	AFM	The killing of the foreigners at Fearta Na gCaireach, by Cearbhall, so that forty heads were left to him, and that he banished them from the territory.
864.4	AU	*Concobur m. Donncadha, leith-ri Mide, do marbad i n-uisciu oc Cluain Irairdd la Amlaiph, ri Gall.*
864.4	AU	Conchobor son of Donnchad, one of two kings of Mide, was put to death in water at Cluain Iraird by Amlaíb, king of the foreigners.
864.2	CS	*Concupar mac Donnchadha leitrí Mide do marbadh in huiscri co Cluain Iráird la h-Amlaoib rí Gall.*
864.2	CS	Conchobor son of Donnchad, one of two kings of Mide, was put to death in water at Cluain Iraird by Amlaíb, king of the foreigners.
864	FA317	*K. uii. Concupar mc. Donnchada, leithrí Midhe, do badh la h-Amlaibh I Cluain Iraird.*
864	FA317	Conchobor son of Dúnchad, one of the two kings of Mide, was drowned by Amlaib at Cluain Iraird.
864 862	AClon	Awley prince of the Danes killed Connor mcDonnogh king of half Meath.
864 862.9	AFM	*Conchobhar, mac Donnchadha, an dara tigherna boí for Midhe, do bhádhadh i nh-uiscce oc Cluain h-Ioraird, la h-Amhlaibh, tighearna Gall.*
864 862.9	AFM	Conchobhar, son of Donnchadh, the second lord that was over Meath, was drowned in a water at Cluain Iraird, by Amhlaeibh, lord of the foreigners.
864.1	AI	*Mors Cermata meic Cathrannaich, rig Corcu Bascind.*
864.1	AI	Death of Cermait son of Cathrannach, king of Corcu Bascinn.
864.5	CS	*Bás Cermuda meic Catharnaigh taoisech Corca Baiscinn a gentibus.*
864.5	CS	Death of Cermad son of Catharnach, chief of Corco Baiscinn, at the hands of the foreigners.
864	FA320	*Gabhail Diarmada la Gentibh.*
864	FA320	The capture of Diarmait by the heathens.

864 862	Aclon	Kearmott mcCahassy, cheefe of Corckbaskyn, was put to Death by the Danes.
864 862.11	AFM	*Cermad, mac Catharnaigh, toiseach Corca Bhaiscind, do mharbhadh la Gallaibh.*
864 862.11	AFM	Cermad, son of Catharnach, chief of Corca Bhaiscinn, was slain by the foreigners.
864	FA314	*K. uii. Cearbhall mc. Dunlaing do innreadh Laighean. Níor bó cian iar sin go ro thionolsad Laighin Lochlannaig ₇ íad féin, go ro indridhsiod Osraighe 'na dhioghail sin. Ba mór an trúaighe do neoch rá theich d'Osraighibh i m-Mumhain; ra marbhaid ₇ ra h-airgid uile. Bá móo ra ghortaigh sin meanma Chearbhaill, .i. an lucht ro gabh aige amhail tairisi, .i. Eoganacht íad-saidhe, da n-argain ₇ da mharbhadh. Beag air imorro caingean na namhad, uair nír bo iongnadh leis iad-saidhe do genamh na n-dearnsad, uair ra dhlighsiot. Ro thionol iaramh slóigh Gaoidheal ₇ Lochlannach, ₇ ra mhill na fearanna comhfochraibhe; ra mhill Magh Feimhin ₇ Fir Muighe, ₇ tug braighde ciniudha n-iomdha lais.*
864	FA314	Cerball son of Dúnlang raided Leinster. In revenge for that, the Laigin gathered the Norwegians and themselves and raided Osraige not long afterwards. Those of the Osraige who fled into Munster were a great pity; they were all killed and slaughtered. What most embittered Cerball's mind waas that the people whom he had trusted (that is, the Eóganachta) had slaughtered and killed them. (He used to think little of the doings of enemies, for he was not surprised that they did what they did, because they were entitled to it). He then mustered a force of Irish and Norwegians, and devastated the neighbouring territories; he laid waste Mag Feimin and Fir Maige, and took the hostages of many tribes.
No date *c.865*	FA326	*Ár for Lochlannachaib la Flann mc. Conaing, rí Cianacht.*
No date *c. 865*	FA326	A slaughter of the Norwegians by Flann son of Conaing, king of Cianachta.
866.1	AU	*Amlaiph ₇ Auisle do dul i Fortrenn co n-Gallaib Erenn ₇ Alban cor innriset Cruithentuaith n-uile ₇ co tucsat a n-giallo.*
866.1	AU	Amlaíb and Auisle went with the foreigners of Ireland and Scotland to Fortriu, plundered the entire Pictish country and took away hostages from them.

866	FA328	*K. iii. Milleadh 7 innreadh Foirtreann la Lochlannachaib, go rugsat braighde iomdha léo i n-gill ra cíos; ro bás go fada iar t-tain ag tabhairt cíosa dhóibh.*
866	FA328	The Norwegians laid waste and plundered Foirtriu, and they took many hostages with them as pledges for tribute; for a long time afterwards they continued to pay them tribute
866 864	AClon	Awley and Hushe, the 2 princes of the Danes with all their forces went to Pictland and there spoyled the contry and brought from thence hostages in sign of subjection A.D. 871.
866.1	AI	*Tomrar iarla do orcain Cluana Ferta Brenai nd conro marb Brenaind tres ló iar richtain a longphoirt.*
866.1	AI	Kl. Tomrar the Jarl, plundered Cluain Ferta Brénainn, and Brénainn killed him on [the] third day after he had reached his camp.
866	FA337	*K. iii. Isin bliadain si tainig Tomrar iarla o Luimnioch go Cluain Fearta Breanainn, (duine aindreannda, agarbh, aindgidh eisidhe do Lochlannachaib), andar leis fo ghebhadh brad mór 'sin chill sin. Gidh eadh ní mur ra sháoil fuair, uair táinig seal beag fios reimhe, 7 ro theichead go maith reimhe i n-eathraibh, dream eile i sescuibh, dream oile 'sin teampul. An dream imorro fora rug-som ar an urlár 7 isin relic, ro marbh-som. Ro bhaoí dno Cormac mac Elothaigh, saoí eagna Eireann, comharba sen-Chiarain Saighre, 'sin teampal sin. Rá sháor Dia 7 Brenainn íad amhlaigh sin. Marbh imorro do dhasacht an Tomrair 'sin bliadain si ar n-imirt do Bhrenainn miorbhal fair.*
866	FA337	In this year Earl Tomrar came from Luimnech to Cluain Ferta (he was a very strong, very rough, merciless man of the Norwegians), thinking to take great spoils in that church. However, he did not get what he expected, because a warning arrived a little while ahead of him, and the people fled promptly before him in boats, and some others into the marshes, others into the church. Those whom he found in the enclosure and in the graveyard he killed. Now Cormac son of Élóthach, learned sage of Ireland, successor of Sen-Chiarán of Saigir, was in that church. Thus God and Brénaind saved them. That Tomrar, moreover, died of insanity within a year, Brénaind having performed a miracle upon him.
866	FA340	*K. iii. Isin bliadain si ba marbh Tomrur Iarla, namha Brénainn, do dhásacht i Purt Manann, 7 ba h-eadh ad-chíd Brenainn 'ga mharbadh.*
866	FA340	In this year Earl Tomrar, the enemy of Brénaind, died of insanity at Port Manann, and he could see Brénaind killing him.
866.4	AU	*Aedh m. Neill ro slat uile longportu Gall, .i. airir ind Fochla, eter Chenel n-Eugain 7 Dal n-Araide co tuc a cennlai 7 an-eti 7 a crodha a l-longport er cath. Roiniudh foraib oc Loch Febail asa tuctha da .xx. dec cenn.*

866.4	AU	Aed son of Niall plundered all the strongholds of the foreigners i.e. in the territory of the North, both in Cenél Eógain and Dál Araidi, and took away their heads, their flocks, and their herds from camp by battle (?). A victory was gained over them at Loch Febail and twelve score heads taken thereby.
866.1	CS	*Cathraoinedh ré n-Aodh mac Neill 7 re Cinel Eoghain for Gallaibh oc Loch Feabail co ttuccadh da ficit deg ceann diubh a n-aon baile.*
866.1	CS	A rout was inflicted by Aed son of Niall and the Cenél nEógain on the foreigners at Loch Febail and twelve score heads taken of them in a single place.
866	FA327	*K. iii. Deargár na Lochlannach 7 a m-buaidhreadh uile 'san bliadain si la h-Aodh mc. Néill, rígh Eireann. Maidhm lánmhór la h-Aodh forsna Lochlannachaib ag Loch Feabhaill. Innisit dno na h-éoluigh gurob í a bhean as móo ro greis Aod i c-ceann na Lochlannach, .i. Land ingean Dunlaing: 7 as i-sidhe ba bean do Maoil Seachloinn reimhe, mathair mc. Maoil Seachlainn, .i. Flainn. Ba h-í mathair Cennedigh mc. Gaithine í, .i. ri Laoighsi. As mór tra rá scriobhadh na f-fuarattar Lochlannaig d'ulc 'san bhliadain si, cidh móo fuarattar o Aodh Finnliath mc. Néill.*
866	FA327	In this year Áed son of Niall, king of Ireland, massacred the Norwegians and harried them all. Áed had a great victory over the Norwegians at Loch Febail. The learned related that it was his wife who most incited Áed against the Norwegians—namely Land, daughter of Dúnlang: and she was the one who was Máel Sechlainn's wife previously, and the mother of Máel Sechlainn's son, i.e. Flann. She was the mother of Cennétig son of Gáethíne, king of Loíches. Now the ills that the Norwegians suffered this year are noteworthy, but the greatest they encountered were from Áed Findliath son of Niall.
866 864.3	AFM	*Ro tecclomadh léirthionól an Tuaisceirt la h-Aodh f-Findliath, go ro aircc longphorta Gall gach airm h-i rabhatar isin Fochla etir Cenel Eoghain 7 Dál n-Araidhe, 7 do-beart a crodh 7 a n-étead, a n-édala 7 a n-iolmhaoine. Rangadar Goill an Cóiccidh co h-aon-mhaighin go Loch Feabhail mic Lodain. Iarna fhios d'Aodh, .i. ri Ereann, an turcomhrac eachtair-chinél sin do bheith i n-or a thíre nír bho h-eisledhach ro frestladh lais iad, uair do-roich da soighidh líon a shochraide, 7 ro fearadh cath ainmhín ainiarmartach etorra cechtar dá lethe. Ro sraíneadh for na Gallaibh, 7 ro cuireadh a n-ár. Ro tionóiled a c-cionna co h-aon-mhaighin a b-fiadhnuisi an righ, conadh dá fhichit décc cend ro comhairmheadh fiadha, do-rochair lais don chath-gleó-sin cenmota in ro créchtnaighthe díobh, 7 do bretha i n-othairlighibh écca lais, 7 ad-báithit cidh iar trioll dia n-gonaibh.*
866 864.3	AFM	A complete muster of the North was made by Aedh Finnliath, so that he plundered the fortresses of the foreigners, wherever they were in the North, both in Cinel Eoghain and Dal Araidhe; and he carried off

		their cattle and accoutrements, their goods and chattles. The foreigners of the province came together at Loch Feabhail Mic Lodain. After Aedh, King of Ireland, had learned that this gathering of strangers was on the borders of his country, he was not negligent in attending to them, for he marched towards them with all his forces; and a battle was fought fiercely and spiritedly on both sides between them. The victory was gained over the foreigners, and a slaughter was made of them. Their heads were collected to one place, in presence of the king; and twelve score heads were reckoned before him, which was the number slain by him in that battle, besides the numbers of them who were wounded and carried off by him in the agonies of death, and who died of their wounds some time afterwards.
866 864	AClon	King Hugh assaulted a fort the Danes had in Orear Anoghlae between Tire Owen and Dalnarie, and from thence tooke all theire Jewels, cattle, and goodes, together with a great number of their captives, and also made a great slaughter upon them to the number of 240 of theire heades were taken.
c. 867 *c.867* *866* *866*	CGG pp 22-4	*Tanic iar sin Ossill mac ríg Lochland, longes ele, ocus ro hinred urmor Erend leo. Drocradar sin fos la feraib Erinn. Drochair, am, int Osil ocus .u. ced leis ic feraib Erend i Mumhain in oen lo.* *Is ísin bliadain i drochair Colphín ocus longes Cind Curraig co Lis Mor. Ro bas ica marbad o Cind Curraig co Lis Mor, ocus do drocradar socaidi dib .i. Rechtabrat mac Brain.* *Da chuaid, dna, Baethbarr iarla ocus socaidi don lucht madma leis co Ath Cliath. Iarsin ro bathed ic Ath Cliath tre mírbúilid Ciaran ocus Aeda Scannail for a rabadar ic forbaissi.* *Iis ísin bliadain i drochair Tomur iarla la Brenaind, i cind tri la ar n-argain Cluana Ferta do.* *Is ísin bliadain ro bris Aed Findliath mac Neill cath forthu ic Loch Febail, du I drochairdar da cet deg cend in oen inad dib, ocus ruc a nuili inmais ocus a seodu.*
c. 867 *c.867*	CGG pp 22-4	There came after that Ossill, son of the king of Lochlainn, with another fleet, and the greater part of Erinn was plundered by them. These, too, fell by the men of Erinn; and this Ossill, with five hundred men along with him, fell by the men of Erinn in Mumhain in one day. It was in that year that Colphin, and the fleet of Dun Medhoin, were destroyed at Cenn Curraig. Curraig to Lis-Mor, and numbers of them were killed by Rechtabrat, son of Bran.

866 *866*		The Earl Baethbarr, however, escaped with many of the defeated party to Ath Cliath. Afterwards he was drowned at Ath Cliath, through the miracles of Ciaran, and Aedh Scannail, whom they were besieging. It was in that year that Earl Tomar was killed by St Brendan, three days after he had plundered Cluain Ferta. It was in that year that Aedh Finnliath, son of Niall, gained a battle over them at Loch Febhail, where there fell twelve hundred heads of them in one spot; and all their wealth and jewels were taken.
866	FA329	*K. iii. Ár for Gallaibh oc Mindroichit la Cennedigh mc. Gaithine, rí Laoighsi, 7 la tuaisgirt n-Osraighe.*
866	FA329	A slaughter of the foreigners at Mendroichet by Cennétig son of Gáethíne, king of Loíches, and by the northern Osraige.
866 864.8	AFM	*Ar na n-Gall la Tuaisceart n-Osraighe, la Cinn Eidigh mac Gaithin oc Mindroichet.*
866 864.8	AFM	A slaughter was made of the foreigners by the people of the north of Osraighe, and Cinnedidh, son of Gaithin, at Mindroichet.
c. 866	FA338	*K. iii. Isin bhliaghain sin ro chuadar na righ Lochlann i m-Mumhain 7 slúagha móra léo, 7 ra indrisid go cródha an Mumhain: gidh eadh cheana tugadh deargár forra ann. Úair tainig Cinnetigh mc. Gaithin, rí Laoighsi. Mac esidhe do {MS page 48} Land ingin Dunlainge, isidhe dno mathair Flainn mc. Maoil Seachlainn, 7 as í ba bean an tan sa d'Áodh mc. Néill, righ Teamhrach. Is é an mac Gaithin ba gairge 7 ba cosgracha for Gallaib 'san aimsir si i n-Eirinn. Tainig iaramh an Cinnetigh si 7 Laoigheas go n-dreim do Osraighibh maille ris, go longport na Lochlannach, gur ro marbhsat deargár a n-deaghdháoine ar lár an longpoirt. Is ann sin ad-chonnairc Cinnedigh fear da muinntir féin, 7 dias Lochlannach ag triall a chinn do bheim dhe, tainig go tric da shaoradh, 7 ro bhean an da ceann don dís sin, 7 ro sháor a fhear muinntire féin. Tainic remhe Cennedigh go m-buaidh 7 cosgar.* *As ann-sidhe do rala an chreach Lochlannach i n-aighidh Chinnedig co n-édaluibh mora occa. O ro chúalattar na maithe úd do mharbadh, ro fhagsad a g-creich 7 a n-édala, 7 tangattar go crúaidh béodha i n-aighidh Cinnedigh. Ro thoghbhaid gotha allmhardha bharbardha ann-saidhe, 7 stuic iomdha badhphdha, 7 socuidhe 'ga rádh, 'Núi, nú.' Ro diobhairgid iaramh saighde iomdha eaturra, 7 leathghae, 7*

		ra ghabhsat fa dhéoigh fora c-cloidhmhibh troma tortbhuilleadha. Gidh eadh tra ro bhaí Día ag furtacht do mac Gaithin cona mhuinntir; ro fhoruaslaighid na Lochlannaig, 7 ra fhagsat a lathraigh imbúalta: rá chuadar ass i maidhm ar marbhadh a n-deargár. *Dream oile ni dheachattar i f-fad ara f-fainne, ar f-fulang gorta moire dhóibh, no ara náire léo techeadh. In uair ad-conncattar sluagh meic Gaithin occ tionol an mhaithiusa ro fhagsad-somh léo, tangattar 'na n-deaghaidh. Mur ro chonnairc mac Gaithini esidhe, ro ghabh fotha amhail fáol fo cháorchaibh, go ro theichsiod 'san mhónaidh gur ro marbhaidh 'san mónaidh uile iad, go n-duattar coin a c-colla.* *Ro mharbhsat dno an lucht sa, .i. mac Gaithin cona mhuinntir, deargár áosa grádha righ Lochlann i n-aird aile 'sin Mumhain, .i. marcshluagh rígh Lochlann. Is 'na dhioghail ra mharbhsat na Lochlannaig slúagh mór cléreach ra baoi7 fein, acht as íar m-búaidh ongtha 7 aithrighe.*
c. 866	FA338	In that year the Norwegian kings went into Munster with huge armies, and they plundered Munster severely; all the same, they were badly defeated there. For Cennétig son of Gáethíne, king of Loíches, came. (He was a son of Land, daughter of Dúnlang, who was also the mother of Flann son of Máel Sechlainn, and she was then the wife of Áed son of Niall, king of Temair.) This son of Gáethíne was the most savage and triumphant man against the foreigners in Ireland at this time. This Cennétig came, then, with the Loíchsi and many of the Osraige along with him, to the encampment of the Norwegians, and they slaughtered their noblemen in the middle of the camp. It was then that Cennétig saw one of his own people, with two Norwegians trying to cut off his head, and he came quickly to save him, and he beheaded those two men and saved his own attendant. Cennétig proceeded with victory and triumph. Then the raiding party of Norwegians, which had great spoils, attacked Cennétig. When they had heard those noblemen being slain, they had left their raid and their booty, and had come hard and actively against Cennétig. Foreign, barbarous cries were raised there, and the noise of many war trumpets, and a crowd were saying ‘Núi, nú!’ Then many arrows were loosed between them, and short spears, and finally they took to their heavy and hard-smiting swords. Nevertheless, God was helping the son of Gáethíne and his troops; the Norwegians were overcome, and left the place of battle; they went in rout after their bloody defeat.

		A certain group did not flee far away because of their weakness—having suffered great famine—or because they were ashamed to run away. When they saw the army of the son of Gáethíne gathering up the riches that they had abandoned, they came after them. When the son of Gáethíne saw that, he charged at them as a wolf attacks sheep, and they fled into the bog and were all killed in the bog, and dogs devoured their corpses. Then these people, the son of Gáethíne and his party, made a great slaughter of the noblemen of the Norwegian king in another place in Munster—that is, of the horsetroops of the Norwegian king. In revenge the Norwegians killed a great host of clerics who were ... themselves, but this was after unction and penance.
866	FA345	*K. iii. Sruthair, 7 Slebhte, 7 Achadh Arglais d'argain do gentibh. d'Osraighibh A.D. an. 864.*
866	FA345	Sruthair, Sléibte, and Achad Arglais were laid waste by the heathens.
866 864.4	AFM	*Sruthar, 7 Slébhte, 7 Achaidh Arglais d'orgain d'Osraighibh.*
866 864.4	AFM	Sruthar Slebhte and Achadh Arglais were plundered by the Osraighi.
866 864.7	AFM	*Maidhm for loinges n-Eochaille riasna Désibh, 7 cosgradh a longphuirt.*
866 864.7	AFM	A victory was gained over the fleet of Eochaill by the Deisi, and the fortress was destroyed.
867 865	AClon	Rovartagh of ffynglas, Bishop and Scribe, and Conell of Killskry, Bishop died.
867.1	AU	*Auisle, tertius rex gentilium, dolo 7 parricidio a fratribus suis iugulatus est.*
867.1	AU	Auisle, one of three kings of the heathens, was killed by his kinsmen in guile and parricide.
867	FA347	*K. iiii. Teagmhail eidir Óisle, mac rígh Lochlann, 7 Amlaoibh a brathar. Trí meic battar ag an rígh, .i. Amlaoibh 7 Iomar 7 Óisle. Óisle bá sóo ar n-aois díobh, 7 as é bá móo ar aoí eangnamha; úair rug dearsughad mór i n-diubargan fogha 7 i n-niort ga do Ghaoidhealaib. Rug dno dearsughad do Lochlannachaib i n-niort cloidhimh, 7 i n-diubhragadh saighead. Ro bhaoí a dubhfhuath go mór 'ga bhraithribh; as eadh as mó ro bhaoí ag Amlaoibh; ní innisin cuisi na miscean ara libri. Ra chuadar an dá*

		bhrathair, .i. Amlaoibh ₇ Iomar, i g-comhairle 'má caingin in mhic oig, .i. Óisle, ge ró {MS page 50} bhattar cúisi dichealta occa da mharbadh, ní h-íad tugsat ar aird, acht cúisi eile ro thogbhattar ar aird as a n-dlesiod a mharbhadh, ₇ rá chinnsiot iaramh a mharbadh. *O ró fhidir Amlaoibh dál an brathar ba miosgais leis do thuidheacht, as eadh do righne, teachtaireadha tairisi do chur ar ceann na ritaire bá sonairte ₇ bá béodha aige, go m-beittís astigh ar cheann Óisle. Tainic iaramh an t-Óisli, .i. an duine as fearr cruth ₇ eangnamh baoí an tan sin 'san domhan; uaitheadh dna tainig-siomh i t-teach a bhrathar; úair níor sháoil an ní fúair ann, .i. a mharbadh. Is eadh imorro ro chuinnig ann ní ná ro sháoil. As eadh ro íarr o thús diolmainius labhartha do thabhairt dhó. Tugadh do-somh sain. As eadh imorro ro labhair-siomh, .i. 'A brathair,' (ar sé) 'muna f-fail gradh do mhna, .i. ingean Cinaoth, agad-sa, cídh na leigi damh-sa úait í, ₇ gach ní ro dioghbhais ría, do bear-sa dhuit.'* *O ro chúala an t-Amlaibh sin, ro ghabh éd mór é, ₇ ro nocht a chloidheamh, ₇ tug buille dhé i g-ceann Oisle, .i. a brathar, gur ros marbh. Ro choimheirigh cách ar amus a chéile iar t-tain, .i. muinntear an rígh, .i. Amlaoibh, ₇ muinntir an bhrathar ro marbadh ann; battar stuic ₇ comhairc 'ma seach ann-saidhe. Rá chúas iar sain fa longport an brathar ro marbhadh ann, ar c-cur deargáir a muinntire. Rob iomdha maithios isin longport sin.*
867	FA347	There was an encounter between Óisle, son of the king of Norway, and Amlaib, his brother. The king had three sons: Amlaib, Imar, and Óisle. Óisle was the least of them in age, but he was the greatest in valor, for he outshone the Irish in casting javelins and in strength with spears. He outshone the Norwegians in strength with swords and in shooting arrows. His brothers loathed him greatly, and Amlaib the most; the causes of the hatred are not told because of their length. The two brothers, Amlaib and Imar, went to consult about the matter of the young lad Óisle; although they had hidden reasons for killing him, they did not bring these up, but instead they brought up other causes for which they ought to kill him; and afterwards they decided to kill him. When Amlaib learned that the party of the brother he hated had arrived, what he did was to send trusted messengers for the strongest and most vigorous horsemen he had, that they might be in the house to meet Óisle. Then Óisle came, the handsomest and bravest man in the world at that time; now he came into his brother's house with few attendants, for he did not expect what he found there (i.e. to be killed). What he

		sought there, moreover, was something that he did not expect to get. First he asked that liberty of speech be given him. That was granted. This is what he said: 'Brother,' he said, 'if your wife, i.e. the daughter of Cináed, does not love you, why not give her to me, and whatever you have lost by her, I shall give to you.' When Amlaib heard that, he was seized with great jealousy, and he drew his sword, and struck it into the head of Óisle, his brother, so that he killed him. After that all rose up to fight each other (i.e. the followers of the king, Amlaib, and the followers of the brother who had been killed there); then there were trumpets and battle-cries on both sides. After that the camp of the slain brother was attacked, his followers having been slaughtered. There were many spoils in that camp.
867 865	AClon	Husey, third prince of the Danes, was murthered by his owen bretheren.
867.7	AU	*Bellum for Saxanu Tuaisceirt i Cair Ebhroc re n-Dubghallaib, in quo cecidit Alli, rex Saxan Aquilonalium.*
867.7	AU	The dark foreigners won a battle over the northern Saxons at York, in which fell Aelle, king of the northern Saxons.
867	FA330	*K. iiii. Is in aimsir si tangattar Aunites, .i. na Dainfir, go sluaghaibh diairmhidhibh leo go Cáer Ebroic, gur ro thoglattar an cathraigh, 7 go n-deachattar fuire, 7 ba tosach imnidh 7 docrach móir do Breatnaibh sin; uair ní fada d'aimsir remhe so ro bhaoí gach cogadh 7 gach glífit i Lochlainn, 7 as as so ro fhás an cogadh sain i Lochlaind: .i. da mhac ócca Albdain, rí Lochlann, ro ionnarbsat an mac fa sine, .i. Raghnall mc. Albdain, ar eagla leo é do ghabail righe Lochlann tar éis a n-athar. Go t-tainic an Raghnall cona thri macaibh go h-Insibh Orc. Ro thairis iaramh Raghnall ann sin, 7 an mac ba sóo dhó. Tangattar imorro na mc. ba sine go sluagh mór léo, ar t-tionol an t-sluaigh sin as gach aird, ar na líonadh na mc. sin do dhíomus 7 do mhearsacht, um eirge i c-ceann Frangc 7 Saxan. Ra shaoilsiod a n-athair do dhol i Lochlainn fo cédóir dara n-éis.* *Ra earail iaramh a n-díomus 7 a n-ogbadata orra iomramh reampa dar an Ocian Cantaibreachda, .i. an mhuir fil eidir Eirinn 7 Espain, go rangattar Espain, 7 go n-dearnsad ulca iomdha i n-Espain edir argain 7 innreadh. Tangattar iar t-tain dar an Muinceann n-Gadianta, .i. bail i t-téid Muir Eireann isin ocian imeachtrach, go rangattar an Afraic; 7 cuirid cath risna Mauriotánuibh, 7 tuitid deargár na Mauriotána. Acht cheana,*

		p.120 *as ag dul i g-ceann an chatha sa, adubhairt an dara mac risin mac oile, 'A brathair,' ar sé, 'as mór an mhichíall ⁊ an dasacht fil forainn bheith as gach tír a t-tír ar fud an domhuin gár marbhadh, ⁊ nach ag cosnamh ar n-athardha fén atáam, ⁊ ríar ar n-athar do ghénamh, úair as a áonar atá annosa a múich ⁊ i mertin i t-tír nach leis féin, ar marbadh an dara maic ro fhágsom 'na fharradh, amhail foillsighthear dhamh-sa.' Go madh i n-aislinge no foillsighthea do-somh sin: ⁊ ro marbadh an mac oile dhó a c-cath; 's inbreachtain dno má téarna an t-athair fén as an cath sin—que revera comprobatum est.* *In tan ro bhaoí 'ga rádh sin as ann ad-chonnairc cath na Mauritana chuca: ⁊ mar ad-chonnairc an mac ro ráidh na briathra reamhainn sin, ro ling go h-oban 'san chath, ⁊ tainic d'ionnsoighidh rígh na Mauriotana, ⁊ tug buille do cloidheamh mhór dhó go ro ghad a lamh dhe. Ro cuireadh go crúaidh ceachtar an da leath 'san chath sa, ⁊ ní rug neach diobh cosgar da chele 'san cath sin. Acht táinig cách diobh d'ionnsaighidh a longpoirt ar marbhadh {MS page 4⁊} sochaidhe ettura. Ra fhuagair imorro cách ar a chéle thoidheachth arnamhárach dochum an chatha.* *Ro iomgabh imorro ri na Mauritana an longport, ⁊ ro éla isin oidhche ar n-gaid a laimhe dhe. O thainig tra an maidin ro ghabhsat na Lochlannaig a n-árma, ⁊ ro choirighsiod iad go crúaidh béodha dochum an chatha. Na Mauritana imorro, o ro airighsit a rí d'éludh, ro theichsiod ar marbadh a n-deargair. Ro chuattar iar sin na Lochlannaig fon tír, ⁊ ro airgsiot ⁊ ro loisgsiod an tír uile. Tugsad dna slúagh mór dhíobh a m-brait léo go h-Eirinn: .i. siad-sin na fir ghorma. Uair is ionann Mauri ⁊ nigri; Mauritania is ionann is nigritudo. As inbeachtain ma térna an treas duine do Lochlannachaib edir in neach ra marbhaid ⁊ ro baidhit dibh 'san muincinn muridhe Gaditanna. As fada dna ro badar na fir ghorma sin i n-Eirinn. As ann atá Mauritania contra Baleares insulas.*
867	FA330	At this time came the Aunites (that is, the Danes) with innumerable armies to York, and they sacked the city, and they overcame it; and that was the beginning of harassment and misfortunes for the Britons; for it was not long before this that there had been every war and every trouble in Norway, and this was the source of that war in Norway: two younger sons of Albdan, king of Norway, drove out the eldest son, i.e. Ragnall son of Albdan, for fear that he would seize the kingship of Norway after their father. So Ragnall came with his three sons to the Orkneys. Ragnall stayed there then, with his youngest son. The older sons,

		however, filled with arrogance and rashness, proceeded with a large army, having mustered that army from all quarters, to march against the Franks and Saxons. They thought that their father would return to Norway immediately after their departure. Then their arrogance and their youthfulness incited them to voyage across the Cantabrian Ocean (i.e. the sea that is between Ireland and Spain) and they reached Spain, and they did many evil things in Spain, both destroying and plundering. After that they proceeded across the Gaditanean Straits (i.e. the place where the Irish Sea sic goes into the surrounding ocean), so that they reached Africa, and they waged war against the Mauritanians, and made a great slaughter of the Mauritanians. ……. Thereupon the Norwegians swept across the country, and they devastated and burned the whole land. Then they brought a great host of them captive with them to Ireland, i.e. those are the black men. For Mauri is the same as nigri; 'Mauritania' is the same as nigritudo. Hardly one in three of the Norwegians escaped, between those who were slain, and those who drowned in the Gaditanian Straits. Now those black men remained in Ireland for a long time. Mauritania is located across from the Balearic Islands.
867	FA348	*K. iiii. Isin bliadain si dno do chuadar na Danair go Caer Ebroic, 7 do radsat cath crúaidh dona Saxanaibh ann. Ro maidh for Saxanuibh, 7 ro marbadh righ Saxan ann, .i. Alle, tré bhrath 7 meabhail ghiolla óig da muinntir féin. Tugadh tra ár mór isin chath sain, 7 ra chúas iar sin for Chaer Ebroic, 7 tugadh iomad gach maithiusa eiste, úair bá saidhbhir an tan sin í, 7 marbtar na f-frith do dheaghdhaoine innte. As as sin ro fhás gach dochonach, 7 gach imneadh d'Innsi Breaton.*
867	FA348	In this year the Danes went to York, and battled hard with the Saxons there. The Saxons were defeated, and the king of the Saxons, i.e., Aelle, was slain there through the deceit and treachery of a young lad of his own household. There was great slaughter in that battle, and afterwards York was attacked, and much of every kind of booty was taken from it— for it was rich at that time—and the noblemen who were captured there were put to death. It was from that that every misfortune and every harassment of the island of Britain arose.
867 865	AClon	There was a battle fought at York in England between the Saxons and Danes, where Allie king of the north Saxons was slaine.
867.8	AU	*Loscadh duine Amhlaim oc Cluain Dolcain la m. n-Gaithini 7 la Mel Ciaran m. Ronain, 7 ár .c. cenn di*

		airechaibh Gall in eodem die apud duces predictos in confinio Cluana Dolcain.
867.8	AU	Amlaíb's fort at Cluain Dolcáin was burned by Gaíthíne's son and Mael Ciaráin son of Rónán, and the aforesaid commanders caused a slaughter of a hundred of the leaders of the foreigners in the vicinity of Cluain Dolcáin on the same day.
867	FA349	*K. iiii. Isin bliadain si tainig an Cennedigh airdhirc, .i. mac Gaithin, námha chlúuch na Lochlannach, d'ionnsoighidh longpoirt Amloibh, rí na Lochlannach (7 as esidhe reamhainn do marbh a bhrathair), gur ro loiscc [gap: extent: one and a half lines] Tangattar na Lochlannaig 'na dheaghaidh, 7 mur tug-somh a aighid forra, ro maidh reimhe dibh gonige an longport cédna, 7 ro marbh a n-deargár na sáorchlann. Sic Deo placuit.*
867	FA349	In this year the famous Cennétig (i.e. the son of Gáethíne), renowned enemy of the Norwegians, came to attack the encampment of Amlaib, king of the Norwegians (and it was he above who killed his brother), and he burned it ... The Norwegians came after him, and when he turned to face them, he drove them in defeat back to the same camp, and slaughtered their noblemen. Thus it pleased God.
867 865	AClon	Donawley at Clondalkan was burnt and destroyed, Goyheynie o'More and Moylekearan mcRonane took with them 100 heads of the cheefest Danes dwelling there.
867 865.12	AFM	*Losccadh Duine Amhlaibh, occ Cluain Dolcáin, la mac Gaithene, 7 lá Mael Ciaráin mac Rónáin, 7 céd cenn do thoisechaibh Gall do thaisealbhadh dona saor-chlandaibh isin armaigh occ Cluain Dolcáin.*
867 865.12	AFM	The burning of Dun Amhlaeibh at Cluain Dolcain, by the son of Gaithen and the son of Ciaran, son of Ronan; and one hundred of the heads of the foreigners were exhibited by the chieftains in that slaughter at Cluain-Dolcain.
c.867 *No date*	FA339	*Isin aimsir sin rug clú mór Maoil Ciaráin eidir Ghaoidhealuibh ara mence buadha do bhreith dhó do Lochlannachaib.*
c. 867	FA339	At that time Máel Ciaráin gained great fame among the Irish from his frequent victories over the Norwegians.
867.1	AI	*Fell do Amlaíb for Les Mór 7 Mártan do soerad ass.*
867.1	AI	Kl. Amlaíb committed treachery against Les Mór, and Martan was liberated from him.
867	FA362	*K. iiii. Maidhm re mac Gaithini for longus Atha Cliath, i t-torchair Odolbh Micle.*
867	FA362	A defeat of the fleet of Áth Cliath by the son of Gáethine, on which occasion Odolb Micle fell.
867 865.15	AFM	*Maidhm ria mac Gaithini for Gallaibh Atha Cliath i torchair Odolbh Micle.*

867 865.15	AFM	A victory was gained by the son of Gaithin over the foreigners of Ath Cliath, wherein fell Odolbh Micle.
C,867 *No date*	FA342	*K. iiii. Isin bliadain si dno tangattar sloigh Lochlannach ó Phurt Corcáighe d'argain Fear Maighe Féne, acht cheana ní ra cheadaigh Dia dhóibh. Úair is an tan sin tangattar na Dési ar creachaib 'sin f-fearann cédna tré remhfheghadh Dé, úair ba deargnamhaid reimhi sin na Dési 7 Fir Maighe. O ró conncuttar iaram na Dési na Lochlannaig og orgain 7 og innradh an tíre, tangattar d'ionnsaighidh Fear Muighe, 7 do ronsat sídh dhainghin thairisi, 7 ro chuadar a n-aonfeacht i c-ceann na Lochlannach go garg béodha commbagach, 7 ra cuireadh go crúaidh cródha leith for leath eatturra. Gidh eadh ro meamhaidh forsna Lochlannachaib tré miorbail an Coimdheadh, 7 ra cuiriodh a n-deargár.* *Rá chúaidh imorro a t-táoisioch, .i. Gnim Cinnsiolaig a ainm, go rainig caistial daingean baoí a g-comfhocraibh dhóibh, 7 ro fuabhair a ghabhail, 7 as eadh bá diomháin dó, úair ní rá fhéd a fhulang ar iomad faga 7 cloch 'gá n-díubragadh dhó. Is eadh do rigni-siomh, Ceannfaoladh do ghairm chuige, uair bá dóigh leis bá cara é, 7 aisgeadha iomdha do gealladh dhó ara anacal; 7 as eadh bá diomháoin do-somh, úair ro tairrngead-somh amach tria impidhe na soichaidhe ro foghnaidsiot dhó reimhe, 7 ro marbadh go truagh é, 7 ro marbhaid a mhuinntear uile. Ba gairit imorro iar t-tain go t-tangas dochum an chaistéol in ro caith-siomh a bheathaidh go sártholach, 7 ro díosgáoilead uile e. Sic enim placuit Deo*
867 No Date	FA342	In this year, moreover, Norwegian forces came from the port of Corcach to plunder Fir Maige Féine, but God did not allow them to do that. For at that time, the Déissi came raiding into the same territory, by God's providence, since the Déissi and the Fir Maige were bitter enemies before then. When the Déissi saw the Norwegians plundering and devastating the land, they came to the Fir Maige, and they made a firm and lasting peace, and together they attacked the Norwegians fiercely and actively and pugnaciously, and there was hard and vigorous fighting between them on both sides. Nevertheless the Norwegians were defeated, by a miracle of the Lord, and they were slaughtered. However, their leader, whose name was Gním Cinnsiolaigh, fled until he reached a strong castle that was near them, and he attempted to take it, but in vain, since he could not stand the number of javelins and stones that were being cast at him. What he did was to summon Cenn Fáelad to him, because he thought that he was an ally, and he promised him many presents in exchange for protecting him; but this availed him nothing, for he was dragged out, at the entreaty of the multitude who had served him before, and he

		was miserably killed, and all his followers were slain. Shortly after that, moreover, people came to the castle in which he had passed his life lustfully, and it was totally demolished. Thus it pleased God.
867 865.16	AFM	*Gnimbeolu, toiseach Gall Corcaighe, do mharbhadh lasna Désibh*.
867 865.16	AFM	Gnimhbeolu, chief of the foreigners of Corcach, was slain by the Deisi.
c. 867 No date	FA350	*Isin bliadain si dno tainig Bárith íarla ₇ Háimar, días do chinel soichinelach na Lochlannach, tré lár Connacht d'ionsoighidh Luimnigh, amhail na dearndáis ní do Connachtaibh. Gidh eadh ní amhlaidh do rala, uair ní 'san iomad ro tairisnighsiod, acht ina m-brighaibh féin. Ro fuaprattar na Connachtoigh tria chelcc a f-foruaisliughadh-somh: uair do rala areile Muimhneach sonairt crúaidh {MS page 51} ₇ glic i n-imirt arm eaturra an tan sin, ₇ bá glic dno a c-comairlibh an Muimneach sin. Ro iorailеattar iaramh Connachta fair-sidhe dola ar amus na Lochlannach, mar badh do thabhairt éoluis dóibh, ₇ do marbadh Bárith.* *Mar ránaig-sidhe gonige in ionad i rabha Háimar, tug buille do leathgha go sonairt i n-Haimar, go ros marbh. Mílídh imorro Connachtach do chúaidh maille ris ar tí marbhtha an Bárith, ní tharla dó-saidhe amhail bá dúthracht lais, uair ro gonadh é tréna shlíasaid, ₇ ra cúaidh as ar eigin iar t-tain. Ra ghabhsat dno na Connachtaigh fona Lochlannachaib gur chuirsiod deargár na Lochlannach, ₇ ní h-amhlaidh ro bhíadh muna beith an chaill ₇ an adaigh i f-fochraibh. Is eadh ro chúattar iar t-tain conige an ionad asa t-tangattar, ₇ ní do Luimneach.*
c. 867	FA350	In this year, moreover, Earl Bárith and Háimar, two men of a noble family of the Norwegians, came through the center of Connacht towards Luimnech, as if they would do nothing to the Connachtmen. Nevertheless, that was not how it happened, for they trusted not in numbers, but rather in their own strength. The Connachtmen proceeded to overcome them by ambush; for at that time there happened to be a certain Munster man among them strong and hard and clever in the use of weapons, and that Munster man, moreover, was clever at making plans. The Connachtmen asked him to go to the Norwegians, as if he were going to guide them, and to kill Bárith. When he came to the place where Háimar was, he stabbed Háimar forcefully with a javelin, and he killed him. But a Connacht soldier who accompanied him in order to kill Bárith did not happen to do as he

		desired, for he was wounded in his thigh, and he barely escaped afterwards. Then the Connachtmen attacked the Norwegians and slaughtered the Norwegians, but it would not have been thus if the woods and the night had not been near. They returned afterwards to the place from which they had come, and did not go to Luimnech.
c.867		*Ro toglad dna Dun Main i n-iarthur Erend ₇ co cured ar dermair diasnesi for Gallaib and la Coinligan mac Mail Croin ₇ la hEoganacht Lacha Lein ₇ re Flandabrat ua nDunadaigh, ri Ua Conaill ₇ re Congalach mac Lachtnai, ri Ciaraigi ₇ la Iartur Erend arcena*
c.867		Dún Mainne, in the west of Erinn, was demolished, and an extraordinary and indescribable slaughter of the foreigners was effected there by Conlingan, son of Maelcron, and the Eoganacht of Loch Lein, and by Flannabrat, grandson of Dunadach, King of Ui Conaill; and Congalach, son of Lachtna, king of Ciarraighe; and by the whole west of Eirinn [i.e. the people of west Munster]
c.867	FA341	*Isin tan so do ronsad Ciarruighe forbaisi for mhuintir an Tomrair sin, ₇ ar n-attacht dóibh Brénainn ar bhrú an mhara, ₇ ro bhaoí an Coimdhe ag furtacht dona Gaoidhiolaibh: uair baoí an mhuir og badhad na Lochlannach, ₇ na Ciarraighe 'ga marbhadh. Congal an seanóir, rí Ciarraighe, rug búaidh isin congail chatha sa. As uaitheadh tra lomnocht ₇ gonta tearna dona Lochlannachaib; bá mór n-óir ₇ airgid ₇ ban caomh ro fagbhaid ann sin.*
c. 867	FA341	At this time the Ciarraige besieged the followers of that Tomrar, and since they had prayed to Brénaind at the edge of the sea, the Lord was helping the Irish: for the sea was drowning the Norwegians, and the Ciarraige were slaying them. Old Congal, king of the Ciarraige, took the victory in this conflict. A few of the Norwegians escaped, naked and wounded; great quantities of gold and silver and beautiful women were left behind.
868 866.3	AFM	*Connmhach, abb Cluana Mic Nóis, a Fine Gall dó .i. do Chenel Eathach Gall, ₇ a écc an chéd lá do mhí Ianuarii.*
868 866.3	AFM	Connmhach, Abbot of Cluain Mic Nois, one of the Fine Gall, i.e. of the race of Eochaidh Gall, died on the first day of the month of January.
868.2	CS	*Connmach ab Cluana Muc Nois quieuit: do Cinel Echach Gall dó.*
868.2	CS	Connmach, abbot of Cluain moccu Nois, rested; he was of the Cenel Echach Gall.

868.4	AU	*Bellum re n-Aedh m. Neill oc Cill Oa n-Daighri for Ou Neill Breg 7 for Laighniu 7 for sluagh mor di Ghallaib, .i. tri cét uel eo amplius, in quo ceciderunt Flann m. Conaing rig Bregh n-uile, 7 Diarmait m. Etersceili, ri Locha Gabhor; 7 in isto bello plurimi gentilium trucidati sunt 7 Fachtna m. Maele Duin, righdomnai ind Fochlai do-rochair i frithguin in catha, 7 alii multi.* *1. Flann m. Conaing co-siu righ* *ro gab tir ba Thaidc maic Cein:* *ro as a s-Sidh Cherna coir* *gass n-oir ar inchaibh sil Neill.* *2. Andam aicsiu ind Inbir* *—h-uisse caingen h-i cuimnibh—* *cen laech Fernaide foidmin,* *cen Fhlann Bregmaighi buidhnig.*
868.4	AU	Aed son of Niall won a battle at Cell Ua nDaigri against the Uí Néill of Brega, and the Laigin, and a large force of the foreigners, i.e. three hundred or more; and Flann son of Conaing, king of all Brega, and Diarmait son of Etarscéle, king of Loch Gabor, fell therein; and in this battle very many of the heathens were slaughtered; and Fachtna son of Mael Dúin, heir designate of the North, and many others, fell in the counter-attack of the battle. 1. (Flann son of Conaing, a king until now,Took the land once held by Tadc son of Cian;He was a golden shoot to protect the seed of NiallThat had sprouted from the fairy hill of good Cerna. 2. It is strange to look at the estuary of the BoyneIt is fitting to keep a pact in mind)And not to see the active(?) warrior of Fernach(?)Flann of populous Bregmag.)
868.3	AI	*Cath eter Fland mc. Conaing 7 Aed mc. Neill in quo cecidit Fland mc. Conaing.*
868.3	AI	A battle between Flann, son of Conaing, and Aed, son of Niall, in which Flann, son of Conaing, fell.
868.6	CS	*Cath Cille h. nDaigre re nAodh Finnliath mac Nell ri Teamrach 7 re Concupar mac Taidg rí Connacht .i. uiii. Id. Septembir oc Cill h. nDaigre for Aibh Nell Breg 7 for Laignib 7 for slúgh mór do Gallaibh .i. tri ced no ní as uille; coig míle do Flann mac Conaing 7 aen míli d'Aedh Finnliath; in quo bello ceciderunt Flann mac Conaing rí Bregh uile et Diarmaid mac Eidirsceli rí Locha Gabar et Gaill iomdha do marbadh ann 7 Factna mac Maeiliduin rigdomna an Fhochlai do-rocair a frithguin an catha.*
868.6	CS	Aed son of Niall, king of Temair, and Conchobor son of Tadc, king of Connacht, won a battle at Cell ua nDaigri on the 8th of the Ides 6th of September against the Uí Néill of Brega and the Laigin, and a large

		force of foreigners, i.e. three hundred or more; Flann son of Conaing had five thousand and Aed Finnliath had one thousand; and Flann son of Conaing, king of all Brega, and Diarmait son of Etarscéle, king of Loch Gabor, fell in this battle. Very many of the heathens were slaughtered there, and Fachtna son of Mael Dúin, heir designate of the North, fell in the counterattack of the battle.
868	AB255	*K. Cath Chilli ua nDaigre ria Aed mac Neill rígTemrach 7 ria Chonchubur mac Taidg rig Connact for uib Neill Breg 7 for Lagni 7 for sluag du gallaib ix. c. uel amplius in quo cecidit Fland mac Connaing rí Breg et ali multi nobiles et ignobiles.*
868	LL	*Cath Cilli Hua nDaigri ria nÁed mac Néill.*
868	FA366	*K. u. Isin bliadain si dno do ronadh mórshlúagh la h-Aodh Finnlíath mc. Néill, righ Eireann, d'ionnsoighidh Ciannachta da n-argain 7 da n-indradh. Úar tug rí Ciannachta, .i. Flann mc. Conaing, mac a dherbhsheathar féin, dínsiomh mór for righ Eireann.* *In Flann imorro mc. Conuing isin rainn eile as eadh rá raidh-sidhe fria mhuinntir: 'As uathadh an lucht úd, 7 as lionmhar atáim-ne, 7 cruaidhighidh-si céim dá n-ionnsoighidh.' Agus do righne tri coirighthe dhe, .i. é fein ar tús, 7 Laighin iar t-tain, na Lochlannaigh fá dhéoigh,* *san chath so Cille húa nDaighre…..* *Agas ann sin ro ráidh an Rígh (an tan baoí an mhaidhm ré na mhuinntir): 'A mhuintir ionmhain, legidh dona Criostaidhibh, 7 imridh for iodhaladharthaibh ó táid a madmaimm reamhaibh.*
868	FA366	In this year, moreover, Áed Findliath son of Niall, king of Ireland, made a vast hosting to devastate and plunder Cianachta; for the king of Cianachta, Flann son of Conaing, the son of his own sister, had given great insult to the king of Ireland….. Now, this is what Flann son of Conaing on the other side said to his people: 'The people yonder are few in number, and we are many, so harden your steps against them.' And he made them into three divisions, he himself in front, and the Laigin next, and the Norwegians last; … this battle of Cell úa n-Daigre, [portrayed as battle against pagans]

		And then the King said (when his troops had accomplished the defeat): Beloved people, spare the Christians, and attack the idolators, since they are fleeing before you.
868 866	AClon	King Hugh o'Connor mcTeige King of Connaught, gave a great battle to the o'Neales of Moybrey, Leinstermen, and Danes, where Flann mcConying prince of all Moybrey, and Dermott mcEbergell, prince of Loghggwar with many of the Danes were slaine.
868 866.9	AFM	*Fland, mac Conaing, tighearna Bregh uile, do thionól Fear m-Bregh, Laighen, 7 Gall, co Cill Ua n-Daighre, cúig mile líon a sochraide, i nd-aghaidh an rígh Aodha Finnleith. Ní raibhe Aodh acht aon mhíle namá im Conchobhar, mac Taidhg Mhóir, righ Connacht. Ro fearadh an cath co díocra dúthrachtach etorra, 7 ro mheabhaidh fo dheoidh tria neart iomghona, 7 iomaireacc for Fhiora Bregh, for Laighnibh, 7 for Gallaibh, 7 ro cuireadh a n-ár, 7 torchradar sochaidhe mhór do Gallaibh isin c-cath sin. Torcair ann Flann, mac Conaing, tigherna Breagh, 7 Diarmaid, mac Etersceoil, tigherna Locha Gabhar, 7 Carlus, mac Amhlaibh, mac tighearna Gall. Torcair don leith* *araill Fachtna mac Maoile Dúin, righdhamhna an Fhochla, h-i frithghuin an* *chatha.* *Mannachán, tighearna Ua m-Briúin na Sionna, ro mharbh Flann, dia n-ebradh,* *1. Mór an bhuaidh do Mhannachán,* *do ghlonn an ghaisccidh ghairg,* *cend mic Conaing ina láimh,* *do bháigh for ionchaibh mic Taidhg.*
868 866.9	AFM	Flann, son of Conaing, lord of all Breagh, collected the men of Breagh and Leinster, and the foreigners, to Cill Ua nDaighre,—five thousand was the number of his forces,—against the king, Aedh Finnliath. Aedh had only one thousand, together with Conchobhar, son of Tadhg Mor, King of Connaught. The battle was eagerly and earnestly fought between them; and the victory was at length gained, by dint of wounding and fighting, over the men of Breagh, the Leinstermen, and the foreigners; and a slaughter was made of them, and a great number of the foreigners were slain in that battle. There were slain therein Flann, son of Conaing, lord of Breagh; Diarmaid, son of Ederscel, lord of Loch Gabhar; and Carlus, son of Amhlaeibh, i.e. son of the lord of the foreigners. There fell on the other side Fachtna, son of Maelduin, Righdhamhna of the North, in the heat of the battle. Mannachan, lord of Ui-Briuin-na-Sinna, slew Flann; of which said… Great the triumph for Mannachan, for the hero of fierce valour,

		To have the head of the son of Conaing in his hand, to exhibit it before the face of the son of Tadhg..
868 866.10	AFM	*As dona toíseachaibh do Shíol Muiredhaigh tángadar do chath Chille Ua n-Daighre, ro ráidhedh ind so,* *Druth Aedha ad-bert rias c-cath, cecinit,* *1. Dos-fail dar Findabhair fhind,* *fiallach grinn dond dar laith linn luind,* *As ar chédaibh rimhthear Goill,* *do cath fri righ n-Etair n-uill.* *File cecinit,* *1. h-I c-Cill Ua n-Daighre indiu,* *blaisfit fiaich lomann cró,* *Meabhais for sluagh siabhra n-Gall,* *is for Flann nip sirsan dó.* *Aedh cecinit,* *1. Do fil buidhne Laighen leis,* *lasan m-breis don Bhóinn bhrais,* *Aisedh do-bheir maoin im Fhlann,* *comhardha na n-Gall ria a ais.*
868 866.10	AFM	It was of the chieftains of the Sil Muireadhaigh who came to the battle of Cill Ua nDaighre, the following was composed: …. [Extracts only] The poet of Aedh said before the battle: There comes over the bright Finnabhair a pleasant brown haired host, across the noble, rapid stream. It is in hundreds the Foreigners are counted, to fight with the great King of Etar. A certain poet cecinit: At Cill Ua nDaighre this day, the ravens shall taste sups of blood, A victory shall be gained over the magic host of the Foreigners, and over Flann; it will be no good news

		to him. Aedh cecinit: The troops of Leinster are with him, with the additional men of the rapid Boinn;What shews the treachery of Flann is the concord of the Foreigners by his side.
868 866.12	AFM	*Conn, mac Cionaedha, tighearna Ua m-Bairrchi Tíre, do mharbhadh oc toghail in dúine forsna Gallaibh*.
868 866.12	AFM	Conn, son of Cinaedh, lord of Ui Bairrchi Tire, was slain while demolishing the fortress of the foreigners.
869	FA371	*K. uii. Martra Eodusa mc. Donngaile ó Ghentibh i n-Disiurt Dhiarmada.*
869	FA371	The martyrdom of Éodus son of Donngal by the heathens in Dísert Diarmata.
869 867.5	AFM	*Eodois, mac Donghaile do dhol i martra la Gallaibh i n-Disirt Diarmatta*.
869 867.5	AFM	Eodois, son of Donghal, suffered martyrdom from the foreigners at Disert Diarmada.
869.4	AU	*Mael Ciarain m. Ronain, rignia airthir Erenn, feinid foghla Gall, iugulatus est*.
869.4	AU	Mael Ciaráin son of Rónán, royal champion of eastern Ireland, a warrior who plundered the foreigners, was killed.
869.4	CS	*Maelciarain mac Ronain righnia Airthir hErenn fennidh foghla Gall iugulatus*.
869.4	CS	Mael Ciaráin son of Rónán, royal champion of eastern Ireland, a warrior who plundered the foreigners, was killed.
869 867	AClon	Moylekieran mcRonan, a hardy Champion of the west of Ireland, $_{7}$ a great destroyer and resister of the Danes, was killed.
869 867.13	AFM	*Maol Ciaráin, mac Rónáin tréin-fhear airthir Ereann féindidh foghla for Ghallaibh, do mharbhadh*.
869 867.13	AFM	Maelciarain, son of Ronan, champion of the east of Ireland, a hero plunderer of the foreigners, was slain.
869	FA373	*K. uii. Maol Ciaráin mc. Ronáin, righnia airthir Éreann, .m.*

869	FA373	Mael Ciarain son of Ronan, royal champion of eastern Ireland, died.
869.6	AU	*Orccain Airdd Macha o Amhlaim coro loscadh cona derthaigibh; .x.c. etir brith ₇ mharbad ₇ slat mor chena*.
869.6	AU	Ard Macha was plundered by Amlaíb and burned with its oratories. Ten hundred were carried off or killed, and great rapine also committed.
869.5	CS	*Orgain Áird Macha o Amlaoibh gur loisccedh cona dertaighibh .x. ced eidir braid et marbadh ₇ slatt mor archena*.
869.5	CS	Ard Macha was plundered by Amlaíb and burned with its oratories. Ten hundred were carried off or killed, and great rapine also committed.
869	FA374	*K. uii. Orgain Ardmacha d'Amhlaoibh, ₇ a losccadh cona dearrthighibh,.i. dearthach mór maic Andaighe. Deich c-céd eidir braid ₇ marbadh, slad mór olcheana*.
869	FA374	Amlaib plundered Ard Macha, and burnt it along with its oratories, that is, the great oratory of the son of Andaige. There were a thousand captured or killed, and also much booty.
869 867	AClon	Awley burnt Ardmach and therein burnt 1000 persons and tooke captives with a great booty.
869 867.19	AFM	*Ard Macha d'orgain ₇ do losccadh, cona dearthaighibh uile lá h-Amhlaoibh. Deich c-céd etir bhreodh ₇ mhudhucchadh ro marbhadh and lá taobh gach édala ₇ gach ionnmhasa da bh-fuairseat ann do bhreith leó*.
869 867.19	AFM	Ard Macha was plundered and burned, with its oratories, by Amhlaeibh. Ten hundred was the number there cut off, both by wounding and suffocation; besides all the property and wealth which they found there was carried off by them.
		Indredh Laigen la h-Aedh m. Neill o Ath Cliath co Gabruan. Cerball m. Dungaile co l-lin ad-cotada dia n-indrudh co Dun mh-Bolcc. Fo-rropartar Laigin dunadh Cerbaill, ₇ m. Gaithine & alios occiderunt ₇ reuersi sunt in fugam cum rege suo, .i. Muiredhach m. Brain, ₇ trucidati sunt alii de illis.
870.2	AU	Aed son of Niall overran Laigin from Áth Cliath to Gabruán. Cerball son of Dúngal with what force he could gather invaded them and reached Dún Bolg. The Laigin attacked Cerball's encampment and slew Gaíthíne's son and others, and were then thrown back in flight with their king i.e. Muiredach son of Bran, and some of them were slaughtered.

870.6	AU	*Obsesio Ailech Cluathe a Norddmannis, .i. Amlaiph 7 Imhar, duo reges Norddmannorum obsederunt arcem illum 7 distruxerunt in fine .iiii. mensium arcem 7 predauerunt.*
870.6	AU	The siege of Ail Cluaithe by the Norsemen: Amlaíb and Ímar, two kings of the Norsemen, laid siege to the fortress and at the end of four months they destroyed and plundered it.
870	FA388	*K. i. Isin bliadain si do ronsad na righ Lochlann forbaisi for Sraith Cluaidhe i m-Breathnaibh ré ceithre miosaibh ag forbaisi dhoibh fuirre; fa dheoigh tra iar f-forrach an lochta ro bhaoí innte do ghorta 7 d'íotaidh, ar t-traghadh go h-iongnadh an tobair ro bhaoí aca ar meadhon: ro cúas forra iar t-tain. Rugad tra ar tús gach maithius ro bhui innte. Rugad slogh mor eiste i m-braid. [Dupaltach Firbisigh ro sgriobh 1643] inquit transcriptor primus.*
870	FA388	In this year the Norwegian kings besieged Srath Cluada in Britain, camping against them for four months; finally, having subdued the people inside by hunger and thirst—the well that they had inside having dried up in a remarkable way—they attacked them. First they took all the goods that were inside. A great host was taken out into captivity. [Dubháltach Firbisigh wrote this, in 1643.] thus wrote the first transcriber.
870.7	AU	*Mael Sechnaill m. Neill, leth-ri Deisceirt Bregh, interfectus est dolose o Ulf Dubgall.*
870.7	AU	Mael Sechnaill son of Niall, one of the two kings of southern Brega, was treacherously killed by Ulf the dark foreigner.
870	CS	*Maelsechlainn mac Nell leithrí deisgirt Bregh interfectus est dolo ó Fulf Dubgall.*
870	CS	Mael Sechnaill son of Niall, one of two kings of southern Brega, was treacherously killed by Ulf the dark foreigner.
870 867	AClon	Moyleseaghlinn mcNeale, king of half Moybrey, was treacherously killed by a Dane called Uwlfie.
870 868.13	AFM	*Maol Seachnaill bá tighearna leith Deisceirt Breagh do mharbhadh la Gallaibh.*
870 868.13	AFM	Maelseachnaill, who was lord of half South Breagh, was slain by the foreigners.
870	FA387	*Isin bhliaghain si tainig Aodh mc. Neill i l-Laignibh, go madh do dhioghail an an oglaoich adubhramur romhuinn, do marbadh lá Laighnibh, nó dno go madh do thobhach cíosa. Ro innristar Laighne ó Atha Clíath go Gabhrán. Tainig dno Cearbhall mc. Dunlaing, rí Osraighe, 7 Cennétig mc. Gaithin, ri Laoighsi, don leith oile do Laighnibh, 7 an méd ro fhedsadar edir losgadh 7 airgain 7 marbadh, do ronsattar, go*

		rangattar Dún m-Bolg, 7 ro gabsat longport ann sain, .i. Cearbhall 7 Cennetigh. *Ra thionolsad Laighin iar t-tain 'má rígh, .i. 'ma Muireadhach mc. m-Brain, 7 cidh esidhe bá rí cruaidh, cosgrach, glic, úair as fada ro bhaoí for ionnarba a nn-Albain, bá aicintidhe dó crúas 7 eangnamh; 7 as eadh ro smuainseadar aca gurab córa dhoibh dol a c-ceann Laighsi 7 Osraighe battar i n-Dún Bolg, ionás dola i g-ceann righ Eireann baoí og Bealach Gabhrain, 7 dola 'sin aidhche fon longport. Teaghaid iaramh Laighin, 7 a rí maille riu, go cruaidh sonairt {MS page 56} na c-corughadh go Dun m-Bolg, bail a rabhattar a námhaid. Borb a met; is iongnadh an cuingioll dáonda, úair ro chuattar Laighin i muinighin naoimh Brighide go rugdaois búaidh 7 cosgar do Osraighe 7 do Laoighis. Ro chuattar dno Osraighe i muingin naoimh Ciarain Saigre, 'ma búaidh 7 cosgar do bhreith do Laighnibh. Ro bhattar Laighin go diochra og atach naoimh Brighide, gur ro marbhdais a namhaide[gap: extent: three or four lines left blank]* *Is eadh tra tangattar Laighin don leith a rabha mac Gaithini don longport. Ní a n-imgabáil do righne mac Gaithin, acht as 'na n-aghaidh go cruaidh feochair tainig, amuil bá bés dó. Do gnitear tra cathughadh cruaidh cródha leath for leath ann sin. As cian ro clos gair na f-fear og imirt diocumaing forra, 7 fogar na stoc n-deabtha, 7 ro gabh an talamh criothnugadh go n-deachattar a n-eachradha 7 a n-iumainte i n-gealtacht, 7 bá tairmeasg mór d'eangnam na laoch sin. Acht cheana an lucht ro bhoí don t-sluagh i scailpibh carrag tangattar a n-aighidh na n-iuminte go ro fostattar mór dhiobh. Ba mór an muirn sin, 7 ba mór a f-fogar 'sin áeir úasda. An airead ro bás imi sin ro bhaoí Cearbhall og teagasg a mhuinntire, úair bá tosach oidhche fair, 7 ro ráidh: 'Gib eadh o t-tíosad na namhaid chugaibh, na gluasadh neach uaibh asa inad cathaisi, 7 congbaidh sibh go crúaidh risna naimhdibh.'* *Ro chuaidh-siomh Cearbhall 7 socraide lais d'ionnsoighidh mhac a sheathar, .i. Cennedigh, ro bhaoí i n-eigean mór edir a naimhdibh; 7 ro toguibh a ghuth cruaidh ar aird, 7 ro bhaoí ag neartadh a mhuinntire a c-ceann Laighean (7 ra cualattar Laighin sin), 7 dno ro bhattar an mhuinntir 'ga neartadh-somh. Ro earb ra dís dá muinntir faire 7 forchoimhéd dó. Ro diubairg rí Laoighisi leithgha fotha-sidhe gur ro marbh an dara fear dibh, .i. Folochtach, secnab Cille Daire. As mór tra an toirm 7 an fothrom baoí eaturra an uair sin, 7 ra tógaibh Badb ceann eaturra, 7 baoí marbadh mór eaturra sáncán. Ro sguichsiot tra Laighin on longport, 7 ro bhattar ag breith a rígh leó, 7 o na ra fhéd an rí a shlúagh d'fostadh 'na fharradh, ro ling ar*

		a each, ₇ tainig a n-diaig a mhuinntire. As deimhin linn gonadh tré miorbhail naoimh Brighde ₇ Sein Chiaráin ro sgaoilsiot amlaidh sin; ₇ cía ro marbadh saorclanna eaturra, ní rabha ár mór ann. Ní ra leig Cearbhall na Cennedig da muinntir leanmhuin Laighean ar fhaitchius. Ro marbadh 'san ló arnamarach dream do Laighnibh ro bhattar for seachrán. *Tangattar Cearbhall ₇ Cenneidigh 'na c-cath ceangailte coraighthe tre lár a námhad go Gabhran, d'ionnsoighidh Rígh Eireann, .i. Aodha Finnleith (deirbhsiur Cearbaill a bhean-saidhe, ₇ mathair an Cennedigh í), ₇ innisid do Rígh Eireann amhaill do ralla doibh, .i. longport do ghabhail forra, ₇c. {MS page 5₇} Do rónsad comhradh tairisi, ₇ ro dheighlisiod iar t-tain.* *Rí Laighean ní h-eadh do righne freagra maith do thabhairt for Rígh Eireann, acht as cuimhniugadh na n-dearnsad ris do righne, ₇ ní tharad [gap: extent: space for one word left blank] nó giaill.*
870	FA387	In this year Áed son of Niall came into Leinster, perhaps to avenge the warrior we mentioned above, who was killed by the Laigin, or perhaps to levy tribute. He plundered Leinster from Áth Cliath to Gabrán. Then Cerball son of Dúnlang, king of Osraige, and Cennétig son of Gáethíne, king of Loíches, came from the other side of Leinster, and they did as much burning and plundering and killing as they could until they reached Dún m-Bolg, and they camped there (i.e., Cerball and Cennétig). Then the Laigin mustered about their king, that is, about Muiredach son of Bróen, and he was a harsh, triumphant, clever king, for he had been for a long time in exile in Alba, and he was by nature hard and brave; and they decided that they should attack the Loíchsi and Osraige who were in Dún m-Bolg, rather than the king of Ireland who was at Belach Gabráin, and that they should attack the encampment at night. Thus the Laigin went, with their king along with them, hardily and bravely in their battle ranks to Dún m-Bolg, where their enemies were. Rough was their strength; the human condition is strange, for the Laigin trusted in St. Brigit that they would have victory and triumph over the Osraige and Loíchsi. However, the Osraige trusted in St. Ciarán of Saigir to bring them victory and triumph over the Laigin. The Laigin were praying fervently to St. Brigit that they might kill their enemies ... Then the Laigin came to the side of the encampment where the son of Gáethíne was. The son of Gáethíne did not evade them, but attacked them harshly and fiercely, as was his custom. Then there was hard and

		bloody fighting on both sides. For a long time there were heard the cries of men driving each other to distress, and the clamour of the war trumpets; and the earth began to shake so that their horses and pack animals ran mad, and that was a great impediment to the actions of the warriors. Nevertheless, those of the army who were in the clefts of the rocks went after the pack animals and stopped many of them. That tumult was great, and great also was the noise in the air above them. While they were about that, Cerball was instructing his people, for it was the beginning of night, and he said, 'No matter from what direction the enemies approach you, let none of you move from his battle position; and maintain yourselves firmly against the enemies.' Cerball went with a troop to his sister's son, Cennétig, who was in great difficulty among his enemies, and he raised his harsh voice on high and was encouraging his people against the Laigin (and the Laigin heard that), and then his people were supporting him. He Cerball appointed two of his men to guard and protect him. The king of Laigin cast a javelin at them and killed one of those two men, Folachtach, the secnab of Cell Dara. Great was the tumult and commotion between them then, and the Badb raised her head among them, and there was much slaughter among them everywhere. Then the Laigin left the encampment, and they were taking their king with them, and since the king could not hold his army with him, he leaped on his horse and followed after his people. We are sure that it was by a miracle of St. Brigit and Sen-Chiarán that they separated like that, for although noblemen among them were slain, there was no great massacre there. Neither Cerball nor Cennétig allowed his people to pursue the Laigin, through caution. On the next day many of the Laigin who had gone astray were killed. Cerball and Cennétig came in tight, orderly battalions through the midst of their enemies to Gabrán, to the King of Ireland, Áed Findliath (whose wife was Cerball's sister, and mother of Cennétig), and they told the King of Ireland what had happened with them, that is, that their camp had been taken, etc. They had a friendly conversation, and they parted after that. The king of the Laigin gave no good response to the King of Ireland, but he reminded him of what had been done to him, and he gave neither tribute nor hostages.
870 868	AClon	King Hugh distroyed and wasted all Leinster from Dublin to Gowrann.

870 868.15	AFM	*Iondradh Laighen la h-Aodh f-Finnliath o Ath Cliath co Gabhran. Cearbhall mac Dúnghaile, cosin líon boí dia n-ionnradh don leith oile go Dún Bolcc. Fo-ropradar Laighin dunaidh Cearbhaill ⁊ mac Gaitheni, ⁊ do marbhadh daoine iomdha leo. Iarna ráthucchadh sin do lucht an longphuirt ro chathaidhset co calma friu, go ro fhuráilset forra cona flaith Bran mac Muireadhaigh, clódh ina fritheing iar marbhadh sochaidhe dia muinntir uaidhibh.*
870 868.15	AFM	The plundering of Leinster by Aedh Finnliath, from Ath Cliath to Gabhran. Cearbhall, son of Dunghal, plundered it on the other side, as far as Dun Bolg. The Leinstermen attacked the fort of Cearbhall, and of the son of Gaithin, and many men were slain by them. When the people of the fort had perceived this, they fought bravely against them, so that they compelled them, with their chief, Bran, son of Muireadhach, to return back, after numbers of their people had been slain.
871.2	AU	*Amhlaiph ⁊ Ímar do thuidecht afrithisi du Ath Cliath a Albain dibh cetaibh long, ⁊ praeda maxima hominum Anglorum ⁊ Britonum ⁊ Pictorum deducta est secum ad Hiberniam in captiuitate*.
871.2	AU	Amlaíb and Ímar returned to Áth Cliath from Alba with two hundred ships, bringing away with them in captivity to Ireland a great prey of Angles and Britons and Picts.
871.2	CS	*Amlaib ⁊ Imar do toicchecht arisi do Ath Cliath a Albain díbh cédoibh long et creach mor daine .i. do Saxanaibh ⁊ do Breatnachaib do tabairt leo docum hÉrenn.*
871.2	CS	Amlaíb and Ímar returned to Áth Cliath from Alba with two hundred ships, bringing away with them in captivity to Ireland a great prey of Saxons and Britons.
871	FA393	*K. ii. Amhlaoibh ⁊ Iomhor do thoidheacht aridhsi a h-Albain go h-Ath Cliath, ⁊ brad mór Breatan ⁊ Alban ⁊ Saxon léo; da chéd long a lion.*
871	FA393	Amlaib and Imar came back from Alba to Áth Cliath, bringing many British and Scottish and Saxon prisoners with them. They numbered two hundred ships.
871.3	AU	*Expugnatio Duin Sobairce quod antea non perfectum est, Gaill occo la Cenel n-Eugain*.
871.3	AU	The storming of Dún Sobairche, which had never been achieved before: the foreigners were at it with the Cenél Eógain.
871	*FA394*	*K. ii. Toghail Dhúin Sobhairge, quod antea numquam factum est.*
871	*FA394*	*The destruction of Dún Sobairche, which had never been accomplished before.*
871.4	AU	*Ailill m. Dunlainge regis Lagenencium a Nordmannis interfectus est*.
871.4	AU	Ailill son of Dúnlang, king of Laigin, was killed by the Norsemen.

871.3	CS	*Oilill mac Dúnlaing rí Laigen a Normandis interfectus est.*
871.3	CS	Ailill son of Dúnlang, king of Laigin, was killed by the Norsemen.
871	FA395	Ailill son of Dúnlang, king of the Laigin, was killed by the Northmen.
871	FA395	*K. ii. Ailill mc. Dunlaing, rí Laighean, a Northmannis interfectus est.*
871 869.8	AFM	*Ailill, mac Dúnlaing, rí Laighen, do mharbhadh la Nortmannibh.*
871 869.8	AFM	Ailill, son of Dunlang, King of Leinster, was slain by the Norsemen.
c.871	FA400	*Amhlaoibh do dhol a h-Eirinn i Lochlainn do chogadh ar Lochlandachaib ₇ do congnamh rá a athair, .i. Gofridh, uair ra bhattar na Lochlannaigh ag cogadh 'na cheann-saidhe, ar t-tiachtain ó a athair ara cheann. Uair ra bá fada ra inisin cúis a cogaidh, ₇ ara laighead tremdhírgeas cugainn cidh againn na bheith a fhios, fagbhaim gan a scribeann, úair atá ar n-obair im neoch as d'Erinn do scribeann ₇ cidh ní iad-saidhe uile; uair ní namá fuilngid na h-Ereannaigh uilc na Lochlannach, acht fuilngnid uilc iomdha uatha fein.*
c. 871	FA400	Amlaib went from Ireland to Norway to fight the Norwegians and help his father, Gofraid, for the Norwegians were warring against him, his father having sent for him. Since it would be lengthy to tell the cause of their war, and since it has so little relevance to us, although we have knowledge of it, we forego writing it, for our task is to write about whatever concerns Ireland, and not even all of that; for the Irish suffer evils not only from the Norwegians, but they also suffer many evils from themselves.
872	FA407	*K. iii. Orgain fear na t-Trí Maighe ₇ na c-Comann go Slíabh Bladhma do rioghaibh Gall, i sneachta na Féle Brighde.*
872	FA407	A massacre of the men of the Trí Maige and the Trí Comainn up to Slíab Bladma by the kings of the Foreigners, in the snow on the feast of Brigit.
872 870.10	AFM	*Orgain Fer na t-Tri Maighe, ₇ na c-Comann co Sliabh Bladhma do tighearnaibh Gall i sneachta féle Brighde na bliadhna-so.*
872?? 870.10	AFM	The plundering of the men of the Three Plains, and of the Comanns as far as Sliabh Bladhma, by the lords of the foreigners, during the snow of Bridgetmas this year.
?871-872	FA401	*?8₇1-8₇2 Isin bliadain si, .i. an deachmhadh bliaghain flatha Aodha Finnleith, ro innreasttar Iomhar mc. Gothfraidh mc. Raghnaill mc. Gothfraidh Conung mc. Gofraidh, ₇ mac an fhir rá chúaidh a h-Eirinn, .i.*

		Amlaoibh, o iarthar go h-airthear, 7 o dhesgeart go tuaisgeart.
?871-872	FA401	?$8_7$1-$8_7$2 In this year, i.e. the tenth year of the reign of Áed Findliath, Imar son of Gothfraid son of Ragnall son of Gothfraid Conung son of Gofraid and the son of the man who left Ireland, i.e. Amlaib, plundered from west to east, and from south to north.
873.3	AU	*Imhar, rex Nordmannorum totius Hibernie 7 Brittanie, uitam finiuit.*
873.3	AU	Ímar, king of the Norsemen of all Ireland and Britain, ended his life.
873.2	CS	*Imhor rí Normandorum totius Hiberniae quieuit.*
873.2	CS	Ímar, king of the Norsemen of all Ireland, rested.
873	AB256	*K (5) Imar rex Normannorum et totius Hibernie et Britanie uitam finiuit.*
873	FA409	*K. u. Ég righ Lochlann, .i. Gothfraid, do tedhmaimm grána opond. Sic quod Domino placuit.*
873	FA409	The Norwegian king, i.e. Gothfraid, died of a sudden hideous disease. Thus it pleased God.
873 871.15	AFM	*Iomhar, rí Nortmann Ereann 7 Bretan, do écc.*
873 871.15	AFM	Imhar, King of the Norsemen of Ireland and Britain, died.
873.4	CS	*Inradh Mumhan o Gallaibh Atha Cliath.*
873.4	CS	Mumu was attacked by the foreigners of Áth Cliath.
873.3	AI	*Barid co morc(hoblach o) Ath Ch(l)iath iar muir siar diaro ort Ciarraige Luachra fo thalmuin, .i. crec na n-huam.*
873.3	AI	Bárid with a great fleet from Áth Cliath [went] by sea westwards, and he plundered Ciarraige Luachra under ground, i.e. the raiding of the caves.
873 872	FA408	*K. iii. Isin bliaghain si, .i. in undecimo anno regni Aodha, ra thairring Báirith, 7 dna aitte é do mhac an righ, 7 rug longa iomdha ó mhuir síar go Loch Rí leis, go ro mhill ailéna Locha Rí esdibh 7 na fearanna comhfochruibhe 7 Magh Luirg. Is ann sain ro sháor Dia comarba Coluim asa lamhaibh na Lochlannach, 7 mar ra chúaidh asa lamaibh, andar léo ba coirthe cloiche é.*
873 872	FA408	In this year, i.e. in the eleventh year of Áed's reign, Bárith came (now he was the fosterfather of the king's son) and brought many ships with him from the sea westward to Loch Rí, and from them he plundered the islands of Loch Rí, and the neighboring territories, and Mag Luirg. It was then that God rescued the successor of Colum from the hands of the Norwegians, and when he escaped from them, they thought that he was a pillar stone.

873 871.14	AFM	*Indredh Mumhan la Gallaibh Atha Cliath.*
873 871.14	AFM	The plundering of Munster by the foreigners of Ath Cliath.
c. 873	CGG pp 24-7	*Ro hinrid, dna, la Baraid ocus la mac Amlaib Lagin ocus fir Muman la longes Atha Cliath corruachtadar Ciaraigi, gunar facsat uaim fo thalmain and gan tachailt, ocus nís facsat ní o Luimneidh co Corcaig can inred, ocus ro loscset Imlech Ibair, ocus ro hinriset na Desi deisciurt.* *Ro inridar, dna, in lucht cetna da bliadain remisin Mídi ocus Connachta co rancadar Corcumruad ocus Leim Conchulaind. Drocradar sin fos la feraib Erend.*
c. 873	CGG pp 24-7	Then Laighin and the men of Mumhain were plundered by Baraid and Amblaibh's son, with the fleet of Ath Cliath, until they reached Ciarraighe; and they left not a cave there under the ground that they did not explore; and they left nothing from Luimneach to Corcadh that they did not ravage. And they burned Imleach Ibhair, and they ravaged the southern Desi The same party, two years before, had ravaged Midhe and Connacht, until they came to Corcumruadh and Leim-Conchulainn. There were also killed by the men of Erinn
874.5	AU	*Ceall Mor Muighi Ainir du orgain du Gullaibh.*
874.5	AU	Cell Mór of Mag Enir was plundered by the foreigners.
874 872.7	AFM	*Ceall Mór Maighe Emhir d'orgain do Ghallaibh.*
874 872.7	AFM	Cill Mor Maighe Emhir was plundered by the foreigners.
875.3	AU	*Congressio Pictorum fri Dubghallu ₇ strages magna Pictorum facta est.*
875.3	AU	The Picts encountered the dark foreigners in battle, and a great slaughter of the Picts resulted.
c. 875 *No date*	FA410	*Imneadha Breatan in hoc anno.*

c. 875 No date	FA410	The harassing of Britain in this year.
875.4	AU	*Oistin m. Amlaiph regis Norddmannorum ab Alband per dolum occisus est*.
875.4	AU	Oistín son of Amlaíb, king of the Norsemen, was deceitfully killed by Albann.
876		
877.3	AU	*Ruaidhri m. Muirminn, rex Brittonum, du tuidhecht docum n-Erenn for teiched re Dubghallaibh*.
877.3	AU	Rhodri son of Merfyn, king of the Britons, came in flight from the dark foreigners to Ireland.
877.2	CS	*Ruaidri mac Muirminn rex Britannorum do toighect cum Erenn for teithedh re Duphgallaib*.
877.2	CS	Rhodri son of Merfyn, king of the Britons, came in flight from the dark foreigners to Ireland.
877 874.17	AFM	Ruaidhri, son of Mormind, King of Britain, came to Ireland, to shun the Dubhghoill.
877 874.17	AFM	*Ruaidhri, mac Mormind, rí Bretan, do thocht i n-Erinn, do theichedh ria n-Dubh-Ghallaibh.*
877.5	AU	*Belliolum occ Loch Cuan eitir Finngenti ⁊ Dubgennti in quo Albann, dux na n-Dubgenti, cecidit*.
877.5	AU	A skirmish at Loch Cuan between the fair heathens and the dark heathens, in which Albann, king of the dark heathens, fell.
877.3	CS	*Cath oc Loch Cuan eidir Finngentibh et Duibgentibh in quo Albann dux na nDuibgente cecidit*.
877.3	CS	A battle at Loch Cuan between the fair heathens and the dark heathens, in which Albann, chief of the dark heathens, fell.
877 874.18	AFM	*Cath for Loch Cuan, eitir Fhinngheintibh ⁊ Duibhgheintibh, in ro marbhadh Alband, toiseach na n-Duibhgheinte.*
877 874.18	AFM	A battle on Loch Cuan, between the Finngheinte and the Duibhgheinte, in which Alband, chief of the Duibhgheinte, was slain.
878.9	AU	*Scrin Coluim Cille ⁊ a minna olchena du tiachtain dochum n-Erenn for teicheadh ria Gallaibh*.
878.9	AU	The shrine of Colum Cille and his other halidoms arrived in Ireland, having been taken in flight to escape the foreigners.
878.4	CS	*Scrín Coluim Cille et a minna archena dochum hÉrenn for teithedh ria n-Gallaibh.*

878.4	CS	The shrine of Colum Cille and his other halidoms arrived in Ireland, having been taken in flight to escape the foreigners.
878 875.7	AFM	*Scrín Colaim Cille, ⁊ a mhionna archena do thiochtain a n-Erinn for techeadh ria n-Gallaibh.*
878 875.7	AFM	The shrine of Colum Cille, and his relics in general, were brought to Ireland, to avoid the foreigners.
879.6	AU	*Mael Cobho m. Crunnmhaeil, princeps Aird Macha, do ergabhail do Gallaibh, ⁊ in fer leighinn .i. Mochta.*
879.6	AU	Mael Coba son of Crunnmael, superior of Ard Macha, and the lector i.e. Mochta, were taken prisoner by the foreigners.
879.2	CS	*Máelcoba mac Crunnmáel princeps Áird Macha do ergabail et an fer leiginn Mochta.*
879.2	CS	Mael Coba son of Crunnmael, superior of Ard Macha, and the lector i.e. Mochta, were taken prisoner.
879 876.5	AFM	*Maol Cobha, mac Crunnmhaoil, abb Arda Macha, do erghabháil do Ghallaibh Locha Cuan, ⁊ an fer leighinn .i. Mochta.*
879 876.5	AFM	Maelcobha, son of Crunnmhael, Abbot of Ard Macha, was taken prisoner by the foreigners of Loch Cuan, as was also the Lector, i.e. Mochta.
880 877.12	AFM	*Indreadh Mumhan ó tá Boraimhe co Corcaigh la Flann, mac Maoilechlainn.*
880? 877.12	AFM	Munster was plundered, from Boraimhe to Corcach, by Flann, son of Maelseachlainn.
881.3	AU	*Dertach Ciannain do coscrath do Ghallaibh, ⁊ a lan di dhoinibh do brith ass; ⁊ postea Barith, tirannus magnus Norddmannorum, a Ciannano occisus est.*
881.3	AU	The oratory of Cianán was destroyed by the foreigners, and many people were taken from it. Afterwards Barith, a great despot of the Norsemen, was killed by St. Ciannán.
881.2	CS	*Durtech Cianáin do brisiodh do Gallaibh ⁊ a lán do maoinib do breith ass et postea Barid mac Imair cenn Normandis do éc tre miorbal Dé et Cíanáin.*
881.2	CS	The oratory of Ciannán was destroyed by the foreigners and many treasures were taken from it. Afterwards Barith son of Ímar, head of the Norsemen, died by a miracle of God and Ciannán.

881 878.14	AFM	*Derthech Cianáin d'argain ₇ do chrothadh do Gallaibh, ₇ sochaidhe mór do dhaoinibh do bhreith as a m-broid.*
881 878.14	AFM	The oratory of Cianan was plundered and destroyed by the foreigners; and a great number of persons were carried off from thence into captivity.
881 878.15	AFM	*Barith, córaidh andgaidh do Nortmannaibh, ba toiseach do lucht na h-inghreama sin, do mharbhadh iaramh, ₇ do losccadh i n-Ath Cliath, tré miorbhúilibh Dé ₇ naoimh Chianáin.*
881 878.15	AFM	Barith, a fierce champion of the Norsemen, who was the chief of these persecutors, was afterwards slain and burned at Ath Cliath, through the miracles of God and St. Cianan.
882.1	AU	*Sloghedh la Flann m. Mael Shechlainn co n-Gallaib ₇ Goidelaib isa Fochla co n-deisidh i Magh Iter Di Glais cor innred leis Ardd Macha.*
882.1	AU	Flann son of Mael Sechnaill led an army both of foreigners and Irish into the North. He camped at Mag eter dí Glais, and Ard Macha was invaded by him.
882.1	CS	*Sloicchedh la Flann mac Maoilechláinn co nGalloib et co n-Gaoidealaibh isa Fhochlae co ndesidh a Maigh eidir dí Glais cor inrestur Árd Macha ₇ ro gap giall{a} Conaill ₇ Eoghain don turus sin.*
882.1	CS	Flann son of Mael Sechnaill led an army both of foreigners and Irish into the North. He camped at Mag eter dí Glais, and they invaded Ard Macha, and he took the hostages of Cenél Conaill and Cenél Eógain on that occasion.
882 879.11	AFM	*Sluaicchedh lasan righ Flann, mac Maoileachlainn, co n-Gaoidhealaibh ₇ go n-Gallaibh isin Fochla co n-deisidheadar i Muigh Eitir Di Ghlais, go ro h-indreadh lá druing dona slóghaibh Ard Macha, ₇ ro gabh gialla Conaill, ₇ Eoghain don túrus-sin.*
882 879.11	AFM	A hosting was made by the king, Flann, son of Maelseachlainn, with the Irish and foreigners, into the North; and they halted at Magh Eitir Di Glais, so that Ard Macha was plundered by some of the troops; and he took the hostages of the Cinel Conaill and Cinel Eoghain on that expedition.
883.4	AU	*Mors m. Ausli o m. Iergni ₇ o ingain Mael Sechnaill.*
883.4	AU	Death of Auisle's son at the hands of Iergne's son and the daughter of Mael Sechnaill.
883.3	CS	*Morss meic Ausile o Otir mac Eirgni ₇ o Muirgil ingen Maoilechláinn.*
883.3	CS	Death of Auisle's son at the hands of Otir son of Eirgne and of Muirgel daughter of Mael Sechnaill.
883.1	AI	*Loscud Lis Móir la macc Ímair* (check text).

883.1	AI	The burning of Les Mór by the son of Ímar.
884		
885		
886.5	AU	*Eiremhon m. Aedho, leth-ri Ulath, o Eoloir m. Ergní occissus est.*
886.5	AU	Éiremón son of Aed, one of two kings of Ulaid, was killed by Eolóir son of Iergne.
886.1	CS	*Eiremhon mac Aodha lethrí Uladh o h-Eloir mac Iargni occissus.*
886.1	CS	Eiremón son of Aed, one of two kings of Ulaid, was killed by Eolóir son of Iargni.
886.1	AI	*Mors h-Uromuin meicc Aeda, ríg Ulad.*
886.1	AI	Death of Uromun son of Aed, king of Ulaid.
886 885.18	AFM	*Ereamhon, mac Aedha, rí Uladh, do mharbhadh la h-Elóir, mac Iargni do Nortmannaibh.*
886 885.18	AFM	Eremhon, son of Aedh, King of Ulidia, was slain by Eloir, son of Iargni, [one] of the Norsemen.
886.3	CS	*Orgain Cille Dara ó gentibh: ceithre ficit décc do breith do daoinibh este im an secnab .i. Suibne mac Duib da Bairenn.*
886.3	CS	Cell Dara was plundered by the heathens: fourteen score people were taken from it, including the vice-abbot i.e. Suibne son of Dub dá Boireann.
886 870	AClon	Kildare was preyed and spoyled by the Danes, and from thence took Swynie mcDuff davorean, the old abbot with 280 of his clergie and familie captives with them.
886 883.11	AFM	*Orgain Chille Dara la Gallaibh, co ruccsat ceithri fichit décc do dhaoinibh a m-broid leó dochum a long, iman prioir .i. Suiphne, mac Duibh Da Bhoirend, la taobh gacha maithesa oile dá ruccsat leo.*
886? 883.11	AFM	The plundering of Cill Dara by the foreigners, who carried off with them fourteen score persons into captivity to their ships, with the prior, Suibhne, son of Dubhdabhoireann, besides other valuable property which they carried away.
887 884.14	AFM	*Cuilen, mac Cerbhaill, mic Dunghaile, 7 Mael Feabhail, mac Muirchertaigh, do mharbhadh la Nortmannaibh, conadh dó ro ráidheadh,*

887? 884.14	AFM	Cuilen, son of Cearbhall, son of Dunghal, and Maelfebhail, son of Muircheartach, were slain by the Norsemen. Of whom was said etc…
887.1	CS	*Ár Gall Luimnigh la Connactoibh.*
887.1	CS	A slaughter of the foreigners of Luimnech at the hands of the Connachta
887 884.16	AFM	*Ar do thabhairt ar Ghallaibh Luimnigh la Connachtaibh.*
887? 884.16	AFM	A slaughter was made of the foreigners of Luimneach by the Connaughtmen.
887 871	AClon	The Connaughtmen committed a great slaughter upon the Danes of Lymbrick.
888? 885.10	AFM	*Ferghal, mac Fionnachta, abb Cluana h-Uamha, 7 h-Uamanán, mac Cérén, prióir Cluana h-Uamha, do mharbhadh la Nortmannaibh.*
888 885.10	AFM	Fearghal, son of Finnachta, Abbot of Cluain Uamha, and Uamanain, son of Ceren, Prior of Cluain Uamh, were slain by the Norsemen.
888.5	AU	*Cathroiniudh for Flann m. Mael Sechnaill re n-Gallaib dú i torchair Aedh m. Concobuir rex Connacht, 7 Lergus m. Cruinnein episcopus Cille Dara, 7 Donncath m. Maele Duin, princeps Cille Delca 7 aliarum ciuitatum. Cath ind ailithir*.
888.5	AU	The foreigners inflicted a battle-rout on Flann son of Mael Sechnaill and there fell there Aed son of Conchobor, king of Connacht, and Lergus son of Cruinnén bishop of Cell Dara, and Donnchad son of Mael Dúin, superior of Cell Delca and other monasteries. The battle of the Pilgrim.
888.3	CS	*Cathraoinedh for Flann mac Maoilecláinn ré Gallaibh Atha Clíath dú a ttorcair Aodh mac Concupair rí Connacht rcon. et Lergus mac Cruinden episcopus Cille Dara et Donnchadh mac Maoilidúin princeps Cille Delga et alii multi*.
888.3	CS	The foreigners of Duiblinn inflicted a battle rout on Flann son of Mael Sechnaill and there fell there Aed son of Conchobor, king of Connacht, and Lergus son of Cruinnén bishop of Cell Dara, and Donnchad son of Mael Dúin, superior of Cell Delca, and many others.
888 888	AClon	The Danes of Dublin gave a great overthrow to Flann mcMoyleseaghlyn where Hugh mcConnor, King of Connaught, Lergus mcCronenn Bishop of Kildare, Donnogh mcMoyledwyn, abbott of Kyllealga, and many other noble men were unfortunately slain.

888 885.14	AFM	*Cath-raoineadh for Fhlann, mac Maoil Seachnaill, ria n-Gallaibh Atha Cliath, dú i t-torchair Aedh, mac Conchubhair, rí Connacht, 7 Lergas, mac Cruinden, epscop Cille Dara, 7 Donnchadh, mac Maele Dúin, abb Cille Dealga 7 cheall n-aile, sochaidhe ele nach airemhther.*
888 885.14	AFM	A battle was gained over Flann, son of Maelsechnaill, by the foreigners of Ath Cliath, in which were slain Aedh, son of Conchobhar, King of Connacht, and Lerghus, son of Cruinden, Bishop of Cill Dara, and Donnchadh, son of Maelduin, Abbot of Cill Dealga and other churches, and many others not enumerated.
888.9	AU	*Sichfrith m. Imair, rex Nordmannorum, a fratre suo per dolum occisus est.*
888.9	AU	Sigfrith son of Ímar, king of the Norsemen, was deceitfully killed by his kinsman.
888.6	CS	*Sichfrith mac Imair ri Normandis a fratre suo per dolum occisus est.*
888.6	CS	Sigfrith son of Ímar, king of the Norsemen, was treacherously killed by his kinsman.
888 888	AClon	Juffrie mcIwer, Prince of the Normans, was unhappilly murthered by his owen brother.
889.1	AU	*Slogad la Domnall m. Aedho co feraibh Tuaisceirt Erenn 7 co n-Gallaib cu h-U Neill in Deisceirt.*
889.1	AU	An expedition by Domnall son of Aed with the men of the north of Ireland [and the foreigners] against the southern Uí Néill.
889.1	CS	*S{l}uaiccedh la Domnall mac Aoda et la tuaiscert Erenn et co Gallaibh co hUib Neill an Deisceirt.*
889.1	CS	An expedition by Domnall son of Aed with the men of the North of Ireland and the foreigners against the southern Uí Néill.
889 886.13	AFM	*Indredh Aird Brecain, 7 Domhnaigh Patraicc, Tuilen 7 Glinne Da Locha lá Gallaibh.*
889?? 886.13	AFM	The plundering of Ard Breacain, Domhnach Padraig, Tuilen, and Gleann Da Locha, by the foreigners.
891.4	CS	*Orgain Cille Dara et Cluana Iraird do gentibh.*
891.4	CS	Cell Dara and Cluain Iraird were plundered by the heathens.
891 887.9	AFM	*Orgain Cille Dara 7 Cluana h-Ioraird la Gallaibh.*
891	AFM	The plundering of Cill Dara and Cluain Iraird by the foreigners.

887.9		
891.7	CS	*Ár Gall la hUib Amalccaidh cor ttorcair Elair mac Bairid ann.*
891.7	CS	A slaughter of the foreigners by the Uí Amalgaid, and Elair son of Barid fell there.
891 887.11	AFM	*Ar Gall la h-Uí n-Amhalghaidh, dú i t-torchair Elair, mac Báirid, aen dia t-toisechaibh, 7 drong oile imaille fris.*
891 887.11	AFM	A slaughter was made of the foreigners by the Ui Amhalghaidh, in which fell Elair, son of Bairid, one of their chieftains, and others along with him.
891/2 888.6	AFM	*Maidhm ria Riaccán, mac Dunghaile, for Ghallaibh Puirt Lairge, Locha Carman, 7 Tighe Moling, i farccbhadh dá chéd ceann.*
891/2? 888.6	AFM	A battle was gained by Riagan, son of Dunghal, over the foreigners of Port Lairge, Loch Carman, and Teach Moling, in which two hundred heads were left behind.
891/2? 888.7	AFM	*Maidhm ria t-Tuaiscert Connacht for Gallaibh, i torchair Eloir mac Baritha.*
891/2? 888.7	AFM	A battle was gained by North Connaught over the foreigners, in which Eloir, son of Barith, was slain.
893.3	AU	*Cath for Dubghallu re Saxanaibh du i torcradur sluaigh diairmidhe.*
893.3	AU	The Saxons won a battle against the dark foreigners in which countless multitudes fell.
893.4	AU	*Mescbaidh mór for Gallaibh Atho Cliath co n-dechadur i n-esriuth, indala rand dibh la m. n-Imair, ind rann n-aile la Sichfrith n-Ierll.*
893.4	AU	A great dissension among the foreigners of Áth Cliath, and they became dispersed, one section of them following Ímar's son, and the other Sigfrith the jarl.
893.2	AI	*Genti do dul a h-Erind isin bliadain so.*
893.2	AI	The heathens departed from Ireland this year.
894.4	AU	*M. Imhair iterum docum n-Erenn.*
894.4	AU	Ímar's son came again to Ireland.
895	AFM	*Ruadhachán, mac Cathaláin, tighearna Fear c-Cúl,*

890.10 890.11		*do mharbhadh in-Osraighibh 7 Indreachtach, mac Maile Dúin, tighearna Caille Follamhain i lurg Maol Ruanaidh, mac Flainn, 7 mic Iomhair.*
895? 890.10 890.11	AFM	Ruadhachan, son of Cathan, lord of Feara Cul, and Innreachtach, son of Maelduin, lord of Caille Follamhain, were slain in Ossory, in the army of Maelruanaidh, son of Flann, and of the son of Imhar
895.6	AU	*Ard Macha do orcain o Ghallaib Atho Cliath, .i. o Glun Iaraind co rucsat deichenbur 7 secht cet i m-brait.* *Truagh, a noeb-Patraicc,* *nar anacht t'ernaicthi,* *in Gaill cona tuaghaibh* *ic bualad do dherthaighi*!
895.6	AU	Ard Macha was plundered by the foreigners of Áth Cliath i.e. by Glún Iarainn, and they took away seven hundred and ten persons into captivity. (Alas, o holy Patrick That your prayers did not protect it When the foreigners with their axes Were smiting your oratory!)
895 890.15	AFM	*Ard Macha do orccain la Glún Iarainn, 7 la Gallaibh Atha Cliath, co rucsat deichneabhar 7 seacht c-céd i m-broid leó, iar n-discaoileadh araill don eacclais, 7 iar m-brisedh an dearthaighe. Conadh dó is rubhradh,* *Truagh, a naemh Padraicc, nar anacht th'ernaighe,* *An Gaill cona t-tuaghaibh, ag bualadh do dhearthaighe.*
895 890.15	AFM	Ard Macha was plundered by Gluniarainn, and the foreigners of Ath Cliath; and they carried off seven hundred and ten persons into captivity, after having destroyed a part of the church, and broken the oratory; of which was said: Pity, O Saint Patrick, that thy prayers did not stay The foreigners with their axes when striking thy oratory.
896.3	AU	*Sitriucc m. Imair ab aliis Nordmannis occisus est.*

896.3	AU	Sitriuc son of Ímar was killed by other Norsemen.
896 891.17	AFM	*Sitriuc, mac Iomhair, do mharbhadh la Nortmannaibh oile.*
896 891.17	AFM	Sitriuc, son of Imhar, was slain by other Norsemen.
896.7	AU	*Ar n-Gall ra Conailliu ₇ la m. Laighne in qua cecidit Amlaim h. Imair.*
896.7	AU	A slaughter of the foreigners by the Conaille and Laigne's son, in which Amlaíb son of Ímar fell.
896.2	CS	*Ár Gall la Conaille ₇ la Aiteid mac Laigne in qua ciciderunt Amlaibh h. Imair et Glun Tradna mac Glúin Iaráinn cum .dccc.*
896.2	CS	A slaughter of the foreigners by the Conaille and Aitéid son of Laigne, in which Amlaíb son of Ímar fell, and Glún Tradna son of Glún Iarainn, with eight hundred
896 981.15	AFM	*Ar Gall lá Conaille, ₇ la h-Athdeidh, mac Laighne, in ro marbhadh Amhlaoibh ua h-Iomhair, ₇ Glún Tradhna, mac Glun Iarainn, co n-ocht c-cétaib imaille friú.*
896 891.15	AFM	A slaughter was made of the foreigners by the Conailli, and by Athdeidh, son of Laighne, in which were slain Amhlaeibh, grandson of Imhar, and Gluntradhna, son of Gluniarainn, With eight hundred along with them.
896.9	AU	*Flannacan m. Ceallaig, ri Breagh, a Nordmannis iugulatus est.*
896.9	AU	Flannacán son of Cellach, king of Brega, was killed by the Norsemen.
896 891.7	AFM	*Flannaccán, mac Ceallaigh, tighearna Bregh uile do mharbhadh h-ic Odba la Nortmannaibh.*
896 891.7	AFM	Flannagan, son of Ceallach, lord of all Breagh, was slain at Olbha by the Norsemen.
896	AU	Flann son of Lónán grandson of Guaire, was slain by the Deisi of Mumu.
896.5	CS	Flann son of Lónán, the Virgil of the Irish i.e. the chief poet of the Irish, was slain by the Uí Cuirrbuidh i.e. by the Uí Fothaid, at Loch dá Caoch in the Déisi of Mumu.
896.3	AI	*Guin Flaind meicc Lonáin, rí filed n-Erend, la h-₇Uacute; Fothaid Tíre.*
896.3	AI	The slaying of Flann son of Lonán, king of the poets of Ireland, by the Uí Fhothaid Tíre.
896 891.14	AFM	*Flann, mac Lonáin, Uirghil Shil Scota primh-fhile Gaoidheal uile, file as deach baí i n-Erinn ina aimsir, do mharbhadh la macaibh Cuirbhuidhe, do Uibh Fothaith iat-sen, h-i n-duinetaidhe h-ic Loch Dá Caoch i n-Deisibh Mumhán.*

		Flann, son of Lonan, the Virgil of the race of Scota, chief poet of all the Gaeidhil, the best poet that was in Ireland in his time, was secretly murdered by the sons of Corrbuidhe (who were of the Ui Fothaith), at Loch Dachaech, in Deisi Mumhan.
897 892.8	AFM	*Mael Eitigh, mac Feradhaigh tighearna Fer Rois do mharbhadh la Gallaibh*.
897? 892.8	AFM	Maeleitigh, son of Fearadhach, lord of Feara Rois, was slain by the Foreigners.
898.4	CS	*Árd Macha d'argain ó Gallaibh Lochu Feabhail et Cumusccach do gabáil dáiph et a mac .i. Aodh mac Cumusgaicch do marbadh*.
898.4	CS	Ard Macha was plundered by the foreigners of Loch Febail and Cumascach was taken prisoner by them and his son, Aed son of Cumascach, slain.
898 893.10	AFM	*Ard Macha do orgain ó Ghallaibh Locha Febhail ₇ Cumascach do ghabháil dóibh, ₇ a mhac Aodh mac Cumasccaigh do mharbhadh*.
898 893.10	AFM	Ard Macha was plundered by the foreigners of Loch Febhail; and Cumascach was taken by them, and his son, Aedh mac Cumascaigh, was slain.
898 893.11	AFM	*Sluaiccheadh lásna Deisibh, la Gallaibh, ₇ lá Ceallach, mac Cearbhaill, tar Osraighibh go Gabhrán dú in ro marbhadh Maol Mordha, mac Maol Muaidh, ₇ drong mór oile amaille friss*.
898? 893.11	AFM	An army was led by the Deisi, the foreigners, and Ceallach, son of Cearbhall, over Osraighe, as far as Gabhran, where Maelmordha, son of Maelmhuaidh, and a great number of others along with him, were slain.
898 893.12	AFM	*Guin trí mac n-Duibhghiolla mic Bruadair, ₇ mic Eoghain mic Cuilennáin, i crích na n-Deisi*.
898? 893.12	AFM	The mortal wounding of the three sons of Duibhghilla, son of Bruadar, and of the son of Eoghan, son of Cuilennan, in the territory of the Deisi.
899		
900	AFM	*Gaill for Loch Eachdhach i calainn Ianuair, co rusat Etach Padraic*.

895.8		
900? 895.8	AFM	The foreigners were on Loch Eathach on the Calends of January, and they seized on Etach Padraig.
900 895.10	AFM	*Rian, mac Bruadair, do mharbhadh la Gallaibh*.
89?? 895.10	AFM	Rian, son of Bruadair, was slain by the foreigners.
900.3	CS	Cell Dara was plundered by the heathens.
900.3	CS	*Orgain Cille Dara o gentibh*.
c.873-902	CGG pp 28-9	*Bai, imorro, arali cumsana deraib Erend fri re .xl. bliadan can inred Gall .i. o remis Maelsechlainn mic Mailruanaid cusin mbliadain re nec Flaind mic Mailseclaind, ocus co gabail rigi do Niall Glundub. Is and sin ro hathlínad Eriu do longsib Gall. Is and dna tanic longes la Hacond ocus la Cossa Nara corgabsat ar Loch Da Caech, ocus h-indred Mumain leo*
c.873-902	CGG pp 28-9	Now, however, there were some rest to the men of Eirinn for a period of forty years without ravage of the foreigners; viz., from the reign of Maelseachlainn, son of Maelruanaidh, to the year before the death of Flann, son of Maelseachlainn, and the accession to the throne of Niall Glundubh.

APPENDIX B

Table 1
Total number of entries and words devoted to the Vikings in the Irish annals, 825-875 AD
(First column = Viking entries/words; second column = total number of entries/words)

YEAR	AU				CS				AI				AFM			
	Entries		Words		Entries		Words		Entries		Words		Entries		Words	
825	6	17	44	159	6	9	45	68	0	1	0	12	6	19	50	143
826	0	11	0	87	0	6	0	35	0	0	0	0	0	11	0	76
827	2	10	37	131	0	2	0	247	0	0	0	0	2	13	26	432
828	4	7	59	86	1	3	15	27	1	2	30[i]	36	3	13	24	82
829	0	4	0	78	0	3	0	24	0	2	0	12	0	7	0	41
830	0	9	0	72	0	4	0	27	0	1	0	15	0	12	0	76
831	2	11	35	130	1	4	19	37	0	1	0	6	1	7	22	89
832	6	9	62	98	5	10	52	79	0	1	0	6	4	13[ii]	63	157
833	5	14	42	141	2	4	16	47	1	4	11	31	3	12[iii]	62	157
834	1	11	27	121	2	5	21	43	0	3	0	17	2	14	24	103
835	3	12	23	140	1	2	16	25	0	1	0	5	1	15	21	247
836	3	10	56	194	3	5	34	71	0	1	0	5	2	15	55	194
837	5	9	94	139	9	12	111	128	0	0	0	0	11	20	178	231
838	1	10	15	112	1	3	14	33	0	1	0	33	1	15	18	150

[i] Both MacAirt (1951, 127) and Grabowski (1984: 53) identify this entry as an early Viking incursion in Cork. I include it in figures here though I am not convinced.
[ii] AFM some events are recorded s.a. 830 and 831. So added recte years 832 and 833 and divided by two.
[iii] AFM some events are recorded s.a. 831 and 832. So added recte years 832 and 833 and divided by two.

839	3	10	45	145	2	3	19	35	0	1	0	6	2	14	26	134
840	3	8	40	113	1	7	14	57	0	1	0	33	2	12	41	157
841	2	5	31	102	4	4	45	45	0	1	0	7	3	7	47	118
842	8	13	82	127	5[iv]	7	50	63	0	1	0	8	6	15	63	127
843	0	9	0	85	0	4	0	31	0	1	0	5	0	0	0	0[v]
844	2	4	17	27	1	3	17	35	0	1	0	14[vi]	2	14	25	130
845	6	12	122	175	5	6	110	125	1	1	20	20	6	17	145	259
846	2	12	26	124	1	7	20	95	0	1	0	16	3	16	53	279
847	1	9	38	101	1	5	37	77	0	1	0	7	3	13	60	222
848	4	9	73	112	5	7	86	104	1	3	13	29	6	14	102	170
849	2	12	38	122	2	8	35	108	0	1	0	7	3	21	59	218
850	1	4	48	101	1	5	47	87	0	3	0	17	2	12	75	186
851	2	8	40	165	1	4	32	97	0	1	0	10	3	14	47	254
852	3	8	68	136	2	6	52	81	0	1	0	7	3	18	61	152
853	2	6	26	91	2	3	27	61	0	3	0	22	3	16	39	172
854	0	4	0	58	0	3	0	36	0	1	0	13	1	7	29[vii]	83
855	0	6	0	66	0	3	0	30	0	1	0	12	0	7	0	58
856	4	8	45[viii]	105	5	8	47	95	0	2	0	13	4	14	52	158
857	1	5	14	67	1	5	13	47	1	2	13	34	0	7	0	49
858	0	5	0	94	1	3	25	88	0	3	0	16	1	9	30	168
859	2	5	18	108	1	4	8	71	0	2	0	34	3	9	112[ix]	148
860	0	4	0	99	0	1	0	54	0	1	0	9	1	6	11	147

[iv] These figures do not include the raid on Kinnity, Co Offaly.
[v] Entries in AFM for this year are dislocated.
[vi] AI has only one entry for this year, the plundering of Dún Masc though the Vikings are not specifically mentioned. The other annals date the attack to 845.
[vii] Like AU and CS, AFM records Máel Sechnaill's attack on Mumu, but adds he did so at the 'instigation of the Foreigners'.
[viii] Includes reference to death of Horm in Wales
[ix] AFM (and FA) record Viking presence at Rathugh; AU and CS do not.

861	1	2	8	17	1	3	22	31	0	2	0	14	2	6	43[x]	93
862	1	6	16	103	0	6	0	62[xi]	0	1	0	6	2	11	47	185
863	2	4	61	88	1	4	12	38	0	1	0	12	4	11	84	144
864	1	5	16	75	2	5	25	69	0	1	0	7[xii]	2	12	30	156
865	0	6	0	80	0	5	0	52	0	2	0	52	0	10	0	95
866	2	5	64	104	1	2	24	40	1	1	17	17	3	8	162	213
867	3	9	60	143	0	4	0	22	1	1	11	11	3	16	50	157
868	1	8	68	174	1	8	92	141	0	3	0	25[xiii]	3	12	281	592
869	1	10	18	123	1	6	19	65	0	1	0	6	2	20	45	206
870	3	8	87	178[xiv]	2	5	24	51	0	1	0	6	2	16	78	248[xv]
871	3	9	52	116	2	4	38	55	0	1	0	10	1	13	9	110
872	0	9	0	79	0	6	0	98	0	2	0	14	1	10	20	140
873	1	8	9	94	2	4	12	31	1	3	19	31	2	15	14	140
874	1	5	8	69	0	3	0	33	0	1	0	11	1	11	7	82
875	2	6	21	66	0	2	0	15	0	1	0	17	0	1	9	66
Total	**108**	**410**	**1753**	**5520**	**85**	**245**	**1295**	**3216**	**8**	**73**	**134**	**756**	**121**	**620**	**2469**	**8194**
%	26		32		35		40		11		18		19.5		30	

[x] AU and CS record the invasion of Mide by Áed Finnliath and the Vikings; AFM omits the Vikings, so is not included in word count.
[xi] CS does not mention that the Vikings accompanied Áed Finnliath and Flann son of Conaing when they plundered Mide.
[xii] All the annals, except AI, record that Dermait, king of Corcu Bascinn, was drowned by Amlaíb.
[xiii] AI has quite a short entry regarding the battle of Killineer, it does not record the involvement of the Vikings.
[xiv] Word count includes raid on Laigin/Áth Cliath by Áed Finnliath and the raid on Dumbarton by Amlaíb and Ímar.
[xv] Word count includes raid from Áth Cliath to Gowran by Áed Finnliath.

Table 2
Number of words and entries devoted to the Vikings.
(First column = Viking entries/words; Second column = total number of entries/words)

Year	**AU**				**CS**				**AI**				**AFM**			
	Entries		Words		Entries		Words		Entries		Words		Entries		Words	
830[xvi]	12	58	140	613	7	27	60	428	1	6	30	75	11	75	100	850
835	17	57	189	630	11	25	124	231	1	10	11	65	11	61	192	753
840	15	47	250	703	16	30	192	324	0	4	0	77	18	76	318	866
845	18	43	252	516	15	24	222	299	1	5	20	54	17	53	280	634
850	10	46	223	560	10	32	225	471	1	9	13	76	17	76	349	1075
855	7	32	134	516	5	19	111	305	0	7	0	64	10	62	176	729
860	7	27	*77*[xvii]	473	8	21	93	355	1	10	13	106	9	45	*175*[xviii]	670
865	5	23	165	363	4	23	*59*[xix]	252	0	7	0	91	10	50	204	673
870	10	40	297	722	5	25	159	319	2	7	28	65	13	72	616	1416
875	7	37	90	424	4	19	50	232	1	8	19	83	5	50	59	538

[xvi] Word count includes 6 years from 825-830.
[xvii] AU lowest number of words devoted to the Vikings.
[xviii] AFM lowest number of words devoted to the Vikings since the late 820s.
[xix] CS lowest number of words devoted to the Vikings since the late 820s.

APPENDIX C

CS ANNALS ENTRIES NOT FOUND IN AU

836

Uastatio Cluana Moir Maodoig a gentibus i nocte Natiuitatis Domini: mortificauerunt multos, plurimos abstulerunt. [AFM & AClon]

Ar gente a c-Carn Feradhaigh.

Maidm na Fertae ria gentibh.

Ár gente ag Es Ruaidh. [AFM, AClon and CGG]

Cedgabail Atha Cliath o ghentibh. [AFM and AClon]

841

O{r}gain Cluana Edhnech et dilghenn Cluana Iraird et Cille Aichidh o gentibh. [AFM & AClon (only Clonard) and CGG]

842

Cennetigh d'argain ocus do loscadh Cluana muc Nois, [AClon]

844

Tolorg mac Allailed flaith Fella occissus est o Galloibh Locha Ribh et ternum Finnacan mac Allailed uatoiph. [AFM only]

847

Cédorgain Imlicch Iubair o gentibh. [AFM, Cog]

848

Dunadh la h-Olcobar do toghail duin Corcaighe for gentibh. [AFM]

849

Inradh Duiblinne la Maol Sechlainn et la Tigernach rí Locha Gapur. [AFM]

850

Cinaodh mac Conaing ri Ciannacda do fhritthaighect re Mael Sechlainn mac Mael Ruanaidh a nert Gáll gurro inder o Sionainn co muir eitir cella et túatha et gur ort innsi Locha Gabor 7 ra loisccedh les durtech Treoite cum cclx. hominibus ***et durtech Nuarrach cum .lx. hominibus.***[898]

856

Occissio Gormain meic Lonain ridamno Caisil o gentibh i Loch Ceann anno Domini dccclui. [AFM and FA (no x Gorman)]

858

Maidm ria Cerball & ria n-Iomar a ccrich Aradh Tire for Cinel Fiachach go Gall-Gaoidhealaibh Leithe Cuinn .i. cccc. ar se míle a lin side. [AFM and FA]

861

Cath Droma da Maighe la Maolseclainn mac Maolruanaidh ar Gallaibh Atha Cliath. [AFM]

864

Bás Cermuda meic Catharnaigh taoisech Corca Baiscinn a gentibus. [AFM and AClon – FA and AI (x but no fors).]

873

Inradh Mumhan o Gallaibh Atha Cliath. [AFM, AI, FA]

883

Morss meic Ausile o ***Otir*** *mac Eirgni 7 o* ***Muirgil*** *ingen Maoilechláinn*

887

Ár Gall Luimnigh la Connactoibh. [AFM, AClon]

[898] Text highlighted in bold is unique additional information found in CS but not present in AU.

891

Orgain Cille Dara et Cluana Iraird do gentibh. [AFM]

891

Ár Gall la hUib Amalccaidh cor ttorcair Elair mac Bairid ann. [AFM]

896

Ár Gall la Conaille 7 la ***Aiteid*** *mac Laigne in qua ciciderunt Amlaibh h. Imair* ***et Glun Tradna mac Glúin Iaráinn*** *cum .dccc*

898

Árd Macha d'argain ó Gallaibh Lochu Feabhail et Cumusccach do gabáil dáiph et a mac .i. Aodh mac Cumusgaicch do marbadh. [AFM]

900

Orgain Cille Dara o gentibh. [AFM]

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