

Vikings in Ireland and Scotland in the Ninth Century

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ABSTRACT. This study attempts to provide a new framework for ninth-century Irish and Scottish history. Viking Scotland, known as *Lothlend*, *Laithlind*, *Lochlainn* and comprising the Northern and Western Isles and parts of the mainland, especially Caithness, Sutherland and Inverness, was settled by Norwegian Vikings in the early ninth century. By the mid-century it was ruled by an effective royal dynasty that was not connected to Norwegian Vestfold. In the second half of the century it made Dublin its headquarters, engaged in warfare with Irish kings, controlled most Viking activity in Ireland, and imposed its overlordship and its tribute on Pictland and Strathclyde. When expelled from Dublin in 902 it returned to Scotland and from there it conquered York and re-founded the kingdom of Dublin in 917.

KEYWORDS: Vikings, Vikings wars, Vestfold dynasty, *Lothlend*, *Laithlind*, *Laithlind*, *Lochlainn*, Scotland, Pictland, Strathclyde, Dublin, York, *Cath Maige Tuired*, *Cath Ruis na Ríg for Bóinn*, Irish annals, *Scottish Chronicle*, battle of Clontarf, Ímar, Amláib, Magnus Barelegs.

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In this lecture,¹ I propose to reconsider the Viking attack on Scotland and Ireland and I will argue that the most plausible and economical interpretation of the historical record is as follows. A substantial part of Scotland—the Northern and Western Isles and large areas of the coastal mainland from Caithness and Sutherland to Argyle—was conquered by the Vikings² in the first quarter of the ninth century and a Viking kingdom was set up there earlier than the middle of the century. The occupation of this part of Scotland corresponds chronologically to what I call the prelude to the Viking wars in Ireland (from c.795 to c.825). This involved raids on

1. O'Donnell Lecture, delivered at the Taylorian Building, Oxford, on Ascension Day, 1997. I am grateful to the O'Donnell Lecture Committee, and particularly to Professor Ellis Evans and Professor Thomas Charles-Edwards for their invitation to give this lecture.

2. The term Viking is used for the Scandinavians who appeared as raiders and settlers outside Scandinavia proper in the eighth, ninth and later centuries. Like most terms of this kind, it is unsatisfactory, but it has the merit of being well-known. From time to time, the additional qualification of Norwegian or Danish Vikings will be used. This is not to claim that the groups so denoted were ethnically homogeneous—few are likely to have been—but that the leadership and many of the followers originated broadly in the Norwegian and Danish parts of Scandinavia.

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Ireland directly from south-western Norway and, very likely, some from settlements in Scotland in the later part of that period. The main thrust of the ninth-century Viking attack on Ireland (c.825 to c.850) was mounted from Scotland; *Laithlinn* was the name of Viking Scotland; and the dynasty that imposed itself on Dublin, and that later dominated York and threatened to dominate England, originated in Viking Scotland. This, in itself, is not a novel idea. It has been suggested in a somewhat vague way, amongst others, by R. H. M. Dolley, but he was thinking mainly of the tenth century.³ Professor Peter Sawyer largely concurs and he has explicitly rejected the notion (put forward, for example, by N. K. Chadwick) that the ninth-century attack on Ireland was planned and implemented from south-western Norway by the king of *Lochlainn*.⁴ Professor A. Duncan pushes the Scottish argument much further and surmises that the Olaf who came to Dublin in 853 was ‘the son of a Hebridean chief’, but he cites no evidence.⁵ That evidence is complex and will bear re-examination.

The first thing that must be done is to detach the Viking dynasty of Scotland and Ireland from Norway itself. Historians, for over a century and a half have been keen to attach the Viking kings whose names are mentioned in the ninth-century Irish annals to the genealogy of the kings of Vestfold in Norway. The Vestfold genealogies that historians in the past have compiled are based on the *Ynglingasaga*, but they tend to flesh them out by adding materials from *Íslendingabók*, *Landnámabók* and *Heimskringla*. All these are Old-Norse historical and literary works of the twelfth century and later, and it is doubtful whether they have much to tell us about the history of the ninth century. Effectively, since the days of Todd,⁶ the hypothesis has been advanced that Amlaíb, called Amlaíb Conung from Old Norse *konungr* ‘king’ in *Fragmentary annals of Ireland*,⁷ is identical with Óláfr in hvíti of *Íslendingabók* and Óláfr Guðrøðarson of

3. R. H. Michael Dolley, *The Hiberno-Norse coins in the British Museum*, Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles i (London 1966) 18–19.

4. P. H. Sawyer, ‘The Vikings and the Irish Sea’, Donald Moore (ed), *The Irish Sea province in archaeology and history* (Cardiff 1970) 86–92: 89; N. K. Chadwick, ‘The Vikings and the Western World’, Brian Ó Cuív (ed), *Proceedings of the first international Viking congress* (Dublin 1962) 13–42: 24–26.

5. *Scotland: the making of the kingdom* (Edinburgh 1975) 84.

6. J. H. Todd (ed. & tr.), *Cogadh Gaedhil re Gallaibh*, RS 48 (London 1867) 264–65 (hereafter *Cogadh*); Alexander Bugge, *Contributions to the history of the Norsemen in Ireland I–III*, Videnskabselskabets Skrifter, hist-fil Kl. 4–6 (Christiania [Oslo] 1900), i 13–15; A. O. Anderson, *Early sources of Scottish history: AD 500–1286* (2 vols, Edinburgh 1922), i 305–12; Peter Hunter Blair, ‘Olaf the White and the Three Fragments of Irish Annals’, *Viking* 3 (1939) 1–35.

7. FA §239. The sigla used for the Irish annals are those of this journal. Annals are usually cited by date. Dates are corrected where necessary but the uncorrected dates of the published editions (and in the case of FA, Radner’s section numbers) are given in parentheses where appropriate.

Ynglingasaga. This view is expressed eloquently, and with complicated genealogical tables, by Professor A. P. Smyth and he cites *Landnámabók* as the source that gives the fullest account of him.⁸ I quote Smyth's translation of *Landnámabók*:

Óláfr inn hvíti harried in the Western Seas and he won Dublin in Ireland and the district of Dublin, and there he established himself as king. He married Auðr inn djúpauðga, the daughter of Ketill flatnefr. Their son was called Þorsteinn rauðr. Óláfr fell in battle in Ireland, but Auðr and Þorsteinn went to the Hebrides. ... Þorsteinn became a warrior-king. He entered into an alliance with jarl Sigurðr inn ríki [of Orkney] the son of Eysteinn glumra. They won Caithness and Sutherland, Ross and Moray, and more than half of Scotland. Þorsteinn became king over that region, but the Scots soon slew him and he fell there in battle.⁹

This narrative may appear legendary—even fantastic¹⁰—but if Óláfr's descent were historical the Dublin dynasty would be directly descended from the Norwegian Vestfold kings, and the direct connection with Norwegian royalty would be genuine. However, as Smyth and others admit, there are formidable chronological problems about this. Nonetheless, he affirms that 'there can be no doubt that the so-called Óláfr inn hvíti of Icelandic sources was the same king as Amlaíbh, the ninth-century ruler of Dublin' (104).

Jón Steffensen examined these genealogies in careful detail and he concluded that they are a chronological morass. Nonetheless, he still tried to save them for history, and in vain.¹¹ The link between the Old-Norse genealogies and the Irish annals is provided by an annal in *Fragmentary annals*, but it is not reliable. This sole connection, the genealogy found in *Fragmentary annals* §401—*Iomhar mc. Gothfraidh mc. Ragnaiill mc. Gothfraidh Conung mc Gofraidh*—has no independent value: it is merely another variant of the Icelandic saga material, and this is not the only piece of its kind in *Fragmentary annals*. It is likely that the father of Amlaíb (Óláfr) and Ímar (Ívarr) is Gothfraidh (Guðrøðr) and that he is a historical person and dynastic ancestor (see table 1: Early Viking Rulers of Dublin), but his genealogical ascent is a construct without historical value.

8. Alfred P. Smyth, *Scandinavian kings of the British Isles, 850–880* (Oxford 1977) 101–16, 103–04 (genealogical tables).

9. *ibid.* 101–02; Jacob Benediktsson (ed), *Landnámabók*, Íslenzk fornrit 1 (Reykjavík 1968) 136; Hermann Pálsson & Paul Edwards (tr), *The book of settlements: Landnámabók*, University of Manitoba Icelandic Studies 1 (Winnipeg 1972) 51.

10. Nonetheless, some of the statements in *Landnámabók* are distant descendants of material in the Irish annals.

11. Jón Steffensen, 'A fragment of Viking history', *Saga-Book* 18 (1970–73) 59–78.

In the matter of possible dynastic connections between the dynasty of Dublin and Norwegian dynasties important historiographical progress was made in the early nineties, and this provides a new critical context for the analysis of the problem. Dr Claus Krag has shown that the *Ynglingatal*, once believed to have been composed a little before AD 900 and thus early and intrinsically valuable, is not much older or more authoritative than *Ynglingasaga*. It reflects royalist concepts and concerns current in the twelfth century. The genealogies are schematic rather than chronological and they come in 14-generation sequences like the Anglo-Saxon ones,¹² and it is thus evident that both are based formally on the structure of Matthew's genealogy of Christ. In his view, these are 'products of the imagination, the extant texts are remnants of the historical literature of the 12th and 13th centuries, concerning what were held to be the ancestors of what was then the Norwegian royal house ... the idea that the Norwegian kings descend from Harald hárfagri and the monarchy was held to be the property of his dynasty, is no more than a construction ... the conclusion is that the Yngling tradition is entirely a part of the historicising method, partly cast in artistic form, which Icelandic learned men developed'.¹³ Peter Sawyer has argued convincingly that *Ynglingasaga* is fiction, not history, but a fiction whose learned creators drew on what they knew (or thought they knew) of Scandinavian history in the tenth and eleventh centuries.¹⁴ Kings who may originally have ruled Norwegian Oppland are transformed into kings of Vestfold and dubious king-lists are turned into genealogies. We find the historian Ari Þorgilsson doing just this in early twelfth century: he derives his own descent from a variant of this very genealogy.¹⁵ So much for the Dublin dynasty's genealogical background in Vestfold.

What of contemporary Norway? Knut Helle (who accepts most of Krag's views) points out that the sources for early Norwegian kingship are limited and, while the saga genealogies may reflect the ambitions of the great when the sagas were being written in the twelfth century and later, they can tell us little or nothing of the Viking Age. Effective Norwegian royal power emerged in the eleventh century. In the early Viking Age there were no kings of Norway.¹⁶ The kings and sons of

12. Kenneth Sisam, 'Anglo-Saxon royal genealogies', *Proc Br Acad* 39 (1953) 287–348.

13. Claus Krag, *Ynglingatal og Yglingasaga: en studie i historiske kilder*, *Studia Humaniora* 2 (Oslo 1991) 262–64.

14. P. H. Sawyer, 'The background of Ynglingasaga', Steinar Supphellen (ed), *Kongsmenn og krossmenn: Festskrift til Greth A. Blom* (Trondheim 1992) 271–75.

15. Jacob Benediktsson (ed), *Íslendingabók*, Íslenzk fornrit 1 (Reykjavík 1968) 3–28: 27–28; Sawyer, loc. cit. 271.

16. Knut Helle, 'The history of the early Viking age in Norway', Howard B. Clarke, Máire Ní Mhaonaigh & Ragnall Ó Floinn (ed), *Ireland and Scandinavia in the early Viking age* (Dublin 1998) 239–58, esp. 253–58.

kings mentioned in the Irish annals cannot, therefore, be linked to any Norwegian dynasty, regional or otherwise. And there is no evidence that any branch of the Danish dynasty ruled in Ireland.

The early raids on Ireland seem to have been aristocratic free enterprise, and named leaders appear in the Irish annals—Saxolb (Sǫxulfr) in 837, Turges (Purgestr, not Þorgisl or Þorgeirr) in 845, Agonn (Hákon) in 847.¹⁷ Only towards the middle of the ninth century was there any attempt by any Viking kings to coordinate attacks and settlement in Ireland, and these kings appear to belong in the Viking settlements in Scotland.

Three important annalistic entries record the activity of Viking royals in Ireland in 848, 849 and 853. All three have connections (explicit or implied) with a kingdom called *Lothlend*, *Laithlind*, *Laithlinn*, later *Lochlainn*. The first occurs in the *Annals of Ulster*, 848:

Bellum re nOlcobur, ri Muman, 7 re Lorggan m. Cellaig co Laighniu for gennti ecc Sciath Nechtain in quo ceciderunt Tomrair erell, tanise righ Laithlinne, 7 da cet dec imbi ‘A battle was won by Ólchobar king of Munster and Lorcán m. Cellaig with the Leinstermen against the pagans at Sciath Nechtain in which fell Tomrair (Þórir) the earl, heir-designate of the king of *Laithlind* and 1200 about him’.

This took place at a strategic place, Castledermot, Co Kildare, not far from Dublin where a Viking settlement had been established in 841–42. The Irish leaders were amongst the most powerful provincial kings in the country, the troops involved were numerous, and the slaughter was immense. Þórir the earl¹⁸ was evidently a very important person, even if the identity of the king whose heir-designate he was remains unclear (but see table 1). He was leading a large army. This was a battle of major significance, even if we take the annalist’s estimate of the slain, as we ought, to be merely a conventional expression for a very large number.¹⁹

The next entry that has reference to an overseas ‘king of the Foreigners’ occurs in the same annals for 849:

17. AU 837.9, 845.8, 847.4. There are no historically reliable references to these persons outside the Irish annals.

18. On the significance of *erell* ‘earl’, see Carl Marstrand, *Bidrag til det norske sprogs historie i Irland*, Videnskapselskapets Skrifter, hist-fil kl. 5 (Christiania [Oslo] 1915) 77–78, 115; Donnchadh Ó Corráin, ‘The semantic development of Old Norse *jarl* in Old and Middle Irish’, J. E. Knirk (ed), *Proceedings of the tenth Viking congress, Larkollen, Norway, 1985*, Universitets Oldsaksamlings Skrifter, ny rekke 9 (Oslo 1987) 287–93.

19. cf. AU 847.4, 848.6 (number slain in battle); 1029.6, 1031.4, 1044.4 (numbers of other items).

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Muirfecht .uii.xx. long di muinntir ríh Gall du thiachtain du tabairt greamma forsna Gaillu ro badur ara ciunn co commascasat hErinn n-uile iarum ‘A sea-going expedition of 140 ships of the people of the king of the Foreigners came to exercise authority over the Foreigners who were in Ireland before them and they upset all Ireland afterwards’

Evidently, this was a violent attempt by a king of the Vikings to compel the independent Vikings in Ireland to submit to royal authority, and it was fiercely resisted. If the annalist’s estimate of the number of ships is correct some 4000 men may have been involved in this expeditionary force.

The next and final entry in this series occurs four years later in the same annals for 853

Amhlaim m. ríh Laithlinde do tuidhecht a nErinn coro giallsat Gaill Erenn dó 7 cis o Goidhelaib ‘Amlaíb (Óláfr) son of the king of *Laithlind* came to Ireland and the Foreigners of Ireland gave him hostages and he got tribute from the Irish’²⁰

The differing treatment of Irish and Viking as tribute payers and hostage givers respectively may be significant. Within the conventions of Irish politics, the Viking settlers are treated as free, the Irish as a subject population.²¹ It is likely that only a small number of Irish kingdoms submitted to Viking overlordship.

An entry in *Fragmentary annals* evidently refers to these same events and contains some supplementary information. This appears well-founded and this source may be taken to be reliable on the whole in regard to these events.

Isin mbliadain-si bhéos .i. in sexto anni regni Maoil Seaclainn, tainig Amhlaobh Conung .i. mac ríh Lochlainne i nEirinn 7 tug leis erfhuagra cíosa 7 canadh n-imdha ó a athair 7 a fagbhail-sidhe go h-obann. Tainig dno Iomhar an brathair ba sóo ’na deaghaidh-sidhe do thobhach na ccios ceadna ‘Also in this year, i.e. the sixth year of the reign of Mael Sechnaill, Amlaíb Conung (=Óláfr konungr), son of the king of *Lochlainn*, came to Ireland, and he brought with him a proclamation imposing many tributes and taxes from his father, and he left suddenly. Then his younger brother Ímar (Ívarr), came after him to levy the

20.): *Tanic ar sain Amlaib mac ríh Lochlainne longes lanmor leis .i. ’sin dechmad bliadain re n-éc Mael Sechnaill. cora gaib rigi Gall hErend & is leiss ra baded Conchobar mac Dondchada rigdomna Temrach* ‘After that Amlaíb (Óláfr) son of the king of *Lochlainn* came and a great full fleet with him i.e. in the tenth year before the death of Mael Sechnaill and he took the kingship of the Foreigners of Ireland. & Conchobar mac Donnchada, *rígdamna* of Tara, was drowned by him’. The drowning of Conchobar is not directly connected with the arrival of Amlaíb: it took place in 864 (AU 864.2).

21. Thomas Charles-Edwards, ‘Irish warfare before 1100’, Thomas Bartlett & Keith Jeffrey, *A military history of Ireland* (Cambridge 1996) 26–51: 48.

same tributes.²²

The expression ‘also in this year’ could be taken to refer back to *Fragmentary annals* §238 which is firmly dated to 849. However, this does not fit well with ‘the sixth year of the reign of Mael Sechnaill’. His predecessor Niall Caille died in 846 and certainly by 847 (if not by 846) Mael Sechnaill was recognised as king of Tara—and this would tend to place these events in 852/53. This dating fits well with the *Annals of Ulster* and is to be preferred.

All these entries refer to major expeditions to Ireland by leaders who were recognised as royal by the Irish annalists. Very large numbers of troops and ships were involved and their purpose was conquest, control of the Vikings already settled in Ireland, and the imposition of taxes on Irish kingdoms. All are associated with the kingdom of *Lothlend*, *Laithlind* or *Lochlainn* whose king appears to be directing the operations.

There are other references to *Lothlend/Laithlind*. One that belongs certainly to the ninth century occurs in a well-known poem—quoted so often that it has become trite—preserved uniquely as a marginal entry in Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 904, a copy of Priscian’s *Institutiones grammaticae*, heavily glossed in Old Irish. There is some debate about its date and, latterly, its provenance. According to Bruno Güterbock, this manuscript was written in Ireland in the mid-ninth century: he dates it by reference to marginal notes that he thinks were written in 845 or 856.²³ Robin Flower dated it confidently to the years 845–46.²⁴ Professor David Dumville has recently re-examined the dating criteria and, whilst he is agnostic about many things, the central ninth-century date stands: he thinks that it was written after the death of St Diarmait ua Aeda Róin of Castledermot in 825 and anterior to its appearance in Cologne some time previous to 859, and he holds with Traube and Gerard Murphy²⁵ that the book is to be associated with the circle of Sedulius Scottus who was active on the Continent between the 840s and the 860s.²⁶ However, he suggests on codicological grounds that its regular fifteen gatherings of eight leaves is most untypical of Irish work, that the manuscript was written on the Continent ‘where its associations might be with Liège or Cologne, with Sankt Gallen, or even with northern Italy’. This is

22. FA §239. Minor changes and corrections have been made to Radner’s text.

23. Bruno Güterbock, ‘Aus irischen Handschriften in Turin und Rom’, *Z Vergleich Sprachforsch* 33 (1895) 86–105: 92 n 2.

24. Robin Flower, ‘Irish high crosses’, *J Warburg Courtauld Inst* 17 (1954) 87–97: 93.

25. Ludwig Traube, ‘O Roma nobilis’, *Abh K Bayer Akad Wiss*, phil-hist Kl 19/2 (1892) 297–395; Gerard Murphy, ‘*Scotti peregrini*: the Irish on the continent in the time of Charles the Bald’, *Studies* [Dublin] 17 (1928) 39–50, 229–44: 43–48.

26. David N. Dumville, *Three men in a boat: scribe, language and culture in the church of Viking-age Europe* (Cambridge 1997) 23–29; for the career of Sedulius see Edward G. Doyle, *Sedulius Scottus, On Christian rulers and the Poems*, *Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies* 17 (Binghamton NY 1983) 9–48.

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speculative and the origin of the quatrain must be found in an Irish milieu unless more substantial and convincing evidence to the contrary can be produced.²⁷

*Is acher in gaíth in-nocht
fu-fúasna fairggæ findfolt;
ní ágor réimm mora minn
dond láechraid lainn úa Lothlind²⁸*

The wind is fierce to-night
it tosses the sea's white mane
I do not fear the coursing of a quiet sea
by the fierce warriors of Lothlend.

A second example of the name (now in the form *Laithlind*) occurs in a verse appended to the entry in the *Annals of the Four Masters* on the battle of Cell Ua nDaigri (Kil-lineer, at Drogheda on the Boyne) in 868. Here the king of Tara, Aed Finnliath mac Néill (r. 862–79), defeated the kings of Brega and Leinster and a large Viking force of which one of the leaders was Carlus, son of Amlaíb of Dublin.²⁹

*Dos-fail dar Findabhair find
fiallach grinn dond Laithlind luind—
as ar chédaibh rimhter Goill—
do cath fri righ nEtair n-uill.³⁰*

27. Dumville, *Three men in a boat*, 34–36. If my identification of *Lothlend/Laithlind* below is correct the verse was probably written in Ireland since mainland Europe is unlikely to have suffered serious depredations from Viking raiders from the Northern and Western Isles. It is probable, however, that they raided Noirmoutier and other monasteries on the Atlantic coast of Francia (W. Vogel, *Die Normannen und das frankische Reich bis zur Grundung der Normandie (799–911)* (Heidelberg 1906) 61–65).

28. TP ii 290; R. Thurneysen, *Old Irish reader*, tr. D. A. Binchy & Osborn Bergin (Dublin 1949) 39.

29. AFM 868 (866); AU, AI 868; CS 868 (866). FA 868 (§366) has a lengthy saga narrative of the battle and the events leading up to it.

30. I take the text from the autograph copy of AFM in Dublin, Royal Irish Academy, MS 1220 (olim C iii 3) 327v11–12. There is another copy of this piece of text in the O'Clery MS, Dublin, Royal Irish Academy, MS 617 (olim 23 K 32), 203, lines 28–30, in which the second line reads: 'fianlach grinn don Laichlinn luinn'. O'Donovan was working from a defective MS. His hypermetrical *dar* in line 2 is to be omitted. He read *fiallach grind dond dar laith lim luind* and translated 'a pleasant brown-haired host across the noble rapid stream'. The text is edited and translated by Kuno Meyer, 'Altir. *Laithlinn*', *Z Celt Philol* 13 (1921) 146. The older reading *Laithlind* is to be preferred and the quatrain is probably contemporary or near-contemporary. I am grateful to Professor Francis John Byrne for pointing out to me this example which I had overlooked.

There comes over fair Findabair
 a keen host from fierce *Laithlind*—
 the Foreigners are counted in hundreds—
 to do battle against the king of great Étar.

Whether this quatrain had to with this battle originally may, one could argue, be a little uncertain. However, one can read *rí Étar* as a kenning for king of Tara (i.e. Aed Finnliath) and Findabair is probably Findabair na n-Ingen, now Fennor in the parish of Donore at Drogheda and quite near to Killineer. For what it is worth, *Fragmentary annals* states that the Vikings had arrived at the mouth of the Boyne with a great fleet and they were induced by the king of Brega to join in the attack on the king of Tara.

Where, then, is *Lothlend*, *Laithlinn*, later *Lochlainn*? Heinrich Zimmer thought it was Lolland (Låland), the Danish island,³¹ but Alexander Bugge decisively disproved that unlikely hypothesis in 1900.³² A decade or so later, Carl Marstrander suggested that it derived from Rogaland, the district about Stavanger in Norway—and we know from good archaeological evidence that early Viking raids on Ireland originated here.³³ For phonological reasons he had to posit that the forms *Lothlend* and *Lochlann* existed side by side, though only the first is attested for the ninth century.³⁴ By 1915 he had come to have serious reservations about this³⁵ but the distinguished Norwegian linguist Alf Sommerfelt continued to accept it as late as 1950.³⁶ There are two main objections to this etymology: there is no other example of initial *r* becoming *l* in an Irish borrowing from Old Norse, and *loth-* not *loch-* is the earliest form. It was left to David Greene to reject Marstrander's etymology firmly, but his suggestion that *loth/lath* is from the Irish word meaning 'quagmire, marsh' is, to say the least, weak as Greene freely admits.³⁷ One should, perhaps, posit an Old-Norse rather than an Old-Irish

31. Heinrich Zimmer, 'Keltische Beiträge III: Weitere nordgermanische Einflüsse in der ältesten Überlieferung der irischen Heldensage', *Z Dtsch Alterthum* 35 (1891) 1–176: 140.

32. Bugge, *Contributions to the history of the Norsemen*, i 1–9.

33. Haakon Shetelig (ed), *Viking antiquities in Great Britain and Ireland* (6 parts, Oslo 1940–54), i (1940) 55–57, v (1940) 13–79; Egon Wamers, 'Some ecclesiastical and secular Insular metalwork found in Norwegian Viking graves', *Peritia* 2 (1983) 277–306; id. *Insularer Metal-schmuck in wikingerzeitlichen Gräbern Nordeuropas: Untersuchungen zur skandina-vischen Westexpansion* (Neumünster 1985); id. 'Insular finds in Viking-age Norway', Clarke, Ní Mhaonaigh & Ó Floinn, *Ireland and Scandinavia in the early Viking age*, 37–72.

34. Carl Marstrander, 'Lochlainn', *Ériu* 5 (1911) 250–51.

35. Marstrander, *Bidrag*, 56–57; see, however, *ibid.* 88, where he seems to show more confidence in his etymology.

36. Alf Sommerfelt, 'The Norsemen in present day Donegal tradition', *J Celt Stud* 1/2 (1950) 232–38: 232.

37. David Greene, 'The influence of Scandinavian on Irish', Bo Almqvist & David Greene (ed), *Proceedings of the seventh Viking congress* (Dublin 1975) 75–82: 76–77. Greene suggests that *Lothlend* 'may be a more distant base, perhaps in Gaelic-speaking Man or Western Scotland' (*ibid.*). Todd, Zimmer ('Keltische Beiträge I: Germanen, germanische Lehnwörter und ger-

name. The second element is likely to be *-land* ‘land’ (which would develop regularly into *-lann* and *-lainn*). Is it possible that the first element is *loð-* (which would regularly give Irish **loth-*) ‘shaggy, woolly, covered with or thick with long grass’³⁸ and that the term is, in origin, simply a geographical descriptive, appropriate for example to the fertile Orkneys and north-eastern Scottish mainland? In time, folk etymology may have replaced *loth-* *laith-* with *loch-*, and *Lochlainn* may have been understood as ‘land of sea-loughs’, a fair description of the Western and Northern Isles and west-coast of Scotland.³⁹ There may have been no Irish name for Scandinavia or its parts. In Greene’s view, ‘We must conclude that the Irish had no specific word for Norway until the eleventh century when *Lochlann* comes to be specialised in that meaning. ... For the first two centuries of contact with the Vikings, there is no strong evidence that the Irish learned much about Scandinavia proper; this need not surprise us, since the connections of the Vikings of Ireland were predominantly with the Atlantic area rather than with the homeland’.⁴⁰ There is, then, no good historical or linguistic evidence to link *Lothlend/Laithlind* with Norway, and none to link the dynasty of Dublin to the shadowy history of the Ynglings of Vestfold.

Lothlend/Laithlind is Viking Scotland and probably includes Man. I believe one can deduce this from a close reading of a reliable and dated Irish source: the account of the battle of Clontarf in the *Annals of Ulster*, 1014:

Sloghud la Brian m. Cenneitigh m. Lorcain, la righ n-Ereenn, 7 la Mael Sechlainn m. Domnaill, la righ Temhrach, co h-Ath Cliath. Laighin uile do leir i tinol ar a cinn 7 Gaill Atha Cliath 7 a coimlin do Ghallaib Lochlainne leó. .i. x.c. luirech. Gnithir cath crodha etorra ... In quo bello cecidit ex adhuersa caterua Gallorum Mael Mordha m. Murchada ri Laigen, 7 Domnall m.

manische Sagenelemente in der ältesten Überlieferung der irischen Heldensage’, *Z Dtsch Alterthum* 32 (1888) 196–334: 205–06, 231–32; ‘Keltische Beiträge III’, *ibid.* 35 (1891) 131), Bugge (loc. cit.) and Marstrander, ‘Lochlainn’, 250) sought to derive the parallel place name *Iruaith* (used as a term for Norway in Irish literary texts no earlier than the eleventh century) from the gentile *Hqrðar* ‘people from Hörðarland’, to the north of Rogaland. Marstrander, however, had later reservations about this since *Iruaith* cannot be derived from Old Norse *Hqrðr/Hqrðar* by regular phonetic development (*Bidrag*, 56–58, but cf. *ibid.* 88) and it is decisively rejected by Proinsias Mac Cana (‘The influence of the Vikings on Celtic literature’, Brian Ó Cuív (ed), *Proceedings of the international congress of Celtic Studies ... Dublin ... 1959* (Dublin 1962) 78–118: 87–93). Greene concurs (loc. cit. 77).

38. Cleasby & Vigfusson, *An Icelandic-English dictionary* (2nd. ed. Oxford 1957) s.v.; Geir T. Zoëga, *A concise dictionary of Old Icelandic* (Oxford 1910) s.v.; Jan de Vries, *Altnordisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Leiden 1977) s.v. *loðinn* ‘zottig, fruchtbar, grasreich’, ursprünglich ‘belaubt’; he compares Old-Irish *luss* < **ludh-tu*.

39. The derivation from *loch-* has already been suggested by Dolley (*Hiberno-Norse coins*, 19) in his own curious way, but it is of long standing (*Cogad* p xxxi) and rejected by Zimmer (‘Keltische Beiträge III’, 135).

40. loc. cit. 77.

Fergaile rí na Fortuath: cecidit uero a Gallis Dubghall m. Amlaim, Siuchraidh m. Loduir iarla Innsi Orcc, 7 Gilla Ciarain m. Gluin Iairnn rigdomna Gall, 7 Oittir Dub, 7 Suartgair, 7 Donnchad h. Eruilb, 7 Grisene, 7 Luimne, 7 Amlaim m. Laghmaind, 7 Brotor qui occidit Brian, .i. toisech na loingsi Lochlannaigh, 7 .ui. mile iter marbad 7 bathad ‘Brian son of Cennétig son of Lorcán, king of Ireland, and Mael Sechnaill son of Domnall, king of Tara, led an army to Dublin. All the Leinstermen were assembled to meet them and the Foreigners of Dublin and an equal number of the Foreigners of Lochlainn i.e. 1000 mail-clad men. A valiant battle was fought between them ... In this battle there fell on the side of the opposing troop of the Foreigners Mael Mórda son of Murchad king of Leinster and Domnall son of Fergal king of the Fortuatha; of the Foreigners there fell Dubgall son of Amlaíb, Sigurðr son of Hlōðver jarl of the Orkneys, and Gilla Ciaráin son of Glún Iairn heir-designate of the Foreigners, and Ottir Dub and Suartgair and Donnchad ua Eruilb and Griséne and Luimne and Amlaíb son of Lagmann and Broðar who killed Brian, commander of the Viking fleet, and 6000 who were killed and drowned’

The argument turns on the identification of leading persons killed on the Viking side, other than those who were self-evidently Irish kings (see table 2: Later Viking Rulers of Dublin). Dubgall m. Amlaim was the son of Amlaíb Cuarán, king of Dublin. Amlaíb Cuarán, otherwise Óláfr Sigtriggson Kváran, ruled as king of Dublin from 945 to his abdication after the battle of Tara in 980. He died in religious retirement in Iona in 981. Dubgall was brother of Sitric Silkenbeard, otherwise Sigtryggr Óláfsson Silkiskeggi, king of Dublin from 989 until his deposition in 1036. Siuchraidh m. Loduir *iarla Innsi Orcc* is Sigurðr digri son of Hlōðver, earl of Orkney—the first earl for whom we have a precise date, that of his death, and of whom there are detailed accounts in the sagas, though these are unlikely to be reliable.⁴¹ Gilla Ciarain m. Gluin Iairnn *rigdomna Gall* is son of Glún Iairn (otherwise Járkné Óláfsson, king of Dublin, who ruled from 980 to 989), grandson of Amlaíb Cuarán, and nephew of Sitric Silkenbeard.⁴² The associations of Brotor, otherwise Bróðir,⁴³ are less well established. He is connected with the Isle of Man in *Brjáns saga*, a fragmentary text that survives in *Njáls saga*. It dates to within a few years of 1100 and was written in

41. Einar Ó. Sveinsson (ed), *Brennu-Njáls saga*, Íslenzk fornrit 12 (Reykjavík 1954) 5–480: 440–44, 448–51; Hermann Pálsson & Paul Edwards (tr), *Orkneyinga saga; the history of the earls of Orkney* (Harmondsworth 1978) 36–38, 225 (saga genealogy); Anderson, *Early sources*, i 495–511, 528–43; William Sayers, ‘Clontarf and the Irish destinies of Sigurðr digri, earl of Orkney, and Þorsteinn Síðu-Hallsson’, *Scand Stud* 63 (1991) 164–86.

42. Table 2. For most of these identifications, see T. W. Moody, F. X. Martin & Francis John Byrne (ed), *A new history of Ireland* ix (Oxford 1984) 139 (genealogical table) and 208–09 (king list).

43. For the forms of this name see *Bidrag*, 59, 65, 85, 111.

Viking Dublin.⁴⁴ *Cogad*, which also dates to c.1100, links him with Amlaíb *mac ri Locland* ‘son of the king of *Lochlainn*’, and states that both were earls of York and of all the north of England⁴⁵—and though this is wildly anachronistic it firmly connects both with the British Isles while retaining some vague memory of the Dublin-Viking kingship of York in the early tenth century.

Donnchad Ua hEruilb is something of a problem. Marstrander derived the eponymous *Erulb* from Old Norse *Heriulfr* rather than *Hiqrulfr* or *Hiorulfr*.⁴⁶ There is, however, a historical objection to any Old-Norse derivation: according to the genealogies, the *Erulb* belonged to Cenél Eogain and he was grandson of Mael Dúin (†788), king of Ailech, and son of Murchad, king of Ailech, who was deposed in 823.⁴⁷ If the genealogy is sound, he was born in the early ninth century, far too early to bear an Old-Norse name. There are two possible solutions to the problem. The first is that of Meyer who suggests that the name is derived from Old English *Herewulf*, *Herulf* and the implication is that it had been borrowed before the Viking wars began.⁴⁸ The second is that the genealogy is unreliable, and so it seems. It is likely to be a telescoped historicist pedigree linking an Irish Viking kindred to a branch of Northern Uí Néill.⁴⁹ In any case, Donnchad Ua hEruilb belongs in Ireland. Suartgair derives from Old Norse **Suartgeirr*, **Suartgarr* which corresponds to Old-English *Sweartgar*.⁵⁰ In *Cogad* Suartgair (miswritten Snadgair) is represented as one of the four king’s deputies and admirals of the Vikings (*ceiri irrig Gall 7 ceiri toisig longsi*)⁵¹—the others being Oittir Dub, Grisene and Luimne. If these are ‘king’s deputies’, they are likely to be deputies of the king of Dublin since no other Viking king is known to have been involved in the battle. Oittir, a name well attested in the Irish annals in the tenth century, derives from Old Norse *Óttarr*.⁵² His Irish sobriquet *Dub* ‘the Black’ points to an Irish or Scottish background. Grisine, better Grísín(e), is the Old Norse personal name *Gríss* with the Irish diminutive ending *-ín*, *-íne* *-éne*, and this indicates that he belonged to Gaelic-speaking Ireland or Scotland.⁵³ In Mar-

44. Sveinsson (ed), *Brennu-Njáls saga*, 445–48; Magnus Magnusson & Hermann Pálsson (tr), *Njal’s saga* (Harmondsworth 1972) 344–46; Lars Lönnroth, *Njalssaga: a critical introduction* (Berkeley CA 1970) 226–36

45. *Cogad*, 150 (§87). There are similar unhistorical statements in ALC 1014.

46. Marstrander, *Bidrag*, 51, 62, 79.

47. David E. Thornton, ‘Clann Eruilb: Irish or Scandinavian?’, *Ir Hist Stud* 30 (1996) 161–66; see also CGH 135.

48. Kuno Meyer, ‘Altirisch *Erulb* n. pr. m.’, *Z Celt Philol* 13 (1921) 108. See AU 949.1, 958.3, 964.6 for references to two persons bearing the name Niall ua Eruilb.

49. Thornton, 164–66.

50. Marstrander, *Bidrag*, 54, 89, 107, 112, 117.

51. *Cogad*, 164 (§94).

52. Marstrander (*Bidrag*, 66, 82, 98, 155) discusses the phonological and etymological complexities of this name.

53. Marstrander, *Bidrag*, 51, 67, 102; cf. 151.

strander's view, the use of such diminutives is 'a fact that throws an extraordinary light on the close linguistic and social connections between Norsemen and Irishmen at the outset of the eleventh century'.⁵⁴ The provenance of Luimne (Lummin, Luiminin in *Cogad*) is uncertain: Marstrander and Stokes⁵⁵ do not suggest an Old-Norse etymology and it may be Irish *Lommíne*.

Amlaim mac Laghmaid belongs to the Hiberno-Norse world of the Isles and Man. Lagmann is derived from Old-Norse *lqgmaðr* 'lawman'.⁵⁶ This name of a profession became a personal name in the Orkneys (and, as we know from the Irish annals, in the Hebrides), but not in Scandinavia proper.⁵⁷ It is attested (in the plural, *Lagmainn*) as the name of an aristocratic kindred or group in the Hebrides in 962 who engaged in late Viking attacks on Ireland.⁵⁸ The same Lagmainn, led by Magnus mac Arailt, lord of the Isles, again appeared as raiders in Ireland in 974.⁵⁹ It must, therefore, have become a personal name some generations earlier. It is found as a personal name among the descendants of Godred Crovan, king of Man and the Isles.⁶⁰ It also occurs

54. *ibid.* 51.

55. Whitley Stokes, 'On the linguistic value of the Irish annals', *Bezenbergers Beitr Kunde Indoger Sprachen* 18 (1892) 56–132: 119.

56. Stokes, 'Linguistic value', 118; Marstrander, *Bidrag*, 53, 58, 74, 102, 133.

57. Cleasby & Vigfusson, *An Icelandic-English dictionary*, s.v.

58. AFM 962.14 (960): *Loingēs meic Amhlaiph, & na Ladgmainn do theacht i n-Erinn, co ro ortatar Conaille & Ettar co h-Inis Mic Nessáin, co n-dēchatar na Ladgmainn iarttain co Fioraibh Mumhan, do dhíoghail a m-bráthar .i. Oin, co ro ortattar Insi Doimhle & Uí Liatháin, co ro loitsiot Liss Mór & Corcach, & co n-dēnsat ulca imdha archēna. Tiaghtar iarttain in h-Uibh Liatháin, co t-tarraidh forra Maol Cluiche ua Maol Eittind, co ro la a n-ár .i. cúicc sešccat ar trí céd, cona ternodar díbh acht lucht tri long.* 'The fleet of the son of Amlaíb and the Lagmainn came to Ireland and they plundered Conaille and Étar [Howth] as far as Inis Mac Nessáin [Ireland's Eye]; and the Lagmainn afterwards went to Munster to avenge their brother On [Auni] and they plundered Inis Doimhle and Uí Liatháin and they destroyed Les Mór [Lismore] and Corcach [Cork]. They afterwards went into Uí Liatháin where Mael Cluiche ua Mael Eittinn came up with them and made a slaughter of them i.e. 365 and none but the crew of three ships escaped'

59. AFM 974.13 (972): *Orgain Inse Cáthaigh do Mhaghnuis, mac Arailt co l-Lagmannaibh na n-Innsedh imbi, & Iomar ticchearna Gall Luimnigh do brith esti, & sárughadh Senáin imbi* 'The plundering of Inis Cathaig [Scattery Island] by Magnus son of Aralt with the Lagmainn of the Isles and Ívarr lord of the Vikings of Limerick was taken prisoner and Senán was outraged on his account; cf. AI 974.2: *Macc Arailt co m-mórthinól mór timchell h-Erend coro ort Inis Cathaig 7 co ruc Ímar lais i m-brait esse* 'The son of Aralt sailed around Ireland with a great band and he plundered Inis Cathaig and took away Ímar out of it in captivity'

60. 'Godredus Crovan ... Regnauit autem sedecim annis & mortuus est in insula que uocatur Ýle. Reliquit sane tres filios, Lagmannum, Haraldum & Olauum. Lagmannus maior natu regnum arripiens septem annis regnauit. Rebellaui autem contra eum Haraldus frater eius multo tempore. Sed tandem captus est a Lagmanno genitalibus & oculis priuatus est. ... Accepit [Olauus filius Godredi] autem uxorem Affrican nomine filiam Fergus de Galwedia de qua genuit Godredum. Habuit et concubinas plures de quibus filios tres scilicet Reignaldum, Lagmannum & Haraldum & filias multas generauit', George Borderick (ed. & tr.), *Cronica regum Mannie & Insularum*:

in the Scottish royal dynasty in the twelfth century: the *Ladmann* mac Domnaill slain by the men of Moray in 1116 is likely to have been a grandson of Malcolm III.⁶¹ And it is attested in the twelfth century amongst the Uí Duib Dírma, a minor branch of the Northern Uí Neill, who were lords of a petty kingdom called In Brétach in Inis Eogain.⁶² The Scottish surnames Lamont and MacLamond derive from it.⁶³

Not one of the leaders of ‘the Foreigners of Lochlainn’ can be shown to have come from Scandinavia. They all belong in the Northern and Western Isles, Scotland, Man and Ireland. This is precisely what the *Annals of Inisfallen* say of Brian’s opponents slain in the battle: *ocus ar Gall Iarthair Domain isin chath chetna* ‘and the Foreigners of the Western World were slaughtered in the same battle’. In the usage of the Irish annalists, the term ‘Western World’ refers to the Gaelic world and does not extend in any case beyond the British Isles. It has long been recognised that *Cogad* adds names from much later and indeed fictional literary sources⁶⁴ but when we weed out a few of the more improbable ones we have the following as the principal foreign confederate forces at Clontarf:

Ro tochured cucu dna Siucraid mac Lotair, iarla Insi Orc 7 na nInnsi archena, comtionol sloig buirb barbarda dicehillid dochisc dochomaind do Gallaib Insi Orc 7 Insi Cat, a Manaind 7 a Sci 7 a Leodus, a Cind Tiri agus a hAírer Goedel ... ‘They invited to them also Sigurðr son of Hlōðver, earl of Orkney and the Hebrides as well, and an assembled host of uncouth, barbarous, berserk, stubborn, treacherous Foreigners from Orkney, Shetland, Man, Skye, Lewis, Kintyre and Argyle ...’⁶⁵

This fits well with what we know of the leadership from the *Annals of Ulster* and confirms one in the impression that, for the contemporary annalist, *Laithlinn/Lochlainn* meant no more than the Norwegian Viking settlements in the British Isles, and more particularly those in Scotland and Man.

This conclusion is supported by two literary texts. The first is *Cath Maige Tuired*,⁶⁶

chronicles of the kings of Man and the Isles, BL Cotton Julius A vii (Douglas, Isle of Man 1979) f 33v, 35v (s.a. 1079, 1102).

61. AU 1116.6, Anderson, *Sources*, ii 160.

62. AU 1167.1.~

63. Stokes, loc. cit.

64. A. J. Goedheer, *Irish and Norse traditions about the battle of Clontarf* (Haarlem 1938) 118. The various accretions in the annals, in *Cogad*, and in such texts as *Cath Cluana Tairbh* (Eoin MacNeill (ed), ‘Cath Cluana Tairbh’, *Gael J* 7 (1896) 8–11, 41–44, 55–57) are discussed by John Ryan, ‘The battle of Clontarf’, *J Roy Soc Antiq Ire* 68 (1938) 1–50, esp. 16–17, 39, 45.

65. *Cogad*, 152 (§87).

66. Whitley Stokes (ed. & tr.), ‘The second battle of Moytura’, *Revue Celtique* 12 (1891) 52–130, 306–08; Rudolf Thurneysen (ed), ‘Zu irischen Texten’, *Z Celt Philol* 12 (1918) 401–06 (an edition of the obscure passages and the account of the Dagda’s encounter with the daughter of

a text dated in essentials to the ninth century,⁶⁷ and very probably to the second half. The surviving text is not unitary. There is general agreement that §§1–7, 9–13 are late and derive from the historicist text, *Lebor gabála*;⁶⁸ fragment §8 is not the beginning of an independent tale and is hardly integral to the text; and the tale breaks off imperfectly.⁶⁹ No evidence cited here is taken from these interpolations. Some difficulties about dating and interpretation remain. T. F. O’Rahilly argued that ‘the extant text of *Cath Maige Tuired*, though doubtless based on and incorporating the earlier account, is comparatively late, for it contains some loan-words from Norse and applies the name *Insi Gall* to the Hebrides’—late enough to indicate that its author may have belonged to the late tenth century.⁷⁰ This date may have been suggested to O’Rahilly by the first contemporary annalistic attestation of *Insi Gall* as a term for the Hebrides in 989,⁷¹ and buttressed by the Norse/English borrowings in the text. Of these, there is one clear Old-Norse borrowing: *fuindeóc* (§133), ‘window’, from Old-Norse *vindauga*.⁷² Two other borrowed words, *scildei*, *scitle*, *scilte* (§§28–30) ‘coins’ (<*scill*) and *bossán* (§28) ‘purse’ (<*púse*) derive from Old English, not Old Norse,⁷³ and while one cannot say that they had not been borrowed into Irish before the Viking period they fit well with the expanding commercial activity of Viking Ireland and the increased circulation of coin. The linguistic evidence and the historical references to *Insi Gall* and *Lochlainn* indicate that the text was written at a point when the Vikings had made a serious impression on Ireland. A *terminus ante quem* is provided by

Indech omitted by Stokes); Elizabeth A. Gray (ed. & tr.), *Cath Maige Tuired*, Irish Texts Society 52 (London 1982); Gustav Lehmaner, ‘Die zweite Schlacht von Mag Tured und die keltische Götterlehre’, *Anthropos* 26 (1931) 435–59 (part translation). Reference will be made to the numbered sections of the text (identical in the editions of Stokes and Gray).

67. Robin Flower, *Catalogue of Irish manuscripts in the British Museum* ii (London 1926) 319 (‘recension of a text already existing in the 9th century’); Vernam E. Hull, ‘Cairpre mac Edaine’s satire upon Bres mac Eladain’, *Z Celt Philol* 18 (1930) 63–69: 65 (early ninth century); id. ‘The four jewels of the *Tuatha Dé Danann*’, *ibid.* 73–89: 80–81 (ninth century); M. A. O’Brien, ‘Varia II’, *Ériu* 12 (1938) 236–44: 239 (early ninth century); Gerard Murphy, ‘Notes on *Cath Maighe Tuired*’, *Éigse* 7 (1954) 191–98: 195 (‘the product of an eleventh or twelfth-century redactor working mainly upon ninth-century material’); Gray, *Cath Maige Tuired*, 11–21 (ninth century); John Carey, ‘Myth and mythography in *Cath Maige Tuired*’, *Studia Celtica* 24–25 (1989–90) 53–69: 58–62 (late ninth century); T. F. O’Rahilly thought (mistakenly) that its author belonged, perhaps, to the late tenth century (*Early Irish history and mythology* (Dublin 1946) 316–17).

68. Murphy, ‘Notes’, 195; Carey, ‘Myth and mythography’, 53–55.

69. The final and incomplete poem is edited and translated by Carey, *op. cit.* 66–69.

70. *op. cit.* 316–17 n 3.

71. AU 989.4. *Gofraidh m. Arailt, ri Innsi Gall, do marbad i n-Dal Riatai* ‘Godfrey son of Aralt, king of the Isles, was killed in Dál Riatai’.

72. Marstrander, *Bidrag*, 90, 93, 109.

73. Marstrander, *Bidrag*, 121, 126; Julius Pokorny, ‘Germanisch-Irisches’, *Z Celt Philol* 13 (1921) 111–129: 120–21 (who argues that *bossán* is pre-Viking).

Cormac's Glossary, which excerpted the text and which dates to c.900.⁷⁴ Incidentally, the paganism of the Vikings and its treatment in a fictional manner enabled the creator of the text to make full use of what he knew (or thought he knew) of mythology and pagan practices.⁷⁵ However, while using the Tuatha Dé in a subtly allusive way to represent the Irish and while presenting their magic as benevolently defensive, he expressly distances himself from pagan mythology by depicting the Dagda as a gross figure of fun, a scandalous and unsavoury Father of the Gods, whose licentious behaviour is offensive to good christians⁷⁶—and this contains a conscious christian programmatic aspect that may be read as ridicule of paganism in general, and of that of the Vikings in particular.

As Dr Gray has pointed out, 'the Fomorian threat is described as if it were a vast alliance among various Scandinavian forces, all bent upon the conquest of Ireland'.⁷⁷ Dr Carey has argued cogently that the text was written in the second half of the ninth century, possibly in the reigns of Mael Sechnaill (r. 846–62) and Aed Finnliath (r. 862–79), and that it represents (amongst other things) a reaction, expressed in symbolic literary terms, to the Viking attack and he sees no need to take the references to *Insi Gall* as the work of a later interpolator.⁷⁸ I agree. One might add that the sea-inlets, lakes, and rivers of Ireland, whose waters the cupbearers of the Tuatha Dé promise to hide from the Fomoiré, have (with few exceptions) a clear contemporary reference—the Shannon and its lakes and estuary, the Bann and Lough Neagh, the Boyne, the Liffey, the Munster Blackwater, and Strangford, Belfast Lough and Lough Foyle were amongst the principal areas of ninth-century Viking activity.⁷⁹

However, the important passage for our purposes is:

Faithius iar sin cusan tréifer, co Balor húa Néitt, co rígh na n-Innsi, 7 co

74. Hull, 'Cairpre mac Eadaine's satire', 63–69; id. 'The four jewels of the *Tuatha Dé Danann*', *ibid.* 80; id. 'Additional note', *ibid.* 88–89; O'Rahilly, *Early Irish history and mythology*, 316–17 disagrees.

75. For a discussion of these aspects: Elizabeth A. Gray, 'Cath Maige Tuired: myth and structure', *Éigse* 18 (1980–81) 183–209, 19 (1982–83) 1–35, 230–62; Gray, *Cath Maige Tuired*, 4–7 (survey of the literature); Tomás Ó Cathasaigh, 'Cath Maige Tuired as exemplary myth', Pádraig de Brún, Seán Ó Coileáin & Pádraig Ó Riain (ed), *Folia gadelica: essays ... R. A. Breatnach* (Cork 1983) 1–29. Generally, far too much attention has been paid to Dumézil's theories about mythology and far too little to the Irish context, and the polyvalence of the text within that context. An exception is K. R. McCone, 'A tale of two ditties: poet and parodist in *Cath Maige Tuired*', Donnchadh Ó Corráin, Liam Breatnach & Kim McCone (ed), *Sages, saints and storytellers: Celtic Studies in honour of Professor James Carney* (Maynooth 1989) 122–43.

76. *Cath Maige Tuired* §93. Stokes (p 86) thought this passage too indecent for the readers of *Revue Celtique* and bowdlerised the text.

77. 'Cath Maige Tuired: myth and structure', *Éigse* 19 (1982–83) 16.

78. Carey, 'Myth and mythography', 53–69.

79. *Cath Maige Tuired*, §79.

hIndech mac Dé Domnand, co rí Fomuire; 7 nos-taireclamsat-side do neoch buí ó Lochlainn síar do slúag doqum n-Érenn, do astad a cís a 7 a rígi ar éigin foruib, gur'ba háondroichet long ó Insdib Gallad co hÉirinn leo. Ní tánic doqum n-Érenn drem bud mó gráin nó adhúath indá in slóg-sin na Fomoiridhi. Ba combág ogond fir o Sgiathia Lochlaindi 7 a hInnsib Gall immon slógad-sin ‘Thereafter he sent him to the champion, to Balor grandson of Nét, the king of the Hebrides and to Indech son of Dé Domnand, the king of the Fomuire and these gathered all the forces from *Lochlainn* westwards into Ireland to impose their tribute and their rule over them [i.e. Tuatha Dé] by force, so that they made one bridge of ships from the Hebrides to Ireland. No host ever came to Ireland that was more hateful or more terrifying than that host of the Fomuire. The man from Skye of *Lochlainn* and the man from *Insi Gall* were rivals over that expedition.⁸⁰

The text artfully merges the Fomuire and the Vikings, and places the Fomuire in the Scottish territories of the Vikings, as ninth-century Ireland knew them. *Sciathia* of the text is not Scythia but a learned latinisation of *Scí* ‘Skye’ (nom. *Scí*, gen. *Sceth*, Old-Norse *Skíð*),⁸¹ and it is clear that it is part of *Lochlainn*. The final sentence conveys that there was rivalry between the king of Skye (who would have controlled the Inner Hebrides) and the king of *Insi Gall*, which we can perhaps read as the Outer Hebrides in the present context. It is, of course, quite uncertain whether there is anything historical in this, perhaps a reference to rivalry amongst Viking sub-kings in Scandinavian Scotland that would have made good sense to contemporaries, but historicity cannot be ruled out.

The literary reflexes of the battle of Clontarf and of other aspects of Viking history in Ireland in the saga *Cath Ruis na Ríg* bear out the equation of *Lochlainn* with Scandinavian Scotland. We owe the first thorough discussion of this text, and an edition and translation of the relevant passage, to the pioneering work of Heinrich Zimmer.⁸² Thurneysen dated it to the first third of the twelfth century and would attribute the Book of Leinster *Táin bó Cúailgne* and *Mesca Ulad* to the same author. Áine de Paor reached like conclusions about authorship.⁸³ However, Dr Uaitéar Mac Gearailt

80. *Cath Maige Tuired*, §§50–51. There is a difficulty with *ogond fir* in the text. If plural, one would expect *ocnaib feraib*, and this is indeed what Dr Gray translates, though she neither emends the text nor refers to the difficulty in the notes. If singular, one would expect *ocin(d)* or *ocin(d) fhiur*. In fact, the text is so close to this that only very minor emendation is indicated, and I side with Stokes in translating the expression as singular, and as referring to the two kings already mentioned.

81. Forms: gen. *Sceth* (AU 668.3: ... *cum plebe Sceth*; the variant in AT is *Scith*), *Sciadh* (AU ALC 1208); dat. *Scii* (AU 701.7); Old Norse *Skíð* (W. A. Craigie, ‘Gaelic words and names in the Icelandic sagas’, *Z Celt Philol* 1 (1897) 439–54: 452); W. J. Watson, *The history of the Celtic place-names of Scotland* (Edinburgh 1926) 38–40.

82. ‘Keltische Beiträge I’, 196–334, esp. 219–29, 235–45

83. R. Thurneysen, *Die irische Helden- und Königsage* (Halle 1921) 363–76; Áine de Paor,

argues convincingly against common authorship and dates the text ‘possibly mid way through the second half of the twelfth century’.⁸⁴ The opening of the tale is as follows: after the overthrow of the Ulaid in Táin bó Cúailgne, king Conchobar fell into a decline and languished because of his defeat. His druid urged him to send for his absent friends to help him, and to resume the struggle. His overseas friends divide into two groups: the Ulster warrior Conall Cernach who is levying tribute abroad, and the Viking forces of Scotland.

Acus fáitti fessa 7 tecta uaitsiu chena cot chairdib écmaissi .i. co Conall crúaid coscorach commaidmech cathbuadach claidebderg co airm i fail ac tobuch a chisa 7 a chanad i crichaib Leódús 7 i n-insib Cadd 7 i n-Insib Or[c]. i crichaib Scithia 7 Dacia 7 Gothia 7 Northmannia ac tastel Mara Ict 7 Mara Torrián 7 ic slataigecht slied Saxan. & fáitte fessa 7 tecta uait no cot chairddib écmaisse co iathaib Gallecca co Gallíathaib na nGall .i. co Amlaib l Ólaib hua Inscoa rig Lochlainne, co Findmór mac Rofhir co rígeacht rainne de Lochlainn, co Báire na Sciggire co dunud na Piscarcara, co Brodor Roth co Brodor Fiúit, & co Siugraid Soga [co] rígeacht Súdiam, co Sortabud Sort co rígeacht Insi Orc, co secht

‘The common authorship of some Book of Leinster texts’, *Ériu* 9 (1921–23) 118–46.

84. Uaitéar Mac Gearailt, ‘*Cath Ruis na Ríge* and twelfth-century literary and oral tradition’, *Z Celt Philol* 44 (1991) 128–53: 129, 147–50; id. ‘Zum Irischen des 12. Jahrhunderts’, *Z Celt Philol* 43 (1989) 11–52; id. ‘On textual correspondences in early Irish heroic tales’, G. W. MacLennan (ed), *Proceedings of the first North American conference of Celtic studies* (Ottawa 1988) 343–55; id. ‘Über den Wechsel des narrativen Stils in den *Táin*-Varianten’, H. L. C. Tristram (ed), *Studien zur Táin bó Cuailgne*, ScriptOralia 52 (Tübingen 1993) 60–99; id. ‘Change and innovation in eleventh-century prose narrative in Irish’, H. L. C. Tristram (ed), *(Re)Oralisierung*, ScriptOralia 84 (Tübingen 1995) 443–96 esp. 450–53; id. ‘Infixed and independent pronouns in the LL text of *Táin bó Cúailgne*’, *Z Celt Philol* 49–50 (1997) 494–515: 495–96. However, his repeated suggestion that Aed Mac Crimthainn, one of the compilers and scribes of the Book of Leinster (William O’Sullivan, ‘Notes on the scripts and make-up of the Book of Leinster’, *Celtica* 7 (1966) 1–31), was responsible for the recension of this text in the Book of Leinster, is less happy. His argument is that the prominence given Conall Cernach in this tale (he was progenitor of the Loígse according to the genealogical scheme) is due to the compilation of the manuscript in Nuachongbáil in the kingdom of the Loígse and Aed Mac Crimthainn’s localist wish to flatter the Loígse by glorifying their remote ancestor. This is unlikely. Mac Crimthainn belonged to Uí Chrimthainn, a branch of the Laigin who saw themselves as more than a cut above the Loígse, he carefully inserted his own—and improbable—pedigree in the Book of Leinster (CGH 338=BL vi 1351), his place of writing is probably the monastery of which he was abbot, Terryglass in Múscraige Tíre (not Loígse), the founder of which belonged to Uí Chrimthainn according to the genealogies (CGH 55–56=BL vi 1350–51), and this area and the monastery itself had long been under the domination of the O’Briens and their collaterals (AFM 1007.7, 1009.8, 1099.4; 1152.1; Aubrey Gwynn, ‘Some notes on the history of the Book of Leinster’, *Celtica* 5 (1960) 8–12; Aubrey Gwynn & Dermot F. Gleeson, *A history of the diocese of Killaloe* (Dublin 1962) 36–47. Mac Crimthainn had no very pressing reason to flatter the Loígse, and *Cath Ruis na Ríge* is likely to be the work of another.

maccaib Romrach (co hIl, co hÍle, co Mael, co Muile, co Abram mac Romrach, co Cet mac Romrach, co Celg mac Romrach), co Mod mac Herling, co Conchobar coscarach mac Artuir meic Bruide meic Dungail, co mac ríg Alban ‘Let tidings and messages be sent from you forthwith to your absent friends, namely, to Conall, the stern, the triumphant, the exultant, the victorious, the red-sworded, to where he is raising his tax and tribute in the territories of Lewis, in the Shetlands⁸⁵ and in the Orkneys, and in the lands of Scythia, Dacia, Gothia, and Northmannia, voyaging the Ictian Sea and the Tyrrhenian Sea, and plundering the ways of the Saxons. Let tidings and messages be sent from you, too, to your absent friends to the lands of the Foreigners, to the foreign lands of the Foreigners, namely, to Amlaíb (or Ólaib) ua Inscóa, king of Lochlainn, to Findmór son of Hróarr, king of the seventh part of Lochlainn, to Báre of the Faroe Islands, that is, to the fortress of the Piscarcarla, to Brotor Roth and Brotor Fiúit, and to Siugraid Soga, king of the Hebrides, to Sortabud Sort, king of the Orkneys, to the seven sons of Romra (to Il, to Íle, to Mael, to Muile, to Abram mac Romrach, to Cet mac Romrach, to Celg mac Romrach), to Mod mac Herling, to Conchobar the Victorious son of Arthur, son of Brude, son of Dúngal, the son of the king of Scotland’.⁸⁶

The heroic Conall Cernach is levying tribute, firstly in Viking Scotland (Lewis, Shetlands, and Orkneys), and secondly, in more distant parts of Europe (Scythia, Dacia, Gothia, and Northmannia). One may take Scythia to be Svealand (Sweden), Dacia to be Denmark, Gothia to be Gotland and Northmannia to be Norway: they are listed with the English Channel and the Mediterranean and the author is concerned to represent Conall Cernach as putting the most remote lands under tribute. If these are to be understood as continental Scandinavia, it is interesting that Latin-derived learned

85. Irish: *i nInsib Cadd, insi Cat (Cogad, 152 §87)* has generally been interpreted as the Shetlands; cp. *sluagh Innse Cath* (William F. Skene, *Celtic Scotland* (3 vols, Edinburgh 1876–80), i 387 n 5, citing *Cath Cluana Tairbh*). In the ‘Description of Britain’ (Skene, *Chronicles*, 154.20) *Kathenessia* is the first mentioned of the ‘insule occidentales oceani’ under Scandinavian control. The expression *gurus indarbad Concobur la Gaíar a n-Insib Orcc 7 Catt* (cited from Dublin, Trinity College, MS 1336 (olim H 3.17) col. 865, in Liam Breatnach, ‘Tochmarc Luaine ocus Aided Athairne’, *Celtica* 13 (1980) 4) is best understood as the Orkneys and Shetlands, and these together formed a single lordship. The forms *Crích Cat* in ‘Cruithnigh cid dos-farclam’ (A. G. van Hamel (ed), *Lebor Bretnach: the Irish version of the Historia Britonum ascribed to Nennius* (Dublin 1932) 14.16) and *Catta (i Cattaib, Pádraig Ó Riain (ed), Corpus genealogiarum sanctorum Hiberniae* (Dublin 1985) §717) are also attested. Watson (*Celtic place-names*, 30) states that *Inse Catt* represents the pre-Norse name for the Shetlands, and that the same people occupied Caithness and Sutherland. Old Norse *Katanes* (Caithness) derives from the same name-element.

86. Edmund Hogan (ed. & tr.), *Cath Ruis na Ríge for Bóinn*, Todd Lecture Series 4 (Dublin 1892) 10–12 §7; I print the text (with trivial changes) from the diplomatic edition in R. I. Best, Osborn J. Bergin, M. A. O’Brien, & A. O’Sullivan (ed), *The Book of Leinster* (6 vols, Dublin 1954–83), iv (1965) 761–79: 764, lines 22737–52.

names⁸⁷ are used for these regions and, evidently, in the mind of the writer, they are quite different from the *Lochlainn* of which Amlaíb ua Iniscoa is king.

The Viking allies, with the exception of Báre of the Faroes, all belong in *Lochlainn* or in places identifiable as being in Scotland. Siugraid Soga, Old Norse *Sigrþór sugga* ('big, strong man'),⁸⁸ a clear reflex of Sigurðr digri 'the Stout' son of Hlǫðver, is called *rí Súdiam*, a place name that derives from Old-Norse *Suðrøggjom*, the dative plural of *Suðrøggjar*, the normal name for the Hebrides, usually called *Inse Gall* in Irish. The historical Sigurðr was earl of Orkney and apparently was overlord of the Hebrides as well. Sortadbud Sort, in Old Norse *Suarthofuð*⁸⁹ *suartr*, is represented as king of Orkney, and this personage seem unhistorical. Brotor Roth (Old Norse *Bróðir rauðr*) and Brotor Fiúit (Old Norse *Bróðir hvítr*) are a duplicated reflex of the historical Brotor who slew king Brian. The seven sons of Romra (Il, Íle, Mael, Muile, Abram, Cet and Celg) are puzzling, and appear to have place-name aetiologies: Trácht Romra is said to be the Solway Firth⁹⁰ and some of them seem to be eponyms of places (Islay, Mull of Kintyre) in Scotland. Findmór son of Rofher, king of the seventh part of Lochlainn, looks odd but this term may reflect the division of Scotland into sevenths in *De situ Albanie* and may refer to Viking Caithness: *Septima enim pars est Cathanesia citra montem et ultra montem; quia mons Mound diuidit Katanesiam per medium* 'The seventh part is Caithness, to this side of the mountain and beyond the mountain; because the mountain of Mound divides Caithness through the middle'.⁹¹ Caithness was, of course, heavily settled by the Vikings. The most important figure in this text, however, is *Amlaíb l Ólaib hua Iniscoa rí Lochlainne* who is a literary reflex of Amlaíb Cuarán. *Iniscoa* is a rendering of Old-Norse *Skórin* (with postposed article) and corresponds to Irish *cúarán* 'shoe, slipper', the by-name of Amlaíb Cuarán, father of Sitric Silkenbeard. Amlaíb Cuarán was well-known by his Irish name in Norse-speaking circles (see, for example, 'er var með Óláfi kvarán í Dyflinni' in *Landnámabók*)⁹² but the Old-Norse form *Skór*, *Skórin* can be readily reconstructed from the Irish and therefore was used by speakers of Old Norse. It passed from them to the author of *Cath Ruis na Rí*, who turned it to literary purposes, and the name recurs in the twelfth-century *Acallam na senórach: Aiffi ingen Ailb* (vl. *Alaib*) *meic Scoa*,

87. Marstrander (*Bidrag*, 111) points out that *Northmannia* is a literary form. He might have said the same about the others.

88. Marstrander, *Bidrag*, 52, 62.

89. Marstrander derives this name from *Svarthófdi* (*Bidrag*, 13) but later seems to prefer *Sorthofuð* (ibid. 64). The meaning is much the same.

90. OG s.v. (citing Reeves and Skene); R. I. Best (ed), 'Betha Adamnáin', Osborn J. Bergin et. al. (ed), *Anecdota from Irish manuscripts* ii (Halle a.S. 1908) 15 §8=Máire Herbert & Pádraig Ó Riain (ed. & tr.), *Betha Adamnáin*, ITS 54 (Cork 1988) 54 §12, 78 (who, without explanation, treat *trácht romra* as a common noun and translate 'shore of a tidal estuary').

91. Skene, *Chronicles*, 135–37: 136; Marjorie O. Anderson, *Kings and kingship in early Scotland* (Edinburgh 1973) 242; tr. A. O. Anderson, *Early sources*, i p. cxv–cxix.

92. Benediktsson, *Landnámabók*, 71 §31.

ingen rig Lochlann atuaid.⁹³ The historical Amlaíb Cuarán was king of York for a brief period c.943 before his reign as king of Dublin (945–80), and has no direct connection with Norway. All the associations of the derived literary persona constructed from the historical figure are with Viking Scotland, and *rí Lochlainne* in *Cath Ruis na Ríge* must mean, for its author, king of Viking Scotland.⁹⁴ One notes, too, that when Conall Cernach musters the troops of this alliance, he does so at Lewis in the Hebrides.⁹⁵ Furthermore, as Sophus Bugge suggests, on the basis of the Old-Norse forms of names of people and places in the mustering of the Viking fleet, it is very likely that the author of *Cath Ruis na Ríge* is drawing on a pre-existing historical tale in Old Norse, inspired by Irish-Viking history and the battle of Clontarf, and circulating in Dublin and in Viking Scotland in the twelfth century.⁹⁶ And it is likely that this Old-Norse tale existed in written form.

The form *Lachlaind* occurs in a poem in nine quatrains, ‘Sén dollotar Ulaid’, on the successful expeditions of the Ulstermen. It is of uncertain date, perhaps the early tenth century, and there is little in the nature of context:

§5 Sen dollotar Ulaid
i Lachlaind co leri
co tucsat nóí catha
on comainm coa celi.⁹⁷

This triumphant expedition to *Lachlaind* occurs between one to Scotland (§2) and one to England (§4), and is followed by local expeditions including one to Tory Island (§6), apparently not recorded in the annals, in the course of which they took it by storm against a force of Fir Fálga, which in this context means Norwegian Vikings from Man or the Hebrides.⁹⁸ It is very likely that here *Lachlaind* means Viking Scotland.

93. Standish O’Grady (ed. & tr.), *Silva gadelica* (London 1892), i 189 (text), ii 214 (translation); Whitley Stokes (ed), *Acallamh na senórach*, Whitley Stokes & E. Windisch (ed), *Irische Texte ser 4 i* (Leipzig 1900) lines 4661–62, 4667, 4671.

94. My interpretation is much indebted to the pioneering and undervalued work of Sophus Bugge, *Norsk sagafortelling og sagaskrivning i Irland* (Kristiania [Oslo] 1901–08) 2–19.

95. Hogan, *Cath Ruis na Ríge*, 15 §8.

96. *Norsk sagafortelling*, 2–19.

97. E. J. Gwynn (ed. & tr.), ‘Sén dollotar Ulaid’, *Ériu* 10 (1926–28) 92–94: 93. Gwynn translates: ‘Luckily came the Ulaid to Norway, expeditiously, and fought nine battles, from year’s end to year’s end’.

98. Fir Fálga normally means ‘men of Man’, but the term is glossed .i. *Inse Gall indiu* ‘nowadays the Hebrides’ in BL iii 755.22494. For a different interpretation cf. Dáibhí Ó Cróinín, *Early medieval Ireland, 400–1200* (London 1995) 239.

The earliest precisely datable historical example of *Lochlainn* meaning ‘Norway’ occurs in a chronological poem of 58 quatrains by Gilla Cóemáin mac Gilla Samthainde, ‘Annálad anall uile’.⁹⁹ This poem was written in 1072: the author gives the date of writing in quatrains 6–7, 56–57 and he gives the ferial for the year twice.

§55 *Dá bliadain—ní bréc i ngliaid—
ó éc Donnchada meic Briain
cath Saxan—seól co nglaine—
i torchair rí Lochlainne.*

Two years—it is no falsehood in battle—
from the death of Donnchad son of Brian
to the battle of the Saxons—pure course—
in which fell the king of Lochlainn.

Donnchad mac Briain, king of Munster and claimant to the kingship of Ireland, went on pilgrimage to Rome in 1064 and died there in that year.¹⁰⁰ The ‘battle of the Saxons ... in which fell the king of Lochlainn’ refers, of course, to the victory of Harold II Godwinsson at Stamford Bridge, on 25 September 1066 and the death in that battle of Harald harðráði, king of Norway, whom Marianus Scottus called ‘rex Normannorum’.

The next example is provided by the *Annals of Ulster* for 1102:

Maghnus ri Lochlainni co longais moir do thuidhecht i Manainn 7 sith m-bliadhna do denum doibh 7 do feraib Erenn ‘Magnus king of Lochlainn came with a great fleet to Man and a year’s peace was made by them and the men of Ireland’.

A third example occurs in Magnus’s death notice in the same annals for 1103:

Maghnus ri Lochlainni do marbad for creich i nUlltaib ‘Magnus, king of Lochlainn, was killed on a raid in Ulster’¹⁰¹

99. Whitley Stokes (ed. & tr.), ‘Gilla Cóemáin’s chronological poem’, Whitley Stokes (ed. & tr.), *The tripartite Life of Patrick* (2 vols, London 1887), ii 530–42; *Book of Leinster* iii (Dublin 1957) 496–503 (diplomatic edition); Peter J. Smith (ed. & tr.), Three poems ascribed to Gilla Cóemáin: a critical edition, DPhil diss. (Oxford 1996) 376–523. I am grateful to Dr Smith for a copy of his unpublished work and for discussing this poem with me.

100. G. Waitz (ed), *Mariani Scotti Chronicon*, MGH SS 5 (Hanover 1844) 559: 1064 (1065): ‘Donnchad filius Briain rex de Hibernia atque Echmarcach rex inna Renn, viri inter suos non ignobiles, Romam venientes, obierunt’; AU, AFM, AI, AT 1064. To judge from Marianus, Donnchad died in the late autumn.

101. The other annals have much the same terminology. AT 1103.5: *Maghnus, ri Lochland na*

These entries refer to Magnus III berfoettr, king of Norway (r. 1093–1103) and his famous expeditions to the West.¹⁰² Magnus was son of Óláfr kyrri and grandson of Harald harðráði. In 1098, perhaps profiting from several years of disorder in Man and the Isles, which included intervention by Muirchertach Ua Briain king of Ireland,¹⁰³ Magnus came to the west and established his overlordship there—over the Orkneys, and perhaps over Kintyre, Galloway and, briefly, Gwynedd. He harried the Ulster coast and not altogether successfully, for he apparently lost three ships and about 120 men.¹⁰⁴ Magnus left his son Sigurðr in Orkney, and returned to Norway in the spring. He came back to the west, perhaps in 1101, certainly by 1102, and he caused a great deal of anxiety.¹⁰⁵ The Irish annals report that he had come to capture Ireland, and here they agree with such later sources as Ordericus Vitalis and the Norse sagas. Magnus occupied Man and meddled in Irish and Norman politics. The *Annals of the Four Masters* state that ‘the men of Ireland made a hosting to Dublin against Magnus’. ‘Men of Ireland’ refers to Ua Briain and his supporters, and the context suggests that Ua Briain felt under serious threat. Soon after that a truce was agreed. Magnus and Muirchertach exchanged hostages and a marriage alliance was arranged. The peace with Magnus looks very much like a holding operation on Ua Briain’s part until he decided how to cope with this emergency.¹⁰⁶ I believe that *Cogad Gaedel re Gallaib*, an eloquent historicist assertion of Ua Briain power, addressed to the Dubliners and to other political opponents, including Mac Lochlainn who was king of the North and Ua

nInsi, fer ro triall forbais for Erinn, do marbad a nUlltaib ‘Magnus, king of Norway and the Isles, a man who attempted to beleaguer Ireland, was killed in Ulster’; CS 1102, 1103 has ‘rí Lochlainne’.

102. For Magnus as a subsequent figure of Irish romance, balladry and folklore see Reidar Th. Christiansen, *The Vikings and Viking wars in Irish and Gaelic tradition* (Oslo 1931) 131–71, 283–329.

103. Donnchadh Ó Corráin, ‘Foreign connections and domestic politics: Killaloe and the Uí Briain in twelfth-century hagiography’, Dorothy Whitelock, David Dumville and Rosamond McKitterick (ed), *Ireland in early mediaeval Europe: studies in memory of Kathleen Hughes* (Cambridge 1981) 213–31: 225–26; Anthony Candon, ‘Muirchertach Ua Briain; politics and naval activity in the Irish Sea, 1075 to 1119’, Gearóid Mac Niocaill & P. F. Wallace (ed), *Keimelia: studies in medieval archaeology and history in memory of Tom Delaney* (Galway 1988) 397–415, esp. 403–07; Seán Duffy, ‘Irishmen and Islesmen in the kingdoms of Dublin and Man, 1052–1171’, *Ériu* 43 (1992) 93–133, esp. 101–16.

104. AU 1098.2: *Tri longa do longaibh Gall na nInsi do shlat do Ulltaibh 7 a fairenn do marbadh .i. .xx. ar .c. uel paulo plus* ‘Three of the ships of the Foreigners of the Isles were plundered by the Ulaid and their crews were killed i.e. a hundred and twenty or a little more’.

105. CS 1101 (1097); AFM 1101.

106. Rosemary Power, ‘Magnus Barelegs’ expedition to the west’, *Scott Hist Rev* 65 (1986) 107–32 (a thorough analysis of the history and historiography); ead. ‘Scotland in the Norse sagas’, Grant G. Simpson (ed), *Scotland and Scandinavia 800–1800*, Mackie Monographs 1 (Edinburgh 1990) 13–24: 14–15; ead. ‘Magnus Barelegs, the War Hollow, and Downpatrick’, *Ulster Local Stud* 15/2 (1993) 40–54; Candon, ‘Muirchertach Ua Briain’, 403–07; Duffy, ‘Irishmen and Islesmen’, 101–16.

Briain's chief rival, belongs to this period of crisis when a menacing king of Norway intervened in Irish political struggles and may have tempted the Dubliners to renounce their loyalty to the king of Ireland. One can be sure, too, that the significance of the English crisis of 1066 had not been lost on Irish observers.

It is clear that *Laithlind/Lochlainn* took on the new meaning 'Norway' only when there were kings of Norway and when these posed a serious military threat in the British Isles. Effective control of the Northern and Western Isles—and this made the king of Norway king of *Lochlainn*—would inevitably be a pre-condition of successful Norwegian intervention in Ireland, and the change of meaning evidently took place in that context.

We now return to the ninth century. The evidence of the Irish annals is that there was a king of Viking Scotland whose heir-designate, Tomrair or Thórir, was in Ireland with a very large army in 848, and he fell battling against two of the most powerful Irish provincial kings. In 849 this king sent a fleet of 140 ships to establish his authority over the Vikings in Ireland, and upset the whole country. In 851 the Irish annals report another dramatic development: Danish Vikings came to Dublin, slaughtered the Vikings of Dublin and plundered their fortress. They tried to do the same to the Viking settlement at Annagassan, but they were heavily defeated and many of them were killed.¹⁰⁷ According to the Welsh annals, Anglesey was plundered by Danes (perhaps the same force) in 853 or so.¹⁰⁸ What may be a reply from Viking Scotland to the Danish attacks in Ireland came in 852: 160 ships and their crews were sent to Carlingford Lough to do battle with the Danes but the expedition was unsuccessful.¹⁰⁹ Next year, Amlaíb, 'son of the king of Laithlind', came to Ireland and got the submission of the Vikings of Ireland and he received taxes from the Irish.¹¹⁰ From now on, Amlaíb and Ímar ruled in Dublin and engaged in significant wars with the Irish kings. Their brother Auisle ruled with them for a period: he is first mentioned in the annals in 863 and was murdered by his brothers in 867.

We now need to consider more closely the homeland and origins of these kings. The written sources reveal little. In 795 the Irish annals report that Skye and Iona were attacked and in 798 there were 'great incursions both in Ireland and in Alba'.¹¹¹ However, as far as Scotland is concerned, there is no indigenous record from the beginning

107. AU, CS 851; AFM 851 (849).

108. Egerton Phillimore (ed), 'The *Annales Cambriae* and Old-Welsh genealogies', *Y Cymmrodor* 9 (1888) 141–83: 165; John Williams ab Ithel (ed), *Annales Cambriae* (London 1860) 13; cf. AU, CS 856 (the killing of Horm, leader of the Danish Vikings in Wales by Rhodri, king of Wales).

109. AU, CS 852; AFM 852 (850); FA 852 (§235 in saga form).

110. AU, CS 853; AFM 853 (851); FA 853 (§259).

111. AU 794=AC 794 (791); AU, AI 795=AFM 795 (790), AI 796, AU 798=AFM 798 (793)=AC 798 (795).

of the Viking attack until the mid ninth century and we depend almost completely on Irish sources. Apart from the raids on Iona (802, 806 and the final reported raid in 825, when Blathmac was martyred)¹¹² nothing much is known of any Viking raids on any Scottish churches in the early ninth century, apart from a raid by *Danari*, probably Danes, as far as Dunkeld in the reign of Cináed mac Ailpín or Kenneth I (r. 843–58) and reported in the invaluable *Scottish Chronicle*.¹¹³ That is not to say that such raids did not take place: it is likely that they did, but we have no record of them. Evidently, Iona came to an early understanding with the new power in the Western and Northern Isles: the only untoward ecclesiastical incident reported for the rest of the ninth century is that the shrine and halidoms of Columba were brought to Ireland ‘in flight before the Vikings’ in 878. Only for Ireland are there details of the early years of Viking raiding and we can only infer that northern Britain had similar experiences. Hardly anything is known about raids on England from the plundering of a Northumbrian monastery in 794¹¹⁴ and the churches of Hartness and Tynemouth in 800¹¹⁵ until the raid on Sheppey in 835.

When and how the Vikings conquered and occupied the Isles is unknown, perhaps unknowable.¹¹⁶ Occupation and colonisation are different (if often sequential) processes, and they are usually preceded by destabilisation brought about by raiding and by exploiting the political divisions of the victims. Occupation involves the establishment of lordly or royal control over a subject population and very often the imposition of a new aristocracy. Colonisation involves settlement of the land and the dispossession or part dispossession of the previous occupiers. Some areas may have been

112. AU 802=AFM 802 (797); AU, CS 806; AFM 806 (801), AC 806 (803); AU, CS 825=AFM 825 (823)=AC 825 (822); for Walafrid Strabo’s poem on the martyrdom of Blathmac, see E. Dümmler, MGH Poetae Aevi Carolini 2 (Berlin 1884) 299–301, tr. A. O. Anderson, *Early sources*, i 263–65.

113. Skene, *Chronicles*, 8; Anderson, *Kings and kingship*, 250; Duncan, *Scotland: the making of the kingdom*, 90; Benjamin T. Hudson (ed. & tr.), ‘The Scottish Chronicle’, *Scott Hist Rev* 77 (1998) 129–61; id. ‘The language of the Scottish Chronicle and its European context’, *Scott Gael Stud* 18 (1998) 57–73. The *Scottish Chronicle* (called the *Pictish Chronicle* by Skene) is a collection of contemporary Scottish annals from the middle of the ninth century to the middle of the tenth skilfully set in a historicist framework designed to give the kingship of Scotland a history of stability and continuity that it evidently lacked. The acumen and historiographical influence of its editor have hardly been appreciated.

114. Dorothy Whitelock (ed), *English historical documents* i (London 1955) 167–68, 247.

115. Roger of Wendover, *Flores historiarum* (Whitelock, 255).

116. Coleen Batey, Judith Jesch, & Christopher D. Morris (ed), *The Viking age in Caithness, Orkney and the North Atlantic* (Edinburgh 1993); Christopher D. Morris, ‘Viking Orkney: a survey’, C. Renfrew (ed), *The prehistory of Orkney* (Edinburgh 1985) 210–42; id. ‘The Norse impact in the Northern Isles of Scotland’, Jens Flemming Krøger (ed), *Norssjøen: handel, religion og politikk, Karmøyseminaret 1994/1995* (Karmøy 1996) 69–83; id. ‘Church and monastery in Orkney and Shetland: an archaeological perspective’, *ibid.* 185–206; Patrick Wormald, ‘Viking studies: whence and whither?’, R. T. Farrell (ed), *The Vikings* (Chichester 1982) 128–53: 131–32.

occupied, others (for example the Shetlands and the Orkneys)¹¹⁷ were heavily colonised. Dr Myhre has re-opened the question of possible settlement (and here colonisation seems to be in question) of Scandinavians in the Northern and Western Isles in the eighth century and, indeed, the much disputed matter of early settlement as a whole.¹¹⁸

Sommerfelt cites linguistic material that indicates contact between the Picts and the Scandinavians before AD 700, but this is no evidence for settlement or indeed for the kind of raiding that is characteristic of the Viking Age.¹¹⁹ This problem is perhaps beyond satisfactory solution. Given the lack of written records, scholars must depend mainly on archaeology, but archaeology cannot give dates as refined as decades, unless one is lucky with dendrochronology or writing in the form of coin hoards. One may fall back on toponomy, but toponomy is a surly, inarticulate and ambiguous witness, even in the hands of the best counsel.¹²⁰ Add to this the difficult Scottish written sources for the ninth century and chronology becomes very difficult. Given the evidence of the few contemporary Irish annals and the inferences one can make from the pattern of raiding on Ireland, the likeliest course of events is that the Isles—Northern and Western—and their contiguous mainland territories were occupied between 790 and 825, and towards the earlier part of this time-span. This period is contemporary with the prelude to the Viking wars in Ireland. One detailed annalistic entry in the *Annals of Ulster* points to a significant development in Scotland: in 839 the Vikings inflicted a crushing defeat on Fortriu and killed the most important Scottish leaders.¹²¹ What Fortriu was at this time is the subject of some recent discussion, but it is likely that it is identical with Southern Pictland, that is Pictland south of the Mounth.¹²² One

117. Christopher D. Morris, 'Native and Norse in Orkney and Shetland', Catherine Karkov & Robert T. Farrell (ed), *Studies in Insular art and archeology*, American Early Medieval Studies 1 (Oxford OH 1991) 61–80; id. 'Norse impact in the Northern Isles', 69–83; id. 'Raiders, traders and settlers; the early Viking age in Scotland', Clarke, Ní Mhaonaigh & Ó Floinn (ed), *Ireland and Scandinavia in the early Viking age*, 73–103.

118. A. W. Brøgger, *Den norske bosetningen på Shetland-Orknøyene: studier og resulter* (Oslo 1930); Iain A. Crawford, 'War or peace—Viking colonisation in the Northern and Western Isles of Scotland reviewed', Hans Bekker-Nielsen, Peter Foote & Olaf Olsen (ed), *Proceedings of the eighth Viking congress* (Odense 1981) 259–69; Bjørn Myrhe, 'The beginnings of the Viking Age—some current archaeological problems', Anthony Faulkes & Richard Perkins (ed), *Viking revaluations: Viking Society centenary symposium 1992* (London 1993) 182–204.

119. Alf Sommerfelt, 'On the Norse form of the name of the Picts and the date of the first Norse raids on Scotland', *Lochlann* 1 (1958) 218–22.

120. For the difficulties involved see, for example, the studies in Barbara E. Crawford (ed), *Scandinavian settlement in northern Britain* (London 1995).

121. AU 839.9: *Bellum re gentib for firu Fortrenn in quo ceciderunt Euganan m. Oengusa 7 Bran m. Oengussa 7 Ed m. Boanta 7 alii pene innumerabiles ceciderunt* 'The heathens won a battle against the men of Fortriu, and Eóganán son of Óengus, Bran son of Óengus, and Aed son of Boanta, and others almost innumerable fell there'.

122. John Bannerman, 'The Scottish takeover of Pictland and the relics of Columba', *Innes Rev*

possible interpretation of the defeat of 839 is that the Vikings were by now fully in possession of the Northern and Western Isles, and were attacking South Pictland because they had already established themselves over North Pictland or, at least, had placed it under tribute. I believe the attacking Vikings were the Norwegian Vikings of the Isles, and not Danes. And this lone annalistic entry is likely to be a mere pointer to long-term and intense Viking pressure on the central lowlands of Scotland.

Meanwhile, in Ireland, the prelude to the Viking attack proper is marked by desultory coastal raiding that slowly becomes more frequent.¹²³ The annals do not, of course, report all raids and acts of violence, nor does anyone expect them to do so, but it is probably right to take the annalistic record to be a reliable general indication of what happened. First came the attacks on Rathlin and Skye in 795. These were followed in 798 by the burning of the church on St Patrick's Island (off Skerries), and the *bórimne na crích* 'cattle-tribute of the territories' taken by the Vikings must refer to a forced levy for provisions on the mainland nearby. In the same entry the annalist refers in a general way to great incursions in Ireland and in Britain. In 807, raiders rounded the north coast of Ireland and attacked western coastal monasteries—Inishmurray off the Sligo coast and Roscam in the inner waters of Galway Bay.¹²⁴ Now for the first time, the annals begin to report fighting between the Irish and the Vikings, and these are skirmishes and hit-and-run actions rather than battles. In 811 the Ulaid defeated the Vikings, in 812 Éoganacht Locha Léin in the south-west defeated them, and later in 812 Fir Umaill, near Clew Bay, successfully resisted them while they slaughtered Conmaicne of west Galway. Small groups of two or three ships apiece may have been active on the west coast. They were back in 813 when they defeated Fir Umaill on the west coast and killed their king.

By now, the Vikings had learned all they needed to know about most of Ireland's coastline and its possibilities for plunder, occupation or colonisation, but suddenly there is silence. There are no reports of activities on the west coast or anywhere else in Ireland for eight years. Attacks begin to be reported again in 821 in the Irish Sea and on the south coast. In the distant south-west, Vikings raided the remote monastery of Skellig, 14 kilometres off the Kerry coast, and so ill-treated its superior that he died as their prisoner. In the north-east, there were concerted attacks on coastal monasteries of the Ulaid: Bangor was struck in 823 and savagely plundered in 824. In 825 Down and Moville were hit, and the Ulaid defeated those who had attacked the most prestigious of their monasteries. From this point, there are terse annalistic reports of severe attacks along the east coast on churches and local coastal kingdoms and significant engagements with local kings. The prelude was over: the first Viking Age proper had begun.

It is possible that the earliest raids, those that occur up to the second decade of the ninth century, were mounted from south-west Norway. The more vigorous and destruc-

48/1 (1997) 27–44: 32–35, 38.

123. The narrative that follows is based principally on AU.

124. D. Ó Corráin, 'Vikings III: Ros Camm', *Peritia* 10 (1996) 273.

tive attacks in 821 and later, evidently made by larger and better organised forces, are a different matter. Because of the logistical problem of bringing large fleets from Norway and because of the large numbers one can infer from their activities, these probably came from nearby, and the Viking settlements in the Northern and Western Isles of Scotland are the most likely bases. It is possible that the time of calm in Ireland between 813 and 821 corresponds to a period of intense activity in Scotland.

In the 830s, the raids on Ireland became more ominous and from 836 large-scale attacks began with ‘the first prey of the pagans from Southern Brega [south Co Meath] ... and they carried off many prisoners and killed many and took very many captives’. In the autumn, the annalist reports ‘a most cruel devastation of all the lands of Connacht by the pagans’. Clonmore, Co Carlow—a monastery patronised by the dynasty of south Leinster—was burned on Christmas Eve, and many captives were taken. Mid-winter raiding for slaves proves that the Vikings were already over-wintering, possibly on islands, and could hold numerous prisoners. The Life of St Fintan of Rheinau indicates that they were already slaving, and taking captives for sale by the middle of the ninth century.¹²⁵

In 837, a fleet of sixty ships appeared on the Boyne and another on the Liffey, very likely from the Scottish settlements, each bringing about 1500 men. They ravaged the east-coast kingdoms. Though the Uí Néill kings routed them at first, they were soon defeated ‘in a countless slaughter’. The Vikings now began to appear regularly on the inland waterways—the Shannon, Lough Derg, the Erne, the Boyne, Lough Neagh and the Bann. They overwintered on Lough Neagh for the first time in 840–41. They now began to build *longphoirt*, fortresses that protected them and their ships, and some of these became permanent. There was one at Linn Dúachail (Annagassan, Co Louth) by 841 and another at Duiblinn (on the Liffey at or near Dublin). From Annagassan they raided deep into the midlands, from Dublin they attacked Leinster and Uí Néill. They first overwintered in Dublin in 841–42.

These large-scale raids marked the beginning of the occupation of the Irish east midlands and were mounted from Scandinavian Scotland, apparently by aristocratic freebooters and adventurers, some of whom are named in the Irish annals. This may be a re-run of what one infers happened in Scotland a generation earlier. First, small exploratory raids, then heavy plundering and slaving to break the resistance of the population, and finally occupation and colonisation. However, sometime before the mid-ninth century, a kingship of Viking Scotland had come into being and, as we have seen, that kingdom began to exercise authority over the Vikings and their settlements in Ireland, though not of course over all, for the annals continue to report the activities

125. Oswald Holder-Egger (ed), ‘Vita Findani’, MGH SS 15 (1887) 502–06; Rheidar T. Christiansen, ‘The people of the north’, *Lochlann* 2 (1962) 137–64; C. Omand, ‘The Life of Fintan translated from the Latin’, R. Berry & H. Firth (ed), *The peoples of Orkney* (Kirkwall 1986) 284–87.

of freewheeling adventurers. And this brings us back to Amlaíb and Ímar, who took control of the kingdom of Dublin, certainly from 853.

Some time in the 850s or early 860s the dynasty moved its main operations to Dublin. We find Amlaíb, Ímar and their brother Auisle extremely active in Ireland and engaging in significant warfare and politics with the major Irish kings.¹²⁶ Only two aspects of their activities will be considered here: their dealings with the Gall-Goídil ‘Viking-Irish’ and their impact on monastic raiding.

The Gall-Goídil, make their appearance in the Irish annals in the period 856–58, and then disappear from the record just as suddenly. It is likely that they originated in Viking Scotland, and were war bands aristocratically led by men of mixed Scottish and Viking descent, operating independently of the dynasty and adventuring on their own account in Ireland. By the middle of the ninth century, a generation (and perhaps a second generation) of such aristocrats would have come to military age in Scotland, but this cannot have happened in Ireland where settlement took place much later. The interpolator of *Fragmentary annals* is particularly interested in them, and his preoccupations and his opinions have been ill-advisedly shared by some modern historians.¹²⁷ The interpolator is extremely hostile to them:

*... Scuit íad, 7 daltai do Normainnoibh íad, 7 tan ann adbearar cid Normainnigh friú. Maidhidh forra ré nd-Aodh, 7 cuirthear a ndeargár na nGall-Ghaoidheal, 7 cinn imdha do bhreith do Aodh leis; ra dhlighsiot na hEireannaigh an marbhadh soin, uair amhail do-nidis na Lochlannaig, do-nidis-siomh ‘... they are Gaels and foster-children of the Vikings, and sometimes they are even called Vikings. Aed defeated them and slaughtered the Gall-Goídil, and Aed brought many heads away with him; and the Irish were entitled to do that killing for as the Vikings did, so also did they [the Gall-Goídil]’.*¹²⁸

Elsewhere, in an addition to the account of the expedition of Mael Sechnaill, king of Tara, to Munster in 858, he accuses them of being apostates and of being much more hostile to the church than the Vikings themselves:

126. For the details see Donnchadh Ó Corráin, ‘High-kings, Vikings and other kings’, *Ir Hist Stud* 21 (1979) 283–323: 306–14; Bart Jaski, ‘The Vikings and the kingship of Tara’, *Peritia* 9 (1995) 310–51: 316–21.

127. Kathleen Hughes, *The church in early Irish society* (London 1966) 205; Smyth, *Scandinavian kings*, 114–17, 123–26; id. *Warlords*, 156–57. Marstrander (*Bidrag*, 6–7) and Dr Barbara E. Crawford (*Scandinavian Scotland* (Leicester 1987) 47) are rightly sceptical about the interpolator’s opinions which were evidently not shared by the Irish kings if we may judge from the contemporary annals.

128. FA 856 (§247).

Gen go tíosadh Maol Seachlainn an turus so do ghabháil ríge Mumhan do fén, ro bo thuidheachta do mharbadh an ro marbadh do Ghall-Ghaidhealaibh ann, úair daoíne ar ttregadh a mbaiste iad-saidhe, 7 ad-bertais Normannaigh friú, 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 mbidís ‘Although Mael Sechnaill did not make this expedition to take the kingship of Munster for himself, it was worth coming to kill what he killed of Gall-Goídil there, for these were people who had forsaken their baptism, and they were called Vikings because they behaved like Vikings and they had been fostered by them; and though the real Vikings were evil towards the churches, these were much worse wherever they were in Ireland’.¹²⁹

None of this moralising occurs in the uninterpolated annals. Here the Gall-Goídil first appear as the allies of Mael Sechnaill, king of Tara, against the Vikings, evidently those led by Ímar and Amlaíb, kings of Dublin: *Cocadh mor etir gennti 7 Mael Sechlainn co nGall-Goidhelaibh lais* ‘Great warfare between the Vikings and Mael Sechnaill, who was supported by the Gall-Goídil’.¹³⁰ In the same year, they were in the north, where Aed Finnliath mac Néill, king of Ailech, heavily defeated them far inland at Glenn Foichle (Glenelly, in the barony of Upper Strabane, co Tyrone).¹³¹ They may have come from Lough Neagh and the Bann. In 857, a leader of theirs, Caitill Find (whose name is appropriately partly Old Norse, partly Old Irish), is mentioned: he was routed in battle by Ímar and Amlaíb in Munster.¹³² This enmity continued into the next year. The Gall-Goídil allied with Cenél Fiachach (a sub-kingdom of Southern Uí Néill) and both were defeated by Ímar of Dublin and Cerball, king of Osraige in Araid Tíre (to the east of Lough Derg and the Shannon in Co Tipperary).¹³³ Evidently, the kings of Dublin, as they ought, had no time for free-wheeling Vikings (or look-alikes), foot-loose warlords and their followers, plundering and fighting for pay on their own account, now with one side, now with the other. It is likely that these were as big a nuisance in Scotland as they were in Ireland.

In fact, the kings made serious attempts to exercise royal control. This appears in a new pattern in the Viking plundering of Irish monasteries. This change has often been noted¹³⁴ and has been the subject of a recent study that seeks, mistakenly, to show that

129. FA 858 (§260).

130. AU, CS 856.

131. AU 856, AFM 856 (854), FA 856 (§247).

132. AU, CS 857.

133. AFM 858 (856)=CS 858; FA 858 (§263).

134. A. T. Lucas, ‘The plundering and burning of churches in Ireland, 7th to 16th century’, Etienne Rynne (ed), *North Munster studies: essays in commemoration of Mgr Michael Moloney* (Limerick 1967) 172–229, esp. 215–24; Kathleen Hughes, *Early christian Ireland: introduction to the sources* (London 1972) 157; D. Ó Corráin, *Ireland before the Normans* (Dublin 1972) 94.

the fall off in monastic plundering in the second half of the ninth century is due, in large part, to a marked decline in annalistic recording,¹³⁵ though it is true that some real decrease in raiding may have occurred. However, a more plausible explanation suggests itself.

The large-scale plundering of monasteries stops quite suddenly about the time that the dynasty established itself in Dublin. In the fifteen years between 855 and the end of 870 the annals report ten incidents that can be regarded as attacks on monasteries (Lusk and Slane 856, Leighlin c.864, Clonfert 866, Lismore 867, Armagh and Castledermot 869, the islands of Lough Ree and the surrounding lands where there were many monasteries c.873, Kilmore near Armagh 874, and the capture of the superior and lector of Armagh in 879 (which is not conclusive evidence for a raid).¹³⁶ Of these, at least three were carried out by the royal dynasty itself: the raid on Lismore in 867, Amlaíb's major attack on Armagh in 869 (which can be understood as revenge on the Northern Uí Néill, the patrons of Armagh, for the death of his son at the battle of Cell Ua nDaigri the year before), and Barid's plundering of Lough Ree and its surroundings. Between 881 and 902, the annals report some fourteen attacks on monasteries. Of these, three were certainly done by the royal dynasty: Duleek 881, Lismore 883, and Armagh 895. Nine others are likely, given their nearness to Dublin: Kildare (886), Ardbracken, Donaghpatrick, Dulane and Glendalough (all in 890), and Kildare and Clonard in 891. Some monastic raiding by Vikings evidently not under the control of Dublin occurs mainly in the periphery, for example, the attack on Cloyne in 888.

There is another consideration: plundering monasteries is a crude and cost-inefficient method of generating regular income from rich and politically subservient institutions. Payments of fixed tribute at agreed intervals are much more effective and suit both sides better, but this will occur only if the kings are able to exercise real control over their own potentially disorderly followers and over the tribute payers. This appears to have been largely the case, and monastic plundering by the dynasty occurs as political punishment (for example Armagh in 869), or when arrangements for the payment of tribute broke down (perhaps Lismore in 867), or when there is strife amongst the branches of the dynasty as happened towards the end of the ninth century. The annalistic record is, of course, partial and incomplete; there are changes over time in its nature, and some diminution in its extent. However, it does indicate a general trend that fits well with the emergence of kingly power amongst the Vikings in Ireland. Kings and their henchmen do not like professional trouble-makers competing for the same scarce resources in their area of jurisdiction and causing general disorder and loss. Evidently the dynasty kept good control for the most part and was usually (though not always)

135. C. Etchingam, *Viking raids on Irish church settlements in the ninth century*, Maynooth Monographs, Series Minor 1 (Maynooth 1996) 7–34, and maps 6–7.

136. AU 856, FA c.864 (§282), AI 866, FA 866 (§§337, 340), AI 867, AU 869, AFM 869 (867), FA 869 (§370), FA 872 (§408), AU 872, AU 879.

able to exclude independent operators in the later ninth century, certainly from its own central areas of interest.

Important evidence for the move of the dynastic centre to Ireland is to be found in Dublin's dealings with Scotland, as reported in the Irish annals. And this evidence is corroborated by the *Scottish Chronicle*.

Amlaiph 7 Auisle do dul i Fortrenn co nGallaib Erenn 7 Alban cor innriset Cruithentuath n-uile tucsat a ngiallo 'Amlaib and Auisle went to Fortriu with the Foreigners of Ireland and Scotland and they ravaged the whole of Pictland and took their hostages'.¹³⁷

The meaning of this entry is clear enough. The Dublin dynasty, commanding the Vikings of Ireland and Scotland,¹³⁸ invaded Southern Pictland, then plundered the whole of Pictland, and took hostages as overkings should when enforcing their political authority over other kings. This leaves no room for independent kings: Constantine I (r. 862–76), called 'rex Pictorum' in his obit,¹³⁹ will have given hostages with the rest. One infers that, as part of this operation, they imposed a tribute on Pictland and this inference is supported by a detail in *Fragmentary annals*: 'they took many hostages with them as a pledge for tribute; for a long time afterwards they continued to pay them tribute'.¹⁴⁰ This attack is recorded independently and accurately in the annals in the *Scottish Chronicle*:

ac post duos annos uastauít Amlaib cum gentibus suis Pictaúiam et habitauit eam a kl'. Ianuar' usque ad festum sancti Patricíú 'And two years later Amlaib and his gentiles plundered Pictland and occupied it from the first of January to the feast of St Patrick'.¹⁴¹

It is clear from the annals that they returned to Dublin, and for the next four years there is a fairly detailed account of their activities—enough to show that Dublin was their base of operations. In 866 Aed Finnliath, king of Tara, destroyed the *longphoirt*

137. AU 866.1.

138. On the possible meanings of *Alba* see Dauvit Broun, 'The origin of Scottish identity in its European context', Barbara E. Crawford (ed), *Scotland in dark age Europe*, St John's House Papers 5 (St Andrews 1994) 21–31; David N. Dumville, 'Ireland and Britain in *Táin bó Fraích*', *Études Celtiques* 32 (1996) 175–87, esp. 181–83

139. AU 876.

140. FA 866 (§328).

141. Skene, *Chronicles*, 8; Anderson, *Kings and kingship*, 250. Because of an error in the restructuring of the chronology by linking it to regnal years the dating is out by a few years but this record refers to 866, as Anderson (*Sources*, 297 n 4) proposes. Both AU and the *Scottish Chronicle* place the expedition to Scotland in the very beginning of the year. Smyth's surmise (*Scandinavian kings*, 148; *Warlords*, 158–59) that Amlaib spent three years in Scotland is not well founded.

of the Vikings all along the north coast of Ireland and defeated them in battle at Lough Foyle—and here he may have taken advantage of the absence of much of the Viking manpower in Scotland.¹⁴² The annals tell us nothing of the relationship of these settlements to the Dublin dynasty but, given their strategic position in the direct line of communication between the Western Isles and Ireland and their location on the littoral of the most powerful kingdoms in the north, it is likely that they were under the direct control of Dublin. In 867 there was a struggle within the dynasty: Auisle was murdered by his brothers and this conflict may have been the occasion for an Irish attack. A force led by Cennétig mac Gaíthéne, king of Loígis, burned the fortress of Amlaíb at Clondalkin near Dublin (it was within the monastic enclosure) and killed 100 of his followers.¹⁴³ They followed this up with a successful attack on Dublin itself.¹⁴⁴ Some time in the same year, Amlaíb committed (in the words of the annalist) ‘treachery on Lismore’¹⁴⁵—as if he had broken an agreement of immunity in return for tribute. As we have seen, the Dublin dynasty played a role in the battle of Cell Ua nDaigri in 868 in which Aed Finnliath king of Tara defeated the Uí Néill of Brega and killed their king who had the Leinstermen and the Vikings of Dublin as allies.¹⁴⁶ Carlus, son of Amlaíb of Dublin, was amongst the slain.¹⁴⁷ In reply, Amlaíb raided Armagh in 869 and burned its oratories; a great deal of plunder was taken and 1000 of its inhabitants were either killed or taken prisoner.¹⁴⁸ In effect, this was a proxy attack on Aed Finnliath whose dynasty saw itself as the protector of Armagh.

However, in 870–71 the Dublin leadership turned again to Scotland.

Obsesio Ailech Cluathae a Norddmanis .i. Amlaiph 7 Imhar, duo reges Norddmanorum obsederunt arcem illum 7 distruxerunt in fine .iiii. mensium arcem 7 praedauerunt ‘The siege of Dumbarton by the Nordmanni i.e. Amlaíb and Ímar the two kings of the Nordmanni besieged that fortress and at the end of four months they destroyed the fortress and plundered it’.¹⁴⁹

Amhlaiph 7 Ímar do thuidecht afrithisi du Ath Cliath a Albain dibh cetaibh long 7 praeda maxima hominum Anglorum 7 Britonum 7 Pictorum deducta est secum ad Hiberniam in captiuitate ‘Amlaíb and Ímar came back to Dublin from

142. AU, CS 866, AC 866 (864), AFM 866 (864), FA 866 (§327).

143. AU 867, AC 867 (865), AFM 867 (865).

144. AFM 867 (865), FA 867 (§362).

145. AI 867.

146. AU, CS, AI 868; AC 868 (866); AFM 868 (866); FA 868 (§366). The entry in AFM is expanded and contains verse, some of it early (as we have seen); the account in FA is an extended saga-like narrative.

147. AFM 868 (866).

148. AU, CS 869, AC 869 (867), AFM 869 (867).

149. AU 870.6; cf. FA 870 (§388). This event is recorded in *Annales Cambriae*: [870] *Arx Alt Clut a gentilibus fracta est*.

Scotland with 200 ships and they brought with them in captivity to Ireland a great prey of Angles, Britons and Picts'.¹⁵⁰

In any reckoning, the taking of Dumbarton (otherwise Alt Clut), the great fortress of the Britons of Strathclyde, was a spectacular military and political event.¹⁵¹ A siege of four months was a most unusual undertaking in the ninth century, and the plunder taken from Scotland was vast. The Dublin kings smashed the power of the Strathclyde Britons and established their authority over them. Given the captives they took, they may also have re-asserted their authority over Pictland as a whole and, if the Anglian captives were taken in their homeland, they may have been raiding some of Lothian as well. Effectively, this was the beginning of the end for the Strathclyde dynasty. In 872 Artgal, king of the Strathclyde Britons, was killed at the instigation of Constantine I who, whatever about his own precarious position as king of South Pictland under Viking overlordship, clearly took advantage of the defeat of Strathclyde to further his own interests. Artgal's son, Rhun, is the last name in the genealogy of the Strathclyde dynasty.¹⁵² This Rhun was married to a daughter of Constantine and their son Eochaid was joint king of the Scots from 878 to 889, at a period of segmentary dislocation brought on by the Viking attack and at a time when Scotland was still under Viking tribute.¹⁵³ After him, the Strathclyde dynasty disappears from the record and rulers of the sub-kingdom of Strathclyde in the tenth century belong to the Scottish royal dynasty.¹⁵⁴

A plausible account of the events leading to the further involvement of Amlaíb with Scotland and his death can be pieced together from an entry in *Fragmentary annals* if one reads *Lochlainn* as Viking Scotland.

Amhlaoibh do dhol a hEirinn i Lochlainn do chogadh ar Lochlandachaibh 7 do cognamh rá a athair, .i. Gofridh, uair ra bhatar na Lochlannaigh ag cogadh 'na cheann-saidhe, ar ttiachtain ó a athair ara cheann 'Amlaíb went from Ireland to Lochlainn to fight the Vikings and to help his father, Gofraidh, for the the Vikings were warring against him, his father having sent for him'.¹⁵⁵

150. AU 871.2.=CS 871. This is repeated in FA 871 (§393).

151. Leslie Alcock, 'A multidisciplinary chronology of Alt Clut, Castle Rock, Dumbarton', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot* 107 (1975–76) 103–13, esp. 104–06, 111.

152. Phillimore, 'Annales Cambriae and Old-Welsh genealogies', 141–83: 172; J. Loth, 'Une généalogie des rois de Stratclut', *Revue Celtique* 47 (1930) 176–83.

153. Anderson, *Kings and kingship*, 250–51, Skene, *Chronicles*, 9; Duncan, *Scotland*, 90–91, 628–29; Smyth, *Warlords*, 64, 215–17; cf. Benjamin T. Hudson (ed. & tr.), *Prophecy of Berchán: Irish and Scottish kings of the early middle ages* (Westport CN & London 1996) 44, 85.

154. Smyth, *Warlords*, 219–29.

155. FA §400.

This entry is undated. However, an approximate date can be worked out. Amlaíb had returned after the sacking of Dumbarton in 871, and probably early in that year if we may judge by the position of the annal in the *Annals of Ulster*. The entry in *Fragmentary annals* (§401) immediately following the one cited above states that ‘in the tenth year of the reign of Aed Finnliath, Ímar ... and the son of the man who left Ireland (i.e. Amlaíb) plundered Ireland from east to west and from north to south’. The ‘son of Amlaíb’ in question here is almost certainly Oistin who was killed in 875. The tenth year of Aed Finnliath’s reign is 871 (counting inclusively) or 872. In fact, the annals report a good deal of Viking activity in Ireland in 871–72. It is likely, then, that Amlaíb had left Ireland by 872, summoned by his father to Viking Scotland to help put down a revolt against himself. This entry has led to many speculations, some wilder than others, but since nearly all depend on equating *Lochlainn* with Norway and linking the kings of Dublin to the Vestfold dynasty, there is no great need to discuss them in detail here.¹⁵⁶

Amlaíb is next and finally mentioned in the *Scottish Chronicle* in an entry that appears to be corrupt: *Tercio iterum anno Amlaib trahens centum a Constantino occisus est*.¹⁵⁷ There are several difficulties with this. For *tercio* one may read *decimo* on the assumption that the scribe dropped *.x.* from the postulated *.xiii.* of his exemplar—the third year of Constantine is 865/66 and Amlaíb was certainly alive long after that. If one may accept this emendation and count inclusively (as the writer certainly does in the next entry in the *Scottish Chronicle*) one arrives at the very likely date 874. The expression ‘trahens centum’ seems corrupt and the emendation *trahens censum*, ‘levying tribute’, while apt is uncertain. In a forthcoming work,¹⁵⁸ Dr David Howlett emends to *trahens celtem* and translates ‘drawing a knife’. One may possibly interpret the entry as follows: Amlaíb was killed in an encounter with Constantine I in 874, very likely whilst attempting to re-impose his authority (and tribute) on Southern Pictland. The next entry in the *Scottish Chronicle* is firmly dated to 875: the battle of Dollar between the Danish Vikings and the Scots, in which the Scots were driven in defeat to Atholl.¹⁵⁹ The date is confirmed by an independent entry in the *Annals of Ulster* for 875: *Congressio Pictorum fri Dubghallu 7 strages magna Pictorum facta est* ‘An encounter of the Picts and the Danish Vikings and there was a great slaughter

156. Anderson, *Early sources*, i 303–04, 30–12; Peter Hunter Blair, ‘Olaf the White’, 1–35; Smyth, *Scandinavian kings*, 101–17, 121–22, 143–53; id. *Warlords*, 150–53, 157–63.

157. Anderson, *Kings and kingship*, 250; Skene, *Chronicles*, 8. Discussed in Anderson, *Early sources*, i 352.

158. *Caledonian craftsmanship: the Scottish Latin tradition* (Dublin 2000).

159. ‘Paulo post ab eo bello in xiiij. eius facto in Dolaír inter Danarios et Scottos occisi sunt Scoti co Achcochlam’ (Anderson, *Kings and kingship*, 250; Skene, *Chronicles*, 8; Anderson, *Early sources*, i 353): ‘A little while after that, in the fourteenth year of his [Constantine’s] reign, there was a battle at Dollar between the Danes and the Scots and the Scots were driven in slaughter to Atholl’.

of the Picts' (despite the terminology of the *Annals of Ulster*, the Scots are here intended and both entries refer to the same event). Now the Norwegian Vikings of the West evidently took a hand in events and profited from the Danish victory: *Normanni annum integrum degerunt in Píctavía* 'the Norwegian Vikings spent a whole year in Pictland'.¹⁶⁰ This fits well into the year 875/76 and one may infer that their activities in Scotland led to the death of Constantine I in 876 (the date is that of the *Annals of Ulster*), as reported in regnal list D: *Constantinus mac Kynat. xv a. reg. et interemptus est a Noruagensibus in bello de Merdo fatha et sepultus est in Iona insula* 'Constantine mac Cináeda ruled for fifteen years and he was killed by the Norwegian Vikings in the battle of *de Merdo fatha* and he was buried in the island of Iona'.¹⁶¹

One other unique entry in *Fragmentary annals* appears to bear on the death of Gøðrøðr:

Ég rígh Lochlainne .i. Gothfráid do tedmáimm grána opond. Sic quod placuit Deo 'The death of the king of Lochlainn i.e. Gothfráid of a sudden and horrible fit. So it pleased God'.¹⁶²

This entry has caused a great deal of trouble for historians: for example, Radner suggests that the text is in error, and Ímar (†873) of Dublin is meant;¹⁶³ and Hunter Blair thinks that the entry is seriously misplaced and refers to Gothfrid ua hÍmair (†934).¹⁶⁴ First, the date. The marginal date of 873 is an editorial conjecture but probably a sound one. It follows two entries that are dated in more or less satisfactory ways. The first (§407) recounts a successful Viking expedition to Slieve Bloom, and a virtually identical text of this entry occurs in the *Annals of the Four Masters* which dates it to 872.¹⁶⁵ The second (§408) is an account of the placing of a fleet on Loch Ree on the Shannon by the Viking leader Barith and his plundering of that area. It is dated to the eleventh year of Aed Finnliath, that is, 872 (counting inclusively) or 873, but since the entry is unique there is no independent confirmation of these precise events from other annals. However, there is some contextual support for a dating to 873: the *Annals of the Four Masters* records 'the plundering of Munster by the Vikings of Dublin' in 873 and the *Annals of Inisfallen* relates that 'Barid went with a great fleet from Dublin westwards by sea and plundered Ciarraige Luachra'.¹⁶⁶ His activities on Lough Ree may have been an extension of his expedition to Ciarraige Luachra into the Shannon

160. Anderson, *Kings and kingship*, 250; Skene, *Chronicles*, 8.

161. Anderson, *Kings and kingship*, 267; the place of the battle has been identified with Inver-dovat, in NE Fife, but this is uncertain (Anderson, *Early sources*, i 353, citing Skene).

162. FA §409. I read *Lochlainne* for the editor's *Lochlann*, and I have altered the translation.

163. FA §409 and n 7.

164. 'Olaf the White', 23–27.

165. AFM 872 (870).

166. AFM 873 (871), AI 873.

and its lakes. The year 873 looks plausible enough, though the case is not helped by the fact that the entry is followed in the *Fragmentary annals* by a short undated entry (§410) that could at a pinch be taken to refer to events in Wales in 876–77¹⁶⁷ and then a large chasm in the text. This much-emended entry appears to be the death notice of Gøðrøðr, king of the Vikings in Scotland, and father of Ímar and Amlaíb. This is no chronological impossibility: his sons first appeared in Ireland 25 years before, very likely in their twenties or younger, and we may infer from this that he may have been in his sixties when he died.

Ímar had continued to rule in Dublin and died in 873. His death notice in the *Annals of Ulster* is as follows:

Imhar rex Nordmannorum totius Hiberniæ 7 Brittanie uitam finiuit ‘Ímar king of the Norwegian Vikings of the whole of Ireland and Britain ended his life.

There is no good reason why this entry cannot be taken literally as meaning that Ímar was overking of all the Norwegian Vikings in Ireland and Britain. Though one cannot be absolutely certain what ‘Brittania’ meant for the annalist, the examples in the *Annals of Ulster* indicate that it meant the island of Britain as a whole.¹⁶⁸ His brother, Amlaíb, had returned to the homeland in Scotland and was now involved in local events there. One may infer from the terms used in this obit that Dublin had come to be regarded as the dynastic caput. The evidence suggests that Dublin was the capital of a sea-kingdom: Man and Viking Scotland in the narrower sense—the Orkneys, Caithness, Sutherland, the Western Isles and Argyle and the coastline of Inverness and Ross and Cromarty. It also included overlordship of Pictland and of the Strathclyde Britons. It is probable that, since the fall of Strathclyde, Galloway and Cumbria from the Solway Firth to the Mersey formed part of the same overlordship. Generally, the extent of Norse settlement in Galloway is disputed; the evidence of place names is, as usual, ambiguous, and it is best to think that the area was British in population with strong Irish, Hebridean and Anglian influences and probably Dublin-Norse overlordship.¹⁶⁹ The connection between Galloway and the Gall-Goídil (Old-Norse *Gaddeðlar*) is uncertain: the word is the same, the people need not be.¹⁷⁰ The role of the Dublin Vikings as colonists in Cumbria is obscure, but it is likely that many settlers in the Wirral came from Dublin, its hinterland and dependencies.¹⁷¹ Wainwright thought

167. Phillimore, ‘*Annales Cambriæ* and Old-Welsh genealogies’, 166; AU 877.3; B. G. Charles, *Old Norse relations with Wales* (Cardiff 1934) 6–8.

168. AU 632.2, 664.4, 671.5, 691.2, 700.5, 714.4, 794.7.

169. Crawford, *Scandinavian Scotland*, 98–100.

170. Richard D. Oram, ‘Scandinavian settlement in south-west Scotland with a special study of Bysbie’, Crawford, *Scandinavian settlement in northern Britain*, 127–40.

171. F. M. Stenton, *Preparatory to Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford 1970) 214–23, 312; F. T. Wainwright, ‘Ingimund’s invasion’, *Engl Hist Rev* 63 (1948) 145–69; Smyth, *Scandinavian York*

there was a great colonising movement that led to intense and largely peaceful settlement from the Dee to the Solway and beyond, and eastwards towards Yorkshire north of the Humber.¹⁷² The problem about this colonising movement, which may not have been at all peaceful, is its chronology, and on this point only a vague answer can be given.¹⁷³ When Dublin fell to Irish attack in 902 and when its dynasty was expelled, some Dubliners went to Anglesea,¹⁷⁴ and from there to Chester.¹⁷⁵ At least some of these may have been going to their own kinsmen established west of the Pennines. If so, the settlement in Cumbria must be at least as early as the later ninth century.

The members of the dynasty went to Scotland, back to where they started from and to territories that had long been their dependencies. In 903 we next find them not in the Isles and in the west of Scotland (where, one assumes, their control remained effective), but engaged in warfare in Southern Pictland. As the *Scottish Chronicle* relates:

Constantinus filius Edii tenuit regnum .xl. annos. Cujus tertio anno Normanni predaverunt Duncalden, omnemque Albaniam. In sequenti utique anno occisi sunt in Sraithherni Normanni ... ‘Constantine son of Aed ruled for 40 years. In his third year [903], the Norwegian Vikings plundered Dunkeld and the whole of *Albania*. In the following year [904] the Norwegian Vikings were slaughtered at Strathearn’.

The attack on Dunkeld is nothing less than an attack on the king of South Pictland, Constantine II (r. 900–43), the most important ruler in Scotland. Very likely, he had been considered a dependent king by the dynasty of Dublin, and the fall of Dublin was the signal for his revolt. The presence of the Dublin dynasty in Scotland is confirmed by the Irish records. In 904 Ímar grandson of Ímar, the king of Dublin until his expulsion, was killed by the men of South Pictland with great slaughter,¹⁷⁶ but this setback did not halt the Dublin dynasty. In the same year, Ead, whom the annalist calls *rí Cruithentuaithe* ‘king of Pictland’, was killed by two grandsons of Ímar and one Ketill with a loss of 500 men.¹⁷⁷ Evidently, the Dublin dynasty was fighting for control of South Pictland. Some time between 904 and about 914 (when historical sources again

and *Dublin* (2 vols, Dublin 1975–79), i 75–92.

172. Wainwright, 164–65; Stenton, 312.

173. Margaret Gelling, ‘Scandinavian settlement in Cheshire’, Crawford, *Scandinavian settlement in northern Britain*, 187–94; Mary C. Higham, ‘Scandinavian settlement in north-west England’, *ibid.* 195–205.

174. Phillimore, *Annales Cambriae*, 167=Williams ab Ithel, *Annales Cambriae*, 16; Charles, *Old Norse relations with Wales*, 17–18.

175. Wainwright, ‘Ingimund’s invasion’, 145–69; Smyth, *Scandinavian York and Dublin*, 60–92.

176. AU 904, FA 904 (§429).

177. CS 904. The identity of this king is uncertain and he may have been king of one of the Pictish provinces (Anderson, *Sources*, i 398).

become available), the exiled Dublin dynasty reached what one could call critical mass in North Britain and embarked on another career of conquest, in northern England and Ireland. Professor Alfred P. Smyth has thrown a flood of light on these and subsequent events that led to the re-establishment of the Viking kingdom of Dublin, the taking of York by the same dynasty, and the establishment of close relationships between Dublin, York and northern England generally.¹⁷⁸

In Ireland, the second Viking age began suddenly with ‘the arrival of a great sea-fleet of pagans in Waterford Harbour’ in 914. In 917 two leaders of the exiled Dublin dynasty joined in the renewed attack and, though their relationship to the Waterford fleets of 914–15 is not clear, they took control of Viking activities in Ireland. Ragnall grandson of Ímar who is called *rí Dubgall* ‘king of the Danes’ because he had made himself king of Danish Northumbria, came with a fleet to Waterford. His kinsman, Sitric Caech, defeated the Leinstermen in 917, re-captured Dublin, and re-established the Viking kingdom. In 918 Ragnall led his Waterford fleet to North Britain and made himself king of York and ruler of Northumbria and probably of Cumbria. He died in 921 and in his obit he is called *ri Finngall Dubgall* ‘king of the Norse and the Danes’—an accurate description of his mixed Scandinavian kingdom. The Dublin-York axis that was to have such influence in Ireland and England for over half a century had been established, and the dynasty of Dublin was now more powerful than ever.

Viking Scotland, known variously as *Lothlend*, *Laithlind*, *Laithlinn*, *Lochlainn* in Irish literary and historical sources, played a major if unsung role in the history of Britain and Ireland in the ninth and tenth centuries. While Norwegian in origin, its dynasty cannot be convincingly attached to any Norwegian royal line. The sagas and genealogies that make this connection belong to the twelfth century or later, and have little value for the early Viking Age. Much of the raiding on Ireland in the first half of the ninth century was mounted from Viking Scotland, and in the middle of that century the kings who ruled Viking Scotland made Dublin their headquarters. Though they had limited success in winning land in Ireland, they were overlords of far-flung dependencies in Scotland, Wales and England, some of which they controlled indirectly through dependent rulers. From these they extracted tribute and military service. When the kings of Dublin were expelled in 902 they returned to Scotland where, retaining their hold on the Isles, they engaged in the successful re-conquest of Southern Pictland and the taking of Northumbria. From here, they again attacked Ireland and re-established the kingdom of Dublin.

178. *Scandinavian York and Dublin*, i 60–74, 93–116, ii 1–106.

ABBREVIATIONS

- AFM *Annals of the kingdom of Ireland by the Four Masters* (ed. John O'Donovan, 7 vols, Dublin 1848–51)
- AI *Annals of Inisfallen* (ed. Mac Airt, Dublin 1951)
- ALC *Annals of Loch Cé* (ed. W. M. Hennessy, 2 vols, RS 54, London 1871)
- AT 'Annals of Tigernach' (ed. Whitley Stokes in *Revue Celtique* 16 (1895) 374–419; 17 (1896) 633, 119–263, 337–420; 18 (1897) 959, 150–97, 267–303, repr. Felinfach 1993, 2 vols)
- AU *Annals of Ulster i* (ed. Seán Mac Airt & Gearóid Mac Niocaill, Dublin 1983)
- CS *Chronicon Scottorum* (ed. W. M. Hennessy, RS 46, London 1866)
- FA *Fragmentary Annals of Ireland* (ed. J.O.N. Radner, Dublin 1978)