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5. One copy of the essay should be submitted to the Secretary of the Society in clear typescript, double-spaced, and including a bibliography of source-material used and of books and authors cited.

6. Entries will be judged by a panel appointed by the Chairman of the Society, and may be considered for publication in Nomina.

7. Entries must be submitted by 31st May each year. Provided an essay of sufficient merit is forthcoming, the winner will be announced at the Annual Study Conference in the spring of the following year.

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Nationality Names in the Irish Annals

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INTRODUCTION

Over the past century and a half, many distinguished scholars have laboured to determine how and when these islands first became inhabited, and, in particular, how they acquired their Celtic populations. Instead of attempting the task of summarizing their findings, perhaps I may quote from a recent (1988) assessment by Professor Donnchadh Ó Corráin, who quite honestly stated, 'Scholars are not at all sure when Ireland was conquered by the Celts'. Apart from Brittonic and Goidelic, he adds, 'we do not know what other languages were spoken in prehistoric Ireland'.[1]

Obviously, a name-study based solely on the annals is not a complete survey, but it does provide some semblance of continuity. And, as T. F. O'Rahilly pointed out in regard to the annals, 'When there is no evidence of later interpolation they are the safest and most trustworthy guide that we possess'.[2] He traces the origin of annals in Ireland to the practice of making brief marginal entries on Paschal tables with a view to commemorating notable events, especially those which concerned the church.[3] The keeping of records of yearly happenings evolved into collections of annals as we know them, and should, accordingly, provide continuous contemporary evidence as to nomenclature in medieval times. However, our present collections, after centuries of copying and re-copying, abbreviating and interpolating, in many cases bear little resemblance to the originals.

[1] 'Prehistoric and Early Christian Ireland', in *The Oxford Illustrated History of Ireland*, edited by R. F. Foster (Oxford, 1989), pp. 1–3.

[2] *The Two Patricks* (Dublin, 1957), p. 7.

[3] T. F. O'Rahilly, *Early Irish History and Mythology* [= *EIHM*] (Dublin, 1964), p. 235.

All the compilations of Irish annals are related in one way or another. Their origins and inter-relationships have been investigated in detail, and a convenient summary is provided by Kathleen Hughes, who traces the beginnings to an Iona chronicle, probably contemporary from the later seventh century, and a Bangor chronicle.[4] These were incorporated into an Uí Néill chronicle, begun between 740 and 775, and certainly contemporary by the end of the eighth century. Local annals were kept at Lismore from at the latest 700, while Clonmacnoise probably had contemporary annals from the mid-eighth century. All of these were then incorporated into what she calls a 'Chronicle of Ireland', possibly around 850, and it is from this source that our annalistic compilations, directly or indirectly, drew most of their early entries. Dr Hughes adds a word of caution regarding the material prior to 585, which she believes to have been added after 913, while Professor D. A. Binchy did not believe that there was a single genuine entry in the annals for the whole of the fifth century.[5]

It is generally agreed that the Annals of Ulster (AU) furnish the most complete and trustworthy source for early Irish history.[6] Professor F. J. Byrne regards the bulk of its entries as contemporary from the middle of the sixth century.[7] Despite the fact that AU survive mainly in a late fifteenth-century copy made for Cathal Mac Maghnusa (Maguire)—now Trinity College, Dublin, MS 1282—the main scribe, Ruaidhrí Ó Luinín, copied so faithfully from his exemplar that practically all the older language-forms are retained in a more or less contemporary fashion.

The next most useful for my purpose are the Annals of Inisfallen (AI), named after the beautifully-sited monastery in Loch Léin, but

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[4] *Early Christian Ireland:Introduction to the Sources* (London, 1972), p. 142.
[5] *Studia Hibernica*, 2 (1962), 71.
[6] References in the main are to the new edition, *The Annals of Ulster (to A.D. 1131)*, edited by S. Mac Airt and G. Mac Niocaill (Dublin, 1983). For later annals, I used the four-volume edition by W. M. Hennessy and B. MacCarthy (Dublin, 1887–1901).
[7] 'The Ireland of St Columba' in *Historical Studies*, 5, edited by J. L. McCracken (London, 1965), 37–58 (pp. 37–38). He disagrees with the assessment of Professor J. V. Kelleher (*Studia Hibernica*, 3 [1963], 113–27), who considered all the collections of annals to be selective versions of a text very likely composed in 910.

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originally compiled in east Munster monasteries—Lismore, Emly, Killaloe.[8] These are the only major annals of which the original transcript survives (now Bodleian MS Rawlinson B. 503), the first part of which was completed in 1092, so that all entries thereafter are more or less contemporary—and perhaps for some decades previously too. We know that the first scribe laid down his pen in mid-1092, but he may have been making annual entries for many years prior to that, perhaps from 1066, when, as Grabowski and Dumville noted, AI suddenly became independent of their Clonmacnoise-group exemplar.[9] Despite the rather abbreviated style of the early entries, AI, particularly in later annals, supply a necessary counterbalance to the Ulster and Midland bias of the other compilations.

The 'Clonmacnoise group' comprises a number of sets of annals derived from what Gearóid Mac Niocaill terms the 'Clonmacnoise Chronicle' which he dates to c.960.[10] The compilation known as the Annals of Clonmacnoise is of no use for my purpose, as it survives only in an English translation.[11] A more useful one is *Chronicum Scotorum* (CS).[12] The most reliable—if worst-titled—of the group are the so-called Annals of Tigernach.[13]

I have not had much occasion to quote from the Annals of Connacht,[14] as they do not commence until 1224; just a little from the related Annals of Loch Cé (ALC), which begin at 1014.[15] The same applies to Mac Carthaigh's Book, which begins at 1114.[16] I have drawn only very sparingly from the eleventh- and twelfth-century propagandist chronicles compiled in an annalistic style—such as

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[8] *The Annals of Inisfallen (MS. Rawlinson B. 503)*, edited by Seán Mac Airt (Dublin, 1951).
[9] K. Grabowski and D. Dumville, *Chronicles and Annals of Medieval Ireland and Wales* (Woodbridge, 1984), pp. 66 and 81.
[10] *The Medieval Irish Annals* (Dublin, 1975), p. 24.
[11] *The Annals of Clonmacnoise*, edited by D. Murphy (Dublin, 1896).
[12] *Chronicum Scotorum*, edited by W. M. Hennessy (London, 1866). An unfortunate error in binding led to the frequent mistitling of this work as 'Chronicon Scotorum'.
[13] 'The Annals of Tigernach', edited by W. Stokes, in *Revue celtique*, 16–18 (1895–97); cited here as Tig.1, Tig.2, etc., according to the section.
[14] *The Annals of Connacht*, edited by A. M. Freeman (Dublin, 1944).
[15] *The Annals of Loch Cé*, edited by W. M. Hennessy (London, 1871).
[16] In *Miscellaneous Irish Annals* (= MIA), ed. S. Ó hInnse (Dublin, 1947).

Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaibh (CGG), 'the war of the Gaels against the Galls' of the Dál Cais,[17] Caithréim Ceallacháin Caisil of the Eóganacht Chaisil,[18] and the Fragmentary Annals (FA), which glorifies the Osraige.[19] The Annals of the Four Masters (AFM), the best-known and most wide-ranging of all the collections, are invaluable for many purposes, but in regard to names they give only seventeenth-century literary forms, of little use for this survey.[20]

The most noticeable feature of nationality-names, as used by the Gaelic-speaking people of Ireland in post-Patrician times, is that they almost invariably related to people rather than places. Whereas a modern speaker of Irish would think of France as 'an Fhrainc', and derive from that the description of its inhabitants as 'Francaigh', in early Christian times the exact opposite obtained. It was the people who were known as 'Frainc' (nominative plural) and their king as 'ri Frangc' (genitive plural), and it was only later that a singular place-name developed—'an Fhrainc'. To judge from the early annals, the only country recognized as a definite entity by the Irish was Ireland itself.

ÉRIU or ÉIRE, 'IRELAND'

There has been much scholarly debate on this name, which Pokorny[21] and O'Rahilly[22] regarded as wholly Celtic in origin, while Bergin believed its roots to be pre-Celtic.[23]

As the early annals in AU are almost all in Latin, apart from an obvious interpolation at 434, they use Hibernia up until 779, when we first get for Erinn huile, 'over all Ireland'. From the ninth century onwards, examples become numerous. AI have some in the pre-Patrician section, with varying inflexions: §257, Ro rannad Heriu, 'Ireland was divided'; §127, for Erind, for Herind, 'over Ireland'; §35, do

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[17] Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaibh, edited by J. H. Todd (London, 1867).
[18] Caithréim Ceallacháin Caisil, edited by A. Bugge (Christiania, 1905).
[19] Fragmentary Annals of Ireland, edited by J. N. Radner (Dublin, 1978).
[20] Annála Ríoghachta Éireann ('Annals of the Four Masters'), edited by J. O'Donovan (Dublin, 1848–51).
[21] Quoted by M. Ó Briain, 'Hibernica', Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie [= ZCP], 14 (1923), 309–34 (p. 327).
[22] EIHM, p. 297.
[23] 'Ériu and the Ablaut', Ériu, 14 (1943–46), 147–53 (p. 152).

gabail Herenn, 'took Ireland'. I do not know what era these entries represent, but the initial h (as found in Hibernia) is noticeable, as it is in the first post-Patrician occurrence (in a quatrain) at 607: for rígraid Herend, 'on the kings of Ireland'.

'The island of Ireland' is a periphrasis which has become popular among politicians in recent years. Interestingly, this occurs in AU at 921: cenn ecna innse Erenn, 'chief master of erudition of the island of Ireland', and even earlier, in Latin, at 721: super insolam Hibernie.

Fir Éireann, 'the men of Ireland', appears in AI in 838: Mordal fer nErend, and on a number of occasions up to 1280. AU also use it sparingly, first at 858, then at 1005, 1102, 1106, 1167, 1168. Ó Corráin has pointed out that fir Érenn is used of the followers of Máel Sechnaill, of Muirchertach Ua Briain and of Ruaidrí Ua Conchobair, all famous kings in their time, so that it implied, not only a concept of Ireland as a whole, but an identification of the affairs of Ireland as a whole with the fortunes of the dominant king of the day.[24]

Regrettably, there is no reference in the annals to Mná na hÉireann, 'the women of Ireland'! Incidentally, while such a phrase is normal in modern times, no one would say 'an Éire' or 'don Éirinn', yet there are examples of such usage of the article in Old Irish: ind Heriu,[25] dond Erinn.[26] In the annals, as in modern Irish, it is only in the genitive that the article appears, and then only in late compilations such as FA (615 and 704) and Tig.4 (1067). The adjectival substantive, Éireannach, also makes a late appearance (AU 1487; MIA 1395; FA 854 and 859).

INHABITANTS OF IRELAND

Irish people in general, perhaps because of their insularity, do not appear to have applied a collective name to themselves until contacts with other races forced on them an appreciation of their language distinctiveness. Nor were they conscious of racial kinship. 'Throughout all their early history and tradition', Eoin MacNeill tells

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[24] D. Ó Corráin, 'Nationality and Kingship in Pre-Norman Ireland', in Historical Studies, 11, edited by T. W. Moody (Belfast, 1978), 1–35 (p. 8).
[25] The Book of Leinster, edited by R. I. Best, Osborn Bergin, M. A. O'Brien and Anne O'Sullivan, 6 vols (Dublin, 1954–83), I, line 332.
[26] W. Stokes and J. Strachan, Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus, 2 vols (Cambridge, 1901–03), II, 312.5.

us, 'the Irish and the Britons alike show not the slightest atom of recognition that they were Celtic peoples. We do not find them acknowledging any kinship with the Gauls, or even with each other'.[27] In fact, 'Celt', a name borrowed from classical writers, is one designation which you will not find in the annals—nor in any other Old or Middle Irish source.

Máel Mura of Fahan, who died in 887 (AU), famed as 'chief poet of Ireland' and 'keeper of tradition', composed a long poem on the origins of the Goidels, probably under the aegis of Máel Sechnaill of the Uí Néill (described as *ri Herenn uile*, 'king of all Ireland', in his obit in AU 862). Máel Mura's triad of names for the Irish people provides a convenient starting point:

> Féni o Fhaenius asambertar | clú cen dochta
> Gaedil ó Gaediul Glas garta | Scuitt o Scotta.[28]
> 'Féni are so called from Faenius, fame without reserve;
> Gaels from grey Goídel, the generous; Scots from Scotta.'

FÉNI

'The earliest name by which the Goidels are known to have called themselves in Irish was Féni', according to T. F. O'Rahilly,[29] who was following the lead of Meyer[30] and MacNeill.[31] Yet the name always appears to have had legal rather than racial connotations. Any reference to them usually comes from one of the law-tracts, and as F. J. Byrne remarks, represents the viewpoint of a jurist working in the Uí Néill sphere of influence.[32] The word *fénechas* occurs frequently in the laws in the sense of the traditional body of native custom. In *Críth Gablach*, as its editor, D. A. Binchy, tells us, the word *Féni* is consistently used to describe all freemen who possess legal status and capacity.[33] At any rate, as the name does not appear at all in the annals, I do not need to pursue it further.

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[27] *Phases of Irish History* (Dublin, 1919), p. 4.

[28] *Book of Leinster*, III, lines 16025–26.

[29] 'The Goidels and their Predecessors', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 21 (1935), 325–72 (p. 326).

[30] *Fianaigecht*, Todd Lecture Series, xvi, (Dublin, 1910), p. vii.

[31] 'Ancient Irish Law: the Law of Status or Franchise', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, 36 (1921–4), section C, 265–316 (p. 267).

[32] *Irish Kings and High-kings* (London, 1973), p. 106.

SCOTTI, 'SCOTS'

The origins of the name *Scotti* do not appear to have been adequately traced. Eoin MacNeill believed it to be a Gallo-Latin word meaning 'raiders', given as a kind of nickname to the Irish.[34] St Patrick made frequent use of the name in his writings,[35] usually in the genitive plural (*Scotorum*), but once as an adjective (*Scota*),[36] and we find an apostolic-cum-literary context adhering to its usage in the annals. AU have (Latin) Patrician references at 431 *ad Scotos*, 492 *Scoiti* and 493 *ad baptistandos Scotos*, the latter phrase recurring prior to the account of the Battle of Clontarf in 1014. From the ninth century the name is associated with scholarship: AU 847 *optimus Scotorum . . . scriba 7 ancorita*; 871 *peritissimus historiarum Scotticarum*; 1027 *sapientissimus Scotorum*; 1098 *scriba philosophie . . . omnium Scotorum*. Only at 861 is there a slight divergence, for *Gormlaith . . . regina Scotorum*.

AI have an early section (§§ 389–91) dealing with the coming of Palladius/Patricius, with (*ad*) *Scottos* mentioned four times. Cú Chulainn is also mentioned there, and he appears as (genitive) *fortissimi heroi(s) Scotorum* in §206. We also find *Ab ingressu Scottorum de Aegipto* in §179 (following Máel Mura's lead). The only other early occurrence is in the very first post-Patrician annal (433): *Conversio Scotorum*. When the word re-appears in the (Latin) account of the Bruce wars (AI 1315–18), *Scoti* is used for the inhabitants of Scotland, replacing *Albanaigh* of 1296 and 1307.

FA alone attempt an Irish version, *Scuit*, at 856 (§247), where they are equated with 'Gall-Ghaedhil'.

GOÍDIL or GAEDHIL, 'GAELS'

Most scholars would accept that *Goídel* (and *Goídelg*) are loanwords from a Brittonic dialect; M. A. O'Brien considered *Goídel* to be a straight borrowing from Welsh *Gwyddel* (which can have a pejorative meaning of 'backwoodsman').[37] There is general agreement in regard to

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[33] *Críth Gablach*, edited by D. A. Binchy (Dublin, 1941), p. 88.

[34] See note 31.

[35] James Carney, *The Problem of St Patrick* (Dublin, 1973), p. 50, maintains that Patrick uses the term *Scotti* in the restricted sense of 'the Gaelic colonists in North Britain', distinguishing them from the *Hiberionaci*.

[36] L. Bieler, *Libri Epistolarum Sancti Patricii Episcopi* (Dublin, 1952), p. 97.

the comparative lateness of the borrowing, as evidenced by the absence of syncope in the accusative and dative plural: *Goídelu, Goídelaib* (as contrasted with *Bretnu, Bretnaib*).

This is borne out by its occurrence in the annals. The earliest in AU is at 772: *Aensit Goidhil da tredan*, 'the Irish fasted two periods of three days'. There is an indication that the usage was not introduced before the mid-eighth century in AU 776, which records the death of a monk, *Goídel* of Clonard. Born presumably early in the eighth century, he would hardly have been so named had the word been then in common use meaning 'Irishman'.

It was the ninth-century incursions from Scandinavia which accelerated the use of *Goídil* to distinguish natives from foreigners, e.g. AU 842, *o genntibh 7 Goidhelaibh*; AU 853, *Amhlaim m. righ Laithlinde do tuidhecht a nErinn coro giallsat Gaill Erenn dó, 7 cis o Goidhelaibh*, 'Amlaib, son of the king of Lochlann, came to Ireland, and the foreigners of Ireland submitted to him, and he took tribute from the Irish'. It is noteworthy that AI do not find use for the name until 1005, *Comthinol fer nErend eter Gullu 7 Goedelu*, 'a muster of the men of Ireland, both foreigners and Gaedhil', but use it with reasonable frequency thereafter.

The earliest use of the article in AU is in 917, *in Goidil*; AI (1033) have *sruithsenoir na nGóedel*, 'venerable senior of the Gaedhil', and AU (1042) *cenn mhanach na nGoeidhel in Colonia*, 'the chief monk of the Gaedhil in Cologne'.

The phrase *ardrí Gaidhel Erenn*, 'high-king of the Gaedhil of Ireland', appears in AU in 1014, and after the 1169 invasion the presence of an Anglo-Norman element in most areas gave rise to many such couplings: *Gaedhil Éireann* (ALC 1224; 1240; 1248); *Gaedhil Laighean 7 Midhe* (AI 1283); *Gaedhil Chonnacht* (AI 1296; MIA 1169).

It did not go unrecorded that the Dál Riata of Scotland were of the Gaelic race. When Máel Coluim, described as *ardri Alban*, 'high-king of Scotland', died in 1165, he was acclaimed in AU as *in cristaidhe as ferr do bai do Gaidhelaibh re muir anair* ('the most Christian of the Gaedhil by the eastern sea'). The name *Airear Gaidheal* (Argyll), which means 'the shore of the Gaedhil', raises an interesting question, namely, whether it was first bestowed by the people of Argyll themselves or by their kin in north Antrim, to whom the shores of the

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[37] 'Hibernica' (see note 21), p. 333.

Mull of Kintyre would be clearly visible. I cannot find it in AU earlier than 1164 (*ár fer Aerer Ghaedhel*, 'a slaughter of the men of Argyll'). MIA (Rawl. B 488), AC and ALC record *Mac Somairle, ri Airir Gaoidel*, 'Mac Sorley, the king of Argyll', in 1247.

CRUTHIN or CRUITHNE

T. F. O'Rahilly has classified several early 'tribal' designations in Ireland as remnants of earlier immigrations—e.g. *Érainn*; *Fir Bolg* or *Builg*, cognate with *Belgae* (whence *Belgium*); and the *Lagin* and their kindred, the *Domnainn*, a branch of the *Dumnonii* who gave their name to Devon.[38] Prominent among this group were the *Cruthin* or *Cruithne*, a Q-Celtic version of the **Pritani* or **Priteni* after whom the Greeks named Britain and Ireland the *Pret(t)anikai nēsoi* (Pretanic islands).[39] In historical times they were represented by scattered tribes in various parts of Ireland, the best-known being Dál nAraide who ruled over the southern half of Co. Antrim. Muirchú, in his life of St Patrick (compiled before 700) has St Patrick travelling *in regiones Cruidnenorum* to revisit Slemish (*ad montem Miss*).[40]

They are first noticed in AU in 446, in a mixture of Latin and Irish: *Alii dicunt di Chruithnibh fuisse*, 'others say that he was of the Cruthin'. In 563, the name is used in the accusative (*fri Cruithniu*), genitive and dative in an account of a disastrous defeat inflicted on them by the Uí Néill, who were then extending their sway in the north. The name recurs frequently between then and the end of the eighth century.

Although *Dál nAraide* appears in AU as early as 698, *Cruthin* lingers on until 808 (*o Cruithnibh*). The change (to *Dál nAraide*) reflects an acceptance by the Cruthin of the genealogists' fiction that they were descended from Ír, son of Míl, and were part of the great Gaelic world countrywide.

PICTI, 'PICTS'

One tenet about which O'Rahilly was most vehement was that the Cruthin of Ulster should never be termed 'Picts', as *Picti* was the name

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[38] *EIHM*, pp. 41–42, 43–57, 92–101, 341–52 and 444–52.

[39] *ibid.*, pp. 84 and 450.

[40] *The Patrician Texts in the Book of Armagh*, edited by Ludwig Bieler (Dublin, 1979), p. 78.

applied by the Romans to all those north of Hadrian's Wall.[41] In a single instance only, in 866, AU use *Cruithentuath*, 'the Cruthin-race', to denote the Pictish territory in Scotland. Otherwise, the Scottish Picts are *Picti*, from 580 to 875, with variants *Pictores* at 676 and *Pictones* at 750. Tig.3 attempt an Irish version, *Picardaigh*, at 727 and 733, but have *Picti* elsewhere. AI do not use the name at all. Incidentally, it frequently occurs in the writings of the Venerable Bede, and MacNeill has pointed out that, in a 1565 translation of Bede, *Picti* is invariably translated as 'Redshanks', showing, he says, how names given in this way can come to be used as proper appellatives.[42] His theory was that *Scotti* and *Goídil* also became proper names in this manner.

ALBU, 'SCOTLAND'

Despite frequent contacts between Ireland and Britain, there is no Irish name in the early annals for our neighbouring island as a whole. O'Rahilly held that the Irish equivalent of the Latin *Brit(t)annia* was *Albu*, cognate with the classical *Albion*, and that *Albu* lingered on as the Irish name for Britain until the ninth century, when it contracted to being applied to the Gaelic part of Scotland (as opposed to the Pictish and British parts).[43] He supplies very few examples of this early use of *Albu*, but he was undoubtedly correct in pointing out that *Albu* came into use as a name for Scotland (or part thereof) in the ninth century, and that it was then projected backwards by various scribes and annalists. For example, the eleventh-century scribe of AI refers to Colum Cille's first night *i nAlbain* in 563, whereas in AU (574), Colum Cille is associated with *Ia* (Iona). In 633, AI record the death of Cináed, *ríg Alban*, 'king of Alba'; in AU he is more correctly titled *rex Pictorum*.

FA (§197) have *Drust, righ Alban*, whom AU (729) terms *Drust regem Pictorum*. Tig.3 have similar anachronistic occurrences at 504 and 559. AU, apart from an obvious interpolation (at AM 4330), do not use *Alba* until 798, when Viking raids affected *eiter Erinn 7 Albain*, 'both Ériu and Alba'. From then on, its use in both AU and AI

[41] *EIHM*, pp. 342 and 533.
[42] 'The Pretanic Background', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 63 (1933), 1–28 (p. 4).
[43] *EIHM*, pp. 385–87.

becomes increasingly frequent. The use of *fir Alban*, 'men of Scotland', first appears in AU in 918 and for the last time in 1130. *Eter firu Alban*, 'among the men of Alba', in 965 is followed two years later by *la hAlbanchu*, 'by the men of Alba', while both forms are used in one sentence in 1006. *Albanaigh* gradually replaced *fir Alban*. We find it as an epithet in AU 1065: *Dubthach Albanach primhanmcara Erenn 7 Alban*, 'Dubhthach the Scot, chief confessor of Ireland and Scotland'. But even here we have to bear in mind that to the eleventh- or twelfth-century annalist, *Alba* signified not present-day Scotland, but the Gaelic-dominated western part of it. This is evident from such entries as AU 1130: *Bellum itir fhiru Alban 7 feru Moreb*, 'a battle between the men of Alba and the men of Moray'.

AI do not use *fir Alban* at all, and *Albanaigh* only in 1296 and 1307, when Scotland was an entity ruled over by John de Baliol and Robert Bruce. MacCarthaigh's Book (MIA) at 1307 has *a comrac Alban 7 Saxan*, 'in a battle of Scots and English', as if *Albain*, like *Saxain*, was a plural name for a people. Similarly, we find in FA 871: *brad mór Breatan 7 Alban 7 Saxon*, 'a great plunder of Britons, Scots and English'. Use of the article is not noticeable before 1473, when ALC mention *mac mheic Domhnuill na hAlbun*, 'MacDonald's son of Alba'.

BRETAIN, 'BRITONS'

We have seen how the *Pritani* or *Priteni* of the earlier period were equivalent to *Cruthin* or *Cruithne* in Irish, but a different formation arose later through acquaintance with Roman versions of the name. T. F. O'Rahilly summarized the origins of these versions as follows:[44] *Britanni* and *Brittones* were both borrowed from Gaulish into Insular Celtic at different times. *Britannia* was invented by the Romans to describe the land of the *Britanni* (Julius Caesar's word); the earlier *Pritani* were pushed northwards by Gaulish and Belgic newcomers, who borrowed the name *Brittones* from the Romans (as used by Juvenal and Martial).

St Patrick, in his *Confessio*, used a plural form, *in Brittanniis*;[45] perhaps he was influenced by the Irish *i mBretnaib*, 'among the Britons', or it could be a reference to the provinces into which Roman

[44] *EIHM*, pp. 444–54.
[45] Bieler, *op. cit.* (note 36), pp. 70, 75 and 82.

Britain was administratively divided. In the early Irish annals, *Britannia* occurs fairly frequently in Latin entries, but not always in the Roman sense of the whole island. AU's earliest reference (632) concerns Bangor in Wales, and AI's (614) relates to Chester. Tig.3, in a reference to St Augustine at 583, specifies the Brittonic area: *do senmoir isin Britania 7 a Saxain 7 isan probindsi*, 'to preach in Britain and England and in the province' (the last-named being the Roman province). But by 794, AU appear to denote the whole island when recording *Uastatio omnium insolarum Britannie a gentibus*, 'devastation of all the islands of Britain by the heathens'.

Britan(n)i and *Brittones* in the annals always signify the Brittonic population: e.g. AU 613, *Rex Britanorum* (in an account of the battle of Chester); AI 614, *inter Sax 7 Britta(n)nos*; AU 872, *rex Britanorum Sratha Cluade*, 'king of the Strathclyde Britons'. *Brit(t)ones* is not found in AI, but quite often in the Latin section of AU between 473 and 871. Cecile O'Rahilly believed that there were settlements of Britons, probably from Strathclyde, in Ireland before the Norse invasions.[46] They took part in Irish battles, e.g. in Leinster in 709 (AU), when two sons of Cellach of Cuala were killed *cum Britonibus Ceallaigh*, 'with Cellach's Britons'. AU also have an interesting reference in 836 to a place called *Dermagh Britonum*, and it is noticeable that several holy men bore the epithet Britt—Colmán Britt and Mo-Shenóc Britt,[47] and Aedgen Britt, named in AU 864 as bishop of Kildare. According to T. F. O'Rahilly,[48] this comes from a singular form, *Britto* (of which we have an example in the Book of Armagh, *Ego sum Lommanus Britto*),[49] treated as **Brittu* on the model of native *-n* stems, though the plural, *Bretain*, has an accusative *Bretnu*, modelled on *-o* stems. It became the norm for most such names to acquire the plural *-o* stem ending *-ain(n)*, based on existing models such as *Érainn* and *Domnainn*.

Despite the early adaptation of *Bretain* into Irish, AU was slow to change from the Latin form, the earliest I can find being *Colman na mBretan*, 'Colman of the Britons', abbot of Slane, who died in 751, and

[46] *Ireland and Wales* (London, 1924), p. 66.
[47] *Corpus Genealogiarum Sanctorum Hiberniae* , edited by P. Ó Riain (Dublin, 1985), pp. 143 and 150.
[48] *EIHM*, p. 445.
[49] Bieler, *Patrician Texts*, p. 168 (Additamenta).

even here the use of the article makes one suspect an interpolation; he was probably the 'Colmán Britt' of the genealogies. *Righ mBretan* 'king of the Britons' at 856 looks contemporary, as does a reference to *Bretain* being driven out by Saxons in 865, but it is not until the tenth century that the name gains frequency in AU. The Munster AI do not record the Irish form until the late eleventh century—1080 *hi mBretnaib* 'among the Britons', 1093 *ri Bretan* 'king of the Britons'—and by then, in both AU and AI, the name obviously denoted the inhabitants of Wales. The Britons of Strathclyde and other parts no longer had a political profile.

We find the adjectival use in AU 1029, *.ui. xx. ech mBretnach*, 'six score Welsh horses', and the noun *Bretnaigh* 'Welshmen' is used in AI from 1257 onwards, although the old phrase *ri Breatan* is found in 1307 beside the newer *Bretnaig*.

ANGLI, 'ANGLES'

Before passing on to the Saxons, a word about the Angles, the race who, according to Bede, occupied East Anglia, Mercia and Northumbria. For some reason, they never impinged on the Irish consciousness, despite the many Irish contacts with Northumbria. When AI chronicled the death of Oswald, *rex Anglicorum*, in 644, they glossed *Anglicus* as 'Sax', and thereafter (apart from an interpolation at 1174) found no further occasion to use the name until the Bruce wars in 1316. *Anglia* for England is used only in Latin entries at 1307 and 1314. AU (639) title Oswald as *rex Saxonum*, and only Offa, in 796, is called *rex bonus Anglorum*. Following a similar entry at 871, no further mention is made until after the Norman invasions, when Henry II became *rex Angliae*. There was no native version. Even to the present day, there is no trace in the Irish language of the people who gave their name to England.

SAXAIN, 'SAXONS'

The Saxons, by contrast, are regularly mentioned in Latin entries in AU from 600 (*Bellum Saxonum*) to 937 (*inter Saxones atque Norddmannos*). Earlier occurrences at 471 and 434 are almost certainly interpolations; as the editors point out, the Saxons had not even invaded England by 434. In AU 732 and 783 we find references to a west of Ireland monastic settlement called *Magh Eu Saxonum* (later

Magh Eó na Saxan). AI, however, use a different Latin form; the entries of 434 and 471 are given as *Prima (secunda) praeda Saxanorum*, 'first (second) plunder of the English', and the only other Latin example is at 705, *rex Saxorum*.

The normal plural form in Irish was *Saxain*, an *-o* stem like *Bretain*, though without syncope. It is found fairly frequently in AI from the seventh century, somewhat later in AU. *Rí(g)* (or *rex*) *Saxan* is featured in AI at 633, 670 and 1068, and in AU at 731 and 858, with dative *do Saxanaibh* at 865 and accusative *Saxanu* at 1006.

In the 1170s, the name was used to describe the new invaders from Britain. The people often referred to today as 'Normans' were a blend of Norman-French, Flemings, Welsh, etc., with but a small admixture of Saxon. Yet in 1176, AU term them *Saxain*, *do na Saxaibh*, *Iarla Saxanach* 'a Saxon earl'—the latter being their first use of the derived adjective. But when the annalist recovered from the initial shock, *Gall* or *Gaill* became the usual appellation for the newcomers, and *Saxain* was applied only to people in England, the most common usage being *rí Saxan*.

O'Rahilly held that *Sax* (< Latin *Saxo*) was the earliest form in Irish.[50] But the plural *Saxa*, dative *Saxaib*, is not found in AU until 1176 (beside *Saxain*), and occurs in AI only between the years 1257 and 1307.

While *Saxanach*, as an adjective, is used in AU at 1176 and in AI at 1269 and 1305, neither make it a plural noun until AU do so in 1415: *Saxanaigh do theacht a n-Erinn* 'Englishmen came to Ireland'. It is found in later compilations, however; Tig.2 gives a feminine singular form, *mac na Sax[an]chi* 'son of the Saxon woman'.[51] Only in ALC do we find *Sasanach* (1256: *go Magh nEó na Sasanach*)—a somewhat anachronistic form which did not evolve until modern times. When Elizabeth I had an Irish primer prepared for her instruction (by Christopher Nugent, baron of Delvin) in semi-phonetic spelling, one of the phrases featured was: *Dia le rieuean Saxona* 'God save the Queene off Englande'.[52] *Saxana* or *Sasana* as a place-name is not found in the annals.

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[50] *EIHM*, p. 447.

[51] *Revue celtique*, 17 (1896), 32, for the year A.D. 357.

[52] *Facsimiles of the National MSS of Ireland*, edited by J. T. Gilbert, IV.i (London, 1882), plate xxii.

At 1038, AU records a battle between *Cuanu rí Allsaxan 7 Otta, ri Frangcc*, 'Conrad, king of the farther Saxons, and Otto, king of the Franks'. Conrad II reigned over the Holy Roman Empire, and this was one of the few occasions when an annalist concerned himself with Continental Europe.

FRAINC, 'FRANKS'

Apart from the Scandinavians, the Franks were about the only Continentals to attract the annalists' attention. The earliest references in AU, as usual in Latin, are: 659 and 813, *rex Francorum*; 840, *imperator Francorum*. This again gave a plural *-o* stem in Irish. *Ri Frangcc*, as noted above, appears first in 1038 in AU, with the nominative *Fraingc* in 1072, and dative *Francaibh* in 1093 and 1174. The 1093 occurrence relates to the Norman-French who conquered Britain in 1066, while *i Francaibh 7 i Saxanaibh* in 1174 translates simply as 'in France and in England'.

The original scribe of AI, who finished his work in 1092, never had occasion to use the name. The new scribe in 1092 must have been unsure as to the spelling; twice in 1093 he wrote *do Rancaib*, omitting the silent lenited *F*. The 1102 scribe wrote instead *re Francaib*, and there are five examples in the thirteenth century, mainly of *rí Franc*, the last being in 1296. In the following year, the derivative, *Francaigh*, is used for the first time in AI: *Ar mor le Francachaib*, 'a great slaughter by the French'.[53] Coincidentally, 1297 is also the year when, for the first time in AU, the plural tribe-name is exchanged for the feminine place-name, with article (*le righ Saxan, isin Fraingc*, 'by the king of the English, in France'), previously found in AU only in Latin, *Francia* at 779 and 825.

GEINTI, 'HEATHENS'

The most resounding impact on the compilers of annals was made by marauders from Scandinavia who appeared off the coasts of these islands at the end of the eighth century. Because the monasteries were the targets of so many raids and burnings, the records of the Vikings' misdeeds fill many pages of the annals. Incidentally, in view of the

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[53] There is some doubt about this example, as it has been amended by the editor from MS 'fra(n-a)chaib'.

debate among historians as to the relative import of the battle of Clontarf, it may be of significance that the number of entries relating to the Northmen for the fifty years after 1014, when compared with the fifty preceding years, shows a drop from thirty-two to nineteen in AU, and in the case of AI, an even more drastic fall from twenty-two to seven.

The Latin word *gens*, plural *gentes* ('race(s) of people'), and its derivative, *gentilis*, were both used in monastic circles in the Hebrew sense of 'gentile'. St Patrick himself, in his *Confessio*, uses the phrase *quia gentes erant*, 'because they were heathens'. He came to preach the gospel *ad Hibernas gentes*, 'to the heathen Irish'.[54] The first Viking raids on the north of Britain were noted in AU (794) as *Uastatio omnium insolarum Britannie a gentilibus*, but in the following year, they have *Loscadh Rechrainne o geinntib*, 'the burning of Rathlin [Island] by the *geinti*' (dative plural)—derived from *gentes* rather than *gentiles*. From then onwards, both *geinte* and *gentiles* indicated Norse heathens. AU use *geinte* over twenty times during the next century and a half, including *do ghentibh Atha Cliath*, 'by the heathens of Dublin', in 942 and a final one at 943. *Gentiles* is also found in Latin entries of the ninth century, with an outlying final example at 975.

There are no Latin forms of the word in AI, which first notice the heathens briefly in 796, *Geinte i nHerind*, 'the heathens in Ireland', and, like AU, use *geinti* for the last time in 943 to record the killing of Muirchertach mac Néill.

In 851 (AU), *dubgennti* or 'dark (dark-haired?) heathens' took over Dublin and drove out the *Finngaill*, 'fair foreigners'. In 852 at Snámh Aignech, and again in 877 at Loch Cuan, AU (but not AI) record sea-battles between *Dubgennti* and *Finngenti*. The dark-haired ones are generally thought of as coming from Denmark, and the fair heathens from Norway. There are frequent references to two distinct races thereafter.

GAILL, 'FOREIGNERS'

We know that Caesar's *Gallia* was divided into three parts, and St Patrick also spoke of it in the plural, *ad Gallias* (compare his *in Brittanniis*, above).[55] But AI refer to it in the singular in 619, *terremotus*

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[54] Bieler, *op. cit.*, pp. 67 and 77.

magnus in Gallia. Yet none of the Gallic race is mentioned in the annals—except perhaps in AU 730, *in Gall o Lilcach* (Lullymore, Co. Kildare), who is called 'Prudens' in FA (§214). By then, it had probably come to mean 'foreigner', since, as Cecile O'Rahilly comments, 'Gaulish merchants were for a long period the commonest foreigners on Irish soil'.[56]

Its application to Scandinavian foreigners first occurs in AU at 828. It displaced *geinti* only gradually at first, but totally by the mid-tenth century, until the coming of the Anglo-Normans, to whom its application was then transferred. Examples: 828 *o Gallaibh* 'by the foreigners'; 833 *for Gallu* 'upon the foreigners' (beside *o g(h)enntibh*, 'by the heathens', twice in that year); 837 *toisigh na nGall* 'of the leader of the foreigners' (earliest example with article); 947 *Gaill 7 Goidil* 'foreigners and Gaels'. AI introduce the word at 848 (*for Gullu* 'upon the foreigners') and follows much the same pattern.

Because the Northmen were concentrated in scattered enclaves around the coastline, it became necessary to distinguish one group from another. *Gaill Atha Cliath*, 'the foreigners of Dublin', are first noticed in AU in 845, and come under frequent notice in all the annals, especially in the tenth and eleventh centuries. *Gaill Locha da Chaech* ('of Waterford') come next, with four references in AU in 916–18. By 1170, their title had changed in both AU and AI to *Gaill Puirt Lairge* ('of Port Lairge [= Waterford]'). *Gaill Luimnigh* ('of Limerick'), while not recorded in AU prior to the Norman period, merit frequent mention in AI between 927 and 1125. *Gaill Chorcaighe* ('of Cork') are not noticed in any of the pre-Norman annals, which may account for the scarcity of Viking remains noted in recent excavations in Cork—though there certainly was, in the twelfth century, a *cantredum Ostmannorum* near Cork,[57] corresponding to Waterford's Gaultier (*Gall-Tír*) and Dublin's Fingall (*Fine Gall* in AI 1013).

As mentioned earlier, the connotation of *Gaill* altered suddenly and dramatically with the arrival of the Anglo-Normans. *Ar for Gallaibh Atha Cliath 7 Puirt Lairgi*, 'a slaughter upon the foreigners of Dublin and Waterford', according to AU (1170), was carried out *do*

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[55] *ibid.*, pp. 82 and 98.

[56] *Ireland and Wales*, p. 24.

[57] See K. W. Nicholls, 'Inquisitions of 1224 from the *Miscellanea of the Exchequer*', in *Analecta Hibernica*, 27 (1972), 103–12 (p. 111).

Allmurchaibh, 'by overseas men'. The very next year, however, Hasculf mac Thorkil, ex-king of Dublin, was slain *do na Gallaibh cetna*, 'by the same foreigners', the *Gaill* here being the *Allmurchaigh* of the previous year. From then on, *Gaill* was universally applied to the Anglo-Normans and their descendants in Ireland. It often had appended to it names of provinces or towns, while a common expression was *Gaill Éireann*, denoting a combination of all the Anglo-Normans in Ireland.

An unusual appellation, found only in AI, where it occurs twelve times between 1171 and 1211, is *Gaill Ghlasa*. One of the meanings of *glas* is a metallic colour, as in *taitnem . . . na glasluirech*, 'shining of grey-blue breastplates'.[58] It was probably a term to describe the armoured Anglo-Normans, adopted by the scribe of 1171 and continued by his successors for the next forty years. It has no connexion with English *galloglas*, which comes from the Irish word *gallóglach* or 'foreign soldier'.

GALL-GHAEDHIL

This term, meaning 'foreign Irish', occurs in two separate contexts, the first being in Viking times, in the mid-ninth century. AU refer to them three times in 856–57; firstly, the high-king, Máel Sechlainn, *co nGallghoidhelaib leis*, 'along with Gall-ghaedhil', fought the heathens, and later Áed son of Niall slaughtered a great number of them. In the following year, they were involved in an inter-Viking affray in Munster, and then they disappear as suddenly as they appeared. FA (856) describe them as Irish (*Scuit*), but foster-children of the Northmen; the editor of FA, Dr Radner, suggests that they were adult camp-followers, impressed by Viking tactics.

The name re-appears in AU in 1034, with the death of Suibne, son of Cináed, and brother of Malcolm II, king of Scotland. Suibne is titled *ri Gallgaidhel*, 'king of the Gall-Ghaedhil', which is taken to mean the Norse-Gaelic population of what is now Galloway. In Norse sources, the inhabitants of Galloway were known as *Víkinga-Skotar*, a direct translation of Gall-Ghaedhil.[59] It was from that part of Scotland and

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[58] 'Cath Catharda', line 5447, in *Caithréim Thoirdhealbhaigh*, edited by S. H. O'Grady, Irish Texts Society, vols XXVI–XXVII (1929).
[59] A. Walsh, *Scandinavian Relations with Ireland during the Viking Period* (Dublin, 1922), p. 11.

from the Hebrides (*Inse Gall*, 'islands of the foreigners', in the annals) that the later *Gallóglaigh*, or Galloglas, came, family groups highly valued for their military prowess—Mac Sweeneys, Mac Donnells, Mac Cabes, Mac Sheehys, Mac Alisters, and Mac Rorys.[60]

Finngaill and *Dubgaill*, 'dark' and 'fair foreigners', are found in AU (but not in AI) as alternatives to *Finngenti* and *Dubgennti* (e.g. 851 *ár mór du Finngallaibh*, 'a great slaughter upon the fair-foreigners', and 867 *re nDubghallaib*, 'by the dark-foreigners'), until 927, when they were united under Sitric son of Ivar, *ri Dubgall 7 Finngall*, 'king of the dark and fair foreigners'. *Dubhghall* (Dougal) became popular as a personal name in the north of Ireland, where its first bearer was Dubgall son of Áed, king of Ulaid, killed in 925 (AU) by his own people. From it we derive the surnames Ó Dubhgaill (Doyle) and Mac Dubhghaill (Mac Dowell).

NORDMAINN, 'NORWEGIANS'

The relative distribution of Scandinavian settlement in the British Isles, as between *Norðmenn* (Norwegians) and *Danir* (Danes), has been the subject of a recent study by Fellows-Jensen.[61] In the Irish annals, *Danir* are not mentioned until the late tenth century, but *Norðmenn* make a sudden appearance in the mid-ninth.[62] The earliest example in AU—and the only one in Irish—is *di Norddmannaibh* in 837. But from 842 and up to 937, quite a spate of examples in AU display Latin inflexions: *Nordmannis*, *Nordmannos*, *Nordmannorum*. CS and FA similarly began to use *Nordmanni* in the 850s, with the latter on two occasions using the modern derivative *Nordmannaigh*.

There must surely be a connexion between the arrival of the *Dubgennti* in Dublin in 851 and the appearance of a new name in the annals. *Nordmanni* was not a Latin translation of *Gaill*, but a name used to distinguish the Norwegians from *gennti*, *dubgennti* or *gentiles*. Perhaps it was the adoption by the Northmen of the Christian religion

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[60] E. Curtis, *A History of Medieval Ireland*, 2nd edition (London, 1938), pp. 145–49.
[61] Gillian Fellows-Jensen, 'To Divide the Danes from the Norwegians: On Scandinavian Settlement in the British Isles', *Nomina*, 11 (1987), 35–60.
[62] I have already written of a similar (but very short-lived) tenth-century borrowing, *Laghmainn*: Diarmuid Ó Murchadha, 'Lagmainn, logmenn', *Ainm*, 2 (1987), 136–40.

which made the Latin *gentiles* inappropriate from the mid-ninth century on. A fragment of Latin annals preserved in St Mary's Abbey, Dublin, contains an intriguing comment, under 1095: *Notandum vero quod Norwagenses seu Ostmanni qui tunc civitates Hibernie et maritima occupabant, Normanni, in Christo, sunt vocati*, 'It is to be noted that the Norwegians or Eastmen who then occupied the towns and shores of Ireland are called "Normans" in Christ'.[63]

The modern use of *Normannaigh* to denote the late twelfth-century Anglo-Norman invaders is never found in the annals, but *Dux Normannie* (Duke of Normandy) occurs in AU 1171, Gaelicized as *Diuic na hOrumointi/Normointi* in MIA 1165 and 1172.

LOCHLAINN, 'SCANDINAVIANS'

For Irish literary people from the seventeenth century on, almost the only word for the Scandinavians was *na Lochlannaigh*, and their country of origin *an Lochlann*. This was a late development, however. In some of the old sagas, a faraway country is named (in dative) *Loithlind* or *Laithlind*. Its position was never clearly defined, but when the Northmen appeared, it came to be associated with them—as in the well-known quatrain written on the margin of a ninth-century MS in St Gall, Switzerland.[64]

AU in 848 tell of the fall of Tomrair, *tanise righ Laithlinne*, 'heir apparent of the king of Lochlann', and in 853 announces the coming of *Amhlaim m. righ Laithlinde*. Marstrander believed that the name developed from that of Rögaland, a part of west Norway, and that *Iruaith* (a similar name found in sagas) derived from the Hördar, a tribe immediately to the north of Rögaland.[65] Whatever its origins, by the early twelfth century (AU 1102–03) we find a change from *th* to *ch*, in *ri Lochlainne*, and I believe that this came about because *loch*, as well as meaning a lake, also signified a harbour or fiord (as in Loch Cuan = Strangford Lough) and 'Fiordland' provided a good description of Norway.

Frequent use of the dative *Lochlainn* induced a tendency to treat the word as a plural *-o* stem population-name, e.g. AU 1263 *ri Lochlann*;[66] Tig.4 1058 *mac ríg Lochland*; CGG 812 *ó Lochlannaib*; CS

[63] *Chartularies of St Mary's Abbey*, II, 251.
[64] Stokes and Strachan, *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus*, II, 290.
[65] Carl Marstrander, 'Lochlainn', *Ériu*, 5 (1911), 250–51.

848 *Tanaissi Righ Lochlánn*; MIA 1171 *do Lochlannaibh* (beside *dona Lochlannachibh*), and 1394 *o tangadar loingsi Lochlund*, 'since the Norse ships came'.

Like *Dubhgall*, *Lochlainn* (indeclinable) was adopted as a personal name, making its first appearance among the inhabitants of the rocky Burren country of Co. Clare. Lochlaind mac Maíl Shechnaill, royal heir of Corcu Mruadh, was killed while assisting Brian Boru in an attack on Connacht in 983 (AI), so he was christened probably in the mid-tenth century. After another Lochlainn of the Corcu Mruadh was slain in 1015 (AI), the leading family there for many centuries afterwards were the Uí Lochlainn. In Ulster, another Lochlainn mac Maíl Shechlainn was killed in 1023 (AU). His grandson, Domhnall, claimed the kingship of Ireland, and so Ó Lochlainn and Mac Lochlainn became the leading families of the kingly Uí Néill.

DANAIR, 'DANES'

This brings us to the final name, *Danair*, another borrowing (from Old Norse *Danir*) also used as a plural *-o* stem. It made only the briefest of appearances in the older annals, AI showing no examples at all and AU a total of five, all occurring within a span of five years: *na Danair* in 986 and *(na) Danaraibh* four times between then and 990. However, later compilations took it up enthusiastically, FA for instance, and CGG, which also uses an adjective formed from it, as in *Dubgenti Danarda*, in the sense of 'fierce' or 'merciless'. CGG also makes much use of the term *Danmarcaigh* (derived from *Danmark*) in phrases such as *do Dhanmarccachaibh ocus d'allmurchoibh*. Perhaps the popularity of *Danair* arose from its resemblance to the Irish word *dána*, meaning 'daring' or 'fearless'; ALC uses the two words together: *míle láoch do dhubh Danaroibh dána*, 'a thousand warriors of bold black Danes'.

As is well-known, 'Danes' became the popular name in English for all the Scandinavian invaders who came to Ireland. Even our ringforts, mostly of the early Christian era, became 'Danish forts'. Apparently, an old tradition lingered on that the Danes would one day return and conquer Ireland. At the time of the battle of the Boyne in 1690, King

[66] Also in AU 1014, where the phrase expanded by the editors as *do Ghallaib Lochlainn*, 'of the foreigners of Scandinavia', probably should read *do Ghallaib Lochlann*.

William's army had been augmented by a body of Danish troops under the Duke of Würtemberg. An Irish Jacobite appeal deplored William's conduct in summoning 'the old invaders of our country, the Danes, who held our ancestors in a war of 300 years'![67]

Some Commemorative British Place-Names in Dublin City

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A surprisingly large number of place-names derived from Britain have been incorporated into the toponymy of Ireland's capital city. This has happened in a circuitous fashion, as most of the names in question formed parts of titles of individuals who were honoured by Dublin Corporation in times gone by. In many cases, those to whom the streets or other features of the urban landscape were dedicated have long since been forgotten, but the toponymic elements in their titles have survived to become a familiar part of the urban scene. The titles in question were usually held by major landowners on whose goodwill the Corporation was dependent, or by senior figures in the former British administration in Ireland, or by past or present members of the Corporation itself. A selection of such names follows.

Aberdeen Street was named after the Earl of Aberdeen, who was the English Lord Lieutenant (or Governor) in 1886 and again in 1905.[1] Aldborough Court and Aldborough Place, both built around the year 1800, were so called from their proximity to Aldborough House (1796), the home of Viscount Aldborough, whose family came from Aldeburgh in Norfolk.[2] Anglesea Street incorporates a corrupt form of Anglesey, and is so called from a local land-owner, Arthur Annesley, first Earl of Anglesey.[3] Arran Quay (1728) was called after Charles Butler, the Earl of Arran. He was Lord Lieutenant for two

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[1] C. T. McCready, *Dublin Street Names* (Dublin, 1892), p. 1. See also: Bernard and Ashworth P. Burke, *A Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Peerage and Baronetage, the Privy Council, Knightage and Companionage*, 69th edition (London, 1907), p. 8. The family name of the Earls of Aberdeen was Gordon.

[2] McCready, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

[3] McCready, *op. cit.*, p. 3. For biographical details, see Henry Boylan, *A Dictionary of Irish Biography* (Dublin, 1978), pp. 10–11, and Alfred Webb, *A Compendium of Irish Biography* (Dublin, 1989), pp. 4–5.