

Kings of Man




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Front Cover

Godred Crovan, depicted in a stained glass window in Tynwald Chamber, Douglas

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Norse Kings of Man

It is worth noting that in the period commencing with the Norse rule of Man and the coming of the Stanley's, what happened here was largely dependant on what was happening elsewhere in the British Isles.

What is absolutely certain is that the influence of the Scandinavian rulers has withstood the test of time and still effects everyday life on the Island. We have only to look at our land tenure system, our legislative system and our ecclesiastic system and well as a large number of place names to understand this.

Under this Scandinavian period of rule the people of the Island are thought to have enjoyed considerable prosperity. There was a significant export trade in corn, hides, salt fish, raw wool and woollen cloth. It is almost certain that lead was exported and this lead would have an increasing trade value especially for ecclesiastical purposes like roofing and rainwater shoots for the abbeys and casing for their windows. Imports to the Island at this time would include wine and foods, fine cloth, silks, timber and metals especially iron.

Life changed with the coming of Scottish rule. No sooner was Magus dead and Alexander had laid claim to the Islands than Alexander had to send a military mission to the island to quell a rebellion. The fight with the Manx chieftains was settled by way of a compromise, the terms of which can still be found in Edinburgh Castle. This document stipulated that Alexander "shall not go to Mann for a space of time."

What do we know about these kings?

Godred Crovan 1079 – 1095



Godred Crovan (Old Irish: *Gofraid mac meic Arailt*, *Gofraid Méranech*) (died 1095) was a Norse-Gael ruler of Dublin, the Isle of Man and the Hebrides in the second half of the 11th century. Godred's epithet Crovan means white hand (Middle Irish: *crobh bhan*). In Manx folklore he is known as **King Orry**.

The notice of Godred's death in the Annals of Tigernach calls him *Gofraid mac meic Aralt* or Godred, son of Harald's son. As a result, it has been suggested that Godred was a son, or nephew, of the Norse-Gael king Imar mac Arailt (or Ivar Haraldsson) who ruled Dublin from 1038 to 1046, who was in turn a nephew of Sigtrygg Silkbeard. The Chronicle of Man reports that Godred, who it calls the son of Harald the Black of Iceland, was among the survivors of Harald Hardraade's defeat at battle of Stamford Bridge on 25 September 1066, and that he took refuge with his kinsman Godred Sigtryggsson, then king of the Isle of Man. Irish sources tell us that Godred Sigtryggsson was subject to the Irish king of Dublin, Murchad son of Diarmait mac Mail na mBo of the Uí Cheinnselaig. Godred and Murchad both died in 1070, and the rule of the Isle of Man passed to Godred's son Fingall.

Harald III Sigurdsson (1015 – September 25, 1066), later surnamed Harald Hardråde

Time in the Byzantine Empire

Some years after Harald and his men had entered the land of the Rus, they packed up and left for the heart of the Byzantine Empire, the city of Constantinople. At the time, the Byzantine Empire was the wealthiest empire in Medieval Europe and the Near East. Harald and his men pledged themselves to the service of the armies of the empire. Harald's

forces joined the elite mercenary unit known as the Varangian Guard. It was not long until Harald had proven himself in battle and gained the respect of his fellow guardsmen. Harald became the leader of the entire force and used this power to undertake his own missions. Harald's forces won a great many victories in North Africa, Syria and Sicily. Through ingenuity, he and his men were able to besiege and defeat a number of castles. A contemporary source reports such tactics as attaching burning resin to birds, setting the castle ablaze, and feigning reluctance to fight, only to launch an attack at the most advantageous moment. Harald was able to build a large fortune in plunder from his victories.

In 1079, the Chronicle of Man says that Godred invaded the Isle of Man three times:

In the year 1056 [1079], Godred Crovan collected a number of ships and came to Man; he gave battle to the natives but was defeated, and forced to fly. Again he assembled an army and a fleet, came to Man, encountered the Manxmen, was defeated and put to flight. A third time he collected a numerous body of followers, came by night to the port called Ramsey, and concealed 300 men in a wood, on the sloping brow of a hill called Snaefell. At daylight the men of Man drew up in order of battle, and, with a mighty rush, encountered Godred. During the heat of the contest the 300 men, rising from the ambush in the rear, threw the Manxmen into disorder, and compelled them to fly.

The Chronicle says, and Irish sources agree, that Godred then took Dublin although the date is unknown. In 1087 the Annals of Ulster record that "the grandsons of Ragnall" were killed on an expedition to the Isle of Man. In 1094 Godred was driven out of Dublin by Muirheartach Ua Briain. He died the following year, "of pestilence" according the Annals of the Four Masters, on Islay.

Godred left three known sons, Lagmann, Olaf and Harald. Harald was blinded by Lagmann and disappears from the record, but the descendants of Lagmann and Olaf ruled the Kingdom of the Isles until the rise of Somerled and his sons, and ruled the Isle of Man until the end of the kingdom 1265 and its annexation by Alexander III, King of Scots. Even as late as 1275 Godred son of the last king of Man tried to seize the island.

The Chronicle of Man and the Isles¹ tells us, “A third time ‘Godred Crovan’ collected a numerous body of followers, came by night to the port called Ramsey, and concealed 300 men in a wood, on the sloping brow of a hill called Scacafel (i.e. Skyhill). At daylight the men of Man drew up in order of battle, and, with a mighty rush, encountered Godred. During the heat of the contest the 300 men, rising from the ambushade in the rear, threw the Manxmen into disorder, and compelled them to fly. When the natives saw that they were overpowered, and had no means of escape (for the tide had filled the bed of the river Sulby, and on the other side the enemy was closely pursuing them), those who remained, with piteous cries, begged Godred to spare their lives. Godred, yielding to feelings of mercy, and moved with compassion for their misfortune, *for he had been brought up amongst them for some time*, recalled his army, and forbade further pursuit. Next day Godred gave his army the option of having the country divided amongst them if they preferred to remain and inhabit it, or of taking everything it contained worth having, and returning to their homes. The soldiers preferred plundering the whole island, and returning home enriched by its wealth. Godred then granted to the few islanders who had remained with him, the southern part of the island, and to the surviving Manxmen the northern portion, on condition that none of them should ever presume to claim on any of the land by hereditary right. Hence it arises that up to the present day the whole island belongs to the king alone, and that all its revenues are his.”

The most recent book on this period by G.V. C. Young² reminds us that we know very little about Godred Crovan’s background. What we do know is that he was the son of King Harald the Black of Islay and grandson of Godred Erikson (a son of Erik Bloodaxe by his marriage to the “Heiress of Islay”). It is thought that he was married to Ragnhild, a daughter of King Harald the Ruthless of Norway.

It would appear that his youngest son was brought up in the English Court and if this was so then it would indicate that Godred was on good terms with the English monarchy.

Young³ states that Godred fought alongside Harald the Ruthless against Harald of Wessex battle of Stamford Bridge just before the battle of Hastings in 1066.

¹ Cronica Reyum Mannie et Insularum

² The History of the Isle of Man under the Norse, or Now through a glass darkly, G.V.C. Young

³ The History of the Isle of Man under the Norse, or Now through a glass darkly, G.V.C. Young

A.W. Moore⁴ points out that according to the Chronicle Godred Crovan “subdued Dublin, and a great part of Leinster, and held the Scots in such subjection that no one who built a vessel dared to insert more than three bolts.” This was to prevent them building large boats that could compete with his own, so that he could maintain his maritime supremacy.

Young⁵ believes that Godred Crovan had three homes. One in the Island possibly near Ramsey, one in Dublin and the third and principle family home in the Hebrides in Islay.

It is clear from the Chronicle⁶ that Godred “reigned for 16 years and died in the island called Islay.”

Lagman 1095 - 1102⁷

Lagman of the Isle of Man

From Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia

Lagman of the Isle of Man was King of the Isle of Man and the Isles between 1102 and 1104. One of the four Houses of The Buchan School in the Isle of Man is named in memory of Lagman, King of Man.

He appears to be a son of King Godred Crovan. He got the throne only after the Norwegian king Magnus Barefoot had exited, having caused interruption in successions in Orkneys and in Mann at least. Apparently Lagman was succeeded by one of his brothers, Harald.

It is interesting to note that one of Godred Crovan’s sons, Lagman (the Prince of Ulst) was captured by King Magus Barelegs of Norway. [Barelegs was so called because he wore a kilt.] Lagman had been acting as his father’s deputy in the Sudreys. Lagman was the eldest son, followed by Harald and then Olaf. It is possible that Lagman Godredson became King of Man during the period 1095 – 1102.

A.W. Moore⁸ tells us that Lagman deprived his brother Harald of his eyes. Apparently Harald had been in rebellion against his brother.

⁴ A History of the Isle of Man Vol I, A.W. Moore

⁵ The History of the Isle of Man under the Norse, or Now through a glass darkly, G.V.C. Young

⁶ Cronica Reyum Mannie et Insularum

⁷ From Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia

Young⁹ says that the Chronicle deals with the reign of Lagman in the three sentences, “Lagman, the oldest seized the reins of government, and reigned seven years. Harald, his brother continued long in rebellion against him till at length he was taken, mutilated, and deprived of his eyes. Afterward, Lagman repented that he had put out his brother’s eyes, voluntarily resigned the kingdom, took the cross, and went to Jerusalem, where he died.”

Donald 1103 - 1105

A.W. Moore tells us that on hearing of the death of Lagman “all the chiefs of the Isles.....sent messengers to Murchadh O’Brien, King of Ireland begging of him to send some competent person of the royal race to be their king, till Olaf, son of Godred Crovan, should be grown up. The king willingly assented and sent them one Donald, son of Teige, admonishing him to govern with all mildness and moderation a kingdom which was not his.”

It is certain that Donald paid little heed to these instruction, since we learn, “after taking possession of the kingdom, (Donald) made light of the directions of his lord, and abusing his power very tyrannically, and committing many enormities, reigned as a monster for three years.”¹⁰

After three years all the chiefs of the Islands had had enough and conspired together, and, rising in a body, drove Donald from the territory. Donald fled to Ireland and never returned.

Olaf I [the Dwarf] 1105 – 53

Olav I was [King of Man and the Isles](#) possibly 1097-98 and 1103-53. His nickname was Morsel. He was born around 1080 and died 29 June 1153.

His father was king [Godred Crovan](#). He succeeded, either together or after, his one or two brothers. Lagman who held the throne at least 1102-04 apparently was his (eldest) brother.

Norway's kings Magnus Barefoot and Sigurd Jorsalafare annexed the kingdom and caused disruption in successions. For forty years Olaf ruled then uncontested.

The kingdom of the Isles encompassed the Isle of Man and the Hebrides, extending from the Calf of Man to the Butt of Lewis. Olaf adopted the Latin style "rex

⁸ A History of the Isle of Man Vol I, A.W. Moore

⁹ The History of the Isle of Man under the Norse, or Now through a glass darkly, G.V.C. Young

¹⁰ A History of the Isle of Man Vol I, A.W. Moore

insularum" in his charters, a translation of the Gaelic title "ri Innse Gall" (literally 'king of the foreigners' isles'), which had been in use since the late tenth century.

The islands which were under his rule were called the *Sullr-eyjar* (Sudreys or the south isles, in contradistinction to the *Norsr-eyjar*, or the "north isles," i.e. the Orkneys and [Shetlands](#), and they consisted of the [Hebrides](#), and of all the smaller western islands of [Scotland](#), with Man.

took the title of *Rex Manniae et Insularum* ([King of Man and the Isles](#)).

Olaf I exercised considerable power, and according to the Chronicle, maintained such close alliance with the kings of Ireland and Scotland that no one ventured to disturb the Isles during his time (1113 - 1152).

In the 1130's the Church sent a small mission to establish the first [bishopric](#) on the Isle of Man, and appointed [Wimund](#) as the first Bishop. He soon after gave up his role as fisher of men, and became the hunter of men, embarking with a band of followers on a career of murder and looting throughout Scotland and the surrounding islands.

During the whole of the Scandinavian period the isles remained nominally under the suzerainty of the kings of [Norway](#), but the Norwegians only occasionally asserted it with any vigour. [Magnus Barfod](#) about [1100](#) conquered the isles.

Marriage & Children

Olaf's first wife was [Aufrica of Galloway](#), who bore him son and successor, king Godred IV.

His second wife was Ingeborg Haakonsdottir, daughter of Haco, Earl of Orkneys. This marriage produced at least daughter Ragnhild, who married [Somerled](#), king of Kintyre and the Isles.

Reginald III, Lagmann and Harald are mentioned as his other sons.

After half a century of reign, Olaf I was killed.

Young¹¹ reports that the Chronicle tells us "He [Olaf Godredson] was a man of peace, and was in such close alliance with all the kings of Ireland and Scotland, that no one ventured to disturb the kingdom of the Isles during his time. He took a wife named Affrica, daughter of Fergus of Galloway, by whom he had issue three sons, Reginald, Lagman and Harold, and many daughters, one of whom married to Sumerled, Lord of Argyll; and this was the cause of the ruin of the whole kingdom of the

¹¹ The History of the Isle of Man under the Norse, or Now through a glass darkly, G.V.C. Young

Isles for he had issue by her four sons, Dugald, Reginald, Angus and Olaf of whom we shall speak more fully hereafter.”

Affrica was the daughter of Elizabeth and Elizabeth was the natural daughter of King Henry I of England and also it must be remembered that Olaf was brought up in the court of Henry I.

Henry I was the fourth and most capable son of William the Conqueror and Matilda born 1068, and nicknamed “Beauclerc” (fine scholar) for his above average education. Henry’s was the longest reign of the Noram line, lasting thirty-five years. It is thought that Henry was the first Norman king to be fluent in English. Henry allegedly died by eating too many lamreys (fish) in 1135.

Olaf I Godredson was a small man and had the nickname *Kleining* (or Dwarf). Young reminds us that the Chronicle has the following description of King Olaf’s character, “He was devout; and zealous in promoting the devine service; and acceppable to God and man, except in as much as he indulged too much in the domestic vice of kings.” Young goes on to tell us that “the domestic vice of kings” is an obvious allusion to the fact that King Olaf went for having “extra wives”, a habit frowned upon by the Church.

Of one thing we can be certain about is that King Olaf I advanced the cause of Christianity in the Isle of Man. It would seem as if Olaf the Dwarf lived in the South of the Island, not like the former Kings, in the Ramsey area. Young claims the evidence to support this is largely circumstantial. It is probable that the Bishop’s Church was transferred from Kirk Christ, Lezayre to Kirk Christ, Rushen. Certainly during this time it was usual for the royal residence and the episcopal seat to be near each other. Young is of the view that Cronk Howe Mooar was a royal fort.

During the 1130’s King Olaf the Dwarf invited the Abbot of Furness to come to the Island, and, as a result of this visit, he issued to the Abbot of Furness the Charter giving the Abbots of Furness the right on which to build a monastery in the South of the Isle of Man.

A.W. Moore tells us the the reign of Olaf I was a period of of unbroken peace, a result which was evidently secured by his wise and politic conduct in not only keeping on good terms with the English monarchs, but in maintaining “such close alliance with the Kings of

Ireland and Scotland that no one ventured to disturb the kingdom of the Isles during his time.”

The end of his reign came when his three nephews, the sons of his brother Harold came from Dublin. These three brothers had been brought up in Dublin, came to the Island with a number of followers, “and demanded from the King one half of the whole kingdom of the Isles for themselves. Olaf having heard their application, and being desirous to pacify them, answered that he would take advice on the subject. When the day and place for holding a meeting had been agreed upon, these most wicked men spent the interval in planning the death of the King. On the appointed day both parties met at the port called Ramsey, and sat down in order, the King and his followers on one side and they with theirs on the other; Reginald, the second brother, who was to give the fatal blow, stood apart, speaking to one of the chiefs of the country. On being summoned to approach the King, turning to him, as if in the act of saluting, he raised his gleaming battle-axe on high, and at a blow cut off the King’s head.” So died King Olaf I.

Reginald I 1153 - 1154

After the murder of Olaf I, his nephews, sons of his brother Harald, divided the country between them and then sailed to Galloway with the intention of conquering it, but they were driven out. On their return to the Island they revenged themselves by massacring some of the people of Galloway who resided here and by expelling others.

These brothers had been brought up in Dublin and probably were backed by the Irish in the claim for the Sudreyan throne. They did not remain on the throne for very long because in the autumn of 1154 Godred IV (Godred Olafson) returned from Norway. Godred IV was the son of King Olaf I The Dwarf.

Godred II (IV) 1154 – 1164

Godfred V (died [November 10, 1187](#)) was [King of the Isle of Man and the Isles](#) from [1153 – 1158](#) and [King of Man](#) from [1164 – 1187](#). He was the son of king [Olaf I of Man and Isles](#), "Olav Morsel," and Aufrica of [Galloway](#). His half-sister Ragnhailt married [Somerled](#), King of [Kintyre](#), in [1140](#) who succeeded him as King after they battled. Kings after Somerled were then usurper-brother [Reginald III](#), then his own son [Reginald IV](#).

Reign

1153 saw the deaths of two kings: [David I](#) of Scotland and [Amhlaibh of Man](#). There was much confusion and discord as a result and Somerled took his chance - making offensive moves against both [Scotland](#) and Man. A summoning was sent to Somerled Dougal, the son of Somerled and Ragnhail - to move so he might be "King over the Isles". In [1156](#) Goraidh was defeated in battle against 80 ships of Somerleds fleet and the two enemies partitioned the isles between them. Goraidh kept the islands north of [Ardnamurchan](#) with Somerled gaining the rest. However, two years following this Somerled returned to the [Isle of Man](#) with 53 warships. He defeated Goraidh again and this time forced him to flee to [Norway](#). Somerled's kingdom now stretched from the Isle of Man to the Butt of Lewis. At his time, southern isles had been lost, but northern Hebrides belonged to Man's realm. Around 1064, his younger brother Ragnald III had usurped the throne, but Godfred soon reasserted his rule.

Death & Succession

He died November 10 1187 and was succeeded by his elder son Ragnald IV. His youngest son Olav II was apparently very little at the time. His sons were King Reginald IV, Ivar and lastly, from third marriage with Findguala from Ireland, king Olav II. The islands which were under his rule were called the *Suðr-eyjar* (Sudreys or the south isles, in contradistinction to the *Norðr-eyjar*, or the "north isles," i.e. the Orkneys and [Shetlands](#), and they consisted of the [Hebrides](#), with Man. He used the title of *Rex Manniae et Insularum* ([King of Man and the Isles](#)). Godfred who for a short period ruled over Dublin also, as a result of a quarrel with [Somerled](#), the ruler of [Argyll](#), in 1156, lost the smaller islands off the coast of Argyll. An independent sovereignty thus appeared between the two divisions of his kingdom.

Known as Godred the Black, he succeeded his father Olaf I (the Red).

In 1152 Godred had gone to Norway to see King Hinge, who at that time ruled Norway. The purpose of the visit is not known although it might have been due to fears of his father, Olaf, that part of the Sudreys might be attacked by King David I of Scotland.

Godred returned from Norway with five ships stopping at the Orkneys. The Chronicle continues the story, "All the chiefs of the Isles were rejoiced when they heard of his arrival, and assembling together unanimously elected him for king. Godred then came to Man, seized the three sons of Harald, and, to avenge his father's murder, awarded them the death they deserved. Another story is that he put out the eyes of two of them, and put the third to death."

The Chronicle tells us that "in the third year of his reign the people of Dublin sent to request him to reign over them. Whedrupon, assembling a great number of ships, and a large army, he went to Dublin, where he was received by the citizens with great satisfaction and demonstrations of joy."

In the Story of the Isle of Man, by C.W. Airne¹², Airne tell us that “Olaf was succeeded in 1154 by his eldest son, Godred II. He was strong, and generous to the Church, but his ambitions brought him nothing but troubles. He confirmed his father’s charter to Rushen Abbey and, in 1176, granted the Curragh swamp of Mirecogh to Rivaulx Abbey. The monastery was built there, it never prospered; it was later abandoned and added with its monks to Rushen.”

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¹² The Story of the Isle of Man Vol, The Earliest time to 1406, by C.W. Airne, M.A. and published by the author in 1949

Somerled 1158 - 1164

Jarl of Argyll, married Raghildas, illegitimate daughter of Olaf the Red. He fought a sea battle in 1156 against Godred II, King of Man. As neither gained a victory they agreed to share the Southern Isles between them. Somerled took Mull and part of the Islay group whilst Godred retained Skye the remainder of the Islay group as well as Man. In 1158 Somerled arrived in Ramsey Bay with 60 ships and forced Godred to flee to Norway to seek help. Somerled ruled as Lord of Man until 1164 when he was killed at Renfrew whilst engaged in an invasion of Scotland. His daughter married Bishop Wimund.

Somerled (Old Norse *Sumarliði*, Scottish Gaelic *Somhairle*) was a military and political leader of the Scottish Isles in the 12th century who was known in Gaelic as *ri Innse Gall* ("King of the Hebrides").

Somerled first appears in historical chronicles in the year 1140 as the regulus, or King, of Kintyre (Cinn Tìre) when he marries Ragnailt the daughter of Amhlaibh (or Olaf), King of the Isle of Man. 1153 saw the deaths of two kings: David I of Scotland and Amhlaibh of Man. There was much confusion and discord as a result and Somerled took his chance - making offensive moves against both Scotland and Man under his brother in law Goraidh mac Amhlaibh.

A summoning was sent to Somerled Dougal - Somerled's own son by his wife, the daughter of the Manx King - to move so he might be "King over the Isles". In 1156 Goraidh was defeated in battle against 80 ships of Somerled's fleet and the two enemies partitioned the isles between them. Goraidh kept the islands north of Ardnamurchan with Somerled gaining the rest. However, two years following this Somerled returned to the Isle of Man with 53 warships. He defeated Goraidh again and this time forced him to flee to Norway. Somerled's kingdom now stretched from the Isle of Man to the Butt of Lewis.

Thus both Viking and Scot formed one people under a single lord and came to share a single culture, one way of life - they were to become a powerful and noted race known as the Gall-Gaidheal, literally meaning 'Foreign-Gaels'. It was upon the seas their power was situated under the rule of the kings of the isles yet new enemies arose in the East. The Stewarts made inroads in the west coast and eventually Somerled assembled a sizeable army to repel them. He advanced to the centre of the Stewarts own territory, to Renfrew, where a great battle was fought in 1164. Much confusion surrounds the manner of the battle, and indeed whether a battle occurred at all, but what is certain is that Somerled was

killed. Although the how of Somerled's death is also unsure, what is certain is that following the death of their great leader his army was greatly dispirited and retreated from the area.

Following the death of Somerled several powerful lords emerged from within his kingdom. The lordship was contested by two main families; that of Somerled and his descendants and that of the descendants of Goraidh mac Amhlaibh. During the 12th and 13th centuries the Scandinavian world saw much change in methods of rule and administration which ultimately resulted in more strongly centralized, unified kingdoms such as Denmark and Norway. However this did not happen in the Kingdom of the Isles which was instead absorbed into the greater Kingdom of Scotland albeit its place in that state and the loyalty of its inhabitants to the King of Scots would remain peripheral and temperamental for centuries to come.



Image of a Highland Galley Under Sail, in St Clement's Church, Harris

Somerled (a.k.a. *Sumarlidhi Höld*) was born in about 1113 in Morvern. His father was Gillebride Mac Gille Adomnan, a descendant of a noble Gaelic family who were probably an offshoot of the House of Alpin at the time Kenneth I combined Dalriada with Pictavia. Somerled's mother was of Norse descent. The wider picture in Scotland at the time is set out in our Historical Timeline.

Somerled's grandfather, Gilledomman of the Isles, had been defeated by the Norse and exiled to Ireland. When he was a child, Somerled's more immediate family was also expelled from their home and sent to Ireland.

His father Gillebride raised an army of 500 and returned to Morvern to regain their lands; but was beaten off and killed.

Much of Somerled's youth was spent on the margins of life in his native land. But some time around 1135 he became the leader of a rebellion against the Norse control. He successfully cleared Morvern, Lochaber and the northern part of Argyll from Norse influence and became known as Thane of Argyll: possibly with the formal endorsement of David I of Scotland who would have been grateful to see the Norse tide turned back in at least one part of Scotland.

In 1140, Somerled extended his area of influence by marrying Ragnhild, daughter of Olaf the Red (Olaf I The Red Godredson), the Norse King of Man, whose territory included the Hebrides. They had three sons, Dughall, Ragnald, and Aonghus. Somerled also had one son by a previous marriage: Gillecillum. Shortly afterwards Somerled helped suppress an uprising against Olaf the Red.

In 1143 Olaf the Red was murdered by the sons of his brother Harold but was succeeded as King of Man by his son (and Somerled's brother in law) Ochraidh Godred II the Black Olafson, or Godfrey the Black. Godfrey ruled with a heavy hand, and was deeply unpopular. In 1158 there was an uprising against Godfrey, and this time Somerled backed it.

Somerled's involvement proved decisive, and using a fleet of galleys fitted with rudders, the latest in naval technology, he defeated Godfrey and declared himself King of the Isles. The newly powerful Somerled was seen as a threat by King Malcolm IV of Scotland, and in 1160 the two met in indecisive battle in Argyll.

After an uneasy peace, conflict was resumed in early 1164. Somerled landed an army of 15,000 men from 164 galleys at Greenock. He intended to capture Renfrew, but somewhere near Inchinnan (close to the site of today's Glasgow Airport), Somerled was betrayed and killed, allegedly by a nephew in the pay of Malcolm IV. His army returned to their galleys and departed without engaging in a full scale battle. Accounts differ as to whether Somerled was buried on Iona or at the Monastery of Saddle.

Somerled is credited with breaking the stranglehold of the Norse on western Scotland and the Isles. There is a certain irony in this as he was himself Norse on his mother's side (and possibly in part on his father's side according to DNA studies); and he had married into the family of Olaf the Red. But after Somerled things had changed for good.

Somerled's Kingdom of the Isles was divided amongst his three sons from his marriage to Ragnhild. The descendants of Aonghus went on to form the Clan McRuari or McRory; the descendants of Dughall went on to form the Clan MacDougall; and the descendants of Ragnald's son Donald Mor McRanald would become the Clan Donald. Widespread DNA studies suggest that as many as 500,000 people living today are descended from Somerled: this is a number only bettered by Genghis Khan who, again according to DNA studies, is estimated to be the ancestor of 16 million people alive today.

DNA shows Celtic hero Somerled's Viking roots

IAN JOHNSTON SCIENCE CORRESPONDENT

A HISTORIC Celtic hero credited with driving the Vikings out of western Scotland was actually descended from a Norseman, according to research by a leading DNA expert.

According to traditional genealogies, Somerled, who is said to have died in 1164 after ousting the Vikings from Argyll, Kintyre and the Western Isles, was descended from an ancient royal line going back to when the Scots were living in Ireland.

But Bryan Sykes, an Oxford University professor of human genetics who set up a company called Oxford Ancestors to research people's DNA past, has discovered that Somerled's Y-chromosome - which is inherited through the male line - is of Norse origin.

Prof Sykes' studies of three Scottish clans have also led to the conclusion that some 500,000 people alive today are descended from Somerled - a number only bettered by Genghis Khan, who, among historical figures studied to date, has an estimated 16 million living descendants.

The MacDonald, MacDougall and MacAllister clans all claim descent from Somerled and Prof Sykes found that between 25 and 45 per cent of them shared the same Y-chromosome, of a kind normally found in Norway but rare in Scotland and Ireland.

By analysing the rate of mutation in DNA samples from clan members, Prof Sykes was able to show that the Y-chromosome came from a common ancestor who lived roughly 1,000 years ago.

He then tested five chiefs from the clans and discovered they all shared the same chromosome, which convinced him that the common ancestor must be Somerled, Lord of the Isles, in keeping with clan histories.

However, the analysis threw into doubt Somerled's own origins. Prof Sykes told *The Scotsman*: "In the traditional genealogy, Somerled is a great Celtic hero who drives the Norse from Scotland, but his Y-chromosome is definitely Norse. The genealogies trace him back to a long line of Irish kings. But that's not what the Y-chromosome says.

"He is certainly of Norse Viking paternal origin."

It is open to question whether Somerled, who made driving the Vikings from western Scotland his "cause célèbre", would have known the truth.

But Prof Sykes said: "I think it is something you would want to keep quiet."

The fact that clan chiefs still share the same basic Y-chromosome after some 87 generations shows that high-status women in the MacDonald, MacDougall and MacAllister clans were extremely faithful.

However, the large number of people alive today with the same Y-chromosome means the men in the family did not share this virtue to the same extent.

Maggie Macdonald, archivist of the Museum of the Isles on Skye, said Somerled was traditionally viewed as a Celtic hero.

But she added: "Maybe at that time it was more important who it was said you were descended from than who you were actually descended from.

"People may well have known his great-great-grandfather was a Viking.

"But it could have been that his great-great-grandmother had relations with someone who wasn't her husband - it could be Somerled wouldn't have known and thought he was this great Celtic hero."

Reginald II 1164

In 1164 Reginald, son of the deposed Godred II seized the Island following the death of Somerled, Lord of Man, but a few days later his

father returned to claim his kingship. A battle followed in which Reginald was taken and treated so brutally that he died.

Reginald I (III) 1187 - 1226

Reginald was an illegitimate son of Godred II whom he succeeded in 1187. In 1188 he confirmed the grant of land for the foundation of Rushen Abbey made by his grandfather, Olaf I in 1130 and also offered his Kingdom to the church and promised to pay a token fee of 12 marks sterling as recognition that he and his people should have fealty to the Pope and the Church.

Ragnald IV, King of the Isle of Man, referred to in some texts as Reginald, and numeraled sometimes IV, was a son of Godred IV.

passed the rightful successor to the throne and illegitimately rose to power, usurping his brother's right.

In the year 1219, he resigned his rulership to the Holy See, imitating King John of England, though he remained as king of the island. On 14 February 1229 he was killed by his brother Olaf, by some opinions the rightful heir to the throne.

Early in the 13th century, when Reginald of Man (reigned 1187 - 1229) did homage to King John of England (reigned 1199 - 1216), we hear for the first time of English intervention in the affairs of Man. But a period of Scots domination would precede the establishment of full English control. During the whole of the Scandinavian period the isles remained nominally under the suzerainty of the kings of Norway, but the Norwegians only occasionally asserted it with any vigour.

From the middle of the 12th century till 1217 the suzerainty, because Norway had become a prey to civil dissensions, had remained of a very shadowy character. But after that date it became a reality and Norway consequently came into collision with the growing power of Scotland.

His brother succeeded him as King Olaf II of the Isle of Man.

Olaf II 1226 - 1237



Olaf II was one of the three sons of Godred II, appointed by his father to take over the throne of Man but who was rejected by the Manx people because he was only a child and sent instead for his brother, Reginald.

King **Olaf II of the Isle of Man**, known as Olave in some texts, was the older brother of his predecessor, King Ragnald.

Olav's father was Gudrod V and mother Findguala from Ireland.

His younger brother Ragnald IV usurped his succession to the throne and it was only after years of campaigning against his brother's rule that Olaf killed him and took the throne in the year 1229. On the other hand, sources maintain that Findguala was his father's third and last wife, which would presumably make Olav as the younger brother. He however was the intended successor by his father.

He was then driven out again by Alan, Lord of Galloway and forced to flee to Norway, where he sought and received the assistance of Haakon IV of Norway, who gave him a small fleet. Olaf traveled next to Orkney, where he received a few more troops to compliment his own. With this force he first invaded Man and recaptured the island, then sent a few troops to Rothesay Castle, which they captured by hacking at the walls with their axes.

Olaf died in the year 1237 at Peel Castle. He was succeeded by his son, who became King Harald. Later, Olav's younger son became king Magnus II.

Harald I (II) 1237 – 1248

King **Harald of the Isle of Man** was the son of his predecessor, King Olaf II of the Isle of Man.

He rose to power in the 1237 after his father's death. His father had acquired a sizable empire during his rule, spanning many islands. Finding himself in control of this, Harald decided to tour his dominion and left his cousin Laglan as a steward in his absence. During Harald's absence, Laglan caused a "great disturbance", though what actually transpired is unknown. On Harald's return, Laglan fled the island along with Harald's youngest son.

After his return, Harald ruled peacefully over his significant empire. During this time he was knighted by King Henry III of England.

King Harald eventually died in a shipwreck off the coast of Wales when returning from Norway after marrying the daughter of Norway's King. He was succeeded by King Ragnald II of the Isle of Man.

At the age of 4 he succeeded his father, Olaf II on his death in 1237. Harald strove to be friendly with both England and Norway. In 1246 he visited Henry III, who knighted him and sent him home “laden with parting presents.” Haakon of Norway too, honoured him when he arrived at his court by giving him his daughter, Cecilia, in marriage. Unhappily, on his voyage home in the autumn, his ship was wrecked off the Shetlands and both he and his queen were drowned.

Harald had used as his symbol on his official seal a Viking war galley with a lion rampant on the reverse. He granted the monks of Furness mining rights on the Island and it is thought that he may have begun the building of Castle Rushen.

Reginald II (IV) 1249

Reginald succeeded his brother Harald I when news of the disaster reached the Island May 1249.

King Reginald Olafson had a very brief reign, and *The Chronicle* records it and the subsequent events as follows:

“In the year 1249, Reginald began to reign on the 6th of May, and on the 30th of the same month was slain by the knight Ivar and his accomplices, in a meadow near the church of the Holy Trinity at Rushen.

He was buried in the church of St. Mary Rushen. After his death Harald, son of Godred Don, began to reign in Man.

At the same time Alexander, King of Scotland (i.e. Alexander II) collected a large number of ships, with a view of subduing the whole kingdom of all the islands. He reached the island called Kerrara, where he was attacked by fever and died. His body was carried to the monastery of Melrose, and there intombed with honour, His son Alexander (i.e. Alexander III), yet a boy, succeeded him.

Harald, the son of Godred Don, usurping the name and dignity of king in Man, drove out nearly all the chiefs of Harald, Olave's son, and in their stead made the fugitives who had joined him chiefs and nobles.”

Harald II (III) 1249 – 1250

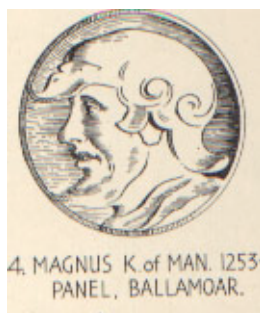
Young¹³ is of the opinion that King Harald III certainly appeared to have been the person who gained most from the death of King Reginald IV, and he may well have been one of the accomplices of Sir Ivar, who are referred to in *The Chronicle*, since King Henry III of England (in 1255) labelled Harald as well as Sir Ivar, as having been responsible for King Reginald's murder.

As stated before, King Harald III, was the son of Godred Don, (who Munch seems to have considered was the same person as the Godred who was mutilated and blinded by Paul Balkason in 1223), appreciated that he had no title to the throne and was merely a usurper. This was probably the cause of his driving out the Manx chiefs and nobles and replacing them with his own somewhat dubious followers. An interesting tale, the authenticity of which is not guaranteed is contained in *The Chronicle* under heading "The Miracle of St. Mary".

Sir Ivar 1250 – 1252

It is not known who exactly "the knight Ivar" or "Sir Ivar" was, but, according to Munch¹⁴, he could have been a member of the Sudreyan royal family. Munch and Young consider that he was a supporter of Harald, the son of Godred Don (i.e. Harald III).

Magnus III 1252 – 1265



Magnus III was the last recognized King of Man.

Married [Mary of Argyll](#), daughter of the [Lord of the Isles](#).

Brother of Harald I and ascended the throne after interruption by more distant relatives, rivals.

With his death in 1265 the Norse Manx Dynasty ended and Scottish rule began.

His son Godred VI later attempted restoration but failed.

¹³ The History of the Isle of Man under the Norse, or Now through a glass darkly, G.V.C. Young

¹⁴ Munch P.A., Norwegian historian and editor of *The Chronicle*

Rex Manniae et Insularum

King of Man and the Isles

After 1217, Norwegian suzerainty became a reality and Norway consequently came into collision with the growing power of Scotland.

Finally, in 1261, Alexander III of Scotland sent envoys to Norway to negotiate for the cession of the isles, but their efforts led to no result. He therefore initiated hostilities which terminated in the tactical victory for the Norwegians, but significant strategic victory for the Scots, at the often overstated skirmish of the Battle of Largs in 1263. The failure of the Norwegians to achieve a major victory at Largs ended their campaign for that year, and the subsequent death of Haakon IV in the Orkneys led to the ascension to the throne of his son Magnus VI and the signing of the 1266 Treaty of Perth. The Treaty of Perth ceded the islands, including Man, to Scotland in consideration of the sum of 4000 marks (known as "merks" in Scotland) and an annuity of 100 marks.

But Scotland's rule over Man did not become firmly established till 1275, when the Manx under Godred VI suffered defeat in the decisive Battle of Ronaldsway, near Castletown.

On his arriving from Ireland in 1252, the Manx had welcomed him, but his promise of good peace with which his reign began, was broken by Alexander III, of Scotland.

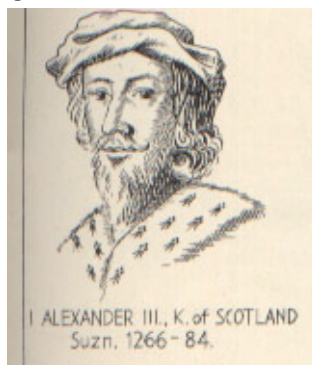
Magnus was one of three sons of Olaf II and succeeded his brother Reginald who had died in 1249, but whose throne had been seized by their great-nephew, Harald II. Magnus was the last King of the Godred Crovan dynasty which had lasted for 186 years. He died without issue and the Norse rule ended with the sale of the Island to Alexander III of Scotland for 4000 marks and an annual pension of 100 marks. It is claimed that Magnus was buried in Rushen Abbey.

This first sale of the Island was part of the Treaty of Perth. This **Treaty of Perth** which ended military conflict between Norway under Magnus the Law-mender and Scotland under Alexander III over the sovereignty of the Western Isles, the Isle of Man and Caithness.

Largs is often claimed as a great Scottish victory, but the Norwegian forces, led by Håkon IV, were not fully committed to battle and the result was inconclusive. Håkon had planned to renew military action the following summer, but he died in Orkney during the winter. His successor, Magnus the Law-mender, sued for peace and secured the Treaty of Perth.

In the treaty Norway recognised Scottish sovereignty over the disputed territories in return for a lump sum of 4000 marks and an annuity of 100 marks. The annuity was actually paid during subsequent decades. Scotland also confirmed Norwegian sovereignty over Shetland and Orkney.

Alexander III 1266 - 1284



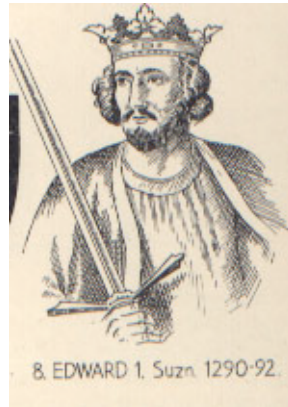
In a battle of 1263 Alexander III fought Haakon of Norway and Magnus of Man in order to regain the Western Isles including Man. Although Magnus lost the battle he was allowed to remain King of Man but on his death in 1265 the Norse ceded Man and the Sudreys to Alexander. He died in 1286?, following which Man was involved in a long and bitter war with England. Alexander abolished the ancient armorial ensign of the Island, 'the ship', and substituted the 'Three Legs of Man'.

The Norse power in Scotland had long been a thorn in the side of Scottish kings, and as Alexander II had recovered Argyle, Alexander III who became king of Scotland in 1249, was bent on regaining the Western Isles or Sudreys.

Margaret 1284 - 1290

The 'Maid of Norway' who succeeded her grandfather, Alexander III of Scotland on his death in 1286. Regents ruled her kingdom but as unrest arose, King Edward I of England intervened and was welcomed by the Scottish people as the maker of the peace. He united the two kingdoms by the betrothal of his son, Edward, to Margaret and this being arranged he became King of Scotland and Man. Margaret died in 1290 and many clans followed for the Scottish crown.

Edward I 1290 - 1292



Edward King of England 1239 – 1307 became king through the betrothal of his son Edward II to Margaret in 1290. He appointed Walter de Huntrecombe his custodian in Man but, upon the death of Margaret and the dispute which followed between John Balliol and Robert Bruce, Edward I relinquished Man to Balliol in 1292. In 1296 he invaded Scotland and when Balliol surrendered he again became ruler of Man. In 1298 he granted the Lordship to his friend and adviser, Anthony Bek, Bishop of Durham.

John Balliol 1293 - 1296



John, King of Scots (1248-1314) is usually known as **John Balliol** or, correctly, **John de Balliol**.

He was born in 1248, probably at Barnard Castle, the son of Dervorguilla of Galloway, daughter of Alan, 5th Lord of Galloway, and John, 5th Baron de Balliol, Lord of Barnard Castle and founder of Balliol College in the University of Oxford, one of the first colleges founded in Oxford. As his father was before him, he was Lord of Hitchin.

Accession as King of Scotland

Following the death of Margaret of Scotland in 1290, John Balliol was a competitor for the Scottish crown in the so called 'Great Cause', as he was a great-great grandson of King David I through his mother (and therefore one generation further than his main rival Robert Bruce, 5th Lord of Annandale, grandfather of the future Robert the Bruce), being senior in genealogical primogeniture but not in proximity of blood. He submitted his claim to the Scottish auditors in an election overseen by Edward I of England at Berwick-upon-Tweed on 3 August 1291. The Scottish auditors' decision in favour of Balliol was pronounced in the Great Hall of the castle at Berwick on 17 November 1292 and he was inaugurated accordingly king of Scotland at Scone, 30th November, 1292, St. Andrew's Day.

Edward I, who had been recognized as Lord Paramount of Scotland, the feudal superior of the realm, steadily undermined the authority of King John. He treated Scotland as a feudal vassal state, and allegedly humiliated his appointee. Tiring of their deeply compromised king, the direction of affairs was allegedly taken out of his hands by the leading men of the kingdom, who appointed a council of twelve-in practice a new panel of Guardians-at Stirling in July 1295. These men then went on to conclude a treaty of mutual assistance with France, to be known, in time, as the Auld Alliance.

Edward I then invaded, commencing the Wars of Scottish Independence. The Scots were defeated at Dunbar on 27 April 1296. John abdicated by a Deed signed in Brechin castle on 10 July 1296. Here the arms of Scotland were formally torn from John's surcoat, giving him the abiding name of "Toom Tabard" (empty coat).

John was imprisoned in the Tower of London at first, but eventually released into the custody of Pope Boniface VIII on condition that he remain in a papal residence. He was later released around the summer of 1301 and lived the rest of his life on his family's ancestral estates in Picardy.

However, his abdication had been obtained under considerable duress, and his supporters subsequently argued that he was still the rightful King of Scotland . When the Scots rose in rebellion in 1297 under William Wallace and Andrew de Moray, they claimed that they were acting on behalf of King John. Although rebellions in Scotland continued over the years, this claim looked increasingly tenuous as John's position under house-arrest by the papacy meant that he could not sufficiently campaign for his release and return to Scotland, despite the Scots' diplomatic attempts in Paris and Rome. After 1302, he made no further attempts to extend his personal support to the Scots. Effectively, Scotland was left without a monarch until the accession of Robert the Bruce in 1306.

John died in 1314 at his family's barony at Hélicourt, France. He was survived by his son Edward Balliol, who later revived his family's claim to the Scottish throne, received support from the English, and had some temporary successes.



In 1290, following the death of Margaret, 'Maid of Norway', King Edward I decided that John Balliol had a stronger claim to Scotland and the Isle of Man than did Robert Bruce and declared him Lord. Balliol was almost immediately dethroned by Edward who claimed the crown of Scotland and appointed Balliol, Governor of Man in 1293

Edward II 1296

In 1296 Edward invaded Scotland to assert his supremacy, and when Balliol surrendered after the capture of Berwick he again became ruler of Man.

Anthony De Beck Bishop of Durham 1296 – 1310



He was appointed Lord of Man 1296 – 1310 by Edward I of England. He was bred as a Norman warrior, not as a bishop. Although simple in his tastes he was a wealthy man and used his wealth to build many castles, churches and colleges. He never visited the Island and left the management of his interests to his seneschal, Gilbert Makaskel. He later lost the favour of Edward I and, had the King not died in 1307, would have lost his lands. However, the King's son Edward II regranted the sovereignty of Man to Bek which he held until his death in 1310.

Henry de Beaumont 1310 & 1312

All we know about Henry Beaumont is that he was one of Edward II's favourites. The grant to Beaumont was of short duration since Edward took steps to recover it immediately into his own hands. He appointed Robert de Leiburn his Custodian in Man and continued Gilbert Makaskel in his office as Seneschal.

In 1312 Edward again granted Man to Henry Beaumont, and again deprived him of it.

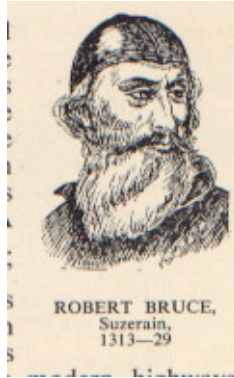
Piers Gaveston 1311

Gaveston received the earldom of Cornwall with the hand of the king's niece, Margaret of Gloucester. This was a position usually reserved for the sons of kings. The barons grew resentful of Gaveston and twice insisted on his banishment. On each occasion Edward recalled his friend, whereupon the barons, headed by the king's cousin Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, went to war against king and favourite and in 1312 Gaveston was executed as a traitor by the Earl of Warwick and his allies claiming that he led the King to folly. Gaveston was beheaded outside the small village of Leek Wootton, where a monument, Gaveston's Cross, still stands today. This was the only course the barons could take at the time as there was no precedent for removal of a King and the failure of Simon de Montfort, 6th Earl of Leicester had occurred a half century earlier. Edward, defeated, was forced to comply with the barons' wishes.

He stood aside, allowing the country to come under the rule of a baronial committee of twenty-one lords ordainers, who, in 1311, had drawn up a series of ordinances, which substituted ordainers for the king as the effective government of the country. Parliament meant to the new rulers an assembly of barons, just as it had done to the opponents of Edward's grandfather, Henry III, in 1258. The Commons were excluded. The effect was to transform England from a monarchy to a narrow oligarchy.

He was made Governor of Man by favour of Edward II, his boyhood friend. He became Earl of Cornwall but was disliked by the barons because of his evil influence on the King and was eventually seized by the Earl of Warwick and beheaded on Blacklow Heath near Warwick.

Robert Bruce 1313



After defeating Edward II, Bruce sailed to the Island in 1313 with a strong force and after touching at Ramsey and Douglas he went on to Derbyhaven where he disembarked his men. He captured Castle Rushen whereupon the Manx people acknowledged Bruce, who met no further opposition. On his return to Scotland he granted the Lordship of Man to Thomas Randolph, Earl of Moray.

Thomas Randolph 1313 - 1332



Randolph was the nephew of King Robert Bruce, and in 1313 Bruce, for a yearly rental of 100 marks plus 6 ships of 26 oars each granted the Lordship to him. He remained Lord until his death in 1332 and was succeeded as Lord by his heirs until 1346 when the male line terminated.

Thomas Randolph, 1st Earl of Moray



Inscription to the Earl of Moray at Edinburgh Castle

Thomas Randolph, 1st Earl of Moray (died 20 July 1332) was an important figure in the Scottish Wars of Independence. He is usually described as a nephew of Robert the Bruce although their exact relationship is uncertain. The traditional view is that his mother was a daughter of the first marriage of Countess Marjorie of Carrick, who was mother of King Robert by her second marriage, but recently this view has been questioned. The term "nephew", like "cousin", could be used rather loosely in those days, although there are no grounds for believing that he was Bruce's illegitimate son.

Randolph supported Bruce in his initial coup when he proclaimed himself king and was crowned at Scone, but abandoned him after the English victory at the Battle of Methven. Later, fighting for the English, he was captured and brought before the king, who he taunted for his alleged cowardice by engaging in guerrilla warfare instead of standing and fighting in pitched battle.

However, he was persuaded to change sides again, and went on to become one of the king's most important lieutenants, eventually being made Earl of Moray. The fact that he was allowed to resume his allegiance to Bruce suggests that they did have family ties.

His most famous achievement took place in 1314, just a few months before the Battle of Bannockburn, when he carried out a daring attack on Edinburgh Castle. This was one of a handful of castles in Scotland still in English hands, and stood on top of an apparently impregnable rock. The son of a former Governor knew about a path up the rock, which he had used to visit the town at night against his father's wishes, and tipped off the Scots. Randolph led his men up this path one night to capture the castle.

He played an important role in the Scottish victory at Bannockburn, where he commanded one of the four schiltrons of the Scottish infantry.

On the death of Robert I the crown was inherited by his son David II, who was only a boy. Randolph became regent, but three years later died of a sudden illness at Musselburgh on his way to repel an invasion by Edward Baliol and his supporters. At the time it was believed that he had been poisoned by the English, but this is now discounted.

Thomas Randolph married Isabel Stewart, a kinswoman of Walter Stewart. Three of his children succeeded him to the earldom of Moray: Thomas, John and Agnes.

William de Montacute 1333 - 1344



William was the grandson of Simon de Montacute and was appointed Custodian of Man in 1333 by King Edward II.

Confidant of Edward III, key roles in start of Hundred Years War . First son of William de Montacute (?-1319) .

Received Lundy Isle, 1322; knighted and departed for France, 1325; with Edward III to repel Scottish invasion, 1327; ambassador to the Pope; close confidant of the king, led group that used **secret-passage in castle to find and violently arrest Mortimer in the queen-mother's apartment**, 1330; Montacute pardoned for the death of two of Mortimer's attendants; with Edward III when, disguised as merchants they made a secret visit to France, 1331; with Edward III in Scotland at siege of **Berwick** and battle of **Halidon Hill**, 1333; received all Edward's right to **Isle of Man**, 1333; in co-command of the army in Scotland with Arundel, 1335; After unsuccessful siege of Dunbar Castle made a truce strongly disapproved of in England, 1336.

Made earl of Salisbury by Edward III, 1337; Made Admiral of the Fleet and **sent to France to declare the English claim to the French throne** and to raise an alliance against the French, 1337; raided Scotland, 1338; appointed marshal of England, 1338; in Flanders 1339-1340; negotiated with French at behest of Pope; taken prisoner attempting to take Lille castle surreptitiously with small force, 1340; life saved by King of Bohemia, ransomed on condition of never returning to France; conquered Isle of Man at some point in 1340-1342; to Spain (Castile) for siege of Algeciras fighting Moors with Alfonso XI.

Died from bruises during tournament at Windsor. Daughter Philippa married Roger Mortimer.

Details of how William was made earl of Salisbury are noted in the Amiens manuscript:

"The parliament also ordained and confirmed the marriage of Sir William Montagu, who had loyally served the King in the Scottish wars... To reward him for his services, the King gave him the young Countess of Salisbury, Madame Alys, whose estate he held in wardship. She was one of the most beautiful young ladies in the land." (Froissart Chronicles).

A wardship was the legal right, and responsibility, to decide who someone else will marry. This seems to have been a more complex matter than it at first appears. For more information, see the section on Katherine de Montacute.

William is referred to as both the first and sixth earl of Salisbury, because the Plantagenets had been the previous earls of Salisbury but had forfeited the title due to Thomas Plantagenet's conviction for treason in 1322.

William de Montacute II 1344 - 1392



William Montacute, 2nd Earl of Salisbury (June 25, 1328 – June 3, 1397) was an English nobleman and commander in the English army during King Edward III's French campaigns of the Hundred Years War

He was born in Donyatt in Somerset, the eldest son of William Montacute, 1st Earl of Salisbury and Catherine Grandisson, and succeeded his father as earl in 1344. Montacute was contracted to marry Joan of Kent, and did so without knowing that she had already secretly married Thomas Holland. After several years of living together, her contract with Montacute was annulled by the Pope in 1349.

In 1350, he was one of the first Knights of the Garter. He was a commander of the English forces in France in many of the following years, serving as commander of the rear guard of the army of Edward the Black Prince's army in 1355, and again at the Battle of Poitiers in 1356, and further serving in 1357, 1359 and 1360. Later in 1360 he was one of the commissioners that negotiated the Treaty of Brétigny.

During the quieter years that followed the treaty, Montacute served on the king's council. But in 1369 he returned the field, serving in John of Gaunt's expedition to northern France, and then in other raids and expeditions, and on some commissions that attempted to negotiate truces with the French. Montacute helped Richard II put down the rebellion of Wat Tyler. In 1385 he accompanied Richard on his Scottish expedition.

In 1392/3, he sold the Lordship of the Isle of Man to William le Scrope of Bolton. He married Elizabeth, daughter of John de Mohun, 9th Lord de Mohun of Dunster. The two lived at Bisham Manor in Berkshire and had a son and two daughters. The son, Sir William Montacute, married Elizabeth D'Arundelle Fitzalan, daughter of Richard Fitzalan, 11th Earl of Arundel, but was killed in a tournament in 1383, leaving no children. When the elder William Montacute died in 1397 the earldom was inherited by his nephew John Montacute, 3rd Earl of Salisbury. One of William's sisters, Philippa (d. January 5, 1382), married [Roger Mortimer, 2nd Earl of March](#).

William le Scrope 1392 - 1300



Sir Williem Le Scrope, K.G.

King of Man: 1393-1399



Legend: Sig [illun: Will(elmi: L)escropp: d(omini :) Manne: at: insularu[m].

HE above is taken from a cast in the British Museum. The original seal is in Paris, appended to an ordinance in the 'Tresor des Chartes, [Archives Nationales'(J. 644, No. 17)] By this ordinance, Guillaume Lescrop, and others decree, that those who will not swear to keep the Treaty of Peace and Truce of twenty-eight years, made between France and England on the marriage of Richard II, King of England, and Isabel of France, will be excluded from all the rights and favours appertaining to such Treaty. He signed as one of the allies of the English King, as follows ' Messire Guillaume le Scrope pour la Seignourie de Man.' The ordinance is dated ' at Paris, the ninth day of March, the year of Grace 1365 '

In 1475 a controversy arose between Lord John Scrope, a descendant of Sir William Scrope, and Lord Thomas Stanley (then Lord of Man), as to which of them had the right to bear the arms of Man.

The King (Edward IV) in 1476 issued the following order: '-Rex omnibus ad quos, etc. Salutem, Sciatis quod inspeximus literas nostras subsigno nostro Manuali signatas et per Milites Garterae nostrae inspectas, factas in haec verba.' Edward by the Grace of God King of England and of France, Lord of Ireland, remembryng the pretence and claime of John, Lord Scrop shewed unto us for the bering of the Armes of the Eile of Man, which now owre trustie and right wel beloved Thomas E. Staneley Stuard of owre Householde berith, for brevenes of Tyme, havynge no convenyant Season to know the determination of the same, And provydyng that novariaunce therefore be hedde nowe in owre Voiage, have wolledd and desyred that for the tymes and Seasons that the said Lordes shall continue in our Service in oure Realme of Fraunce, Duchie of Normandie and elsewhere byyonde the See, and also unto oure and their retourning next to this oure Realme of England, or either of theym, that the said Lord Scrop shall abstain and forbere the use and wering of the said Armes of th' Eile of Man, whereunto for the seid desire he is agrede - alwey forseyn, that the said Wille,

desire, abstinence, and forberying be not prejudicial! nor damage in that behave unto the seid Lord Scrop, ne to his Heyres, nor be of non effect, Strength nor vertue but for the tyme above Expressed, Et hoc omnibus, quomm interest, in hac parse, incotesimus per presentes, In Cujus etc. teste Rege apud Westmon' primo die Maij.' It does not appear that this claim was renewed by Lord John Scrop after the King's return from France.

William le Scrope was one of the most distinguished of those whose fortunes have been, in one form or another, linked with those of Man. He belonged to a family of whom it has been aptly said that 'its history is for some time the history of Yorkshire, indeed of the North of England.' Burke refers to the family as follows: 'In the period of three hundred years the house of Scrope produced two Earls and twenty Barons, one Chancellor, four Treasurers, and two Chief Justices of England, one Archbishop and two Bishops, five Knights of the Garter, and numerous Bannerets the highest military order in the days of chivalry.

The exact date of his birth is not known, but it was probably about 1351. He was the eldest son of Sir Richard le Scrope, of Bolton, Lord Chancellor, afterwards created Lord Scrope of Bolton. His mother was Blanche, sister of Michael de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk. As a youth he served under John of Gaunt in the Hundred Years' War, during which he was knighted for valour. Amongst many other dignities, in 1389 he was appointed Constable of the Castle of Queenborough, Governor of Beaumaris Castle, and Chamberlain of Ireland, in 1391 he was given a grant of the Castle of Bassburgh for life, and in 1394 a grant of the Castle and Town of Marlborough. In 1394 he was elected a Knight of the Garter, and was appointed Vice-Chamberlain of the Household, and in 1396 he was appointed Lord Chamberlain.

In 1393 he purchased the Island from William Montacute, Earl of Salisbury. The record is as follows: *Wilhelmus le Scroop emit de domino Wilhelmo Montacute Insulam Euboniae, id est Manniae, Est nempe jus ipsius Insulae, ut quisquis illius sit Dominus, Rex vocetur cui etiam fas est corona aurea coronari.* (William le Scroop bought from Sir William Montacute the Island of Euboniaw, that is Man. It is a right of this Island, that whoever is Lord of it, is called King, who also has the right to be crowned with a golden crown). Capgrave, in his *Chronicles of England*, records the sale in the following words: 'A.D. 1392. In this year Sir William Scrop bouthe the ylde of Eubony, with the crowne, of Sir William Mountagu erl of Salesbury: for he that is Lord of this yle may were a crowne. This yle stant betwixt Yngland and Yiland. The name is now. Ile of Man.' Camden, in his '*Britannia*,' A.D. 1607, adds the interesting note that 'a considerable sum of money' was paid, 'according to Walsingham' (*Historia Anglicani*). As also Selden's '*Titles of Honour*' Chap. III. A.D. 1650.

In 1398 Thomas, Earl of Warwick, on his banishment to the Isle-of-Man, was entrusted to the care of Sir Wm. le Scrop and Sir Stephen his brother, to carry him safely to the said Isle and to guard his body there, their own bodies to answer for it ('peur corps illesques'), without letting him depart from the said Isle. Probably the fact of his being King of Man may have been the reason why this duty was entrusted to him. In *Issue Roll*, A.D. 1399 (22 Rich. II), *Manx Soc.*, Vol. VII, p.214, it is recorded that he received the sum of £1074 :4s. 5d. for, inter alia, his charges and expenses in connection with the safe conduct of the Earl of Warwick to the Isle of Man, and for his support there.

He was created Earl of Wiltes in 1397. In 1398 he was appointed Ambassador to treat for peace with Robert, King of Scotland, and in 1399 was made Lord Treasurer of England. The following year King Richard II. appointed him one of the three Guardians of the Realm during his (the King's) absence in Ireland. The Queen Isabel (then only eleven years of age) was placed under his care at Wallingford Castle. From thence he retired to Bristol Castle, where he was defeated by Henry of Bolingbroke, and beheaded without trial, in July, 1399. His head was sent in a white basket to London and placed on London Bridge. After the accession of Henry IV, it was delivered to his widow.

He married Isabelle, daughter of Sir Maurice Russell, but had no issue. Shakespeare in Rich. II, 111,2, records the announcement of his death to the King.

The historians of his time have little good to say of him. Walsingham, in his *Historia Anglicani* ii, 213, considers that the 'human race hardly contained one more infamous and cruel.' He was also charged with farming the royal escheats, and Shakespeare, Rich. II, 111, i, puts into the mouth of Lord Roos, '-The Earl of Wiltshire hath the Realm in farm.' It should, however, be borne in mind that this Lord Roos was a supporter of Henry of Bolingbroke, and would therefore be unlikely to view the Earl's advancement with favour. In *Annales Richard II*, p. 157, he is referred to as 'Mires previdus et praedives.' His career, however, in France bears a sufficient testimony to his bravery and military capacity, and he appears to have served his King with unflinching loyalty. It is impossible, at this distance of time, to judge how far the estimates of his character were influenced by personal or party bias. As far as the Isle of Man is concerned, his short rule has left no record behind it, either for good or ill. After his death, King Henry IV granted the Island to Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland.



The portrait of Sir William le Scrope, is from the oil painting [then] at Danby Hall, Wensleydale, Yorkshire.

The inscription runs as follows:

'Gulielmus Lescrope.

Filius Baron Lescrope.

Comes Wiltiniae.

Thesaurarius Angliae.

Dominus Maniae

Constabularius.

Castri De Queeneburgh.

15 Junii An^o Rich. 2.
Vicesimo 1397. '

(William Le Scrope, son of Lord Le Scrope, Earl of Wiltshire, Treasurer of England, Lord of Man, Constable of the Castle of Queenborough. 15th June, in the 20th Year of Richard II, 1397.)

His arms are in the opposite corner. He wears the collar of the Garter, and the gold crown as King of Man. The painter of this picture is unknown, but it is said to be of the time of Elizabeth or James I.

Henry Percy Earl of Northumberland 1399 – 1405

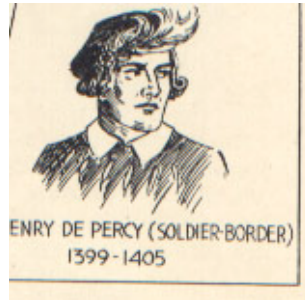
Henry Percy, 1st Earl of Northumberland (November 10, 1341 – February 20, 1408), was the son of Henry de Percy, 3rd Baron Percy, and the father of Henry "Harry Hotspur" Percy. His mother was Mary of Lancaster, daughter of Henry Plantagenet, 3rd Earl of Leicester, son of Edmund Crouchback, son of Henry III of England.

Originally a follower of Edward III of England, for whom he held high offices in the administration of northern England, Henry Percy went on to support King Richard II. He was given the title of Marshal of England and created an earl at Richard's coronation (1377), but he switched to the side of Henry Bolingbroke (later, Henry IV) after Richard created his chief rival, Ralph Neville, 1st Earl of Westmorland in 1399. On Henry's coronation he was appointed Constable of England and granted the lordship of the Isle of Man. In 1403 Percy turned against Henry IV in favour of Edmund Mortimer, 5th Earl of March, and then conspired with Owain Glyndŵr against King Henry. This rebellion failed at the Battle of Shrewsbury but, since Percy did not directly participate, he lost his office as Constable but was not convicted of treason. But in 1405 Percy supported [Richard le Scrope, Archbishop of York](#), in another rebellion, and then Percy fled to Scotland, and his estates were confiscated by the king. In 1408 Percy invaded England and was killed at the [Battle of Bramham Moor](#).

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John Stanley I 1405 – 1414



In 1405 King Henry IV of England sent the brothers, Sir John Stanley and Sir William Stanley, to seize Mann and hold it in his name. Later that same year he granted the Island to Sir John Stanley for life. In 1406 he cancelled the grant and, subject to the King's service of rendering two falcons and paying homage, and two falcons to all future Kings of England on the day of their Coronation. John married the daughter of Sir Thomas Lathom of Lathom and Knowsley in Lancashire, and thus founded the family of Stanley and Derby.

Kings of Man

[from History of IoM, A.W. Moore,1900]

THE SECOND SCANDINAVIAN PERIOD

CHAPTER IV

GODRED CROVAN AND HIS DYNASTY (1079-1266)

THE first of Man's new rulers the conqueror, Godred, nicknamed Crovan or Crouan,¹ was evidently, though little information about him is attainable, a remarkable man. His origin must remain uncertain : the *Chronicle* states that he had been "brought up amongst the Manx,"² and Munch conjectures that he was the grandson of Godred Mac Harald, who was deprived of his dominions by Sigurd, and killed in 989,³ and that, in conquering Man, he only vindicated what he regarded as his hereditary right,⁴ but, judging by the time that had elapsed since Mac Harald's death, he is more likely to have been his greatgrandson, if connected with him at all. However, it is at least probable that he belonged to a royal line, since if his ancestors had not been kings, it would have been almost impossible, according to the ideas of those times, that he could have assumed that title.⁵ But, whatever his claims or his title, a man who, according to the *Chronicle*, "subdued Dublin, and a great part of Leinster, and held the Scots in such subjection that no one who built a vessel dared to insert more than three bolts,"⁶ was a ruler whose memory would be likely to survive in tradition. It seems probable, therefore, that Godred Crovan, rather than any of the other Godreds who ruled in the Sudreys, is the person who is commemorated in Manx legend under the name of King Gorree, or Orry. A ruler of such wide dominions as Godred possessed can hardly be supposed to have spent much of his time in the Isle of Man, and, indeed, he appears to have resided for the most part in Dublin.⁷ We do not hear of his acknowledging the suzerainty of Norway, which, for some time past, had been of the most shadowy kind. A change, however, was to take place in this respect towards the end of Godred's reign, in 1093, when the Norwegian throne was ascended by the ambitious Magnus,⁸ surnamed Barefoot from his having adopted the kilt, who determined to reassert his supremacy over the vassal kingdom. Before a year was ended he equipped a large fleet and sailed to the Sudreys.

Shortly after his arrival, he captured Lagman, Godred's son, who had been acting as deputy in the Sudreys, and, in the following year, he assisted Murchadh, King of Leinster, to expel Godred from Dublin.⁹ Munch conjectures¹⁰ that Magnus set Lagman free on condition that both he and Godred should do homage to him as their liege lord; but there is no record of this, all that we know being that Godred died in 1095 in the Island of Islay. He left three sons, Lagman, Harald, and Olaf. Lagman, the eldest, deprived his brother Harald, who had been in rebellion against him, of his eyes. Then, probably in 1096,¹¹ repenting of this deed, he "voluntarily resigned" his

kingdom, " took the cross, and went to Jerusalem, where he died." ¹² On hearing of this "all the chiefs of the Isles . . . sent messengers to Murchadh O'Brien, King of Ireland, begging of him to send some competent person of the royal race to be their king, till Olaf, son of Godred, should have grown up. The king willingly assented, and sent them one Donald, son of Teige, ¹³ admonishing him to govern with all mildness and moderation a kingdom which was not his. Donald, however, after taking possession of the kingdom, made light of the directions of his lord, and abusing his power very tyrannically, and committing many enormities, reigned as a monster for three years, ¹⁴ after which time all the chiefs of the Isles conspired, and, rising in a body, drove him from their territory. He fled to Ireland and never returned." This looks as if Murchadh had encouraged a revolt against the authority of Magnus, who, in 1097, probably on hearing of the death of Lagman, sent Ingemund to take possession of the Sudreys. Ingemund was, however, killed by the chieftains in the Island of Lewis soon after his arrival. On hearing this, Magnus at once began to make preparations for a second expedition to subdue his unruly subjects. In 1098, there was an internecine struggle between the north and south Manx. It is probable that the Sudreyan islanders planted by Godred Crovan in the south of the island had never been on friendly terms with the natives of the north, and that they took advantage of the interregnum, after the expulsion of Donald, ¹⁵ to fight out their quarrel. A battle took place at Santwat near Peel, ¹⁶ in which the north gained the victory, according to tradition, by the assistance of their women. Soon afterwards Magnus arrived ¹⁷ in Man, having subdued all the islands to the north of it, and anchored his fleet of 160 vessels off St. Patrick's Isle. He was so pleased with the fertility of the Isle of Man ¹⁸ that he " chose it for his abode, erecting forts, which to this day (i.e. circa 1260) bear his name." We find him compelling the men of Galloway to cut timber and bring it to Peel for the construction of forts there. It was from Man that he sailed to Anglesey, and, when he had subdued that island, he returned to it to winter, notwithstanding the fact that he found it " deserted." This state of things he remedied, either by bringing back the fugitives, or by supplying a population and furnishing its requirements. ¹⁹ It seems that he intended to attack Ireland in the spring of 1099, but many of his men, weary of their long absence from home, left him before the winter set in. He, consequently, did not find himself strong enough for such an adventure, and so sailed back to Norway after the winter was over. We are told that he left his son, Sigurd, as ruler of the Orkneys, while no account is given of the arrangements made for governing the Sudreys, but it is probable that they also were placed under Sigurd. During the next two years Magnus was occupied with fighting against Sweden, and it was not till 1102 that he was again able to sail southwards to È try conclusions with Murchadh. He landed in Man, which he again made his headquarters, and at once proceeded to attack the Irish king, who attempted no resistance and entered into negotiations. The district of Dublin was ceded to Magnus, whose son, Sigurd, now proclaimed king of both the Nordreys and the Sudreys, married Murchadli's daughter. ²⁰ In 1103, Magnus assisted Murchadh in his battles against the northern Irish. The two kings were at first successful, but were ultimately defeated, and Magnus was slain on the 24th of August in the same year. After his death, Sigurd and his followers returned to Norway, precipitately abandoning all their possessions in Ireland and the Isles.

Olaf, nicknamed *Kleining*, or the Dwarf, the youngest son of Godred Crovan, was then, according to the *Chronicle*, recalled from the English Court, where he had resided since his father's death, and " began to reign over all the isles." The date of his

accession is however uncertain, some authorities placing it in 1102 or 1103, and others ten years later.²¹ His reign was, excepting for a raid by a Welsh prince, Cadwallar, in 1142, a period of unbroken peace, a result which was evidently secured by his wise and politic conduct in not only keeping on good terms with the English monarchs, but in maintaining "such close alliance with the Kings of Ireland and Scotland that no one ventured to disturb the kingdom of the Isles during his time." There is no account of any connexion between him and his Norwegian suzerain till 1152, and, under the circumstances mentioned, it is probable that, if it existed, it was a loose one. The occasion of its being drawn closer was a threatened attack on Man by King David of Scotland, when Olaf, feeling how insecure his throne was, sent his son Godred to do homage.

In Godred's absence the three sons of Harald, Olaf's brother, came from Dublin, where they had been brought up, to Man, with a number of followers, "and demanded from the King one half of the whole kingdom of the Isles for themselves. The King having heard their application, and being desirous to pacify them, answered that he would take advice on the subject. When the day and place for holding a meeting had been agreed upon, these most wicked men spent the interval in planning the death of the King. On the appointed day both parties met at the port called Ramsey, and sat down in order, the King and his followers on one side, and they with theirs on the other; Reginald, the second brother, who was to give the fatal blow, stood apart, speaking to one of the chiefs of the country. On being summoned to approach the King, turning to him, as if in the act of saluting, he raised his gleaming battle-axe on high, and at a blow cut off the King's head." So died Olaf, under whom the Kingdom of the Isles²² seems to have attained both power and prosperity.

After his murder, Harald's three sons divided " the country " ²³ between them, and then sailed to Galloway with the intention of conquering it, but they were driven out. On their return to Man, they revenged themselves by massacring some of the people of Galloway who resided there and by expelling others. In the autumn of 1153, Godred II., Olaf's son, arrived in the Orkneys on his return from Norway, to the joy of the chiefs of the isles, who unanimously elected him for their king. Godred then came to Man, and promptly put the murderers of his father to death. Shortly after his accession, the people of Dublin sent to request him to reign over them also. " Whereupon, assembling a great number of ships and a large army, he went to Dublin, where he was received by the citizens with great satisfaction and demonstrations of joy." When Murchadh, King of Ireland, heard of this he attempted to expel him, but was routed with great slaughter. Godred, having thus secured his new dominion, returned to Man and dismissed the chiefs of the isles, who had accompanied him to Dublin, to their respective homes.²⁴ Feeling himself secure on his throne, and relieved of all chance of interference from Norway, since that country was practically in a state of civil war, which lasted, with a few tranquil intervals, till 1217,²⁵ he now " began to act tyrannically towards his chiefs, depriving some of their inheritances and others of their dignities. Of these, one named Thorfinn, son of Oter, more powerful than the rest, went to Somerled (of Argyll) and begged for his son Dugald, [whose mother was Olaf's illegitimate daughter,] that he might make him king over the isles.²⁶ Somerled, highly gratified by the application, put Dugald under the direction of Thorfinn, who received and led him through all the islands, subjecting them all to him, and taking hostages from each. One of the chiefs, however, called Paul, secretly fled to Godred, and informed him of what had occurred. Godred was greatly alarmed by the

intelligence, and ordered his followers to get ships in readiness and start immediately to encounter the enemy. On the other hand, Somerled and his party assembled a fleet of eighty ships, and hastened to meet Godred." A bloody but indecisive battle took place in January, 1156, the result of which was that Somerled and Godred agreed to share the Kingdom of the Isles between them. Somerled probably took the smaller Sudreys off the coast of Argyll,²⁷ while Godred retained Man, and, judging by the fact that Olaf, the brother of Reginald, King of Man, was in possession of the Island of Lewis some years later, probably the Hebrides also. By this curious arrangement an independent sovereignty was interposed between the two divisions of Godred's kingdom.

It is not without reason that the chronicler of Rushen exclaims, " Thus was the Kingdom of the Isles ruined from the time the sons of Somerled got possession of it," for some of the most fertile isles were lost to it, and the hold of the Manx king on the distant Hebrides would naturally be an uncertain one.²⁸ From an entry in the English Pipe Rolls, it appears that in this year Godred became a vassal of, or at least owed some service to, King Henry II. of England.²⁹ It seems probable that, feeling that his throne was in danger, he endeavoured in this way to secure the assistance of his powerful neighbour. There is, however, no record of any further connexion between the Manx and English kings for many years after this.

Another quarrel arose between Somerled and Godred in 1158, when the former attacked the latter and put him to flight, after which he plundered Man, but then retired. It is probable, however, that he left a representative³⁰ in the island, and that it acknowledged his supremacy till 1164, in which year he was defeated and slain at Renfrew, when engaged in an attempt to conquer Scotland. During these six years Godred seems to have been absent in Norway,³¹ where he had gone to ask for assistance against Somerled. On Somerled's death, Reginald,³² Godred's brother, landed at Ramsey, where he fought a battle against the Manx, who, " through the treachery of a certain viscount,"³³ were "put to flight, and Reginald began to reign." Four days later " Godred returned from Norway with a large body of troops, and, seizing his brother, mutilated, and deprived him of his sight." He would seem, at the same time, to have re-conquered the isles to which he was entitled by agreement with Somerled in 1156. Indeed he probably obtained more islands than these, either then or later; for we learn that, twenty years after this, Reginald, Somerled's son, his two elder brothers being dead, ruled in Coll, Skye, Long Island, Tyree, and Bute, while Godred had the Hebrides, Arran, and all the other islands, as well as Man. From this time, till his death in 1187,³⁴ Godred, except for a trifling invasion in 1182 by " Reginald, son of Eachmarcat, a man of the royal race," which was easily repelled, apparently ruled his dominions in peace.³⁵ From the fact that there was a *Vice-comes* in Man (as we learn from his death being mentioned in 1183³⁶), it would seem that Godred had his headquarters in one of the other islands, probably Arran or Iona. But, wherever he usually lived, it is at least certain that he "died in the Island of St. Patrick, in Man," where he probably had a residence. His death took place in November, and "in the beginning of the following summer his body was removed to the island called Iona." He married, in 1176, " Phingola, daughter of MacLoughlin, son of Murrough, King of Ireland," after he had lived with her for some years. The marriage is stated to have been forced upon him by " Vivian, Cardinal Legate of the Apostolic See," who came to Man for that purpose. The *Chronicle*, after telling us that Godred " left three sons, Reginald, Olaf, and Ivar," and that he had " appointed Olaf³⁷ to succeed to the

kingdom . . . because he was born of lawful wedlock,"³⁸ gives the following graphic account of the events which succeeded his death : " However, after the death of Godred, the Manxmen sent their messengers to the Isles for Reginald, and made him king, because he was a man of energy and riper age.³⁹ For they dreaded the weakness of Olave, for he was but a boy, ten years old, and they considered that a person who, on account of his tender age, knew not how to direct himself, would be wholly incapable of governing his subjects." Reginald was regarded as one of the most warlike princes of his time. He is said to have passed three entire successive years in the manner of the ancient sea-kings, always on board his ship, never being for one single hour during the whole period beneath the roof of a house.⁴⁰ It is not accurately known where his exploits were performed, but we find that he held the Earldom of Caithness for a short period, paying tribute to King William of Scotland. It would seem from the saga of the celebrated chief and physician, Rafn Sveinbiarnson,⁴¹ in which it is mentioned that this Rafn and the bishop-elect, Gudmund, sailed from Iceland towards Norway in the year 1202, but were driven by storms to Sandey, one of the Sudreys, where they happened to find Olaf and the bishop, and were compelled by the former to pay a tax, that Reginald had assigned the Hebrides to Olaf. According to the *Chronicle*, however, Olaf only had the Island of Lewis. Up to this period Reginald appears as a conqueror and successful ruler, but now his troubles were to begin. John de Courcy, Lord of Ulster, who had married Reginald's sister, Aufrica, had incurred the hostility of John, King of England, who sent Hugh de Lacy to drive him out of Ulster. De Lacy defeated him in battle and took him prisoner, but afterwards released him. De Courcy then fled to Reginald. In the following year, 1205, he collected a large force, and, accompanied by his royal brother-in-law, who had nearly one hundred ships, sailed to Strangford Lough and laid siege to the fort of Rath, where he was totally defeated by Walter de Lacy, Hugh's brother. It is probable that, on account of this action of Reginald's, King John had threatened to attack him, and that Reginald had promised to do homage to him. Consequently, at the end of the same year, John took him under his protection.⁴² In the following year Reginald, having obtained a safe conduct from John, visited England, and obtained several grants of land in Lancashire "for his homage and service,"⁴³ as well as thirty marks in money. It is not difficult to understand Reginald's reasons, apart from the special circumstances, for placing himself under the protection of the English king, when we remember that England had recently (1170) annexed the east coast of Ireland, so that Man had English territories both to the east and west of it, while the Norwegian influence had for some time been in abeyance on account of the long civil war. It is probable, too, that the ambition of Olaf was becoming a source of danger to his brother. We learn from the *Chronicle* that, in 1208, Olaf finding that the Island of Lewis " could not support him and his followers . . . went frankly to his brother Reginald, who was then residing in the Isles," and asked him for a larger share of the kingdom. Reginald promised to consider this petition ; but, on Olaf's return the following morning to hear his decision, he took him prisoner, and sent him to his ally, William of Scotland, for safe keeping, and there he remained for nearly seven years. In the meantime, affairs in Norway had taken a new turn, since the civil war had been, temporarily, brought to an end by the treaty of Hvitingsøy in the summer of 1208. In consequence of this a number of the warriors on each side, having no further occupation, decided to amuse themselves with a viking cruise to the Sudreys, the ostensible motive being, perhaps, the chastisement of Reginald, and, if possible, the deliverance of Olaf. The only apparent result of this expedition, however, was the plundering of Iona, after which the ill-assorted leaders quarrelled and separated.⁴⁴

Trifling as the expedition was, it seems to have alarmed Reginald, who, straightway repairing to Norway, with his son Godred, did homage to King Inge, and paid the long withheld tribute. This action of his vassal's probably irritated John of England, who, in the course of an expedition to Ireland in 1210, sent a detachment to Man in Reginald's absence which "devastated nearly the whole island, and receiving hostages returned home."⁴⁵ These proceedings resulted in Reginald's again swearing allegiance to John,⁴⁶ who thereupon, in 1213, granted him a knight's fee in Ireland and a hundred measures of corn. He also ordered his officers in Ireland to assist Reginald against the Norwegian sea-rovers, forbade his mariners to cause him any injury and released the hostages. Reginald, being thus secured against his enemies, had no longer any reason to apprehend danger from his brother Olaf, who had been released from his Scottish captivity on William's death in 1214. He was therefore allowed to return to Man, but soon afterwards he went on a pilgrimage. On his return he was married to Reginald's wife's sister, Lauon, and re-installed in the Island of Lewis. This marriage, as being uncanonical, was dissolved by Bishop Reginald, nephew of the two kings, a proceeding which, as we shall see, was to lead to a good deal of trouble. Returning to Man, we find Reginald again embroiled with his English suzerain, owing to his subjects having committed depredations on the English and Irish coasts. In consequence of this he was, in 1218, granted a safe conduct to repair to the English Court to do homage⁴⁷ to King Henry III., and to give satisfaction for the outrages committed. Reginald did so, and, in the year following, he also promised to hold the Isle of Man as a fief from the Papal See, making the manifestly incorrect statement that he held it without obligations of service to any one.⁴⁸ He evidently managed to keep this latter arrangement secret, since, in 1220, Henry notified to his "Justices of Ireland"⁴⁹ that they were to protect Reginald from the snares and machinations of the King of Norway, who had demanded "undue tribute from him."⁴⁹ In the meantime Olaf, the dissolution of whose marriage with Reginald's wife's sister has already been mentioned, had taken to wife Christian, daughter of Ferkkar, Earl of Ross. Reginald's queen, deeply incensed at the dishonour done to her sister, wrote secretly in the name of her husband to her son Godred Don, who was in the Isle of Skye, commanding him to seize and kill Olaf.⁵⁰ Godred Don tried to do so, but failed, and was blinded and mutilated at Iona in 1223, by Olaf's ally, Páll, the Viscount of Skye, "whose power and energy were felt throughout the whole kingdom of the Isles." The next summer Olaf, doubtless feeling that there was now no chance of peace between him and Reginald, took "hostages from all the chiefs of the Isles, came to Man with a fleet of thirty-two ships, and put into the port of Ronaldsway." He then compelled Reginald, who seemingly offered no resistance, to divide the Kingdom of the Isles with him. Reginald took Man and some of the other isles (which we are not told), and

Olaf the rest. Reginald, however, soon repented of the bargain, and attempted, in conjunction with Alan, Lord of Galloway, to deprive Olaf of the territory which he had just surrendered to him; but, because the men of Man refused to fight against Olaf and the men of the isles, "for whom they had a great regard," he had to give up this enterprize. Soon afterwards Reginald exacted 100 marks from the people of Man on the pretext that he wanted to go to the English Court, but, instead of doing so, he went to Alan, Lord of Galloway, to whose son he gave his daughter in marriage. When the Manx "heard of this, they were greatly incensed, and sending for Olaf, appointed⁵¹ him king." This was

in 1226. According to the *Chronicle*, he recovered not only Man, but the isles, which he ruled in peace for two years. At the end of that time, however, trouble again arose between Olaf and Reginald. Henry III. endeavoured to make peace, but in vain,⁵² inasmuch as Olaf, "with all the chiefs of Man, and the greater part of the people, sailed to the Isles," probably for the purpose of fighting against Reginald, and, during his absence in the isles, "Alan,⁵³ Lord of Galloway, Thomas, Earl of Atholl, and King Reginald, came to Man with a large army, devastated all the southern portion of the island, plundered the churches, killed all the men they could lay hands upon, and reduced the south of Man almost to a wilderness." Alan then left "bailiffs in Man to pay over to him the proceeds of the taxes upon the country." This looks as if he, not Reginald, had assumed the sovereignty. But Olaf speedily returned, drove out the bailiffs and recovered his kingdom; "whereupon the people of Man, who had dispersed in every direction, came together again, and dwelt in security." Alas! their security was of brief duration, for, in the course of "the same year, one midnight during winter, King Reginald came unexpectedly from Galloway with five ships, burnt during the same night all the ships of his brother Olaf, and those of all the chiefs of Man, at the island of St. Patrick, and, going round the country seeking to make terms with his brother, remained nearly forty days at Ronaldsway. In the interval, he won over and gathered round himself all the islanders who were in the southern part of Man. . . . King Olaf, on the other hand, gathered all the northern Manxmen." The opposing forces met at Tynwald, where Reginald was slain⁵⁴ and his followers defeated. "Many fell on this occasion, and the southern part of Man being subsequently visited and devastated by pirates, scarcely a single inhabitant was left." A melancholy picture indeed of the condition to which the unhappy island had been reduced.

But now the suzerain of Man and the Isles was about to bestir himself again and to attempt to make the sovereignty of Norway a reality in those regions where it had been in abeyance for many years. Since the middle of the twelfth century, Norway had been a prey to civil dissensions. Two parties, the *Birkebeinar*, or "Birch-legs," and the *Baglernar*, or "Crozier," had been contending almost continuously for the supremacy, with the result that their country had become a cypher among nations. At last, in 1217, the *Birkebeinar* were victorious, and they placed Hakon IV. on the throne. He, after a time, gradually consolidated his power, so that Norway again became strong and respected. Hearing of these revolutions in the isles, he was about to send a fleet there when Olaf arrived at his court to seek protection from Alan of Galloway, who, notwithstanding the defeat of Reginald, seems to have retained, or regained, possession of Man, and to urge his claims against Godred Don, Reginald's son, who was already in Norway. Four days afterwards, the fleet sailed under the command of Uspak-Hakon,⁵⁵ whom Hakon intended to place upon the throne of those Sudreys, which were subject to the descendants of Somerled who had rebelled against his authority.⁵⁶ UspakHakon was, however, killed by a stone at the siege of Rothesay. Olaf, who with Godred Don had accompanied Uspak, then took command and sailed for Man. On his arrival there, he found a chieftain called Torquil MacNeil in possession, but whether he was Alan's representative, or had usurped the sovereignty on his own account, is not known. Torquil was not able to offer any resistance, because the Manx declined to fight against Olaf, who took possession of the island, while Godred Don became ruler of the other Sudreys, except those which the descendants of Somerled held. It is probable that Olaf and Godred Don did not attempt the conquest of the Somerledian Islands, but made use of the Norwegian fleet

simply to regain their own king doms. ⁵⁷ The unfortunate Manx had to pay for their loyalty, being compelled to contribute threepence for every cow on the island, and to feed the Norwegian forces during the whole winter. In the spring, the Norwegians had some indecisive skirmishes with the Somerledians and returned home in the summer of 1231, without conquering them. Soon after this, Godred Don was slain in attempting to subdue the Island of Lewis, which appears to have revolted against his rule and to have declared in favour of Olaf. The death of Godred Don, put Olaf in possession of his kingdom also. In 1235, he went to the English Court. When there, he promised to defend the English and Irish coasts of the St. George's Channel in the interests of King Henry, and, if necessary, to put 50 galleys at his disposal. ⁵⁸ This offended King Hakon, who summoned Olaf to Norway to account for his conduct. ⁵⁹ He seems to have started on his way to Norway in the spring of 1237, ⁶⁰ and to have returned on account of illness, before accomplishing the journey to "the island of St. Patrick," ⁶¹ where he died on the 21st of May in the same year, being buried at Rusben Abbey.

Harald, his son, who was 14 years old, succeeded him, and, the same summer, " he passed over, with all his chiefs, to the isles, leaving Loughlin, a relative of his, guardian of Man. . . . He was received with great satisfaction by the inhabitants, who paid him every honour." In the autumn, Harald, having perhaps some reason for distrusting Loughlin, sent four chieftains with their following to Man where they arrived on the 22nd of October. On the 25th, there was a meeting at Tynwald which they attended, and, in consequence of there having been a feud between three of them and Loughlin, they came to blows, when the " followers of Loughlin prevailed." The following spring Harald came to Man, when Loughlin fled without waiting to encounter him, and took with him Godred, another son of Olaf's, of whom he was guardian. They encountered a severe storm and were both shipwrecked and drowned on the Welsh coast. During the same year the King Hakon sent two commissioners, Gospatrick, and Gillescrist, to Man " to dethrone Harald because he refused to present himself at the Court of Norway." They took possession of the whole country, and collected the revenues for the use of their master. " Harald made two expeditions to Man, but was met on the shore . . . by Gospatrick and Gillescrist, with their army, and was prevented from advancing into the country, and also from obtaining any necessary supplies, and consequently returned to the Isles and resided there." It is curious that no attempt was made to deprive him of the isles also, but possibly, as Man was so much the most valuable island, the withholding of it was considered sufficient to bring him to reason. In 1239, it had this effect, since Harald, " following wise and prudent counsel," went to his suzerain's Court. He remained there upwards of two years, ⁶² at the end of which he was appointed king over all the islands which had been held by Godred, Reginald, and Olaf, his predecessors. He then returned from Norway to the isles, " where he collected a great number of ships and a large army, and put in at the island of St. Patrick, whither the whole population of Man came to meet him peaceably, and received him with great demonstrations of satisfaction. Harald, finding himself so well received by the inhabitants of Man, supplied his followers from the isles with provisions, and sent them home. From this time he reigned quietly and peacefully, established the most solid peace with the kings of England, and of Scotland, and was united to them by friendly alliance."

[[Manx Soc vol 22](#) *Chronicle of Man and the Sudreys*]

[note - the footnotes, textual queries and the latin are still to be added and/or corrected]

TRANSLATION OF THE CHRONICLE.

Incipiunt chronica regum Manniae et Insularum et episcoporum et quorundam regum Angliae, Scotiae, Norwegiae.

Here begin the Chronicles of the Kings and of the Bishops of Man and of the Isles, and of some of the Kings of England, of Scotland, and of Norway.

ANNO ab incarnatione¹ Domini M. (1017)^a Rex Cnutus filius Suani^{1b} totius Angiae suscepit imperium. Postea, occiso Edwino² clitone germano^{3c} regis Edmundi,^d filios regis ejus dem Edmundum et Edwardum ad Regem Suauorum⁴ occidendos misit^c. Qui nolens occidere pueros innocentes eos ad regem Hungariae Salomonem misit,^e Edmundus⁵ autem processu temporis ibidem vitam finivit: Edwardus vero Agatham, filiam germani imperatoris Henrici, in matrimonium accepit, ex qua Margaretam, postea Scotorum reginam, et Christinam, sanctimoniam virginem, et clitonem Edgarum suscepit. Cnutus Rex duxit uxorem Emmam, ex qua suscepit Hardecnutum postea Danorum et Anglorum regem, et Gunnildam filiam que nupsit postea Henrico Romanorum Imperatori.

IN the year 1000 from the Incarnation of our Lord, King Canute, son of Sweyn, began to rule all England. After a while, having put to death Edwin the Etheling, brother of King Edmund, he sent Edmund and Edward, sons of the same king, to the King of the Swedes, to be put to death. The latter, unwilling to kill the innocent children, sent them to Solomon, King of Hungary, where Edmund, in course of time, ended his life; while Edward married Agatha, daughter of Henry, Emperor of Germany, by whom he had issue, Margaret, afterwards Queen of Scotland; Christina, a cloistered virgin; and Edgar the Etheling. King Canute married Emma, by whom he had issue Hardecanute, afterwards King of the Danes and of the English; and a daughter, Gunhilda, who was afterwards married to Henry, Emperor of the Romans.

MIL. (1019) Cnutus rex Anglorum et Danorum Danmarc adiens ibidem per totam hyemem mansit gloriosae.

In the year 1002, Canute, King of the English and of the Danes, went to Denmark, and there passed the whole winter in great splendour.

Anno MIII. (1020). Rex Cnutus Angliam rediens magnum concilium apud Cyrecestem in pascha tenuit.

In the year 1003, King Canute, returning to England, held a great council in Cirencester at Easter.

Anno MXI. (1028). Rex Cnutus, cum L. magnis navibus Norwegiam devectus Olavum regem de illa expulit,¹ sibique eam subjugavit.^a

In the year 1011, King Canute sailed to Norway with 50 large ships, drove out King Olave, and brought it under subjection to himself.

Anno MXII. (1029). Cnutus rex Anglorum Danorum et Noreganorum

In the year 1012, Canute, King of the English, and of the Danes, and of the

rediit.

Norwegians, returned.

Anno MXIII. (1030). Sanctus Olavus rex, Haraldi regis filius, quem Cnutus expulerat, reversus est in Norwegiam, et injuste ^b peremptus a Noreganis, ² glorioso coronatus martyrio, migravit ad Dominum.^c

In the year 1013, St. Olave the king, son of King Harold, returned to Norway, whence he had been driven by Canute, and being unrighteously killed by the Norwegians, passed to the Lord with the glorious crown of martyrdom.

Anno MXIV. (1031).^d Rex Cuntus magno cum honore ingentia in ^b Romam profectus est, et munera auro et argento Sancto Petro obtulit, et ut schola Anglorum libera ^e esset a Johanne papa impetravit.

In the year 1014, King Canute proceeded to Rome in great splendour, made immense presents in gold and silver to St. Peter, and obtained from Pope John exemption for the English establishment in Rome.

Anno MXV. (1032). Ecclesia sancti Edmundi regis et martyris dedicata est, in qua rex Cnutus communi consilio praesulum et optimatum suorum ejectis presbyteris ⁸ saecularibus monachos imposuit. Eodem anno ignis inexstinguibilis multa per Angliam loca cremavit.

In the year 1015 was celebrated the dedication of the Church of St. Edmund, king and martyr, in which, by the advice of his prelates and nobles, Canute established regulars, removing the secular priests. In the same year, fire which could not be quenched, consumed many places in England.

Anno MXVII. (1034). Malcolm Rex Scotorum obiit, cui Duncan successit in regnum ^f

In the year 1017, Malcolm, King of the Scots, died, and was succeeded by Duncan.

Anno MXVIII. (1035). Cnutus rex Anglorum ante snum obitum super Noreganos Snuanum⁴ filium snum constituit, super Danos Hardecnutum filium et Emm~e regime filium regem locavit; super Anglos vero Haraldum filium snum ex ~ Elfiva procreatum. Postea vero Cnutus rex Idus Novembris apud Scaeftesburiam' pnesenti vita decessit. Wintoniae in veteri monasterio satis honorifice tumulatur.

In the year 1018, Canute, King of the English, before his death, appointed his son Sweyn over the Norwegians; over the Danes he placed, as King, Hardecnute, his son by Queen Emma; and over the English, Harold, his son by Algive of Hampton. Afterwards King Canute departed this life at Shaftesbury, on the 13th of November. He is buried with becoming distinction in the old monastery at Winchester.

Non multo post tamen regnum Anglite inter Haraldum et Hardecnutum dividitur. Eodem anno Robertus dux Norman ni~ obiit, cui succe ssit filius ejus Willelmus Bastard puer.

Not long after, however, the kingdom of England was divided between Harold and Hardecnute. During the same year, Robert, Duke of Normandy died, and was succeeded by his son, William the Bastard, yet a boy.

Anno MXXII. (1037). Haraldus, rex Merciorum et Nor humorum (!),² eligitur ut per totam Angliam regnaret,

In the year 1022, Harold King of the Mercians and Northumbrians is elected to reign over all England, his brother Hardecnute being set aside because he

spreto fratre sno Hardeenuto, quia nimium in Danmarc morabatur.

Anno MXXIII. (1040). Obit Haraldus rex Londonis, et in Uestmuster ~ sepelitur, cni Hardecuntus successit.

Anno MXXVII. (1046). Magnus rex Norwegi~e sancti⁴ Olani regis films, fugato rege Danorum Suano, Danmarc sibi subjugavit.

Anno MXXVIII. (1047). Magnus Rex cum Suano pnnlium commisit, illum de Dannemarc expulit, et in illa regnavit, ac non multo post obiit.

Anno MXXIX. (1048). Snanus Danmarchiam iterum re cepit,⁵ et Haraldus Harphagrea regis Sywardi films Norwegiani recepit. Ipse vero ex parte matris frater sancti Olavi erat, patrums scilicet Magni regis. Hic cum Anglorum rege per nuncios suos pacem fecit. Eodem anno terne motus magnus⁶ exstitit.

Anno MXXXV. (1054). Dux Norhymbriorum Sywardus jussu regis Ednuini Scotiam cum multo exercitu intrans pnelium cum rege Scotiae Mactheath (!) ~' commisit, illumque fugavit, et Malcolmum, ut rex jusserat, regem constituit.

Anno MXXXVI. MXXXVII. MXXXVIII. MXXXIX. MXL. MXLI. MXLII. MXLIII. MXLIV. nihil memoriae⁷

Anno MXLV. (1064). Norualorum rex Griffinus a suis interficitur,¹ caputque ejus cum ornatura comiti Haraldo mittitur, quod mox ille regi Edwardo detulit. Rex vero Edwardus terrain ipsius duobus fratribus^a suis concessit.

Anno MXLVI.

Anno MXLVII. (1066).^b Obit phe

remained too long in Denmark.

In the year 1023, King Harold died in London, and is buried at Westminster; Hardecanut succeeded him.

In the year 1027, Magnus, King of Norway, son of King St. Olave, having expelled Sweyn, King of the Swedes, subjugated Denmark.

In the year 1028, King Magnus gave battle to Sweyn, expelled him from Denmark, and reigned in it, and not long after died.

In the year 1029, Sweyn recovered possession of Denmark, and Harold Harfager, the son of King Siward, recovered Norway. The latter was, by his mother's side, brother of St. Olave, that is to say, uncle to King Magnus. He made peace, through his envoys, with the King of England. In the same year there was a great earthquake.

In the year 1035, Siward, Duke of the Northumbrians, by order of King Edwin entered Scotland with a large army, gave battle to Macbeth, put him to flight, and made Malcolm king, as Edwin had ordered.

1036, 1037, 1038, 1039, 1040, 1041, 1042, 1043, 1044,

Nothing to record.

In the year 1045, Griffith, King of the North Welsh, was killed by his own followers, who sent his head and ornaments to Earl Harold, who immediately transmitted them to King Edward; but King Edward gave his territory to the two brothers of Griffith.

In the year 1046.

In the year 1047, died Edward, King of

memoriae Edwardus rex Angliae, de quo dicitur, quod erat honor et gloria Anglorum dum vixit, et eorundem ruina dum moritur. Cui successit in regnum Haraldus filius Goduini, contra quem Haraldus Harfarger^c rex Norwegiae praelium commisit apud Stamford brige² et Angli victores existentes maximam cladem Norwegientium fecerunt, et omnes in fugam compulerunt. De qua fuga quidam Godredus^d cognomento Crouan filius Haraldis nigri de Ysland^e fugiens venit ad Godredum filium Sytric qui tunc regnavit in Mannia, et honorifice susceptus est ab eo. Eodem anno Willelunus Bastard Angliam debellavit, Haraldum regem occidit, et pro eo regnavit, et Anglos perpetua~ servituti subdidit. Præfuit autem genti Anglorum annus .XXti, mensibus .xi, cui successit films ejus.

Anno MLI. (1070). Malcolinus rex Scotiae Angliam vastavit usque Clibland⁴ et Margaretam in matrimonium ac cepit. Eodem anno obiit Godredus films Sytric rex Manniae, eni successit filius ejus Fingal.

Anno autem MLVI. (1075). Godredus Crouan collegit multitudinem navium et venit ad Manniam, pnelium cum populo terrte commisit, sed superatus et fngatus est. Iterum exercitnun et naves coadunavit, venit ad Manniam, pugnavit cum Mannensibus, victus et fugatus est. Tertio congregavit multitudinem copiosaim et venit noctu ad portum, qui vocatus est Ramsa,¹ et trecentos viros occultavit in silva, quae erat in devexo montis supercilio, qui vocatur Scacafel. Orto lucis sidere, Mannenses construxerunt aciem suam, et magno impetu facto congressi sunt cum Godredo. Cumque pugna vehemens esset, treceriti viri, surgentes de insidiarum loco a tergo, Mannenses debilitare coeperunt et in fugam compellere. Cum autem vidissent se superatos, nec aliquem diffugii sibi

England, of pious memory, of whom it is said that he was the honour and glory of the English during his life, and their ruin at his death. He was succeeded by Harold the son of Godwin, whom Harold Harfager encountered at Stamford Bridge. The English prevailed, put all the Norwegians to flight, slaying many of them. From that defeat, a certain Godred, called Crouan, son of Harold the Black of Ysland, escaped to Godred, son of Sytric, then King of Man, by whom he was received with honour. In the same year William the Bastard conquered England, slew King Harold, and reigned in his stead, reducing the English to perpetual serfdom. He ruled over the English people twenty years and eleven months, and was succeeded by his son.

In the year 1051, Malcolm, King of Scotland, laid waste England as far as Cleveland, and married Margaret. In the same year died Godred, son of Sytric, King of Man, who was succeeded by his son Fingall.

In the year 1056, Godred Crouan collected a number of ships and came to Man; he gave battle to the natives but was defeated, and forced to fly. Again he assembled an army and a fleet, came to Man, encountered the Manxmen, was defeated and put to flight. A third time he collected a numerous body of followers, came by night to the port called Ramsey, and concealed 300 men in a wood, on the sloping brow of a hill called Scacafel. At daylight the men of Man drew up in order of battle, and, with a mighty rush, encountered Godred. During the heat of the contest the 300 men, rising from the ambuscade in the rear, threw the Manxmen into disorder, and compelled them to fly. When the natives saw that they were overpowered, and had no means of escape (for the tide had filled the bed of the river Sulby, and on the other side the enemy was closely pursuing them), those who remained, with piteous cries, begged of Godred to spare their lives. Godred, yielding to feelings of mercy, and moved

locum patere, - nam reuma maris Ramso
 amnis alveum mm pleverat - et hostes ex
 altera parte constantes se persequentes,
 qui tunc remanserant, clamore miserabili
 postulabant a Godredo vitam sibi donari.
 Ille autem flexus misericordia et
 miserans calamitatem eorum, quum ²
 apud ipsos per aliquod tempus nutritus
 fuerat, revocavit exercitum, et prohibuit
 ne eos diutius persequerentur. Godredus
 sequenti die optionem exercitni suo
 dedit, vel ³ si mallent Manniam inter se
 dividere et in ea habitare, vel cunctam
 substantiam terrae accipere, et ad propria
 remeare. Illis autem magis placuit totam
 insulam vastare et de bonis illius ditari,
 et sic ad propria reverti. Godredus
 autem ⁴ paucis qui secuni remanserant de
 insul]anis australeni partem insuhe, et
 reliquiis Mannensiuni aquilonarem tali
 pacto concessit, ut nemo eorum
 aliquando auderet jure htereditatio sibi
 aliquam partem terrte usunpare. Unde
 accidit ut usque in hodiernum diem tota
 insula solins regis sit, et ornues redditus
 ejus ad ipsum pertineant.

Igitur Godredus subjugavit sibi
 Dubliniam et magnam partem de
 Laynestir. Scotos vero ita perdomuit, ut
 nullus qui fabricaret navem vel scapham
 ausus esset plus quam tres clavo ^{5 a}
 inserere. Regnavit autem sexdecem
 annos et mortuus est in insula quae
 vocatur Yle.^a Reliquit sane tres filios,
 Lagmannum, Haraldum, et Olavum.^b
 Lagmannus major natu, regnum
 arripiens, septem annos regnavit. Rebel
 lavit autem contra eum Haraldus frater
 ejus multo tempore. Sed tandem captus a
 Lagmanno, genitalibus et oculis privatus
 est. Post ha~c Lagmannus poenitens,
 quod fratris sui oculos eruisset, sponte
 regnum snumn dimmisit, et signo crucis
 domi nicre insignitus, iter
 Jerosolimitanum arripuit, quo et mortuus
 est.

Anno MLXXIII. (1073). Occisus est
 Malcolmuns rex Scotite ab Anglis,c ciii

with compassion for their misfortune, for he
 had been brought up amongst them for some
 time, recalled his army, and forbade further
 pursuit. Next day Godred gave his army the
 option of having the country divided
 amongst them if they preferred to remain
 and inhabit it, or of taking everything it
 contained worth having, and returning to
 their homes. The soldiers preferred
 plundering the whole island, and returning
 home enriched by its wealth. Godred then
 granted to the few islanders who had
 remained with him, the southern part of the
 island, and to the surviving Manxmen the
 northern portion, on condition that none of
 them should ever presume to claim any of
 the land by hereditary right. Hence it arises
 that up to the present day the whole island
 belongs to the king alone, and that all its
 revenues are his.

Godred then subdued Dublin, and a great
 part of Leinster, and held the Scots in such
 subjection that no one who built a vessel
 dared to insert more than three bolts. He
 reigned 16 years, and died in the island
 called Islay. He left three sons, Lagman,
 Harold, and Olave. Lagman, the oldest,
 seized the reins of government and reigned
 seven years. Harold, his brother, continued
 long in rebellion against him, till at length
 he was taken, mutilated, and deprived of his
 eyes. Afterwards, Lagman repenting that he
 had put out his brother's eyes, voluntarily
 resigned the kingdom, took the cross, and
 went to Jerusalem, where he died.

In the year 1073, Malcolm, King of
 Scotland, was slain by the English, and

successit Duncanusi Eodem anno obiit
pate memorke Margareta regina Scothe.

succeeded by Duncan. In the same year died
Margaret, Queen of Scotland, of pious
memory.

Anno MLXXV. (1075). Omnes proceres
insularum audi entes mortem Lagmani,
miserunt legatos ad Murecardum Obrien
regem Yberni~ie, postulantes ut aliquem
virum indus trium de regali stirpe in
regem eis mitteret, donec Olavus filius
Godredi cresceret. Annuit eis rex
libentissime, et quendam Dompualdum'
filium Tadc C ad eos misit, monens et
prrecipiens ei, quatinus² cum omni
benignitate et modestia regnum, quod
sibi non debebatur, gubernaret. Sed ille
postquam ad regnum pervenit, parvi
pendens ptecepta domini sum, cum m
agna tyrannide abusus est regno, et
multis sceleribus perpetratis, tribus
annis enormiter regnavit. Tunc omnes
principes insularum una conspiratione
commoti, adversus eum congregati sunt,
et expulserunt a finibus suis. Ille autem
fugiens ad Yberniam, non est ultra
reversus ad easY

In the year 1075, all the chiefs of the Isles
hearing of the death of Lagman, sent
messengers to Murchadh O'Brien, King of
Ireland, begging of him to send some
competent person of the royal race to be
their king, till Olave, son of Godred should
have grown up. The king willingly assented,
and sent them one Donald, son of Teige,
admonishing him to govern with all
mildness and moderation, a kingdom which
was not his. Donald, however, after taking
possession of the kingdom, made light of
the directions of his lord, and abusing his
power very tyrannically, and committing
many enormities, reigned as a monster for
three years, after which time all the chiefs of
the Isles conspired, and, rising in a body,
drove him from their territory. He fled to
Ireland and never returned.

Anno MLXXVII. (1077). Quidam
Ingemundus^a missus est a rege
Norwegiae, ut regnum insularum
arriperet. Cumque ad insulam Leodus
pervenisset, misit nuncios ad omnes
principes insularum, praecipiens
quatinus¹ in unum convenirent et
constituerent eum regem. Interim vero
ipse cum sociis suis rapinis et
comessationibus vacabat, mulierum et
puellarum pudicitiam violabat, et ceteris
voluptatibus et carnis illecebris operam
dabat. Cumque haec nunciata fuissent
principibus insularum, jam in unum ad
constituen dum eum regem congregatis,
nimio succensi furore propera² verunt
ad eum, et supervenientes nocte, domum
in qua erat combusserunt, et eum cum
omnibus suis partim ferro, partim
flammis exstinxerunt.

In the year 1077, one Ingemund was sent by
the King of Norway to take possession of
the kingdom of the Isles. When he arrived at
the island of Lewis, he sent messengers to
all the chiefs of the Isles to summon them to
assemble and declare him king. In the
meantime he and his followers spent the
time in plundering and revelling. They
violated girls and matrons, and gave
themselves up to every species of pleasure
amid sensual gratification. When the news
reached the chiefs of the Isles, who had
already assembled to appoint him king, they
were inflamed with great rage, hastened
against him, and coming upon him in the
night, set fire to the house in which he was,
and destroyed, partly by the sword and
partly by the flames, Ingemund and all his
followers.

Anno MXCVIII. (1098). Fundata est
Abbatia Sanctae Mariae Cystercii.³
Antiochia a Christianis capta est et

In the year 1098, the abbey of St Mary of
Citeaux was founded. Antioch was taken by
the Christians, and a comet appeared. A
comet is a star which is not always to be

cometa apparuit. Cometa est stella, quae non omni tempore, sed maxime autem in obitu regis aut in excidio religionis apparet. Eodem anno commissum est praelium inter Mannenses apud Santwat^c et aquilonares victoriam obtinuerunt. In quo bello occisi sunt Other comes, et Macmaras, principes ambarum partium.

Eodem anno Magnus^d rex Norwegiae filius Olavi filii Haraldi Harfagre^c, volens explorare incorruptionem sancti Olavi regis et martyris, praecepit ut ejus mausolium (!)^a aperiretur. Episcopo autem et Clero resistente, ipse rex audacter accessit, et vi regia aperiri sibi scrinium fecit. Cumque et oculis vidisset, et manibus attrectasset incorruptum corpus, subito timor magnus irruit in eum, et cum magna festinatione discessit. Sequenti nocte Olavus rex et martyr ei per visum apparuit, dicens "Elige tibi,¹ inquam unum ex duobus, vel vitam cum regno infra triginta dies amittere, vel a Norvegia decedere, et eam amplius nunquam videre." Expergefactus rex a somno, vocavit ad se principes et majores natu, et exposuit eis visionem. Illi autem² conterriti, hoc consilium dederunt ei, ut cum omni festinatione de Norvegia exiret. Ille sine mora coadunari fecit classem centum sexaginta navium, et ad Orcades³ insulas transfretavit,⁴ quas sibi statim subjugavit et transitum faciens per universas insulas easque sibi subjiciens pervenit usque ad Manniam. Cumque applicuisset⁵ ad insulam sancti Patricii,^a venit videre locum pugnae, quam Mannenses paulo ante inter se commiserant, quia adhuc multa corpora occisorum inhumata erant. Videns autem insulam pulcherrimam, placuit in oculis ejus, eamque sibi in habitationem elegit,⁶ munitiones in ea construxit, quae usque⁷ hodie ex ejus nomine nuncupantur. Galwedienses ita constriuxit, ut cogeret eos materias lignorum caedere et ad litus portare ad munitiones construendas. Ad Moiniam (!) insulam Walliae^b navigavit,

seen, but appears most usually on occasion of the death of a king, or the downfall of religion. In the same year there was a battle between the Manxmen at Santwat, and those of the North obtained the victory. In this contest were slain the Earl Other, and Macmaras, leaders of the respective parties.

In the same year Magnus, King of Norway, son of Olave, the son of Harald Harfager, wishing to ascertain if the body of St. Olave remained free from corruption, ordered his tomb to be opened. The bishop and clergy resisted the attempt, but the king audaciously came forward, and by royal order had the shrine opened for his inspection. When he had seen with his eyes and touched with his hands the incorrupt body, a great fear suddenly took possession of him, and he departed in great haste. The following night Olave the martyr king appeared to him in a vision, and said, "Choose, I tell you, one of two things, either to lose your kingdom and life within thirty days, or to retire from Norway and never again to see it." The king, awakening from sleep, summoned his princes and elders, and related to them the vision. But they, in great alarm, advised him to quit Norway as soon as possible. He immediately collected a fleet of 160 ships, and sailed to the Orkney islands, which he subdued, and, passing through all the islands, brought them under his dominion, and arrived at Man. Putting in at the island of St. Patrick, he went to visit the site of the battle which the Manxmen had fought between themselves a short time before, for many bodies of the slain still lay there unburied. When he had observed the beauty of the island, he was much pleased; and chose it for his abode, erecting forts which to this day bear his name. He compelled the men of Galloway to cut timber and bring it to the shore for the construction of the forts. He sailed to Anglesey, an island of Wales, where he found two earls Hugh, one of whom he slew, the other he put to flight, and brought the island under subjection to himself. The Welsh brought him great presents, and

et duos Hugones comites invenit in ea; unum occidit, altenum fugavit, et insulam sibi subjugavit. Wallenses vero multa munera ei pnebuerunt, et valedicens eis ad Manniam remeavit. Murecardo regi Yberniae misit calceamenta sua, praecipiens ei ut ea super humeros suos in die natalis Domini per medium domus sine portaret in conspectu nunciorum ejus, quatinus intelligeret se subjectum esse Magno regi. Quod audientes Ybernenses, aegre ferebant, et indignati sit nimis. Sed rex saniori consilio usus, non solum, inquit, calceamenta ejus portare, verum etiam manducare mallet, quam Magnus rex unam provinciam in Ybernia destrueret.^c Itaque complevit praeceptum et nuncios honoravit. Multa quoque munera per eos Magno regi transmisit, et foedus composuit. Nuncii vero redeuntes ad⁸ dominum suum narraverunt ei de situ Yberniae et amoenitate, de frugum fertilitate et aeris salubritate. Magnus vero haec audiens, nihil cogitabat quani totam Yberniam sibi subjugare. Itaque praecepit classem congregare, ipse vero cum sexdecim navibus procedens, explorare volens terram, cum incaute a navibus discessisset, subito ab Ybernensibus circumvallatus, interiit cum omnibus fere qui secum erant. Sepultus est autem juxta ecclesiam Sancti Patricii in Dun.¹ Regnavit autem in regno insularum sex annis. Quo Inortuo, misenunt principes insularum propter Olavum filium Godredi Crouan, de quo superius mentionem fecimus, qui tunc temporis degebat in curia Henrici regis Anglae, filii Willelmi, et adduxerunt eum.

Anno MCII. (1102). Olavus filius Godredi Crouan^a coepit regnare super omnes insulas, regnavitque XL. ta annis. Erat autem vir pacificus, habuitque omnes reges Yberniae et Scotiae ita sibi confoederatos, ut nullus auderet perturbare regnum insularum omnibus diebus ejus. Accepit autem uxorem

taking his leave of them, he returned to Man. He sent his shoes to Murrough, king of Ireland, commanding him to carry them on his shoulders through the house on Christmas day, in the presence of the envoys, in token of his subjection to King Magnus. When the Irish heard this they were highly incensed and indignant, but their king, following the dictates of wiser counsel, said that he would not only carry the shoes, but eat them, rather than that Magnus should ruin a single province in Ireland. He therefore complied with the injunction, treated the envoys with honour, sent many presents also by them to King Magnus, and arranged a treaty. On their return the envoys reported to their master the situation and delightfulness of Ireland, the abundance of its produce, and the salubrity of its climate. Magnus, hearing this, could think of nothing but the conquest of all Ireland. He therefore ordered a fleet to be assembled, and going on himself before, with sixteen ships, to explore the country, landed mean tiously, was suddenly surrounded by the Irish, and perished with almost all who were with him. He was buried near the church of St. Patrick, in Down. He reigned over the Isles six years. After his death the chiefs of the Isles sent for and brought over Olave, son of Godred Cronan, of whom we have already spoken, who was at that time residing at the court of Henry, King of England, son of William.

In the year 1102, Olave, son of Godred Crouan, began to reign over all the Isles, and he reigned forty years. He was a man of peace, and was in such close alliance with all the kings of Ireland and Scotland, that no one ventured to disturb the kingdom of the Isles during his time. He took a wife named Affrica, daughter of Fergus of Galloway, by whom he had issue Godred. He had also many concubines, by whom he had issue three sons; Reginald, Lagman, and Harold, and many daughters, one of whom was married to Sumerled, Lord of Argyll; and this was the cause of the ruin of the whole king dom of the Isles; for he had issue by

Affricam^b nomine filiam Fergus² de Galwedra, de qua genuit Godredum. Habuit et concubinas plures, ^c de quibus filios tres, scilicet Reignaldum, Lagmannum, et Haraldum, et filias multas generavit, quarum una nupsit Sumerledo regulo^d Herergaidel,³ quae fuit causa ruinae totius regni insularum. Genuit namque ex ea filios IV., Dubgallum, Raignaldum, Engus, et Olavum, de quibus latius in sequentibus dicemus.

her four sons, Dugald, Reginald, Angus, and Olave, of whom we shall speak more fully hereafter.

Anno MCXII. (1112). Fundata est Abbatia Sanctae Mariae Sauiniensis.^c

In the year 1112, the abbey of St. Mary of Savigny was founded.

Anno MCXXVI. (1126). Obiit Alexander^f Rex Scotiae, cui successit David frater ejus. Eodem anno fundata est Abbatia Sanctae Mariae de Furnes^g

In the year 1126, Alexander, King of Scotland, died, and was succeeded by his brother David. In the same year the abbey of St. Mary of Furness was founded.

Anno MCXXXIII. (1133). Fundata est Abbatia Sanctae Mariae Riuallis.^{4h} Eodem anno eclipsis solis facta est quarto nonas Augusti, feria quarta, ita ut dies in noctem verteretur aliquamdiu.

In the year 1133, the abbey of St. Mary of Rivaulx was founded. In the same year there was an eclipse of the sun, on Wednesday the 2d of August, so that for some time day was converted into night.

Anno MCXXXIV. (1134). Fundata est Abbatia Sanctae Marlin de Calder. Eodem anno Olavus rex dedit Yvonib abbati de Fumes partem terre sine in Mannia ad Abbatiam constituendam, in loco qui vocatur Russin; deditque ecclesiis insularum terras et libertates; et erat circa cultum divinum devotus et fervidus, tam deo quam hominibus acceptabilis, praeter quod plus isti domestico vitio regum indulgebat.²

In the year 1134, the abbey of St. Mary of Calder was founded. In the same year King Olave gave to Ivo, Abbot of Furness, a piece of his land in Man, to establish a monastery at a place called Rushen, and he gave to the churches of the Isles lands and privileges. He was devout; and zealous in promoting the divine service; and acceptable to God and man, except in as much as he indulged too much in the domestic vice of kings.

Anno MCXXXVI. (1135). Obiit Henricus rex Anglorum et Stephanus comes Bolonke nepos ejus successit in regnum, et in die coronationis sine ad missam oblita est pax in populo.

In the year 1135, Henry, King of England, died, and was succeeded by his nephew, Stephen, Count of Boulogne, on the day of whose coronation, the psalm was not communicated at mass to the people, through forgetfulness.

Anno MCXXXIX. (1139). Fundata est Abbatia Sanctae Marlin de Malros. Eodem anno commissum est bellum de Standard inter Anglos et Scotos, et

In the year 1139, the abbey of St. Mary of Melrose was founded. In the same year was fought the battle of the Standard between the English and the Scots, in which the

Scoti victi fugerunt.

Scots were defeated, and put to flight.

Anno MCXL. (1140). Obiit sanctus Malachias episcopus et legatus Ybernite apud Claram Vallem, sepultusque est in oratorio beatfe virginis Marlin, in quo sibi bene complacuit.e

In the year 1140, the Bishop St. Malachy, legate of Ire land, died at Clairvaux, and was buried in the chapel of the Blessed Virgin Mary, which he well loved.

Anno MCXLI. (1141). Fundata est abbatia Sancti Marite de Holm Coltran!

In the year 1141, the abbey of St. Mary of Holme, Cultram, was founded.

Anno MCXLII. (1142). Godredus films Olavi transfretavit³ ad regem Norvegke,~cui nomen erat Hinge,⁴ et hominum snum ei fecit, et moratus est apud eum, honorifice susceptus ab eo. Eodem anno tres filii Haraldi fratris Olavi, qui nutriti fuerant apud Dubliniam, congregantes magnam turbam hominum et omnes profugas¹ regis, venerunt ad Manniam postulantes ab eodem rege medietatem totius regni insularum sibi dan. Rex autem cum audisset, placare eos volens, respondit super hoc consilium se habiturum; cunisque diem et locum constituissent, ubi concilium haberi debuisset, interim illi nequissimi de morte regis inter se tractabant. Constituta autem die convenerunt uterque partes in portu, qui vocatur]Ramsa, sederunt 2 que seriatim rex cum suis ex una parte, illi vero cum suis ex altera.. Regnaldus autem medianus frater,³ qui euni percussurus erat, stabat seorsim loquens cum quodam viro de principibus terr~e. Cumque vocatus venisset ad regem, vertens se ad eum quasi salutans eum, securim fulgentem in altum levavit, et caput regis uno ictu amputavit. Perpetrato autem tanto scelere statim terrain dividerunt inter se. Paucis diebus transactis, congregata classe, transfretaverunt ad Gaiwediam, volentes sibi subjungere. Gaiwedienses autem conglobati et ruagno impetu facto, congressi sunt cum eis. liii statim terga vertentes, fugerunt cum magna confusione ad Manniam, omnesque Gaiwedienses qui in ea habitabant

In the year 1142, Godred, son of Olave, crossed over the sea to the King of Norway, whose name was Hinge, and did homage to him. He was well received, and remained some time. In the same year three sons of Harold, the brother of Olave, who had been brought up in Dublin, assembling a large body of men, and among them all the refugees from the dominions of Godred, came to Man, and demanded from the king one half of the whole kingdom of the Isles for themselves. The king having heard their application, and being desirous to pacify them, answered that he would take advice on the subject. When the day and place for holding a meeting had been agreed upon, these most wicked men spent the interval in planning the death of the king. On the appointed day both parties met at the port called Ramsey, and sat down in order, the king and his followers on one side, and they with theirs on the other. Reginald, the second brother, who was to give the fatal blow, stood apart, speaking to one of the chiefs of the country. On being summoned to approach the king, turning to him as if in the act of saluting, he raised his gleaming battleaxe on high, and at a blow cut off the king's head. As soon as this atrocious act was perpetrated they divided the country between them. After the lapse of a few days they collected their fleet, and sailed to Galloway with the purpose of conquering it. But the men of Galloway, forming a compact body, rushed upon them with great impetuosity; whereupon the invaders turned and fled in great confusion to Man, and massacring some, expelled the rest of the Galloway residents in the island.

quosdam jugulaverunt, alios expulerunt.

Anno McXLIJI. (1153). Obiit beat~e memorke Bernardus primus Abbas Clarevallis.⁴ Eodem anno obiit David rex Scotke, a cui successit Malcolm nepos ejus, more regio in regem sullimatus. Ipso⁵ anno occisus est Olavus rex, sicut supra diximus, in die sanctorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli. In proximo autumno venit Godredus ~ films ejus de Norvegia cum quinque navibus, et applicuit apud Orcadas. Omnes autem principes insularum, audientes eum venisse, gavisus sunt, et convenientes in unum, ipsi unanimiter elegerunt sibi regem. Godredus igitur ad Manniam veniens tres filios Haraldi comprehendit, et in ultionem patris sui digna morte multavit. Fertur etiam, ~ quod duorum oculos emit, et. unum occidit.

Anno Mcxliv. (1154~. Coepit regnare Godredus⁰ et .xxx tribus annis regnavit. De quo multa memorlin digna nar ran potuissent, qine nos brevitatis causa omisimus. Tertio anno regni sui miserunt propter illum Dublinenses, ut reg naret super se. Qui, collecta navium multitudine et copioso exercitu, Dubliniam venit, et gratanter a civibus cum magno tripudio susceptus est. Paucis vero diebus interjectis, com muni consilio et consensu eum in regem sullimamunt.² Quod cum audisset Murcardus rex Ybemni, collecta innumerabili multitudine Hybernensium, properavit versus iDubliniam, ut Godredum expelleret et eani sibi subj ugaret. Gum venisset prope civitatem qute vocatur Cortcellis~' ibidem fixis tentoriis permansit. Crastino die elegit tria millia equitum,³ quibus praefecit fratrem suum couterinum⁴ nomine Osiblen, et misit eum cum pr~dictis equitibus ad civitatem ut colloquium cum civibus haberet, simul etiam ut virtutem eorum exploraret. Gum autem appropinquarent civitati, Godredus cum suis et omnes cives

In the year 1143 died Bernard, of blessed memory, first abbot of Clairvaux. In the same year died David, King of Scotland. He was succeeded by his grandson Malcolm, who was raised to the throne according to royal usage. In the same year King Olave was slain, as we have already stated, on the feast of the holy apostles Peter and Paul. In the following autumn Godred, his son, came from Norway with five ships, and put in at the Orkneys. All the chiefs of the Isles were rejoiced when they heard of his arrival, and assembling together, unanimously elected him for their king. Godred then came to Man, seized the three sons of Harold, and, to avenge his father's murder, awarded them the death they deserved. Another story is that he put out the eyes of two of them, and put the third to death.

In the year 1144, Godred began his reign, and reigned thirty- nine years. Many things worthy of note might be related of him which we have omitted for the sake of brevity. In the third year of his reign the people of Dublin sent to request him to reign over them. Whereupon, assembling a great number of ships, and a large army, he went to Dublin, where he was received by the citizens with great satisfaction and demonstrations of joy. A few days later they deliberated, and unanimously appointed him king. When Murrough, King of Ireland, heard of this, he collected an immense body of Irishmen, and hastened to Dublin to drive out Godred, and bring the city under subjection to himself. Arriving near the town called Cortcellis, he halted and pitched his camp. On the following day he selected three thousand horsemen, over whom he placed his uterine brother Osiblen,^d and sent him with the above-mentioned cavalry to the city, to enter into parley with the inhabitants, and try their courage. On the approach of this detachment to the city, Godred and his followers, with all the citizens of Dublin, issued forth with great clamour, rushed impetuously upon the enemy, and assailed them with such a shower of arrows that they

Dubliniie grandi cum strepitu exeuntes et magno impetu facto irruerunt in cos, et tanto irnbre telorum eos debilitare coeperunt, ut continuo eos terga veintere coegissent. Osiblen autem frater Regis, cum audaciter resistere conaretur, circuinseptus ab hostibus cum multis aliis interiit. Ceteri beneficio cornipedum evaserunt. Gum ad dominum⁵ suum revertissent, totum⁶ ordine ei retulerunt. Rex autem cum audisset fratrem snum esse occisum, incon solabili dolore luxit eum, et pr~e nimia tristitia pra~cepit ex ercibus suis ut redirent unusquisque ad loca sua. Godredus vero post paucos dies reversus est in Manniam, dimisitque omnes principes insularum redire ad propria. Cumque vidisset regnum confirmatum esse sibi, nullumque ci posse resistere, coepit tyrannidem exercere contra principes suos; nain quosdam comm exkereditavit, alios de dignitatibus ejecit, quorum unus nomine Thorfinus filius Otere ceterisque poten tior, accessit ad Sumerledum, et postulavit ab eo Dubgallum filium snum ut constitueret eum regem super insulas. Audiens htec Sumerledus gavisus est valde, et tradidit ei Dubgallum filium snum, qui assumens cum circumduxit per omnes insulas, et subjugavit ci universas, accipiens obsides de singulis.

Unus princeps Paulus ~ clam fuceicus venit ad vero nomine *b*

Godredum, et narravit ci omnia qu~c gesta fucrant. Audiens htec Godredus consternatus est mente, et continuo prtcepit suis naves pr~nparare, et festinanter ire cis obviam. Sumer ledus vero cum suis collegit classem octoginta navium, et pro peravit obviam Godredo.

Anno MCLVI. (1156). Commissum est navale pnclium² inter Godredum et Sumerledum in nocte epiphanite Pomini, et magna strages hominum ex utraque parte facta est. c Gum autem dies

were at once compelled to fly. Osiblen, the king's brother, boldly continuing the struggle, was surrounded and slain with many others. The rest owed their safety to their chargers, and, returning to their lord, related in detail what had happened. When the king heard of the death of his brother he mourned for him with inconsolable sorrow, and was so oppressed with grief that he ordered his soldiers to return to their homes. Godred after a few days went back to Man, and dismissed the chiefs of the Isles to their respectives abodes. When he now found himself secure on his throne, and that no one could oppose him, he began to act tyrannically towards his chiefs, depriving some of their inheritances, and others of their dignities. Of these, one named Thorfinn, son of Oter, more powerful than the rest, went to Somerled, and begged for his son Dugald, that he might make him king over the Isles. Somerled, highly gratified by the application, put Dugald under the direction of Thorfinn, who received and led him through all the islands, subjecting them all to him, and taking hostages from each. One of the chiefs, however, called Paul, secretly fled to Godred, and informed him of what had occurred. Godred was greatly alarmed by the intelligence, and ordered his followers to get ships in readiness and start immediately to encounter the enemy. On the other hand, Somerled and his party assembled a fleet of eighty ships, and hastened to meet Godred.

In the year 1156, a naval battle was fought between Godred and Somerled, during the night of the Epiphany of our Lord, with great slaughter on both sides. But when day light came they made peace, and shared between them the kingdom of the Isles, and from that day to this the kingdom has remained divided. Thus was the kingdom of the Isles ruined from the time the sons of Somerled got possession of it.

In the year 1158, Somerled came to Man with fifty-three ships, gave battle to Godred, put him to flight, plundered the whole

illucesceret, pacificati sunt; et diviserunt inter se regnum insularum, factumque est regnum bipartitum a die illa usque in presentiens tempus; et haec fuit causa ruinae regni insularum, ex quo filii Sumerledi occupaverunt illud.

Anno MCLVIII. (1158). Venit Sumerledus in Manniam cum quinquaginta tribus navibus, et commisit prelium cum Godredo, et fugavit eum, et totam insulam vastavit, et abut. Godredus vero transfinetavit ad Norwegiam querere auxilium contra Sumerledum.

Licet hic introserere quoddam miraculum de sancto Machuto eodem tempore, cum adhuc Sumerledus esset in Mannia in portu quod vocatur Ramso, nuntiatum est exercitibus ecclesiam Sancti Machuti multis pecuniis esse refertam; hic enim locus omnibus ad se confugientibus propter reverentiam sanctissimi confessoris sui Machuti cunctis periculis tutum refugium existebat.

Unus autem ex principibus ceteris potentior, Gillocolmus nomine, suggestit Sumerledo de predictis pecuniis, nihilque pertinere assererat ad sancti Machuti pacem, si ea anima, quae extra ambitum coemeterii pascebantur, ad victum exercitus ducerentur. At Sumerledus negare coepit, dicens se nunc modo posse permittere sancti Machuti pacem violari. E contra Gillocolmus instabat magnis precibus, postulans ut sibi cum suis daretur licentia eundi illuc, et reatum sibi imputari concessit. Quo audito Sumerledus, licet invitus, perinisit ei et dixit: "Inter te et sanctum Machutum sit, ego et exercitus incus innocentes crimus, nec praedae vestrae participationem curamus." Tunc Gillocolmus letus effectus venit ad suos, convocatisque tribus filiis suis et universis suis clientibus, precepit ut ca-

island, and retired. But Godred crossed over to Norway, for the purpose of asking assistance against Sumerled.

We may here insert the account of a certain miracle of St. Maughold, a confessor of the Lord. At the same time, whilst Sumerled yet lay in the port of Man called Ramsey, it was reported to the army that the church of St. Maughold was full of riches; for this place was a safe refuge against all dangers, for all who fled to it, on account of the reverence paid to its most holy confessor St. Maughold.

One of the principal chiefs called Gilcolum, drew the attention of Sumerled to these treasures, and maintained that it would be no violation of the asylum of St. Maughold to drive off, for the supply of the army, the cattle that were grazing outside the precincts of the cemetery. But Sumerled demurred, affirming that he could in no wise allow the asylum to be violated. Gilcolum continued to urge with great earnestness his proposal, begging that he and his followers might be allowed to go there, and offering to take the responsibility on himself. Upon this Sumerled reluctantly gave his consent, saying: "Let the affair be between yourself and St. Maughold; I and my army will be guiltless, nor do we wish to have any share in your spoil." Gilcolum overjoyed returned to his followers, and calling together his three sons and all his dependents, ordered all to prepare during the night, so as to be ready to rush suddenly at break of day upon the church of St. Maughold, which was

nocte omnes essent parati, quatinus primo diluculo, facto impetu, irruerent ex improvise super ecclesiam sancti Machuti, quæ mdc ad duo milliaria distabat. Rumor interim pervenit ad ecclesiam de adventu hostium; qui omnes tanto terrore perculit, ut multi ex populo qui ibi crant fugerent de ecclesia, et in abditiis rupium et specubus se occultarent. Cetera multitudo, infinitis clamoribus, tota nocte misericordiam dei per merita sancti Machuti implorabant. Sexus vero infirmior, dissolutis crinibus, ejulantes, discurrebant circa parietes ecclesie, magnis vocibus clamantes: "Ubi es modo Machute, ubi sunt miracula tua quæ usque nunc operaberis in loco isto? numquid propter peccata nostra nunc discedes, et derelinques populum tuum in tali angustia? Et, si non propter nos, saltem propter honorem nominis tui hac vice nos adjuva!" His, et hujusmodi vocibus, motus, ut credi inns, sanctus Machutus, commiseris miseris, cos de instanti periculo liberavit, et hostem comm atroci genere mortis damnavit. Nam prædictus Gillo-Colmus cum se sopori dedisset in tentorio suo, apparuit ei sanctus Machutus toga candida præcinctus, baculumque pastorem manu tenens. Cumque ante lectum ejus astaret, his cum verbis aggreditur:

"Quid," inquit, "mihi et tibi est Gillo-Colme? Quid tibi aut tuis nocui quia nunc disponis locum meum periculis?" Ad hæc Gillo-Colmus respondit "Quis," inquit, "es tu?" At ille ait: "Ego sum servus Christi Machutus, cujus tu ecclesiam contaminari conaris, sed non proficis." Quo dicto, baculum, quem manu tenuerat, in sublime crexit, et punctum ei per coenam illius transfixit. At ille miser diro clamore emisso omnes qui circumquaque in papilionibustm erant somno excus sit. Iterum Sanctus eum transfixit, iterum ipse clamavit. Tertio ~ Sanctus idem fecit, tertio ille clamavit. Filii⁵ vero ejus et omnes sui his

distant two miles. A rumour, in the meantime, reached the church that the enemy was coming, and so alarmed by it were all, that many fled from the church, and concealed themselves in the recesses of the rocks, and in the caverns, whilst the remaining crowd, with loud and continued cries, implored the mercy of God, through the intercession of St. Maughold. The weaker sex, with dishevelled hair and mournful accents, wandered around the walls of the church, loudly crying: "Where art thou now, oh Maughold! where are thy miracles which till now thou hast worked in this place? Willst thou now quit it on account of our sins, and abandon thy people in this their distress? If not for our sake, at least for the honour of thy name, help us now." Moved, as we believe, by these and similar supplications, and compassionating their affliction, St. Maughold delivered them from the imminent danger, and condemned their enemy to a terrible death. For when the aforesaid Gilcolum had fallen asleep in his tent, St. Maughold appeared to him clothed in a white garment, and carrying the pastoral staff in his hand; and standing before his bed, addressed him in the following words: "What is there between thee and me, Gilcolum? In what have I injured thee or thine, that thou art now about to plunder my place?" To this appeal Gilcolum replied: "Who art thou?" The saint answered: "I am the servant of Christ, Maughold, whose church thou seekest to profane, but thou shalt not succeed." Having spoken thus, he raised on high the staff that was in his hand, and drove the point through Gilcolum's heart. The unfortunate man uttered a fearful shriek, which awoke all who were sleeping in the surrounding tents. Again the saint transfixed him, again he shrieked. A third time the saint repeated the blow; a third time the man shrieked. His sons and followers, alarmed by the screams, hastened to him, inquiring what had happened. Scarcely able to move his tongue, he answered with a groan: "St. Maughold has been here, and, thrice transfixing me with his staff, has

clamoribus turbati accurrunt ad eum, sciscitantes quidnam ei acciderat. At ille vix linguam movere valens, cum gemitu dixit: "Sanctus Machutus hic affuit, meque tribus ictibus baculo suo transfigens occidit. Sed ite citius ad ecclesiam ejus, et adducite baculum et presbyteros et clericos, ut intercedant pro me ad sanctum Machutum, si forsitan indulgeat mihi quoad adversus eum facere disposui."⁶ Qui celeriter iussu complentes rogaverunt clericos ut sumpto baculo sancti Machuti secum visi tarent dominum suum qui jam in extremis esse videbatur. Karraverunt autem eis omnia quae ei contigerant. Audientes haec presbyteri et clerici et cetera multitudo, gavisus sunt gaudio magno, miseruntque cum eis quosdam ex clericis cum baculo. Qui cum coram eo stetissent, videntes eum jam pene exanimem, nam paulo ante loquelam amiserat, unus de communi imprecatus est dicens: "Sanctus Machutus," inquit, "quod coepit punire, non desistat donec te ad intentum ducat, ut ceteri videntes et audientes discant locis sanctis majorem reverentiam praestare." Quibus dictis clerici ad sua sunt reversi, post quorum discessum coepit tanta multitudo muscarum grandium et tetraerarum circa faciem ejus et ora volitare, ut non poterant nec ipse nec qui ei assisterant (!) eas abigere. Sic cum magnis tormentis et cinuatibus circa sextam diei horam expiravit. Quo defuncto tantus terror invasit Sumerledum et exercitum ejus, ut statim, accedente mansuetudine,² et navibus fluitantibus, amoverent classem de portu illo, sicque cum summa festinatione ad proprias terras sunt reversi.

killed me. But go quickly to his church, and bring the staff with the priests and clerks, that they may intercede for me with St. Maughold, that he may perchance forgive what I was preparing to do against him." Quickly, in execution of his orders, they begged the clerks to bring the staff of St. Maughold, and come to their lord, who appeared to be lying in the last extremity. They narrated, also, all that had happened to him. The priests, clerks, and people, hearing this account, rejoiced with a great joy, and sent back with the messengers some of the clerks, who bore the staff. When they stood in his presence and saw him almost expiring, for he had just before lost the use of his voice, one of the clerks pronounced the following imprecation: - "May St. Maughold, who has begun thy punishment, cease not till he has brought thee to death, that others, seeing and hearing, may learn to show greater reverence to holy places." Having thus spoken, the clerks returned home; and after their departure such a number of large black flies swarmed about his face and mouth, that neither he nor his attendants could keep them away. Thus did he expire in great torture and agony about the sixth hour of the day. Upon his death, such a great fear seized upon Somerled and his army, that, as soon as the ships were floated by the rising tide, the fleet left the port, and returned home as quickly as possible.

NOTES.

NOTE I, p. 44.—*A uno ob incarnatione—domini M. . . Anno MXXIII.*

ALL these entries are entirely taken from the *Chronicae de Mailros*, as stated in the Preface ; only every date is less by seventeen years than that originally entered in the *Chronica*. What may have been the cause of this alteration is very difficult to guess, especially as even the writer himself does not keep up the same difference throughout the whole time. In the next entry there is a difference from the right number of 19 years ; which difference is kept up until A.D. 1093 (1073), where a new difference of 20 years begins, and lasts until 1102. From this year to the end we generally find the right number. For these reasons it is obvious that the writer cannot have adopted any peculiar era ; it would seem that he has only committed blunders in reading the ciphers used to indicate the dates in the text he followed.¹

1 [See the Chronological Table, Appendix, No. 58. From the text, and note 9, it would seem that the year given in this note as 1102 should be 1098.]

NOTE 2, p. 50.

The real *Chronicles of Man*, or the entries belonging to the history of this kingdom, only commence with the year 1066 (1047). The first lines touching the death of King Edward the Confessor are still due to the *Chronica de Mailros*, the rest, however, is original. Here, therefore, Camden has also commenced his abridgment. The first King of Man here mentioned, viz. Godred son of Sytric, is not, however, the first known in history, but it was not the author's plan to carry the history farther up than to Godred Crowan, whom he probably supposed to be the founder of the reigning dynasty. Perhaps he did not even know of any King of Man previous to Godred the son of Sigtrygg, although the Icelandic family-sagas, as well as the Irish annals, speak of kings either in Man or in the Isles for more than a century earlier than the two Godreds here mentioned.

The great Norwegian invasion, which lasted from the end of the eighth to the middle of the ninth century, and caused the erection of Norwegian kingdoms in Ireland, comprised also the islands between Ireland and Scotland, and these were even more completely subdued and subjected to the Norwegian rule than any part of Ireland itself. Indeed, the Island of Man, and the southernmost islands west of Scotland, are to be regarded as the centre of the Norwegian settlements in these parts of Europe. From these islands, eminently fitted to serve as a stronghold for these hardy Vikings, whose strength consisted almost entirely in their large and well constructed ships, the tide of invasion flowed to the west, to the north, to the east, and passing through Cumberland and the territory of the Strath-Clyde Britons it even reached to the eastern parts of Britain, where it met with another current from the North, that of the Danes, with which it easily coalesced, although traces are not wanting of their early encounters in a manner far from friendly. Man, as well as the rest of the islands, seems for the first period either to have been subjected to the Norwegian kings of Dublin, or to have been ruled by several chieftains or vikings, who did not adopt the title of kings. In 852, Olaf the White, the Ainhlabh of the Irish chronicles, descended from the same family as Harold Harfagri, the Fair-Haired, afterwards King of Norway, conquered Dublin, with the adjacent territory, and founded this, the most renowned, most powerful and most lasting Norwegian kingdom in Ireland.¹ Olaf was married to *Aude*, daughter of the mighty and valiant Norwegian baron *Ketil Flatnef* (flat-nose) from Sogn. This Ketil, it is said in some Sagas (as the *Landnama*), was sent by King Harold of Norway to chastise some Vikings who had taken up their abode in the Isles,

Although previously expelled by the king himself, and having executed his commission he made himself independent there; according to another and far more probable version of the story (that of the Laxdoela Saga), Ketil emigrated from Norway to the Isles because he was obnoxious to the king, and could not resist him in his own country. The marriage of his daughter with Olaf of Dublin, which must have taken place about 850, as their son was grown a man in 870, is sufficient to show that Ketil, although perhaps still chiefly resident in Norway, must have been a man of great consequence in those parts long before the king himself went there to expel the Vikings; ² perhaps even he helped Olaf to make his conquests. All the Sagas, in which these events are mentioned, agree that King Harold Fair-hair made himself a great expedition to the islands near Scotland and Ireland against the Vikings there settled, who continued to infest the seas occasionally, even making attacks upon Norway, their mother country, and that in this expedition he conquered Shetland (*Hjaltland*), the Orkneys, the Sudreys (Hebudes), and even Man, killing or expelling the Vikings, who were not strong enough to make any serious resistance. From this expedition onwards, which seems to have taken place in the year 870, the later Norwegian kings derived their right or title to these islands, and as even now some stanzas remain of a poem in which these events were celebrated by the king's chief court-poet, who perhaps accompanied his master on this expedition, there can be no possible doubt of the thing having really taken place. The colonisation of Iceland, beginning about this time, and being chiefly effected by powerful Norwegian families, who did not come directly from Norway, but from the Sudreys, where they had lived for some years after their expatriation, and among whom the very Ketil Flatnef here mentioned occupies a prominent place, makes it almost certain that the immediate reason for the second transmigration of these men, with their whole families, was no other than King Harold's expedition. And, consequently, even that colonisation bears a strong evidence as to the truth of the ancient tale.

The Orkneys, with Shetland, King Harold gave as an hereditary earldom to Earl Raguwald (Reginald) of More, in Norway, whose son Turf-Einar, ³ was the founder of the illustrious Orkneyan dynasty, which continued in the unbroken male line for 300 years, when female succession brought the Atholl dynasty in from Scotland in its place, which, again, was followed by the Angus dynasty, and this at last by the family of St. Clair ; all subsequent dynasties, however deriving their right from their relation to the original Norwegian line. The Sudreys, including no doubt the Isle of Man, he confided to the care of an earl named *Tryggvi*, and, he having been killed, to another earl named *Asbjorn Skerjablesi*. ⁴ It is, however, obvious that the position of these earls must have been very precarious and dangerous, as they were far off Norway, and exposed to incessant attacks from the Vikings. Both of them came also to an untimely death ; Tryggvi was first killed, as stated above, then Asbjorn was attacked by two relations of Ketil Flatnef, who killed him, captured his wife and daughter, and sold the latter as a slave. There are no traces of King Harold having sent a third earl to the islands. Perhaps even the death of Asbjorn Skerjablesi took place when the king was already grown old and not fit for expeditions like the former.

The immediate successors of King Harold did not, as far as we can see, maintain the suzerainty over the remote Sudreys and Man, and it is most probable, that the latter at least formed a part of the dominions of the successors of Olaf the White on the Norwegian throne of Dublin, who were unquestionably now the most powerful rulers on these seas. Olaf's and Aude's son, Thorstein the Red, even conquered a part of

Scotland, as the Landnama tells us. We can, namely, trace the power and influence of these kings beyond the sea to the coasts of Cumberland, and across the country to Northumberland⁵; where the Danes had made extensive conquests, and a branch of the royal Danish line, descended from the great conqueror Ragnar Lodbrok,⁶ had established its throne at York.⁷ When this branch was extinguished about 920 and the subordinate Danish chieftains had submitted to Edward, son of king Alfred, the kingdom of York was given in fief by the English kings to princes from Dublin belonging to the royal race of Olaf the White. This, although not expressly stated, is still evident from various reasons. For when Raguwald (Reginald) probably a son of Guðroðr son of Hardecnut (+ C. 894) was dead about 924,⁸ there appears as his successor a king named Sigtrygg, who, immediately after the accession of Athelstane to the throne, went to him at Tamworth (Jan. 26, 926), did homage to him as his liege vassal, and was married to Athelstane's sister, but died next year, when Athelstane expelled his two sons (as it would seem by a former marriage, or illegitimate), Olaf (Anlaf) and Guðroðr (Guðred), and made himself master of Northumberland; and the Irish annals show that in the year of 920, just before the appearance of the Sigtrygg⁹ here mentioned at York, Sigtrygg, King of Dublin since 917, was expelled from this place¹⁰; from this coincidence it is therefore to be inferred that he went over to Northumberland and profited by the disturbances after the extinction of the royal line, and got possession of this country. Moreover, the name of Sigtrygg, being common and characteristic to the royal line of Dublin but foreign to the Danish line of York, there consequently is no great probability that king Sigtrygg's belonged to it, or, if that were really the case, he must at least have been descended from the Dublin kings on the maternal side. The well-known ecclesiastical Annalist, Mag. Adam of Bremen, says it is true that Guðred, the son of Hardecnut, was succeeded by his three sons, Olaf, Sigtrygg, and Reginald¹¹ but his authority is of no weight, as it is evident that he has known and used the *Chronicon Saxonicum*, and, in his uncritical way, believed all those kings, who were next mentioned as kings of York, to have been sons of that Guðred.

Olaf, the son of Sigtrygg, fled to Ireland, but his brother Guðred went to Constantine,¹² King of Scotland, and Eugene, lord of Cumberland, soliciting their assistance. Threatened by emissaries from Athelstane, they dared not comply with the wishes of Guðred, and he was compelled to depend upon his own resources, supported only by a faithful friend, Thurfred; they besieged York, but did not succeed, shortly afterwards they were taken prisoners and confined in a castle; they escaped and went to sea, but Thurfred was drowned, and Guðred, having met with many misfortunes, chose to throw himself on the mercy of Athelstane, and repaired to his court, where he indeed got a good reception; but only for four days could the old Viking stand this quiet life, and "went back to his ships like a fish to the sea."¹³ It seems that the battle of *Vinheid*, described at large and very spiritedly in the Egils-Saga, is one of the incidents of the feud here mentioned (only the Saga-author has probably made a little more of it than it really was), and not, as has been believed, the celebrated battle of Brunanburg, which took place in 938; at least the Egils-Saga itself says distinctly that the battle of *Vinheid* was fought shortly after the accession of Athelstane.¹⁴

¹⁵Olaf, the son of Sigtrygg, is not the only king of this name at that time appearing in the English and Irish annals, and making war against Athelstane. There was also another Olaf, son of the cruel Guðred¹⁶ King of Dublin, who left Dublin some time

after the death of his father, A.D. 934, either expelled by his subjects or allured by the hope of getting possessions in Northumberland¹⁷ but the annals here are so meagre and obscure, that in many cases it is impossible to see which of the two is meant, perhaps even the annalists themselves did not know. One of these Olafs was married to the daughter of Constantine, King of Scotland, and tried to get possession of Northumberland through his help ; and although Constantine had done homage to Athelstane, he was seduced by Olaf to shake off his allegiance, which caused Athelstane to make a great expedition against Scotland, A.D. 934. In this war Athelstane was successful, and compelled Constantine to submit anew, and give his son as a hostage for his future obedience.¹⁸ A few years after, however, Constantine, as the annalists tell, prevailed on his son-in-law to attack England ; and it is to be inferred, from the greatness of the armament as well as from the importance which the entries in the old annals evidently assign to these events, and lastly from the *Epinicion* composed by the English poets to commemorate the victory of Brunanburgh (inserted at large in the *Chronicon Saxonicum*),¹⁹ that, all the Danish and Norwegian chiefs in the north of England and south of Scotland had formed a league to regain their former position in Northumberland, and that they were supported by their brethren from Ireland, and the Isles, as well as by Constantine. Certain it is, that the son-in-law of Constantine had amongst his auxiliaries his namesake, the other Olaf.²⁰ With 615 ships he landed in the Humber, accompanied by five kings besides Constantine, and seven earls. He was, however, totally defeated by Athelstane in the great battle of *Brunan burgh*, A.D. 935²¹ and the Norwegians, so says the ancient poem, were driven back to Dublin and Ireland.²² The return to Dublin of Olaf son of Gudred, is even mentioned in the Ulster annals²³ of the other Olaf, however, nothing is heard for the next years ; which corroborates the opinion stated above, that it was he who had married the daughter of Constantine, and therefore did not then go to Ireland, but returned to Scotland, where no annals are left to record his arrival. At the death of Athelstane, the annals proceed to tell us that the Northumbrians again revolted, and took Olaf from Ireland to be their king;²⁴ and that Olaf was now successful, being supported even by the Archbishop Wulfstrin. Both archbishops, Odo of Canterbury and Wulfstin of York, negotiated a treaty between Olaf and Eadmund, the successor of Athelstane, by which treaty Eadmund ceded to Olaf the ancient Danish kingdom north-east of Waetlingastraet, on condition that Olaf should embrace Christianity.²⁵ Olaf was really christened, and Eadmund himself acted as his godfather.²⁶ Shortly afterwards Olaf died, A.D. 943, and Eadmund now, it is said, expelled Reginald, the son of Gudred, probably the brother of Olaf,²⁷ who had also been christened, as well as Olaf the son of Sigtrygg, 944, which shows that this person had now returned to Northumberland, and that it was not he, but Olaf of Dublin, who concluded the treaty with Eadmund. Eadmund died in 946, and was succeeded by his brother Esidred, who went immediately to Northumberland, and received the homage of the Archbishop and the principal Chiefs. Not long time afterwards, however, they rebelled anew, and took *Eric*, the son of Harold, to be their king.²⁸ It is evident that this Eric is no other than Eric Bloodaxe, the son of Harold Fairhair, King of Norway, who was expelled from his kingdoms in the year 934. He is said by the Norwegian sagas to have addressed himself immediately to King Athelstane, and to have received from him the kingdom of Northumberland, where he reigned peaceably till the accession of King Eadmund, who, it is said, did not like the Norwegians, and intended to give Northumberland to another king, which caused Eric to go away, join some Viking-kings in Ireland, and in their company to make an attack somewhere on the south of England, where he was killed. The statement of the English annals as to the events in

Northumberland from the reign of Atheistane to the times of King Eadred, show that the Norwegian account cannot be accurate, and that Eric did not make his appearance in Northumberland till 948, as above stated, and during the reign of Eadred. Eric, the English annals say, was expelled by the Northumbrians themselves, terrified by the threats of Eadred ; then came *Olaf Cwaran* from Dublin, who seems to be no other person than the Olaf Sigtryggson above mentioned, who was likewise made king, and afterwards expelled by the Northumbrians ; then Eric again returned, but was killed in a battle on the "Stone-moor" (Stanmor), 950²⁹ The particulars of this battle, as given by Matthew of Westminster, bear still more witness as to the identity of this Eric,³⁰ Harold's son, with Eric Bloodaxe, son of the Norwegian Conqueror.³¹ Since that time there were no northern kings in Northumberland, but the king gave it as an hereditary earldom to the heagerefa Osulf, by whose treason the death of Eric is said to have been caused.

We have here dwelled at some length upon the history of the kingdoms of Northumberland in its connexion with the kingdom of Dublin, because it is evident that it must somehow too, be the history of *Man*, this island, forming the intermediate step between Dublin and Northumberland, being also necessarily connected with either of the two. This is still more probable, as, since the downfall of the kingdom of York, we begin to meet with independent kings of Man or of the Isles, still, however, closely connected with those of Dublin ; and among the names of these kings, we find Godred (*Guðrúðr*), Harold, Sigtrygg, Olaf, all of them belonging to the lines of kings now mentioned, and showing them almost with a certainty to have been their descendants or near relations. Olaf Cwaran, being expelled from Northumberland for the last time, seems to have had his chief residence for some years either in Man or in the Isles, while from time to time he made expeditions to Ireland, waiting for an opportunity to regain some of his former possessions there. In this, at least, he succeeded, being mentioned by the Ulster annals in the year of 969 as lord of Dublin, after which time he continued in the possession of it, till—having sustained a terrible defeat by the supreme King of Ireland, Melachlin (Malsechnail),³² and been compelled to deliver all his captives and hostages, as well as to resign the yearly tribute which he had hitherto levied from the Nial tribe, and to pay a great contribution of cattle and money—he felt so depressed that he resolved to go to Iona on a pilgrimage, there to do penance for his sins. Perhaps even he abdicated before he went away, meaning to pass the remainder of his life among the holy men; he died, however, in the same year as he came there, A.D. 980. This resolution of his, after all, shows that there must also have been a connexion of some kind between him and the Isles. About this time there appears in the ancient annals, as Lord of the Isles, a king or chieftain, designed by the odd name of *Maccus, son of Harold*, which, indeed, seems to be nothing more than a misconstruction of the Irish "*Miac Arailt*," i.e., "the son of Harold," his real name being consequently unknown.³³ This "Mac Harold" conquered Anglesea, from which conquest, however, he was driven shortly afterwards. In the year 973, he is named among the eight kings, from the whole island of Britain, who then made their homage to King Eadgar at Chester, and rowed his barge to and from church. In the next year he occupied the fair island of Inniscathaig, situated in the mouth of the Shannon, where he robbed the tomb of St. Senan, and delivered from captivity the Norwegian King of Limerick, named Ivar. On this expedition, it is said the "Lagmanus" of the Isles went along with him.³⁴

Now the word "Lagman" (*logmaðr lagmaðr* As. *lahmon*) literally signifies "a man of the law," and afterwards in Norway, as in Sweden, was the title of the chief judges. Here, however, it is used as the peculiar title of some of the chieftains ; and perhaps we may conclude from this that these chieftains were invested with a special judiciary power. It is worth while here to remark that afterwards, in the very family of the Insular kings, and most probably of this "Mac Harold" himself, the name *Lagman* (*Logmaðr*) was used as a noun proper, being the name of one kimmig at least, as we shall see further on.³⁵ This may, perhaps, be explained thus, that the natives of the Isles, hearing the title of "lawman" bestowed upon a chieftain, fancied it to be his real name, and adopted it as such themselves, whence again it found its way as such back to the Norwegian conquerors, who intermarried with the native families, and, as usual in Norway, often happened to give to one of their sons the name of his maternal grandfather. There is an other instance of the same thing, throwing a very interesting light upon this matter. It is well known that the Norwegian name *Sumarlidi* was (and is perhaps still, as corrupted into "Somerled") very frequent among the inhabitants of the Western Isles and shores of Scotland, while in some of the Irish annals we find the Norwegian Vikings, or a peculiar kind of them, called *Sumarlidi* (the Somerleds), as if this were a noun appellative, which is rather adequate in itself, for "*Sumarlidi*," composed of *Sumar*, *i.e.*, summer, and *liði*, a person who wanders about (from the verb *liða* to wander, As. *lidan*) , signifies "Summer-Wanderer," a very proper name for a pirate, who went out on his expeditious every summer, spending the winter at home, or in a friendly port. The Norwegians had also, and have yet, another name parallel to "*Sumarliði*," *viz.* *Vetrliði*, the first part of which is the word *vets-*, *i.e.*, Winter ; literally translated, it means "Winter-Wanderer," and is used as a noun appellative to designate a bear who has gone to take his winter-sleep. It seems very likely that also *Sumarliði* originally has been used in the same manner, to designate the bear, roving about in the summer ; and that the skalds or poets have since applied both as proper designations for the Vikings, either wandering about for prey in the summer, or taking to their snug hearths in the winter; but that, as it happened so often in Norway and Iceland, the general denomination because a surname for certain persons, and this surname again in succeeding generations the real and family name of descendants called after them.³⁶

From this digression, which may not be superflous for the better understanding of what follows, we return to the "Mac Harold" above mentioned. For three successive years he maintained himself at Inniscathaig, till, in the year 976, he was attacked and killed, along with his two sons, by the celebrated *Brian Boroimhe*, whose name now begins to appear in the Irish annals. Ivar of Limerick, who showed his gratitude to "Mac Harold" by assisting him, although in vain, was defeated and put to flight.³⁷

As King of Man and the Isles there appears now a *Godred* (*Goðruðr*), *son of Harold*; which patronymical designation makes it very probable that he was a brother of the former "Mac Harold." Seeing that the names of Harold and Godred occur very frequently in the royal line of Limerick, and that Ivar of Limerick was so closely connected with "Mac Harold," we think it very likely that the royal line of Man was a branch of the same.³⁸ Godred is frequently mentioned in the sagas, as well as in the Irish and British annals.³⁹ In 979 he supported the Welsh Prince Constantine the Black against his cousin Howel, but was twice defeated with considerable loss ; the third time, however, he came in the opportune hour, when Meredith, the son of Owen, had obtained the dominion after great struggles. Profiting by the state of exhaustion in

which Meredith found himself, he attacked Anglesey, slaughtered 2000 men, captured the brother of Meredith, and had his eyes put out. The terrified Meredith fled to Cardigan, leaving Godred, it would seem in the possession of Anglesey.

His success, however, was not of long duration, a more powerful star having risen on the western horizon. This was *Sigurd* (Siward), Earl of Orkney and Caithness, son of Earl *Hloðver* (Lewis), by an Irish princess⁴⁰ and great grandson of the famous Turf-Einar, the third earl and founder of the dynasty. Sigurd, having succeeded to the earldom in 980, at his father's demise, aspired, as it seems, to nothing less than the subjugation of all islands, coasts, or lands in the West, where the Norwegians had made settlements. Selecting his warriors from different parts of the North, he made every year attacks upon Scotland, the Sudreys, and Ireland, and succeeded not only in keeping Caithness, which the Maormor of Moray, Finlaich (the father of the famous Macbeth) strove in vain to take, but ultimately in conquering and possessing for a the Sutherland, Ross, Moray, and Argyll.⁴¹

The Isles, or Sudreys proper, which, shortly before his accession, are stated to have paid tribute direct to Norway,⁴² came very soon under his sway, and were governed by a tributary earl called *Gilli*⁴³ in the sagas, who resided in Colonsay,⁴⁴ and in 989 married his sister. In 982 Sigurd made a successful attack upon the Isle of Man, and extorted from the inhabitants a heavy ransom to be paid in pure silver; of which, however, only a small part came into his hands, because the collectors having suffered shipwreck on an uninhabited island near the Irish coast, could not get away otherwise, than by purchasing from an Icelandic merchant, coming from Dublin, the boat of his ship, for the greater part of the collected silver. That Godred the son of Harold, who pretended to be King of Man and all the Isles, would necessarily sooner or later come into conflict with Sigurd or his vassals, is not surprising. In the year 987, after having fought a successful, but very bloody battle with a fleet of Danish pirates, who had attacked Iona on Christmas night, and killed the Abbot with fifteen monks,⁴⁵ he was himself, in his turn, attacked and vanquished by a little fleet under the command of Earl Sigurd's men. In 989 he was again vanquished by the same warriors, and lost his son Donald in the battle.⁴⁶ Shortly afterwards, before the end of the year, he was killed by the Dairiadic Scots, according to the Irish annals.^d

For a long time afterwards Earl Sigurd seems to have been in undisputed possession of the Sudreys, yet, as it is distinctly stated, tributary to the powerful ruler of Norway, Earl Hacon, as long almost as this prince lived. Beyond the annual tribute, however, no other sign or service of vassalage seems to have been enforced, and Sigurd ruled in fact as an independent and powerful monarch. He strengthened himself greatly by marrying a daughter of the Scottish King Malcolm (of the Moray dynasty, nephew of Finlaich).⁶ A little before the death of Earl Hacon, he was unlucky enough to fall in with King Olaf Tryggvason, in the bay of Ronaldsvoe, when on his way from Dublin to get the Norwegian crown, who now availed himself of the opportunity—Sigurd being the weaker part—to take the earl prisoner, and restored him to liberty only on condition that he swore him fealty as his liege subject, and embraced Christianity with all his men! Olaf, however, did not reign for more than five years; after his fall in the battle of Swalder, A.D. 1000, Norway was divided among the victors, the Kings of Sweden and Denmark, and Earl Eric, son of Earl Hacon, and as there is no mention to be found of Sigurd's having acknowledged the superiority of any of these princes. It is very likely that during this interregnum he ruled as an independent sovereign; his

brother in law, the Earl of the Sudreys, continuing on the best terms with him, and consequently doubtless paying him tribute every year. The interregnum ended by the accession of Olaf, the son of Harold, afterwards St. Olaf, to the Norwegian crown in 1015 ; - but shortly before that the Earl Sigurd fell in the great battle of Clontarf.; near Dublin (on the 23d of April, 1014), against Brian Boroimhe.^a He left four sons, three begotten before his marriage with the Scottish princess, now full-grown men ; the fourth, Thorfiun, grandson of the Scottish king, still a child. These three divided Orkney and Shetland between themselves ; but no mention is made, on this occasion, of the Sudreys. It may be that Earl Gille continued in his allegiance even to the sons of Sigurd ; it may also be probable that King Cnut, who claimed for himself the right to the Norwegian crown, even tried to enforce the obedience of the Sudreys. It is told in a very old abridgment of the Norwegian history, written about 1180, only 166 years after the death of Earl Sigurd, that when King Olaf, on his arrival in Norway, captured Earl Hacon, son of Eric, nephew of King Cnut, he made him swear that he would never return to Norway, and gave him the Sudreys, and assisted him to establish his power there.⁵ The last is not true, as far as regards Olaf; but it is not unlikely that King Cnut may have helped Earl Hacon to get possession of the Isles, especially as it is certain that Earl Hacon, when he made his last fatal voyage to Norway in the winter of 1029-30, went down and was drowned in the Pentland firth, which seems to imply, that he did not come from the eastern parts of England, but from the west.

Be this, however, as it may, there can be no doubt, that *Thorfinn*, Earl Sigurd's fourth son, who, like his father, because one of the most powerful princes in those parts, extended his rule also to the Sudreys. The Orkneying saga says so expressly. Outliving his elder brothers, he became the Lord of Orkney and Shetland; Caithness was given him by his maternal grandfather, King Malcolm Mac Maibrigid, and after the death of Malcolm in 1029,^a he sustained a successful war with King Malcolm Mac Kenneth, of the southern dynasty, conquered Sutherland and Ross, and made himself lord of Galloway,⁵ in the widest sense of this denomination, viz. from Solway to Carrick, where he resided for long periods, and whence he made successful inroads, sometimes on Cumberland, the English possessions of Duncan, King Malcolm's grand-son and future successor, sometimes upon Ireland, of which he is said to have conquered a part. As lord of Galloway, it was very convenient for Thorfiun to make, as it is stated, frequent expeditions to Ireland and the Sudreys, and he might easily maintain his superiority over at least a part of the latter. It cannot but have contributed greatly to the power of Thorfinn that in 1040 the famous Macbeth, son of Finlaich, established himself on the Scottish throne, having killed the above mentioned Duncan in a battle ^a we might even take it for granted that Thorfinn lent his aid to his kinsman Macbeth, and was subsequently rewarded with new extensive possessions ; indeed, Thorfinn, according to the Orkneying Saga, possessed, besides the Sudreys and part of Ireland, not less than nine earldoms in Scotland (most likely Caithness, Sutherland, Ross, Moray, Buchan, Atholl, Lorn, Argyll, Galloway), and it has been all but proved by a modern author, who combines a rare extent of knowledge with no less sagacity, that what is called the dominion of Macbeth in Scotland was in reality the sway or influence exercised by Earl Thorfinn and the Norwegians of Orkney.^b

Afterwards, when Malcolm Ceanmor, the son of Duncan, aided by his relation, Earl Sigurd of Northumberland,⁶ vanquished Macbeth (1054), and drove him back towards the north, where at last he was killed in the battle of Lumphanan (1057),—Thorfinn

likewise seems to have met with no inconsiderable reverses, nay, there is even good reason to believe that he took part in the battle of 1054^c (which was fought somewhere in Lothian or Fife), and lost there a son, named Dolgfinn!

Seeing that Malcolm, no doubt by means of continual aid from England, was enabled even to crush Macbeth's successor Lulach of Moray, likewise a relation of Thorfinn, and (1058) to establish himself firmly on the throne, we may infer that Thorfinn shared the fate of his relatives, and was compelled to yield at least his possessions in the south of Scotland. But how far he lost also the Sudreys, or his part thereof, it is impossible to say with anything like certainty. We learn from the Irish annals, compared with the Welsh and Cornish ones, that in the year 1058 King Harold of Norway sent a fleet under the command of his son Magnus, with men from the Orkneys, Sudreys, and Dublin, to attack the western part of England, but without success.^c From this it would appear too, that Thorfinn, feeling himself too weak to oppose the united force of Malcolm and the English, applied to his lord paramount, King Harold, for aid; and it would appear that then, at least, the Sudreys formed still a part of Thorfinn's dominions. The Norwegian prince Magnus, a near relation to Thorfinn's wife Ingebjurg, being then only a child, and consequently not fit to command in person, it is to be supposed that he was sent partly because of this very relationship partly in order to be proclaimed king in the countries which were to be conquered. Although this expedition was not successful, as far as regards England, we must, however, suppose that the Norwegian superiority was immaintained at least in the Isles. The strife between Thorfinn and Malcolm no doubt continued till the death of the former (1064), when his widow Ingebjorg, the mother of his two young sons and successors *Paul* and *Erlend*, married Malcolm, which evidently indicates that a peace must have been concluded.^a That the young earls continued to keep the Sudreys, seems therefore most likely; this, at least, is the most natural way to account for the appearance of Godred Crowan, as we learn hereafter, in the Norwegian army at Stanfordbridge.

Footnotes

1 [The footsteps of Olaf the White are traceable by bloodshed and plunder in the Irish annals. A.n. 853 or 852 he arrived with a prodigious fleet, and assumed the sovereignty of the foreigners of Erin; he was descended through the female line from Ragnor Lodbrok. It was by him that Conchobar, son of Donchadh, heir-apparent of Tara, was drowned. It was by this fleet that the battle of Cluandaimh was gained over the Desi, Co. Waterford, in which all the nobles of Desi fell. It was by them that the son of Cennfaeladh, King of Muscraige-Breoghain, was killed, and Muchtighern, son of Rechtalrad, was smothered in a cave. It was by them that Maelguala, son of Dongaile, King of Cashel, was killed by breaking his back with a stone. In 865 Olaf transferred his depredations to Scotland, plundering all Scotland, and taking hostages. In 868 he returned to Ireland, and burned Armagh with its oratories, after making great havoc, and leaving 1000 men wounded or slain. In 869 he was at the siege and plunder of Dumbarton, capital of the Strath-Clyde Britons. In 870 or 871 he returned to Dublin with 200 ships, and a great number of prisoners, Angles, Britons, and Picts, etc. He was slain somewhere in Ireland about that time, as his name is no more mentioned in the Irish annals.—Todd, pp. 23, 230, 269. Dunham, i. 317.]

2 [Ketil was leader of the Gallgael or Scotch Norsemen when Harfager was an infant, and appears to have succeeded Godfrey MacFergus, whose name betokens a mixed descent, and who died in 853. The Gallgael possessed the islands before the time of Harfager.—Robertson, i. 45 n. Dunham, i. 175.]

3 [Einar is described as conspicuous for excessive ugliness, and the harshness of his features was increased by the loss of an eye, but he succeeded after the failure of his brother Hallad, and successfully asserted his claims to the Orkneys. —Robertson, i. 80. Dunham, i. p. 179.]

4 Landnama IV. 1. 3. Droplangarsuna Saga, p. 4.

5 [The ancient kingdom of Northumbria extended from the river Mersey to the Clyde on the west, and from the Humber to the Firth of Forth on the east.]

6 [For an account of Ragnar Lodbrog's exploits and death, see Ling. i. 181.]

7 Guðröðr (or *Gúðréd*) the son of Hardecnut, King of Denmark, and grandson of Lodbrok, was, according to Simeon of Durham and others, elected king of the Danes at York 882, and died 894 (according to Etlielwerd 896, the 25 August) as son of Hardecnut he was the brother of King Gorm in Denmark, who, indeed, seems to have been no other than the well-known Guðrum, who made peace with King Alfred in 875, and was baptized with the name of Athelstan, "Gormr, Gurm,," being a contraction of *Goðormr, Guðurm.* [See Lingard, i. 193-204.] The Danish historian Saxo speaks, (p. 468) of a *Gorm anglicus* who was first king in England, but went afterwards to Denmark, where he was succeeded by a Harold, and he again by *Gorm the old*, the husband of Thyre Danebot ; the annals of Ry monastery (commonly called *Chronicon Erics regis*), say even that Gorm anglicus was christened in England (Langebek *Scriptt. R. D.*, i. p. 158). No ancient Sagas know of more than one Gorm, viz. Gormr hinn gamli (the old) son of Hardecnut. But as Hardecnut was the grandson of Ragnar Lodbrok, who died about 800, while Gorm the old died 936, having a son, the renowned Harold Bluetooth, who died 956, it is evident that the men who first wrote down the Sagas must have confounded the two Gorms with each other, and made one of them, thus dropping two links in the line of generations ; for it is impossible that the space of time from 800 till 986 could have been filled with only four generations. Now, as Gudrum Athelstane is said in the *Chron. Saxonicum* to have died in 891, but in the year 906 a new Guðrum appears, who made with King Etward, Alfred's son, the treaty of Yttingaford (Thorpe's *Ancient Laws of England*, p. 71), and this Guðrum, according to Wallingford, was called from Denmark to England, we have here even the younger Gorm above mentioned.

8 *Chron. Sax.*

9 [A. D. 885, Sitric, called the blind or one-eyed, arrived in Dublin " with a prodigious royal fleet." In 902 or 903 he went to Scotland ; recovered Dublin in 919 after a great battle, in which many Irish chieftains were slain. The next year he was forced to quit Dublin "by divine interposition" . He appears to have landed in England and burned Davenport in Cheshire. In the *Saxon Chronicle* he is called King of the Northunibrians, and did homage to Athelstaae for the country between the Tees and the Firth of Forth, which was already in his possession. He received the hand of Editha, sister of Atheistane, in marriage, received baptism, and died at the end of twelve months, AD. 927, having abandoned, it was said, both his religion and his wife—Todd, p. 279. Lingard, i. 231-2. Robertson, i. 59.]

10 *Annals of Ulster*, O'Connor Rer. Hib. Soc. iii. p. 261.

11 Meg. Adamus, i. 41, and ii. 22.

12 [Constantine II. who reigned from AD. 900.943.]

13 William of Malmesbury, ed Savile, p. 50.

14 Egils-Saga, cap. 51-56.

15 [Olave Sitricson, or Olave Cuaran, or Olave of the sandal, or Olave the Red, is the Danish king who had married a daughter of Constantine. See his further history, note c, p. 7 of the Preface.]

16 [Olave, the son of Godfrey or Godred, cousin of Olave Cuaran, succeeded his father in the government of the Irish Norsemen, I.n. 934. He is answerable for a long list of misdeeds. In 929 he

plundered Kildare ; in 933 he plundered Armagh ; in 937 he carried off Olave with the scabby beard, of Limerick, with the foreigners who were with him, after breaking their ships. On this occasion he plundered Cloumacuois, and quartered his soldiers there for two nights, a thing, says the annalist, hitherto unheard of. In 938 he was at the battle of Brunanburgh ; in 939 he plundered Kilcullen ; in 941 he is said to have plundered St. Balthers' church, and burnt Tyuiugham in Scotland, and died there. Robertson says that he lost his life in some obscure skirmish near Tyuingham, two years after the death of Athelstaue, who died October 27, 941.—Ling. i. 242. Robert-on, i. 67. Todd, 28.]

17 *Annales Ulton.* p. 261.

18 [Ling. i. 235. Robertson, i. 61.]

19 [See Appendix, No. 54.]

20 [Olave Sitricson.]

21 [Ling. i. 235-237. Robertson, i. 63. Todd thinks that both Olaves returned to Ireland, p. 282.]

22 *Chronicon Saxonicum.*

23 *Annales Ulton.* p. 263.

24 *Chron. Sax.*

25 *Chron. Sax.* , and Simeon Duneimensis.

26 [Both Olaves were in the expedition ; but Olave Sitricson was the principal, as Olave Godfreyson, his cousin, was King of Dublin. It was Olave Godfreyson who died in 943. Both Reginald and Olave (Anlaff Sitricson) submitted to Edmund, and embraced Christianity. Edmund stood godfather to Olave at baptism, and to Reginald at confirmation. Both reasserted their independence when Edmund left York, but both were driven out of the country by the united forces of Archbishop Woolstan and the Ealdoman of Mercia.—Ling. i. 246. Todd, 283-285. Robertson, i. 66.]

27 [Reginald was the brother of Olave, for they were both sons of Godfrey, Godred, or Gothibrith, the brother of Sitric, the father of the other Olave hence, as has been previously stated, these two Olaves were cousins. Godfrey became King of Dublin, and probably of Waterford, in 921. In 927, on Sitric's death, he succeeded as King of Northumbria, but was expelled after six months by Athelstane. On his death, in 934, Reginald succeeded him as King of Dublin, and apparently in Northumbria. The date of his deaths is not recorded. —Todd, 279, 288.]

28 *Chronicon Saxonicum.*

29 *Mattbæus Westmonast.* p. 369 ; cfr. Hoveden, ed. Savile, p. 423 ; *Mon. Hist. Brit.* i. p. 687, note d.

30 [Robertson and Dunham, following the sagas, which are often incorrect about matters happening outside of Norway, allege that Eric was appointed by Athelstane to the kingdom of Northumbria, on condition that he would hold it against the Olaves ; that, in the hour of invasion, Eric offered no resistance, but sailed away, and entered upon a course of piracy among the Western Isles ; that he subsequently returned to Northumbria, from which he was driven after two years; that he perished in a skirmish on Stanemoor, slain by Magnus Haraldson, through the treachery of Osulf, who was rewarded with the earldom of Northumbria, whilst Man and the Hebrides fell to the share of Magnus. Lingard, following the English annals, states that Athelstane sent his " foster son " Haco, with a powerful fleet, to obtain possession of the sceptre of Norway, as Eric had lost the affection of his subjects ; that Eric, after wandering about as a pirate, landed in Northumbria, and was saluted king, AD. 946 ; and that in 952 he perished in the wilds of Stanemoor by the treachery of Osulf, and the sword of Macco, the son of Olave. It is not, however, known that Olave had any son of that name. Todd, referring to Hodgson's *Northumberland*, i. 151, and to Lappenburg (Thorpe's translation), ii. 124, says that this Eric was not

Bloodaxe, son of Harold Harfager, but Eric, son of Harold Blaatand, first christian king of Denmark—Robertson, i. 65-82. Dunham, i. 184-188. Ling. i. 249-250. Todd, 267, n. 7.]

31 Also Mag. Adam speaks of Eric, Harold's son, coming to England and being killed there ; he calls him Heric or Herring, but he believes him to have been a son of Harold, King of Denmark ; it is evident that eveis here Meg. Adam has taken his statement from English chronicles, and that the descendance assigned to Eric rests only upon his own conjecture.

32 [This was the famous battle of Tara, gained over Olave Cwaran by Maelsechlainn or Mahachy II., AD. 980, who afterwards, but in the same year, became King of Ireland.]

33 He is called " Maccus " . . . "*plurinaruin rex iasulaum*," by Florence of Worcester, *Monuin. Hst. Brit.* i. p. 578. In "*Brat y Tywysogiom*" (ib. p. 849), his name is *Marc uab Herald*. The "*Annates Cambriae*" have only "*filius Harald*," even so the *Annals of Innisfallen* calling him "*Mac Arailt*," O'Connor, *Res. Hib. Soc.* i. p. 44, 46. The *Annals of the Four Masters* give his name, evidently wrongly, "*Maccitus Mac Arailt* ;" the name "*Magnus*," however, did not exist among the Northmen at that time. In an Anglos. diploma of the year 971, appearing, however, not to be genuine, he calls himself "*Mascusius archipirata*." [Ling. calls him Mac Orric of Anglesey and the Isles, i. 270. Robertson says that Magnus Haroldson was King of Man and the Islands, a great grand-son of the Limerick branch of Ivar. His father Aralt was son of the elder Sitric, son of Ivan, and was killed in Connaught in 940, i. 75, n. Todd, 271, a. 4, 272, n. 5.]

34 *Annals of the Four Masters.*

35 [The Lagmans are spoken of as a tribe of the Norsemen from the Insi Gall, or Western Islands of Scotland. In 962 they came with the fleet of Olave, or Olave's son, and plundered the coast of Louth, Howth, and Ireland's Eye. "The fleet of Lagmann" is mentioned amongst many others as consiug to Erinn.—Todd, xxxvi. 41. Robertson (ii. 18, 102), speaks of the Lamond family as clan Lagman, which name, he says, points to a Scoto-Norwegian origin ; their Gaelic name was Mac Erchar.]

36 In this way we find the great grandson of the powerful Icelandic chieftain Thord Gelhir, called only "Gellir", although this was only the nickname of his father, who got it on account of his stentonian voice (*Gellir, i. e.* , the bellowing). Even so Skafte, the "Lögsögumaðr" of Iceland, about 1003, was called after his grandmother's father, whose proper name was Thiormod, but who had got the surname of *Skafte*.

37 [From Todd it appears that Aralt or Harold, King of the Munster Danes, who was slain by Brian in 978, at the battle of Cathair Cuan, after a prodigious slaughter of the foreigners, was *son of Ivar* of Limerick, who was grandson of Ivar ; whereas the Aralt, previously mentioiied, was *son of Sitric*, and was himself grandson of Ivar—271, n. 4, 275, n. 4. Amongst the exactions of this family is noticed a nose tax, in addition to the royal tribute, consisting of an ounce of silver or white bronze, "for every nose," *i. e.* , for every man, and whoever was unable to pay was sold as a slave—Id. ciii.]

38 [In Todd's genealogical tables, A : the sons of Ivan (Limerick branch), Magnus, King of Man, who died about 977, and Godfrey, slain in 989, were the sons of Sitric, Lord of Limerick, who was slain in Connaught, in 896, by his own countrymen.]

39 [Godfrey Haroldson is called King of the Insi Gall, or Western Islands of the foreigners. Todd applies to Man what Munch applies to Anglesey, for he cites the *Ann. Camb.* as recording a great battle at the Isle of *Man* in 986 by the son of Harold (Mac Arailt), and the Danes, in which 1000 were slain ; and the *Ann. Camb.*, at 978, as recording the devastation of Man (Mon) by Godred (Gothrit) with the black Gentiles, and the capture of 2000 men ; and the *Brut of Tywys*, AD. 970 and 956 (for there are two entries of the same event), where Man is called Mon or Mona—Todd, 272, n. 6.]

40 [Todd calls his mother *Edna*, which he supposes to be the Irish *Eithne*, she was daughter of Cearbhall or Carrol, son of Dungah, lord of Ossory and King of Dublin, p. 302, ii. 13, clxxxv. Robertson calls her *Auda*, and says she was the daughter of an Irish king, Kerval, i. 84.]

41 [Finlay Mac Rory " marked out a battle-field for Jan Sigurd on Skida Moor." The jarl bore a mystic banner of a flying raven, the work of his Irish mother, which gave victory to those who followed it, but was fatal to him who bore it. —Robertson, i. 94.]

42 In the Flôamanna Saga, which appears to be very trustworthy, it is told, that about the year 980 Earl Hacon sent Thorgils, a high-born Icelander who had entered his service, to the Sudreys, with the commission to exact and collect the tribute " which had been withheld for three successive years. " Thorgils and his friend, a Norwegian named Thorstein, went away with two ships, but not many people ; having reached the Isles, they demanded the tribute, but got only very little of it ; on their return they were shipwrecked on the coast of Caithness, and lost all their goods ; yet they were hospitably received by an earl, named Olaf, who commanded in these parts, and Thorgils had the opportunity of serving the earl a good turn, by killing in "holmgang," or judiciary combat, a redoubted pirate, who insolently demanded the earl's sister in marriage. Thorgils, who according to the "holmgang law, " inherited the ships and chattels of the pirate, was rewarded with the hand of the fair damsel, and the earl's assistance ; the next year, therefore, he was able to appear at the Sudreys with greater force, and compel the inhabitants to pay the amount.

43 This is evidently only the first half of the earl's real name. We learn from the Norwegian history, that the King Harold Gilli, who was born and bred up in Ireland, did originally bear the name of Gilchrist, Gillachrist, which afterwards in Norway was shortened into *Gilli* ; in the same manner, the above named earl may have in reality been called Gillecolum, Gillepatrick, Gillechrist, or by another of these names, being compositions of "Giolla" (a servant) and some saint's name. [Robertson says that Gille, Jarl of the Sudreys, was either the nephew or the brother-in-law of Jan Sigurd, or both, as a marriage between an aunt and her nephew occasionally took place in the distant north, i. 162, note.]

44 In the Njála it is called "Kuhn," and has been believed by others to be *Coil* ; it seems however evident that "Kolns-ey " must be "Colonsay."

45 Eyrbyggjasaga, c. 29. Thorodd, the Icelander, was henceforth called "Thor-odd Skattkaupandi " (the purchaser of the tribute).

46 *Annals of Ulster*.

47 Njalssaga, c. 87.

48 *Tigherna*, by O'Connor, v. ii. p. 267.—*Ulster Annals*, ib. iv. p. 286.

49 [Malcolm II. gave his daughter in marriage to Sigurd, soon after his victory over the Maormuor Finlay, the father of Macbeth, in order to secure the alliance of the Orkney jarl, as a formidable rival to the hostile family of Moray—Robertson, i. 111.]

50 [His allegiance to Norway sat lightly on the jarl, and ceased with the life of his son Hundi, who had been carried off as a hostage by Olave a few years afterwards ; but as no mention is ever made of a relapse into Paganism, the conversion of the Orkneys dates from this summary proceeding—Robertson, i. 86. Ling. i. 281. Dunham, i. 216 ; ii. 7, 8.]

51 It is therefore called the "Bnians-battle" in the sagas. [Sigurd was nick-named Digri, or the Fat. He is described as performing prodigies at the battle of Clontarf, his fury being that of a robber upon a plain, no pointed or edged weapon being able to touch him. He fell under the sword of Murchadh, the son of Brian, having taken his charmed banner from the staff, for two of his followers having fallen with the banner, they bade him carry his own devil himself ; and so, when it was removed from the staff, and hide under his cloak, the charm was broken—Todd, *passim*]

52 *Agrip*, cap. 20. Fornmanna Sigur, x. p. 396.

53 We take it as granted that the reader is aware of the mistake so common among the historians of Scotland, to confound the two Malcolms here mentioned, and to make one of them, as if one Malcolm only (Malcolm II.) reigned from 1004 till 1034. The very trustworthy Tiglieniach states expressly that

" King Malcolm Mac Malbrigid Mac Ruairi " died in 1029, and " King Malcolm Mac Kenneth " in 1034. They were both heads of the two rival dynasties, who claimed the crown of Scotland, and the representatives of whom for a long period reigned almost alternately ; the Croeb or Moray dynasty, and that of Mac Alpin. Even in the Orkney. Saga the death of Malcolm, this grandfather of Thorfinn, is said to have taken place between incidents, one of which belongs to AD. 1028, the other to AD. 1030. [Robertson says that Malcolm II. reigned from AD. 1005-34, when he was assassinated at Glamis, in the same province of Angus, which forty years before had proved so fatal to his father. Thorfinn, when a mere child, had been placed by him over Sutherland and Caithness : In 1030, on the death of his half brother, Brusi, he annexed the Orkneys to his dominions. He is described as "stout and strong, but very ugly ; severe, and cruel, but a very clever man. " Duncan I. , who reigned from AD. 1034-1040, attempted to deprive him of his earldom, but was himself defeated, amid his defeat was followed by his assassination in the "smith's bothy," near Elgin, at the hands of Macbeth, who succeeded him, and reigned from 1040-58. Thorfinn is said to have held a large Riki in Ireland, and to have exacted tribute and assumed the prerogatives of the earlier kings of Dublin. He died about 1064. His sons were at the battle of Stamford Bridge in 1066, and escaping from the slaughter, led a peaceful and inglorious existence as joint jarls in their northern home. Ingebiorge, the widow of Thiorfinn, married Malcolm III., who reigned from 1058-93.—Robertson, i. 98, 127, and 161-2.]

54 Orkneyinga Saga, p. 54. It is here said that "Earl Thorfinn resided for long periods at Caithness, in the place called *Gaddgedlar*, where England and Scotland touch each other. " Considering the situation of Caithness, and how well the author of the Saga must have known it, it becomes evident that between "Caithness " and "in the place, " an *and* must have been dropped by the subsequent writer, who, living about 1380, and in Iceland (this part of this Saga existing only in the *Codex Flateyensis*), might easily have dropped an " *ole* " (or the abbreviation thereof), not conscious of the great blunder he committed. "Gaddgedlar " is evidently the Norwegian corruption of "Gahwydia," "Gaiwaythi, " or a Gaelic form maybe still nearer to it. From a verse, composed by the Icelander Arnor, the court-poet of Thom-finn, we learn that he once made an inroad upon this coast "south of Man" (i. e. , east of Man, Ireland being then regarded as situated north of Man), to carry away some cattle (Orkney. Saga, p. 58) ; this expeditious to Cumberland cannot have been made from Caithness, but readily from the opposite Galloway shore.

55 [Did he not basely murder him ? see addition to note on the preceding page also Ling. i. 345.]

56 Skene, *The Highlanders in Scotland*, i. p. 113-116. [John Hill Burton referring to this passage, says : " In this revolution it is known that the Norse power in Scotland had great influence, though we cannot get at its sources and character with complete exactness."—Hist. Scot. i. 374.]

57 [Ling. calls him Siward ; he was uncle to the youthful Malcolm, i. 345.]

58 We continue here to follow the Irish annals compared with *Chron. Saxon.*, Fordun being utterly confused, telling us that Malcolm and Sigurd both together vanquished and killed Macbeth at Lumphanan in December 1056, while it is known that Sigurd was dead already in 1055, and that the battle of Lumphanan was not fought till August or September 1057. The battle in which Sigurd, no doubt together with Malcolm, vanquished (but not killed) Macbeth. was that of 1054 (27th of July), it is not said where, only it must have been south of Dundee.

59 [On the 27th of July 1054, Siward, Earl of Northumbria, attacked Macbeth with the whole force of his province. Fifteen hundred of the Anglo-Danes fell in the contest, with the son and nephew of the earl, but Siward gained time day, slew three thousand of the enemy, and carried off a booty unprecedented in the annals of Border warfare—Robertson, i. 122.]

60 The *Ulster Annals* say that in this battle of 1054 fell 1500 Saxons (Englishmen), and "Dolfin son of Finntor. " "Fimintor " seems to be merely a transposition of "Thorfinn ; "Dolfinn, or more properly *Dolgfinn*, was a name usual in the Orkneys ; there was afterwards an Orkneyan bishop of that name.

61 Tighernach says : (1058) a fleet came under the guidance of the son of the King of Lochlan with the Galls of Orkney, Sudrey (*Innsi Gall*), and Dublin, to conquer the kingdom of the Saxons (England), but

God willed otherwise. Brut and Tywysogion : that Magnus, son of Harold, came to England, amid devastated it along with Griffith, King of Wales. Chron. Saxon. : Earl Ælfgâr was expelled, but came soon back, aided by Griffith ; there came even a fleet from Norway. Florence of Worcester says expressly that the Norwegians aided Ælfgdr and Griffith. [On the death of Earl Godwin his earldom was given to Harold ; that of Harold to Alfgar, the son of Leofnic, a rival family. Alfgar was accused of treason and outlawed. He fled to Ireland, purchased the assistance of a northern sea king, was joined by Griffith, Prince of Wales, and poured his Welsh and Norwegian auxiliaries into the county of Hereford. The city was taken and pillaged, the cathedral and principal buildings were burned, and 400 of the inhabitants were slain, AD. 1057. Peace was made and broken, and made again ; and eventually Griffith's head was sent as a peace-offering to Harold who had pursued the Welsh into the fastnesses of Snowdon, AD. 1063.—Ling. i. 346-348.]

First appearance of a Viking Ship on a Manx Monument.

AT a meeting of the Natural History and Antiquarian Society, in October last, a description was gives of a newly discovered Cross-slab from Kirk Maughold, erected by Hedin to his daughter Lif, and dating probably from near the end of the twelfth century, which, for the first time in Mann, gives the figure of a ship.

The ancient Arms of the Kings of Man at a time when Heraldry had scarcely yet become a science, was a Ship which appears to have been adopted later by the Lords of the Isles when dropped by the Manx. Sovereigns In Camden's time there was in the office of the Duchy, of Lancaster a perfect seal of Godred Crovan, which has now long disappeared ; this was described by him as bearing a "ship in ruff sables," the reverse showing the' effigy of a man on horseback. A Seal of King Olaf to a charter in 1134 bore a ship with sails furled ; and, in the British Museum are two of King Harold, 1245 and 1246, showing the same design. These are figured in Oswald's Vestigia, Manx Society, Vol. V. One shows neither sail nor yard, the other has the sail furled and remains of the Standard. But the form of the vessel is not in either case that of the Viking Ship which was high at the stem and stern and low amidships.

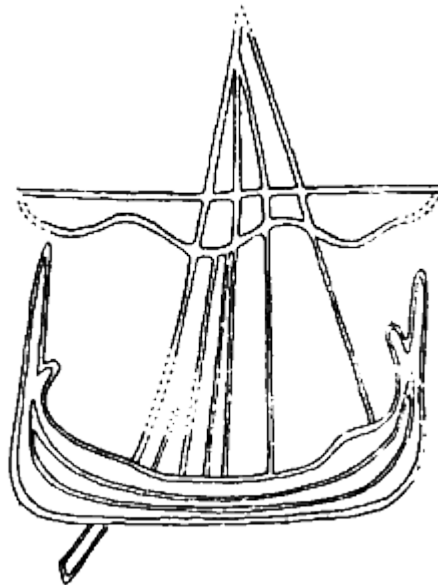
Of the Lords of the Isles, we find attached to a" Paisley Charter (circ. 1175) a seal of Reginald, second son of Somerled, which bears a ship filled with men-at-arms ; the reverse has a man on horseback like that of Godred Crovan, of whom his mother was a grand-daughter. Woodward's "Heraldry" states that "in a' seal of Angus of the Isles, of the year 1292, appended to a Homage Deed in the Chapter House at West minster. thw lymphad or gallery with furled sail, appears but not included in a shield." He gives as reference, Laing, Scottish Seals, i, No. 450.

Eventually the Ship passed to the descendants of Somerled, now become Lords of the Isles, and, possibly for that reason was dropped by our Manx Kings in the early days of Heraldry, giving place to the Three Legs, which design at an earlier date appears to have been in use along with it. We meet with the Ship on sepulchral monuments in Kintyre and the Western Isles, the series beginning about a century after that in the Isle of Mann had come to an end. These all show a vessel of the same form, single masted, with large square sail, and having high stem and stern ; the sail when shown is generally furled, but in Islay where there are eight examples, two have the sails spread ; sometimes stand-ards are shown and we know from the Sagas that these were set in the prow ; sometimes sailors are figured, in one case there is a man in the rigging; they all appear to have a fixed rudder at the stern.

In 1903, Mr. Collingwood made a most interesting discovery at Iona. In S. Oran's Chapel he found on the back of a slab of which only the face had been previously figured "a large ship in which six little figures are apparently acting as crew, one seeming to manage the sail." This he takes to be work of the twelfth century and suggests it may have been erected to Godred, Olaf's son, King of Man, who as we know from our Chronicle, died at S. Patrick's Isle, in 1187, and was buried at Iona. Unlike the other examples referred to, this vessel shows no rudder.

Our Maughold Ship which is here figured half the actual size, may be of the same period as that from Iona, it shows the vessel cut in outline, high at stem and stern, slightly different in appearance from those in the Isles and showing distinctly the "lypting" or raised poop on which the commander stood and steered, with the bul-

wark low amidships. The sail is furled and instead of the fixed rudder we find the steering oar near the stern on the right side, *i.e.*, *Stjornbordl*—our 'Starboard.' This alone serves to show its early date as compared with the examples mentioned, saving the exceptional one at Iona.



Is it to be regarded as a Heraldic bearing, and, if so, is the reference to the Lords of the Isles or to the Kings of Mann? The inscription does not teach us, as unfortunately we have no contemporary records by which to discover who was Hedin that "set up" the Cross-slab, or Lif his daughter to whose memory it was erected. Though of early date however, it falls within the age when Heraldry was becoming established as a science, and, we may surmise that it is here to be regarded as a token of family and that the daughter's descent, either on the father's or the mother's side could be traced up to Godren Crovan, from whom both the Kings of Mann and the Lords of the Isles derived the Ship as an Armorial Bearing.

P. M. C. KERMODE.

[for cross see no 7 p426]



The Three Legs of Man

Gules, three legs armed, conjoined in fesse at the upper part of the thighs, flexed in triangle, garnished and spurred

Introduction

That Mann has legs for its arms is well known - what is much less well known is the origin of this device. For many years the sharing of the common device of three legs between Man and Sicily made many assume that there had to be some connection (a theory first put forward by Camden in 1607) - see for example the ingenious theory first put forward by John Newton in 1885 that it was in 1255/6 when the young Prince Edmund of England was promised the throne of Sicily and King Alexander III of Scotland who was visiting London adapted the device for his newly acquired Isle of Man.

A Wagner (Richmond Herald) demonstrates that the device of three legs was associated with Man from at least c.1270 being described as such in several heraldic compilations of that period though only one, Segar's Roll of c.1280 provides an illustration of three legs in chain mail, running clockwise, joined at a triangle (Rey de Man - Gules three mailed legs argent conjoined at the thigh). Note that spurs were a later invention and may well have been derived from the three stars sometimes seen near the feet. Devices based on the trisqueta (triple knot) are well known from the 10th century silver pennies issued at York by the Norse-Irish kings Sithric, Ragnald and Anlaf Cuaran. The rulers of Mann were also associated with this family.

Camden states:

Soon after this the Scots recovered it again under the conduct of Robert Brus; and from that time Thomas Randolph, a warlike Scot, as also a long time after, Alexander, Duke of Albany, stiled themselves Lords of Man, and bore the same arms that the later kings of the island did-viz. three armed legs of a man linked together and bending in the hams, just like the three legs, naked, which were formerly stamped on the coins of Sicily, to signify the three promontories. But yet the ancient arms of the kings of Man was a ship with the sail hoised, with this inscription, *Rex Manniae et Insularum*, - "The King of Man and of the Islands," as I have seen in the seals they used.

The ship seals will be discussed shortly, the earliest surviving representation of the three legs would appear to be a detail of the arms of the Kings of Man on the Priest's tomb (probably that of Edward IV's chaplain de Grimsby) in Beverley Minster Yorkshire. The earliest representation on the Island is on the 14th century Pillar Cross of Kirk Maughold which probably dates from time of Montagu possession (1333-1391). Another early representation is on the pommel of the sword of state but as this would appear to have spurs it is likely that the sword dates from Stanley period (spurs were only introduced in 15th century).

Although the early representations showed the legs running clockwise (supporting the supposition they are derived from a sun symbol) later representations showed both clockwise and anticlockwise. This latter case gave rise to pun:

With one leg I spurn Ireland,
With the second I kick Scotland,
And with the third I kneel to England

(see Mona Miscellany p21)

The modern rendition is to run the legs clockwise.

Manx Flag

The Manx Flag is to use the three legs device on a red background - as an official national flag its use dates only from 1931 before which date the Union Flag (commonly referred to as Union Jack) would be flown. However the three legs on a flag is of older origin - the Stanleys used red legs on a white background for their troops and white legs on a red background for naval purposes..

Motto



The punning motto 'Quocunque Jesseris Stabit' -generally given as 'which everway I am thrown I will stand'. Howver the verb 'jeceris' is the second person ('thee') of the future perfect tense of iacere, to throw, hurl, and thus the phrase is probably nearer 'whateverway you will have thrown [it] it will stand'. The motto first made its appearance on John Murrey's silver penny of 1668 where it could be read as 'however it is tested it will pass' which is not a bad motto for a coin for those times when false coins abounded. Possibly these coins gave its familiar association with the three legs.

Ship Seals



Camden makes reference to these ship seals which do not now exist, presumed lost in the 1731 fire in the Cottonian Library - Megaw tells of the fortuitous timing of J. R. Oliver's enquiry to the British Museum when compiling his collection of historical documents, in that a privately owned document of 1641 *Sir Christopher Hatton's*

Book of Seals (now in Northamptonshire Record. Office) was being bound and the Museum provided him with photographs of the facsimiles in this document (those of 1245 & 1246 though Megaw believes the fragments are from the same seal). Reference to other ship seals of the 1190's are made by Clarencieux King of Arms in 1735/6 in support of the Duke of Athol's claim to the three legs device. Blundell in his manuscript history discusses this ship seal - stating that it was unknown to himself but he would trust Camden.

References:

A. R. Wagner *The Origin of the Arms of Man* J. Manx Museum VI #76 pp77/8
1959/60

B.R.S. Megaw *The Ship Seals of the Kings of Man* J. Manx Museum VI #76 pp78/80
1959/60

Chronicle of the Kings of Man, taken out of M. Camdens Chorographie.

In the yeere of our Lord 1066, Edward King of England, of famous memory deceased, whom Harald sonne of Godwin succeeded in his kingdome, against which Harald the king of Norwaie called Harald Harfager fought a battel at Stamford bridge, where the English winning the fiede put all the Norwegians to flight:⁴⁸ out of which flight one Godredus surnamed Crouan (the sonne of Harald the blacke, who had before time fled out of Island) repaired vnto Godred sonne of Syrric who then reigned in Man and was right friendly and honourably entertained by him.

[*Fingal.*] In the very same yeere William the Conquerour subdued England and Godred the sonne of Syrric, king of Man, deceased, after whom succeeded his sonne Fingal.

In the yeere 1066. Godredus Crouan gathered a fleete of ships, and sailed vnto Man, and giuing battell vnto the people of the countrey, was vanquished and put to flight. The second time also hauing gathered his armie and ships together, hee came vnto Man, fought with the inhabitants, lost the victorie, and was chaced away. Yea, the third time⁴⁹ he assembled a great multitude, and comming by night vnto the port which is called Ramsa,⁵⁰ hid 300. of his men in a wood standing vpon the side of the hill called Scacafel. The Sunne was no sooner vp, but the Mannians arranged themselues and with great furie set vpon Godred. And in the midst of the skirmish, the foresaid 300. men rising out of their ambush, and comming vpon the backes of the Mannians, molested them so sore, that they were enforced to flie. But when they saw that they were ouercome and had no place of refuge to retire vnto (for the tide of the sea had filled the chanel of the riuer of Ramsa⁵¹) and seeing the enemie so fiercely pursuing them on the other side, they which remained, with lamentable outcries beseeched Godred to spare their liues. Then hee being mooued with compassion, and pitying their extreme calamitie, because hee had bene of late sustained and nourished among them, sounded a retreat and forbad his souldiers to make any longer pursuit. The day

following Godred put his souldiers to their choice, whether they would diuide Man among themselues and inhabite it, or whether they would take the wealth of the countrey, and so returne vnto their owne home. Howbeit, it pleased them better to waste the whole Island and to enrich themselues with the commodities thereof, and so to returne from whence they came. Nowe Godred himselfe with a fewe Islanders which had remained with him, tooke possession of the South part of the Island, and vnto the remnant of the Mannians he granted the North part thereof, vpon condition, that none of them should at any time afterward dare once to chalenge any parcell of the said ground by title of inheritance. Whereupon it commeth to passe, that vnto this day the whole Island is the kings owne Fee-simple, and that all the reuenues thereof pertaine vnto him. [*Boats hauing not past three yron nailes in them*] Also Godredus subdued Dublin vnto himselfe & a great part of Lainestir. And he so tamed the Scots, that none of them durst build a ship or a boate, with aboute three yron nailes in it. Hee reigned 16. yeeres and died in the Island called Yle.⁵² He left behinde him three sonnes, Lagman, Harald, and Olauus. Lagman being the eldest challenged the kingdome and reigned seuen yeeres. Howbeit Harald his brother rebelled against him a long time, but being at length taken by Lagman, hee was gelt and had his eyes put out. Afterward Lagman repenting him that he had put out the eyes of his brother, did of his owne accord relinquish his kingdome, and taking vpon him the badge of the crosse, he went on pilgrimage to Ierusalem, in which iourney also he died.

In the yeere 1075. all the principall men of the Islands hauing intelligence of the death of Lagman, sent messengers vnto Murccardus O-Brien King of Irland, requesting him that hee would send some wel-disposed person of his owne kinred and blood royall, vntill Olauus sonne of Godred were come to full age. The king most willingly condescended vnto their request, and sent vnto them one Dopnald the sonne of Tade, charging and commaunding him that with all meekenesse and modestie, hee should gouerne that kingdome, which of right belonged not vnto him. Howbeit he, after he had once attained vnto the kingdome, neglecting the commaundement of his lord, vsurped the gouernment with great tyrannie, committing many heinous crimes, and so he reigned very disorderly for the space of three yeeres. Then all the princes of the Islands making a generall conspiracie, banded themselues against him, and expelled him out of their dominions. And he flying into Irland returned no more vnto them.

In the yeere 1077. one Ingemundus was sent from the king of Norway, to take possession of the kingdome of the Islands. And being come vnto the Island of Leodus,⁵³ he sent messengers vnto all the princes of the Islands to come vnto him, commaunding them to assemble themselues, and to appoint him to be their King. In the meane season he and his companions spent their time in robbing and rioting, rauished women and virgines, and addicted themselues to filthy pleasures and to the lustes of the flesh. And when these things, were reported vnto the princes of the Islands, who had assembled themselues to chuse him king, being mightely incensed thereat, they made haste towards him, and comming vpon him in the night they burnt the house wherein hee was and slue both him and the rest of his company, partly with sword and partly with fire.

In the yeere 1008. the abbey of S. Manes at Cistertrum was founded. In the same yeere also Antiochri was taken by the Chnstians and a Comet appeared.

Moreouer the same yeere there was a battel fought betweene the inhabitants of Man at Santwat⁴⁴ and they of the North obtained the victory. In which battell were slaine Earle Othor and Mac-Maras chieftaines of both parts.

The same yeere Magnus king of Norway, sonne of Olauus, sonne of Harald Harfagre, being desirous to view the corpse of S. Olauus king and Martyr, gaue commaundment that his monument should be opened. But the Bishop and the Clergie withstanding this his attempt, the king went very boldly and by his kingly authoritie caused the cophin to be opened. And when hee had scene with his eyes and handled with his hands the incorrupt body of the foresaid King and Martyr, a sudden feare came vpon him and he departed with great haste. The night following Olauus king and Martyr appeared vnto him in a vision saying: Chuse (I say) vnto your selfe one of these two, either within 30. dayes to lose your life with your kingdome, or else to depart from Norway and neuer to see it againe. The King so soone as he was awaked out of sleepe, called his princes and Senatours, and expounded the foresaide vision vnto them. And they also being astonished thereat gaue him this counsell, that with all speed he should depart out of Norway. Then he without any further delay caused a Nauie of 160. ships to be prouided, and so sailed vnto the Islands of Orkney, which hee presently subdued, and passing along through all the Islands and conquering them at length he came vnto the Isle of Man, where he was no sooner arriued, but hee went vnto the Isle of S. Patric to see the place of battell, where the inhabitants of Man had of late fought, because many of the dead bodies were as yet vnburied. And seeing that it was a most beautifull Island, it pleased him exceeding well, and therefore hee made choice to inhabite therein his owne selfe, and built forts there which are at this day called by his owne name. He had the people of Galway in such awe that he constrained them to cut downe their owne timber, and to bring it vnto his shore for the building of his fortes. Hee sailed on further vnto the Isle of Anglesey neere vnto Wales, and finding two harles therein (either of them being called by the name of Hugo) he slue the one, and the other hee put to flight, and so subdued the Island. But the Welshmen presented many gifts vnto him, and so bidding them farewell he returned vnto Man. Vnto Murecard king of Irland he sent his shooes, commaunding him that he should cary them on his shoulders, vpon the birth-day of our Lord through the midst of his Palace, in the sight of his Embassadors, that thereby it might appeare vnto them that he was subiect vnto king Magnus. Which when the Irishmen heard, they toke it grieuously and disdeined much thereat. But the King being better aduised, I had rather (said he) not onely beare his shooes, but eate his shooes, then that king Magnus should destroy any one prouince in Irland. Wherefore he fulfilled his commaundment, and honourably entertained his Embassadors. Many giftes also he sent vnto king Magnus by them, and concluded a league. But the messengers returning vnto their lord, tolde him of the situation of Irland, of the beautie thereof, of the fruitfulnessse of the soile, and of the holesomnesse of the aire. Magnus hearing these things was fully resolued to conquer all Irland vnto himselfe. And for the same purpose he commaunded that a Fleet should be made ready. But he taking his voyage with sixteene ships, & being desirous to view the land, when he had vndiscreetly departed from his Nauie, he was suddenly inuironed by the Irish, and was himselfe slaine, together with all that were with him almost. Hee was interred neere vnto the Church of S. Patric in Armagh. Hee reigned sixe yeeres. After his death the Princes of the Islands sent for Olauus the sonne of Godredus Crouan, who liued in the Court of Henry King of England son vnto William the Conquerour.

In the yeere 1102. Olauus sonne of Godredus Crouan beganne his reigne and reigned fourtie yeeres. He was a peaceable man being in league with all the Kings of Scotland and Irland in his time. He took to wife Affrica the daughter of Fergusius of Galway, of whom he begat Godredus. Of his concubines he begat Regnaldus, Lagmannus, and Haraldus, and many daughters, whereof one married vnto Sumerledus king of Herergaidel,⁵⁵ which afterward occasioned the ouerthrow of the whole kingdome of the Islands. He begat foure sonnes by her, namely Dulgallus, Raignaldus, Engus and Olauus.

In the yeere 1134. Olauus gaue vnto Yuo the Abbat of Furnes a portion of his owne ground in Man to build an Abbey in the place which is called Russin.⁵⁶ Also hee enriched with reuenues and indued with priuiledges al places of religion within his islands.

In the yere 1142. Godredus the son of Olauus sailed vnto the K. of Norway called Hinge, and doing his homage vnto him he remained with him, & was by him honorably entertained. The same vere the 3. sonnes of Harald brother vnto Olauus, who were brought vp at the citie of Dublin, gathering together a great multitude of people, and all the fugitiues and vagabonds of the kingdome resorted vnto Man, and demaunded of the said king the one halfe of al the kingdome of the Islands. Which thing when the king heard, being desirous to pacifie them, he answered that he would consult about that matter. And a day and place being appointed, where the consultation should bee kept, in the meane time those miscreants conspired together, about the murthering of the King. And when the day appointed was come, both companies assembled themselues vnto the hauen towne called Ramsa, and they sate in order, the king with his nobilitie on the one side, and they with their confederates on the other side. Howbeit Regnaldus who had an intention to slay the king, stode a-side in the midst of the house talking with one of the Princes of the lande. And being called to come vnto the king he turned himselfe about as if hee would haue saluted him, and lifting vp his glittering axe, he chopt the kings head quite off at a blow. [1143.] Nowe hauing committed this outrageous villanie, within a short space they diuided the Island betweene themselues, and gathering an armie together sailed vnto Galway, intending to subdue that also, howbeit the people of Galway assembled themselues, and with great furie encountred with them. Then they immediately turning their backs with great confusion fled vnto Man. And as touching all the Galwedians which inhabited in the said Island, some of them they slue, and the residue they banished.

In the yeere 1143. Godredus sonne of Olauus returning out of Norway was created king of Man, who in reuenge of his fathers death, put out the eyes of two of Haralds sonnes and slue the thirde.

In the yeere 1144. Godredus began his reigne, and hee reigned thirtie yeeres. In the thirde yeere of his reigne the citzens of Dublin sent for him and created him king of Dublin, against whom Murecardus king of Irland made warre, and encamping himselfe at the citie called Coridelis, he sent his brother Osibel with 3000. horsemen vnto Dublin, who was slaine by Godred and the Dubliners, the rest of his company being put to flight. These things being thus finished, Godredus returned vnto Man, and began to exercise tyrannie, disinheriting certaine of his nobles, of whome one called Thorfinus the sonne of Oter, being mightier then the rest, went vnto

Sumerledus, and named Dubgal the sonne of Sumerledus, king of the Islands, and subdued many of the said Islands on his behalfe. Whereof when Godred had intelligence by one Paulus, prouiding a Nauie, hee went to meete Sumerledus comming against him with 80. ships: [1156.] and in the yeere 1156. vpon the night of the feast of Epiphanie, there was a Sea-battell fought, and many being slaine on both parts, the day folowing they were pacified, and diuided the kingdome of the Islands among themselues, and it continued two kingdomes from that day vnto this present time. And this was the cause of the ruine of the monarchie of the Islands, from which time the sonnes of Sumerled inioyed the one halfe thereof.

In the yeere 1158. Sumerled came vnto Man with 53. ships, putting Godred to flight and wasting the Island: and Godred sailed vnto Norway to seeke for aide against Sumerled. In the yere 1164. Sumerled gathered a fleete of 160. ships together; and arriued at Rhinfrin,⁵⁷ intending to subdue all Scotland vnto himselfe: howbeit, by Gods iust iudgement being ouercome by a few, together with his sonne, and an innumerable multitude of people, he was slaine. The very same yere there was a battel fought at Ramsa, betweene Reginald the brother of Godred, and the inhabitants of Man, but by the stratageme of a certaine Earle the Mannians were put to flight. Then began Reginald to vsurpe the kingly authoritie. Howbeit his brother Godred, within foure dayes after comming out of Norway with a great power of armed men, apprehended his brother Reginald, gelt him, and put out his eyes. The same yeere deceased Malcolme the king of Scots and his brother William succeeded in the kmgdome.

In the yeere 1166. two Comets appeared in the moneth of August before the rising of the Sunne, one to the South and another to the North.

In the yeere 1171. Richard earle of Penbroke sailed into Irland, and subdued Dublin with a great part of Irland.

In the yere 1176. Iohn Curcy conquered Vlster vnto himselfe. And at the same time also Viuianus legate from the sea of Rome came into Man, & caused king Godred to bee lawfully wedded vnto his wife Phingola, daughter of Maclotlen son of Murkartac king of Irland, mother of Olauus, who was then 3. yeeres old. Siluanus the abbat married them, vnto whom the very same day, king Godred gaue a portion of ground in Mirescoge, where he built a Monastery: howbeit, in processe of time, the said land with the monkes, was granted vnto the abbey of Russin.

In the yere 1172. Reginaldus the son of Eacmarcat (a man descended of the blood royal) comming into Man with a great multitude of people, in the absence of the king, at the first conflict hee put to flight certaine watchmen which kept the shoare, & slue about 30. persons. Whereupon the very same day the Mannians arranging themselues put him, & almost almost al his folowers to the sword.

In the yere 1183. O-Fogolt was vicount of Man.

In the yere 1185. the Sunne was eclipsed vpon the feast of S. Philip and Iacob.

In the yere 1187. deceased Godred king of the Islands, vpon the 4. of the Ides of Nouember, and the next sommer his body was translated vnto the island of Hy. He

left 3. sonnes behinde him Reginaldus Olauus, and Yuarus. In his life time he ordeined his sonne Olauus to be his heire apparant because he onely was borne legitimate. But the Mannians, when Olauus was scarce ten yeeres olde, sent vnto the islands for Reginald and created him king.

In the yeere 1187. began Reginald the sonne of Godred to reigne ouer the islands: and Murchardus a man of great power throughout all the kingdome of the islands was put to death.

In the yere 1192. there was a battel fought betweene Reginald and Engus the two sonnes of Sumerled: but Engus obtained the victory. The same yere was the abbey of Russin remoued vnto Dufglas,⁵⁸ howbeit within foure yeeres after the monkes returned vnto Russin.

In the yere 1203. Michæl bishop of the islands deceased at Fontanas, and Nicholas succeeded in his roome.

In the yere 1204. Hugo de Lacy inuaded Vlster with an armie and encountered with Iohn de Curcy, tooke him prisoner & subdued Vlster vnto himselfe. Afterward he permitted the said Iohn to goe at libertie, who comming vnto king Reginald was honourably entertained by him, because he was his sonne in lawe, for Iohn de Curcy had taken to wife Affrica the daughter of Godredus, which founded the abbey of *S. Mary de iugo domini*, and was there buried.

In the yeere 1205. Iohn de Curcy & Reginald king of the islands inuading Vlster with a hundreth ships at the port which is called Stranfeord did negligently besiege the castle of Rath: but Walter de Lacy comming vpon them with his armie, put them to flight, & from that time Curcy neuer recouered his land. In the yeere 1210. Engus the son of Sumerled & his 3. sonnes were slaine.

[King Iohn passed into Irland with 500. sailes] At the same time Iohn king of England conducted a fleet of 500. ships into Irland, and subdued it vnto himselfe and sending a certaine earle named Fulco, vnto the isle of Man, his souldiours almost vtterly wasted it the space of 15. dayes, and hauing taken pledges they returned home into their owne country. King Reginald and his nobles were at this time absent from Man.

In the yere 1217. deceased Nicolas bishop of the islands, and was buried in Vlster, in the house of Benchor, whom Reginald succeeded.

I thinke it not amisse to report somewhat more concerning the two foresaid brethren Reginaldus and Olauus.

Reginald gaue vnto his brother Olauus, the island called Lodhus or Lewes, which is saide to be larger then the rest of the islands, but almost destitute of inhabitants, because it is so ful of mountaines & quarreis, being almost no where fit for tillage. Howbeit the inhabitants thereof do liue for the most part vpon hunting and fishing. Olauus therefore went to take possession of this Island, and dwelt therein leading a poore life; and when he saw that it would by no meanes suffice for the sustentation of himselfe & his folowers hee went boldly vnto his brother Reginald, who as then remained in the islands, & spake on this wise vnto him. My brother (said he) and my

lord and king you know that the kingdom of the islands pertained vnto me by right of inheritance, howbett because the Lord had chosen you to beare the scepter, I doe not enuie that honour vnto you, neither doeth it any whit grieue me that you are exalted vnto this royall dignitie. Nowe therefore I beseech you to prouide mee some portion of land in the islands, whereby I may honestly liue. For the island of Lewis which you gaue me is not sufficient for my maintenance. Which his brother Reginald hearing said that he would consult about the premisses. And on the morow when Olauus was sent for to parle, Reginald comanded him to be attached, and to be caried vnto William king of Scotland and with him to remane prisoner: and Olauus remained in prison almost for the space of 7. yeres. But at the 7. yeres end William king of Scots deceased, and Alexander his sonne reigned in his stead. The foresaid William, before his death, commanded that all prisoners should be set at libertie. Olauus therefore being at libertie came vnto Man, and immediatly with a great company of nobles tooke his iourney vnto S. Iames: and his brother Reginald caused the said Olauus to take vnto wife, the daughter of a certaine noble man of Kentyre, cousine german vnto his owne wife, & by name being called Lauon, and he granted vnto him the possession of Lewis. After a few dayes Reginald the bishop of the Islands hauing gathered a Synod, separated Olauus and Godred his sonne, and Lauon his wife, namely because shee was cousin german vnto his former wife. Afterward Olauus married Scristina daughter vnto Ferkarus earle of Rosse.

Hereupon the wife of Reginald Queene of the Islands being incensed, sent letters vnto the Island of Sky in K. Reginald his name to her sonne Godred willing him to take Olauus. Which comandement Godred putting in practise, & entring the isle of Lewis for the same purpose, Olauus fled in a little skiffe vnto his father in law the earle of Rosse, & in the meane time Godred wasted the isle of Lewis. At the very same time Pol the son of Boke vicount of Sky, being a man of power in al the islands, because he would not consent vnto Godred, fled, & dwelt together with Olauus in the dominions of the earle of Rosse, & making a league with Olauus, they went both in a ship vnto Sky. To be short, sending certaine spies, they were informed that Godred remained secure with a smal company in a certaine Isle called the isle of S. Colomba.⁵⁹ And vniting vnto themselues their friends and acquaintance, & others that would goe voluntarily with them, in the dead of the night, hauing lanced 5. ships from the next sea-shore, which was distant about the space of 2. furlongs from the foresaid Island, they enuironed the said Island on all sides. Now Godred and his company rising early in the morning, and seeing themselues beset with their enemies on all sides, they were vtterly astonied. Howbeit arming themselues they began stoutly to make resistance, but altogether in vaine. For about 9. of the clocke in the morning, Olauus and the foresaid vicount Pol, with al their souldiers, entred the Island, and hauing slaine all whom they found without the precincts of the Church, they apprehended Godred, gelding him, and putting out his eyes. Vnto which action Olauus gaue not his consent, neither could he withstand it, by reason of the forenamed vicount the son of Boke. This was done in the yere of Christ 1223. The next sommer folowing Olauus hauing receiued pledges from all the chiefe men of the Islands, with a fleet of 32 ships sailed vnto Man, and arriued at Rognolfwaht.⁶⁰ [*The Isle of Man aduanced to a kingdome*] At the same time Reginald and Olauus diuided the kingdome of the Islands betweene themselues, Man being granted vnto Reginald, & besides his portion the name of a king also. Olauus hauing recieued certaine victuals of the people of Man, returned, together with his company, vnto his owne portion of Islands. The yeere folowing Reginald taking vnto him Alanus lord of Galway, together with his subiects of Man,

sailed vnto the Islands, that hee might take away that portion of ground from his brother Olauus, which he had granted vnto him, and subdue it vnto himselfe. Howbeit, by reason that the people of Man had no list to fight against Olauus or the Islanders, because they bare good will towards them, Reginald and Alanus lord of Galway being defeated of their purpose, returned home vnto their owne. Within a short space after Reginald, vnder pretense of going vnto the Court of his lord the king of England, receiued an 100. markes of the people of Man, and tooke his iourney vnto Alanus lord of Galway. Which the people of Man hearing tooke great indignation thereat, insomuch that they sent for Olauus, and appointed him to be their king.

In the yeere 1226. Olauus recouered his inheritance, that is to say the kingdome of Man and of the Islands, which Reginald his brother had gouerned for the space of 38. yeeres, and he reigned two yeeres in safetie.

In the yeere 1228. Olauus with all his nobles of Man, and the stronger part of his people, sailed vnto the Islands. A short space after Alanus lord of Galway, Thomas earle of Athol, & king Reginald came vnto Man with a mightie army, and wasted all the South part of Man, spoiled the Churches, and slue all the men whom they coule take, insomuch, that the Southpart of the saide Island was brought almost into desolation. And then Alanus returned with his army into his owne land, leauing behind him bailiffes and substitutes in Man, which should gather vp and render vnto him the tribute of the cuntry. Howbeit king Olauus came suddenly vpon them, chaced them away and recouered his kingdome. And the Mannians which of late were dispersed and scattered abroad, began to vnite themselues, and to inhabite without feare. The same yeere, in the time of Winter, vpon the sudden, and in the very dead of the night came king Reginald out of Galway with fiue ships, & burnt all the ships of his brother Olauus and of the nobles of Man, at the isle of S. Patric, & concluding a peace with his brother, remained at the port of Ragnolwath 40. dayes; in the meane while hee allured vnto himselfe all the Islanders vpon the South part of Man, who sware, that they would aduenture their liues, vntill hee had gotten the one halfe of his kingdome: contrary wise Olauus ioyned vnto himselfe them of the North part, & vpon the 14. of February in the place called Tingualla,⁶¹ a field was fought betweene the two brothers, wherein Olauus got the victory, and Reginald the king was by certaine souldiers slaine without the knowledge of his brother. Also certaine pirates comming to the South part of Man, wasted & spoiled it. The monkes of Russin conueyed the body of K. Reginald, vnto the abbey of S. Mary of Fournes, & there he was interred in the place, which his owne selfe had chosen for the purpose. After these things Olauus traueiled vnto the king of Norway, but before he was arriued there, Haco king of Norway appointed a certaine noble man named Husbac the son of Owmund to be king of the Islands of the Hebrides & called his name Haco. Then came the said Haco with Olauus & Godred Don the son of Reginald and a multitude of Noruegians, vnto the Islands, and while they were giuing an assault vnto a castle in the Island of Both.⁶² Haco being hit with a stone died, and was buried in Iona.

In the yere 1230. came Olauus with Godredus Don and certeine Noruegians vnto Man, and they parted the kingdome among themselues, Olauus stil reteining Man. Godred as he was going vnto the Islands, was slaine in the Isle of Lewis, & Olauus inioyed the kingdome of the islands also.

In the yere 1237. vpon the 12. of the kalends of Iune, Olauus sonne of Godred king of Man deceased in the isle of S. Patric, and was interred in the abbey of Russin. He reigned 11. yeres, two while his brother was aliue, and nine after his death.

Haraldus his sonne being of the age of 14. yeres, succeeded, and he reigned 12. yeeres. The first yere of his reigne taking his iourney vnto the islands, he appointed one Loglen his kinsman to be his deputie in Man. The Autumne folowing Haraldus sent the three sonnes of Nel, namely Dufgaldus, Torquellus, & Molmore, and his friend Ioseph vnto Man, that they might enter into cosultation together. Wherefore the 25. day they assembled themselues at Tingualla: and malice growing betweene the sonnes of Nel, and Loglen they fel to blowes and skirmished sore on both parts, Molmore, Dufgald, and the foresaid Ioseph being all slaine in the fray. The Spring folowing, king Harald came into the Isle of Man, and Loglen fleeing into Wales, was himselfe, together with Godred the sonne of Olauus his pupil, and 40. others, drowned by shipwracke.

In the yere 1238. Gospatricius and Gillescrist sonne of Mac-Kerthac came from the king of Norway vnto Man, expelling Harald out of the said island, and taking tribute on the behalfe of the Noruegian king, because the said Harald refused to come vnto his Court.

In the yere 1240. Gospatricius deceased and was buried in the abbey of Russin.

In the yere 1239. Haraldus went vnto the king of Norway who within two yeres confirmed vnto him, his heires and successors, vnder seale, all the islands which his predecessors enjoyed.

In the yeere 1242. Haraldus returned out of Norway vnto Man and being honorably receiued by the inhabitants he liued in peace with the kings of England and Scotland.

In the yere 1247. Haraldus (like as his father also before him) was knighted by the king of England, and so being rewarded with many gifts he returned home. The same yere he was sent for by the king of Norway, and he married his daughter. And in the yere 1249. as he was returning home with his wife, with Laurence the elect of Man, and with many other nobles, neere vnto the confines of Radland, he was drowned in a tempest.

In the yere 1249. Reginald the sonne of Olauus and brother vnto Harald began to reigne the day next before the nones of May: and vpon the 30. day of the same moneth he was slaine by Yuarus a souldier, and other of his complices in the South part of a certaine medow neere vnto the Church of the holy Trinitie, and he was buried at the Church of S. Marie at Russin.

The same yere Alexander king of Scots prouided a great nauie of ships that he might conquere the islands vnto himselfe, howbeit falling into an ague at the isle of Kenwary⁶³ he deceased.

Then Haraldus the sonne of Godred Don vsurped the name of a king ouer the islands, hee banished also all the princes of Harald the sonne of Olauus and ordeined his fugitiues to bee princes and nobles in their stead.

In the yere 1250. Haraldus the son of Godred Don being summoned by letters went vnto the king of Norway who deteined him in prison because he had vniustly possessed the kingdome. The same yeere Magnus the sonne of Olauus, and Iohn the sonne of Dugalt arriued at Roghalwhat, which Iohn named himselfe king, but the Mannians taking it grieuously, that Magnus was not nominated, draue them from their shoare, and many of the company perished by shipwracke.

In the yeere 1252. came Magnus the sonne of Olauus vnto Man, and was ordained king. The yere folowing he tooke his iourney vnto the king of Norway & there he remained one whole yere.

In the yeere 1254. Haco king of Norway ordeined Magnus the sonne of Olauus king of the islands, confirming them to him and to his heires, and by name vnto Harald his brother.

In the yere 1256. Magnus tooke his iourney into England, and was by the king of England created knight.

In the yere 1257. the Church of S. Maries of Russin was dedicated by Richard bishop of Soder.

In the yeere 1260. Haco king of Norway came into the parts of Scotland, and without atchieuing ought, turning his course towards the Orcades he there deceased at Kirwas,⁶⁴ and was buried at Bergen.

In the yeere 1265. Magnus the sonne of Olauus king of Man and of the Islands died at the castle of Russin, and was buried at the Church of St. Mary at Russin.

In the yere 1266. the kingdome of the Islands was translated vnto Alexander king of Scots.

That which followeth was written in a new character or letter, and of a diuers kinde from the former.

In the yeere 1270. vpon the seuenth day of October the Fleete of Alexander king of Scots arriued at Roghalwath, and the next day before the sunne rising there was a battell fought betweene the Mannians and the Scots, in the which conflict there were slaine 535. Mannians: whereupon a certaine versifier writeth to this effect:

Fiue hundreth fourtie men are slaine:
against ill haps,
Yee Mannians arme your selues, for feare
of afterclaps.

In the yeere 1313. Robert king of Scots beseiged the castle of Russin, which Dingaway Dowil held against him howbeit at the last the king tooke the castle.

In the yeere 1316. vpon the feast of Ascension, Richard le Mandeuile and his brethren, with diuers great personages of Irland arriued at Ramaldwath, demaunding to haue victuals and money ministred vnto them, because they had bene spoyled by

their enemies, which made continuall warre vpon them. But when the whole company of the Mannians answered that they would giue nothing, they proceeded against them in warlike maner with two bands, till they were come vnder the side of the hill called Warthfel, in the fielde where Iohn Mandeuile remained, and there hauing fought a battell, the Irish ouercame the people of Man, and spoiled the Island and the Abbey of Russmin also: and when they had reueled a whole moneth in the Island, lading their ships they retained home.

⁴⁸“Memes cel an Harald le rey de Norweye, frere Seint Olaf, ariva al flum de Tine a Nof Chastel ou plus de Ve granz neofs, a ki le connte Tostin, le frere le rey Harald de Engleterre, vint ou sa nauie, si com il aveient fet covenant en semble, e vindrunt sus a Richale (_Richmond_) e destrurent tut le pais de Euerwyk (_York_) E Kant ceo out oy Harald, le rei de Engleterre, tant tost se mist conntre eus ou son ost en vn liu ki hom apele Stamfordbrige e la twa il le rey de Norweye e Tostin son frere de meine, e grant partie del ost. Mes IX. de ses chivalers pus le lesserent, pur ceo ke il ne les voleit ren doner de la preye ki il prist des Norreis.” (_Le Liure de reis de Engleterre_ MS in Trinity College, Cambridge.)

⁴⁹in 1077

⁵⁰Ramsay

⁵¹The riuer Colby

⁵²Yell, a northern island of the Shetland group, seventeen miles by seven.

⁵³Lewis.

⁵⁴In the parish of Jurby.

⁵⁵Argyll.

⁵⁶Rushen

⁵⁷Renfrew

⁵⁸Douglas

⁵⁹Iona.

⁶⁰Peel.

⁶¹Tynwald Mount.

⁶²Bute.

⁶³Query, Kerrera.

⁶⁴Kirkwall. The date is an error Hacos expedition took place in 1263. He sailed from Herdlevøer on the 5th of July, and died Saturday, 15th December (_Det Norske Folks Historie_, by P. A. Munch.)

List of Kings of the Isle of Man and the Isles

From Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia.

- Godfred I mac Fergus lord of the Hebrides (836-853)

Sub-Kings under Norse Dublin Kingdom:

- Caitill Find
- Tryggvi (870-880)
- Asbjorn Skerjablesi (880-899)
- Gibhleachan (921-937)
- Mac Ragnall (937-942)
- Magnus I (972-978)
- Godfred II (978-989)

Sub-Kings under Norse Orkney Rule:

- Harald I (989-999)
- Godfred III (999-1000)
- Ragnald I Godfredson (1000-1005)
- Kenneth Godfredson (1005-1014)

Sub-Kings under Norse Dublin Kingdom:

- Swein Kennethson (1014-1034)
- Harald II The Black (1034-1052)
- Margad Rganallson (1052-1061)
- Murchaid mac Diarmait (1061-1070)
- Fingal Gofredson (1070-1079)

Kings of the Isle of Man and the Isles:

- Godfred IV of the Isle of Man (1079-1095)
- Magnus II of the Isle of Man (1095-1102)
- Lagman of the Isle of Man (1102-1104)
- Sigurd of the Isle of Man (1104-1130)
- Domnall mac Teige of the Isle of Man (1114-1115)
- Murchadh O'Brian of the Isle of Man (1115-1137)
- Olaf I of the Isle of Man (1137-1153)
- Godfred V of the Isle of Man (1153-1158)
- Somerled of the Isle of Man (1158-1164)

The Isles broke away from the Isle of Man and became an independent kingdom.

List of Kings of the Isle of Man

From Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia.

For Rulers before this see: List of Kings of the Isle of Man and the Isles

Norse Rule:

- Godfred V of the Isle of Man (1164)
- Ragnald of the Isle of Man (1164)
- Godfred V of the Isle of Man (1164-1187)
- Ragnald of the Isle of Man (1187-1229)
- Olaf II of the Isle of Man (1229-1237)
- Harald of the Isle of Man (1237-1248)
- Ragnald II of the Isle of Man (1248-1250)
- Ivarr of the Isle of Man (1250-1252)
- Magnus III of the Isle of Man (1252-1265)

Scottish Rule (1265-1275)

Norse Rule:

- Godfred Magnuson of the Isle of Man (1275)

Scottish Rule (1275-1290)

English Rule (1290-1293)

Scottish Rule (1293-1296)

English Rule (1296-1313)

Scottish Rule (1313)

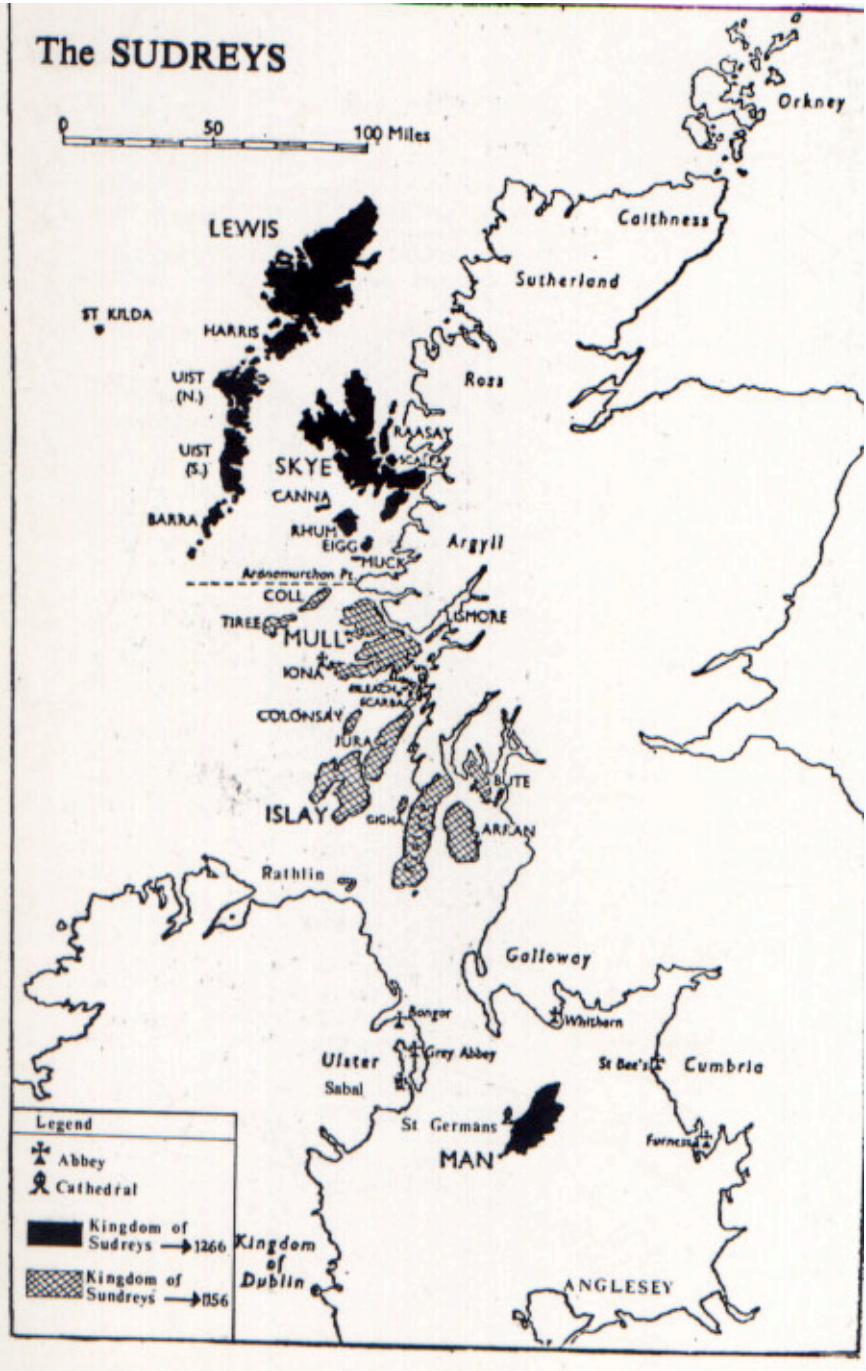
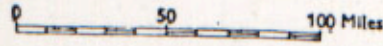
Disputed Rule (1313-1333)

English Rule:

- William Montacute, 1st Earl of Salisbury (1333-1344)
- William Montacute, 2nd Earl of Salisbury (1344-1392)
- William Le Scrop of the Isle of Man (1392-1399)
- Henry Percy of the Isle of Man (1399-1405)
- John I Stanley of the Isle of Man (1405-1414)
- John II Stanley of the Isle of Man (1414-1437)
- Thomas I Stanley of the Isle of Man (1437-1459)
- Thomas II Stanley of the Isle of Man (1459-1504)

For Rulers after this see: List of Lords of the Isle of Man

The SUDREYS



Agreement between Magnus IV and Alexander III, 1266

AGREEMENT BETWEEN MAGNUS
IV. OF NORWAY, KING OF MANN
AND THE ISLANDS, AND THE
MOST SERENE KING ALEXANDER
III. OF SCOTLAND.

EX TORFÆO.

AD. 1266.

In nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti,
Amen.

In the name of the Father, and of the
Son, and of the Holy Spirit, Amen.

That the certainty of foreknowing may give true and clear remembrance of the past, it is forever to be known that in the year of grace 1266, on the day of Venus, next after the Feast of the Apostles Peter and Paul, this composition and final agreement was entered into and proclaimed in the church of the brothers at Perth, concerning the contentions, quarrels, losses, injuries, and discords of the Islands of Mann and the Sodors, and set at rest by the same authorities and the assistance of divine providence between the magnificent and illustrious Princes, lord Magnus the IV., by the grace of God illustrious King of Norway, through his appointed ministers, lords Askatinus his chancellor, and Andreas son of Nicholas, baron, his principal men, whom he specially sent and lawfully constituted to appear there, on the one part, and Lord Alexander III. by the same grace King of Scotland, with the greater part of the nobility and clergy of his kingdom personally appeared there on the other, in this manner, namely, that the said Lord Magnus, the King of Norway, as the friend of peace and the cultivator of justice, to the reverencing of God, and the diligent conforming to the mutual agreement and observance of

Ut certitudo præsentium det veram ac evidentem memoriam præteritorum æternaliter est sciendum, quod anno gratiæ MCCLXVI, die Veneris proxima post festum apostolorum Petri et Pauli, in ecclesia fratrum prædicatorum apud Perchen; inita fuit hæc compositio, et finalis concordia, super contentionibus, querimoniis, damnis et injuriis ac discordiis insularum Manniæ et Sodorensium, ac jurium earundem sopiendis, Divina cooperante providentia inter magnificos et illustres principes, Dominum Magnum Quartum, Dei gratia Regem Norvegiæ illustrem, per solennes nuncios suos Dominos Askatinum Cancellarium suum, et Andream filium Nicolai, baronem suum super hiis, illuc specialiter destinatos ac legitime constitutos, comparentes ibidem ex parte una. Et Dominum Alexandrum Tertium, eadem gratia Regem Scotiæ, ibidem cum clero et proceribus, Regni sui majoribus, personaliter comparentem ex altera, sub hat forma, videlicet quod dictus Dominus Magnus Rex Norvegiæ tanquam amicus pacis et cultor justitiæ, ad Dei reverentiam et mutuæ dilectionis ac pacis observantiam diligentius confovendam, et animarum periculum propulsandum, ac strages hominum citius evitandum ad instantiam et honorem Domini Alexandri Regis Scotiæ memorati, Manniam cum cæteris insulis Sodorensibus, et omnibus

peace, warding off the dangers to life and shunning the slaughter of men, came at the instance and honor of the aforesaid lord Alexander, the King of Scotland, for Mann, with the other islands of the Sodors and all the ether islands of the south and west part of the great Haffue, with every right that he and his forefathers had in them in time past, or that he and his heirs might have in future, through the aforesaid discreet men his lords, Aschetinus Chancellor of Magnus the King of Norway, and Andreas the son of Nicholas, baron, having from the King himself full authority to settle and agree concerning these, amicably and socially, conceding, resigning, and quitting claim for himself and his heirs, either as suitors or possessors forever, to be held and possessed by the said lord Alexander III. the King of the Scotch, and his heirs, with the lord-ships, homages, rents, services, and all rights belonging to the said islands, without any drawback, together with the right of patronage of the Bishopric of Mann freely, legal jurisdiction and liberty of the Church of Nidrosien, and all and every other right that he holds of the Bishops and Church of Mann, but excepting the Islands of Orcadia [Orkneys] and Hethland, which the said King of Norway, with the lordships, homages, rents, services, and all rights belonging to them, or relating to the same, he has therefore specially reserved to his own dominion, so that all the inhabitants of the said islands which are conceded, resigned, and quitted claim of, to the aforesaid lord, the King of Scotland, both great and small, may be subject to the laws and customs of the kingdom of Scotland, and governed and judged according to these from this time henceforth. But on account of these persons whose future acts, or the injuries and damages which they may do to this day, whilst adhering to the aforesaid lord the King of Norway, and that none may be punished nor complain concerning aliis insulis, ex parte occidentali et australi magni Haffne cum omni jure quod in eis ipse et progenitores sui habuerunt, ab antiquo tempore, vel ipse et hæredes sui habere potuerunt, in futurum per prædictos viros discretos Dominos Aschetinum Cancellarium ipsius Domini Magni Regis Norvegiæ, et Andrearv filium Nicolai Baronem suum, habentes ab ipso Rege plenarv auctoritatem componendi et concordandi super ipsis amicabiliter et socialiter concessit, resignavit et quietas clamavit, tam in petitorio, quam in possessorio, pro se et hæredibus suis in perpetuum tenendum, habendum, et possidendum, ditto Domino Alexandro Tertio, Regi Scotorum, et ruis hæredibus, cum dominiis, homagiis, redditibus, servitiis et omnibus junibus et pertinentiis dictarum Insularum, sine aliquo retinemento, una cum jure patronatus Episcopatus Manniæ, salvis, jure, jurisdictione, ac libertate Ecclesiæ Nidrosiensis in omnibus et per omnia, quod vel quas habet in Episcoporum et ecclesiam Manniæ. Et exceptis insulis Orcadiæ et Hetblandiæ quas idem. Res Norvegiæ cum dominiis, homagiis, redditibus, servitiis, et omnibus juribus, et pertinentiis suis, infra easdem contiguas, Dominio sno specialiter reservavit, ita quod omnes homines dictarum Insularum, quae præfato Domino Scotiæ Regi sunt coucessæ, resignatæ, et quietas clamatæ, tam majores quam mineres, subjaceant legibus consuetudinibus Regni Scotiæ, et seeundum ens ex nunc in posterum tractentur et judicentur. Pro hiis antem forefactus, vel injuriis et damnis, quæ fecerunt usque in hodiernum diem, dum memorato Domino Regi Norvegiæ adhærebant, nullatenus puniantur, nec querenter super hæreditatibus suis irr illis insulis, sed pacifice teut in eisdem, sub dominio Domini Regis Scotiæ, skut alii liberi et ligei dicti Domini Regis Scotiæ, qui liberiori justitia gaulere di noscuntur, nisi aliquid de cætero faciant, propter quod juste puniri debeant, juxta leges ac consuetudines Regni Scotiæ approbatas. Et si in dietis insulis, sub dominio dieti Domini Regis Scotiæ morari voluerint, morentur in

their inheritances in these islands, but peaceably remain in the same, under the dominion of the lord the King of Scotland, as freely as the other subjects and lieges of the said lord the King of Scotland, and who should be distinguished for their delight in the free administration of justice, unless some act to the contrary, on which account they ought to be strictly punished, according to the laws, usages, and approval of the kingdom of Scotland. But if in the said islands under the dominion of the said lord the King of Scotland they wish to remain, they may stay in the land freely and in peace, and if they wish to leave they may depart with their goods freely and in complete peace, consequently they are neither to be compelled to remain nor to depart, contrary to their own free will, and the laws and usages of the kingdom of Scotland. Therefore the before-mentioned lord Alexander, the King of Scotland, zealous of the truth, and a lover of harmony and peace, for himself and his heirs, has conceded, resigned, and quitted claim to these perpetually, but chiefly for the sake of peace and the lessening of troubles and labours, has given and granted perpetually, namely, to the said lord the King of Norway and his heirs, and assigned to them forever, within eight days of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist, in Orcadia, that is to say, the land of the lord the King of Norway, in the church of Saint Magnus, into the hands of the Bishop of Orcadia or of the bailiff of the lord the King of Norway specially deputed by him for this purpose, or they may be deposited in the same church for the use of the lord the King of Norway, in the custody of the canons of the said church, if the Bishop or bailiff be not present in the same, who must give their letters of acknowledgment for the payment of one hundred marks of good and lawful sterling silver money, according to the order and practice of the Court of Rome,

Domino libere et in pace, et si recedere voluerint, recedant cum bonis suis Beite, libere, et in plena pace, itaque nec morari nec recedere contra leges et consuetudines Regui Scotiæ et saum libitum compellantur.

Dominus itaque Alexander Res Scotiæ memoratus, veritatis zelator et pacis et concordiaë amator, et hæredes sul perpetuum pro istis, concessions, resignations et quieta clamatione, et præcipue pro bone, pacis, et ut fatigationes et labores redimantur, dabunt et reddent in perpetuum sæpe dicto Domino Regi Norvegiæ et hæredibus suis et eorundem assignatis in perpetuum infra oetavas Nativitatis Sancti Johannis Baptistæ in Orcadia terra scilicet Domini Regis Norvegiæ, in ecclesiæ Sancti Magni, in manibus Episeopi Orchadiæ, sen Ballivi ipsius Domini Regis Norvegiæ, ad hoc per issum specialiter deputati, vel in eadem ecclesia deponent, ad opus ipsius Domini Regis Norvegiæ sub custodia canonicorum ejusdem ecclesiæ, si Episcopus vel Ballivus non inveniantur ibidem, qui debunt sis literas adquietationis et faeta solutiones, centum marcas bonorum et legalium sterlingorum, secundum modum et usum Curiaë Romanæ, ac Reguorum Franciæ, Angliæ, et Scotiæ numerandas annuatim, et nihilominus quatuor millia marcarum sterlingorum dieto modo numerandoram infra proximum quadriennium loco et termino prænotatis, videlicet mille marcas infra oetavas nativitatis Sancti Johannis Baptistæ, anno gratiæ MCCLXVII. et centum marehas de prædicta pensione. Et anno gratiæ MCCLXVIII. ad eosdem locum et terminuro mille marcas, et centum marcas de pensione præfatâ. Et anno gratiæ MCCLXIX. dictis loco et termino mille marcas, et centum marcas de memorata pensions. Et ultimo anno gratiæ MCCLXX. eisdem loco et termino mille marcas et centum mareas de eadero pensione. In posterum autem dictis loco et tenmino duntaxat centum mareas de penxione prædicta prædicto modo numerandus in

and the Kingdoms of France, England, and Scotland, to be paid annually, and likewise four thousand marks sterling, to be paid in the said manner within the next four years, at a place to be defined and known beforehand, to wit one thousand one hundred marks of the foresaid pension, within eight days of the nativity of Saint John the Baptist, in the year of grace 1267. In the year of grace 1268 at the said place before defined one thousand one hundred marks of the said pension. In the year of grace 1269 at the same appointed place, one thousand one hundred marks of the aforesaid pension. And lastly in the year of grace 1270 at the same place, one thousand one hundred marks of the said pension, and afterwards at the same appointed place only one hundred marks of the aforesaid pension, to be paid in the same manner annually and forever.

And all and each of the before mentioned to be faithfully and firmly observed by the said Asketinus Chancellor, and Andreas Baron, for their lord Magnus illustrious King of Norway, and his heirs and assigns, who being in the confidence of the King and acquainted with his wishes, in proper manner made oath publicly on the Holy Evangelists, in the church of the aforesaid brothers at Perth. And the said lord Alexander the King of Scotland, through his noblemen Adam Earl of Carrick, and Robert de Meyners, who in his confidence and knowing his mind, has for himself and his heirs in the same manner, solemnly made oath in the presence of these ministers.

And for greater security in these matters, both parties bind themselves in the penalty of 10,000 marks sterling, to be fully paid and judicially levied from the party wishing to recede from the observance of this composition and final agreement, the composition and final agreement nevertheless to remain in full

perpetuum pro omnibus annuatim.

Et ad hæc omnia et signla, ut pnænotata sunt, fideliter, et finmiter observanda dicti, Ashetinus Cancellarius et Andreas Baro, pro Domino suo Magno illustri Pege Norvegiæ et hænedibus suis et assignatis, in animam ipsius Regis de cujus voluntate eis super hiis constabat ad plenum, et animas proprias, jurarunt publice in ecclesia fratrum prædictorum apud Perchen, tactis Evangeliiis sacrosanctis. Et dictus Dominus Alexauder Rex Scotiæ per Nebiles vinos, Adam Comittem de Carrick et Robertum de Meynens, eodem modo in anisnam suam, et animas eorum pro se et hæredibus suis, fecit jurare solemniter, in præsentia nunciorurn eorundem.

Et ad majorem hujus rei securitatem, utraque pars se obligavit, ad pcenam, decem millium marcarum sterlingorum solvendam de plano et absque strepitu j udiciali a parte resilire volente, parti compositionem istam, et finalem concordiam observandi, compositione ipsa et finali concordia nihilominus in perpetuum in pleno robore duraturis. Dominus iusuper. Rex Magnus Norvegiæ pen nuncios suos supradictos se ipsum ac hænedes ac successores snes. Et Dominus Alexander Rex Scotiæ, se et hæredes suos subjacerunt in hoc jurisdictioni sedis Apostolieæ ut unita monitione præmissa, pen sententias excommunicationis in personas, nullius persona excepta, et interdicti in regna absque strepitu judiciali, et aliqua eausæ monitione, compeliat partem resilientem a compositione et finali concordia prædictis, ad solvendam parti, ipsas compositionem et finalem concordiam observanti, dictum poenam decem millium marcarum integri et plenarii, et nihileminus ad ipxas compositionem et finalem concordiam, in omnibus et singnlis articulis observandds, nen relaxandis, quousque dicta pcena, ut dictum est, plenarie fuerit persoluta, ipsas compositione et final! concordia in sno robore, in omnibus et pen omnia duraturis,

force forever. Moreover Lord Magnus, the King of Norway, through his above-mentioned ministers, for himself, his heirs, and successors, and lord Alexander, the King of Scotland, for himself and his heirs, submit in this matter to the jurisdiction of the seat of the Apostles (the Pope), that through the single command of the foregoing, by means of sentences of excommunication against either party, neither to be excepted or interdicted in the kingdom without judicial trial, and some trial and some recognised cause should compel the party withdrawing from the composition and final agreement aforesaid, to pay to the party observing the composition and final agreement the said penalty of 10,000 marks, wholly and in full, nevertheless this composition and final agreement is to be observed in all and every particular confirmed and forever held valid.

Thus on the part of both is renounced by this deed all intention of fraud, deceit, actions at law, and the pleading of privileges wholly, and all letters between the said kings and their ancestors hitherto obtained and held, whatever orders existed to the contrary, and all letters and apostolic indulgences obtained by request, and all remedy of canonical and civil law, by which the aforesaid concession, resignations quit-claim, composition and final agreement may be impeded, deferred, and finally overthrown, or in any manner weakened. Also it is added to this agreement, and by common assent ordained between the kings, and the kingdoms of Norway and Scotland, that all transgressions and offences between them and their ancestors and their people perpetrated to this day on both sides are wholly remitted, as long as the churches as well as the kingdoms receive no injury through the continuance of a lingering feeling of anger or revenge, and that the hostages of the said islands, taken from

et in perpetuum valituris.

Renuneiavit itaque utraque pars in hoc facto, omni exceptioni fraudis et doli, actioni in factum, et privilegio fori et specialiter restitutioni in integrum, et omnibus literis, inter eosdem Reges et antecessores suos hucusque habitis et obtentis, cujuscuque tenoris existant, et omnibus literis et indulgentiis Apostolicis, impetratis et impetrandis, et oroni remedio juris Canonici et civilis, pen quæ prædictæ concessio, resignatio, quietia clamatio, compositio et finalis concordia impediri, differri, et dextrui valeant, seu modo aliquo enervari. Adjectum est etiam huic concordia, et statutum communi concensu, inter Reges et Regna Norvegiæ et Scotiæ, ut omnes transgressiones et delicta inter eos, et antecessores suos et eorum homines, usque iu hodiernum diem perpetrata, ex utraque parte penitus sint remissa quoad ecclesias, sicut ad regna, nullo ex hiis mali, iræ vel viudietæ tramite remanente, et ut obsides dietorum insulanorum hinc inde capti et detenti, plene libertati restituantur. Et si inimicus altersus Regem ipsorum, Scotiæ scilicet, et Norvegiæ, ad alterum ipsorum confugiat, ipsum in regne sue vel dominio, ad gravamen ejus, a quo effugerit, non receptet, nisi forte ad tempus, ut gratiam sibi impetret, si gratiam meruerit, et si gratiam Domini sui offensi habere non poterit, ipsum statim post annum non differat a se et sue dominio remove. Exceptis illis qui Grimen læsæ Majestatis commiserint, quos nullo modo hinc inde receptent. Insuper de contingat homines Regni Norvegiæ, quod absit, in regno vel domiuiio Regis Scotiæ pati naufragium, vel ã converse, liceat eie libere et quietè naves suas fractas vel collisas, una cum rebus suis omnimodis, per se, vel per alios recolligere et habere, vendere, et allenare, obsque onni calumnia, quamdiu ear non babuerint pro derelicto. Et si quis contra hoc commune statutum concordia de rebus vel navibus hujusmodi periclitatis, quidquam fraudulenter vel violenter surripuerit, et super hoc convictus fuerit, tanquam raptor et pacis violator,

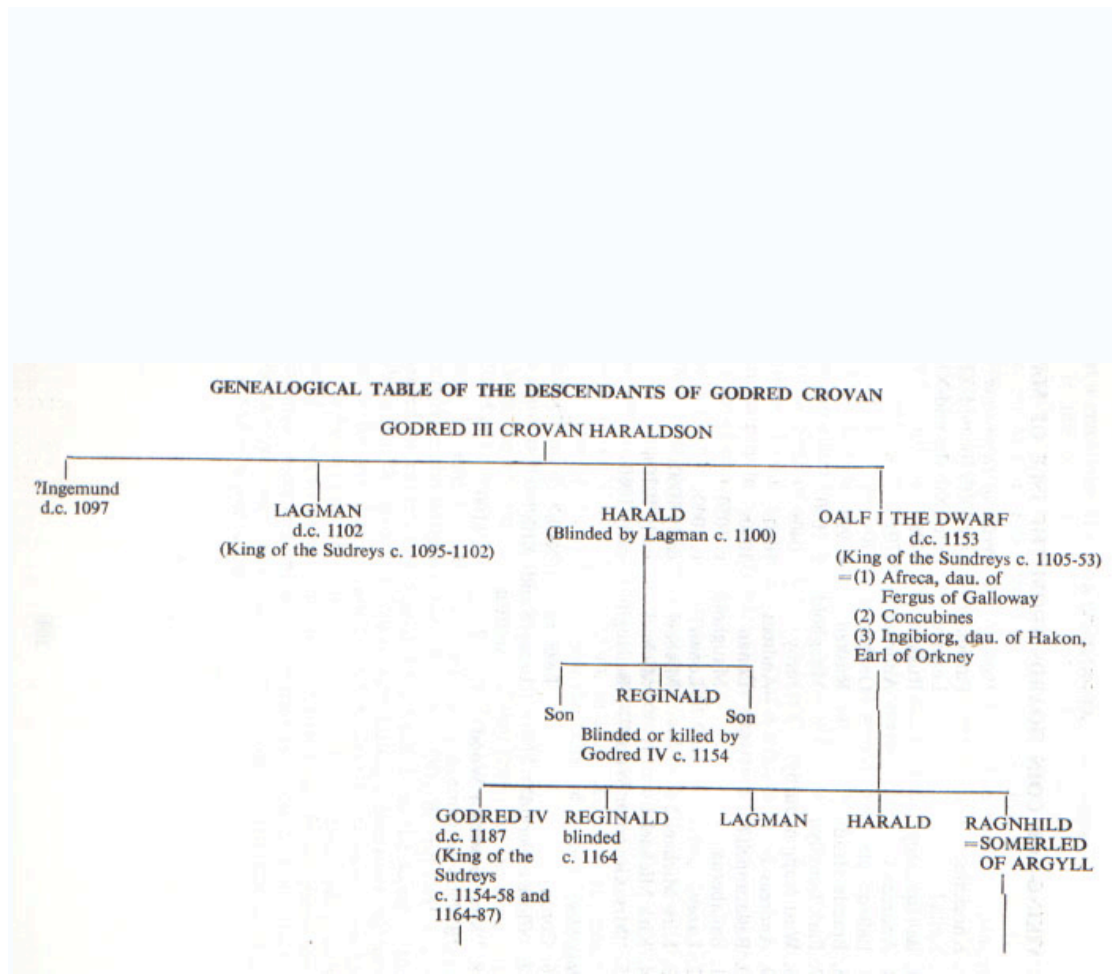
thence and detained, be restored to complete liberty. And if any enemy of these kings, namely, of Scotland and Norway, should take refuge with the other in his kingdom or dominion to his grievance, he is not to receive him, unless by chance for a time, or till he shall have obtained forgiveness if he merit it, and should he not obtain pardon of his Lord for his offence he is not to fail at the end of a year to remove him from his dominions. Moreover if any of the people belonging to the King of Norway that may be absent in the kingdom or dominion of the King of Scotland should suffer shipwreck or founder, they shall be permitted freely and quietly to collect, sell, and dispose of their broken or injured vessels, together with any other of their things, either for themselves or for others, free from all blame, so long as they shall not have abandoned them. And should any act contrary to the resolutions of this state agreement concerning vessels or things in this manner imperilled, and should steal anything by fraud or violence, he shall be convicted respecting this as a robber and violator of the peace, according to his demerits, and punished accordingly, anything to the contrary being of no avail. But if any person has been found and convicted of disturbing the peace and final agreement made between the aforesaid kings and kingdoms and their inhabitants, and held and confirmed by the king in whose dominion he has been found, such shall be severely punished as an example and warning to others. And in testimony of these things, that part of this writing remaining in the possession of the said Lord the illustrious King of Norway shall be executed in manuscript, and having opposite the seal of the said lord the King of Scotland, together with the seals of the venerable Fathers Gamaliel of St. Andrews and John of Glasgow, by the grace of God Bishops, and the noble Lords Alexander Cumin of Buchan,

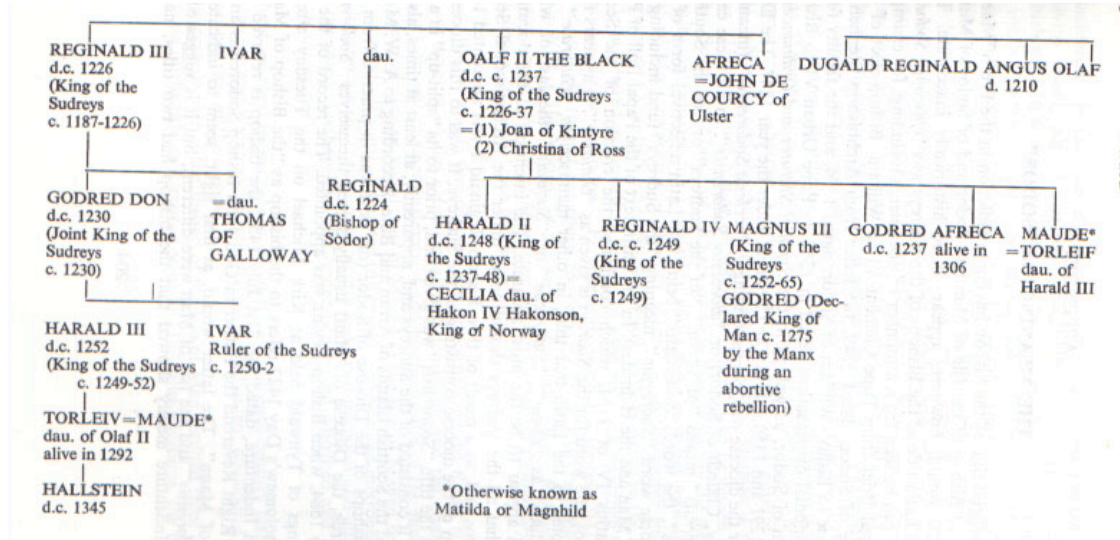
grout demeruerit, puniatur, consuetudine, si qua- sit contraria, non obstante. Si quis autem repertus fait et convictus perturbatur pacis istius et finalis concordie, inter predictos Reges et Regna et eorum regnicolas, habitae et confirmatae, per Regem, in cuius dotinio repertus fait, qui talia praesumpserit, sic acriter puniatur ut poena illius metus fiat aliorum. Et in hujus rei testimonium parti hujus scripti in modum chyrographi confetti remanenti penes dictum Dominum Regem Norvegiae illustrem, sigillum dicti Domini Regis Scotia-, una cum sigillis venerabilium Patrum Gamelini Sancti Andreae, et Johannis Glasguensis Dei gratia Episcoporum, et nobilium virorum Alexandri Cymyn de Buchan; Patritii de Dumberre, Wilhelmi de Marre, Ada de Karnke, Comitum, et Roberti de Meyners, Baronis est oppositum. Et alteri parti ejusdem scripti in modum chyrographi confetti, penes dictum Dominum Regem Scotiae remanenti, sigillum excellentis dioti Domini Regis Norvegiae una cum sigillis venerabilium Patrum Petri Bergensi, Thorgilsi Stavangrensis Dei gratia Episcoporum, et nobilium virorum, Gauti de Mele, Buccoliui filii Johannis, Finii filii Gouti, Andreae filii Nicolai, et Asketini Cancellarii dicti Domini Regis Norvegiae est appensum ¹

1 A.D. 1312.-Tractatus de Hæbudarum et Manniæ cessione Perthi inter Magnum Norvegiae et Alexandrum Scotiae Reges anno 1266, celebrata, resumpta est hoc ipso anno, ab Hacone, ejus nominis quinto (quarto habet Pontanus) Norvegiae rege, et confirmata Invernessæ in Scotia praesente rege Roberto, ejusquæ senatu, nec non Haconis regis legatis, Biorno a Birchero et Ivare Olafi Bergensium et Orcadensium Canonicis. Qui pactis conventis nou staret, in ecclesiae Apostolicæ censuræ atque excommunicatione obnoxiosus, haberetur, ac rimul mulctam incurreret decem millium librarum sterlingorum. Subscripserunt huic chirographo, una cum Rege Scotorum, suaque sigilla impresserunt, Gamelinus Divi

Patrick of Dunbar, William of Marr, Ady of Carrick, Earls, and Robert do Meyners, Baron. And to the other part of the said writing executed in manuscript and remaining in the possession of the said lord the King of Scotland, the seal of His Excellency the said Lord the King of Norway, together with the seals of the venerable Fathers foter of Bergen and Thorgilson Stavangrensis by the grace of God, Bishops, and the noble men Gautus do Mole, Buccolinus son of John, Finus son of Gautus, Andreas son of Nicolas, and Asketinus, Chancellor of the said lord the King of Norway is appended.

Andrea-, Johannes Glasguensis Episcopi, Alexander Curius a Ruchon, Præpositus Dombariensis, Gulielmus a Mahr, Adamus a Carrick Comites, itemque Robertus a Menis Baro.





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