OE *dūfe 'a dove', recorded only in the rare compound dūfe-doppe 'sea-bird, gull' or 'pelican'.[48] Further possibilities include OE *sc(e)ote, the second element of the compound cūscote 'wood-pigeon', and OE *wōr (as in wōr-hana and wōr-henn 'wood-grouse'), both of which have been suggested for some place-names.[49] OE *(h)lǣpe may well constitute a further example.

Many Old English personal names were based on bird- or animal-names, and an OE *(h)lēape or *(h)lǣpe 'lapwing' would represent an acceptable origin for the personal name postulated by early scholars as the first element of some place-names in Lap-. Such a personal name would of course be indistinguishable from the bird-name itself, which would also be fully plausible in combination with topographical elements such as OE cumb, flōd, ford, hol, land, and lēah. A personal name may be more likely in combination with OE worð 'enclosure' in Lapworth (Warks), although even here a bird-name cannot entirely be ruled out.[50] I suggest that since early forms of Lapford (Devon) and Lapworth (Warks) suggest initial h-, both place-names should be taken to derive either from OE *(h)lēape or *(h)lǣpe 'lapwing' or from a personal name based thereon. Furthermore, since the supposed occurrence of OE læppa in Lapal (Worcs), Lapland (Devon) and Laployd (Devon) remains unexplained, I suggest that the same etymology is probable there. A derivation from OE læppa 'lap', used of a lap of ground or of land on the edge of a parish, may still be preferred for Lapscombe (Surrey) and Lapley (Staffs), but should be treated with more caution than has been shown by Smith and later scholars.

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[48] A. C. Amos and A. diP. Healey, *Dictionary of Old English* (Toronto, 1986–), fascicle D, s.v. dūfe-doppe. Smith, *English Place-Name Elements*, I, 137, s.v. dūfe, describes OE dūfe as 'infrequent', but the non-occurrence of the word in the literary record is established by Amos and Healey.

[49] Smith, *English Place-Name Elements*, II, 108, s.v. sc(e)ote; II, 272, s.v. wōr.

[50] Smith, *English Place-Name Elements*, II, 273–75, s.v. worð, describes animal-names as 'rare but possible' in combination with OE worð (II, 275). An instance pointed out to me by Barrie Cox is the lost field-name Shep-worth in Rutland: B. Cox, *The Place-Names of Rutland*, EPNS 67–69 (Nottingham, 1994), p. 288.

Execution and Irish Place-Names

Breandán S. Mac Aodha
Department of Geography, University College, Galway

The early Irish legal system was almost unique, in that it envisaged that almost any crime could be atoned for by payment of a fine.[1] The scale of the fine was dependent on the nature of the crime, but even murder could be absolved in this fashion. 'At this day . . . no one is put to death [by judicial sentence] for his intentional crimes, as long as eric-fine is obtained; and whenever eric-fine is not obtained, he is put to death for his intentional crimes.'[2] Apparently, there was a great reluctance to take life in cold blood, though warfare was commonplace. There were no public prisons: instead the wrong-doer would be confined by the individual whom he had wronged, or by his kinfolk. If a murderer was unable to pay the appropriate fine, it was left to the relatives of the victim to decide whether he should be killed or sold as a slave. Strangely, Irish church law placed more emphasis on the death penalty than did the secular system, but the former permitted execution only by hanging, whereas the latter also allowed death in the gola or pit (presumably from starvation) and guin or slaying (presumably by sword, spear or axe). However, it is clear that capital

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[1] Parallels did exist among the Anglo-Saxons, the ancient Greeks, the Franks and the Germans. See P. W. Joyce, *A Social History of Ancient Ireland*, 2nd edn, 2 vols (Dublin, 1913), I, 210.

[2] *Ancient Laws of Ireland*, edited by W. N. Hancock and others, 6 vols (Dublin, 1865–1901), I, 15; 'inniu . . . cen duine do marbad ina cintaib comraiti an cein fogaba eiric, ⁊ cach uair na fuigbe eric, a marbad ina cintaib comraiti', *Corpus Iuris Hibernici*, edited by D. A. Binchy, 6 vols (Dublin, 1978), II, 341.28-30. The quotation is from the pseudo-historical prologue to the *Senchas Már*. This prologue is dated c.1100 by Binchy, 'The pseudo-historical prologue to the *Senchas Már*', *Studia Celtica*, 10/11 (1975–76), 15–28; and a verbal form in the passage 'can scarcely antedate the eleventh century': J. Carey, 'An edition of the pseudo-historical prologue to the *Senchas Már*', *Ériu*, 45 (1994), 1–32 (p. 29). By 'At this day' the commentator was drawing a contrast between his own time (the eleventh century?) and an earlier period, before the coming of St Patrick, when the death penalty had been more extensively used.

punishment was only inflicted as a last resort and for very serious offences. Thus the Annals of Ulster record the hanging of six men in the year 745 because they violated the sanctuary of the monastery of Downpatrick: clearly, such an event was so unusual as to merit recording. Nearly always, alternative punishments in the form of a fine or enslavement were substituted for the death penalty.[3]

The coming of the Anglo-Normans in 1169 changed all that. Strenuous efforts were made to extirpate the Irish legal system and to replace it with the Norman code under which capital punishment was commonplace. Nor was recourse always made to courts, as is clear from the entry for A.D. 1228 in the Annals of Inisfallen: 'Aed, son of Cathal Crobderg was slain in Geoffrey Marisco's house at Buaile Mór in Laigin [Leinster], without the latter's consent, for he straightaway hanged the slayer with wisps (*uair ro crochadh leis la sopaib*)'.[4] The wisps, of course, signify a straw rope.

Apart from its use in criminal cases, capital punishment was widely employed by the Normans and their successors to achieve political ends. For example, Piers de Bermingham, baron of Tethmoy, on Christmas 1295, invited the chief men of his neighbours, the O'Connors, lords of Offaly, to a banquet at his castle at Carrick near Edenderry. After they had feasted well, he had Calrach O'Connor, the chief, his two brothers, and twenty-nine of his leading men massacred. For this callous deed, the English government in Dublin rewarded him with one hundred pounds, and a contemporary ballad praised him as 'a hunter out of the Irish'.[5] In March 1535 Sir William Skeffington captured Maynooth after a week's siege in which two-thirds of its garrison of a hundred were killed. The survivors surrendered, but were immediately put to execution 'as an example to others'.[6] This 'pardon of Maynooth' provided a frightful precedent for the Tudor wars which followed.

James Fitzgerald, one of the leaders of the Desmond Rebellion, was captured and hanged in Cork in 1580.[7] Such punishment for having dared to resist English authority might have been understandable in

[3]   This synopsis of the Irish system is based loosely on F. Kelly, *A Guide to Early Irish Law* (Dublin, 1988), chapter 9.

[4]   *The Annals of Inisfallen*, edited by S. Mac Airt (Dublin, 1951), p. 347.

[5]   E. Curtis, *A History of Ireland*, 6th edn (London, 1950), p. 94.

[6]   Curtis, *History of Ireland*, p. 163.

[7]   M. D. O'Sullivan, *Old Galway* (Cambridge, 1942), p. 105.

the context of the sixteenth century, but what followed was barbaric. A small force of eight hundred Spaniards and Italians occupied Dún an Oir fortress near Smerwick in Co. Kerry in October, 1580. They were besieged by the English Lord Deputy, Lord Grey de Wilton, and by Sir Walter Raleigh. Since the garrison's position was untenable, it surrendered. The entire force was most cruelly massacred.[8]

Many of the unfortunate survivors of the Spanish Armada met a similar fate. One of the Spanish ships was driven into Galway Bay, where, by order of the Lord Deputy, Sir William Fitzwilliam, three hundred of the crew who had escaped drowning were executed at St Augustine's monastery on the hill outside the town (of Galway), now Fort Hill.[9]

Nor was such punishment directed solely at foreigners. Sir Philip Sydney, when re-appointed Lord Deputy by Elizabeth in 1575, spent three weeks in Galway, during which time 'dyvers notorious malefactors' were brought in and executed. Sydney appointed the cruel Sir Edward Fitton as President of Connaught. His wanton severities goaded the hitherto peaceful countryside into rebellion, which was led by William, the youngest son of the Earl of Clanrickard, and by a son of the Earl of Thomond. Both were captured near Galway, and, after a summary trial, were condemned to die. 'The sentence was carried into execution outside the east gate, before their pardon, which was solicited and obtained by the mayor, could arrive.'[10]

The infliction of the death penalty became more widespread still in the course of the seventeenth century, when the spread of the Reformed religion in England caused the Irish to be regarded as doubly treacherous. On 1st February, 1612, Bishop Cornelius O Devaney, then over eighty years of age, and Fr Lorcan O Toole, both of whom had been some months in custody, were hanged, drawn and quartered in Dublin.[11] During the next two centuries many Catholic clergy were to pay for their faith with their lives. Perhaps the most famous of them was Archbishop Oliver Plunkett, who was tried and executed in England in 1678. The defeat of King James at the Battle of the Boyne,

[8]   O'Sullivan, *Old Galway*, p. 105.

[9]   O'Sullivan, *Old Galway*, p. 124.

[10] J. Hardiman, *The History of the Town and County of Galway from the Earliest Period to the Present Time* (Dublin, 1820), p. 92.

[11] O'Sullivan, *Old Galway*, pp. 186–87.

the catastrophe at Aughrim and the Capitulation at Limerick brought about the final defeat of the Catholic cause in seventeenth-century Ireland. The new 'Irish' parliament, consisting entirely of English Protestant settlers, introduced a most vicious code of laws (the so-called Penal Laws) aimed at eradicating the Catholic religion: these remained in force for the next century or so. Gradually they fell into disuse, though they were not repealed until 1829. The full virulence of these laws was directed against the Catholic clergy. In 1703 an act was passed to banish bishops and members of the religious orders. Unregistered priests were liable to the penalties for treason. By another act of 1710 £50 reward was promised to anyone securing a 'popish bishop'.[12] Many priests were hunted down and summarily executed.

The Plantation of Ulster, the Cromwellian settlement, and the outcome of the Treaty of Limerick (1691) resulted in the emergence of a new landlord class which effectively ruled the Irish countryside in an unbridled fashion. They were execrated by the poets of the dispossessed Irish. A rough translation of the first verse of one bitter satire by Seán Clárach Mac Dónaill of north Cork on the death of a local landlord runs as follows:

Treasure safely, o stones, in a container of clay
this bloody deceiver and monster, grey-haired Dawson
his exploits weren't heard of in war or in battle on the day of strife,
but rather in plundering and hanging and always mangling the poor.

One of the most plaintive ballads in Irish is entitled 'Priosún Chluain Meala' ('The Prison of Clonmel'). It is reputedly the last lament of a young Kerryman called Ó Dónaill, who was sentenced to death, along with two companions, for some agrarian outrage:

They will have our three heads
on three spikes for a show
under the snow of the night
and whatever weather may follow.

Yet another ballad in Irish, this time from Co. Mayo, relates the sad tale of Donncha Bán ('fair-haired Donncha'), who was unjustly hanged for allegedly stealing a horse:

It was here in this town that you saw the astonishment

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[12] Curtis, *History of Ireland*, p. 185.

on Donncha Bán's face as he was condemned:
a little white cap he wore in place of his hat
and a hempen rope in place of his cravat.

The eighteenth-century Irish, reduced to utter poverty and living in great misery, retaliated by organizing agrarian disturbances in protest against the rack-rents, tithes, forced labour, and all the other grievances. Such disturbances were ruthlessly suppressed: questions of guilt or innocence were largely irrelevant. Even to express sympathy with the peasantry in their plight was a very dangerous course. Father Nicholas Sheehy, who had the misfortune to do so, was convicted on a false charge of murder and was hanged, drawn and quartered in 1766 in that same town of Clonmel.[13] His was only one case out of many.

Rebellions, too, brought harsh and often arbitrary punishment. The Insurrection Act of 1796 imposed the death penalty even for the administration of an unlawful oath. William Orr, one of the most popular of the Presbyterian leaders in the north of Ireland, was hanged in 1797 for administering the United Irish oath.[14] When the United Irishmen did eventually rebel in 1798, the rising was suppressed with great ferocity. Many of the leaders (for example, the Belfast linen-merchant Henry Joy McCracken) were hung, as were dozens of the rank and file. In Co. Wexford, the same fate awaited the defeated rebel leaders, some of whom were priests. The Reverend John Murphy, one of the ablest leaders and the man whose memory is celebrated in the famous ballad 'Boolyvogue', was hanged at Tullow in Co. Carlow. The Reverend Philip Roche was hanged at Bantry. The Reverend John Redmond was hanged near Gorey.[15]

When one remembers that all the politically-motivated capital punishment took place in addition to hundreds of executions over the centuries for ordinary crimes (often quite minor offences such as stealing) it is easy to understand why the sites of execution occupied such a prominent position in Irish consciousness. As Curtis remarked in regard to the introduction of English law, 'Some of its penalties

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[13] M. Wall, 'The age of the Penal Laws (1691–1778)', in *The Course of Irish History*, edited by T. W. Moody and F. X. Martin (Cork, 1967), chapter 14 (pp. 217–31), p. 228.
[14] Curtis, *History of Ireland*, p. 337.
[15] K. Whelan, 'The Catholic priest in the 1798 rebellion', in *Wexford: History and Society*, edited by K. Whelan (Dublin, 1987), chapter 11, p. 315.

were dreadful to the native race, whose [own] law rarely applied death or mutilation as punishments. Royal permission to a feudal lord "to erect a gallows and to have assizes with judgement of thieves and all other liberties and free customs belonging thereto, and also free warren in all his demesne lands" would strike the resident native population with horror'.[16] What was true in the fourteenth century retained its validity until the early twentieth: the shift of authority from the landlord to the state made little difference.

Inevitably, then, places of execution found their way into the toponymy, but because the human mind shies away from the horrific, the vast majority of the sites have passed into oblivion. Nevertheless, a substantial number have survived, either in documentation (including maps) or in folk memory. A preliminary survey of these follows. Similar names exist elsewhere, of course, and a useful collection of comparable names in Wales has been made by Melville Richards.[17]

Firstly, and most importantly, a number of townland names preserve such associations.[18] Some of these are in the English language, but the majority are in Irish: a handful are preserved in bilingual versions. The English-language names are as follows:

Gallowsfield (Kerry 29),[19] Gallowshill (Clare 52), Gallowshill (Kildare 35), Gallowshill (Kilkenny 20), Gallowshill (Dungarvan parish; Waterford 31), Gallowshill (Kilrush parish; Waterford 31) and Gibbethill (Waterford 9).

The bilingual townland names so far uncovered are:

Gallowstown or Ballynacroghy (Westmeath 11)[20] and Gallowstown or Lisnacroghy (Roscommon 39).[21]

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[16] Curtis, *History of Ireland*, p. 78.
[17] G. M. Richards, 'The sites of some medieval gallows', *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 113 (1964), 159–65, and 'The gallows at Montgomery', *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 114 (1965), 181.
[18] The townlands are the basic territorial units of the Irish countryside. See W. Reeves, 'On the townland distribution of Ireland', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, 7 (1857–61), 473–90.
[19] The figure in each case refers to the relevant sheet of the O.S. 6"/1 mile county series maps.
[20] 'The town(land) of the hanging', or 'the townland of the gallows': the Irish version makes no distinction.
[21] Literally 'the *liss* of the hanging' or 'the *liss* of the gallows'. A *liss* or *ráth* is

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The relevant Irish-language townland names discovered to date are:

Knockcroghery (Roscommon 42), Knockacroghera (Cork 60/71), Knockacroghery (Mayo 78),[22] Mullaghcroghery (Monaghan 9), Mullaghcroghery (Monaghan 30),[23] Adrnagroghery (Cork 149),[24] Glenacroghery (Cork 55),[25] Ardnacrohy (Limerick 36),[26] Knocknacrohy (Waterford 8), Knocknacrohy (Limerick 24), Knocknacrohy (Kerry 17), Knocknacreha (Waterford 2/3/7),[27] Ranacrohy (Tipperary 59), Raheenacrehy (Meath 30),[28] Cappanacreha (Galway 13),[29] Shallon (Finglas parish; Dublin 11), Shallon (Kilsallaghan parish; Dublin 11), Shallon (Meath 27), Shallany (Fermanagh 10),[30] Drumshallon (Louth 21) and Drumshallan (Armagh 13/17).[31]

Joyce would add to these various toponyms incorporating the word *ceann* 'head', as implying execution by decapitation;[32] but it is more probable that that such names were associated with battlefields. He also implies that there was a third Mullaghcroghery in Monaghan,[33] but it does not appear in the Census list. There are probably other townland names, not identified as yet, associated with executions.

Because townlands were territorial units with legal and ownership implications, their names tend to survive. Other types of toponym tend to be less persistent unless they enter documentation in some

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the Irish language equivalent of 'ring-fort'. Ring-forts were the farmsteads of the early Christian period: some were still occupied until the Middle Ages.
[22] All from *Cnoc an Chrochaire*, 'the hill of the hangman'. The small Roscommon village of Knockcroghery derived its name from the same source.
[23] Both from *Mullach an Chrochaire*, 'the summit of the hangman'.
[24] From *Ard na gCrochairí*, 'the height (rise) of the hangmen'.
[25] From *Gleann an Chrochaire*, 'the valley of the hangman'.
[26] From *Ard na Croiche*, 'the height (rise) of the gallows'.
[27] All from *Cnoc na Croiche*, 'the hill of the gallows'.
[28] From *Ráth* (and *Ráithín*) *na Croiche*, 'the (little) *ráth* (ring-fort) of the gallows'.
[29] From *Ceapach na Croiche*, 'the plot (of land) of the gallows'.
[30] All from *sealán*, 'a noose', and its plural *sealanaí*.
[31] Both from *Drom na Sealán*, 'the ridge of the nooses'. All these names were abstracted from the *Alphabetical Index to the Townlands and Towns, Parishes and Baronies of Ireland* (Dublin, 1861).
[32] P. W. Joyce, *The Origin and History of Irish Names of Places*, 4th edn, 2 vols (Dublin, 1875), I, 221.
[33] Joyce, *Irish Names of Places*, I, 220.

way; for example, by being included on a map. Examples of such survivals include Hangman's Hill near Glencar in Co. Sligo,[34] Hangman's Point near the entrance to Kinsale Harbour in Co. Cork,[35] Knockaunnacrohy (*Cnocán na Croiche* 'the hillock of the hanging') in Dunisky townland in that same county,[36] Lisheenacrocary (*Lisín a' Chrochaire* 'the little *ráth* of the hangman') in Gortdromerillagh townland in Co. Kerry,[37] Gallows Hill on Whiddy Island in Co. Cork,[38] Gallows Hill near Tullyvin in Co. Cavan,[39] Gallows Hill beside the ruins of Castle Grace in Co. Carlow,[40] Gallows Hill above Lough Guile in Co. Antrim,[41] Gallows Hill beside Dunluce Castle on the north Antrim coast,[42] Gallows Hill south of Stradbally in Co. Laois,[43] Hanging Fort in Brackagh townland in Co. Tyrone,[44] Gallows Fort east of Ballinrobe in the townland of Knocknacroagha (*Cnoc na Croiche*, 'the mill of the hanging') in Co. Mayo,[45] Gibbet Hill near Bunclody, Co. Wexford,[46] Gibbet Hill near Nenagh, Co. Tipperary,[47] and Gallows Glen near Naas, Co. Kildare.[48] Gibbet Rath beside the Curragh Camp in Co. Kildare marks the site of the massacre, in 1798, of three hundred and fifty United Irishmen after they had laid down their arms.[49]

Many of these sites were located in very prominent elevated positions in order that the lesson to be learned from the executions (the bodies were frequently left to rot in chains on a gibbet) would not be lost on the native population. As Benedict Kiely noted, the writer

[34] O.S. 6"/1 mile, Co. Sligo, Sheet 7.
[35] O.S. 6"/1 mile, Co. Cork, Sheet 125, Preghane townland.
[36] O.S. 6"/1 mile, Co. Cork, Sheet 83.
[37] O.S. 6"/1 mile, Co. Kerry, Sheet 48.
[38] O.S. 6"/1 mile, Co. Cork, Sheet 118, Trawnahaha townland.
[39] O.S. 6"/1 mile, Co. Cavan, Sheet 17, Tullyvin townland.
[40] O.S. 6"/1 mile, Co. Carlow, Sheet 13, Castlegrace townland.
[41] O.S. 6"/1 mile, Co. Antrim, Sheet 18, Castlequarter townland.
[42] O.S. 6"/1 mile, Co. Antrim, Sheet 2, Dunluce townland.
[43] O.S. 6"/1 mile, Co. Laois, Sheet 16.
[44] O.S. 6"/1 mile, Co. Tyrone, Sheet 52.
[45] O.S. 6"/1 mile, Co. Mayo, Sheet 118.
[46] O.S. 6"/1 mile, Co. Wexford, Sheet 19.
[47] O.S. 6"/1 mile, Co. Tipperary, Sheet 18.
[48] O.S. 6"/1 mile, Co. Kildare, Sheet 16.
[49] M. Killanin, and M. Duignan, *The Shell Guide to Ireland* (London, 1967), p. 320.

William Carleton, in 1818, walked suddenly 'into a terrible townland of death, where decaying bodies swung on roadside gallows, poisoning the wind and the sun and the pure air, making the whole earth not only a wicked place, but the abode of hideous and unintelligible evil'.[50] According to Kiely, there were twenty-four bodies hanging from gallows in that district that autumn,[51] though only twenty-one are named in the note which follows Wildgoose Lodge, the heart-rending tale, based on reality, which Carleton was inspired to write by this horrendous encounter.[52] Such was the vicious retribution exacted in the name of the law for a single, admittedly frightful, crime, the burning of a household in the pursuit of an agrarian outrage: a crime incidentally which would probably never have occurred but for the outrageous social and economic conditions upheld by that same law.

The urban areas, too, benefited from the same civilising force. Dublin had its Gallows Row, recorded in 1756 as being located between Lower Baggot Street and Lower Mount Street.[53] Gallows Road was another name for Baggot Street Lower in that city.[54] It was so called because it led to Gallows Green, which was located near Mespil Road. In 1562 a Gallows hill was recorded near Mespil Road;[55] this also bore the title Gibbet Meadow.[56] There was also a Hangman-lane off Church Street, recorded as far back as 1454 (it has now been corrupted to Hammond Lane), while the road from Dolphins Barn to Harold's Cross is similarly named on Rocques's *Environs of Dublin*, 1773.[57]

Most towns and large villages in Ireland benefited from similar amenities. A few examples must suffice. Armagh had its Gallows Street and Gallows Hill. Cavan had its Gallows Hill.[58] So, too, had Swords

[50] B. Kiely, *Poor Scholar. A Study of William Carleton*, 2nd edn (Dublin, 1972), p. 38.
[51] Kiely, *Poor Scholar*, p. 39.
[52] W. Carleton, *Traits and Stories of the Irish Peasantry* (Dublin, 1830); also in *Wildgoose Lodge and Other Stories*, edited by M. Harmon (Cork and Dublin, 1973), p. 20.
[53] C. and J. Bardon, *If You Ever Go to Dublin Town* (Belfast, 1988), p. 69.
[54] C. T. McCready, *Dublin Street Names Dated and Explained* (Dublin, 1892), p. 39.
[55] McCready, *Dublin Street Names*, p. 39.
[56] McCready, *Dublin Street Names*, p. 43.
[57] McCready, *Dublin Street Names*, p. 48.
[58] *Harvest Home: The Last Sheaf* (a selection from the writings of

and Newtownards.[59] Hanging Brae, a small hill between Crossgar and Killinchy, is a reminder of the bloody sequel to the 1798 Rebellion.[60] With the coming of more civilised times, the public gallows and gibbets fell into disuse, and the people tried to forget the horrors of the past. Nevertheless, impressions of such gory sights were very enduring. Malachi Horan in 1943 remembered his father telling of the hanging of a poor unfortunate, one Patrick Lawlor, in 1798 or so, for stealing a half ounce of tobacco and three halfpence.[61] Even more terrifying was the sequel to that execution. In Malachi Horan's own words, 'There was an old man named Boylan who lived in Killenarden. He could not keep his mouth shut. He went about saying that they were hanging men for nothing. One of the magistrates heard this, and said that the dignity of the bench would have to be upheld; so they took Neddy Boylan, son of the old man, and hanged him, although they knew him innocent. They said as he was not content to live by English law that he had better die by it.'[62] Gradually, the place-names and street-names were altered, and with the passage of time, the connections of certain places with executions passed into oblivion, but deep down in folk memory, some of the more gory associations survive, while a wealth of material relating to this theme lies scattered through eight centuries of documents awaiting exhumation by some dedicated scholar.[63]

T. G. F. Paterson), edited by E. E. Evans (Dundalk, 1975), p. 49.

[59] O.S. 6"/1 mile, Co. Cavan, Sheet 20, Tullymongan Upper townland; O.S. 6"/1 mile, Co. Dublin, Sheet 11, Windmill Lands townland.

[60] O.S. 6"/1 mile, Co. Down, Sheet 6, Gregstown townland.

[61] G. A. Little, *Malachi Horan Remembers* (Dublin, 1943), p. 9.

[62] Little, *Malachi Horan Remembers*, p. 9; Killenarden, where Boylan lived, was the place where Lawlor was executed, now swallowed up in the suburbs of greater Dublin (Tallaght area).

[63] The author is indebted to Dr Oliver Padel for a number of valuable suggestions which have been incorporated into the text of this paper.

The Names of Merchants in Medieval Dublin

Peter McClure
University of Hull

A review of *The Dublin Guild Merchant Roll, c. 1190-1265*, edited by PHILOMENA CONNOLLY and GEOFFREY MARTIN, First Supplement to *The Calendar of Ancient Records of Dublin*. Dublin Corporation: Dublin, 1992, xxiv + 159 pp., 5 plates, £ (Irish or sterling) 19.95p. + £2 postage (from: Archives Division, City Hall, Dame Street, Dublin 2, Ireland).

For over a century this remarkable document has been generally known only through John T. Gilbert's edition of extracts, amounting to nine of the 43 surviving membranes, published in *Historical and Municipal Documents of Ireland 1172–1320* (Rolls Series, London, 1870). The complete roll is now available in a transcription by Philomena Connolly, accompanied by a fine introduction by Geoffrey Martin and by a number of appendices and indexes: a list of provosts 1221–1264; a transcription of the Roll of Free Citizens of the City of Dublin (ante 1234 to 1249); a table of the admissions to the guild 1222–1265 and to the freedom of the city 1234–1249; a physical analysis of the guild roll by John Gillis; an index to place-names by Emma Williams; and an index to occupations by Philomena Connolly.

A few of the merchants who are entered in the guild roll (noticeably among the early admissions) are identified by a single personal name only, but the great majority are given at least one distinguishing byname, which in some cases appears to be a family name. The antiquity of the earliest names is a matter of some importance but also of uncertainty. The roll has probably lost one or more of its initial membranes but whatever entries may be missing they are unlikely to have pre-dated 1171 when Henry II granted his newly acquired city to the men of Bristol. The question remains as to how much later than this the first extant entries are. The first time reference does not occur until m. 11 with the heading *Tempore Jurdani Clerici*. From other documentary evidence it appears that this clerk, together with other merchants named in the first twelve membranes,