

The Lost Notebook VI.D.2: a Preliminary Digital Genetic Edition

Robbert-Jan Henkes and Viviana-Mirela Braslasu

Introduction

The year 1925, or 1132 ab Normannis, the Viking era starting in 793, saw Joyce employing no less than nine full-size, seaworthy notebooks for his work in progress, called *Work in Progress*, to raid and plunder the international coasts for books and periodicals to fill his word hoard. Of this frightening flotilla – out of an overall formidable fleet of fifty-nine notebooks in sixteen years – of eight frantically filled shipholds of notes for his *opus magnissimus*, five have survived, whereas three were wrecked and must be presumed lost in the waves.

The extant authorial notebooks from 1925 were baptized VI.B.7, VI.B.9, VI.B.8, VI.B.19 and VI.B.13. The ones that went under go by the terrifying names of VI.D.3, VI.D.2 and VI.D.1. But not all contents of the unlucky pirate ships were lost: before the ships disappeared, the treasure, insofar as it wasn't already put to use for writing purposes, was diligently copied into the so-called C- (or scribal) notebooks by the amanuensis Mme France Raphael. The items that Joyce had taken from his voracious forays and had crossed out and already used in expanding his episodes, were not copied and must now be guessed at, whereas the items that Joyce – in the 1930s – asked Mme Raphael to copy, have survived, albeit in a highly idiosyncratic form, as she had many problems deciphering Joyce's handwriting. And no wonder, as he took his notes not on a stable surface (a desk for instance) but on the wild billows, while he was reading in a chair, or was being read to, with his notebook propped on a knee or an armrest, using a soft pencil and being half-blind to boot. Mme Raphael accidentally copied the notebook twice, in VI.C.3.178-242 and in VI.C.15.177-252, perhaps because Joyce handed it on two separate occasions to her.

Here are the notebooks from the year 1132 a.N., with the dates and the pages in the *James Joyce Archive* where they can be looked up (courtesy Luca Crispi):

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| VI.D.3: Missing Notebook (See VI.C.4, pp. [220]–[280] and VI.C.5, pp. [001]–[091]) | Early December 1924–February 1925 | (See <i>JJA</i> 41.279–294 and 41.299–321) |
| VI.B.7 | March–mid April 1925 | <i>JJA</i> 30.170–292 |
| VI.D.2: Missing Notebook (See VI.C.3, pp. [178]–[242] & VI.C.15, pp. [177]–[252]) | Mid April–May 1925 | (See <i>JJA</i> 41.194–211 & 42.409–427) |
| VI.D.1: Missing Notebook (See VI.C.2, pp. [123]–[197]) | May–June 1925 | (See <i>JJA</i> 41.107–126) |
| VI.B.9 | June–early July 1925 | <i>JJA</i> 31.001–078 |
| VI.B.8 | Late July–September 1925 | <i>JJA</i> 30.293–415 |
| VI.B.19 | June–early July and September–late November 1925 | <i>JJA</i> 33.207–323 |
| VI.A, handwriting "B" | Probably Fall 1925 | <i>JJA</i> 28.001–286 |
| VI.B.13 | December 1925–early March 1926 | <i>JJA</i> 32.001–119 |

The lost Notebook VI.D.1 was explored in the 2012 issue of the *Genetic Joyce Studies*, as ‘Inside D1’ by Mikio Fuse and Robbert-Jan Henkes. A wealth of new sources came to the surface, which was a boon and a bounty, but they served only to highlight the difficulty of finding out what exactly Joyce took from these newfound sources, as precisely those items were left out of the transcription. Conjectural reconstructions of the used notes are the most and best we can do, guesses in other words, and to make these guesses more educated, many data have to be assembled and collated, in fact the entire corpus of Joyce’s drafts and other notebooks, and the complete texts of all source materials to start with.

The article ‘Inside D1’ in 2012 didn’t come with a full genetic edition of the lost notebook items in the C-transcription. This we will do in one of the next issues of the *Genetic Joyce Studies*. Here we will present such a genetic edition for the lost notebook VI.D.2, that Joyce stacked with words and phrases on his vocabulary raids in the six weeks from mid April to the end of May 1925.

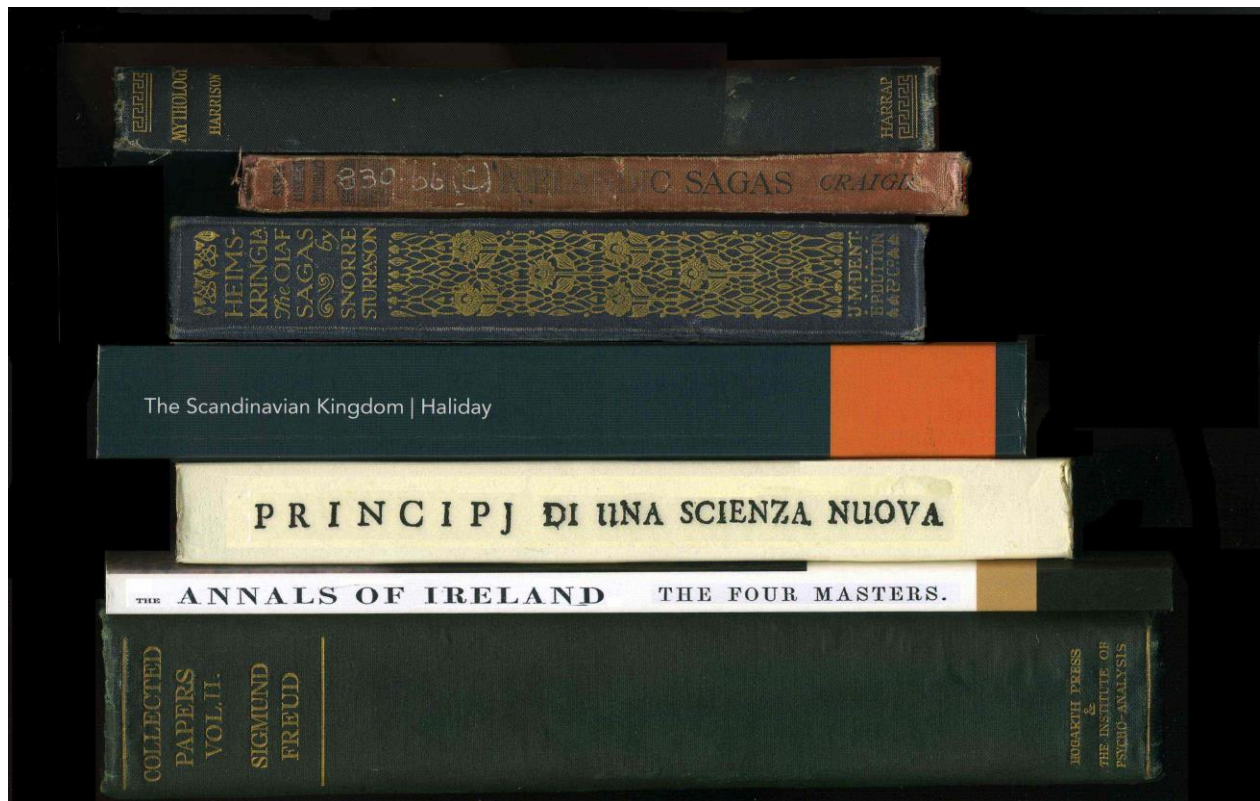
Please bear in mind that the following genetic representation is preliminary as well as paradoxical: in fact it offers no notes that were actually used in the year 1925: these notes were all crossed out and hence not copied in the scribal notebook by Mme Raphael. Only the salvaged 1930s notes remain, the ones that were useless – or at least remained unused – from the time they were entered until the time Joyce handed over his notebook for copying. The most interesting notes have been eaten and digested as it were.

In the genetic information of the survived and copied entries, we will sometimes hint towards possible reconstructions, but they will be very preliminary, sketchy and uncertain, as long as we have no complete database of draft levels and a complete record of all notebooks. We only mention them to highlight the problems of reconstructing lost items. The main attraction of this digital edition will lie in the uncovering of new source material and the locations of used items in the drafts and final text of *Finnegans Wake*. We also hope that bright, empathic, thorough and patient minds will pick up on the suggestions to further fill the gaps of the conjectural reconstructions by pinpointing items from the source books and periodicals and connecting them to entries in Joyce’s drafts.

But before presenting the genetic editon, we will first introduce the new sources.

Vico, Freud, but mainly Scandinavery

Notebook VI.D.2 was compiled by Joyce while he was expanding the starting episode about Humphrey Chimpden Earwicker for inclusion in Robert McAlmon’s anthology *Contact Collection of Contemporary Writers*, which appeared in June 1925. We find a list of key words Joyce copied from the first draft of that episode on VI.C.3.221(a), ‘rootles / lady pack / cocker spaniel / ethnarch / topee / surcingle / etheling / holograph’ – possibly for echoing purposes. A very similar thematic word list Joyce had already made in a previous, equally missing notebook, VI.D.3, apparently at the outset of the revision and expansion of the HCE episode, in the first months of 1925. But Joyce was also reading voraciously and making notes to feed the textual dragon that was to become *Finnegans Wake*. The VI.D.2 books that have been identified so far in its belly are:



Joyce's D.2 bookshelf (Collection Books at the Wake Robbert-Jan Henkes)

- a) Sigmund Freud, *Collected Papers* II, Hogarth Press, 1924, translation Joan Riviere. It has long been thought that Joyce never read any Freud, out of sheer distaste. The distaste may have been there, but his writer's duty compelled him to pick up the second volume of the *Collected Papers* in the Hogarth Press edition of 1924. The items at VI.C.3.178(d)-(i) come from Joan Riviere's (authorised) translation of Freud's 1908 article "Hysterical Phantasies and Their Relation to Bisexuality" (pp. 51-58); the notes at VI.C.3.178(l)-179(h) derive from the 1907 article "The Sexual Enlightenment of Children" (pp. 36-44); and those at VI.C.3.235-6 from the 1907 article "Obsessive Acts and Religious Practices" (pp. 25-35). But this wasn't the only Freud that Joyce read. In the next notebook, the equally lost VI.D.1, Joyce, amid a row of To-Day and To-morrow volumes (see [Inside D1](#)), studied Freud's 1909 paper "Analysis of a Phobia in a Five-Year-Old Boy" from the *Collected Papers*, Vol. III (1925), to which transcribed notes such as 'man appendice to penis' at VI.C.2.142(j) and 'diagram not plastic enough' at VI.C.2.143(f) can be traced back. The discovery of this source was announced at the Utrecht Joyce Symposium of 2014 and published in 2016 in *A Long the Krommerun, Selected Papers from the Utrecht James Joyce Symposium*, edited by Onno Kusters, Tim Conley and Peter Voogd, in the article "The Three Fates of the *Finnegans Wake* Notebook Research" (Robbert-Jan Henkes, pp. 164-172). More Freud, according to Daniel Ferrer, who also suspected his appearance in VI.D.1, is to be found in VI.B.19 and (found by Viviana Braslasu) VI.B.9. This last source was also discovered by Wim Van Mierlo and discussed in "The *freudful* couchmare revisited: contextualizing Joyce and the new psychology," in: *Joyce Studies Annual* 8, Summer 1997, pp. 115-55.

b) Charles Haliday, *The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin* (1884).

This was one of the books that Joyce kept returning to. He took notes in VI.B.7, VI.D.2, VI.B.9, VI.B.8 and very much later again in VI.B.29. A complete index of the Haliday notes (minus the ones from VI.B.29, as these can be found in the Brepols edition), with short introductions, was published in the *Genetic Joyce Studies* 16 as “The meanderthalltale of the *Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin* in Joyce’s notetaking”. The VI.D.2 index in that article is (to all intents and purposes) the same as the one which is published here, in its rightful chronological context, from VI.C.3.179 onwards.

c) Giambattista Vico, *Principi di una scienza nuova d'intorno alla comune natura delle nazioni*, an edition following the first *Scienza Nuova* of 1725. Joyce first picked up Vico’s groundplan for his world history in the making somewhere between late August and late September 1923, judging from the reading notes he made in notebook *Nativities* VI.B.2, and continued in the notebook preceding VI.D.2, VI.B.7, which he filled from March to mid-April 1925. (Source found by Viviana Mirela Braslasu.) The edition Joyce used, as explained in the [article](#) “2 more weeks in the life of James Joyce: as gleaned from his 1923 Notebook VI.B.2 *Nativities* (revised edition)” from the 2014 issue of the *Genetic Joyce Studies*, is definitely the 1725 edition of the *Scienza Nuova*, and not the reworked 1736 one, nor the completely different 1744 edition. The exact edition however that he was reading, still has not been found out. Was it a stand-alone volume? Part of an *Opere Scelte* or *Opere Complete*? The 19th century saw many editions of the 1725 *Scienza Nuova*, starting in 1817. There are editions from 1826, 1836, 1843, 1853, 1859 and one from 1903. Not all of them have been checked. For prospective investigators, to find out whether it was indeed the 1725 one, the word ‘Groellanda,’ Book II, Ch. LVIII, is a good starting point; for finding the exact edition that Joyce read, the page numbers which he jots down, apparently taken from the *Scienza Nuova*, will provide some support. The last *Scienza Nuova* note in VI.B.7 is on 222(f), ‘Deucalion / Ellen’, from Libro II, Capo XII (‘Deucalione, Elleno,’ p. 88 in *Opere Scelte*). Up to this page the 1836 *Opere Scelte* edition matches the edition Joyce used, but in VI.D.2, from ‘105 bonitario’ and further the text lags behind the *Opere Scelte*. Apart from the ‘bonitario p. 105’, Joyce also writes ‘comitia curiata p. 108’, whereas ‘bromides’ and ‘Capo 28’ should be in the vicinity of ‘p. 112’, ‘antichità deplorata’ near p. 141 and ‘uscirsi’ near p. 191. That is, with the proviso that Mme Raphael copied the numbers faithfully and correctly. If these words occur on or around these pages, chances are that it is the actual edition Joyce was reading.

Because the actual edition is still a bit of a mystery, we quote the passages from the *Scienza Nuova* from a facsimile of the very first 1725 edition, which differs from later 1725 ones mainly in the use of italics, with which the actual 1725 edition teems. The facsimile edition is called, in its full glory: Giambattista Vico, *Principj di una Scienza Nuova intorno alla natura delle nazioni*, Ristampa anastatica dell’edizione Napoli 1725, seguita da concordanze e indici di frequenza, Volume I, Ristampa anastatica a cura di T. Greogory, Edizioni dell’Ateneo & Bizzarri, Roma, 1979 (Number XVIII in the Lessico Intellettuale Europeo-series). As there are many different editions of the 1725 *Scienza Nuova*, the source passages and the translations are, for ease of reference, quoted with chapter and paragraph numbers instead of page numbers.

The Vico notes are scattered over the D.2 notebook, and start at VI.C.3.181(c). The English translations are taken integrally from Giambattista Vico, *The First New Science*, edited and translated by Leon Pompa, Cambridge University Press, 2002.

- d) Sir William Alexander Craigie, *The Icelandic Sagas*, Cambridge University Press, 1913.
This is a small but impressively erudite, surprisingly eloquent and comprehensive guide covering the entire history of the sagas from Iceland. The notes start at VI.C.3.200(c). From the same Cambridge Manuals of Science and Literature-series, Joyce read in these months other volumes as well, firstly W. Lewis Jones's *King Arthur in History and Legend*, in VI.D.1 (May-June 1925), A. Mawer's *The Vikings* in VI.B.7 (March–mid April 1925, see Viviana Braslasu and Robbert-Jan Henkes, “How the ‘offspring of vikings’ went ‘east-viking’: Joyce’s Notes on A. Mawer’s *The Vikings*” in *Genetic Joyce Studies* 16) and T. G. Bonney’s *The Work of Rain and Rivers* in VI.B.9 (June–early July 1925).
- e) *The Annals of Ireland*.
Or the *Annals of the Four Masters*, as any student of *Finnegans Wake* knows them, were actually read by Joyce, in the 1845 edition, ‘translated from the original Irish of The Four Masters by Owen Connellan’. The (unused) reading notes are to be found at VI.C.03.214(k)-216(m). The source was identified by Mikio Fuse.
- f) Snorri Sturluson, *Heimskringla: the Olaf Sagas*, tr. Samuel Laing, J.M. Dent & sons, 1915.
Of this Everyman edition Joyce apparently read only the introductory matter. The notes start at VI.C.3.217(a).
- g) Jane Ellen Harrison, *Mythology*, George C. Harrap & Co., London / Longmans, Green and Co., New York, 1924.
Finally, Joyce took up a slim but not inconsiderable book by the first woman English ‘career academic’ (as Wikipedia has it). *Mythology* deals with the religious rites and customs of ancient Greece, and Joyce seems to have read it attentively, making a cluster of notes from page VI.C.03.236(e)-238(c), and not stopping when his notebook was full (reaching page 88 of *Mythology*), but continuing in a fresh notebook, the equally lost VI.D.1 (See Inside D1).
- h) Furthermore we include some identified newspaper sources that were found by Vincent Deane (*The Leader* VI.C.3.188) and Mikio Fuse (*Irish Times* VI.C.3.224 and *Irish Independent* VI.C.3.230).

This edition

The incomplete nature of the notebook prompted us to follow the C-page-numbering. If we had presented the notes as a veritable D.2-notebook, it would be difficult in the future to wedge prospective reconstructed items in between the Raphael notes, whereas in this constellation, any number of reconstructed notes can be added. Moreover, a more realistic rendering of the lost notebook would ask in the first place for a reconstruction of Joyce’s handwriting, as Raphael’s transcription only rarely matches his actual scribbles. The notes that can be reconstructed with the aid of the source testify to that, as well as the many incomprehensible random series of letters in her transcription.

The reason that we took the earlier C.3 and not the later C.15 transcription as primary model for the genetic edition, was no other than that it was in front of us while working on D.2. The two transcriptions differ slightly, not only in their decipherment of Joyce’s handwriting, but also in

what Mme Raphael accidentally skips. For instance, VI.C.15 starts with the note “Felix kirch”, which was apparently overlooked in VI.C.3; and halfway *The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin* Raphael skips a page (or double page) of D.2 that she did transcribe in VI.C.15 (see VI.C.3.196k-197f). Whenever these oversights occur, we have noted them.

In the genetic information, ‘MS Jahnke’ refers to the manuscripts of the so-called Jahnke-bequest, that are kept in the Zürich Joyce Centre. Mikio Fuse supplied the manuscript locations in the Jahnke papers for this VI.D.2 publication.

Another transcription of the D.2 items of this C.3 notebook, in conjunction with the C.15 ones, can be consulted at <http://jjda.ie/main/JJDA/f/FF/fnbs/n15all.htm> in the so-called *James Joyce Digital Archive* of Danis Rose and John O’Hanlon.

Source identifications and acknowledgments

The Annals of Ireland, by Mikio Fuse; *The Leader*, by Vincent Deane; *The Irish Times* and *The Irish Independent*, by Mikio Fuse. Haliday by Robbert-Jan Henkes and Viviana Braslasu; all other sources (Craigie, Freud, Harrison, the *Heimskringla*, Vico) by Robbert-Jan Henkes. Harrison was discovered independently by Vincent Deane, who expanded the source locations and added notes and comments to this document – for which we are grateful.

Robbert-Jan Henkes and Viviana Mirela Braslasu

VI.C.3.178 / VI.D.2.[001]

(a) **bound to say**

Note: See the reproduction of the notebook page in the *JJA*. The very first VI.D.2 item in VI.C.15 is “**Π** Felix kirch” at VI.C.15.177(a), which apparently wasn’t transcribed by Raphael in VI.C.3 (see *JJA* 42:409).

VI.C.15.177(b) bound to say

(b) ^b**brownie’s tea**

MS 47486a-35, ScrPrEM: ^+brownie’s tea+^ | *JJA* 61:160 | 1933-1934 | III§1A.12 | /1B.3 | /1C.9 | /1D.12 | //2A.13 | /2B.11 | /2C.13 | //3A.10 | /4.7 | | [>] MS 47486a-88, ScrPrLMA: ^+with my tinny of brownie’s tea,+^ | *JJA* 61:037 | 1933-1936 | III§2A.13/2B.11/2C.13 | *FW* 449.13

VI.C.15.177(c) brawrice ’ tea

(c) **Lm = Π**

VI.C.15.177(d) Lin = Π

(d) **one hand / passes down to / M >**

VI.C.15.177(e) one hand / pressing dress W

(e) **other tear**

Collected Papers 2: 58 [“Hysterical Phantasies and Their Relation to Bisexuality”]: A quite analogous condition occurs when anyone in his conscious masturbatory phantasies pictures himself both as the man and as the woman in an imagined situation; further counterparts of this are found in certain hysterical attacks in which the patient acts at one and the same time both parts of the underlying sexual phantasy—for instance, in one case I observed, the patient **pressed her dress** to her body with **one hand** (as the woman) while trying to **tear** it off with the **other** (as the man).

VI.C.15.177(f) other tear M

(f) **furry / nid / coat**

Note: Possibly inspired by the previous story.

VI.C.15.177(g) furry / nice / coat

(g) ^b**traumaturgic**

Note: Not found in Freud, but Freud’s “trauma” (*passim*) may be the inspiration. ‘Traumaturgie’ is a possible telescoping of ‘trauma’ and ‘thaumaturgy’: the working of wonders; miracle-working; magic (*OED*).

MS 47486a-219, ScrPrEM: ^+traumaturgic+^ | *JJA* 61:294 | 1933-1934 | III§1A.12’ | /1B.3’ | /1C.9’ | /1D.12’ | //2A.13’ | /2B.11’ | /2C.13’ | //3A.10’ | /4.7’ | | [>] MS 47486b-461, PrPrEM: ^+from the traumaturgid+^ | *JJA* 61:453 | 1933-1936 | III§3A.10’+ | *FW* 496.24

VI.C.15.177(h) traumaturgic

(h) **This is news to me**

Collected Papers 2: 51 [“Hysterical Phantasies and Their Relation to Bisexuality”]: We are all familiar with the delusional phantasies of paranoiacs which portray the person’s greatness or his sufferings, and occur in stereotyped forms with almost monotonous regularity. We also come across numerous accounts of the strange conditions under which certain perverts carry out their sexual gratification—either in imagination or in reality. Nevertheless, **it may be new to some readers** to hear that quite analogous mental productions are regularly present in all the psychoneuroses, particularly in hysteria, and that these so-called hysterical phantasies have important connections with the causes of the neurotic symptoms.

VI.C.15.177(i) This is news to me

(i) **hastening his / steps and smiling.**

Collected Papers 2: 52 [“Hysterical Phantasies and Their Relation to Bisexuality”]: It is easy to recognize a daydreamer in the street, however, by his sudden absentminded **smile**, his way of talking to himself, or **the hastening of his steps** which marks the climax of the fancied situation.

VI.C.15.177(j) hastening his steps / & smiling

(j) **laugh at sacrifice**

VI.C.15.178(a) laugh at / sacrifice

(k) **Little Herbert >**

VI.C.15.178(b) Little Herbert

(l) **his weewee / mother >**

VI.C.15.178(c) ^shis weewee / mother

(m) **seductive / servants**

Collected Papers 2: 39-40 [“The Sexual Enlightenment of Children”]: **Little Herbert**, who has certainly not been exposed to any **seducing influence from servants**, has for some time shown the liveliest interest in that part of his body [39] which he calls **his weewee-maker**. When only three years old he asked his **mother**, ‘Mamma, have **you got a weewee-maker**, too?’ His mother answered, ‘Of course, what did you think?’ He also asked his father the same question repeatedly. At about the same age he was taken to a barn and saw a cow milked for the first time. ‘Look, milk is coming out of the weewee-maker!’ he called in surprise. **At the age of three and three-quarters** he was well on the way to establish correct categories by means of his own independent observation. He saw how water is run off from a locomotive and said, ‘See, the engine is making weewee, but where is its weewee-maker?’ Later on he added thoughtfully, ‘Dogs and horses have weewee-makers, but tables and chairs don’t have them’. Recently he was watching his little sister of one week old being bathed, and remarked, ‘Her weewee-maker is still tiny; it will get bigger when she grows’. (I have heard of this attitude towards the problem of sex difference in other boys of the same age.) I must expressly assert that Herbert is not a sensual child nor even morbidly disposed; in my opinion, since he has never been frightened or oppressed with a sense of guilt, he gives expression quite ingeniously to what he thinks.

VI.C.15.178(d) seductive / servant

(n) **Stork**

Collected Papers 2: 41 [“The Sexual Enlightenment of Children”]: The following letter may show [40] how torturing this very curiosity may become in older children; it was written by a motherless girl of eleven and a half who had been puzzling over the problem with her younger sister.

‘DEAR AUNT MALI—Please will you be so kind as to write and tell me how you got Chris or Paul. You must know because you are married. We were arguing about it yesterday, and we want to know the truth. We have nobody else to ask. When are you coming to Salzburg? You know, Aunt Mali, we simply can’t imagine how the **stork** brings babies. Trudel thought the stork brings them in a shirt. Then we want to know, too, how the **stork** gets them out of the pond, and why one never sees babies in ponds. And please will you tell me, too, how you know beforehand when you are going to have one. Please write and tell me *all* about it. Thousands of kisses from all of us.—Your inquiring niece, LILY’

VI.C.15.178(e) stork

VI.C.3.179 / VI.D.2.[002]

(a) **would be witty (its E)**

?*Collected Papers 2*: 40 [“The Sexual Enlightenment of Children”]. See 178(m).

VI.C.15.178(f) <would be> wouldbe witty (its L)

(b) **p. 104**

VI.C.15.178(g) p. 104.

(c) **⊥ puer talks of / Darnecine >**

VI.C.15.178(h) † puer silks of / Dornach

(d) **look on his foaming >**

VI.C.15.178(i)-179(a) to look on his / face

(e) **pinline >**

VI.C.15. 179(b) pinline

(f) **il est long >**

VI.C.15.179(c) il est long

(g) **You curse his / histories >**

Note: See the reproduction of the notebook page in the *JJA*. The additional entry ‘doormat’ at VI.C.15.179(f) was skipped in copying VI.C.3.

VI.C.15.179(d)-(f) <whach> whatch cause has / his sorrow / doormat

(h) **at age of 3 ¾.**

Collected Papers 2: 40 [“The Sexual Enlightenment of Children”]. See 178(m).

VI.C.15.179(g) at age of 3 ¾

(i) **bad you weewee**

Collected Papers 2: 40 [“The Sexual Enlightenment of Children”]. See 178(m).

VI.C.15.179(h) Can you = weever

(j) **Mr Comerstone**

VI.C.15.179(i) Mr. Comerstone

(k) **Kal = Gil / Thorkel**

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 130: And the Scandinavians not only used the name in this manner, but they also used it as a religious adjunct, in the same sense in which it is used among the Irish, as it appears, that many Scandinavians who dedicated themselves to Thor, and were “godar” in his Temples, took the name of the deity they served adding to it some epithet indicative of their connexion with him. Among others they added the words, **Kal or Gil**, that is to say “man” or “servant of,” as **Thorkel** or Thorgil the man or servant of Thor. We therefore venture to suggest, that not only is the term Gille, of Scandinavian origin, but that it was introduced into Ireland by the Scandinavian worshippers of Thor.⁴

VI.C.15.179(j)-(k) ^sKal = Gill^s / Thorkel

(k) **Kettle**

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 130n4: In Cleasby and Vigfusson’s Icelandic — English Dictionary, Thorgil is stated to be “the same as Thorketil (by contraction). “In poets of the 10th century the old uncontracted form was still used; but the contracted form occurs in verses of the beginning of the 11th century, although the old form occurs now and then. The frequent use of these names, combinations of **Ketil**, is no doubt derived from the holy cauldron at sacrifices as is indicated by such names as Vekell (holy **kettle**). Compare Kettleby in Yorkshire.” P. 337. 4to, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1874.

VI.C.15.179(l) Ketter

(l) **Connachste**

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 134-5: We also know that the termination of the names of three of the provinces [134] is Norse, the Norse word “ster” being added to the Irish name, as Mumha-ster or Munster, Ulad-ster or Ulster, and Leighin-ster or Leinster; and that **Connaught** had a similar termination, although it was not retained by the Anglo-Normans, the Scandinavian name being **Kunnakster**.

VI.C.15.179(m) Connachiste

(m) **1^m inte pare**

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 136n1: The Palls, however, and consequent pre-eminence were

accorded to four provinces only, an ordinary **pre-eminence *inter pares***, in recognition of her former greatness, being the only privilege granted to Meath.

Note: Conjectural reconstructions of B-items: “the Dyflinarskii” from Dyflin the Scandinavian name of the city (138); the Salmon Leap at Leixlip, the name “Laxlöb,” (or Salmon Leap) being purely Scandinavian) (138), Hofud (now Howth) (138) etc.

VI.C.15.180(a) 1^m into pare

(n) **Dublin and Glend = Danis ^+sees+^ = Danish >>**

Note: See the reproduction of the notebook page in the *JJA*. The deleted item was crossed out by Mme Raphael.

VI.C.15.180(b) Dublin & Glen / = sees = Danish

VI.C.3.180 / VI.D.2.[003]

(a) **180 [LM] / division / Church div >**

Note: See the reproduction of the notebook page in the *JJA*. The first item is Mme Raphael’s page numbering. Written in blue crayon.

VI.C.15.180(c) & division / - / Church div

(b) **Sultu Solem**

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 140-141: We find that the boundaries of the **united diocese** of Dublin and of Dublin and Glendalough, are the same as those here assigned to the Dyflinarskiri. Originally ecclesiastical jurisdiction was concurrent with that of the civil ruler. We have seen that the Scandinavian chief was both priest and king; in this case, however, we find two bishops in the one territory. This originated in the decrees of the Irish Synod of Rath Breasail, by which dioceses were defined, in A.D. 1110. For the Ostman bishops, not being consecrated as Irish bishops were, but consecrated according to the Roman ritual by the archbishops of Canterbury or York, the Irish clergy refused to recognize their authority, and part of this Ostman territory being inhabited by Irish Christians, the synod decreed that the whole should be placed under [140] the Irish bishop of Glendalough; the Ostman bishopric of Dublin not being even named, and when subsequently mentioned, only mentioned as being in the diocese of Glendalough.

The diocese remained until A.D. 1151 in this state, when it was certified to Pope Innocent III., that “Master John Papirom, the legate of the Roman church, coming into Ireland, found a bishop dwelling in Dublin, who at that time exercised his episcopal office within the walls. He found *in the same diocese* another church in the mountains, which likewise had the name of a city, and had a certain Chorepiscopus.” But the legate delivered the Pall to Dublin, “which was the best city,” and doubtless, also, because its bishop was already in connexion with Rome. “And he appointed that *that diocese in which both cities were*, should be **divided**; that one part thereof should fall to the metropolis.” “And this he would have immediately carried into execution, had he not been obstructed by the insolence of the Irish, who were then powerful in that part of the country,” and who denied the authority of the Roman legate.¹

It is also to be observed that the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the united bishoprics still extends from beyond Arklow, along the sea shore, to the Delvin rivulet, a little south of the Nanny water, and inwards along the Liffey, to the “Salmon Leap,” at Leixlip. The church, “De **Saltû Salmonis**,” being its limit in that direction.

VI.C.15.180(d) Sultu Solinn

(c) **Dolnehet**

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 142: The residence which Aulaf had at Clondalkin in A.D. 866, and Sitric’s town and lands of Baldoyle, Portrane, and Ratheny, in 1038, were all within it. So was the territory “from Ath Cliath to Ath Truisten,¹ which **Donnchad**, king of Ireland, and Muirheartach spoiled and plundered, A.D. 936, as being “all under the dominion of the foreigners of Ath Cliath.” So, likewise, was Swords, Luske, and all the country of Fingal,² which we find in the possession of the Northmen, in A.D. 1035; and in 1135, devastated by the king of Meath, to revenge his brother, “killed by Donnogh Mac Gill mo cholmoc, and the Danes of Dublin.”³

VI.C.15.180(e) Dolnetsch / [n] —

(d) **way back**

VI.C.15.180(f) way back

(e) **Lenle**

VI.C.15.180(g) Lenle

(f) **antist**

VI.C.15.180(h) antist

(g) **prelogical**

VI.C.15.180(i) prelogical

(h) **awkwardun**

VI.C.15.181(a) awkwardna

(i) **curse the dirt**

VI.C.15.181(b) cause the dirt

(j) **<spinamen> ^+spincemen+^ / <better> ^+bitt+^ >**

VI.C.15.181(c) pincener / bith.

(k) **All Hallas.**

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 144-145: Our oldest Anglo-Norman records frequently refer to an extra mural district, east of Dublin, denominated “The Stein,” or “Staine,” a flat piece of ground extending southwards from the strand of [144] the Liffey to “the lands of Rath,” and eastward from near the city walls, to the river Dodder.¹

It was on this plain the priory of **All Hallowes** and other religious establishments were founded before the arrival of Strongbow,² whose followers took possession of all that the Church could not claim. About the year 1200, Theobald Walter, **pincerna** (or **butler**) to Henry II., and ancestor of the Butlers of Ormond, exercised ownership by granting to Radulf and Richard Glut “all his land of Stayn, except what the canons of All Saints ought to have.”³

Note: Conjectural reconstructions of B-items: ‘among other possessions of the suppressed monastery, to William Taaffe’ (146).

VI.C.15.181(e) All Hallow

(l) **S. Stephen >**

VI.C.15.181(e) S. Stephen

(m) **S James >**

VI.C.15.181(f) S. James

(n) **port franco**

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 148-149: On this elevated ridge, about the year 1220, an hospital is said to have been founded for pilgrims intending to embark for the shrine of **St. James** of Compostella, the patron saint of lepers, and from which the termination of Townsend-street received the name of Lazar’s-hill. Pope Innocent III., when confirming **the union of Glendalough with the See of Dublin**, enjoined an appropriation of revenues to the support of an hospital, and Archbishop De Loundres, therefore, with the assent of the chapters of the Holy Trinity and St. Patrick’s, assigned the lands of Killmoghhenoc and other lands, with the church of Delgany, &c., to maintain this hospital “on the sea shore outside Dublin, called Steyn, where **pilgrims** to **St. James**’ shrine awaited an opportunity to embark,”¹ Theobald Fitz waiter granting two acres of “his land of Stein” as a further endowment. But if this hospital were ever built no remains of it can now be discovered, the Lepers’ hospital of Dublin, which was dedicated to [148] **St. Stephen**, having been built on another part of the Stein, between Stephen’s-street and Stephen’s-green.

Note: ‘port franco’ or ‘puck panes’ tentatively read as ‘pilgrims’.

VI.C.15.181(g) puck. panes

(o) ^bSteyn >>

MS 47486a-219, ScrPrEM: – And the steyne what [stetes/ it [neming]? | *JJA* 61:294 | 1933-1934 | III§1A.12' |1B.3' |1C.9' |1D.12' |2A.13' |2B.11' |2C.13' |3A.10' |4.7' | | [>] MS 47486b-436: – But that steyne what stiles its neming? | *JJA* 61:500 | 1933-1936 | III§3A.10+' | *FW* 505.21
VI.C.15.181(h) Steyn

VI.C.3.181 / VI.D.2.[004]

(a) ^xDanish now

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 151: But the document referring to the mill of the Stein points to another fact more intimately connected with our subject. It was from the “Long Stone,” mentioned in this record, **that the Stein derived its Scandinavian name**. This remarkable pillar stone stood not far from the landing place near where Hawkins-street and Townsend-street now join. From the rough outline drawing which I possess it does not appear that the stone was in any manner inscribed, but it appears to have stood about twelve or fourteen feet above ground,² and it remained standing until the surrounding district was laid out for streets and houses when it was overturned to make room for them. That it continued to be an object of some interest, long after the Northmen were expelled from Dublin, we find from municipal records and from reference to it when the citizens began to build on the adjoining strand.

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 152: **The name of “the Stein” connected with the pillar stone may not be considered sufficient evidence of Scandinavian origin**, that name not being found in Irish manuscripts, or in any record earlier than the Anglo-Norman invasion. But it should be recollected that there are no Hiberno-Danish writings extant, and that the Irish who called it “the Green of Ath Cliath,” and allude to it as a place of council,⁴ never used the Scandinavian name for it, or for any part of Ireland, while on the contrary the Anglo-Norman monks, the charter writers of their countrymen, rarely, if ever, used an Irish name when any other existed, and invariably called the city, and even the provinces by their Scandinavian names.

Note: Conjectural reconstructions of B-items: the Eyrbyggja Saga (159), the Blackstone of Odin (159), the Thingmount on the Stein of Dublin (159), the Thingmote of Dublin (162).

VI.C.15.181(i) Danish name

(b) **Nassen / Shet / Patrick / Well Lane**

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 165-6: In 1682 the mount itself was demised to Sir William [165] Davis; he had been Recorder of the city, and was then Chief Justice of the King’s Bench. He had a suburban residence adjoining the mount and a fee-farm grant was made to him with the avowed object of clearing the ground. His petition for this grant states that “the ground on which the mount stands, being very small and the mount itself being very high the cost of levelling it and carrying it away would be a vast charge.” A mass of earth, 40 feet high and 240 feet in circumference, could not be removed without great expense,¹ but the site was valuable and the earth was useful in raising **Nassau-street, then called Saint Patrick’s Well-lane**, the street being elevated 8 to 10 feet above it. Although these documents indisputably fix the position of the mount within the district of Thingmotha, a doubt whether the word Thingmote in 1241 designated a mount, or merely a place of meeting, the want of early records to identify the mount I have described with the ancient Thingmote and the ambiguity of modern descriptions of the vicinity leave room for controversy, which we must endeavour to anticipate.

VI.C.15.181(j) Nassau / Shib. / Patrick / Well Lane

(c) **105 asli >**

VI.C.15.182(a) 105 asli

(d) **bonitaree bonitaaree >**

Note: See the reproduction of the notebook page in the *JJA*. The first item was crossed out by Mme Raphael.

VI.C.15.182(b) bonitaares

(e) **Puritatis**

La Scienza Nuova 1725, Book II, Ch. XXXIII: *Scoperta delle Prime Paci e de' Primi Tributi, in due Antichissime Leggi Agrarie, Fonti una del Naturale, altra del Civile, ed entrambe del Sovrano Dominio.*

Incomincia a correre questa antichissima sorta di repubbliche sopra un' antichissima *legge agraria*, che i nobili dovettero accordare a' plebei, per soddisfarli; che essi avessero assegnati campi, dove sostentassero la lor vita, con pagare parte de' frutti, o contribuire in fatighe, come un censo a' signori; che si truova tra' Greci essere stata la *decima d'Ercole*: e si scuoprono i *primi*, da' Latini detti *capite censi*, che dovettero contribuire a questi signori con le loro giornate. Ma, non osservata col volger d'anni tal *legge* da' nobili a' plebei, si fermarono queste repubbliche finalmente, e stiedero sopra un'*altra legge agraria*; che i plebei godessero certo e sicuro dominio de' campi assegnati loro, con l'obbligo de' signori a doverli mantenere; e col peso a vicenda de' plebei, che a loro spese dovessero servire a' signori ne' lor bisogni, e sopra tutto nelle guerre: siccome sotto essi consoli se ne lamentano pur troppo i plebei nella *storia romana*. Nel fondo di queste *due leggi* si ritruovano le *origini di tutte e tre le spezie del dominio*: una del *naturale* o *bonitario*, o sia de' comodi o de' frutti: altra del *civile* o *quiritario*, o sia de' poderi, cosi forse agl' Italiani dalla *forza*, come a' Latini detti *praedia*, da *praeda*, o sia dominio de' *suoli*, che possono occuparsi con l'armi; l'uno e l'altro privato; e la terza del *dominio de' fondi*, detto ora *eminente*, veramente *civile* o pubblico, cioè *sovrano di esse città*, che risiede nell' animo delle potestà civili che le governano; che è 'l *principio di tutti i tributi, stipendj, gabelle*: e l'*una e l'altra legge* si truoveranno *gli abbozzi delle paci*.

[Book II, Chapter XXXIII. *The discovery of the first [forms of] peace and the first tributes in the two oldest agrarian laws, which are the respective sources of natural law and civil law and the joint source of sovereign ownership*: This oldest kind of republic began to function on the basis of the oldest agrarian law, which the nobles had to cede to the plebeians in order to satisfy them. This was the law through which the plebeians were assigned fields with which to sustain their lives, paying [in return] a part of their produce or a contribution in labour as a census [tax] to their lords which, among the Greeks, is found to have been the tithe of Hercules. Here also we discover the first men who had to contribute a day's labour to their lords, the *capite censi* of the Latins. But with the passage of the years, this law ceased to be observed until finally these republics came to an end and were replaced by others based upon a second agrarian law. This was the law whereby the plebeians should enjoy the certain and secure ownership of fields assigned to them, which the lords were obliged to sustain, but be burdened in turn with the requirement to serve the needs of the lords at their own cost, above all in war. Hence the unhappy complaints of the plebeians under the consuls in Roman history. On the basis of these two laws the origins of all three kinds of ownership are discovered. The first was natural or *bonitary* ownership, i.e. the ownership of commodities or produce. The second was civil or *quiritary* ownership, or ownership of landed property, i.e. of land that can be held with arms. It is possible that the Italians derived their word [*podere*] for such land from [their word *potere* for] force, and that the Latins called it *praedia* from *praeda* 'booty']. Both of these kinds of ownership were private. The third kind, however, was what is now called 'eminent' ownership of the land, i.e. the truly civic or public ownership, sovereign in the cities, that resides in the heart of the civil powers that govern them and is the principle of all tributes, stipends and taxes. In these two laws the first outlines of peace are found.]

VI.C.15.182(c) purification

(f) **108 P. >**

VI.C.15.182(d) 108 p.

(g) **centuris >**

VI.C.15.182(e) centuries

(h) **curiae >**

VI.C.15.182(f) curiae

(i) **tributum**

La Scienza Nuova 1725, Book II, Ch. XXXIV: *Scoperta delle Repubbliche Eroiche, uniformi tra' Latini, Greci, Asiani; e di altri Principj de' Romani Comizj.*

Quindi si ritruovano questi antichissimi regni eroici sotto nomi di *regni di Cureti*, sparsi per tutte le nazioni antiche; e sotto nome di *regni di Eraclidi* si trovano sparsi per tutta l'antichissima Grecia,

mercè di *due gran frantumi* di antichità d'*istoria del tempo oscuro de' Greci*. Uno, che i *Cureti* o *sacerdoti armati d'aste*, dalle quali son detti i *Quiriti* da' Latini, che col fragore dell' armi percosse attutarono i vagiti di *Giove bambino*, perchè non fosse udito da *Saturno*, che divorarlosi voleva; dal quale *nascondimento* dissero i *Filologi latini*, ma indovinando, essere stato appellato il *Lazio*; uscirono dalla Grecia in *Saturnia*, o *Italia*, in *Creta*, dove perchè isola, duraron più, e nell' *Asia*: che deesi intendere dell' *Asia greca*, cioè della *Minore*: perciocchè i Greci usciti di Grecia osservarono per queste antiche nazioni del mondo regni uniformi a quelli descritti da *Omero* con *due sorte di adunanze eroiche*; altre che venivano sotto nome di [*boulh*]; nelle quali convenivano i soli eroi: altre nelle quali i plebei si radunavano per sapere le determinazioni fatte dagli eroi, le quali erano appellate col nome [*agora*]: delle quali una è l'*adunanza* che *Telemaco* fatto già maggiore chiama affinché i suoi sudditi sappiano ciò che esso aveva risoluto di fare contro de' Proci. Co' quali governi eroici di *Omero* troppo acconciamente convengono le *storie di queste voci latine*, con le quali *comitia curiata* furon dette le adunanze de' sacerdoti per diffinir cose sacre; perchè dapprima con l'*aspetto delle divine* erano guardate tutte le *cose umane*, non che le sole leggi, come qui appresso diremo: *centuriata*, le adunanze nelle quali si comandavano le leggi, dalle quali certamente restarono detti *centuriones*, capitani di cent'uomini d'arme: perchè da *coloro* unicamente che avevano la *ragione dell' armi* si tenevano le *adunanze*, nelle quali si comandavano le leggi) che erano sotto il genere di adunanza, che è detta da *Omero* [*boulè*]; nella quale si *univano i soli eroi*: finalmente *tributa comitia*, le adunanze plebee che non avevano niuna ragion d'usar armi, ma erano obbligate a pagare il *tributo*; perchè, come adunanze di coloro che pagavano il tributo, non avevano la ragione sovrana dell' armi; ma solo si univano per sapere che loro comandassero le leggi: sicchè delle loro adunanze, che erano le [*agorai*] di *Omero*, dovettero da principio con tutta proprietà dirsi *plebiscita*, che tanto suona, quanto *Cicerone* nelle sue *Leggi* li voltarebbe, *plebi nota*. Talchè *Curia* non già fu da' Latini detta *a curanda republica*; che non è verisimile de' tempi che gli uomini operavano per senso più tosto, che riflettevano; ma da *quiris*, *asta*, che era unione di nobili i quali avevano il diritto d'armeggiar *d'asta*: siccome altrove mostrammo, che da [*cheir*] la mano dovette la voce [*churia*] significare lo stesso agli antichissimi Greci. Dalle quali cose latine composte con le greche di *Omero* può prendere *altri principj* l'intricata materia de *comitiis romanis*, come qui appresso sarà dimostro. Da tutto ciò si ritruova, il *diritto de' Quiriti Romani* essere diritto *delle genti*, non solo del *Lazio*, ma della *Grecia* e dell' *Asia*; sopra il quale ebbe i suoi *principj il governo romano*: il qual diritto si osserva d'assai *diversa natura ne' suoi primi tempi* da quella che restò a' *giureconsulti romani* ultimi. L'altro gran rottame di greca antichità egli è che gli *Eraclidi*, o sien quelli della *razza d'Ercole*, erano prima *sparsi per tutta Grecia*, anche per l'*Attica*, dove poi surse la repubblica libera d'Atene: ma finalmente si ridussero nel *Peloponneso*, dove perseverò la *repubblica di Sparta*; che tutti i *Politici* riconoscono essere stata aristocratica; e tutti i *Filologi* convengono che sopra tutti gli altri popoli della Grecia ritenne assaissimo de' costumi eroici: la quale fu un *regno degli Eraclidi*, ovvero di *razze erculee*, che conservavano il *patronimico d'Ercole*; al quale si eleggevano due re a vita, che ministravano le leggi sotto la custodia degli *Efori*.

[Book II, Chapter XXXIV. *The discovery of the heroic republics that were uniform among the Latins, Greeks and Asian; and of the different origins of the Roman assemblies*: With the aid of two great fragments from the ancient history of the obscure times of the Greeks, we can now discover the oldest heroic kingdoms, which were spread throughout all the ancient nations under the name 'the kingdoms of the *Curetes*' and throughout the whole of ancient Greece under the name 'the kingdoms of the *Heraclids*'. The first fragment concerns the *Curetes*, or priests armed with spears, from which the Latins called them *quirites*. These were the priests who clashed their arms to create a great din so as to conceal the cries of the infant Jove from Saturn, who wanted to have him devoured. This is the concealment, [the Latin for which is *latere*], from which the Latin philologists claimed, though it was but a guess, Lazio [*Latium*] took its name. The fragment relates that the *Curetes* came from Greece into Saturnia or Italy, into Crete, where they long remained because they were isolated, and into Asia, which must be understood as Grecian Asia, i.e. Asia Minor. For when the Greeks came out of Greece, they found, throughout these ancient nations of the world, kingdoms of the same form as those described in Homer, complete with two kinds of heroic assemblies, in one of which, the βουλὴ [*boulè*], the heroes alone gathered, and in the other of which, the ἀγορά [*agora*], the plebeians assembled in order to learn what the heroes had decided. It was to an assembly of this second kind that Telemachus called his subjects, after he became their leader, in order to let them know what he had resolved to do in the case of the suitors. The history of Latin words conforms very closely with these heroic governments of Homer: the assembly of priests which denned sacred things was the *comitia curiata* ['the assembly of the *curiae*'],

because at first everything human, and not just the laws, was regarded as having a divine aspect, as we shall explain below; the assembly in which the laws were commanded was the [*comitia*] *centuriata*, from which captains of a hundred men are still called *centuriones*, because the assemblies in which the laws were commanded were composed only of those who had the right of arms, i.e. they were of the kind that Homer called the βουλή [*boule*], in which only the heroes met; finally, there was the assembly of the plebeians who lacked the right to use arms but were obliged to pay the tribute, i.e. the assembly called the *tributa comitia*, because it was composed of those who paid the tribute but had no sovereign right of arms, and who came together only to learn what was commanded by law. Hence, emanating from such assemblies, i.e. Homer's ἀγοραί [*agorai*], these laws must from the start, and with complete propriety, have been called *plebiscita* ['plebiscites'], rather in the sense that Cícero expressed in his *Laws* as *plebi nota* ['things made known to the plebs']. Hence the Latins did not originally derive the name *curia* from *curanda republica* ['having care of the state'], which would have been an improbable derivation from times in which men were of a practical rather than reflective bent, but from *quiris*, or 'spear', for the *curia* was the assembly of nobles with the right to be armed with a spear, just as we have shown elsewhere that from χεῖρ [*cheir*], 'the hand', the word κῦρία [*kuria*] must have had the same meaning among the ancient Greeks. And by thus taking Latin institutions in combination with Homer's Greek institutions, new origins can be provided for the intricate subject *de comitiis Romanis* [of the Roman *comitia*], as we shall demonstrate below. As a result of all this, we find that the law of the Roman citizens, upon which the origins of Roman government rested, was not merely identical with the law of the gentes of Lazio but with those of Greece and Asia, and that, as can be seen, it was a law of a very different nature in its earliest times from that which the last Roman jurisconsults inherited. The second great fragment tells us that the Heraclids, or those of the race of Hercules, spread first throughout Greece, including Attica, where the free republic of Athens later arose, but were finally confined to the Peloponnese, where the republic of Sparta continued to exist. The political philosophers all accept that this was an aristocratic republic and the philologists all agree that it retained many more of its heroic customs than the other peoples of Greece. It was, moreover, a kingdom of the Heraclids, i.e. of the Herculean races who preserved the patronymic 'Hercules', with two kings, elected for life, who were responsible for administering the laws under the custody of the *ephors*.]

VI.C.15.182(g) tributum

(j) 112 bromides.

VI.C.15.182(h) 112. / bromides.

(k) J.C. rites

VI.C.15.182(i) J.C. rote

(l) verse

VI.C.15.182(j) verse

(m) richly deserve

VI.C.15.182(k) richly deserve

(n) 28th chap.

?*La Scienza Nuova* 1725, Book II, Ch. XXVIII: *Principio delle Genealogie, e della Nobiltà, delle Prime Genti.*

In sì fatte terre proprie i postati, risentiti una volta finalmente della schifezza, onde marcissero bruttamente sopra la terra i cadaveri de' loro attenenti, dovettero seppellirli secondo l'*ordine* che elegantemente *Papiniano* dice *della mortalità*, e, come altrove si è dimostro, con certi *ceppi* imposti sopra i cadaveri, onde [*fulax*] a' Greci, *cippus* a' Latini, significa *sepolcro* ad entrambi: per lo quale atto di pietà appo i Latini da *humare* venne principalmente detta *humanitas*: onde forse gli *Ateniesi*, tra' quali *Cicerone* afferma che cominciò il costume di seppellire i difonti, furono essi gli *umanissimi di tutta la Grecia*, ed *Atene* madre e nudrice della filosofia e di tutte le belle arti dello ingegno. Col volgere degli anni poi da tali *ordini di ceppi in lungo e per traverso* disposti dovettero i vegnenti avvertire le *genealogie* de' trasandati, e con essi la *nobiltà delle loro prosapie*: onde da ceppo, [*fulax*], dovette a' Greci esser detta [*fulh*] la *tribù*: e con espressione propria dell'infanzia delle lingue i nobili dovettero dire, essere *figliuoli di quelle*, terre ove si ritruovavan postati: onde i Giganti ci si narrano da' *poeti* essere stati

figliuoli della Terra: e i nobili appo i Greci si dissero generati dalla Terra, che tanto lor suona Giganti, appunto come appo i Latini antichi detti indigenae, quasi inde geniti, da'quali in accorcio restaron delli ingenui per nobili.

[Book II, Chapter XXVIII. *The origin of the genealogies and the nobility of the first gentes*, 90: Finally, when they were possessed of their own lands, becoming aware of the filth of the corpses of their clansmen as they lay rotting on the ground, these settlers must have buried them according to the 'order of mortality', as Papinianus elegantly put it, placing certain posts above the corpses, as we have shown in another work. Hence the Greek φύλαξ [*phylax*] and the Latin *cippus* both mean 'sepulchre'. And through the same act of piety the Latin word *humanitas* ['humanity'] first came from *humare* ['to bury']. This may explain why the Athenians, whom Cicero asserted were the first to adopt the custom of burying the dead, were the 'most human people in the whole of Greece', and why Athene was the mother and nurse of philosophy and of all the beautiful arts born of ingenuity. Later, with the passing of the years, these rows of burial posts, spread far and wide as they were, must have caused subsequent generations to attend to the genealogies of their ancestors and, through these genealogies, the nobility of their lineage. From this connection between a lineage and a burial post, which they called φύλαξ [*phylax*], the Greeks must have used the word φύλη [*phyle*] for a tribe, and, with expressions proper to language in its infancy, the nobles must have been described as the children of those lands in which their genealogies were placed. Hence, as the poets tell us, the giants were called 'the sons of the Earth' and the Greeks called the nobles 'those generated by the Earth', for that was what the word 'giant' meant to them. Similarly the ancient Latins called the nobles *indigenae* ['natives'], which is almost *inde geniti* ['those born of that place'], from which the abbreviation *ingenui* survived for 'nobles'.]

VI.C.15.182(l) 28th chap

(o) **SIL**

VI.C.15.182(m) S | L

VI.C.3.182 / VI.D.2.[005]

(a) **Baptist S. I L Λ**

VI.C.15.183(a) Bappish. tb L Λ

(b) **Gnllow R.**

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 170n1: In the "Survey of the City and Suburbs of Dublin," by Jean Rocque, Folio, London, 1756, the road leading from Stephen's-green to Ball's-bridge (now known as Lower Bagot-street) is styled "**Gallows Road.**" On the north side of this Gallows-road near Lower Pembroke-street is shown a Quarry and over it a Windmill; opposite on the south side of the road is the Gallows.

VI.C.15.183(b) gallow RI

(c) **Gillon KP**

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 170: These facts and circumstances we think may be safely relied on as proof of the identity of the mount here described with the Scandinavian Thingmote. And we have now to add that about 200 perches eastward of the mount was the Hangr Hoeg or Gallows hill of Dublin, the usual accompaniment to the Thingmount. Here on a rocky hill, surrounded by a piece of barren ground, the gallows was erected and here criminals were executed until the beginning of the last century, when the gallows was removed farther south to permit the rock to be quarried for building purposes, the city then rapidly extending in this direction. The "**Gallows hill**" is marked on the maps of Dublin until after 1756,¹ and the quarry is yet to be traced between Bock-lane and Mount-street, both places being very probably named from this rocky gallows mount.

VI.C.15.183(c) Gillow K. P.

(d) **Bowing / Storm**

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 172: Hence we frequently find the pillar stones or **bowing stones** either marked with a cross, or overthrown and stone crosses raised where they stood, and the sacred wells of Baldur, the son of Odin, with the sacred wells of other heathen deities, becoming the holy wells

of St. John or St. Patrick.¹ With similar views the great Saxon and Scandinavian festivals were exchanged for Christian festivals occurring at the same period of the year, the slaughter of oxen to idols, and the feasts which followed, being exchanged for innocent banquets and revelry. Nevertheless the pagan practices which Gregory endeavoured to turn to Christian purposes were not wholly eradicated.²
VI.C.15.183(d) Bowing / Storm

(e) **h. S.C.U**

VI.C.15.183(e) [I] S.C.U.

(f) **going to stars / — — R.C. / Clachan**

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 175: It is only necessary to observe that among efforts to attract the pagan from his old superstitions to a pure worship was that recommended by Pope Gregory, of either converting the temple into a church or of placing the church in proximity to it, a practice which is said to have originated the Gallic term, used in the Orkneys, of **going to the “Clachan” (or stones), for going to the church**, connecting this fact of the church being placed where the temple stood,¹ with the statement of northern Archæologists, that religious ceremonies preceded all legal or legislative acts of the Scandinavians, and that the Thingplace itself was used as a temple, or that a temple was erected near it, we should expect to find the site of the “hof” or temple near that of a church adjoining the Thingmote, where the heathen rites which attended the election of a chief or a trial by combat were exchanged for the Christian ceremonies of an inauguration and of an ordeal.

VI.C.15.183(f) going to stan. / — — R.C. / Clackan.

(g) **Norse not Irish / dedicate to B.M. / (Abbey) >**

VI.C.15.183(g) Norse not Irish / dedicate to BpM. / (Abbey) // quiet

(h) **Laurenci ~~OT dele~~ O Torli / 1163 / cas by Humph**

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 176-177: **For it has not escaped observation that when the Northmen in Ireland dedicated a church to a female saint, they never dedicated to the Irish St. Bridget or to any Irish virgin, but always to the Virgin Mary.** Whereas the Irish clergy who were not so intimately connected with Rome, if they called any church except by the name of the founder (and they called many after St. Bridget) never dedicated a church to the Virgin Mary until after Northmen set the example²; indeed, St. Bridget is styled “The Mary of [176] the Gaoidhil” or Irish, in one of the oldest manuscripts of her life, nor has the research of any Irish scholar, so far as I can ascertain, as yet discovered a single church dedicated to the Virgin Mary in Ireland until the middle of the tenth century, when the Northmen converted to Christianity, began to dedicate churches to her within their own territories, the earliest being that of St. Mary’s Ostmanby,¹ better known as **St. Mary’s Abbey Dublin**, alleged to have been founded about the year 948.

As regards the Anglo-Saxon missionaries who converted the Northmen, they were not likely to dedicate a church to an Irish Saint, their connection being with Canterbury and Rome, but not with Armagh and the Irish Church. For it is to be recollected that the Northmen did not acknowledge the authority of the Irish Church until the Irish archbishops received the palls from Rome through Cardinal Paparo, in 1152; **Laurence O’Toole in 1163** being the first Bishop of Dublin (under the Ostmen) who was consecrated by the Archbishop of Armagh, all previous bishops of the Ostmen being consecrated by the Archbishop of **Canterbury**.²

Note: See the reproduction of the notebook page in the *JJA*. The deleted items were crossed out by Mme Raphael.

VI.C.15.184(a) Laurence O’Tosh / 1163 / castlestruph

VI.C.3.183 / VI.D.2.[006]

(a) **Runnymede / 19 Council**

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 181: To this we may add that the plain of **Runnymede**, famous in connexion with Staines, was like the Stein of Dublin, the title of a Scandinavian Althing, probably so made by Aulaf and Swein, and so remaining while Canute and other Danish sovereigns governed England. Mathew of Westminster tells us it was called “**Runnymede**, that is, the Meadow of “Counsel,”

because of old times councils about the peace of the kingdom were frequently held there,² Staines apparently being the general name of the place, the letters of safe conduct from King John when the Barons demanded his assent to the laws subsequently embodied in Magna Charta specifying “Staines” and not **Runymede** as the place of meeting.³ But if the inquiry be pursued it will be found that all the places called Stane in the Domesday Book were on the banks of rivers, and that most of them had been Scandinavian landing-places, and it is of some importance as connected with the name of the Stein of Dublin that we should do so.

VI.C.15.184(b) Runnymede / 19 Council

(b) **Laws not / tem / but personal**

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 185n1: In the confusion of races that followed the irruption of the northern barbarians, and introduced the feudal system, **the laws administered were not territorial as in more modern times, but personal**, each race in actions between one another, being ruled by its own code: Thus Roman, Frank, Burgundian, had each his law. (See Robertson, Hist, of Charles V., Von Savigny on | Roman law, &c.)

VI.C.15.184(c) ^sLaws not / territorial / but personal

(c) **H. H = R**

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 185-6: It is manifest that **Henry** himself had no idea that he had been elected **king** of Ireland by the chiefs assembled at the Thingmote or that they had yielded to him dominion over the country. The most diligent research has not discovered a single charter, granted by him in Ireland or in England (not even in that by which he granted to his men of Bristol his new gotten city of Dublin), nor a single instance in any other record in which he has styled himself “King” or even “Lord of Ireland” although he rarely if ever omitted his minor titles of Duke of Normandy and Aquitaine and Count of Anjou. While he remained in Ireland he exercised no legal prerogative except over that territory the royalty of which Strongbow had surrendered to him, and over that from which the Ostmen enemies of Dermot M^cMorrough had been driven, and where it was indifferent to the Irish, whether the Ostmen or the Anglo-Normans were the rulers. The only laws he made were for his English subjects¹ and for the [185] Ostmen towns, and these he promulgated at the Thingmote, and possibly after the manner of the Scandinavians.

Note: The entry tentatively read as “H.II= R[ex]”.

VI.C.15.184(d) H H = D

(d) **Darling Son / and <unp>unfeigned / bliss.**

VI.C.15.184(e) Darlington / & unpaid / kiss

(e) ^b**Mule = S of Ir & Eng.**

Not located in MS/FW.

VI.C.15.185(a) Mule = s. of Fr. & Eng.

(f) **? = S of Jew & Christ**

VI.C.15.185(b) ? = s of Jew. & Christ.

(g) **Group A**

VI.C.15.185(c) group. A

(h) **<then> thin ~~who~~ ulis**

Note: See the reproduction of the notebook page in the *JJA*. The deleted item was crossed out by Mme Raphael.

VI.C.15.185(d) tumulis

(i) **long tail**

VI.C.15.185(e) lay bare.

(j) **hary on hill**

VI.C.15.185(f) hang in hist.

- (k) **this quick**
VI.C.15.185(g) this of motiv

VI.C.3.184 / VI.D.2.[007]

- (a) **Group W.**
VI.C.15.185(h) ^sgroup B.

- (b) **hindnose. <heart> Heart**
VI.C.15.185(i) ^shindmost / Heart

- (c) **la sc.iave**
VI.C.15.185(j) La sc ^k cave

- (d) **Brehon law >**
VI.C.15.185(k) Brehon law

- (e) **ab 16 n— >**
Note: Not found as such in the source passage.
VI.C.15.185(l) afol. 16th

- (f) **Mint / Deb Webs / L. M.**

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 186: There is no trace of an attempt to make laws for all Ireland. Even at the Synod of Cashel the only proceeding was to modify the Irish ecclesiastical law in accordance with that of the Church of Rome; and this was done through the introduction of the clergy, who were his supporters. The Irish chiefs and people retained their **Brehon laws**, and acknowledged no other, and according to these laws they continued to elect their own magistrates, and to judge, punish, or pardon all criminals.¹ Neither did Henry coin money in Ireland or for Ireland, although the Ostmen had **mints in Dublin, Waterford, and Limerick**.² Nor had he a seal for Ireland, nor has there been discovered a single record on which the word “conquest” is used by him, although Strongbow’s barons, who had conquered the Ostmen, used that word in grants of their thus acquired lands.³

185n1f: And in Ireland the English did not admit the Danes or the Irish to use English law unless they paid largely for the privilege. Between themselves the latter were ruled (even before English seneschals) by Danes’ law or Brehon law, which last was only abolished in the 12th year of King James I. That the laws of England were not given to the meere Irish, was one of the defects of English rule in Ireland.

VI.C.15.185(l)-186(a) Mint // Dub. Wits / Line

- (g) **lord acc. / King —**

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 187: The claim to dominion over Ireland on which Henry relied was evidently Pope Adrian’s bull, and even had the title of **Lord of Ireland** which it granted been then admitted Henry was not ignorant of the limited authority which it conferred, for in his own person he had but recently done homage to the **King of France, acknowledging the King as his feudal Lord** for Normandy, Aquitain, and Anjou; and subsequently received the homage of William, king of Scotland, who acknowledged Henry to be his Lord.¹

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 190: This **distinction between the lordship and the kingdom of Ireland** was acted on at Rome at a subsequent period, as appears from the course pursued by Pope Paul IV. in A.D. 1555. For when at the Reformation Henry VIII. renounced his allegiance to Rome, and was by an Act of Parliament declared king of Ireland, and that his successors, Philip and Mary, although Roman Catholics, continued to use that title, the Pope refused to see their ambassadors under that title until he had first prepared and published a bull making Ireland a kingdom and had authorized Philip and Mary to assume the legal title, and thus for ever surrendered his asserted claim to the land.

VI.C.15.186(b) lord acc / King —

- (h) **Dr. Carey**

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 190: The importance of such a bull was well known to the Privy Council of England, for it is stated by the eminent Roman Catholic historian, Dr. Lingard, that “as the natives of Ireland had maintained that the kings of England originally held Ireland by the donation of Adrian IV. and lost it by their defection at the Reformation, the Council delivered the bull to **Dr. Cary**, the new (Roman Catholic) Archbishop of Dublin, to be deposited in the treasury, after copies had been made and circulated throughout the island.”²

VI.C.15.186(c) Dr. Carey

(i) **near to — / S. Lanes >**

VI.C.15.186(d) near to — / S. Lanes

(j) **b. in law. / Δ en Mac Mu / d. of O.’Connell >>**

VI.C.15.186(e) line law. / Sen. Mec. Mer: / d. of O’Carroll

VI.C.3.185 / VI.D.2.[008]

(a) **<Myne chens> Mynechens / Mantle**

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 192-3: A manuscript in the British Museum states that “the nuns were not of the younger sort but of elderlike persons, and for those who desired to live single lives after the death or separation from their husbands,” and the manuscript adds, “that Alice O’Toole, **near to** the Archbishop of Dublin, in one night’s time left her husband and conveyed all his wealth into this abbey, and it was not known for seven years’ time where she went or how she conveyed away his wealth” till Laurence O’Toole’s death, when she appeared at the funeral, and so was discovered.⁵ The Alice O’Toole here mentioned was [192] **the sister of the archbishop, married to the profligate Dermot M’Murrough**, the founder of the nunnery, who abandoned her and married **the daughter of O’Carroll**. And the statement respecting the class of females inhabiting the nunnery is supported by the fact that ground on which the nunnery stood was called “**Mynechens mantle**” and its possessions, Mynechens fields¹ thereby making it as the residence not of young nuns but of those elderly nuns of the superior class termed “**mynechens**” by Du Cange.

VI.C.15.186(f)

(b) **Joseph Lason / 1738.**

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 193n1: Johannes Cosgrave seizitus de nuper abbatiâ de le Hoggs et de una shoppâ et camerâ in Mensions fields juxta Hoggen Green ... et de peciâ terræ vocatæ Mensions mantle. Inquisitiones Lageniæ, 19th February, 15th James 1st (A.D. 1618), Folio. Record Publication. [**Joseph Leeson in 1735** demises to Edward Knatchbull for lease of lives renewable for ever, part of his (Leeson’s) garden, 40 feet wide from east to west, and 231 feet in depth, which said premises are part of Minchin’s Mantle, near Stephen’s-green (Registry of Deeds). In a rental of sale of the estate of Christopher O’Connell Fitzsimon, owner and petitioner, to be sold in the Landed Estates Court, on 21st November, 1871, is named a perpetual annuity of £11, “issuing out of part of Menson’s fields, being part of Kildare-street and Kildare-place near Stephen’s-green, including part of the grounds of Leinster House and Shelburne-place.”]

VI.C.15.187(g) Joseph Leeson / 1738

(c) **Mynechens.**

Note: For the source see quotation at (a) above.

VI.C.15.187(a) Mynechens.

(d) **Delhulle / — Dane / — port**

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 193: And, secondly we find that the old churches in the eastern suburbs of Dublin were almost invariably distinguished by local names, and those names Scandinavian. St. Andrews was called Thengmotha, from proximity to the Thingmote, **St. Peters del Hulle**, or “of the Hill” from its situation on the rising ground above Ship-street, St. Michaels **del Pol** from “**the pool**” or puddle adjoining, and St. Mary’s “**del Dam**” from the **dam** or mill-pond close to which it stood.

VI.C.15.187(b) Delhille / — Dane / — paid

(e) **1 roisold (<beim> being) / 2 hoighold (/ 3 witement**

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 195: Olaus Wormius tells us that the Scandinavians distinguished three ages by the mode in which the dead were treated. The **first** was the **Roisold** or age of **Burning**. The **second** was the **Hoighold** or age of tumuli, in which the body of the chieftain with his arms and ornaments was placed under a mound. And the **third** was the age of **interment** or Christian burial.¹ Hence the name of Hogges so frequent in all the settlements of the pagan North- men. Their descendants, the Anglo-Normans, in whose records we first find the name of St. Mary del Hogges, were not ignorant of its meaning.

VI.C.15.187(c) 1 roisold (bun) / 2 hoighold (tinal) / 3 witemad

(f) **p 196. note**

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 196n1: Hogue; Collis, tumulus, locus editus. Vieux mot qui signifie une colline, un lieu élevé. Dictionnaire Universel, Francois et Latin, vulgairement appelé Dictionnaire de Trevoux, Paris, 1752. “Haugr; a How, a mound, a cairn over one dead: Names of such cairns,—Korna-Haugr, Melkorka-Haugr. Hauga-thing, an assembly in Norway.” Icelandic-English Dictionary by Gudbrand Vigfusson, M.A., 4to, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1874.

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 196n2: “Hogges” changed for the Saxon plural became Hoggen (as oxen, hosen, &c.), hence “Hoggen Green.” Reconverted into modern English it became “Hog’s Green,” as in the following order of the year 1615: “Ordered that the Provost and Fellows of Trinity College, Dublin, shall have the precinct of a house called Bridewell, upon Hog’s Green, at y^e rent of 2 shillings, to be converted by them to a Free School only.” Easter Assembly, 1615, City Records. The memory of the origin of Hoggen Green being lost it became “Hogan’s Green”: Thus the City having demised (6 November, 1764) a lot of ground near Hogan’s Green, for three lives renewable for ever, to Garret Earl of Mornington, the said Garret (13 May, 1766) sold his interest to Peter Wilson, bookseller, (Registry of Deeds).

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 196n3: In A.D. 1605 a lease is ordered to be made to Jacob Newman of a lot near the end of Hog-lane. Assembly Roll. In Brooking’s [196]

Note: Of the three notes on this page that Joyce’s entry may refer to, the first one, about the origins of the name Howth, has the best claims.

VI.C.15.187(d) p 196 note

(g) **Customs 𐀓 >**

VI.C.15.187(e) Customs 𐀓

(h) **W welcom W**

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 202-203: It is generally known that until 1791, when the new **Custom House** was opened on the north side of the river, there was a custom house and quay at the south-east side [202] of Essex-bridge,¹ where vessels trading to our port discharged their cargoes; and previously to 1620 vessels unloaded at Merchants’-quay and Wood-quay, the custom house or crane being then opposite to the end of **Winetavern-street**.²

VI.C.15.187(f) W. metwen St.

(i) **pier**

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 205: This Act recites in French Ford that many Irish enemies and English rebels coming by the ford at the **pier** of St. Mary’s Abbey, &c. (“la vade par le pier de Sēint Mary Abbay”) enter Fingal by night and rob and destroy the liege people of the King, and for remedy enacts that a wall 20 perches long and 6 feet high and also a tower shall be built at Saint Mary’s Abbey to stop the ford there (“une toure ove une mure del XX. perches de longour et vi pees del hauteuse soient faitz par le mure de Sēint Mary Abbay avantdit”), and that 140 marks shall be levied on lands in the vicinity to defray the expense of this and similar works.²

VI.C.15.187(g) pier

VI.C.3.186 / VI.D.2.[009]

(a) **Aha / † her death >**

Note: See the reproduction of the notebook page in the *JJA*. The deleted item was crossed out by Mme Raphael.

VI.C.15.187(h) I tha death

(b) **Duber >**

VI.C.15.187(i) Duber

(c) **Bude pit**

?*The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin*, 207n3: Dubhlin, for so this city was called in those days, lay on the South side of the Liffey and seemingly at some distance from the river, and would seem was so called from ‘**Dubh**,’ **black**, and ‘**lin**,’ a **port**, because built down Patrick-street and Kevin’s-port, and the Poddle, which last probably got its name from its low, dirty situation, *quasi* Puddle. The north side was called **Atha Cliath** or the Ford of Hurdles, communicating with Dubhlin by that means, and from its contiguity to the water was more convenient for traffic. ‘General History of Ireland,’ by Silvester O’Halloran, 2 vols., 4to, London, 1778. ‘Introduction,’ p. 120.

VI.C.15.187(j) Budu p.

Note: The entries are sorely in need of handwriting reconstructions.

(d) **Baile Lean Chats**

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 207: O’Halloran is singular in the opinion that it was the north side of the river which was called “Ath Cliath,” and that it communicated with Dublin, which was on the south side, by a ford of hurdles,³ and Vallancey asserts that the name was “**Bally Lean Cliath**” from being built in or near a fishing harbour where certain weirs made of hurdles were used.

VI.C.15.188(a) Baile Lcan Chath

(e) **Irishantly**

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 208: At the close of the last year, in making a large sewer through High-street, Castle-street, Winetavern and **Fishamble-street**, the ground was opened to the depth of 8 to 14 feet, and a section was thereby exposed of the elevated ridge and one side of the hill on which the old city stood.

VI.C.15.188(b) Fishshanble.

(f) **Drom Choll / Coill / hazelward**

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 209-210: Harris, in his “History and Antiquities of Dublin,” says, the site on which the city was founded was called “**Drom Choll Coill**” (the Brow of the **Hazelwood**),¹ and a considerable quantity of hazel nuts having been found intermingled [209] with the stratum of leaves and portions of trees already mentioned, I had ten specimens of trees which had been dug up in different parts of Castle-street excavation, submitted for the inspection of Professor Allman.

VI.C.15.188(c) Drom. Choll / coll. / hazehound

(g) **P de Lane >**

VI.C.15.188(d) Pale Lane

(h) **Bradogne / R**

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 211-2: Another instance may be found in the alleged origin of the name **Pill-lane**, which is stated by De Burgho (in his “Hibernia Dominicana”) to be from some fancied connexion with the English Pale,² instead of being from a way leading to the “Pill” or little [211] harbour of St. Mary’s Abbey,¹ where the **Bradogue river**² entered the Liffey.

VI.C.15.188(e) Bradogue / R –

(i) **torchon / Diard >**

VI.C.15.188(f) tochar / Draw

(j) ^b1132 drought >>

MS 47486a-219v, ScrPrEM: ^+we are still in drought 1132.+^ | JJA 61:295 | 1933-1934 | III§1A.12' |1D.12' |//2A.13' |2B.11' |2C.13' |//3A.10' |//4.7' | | [>] MS 47486b-467, ScrPrEM and PrPrEM: ^+^+Your time of immersion?+^ ^+We are still in drought ^+of+^...+^ | JJA 61:469 | 1933-1936 | III§3A.10'+ | FW 513.03
VI.C.15.188(g) 1132 / drought

VI.C.3.187 / VI.D.2.[010]

(a) **Ear | wickes | / bridge**

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 214: It is probable, however, that it was a passage formed by hurdles and stems of trees laid on piles of stone placed at intervals in the stream. Vestiges of such rude structures yet exist, and whether across rivers, swamps, or bogs, are denominated “**tochars**,” or causeways, in contra-distinction to the more regular structure which is termed “**droichet**” or bridge. But even in more regular structures, hurdles appear to have been used, as Irish writers distinguish as “droichet,” a bridge of timber or stone, and a “droichead cleithe,” or bridge of hurdles¹[...]

214n1: A.D. 1116 this year (the Four Masters say 1120), three principal bridges were built by Toirlheach Ua Conchobair (Turlough O'Connor), viz.:—the bridge of Athluain (Athlone), and the bridge of Ath Crocha (near Shannon Harbour), and the bridge of Dunleodha (Dunlo). *Chronicum Scotorum: A Chronicle of Irish Affairs from the earliest times to 1135, with a Supplement from 1141 to 1150.* Edited with a Translation by William Maunsell Hennessy, M.R.I.A., 8vo., Dublin, 1866 (Master of the Roll's Series). A.D. 1125: The bridge of Athluain and the bridge of AthCroich were destroyed by the men of Meath. *Annals of the Four Masters*, by John O'Donovan, LL.D., 7 vols., 4to Dublin, 1851. A.D. **1129**: The Castle of Athluain and the bridge were erected by Toirdhelb Ua Conchobhair in the summer of this year “**in the summer of the drought.**” *Ibid.* A.D. **1133**: The **wicker bridge** of Athluain and its Castle were destroyed by Murchadh Ua Maelseachlainn and Tighearnan Ua Ruairc. A.D. 1155: The bridge of Athluain was destroyed, and its fortress burned by Donnchadh, son of Domhnal Ua Maelseachlainn. *Ibid.* A.D. 1159: A **wicker bridge** (Cliath Droichet) was made at Athluain by Kuaidhir Ua Conchobhair for the purpose of making incursion into Meath. The forces of Meath and Teathba ... went to prevent the erection of the bridge, and a battle was fought between both parties at Athluain. *Ibid.* A.D. 1170: The Ua Maine plundered Ormond on this occasion, and destroyed the wooden bridge of Cille Dalua (Killaloe) *Ibid.* A.D. 1140: A **wicker bridge** was made by Turlough O'Connor across Athliag (Ballyliag, near Lanesboro').

VI.C.15.188(h) Ear | wickes | / bridge

(b) **Copper >**

VI.C.15.189(a) Copper.

(c) **21.J >**

VI.C.15.189(b) 2.D

(d) **Dublin Br**

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 217: There is in the Tower another charter of King John confirming a grant to Hugo Hosee of land “at the stone gate near the bridge,” a document which through the kindness of Thomas Duffus Hardy, esq., Keeper of the Tower Records, I had also an opportunity to examine, leaving no doubt respecting the date, which is the 4th June, 1200;² and further, if it were necessary to add to such instances, we might refer to the transcript of Urban the Third's bull in Alan's Register (in the Archiepiscopal Library, Dublin) to show that the bridge existed in 1177, or to the chartulary of St. Thomas's Abbey, known as **Coppinger's** Register (which is now in my possession), to show from a grant by Thomas La Martre that the **bridge** existed in 1177,³ and to other ecclesiastical documents which refer to this bridge at an earlier date.

VI.C.15.189(c) Dublin Br.

(e) **numen / del mew / propres / ant / flow >**

VI.C.15.189(d) runen / del mew / progres / ant / feod.

(f) **crowds / gispy 3 >**

VI.C.15.189(e) cronol / (3) / geogr. of

(g) **acti ston**

La Scienza Nuova Book II, Ch. LVI: *Scoperta de' veri Elementi della Storia.*

Ma niuna cosa più della legge delle *XII Tavole* con grave argomento ci approva, che, *se avessimo la storia delle antiche leggi de' popoli, avremmo la storia de' fatti antichi delle nazioni*: perchè dalla natura degli uomini uscendo i loro costumi; da' costumi i governi; da' governi le leggi; dalle leggi gli abiti civili; dagli abiti civili i fatti costanti pubblici delle nazioni: e con una certa *arte critica*, come quella de' *giureconsulti*, alla certezza delle leggi riducendosi i fatti d'incerta, o dubbia ragione: i *veri elementi della storia* sembrano essere questi *principj di morale, politica, diritto e giurisprudenza del genere umano*, ritrovati per questa nuova *scienza dell'umanità*; sopra i quali si guida la *storia universale delle nazioni*, che ne narra i loro *sorgimenti, progressi, stati, decadenze e fini*. Ma per determinare e i *certi tempi* e i *certi luoghi* donde esse incominciarono, non ci soccorrono i *due occhi*, come sin ora sono stati usati, *della Storia*, che sono la *Cronologia* e la *Geografia*.

[Book II, Chapter LVI [LVII]. *The discovery of the true elements of history*: Above all, however, the Law of the Twelve Tables provides us with a weighty proof that, were we to possess the history of the ancient laws of the peoples, we would possess the history of their ancient activities. For the customs of men come from their natures, their governments from their customs, their laws from their governments, their civil habits from their laws, and their constant public activities from their civil habits. [Hence, we must employ] a certain critical art, such as that by which juriconsults, when presented with activities of uncertain or doubtful justice, reduce them to the certainty of laws. The true elements of history would thus seem to be the principles of the morality, politics, law and jurisprudence of mankind, discovered by this new science of humanity, on the basis of which the universal history of the nations proceeds, with the origins, progress, state [of perfection], decline and end narrated here. But we now find that in order to determine the certain times and certain places in which the nations originated, the two eyes of history, i.e. chronology and geography, as they have hitherto been used, are of no assistance at all.]

VI.C.15.189(f) occid. ston

(h) **dei enach / eroi fissi**

La Scienza Nuova Book II, Ch. LVII: *Nuovi Principj Storici dell'Astronomia.*

Perchè i Greci certamente innalzarono i loro *Dei alle stelle erranti, e gli eroi alle fisse*; e ciò essi fecero dappoichè eran passati in Grecia i *Dei d'Oriente*, i quali da' *Caldei* erano stati affissi alle stelle, come il concedono tutti i *Filologi*. Ma ciò avvenne dopo i tempi d'*Omero*, al cui tempo i *Dei di Grecia* non istavan più in suso del *monte Olimpo*. Però l'allogamento sì sconcio de' *Dei alle stelle erranti e degli Eroi alle fisse* non potè altronde nascer comune, et agli *Assirj* et a' *Greci*, che dall' errore del senso degli occhi; a' quali sembrano le stelle erranti e più grandi e più in suso delle fisse; le quali per dimostrare misure di astronomia sono sformatamente delle fisse e più in giuso e minori. Quindi si medita ne' *principj della prima di tutte le scienze riposte*, che si truova essere stata l'*astronomia volgare de' Caldei*, che certamente furono i primi sapienti del nostro mondo; e che ella *cominciò rozzamente* con la loro *divinazione* di osservare le *stelle cadenti la notte*; dal cui *tragitto* in qual parte del cielo avveniva, predicavano coi divini creduti avvisi le cose umane. Quindi con lunghe e spesse osservazioni notturne, e con l'agio delle loro immense pianure, poi osservarono i moti delle stelle erranti, finalmente delle fisse; e ritrovarono a capo di lunga età l'*astronomia riposta i Caldei*, de' quali fu principe *Zoroaste*, indi detto da *Ester*, che in *lingua persiana* significa *stella*, e da *zor*, che *Samuello Bocarto* deriva dell' ebreo *sobur*, che significa *contemplare*, quasi detto *contemplatore delle stelle*.

[Book II, Chapter LVII [LVIII]. *New historical principles of astronomy*: For, as the philologists all acknowledge, it is certain that the Greeks raised their gods to the planets and their heroes to the constellations, after the gods of the East, whom the Chaldeans had affixed to the stars, had passed into Greece. But this occurred after Homer, for in his times the gods of Greece lived no higher than Mount Olympus. The gross impropriety whereby the gods were placed on the planets and the heroes on the constellations, common to the Assyrians and Greeks alike, could only have arisen through the visual illusion whereby the planets appear to be larger and higher than the constellations, although astronomical demonstrations of size show that they are inordinately lower and smaller.

This gives us reason to meditate on the origin of the first of all recondite sciences, which is found to be the vulgar astronomy of the Chaldeans, who were certainly the first sages of our world. The rough

beginnings of this astronomy lay in their divination, in which they observed the falling stars at night, through whose trajectory and place in the sky they received warnings, supposedly divine, about human affairs. Next, given the opportunity afforded by their immense plains, they made frequent and lengthy nocturnal observations of the movements of the planets and, finally, of the constellations, which led them, at the end of a long period of time, to the discovery of their recondite astronomy. The prince of this astronomy was Zoroaster, so called from *ester*, the Persian for ‘star’, and *zor*, which Samuel Bochart derived from the Hebrew *schur*, meaning ‘to contemplate’: hence ‘Zoroaster’ was ‘the contemplator of stars’.]

VI.C.15.189(g) dei enarh / eroi fissi

(i) **padovana**

La Scienza Nuova Book II, Ch. LVII: Ma de’ Zoroasti in Asia vi furon molti: il primo fu *Caldeo*, ovvero *Assirio*; il secondo *Battriano*, contemporaneo di *Nino*; il terzo *Persiano*, detto pur *Medo*; il quarto *Panfilio*, detto *Er-Armenio*, il quinto *Procomesio* a’ tempi di *Ciro* e di *Creso*: che fa a’ *Filologi* maravaglia, i *Zoroasti* essere stati tanti, quanti *Giovi*, quanti *Ercoli*; lo che ne dà motivo di credere che *Zoroaste* agli *Asiani* fu un nome comune di tutti i fondatori delle loro nazioni; e se ne scioglie quel gran dubbio che li travaglia: se i *Caldei* fossero stati particolari filosofi, o intiere famiglie, o un ordine o setta di sapienti, o una nazione) e che agli Orientali questa voce *Caldei* restò a significare *Eruditi*: le quali tradizioni si ritruovano tutte vere sopra questi principj; perchè dapprima i *Caldei* furono particolari padri che con la magia volgare fondarono le famiglie d’ indovini, come le famiglie degli aruspici si conservarono fino a’ tempi de’ Cesari nella *Toscana*: le quali famiglie poi si unirono in ordini regnanti delle città; un de’ quali poi in *Assiria* si propagò in una nazione regnante sopra altri popoli: onde si fondò il primo regno d’*Assiria* nella gente *caldea*; e ne restò *Caldeo* per *Erudito*, come ne’ tempi barbari a noi vicini in *Italia*, *Padovano* per *Letterato*.

[Book II, Chapter LVII [LVIII] *New historical principles of astronomy*: But many were the Zoroasters of Asia. First there was the Chaldean or Assyrian Zoroaster, second the Bactrian, a contemporary of Ninus, third the Persian, still called the Median, fourth the Pamphylian, called the Er-Armenian, and fifth the Proconessian, in the times of Cyrus and Croesus. Hence the wonder of the philologists that there were as many Zoroasters as Joves and Hercules. But all this gives us reason to believe both that, among the Asians, ‘Zoroaster’ was a name for the founder of each of their nations, and that among the peoples of the East, the expression ‘the Chaldeans’ continued to mean ‘the erudite’. Thus we can resolve the great doubt that has proved so troublesome to the philologists, namely, whether the Chaldeans were particular philosophers, entire families, an order or sect of sages or a single nation, because, on this basis, it is discovered that the traditions [that gave rise to these doubts] were completely true. For first the Chaldeans were the particular men who, with their vulgar magic, founded families of diviners, like the families of haruspices who still existed in Etruria in the times of the Caesars. Next, these families of diviners were united into the ruling orders of the cities, one of which, in Assyria, was subsequently propagated into a nation ruling over the other peoples. Hence the first kingdom of Assyria was founded by the Chaldean race, from which the word ‘Chaldean’ survived as a synonym for ‘erudite’, just as in the barbaric times close to us, the word ‘Paduan’ survived for ‘learned’.]

VI.C.15.189(h) padovana

(j) **Sijerson get / hair cut >>**

VI.C.15.189(i) Sojerson get / hair cut

VI.C.3.188 / VI.D.2.[011]

(a) **F^r Abraham Ryan**

The Leader 18 April 1925, 257/1 [‘Dr. Sigerson’ by Irish American]: Before I met him I had been told “the Doctor is a poet. **He wears long hair,**” and that information did not predispose me towards admiration. But after meeting him I was convinced that he (or his mother) was well advised to leave the hair as nature had left it. Such things depend on the mother. Very likely she thought it a sin against nature to deprive her boy of those long, beautiful auburn locks; and he came to the same conclusion himself as he grew into manhood [...] **Father Abraham Ryan**, the poet of the Confederacy, wore his hair as nature had given it, and I have a photograph of the late Archbishop Ryan of Philadelphia, taken

when he was a young priest, in which his hair shows quite as long as Dr. Sigerson's.

Note: Cf. *Letters* I, 227, 25 Apr 1925, to Weaver: "Will you please send Leader on to Miss Beach when read. Dr Sigerson's statement about the Norse in Ireland before S. Patrick justifies my precipitate jumbling of the fifth and tenth centuries in the last phase of Shaun ('Norske He raven flag etc')." VI.C.15.190(a) Fr Abraham Ryan

(b) no Danes >

VI.C.15.190(b) no Danes

(c) Noise before S. Patrick

The Leader 18 April 1925, 257/2 ['Dr. Sigerson' by Irish American]: He distinguished always the Norse from the Danes, and said "The Danes never came to Ireland." [...] For him, too, the Norse in Ireland were just as Irish as the so-called Milesians. **They had been there before the times of St. Patrick**, and remained after Clontarf. Personally I would not be surprised if it were proved that there is more Norse blood in Ireland than there is Milesian.

VI.C.15.190(c) Norse before S. Patrick

(d) Mrs Piatt / (Hster Sigerson)

The Leader 18 April 1925, 260/1 ['Dr. Sigerson' by Irish American]: He was worthy to be the father of Dora Sigerson and of **Mrs Piatt, the only one of his children** left to mourn her own and Ireland's loss.

VI.C.15.190(d) Mrs Piatt / (Hester Sigerson)

(e) Samders 1844 / Newsletter >

VI.C.15.190(e) ^sSaunders 1844. / Newsletter

(f) mob orator

The Leader 18 April 1925, 253/2 ['O'Connell and Some Others']: "Imaal's" excerpts from the *Times* of a century ago on the subject of O'Connell [...] were of interest [...] Columns of *Saunders's Newsletter and Daily Advertiser* (Dublin) of Monday, September 9th, **1844**, recently provided me with an amount of entertainment, for in that issue I read a "graphic" account of O'Connell's procession on his release from gaol [...] and how O'Connell's speech—a flaring piece of **mob oratory**—was interrupted by music from one of the bands that had failed to catch his voice

VI.C.15.190(f) mob orator

(g) bloodless soup

The Leader 18 April 1925, 254/1 ['O'Connell and Some Others']: [Quoting O'Connell in *Saunders's Newsletter*, 1844, on his opposition to bloodshed] Remember I am the first person who has produced a great political revolution **without a single drop of blood** or an act of violence.

VI.C.15.190(g) bloodless soup

(h) ^bConciliation Hall

The Leader 18 April 1925, 254/1 ['O'Connell and Some Others']: From the *Newsletter* also, September 10th, 1844, I take the following [...] from O'Connell's speech at **Conciliation Hall**

MS Jahnke 12r1(d): conciliation hall

VI.C.15.190(h) Conciliation Hall

(i) Gale Jones.

The Leader 18 April 1925, 254/2 ['O'Connell and Some Others']: "Imaal" says: "O'Connell and Some Others." So do I, but my "some others" are not "Imaal's" Sheil, and Henry Hunt and **Gale Jones**.

VI.C.15.190(i) Gale Jones

(j) it is it is the / Shannon picture

The Leader 18 April 1925, 252/1 ['Economic Independence']: Rather all of a sudden **the Shannon Scheme** has become a vivid reality.

VI.C.15.190(j) it is it is the / Shannon scheme

Note: "'Tis, it is the Shannon's Stream", song by G. Griffin, see *FW* 297.F3. The article discusses the ambitious hydroelectric scheme for the Shannon, to guarantee an independent electricity supply for the

Free State. The Shannon Electricity Act, 1925 was introduced in the Dáil in April 1925 and references occur throughout this issue of the *Leader*.

- (k) **J.J.'urder them / for W G F**
VI.C.15.191(a) J.J. 'urdas them / for W G. F

VI.C.3.189 / VI.D.2.[012]

- (a) **Yib's (you Irel / Braech)**
VI.C.15.191(b) Yib's (Yrs. Nel. / Brach)
- (b) **cividates / '<y> of the pe O**
VI.C.15.191(c) cividate / , of the field
- (c) **mak = 20 sg.**
VI.C.15.191(d) math. 20 sq.
- (d) **ante 201,000.**
VI.C.15.191(e) ante, you, ow.
- (e) **King John's [?] / bridge Deb >**
Note: See the reproduction of the notebook page in the *JJA*. The unreadable item was crossed out by Mme Raphael.
VI.C.15.191(f) King John's 1215 / bridge. Dub
- (f) **Bristol >**
The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 215-6: In our published histories it is almost invariably stated that **the first bridge at Dublin was built by King John; and his charter of the 3rd July, 1215**, is considered to afford proof of the fact. By that charter (which greatly increased the privileges conferred by Henry II., and also those given in 1192 by John, when Earl of Morton), the King grants to his citizens of Dublin that they "may make a bridge over the water of the Avenlithe wherever it may appear most expedient for them."³ The inference deduced being, that as there was no similar grant in any preceding charter, there had [215] not been previously any bridge at Dublin; and, as William of Worcester states, that in the same year King John built the first bridge at **Bristol** (having shortly before sent to France for Isenbert, the Architect, to complete the first stone¹ bridge at London),² his desire for bridge-building had led to the building of the bridge at Dublin, the Chief City of his lordship of Ireland, and the seat of his Bristol colony.
VI.C.15.191(g) ⁸Bristol
- (g) **^bChartulary >**
Not located in MS/*FW*. The entry at MS 47484b-445: ^+villeins, with chartularies I have talledged them.+^ | *JJA* 59:185 | Mar-May 1930 | III§3B.14 | *FW* 545.14 is too early.
VI.C.15.191(h) ⁸Chartulary
- (h) **Coppinger's Registry**
The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 217: There is in the Tower another charter of King John confirming a grant to Hugo Hosee of land "at the stone gate near the bridge," a document which through the kindness of Thomas Duffus Hardy, esq., Keeper of the Tower Records, I had also an opportunity to examine, leaving no doubt respecting the date, which is the 4th June, 1200;² and further, if it were necessary to add to such instances, we might refer to the transcript of Urban the Third's bull in Alan's Register (in the Archiepiscopal Library, Dublin) to show that the bridge existed in 1186, or to the **chartulary** of St. Thomas's Abbey, known as **Coppinger's Register** (which is now in my possession), to show from a grant by Thomas La Martre that the bridge existed in 1177,³ and to other ecclesiastical documents which refer to this bridge at an earlier date.
VI.C.15.191(i) ⁸Coppinger's Register

(i) **Dublin Bridge >**

VI.C.15.192(a) Dublin Bridge

(j) **Mervyn Ardidut**

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 217n3: Thomas La Martre gave to the Abbey of St. Thomas (Thomas court, Dublin), a plot of ground at **Dublin Bridge**, situate between the ground which he had given to his wife, Margaret, and that which he had granted to the Hospital of Kilmainham. Witnessed by Godfrey of Winchester in the latter end of K. Hen. II. Coppinger's Register of St. Thomas's Abbey, p. 88. Haliday MSS., Roy. Irish Academy, Monasticon Hibernicum, by **Mervyn Archdall**, p. 182, 4to, Dublin, 1786.

VI.C.15.192(b) Mervyn Archdale

(k) **Commonalty**

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 218n2: "Know ye that we, the Mayor and **Commonalty** of Dublin, have given by this our charter to William Nottingham, our fellow citizen, a certain stone tower near the Ostmen's bridge, and joined to the tower beyond the Ostmen's gate, &c. Dated Sunday next after the Feast of St. Bartholomew, 12th Edward I. (A.D. 1285)." White Book of Dublin, p. 54.

VI.C.15.192(d) Commonalty

(l) **Quarry of Ostmas' Bridge**

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 217: As yet the assumption that any bridge was built at Dublin during King John's reign rests solely on the fact that permission was then given to destroy one bridge and to build another, whilst we have records to prove that both before and considerably after that period there was a bridge at Dublin called "**the Bridge of the Ostmen.**" In a grant to Ralph la Hore in 1236, the land is described "in capite pontis Ostmannorum."¹ The name is repeated in a grant to William de Nottingham so late as 1284, which describes a stone tower as being "juxta pontem Ostmannorum," and as these records also refer to "the gate of the Ostmen,"² to "**the old quarry of the Ostmen**" ("a veteri quadrivio Ostmanorum"), &c.,³ there are grounds for supposing that the works so denominated had been executed by the Ostmen, and were not works thus called from proximity to the suburb of Ostmantown.

VI.C.15.192(c) & (e) Ostmast Bridge / quarry of

VI.C.3.190 / VI.D.2.[013]

(a) **190 [LM] / Dubbgall's Bridge >**

Note: See the reproduction of the notebook page in the *JJA*. The first item is Mme Raphael's page numbering. Written in blue crayon.

VI.C.15.192(f) Dubbgall's Bridge

(b) **Situe Rex x 1014.**

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 218-9: However, having proved from Anglo-Norman documents that there was a bridge at Dublin prior to the year 1200, I will now trace it through native records, and establish for it a much higher antiquity. And here I may observe that whatever may have been **the name** [218] **of this bridge** after the Danes were expelled from Dublin, unquestionably it was previously called "**Droichet Dubhghall,**" Dubhgairs Dubhghall being the name of a man, probably that given by the Irish to the Danish founder of the bridge, as Dubhghall (literally the black foreigner) was a name which they frequently gave to their Danish invaders. They so called one of the Danish Chieftains killed at the battle of Clontarf,¹ who is mentioned in the Annals as "Dubhghall son of Amahlæibh,"² the brother of **Sitric, Danish King of Dublin in 1014.**³ We find that the bridge is thus called in the "Four Masters," where it is stated that "A.D. 1112, a predatory excursion was made by Domhnall, grandson Lochlan across Fine-Gall, that is to say, as far as Droichet Dubhghall."

VI.C.15.192(g) Sitric Rex 1014.

(c) **Draway = bridges >**

VI.C.15.192(h) Drawing = bridges.

(d) **nailer bark / deeper water / Are to seek**

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 220: Beyond this period, that is, 150 years prior to the Anglo-Norman invasion we cannot produce distinct evidence of “**a droichet**” or **bridge** at Dublin, although it is highly probable that there was, previously, a regular structure of that kind across the Liffey. We know that these Northmen, who had only established their sovereignty on the sea-coasts of Ireland, had subjugated all England, and held frequent intercourse with it. Godfred II., who was King of Dublin in 922, was also King of Northumberland; and the “Saxon Chronicle” states that Anlaf (the Danish King of Dublin), after his defeat at Brunanburg, by Athelstan in 937, fled with his Northmen in “**their nailed barks over the deep waters, Dublin to seek.**”

VI.C.15.192(i) nailer bark / deeper water / Due to seek

(e) **1014. >**

VI.C.15.192(j) 1014

(f) **S. Tochar >**

VI.C.15.192(k) S’s Tochar

(g) **to 1/2 of river / take breath**

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 220-1: Yet if we cannot find the term “bridge” applied to any [220] structure at Dublin prior to the year **1014**, we have no difficulty in finding evidence that a roadway had been formed across the river before that period. Again referring to the “Annals of the Four Masters” we find that in the year 1000, “the **Tochar**,” or Causeway of Athluain (Athlone) was made by Maelseachlainn, son of Domhnall, King of Ireland, and Cathal Ua Conchobhair, King of Connaught, and that they made the **Tochar** or Causeway of Athliag (Ballyliag near Lanesboro’) in the same year, **each carrying his portion to the middle of the Shannon.**¹ This is referred to as illustrating the statement of the “Chronicon Scotorum” that in the year 999 King Malachy made a **tochar** at Ath Cliath (Dublin), until it reached “**one half of the river,**”² apparently the custom being that when a tidal or non-tidal river divided the territories of Irish kings, each claimed one-half of it and only built to the middle of the stream, and to this (irrespective of the division of land made by Mogh Naudhat and Conn) we may attribute that the earliest charters of Dublin only granted to the citizens the southern half of the Liffey being that within the kingdom of Leinster (Strongbow’s portion with M’Morrrough’s daughter), the other half of the river being in the territory of Meath.

VI.C.15.193(a) to 1/2 of river / ^stake breath^s

(h) **musical signs □**

Not found in *The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin*.

VI.C.15.193(b) musical signs □

(i) **S. Manfred † >**

VI.C.15.193(c) S. Mans †

(j) **arches under 948 >**

VI.C.15.193(d) arche until 948.

(k) **Cer Chr.**

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 221-3: It is not necessary to the present inquiry to ascertain the precise position of this tocher (A.D. 1001.) Whether it had been made at the ford opposite St. Mary’s Abbey, and was the origin of the well known tradition of an ancient communication between the Abbey and Christ Church. (**St. [221] Mary’s**, on the north bank of the Liffey, alleged to have been built in **948**, and **the arches under Christ Church** built on the south bank **at as early a date**)—or whether this tocher led to the old “bothyr,” or road, now anglicised into “Stonybatter;”¹ or had occupied the site of that which long continued to be called the “old bridge”²—although [222] the old bridge had been destroyed in 1314,¹ its substitute swept away in 1385,² and at least twice subsequently rebuilt—it is sufficient to have traced so far the existence of an artificial passage across the Liffey at Dublin; but between this link and the next, by which we should form our chain of corroborative evidence, there is a long interval.

VI.C.3.191 / VI.D.2.[014]

(a) **purposeth / = means >**

VI.C.15.193(f) ^spurposeth / = means

(b) **Battershore / — sea >**

VI.C.15.193(g) ^sBattershore^s / — Sea

(c) **Boberboy. > / = na glogh. >**

VI.C.15.193(h) Boherboy / — na Glogh

(d) **Usher's Island >**

VI.C.15.193(i) Usher's Island

(e) **O. P. School boys >**

VI.C.15.193(j) O.P. School

(f) **(Oximan's / bridge, Old / bridge (toll - 1 cf. / Six holywater / pile. old bridge**

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 222n1: “As for the word Bater, that in English **purpozeth** a lane bearing to an highway. I take it for a meere Irish word that crept unawares into the English through the daily intercourse of the English and Irish inhabitants.” (Stanyhurst, quoted in same.) “The word occurs in early Anglo-Irish documents, in the form of *bothir* or *bothyr*, which was easily converted into *botter* or *batter*. It forms part of the following names:—**Batterstown**, the name of four townlands in Meath, which were always called in Irish, *Haile-an-bhothair*, *i.e.*, the town of the road ... Near Drogheda, there is a townland called Green Batter, and another Yellow Batter, which are called in Irish, *Boherglas* and *Boherboy*, having the same meanings as the present names, *viz.*, *green road* and *yellow road*. We have also some examples, one of which is the well known name of Stonybatter. Long before the city had extended so far, and while Stonybatter was nothing more than a country road it was—as it still continues to be—the great thoroughfare to Dublin from the districts lying west and north-west of the city, and it was known by the name of *Bothar-na-gloch* [**Bohernaglogh**], *i.e.*, the road of the stones, which was changed to the modern equivalent, Stoney-batter, or Stony-road.”—The origin and history of Irish Names of Places, by P. W. Joyce, LL.D., M.B.I.A., pp. 43-45. 12mo. Dublin, M'Glashan & Gill, 1871.] 222n2f: “In the year 1428, the Friars Preachers of this convent of St. Saviour's had a school in an old suburb of Dublin, now called **Usher's Island**, with a large recourse of scholars of philosophy and theology. As **the professors and students** from Ostmantown could not conveniently come and go because of the river Lifley, a bridge of four arches, still standing, built at the cost of the Friars' Preachers, being **the first of the six bridges** of Dublin, called everywhere to this day, the **Old Bridge**. To repay the cost, a lay Domini-[222]can, by leave of the City Council, **took a toll**, and I myself, when a boy, have seen the **holy water** vessel (as tradition had it) for sprinkling the passengers.”—Hibernia Dominicana, by Thomas De Burgo. 4to, 1762, p. 189.

VI.C.15.194(a) Oxman's bridge / ~~briga~~ bridge, old / bridge (toll) - 1 of. / Six, holywater / pile, old bridge

(g) **tochar**

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 223: We have records of bridges over small rivers in Ireland, in 924, and are told that a king of Ulster was celebrated for bridge-building in 739; but we cannot refer to any incident connected with the existence of a bridge or **tochar** at Dublin, between the commencement of the fifth century and the close of the tenth.

VI.C.15.193(b) tochar

(h) **5 royal / road to Tore >>**

VI.C.15.194(c) 5 royal / road to Tower

VI.C.3.192 / VI.D.2.[015]

(a) **Sligh Cuàlam / Dolkers O Powerwot / Bu - Cualam / Bray / Ath Auk / Cualam**

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 225: In our oldest manuscripts it is stated that, in the first century, Ireland was intersected by **five great roads**, leading from different provinces, or petty Kingdoms, to the seat of supreme royalty at **Tara**.¹ Of these “slighes,” or roads, the “**Slighe Cualaun**” was one traced with the greatest apparent certainty by the Ordnance Survey. It struck off from the Fan-na-g-carbad, or “Slope of the chariots,” and led *via* Ratoath and Dublin into Cualaun; a district extending from **Dalkey**, southwards and westwards, and part of which, including **Powerscourt**, is designated in Anglo-Norman records, as Fercullen, or “the territory of the men of Cualaun.” This road, consequently, must have crossed the Liffey, and that it did so near Dublin is confirmed by the fact, that the passage across the river there is frequently termed “**Ath Cliath Cualaun**.”²

VI.C.15.194(d)-195(a) Sligh Cualam / Dolkey O’Powerscot / Bu - Cualan / Bray // Ath. Cleak / Ceralam

(b) **Bealach Dubhlinn >**

VI.C.15.195(b) Bealach Dubhlinner

(c) ^b**Dublin part of Δ / pass of — >**

Not located in MS/FW.

VI.C.15.195(c) Dubl. part of Δ / pass of

(d) **Whitworth Rd**

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 225n3f: Mr. Joyce in continuation of his remarks on the name of Stonybatter (*supra*, p. 222, and note *ibid.*), says “One of the five great roads leading from Tara which were constructed in the second century, viz., that called *Slighe-Cualaun* passed through Dublin by Ratoath and on towards **Bray**, under the name of **Bealach Duibhlinne**. Duibhlinn was originally the name of that part of the Liffey on which the city now stands (the road or pass of the [river] Duibhlinn), it is mentioned in the following quotation from “the Book of Rights”— [225] “It is prohibited to him (the King of Erin), to go with a host, on Monday over the *Bealach Duibhlinne*.” “There can be, I think, no doubt (continues Mr. Joyce), that the present Stonybatter formed a portion of this ancient road, a statement that is borne out by two independent circumstances. First, Stonybatter lies straight on the line and would, if continued, meet the Liffey exactly at **Whitworth bridge**. Secondly, the name of Stonybatter, or *Bothar-na-gloch*, affords even a stronger confirmation.

VI.C.15.195(d) Whitworth Rd

(e) ^b**Hurdles^b / White and Black**

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 226n1f: Ath Cliath Meadrighe, now Clarensbridge in the county of Galway. “When the Seven Maines carried off the cattle of [226] Dartaidha, &c., they were overtaken by Eochaid Beag, &c., whereupon the Maines placed a barricade of **hurdles of whitethorn and black** in the ford until relief should come to them from Aitill and Meane.” Information of Eugene O’Curry.

Not located in MS/FW. (FW 180.16 derives from VI.B.9 and FW 342.18 from VI.B.46.)

VI.C.15.195(e) Hurdles.

VI.C.15.195(f) White & Black

(f) **3 pronged Judea**

?*The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin* 226-7: “Thus [226] disclosing a remarkable coincidence in the mode of defensive warfare practised by the ancient inhabitants of Ireland and of Britain, Cæsar informing us that the Britons, in a similar manner, had endeavoured to prevent his Army from crossing the Thames, by **driving stakes in the river** and on its banks and thereby obstructing the ford.”¹

VI.C.15.195(f) 3. pronged Judea

(g) **Sir Bernard / de romme**

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 228: II. OBSERVATIONS EXPLANATORY OF SIR **BERNARD DE GOMME’S** MAP, MADE A.D. 1673.¹

The map, it will be observed, is entitled “An Exact Survey of the City of Dublin, and Part of the Harbour below

Ringsend,” and seems to have been formed by **Sir Bernard de Gomme** to exhibit the position of the citadel projected by him for the protection of the city and river.

228n1: “Observations explanatory of a plan and estimate for a Citadel at Dublin, designed by **Sir Bernard de Gomme**, Engineer-General, in the year 1673, with his map, showing the state of the harbour and river at that time, exhibited to the Royal Irish Academy, at their meeting on Friday the 15th of March, 1861,” now first printed.

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 230n1: [Sir **Bernard de Gomme**, was Engineer General to Prince Rupert at the Prince’s siege and capture of Bristol in 1643, and wrote a journal of the siege intended to form a chapter in an account of Prince Rupert’s life and actions. *Memoirs of Prince Rupert and the Cavaliers*, by Elliot Warburton, vol.ii., pp.236-267, 3 vols., 8vo. London, 1849.]
VI.C.15.195(g) Sir Bernard / de Gomme

VI.C.3.193 / VI.D.2.[016]

(a) **citadel / Ravelines / curtain / Costion >**

VI.C.15.195(h)-196(a) citadel / ravelines // curtain / bostron

(b) **Shemon Sqr. >**

VI.C.15.196(b) Merrion Square

(c) **Artichoke Rd.**

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 230-1: The **citadel** at Dublin was designed to be a pentagon, occupying a space of 1,946 yards, with ramparts, **ravelins, curtain, and bastions**, the walls being intended of brick, faced with stone, and built on a frame of timber, and piles. It was to contain barracks for 700 men and officers, with a governor’s house, and store houses for munitions of war, a chapel, a prison, a clock-tower, and gateway and drawbridges similar to those at Tilbury fort and Portsmouth, the estimated cost being, £131,227 5s. 9d.; the estimate for constructing a fort at Rincurran, to defend Kinsale, being £10,350.

The site chosen for the Dublin citadel was near the space now occupied by **Merrion-square**, and it would be difficult to understand the grounds assigned for this choice, viz., its being capable of being relieved by sea without realizing to [230] the mind the fact, that at that day the sea flowed almost to the foot of **Merrion-square**.¹

231n1: [“26th January, 1792: A part of the Southwall suddenly gave way and a dreadful torrent broke into the lower grounds inundating every quarter on the same level as far as **Artichoke-road**. The communication to Ringsend and Irishtown is entirely cut off and the inhabitants are obliged to go to and fro in boats.” ...]

VI.C.15.196(c) ^sArtichoke Rd.

(d) **Sea air very / preprotnal >**

VI.C.15.196(d) Sea air very / pragmatrical

(e) **Marmi >**

Note: Not found as such in the source quotation (tentative handwriting reconstruction: “Moore”).

VI.C.15.196(e) Marme

(f) **Pigeon House**

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 231: That such however were the grounds for the selection, appears in the letters of the Earl of Essex, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, the report of Mr. Jonas **Moore**, in the year 1675, stating, “that if his Majesty should think fit to proceed in the design of building a fort royal on the strand, near Ringsend, as was designed by Sir Bernard de Gomme, it is doubtless the only proper piece of ground where a fort can be built so as to be relieved by sea, although for arms **the sea air will be very prejudicial**”² an objection, however, which did not prevent a fort being subsequently erected at the **Pigeon House**, nearly a mile seaward of the site selected by the royal engineer.³

VI.C.15.196(f) Pigeon House

- (g) **hotel / blockhaus** >
VI.C.15.196(g) hotel / blockhouse
- (h) **fr. wreck** >
VI.C.15.196(h) for week
- (i) **rockers / wreckers** >
VI.C.15.196(i) rockers / – wreckers
- (j) **Mullar Ry / and Pigeon** >
VI.C.15.196(j) §Mullarthy / of Pigeon
- (k) **Chr. Tunstall's**

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 231n3: [**The Pigeon House, first as an hotel**, and then as a fort or magazine was preceded, by a **block house for storing wreck**. The Dublin newspapers of 1760 mention that a vessel being **wrecked**, a number of ‘**rockers**’ who always came down for plunder, were by this means disappointed. It got perhaps the name of Pigeonhouse from John Pigeon employed there. “8th June, 1786, ordered that **John Mullarky** and **John Pigeon** do attend on Saturday next.” Journal of Ballast Office. “25th August, 1787: Your committee have provided a ground plan of the blockhouse which accompanies this report,” and thereby allot one portion to **Mr. Francis Tunstall**, the inspector of the works of the Ballast Board, and other part of, O’Brien and his wife during pleasure as housekeeper” without salary but with liberty to retail spirits, they undertaking to keep the Corporation rooms clean and in good order and provide breakfast when directed for any members of the Board.”
VI.C.15.197(a) Mr. Turnstall’s

VI.C.3.194 / VI.D.2.[017]

- (a) **Sin, Urfeld** >
VI.C.15.197(b) Suvillefield
- (b) **Oxare Greece** >
VI.C.15.197(c) Oxare Green
- (c) **unquayed**

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 231-2: In considering the grounds for selecting this site, it must [231] be borne in mind that any landing by an enemy on the north bank of the River, was nearly impossible by reason of the shoals of slob or sand extending to a great distance, and preventing access to the shore; but had an enemy been ever able to disembark, they would have the river between them and the object of their attack, as the city then lay altogether on the south side of the river, except the district called Ostmantown (the ancient settlement of the Danes or Ostmen), adjoining St. Michan’s Church and **Smithfield**, the latter being long familiarly known under the corrupted name of **Oxmantown-green**.

Upon the South side of the river, Ringsend was the chief landing place at the period of Sir Bernard de Gomme’s design. The river **not being yet quayed** and deepened, as it has since been, flowed at low water in streams, winding in devious courses through a labyrinth of sands, as may be seen on Sir Bernard’s map.¹

VI.C.15.197(d) unquayed

- (d) **brooks haven** >
VI.C.15.197(e) brooks / haven
- (e) **Rathfarmhar / wate = Deirde Deide** >
Note: See the reproduction of the notebook page in the *JJA*. The deleted item was crossed out by Mme Raphael.
VI.C.15.197(g) wate = Dedde

- (f) **John Usher / drowned >**
VI.C.15.197(h) John Usher / drowned
- (g) **Duncander / brook >**
VI.C.15.197(i) Duncarden / brooth
- (h) **Ballahira >**
VI.C.15.197(j) Ballasliver
- (i) **dosse duss / lamp of Baptialter / 1 W sive | Kom / Simonscourt >**
VI.C.15.197(k)-198(a) Dodde divides // lamp of Baptialth / (D. side) from / Simonscourt
- (j) **assembly Room >>**
VI.C.15.198(b) Assembly Room

VI.C.3.195 / VI.D.2.[018]

- (a) **Smoother cout >**
VI.C.15.198(c) Smoothescont
- (b) **how to come / at? >**
VI.C.15.198(d) how to come / at ?
- (c) **coach / <Rinsend> Ringsend car >**
VI.C.15.198(e) coach / Ringseed car
- (d) **Scuffling for a Kiss**

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 232n1f: Boate writes A.D. 1645, “Of dangerous **brooks** there are two [232] hard by Dublin, both running into the **haven** ... the one at the north side a little below Drumconran [the Tolka] ... the other at the south side close by the Ringsend. This called **Rafernam water** from the village by which it passeth [**the Dodder**.] ... is far the worst of the two, as rising out of those great mountains southwards from Dublin, from whence after any great rain ... it groweth so deep and violent that many persons have lost their lives therein; amongst others **Mr. John Usher**, father to Sir William Usher that now is, who was carried away by the current, nobody being able to succour him although many persons and of his nearest friends, both a foot and horseback, were by on both the sides. Since that time a stone bridge hath been built over that brook upon the way betwixt Dublin and Ringsend.” Ireland’s Naturall History, written [A.D. 1645], by Gerard Boate, late Doctor of Physick to the State in Ireland, and now published by Samuel Hartlib, Esq., and more especially for the benefit of the Adventurers and Planters therein, London, 1652; chapt. vii., sec. 7. “Of the **Brooks of Drumconran** and Rafernam by Dublin.” Reprinted in a collection of Tracts illustrative of Ireland, by Alexander Thorn, 2 vols., 8vo. Dublin, 1850. Mr. Usher was **drowned** in the beginning of the year 1629. For letters of administrations “of the goods of Mr. John Usher, Alderman of Dublin,” were granted forth of the Prerogative Court, Dublin, 16th of March, 1629, to “Sir William Usher, son of the deceased.” Grant Book, Public Record Office, Four Courts, Dublin. It must be remembered that the only way to Ringsend on those days when the tide was in was to cross the ford of the Dodder where **Ball’s Bridge** now stands (for the sea then flowed to the foot of Holles-street). And at this ford, without doubt, Alderman Usher was drowned. The **Dodder**, it may be observed here, **divides the lands of Baggotrath on the Dublin side, from Simmons-court** on the other. The stone bridge mentioned by Boate occupied the site of Ball’s Bridge, and must have been built between 1629 and 1637. It was suggested in 1623. “Easter 1623. To the petition of Richard Morgan praying an allowance for erecting of a bridge going to Ringsend, Ordered that as private men have a lease upon the land it therefore convenienceth themselves to build the said bridge.” Assembly Rolls. “Midsummer 1640. Certain of the Commons petitioned, that in the year of Mr. Watson’s mayoralty [A.D. 1637], there were some charges expended in the repairing of the bridge of Symons-court alias **Smoothescourt**, since which time the same has fallen to much decay, ordered that ten pounds be expended.” C. Haliday’s abstracts of City **Assembly Rolls**.[...] Even at low water there

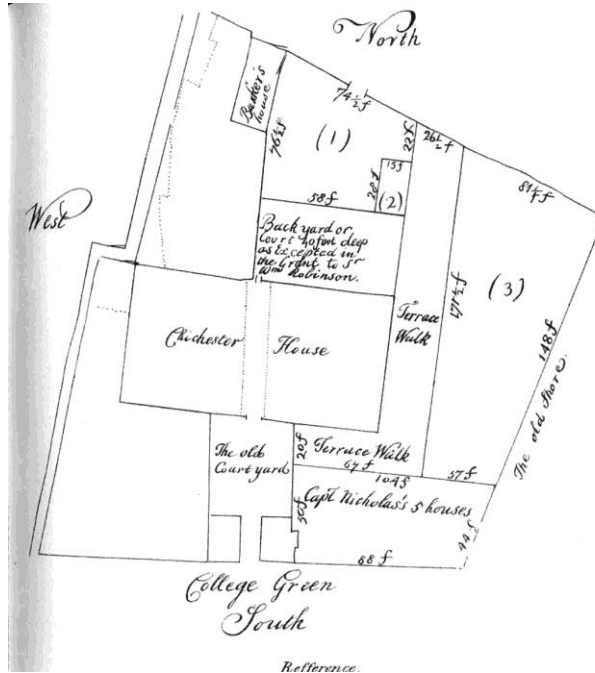
was no passing on foot between Ringsend and Dublin. Dunton writes as follows in 1698: “The first ramble I took this morning was to take my farewell of Ringsend ... T’is about a mile from Dublin. ... After an hour’s stay in this dear place (as all seaport towns generally are.) I took my leave of Trench, Welstead, and three or more friends and now looked towards Dublin; but **how to come at it** we no more knew how than the fox at the grapes; for, though we saw a large strand yet t’was not to be walked over because of a pretty rapid stream which must be crossed. We inquired for a coach and found that no such thing was to be had there but were informed we could have a **Ringsend carr**, which upon my desire was called and we got upon it, not into it. It is a perfect carr with two wheels and towards the back of it a seat is raised crossways long enough to hold three people ... The fare to Lazy Hill is four pence we were told that there were a hundred and more plying. ... “Some account of my conversations in Ireland,” p. 419. *The Dublin Scuffle*, by John Dunton, 12mo. London, 1699.
VI.C.15.198(f) scuffley face / Kiss

(e) **Old Shore**

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 233-4; 238-9: Above Ringsend the navigation became still more intricate and difficult. The long line of South Wall, nearly three miles and a quarter in length, from Ringsend to Poolbeg, [233] carried over the South Bull,¹ through the water towards the bar, and terminated by the Poolbeg lighthouse, marking the entrance of the river, was not then thought of,² the sea [234] not banked out from the south side of the city by Sir John Rogerson’s-quay,¹ spread itself over ground now laid out in [238] streets,¹ so that Ringsend true to its name Rin or Reen meaning a spit or point presents itself in Sir Bernard de Gomme’s map as a long and narrow tongue or spit of land running out into the sea, the water on its western side spreading over all the low ground between Irishtown and the slightly rising ground on which stand the barracks at Beggar’s Bush, and under Sir Patrick Dunne’s hospital, along the line of Denzille-street and Great Brunswick-street, to Townsend-street, called Lazey, otherwise Lazar’s Hill, and flowing even to that front of the Parliament House called the Lord’s entrance, **facing College-street**, as may be seen on the ground plan of Chichester House (the site of which the Parliament House occupies), where ground under this face is described as “**the Old Shore.**”
VI.C.15.198(g) ^gOld shore

(f) **Coll. Green**

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin [facing] 238: [facing p. 238 is a survey plan of **College Green**, also featuring, at the right, the name of ‘The Old Shore’, cf. (f) — see illustration]
VI.C.15.198(h) ^gColl. Green



(g) **Cartville B >**

VI.C.15.199(a) Carlisle B.

(h) **Ballast Master** >

VI.C.15.199(b) ^sBallast Master

(i) **tormentors** >

VI.C.15.199(c) tormentors

(j) **p 234**

VI.C.15.199(d) p. 234.

(k) **1st fair day** >

VI.C.15.199(e) 1st fair day

(l) **^bCockle Lake** >

Not located in MS/FW.

VI.C.15.199(f) Cockle Lake

(m) **Ringsend Pl.** >

VI.C.15.199(g) Ringsend Pl.

(n) **Cloisters Ba**

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 234n2: The following particulars concerning the forming of a new channel for the river Liffey, from near the site of the present **Carlisle bridge** to the Poolbeg Light House, a distance of nearly four miles, are derived from Mr. Haliday's collections. 16th January, 1707-8: Three Aldermen and Six of the Commons appointed by the Corporation to be a Quorum [Committee of Directors of the Ballast Office] to give directions to **Ballast Master**. (Ballast Office Journal). 26th January, 1707-8: That two iron **Tormentors** be made, and **that the first fair day** it be tried what depth of sand or gravel there is in places (to be pointed out) in the Channel. (*Ib.*) 29th January, 1707-8: Committee went to Cock [**Cockle**] **lake** and found that the water which was there when the tide is out may be prevented that course. The manner how not decided. River tried from Mr. Vanhomrigh's house to **Ringsend point**; found 5 feet depth of sand and gravel. Thence to **Clontarf bar**, 4 feet deep; No rocks (*Ib.*) 13th February, 1707-8: Mr. Morland, City Surveyor, to draw a map of the channel of the river from Essex bridge to the bar; [234] [...]

VI.C.15.199(h) Clowturf Ba

VI.C.3.196 / VI.D.2.[019]

(a) **in writing** >

VI.C.15.199(i) in writing

(b) **M^r Mercer's** >

VI.C.15.199(j) M^r Mercer's

(c) **piling** >

VI.C.15.199(k) piling

(d) **contribute and** >

VI.C.15.199(l) contribute &

(e) **shake out means** >

VI.C.15.199(m) shake out mean

(f) **faggot** >

VI.C.15.199(n) faggot

(g) **fishets >**

VI.C.15.199(o) fishets

(h) **Kisho of stone >**

VI.C.15.200(a) Kishing of stone

(i) **Rogerson >**

VI.C.15.200(b) ^sRogerson

(j) **oak timber**

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 235nf [misnumbered 233]: Mr. Morney, and two or three others best experienced in the channel from Vanhomrigh's house to the bar, to give their opinions **in writing**. (*Ib.*) 20th February, 1707-8: Mr. Holt brought the opinions (as ordered), that the Channel should run from **Mr. Mercer's** (formerly Vanhomrigh's) house directly with Green Patch, a little without Ringsend point. (*Ib.*) 21st July, 1710: Report of Committee of Ballast Office: Had conferred with persons interested in the ground on the north side of the Channel relative to **piling** there, who would not **contribute to** the expense. Directions for dredging the channel and to make a bank on the north side. (City Assembly Rolls). 20th October, 1710: The Committee appointed to **stake out the mears** and bounds [of the Channel] between Ringsend and Lazy Hill have not done so: The old channel will soon be filled up. The mears and bounds to be staked out, (City Assembly Rolls). 13th April, 1711: Instructions given for bringing great quantities of stone and **faggots** which will make good that part of the banks not already secured on both sides of the channel, and fill up the mouth of the old, and will keep the **freshets** within the bounds of the new channel, and will make the new channel deeper (*Ib.*) 2nd May, 1712: It is necessary to enclose the channel to carry it directly to Salmon Pool. Had consulted many who are of opinion that the best way will be by **laying kishes filled with stones** and backing them with sand and gravel, which is found by the experience of some years past to withstand all the force of the floods that come down the river (*Ib.*) 22nd July, 1715: Are laying down kishes to secure the north side of the channel and when a sufficient number of kishes are made will go on with the piling below Ringsend as formerly proposed: are now raising stones at Clontarf (*Ib.*) 14th October, 1715: Are laying down a quantity of kishes on the north side which has made good the bank as far as opposite Mabbot's mill. The remainder will be completed next summer, (*Ibid*). 4th Friday after Christmas, 1715: It is the opinion of merchants that the south side of the channel below Ringsend should be filled in, which will raise the south bank so high as to be a great shelter to shipping in the harbour, (*Ibid*). Same day: Petition that the strand between that taken in by Mercer and that granted to Sir John **Rogerson** be taken in, being now overflowed: that a wall be built to the east: sand and rubbish would fix it: length of wall 606 feet: Sir J. Rogerson would then be encouraged to take in his strand: Ordered that the work do proceed, and that the Ballast Office do back said wall (*Ibid*). 20th January, 1715-16: Have not been able to go on with the piling below Ringsend for want of **oak timber**: propose to carry the kishes up to Morney's dock (*Ib.*)
Note: See the reproduction of the notebook page in the *JJA*. The next thirteen notes were not transcribed in VI.C.15.

(k) **furze >**

(l) **wattling >**

(m) **pans flocks / out from / Blackweh**

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 236nf: 17 January, 1717-18: Have laid 348 kishes on north side since last report (*Ib.*) 25th April, 1718: Have filled up the breaches made in the South Bull by last winter's storms with **furze** and stones, (*Ib.*). 13th July, 1718: Are proceeding with the wall on the South Bull. [...] 20th July, 1720: The sea scarcely leaves the East End of the piles which makes the work slow: Are **wattling** between the piles which they hope will in time raise a bank (*Ib.*), 21st April, 1721: Instead of piling by the Engine which is found impracticable so far at sea, have used frames made of piles about twenty-two feet in length and ten feet in breadth twenty-four **piles** in each frame. These are **floatod out from Blackrock** accompanied by two gabbards filled with stones quarried there, and the frames are then filled with stones and sunk, (*Ib.*)

(n) **Venus >>**

VI.C.3.197 / VI.D.2.[020]

(a) **Mr. Recider** >

(b) **gut**

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 236nf: 17th January, 1728-9: One frame of piles for piling the channel of [236] the Liffey went adrift. Some of the piles which composed it are in possession of Lord Howth, and some of Mr. **Vernon** who refuse to deliver them: **Mr. Recorder** to advise, (*Ib.*) [They were afterwards given up], 10th April, 1729: Could not proceed with the work at Blackrock by reason of the stormy weather, nor with the new frames at Cock [Cockle] Lake, (*Ib.*), 8th July, 1729: The work having been left incomplete a deep **gut** has been formed between this summer and last winter at the east end of the frames which has carried a spit a great way into the Channel and is dangerous for shipping; and will be worse if the carrying on of the frames be longer delayed: Suggest an Act of Parliament giving power to borrow, (*Ib.*) [...]

(c) **floating light** >

(d) **in forward dress**

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 237nf: The double dry stone wall filled between with gravel (which now forms the road from Ringsend to the Pigeonhouse fort) was completed in 1735, (Tidal Harbour Commissioners second report. Captain Washington's report and evidence to the report annexed, [237] Parliamentary Papers, vol., xviii., Part I.) In October, 1735, a **Floating Light** was placed at the east end of the Piles. In June, 1761, (the long wall of cut stone from the present Pigeonhouse was begun by erecting the present Poolbeg Lighthouse (*Ibid.*) This wall was completed in 1790. "28th August, 1788: So great is the progress already made in the Mole or Jettie in our harbour, commonly called the South Wall or Ballast Office Wall that besides the mile and a quarter from Ringsend to the Block house, there are upwards of 3,000 feet in length of it completed from the new work from the Lighthouse westwards" (Dublin Chronicle), "10th January, 1789: The work is in such **forwardness** that it will be completed in about eighteen months." (*Ibid.*) [...]

(e) **p 238 / gibbet** >

(f) **pendit corded**

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 238nf: "25th February, 1744: On Wednesday last were tried in the King's Bench (amongst others), Peter Fagan and James Flanagan and were (as sentenced), whipped on Thursday from Irishtown to Merrion for digging up piles at the Strand, Dublin News Letter," "17th May, 1766: The two **murderers who were hung in gibbetts** at a little distance from the new wall were put up in so scandalous a manner that they fell down on Tuesday, and now lie on the piles, a most shocking spectacle. Pue's Occurrences, vol., lxiii., No. 6488, W. M. G.]"

(g) **Lord Chf. Justice** >

VI.C.15.200(b) ^sLord Chief Justice

(h) **Mary Str.**

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 238nf: [23rd August, 1741: Died at his house in **Mary-street** of a fever the Right Hon. John Rogerson, Esq., Chief Justice of the King's Bench. He came to the Bar in 1702. Was made Recorder of Dublin, 3rd November, 1714. Same year became Solicitor-General; and Attorney-General May, 1720, and **Lord Chief Justice** May, 1727. (Dublin News Letter, Richard Reilly's No. 485, 23rd March, 1744.) To be sold that part of the South Strand in the city of Dublin which lies eastward of the arch on the High road from Dublin to Ringsend, containing 133 acres plantation measure the estate of the late Right Hon. Chief Justice Robinson whereof 2A. 2B. are bounded by Rogerson's-quay, and laid out for building, Dublin Journal, No.1883, W. M. G.]
VI.C.15.200(c) Mary Sv.

(i) **the outgrounds** >

VI.C.15.200(d) the outgrounds

- (j) **his lake Magsh >**
VI.C.15.200(e) his late Majesty
- (k) **the befouwerite >**
VI.C.15.200(f) the beforerecit
- (l) **on behalf / of unpely >**
VI.C.15.200(g) on - behalf / of myself

(m) **parcels**

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 239n2-240: “May it please your honours, in obedience to your honours’ order to us directed dated 28th of May last, whereby we were required joyntly to survey all and singular **the outgrounds** and gardens belonging to a certain house demised to Sir William Robinson, Knt., by **His late Majesty** King Charles the Second excepting such parts of the premises thereby demised as hath been purchased by His Majesty in pursuance of the before recited Act. And having given due notice in writing to Mr. John Williams, Agent to your honours and to the other parties concerned in interest to attend said survey, and having heard what was offered by **said** John Williams in behalf of His Majesty and what was offered by Mr. Hutchinson **on behalf of himself** and of Richard Gering, Esq., did proceed to survey the same and having then and at sundry times informed ourselves by divers witnesses, persons capable to give us true information of the mears and bounds thereof. We have made a true survey; a Map whereof we have hereunto annexed, and do find that of all and singular the premises in the said Letters Patent contained and demised as aforesaid nothing now remains to be purchased by His Majesty in pursuance of the said Act, except the following **parcels**, viz., No.1, No. 2, and No.3, whose boundaries and [239] dimentions are described in the said Map and Table of Reference thereto belonging. All which is most humbly submitted to your honours, this Eleventh day of September, 1734, by Your Honours Most dutyfull and Most Obedient Servants. THOMAS CAVE. GABRIEL STOKES. § From the Original, Public Record Office, Four Courts.

VI.C.15.200(h) parcels

- (n) **Gr. beachfully >**
VI.C.15.200(i) ^syr. beautifully

(o) **Cabell**

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 243: The plan of a citadel, as projected by Sir Bernard de Gomme, though not executed, seems not to have been wholly laid aside, for in a fine collection, in folio, of plans of all the forts existing in Ireland, in the year 1684, with their elevations **beautifully** executed in water colours, together with projects for additional defences, preserved at Kilkenny **Castle**, the same design reappears. This volume of plans is entitled “A Report drawn up by direction of His Majesty King Charles the Second, and General Right Hon. George [Legge] Lord Dartmouth, Master-General of His Majesty’s Ordnance in England, and performed by Thomas Phillips, anno 1685;” a and it contains several plans and details “for a citadel to be built over Dublin,” the site being apparently the same as that chosen by Sir Bernard de Gomme, and the form similar.

VI.C.15.200(j) Cahill

VI.C.3.198 / VI.D.2.[021]

- (a) **James Gardon >**
VI.C.15.200(k) James Gordon
- (b) **comittee col / > James order / because E door / of B of I on shore >**
VI.C.15.201(a) Cornish col / > Tom’s order / because E does / of B of I an shore
- (c) **(in let) Pill from Δ / to B of I**

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 240n: [In 1784, when making the present portico in Westmoreland-street for a separate entrance to the House of Peers it was found that the buildings on this

east side of the Parliament House stood on ground with declivities so sudden and so great as to make it difficult to bring the line of cornices, windows and rustic basement of the new portico into harmony with the lines of the original building; for here on the east the **foundation was the ‘Old Shore’ line** marked on the plan of Chichester House. It was only overcome by **James Gandon** the architect employing **Corinthian Columns** which are **taller than the Ionic Order** used in the main building, and even then the portico was ascended by steps. Life of James Gandon, architect by his son. Edited by Mulvany, pp. 83-85. Hodges and Smith, Dublin, 8vo., 1846. In Speed’s map of 1610, there is **a pill or narrow inlet from the Liffey running up to this eastern front**. The regular course of the shore line seems to have been Fleet-street by the same map.]

VI.C.15.201(b) Pill from Δ to B of I (inlet)

(d) **Timothy Avons. >**

VI.C.15.201(c) Timothy Avory

(e) **firse / Lanbay catch >**

VI.C.15.201(d) figsete. / Lanbay catch

(f) **privatee**

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 240-1: Among the Treasury warrants issued by the Commissioners of England for the affairs of Ireland, is an order dated the 24th March, 1657: “That James Standish, Receiver-General, do issue forth and pay unto Mr. **Timothy Avery** the sum of £100, on account, the same being to be by him issued out towards the finishing and speedy fitting to sea the new **ffrigatt**, called the **Lambay Catch**, now rebuilt and lately launched, att Lazey Hill, Dublin, according to such orders as he shall receive in writing under the hand of Captain Edward Tomlins, and Joseph Glover, who is to command the said shipp, for payment whereof this is a [240] warrant,” &c.¹

241n1: Book of Treasury Warrants, A.D. 1656-1657. Record Tower, Dublin Castle. [As late as 1744 there was another launch. “Last Thursday, ‘the Boyne’ **privateer** was launched at George’s-quay, at which vast numbers of spectators were present who wished her a good voyage and to take her enemies,” 29th September, 1744. The Dublin Journal, W. M. G.]

VI.C.15.201(e) ^sprivateer

(g) **be it remembered >**

VI.C.15.201(f) be it remembered

(h) **Newcomer >**

VI.C.15.201(g) Newcomer

(i) **showed their love**

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 241n2: **Be it remembered** that on Saturday the 12th of March, 1614, the Honorable Sir Arthur Chichester, Lord Chichester of Belfast, Deputy General of Ireland, after holding the sceptre of that Kingdom for nine years, five weeks and upwards, embarked in the King’s Sloop called ‘the Moon,’ Beverley **Newcomen**, son and heir of Sir Robert **Newcomen**, Commander, on his voyage to England, being escorted from his house called Chichester House to the place called ‘the Hinge’s Ende’ where the Sloop’s boat awaited him, by the Lords Justices, Privy Council and others, Officers of the Army, Pensioners, and Members of Parliament, and the Mayor and Sheriffs, and the greater part of the Citizens of Dublin, all anxious **to show their love**, &c., &c. Exchequer Roll, 11th James I., (translation). Lord Berkely landed here, 1679, De Ginkle sailed hence, 1691. (Story’s War of Ireland, p.285). Earl Wharton landed here, 1709. [The great guns were sent down to Ringsend to wait the arrival of the Duke of Devonshire our Lord Lieutenant, who is hourly expected here, Dublin News Letter, 29th September, 1741. W. M. G.]

VI.C.15.201(h) showed their love

(j) **Vavassoui**

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 242n1: The ground for Bath-avenue was only recovered from the sea about 1792. [“31st May, 1792: The marsh between Beggar’s-bush and Ringsend, through which runs the Dodder on its way to Ringsend-bridge, is, we hear, taken by Mr. [Counsellor] Vavasour from Lord Fitzwilliam, for 150 years, at £190 per annum. This tract, which is inundated every tide, Mr. Vavasour

will (it is said) reclaim by a complete double embankment of the Dodder... The river is to be turned to its own channel, which is the centre of the piece of ground south of Ringsend-bridge ...” Dublin Chronicle. W. M. G.]

VI.C.15.201(i) Vavasour

(k) **50T — 100 / >>**

VI.C.15.202(a) 50 T - 100 T

VI.C.3.199 / VI.D.2.[022]

(a) **bride**

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 243: The plans of Yarranton and De Gomme directed attention to the improvement of the port of Dublin, the trade of which was then carried on by vessels of **from fifty to one hundred tons burden**.

VI.C.15.202(b) burden

(b) **Chaste K sob / Δ and strand = Ebl’s**

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 243-4: As there was no corporate or other body in Dublin [243] entrusted with the conservancy of the river, and especially empowered to raise ballast, Henry Howard petitioned the Lord Lieutenant in 1676 that a patent might be granted to him, pursuant to the king’s letter, which he had obtained, for establishing a ballast office.¹ This, however, was opposed by the Lord Mayor and citizens, on the ground that **the charter of King John** gave to them **the strand of the river**,² where ballast should be raised,³ and they, therefore, prayed that permission to establish a ballast office might be granted to them, they applying the profits thereof to the maintenance of the intended “King’s Hospital” (since better known as the Blue Coat School).

VI.C.15.202(d) Charte K. Job. / Δ & strand = 3 bl’s

(c) **in fee / farm**

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 244n2: A.D. 1200. King John confirms former charters, and grants to the citizens the fishery of one half of the Liffey, with liberty to build on the banks at their will. Dated at Upton, 6th of November, in the 2nd year of his reign. Historic and Municipal Documents from the Archives of the City of Dublin, &c., 1172-1320. Edited by J. T. Gilbert, F.S.A., 8vo, Dublin, 1870. A.D. 1215. Confirms to them the city **in feefarm** with that part of the Liffey which belongs to them together with one part of the said river, except such fishings as we have granted in free alms [to St. Mary’s Abbey, &c.], and such others as are held by ancient tenure. Dated at Marlbrege, 3rd of July, in the 17th year of his reign.

VI.C.15.202(e) — / in fee / farm

(d) **Bluecoats’ School**

Note: For the source see quotation at (b) above.

VI.C.15.202(f) bluecoat’s school

(e) **^bget up her >**

MS 47486a-222, ScrPrEM: ^+- **But** ^+any+^ bompriss’s **sure** ^+bound+^ to get up her./-H ^+So+^ **just** pool her bag & **berth** ^+bynie+^ on her butt+^ | *JJA* 61:296 | 1933-1934 | III§1A.12’ |1D.12’ |//2A.13’ |2B.11’ |2C.13’ |3A.10’ |//4.7’ | |>] MS 47486b-475, PrPrEM: ^+so as now any bompriss’s bound to get yp her if he pool her leg and bunk on her butt?+^ | *JJA* 61:485 | 1933-1936 | III§3A.10’+ | *FW* 525.34-35

VI.C.15.202(g) get up her / Δ

(f) **Ballast Δ / officer**

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 245: The Corporation of Dublin, still anxious to improve the port, petitioned the House of Commons in 1698, stating that “the river had become so shallow, and the channel so uncertain, that neither barques nor lighters of any burden **could get up** except at spring tides, much merchandise being unloaded at Ringsend, and thence carted up to Dublin;” and, therefore, prayed

that they might be permitted to establish a **Ballast Office**.¹

On this petition the “Heads of a Bill,” were prepared and transmitted to England, conformable with Poyning’s law,² but the Bill was stopped in England by some persons there (as was alleged), who endeavoured to get a grant from the Admiralty for the benefit of the chest at Chatham.”

VI.C.15.202(h) Ballast office

(g) **lord Mayor / = admiral of. Dub**

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 246-7: It is more likely, however, that the opposition originated in some jealousy respecting the Admiralty jurisdiction of the Port, **the Lord Mayor being “Admiral of Dublin,”**¹ over [246] which the Lord High Admiral of England claimed to be supreme.

VI.C.15.202(i) lord Mayor / = admiral of Dub

(h) **ammun.**

Not found in *The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin*.

VI.C.15.202(j) amnium

(i) **ad. quod. daimos. >**

VI.C.15.202(k) ad quod daim

(j) **alercornshed / (Arcloud) >**

VI.C.15.202(b) abercornshed / (Arklow)

(k) **water bartiff.**

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 246n2f: 21st March, 1372. Upon an inquisition *ad quod damnum* the jury find that it would be of no damage to the king or others to grant to the Mayor and citizens of Dublin, the customs of all merchandise brought for sale, either by land or sea, between Skerries and **Alercornshed**, otherwise **Arclo**. 46 Edward III. “White Book of City of Dublin.” A.D. 1582, 25 January, (24 Elizabeth) the Queen, by her charter, granted the office of Admiralty to the Mayor, &c., of Dublin, wherever the sheriffs of the said city may lawfully receive customs, namely—between Arclo and the Nannywater. Exchequer Mem. Roll 24th, 25th, 26th of Elizabeth, membrane 11th. [Three years later the Corporation obtained an amended charter; but in 1615 the city lost this jurisdiction by a judgment of the Court of King’s Bench. In that year Sir John Davys, Attorney-General, filed an information against the city of Dublin for (amongst other things) usurping Admiralty jurisdiction. The city pleaded a Charter of Edward VI., and a grant by Queen Elizabeth, dated at Weald Hall [in Essex], the 13th of August, in the 27th year of her reign (A.D. 1585), confirming the charter of Edward VI., and giving the city the office of Admiralty, with a court of Admiralty, **water bailiffs**, &c., between Arclo and Nannywater, “in order that they may the better apply themselves to the defence of the city.” Judgment for the crown. King’s Bench Roll, 4th to 19th Jas. I., Exchequer. But the Corporation still claimed anchorage fees. In 1708, Easter Assembly—That **water bailiffs** of the Lord High Admiral of England exact fees for anchorage in the port of Dublin. Ordered that the Lord Mayor prevent such exactions in future by prosecuting such as pretend to exact anchorage fees. City Records.

15th February, 1727-8—The Corporation addressed Lord Carteret, Lord Lieutenant, alleging that Queen Elizabeth, by charter dated 26th of June, in the 24th year of her reign, granted them the office of Admiralty, which they always exercised until the reign of King James II., “and the government of the city being then in the hands of Papists, the Protestants who suc-[246]ceeded were unacquainted with their privileges, and have but lately discovered that the said power was vested in them. Haliday’s Abstracts of City Assembly rolls. Haliday MSS., Royal Irish Academy.

Not transferred in VI.C.15

(l) **white duck / sail cloth**

The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin 247: This obstacle was removed in 1708, when the Ballast Office was created by an Act of the 6th of Queen Anne: for the city had privately **promised** the Queen’s Consort, Prince George of Denmark, then Lord High Admiral of England, an annual tribute “of one hundred yards of the best Holland **duck sail cloth**, which shall be made in the realm of Ireland,” although there was no clause to that effect inserted in the bill; and this tribute was for a time regularly sent to London, and **on one occasion when it was omitted** it was formally demanded by the Admiralty, and then forwarded by the Corporation.¹

To the establishment of this Ballast Office in 1708, and the remodelling of it in 1787, under the name of “The Corporation for Preserving and Improving the Port of Dublin,” we owe the extraordinary improvement manifested by an inspection of the map.

VI.C.15.203(a) white duck. / sail cloth

VI.C.3.200 / VI.D.2.[023]

(a) **200 [LM] / Sujol good**

Note: See the reproduction of the notebook page in the *JJA*. The first item is Mme Raphael’s page numbering. Written in blue crayon.

VI.C.15.203(b) Sujol, good

(b) **debtor (v creshed**

VI.C.15.203(c) debtor (& crewked)

(c) **Saga / pl sogur**

The Icelandic Sagas 1: The general title of Icelandic Sagas is used to denote a very extensive body of prose literature written in Iceland, and in the language of that country, at various dates between the middle of the twelfth century and the beginning of the fifteenth; the end of the period however, is less clearly marked than the beginning. The common feature of the works classed under this name, which vary greatly in length, value, and interest, is that they have the outward form of historical or biographical narratives; but the matter is often purely fictitious, and in many cases fact and fiction are inseparably blended. Both in the form and in the matter there is much that is conventional, and many features of style and content are quite peculiar to the special Icelandic mode of story-telling.

The word *saga* (of which the plural is *sögur*) literally means ‘something said,’ and was in use long before there was any written literature in Iceland.

VI.C.15.203(d) saga / pl. sogur

(d) **Gorm 1st K of Den / Eirik – Snd >**

VI.C.15.203(e) Gorm 1st K. of Den. / Eirik – Sw

(e) **Void vol to cut / hair >**

VI.C.15.203(f) Vow use to cut / ham

(f) ^b**Harold Tarhar**

The Icelandic Sagas 2-3: With the second [2] half of the century an important change took place. **Harald the Fairhaired**, whose paternal kingdom was limited to a small district in the east of Norway, began at an early age to extend his domain by conquest. According to the story given in the saga of Harald, his desire of dominion was mainly due to the words of a girl, who refused to consider his wooing of her so long as he was only king over a few small districts; “and I think it strange,” she said, “that there is no king who will try to make Norway his own, **as Gorm has done in Denmark, and Eirik at Uppsala.**” When these words were reported to Harald, he declared himself grateful for them, and **made a vow never to cut or comb his hair**, until he had made himself master of the whole of Norway. The following years, from 865 onwards, witnessed the rapid fulfilment of this resolve, culminating in the great sea-fight at Hafsfirth on the west coast of Norway, in the year 872. After this battle, says his saga. King Harald met with no further resistance.

MS Jahnke 12r1(e): when the harald of fairhaired / spring was horning, he setsail for summer / , gaze[?] on greenland.

VI.C.15.203(g) Harold Fairhair

(g) ^b**Sail by Summer**

The Icelandic Sagas 7-8: Although isolated by their position in a remote island of the Atlantic, the Icelanders did not allow [7] themselves to become a secluded people, with no interest in the lands beyond the sea and no knowledge of their affairs. For several generations close relations were maintained not only with their original home in Norway, but also with Sweden, Denmark, and the British

Isles. Apart from the risks involved in crossing the wide stretch of ocean, risks which were reduced as far as possible by **sailing only in summer**, there was no difficulty in keeping up an intimate connexion with these countries.

MS Jahnke 12r1(e): when the harald of fairhaired / spring was horning, he setsail for summer / , gaze[?] on greenland.

VI.C.15.203(h) sail by Summer

(h) Wolfstone

The Icelandic Sagas 6: Not a few of these men had also seen much of other lands before they went to end their days in Iceland. Some had played an active part as vikings—to them an honourable as well as profitable occupation—and had plundered in the Baltic lands, or in the British Isles, or even further south. Others had seen the manners and men of foreign countries in the more peaceful capacity of traders, and as such had frequented not only foreign towns but even the courts of foreign kings, as Ohthere and **Wulfstan** did that of King Alfred. Others again, as we have already seen, had been actually settled for some time in the Scottish islands, or in Ireland, and had intermarried with the Gaelic people there. Some of these were men and women of great distinction, and played a prominent part in the early history of Iceland, though their number were smaller than has sometimes been supposed; at the very most only one in every six of the leading settlers came from ‘west the sea.’ Many of these colonists brought with them thralls belonging to other countries, some of whom were almost immediately set free and established in homes of their own, thus helping towards a mixture of race which can be clearly observed at the present day. In all this there was much matter worthy of being remembered, and the origin and adventures of such men formed themes of great interest both for their own descendants and for others.

Note: Conjectural reconstructions of B-items: thralls; ‘west the sea’; intermarried; could converse with men of his own tongue; reach the court of the Byzantine emperor; the general assembly the Althingi; Heimskringla; skáld, skalds; Snorri Sturluson.

VI.C.15.203(i) Wolfstone

(i) drapar / encoming / flokkar

The Icelandic Sagas 12: Although the poems thus referred to by Snorri mainly relate to Norwegian kings, many of the events recounted in them bore upon the history of the other Scandinavian countries and the British Isles. Moreover, there were also Icelandic poets who made their way to Sweden and Denmark, to the Orkneys, to Ireland, and even to the English court, and composed poems in which they recounted the exploits of the kings and earls whom they found there. These poems, no less than the others, were in due time carried back to Iceland, and helped to maintain and increase a knowledge of the affairs of these countries. The total number of such poems known and repeated in Iceland during the eleventh and twelfth centuries must have been very great. It is recorded of one man, Stúf the Blind, who was himself a poet, that he could recite more than thirty long **encomia** (called **drápur**) and as many shorter ones (**flokkar**); this was about the year 1060.

Note: Conjectural reconstructions of B-items: saga-men.

VI.C.15.203(j)-204(a) drapar / encoming // flokkar

(j) booth

The Icelandic Sagas 14-5: When Thormóð the poet was in Greenland, where he had gone with the object of avenging his foster-brother Thorgeir, he one day went to sleep in the **booth** (one of the temporary dwellings used by those who attended the *thing* or assembly). On waking up, he found the place empty. Then one came in and said, “You are too far away from a great entertainment.” Thormóð asked, “Where have you come from, and what pastime is going on?” Egil answered, “I was at Thorgrím’s **booth**, and nearly the whole assembly is there now.” Thormóð asked, “What pastime have they there?” Egil said, “Thorgrím is telling a saga.” Thormóð said, “About whom is the saga that he tells?” Egil answered, “I do not know clearly about whom it is; but I know that he tells it well, and in an entertaining manner. He is seated on a chair outside his **booth**, and the people are sitting round about him and listening to [14] the saga.”

Note: Conjectural reconstructions of B-items: the story of the burning of Njál, told by Gunnar, seated on a chair in front of King Sigtrygg of Dublin (15).

VI.C.15.204(b) booth

(k) Hottentots

Not found in *The Icelandic Sagas*.

Note: In the 18C and 19C, the Irish were frequently compared to the Hottentots. Lord Chief Justice Clonmell, at the end of 18C, complained (in his diary) that the English treat the Irish ‘as the Dutch do the Hottentots’ and the Irish ‘behave as the Hottentots do.’ ‘A man in station, in Ireland, is really like a traveller in Africa, in a forest among Hottentots and wild beasts.’ In 1886 Lord Salisbury (who is mentioned in *Ulysses* 7.558), the for a short time the Opposition leader during the Home Rule debates, made his infamous remark that ‘You would not confide free representative institutions to Hottentots for instance.’ Jonathan Swift, in his correspondence, wrote that he would have to go ‘to the Hottentots’ to ‘match’ Irish behaviour; that he ‘would prefer living among the Hottentots’, and that he believed ‘the people of Lapland, or the Hottentos, are not so miserable a people as we.’

VI.C.15.204(c) Hottentot

VI.C.3.201 / VI.D.2.[024]

(a) aitches / do / deedee / do / JM

Note: See the reproduction of the notebook page in the *JJA*. The initials “JM” are encircled; ‘aitches’: copied either from notebook VI.B.7.001(b) or from the Late Additions to the first typescript of “The Hen” (February-March 1925).

VI.C.15.204(b) aitches I / do / deedee / do / J.M.

(b) {wavy sign} / iklyove

Note: See the reproduction of the notebook page in the *JJA*. The wavy sign may or not be a doodle or a sign on top of the next item.

VI.C.15.204(b) {wavy sign} / illyove

(c) A 3->men

Note: See the reproduction of the notebook page in the *JJA*. “A” and “men” are connected, through “3”, by a line.

VI.C.15.204(b) A-3-men

(d) obtainable from / the author

VI.C.15.204(g) ^sobtainable from / the author

(g) Skald tells K >

VI.C.15.204(h) Skald tells K

(h) drvi Saga t >

VI.C.15.204(i) drow saga t

(i) — son >

VI.C.15.205(a) — son / ⁿ

(j) bit every thing >

VI.C.15.205(b) bit every thing

(k) Greek emperor

The Icelandic Sagas 15-7: How an untravelled Icelander could learn about events that took place in other lands is well illustrated [15] by the story of a young man, who came one summer to the court of King Harald (surnamed *harðráði*), and was received there on condition that he should tell sagas whenever he was required to do so. When Christmas came near, the Icelander showed signs of dejection. The king suspected that this was because his sagas had come to an end, and he had no entertainment to offer during the festive season. The Icelander admitted that this was really the case. “**I have only one saga left,” he said, “and I dare not tell that here, for it is about your own adventures in foreign lands.”** “That is the saga I should most of all like to hear,” said the king, and gave him directions how to make it

last over the Christmas festival. The king's men knew nothing of this arrangement, and many of them thought it a piece of great presumption on the part of the Icelander, and wondered how the king would take it. The king, however, showed no sign either way. On the twelfth day the saga was finished, and on the thirteenth the king said, "Are you not curious, Icelander, to know how I am pleased with the saga?" "I am rather afraid about that," was the reply. "I like it very well," said the king, "who taught it to you?" He answered, "It was my custom in Iceland to go every summer to the Thing, and each summer I learned part of the saga from Halldór Snorrason." "Then it is not remarkable that you know it so well," said the king. Halldór [16] was another Icelander, who had been with Harald while he fought for the **Greek emperor** in Greece, Africa, and Italy, and afterwards carried home the story of all his exploits in these lands.

VI.C.15.205(c) Greek emperor.

(l) **gravemound / — breaker >**

VI.C.15.205(d) gravemound / — breaker.

(m) **Ingeborg**

The Icelandic Sagas 17: The use of saga-telling to enliven festive gatherings is farther illustrated in the account of a wedding, which took place at Reykhólar (in the north-west of Iceland) in the year 1119. "Hrólf of Skálmarness," it says, "told the saga about Hröngrið the viking, and Olaf, king of the Lithsmen, and the **breaking into the grave-mound** of Thráin the berserk, and Hrómund Gripsson, and many verses along with it. With this saga King Sverrir was entertained, and he said that such lying sagas were the most entertaining of all; and yet some men trace their descent from Hrómund Gripsson. Hrólf had put this saga together himself.—**Ingimund** the priest told the saga of Orm, the poet of Barrey, with many verses in it, and at the end of it a good poem which Ingimund had composed; and for that reason many learned men take this saga as true." This passage is of great interest and value, as evidence not only for the personal authorship of these fictitious sagas, but for the fact that their unhistorical character was quite well understood.

VI.C.15.205(e) Ingeborg

(n) **trollwife**

The Icelandic Sagas 18: When Sturla the historian visited Norway in 1263, he accompanied King Magnus on board ship, and sailed south along the coast with him. In the evening, when men lay down to sleep, Sturla was asked to entertain them. Thereupon he told the saga of the witch-woman Huld, and related it much better than any of the listeners had ever heard it told before. Many then crowded forward on the deck to hear the story as well as possible, until there was a great throng there. The queen asked, "What is that crowd forward on the deck there!" One replied, "It is men who want to hear the saga that the Icelander is telling." She said, "What saga is that?" He answered, "It is about a great **troll-wife**, and it is a good saga, and moreover it is well told." Next day the queen sent for Sturla, and bade him come to her, "and bring with him the saga of the **troll-wife**." She then asked him to tell the story over again, and he did so during a great part of the day. When he had finished, the queen and many others thanked him, and looked upon him as a learned and clever man. Not long after this, King Hákon, according to information supplied by the best authorities. Sturla not only did this, but wrote the saga of King Magnus as well.

VI.C.15.205(f) trollwife

VI.C.3.202 / VI.D.2.[025]

(a) † to Icel. / 1000 yrs

The Icelandic Sagas 19-20: In the year **1000**, after a stubborn but short resistance on the part of those who favoured the old faith, **Christianity** was formally adopted by law as the religion of Iceland. This in time naturally brought with it the culture of the mediaeval church, and a [19] knowledge of Latin.

VI.C.15.205(g) † to Iceland / 1000 years

(b) **Thor(gil)sea / gilson >**

VI.C.15.205(h) Thor(gil)sa / gilson

(c) **Thorstein (Red)**

The Icelandic Sagas 20-1: It was in the beginning of the twelfth century that the writing of Icelandic became an accomplished act. “The first summer that Bergthór Hrafnsson [20] was law-speaker (i.e. in 1117), it was decreed that our laws should be written in a book at the house of Haflíði Másson the following winter, from the dictation of Bergthór and other learned men who were appointed for the purpose.” The proposal was carried out, and the winter of 1117—18 thus became an eventful date for Icelandic literature, as it showed the way for putting down on parchment all that had hitherto lived in the memories and on the tongues of the Icelandic people.

The authority for this statement is a small work written within twelve or fifteen years later by one who may fairly be styled the father of Icelandic history. This was a western Icelander named Ari **Thorgilsson**, sometimes surnamed ‘the priest’ (*prestr*), and sometimes ‘the learned’ (*hinn fróði*); not seldom both epithets are combined. Ari was born in the year 1067, and his ancestry was sufficiently distinguished to encourage any natural tendency in his mind to a study of the past. On his father’s side he was a descendant of Ólaf the White, who in the latter half of the ninth century was Norse king in Dublin. Ólaf’s son, **Thorstein the Red**, made a league with Earl Sigurd of the Orkneys against the Scots; “they won Caithness and Sutherland, Boss and Moray, and more than half of Scotland. Thorstein was king over this, until the Scots played him false, and he fell there in battle.”

VI.C.15.205(i) Thorsten Rd

(d) ^b**recension**

The Icelandic Sagas 24: Ari’s chief work was one entitled *Islendinga-bók* or ‘Book of Icelanders,’ of which only a second and shorter **recension**, made by the author himself about 1130, has come down to us. This is a concise account of the settlement and early history of Iceland, in which special prominence is given to legal and ecclesiastical matters.

MS Jahnke 12r1(f): in the recension I have

Note: The point-of-entry draft is missing (see *JJA* 61:625, 1936-7).

The unit is first found in: MS 47486b-506: 7 yellow note “m” replace the entire bracket by: [2] (and it is as ^+is as+^ veriest / [few] throth as the /s/ thieves ^+thieves+^ ’ rescension) | *JJA* 61:633 | 1936-1937 | III§1A.12‡/1D.12‡//2A.13‡/2B.11‡/2C.13‡//3A.10‡/3B.17‡//4.7‡ | *FW* 410.36-411.01

VI.C.15.205(j) recensword

(e) **thoroughtires**

The Icelandic Sagas 24-5: This **thoroughness** in Ari’s critical method made his work of great importance as a foundation for [24] Icelandic historical writing, and his services in this respect were probably far greater than appears even in the wonderful little booklet by which he is now represented. He was undoubtedly one of the great links between the saga-age (which ended about 1030) and the literary period (which began with his own work), though it is now impossible to judge how far he was the principal medium by which records of the past were preserved and transmitted to the next generation.

VI.C.15.205(k) thouroughtires

(f) **pens at work**

The Icelandic Sagas 25-6: The example set by Ari did not long remain unfruitful. During the second half of the twelfth century there must have been much literary activity in Iceland, and **many pens must have been at work** recording local and foreign history, whether handed [25] down from earlier times by tradition, or learned by special inquiry from still living authorities.

VI.C.15.206(a) pens at work

(g) **authorship mod.**

The Icelandic Sagas 26-7: That such a mass of literature, much of it of great interest and high merit, should be to a great extent anonymous is very remarkable, considering how strong the force of tradition was in Iceland. It is true that in the middle ages there was a carelessness as to the exact **authorship** of literary works, to an extent that seems surprising at the present day, but nowhere does it appear to have been so prevalent as in Iceland. The explanation presumably lies in the fact that so much of the written matter had its origin in the oral narratives which had been transmitted in a set form for several generations. The first writers of these [26] traditions probably did not add much of their own to the story as they had received it, and therefore saw no good grounds for claiming the title of authors. In other

words, the ink and parchment were at first little more than a substitute for the human memory, and the skill of the teller or reader was still of more importance than the art of the writer. Another reason may be found in the way in which Icelandic writings were freely altered and adapted by any one who wished to copy them or utilise them for his own purposes. Icelanders of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries were constantly abridging or expanding, combining or interpolating, re-arranging or re-writing, the works of their predecessors, and it would often have been impossible to assign the name of any single author to the form which they finally assumed. In some cases we know the names of the men who produced the existing recensions of a work, while that of the original writer has been completely lost.

It is clear, at any rate, that the **authorship** of the written saga was not usually regarded as a matter of great moment. Had it been so, the keen Icelandic interest in everything personal would assuredly have preserved the name of the writer along with his work. This is proved by the way in which the **authorship** of the old skaldic poems has been recorded in almost every instance.

VI.C.15.206(b) authorship not

(h) aW of direction

The Icelandic Sagas 28-9: As will be seen later, the sagas dealing with the older period—the saga-age proper—represent the west and north of Iceland in a far greater degree than they do the east and south; the proportion is actually something like ten to two. It is not difficult to infer from this that most of them were therefore written in the west and north, seeing that so much in the stories themselves has a strong local interest, and would naturally be most fully preserved in the district, and in the families, to which the leading persons belonged. A close examination of a saga often confirms this, to the extent of absolute certainty. The unknown author may plainly indicate not only his district, but even his own part of that district, either by a minute knowledge of the locality, [28] or by **the adverbs of direction** which he employs. It is often easy to perceive that outside of a certain area his knowledge of places, and of their relative positions and distances from each other, is vague, while within that area he is familiar with every foot of the ground. The same local knowledge is often displayed in the genealogies which occur in most of the sagas; the author is well informed in the history and relationships of certain families, while as to others his knowledge is limited or inaccurate. In some cases it is not difficult to conjecture to which family he himself belonged.

Note: Conjectural reconstructions of B-items: the role of copyists; interpolations.

VI.C.15.206(c) aW of direction

(i) Iceland / undistant / old

The Icelandic Sagas 31: During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries there was considerable destruction of older manuscripts, and it is quite certain that much valuable matter has thus been lost. The destruction would probably have been still greater, had not the Icelandic language undergone so little change during the centuries; the fact that even very old manuscripts were still perfectly intelligible to any one who cared to read them must have greatly assisted towards their preservation. **Even at the present day, Iceland has a great advantage over most European countries, in being able with perfect ease to read and understand its best mediæval literature.**

VI.C.15.206(d) Iceland / understand / old —

(j) did you have / after effects of

VI.C.15.206(e) did you have / after effects of

VI.C.3.203 / VI.D.2.[026]

(a) inalhation lith of / lying, tirest / crime

VI.C.15.206(f) enalhation lith of / lying, theft / crime

(b) bouquet a box / of gold

VI.C.15.206(g) bought a bar of gold

(c) must laugh

VI.C.15.206(h) Tanguy / must laugh

(d) ^b**Greenland^b / Col. of Icel**

The Icelandic Sagas 36: In giving some account of the extensive body of saga-literature relating directly **to Iceland, or to its colony, Greenland**, it will be best to divide it into four classes or groups, which to a great extent correspond to the historical development of the saga.

MS Jahnke 12r1(e): when the harald of fairhaired / spring was horning, he setsail for summer / , gaze[?] on greenland.

VI.C.15.207(a) Greenland / coll. of [?] Icel.

(e) **make my / appearance**

The Icelandic Sagas 35-6: In by far the greater number of these sagas the main action takes place at some period between the middle of the tenth century and the first quarter of [35] the eleventh. In many of them, however, the story begins at an earlier date; not uncommonly some account is given of the ancestors of the hero, whether in Iceland itself or before the emigration to that island. Occasionally this part is so fully treated that the proper subject of the saga is quite late **in making its appearance**; in such cases there is often much valuable information relating to the times immediately before and after the settlement. The value, however, depends on the character of the saga, and it is often a doubtful question how far the accounts are derived from genuine tradition, and how much is due to historical studies in the thirteenth century.

VI.C.15.207(b) make my / appearance

(f) **God | Trey >**

VI.C.15.207(c) God | Frey.

(g) **rasher love**

The Icelandic Sagas 38-9: Of the short self-contained stories which probably represent most closely the primitive type of saga, one of the best is *Hrafnkels saga*, the action of which takes place in the east of Iceland (and at the Althingi), about the middle of the tenth century. The story, written by someone with thorough local knowledge and an interest in the past history of the district, is excellently told, and forms a neatly rounded tale, with an unexpected turn at the close. The whole series of events arises in a natural way out of Hrafnkel's personal character, coupled with his possession of a horse, which he had dedicated **to the god Frey**, and with regard to which he had made **a rash vow**. The fulfilment of this, almost against his own will, brought on his temporary downfall, and destroyed all his faith in the god, whose priest he had previously been. Both Hrafnkel's own case, and that of his chief adversary, are striking examples of the pride that goes before a fall—a sentiment which the saga itself expresses in a proverb. The serious character of the story is cleverly relieved by scenes of a lighter character at the Althingi, where a chief's festered toe was humorously utilized as a means of enlisting his sympathy on the side of the injured, and thus enabling those whom Hrafnkel had despised to triumph [38] over him. Their subsequent want of foresight enabled Hrafnkel to requite them in full and recover his old position, with his character greatly improved by the reverse of fortune he had thus experienced. The delineation of character in this saga is remarkably good, and there is a striking air of impartiality and quiet forbearance about it, suggestive of a peace-loving honest-minded writer.

VI.C.15.207(d) rashes love

(h) **fem (NZ)**

VI.C.15.207(e) fern (N.Z)

(i) **X**

VI.C.15.207(f) X

(j) **Crean and**

The Icelandic Sagas 41-2: Through this and other acts the two came into conflict with the leading man of the district, Helgi Ásbjarnarson; the older brother, Helgi, was the chief cause of these troubles, the younger being of a quiet and inoffensive disposition. Helgi's doings finally led to his being sentenced to banishment for three years; but like some more famous outlaws he chose to run the risks of remaining in Iceland, exposed at any moment to the lawful attack of his enemies. What the end would be was **darkly shown to him by forebodings and dreams**, such as are prominent in many of the sagas, and which no

doubt had a foundation in real experience. At last his foes found their opportunity, and after a gallant fight (the description of which is one of the best parts of the saga) Helgi was killed and Grim severely wounded. The latter recovered, but “he never laughed after the death of Helgi.” The story of how he avenged his brother by entering his enemy’s house at night is a striking one, and is well told. Subsequently, though with some difficulty, he succeeded in getting away from Iceland and arrived in Norway; there he was reported to have died from wounds received in a duel with a viking, who had [41] arrogantly demanded in marriage the sister of his Norwegian host.

VI.C.15.207(g) dream vision

(k) fūt and pox

Not found in *The Icelandic Sagas*.

VI.C.15.207(h) firt & pox

(l) youthful

The Icelandic Sagas 40-1: Still another saga from the same quarter of the island appears to rest on a good family tradition, the great-grandson of one of the leading persons being specially mentioned as the authority for it. This is the story of Helgi and Grím, the two sons of a widow [40] named Droplaug, who at the ages of 13 and 12 avenge a reflection upon their mother’s character by killing the author of the slander. This **youthfulness** of the heroes is a common feature in many sagas, and it is difficult to say how far it is merely conventional.

VI.C.15.207(i) youthful

VI.C.3.204 / VI.D.2.[027]

(a) horsefight

The Icelandic Sagas 43: The saga of Víga-Glúm is in every way superior to this, and contains much interesting information as to old customs and beliefs. Glúm began his energetic career at an early age, and the story of his later life covers a period of some fifty years, down to his death in 1003. This is one of the few sagas which throw some real light upon the old religion of Iceland, as it not only makes mention of Frey’s temple in Eyjafirth, but has preserved some ideas relating to the god himself and his attitude towards his worshippers. The disputes for the possession of a certain field bring into prominence the fact that for some centuries after the settlement there was a considerable amount of agriculture in Iceland; traces of this still appear largely in local names throughout the island. The old sport of **horsefighting** and the pastime of ‘choosing confidants’ have also a part in the sequence of events.

Note: Conjectural reconstructions of B-items: the stories of Kormák and Gunnlaug; the dream of Thorstein; one witchwife counteracting the spells imposed by another; Hallfrað ‘the troublesome poet’; “I will give up the lore that you have made me learn [*i.e.* Christianity]; if you will not listen to my poem’.

VI.C.15.207(j) horsefight

(b) Kolbrun / coalblack hair

The Icelandic Sagas 50-1: There is also a slight love-interest in the story of the poet Thormóð Bersason, commonly called *kolbrúnarskáld*, from the verses which he composed in praise of Thorbjörg, surnamed **kolbrún** on account of her **coal-black eyebrows**. These verses he afterwards adapted to suit a new love, but Thorlbjörg appeared to him in a dream, reproached him with his unfaithfulness, and afflicted him with a pain in the eyes, which proved so violent that he was fain to [50] be freed from it by making an open confession of his fault.

VI.C.15.207(k) alblack brice

(c) earl of mercy

VI.C.15.207(l) ^searl of mercy

(d) purse ward / Michal

VI.C.15.208(a) purse named Michal

(e) **T roigit when / ǁ churpers.**

VI.C.15.208(b) T rougit votre / ǁ cheapy

(f) **husbandmen / in Jewoman**

VI.C.15.208(c) husbandman / in January

(g) **Saturation P.t.**

VI.C.15.208(d) saturation P.p

(h) **grave reply.**

VI.C.15.208(e) graverifling

(i) **for terms.**

VI.C.15.208(f) for served

(j) **— of the fair / cheeks.**

The Icelandic Sagas 56: The history of Svarfaðardal itself during the greater part of the tenth century forms the subject of *Svarfdæla saga*, which must also be regarded as largely fictitious. Several of the conventional incidents are represented in it, such as fighting with vikings and berserks; and one of the chief persons, Klaufi, takes an active part in affairs after he is dead. One of the most striking characters in the saga is a woman, **Yngvild of the fair cheeks**, whose share in bringing about the death of Klaufi was relentlessly punished by his kinsman Karl the Red.

VI.C.15.208(g) ^g— of the fair / cheeks

(k) **<spe> spaewife**

The Icelandic Sagas 57: Among the shorter sagas there are several which deal more or less with Greenland, one of which (*Fóstbræðra saga*) has already been mentioned. The discovery and settlement of that country are briefly related in the opening chapters of the saga of Eirík the Red (also, and with more reason, called the saga of Thorfinn Karlsefni). Some events in the early history of the settlement are then recounted, and here occurs the fullest extant description of an old Icelandic ‘**spae-wife**’ and her methods of divination. There are also strange tales of hauntings and dead men’s prophecies, mingled with matter of great historical and geographical interest.

VI.C.15.208(h) spacewife

VI.C.3.205 / VI.D.2.[028]

(a) **Wineland / Fogland**

The Icelandic Sagas 57-8: Leif, the son of Eirík, had been in Norway and had there accepted the Christian faith. On his way back to Greenland he was driven out of his course, and came to a strange land, which either then or soon afterwards received the name of **Vínland**. Some years later (apparently in 1007) an expedition sailed in search of Vinland, under the leadership of Thorfinn, and the later part of the saga gives an account of its fortunes. The details [57] given in this account have been much discussed and disputed, and the matter is complicated by the existence of a very different form of the story, but there is no reason to doubt the general fact that Thorfinn and his comrades explored a considerable part of the eastern coast of North America. **Vínland** and its inhabitants are alluded to by Ari Thorgilsson, obviously as something well known, and Ari’s information came from very reliable sources. Moreover, Thorfinn’s son Snorri, who was born in **Vínland**, was the immediate ancestor of several famous Icelandic bishops, and it is in the highest degree improbable that these would have been mistaken in matters so closely connected with their family history.

Note: Conjectural reconstructions of B-items: thaettir, singular thátr = rope, strand of a cord or rope: interwoven longer sagas (59); Eyrbyggja saga (inappropriate name) (60-1); Laxdæla saga, with the tale of the Irish princess Melkorka, “the middle of the saga, which begins with the days of Harald the Fairhaired and the settlement of Iceland. Then it tells of Höskuld, a son of one of the settlers, who bought a bondmaid in Norway and took her out to Iceland with him. It was only when her son Ólaf was two years old, that Höskuld discovered she was really an Irish princess, whose name was Melkorka. When he

grew up, Ólaf went to Ireland and visited his grandfather Myrkjartan (= Muircheartach in Irish), but returned to Iceland after the latter's death and finally took up his abode at Hjarðarholt in Laxdale." (64); Njál (67ff).

VI.C.15.208(i) Wineland / Fogland

(b) **Brion Saga >**

VI.C.15.209(a) Brion saga

(c) **Gray / Fatal Sisters**

The Icelandic Sagas 68: Even in the two later sections of the saga [Njál's] there are portions which do not originally belong to it, and more or less interrupt the progress of the narrative. One of these is a full account of the introduction of Christianity into Iceland; another is a considerable portion of what must have been a *Brjáns saga*, or a history of the Irish king Brian Boru, who fought the battle of Clontarf against the Scandinavians in 1014. It is here that the famous poem is preserved which **Gray** paraphrased in his 'Fatal Sisters.'

VI.C.15.209(b) gray / fatal sisters

(d) **Hungawaka**

The Icelandic Sagas 71: Of Ísleif and Gizur there are also accounts in the book called *Hungrvaka*, written about or soon after 1200, and so named by its author because he hoped that it might 'wake hunger' in its readers to know more about the great and pious men whose careers he relates. After the lives of these two there follow those of three later bishops, the last of whom died in 1176; all are told after the same model, in a simple unpretentious style, which together with the sensible preface gives a very favourable idea of the character of the author, whose personality is unknown.

VI.C.15.209(c) ⁸Hungrvaka

(e) **oddson >**

VI.C.15.209(d) oddsom

(f) **Hrygger / Hryggjarstyke >**

VI.C.15.209(e) Hrygggyr / Hryggjarstykh

(g) **Backpin / zog.**

The Icelandic Sagas 80: About the middle of the twelfth century lived Eirík **Oddsson**, of whom little is known except that he spent a good part of his life in Norway. He made use of his stay there to collect, from reliable authorities, information about the events of Norwegian history from 1130 onwards, and out of this he wrote a work which apparently came down to the death of King Ingi in 1161. This book, which for some unknown reason bore the name of *Hryggjarstykki* or 'back-piece,' has not come down in its original form, but parts of it are preserved in later works dealing with the same period. The names of some of Eirík's chief informants are recorded, and it is mentioned that in many cases they had been eyewitnesses of the events they described to him.

VI.C.15.209(f) Backpiper

(h) **pellet >**

Note: Not found as such in the source passage (possibly to be read as "prehistoric").

VI.C.15.209(g) (pellet)

(i) **Scandinavia**

?*The Icelandic Sagas* 92: A considerable number of these [later, mythical and romantic, fictitious] sagas, evidently representing one of the earliest types of Icelandic fiction, relate to persons belonging to the **prehistoric** period of Norway or the other **Scandinavian** countries.

VI.C.15.209(h) Scandiniam

(j) **troll >**

VI.C.15.209(i) troll

(k) **manhill in / sea**

The Icelandic Sagas 93-4: The close connexion between some of these sagas and the traditions of Icelandic families is illustrated by such examples as *Hálfs saga*, a loosely-strung narrative of which only a small part actually relates to King Hálf himself. His son, however, was the father of two prominent settlers in Iceland, from whom many distinguished men were descended. The disconnected character of the saga indicates pretty clearly that the writer was dealing with vague traditions, and the nature of these shows that fancy had played a considerable part in their formation. Thus King Hjörleif throws his spear at a **troll** or giant and strikes him in the eye; on a voyage he sees **rising out of the sea a great hill shaped like a man** and [93] endowed with speech; there is brought to him a merman who can foretell the future, and so on.

VI.C.15.209(j) manhill in / sea

(l) **Forn alderston**

The Icelandic Sagas 95: It would be tedious to enumerate and describe all the other sagas of this type, which are commonly known under the title of *Fornaldarsögur*, or ‘sagas of olden time,’ and are sufficiently numerous to fill three substantial volumes (originally edited by Rafn in 1829–30, and reprinted with some changes in 1885–9). Two or three, however, are deserving of notice. The saga of *Hrólf kraki*, which relates to early Danish and Swedish history, is interesting for the old traditions which have been utilized in it, though its present form is clearly late and marked by interpolations.

VI.C.15.209(k) Fornaldarsop

VI.C.3.206 / VI.D.2.[029]

(a) **Shaggy houses >**

VI.C.15.210(a) Shaggy Trousers

(b) **of the / stier gold >**

VI.C.15.210(b) of the / stier gold

(c) **bullshoe / cut in stripes**

The Icelandic Sagas 95-6: Here occurs the story of Biöðvar bjarki, which has obvious relations with some portions of the Old English poem of *Béowulf*; also the famous visit of Hrólf to the Swedish king Aðils at Uppsala, and his **strewing of Fýrisvellir with gold** in order to [95] delay his pursuers. The memory of another famous Dane is preserved in the saga of *Ragnar loðbrók*, so named from the shaggy trousers which he wore when he went to slay a monstrous snake. After various other exploits, Ragnar, who had succeeded his father as king in Denmark, ventured to invade England, but was defeated by King Ella and thrown into a serpent-pit, where he perished. His death was subsequently avenged by his sons, one of whom had obtained land in England by the old device of the **bull’s hide cut in strips**, and thus became the founder of the town of London!

VI.C.15.210(c) bullshorn / cut in <shirs> shirts

(d) **Tyrfing / — sword >**

VI.C.15.210(d) Tyrfing / — sword

(e) **Volsang Sngs. >**

VI.C.15.210(e) Volsung Saga

(f) **Sigurd / (Sinfgotlo)**

The Icelandic Sagas 96-7: There is also some remarkable poetry in the early part of *Hervarar saga*, which tells how Hervör, whose father Angantýr had fallen in battle in Sámsey, went to his grave-mound in order to recover the famous **sword Tyrfing**, which had been buried with him. The later part of the saga chiefly relates to Hervör’s son, Heiðrek, and contains a curious contest [96] in riddles between him and another person, who is Odin in disguise. There are echoes of real tradition in the saga, though the fictitious element is the predominant one.

In respect both of its contents and the mode of its composition *Völsunga saga* has a very distinctive character, which calls for special mention. Its main subject is an earl; form of the Nibelung

legend, and it is chiefly based on a number of old poems, most of which are preserved in the collection known as the (poetic or elder) Edda. The author, however, had access to various other sources, written or traditional, and by a combination of these with the poems has succeeded in presenting a connected narrative stretching over several generations. The first personage of real importance in the story is King Völsung, from whose descendants the saga takes its name. These are especially the son of Völsung, Sigmund, and his sons, **Sinfjötli and Sigurd**. The latter, born after his father's death, is the hero of fully half of the saga; he is fostered by the smith Regin, kills the great dragon Fáfnir and becomes possessor of his hoarded gold, delivers Brynhild from her charmed sleep and plights his troth to her, is led by guile to marry Guðrún instead, helps Gunnar to become the husband of Brynhild, and finally falls a victim to her wrath at the deceit practised upon her.

VI.C.15.210(f) Sigurd / (Sinfjotli)

(g) **T to L / il luft**

Not found in *The Icelandic Sagas*.

VI.C.15.210(g) T to E / il luft

(h) **war complaints**

Not found in *The Icelandic Sagas*.

VI.C.15.210(h) word complaint B

(i) **<Rottenate> Rottinate >**

VI.C.15.211(a) Rottenake

(j) **Sigurd Jorsala**

The Icelandic Sagas 84: Another valuable compilation, probably a little earlier in date, is that contained in the manuscript known as *Morkinskinna* (**rotten skin**) which contains full accounts of the kings of Norway from Magnus the Good, and probably went down as far as 1177, but the end is now wanting. Its principal contents are thus the sagas of Magnus and of Harald harðráði, of Magnus berføett, and of **Sigurd**, who went as far as Jerusalem and so received the name of *Jórsala-fari*.

VI.C.15.211(b) Sigurd Jorsala

(k) **(Buck Whales)**

VI.C.15.211(c) (Buck Whales)

VI.C.3.207 / VI.D.2.[030]

(a) **Cronvell ~~Cromwell~~ / = Norse**

Note: See the reproduction of the notebook page in the *JJA*. The deleted item was crossed out by Mme Raphael.

VI.C.15.211(d) Cromwell / = Norse

(b) **O'Loughlin / (Lochtann)**

VI.C.15.211(e) O'Loughlin / (Lochtann)

(c) **Minotaure / ^bAnnacronics**

La Scienza Nuova 1725, Book II, Ch. LIX [see also quotation at (i)]: La *seconda* spezie **d'anacronismi** è di fatti avvenuti in uno stesso tempo, che sono rapportati in tempi lontanissimi tra di loro: come *Giove rapisce Europa* cinquecento anni innanzi che *Minosse*, primo corseggiatore dell'Egeo, impone la crudel pena agli Ateniesi di consegnargli ogni anno i garzoni e le donzelle da divorarsi dal suo **Minotauro**; che pur altri han voluto essere *una nave da corso di Minosse*, con cui corseggiavano i Cretesi l'*Archipelago*; il quale per li molti anfratti delle sue isole si è ritrovato da noi essere il primo *labirinto*: quando l'una e l'altra favola sono *istoria de' corseggi di Grecia*, i quali non avvennero se non dopo fondate dentro terra le nazioni, per uno spavento che lungo tempo tutte ebbero del mare, come ce'l conferma della sua Grecia apertamente *Tucidide*; e gli ultimi ritrovati dalle nazioni sono la *navale* e la *navitica*.

[Book II, Chapter LIX [LX] *The discovery of new kinds of anachronism and of new principles for their*

correction: The second kind of **anachronism** concerns events that occurred at the same time but have been reported as belonging to times very distant from one another. Thus Jove, for example, abducts Europa five hundred years before Minos, the first pirate of the Aegean, imposes on the Athenians the cruel punishment of an annual consignment of youths and maidens to be devoured by his **Minotaur**. Others, however, have claimed that the Minotaur was Minos' pirate ship with which the Cretans raided the Archipelago, which, as we discovered [in another work], because of the many gorges in its islands, was the first Labyrinth. Both of these different fables are histories of Greek pirates, but pirates did not arise until after the inland nations were founded, because of the longstanding fear of the sea that Thucydides openly attributes to the Greek nation. Moreover, naval and nautical discoveries are the last that nations make.]

MS Jahnke 12r1(g): as some annacronies have it
VI.C.15.211(f) Minotaur / Annacronies

(d) ^bPatagonia >

MS Jahnke 12r1(h): ^bPatagoreyan

MS 47486b-467, ScrPrILA: ^+Or ^+the+^ caecodeditio of [?] absquellitteris puttagonniane to the herreraism of a cabotinesque exploser?+^ | JJA 61:469 | 1933-1936 | III§3A.10'+ | FW 512.17-19

VI.C.15.211(g) Patagonia

(e) **from Greenland.**

La Scienza Nuova 1725, Book II, Ch. LVIII: *Idea di una Cronologia ragionata de' tempi oscuro e favoloso.* § Ma tutto ciò ne dispera di ritruovar certi tempi da determinare il lunghissimo tratto che vi corse, per lo quale le nazioni dalla *volgare astronomia* vennero alla *riposta*, dalla quale unicamente si ha la *certezza della cronologia*. Quindi deonsi andare a ritruovare i *tempi delle cose oscure e favolose dentro la nostra umana mente* con essa serie, delle medesime umane *necessità* o *utilità*, condotta sopra le *sette de' tempi*, e sopra *certi incominciamenti de' costumi di esse nazioni*, così da' loro *siti* in riguardo generalmente alla natura de' paesi, e specialmente alla *Mesopotamia*, dalla quale son tutte uscite; come da' governi *delle medesime* secondo i loro costumi; perchè si determini, da quando dovettero esse incominciare, conducendoci fino alle nazioni presenti d'ultima scoperta; come, per esempio, che da un quattro mila anni e non più innanzi abbia cominciato la *nazione cinese*, che penuria ancora di *voci articolate*, delle quali non ha più che da un *trecento*, e scrive per *geroglifici*; lo che essi devono al recinto de' monti inaccessibili, e al *gran muro* con che essi si chiusero alle straniere nazioni: ma da un tre mila anni la *Giapponese*, gente anco feroce, e che nell' *aria del parlare somiglia tutta alla Latina*: da un mille e cinquecento quella degli **Americani** nel tempo della loro scoperta ritruovati governarsi *con terribili religioni nello stato ancora delle famiglie*: e quivi da un mille anni incominciata quella de' **Giganti nel piè dell' America**; i quali approvano che dal settentrione di Europa vi fossero portati per tempesta uomini con donne, e verisimilmente dalla **Groellanda** come pur dicono.

[Chapter LVIII [LIX]. *The idea of a reasoned chronology of the obscure and fBook II, abulous times:* But all this still leaves us in despair of discovering the certain times with which to determine the very long period that it took for the nations to reach their recondite astronomy from their vulgar astronomy, through which alone certainty can be given to chronology. Hence it is necessary to discover the times of the obscure and fabulous things from within our own minds, by means of the identical series of human necessities and utilities that caused the customs of the nations to proceed from certain beginnings through certain sects of time. [And here we must pay attention] to the relationship between the physical sites of the nations and the nature of their countries in general, and that of Mesopotamia in particular, since the [original] nations all came from there, as well as the relationship between their governments and their customs, in order to determine when they must have begun and to take us up to the latest contemporary nations to be discovered. Thus, for example, the Chinese nation began some four thousand years ago, though no earlier, and yet still suffers from a scarcity of articulate words, of which there are no more than about three hundred, and still writes in hieroglyphics. This must be because of the ring of inaccessible mountains and the great wall with which China kept herself closed to foreign nations. The Japanese nation, on the other hand, which began some three thousand years ago, and is still a ferocious race, resembles the Latins closely in its manner of speaking. Then, again, there are the Americans, who originated fifteen hundred years ago, but, at the time of their discovery, were found to be governed with dreadful religions and were still in the state of the families. Here also, at the foot of America, a nation of giants originated a thousand years ago, proving, it has been said, that men and women were carried there

by storms from the northern parts of Europe and, probably, Greenland.]
VI.C.15.211(h) from Greenland / _____

- (f) **Anacronia >**
VI.C.15.211(i) Anacronic
- (g) **1st <fatli> fatti <divite> divisi navali / came 1 tempo >**
VI.C.15.211(j) ^s1st fath. divisi nomati / cause 1 tempo
- (h) **2 <fatli> fatti de'l tempo. / namati divisi >**
VI.C.15.212(a) ^s2/ fatti <de> di 1 tempo / nomati divisi
- (i) **3 tempi vocui / da fur duo pieni >**

La Scienza Nuova 1725, Book II, Ch. LIX: *Scoperta di nuove Spezie di Anacronismi, e di altri Principj di emendarli.*

Per rinvenirne poi il *progresso* per lo tempo *oscuro* e *favoloso* sino allo *storico certo* tra' Greci; perchè di nulla ci possono soccorrere le *successioni*, che i *Cronologi* tanto minutamente ci descrivono, *dei re di Grecia del tempo oscuro* e *favoloso*; a cagion di ciò, che pur avvertì *Tucidide* su gl'incominciamenti della sua *Storia*, che ne' primi tempi della Grecia i regni erano incostantissimi, e che i re tuttogiorno si cacciavano di sedia l'un l'altro, come è facile rincontrarne il costume de' re e de' regni narratici dalle *barbare ultime* delle nazioni di Europa. Per sì fatte dubbiezze si pongono certi *naturali principj* di emendare **gli anacronismi delle favole**; che tutti si riducono a *cinque spezie*. **La prima di fatti avvenuti in tempi divisi, narratici in un tempo istesso**: come *Orfeo* fonda la nazione greca, e si ritruova *compagno di Giasone* nella spedizione di Ponto, dove pur convengono *Castore e Polluce* fratelli d'*Elena*, per lo cui rapimento fatto da *Paride* avviene *la guerra trojana*: talchè in una stessa età di uomo, i Greci da selvaggi e fieri, quali *Orfeo* li truovò, vengono in tanto lustro e splendore di nazione, che fanno tanto rinomate spedizioni marittime, quanto fu la *trojana*; i quali fatti combinati è affatto impossibile alla mente umana d'intendere. **La seconda spezie d'anacronismi è di fatti avvenuti in uno stesso tempo, che sono rapportati in tempi lontanissimi tra di loro**: come *Giove rapisce Europa* cinquecento anni innanzi che *Minosse*, primo corseggiatore dell' *Ageo*, impone la crudel pena agli *Ateniesi* di consegnargli ogni anno i garzoni e le donzelle da divorarsi dal suo *Minotauro*; che pur altri han voluto essere *una nave da corso di Minosse*, con cui corseggiavano i *Cretesi l'Archipelago*; il quale per li molti anfratti delle sue isole si è ritruovato da noi essere il primo *labirinto*: quando l'una e l'altra favola sono *istoria de' corseggi di Grecia*, i quali non avvennero se non dopo fondate dentro terra le nazioni, per uno spavento che lungo tempo tutte ebbero del mare, come ce'l conferma della sua *Grecia* apertamente *Tucidide*; e gli ultimi ritruovati dalle nazioni sono la *navale* e la *nautica*. **La terza spezie è di tempi narrati, come vacui di fatti**, i quali ne furon pienissimi: come tutto il *tempo oscuro di Grecia*; nel quale, come si vedrà appresso, si devono rifonder tutte le *storie greche politiche o civili* conservate dai Greci in tutte le loro *favole degli Dei*, ed in buona e gran parte di *quelle de' loro eroi*: che certamente sbalordisce chiunque vi rifletta sopra, non per ricordarsi da *Filologo*, ma per intendere da *Filosofi*, che dopo regni in Grecia fondati, reali discendenze descritte, reami per guerre passati da altre in altre case, venga *Orfeo*, e col suo *liuto* addimestichi gli uomini selvaggi di Grecia, e *vi fondi la greca nazione!*

[Book II, Chapter LIX [LX]. *The discovery of new kinds of anachronism and of new principles for their correction.* But in our quest to discover how things progressed from the obscure and fabulous times up to the certain historical time of the Greeks, the succession of the kings of Greece of the obscure and fabulous times, described in such minute detail by the chronologists, is of no help whatsoever. For, as *Thucydides* warned at the start of his *History*, the kingdoms of the earliest times of Greece were very variable and their kings, one after another, were every day driven from their thrones, a custom of kings and kingdoms that is easily enough encountered again in the accounts of the last barbaric times of the nations of Europe. Hence, as a result of such doubts, we lay down certain natural principles for correcting the anachronisms of fables, of which there are five kinds.

The first concerns events that occurred in different times but have been narrated to us as occurring at the same time. Thus *Orpheus*, for example, both founds the Greek nation and is discovered to be *Jason's* companion in the expedition to *Pontus*, where both are joined by *Castor* and *Pollux*, the brothers of *Helen*, whose abduction by *Paris* was the cause of the *Trojan War*. Thus, in one and the same age of man, the Greeks, savage and wild as *Orpheus* found them, acquire a lustre and splendour the equal of

nations such as the Trojans, who make so many renowned maritime expeditions. But it is utterly impossible for the human mind to understand such a combination of events.

The second kind of anachronism concerns events that occurred at the same time but have been reported as belonging to times very distant from one another. Thus Jove, for example, abducts Europa five hundred years before Minos, the first pirate of the Aegean, imposes on the Athenians the cruel punishment of an annual consignment of youths and maidens to be devoured by his Minotaur. Others, however, have claimed that the Minotaur was Minos' pirate ship with which the Cretans raided the Archipelago, which, as we discovered [in another work], because of the many gorges in its islands, was the first Labyrinth. Both of these different fables are histories of Greek pirates, but pirates did not arise until after the inland nations were founded, because of the longstanding fear of the sea that Thucydides openly attributes to the Greek nation. Moreover, naval and nautical discoveries are the last that nations make.

The third kind of anachronism consists of times described as being empty of events of which they were extremely full. Thus, for example, the whole of the obscure time of Greece, within which, as we shall see below, it is necessary to recast all the histories, political and civil, which the Greeks preserved in all the fables of their gods and, in large part also, in those of their heroes. For it must certainly be a cause of astonishment to anyone who reflects upon it, not with memory as a philologist but with understanding as a philosopher, that, after kingdoms had been founded in Greece and had passed from house to house through war, together with descriptions of their royal descendants, Orpheus should come forth and, to [the sound of] his lute, domesticate the savage men of Greece and found the Greek nation.]

Note: For continuation see 208(k).

VI.C.15.212(b) ^g3) tempi vacui^g / da fur duo pieni

VI.C.3.208 / VI.D.2.[031]

(a) **Haakon / 1225 >**

VI.C.15.212(c) Haakon / 1225

(b) **(Brolli - Rob) >**

VI.C.15.212(d) (Broth - Rob)

(c) **Tristansage >**

VI.C.15.212(e) Tristansaga

(d) **Patrick**

The Icelandic Sagas 99-100: In Norway, from at least **1225** or so, these romances had come into vogue under the patronage of **King Hákon**, at whose instance some, if not most, of the existing translations were made. He is expressly named as having commissioned the sagas of **Tristram**, translated in 1226 by '**Brother Robert**,' of Elis and Rosamunda by the same hand, of Ivent (= Yvain) and of the mantle (*Möttuls saga*), as well as a translation [99] of the *lais* of Marie of France. In addition to these, there are sagas of Erec, of Percival, of Bevis of Hamton, of Flovent, of Floras and Blancheflur, of Partalope, and some others. There is also a voluminous saga of Charlemagne (*Karlamagnús saga*), the result of combining a number of translations of French or Latin originals. These prose translations of Old French poems show considerable skill in adapting the foreign matter to Scandinavian circumstances and ideas, and as a rule avoid anything like servile and verbal reproduction of the original. At the same time they introduced a style and spirit which were at variance with the best type of Icelandic saga-writing, but which rapidly came into favour in Iceland and had a pernicious influence.

Note: There is no 'Patrick-saga', but Joyce apparently invents one.

VI.C.15.212(f) Patrick †

(e) **rhyme**

The Icelandic Sagas 100-1: As in the poorer specimens of *Fornaldarsögur*, single incidents or episodes may be fairly well told or exhibit some originality, but as a rule these sagas are merely tedious both in matter and in language. They were, however, extremely [100] popular, and many of them were subsequently turned into metre, usually with elaborate **rhymes**; the sets of poems produced in this way

are known in Icelandic by the name of *rímur*, and form in themselves an extensive and curious branch of literature.

VI.C.15.212(g) rhyme

(f) **K Trhaus**

The Icelandic Sagas 101-2: There are two short sagas, of a different type from those just mentioned, which are worthy of brief notice. Both are sagas of travel, but in other respects they have little resemblance to each other. One is the saga of Yngvar the Wide-faring, a chief of Swedish origin, and tells of the strange adventures which he, (and subsequently his son Svein, encountered in unknown regions of Russia. At the end there is a very circumstantial statement as to the authority for the story, but there can be little doubt that this is pure invention, and that the saga has no historical value. This is still more evident in that of Eirík the Wide-faring, who is represented to have been a son of **Thránd**, the first king of Thrándheim in Norway. One Yule eve he made a vow to go in search of that place “which heathen men call the immortal field, and Christians call the land of living men or Paradise.” As the result of information which he obtained from the emperor at Constantinople, he was finally able to reach the earthly Paradise, where he remained for some time and received instruction from an angel. In the end he returned to Norway, but after living there for ten years he was suddenly taken away from [101] this earth and seen no more.

VI.C.15.212(h) K. Tr ^+h+^and

(g) **Veraldar / Sager >**

VI.C.15.212(i) Veraldar / Saga

(h) **(Beda) >**

VI.C.15.213(a) (Beda)

(i) **Hector reoccupied / Tw >**

VI.C.15.213(b) Heita reoccupies / Troy

(j) **Gyoinng**

The Icelandic Sagas 105-6: Among those which have been preserved, ancient history is represented by half-a-dozen works. The most comprehensive of these (now called *Veraldar saga*) is an account of the six ages of the world, mainly founded on **Bæda**'s treatise. It gives a very rapid survey of the chief events of Jewish, Greek, and Roman history, and ends with a list of German [105] emperors. Of these “Conrad was emperor when Gizur Hallsson was south,” which pretty clearly indicates that the compilation of the work must be assigned to some time about 1000. Greek history is represented by sagas of Troy and of Alexander. The former of these (*Trójumanna saga*) is mainly a translation of Dares Phrygius, but with occasional use of other works. It begins with some account of Greek mythology and early legend, and ends with **the reoccupation of Troy by the sons of Hector**. *Alexanders saga* is a prose version of the *Alexandreis* of Philip Gautier of Châtillon, and was the work of the bishop Brand Jónsson, who died in 1264. The translation, which has much literary merit, was probably made at the instance of King Magnus Hákonsson, for whom Brand also compiled a history of the Jews (*Gyðinga saga*) from the rise of Antiochus to the death of Pilate. The earlier part of this is mainly based on the first book of Maccabees; the later portion is derived from various sources.

VI.C.15.213(c) gyoinng

(k) **4) tempi pieni / da frumo inisi >**

VI.C.15.213(d) 4] tempi pieni / da puan modi

(l) **5) preversione**

La Scienza Nuova 1725, Book II, Ch. LIX (163): **La quarta è di tempi narratici pieni di fatti**, de' quali devon esser vuoti; come il *tempo eroico*, che corre a' Greci per li *Cronologi* dugento anni; il quale o deve correre cinquecento, o trecento anni di esso si devono restituire al *tempo oscuro*, per l'anzi fatta difficoltà di *Orfeo*, fondatore della greca nazione, ritrovato sincrono o contemporaneo della guerra trojana. **La quinta ed ultima spezie finalmente è di quelli che volgarmente si dicono *anacronismi*, in significazione di tempi prevertiti**: e si pongono, come *dodici minute epoche* o punti fissi d'istoria, i *dodici Dei delle genti maggiori*, stabiliti con una *Teogonia naturale*, della quale appresso si darà un

saggio: e con queste *epoche* si danno i *tempi* loro alle antichissime *cose civili della Grecia*, le quali certamente dovettero nascere *innanzi* a quelle delle *guerre*.

[Book II, Chapter LIX [LX]. The fourth kind of anachronism consists of times described as being full of events of which they must have been empty. Thus, for example, the heroic time which, according to the chronologists, lasted for two hundred years among the Greeks, must either have lasted for five hundred years, or three hundred years of it ought to be restored to the obscure time, [to avoid] the foregoing difficulty in which Orpheus, the founder of the Greek nation, becomes synchronous and contemporary with the Trojan War.

Finally, the fifth and last kind consists in those that in the vulgar are called ‘anachronisms’, by which is meant ‘anticipated times’.

[To correct these kinds of anachronisms] we now lay down [the principle] that the twelve gods of the greater gentes were twelve short epochs or fixed points of history. The gods themselves will be established through a natural theogony, an account of which is given below, and by means of these epochs, times will be assigned to the oldest civil things in Greece, which must certainly have been born before those of war.]

Note: Items (k) and (l) are a continuation of 208(i).

VI.C.15.213(e) 5] preversione

VI.C.3.209 / VI.D.2.[032]

(a) **Ocean (surrounded) >**

VI.C.15.213(f) ocean | surrounded

(b) **N Thracia / S Mauretania / E / W. { India / Italia >**

VI.C.15.213(g) N Thracia / S Mauretania / E India / W Italy

(c) **Mona >**

VI.C.15.213(h) Mona

(d) **a loftén >**

Note: Not found as such in the source passage.

VI.C.15.214(a) a liffey

(e) **efon (ephon) >**

VI.C.15.214(b) efori (ephor)

(f) **via Novara**

La Scienza Nuova 1725, Book II, Ch. LX: *Nuovi Principj Storici della Geografia*.

Siccome non ci ha soccorso per la nostra istoria universale la *cronologia ordinaria*, sopra la quale con incomparabile erudizione han travagliato i *Petavj* e gli *Scaligeri*; così ci abbandona l'*usata geografia*. Perchè siccome gli uomini universalmente delle cose nuove e non conosciute giudicano, e si spiegano con idee e voci da esso loro conosciute ed usate; così per questa proprietà della mente umana dovettero fare l'interesse nazioni. Certamente si ha da' *Latini* che il *Lazio* e l'*Italia* sul principio furono dentro assai più brevi confini di quelli ne' quali poi, essendosi spiegati più e più il *diritto latino* ed *italico*, si distesero in questa ampiezza di confini, ne' quali ci sono rimasti. Lo stesso avvenne del *mar Toscano* (nella qual cosa noi ci ammendiamo di ciò che abbiamo scritto altrove), che dovette essere la marenna di Toscana sola nel suo principio; ma con l'istesso nome poi i Romani ne spiegarono l'idea dalle radici dell'Alpi, oggi Nizza di Provenza, come il descrive *Livio*, sino allo stretto Siciliano, oggi detto di Messina, e si restò detto in *geografia*. Alla stessa fatta i *Greci*, da' quali abbiamo tutto ciò che abbiamo delle antiche nazioni gentili, dovettero con le loro prime nate idee e parlari ragionare delle cose straniere ne' tempi primi, che non vi erano interpreti, nè correva tra esso loro alcuna comunicazione di lingue: talchè dalla *somiglianza de' siti delle terre in riguardo del mondo*, dovettero appellarle con le voci delle terre greche di *simiglianti siti a riguardo della loro Grecia*. Qui si vanno a ritrovare *nuovi principj storici della geografia*; per li quali si difende *Omero* da un gran numero di errori che in sì fatta scienza finora a torto gli sono stati imputati; e si fa più ragionevole la *geografia poetica* sopra una a'

poeti convenevole *cosmografia*: che il primo *Olimpo* fu il monte sopra la cui cima e per lo cui dorso *Omero* sempre describe le *case eie' suoi Dei*: il primo *Oceano* fu ogni mare interminato agli occhi, onde si può vedere la notte sempre sul mare la *Cinosura*, che dovettero i Greci aver appreso da' *Fenici*, i quali a' tempi di *Omero* già praticavano per le marine di Grecia: come egli describe l'*Isola Eolia circondata dall'Oceano*, così si truovò acconcia la voce *Oceano* a significare il mare che abbraccia tutta la terra, che dopo più migliaja di anni scoversero finalmente i nostri *viaggiatori*. Quindi la prima *Tracia*, la prima *Mauritania*, la prima *India*, la prima *Esperia* furono il settentrione, il mezzodi, l'oriente e l'occidente d'essa Grecia: onde *Orfeo trace* è pur famoso eroe della Grecia: all'opposto *Perseo*, pur famoso eroe greco, fa tutte le sue chiare imprese in *Mauritania*, cioè nel *Peloponneso*, il quale pure ci è restato detto *Morea*; della quale *Èrodoto non seppe* che erano i suoi Greci, il quale narra che i *Mori* di Affrica furono un tempo e *bianchi e belli*. In questa *Mauritania* greca dovette essere il monte *Atlante*, che poi vi restò detto in accorcio *Ato*, posto tra la *Macedonia* e la *Tracia*, che *Serse* poi perforò: e pure in essa *Tracia* un fiume con simil nome di *Atlanto* ne restò a' Greci. Tal monte, perché per la sua altezza parve sostenere il cielo agli uomini fanciulli di Grecia, fu detto *Colonna del Cielo*: e quel sistema mondano fu tramandato ad *Omero*, che 'l cielo si sostenesse sopra sì falte colonne; appunto come *Maometto* per la stessa rozzezza d'idee de' suoi *Arabi* il lasciò da credere a' *Turchi*: onde nell'età d'*Omero* il più alto del cielo era la cima del monte *Olimpo*; sopra cui esso sempre narra *allogati i suoi Dei*, e *camminare* sopra solajo pendente *da sì fatte colonne*; come una volta il fa dire da *Teti* ad *Achille*, che *Giove* con gli altri *Dei* da *Olimpo* era andato a banchettare in *Atlante*. Quindi i Greci, quando poi videro lo stretto di *Gibilterra* fra due alti monti *Abila* e *Colpe*, perchè osservarono così l'*Europa* divisa dall'*Africa* da picciolo stretto di mare, com'era nel mondo di Grecia l'*Attica* dal *Peloponneso* se non per un collo di terra somigliante, sopra cui si erge il monte *Ato*, onde *Serse* il forò; sopra questa simiglianza de' siti spiegarono naturalmente le loro idee, e con l'idee stesero le loro prime voci, come generalmente nel seguente *Libro* si mostrerà; e dissero *Esperia*, la *Spagna dall'Esperia di Attica*, e *Mauritania tal parte d'Africa* dalla loro *Mauritania* greca oggi pur detta *Morea*: e 'l monte *Abila* e *Colpe*, dovettero appellare *Atlante*, diviso in due colonne, che poi si dissero di *Ercole*, che succede ad *Atlante* nel peso di sostenere il cielo, di sostenere la religione con un'altra spezie di divinazione che or qui diremo. Perchè in questa *Mauritania greca* dovette essere alcun primo fondatore di greco popolo, *principe dell'astronomia volgare de' Greci*: come certamente gli *Efori* di *Sparta*, capitale del *Peloponneso*, *indovinavano dal tragitto delle stelle cadenti la notte*, che furono i *Zoroasti* agli *Orientali*; perchè *Atlante* fece egli pure le sue figliuole *Esperidi* nella Grecia, e nel peso dell'*Olimpo*, che aveva portato sulle spalle, lasciò *Ercole* *successore*, eroe massimo incontrastato di Grecia; la cui razza senza dubbio regnò in *Isparta*; nè ci fu mai *Ercole* spiegato da' *mitologi*, che avesse perpetuato alcuna scuola di sapienza riposta de' suoi più antichi. Ma la spezie d'indovinare degli *Efori* ci da grave motivo di credere che nel *Peloponneso* venne alcuna colonia d'Oriente, come da *Pelope Frigio* certamente ebbe il nome di *Peloponneso*, che vi portò questa sorte d'indovinare propria degli *Orientali*: perchè tutti gli altri *Greci* indovinavano dalla *folgore* e dal *tuono*; con la sola differenza da' *Latini*, che le *parti destre* a quelli erano a questi *sinistre*, e le *sinistre* al contrario. E così *Ercole*, della cui razza furono i nobili *Spartani*, che ne serbarono il patrimonio di *Eraclidi*, succedé ad *Atlante* nel peso di sostenere gli *Dei* della lora nazione. Però non vi provennero astronomi riposti, perchè gli *Spartani* furono da *Licurgo*, come ognun sa, proibiti saper di lettera. E in cotal guisa *Zoroaste*, che dovette essere il *Panfilio*, confinante con la *Frigia*, di cui fu *Pelope*, venne a insegnare *Atlante* in sua propria casa nella *Tracia*: nè *Orfeo* ebbe bisogno di andare fino a *Marocco* per apprendere da *Atlante* l'*astronomia*.

[Book II, Chapter LX [LXI]. *New historical principles of geography*: But just as our normal chronology, upon which scholars such as Denis Petau and the Scaligers have laboured with incomparable erudition, offers us no assistance in our [project for a] universal history, our normal geography leaves us similarly abandoned. For, as men universally use the ideas and words known to them when they judge and explain the new and unknown, so the same property of the human mind must have brought entire nations to do likewise.

We know with certainty from the Latins that Latium and Italy lay within boundaries that were much smaller than those which, after the ever increasing development of Latin and Italic law, later expanded to their present size. The same occurred with the Tyrrhenian sea, regarding which we wish here to correct what we have written in another work. This must first have been the sea along the coasts of Etruria alone, but the Romans used the same name when they later extended the idea of this sea to the coast running from the root of the Alps, present-day Nice in Provence, as it is described in Livy, to the straits of Sicily, now called 'the straits of Messina', which is the name it has retained in geography. In

the same way the Greeks, from whom we have all that we have concerning the ancient gentile nations, must have used their original native ideas and language to think about anything foreign, in those earliest times in which there were neither any interpreters nor any linguistic communication between them and foreign nations. Thus, given the resemblances between many terrestrial sites in the world, they must have used their words for Greek sites to name others similar to their own.

Hence we must set out in search of new historical principles of geography, both to defend Homer against the large number of errors of which the science of geography has hitherto wrongly accused him, and to render poetic geography more coherent by basing it on a cosmography suited to [the nature of] the poets. [In this new historical geography] the first Olympus was the mountain upon whose peak and ridge Homer always located the dwellings of his gods. The first ocean was any sea without visible limit, [which explains why] the Polar Star could always be seen from the sea at night. The Greeks must have learnt about the star itself from the Phoenicians, who were already plying the shores of Greece in Homer's time. And just as Homer describes the island of Aeolia as being **surrounded by the ocean**, so the word 'ocean' became suitable for signifying the sea that embraced the whole earth, when it was finally discovered by our voyagers thousands of years later. Similarly, the first Thrace, the first Mauretania, the first India and the first Spain were the north, south, east and west of Greece herself: hence the Thracian Orpheus is also a famous hero of Greece, while, in the other direction, Perseus, another famous Greek hero, accomplished all his distinguished exploits in Mauretania, i.e. the Peloponnese, which is still called Morea. Yet not only did Herodotus not know that these heroes were his own Greeks but he also states that at one time the Moors of Africa were a white and handsome people!

Mount Athos must have lain within this Greek Mauretania. Abbreviated later to 'Athos', as it is still named, it stood in the place where Xerxes later dug [his canal] between Macedonia and Thrace, where there was also a river Atlas, as the Greeks have continued to name it. The childlike men of Greece called Mount Atlas 'the column of the sky', because, with its height, it seemed to support the sky. This was the system of cosmography that was transmitted to Homer, with the sky supported by columns, precisely like that, arising from the same roughness of the ideas of his times, which Mohammed left to the Turks. Hence, in Homer's age, the summit of the sky was the peak of Mount Olympus, upon which, as he is always telling us, his gods dwelt and took walks on a roof held on such columns. This is how, on one occasion, also in Homer, we find Thetis telling Achilles that Jove and the other gods had made their way from Olympus to feast on Atlas. [The same historical principles of geography explain what happened] when the Greeks later saw the straits of Gibraltar between the two high mountains of Abyla and Calpe. For they then saw that Europe was separated from Africa by a stretch of sea as narrow as the similar stretch between Attica and the Peloponnese, the narrowest of any in the world of Greece, with the possible exception of the neck of land upon which Mount Athos stands, which was narrow enough to be penetrated by Xerxes' canal. The similarity of these sites brought about a natural extension of the Greeks' ideas and, with this, a natural extension also of their first words, as we shall show in general in the next book. So Spain became 'Hesperia' from the Attic Hesperia, and a part of Africa became 'Mauretania' from the Greek Mauretania, which is still called 'Morea' today. And Mounts Abyla and Calpe must have been the 'two columns' of Atlas, which later became '[The Pillars] of Hercules', because Hercules succeeded Atlas in bearing the burden of sustaining the sky, i.e. of sustaining religion through a different kind of divination, as we shall now explain. Greek Mauretania must have been the home of some first founder of the Greek people, a prince of the vulgar astronomy of the Greeks. For the **ephors** of Sparta, the capital of the Peloponnese, whose divination was based upon the trajectory of falling stars at night, were certainly such [princes of a vulgar astronomy], as were all the Zoroasters of the peoples of the East. But since Atlas' only children were daughters, i.e. the Hesperides of Greece, he left the weight of Olympus, which he had carried on his shoulders, to his successor, Hercules. Yet though Hercules was indisputably the greatest of the Greek heroes, and though his race undoubtedly reigned in Sparta, we have never yet received a satisfactory explanation of him from the mythologists, who have perpetuated some or other school of recondite wisdom from others yet more ancient. But the kind of divination practised by the **ephors** gives us very serious reason to believe that a colony from the East came to the Peloponnese, since the name 'Peloponnese' itself certainly came from the Phrygian Pelops, and that it brought with it the sort of divination proper to the peoples of the East. For the divination of all the other Greeks peoples was based upon thunder and lightning, in which respect they differed from the Latins only in their contrasting use of their right and left sides. Thus Hercules, from whose race came the noble Spartans who preserved the patronymic 'Heraclid', succeeded Atlas in bearing the burden of sustaining the gods of their nation. But no recondite astronomers ever arose in Sparta because, as

everyone knows, Lycurgus prohibited the Spartans from knowledge of letters. Thus [it was] Zoroaster, and it must have been the Zoroaster of Pamphylia, which bordered on Phrygia, the birthplace of Pelops, who came to teach Atlas in his own dwelling in Thrace. Hence Orpheus had no need to travel as far as Morocco to learn astronomy from Atlas!]

Note: Item (f) is not found as such in the source passage, possibly to be read as “via Orient”.

VI.C.15.214(c) via Novara

(g) Esperia Parv. / Magna / Ultmer >

La Scienza Nuova 1725, Book II, Ch. LX: Con questi istessi principj può, anzi dee *Bacco aver domato l'India* dentro la Grecia medesima, per le difficoltà che sopra vedemmo, di aver potuto venir *Pittagora* da Gotrone in Roma a' tempi di *Servio Tullio*; e di non saper i *Tarantini* che i Romani erano in Italia. Così *Ercole riporta le poma d'oro da Esperia greca*, che dovette essere la prima a' Greci quella parte occidentale d'Attica, dentro la cui quarta parte del cielo sorge loro la stella Espero: onde poi conosciuta l'Italia, la dissero *Esperia Magna*, a riguardo della *Esperia Parva*; perchè era una picciola parte di Grecia l'occidente dell' Attica; ed *Esperia Magna* per l'Italia restò a' poeti: poi, conosciuta la *Spagna*, la dissero *Esperia ultima*, la quale così restò detta. Alla stessa fatta la prima Europa dovette essere essa *Grecia* a riguardo dell' *Asia*: così la *prima Jonia* dovette essere questa parte di Grecia occidentale, di cui ci è pur restata detto il *mare Jonio*: e l'*Asia*, che or si dice *Minore*, dovette essere la *Jonia* Seconda, parte occidentale di Grecia a riguardo dell' *Asia maggiore*, che restò detta *Asia* assolutamente. Onde si fa verisimile che i Greci avessero prima conosciuto l'Italia che l'Asia, e che *Pittagora* da questa Jonia occidentale vi avesse tragittato.

[Book II, Chapter LX [LXI]. *New historical principles of geography*: These same principles [show that] Bacchus could, or rather must, have tamed an India that lay within Greece herself. For otherwise we are faced with the difficulties, mentioned above, of the suggestion that Pythagoras could have come from Crotona to Rome at the time of Servius Tullius, and of the Tarantines' lack of knowledge that the Romans lived in Italy. Thus, for the Greeks, the Hesperia from which Hercules brought back the golden apple must first have been the part of western Africa within whose quarter of the sky Hesperus himself rose. Later, after they came to know of Italy, they called it *Esperia magna* ['Hesperia Major'], relative to *Esperia parva* ['Hesperia Minor'], because western Attica was a small part of Greece, and the poets retained the name *Esperia magna* for Italy. Then, after they came to know of Spain, it became *Esperia ultima* ['furthest Hesperia'], a name that it also retained. In the same way, the first Europe must have been Greece relative to Asia, the first Ionia must have been the part of western Greece that is still called 'the Ionian Sea', and the Asia that is now called 'Asia Minor' must have been the second Ionia, the western part of Greece, relative to Greater Asia, which has survived as 'Asia' without qualification. Hence it becomes probable that the Greeks knew of Italy before they knew Asia, and that Pythagoras crossed to Italy from western Ionia.]

VI.C.15.214(d) Esperia { Pard / Magnus / Ultima

(h) p. 141 >

VI.C.15.214(e) p 141

(i) to deplore

?*La Scienza Nuovo*, Book II, Ch. LXII (169): Capo LXII. *Si scuopre il Principio delle Colonie; e del Diritto Romano, Latino, Italico e delle Provincie.*

Ma la natura dell' *autorità*, con la quale i primi *fondatori delle città* dicevano a' *ricoverati*, essere proprie loro quelle terre ove avevano quelli ritruovato l' *asilo*; per la quale *Romolo* sopra il *diritto eroico del nodo* aveva fondato la sua con le *clientele*; e con la quale i Romani, come si è dimostro qui sopra, regolarono in casa tutte le pubbliche e private cose; e in conseguenza dovettero anche regolarle fuori nelle conquiste; perchè ella sconosciuta fin ora nella legge delle *XII Tavole*, come ci ha per tanto tempo nascosto la *propagazione della gente romana con distendere il diritto romano nel Lazio, nell'Italia, nelle provincie*; che è *pure il diritto delle genti*, per lo quale *Plutarco* afferma, il popolo romano esser divenuto signore delle nazioni: così ella ci ha sepolta la *fiaccola* di queste cose d'*istoria certa*, per riconoscere nell' *oscura e favolosa* il vero della *propagazione del genere umano dall'Oriente* per lo rimanente del mondo, che è giaciuto finora dentro l'*ombre* e le *favole* della più **deplorata antichità**.

[Book II, Chapter LXII [LXIII]. *The discovery of the principle of the colonies and provinces and of Roman, Latin and Italic law*, 135: The first thing we must consider is the nature of the authority through

which the first founders of the cities claimed to own the lands in which those whom they sheltered found asylum. This was the authority through which Romulus, with his heroic law of the bond, founded his asylum on the basis of his clientele and through which the Romans, as demonstrated above, regulated all things, public and private, at home. It must therefore also have been that with which they regulated them abroad through their conquests. But because the nature of this authority has hitherto lain unknown in the Law of the Twelve Tables, the propagation of the Roman people and the extension of their law into Latium, Italy and the provinces, the same law through which Plutarch claimed that the Roman people became lord of the nations, has long lain hidden from us. And with it, the torch of the things of certain history has also lain hidden, without which it will be impossible to recover the truth of the propagation of mankind from the East to the rest of the world, a truth that has hitherto lain buried in the shadows and fables of the most deplored antiquity.]
VI.C.15.214(f) to deplore

- (j) **dap Asiatics >>**
VI.C.15.214(g) d. ap. Asiatics

VI.C.3.210 / VI.D.2.[033]

- (a) **210 [LM] / ☐ Europeans >**
Note: See the reproduction of the notebook page in the *JJA*. The first item is Mme Raphael's page numbering. Written in blue crayon.
VI.C.15.214(h) ☐ European.

- (b) **Rome and her / prming. >**
VI.C.15.214(i) Rome & her / pinnion |

- (c) **Amer. and Eng.**
La Scienza Nuova 1725, Book II, Ch. LX: [quoted at (g)] ... poi, conosciuta la *Spagna*, la dissero *Esperia ultima*, la quale così restò detta. Alla stessa fatta la prima **Europa** dovette essere essa *Grecia* a riguardo dell' *Asia*: così la *prima Jonia* dovette essere questa parte di Grecia occidentale, di cui ci è pur restata detto il *mare Jonio*: e l'*Asia*, che or si dice *Minore*, dovette essere la *Jonia* Seconda, parte occidentale di Grecia a riguardo dell' *Asia maggiore*, che restò detta *Asia* assolutamente. Onde si fa verisimile che i Greci avessero prima conosciuto l'**Italia che l'Asia**, e che *Pittagora* da questa *Jonia* occidentale vi avesse tragittato.
[Book II, Chapter LX [LXI]. *New historical principles of geography*: Then, after they came to know of Spain, it became *Esperia ultima* ['furthest Hesperia'], a name that it also retained. In the same way, the first Europe must have been Greece relative to Asia, the first *Jonia* must have been the part of western Greece that is still called 'the Ionian Sea', and the *Asia* that is now called 'Asia Minor' must have been the second *Jonia*, the western part of Greece, relative to Greater Asia, which has survived as 'Asia' without qualification. Hence it becomes probable that the Greeks knew of Italy before they knew Asia, and that Pythagoras crossed to Italy from western *Jonia*.]
VI.C.15.214(j) Amer. & Eng.

- (d) **4 reasons / to emigrate >**
VI.C.15.215(a) 4 reasons / to emigrate

- (e) **1 can't live / 2 — — — / 3 bit / 4 outrage**
La Scienza Nuova 1725, Book II, Ch. LXI: *Si scuopre il gran principio della propagazione delle nazioni.*
Con questi principj di *cronologia* e di *geografia* si medita nel grande oscurissimo *principio* della *propagazione* delle nazioni e dell' origine delle *lingue*: sopra le quali cose *Wolfgango Lazio* lavorò due nen grandi *volumi*, co' quali non ci dà nulla più di certo per la certa origine o perpetuità della storia. Noi, come le parole van di seguito alle cose, nel *Libro seguente* ragioneremo dell' *origine delle lingue*: in questo tratteremo *della propagazione delle nazioni*, per queste *quattro verità* meditate sopra l'umana natura; **che gli uomini si riducono ad abbandonare le propie terre da una di queste quattro cagioni, secondo quest' ordine delle umane necessità o utilità, l'una succedente all'altra: prima da una**

assoluta necessità di campar la vita: seconda da una difficoltà insuperabile di poterlavi sostentare: terza da una grande ingordigia di arricchire co' traffichi: quarta da una grande ambizione di conservare gli acquisti.

[Book II, Chapter LXI. *The discovery of the great principle of the propagation of the nations*: With these principles of chronology and geography we come now to meditate on the great but most obscure principle of the propagation of the nations and the origins of their languages, subjects upon which Wolfgang Latus laboured in two very large volumes, without producing anything new or certain about the certain origin and continuity of history. However, since words follow in the wake of things, we shall defer our discussion of the origin of languages until the next book, and concentrate in this book on the propagation of the nations. We shall treat it on the basis of a meditation concerning four truths of human nature, whereby men are reduced to abandoning their own lands through one of four causes which succeed each other in accordance with the following order of human necessities or utilities: first, an absolute necessity to save their lives; second, an insurmountable difficulty in being able to support themselves; third, a great greed for enrichment through trade; and fourth, a great ambition to preserve their acquisitions.]

VI.C.15.215(b) 1 can't live / 2 ——— / 3 bis / 4 anti[?]-

(f) not on spiapp. >

VI.C.15.215(c) not on spieygrd.

(g) al spis smoke

La Scienza Nuova 1725, Book II, Ch. LXIII: Ed essendo sparsa da per tutte le antiche nazioni una superstizione di **non abitare su i lidi del mare**; del qual costume delle prime genti vi hanno bellissimi luoghi nell' *Odissea*, che dovunque *Ulisse*, o approda, o è da tempesta portato, monta alcun poggio, per veder dentro terra **fumo che significassegli esservi uomini**: il qual costume tra gli stessi suoi antichi Greci riconobbe *Tucidide* nel principio della sua Storia; e ne rifonde la cagione nel timor de' corseggi.

[Book II, Chapter LXIII [LXIV]. *The discovery of the mode of the overseas heroic colonies*: [Here we must note] that throughout all the ancient nations, the superstition had spread that they ought not to live on the shores of the sea, a custom of the first peoples which is revealed in some fine passages in the *Odyssey*: thus, when *Ulysses*, for example, either lands or is carried to land by storm, he climbs some hill in order to see whether there is any smoke inland that would indicate the presence of men; Thucydides also, at the start of his *History*, acknowledges that this was the custom among these same ancient Greeks, and puts its cause down to their fear of pirates.]

VI.C.15.215(d) al spies smoke

(h) ☐ sees / wonders

VI.C.15.215(e) ☐ sees / wonders

(i) ☐ wordmad

VI.C.15.215(f) ☐ wordmad

VI.C.3.211 / VI.D.2.[034]

(a) ☐ with Od. going

VI.C.15.215(g) ☐ with Od. going

(b) ^bwd you mind

?MS 47486a-8, ScrPrEM: ^+wd you mind ... you might+^ | JJA 61:124 | 1933-1934 | III§1A.12 | /1D.12 | //2A.13 | /2B.11 | /2C.13 | //3A.10 | //4.7 | FW 000.00
VI.C.15.215(c) ^swd you mind

(c) ^byou might T

?MS 47486a-8, ScrPrEM: ^+wd you mind ... you might+^ | JJA 61:124 | 1933-1934 | III§1A.12 | /1D.12 | //2A.13 | /2B.11 | /2C.13 | //3A.10 | //4.7 | FW 000.00
VI.C.15.215(c) ^syou might T

(d) ^b☐ **Cantab (ile)**

?*La Scienza Nuova* 1725, Book II, Ch. LXIII: Come pur certamente in *Napoli* fu adorato il *Dio Mitra* (a), Dio senza dubbio degli Egizj; e la fondatrice fu detta *Sirena*, che deve la sua origine senza contrasto alla voce *Sir*, che vuoi dire *Cantico* ovvero canzone; la quale istessa voce *Sir* diede il nome a essa *Siria*; e poi da' Greci fu detta *Partenope*. Perciò si dimostra che non mai *Virgilio* credette *Cuma* fondata da' *Calcedesi*, per quello stesso che la chiama *Euboica*; perchè l'arebbe detta *Abantica* da essi *Calcedesi*; i quali *Omero* chiama *Abanti* sempre, *Eubei* non mai: ma la disse *Euboica* dalla *Sibilla*; da una cui simile donna indovina *Plinio* riferisce, essere stata detta *Eubea* l'isola di *Negroponte*.

[Book II, Chapter LXIII [LXIV]. *The discovery of the mode of the overseas heroic colonies*: Similarly, it is certain that Mithras, who was undoubtedly an Egyptian god, was worshipped in Naples. The founding goddess of Naples was *Sirena*, who was unarguably named from the word *sir*, meaning 'lyric' or 'song', from which *Syria* was also named. Only later did the Greeks call her 'Parthenope'. We can also demonstrate, therefore, from the fact that he referred to Cumae as 'Euboean', that Virgil never believed that it had been founded by the Chalcidians. [140] For if it had been, Homer, who always refers to the Chalcidians as 'Abantes' and never as 'Euboans', would have called it 'Abantic'. But whereas Homer took the word 'Euboean' from the sibyl [of that name], it was only by guesswork, based upon some similar sibyl, that Pliny thought that the island of Negropont was called 'the island of Euboea'.]

MS 47486a-35, ScrPrEM: ^+he can cantab as chipper as any oxen ever I mood on+^ | JJA 61:160 | 1933-1934 | III§1A.12 | /1B.3 | /1C.9 | /1D.12 | /2A.13 | /2B.11 | /2C.13 | /3A.10 | /4.7 | | > | MS 47486a-94, ScrPrRMA: ^+And he can cantab as chipper as any oxen ever I mood with. A tiptoe singer.+^ | JJA 61:049 | 1933-1936 | III§2A.13/2B.11/2C.13 | FW 467.31

VI.C.15.216(a) ☐ Cantabi (li)

(e) **Lucia' Livy / only daughter**

Not found in *La Scienza Nuova*.

VI.C.15.216(b) Lucia ' Livy / only daughter

(f) <Sallust's> Sallust ^+and+^ Lvy / and Lucan / = = Sorge >

VI.C.15.216(c) Sallust & Livy / & Lucan / = Saga.

(g) **Geoffroy of. / Monmouth / Hist of Britny.**

The Icelandic Sagas 106-7: A fairly extensive account of **Roman history** (*Rómverja sögur*) which has partly been preserved in two recensions, is made up by combining translations of **Sallust's Jugurtha** and **Catiline** with an abridgement of **Lucan's Pharsalia**. The compiler was evidently well acquainted with Latin, and the Icelandic is remarkably good. This cannot be said of the remaining work which falls to be mentioned [106] here, a translation of **Geoffrey of Monmouth's history of the Britons** (*Breta sögur*), in which there are many evidences of haste and imperfect understanding of the original. In one copy of this saga there is inserted a metrical version of Merlin's prophecies, which is known to have been the work of the monk Gunnlaug Leifsson.

VI.C.15.216(d) Geoffrey of / Monmouth / Hist. of Brittany

(h) ^b☐ **Quadrilogus**

The Icelandic Sagas 108: There is also a saga of St Magnus of the Orkneys, which is really an extract from *Orkneyinga saga*, but one version is interpolated with passages of little value translated from a Latin life, the author of which was a 'master Rodbert' otherwise unknown. English saints are represented by sagas of Edward the Confessor (*Játvarðar saga*), which is mainly a list of miracles, of Dunstan (compiled in the first half of the fourteenth century by Árni, son of the bishop Lanrentius), and especially of the archbishop Thomas Becket. The latter are very extensive, and of one or more only fragments are preserved. Of the more complete texts, the older is of Norwegian origin, and is a translation of the **Quadrilogus** or *Historia quadripartita*. To Norway also belong the translations of the story of Barlaam and Josaphat, a work of considerable length, and of the Vision of Tundale (*Duggals leizla*). The former of these was made at the instance of King Hákon Hákonarson, probably about 1255.

?MS 47486a-222, ScrPrEM: ^+tetralogus last line+^ | JJA 61:296 | 1933-1934 | III§1A.12' | /1D.12' | /2A.13' | /2B.11' | /2C.13' | /3A.10' | /4.7' | | FW 000.00

VI.C.15.216(e) quadrilogus

(i) **S.P. miracles?**

The Icelandic Sagas 108-9: Although these translated works have very little that is distinctively Icelandic about them, they cannot be altogether omitted in a general survey of Icelandic literature. They show very clearly the kind of reading which was most popular among those Icelanders who took an interest in the learning of the Church, and indicate the general character of the [108] influence which might be exercised on the native literature from this source. The numerous lives of saints, with their long series of **miracles** performed by the more famous of them, undoubtedly gave suggestions for the similar accounts of Norwegian and Icelandic saints and bishops.

VI.C.15.216(f) S.P. miracles?

(j) **Thor >>**

VI.C.3.212 / VI.D.2.[035]

(a) **Tyrkland / Tysk?**

The Icelandic Sagas 109: The study of ancient history led to attempts to link on the early history of the North with that of classical and biblical antiquity, as is most clearly shown in the prologue to Snorri's Edda. This begins with the creation and the flood, the division of the world among Noah's sons, the tower of Babel, and so on; then it tells of Saturn and Jupiter, and other ancient deities, and of Troy and its kings. One of these had a son named Trór, "him we call **Thór**"; he married Sibil, "whom we call Sif," and from him Odin was descended. Odin left his own country, **Tyrkland**, and came north with a great multitude of people and much treasure. They first settled in Saxland, then in Jutland, and finally in Sweden and Norway; and from Odin the royal and noble families in these countries were ultimately sprung.

VI.C.15.216(g)-217(a) Tror / Tyrkland // Tysk?

(b) **{ Burnt Niall / Si W^m Dosent / everyman.**

The Icelandic Sagas 112: Of the five longer sagas of Icelanders the following separate translations are available. *The Story of Burnt Njal*, by **Sir G.W. Dasent** (1861, in two volumes; reprinted in one volume in 1900, and again in 'Everyman's Library,' 1912).

VI.C.15.217(b) Burnt Niall / Si W^m Dosent / Everyman

(c) **Eredwellers**

The Icelandic Sagas 112: *The Story of Grettir the Strong*, by E. Magnusson and W. Morris (1869). *The Eyrbyggja, or the Story of the Ere-Dwellers*, by the same, in vol. II of the 'Saga Library,' published by B. Quaritch (1892). *The Saga of Egil Skallagrímsson*, by the Rev. W.C. Green (1893).

VI.C.15.217(c) ⁸Eredwellers

(d) **(Temple Clocks) / Muriel EChen.**

The Icelandic Sagas 112-113: *Laxdaela Saga*, by **Muriel A.C. Press**, in the 'Temple Classics' (1899); also *The Story of the Laxdalers*, by R. Proctor (1903). [112] Portions of *Eyrbyggja* and *Laxdaela* are also translated in *Origines Islandicae*.

VI.C.15.217(d) (Temple Classics) Muriel E.C. Press

(e) **<f>petitions >**

VI.C.15.217(e) fictitious

(f) **Headslaying.**

The Icelandic Sagas 113: The shorter sagas relating to Iceland are only partially represented by separate translations, of which the more important are the following. *The Story of Gísli the Outlaw*, by Sir G. W. Dasent (1866). *The Story of Víga-Glúm*, by Sir E. Head (1866). *Gunlaugs saga* and the **fictitious** *Víglúndar saga* are two of the *Three Northern Love Stories* by Magnusson and Morris (1875.) The same translators, in the first volume of the 'Saga Library' (1891), have given the stories of *Howard the Halt*, the *Banded Men*, and *Hen Thorir*, while the second volume (1893) contains the story of the **Heath-Slayings** (i.e. *Heiðarvíga saga*).

VI.C.15.217(f) Headslaying.

(g) **Frisom Y. / Winlow the End / (O A in Utler).**

The Icelandic Sagas 113: *Cormac's Saga* has been translated by W. Collingwood and J. Stefánsson. The sagas relating to the **discovery of America** by the Icelanders have been most fully dealt with by Arthur Reeves in the *Finding of Wineland the Good* (1890). Of the remaining short sagas, seven or eight are more or less fully translated in the *Origines*, together with a number of smaller tales and episodes.

VI.C.15.217(g) Frising ye / Winlow the Earl / (O.W. in U.S.A.

(h) **Eckybiskaps**

The Icelandic Sagas 114: The saga of St Magnus of Orkney is included in Sir G. Dasent's translation of the *Orkneyinga saga* (see below) and in the Rev. W. M. Metcalfe's *Lives of Scottish Saints* (1895). The Rolls edition of *Thomas saga erkibyskups*, by E. Magnusson (1876–83), is accompanied by a full translation.

VI.C.15.217(h) Echybiskaps

(i) **du Cha . Ilu >>**

VI.C.15.218(a) du Cha, rtres

VI.C.3.213 / VI.D.2.[036]

(a) **(Viking Mght) / translation / (Kings / Class)**

The Icelandic Sagas 115: In addition to the above, there are some works in which copious excerpts from the sagas are given, such as F. Metcalfe's *The Englishman and the Scandinavian* (1880) and **P. du Chaillu's Viking Age** (1889). A number of typical passages are also translated in *Stories from the Northern Sagas*, by A. F. Major and E. E. Speight (2nd ed., 1905), and *Translations from the Icelandic, by the Rev. W. C. Green, in the 'King's Classics'* (1908).

VI.C.15.218(b) Viking Light / translators / from Jalenster / wcehar / (King's) / class

(b) **Mei**

VI.C.15.218(c) Mei

(c) **corseting**

VI.C.15.218(d) corseting

(d) **pregnant W / sings. / for us every / barbarous rogue**

VI.C.15.218(e) pregnant W. / sings [d] / for us every / barbarous rogue

(e) **⊥ you^{^+2+}re^{^+} you're⁺ nt / going to**

VI.C.15.219(a) ^s⊥ you're not / going to

(f) **The Hunt / (<pi>paris shoes)**

VI.C.15.219(b) The Hunt / (primitive)

(g) **Mare Non Nostry >**

VI.C.15.219(c) Marc Non Nostry

(h) **Mesopotamia >**

VI.C.15.219(d) Mesopotamia

(i) **mediterr >**

VI.C.15.219(e) mediterr

VI.C.3.214 / VI.D.2.[037]

- (a) **entragne / Germ speak. / ‘Guthrie’ >**
VI.C.15.219(f) entragne / germ. speaks / ‘guthric’

(b) **vol lingue**

La Scienza Nuova 1725, Book II, Ch. LXIV: *Scoperta del primo principio di questa scienza.*

Finalmente si trova essere state da per tutto *prima le nazioni mediterranee*, poi le *marittime*; che riconosce pur vero *Tucidide*: ed investigando nelle cagioni, si medita nel più *gran principio dell’umanità gentile*; per la cui ricerca preposimo al Libro primo quel motto: *ignari hominumque locorumque erramus*: con rinvenire tal *guisa*, che dalla *Mesopotamia*, che è la *terra più mediterranea di tutto l’universo abitabile*, e ’n conseguenza *la più antica di tutte le nazioni del mondo, da dugento anni innanzi*, che avvenne la *confusione delle lingue in Babilonia*, le razze empie di *Cam e Giafet*, incominciando a penetrare la *gran selva della terra*, per ritraovar pabolo o acqua, o per campare dalle fiere; e per lo terror nelle fiere dividendosi gli uomini dalle donne e le madri da’ lor figliuoli, senza certe vie da potersi rinvenire; e rimasti i fanciulli tutti soli, senza udir voce umana, non che apprendere uman costume, vi si dispersero dentro da per tutto in una *bestial libertà*; e per le cagioni molto maggiori di quelle che arrecano *Cesare e Tacito* della gigantesca statura degli *antichi Germani*, vi crebbero *giganti*; e poi ricevutisi alle religioni, si fondarono **le loro lingue natie**; e ’l tutto si riduce all’*antichità della religione del vero Dio creatore di Adamo*, la cui pia generazione innanzi e dopo il diluvio abitò la *Mesopotamia*.

[Book II, Chapter LXIV [LXV]. *The discovery of the first origin in this Science*: Finally, we find that everywhere inland nations rose first, followed by the maritime nations, a truth acknowledged also by Thucydides. Our investigation of causes brings us therefore to meditate on the most important origin of gentile humanity, the search for which is the reason why, in our first book, we proposed the expression *Ignari hominumque locorumque erramus* [‘We wander ignorant both of men and places’]. The mode that we now discover is that since Mesopotamia was the most inland part of the whole habitable universe, the oldest of all the nations in the world arose there. Hence, some two hundred years before the occurrence of the confusion of tongues in Babylon, [it is here that] the impious races of Ham and Japhet began to penetrate the great forest of the earth in search of food and water to save themselves from the terrifying wild animals and, with men separated from women and mothers from children, without any certain ways of reuniting, their children remained utterly alone, beyond reach of any human voice or any human custom. Thus these impious races everywhere dispersed in a bestial liberty in which, by dint of causes vastly greater than those that Caesar and Tacitus adduced for the gigantic stature of the ancient Germans, they grew into giants. Then later, after these races had been received into religion, their native languages were founded. All of which reduces to [the truth of] the antiquity of the religion of the true God, creator of Adam, and [the fact that] his pious descendants lived in Mesopotamia both before and after the Flood.]

VI.C.15.219(h) nol. lingua

(c) **brief ar writing / lamp**

Note: See the reproduction of the notebook page in the *JJA*. The deleted item was crossed out by Mme Raphael.

VI.C.15.219(g) brief aritys. / lamps

(d) **a = Δ of. Endo.**

VI.C.15.219(h) a = Δ of Euclid

(e) **2000. rinpi**

VI.C.15.219(i) 2.000 dunpi

(f) **longer-(Gal) Sho**

VI.C.15.220(a) longa (hal) shop.

(g) **na longer**

VI.C.15.220(b) navid. longa.

(h) **spation = to an**

VI.C.15.220(c) spation - to ase

(i) **Mr. Octavius**

VI.C.15.220(d) M^r Octavius

(j) **- he not long after —**

VI.C.15.220(e) & he not long / after —

(k) **coarb = succ / of S. Patrick**

The Annals of Ireland 1a fn2/2n2: *Comharba, or coarb of St. Bridget.*—That is, the **successor** of St. Bridget, or abbess of Kildare. The word *coarb* is applied to the successor or representative of the patron saint, or original founder of a monastery, priory, or any ecclesiastical establishment; or successor of a bishop, as **the coarb of St. Patrick, that is, the successor or representative of St. Patrick** at Armagh, as applied to the primates. The term Comorban is applied in the same sense by many writers.

VI.C.15.220(f) coarb = suc^r. / of. S. Patrick

VI.C.3.215 / VI.D.2.[038]

(a) **Ferus >**

VI.C.15.220(g) Ferns

(b) **Dermot hoarse**

The Annals of Ireland 2a fn6/2n6: King **Dermot** died in his castle at **Ferns** about the 65th year of his age. His character is drawn by various writers in the darkest colours; he was rapacious, fierce, cruel, vindictive, and of violent passions; though to gain popularity he endeavoured to conciliate the lower classes of the people. It appears he was a man of great stature and strength of body, and possessed of much personal bravery. Holingshed says, “he was a man of tall stature and of a large and great body, a valiant and bold warrior in his nation; from his continual shouting his voice was **hoarse**; he rather chose to be feared than to be loved, and was a great oppressor of his nobility; to his own people he was rough and grievous, and hateful unto strangers; his hand was against all men, and all men against him.”

VI.C.15.220(h) Dermot h|oarse

(c) **Saitne**

The Annals of Ireland 2a fn8/2n8: **Saitne** or *Saithne*.—This was one of the *establishments* referred to by Michael O’Clery in his dedication to Fergal O’Gara, as possessed by the descendants of Teige, son of Kian, son of Oilioll Olum. According to O’Dugan, this district was the property of the O’Caseys, a clan in the county of Westmeath, where O’Dugan has fixed this district. This place is now traceable under the name Sonagh, the property of sir Hugh Morgan Tuite, Bart., where one of the castles of De Lacy stood, who conferred the property on the Tuite family.

VI.C.15.220(i) Saitue

(d) **Ossory = Morpihan**

The Annals of Ireland 2a fn11/2n11: *Lord of Osraighe or Ossory.*—**Mac Giolla Phadraic** was lord or prince of Ossory; and his ancient principality extended through the whole country between the rivers Nore and Suir, being bounded on the N. and E. by the Nore, and on the W. and S. by the Suir. The princes of Ossory make a considerable figure in Irish history, and one in particular, Donal M’Giolla Phadraic, distinguished himself in the wars with Strongbow and the English. At an early period they were dispossessed of part of their patrimony by the kings of Cashel; and the southern parts of their territories were occupied by the Butlers, afterwards earls of Ormond, and other English adventurers; but the northern parts remained with the original proprietors, who, on their connection with the English, changed their name to Fitzpatrick, and took the titles of earls of Upper Ossory. A full account of the county of Kilkenny and the clans of Ossory will be given in a future note.

VI.C.15.220(j) Ossory = Mesopotamia

(e) ^b**O’Connell Bartly.**

?*The Annals of Ireland* 2b fn13/2n13: *Cenel-Eoghain, or Kinel-Owen*.—That is, the descendants of Owen, whose territory was called Tir-Eoghain, anglicised to Tyrone, with parts of the counties of Derry and Antrim, and which derived its name from Owen, the fifth son of Niall of the nine hostages, monarch of Ireland, in the fourth century, ancestor to the O’Neills, princes of Tyrone. Tir Chonaill, now the present county of Donegal, derived its name from his brother Conall Gulban, the ancestor of St. Columkille, and of the O’Donnells, princes of Tirconnell. The people of those two territories are generally designated in the annals under the denominations of Cenel-Eoghain, or the clan of Owen, and Cinel Conaill, or the clan of Connell. The Mac Loughlins were the senior branch of the O’Neills. In the course of these notes a full account will be given of Tyrone and Tyrconnell, and of the various clans who possessed those territories.

MS 47475-212, ScrPrLPA: ^+So more boher to O’Connell!+^ | *JJA* 46:198 | 1936 | I.4§1.8+/2.8+ | *FW* 081.09

VI.C.15.220(k) O’Connell Bartey

(f) **Oriel** >

VI.C.15.221(a) Oriel

(g) **Aghaderg (Iveagh)** >

Note: See the reproduction of the notebook page in the *JJA*. Two curved lines enclose the first item.

VI.C.15.221(b) Aghaderg (Iveagh)

(h) **Yellow.** >

(i) ^b**hostage** >

MS 47486a-222, ScrPrEM: ^+fender, a product of Hostages & Co, Engineers+^ | *JJA* 61:296 | 1933-1934 | III§1A.12’ |1D.12’ |//2A.13’ |/2B.11’ |/2C.13’ |/3A.10’ |/4.7’ | | [>] MS 47486b-443, ScrPrTMA: turfing iron, ^+a product of Hostages & Co, Engineers,+^ changed feet | *JJA* 61:506 | 1933-1936 | III§3A.10+’ | *FW* 518.16

(j) **(Gold)** >

VI.C.15.221(c) Yellow / (gold) / hostage

(k) **Lon.** >

VI.C.15.221(d) Louth

(l) **K. of Oriel O’Canoll** >

VI.C.15.221(e) K. of Oriel - O’Carroll

(m) **Mellifont** >

VI.C.15.221(f) Mellifont

(n) **Cuailpie** >

VI.C.15.221(g) Cuailpie

(o) **Magennis / (s of. Iveagh)**

The Annals of Ireland 2b-3a fn14/2n14f: *Orgialla*.—The ancient kingdom or principality of Orgiall, comprised an extensive territory in Ulster, and was called by Ware, Usher, Colgan, and other Latin writers, *Orgallia* and *Ergallia*; and by the English *Oriel* and *Uriel*. In the beginning of the fourth century three warlike princes, called the three Collas, sons of Eochy Doimhleinn, son of Cairbre Lifeachar, monarch of Ireland, of the race of Heremon, made a conquest of a great part of Ulster, which they wrested from the old possessors, princes of the race of Ir, called the Clanna Rory, or Rudericians. The three Collas in the great battle of Achalethderg in Fearmuighe, in Dalaradia, on the borders of Down and Antrim, A.D. 332, defeated the forces of Fergus, king of Ulster, who was slain; and the victors burned to the ground Eamhain Macha or Emania, (near the present city of Armagh,) the famous palace of the Ultonian kings, which had stood for six centuries, and had been long celebrated by the Irish bards. The place where this battle was fought is called also Cam Achy-Leth-Derg, and is now known as the parish

of **Aghaderg**, in the barony of **Iveagh**, county of Down, where there still remains a huge Cam of loose stones near Loughbrickland. The sovereignty of Ulster thus passed from the race of Ir to the race of Heremon. The names of the three chiefs were Colla Uais, or Colla the noble, Colla Meann, or Colla the famous, and Colla-da-Chrich, or Colla of the two territories. Colla Uais became monarch of Ireland A.D. 327, and died A.D. 332. The territory conquered by the three Collas comprised according to Usher, O'Flaherty, and others, the present counties of **Louth**, Monaghan, and Armagh, and obtained the name of Oirgiall, as stated by O'Halloran, from the circumstance of the Collas having stipulated with the monarch of Ireland, for themselves and their posterity, that if any chiefs of the clan Colla should be at any time demanded as hostages, and if *shackled*, their **fetters** should be of **gold**: thus, from the Irish or, **gold**, and *giallf* a **hostage**, came the name *orgialla*. The term **Oriel**, or Uriel, was in general confined by the English to the present county of **Louth**, which in former times was part of Ulster; that province extending to the Boyne at Drogheda. We find in Colgan and Mac Geoghegan, that the **O'Carrolls**, a noble clan of the race of the Dal Fiatachs, were at the time of St. Patrick, kings of Orgiall, or that part of it comprising the county of Louth. The Dal Fiatachs or Dalfiatachians, who founded many powerful families in Ulster, particularly in Dalaradia or Down, were descended from Fiatach Fionn, monarch of Ireland at the commencement of the second century, of the race of Heremon. The O'Carrolls continued kings of Orgiall, down to the twelfth century, when they were dispossessed by the Anglo-Normans under John de Courcy. Donogh O'Carroll, prince of Orgiall, the last celebrated head of this race, founded the great Abbey of **Mellifont** in Louth, in the twelfth century. The territory of Louth is mentioned in the earliest times under the names of *Magh Muirtheimhne*, or the Plain of Muirtheimhne, so called from Muirtheimhne, son of Breogan, uncle of Milesius, who possessed it. Part of the territory of Louth and Armagh was called **Cuailgne**, from Cuailgne, another son of Breogan, who, according to our old Annalists, was killed there in a battle between the Milesians and the Tuatha-De-Danans, about a thousand years before the Christian era. Sliabh Cuailgne, now Slieve Gullion mountain in Armagh, acquired its name from the same person. Louth was in ancient times also called Machaire Chonaill, or the Plain of Conall, from Conall Cearnach, or Conall [2] the Victorious, the renowned warrior, who was chief of the Red Branch knights of Ulster, about the commencement of the Christian era, and whose descendants possessed this territory. (It may be here remarked that the celebrated hero of Ossian's poems, Cuchulin, the relative and cotemporary of Conall Cearuach, had his residence at Dun-Dealgan, now Dundalk.) The descendants of Conall Cearnach were the **Magennis**, lords of **Iveagh**, in Dalaradia, or county of Down, the O'Moras, or O'Moores princes of Leix, in Kildare and Queen's county, and others. Amongst the other chief clans who possessed Louth were the Mac Canns, Mac Cartans, O'Kellys, O'Moores, O'Callaghans, O'Carraghars, Mac Colmans, Mac Campbells, Mac Ardells, Mac Kennys, O'Devins, O'Markys, O'Branagans, Mac-Scanlons, and others.

VI.C.15.221(h) Magennis / (l. of Iveagh)

VI.C.3.216 / VI.D.2.[039]

(a) **Loridia** >

VI.C.15.221(i) Loridia

(b) **Plunket's (Dand)** >

VI.C.15.221(j) Plunkets (Damst)

(c) **Drumgosh** (")

The Annals of Ireland 3a fn14/3n14: In the reign of king John, A.D. 1210, Louth was formed into a county, and acquired its name from the town of Louth, in Irish *Lugh Mhagh*. In the Inquisitions the county is called **Lovidia**. The chief Anglo-Norman or British families settled in Louth were the De Lacys, De Verdons, De Gernons, De Pepards, De Flemmings, barons of Slane; the Bellews of Barmeach, who had formerly the title of barons of Duleek; the De Berrainghams, earls of Louth, a title afterwards possessed by the **Plunkets**, a great family of **Danish** descent; the Taaffes, earls of Carlingford; the Balls, Brabazons, Darcys, Dowdals, and Clintons, the **Dromgools** of Danish descent, &c.; the Fortescues now earls of Claremont, and in more modern times, the family of Gorges, barons of Dundalk; and the Fosters, viscounts Ferard, and barons of Oriel.

VI.C.15.221(k) Drumgoole (")

(d) **Mumecan** >

VI.C.15.221(l) Mumecar

(e) **Monk (of. Monghe)**

The Annals of Ireland 3a fn14/3n14: This part of Orgiall was overrun by the forces of John de Courcy in the reign of king John, but the Mac Mahons maintained their national independence to the reign of Elizabeth, when Monaghan was formed into a county, so called from its chief town **Muineachan**, that is, the Town of **Monks**. The noble families now in **Monaghan**, are the Dawsons, barons of Cremora; the Westenras, lords Rossmore; and the Blayneys, lords Blayne. The other chief landed proprietors are the families of Shirly, Lesley, Coote, Corry, and Hamilton.

VI.C.15.221(m) Monk (of Moneyhe)

(f) **Breffui (Orkeiks) / —' (O'Reilly)** >

VI.C.15.222(a) Breffui (Orkuskly) / O'Ceilly

(g) **in a petun / a|c.**

The Annals of Ireland 3b fn16/3n16: **Brefne**.—**Brefney** was divided into two principalities, viz., **Brefney O'Rourke**, or West Brefney, comprising the present county of Leitrim, with the barony of Tullaghagh, and part of Tullaghonoho, in the county of Cavan; and **Brefney O'Reilly**, or East Brefney, now the county of Cavan; the river at Ballyconnell being the boundary between Brefney O'Rourke and Brefney O'Reilly. **In a future** number a full **account** will be given of these two territories, and all their clans.

VI.C.15.222(b) in a peten / a|c.

(j) **lordship (plad)**

The Annals of Ireland 3b fn17/3n17: *Cuircne*, or *Machaire Cuircne*.—This district comprised the present barony of Kilkenny West, in the county of Westmeath, which, according to O'Dugan and Dr. O'Brien, was the **lordship of O'Tolarg**.

Note: See the reproduction of the notebook page in the *JJA*. A horizontal line is drawn over the h of 'lordship,' sc. under the a of "a|c".

VI.C.15.222(c) lordship (plad)

(k) **coiniree** >

VI.C.15.222(d) coimree

(l) **resdmhna**

The Annals of Ireland 4a fn20/4n20: *Tanist of Brefney*.—"A successor was nominated for the prince in his life-time to fill the throne after his demise. As suppose his son or brother, or the most respectable relation, they denominated him **Coimree**, a word translated from the finger on which the ring is worn, which comes nearest to the middle finger in situation and length. Thus Tanist, (or the heir apparent,) second to the prince in rank and authority, and from this the title of Tanistry-law is derived by Davis and Ware. Each of the other candidates of the family is called **Riogh Damhna**, (or heir presumptive) which is royal, that is, a subject qualified to receive the royal form. But if he was attached to any liberal or mechanical art, he was denominated Adhbhar only, which also denoted matter, (or material for a king or chief); that is, a matter disposed to be instructed in the rudiments of such an art."—*O'Flaherty's Ogygia*.

VI.C.15.222(e) reodmhua

(m) **Tuadh**

The Annals of Ireland 4b fn22/4n22: *Thomond*.—**Tuadh** Mumhan or North Munster, which formed in ancient times a kingdom in itself, and of which a full account will appear in a future number.

Note: See the reproduction of the notebook page in the *JJA*. A horizontal line is drawn over the h of 'Tuadh,' sc. under the n of "resdmhna".

VI.C.15.222(f) Tuadh

(n) **1 makes ends / 2.3.4. correct**

Note: Cf. *The Annals of Ireland* 18b fn1/18n1: Mac Dermott was prince of Moylurg, now the Plains of

Boyle, or barony of Boyle, in the county of Roscommon, and had his chief castle at Lough Key. In the text seven hundred persons are said to have lost their lives, but the mistake has been corrected by an interlineation, which states the number at one hundred and forty. Whether or not he was inspired by the above passage, Joyce's idea seems to be one of the four chroniclers/evangelists making a mistake and the other three correcting it in their versions.

VI.C.15.222(g) 1 makes mis. / 1.3.4. correct

VI.C.3.217 / VI.D.2.[040]

(a) my father the P P

Heimskringla ix: Jon Loftson's farm of Odde in South Iceland was a famous centre of culture. His grandfather, Saemund the Learned, was renowned **as a priest** and as a student of the ancient history of Norway and Iceland. He had set up a school which became both celebrated and popular; and it was continued under **his son** Loft and his grandson Jon.

VI.C.15.222(h) my father the P.P.

(b) Loftson / Lifters >

Heimskringla viii-ix: Snorre Sturlason, the author and compiler of the *Sagas of the Norse Kings*, was born in Iceland in 1178, and he could boast of many illustrious ancestors. His grandfather, Thord Gilsson, had married a descendant of Haldor Snorreson of Hjarðarholt, and, with her, inherited the title of *gode* or chieftain. Thord's son, Sturia of Hvamm, married Gudny, the daughter of Bodvar Thordson. On her father's side, she sprang from the famous family of bards or scalds, the Myremen, the family of Egil Skallagrimson and Einar Skuleson; and, through her grandmother, from the renowned justiciary and scald, Markus Skjeggesson. Sturla Thordson is said to have been clever and ambitious, aggressive and unscrupulous. [viii] He was constantly at variance with other chieftains in connection with public or private affairs; but he never failed to stand up for his subordinate thing-men, in order thereby to increase his status and influence. In his later days he had a dispute with Paal Solveson of Reykjaholt; but he lost his cause, for Jon **Loftson of Odde**, the most powerful man in the land, took the side of Paal and secured justice for him. In order to appease him for the defeat, Jon offered to foster Sturla's three-year-old son **Snorre**. This was a magnanimous and flattering proposal, and Sturla willingly accepted it. This led to a very close connection between the Odde family and the Sturlungs, as the descendants of Sturla came to be called.

Note: Cf. 227(c).

VI.C.15.222(i) Loftson / Lipten

(c) landgrabble

Heimskringla x-xi: By his marriage Snorre obtained the control of considerable means, which he employed with sagacity and industry. Like his father and brothers, Snorre was an enterprising and energetic farmer; and like them, too, he was fond of power and property and not too scrupulous in his methods of adding to his estate. Thus at an early period he secured possession of several large farms in the south and west of Iceland. He induced Magnus Paalson, a priest who was getting old and frail, to hand over to him the management of Reykjaholt, which was really Church land. Magnus and his wife became pensioners of Snorre, who undertook to advance the interests of the priest's sons as well as he could. **And having taken possession of Reykjaholt, Snorre immediately began to act as if the property were his own**, pulling down and rebuilding as [x] he pleased.

VI.C.15.223(a) landgrabber.

(d) odde and Snow

Heimskringla xi: Snorre's brothers, Thord and Sighvat, had also added to their lands and influence; indeed Thord had become the most powerful chieftain in the north of the island; and with his family connections he eventually became as influential in the north-east as the **Odde** family in the south-west, to the circle of which **Snorre** still belonged.

VI.C.15.223(b) odde & Suor

(e) ^hΠ asks □, / to write poems / about Δ

Heimskringla xi: At an early age Snorre had earned the reputation of being “a good scald” and learned in the law. His first known efforts were historical poems on the Norse kings, Sverre, who died in 1202, and Inge, and on Inge’s half-brother, Earl Haakon. Snorre sent these poems to Norway, but all trace of them has been lost. Earl Haakon greatly appreciated Snorre’s poem, for he sent him valuable gifts and invited the scald to visit him, promising him great honour. **The Earl also begged Snorre to compose a poem on his Swedish wife, Fru Kristine**, and this poem, *Andvaka*, was in due time prepared and forwarded.

MS Jahnke 12r1(i): 𐀓 asks 𐀑 to write poem on Δ
VI.C.15.223(b) ^s𐀓 ashes 𐀑 / to write poem / about Δ

(f) **speake = Talke / = Taler**

Heimskringla xi: In the summer of 1214 Snorre thought seriously of going to Norway; but in the meantime rumours reached Iceland that the Earl was dead, and the scald postponed his visit. His skill in the law was so well known that in 1215 Snorre was chosen **Law-speaker** or President of the Althing.

VI.C.15.223(c) speake = Talke / = Tales

(g) **Binchlegs / Bugler**

Heimskringla xii: In the autumn he met King Haakon and Earl Skule at Viken, just as the final peace was concluded between the **Birchlegs** and the **Bagler** or Bishop’s men, and the latter had done homage to the King.

Note: Birkebeins (Birchlegs) and Baglers (Goldlegs, Crozier Men): warring factions in 12th C Norway: in 1184 the leader of the Birkebeiner, Sverri, managed to become king.

VI.C.15.223(d) Birchlegs / Bugler

(h) **Shook mud øff / from off. feet. >**

Note: See the reproduction of the notebook page in the *JJA*. The deleted word was crossed out by Mme Raphael.

VI.C.15.223(e) shook mud of / tower off feet

(i) ^b**among the lost**

Heimskringla xii-xiii: Some years previously the Odde clan had given annoyance to the merchants of Bergen in Norway. Saemund Jonson of Odde, as he was entitled to do, had fixed the prices at which certain Norwegian wares were to be sold. Either the prices or the mode of procedure had exasperated the mercantile community of Bergen; for when Paal, Saemund’s son, visited Norway in 1216, and began to bluster somewhat, the burghers of Bergen jeered at him and wished to know if he were an earl or if he aspired to be the king of Norway. Paal was enraged at their mockery and **he shook the dust of the city off his feet**. But on his voyage homewards the vessel was wrecked off Stadt and the young man was **among the lost**. When the report of this calamity reached Iceland, Paal’s countrymen revenged themselves by plundering the Bergen merchants who happened to be in the island; and they in [xii] turn retaliated by slaying Saemund’s brother Orm, who was the best of all the clan.

MS 47486a-222, ScrPrEM: ^+would he were even among ^+the+^ lost!+^ | *JJA* 61:296 | 1933-1934 | III§1A.12’ |1D.12’ |//2A.13’ |2B.11’ |2C.13’ |//3A.10’ |//4.7’ | | MS 47486b-458, PrPrEM: ^+Would he were even among the lost!+^ ^+From ours bereft beyond belongs.+^+^ | *JJA* 61:447 | 1933-1936 | III§3A.10’+ | *FW* 489.05

VI.C.15.223(f) ^samong the lost

VI.C.3.218 / VI.D.2.[041]

(a) **and —**

Heimskringla xiii-xiv: In the autumn of 1220 Snorre returned to Iceland. The rumour of his stay at the king’s residence, his new title, the importnace of which the chiefs suspected, and his commission to be a peacemaker, all awakened distrust in the Odde clan. But fortunately for Snorre a local conflict much weakened Saemund Jonson’s power; **and** so it was comparatively easy to secure peace for the Norse traders in Iceland. Thus far Snorre had kept his promise to the Norse King and the Earl; **and**, as arranged, he sent his son Jon to Norway, where he was received into Earl Skule’s bodyguard and remained in the country for three years. But Snorre did nothing to get his countrymen to accept the

sovereignty of the Norwegian King; **and** it is evident that he had only been compelled by force of [xiii] circumstances at the time to make any such promise.

Note: If copied correctly, possibly referring to Laing's habit of making syndetic sentences, like the ones quoted.

VI.C.15.223(g) and —

(b) ~~co/?Jentiseh~~ **comments / of poor. Gods**

Heimskringla xiv: Snorre in the year 1222 again accepted the position of Law-speaker, manifestly with the intention of making the office a step to his recognition as paramount arbitrator and peacemaker. Snorre also endeavoured to establish the position by a family and marriage policy such as was common enough among the magnates of Iceland, but which had never been carried out on the scale Snorre attempted. Among other alliances he won over to his side Thorvald Gissurson, the head of the Haukadal clan, by proposing a marriage between Thorvald's youngest son Gissur and his own daughter Ingebjorg. And, with the assistance of Thorvald, Snorre entered into a **community of goods** with Hallveig Ormsdatter, the widow of Snorre's former foe, Thorvald's son Björn. It was practically a marriage that Snorre thus entered into in 1224, although the ecclesiastical solemnisation could not take place until his wife Herdis died in 1233.

Note: See the reproduction of the notebook page in the *JJA*. The deleted items were crossed out by Mme Raphael.

VI.C.15.223(h) comminty / of poor

(c) **Urokja >**

VI.C.15.224(a) Kröjka

(d) **Gissun.**

Heimskringla xiv-xv: And yet from 1233 onward Snorre's power slipped from him [xiv] quickly and, in great measure, by his own fault. For he was not only ambitious but also grasping, if not avaricious. He had become influential through his marriage connections; but by his closefistedness he failed to bind his relatives and sons-in-law to him, by sharing his power and his wealth with them. Thus, when his eldest son Jon came of age and wanted to marry and to have Stavaholt for a residence, Snorre refused to give it to him and thought that he should be satisfied with his mother's estate and live at Borg with her. In high dudgeon Jon went off a second time to Norway and there lost his life in a brawl. His brother-in-law, **Gissur** Thorvaldson, who happened to be present, brought back Jon's belongings to Iceland and explained how the unhappy event had occurred. Since, however, others had previously described the incident to Gissur's disadvantage, he had to purge himself by oath from any participation in Jon's death. Snorre then declared himself satisfied; but when **Gissur** shortly afterwards divorced his wife, Snorre's daughter, all connection ceased between Snorre and the powerful Haukadal clan. And when Snorre's younger son **Urökja** had married Kolbein's sister and desired, as his brother formerly had done, to receive Stavaholt from his father, Snorre again sought for pretexts to keep the property in his own hands.

VI.C.15.224(b) Gissur

(e) **(runes secret)**

Heimskringla xviii: Shortly afterwards, Snorre's wife Hallveig died suddenly, and he had to face the disagreeable task of sharing her valuable estates with his two stepsons. These made a claim on half the joint estate; but Snorre maintained that the chief properties, Reykjaholt and Bessastader, were outside the community of goods. The parties therefore came to a provisional and partial agreement, viz., to divide the movables and the books, the settlement about the remainder being postponed. Klöing and Orm then sought the aid of their uncle Gissur, who joyfully took advantage of this excuse to pick a quarrel with Snorre. He prepared a plan of attack in concert with Kolbein the Young, and then he summoned his supporters and submitted to them King Haakon's letter. Gissur declared that he meant to obey the King's injunction to capture Snorre. Klöing said that he would support his uncle; but Orm, his younger brother, who had been brought up with Snorre, refused to take any part in the attack on his stepfather and returned to his own home. Snorre had received warning in a letter written with **secret runes**, which, however, he did not properly understand, although he gathered that he must be on his guard.

VI.C.15.224(c) | runes secret

(f) **easiest thing / in the world.**

- VI.C.15.224(d) easiest thing / in the world
- (g) **(fra math / headwater)**
VI.C.15.224(e) | franco math / headwater)
- (h) **lover consist / individuals.**
VI.C.15.224(f) lower comst. / individual
- (i) **in dress. / not in face / (Murger)**
VI.C.15.224(g) in dress. / not in face / (Mayer)
- (j) **preformed**
VI.C.15.224(h) performed

VI.C.3.219 / VI.D.2.[042]

- (a) **delighted**
VI.C.15.224(i) delighted
- (b) **Conric □**
VI.C.15.224(j) cowrie □
- (c) **p. 157. >**
VI.C.15.225(a) p. 157
- (d) **Igra vine / fidle. 7. cords**

La Scienza Nuova 1725, Book III, Ch. XIV: VI. Principio dell' Improprietà delle Favole da' Parlari.

Il sesto principio dell'oscurità delle Favole egli è che col cangiar de' costumi per lungo volger di tempi i nostri parlari volgari medesimi a' impropiano, e si oscurano da sè stessi; lo che molto più dee essere accaduto alle favole: di che sieno esempi queste tre voci, *lira*, *mostro* ed *oro*. Perchè la *lira* da principio fu la **corda** pur detta [*chorda*] da' *Greci*; e la prima corda dovette esser fatta di *vinchi*, che a *vi* si dissero *vimina* da' Latini, appo i quali fu detta *fides*, che si truova nel suo retto antichissimo detta *fis*, il cui obbliquo è *fidis*, in significato di forza e potestà; onde a' Latini, restarono implorare *fidem* s domandare altrui fonsa in ajuto; e recipere *infidem*, ricevere sotto la potestà y protezione o imperio: e con tale *allegoria naturale* e convenevole all'età severa de' fondatori delle nazioni si spiegano tutte le favola, ove entra il carattere eroico della *lira*; che prima fu di una corda di *vinchi*, significante la potestà di ciascun padre *nello stato delle famiglie* sotto la forza o imperio degli Dei, che dovette essere la prima e propria *fides Deorum*. Poi fu di più | corde composta *nello stato delle prime città*; nelle quali si unirono per ciascheduna *più forze di padri in un ordine regnante* che comandasse le leggi: e la *legge* ne restò a' *poeti* detta *lyra regnorum*.

[Book II, Chapter XIV. Principle VI: Concerning the impropriety of the fables that derives from [new] words: The sixth principle of the obscurity of the fables concerns the way in which, when customs change over the long passage of time, our vulgar words themselves change in such a way as to lose and obscure their original meanings, a process that must have been very much more prevalent in the case of the fables. Examples of this are found in the three words, 'lyre', 'monster' and 'gold'.

At first the lyre was a cord, still called *χορδά* [*chorda*] in Greek, and the first cord must have been made of *withe*, which was called *vimina* in Latin, from *vi* ['force']. In the very oldest times, it was also *fides*, with *fis* as the nominative and *fidis* the genitive, meaning 'force' and 'power'. Hence the expressions *implorare fidem*, that is, 'to implore the force of others', and *recipere in fidem*, or 'to receive under the power, protection or authority' [of others], survived among the Latins. And with this allegory, which is both natural and suited to the severe age of the founders of the nations, all the fables in which the heroic character of the lyre enters should be explained. At first the lyre consisted of a single cord of *withe*, signifying the power that each father in the state of the families held under the force or authority of the gods, which must have been the first and proper *fides deorum*. Later, in the state of the first cities, it came to consist in a number of cords, [signifying that] in each of the cities the force of the fathers was

united in a ruling order which commanded the laws. Hence the poets continued to call the law, *lyra regnorum* ['the cord of the kingdoms'].
VI.C.15.225(b) ^slyra = vimer^s /—fives 7 cords

(e) **palipedest / evulsion**

Not found in *La Scienza Nuova*.

VI.C.15.225(c) pale peates n / evulsion

(f) **errors / 1 reunion / 2 metamorphosis / 3 (conception / 4 alteration / 5 impr. etc / 6 { change / oro / mostro**

La Scienza Nuova 1725, Book III, Ch. IX-XIV: Capo IX. **VII. Principj dell'Oscurità delle Favole. I. Principio de' Mostri Poetici.**

Ma per venire a capo pur una volta finalmente della *scienza delle cagioni* che hanno & fatta tutta l'oscurità delle Favole, si stabiliscono i *seguenti sette principj*. § De' quali il primo è questo: che si pongano uomini nello stato dell'uomo di *Obbes*, di *Grozio*, di *Pufendorfio*; sicchè *non sappiano astrarre proprietà da' corpi; ove vogliano unire due diverse spezie di proprietà di due corpi di spezie diverse, eglino uniranno in una idea essi corpi*: come se vogliono unire la proprietà dell'uomo dall'aspetto umano, con la proprietà di usar con le madri; e tale atto abbiano essi osservato più allo spesso nelle bestie mansuete più salaci, e però più proterve o sfacciate, come i *caproni*, de' quali appo Latini restò propriamente detta *protervia* l'atto dd caprone che in amore mira la capra: essi uniranno *uomo e capra*, e fingeranno *Pane* e i *Satiri*: i quali come selvaggi, conforme ne è rimasta l'oppenione, dovettero essere i *primi de' Dei minori*. Qui si scuopre il *principio di tutti i mostri poetici*.

[Book III, Chapter IX. *Seven principles of the obscurity of the fables. Principle I: Concerning poetic monsters*: But to come, once and for all, to the head of the science of the causes responsible for all the obscurity in the fables, we establish the following seven principles.

First, then, when men are in the state posited by Hobbes, Grotius and Pufendorf, in which they are unable to abstract properties from bodies, should they need to unite two different kinds of properties belonging to bodies of different kinds, they will unite the two bodies in a single idea. If, for example, they need to unite the property of man in his human appearance with that of mating with his mother, since this is an act observed most frequently in the more lustful, and therefore bolder and more brazen, of domestic beasts, such as goats, which is why the Latins used to describe the act of a lustful goat sighting a female goat, quite properly, as an act of *protervia* ['wantonness'], they will unite 'man' and 'female goat' and thus imagine Pan and the satyrs. And since the belief that they were savages has remained constant, Pan and the satyrs must have been the first of the minor gods. Here the principle of all poetic monsters is discovered.

Capo X. II. **Principio delle Metamorfosi.**

Se questi atessi uomini non sappiano spiegare che un *corpo ha preso la proprietà d'un altro corpo di spezie diversa, per la quale egli abbia perduto quella della sua spezie*, perchè non sanno astrarre le proprietà de loro subietti essi immagineranno un *corpo essersi in altro cangiato*: come per significare una dorma la qual *prima divagava*, poi si *fermò* in certo luogo, nè più divagò; immagineranno tal *donna cangiata in pianta*; con quella stessa maniera di pensare onde certamente vennero le metafore piantarsi per istar fermo, *piante di case* le fondamenta, e sopra tutto *piante di famiglie* i loro *ceppi o pedali*. Qui si souopre il *principio di tutte le metamorfosi*, o sieno poetiche trasformazioni di corpi; che era il *secondo principio dell'oscurità delle Favole*: nella quel cosa noi qui ci ammendiamo di ciò che ne avevamo scritto *altrove* (1).

[Book III, Chapter X. *Principle II: Concerning metamorphoses*: If these same men are unable to abstract properties from their subjects, and the only way in which they can explain how a body has acquired a property from a body of a different kind is by losing its own kind of the property, they will imagine that one body has changed into another. Thus, to signify a woman who, after a life of wandering, abandons this life to settle down in a certain place, they will imagine that she has changed into a plant. This was the manner of thinking from which metaphors such as 'to plant oneself' for 'to settle down', 'the plants of houses' for their 'foundations', and, above all, that of 'family trees', with their stocks or trunks, certainly arose. Here the principle of all metamorphoses, or poetic transformations of bodies, which is the second principle of the obscurity of the fables, is discovered. On this matter we here correct what we have written elsewhere about it.

Capo XI. III. *Principio della Sconcezza delle Favole.*

Da' due anzi detti si spiega con facilità il *terzo principio dell'oscurità delle Favole*, che è quello della loro *sconcezza*, nata da menti corte, tarde e povere di parlari; per le quali cagioni gli nomini infelici in sommo grado a spiegarsi uniscono le cose allo 'ngrosso; come sconcia e inettissima sopra tutt'altre è quella: *Cadmo uccide il serpente: semina i denti: da' solchi nascono uomini armati; lancia una pietra, e questi combattono e si uccidono tra di loro*: la qual favola si troverà contenere un gran tratto di storia, che dal tempo che i padri di famiglia ridussero le terre alla coltura si scorge fino a quello in cui guerreggiarono le città degli ottimati. [...]

[Book III, Chapter XI. *Principle III: Concerning confusion in the fables*: From the two foregoing principles, the third principle of the obscurity of the fables, their confused nature, can be explained with ease. This confusion is born of minds that are limited, slow and impoverished in words, as a result of which, with only the most miserable ability to explain themselves, men will unite things wholesale. The supreme example of such confusion and incongruity is the fable in which Cadmus first slays the serpent, then sows its teeth in furrows, from which come forth armed men who proceed to fight and kill one another. This fable, as we shall discover, contains a large tract of history, running from the origin of the political heroes who founded the first cities up to the heroes of the wars. This is how we should understand the sort of characters in which Cadmus wrote all of his heroic history, if we are to comprehend the abyss of obscurity in which the fables of the first times of Greece lay until Homer. For even in his times, which were contemporary with those of Numa and about eight hundred years after Cadmus, the Greeks had not yet discovered vulgar characters, so that it was the families of rhapsodes who, for long afterwards, preserved Homer's poems by memory.

Capo XII. IV. *Principio dell'Alterazione delle Favole.*

Il *quarto principio dell'oscurità delle Favole* fu quello della loro alterazione: perchè naturalmente la mente umana, per l'indiffinita sua capacità, le cose udite e non diffinitamente rapportate suole ricevere in modo maggiore; e così ricevute per lungo tratto di tempo per mani massimamente d'uomini rozzi ed ignoranti, ella deve alterare ed ingrandire all'infinito: ond'è che delle cose o antiche o lontane ci perviene per lo più molto falsa la fama e sempre magnifica, la qual però fu detta prender forza ed ingrandire per cammino. Questo è 'l *principio dell'alterazione delle Favole*, come di quelle degli *smisurati corpi e forze de giganti e degli eroi*. E questa ancora è la cagione dell'apparenza del mondo, il quale sembra *antico* assai sopra il merito della verità e della fede: il quale nel *bujo* fin ora *delle sue origini* ha parato agl'increduli della *Sacra Storia* presso che *di una infinita antichità*; ove *alla luce di questa scienza* si dimostra essere *molto fresco*.

[Book III, Chapter XII. *Principle IV: Concerning changes in the fables*. The fourth principle of the obscurity of the fables lies in the changes that occur to them. For since the human mind is of indefinite capacity, when the things it hears are of indefinite report, it receives them in some magnified way, and receiving them thus, over long periods of time and almost exclusively through the hands of rough and ignorant men, it must naturally and endlessly alter and enlarge them. Thus it is that what reaches us concerning things that are very old and distant comes with a fame that is in large part false and has been said 'to gain in strength and size on the way'. This is the principle of such changes in the fables as those concerning the inordinate size in body and strength of the giants and heroes. And even now it is the reason why, given the darkness in which its origins have hitherto lain, the world, the appearance of which is old enough to satisfy the demands of truth and [the Christian] religion, has seemed to those who disbelieve sacred history to come close to an infinite antiquity. But, in the light of our Science, it is demonstrated to be very young.

Capo XIII (199). V. *Principio dell'Improprietà della Favole per l'Idee*. § Il *quinto principio dell'oscurità delle Favole* egli è che le menti delle nazioni greche col più e più spiegarsi all'infinito, naturalmente andarono ad ingrandire le Favole contro la mente cortissima de' primi loro fondatori; e con lo allontanarsene ne vennero ad impropriare di molto le significazioni primiere. Così, per esempio, a capo di secoli, intesa la vera altezza del cielo e delle stelle per grandissimi spazj sopra la cima del *monte Olimpo*, dove fino a' tempi di *Omero erano stati allogati gli Dei*, esse *nazioni greche innalzarono naturalmente i loro Dei alle stelle*: e quella espressione d'*innalzare il grido alle stelle* ivenne *iperbole*, che prima si disse con verità.

[Book III, Chapter XIII. *Principle V: Concerning the impropriety of the fables that derives from [new]*

ideas: The fifth principle of the obscurity of the fables lies in the minds of the Greek nations, which, as they developed increasingly and endlessly, naturally enhanced the fables beyond the very limited understanding of the founders of their nations, so that, as they grew more distant from those founders, they came to give highly inappropriate accounts of those first meanings. Thus, for example, when, after many centuries, the Greek nations came to understand that the skies and stars were very much higher than the top of Mount Olympus, upon which, up to Homer's time, the gods had dwelt, they naturally raised their gods to the stars. Hence, the expression 'to shout to the stars' became a hyperbole, whereas formerly it was used to express the [literal] truth.

Capo XIV (202): *VI. Principio dell'Improprietà delle Favole da' Parlari.*

Il sesto principio dell'oscurità delle Favole egli è che col **cangiar** de' costumi per lungo volger di tempi i nostri parlari volgari medesimi a' impropiano, e si oscurano da sè stessi; lo che molto più dee essere accaduto alle favole: di che sieno esempli queste tre voci, **lira**, **mostro** ed **oro**.

[Book III, Chapter XIV. *Principle VI: Concerning the impropriety of the fables that derives from [new] words*: The sixth principle of the obscurity of the fables concerns the way in which, when customs change over the long passage of time, our vulgar words themselves change in such a way as to lose and obscure their original meanings, a process that must have been very much more prevalent in the case of the fables. Examples of this are found in the three words, 'lyre', 'monster' and 'gold'.

VI.C.15.225(d) errors / 1 reunion / 2 metamorphose / 3 conception / 4 alteration / 5 improvis. etc / 6 change / 7 { / oro / mostro

VI.C.3.220 / VI.D.2.[043]

(a) 220 [LM] / troglodyte

La Scienza Nuova 1725, Book III [Ch. XIV]: *Importanti Scoperte del Diritto della Guerra e della Pace per si fatto Principio di Poesia.*

Così la voce *ladrone*, la quale significò, prima di ogni altra cosa, *eroe che guerreggia*, quando ne' tempi barbari facevano le guerre senza intimarle; perchè le prime città si guardavano tra loro come eterne nemiche: onde con si fatto *titolo onorevole* su i greci teatri *Esone* padre di *Medea* la prima volta salata *Giasone*: di che pure vi ha un bel vestigio nella legge delle *XII Tavole*, ove dice: *Adversus hostem aeterna auctoritas esto*: che non mai si perda il dominio della roba occupata dallo straniero; sicchè doveva essere una *guerra eterna* per ricuperarla: onde tanto bisognava significare *straniero*, quanto perpetuo nimico: e per essere perpetuo nimico bastava non essere cittadino; per quella *celebre divisione* che le antiche *genti latine* facevano di *civis* ed *hostis* per parti che ne' lor tempi barbari erano sommamente opposte tra loro: quali sorte di *guerre eterne* sono oggi tra le *genti di Barbaria e le Cristiane*; che perciò forse dalle cristiane questa costa d'Affrica è detta *Barbaria*, da tal costume *barbaro* di questi loro eterni corseggi: siccome da' Greci restò detta *Bαββαρία* la costa d'Affrica sul mar *Rosso*, nella quale era la *Troglodizia*: ma più innanzi dovettero essere tutte le altre nazioni, da' Greci in fuori, nel tempo che avevano già spogliato cotal costume; per quella celebre loro divisione di *Greco* e di *Barbaro*, che più ampiamente per nazione rispondeva a quella de' Latini più ristretta per cittadinanza di *civis* ed *hostis*. Ma in distesa incomparabilmente più ampia di quella de' Greci, e quasi infinita, il *popolo di Dio*, per la di lui *unità e verità*, la qual è pur *una*, divise *inondo delle nazioni* tra *Ebrei e Genti*. Onde s'intenda con quanto senno *Grozio*, *Pufendorfio* e sopra tutti il *Seldeno* fondino i loro *sistemi* sopra un diritto comune ad entrambi! Dipoi *ladrone* passò a significare *soldato guarda corpo del re*; nella qual significazione durava a' tempi di *Plauto*. Finalmente restò a significare *assassino*. Così l'*ospite*, che prima significò *straniero* guardato con l'aspetto di eterno nimico; nel qual significato i *Trogloditi* ammazzavano gli ospiti entrati ne' loro confini, che fu il costume di tutte le genti barbare; poi significò *straniero* osservato con le leggi santissime dell'ospitalità: e dalla ricorsa barbarie agl'Italiani restarono *oste* per l'*albergatore*, e per gli *alloggiamenti* di guerra, che dicono *oste amica* o *nimica*. Sì fatte voci, di tanto impropiate negli *ospizj* di *Giasone* e di *Paride*, ci *oscurarono* le *storie* della spedizione degli *Argonauti* e della *guerra Trojana*, ed in somma il *diritto della guerra di tutte le genti eroiche*: anzi sopra il dissolutissimo *Paride* ci tramandarono per iscelleratissimi *Giasone* e *Tesco*, di cui fa *Virgilio* imitatore il suo *Enea*; i quali tolgono l'onore alle regine donzelle, o vedove; ne ricevono beneficj immortali, e poi crudelmente le tradiscono e le abbandonano; che non farebbono oggi li più *scellerati assassini*.

[Book III, Chapter [XV]. *Important discoveries concerning the law of war and peace resulting from the*

foregoing principle of poetry: Thus, in the barbaric times when people went to war without a prior declaration, the foremost meaning of the word ‘robber’ was ‘a hero who wages war’, for the first cities regarded one another as eternal enemies. Hence, in Greek theatre, Medea’s father, Aeson, used this as an honourable title when he greeted Jason. A fine vestige relating to this is to be found in the Law of the Twelve Tables, in the section entitled *Adversus hostem aeterna auctoritas esto* [‘Against a stranger the right of possession is eternal’], i.e. that the ownership of anything occupied by a stranger is never lost, so that eternal war was needed to regain it. Hence ‘stranger’ and ‘perpetual enemy’ must have had the same meaning. And to be a perpetual enemy it was sufficient not to be a citizen, in virtue of the celebrated distinction that the ancient Latin peoples drew between *civis* [‘citizen’] and *hostis* [‘stranger’], where *hostis* applied to those from regions which, in their barbaric times, were extremely hostile to the Latins. Eternal wars of this sort take place today between the peoples of Barbary and the Christians and it may be that the Christians named this coast of Africa ‘Barbary’ from the barbaric custom of such eternal pirates, just as the Greeks retained the name Βαρβαρία [*Barbaria*] for the coast of Africa on the Red Sea, where Troglodyte was situated. But later, when the nations had all shed this custom, the Greeks must have used the celebrated distinction between ‘Greek’ and ‘barbarian’ to distinguish themselves from all nations beyond their borders. This corresponded, though in wider compass because it obtained between nations, to the Latin distinction between *civis* and *hostis*, which was more restricted because citizenship entered into it. By reason of their unity and truth, however, which are still unique, the people of God divided the world into Hebrews and gentiles, with an extension that was incomparably wider than the Greek distinction and was, indeed, almost infinite. Hence we can see how much sagacity Grotius, Pufendorf and, above all, Selden, showed when they founded their systems upon a law common to the Hebrews and the gentiles! Later the word ‘robber’ came to mean ‘the king’s bodyguard’, which endured into Plautus’ time. And finally it finished up by meaning an ‘assassin’. Similarly the word ‘guest’ first meant ‘a stranger regarded as an eternal enemy’. This was its meaning when the Troglodytes slew all the ‘guests’ who entered their boundaries, as was the custom of all the barbaric peoples. Next, it meant ‘a stranger to be treated in accordance with the most holy laws of hospitality’, and after the recourse of barbarism it survived in the Italian word *oste* for both a ‘hostelkeeper’ [i.e. ‘keeper of guests’] and ‘soldiers’ quarters’, which were described either as ‘friendly’ or ‘hostile’. But, as a result of applying anachronistic meanings of these words to the hospices of Jason and Paris, the histories of the expeditions of the Argonauts and of the Trojan War and, in short, the law of war of all the heroic peoples, were obscured. For, contrary to the truth, and with a record worse even than that of the highly dissolute Paris, Jason and Theseus, a model for Virgil’s Aeneas, have come down to us as the most villainous of rogues, men guilty of depriving young queens and widows of their honour, of accepting immortal benefits from them and then betraying and abandoning them in ways so cruel as not even the most villainous of present-day assassins would adopt.]

Note: See the reproduction of the notebook page in the *JJA*. The first item is Mme Raphael’s page numbering. Written in blue crayon.

VI.C.15.225(e) trophodyte

(b) **Czr**

VI.C.15.226(a) czd

(c) **^bRoman and / Sabins**

La Scienza Nuova 1725, Book III, Ch. XV: Or per si fatte cose eroiche de’ Greci si rende assai *dubbia la Storia Romana antica* in ciò che ne racconta: se i **Romani rapirono le Sabine** ricevute ad albergo dentro essa Roma, o scorrendo più tosto essi per la Sabina; che dovettero essere i giuochi equestri di questi tempi: se la *donzella Orazia* fosse stata promessa in moglie ad uno degli *eroi Curiazj* da quegli *Albani* che poco prima sdegnarono dar moglie ad esso *Romolo*, perchè straniero, almen per rendere a lui la vece di averli liberati dal tiranno, ed aver loro restituito il loro legittimo re: o pure *uno de’ Curiazj* avesse quella rapita, come *Paride* rapì *Elena*: nel cui seguito ben questa piangeva il morto marito.

[Book III, Chapter XV. *Important discoveries concerning the law of war and peace resulting from the foregoing principle of poetry*: But these heroic Greek things render some of the things recounted in ancient Roman history highly doubtful. Did the Romans, for example, abduct the Sabine women after they had received them in hospitality within Rome herself or, conversely, did they do so by raiding the land of the Sabines, where the equestrian games of those times must have been held? And had the young Horatian girl been promised in marriage to one of the heroes of the Curiatii, when these very same

Albans, a little earlier, had disdained to provide a wife even for Romulus, because he was a stranger, in reward for his part in liberating them from tyranny and restoring their king to them? And had one of the Curiatii really abducted her, as Paris did Helen, when so soon afterwards the girl was found weeping for her dead husband? Hence these doubts about Roman and Greek history mount up and become common to both.]

MS 47486a-222, ScrPrEM: ^+Yup. Like Tugboy Tollertone in S. Sabina's. Romunculous Remus plying the rape.+^ | JJA 61:296 | 1933-1934 | III§1A.12' | /1D.12' | /2A.13' | /2B.11' | /2C.13' | /3A.10' | /4.7' | | [>] MS 47486b-467, PrPrEM: ^+Yup! Titentung Tollertone in S. Sabina's+^ ^+, but the main the mightier the stricter the strait.+^ ^+To the vast go the game!+^+^ | JJA 61:469 | 1933-1936 | III§3A.10'+ | FW 512.11 VI.C.15.226(b) Roman & / Sabins

(d) **mares \wedge ^bdelicatissimi^b / amori**

La Scienza Nuova 1725, Book III, Ch. XIV: Perchè fu la stessa l'età dell'oro de' Greci, che l'età di Saturno de' Latini, detto così *a satis*, da' seminati che per mietere usò la *falce*. Del rimanente i *Dei praticavano con gli uomini* in questa età a quella fatta che gli *eroi* si dissero figliuoli degli Dei: *Astrea abitava in terra*; perchè eran creduti regnare in terra i Dei, che con gli auspici comandassero le umane cose: e l'*innocenza* era tale, quale quella di *Polifemo*, che dice ad *Ulisse*, esso e gli altri giganti curare le loro famiglie, e nulla impacciarsi delle cose altrui. Tutte le altre idee attaccate di un *eroismo pastoreccio galante* furono desiderj d'ingegni dell'età di *Mosco* e di *Anacreonte marci d'amore dilicatissimo*. Poi l'*oro* non ebbe altro uso che di metallo, con l'istessa indifferenza che'l *ferro*. E con questa *allegoria costumata* si schiarisce il vero di tutte le Favole, ove entra il carattere d'*oro*, o *tesoro*, o *ricchezza*; e si *difendono gli eroi d'Omero dalle lorde tacce dell'avarizia*; che vogliono essi cangiare i loro scudi di ferro con gli altrui d'oro, e, cangiati, non ne rendono contraccambio. Lunga età dopo dal pregio e dal colore di così gran frutto dell'industria, e si neccessario all'umano mantenimento, il *metallo* fu detto *oro*.

[Book III, Chapter XIV. *Principle VI: Concerning the impropriety of the fables that derives from [new] words*: For the golden era of Greece was the same as the Latin era of Saturn, who took his name from *satis*, i.e. 'the sown fields' that were reaped with scythes. This, however, was the age in which the gods mated with mortals, through which the heroes were said to be the children of the gods; the age in which Astraea dwelt on earth because it was believed that the gods reigned on earth and commanded human affairs through their auspices; and the age of the sort of innocence described by Polyphemus when he tells Ulysses that he and the other giants attend to their families and have nothing to do with anything else. All the other ideas of a pastoral heroism of gallantry that have been attached to these things represent the desires of the ingenious in the ages of Moschus and Anacreon, corruptions born of an over-refined love. Next, the only use gold had was as a metal, in this respect no different from iron. With this [interpretation of this] traditional allegory, light is thrown upon the truth of all allegories into which the character of gold, treasure or wealth enters. Thus Homer's heroes are defended from the foul stain of being avaricious when they wanted to exchange their iron shields for others made of gold but then, after the exchange, did not want to compensate for the difference. Only much later, because of the value and colour of this great fruit of human industry, so necessary for human upkeep, was this metal called 'gold'.]

MS 47486a-119v, ScrPrILA: ^+Dulcidelicatissimy.+^ | JJA 61:094 | 1933-1936 | III§4.7 | FW 562.06
MS 47486a-224v, ScrPrEM: ^+dulcidelicatissimost+^ | JJA 61:202 | 1933-1934 | III§1A.12 | /1B.3 | /1C.9 | /1D.12 | /2A.13 | /2B.11 | /2C.13 | /3A.10 | /4.7 | | [>] MS 47486b-480, PrTsEM: ^+Dulce delicatissima!+^ | JJA 61:545 | 1933-1936 | III§4.7+' | FW 562.06
VI.C.15.226(c) marci \wedge delicatissimi / amori

(e) **^bΠ indignant / at † not / reading paper**

Note: See the reproduction of the notebook page in the *JJA*. The cross (actually a plus-sign) in VI.C.3 and double zero in VI.C.15 should probably read as "W" for wife.
MS Jahnke 12r1(j): Π indignant at one's not knowing / sth in paper.
VI.C.15.226(d) Π indignant / 00 & not / reading gospel

(f) **^bΠ prizes for / natality**

MS Jahnke 12r1(k): prize for natality

VI.C.15.226(e) Π prizes for / natality

(g) **Skyograph**

Note: Francis Arnold Collins, *The Fighting Engineers: the Minute Men of Our Industrial Army*, 1918: ... a company of twenty “**skyographs**,” a service new in warfare. These men, who are experts in their profession, are employed to analyze the bird's-eye photographs taken by aeroplane scouts. Cf. *Cape of Good Hope Supreme Court Law Reports*, 1907: On September 29 a “skyograph” was taken of the leg. Mr. Burton: That’s the “X” ray. Witness: Yes, “skyograph” is synonymous with photograph.

VI.C.15.226(f) Skyopgraph

(h) ^b**Knobkerry**

Note: *Knobkerrie*. (After Cape Du. knopkirie) A short thick stick with a knobbed head, used as a weapon or missile by South African tribes. (*OED*).

Not located in MS/FW.

VI.C.15.226(g) Knobkerry

(i) **voortrekken**

Note: Voortrekker. One of the original Dutch immigrants into the Transvaal; a pioneer. (*OED*)

VI.C.15.226(h) voortrekker

(j) **up country**

VI.C.15.226(i) up country

VI.C.3.221 / VI.D.2.[044]

(a) **rootles / lady pack / cocker spaniel / ethnarch / topee / surcingle / etheling. / holograph**

Note: Joyce compiled almost the same thematic word list, copied from the HCE chapter (which was to become Book I, chapter 2 of *Finnegans Wake*) in the (equally missing) notebook D.3 (December 1924-February 1925), which was copied by Mme Raphael in VI.C.4, on page 239(g)-(o): rooths / cocker spaniels / lady pack / topic / surcingle / paternoster / silverdoctors / gugglet / holograph

VI.C.15.227(a) rootles / lady pack / cocker spaniel / ethnarch / topee / surcingle / etheling. / holograph

(b) **tuxedo**

Note: This item was also copied from the first draft of Book I, chapter 2, just like the previous list, the next item and the entry at 222(b).

VI.C.15.227(b) tuxedo

(c) **clawhammer**

Note: This item was also copied from the first draft of Book I, chapter 2, just like the previous item, the list at 221(a) and the entry at 222(b).

VI.C.15.227(c) clawhammer

(d) **Arnold Bas**

Note: Arnold Bax (1883-1953), English composer with a passion for Ireland.

VI.C.15.227(d) Arnold Box

(e) **John Ireland**

Note: John Ireland (1879-192), English composer of Scottish descent.

VI.C.15.227(e) John Inland

(f) **Lord Bemen**

Note: Gerald Hugh Tyrwhitt-Wilson, Lord Berners (1882-1950), English composer, diplomat, painter and author.

VI.C.15.227(f) Lord Bemers

(g) **collated**

VI.C.15.227(g) collated

(h) Miami Hauck

Note: Minnie Hauck (1851-1929). American soprano, later mezzo-soprano. See *U* 15.2745.
VI.C.15.227(h) Miami Hauck.

(i) nosks / ties / cakes

VI.C.15.228(a) works / ties / cakes

VI.C.3.222 / VI.D.2.[045]

(a) drum to play.

VI.C.15.228(b) drum to play

(b) ^bA Royal Divorce

Note: This item was also copied from the first draft of Book I, chapter 2, just like the items at 221(a)-(c).
MS Jahnke 12v1(b): story of N between M.L. and / J. royal divorce
VI.C.15.228(c) A Royal Divorce

(c) B.L cannot / Lay, I believe

VI.C.15.228(d) BL cannot / say, I believe

(d) accused shop. / guilty I say not

VI.C.15.228(e) accused shop / guilty I say / not

(e) Assumption / of B.O.M. / (Fallen Asleep.) / of the di rgn.

Note: The Feast of the Assumption of the BVM (Blessed Virgin Mary), celebrated by Catholics on 15 August, is known in the Eastern Church as the Dormition (Falling Asleep).
VI.C.15.228(f) Assumption / of B.O M. / 1 falling asleep / if the Virgin

(f) ^bwafer ꝛ

Note: Cf. 223(d).
MS Jahnke 12v1(c): ꝛ can dirt talk of wafer
VI.C.15.228(g) ^swafer ꝛ

(g) \wedge D. nunnery.

VI.C.15.229(a) \wedge [D] ninny

(h) Sect from / bowshot and / arg. bus.

VI.C.15.229(b) seex from / bowshot & / anphen.

(i) behaviourisme

VI.C.15.229(c) <behavioris> behaviourism

VI.C.3.223 / VI.D.2.[046]

(a) W.N. this not / induci / you / It will certainly. / pay you

VI.C.15.229(d) Will this not / induce / you / It will certainly / pay you

(b) — you. miss

VI.C.15.229(e) — you miss

(c) other wise you / might drin / most of all

VI.C.15.229(f) other wise you / might desire / most of all

- (d) ^b**Can dirt talk**
Note: Cf. 222(g).
 MS Jahnke 12v1(c): H can dirt talk of wafer
 VI.C.15.229(g) ^sCan dirt talk
- (e) **Ham's hutches / weir**
 VI.C.15.229(g) ^sHam's hatches / weir
- (f) **Boul. des. Clichis**
 VI.C.15.230(a) Boul des Clichés.
- (g) **Dublin Rock.**
 VI.C.15.230(b) Dublin / rock
- (h) **Molière's cook**
 VI.C.15.230(c) Molière & cook
- (i) **try on chienne**
 VI.C.15.230(d) try our chienne
- (j) **contempt which //**

VI.C.3.224 / VI.D.2.[047]

- (a) **every critic / has for the / creative artist**
 VI.C.15.230(e) contempt shown / every critic / has for the / creative artist
- (b) **loaf with / perchloride / of mercury. / for corpse / in R**
Irish Times 5 May 1925-11/4: Missing Wiltshire Girl.
 Novel Search Experiment.
 [...] In an endeavour to locate any body which might be in the river an ingenious experiment was carried out on Sunday night. A quantity of mercury was placed in a loaf of bread attached to a long line, the idea being that the bread floating over a spot where a body might rest would hover there, and give an indication of what was below.
Note: "perchloride" is possible Mme R's misreading for "quantity".
 VI.C.15.230(f) loaf with / perchloride / of Mercury. / for corpse / in R—
- (c) **horse's saliva / examined**
Irish Times 5 May 1925-10/1: The Thirsk Incident.
 O'Sullivan's Horses Advertised For Sale.
 O'Sullivan, whose horse Azimuth had a sample of its saliva taken for veterinary examination of selling the entire stable of horses owned and trained by him, and an advertisement to that effect appeared in some of yesterday's cross-Cannel papers.
 VI.C.15.231(a) horse's salive / examined
- (d) ^b**Afrikaans (Dutch)**
Irish Times, 5 May 1925-7/4: Carriage Drawn By Dutch Students.
 [...] The reception accorded to the Prince at Stellenbosch was a further concrete proof of the improvement of relations between British and Dutch, Stellenbosch being the home of Nationalism. [...] Although the Chairman had announced that no speeches would be made at the luncheon—served by the prettiest girls in the municipality—the Prince, in response to whispered requests, sprang to his feet and said briefly in Afrikaans: "I thank you for your welcome and hospitality."
 MS Jahnke 12v1(d): speaking through his Eutopean / language of hazyarctic origins / sintaxed like the afrikaan's / chrysostomosed like like this / newworldlander's and / rendered remote remote by its / outstraylying impediment, / Kersse said, impepperment / of all the strange things that have not

happened his

MS 47487-81, ScrPrBMA: ^+African man and to let Brown child do and to leave the Anlone and+^ | JJA 62:156 | 1937 | III§1A.13/1B.4/1C.10/1D.13//2A.14/2B.12/2C14//3A.11/3B.18//4.8 | FW 520.17
VI.C.15.231(b) sAfrikaans / (Dutch)

- (e) **What does / b. y. spell**
VI.C.15.231(c) what does / b. y. spell
- (f) **vestry**
VI.C.15.231(d) vestry
- (g) **batike**
VI.C.15.231(d) batike

VI.C.3.225 / VI.D.2.[048]

- (a) **^bI can't be / bothered.**
MS 47486b-222, ScrPrEM: ^+Π he can't be bothered+^ | JJA 61:296 | 1933-1934 | III§1A.12' | /1D.12' | //2A.13' | /2B.11' | /2C.13' | /3A.10' | //4.7' | | [>] MS 47486b-462, PrPrEM: ^+He caun ne'er be bothered but maun e'er be waked.+^ | JJA 61:455 | 1933-1936 | III§3A.10'+ | FW 496.34-35
VI.C.15.231(e) I can't be / bothered
- (b) **Salmon / Kiss of fish**
Note: Righ-nan-iasg: Gaelic. Salmon (litt. king of fish).
VI.C.15.231(f) Salomon / King of fish
- (c) **Lev**
VI.C.15.231(g) Leo
- (d) **twine trousers**
VI.C.15.231(h) twine trousers
- (e) **T in a bad mood**
VI.C.15.231(i) T in a bad wood
- (f) **Seipe Terra >**
VI.C.15.232(a) Serpe Terra
- (g) **nero, verde walls. >**
VI.C.15.232(b) nero, verde water
- (h) **idra - selve >**
VI.C.15.232(c) idra - salve
- (i) **ophis oplulien**
La Scienza Nuova 1725, Book III, Ch. XV: VII. *Principio dell'Oscurità delle Favole; il Segreto della Divinazione.* (1)
Il settimo e più di tutti gli altri *natural principio dell'oscurità delle Favole*, fu egli il secreto della divinazione; per cui i Poeti si dissero *ἵρωαί*, che *Orazio* volta *Deorum interpretes*: onde le *Favole* dovettero esser i loro *misterj*, e i caratteri poetici la *lingua sacra de' Greci*. Così la *serpe*, per esempio, significò a' poeti eroi la *terra*; perché ha la spoglia cangiante di *nero, verde e giallo*, che ogni anno pur muta al sole. Onde l'*idra* è la gran *selva* della terra, che recisa ripullula via più capi, detta da ὑδωρ [hudoor], *acqua*, del passato diluvio; ed *Ercole* la sponse col fuoco, come fanno ancor oggi i nostri villani, ove sboscano le *selve*. Onde *Calcante*, celebre indovino appo *Omero*, interpetra la *serpe* che si divora gli *otto passarmi*; e la *madre* altresì significare la *terra trojana*, che a capo nove anni verrebbe in

potere de' Greci: a' quali pure da ὄφις, *serpe*, restò detta ὄφέλεια, la *preda di guerra*. E così può esser vero che i Poeti *involsero dentro i velami delle Favole la loro sapienza*.

[Book III, Chapter XV. *Principle VII: Concerning the obscurity of the fables: the secrecy of divination:* The seventh and most frequently encountered natural principle of the obscurity of the fables is the secrecy with which divinity was practised, as a result of which the poets were called μύστες [*mystes*], which Horace translated as *deorum interpretes* ['interpreters of the gods']. Hence the fables must have been the mysteries and poetic characters of the sacred language of the Greeks. Among the heroic poets, the serpent, for example, signified the earth because it casts off its skin, changing from black to green and yellow, just as the earth changes annually under the sun. The Hydra, growing ever more heads when beheaded, is the great forest of the earth. It took its name from the ὕδωρ [*hydor*] or 'water' of an earlier flood, and Hercules used fire to destroy it, just as our present-day peasants do when they clear the forests of trees. Homer's celebrated diviner, Calchas, interpreted the eight swallows and their mother who were devoured by the serpent as signifying the land of Troy which, at the end of nine years, would be in the power of the Greeks, and the Greeks continued to call the booty of war ὄφέλεια [*opheleia*] from ὄφις [*ophis*] or 'serpent'. In this sense it can be true that the poets enveloped their wisdom in the veils of fable.]

VI.C.15.232(d) ophis ophilian

(j) **Willard**

VI.C.15.232(e) Willard

(k) **contempt of Singer**

VI.C.15.232(f) contempor Sanger

(l) **☐ drinkers / observer**

VI.C.15.232(g) ☐ drinkers / observes

(m) **Where is yr. H?**

VI.C.15.232(h) where is yr. H.?

(n) **him this / morning**

VI.C.15.232(i) Grab him thy / money

Note: See the reproduction of the notebook page in the *JJA*. The word 'Grab' in VI.C.15 was not transferred in VI.C.3.

VI.C.3.226 / VI.D.2.[049]

(a) **the 1st thing.**

Not transferred in VI.C.15.

(b) **^b☐ of all the strange / things that had / not happened**

MS Jahnke 12v1(d): speaking through his Eutopean / language of hazyarctic origins / sintaxed like the africaan's / chrysostomosed like like this / newworldlander's and / rendered remote remote by its / outstraylying impediment, / Kersse said, impepperment / of all the strange things that have not happened his

VI.C.15.232(j) ^s☐ of all the strange / things that had / not happened

(c) **— — } 's life**

Note: See the reproduction of the notebook page in the *JJA*. The two horizontal lines are underneath each other.

VI.C.15.233(a) in 's life

(d) **☐ not mystical — / saying world / is ~~sf?jger~~ ^+stronger+^ but in / saying I understand / why.**

VI.C.15.233(b) ☐ not mystic / saying world / is stronger but in / saying I understand / why

- (e) **Vitamines**
VI.C.15.233(c) Vitamines
- (f) **A animal fat / B shell of wheat. br. / C freshness.**
VI.C.15.233(d) A turning at fat / B shell of wheat bc. / C freshness.
- (g) **whole milk**
VI.C.15.233(e) whole milk

VI.C.3.227 / VI.D.2.[050]

- (a) **woodwork secrets**
VI.C.15.233(f) woodwork secrets
- (b) **vitamine A**
VI.C.15.233(g) vitamine A
- (c) **You Loftson >**
Note: Cf. 217(b).
VI.C.15.233(h) You Loftson
- (d) **in hert bootls >**
VI.C.15.233(i) ^sin best books
- (e) **copy a book**
Heimskringla xx: As we shall see, Snorre was a specially careful historian and a famous writer of laudatory and commemorative poems. At an early age he began to **collect books**. **He probably inherited many** from his foster-father, **Jon Loftson**, and still other volumes came into his possession through his connection with Hallveig, Jon's granddaughter. **And Snorre undoubtedly made copies of valuable books himself, or had copies made**, in order that he might have them at hand for reference. Indeed he seems to have had in his possession almost everything the Icelandic literature had produced up to his own day; for only thus can we explain his frequent and apt quotations from the earlier and later scalds. Apart from some laudatory poems, we know of no important work of Snorre's until 1222-23, when the *Edda* was completed. His other great work, *Heimskringla*, belongs to the later portion of his life.
VI.C.15.234(a) copy a book
- (f) **prose Edda >**
VI.C.15.234(b) ^sprose Edda
- (g) **Odde book >**
VI.C.15.234(c) ^sodde books
- (h) **gt grandmother / = poetics**
Heimskringla xx: There are two Eddas. The *Elder Edda* is the name applied to a collection of ancient mythological poems attributed erroneously to Saemund the Learned. The *Younger or Prose Edda* is the composition or compilation of Snorre Sturlason. The term Edda appears for the first time in a fragmentary poem at the end of *Codex Wormianus*, circa 1200. There it means **great-grandmother**. Some maintain that Edda means "**The Odde Book**," but considerable ingenuity is needed to bring such a derivation within the range of probability. The real meaning of the word is unknown; but Edda is now generally understood to mean "**poetics**," the art of poetry: and Snorre's *Edda* is practically a text-book for young scalds. About the year 1290 the *Upsala Codex* applied the term to Snorre's compilation, which is a trilogy. The three parts of the *Prose Edda* were probably composed at different times; but together they form a whole.
VI.C.15.234(d) gt. grandmother / = <poetr> poetics

(i) **gylvaginnug**

Heimskringla xx-xxi: **GYLVAGINNING**.—The first part is called *Gylvaginning*, i.e., the tricking of Gylve. A Swedish king, Gylve, set out to visit the Aeser, who by necromancy received him in a magnificent palace. Their chiefs discussed with him the most important legends regarding the origin and maintenance of the world, the mightiest gods and their destiny, and Ragnarok, the death of the gods and the end of the universe. Thereafter everything disappeared and Gylve found himself standing out on [xx] the open plain. He returned home and told his experiences, repeating the many stories he had heard. The introduction is wholly the work of Snorre, who makes admirable use of the conversational form so characteristic of the instruction books of ancient times. But the most of the myths were borrowed from the old pagan poems, especially *Voluspa*, which is now known from the so-called *Elder Edda*, copies of which Snorre probably possessed.

VI.C.15.234(e) gylvorginning

(j) **visit to troll**

Not found in *Heimskringla*, possibly a reminiscence of stories about trolls in Craigie's *Icelandic Sagas*, see 202(n) and 205(j)-(k).

VI.C.15.234(f) visit to trolls

(k) **Skald Skaparmach / poetic language. >**

VI.C.15.234(g) Skald skaparamood / poetic language

(l) **Aeser / Aegir (Sea god) / Brage (Svigrdom) >>**

VI.C.15.234(i) aeser / aegir (Sea god) / Brage (song Odin)

VI.C.3.228 / VI.D.2.[051]

(a) **Suddung's mead / öl**

Heimskringla xxi: **SKALDSKAPARMÁL**.—The second part of the *Edda* was called *Skaldskaparmal*, i.e., “poetic language.” This part likewise represented a conversation at a banquet given by the Aeser, the chief actors being **Aegir, the god of the sea, and Brage, the son of Oden**. Brage began by telling the legend of **Suttung's mead, the poets' drink**, and the origin of the scaldic art. When Aegir asked about the elements of the art Brage explained that it consisted of the scaldic language and the varieties of verse. Snorre gives more than 300 quotations of scaldic expressions from the verses of the most famous scalds of the preceding centuries. In his treatment of this part of the subject Snorre relates many myths and hero legends which found no place in *Gylvaginning*.

VI.C.15.234(k) Suddung's mead / (Öl)

(b) **Håtta tal / = prosody**

Heimskringla xxi: **HÁTTATAL**.—The third part, *Háttatal*, i.e., “the list of verse forms,” contains a poem of 102 verses composed by Snorre. Perhaps it would be better to say that it is not one poem but three, which relate to King Haakon Haakonson, to Earl Skule, and to the two together, respectively. The poem not only sings the exploits and events in the lives of the princes, but also describes the merry life in the King's hall and the Scald's relation to the King and the Earl. It is indeed the expression of Snorre's thanks for the reception he had received when in Norway. It was probably composed during the winter of 1222, and in the spring of 1223 Snorre's son, Jon, would take it with him to Norway and hand it to the King and the Earl, when they met in Bergen. *Háttatal* is accompanied by a learned explanation in prose of **the rules for versification** and their various modifications.

VI.C.15.235(a) Håtta tal / = parody

(c) **one verse / different from other**

Heimskringla xxi: The *Edda* shows not merely the wealth of poetry Iceland possessed in these early days, but also what a master of song Snorre himself must have been. The form of the *Edda* is specially interesting, for it gives us a handbook of the versification of the scaldic art, since **each verse is different from every other**.

VI.C.15.235(b) one verse / different from other

(d) ^b**Norrone tongue >**

MS Jahnke 12v1(e): norrøner's tongue

MS 47480-120, ScrTsBMA: ^+For lispas harth a burm in eye but when it bames fire norone screeneth.+^ | *JJA* 55:217 | 1938 | II.3§4.7/5.4 | *FW* 348.26-27

VI.C.15.235(c) novione tongue

(e) **Question all men**

Heimskringla xxii: Icelandic historic literature in the ancient **Norrōne tongue** began with the priest Are Torgilsson, the Learned, whose *Islendingabok*, written shortly after 1120, contained the story of the island and a brief survey of the history of Norway, the motherland. This book is lost, but a second edition was produced about 1135, and the portion of it relating to Iceland is still extant; whilst some portions of Are's *History of Norway* have been included in later books. Are Torgilsson was a conscientious inquirer who did his best to discover the truth and sift out the false, **by questioning old and veracious men**. He endeavoured with success to clear up chronological confusion; and his brief survey of important events and his consistent chronology deserve all praise.

VI.C.15.235(d) question all men

(f) **2 Olafs.**

Heimskringla xxii: Iceland was so rich in legends and scaldic poems relating to Norway's kings that these were soon committed to writing, especially the traditions about the **two Olafs**. Continuous historical chronicles, more or less trustworthy, had also been written down in Norway, principally in Latin, and these were translated into Norse or Icelandic and thereby became known in Iceland. Then the Icelanders began to set down what they saw or experienced in their own day. The first of these was Eirik Oddson who, like Are the Learned, made a point of questioning those who were familiar with the events; and so he became the first historian of contemporary events. He wrote *circa* 1150-60, "about Harald Gille and his two sons Inge and Sigurd, and Magnus the Blind and Sigurd Slembe."

VI.C.15.235(e) 2 Olafs

(g) **N scoldie**

Heimskringla xxiii: As we have previously noticed, there were already in existence long sagas about the two Olafs, and it was natural to fill up first the gap between St. Olaf and Sverre. This was done in the years 1217-20 by an author who wrote the *Sagas of the Kings from Magnus the Good*, a work which is preserved in a MS. dating from about 1300. This history is full of **scaldic** verses, but it has not been carefully compiled, and it contains many unhistoric traditions and inaccuracies.

Heimskringla xxiv: Of contemporary **scaldic** verses Snorre makes the demand which might be expected from the great authority on the **scaldic** art, that they shall be "properly sung and sensibly composed;" and it is quite evident that by adhering to this rule he has corrected many errors made by his predecessors.

VI.C.15.235(f) N. scoldic

(h) **speeches MS.**

Heimskringla xxiv-xxv: One characteristic of Snorre is his art. The historic saga was biography. Snorre's work is a collection of biographies with remarkable character sketches. The special feature in his work is that everything irrelevant is rejected, and that every detail helps to illumine the whole. His collection of biographies of Norwegian kings has thereby become a history of the race, where every individual member stands out with his own peculiar traits. In contrast to his forerunners, Snorre includes in the sketches of the main personages a great many subsidiary characters, but only when these are a frame round the central figure and do not take away the interest from him. Snorre made a point of describing the character of a king exactly as he understood it; and from that character he worked out the individual's fate. For this purpose he described [xxiv] the persons as speaking and conversing. Snorre probably borrowed this feature from Abbot Kari and Monk Odd, adopting it deliberately and making opportunities for his chief characters to express themselves or take part in discussions when he wanted to show the motive and effect of some particular act. In these addresses every word was written out of the character of the person in question; **although of course the speeches were composed by Snorre**.

VI.C.15.235(g) speeches M.Y.

(i) **Kringlaheimsins** ^+**Kringlaheimsins**+^ / **Pl. word of 2^d page**

Heimskringla xxv: There were many manuscripts of Snorre Sturlason's *Sagas of the Kings* both in Iceland and Norway. The most ancient vellum was that which is now called *Kringla*. It was written in Iceland about twenty years after Snorre's death. It contained a supplement, "Skaldatal," which gave a list of all the court scalds of historic times, with information regarding the Norwegian kings and princes for whom they wrote. The list of scalds stopped at Snorre's nephews, Olaf Kvitaskald, who died in 1259, and Sturla Thordson, who lived till 1284; and doubtless one of these had given instructions for the copy of the original to be made. Sturla Thordson probably took the book with him to Norway on his visit thither in 1263. At any rate *Kringla* reached Norway at an early date and was preserved in or near Bergen until the close of the sixteenth century, after which it found its way to the University Library at Copenhagen. It had then lost the first page which contained Snorre's preface, and **at the top of the second page, which had become the first, stood the words, *Kringla heimsins*, i.e., "the world's round ball."** And so the vellum received the name *Kringla Heimsins* or *Heimskringla* or simply *Kringla*. VI.C.15.235(h) *Kringlaheimsins* / 1st word of 2^d page.

(j) **Δ aers pennill** >

VI.C.15.235(i) Δ aers pennill

(k) (~~{}?~~) ^+**Brash**+^ **copp / clasp**

Heimskringla xxvi: In 1698 a copy of Snorre's *Sagas of the Kings* was made by Asgeir Jonsson from *Jofraskinna*, but it perished in the Copenhagen fire in 1728, all except seven pages which were afterwards found in the three capitals, Copenhagen, Stockholm, and Christiania. ***Eirspennill*, i.e., "the book with the copper clasps,"** was made about the year 1300 by an Icelander for circulation in Norway. It contained only a portion of Snorre's work, namely, the Sagas from Magnus the Good onward, and it included the Sagas from Sverre to the death of Haakon Haakonson. It reached Norway prior to 1570 and it was purchased by Arne Magnusson, in whose great collection it may yet be seen. Not transcribed in VI.C.15.

VI.C.3.229 / VI.D.2.[052]

(a) **Norsk** **Schgott** >

VI.C.15.235(j) Norsk (Partially transferred)

(b) **Landsmaal / (artificial coll / of dialects)**

Heimskringla xxix: Unger's edition is the groundwork of most of the later translations, e.g., Hildebrand's in Sweden; Steinar **Schjött's translation into the Norse Landsmaal, an artificial language based upon the local dialects**, a language which many ardent patriots hope will one day be the official language of Norway; and Morris and Magnusson's in our own land; whilst Dr. Rasmus Anderson made use of it in editing the second edition of Laing's *Heimskringla* in 1889. VI.C.15.235(k)-236(a) Landsmaal / (artificial coll / of diabete)

(c) **Samuel / Henry Ip**

VI.C.15.236(b) Samuel / ' Herring Th.

(d) **Effect on Ksho. / of St Britan**

VI.C.15.236(c) Effect on theatre / of St. Briton)

(e) **Salp - jellyfish**

Note: salp, salpa. A genus of tunicates, the sole representative of the family *Salpidae*; also, a tunicate of this genus (*OED*). VI.C.15.236(d) Salp - jellyfish

(f) **Combe and Tor. / Devds.**

VI.C.15.236(e) combe & los . Devar)

(g) **Λ where are / you???**

Note: See the reproduction of the notebook page in the *JJA*. Mme Raphael omits in VI.C.3 nine D.2 notes that she does copy in VI.C.15 as: VI.C.15.236(g) ⁸Π confidential to churches; VI.C.15.237(a) head hunter; VI.C.15.237(b) gestale; VI.C.15.237(c) A + B = C / A - B = C; VI.C.15.237(d) fundad; VI.C.15.237(e) jocular; VI.C.15.237(f) L Wisterly / of the door.; VI.C.15.237(g) little toe / felt head / to toe (—?); VI.C.15.237(h) bull dog
VI.C.15.236(f) Λ where are / you ???

(h) **Thespis / and — / pugging**

VI.C.15.237(i) Tuspis / & / pugging

VI.C.3.230 / VI.D.2.[054]

Note: Page VI.D.2.[053] is left open for the items copied in VI.C.15 and overlooked in VI.C.3, enumerated in the note under VI.C.3.229(g).

(a) **230 [LM] / Vican Church / of S. Patrick / 16 — / 144 Autel Saints / 1724**

Note: See the reproduction of the notebook page in the *JJA*. The first item is Mme Raphael's page numbering. Written in blue crayon.

VI.C.15.238(a) Viran Church / of S. Patrick / 1697 / 144 Catch Savish / 1924

(b) **^btell vespers^b / spark again / TC. Iriwm. >**

Not located in MS/FW.

VI.C.15.238(b) till vespers. / spark again / T.C. Morn

(c) **hunger in I / stomachs >**

VI.C.15.238(c) hunger in I. / stomach

(d) **sold in I / soul —**

Irish Independent 5 May 1925-6/5: [POETS AND PATRIOTS OF ULSTER / A DISTINGUISHED FIGURE] When many parts of "Northern Ireland" are beginning to throb with vague spasms of change, it is opportune for all who are, in Mr. Joseph Devlin's words, "proud of the unpartitioned name of Irishman," to recall that Ulster has given some of our best men to Ireland. When the political intransigence and sectarian hate which have disfigured the life of "Protestant Ulster" shall have been driven out by enlightened patriotism and commonsense, the memory of these pioneers, poets, and patriots of Ulster will be, it is safe to assume, remembered and fittingly honoured by a grateful and an united Ireland. Of the poets, the one most deserving of remembrance is **Thomas Caulfield Irwin**. / [A Traveller.] / Irwin was born at Warrenpoint on May 4, 1823. Particulars about his boyhood days are lacking, but it is evident from his writings that he received a good classical education. In his early manhood he travelled through France, Belgium, Holland, and Switzerland, and acquired a mastery of the Romance languages. His finest artistry is revealed in pictures of foreign scenes, as, for instance, in his description of the return to Venice in the "Night on the Lagoon": / "But lo! the moon is high, / And glimmers distantly. / Banano's, Alps, like drifts of withered rose, along the sky; / And falls the dim dawn rain, / As Venice ward again / We speed to sleep and dream the hours till **vespers spark again**." [...] / [Still Remembered.] In certain circumstances, and on certain conditions, the past may be usefully forgiven, but never forgotten. The inspiration which moves men to better and higher things comes from it. And no one can read Irwin's poetry without becoming bettered and ennobled. In the anthologies of Anglo-Irish poetry we seldom, if ever, meet with Irwin's name; yet there are men living in Dublin today—he was carried to rest in Mount Jerome in February, 1893—who remember the distinguished figure of our poet as he sauntered through the streets with **hunger in his stomach, and gold in his soul**. His own lines provide an appropriate conclusion to this biogram:— / "Sing, memories, sing—the heart that can behold / Heaven in the sunset little heeds its gold." / THOMAS MARKHAM.

Note: Thomas Caulfield Irwin (county Down, 1823 - Dublin, 1892), once described as "the Irish Keats," he published six volumes of poetry. In later life he roamed the streets of Dublin as a "mad poet."

VI.C.15.238(d) fold in I / soul

(e) **III Δ C Λ**

VI.C.15.238(e) **III Δ C Λ**

(f) **4 classes**

VI.C.15.238(f)

(g) **S Honorat meet / vis. be. S. Morgraste / only when ^bchems^b //**

MS 47486a-35, ScrPrEM: ^+we are the closest of chems+^ | JJA 61:160 | 1933-1934 | III§1A.12 | /1B.3 | /1C.9 | /1D.12 | //2A.13 | /2B.11 | /2C.13 | //3A.10 | //4.7 | | [>]MS 47486a-93, ScrPrRMA: ^+And we're the closest of chems.+^ | JJA 61:047 | 1933-1936 | III§2A.13/2B.11/2C.13 | FW 464.03

VI.C.3.231 / VI.D.2.[055]

(a) **must come back. / — 4th yr.**

Note: Saint-Honorat and Sainte-Margu rite, two islands off the coast of Cannes on the French Riviera, belonging to the L rins archipelago. “Legend tells us that in the beginning only one island, belonging to the devil, existed. God ordered it to be submerged and allowed it to return to the surface if split in two, so that Satan could no longer live there. During the fourteenth century, Honorat, a monk in search of solitude in order to pray, chose to settle with some companions on the smallest of the two islands. The island inspired fear as it was a refuge for snakes, but Honorat exterminated them in one day. Having rid the island of serpents, Honorat founded the first monastery of the Occident. Marguerite, Honorat’s sister, built a convent on a neighboring island. The rules of monastic life prohibited the cohabitation of the monks and the nuns. But Marguerite could not endure the idea of being separated from her beloved brother so he promised to meet with her every time the almond trees flowered. Despairing, Marguerite prayed to the heavens to come to her aid. God heard her call and miraculously made the almond trees flower each month, forcing Honorat to visit her more often.” (France Monthly.com/n/0404)

VI.C.15.239(a) S. Honorat meet / with S^{te} Marguerite / only when chemis / must come back / — 4 into yr.

(b) **Idacitura >**

VI.C.15.239(b) nacidura

(c) **rana, 1^{io} sui nogui / topo, casate / uccelli auspiri / araleti, campi / <ased> ^+aseo+^, armi >**

La Scienza Nuova 1725, Book III, Ch. XXVII: *Si ritruova la vera Origine delle Imprese Eroiche.*

Ora ripigliando il filo della nostra tela, dal ragionato esempio di *numerare* gli eroi contadini nella loro et  poetica le messi per gli *anni*, si scuoprono tre *grandi principj di cose*, de’ quali *uno*   dell’*imprese eroiche*, da cui dipende la cognizione d’importantissime conseguenze intorno alla *scienza del diritto naturale delle genti*. Imperciocch  bisogna che a tutti coloro che hanno delle *imprese ingegnose* ragionato, ignari affatto delle cose di questa *Nuova Scienza*, la forza del vero avesse loro fatto cader dalla penna, che le chiamassero *imprese eroiche*: le quali gli *Egizj* chiamarono *lingua simbolica*, o sia per *metafore*, o *immagini*, o *simiglianze*; la qual lingua anche essi riferiscono essersi *parlata nel tempo de’ loro eroi*; ma noi qui pruoviamo essere stata *comune di tutte le nazioni eroiche sparse per l’universo*. Imperciocch  nella *Scizia* il di lui *re Idantura* a *Dario il maggiore*, che gli aveva intimata per ambasciatori la guerra, siccome oggi farebbe il *Persiano* al *Tartaro*, che tra loro confinano, manda in risposta *una ranocchia*, un *topo*, un *uccello*, un *aratro ed un arco*; volendo per tutte queste cose dire che *Dario* contro la ragione delle genti gliel’ avrebbe portata. **I.** Perch  esso *Idantura* era nato nella terra della *Scizia*, come le *ranocchie* nascono dalle terre dove esse si ritruovano; con che dinotava la sua origine da quella terra essere tanto antica, quanto quella del mondo. Sicch  *la ranocchia d’Idantura*   appunto una di quelle nelle quali i *Poeti Teologi* ci tramandarono, gli uomini essersi *cangiati*, nel tempo che *Latona* partor  *Apollo* e *Diana* presso le acque, che forse vollero dire del *diluvio*. **II.** Che esso nella *Scizia* si aveva fatto la sua casa, o sia *gente*, come i *topi* si fanno le tane nelle terre dove sono essi nati. **III.** Che l’imperio della *Scizia* era suo; perch  *ivi esso aveva gli auspicj*; talch  per l’*uccello d’Idantura*, un *re eroico di Grecia* avrebbe mandato a *Dario due ale*; un *re eroico latino* gli avrebbe risposto, *auspicia esse sua*. **IV.** Quindi, che ’l *dominio sovrano de’ campi* della *Scizia* era pur suo; perch  esso vi aveva

doma la terra *con ararla*. V. Finalmente, che perciò esso vi aveva il *diritto sovrano dell'armi*, per difendere le sue sovrane ragioni con l'*arco*.

[Book III, Chapter XXVII. *The discovery of the true origin of the heroic emblems*: Now, returning to the order of our discourse, our reasoned example of the way in which, in their poetic age, the heroic peasants counted their harvests as years leads to three great discoveries. The first concerns the heroic emblems, upon which our knowledge of some extremely important consequences for the science of the natural law of the gentes depends.

But since none of the authors who have worked out their many ingenious accounts of these emblems had any idea of the discoveries made in this science, it must have been the force of the true itself that made the expression 'heroic emblems' flow from their pens. The Egyptians referred to these emblems as a 'symbolic language', i.e. a language of metaphors, images and resemblances, which, they said, had been spoken in the time of their heroes, but we shall prove here that it was a language common to all the heroic nations spread throughout the universe.

For when the ambassadors of Darius the Great declared war against King Idanthyrus of Scythia, thus confining the war to the two kings, as would the present-day king of Persia against the queen of Muscovy, Idanthyrus replied by sending a frog, a mouse, a bird, a ploughshare and a bow, in order to tell Darius, by means of these five objects, that such a war would violate the law of the gentes.

I. Because Idanthyrus was himself born in the land of Scythia, just as frogs are born in the lands where they are found, thus signifying that his origin in that land was as old as the origin of the world. Hence Idanthyrus' frog was precisely one of the frogs into which, according to what the theological poets have passed down to us, men changed at the time when Latona gave birth to Apollo and Diana close to the waters, by which the poets may have meant to refer to the Flood.

II. That his house or clan had been created in Scythia, just as mice make their holes in the lands in which they are born.

III. That the empire of Scythia was his because he possessed its auspices. Thus where a heroic king of Greece would have sent Darius two wings in place of Idanthyrus' bird, a heroic Latin king would have replied *auspicia esse sua* ['that the auspices belonged to him'].

IV. Hence, that he had sovereign ownership of the fields of Scythia, because he had tamed the land by ploughing it.

V. Finally, that, as a result of this, he had the sovereign right of arms to protect his sovereign laws with the bow.]

VI.C.15.239(c) rana, 10 sui nagu / topo, casati / uccelli, anipiri / aralet, campi / anco, armi

(d) **blason ❖ Ith f. >**

Note: See the reproduction of the notebook page in the *JJA*. The deleted item was crossed out by Mme Raphael.

VI.C.15.239(d) blason off

(e) **language. >**

La Scienza Nuova 1725, Book III, Ch. XXVIII: *Altri Principj della Scienza del Blasono*.

Il secondo principio è quello della *scienza del Blasono*, che si truova essere la *prima lingua del diritto naturale delle genti*, che noi sull'incominciare dicemmo bisognarvi, per ragionare con iscienza de' suoi principj: il parlare del qual diritto fu il celebre *FAS GENTIUM*, che chiamando Giove in testimone ad alta voce nell'intimare le guerre e concepire le paci, gli *araldi latini* gridavano *Audi, Jupiter, audi FAS*: che era un parlare solenne e certo, per segni manifesti e naturali, qual è appunto il *parlar dell'impreseroiche*: che è una *lingua dell'armi*, con cui spiegano i manifesti, co' quali rispondono *Idantura* a *Dario*, *Tearco* a *Cambise*. Onde da sè stessa esce in primo luogo e si scuopre la vera origine dell'*impresero gentilizie*, che furono una certa *lingua armata delle famiglie*: le quali imprese furono innanzi l'*araldiche*, siccome i *nomi delle attenze* o i *casati* furono innanzi delle *città*, e le *città* innanzi delle *guerre*, nelle quali combattono le città: perchè certamente gli *Americani*, che si governano ancor per famiglie, dagli ultimi *viaggiatori* si osservano usare i *geroglifici*, co' quali si distinguono tra loro i capi di esse: onde tale si dee congetturare, essere stato il loro primo uso appresso le antiche nazioni.

[Book III, Chapter XXVIII. *New principles of the science of blazonry*: The second principle [that follows from our example of the numbering of years in the poetic age] is that of the science of blazonry. This science is found to be the first language of the natural law of the gentes, which, as we said at the outset, is necessary for any scientific reasoning about principles. The language of this law was the celebrated

Fas gentium [‘The divine law of the gentes’] that the Latin heralds invoked when declaring war or formulating peace agreements by calling upon the testimony of Jove, which they did by shouting, in their loudest voice, *Audi, Iupiter, audi fas* [‘Hear us, Jupiter, hear us, divine law’]. This was a solemn and certain language of manifest and natural signs, a language of heroic emblems which provided a language of arms for expressing proclamations of war, such as those with which Idanthysus replied to Darius and Etearchus to Cambyses. Hence, in this armed language of the natural law of the gentes, we discover first the true origin of the first family coats of arms, which constituted a certain language of arms of the families. This was followed later by the heraldic coats of arms, because the names of the clans or houses came before those of the cities and the names of the cities before those of the wars in which they fought. And since, as the latest travellers have observed, the Americans, who are still governed by families, certainly use hieroglyphics to distinguish the chiefs of their families, it must be conjectured that this was how they were first used among the ancient nations.]

VI.C.15.239(e) language

(f) ^b**verbena** — >

MS Jahnke 12v1(f): verbena (herald)

VI.C.15.239(f) ^sverbena =

(g) ^b**heralds.** >

MS Jahnke 12v1(f): verbena (herald)

VI.C.15.239(g) heralds

(h) **campidoglio** >

VI.C.15.240(a) Campidoglio

(i) **rbn garter**

La Scienza Nuova 1725, Book III, Ch. XXIX: Finalmente, quando avvennero le prime *turbolenze eroiche*, per le quali i *clienti* si *ammutarono* in *plebi*, e i *nobili* si *strinsero* in *ordini*, sopra i quali sursero le *prime città*; alle quali per richiamarsi i *plebei*, bisognò ritrovare le *ambascerie*; vennero gli *ornamenti* e le *corone* alle *imprese* nobili; che in quella semplicità mandarono gli **araldi**, cinti il *capo*, e coverti le **spalle di erba santa**, che sono le **verbene**, con che si armavano di superstizione, perchè forse era tenuta erba a' soli nobili lecita di toccare; della qual erba vestiti fossero sicuri tra essi infesti nimici: e ne restò ad essa **erba** il nome di **santa**, *d'inviolabile*; con la cui *santità* furono *sante le mura*, che erano i primi recinti delle picciole città, come *siepi*, quali si ritrovarono quelle dell'*America*; dalle quali mura si coglievano, come certamente gli **araldi romani** coglievano le **verbene** dalla rocca del **Campidoglio**: e dalla stessa **erba santa** furori detti *santi gli ambasciatori* che la vestivano; *sante le leggi* che essi ambasciatori portavano. Fornirono altresì il *caduceo di ale*, e di *ale* ornarono le *tempia* e i *piedi*, come poi ne restò dipinto *Mercurio, Dio dell'ambascerie*, per significare che venivano *mandati da' nobili*, de' quali erano gli *auspicj*: e ne vennero all'*imprese* le *co*-[239]*rone co' raggi*, che sono i lati e gli angoli delle foglie; e le *frondute*, che sono quelle de' principi; e i *lambrequini*, che sono fogliami che, cadenti da' cimieri, cuoprono le spalle delle armi: e le *penne* sopra essi *cimieri*.

[Book III, Chapter XXIX [XXX]. *The new discovery of the origins of the family ensigns*: Finally, upon the occurrence of the first heroic disturbances, in which the clientes rebelled, [composing themselves] into plebs, and the nobles united in orders, the first cities arose. Since it then became necessary for embassies to recall the plebeians to the cities, more ornaments and crowns were added to the noble emblems. For, in that [age of] simplicity, when heralds were sent out, their heads and shoulders were covered by a holy plant such as verbena, because of the superstition that if they were armed in such clothing they would be rendered safe from harmful enemies. This superstition may have arisen because it was thought that nobles alone should touch this plant. Hence it continued to be called ‘holy’ and ‘inviolable’, and because it was gathered from the hedges that made up the first fences or walls of the small cities, the walls themselves were sanctified and became holy, as has been found in America. For it is certain that the Roman heralds gathered verbena from the fortress of the Campidoglio, and that the ambassadors who wore this holy plant were ‘holy’, just as the laws that they took with them were ‘holy’. The heralds were also furnished with a winged caduceus and their temples and feet were adorned with wings, just as Mercury, the god of embassies, later continued to be shown in paintings, to signify that they were the augurs of the nobles who had sent them. Thus to their emblems were added crowns, the

rays of which were represented by the sides and edges of leaves; leafy branches, representing the branches of princes; mantlings, i.e. leaves that had fallen from their crests and covered the shoulders of their arms; and, on the top of their crests, plumes.]

VI.C.15.240(b) ^serba santa

(j) **It is not quite / a charming sentiment**

VI.C.15.240(c) It is not quite / a charming / sentiment

VI.C.3.232 / VI.D.2.[056]

(a) **He says / - - - in effect / - really says.**

VI.C.15.240(d) ^sHe says / — in effect / — really says

(b) **several learn**

VI.C.15.240(e) several lean

(c) **judges and / <thes> ^+this+^ is / human nature**

VI.C.15.240(f) judges said. / <thes> ^+this+^ is / human / nature

(d) **^bΔ in Π uniform**

MS Jahnke 12r2(a): Π is head of Czd firemen / Δ dresses in uniform

VI.C.15.240(g) Δ in Π uniform

(e) **hammered**

VI.C.15.241(a) hammered

(f) **grilled**

VI.C.15.241(b) grilled

(g) **St Ink / held { an arch / bishop**

VI.C.15.241(c) St Juk / held an / arch / bishop / vestry

(h) **total loss of Lents / pink trouser**

VI.C.15.241(d) total loss of / pink trousers [Partially transferred.]

(i) **L the dark / all round**

VI.C.15.241(e) L the dusty / ull wind

(j) **in next / house**

VI.C.15.241(f) in next / houses

VI.C.3.233 / VI.D.2.[057]

(a) **^b□ his own / words jump^b / up^b and hit him**

MS Jahnke 12r2(b): □ his own words jump up & hit him

VI.C.15.241(g) □ his own / words jump / up & hit him

(b) **Norwege Π / again**

VI.C.15.242(a) Norwage Π / again

(c) **{ canaille, canard / canal Canaan / (Wundt) Voltaire**

Note: Voltaire, visiting the Netherlands in 1713, famously left the country with the parting volley: “Adieu, canaux, canards, canaille!” Wilhelm Wundt (1832-1920) was a German psychologist and philosopher, who wrote about folk psychology, hypnotism and the nerve system, and was the first to describe the optical illusion, named after him, that two straight lines appear bent when set against a

blocked background.

VI.C.15.242(b) Canaille canard / canal Canaan / (Wundt) Voltaire

(d) George Borrod

VI.C.15.242(c) George Borrod

(f) ☐ annoyed him / trick ~~to~~ is it / for a week

Note: See the reproduction of the notebook page in the *JJA*. The deleted item was crossed out by Mme Raphael.

VI.C.15.242(d) ☐ arrange his / tuck to U / for a week

(g) Hans Christian / E ——

VI.C.15.242(e) Hans Christian / E ——

(h) X Lyons

Note: See the reproduction of the notebook page in the *JJA*. ‘1136’ not transferred in VI.C.3.

VI.C.15.242(f) X Lyons 1136.

VI.C.3.234 / VI.D.2.[058]

(a) apricot trouser

VI.C.15.242(h) apricot trousers

(b) 60% murd eny / Eskimo

VI.C.15.242(i) 60% murdeny / Eskimos

(c) “cancan”

VI.C.15.243(a) H cancan

(d) 3 lilies L

VI.C.15.243(b) B lilies L

(e) (I mean / gifted being

Note: See the reproduction of the notebook page in the *JJA*. Siglum \wedge not transferred in VI.C.3.

VI.C.15.243(c) (I mean / gifted being \wedge

(f) that was / slop

VI.C.15.243(d) that were a / stop

(g) pious hymns

VI.C.15.243(e) pious hymns

(h) ☐ what if all / rest to see

VI.C.15.243(f) ☐ what of all / yill to see

(i) I can’t imagine

VI.C.15.243(g) I can’t imagine

(j) ~~flood~~^b flow of ideas

Note: See the reproduction of the notebook page in the *JJA*. The deleted item was crossed out by Mme Raphael.

MS Jahnke 12r2(c): her flow of ideas

VI.C.15.243(h) flood of ideas

VI.C.3.235 / VI.D.2.[059]

- (a) **Your 'father' ☐**
VI.C.15.243(i) Your ' father' ☐
- (b) **L confers his**
VI.C.15.243(j) ☐ confessly. live
- (c) **Crisavolo a Lesbian**
VI.C.15.243(k) <Trisar> Trisavold a Lesbian
- (d) **private religion**

Collected Papers 2: 27-8 ["Obsessive Acts and Religious Practices"]: It is easy to see wherein lies the resemblance between neurotic ceremonial and religious rites; it is in the fear of pangs of conscience after their omission, in the complete isolation of them from all other activities (the feeling that one must not be disturbed), and in the conscientiousness with which the details are carried out. But equally obvious are the differences, some of which are so startling that they make the comparison into a sacrilege: the greater individual variability of neurotic ceremonial in contrast with the stereotyped character of rites (prayer, orientation, etc.); its private nature as opposed to the public and communal character of religious observances; especially, however, the distinction that the little details of religious ceremonies are full of meaning and are understood symbolically, while those of neurotics seem silly [27] and meaningless. In this respect an obsessional neurosis furnishes a tragi-comic travesty of a **private religion**.
Not transferred in VI.C.15.

- (e) **Art**
VI.C.15.244(a) Art
- (f) **Jack in - the - / Dustbin**
VI.C.15.244(b) Jack in the - / Dustbin
- (g) **mock man**
VI.C.15.244(c) mock man
- (h) **^bimpressively sober**
MS 47486a-224v, ScrPrEM: ^+impressively sober judge+^ | JJA 61:202 | 1933-1934 | III§1A.12 †/1B.3 †/1C.9 †/1D.12 †//2A.13 †/2B.11 †/2C.13 †//3A.10 †//4.7 † | FW 000.00
VI.C.15.244(d) impressively sober
- (i) **☐ assumes other a / disgusting man / of virtues**
VI.C.15.244(e) ☐ assumes other a / disgusting mass / of virtues
- (j) **Melusina?**
VI.C.15.244(f) Melusina?
- (k) **☐ has finest girl / as if any other //**

VI.C.3.236 / VI.D.2.[060]

- (a) **wasn't quite as / good and better**
VI.C.15.244(g) ☐ has finish girl / as if any other / wasn't quite as / good & better
- (b) **the idea!**
VI.C.15.245(a) the idea
- (c) **backsliders**

VI.C.15.245(b) backsliders

(d) **𐌚 vengeance is / mine**

Collected Papers 2:34 [“Obsessive Acts and Religious Practices” (1907)]: A progressive renunciation of inherent instincts, the satisfaction of which is capable of giving direct pleasure to the ego, appears to be one of the foundations of human civilization. Some part of this repression is effected by means of the various religions, in that they require individuals to sacrifice the satisfaction of their instincts to the divinity. ‘**Vengeance is mine**, saith the Lord.’

VI.C.15.245(c) 𐌚 vengeance is / mine

(e) **numen >**

VI.C.15.245(d) numen

(f) **give arms / give fenians. >**

VI.C.15.245(e) sive mas / sive femina

(g) ^b**Cunina cradle >**

MS 47486a-224v, ScrPrEM: ^+Cunina, Statilinus, Edulia+^ | *JJA* 61:202 | 1933-1934 | III§1A.12 †/1B.3 †/1C.9 †/1D.12 †//2A.13 †/2B.11 †/2C.13 †//3A.10 †//4.7 † | [>] MS 47486a-119 RMA: Cunina, Statilinus and Edulia but | *JJA* 61:093 | 1933-1936 | III§4.7 | *FW* 561.09

VI.C.15.245(f) Cunina cradle

(h) ^b**Edulia cat >**

MS 47486a-224v, ScrPrEM: ^+Cunina, Statilinus, Edulia+^ | *JJA* 61:202 | 1933-1934 | III§1A.12 †/1B.3 †/1C.9 †/1D.12 †//2A.13 †/2B.11 †/2C.13 †//3A.10 †//4.7 † | [>] MS 47486a-119, ScrPrRMA: ^+Cunina, Statilinus and Edulia but+^ | *JJA* 61:093 | 1933-1936 | III§4.7 | *FW* 561.09

VI.C.15.245(g) Edulia eat

(i) **Tatina drink >**

VI.C.15.245(h) Totina drink

(j) ^b**Statilinus stand up.**

Mythology xv-xvi: The Roman *numen* is devoid of human characteristics. He has not even sex, or at least his sex is indeterminate. How indefinite the numen is, is seen in the old prayer formula in which appeal is made to spirits, *sive mas sive femina* “whether he be male or female.” These vague spirits or *numina* were associated with particular places and were regarded with vague feelings of awe inclining towards fear rather than love. The real specialization of the *numen* was not in his character but in his *function*; this area of action was carefully circumscribed; he presided over some particular locality and activity of man, and the *numina* were almost as numerous as the activities. Thus there is **Cunina** who guards the child’s **cradle**, **Edulia and Potina** who teach him to **eat and drink**, **Statilinus** who makes him **stand up** and so on. In fact the *numen* is only the image of an activity, he is never a per-[xv]sonality though he may be the first stage to impersonation.

MS 47486a-224v, ScrPrEM: ^+Cunina, Statilinus, Edulia+^ | *JJA* 61:202 | 1933-1934 | III§1A.12 †/1B.3 †/1C.9 †/1D.12 †//2A.13 †/2B.11 †/2C.13 †//3A.10 †//4.7 † | [>] MS 47486a-119, ScrPrRMA: ^+Cunina, Statilinus and Edulia but+^ | *JJA* 61:093 | 1933-1936 | III§4.7 | *FW* 561.09

VI.C.15.245(i) Statilinus standup

(k) **Hoh land eikon**

Not found in *Mythology*.

VI.C.15.245(j) Hoh Lard / eikon.

(l) **170 yrs Vano says >**

VI.C.15.245(j) 170 yrs Vano says

(m) **Aac no God unless >>**

VI.C.15.245(k) Aac no God udys.

VI.C.3.237 / VI.D.2.[061]

(a) **took away fear >**

VI.C.15.246(a) took away fear

(b) **brø light in falsehood**

Mythology xvi: If then the *numina* were superhuman, if they were in a sense lords over the Roman's life, if they inspired *religio*, awe and a sense of obligation, they were never human and of them there were no human-shaped, no anthropomorphic representations either in poetry or plastic art. **Varro** tells us—and we could have no better authority—that “for **170 years**” (dating from the foundations of the city in 753 B.C.) “the Romans worshipped their gods without images.” He adds—and the comment is curiously one-sided and thoroughly Roman: “those who introduced representation among the nations, **took away fear and brought in falsehood.**” It was undeniably one supreme merit of the Greeks that from religion they **took away fear**. To the purely practical man the iconist is apt to seem a liar.

VI.C.15.246(b) light is falsehood

Note: See the reproduction of the notebook page in the *JJA*. The deleted item was crossed out by Mme Raphael.

(c) **numen / — God**

Mythology xvii-xviii: Herodotus did not and could not know that the **gods** were the outcome, the utterance of human desire projected by rites of expulsion and impulsion. What he did know, thanks to his comparative studies, was that the Greek **gods** were a comparatively late product and that these personal, accomplished gods had been preceded by an earlier stage in which the gods were not in the Greek sense gods at all, not distinct personalities with characteristic attributes and life-histories, but shadowy, [xvii] nameless powers more like the Latin *numina*.

VI.C.15.246(c) numen / — gods

(d) **Themomorphism**

Mythology xviii-xix: Before anthropomorphism (human form), before **theriomorphism** (beast form) we have a stage [xviii] of animism when the gods are intangible forces dwelling anywhere and everywhere.

VI.C.15.246(d) Themomorphism

(e) **Hemilk / market God**

Mythology 5: At Pharæ in Achæa, Pausanias (VII. 22. 2) saw an image of **Hermes, the Market god**.

VI.C.15.246(e) Hermes / market god

(f) **^bwhispers pushed / in E ear^b / stops ear, the / Hly word head.**

Mythology 5-6: He who would consult the oracle comes at evening, burns incense on the hearth, lights the lamps, lays a coin of the country on the altar to the right of the image and **whispers his question into the ear** of the [5] god. Then he **stops his ears** and quits the market place, and when he is gone outside a little way, he uncovers his ears and **whatever word he hears that he takes for an oracle**.

MS Jahnke 12r2(e): ^bpushed whisper into his ear | FW 313.17

VI.C.15.246(f) ubospers pushed / into ear / stops ear the / 1st word head

(g) **unwrought stones >**

VI.C.15.246(g) unwrought story

(h) **gist charites / grace gives**

Mythology 6-7: At Pharæ, close to the image of Hermes, Pausanias goes on to tell us, stood about thirty square stones; these the people of Pharæ revered “giving to each stone the name of a god.” And says Pausanias: “in the olden time all the Greeks worshipped **un-[6]wrought stones** instead of images.” At Thespiæ he elsewhere (IX.27.1) notes the most ancient image of Eros, the winged love-god, was “an **unwrought stone**.” in Bœotia, where was a very ancient sanctuary of the **Charites** or **Grace-Givers**, their images were stones that had fallen from heaven.

VI.C.15.246(h) gist charites / grace given

(i) **Term >**

VI.C.15.247(a) Term

(j) **Charidotes**

Mythology 10-1: What then is the link that binds together Herm and the winged messenger? How in a word did the Hermes of Homer come to be “composed” out of the square shaped boundary stone?

Within the limits of Greece I might have asked the question and never found the answer. Happily the comparative method is at hand to help and it is Russia this time that brings the solution. The burial rite of the Eastern Slavs is thus described in an ancient Chronicle. After a sort of “wake” had been held over the dead man, the body was burnt and the ashes, gathered together in a small urn, were set up on a pillar or herm where the boundaries of two properties met. The dead grandfather was the object of special reverence under the title of *Tchur*, which means in Russian either grandfather or boundary. In the Russian of to-day *prashurchur* means greatgreat-grandfather and *Tchur menya* means “may my grandfather preserve me.” On the other hand the offence of removing a legal landmark is expressed by the word *tcherezurchur* which means “beyond the limit” or “beyond my grandfather.” The grandfather looked after the patriarchal family during his [10] life, he safeguarded its boundaries in death. His monument was at once tombstone and *Term*.

Light begins to dawn. Hermes is at first just a Herm, a stone or pillar set up to commemorate the dead. Into that pillar the mourner outpours, “projects” all his sorrow for the dead protector, all his passionate hope that the ghost will protect him still. When in the autumn he sows his seed, he buries it in the ground as he buried his dead father or grandfather, and he believes that the dead man takes care of it, fosters it in the underworld and sends it up to blossom in spring and to fruit in autumn. So the Herm became the guardian of his buried wealth and Hermes is **Charidotes**, Giver of Grace or Increase of all Good Luck.

VI.C.15.247(b) Charidote

VI.C.3.238 / VI.D.2.[062]

(a) **rhabdos / coil snakes**

Mythology 11-12: The dead are always magical, they can prevail where the living fail, so on the Herm he figures the *rhabdos* [11] which is not a messenger's staff, not a king's sceptre but simply a magician's wand. And about it he **coils snakes** for he has seen a snake coiling about the tomb, creeping out of it, and a snake is the symbol of the dead man.

VI.C.15.247(c) rhabdos / coil snakes

(b) **Criophonis / Ramcamer >**

VI.C.15.247(d) Criophorus / ramcamer

(c) **Kourotrophia**

Mythology 12: If the worshipper is an agriculturist his desire will be for his seeds and the Herm will be the guardian of his crops. But if he be a shepherd not less will he look to his dead ancestor to be *the* guardian of his sheep, to make them be fruitful and multiply. So when the Herm gets a head and gradually becomes wholly humanized, among a pastoral people he carries on his shoulders a ram, and from the **Ram Carrier**, the **Criophorus**, Christianity has taken her Good Shepherd.

But it is not only the seeds and the flocks that the dead ancestor must watch over. More important still, he is guardian of the young men, the children of his clan. He is child-rearer, **Kourotrophos**.

VI.C.15.247(e) Konrotrophos

(d) **aquila bicepota >**

VI.C.15.247(f) aquila big port

(e) **due Roma**

La Scienza Nuova 1725, Book III, Ch. XXX: *Altre Origini dell'Insegne Militari*.

Sopra questi principj s'inalberarono le *insegne militari*, che sono una certa *lingua armata delle città*, con la quale, come prive di favella, fansi intendere tra loro le nazioni ne' maggiori loro affari del

diritto naturale delle genti, che sono le *guerre*, le *alleanze*, i *commerzj*. Quindi le *aquile* si dipinsero nelle insegne romane; co' cui auspicj *Romolo* prese il luogo dove e' fondò Roma: **le aquile nell'insegne greche fin da' tempi di Omero, che poi si unirono in un corpo con due capi**, dappoichè *Constantino* fece **due Rome** capi dell'Imperio Romano: le *aquile* nell'*insegne degli Egizj*, il cui *Osiri* fu dipinto un *corpo umano col capo di aquila*. Con questa condotta si può soddisfare la meraviglia di *tanti lioni* che alzano per imprese tante case nobili dell'Europa, tante città, tanti popoli e nazioni; e quel che fa più meravigliare, altri *azzurri*, altri *d'oro*, altri *verdi*, altri *neri*: i quali, siccome non si leggono nella naturale, così difficilmente ci narrano alcuna storia civile; se non se quelli significano *le terre o prese con gli auspicj del cielo*, o *ridotte alla coltura*; di cui sono i tre colori, *nero* nel seminarli, *verde* [241] nel germogliare, *d'oro* nel raccorne le messi. Perchè in uno sformato numero le prime città furono delle *are*, come si può osservare nell'*antica Geografia*, per una stessa idea di *fortezza*; onde *ari* in lingua siriana significa *lione*; dal quale essa *Siria* fu detta *Aramia* o *Aramea*; di cui tutte le città furono dette *Aram*, con l'aggiunta del proprio di ciascheduna o innanzi o dopo, come osserva il *Cellari*: ed ancor oggi nella *Transilvania* si dicono *are de' Cicoli* le città abitate da un'antichissima *gente Unna*, tutta di nobili, che unitamente con due altre d'*Ungari* e *Sassoni* compongono tutta quella nazione: e nel cuor dell'Affrica ci restarono appo *Sallustio* famose le *are de' fratelli Fileni*, detti i confini dell'Imperio Cartaginese e del Regno Cirenaico.

[Book III, Chapter XXX. Further origins of military ensigns: From these origins a forest of military ensigns sprang up, constituting a certain language of arms of the cities, through which, lacking in language, the nations achieved understanding among themselves in the most crucial business of the natural law of the gentes, that of wars, alliances and commerce.

Hence the eagles that were depicted on Roman ensigns came from the eagles of the auspices with which Romulus took the site where he founded Rome. Hence, also, the eagles that were on Greek ensigns from the time of Homer were united as one body with two heads, after Constantine had placed two Romes at the head of the Roman empire. Hence, also, the eagles on the Egyptian ensigns, in which Osiris was depicted with a human body and the head of an eagle.

With the guidance [of these principles] we can resolve both the wonder of the great number of lions that were raised up in the emblems of so many nobles houses of Europe and so many cities, peoples and nations, and, the cause of even greater wonder, the different blues, golds, greens and blacks. It is impossible to read all this in terms of natural history and equally difficult to narrate it in terms of civil history, unless the emblems are understood as signifying either lands taken through heavenly auspices or lands reduced to cultivation, for which there were three colours: black for inseminating the crops, green for germinating them and gold for harvesting them. For, in disproportionate number, the first cities were called 'altars' [*are*], and it is observable that in ancient geography this was identical with the idea of a fortress. Thus in Syriac *ari* meant 'lion', from which Syria herself was called *Aramia* or *Aramea*, and, as Keller noted, the names of all her cities consisted of *Aram*, with the addition of a prefix or suffix to indicate whatever was specific to each. Again, in present-day Transylvania the expression 'the altars of the Sicilians' is still used for the cities that were once inhabited by a single very ancient race, composed entirely of nobles, which, when it was united with two other races, one Hungarian, the other Saxon, came to comprise the whole nation. Sallust tells us that in the heart of Africa the famous expression 'the altars of the Fileni brothers' survived as the name for the border between the Carthaginian empire and the kingdom of Cyrenaica, and it may be that the Greeks called Mars Ἄρης [*Ares*] from the resemblance of this word to on, the Syriac lion.]

VI.C.15.247(g) due Rome

(f) **corpi = parole era etu >**

VI.C.15.247(h) ^scorpi = parole^s / crochu

(g) **Scandinavia**

La Scienza Nuova 1725, Book III, Ch. XXX: Come di due dragoni che vomitano fuoco fregia ben due cimieri la Casa Reale di Spagna, dopoi che derivossi nella Casa di Austria de' duchi di Borgogna; che devono essere due tenenti dell'insigne ordine del Toson doro, pendente da una collana di pietre focaje, sfavillanti fuoco, ciascuna percossa da due focili. Sicchè l'ordine del Toson d'oro è una medaglia eroica del tempo di *Ercole Scitico*; che nel Settentrione si parlava con imprese eroiche, come si è sopra dimostro, che *Idantura*, re della Scizia, con cinque **corpi**, ovvero cinque **parole eroiche** rispose a *Dario il Maggiore*, che gli aveva intimata la guerra: la quale *impresa eroica* dimostra che i *primi fondatori*

dell'Augustissima Casa discesero dalla *Scandinavia*; e fin da quel tempo erano signori sovrani di terre colle, ed avevano ragione libera di predar greggi dagli stranieri; che, come si è pur sopra dimostro, da prima furono *perpetui nemici*: e in conseguenza che l'Augustissima Casa d'Austria gode una perpetuità di *quattromil'anni di sovrana signoria*.

[Book III, Chapter XXXII. *The heroic origins of the distinguished Order of the Golden Fleece and the royal blazon of France*: Such an ensign is that of the royal house of Spain, after it passed to the house of Austria from the dukes of Burgundy. This is adorned with at least two crests of dragons belching forth fire, which must be two supporters [on the emblem] of the distinguished Order of the Golden Fleece, which hang from a necklace of flints, from each stone of which fire is sparked by blows from two pieces of metal. Hence the emblem of the Order of the Golden Fleece is a heroic medal from the times of the Scythian Hercules when, in the north, they spoke in heroic emblems, as was demonstrated earlier in the case of Idanthyrsus, the king of Scythia, when he replied with five objects, i.e. five heroic words, when Darius the Great declared war against him. The heroic emblem of the Golden Fleece thus demonstrates that the first founders of the most august house of Austria descended from Scandinavia, after which they became the sovereign lords of cultivated lands, with the free right to plunder the flocks of the strangers who were at first their perpetual enemies, as we saw earlier and, consequently, that the most august house of Austria has enjoyed a continuous period of four thousand years of sovereign lordship.]

VI.C.15.247(i) Scandinavian

(h) **absurghd**

VI.C.15.247(j) Absurged

(i) **Δ's letter / in object heap.**

VI.C.15.247(k)-248(a) Δ's letters. / an object heap.

(j) **p 191 / uscite**

La Scienza Nuova 1725, Book III, Ch. XXXII: Ora, perchè i soli *eroi* avevano l'*imperio dell'armi*, perciò essi soli l'a-[246]vevano *delle leggi*: le quali avendo essi altronde sparse di superstizione, quindi le *religioni* comparivano col *viso dell'armi* in casa; e fuori tutte di *religione* erano *sparse le guerre*) onde *combattevano per gli Dei delle loro patrie*; nelle quali le nazioni vinte perdevano le pubbliche religioni, con *perdere i loro Dei*; che gli *araldi* avevano innanzi **ad alta voce invitati ad uscirsì**, nello intimarle. Di sì fatto costume delle *genti eroiche* è forse reliquia quello delle *genti cristiane*, che le *campane delle vinte città* vengano tra le *prime prede della guerra*.

[Book III, Chapter XXXII [XXXIV]. *The language of arms through which the principles of the natural law of the gentes of the Roman jurisconsults are explained*: Since the heroes alone had command of arms, they alone had command of the laws, which were everywhere permeated with superstition, so that at home religion came with an appearance of arms and abroad war was permeated with religion. Thus, the heroes were fighting for the gods of their fatherland in these wars. And when nations were conquered they lost their public religion along with their gods, whom they had been invited to abandon when, in the loudest of voices, the heralds declared war against them. The custom whereby the Christian peoples take the bells of conquered cities as part of the first booty of war may be a relic of this custom of the heroic peoples.]

VI.C.15.248(b) p. 191 / uscite!

(k) **▣ gabelle**

La Scienza Nuova 1725, Book III, Ch. XXXII: Laonde con tal formola, *ex jure Quiritium*, o nel *consegnare il podere*, con la solenne consegna del *nodo*, o per la consegna fatta del *nodo*, nel *vendicarlo*, volevano dire che in forza e ragione del *dominio eminente*, che prima i *solì Padri*, poi tutto il *popolo romano* in *adunanza* aveva di tutto il *largo fondo romano*, essi *privatamente* avevano il *dominio civile de' poderi*, che consegnavano o vendicavano; i quali appellarono *praedia*, con sì fatta significazione natia di tal *nome di civil ragione*, che col *nodo de' poderi* i cittadini sono *praedes reipublicae*, cioè con le robe stabili sono obbligati al pubblico erario; perchè delle prime prede eroiche si composero le plebi delle prime città, come si è di sopra dimostro: che è la ragione, come appresso vedremo, delle **gabelle**, ovvero de' *dazj*: ed oltre a ciò, perchè le servitù s'imponevano *praediis*, che erano di natura soggetti, che perciò si dicono *jura praediorum*; ma non a' *fondi*, che per loro natura sono in dominio libero de' sovrani.

[Book III, Chapter XXXII [XXXIV]. *The language of arms through which the principles of the natural law of the gentes of the Roman jurisconsults are explained*: Hence, when the formula *ex iure quiritium* was used, either when consigning or reclaiming an estate with the solemn consignment of a bond, it meant that, in virtue of the force and right of eminent ownership, each person individually had civil ownership of the estates that were consigned or reclaimed. Initially confined to the nobles, this kind of ownership was later extended to all the Roman people in assembly throughout the whole breadth of the lands of Rome. The estates themselves were called *praedia*, in the native meaning of this term of civil law as used in the bond of landed property, where the citizens were *praedes reipublicae* [‘goods of the republic’], a usage of *praedia* that arose because, as we demonstrated above, the first heroic booty [*praeda*] consisted in the plebs of the first cities. This meant that, together with their real estate, these citizens were subject to the public Treasury, which, as we shall shortly see, was the reason for **excises or tolls**. It was also the reason why servitudes were imposed on *praediis* [‘estates’], which were by nature subjects, so that the servitudes were *iura praediorum* [‘the law of estates’], but not on land as such, which, by its nature, fell under the free ownership of the sovereigns.]

VI.C.15.248(c) ▯ gabelle

VI.C.3.239 / VI.D.2.[063]

(a) pudore del vero

La Scienza Nuova 1725, Book III, Ch. XXXII: Quindi, e non altronde, vengono i *contratti* che i *romani giureconsulti* dicono *juris gentium*, ed *Ulpiano* con peso di parole aggiunge, *humanarum*: ma dagl’*interpretri* con idee tutte opposte si sono intesi che i *Romani* l’abbiano ricevuti dalle nazioni libere straniere, che erano tutte *barbare*: perchè la *greca* y a petto di cui essi *Romani* si riputavano *barbari*, come si è sopra dimostro, era *nazione loro soggetta*; con la quale la *gente romana* non era tenuta con un *diritto* egualmente *comune*. Ma i *Romani per lo diritto delle vittorie* fecero sì che *tai contratti* tra le *nazioni ridotte in provincie non reggessero* che sul **pudore del vero**, sulla *buona fede*, sull’*equità naturale*.

[Book III, Chapter XXXII [XXXIV]. *The language of arms through which the principles of the natural law of the gentes of the Roman jurisconsults are explained*: Hence, from here and nowhere else, came the contracts that the Roman jurisconsults called *iuris gentium* [‘contracts of the law of the gentes’], to which Ulpian, in weighty language, added the word *humanarum* [‘contracts of the human gentes’]. Some interpreters, with ideas quite contrary to ours, have held that the Romans must have received these contracts from free, foreign nations, all of which were barbaric. But though the Greek nation, in comparison with which, as demonstrated above, the Romans themselves were reputed to be barbarians, was a subject nation of Rome, the Romans never possessed a law in common with Greece. On the contrary, it was through the Roman law of victory that it came about that contracts in nations of provincial status were ruled only by the **decency of truth**, good faith and natural equity.]

VI.C.15.248(d) ▯ pudore del vero

(b) ^b▯ sings on / tip toe

MS 47486a-35, ScrPrEM: ^+a tiptoe singer.+^ | *JJA* 61:160 | 1933-1934 | III§1A.12 †/1B.3 †/1C.9 †/1D.12 †//2A.13 †/2B.11 †/2C.13 †//3A.10 †//4.7 † | [>] MS 47486a-94, ScrPrRMA: ^+And he can cantab as chipper as any oxen ever I mood with. A tiptoe singer.+^ | *JJA* 61:049 | 1933-1936 | III§2A.13/2B.11/2C.13 | *FW* 467.31

VI.C.15.248(d) ^s▯ sings on / tiptoe

(c) ▯ foam at / mouth

?*Mythology* 18: In the *Ædipus at Colonus* [...] [t]he galloping, rearing horses are but racing, crested waves. Do we not still speak of the “white horses”?

VI.C.15.248(e) ▯ foam at / mouth

(d) can’t do any / bit

Not found in *Mythology*.

VI.C.15.248(f) can’t pay / bit

(e) **fish late eaten**

Mythology 16: the **later** Greeks, unlike the Homeric heroes, were largely **fish-eaters**.
VI.C.15.248(g) fish late eaten

(f) **is it that?**

Mythology 23: One of Poseidon's standing epithets was *Taureus*.[...] The scholiast after his kind suggests that the god is called *Taureus* because the sea roars and bulls roar.[...] Or, he adds, **is it that** Poseidon had a bull's head? One thing is abundantly clear, the scholiast did not know.
VI.C.15.248(h) is it that?

(g) **Minotaur**

Mythology 27: But the question before us is, whether there was *in antiquity* a people fishermen, agriculturists, horse-rearers, thalassocrats who actually worshipped the bull. The word *thalassocrat*, ruler of the sea, instantly reminds us that the Cretan Minos was the first of the thalassocrats. His god was the **Minotaur**, the Minos-Bull. *The god Poseidon is primarily and in essence none other than the Cretan Minotaur*.
VI.C.15.249(a) Minotaur

(h) **foldinstool**

Mythology 28: Let us seek the Bull-God at home in Crete. The Minotaur is of all mythological figures most familiar, though so long misunderstood. The palace of Cnossus is full of the Holy Bull; his Horns of Consecration are everywhere, the whole palace is his Labyrinth. The Minotaur to us has become a cruel master, calling every seventh year for his toll of victims, Athenian youths and maidens. This is because his figure is presented to us distorted by Athenian chauvinism. But on the Cretan sealing, discovered by Sir Arthur Evans, the Minotaur is no monster to be slain. He is a King-God and he is seated on a primitive throne, the **foldinstool** in use among the ancients.
VI.C.15.249(b) foldinstool

(i) ^bΠ camouflage / on rug

MS Jahnke 12r2(f): camouflaged like whapping / stiffstand
VI.C.15.249(c) Π camouflage / or rug

(j) **Welly**

VI.C.15.249(d) Welly

(k) **L W pluck / apples drawers**

VI.C.15.249(e) L W pluck / ^sapples, drawers

VI.C.3.240 / VI.D.2.[064]

(a) **240 [LM] / Π bits / ^bmask**

?*Mythology* 29: What precisely was the Minotaur? Fortunately we know from the evidence of countless vases exactly how he was figured. He was a man with a bull's head and bull's hooves. Now there is no such thing as a man, an actual living man with a bull's head and hooves. Is the Minotaur then a fancy monster or what is the reality behind? What is the Minotaur in terms of his worshippers? The answer is clear, certain, illuminating. The Minotaur *is* one of his own worshippers, a royal worshipper, wearing a ritual **mask**, a bull's head and horns and possibly though not certainly, a bull's hide.

Note: See the reproduction of the notebook page in the *JJA*. The first item is Mme Raphael's page numbering. Written in blue crayon.

MS Jahnke 12r2(g): ^bblushmask for lifewear

VI.C.15.249(f) Π bits / mask

(b) **punished**

Mythology 31-2: The folk-tale of the man with animal ears or horns is worldwide and has probably everywhere a ritual origin. **The wearing of horns and animal ears** was first misunderstood, then, often,

moralized; it was turned into a **penalty** for some act of *hybris* of overweening pride and insolence, but [31] the real original *hybris* lay in the worshipper's effort to gain the fertility of the animal which was worshipped.

VI.C.15.249(g) punished

(c) **Hear my doom**

Harrison, *Mythology* 33: It is interesting to find that the bull-service of Poseidon described in the *Critias* has very close analogies to the bull-service of Minoan Crete. It is as follows: Poseidon, says Plato, gave laws to the first men of Atlantis and these laws they inscribed on pillars in the god's precinct and pledged themselves to their maintenance. It must never be forgotten that Minos was according to Greek tradition the first Lawgiver, and as Lawgiver he lived on, "**uttering dooms**" to the dead men in Hades.

VI.C.15.249(h) Hear air door

(d) **Bull from Sea >**

VI.C.15.249(i) Bull pointeam

(e) **ill! up**

Mythology 32: The sign of kingship and the kingdom in Crete, the "mascot" as we should call it, was, it would seem, the bull, just as the mascot of the kingdom of Athens was the Golden Lamb. King Minos, Apollodorus (III. 1. 3) tells us, wished to obtain the kingdom; so he prayed that a bull should appear to him. To whom did he pray? Whence came the bull? He prayed to Poseidon and Poseidon **sent him up from the deep a magnificent bull**; so **Minos** got the kingdom. The coming of **the bull from the depths of the sea** is like the coming of the bull for the destruction of Hippolytus. It is so manifestly non-natural that it must be based on very ancient tradition.

VI.C.15.249(j) M! up

(f) **^bOn this wise >**

MS 47486a-224v, ScrPrEM: [^]+on this wise+[^] | *JJA* 61:202 | 1933-1934 | III§1A.12 †/1B.3 †/1C.9 †/1D.12 †//2A.13 †/2B.11 †/2C.13 †//3A.10 †//4.7 † | [>] MS 47486a-119, ScrPrILA: [^]+And on this wise.+[^] | *JJA* 61:093 | 1933-1936 | III§4.7 | *FW* 560.24

VI.C.15.249(k) on thin nose

(g) **Π ranges >**

VI.C.15.250(a) Π ranges

(h) **(invokes . curses**

Mythology 33: The ritual of the pledge to maintain the laws was **on this wise**. There were certain bulls allowed to **range** free in the sanctuary of Poseidon. The Kings hunted these bulls without weapons, using staves and nooses. Again be it remembered, the bull hunts and bull fights of the Minoans appear on many a fresco and gem at Cnossus. When a bull was caught, it was led up to the column and its blood was shed over the inscription. The blood of the victim, mixed with wine, was then drunk and **curses invoked** on those who disobeyed the laws.

VI.C.15.250(b) □ invoking aswer

(i) **Talos = boroxen >**

VI.C.15.250(c) Tales – bowxen

(j) **guard criches >**

VI.C.15.250(d) guard oriels

(k) **Crete**

Mythology 34: The holy bull of **Crete** was the symbol, the surrogate of a greater power than himself. He had another name than that of Minotaur, he was also called **Talos**. **Talos** is most familiar to us as the **brazen man who guarded Crete, circling** round the island three times a day.

VI.C.15.250(e) Crete

(l) **butting / butter**

Mythology 35: Talos appears on the coins of Crete sometimes in the form of a **butting bull**, sometimes as a man holding in his hand like the Minotaur a stone, the symbol of the sun.
VI.C.15.250(f) butting / butter

- (m) **horse imported //**
VI.C.15.250(g) horse imported

VI.C.3.241 / VI.D.2.[065]

- (a) **into E**
Mythology 38: But, and this is a most important point, by a happy chance we know that **the horse was imported into Crete**. A curious seal-impression found at Cnossus shows us a one-masted vessel with rowers beneath a sort of awning. *On* the vessel, not as we now expect in the hold, but superimposed over the whole design stands a magnificent horse. The superposition must, Sir Arthur Evans observes, be taken as a graphic mode and we have here a contemporary record of the first **importation of horses to Crete**. The date of the sealing is roughly 1500 B.C.
VI.C.15.250(h) into E
- (b) **thoroughbred □ >**
VI.C.15.250(i) thoroughbred □
- (c) **dressed mane >**
VI.C.15.250(j) dressed mane
- (d) **noseband**
Mythology 38-9: Further, most happily, the sealing informs whence the horse came. This is of cardinal importance for the history of the development of the cult of the horse-Poseidon. **The dressing of the horse's mane** in a series of tufts corresponds with that of the horses found on [38] the fresco of the *megaron* at Mycenæ and there the horses are coloured a deep bay and they have **nose-bands**. This is contrary to the normal European and Asiatic custom but is in accordance with *Libyan* practice. The horse on the Cretan sealing is a Libyan **thoroughbred**.
VI.C.15.250(k) noseband
- (e) **incontinentia aldi.**
VI.C.15.251(a) incontinuentia alive
- (f) **𐀓 shit Lgd.**
VI.C.15.251(b) 𐀓 shit LLd
- (g) **manure**
Note: See the reproduction of the notebook page in the *JJA*. After this note, Mme Raphael omits one note that she does copy on VI.C.15.251(d): get on with / story □.
VI.C.15.251(c) manner
- (h) **pars**
VI.C.15.251(e) pa/iS]
- (i) **look to win / over the bays.**
VI.C.15.251(f) look to win / over the bays
- (j) **gnostici**
VI.C.15.251(g) gnostici
- (k) **macairisme**
Note: Fr. argot. *Macairisme*. Any act referring to swindling operations.
VI.C.15.251(h) macairisme

(l) **Patrick**

Note: See the reproduction of the notebook page in the *JJA*. In the VI.C.15 transcription, an “u” is written over the “a”, and the final “L” is inverted; the last part of the entry is omitted in the VI.C.3 transcription.

VI.C.15.251(i) Pa^u+u^{trick} / of o {L}

(m) **lecythut**

Mythology 42: Medusa, the mother of Pegasus by Poseidon, is generally credited with human shape. From her severed neck springs up the winged Pegasus, as on a white **lecythus** in New York City.

VI.C.15.251(j) lecythus

(n) **steed / steer >>**

VI.C.15.251(k) steed or / steer

VI.C.3.242 / VI.D.2.[066]

(a) **ramped**

Mythology 44: In the chorus of Euripides, the *Trojan Women* sing of it [the Trojan Horse]:

“A towering **Steed** of golden rein—

O gold without, dark **steel** within

Ramped in our gates: and all the plain

Lay silent where the Greeks had been;”

VI.C.15.252(a) rampet

(b) **these feet of / mine**

Not found in *Mythology*.

VI.C.15.252(b) these feet of / mine

(c) **asphalt / = safe**

Mythology 48-9: The Poseidon cult at Tænarum, it is important to note, [48] was mainly in the hands of a subject race, the Helots. Poseidon was worshipped there as **Asphaleius**, which means not the steadfast earth but the **safe** asylum.

Note: See the reproduction of the notebook page in the *JJA*. The final entry of VI.D.2 in VI.C.15 is 252(d) Λabc.

VI.C.15.252(c) asphalt / = safe