



View from the Phoenix Park, c. 1698 (Place)

DUBLIN TO 1610

Among the cities and towns of Ireland, Dublin is exceptional. It was the first place on the island to evolve into a settlement whose economy was based primarily on craftworking and trading, and whose infrastructure was recognisably urban. In other words, Dublin was Ireland's first town. For most of the time since the mid tenth century, it has also been consistently the biggest urban entity in Ireland, with the exception of a brief interlude in the late nineteenth century when Belfast's population overtook that of Dublin. From the eleventh century onwards Dublin was regarded by contemporaries — both native and foreign, lay and ecclesiastical — as the key power centre and it is of course the capital city of the Irish Republic. Dublin's historical importance for over a thousand years has resulted in a more complete and a more continuous documentary record than for anywhere else in Ireland. The redevelopment of much of the historic core in the last three decades of the twentieth century has also yielded a vast amount of archaeological material, though most of this relates to the period before c. 1300 because of the loss of late medieval and early modern archaeological horizons arising from cellar construction in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. This fascicle is the first of four for Dublin and takes the story down to the oldest extant map, which was engraved in Amsterdam in the year 1610.¹

Dublin grew up at the lowest regular crossing-point of the River Liffey, whose circuitous course begins surprisingly near to its eventual outfall in Dublin Bay. The underlying rock is calc limestone, which was quarried locally and still lends its distinctive mottled grey appearance to many of the oldest buildings. Overlying the bedrock are deposits of boulder clay of varying depth, with a noticeably thick platform to the north-west now occupied by the Phoenix Park (Map 1). The river traced a gently sinuous path between natural bluffs separated by wetter ground,² accompanied by a series of gravel terraces, many of them liable to inundation caused by exceptionally high tides and by flash floods. The head of the bay in early historic times was characterised by a combination of raised beaches and alluvial deposits,³ which would be suitable for large-scale reclamation in the distant future. Sandbanks and shallows added to the difficulty of gaining safe access to the river and are recorded on much later navigational charts.⁴ The highest point to which the tide now flows is the weir at Islandbridge, possibly constructed c. 1220 by the Knights Hospitaller of Kilmainham Priory.⁵ A number of small islands in the Liffey facilitated a crossing known as the ford(s) of Kylmehauoc and variants (Irish Cell Moshamóc, 'church of Moshamóc').⁶ Despite a recent suggestion to the contrary,⁷ this is unlikely to have been the site of the main north-south route across the country, since the steep scarp of the boulder clay platform on the northern bank made it quite unsuitable. There was, however, a much larger natural island farther downstream called Usher's Island in later times; it had an area of about 1.6 hectares and evidence of its former existence is still preserved in the name Island Street.⁸ To all appearances, the east-west ridge south of the Liffey was the most promising location for human settlement in this district. This ridge was given sharper definition by the presence of the tributary River Poddle, approaching the principal river in a north-easterly direction and likewise subject to tidal influences in its lowest reaches.

Present-day capital cities are situated frequently, though by no means universally, at a natural focus of some kind. In the case of the island of Ireland, this has been identified as a triangle of territory extending inland from just north of Dundalk and just south of Dublin, with its apex at Lough Owel near Mullingar.⁹ The coastal arm of this 'eastern triangle' represents the longest continuous break in the fragmented and irregular chain of mountains and hills that acted as a defensive barrier, both physical and psychological, around the sea-girt margins of the island. That this same coastal strip looked out towards Ireland's nearest geographical neighbour has long been of critical importance — one of those ineradicable constants and constraints of Irish history. It is true that highland rather than lowland Britain presents its face to Ireland, but London governments would find

ways to penetrate this physical barrier via Bristol and Chester in the middle ages and later via Holyhead and Liverpool. By far the biggest harbour, if not always the easiest to navigate, was afforded by Dublin Bay, whose treacherous sandbanks and shallows, together with areas of slob-land along the fringes, would in early times have challenged even the most intrepid and skilful of ships' captains. But from an outsider's point of view the great bay, with Howth Head and Killiney Hill rising as sentinels on either side, would have presented an open invitation and a welcome respite from a sometimes stormy Irish Sea. A little to the north, Scandinavian intruders in the ninth century named a small island after the entire country — Ireland's Eye (Norse *Irlands ey*, 'Ireland's island'). Once this had been sighted, Vikings knew that they had arrived.

Over land, prehistoric routeways were a standard feature of many parts of Europe, Ireland being no exception. For the inhabitants of Ireland since the earliest human occupation, one habitual destination would have been the island of Britain. When highways (Irish *slighte*) with Irish names enter history, four of them appear to have converged on the site of Dublin (Fig. 1).¹⁰ The existence of such highways, defined as roads on which chariots could pass one another, is demonstrated by a tract dating from around A.D. 700.¹¹ The fifth highway, the Slige Assail from Connacht, terminated at the estuary of the River Boyne, which suggests that the vicinity of Drogheda, a colonial town foundation of the late twelfth century, was also an early point of embarkation for Britain and, very possibly, the Isle of Man. But with its magnificent bay and commanding position in the system of overland communications, the site of Dublin had the greatest urban potential in the whole of Ireland.

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An unnamed road from Tara, Co. Meath, is likely to have headed in a south-easterly direction towards the main fording-point on the lower Liffey. A short length of this alignment may be preserved in the old Dublin street name, Stonybatter — the stony *bóthar*, 'cow-track', 'drove way'. The official Irish name of the modern city, Baile Átha Cliath, lends primacy to the ancient placename Áth Cliath, which means 'ford of hurdle-work'. Accordingly Dublin takes one of its two names from a man-made feature of the principal river on which it stands. In the absence of archaeological confirmation, the exact nature of this ford is a matter of speculation. It is reasonable to assume that a river some 300 m wide at high tide was fordable only at low tide and that the exposed mud-flats would have made hurdles constructed from interwoven branches or saplings a great convenience for all pedestrian traffic, both human and animal. The precise location of this ford is also unknown, but it can be deduced from the probable alignments of the prehistoric and early medieval routeways. In this regard the key trajectory south of the Liffey is represented by present-day St Augustine Street and Francis Street (respectively the Slige Midluachra and Slige Chualann), heading in the direction of the equally crucial Poddle crossing.¹² On the summit of the ridge, this north-south route intersected the east-west alignment of the Slige Mhór — the 'great highway' that traversed the whole island and divided it into symbolic halves called Leth Conn (north) and Leth Moga (south). At this crossroads may have stood a wayside church associated with St Mo Lua, though recorded only much later in the anglicised form of Molloye.¹³ A short distance to the east, a market space that would eventually acquire the name Cornmarket acted as the focal point of a whole network of streets and laneways in the developed medieval city. Morphologically this open space looks like the core of an early settlement of some kind. On its north-eastern side is reputedly the oldest church site in central Dublin, that of St Audoen's (Church of Ireland).¹⁴ The crossroads, market space and churches are encompassed collectively by a curving pattern of streets, laneways and property boundaries that may represent the demarcation of an early settlement: indeed, an ancient ditch in the south-western sector is referred to in two thirteenth-century documents.

the network of highways associated with it, for much Viking raiding was conducted on horseback.²⁰ A short distance downstream, at Essex Street West, some evidence of habitation in the second half of the ninth century has been discovered, much of it with rural connotations in the shape of a ploughing level, sunken-featured buildings, wattle enclosures and animal pens.²¹ Both here and elsewhere, notably at Kilmainham and Islandbridge between the main river and its tributary the Camac, a total of between eighty and ninety pagan burials has been deduced from unsatisfactory written records and fragmentary archaeological survivals (Fig. 3).²² These burials are indicative of a pattern of scattered settlement along both banks of the Liffey, of which the naval encampment was only one component.

After a period of enforced exile from Ireland (A.D. 902–17), Scandinavians operating under the same dynastic leadership recaptured Dublin.²³ Eventually a new nucleus of defended settlement emerged, this time towards the eastern end of the natural ridge where the Liffey and the Poddle offered protection on three sides. The somewhat unpredictable behaviour of the former may explain the presence of flood banks at Wood Quay and at Essex Street West. The first defensive embankment in a military sense along the Liffey has been dated to approximately A.D. 950, that is, around the time when the epithet *dún*, 'stronghold', starts to be used of Dublin in the annals. The change of terminology is consistent thereafter in the documentary record and is probably significant. In Irish eyes, Dublin was becoming a different kind of settlement — in plain English, a town. Its Norse name Dyflinn is preserved chiefly on later coins and in Icelandic sources. Throughout the Viking world, Dublin became famous as a trading place and a waterfront district at Wood Quay and Essex Street West is likely to have been the primary focus of urban growth. The existence of post-and-wattle houses standing side by side along street frontages is good evidence of these qualitative developments and the sequence of house plots at Fishamble Street suggests that the riverward part was colonised intensively earlier than the upslope part.²⁴ The evolution of a genuine town seems to have coincided with the long reign of Amlaíb (Norse Óláfr) Cúarán (A.D. 945–80), who had previously been a king of York in northern England (A.D. 941–3). Most of the tenth-century English coins that have been recovered from the Dublin excavations have been found in the same waterfront district.²⁵ These coins were minted in various parts of England, but the most regular point of contact for Dublin-based traders was probably the Hiberno-Norse community living between the Roman walls and the River Dee at Chester.²⁶ This strategically positioned English port was to have a more durable association with Dublin than any other.

Like the ninth-century *longphort*, the tenth-century *dún* was only one component in the settlement pattern, albeit the most important. Another focus lay across the Poddle estuary a short distance to the east, comprising an assembly place and burial mounds. The former would have been called the Thingmót by Norse speakers and, thanks to the survival of a seventeenth-century sketch and plan, its precise location is known. The Thingmount (as it is customarily anglicised) appears to have been a substantial, flat-topped mound reminiscent of later mottes. Open air assembly places were a standard feature of major Scandinavian settlements and settled areas in the Viking period; across the Irish Sea the counterpart of Dublin's Thingmount was at Thingwall in the middle of the Wirral peninsula north of Chester. As at Old Uppsala in Sweden, the Dublin assembly site appears to have been accompanied by a number of burial mounds, one of which was still standing as late as the mid seventeenth century.²⁷ They presumably marked the graves of Scandinavian kings of Dublin. Indeed, a small number of grave-goods have been recorded: swords, spearheads, a shield boss and a silver buckle. Old Norse *haugr* (plural *haugar*), 'burial mound', is believed to lie behind the medieval name Hogges (later Hoggen) Green, which had continued to be a public space. The Thingmount itself was situated on boulder clay near the ancient shoreline, an appropriate venue for a nation of seafarers. About 300 m to the north-east, presumably on a tract of slob-land lining the inner bay, stood another monument; this was the Long Stone that is thought to have commemorated the taking, or retaking, of Dublin by Vikings. This man-made feature gave rise to the name of the adjacent stream flowing into Dublin Bay, the Steine, derived from Norse *steinn*, 'stone'. The origins of this ceremonial complex are unknown, for the only datable remains are the grave-goods and archaeological opinion on these is divided.²⁸ But there can be little doubt that it would have been familiar to, if not created by, King Amlaíb Cúarán in the third quarter of the tenth century.²⁹

As was usual in much of northern Europe during the early middle ages, Dublin's first defences were made of earth and timber. The zigzag in the later wall behind Wood Quay (a prominent feature of this, the largest and most hotly contested archaeological site in the city) and the less dramatic curve to the south in the vicinity of Ross Road hint at a squarish or possibly ovoid enclosure occupying the eastern end of the natural ridge.³⁰ It will be convenient still to refer to this as the eastern core of the early town. The clearest indications of the precise nature of the defences come from the Wood Quay excavations. There the mid tenth-century defensive embankment known as Bank 2 consisted of earth and gravel piled around a pre-existing post-and-wattle fence.³¹ Estuarine mud was used as a bonding

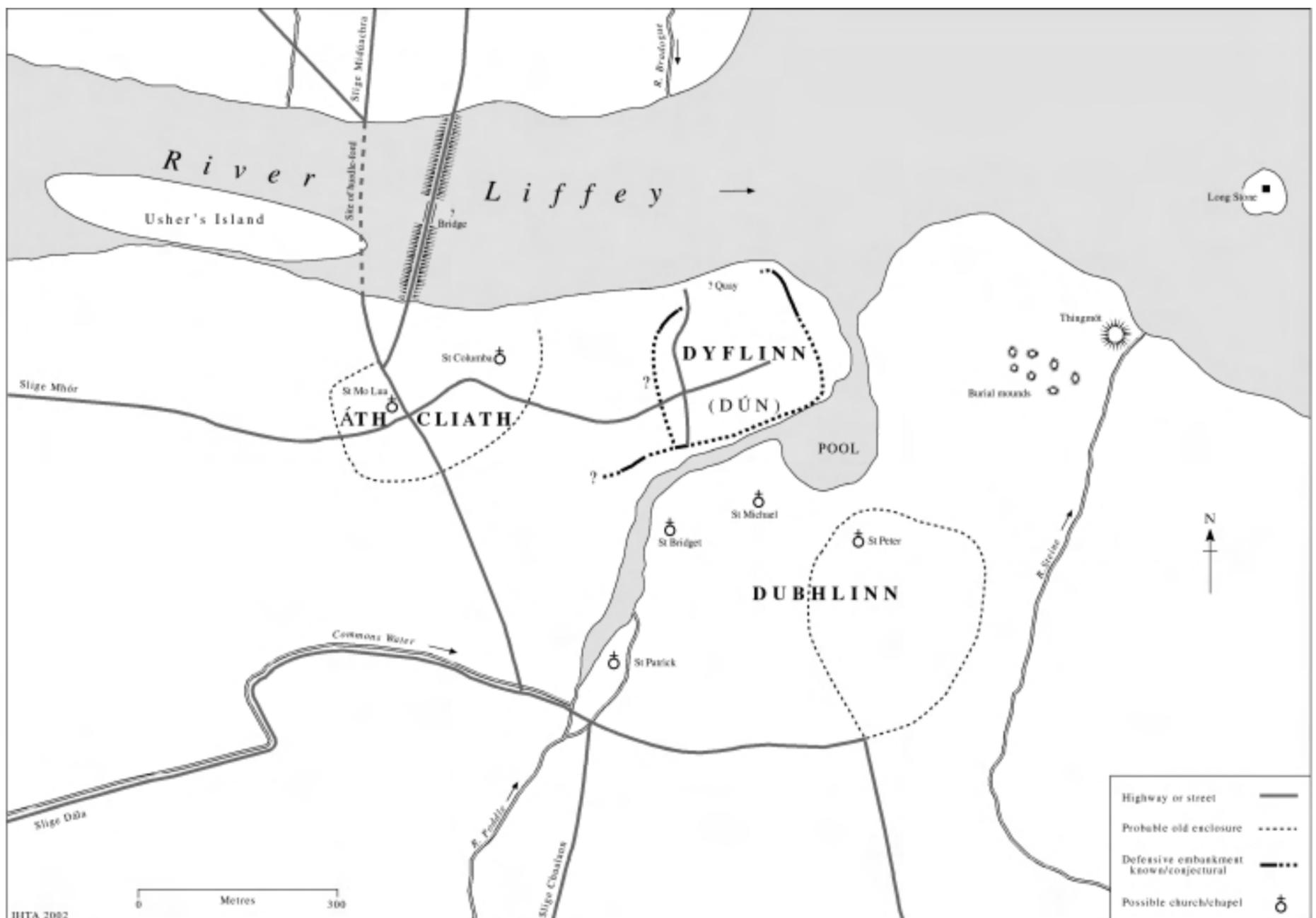


Fig. 2 Dublin, c. 1000

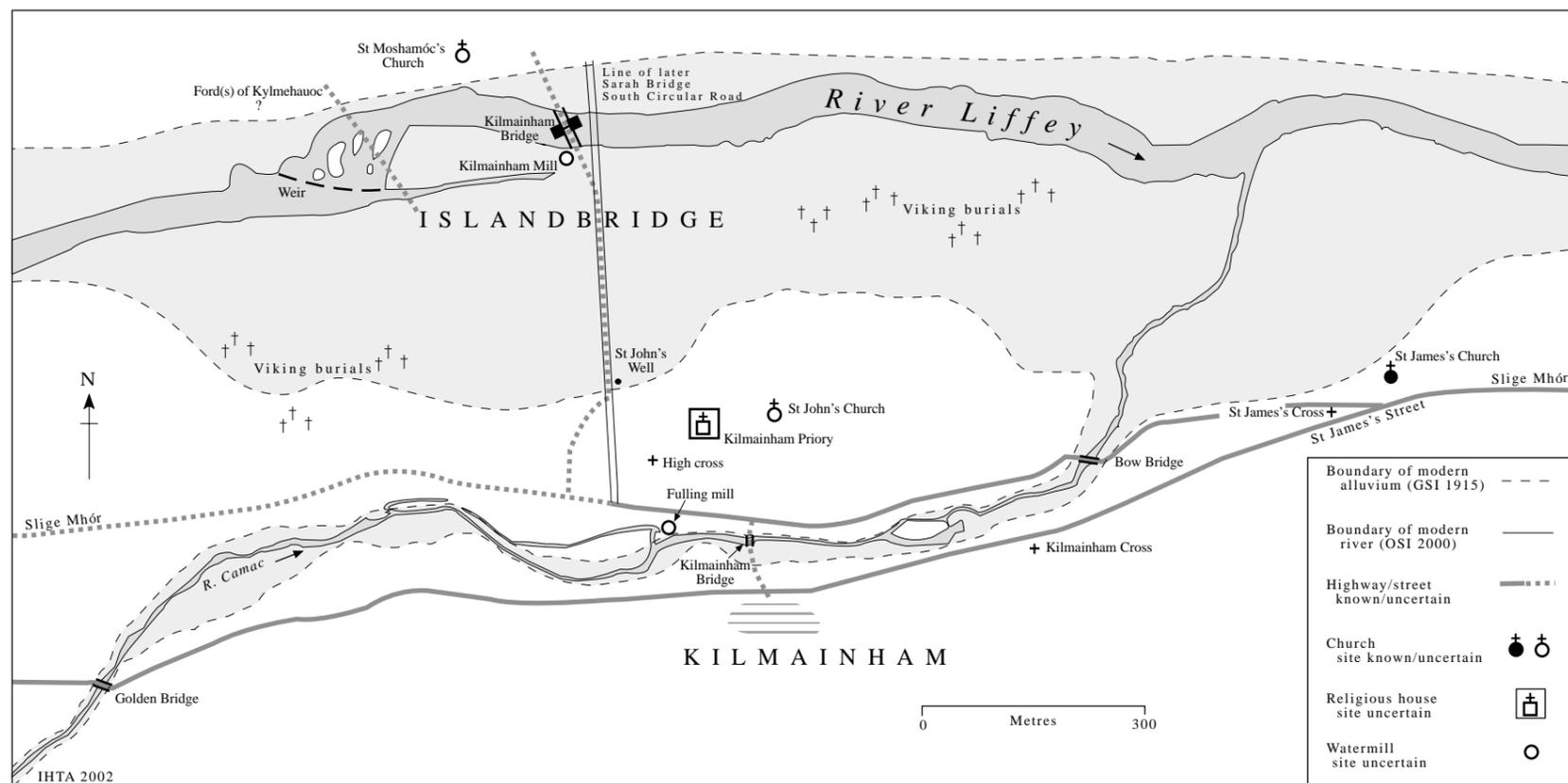


Fig. 3 Principal sites in medieval Kilmainham

agent, a post-and-wattle breakwater protected the lowest part towards Fishamble Street, and there was probably a wooden palisade on the outer slope of the bank. The second defensive embankment at Wood Quay (Bank 3) was more substantial and has been assigned to c. 1000. It was built immediately outside its predecessor and incorporated some of the earlier materials. On the riverward side, thick planks were driven into the ground and then earth, gravel and stones, reinforced by discarded screens and by brushwood, were dumped in layers behind them. Later on, Bank 3 was crowned by a post-and-wattle palisade and, having been raised in height, by a more robust stave-built fence. Starting in A.D. 936, Viking Dublin in this phase of its history was attacked by Irish armies on a number of occasions and sometimes plundered. The annals pinpoint two major destructions of the settlement, in the years A.D. 944 and 1000, which appear to coincide remarkably closely with the archaeologically attested dates for Banks 2 and 3. In the excavator's opinion, both banks could have encircled the entire town (the annalists' *dún*) and there are hints to that effect.

The street pattern inside the tenth-century enclosure is unknown and the probability is that most of Dublin's early streets underlie present ones (Plate 1). The east–west alignment represented by Castle Street and the curving north–south alignment represented by Fishamble Street are likely to be original, the former being the eastern terminus of the ancient Slige Mhór. At Fishamble Street all of the house-plots were truncated along the modern frontage by builders' steel shuttering, with the result that the relation between Viking and Hiberno-Norse houses and the contemporary roadway could not be ascertained.³² Another critical alignment is represented by Essex Street West, whose riverward (northern) side has yielded few conclusive signs of any defensive embankment or wall.³³ It is possible that this space was reserved for quayside and associated activities, although six house-plots have been found towards the west.³⁴ What is reasonably clear, however, is the nature of the tenth-century streetscape, to judge in particular by evidence from the western frontage of Fishamble Street. There the double curve in the street, designed to ease the steep ascent,³⁵ led to an irregular pattern of house-plots that may not have been typical. Nevertheless the basic dwelling house, known as Type 1, was usually positioned with its long axis at right-angles to the roadway. In many cases, access to the rear of the plot appears to have been through the house rather than by means of a pathway alongside. Other types of building were generally found behind the principal dwelling, though wattle-lined rubbish pits have been identified on the streetward side of some houses. Post-and-wattle boundary fences commonly separated house-plots from one another, creating and reinforcing a remarkable degree of spatial stability from the mid tenth to the early twelfth century, at least in that part of the eastern core.³⁶

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In 1015, the year after the battle of Clontarf, the restored king of Tara (high-king of Ireland), Máel Sechnaill II of Mide, captured Dublin in order to reassert his authority. A significant detail preserved in the *Chronicum Scotorum* is that he then burnt the *dún* together with all the houses outside it. If the annalists' *dún* is to be equated with the eastern core of the town, there was an overspill population living immediately to the west. Indeed the earliest archaeological levels at High Street have been dated to c. 1010.³⁷ Some time after 1015, therefore, a western extension to the defensive enclosure was constructed, again out of earth and timber (Fig. 4). A large earthen embankment at High Street may have been part of this development;

otherwise the course of this western extension can be estimated mainly from that of the later stone wall. Parts of the Hiberno-Norse town wall — one of the earliest of its kind outside the boundaries of the former Roman Empire — survive at Wood Quay, inside the Powder Tower in Dublin Castle, and at Ross Road a short distance north of its Anglo-Norman successor. At Wood Quay the wall, including the demolished section, ran roughly parallel to Bank 3 and between 5 and 10 m from it on the riverward side.³⁸ At the distinctive zigzag, the structure was about 1.5 m in width and its mortared stone facings contained a rubble fill. This extension to the original enclosure had a pronounced north-westward projection, presumably to enable defenders to control the strategic crossing-place of the River Liffey. The western wall followed the course of the Slige Chualann (Francis Street) at a fairly consistent distance, but did not encroach upon it. Accordingly north-south traffic would have continued to use the Liffey and Poddle crossings as before. Coincidentally the eastern part of Áth Cliath was brought within the new defensive line and in particular its focal point (later Cornmarket) and principal church site (later St Audoen's). We can reasonably assume that a west gate, the ancestor of Newgate, was built across the course of the Slige Mhór and a market space so positioned would have been especially convenient for the display and sale of food on a daily basis.

The area enclosed by the town's defences was roughly doubled to about 12 hectares. This dramatic physical expansion may be interpreted as part of the long process whereby a Viking emporium was transformed into an Hiberno-Norse town. The accompanying social phenomenon of acculturation took on a spiritual dimension with the official recognition accorded to Christianity, the refoundation c. 1030 of the diocese of Dublin and the construction of the first cathedral of the Holy Trinity, commonly called Christ Church. According to one of two late medieval accounts preserved in the *Black Book*, the incoming bishop, Dúnán (Donatus, c. 1030–74), built a nave, two 'collateral structures' (probably aisles), a chapel dedicated to St Nicholas on the north side, along with other buildings. Dúnán is also credited with the foundation of a chapel dedicated to St Michael the Archangel; this was located due west of his cathedral, in the episcopal palace, and probably served as a private chapel for the bishop's own use. The cathedral complex occupied a central position in the enlarged urban space, immediately north of the presumed alignment of the Slige Mhór and overlooking the River Liffey. Although the earliest buildings may have been modest in scale and even of timber, or partly so, they nevertheless would have presented a prominent profile. Dúnán's successor as bishop, Gilla Pátraic (Patrick, 1074–84), is believed to have converted Christ Church into a monastic cathedral along English lines (Map 8). Its Benedictine monks may have been provided with a standard set of domestic buildings arranged around a cloister on the south side, but no certain remains of the first cathedral priory are known to have survived. The small number of free-standing, Romanesque capitals found by the architect G.E. Street in the 1870s may have belonged to the later Augustinian priory established by Archbishop Laurence O'Toole c. 1163.³⁹ Even so, by the time that Dublin was being equipped with a stone town wall c. 1100, it already possessed a high-status ecclesiastical complex patronised by bishops and kings. The secular counterpart of this complex — the royal hall and associated buildings — has not yet been discovered archaeologically. It was presumably located in the town's eastern core, probably in the south-eastern angle overlooking the pool on the site of the later castle.⁴⁰

When the Anglo-Normans arrived in 1170, there were seven parish churches inside the walls. Two of these had dedications of biblical origin, to St John the Baptist and to St Mary, and there are hints in twelfth-century documents that both were proprietary churches founded and patronised by members of wealthy trading families. Three other churches were dedicated to saints associated with external national groups, the English, the French and the Scandinavians. St Werburgh's commemorated the daughter of a king of Mercia whose remains had been translated to Chester and her presence in Dublin conforms with the archaeological, numismatic and written evidence for regular trading relations between the two ports. St Martin's, standing on a small bluff overlooking the Poddle and the pool, may have been patronised by merchants from northern France, whose presence is again attested archaeologically.⁴¹ St Olave's (Óláfr's) clearly had Scandinavian connotations that tie in with the abundance of cultural manifestations in the archaeological record, such as decorated wood, graffiti, ringed pins, runic inscriptions, and models and timbers of ships. Judging by its location down by the Liffey,⁴² St Olave's would have been frequented by sailors and traders plying the northern seas. In addition to the cathedral complex, the western extension contained two further churches. The cult of St Nicholas, the patron of merchants and sailors amongst others, was apparently refocused in a separate building towards the south, perhaps in the twelfth century. Its central position was typical of northern European ports at that time. Finally the church dedicated to St Columba (Colum Cille) recorded briefly soon after 1170 can be identified only tentatively as the precursor of St Audoen's, but there can be little doubt that this ancient site was occupied by a place of Christian worship. The coexistence of all these churches must lead us to conclude that Hiberno-Norse bishops had organised territorial parishes and possibly tithes to support resident priests.

Most of the extramural developments in Hiberno-Norse Dublin of which we have any knowledge occurred to the south and east, between the Poddle and the Steine. Here, relict features of pre-urban and early urban growth were to be found: the putative Gaelic ecclesiastical enclosure and the Viking assembly place and burial ground. Apart from St Peter's in the north-western quadrant of the enclosure, one of the oldest church sites in this district may be that of St Michael's, whose proximity to the pool of Dublin would later confer upon it the suffix 'le Pole'. This church had a round tower, beneath which, along with the earliest stone edifice, burials of around the turn of the first millennium have been discovered. St Michael's may have started as a proprietary church whose Hiberno-Norse patrons erected the tower as some

kind of status symbol. A more practical use may have been as a watch-tower guarding the local fleet stationed in the nearby pool. The sparsely recorded St Paul's, also situated not far from the pool, may have been another proprietary church; likewise St Andrew's, whose Scottish associations suggest patronage by Meic Ottair and/or Meic Torcaill kings in the mid twelfth century. Three further churches were all linked to major native cult figures and cult centres: Brigid (Kildare), Kevin (Glendalough) and Patrick (Armagh). In a document of c. 1179, St Kevin's is described as a *villa*, that is, an estate or manor that may have supported visiting monks from their mountain retreat. St Patrick's was located on the 'island' between two branches of the River Poddle; if it did represent an Armagh presence in the Hiberno-Norse town, this physical separation befitted the circumstance that the townspeople's ecclesiastical loyalty was normally focused on Canterbury. One of the most powerful patrons in the world of these semi-independent craftsmen and traders was Diarmait Mac Murchada, king of Leinster (1126–71), who left his mark on Dublin with two monastic foundations of continental reformed orders. Asserting his authority over the townspeople in 1146 following the death in battle of their king, Ragnall mac Torcaill, he established a community of Arroasian nuns next to the former Viking assembly place and the burial ground of pagan rulers. This abbey came to be known as St Mary de Hogges', after the *haugar* still standing outside the nuns' boundary wall. Then, soon after Diarmait's resumption of overlordship of Dublin in 1162, the Augustinian priory of All Saints' was founded on an expanse of raised beach not far from the Viking Long Stone.

With its royal hall, centrally-placed cathedral, seven parish churches inside the stone town walls and about the same number outside them, two suburban monasteries belonging to continental orders, two Viking monuments, and a concentration of post-and-wattle houses and workshops, late Hiberno-Norse Dublin south of the Liffey must have been an impressive sight. Not surprisingly, therefore, the *Book of Leinster* — another Mac Murchada product — describes the *dún* of Dublin as one of the seven wonders of Ireland.⁴³ There was even a transpontine suburb on the northern bank. The bridge itself is reliably documented in 1112; it was probably made of timber, though of this there is no proof, and accessed by means of causeways built across the mud-flats on either side. If this is how we should imagine this structure to have been, the constriction of the waterway may have inaugurated a long-term process of silting. Yet another church stood beside the route leading northwards; it was dedicated to St Michan, a name that may be a variant of Cainnech, patron of the early Christian monastery

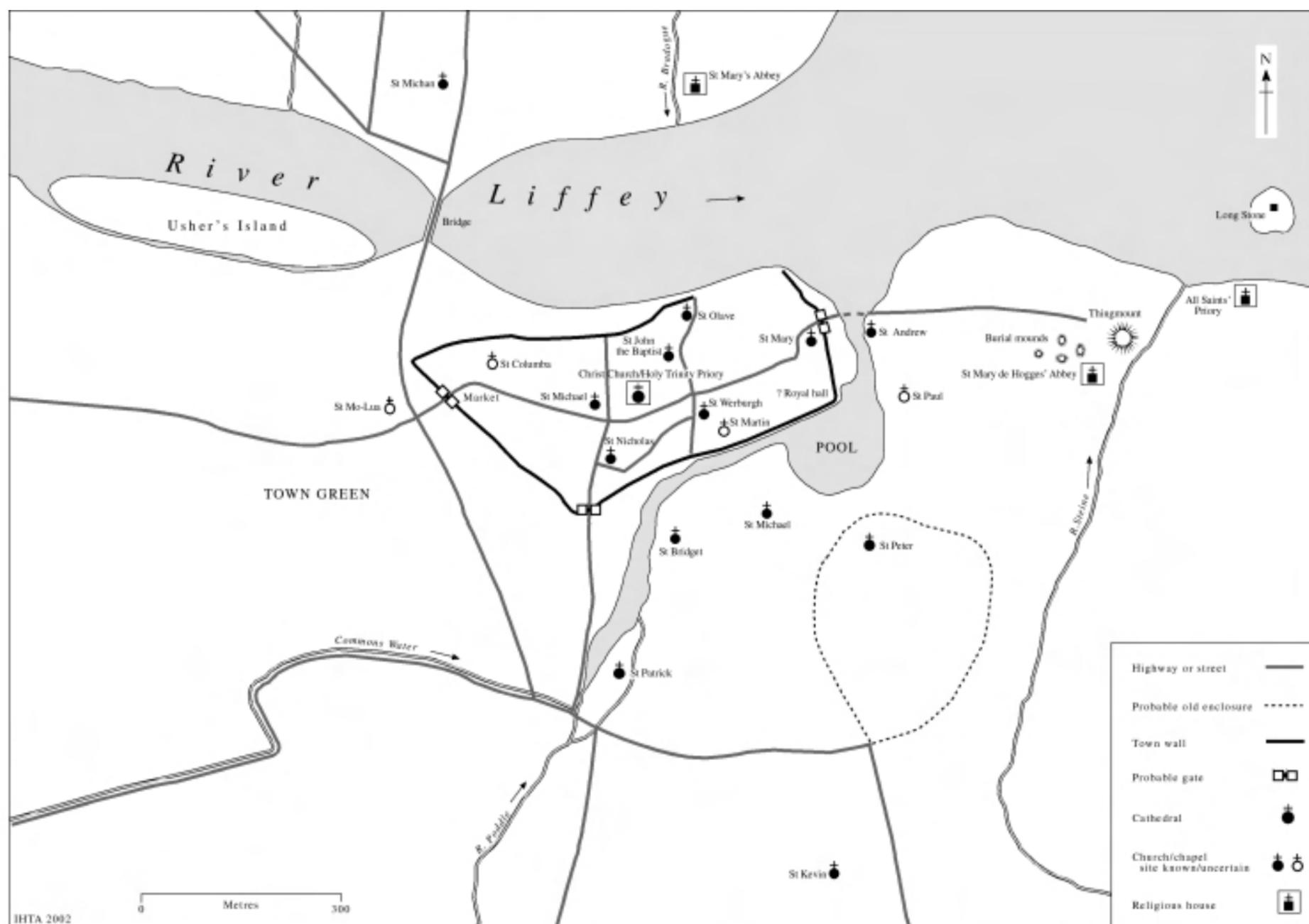


Fig. 4 Dublin, c. 1170

at Finglas.⁴⁴ The traditional foundation date is 1095, early in the effective overkingship of Dublin of Muirchertach Ua Briain (1094–1114) and roughly contemporary with the circuit of stone walls round the main settlement.⁴⁵ The existence of this church implies that there was a local population, whose way of life would have been enhanced by the permanent bridge replacing the ancient ford. This transpontine community may have disposed of some degree of wealth, for an unknown patron (or patrons) supported the foundation of the earliest reformed monastery at Dublin, St Mary's Abbey, in 1139. To start with, this was one of only two Savigniac (reformed Benedictine) houses in Ireland, but in 1147 St Mary's joined the Cistercian affiliation. In so doing, it became atypical of houses in that order, whose site was usually far removed from the world of commerce. Thus the urban legacy of the Hiberno-Norse inhabitants to their successors was a fully-developed town in all essentials except chartered status, which was becoming so fashionable in northern Europe in the twelfth century.

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The number of Hiberno-Norse inhabitants in the mid eleventh century has been estimated at around 4,500. Some of their descendants were killed in the course of the Anglo-Norman attack on 21 September 1170 and, in the aftermath of that pivotal event in Irish history, many others were apparently displaced to transpontine Ostmanby (Fig. 5).⁴⁶ This placename formation, distorted to varying degrees in the Anglo-Norman sources, is indicative of the continued currency of Scandinavian speech. The outcome of the great struggle for possession of Dublin was that the townspeople acquired a foreign overlord, the king of England, who proceeded to ensure its development into a loyal and royal English-orientated city by granting it formally to the men of Bristol. The new foreigners would always be conscious of their military vulnerability and must have set about the task of improving their defences as a matter of urgency. Thus the strategically positioned Newgate is referred to as the 'new west gate of Dublin' as early as 1177, a year after the death of Richard fitz Gilbert de Clare, better known as Strongbow. The section of the defences between Nicholas Street and Werburgh Street may have been reconstructed on a more southerly alignment before the close of the twelfth century — a process that coincided with the rerouting of the River Poddle along both sides of Patrick Street, which has been dated archaeologically to c. 1185.⁴⁷ Funds for building and maintaining walls, mural towers and gates were raised by means of periodic murage grants, as elsewhere, and Dublin's first surviving charter of this kind dates from 1221. The earliest mural towers are first documented in the

middle of the thirteenth century, around the time of the riverward extensions and of the most comprehensive murage facility.⁴⁸ On the eastern side, the name of the most forward tower — Buttevant (French *butte avant*) — suggests that this defensive structure jugged outwards in the direction of the Liffey without any return wall along the river frontage, which may have served as an Hiberno-Norse quayside.

These arrangements were left to the citizens themselves to organise, with the encouragement of the English crown, but Dublin's new royal lord needed to establish his own physical presence there. As in some English towns after the Norman conquest of 1066–71, a castle was built in an angle of the existing town walls. Best suited to the provision of water defences was the south-eastern angle, facing onto the pool in the River Poddle. The Hiberno-Norse royal hall may have occupied the same site, in which case there was continuity dating back to Viking times. When in the spring of 1172 most of the Anglo-Norman barons and knights left Ireland with Henry II, a garrison of forty knights remained behind in Dublin. This force would have required a defensive structure of some kind, presumably an earthwork castle. The appointment of Hugh de Lacy as 'keeper' (Latin *custos*) of Dublin implies that a castle had been, or would be, built. A reference to the castle gate in the time of Strongbow means that the first castle predated his death in 1176. King John's order of 1204 for the construction of a stone castle is usually regarded as the beginning of Dublin Castle as we know it. The document alludes to the need for a strong tower for storing royal treasure and a stone keep may originally have been envisaged. But around the turn of the twelfth century keeps were going out of fashion and walled enclosures with round mural towers and gatehouses were regarded as more effective. The building programme may not have begun until c. 1210, the year of the king's visit to Ireland. A few years later the archbishop of Dublin, Henry Blund (de Londres), was compensated for damage to church property, possibly St Martin's Church and/or its graveyard.⁴⁹ There are indications that this vast enterprise was nearing completion in 1228. Various buildings of a non-military nature were constructed inside the courtyard, especially the King's Hall measuring 120 by 80 feet. The first castle chapel was built in the early 1220s and was dedicated to St Edward the Confessor, whose cult was promoted with particular enthusiasm by King Henry III.

One of the provisions of Dublin's charter of urban liberties of 1192, which was modelled on that of Bristol dating from four years earlier, was that the citizens were permitted to build outside the town walls as well as inside them (Map 5).⁵⁰ The most dramatic and large-scale development was a programme of land reclamation from the River Liffey at Wood Quay and

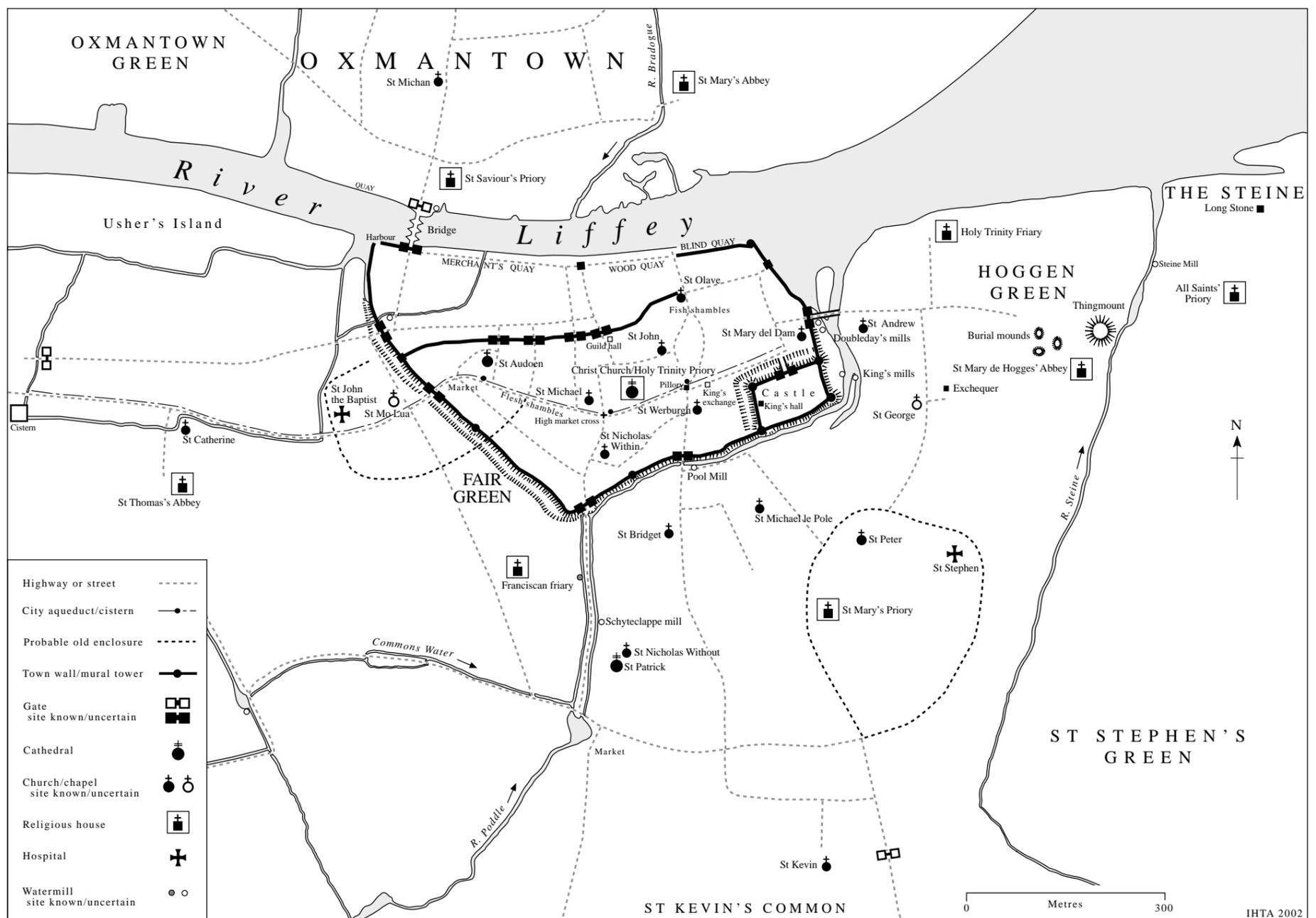


Fig. 5 Dublin, c. 1300

Exchange Street Lower. Starting in the last years of the twelfth century, a series of wooden revetments were constructed, behind which materials of different kinds were deposited. Variations in the carpentry at Wood Quay suggest that individual landowners and/or groups of carpenters may have been responsible.⁵¹ The style of the carpentry has been interpreted both as conservative and Hiberno-Norse (raising the possibility that some of the previous inhabitants and their descendants continued to live, or at least to work, in the old town) and as innovative and English.⁵² In either case, the main objective was probably to achieve a deeper berthage for larger trading ships. Around 1260 a stone quay wall completed the process at Wood Quay, a name that may reflect the continued usage of the natural river bank for docking purposes immediately upstream. To date, there is no evidence that a similar programme of methodical reclamation was undertaken behind Merchant's Quay.⁵³ Part of Cook Street is referred to in 1223 as the 'highway on the bank' and as late as c. 1268 we hear about The Strand. In the course of time, however, streets and buildings were laid out on the new land in a fairly regular pattern. In order to give access in both directions, gateways were cut through the existing north wall, one of which survives in a modified form as St Audoen's Arch. The opening in Winetavern Street was called initially the King's Gate, implying that this was the main approach to the old town from the quay. During the middle decades of the thirteenth century extensions to the city walls were built to the east and west. The section from the foot of Fishamble Street to the bridge may have been left undefended apart from Pricket's Tower, hence the occasional references to royal galleys moored in the Liffey.⁵⁴

As we have seen, Dublin began to overspill its defensive enclosure in the eleventh century (and possibly earlier) and this process continued even more strikingly after 1170. The result was four discrete suburbs, each with its own particular set of characteristics, extending in the four main directions of the compass. Judging by the number of parish churches, the most populous suburb lay to the south, between the Poddle and the Steine, and incorporating the ancient ecclesiastical site of Dubhlinn. Names in this locality reflect proximity to the pool: the Pool Gate, leading out to Pülle Street (Ship Street Little), the Pool Mill, and the church of St Michael le Pole. The postulated early medieval enclosure was preserved in outline by streets for the most part, as well as by the parish boundary of St Peter's Church.⁵⁵ In addition to this church, in the north-eastern quadrant of the original enclosure, the leper-house of St Stephen may have been founded by 1192, while the southern part was eventually occupied by Carmelites of St Mary's Priory. To the east stretched a vast public space, St Stephen's Green, the common pasture of citizens who dwelt on the south side of the Liffey. Outside the enclosure site, St Bride's, St Kevin's and St Michael's — all of Hiberno-Norse or earlier origin — served as parish churches. Three streets led westwards to the most dramatic plan-unit in the southern suburb, that associated with St Patrick's Cathedral along with the archiepiscopal palace and chapel of St Sepulchre (Map 9). The palace was older than the cathedral as such, having been built by the first Anglo-Norman archbishop around the time of the consecration of the collegiate church of St Patrick in 1192. This church stood on the island formed by the River Poddle and is referred to in early Anglo-Norman sources as St Patrick's *de insula*. The great Gothic cathedral, the largest church in medieval Ireland, belongs to the second quarter of the thirteenth century. On the other side of St Patrick's Street and accessible from it was another mendicant house, the Franciscan friary founded by 1233 and reinforcing the overwhelmingly ecclesiastical identity of Dublin's southern suburb.

The western suburb was of an entirely different character morphologically, focused as it was on a single main street — St Thomas's Street and its continuation St James's Street — and paralleled by a back lane towards the north. It was therefore essentially a linear suburb outside a city gate, a common phenomenon in the middle ages. The main street itself followed the course of the ancient Slige Mhór, its gentle curves tracing the northern edge of the natural ridge. As a suburban space, it owed its origin to the Anglo-Normans, being called the 'great new street' in the late twelfth century. The back lane, Crockers' Street, is also first documented at about the same time. According to the register of St Thomas's Abbey, St James's Church and its cemetery were built in the years 1185–92 and were granted to the Augustinian canons a few years later. These details all point to early and rapid suburban development, with an almost continuous line of house plots on both sides of the roadway, along an alignment extending roughly 1 km west of Newgate.⁵⁶ Some of this economic dynamism would have been derived from the commercial needs of the royal monastery, St Thomas's Priory founded in 1177, that lent its name to part of the principal thoroughfare, which in turn would have served as the great artery for victuals and other necessities entering the walled city. Dublin's first annual fair lasting for eight days was instituted by King John in 1204 'at St John the Baptist's Bridge', that is, just outside Newgate. Only later in the thirteenth century did the annual fair come to occupy a more spacious and designated site on Fair Green outside the western wall and city ditch. Accordingly the open ground between Bertram's Court and the Franciscan friary would have satisfied both commercial and military requirements. At least part of the extension to the city walls must date from quite early in the thirteenth century judging by references to the second opening towards the west, Gormond's Gate. The old alignment represented by Francis Street and St Augustine Street continued to be important and gave access, via Gormond's Gate and Bridge Street, to the Liffey crossing and the northern suburb.

Cities and towns located on major rivers in medieval Europe often

acquired a transpontine suburb. Dublin's 'mother-town' in the late twelfth century, Bristol, offers an instructive example, for Redcliffe across the River Avon became a serious commercial rival to the original town.⁵⁷ In Latin documents, Dublin's suburb is called *villa Ostmannorum*, which most naturally translates as Ostmantown and must reflect, at least to some degree, an ostensibly Norse ethnic component.⁵⁸ The main north-south axis to and from the bridge was still being linked to the Ostmen in the early sixteenth century, while the bridge itself had similar associations down to the 1280s. Even before it was rebuilt in stone c. 1215, the bridge was described as 'great' and for a period of time a stone gateway stood at the Oxmantown end.⁵⁹ Dublin's northside suburb came to occupy the ground between the private enclosure of St Mary's Abbey to the east and the public space of Oxmantown Green to the west. The street pattern has the appearance of a rough-and-ready grid or chequer plan and, if sixteenth-century traditions about an Hiberno-Norse exodus are correct, this is an example of late twelfth-century town planning. The main east-west alignment comprised Broad Street (Mary's Lane) towards the abbey and Comyn's Lane (May Lane) towards the green. Nearer to the Liffey was Pill Lane, which served both the southern gate of the monastic precinct and the monks' fishing harbour (The Pill). On its eastern flank Oxmantown was partially protected by the Cistercians' walled enclosure, but was otherwise completely exposed militarily for most of the middle ages. Near the bridgehead, Dominicans took over a prominent site and built their own, much smaller enclosure in due course. Thus in terms of its size and presumed level of economic activity, Oxmantown would have been comparable with a typical country town in thirteenth-century Ireland.

Dublin's most unusual suburb lay to the east, along the south side of the bay. Much of it was taken up by public spaces called Hoggen Green and The Steine, both of which evince Viking ancestry in their names (burial mounds and megalith respectively). Outside Dam Gate, the 'highway to the hogges' gave way to Sea Lane, the latter apparently defining the seaward limit of the two public spaces. The shoreline itself was probably characterised by pasture and marsh. A short distance beyond the Long Stone there was another reminder of the sea in the form of St James's Hospital. This hospice for pilgrims heading for the famous shrine at Compostela in north-western Spain was founded by Archbishop Henry Blund c. 1216. Here travellers would wait for ships and for suitable weather before setting out, as well as rest on their safe return to Ireland. The resident population of the eastern suburb would have been small and their spiritual needs catered for by a single parish church, St Andrew's, near which King Henry II had spent much of the winter of 1171–2 presiding over a combination of festivities and politics in a specially constructed, but temporary, wattle palace. The association of this district with the English government acquired a more stable, if more intimidating, presence with the establishment of the Irish exchequer towards the end of the twelfth century. This group of buildings is sometimes referred to as the 'houses of the exchequer' and in a deed of c. 1240 St George's Lane (South Great George's Street) is called the 'highway to the court of the exchequer', reflecting the organisation's judicial functions. In the course of time this important complex of buildings — the financial nerve-centre of the English colony in Ireland — came to be provided with a walled enclosure and a gateway. The adjacent church of St George was granted to All Saints' Priory at an early date, but the eastern suburb's most dominant feature remained the Viking Thingmót, which in the form of Thingmote seems to have become a district name.⁶⁰

To all appearances, Dublin was expanding rapidly in the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries. One of the essentials of life, of course, was an adequate and continuous supply of fresh water. A traditional source may have been the Coombe stream, whose later name, the Commons' Water, is redolent of public access for everybody. Other natural streams included the Steine south of the Liffey and the Bradogue north of it. Private wells must have existed in large numbers, but are not normally documented. Ironically the most deprived part of the city from this point of view was probably the walled enclosure, situated on relatively high ground and initially almost surrounded by tidal and therefore salty waterways. The solution to this problem depended on a previous undertaking of the monks of St Thomas's Abbey, who diverted a portion of the River Poddle, starting near Harold's Cross, so as to make it pass by the southern boundary of the monastic precinct before rejoining the old course at Blackpitts (Fig. 6). In addition, the flow was improved by means of a canal bringing water from the Dodder at Balrothery to the Poddle at Kimmage. Once this arrangement was in place, it was possible to construct another canal, known later as the City Watercourse, from a simple divider made of stone at the Tongue, via Dolphin's Barn to a large cistern at St James's Street. From there an aqueduct ran eastwards along the northern side of the street alignment on the crest of the natural ridge, reaching Dublin Castle late in 1245. Public cisterns or fountains located at intervals gave access to fresh water inside the city walls, notably the one in Cornmarket donated (or improved) by a mayor, John le Decer. As time went by, small private pipes were taken off the main aqueduct, subject to financial and other conditions. An early example, benefiting the Dominicans in Oxmantown, involved the laying of a 5-inch pipe towards the Liffey and across the bridge, whereupon the diameter was reduced to that of a man's little finger.⁶¹ A secular beneficiary was Henry the Marshal, mayor of Dublin in 1279–80, whose water pipe had the diameter of a goose-quill and whose annual rent was at once privileged and picturesque — a bunch of roses presented to the current mayor every 24 June.⁶²

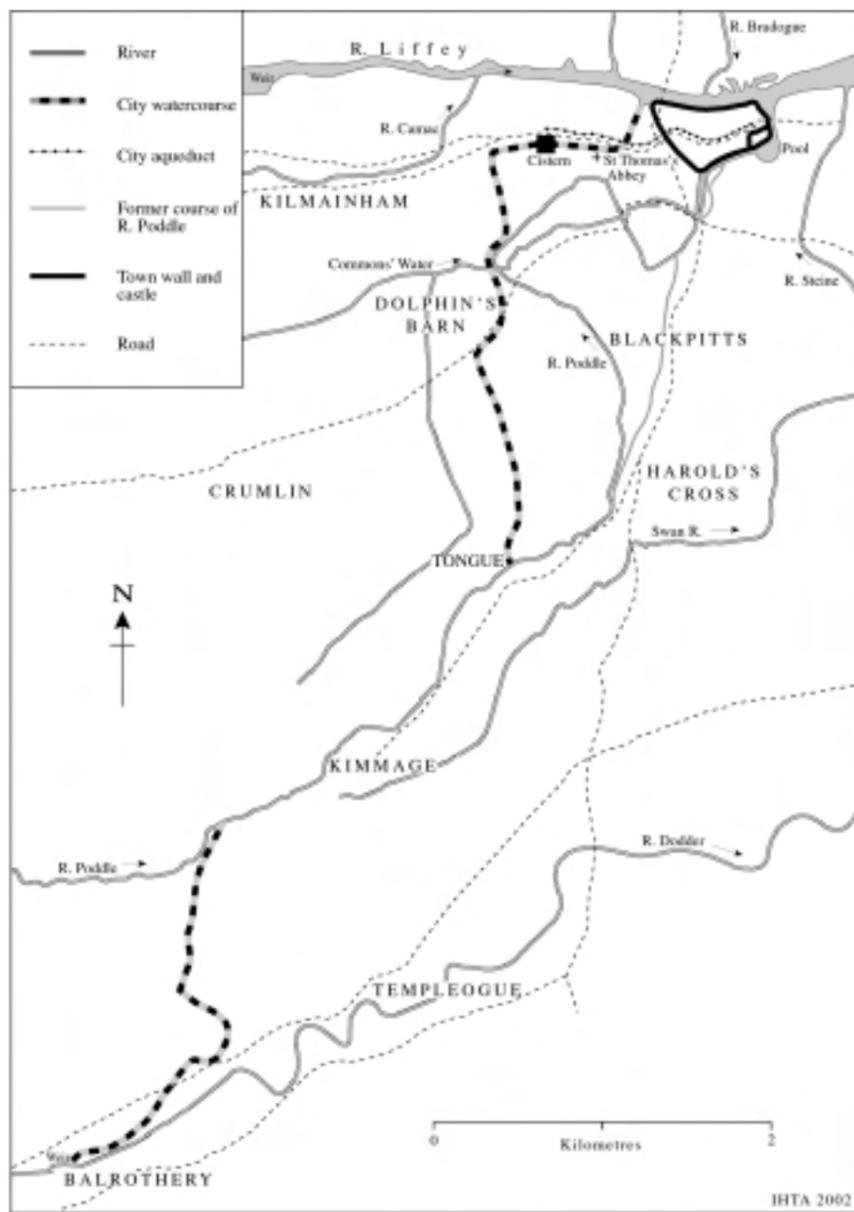


Fig. 6 City watercourse

In addition to the canal, cistern, aqueduct and fountains, the authorities were responsible for other municipal property. As was usually the case in northern Europe, Dublin's city council grew out of the merchants' guild, which probably predated the formal grant of urban privileges in 1192. The guild hall of the merchants is first cited c. 1210 and stood just inside the King's Gate in Winetavern Street. Like some of the more imposing houses in thirteenth-century Dublin, this building appears to have had a stone undercroft and a timber superstructure. In all likelihood the council, comprising twenty-four members and from 1229 onwards a mayor and two provosts (later called bailiffs), held its meetings in an upper room. Situated between the expanding waterfront district to the north and the cathedral complex to the south, this was a high-status venue for the governing élite. Like those of Waterford, Dublin's medieval by-laws survive in a Norman-French copy, French being the *lingua franca* of international trade in this part of Europe. The city's main commercial axis, as at London, was equipped with two municipal utilities with legal connotations.⁶³ One was the high market cross, the symbolic centre-point of the city where public announcements were made and wills were read out; the other was the pillory, first mentioned in 1260, which was used to chastise people for minor misdemeanours. In principle, the powers of the municipal authorities extended out to the boundary of the city's territorial liberty, which had been established by order of Henry II (Map 10). Dublin's liberty covered an unusually large area of some 15.5 square kilometres,⁶⁴ as befitted its special status in the English colonial enterprise in Ireland. The municipal boundary encompassed the shoreline of the inner bay from Raheny round to Blackrock and otherwise followed an irregular course as far west as the river crossing at Islandbridge. In practice, landownership complicated matters and a number of private jurisdictions or 'liberties' were created inside and outside the city's own liberty. The beneficiaries were the archbishops (with the liberties of the two cathedrals and St Sepulchre's Palace), the abbots of St Mary's and St Thomas's, and the priors of Kilmainham. Many citizens were therefore subject to seigniorial rather than municipal justice; as so often in the middle ages, jurisdictional boundaries were both convoluted and jealously guarded.

* * *

By the end of the thirteenth century the Anglo-Norman city had far outstripped the Hiberno-Norse town in physical size and in institutional sophistication. Even excluding the remarkable suburban developments, the walled area, now extended towards the main flow of the Liffey, had come to be dominated by a cathedral that combined a late Romanesque east end and an elegant Gothic nave, and by a royal castle whose design still bore comparison with that of the latest, if more complex, models in North Wales.

Municipal organisation was well established and the mayoralty emulated that of London in being the most ancient in the land. As in London, everyone looked to the mayor for leadership in times of crisis and one of the greatest tests facing any medieval mayor of Dublin was presented by a Scottish army early in 1317. Having earned a fierce reputation for destructiveness, the Scots encamped at Castleknock, north-west of the city, on 23 February. In a panic, the citizens demolished St Saviour's Priory near the bridgehead and used the stones to build a wall along the unprotected quayside. Part of the church of St Mary del Dam was also demolished to provide materials for repairing the royal castle, as well as to deny the enemy a strategic vantage point.⁶⁵ Finally, having consulted the Irish council (the governing body of the English colony), the mayor, Robert de Nottingham, issued an instruction to the effect that the great western suburb was to be set on fire. At least parts of the other suburbs appear to have been demolished or burnt as well, causing some damage to St Patrick's Cathedral. The extent of the devastation was immense, despite the fact that the Scots were duly deterred from undertaking a siege. About three-quarters of the fee farm (city rent payable annually to the English crown) was customarily derived from the suburbs and the proportion of the population that dwelt inside the walls was therefore as low as it may again have been in the late seventeenth century.⁶⁶ In response to a petition to the English king the fee farm, set at 200 marks (£133 6s 8d) in or before 1215, was reduced or remitted from time to time after 1319, implying that recovery was protracted; a further petition from the citizens on this subject dates from c. 1334. As it happened, serious depopulation ensued in and after 1348 following the first visitation of the Black Death, limiting the need to reconstruct the suburbs. St John the Baptist's Hospital seems to have been rebuilt by 1334, when it contained enough beds for 155 infirm persons. Most of the remarkable number of extramural gates at Dublin are not documented until after 1317, although even before then the growing threat of attacks on the southside suburbs by the Irish of the mountains is likely to have created a demand for further protection (Map 4).

The late medieval period was characterised in many parts of Europe by crises of various kinds, yet cities and towns generally succeeded not only in surviving, but also in preserving and even elaborating their municipal customs. One symptom of this is better record-keeping, with the result that much of what we know about urban conditions in detail dates from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries rather than from the great age of economic growth itself. Dublin is no exception, as the question of street maintenance will illustrate. As everywhere else in northern Europe where timber was a standard building medium, accidental fire presented a constant danger. In 1304 there had been a serious fire in Oxmantown, to the extent that part of St Mary's Abbey was destroyed along with governmental records stored there. The city's by-laws provided for circumstances that may have been common enough: a fine of 20s for an outbreak of fire inside a house; of 40s if flames were visible outside; and of 100s if a whole street burnt down. Failure to pay the latter would have drastic consequences for the careless or merely unfortunate householder: he was to be seized and consigned to the middle of the conflagration.⁶⁷ From the fourteenth century onwards there are more frequent indications that some at least of Dublin's streets were paved: in 1493, for example, a distinction was drawn between the main paved thoroughfare in Oxmantown (Church Street) and the outer laneways.⁶⁸ Another common problem was caused by the prevalence of horses and other animals in the streets, which had to be kept free of dung. Dung-heaps were maintained at traditional places in the suburbs, such as the one at the end of Hangman Lane (Hammond Lane) in Oxmantown. Despite the best efforts of the municipal authorities, however, street maintenance fell short of contemporary standards: in 1489 no less a person than the king of England, Henry VII, was moved to instruct the mayor and bailiffs to ensure that swine, rubbish and filth were removed from the city's streets.⁶⁹ Dublin, after all, was still the king's city.

Certain streets were special because they were used as market places. As in the case of most country towns in colonial Ireland, there was no designated square where market functions were concentrated; instead, some of the more prominent streets, or parts thereof, served for this purpose. In another striking parallel with medieval London, buying and selling inside the walls were organised officially along much of the principal east-west axis, with an important extension towards the river.⁷⁰ High Street was a meat market and its westward continuation, Cornmarket, may have begun to specialise in grain by the first half of the fifteenth century. Christ Church Cathedral and its associated priory were bounded on the east and south by Bothe Street (later Christchurch Place), a name (variously spelt) that is suggestive of booths or market stalls stocked with general provisions and located in the heart of the walled city. The journey towards the River Liffey was completed by Fishamble Street and a slipway into the river; to this day the central part of this street is noticeably wider and was presumably the main focal point of commercial activity there. The strongly suburbanised character of medieval Dublin meant that other market places were needed. The southern, ecclesiastical suburb had three of these, two of which were dignified by a cross. One such cross stood on a possibly ancient site outside the enclosure of Dubhlinn that is described in the 1320s as the old market. St Kevin's market is cited only once, in 1226, and may have been linked in some way with the abbey of Glendalough in the Wicklow Mountains. The third market place also had a stone marker, apparently a natural outcrop of rock situated at the northern and broader end of New Street, and complemented in the early sixteenth century by the Freeman's Stone. In the

western, linear suburb the main thoroughfare, St Thomas's Street, was probably comparatively wide between St John the Baptist's Hospital and St Catherine's Church. One of its marketing specialities was horses. Across the Liffey in Oxmantown, there are signs that the original market functions of Broad Street had been transferred to the suburb's north-south axis by the fourteenth century.⁷¹

Much of the marketing activity taking place in these streets would have satisfied demand for basic essentials, especially food and craftworking materials of many different kinds, which were transported overland. Another type of commercial space was connected with goods arriving and departing by boat and ship, some of these being luxury items originating in faraway places. Murage grants and other sources indicate that imports into Dublin included coal, fine cloth, herrings, iron, millstones, pitch, resin, salt, timber, wine and woad. Some of these commodities were particularly heavy and would have required dockside handling facilities. Primitive hoists were presumably in everyday use, but by the mid fifteenth century we start to hear about a more elaborate contraption — the crane and crane-house. This device stood at the bottom of Winetavern Street and was operated by porters appointed by the city council. The existence of the crane-house implies that Merchant's Quay had been engineered as a regular dockside capable of receiving ships. Because of sandbars in the bay and natural silting in the Liffey, access to Dublin's harbour seems to have been precarious at best.⁷² Indeed, in 1358 the king of England was informed of the danger that merchants might no longer have recourse to the city.⁷³ Dalkey, outside the city's liberty, was being used as an outport where goods were transferred to smaller vessels.⁷⁴ Nevertheless the systematic appointment of porters to service the crane is good evidence that the main port continued to function. In addition, there were other harbours. One such has been identified archaeologically at Usher's Quay, in the extreme north-western angle of the city's defences. Judging by the way in which the extension to the city wall terminated independently without any immediate return section along the river, this was an original feature of the mid thirteenth century whose life-span may have been relatively brief.⁷⁵

Late medieval Dubliners inherited from their thirteenth-century forebears a quite sophisticated water supply system and the richer documentation means that we are now much better informed as to the precise location of its various components, their maintenance and their operation. The lowest, tidal reaches of the River Poddle had been diverted c. 1185 mainly for military reasons, so as to protect the city wall as well as to feed the later castle's deeply excavated moat. A constant depth of water was attained by means of a dam outside the city's eastern gate, which gave rise to the element 'del Dam' in the medieval name of the gate and of the adjacent church of St Mary. It explains, too, the later name of the extramural street and of a pair of watermills due north of the structure driven by the fall of the water. Judging by its depiction on Speed's map, the eponymous pool of Dublin became an elongated backwater and partly dried up. The lower Poddle powered other mills: Doubleday's, first cited in the late twelfth century; Shyreclap Mill (later Talbot's mill) in St Patrick's Street; the Pool Mill, later Mills; and the king's mills, described as newly built in 1243. An officer who appears to have had ceremonial functions, called the bannerman, was also charged by the city council with responsibility for the maintenance of the aqueduct, or high pipe, flowing eastwards along the ridge. Parts of the system were fitted with leaden covers, but elsewhere pollution by animals was a constant problem, the bannerman himself at risk of being fined as an incentive to be vigilant. If the banks of the watercourse leading to the cistern were washed away, the mayor and two bailiffs would organise a working party to undertake repairs.⁷⁶ Another feature of the system was an artificial channel (the Glib Water) flowing behind houses on the south side of St Thomas's Street for part of its course, before passing underneath the roadway to drive St John's mills near the hospital. Many other watermills are recorded, including one near, or under, the northern arch of the Liffey bridge.

Most of Dublin's mills appear to have been water-powered, the only windmill on record being a comparatively early example located on Oxmantown Green. Many mills had been built and were owned by lay and ecclesiastical lords as a source of profit in the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries, when a rapidly rising urban and suburban population would have needed a regular supply of flour. With the sharp fall in the number of inhabitants after 1348, fewer mills were required. Some are not recorded subsequently and Steine Mill outside the precinct of All Saints' Priory is last mentioned in 1462. Medieval mills were capable of powering industrial machinery as well, for example, for the fulling of cloth, though no details are available at present. In broad terms, however, all industrial activity of this kind would have been located in the suburbs. The same is true of pottery-making, which was concentrated in the western suburb, but little is known apart from what can be gleaned from sherds found in archaeological contexts.⁷⁷ Besides Crockers' Lane or Street, other names may be indicative of particular manufacturing activities. For example, the lost Shoemakers' Street, a back lane running behind Bothe Street, was clearly a focus of shoemaking, as was the area west of St Nicholas's Street to judge from the great mass of shoes and leather offcuts found there.⁷⁸ The east-west portion of Bothe Street had begun to acquire an association with skinnners by the 1260s and was known as Skinnners' Row from the fifteenth century onwards. The west end of Castle Street was linked to saddle-making for a time, while the east end, which led to Castle Gate, was a natural location for the manufacture of armour and weapons. Equally appropriate was the

concentration of bakers and cooks outside the Hiberno-Norse north wall in Cooks' Street; their ovens were less of a danger to householders in the walled city, while the river provided a ready source of water for extinguishing out-of-control fires.

The walled enclosure of the city survived the crisis of 1317 intact, but its continued maintenance would have become a massive burden on the citizens with their reduced numbers and resources after the initial outbreak of plague. Indications of the ruinous nature of sections of walling and of the need for a rebuilding programme occur in 1427, 1455 and 1510 (Plate 2). Casey's Tower and Fitzsimon's Tower are both mentioned in the late fifteenth century in this context. In 1469 John Roche, a Dublin tailor, agreed to take a 30-year lease of Dam Gate, to roof it with oak timbers and slates, and to act as gatekeeper — all for an annual rent of 4d.⁷⁹ These details are sure signs of the parlous condition of the gate itself and of the city's finances. In addition to the main walled circuit, extramural gateways had to be constructed and maintained so as to offer minimal protection from marauders at a time of growing Anglo-Irish insecurity and nervousness, especially from the 1450s onwards. In 1466, for instance, a tower was to be added to Crockers' Bars and a gate erected at Hangman Lane; a second gate was to be provided for Oxmantown four years later. If the citizens of Dublin could claim to be impoverished in the later middle ages, so could the crown, for the colony was a burden on the English exchequer from the 1360s onwards.⁸⁰ Referred to in 1351 as the king's chief castle in Ireland, Dublin Castle is said to have required major repairs in 1358. Three years later, early in the governorship of Lionel, duke of Clarence, extensive works were indeed carried out in what has been labelled 'the most thorough renovation since its foundation'.⁸¹ Yet by 1380 the castle was close to complete dereliction, to the extent that official meetings could no longer be held nor records stored there. In the ensuing decades, little effective work was undertaken, with the result that in 1462 Dublin Castle, no doubt with a calculated degree of exaggeration, was described as being so ruinous that it was likely to collapse.

Despite further reparations from time to time, Archbishop John Alen was inclined c. 1530 to denounce the chancery quarters in Dublin Castle as being 'more like a swine-sty than a stable'.⁸² Even so, when they were put to the test four years later in the revolt of Thomas Fitzgerald, Lord Offaly (commonly known as Silken Thomas), both the city walls and the royal castle confounded the insurgents' strenuous efforts. This was so, even though cannon were available in addition to traditional armoury. The initial assault on the castle from the north, near Preston's Inns, was pathetically inadequate and all the city gates were closed against the rebels, proving them still to be capable of functioning in a military crisis. In order to weaken the citizens opposed to him, Fitzgerald cut off the water supply at the aqueduct. His attack on the castle from the south, across the River Poddle, also failed, especially after the constable had dislodged the rebels by setting fire to the thatched roofs of houses in Sheep Street (later Ship Street Great). Finally the besiegers tried the tactic of demolishing the side walls of houses along St Thomas's Street, so as to approach within reach of Newgate. An attempt to set fire to the gate itself was thwarted by armed citizens, whose military prowess was predicated on generations of campaigning against the Irish in the Wicklow Mountains and on compulsory archery practice at the butts erected on Hoggen Green. Fitzgerald's failure to capture Dublin played a major part in his subsequent downfall. As in 1317, the citizens sought compensation from the English crown for damage and losses sustained in the cause of defending the king's interests in Ireland. Their petition to King Henry VIII, presented in 1536, reflected a consciousness of new technology: they requested six small cannon, one for each of the main gates, together with a supply of gunpowder. The defensible core of the city was the same as it had been during the second half of the thirteenth century, and no less effective militarily notwithstanding constant reports of dilapidation.

The siege of September and October 1534 brought forth another request to the English king — one that was to leave a lasting impression on the morphology of Dublin. In order to defray the cost of repairing the fortifications, the citizens wanted to take over the property and possessions of either St John the Baptist's Hospital or All Saints' Priory. As in English towns prior to the dissolution of the monasteries, there was tension between the citizens of Dublin and some of the religious houses. Many of the latter probably had small numbers of monks or nuns, whose wealth and in particular whose property holdings were regarded with increasingly covetous eyes. In the event, on 3 February 1539, it was All Saints' in the eastern suburb that was given over to the mayor and citizens in consideration of their services during the rebellion. In the previous year the ancient relics of Christ Church Cathedral had been laid out in a heap in Skinnners' Row on the new archbishop's orders and consigned to the flames.⁸³ This highly symbolic act of destruction would have paved the way psychologically for the far greater destruction that was to be visited upon the city's monasteries and hospitals. On 7 April 1539 Henry VIII appointed the lord chancellor, the archbishop of Dublin and others to act as commissioners to accept the surrender of all religious houses and to punish recalcitrants. Since the city was so central to that part of Ireland which was under English control, there was little hope of reprieve. On 21 May the Irish council pleaded for the retention of St Mary's Abbey — the country's wealthiest monastery — together with five others, but to no avail. The suburbs of Dublin were about to endure another purge.

Whatever reconstruction had occurred after the devastation of 1317 was motivated by a desire to replace what had been lost. Very little building on new sites is recorded thereafter until the late sixteenth century. One of the few exceptions is St Mary's Chapel, situated at the northern end of the Liffey bridge for the convenience of travellers. Permission for this innovation was granted in 1348, the year of the first visitation of the Black Death, and the chapel certainly existed by 1408. Of the parish churches, only St Audoen's contains any datable medieval fabric and this important church was enlarged considerably eastwards and southwards. It was the principal intramural parish church west of the north-south alignment represented by Winetavern Street and St Nicholas's Street, for St Michael the Archangel's parochial territory was minuscule. A number of churches are known to have acquired a chantry chapel in the late middle ages. In general, however, the destruction of monastic churches and of other buildings as part of the Henrician Reformation followed on from more than two centuries of morphological stagnation at Dublin. The extents dating from 1540–41 for many of the city's former religious houses provide a valuation of their assets in the walled city and its suburbs. The statistics enable us to classify these institutions into three main groups by wealth (excluding annuity payments) and therewith to estimate their 'morphological mass' in the suburban landscape. The big three were St Mary's Abbey, St Thomas's Abbey and Kilmainham Priory, worth together £157.⁸⁴ Next came St John the Baptist's Hospital and All Saints' Priory, the former valued at just under £20, the latter having no surviving extent but clearly equated in value by the citizens in their petition of a few years before.⁸⁵ Lastly came the least well endowed houses, mostly mendicant, along with St Mary de Hogges' Abbey; their combined wealth (again excluding annuity payments) amounted to roughly £31 10s.⁸⁶ In terms of morphological mass, therefore, the greatest opportunities for redevelopment were available in the western and northern suburbs, where the religious houses were effectively privatised; towards the east, on the other hand, it was the municipal authority that disposed of the potentially exploitable site of All Saints' Priory.

Constructed mainly of stone, some of it dressed, and capped by solid roofs, monastic buildings would have been among the most superior in the city, where thatch was still commonly employed. There was an incentive to find new uses for at least some of them. Least readily adaptable for other purposes and at the same time prime targets for precious metals (including lead) and heavy structural timber were the churches themselves, which were often first to be stripped bare. At St Thomas's Abbey, for example, the church and its bell tower are recorded as having been surrendered in 1539, yet are absent from the extent of the following year. By then, authorisation had been given for the demolition of the Dominican church near the Liffey bridge, while that at St John the Baptist's Hospital had already been knocked down. At the Carmelite precinct in Whitefriars' Street, only a small hall, room and stable had escaped destruction by 1541 and the entire range of buildings at St Mary de Hogges' Abbey was cleared in order to assemble materials for repairing the castle. By 1550 this site had been earmarked for industrial use, presumably with provision for a linen and woollen mill driven by the River Steine, which had formed the eastern boundary of the nunnery. Christ Church Cathedral was secularised and its priory converted into a much more compact suite of administrative offices than that which had long existed in the relatively spacious surroundings of St Patrick's. In Oxmantown the church of St Mary's Abbey was assigned to the master of the king's ordnance for the storage of munitions and much of the remainder was granted to the earl of Desmond in 1543. Nearly forty years later, many components of the former abbey, including the church, were still relatively intact. In the mean time, the former Dominican priory had been taken over by lawyers as the King's Inns, thereby establishing a powerful legal presence on land overshadowed nowadays by the Four Courts.

The most spectacular and durable instance of conversion occurred on the eastern fringes of the city and on the margins of Dublin Bay, where reclusive contemplation of God was replaced by inclusive pursuit of scholarship. By stages in the early 1590s, the site of All Saints' Priory, which now belonged to the corporation, was adapted for a college of Dublin University. Beginning in 1320, attempts had been made to establish a university based in the grounds of St Patrick's Cathedral, but the institution appears to have led a desultory existence.⁸⁷ Another centre dignified by the word 'college' had been opened in the premises of Blakeney's Inns at Schoolhouse Lane in the middle of the sixteenth century, but seems to have been a residence thereafter. The name of this latest initiative to endow Dublin, and by extension the rest of Ireland, with a university was the same as that of the older of the two cathedrals and its defunct priory, even if theologically the new Trinity was now officially protestant. The 28-acre site was acquired formally and a plan, known as the Hatfield plan, was drawn up to illustrate the proposals in the manner of a planted town.⁸⁸ Building work was well advanced by 1593 and the college opened its doors early in the following year. Speed's map shows a double enclosure that may well have been that of the medieval priory. What appears to be a square tower embedded in the north range could have been that of the priory church, whilst a number of mural towers helped to protect the outer perimeter in what was an exposed position. The eventual success of the new venture, together with its long and distinguished history, should not blind us to the fact that only a small number of sons of city aldermen were in attendance in the early seventeenth century.⁸⁹

The same decade witnessed a drama of a quite different and terrifyingly destructive kind — the great gunpowder explosion on 11 March 1597 at the dockside crane. Since 1573, if not earlier, the crane-house had served as

Dublin's customhouse. It was probably a two-storey building, the upper floor providing accommodation that had been renovated shortly before the disaster took place. Thanks to an official enquiry, we know a good deal about the precise circumstances that led to the explosion.⁹⁰ A lighter had brought about six lasts (24,000 pounds) of gunpowder to the crane for unloading and carriage to the castle. Sparks caused by the rolling of the firkins (small barrels) or by a restless horse may have ignited some spilt powder; in any event, the force of the explosion must have been immense. According to one witness, Sir John Norris, twenty houses were totally destroyed and a large number of others, both inside and outside the city walls, sustained serious damage to their tiles, roofwork and glass. Even stone-built churches did not escape: Christ Church Cathedral, recovering from the collapse of its roof, was still suffering from the effects of the explosion in 1603. Not long after this, the draft on which John Speed based his famous map was prepared.⁹¹ A striking detail is that the corner of Winetavern Street and Wood Quay, which may have taken the full force of the blast, is depicted without most of the usual gable-fronted houses that are Speed's stock-in-trade. The number of human casualties was over-estimated by Norris at nearly 200, but some measure of comfort was drawn from the fact that few of them were English, 'nor any of account' apart from the master of a ship from Chester.⁹² As in the late middle ages, much local labour in the city would have been Irish and, it would seem, socially inferior if not merely expendable.

If, as has been suggested, the draft that lies behind Speed's map of Dublin was made c. 1604, the Poddle estuary is there delineated immediately prior to a small but highly significant piece of land reclamation outside the angle of the city walls (Map 6). The River Liffey was still essentially shallow, for back in 1466 the Augustinian friars had been ordered to block off access to a ford near their premises because of the danger to horseriders endeavouring to cross over at that point.⁹³ The low-water mark was about 4 m north of Isolde's Tower and the main flow of the Poddle was deflected north-eastwards after its passage by Dam Mills.⁹⁴ Speed's map shows two northward projections of land in the Poddle estuary at high tide; from the small harbour so created, Archbishop Alen had made his initial escape from the forces of Silken Thomas in 1534.⁹⁵ This triangular patchwork of elongated islands and mud-flats was targeted for the first undertaking to reclaim land on the south bank of the Liffey since the thirteenth century. In 1603 Isolde's Tower was leased by the corporation to Alderman Jacob Newman, a development that is reflected in the new name given to it in the key to Speed's map. Early in 1606, Newman took a lease of the adjacent piece of ground, probably with a view to reclaiming it since he was obliged to preserve both the watercourse from the mills and that from the castle ditch.⁹⁶ By the following year the ground had duly been reclaimed, the technique involving the construction of a thick wall of stone and lime eastwards from Newman's tower. In accordance with the terms of his lease, Newman had been forbidden to build on the reclaimed land, much of which was given over to gardening.⁹⁷ In broad terms, however, the process of reclamation had been restarted and its continuation as far as Ringsend was already being envisaged in 1612.⁹⁸

Despite the changes that had taken place since the dissolution of the monasteries, Speed's map is essentially a portrait in bird's-eye-view style of the late medieval city. Two factors prevented Speed (and his source) from showing more detail than we would wish. One was the small size of the drawing, for it is as well to remember that this is only an inset to his provincial map of Leinster. The other was the decision, correct in principle, to include the four suburbs as well as the main walled enclosure. The contraction in scale placed severe limits on what could be depicted in a map of a city of this size.⁹⁹ The walls themselves stand out prominently, as do the six gates, but many mural towers are not shown. The corner towers and gate of Dublin Castle are clear enough, but the internal layout is even more obscure than that depicted on the almost contemporary plan by Thomas Watson (Map 7).¹⁰⁰ Christ Church Cathedral is reduced by pressure of space to the dimensions of a parish church, though St Patrick's is resplendent in its large enclosure surrounded by stone walls and mural towers. The two biggest monastic sites inside the map frame suggest that some of their buildings and much of their system of boundary walls, towers and gates had survived, whereas no trace is indicated of the Augustinian and Franciscan convents apart from the name of the former. Street widths are generally exaggerated and the number of houses under-represented to a considerable extent. Bridge Street is labelled mistakenly as 'Ormunton', in error for the seriously depopulated transpontine suburb where only three features are named. Despite its numerous imperfections, however, Speed's map — a characteristic product of the post-medieval era — can be interrogated with profit as a partial if already distant reflection of Dublin's complex and convoluted medieval imprint.

NOTES

1. Speed. The date of publication, given as 1611, may have been 1612 (Andrews, p. 207).
2. De Courcy, 2000, pp 118–28.
3. *Geological survey of Ireland*, drift edition (Dublin, 1915), sheet 18.
4. For example, Collins's map of 1686 in H.A. Gilligan, *A history of the port of Dublin* (Dublin, 1988), end papers. For his second map (1693), see De Courcy, 1996, p. 84.
5. De Courcy, 1996, pp 25–6, 204, 206–7.
6. O'Brien, E., 1998, p. 216. Islandbridge probably takes its name from the bridging point on the larger Mill Island, which was created further down-river by the mill race serving Kilmainham Mill.
7. *Ibid.*, pp 217–19.
8. Usher's Island is shown clearly on de Gomme's map of 1673, reproduced in context in Clarke, H.B., 1998a, p. 349, fig. 13.3.
9. J.H. Andrews, 'A geographer's view of Irish history', in T.W. Moody and F.X. Martin (eds), *The course of Irish history* (2nd ed., Cork and Dublin, 1984), p. 20; map reproduced with modifications for historical purposes in Clarke, H.B., 1998a, p. 345.

10. Colm Ó Lochlainn, 'Roadways in ancient Ireland', in John Ryan (ed.), *Essays and studies presented to Professor Eoin MacNeill* ... (Dublin, 1940), pp 465–74 and map following p. 593.
11. Printed most conveniently, with a translation, in Fergus Kelly, *Early Irish farming* (Dublin, 1997), pp 537–8.
12. For the suggestion that the ford and later bridge occupied the same position, see Simms, 2001, p. 26.
13. *Ancient records*, iii, 56 (1615).
14. The dedication to St Audoen is Anglo-Norman. For a different interpretation of Dublin's earliest churches, see Bradley, 1992, pp 48–53.
15. Leo Swan, 'Enclosed ecclesiastical sites and their relevance to settlement patterns of the first millennium A.D.', in Terence Reeves-Smyth and Fred Hamond (eds), *Landscape archaeology in Ireland* (Oxford, 1983), p. 274 and fig. 4.
16. Peter Harbison, 'A shaft-fragment from Slane, Co. Meath, and other recent high cross discoveries', in Manning, p. 175 (note by Alan Hayden).
17. Clarke, H.B., 2000, pp 25–8.
18. One pre-Viking house has been discovered at Copper Alley (Simpson, 1999, pp 9–11, figs 4, 7 and plate II).
19. Clarke, H.B., 1999, pp 108, 122.
20. For this purely hypothetical interpretation, as yet unconfirmed by limited archaeological investigations, see further Clarke, H.B., 1998a, pp 346–50.
21. Simpson, 1999, pp 11–28.
22. Ó Floinn, p. 142.
23. In the Essex Street West area there appears to have been no complete break in habitation during these years (Simpson, 1999, pp 32–3). The residents, of course, could have been Irish.
24. Again at Essex Street West, the standard Type 1 dwelling house links the late ninth- and early tenth-century habitation levels (ibid., pp 17–20, 25, 27 and figs 10, 11).
25. P.F. Wallace, 'The English presence in Viking Dublin', in M.A.S. Blackburn (ed.), *Anglo-Saxon monetary history: essays in memory of Michael Dolley* (Leicester, 1986), pp 210–11 and table 12.2; and 'The economy and commerce of Viking age Dublin', in Klaus Düwel, Herbert Jankuhn, Harald Siems and Dieter Timpe (eds), *Untersuchungen zu Handel und Verkehr der vor- und frühgeschichtlichen Zeit in Mittel- und Nordeuropa*, iv, *Der Handel der Karolinger- und Wikingerzeit* (Göttingen, 1987), pp 210–11.
26. A.T. Thacker, 'Early medieval Chester: the historical background', in Richard Hodges and Brian Hobley (eds), *The rebirth of towns in the west A.D. 700–1050* (London, 1988), pp 122–3.
27. Walter Harris (ed.), *The whole works of Sir James Ware concerning Ireland, revised and improved* (3 vols, Dublin, 1739–64), ii, p. 145.
28. James Graham-Campbell, 'The Viking-age silver hoards of Ireland', in Bo Almqvist and David Greene (eds), *Proceedings of the Seventh Viking Congress, Dublin, 15–21 August 1973* (Dublin, 1976), p. 40; Ó Floinn, p. 138.
29. Charles Doherty, 'The Vikings in Ireland: a review', in Clarke, H.B. et al., pp 301–5.
30. Clarke, H.B., 1977, p. 34, fig. 2; Simms, 1979, p. 32, fig. 2; Thomas, ii, p. 88; Simms, 2001, p. 35, fig. 8. Archaeological evidence from Ross Road has been interpreted, on the basis of unsatisfactory radio-carbon dating, as an extended westward alignment of the southern defences built in two phases during the mid to late tenth century. On the other hand, excavations along the line of the later western city wall have failed to uncover defensive works from so early a date, while those at High Street have been interpreted as indicating an early eleventh-century start to urban development in the vicinity (see below, n. 37). At present, therefore, considerable uncertainty exists as to whether the expanded town shown in Plate 1 predates or postdates the year 1000.
31. For this and what follows, see Wallace, 1985, pp 114–15.
32. The most authoritative and detailed discussion of all aspects of Dublin's Viking and Hiberno-Norse buildings is in Wallace, 1992.
33. Archaeological monitoring at the western end of the street has revealed a section of unidentified wall-work (Linzi Simpson, personal communication).
34. Simpson, 1999, pp 1, 30 and fig. 13.
35. For this and other pertinent observations, see Simms, 1979.
36. For the succession of building levels, see Wallace, 1988, p. 125, fig. 6:3.
37. Murray, p. 43.
38. For these and other details, see Wallace, 1985, p. 117.
39. Rachel Moss, 'A medieval jigsaw puzzle: the ancient stones of Christ Church', in *Archaeology Ireland*, xiv (2000), pp 22–3; Stalley, 2000a, p. 56; Stalley, 2000b, p. 115 and plate 7a.
40. Excavated layers predating the castle contained mainly domestic material (Lynch and Manning, pp 178–82).
41. P.F. Wallace, 'Anglo-Norman Dublin: continuity and change', in Donnchadh Ó Corráin (ed.), *Irish antiquity: essays and studies presented to Professor M.J. O'Kelly* (Cork, 1981), p. 253.
42. The evidence for the precise site of this church is examined in Haworth.
43. *Bk Leinster*, i, p. 212.
44. Clarke, H.B., 2000, p. 39.
45. For a full discussion of the origins of this church, see Purcell, pp 17–18, 60–67, 158, 204.
46. Ibid., pp 73–99.
47. Walsh, 1997, p. 77.
48. *Ancient records*, i, pp 9–10 (1250).
49. *Cal. doc. Ire., 1171–1251*, p. 120.
50. *Ancient records*, i, p. 5.
51. P.F. Wallace, 'Carpentry in Ireland A.D. 900–1300: the Wood Quay evidence', in Sean McGrail (ed.), *Woodworking techniques before A.D. 1500: papers presented to a symposium at Greenwich in September, 1980, together with edited discussion* (Oxford, 1982), p. 288; Halpin, p. 180.
52. Wallace, 'Carpentry in Ireland', pp 287–9, 295, 296; Halpin, pp 87–8, 179.
53. Halpin, p. 180.
54. *Close rolls, 1231–4*, pp 544, 553; *Close rolls, 1237–42*, pp 362, 529.
55. Donnelly, ii, p. 134.
56. Duddy, pp 164–9.
57. M.D. Lobel and E.M. Carus-Wilson, 'Bristol', in M.D. Lobel (ed.), *Historic towns*, ii (London and Oxford, 1975), p. 6.
58. The later form 'Oxmantown' is used hereafter.
59. This reference seems to imply that one or more smaller bridges were in existence, presumably across watercourses other than the Liffey.
60. Duffy, 1997, pp 83–5.
61. *Ancient records*, i, pp 101–2.
62. Ibid., pp 109, 124.
63. For this striking similarity, see Clarke, H.B., 1999, p. 106, fig. 2.
64. Ferguson, p. 70.
65. Robinson, A.T., 1994, pp 52–3.
66. Clarke, H.B., 1998b, pp 46–8; J.H. Andrews, personal communication based on an analysis of Phillips's map of 1685.
67. *Ancient records*, i, p. 221.
68. Ibid., p. 379.
69. Ibid., pp 139, 325–6, 328–9.
70. Clarke, H.B., 1999, pp 114–15 and fig. 2.
71. Purcell, pp 203–4, 209–14.
72. Cf. Gerald Daly, 'George Semple's charts of Dublin Bay, 1762', in *RIA Proc.*, xciii C (1993), pp 81–105.
73. *Ancient records*, i, pp 19–20.
74. C.V. Smith, *Dalkey: society and economy in a small medieval Irish town* (Dublin, 1996), pp 47–53.
75. Swan, p. 156.
76. *Ancient records*, i, pp 302, 372–4.
77. Clare McCutcheon, 'Medieval pottery in Dublin: new names and some dates', in Duffy, 2000, pp 117–25.
78. A.B. Ó Ríordáin, 'Excavations at High Street and Winetavern Street, Dublin', in *Medieval Archaeology*, xv (1971), p. 75.
79. *Ancient records*, i, p. 336.
80. J.A. Watt, 'The Anglo-Irish colony under strain, 1327–99', in *NHI*, ii, p. 376.
81. Robinson, A.T., 1994, p. 74.
82. *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, v, p. 198.
83. *AU* (2), iii, p. 625; *ALC*, ii, 317; *AFM*, v, pp 1447, 1449; M.V. Ronan, *The reformation in Dublin, 1536–1558* (Dublin, 1926), pp 116–18. For the probable survival of the Staff of Jesus (Baculus Ihesu), see Raymond Gillespie, 'The coming of reform, 1500–58', in Milne, p. 164.
84. *Extents Ir. mon. possessions*, pp 1–8, 26–9, 82, 88. This figure excludes the substantial annuity paid to St Thomas's Abbey in lieu of the custom formerly charged on ale and mead. The value of Kilmainham Priory is that of the buildings and surrounding land together with rents from properties in the city.
85. Ibid., pp 56–7, 122; *Ancient records*, i, p. 500.
86. *Extents Ir. mon. possessions*, pp 53–4, 69–70, 72, 78–80, 121.
87. Aubrey Gwynn, 'The medieval university of St Patrick's, Dublin', in *Studies*, xxvii (1938), pp 199–212, 437–54.
88. Hatfield; R.A. Skelton and John Summerson, *A description of the maps and architectural drawings in the collection made by William Cecil, first Baron Burghley, now at Hatfield House* (Oxford, 1971), p. 80.
89. Lennon, 1989, p. 90.
90. *Ancient records*, ii, pp 561–74.
91. Andrews, p. 210; Burke, 1974, p. 117.
92. *Ancient records*, ii, p. 562. For revised estimates, see Lennon, 1989, p. 125.

93. *Ancient records*, i, p. 325.
94. Burke, 1974, fig. 1.
95. Holinshed, 1577, p. 269.
96. *Ancient records*, ii, pp 457–8; Burke, 1974, pp 127–8.
97. Burke, 1974, pp 128–9.
98. Ibid., p. 131.
99. Andrews, p. 211. Speed's scale is approximately six inches to a mile.
100. For the date, see J.H. Andrews, review, in *IHS*, xiv (1964–5), p. 270.

Topographical Information

The following information relates not to any single administrative division or the sheet lines of any particular map, but to the built-up area of Dublin at each of the dates referred to. Exceptionally the key sites in Kilmainham have been included, even though the monastic extent of 1541 describes it as a village. As a general rule, only sources that are available in print have been consulted.

All grid references used are derived from the Irish National Grid. This grid appears at 100 m intervals on Map 3. In the Topographical Information grid references are included where possible for features not named on either Map 2 or Map 3; they are given in eight figures (the last four figures respectively of the eastings and northings shown on Map 3) and indicate the approximate centre of the feature in question. Some streets and sites are outside the limits of the core maps and, where possible, these are illustrated in text figures.

The entries under each heading, except for Streets, are arranged in chronological order by categories: for example, all mills are listed before all bakehouses, because the oldest mill predates the oldest bakehouse. In general, dates of initiation and cessation are specified as such. Where these are unknown, the first and last recorded dates are given, and references of intermediate date are omitted except where corroborative evidence appears necessary.

The list of spellings in section 1 is confined for the most part to the earliest and latest examples noted of the variants deemed to be the most significant in English, Irish, Latin, Norman-French and Norse. With the exception of Casey's Tower, the names of city gates and mural towers in section 12 are standardised versions of those given in the 1585 survey (see Appendix C).

Sections 8 and 9 contain the most trustworthy modern estimates of the number of inhabitants and of houses respectively. The section on primary production is more than usually selective because of the difficulty and magnitude of site identification in this comparatively early period.

Street names are listed in alphabetical order. The first entry for each street gives its present-day name according to the most authoritative source, followed by its first identifiable appearance, named or unnamed, in a map or other record and the various names subsequently applied to it in chronological order of occurrence. English translations are provided for Latin street names and the word 'street' is modernised throughout. Only the principal variants are cross-referenced, usually in their earliest recorded form.

The section on residence is not intended to embrace more than a small fraction of the city's dwelling houses. The main criteria for inclusion are (1) apparent size and quality of construction; (2) identification by a contemporary name; (3) association with important people, lay and ecclesiastical. 'Inns' have been included in this section since they appear to have been either the private town houses of well-to-do people or substantial houses built by landlords for multiple occupancy.

Archaeology has provided an exceptionally high proportion of the information detailed below. In addition to published material, files held by Dúchas: The Heritage Service and by the office of the City Archaeologist have been consulted. More archaeological material is known to exist but is too imprecise chronologically and topographically to be utilised for this purpose.

Map 4 is a revised version of Clarke, H.B., 1978 and relates to the period down to the mid sixteenth century. As a separate publication it will contain a list of the sites shown on this map, classified by letter and number as previously. These indicators occur in bold type immediately after the site name in the Topographical Information.

This fascicle will be followed in due course by *Dublin, part II, 1610–1756*; accordingly, main entries and selected sub-entries whose history is known at the time of publication to continue after 1610 terminate with an arrow symbol. Abbreviated source-references are explained in the bibliography on pages 33–6 or in the general list inside the back cover.

1 Name

Early spellings

Ebdana c. A.D. 150 (*NHI*, ix, 16); Eblana 1577 (Holinshed, 1577, 39) to present (traditional association). ⇒

Baile Átha Cliath

Áth Cliath 6th cent. (O'Brien, M.A., 1962, 3); Ath Cliath A.D. 770, 851, 902, 917 (*AU* (2), 224, 310, 352, 366); Áth Cliáth 9th cent. (Meyer, 6), A.D. 944; Áth Cliath A.D. 984, 1094 (*Ann. Inisf.*, 152, 164, 246), early 12th cent. (*Bk Rights*, 4) to present (directional signs). ⇒

Uadum Clid late 7th cent. (Anderson and Anderson, 98).

Ath Cliath Cualann 11th–early 12th cent. (Stokes, 455).

At Cliad 1126 (*Ann. Inisf.*, 286).

Hathcleyth early 13th cent. (*Song of Dermot*, 162).

Áth Cliath Duiblinni late 13th–early 14th cent. (*Cath Maighe Léna*, 40); Ath Cliath Dublinne 1464 (*Ann. Conn.*, 520).

Baile Atha Cliath 1368 (*AU* (1), ii, 532), 1503 (*AU* (1), iii, 464); Baile Átha Cliath 1581 (*ALC*, ii, 440) to present. ⇒

Ballee er Cleagh 1577 (Holinshed, 1577, 39).

Dublin

Duiblinn A.D. 790, 841, 919 (*AU* (2), 246, 298, 368), 9th cent. (Meyer, 6).

Difelin A.D. 937 (*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, 72).

Diflin, with variants, A.D. 997–c. 1130 (Dolley, 1966, pl. I–III; Dolley, 1973b, 50–63; O'Sullivan, 3, 38–9); Diffin c. 1200 (*Orkneyinga saga*, 26).

Duiblind 11th–early 12th cent. (Stokes, 326–7), early 12th cent. (*Bk Rights*, 10, 134).

Dublind Atha Cliath early 12th cent. (*Cog. Gaedhel*, 12); Dublind ... Ath Cliáth c. 1160 (*Bk Leinster*, ii, 398).

Duibhlinn Atha Cliath early 12th cent. (*Cog. Gaedhel*, 34).

Dublina 1121 (Eadmer, 297), 1216 (*Hist. and mun. doc. Ire.*, 73), 1577 (Holinshed, 1577, 39).

Duuelina 1154 (Sheehy, i, 11); Duvelina c. 1171 (Mac Niocaill, i, 76), late 12th cent. (*Guild merchant roll*, 2, 3).

Dublina c. 1174 (Mac Niocaill, i, 76), 1192 (Charter), 1215 (Mac Niocaill, i, 86), c. 1230, c. 1263 (*Guild merchant roll*, 106, 113), 1320 (Richardson and Sayles, 1947, 5), 1334, 1363 (Mac Niocaill, i, 89, 93), 1421 (Richardson and Sayles, 1947, 181), 1485 (Mac Niocaill, i, 103), 1577 (Holinshed, 1577, 39) to present (heritage centre). ⇒

Divelinia 1185 (Mac Niocaill, i, 77).

Dubellinia 1188 (Sheehy, i, 61).

Dwelin late 12th cent. (*Guild merchant roll*, 7); Duly'n 1488 (Metes).

Dyflinn c. 1200 (*Orkneyinga saga*, 285) to late 13th cent. (*Brennu-Njáls saga*, 444–5).

Deueline, formerly Hathcleyth, early 13th cent. (*Song of Dermot*, 162); Develynge 1420 (Richardson and Sayles, 1947, 187); Delvyn c. 1490 (*L.P. Rich. III and Hen. VII*, i, 379).

Diuelyn, Diuiline, Diveline, Dyuelyn early 13th cent. (*Song of Dermot*, 144, 120, 12, 170); Diuelin, Diuline early 14th cent. (*Hist. and mun. doc. Ire.*, 240); Divelyn 1312 (Sayles, 69); Dyvelyn 1377, Dyvelyne 1432 (*Rot. pat. Hib.*, 101, 253); Dyvelyn 1461 (*Cal. pat. rolls, 1452–61*, 643); Divelin c. 1490 (*L.P. Rich. III and Hen. VII*, i, 381); Divelyn 1493 (*L.P. Rich. III and Hen. VII*, ii, 56).
 Dublinium 1204 (*Rot. pat.*, 2); Dublinium 1577 (Holinshed, 1577, 39).
 Delin c. 1224 (*Guild merchant roll*, 49).
 Dublem' 1260 (*Close rolls, 1259–61*, 86).
 Dublin' c. 1262 (*Guild merchant roll*, 104).
 Dublyn c. 1496 (*L.P. Rich. III and Hen. VII*, ii, 69), c. 1558 (Swift, 22), c. 1580 (*Facs nat. MSS Ire.*, iv, pt 1, no. XV); Dubline, Dublinne, Dublyne, Dublynne 1577 (Holinshed, 1577, 44, 40); Dubline 1610 (Speed). ⇒
 Dublin 1567 (*Facs nat. MSS Ire.*, iv, pt 1, no. V), 1577 (Holinshed, 1577, 44), c. 1610 (Swift, 64) to present. ⇒

Current spellings

Dublin

Baile Átha Cliath

Derivation

Dublin from Duiblinn, an inversion compound derived from *linn duib*, 'black pool', referring to tidal pool in R. Poddle; Baile Átha Cliath, initially Áth Cliath, from *áth cliath*, 'ford of hurdle-work', referring to ford across R. Liffey and later prefixed by *baile*, 'township'.

10 Streets

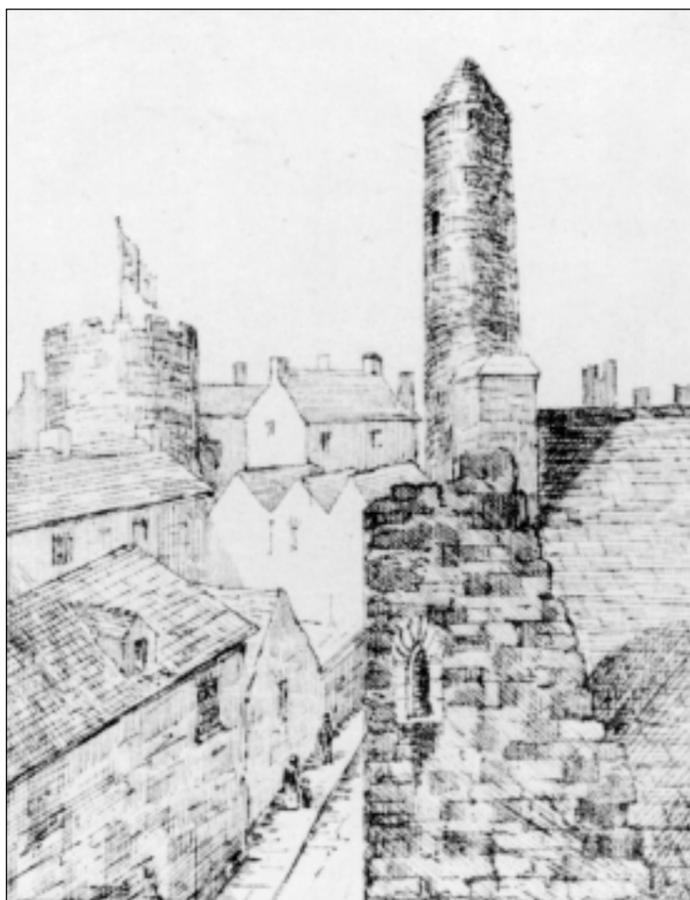
Arbour Hill	0.25 km N. of city. The Erbere 1488 (Metes). Earber Hill 1603 (<i>Ancient records</i> , i, 196). ⇒
Ardee Street [mid]	Unnamed 1610 (Speed). ⇒
Arran Street East	Lane 1443 (<i>Christ Church deeds</i> , 938). Ourlady Lane 1469 (<i>Franchise roll</i> , 48). Unnamed 1610 (Speed). See also way (2). ⇒
Back Lane	Rochelle Street c. 1195 (<i>Christ Church deeds</i> , 476). Rochel Street early 13th cent. (<i>Chartul. St Mary's</i> , i, 215). Rupelle Street c. 1235; Rochel Street c. 1267 (<i>Christ Church deeds</i> , 487, 509). Rocheli Street 1329 (Gilbert, 1854–9, i, 415). Roche Street 1345 (<i>Cal. fine rolls, 1337–47</i> , 423). Rupell Street 1408 (<i>Christ Church deeds</i> , 274). Rochell Street 1482 (<i>Franchise roll</i> , 56). Lane 1496 (<i>Ancient records</i> , i, 382). Rupelle Street early 16th cent. (<i>Obits</i> , 46). Rochell Lane or Back Lane 1532 (<i>Christ Church deeds</i> , 1155). Rosipelle Street 1556 (Gilbert, 1854–9, i, 240). Rochen Lane 1583 (<i>Fiants, Eliz.</i> , 4214). Rochell Lane 1595 (<i>Chapter acts</i> , 92). Back Lane 1605 (<i>Ancient records</i> , ii, 446). Rochell Lane 1607 (<i>Chapter acts</i> , 123–5). Back Lane 1610 (Speed). ⇒
Bakers' Street	St Olave's parish, site unknown. Bakers' Street (<i>vicus pistorum</i>) 1540 (<i>Cal. exch. inq.</i> , 79).
Bakhous Lane	St Audoen's parish, site unknown, possibly same as Schoolhouse Lane [north] (<i>q.v.</i>). Bakhous Lane 1370 (<i>Chartul. St Mary's</i> , i, 18).
Behind or Behynd Street	See Sutor Street.
Behinde Street	See Marshal Lane.
Beresford Street	Frapesawse Lane 1409 (Sts Catherine and James deeds, 273). Frapsaus Lane 1539 (<i>Chartul. St Mary's</i> , ii, 56). Frapsans Lane 1540 (<i>Extents Ir. mon. possessions</i> , 7); named after Frapsaus family, local landholders (Purcell, 162). Frapper Lane 1577 (Holinshed, 1577, 48). Unnamed 1610 (Speed). ⇒ (49153870). Bertram de Verdun's Court (<i>curia Bertram de Verdun</i>) late 12th cent. (<i>Reg. St Thomas</i> , 418), 1213 (<i>Chartul. St Mary's</i> , i, 347). Bertram Court c. 1265 (<i>Reg. St John</i> , 95). Bertram's Court 1305 (Smyly (1), 30). Bertram Street 1338 (Smyly (2), 20). Le Haggard Place or Bertremes Court 1455 (<i>Alen's reg.</i> , 242).
Bertram Street or Bertram's Court	
Birgge Street	See Bridge Street Lower.
Bishop Street	Lane 1488 (Metes). Butter Lane 1577 (<i>Ancient records</i> , ii, 119), 1603 (<i>Ancient records</i> , i, 193). Unnamed 1610 (Speed). ⇒
Blind Street	Location unknown, probably Schoolhouse Lane [south] (<i>q.v.</i>). Blind Street (<i>vicus cecus</i>) early 13th cent. (<i>Reg. St Thomas</i> , 394). Gated lane 1244 (<i>Chartul. St Mary's</i> , i, 351).
Blinde Lane	(48903880). Blinde Lane 1245 (<i>Chartul. St Mary's</i> , i, 430), c. 1265 (<i>Reg. St John</i> , 92). Partially excavated (Hayden, 103, 106, 110).
Bod Street	See Cork Hill.

Bod, Bode or Bothe Street	See Christchurch Place [north], Christchurch Place [west].	Church Street [south]	Street c. 1242 (<i>Chartul. St Mary's</i> , i, 475). High street c. 1265 (<i>Ancient records</i> , i, 96). Oxmantown Street 1401; Ostmen's Street 1483 (<i>Christ Church deeds</i> , 810, 1046). Le Fere Street 1543; Fore Street 1562 (<i>Cal. exch. inq.</i> , 98, 174). Street of Oxmantown 1603 (<i>Ancient records</i> , i, 198). Unnamed 1610 (Speed). ⇒ See Cuckoo Lane.
Boue Street	See Christchurch Place [west].	Coccow or Cowcow Lane	See Cow Lane (1).
Bow Lane East	Lane 1465 (<i>Ancient records</i> , i, 321). ⇒	Cock Lane	See Cook Street [east], Cook Street [west].
Bow Lane West	Lane 1488 (Metes), 1603 (<i>Ancient records</i> , i, 195). See also way (1), way (8). ⇒	Cock Street	See Cross Lane South.
Bow Street	Street c. 1264 (<i>Chartul. St Mary's</i> , i, 508). Lebhome Lane 1539 (<i>Chartul. St Mary's</i> , ii, 56), 1540 (<i>Extents Ir. mon. possessions</i> , 8). For another Bow Street, see Christchurch Place [north]. ⇒	Cocke Hill	St Olave's parish, site unknown. Cok Hill 1570 (<i>Fiants, Eliz.</i> , 1682).
Bride Street [north]	Great street c. 1230 (<i>Reg. All Saints</i> , 34). King's highway 1285; lane 1328 (<i>Ancient records</i> , i, 108, 157). St Birgide Street 1350 (Sayles, 199). Lane c. 1395 (<i>Alen's reg.</i> , 231). St Bridget's Street 1408 (<i>Ormond deeds</i> , ii, 283). St Bride Street 1465 (<i>Ancient records</i> , i, 321). Highway 1488 (Metes). St Brides Street 1587; St Bridg or St Bridge Street 1596 (<i>Chapter acts</i> , 55, 95, 97). St Bryd Street 1600 (<i>Ancient records</i> , iii, 533). Bred Street 1610 (<i>Cal. S.P. Ire.</i> , 1608–10, 463). St Brides Street 1610 (Speed). ⇒	Coke Street	See Cook Street [east], Cook Street [west].
Bride Street [south]	St Birgide Street 1350 (Sayles, 199). St Bridget's Street 1408 (<i>Ormond deeds</i> , ii, 283). St Bride's Street 1465; Crosse Lane 1466; Cross Lane 1490 (<i>Ancient records</i> , i, 322–3, 371). St Kevin's Cross-road 1541 (<i>Extents Ir. mon. possessions</i> , 88). St Brides Street 1587 (<i>Chapter acts</i> , 55). St Bryd Street 1600 (<i>Ancient records</i> , iii, 533). Bred Street 1610 (<i>Cal. S.P. Ire.</i> , 1608–10, 463). St Brides Street 1610 (Speed). ⇒	Colcot Lane	See Bull Lane.
Bridge Street Lower	Street of great bridge (see 17 Transport: Father Mathew Bridge) c. 1196 (<i>Reg. St Thomas</i> , 284). Bruge Street c. 1255 (<i>Reg. St John</i> , 31). Street of Oxmantown Bridge c. 1267 (<i>Christ Church deeds</i> , 92). Bridge Street 1282 (<i>Cal. Christ Church bks</i> , 31). Buildings burnt in 1304 (<i>Chartul. St Mary's</i> , ii, 332). Bridge Street 1347; Birgge Street 1490 (<i>Christ Church deeds</i> , 634, 1099). Bridge Street 1505 (<i>Franchise roll</i> , 74). Brige Street 1564 (<i>Proctor's accounts</i> , 19). Bridge Street 1577 (Holinshead, 1577, 47). Buildings severely damaged by gunpowder explosion in 1597 (Lennon, 1989, 125). Ormunton 1610 (Speed). ⇒	Comynes Lane	See May Lane.
Bridgefoot Street	See lane (1), street (1).	Constitution Hill	0.25 km N. of the city. King's highway 1328 (<i>Ancient records</i> , i, 157), c. 1395 (<i>Alen's reg.</i> , 231). Highway 1488 (Metes), 1603 (<i>Ancient records</i> , i, 197). ⇒
Brode Street	See Mary's Lane.	Cook Street [east]	Highway 1223 (<i>Alen's reg.</i> , 45). Street c. 1231, c. 1268 (<i>Christ Church deeds</i> , 47, 514). Cooks' Street (<i>vicus cocorum</i>) c. 1279 (<i>Reg. St John</i> , 58). Cook Street 1305 (<i>Ancient records</i> , i, 223). Coke Street 1365 (Smyly (3), 37). Cok Street 1378 (<i>Cal. close rolls</i> , 1377–81, 225). Cooks' Street 1450 (<i>Rot. pat. Hib.</i> , 265). Coke Street 1564 (<i>Proctor's accounts</i> , 19). Cooke Street 1580 (<i>Chapter acts</i> , 35). Cock Street 1590 (<i>Fiants, Eliz.</i> , 5408). Buildings severely damaged by gunpowder explosion in 1597 (Lennon, 1989, 125). Cook Street 1603 (<i>Ancient records</i> , ii, 413). Cocke Street 1610 (Speed). ⇒
Bruge Street	See Bridge Street Lower.	Cook Street [west]	Pipers' Street (<i>vicus sibilatorum</i>) 1234 (<i>Cal. doc. Ire.</i> , 1171–1251, 328). Way c. 1234 (<i>Reg. St John</i> , 37). Cook Street 1305 (<i>Ancient records</i> , i, 223). Cok Street 1378 (<i>Cal. close rolls</i> , 1377–81, 225). Cooks' Street 1450 (<i>Rot. pat. Hib.</i> , 265). Coke Street 1564 (<i>Proctor's accounts</i> , 19). Cooke Street 1580 (<i>Chapter acts</i> , 35). Buildings severely damaged by gunpowder explosion in 1597 (Lennon, 1989, 125). Pipe Street 1600 (<i>Ancient records</i> , iii, 534). Cocke Street 1610 (Speed). ⇒
Bull Lane	Colcot Lane 1519 (<i>Christ Church deeds</i> , 1132). Stonyng Lane 1539 (<i>Chartul. St Mary's</i> , ii, 54). Stony lane 1581 (<i>Christ Church deeds</i> , 1356). See also lane (9). ⇒	Cookestreet Lane	Location unknown, presumably near Cook Street (see next entry). Cookestreet Lane 1577 (Holinshead, 1577, 48).
Bulrynge	See Cornmarket.	Coombe, The	Valley 1192 (Charter). Le Combe c. 1260 (<i>Alen's reg.</i> , 126). Coumba c. 1270 (<i>Reg. St John</i> , 97). The Coumbe 1306 (<i>Cal. justic. rolls Ire.</i> , 1305–7, 198). Valley 1328 (<i>Ancient records</i> , i, 157), c. 1395 (<i>Alen's reg.</i> , 231). The Cowme 1454 (<i>Ancient records</i> , i, 283). The Couimbe 1488 (Metes). The Cumbe c. 1530 (<i>Alen's reg.</i> , 302). Lycopowne Street 1539 (<i>Chartul. St Mary's</i> , ii, 51). The Kowme 1577 (Holinshead, 1577, 47). The Come 1610 (Speed). See also Dean Street. ⇒
Burnell's Lane	See Skippers' Alley.	Copper Alley	Lane 1349 (<i>Gormanston reg.</i> , 85). Preston's Lane 1451; lane 1557 (<i>Christ Church deeds</i> , 951, 1246). W. end to be leased 1609 (<i>Ancient records</i> , ii, 520). Copper Row 1609 (<i>Cal. pat. rolls Ire.</i> , <i>Jas I</i> , 147). Copper Alley 1610 (Rich, 59). Unnamed 1610 (Speed). ⇒
Butter Lane	See Bishop Street.	Cork Hill	Bod Street c. 1282 (<i>Cal. Christ Church bks</i> , 41). Unnamed 1610 (Speed). For another Cork Hill, see Cross Lane South. ⇒
Canon Street	Way c. 1240 (<i>Alen's reg.</i> , 68). Closed by 1323 (<i>Ancient records</i> , i, 157). Old blocked lane c. 1395 (<i>Alen's reg.</i> , 231). ⇒	Cork Street	Highway 1603 (<i>Ancient records</i> , i, 194). ⇒
Castle Lane	See Castle Steps.	Cornmarket	Great street c. 1258 (<i>Reg. St John</i> , 38). Main street 1338 (Smyly (2), 20). High street 1359, 1443; Bulrynge 1435 (Berry, 1904, 65, 68, 75). Newgate Street 1577 (Holinshead, 1577, 47). Corn Market 1600 (<i>Ancient records</i> , iii, 534). Unnamed 1610 (Speed). ⇒
Castle Square	Location unknown, perhaps E. end of Castle Street (<i>q.v.</i>). Castle Square 1577 (<i>Cal. exch. inq.</i> , 235).	Cow Lane (1)	(53103985). Street c. 1220 (<i>Reg. St John</i> , 47). Possibly same as Krokere Street (<i>q.v.</i>) 1290 (Smyly (1), 28). Old lane 1379 (Smyly (3), 42). Cow Lane 1471 (St John deeds, 201). Red Cow Lane 1530 (Clark and Refaussé, 39). Cow Lane 1543 (Berry, 1915, 39). Cock Lane 1569 (St John deeds, 210). Closed by 1577 (<i>Cal. exch. inq.</i> , 235). To be surveyed and mered 1605 (<i>Ancient records</i> , ii, 442). For another Cow Lane, see Greek Street. ⇒
Castle Steps	Way 1326 (<i>Christ Church deeds</i> , 569). Castle Lane 1403 (St John deeds, 191). Shepes Lane 1412 (<i>Rot. pat. Hib.</i> , 199). Castle Lane 1540 (<i>Cal. exch. inq.</i> , 78). ⇒	Cow Lane (2)	Location unknown, probably Francis St W. Cou Lane c. 1262, c. 1300 (<i>Reg. St John</i> , 16, 14), 1328 (<i>Ancient records</i> , i, 157). Cowe Lane c. 1395 (<i>Alen's reg.</i> , 231), 1488 (Metes). Cow Lane 1530 (<i>Cal. Christ Church bks</i> , 38), 1557 (<i>Christ Church deeds</i> , 1249). Cowe Lane 1592 (<i>Chapter acts</i> , 79). For another Cow Lane, see Greek Street. ⇒
Castle Street [east]	Laid out by late 10th cent. (Simpson, 2000, 32, 34). Route opposite castle gate c. 1173 (<i>Reg. St Thomas</i> , 370, 371). Great street c. 1195 (<i>Reg. St John</i> , 125). Castle Street c. 1232 (<i>Christ Church deeds</i> , 48), 1316, 1341, 1543 (St Werburgh deeds, 299, 300, 308). Castell Street 1552 (<i>Fiants, Edw. VI</i> , 1108). Buildings severely damaged by gunpowder explosion in 1597 (Lennon, 1989, 125). Castle Street 1606 (Watson), 1610 (Speed). ⇒	Cow Lane (3)	St Audoen's parish, site unknown. Cow Lane 1405 (St John deeds, 192). For another Cow Lane, see Greek Street.
Castle Street [west]	Laid out by late 10th cent. (Simpson, 2000, 32, 34). Great street c. 1195 (<i>Reg. St John</i> , 125). Castle Street c. 1253 (St Werburgh deeds, 298). Saddlers' Street (<i>vicus sellariorum</i>) c. 1259 (<i>Christ Church deeds</i> , 505). Castle Street 1316 (St Werburgh deeds, 299). Castel Street 1412 (<i>Rot. pat. Hib.</i> , 199). Castle Street 1543 (St Werburgh deeds, 308). Castell Street 1552 (<i>Fiants, Edw. VI</i> , 1108). Buildings severely damaged by gunpowder explosion in 1597 (Lennon, 1989, 125). Castle Street 1610 (Speed). ⇒	Cow Lane (4)	W. of ditch of Dublin Castle (see 12 Defence), site unknown. Cowe Lane 1552 (<i>Fiants, Edw. VI</i> , 1108). For another Cow Lane, see Greek Street.
Ceyle	Near Winetavern Street (<i>q.v.</i>), site unknown, perhaps same as Lokot Street (<i>q.v.</i>). 'Way called Ceyle' c. 1210 (<i>Reg. St John</i> , 62). See also lane (4).	Crocker Lane	Between Castle Street (<i>q.v.</i>) and Copper Alley (<i>q.v.</i>), site unknown. Crocker Lane 1610 (Gilbert, 1854–9, i, 93). ⇒
Chancery Lane	Street c. 1230 (<i>Reg. All Saints</i> , 34), 1488 (<i>Christ Church deeds</i> , 352). Chancery Lane 1536 (<i>Cal. S.P. Ire.</i> , 1509–73, 24). High street 1571 (<i>Fiants, Eliz.</i> , 1854). ⇒	Crockers' Lane or Street	See Marshal Lane.
Chequer Lane	See Exchequer Street.	Cromwell's Quarters	0.75 km W. of city. 'Blind, steep lane' called Murdring Lane 1603 (<i>Ancient records</i> , i, 195). ⇒
Christ Church Lane	See St Michael's Hill.	Cross Lane	See Bride Street [south].
Christchurch Place [north]	Boue Street c. 1215 (<i>Crede Mihi</i> , 135). Bode Street c. 1220 (<i>Reg. St John</i> , 47). Bothe Street c. 1238 (<i>Christ Church deeds</i> , 484). Both Street 1244 (<i>Chartul. St Mary's</i> , i, 352). Bothe Street c. 1266; Boue Street c. 1270 (<i>Reg. St John</i> , 82, 65). Bod or Bouth or Bouthe Street c. 1285 (<i>Cal. Christ Church bks</i> , 41, 39). Bothy Street 1287 (<i>Christ Church deeds</i> , 525). Bothe Street 1345 (St John deeds, 187). Doue Street 1361; Bothe Street 1379 (Smyly (3), 33, 42). Bow Street 1419 (St John deeds, 196). Bovhe Street 1471 (<i>Christ Church deeds</i> , 992). Bove Street 1533 (<i>Rep. viride</i> , 182). Bode Street 1540 (<i>Cal. exch. inq.</i> , 78). Boothe Street 1541 (<i>Extents Ir. mon. possessions</i> , 87). Unnamed 1610 (Speed). ⇒	Cross Lane South	(51353960). Street of Holy Trinity c. 1190; lane 1329, 1334; Rownyng Lane 1444, 1483 (<i>Christ Church deeds</i> , 472, 577, 588, 939, 1042). Rowne Lane 1528 (St Michael deeds, 90). Cork Hill 1543 (St Werburgh deeds, 315). 'Pavement formerly called Rowning Lane' 1551 (<i>Christ Church deeds</i> , 1233). Cocke Hill 1557 (<i>Ancient records</i> , i, 460). Rowning Lane 1572 (St Michael deeds, 90). Cocke Hill 1577 (Holinshead, 1577, 45). Cork Hill 1588 (Friday Bk, 486). Rowing Lane 1589 (<i>Chapter acts</i> , 61). Dock Hill or Cock Hill 1592 (Gilbert, 1854–9, i, 147). Rounde Lane 1594 (St Michael deeds, 90). Dotchill or Cock Hill 1604 (<i>Pat. rolls Ire.</i> , <i>Jas I</i> , i, 131). Unnamed 1610 (Speed). ⇒
Christchurch Place [west]	Bode Street c. 1220 (<i>Reg. St John</i> , 47). Bohe Street c. 1259 (<i>Christ Church deeds</i> , 504). Skinners' Street (<i>vicus pellepariorum</i>) c. 1267; Boue Street c. 1270; Skinners' Street c. 1279 (<i>Reg. St John</i> , 78, 65, 84). Bod or Bouth or Bouthe Street c. 1285 (<i>Cal. Christ Church bks</i> , 41, 39). High street 1324; Bothe Street 1345 (Smyly (2), 4, 23). Skinner Row or Bothe Street 1435 (Smyly (4), 12). Bothe Street 1488 (<i>Franchise roll</i> , 61). Skynner Row 1514 (St Werburgh deeds, 314). Skyner Lane or Row 1564 (<i>Proctor's accounts</i> , 19). Skinners Row 1610 (Speed). ⇒	Cuckoo Lane	See Golden Lane (2). Lane 1320; Gocoue's Lane 1397 (<i>Christ Church deeds</i> , 553, 785). Coccow Lane 1409 (Sts Catherine and James deeds, 273). Cowcow Lane 1469; Cocoue Lane 1483 (<i>Christ Church deeds</i> , 984, 1044). Cowkow Lane 1539 (<i>Chartul. St Mary's</i> , ii, 55). Unnamed 1610 (Speed). ⇒
Church Lane South	Way early 15th cent. (<i>Alen's reg.</i> , 224). St Keuyn's Lane 1577 (Holinshead, 1577, 48). Unnamed 1610 (Speed). ⇒	Curryer's Lane	See Sutor Street.
Church Street [north]	Great street c. 1248 (<i>Chartul. St Mary's</i> , i, 492). High street c. 1265 (Holinshead, 1577, 48). Great street of Oxmantown 1296 (Berry, 1918, 34). King's way c. 1303 (St John deeds, 182–3). Oxmantown Street 1401; Ostmen's Street 1483 (<i>Christ Church deeds</i> , 810, 1046). Pavement 1493 (<i>Ancient records</i> , i, 379). Eastmans' Street or Ostmans' Street (<i>vicus Estemanorum</i> , <i>vicus Ostimanorum</i>) early 16th cent. (<i>Obits</i> , 70, 75). Pavement 1539, 1557; queen's highway 1576 (<i>Christ Church deeds</i> , 1174, 1248, 1344). Unnamed 1610 (Speed). ⇒	Cusakes Lane	See Rosemary Lane.
		Cut-throat Lane	0.75 km W. of city. Lane 1603 (<i>Ancient records</i> , i, 195). ⇒
		Dame Street	Way to Hogges 1239 (<i>Ancient records</i> , i, 83–4). Great street c. 1260 (<i>Chartul. St Mary's</i> , i, 469). Street c. 1272, 1310; highway 1347; Teyngmouth Street 1348 (<i>Christ Church deeds</i> , 517, 539).

	636, 239). Tengmouth Street 1364 (St John deeds, 189); named after Thingmount (see 13 Administration). Dames Street 1565; Dammes Street 1577; Dames Street 1606 (<i>Ancient records</i> , ii, 41, 547, 458). Damas Street 1610 (Speed); named after dam, R. Poddle (see 18 Utilities). ⇒		
Dean Street	Le Combe c. 1260 (<i>Alen's reg.</i> , 126). Coumbe c. 1270 (<i>Reg. St John</i> , 97). Coumbe c. 1300 (<i>Crede Mihi</i> , 115). The Coumbe 1306 (<i>Cal. justic. rolls Ire.</i> , 1305–7, 198). The Cowme 1454 (<i>Ancient records</i> , i, 283). The Couimbe 1488 (Metes). The Cumbe c. 1530 (<i>Alen's reg.</i> , 302). Unnamed 1610 (Speed). See also Coombe, The. ⇒	Hoey's Court	Lane 1345, 1411; prison lane 1430 (<i>Christ Church deeds</i> , 629, 851, 907). ⇒
Dock Hill or Dotchill	See Cross Lane South.	Hogges Lane	See Temple Lane South.
Donour Street	See Pimlico.	Holmoke Street	See St Michael's Close.
Dorset Street	0.75 km N. of city. King's highway 1328 (<i>Ancient records</i> , i, 158), c. 1395 (<i>Alen's reg.</i> , 231). Highway 1488 (Metes), 1603 (<i>Ancient records</i> , i, 197). ⇒	Holy Trinity Lane	See St Michael's Hill.
	See Christchurch Place [north].	Homer or Hongemon Lane	See Hammond Lane.
Doue Street	See Arbour Hill.	Hyn Street or Hyne Lane	See Sutor Street.
Earber Hill	See Church Street [north].	Isoudes Lane	See Exchange Street Lower.
Eastmans' Street	Lane 1303 (<i>Reg. St John</i> , 366). Partly 'impaled' in c. 1609 (<i>Ancient records</i> , ii, 512). See also street (2). ⇒	James's Street	Great road c. 1210 (<i>Reg. St John</i> , 8). St James's Street early 13th cent. (<i>Reg. St Thomas</i> , 412). St Jamis Street 1601; St James Street 1607 (<i>Ancient records</i> , ii, 369, 482). St James Street 1610 (Speed). ⇒
Essex Street West	Scarlett Lane 1342 (Berry, 1904, 65). Scarlet Lane 1352 (<i>Ancient records</i> , i, 120). King's pavement 1557 (<i>Christ Church deeds</i> , 1246). Scarlet Lane or Isoudes Lane 1577 (Holinshed, 1577, 48). Scarlet Lane 1582 (<i>Fiants, Eliz.</i> , 3980). Lane 1609 (<i>Ancient records</i> , ii, 521). Unnamed 1610 (Speed). ⇒	John Street West	Tennis court Lane 1610 (Speed). ⇒
Exchange Street Lower	Scarlett Lane 1293 (St Michael deeds, 90). Scarletes Lane 1302 (<i>Reg. St John</i> , 77). Scarlet Lane 1342 (Berry, 1904, 65). Scarlet Lane 1352 (<i>Ancient records</i> , i, 120). Way to Isolde's Tower (see 12 Defence) 1451; pavement 1557 (<i>Christ Church deeds</i> , 951, 1246). Lane 1609 (<i>Ancient records</i> , ii, 521). Unnamed 1610 (Speed). ⇒	John's Lane East	St John's Lane 1470 (<i>Christ Church deeds</i> , 986), 1485 (St John deeds, 203). St Iohn's Street or Fishe shamble Street 1577 (Holinshed, 1577, 47). St Johns Lane 1594 (<i>Chapter acts</i> , 90). Unnamed 1610 (Speed). ⇒
Exchange Street Upper	Chequer Lane, opened in 1610 (Harris, 105). ⇒	Kennedy's Lane	Lane c. 1279 (<i>Reg. St John</i> , 58, 125), 1425 (<i>Franchise roll</i> , 64), 1543 (St Werburgh deeds, 314–15). To be reopened 1557 (<i>Ancient records</i> , i, 468). Lane 1588 (<i>Ancient records</i> , ii, 214). 'Cobbled path' excavated (Walsh, 2001, 116). ⇒
Exchequer Street	High Street N., site unknown. 1585 (<i>Fiants, Eliz.</i> , 4692).	Kevin Street Lower	St Keauin's Street c. 1225 (<i>Reg. St John</i> , 112). Highway 1317 (<i>Christ Church deeds</i> , 548). King's way early 15th cent. (<i>Alen's reg.</i> , 224). St Kevvynes Street 1466 (<i>Ancient records</i> , i, 323). St Keauen's Street 1577 (Holinshed, 1577, 47). St Kevam Street 1610 (Speed). ⇒
Fere Street	See Fishamble Street [south].	Kevin Street Upper	St Kevin's Street c. 1225 (<i>Reg. St John</i> , 112). Highway 1317 (<i>Christ Church deeds</i> , 548). St Kevvynes Street 1466 (<i>Ancient records</i> , i, 323). King's way 1506 (<i>Alen's reg.</i> , 259). St Keauen's Street 1577 (Holinshed, 1577, 47). Unnamed 1610 (Speed). ⇒
Fish, Fishermen's or Fishery Street	Pavement 1562 (<i>Christ Church deeds</i> , 1280). St Tullock's Lane 1577 (Holinshed, 1577, 48). Buildings severely damaged by gunpowder explosion in 1597 (Lennon, 1989, 125). For another Fishamble Street, see John's Lane East. ⇒	Key, The	See Merchant's Quay.
Fishamble Street [north]	Laid out in early to mid 10th cent. (Simpson, 2000, 30, 34). Fishery Street (<i>vicus piscarie</i>) 1261 (<i>Chartul. St Mary's</i> , i, 425). Fyschame Street c. 1285 (Cal. Christ Church bks, 39). Fishmongers' Street (<i>vicus piscenariorum</i>) 1308 (<i>Reg. St John</i> , 67). Fishery Street 1327 (<i>Ancient records</i> , i, 115). Fishamel Street 1350 (St John deeds, 188). Fishermen's Street 1409 (<i>Christ Church deeds</i> , 846). Fish Street 1470 (<i>Ancient records</i> , i, 344). Fysshamllys Street 1488; Fyshe Street 1537 (<i>Christ Church deeds</i> , 1090, 1163). Fysshamylls Street 1540 (<i>Extents Ir. mon. possessions</i> , 69). Fishery Street 1569 (St John deeds, 210). Fish Shambles Square 1577 (<i>Cal. exch. inq.</i> , 235). Fishe Street 1586 (<i>Chapter acts</i> , 50). Buildings severely damaged by gunpowder explosion in 1597 (Lennon, 1989, 125). Fish Street 1610 (<i>Christ Church deeds</i> , 1470). ⇒	Keysars Lane	See Krysars Lane.
Fishamble Street [south]	See St Michan's Street.	Kilholmok Street or Kylmehalmokis Lane	See St Michael's Close.
Fisher's Street or Fisshere's Lane	See Church Street [south].	King Street South	King's pavement 1553 (<i>Christ Church deeds</i> , 1243). ⇒
Fore Street	Near Cook Street (<i>q.v.</i>), site unknown. Fount Street (<i>vicus phontis</i>) 1540 (<i>Cal. exch. inq.</i> , 79).	Kisher's Lane	See Krysars Lane.
Fount Street	Great street c. 1200; street 1258 (<i>Reg. St John</i> , 12, 91). King's highway 1325; St Francis's Street 1337 (<i>Ancient records</i> , i, 120, 121). St Francis Street 1363 (Smyly (3), 35), 1446 (St John deeds, 199). St Fraunces Street 1575 (<i>Fiants, Eliz.</i> , 2579). St Fransest Street 1604 (<i>Pat. rolls Ire.</i> , <i>Jas I</i> , i, 46). St Francis Street 1610 (Speed). ⇒	Krokkere Street	See Marshal Lane.
Francis Street	See Beresford Street.	Krysars Lane	Kisher's Lane 1381; Kyssere's Lane 1400; Kisshoke's Lane 1482 (Berry, 1904, 47, 70, 81). Keasers Lane 1577 (Holinshed, 1577, 48). Keyzar's Lane, 'steep and slippery' 1587 (Gilbert, 1854–9, i, 254). Keysars Lane 1608 (<i>Ancient records</i> , ii, 509). Kaysars Lane 1610 (Speed). See also lane (2). ⇒
Frapesawse or Frapper Lane	See Rocke Lane.	La Stronde Lane	Near Ship Street Great (<i>q.v.</i>), site unknown. Lane c. 1230 (<i>Ancient records</i> , i, 148).
Freestone Alley	See lane (5).	Lane	Near St Martin's Church (see 11 Religion), site unknown. Small lane c. 1238 (<i>Christ Church deeds</i> , 485).
Fumbally Lane	See Fishamble Street [south].	Lane (1)	Near Marshal Lane (<i>q.v.</i>), site unknown. Lane c. 1239 (<i>Reg. All Saints</i> , 47). Perhaps same as later Bridgefoot Street.
Fyschame Street	Oxmantown, site unknown. Gyglot Hill 1546 (St John deeds, 208). Giglottes Hill 1577 (Holinshed, 1577, 48).	Lane	Near Cook Street (<i>q.v.</i>), site unknown. Lane c. 1241 (<i>Ancient records</i> , i, 84).
Giglot Hill	See St Michael's Close.	Lane (2)	Between Newgate (see 12 Defence) and St Audoen's Church (see 11 Religion), site unknown, perhaps same as Krysars Lane (<i>q.v.</i>). Small lane 1244 (<i>Chartul. St Mary's</i> , i, 351).
Gilleholmoc Street or Gilmeholmoc's Lane	See Cuckoo Lane.	Lane (3)	Oxmantown, site unknown, possibly Mary's Lane (<i>q.v.</i>). Lane 1301 (St John deeds, 180).
Gocoue's Lane	St Michael's and St Nicholas's parishes, site unknown. Gold Lane 1365 (Smyly (3), 37). Golde Lane 1438 (Smyly (4), 12), 1483 (Smyly (5), 44).	Lane	(52903500). Lane 1303 (<i>Alen's reg.</i> , 157). 'Backside of St Sepulchre's' (see 22 Residence: St Sepulchre's Palace) 1577 (Holinshed, 1577, 47). ⇒
Gold Lane	St John's parish, site unknown. Golden Lane 1382 (Berry, 1904, 64).	Lane	Bride St W., site unknown. Old lane 1303 (<i>Alen's reg.</i> , 157). ⇒
Golden Lane (1)	Crosse Lane 1610 (Speed). See also way (9). ⇒	Lane (4)	Near Winetavern Street (<i>q.v.</i>), site unknown, perhaps same as Ceyle (<i>q.v.</i>) and Lokot Street (<i>q.v.</i>). 'Lane from St John's Church (see 11 Religion: St John's Church, John's Lane East) to Winetavern Gate' (see 12 Defence) 1305 (<i>Ancient records</i> , i, 223).
Golden Lane (2)	Unnamed 1610 (Speed). See also way (6). ⇒	Lane	(49953955). Lane, arched over by chancel and aisle of St Audoen's Church (see 11 Religion) in c. 1350 (Crawford, 87). Partly built over in c. 1570 (Gilbert, 1854–9, i, 279). Portion extant inside church 2002. ⇒
Grafton Street	Cow Lane 1409 (Sts Catherine and James deeds, 273), 1471 (St John deeds, 201). Cowe Lane 1519 (<i>Christ Church deeds</i> , 1132). Cow Lane 1530 (St John deeds, 206). ⇒	Lane (5)	Near New Street South (<i>q.v.</i>), site unknown. Lane 1465, c. 1530 (<i>Alen's reg.</i> , 243). Perhaps same as later Fumbally Lane.
Greek Street	King's highway c. 1265 (<i>Ancient records</i> , i, 96). Hongemon Lane 1454; Hangmanes Lane 1466; Hankman's Lane 1468; Hangeman Lane 1486 (<i>Ancient records</i> , i, 282, 322, 329, 370). Homer Lane 1540 (<i>Cal. exch. inq.</i> , 80). Hangman Lane 1560, 1568 (<i>Ancient records</i> , ii, 10, 52). Unnamed 1610 (Speed). ⇒	Lane (6)	Near New Street South (<i>q.v.</i>), site unknown. Lane 1465 (<i>Alen's reg.</i> , 243). Perhaps same as later Long Lane.
Hammond Lane	Laid out by early 11th cent. (Simpson, 2000, 35, 36). Main street of Dublin c. 1241 (<i>Christ Church deeds</i> , 491). High street c. 1293 (Berry, 1904, 79), 1307; king's way 1481; high street 1522; 'the trade way' 1548 (<i>Christ Church deeds</i> , 537, 1030, 1140, 1221). Hyghe Street 1564 (<i>Proctor's accounts</i> , 20). Hy Street 1565 (<i>Christ Church deeds</i> , 1298). Buildings severely damaged by gunpowder explosion in 1597 (Lennon, 1989, 125). High Street 1610 (Speed). ⇒	Lane	Near Bride Street (<i>q.v.</i>), site unknown. Lane 1488 (Metes).
Hangman Lane	Near St Stephen's Green (see 14 Primary production), site unknown, possibly Wexford Street (<i>q.v.</i>). Highway 1379 (<i>Christ Church deeds</i> , 742).	Lane (7)	Near St Mary's Priory (see 11 Religion), site unknown, possibly Whitefriar Street (<i>q.v.</i>). Lane 1496 (Smyly (5), 46).
High Street	Near St Stephen's Green (see 14 Primary production), site unknown, possibly Redmond's Hill (<i>q.v.</i>). Highway 1385 (<i>Christ Church deeds</i> , 753).	Lane (8)	Near Francis Street (<i>q.v.</i>), site unknown. 'Lane against St Francis's Church door' (see 11 Religion: Franciscan friary) 1530 (Cal. Christ Church bks, 37). Perhaps same as later Wall's Lane.
Highway (1)		Lane	Oxmantown, site unknown. 'Lane adjoining Bathe's lands' 1563 (<i>Ancient records</i> , ii, 33).
Highway (2)		Lane (9)	(49903965). Lane 1572 (<i>Ancient records</i> , ii, 76).
Highway (3)		Lane	In Oxmantown, site unknown, possibly Bull Lane (<i>q.v.</i>). Stony lane 1581 (<i>Christ Church deeds</i> , 1356).
		Le Combe	Oxmantown, site unknown. Lane 1603 (St John deeds, 214).
		Le Fere Street	See Coombe, The, Dean Street.
		Le Haggard Place	See Church Street [south].
		Le Podell	See Bertram's Court.
		Le Wodkey	See Patrick Street.
		Lebhome Lane	See Wood Quay.
		Leeson Street	See Bow Street.
		Leighlin Lane	Highway 1603 (<i>Ancient records</i> , i, 193). ⇒
		Liththorne Street	Oxmantown, site unknown. Leighlin Lane 1546, 1598 (Berry, 1915, 42).
		Lokot Street	St Nicholas's Within parish, perhaps part of Christchurch Place [west] (<i>q.v.</i>), site unknown. Lithorus Street c. 1220 (<i>Alen's reg.</i> , 50). Lithoru Street c. 1220 (<i>Crede Mihi</i> , 57). Liththorne Street 1382 (Mills, 123).
		Long Lane	Near Winetavern Street (<i>q.v.</i>), site unknown, perhaps same as Ceyle (<i>q.v.</i>). Lokot Street 1380 (<i>Reg. St John</i> , 105). See also lane (4).
		Lotebourne Lane	See lane (6).
		Louestokes Lane	See Mullinahack, Wormwood Gate.
		Lycowne Street	See Rosemary Lane.
		Marshal Lane	See Coombe, The.
			Street of the pots (<i>vicus pottorum</i>) c. 1190 (<i>Reg. St John</i> , 22). Crokere Street late 12th cent. (<i>Reg. St Thomas</i> , 404). Krokere

- Street c. 1202 (*Alen's reg.*, 29). Crockers' Street c. 1264 (*Ancient records*, i, 96). Croker Street 1273 (*Reg. St John*, 41). Crockere Street 1318 (*Reg. All Saints*, 49). Highway 1332 (Berry, 1904, 85). Potters' Street (*vicus figulorum*), 'now called Behinde Street' 1344 (Smyly (2), 23). Crokeris Lane 1365 (Smyly (3), 36). King's pavement 1533 (Smyly (7), 66). Croker Lane 1549 (*Ancient records*, i, 420). Crockeris Lane 1567 (*Fiants, Eliz.*, 1133). Crockers' Lane 1590 (*Ancient records*, ii, 237). Unnamed 1610 (Speed). ⇒
- Mary's Lane Brode Street c. 1262 (*Ancient records*, i, 94). Lane 1409 (Sts Catherine and James deeds, 273). Lane of St Mary the Virgin 1477 (St John deeds, 202). Mary Lane 1501 (*Ancient records*, i, 387), 1546 (St John deeds, 208), 1577 (Holinshed, 1577, 48), 1603 (St John deeds, 214). Unnamed 1610 (Speed). See also lane (3), way (4). ⇒
- May Lane Comynes Lane 1470 (*Ancient records*, i, 341). ⇒
- Merchant's Quay [east] La Stronde early 13th cent. (*Chartul. St Mary's*, i, 213). The Strond c. 1230; The Strand c. 1268 (*Christ Church deeds*, 43, 514). Royal road 1327 (Smyly (2), 12). The Key 1557 (*Christ Church deeds*, 1250). Merchaunt Quay 1560 (*Ancient records*, ii, 9). Merchand Quay 1569 (*Fiants, Eliz.*, 1311). Merchants Quay 1570 (*Christ Church deeds*, 1317). Merchant Quay 1577 (Holinshed, 1577, 47). Buildings severely damaged by gunpowder explosion in 1597 (Lennon, 1989, 125). Marchants Quay 1610 (Speed). ⇒
- Merchant's Quay [west] La Stronde early 13th cent. (*Chartul. St Mary's*, i, 213). The Strond c. 1230; The Strand c. 1268 (*Christ Church deeds*, 43, 514). Royal road 1327 (Smyly (2), 12). The Key 1557 (*Christ Church deeds*, 1250). Merchaunt Quay 1560 (*Ancient records*, ii, 9). Merchand Quay 1569 (*Fiants, Eliz.*, 1311). Merchants Quay 1570 (*Christ Church deeds*, 1317). Merchant Quay 1577 (Holinshed, 1577, 47). Buildings severely damaged by gunpowder explosion in 1597 (Lennon, 1989, 125). Marchants Quay 1610 (Speed). ⇒
- Meyler's Alley (52553595). Old lane, closed up 1328 (*Ancient records*, i, 157), c. 1395 (*Alen's reg.*, 231). Old lane 1488 (Metes), 1603 (*Ancient records*, i, 193). ⇒
- Michael's Lane See St Michael's Close.
- Morehampton Road 1.5 km S.E. of city. High road c. 1255 (*Cal. Pembroke deeds*, 1). Highway 1603 (*Ancient records*, i, 192). ⇒
- Mount Brown 0.75 km W. of city. Lane 1488 (Metes). Highway 1603 (*Ancient records*, i, 195). ⇒
- Mullinahack Royal road c. 1234 (*Reg. St John*, 37). Lotebourne Lane 1348 (*Ancient records*, i, 123). ⇒
- Murdring Lane See Cromwell's Quarters.
- Nassau Street Lane or 'booter' 1538 (*Cal. exch. inq.*, 74). Lane 1592 (*Reg. All Saints*, 94). Unnamed 1610 (Speed). ⇒
- New Buildings See St Augustine Street.
- New Street South New street c. 1218 (*Christ Church deeds*, 480), mid 13th cent. (*Alen's reg.*, 78), 1300 (*Cal. justic. rolls Ire.*, 1295–1303, 314), 1331 (*Alen's reg.*, 201). New Street 1478 (*Franchise roll*, 50). New Street or The Poddell 1497 (*Alen's reg.*, 253). Buildings burnt in 1534 (Holinshed, 1577, 273). Newe Street 1541 (*Fiants, Hen. VIII*, 238), 1610 (Speed). ⇒
- Newe Row See St Augustine Street.
- Newgate Street See Cornmarket.
- Nicholas Street St Nicholas Street c. 1190 (*Christ Church deeds*, 473), c. 1202 (*Alen's reg.*, 29). Great street c. 1279 (*Reg. St John*, 125). St Nicholas's Street 1349 (Sayles, 196). Royal road 1357 (Smyly (2), 27). St Nicholas Street 1543 (*Christ Church deeds*, 1193). St Nicholas's Street 1577; St Nycholas Street 1593 (*Ancient records*, ii, 547, 263). St Nicolas Street 1610 (Speed). ⇒
- Ormunton See Bridge Street Lower.
- Ostmen's or Oxmantoun Street See Church Street [north], Church Street [south].
- Ourlady Lane See Arran Street East.
- Palace Street Lane c. 1260 (*Chartul. St Mary's*, i, 468). 'Way to king's mill' (see **15** Manufacturing) 1352, 1387, 1467, 1537 (St John deeds, 188, 190, 200, 207). ⇒
- Parnell Street 0.5 km N. of city. King's highway 1328 (*Ancient records*, i, 158), c. 1395 (*Alen's reg.*, 231). Highway 1488 (Metes), 1603 (*Ancient records*, i, 197). ⇒
- Patrick Street Implied in rerouting of R. Poddle in late 12th cent. (Walsh, 1997, 22). Royal street c. 1230 (*Reg. St John*, 101). St Patrick's Street mid 13th cent., c. 1287, 1326 (*Alen's reg.*, 81, 151, 171). St Patrick Street 1455 (*Christ Church deeds*, 961). Street 1488 (Metes). Street of St Patrick, called Le Podell 1496 (*Dignitas decani*, 54). St Patrycke's Street 1552 (*Fiants, Edw. VI*, 1052). St Patricks Street 1610 (Speed). ⇒
- Paulemyll Street See Ship Street Little.
- Peter Picot's Lane See Schoolhouse Lane [north].
- Peter Row See St Peter 'apoles' Street.
- Pill Lane (50754300). Lane called Le Phill 1539 (*Chartul. St Mary's*, ii, 55). Lane called The Pill 1540 (*Cal. exch. inq.*, 80). Lane of St Mary's Abbey 1581 (*Christ Church deeds*, 1356). Abbey lane 1603 (*Ancient records*, i, 198). Unnamed 1610 (Speed). See also street (3). ⇒
- Pimlico Donour Street c. 1196 (*Alen's reg.*, 32). Unnamed 1610 (Speed). ⇒
- Pipe Lane Thomas Street S., site unknown. Pype Lane 1320 (Smyly (1), 39), 1349 (Smyly (2), 25). Lane late 14th cent. (*Ancient records*, i, 126). Pipe Lane 1426 (*Christ Church deeds*, 898).
- Pipe or Pipers' Street See Cook Street [west].
- Poddell, The See New Street South.
- Pol, Poule or Pulle Street See Ship Street Little.
- Potters' Street See Marshal Lane.
- Preston's Lane See Copper Alley.
- Protestant Row See highway (2).
- Pycotis Lane See Schoolhouse Lane [north].
- Ram Lane See Schoolhouse Lane [south].
- Rame Lane See Skippers' Alley.
- Red Cow Lane See Cow Lane (1).
- Redmond's Hill Lane 1465, 1603 (*Ancient records*, i, 321, 193). See also highway (3). ⇒
- Road (53504065). Stone road, orientated N.–S., 9th cent. (Simpson, 1999, 21, 25).
- Road (53154070). Wattle road, orientated E.–W., early 10th cent., later made of stone (Simpson, 1999, 24, 30, 31–2).
- Roche Street, Rochelle See Back Lane.
- Lane or Street, or Rothen Lane
- Rocke Lane Location unknown, perhaps same as later Freestone Alley. 1543 (*Cal. exch. inq.*, 98).
- Rosemary Lane King's lane c. 1270 (*Christ Church deeds*, 96). Louestokes Lane 1403 (Smyly (3), 48); named after Adam de Louestoc, bailiff. Lane 1406 (Smyly (4), 2). Cusakes Lane 1469 (*Franchise roll*, 48). Cusakeis Lane 1479 (Smyly (5), 40). Lane 1579; Rosemarye Lane 1608 (*Ancient records*, ii, 140, 490). Woodstock Lane 1610 (Speed). ⇒
- Rosipelle Street See Back Lane.
- Rounde, Rowne or Rownyng Lane See Cross Lane South.
- Rupelle Street See Back Lane.
- Saddlers' Street See Castle Street [west].
- St Audoen's Lane (49603975). Lane c. 1241 (*Ancient records*, i, 84). Audoen's Street c. 1286 (*Reg. St John*, 29). St Audoen's Lane 1305 (*Ancient records*, i, 223), 1397; way 1425 (Berry, 1904, 79, 80). St Audoen's Lane 1559 (*Ancient records*, i, 482–3). St Townenes Lane 1565 (*Ancient records*, ii, 42). St Awdeons Lane 1607; St Awdeons Arch 1609 (*Ancient records*, ii, 471, 522). St Owens Lane 1610 (Speed). ⇒
- St Augustine Street New Buildings 1577 (Holinshed, 1577, 47). Newe Row 1610 (Speed). ⇒
- St Augustines See Temple Lane South.
- St Bride's Street See Bride Street [north], Bride Street [south].
- St Francis's Street See Francis Street.
- St George's Lane or Street See South Great George's Street.
- St James's Street See James's Street.
- St John's Lane See John's Lane East.
- St Katherine's Street See Thomas Court.
- St Kevin's Cross-road See Bride Street [south].
- St Kevin's Lane See Church Lane South.
- St Kevin's Street See Kevin Street Lower, Kevin Street Upper.
- St Martin's Lane (53303915). Lane c. 1238, c. 1256, c. 1273 (*Christ Church deeds*, 485, 496, 100), c. 1285 (Cal. Christ Church bks, 41). St Marten's Lane 1543 (St Werburgh deeds, 308).
- St Martin's Street Oxmantown, site unknown. St Martin's Street 1539 (*Chartul. St Mary's*, ii, 54).
- St Michael's Close Gilleholmoc Street c. 1200; St Michael's Street early 13th cent. (*Chartul. St Mary's*, i, 216, 221). Gilleholmok Street c. 1249; Gilmaholmog Street c. 1258 (*Christ Church deeds*, 493, 87). Gilleholmokis Street 1282; Gylmeholmok Street c. 1285 (Cal. Christ Church bks, 32, 41). Kilholmok Street 1288; Gilmeholmoc's Lane 1305 (*Ancient records*, i, 109, 223). Gilmoholmok Street 1314; Gilmocholmog Street 1319 (Smyly (1), 36, 38). Holmoke Street 1316 (*Cal. Pembroke deeds*, 7). Kylmehalmokis Lane 1326 (Smyly (2), 10). Kylmchalmokys Lane 1329 (*Christ Church deeds*, 577). Gilmeholmokis Lane 1335 (*Cal. fine rolls*, 1327–37, 448). Michael's Lane 1337 (St Michael deeds, 90). Gilmoholmok Street c. 1341 (*Alen's reg.*, 203). Kilmealmocis Lane 1350; Kylhalmokys Lane 1354; Kylmehalmokis Lane 1355 (*Christ Church deeds*, 643, 648, 657); named after Mac Giolla Mo-Cholmóc, local chieftain. St Michael's Lane 1396, 1410 (*Christ Church deeds*, 781, 848). St Mychell's Lane 1477 (Smyly (5), 37). St Mighell's Lane 1483 (*Christ Church deeds*, 1042). St Mighales Lane 1493; St Mygcall's Lane 1500 (*Ancient records*, i, 379, 384). Lane of St Michael the Archangel 1544; St Mighel's Lane 1565 (*Christ Church deeds*, 1194, 1300). St Michael's Lane 1579 (*Ancient records*, ii, 140). St Mychaell's Lane 1589 (*Christ Church deeds*, 1388). Buildings severely damaged by gunpowder explosion in 1597 (Lennon, 1989, 125). St Migells Lane 1594; St Michells Lane 1603 (*Ancient records*, ii, 270, 413). St Michaels Lane 1610 (Speed). ⇒
- St Michael's Hill Street, to be diverted 1226 (*Cal. doc. Ire.*, 1171–1251, 209). To be realigned W. of Christ Church Cathedral (see **11** Religion) 1234 (*Hist. and mun. doc. Ire.*, 100); possible remains of original alignment uncovered in cathedral crypt (*Excavations 1999*, 62). Lane 1305 (*Ancient records*, i, 223). Christ Church Lane 1354; Holy Trinity Lane 1382; Cristchirche Lane 1444; Cristis church Lane 1483; Trynyte Lane 1542 (*Christ Church deeds*, 648, 746, 939, 1042, 434). Trinity Lane 1564 (*Proctor's accounts*, 19). Christ Church Lane 1600 (*Ancient records*, iii, 534). Trinity Lane 1610 (*Christ Church deeds*, 1470). Christchurch Lane 1610 (Speed). ⇒
- St Michan's Street Lane 1320; Fyssheres Lane 1397; Fyssheres Lane 1443; Fisher's Street 1513 (*Christ Church deeds*, 553, 785, 938, 1121). Fysher Lane 1539 (*Chartul. St Mary's*, ii, 55). Fisher Lane 1564 (*Christ Church deeds*, 1295), 1606 (*Chapter acts*, 120). Fish or Fische Lane 1610 (*Christ Church deeds*, 1470). Unnamed 1610 (Speed). See also way (3). ⇒
- St Mychell's Lane See St Michael's Close.
- St Nicholas's Street See Nicholas Street.
- St Owens Lane See St Audoen's Lane.
- St Patrick's Street See Patrick Street.
- St Peter 'apoles' Street Location unknown, possibly later Peter Row. 1591 (*Chapter acts*, 54).
- St Pulcher's Lane Near St Patrick's Close, site unknown. 'New street of St Sepulchre' (see **22** Residence: St Sepulchre's Palace) 1539 (*Chartul. St Mary's*, ii, 51). St Pulchers Lane 1577 (Holinshed, 1577, 48).
- St Stephane's Lane See Stephen Street Lower, Stephen Street Upper.
- St Thomas's Street See Thomas Street.
- St Townenes Lane See St Audoen's Lane.
- St Tullock's Lane See Fishamble Street [north].
- St Verberosses Lane See Sutor Street.
- St Verberosses or Werburgh's Street See Werburgh Street.
- Scarlet Lane (1) See Exchange Street Lower, Exchange Street Upper.
- Scarlet Lane (2) (52153995). Street, blocked at both ends 1577 (*Cal. exch. inq.*, 235).
- Scepe Street See Ship Street Great.
- Schoolhouse Lane Peter Picot's Lane c. 1250 (*Ancient records*, i, 85). Lane 1328; Pycotis Lane c. 1337 (Smyly (2), 14, 18). Picot's Lane c. 1340; Pycot's Lane c. 1371; Picottis Lane c. 1374 (*Christ Church deeds*, 621, 713, 730). Schoolhouse Lane 1610 (Speed). See also Bakhous Lane. ⇒

Schoolhouse Lane [south]	Lane 1328 (Smyly (2), 14). Ram Lane 1404, 1423, 1476; Rame Lane 1523 (<i>Christ Church deeds</i> , 268, 886, 1011, 1142), 1557 (<i>Ancient records</i> , i, 462). Ram Lane or Schoolehouse Lane 1577 (Holinshed, 1577, 48). Ram Lane 1600 (<i>Ancient records</i> , iii, 534). Schoolhouse Lane 1610 (Speed). See also Blind Street. ⇒	Trinity or Trynnye Lane Wall's Lane Watling Street Way (1)	267); 1457 (<i>Ancient records</i> , i, 296). Thomas Street 1572 (<i>Ancient records</i> , ii, 75). St Thomas Street 1610 (Speed). ⇒ See St Michael's Hill. See lane (8). Watling Street 1573 (<i>Cal. S.P. Ire.</i> , 1509–73, 512). ⇒ Leading towards Kilmainham, site unknown, possibly Bow Lane West (q.v.). 'Way to court of Kilmainham' (see 11 Religion: Kilmainham Priory) early 13th cent. (<i>Reg. St Thomas</i> , 395). See also way (8).
Sea Lane	Dame Street N., site unknown. Sea Lane 1577 (Holinshed, 1577, 48). Unnamed 1610 (Speed). ⇒	Way (2)	Near St Mary's Abbey (see 11 Religion), site unknown, perhaps Arran Street East (q.v.). Way c. 1255 (<i>Chartul. St Mary's</i> , i, 494), 1320 (<i>Christ Church deeds</i> , 553).
Sheep Street	See Ship Street Great, Ship Street Little.	Way (3)	Near St Mary's Abbey (see 11 Religion), site unknown, possibly St Michan's Street (q.v.). Royal way c. 1255 (<i>Chartul. St Mary's</i> , i, 494).
Shepes Lane	See Castle Steps.	Way (4)	Near St Mary's Abbey (see 11 Religion), site unknown, probably Mary's Lane (q.v.). Royal way c. 1257 (<i>Chartul. St Mary's</i> , i, 510–11).
Ship Street Great	Sheep Street c. 1215 (<i>Crede Mihi</i> , 135). Scepe Street c. 1261 (<i>Chartul. St Mary's</i> , i, 426). Schepes Street 1308; Sheep Street 1318 (Smyly (1), 32, 36). Shep Street 1320; Sheepe Street 1326 (Smyly (2), 3, 11). Ship Street 1488; Shipp Street 1489 (<i>Christ Church deeds</i> , 1088, 1097). Sheep Street (<i>vicus ovium</i>) or Ship Street (<i>vicus navium</i>) 1533 (<i>Rep. viride</i> , 182). All houses burnt in 1534 (Holinshed, 1577, 273). Ship Street 1556 (<i>Christ Church deeds</i> , 1243). Sheepe Street or Shippe Street 1577 (Holinshed, 1577, 47). Shipe Street 1591; Shepe Street 1596 (<i>Chapter acts</i> , 68, 94). Shyp Street 1600 (<i>Ancient records</i> , iii, 533). Sheepe Street 1610 (Speed). ⇒	Way (5)	St Andrew's parish, site unknown, possibly Temple Lane South (q.v.). Royal way c. 1257 (<i>Reg. All Saints</i> , 26).
Ship Street Little	Pulle Street c. 1180; highway 1328 (<i>Christ Church deeds</i> , 4, 575). Pol Street 1350 (Sayles, 198). Way towards Poll Mills (see 15 Manufacturing: Pool Mill) 1356; street to Poll Mill c. 1499; pavement 1557 (<i>Christ Church deeds</i> , 662, 1110, 1246). Poule or Paulemyll Street 1577 (Holinshed, 1577, 47). Shyp Street 1600 (<i>Ancient records</i> , iii, 533). Sheepe Street 1610 (Speed). ⇒	Way (6)	Leading towards St Stephen's Green (see 14 Primary production), possibly later Grafton Street (q.v.). Royal way c. 1262 (<i>Reg. St John</i> , 73).
Shoemakers' Street	See Sutor Street.	Way (7)	On bank of R. Liffey, site unknown, possibly Wood Quay (q.v.). Royal way c. 1281 (<i>Reg. St John</i> , 78).
Skinners' Row or Street, or Skyner Lane or Row	See Christchurch Place [west].	Way (8)	Leading towards Kilmainham, site unknown, possibly Bow Lane West (q.v.). 'Hanging way' 1320 (Smyly (2), 1–2). See also way (1).
Skipppers' Alley	Burnell's Lane 1450 (Berry, 1904, 80), 1573, 1599 (<i>Ancient records</i> , ii, 85, 332); named after Henry Burnell, recorder. Rame Lane 1560; Skypers Lane 1605; Skipper Lane 1608 (<i>Ancient records</i> , ii, 9, 446, 506). Rame Lane 1610 (Speed). ⇒	Way (9)	St Bridget's and St Michael le Pole's parishes, site unknown, possibly Golden Lane (2) (q.v.). King's way 1428 (<i>Christ Church deeds</i> , 904).
Smithfield	See Sutor Street.	Werburgh Street	Street alignment stabilised by mid 10th cent. (Simpson, 2000, 34). St Werburg's Street c. 1258 (<i>Christ Church deeds</i> , 500). St Werburgh Street 1338 (Smyly (2), 20). St Werburgh's Street 1341; street of St Werburgh the Virgin 1349 (St Werburgh deeds, 286). St Warburg's Street 1385; St Warburg's Street 1478 (<i>Christ Church deeds</i> , 754, 314). St Warbrowis Street 1493 (<i>Ancient records</i> , i, 379). St Verberosses Street 1577 (Holinshed, 1577, 47). St Warbroughe's Street 1600 (<i>Ancient records</i> , iii, 534). St Warbro's Street 1610 (<i>Christ Church deeds</i> , 1470). St Warbers Street 1610 (Speed). ⇒
Souter Street or Souteris Lane	Way 1239 (<i>Ancient records</i> , i, 83–4). Highway c. 1240 (<i>Christ Church deeds</i> , 492). Royal way c. 1278 (<i>Reg. All Saints</i> , 22). Street 1310 (<i>Christ Church deeds</i> , 539). St George's Street 1330 (Smyly (2), 15). St George's Lane 1455 (<i>Christ Church deeds</i> , 961). Barriers to be erected at both ends 1466 (<i>Ancient records</i> , i, 325). St George's Lane 1577 (Holinshed, 1577, 48). St Georges Lane 1610 (Speed). ⇒	Wexford Street	King's way 1430 (<i>Christ Church deeds</i> , 910). Lane 1465 (<i>Ancient records</i> , i, 321). See also highway (1). ⇒
South Great George's Street	Way 1239 (<i>Ancient records</i> , i, 83–4). Highway c. 1240 (<i>Christ Church deeds</i> , 492). Royal way c. 1278 (<i>Reg. All Saints</i> , 22). Street 1310 (<i>Christ Church deeds</i> , 539). St George's Street 1330 (Smyly (2), 15). St George's Lane 1455 (<i>Christ Church deeds</i> , 961). Barriers to be erected at both ends 1466 (<i>Ancient records</i> , i, 325). St George's Lane 1577 (Holinshed, 1577, 48). St Georges Lane 1610 (Speed). ⇒	Whitefriar Street	Whyte Friars Lane 1577 (Holinshed, 1577, 48). Unnamed 1610 (Speed). See also lane (7), street (5). ⇒
Stephen Street Lower	Royal way 1334 (<i>Reg. All Saints</i> , 32). Street 1455; king's pavement 1556 (<i>Christ Church deeds</i> , 961, 1243). St Stephane's Lane 1577 (Holinshed, 1577, 48). Unnamed 1610 (Speed). ⇒	Winetavern Street	Taverners' Street c. 1220 (<i>Reg. St John</i> , 55). Winetavern Street c. 1285 (<i>Cal. Christ Church bks</i> , 41). Winetaverners' Street 1317 (<i>Chartul. St Mary's</i> , ii, 353). 'Row of taverners' 1325 (<i>Cal. Pembroke deeds</i> , 8). High street of the taverners (<i>altus vicus tabernariorum</i>) 1326 (Smyly (2), 6). Tavern Street 1332 (St John deeds, 187). Wyntavern Street 1356 (<i>Christ Church deeds</i> , 663). Taverners' Street 1443 (Berry, 1904, 68). Wyntevern Street 1465; Wyne taverne Street 1470 (<i>Ancient records</i> , i, 321, 341). Wynteuer Street 1477 (Smyly (5), 38). Wynetaveren Street 1493 (<i>Ancient records</i> , i, 379). Buildings severely damaged by gunpowder explosion in 1597 (Lennon, 1989, 125). Wintavern Street 1600 (<i>Ancient records</i> , iii, 534). Wine tavern Street 1610 (Speed). ⇒
Stephen Street Upper	Royal way 1334 (<i>Reg. All Saints</i> , 32). Highway 1370; street 1455; king's pavement 1556 (<i>Christ Church deeds</i> , 711, 961, 1243). St Stephane's Lane 1577 (Holinshed, 1577, 48). St Stevens Street 1610 (Speed). See also street (4). ⇒	Wood Quay	Le Wodkey 1520 (St John deeds, 206). Le Woodkey 1539 (<i>Chartul. St Mary's</i> , ii, 47). Wode Quay 1565 (<i>Proctor's accounts</i> , 78), 1590 (<i>Chapter acts</i> , 66). Woode Quay 1585 (Circuit). Buildings severely damaged by gunpowder explosion in 1597 (Lennon, 1989, 125). Wood Quay 1610 (Speed). See also way (7). ⇒
Stonybatter	0.25 km N. of city. King's highway 1328 (<i>Ancient records</i> , i, 157), c. 1395 (<i>Alen's reg.</i> , 231). Highway 1488 (Metes). Stony bater or highway 1603 (<i>Ancient records</i> , i, 196). Second element derived from Irish <i>bóthar</i> , 'cow-track', 'drove way'. ⇒	Wood Street	Street 1364, 1405 (<i>Reg. All Saints</i> , 34, 35). ⇒
Stonyng Lane	See Bull Lane.	Woodstock Lane	See Rosemary Lane.
Strand, The Street (1)	See Merchant's Quay.	Wormwood Gate	Royal road c. 1234 (<i>Reg. St John</i> , 37). Lotebourne Lane 1348 (<i>Ancient records</i> , i, 123). ⇒
Street (2)	Off Marshal Lane (q.v.), site unknown, possibly later Bridgefoot Street. 'Middle street' early 13th cent. (<i>Reg. St Thomas</i> , 378).		
Street (3)	Near Isolde's Tower (see 12 Defence), site unknown, possibly Essex Street West (q.v.). c. 1262 (<i>Ancient records</i> , i, 95).		
Street (4)	Oxmantown, site unknown, possibly Pill Lane (q.v.). 'Street from Ostmans' Bridge (see 17 Transport: Father Mathew Bridge) towards St Mary's Abbey' (see 11 Religion) c. 1271 (<i>Chartul. St Mary's</i> , i, 477).		
Street (5)	St Peter's parish, site unknown, probably Stephen Street Upper (q.v.). 'Street of St Peter de la Hill' (see 11 Religion: St Peter's Church) 1359 (Smyly (2), 30), 1402 (Smyly (3), 47).		
Stutter Lane	Near cemetery of St Mary's Priory (see 11 Religion), site unknown, perhaps Whitefriar Street (q.v.). Street 1424 (<i>Christ Church deeds</i> , 281).		
Sutor Street	See next entry. (52253865). Laneway c. 1100 (Simpson, 2000, 34). Sutor Street c. 1190 (<i>Christ Church deeds</i> , 473). Shoemakers' Street (<i>vicus sutorum</i>) c. 1220 (<i>Chartul. St Mary's</i> , i, 181), c. 1230 (<i>Reg. St John</i> , 47). Souter Street 1290 (<i>Ancient records</i> , i, 106). Souteris Lane 1324 (Smyly (2), 4). Souteres Lane 1337 (<i>Ancient records</i> , i, 122). Sutoris Lane 1360; Sutor Street 1389 (Smyly (3), 33, 43). Behynd Street 1432 (St Werburgh deeds, 313). Sowtes Lane or Behind Street 1448 (<i>Ir. Builder</i> , xxxi, 44). Sutter Lane or Behind Street 1452; Hyn Street 1465 (<i>Ancient records</i> , i, 150, 321). Sutteres Lane 1470 (St Werburgh deeds, 314). Sewteres Lane 1486 (<i>Ancient records</i> , i, 369). Souter Lane or Hyne Lane 1549 (<i>Christ Church deeds</i> , 1224). St Verberosses Lane, 'now enclosed' 1577 (Holinshed, 1577, 48). E. end said to have been closed on building of Marshalsea prison, Werburgh St W. (see 13 Administration) in 1580 (<i>Ancient records</i> , ii, 148; <i>Ir. Builder</i> , xxxi, 127). Sutter Lane or Hyne Lane 1591 (<i>Christ Church deeds</i> , 1397). Small parcel of waste ground called Sutter Lane 1601 (<i>Cal. pat. rolls Ire.</i> , <i>Jas I</i> , 8). Curryer's Lane 1604 (Gilbert, 1854–9, i, 176). Stutter Lane c. 1607 (<i>Cal. S.P. Ire.</i> , 1606–8, 62). ⇒		
Tanner Street	Location unknown. c. 1357 (Connolly, 487).		
Taverners' Street	See Winetavern Street.		
Temple Lane South	Lane 1343 (<i>Ancient records</i> , i, 165). Hogges Lane 1577 (Holinshed, 1577, 48). Hog Lane 1606 (<i>Ancient records</i> , ii, 457). Hogg's Lane 1610 (<i>Cal. pat. rolls Ire.</i> , <i>Jas I</i> , 161); named after Viking burial mounds. St Augustines 1610 (Speed). See also way (5). ⇒		
Tennis Court Lane	See John Street West.		
Teyngmouth Street	See Dame Street.		
Thomas Court [north]	Thomas's Court 1535 (Gilbert, 1854–9, i, 259). St Katherine's Street 1540 (<i>Extents Ir. mon. possessions</i> , 68). ⇒		
Thomas Street	Great street c. 1190 (<i>Reg. St John</i> , 22). Great new street late 12th cent. (<i>Reg. St Thomas</i> , 404). St Thomas's Street c. 1200 (<i>Reg. St John</i> , 92), 1260 (<i>Chartul. St Mary's</i> , i, 520). Buildings burnt in 1317 (<i>Chartul. St Mary's</i> , ii, 299). St Thomas's Street c. 1335 (<i>Christ Church deeds</i> , 602). Buildings burnt in 1343 (Harris,		



Round tower, St Michael le Pole's Church from the west, 1751 (Tower view)

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(Other abbreviations are explained on the back cover.)

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NOTE ON MAP 2

Map 2, Dublin in c. 1846–7, is derived from the Ordnance Survey published 1:1056 plan of Dublin and the published 1:10,560 Ordnance Survey maps of Co. Dublin, first edition, sheet 18.



City seal, early 13th cent. (Dublin City Council/City Archives) – Obverse



City seal, early 13th cent. (Dublin City Council/City Archives) – Reverse