LEABHARLANN CHOLÁISTE NA TRÍONÓIDE, BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH | TRINITY COLLEGE LIBRARY DUBLIN
Ollscoil Átha Cliath | The University of Dublin

Terms and Conditions of Use of Digitised Theses from Trinity College Library Dublin

Copyright statement

All material supplied by Trinity College Library is protected by copyright (under the Copyright and Related Rights Act, 2000 as amended) and other relevant Intellectual Property Rights. By accessing and using a Digitised Thesis from Trinity College Library you acknowledge that all Intellectual Property Rights in any Works supplied are the sole and exclusive property of the copyright and/or other IPR holder. Specific copyright holders may not be explicitly identified. Use of materials from other sources within a thesis should not be construed as a claim over them.

A non-exclusive, non-transferable licence is hereby granted to those using or reproducing, in whole or in part, the material for valid purposes, providing the copyright owners are acknowledged using the normal conventions. Where specific permission to use material is required, this is identified and such permission must be sought from the copyright holder or agency cited.

Liability statement

By using a Digitised Thesis, I accept that Trinity College Dublin bears no legal responsibility for the accuracy, legality or comprehensiveness of materials contained within the thesis, and that Trinity College Dublin accepts no liability for indirect, consequential, or incidental, damages or losses arising from use of the thesis for whatever reason. Information located in a thesis may be subject to specific use constraints, details of which may not be explicitly described. It is the responsibility of potential and actual users to be aware of such constraints and to abide by them. By making use of material from a digitised thesis, you accept these copyright and disclaimer provisions. Where it is brought to the attention of Trinity College Library that there may be a breach of copyright or other restraint, it is the policy to withdraw or take down access to a thesis while the issue is being resolved.

Access Agreement

By using a Digitised Thesis from Trinity College Library you are bound by the following Terms & Conditions. Please read them carefully.

I have read and I understand the following statement: All material supplied via a Digitised Thesis from Trinity College Library is protected by copyright and other intellectual property rights, and duplication or sale of all or part of any of a thesis is not permitted, except that material may be duplicated by you for your research use or for educational purposes in electronic or print form providing the copyright owners are acknowledged using the normal conventions. You must obtain permission for any other use. Electronic or print copies may not be offered, whether for sale or otherwise to anyone. This copy has been supplied on the understanding that it is copyright material and that no quotation from the thesis may be published without proper acknowledgement.

Later medieval cross-cultural interactions: the settlement evidence in the baronies of Overk, county Kilkenny and Clanmahon, county Cavan

By Linda Shine

Volume I: Text

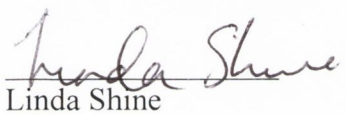
A thesis submitted for the degree of PhD at the University of Dublin, Trinity College, 2011

26 JUL 2011
LIBRARY DUBLIN
LIBRARY DUBLIN
THESIS
9278.1

Declaration

I declare that this thesis has not been submitted as an exercise for a degree at this or any other university and that it is entirely my own work.

I agree that the library may lend or copy the thesis upon request.



Linda Shine
10th February 2011

Later medieval cross-cultural interactions: the settlement evidence in the baronies of Overk, county Kilkenny and Clanmahon, County Cavan

Linda Shine

A thesis submitted for the degree of PhD at the University of Dublin, Trinity College, 2010

Summary

This thesis seeks to cast further light on the nature of cross-cultural interactions between the Gaelic-Irish and the Anglo-Normans in high and late medieval Ireland, by examining the archaeological evidence for settlement in two contrasting study areas. The barony of Overk, county Kilkenny was largely dominated by the Anglo-Normans during the high and late medieval period and there was a significant influx of settlers to the area. The Anglo-Normans who settled in Overk interacted with the large number of Gaelic-Irish people who remained within the barony and those who were pushed onto the fringes of the barony. This study argues that the best methodology for identifying the settlements inhabited by the Gaelic-Irish who remained within the colony is through the combination of archaeological and historical information. The barony of Clanmahon, county Cavan was largely dominated by the Gaelic-Irish but it shared a border with medieval county Meath, and the Anglo-Normans who dominated this region made a number of attempts to expand northwards into Clanmahon. Consequently, there were significant interactions, both amicable and hostile, between the Gaelic-Irish of Clanmahon and their Anglo-Norman neighbours and this thesis argues that these interactions are reflected in the settlement forms occupied by both groups in the region.

This thesis begins with a review of the primary source material used for this study followed by a review of the secondary literature that relates to the research topic. This is followed by two chapters, which introduce the historical archaeology of the two study areas, and provide a chronological framework for the study. The theoretical framework for the thesis, historical archaeology and landscape archaeology, are discussed in chapter five. A number of case-study areas were chosen to allow research to be conducted at micro-level in contrast to the barony level research outlined in chapters three and four. Two case-study areas were chosen from each barony to highlight both the similarity and the diversity within and between the baronies.

The discussion chapters are arranged thematically and address a number of research questions. Chapter seven argues that the concept of a contact zone rather than a frontier should be adopted in any examination of cross-cultural interactions, and a contact zone in each of the study areas is discussed. Chapter eight discusses ethnicity and settlement and seeks to determine the impact of ethnicity and cross-cultural interaction on the settlement types constructed during the study period. In this chapter it is argued that it is essential to use the methodologies of landscape archaeology and historical archaeology to assign the correct classification to earthworks of the high medieval period. This thesis also questions the traditional view that the Anglo-Normans lived in nucleated settlements while the Gaelic-Irish lived in dispersed settlements. There is evidence that both groups occupied nucleated and dispersed settlements. Finally this thesis argues that the similar form and function of tower houses in both baronies indicates that the differences in the settlement forms constructed by both groups were not as apparent at the end of the study period. Chapter nine summaries the conclusions made in the thesis as a whole and outlines the challenges for this research, and the priorities for future research.

Acknowledgements

There are a lot of people to whom I owe a large debt of gratitude, but the first word has to go to Prof. Terry Barry, who has guided me through the many hurdles of producing a thesis. Thanks also to Terry for the many memorable afternoons and evenings away from the books and for dusting off your wet gear to help with fieldwork. Thanks also to Prof. Brian Graham who encouraged me to begin this enterprise and helped get me started. Dr. Niall Brady set some much needed deadlines when filling in for Prof. Barry and kept me on track. Thanks to all the medievalists in the Department of History, particular thanks to Dr. Katharine Simms, Dr. Peter Crooks, Dr. David Ditchburn and Dr. David Green. Thanks also to Dr. Mark Hennessy of the Geography Department and to all the staff in the library in Trinity College Dublin, particularly Sean Hughes, and Paul Ferguson and Simon Fernandez of the map library.

Thanks to my former colleagues in the National Museum of Ireland and the National Monuments Service, particularly Mary Cahill, Padraig Clancy, Michael Kenny, Maeve Sikora, Rachel Barrett, Clare Breen, Laura Claffey, Eamon Cody, Patricia Keenan, Con Manning, Michael Moore, Paddy O'Donovan, Tony Roche, Geraldine Stout and Paul Walsh. Thanks also to the staff of the Office of Public Works in Dublin and the depot in Kilkenny, particularly Eamonn Rafter and Tommy Roche. Thanks to Anthony Corns and Robert Shaw of the Discovery Programme for their help with GIS and surveying advice.

Thanks to Ben Murtagh, Cóilin Ó Drisceoil, Jacinta Prunty and Bernadette Williams who answered my emails and gave me access to their unpublished work. I owe a huge debt of gratitude to the landowners of Overk and Clanmahon, who not only gave me access to sites on their land, but also took the time to discuss them with me, as well as providing refreshments. I owe special thanks to John Murphy who kindly took me out in his boat to Crover Castle and to Joanne Hayes for her help organising it. Thanks to my fellow archaeology research students, Emma Arbuthnot, Vicky McAlister and Rebecca Wall for all the nerdy conversations, the moral support, the many nights out, and especially their help with fieldwork. Without them my time in Trinity would have been less productive and certainly much less enjoyable. Thanks to all the other Pearse Streeters, especially Grace O'Keeffe and Sparky Booker.

This thesis was funded by a Government of Ireland Post-Graduate Scholarship. I would also like to thank the Grace Lawless Lee fund for giving me funds to carry out fieldwork and the Graduate Studies Travel Fund for providing the funds for the invaluable experiencing of presenting papers in Britain and America.

Thanks to all my friends who provided support and encouragement and talked to me about things other than history and archaeology, and thanks to Lorna Flannery for the Endnote advice. Thanks to all my family, Mum, Dad, Tara, Judy and Granny for your encouragement and Jeremy for the technical support. A special thanks to my ever patient Dad for spending some of your retirement in the fields of Cavan and Kilkenny and my equally patient Mum, who was left behind. Thanks also to my parents-in-law, Mary and Peadar, for all the home cooked dinners and encouragement. Finally, an enormous thank you to my husband Eoin, who helped me in so many ways, particularly financially and by giving up some of his weekends to help with fieldwork, when I know he would have preferred to be running, cycling or watching football. Thanks for everything Eoin; I couldn't have done it without you.

Table of contents

Volume I – Text

Declaration

Summary iii

Acknowledgements v

Table of contents ix

List of figures in volume I xiii

Chapter one – Introduction 1

Chapter two – Review of primary and secondary sources 11

2.1. Part one: Review of primary sources 11

2.1.1. English administrative sources 11

2.1.2. Ecclesiastical records 14

2.1.3. Narrative sources 14

2.1.4. Annalistic sources 15

2.1.5. Genealogical sources 17

2.1.6. Antiquarian sources 17

2.1.7. Archaeological sources 19

2.1.8. Cartographic sources 22

2.1.9. Conclusion 27

2.2. Part two: Review of secondary sources for this study 29

2.2.1. Standards texts in medieval archaeology 29

2.2.2 Ethnicity and the evidence for separate Anglo-Norman and Gaelic-Irish identities 33

2.2.3 Gaelicisation and the 'Middle Nation' 38

2.2.4 The Anglicisation of the Gaelic-Irish 43

2.2.5 Frontier: war zone or contact zone 44

2.2.6 The internal frontier: the Irish within the colony 49

2.2.7 Conclusion 52

Chapter three - An introduction to the historical archaeology of Overk 53
3.1 Drainage and relief 55
3.2 Soil types and their potential uses 57
3.3 Overk before the Normans 58
3.4 The extent of the barony 59
3.5 The fitzMilos in Overk 63
3.6 The Butlers in Overk 91
3.7 Evidence for cross-cultural interactions in the documentary sources for Overk 98
3.8 Conclusion 101

Chapter four - An introduction to the historical archaeology of Clanmahon 103
4.1 Drainage and relief. 104
4.2 Soil types and their potential uses. 106
4.3 Clanmahon before the Normans 108
4.4 The formation of the kingdom of Bréifne 108
4.5 The rise of the O'Reillys 109
4.6 The extent of the Barony 110
4.7 East Bréífne and the Anglo-Normans 113
4.8 The O'Reillys and East Bréifne. 122
4.9 The barony of Clanmahon 128
4.10 Clanmahon in the sixteenth century 137
4.11 'The Anglicisation of the O'Reillys of East Breifne' in the sixteenth century. 142
4.12 Conclusions 143

Chapter five - Theoretical framework: historical archaeology and landscape archaeology 145
5.1 Theory, historical archaeology and the medieval period 145
5.2 Text v Artefact 147
5.3 A time-frame for historical archaeology 149
5.4 Historical archaeology in Ireland 150
5.5 Establishing a role for historical archaeology 152

5.6 Landscape archaeology 153
5.7 The development of landscape archaeology in Britain 155
5.8 The development of landscape archaeology in Ireland 157
5.9 Defining the landscape 159
5.10 Establishing a time frame 160
5.11 Creating an integrated methodology for the current study 161

Chapter six - case-study areas 163
6.1 Ballymachugh 163
6.2 Ballintemple 175
6.3 The Rower 184
6.4 Fiddown 197

Chapter seven - Contact zones in Clanmahon and Overk 211
7.1 Lough Sheelin: settlement in a contact zone 211
7.1.1 Moated sites on the frontier 213
7.1.2 Mottes: agents of colonisation 219
7.1.3 Platform ringforts: Gaelic residences in the high medieval period 222
7.2 Overk and the Carlow Corridor: a contact zone 234
7.2.1 Mottes and manorial centres 234
7.2.2 Moated sites and the development of the Anglo-Norman colony 238
7.2.3 Tower houses and a shift in settlement patterns 242
7.3 Conclusions 247

Chapter eight - Ethnicity and settlement 249
8.1 Earthwork castle or platform ringfort? 250
8.2 Earthwork castles and platform ringforts: a comparative analysis 258
8.3 Reuse of sites by both the Anglo-Normans and the Gaelic-Irish 260
8.4 Parish size and its effect on settlement patterns 264
8.5 Dispersed or nucleated, an ethnic imperative? 267
8.6 Tower houses: a sign of cultural uniformity? 274
8.7 Conclusions 279

Chapter nine – Conclusions 281

9.1 Challenges for this research 286
9.2 Priorities for future research 287

Appendices

Glossary 291
Placenames in Obercon Deanery identified from six taxations of the Diocese of Ossory 293
Placenames in Overk Deanery identified from six taxations of the Diocese of Ossory 294
Abbreviations 297
Bibliography 299

Volume II – Gazetteer of sites surveyed

Table of contents G-iii
Introduction to the gazetteer G-v
Table of Clanmahon sites G-vii
Map showing location of sites in Clanmahon G-ix
Table of Overk sites G-x
Map showing location of sites in Overk G-xii
List of figures in volume II G-xiii
Clanmahon site reports G-1
Overk site reports G-153

List of figures in Volume I

Fig. 1.1:	Location map for the medieval barony of Overk (it is composed of the modern baronies of Ida and Iverk).	3
Fig. 1.2:	Location map for the barony of Clanmahon, county Cavan.	4
Fig. 3.1:	The major towns in the vicinity of Overk.	54
Fig 3.2:	The Rivers Barrow, Nore and Suir on the street map from the *Ordnance Survey Ireland* Map Viewer.	56
Fig. 3.3:	Soil map overlaid with outline map of the medieval barony of Overk (after Gardiner and Radford 1980).	57
Fig. 3.4:	The *Down Survey* map of the barony of Iverk showing large areas of bog.	58
Fig. 3.5:	The medieval baronies of county Kilkenny (after Empey 1971).	60
Fig. 3.6:	Map showing the parishes in the barony of Overk.	61
Fig. 3.7:	Map showing the parishes mentioned in thirteenth and fourteenth century documentary sources as being within the barony of Overk.	64
Fig. 3.8:	East gable of Portnascully parish church site.	66
Fig. 3.9:	The motte in Clonamery from the west.	67
Fig. 3.10:	The townland of Listerlin as depicted on the *Down Survey* map of the barony of Ida.	69
Fig. 3.11:	The church and motte in Listerlin depicted on the *Ordnance Survey* First Edition six-inch map.	69
Fig. 3.12:	The possible manorial centre in Farrantemple, the modern hamlet of the Rower, as depicted on the *Ordnance Survey* First Edition six-inch map.	71
Fig. 3.13:	Kilkieran high cross at Castletown.	72
Fig. 3.14:	'Castle Granne 1 mile from Waterford 1699' by Francis Place, held at the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.	74
Fig.3.15:	Map showing location of sites at Fiddown manorial centre (based on street map from *Ordnance Survey Ireland* Map viewer).	77
Fig. 3.16:	Owning earthwork from the N.	78
Fig. 3.17:	The footings of the south wall of Ballytarsney church.	81
Fig. 3.18:	Pollrone church from the S.	83
Fig. 3.19:	Grange tower house, Pollrone.	84

Fig. 3.20:	Graveslab in Rosbercon churchyard.	86
Fig. 3.21:	Rosbercon priory and parish church as depicted on the *Ordnance Survey* First Edition six-inch map.	87
Fig. 3.22:	The nunnery at Kilculliheen depicted on the *Down Survey* map of the barony of Ida.	88
Fig. 3.23:	Granny Castle from the E.	93
Fig. 3.24:	North side of Brownsford Castle.	94
Fig. 3.25:	Distribution map of tower houses and castles in Overk, also including the castle complex in Granny.	96
Fig. 4.1:	Map showing the drainage and relief in Clanmahon and its civil parishes.	105
Fig. 4.2:	Soil map overlaid with map of Clanmahon barony and its civil parishes (after Gardiner and Radford 1980).	106
Fig. 4.3:	Map of the barony of Clanmahon showing the areas of bog in brown. (*Maps of the Escheated Counties of Ulster* 1609).	107
Fig. 4.4:	Map showing the area of Clanmahon barony and the towns in the surrounding area (street map from *Ordnance Survey Ireland* Map Viewer).	112
Fig. 4.5:	Map showing the possible Anglo-Norman sites in the barony of Clanmahon.	114
Fig. 4.6:	Map showing the location of the motte and church in Lavagh, which are *c.*450m apart (based on the street map from the *Ordnance Survey Ireland* Map Viewer).	115
Fig. 4.7:	Lavagh townland and the church lands of Ballymachugh as depicted on the *Down Survey* map of the barony of Clanmahon.	116
Fig. 4.8:	Photo of the remains of a possible tower house on Racraveen motte.	117
Fig. 4.9:	The church of 'Kilbreidy' (Gallonreagh) and the possible tower house in Racraveen.	117
Fig. 4.10:	Moat platform ringfort, Ballymachugh, Clanmahon.	118
Fig. 4.11:	Map showing the location of the ringwork castle and medieval parish church site in Ballintemple.	119
Fig. 4.12:	Profile of moated sites in Bawn and Carrickabane.	120
Fig. 4.13:	Map showing the crannógs and cashel in Clanmahon (with parish churches labelled).	123
Fig. 4.14:	Pottery from Dillagh Crannóg (NMI reg. no. 1980:110).	125

Fig. 4.15:	Profile of Moydristan cashel, Ballymachugh, Clanmahon.	128
Fig. 4.16:	Musketry loop in Crover Castle, Ballymachugh, Clanmahon.	130
Fig. 4.17:	Crover platform ringfort, Ballymachugh, Clanmahon from the SE.	131
Fig. 4.18:	Fortland II platform ringfort, Ballymachugh,Clanmahon from the W.	132
Fig. 4.19:	Raheever platform ringfort, Kilbride, Clanmahon from the NNE.	132
Fig. 4.20:	Map showing the platform ringforts in the barony of Clanmahon.	133
Fig. 4. 21:	Stone head from Castle Cosby, Kevit Upper, Kilmore, Clanmahon.	139
Fig. 4.22:	Tower houses and castle sites in Clanmahon.	140
Fig. 4.23:	Lismore Castle as depicted on the Down Survey map of the barony of Clanmahon	141
Fig. 6.1	Location map for Ballymachugh parish.	164
Fig. 6.2	Granard motte, county Longford (LF010-08001-).	165
Fig. 6.3	Map showing the evidence for Anglo-Norman settlement in Ballymachugh.	166
Fig. 6.4	Lavagh Motte, Ballymachugh parish, county Cavan (CV037-042---).	167
Fig. 6.5	Profile of Lavagh motte, Clanmahon N-S.	168
Fig. 6.6	Crover platform ringfort, Ballymachugh parish, county Cavan (CV038-020---).	169
Fig. 6.7	Omard wayside cross, Ballymachugh parish, county Cavan.	169
Fig. 6.8	Map showing the possible Gaelic-Irish settlement in Ballymachugh in the high medieval period.	170
Fig. 6.9	Lisduff platform ringfort as shown on *Ordnance Survey Ireland* Map Viewer ortho-photograph 2000.	171
Fig. 6.10	Moydristan cashel, Ballymachugh parish, county Cavan (CV037-047---).	172
Fig. 6.11	Crover Castle as depicted on the *Maps of the Escheated Counties of Ulster* barony map for Clanmahon.	173
Fig. 6.12	Crover Castle, Ballymachugh parish, county Cavan (CV038-019---).	174
Fig. 6.13	Map showing the location of the Ballintemple parish.	175

Fig. 6.14	Map showing the location of the church and ringwork castle in the parish of Ballintemple.	177
Fig. 6.15	Ballintemple earthwork (CV031-008---), as depicted on the *Ordnance Survey* First Edition six-inch map.	178
Fig. 6.16	Ballintemple church as depicted on the *Maps of the Escheated Counties of Ulster* for the barony of Clanmahon.	179
Fig. 6.17	Site of medieval parish church in Ballintemple (CV031-007---).	180
Fig. 6.18	Dillagh Lough as depicted on the *Ordnance Survey* First Edition six-inch map.	181
Fig. 6.19	Map showing the possible Gaelic-Irish settlement in the later medieval period.	182
Fig. 6.20	Location map for The Rower parish.	184
Fig. 6.21	The site of Kiltown church (KK033-030---) and the remains of its surrounding circular enclosure as depicted on the *Ordnance Survey* First Edition six-inch map.	186
Fig. 6.22	Map showing possible Anglo-Norman settlement in The Rower.	187
Fig. 6.23	Church of Ireland Church, Farrantemple, The Rower, Overk.	188
Fig. 6.24	Enclosure in Farrantemple as depicted on the *Ordnance Survey* First Edition six-inch map.	188
Fig. 6.25	Ballygub New moated site (KK033-012---) as depicted on the *Ordnance Survey* First Edition six-inch map.	188
Fig. 6.26	Map showing moated sites in The Rower and neighbouring parishes.	189
Fig 6.27	Coolhill Castle as depicted on the *Down Survey* map of the barony of Ida.	192
Fig.6.28	Map showing the location of tower houses and castle sites in The Rower.	193
Fig. 6.29	Coolhill Castle, The Rower, Overk barony.	194
Fig. 6.30	Depiction of Coolhill Castle from *Beranger's Views of Ireland* (after Harbison 1991, 69).	195
Fig. 6.31	Location map for the parish of Fiddown.	197
Fig. 6.32	Kilmanahin church as depicted on the *Ordnance Survey* First Edition six-inch map.	198
Fig. 6.33	Map showing Anglo-Norman settlement types in Fiddown.	199
Fig. 6.34	Fiddown motte (KK042-00101-) from the west.	200

Fig. 6.35	The parish church site, motte and castle site in Fiddown depicted on the *Ordnance Survey* First Edition six-inch map.	200
Fig. 6.36	Fiddown Church (the chancel of the original church) (KK042-00103--).	201
Fig. 6.37	Map showing the moated sites and other Anglo-Norman settlement in Fiddown.	204
Fig. 6.38	Map showing castle sites and churches in Fiddown.	206
Fig. 6.39	Templeorum townland as depicted on the *Down Survey* map of the barony of Iverk.	207
Fig. 6.40	Fiddown townland as depicted on the *Down Survey* map of the barony of Iverk.	208
Fig. 6.41	Kildalton townland as depicted on the *Down Survey* of the barony of Iverk.	208
Fig. 6.42	The castle site in Belline and Rogerstown as depicted on the *Down Survey* map for the barony of Iverk.	209
Fig. 7.1	A contact zone on the north shore of Lough Sheelin.	212
Fig. 7.2	Map showing moated sites in the barony of Clanmahon, county Cavan and the neighbouring barony of Granard, county Longford.	215
Fig. 7.3	3D terrain model of the moated site at Bawn from the north-west (after O'Conor 2008a).	216
Fig. 7.4	Profiles of the moated sites in Bawn (CV041-001---) and Carrickabane (CV041-007---), Clanmahon.	217
Fig. 7.5	Carrickabane and Lisnadarragh moated sites as depicted on the *Ordnance Survey* First Edition six-inch map.	217
Fig. 7.6	Motte-and-bailey castle at Granard, county Longford (CUCAP aerial photograph).	218
Fig. 7.7	Map showing mottes in the area of Lough Sheelin.	220
Fig. 7.8	Lavagh motte, Ballymachugh, Clanmahon (CV037-042---).	221
Fig. 7.9	Racraveen motte and possible bailey, Kilbride, Clanmahon (CV038-055---).	221
Fig. 7.10	Tulsk platform ringfort, Roscommon.	225
Fig. 7.11	Profiles of two of each type of platform ringfort identified in Clanmahon.	227
Fig. 7.12	Map showing the distribution of platform ringforts and crannógs in Clanmahon.	228

Fig. 7.13	Soil map (after Gardiner and Radford 1980) overlaid with the platform ringforts of the barony of Clanmahon.	229
Fig. 7.14	Crover bivallate platform ringfort, Ballymachugh, Clanmahon (from the SE) (CV038-020---).	230
Fig. 7.15	Garrysallagh O'Reilly bivallate platform ringfort, Kilbride, Clanmahon (CV042-026---).	230
Fig. 7.16	Fortland II univallate platform ringfort, Ballymachugh, Clanmahon (CV038-027---).	231
Fig. 7.17	Aghacreevy platform ringfort (no enclosing banks), Ballymachugh, Clanmahon (CV037-003---).	231
Fig. 7.18	Map showing the different platform ringfort classifications in Clanmahon.	232
Fig. 7.19	Map showing the archaeological sites connected with early Anglo-Norman settlement in eastern Overk.	235
Fig. 7.20	Clonamery motte, Clonamery, Overk (KK033-02202-).	236
Fig. 7.21	Profiles of mottes in Overk.	236
Fig. 7.22	Listerlin motte and church, Listerlin, Overk (KK036-026---) as depicted on *Ordnance Survey* First Edition six-inch map.	237
Fig. 7.23	Map showing the moated sites and mottes in eastern Overk.	239
Fig. 7.24	Ballygub New moated site as depicted on the *Ordnance Survey* First Edition six-inch map.	240
Fig. 7.25	Profiles of Ballygub New and Ballyknock moated sites in Overk.	241
Fig. 7.26	Map showing tower houses and castle sites in eastern Overk.	243
Fig. 7.27	Coolhill Castle, The Rower, Overk (KK033-02701-).	244
Fig. 7.28	Coolhill Castle from *Beranger's views of Ireland* (Harbison 1991).	245
Fig. 7.29	Castle Annaghs, Shanbogh, Overk (KK041-01401-).	246
Fig. 8.1	Ballintemple ringwork and church, Ballintemple, Clanmahon as depicted on the *Ordnance Survey* First Edition six-inch map	251
Fig. 8.2	Dungummin Upper Platform Ringfort, Kilbride, Clanmahon.	253
Fig. 8.3	Profiles of mottes and platform ringforts.	255
Fig. 8.4	Lavagh motte and church, Ballymachugh, Clanmahon as depicted on the *Ordnance Survey* First Edition six-inch map	256

Fig. 8.5	Fiddown motte and church, Fiddown, Overk as depicted on the *Ordnance Survey* First Edition six-inch map.	257
Fig. 8.6	Profile of Owning earthwork.	262
Fig. 8.7	Owning earthwork, Owning, Overk as depicted on the *Ordnance Survey* First Edition six-inch map.	263
Fig. 8.8	Platform ringfort, tower house and crannógs in Crover, Ballymachugh, Clanmahon.	269
Fig. 8.9	Granny Castle, Kilmacow, Overk (Poole Whole Plate collection 1884 - 1945, NLI: P_WP_0204).	276
Fig. 8.10	Crover Castle, Ballymachugh, Clanmahon.	277
Fig. 8.11	Aerial photograph of Granny Castle from the SW (courtesy of the Photographic Unit, DOEHLG).	278
Fig. 8.12	Crover Castle as depicted on the *Ordnance Survey* First Edition six-inch map.	279

Chapter one - Introduction

The major research question addressed by this thesis is whether there is evidence in the archaeological record of cross-cultural interactions between the Anglo-Normans and the Gaelic-Irish. The documentary sources suggest that there were extensive interactions between the two groups and the aim of this thesis is to interrogate the archaeological evidence to determine whether these interactions impacted upon the settlement types that were constructed by both the Gaelic-Irish and the Anglo-Normans. Once the impact of cross-cultural interactions on the archaeological record has been analysed, an assessment of the significance of this finding on our understanding of high and late medieval society can be attempted.

There has been little archaeological research on the theme of cross-cultural interactions, with most studies of high and later medieval archaeology dealing with the archaeology of the Anglo-Normans and the Gaelic-Irish in separate chapters (O'Conor 1998, O'Keeffe 2000a). The study of the high and late medieval Gaelic-Irish settlement types is a comparatively recent development, with the first major work to address the subject being published in 1998 (O'Conor 1998). The difficulty of identifying Gaelic-Irish settlement of the period and the comparative paucity of documentary sources, may explain the failure to address the subject for many years after the study of Anglo-Norman settlement began in earnest. Graham's attempts to advance the topic by suggesting that ringforts may have continued to be occupied in the high medieval period and that some moated sites were constructed by the Gaelic-Irish received a very negative response (Barrett and Graham 1975, Graham 1988, Lynn 1975). This negative reaction may explain the reluctance of archaeologists and historical geographers to tackle the subject in subsequent years. A discussion of the interactions between the Anglo-Normans and the Gaelic-Irish only became possible in recent years, after the discussion of Gaelic-Irish settlement types was restarted by O'Conor (1998). However, an analysis of medieval settlement forms that seeks to establish the evidence for cross-cultural interactions can add much to our understanding not just of those interactions, but also aid the identification of settlement forms constructed by both groups in the period.

Two study areas were selected for this programme of research, one area that experienced large-scale Anglo-Norman settlement and another which had remained predominantly under the control of the Gaelic-Irish, but with evidence for cross-cultural interactions with neighbouring Anglo-Normans. It was decided to select two study areas to facilitate comparative analysis, the aim of which was to facilitate an increased understanding of the types of settlement which were built and occupied or which continued to be occupied in the period. In both areas, we can see both the response of the Gaelic-Irish to these imposed settlement forms and through a comparison of Anglo-Norman settlement look in the 'empty' spaces for the settlements of the Gaelic-Irish and the Anglo-Normans who lived outside earthwork castles and nucleated settlements. Conversely, an analysis of Gaelic-Irish settlement forms in an area that continued to be largely controlled by the Gaelic-Irish during the study period may indicate the settlement forms that the Gaelic-Irish who continued to live within the colony would have occupied. The differences and similarities between the archaeological records in the two study areas should add to our understanding of the impact of Anglo-Norman settlement types on those constructed or modified by the Gaelic-Irish and the impact of Gaelic-Irish settlement types and territorial organisation on the types of settlements established by the Anglo-Normans.

The barony of Overk was selected primarily because of its location in the Anglo-Norman colony, but it also borders the Carlow Corridor, Walsh Mountain and other areas that retained a Gaelic-Irish influence. It was therefore an area that was largely controlled by the Anglo-Normans but with evidence for interactions not only with the Gaelic-Irish who remained within the colony but also with the Gaelic-Irish at its borders. Empey (1982, 339) has argued that there was fairly substantial immigration of colonial tenants and townsmen to those areas within the colony, sufficient to transform the social and economic structure of the region, but hardly enough to displace the mass of the native population. Gaelic-Irish labour was a significant resource for the arriving Anglo-Norman lords. Archaeologists have long neglected the Gaelic-Irish who lived within the colony, despite their visibility in the historical records. While this thesis cannot add significantly to our knowledge of the types of settlements this group inhabited, it is imperative that archaeologists acknowledge their place in those landscapes of Ireland that were dominated by the Anglo-Normans. Historical geographers like Anngret Simms (Simms 1983) have developed models of manorial

settlement that include the Gaelic-Irish and an awareness of their role in the colony will inform a more complete analysis of these landscapes.

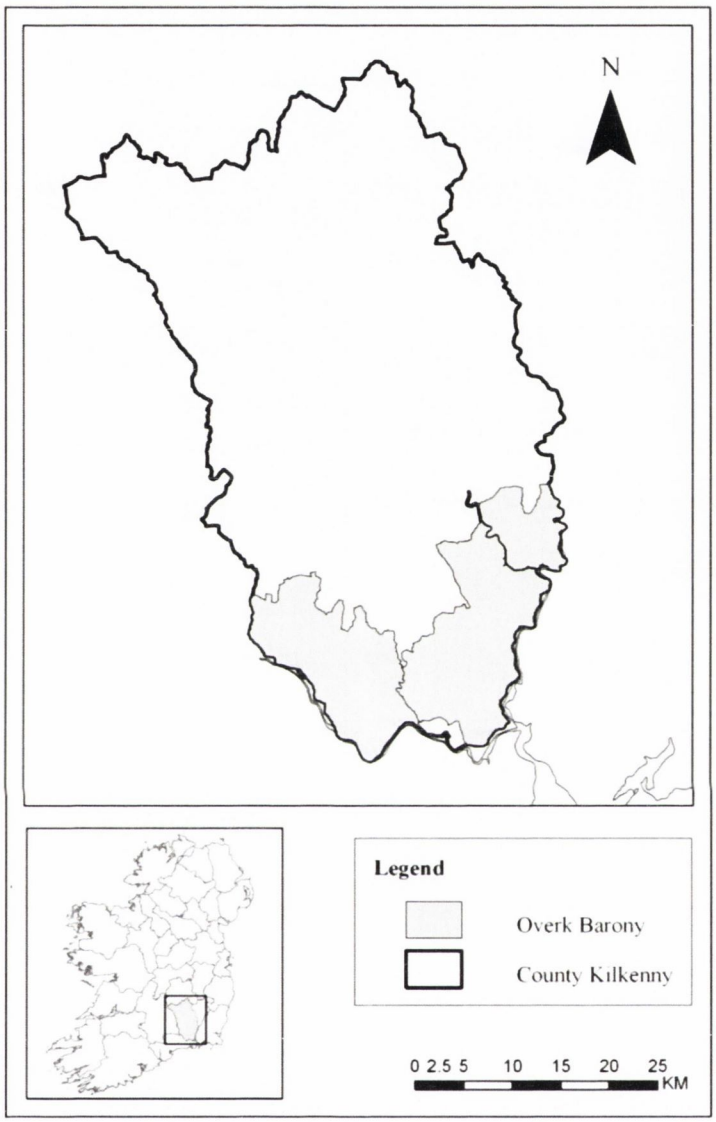


Fig. 1.1: Location map for the medieval barony of Overk (it is composed of the modern baronies of Ida and Iverk).

The medieval cantred or barony of Overk, is largely co-terminous with the modern baronies of Ida and Iverk. The major discrepancies between the modern and medieval baronies are, obviously, the split into two baronies, along with the exclusion of the parish of Kilculliheen from the modern barony and the inclusion of the parish of Tibberaghny. The barony was controlled by the Butlers of Ormond from the fourteenth century to the end of the study period and consequently many documents relating to the barony are preserved in the *Red Book of Ormond* and the *Calendar of Ormond Deeds.* The wealth of available documentary sources available in published format or as published calendars is a significant advantage to this study.

The barony of Clanmahon was selected primarily for its location at the border between the Anglo-Norman colony and Gaelic-Irish Ulster and Connacht. Clanmahon was located in the kingdom of Bréifne and later East Bréifne during the study period and was largely controlled by the Gaelic-Irish. However, it also shared a border with

medieval Meath and the Anglo-Normans in this area attempted to expand their territories northwards into Clanmahon. The interactions between these assarting Anglo-Normans and those who remained at the borders of Clanmahon make this an ideal area in which to study the interactions between the Anglo-Normans and the Gaelic-Irish. It also affords the opportunity to analyse Anglo-Norman settlement in a border area or contact zone and compare this with Anglo-Norman settlement in Overk.

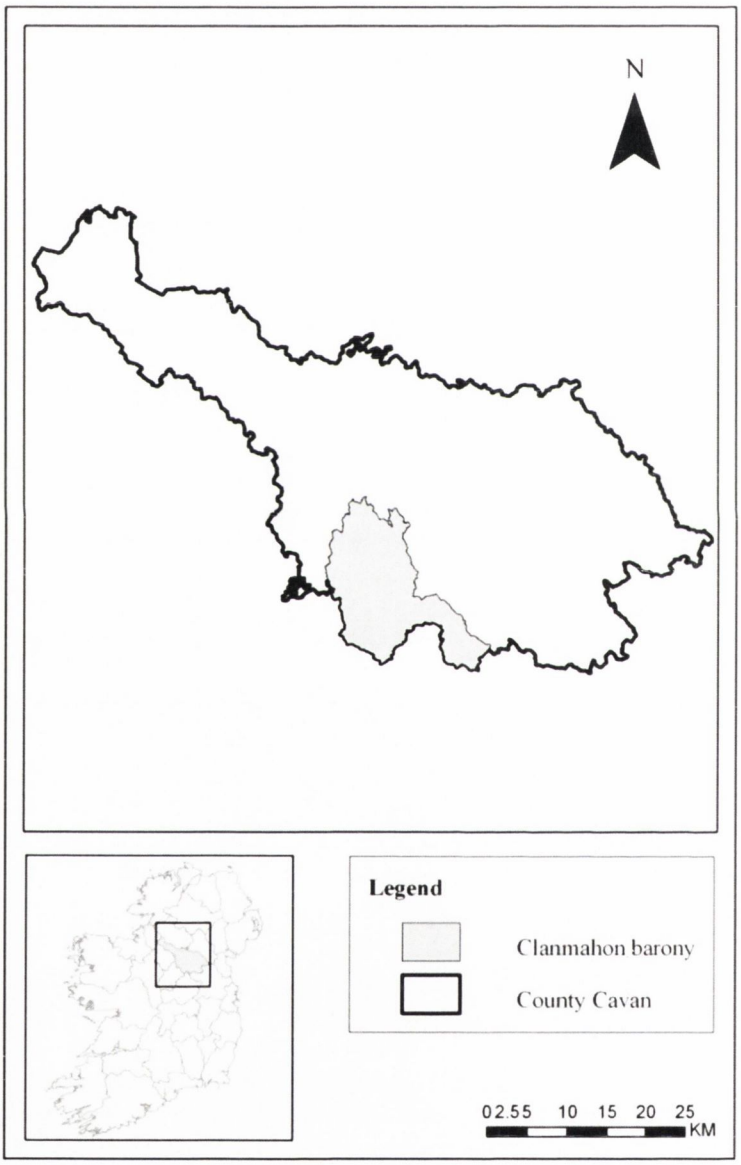


Fig. 1.2: Location map for the barony of Clanmahon, county Cavan.

Clanmahon is located in southwest county Cavan and the decision to select a barony as a study area was more problematic than for Overk. Unlike Overk, the barony was not sub-infeudated to an Anglo-Norman lord, who left extensive records. Instead, we must collate scattered references to the area in both Gaelic and Anglo-Norman sources. It is difficult to trace the twelfth and early thirteenth century history of the barony, perhaps because the area was in constant flux with the O'Reillys and the O'Rourkes in conflict. In the thirteenth century Bréifne was decisively split into East and West Bréifne and the history of this East Bréifne begins to emerge and the O'Reilly sub-groups begin to assert their independence. As will be discussed in detail in chapter four, it was decided

to use the modern barony of Clanmahon as a study area for this research, as it would be a comparable unit to the barony of Overk and no clear definition of the later medieval territorial extent of Clanmahon was available in either the primary or the secondary literature.

The temporal limits of this research must also be defined. As this study aims to examine the impact of interactions between the Anglo-Normans and the Gaelic-Irish, it is logical that it should begin from the date of the arrival of the Anglo-Normans. However, this does create an anomaly, as the Anglo-Normans would have arrived in modern county Kilkenny somewhat earlier than their arrival in modern county Cavan. Once this difference is recognised it should be possible to mitigate its impact. The end date for this study is more difficult to define, but it can be described in archaeological terms as the highpoint of tower house construction or the second half of the sixteenth century. The events that led to the plantation of Cavan and the Cromwellian conquest of Ireland are beyond the scope of this research.

This thesis will begin with a review and evaluation of the primary source material used in the compilation of this thesis. It will also attempt to assess the relative levels of available material for the two study areas because while they have some sources in common, the nature and number of the available sources differs greatly. This will be followed by a review of the available secondary literature on the subject of Anglo-Norman and Gaelic-Irish interactions in the high and late medieval period. This review will begin by examining the standards texts on medieval archaeology and move on to a review of the subject under a number of thematic headings. It will establish the extent of current scholarship on cross-cultural interactions in high and late medieval Ireland by historians, archaeologists and historical geographers. The state of current research into specific monument types will be outlined in detail in chapters seven and eight where these monument types are discussed and this research is most relevant.

These reviews are followed by introductions to the history, archaeology and topography of the two study areas. In line with one of the primary methodologies of this research, these reviews will attempt to integrate the historical and archaeological evidence to create a seamless narrative of the settlement history of the two areas from the twelfth to the sixteenth centuries. There are obvious chronological problems with

this methodology, as historical documents often have exact dates of composition while archaeological monuments can often only be ascribed date ranges. However chapter five, which deals with the methodological framework for this thesis, includes a discussion of how best to integrate archaeology and text. The methodological framework outlines not only the theories of historical archaeology, which facilitate the integration of historical and archaeological information, it also outlines the theories of landscape archaeology. It is anticipated that the use of these two methodologies will allow as complete a picture of the settlement history of the area to emerge as possible, one that includes the historical and landscape context of the surviving archaeological record.

Two case study areas were selected from each study area and as in chapters three and four, the historical, archaeological and landscape evidence for each area has been integrated to create as complete a picture of settlement in these areas as possible. The case study areas allow this research to be conducted on a micro-level, providing a counter balance to the macro-level research at barony level presented in previous chapters. Each study area corresponds to a civil parish as, in Overk at least, a parish would have been roughly coterminous with the manor. As there were significant differences in the history and the archaeology of the parishes within each study area, it was decided to examine two parishes from each. In Overk, The Rower and Fiddown were chosen, as the evidence for Fiddown suggested that it had many of the features of a classic Anglo-Norman manor, while The Rower lacked many of these features and had significant evidence for cross-cultural interactions. The parishes of Ballymachugh and Ballintemple were chosen in Clanmahon because while Ballymachugh, which has a border with medieval Meath, had evidence for Anglo-Norman activity, the evidence for this activity was less clear in the more northerly parish of Ballintemple.

A decision was taken to organise the discussion chapters thematically, to address the major themes that had emerged during the course of this research and which were highlighted in the literature review. The theme of a frontier or a contact zone was particularly pertinent for this study, as there are likely to be high levels of cross-cultural interactions in these frontier areas or contact zones. While it is possible to see the entirety of each barony as a contact zone, the distribution maps compiled during this research indicate that there were concentrations of these interactions in a part of

both baronies and these areas were the focus of chapter seven. The discussion of the two contact zones in a single chapter also allows comparisons and contrasts between them to be highlighted and analysed.

The concept of ethnicity, a central concern of this thesis, is discussed in chapter eight. In order to assess the impact of cross-cultural interactions on the archaeological record, it is essential that we establish methodologies to distinguish between different monument types and establish whether or not it is possible to distinguish between Anglo-Norman and Gaelic-Irish examples of the same settlement type. The discrepancy in parish size between the two study areas and the different levels of settlement nucleation will also be analysed. Finally, the archaeological record from the late fifteenth and sixteenth century will be interrogated to assess whether cultural differences lessened towards the end of the study period. The gazetteer is bound in a separate volume and it contains site reports for all the archaeological sites visited during fieldwork in Overk and Clanmahon.

The technologies of Geographical Information Systems (GIS) were utilised during this programme of research to create distribution maps and to perform some basic analysis. Chapman has described GIS as 'a range of software packages displaying the common abilities to store, manage, manipulate, analyse and display spatially referenced information' (Chapman 2006, 15). Archaeological use of GIS began in the 1980s in North America. In Europe, initially, it was mainly used to focus on the computerisation of spatial data at a regional level for archiving, education and research, and to aid decision-making in the planning process. The use of GIS has grown exponentially and it is now used in every aspect of archaeology. In Ireland archaeologists of prehistory were first to embrace the use of GIS and viewshed analysis was commonly used to establish inter-visibility of monuments. The development of landscape archaeology, which seeks to understand not just the archaeological monument but also its landscape context, contributed to the increased popularity of GIS. Archaeologists of the medieval period in Ireland commonly use GIS to create distribution maps of site types, but as they began to embrace the theories of landscape archaeology, they began to use GIS to analyse the role of natural features in the siting and functioning of archaeological sites. The work of the Discovery Programme and the National Roads Authority (NRA) highlighted to many archaeologists of the historic period, the potential of both GIS and

a landscape approach to archaeology. Similarly, the development of the archaeology.ie website and the ability to download a database of archaeological sites which can be easily imported into a GIS computer programme have made GIS accessible for more archaeologists. The major impediment for the use of GIS outside of academic institutions is cost: the cost of the software and the cost of purchasing digital mapping from the *Ordnance Survey of Ireland* (OSI).

While it is now possible to download an almost ready made database of archaeological sites by county or from the entire country, this was not the case when I began this research project. Instead I compiled my own database of the archaeological sites in each barony from the Record of Monuments and Places manual and the accompanying maps. This has been checked against the listing available from archaeology.ie to ensure that any new sites were added to my database and to check for changes in site classification. This information was also used to map sites outside my study areas, so that sites located just beyond the borders of my study areas could be visualised and provide context. The compilation of my own database also allowed me to include the parish name for each site, facilitating analysis by parish. The parish data was also helpful in creating parish boundaries, which was achieved by dissolving the boundaries between all the townlands in a single parish. A number of site classifications were amended where a sub-classification was felt necessary or where analysis of the site suggested that another classification was more appropriate.

The GIS software used during this research project was ArcGIS 9 because this was the GIS software that was available through Trinity College Dublin. Some of the data integrated into the GIS, such as soil maps, were in image format. Integrating these images into GIS requires a process of georeferencing where an image is rectified so it lies within the appropriate coordinate space, such that distances can be measured from the image, and coordinates of locations on the image can be outputted (Chapman 2006, 54). However, there are limitations to the accuracy of this type of data and it can vary significantly depending on the resolution of the original images, the scanning resolution and the accuracy of the geo-referencing. The accuracy of geo-referencing is dependent on the person performing the task as well as the availability of identifiable positions that can be used to supply coordinates to the image, thereby geo-referencing them. It is important to consider these limitations when using geo-referenced material,

however in this thesis these data sources were used for visualisation rather than for analysis or calculations.

There is some data that cannot be incorporated into a GIS without spending a significant amount of time cleaning up the data. The topographical files from the National Museum of Ireland are very difficult to incorporate into a GIS. The information contained in this source does not contain any grid references, and while some of the files contain measurements from six-inch maps, many are only related to townland names and are very problematic to map. Similarly, it can be difficult to indicate quantities of artefacts found in any one townland as, for example, a number of pottery sherds could represent the remains of a single vessel or a number of vessels. Similarly, the topographical files and its accompanying database generally do not include possible dates for the material and without viewing each individual artefact it can be difficult to date them. After consideration of all of these difficulties, it was decided not to include artefacts in the maps created using GIS, although the artefact data was used to create the profiles of each of the study and case-study areas.

Finally, a brief note on nomenclature is necessary. Some historians have argued that we should call the colonists arriving into twelfth-century Ireland, English, rather than Anglo-Norman (Gillingham 2007). Gillingham has argued against what he referred to as 'Normanizing the English Invaders of Ireland', and indicated that antiquarians studying the churches and castles of the high medieval period were among the first to call the arriving colonists Norman. He does not however acknowledge the possible reason for this terminology, the similarity in form of castles and churches in parts of Ireland and England with those in Normandy. This may perhaps be the reason why archaeologists continue to refer to the Anglo-Normans while historians have tended to refer to the English or the English of Ireland. There are advantages to calling this group the English: it reflects the names given to this group in official documents and there is no necessity to establish a date at which the Anglo-Normans become the Anglo-Irish. Frame has argued that since English law was used in the colonised parts of Ireland, the people who used this law could also be called English and that 'a form of Englishness was inherent in the lordship more or less from the beginning, together with an inclination to look askance at Irish custom' (Frame 1993, 87).

However, Howard Clarke (pers. comm. Feb 2010) has recently argued for the continued use of the terms Anglo-Norman or indeed Anglo-French to refer to this group. He argued that they were referred to in official documents as English because that is where they had come from most recently, but that English was a not cultural label, and that culturally they would have been Anglo-Norman. The settlers who arrived in Ireland in the late twelfth and thirteenth century spoke a variety of languages: English, French and possibly some Flemish, Danish and Welsh (Empey 1970, 510), indicating that they were not a homogenous group of Englishmen. In the absence of a clear consensus, it was decided to adopt the archaeological standard and refer to this group as the Anglo-Normans before *c.*1350 and the Anglo-Irish thereafter. It was decided to use 1350 as the cut off point between the Anglo-Normans and the Anglo-Irish as this is the date at which the high medieval period gives way to the late medieval period. The chronological terminology for this thesis will follow that outlined in *Gaelic Ireland – c.1250-1650: Land, lordship and settlement* (Duffy et al. 2001): early medieval (fifth century to *c.*1100), high medieval (*c.*1100 to *c.*1350), late medieval (*c.*1350 to *c.*1600) and later medieval (*c.*1100 to *c.*1600). The application of this nomenclature and chronology will begin with a review of the primary and secondary sources used during the compilation of this thesis.

Chapter two – Review of primary and secondary sources

2.1: *Part one: Review of primary sources*

A diverse selection of sources was used in the compilation of the historical and archaeological profiles for the two study areas. Indeed the difference in type, quality and quantity of sources is a striking difference between the two study areas. The sources for Overk are mainly English administrative sources, while for the barony of Clanmahon annalistic sources were a major source.

2.1.1: English administrative sources

The most valuable source for the barony of Overk was the private collection of records of the Butler earls of Ormond, held in the National Library of Ireland. The majority of these deeds were published as the six volume *Calendar of Ormond Deeds* (*Ormond Deeds*). 'Every landowner in medieval Ireland would have had a collection of the deeds attesting his title to lands and frequently other deeds establishing the title of the person from whom he received the lands' (Connolly 2002, 50). Very few of these private collections of records have survived to the modern day and those that have survived have done so due to their legal value and some like the *Ormond Deeds* were preserved in the hands of the families to whose lands they referred. The *Ormond Deeds* consists mostly of deeds relating to lands in Counties Kilkenny, Tipperary, Dublin, Wicklow and Kildare going back to 1172. The records include 'agreements of retinue, extents and rentals, records of liberty, manorial and hundred courts and accounts' (Connolly 2002, 50). The *Ormond Deeds* contains the majority of the information on the barony of Overk uncovered during research for this thesis and the overwhelming majority of historical evidence on the individual manors within the barony. Most of these manors were too small to make an impact on a national scale and so are unlikely to feature in the records of central government. The absence of a comparable source for county Cavan means we have very little information on the development of the parishes within the barony of Clanmahon.

The Red Book of Ormond, compiled in the mid fourteenth century with later additions is one of the oldest Irish family registers extant and has been published in full, in the original Latin rather than in translation. It includes an extent of the barony of Overk, dated June 1314. This document provides information on the areas included in the barony of Overk, the tenants of the different manors within the barony and the amount

of rent paid for each land holding. However, it contains almost no information on settlements or buildings in the barony, a disappointment for a study of its later medieval archaeology. While the fifteenth century extents for the manors of Granny and Pollrone provide a greater level of detail, they provide little information on structures within the manors.

The *Calendar of documents relating to Ireland (C.D.I.)* like other published English administrative sources was prepared as 'an easy means of access to the originals rather than as a substitute for them' (Connolly 2002, 11). The value of some of these calendars increased significantly after 1922 when the original documents were destroyed. A calendar is essentially a summary of a document, generally in English, which provides all the essential information, but omits the formal, formulaic language in which these documents are generally written. Connolly (2002, 11) argues that a good calendar can be used as a substitute for the original, although it may occasionally be necessary to check the wording of an original. The *Calendar of documents relating to Ireland* provides details of documents that are kept in the Public Records Office in London and are therefore not readily available to researchers in Ireland. This calendar, which covers the period 1171-1307, provided some essential evidence relating to the barony of Overk, but as mentioned above they provide almost no information on the individual manors within the barony. This calendar contains records from a number of record classes, mainly those of the chancery, exchequer and King's bench, and ancient correspondence (Connolly 2002, 12). It is not an exhaustive account of all the Irish material in the Public Record Office for the period, but it is a valuable source nonetheless.

The *Calendar of Justiciary Rolls 1295-1303* are records of the Justiciar's court which was one of the agents of central justice and it was presided over by the justiciar and travelled around the country (Connolly 2002, 23). The justiciar's court dealt with a variety of actions both civil and criminal. The Public Record Office of Ireland had begun a project to publish English calendars of the justiciary rolls and three volumes had been published before the destruction of the originals during the Civil War in 1922. It is these three volumes that have been utilised by the current study. A number of other central government sources were consulted but little new information relevant to the current study was uncovered. While these central government sources were

useful at the macro level of research, which focused on the barony, they provided very little information at the micro level of research, which focused on the parish and townland.

While the *Great Parchment Book of Waterford* or' Liber Antiquissimus Civitatis Waterfordiae', as its name suggests, is primarily concerned with events in the city of Waterford, there are some references to south County Kilkenny, including The Rower and Kilculliheen. As the nunnery in Kilculliheen is one of only two religious foundations within the barony of Overk, this is an important source for the history of the barony. Although there are some references to events of the early thirteenth century this book is primarily concerned with the events of the mid-fourteenth to mid-seventeenth century.

The *Civil Survey* for county Kilkenny does not survive, except for a few sections on Kilkenny City, Inistioge and Callan, and this makes the 1653 survey of the lands granted to the Countess of Ormond particularly important. This survey was conducted to assess what lands should be restored to Elizabeth Butler (nee Preston), countess of Ormond after her husband lost them due to his support of the Royalist cause (Manning 1999, 40). Thomas, William and George Hunter surveyed the lands of Overk, and both Thomas and William Hunter worked for William Petty on the *Down Survey* (Manning 1999, 41). As well as outlining the extent (in statute acres) of the estates and their land use, the survey also includes descriptions of the buildings within the estate, Granny Castle for example is described as 'a castle and stone hall for the most part out of repair within, a thatched house with a chimney with several other cabins and a corn mill begun to be built' (Manning 1999, 52). While this survey only includes those lands in Overk that had been in the possession of Elizabeth Butler, in the absence of the *Civil Survey* it is an important source for the history of the area.

Similarly, the *Civil Survey* does not survive for county Cavan. However a 1622 survey of the county does survive and was published by Ó Gallachair in the *Bréifne* journal in 1958 (Ó Gallachair 1958). In August 1622 Sir Francis Annesley and Sir James Perrot conducted a survey into the present state and condition of the plantation counties of Cavan and Fermanagh and is now part of a collection of manuscripts held in the British Library. This manuscript outlines some of the structures constructed in the

barony of Clanmahon as a result of the plantation. It refers to a number of very substantial bawns of 'stone and lyme', but none of these can be identified on the modern landscape. It also includes a reference to the old castle on the lake, which is presumably a reference to Crover Castle.

2.1.2: Ecclesiastical records

The *Liber Ruber Ossorensis* or *Red Book of Ossory* is a collection of diocesan records, which were compiled in the fourteenth century. It 'contains a wide variety of material both ecclesiastical and secular, including, rentals, hymns, statutes and provincial constitutions' (Connolly 2002, 42). It has not yet been published in full but a detailed calendar was published in the early twentieth century. The compilation includes a series of taxations of the diocese, the list of the revenues collected are listed by deanery and this allows us to reconstruct the extent of the deaneries of Overk and Obercon and compare them to the extent of the barony of Overk.

A new English edition of *The Annals of Ireland by Friar John Clyn* has recently been published (Williams 2007, *Clyn's annals*) with extensive notes and discussion. Friar John Clyn was a Franciscan friar writing in Kilkenny in the mid-fourteenth century. It is for his account of Kilkenny during the Black Death that he is best known, but he also provided extensive information on the politics and events in Kilkenny and Tipperary during this troubled period. There is no reliable fourteenth-century copy of Clyn's text and instead Williams relied on four seventeenth-century transcripts. Two of these transcripts appear to have been copied from the original manuscript as they feature marginal notes that refer to the text (Williams 2007, *Clyn's annals*, 22). Williams (2007, *Clyn's annals*, 19) asserts that Clyn's 'work is reliable and accurate, he does not exaggerate'. Clyn's information about the families, such as the Roches, Powers and the de la Freignes who dominated south Kilkenny during his lifetime are useful for this study. Clyn also supplied details about the Gaelic-Irish in Kilkenny and contacts between them and the Anglo-Normans.

2.1.3: Narrative Sources

The two major narrative sources on the events surrounding the arrival of the Anglo-Normans (Barry 2003a, 8) were consulted during this research. The *Song of Dermot and the Earl* or the *Deeds of the Normans in Ireland* is a Norman French poem which

recounts 'how Richard fitz Gilbert, better known as Strongbow, came to Ireland from Wales in 1170 as the ally of Diarmait MacMurchada, the exiled King of Leinster' (Mullally 2002, 9). The first folio of the surviving manuscript, which might have told us something about the author and the context of his work, does not survive. While this work is not as well known as the works of Giraldus Cambrensis it sometimes corrects or augments the information in his accounts and also provides some information that it not available elsewhere. Giraldus Cambrensis or Gerald de Barry came to Ireland twice in the 1180s and he wrote two books about these trips: *Expugnatio Hibernica* (the Conquest of Ireland) and *Topographia Hibernia* (the Topography of Ireland). Giraldus' brothers, Robert and Philip be Barry, were part of the original Anglo-Norman force which came to Ireland and 'his historical interpretation is very much biased in his families favour' (Barry 2003a, 8). Giraldus revised his own manuscripts on a number of occasions, adding, amending and deleting, often reflecting his changing relationship to the people mentioned in his account. Taking cognisance of the shortcomings of this source, valuable information can be gleaned from it including the sub-infeudation of Overk and the original grantee.

2.1.4: Annalistic sources

The annalistic sources were a major resource for research into the barony of Clanmahon. Mac Niocaill (1975, 13) has defined the annals as 'a record of events arranged under the year of occurrence, without any necessary connection between them'. More recently Simms (2009, 20) has described them as 'notes of what were considered at the time to be important events taking place year by year in Ireland, with occasional references to happenings elsewhere in Europe'. It is generally agreed that this format is a consequence of their origins as marginal notes in the liturgical calendars or 'Easter tables' of the early medieval monasteries. The Columban community in Iona are believed to have be been the earliest Irish monks to use these scattered notes to build up a systematic record of notable events in their area (Simms 2009, 21). While the dating and origin of the early annals are problematic, scholars of the later medieval period do not face the same problems. We can be reasonably certain that entries dealing with the eleventh to seventeenth centuries are derived from accounts composed within a few years of the actual events (Simms 2009, 22). The manuscripts that contain Irish annals generally date between the fifteenth and the seventeenth century, containing copies of earlier entries.

The *Annals of the Four Masters* are the best known of the Irish annals and are the most commonly quoted. They were compiled by four early seventeenth-century annalists from a large assembly of earlier texts and were altered and censored in the process (Simms 2009, 20). While the *Annals of the Four Masters* have been used in this research, the entries have been checked against other annals to overcome the problem of the editing carried out during the compilation of these annals. While the *Annals of Ulster* and the *Annals of Connacht* contain information of relevance to the study of the barony of Clanmahon, their focus is on events in other areas of northern and western Ireland. Therefore, references to events in Clanmahon are infrequent. Fragment III in the *Miscellaneous Irish Annals* however, focuses some of its attention on the campaigns of Earl Roger Mortimer who was active on the borders of Meath and Breifne during the short time frame of these annals (1397-1407) (Simms 2009, 28). Therefore while the date range of these annals is very short, it does contain a number of relevant entries.

The *Annála as Breifne* or the *Annals of Breifne* are an antiquarian annal collection that combines anecdotal oral tradition about the O'Reilly family with some more precise records. De hÓir (1970, AB) edited the *Annals of Breifne* and published them in Irish in the Breifne journal. The entries in these annals are cross-referenced with the other annalistic sources. Simms (2009, 37) has recently argued that while these sources have been largely overlooked by historians who assume that all the information contained in them is also available in earlier collections, some of these antiquarian compilers seem to have had access to 'genuine annalistic material that has since been lost'. The annals were originally entitled *As Túsairis Tighe Úi Raghallaigh* or 'From the original registry of the House of O'Reilly' and the scribe is recorded as Peter O'Connell. These annals include information on events in the barony of Clanmahon as well as a note on the portion of Clanmahon taken from Bréifne by the Nugents and the Plunketts. De hÓir (1970, 83-6) provides an index of places in which they are often identified with modern placenames, and *Ordnance Survey* six-inch sheet references are also provided, all of which makes these records extremely useful to the archaeologist.

The *Annals of Ulster*, the *Annals of Loch Cé*, the *Annals of Connacht* and Fragment III of the *Miscellaneous Irish Annals* provide the majority of the annalistic information

used in this thesis. The entries in the *Annals of Breifne* are cross-referenced with these other sources but also provide new information. While secondary sources provide information on events in East Bréifne as a whole, these annalistic sources are the major source of information for events within the barony of Clanmahon. The nature of the annalistic entries means that they are brief and consequently they rarely include descriptions of dwellings, churches or other monuments of interest to this study.

2.1.5: Genealogical sources

A Genealogical History of the O'Reillys, which was edited by Carney (1959), bears the subtitle 'written in the eighteenth century by Eóghan Ó Ragallaigh and incorporating portion of the earlier work of Dr. Thomas Fitzsimons, Vicar-General of the Diocese of Kilmore'. Dr. Fitzsimons was appointed the Vicar-General of the diocese of Kilmore in 1666 and held the position intermittently until 1678. Dr. Fitzsimons' work includes a genealogy of the Fitzsimons family, who were a Norman family with connections to the Clanmahon O'Reillys, making it of particular interest and relevance to this study. Dr. Fitzsimons also included in his work a note on 'The Founders of Strongholds', which included some castles in Clanmahon. Carney's assessment of Dr Fitzsimons work is that 'none of the material is without an amount of historicity but the historical material is sometimes found embedded in a popular tale' (Carney 1959, 13). Eóghan Ó Raghallaigh originally compiled *A Genealogical History of the O'Reillys* from three sources; Dr. Fitzsimons work, the genealogies of Ireland and oral sources. The dating of the original manuscript is uncertain, the date 1703 is included in the colophon, but information relating to events in 1753 was also included. Carney's (1959) edition includes a transcription of Ó Raghallaigh's original text, as well as an English translation. The major difficulty presented by this study is a difficulty in dating the events described in the text, as no dates are given, instead the genealogies of those involved are quoted. However, by cross-referencing with other sources, it is possible to provide date ranges, if not exact dates.

2.1.6: Antiquarian sources

The History and Antiquities of the Diocese of Ossory by Canon Carrigan first published in 1905 is a valuable source to any researcher of the history and archaeology of the diocese (Carrigan 2005). The four volumes contain a variety of types of information from church history and lists of priests to descriptions of the

archaeological monuments of Ossory. After his ordination Carrigan ministered in number of locations in the diocese, including Templeorum, which is within the barony of Overk. During his two years in Templeorum, he collected a large amount of information and appears to have spent a lot of time talking to the older people of the parishes he visited and ministered in, collecting 'particulars concerning the names of the townlands, the walls, raths and cromlechs, the old graveyards, and any old ruins in the district' (James Cahill as quoted in Ó Fearghail 2005, xxiv). Carrigan also visited many archaeological sites, and his short descriptions of these sites are useful in identifying sites that are no longer extant, as well as providing detail about sites which have been damaged or have otherwise deteriorated.

Carrigan also spent several weeks of many summers in Dublin working in the Public Record Office and in various Dublin libraries (Ó Fearghail 2005, xvii). The burning of the Public Record Office in 1922 meant that this aspect of Carrigan's work increased in importance, as his manuscript collection was now an important repository for genealogical and historical information not available elsewhere (Ó Fearghail 2005, xxx). Unfortunately, like other antiquarians of the period, Carrigan does not provide references for many of his sources and it is therefore impossible to establish where the information may have come and at times whether the information is from an oral or written source. Carrigan does provide a list of the 'principal authorities consulted' but the references in this are often vague, such as the 'innumerable Ossory wills' he consulted in the Public Record Office, Dublin (Carrigan 2005, xxi-xxv). The publication contains 240 illustrations, both photographs and drawings, which are often a valuable record of Ossory's archaeological sites at the turn of the twentieth century. Although Carrigan's work is dominated by ecclesiastical history, there is much useful information on both the history and the antiquities of the diocese. The lack of referencing can at times be frustrating but it would be unfair to judge Carrigan by modern standards. This four-volume work continues to be an essential source for any scholar of the history and antiquities of Ossory more than a century after its original publication and will no doubt continue to be so.

O'Connell (1937) compiled *The Diocese of Kilmore: its history and antiquities* in the 1930s, but large parts of Clanmahon are outside of this diocese, including the parishes of Kilbride, Drumlumman and Ballymachugh. While the parish of Ballintemple is

included, the information provided on the parish relates to its dedication to St. Patrick and the clerics who worked there (O'Connell 1965b, 93, 469). The parish of Kilmore is dealt with extensively but again the focus of O'Connell's text is ecclesiastical history. There are few descriptions of archaeological monuments and where these do occur they generally relate to ecclesiastical structures. This one-volume account cannot hope to provide the wealth of information included in Carrigan's four-volume work, and unfortunately large parts of Clanmahon lie outside its remit.

The articles published by Oliver Davies on the archaeological sites of Cavan and Ulster in the 1940s are a valuable source of information for this study. As noted below, Davies also submitted descriptions of various archaeological sites in Cavan to the NMI, where they are part of what is referred to as the *Monument Files*. Davies' articles deal with the castles of Cavan (Davies 1947a, Davies 1948a), the churches of Cavan (Davies 1948b), and the ringforts (Davies 1947b) and crannógs (Davies 1942) of southern Ulster. The quality and scope of Davies' work in Cavan has yet to be surpassed and many of his observations and theories on the function and development of archaeological sites in Cavan would appear to have been decades ahead of their time and have recently been revived by modern scholars. Davies' descriptions of sites in the 1940s provides valuable information on sites, many of which have been destroyed or altered in the intervening years as well as the many sites in Cavan which have become completely overgrown as a result of their inclusion in the Rural Environmental Protection Scheme (REPS). The quality of Davies' descriptions would meet the standards of the modern fieldworker.

2.1.7: Archaeological sources

The files of the *Sites and Monuments Record* (SMR) are an important source for archaeologists. In 1983 it was decided to compile a rapid survey of all the archaeological sites in the Republic of Ireland. The first stage of this process was a mainly paper-based archaeological survey. This survey was completed by 1992 and this information was used as a basis for the Record of Monuments and Places (RMP). The RMP is a list of all the known archaeological sites in the Republic of Ireland and provides statutory protection for those sites. The RMP numbers are generally the same as the older SMR number and are formed by a county code, followed by the *Ordnance Survey* six-inch sheet number and finally the number of the site on that map sheet, for

example CV031-017 is the site number 17 on Cavan sheet 31. The hard copies of the SMR and the RMP have largely been superseded by archaeology.ie, a web-GIS site which allows the user to search by townland, town, classification and SMR number and view the location of archaeological sites on a background of the latest edition of the *Ordnance Survey* six-inch map overlaid over more recent aerial photographs.

The *Archaeological Survey* of Ireland (ASI) has been involved in producing archaeological inventories on a county-by-county basis. These archaeological inventories include short descriptions of archaeological sites and are organised by site classification. The information from the published inventories has been included in archaeology.ie, but no descriptions of sites are included for those sites in counties without inventories. Descriptions are included for sites in Clanmahon but not for sites in Overk as an *Archaeological Inventory of county Cavan* (O'Donovan 1995) has been published, but a volume for Kilkenny has yet to be. The SMR/RMP files however, contain more detailed information about the sites and while the inventory is a useful guide, the SMR/RMP files are an essential source for any serious research. These files contain field reports that include locational information, descriptions of the sites, the depiction of these sites on the *Ordnance Survey* six-inch maps (occasionally *Down Survey* and other cartographic sources), and references to published accounts of the site. The quality of the field reports varies considerably from county to county and even within individual counties. In some counties such as Kilkenny, information from the National Museum of Ireland topographical and monument files has been included in the files while in Cavan, and possibly other counties, it has not. Some of these files also contain older accounts of the sites compiled between the 1940s and the 1970s which include earlier descriptions of the sites, their destruction or decisions to afford statutory protection to them.

The topographical files in the National Museum of Ireland (NMI) contain information on objects found within Ireland. These files are organised by county and then by townland. The topographical file system was set up by the former director of the Museum, Adolf Mahr in the 1930s (Wallace and Ó Floinn 2002, 10) and this system remained in use until the 1990s when the records of the NMI began to be computerised. Currently, information from the topographical files and the older registers are included in the NMI Collections database. The major difficulty with the

topographical files is dating the objects referred to in the files. Some objects can easily be dated on the basis of descriptions and drawings (polished stone axeheads) while others are more difficult to date (unglazed ceramic). The vast majority of topographical files do not contain dating information. There are, however, some files that contain information on objects found at or adjacent to archaeological sites which were the subject of archaeological excavations. These files can provide important information on the date of activity at these sites. The topographical files are of most use to those conducting research on artefacts rather than archaeological monuments. The National Museum of Ireland also has monument files that contain information on archaeological sites. The monument files for county Cavan were of particular interest to this study as they contain descriptions of site compiled by Oliver Davies in the 1940s. While some of these sites are mentioned in his various articles on Cavan and Ulster, these files contain fuller descriptions and descriptions of sites not mentioned elsewhere in his work.

The results of archaeological excavations have provided some useful information for this study. Some of this information was included in the SMR/RMP files of the Archaeological Survey of Ireland or the topographical or monument files in the National Museum of Ireland. A database of all the archaeological excavations carried out in Ireland between 1970 and 2005 is available on www.excavations.ie and short descriptions of these excavations are available from an online database. Only two excavations in Clanmahon were identified and both of these were of no archaeological significance, while more than forty sites in Overk were identified, a number of which contained relevant information. The NRA website, http://archaeology.nra.ie, also contains an online database of the more important archaeological sites excavated during road projects and many of the sites featured on this database have been scientifically dated. This database contains a number of sites in the barony of Overk and no sites for the barony of Clanmahon as it has been unaffected by NRA road projects. A few detailed accounts of excavations relevant to this study have been published in local journals, but again these mainly refer to sites in Overk. Full excavations reports for all excavated sites are available from the National Monuments Section of the Department of the Environment, Heritage and Local Government. The fast pace of development in Kilkenny during the boom years has meant that there has been a much higher number of archaeological excavations in Overk, than in

Clanmahon and a consequent greater knowledge of the sub-surface archaeology of that barony.

2.1.8: Cartographic sources

Cartographic sources are a very important source for archaeologists, providing evidence for the location and morphology of archaeological sites. Cartography only began in Ireland in the sixteenth century and it was not until the mid-seventeenth century that a large-scale mapping project was undertaken (the *Down Survey*). Scientific mapping, to standards that would be acceptable today, began in Ireland in the nineteenth century. The evidence from cartographic sources therefore, post-dates, often by several centuries, the period of construction and even occupation of these archaeological sites. Indeed, some of the earliest sites (ringforts, crannógs, mottes) are first depicted on maps in the nineteenth century. Earthworks are not generally depicted on maps before the first edition of the *Ordnance Survey* six-inch map because they do not add value to the land on which they are located. Consequently, maps are an important source of information on the location and morphology of sites from the sixteenth century onwards, but they are merely a snap-shot in time and projecting the morphology of sites back in time can be misleading.

Jobson's map of Waterford Harbour

Francis Jobson compiled a map of Waterford harbour in 1591, which includes a portion of southern Overk. Francis Jobson was a professional land surveyor active in the official admeasurement of estates confiscated after the Desmond rebellion who later tried to establish himself as a freelance cartographer (Andrews 1997, 101). He compiled the map of Waterford Harbour as a plan for its fortification, but it was 'done partly with the object of securing for himself the constableship of Duncannon fort' (Andrews 1985, 41). Murtagh (2001, 103) has warned that the depictions of structures on this map may not be accurate representations, Jobson's goal was to depict the location of important sites on the harbour at a time when English authorities feared a Spanish invasion along the south coast of Ireland. When reviewing Jobson's work in its entirety, Andrews argues that 'although he has his detractors, Jobson's inadequate grasp of military science and admitted clumsiness with pen and brush were a small price to pay for the range, originality and general accuracy of his output' (Andrews 1985, 45). Jobson's map provides us with important information about some of the

stone-built structures in south county Kilkenny, although it is disappointing that the map doesn't extend as far as Granny castle. This map is held in the library of Trinity College Dublin (TCD MS 1209/64).

The Maps of the Escheated Counties of Ulster

The *Maps of the Escheated Counties of Ulster* were compiled in 1609 under the direction of Sir Josias Bodley, an engineer and fortification expert, for use by the government in making allotments to the undertakers and others involved in the plantation of Ulster (Andrews 1974b, 1985, 59). Due to the interest of nineteenth century Irish historians and the Keeper of the Irish Landed Estates Court Record Office in these maps, which are housed in London, it was decided to make copies of the map collection. These copies are footnoted 'Zincographed at the Ordnance Survey Office' and Andrews (1974b, 136-7) states that it is clear from comparisons to the originals that they were produced from hand tracings rather than photographs. Copies of the original map were obtained from the National Archives for Great Britain in Kew (catalogue number MPF/1/56).

The survey relied on the testimony of local people to a large extent and this was bound to have affected the accuracy of the resulting maps. The individual townlands are inaccurate both in the shape and position of the boundary junctions and in their relative sizes. Andrews (1974b, 150) argues that this inaccuracy stems from showing townlands as being more uniform in size than modern evidence can support. These maps do not fit together along their barony boundaries and their calculations of the acreage of each townland are based on an arbitrary formula that produces 'figures absurdly short of the truth' (Andrews 1985, 57). These maps do, however, make a significant contribution to the cartography of the area, by providing the first map which attempts to map the townlands of the area and for all its faults it provides a valuable insight into the geography and built heritage of the area at the beginning of the seventeenth century.

Andrew's published an analysis of this collection of maps in 1974 and he indicated that Ridgeway's 'summary note of calculation' explained the symbols and the colours used to show the proposed allocation of various parcels. Sir Thomas Ridgeway was the Irish Treasurer and he presented these maps to Lord Salisbury in 1609. This document

was obviously compiled at the time of the survey. These maps depict the topography of the baronies and include mountains, lakes, rivers, woods and bogs. Churches, round towers and castles appear as drawings that 'hover between the conventional and the realistic' (Andrews 1974b, 160). Church lands are coloured green and a small circle surmounted by a double cross indicates abbey lands. A single cross refers to those townlands already granted to temporal proprietors before the survey. Lands that are left uncoloured are those assigned to forts, towns, Irish freeholders and Trinity College, Dublin (Andrews 1974b, 160). The top of these maps are orientated roughly east. These maps are a significant, if flawed, source for this study. They provide information on the location of churches and castles in the early seventeenth century, as well as basic information on the topography of the area and townland names and the composition of parishes. However, as the compilers of these maps were not concerned with antiquities, earthworks and other archaeological sites are not recorded.

The Down Survey

The *Down Survey* maps were produced, in the 1650s, to aid land transfers during the plantation period. The extensive land confiscations after Cromwell's military campaigns 'led to the urgent need for a large-scale cartographic survey, which would measure land units and tie verbal descriptions to individual plots and their proprietors' (Prunty 2004, 50). Cromwell's physician-in-chief, Dr (later Sir) William Petty, actively sought the job and made a great personal profit from the enterprise. He was responsible for the first countrywide mapping of Ireland in which measurements were made rather than estimated. There are two sets of *Down Survey* maps, barony maps and parish maps. Originally it was intended to produce barony maps for the entire country regardless of whether the land was to be confiscated. The originals of the completed *Down Survey* parish maps have not survived. The Reeves collection in the NLI contains copies of fifteen volumes of the parish maps, which cover Munster and Leinster and the two volumes that cover Ulster are in the *Public Record Office of Northern Ireland (PRONI)*, but these volumes don't include county Cavan. The most complete set of barony maps are held in the *Bibliotheque Nationale* in Paris, and most of the available copies have been made from these maps.

Petty and his surveyors were working in a hostile environment and several surveyors lost their heads before completion. In just over a year the surveying and mathematical

calculations had been completed and turned into maps. The written terrier provides additional information and these vary in quality with the different surveyors. The barony map shows county, barony and parish boundaries, the names of these units (and of some townlands also), principal rivers and bridges, and stone or other substantial buildings. Symbols are often used to denote bogs, forests and mountains. The larger scale parish maps show little that is not already on the barony map (Prunty 2004, 55). The *Down Survey* is primarily concerned with the land liable to confiscation and church land (including glebe land), the lands of Trinity College, crown lands and the property of Protestant occupiers are merely noted not surveyed. This failure to survey lands not liable to confiscation left Petty with numerous empty spaces on his maps, a problem which he failed to resolve (Prunty 2004, 56). The *Down Survey* maps are not topographical maps and there is no attempt to make a complete record of roads, drainage or relief (Prunty 2004, 57). The Down survey parish and barony maps were however accompanied by written terriers and where they survive they provide topographic information such as land use, structures and occasionally local antiquities. The Down Survey is an important source for landscape archaeology and its value as a source is increased where the written terriers survive. Like the *Maps of the Escheated Counties of Ulster* the top of these maps are orientated roughly east.

The Ordnance Survey

Prior to the compilation of the *Ordnance Survey*, the *Down Survey* was still used for taxation purposes despite the fact that it no longer reflected the value of the land as some land had been improved (Doherty 2004, 14). A detailed valuation of land and buildings was required as a preliminary to a reform of Ireland's local taxation system (Andrews 1974a, 1) and the primary reason for this new survey, therefore, was civil rather than military. Colonel Thomas Colby, the director of the *Ordnance Survey* was responsible for undertaking a six-inch to one-mile survey of the island of Ireland. These maps were to have townlands as their basis, but were also to record parishes, baronies and counties. Colby set out his guideline for surveyors in a handbook that included instructions on what type of information should be recorded and this included antiquities and it is these antiquities that makes the six inch maps such an important resource for archaeologists of all periods.

George Petrie was appointed head of the newly established topographical or historical department of the *Ordnance Survey* and John O'Donovan was also appointed to this department. O'Donovan conducted research in libraries as well as collecting information in the field (Doherty 2004, 19) and this research began in the northern counties and moving southwards. Initially there was a plan to publish a series of county memoirs with the information collected but the controversy surrounding the first volume, which dealt with part of county Derry, was so intense that no further memoirs were published (Prunty 2004, 28). The decision to suspend the publication of the memoirs led to a decreased enthusiasm for collecting this information, which is likely to have been responsible for the noticeable difference in the level of detail recorded in the name books for county Cavan and those for county Kilkenny

Nevertheless, there was a sense among scholars at least that the historical and antiquarian research carried out by the *Ordnance Survey* was important. 'Widespread destruction of sites and artefacts, rejection of the Irish language, and the consequent loss of literary and historical traditions, made *Ordnance Survey* work seem urgent' (Prunty 2004, 79). The *Ordnance Survey* six-inch maps are consequently a valuable source for archaeologists as it records the location and morphology of many sites which do not survive on the modern landscape. *Ordnance Survey* staff consulted a variety of manuscript sources but like many other works compiled in this period, no footnotes or references to sources are included in the *Ordnance Survey* writings making it impossible to check or authenticate the information included in them. Similarly, there is no differentiation between information from oral or written sources (Prunty 2004, 85). The *Ordnance Survey* name books and letters are the written records generated by the topographical or historical department. The *Ordnance Survey Letters* were letters written between members of the topographic department and the director of the *Ordnance Survey*. These letters contain information about the origin of placenames, the history, folklore and antiquities of the area. The letters that deal with county Kilkenny have been published (Herity 2003).

On the whole the first and subsequent editions of the *Ordnance Survey* six inch maps of Ireland are accurate, but like any human endeavour there are bound to be errors, omissions and over sights. Some inconsistencies were probably the result of space constraints, antiquities and curiosities could easily be accommodated on an otherwise

uncluttered section of a map, but could be omitted in a more crowded section (Andrews 1974a, 5). Field boundaries were omitted from the earliest plans for reasons of economy, but soon draftsmen were marking points where the ends of fences joined with roads and streams and in 1835 Colby directed than fences should be included (Andrews 1974a, 14). The omission of field boundaries is evident on a limited number of the first edition sheets for county Cavan but this omission did not in occur on the county Kilkenny sheets.

The twenty-five inch to a mile resurvey of Ireland was carried out between 1888 and 1913 (Andrews 1974a, 3). During this revision the *Royal Irish Academy* were asked for their advice on antiquities, scholars such as G.H. Orpen, T.J. Westropp and R.A.S. Macalister were nominated to assist in the counties they had studied. Other advisers were however less well informed and although numerous new antiquities are included on these maps, their quality is more variable than those on the first edition of the six-inch maps (Andrews 1974a, 44).

The resources available on the *OSI* historic mapping website were used during this study, and this site includes the first edition of the six inch maps and the 1:2,500 maps of the area. The first edition six-inch maps for county Cavan appear to have a default depiction for ringforts that reveals little of the actual morphology of these sites. In county Kilkenny the depictions are more disparate and would appear to be more accurate depictions of the morphology of the sites. As mentioned above, some of the Cavan sheets do not include field boundaries while they are included on all the Kilkenny sheets. The *Ordnance Survey* six-inch maps are a valuable source for both counties as they record the existence of archaeological sites, some of which no longer exist and others that have been significantly altered since they were recorded. They also record the roadways and trackways that connected sites and record the names given to some of these sites. The *Ordnance Survey* maps and the written records of the topographical department are valuable sources for any landscape study and provided valuable information on the baronies of Clanmahon and Overk.

2.1.9: Conclusion

A wide range of primary source material was consulted during the compilation of this thesis. The decision to compare the baronies of Clanmahon and Overk meant that both

English administrative sources and Gaelic-Irish annalistic sources were consulted. As these sources were compiled for different purposes the information they contain is very different, as is the level of detail included. For this reason, much more detailed accounts of the history of the individual parishes in Overk were compiled, for which there were a wide variety of available primary source material, compared to those in Clanmahon, where we are largely dependent on the short entries in the annalistic sources. Conversely, as more of the lands of Clanmahon were confiscated and it was subject to plantation, there are more seventeenth-century cartographic sources available than for Overk and these maps of Clanmahon tend to be more detailed. When comparing the evidence for the two baronies, it is essential that these discrepancies in the number and type of documentary sources should be considered. The available archaeological sources for the two study areas are quite similar and the major difference being the larger number of archaeological excavations in Overk, due to the infrastructural projects, like the N25 Waterford Bypass.

2.2: *Part two: Review of secondary sources for this study*

As the focus of this study is the interactions between the Anglo-Normans and the Gaelic-Irish in the high and late medieval period, this review of secondary literature will focus on previous studies concerned with these cross-cultural interactions. It will begin with a review of the standard texts in medieval archaeology, to indicate the current state of research into these interactions. As the first section of this review will demonstrate there has been little archaeological research into the subject of this thesis and consequently the focus of the remainder of this literature review is on the historical research. Historians have conducted greater levels of research over a longer period of time into these interactions than archaeologists, but any available archaeological research into the topic has been included under the relevant headings. The various heading have been selected to highlight the most pertinent strands of historical research.

2.2.1: Standard texts in medieval archaeology.

The most obvious starting point for this study was to consult the standard texts on medieval archaeology in Ireland. Medieval archaeology is a relatively new area of archaeological research in Ireland and it is only since the 1970s that there has been extensive research on the subject. Prior to this period, archaeologists were primarily interested in researching the prehistoric and early Christian periods. There are many possible reasons for this which include, the natural inclination of archaeologists to study periods for which there is little or no documentary evidence, where they feel they can add most; the slow development of medieval archaeology elsewhere, including Britain; and Ireland's recent history (O'Conor 1998, 10). The newly established Irish state looked back to its Iron Age and early medieval past as a golden age, when Ireland was an independent 'land of saints and scholar's' as a suitable subject for archaeological research. Moreover the high and late medieval periods are seen as the beginning of Ireland's subjugation to the English Crown, as illustrated by the popular phrase to describe Ireland's relationship to Britain 'eight hundred years of oppression'.

The first synthesis of Irish medieval archaeology did not appear until 1987 when T.B. Barry's *The archaeology of medieval Ireland* was published (Barry 2003a). There had been a significant number of publications on the subject in the 1970s and 1980s, and this has facilitated the compilation of such a synthesis. However, the focus of this

publication was very much on the Anglo-Norman archaeology of the period. Barry himself recognises this limitation in the preface but indicates that that this was due to the nature of the available evidence. 'I have tried, to the best of my ability, to cover all aspects of settlement archaeology in medieval Ireland but because most of the available data relates to the Anglo-Normans this book has tended to concentrate on them, although every effort was made to investigate the indigenous settlement forms as well' (Barry 2003a, xiii).

It was more than ten years before O'Conor (1998) published his book entitled *The archaeology of medieval rural settlement in Ireland.* Although this publication only deals with rural settlement, it is significant as it contained the first and most comprehensive account of the Gaelic Irish during the high and late medieval periods. This was a major advancement in the study of medieval Irish archaeology and it was the result of research carried out by the Discovery Programme. However, despite a number of outwardly positive signs for the study of medieval archaeology, O'Conor argues that development of the subject had not been as extensive as it might have been. He points out that most of the excavations of medieval sites were development led and urban in character and that there had been no successor to Barry's synthesis of medieval archaeology (O'Conor 1998, 14).

O'Conor's publication deals with the archaeology of Anglo-Norman and Gaelic-Irish settlement in two separate chapters and there is little or no attempt to deal with the interaction between them. Indeed the Gaelic-Irish who lived in the Anglo-Norman dominated parts of Ireland have been entirely excluded from this study, with the chapter concerning these parts of Ireland entitled 'English peasant settlement on Anglo-Norman manors' (O'Conor 1998, 41-71). Even when discussing moated sites, a settlement form built and occupied by both the Anglo-Normans and the Gaelic-Irish, O'Conor does not offer any explanation as to why the Gaelic-Irish would have adopted these settlement forms. Instead the discussion focuses on outlining the evidence that the Gaelic-Irish constructed and inhabited moated sites, as well as the status of the Gaelic-Irish who occupied them (O'Conor 1998, 87-89). O'Conor does acknowledge that the construction of tower houses by the Gaelic-Irish is evidence of the 'cultural uniformity that prevailed across Ireland by the fifteenth century' (O'Conor 1998, 103). He goes on to argue that the tower house 'is really the first secular monument type to

demonstrate this fusion of cultures of medieval Ireland' (O'Conor 1998, 104). A brief mention is made of frontier regions in the concluding chapter when O'Conor (1998) indicates that settlement patterns and way of life in these areas was relatively similar to those of Gaelic-Ireland, although in the latter regions few classical European-style timber and masonry castles were built before *c.*1400. O'Conor's publication was the first attempt to provide a comprehensive account of the settlement forms occupied by the Gaelic-Irish. It can therefore be seen, like Barry's earlier publication as an important landmark in the study of medieval settlement in Ireland. These works provide the basis on which the current study and others that deal with the interaction between the Gaelic-Irish and the Anglo-Normans can be built.

The next major synthesis of medieval archaeology was Tadhg O'Keeffe's *Medieval Ireland; an archaeology* first published in 2000 (O'Keeffe 2000a). This publication appears to represent a further progression of research in Irish medieval archaeology particularly in relation to the interactions between the Gaelic-Irish and the Anglo-Normans. It is divided into a number of chapters covering different aspects of life in high and later medieval Ireland and the evidence for Gaelic-Irish and Anglo-Norman settlement, society and economy were discussed together.

O'Keeffe begins his discussion by focusing on earth and timber castles. He outlines the evidence for the reuse of ringforts by Anglo-Normans for earth-and-timber castles. He concludes that the reason for this is two-fold: these ringforts provided convenient, ready-made foundations for very large earthworks and these native earthworks may have been colonised by new castles for symbolic gain (O'Keeffe 2000a, 22). This reuse of ringforts can therefore be seen as a means by which the Anglo-Normans asserted their control of the area by appropriating sites and also attempted to establish legitimacy for their land grants by taking over existing settlement forms in the landscape. Their adoption of older foundations as parish churches can also be seen in the same light.

O'Keeffe agrees with Stout (2000, 24) that the majority of Irish ringforts were constructed between 700 and 1000 AD and he indicates that this may have been due to a rise of feudalism between the tenth and twelfth centuries (O'Keeffe 2000a, 22). He argues that Viking activity in Ireland was a major contributor to the changes in Irish

society in the tenth century, particularly 'in the nature and role of kingship and the in concepts of warfare' (O'Keeffe 2000a, 26). Increased military activity led to a need to restructure the social obligations that supported this activity, this led to a change from the older system of clientship to one of labour services (which he argues are diagnostic of feudalism). The evidence quoted by O'Keeffe for this move towards a feudal social system includes the emergence of terms such as *óglachas* 'the service of a warrior' and *biataighteacht* 'a food providing relationship' in this period. O'Keeffe argues that Ireland experienced a similar shift from a dispersed to a nucleated settlement pattern as was experienced in late Anglo-Saxon England. He envisages a shift from dispersed settlement in ringforts to a nucleated pattern where 'the pastoral needs of the people were satisfied in churches and in those nucleations and that power emanated from defended royal (or aristocratic) residences' (O'Keeffe 2000a, 26). Finally, he argues that the use of the term *caistél* or *caislén* in the Gaelic-Irish sources to describe a small number of fortresses mainly in Connacht, is a good indication of feudalism in pre-colonial Irish society. The use of this new term indicated to O'Keeffe (2000a, 27) that a new 'horizon of fortifications' was being constructed.

There is evidence from the Irish literary sources that there were 'castles' in pre-colonial Ireland but the form of these 'castles' in unclear. O'Keeffe argues that platform raths may have fulfilled the functions of a 'castle' in the pre-Norman period and this thesis will be examined in detail in chapter seven (O'Keeffe 2000a, 26). In the chapter concerning stone castles and defensible houses, O'Keeffe includes a discussion of the Gaelic-Irish stone castles in the thirteenth century. He argues that there was likely to have been Gaelic-Irish castle building in western Ireland in the period immediately after the arrival of the Anglo-Normans, but he can provide no definite examples and moreover argues that some stone castles that have been identified as having been built by the Gaelic-Irish were misinterpreted and were actually Anglo-Norman (O'Keeffe 2000a, 44). Similarly, his discussion of tower houses includes the great regionalism within the architecture of the tower house but does not deal with Gaelic tower houses or their significance. The fact that a substantial number of Gaelic-Irish lords were also constructing a type of stone castle that were also built by the Anglo-Normans is not discussed (O'Keeffe 2000a, 49-51).

Within his discussion of rural medieval settlement, there is little discussion of either the Gaelic-Irish who lived within the Anglo-Norman manorial system or what type of settlement forms were inhabited by the Gaelic-Irish who lived in areas not controlled by the Anglo-Normans. There is one short section at the end of the chapter which deals with rural settlement in Gaelic-Ireland in which, O'Keeffe suggests that there may have been some type of permanent Gaelic-Irish settlement but he does not suggest what form it may have taken, except that it might have been nucleated (O'Keeffe 2000a, 80-81). The only reference to the Gaelic-Irish in the section on town planning is to deal with the idea that there were some settlement nucleations in Ireland in the pre-colonial area that were not Viking establishments (O'Keeffe 2000a, 84). These were proto-urban settlement nucleations around the major monastic centres, an idea that has been current for some time. The rest of this publication focuses on trade and craft in Anglo-Norman centres and the church in Ireland. While the structure of O'Keeffe's publication does provide more opportunity for discussion of cross-cultural interactions, they are not a major concern of this publication and are largely unexplored.

This review of the standard texts for the study of medieval Irish archaeology illustrates both how much has been achieved given the relative youth of the subject and the need for further extensive research into the many unanswered questions, including the visibility of Anglo-Norman/ Gaelic-Irish interactions in the archaeological record. As archaeological research into cross-cultural interactions has only recently begun to be explored, we must combine this limited amount of research with historical research into the subject.

2.2.2: Ethnicity and the evidence for separate Anglo-Norman and Gaelic-Irish identities.

The idea that the Gaelic-Irish felt they had an Irish identity, in opposition to the arriving settlers, has been explored by a number of historians. However, it is not a subject that has been addressed by archaeologists in general, and it is a subject that would seem to require a multi-disciplinary approach. The idea of ethnicity in archaeological research has only recently begun to be explored but it is a central concern for this study. It is important to establish whether contemporaries viewed interactions between the Gaelic-Irish and the Anglo-Normans as interactions between two separate ethnic groups or nations.

Most historians, political and social theorists accept that by 1700 the concept of 'the state' had become firmly established. However, the idea of a nation insofar as it existed was something that for long developed independently of the concept of the state (Stringer 1994, 21). It has been argued that national identity began to develop throughout Europe in the medieval period. Personal and feudal loyalty together with religious faith was strong at this time but the attachment to country was developing. Where this attachment to country coincided with an ancient institution and was reinforced by a common language and culture, the resulting mixture was very powerful. Stringer (1994, 23) agrees with Clanchy's argument that 'although medieval nations cannot be equated in terms of political power with the sovereign states of modern Europe, national identity was already in the thirteenth century an important element in a ruler's authority over his own subjects and in the assertion of power over his neighbours'.

The formation of a national identity is not incompatible with regionality and the existence of minorities within its confines. The case of a united Britain composed of England, Wales and Scotland 'shows that localism, regionalism and other particularist attachments were not always incompatible with national loyalties' (Stringer 1994, 30). The formation of a national culture involves exclusion from the 'family of the nation' as well as inclusion within it (Stringer 1994, 30). The formation of Anglo-Norman or settler English identity and Irish identity in the later medieval period is likely to have been heavily influenced by exclusion of the other group. Identity formed in opposition to arriving and expanding settlers and a host community is not unique to Ireland.

Access to common law appears to be one of the major divisions between the Gaelic-Irish and the Anglo-Normans and this increases as the colony becomes established. Frame (1993, 88) agrees with Nicholls that in the early days 'distinctions were governed less by Irish origin than by status and tenure and that if Irishmen were accepted as holding land freely (as they sometimes were) they could use the courts'. As royal government grew and justice became more centralised, national stereotyping became more deeply engrained. Irish origins alone was becoming enough for exclusion from the courts and the exercise of common law (Frame 1993, 88).

Division along ethnic lines is also visible in the church and as was the case with access to the law, access to high positions in the church became more restricted for the Irish as time advanced. The first recorded attempt to exclude Irishmen from high ecclesiastical office dates to 1217 (Frame 1993, 89). The progressive exclusion of the Irish from the law and the higher positions in the church seems to be at variance with the popularly-held opinion that the longer a settler population spends in a new place, the more if will be identified with it and absorbed by it. In fact the reverse is more likely to be the case, but this increased association with the metropolis is not inconsistent with involvement in local politics. Frame (1993, 94) also argues that even though the Anglo-Normans became acculturated and adapted to the Irish lifestyle this did not prevent 'a feeling of embattled Englishness among those who lived in the encircled heartlands of the lordship'. This attachment to England was unsurprising as these elites had more than just administrative links to England, they also had ties of patronage and service and in some cases marriage and land holding. Frame (1993, 101) qualifies these assertions with the caveat that 'like all such constructs the settler identity has a way of evaporating once exposed to the deeds of real people in specific institutions'. He concludes that those living in the later medieval period were as capable of having complex layers of identity and the same ability to live with inconsistencies as we have today.

The first Irish archaeologist to broach this subject was O'Keeffe (2004), who produced an important article *The Gaelic peoples and their archaeological identities AD 1000-1650*. In it he attempted to identify the archaeological identity of the Gaelic peoples which is their 'identity as expressed in the archaeological record, and not the archaeology of their ethnic identity' (O'Keeffe 2004, 5). He chose to discuss identity in the plural to allow for identities shifting across time and shifting within space. O'Keeffe argues that the secondary literature illustrates that medieval population groups, on the island of Ireland, understood themselves to be ethnic collectives possessed of ideas of nationhood, and that their political interactions were fundamentally shaped by this.

O'Keeffe (2004) then goes on to discuss the evidence that 'castles' existed in Ireland in the early 12th century and the ideas advanced by O'Conor (1998) that crannógs and ringforts were occupied by the Gaelic-Irish in the later medieval period. O'Keeffe also

discusses the evidence for settlement nucleation and the church in those parts of Ireland controlled by the Gaelic-Irish in the later medieval period. He concludes that 'a central problem in the development of the archaeology of a Gaelic world between the tenth and the seventeenth century is neither a scarcity of data.... nor the relatively small number of projects with carefully considered research-agenda but rather an underdevelopment of a general philosophy of medieval archaeology itself' (O'Keeffe 2004). He argues that archaeologists need to be less dependent on a historical matrix for their studies and to recognise that historical and archaeological evidence tell us different things and that one is not necessarily an adequate replacement for the other. Finally, he urges archaeologists to recognise that material remains can themselves be understood as a type of text that can be read by those who understand the rules of its grammar (O'Keeffe 2004).

Finan's (2004) publication *A nation in medieval Ireland? Perpectives on Gaelic national identity in the Middle Ages* develops the idea that in the high and late medieval periods the Gaelic-Irish perceived themselves to have a distinct national identity that differentiated them from the Anglo-Normans. He defines a nation as 'a population sharing an ethnic history, tradition, language and/or religion and this population's connection with a particular, definable geographic region' (Finan 2004, 1). The historiography of Irish identity has been clouded by modern political traditions. The 'nationalist position' maintains that Ireland has always had a national identity and has struggled against outside forces to assert that identity. The 'unionist position' considers the idea of an Irish nation to be comparatively modern idea and rejects the idea that past civilisations on the island of Ireland could be considered to have represented an Irish nation. Finan takes a more pragmatic approach to the idea of an Irish nation, arguing 'that the nation does not come into existence at a particular point in time, but, rather, develops, disintegrates, regathers and reconstitutes itself over long periods of time' (Finan 2004, 4).

This study examines the evidence for an Irish nation under a number of headings: bardic poetry, settlement patterns, the medieval church in Ireland, and legal systems. The section on settlement patterns is probably of greatest relevance to this study. In this section Finan analyses Gaelic-Irish and Anglo-Norman settlement patterns separately and charts their development through the period 1200-1400. This analysis

suggests that the development of settlement in Ireland followed two distinct and ethnically defined paths. One of the central arguments advanced by Finan to support this conclusion is the failure of Irish kings and lords to construct stone castles. He dismisses the idea that the Irish constructed castles before the arrival of the Anglo-Normans arguing instead that the possible pre-Norman castles, identified by other scholars, were fortified houses not castles or even 'proto-castles'. He suggests that as they were not real administrative or military centres they might even be considered to be enclosures on a large scale, similar to the ringfort. The construction of castles and boroughs by the Anglo-Normans and the apparent failure of the Irish to do so suggests to Finan the existence of two separate nations. He concludes that 'the nature of the lordship for the Irish was radically different from the Anglo-Norman lordship' (Finan 2004, 69). Finan's rejection of the idea of pre-Norman castles and settlements nucleations is controversial and one that many archaeologists would dispute. This would also lead them to question his conclusion that there were two completely separate nations in later medieval Ireland. While GIS analysis does offer interesting insights into settlement forms during the period, his use of the use of chi square analysis, time series analysis and comparisons of clustering (all techniques first advocated in the 1970s) only allow quantitative analysis. The concept of a nation is an abstract idea and a qualitative approach to data analysis may have produced results more directly relevant to the idea of a nation.

In a review of Finan's work, Crooks (2005) points to a number of shortcomings, most of which appear to stem from trying to explain racial tensions in terms of a simple cause-and-effect relationship. Crooks goes on to argue that 'some of Finan's later chapters would have benefited from the more nuanced approach he brought to his chapter on bardic poetry' (Crooks 2005, 60). He also questions why Finan omitted a discussion of the wealth of fourteenth century material concerning the military obligations that bound Gaelic Chiefs to the earls of Ulster, Kildare and Desmond. Finan also fails to discuss the Richard II expedition to Ireland 1394-5 during which the king accepted the submission of most of the Gaelic chiefs. Crooks (2005, 60-61) argues that discussion of these and similar issues 'might well have enhanced Finan's picture of Gaelic identity by bringing cooperation as well as conflict within its parameters'. Finan's work could be accused of the selective use of the available evidence to support his argument.

2.2.3: Gaelicisation and the 'Middle Nation'

Lydon (1984, 2) has argued that the Anglo-Irish referred to themselves as a middle nation, from at least the time of the *Remonstrance of the Irish Princes* in 1317. The author of the *Remonstrance* clearly states twice that the English of Ireland called themselves a middle nation, and Lydon argues that this would indicate that they saw themselves as a group apart from both the English and the Gaelic-Irish. Lydon also cites Gerald of Wales or Gerald de Barry when he puts words into the mouth of Maurice fitzGerald in 1170 during the siege of Dublin 'just as we are English as far as the Irish are concerned, likewise to the English we are Irish, and the inhabitants of this island and the other assail us with an equal degree of hatred' (*Expug. Hib.*, 81). He goes on to argue that while the Gaelic-Irish viewed the Anglo-Normans as 'foreign' they were 'not so foreign as other foreigners' (Lydon 2008, 337). While the official records indicate that the English of Ireland were subjects of the crown and subject to common law, other records reveal a more ambiguous attitude to these men. At Oxford the Anglo-Irish were classed as *Hiberniensis* among the nations that made up the university (Lydon 2008, 338). Ellis counters this by arguing that although these men might be described colloquially as Irish, they remained officially English lieges who regarded themselves as Englishmen, spoke English and used English laws and customs (Ellis 1986, 15). Muldoon (2003) agrees that the evidence from documentary sources would suggest that these Anglo-Normans considered themselves to be English but goes on to argue that social, cultural and even national identity, is not simply a matter of self-definition, 'it is also a matter of definition by others' (Muldoon 2003, x). Lydon argues that all the settlers to a greater or a lesser extent were partly assimilated into Irish culture and they absorbed enough to make them at home in the language and literature of Ireland. However, he also indicated that these men never fully denied their Englishness or 'identified themselves with those Irish whom they consistently, to the end of the medieval lordship, regarded as enemies' (Lydon 2008, 345).

Seán Duffy (1997) has also examined the question of Gaelicisation or degeneracy at the end of the thirteenth century, in a volume concerned with the 1297 parliament. He argues that by this date Anglo-Irish society was degenerate, but that this was a recent phenomenon. At this 1297 parliament a piece of legislation was passed which decreed that all Englishmen should have English hairstyles and no longer adopt the Irish hair

style called a *cúlan*. There was a practical reason for this ban, as Englishmen sporting this type of hairstyle were being mistakenly identified as Irishmen and killed, which led to the 'kindred' of both the killer and the killed being killed as enemies. This piece of legislation indicates not only that an Anglo-Irishman could be physically indistinguishable from a Gaelic-Irishman but also that families or more extended kin-groups were seeking revenge for the killing of one of their number. This S. Duffy argues is the very definition of degeneracy 'these Englishmen were killing others of their own nation, having lost, somewhere along the line, a sense of belonging to a *gens* that extended beyond their own blood relatives' (S. Duffy 1997, 89). Although as will be discussed in chapter 6, Parker (1995b) has argued against the idea that the existence of a lineage was evidence in itself of Gaelicisation. S. Duffy (1997, 97) cites two further examples from the early fourteenth century of Anglo-Irishmen being killed or wounded and their assailant claiming that they believed them to be Irish. He also mentions the case of an individual who was charged with killing an Anglo-Irishman, but who was acquitted because the victim, who was known as Roger de Caunteton, was proved to be an Irishman with the surname Ó Driscoll. The difficulty of distinguishing settlers from the native population would certainly indicate a level of acculturation by either group or perhaps by both groups.

S. Duffy (1997, 89) points to inter-marriage as a possible cause of the Gaelicisation of the Anglo-Irish, despite the fact that the original marriage between the settlers and the Gaelic-Irish, the marriage of Aoife, daughter of Diarmuid MacMurrough to Strongbow, led not to Strongbow becoming more Irish, but to Aoife taking advantage of her right under English law to dower lands in England and the Welsh marches. The major advantage to Strongbow of an Irish wife was that it provided him with connections to some of the most powerful men in Ireland. Hugh de Lacy's marriage to Rose, daughter of the high-king Ruaidrí Ó Conchobair, is another example of a high profile cross-cultural marriage. Duffy argues that there was an unspoken belief among contemporary commentators that it was Hugh's marriage to the high-king's daughter that fanned his ambition to rule and the *Annals of Loch Cé* record that in 1185 when Lord John came to Ireland it was 'Hugo de Laci that was king of Erinn when the son of the king of the Saxons came' (ALC, 1185). One of the children of this cross-cultural marriage was William *Gorm* de Lacy, a younger son with no claim to the lordship of Meath or later the earldom of Ulster. Nevertheless, as we will see in chapter four, he

was active in Bréifne and when he died he received 'what may have been the first complimentary obit given by an Irish annalist to an Anglo-Irish baron' and S. Duffy interprets this an indication of the extent to which he was part of Gaelic-Irish society (S. Duffy 1997, 91). He also highlights case of the de Angulo family, who from the late twelfth century held lands in Connacht from Cathal Crobdearg Ó Conchobhair in return for military service (S. Duffy 1997, 95). By the early fourteenth century, the de Angulo family appear to have taken the very considerable and symbolic step of adopting a Gaelic patronymic, Mac Costello.

Katharine Simms has examined the bardic poetry written by Gaelic-Irish bards in praise of their Anglo-Norman patrons. The earliest extant bardic poem in praise of a colonist was addressed to Richard Mór de Burgh *c.*1213 and he was the progeny of a cross-cultural marriage. The fact that he had an Irish mother would suggest that he would have understood and appreciated bardic poetry. This poem emphasises the mingling of Gaelic and foreign ways at the young noble's court, 'O ye who are become Gaelic, yet foreign' (Simms 1989, 179). From the early fourteenth century onwards, there are poems, tracts and manuscript compilations unquestionably produced for Anglo-Irish patrons, and the Irish annals record the names of various learned Irishmen who were employed by the 'foreigners' as musicians, judges, poets and historians. Ellis (1986, 4-5) has argued that cultural Gaelicisation took place chiefly in marginal areas, at the outer edge of the colony's administrative effectiveness, but Simms has countered this claim by listing a number of men who were chief governors of Ireland and who employed bardic poets: the first and third earls of Desmond, James Butler, the 'White Earl of Ormond' and his protégé Richard Nugent, Baron Delvin, none of whom were marginal lords (Simms 1989, 180).

It has also been argued that Gaelic-Irish praise poets were employed as a type of cynical exercise in public relations to make the lord's authority more acceptable in the eyes of his native Irish subjects. However, Simms argues that these poets were employed as image-makers and they would have been capable of influencing both native and colonial audiences. Whether this was a public relations exercise or not, the fact these Anglo-Irish lords could understand the Irish language and were familiar with bardic poetry and its function, would indicate a certain level of Gaelicisation. However, there is also evidence to suggest that Anglo-Irish adoption of Gaelic culture

was at least partly the result of necessity. The absence of a royal court to promote chivalric culture and a university to promote learning in Ireland led the Anglo-Irish to turn instead to the Gaelic-Irish schools of learning. Simms has argued that while the fourteenth century magnates still identified their interests with those of the English court and hoped for the final conquest of the island of Ireland, 'culturally they were acquiring distinctive tastes' (Simms 1989, 194).

The subject of Gaelicisation has been the subject of vigorous debate among academics with Ellis being the principal critic of this thesis. He argues that 'departures in the lordship from southern-English norms are not necessarily the product of Gaelic influences' (Ellis 1986, 6). In a later article he indicates that he understands Gaelicisation as advanced by other historians to describe 'the impact of the Gaelic revival on the Englishry, in terms of its partial acceptance of Gaelic culture and values' (Ellis 1991, 302). His principal objection to the term is that as it is such a loosely defined concept it cannot be employed as an explanation of degeneracy. He argues that acculturation or cultural assimilation is a more appropriate term for the processes of interaction and that this process is a characteristic of many border societies. He argues that a balanced analysis of acculturation should include a consideration of Anglicisation (an issue that is discussed below). Therefore, while Ellis is a critic of Gaelicisation, he does agree that the interactions of the two groups led to changes in the culture and society of both groups. He argues that we should examine the process of acculturation in Ireland in the context of its role of one of the borderlands administered by the English crown (Ellis 1991).

Nicholls (1999) has argued that although there are certain similarities between Ireland and the northern border counties in England, these are out weighed by a number of fundamental differences. The borders of English Ireland were fluid and liable to change unlike the Scottish borders. The Anglo-Irish could threaten to become Irish without indicating that they were withdrawing their allegiance from the King of England, this was not possible for an English man living on the Anglo-Scottish border. Nicholls has argued that when the Anglo-Irish threaten to become Irish in 1488, it meant that they would follow the example of the Dillons, the Daltons, the Tyrells and the Butlers by abandoning the common law and assuming jurisdictional autonomy. However, these Anglo-Irish men would not have viewed this as a rejection of their

allegiance to the English crown. Nicholls (1999) goes on to argue that an Englishman who became Gaelicised did not abandon those feudal or English institutions which he found still valuable or profitable. Gaelicisation might therefore best be defined as the use of Gaelic law, custom and culture by the Anglo-Irish when and where it was to their advantage and not to the exclusion of common law and English culture.

The Statutes of Kilkenny (1366) have been used by Muldoon, amongst others, to advance the case for Gaelicisation and it seems reasonable to argue that Gaelicisation or degeneracy must have been endemic enough to warrant legislation (Muldoon 2003, 33). Muldoon also argues that the creation of a middle nation in Ireland was seen as a threat to society. The introduction of settlers to Ireland was envisaged as a methodology for civilising the Irish, that is to transform the Irish from a tribal and pastoral level of existence to a feudal society with urban and agricultural life as the basis of the economy (Muldoon 2003, 33). However, while Muldoon raises a number of valid points, his work suffers from a number of inaccuracies and shortcomings, which were highlighted by Frame (2004) in his review of Muldoon's book. A failure to consult a sufficient range of sources was one of the most damning criticisms, when Frame argued that 'his sources do not extend much beyond Gerald of Wales and a single collection of imperfectly-translated documents published in 1943' (Frame 2004). He also argues that Muldoon's use of secondary literature is limited and that he neglects two classic works on the subject by J.F. Lydon, 'The Middle Nation' (1984) and 'Nation and Race in Medieval Ireland' (1995). This lack of familiarity with the primary and secondary sources may be responsible for some of Muldoon's misunderstandings. These include his assertion that the marriage of Strongbow and Aoife (daughter of Diarmaid McMurrough), which he compares to the marriage of Pocohontas and John Smith, resulted in the Hibernicisation of Strongbow. However, Strongbow died a subject of Henry II with lands in England, Wales, Normandy and Ireland and Aoife spent her widowhood on his estates in England and Wales where she was referred to as 'Countess Eva'. Finally, Muldoon ignores the substantial number of settlers who did not 'degenerate' (Frame 2004).

2.2.4: The Anglicisation of the Gaelic-Irish

Research conducted by Perros (1995) indicated that not only were the Anglo-Normans becoming Gaelicised but the Gaelic-Irish were adapting themselves to Anglo-Norman

society. Her research concentrates largely on Cathal Croibhdhearg who became the King of Connaught in 1189. Although he is often regarded as the quintessentially Gaelic King, he also showed a 'remarkable readiness to become as feudal and as Anglo-Norman as the Anglo-Normans themselves' (Perros 1995, 129). Perros cites his granting of the cantred of Maonmhagh in Connaught to Gilbert de Angulo (McCostello) of Meath in return for military service as proof of this. Cathal became a loyal subject of the English crown in 1203, after William de Burgh's attempted conquest of Connacht convinced him that the Anglo-Normans were capable of capturing Connacht. From that point he sought to retain control of his kingdom by establishing a legal title to his lands that would be recognised by the English King and Anglo-Norman settlers alike (Perros 1995, 131). The kings of Connacht would become tenants-in-chief; they would hold their land as a fief of the English crown. Cathal's experimentation with Anglo-Norman ways amplified existing tensions with his sub-kings. The Anglo-Norman practices that he adopted were always to the advantage of the King of Connacht and to the disadvantage of his sub-kings and rivals. For example, when he introduced primogeniture by establishing Aodh as a co-ruler, he not only by-passed all other royal heirs, he also denied the sub-kings any say in the selection process. These innovations were revolutionary, as they did not merely supplement existing systems, they supplanted them (Perros 1995, 136).

Cathal also adopted monogamy as he wanted there to be just one king, queen, and royal heir in Connaught, he believed this would reduce civil war, strengthen the kingdom against the Anglo-Normans and make it possible for his successors to enjoy security of tenure (Perros 1995, 137). However, as all of these changes impacted negatively upon the rights of his sub-kings and rivals they felt rejected and this gave rise to civil war and anarchy. Cathal's actions have a wider importance as they illustrate that 'some of the Irish rejected Irish ways and tried to become as Anglo-Norman as the Anglo-Normans themselves' (Perros 1995, 138). Ellis (1991, 303) has argued that the importance of Anglicisation in late medieval Ireland is indicated by the large numbers of Irishmen who chose to live in the English lordship and the evidence for common-law influences on Gaelic law. This acculturation also indicates 'the openness of Gaelic society to new intellectual currents sweeping continental Europe' (Ellis 1991, 303).

Even within the military forces whose role it was to protect the king's interest there is evidence of interaction and adaptation to the situation in Ireland. Military service was used in Ireland to prosecute 'official wars', the aim of which was not so much to occupy or reoccupy land as to exercise lordship (Frame 1998, 279). The Gaelic-Irish as well as the Anglo-Normans were liable for assessment for military service, a proportion of the population would be chosen to serve with the financial support of the others. The composition of these armies was different to that in England with the mounted infantry outnumbering the men-at-arms. The mounted infantry or hobelars were better suited for the cattle rustling in rough country that accounted for so much of the military action in Ireland (Frame 1998, 290). Gaelic-Irish lords were also mobilised in the Crown's service and the usual practice was for Gaelic lords to join armies operating in their own region. 'Marriage and other bonds of alliance had long crossed and blurred national boundaries, and loyalties were largely local and personal in a society marked by violent competition and feuding' (Frame 1998, 294). The involvement of Gaelic-Irish lords in military campaigns was often opportunistic; the dates of their arrival sometimes suggests that they come to the king's banner after a campaign had started, aware of the availability of wages, and of the disadvantages of standing aside when a successful assertion of royal authority was taking place (Frame 1998, 295). Sometimes the forces that opposed the 'Irish enemies' contained large numbers of Irish troops, some of them were even led by Gaelic lords, indistinguishable from those against whom expeditions were aimed. From his review of military service in Ireland. Frame concluded that 'the whole of Ireland was a frontier; the expeditions of justiciars might be regarded as part of an unending effort to manage a world that was everywhere to some degree a marcher one' (Frame 1998, 298).

2.2.5: Frontier: war zone or contact zone

In the early 1980s P.J. Duffy (1982/3) discussed the frontier in medieval Ireland, including a review of the settlement evidence. He agreed with Graham (1980a, 6) that 'fluidity and instability were major characteristics of the frontier'. P.J. Duffy (1982/3, 25) cited Graham (1980b, 52) when he argued that there was 'a barrier of mottes constructed between 1170 and *c.*1220 marking the edge of the effective settlement along what later became the pale'. P.J. Duffy (1982/3, 26) went on to suggest that the concentration of ringforts in south Ulster and north-west Leinster could represent displaced indigenous populations from the colony. Following Barry (1981), he

suggested that moated sites were defensive out-farms on the edge of colonial enclaves and could indicate the location of the frontier in the fourteenth century when the Anglo-Norman settlers were under pressure from the Gaelic resurgence. He went on to argue that tower houses were the successors to the moated sites, and as they were built by both the Anglo-Norman and the Gaelic-Irish propertied classes they 'obviously proliferated in particularly unstable areas' (P.J. Duffy 1982/3, 26). Finally, he argued that in the fifteenth century there was a convergence of settlement on both sides of the frontier: the manorial system crumbled in frontier regions, the cultural assimilation of the settlers increased and facets of Anglo-Irish settlement such as tower houses were adopted by the Gaelic-Irish (P.J. Duffy 1982/3, 27). P.J. Duffy combined this short analysis of settlement on the frontier with discussion of the political and cultural frontier. He argued that the importance of the frontier has been exaggerated, partly because the source materials for the period; both the annals and the administrative records of the colony, were 'ideologically bound to uphold their side and to maintain the differences which they perceive to be exist between them' (P.J. Duffy 1982/3, 37).

Both McNeill (1990) and O'Conor (1993) discussed frontiers as a means of explaining the distribution of earthwork castles, particularly mottes, in Ireland. Graham (1980b, 52) was one of the earliest to propose the connection between the distribution of mottes in county Meath and the borders of Norman settlement in the county. McNeill (1990) discusses the idea of a frontier in Ireland but mainly in relation to the construction of mottes in Ireland in an attempt to explain their distribution. McNeill argued that mottes in county Meath are concentrated along the modern boundaries of the county, which closely reflect the boundary of the medieval lordship. There are almost no mottes beyond the line of this frontier and there is a higher density of mottes marking the line than in the hinterland behind it. In the frontier areas identified by McNeill there are higher number of mottes with baileys, which he argues may be the result of mottes in these areas being used to as bases for groups of foot soldiers stationed there at times of war to counteract raiding (McNeill 1990, 265). These castellated areas were not planned as frontiers, the frontiers evolved during the life of the lordship. Similarly the distribution of mottes in these areas is a reflection of the fact that lesser tenants in these areas considered that they needed mottes, while similar tenants in other areas considered that they did not. Mottes in these frontiers are generally of low height, which McNeill argued indicates that they were built by lower

status tenants (McNeill 1990, 264). He also argued that the reason why Leinster and the Anglo-Norman areas of Munster did not need such defences around their edges lay in their more amicable relations with their neighbouring Irish kings. 'The south-western kings were simply not the threat to the English that the northern kings were, and so they did not evoke the same response' (McNeill 1990, 269).

O'Conor (1993) generally concurred with the explanation for the distribution of mottes advance by McNeill, however, he does suggest that 'the actual border of the lordship of Meath came into definite political existence in the period after de Lacy ambitions in Breifne were curbed by the O'Reillys in 1226-33' (O'Conor 1993, 165). O'Conor argues that the period 1226-60 was the most logical time for the erection of defended frontiers in these regions. O'Conor also argued that the distribution of earthwork and timber castles in Leinster suggests that 'there were military frontiers between areas of high native aristocratic survival and regions of intensive Anglo-Norman settlement' (O'Conor 1993, 195). He also argued that in county Kildare a series of angular mottes, which are considered later in other parts of Europe, occur in one of the first areas of Leinster to come under constant attack from the Irish in the early 1270s and can thus be interpreted as an internal frontier (O'Conor 1987-91, 22). There is for example a band of earthwork castles southwest to northeast stretching across Wexford that Barry (1977, 146) had interpreted as 'probably sited there in order to protect the colonists from the ravages of the MacMurroughs and other Irish clans who used these hills (in the northwest of the county) as a base'. O'Conor (1993, 199) argued that there would always have been the threat of small scale raids and attacks by bands of displaced Irishmen and while these raids were not any real threat to colony as a whole, they were a threat to individual manors in areas which bordered areas with a significant Gaelic-Irish presence.

O'Keeffe (1995) compiled a brief review of settlement and frontier in Anglo-Norman Ireland. As its title would suggest this review focused exclusively on Anglo-Norman settlement forms, the Gaelic-Irish landscape that lay beyond this frontier is not mentioned. However, he did advance the idea of the frontier as a zone rather than just a line on a landscape or map. He saw this interface between the invader and the invaded as 'a distinct and rather independent zone – the March' that developed in the thirteenth century. These zones were 'perceived as dangerous by the colonial authorities and

were populated by people whose separatist tendencies were best reflected in their laws' (O'Keeffe 1995, 2). He traced a progression of settlement along the frontier, which closely mirrors that advanced by Duffy (1982/3); motte, moated site and finally tower house. However, he argued that a moated site was not used to defend frontiers with the Gaelic-Irish as their defences were built to provide protection from 'felons and wolves' (O'Keeffe 1995, 3). He also argued that certain areas with a low density of mottes, have higher than average density of moated sites.

Barry (1995, 220) has argued that the decline of large feudal fortress and the construction of tower houses reflected the decline in power of the central government in the fourteenth century that led to the primacy of regional power bases. These tower houses, he argued, mark the boundaries of important regional frontiers that were in a state of almost continual flux after the widespread breakdown of central government. In south county Wexford, for example, Colfer argued that a line of fourteen tower houses were constructed between the rivers Bannow and Slaney to protect the south baronies from the Gaelic MacMurroughs (Colfer as quoted in Barry 1995, 227).

The idea of a frontier or even a series of frontiers has been questioned by recent scholars. Morrissey (2005) suggested that the concept of the 'contact zone' is a more useful aid for the interpretation of the interactions between the Anglo-Norman and the Gaelic-Irish. Following Pratt (1992, 7), he defined the contact zone as any human geographical space where 'disparate cultures meet, clash and grapple with each other, often in highly asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination'. He argued that the contact zone is a more useful model than the frontier, as the frontier 'both exaggerates the idea of division and fails to take into account the prevalence of social and cultural networking throughout the later medieval period, especially at contact zones' (Morrisey 2005, 554). The idea of a contact zone is not a new one; Frame (1990, 203-204) argued in 1990 that the 'dichotomy was real enough; but it may be regarded as representing two poles, between which large elements of the population oscillated'. 'In medieval Ireland, as elsewhere, from the moment of cultural contact, the ethnic identities of both the colonists and the host population are thereafter mutually constitutive of each other' (Morrisey 2005, 555). The novelty in Morrissey's work is his attempt to apply ideas about the contact zone to the study of the Gaelic-Irish lordship of Kilnamanagh in county Tipperary.

Kilnamanagh was the traditional home of the extended O'Dwyer family and this area has been seen as a traditional frontier, with Gaelic lordship to the north and west and the English lordship to the south and east. Its position in what was traditionally described as the 'land of war' would appear to be supported by the number of tower houses depicted on the *Down Survey* map of the region. However, Morrissey argued on the basis of theories advanced by O'Keeffe (on whom he is almost entirely dependent for the archaeological sections of this paper) that these tower houses are instead evidence of the contact and interaction between the two groups. 'The proliferation of castle construction by the Gaelic-Irish in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries suggests a clear cultural blending of material practices with neighbouring Anglo-Norman/English areas' (Morrisey 2005, 559). Morrissey also quoted O'Keeffe in support of the idea that if the Gaelic-Irish were adapting the castle so extensively, it is logical that they were also adapting 'some of the ways in which it is used' (O'Keeffe 2001, 84). Unfortunately, Morrissey did not look beyond tower houses for archaeological evidence for interactions and focuses instead on the church and historical evidence for the influence exerted by the Butlers in the area. The result is that while Morrissey has advanced a persuasive argument in favour of the model of the contact zone for the study of what were formerly described as frontier areas, he fails to apply this model comprehensively to the archaeology of the area.

The term march or marchland, which was a term that would have been known and understood by contemporaries, and appears to have had a similar meaning to that advanced by Morrissey for a contact zone. According to Smith, a march 'was not a thin line, but a broad zone. It was a border area which had its own borders, one with the land of war and one with the land of peace' (Smith 1988, 268). Although, Smith (1989, 41) acknowledged that the march is a 'cultural frontier' because it divided people who lived under different social, economic and political systems, he argued that 'a march was a war zone' (Smith 1988, 268) an area where racial conflict occurred. Although he acknowledged that intermarriage occurred and for long periods of time there was no conflict in march areas, on the evidence from thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Uriel, Smith has determined that they should primarily be viewed as military zones (Smith 1988, 269). This thesis will attempt to determine whether the border areas or marchlands under consideration in this paper were war zones or contact zones.

2.2.6: The internal frontier: the Irish within the colony

This division of the Gaelic-Irish and the Anglo-Normans into separate territories does not accurately reflect the situation in medieval Ireland. In those areas that were controlled by the Anglo-Normans the entire Gaelic-Irish population was not expelled from the area. In many instances the Anglo-Norman lords continued to rely on Gaelic-Irish labour. The granting of burgess status to settlements that never developed into boroughs is one indication of the difficulty of attracting settlers to Ireland. Evidence from the barony of Ulster and county Westmeath indicates little effort was made to attract settlers, and the Anglo-Norman lords continued to rely on Gaelic-Irish tenants (Meenan 1985). Even in those areas that experienced comparatively large-scale settlement by English, Welsh, French and Flemish tenants, there continued to be a Gaelic-Irish presence. Empey (1980, 10) argues that the Anglo-Normans were anxious to retain the services of the indigenous population whose labour was essential to the operation of the newly founded manors. Ciaran Parker's article *The internal frontier; the Irish in county Waterford in the Later Middle Ages* investigates the position of the Irish in an area largely controlled by the Anglo-Normans. Parker's paper 'attempts to redress the imbalance within studies of Irish society in the later middle ages whereby the island has been viewed either through the perspective of Gaelic Ireland or through that of the Irish lordship' (Parker 1995a, 139). He views the Irish within the lordship as providing an internal frontier; this could be political where an Irish family had succeeded in maintaining a portion of their lands; but more frequently of a social, cultural and legal nature. Traditional interpretation of the role of the Gaelic-Irish within the lordship has confined them to the lowest levels of society, either providing labour for the manorial system or as criminals. A handful of Irish landholders succeeded in maintaining control of some of their land, most of which was held directly of the king for an annual rent. However, in 1253 the Irish Justiciar notes that the king could get a higher rent from other tenants, and by 1262 all of these lands had been granted to Anglo-Norman tenants. According to Parker, this change in land ownership was probably affected through internal development, such as the deaths of Irish rulers and the emergence of contested successions. The appropriation of these lands did not lead to a noticeable backlash (Parker 1995a, 140). Even in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century, when the position of the Irish in Waterford, in terms of territorial control was at its lowest, some Irish men still held lands on short-

term leases and monastic communities, which were under the rule of Irish abbots, still held significant tracts of land. In the third quarter of the fourteenth century, this position was dramatically reversed when a segment of the Uí Bhrain of Thomond, favourable to the third earl of Desmond, were allowed to settle the latter's extensive lands in west Waterford, following their defeat by the Brian Ó Briain in 1369 at the battle of Monasteranenagh (Parker 1995a, 142).

One of the most visible activities of the Irish in county Waterford was their involvement in crime ranging from the theft of livestock to murder (Parker 1995a, 143). This visibility of the Irish in the legal records, does not reflect a higher rate of crime among the Irish, it is merely a result of the fact that the perpetrators of crime were recorded in contemporary legal records. The Irish within the colony who did not come to the attention of the courts were for the most part unrecorded in these documents. The crimes seemed to fall into two categories; those of a spontaneous nature, that are often economically motivated; and those which occurred within a pattern of patronage and clientage which pervaded the society of county Waterford in the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Some of these relationships between Irish men and local magnates persisted over many generations and it was possible for an Irishman to be associated with two different English magnates, especially if the latter were allies at a regional or local level (Parker 1995a, 144).

Some Irishmen achieved responsible positions within local society either as individuals or as agents of the local magnate. One area where this was possible was manorial management; for example in 1261 Neil or Niall was the bailiff of Griffin Le Brun's manor in east Waterford. The identity of these manorial managers is generally only known because some misbehaviour or failure in their duties was recorded in official documents. Consequently, the number of Irishmen involved in management of manors was probably much larger than is indicated in the documentary sources (Parker 1995a, 145). Some Irishmen were also involved in artisan activities, though the practice of referring to practitioners of trades solely by their personal names can hinder their identification. In 1316 Matthew O'Brodre (Ó Bruadair) was described as a fuller. Some Irishmen seem to have been involved in the medical world, and although this would place them at a slightly higher level, it is important to remember that in the later medieval period a surgeon was considered to be on the same level as a barber. In 1317

a reference is made to a surgeon called O'Coleney and in 1311 Nicholas O'Doyrun was described as a physician when he was pardoned for his involvement in the murder of Sir John Le Grant (Parker 1995a, 145).

Irishmen were also involved in ecclesiastical affairs throughout the medieval period. By the end of the twelfth century the English had established control of the See of Waterford, but they were slower in gaining control of the neighbouring See of Lismore. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the exclusion of the Irish was reflected among other non-Episcopal diocesan offices, though they were quite numerous amongst the lower levels of diocesan clergy. The habit of referring to churchmen by their first names only, many of which could be held by Irish or English men, conceals the number of Irish churchmen in the medieval period. Some Irishmen maintained an involvement in the local church because they were associated with long-established monastic sites that remained outside the advowson of English lay patrons (Parker 1995a, 146). Irishmen could be appointed vicars and receive the patronage of non-Irish benefactors, and this was sometimes a reflection of tenurial links. The fifteenth century witnessed a much greater involvement in senior levels of the church. This improvement in the position of the Irish within the church was related to the influx of Irishmen from Thomond (Parker 1995a, 148-149).

In Waterford some Irishmen possessed the use of English law, while others found mechanisms to mitigate the effects of their legal exclusion. However, a large number of Irishmen were denied access to English law and the disadvantages created by this exclusion was a major grievance to the Irish living in most settled areas of the lordship (Parker 1995a, 150). At least one Irishman responded to his legal status through 'ethnic deceit', changing his name from O'Glassewan (O Glaisín) to Stakepol. This practice of changing one's name to change your legal status was likely to have been widespread, with only those who were found out being recorded. Some Irishmen moved to urban areas in an attempt to improve their situation, due to the economic possibilities and the long-term possibility of being absorbed into the city's legal and administrative framework. Further evidence of the Irish attempts to anglicise their names is the practise of dropping the O part of their name. There is little evidence of intermarriage in Waterford, there are no records for the early years of the colony when the practice was likely to have been widespread and there was little intermarriage in

the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century when the fortunes of the Irish were at their lowest point (Parker 1995a, 153). Empey (1982, 34) has argued that although some Irish men could not plead at common law, their lord could do so on their behalf. He also argues that the expense of obtaining a writ to initiate a private plea in a court of common law placed it beyond the resources of many small Anglo-Norman tenants.

There was not as great a level of antipathy between the English and the Irish in Waterford as elsewhere but tensions did exist and were exacerbated by attempts to misuse legal processes against the Irish (Parker 1995a, 154). The exclusion of Irishmen from English law was a disadvantage, but one that could be overcome by a powerful patron. This placed them within a web of mutual dependency that embraced not only Irishmen but all levels of society (Parker 1995a, 154). Parker's research indicates that Irishmen made a significant contribution to colonial society. The failure of archaeological research to address the position of the Irish within the colony is a serious omission.

2.2.7: Conclusion

Although the historical evidence would indicate that there were significant interactions between the Anglo-Normans and the Gaelic-Irish, there has been comparatively little research by archaeologists into the effects of these interactions on the archaeological record. The study of high and late medieval archaeology in Ireland has during its short history of research focussed predominantly on Anglo-Norman settlement types in those areas dominated by the Anglo-Normans. The recent refocus on Gaelic settlement has allowed a more complete picture of Ireland during the period to emerge. However, this research tended to treat the Anglo-Normans and the Gaelic-Irish as two geographically separate groups, divided by a clear and impermeable border. It has been necessary to rely on historical sources to assess the level and nature of cross-cultural interactions. It is clear from historical research that there is potential for any study of the evidence for these cross-cultural interactions to make a significant contribution to our understanding of their effects on the everyday lives of both the Anglo-Normans and the Gaelic-Irish.

Chapter three – An introduction to the historical archaeology of Overk

This chapter aims to provide an introduction to the available historical and archaeological evidence for the barony of Overk, while also locating it in its wider landscape context. Overk was selected as one of the baronies to be included in this study because of its location in south county Kilkenny, within the lordship of Leinster and the area sub-infeudated by William Marshal (Bradley 1990a, 66-67). The medieval barony of Overk included the modern baronies of Ida and Iverk. The name Overk will be used throughout this thesis to refer to the medieval barony, while Iverk will be used for the smaller modern barony. Empey (1971) has attempted to reconstruct the medieval baronies or cantreds of county Kilkenny as these have been subject to large-scale change in the intervening years. It was decided to select one of these reconstructed areas as a study area. Some of these cantreds, like Knocktopher (1982, 1983), Erley (Shine 2003, 2004) and Gowran (or Oskelan) have already been the subject of detailed studies. Conversely, we know very little about the structure, internal organisation or populations of the baronies in north Kilkenny. However, it is clear that these northern cantreds, such as Odogh, were the subject of frequent attacks by the Gaelic-Irish such as the MacGillapatricks and the O'Brennans (Empey 1990, 78). As these northern baronies did not experience large-scale settlement by the arriving Anglo-Normans, they did not fulfil the project specifications of a study area dominated by the Anglo-Normans. The barony of Overk presented itself as the most suitable, because while it was settled to a large extent by Anglo-Normans some of the upland areas and the eastern border with the Carlow Corridor offered opportunities for interactions with the native population (Doran 2008a).

There are comparatively rich documentary sources for Overk and county Kilkenny in general, with the *Ormond Deeds* being one of the most useful. The Butler family were active in Kilkenny throughout the later medieval period and by the fourteenth century they had acquired a large part of county Kilkenny, including Overk (see below for further details). The location of Kilkenny within the area of Ireland which had seen considerable Anglo-Norman settlement ensured that it is well documented in the records of the English administration, including later publications of these documents such as the *Calendar of Documents Relating to Ireland*. County Kilkenny also contains

a rich archaeological heritage, with a particular concentration of well preserved later medieval monuments. The barony of Overk was therefore chosen due to its location within the Anglo-Norman heartland, the quantity of available archaeological and documentary evidence, and the contribution that a study of the area would make to both archaeological and historical research in county Kilkenny and Ireland in general.

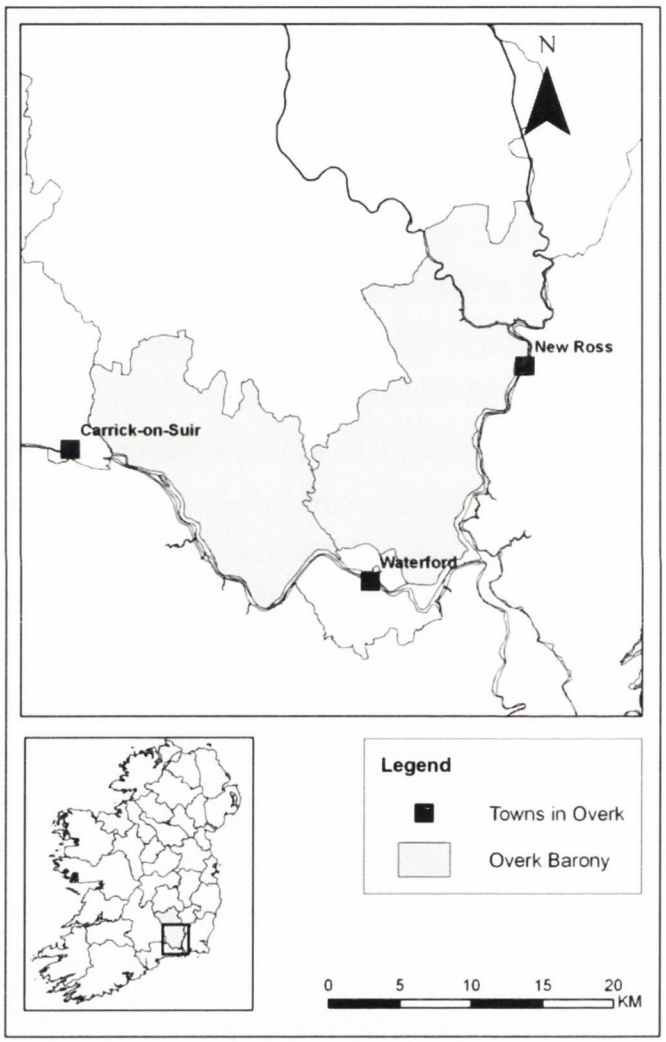


Fig. 3.1: The major towns in the vicinity of Overk

While there are no large settlements within the barony of Overk, there are a number of large settlements just outside its borders. New Ross is located close to its eastern border, Carrick-on-Suir at its south western corner and Waterford city just south of the barony. All of these settlements would have exerted a considerable influence over their surrounding areas, including areas within Overk. The scale of Waterford would indicate that it would have had a significant influence on surrounding areas. Similarly, it has been argued that the settlement at Rosbercon was established to take advantage of the trading opportunities in New Ross, located on the opposite bank of the River Barrow.

This chapter will begin by discussing the topography of the barony, beginning with drainage and relief before moving on to a discussion of soil types and their potential uses. This will be followed by a brief discussion of pre-Norman Overk to establish

who would have controlled this area of modern county Kilkenny, before the arrival of the Normans. The extent of the medieval barony of Overk will then be outlined to establish the exact area included in this study. The impact of the Anglo-Norman FitzMilos, who were granted this large barony by Strongbow, will be outlined and will include the sub-infeudation of the barony and the settlement forms constructed by both the FitzMilos and their tenants. An attempt will be made to locate manorial centres by identifying parish churches, earthwork castles and the remains of medieval settlements. In 1319 the FitzMilos sold the barony to the Butlers who were acquiring land in many parts of Kilkenny and Tipperary. The consequences of the Butler ownership of the barony and the settlement forms constructed during the late medieval period will then be discussed. Finally, there will be a brief discussion of the documentary evidence for interactions between the Anglo-Normans and the Gaelic-Irish in Overk. These interactions are mainly visible at the parish rather than the barony level and did not therefore fit comfortably within the general outline of the barony.

3.1: Drainage and relief

The barony of Overk is a broadly U-shaped area that forms the very southern border of the medieval county of Kilkenny. It is bounded by counties Wexford to the east, Tipperary to the west and Waterford to the south. The medieval baronies of Erley, Kells, Ogenty and Oskelan lay to the north of Overk within the modern county of Kilkenny, while Knocktopher barony fills the hollow of the u-shape.

Overk occupies a predominantly low-lying, fertile area, that is dominated by the valleys of the 'Three Sisters' rivers and their tributaries: namely the rivers Barrow, Suir and Nore. The Barrow flows across the barony on the east, while the Suir runs across the south and south west portions. The Lingaun River, a tributary of the Suir, drains the northwest part of the barony, while the River Pil, a second tributary of the Suir, is located to the west of the barony. The River Nore, the last of the 'Three Sisters' rivers runs through the northeast of the barony, and its tributary the Clodiagh river rises in Brandon Hill and flows south west to join the river Nore downstream of Inistioge. There are numerous other smaller tributaries of the 'Three Sisters' within the barony. Those sections of the Barrow, Nore and Suir that are within the study area are all tidal and are generally very wide, the Nore reaches widths of *c.*100m while the Suir is *c.*400m wide in places and the Barrow is *c.*800m in width in its lower reaches.

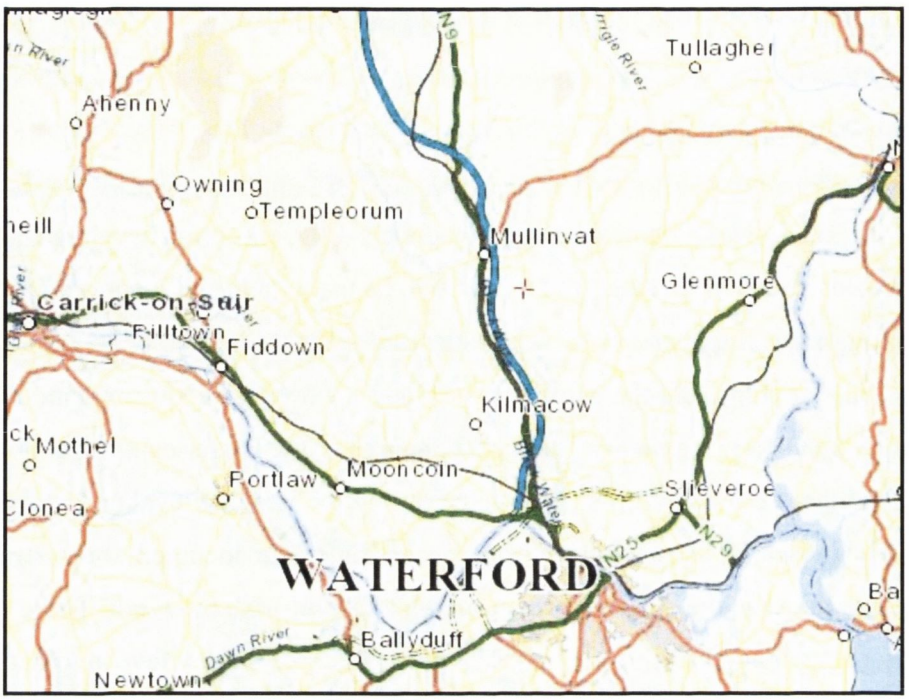


Fig 3.2: The Rivers Barrow, Nore and Suir on the street map from the *Ordnance Survey Ireland* Map Viewer

The barony has two distinct topographic areas, upland to the north and lowland to the south. The barony is predominantly low lying and this low lying area has been described as a narrow, flat plain approximately ten kilometres wide and twenty five kilometres long which runs east-west between the Suir and a band of higher ground (McCarthy 2007, 8). This band of land over 500m OD, which marks the northeastern border of the barony and extends west to Slievenamon, Co. Tipperary, is sometimes referred to as the Walsh Mountains. It is broken in places and the changes in relief correspond with the boundary between the modern baronies of Iverk and Ida, and the valley of the River Nore. Brandon Hill defines the northwestern corner of the barony. McCarthy (2007, 8) has argued that the southern plain of Kilkenny south of the Walsh Mountains would have been an easily defended area, isolated by mountains to the north and rivers to the south. Conversely, it could be argued that the rivers would also have provided easy access to the settlements located along them, particularly the large settlements located just outside the barony at Waterford, New Ross and Carrick-on-Suir. There are references to ferries that travelled across the rivers at places like Granny, Ballinlaw and Rosbercon, illustrating that rivers could facilitate rather than hinder communication. Rather than acting as barriers, these rivers could have acted as the major route ways through the region.

3.2: Soil types and their potential uses.

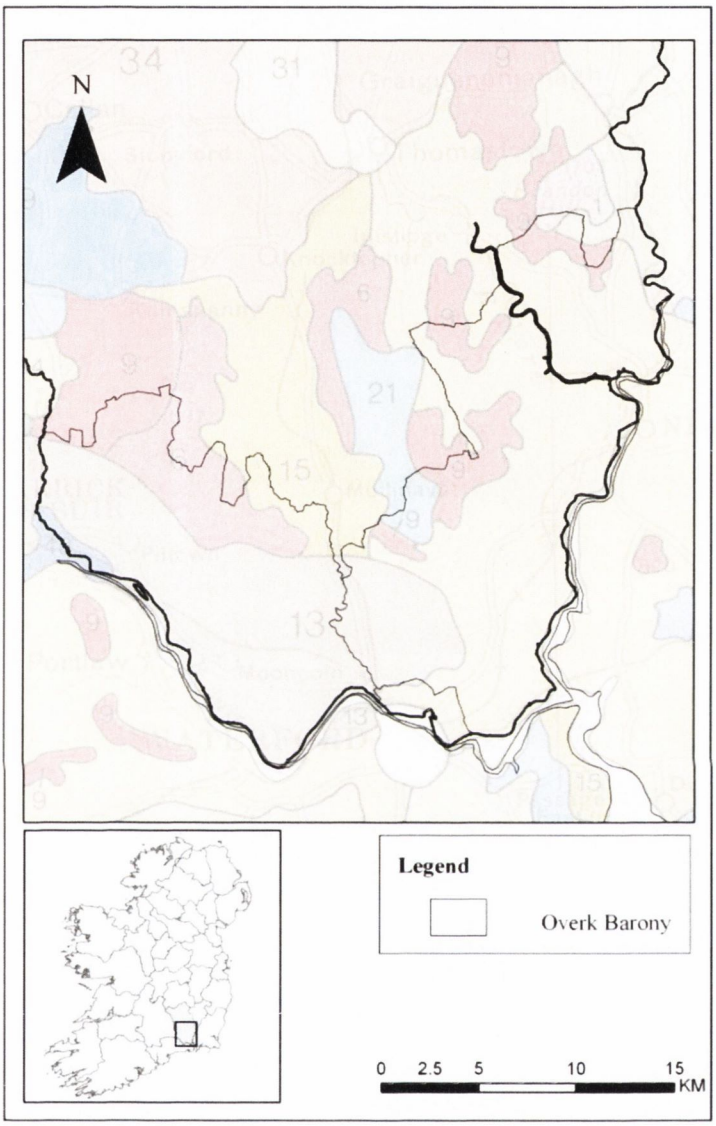


Fig. 3.3: Soil map overlaid with outline map of the medieval barony of Overk (after Gardiner and Radford 1980)

Gardiner and Radford (1980) identified six different soil associations within the barony of Overk in their island wide survey of soils. Two of these soil association types were found in land types described as hills (lands between 150 and 365 metres OD) and are generally determined to have a small range of uses because of their altitude and shallow soil depth, and are best exploited as grasslands. The remaining four soil groups observed were in the rolling lowlands of Overk below 150m (Gardiner and Radford 1980, 31). Three of these soil association types are included in a list of six considered to be most suitable for tillage (13, 14 and 15), and they can also be successfully used to produce vegetable and fruit crops (Gardiner and Radford 1980, 135). The fourth soil association (21) is located in low-lying ground that is amongst the upland areas at the northern border of the barony. The soils in this area have a limited use range as they are poorly drained: cultivation is very difficult and they are best suited to grassland (Gardiner and Radford 1980, 79). The difference is soil quality between the lowland soils is probably a result of their topographical locations, with

those in the lowland plain (13, 14 and 15) being fertile and suitable for a range of uses, while those surrounded by upland areas (21) have a smaller range of uses.

While Gardiner and Radford's (1980) study of modern soils cannot give us an accurate impression of the soil types in the later medieval period, they are useful as a general guide to the potential use of the soils in the period. The results suggest that very fertile soils occupy most of the barony and that it is only along the northern boundaries of the barony that we encounter less fertile soils, but soils which are none the less suitable for grassland exploitation

The Down Survey barony maps provide additional insight into the medieval landscape. It indicates that large parts of the medieval barony were not very well drained at least until the mid-seventeenth century with large areas of bog depicted on the barony maps for Ida and Iverk. The presence of bog within the barony may be useful in explaining the settlement pattern and may also explain how such a large area of land came to be sub-infeudated to Milo fitz David (see below for details on Milo fitz David and the lands granted to him).

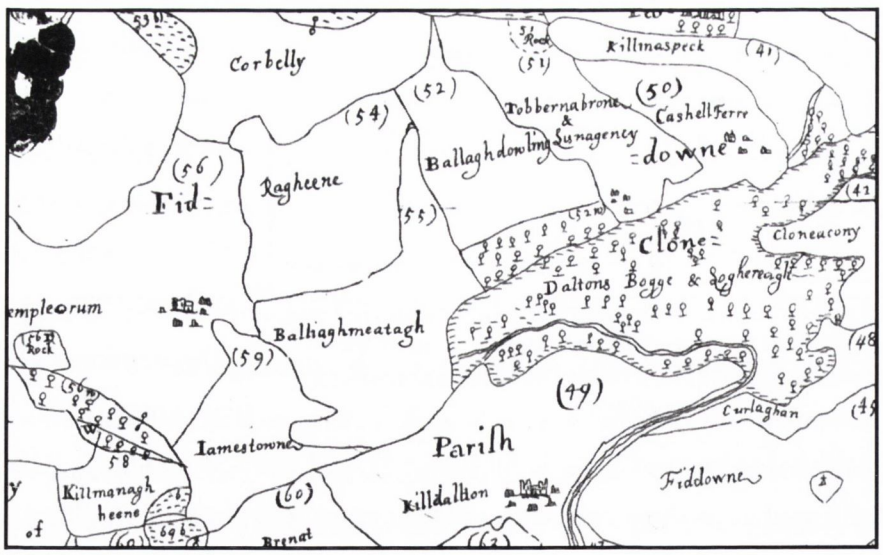


Fig. 3.4: The *Down Survey* map of the barony of Iverk showing large areas of bog

3.3: Overk before the Normans

This section will provide a quick 'snap-shot' of the division of land in Osraige, before the arrival of the Anglo-Normans.The ancient kingdom of Osraige corresponds to the

present diocese of Ossory in which the study areas lies. The sources record that in the seventh century Osraige became a powerful kingdom in it own right, prior to that it had traditionally been regarded as part of Munster (Ó Corraín 1972, 6). During the ninth century, the Osraige successful fought off the Vikings of Waterford and elsewhere (Ó Corraín 1972, 92, 94). The Osraige reached the high point of their power in the later 10th century under their King McGilla Patraic (who gave his name to the McGilla Patraic clan who controlled north Kilkenny for another two centuries) (Carrigan 2005, I 47-48). When this king died his kingdom fragmented and Diarmaid McMurrough took advantage of this disunity to interfere in the internal affairs of Osraige (Ó Corraín 1972, 157, 162). On the eve of the arrival of the Anglo-Normans Osraige consisted of three sub-kingdoms: Upper Ossory, now in county Laois, was ruled by the O'Kealy Clan; Tuisceart Osraige, which, now in north Kilkenny, was ruled by Donnell Mac Gilla Patraic, and Deasceart Ossory, now in south county Kilkenny was ruled by Donnell's cousin Cerbhall (Orpen 1909, 313-314). These divisions are reflected in Strongbow's partial sub-infeudation of Ossory (see below for a more detailed discussion).

3.4: The extent of the Barony

The extent of the cantreds or baronies of medieval Kilkenny was reconstructed by Empey (1971) using the available documentary sources. The most important documents for this study were two fifteenth-century feodaries and an extent of the baronies of the county belonging to the same period (Empey 1971, 128). The fifteenth-century feodaries list a number of parishes in the modern barony of Ida as being part of the barony of Overk. This indicated to Empey that the medieval barony of Overk was composed of the modern baronies of Ida and Iverk. The parishes of Tibberaghny and Kilculliheen are the only significant variations. Tibberaghny is included in the modern barony of Iverk, but in the medieval period it was part of county Tipperary (Empey 1971, 128). While much of Kilculliheen became part of county Waterford in the sixteenth century, it was originally church lands within the barony of Overk (Burke 1902). Empey (1982, 330) argues elsewhere that there are two types of manor in Ireland in this period, individual manors and baronial manors. He defines a baronial manor as 'the head manor (latin: caput manerium) of an area embracing several sub-manors, corresponding very often to a whole cantred' (Empey 1982, 330). Empey based his thesis on an examination of the baronial manor of Knocktopher which had

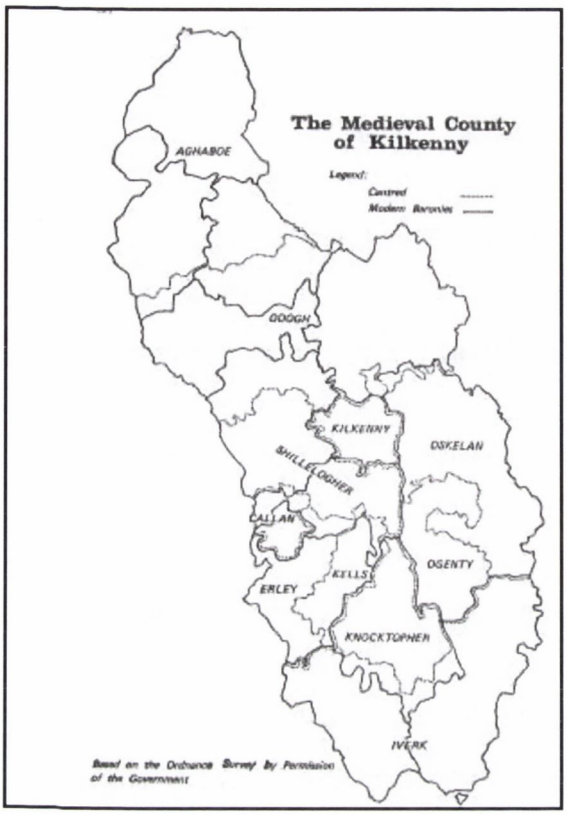


Fig. 3.5: The medieval baronies of county Kilkenny (after Empey 1971)

Knocktopher as a hub, with its satellite manors spread out across the periphery of the cantred. Although Overk would appear at first glance to be a baronial manor, corresponding as it does to the medieval barony, it does not conform to Empey's definition (Empey 1982, 330). As noted above the medieval barony of Overk was composed of the modern baronies of Ida and Iverk. Empey interprets medieval Ida (or Odaa), which probably corresponded to the parishes of Rathpatrick and Kilcolumb, as one of a number of fiefs in western Overk. Overk appears to have been composed of a series of groupings of manors, which appear to have operated independently of each other, but which all came together under the umbrella of the barony of Overk (*Ormond Deeds*, II 424, II 440, III 435).

The manor of Grannagh or Granny, which is mentioned frequently in the documentary sources later in the period, appears to have been one of the groupings of independent manors. Granny Castle is located at the centre of this manor, which is likely to have been coterminous with the parish of Kilmacow. Carrigan (2005, IV) has suggested that a number of parishes were dependent upon Granny: Clonmore, Pollrone, Dysartmoon and Dunkitt. A 1434 rental of the Earl of Ormond in counties Kilkenny and Tipperary lists the rents due under a number of headings, including 'Overk'. However, the rental also included the headings, 'Grennagh', 'Rosbargoyne' and 'Odaa' (*Ormond Deeds*, III 108-109) all of which can be identified with places within the barony of Overk. It is possible that the integrity of the barony was lost once it came into the possession of the expansionist Butlers. They never adopted the title of Baron of Overk and the barony became just part of their wider land holdings in counties Kilkenny and Tipperary. Edwards (2000, 74) has argued that the Ormond lordship in Kilkenny was not a 'streamlined, formal institution' and that it could be described as 'a multiple or

composite lordship'. He goes on to argue that 'despite the vastness of its landholdings, the power of the Ormond dynasty was essentially localised and personal' (Edwards 2000, 74).

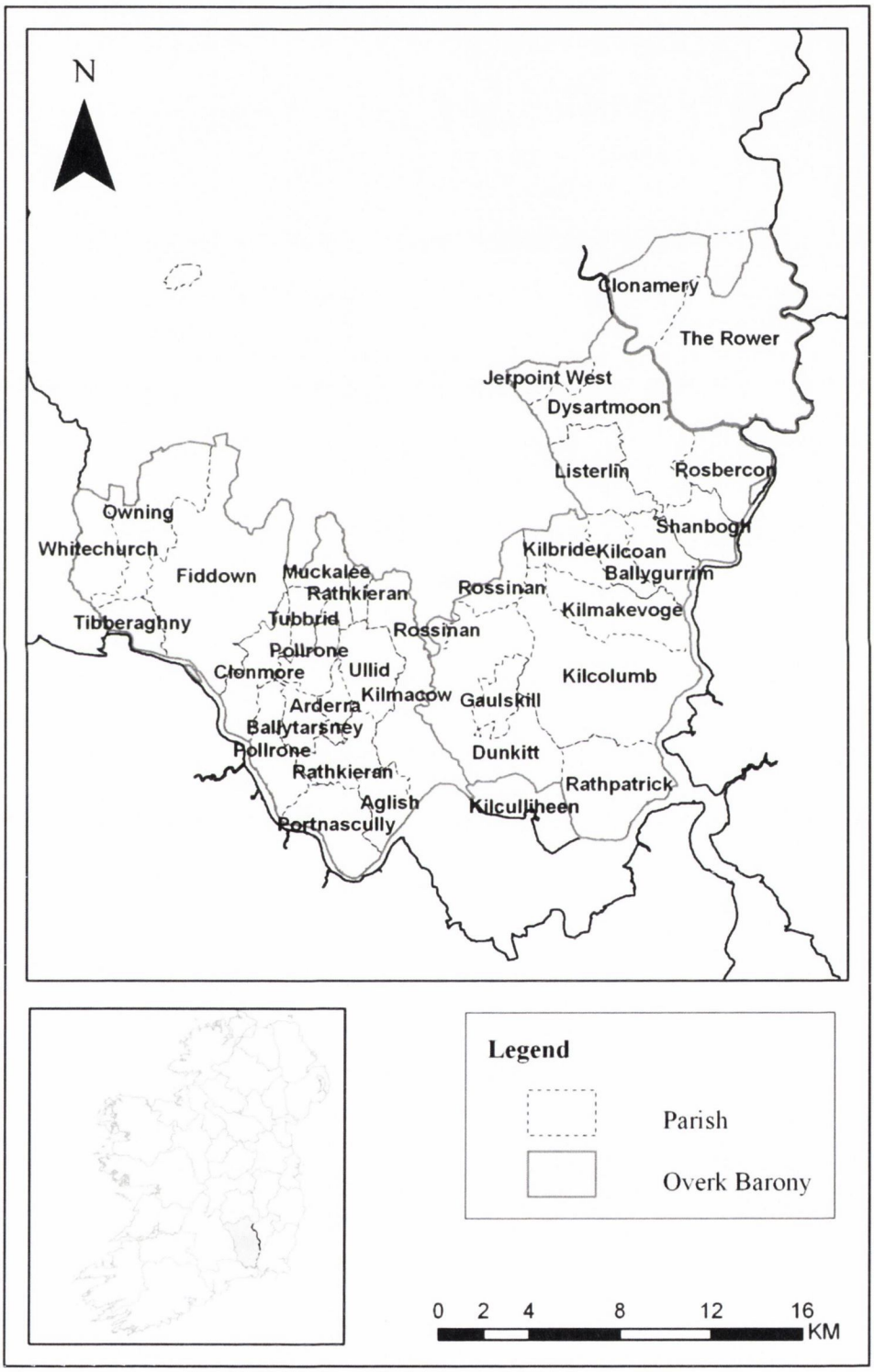


Fig. 3.6: Map showing the parishes in the barony of Overk

MacCotter (2008, 179) argues that Empey's attempt to recreate the Anglo-Norman cantreds of county Kilkenny is flawed and that what he has reconstructed are the 'feudal baronies' rather than the cantreds. The precise difference between a 'feudal barony' and a cantred in unclear, as MacCotter argues that they are both derived from the trícha cét, 'we find Irish regional kingdoms and certainly trícha céts becoming the foundation of feudal baronies' (McCotter 2008, 40).

MacCotter (2008, 28) has also argued that the rural deaneries have an exact or approximate correspondence to the pre-Norman land division, the trícha cét. MacCotter suggests that the 'feudal barony' of Overk had a significant sub-manor, Obercon and 'that the names of both of these echo those of pre-invasion polities'. MacCotter argues that the extents of these pre-invasion divisions are reflected in the ruridecanal structure of the area. He defines a rural deanery as an ecclesiastical administrative division comprising a group of parishes under the supervision of the rural dean or archpriest (McCotter 2008, 28). The *Red Book of Ossory* contains six lists of taxations from the deaneries of the diocese. By comparing the six lists we can gain an idea of some of the parishes that were within the diocese. It is impossible to identify all the parish names with modern parish names, and some parishes appear to be included in more than one deanery. The deanery of Overk appeared to contain the following parishes: Ballytarsney, Kilmacow, Muckalee, Ullid, Portnascully, Rathkieran, Pollrone, Owning, Fiddown, Clonmore, Whitechurch, Rathpatrick, Dunkitt and Whitechurch (*Red Bk of Ossory*, 162-163, 176-167, 178, 181, 188). All of these civil parishes are included in the modern barony of Iverk, except the last three which are in the modern barony of Ida. The deanery of Obercon contained: Rosbercon, Ballymagurrim, The Rower, Listerlin, Kilmackevoge, Kilbride, Dysertmoon, Shanbogh , Kilcolumb, Drumdowney (which is in the civil parish of Rathpatrick), Inistioge and Thomastown. All of these civil parishes are included in the modern barony of Ida, except Thomastown and Inistioge, which are in the modern barony of Gowran (*Red Bk of Ossory*, 162, 176, 178, 180, 186, 189). It could therefore be suggested that the barony of Overk was formed from two trícha céts which were amalgamated into one barony and granted to Milo fitzDavid by Strongbow. This would also explain why the barony never seemed to have functioned as a single unit, with Granny and Oda being the most frequently mentioned independent units. The division of Overk, into the modern baronies of Ida and Iverk could therefore be seen as

a return to the old order. There is however no evidence that the civil parishes of Thomastown and Inistioge were ever part of the barony of Overk. (See appendix I for tables of townlands identified from the list of taxations of the Diocese of Ossory).

3.5: The FitzMilos in Overk.

Diarmait Mac Murchada received assistance from the Bishop of St. David's, David FitzGerald (son of Gerald FitzWalter, Constable of Pembroke). The bishop's son, Miles or Milo fitz David, sometimes called fitz Bishop, accompanied his uncle Robert fitz Stephen and his cousin Meiler fitz Henry to Ireland with the first group of arriving Anglo-Normans, who landed at Bannow Bay in 1167. His cousin, Giraldus Cambrensis, refers to him as Milo Menevensis, from the Latin name of his father's see (Burtchaell 1893, 179). Scott and Martin (1978) state that Giraldus is reticent to talk about Milo's background and refers to him only in later editions of the *Expugnatio* and then obscurely as 'Miles of St. David's'. Once Giraldus had finished writing his works he continued to edit them, adding to them, altering them and even cutting passages (Scott and Martin 1978, xl). *The Deeds of the Normans in Ireland* formerly called *The Song of Dermot and the Earl* tells us that Milo is the son of the Bishop of St. David's, who is Giraldus' uncle (Mullally 2002, 64, line 450). Indeed, Miles or Milo is only mentioned once by Giraldus in the *Expugnatio* (*Expug. Hib.*, 159) which might suggest that Giraldus and he were not on good terms. *The Deeds of the Normans in Ireland* records that when Strongbow granted these lands, Miles 'was very much in his confidence' (Mullally 2002, 132) and Milo is mentioned five times (Mullally 2002, 64, 72, 99, 122, 132). The size of the land grant that Strongbow granted Milo, even if it was largely speculative, would suggest he was an important figure.

Strongbow incorporated all of Osraige into his kingdom of Leinster despite the fact that it was not traditionally part of Leinster (Murtagh 2001, 63). He sub-infeudated two of the three sub-kingdoms of Osraige, and only Domnall Mac Gilla Padraig retained control of his kingdom, Tuisceart Osraige by becoming Strongbow's vassal. Milo fitzDavid was granted Deasceart Osraige, which had been ruled by Domnall's cousin. At the beginning of Anglo-Norman settlement in Kilkenny some Gaelic-Irish lords were absorbed into the new system, and had their area of control recognised. The vast majority of the native population would not have been uprooted by the arriving Anglo-Normans, indeed in 1204 King John commanded his justiciar to compel Irishmen who

left the territory of his manor of Dungarvan to return with their relatives and chattels (Empey 1982, 339). It was essential for the development of new manors that there should be a good supply of labour to work the demesnes (Empey 1982, 339). It was left to William Marshal to complete the sub-infeudation of Kilkenny in the next century (Empey 1990, 76). Strongbow had granted the medieval barony of Overk to Miles fitzDavid sometime before Strongbow's death in 1176 (Mullally 2002, 132, lines 3106-3109). His name appears as Miles fitzBishop, witnessing a charter of William Marshal, Earl of Pembroke, to the people of Kilkenny. He is mentioned in the *Calendar of documents relating to Ireland* in the years 1213 and 1215, but these entries do not cast further light on the cantred of Overk (*C.D.I.*, I 80, 105). He appears to have been the father of David FitzMilo and Henry FitzMilo who granted the lands of Athnegaddy to the monastery of Kells in 1211 (Burtchaell 1893, 180).

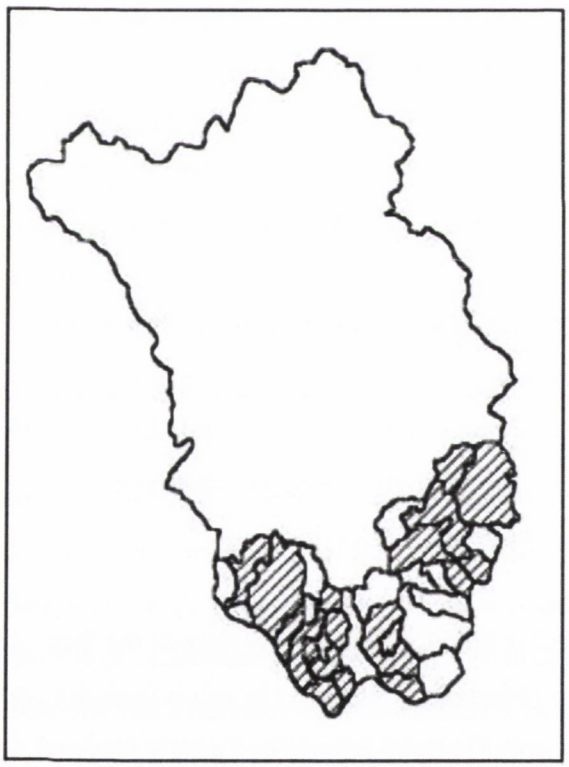


Fig. 3.7: Map showing the parishes mentioned in thirteenth and fourteenth century documentary sources as being within the barony of Overk

A charter dated 10th June 1240 provides the first indication of the extent of the lands controlled by the FitzMilo/ fitzBishop family. This charter, which was signed at Westminster, confirmed to the abbess and nuns of St. Mary of Kylkelchin (Kilculliheen) the gift of frankalmoign. King John and David FitzMilo made this grant to a religious house of nuns dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, St. David, St Machan and all saints. The abbey has originally been founded by Diarmuid MacMurrough in 1151 and was dedicated to St. Kilkin. David FitzMilo gifted them a number of areas, some of which Burtchaell has identified with modern placenames in the barony of Overk: Tristelmochan (Dysartmoon), Tolechan (Tullagher in the parish of Dysartmoon), Seskananisse,

Relancarfin, Sumbochol, Clanlecht (Licketstown in the parish of Portnascully), Balimolie, and the lands of Gortedro Godelli (*C.D.I.*, I 371).

David FitzMilo also granted them a further gift of a tenth of all his rents, profits and pleas, a tenth of the bread, drink, meat and fish of his household, the fishery of *Cholothm*, a net to fish with in the waters of *Cloone* (Clonamery), the chapels of the castle of *Polsculi* (Portnascully) and of the new castle at *Cloone* (Clonamery), the church of *Seneboth Carmina* (Shanbogh) and all the vill and chapel of Ullid, the chapel of *Ballumolgum* (Ballygurrim), the chapels of *Ballired* (Ballyreddy) and *Kilgrellan* and the tenth of his mills at *Polsculi* (Portnascully)and *Clone* (Clonamery) (*C.D.I.*, I 370-371). The fact that FitzMilo granted a tenth of his rents, profits, pleas etc suggests that he is choosing to give these tithes to the nuns at Kilculliheen rather than the local parish church. Based on this record, Orpen has suggested that Miles fitzDavid established his chief manorial centres, defended by earthwork castles, at Portnascully and Clonamery (Clone) (Orpen 1920, 389-390). However, the fact that the castle in *Cloone* is referred to as the 'new' castle would suggest that it was constructed later than that at Portnascully which was not given a similar prefix. In order to examine Orpen's thesis a brief analysis of these earthwork castles is needed.

The earthen motte-and-bailey castle that survives in the townland of Portnascully is probably the site of *Polsculi* castle. The parish of Portnascully is located at the east side of the southern boundary of the barony. There is little surviving information available relating to this motte-and-bailey and the parish in general in the later medieval period. It is a very impressive site with a parish church 300m west of the site. A deed concerning land within Overk was sealed at Portnascully in February 1409 (*Ormond Deeds*, II, 287). A rental of the Earl of Ormond in counties Kilkenny and Tipperary dated 1426 includes the 'chief rent of Portnescoll' (*Ormond Deeds*, III 58). 'Portnescoill' was also included in a rental of the Earl of Ormond dated 1434 under the heading Overk (*Ormond Deeds*, III, 108). If this grouping of church and motte-and-bailey did represent the head manor of the entire barony of Overk, we might expect it to have had a more prominent place in contemporary records. However, this motte-and-bailey is the most impressive earthwork castle on the modern landscape of Overk.

Fig. 3.8: East gable of Portnascully parish church site

According to Empey (1990, 85), the manor of Clonamery was crosslands and there is no doubt that it was an Episcopal manor as it appeared in the escheator's account for the temporalities of the see of Ossory for the period 1287 to 1291 (Empey 1997, 9). It disappears from the escheator's accounts after 1291, but Empey argues that this simply means that it was no longer held in demesne. It was probably held by a lay tenant, perhaps the Barons (alias FitzGeralds) of Brownsford who occupied Cloone castle in the seventeenth century (Empey 1997, 9). The parish of Clonamery is located at the western end of the northern boundary of the barony. The parish contains an early medieval church, which was modified and extended during the later medieval period. Empey (1997, 9) has also argued that its status as part of the lands of the See of Ossory, suggests that it may have been a termon land like a number of other episcopal manors (for example Freshford, Seirkieran and Irishtown). This can therefore be seen as an example of the arriving Anglo-Normans taking over existing church sites and establishing their manorial centre at them. South of the church, on the north bank of the river Nore, are the remains of a motte, on top of which a tower house has been constructed. O'Conor (1993, 493) has argued that there are traces of a bailey on the east side of the motte. This motte is likely to have been the castle referred to in the charter of 1239. The location of the motte in close proximity to a church in the townland of Clonamery would suggest that this was the caput or the manorial centre.

What is unclear is whether it is the caput of just the manor of Clonamery or whether it is the caput of the entire barony.

Fig. 3.9: The motte in Clonamery from the west

The manor of Dysartmoon, part of which was included in the grant to Kilculliheen, was located adjacent to the manor of Clonamery at the NW of the barony. There are almost no references to Dysartmoon in the Ormond Deeds after the parish was appropriated to the nunnery of Kilculliheen and Carrigan suggests this is because the de la Freignes combined it with the manor of Listerlin during the fourteenth century (Carrigan 2005, IV 187). The de la Freignes, were an Anglo-Norman family who from the mid-thirteenth century were a growing power in the south-east and were active in military affairs and local administration and Williams (2007, 74) has described them as 'professional administrators'. The de la Freignes feature prominently in Clyn's annals and it has been suggested that they were written for Fulk de la Freigne (Williams 2007, 74). During the fourteenth century they acquired the manor of Listerlin, a dependency of the manor of Grannagh and their estate was composed of the civil parishes of Dysartmoon and Listerlin (Carrigan 2005, IV 187).

The parish church of Dysartmoon is located in Ballyneale, but there are three other church sites in the parish, at Ballyreddy, at Glenballyvally and Kilbraghan. There are very little surviving remains of the latter three churches, with those at Glenballyvally and Ballyreddy almost certainly pre-Norman foundations, The church at Ballyreddy is set with a bi-vallate circular enclosure and the graveyard at Glenballyvally contains

standing stones and cross slabs. There are three castle sites in the parish but none of them are located in close proximity to a church, often suggestive of the location of manorial centre. There are no upstanding remains of the castles in Slievecarragh and Tullagher (which was mentioned in the grant to the nunnery of Kilculliheen). There is a tower house in the townland of Brownsford with a tradition of a village site in a nearby field. A tower house is a feature of late medieval settlement and not associated with the early sub-infeudation of the manor. Margaret Murphy (pers comm.) has indicated that in the Dublin area, manors owned by monastic houses did not contain boroughs. This may explain the absence of a typical manorial centre in the parish of Dysartmoon.

The manor of Lostling (Listerlin), which is located on the east side of the barony, was held by Agatha fitzMaurice in 1314 (*Red Bk. of Ormond*, 132). Oliver de la Freigne was granted the manor of Listerlin by the Earl of Ormond in 1332 (*Cal. Pat. Rols., Edward III* vol. 2, 307), the day after he was granted an exemption from 'assizes, juries, of reconnaissance and from appointment as mayor, sheriff or coroner or other bailiff or minister of the King' (*Cal. Pat. Rols., Edward III* vol. 2, 306). Oliver was an attorney to the Earls of Ormond and he may have been granted this exemption as those duties might have interfered with his patron's needs (Williams 2007, 80). This document also records that the manor had previously been in the possession of Henry de Rupe. The manorial centre for the manor of Listerlin was likely to have been located in the eponymous townland, which contains a motte and an adjacent parish church (*c.*150m south). The motte is tall (*c.* 5.5m) and steep sided with slight traces of the enclosing fosse and external ditch mentioned by Carrigan (2005, IV 190) on the south side. The dedication of the medieval parish church in Listerlin to St. David has led to the suggestion that it was founded by a Cambro-Norman (Carrigan 2005, IV 190). The townland of Listerlin also contains the remains of a moated site, which has been largely destroyed. It is depicted on the *Ordnance Survey* First Edition six-inch map of the area, but is absent from subsequent editions suggesting it was destroyed between 1839 and1901 (Barry 1977, 192). Carrigan (2005, IV 191) records the site of a castle or ancient village east of the motte, which was called *Garrheeantrawgh* or the Field of the Street. A settlement cluster (KK037-050---) is recorded *c.*450m east of the proposed manorial centre on the RMP map compiled in 1996 but the evidence for this

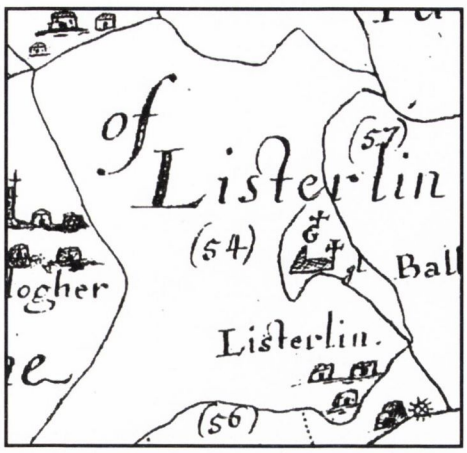


Fig. 3.10: The townland of Listerlin as depicted on the *Down Survey* map of the barony of Ida

appears to be based on the seventeenth century *Down Survey* map of the area. This record is absent from the archaeology.ie website and the deserted settlement is assigned a different reference number KK036-04702-. This new record has not been assigned grid co-ordinates suggesting that its exact location is unknown. Consultation of the *Down Survey* barony map indicates that a cluster of cabins was located west of the church. Any settlement that might have been contemporary with the motte would probably have been immediately adjacent to it and the parish church, but its exact location as outlined above is somewhat unclear.

Fig. 3.11: The church and motte in Listerlin depicted on the *Ordnance Survey* First Edition six-inch map

David FitzMilo appears to have been succeeded by his son Milo fitzDavid and it is through records connected with him that we learn about more of the lands contained within the barony. In the extent of the possessions of Richard, Earl of Gloucester and Hertford made in 1247, Milo fitzDavid is returned as holding Overk by the service of seven knight's fees, making Overk the largest fief in the lordship of Kilkenny (*Chart.*

St. Mary's, II 406; *C.D.I.*, II 1618). Milo fitzDavid is mentioned twice in the records for the year 1286 (*C.D.I.*, II 287, 215).

In 1295 Milo FitzMilo is recorded as the baron of Overk and at this date appears to be in conflict with the de Roches, one of the leading families in Overk. Milo FitzMilo had begun legal proceedings against Gerald le Long because he and Gerald de Roche had abducted Joan, daughter and heir of Owen de Gildeford, a minor, whose wardship and marriage belonged to Milo. The defendant did not appear and the sheriff was ordered to attack him. Williams (2007, 98) indicates that the Roches were in conflict with the administration in Ireland in the early fourteenth century, but this record may suggest that this antagonism began in the late thirteenth century (Burtchaell 1893, 181). The Roches held the manor of the Rower from at least August 1305 when 'Henry de Rupe of Rowre' was charged before the justice at Ros (*Cal. justic. rolls Ire.*, II 125).

The archaeological evidence for the manor of the Rower is ambiguous, the remains may represent a typical Anglo-Norman manor or there may be a more complex explanation. There is a church and graveyard and a circular enclosure in the townland of Farrantemple within the village of the Rower. The church is a roofless nineteenth-century Church of Ireland church, which Carrigan records was built in 1800, after the 'ancient parish church' had been taken down (Carrigan 2005, IV 124). A church is depicted in this location on the *Down Survey* map of the Barony of Ida, compiled in 1657. Carrigan (2005, IV 126) also records the former presence of 'a very large rath, having within it the foundations of a castle' in a field on the east side of the churchyard. He reports that the rath was 'uprooted and levelled' in 1860 by the local Church of Ireland rector who owned the land (Carrigan 2005, IV 126). This 'large rath' has been interpreted in a number of different ways. This 'rath' is listed in the RMP as an 'ecclesiastical enclosure possible' and as a 'castle site'. McCarthy (2007, 23) interprets this site as a castle built within a large rath of pre-Norman date. It is also possible that this 'rath' may have been an Anglo-Norman ringwork castle built by the Roches, with a stone castle later built within it. In summary then, there are at least two possible interpretations of the archaeological sites in the Rower. They may represent the classic combination of Anglo-Norman castle and parish church at a manorial centre, or it may be that a stone castle was built at the site of a pre-Norman foundation in the late medieval period (see chapter six for further discussion of this manor).

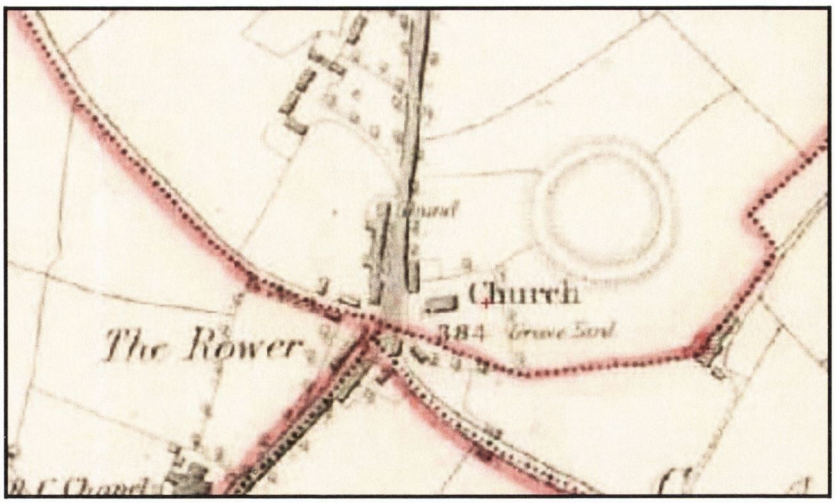


Fig. 3.12: The possible manorial centre in Farrantemple, the modern hamlet of the Rower, as depicted on the *Ordnance Survey* First Edition six-inch map

Another important family with an interest in Overk were the le Poers, whose main area of influence was in Waterford. Between 1290 and 1302 David le Poer quit-claimed to Milo, son of Milo, baron of Overk, all of the lordship, homage, service and rent due from Reginald de Dene to David le Poer. This quit-claim included a number of places that can be identified with parishes or smaller areas of land in Overk: Kilcronia (now Greenville in the parish of Dunkitt), Balimacdermod (Darbystown in the parish of Listerlin), Dunkitt, Kilmakevoge, Mullinabro, Corluddy in the parish of Portnascully, Castletown in the parish of Whitechurch, Cashel in the parish of Clonmore (*Ormond Deeds*, I 117).

In this period the le Poers were on the side of law and order, fighting the Irish and holding the position of seneschal (Williams 2007, 99) but by 1338 the le Poers are portrayed, by Clyn at least, as troublemakers. In that year the le Poers 'after taking an oath', killed Walter le Valle and thirteen of his blood and *familia* 'though he was then sheriff of Tipperary' (Williams 2007, 100). The lands quit-claimed by the le Poers contain a number of monuments likely to be associated with early settlement there and which it may be possible to suggest would have been constructed by them or under their patronage. These archaeological remains are located in a number of different parishes and they will be discussed on a parish-by-parish basis attempting to locate evidence of manorial centres and the le Poer family centre.

Fig. 3.13: Kilkieran high cross at Castletown

The townland of Castletown, which is within the parish of Whitechurch, contains a deserted settlement adjacent to the church and high crosses at Kilkieran. The high crosses, bullaun stones and holy well at the church site in Kilkieran indicate that the church was a pre-Norman foundation and this is supported by Swan's identification of a circular enclosure around the church (SMR file, KK038-00201-). The church of Cassellan is mentioned in all six lists of church revenues in the *Red Book of Ossory*, suggesting that this was the parish church (*Red Bk of Ossory*, 162, 175, 178, 181, 186, 188). The deserted settlement appears to have a layout typical of deserted medieval settlements in south-eastern Ireland and midland England. It consists of a central hollow-way with a series of property boundaries at right angles to it along its length. The grouping of a deserted settlement and a parish church would suggest that this was the manorial centre or caput for the manor of Whitechurch.

Another possible centre of power for the le Poers is the townland of Dunkitt within the eponymous parish. Here there is a church and graveyard located in proximity to a castle site. The original parish church however was not located in this townland, but is in Kilcronia, now Greenville. It must still have been is use in 1210 when the parish of Dunkit was appropriated to the priory of Inistoige, by its founder Thomas Fitz Anthony, as the charter mentioned the 'church of Kilcrenath'. The church of Dunkit is not mentioned in the charter, so it must have replaced the church in Kilcronia after 1210. The 1290-1302 reference to 'the advowson of the church of Dunkitt' (*Ormond Deeds*, I 117) is the first reference to a church in Dunkitt townland. The castle in Dunkitt is a stone castle of tower form, located on a natural hillock, described in the

SMR file as a natural motte (SMR file,KK043-020---). This castle site is listed as a castle unclassified in the RMP (SMR file, KK043-020---), however on the basis of the form of its roof construction Con Manning (Forthcoming) has dated this castle to between 1330 and 1430. This places the construction of this castle outside of the fitzMilo period of ownership of Overk. On this evidence it seems unlikely that this was the high medieval centre of power for the le Poers.

The le Poers also held the manor of Granny until 1375, when Eustace le Poer was convicted of treason and hanged and the manor was taken into the King's hands. Edward III then granted the manor to the earl of Ormond, James Butler (*Ormond Deeds*, II 139). The Butlers would appear to have had an interest in the manor of Granny before Edward III granted it to them. In 1314 Nigel le Brun, instructed all his men and tenants, both English and Irish, to give their loyalty to Sir Edmund Butler, to whom he had granted his lands in a number of places including Granny. In 1330 Edmund le Poer 'grants Sir James Butler, Earl of Ormonde and his heirs forever, the manor of Donnbryn and Grannagh in Oreynan in the cantred of Overk' (*Ormond Deeds*, I 260). However in 1337 Eustace le Poer appoints Thomas le Poer, his attorney 'in full seisin of the manor of Dunbrin and Le Grannath' (*Ormond Deeds*, I 1337) and the le Poers appear to be fully in control of Granny again (*Ormond Deeds*, I 299, 326). Finally in 1374, a year before the le Poers lose possession of Granny completely, Edmund quit-claims the manor of Granny to James Butler, Earl of Ormond.

There is a large masonry castle on the north bank of the river Suir in the manor of Granny. It is by far the most impressive upstanding stone castle within the barony of Overk. While the Butlers are traditionally credited with the construction of the castle in the fourteenth century, it has been argued that the oldest parts of the castle date to the thirteenth century and that the castle was therefore first constructed by the le Poers (Edwards 2000, 69; Harbison 1992, 179). A stone castle, on the banks of the River Suir, in easy reach of the town of Waterford would have been the obvious base for the le Poer family. However, Sweetman (1999, 133) has argued that Granny castle should be dated to the fifteenth century. He states that while the castle has been built in the style of a thirteenth and early fourteenth century fortress, its details such as gun loops and windows are plainly late medieval in date and an examination of these features indicated that they were not later inserts. However, Ben Murtagh (pers. comm. 29th

May 2010) has indicated that the lower courses of the structure are older than the rest of the building, suggesting at least two phases of building on the site. From at least the fifteenth century, the manor of Granny appears to be a head manor with a number of dependent territories (*Ormond Deeds*, II 307-308, III, 310, 376-307, 119), but it is unclear whether this was the case when the manor was in the possession of the le Poers.

Fig. 3.14: 'Castle Granne 1 mile from Waterford 1699' by Francis Place, held at the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

Cashel in the parish of Clonmore is another of the places that David le Poer quit-claimed to Milo, son of Milo, baron of Overk. According to Empey (1990, 85) the manor of Clonmore was crosslands. In the catalogue of the Bishops of Ossory, preserved in the British Museum, it is recorded that Bishop Peter Malversin (1221-31) acquired for the See 'the common wood of Aghlong, near Clonmore'; and that Bishop Geoffrey de Turville (1244-50) acquired for the See the 'lands of Clonemacormicke Rathkieran' (Carrigan 2005, IV 147). Carrigan identified the wood at Aghlong with Killinaspick (the Bishop's Wood) and Clonmacormike with Clonmore, both of which he argued became see-lands at an early date. On the 28th October 1245, Bishop de Turville had a royal grant 'of a yearly fair at his manor of Clinnmore for eight days, namely on the day of St. Martin and seven following days (11-18 November) and of a weekly market there on Monday' (*C.D.I.*, I 415). Clonmore was an episcopal manor and an inquisition of Oct 9th, 1640 found that the episcopal manor of Clonmore consisted of the townlands of Clonmore and Killanaspick, with certain small rents and services out of Filbuckstown, Waddingstown and Ballinlough and out of various other lands and burgageries, in the burgagery of Rathkieran (Carrigan 2005, IV 147).

Carrigan states that Pollrone, like Clonmore, was a manor, or rather a sub-manor, dependent on Grannagh, which was the chief manor of the whole barony of Overk (Carrigan 2005, IV 149).

Despite the fact that Clonmore was an episcopal manor, with a weekly market and annual fair, there is no evidence for a castle site or manorial centre. The remains of the parish church, a nave and chancel structure in a rectangular graveyard, are located in the townland of Clonmore. However, there is no evidence for a castle either within this townland or the civil parish as a whole. There is a ringfort in the townland of Cashel (SMR file KK039-028---) and another in the townland of Killinaspick (which included a souterrain) (Anon 1849-51, 386-387) (SMR files KK039-06201-and KK039-06202). The absence of an upstanding earthwork castle in any of the lands controlled by the le Poers makes the identification of their centre of power difficult. It may have been located at the deserted settlement in Castletown. Deserted settlements are located at the caputs of baronial manors in other Kilkenny baronies, ie. the centre of the d'Erley barony was located at the site of the deserted settlement of Earlstown (Shine 2004). If there was an earlier castle on the site of Granny castle, this may have been their centre or it may have been located outside the barony, perhaps in county Waterford, where the le Poers were a powerful force.

A debt of £4 accrued by the Baron of Overk was paid by Walter de Long in 1287 (*C.D.I.*, III 141). FitzMilo's financial problems appear to worsen when in 1297 the sheriff was ordered to arrest Milo FitzMilo, Baron of Overk, his son John and his brother David and to hold them until they had paid their debt to the Florentine merchants, James Tynachi and Roger Moragol. There were several companies of Italians in the principal towns of Ireland and England in this period, they made advances of money to the government and received in return the 'farm of the revenue': the right to collect taxes within their territory (Burtchaell 1893, 181). Milo appears to have died shortly after the king's letter to the magnates of Ireland, 23rd February 1301, which called on them for their aid against the Scots. Milo, Baron of Overk, was one of the people at whom this letter was directed (*C.D.I.*, V 47). Milo does not appear to have had a legitimate heir and was therefore succeeded by his brother Roger. In 1302 Roger is referred to as Baron of Overk, when an inquisition found that Thomas de Dene, a minor, held five townlands and three-quarters of land at Kilcron (which may

refer to Kilcronia) of Roger, baron of Overk by service of 60 shillings (Burtchaell 1893, 181-182).

The *Red Book of Ormond* contains an extent of the barony of Overk, dated to 20 June 1314 (*Red Bk. of Ormond*, 131-135). It outlines the areas included in the barony, the names of those to whom lands had been sub-infeudated and the rental due for each landholding. It does not however provide any lists or descriptions of buildings or details of the demesne lands within the manors mentioned. A number of the land holdings mentioned in the extent can be identified with parishes or townlands in the barony: The Rower, Listerlin, Ballygurrim, Kilcronia or Greenville (in the parish of Dunkitt), Dunkitt, Rathcurby, Tiermore (in the parish of Ullid), Corluddy (in the parish of Portnascully), Pollrone, Aglish, Fiddown, Owning, Ullid, Ballytarsney, Kilmacow, and Portnascully. There are a large number of places mentioned in the extent which cannot be identified with modern placenames.

A number of the landholdings mentioned above appear to have functioned as manors and contain archaeological evidence for manorial centres. The manors of Portnascully, the Rower, Dunkitt, Listerlin and Granny in the parish of Kilmacow have already been discussed. The remaining areas will be discussed, beginning with those with evidence for manorial centres; Fiddown and Owning. The manor of 'Fidon in Croc' (Fiddown in cross) was held by 'William de la Rokell by suit of court at Ballybramoth, part of the rent being assigned to Mabel, Miles' widow, and whereof said Miles was seized by the hand of Jacob Keting, tenant, by the law of England' (Burtchaell 1893, 182; *Red Bk. of Ormond*, 133). The manor of Fiddown appears to have been sub-infeudated to William Fedunan, who *circa* 1300 granted the tenement of Fedunan to an unreadable name on the surviving deed (*Ormond Deeds*, I no. 348, 140). The de la Rochelles (or Rokell) still held the manor in 1378-9 when William de la Rochelle is recorded as the 'Lord of Fidon', and Thomas Mauclerk is recorded as being his 'seneschal of Fydon, Langport and Balliclerehan' (*Ormond Deeds*, II No. 436, 345).

The civil parish of Fiddown is a large parish located towards the west side of the barony and stretches the entire length of it. The townland of Fiddown, located at the southern end of the parish, contains the classic remains of a manorial centre on the north bank of the river Suir: a motte and nearby parish church with the remains of a

deserted settlement between them. The SMR file also records the site of a tower house that was destroyed in 1835 (Carrigan 2005, III 218), on the river bank, in the area of the deserted settlement. The area of the motte has been heavily landscaped and is used as a public park but there is evidence of a possible bailey to the northwest of the motte. There is another nucleation of sites in the manor of Fiddown, at Jamestown, which consists of a possible deserted settlement and a castle site. The monuments in Fiddown parish are more convincing as a manorial centre, and the manorial centre is commonly found in the townland with the same name as the parish (see chapter six for further discussion of this manor).

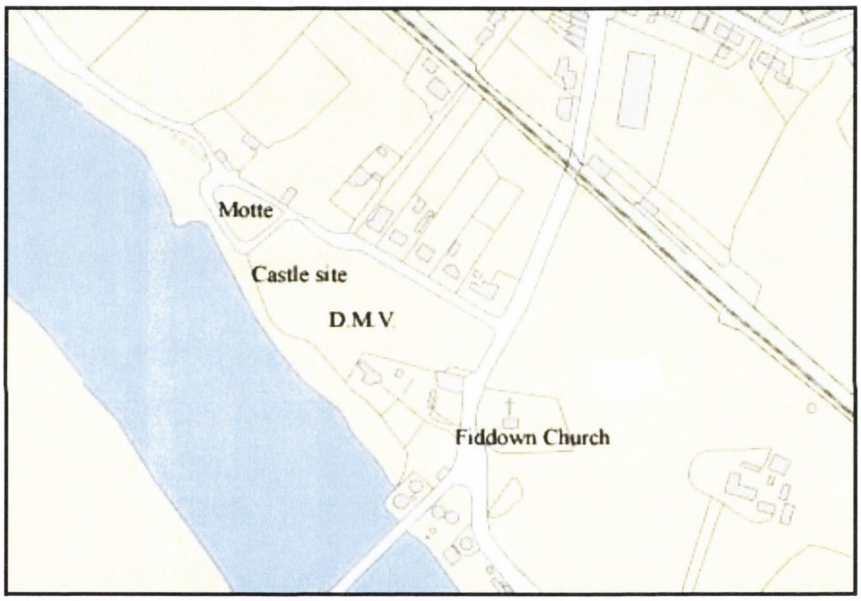


Fig.3.15: Map showing location of sites at Fiddown manorial centre (based on street map from *Ordnance Survey Ireland* Map viewer.

Edmund Grace held five townlands with appurtenances in Owning (Burtchaell 1893, 182; *Red Bk. of Ormond*, 134). In the available surviving medieval documents the church and parish of Owning appear as Beaulu, Beauly or similar, that is *Beau Lieu Locus Amoenus*; which shows that, as in the case of Grace Dieu, Co. Waterford there was an attempt by the early Anglo-Norman settlers, to substitute a French name for the old Irish name of the parish (Carrigan 2005, III 237). However, in the secular sources the manor is referred to as Owning and there are few references to it prior to the fifteenth century. The 1314 extent of the barony of Overk contains the earliest and the next available reference dates to 1411 (*Ormond Deeds*, II, 300). In 1446 William Walsh granted the manors of Owning, Heneberystown and Fanningstown (all

townlands in the civil parish of Owning) to Nicholas Henebery (*Ormond Deeds*, II 163). In the mid-fifteenth century there are a number of references to the tenement of Owning that includes Owning, Ballyhenebery and Fanningstown (*Ormond Deeds*, II 170, 171, 172).

Fig. 3.16: Owning earthwork from the N

The civil parish of Owning is located at the west side of the barony. Although the collection of monuments in the townland of Owning appears at first glance to represent a manorial centre, an examination of them cast serious doubt on this view. The RMP records the presence of a motte and church in the townland of Owning, which would suggest that this was the manorial centre. However, the site classified as a motte is an unusual monument and its identification as such is questionable. Indeed the SMR file for the site suggests that it could be either a motte or a platform ringfort (SMR file KK035-038---). Its location *c.*1800m from the medieval parish church would indicate that they were not part of a single nucleated settlement. The earthwork is also located close to the 280m contour, on the side of a river valley, and is surrounded by hills to the north, east and west, and has extensive views to the south towards the river Suir. Ringforts have a noted preference for sloping sites with visibility over the surrounding landscape (Stout and Stout 1997, 45-46). The site consists of a circular platform (11.80m in diameter and 3.60m above the bottom of the ditch) that is surrounded by a bank and external ditch for most of its circumference. Its low height, along with its location, would argue against its identification as a motte, while the small diameter of

its enclosed area would argue against its identification as a platform ringfort. The nave and chancel parish church, located in the modern hamlet of Owning, is a multi-period structure that certainly contains many features datable to the later medieval period. The townland of Owning was the focus of human activity since the prehistoric period and it contains a megalithic tomb, a portal-tomb, a wedge-tomb and a holy well. More detailed examination of the manor and other comparable areas may cast light on this ambiguous collection of monuments. (See chapter eight for further discussion of this unusual earthwork).

There are a number of landholdings mentioned in the 1314 extent of the barony of Overk for which there is little or no archaeological evidence of a manorial centre. Some of these civil parishes are quite small and do not seem to have functioned as independent manors. Thomas de Sancto Albino, Philip fitzWalter Mancell and Lord John le Poer, John and David sons of Philip fitz Miles and Theobald Butler and his wife Joan all held a quarter part of the manor of *Ballynacallgorim* (Ballygurrim) (*Red Bk. of Ormond*, 132). The civil parish of Ballygurrim, which is located on the east side of the barony, is quite small, consisting of only six townlands, none of which appear to contain a manorial centre. The archaeological evidence for the manor of Ballygurrim consists of a church and a castle site that are not in close proximity to each other. The chapel of Ballygurrim (Ballumolgum) is mentioned in a deed dated to *c.*1240 and it is unclear when it would have become a parish church (*C.D.I.*, I 370-371). Carrigan noted the remains of the parish church, and baptismal font in the early twentieth century (Carrigan 2005, IV 88). A church in the townland of Jamestown is labelled 'Ballygurrim Church' on all editions of the Ordnance Survey six inch maps of the area. It is possible that this townland was renamed by the arriving Anglo-Normans. However, the absence of an identifiable manorial centre, the small size of the manor and the fact that it was held in quarter parts could suggest that this area did not form a manor in its own right.

The extent records that Rathcurby, (in the parish of Rathkieran), was held by Richard le Poer (*Red Bk. of Ormond*, 132). The civil parish of Rathkieran is located towards the centre of the northern boundary of the barony. Again, there is no clear evidence for a manorial centre in the parish of Rathkieran. There is a church and graveyard in the townland of Rathkieran, and while the remains on the site are those of an eighteenth

century Church of Ireland church, this church was built on the site of an earlier church (SMR file KK042-01301-). The graveyard contains the remains of a seventeenth century altar tomb. The only castle site in the parish was located in the townland of Rochestown. It is clear that the Roches were clearly connected with Rathkieran, as in 1375 Andrew McShaan and Egidia daughter of John Roche quit-claimed his lands in Rathkieran and a number of other places to James Butler, Earl of Ormond (*Ormond Deeds*, II 143). Rochestown Castle and an adjacent house are marked on the *Down Survey* map, there are no upstanding remains of the castle but it is marked by an earthwork.

David le Graunt held one and a half townlands in Ullid and Ballytarsney (Burtchaell 1893, 182; *Red Bk. of Ormond*, 134). According to Empey, the manor of Ullid, which is located at the centre of the barony, was part of the Earl's Demesne (Empey 1990, 85). In 1307 land held by David, son of Milo came into the hands of Joan Countess of Gloucester and Hertford, because 'David was a bastard and died without an heir' (*C.D.I.*, V 196). This extent does not list any buildings or structures and instead concentrates on land values and uses. The land appears to be poor and used for pasture and for the cultivation of alder trees. It is a very small parish of only four townlands, the townland of Ullid contains the site of a parish church and the surrounding townlands contain five ringforts. Ullid was included in the Despencer purparty (*Ormond Deeds*, II 208) and the Ormonds probably gained control of it along with the rest of the Despencer lands in 1391. In 1443 James, Earl of Ormond grants Walter Glerne 'six marks of silver yearly out of all the Earl's lands, tenements, and rents of the townland of Lozghone (*sic*) and Illud as well as his lands' (*Ormond Deeds*, III 52). There is no evidence for the presence of a manorial centre in Ullid but five houses are depicted beside the church on the Down Survey map. A rental dated to 1442-3 mentions a number of tenants in Ullid including John White who is recorded as living in Newtown (*Ormond Deeds*, III, 133). While the mention of a Newtown might suggest the presence of nucleated settlement within the parish, it is possible that the Newtown was located in another parish. The poor land quality would not have made this area attractive for the early Anglo-Norman settlers and later settlement may have been due to population expansion.

Fig. 3.17: The footings of the south wall of Ballytarsney church

The charters of Duiske Abbey record that in 1253 the Irish held a carucate of land called Ballytarsney from Alan FitzMilo (*Chart. Duiske Abbey*, 89). The civil parish of Ballytarsney is located west of the centre of the barony. In 1417 there is a reference to a 'manour of Ballitarsyn' (*Ormond Deeds*, III 16) and half the town of 'Ballytarsne' was granted to Thomas, Earl of Ormond, by Edmund Fanning in 1579 (*Ormond Deeds*, V 303). The 1653 survey of lands granted to the countess of Ormond in county Kilkenny records the presence of an old ruined castle and some thatched cabins in the townland of Ballytarsney (Manning 1999, 52). This all suggests that there was settlement in the manor during the later medieval period. The townland of Ballytarsney contains the site of a church and graveyard, which is marked on the first and second editions of the Ordnance Survey six inch map of the area. The church site and graveyard are today located in a group of houses and farmyards known as Ballytarsney. Carrigan (2005, IV 155) records the former presence of a church and tower house in the townland of Kilcraggan which is also located in the civil parish of Ballytarsney. There are no upstanding remains of either structure the only feature of note at the site today is a carved stone head built into a farmyard wall. The RMP includes the tower house but not the church site. The *Down Survey* map of the area depicts a group of large, medium and small houses. This farmhouse that is said to have been built about 1690 by a Cromwellian family called Whitby still stands today, though it has been greatly modified. It is tempting to suggest that the absence of a

typical manorial centre may be linked to the fact that in the thirteenth century at least, some of the land of the manor was rented to the Irish, who were accustomed to different settlement forms. The townland of Kilcraggan contains a ringfort and the townland of Ballytarsney contains an enclosure: could these sites have been occupied during the high medieval period?

John fitz William held half a townland in Portnahully in the parish of Aglish (Burtchaell 1893, 182; *Red Bk. of Ormond*, 133), which is located in the centre of the southern boundary of the barony. The name of the parish has been interpreted by both Carrigan (2005, IV 163), and the *Ordnance Survey letters* (Herity 2003, 161), as an anglicisation of *Eaglais* meaning church. The medieval manor is called Portnahully or Ballymartin in the contemporary sources. In the later thirteenth century there is a reference to the tenement of Balimartyn (*Ormond Deeds*, I 94). In 1348 Portnahully was granted to John Roche by Simon Roche (*Ormond Deeds*, I 341). Portnahully was in the possession of the Earls of Ormond from at least the early fifteenth century, because in 1411 'Portynhill' was included in the rental of the Earl from 'Grannagh and Overk' (*Ormond Deeds*, II 298). The civil parish of Aglish contains the site of a church and graveyard in the townland of Aglish and twelve fulachta fiadh scattered throughout the parish. The large number of fulachta fiadh would suggest that this is a boggy area and it is possible that the unproductive nature of this type of land could explain the lack of a manorial centre. An agriculturally-marginal area would not be a suitable centre for a manor that is essentially an agricultural economy. According to Carrigan (2005, IV 164), there was a castle in Aglish in 1653 when the townland was recorded as being in the hands of John Leonard, David Ennos, Thomas Walsch, Richard Grant and the Earl of Ormond. There is no evidence for a manorial centre in this parish and it is unclear whether the evidence for one did not survive or whether it never existed in the first place.

There are two placenames mentioned in the extent which could refer to the manor of Pollrone: Polrothan and Polroan (*Red Bk. of Ormond*, 133-134). Herbert de Marreys held two townlands in Polrothan and Philip Brown held eight acres of land in Polroan. The civil parish of Pollrone is located west of centre of the southern boundary of the barony with the river Suir forming its southern boundary. Carrigan states that Pollrone, was a manor, or rather a sub-manor, dependent on Grannagh (Carrigan 2005, IV 149).

In 1434 Polrothan is included in a rental of the Earl of Ormond under the heading 'Grennagh' (*Ormond Deeds*, III, 108), as it was again in 1546 (Ormond Deeds IV, 305) and towards the end of the sixteenth century (Ormond deeds VI, 119).

Fig. 3.18: Pollrone church from the S

In 1355 Stephen Marreis, probably a descendant of Herbert de Marreys granted David Meiller half 'the manor of Polrothan' (*Ormond Deeds*, II 13) and there is another reference to the manor of Pollrone in 1371 (*Ormond Deeds*, II 121, 122). In 1377 Edward III grants James Butler the right to have a weekly market in his town of 'Polrothan' in Overk, county Kilkenny (*Ormond Deeds*, II 149). This all suggests that there was a substantial settlement in the manor of Pollrone, which contained a market town. In November 1411 a rental of the Earl of Ormond records 'the chief rent of Polroan'. Under this heading there is a list of tenants and the amount of rent they paid. These probable tenants of Pollrone have unusual names, all of which have an O prefix, suggesting that they are Irish. The names include: James O'Dowan, Taige O'Brother, David O'Scandyll, Stephen O'Brother, Jonoc O'Donull and David O'Dowan (*Ormond Deeds*, II 300). Another rental of the Earl of Ormond, compiled the following year, lists David Wally, Andrew O'Barre and David O'Hewlan as tenants (*Ormond Deeds*, II 311). An extent of the manor of Pollrone , dated December 1415 stated that the manor was the same as the 'ancient manor built with one keep (*turre*) (*Red Bk. of Ormond*, 126), indicating that there was a keep in Pollrone significantly earlier than the date of this extent The rest of the extent is devoted to descriptions of land and its use, including pig and sheep rearing as well as wheat and oat cultivation.

This manor is located at the southern limit of the barony with the river Suir at its south boundary. It is located in the rich fertile plain and is likely to have been agriculturally rich. The rich documentary evidence for a settlement in the manor is in contrast to the archaeological remains. The townland of Pollrone contains an undifferentiated nave and chancel church and surrounding graveyard, which are located close to the north bank of the river Suir. The graveyard contains the remains of an altar tomb which bears the date 1599. The presence of a bullaun stone in the graveyard could suggest that the church had a pre-Norman origin. There is no evidence for an earthwork castle or a deserted settlement in the townland. However, Carrigan (2005, IV 149) records that a castle once stood close to the church and the 1653 survey of the lands granted to the countess of Ormond in county Kilkenny also records the presence of 'an old castle ruined and some cabins whereof one has a chimney' (Manning 1999, 53). This evidence together with the reference to the old keep in the 1415 extent suggests the former existence of a manorial centre at Pollrone.

Fig. 3.19: Grange tower house, Pollrone

There are the remains of another church in Grange townland, labelled 'Killinaspick church (in ruins)'on the Ordnance Survey six-inch maps for the area. There is a font at this church site, which would suggest that at some point in its history it functioned as a parish church. A font was one of the parochial insignia that a parish church was

required to have (FitzPatrick and O'Brien 1998, 123). The graveyard also contains a bullaun stone that combined with the church name, Killinaspick or *Cill an Easpaig*, which translates as church of the bishop, would suggest that this was a pre-Norman foundation. The townland of Grange also contains a towerhouse, but it is not located close to the church. It is unclear where the market and town of Pollrone might have been located, but the fact that Pollrone townland was located beside the river Suir, and the obvious advantages that would have for transporting goods to and from the market, would suggest they were located close to Pollrone church and its old keep.

The manor of Rosbercon is the only area of note in the high medieval period not to be mentioned in the extent or in previous grants. Empey (1990, 85) has stated that Rosbercon was in the Earl's demesne and as such it would not have been sub-infeudated or been included in a list of the rents and service owed to the baron of Overk. It is probable that Rosbercon only began to develop to any great extent after the partition of the Marshal palatinate. With the Marshal lands thus divided, different lords held Rosbercon and New Ross and it has been suggested that Richard de Clare established Rosbercon to take advantage of its position on the opposite bank of the river Barrow to the Bigod possession of New Ross (Flynn 1981, 13; Orpen 1920, II 91). Carrigan reports that the *Patent and Close Rolls of Henry IV 1399-1400* record that between 1264 and 1295 Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester and Hertford, lord of the manor of Rosbercon, granted by charter to the burgesses of Rosbargan all the liberties and free customs that had been granted by his predecessors to their burgh of Kilkenny (Carrigan 2005, IV 181; *Rot. Pat. Hib.*, 158). The documentary evidence also indicates the presence of a number of features of a wealthy manor, which would be in keeping with its position as an Earl's demesne. These include a number of mills, a rabbit warren, a ferry, a hundred court and two swarms of bees (*Ormond Deeds*, III 18-19, 73). There are surprisingly few upstanding archaeological remains in Rosbercon, and they consist of a graveyard with thirteenth- or fourteenth-century graveslabs and the remains of a moated site outside this suburb of New Ross. It is also claimed that the site of Rosbercon Castle is now occupied by a castellated residence dated to 1860 and bearing the name Rosbercon Castle (Flynn 1981, 12).

The two major monastic houses of the barony of Overk were located in Rosbercon and Kilculliheen. Clyn records that a priory of Dominican friars dedicated to St. Mary was

Fig. 3.20: Graveslab in Rosbercon churchyard

founded in Rosbercon in 1267 (*Clyn's annals*, 146). The *Monasticum Hibernicum* gives the Graces or Walshes as the founders of this priory, but this is not accepted by all scholars (Gwynn and Hadcock 1988, 229). Ó Drisceoil (1996, 196) argues that because of the date of the foundation of this priory Gilbert de Clare was the most likely patron. The Dominicans were a mendicant order who generally established their houses in or near Anglo-Norman towns (Leask 1966, 21). It has been argued that their foundation in Rosbercon was probably dependent on the larger community in New Ross rather then Rosbercon (Ó Drisceoil 1996, 57). In 1270-90 they appealed for murage money to be used in the construction of a bridge between Rosbercon and New Ross (Flynn 1981, 17n) and they established St. Saviour's chapel in the fifteenth century (Gwynn and Hadcock 1988, 229). Consequently, the Dominicans at Rosbercon are likely to have had a much lesser impact on the life of the barony of Overk and its inhabitants than the nuns of Kilculliheen (discussed below).

There are no upstanding remains of the Dominican Friary and there is some uncertainty as to its former location, because of a change in its location between the first two editions of the *Ordnance Survey* maps of the area. It was, however, almost certainly located in the position marked on the *Ordnance Survey* First Edition six-inch map, rather than its location on later editions. Excavations carried out in this area in the course of a drainage scheme for New Ross and Rosbercon uncovered walls and a burial. The excavator interpreted these remains as having formed part of the Dominican Priory (McCutcheon 1995). The site of the medieval parish church, which was appropriate to the priory of Kilculliheen is now occupied by a graveyard and all that remains of the former church are a medieval graveslab and the fragment of another, which date to the thirteenth or fourteenth century.

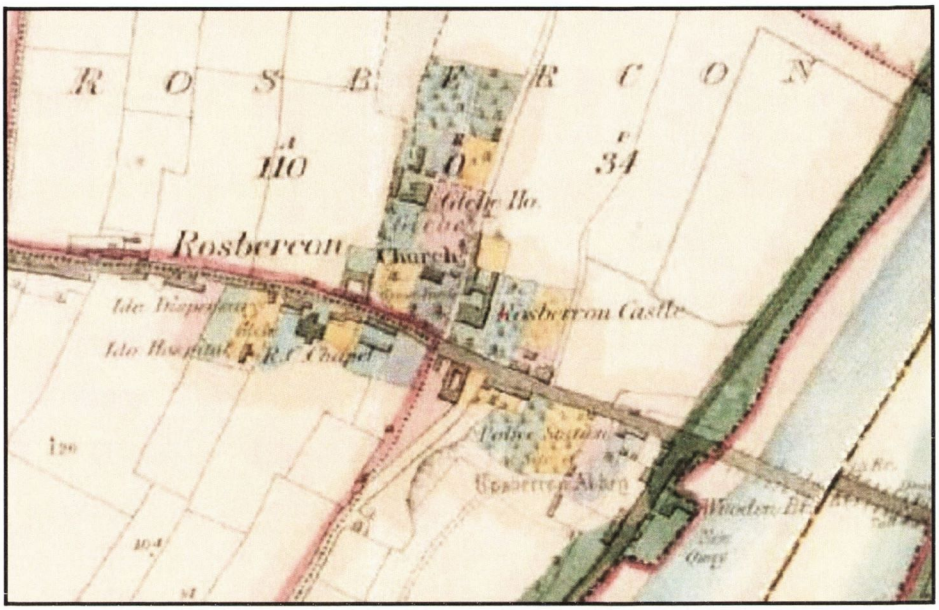


Fig. 3.21: Rosbercon priory and parish church as depicted on the *Ordnance Survey* First Edition six-inch map

David FitzMilo granted lands and tithes to the nunnery at Kilculliheen in 1240 and it is clear that the nunnery would have had an important place in the barony. Dermot MacMurrough reputedly founded the nunnery in Kilculliheen when he was king of Leinster in 1151. It was a convent of Arrosian canonesses, dedicated to St. Kilkin and founded as a dependency of St Mary de Hogges, Dublin (Gwynn and Hadcock 1988, 319). The Anglo-Normans became benefactors of the convent in the 1200s, with King John, confirming a grant of land in 1240 (*C.D.I.*, I 370). In the same year Milo fitz David made a substantial grant to the convent, detailed above. A *c.*1350 list of Ossory parishes appropriated to religious houses was reproduced by Carrigan (2005, IV 392) from the *Red Book of Ossory.* It indicates that some of the parishes granted by David FitzMilo continued to be held by the convent, but that there was significant change in the holdings of the convent which now included: the churches of Ballygurrim, Dysartmoon, Shanbogh, Rosbercon, Rathpatrick, Muckalee, Ullid, Pollrone, Kilculliheen, Kilmakevoge and the chapel of Portnascully. The convent's control of so many of the barony's churches would indicate that it would have had a significant role in the barony.

Kilculliheen started as a priory and then became an independent abbey some time before 1257, and licences to hold elections were granted in this year (Gwynn and Hadcock 1988, 319). Licences to hold elections were granted in 1277 after the death of

Abbess Mabilla de Cursy. The sources record the death of various abbesses and the procedure for appointing a replacement (*C.D.I.*, III 145). By 1427 the earls of Ormond had become patrons of the monastery when James, earl of Ormond accused the nuns of leading a dissolute, irreligious and immodest life and applied to the Pope for a license to convert the nunnery into a secular or collegiate church (*Cal. Papal Reg.*, VII 522). However, the abbey continued until the suppression of the monasteries in 1540. At this time the buildings of the nunnery included; a church, belfry, dormitory, four chambers, kitchen and granary as well as a cemetery and an orchard (*Fiants*, Henry VIII no. 169). Their possessions also included the two parks, two mills, five weirs and twelve appropriated churches which included; Kilculliheen, Rathpatrick, Kilmakevoge, Balygurrin, Shanbogh, Rosbercon, Dysartmoon, Muckalee, Portnascully, Pollrone and Ulid (Carrigan 2005, IV 208). The abbey, along with other monasteries was granted to SirEdmund Butler in 1566, and it was granted to the town of Waterford in 1582-3 (Gvynn and Hadcock 1988, 319).

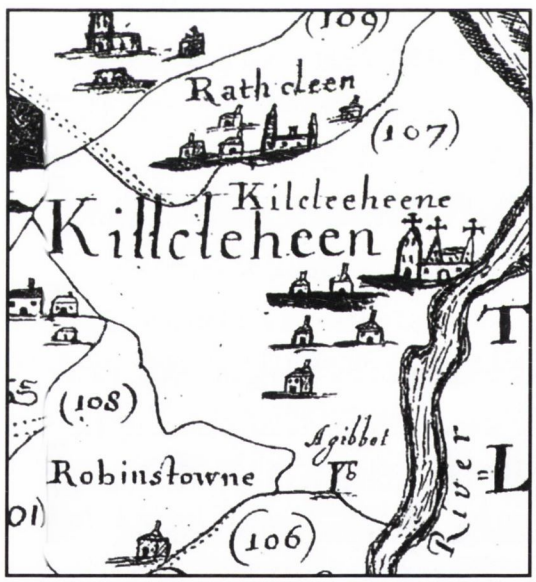


Fig. 3.22: The nunnery at Kilculliheen depicted on the *Down Survey* map of the barony of Ida

There are no upstanding remains of this apparently wealthy and extensive nunnery, on the modern landscape. Only two townlands in the modern civil parish of Kilculliheen contain any upstanding archaeological remains; Abbeylands and Mountmisery. The townland of Abbeylands contains the possible site of the convent, now the location of a Church of Ireland church, built in 1820, and a fishing weir. The church is surrounded by a graveyard that contains gravestones dating to between 1733 and 1981 and no architectural fragments or cut stone was observed in the graveyard. Jobson's 1591 map of Waterford harbour depicts a church labelled 'the Abbey' on the north bank of the river Suir opposite the city of Waterford. It is probable that this building represents the remains of the nunnery in Kilculiheen. No ancillary buildings are marked adjacent to the map. There is however a depiction of what appears to be a landing area, projecting into the river Suir east of the church and

what appear to be a type of fort labelled 'the Rocks' to the west. Murtagh (2001, 103) warns that the buildings depicted on Jobson's map are heavily stylised and should not be viewed as accurate representations of them. He goes on to argue that Jobson's motivation for drawing this map was to 'depict the location of important sites along the Harbour, at a time when the English authorities feared a Spanish invasion along the south coast of Ireland' (Murtagh 2001, 103). This warning would certainly appear to be pertinent to this site as there are references to upstanding remains at the site in 1627 with references to 'the bake house, furnace and granary of the said late monastery' (Burke 1902, 16). In 1652 there are reports of two Cromwellians taking up residence in the abbey (Burke 1902, 16). The *Down Survey* map of the barony of Ida, depicts a church building, with an attached tower, along with five other buildings in 'Killcleheen'.

The townland of Mountmisery contains a pair of standing stones and a nearby mound that overlooks the River Suir and Waterford city. The mound appears to be a possible barrow and its low height (<1m) together with its location close to the edge of an inland promontory would confirm that this site is not a motte (SMR file WA009-01703-). There is excavated evidence for later medieval activity in Newrath in the form of a trackway that was interpreted as facilitating access to nutritious grazing on the salt marsh. It was radiocarbon dated to between fourteenth to fifteenth century (Wilkins et al. 2009). Carrigan (2005 IV 204) records that the parish was smaller in the sixteenth century than the modern civil parish, comprising the townlands of Kilculliheen (presumably the modern parish of Abbeylands), Rathculliheen, Newrath, Ballyrobbin,and Graigdanton (unsure of the modern equivalent).

There is no mention of the manor of Rathpatrick in the 1314 extent or any of the fitzMilo grants, however it does appear to have been part of Overk at least during the Butler period of ownership of the barony. According to Carrigan (2005, IV 200), Rathpatrick is listed in the Red Book of Ossory as Droundonenni, Dromdowny, Rathpatrik and Rathpadryg. He goes on to argue that the adjacent townland of Drumdowney and Rathpatric were originally the same one single townland. In 1311 'Nicholas son of Griffin Ledyr, charged that he broke the gate of the castle at Doundrowny and carried away thence wool, stuff, cheeses and butter, to the value of 20s' (*Cal. justic. rolls Ire.*, III 216). Nine deeds relating to the manor of Drumdowney

are dated to the year 1364 and through a series of transactions the manor comes into the possession of the Earl of Ormond (*Ormond Deeds*, II 81-84). In 1407 the Earl of Ormond, James Butler grants the castles and manors of a number of places including Drumdowney to Robert Haubryk and Nicholas Stokes (*Ormond Deeds*, II 280).

In 1426 James, Earl of Ormond granted Richard fitz John his manor of Drumdowney with the ferry of Camnok and all the demesne lands belonging to it for eleven years. In return for this fitzJohn must construct a weir and keep the houses within the manor in good condition. He is also bound to 'make no destruction of the rabbit-warren or rowing wood' (*Ormond Deeds* III, 47). This reference together with earlier references to the ferry would suggest that the riverine environment was of great economic importance to the manor, its lord and inhabitants.

Although the surviving archaeological remains in the manor that date definitively to the study period are a church and late medieval tower house, the excavated evidence suggested the existence of a settlement in the vicinity of the church in the high medieval period. Excavations in advance of road construction in Rathpatrick townland uncovered three phases of activity including a corn-drying kiln, a wooden ford, possible cart-ruts and probable barn structures dated to the later medieval period. A thirteenth to fourteenth century cooking pot was found in the corn-drying kiln and while the wooden trackway was dated by dendro-chronology to 1118AD suggesting a mid twelfth century felling, a twelfth- to thirteenth-century copper alloy stick pin was found at the same stratagraphical level as the planks. Four structures were also uncovered which have been interpreted as barns and thirteenth to fourteenth century pottery was found in the fill of a posthole. The excavator interpreted these structures as agricultural buildings associated with the cereal-drying process (Stephenson and Ó Maoldúin 2003). This later medieval complex could be part of a high medieval settlement that also included the church and the castle mentioned in documents dating to 1311 and 1407. When the documentary and excavated evidence are combined there is sufficient evidence to identify the church and the area to its south-west as the former location of the manorial centre in Rathpatrick.

3.6: The Butlers and Overk

In June 1314 Roger FitzMilo, baron of Overk, granted Sir Edmund Butler one acre of land in Pollrone 'with all the lordship and intendancy of the freeholders of the same barony' (*Ormond Deeds*, I 198). The baron instructs John de la Rochelle, his free-holders, farmers, and his tenants, 'both English and Irish' to give their allegiance to Sir Edmund Butler (*Ormond Deeds*, I 198). This would indicate that the Baron of Overk had been willing to take on Irish tenants.

Almost five years later in March 1319, the same Roger FitzMilo ensured that he was the last Baron of Overk when he sold the entire barony to Edmund Butler, Earl of Carrick (*Ormond Deeds*, I 223). In return for this land the Butlers agreed to pay Roger FitzMilo and his heirs eight marks of annual rent, in two instalments (Michaelmas and Easter) and granted him 'a robe of ours, for the whole term of his life' (*Ormond Deeds*, I 224). This reference to 'a robe of ours' indicates that fitzMilo had the right to wear the Butler livery and thereby be associated with them. FitzMilo appears to have retained some lands in Overk, as another deed of the same date records that Butler had assigned FitzMilo the homage and service of Herbert de Marisco in two vills and a half of land in Pollrone, Richard le Poer, knight, for the lands and tenements of Rathforby; and David le Graunt for his lands and tenements in Ballytarsney; together with an acre of land in Pollrone. However, FitzMilo appointed Butler to collect the rents due in these lands (*Ormond Deeds*, I 225). While there are references to FitzMilos in Kilkenny after this date, there are no further references to the Baron of Overk and there are no records of the any subsequent land acquisitions by the family in the area (*Ormond Deeds*, I 283, 306-307). It is possible that this decision to sell first part, and later the entire, barony of Overk can be attributed to their financial problems recorded around the turn of the fourteenth century. The fact that there are no records of the FitzMilos appointing attorneys to manage their affairs while they travelled back to estates in Wales would suggest that they might not have had significant estates to return to in Wales.

Through their purchase of the barony of Overk, the Ormond family became tenants by knight's service of the heirs of the de Clare Earls of Gloucester and Hertford. In the partition made between the latter, James Butler is found holding 'the seven knight's fees in Overk' (Burtchaell 1893, 184). In fact, the Earls of Ormond displaced several

absentee landlords in the course of the fourteenth century. Although the Butlers were largely based in south Munster at the end of the thirteenth century, they had already established themselves as important tenants in Leinster. Theobald Walter was granted three substantial fiefs in Oskelan (Gowran), Tullow and Arklow *c.*1190. They acquired the lordship of Rathdowney in 1297 and the manor and cantred of Knocktopher in 1314, before their acquisition of the lordship of Overk in 1319 (Empey 1990, 85). The acquisition of the barony of Overk would have been quite significant as it represents approximately one fifth of the area of the modern county of Kilkenny. The purchase of the Despencer purparty, which included the town of Kilkenny, in 1391 was the climax of this period of acquisition (Empey 1990, 88).

The Butler palatinate in Tipperary might have been their most politically independent entity but from an early date the family showed a preference for their Kilkenny manors. James, the second Earl, made Knocktopher his chief seat: the third earl resided in Gowran until he purchased Kilkenny Castle and the Despencer portion of the Gloucester inheritance between 1391-3. He also administered the earl of Stafford's share until it was absorbed into the Ormond estate. These purchases made the family the chief magnates of the county and its effectual lords. They always retained their personal demesnes in Kilkenny despite the fact that their only other personal demesne, Carrick-on-Suir, was in the same administrative region. While Kilkenny remained officially a royal county, the Ormonds treated it in the same manner as their palatinate in Tipperary (Neely 1989, 108).

Edwards (2000, 69-72) has discussed the extent of the Butler possessions on Overk in the early sixteenth to the mid-seventeenth centuries. He indicates that in Ida the Butlers held Rosbercon and although by the sixteenth century it was a town in decline, it still retained a strategic value because of its location on the River Barrow and its proximity to the river-port of New Ross. In Iverk, they also held Norbane, Castletown, Kilmacow and the manor of Grannagh 'substantial rural settlements containing what was some of the best pasture in the area' (Edwards 2000, 68).

Edwards (2000, 69) has argued that Granny Castle was a 'focal point of feudal power in the Butler earldom', and 'most of the gentry of Ida and Iverk held part of their lands of the manor by Knight's service'. Granny castle is a large castle complex, which

consists of a central tower, the remains of an attached hall building which form one corner of an area enclosed by stone walls. The section of the enclosing wall that runs along the north bank of the River Suir includes the remains of three circular towers. There is a carving of the Butler coat of arms and a figure of justice facing each other on the soffit of a window in the hall building. The majority of the current castle complex is likely to date to the late fifteenth century when Piers Ruadh and his wife, Countess Margaret, renovated and extended it (Edwards 2000, 69). There is debate about whether this castle should be classified as a tower house, with Murtagh suggesting that it should be called an accommodation tower (B. Murtagh Pers. Comm. 29th May 2010). Even if this castle is not classified as a tower house, it is clearly part of a similar genre of castle building.

Fig. 3.23: Granny Castle from the E (courtesy of the Photographic Unit, DOEHLG).

The Butlers also appear to have been involved in encouraging others to construct defended residences in this period. In 1431 William and Shane O'Creachane agreed before the Earl of Ormond's seneschal 'to build three houses on their holding (domos tenure sue) near 'Rathpatrik' within eight years and to leave them 'stiffle and staunche' at the end of the term' (*Ormond Deeds*, III 55). This also suggests that not only were Irish men holding lands in Overk in the fifteenth century, but that they were also possibly constructing tower houses

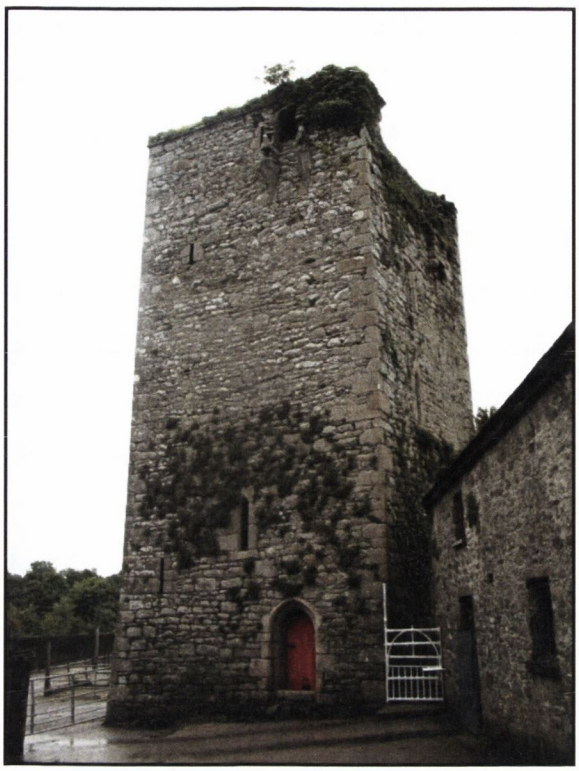


Fig. 3.24: North side of Brownsford Castle

Murtagh (2001) generally agrees with Cowman's (1982) identification of these houses with buildings in Kilmurry, Gorteens and Ballinlaw. The presence of a castle-like building on the Down Survey map and the a 1591 map of Waterford Harbour at Drumdowney would indicate that there were four castles in the parish, making the identification of the three constructed by the O'Crenchanes more problematic. The buildings in Kilmurry, Gorteens and Ballinlaw are all towerhouse style buildings, two of which are attached to later dwellings and another that is a gatehouse. Ballinlaw tower house was built to defend the old Drumdowney Ferry on the River Barrow, and its architecture is consistent with a fifteenth century dates. The design of Kilmurry castle is so similar to that at Ballinlaw that Murtagh has suggested that they were constructed by the same mason in the fifteenth century (Murtagh 2001, 71). Finally, Gorteen castle, which consists of a late medieval gatehouse and was occupied by the Fitzgerald O'Dea family, who styled themselves Barons of Ida, by the sixteenth century, was identified as the third of these 'houses'.

Edwards (2000, 69) has argued that by the sixteenth century at least the southern lowlands, unlike other parts of county Kilkenny, lacked a major community of gentry. Apart from the Ormond and Mountgarret Butlers, there were just a handful of important landlords in the region. Between 1500 and 1640 only five local families achieved any prominence within the county or the further afield: the Stranges of Dunkitt, the Gauls of Gaulskill, the Baron Fitzgeralds of Brownesford, the Freneys of Ballyreddy and the Datons of Kilmodally. Some members of these families served as Ormond officials or government commissioners. Indeed, he went on to argue that only the Stranges of Dunkitt and the Fitzgeralds of Brownesford were 'a consistent voice in

local affairs, maintaining a public role across the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries' (Edwards 2000, 69). Both Brownsford and Dunkitt townlands are the sites of tower houses, suggesting that the Overk gentry of fifteenth and sixteenth century were constructing tower houses.

Poverty is the explanation advanced by Edwards for the failure of the rest of the gentry of southern Kilkenny to attain high status. He argues that although this area of Kilkenny is today a rich agricultural area that this was not the case in the later medieval period and that a lot of the soils were quite wet (Edwards 2000, 71). This picture of the late medieval Overk is supported by the *Down Survey* maps of the area which show large areas of bog in the barony (see fig. 3.4). This underdevelopment meant that the Butlers could have a huge influence on the area and their domination of large parts of the barony meant that they could maintain strong patron/ client relations with many local gentry, especially the minor gentry families, many of whom benefited from Ormond leaseholders. The Bolgers, lesser Forstalls, Grant and Powers were all occupants of the Earl's southern lands, named as tenants in rentals and inquisitions. The other tower houses in Overk were also constructed during the Butler period of domination of this barony and it is likely that many of the castle sites were also constructed during this period. These structures are classified simply as 'castle site' because there are little or no above ground remains and some were identified from *Down Survey* maps.

The distribution maps of tower houses in the barony would suggests that during the late medieval period there was a concentration of activity close to the major rivers of the barony. However, if we include the castle sites in this distribution, the picture changes significantly, with castle sites located throughout the barony. Edwards has argued that in 'medieval times Waterford Corporation had gained control of river commerce in South Kilkenny as far north as Inistioge on the Nore and long before 1500 some of its main merchant dynasties such as Aylwards and Dobbins, had begun colonising the area' (Edwards 2000, 72). After 1550 the pace of this colonisation increased. The Butlers provided assistance to these newcomers thereby increasing their influence over the great southern port and its powerful corporation. The distribution of tower houses along the rivers of Overk would suggest that they could have been part of

a trade network developed by these Waterford merchants, or earlier merchants in the area.

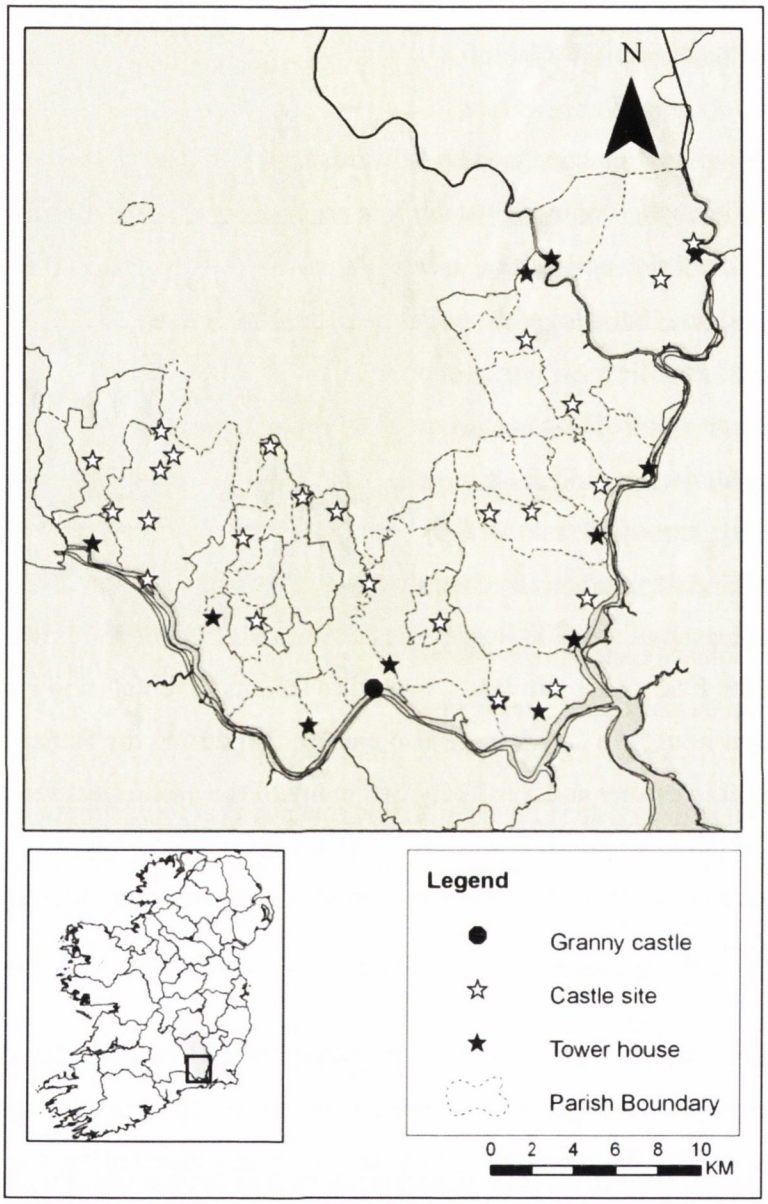


Fig. 3.25: Distribution map of tower houses and castles in Overk, also including the castle complex in Granny.

Although this concentration of tower houses along rivers in eastern Overk will be discussed in detail in chapter seven, it must be noted that this is not limited to the eastern half of the barony and occurred along the stretch of the River Suir which forms the southern border of the barony. The tower house in Clonamery, townland and parish, was constructed on top of the motte at a high medieval manorial centre, located on the bank of River Nore. The tower house in Fiddown is no longer extant, but it was

also built at the manorial centre, within the area of the deserted medieval settlement and on the north bank of the River Suir. As the majority of the other tower houses in the barony are located close to major rivers but away from high medieval manorial centres it is likely that proximity to a river was the major factor in the location of all tower houses.

The tower house at Annaghs is located in the parish of Shanbogh, which has no obvious manorial centre. There is a church and graveyard in the townland of Shanbogh Upper, and the presence of a holy well at the site and nearby bullaun stones would suggest that this may have been a pre-Norman foundation. According to Empey the manor of Shanbogh was crosslands (Empey 1990, 85) and this may explain the absence of a manorial centre. The Butlers are traditionally credited with the construction of the tower house at Annaghs, and Carrigan quotes several late sixteenth-early seventeenth-century references to the Butlers holding Annaghs (Carrigan 2005, IV 195). There is pictorial evidence for a slipway and some attached buildings around the castle (Fleming 1910). This would illustrate that proximity to a major river was an important factor in the location of this tower house. It can also be argued that one of the factors which influenced the siting of both the tower house in Ballinlaw and the castle complex in Granny was the existence of a ferry in the immediate vicinity: the ferry at Drumdowney and the ferry at Granny respectively.

The manor of Kilmakevoge contains no obvious manorial centre. There is a church in the townland of Graiguenakill and since there is no other church or record of a church in the parish, we can assume that it was the parish church. The church is in poor condition with no datable features. The parish also contains the remains of three castles at Aylwardstown, Haggard and Carrickcloney, all of which are depicted in the *Down Survey* maps of the area but only one of which has upstanding remains. These castles would have been constructed in the late medieval period, indicating that during this period at least there was significant settlement in the parish. Only the castle at Carrickcloney has any upstanding remains and these remains are consistent with its identification as a tower house. The surviving remains of this tower house, which has been badly damaged, are two storeys in height and located on the banks of the River Barrow. This tower house again illustrates the preference of those commissioning tower houses in south Kilkenny for riverine locations.

3.7: Evidence for cross-cultural interactions in the documentary sources for Overk

The aim of this thesis is to examine the evidence for interactions between the Anglo-Normans and the Gaelic-Irish in the high and late medieval periods. The documentary sources provide plentiful evidence of interactions, both friendly and otherwise. The greater challenge is to extrapolate insights into the social and economic structure of society from this evidence. The degree to which archaeology can be useful in this regard underlies the present study. Writing in Kilkenny in the fourteenth century, Clyn creates an impression of the Irish as an 'adversary among whom the Anglo-Irish live, interact and coexist' (Williams 2007, Clyn's annals, 86). Clyn was writing in the aftermath of the Bruce invasion and in a period of increasing Irish aggression. It was also a period in which there were many quarrels between the Anglo-Irish. However, there is other evidence to suggest that the Gaelic-Irish held lands in the manors of the barony of Overk and that there were friendly interactions as well as hostilities. In 1253 in return for 40 marks of silver, Alan FitzMilo granted lands to the convent of Duiske. The lands granted included one carucate of lands with appurtances at Ballytarsne held by the Irish from Alan FitzMilo (*et unam carucatam terre cum suis pertinentiis que vocatur Balitarsne quam hibernienses dicti Alan predicto tennerunt*) (*Chart. Duiske Abbey*, 89). This charter clearly shows that the Irish continued to hold lands in Overk for sometime after the arrival of the Anglo-Normans. Similarly, in 1302 the presence of Irish tenants in the Rower is recorded when Henry de Rupe complains that Richard de Leygraue 'by force and against the peace, took from the *hibernici* of Henry, in the tenement of Rowr, 7 afers [small horses], 7 pigs and 3 cows, and drove them away to tenement of Richard Talun at Taghmolyng, and that said Richard with other evildoers does divers trespasses against *hibernici* of Henry, to his heavy damage against the peace' (*Cal. justic. rolls Ire.*, I 426). This deed indicates not only that Irish men were tenants in Overk but also that their landlord made representations on their behalf, against other Anglo-Norman settlers.

Clyn also records a single example of an English name with an Irish attachment Walter Óg de St Albino (Williams 2007, Clyn's annals, 220). A similar example is found in a rental dated to 1442-3, that mentions a number of tenants in Ullid, Henry Sweteman, Robert Boy, John White, Shane Roth and William More Walsh (*Ormond Deeds*, II

133). The tenants' names appear to be Anglo-Irish, but the use of the prefix 'More' to William More Walsh's surname indicates a certain level of ease with Irish.

There are several instances of people with what appear to be Irish names holding land in Overk, people with the 'O' prefix to their names. In some instances the names that follow the 'O' prefix are not obviously Irish and these may be examples of anglicised Irish names or gaelicised Norman names. For example, a rental of the Earl of Ormond, dated to 1411 includes a list of some of the tenants of the Rathkieran, some of whom had identifiably Anglo-Norman names such as Rothe. However, two of these tenants had the prefix O before their names, William O'Coyne and Thomas O'Coyne, suggesting that they were Gaelic-Irish (*Ormond Deeds*, II 299). The name Coyne could be an anglicised form of the Irish surname Ó Cúáin (from *cú* meaning hound) or Ó Cadhain (from *cadhan* meaning barnacle goose)(Hanks and Hodges 1988, 128).

Similarly, Pollrone appears to have continued to have Irish tenants under the Butlers. A rental of the Earl of Ormond, dated to November 1411, records 'the chief rent of Polroan'. Under this heading there is a list of tenants and the amount of rent they paid. The names include: James O'Dowan, Taige O'Brother, David O'Scandyll, Stephen O'Brother, Jonoc O'Donull and David O'Dowan (*Ormond Deeds*, II 300). The surname O'Brother was probably derived from the Irish name Ó Brudair while O'Scandyll is likely to be an anglicised version of Ó Scannaill (Hanks and Hodges 1988, 78, 473). Another rental of the Earl of Ormond, compiled the following year, lists David Wally, Andrew O'Barre and David O'Hewlan as tenants (*Ormond Deeds*, II 311). In September 1441 'Polrothane' along with Dunfenane and a certain weir called Corneyll were granted to Malachy O'Flynn by the Earl of Ormond (*Ormond Deeds*, III, 53). Finally, in 1413 Kilmacow was included in a list of royal service due to the lord of Overk and it was recorded as being by the 'hand of William O'Charra' (*Ormond Deeds*, II 317). O'Charra is derived from the Irish name Ó Carra, meaning spear (Hanks and Hodges 1988, 95).

Marriage between the Gaelic-Irish and the Anglo-Normans was used, in the early years of the colony at least, as a means of creating alliances (Williams 2007, Clyn's annals, 94). As time went on these marriages became less common at a higher level of society but still existed at a lower level. 'It is evident that such marriages were in fact

occurring and indeed were legislated against in 1350' (Williams 2007, 94). Evidence from Overk would suggest that this legislation may have been ineffective. In September 1375 Andrew, son of William McShaan, and his wife 'Egidia' daughter of John, son of Wadyn de Rupe quit-claimed to James Butler and his wife Elizabeth all their lands in 'Loghmony, Porthynhwyr, Rathkeran, Portferne, and a half carucate of land, formerly belonging to Geoffrey son of John de Rupe in the barony of Overk in county Kilkenny' (*Ormond Deeds*, II 143). Intermarriage led, in this case at least, to an increase in the amount of land in the hands of a Gaelic-Irish tenant. James Butler, earl of Ormond was married to Sabina MacMurrough Kavanagh in 1467 and there must have been a long standing family connection as they obtained a special dispensation from Rome due to their consanguinity (they were cousins) (*Ormond Deeds,* III 297). As already mentioned above, in 1314 Roger FitzMilo granted Pollrone to Edmund Butler, and at the same time instructed his tenants, both English and Irish, to give their allegiance to Butler (*Ormond Deeds*, I 198). This would suggest that it was acceptable, or at least accepted, to have both English and Irish tenants.

The manor of the Rower, located at the northeast corner of the barony, close to the Walsh Mountain, with its lords the de Rupes, appears to have been an area of significant interactions. The de Rupes, as mentioned above, were often in dispute with the local and national administration. In February 1320, for instance, Edmund Butler had a royal commission 'to treat and parley with the felons of the following (*parentela*) of Henry de Rupe of The Roure' (*Rot. Pat. Hib.*, 26) Empey argues that they seem to have become Gaelicised at a fairly early stage; and that the term *parentela*, translated as 'following', usually suggests the adoption of Irish customs (Empey 1997, 9). (See chapter six for a discussion of *parentelas*).

By 1357 the Roches had lost control of The Rower to the Earl of Ormond as a quit-claim of certain lands in The Rower in this year illustrates (*Ormond Deeds*, II 28). The Rower occupied a strategic position on the lower reaches of the River Nore and it could not be left in dangerous hands. However, in 1360, the Earl seems to have decided to overlook the Roche's past infringements and granted them part of his lands in the east of The Rower. In return for these lands, David and John Roche had to agree not to allow any of the 'MacMurroughs, O'Byrnes, O'Ryans or O'Codiltans as their tenants or any other rebel of the Lord King to dwell in said lands' (*Ormond Deeds*, II

58). Empey (1997, 9) has interpreted this deed as indicating that the Roches were to protect these lands from the unwelcome attentions of these Irish septs. However, it might indicate that the Roches had previously allowed the Irish to be tenants on their lands in The Rower and the Earl of Ormond was expressly forbidding them doing that again. The Statutes of Kilkenny enacted six years later, which attempted to reverse the tide of Gaelicisation indicate that by the mid-fourteenth century many of the Anglo-Norman lords had become heavily Gaelicised, perhaps through contact with their Irish tenants and neighbours.

3.8: Conclusion

When the archaeological and historical evidence for the medieval barony of Overk are combined, a picture emerges of an area that experienced a significant amount of Anglo-Norman settlement but in which Gaelic-Irish tenants continued to hold land. There is great diversity within this barony, with some parishes resembling the typical manor of midland England, while others have little or no evidence of Anglo-Norman settlement in the area. Many of the parishes with the greatest evidence of Gaelic-Irish activity and land ownership are located close to the Carlow Corridor or the upland areas that fringe the northern boundary of the barony. To further explore this diversity, two contrasting case study areas from the barony will be discussed in detail in chapter six.

This chapter also highlights the difficulty of identifying the settlement forms that the Gaelic-Irish would have inhabited during the high medieval period. Mottes and moated sites can be identified with comparative ease on the Overk landscape, but is much more difficult to ascertain which if any ringforts continued to be occupied in the high medieval period, without the benefit of excavated evidence. Even in those parishes where we know that the Gaelic-Irish were tenants, it is very difficult to establish where and in what type of settlement form they might have lived. There are many gaps in the distribution map of high medieval settlement in the barony and it is only through the examination of these gaps that we can begin to advance of the rural settlement in the high medieval period. If we examine in isolation only those monuments that have already been clearly identified as unambiguously high or late medieval date in isolation, we will develop only a partial understanding of the barony. Ballytarsney, Aglish, The Rower and Ullid are no less important to our understanding of this Anglo-

Norman dominated part of county Kilkenny than Fiddown, Clonamery and Portnascully. Land quality and proximity to one of the developing urban centres (Waterford, New Ross and Carrick-on-Suir) were clearly two of the major factors that influenced the development of Anglo-Norman manorial centres. Finally, a shift in settlement by the upper levels of society is indicated by the distribution of tower houses, the majority of which are not located at former manorial centres. This may reflect the development of a trade network along the Barrow and the Suir rivers, by the Waterford merchants who were acquiring land in the area.

Chapter 4 - An introduction to the historical archaeology of Clanmahon

The barony of Clanmahon was chosen to provide not only a contrasting study area to Overk, but also an area in which there was likely to have been significant interactions between the Anglo-Normans and the Gaelic-Irish. A number of baronies in south county Cavan were considered including Clanmahon, Clankee and Castlerahan. All three baronies have borders with medieval Meath and evidence of Anglo-Norman attempts to expand northward and establish control of them. Clanmahon seemed particularly suitable as initial surveys of the archaeology of the barony suggested that the historical archaeology of later medieval Clanmahon had received little academic attention and that there was evidence for an amount of Anglo-Norman activity, suggesting that there had been significant cross-cultural interactions within the barony. The barony of Clanmahon is located in what has been described as a frontier or border area, where Cavan, Meath and Westmeath meet; the limit of Anglo-Norman expansion northwards. These were permeable borders with significant interaction and expansion and contraction through time, especially in the early years of the colony. Frame has advocated the view that 'the frontier itself is not a thin line of segregation; it was a broad belt where men and customs met and interacted' (Frame 1984, 128). In his study of medieval Cavan, Parker (1995c, 37) suggested that instead of describing medieval Cavan as a border area it might perhaps be better to think, not in terms of one border but several. It is this interaction between the two cultures that the current study seeks to investigate.

This chapter will discuss the available historical and archaeological evidence for Clanmahon, with the aim of illustrating settlement in the barony in the high and later medieval periods. There are significantly less available documentary sources for Clanmahon compared to Overk, and this means that less detail can be provided on the level of the parish. Parker (1995c, 37) has argued that the geopolitical situation of medieval Cavan provides a bonus for historians. The contacts between its rulers and the Anglo-Normans means that the surviving material of the Anglo-Norman lordship of Ireland can be used to considerably augment the evidence which can be gleaned from an analysis of native Irish annalistic compilations (Parker 1995c, 37). The majority of the documentary evidence for the barony of Clanmahon has come from the

annalistic sources, but the Anglo-Norman sources have provided some valuable additional information.

First, the topography, drainage and soil types of the barony will be outlined to illustrate the landscape in which the historical events and archaeological sites were located. This will be followed by a description of pre-Norman Clanmahon. To understand the development and history of the barony of Clanmahon, it is necessary to discuss the formation of the kingdom of Bréifne, the rise of the O'Reillys and the split of Bréifne into East and West Bréifne. East Bréifne is roughly equivalent to modern county Cavan. It is not, however, within the scope of this thesis to provide an account of the entire history of Bréifne or even of East Bréifne. Instead a summary of the major events in the history of the area will be presented focusing on the complicated history of an area often used as a buffer between the Gaelic-Irish in Connacht and Ulster, with Anglo-Norman Meath. The history and archaeology of Clanmahon itself will also be discussed in detail. This chapter will conclude with a discussion of the later medieval history of Clanmahon and the Anglicisation of the O'Reillys.

4.1: Drainage and relief

The barony of Clanmahon is located in the southwest corner of the modern county of Cavan, it is bounded by county Meath to the southeast and county Westmeath to the southwest. The main body of the barony is sub-oval in shape with a projection to the east of the southern end, which curves around Lough Sheelin. To the east it is bounded by the barony of Castlerahan, to the northeast by Upper Loughtee and to the northwest by Tullyhunco.

There are two rivers named in the barony of Clanmahon on the OS Discovery series map, the Inny and the Erne. The Upper Inny forms the border between Clanmahon and Meath, flowing northwest into Lough Sheelin. This is the upper course of the Inny and at this early stage it is a small river with one significant tributary that flows south through Clanmahon to meet it. The Inny re-emerges on the southwest side of the Lough forming part of the border between counties Cavan and Westmeath before flowing into Lough Kinale and county Longford. The Erne flows southwest close to the northwest border of the barony from Lough Oughter to Lough Gowna. A third significant river flows through Clanmahon, west through the village of Mount Nugent

into Lough Sheelin. This river is not named in on the OS Discovery series maps of the area. There are also a number of smaller rivers and lakes in the interior of the barony.

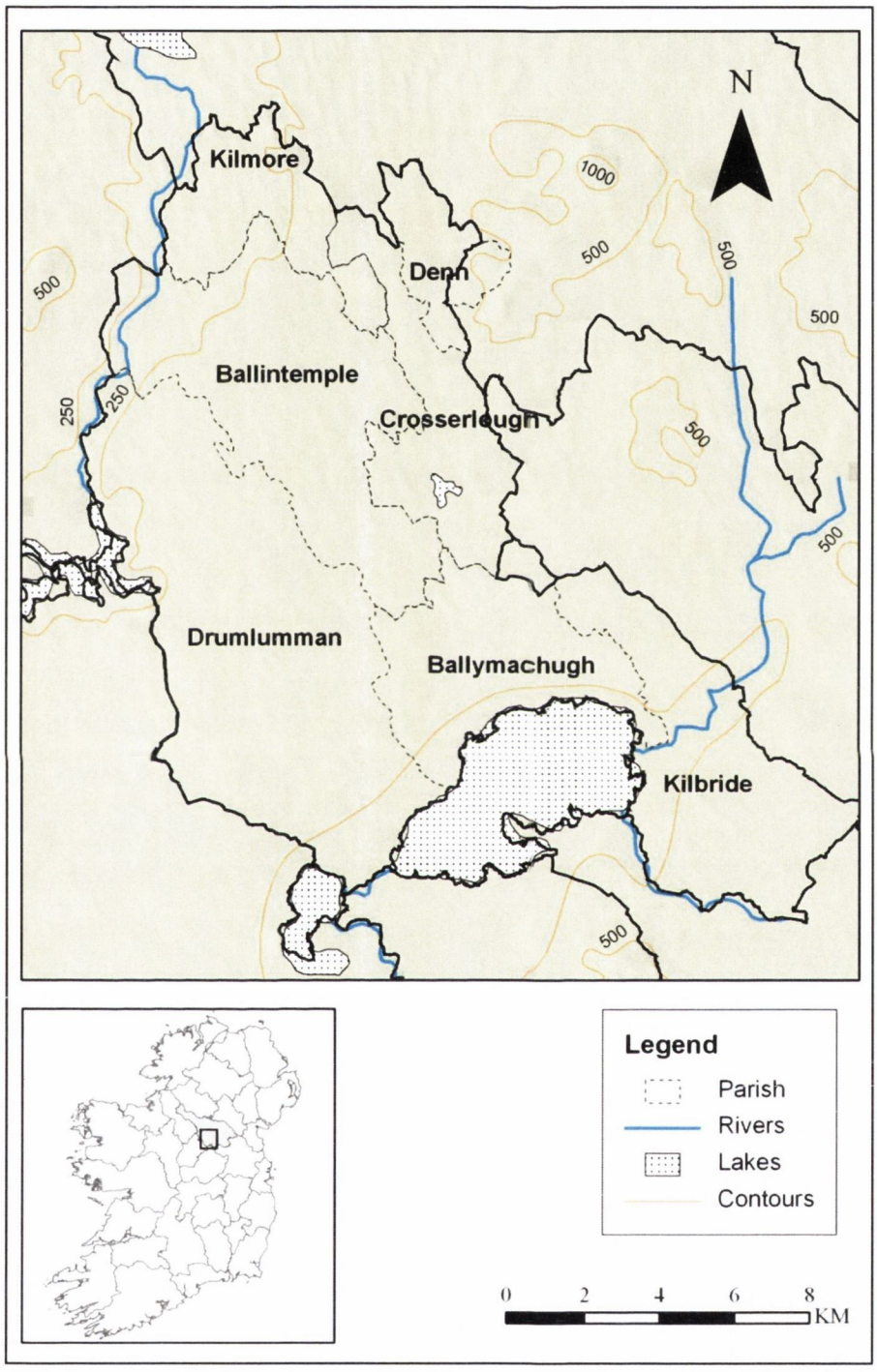


Fig. 4.1: Map showing the drainage and relief in Clanmahon and its civil parishes.

There are no large areas of higher ground in Clanmahon, but the north of the barony does contain numerous hills and small lakes, the classic basket of eggs drumlin

topography. This drumlin and lake topography covers the majority of the barony, with gaps at the Erne river valley and the area around the Inny and Lough Sheelin drainage area. There is an area of higher ground to the northwest, which effectively forms the boundary of the barony. The source of the Erne is located in this upland area.

4.2: Soil types and their potential uses

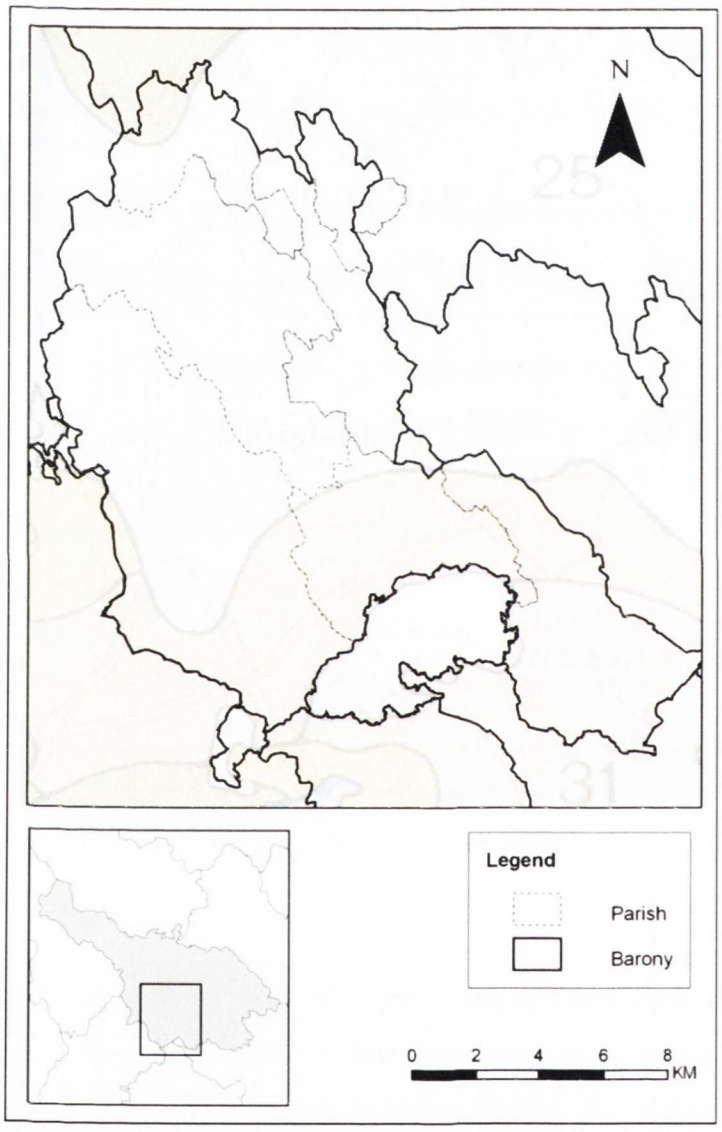


Fig. 4.2: Soil map overlaid with map of Clanmahon barony and its civil parishes (after Gardiner and Radford 1980).

Gardiner and Radford (1980) identified three different soil associations within the barony of Clanmahon in their island wide survey of soils. The northern half of the barony has a single soil association (25) which is also the dominant soil association for county Cavan as a whole. Soil association 25 is found in land types dominated by drumlins and their associated poorly drained soils. This soil type has a limited range of uses and is generally more suited to pasture than to arable agriculture. The slope of the drumlins makes them less suitable for tillage while the inter drumlin flats have a high peat content and have serious drainage problems. Their main use is for summer grazing (Gardiner and Radford 1980, 87).

The other two soil associations (31 and 14) are located at the southern end of the barony, close to Lough Sheelin. Soil association 14 occurs in areas of rolling lowland and is included in a list of six soil associations considered to be most suitable for tillage (Gardiner and Radford 1980, 135). This soil association is found north and west of Lough Sheelin, while east of the Lough in a land type described as flat to undulating lowlands, there are minimal grey brown podzolic soils (soil association 31). This soil association also has a wide range of uses, being suitable for both tillage and pasture. However, in Clanmahon and other north midland areas there is a climatic disadvantage leading to lower yields and later ripening of crops (Gardiner and Radford 1980, 99).

Fig. 4.3: Map of the barony of Clanmahon showing the areas of bog in brown. (*Maps of the Escheated Counties of Ulster* 1609).

While Gardiner and Radford's (1980) study of modern soils cannot give us an accurate impression of the soil types in the late medieval period, they are useful as a general guide to the potential use of the soils in the period. The seventeenth-century *Maps of the Escheated Counties of Ulster* and the *Down Survey* barony maps generally confirm this impression of the land quality. While they depict areas of bogland throughout Clanmahon, these boggy areas are more extensive and more numerous in the northern part of the barony (see fig. 4.3). The results suggest that the barony can be divided into distinct regions on the basis of their soil types. The southern part of the barony,

focused around Lough Sheelin has fertile soils suitable for both tillage and pasture. The rest of the barony, however, is dominated by poorly drained drumlin soils and consequently has a more limited land use, mainly confined to grazing.

4.3: Clanmahon before the Normans

O'Connell has stated that there is evidence to show that the present baronies of Castlerahan, Clanmahon, Clankee and parts of Upper Loughtee and Tullygarvey, all in modern county Cavan, were once included in the kingdom of Tara and were ruled over by the 'Galienga' and 'Luigni' (O'Connell 1958, 5). The 'Gailenga' and 'Luigni' do not appear to have been independent population groups. They claimed descent from a common ancestor, 'Cormac Gailenga', and there does not appear to have been a clear line of demarcation between their territories (O'Connell 1958, 5). The waning of their power corresponded to a large degree with the extension of the influence of the *Ui Briúin* into Bréifne during the ninth to the eleventh century (O'Connell 1958, 12). In the ninth century the 'Galienga' and 'Luigni' still retained considerable power in the district of Loch Ramor and they allied with Vikings, using Kells as a base for their joint raiding expeditions (O'Connell 1958, 13). By the eleventh century the territory of the 'Gailenga' and 'Luigni' had been restricted to present county Meath, annalistic references to them become fewer in the twelfth century and are absent altogether in the thirteenth century.

4.4: The formation of the kingdom of Bréifne

The Ui Briúin, the dominant dynasty in Connacht in the eighth century had broken into three main lines in the previous century: 'Ui Briúin Aei', the 'Ui Briúin Séola' and the Ui Briúin Bréifne. The Uí Briúin Bréifne moved north to occupy the region of Bréifne that was described by the *Annals of Clonmacnoise* as 'ye rough third part of Connaught' (*AC,* 765). The first known reference to a king of Bréifne is recorded in the *Annals of Ulster* (*AU*, 792) in 792 when the King of Bréifne, Cormac Mac Donghaile died. There are very few references to Bréifne is the sources between 791 and 940, possibly because this was a peaceful period in Connacht's history, with no challenge to the Ui Briúin Aei for the kingship, or the involvement of its kings in events outside it. Séan Fheargal who became the chief of Bréifne in 945, was the first of the Ui Briúin Bréifne to take the name O'Rourke or Ui Ruairc after his grandfather Ruairc. The twin objectives of becoming kings of Connacht and conquering Meath

occupied the ambitions of all the O'Rourke chiefs from Séan Fheargal to Tighearnán Mór in the twelfth century. Four O'Rourkes achieved the kingship of Connacht, Fheargal was the first and the last was Domhnall O'Rourke in 1095. The rise of strong O'Connor kings in the twelfth century forced the O'Rourkes to abandon their claim to the kingship of Connacht and turn their attention to Meath.

The area of Bréifne had been a buffer area between competing factions in Ireland since before the arrival of the Ui Briúin Bréifne (O'Connell 1958, 5), mainly due to its position adjacent to modern County Meath, which was in the past the kingdom of Tara. This continued to be the case in the tenth and eleventh centuries with Bréifne acting as a buffer between the ambitions of the Southern Ui Neill and the Northern Ui Neill for the Kingship of Tara (Mac an Ghallóglaigh 1988, 524). Tighearnán Mór O'Rourke is probably the best known of the O'Rourke chiefs, mainly due to the role he and his wife are alleged to have played in the MacMurrough's decision to invite the Anglo-Normans to come to Ireland and help him regain his kingdom. He ruled over Bréifne for fifty years which was an unusually long period of time and he extended the borders of Bréifne south over Teathbha (Longford) as far as the River Inny and south east across Meath as far as the Boyne at Dowth (Mac an Ghallóglaigh 1988, 531).

4.5: The rise of the O'Reillys

Bréifne's position as a buffer between O'Connor on one side and the rising power of Mac Lochlainn on the other meant that Tighearnán was forced to switch his allegiance regularly making him an unreliable ally (Mac an Ghallóglaigh 1988, 531). This together with the rivalry and ill-feeling between O'Rourke and MacMurrough created a situation in which the O'Reillys could begin to assert themselves. The Ui Briúin Bréifne had divided into two groups; the ancestors of the O'Rourkes; and the Muintir Maelmordha, named after Maelmordha who probably lived in the ninth century (Parker 1991, 156). The Muintir Maelmordha assumed the surname O'Reilly from Raghallach who lived *c.*1000. The first annalistic reference to them in East Bréifne comes in 1126 (*Misc. Ir. Annals*, I 1126), but they were probably established in the area for a century before (Parker 1991, 156).

In 1154, two years after the abduction of Tighearnán's wife Dervorgilla by Mac Murrough, the O'Reillys took a leading part in a general revolt of the men of Bréifne

against Tighearnán (K. Simms 1979, 306). This is the first reference to a challenge of the O'Rourkes by the O'Reillys but these were to continue throughout the rest of the twelfth and the first half of the thirteenth century. The O'Reillys could only achieve an independent kingdom of their own at the expense of the O'Rourkes (Mac an Ghallóglaigh 1988, 547).

4.6: The extent of the Barony

While the barony was an obvious unit of study for an area dominated by the Anglo-Normans in the later medieval period, it is more problematic in largely Gaelic-Irish areas like Cavan. There is much less certainty to any attempts to retrace former territorial boundaries in these areas. MacCotter's (2008) recent study that attempted to recreate the territorial divisions of Ireland *c.*1200 illustrates the frustration of such a task. In his gazetteer MacCotter outlines the composition of the *trícha cets* in Ireland, which he argues were co-terminous with the rural deanery. While his work includes a map which shows the island of Ireland neatly divided into a series of named *trícha cets,* an examination of his justification for each area reveals that there are substantial areas, of Cavan at least, that are not accounted for. He assigns the parishes of Ballymachugh and Drumlumman to the *trícha* of Cairpre Gabhra on the basis of their inclusion in Granard Deanery in two seventeenth century documents (*Inq. in officio rot. canc. hib.*, App., VII; MacCotter 2008, 201). He also indicates that this *trícha* was incorporated into the Uí Ruairc overkingdom of Bréifne. He argues, that the *trícha* of Cairpre Gabhra continued to exist in the thirteenth century and references a series of annalistic entries dating to the eleventh and twelfth centuries as well as an entry from the *C.D.I.* dating to the late thirteenth century. His final reference provides the strongest evidence that these *tríchas* continued to exist in the twelfth century. In a document dated to 1161 by MacNiocaill the 'son of Rónán King of Cairpre Gabra' is mentioned (MacNiocaill 1990, 159). However, it is possible that the title 'King of Cairpre Gabra' could have been in use even after the kingdom had ceased to exist. MacCotter states that the parish of Ballintemple was probably part of the *trícha* of Muintir Máel Mórda, as well as those parts of the parishes of Kilmore, Denn and Crosserlough that are outside the barony of Clanmahon (MacCotter 2008, 220). However, the map would appear to indicate that those parts of the parishes of Kilmore, Denn and Crosserlough that are within Clanmahon are also included in this trícha. The

parish of Kilbride appears from the map to be included, with the Meath parish of Kilbride, in the Trícha of Corkaree and Tyrebeggan.

In 1199 Richard Tuite was granted lands that included Granard, county Longford where he erected a castle 'as a stronghold against O'Reilly in south Breifny' (*ALC* 1199; Orpen 1907, 239). This would indicate that at this date the southwest border of Bréifne extended towards Granard. There is evidence that by the beginning of the fifteenth century, at least, the barony of Clanmahon had been established, and at this date it seemed to encompass a larger area than the modern barony. The *Genealogical History of the O'Reillys* records that Eoghan na Feasóige granted Ruaidhrí son of Risdeard Óg 'the barony of Clanmahon from the castle of Kilmore to the castle of Baile Fobhair' (Carney 1959, 96). *Baile Fobhair* is the Irish name for Fore, county Westmeath, and the SMR records the presence of a motte and bailey castle there. As noted above the castle in Kilmore, probably refers to the large motte and bailey castle located adjacent to the cathedral in Kilmore. It is unclear whether this grant of land from Kilmore to Fore is an accurate reflection of the extent of the barony or a partially speculative grant.

The *Annals of Bréifne* close with a note on the portion of Clanmahon taken from Bréifne by the Nugents and Plunketts 'From Béal Átha Fiodha an Átha to Gearradh Chinn Choraidh and from Béal Átha na mBó to Béal Átha na cCeannaidheadh'. De hÓir (1970, *AB*), who published the *Annals of Bréifne,* has identified many of the placenames mentioned in the annals including three of the placenames above. Béal Átha Fiodha an Átha is located beside Finnea, county Westmeath, while Gearradh Chinn Choraidh is described as being located above ('os ceann') Bhaile Fhobhair or Fore, in the narrowing of Lough Lene. De hÓir does not suggest a modern placename for Béal Átha na mBó, but he does identify Béal Átha na cCeannaidheadh as Tubride, located southeast of the town of Oldcastle in county Meath. It would therefore appear that the lands taken from Clanmahon by the Nugents and Plunketts were located in the modern counties of Meath and Westmeath and outside the extent of the modern barony.

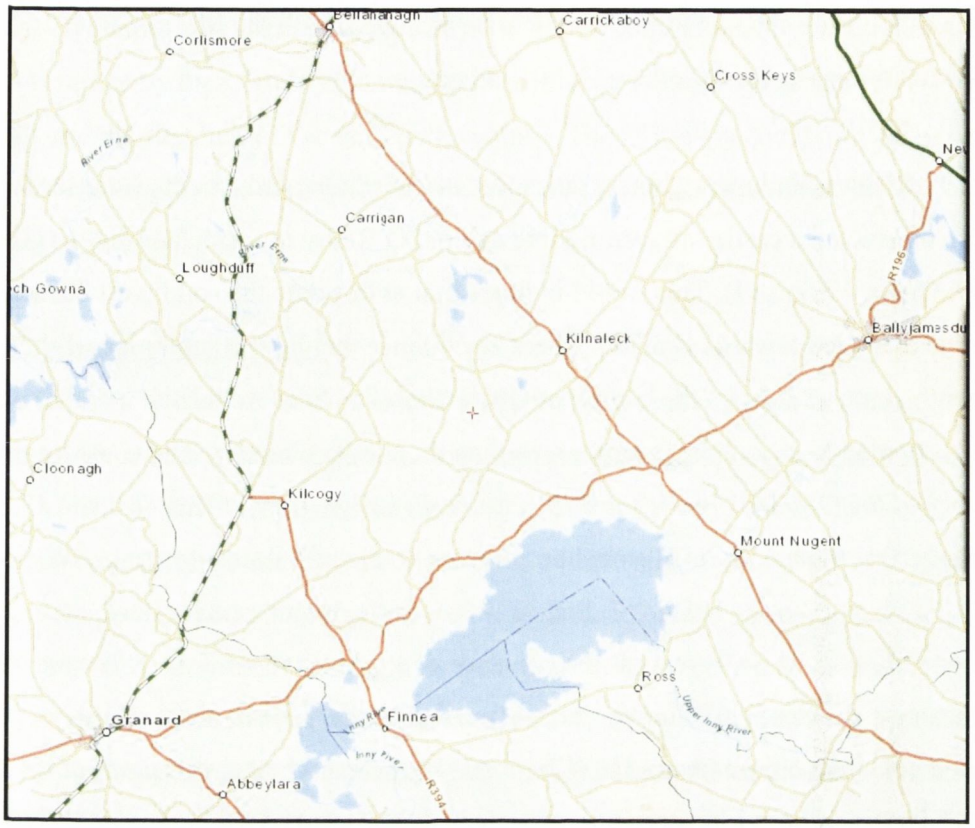


Fig. 4.4: Map showing the area of Clanmahon barony and the towns in the surrounding area (Street map from *Ordnance Survey Ireland* Map Viewer).

Parker (1995c, 37) argues that East Bréifne was identifiable with the area of control of the O'Reillys, its ruling family. The area had become a separate political entity through their actions and it was their actions that maintained its independence. However, the extent and nature of their control varied, sometimes from one ruler to the next. It may therefore be impossible to establish a definitive set of boundaries for Clanmahon as they too are likely to have retreated and advanced through time. The establishment of the barony of Clanmahon is likely to have been linked to the rise of Clan Mathghamhain in the early fourteenth century and its boundaries are likely to have reflected the fortunes of its chiefs. In an article entitled 'The making of the Cavan landscape', Duffy (1995, 27) argued that 'the early political territories of Gaelic Ireland – the tuatha - may have disappeared by the late middle ages, but their shadowy reflections can be seen in many barony boundaries'. Although it is unclear whether the boundaries of the modern barony of Clanmahon would have had any meaning for the people of the area in the twelfth century, we can suggest that by sometime in the thirteenth century the boundaries of the modern barony would, to some extent, have

resembled the territorial divisions, the people of the area would have been familiar with.

4.7: East Bréifne and the Anglo-Normans

The O'Reillys exploited the changes in the Irish political situation created by the arrival of the Anglo-Normans to further their own ambitions. Geofraidh O'Reilly was among those chieftains who submitted to MacMurrough after he had regained his kingdom of Leinster and was among the very few to remain loyal to Strongbow after MacMurrough died, and the other Irish leaders rose in revolt against him. He was even found at the earl's side during the siege of Dublin when with O'Rourke and the High King encamped outside the gates, the Earl's cause appeared to be lost (K. Simms 1979, 306). The *Song of Dermot and the Earl* shows O'Reilly as being persistently associated with Richard de Clare (Orpen 1994, 129, 133, 141). K. Simms (1979, 306) has suggested that this may in part be attributable to the historical antipathy between the O'Reilly and Tighearnán O'Rourke.

In 1172 Hugh de Lacy received a grant of the kingdom of Meath from Henry II and from this date he was anxious to end Tighearnán O'Rourke's influence both in Meath itself and along its borders (Parker 1995c, 38). The *Gormanston Register* records that John, then lord of Ireland, earl of Mortain granted Walter de Lacy the whole land which Gilbert de Angulo had held 'beyond the lakes of *Therebrun*' in 1196 (*Gormanston Register*, f.5 dors.). Orpen (1920, III 32) has argued that the 'lakes of *Therebrun*' is a reference to Lough Oughter. The diocese of Kilmore is also known as 'Tír Briúin'. The *Annals of Lough Cé* (*ALC* 1196) record that in the same year there was 'a predatory hosting by the foreigners of Meath, into the territory of Uí Briuin; but O Ruairc, with his people encountered them, the foreigners were defeated and countless numbers of them were slain'. This suggests that Walter de Lacy's land grant was largely a speculative one and that he encountered opposition when trying to enforce his grant.

In 1211 Walter de Lacy constructed Kilmore castle (a large motte and bailey castle) in East Bréifne as one of a series of fortifications built to secure a roadway that would isolate that part of Ulster still under Irish control (Parker 1991, 157). In 1215 Walter, son of Hugh de Lacy, regained control of Meath and 'soon began to expand his borders

at the expense of the neighbouring Irish in Bréifne' (K. Simms 1979, 307). In 1220 he attacked and captured O'Reilly's stronghold on Lough Oughter and by 1224 he had built a castle there which is probably Clough Oughter, a round castle, dated architecturally and also through excavation to the thirteenth century (Manning 1989-90). 'This meant that the O'Reillys who had long fought against the O'Rourkes control, even to the point of assisting the Norman conquest, now found that they had exchanged one hard taskmaster for another still more oppressive' (K. Simms 1979, 307). Parker (1995c, 39) argues that this military conquest was not accompanied by settlement or colonisation. He argues that the de Lacys did not appear to be interested in settling the area; instead they hoped to exploit the area as a buffer zone against the Irish of Ulster and Connacht.

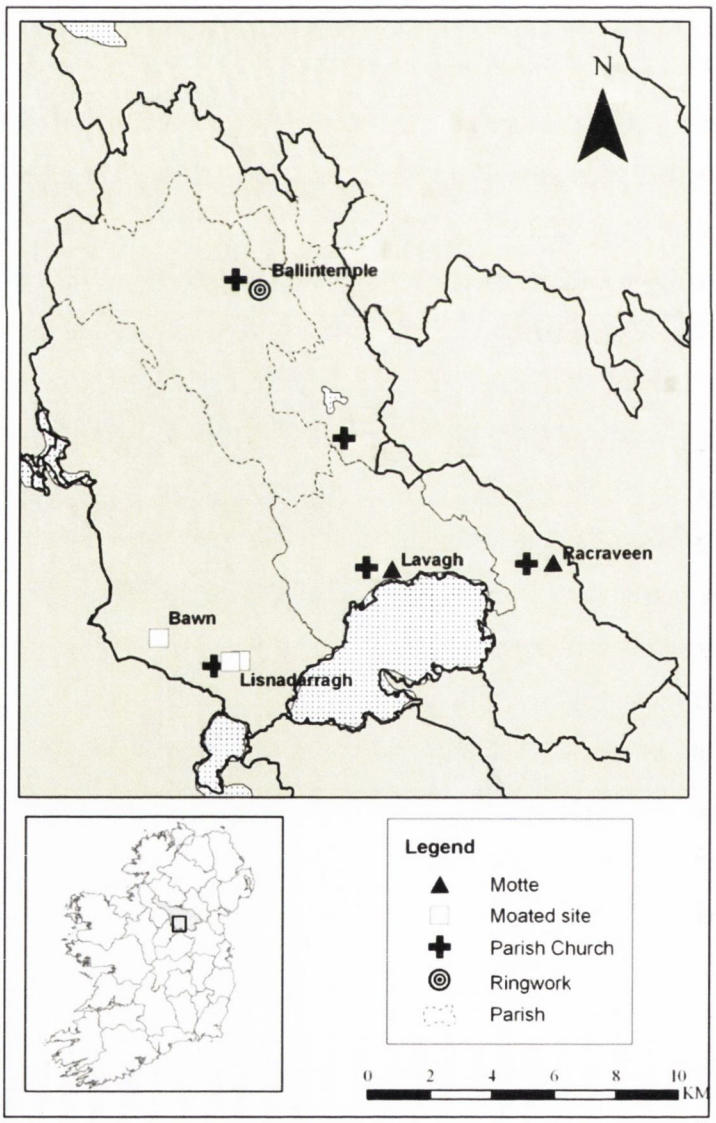


Fig. 4.5: Map showing the possible Anglo-Norman sites in the barony of Clanmahon.

The archaeological evidence indicates that there was an Anglo-Norman presence in Clanmahon, possibly during the de Lacy attempt to assert their control of the area. There are two mottes and one possible motte in the barony of Clanmahon and they are all located close to the Clanmahon-Meath border. The parish of Ballymachugh contains a motte in the townland of Lavagh. The motte in Lavagh is located on the north shore of Lough Sheelin, the effective border of Clanmahon, close to the church in Lavagh. This juxtaposition of earthwork castle and church has been viewed as an indicator of the former presence of a manorial centre. Perhaps these sites should be interpreted as a manorial centre constructed as part of an attempt to advance the Anglo-Norman conquest northwards. The motte has been incorporated into a garden and is likely to have been modified. There is no trace of a bailey, and none is depicted on the *Ordnance Survey* First Edition six-inch map, though by this date a dwelling had already been constructed close to the motte. The motte is *c.*3-4m in height and the diameter of the top of the motte measures 22.10m (N-S) by 27.70m (E-W). There is small rectangular hollow in the centre of the top of the mound, which measures 1.80m (N-S) by 1.10m (E-W), but it is unclear when this hollow was formed or what its function may have been.

Fig. 4.6: Map showing the location of the motte and church in Lavagh, which are *c.*450m apart (based on the street map from the *Ordnance Survey Ireland* Map Viewer).

A modern Church of Ireland church dedicated to St. Paul now occupies the church site. This church is contained within a rectangular graveyard and there is little evidence for an earlier foundation on the site. However, Davies (1948b, 80) who recorded the churches of county Cavan in the 1940s states that the church was located on a low rise in what was probably a circular graveyard. The presence of a circular graveyard around the church may indicate an earlier monastic foundation. Davies (1948b, 73-77) also includes Ballymachugh in his catalogue of church sites mentioned in documents of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

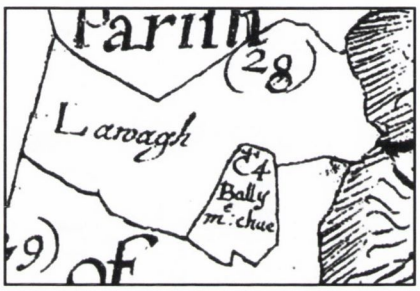


Fig. 4.7: Lavagh townland and the church lands of Ballymachugh as depicted on the *Down Survey* map of the barony of Clanmahon.

However, neither the *Down Survey* barony map for Clanmahon, or the *Maps of the Escheated Counties of Ulster*, both compiled in the seventeenth century contain a depiction of the church at this site. The *Maps of the Escheated Counties of Ulster* depicted five churches within the barony, but none of these are on the site at Lavagh and no church is depicted within the parish of Ballymachugh. The *Down Survey* contains a small area adjacent to the townland of Lavagh, which is labelled 'Ballymachugh'. This area is located in a similar position to the townland of Glebe on the *Ordnance Survey* maps of the area that suggests that these were lands owned by the church. No documentary references to this site have yet been uncovered. It is possible that this motte was constructed as a defended outpost on the Bréifne/Meath border rather than as part of a manorial centre.

A similar juxtaposition of earthwork castle and church occurs in the parish of Kilbride, *c.*2km from Lough Sheelin and *c.*6km from the Meath border. A motte and bailey castle is located in the townland of Racraveen, while a church site and graveyard are located in the adjacent townland (*c.*350m NW) of Gallonreagh. The motte and bailey is located on a bend in the Mountnugent (or Inny) river that encircles the northeast half of the site. The rest of the site appears to have been enclosed by a wide shallow fosse. The motte is a high, steep sided, flat-topped oval earthen mound, the summit of which is enclosed by a low earthen bank. On the flat top of the motte there are the foundations of the rectangular stone building (int. dims. *c.*8m E-W; *c.*6m N-S). These

foundations appear to be the remains of a tower house as one is depicted in the townland of 'Racknaun' near a church in 'Kilbreidy' at the location of the site in Racraveen on the *Maps of the Escheated Counties of Ulster*. Davies (1947a, 87) has speculated that this may be the location of a Nugent castle noted in historical documents, but this would date the site to the later medieval period. Therefore while the possible tower house might have been a Nugent castle it is clear that the motte would not have been constructed during this period.

Fig. 4.8: Photo of the remains of a possible tower house on Racraveen motte.

Fig. 4.9: The church of 'Kilbreidy' (Gallonreagh) and the possible tower house in Racraveen.

The church site at Gallonreagh is occupied by a disused roughly circular graveyard containing a large number of eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth century inscribed gravestones, the earliest of which dates to 1720. The graveyard also contains uninscribed gravemarkers. There is no visible trace of the church depicted on the *Maps of the Escheated Counties of Ulster*.

The final site in the barony listed on the RMP as a motte is a possible example in the townland of Moat. It is located close to the north shore of Lough Sheelin, with extensive views of the lake. Trees and bushes heavily obscure this earthwork and modern fence banks contact the lower part of the mound on the S, NW, NE and SE. The site consists of a circular, flat-topped mound or platform, 3-4m in height, and *c*.22m in diameter at the top. An earthen bank has been constructed against the lower half of the platform creating a terraced effect. There is a fosse at the base of the mound or platform, but there is no surviving evidence of an external bank. The field reports for this site compiled by the *Archaeological Survey of Ireland* (*ASI*), in 1977 and 1986 conclude that this site maybe a motte or a platform ringfort. However, its classification in the *Archaeological inventory of county Cavan* as a motte, could be justified on the basis that the motte is located within the townland of Moat. Davies (1947b, 13) argued that this mound was 'built in imitation of a Norman structure' but was constructed by the Gaelic-Irish (see chapters six and eight for further discussion of this monument). No documentary references to this site have been uncovered during initial research on the parish.

Fig. 4.10: Moat platform ringfort, Ballymachugh, Clanmahon.

As will be discussed in detail in chapters six and eight, a circular earthwork in the townland of Ballintemple, county Cavan has been re-interpreted as a ringwork castle. The site is listed as a ringfort in the SMR (CV031-008---), but an examination of its morphology has indicated that this site has the morphology and dimensions of a ringwork castle. The earthwork consists of a circular platform, enclosed by a massive fosse and external bank and there is a low berm or bank on the edge of the platform.

The morphology of this site and its location *c.*420m from the site of a parish church would suggest this site should be classified as a ringwork castle. The de Lacy's granted the tithes of the parish of Ballintemple to the priory in Fore at the end of the twelfth century (Masterson 2003) indicating that they had some control of the area at this date. It is therefore possible that this ringwork, like the motte and bailey in Kilmore were part of the de Lacy attempts to gain control of Bréifne.

Fig. 4.11: Map showing the location of the ringwork castle and medieval parish church site in Ballintemple.

There are two moated sites and two possible moated sites within the barony of Clanmahon, the two moated sites and one of the possible examples are located in the parish of Drumlumman (see fig 7.2 for map of moated sites in Drumlumman). The moated sites at Carrickabane and Bawn are large, rectangular sites (65m x 40m and 66.5m x 59.5m respectively), located 2.7km apart. Both sites have substantial banks and ditches, at Bawn moated site the top of the bank is 1.5m to 2.3m in height above the base of the flat-bottomed, dry fosse, while at Carrickabane the top of the bank is 3m in height above the base of the fosse on the W side. The nearby site at Lisnadarragh is depicted as a rectangular enclosure on the *Ordnance Survey* First Edition six-map of the area, but it is not included on later editions. There are no upstanding remains of this site on the modern landscape. These mottes, ringwork

castles and moated sites can be interpreted as either evidence of Anglo-Norman (De Lacy) settlement in the area or as part of an attempt to secure the borders of the Anglo-Norman controlled area. Distribution maps of these mottes and moated sites suggest that these mottes and moated sites form a frontier between Bréifne and Meath. Further analysis of the distribution will be included in subsequent chapters.

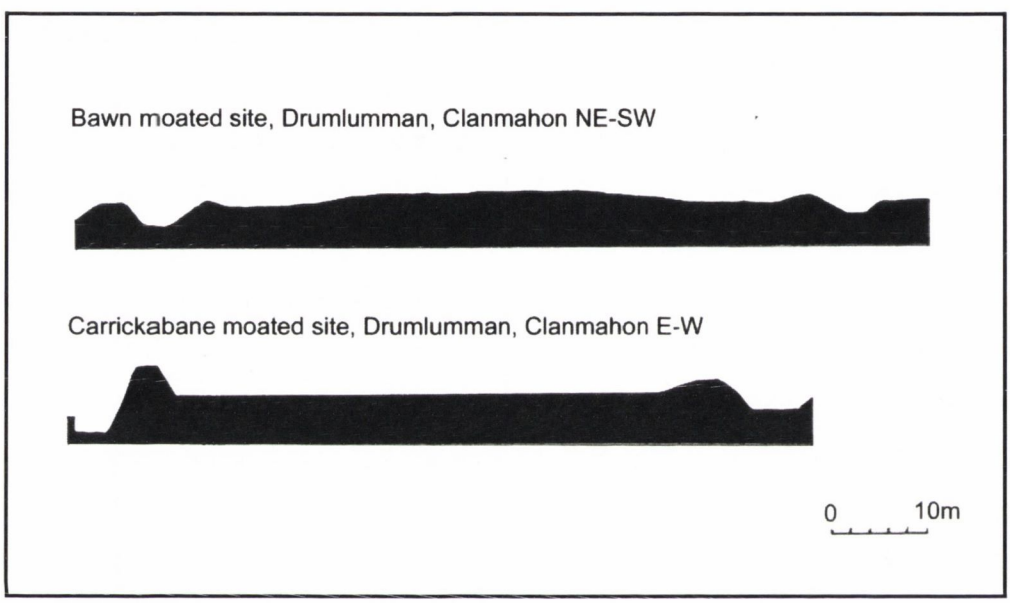


Fig. 4.12: Profile of moated sites in Bawn and Carrickabane.

Anglo-Norman involvement in the area continued when in 1221 de Lacy granted the entire kingdom of Bréifne from Lough Oughter to the Lough Erne to his vassal de Nangle (or Costello) (Morrin 1862, 197; Simms 1979). William de Lacy undertook to build three castles in the area for de Nangle, who was to render the service of three knights in return. In a letter to Henry II, written in 1224 by Cathal Croibdhearg O'Connor, king of Connacht he complained that it wasn't de Nangle, but Walter's half brother, William Gorm de Lacy who had seized Bréifne (*C.D.I.*, I 180). William Gorm was the son of Hugh de Lacy and Rose O'Connor, daughter of the former high king Ruairi O'Connor (K. Simms 1979, 307). This period of Anglo-Norman domination of East Bréifne was very brief and the beginning of the end came in 1224 after the defeat of an abortive rebellion against King Henry III launched by William and Walter de Lacy (Parker 1991, 157). The motive for this unsuccessful rebellion was to pressurise the King to restore the Earldom of Ulster to Walter's brother Hugh (Parker 1995c, 39). William retreated to his lands in East Bréifne and took refuge in Clogh Oughter. An

army led by William Marshal the Younger went to Clough Oughter to capture him, and Cathal Beithigh O'Reilly actively participated in attempts to defeat de Lacy. 'Once again the leader of the O'Reilly family had actively supported invaders from outside in order to check a local tyrant' (K. Simms 1979, 308). At this stage Cathal was merely a local chief, the leader of the Muintir Maelmordha, as the aim of establishing an independent O'Reilly territory had still to be realised and both the O'Rourkes and the de Lacys stood in Cathal's way (K. Simms 1979, 308). Cathal wanted to step into the vacuum in Bréifne left by de Lacy's fall from grace and he destroyed the castle in Kilmore. The castle in Kilmore is not mentioned again in the contemporary sources (Orpen 1920, III, 33). In 1233 William Gorm de Lacy launched a final attempt to regain Bréifne, but it was unsuccessful and William died from wounds he received in the campaign. East Bréifne was free from English aggression for the next 150 years (Parker 1991, 157). While the O'Reillys initially allied themselves with the arriving Anglo-Normans, attempts by the de Lacys to absorb Bréifne into their kingdom of Meath, pushed the O'Reillys into alliances with their Irish neighbours.

Cathal O'Reilly becomes linked with the O'Connor kings of Connacht in the 1220s, as they were also anxious to contest Bréifne with O'Rourke. Feidlim O'Connor the king of Connacht, viewed the O'Reillys as a buffer against Anglo-Norman penetration into northwest Ireland (Parker 1995c, 39). O'Rourke power had been shattered by the Anglo-Normans and they now found themselves squeezed between O'Reilly on the east and O'Connor on the west (K. Simms 1979, 309). The collapse of O'Rourke's power and the fact that the colonists were out of favour with the King made this the ideal time for O'Reilly to assert himself. However, his ally O'Connor, had designs on west Bréifne and their alliance had soured by 1243 and Feidhlim, King of Connacht and his son Aedh became protectors of O'Rourke (Parker 1991, 158). The O'Reilly alliance with the FitzGeralds angered the O'Neills of Tyrone who launched a series of raids into east Bréifne in 1255. The O'Neills were allies with the O'Connors and tensions in east Bréifne reached breaking point later that year when O'Connor installed a rival puppet regime in east Bréifne under Cathal O'Reilly's son, Con (Parker 1995c, 40).

The Battle of Magh Sleacht, 1256, was an important watershed in the history of Bréifne. The battle came about when the O'Reillys allied with Lord Walter de Burgh

against the O'Connors, who had granted the kingship of Bréifne to their O'Rourke favourite, Conchobhair mac Thighernain the previous year. O'Reilly and de Burgh were to rendezvous near Lough Allen, but this didn't happen and Cathal and Cu Chonnacht O'Reilly retreated homewards. They were pursued homewards and were eventually defeated in a great slaughter at Magh Sleacht. They were not only defeated but 'a considerable section of their royal cohort had been eliminated' (Parker 1991, 159). In the immediate aftermath of the battle the O'Rourkes regained overlordship of the entire kingdom of Bréifne, but this was short lived. Their ally, O'Connor soon turned his attention to his Anglo-Norman rivals once he had neutralised the threat from the O'Reillys (Parker 1995c, 40). The most significant outcome of the Battle of Magh Slecht was that from this point the two Bréifnes, east and west, were permanently divided. The O'Reillys were henceforth unable to control Bréifne west of Slieve an Iarainn and the O'Rourkes were confined to west Bréifne (Parker 1991, 159).

4.8: The O'Reillys and East Bréifne

The later thirteenth century saw an improvement in the fortunes of the O'Reillys. The O'Connors descended into internecine feuding after the death of Aedh O'Connor, from which they rarely emerged in the medieval period. The actions of Giolla Iosa Ruadh O'Reilly, a grandson of Cathal na Beithigh and son of Domhnall Ruadh, both of whom died at Magh Slecht, were responsible in a large measure for a renaissance in the fortunes of the O'Reillys (Parker 1995c, 40). Giolla Iosa's first major challenge was the threat posed by the Clann Muircheataigh O'Connor, the descendants of a brother of Ruaidhri O'Connor, the last high king of Ireland. They left O'Connor territory in the mid-thirteenth century and lived an itinerant existence. They lived among the O'Rourkes in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century from where they launched attacks on the O'Reillys. This had caused Giolla Iosa's predecessor to move his residence further east from Drumlane to Tullymongan. Giolla Iosa finally defeated them in 1319 at the battle of Kilmore (Parker 1991, 41).

Part of the reason for Giolla Iosa success in withstanding attacks from the Clann Muircheataigh O'Connor was due to his cultivation of links with the Richard de Burgh, Earl of Ulster, one of the most powerful barons in Ireland. Giolla Iosa recognised de Burgh as his overlord, and de Burgh did not attempt to conquer East Bréifne. He was content instead to have his overlordship recognised and to enjoy the

benefits of the situation (Parker 1995c, 41). De Burgh intervened on Giolla Iosa's behalf with the government of the Anglo-Norman lordship and was instrumental in preventing the trials of some of the O'Reillys when they were arrested for raiding Nobber in county Meath. This paternalistic relationship ended with the death of the Earl in 1326 as his heir could not maintain a similar network of influence (Parker 1995c, 41). However, 'Richard de Burgh's involvement with Bréifne established a precedent which was to become a feature of the area's history in the fifteenth century whereby prominent Anglo-Norman noblemen utilised their influence within Bréifne (and other Gaelic lordships) in order to consolidate their broader political prestige' (Parker 1995c, 41).

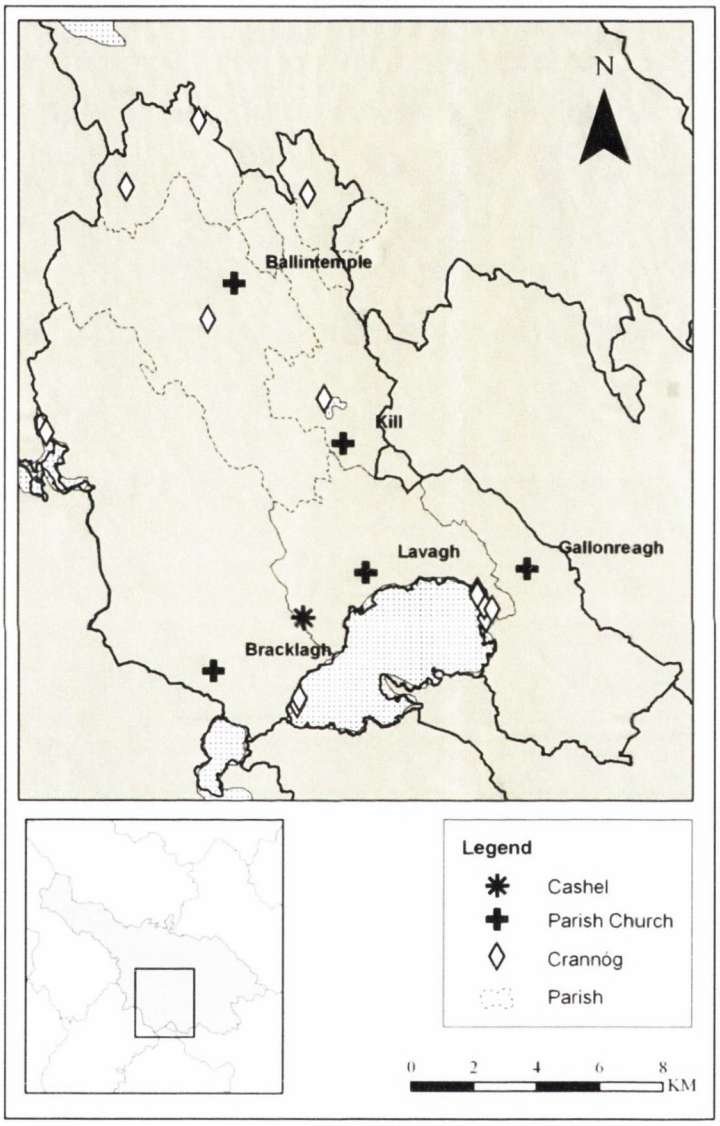


Fig. 4.13: Map showing the crannógs and cashel in Clanmahon (with parish churches labelled).

Where did the O'Reilly chiefs and other Gaelic-Irish people live from the mid-twelfth to the fifteenth century? As has already been discussed in chapter two research into the settlement forms occupied by the Gaelic-Irish in the high medieval period has only recently begun. Research to date has suggested that the Gaelic-Irish continued to occupy ringforts, crannógs and cashels as well as moated sites. As there has been little modern, scientific excavation in Clanmahon very few of these sites can be accurately dated. Instead we must depend on other evidence, including antiquarian accounts, and documentary

references. There is archaeological evidence that two crannógs were occupied during the later medieval period. These crannógs are located in the townlands of Dillagh and Kevit Upper, with another tentative example in Drumcarban.

Crannógs have traditionally been studied within the context of the early medieval period. However work by O'Conor (1998 and Brady and O'Conor 2005) and others has argued that they were inhabited in the later medieval period and this argument has found general acceptance. The large number of stray finds from the medieval period on these sites may indicate that some of these sites were inhabited from the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries. The identification of the stone foundations of rectangular houses on crannógs in Roscommon would suggest that these sites were occupied after 1200 (O'Conor 1998, 79). The crannóg at Island McHugh, county Tyrone has produced evidence for occupation in the thirteenth/ fourteenth century (Barry 2003a, 19).

When Dillagh Lake, in Ballintemple parish was drained in the 1980s a crannóg was discovered. The lake was quite small, *c.*20 acres in extent and was surrounded by extensive marshland. The crannóg was located 10m from the original shoreline and was between 18m and 20m in diameter. When the site was inspected shortly after the lake was drained, spreads of ashes, which maybe the remains of hearths were noted. Most of the stakes and piles at the centre of the island were of softwoods, alder, birch and ash, only a few planks of oak were identified. A number of finds were collected from the surface of the crannóg during the inspection of this monument in 1982: the remains of two wooden staves, probably originally part of a barrel; two leather fragments; a wooden point; and six sherds of *crannóg ware* pottery. McSparron (2009) has recently suggested that pottery referred to as *crannóg ware* and *everted rim cooking pottery* should instead be referred to as *medieval Ulster coarse pottery.* This type of pottery first appears in Ulster in the mid to late thirteenth century, and continues to be used into the eighteenth century. It can be divided into two types, with the first type, composed of smaller, finer pots dying out in the late fourteenth century. *Medieval Ulster coarse pottery* is often decorated with incisions on the rim and cross-hatching on the necks of vessels. There is, however, no evidence that glaze or slips were ever used on this pottery and 'the variability of colour of the vessel fabrics, sometimes even within the same pot, suggests that they were not fired in kilns but in bonfires' (McSparron 2009, 14). O'Sullivan (2001, 407) described native pottery of

late medieval origins as crude, handmade pottery used for cooking with a dark, unglazed appearance and heavy, gritty inclusions and texture, and dates it between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries.

The sherds of pottery from Dillagh crannóg are described in the National Museum of Ireland Topographical files as 'coarse black fired ware with very large quartz grits, one sherd is from a vessel with straight sides and a plain vertical rounded rim' (NMI Reg. No.1982:110). This description was confirmed by an examination of the sherds in the NMI and indicates that these sherds are indeed *medieval Ulster coarse pottery*. It is therefore probable that the crannóg was occupied during the later medieval period although it is unclear whether this was a permanent or temporary occupation of an existing crannóg.

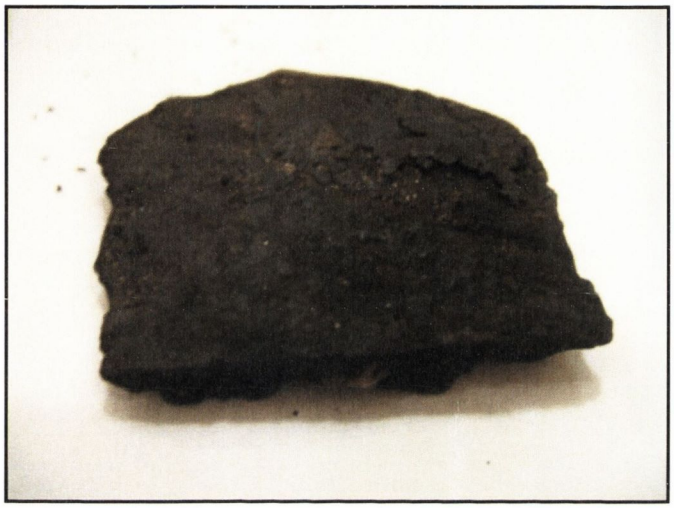


Fig. 4.14: Pottery from Dillagh Crannóg (NMI reg. no. 1980:110).

A crannóg in the townland of Kevit Upper or Castlecosby, in Kilmore parish, may also have been occupied during the later medieval period (RMP no: CV025-059---). An account of the examination of this crannóg is contained in the NMI monument files for county Cavan. The crannóg is located close to the site reputed site of 'Bunraskeen Castle' a 16th century structure with two flanking towers positioned at the corners of the yard of 'Castle Cosby' house. The crannóg, located on the edge of Castlecosby lake, was described as 'a large mound, which has often been dug into and shows down to 4 feet (*c.*1.2m) deep sand and mould, no peat, with pigs teeth and other bones, cobblings of small stones, a horn bead and a scrap of flint' (NMI monument files: Kevit Upper, Cavan). The mound (*c.*1.5m in height above lake level) was described as being composed of habitation earth with charcoal, within the mound two layers of cobbling were noted, one close to the surface and another *c.*25cm lower. Some sherds of pottery were found within the mound and they were described as being coarse,

black and red in colour and without decoration. These sherds of pottery are described in a similar way to the crannóg ware from Dillagh and may indicate a similar date for their deposition. Unfortunately, the NMI did not acquire these sherds of pottery and their current location is unknown. It is not therefore possible to date them with any accuracy.

The suggestion that this crannóg may have later medieval layers is further supported by research carried out by Fredengren (2002) for the Discovery Programme. She argues that high cairn crannogs with dense stone packing have top layers dating to the medieval period. High cairn crannogs are defined, in her study, as crannógs that measure 2-3.5m above their surroundings. A high cairn crannog in Lough Gara, for example, has produced a medieval date from the top layers of the site. However, this date may not be reliable. In the appendix to this publication Fredengren lists the four radio-carbon dates for site BOYL 0038. Three of the dates (one from a horizontal log, one from a vertical post and the third from brushwood) returned early medieval dates of *c.*750 to *c.*1000AD. Only the fourth date from animal bone found on the site returned a high medieval date of *c.*1230AD. However, this date is uncertain, as the author did not have the date to hand when compiling this publication but states that she believes it was AD1230 (Fredengren 2002, appendix 29). Indeed in the text of the book four dates from this crannóg are listed and none of the date ranges have a higher upper limit than 1160. However, Fredengren also mentions a high-cairn crannóg in Cloverhill Lough, county Sligo, which yielded mortar from the top layers of its stony plateau and the crannóg of Ardakillen, county Roscommon (Loch Caircin) which has top layers of stone and was mentioned in the Annals of Connacht for the years 1293 and 1467 (*AC*, 1293, 1467; Fredengren 2002, 273).

Many of the high cairn crannógs in Sligo have a similar feature, which Fredengren (2002, 273) calls a mid-cairn, and she suggests they may represent the remains of smaller stone built features like houses. This mid-cairn is often surrounded by a flat area or plateau of stones which Fredengren argues may represent the outdoor areas where activities could have taken place, like a diminutive bailey. The increased height of the crannóg, could be interpreted as an attempt to increase the monumentality of the structure in response to the impressive nature of Anglo-Norman earthworks (mottes and ringworks); a line of argument that has been advanced for platform ringforts by

O'Keeffe (2000b). Similarly the appearance of a mid-cairn that may have acted as a diminutive bailey may indicate that the Gaelic-Irish crannog dweller was responding to the influence of Anglo-Norman monument types. Therefore, while the thesis advanced by Fredengren is an interesting one, the problems with dating mean that it must be treated with caution. While the mound on the Kevit Upper crannóg would appear to be short of the height limits defined by Fredengren the dimensions given for it are not exact and the mound does appear to have contained a quantity of stone.

It is possible to tentatively suggest that the crannóg at Drumcarban could be described as a high cairn crannóg. It is located in the middle of White Lough and there is a local tradition of a stone causeway to the crannóg. It is described as 'circular, 25 yards (*c.*23m) across and 1.5 feet (45cm) above water level' (NMI monument file: Drumcarban, Cavan). A kerb of large stones surrounds the crannóg, one foot (0.3m) high, and a small area of platform constructed of juxtaposed logs is visible on one side. This kerb of stone suggests that this crannóg had a mound with a high stone content.

Finally, the Togher crannóg in Lough Atrain, in the parish of Kilmore, outside the barony of Clanmahon has definite evidence for later medieval occupation. Among the items found by Davies during excavation of the crannóg were a half a silver penny of Henry III (1216-1272) and sixteen sherds of pottery, described as *crannóg ware* (NMI correspondence register 1942, NMI reg. nos NMI 1942:1923 to NMI 1942:1943). On the basis of the above evidence it is clear that some crannógs in Clanmahon were in use during the later medieval period, but without excavation it is difficult to determine which ones. O'Keeffe has argued that reused crannogs were high status sites and that the Gaelic-Irish lords who lived in these sites in the thirteenth and fourteenth century were looking back to their past traditions and attempting to express their historical identity at a time when they felt their identity was under pressure from foreign settlers (O'Keeffe 2004, 11).

While there is no excavated evidence to confirm that ringforts were occupied during the high medieval period in Clanmahon, we can make a strong argument that platform ringforts in particular are likely to have continued to be occupied after the arrival of the Anglo-Normans. This will be discussed below in the section that deals with the barony of Clanmahon in detail. There are only two cashels in the barony of Clanmahon and

there is no evidence that either was occupied during the later medieval period. However, the cashel in Moydristan (CV037-047---) does have a raised interior, which could suggest similar influences to raised ringforts. As discussed above, there are two definite moated sites and one possible example in Clanmahon, all of which are concentrated on the border with county Longford. The difficulty of assigning an Anglo-Norman or a Gaelic-Irish ethnicity to these sites will be discussed in chapters seven and eight.

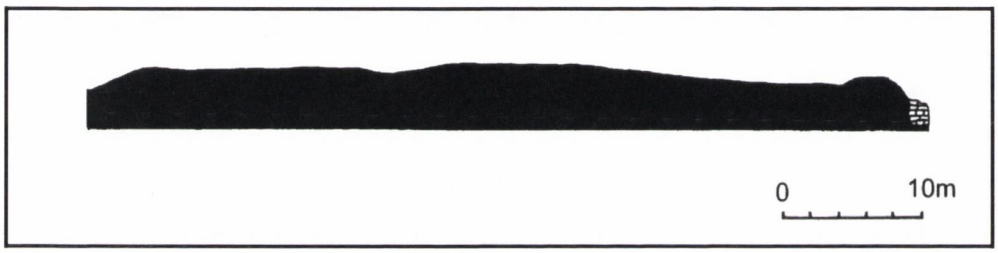


Fig. 4.15: Profile of Moydristan cashel, Ballymachugh, Clanmahon.

4.9: The barony of Clanmahon

It was from Giolla Iosa's son Mathghamhain, or Mahon, that 'the lords and nobles of Clanmahon' were descended (Carney 1959, 106). The *Annals of the Four Masters* tell us that Mahon O'Reilly, lord of Clanmahon was slain by the English in 1336 (*AFM*, 1336). Nicholls (1976, 7) argues that Mahon and his immediate descendants seem largely to have won the territory of Clanmahon from its Anglo-Norman possessors but no evidence for this assertion is given. Later accounts of the history of this section of the O'Reillys depict them as a group of people in almost constant dispute with their Anglo-Norman neighbours. *A genealogical history of the O'Reillys*, compiled in the seventeenth century by Dr Thomas Fitzsimons reports that the lords of Clanmahon were 'so firm against the English that every stronghold almost, that they used to make during the day was levelled during the night' (Carney 1959, 106). He goes on to report a claim that in a single day Tomás, son of Mahon, levelled eighteen castles which had been raised by the Tuites. Finally, a poem illustrating this antipathy towards the English is attributed to Tomás O'Reilly.

'The cry of an Englishwoman over the Englishman
this is the cry I do not lament;
a weary wail that is no torment for my heart

is the foreign English weeping of an Englishwoman.

I think the grey day wearisome
in charge of castle or in great house (a mbun caisléin na mbrúghaidh)
at Loch Léighinn of the glistening trout
bright and melodious is it for me that the Englishwoman wails.

Tomás, son of Mathghamhain, truly
a king of the kings of Loch Síleann;
the English endured hardship in his time,
he levied tribute from Clogher to Crumlin.'

The *Genealogical History of the O'Reilly's* credits Tomás O'Reilly with the construction of a 'Caislén na Locha' and goes on to report that lands from Drogheda to Athlone were 'under contribution' to him (Carney 1959, 12). It is unclear what is meant by 'under contribution', but if we take this reference in conjunction with the above poem, we can interpret it as meaning that the people of this region owed Tomás allegiance or even tribute payments. This castle is reputed to be Crover Castle, a tower house located on a rocky island 300m from the shore of Lough Sheelin (O'Donovan 1995, 235). The *Annals of Bréifne* report that Tomás O'Reilly succeeded Philip O'Reilly as King of Bréifne in 1384, and that Tomás died in 1390 (*AB*, 1384, 1390). The later fourteenth century would appear to be an early date for the construction of a tower house in those parts of Ireland controlled by the Gaelic-Irish.

Crover Castle was originally at least three storeys in height with a pronounced base batter. It is in a very poor state of repair and there is little surviving cut stone in the window opes to aid dating. An intramural staircase provides access to the first and second floors. A large rectangular window survives at ground floor level (height 1.2m, width 1m, depth 2.1m). The large size of this window would suggest that this is a later tower house. There is what appears to be a musket loop at second floor level, the embrasure in which the loop is contained is very narrow and would not have provided enough space to pull a bow. Davies (1947a) recorded the presence of a 'musketry loophole' on the stair leading to roof level. Firearms arrived in Ireland in the 1470s and these loops would indicate that this castle was later than that date (O'Byrne 2005, 334).

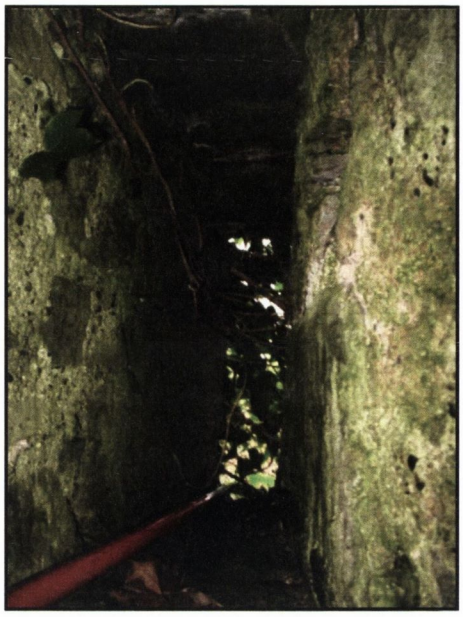


Fig. 4.16: Musketry loop in Crover Castle, Ballymachugh, Clanmahon.

This would suggest that the castle on the lake constructed by Tomás O'Reilly may have been one of the six crannógs located in Lough Sheelin close to the island on which Crover Castle stands. There is no dating evidence available for any of these crannógs but their proximity to Crover Castle could suggest that they may have been occupied during the later medieval period. O'Conor (1998, 84) has argued that the juxtaposition of a towerhouse with a nearby crannóg 'is a strong hint that the latter was occupied throughout the medieval period'. While O'Conor (1998, 84) argues that some crannógs were occupied during the later medieval period, he suggests that 'the failure of Gaelic-Irish sources to refer to them as 'caistel' or castle indicates that they were not viewed as being castles'. He postulates that crannógs were not viewed as being defensive enough to be considered a castle. O'Keeffe (2004) however disagrees with this thesis and argues that there is no evidence that the term 'castle' had a definitive definition or that defence was a principle element in this definition in the later medieval period. He goes on to argue that 'these monument types 'were undoubtedly high status settlements and as expressions of secular power they seem to bridge the gap between the short phase of native incastellation in pre-colonial Ireland and the prolonged phase of towerhouse building among the late medieval Irish (O'Keeffe 2004, 10). While there is no evidence that crannógs had any of the defensive concerns of a castle, they clearly acted as lordly residences in the later medieval period.

The townland of Crover also contains the remains of a substantial bi-vallate platform ringfort, with an inner bank or berm around the platform. This is a large and impressive site, with internal dimensions of 29m N-S and 24m E-W. The edges of the interior of the site are badly overgrown and there is some tree growth in the interior. The platform and the berm are from 1.80m to 2.10m above the bottom of the innermost ditch. The size of this site together with it location close to Crover Castle

would suggest that this may have been the home of the leaders of the Clan Mahon. As will be discussed in greater detail in chapter seven O'Keeffe (2000b, 28) has argued that platform ringforts 'had motte-like profiles and were occupied late in the time-span of ringforts'. He goes on to argue that the symbolism of elevation was also probably important and 'it is not inconceivable that the owners of these sites had their interiors raised significantly so as to differentiate them from the conventional or standard ringforts of the pre-feudal age' (O'Keeffe 2000b, 29). O'Keeffe (2000b) has not attempted to prove this thesis through fieldwork, although Kerr (2007) has examined platform ringforts in north-west Ulster, and argued for a mid-eighth to mid-tenth century date for platform raths, although on the basis of a very small sample. This thesis will argue that the platform ringfort in Crover, and those elsewhere in the barony, may have fulfilled similar functions to mottes. The nucleation of monuments in Crover (crannógs, tower house and platform rath) along with the documentary evidence suggests that this may have been the centre of the Clanmahon lordship. The motte at Lavagh, which is within the same parish, may be seen as an attempt by the arriving Anglo-Normans to counter this centre of power and to take it over as their own centre.

Fig. 4.17: Crover platform ringfort, Ballymachugh, Clanmahon from the SE.

There are twenty-two platform ringforts in the barony of Clanmahon, the vast majority of which are located along the southern border of the barony, in its zone of fertile soils.

Kerr (2007, 80) has noted a correlation between arable land and platform ringforts in counties Fermanagh, Down and Tyrone. He argues that this correlation indicates that platform ringforts were part of an arable economy that developed as a result of plague, famine, warfare and market forces of the ninth century (see chapter seven for a fuller discussion). In his study of the types of ringforts in southern Ulster, Davies (1947b, 7) noted that 'there are in south Cavan a few steep sided flat-topped mounds, usually without fosse, which are probably imitations of motes, though lower and without bailey'. He includes one of these sites, Magheraboy Upper in Clanmahon, in his gazetteer. He describes this now destroyed site as 'a mound with a wide bank and circular hollow in the centre' (Davies 1947b, 13). He argues that although it resembles a small motte, the absence of a bailey and its low height makes it unlikely to have been a Norman construction. Instead he argues that because of its proximity to Meath it may have been constructed 'in imitation of a Norman structure' (Davies 1947b, 13).

Fig. 4.18: Fortland II platform ringfort, Ballymachugh, Clanmahon from the W.

Fig. 4.19: Raheever platform ringfort, Kilbride, Clanmahon from the NNE.

If we accept Kerr (2007) and O'Keeffe's (2001) argument that this type of ringfort was occupied at the end of ringfort chronology, and the dates from the Tulsk excavation (see chapter seven for discussion of this date), it is probable that some of the inhabitants of Clanmahon were living in these sites when the Anglo-Normans arrived in Ireland. Indeed it is possible that the construction of these sites was inspired by the construction of earthwork castles by the Normans. This thesis aims to cast more light on this intriguing monument type through a detailed examination of their morphology, siting and relationship to other monument types in the landscape.

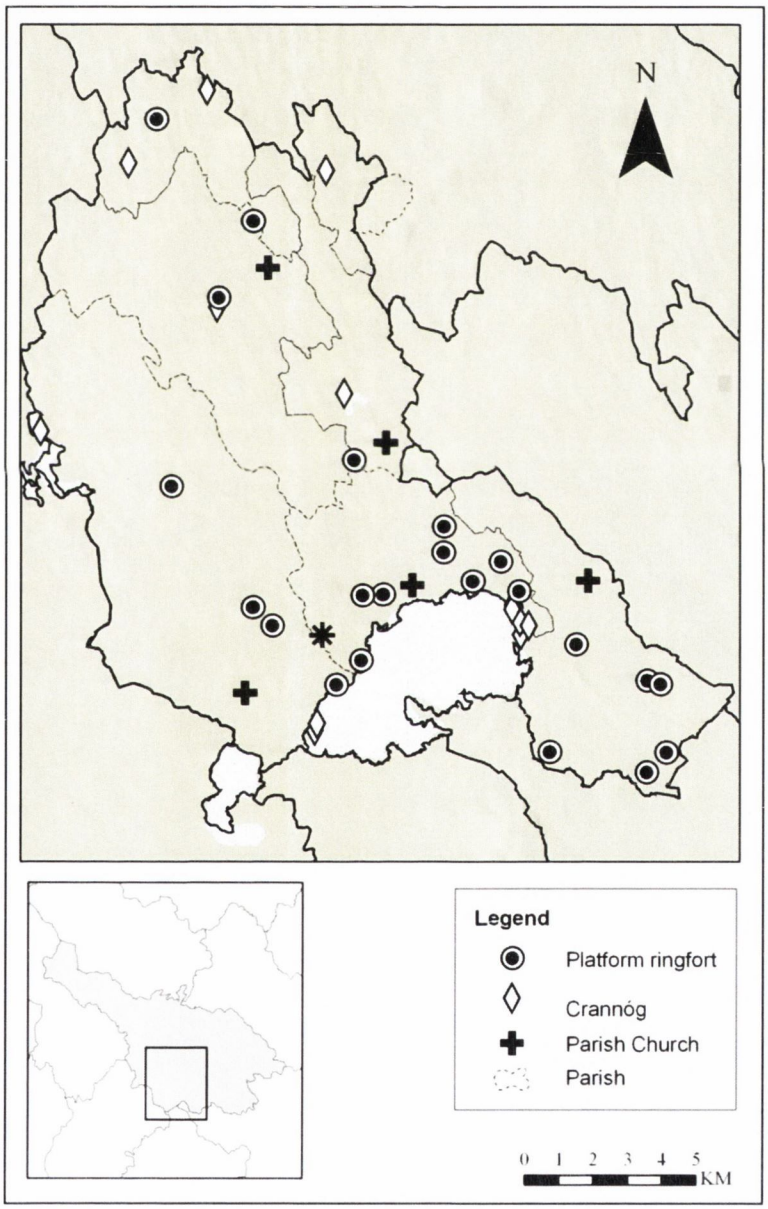


Fig. 4.20: Map showing the platform ringforts in the barony of Clanmahon.

Although, the Clan Mahon had led the most concerted attacks from Cavan against the Anglo-Normans (Parker 1995c, 43), perhaps from platform ringforts, this was only one aspect of their relationship with their Anglo-Norman neighbours. Dr Thomas Fitzsimons', the seventeenth century compiler of *The Genealogical History of the O'Reillys* and Vicar General of the Diocese of Kilmore, outlined his ancestral connection with the Clan Mahon of East Bréifne. The Fitzsimons family, know in Bréifne as Clan tSiomuinn, were a family of Norman origin who were based in or near Clanmahon. In the fourteenth century, Risdeard Fitzsimons, sought out Tomás, son of Mahon O'Reilly, after a quarrel with his brothers. O'Reilly recognised that Risdeard was a man of learning and made him his 'secretan' or secretary and steward and gave him grants of land. Later Tomás entered into the relationship of 'gossipred' with Risdeard (Carney 1959, 11). Gossipred has been defined as a relationship of fraternal association between a Gaelic lord and his client (Fitzsimmons 2001, 139). This indicates that the Clan Mahon fostered some relationships with the neighbouring Anglo-Normans during the fourteenth century.

The period in which the Clan Mahon launched their most concerted attacks against the Anglo-Normans living within the Pale was in the fourteenth century, when they were chiefs of the O'Reillys in East Bréifne. They were aided in this by their allies, members of the Hiberno-Norse family, the MacCába, who are first recorded in Ireland at the late date of 1358, when their leader was killed fighting for the MagUídhirs of Fermanagh (*AC*, 1358; *AFM*, 1358). The MacCába probably first came to Bréifne in the late 1360s when the MagUidhirs became involved in the affairs of Bréifne. They became staunch allies of the Clan Mahon, whose raiding parties provided them with adequate wages (Parker 1995c, 43). In 1413 their leader, Lochlann MacCába was killed in an attack on Kells in which Tómas O'Reilly of the Clan Mahon, brother of the then ruler of East Bréifne, was badly wounded (*AC*, 1413; *AB*, 1413; *AFM*, 1413). The MacCába did not fight exclusively for the rulers of East Bréifne and in 1453 their leader was described as constable of east Bréifne, Airghialla and Fermanagh (Parker 1995c, 43).

In autumn 1394 King Richard II, landed in Ireland in an attempt to halt the progress of the Irish recovery of lands throughout Ireland (Parker 1995c, 43). Sir Roger Mortimer, earl of March was compelled to join the expedition. He had inherited the title of earl of

Ulster, as well as the lands of the Verdons of Meath and Uriel. He was determined to reassert control over those lands which had been conquered by the Irish since the death of Richard be Burgh in 1326. He was determined to protect his lands in Meath and Westmeath and cut a pass through a wooded area on the borders of Bréifne and Meath so that raiders could be pursued as they escaped into Bréifne (Parker 1995c, 44). The Miscellaneous Irish Annals record that in 1396 'Coill Fiontainn and Muine Dubh were burned and cut through by the Earl [of March]; and the son of Giolla Íosa son of Mathghamhain Ó Raighilligh was killed there' (*Misc. Ir. Annals*, 1396). He also rebuilt the castle at Finnea which bordered the Clan Mahon lands (*Misc. Ir. Annals*, 1397; Parker 1995c, 45). While Mortimer was unsuccessful, these events signalled the beginning of a more interventionist policy by the Irish administration in the internal affairs of East Bréifne.

In 1400 there was a succession dispute in East Bréifne between Maelmórdha and Eoghan na Féasoige. Eoghan sought Anglo-Norman support but this was not sufficient and he was forced into exile. Maelmórdha was succeeded by Risteard, of the Clann Mahon, who pursued the traditional Clan Mahon policy of belligerence towards the Anglo-Normans of Meath. Eventually, the king's lieutenant Sir John Talbot launched an invasion of Bréifne in 1418, which led to a truce later that year (Parker 1995c, 45).

This truce marked a further significant waning of the power of the Clan Mahon that had begun in the early 1400s. *The Annals of the Four Masters* and the *Annals of Bréifne* report that when he returned from concluding the truce Risteard and his son were drowned while sailing across Lough Sheelin to parley with the English of Meath (*AC*, 1418; *AB*, 1418). O'Reilly's wife Fionnula is reported to have survived because she could swim. Eoghan na Feasoige stepped into the power vacuum, possibly with the aid of Sir John Talbot, and became the chief of East Bréifne (Parker 1991, 155). The Clan Mahon never managed to regain the lordship of East Bréifne after 1418. It was soon after this, in the 1420s that the Clann Mahon, the descendants of Mathghamhain abandoned their former antipathy towards the Anglo-Normans. In 1428 they supported the King's Lieutenant in Ireland, Sir John Talbot in a raid against Eoghan na Féasóige who had launched raids against Kells and its environs (Parker 1995c, 45). This decision to fight against their O'Reilly kinsmen may have stemmed from internal family dissensions, which included the murder of Seán Mac Thomáis by his brother

Fearghal in 1427. It has been argued that these internecine feudings were at least partly responsible for the exclusion of the Clan Mahon from the O'Reilly chieftainship (Parker 1995c, 48).

Eoghan na Feasóige is portrayed in annalistic sources as a forward-thinking member of the O'Reilly clan who embraced many aspects of English settlement he would have been familiar with the Anglo-Irish in nearby county Meath and the Pale. He is credited with the creation of his own currency, the promotion of a market at Cavan town, and the compilation of a set of laws or statutes. There was an acute lack of coinage in Ireland in the fifteenth century and in 1456 a statute was issued prohibiting the receipt of 'O'Reilly's silver'. This seems to have been base metal coins coated in silver that had been obtained by clipping authentic silver coin. It is unclear whether Eoghan was directly involved in this enterprise, but his favourable attitude towards commerce, seen in the development of the town of Cavan during his tenure as the O'Reilly, would make it likely that he would have promoted such a venture (Parker 1991, 167-168). The origin of the town of Cavan can be traced to the conjunction there *c.*1300 of an O'Reilly castle and a Franciscan friary and there are annalistic references to the 'town' of Cavan in 1427, 1429 and 1468 (Bradley and Dunne 1989, 34). Eoghan is generally credited with the establishment of Cavan as a commercial settlement. Finally, a set of laws or 'statutes' that governed the lives of those who lived in east Bréifne are attributed to Eoghan. Unfortunately, we have little available evidence of the content of these laws and Parker argues that they were unlikely ever to have been written down. It would have been very unusual for laws to have been created or drawn up exclusively by a king or chief, as they were usually the preserve of the brehons or the other legal professional classes (Parker 1991, 167).

In 1429 a war broke out between Tadhg O'Rourke and Owen O'Reilly, in which the descendants of Mahon O'Reilly (the Clan Mahon), along with 'the English of Meath' sided with O'Rourke against O'Reilly. O'Rourke and his allies burned O'Reilly's town of Cavan. In response to this, O'Reilly prevailed upon O'Neill to aid him and O'Neill, along with forces from Monaghan and Fermanagh, marched to 'the Achaidh Cille Moire' or Aghakillmore in the barony of Clanmahon. They were pursued by the forces of O'Rourke, the Clan Mahon, the Baron of Delvin and McCabe. O'Reilly, with the aid of O'Neill was victorious and O'Neill took a number of prisoners (*AFM*, 1429, *AU*,

1429). This is further evidence of the bad relations between the Clan Mahon and the O'Reilly chiefs at this time and indicates their willingness to ally with their traditional enemies, the O'Rourkes and the Anglo-Normans. A mound recorded in the SMR in the townland of Aghakilmore Lower is reputed to be the burial place of those killed in this battle (RMP. No.CV037-077).

In 1449 the *Annals of the Four Masters* report that following the death of Owen, son of John, lord of Muintir Maolmordha, his son was appointed as his successor by O'Neill and the tribe of John O'Reilly. However, Feargal son of Thomas More O'Reilly was elected by the Clanmahon O'Reillys and by the English including Richard, Duke of York. This led to a 'war and disturbances' between the two sides. The Lord Justice, Richard Nugent, Baron of Delvin and the Earl of Ormond went to the aid of Feargal, the Clan Mahon candidate, but John O'Reilly's forces attacked the front of their army and took sixty prisoners including the son of Donal Ban O'Reilly (*AFM,* 1449). Feargal had submitted to Richard, Duke of York, in August 1449 presenting him with a gift of three hundred and sixty cows. His departure from Ireland in 1450 was a serious blow to Ferghal, who had lost his most valuable ally (Parker 1995c, 47). In 1450 John O'Reilly and Donald Ban O'Reilly concluded a peace with each other and Feargal, the Clan Mahon candidate resigned the lordship in return for pay from John O'Reilly, who now had control of East Bréifne (*AFM*, 1450). This episode illustrates the ability of the Clan Mahon to use their Anglo-Norman neighbours and their allies to further their cause. No doubt the Anglo-Normans were in turn using the Clan Mahon to further their own goals in East Bréifne and the surrounding area. Fearghal's nephew Risdeard Óg (great grandson of Mathghamhain) is described as Tánaiste of Bréifne at his death in 1469, but after this date the Clan Mahon were totally excluded from the kingship of East Bréifne (Parker 1995c, 48). In 1462 Feargal, son of Tomás O'Reilly, of the Clan Mahon died (*AB*, 1462). In 1489 the Clan Mahon O'Reillys were struck by a plague which led to the death of Redmond, son of Feargal, the Clan Mahon candidate for the chieftainship of East Bréifne in 1449, and Redmond's cousin Felim Óg (*AFM*, 1489).

4.10: Clanmahon in the sixteenth century

During the sixteenth century the position of the Clan Mahon declined significantly as the sons of the ruling chief, Ferghal O'Reilly, and the sons of his brother, and

successor, Maol Mórdha began to exert influence in Clan Mahon. 'The decline in the political influence of the descendants of Mathghamhain O'Reilly illustrates a trend frequently discernable in the Gaelic political system where loss of eligibility for the position of chief of the lordship was followed by further political decline, as the sons of reigning chiefs sought to exert control in peripheral areas' (Cunningham 1995, 55). In 1506 Thomas, the son of Oliver Plunkett, was killed by Calvagh O'Reilly, and his sons, because of a war that had broken out between the English and the Irish. Calvagh and his sons are reported as being descendants of the Mahon O'Reilly (*AFM*, 1506).

The Clan Mahon continued to be local lords of the territory of Clanmahon until 1534, when Séan, the last lord of their sept, was murdered by the sons of the ruling O'Reilly, Fearghal. Tradition records that Fearghal disapproved of the deed but his sons went on to establish themselves permanently in Clanmahon. Fearghal was succeeded as the O'Reilly by his son Maolmordha, who settled one of his sons, Philip the Prior, in Clanmahon (Nicholls 1976, 8). In 1537 the annalists recorded the death of Brian, son of Fearghal O'Reilly, at the hands of the English lord justice's men who were described as making 'depredations' in the Clanmahon territory (Cunningham 1995, 55; *AFM*, 1537).

In 1563, two years before Maolmordha's death, the annals report a furious war between the Prior and his sons, on the one hand, and the sons of Fearghal on the other over the possession of Clanmahon. The dispute seems to have arisen when the Prior's son, Conor and Fearghal's grandson Sean fell together (ar titim re chéile) at 'Loch Ghleanna an Chorainn a tTeallach nDonnchadha (Tullyhunco)' (*AB*, 1563). The *Annals of Bréifne* refer to Philip the Prior, as the 'Prior of Clan Mahon'. Another son of Maolmordha, Cathaoir Gearr also settled in the territory, and in 1585 the three ruling chiefs in Clanmahon were Maolmordha, son of Philip the Prior, Cathaoir Gearr, and Fearghal's surviving son, *Hugh Reoghe O Reyly* (Nicholls 1976, 8). Despite their exclusion from power and the presence of the three ruling chiefs in Clanmahon the descendants of Mahon O'Reilly continued to control a large portion of the lands within the territory.

The *Genealogical History of the O'Reillys* reports that An Prióir Mór, son of Maol Mórdha was sent to Clanmahon to protect the land against the family of Feargal

O'Reilly and to make a clearing for An Prióir Balbh (Carney 1959, 81). The Annals of Bréifne record that Philip (mac Maoil Mórdha), the prior, died at *nDún da Bheann* (Dundavan) in 1572 (*AB*, 1572). Davies (NMI Monument file: Dundavan, Cavan) identifies a castle site in Dundavan as the sixteenth century house of Prior O'Reilly. His identification of the site of this castle was based on local information on where the O'Reilly families had lived in Dundavan in 1826. In his 1947 article entitled 'The castles of county Cavan' Davies (1947a, 97) stated that 'two houses were indicated to me as O'Reilly residences in 1826 but the antiquity of neither is convincing'. However, the SMR includes a castle site in Dundavan and its location appears to be that described by Davies in the NMI monument file as the more convincing of the two possible sites. The *Down Survey* and *Maps of the Escheated Counties of Ulster* barony maps do not depict a building in this townland. The site is now occupied by a large ruined house and outbuildings of the late eighteenth/early nineteenth century that were locally reported to have been part of the Ramsey estate.

Kevit Castle is reputedly the site of 'Bunraskeen Castle' a sixteenth century structure with two flanking towers formerly positioned at the corners of the yard of 'Castle Cosby' house (O'Donovan 1995, 231) and the towers were removed c.1840 (NMI monument file: Kevit Upper, Cavan). These two flanking towers could be interpreted as the remains of a bawn wall which might have surrounded a tower house. Mulmory McHugh O'Reilly, who was the O'Reilly between 1601-9, continued at the plantation to occupy the estate of Commet (Kevit) (O'Donovan 1997, 97). Davies (1947a, 97) argues that the stone head and other remains at Castlecosby indicate that it was a sixteenth century structure. The house that occupies the site today has been dated to 1772, and Davies (1947a, 97) recorded that the walls of this house were four to six feet thick.

Fig. 4. 21: Stone head from Castle Cosby, Kevit Upper, Kilmore, Clanmahon.

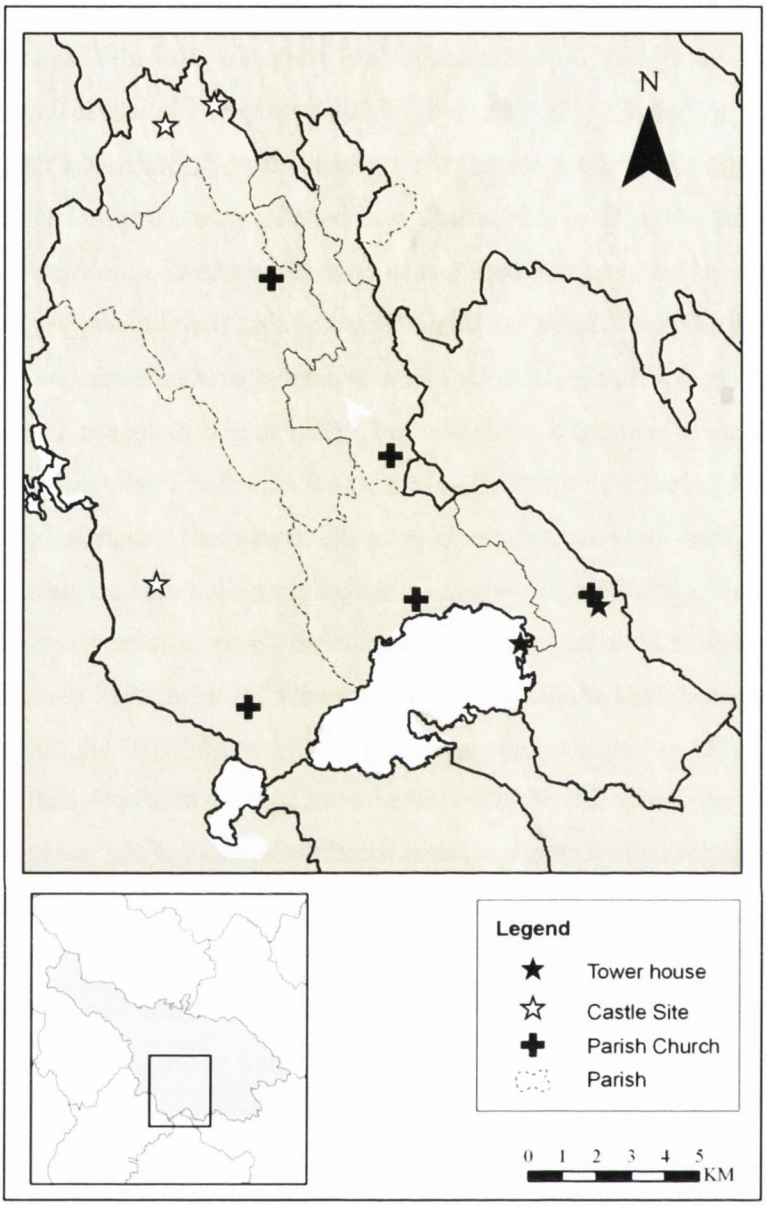


Fig. 4.22: Tower houses and castle sites in Clanmahon.

The only other castle site within the barony appears to have been a seventeenth century castle, which had been constructed before the compilation of the *Down Survey*. Lismore castle is depicted on Petty's *Down Survey* maps of the barony of Clanmahon, but not on the *Maps of the Escheated Counties of Ulster* map of the barony of Clanmahon. This would suggest that Lismore Castle was constructed between 1609 and the 1640s when the *Down Survey* was compiled. According to Davies (1948a, 110) Philip, son of Mulmory McHugh O'Reilly received a share of his father's estate after his death which included Lismore, where he constructed a castle in 1639. Davies

found no trace of the seventeenth century castle at the site of the nineteenth century Lismore Castle. He argues that the site of Lismore Lodge was a more likely site due to its location in the loop of the river and because the lawn was built up in terraces, which could represent the survival of a bawn. However, the SMR map indicates the location of Lismore Castle as the site of the nineteenth century Lismore Castle. The inventory entry for this site records that there are no upstanding remains for this castle (O'Donovan 1995, 232).

Fig. 4.23: Lismore Castle as depicted on the Down Survey map of the barony of Clanmahon.

Evidence of the total decline of the Clan Mahon came in 1584 when the Dublin administration imposed a deal that it was hoped would end an O'Reilly succession dispute. Under this deal four of the seven baronies into which East Bréifne was divided were deemed to be under the jurisdiction of Seán O'Reilly, then chief of the O'Reillys. The barony of Castlerahan was granted to Eamonn another contender for the position of the O'Reilly, Clan Mahon was divided among Seán's other uncles and their male heirs, and Clankee was granted to Pilib Dubh O'Reilly in recognition of his de facto control of the region. The descendants of Mahon O'Reilly were no longer in control of the area or even mentioned in this deal (Cunningham 1995, 66). Under this deal these lands were to be held directly from the crown in fee simple and the freeholders were to become the tenants of a landlord rather that a supporter of a warlord. They were to hold their lands from the O'Reillys by knight service and the traditional exactions they owed were to be commuted to fixed payments. It is unclear if the terms of these agreements were ever enacted, let alone put into practice (Cunningham 1995, 66).

The barony of Clanmahon had increasingly been coming under the influence of the Nugents, barons of Delvin during the course of the sixteenth century. While the Nugents had sought to expand their area of influence throughout east Bréifne, they were particularly successful in Clanmahon as O'Reilly jurisdiction in the area was disputed. While the Nugents' main aim in this expansion was likely to have been economic, they were also the local face of the English administration in the area.

Throughout the mid sixteenth century there are reports of their efforts to defend the Pale and police the north midlands (Cunningham 1995, 58). While relations between the O'Reillys and the Nugents were largely friendly, there were inevitably some disputes.

4.11: 'The Anglicisation of the O'Reillys of East Bréifne' in the sixteenth century

The increased involvement of the Nugents in East Bréifne was but one side of the increased Anglicisation of East Bréifne outlined by Cunningham in her 1995 article on the subject. In the sixteenth century east Bréifne was subject to the influence of both the O'Neills and O'Donnells, and to counteract this influence the O'Reillys sought to use the influence of, first the earls of Kildare, and following their decline, the English Lord Deputies. The Dublin administration reacted favourably to these advances as they hoped to curb the power of O'Neill by bolstering O'Reilly. The practical result of this increased cooperation was increased contact between the O'Reillys and the English administration (Cunningham 1995, 56).

The O'Reillys also sought to enhance their local political and economic power by forging alliances with their Anglo-Irish neighbours on the Pale. These economic links are likely to have been established much earlier and may date to one hundred years earlier in Eoghan na Feasoige's time or even earlier and the development of Cavan as a trading town. Cavan town continued to be an important trading centre linked to the urban network of north Leinster, which included Ardee, Kells and Drogheda. Cunningham (1995, 57) agrees with Parker's (1995c) assertion that the ethnic distinction between the O'Reilly and the Anglo-Irish families had long since been blurred despite official reports that tended to highlight the differences between the two groups. There were also long established religious connections between Bréifne and the Pale: Trim, county Meath was a long established place of pilgrimage for the people of Bréifne. Intermarriage between the O'Reillys and the Anglo-Irish from north Leinster was not unusual in the sixteenth century. Three of the sons of Maol Mordha, chief of the O'Reilly's from 1536-1565, were married to women from the Pale. Pilib an Prior, who had connections with Clanmahon was married to a daughter of Christopher Nugent, baron of Delvin (Cunningham 1995, 57-58).

By the early seventeenth century the O'Reilly clan remained in possession of only one fifth of the lands they had once ruled as undisputed overlords (Brady 1985, 248). A detailed account of the events that led to this dramatic decline is beyond the scope of this thesis and only a very general summary will be attempted. The failure of the policy of surrender and regrant to take off in other parts of Ulster, meant that it could not be fully implemented in East Bréifne. Unless O'Neill accepted any scheme designed for East Bréifne it had no chance of success (Brady 1985, 242). Therefore while the O'Reillys demonstrated their allegiance to the crown and conformed to the conditions of surrender and regrant, the crown was not in a position to put in place any of the structures of local administration in the area. The involvement of the O'Reillys in the Nine Years War, which spanned the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth centuries, and later, the flight of the Earls, created a situation where the English Administration could affect greater changes in Ulster, and Cavan was included in the Plantation of Ulster. While many of the O'Reillys were granted lands in the plantation, they were granted much smaller amounts than they had previously held and their influence in the area had completely deteriorated (Brady 1985, 199).

4.12: Conclusions

The archaeological and historical evidence for the barony of Clanmahon depicts a frontier area of competing influences, fluctuating borders and significant interactions, both confrontational and collaborative, between the Anglo-Normans and the Gaelic-Irish. The history of the Clan Mahon O'Reillys is one of shifting alliances based on prevailing political and military positions. These alliances were formed on the basis of the greatest chance of success rather than any ideological decision to side either with their fellow Irishmen or the Anglo-Normans. Alliances therefore, appear to have been based purely on the realities of local politics and rivalries.

The restriction of monuments, traditionally assigned to the Anglo-Normans, largely to the southern border of the barony suggests that there was little attempt by the Anglo-Normans to settle the rest of the barony. However, these monuments are also restricted to that part of the barony with the most fertile soils, where an arable economy was feasible. The absence of these monument types from other parts of the barony does not mean that there were no interactions between the Anglo-Normans and the Gaelic-Irish living in these areas. While the results of these interactions may have produced less

visually impressive monuments and while they may be harder to identify, they are still visible in the archaeological record. The results of interactions between the two groups could be a reassertion of their own monument types as well as the adoption of characteristics of Anglo-Norman monument types. The reuse of crannógs could be interpreted as the adoption of an older monument type, in an attempt by Gaelic-Irish lords to assert their independence and identity. The location of the ringwork castle in Ballintemple and the motte and bailey in Kilmore, just north of the barony's borders, indicates that the Gaelic-Irish at the north of Clanmahon would also have had contact with Anglo-Normans and their settlement forms

Clanmahon was subject not only to the changing fortunes of its own lords but also those of the surrounding areas, both Anglo-Norman and Gaelic-Irish, who sought to have influence both on it and East Bréifne in general. Its location on the frontier between the Anglo-Normans of Meath and Westmeath and the Irish of Connacht and Ulster made it an area of competing influences. These competing and often conflicting influences make East Bréifne and Clanmahon an obvious location for the study of Gaelic-Irish and Anglo-Norman interactions in the later medieval period.

Chapter five - Theoretical framework: historical archaeology and landscape archaeology

A theoretical basis for the study of medieval archaeology in Ireland and Britain was slower to develop than it did for other periods of archaeology. There are likely to be several reasons for this, one of which must surely be the traditional position of medieval archaeology as the 'handmaiden of history' (Moreland 2007, 10). Indeed, in Ireland the reluctance by medieval archaeologists to engage in theoretical discussion is only now beginning to change. Consequently, this thesis has looked to the archaeology of other periods for a theoretical framework. The theories developed by historical archaeologists, who often focus on the post-medieval period will be utilised, especially those which relate to the integration of archaeology and text. Similarly, the theories of landscape archaeology as developed by prehistorians will be utilised, to develop a detailed and nuanced understanding of the landscapes in the selected study areas. Later medieval archaeologists in Britain have adopted a similar approach and theoretical frameworks from other periods of archaeology as well as other disciplines (Gerrard 2003).

5.1: Theory, historical archaeology and the medieval period

Moreland (2007, 98) and others have highlighted the absence of theory in medieval and post-medieval archaeology and have argued that this failure led some archaeologists of the period to turn to the more theoretically developed American historical archaeology. The reasons advanced for this failure to develop a theoretical framework for medieval and post-medieval archaeology in Britain are also likely to be pertinent for Ireland. The availability of the written word has meant that later medieval archaeologists felt less of an impetus to embrace theoretical approaches. The certainty offered by these documents in the interpretation of archaeological sites, features and artefacts was seen as negating the need for theory. The primacy of text has meant that archaeological remains were interpreted through the lens of surviving documentary evidence. Rather than interrogating the artefacts themselves, answers to questions arising from them were sought in the texts. In this situation the need to develop theory and an interpretative framework was not identified, text was seen as the dominant source of information about the period. Histories, novels and other dramas create a

feeling of familiarity with the medieval and post-medieval periods that also militated against the development of a theoretical approach (Moreland 2007, 98).

In his 2003 publication *Medieval Archaeology: understanding tradition and contemporary approaches,* Gerrard traces the development of theoretical approaches to later medieval archaeology in Britain (Gerrard 2003). He sees the development of New Archaeology or processual archaeology as stemming from the greater use of numerical methods of research by the social sciences in the post-war period. By the early 1980s most prehistorians had accepted this new approach to archaeology, but despite an early discussion on the topic by Jope (1972) later medieval archaeologists failed to engage with New Archaeology. It wasn't until the early 1980s that the impact of processual archaeology began to make itself felt outside prehistory, and in 1981 theory was discussed by later medieval archaeologists on two public occasions, the Society for Medieval Archaeology conference at Cambridge and during Philip Kahtz's inaugural lecture at York University. Processual archaeology was attractive to medieval archaeologists because it promised a more objective, science-based discipline freed from narrative textually based 'kings and queens' history (Gerrard 2003, 174). The novelty of processual archaeology for the later medieval archaeologist was the 'outright rejection of the superiority of history' and the assertion that 'only archaeology could provide the fuller range of evidence needed to investigate the top and bottom of medieval society' (Gerrard 2003, 174).

By the late 1980s medieval archaeologists were 'more numerous and numerate, more theoretically informed but rarely conceptually explicit, less hostile and more confident' (Gerrard 2003, 180). While most medieval archaeologists still adopted a largely pragmatic approach to their data, they were more theoretically aware and increasing looked on documentary sources as just one of many sources of evidence. By the end of the 1980s medieval archaeology had become part of the larger archaeological community, the large number of excavations in the 1970s and 1980s meant there was a quantity of available data and there were a small number of archaeologists who immersed themselves in archaeological theory.

In the late 1980s, early 1990s a new school of thought emerged in theoretical archaeology, New Archaeology was replaced by post-processual archaeology. This

approached called for 'greater behavioural emphasis and less consensual views of society' (Gerrard 2003, 218). Post-processualists experimented with a wide range of theoretical agendas: structuralism, feminism, gender-studies, neo-marxism and phenomenology. Driscoll's 1984 article in the Scottish Archaeological Review was the first sign that this debate was spilling over into medieval archaeology (Driscoll 1984). Like processual archaeology, post-processual archaeology did not find universal acceptance among medieval archaeologists with many continuing to adopt an empiricist approach. In the foreword to the 1990 publication *From the Baltic to the Black Sea,* Ucko accused medieval archaeologists of complacency and of peddling a 'historically dominated programme of research design' (Ucko 1990, xii). As medieval archaeology came into contact with a variety of influences there was an increased exploitation of theory in medieval archaeology. These influences included; theoretical approaches developed by prehistorians; the influence of historical archaeologists from the United States, the influence of the small band of medieval scholars with an interest in social theory and; the more widespread rejection of positivism among medieval archaeologists as they came into contact with scholars from other disciplines. Gerrard sounds a closing word of caution, 'theory should not be treated as a separate branch of medieval archaeology' (Gerrard 2003, 220). However, he sees the increased cooperation between historians and archaeologists and the development of a common language of debate and discourse as positive signs for the development of a theoretical archaeology throughout the study of later medieval archaeology.

5.2: Text v Artefact

The relationship between archaeology and text has been examined extensively by John Moreland in his book 'Archaeology and Text' (Moreland 2007). In it Moreland attempts to trace the development of text to a position of prominence above that of the artefact. This prominence of text over object has had a number of consequences for the archaeology of the historic period. Early excavations were often focused on places mentioned in the written sources, the most famous example is probably Schliemann's use of the Iliad in his search for Troy (Moreland 2007, 16). This practice was not limited to classical archaeology. Even where historical archaeology moved from focusing on a single site to a landscape approach the prominence of text was still evident. The first landscape study conducted on a large scale in Ireland was the Tara project conducted by the Discovery Programme. While the some of the monuments at

Tara were not constructed during the historic period, it features prominently in mythology and was regularly referenced in historical sources. The mythical status of the site and the amount of material written about the site were no doubt responsible for its selection. Indeed, Champion (Champion 1990, 91) has indicated that this 'tyranny of the historical record' is a Europe-wide problem. He argues that the 'programme for the archaeology of the historic period in Europe is set by history and a historic vision of the past'. He goes on to state that 'Not only are the materially based studies of archaeology regularly subordinated to those of literary record but the entire conceptual framework of questions and evidence is limited by historical concerns ultimately rooted in a vision of European uniqueness and implied superiority' (Champion 1990, 91). Champion sees not only the selection of sites but also the research questions for those sites as being affected by the dominance of historical sources.

Several historical archaeologists have sought to establish a theoretical basis for the integration of text and artefact. They reject attempts to give greater weight to evidence from text or artefact. Wilkie (2006, 14) for example, argues that it is only by integrating all forms of evidence that we can see things as they would have been by contemporaries. The argument is supported by a quotation from Hall 'Both artefacts and literary texts make use of images; those who read their meaning did not respect the disciplinary boundaries of the practitioners who would one day seek to understand their minds' (Hall and Silliman 2006, 16). Wilkie (2006), Moreland (2007) and Galloway (2006) all argue that the effective integration of artefact and text is dependent on developing an understanding of their limitations and processes of their creation, deposition, discovery and archiving. These processes affect which artefacts and texts are discovered and conserved. 'By entering the network of use and deposition, by being recovered from unique deposition context, and by undergoing the process of archiving, artefacts and texts enter history and begin to accrue historical value by their participation in these respective networks' (Galloway 2006, 52).Wilkie argues in her paper entitled *Documentary Archaeology* that in order to integrate text and artefact effectively attention must be paid 'to how source creation and issues of temporal and scalar resolution can provide a general framework for evaluating what research questions are appropriate to ask our source materials' (Wilkie 2006, 33).

Moreland (2007, 26) argues that one of the major shortcomings of historical archaeologists is their tendency to treat documents and artefacts simply as evidence about the past. 'Written and artefactual remains from the past were not created with the questions of future archaeologists and historians in mind, but were produced and had efficacy in the production of structures of power, in the past itself' (Moreland 2007, 26). Indeed Austin has argued that 'the very fact of documentation is an agent of transformation..... A society which documents itself is of its very nature a different form of society from one which does not' (Austin 1990, 29-30). Artefacts were also embued with meaning and were used in the construction of social and personal relationships in the past (Moreland 2007, 28). Hall advanced a similar argument when he wrote that 'the material world was constantly implicated in identity and the expression of power' (Hall and Silliman 2006, 16).

The text-dominated nature of medieval archaeology in Ireland may explain why archaeologists neglected the Gaelic-Irish of the period for so long. The superior historical sources available for those areas of the country that experienced large-scale Anglo-Norman settlement led to a concentration on the places mentioned in those sources.

5.3: A time-frame for historical archaeology

One of the challenges created through the use of the methodologies of historical archaeology in this study is the start date ascribed to historical archaeology by some of its practitioners, especially those based in North America. The introduction to *The Cambridge Companion to Historical Archaeology* defines the term historical archaeology as referring 'broadly to the period post-1500' (Hicks and Beaudry 2006, 2). However, the authors are also clear that they do not want to create a break with 'the field of archaeology of earlier periods' (Hicks and Beaudry 2006, 2). Moreland (2007) and others have argued that the term historical archaeology applies to the study of any aspect of archaeology where historical sources for the period are available. Under this definition historical archaeology embraces a much broader period and includes classical archaeology, Mayan archaeology and Irish high and late medieval archaeology. In Ireland too, historical archaeology has generally been associated with post-medieval archaeology. A section in *Archaeological Dialogues* in 2006 devoted to historical archaeology in Ireland concentrated on the post-medieval period and

discussed post-colonial approaches to that archaeology (Horning 2006a, 183). Historical archaeology in this context appears to begin with the policy of plantation in Ireland, particularly the Ulster plantation. O'Keeffe (2006) is the only discussant to draw the medieval period into the discussion and this is done only briefly. However, Irish contributions to the *International journal of historical archaeology* include articles that deal with the medieval period, including the early medieval period (Boyle 2004). No argument has been made to justify the exclusion of the medieval period in Ireland from historical archaeology. A starting date of 1500 or 1492 (Orser 1996) makes sense in an American context as it was from this date that a substantial amount of documentary sources were available. However, this is not the case in Ireland, where there is no such dramatic break between the medieval and post-medieval periods and written records in Ireland had begun almost 1000 years previously. The study of the archaeology of the medieval period in Ireland has traditionally included an analysis of the available documentary sources; these attempts to combine archaeology and history, however clumsily, can surely be termed historical archaeology.

5.4: Historical archaeology in Ireland

The term historical archaeology is not regularly used in the Republic of Ireland, while more research has been conducted in Northern Ireland it is still a 'niche' discipline with a small number of practitioners. In both jurisdictions historical archaeology deals with the period post 1550 and is generally referred to as post-medieval archaeology. The terms historical archaeology and post-medieval archaeology can be seen as separating the theoretical academic historical archaeologist from the hands-on post-medieval excavators (Horning 2006a). Indeed, Horning (2006a) argues that the decision of the Irish Post-Medieval Archaeology Group (IPMAG), established in 1999, to use the term post-medieval could be seen as a rejection of the purportedly global approach of American historical archaeology. She also points to the failure of the IPMAG to publish an 'explicitly theoretical paper proposed by Tadhg O'Keeffe of University College Dublin in favour of more grounded data –driven submissions' (Horning 2006a, 189). Horning appears to attribute this decision to the fact that post-medieval archaeology was still in its infancy and that practical considerations such as pottery identification were upper most in the minds of its practitioners.

This split appears to have been healed to a certain degree with IPMAG conferences being held in conjunction with academic institutions, and Tadhg O'Keeffe being invited to speak at their conferences on a number of occasions. However, the fundamental tensions between theory and practice remains. In 2005 the IPMAG newsletter included a review of the Contemporary Historical Archaeology and theory (CHAT) conference held in Dublin. The reviewer described one paper as 'lost behind a discourse in the language common to those who engage daily with matters of theory as a central tenet of their professional lives, a language which frankly, alienates others .... it is certainly not the language of inclusion' (Myles 2006). Horning (2006b) remains optimistic that the divide between theory and practice is not too stark, while O'Keeffe (2006) and Orser (2006) see this divide as being more pronounced. Thus both Orser and O'Keeffe call upon those who practice post-medieval archaeology to embrace theory, while Horning (2006b) seems to advocate a coming together of both groups with hands-on practitioners using theory and theorists applying their theory to practical applications. It is only by both groups moving towards the centre that common ground can be found. Horning's caution that 'theoretically driven archaeology that is not rooted in place, space and the present becomes merely a compelling mental exercise' is one that should guide any study which uses utilises archaeological theory (Horning 2006a, 189).

This tension in Irish historical archaeology and its focus on the period post-1550 means that this study is more reliant on theory developed on the subject in other jurisdictions although there are some articles which provide ideas and theories which are highly relevant to this study. Horning's work, which studies the plantation period in Ulster, has highlighted the high level of interaction between the Irish and the arriving Scottish planters (Horning 2004). Similarly, as O'Keeffe studies both the medieval and post-medieval periods there is substantial cross over between the two periods in his work. For example, in his discussion of Horning's (2006a, 2006b) article in *Archaeological Discourses* O'Keeffe argues that 'those people of medieval or plantation period Ireland whom we regard as quite distinctive in their politico-religious identities (and for whom we use the exact same terms, such as 'English' and 'Irish', over a period of many centuries), were not always correspondingly distinctive or isolated in daily activities to which the archaeological record bears witness. On the contrary, politically essentialized polarisations of identity between the twelfth and

sixteenth centuries were often counterbalances, and even undermined, by creolizations at the level of cultural practice' (O'Keeffe 2006, 208).

5.5: Establishing a role for historical archaeology

In looking to distinguish their role from that of historians, historical archaeologists have argued their approach can 'give a voice to those silenced by their exclusion from written accounts' (Moreland 2007, 19). Sarah Tarlow, for example, has argued that historical archaeology has the capacity to 'make visible the invisible people of the past – the poor, the illiterate, and those who are socially, politically or geographically remote from literature and disempowered by the centres of elite culture' (Tarlow 1999, 263). Similarly Graeme Barker has argued that field survey allows us to study whole settlement systems rather than those aspects 'which the ancient sources chose to describe' (Barker 1991, 2). This approach can be problematic, and Moreland (2007, 21) argued that "the search for 'text-free' zones in the past, into which archaeology can insert itself, not only reproduces archaeology's sub-ordination to history but also fundamentally misconceives the role of both artefacts and writing in history'. Again Moreland (2007, 31) argues that an integration of text and artefact is crucial in the study of the ordinary people of history. Searching for them exclusively in the archaeological record is likely to create an incomplete view of their lives. Texts, he argues, not only record the events of the past but were also an agent in the conduct of these events. 'More particularly they contributed to the creation and production of oppression - as well as providing new opportunities for resistance' (Moreland 2007, 31). We must therefore acknowledge that texts had an effect on the lives of those it recorded, and those it excluded. Indeed, an exclusion from the records could indicate exclusion in other areas. For example the exclusion of the Gaelic-Irish from common law, would have led to their exclusion from the legal records of the period. The old adage 'Evidence of absence is not absence of evidence' is particularly pertinent here.

Historical Archaeology is also ascribed a role as a verifier of historical documents, it is seen as a methodology for checking the veracity of statements in historical sources. This role reduces archaeology once again to the role of the handmaiden of history. The questions interrogated are those posed by historians rather than archaeologists and artefacts are interpreted through the lens of the historical documents rather than as objects from the past that can reveal something about that past.

I would argue that the role for historical archaeology is much wider than these claims suggest. It ought to be integral to the study of any period for which text and artefacts are available. The creation of an accurate narrative for the lives of these people is dependent on an approach which recognises that both types of source can tell us something about the people of the past, and that neither form of evidence should have precedence over the other.

5.6: Landscape archaeology

This project aims to be multi-disciplinary from the outset, using all the available sources of information on medieval settlement. To this end, the work of not just archaeologists of varying specialisms, but also the research of geographers, historians, and Irish language experts has been consulted. Fleure (1918) declared that 'geography, history and anthropology are a trilogy to be broken only with severe loss of truth' and, in quoting this remark, Evans (1992, 10) is also appealing for an interdisciplinary approach to the study of the past. It was arguably the work of Evans, and other geographers, that focused attention in Ireland on the idea that landscape is 'more than a location for events but is bound up with the nature of those events and the nature of the society it supports' (Evans 1992, 9). Consequently, if this project is to take a broad approach to the study of high and late medieval settlement in the two study areas, the concept of landscape as a source of information has to be examined.

The term landscape appears to have been adopted as a painterly term from the Dutch in the sixteenth century (Stoddart 2000, 3) and the development of landscape painting as a genre is well documented. In the intervening centuries, landscape has become a theme common to many modern disciplines, art, architecture, anthropology and history have developed specialist interests. Stoddart (2000, 3) argues that the concept of landscape is central to two academic subjects, geography and archaeology 'both these disciplines share an unresolved tension between the human and the physical landscape where balance is difficult to attain'.

Tilley (1994, 3) argues that conventional archaeology worked at two levels, the site plan and the distribution map. It focused on either individual sites or the distribution of a site type or types over a large area. He sees landscape archaeology as attempting to

create a 'middle range'. A glance at less recent editions of the *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* or the *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* confirms Tilley's assessment of the traditional focus of archaeology. The papers focus on the excavation or examination of individual sites or concentrate on the distribution of a specific type of monument within the entire country or a region. Similarly, artefact studies tend to concentrate in a particular artefact or type of artefact. Within these approaches to archaeology 'space was quite literally a nothingness, a simple surface for action, lacking depth' (Tilley 1994, 9). Cooney's (2000, 2) work on the Neolithic argues that the use of classification as an analytical and ordering device by archaeologists tends to emphasise the distinctions between these different categories of data, rather than focusing on the reality that they all formed part of the material culture of Neolithic people. The preoccupation with classification did not allow for the study of the relationships between different categories of archaeological monument.

There are almost as many definitions of landscape archaeology as there are books on the subject. Cooney's recent definition of landscape 'as a relationship constructed between people and the place that they inhabit, how they perceive the world of soil, water, rock, air and make it a lived place' (Cooney 2000, 6) is useful because it reminds us that there were people as well as monuments in these landscapes, a fact that is sometimes lost in the study of past landscapes. Chapman's definition is more traditional; he sees Landscape Archaeology as 'a term commonly used to characterise those areas of historical research and interpretation that consider the landscape as opposed to the site, the interrelationship between sites, and the physical spaces separating them' (Chapman 2006, 11). This approach can lead to the 're-creation' of a sterile landscape, which people lived in, but whose actions are not considered to have had a significant impact on the landscape. This study intends to combine Cooney's aspirational notion of landscape with the practical approach used by Astill and Davies' (1997) in their study of *The Breton Landscape.* Hopefully, the use of these theories and methodologies of landscape archaeology will lead to the development of an understanding of how people perceived and constructed the time and space of their lives (Cooney 2000, 6).

5.7: The development of landscape archaeology in Britain

In 1997 Barker and Darvill wrote that 'landscape archaeology is a relatively new field of inquiry' (Barker and Darvill 1997, 1). More than ten years later landscape archaeology can be seen as part of the main stream of archaeological inquiry. Most archaeological studies now give at least lip service to the idea that the wider landscape in which archaeological monuments are located is important in the understanding of these monuments. The development of landscape archaeology is seen as having run parallel to the development of landscape history, and William George Hoskins is seen as the common ancestor to many studies of the English landscape. Several factors influenced the development of landscape history in the post war period, 'Hoskins belonged to a generation nurtured on O.G.S. Crawford's field archaeology, H.C. Darby's historical geography and A. Clapham's economic history' (Barker and Darvill 1997, 2). The availability of the results of a systematic aerial reconnaissance, by the military, of the landscape during World Wars I and II was a valuable resource to historians of landscape. In 1955 Hoskins published his seminal book *The making of the English Landscape* which is credited with laying 'the foundations for what is today called Landscape Archaeology and which, since the early 1960s has developed in leaps and bounds through a series of changing orientations, expanding methodologies and links with landscape history' (Darvill 1997, 72).

The development of landscape studies in Britain can be linked to a certain extent to university extra-mural departments, particularly those which offered local studies courses. Barker and Darvill argue that the success of these extra-mural courses in promoting landscape studies is due to the fact that 'if there is a History (or Archaeology) for everyman then it is often likely to be found and visible on our respective doorsteps; the ground plan and pattern of our everyday lives provides an academic discipline which can engage the attention of both local society members and senior scholars' (Barker and Darvill 1997, 4). Landscape Archaeology as a discipline really gathered momentum in the 1970s. In 1970 1.6 percent of the papers published in antiquity dealt with some aspect of landscape, and by 1994-5 that number had increased to 11.5 percent (Darvill 1997, 70). A landscape study, like other aspects of archaeology, has gone through a number of changes in direction since the 1960s and the developments of processual and post-processual archaeology have impacted upon

it, introducing landscape reconstruction and social archaeology among other developments.

Darvill (1997, 73) has divided the differing approaches to landscape archaeology into two categories: landscape as object and landscape as text. The landscape as object school of thought views the landscape as having been moulded by people, individually and collectively and also seeks to understand the way the landscape affected human activities. The landscape as subject school of thought focuses on reconstructing the landscape at various points in its history (Darvill 1997, 74). Darvill criticises both schools of thought for their emphasis on defined sites, at the expense of the apparently 'blank' areas in between. He also criticises the lack of attention given to the social dimensions of the landscape and the tendency to view the landscape as having been stable through time, when the 'normal state for landscape is one of constant change' (Darvill 1997, 75). He sees the future of landscape archaeology in the idea of 'social space' where archaeologists recognise that 'people live and work within a large space or environment within which they are free to move about according to socially-defined rules and expectations' (Darvill 1997, 76). Finally, Darvill argues that 'landscape is not a passive thing – the product of everything that has gone before - but an active thing, the very matrix in which social life is conducted' (Darvill 1997, 78).

There have been quite a number of studies of the medieval landscape studies produced in Britain: *Villages in the landscape* (Rowley 1978), *Churches in the landscape* (Morris 1989), *Monasteries in the landscape* (Aston 2000) and most recently *Castles and landscapes: community and fortification in medieval England* (Creighton 2002). None of these books are overtly theoretical, but they are useful as templates for the study of other landscapes. The development of the theory of landscape archaeology by those studying the medieval period is similar to the development of other aspects of the theory for this period. The availability of documentary sources has lessen the necessity to establish a theoretical framework and consequently the development of theory started later and progressed at a much slower rate than was the case for prehistoric archaeology. Johnson argues that 'the intellectual and theoretical basis of the study of medieval villages, of the field systems that surround them, and of enclosure, remains largely unchanged' (Johnson 2005, 120) since Hoskins wrote on the subject. He also argues that the failure of medieval archaeology to engage with processual questions

has resulted in its failure to match the intellectual development of prehistoric landscape archaeology.

5.8: The development of landscape archaeology in Ireland

The development of landscape archaeology in Ireland was much slower to begin with than was the case in Britain. Much of the work on the Irish landscape prior to the 1980s was carried out under the aegis of cultural geography and paleoecology (Reeves-Smyth and Hammond 1983, 1). The first major publication on the subject was a collection of papers entitled *Landscape archaeology in Ireland* edited by Reeves-Smyth and Hammond (1983). In the introduction the editors state that their focus is 'the changing behaviour of people in relation to their environment, their adaptation to it, utilisation of its resources and impact on it' (Reeves-Smyth and Hammond 1983, 1). This publication is dominated by the ideas of 'new geography' and 'man land' theories (Clancy 2001) that 'considered space as an abstract dimension or container in which human activities and events took place' (Tilley 1994, 9). This approach implied that activity, event and space were conceptually separate from each other and only contingently related. Fox and Childe were the originators of this theory as they advanced the notion that 'humans were active participants in the landscape, utilising the landscape rather than being subordinate to it' (Clancy 2001). The links between new geography and new archaeology were obvious in the 1970s and 1980s when new geography was 'systematically used to provide a basis for mathematical spatial archaeology' (Tilley 1994, 10). It is this type of approach that dominated the study of the Irish landscape during that period. Graham's (1975) study of Anglo-Norman settlement in county Meath for example used the quantitative methods of geography to determine the factors that influenced the Normans in their settlement locations. This involved dividing county Meath into quadrants and the chi-square test was applied to test the null hypothesis for each factor considered. In this way a statistical analysis of the importance of a number of factors on the location of settlement could be carried out.

More recent commentators have advanced to 'regarding space as a medium rather than a container for action, something that is involved in the action and cannot be divorced from it' (Tilley 1994, 10). Cooney's writings are part of this new approach and while acknowledging that a definition of landscape is problematic, he suggests that 'we

could begin by treating it as a relationship constructed between people and the place that they inhabit, how they perceive the physical world of soil, water, rock and air and make it a lived in place' (Cooney 2000, 6). By defining landscape in this way, he argues that we can see how people perceived and constructed the time and space of their lives. This echoes Darvill's call for a social approach to landscape archaeology because the way in which 'people of any society choose to use the space in which they find themselves is entirely a social phenomenon' (Darvill 1997, 78).

The discipline of landscape archaeology in Ireland has been largely advanced by pre-historians. As we have seen, Cooney's work on the Neolithic has been especially important. Burenhult's (1984) publication on Carrowmore sought to examine the wider setting of the megalithic cemetery and place it in topographical, geographical and social context. Similarly, the work of the Discovery Programme such as the Tara project (Newman 1997), the North Munster project, the western stone fort project and the Ballyhoura hills project, have provided examples of the practical application of landscape archaeology. In 2007 the Discovery Programme's report had the subtitle 'North Roscommon in the later medieval period: An introduction' (Brady 2005). This publication adopted a landscape approach to the study of a Gaelic lordship and it is the first landscape study of the later medieval period produced by the Discovery Programme. Although this publication is an interim rather than a final report, it provides a valuable template for other studies of Gaelic lordships. One section of the report describes the development of the O'Conor Roe lordship from the early medieval to the post-medieval period. Information for this study was gathered from a wide range of sources, documentary, archaeological, cartographic, antiquarian and artefactual. Modern fieldwork techniques were used to survey monuments in the study areas, and GIS was used to analyse the data collected. Another section of the report discusses the vernacular sources available to the project. The final two chapters deal with more detailed surveys of areas of high archaeological potential such as; the priory and graveyard at Tulsk and the earthwork at Tulsk. The methodologies used in this study and the wide range of sources exploited were a guide to the current study.

Most other studies of medieval rural settlement have tended to focus on regional studies of the individual components of the settlement, such as mottes or tower houses. A number of syntheses of medieval archaeology in Ireland (Barry 2003a, O'Keeffe

2000a) and O'Conor's (1998) publication on rural medieval settlement have been produced. However, in these publications the components of settlement are dealt with individually and there is little attempt to examine the relationship between them. It is in determining the nature of this relationship that landscape archaeology can make its contribution to the study of rural medieval settlement. Several landscape based studies of medieval settlement have been completed as postgraduate theses and a number of these have recently been published under the auspices of the *Group for the Study of Irish Historic Settlement* (Lyttleton and O'Keeffe 2004). However while some of these studies do acknowledge that they are adopting a landscape approach to the study of the archaeology of the manor, there is little attempt to develop or indeed discuss its methodologies.

5.9: Defining the landscape

Tolan-Smith (1997, 1) has argued that despite the increase in the number of studies of landscape archaeology in recent decades, there is an absence of a generally accepted terminology and more importantly an 'absence of a clear modus operandi as to how to define the landscape in a meaningful sense within the context of archaeological investigation'. To remedy this shortcoming, he sets about establishing guidelines on how the spatial and temporal boundaries of a landscape study should be set. Most importantly for this project, he provides guidance on how to establish these boundaries for the study of the high medieval period, though admittedly in a British context, specifically the Tynedale valley. Tolan-Smith argues that what distinguishes landscape archaeology projects is their scale 'which is always broader than a single site and its immediate surroundings' (Tolan-Smith 1997, 2). This idea of scale is a critical factor; the archaeologist must define the landscape they intend to study in a meaningful sense.

It has been common practice to define a study area in terms of a regular geometric shape defined lines of latitude and longitude or by Ordnance Survey national grid. Similarly, a large area can be divided into a number of regular transects or quadrants which can be studied in detail in the assumption that they are representative of the larger whole. But these study areas are unlikely to have any real meaning in human terms and merely act as tools for researchers. Study areas defined by a significant natural feature, such as a river valley, may be more useful. However these areas may have had no significance to the people being studied or they may have had a different

significance to the researcher and the people being studied (Tolan-Smith 1997, 2). After all, 'what we are trying to achieve is an understanding of what life was like for the people who lived and created that past' (Cooney 2000, 5).

'It is fundamental to landscape archaeology that the landscapes studied are defined in terms that are likely to have had meaning to the wider communities for whom the landscape was the theatre for their wider social, economic and ideological lives' (Tolan-Smith 1997, 2). This is especially true for the study of high medieval settlement, where it is possible from the available records to reconstruct - with a reasonable degree of accuracy - the extent of manors, cantreds, lordships, ballybetaghs, townlands, mensal lands and church lands. Duffy et al (2001, 58) appear to support Tolan-Smith's argument when they state that 'the only context in which to examine the archaeology of medieval settlement per se is the within the political and administrative geographical matrix pertinent to the period being investigated'.

Both Tolan-Smith and Duffy et al acknowledge that each phase of landscape development may be partly conditioned by, and contingent upon, what went before. 'A community's relationship with the landscape is historically as well as topographically situated, the actions of antecedent generations being partial determinants of those of their successors' (Tolan-Smith 1997, 6). This factor is especially relevant to this project; the incoming Anglo-Normans were undoubtedly influenced by the existing topographical and social situation when they established their settlements in Ireland.

5.10: Establishing a time frame

Meaningful temporal definition is more problematic and is less readily overcome. A number of commentators have attempted to define periods of time in a manner that would have had meaning for historic and pre-historic communities. Braudel's well know approach to the concept of time, as quoted by Cooney (2000, 5) identified the three different levels of time or history, which were: the *longee durée*, long-term patterns of continuity and change that are linked to environment and place; the history of conjecture, which focuses on shorter economic and demographic trends and cycles; the history of events, dealing with the lives of individuals and short term events. Gosden (1994) built on Braudel's three levels of time or history to define three different categories of time, which are connected from a human, lived perspective. The

first is the 'time of our lives', the time of personal existence bounded by life and death. The second is 'public time', connected with marking important events or occasions. The third and final type is the 'concept of time that is embedded in tradition', the way of doing things and long-term continuities. Given the poor resolution of available chronologies, adopting a short time scale of a century or less is not an option for the high medieval period. Landscape archaeology is therefore of necessity concerned with what Braudel termed the *longue durée* (Tolan-Smith 1997, 8). Although most landscapes have experienced more or less continuous human activity since their initial colonisation, landscape development has not proceeded at a constant rate. Long periods of stability, alternated by periods of rapid change, have characterised the evolution of the landscape in most places. 'These episodes of rapid change can be used to provide a temporal framework which is responsive to major developments which can be detected in the evidence' (Tolan-Smith 1997, 8).

5.11: Creating an integrated methodology for the current study

The approach used by Astill and Davies (1997) in their study of the Breton Landscape was identified at an early stage of this study as being a suitable methodological template. They used landscape as a source of evidence but also used other sources to create a truly inter-disciplinary project. The principal methods used were: gathering and analysis of written data from archive collections, a staged programme of archaeological fieldwork, and a systematic survey of standing buildings. The three-staged programme of fieldwork began with general fieldwalking, which identified sites suitable for more intensive survey, finally leading to the selection of sites for excavation. In this study a similar wide-ranging fieldwork programme was conducted and used to identify case-study areas.

Astill and Davies' (1997) approach was supplemented with the methodologies used by the Discovery Programme especially due its relevance to the Irish landscape. However, the resources available to the Discovery Programme are well beyond those available to the current study. Consequently, some of the methodologies used by them are not practical for this study and for this reason Astill and Davies' approach was felt to be a more suitable template. This study began with a detailed search of all of the available archive sources for the two study areas. Then a general fieldwork programme was carried out in both areas. On the basis of the results of the archive search and the

fieldwork, case-study areas were chosen in both baronies for more detailed research. Like the Discovery Programme, Astill and Davies (1997) carried out targeted excavations at some of their targeted areas of research, whereas this study concentrated on fieldwalking, survey and other non-invasive techniques.

Chapter six - case-study areas

As outlined in chapter one, the purpose of this chapter is to allow micro-level research on the scale of the parish to be conducted. This chapter will provide a contrast to the barony level research contained in chapters three and four. Two parishes were chosen from each barony to highlight the diversity within the baronies, both in the settlement types and the cross-cultural interactions evident in their historical archaeology. As with the decision to use baronies to define the study areas, the decision to use civil parishes as case-study areas is easier to justify in Overk, than in Clanmahon. In Overk, like other parts of modern county Kilkenny, the civil parish and the manor appear to be generally co-terminous (Empey 1982, 330). Many of the names of the civil parishes in Overk are found in the *Ormond Deeds,* and other documentary sources, as the names of manors. In Clanmahon, the parishes were likely to have been formed later than those in Overk and the impact of this and other differences between the parishes in both baronies are highlighted in this chapter and discussed in section 8.4 of this thesis. The use of the parish to define the case-study areas will highlight the differences in settlement types and organisation both within and between the baronies.

6.1: Ballymachugh

The parish of Ballymachugh is located adjacent to the modern border between counties Cavan, Meath and Westmeath. It can perhaps best be described as a zone of interaction during the later medieval period. This case-study area was chosen because of its location adjacent to Anglo-Norman medieval Meath and the historical evidence that indicates that there were significant cross-cultural interactions in this area. The SMR includes a motte, and mottes are generally regarded as Anglo-Norman site types.

Lough Sheelin forms the southern boundary of the parish, in an area of fertile soils that are suitable for arable agriculture (Gardiner and Radford 1980, 131). The *Maps of the Escheated Counties of Ulster* for the barony of Clanmahon indicate that in the early seventeenth century there were considerable areas of bogland in the parish and while the *Down Survey* barony map also depicts some bogland it appears to be much less extensive. Although, the cartographic evidence suggests that the land in this parish has been improved and may not always have been so fertile and productive, it is clearly more productive than the land further north which are dominated by drumlins. Lough

Sheelin is the dominant topographical feature in this area and a number of small rivers, unnamed on the *Ordnance Survey* Discovery Series map, run through the parish and into the lake.

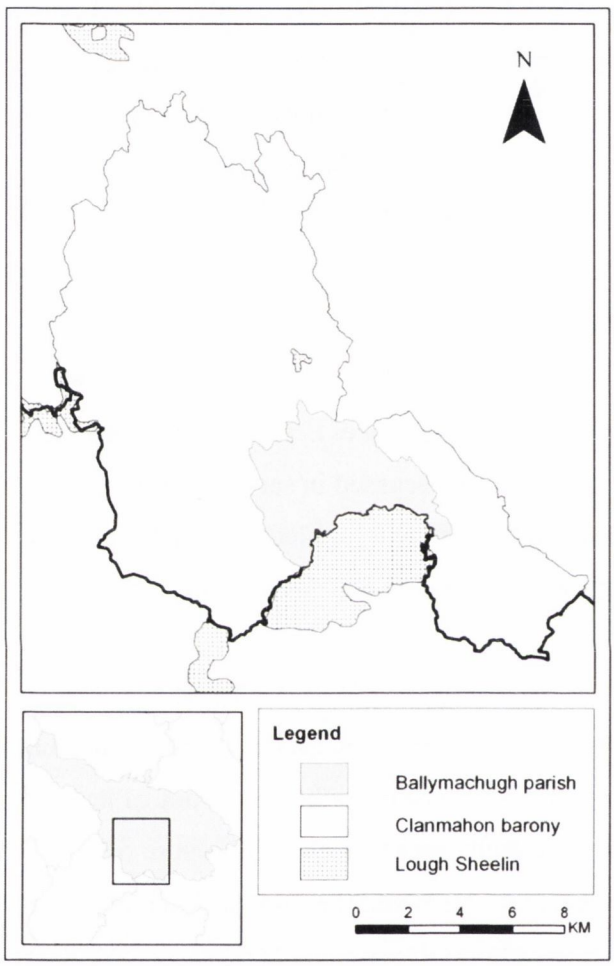


Fig. 6.1: Location map for Ballymachugh parish.

The 'tithes of the rectory of Ballymachivy' (identified as Ballymachugh) were recorded, after its dissolution in 1541, as part of the possessions of the Cistercian abbey in Abbeylara, county Longford (Archdall 1873, 443). Richard Tuite founded Abbeylara or Granard abbey before his death in 1210 or 1211 and it was colonised from St. Mary's Abbey in Dublin in 1214 (Doran 2004, 71). Richard Tuite was part of Strongbow's force and Hugh de Lacy granted him lands in modern Westmeath and Longford (Mullally 2002, 133, line 3146). The tithes from Ballymachugh were valued at 10*s*. while the tithes of the neighbouring rectory of Drumlumman (also in the possession of Abbeylara) were valued at 13*s*. 4*d*. Otway-Ruthven argues that rectories in the possession of the Cistercian abbey in Abbeylara at the dissolution probably represented 'an original grant of Richard Tuite of the tithes of all his lands, some of which would certainly have continued to be held by Irish chieftains' (Otway-Ruthven 1993, 121). Richard Tuite was also responsible for the construction of the large motte-and-bailey in nearby Granard (*c*.12.5km from the motte in Lavagh). Although the monastery was an Anglo-Norman foundation, by the early fifteenth century it has passed into the control of the Ó Fearghail family. The behaviour of the Cistercian monks in Abbeylara was one of the complaints advanced

in the Remonstrance of the Irish Princes in 1318 (Doran 2004, 71-72). In this document the exclusively Anglo-Norman monks of the abbey were accused of attacking and killing the Irish (Hazzard 2007). In 1400 the monks at Abbeylara were forced by the pope to pass over its own statutes and admit Irish monks. Within years it was a purely Irish house and the abbacy was the prerogative of the Ó Fearghails (Nicholls 2003, 122). The motte in Granard had a similar history, being originally an Anglo-Norman construction but eventually coming into Irish hands. Richard Tuite the original Anglo-Norman grantee probably constructed the motte. This castle was among a list of several returned to Hugh de Lacy in 1215. In 1241 control of the castle again changed hands, after Walter de Lacy died and Geoffrey de Geneville, Walter's son in law, gained control of it. The last reference to Anglo-Norman control of the site comes in 1348, when it was in the possession of the Mortimers. By 1405 Granard is under the control of the Irish, and in this year Uilliam Ó Fearghail built a castle there. Although, it is unclear if O Fearghail built his castle on the motte in Granard or at the site locally known as Granard Castle in the townland of Granardkill, it is clear that the motte was used as the inauguration site of the Ó Fearghails (Bradley et al. 1989, 15-16).

Fig. 6.2: Granard motte, county Longford (LF010-08001-).

It is probable that the parish of Ballymachugh had a similar history to Granard. Richard Tuite gained possession of it in the later part of the twelfth century and

eventually it reverted to the control of the Gaelic-Irish. What is unclear is how long the Anglo-Normans managed to retain control of the area. They may have lost control of it early in the thirteenth century, as was the case with the motte in Kilmore to the north. They may have held onto it until the fourteenth century as was the case in Granard, or as Otway Ruthven (1993, 121) suggested, they may never have gained control of many large areas of the parish.

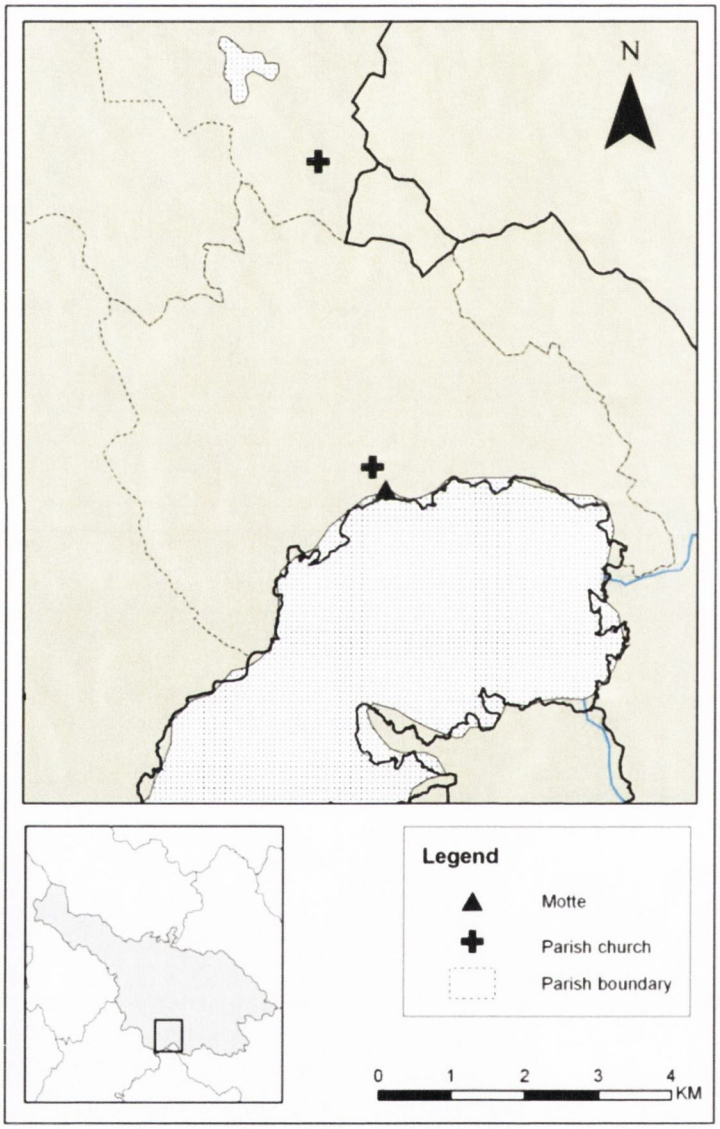


Fig. 6.3. Map showing the evidence for Anglo-Norman settlement in Ballymachugh.

This parish has a rich archaeological record that includes a variety of site types. Some of these sites evidently dated to before the later medieval period, such as the court-tomb in Moydristan (CV037-049---) and the ogham stone in Omard (CV037-065---). There are a number of nucleations of archaeological sites within the parish. The one in Lavagh may represent an attempt to establish a manorial caput and the platform ringfort, tower house and crannogs in Crover could be interpreted as the centre of the Clan Mahon O'Reilly chiefs. It is clear that this is an area that was likely to have experienced significant interactions between the Anglo-Normans and the Gaelic-Irish.

Many of the sites in this parish were discussed briefly in chapter four, which outlined the landscape, history and archaeology of the barony of Clanmahon. The purpose of this section is to place all these sites in the context of the parish and its many other archaeological sites and discuss the evidence for cross-cultural interactions for the parish as a whole.

The motte in Lavagh (CV037-042---) is likely to have been constructed by Richard Tuite or one of his tenants. The juxtaposition of motte and parish church suggests that this motte may have been an attempt by them to establish a manorial centre in Ballymachugh and to assert their authority over their lands in the area. The motte in not accompanied by a bailey; it is possible that one originally existed but has not survived. The motte has been incorporated into an estate landscape that has disturbed the surrounding area. As there are no documentary references to a castle in Ballymachugh, it is impossible to establish now long the motte was occupied, though it is likely that, like the motte in Kilmore, its period of occupation was short. Perhaps it was one of the eighteen Tuite castles that were levelled in one day by Tómas Mahon O'Reilly in the late fourteenth century (Carney 1959, 106).

Fig. 6.4: Lavagh Motte, Ballymachugh parish, county Cavan (CV037-042---).

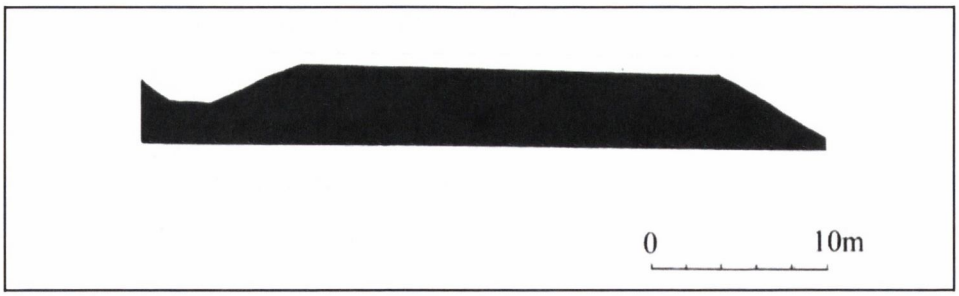


Fig. 6.5: Profile of Lavagh motte, Clanmahon N-S.

Tomas Mahon O'Reilly is credited with the construction of 'Caislean an Locha' (Carney 1959, 12) or the castle of the lake, which has traditionally been identified as Crover Castle (CV038-019---), a tower house located on Castle Island, close to the north shore of Lough Sheelin. This reference comes from a list entitled 'The Founders of Strongholds' which was included in Dr. Fitzsimons' seventeenth century work on the history of the O'Reillys. It is not, therefore, a contemporary reference to the construction of a castle and it may be the case that the oral tradition that Tómas Mahon O'Reilly constructed a castle in the area was applied to the most obvious castle structure in the seventeenth century, Crover Castle. This list also reports that an area between Athlone and Drogheda was under contribution to Tómas. Indeed, as was argued in chapter four, the second half of the fourteenth century would appear to be a very early date for a tower house, especially one with large windows and musket loops (see gazetteer entry for Crover Castle). Instead, it is argued that at this date the Caislean an Locha may have referred to one of the six possible crannógs in Lough Sheelin which are within the boundaries of Crover townland. The platform ringfort (CV038-020---) in the townland of Crover is another candidate for the title of 'Caislean an Locha', though its location close to the lake shore (*c*.350m) rather than within the lake could be seen as an obstacle to this interpretation. This site is a large impressive bi-vallate ringfort that would have been clearly visible on the landscape. This nucleation of platform ringfort, tower house and possible crannógs, together with the suggestion that Tomas O'Reilly, the then King of Breifne, had constructed a castle in the area, would all support the idea that this may have been the centre of the Clan Mahon O'Reilly territory.

Fig. 6.6: Crover platform ringfort, Ballymachugh parish, county Cavan (CV038-020---).

Fig. 6.7: Omard wayside cross, Ballymachugh parish, county Cavan.

The nucleation of sites in the townland of Omard would suggest the former presence of a church or other religious site in the area. The townland of Omard is located at the north end of the parish of Ballymachugh. There is a local tradition that there was a burial ground (CV037-063---) in a small field located in a projection on the western side of the townland boundary. The site of an ogham stone (CV037-065---) and a wayside cross (CV037-066---) are located *c.*650m east of this graveyard. The townland also contains a platform ringfort (CV037-062---) and the site of a ringfort (CV037-068---). This platform ringfort is located in an area of water-logged soils and the centre of the site may have been built up to avoid flooding.

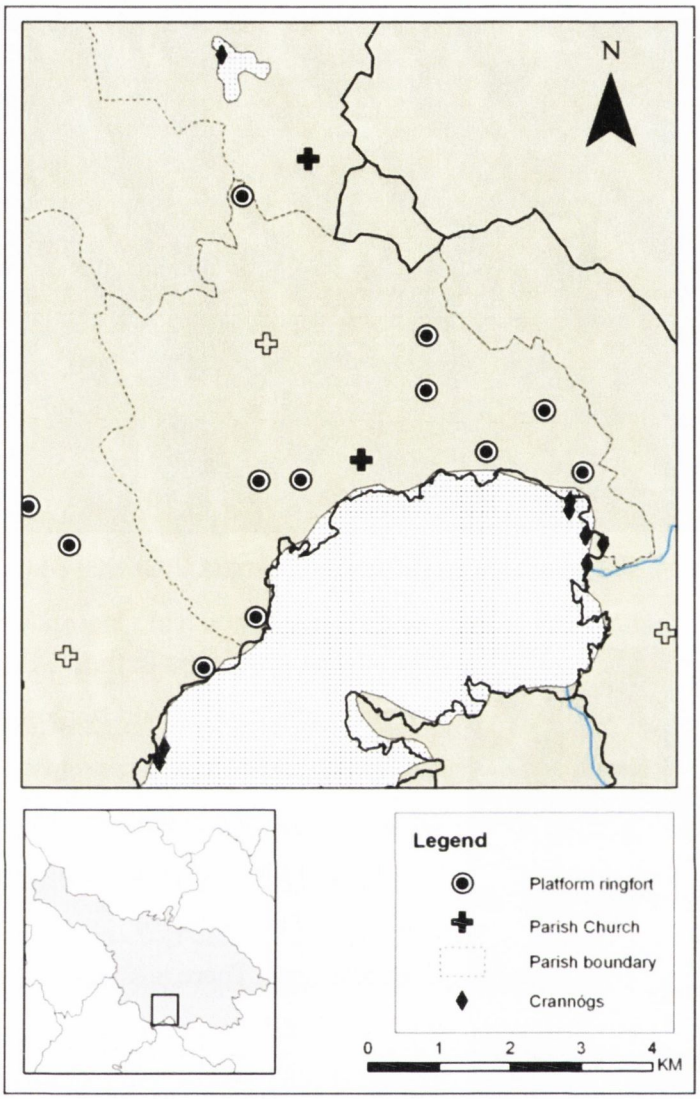


Fig. 6.8: Map showing the possible Gaelic-Irish settlement in Ballymachugh in the high medieval period.

Nugent (2006) has suggested that parish formation in Gaelic areas initially involved granting parish status to a túath and that this led to the prioritising of one of the constituent ecclesiastical sites over the others. 'Ecclesiastical sites located within the *baile* of the contemporary clan chief became parish centres while ecclesiastical sites in the remaining *bailte* were ignored' (Nugent 2006, 207). It is possible that this may have been the case within the parish of Ballymachugh and as the church in Lavagh (CV037-041---) was closer to the Mahon O'Reilly centre in Crover, it was that church which developed while any possible church in Omard would have been ignored; eventually only a tradition of a graveyard, the ogham stone site and the wayside cross recall its existence.

There are nine platform ringforts in the parish of Ballymachugh, out of a total of twenty-two examples in the barony as a whole. These platform ringforts are located in an area of fertile soils. As will be discussed extensively in section 7.1.3, it has been suggested that platform ringforts may have been occupied in the later medieval period, with O'Keeffe (2000a, 29) arguing that they may have performed the functions of a castle in pre-Norman Ireland. It would appear unlikely that all of the platform ringforts

in Clanmahon would have acted as castles. However, it may be more valid to suggest that the bi-vallate platform ringforts at Lisduff (CV038-041---) and Crover (CV038-020---) would have represented the high status residences of the area, with the univallate sites in Fortland (CV038-031--- and CV038-027---) being of lower status. The sites that have no external banks and ditches are more problematic, as it is difficult to determine whether or not this was their original morphology. It is possible that banks and ditches originally enclosed some of these sites; other sites that are in areas prone to waterlogging and flooding may have been raised, simply to counter the problem of flooding. The majority of sites with no external bank do, in fact, have a berm or bank on the edge of the platform and this may have been considered sufficient enclosure.

Fig. 6.9: Lisduff platform ringfort as shown on *Ordnance Survey Ireland* Map Viewer ortho-photograph 2000.

If we consider the sites in Crover and Lisduff to be the higher status Gaelic sites in the area what effect does this have on the settlement pattern in the parish? These two sites are located *c.*2.9km apart and the Crover site is *c.*1.5km from the motte in Lavagh (CV037-042---), while the Lisduff site is *c.*2.2km from the same motte. The motte-and-bailey in Racraveen (CV038-05502-) is located *c.*2.1km from the Crover site and 4.5km from the Lisduff site. The location of these large and impressive platform ringforts in proximity to two mottes would support O'Keeffe's (2000a, 29) idea that these sites may have been influenced by the increased monumentality of mottes and their impact on the Irish landscape. The mottes in Lavagh and Racraveen both have maximum heights of greater than 3m.

The cashel in Moydristan (CV037-047---) is a difficult site to interpret. While cashels, which are basically the drystone equivalent of earthen ringforts and appear to have fulfilled a similar function, generally date to the early medieval period, there is evidence to suggest that they continued to be occupied in the later medieval period (O'Conor 1998, 84). The cashel in Moydristan has a similar profile to a platform ringfort, with the interior of the site at a higher level than both the surrounding landscape and the enclosing dry-stone wall (0.45m to 1.4m above the wall).

Fig. 6.10: Moydristan cashel, Ballymachugh parish, county Cavan (CV037-047---).

As noted in the gazetteer entry for this site, the cashel at Cahermacnaghten, county Clare, appears to have been occupied by the O'Davorens up to the seventeenth century. The ground level within the site is far higher than the surrounding terrain and this has been seen as evidence of long occupation (O'Conor 1998, 86). It is possible that this site may have been occupied during the later medieval period, but the disturbed nature of the site makes this at best a tentative suggestion and only excavations at the site could provide any definitive answers.

The mound in Aghakilmore Lower, in the north of the parish, provides evidence of cross-cultural interactions, but interactions of a confrontational nature. The Annals of Ulster and the Annals of the Four Masters both record a battle at Aghakilmore in 1429.

This battle was part of a large confrontation, between Tadhg O'Rourke and Owen O'Reilly, in which the descendants of Mahon O'Reilly (the Clan Mahon), along with 'the English of Meath' sided with O'Rourke against O'Reilly. O'Reilly was victorious at the Battle of Aghakilamore. While O'Connell (1937, 306) records that the dead from this battle were buried beside Cavan monastery, it seems unlikely that all the dead were moved to Cavan, which is more than 25km from Aghakilmore. It is more probable that only the more high status individuals would have been buried in Cavan monastery while the majority of the dead would have been more likely to have been buried at the site. There is a tradition that the mound in Aghakilmore is a burial mound for those killed in this battle, but only archaeological investigation could confirm this tradition. Whether or not the casualties of this battle were buried in Aghakilmore it is likely that this tradition indicates the location of the battlefield. This battle, and Sir Roger Mortimer's attempt to regain the lands which had been lost since the death of Richard de Burgh, indicate that although Clanmahon was largely in the control of the Gaelic-Irish at the beginning of the fifteenth century, the Anglo-Irish still played an active role in the barony and the interactions between the two groups, both in alliance and confrontation, continued.

Fig. 6.11: Crover Castle as depicted on the *Maps of the Escheated Counties of Ulster* barony map for Clanmahon.

The tower house (CV038-019---) on Castle Island in Lough Sheelin is within the borders of the townland of Crover and its identification with Tómas Mahon O'Reilly, even if this association is improbable, would indicate that this tower house was likely to have been constructed by the Gaelic-Irish. This would suggest that in the second half of the fifteenth century the Gaelic-Irish were in control of the area. It is probable, however, that the extent of the Anglo-Irish control and settlement of the area would have been far from complete and Otway-Ruthven's (1993, 121) suggestion that some of the lands originally granted to Richard Tuite would have remained in the hands of Irish chieftains, seems appropriate for the parish of Ballymachugh.

Fig. 6.12: Crover Castle, Ballymachugh parish, county Cavan (CV038-019---).

6.2: Ballintemple

Ballintemple parish is located in SW county Cavan (10,657 statute acres in area) and occupies part of the NW and central area of the barony of Clanmahon. This parish was selected as a case-study area, because unlike Ballymachugh it does not share a border with medieval county Meath. This parish should therefore provide an interesting contrast to the parish of Ballymchugh and highlight the types of settlement forms that might have been occupied in the later medieval period in an area with less evidence for cross-cultural interactions. Although the SMR does not include any Anglo-Norman earthwork castles in the parish, this thesis will argue the remains of a ringwork castle can be identified in the townland of Ballintemple. This indicates that cross-cultural interactions were not confined to those parishes that bordered medieval Meath.

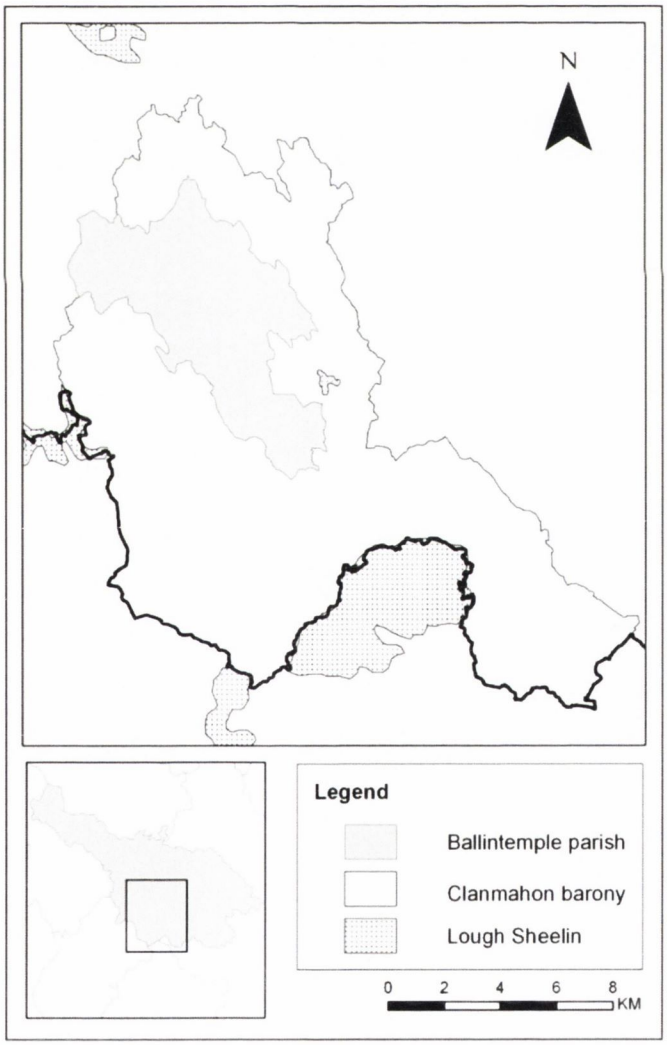


Fig. 6.13: Map showing the location of the Ballintemple parish.

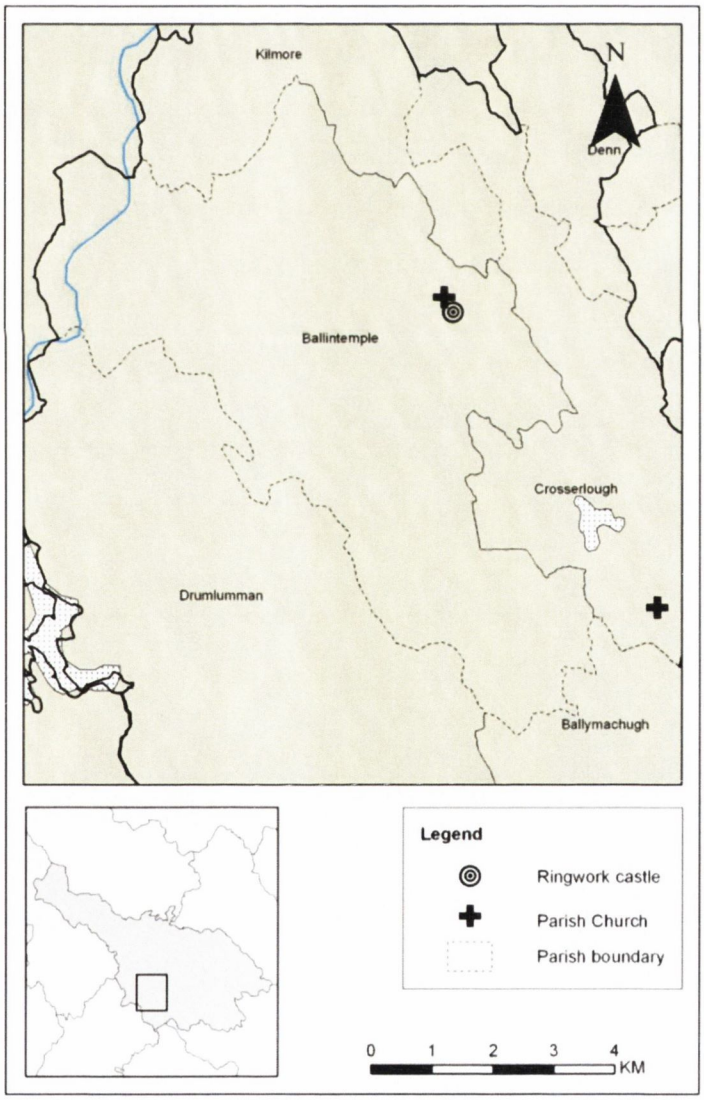
Ballintemple is located in an area dominated by drumlins and their associated poorly drained soils. This soil type has a limited range of uses and is generally more suited to pasture than to arable agriculture (Gardiner and Radford 1980, 87). The *Maps of the Escheated Counties of Ulster* and the *Down Survey* map for the barony of Clanmahon would both indicate that in the sixteenth century the area of Ballintemple contained numerous areas of bogland, significantly more than in the southern parishes of Clanmahon; Kilbride, Drumlumman and Ballymachugh. The quality of the land in this area and its unsuitability for arable

agriculture would make it unattractive to Anglo-Norman settlers and also impact upon the settlement types and the agriculture practised by the Gaelic-Irish who lived there. The River Erne, its tributaries and other smaller rivers run through the parish, and there the parish also contains a number of small lakes including, Oghill Lough which is located on its western edge.

It is difficult to trace the later medieval history of Ballintemple, as there are few documentary references to the parish and very few archaeological sites that can definitely be dated to the period. There are thirty-one RMP sites in the parish and twenty five of these are classified as ringforts. The other six sites are made up of a church and graveyard, a portal-tomb, an enclosure, a standing stone and a crannóg. The crannóg in Dillagh is the only site that can definitely be dated to the later medieval period; that date is based on evidence from archaeological investigations on the site (NMI Topographical file for Dillagh Townland). A closer examination of some of the sites classified in the RMP as ringforts has suggested that some may require reclassification or sub-classification. The dearth of available references to the site in the secular sources increases the importance of references in ecclesiastical sources. While these references from the papal registers and ecclesiastical taxations do not overtly reveal anything about the nature of settlement in the area, they do help us build up a picture of the history of this elusive parish.

The parish of Ballintemple was one of the parishes of the Diocese of Kilmore which was subject to the Benedictine priory of Fore. It is located close to the northern border of Clanmahon. The diocese of Kilmore was originally a much larger entity that encompassed the deaneries of Kells and Fore. The Benedictine priory of Fore was founded by Hugh de Lacy sometime between 1180 and 1186 and he granted them the tithes of what has been identified as the barony of Fore (Masterson 2003, 4). Walter de Lacy made further grants to the priory. In 1211-2 the Pipe Roll of John records 'works at Kilmore Castle' (*Irish Pipe Roll*, 25), which indicates that the de Lacys were established in Kilmore at this date. The de Lacy involvement in East Bréifne came to an end in 1224 (see section 4.7 for further details) but their grants of lands to Fore Priory remained in operation. Masterson argues that the grant of some of the parishes of Kilmore to the priory at Fore took place between 1205 and 1212. The identities of the parishes of Kilmore that were granted by the de Lacys to Fore can only be

established from an early seventeenth century survey of the possessions of Fore (*Patent Rolls, Jac. I,* 385-387). At this stage a total of eleven parishes belonged to the former priory, including Ballintemple, Denn, Kilmore and Kildrumfert (now part of Crosserlough). Masterson (2003, 5) has argued that the parishes granted to the priory of Fore, combined with those given to the monastery of Kells, represented the lands of the O'Reilly's. Indeed, an extent of the priory at Fore, compiled in 1540, records that 'in the Brenny [Breifne] in O Reli's [O'Reilly's] district, where the king's writ does not run, there are divers other rectories, the names of which are not known' (White 1943).



6.14 Map showing the location of the church and ringwork castle in the parish of Ballintemple.

The involvement of the de Lacys in Ballintemple and its surrounding area could be a crucial factor in the interpretation of a large earthwork (CV031-008---) at Ballintemple, located *c.*420m from a church and graveyard that are also located in the townland of Ballintemple. This site is a large circular platform, with a bank on the edge of its circumference and enclosed by a deep fosse and outer bank. This site could be classified as either a ringwork castle or a platform ringfort. Their morphological similarity and the consequent difficulties of classifying both site types have long

been acknowledged (Sweetman 1999, 4). Arbuthnot (forthcoming) has established a number of criteria for identifying ringwork castles, which include morphology, siting, proximity to a parish church and documentary references. The location of this site on the summit of a drumlin, would indicate that defence was a consideration in its siting. As outlined above, the site is located in the same townland as a church and has the correct morphology: a single impressive outer bank and a substantially raised interior. The only criterion lacking is documentary evidence. However, the involvement of the de Lacys in the area in the late twelfth - early thirteenth century could suggest that this site was a ringwork castle constructed on the orders of the de Lacys or their followers. While the distribution of platform ringforts is generally confined to a band of sites close to Lough Sheelin, the platform ringfort in Drumlion is located less than 2km north of this site. The Ballintemple site is located *c.*7.5km S of the large de Lacy motte-and-bailey in Kilmore, *c.*11km N of the motte in Ballymachugh. It could also be interpreted as a Gaelic-Irish ringwork castle, similar to the interpretation of the earthwork at Ballysimon, county Limerick. At Ballysimon, the remains of circular houses were uncovered within a raised D-shaped enclosure that was interpreted as a ringwork castle. Excavated house sites of contemporary date are generally square or rectangular, with circular sites generally held to be pre-Norman (Collins and Cummins 2001). While it is possible that this site could be a Gaelic-Irish copy of a ringwork castle it is more likely that, if this site is indeed a ringwork castle, it was constructed on the orders of the de Lacys or their followers.

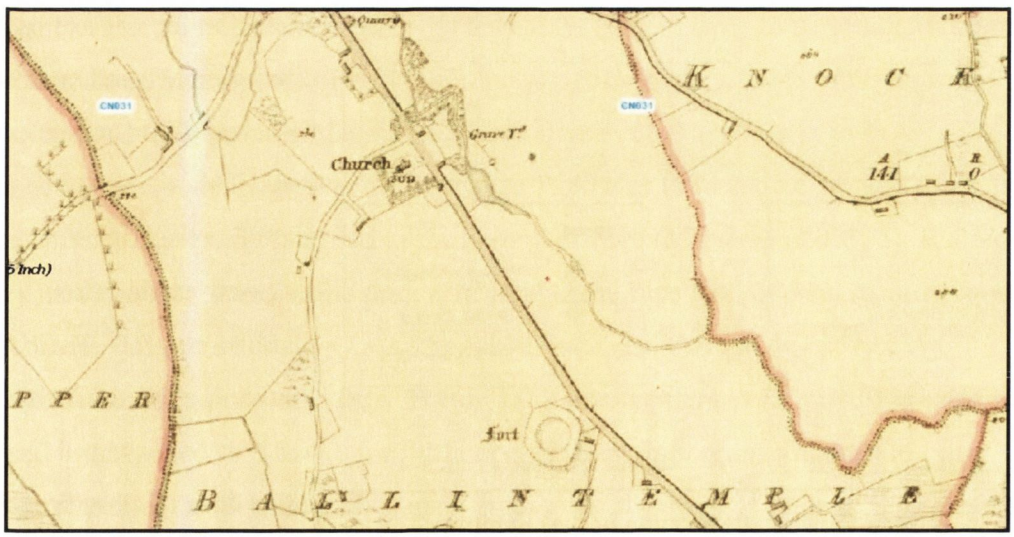


Fig. 6.15: Ballintemple earthwork (CV031-008---), as depicted on the *Ordnance Survey* First Edition six-inch map.

Although the priory at Fore benefited from Ballintemple's tithes, the bishop of Kilmore maintained the right to appoint its vicars, and a number of fifteenth-century appointments to the positions are recorded in the *Calendar of Papal Registers*. The Papal Records first refer to the church of Ballintemple in 1401, when John 'Marmulmartam' is, despite his blindness, appointed to the vacant vicarage in 'Balinetempuill' in the diocese of Kilmore (*Cal. Papal Reg.*, V 447). The vicarage was then valued at five marks. The fact that the priest in Ballintemple is a vicar indicates that the parish continued to be impropriate to a monastery. In 1407 the position was again vacant when Lazarianus Ogaband was appointed to St. Patrick's in Ballinteampill on the proviso that his Latin was sufficient (*Cal .Papal Reg.*, VI 121). Donatus Ogaband, then bishop-elect of Kilmore, was appointed to the position in 1421 (*Cal. Papal Reg.*, VII 161), and later that year the vicarage was reserved to Gilbert Ogaband from the time that Donatus vacated the position (*Cal. Papal Reg.*, VII 161).

Fig. 6.16: Ballintemple church as depicted on the *Maps of the Escheated Counties of Ulster* for the barony of Clanmahon.

Davies (1948b, 80) tells us little about the church in Ballintemple. He records that the church was unroofed in the early seventeenth century and that a new church was constructed on the opposite side of the road in 1821. The church is depicted on the 1609 *Maps of the escheated counties of Ulster*, but it is not shown on the *Down Survey* map of the barony. However, no churches are depicted on the barony map for Clanmahon and the locations of the church sites on the *Maps of the escheated counties of Ulster* are marked as church lands with the letter 'C' surmounted by a cross with expanded terminals.

The only surviving church in Ballintemple is the nineteenth-century Church-of-Ireland church dedicated to St. Patrick mentioned by Davies (1948b, 80). The church is surrounded by a modern rectangular graveyard. The site of the older church on the opposite side of the road is marked by an overgrown graveyard located on a bend in

the River Erne. There is a large sub- rectangular depression (*c*.6m in width N-S) opposite the entrance to the graveyard, which probably represents the site of the older church. No medieval graveslabs have been located within the older graveyard, but the overgrown nature of the graveyard means that graveslabs could have become completely overgrown. The graveyard has an irregular plan due to its location on a cliff above the river Erne. As there are no other church sites in the parish of Ballintemple, and this church is located within the townland of Ballintemple, it is reasonable to assume that this may have been the site of the medieval parish church (see gazetteer entry for further discussion of this church site).

Fig. 6.17: Site of medieval parish church in, Clanmahon (CV031-007---).

There were few medieval religious houses in later medieval Bréifne and no recorded examples in the barony of Clanmahon. In medieval Ireland the religious orders generally maintained the hospitals and leper hospitals. In areas without monastic houses, the care of those in need and travellers was provided for by the coarb or erenach of the parish. This appears to have been a hereditary position and entitled the office holder to termon lands, the income of which was used to provide what Logan (1970, 52) has described as social services. Ware described the role of the erenach as 'inferior to a priest and was employed in looking after the poor, and the hospitals for strangers'(Logan 1970, 52-53). Gwynn and Hadcock (1988, 344) argue that these hospitals or hospices were founded in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, while Logan (1970, 53-54) has cited references that indicate that some 'teach aoidh' or

hospitals existed in the fourteenth century and that this system continued to operate in Breifne until the early seventeenth century. Each of the parishes within the barony contained a hospital and it is possible that they were connected with the parish church. The hospital in Ballintemple had two cartrons of termon land and was valued at 2*s*. The strong possibility that this church was a parish church would strengthen the argument that the earthwork located *c*.420m S of the church was an earth and timber castle, a ringwork castle, and it could represent an attempt by the de Lacys, or their followers, to establish a manorial *caput* in the area.

Fig. 6.18: Dillagh Lough as depicted on the *Ordnance Survey* First Edition six-inch map.

There is evidence that the crannóg (CV031-017---) located in Dillagh Lake, *c*.1.9km from the church in Ballintemple, was occupied during the later medieval period. This crannog was discovered when Dillagh Lake was drained in the 1980s. The crannóg was located 10m from the original shoreline and was 18m to 20m in diameter. A number of finds were collected from the surface of the crannóg, during archaeological investigations of the site, including 6 sherds of crannóg ware pottery (NMI Reg. No.1982:110). Crannóg ware is generally dated to the later medieval period and there is nothing in the rest of the assemblage that would contradict this date (for further details see gazetteer entry and section 4.8). This would suggest that the crannóg was used during the later medieval period but it is unclear whether this was a permanent or temporary occupation of an existing crannóg. O'Keeffe has argued that reused crannogs were high status sites and that the Gaelic-Irish lords who lived in these sites

in the thirteenth and fourteenth century were looking back to their past traditions and attempting to express their historical identity at a time when they felt their identity was under pressure from foreign settlers.

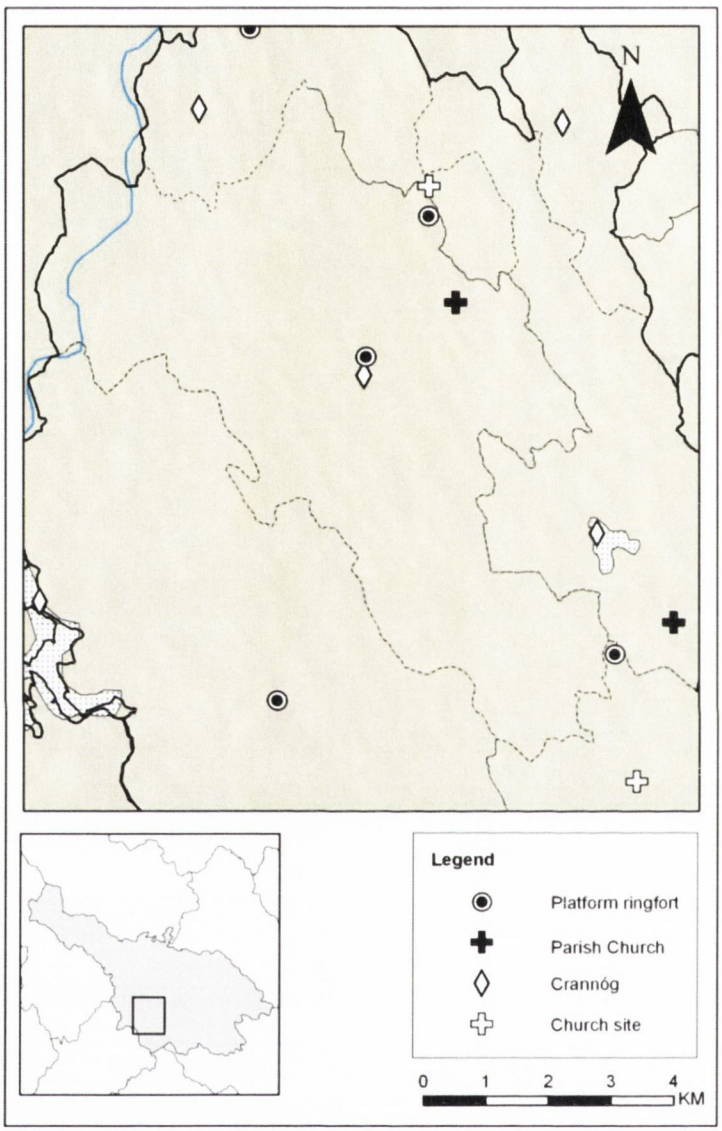


Fig. 6.19: Map showing the possible Gaelic-Irish settlement in the later medieval period.

There is a platform ringfort close to the northern limits of the parish in the townland of Drumlion (CV031-032---). The siting of this earthwork on top of a drumlin, is very similar to the siting of the earthwork in Ballintemple (CV031-008---). This is one of only two platform ringforts identified in the parish of Ballintemple. The other possible platform ringfort (CV031-018---) is located in Dillagh close to the crannóg in that townland. However, the platform is quite low and its location in an area with a high

water table would suggest that it was raised to avoid flooding, unlike the majority of other platform ringforts in the barony.

At first glance the parish of Ballintemple would appear to be an area with little evidence for Gaelic-Irish /Anglo-Norman interactions, but a closer examination of the ecclesiastical records and the archaeology would indicate that at least in the early thirteenth century the area was an arena of significant interactions. The comparative scarcity of platform ringforts in this parish would suggest that the processes which led to their construction are absent in this parish and that the Gaelic-Irish who lived in the parish in the high medieval period were living in different settlement types.

6.3: The Rower

The Rower was selected as a case-study area, because there is extensive documentary evidence to suggest that there were interactions between the Gaelic-Irish and the Anglo-Normans in the parish. There is also no classic manorial centre within the parish, despite the fact that the Anglo-Norman Roche family held the area. There is an upland area at the northern boundary of the parish, which includes Brandon Hill, and some Gaelic-Irish lords had been pushed into this area. All these factors indicated that this was an area that was likely to have been the scene of significant cross-cultural interactions.

The parish of The Rower is located at the NE corner of the barony of Overk, it is bounded to the east, south and southwest by the confluence of the rivers Barrow and Nore, to the northwest by the Clodiagh River and to the north by an area of higher ground. Indeed, Edwards (2000, 58) reports that it was referred to as 'half an island' in a document of Elizabethan date, and that its location made The Rower 'a place apart'. This does not take into account the opportunities for trade and travel that its location on the confluence of two large rivers would allow. Edwards also described The Rower as a boggy, thickly wooded territory, but provides no evidence for this assertion. The modern soil maps reveal that the Rower is predominantly an area of fertile soils [Soil Association 14] (Gardiner and Radford 1980).

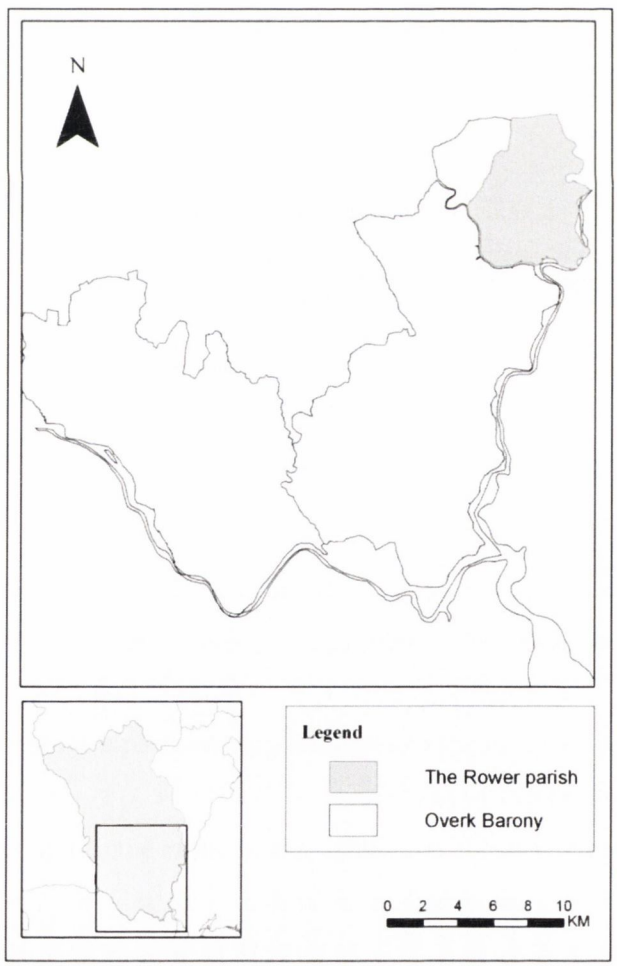


Fig. 6.20: Location map for the The Rower parish.

Soil quality appears to be linked

with altitude, with less productive land located in upland areas [Soil Association 9]. While the land is likely to have been improved in the recent past, the *Down Survey* barony map for the barony of Ida also reveals it to be an area free of bogland. Certainly the area does contain some areas of upland, which present challenges to agriculture, but the picture painted by Edwards (2000, 58) of an area of marginal land appears to be unwarranted. Indeed, river valleys are generally found to be fertile areas, and the valleys of the significant Barrow and Nore rivers dominate this area.

There is evidence of substantial early medieval activity in the parish of the Rower. There are three possible church sites in the parish with features that suggest that they are of pre-Norman origin. There is a tradition that a bullaun stone was found at the site of Grange Church (KK037-005---) and Carrigan (2005, IV 198) reported that 'the site is a rectangular area surrounded by a much obliterated earthen rampart'. The other two church sites, at Kileens (KK033-038---) and Kiltown (KK033-030---), contain no visible church remains but there is evidence of surrounding circular enclosures, which suggest that the church sites may have had pre-Norman origins. There are two surviving ringforts within the parish boundaries, along with three destroyed ringforts and five circular enclosures, some of which may originally have been ringforts. The ringfort in Cullaun (KK033-013---) is a substantial univallate ringfort while the ringfort in Carranroe Upper (KK037-007---) is a bivallate site and the external bank of both ringforts has been revetted with stone. Although the two ringfort sites are located on opposite sides of the parish, they are both located relatively close to rivers: Cullaun ringfort is located close to the Clodiagh River and Carranroe Lower ringfort is located close to the Barrow. These substantial sites would have been the farmsteads of the Gaelic-Irish who lived in the area before the arrival of the Anglo-Normans and who would have attended the pre-Norman churches discussed above. It is not clear where the Gaelic-Irish who remained within the parish would have lived after the arrival of the Anglo-Normans; and it is possible that they continued to live in these ringforts.

Fig. 6.21: The site of Kiltown church (KK033-030---) and the remains of its surrounding circular enclosure as depicted on the *Ordnance Survey* First Edition six-inch map.

The Rower was a tenement of the lordship of Overk and owed its origin to an enfeoffment of Miles fitzDavid in the early years of the Anglo-Norman settlement, possibly as early as the 1170s (Empey 1997, 9). The earliest reference to the Rower dates to 1302 when Henry de Rupe complains that Richard de Leygraue 'by force and against the peace, took from the *hibernici* of Henry, in the tenement of Rowr, 7 afers [small horses], 7 pigs and 3 cows, and drove them away to tenement of Richard Talun at 'Taghmolyng', and that said Richard with other evildoers does divers trespasses against *hibernici* of Henry, to his heavy damage against the peace' (*Cal. justic. rolls Ire.*, I 426). This deed indicates that at this early date Irish men were tenants of the manor of The Rower and that their landlord sought to protect their property from other English settlers. In 1314 the manor of The Rower was held by Henry fitzHenry de Rupe (Roche) from Roger fitzMilo lord of Overk, by suit of court and a rental of 20*s*. 2*d*. per annum and 20*s*. royal service (*Red Bk. of Ormond*, 131-132).

It is unclear whether the Roches established a manorial centre in the Rower, or whether they relied instead on their centre at Listerlin. They were the early grantees of the manor of Listerlin, losing possession of it by 1332. There is some evidence, in the form of a church site and the site of a circular enclosure, to suggest the existence of a manorial centre in the townland of Farrantemple, within the modern village of The Rower. The church site (KK033-032---) is occupied by the remains of a nineteenth century Church of Ireland church, but there is evidence to suggest that there was an earlier church on this site. The *Down Survey* map for the barony of Ida depicts a

church in the townland of Farrantemple indicating that there has been a church on the site from at least the mid-seventeenth century. There is a circular enclosure adjacent to the church site and it is depicted on the *Ordnance Survey* First Edition six-inch map as a circular area enclosed by a single bank. This circular enclosure has been largely destroyed making it very difficult to accurately classify it. The field reports in the SMR files classify the site variously as: a ringfort, early monastic enclosure, earthwork, and castle site. McCarthy who conducted a study of the towerhouses on south Kilkenny interpreted the site as a castle site on the basis that Carrigan (2005, IV 126) described the site as the foundations of a castle at the centre of a very large 'rath' on the east side of the churchyard. The location of this circular earthwork (KK033-03101-) in close proximity to a medieval parish church in an area that experienced substantial Anglo-Norman settlement would suggest that this site might have been a ringwork castle. However, the dimensions of this earthwork would be at the upper limits of ringwork castle dimensions. It is tempting to classify this site as a ringwork castle but its large diameter, the fact that it is overlooked from the west and therefore not in a defensive location and the

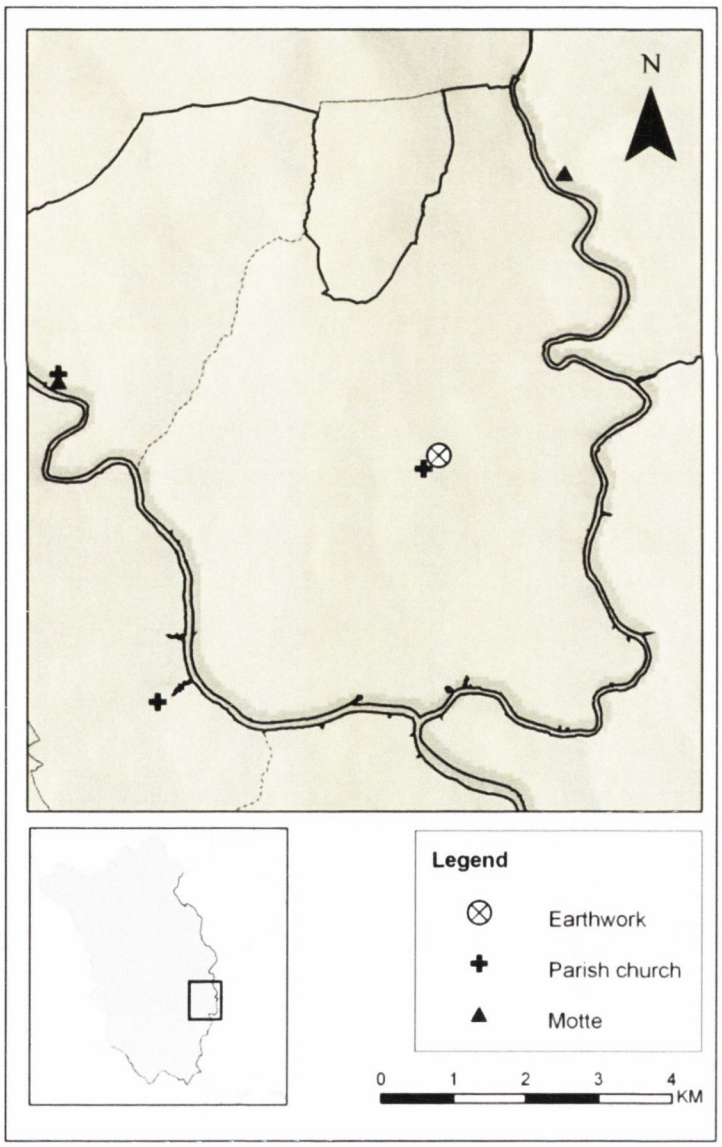


Fig. 6.22: Map showing possible Anglo-Norman settlement in The Rower.

lack of references to a castle in The Rower, makes this seem improbable. It is possible that this site was originally a ringfort, which was adapted by the Roches for use as a castle (see gazetteer entry for Farrantemple enclosure for further discussion of this site).

Fig. 6.23: Church of Ireland Church, Farrantemple, The Rower, Overk.

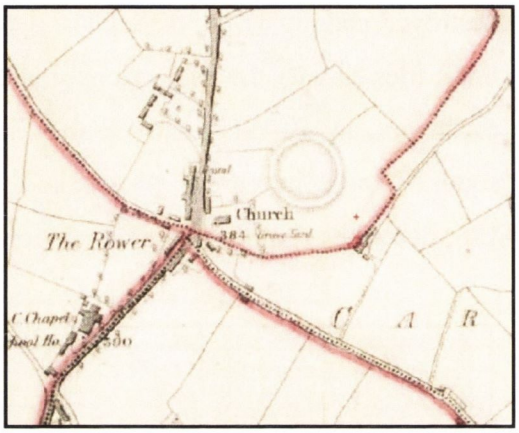


Fig. 6.24: Enclosure in Farrantemple as depicted on the *Ordnance Survey* First Edition six-inch map.

The moated sites in or near the parish may have represented the earliest Anglo-Norman settlement in the area. However, this seems unlikely given the location of two of these sites: Ballygub New (KK033-012---) and Brandonhill (KK033-03701-), on the lower slopes of Brandon Hill. These moated sites would appear to fit Empey's (1982, 334) model for the manor of Knocktopher, he suggests they represent a secondary phase of settlement, when demand for land led to settlement on more marginal land at a remove from the manorial centres and their parish churches. It is possible therefore that these moated sites were the farmsteads of assarting Anglo-Norman tenants. However, it is also possible that these moated sites could also have been the farmsteads of the Gaelic-Irish tenants, who continued to hold land in the area. However, as noted elsewhere it is not yet possible to differentiate a Gaelic-Irish moated site from an Anglo-Norman one on morphological grounds alone.

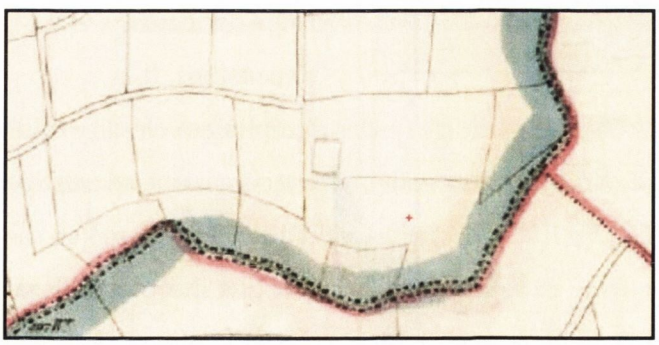


Fig. 6.25: Ballygub New moated site (KK033-012---) as depicted on the *Ordnance Survey* First Edition six-inch map.

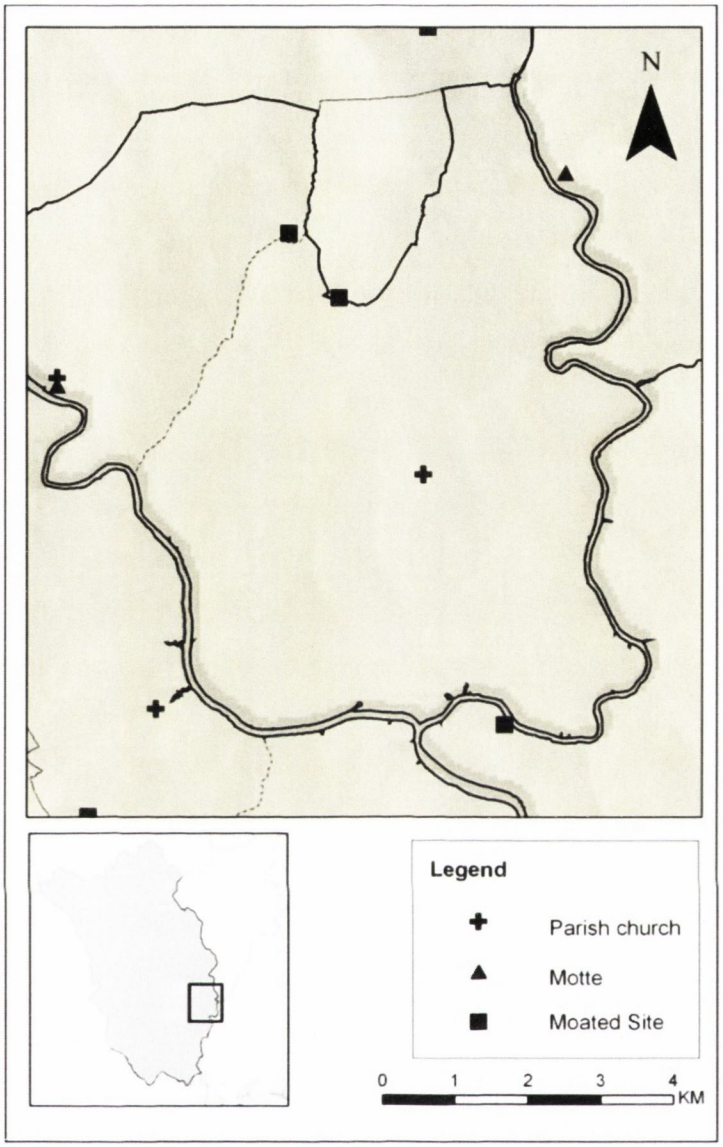


Fig. 6.26: Map showing moated sites in The Rower and neighbouring parishes.

The *Calendar of the Justiciary Rolls in Ireland* would suggest that from the very beginning of the fourteenth century the de Rupes or Roches were in continuous trouble with the law. In August 1305 'Henry de Rupe of Rowre' was charged before the justice at Ros (*Cal. justic. rolls Ire.*, II 125). In November 1305 an inquisition was established in Kilkenny 'because it is notorious that Walter son of Eustace de Rupe, Gilbert son of Eustace de [Rupe] of whom certain were hanged before the Justiciar in this session' (*Cal. justic. rolls Ire.*, II 471) had been involved in robberies and numerous other misdeeds. In 1306 the misdeeds of the Roches are again recorded; 'a certain race of the Rocheyns, felons, who [committed] many robberies [at] Rosbargon' (*Cal. justic. rolls Ire.*, II 500).

What Williams terms the 'saga of the Roches' had begun in 1311 when Philip le Poer was killed by the Roches and the following year lord Nicholas de Avenell, Patrick Roche and many Irish were killed by lord Nicholas de Verdun and the burgesses of Dundalk near the town of Dundalk. When he reports that the burgesses of Ross killed Gilbert de Roche in 1318, Clyn comments that 'Gilbert was a murderer of the law abiding and a plunderer of the faithful' (*Clyn's annals*, 98). In February 1320 Edmund Butler had a royal commission 'to treat and parley with the felons of the following (*parentela*) of Henry de Rupe of The Roure' (*Rot. Pat. Hib.*, 26). Empey argues that the Roches seem to have become Gaelicised at a fairly early stage and that the term *parentela*, translated as following, usually suggests the adoption of Irish customs. A *parentela* is the lowest of the four elements of a lineage group and is comprised 'of those who belonged to the extended family of a magnate lineage and who inhabited the margins of society' (Parker 1995b, 102). Parker (1995b) has argued that the tendency to regard lineages as symptoms of Gaelicisation is a mistake and does not take into account the political factors that led to their growth, in particular the deterioration of the influence of central government. Frame (1982, 27) had earlier argued that while lineages may have grown up in response to some Irish cultural stimuli, this aspect of the growth has been over-emphasised. While, the growth of lineages may indicate a familiarity with Gaelic lineage systems, especially as some of the terminology adopted to describe members of the lineage was adopted from the Gaelic system, the existence of a lineage is not enough evidence to allow one to suggest that a family became Gaelicised. Frame (1982, 28) argues that a clan structure is most visible in those Anglo-Norman families who resided on marginal lands and in frontier areas.

Clyn reports that in 1324 'Arnold le Poer, then seneschal of Kilkenny, with others of the same county maintained a great ward at Inistioge against the Roches and besieged them bravely and compelled them to give hostages for holding peace and fealty from now on' (*Clyn's annals*, 180). In 1325 Arnold le Poer had a grant of £100 from the king for 'his expenditure on the wages of various men at arms, hobelars and foot soldiers which he brought with him to fight Henry de la Roche and his accomplices in parts of Routhre' (*Irish Exch.*, 302). In 1328 William Roche and his followers were dragged from the Dominican Priory at Rosbercon (*Clyn's annals*, 98) and the *Annals of Ross* record that this was done by the younger Fulk de la Freigne.

By 1357 the Roches had lost control of The Rower to the Earl of Ormond as a quit-claim of certain lands in The Rower in this year illustrates (*Ormond Deeds*, II 28). This quit-claim also indicates that the younger Fulk de la Freigne had been in possession of these lands and it is possible that de la Freigne came into possession of these lands when in 1330 Fulk's brother Oliver was given all the Earl of Ormond's messuages and lands in New Ross (*Clyn's annals*, 98). The Rower occupied a strategic position at the confluence of the rivers Nore and Barrow and therefore, it could not be left in dangerous hands. However, in 1360, the Earl seems to have decided to overlook the Roches past infringements and granted them part of his lands in the east of The Rower (*Ormond Deeds*, II 58). In return for these lands, David and John Roche had to agree not to allow any of the 'MacMurroughs, O'Byrnes, O'Ryans or O'Codiltans as their tenants or any other rebel of the Lord King to dwell in said lands'. Empey (1997, 9) has interpreted this deed as indicating that the Roches were to protect these lands from the unwelcome attentions of these Irish septs. However, it might indicate that the Roches, who had previously allowed the Irish to be tenants on their lands in The Rower, were being ordered by the Earl of Ormond not to do so again. The Statutes of Kilkenny enacted six years later, which attempted to reverse the tide of Gaelicisation, indicate that by the mid-fourteenth century many of the Anglo-Norman lords had become heavily Gaelicised, perhaps through contact with their Irish tenants and neighbours.

Between 1375 and 1387 The Rower was held by Patrick de la Freigne, knight from the Earl of Ormond. In 1387 de la Freigne quit-claimed 'all his messuages, land, rents, meadows, moors, waters, weirs, fishing, mountains, marshes and pastures in le Rowyr'. By the early 1400s the Roches were again being referred to as the 'Lord of the Rowyr' (*Ormond Deeds*, II 316) and in 1456 Redmund Roche is mentioned as the lord of The Rower (*Ormond Deeds*, III 178).

Edwards has argued that the Rower was controlled by the Mac Murrough Kavanaghs, the Gaelic Kings of Leinster, from the late 1400s. This assertion is based on a document dated 1599 which records that Donnell Reogh Kavanagh gave twenty mart lands to his son Art Boy McDonnell Reogh, one of which was identified as The Rower (Lambeth MS 614:141). As Donnell Reogh died in 1475-6, the grant must have occurred before that date. While it is clear that the Mac Murrough Kavanaghs held

some land in the Rower, that does not mean that the Roches were no longer the lords of the manor. It is probable that the MacMurrough Kavanaghs held the lands from the Roches as the *Ormond Deeds* continued to record the Roche connection with the Rower; in 1542 a bond is recorded between Redmund Roche and James Butler, Earl of Ormond concerning title to the manor of the Rower, including Coolhill (*Ormond Deeds*, IV 219-220). Three years later the Kavanaghs are again mentioned in connection with the Rower, when Cahir, son of Gerald Kavanagh of *Cwilkyll* (Coolhill) in the Rower, also becomes bound to James, Earl of Ormond (*Ormond Deeds*, IV 277). The 1599 document mentioned above records that two *martlands* in The Rower, which had formerly been in the possession of the MacMurrough Kavanaghs, were now in the possession of Lord Mountgarret, a member of the Earl of Ormond's family. It also indicates that by this date at least the area was considered to be a *martland* or marchland, an area contested by the Gaelic-Irish and the Anglo-Irish. No further references were uncovered during this research connecting the Roche family to The Rower and it is possible that after 1542 they lost control of the area, and they are not included in a list of proprietors of the parish of The Rower compiled in 1653 (Manning 1999).

The references above mention the townland of Coolhill, which contains a circular tower house (KK033-02701-). This circular tower house contain a number of gun loops and would therefore date to after 1487, the first recorded use of a handgun in Ireland (Morgan 2007). McCarthy (2008, 29) has argued that the tower house was probably constructed by the eastward expansion of the Viscounts of Mountgarret some time after 1570. Most of the Mountgarret land was in frontier zones in north and east Kilkenny and they were associated with circular castles, including one at Seskin and another at Bailef. The 1599 document detailed above indicates that by this date Lord Mountgarret, a member of the Earl of Ormond's family was in possession of land in the Rower. However, it is not clear what part of the Rower they held and the Butlers had been in the possession of much of the area,

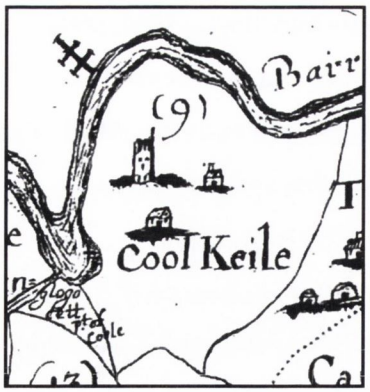


Fig. 6.27: Coolhill castle as depicted on the *Down Survey* map of the barony of Ida.

probably since 1319 when they acquired the barony from the fitzMilos. It seems probable that, like the fitzMilos, they were overlords for the area granting lands to lesser lords like the Roches and de la Freignes.

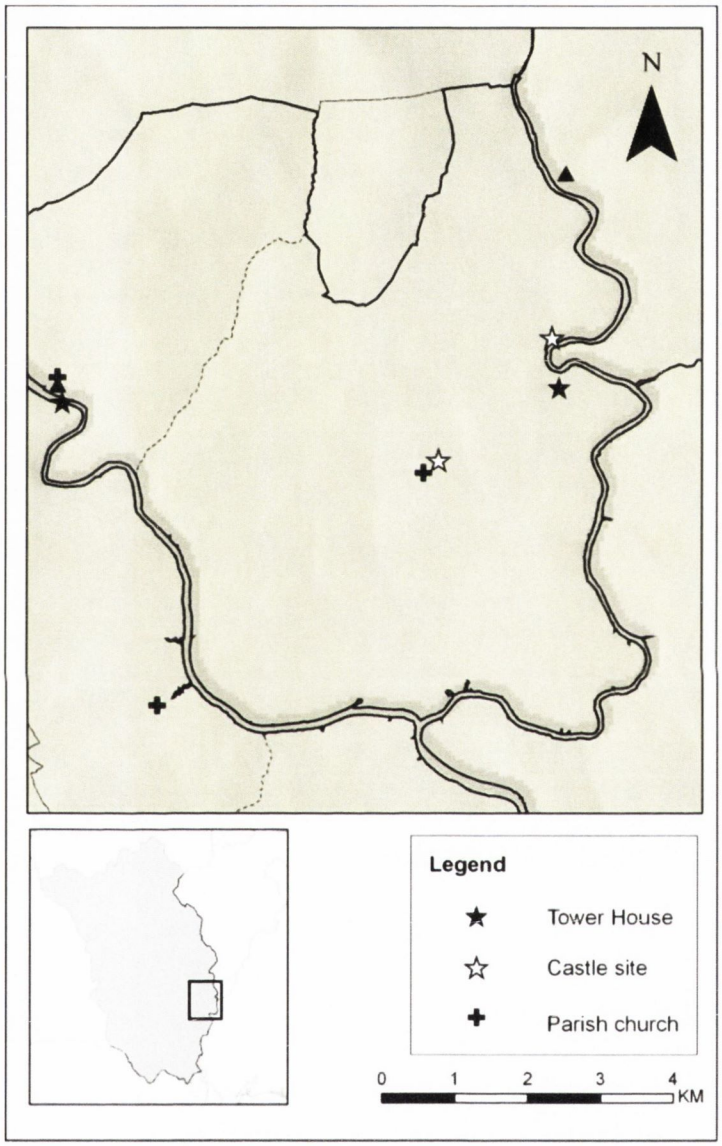


Fig. 6.28: Map showing the location of tower houses and castle sites in The Rower.

It is possible that the Kavanaghs, who are mentioned in connection with Coolhill in 1543, may have constructed the tower house there. McCarthy (2008, 29) assumes that the Kavanaghs had their base in the region at a tower house in Clogaralt (KK033-019---) during this period and Edwards (2000, 59) records that 'by 1500 or thereabouts Cahir's son Gerald Kavanagh, had consolidated Kavanaghs' hold in the region, building a strong stone fort there, Cloch Gherailt, the ruins of which can still be seen

today'. Edwards gives no reference for this information and although a castle site is recorded in the SMR for the townland of Clogharalt, the relevant file notes that there are no upstanding remains of this castle. McCarthy bases his identification of this site as a tower house on Edward's unreferenced dating of this structure. The *Down Survey* map for the barony of Ida depicts a tower house in the townland of Coolhill, and no structure is depicted on the opposite bank of the river Barrow. The castle in Clogharalt, whatever its form, must have been largely destroyed by this date. It is possible to argue that the Kavanaghs constructed this tower house in Coolhill, as significantly, they appear to have been in possession of the area at the time. It is not yet possible to distinguish a Gaelic-Irish tower house from an Anglo-Norman one, on the basis of its architectural features.

Fig. 6.29: Coolhill castle, The Rower, Overk barony.

References to The Rower in *The Great Parchment Book of Waterford* could suggest that there was a port or at least regular riverine traffic to The Rower area. In 1508 it was enacted that wood had to be transported in a half barge or a smaller quarter (types of boat) and it specified the number of men required for each type of vessel. An extra man was required on both types of vessel if it went to 'the Roure' (Byrne 2007, 107 cxl). While the modern hamlet of the Rower and the possible manorial centre are a distance from the river, the late medieval circular tower house in the townland of

Coolhill is located at a bend in the river. It is possible that there was a harbour on the river close to this tower house; its elevated position would have been advantageous to the security of a port below, as it provides commanding views of the surrounding countryside. An illustration of Coolhill Castle which dates to 1775, depicts a boat on the opposite side of the river Barrow, illustrating that the river was navigable and that there were landing places close to the castle (Harbison 1991, 69).

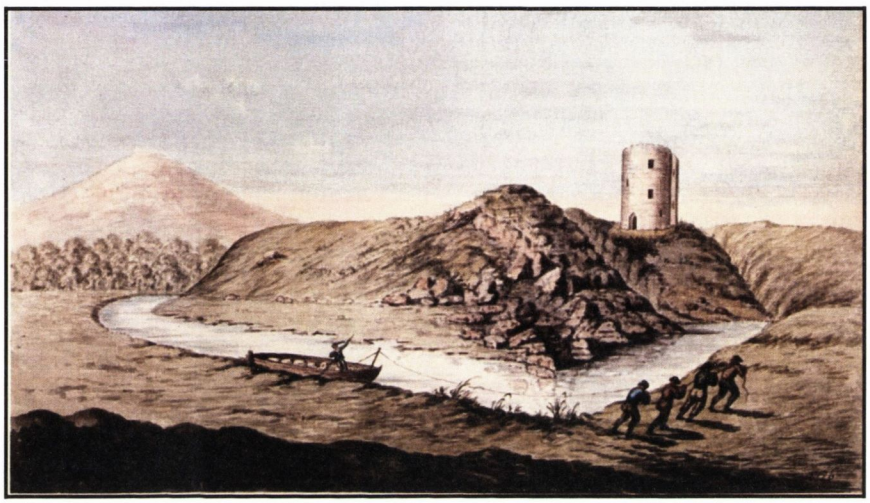


Fig. 6.30: Depiction of Coolhill Castle from *Beranger's Views of Ireland* (after Harbison 1991, 69).

The 1599 document which refers to two *martlands* in The Rower, indicates that by this date at least the area was considered to be a marchland, an area subject to the competing interests of both the Anglo-Normans and the Gaelic-Irish (Lambeth MS 614:141). This research programme has revealed that The Rower was an area of competing influences throughout the high and late medieval periods. While the area was part of the barony of Overk, which was granted to the fitzMilos and later sold to the Butlers, these overlords granted the manor to Anglo-Norman families such as the Roches and de la Freignes. The Roche family appear to have been in possession of the manor for most of this period and they had Irish tenants on their lands in the Rower. It is possible that the Kavanaghs, who are recorded as being in the possession of Coolhill in the sixteenth century, were tenants on their lands. Indeed the MacMurrough Kavanaghs are one of the families they are specifically told in 1357 not to allow to dwell on their lands. Rather than seeing the Rower as an area over which the Gaelic-Irish and Anglo-Normans competed, it might best be understood as an area in which

they coexisted with the Gaelic-Irish living in the area as tenants of the Anglo-Normans.

6.4: Fiddown

The parish of Fiddown was selected as a case-study area because it has the features of a classic manorial centre: a motte and parish church site at opposite ends of the earthworks of a deserted medieval settlement. This combined with the documentary evidence suggests that this was a manor that had experienced a significant influx of peasant settlers from England, Wales and beyond. The available archaeological and historical evidence dictates that this case-study will be predominantly concerned with Anglo-Norman and Anglo-Irish activity in the area. However, as the central concern of this thesis is cross-cultural interactions there will be an attempt to suggest the place of the Gaelic-Irish in this manor.

The parish of Fiddown, which was likely to have been coterminous with the manor of the same name, is located at the SW corner of the barony of Overk, less than 9km from the town of Carrick-on-Suir. The parish is bounded to the west and south by the River Suir, which is tidal upriver as far as Carrick-on Suir. Land levels rise up in the northern one-third of the parish and are part of the upland area that forms the northern border of the barony. The soil quality in the parish is largely determined by altitude: the low lying areas are dominated by fertile soils suitable for a wide range of activities, while the upland areas typically have a small range of uses due to their altitude and shallow soil depth. Numerous small rivers flow out of this upland area and become tributaries of the Pil River. The Pil flows west

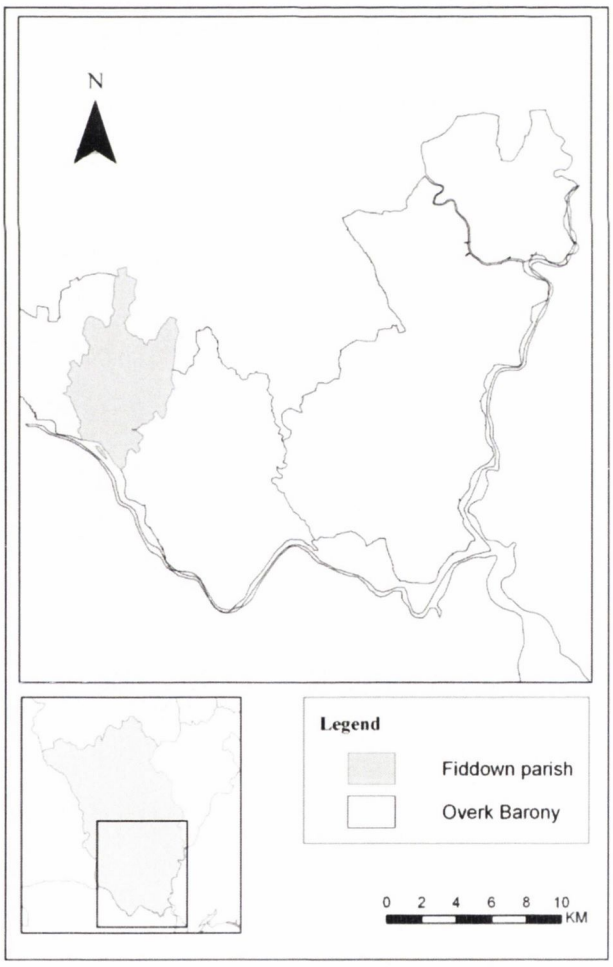


Fig. 6.31: Location map for the parish of Fiddown.

across the south of the parish to Kildalton and Piltown, and south from there to the River Suir.

A monastery was founded in Fiddown prior to the late sixth century when St. Maidoc, a great-nephew of St. Colum of Terryglass, was abbot of 'Fedh-dune'. There are records of the death of abbots of Fiddown in 828, 873, 948 and 980-1, and of the death of a coarb in 1073 (Gwynn and Hadcock 1988, 36; AFM, 1073). There is archaeological evidence for the presence of other early medieval churches in Fiddown. The remains of the church site in Kilmanahin (KK039-003---) consist of a poorly defined platform that slopes down gradually to the surrounding field level. Carrigan (2005, IV 240) reports that there were traces of a faint ring that formerly enclosed the church and graveyard and the *Ordnance Survey* First Edition six-inch map of the area defines the area of the church site, with a dashed line enclosing a circular area. Further evidence that this site was a pre-Norman foundation include; the bullaun stone reportedly found at the site and later inserted into a stone wall in the townland (Carrigan 2005, IV 240), and the holy well site. A carved stone head from the site is now stored in Rothe House. There is no available dating evidence for the church site in Mullenbeg and Carrigan records that the foundations of the church were uprooted in 1847 and the area converted to a cabbage field (Carrigan 2005, IV 232; Moore 1879, 34)

Fig. 6.32: Kilmanahin church as depicted on the *Ordnance Survey* First Edition six-inch map.

The name Fiddown appears to be derived from the Irish *Fiodh-dúin*, the wood of the fort. Carrigan argued that the fort recorded in the townland name was 'the old moat'

beside the River Suir, on 'the strand' of Fiddown (Carrigan 2005, III 214). However, the townland and parish of Fiddown must have been named after another fort, as this motte dates to the late twelfth or early thirteenth century, centuries after the first references to the site.

While King John was Earl of Mortain, he granted 'the land of Fidoyn' to John, Archbishop of Dublin (*C.D.I.*, I 266-267). It is probable that the Archbishop in turn granted out these lands and it was this grantee who would have constructed the motte and possible bailey in Fiddown. The settlement in Fiddown is located on the north bank of the River Suir; Fiddown Island occupies much of the central portion of the River Suir at this point. The area in which the motte (KK042-00101-) is located has been extensively landscaped to create a local amenity area. This is a low motte, only 2.5m in height, with an irregular plan (max. dims. 20.6m E-W x 26.1m N-S). There is evidence of a possible accompanying bailey to the west. This possible bailey is a sub-circular area is enclosed by a bank *c.* 1m in height, on its northern and western sides (max dims. 30.2m N-S x 74m E-W). The dimensions of this bailey are large, the example in Portnascully, which is also on the banks of the

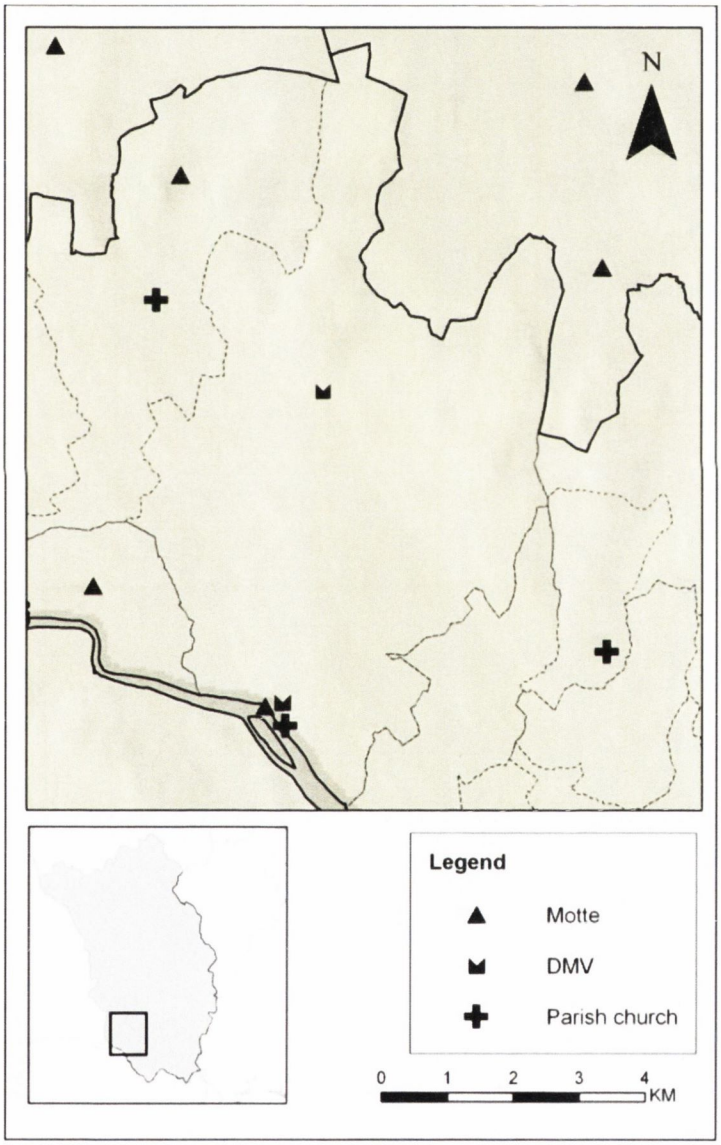


Fig. 6.33: Map showing Anglo-Norman settlement types in Fiddown.

Suir, has maximum internal dimensions of 51m E-W by 52m N-S. The bank that encloses this possible bailey in Fiddown could be the result of landscaping in the area, but the location and form of this feature allows the suggestion that it may have been a bailey.

Fig. 6.34: Fiddown motte (KK042-00101-) from the west.

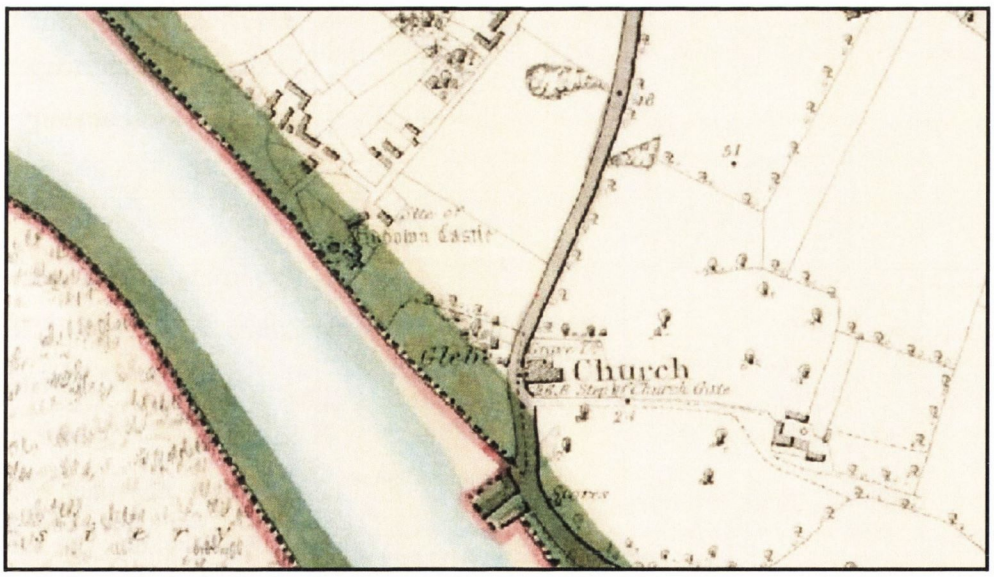


Fig. 6.35: The parish church site, motte and castle site in Fiddown depicted on the *Ordnance Survey* First Edition six-inch map.

Close to the motte and between it and the remains of the parish church are a series of earthworks in a grass-covered field (KK042-001---). These earthworks are very low

relief and difficult to identify, but there appears to be a central hollow way running through this field. A topographic survey or geo-physical prospecting could cast more light on the morphology of these possible village earthworks. The church in Fiddown (KK042-00103-) was originally a nave and chancel church, but the nave was removed in 1870 when it was converted into a mortuary chapel and mausoleum. Carrigan (2005, IV 216) reports that during the demolition of the nave a carved door jamb stone with early English foliage was found, and if this stone came from the original doorway, it would suggest a thirteenth-century date for the church. A granite font was found within the graveyard of this church and it is reported to have had the same ornament as the door jamb, suggesting it also had a thirteenth-century date. Carrigan (2005, IV 216) reported that the doorjamb was inserted into the wall of the old chapel in Piltown but attempts to locate it were unsuccessful. The suggestion that this church had a baptismal font in the thirteenth century would indicate that it was a parish church: baptisms could only be carried out in parish churches. It is possible to suggest therefore that from the thirteenth century there was a manorial centre and settlement in Fiddown.

Fig. 6.36: Fiddown Church (the chancel of the original church) (KK042-00103--).

Towards the end of the thirteenth century, lands in Fiddown are among those claimed by James Keating. He claimed that because his wife, Margery, had produced a living heir before her death and despite the fact that this child, Roesia, only lived fifteen days, he was entitled to hold some of his wife's lands for life (Dryburgh and Smith 2007, 40). Margery was the sister of John fitz Robert, a member of the de la Rochelle family,

who also had lands in county Tipperary (*Clyn's annals,* 95). This claim was based a custom know as the 'courtesy of England' where a widower could continued to hold his wife's lands for life, at the exclusion of heirs, provided that a living child had been born to them (Otway-Ruthven 1993, 106). The formal proof was that the child should have been heard to cry within the four walls and James Keating eventually produced male witnesses (women were not permitted to testify in court), to testify that they had seen 'the child and heard her voice, crying' (Dryburgh and Smith 2007, 40; Painter 1960, 13). Keating's claim was initially rejected and while these lands continued to be held by the escheator, in June 1291 Hugh de Bruges, a valet with the escheator, applied to have the lands of 'Adlangport and Fydoun' granted to him (Dryburgh and Smith 2007, 38- 40). This grant was successful and the *Calendar of documents relating to Ireland* includes a record of these lands being granted to Hugh de Bruges and John Rys (*C.D.I.*, III 410). James Keating was eventually successful and regained control of the lands that had belonged to his wife, including Fiddown (Dryburgh and Smith 2007, 40).

In 1314 James Keating is mentioned twice in an extent of the barony of Overk. The extent records that he had held the land of Fiddown in Cross by means of English law, and that Thomas 'de Rockell' (de la Rochelle) paid five shillings four pence annually in rent to Roger fitz Milo and his wife Mabel (*Red Bk of Ormond*, 133-134). Much the same arrangement appears to apply to the five and a half townlands in 'Kylroske' which had been held by James Keating by means of English law, but for which William de la Rochelle paid rent of eleven shillings to Mabel fitzMilo as part of her dower (*Red Bk of Ormond*, 134). It is probable that the de la Rochelles mentioned in this extent were brothers or other relatives of Margery Keating (nee de le Rochelle), as the lands would have returned to her family after the death of her husband James Keating.

During the period of time that we can assume James Keating was in possession of the lands, *c.*1300, William son of David Fedunan granted lands in the tenement of 'Fedunan', to an unreadable name on the surviving deed (*Ormond Deeds*, I 140). This land was granted in return for the payment of white gloves or a penny at Easter. In 1302 'Fidon in Croc' (or Fiddown in the Cross) is mentioned as being part of the possessions of the Baron of Overk, Roger fitz Milo. Fiddown would have been held

directly or indirectly of Roger fitzMilo and Mabel his wife who was dowered with a third part of these lands (Burtchaell 1893, 182; *Red Bk. of Ormond*, 133). It is unclear, whether William Fedunan held lands in Fiddown directly from fitzMilo or through a lesser lord like de la Rochelle. Between 1302 and 1306 an ecclesiastical taxation of the diocese of Ossory was compiled which included Fiddown in the deanery of Overk. It also records that the vicar holds half the rectory, while the prior of St. Catherine's, Waterford, holds the other half (*Red Bk of Ossory*, 176). This would indicate that by this date the church was impropriate to St. Catherine's priory; perhaps the church was gifted to them by the Archbishop of Dublin, in whose possession it had already been recorded.

In 1378-9 William de la Rochelle is recorded as the Lord of Fiddown, and Thomas Mauclerk is recorded as being his seneschal of 'Fydon, Langport and Balliclerehan' (Ormond Deeds II, No. 436, P345). William de la Rochelle's tenants include *Dawoke OHenys* and *Jonoke O Feyth*, and this O prefix to their surnames suggests that they may have been of Gaelic-Irish origin. Indeed the name *Ohenys* could be a corruption of O Hanly or O Henly which are anglicised version of the Irish name Ó Hainle, which could be derived from the Irish world *aluinn* or beautiful (MacLysaght 1991, 100). Similarly, *Ofeyth* could be derived from O Fee, Fey, Foy which is an anglicised form of O Fiaich (MacLysaght 1997, 104). This would suggest that the Gaelic-Irish continued to be tenants in this area of Kilkenny, although they held quite small amounts of land: five acres each.

In the early fifteenth century (1411) an extent of the baronies of county Kilkenny records that the parish of Whitechurch included the 'Burgagery of Fydoune' (*Ormond Deeds*, II 359). This entry in the *Ormond Deeds* led to its inclusion in Martin's annotated list of plantation boroughs (Harkness and O'Dowd 1981, 41). The earthworks between the parish church and the motte are the probable remains of this borough (KK042-001-). Borough status would have given the inhabitants of the settlement in Fiddown greater personal and economic freedoms than those who lived outside a borough. It has been suggested by Glasscock (1971, 287-288) that borough status was given to settlements that never developed into true chartered towns, to encourage English, Welsh and Flemish settlers to establish themselves in these settlements. He has suggested that where these settlements did not survive to the

present day they should be classified as 'deserted Norman rural boroughs'. The extent mentioned above also suggests that the parish of Fiddown was linked in some way to the nearby parish of Whitechurch. Whitechurch parish also contains evidence of a deserted settlement, which is located adjacent to the church and high crosses of Kilkieran. In both parishes settlements appear to have grown up close to the sites of monastic foundations.

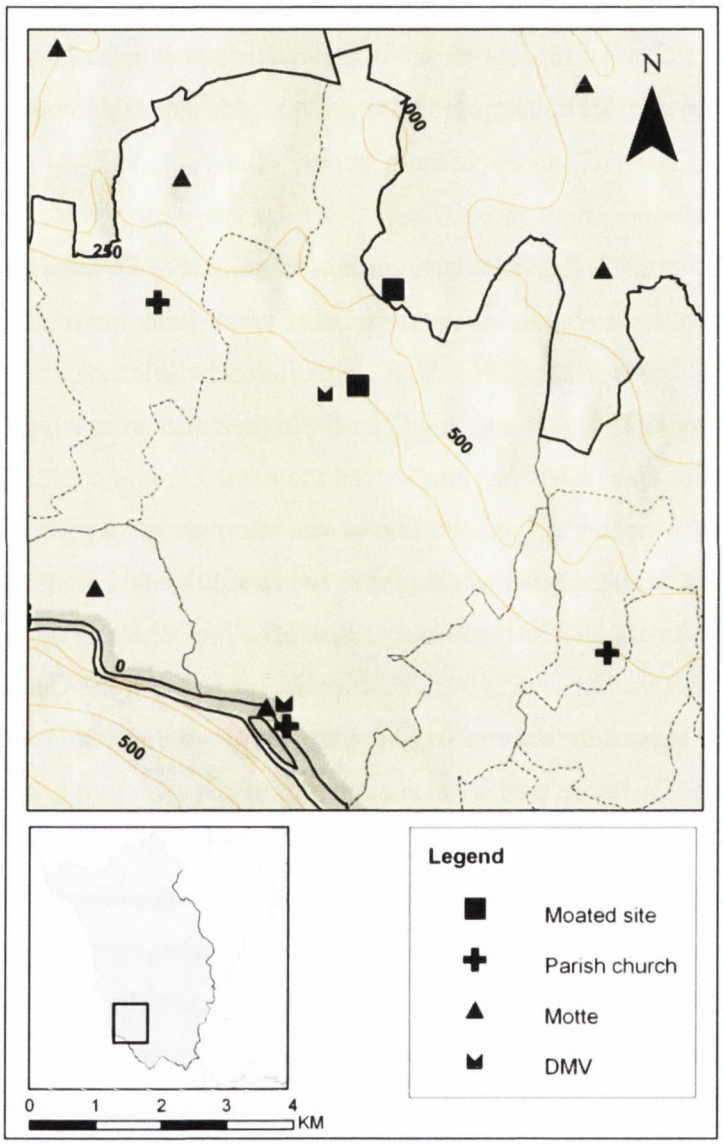


Fig. 6.37: Map showing the moated sites and other Anglo-Norman settlement in Fiddown.

The parish of Fiddown is quite large, indeed it is the largest parish in the barony of Overk and it contains a number of settlement nucleations, but most of these appear to date to the later medieval period. The moated site in Ashtown (KK039-007---) appears

to correspond to Empey's (1982) theory, discussed above, that moated sites are features of a secondary phase of colonisation and that they are regularly found on more marginal land. The moated site in Ashtown is located in an area of higher ground at the north end of the parish of Fiddown. The moated site is located between the 160 and 170m contours. Unfortunately this moated site was largely destroyed between the publication of the *Ordnance Survey* First Edition six-inch map of the area in 1839 and the publication of the second edition in 1901. Little can be said about the original morphology of this site; the dimensions recorded in the SMR file for the site, which were taken in 1989 indicate that the site has internal dimensions of 28m N-S and 36m E-W, suggesting that the enclosed area was comparatively small. However, the poor condition of the site means that these dimensions can only be viewed as the most general guide to its original size.

By 1411 Fiddown had come into the possession of the Butler family, as in that year it is included in the rental of James Butler, Earl of Ormond. Fiddown may however have been in the possession of the Butlers since 1319 when they acquired the lordship of Overk (Empey 1990, 85). The Earls of Ormond retained control of the area during the fifteenth century (*Ormond Deeds*, III 58, 104, 108, 211). In 1527, Piers, Earl of Ormond, quit-claims to Sir John Tobyn and Sir Nicholas Mothyng, 'Fedowne with the mill there', among a number of other places (*Ormond Deeds*, IV 110). It is clear that the de la Rochelles also maintained their connection with the area. In an indenture dated 1524 Nicholas de la Rochelle gave Piers, Earl of Ormond and his heirs and assigns all the land, tenements and lordships that he had in 'Fyddown and Bylkylreiske in the countie of Kilkenny' (*Ormond Deeds*, IV 85).

Templeorum is mentioned a number of times in the documentary sources of the fifteenth century, but at this date it is referred to as 'Fowram' (*Ormond Deeds*, III 135), 'Fotherom'(*Ormond Deeds*, III 163) and 'Ffothram' (*Red Bk of Ossory*, 162). In 1442 the parish of 'Fowrom' in the barony of Overk is first mentioned (*Ormond Deeds*, III 135). In 1446 William Walsh, chaplain, grants Nicholas Henneberry a number of manors in modern county Kilkenny including 'the parish of Fotherom in Overk' (*Ormond Deeds*, III 167). In the mid-fifteenth century 'ffothrom' is included in a list of the churches in Overk Deanery (*Red Bk of Ossory*, 162). This reference also includes the church in Fiddown so it is unclear whether Templeorum was a parish in

its own right at this date, or was always part of the parish of Fiddown. It is not included in subsequent lists suggesting a decline in status or that it ceased to be used. Carrigan (2005, IV 231) argues that it was probably originally a parochial church, but in the centuries preceding the Reformation it was merely a chapel of ease of Fiddown.

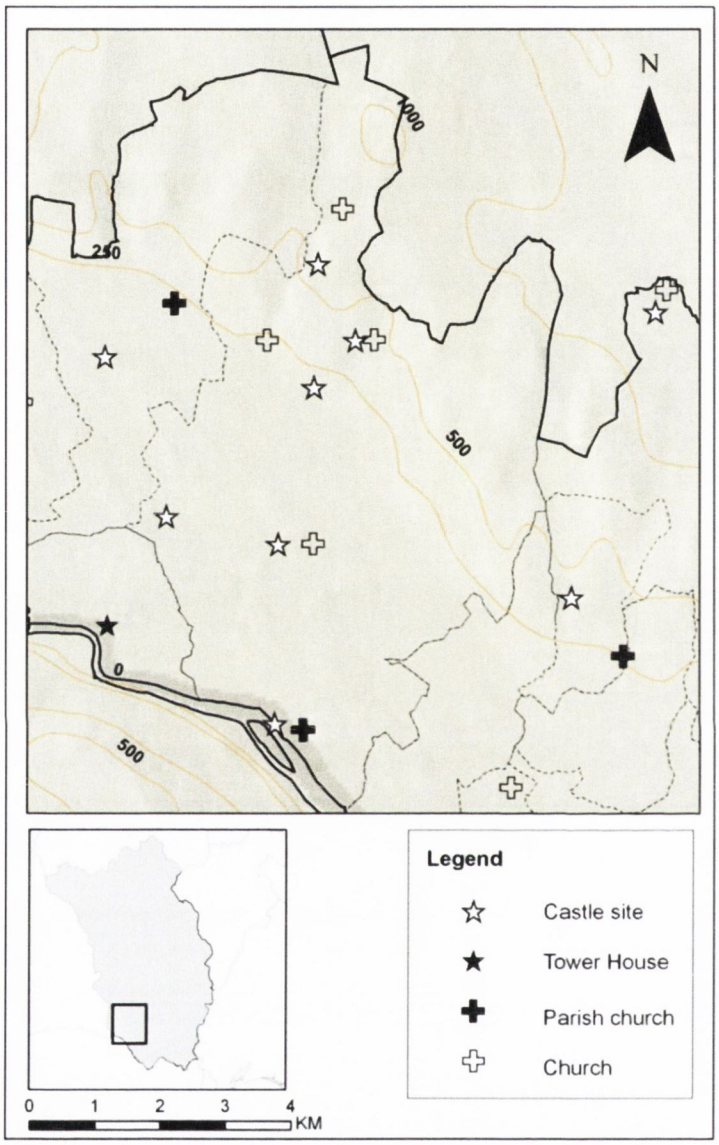


Fig. 6.38: Map showing castle sites and churches in Fiddown.

The site of the church in Templeorum (KK039-00501-) is now occupied by a modern Roman Catholic church and the site is divided by a roadway, which Carrigan (2005, IV 231) reports was constructed *c.*1800. O'Donovan (Herity 2003, 153) argues that the name of the townland was derived from the fact that an individual called Orum Walsh was responsible for the construction of the church and a castle in the townland. However, the Placenames Commission website (*Placenames Commission website: http://www.logainm.ie/Viewer.aspx?text=templeorum*) gives the name of the townland as 'Teampall Fhothram'. A castle-like building, surrounded by a number of smaller buildings, are depicted on the *Down Survey* barony map in the townland of Templeorum and the *Ordnance Survey* First Edition six-inch map of the area includes the site of Templeorum Castle (KK039-00502-). Carrigan (2005, IV 231) however

reports that what became known as Templeorum Castle was in fact 'a lofty presbytery', which 'fell' *c.*1800 having been used as a forge for a number of years. Carrigan often described castles attached to churches as presbyteries, indicating that he believed they were a priest's residence (McCarthy 2007, B82). The location marked Templeorum Castle on the *Ordnance Survey* six-inch map contains an intriguing set of earthworks that may represent the remains of the settlement depicted on the *Down Survey* map. The modern settlement of Templeorum was established in the eighteenth or nineteenth century by the Earl of Bessborough, who lived in nearby Piltown. There is sufficient evidence to suggest that there was a settlement in Templeorum from the fifteenth to the seventeenth century at least: what is not clear is whether or not it was a separate parish to Fiddown, during the high and late medieval periods.

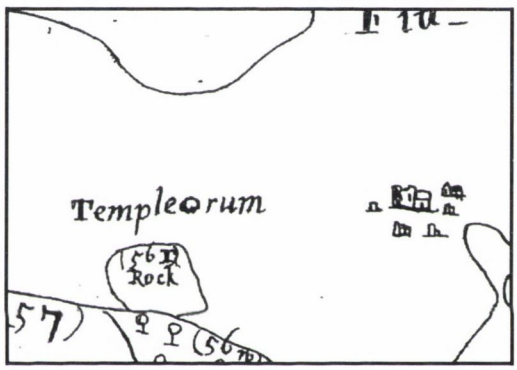


Fig. 6.39: Templeorum townland as depicted on the *Down Survey* map of the barony of Iverk.

Edwards reports that the viscounts Mountgarrett held their estate at Fiddown by knight's service (*Ormond Deeds*, IV, 306Edwards 2000, 69). The Mountgarrett branch of the Butler family were established by Richard Butler (*c.*1500 - 1571), younger brother of Earl James, second earl of Ossory and ninth earl of Ormond. This line of the Butlers was based at Ballyragget in north county Kilkenny and also had lands in Wexford. When his mother, Margaret, died Richard inherited four other manors: Beleen and Urlingford in north county Kilkenny and Fiddown and Tibberaghny in south Kilkenny (Tibberagny was originally part of county Tipperary).

The Mountgarret Castle in Fiddown may have been the castle site depicted on the north bank of the River Suir in the *Down Survey* barony map. At this date the settlement in Fiddown consists of this castle building and one other building. The village earthworks at Fiddown are therefore likely to be of an earlier date. The SMR

file and the *archaeology.ie* website both classify this site as a tower house (KK042-00102-), although the justification for this classification is unclear. Carrigan (2005, IV 218) records that the castle stood between the motte and the church and was occupied until 1835 when it was dismantled. He also reports that Fulk Den was its earliest recorded occupant and that in 1618 Fulk erected his own graveslab in the church in Fiddown and was buried there is 1626. The settlement in Fiddown appears to have declined since 1411, when it is referred to as a borough, while the settlement in Templeorum, mentioned above and that in Kildalton seem to have overtaken it.

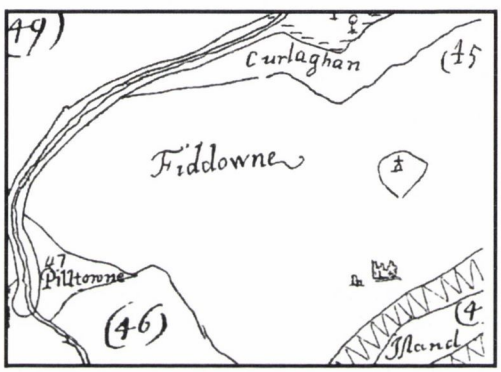


Fig. 6.40: Fiddown townland as depicted on the *Down Survey* map of the barony of Iverk.

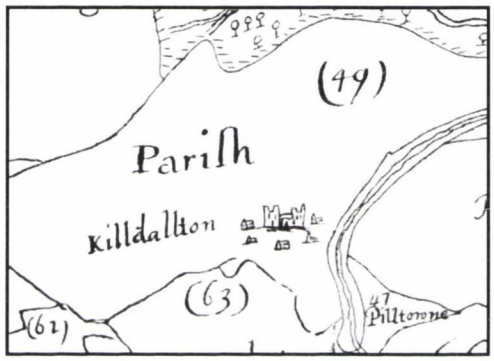


Fig. 6.41: Kildalton townland as depicted on the *Down Survey* of the barony of Iverk.

The *Down Survey* map also depicts a nucleation of sites in the townland of Kildalton. Here we have a depiction of a building that appears to be a substantial castle, larger than a tower house, surrounded by five cabins. Carrigan (2005, IV 219) records that the church (KK039-02401-) in Kildalton (or Kilmodalla) was a chapel of ease to the parish church of Fiddown. Around 1450 the church of 'Kylmethall' was included in a list of the amercements of the churches of Ossory, along with 'Fothram' or Templeorum and 'Cassellan' or Castletown (*Red Bk of Ossory*, 123). Both Carrigan and Lawlor have identified this placename with Kilmodalla or Kildalton (Carrigan 2005, IV 219; *Red Bk of Ossory*, 201). The church was located close to Bessborough House and was destroyed in 1830 to make way for stables. The castle (KK039-06601-) depicted on the *Down Survey* map was located *c.*230m (250 yards) from Bessborough. The Datons or D'Autuns appear to have been the owners of the castle in Kildalton and the family are first mentioned in connection with Kilkenny in 1382 (*Rot. Pat. Hib.*, 115) but it is unclear when they come into possession of this part of Fiddown

(Carrigan 2005, IV 221). There is evidence to suggest the possible reuse of a ringfort in Kildalton townland (KK039-023---) in an 1850 report of rectilinear stone foundations within a ringfort to the northwest of Bessborough House (Anon 1849-51, 388).

The, now destroyed, castle (KK039-021---) in the modern townland of Belline and Rogerstown, is depicted on the *Down Survey* map. The castle and deserted settlement at Jamestown are not depicted on the *Down Survey* map or the *Ordnance Survey* First Edition six-inch map of the area. The church site (KK039-039---) and a deserted settlement (KK039-04001-) are recorded at the cross roads in Jamestown. There is a local tradition that a battle was fought in Jamestown in 'medieval times' between the villages of Templeorum and Kilmanahin (O'Shea 1999, 4). There are no upstanding remains for the castle and while there are some earthworks in a nearby field, which could be the remains of a deserted village, these earthworks could equally be connected with the standing stone (KK039-04003-) and fulacht fiadh (KK039-04002-) which are located in the same field.

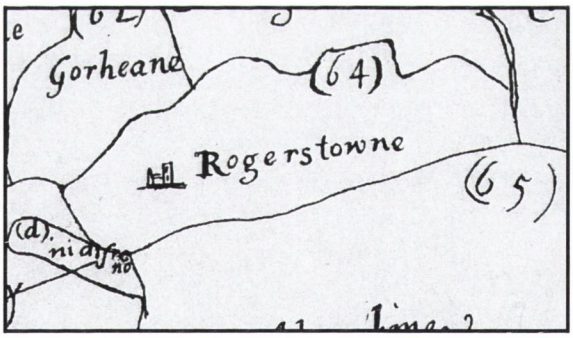


Fig. 6.42: The castle site in Belline and Rogerstown as depicted on the *Down Survey* map for the barony of Iverk.

Again, Carrigan (2005, IV 232) is our only source of information for the castle site at Oldcourt (KK035-05502-), as it does not appear on the *Down Survey* or *Ordnance Survey* First Edition six-inch map of the area. The site of this castle is located on the side of a SW facing slope with extensive views to the south. Carrigan reports a tradition that the Walshs erected a court or castle inside an 'ancient cahir'. When Carrigan says 'cahir' it is probable that he is taking about cashels. Joyce (1995, I 285) who compiled his three-volume work on Irish placenames in 1869, defined a cahir as 'a circular stone fort', suggesting that this was the term in use in the nineteenth, early

twentieth century. There are only six cashels in Kilkenny, all of which are in the north of the county, making this description unlikely. It is quite possible that the Walshes erected a castle inside an existing Gaelic-Irish enclosure, but it is much more likely that they reused an earthen ringfort rather than a stone cashel. Carrigan (2005, IV 232) himself relies on a tradition that there was a castle on this site and he reports that its foundations were uprooted in 1825. There are no upstanding remains of a castle or cashel at the site today.

The parish of Fiddown was an area apparently dominated by the Anglo-Normans during the high and late medieval period; the settlement in Fiddown is a classic example of an Anglo-Norman caput. However, the organisation of the rest of the parish during this period is unclear. This is a large parish and perhaps the size of the land grant was designed to compensate for the less productive upland area in the north of the parish. The Anglo-Normans were inevitably drawn first to the fertile lands in the south of the parish, on the north bank of the River Suir and close to the settlement at Carrick-on-Suir. The expansion of Anglo-Norman settlement northwards into the less productive lands of the upland areas must have been a response to an increase in the Anglo-Norman population. It is possible that the Irish who lived in Fiddown were initially pushed northwards onto this less productive land, the area with the greatest concentration of ringforts. The documentary sources for the parish make it clear that there were at least some Gaelic-Irish tenants in the manor of Fiddown. Based on the available archaeological evidence, we can suggest that the Gaelic Irish may have continued to occupy ringforts during this period.

Chapter seven - Contact zones in Clanmahon and Overk

The boundaries between areas dominated by the Anglo-Normans and those controlled by the Gaelic-Irish are no longer viewed simply as a dividing line between two competing cultures. Instead these areas are viewed as zones of interaction, contact zones, marchlands, areas in which social, cultural and economic exchange takes places (see section 2.2.5 for further discussion of contact zones). The archaeology of these areas should provide insights into the effect and extent of these cross-cultural contacts in the study areas. Irish archaeologists have, however, been slow to broach the subject of the contact zone, perhaps because the subject of Gaelic-Irish settlement forms in the high and later medieval periods is such a recent development. Archaeologists like McNeill (1990) and O'Conor (1993) have discussed frontiers, but they have only considered the Anglo-Norman 'side' of the frontier. They both discussed the theory that there are concentrations of mottes in frontier areas and while McNeill (1990) focuses on the northern border of the Anglo-Norman colony, O'Conor (1993, 195-201, 1987-91, 13-29) advanced the thesis that there were minor military frontiers within the lordship of Leinster. Both authors define these areas as military frontiers, rather than areas where people carried out their daily lives and interacted with each other. They also focus on the frontier as the limit of Anglo-Norman settlement, without considering the Gaelic-Irish who lived on both sides of this frontier. A brief mention is also made of frontier regions in the concluding chapter of O'Conor's seminal book on the archaeology of rural medieval settlement in Ireland. He indicates that settlement patterns and the way of life in border areas was relatively similar to those of Gaelic-Ireland, although in the latter regions few classical European-style timber and masonry castles were built before *c.*1400 (O'Conor 1998, 109). The aim of this chapter is to examine a contact zone in each of the study areas and compare their archaeology.

7.1: *Lough Sheelin: settlement in a contact zone*

In Clanmahon a zone of interaction appears to have occurred on the north shore of Lough Sheelin where a cluster of mottes and moated sites is mirrored by a cluster of platform ringforts. A closer examination of these sites should therefore cast more light on the level and nature of interactions in the area. Although, Clanmahon like the rest of East Bréifne remained largely under the control of the Gaelic-Irish, there were a number of, ultimately unsuccessful, attempts by the Anglo-Normans to establish

settlements in the barony. These settlements were largely confined to the southern half of the barony, close to Lough Sheelin and Anglo-Norman Meath and can perhaps be viewed as an attempt by the Anglo-Normans to extend the borders of their area of control northwards onto the fertile soils that fringe Lough Sheelin.

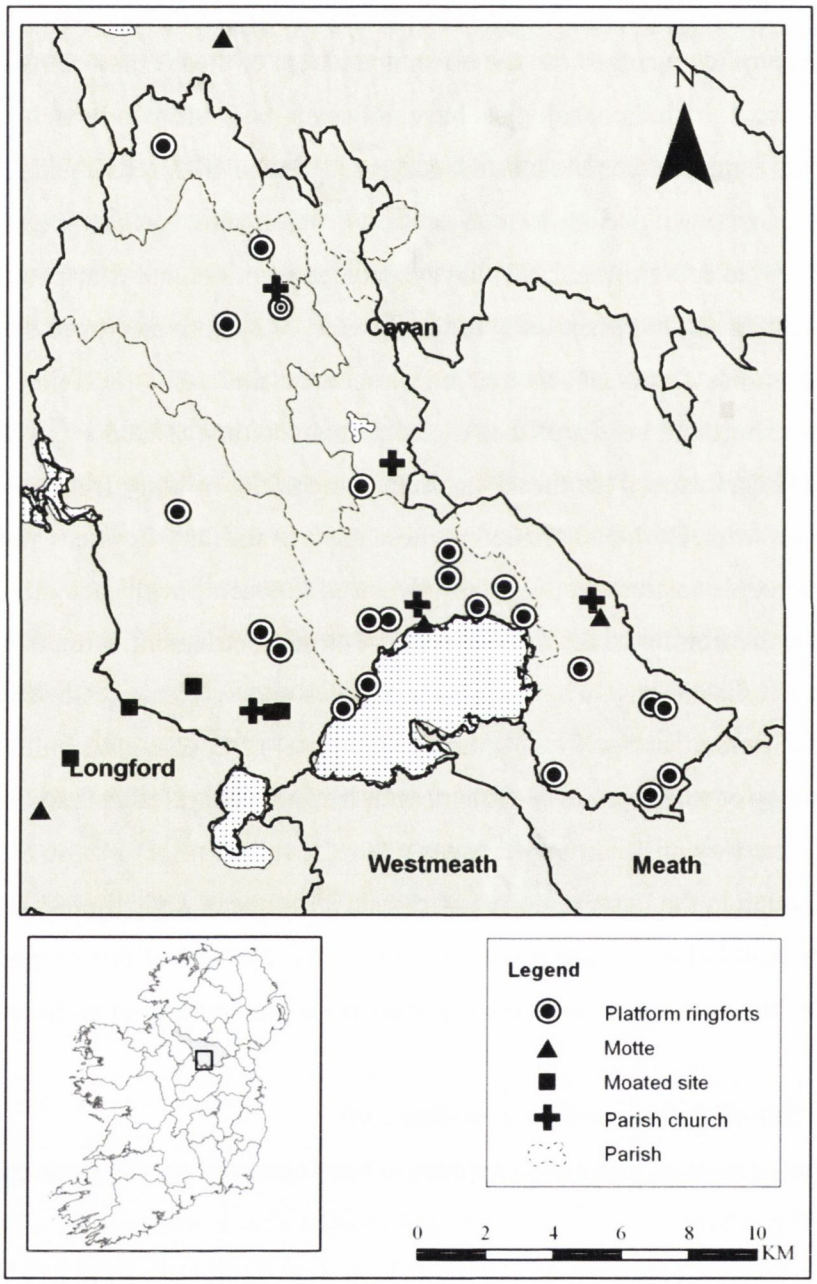


Fig. 7.1: A contact zone on the north shore of Lough Sheelin.

7.1.1. Moated sites on the frontier

There are three moated sites in southwest Clanmahon, in the parish of Drumlumman and two more in the neighbouring barony of Granard. O'Conor has suggested that they could mark the northern limit of the Anglo-Norman expansion into the area (O'Conor 2008a). The moated site is a monument type that was constructed by both the Gaelic-Irish and the Anglo-Normans, although the identification of Gaelic-Irish moated sites is a relatively recent phenomenon. A moated site can be defined as 'a rectangular or sub-rectangular area enclosed by a moat which is normally water-filled' (Sweetman 1981, 193), although they can be circular or even wedge shaped (O'Conor 1998, 58). Glasscock (1970) was the first to recognise them as a distinct and widespread monument in Ireland. In England and Wales moated sites tend to be located at manorial centres whereas in Ireland they were traditionally regarded as being a feature of dispersed settlement. However Shanahan (2004) has identified a number of moated sites at manorial centres in east county Wicklow, and Holland (1996, 7) has suggested that the primary castles associated with Anglo-Norman settlements in Galway may have been moated sites.

Graham (1988) was the first to suggest that in some areas of Ireland moated sites were constructed and inhabited by the Gaelic-Irish. He based his argument on evidence from county Roscommon where moated sites are located in parts of the county that he argued were never conquered by the Anglo-Normans. This idea was next developed in O'Conor's (1998, 87) publication on medieval rural settlement where he used a similar methodology, to establish that some moated sites were constructed and inhabited by the Gaelic-Irish. O'Conor (1998, 88) builds on this evidence and suggests that while Anglo-Norman moated sites appear to have been the residences of men of relatively low status, the Roscommon evidence suggests that they were also being built and inhabited by Gaelic kings and lords of the first rank. This could indicate that Gaelic kings and lords put less time and resources into their habitations and fortresses than their Anglo-Norman counterparts (O'Conor 2000, 101). O'Conor (2000) returned to the subject in 2000 at the Ruralia III conference in a paper entitled *The ethnicity of Irish moated sites*. In this paper he suggests that some moated sites have been identified with documentary references to *longphorts*. Although the term *longphort* had previously been used to refer to a temporary fortified camps erected during the course of sieges or campaigns, by the thirteenth and fourteenth century it more often

meant a permanently occupied defended or semi-defended rural settlement. A moated site in Cloonfree for example, first mentioned by Graham (1988), as a possible Gaelic moated site, is referred to as a *longphort* in 1306. A 'palace' or 'house' is mentioned as being located within Aedh O'Conor, King of Connaught's, longphort at Cloonfree. O'Conor (2000, 101) concludes that 'the existence of moated sites in north Roscommon ….. shows that Gaelic-Irish lords during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries were taking concepts and ideas from their Anglo-Norman neighbours'.

In the same year O'Keeffe (2000b) published an article entitled *Ethnicity and moated settlement in medieval Ireland: a review of current thinking*. The paper contains a short section that deals with Gaelic-Irish moated sites, much of which rebuts the arguments advanced by O'Conor (1998, 2000). He agrees that some sites like Cloonfree were certainly used as longphorts by the Gaelic-Irish, however he goes on to point out that the relevant documentation for Cloonfree makes it clear that the earthwork was actually constructed for its native patron by colonial builders (O'Keeffe 2000b, 24). Finan and O'Conor (2002, 78) have refuted the arguments advanced by O'Keeffe and argued that there are no direct references in the poems to Englishmen actually working on the moated site in Cloonfree during its construction phase. They go on to indicate that a reference from one of the poems indicates that the walls of the hall were built of wattle-and-daub in what appears to be a traditional Gaelic-Irish fashion. Similarly, they indicate that one of the poems specifies that it is the roof supports, in what is interpreted as the main hall, that were English or at least foreign in style. O'Keeffe (2000b, 24) has also suggested that O'Conor should have attempted to establish whether the moated sites he identified as Gaelic-Irish are similar in morphology to those in lowland parts of England and colonial Ireland. He finishes by indicating that the absence of moated sites in areas which remained untouched by colonists, such as central and western Ulster, east Kerry and parts of Cork, was another challenge to O'Conor's thesis. In 1988 Graham (1988, 32) indicated that the final enigma of moated sites in Ireland was their absence from those parts of Ireland which were subject to both Irish and Anglo-Norman influences and their restricted distribution to places specifically one or the other. However, evidence from the parish of Drumlumman in Clanmahon barony, suggests that this enigma is on the way to being solved through detailed fieldwork, both by the ASI and during the current programme of research.

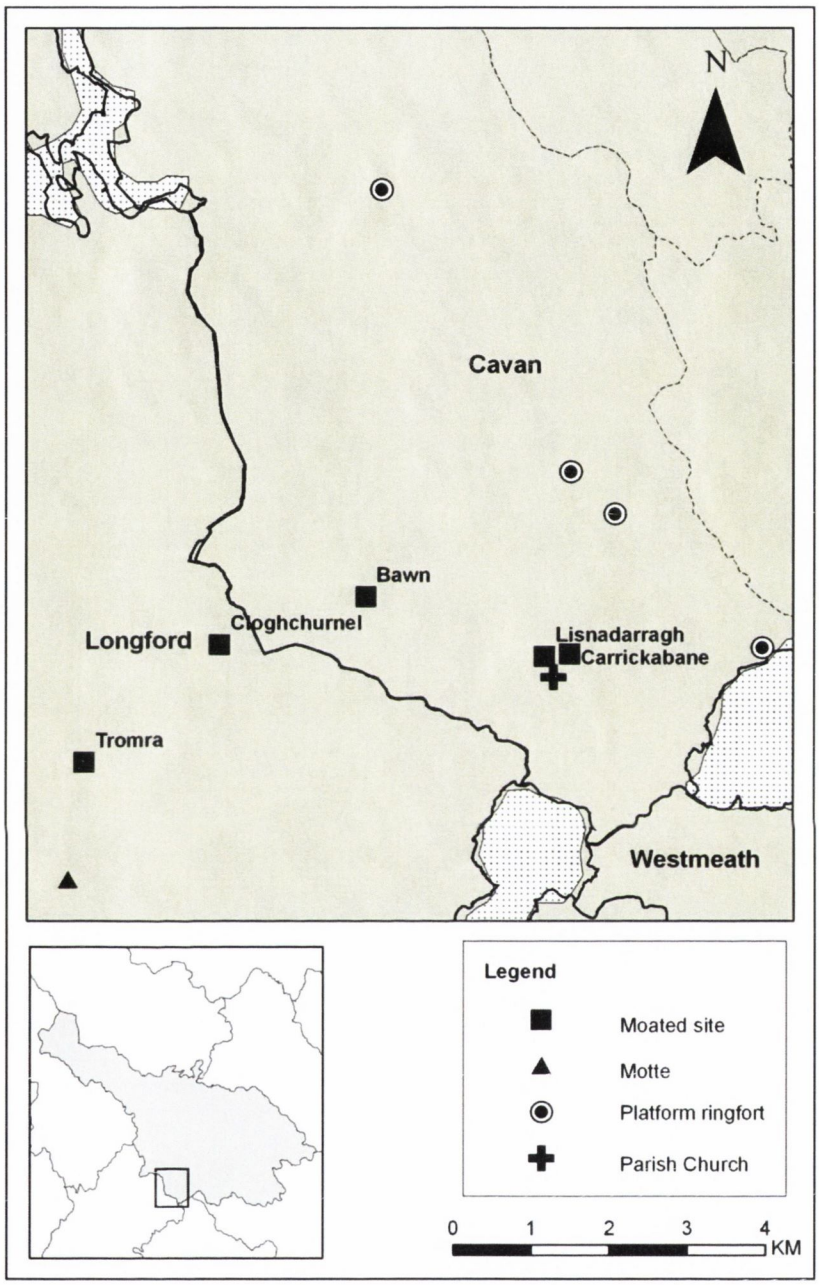


Fig. 7.2: Map showing moated sites in the barony of Clanmahon, county Cavan and the neighbouring barony of Granard, county Longford.

There are two moated sites and another possible moated site in the parish of Drumlumman. The moated sites in Bawn (CV041-001---) and Carrickabane (CV041-007---) are large rectangular sites with a substantial encosing bank and fosse. The Carrickabane moated site has internal dimensions of *c*.65m N-S and *c*.40m E-W, surrounded by a bank and external fosse. The bank has a maximum height of 6.8m

above the bottom of the fosse. The bank has been damaged and appears to have slumped inwards giving it a gently sloping internal face, while its external slope is steep, emphasising the height of the bank above the bottom of the fosse, which varies in width between 2.8m and 4.6m. There are no visible above ground features in the interior which, was generally clear and easily accessible. However, previous reports of a heavily overgrown interior could suggest that the area was cleared by heavy machinery, which could have obliterated any possible internal features. The moated site in Bawn has a very similar morphology, a large rectangular area (int. dims. 64m x 57m) enclosed by a bank and external fosse, with the possible remains of an outer bank on the NE side only. While the external fosse is not quite as substantial as that in Carrickabane, its maximum height of 2.2m below the top of the bank is nonetheless quite substantial. The fosse is 0.6m to 1.3m deep below external ground level. The internal bank has an overall width of 1.9m to 4.85m and it slopes gently towards the interior of the site that slopes downwards gently from west to east. The location of this site in close proximity to the possible parish church site at Bracklagh (*c*.300m SW) could suggest that this moated site, like those identified by Shanahan (2004) in east county Wicklow, formed a manorial centre, although its massive defences and large dimensions could suggest a defensive function.

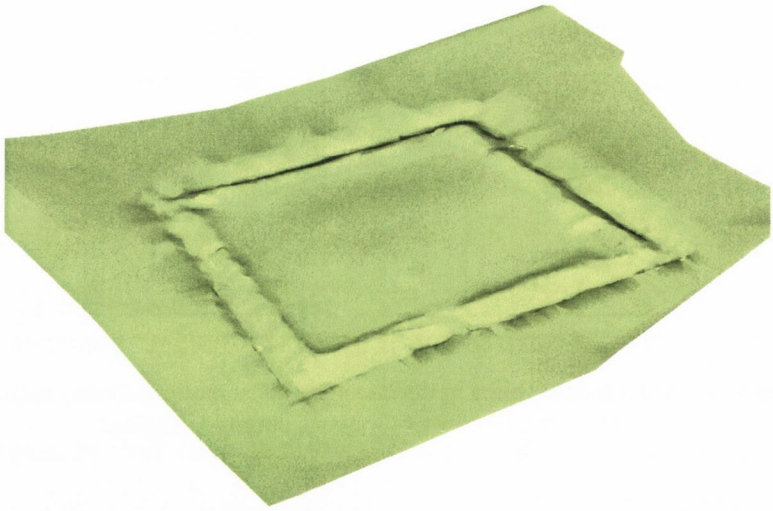


Fig. 7.3: 3D terrain model of the moated site at Bawn from the north-west (after O'Conor 1998).

The possible moated site at Lisnadarragh (CV041-14---) was identified from the 1836 *Ordnance Survey* First Edition six-inch map of the area. It was depicted as a rectangular enclosure, which has been labelled 'fort'. It was not included on

subsequent editions and there are no above ground remains of the site today. Its depiction on the first edition map would clearly show that it was a less substantial site than those in Carrickabane and Bawn. Its proximity to the site in Carrickabane could suggest that it was a secondary or less important site in the area.

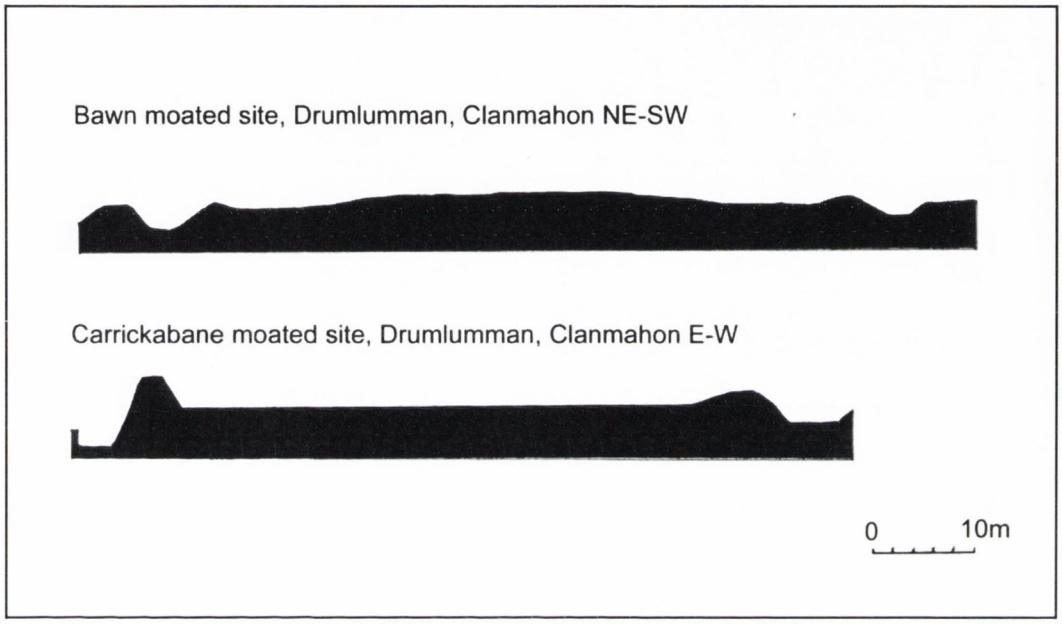


Fig. 7.4: Profiles of the moated sites in Bawn (CV041-001---) and Carrickabane (CV041-007---), Clanmahon.

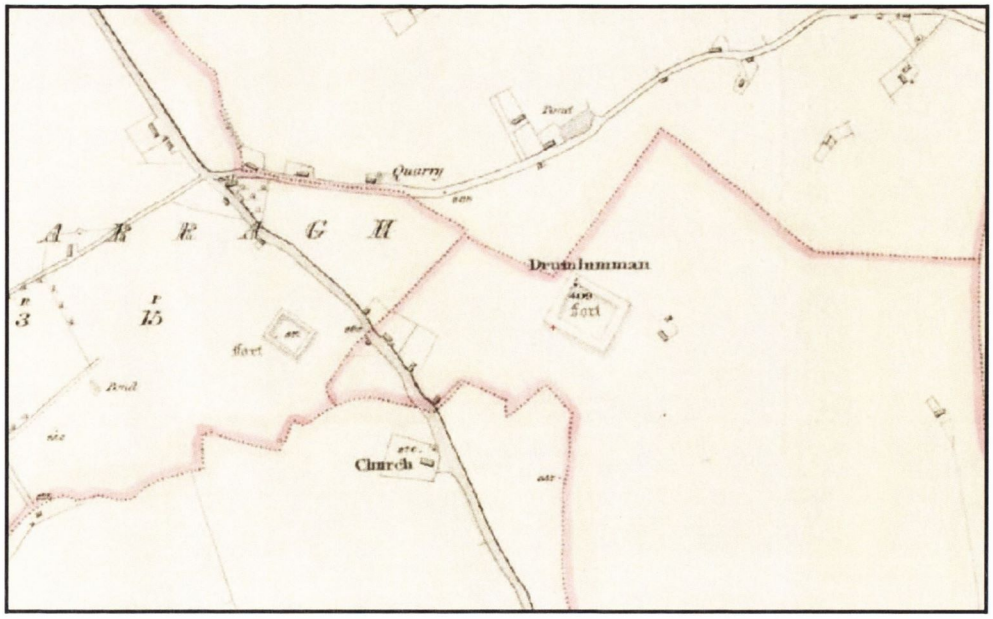


Fig. 7.5: Carrickabane and Lisnadarragh moated sites as depicted on the *Ordnance Survey* First Edition six-inch map.

While the sites at Carrickabane and Lisnadarragh are both classified as moated sites in the *Archaeological Inventory of county Cavan* (O'Donovan 1997, 222), the site at Bawn is classified as a bawn, despite its obvious similarities to the site in Carrickabane. This classification of the site as a bawn suggest that it was originally an enclosure attached to a tower house. However, the absence of evidence for any stone structure at the site, along with the fact that none of the five tower houses so far identified in county Cavan include a bawn would all indicate that this site should be classified as a moated site. Indeed, O'Conor's report on his topographical survey of the site also concludes that it is best classified as a moated site. This report was compiled as part of his research into the archaeology of Granard and he suggested that the three moated sites in Clanmahon, along with a moated site in Cloghchurnel (LF011-006---), and a possible moated site in Tromra (LF010-049---), both in county Longford, formed a cluster of sites to the northeast of the motte and bailey site at Granard (LF010-08001-) (O'Conor 2008a). O'Conor went on to argue that 'these sites represent the de facto frontier of Anglo-Norman settlement in the area with the Irish of Breifne and that they were the semi-defended homes of English tenants who held their lands of the lords of Granard' (O'Conor 2008a, 2). Indeed, Barry (2003b, 191) has suggested that the distribution of moated sites in Cork and Limerick suggests that they were 'located in a classic linear distribution pattern in the frontiers of the lordships of Cork and Limerick'. He also argued that because of the unstable political conditions of the late thirteenth, early fourteenth century that some of the moated sites in exposed areas of the colony were more defensible than the majority of such earthworks (Barry 2003b, 186).

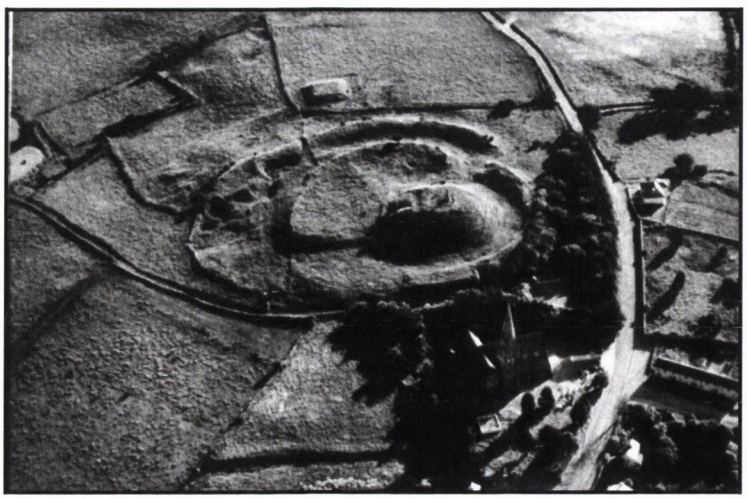


Fig. 7.6: Motte-and-bailey castle at Granard, county Longford (CUCAP aerial photograph).

Richard Tuite, who was part of Strongbow's force and was granted lands in the modern counties of Longford and Westmeath (Mullally 2002, 133, line 3146), is generally held to have been responsible for the construction of the motte and bailey in Granard. He is believed to have granted the tithes of the parishes of Ballymachugh and Drumlumman to the Cistercian abbey in Abbeylara (the monastery was known as Granard in the medieval period). The tithes of Ballymachugh and Drumlumman appear amongst the possessions of the monastery at its dissolution. This would indicate that Tuite was in control of these parishes in the early thirteenth century and this would support O'Conor's thesis that the moated sites in Drumlumman were connected to the motte and bailey in Granard. However, while Otway-Ruthven argued that rectories in the possession of the Cistercian abbey in Abbeylara at the dissolution probably represented 'an original grant of Richard Tuite of the tithes of all his lands', she went on to assert that at least some of these rectories 'would certainly have continued to be held by Irish chieftains' (Otway-Ruthven 1993, 121). There is also the obvious problem of assigning ethnicity to a moated site or any other archaeological site, a point debated by O'Conor and O'Keeffe. Can we be sure that these moated sites represent a frontier rather than a contact zone, a contact zone in which the settlement forms of the Anglo-Normans may have inspired the Gaelic-Irish to construct rectangular rather than circular earthworks? The substantial size of the moated sites in Carrickabane and Bawn may indicate that Gaelic-Irish lords with significant resources were responsible for the construction of these impressive earthworks. Although, their substantial size would also support the idea that these sites could have been defensive Anglo-Norman sites.

7.1.2: Mottes: agents of colonisation

If we continue to trace O'Conor's cluster of sites eastward into the neighbouring parishes of Ballymachugh and Kilbride we encounter the mottes in Lavagh and Racraveen respectively. Mottes, which are almost universally held to be features of Anglo-Norman settlement, are the most numerous type of earth-and-timber castle in Ireland and the majority of them would appear to have been built before 1300 (Graham 1980b, 41). McNeill (1990, 264) argues that mottes were no longer built after 1250, though Sweetman (1999, 17-18) points to documentary evidence that a castle was constructed at Moydow Glebe, county Longford in 1261, where a possible low motte stands today. O'Conor (1993, 197) has also argued that mottes continued to be

constructed in the late thirteenth century. A motte is a large mound of earth with a flat summit, which probably originally held wooden buildings and defences, and a fosse around its base. Some mottes were accompanied by a defended enclosure called a bailey, which were usually attached to the base of the motte. The banks of the bailey were probably also surmounted by wooden defences. In the lordships of Meath, Oriel and Ulster there is a contrast between the settled core areas and the borders to the west and northwest. In these lordships there is a concentration of mottes along the borders and in some cases mottes are only one or two miles from each other (McNeill 1997, 67). The function of this concentration of mottes was to create a zone in which there were many strong points to protect individual land holders, their land and families (McNeill 1990, 269). These border mottes also have a higher proportion of baileys attached to them and it has been argued that these baileys were used to station forces in times of tensions and raids.

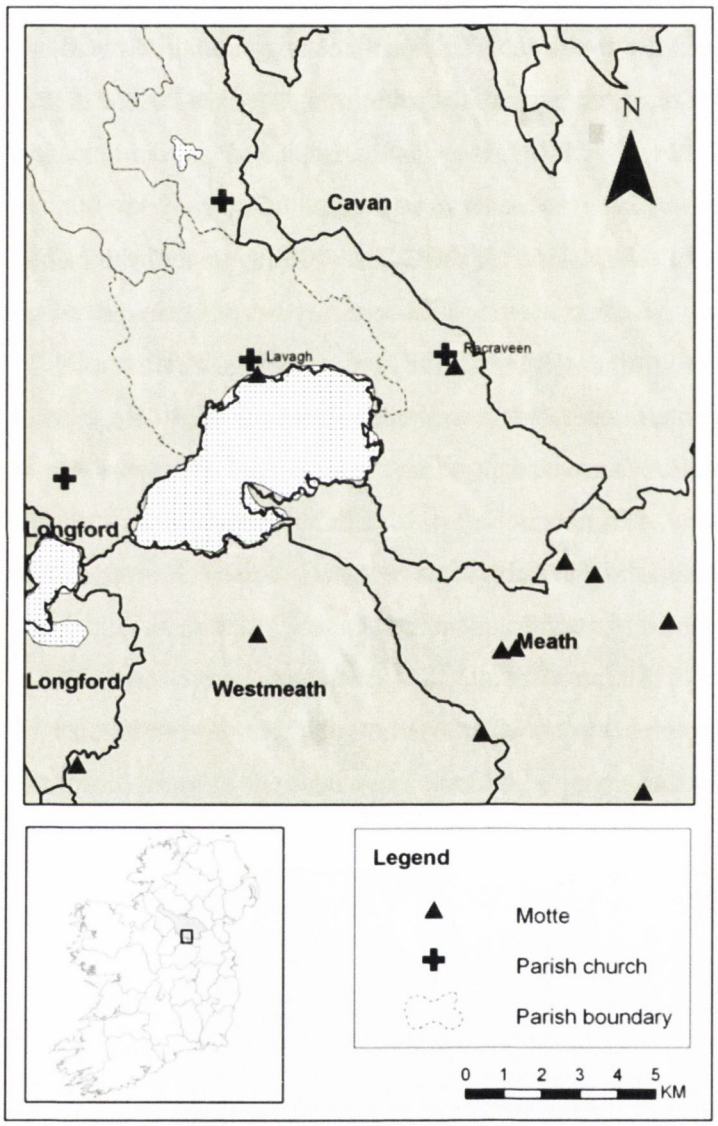


Fig. 7.7: Map showing mottes in the area of Lough Sheelin.

The mottes at Racraveen (CV038-055---) and Lavagh (CV037-042---) would appear to been constructed as part of an attempt to establish manorial centres in southern Bréifne. The motte in Lavagh is located close to the north shore of Lough Sheelin and *c.*450m SE of the probable parish church site, which is also located in the same

townland. This motte has a maximum height of 3.1m and a maximum diameter of 27.7m. On the N side of the motte are the remains of a flat-bottomed ditch, 2.4m in width and 1.1m in depth below external ground surface. There is no evidence for a bailey at this site, but the motte was incorporated into an estate landscape since before the compilation of the *Ordnance Survey* First Edition six-inch map of the area, and the landscaping works involved in the creation of demesne gardens could have removed any trace of a bailey.

Fig. 7.8: Lavagh motte, Ballymachugh, Clanmahon (CV037-042---).

Fig. 7.9: Racraveen motte and possible bailey, Kilbride, Clanmahon (CV038-055---).

Similarly in Racraveen, the motte and possible bailey are located *c.*400m from the possible parish church site in neighbouring Gallonreagh. The summit of this motte (max H. 3.3m) contains the foundations of a later tower house and evidence that the

circumference of the summit had a stone wall or footings. O'Conor (1992) has argued, based on his work on the earthwork castles in medieval Leinster and the work of English archaeologists, notably Davison (1967) and English (1995), that mottes were not ideal in an invasion context and that ringwork castles would have been more useful, as they could be constructed more quickly and could accommodate a larger force in their interior. It is possible to see this cluster of what have traditionally been considered Anglo-Norman sites as marking a frontier, but if we adopt the idea of a contact zone and widen our field of vision a more interesting and nuanced interpretation of the settlement history of the area emerges.

The motte-and-bailey in Kilmore (CV025-069---) is believed to have been one of a series of fortifications built to secure a roadway that would isolate that part of Ulster still under Irish control. This is a large and impressive motte with a raised crescentic bailey, whose construction would have required a substantial investment of time and resources. It is clear that when this earthwork castle was constructed the de Lacys intended to maintain a presence in the area for the foreseeable future. The fact that this motte-and-bailey had a short period of occupation should not influence our assessment of its original function or the intention of those who ordered its construction. The mottes in Racraveen and Lavagh are both less than 3.5m in height, placing them in McNeill's (1990, 264) low motte category. He suggests that this indicates that men of lower status constructed these mottes and that in the Anglo-Norman heartland these men would not have considered it necessary to build mottes. McNeill also argues that these frontiers were not deliberately established and simply developed over time, the men who constructed these mottes clearly did so with the intention of establishing themselves and their families in the area and exploiting the fertile soils on the north shore of Lough Sheelin.

7.1.3: Platform ringforts: Gaelic residences in the high medieval period

The cluster of platform ringforts along the north shore of Lough Sheelin suggests that this was an area of significant interaction in the high medieval period. The thesis that platform or raised ringforts were occupied later in the sequence of ringforts and that their morphology was influence by the monument types constructed by the arriving Anglo-Normans has been the subject of recent debate by scholars. However, this thesis is not a recent one and the current research programme revealed that it was advanced

by Oliver Davies (1947b) as early as the 1940s when he had suggested that platform ringforts in south-east Ulster may have been influenced by the settlement forms constructed by the Anglo-Normans in Meath. O'Riordáin reported that the excavation of a platform ringfort at Ballingarry Down, county Limerick revealed a series of occupation layers including a post-Norman house (Ó Ríordáin 1979, 57). However, he argued that platform ringforts were generally pre-Norman in date. O'Keeffe (2000a, 29) was perhaps responsible for reviving the debate on platform ringforts suggesting that they may have fulfilled the functions of a 'castle' in the pre-Norman period. While there is evidence from the Irish literary sources that there were 'castles' in pre-colonial Ireland, none of the sites identified as *caisléns* or *caistéls* in the *Annals* have been identified with a platform or raised ringfort. Despite this, O'Keeffe suggests that platform ringforts had motte like profiles and were occupied quite late in the time span of ringforts. He suggests that 'the owners of these sites had their interiors raised significantly so as to differentiate them from conventional or standard ringforts' (O'Keeffe 2000a, 29). He goes on to argue that the chronology and morphology of platform ringforts combined with 'what we know generally of society and politics at the time of their construction suggest that 'motte' is not an inappropriate appellation for them' (O'Keeffe 2000a, 29). While there may have been certain similarities in function and morphology between platform ringforts and mottes, calling platform ringforts mottes is, in my opinion, several steps too far.

There have been a number of attempts to sub-divide ringforts with raised interiors into a number of classifications. Kerr (2007, 3) one of the most recent commentators on the subject, divides platform ringforts into two groups, platform ringforts that altered the natural landscape to develop a raised profile and raised ringforts that were created through a lengthy accumulation of occupation debris or a single deliberate event. However, he makes no attempt to separate the groups in his analysis because of the difficulties of differentiating between them. The only reliable way to differentiate between the two forms is through excavation and consequently the term platform ringfort will be used in this paper to refer to all ringforts with raised interiors. Kerr's analysis of the available calibrated C14 dates for ringforts concluded that while the dates from univallate ringforts appear to be concentrated between the seventh and the end of the ninth century AD, with a similar date range for multivallate ringforts, platform ringforts appear to have a later date range of the mid-eighth to mid-tenth

century (Kerr 2007, 99). This conclusion must however be treated with caution because it is based on a small sample size, forty-one sites, only ten of which were platform ringforts and not all of which could be described as definite examples (the early medieval occupation at Knowth is included). The estimated total number of ringforts in Ireland is 45,000 (FitzPatrick 2009, 283).

A number of platform ringforts have been excavated in the north of Ireland, particularly in county Down. Some of these sites were ringforts which were reused by the Anglo-Normans and turned into mottes: Ballynarry (Davison 1961-2), Rathmullan (Lynn 1981-2), Ballyfounder (Waterman 1959a) and Lismahon (Waterman 1959b). The ringforts on which these mottes were constructed all show evidence of having been raised, but only Lismahon was raised significantly. No dating evidence was uncovered at Lismahon for the phase in which the level of the ringfort was raised. The subsequent and final phase has been dated on the evidence of a coin to the early thirteenth century, providing a terminus ante quem for the raising of the ringfort (Waterman 1959b). The platform ringfort at Deer Park Farms was formed through successive phases of house buildings on top of the remains of previous houses and an attempt to raise the height of the interior to avoid the waterlogged conditions on site (Lynn 1989). These waterlogged conditions were responsible for the excellent preservation of house remains. The only heightening of note at Gransha platform ringfort occurred in the third and final phase, which the excavator dated through artefactual analysis to between the tenth and twelfth centuries, but more likely to have happened at the beginning of that date range. Kerr (2007, 93) includes calibrated C14 dates for this site of 485±55 AD and 370±50 AD, but does not indicate which phase of the ringfort these dates come from. The dating evidence from these sites has been used to argue against the idea that some platform ringforts may have been influenced by the arrival in the landscape of mottes, and were occupied contemporaneously. However, the low height of the ringforts at Ballynarry, Rathmullan and Ballyfounder prior to their adaptation as mottes means that they are not suitable parallels for most of the platform ringforts in Cavan. The fact that these sites are largely confined to one county could mean that any innovation in morphology may have been a response to local factors, rather than an accurate reflection of what was happening at a national level.

Ó Drisceoil (2002) has argued that because a substantial percentage of the reused or 'recycled' ringforts were occupied immediately prior to their adaptation as mottes it is possible that either the Gaelic-Irish raised some of these mottes or that a number of them were constructed by the Anglo-Normans with the consent of the local population. He points to Duneight, co. Down to argue for native construction of mottes and that 'it is entirely reasonable that the Irish would have remodelled their own ringforts in such a manner and indeed it would take very little effort to convert a platform ringfort into a motte' (Ó Drisceoil 2002, 193). The small sample size available to Ó Drisceoil's analysis, only fifteen excavated sites, makes any conclusions at best tentative. Moore (1988-9) interpreted the 'Moat' at Castletown Kilberry as a platform ringfort that had been expanded outwards rather then upwards, with a radiocarbon date range of 1010AD to 1260 AD. On the basis of this outward expansion Moore argues that the site was not reoccupied and adapted by the Anglo-Normans but that instead the Gaelic-Irish continued to occupy the site as an expanded ringfort into the thirteenth century. He rules out the possibility that this outward expansion was part of an attempt to convert the ringfort into a ringwork castle, because of the absence of an enclosing bank and ditch. This interpretation was not based on a standard excavation, but rather the examination of the section of a half destroyed site. Therefore the C14 dates are not based on excavated samples but on charcoal samples removed from the disturbed section of the earthwork.

Fig. 7.10: Tulsk platform ringfort, Roscommon.

Brady (Barry 2008, 130) excavated a platform ringfort as part of the excavation of a late medieval Gaelic-Irish castle at Tulsk. The earliest horizon seems to belong to the

tenth/eleventh century, based on small finds including lignite bracelet fragments, bone pins, copper alloy and iron ringed pins and a gaming piece. This occupation layer is overlain by a layer that includes the base of a corn-drying kiln, a series of other burning events and associated ash spreads. Above this a sequence of clay deposit was introduced to raise the interior surface and transform the site into a platform ringfort. A depth of 1.2m of this clay deposit survives but there are no occupation levels associated with the raising event as the uppermost levels were truncated to accommodate later activity on the site (Barry 2008, 130). The truncation of the deposit used to raise the interior of the ringfort, means that we cannot date this event. However, we can be sure that it was later than the tenth/eleventh century date given to its earliest horizon.

O'Conor has argued that ringforts continued to be occupied in the high and later medieval periods and while some earlier proponents of the idea received a very negative response to their research, O'Conor's argument has received a general level of acceptance. O'Keeffe (1996, 145), however, has attacked the idea suggesting that the theory of ringfort continuity, either of occupation or construction implies a degree of social and cultural stagnation from the end of the first millennium to at least the fifteenth century when wealthier Gaelic landowners embraced the fashion for tower houses. This view was perhaps part of the reason O'Conor argued that many commentators reject the idea of continued ringfort occupation as suggesting that the Irish at the time were backward. This, O'Conor argues, does not sit well with their nationalistic interpretation of Irish history and leads them to reject the idea outright, without giving it due consideration.

Most recently FitzPatrick (2009, 283) has argued the classification of over 45,000 sites in the Irish landscape as ringforts and ascribing them all an early medieval date is misleading. She suggests that these sites should be renamed native enclosed settlements and argues that these sites, which were occupied between the seventh and seventeenth centuries, come in various forms, revealing significant innovation in morphology and perhaps function over time. She addresses the debate between O'Conor and O'Keeffe when she states that 'the portrayal of native enclosed settlements of the later medieval and early modern periods as either an attenuation of an archaic mode of enclosed dwelling or a minor revival of such settlement forms by

certain lords as a result of a renewed interest in Gaelic traditions after the decline of the Anglo-Norman colony' ignores the variety in morphology of this group of archaeological sites (FitzPatrick 2009, 283). Instead she argues that 'innovation in enclosed settlement forms was as important as attachment to settlement traditions' (FitzPatrick 2009, 283). If we view the sites which are currently classified as ringforts as a group of sites which changed and developed over time in response to changing social and economic conditions, the development of platform ringforts in response to changing conditions and the arrival of mottes on the landscape, appears to be a logical progression. FitzPatrick also reviewed the available dating evidence from excavated ringforts, determining that of the 156 ringforts excavated between 1970 and 2004, 40% were interpreted as early medieval period in origin and occupation, 10% had evidence of high or late medieval or early-modern occupation and 50% had no chronological interpretation.

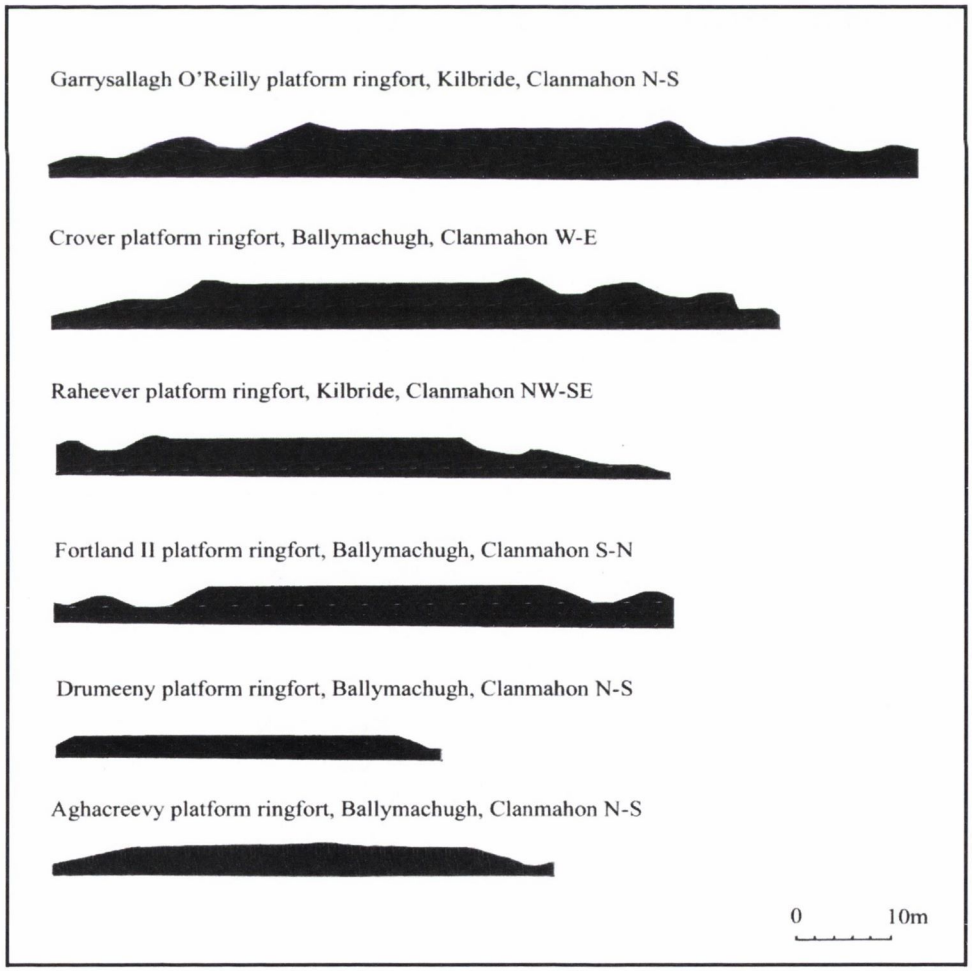


Fig. 7.11: Profiles of two of each type of platform ringfort identified in Clanmahon

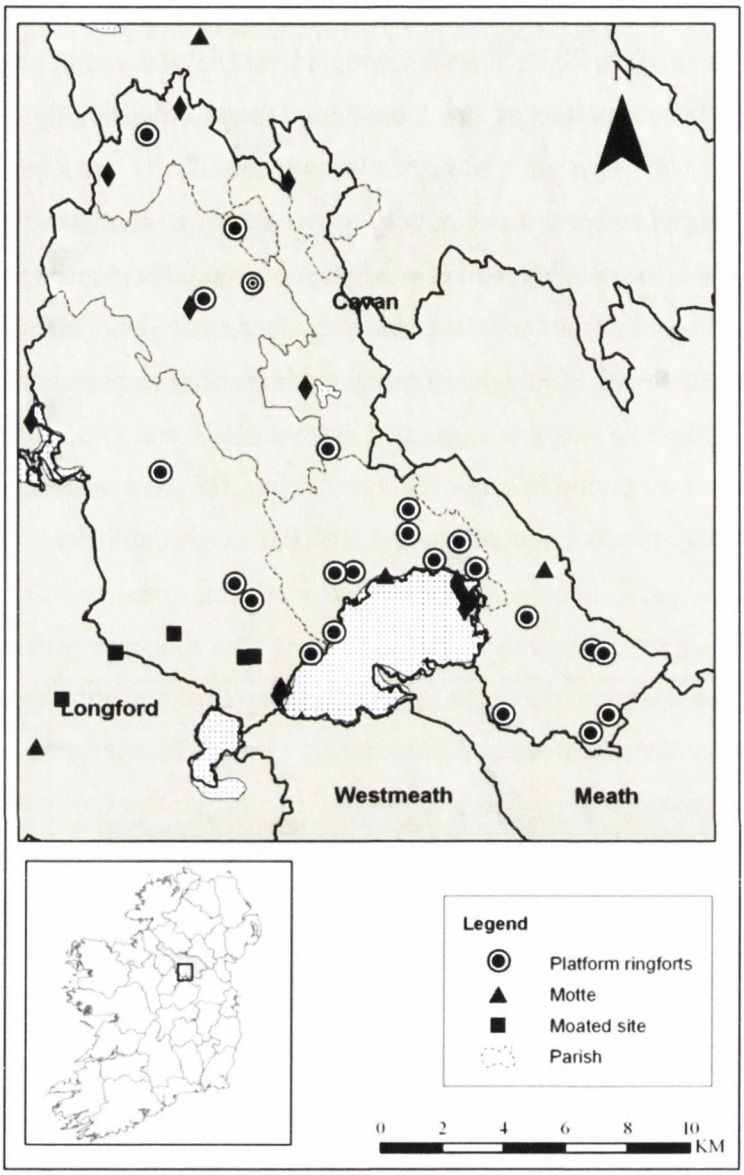


Fig. 7.12: Map showing the distribution of platform ringforts and crannógs in Clanmahon

While it is clear that there is much research to be done on the topic of platform ringforts, there is obviously much merit in the suggestion that they may have been occupied in the high medieval period. If we combine O'Keeffe (2000a) and Kerr's (2007) analysis of them as higher status ringforts occupied late in their chronology with O'Conor's (1998) thesis that ringforts continued to be occupied after the arrival of the Anglo-Normans we might conclude that they are the most likely ringfort type to have been occupied in the later medieval period. While there are many flaws with Kerr's thesis, not least the small sample of datable ringforts and tiny sample of datable platform ringforts, this is a thesis with enough merit to justify testing in the field.

There are a total of twenty-two platform ringforts in the barony of Clanmahon. The classification of these sites was difficult as the *Archaeological Survey of Ireland* which produces the nationwide maps and inventories of archaeological sites does not differentiate between different types of ringforts: bivallate, multivallate and platform

ringforts are all classified as simply ringforts. Moreover the *Archaeological Inventory for county Cavan,* which provides brief descriptions of the known archaeological sites in that county, does not distinguish between sites with raised interiors and those without. Instead it was necessary to examine the Sites and Monuments Record (SMR) files for all 296 ringfort sites in Clanmahon to determine which ringforts had raised interiors. The results of this work were tested in the field and nineteen of the twenty-two sites on the distribution map have been visited, two could not be accessed and one is a destroyed site, but fortunately Davies (1942) had surveyed and published a profile of the destroyed site. As the majority of these sites are located in an area of fertile soils and outside the drumlin zone, it is also clear that they were not merely a response to local environmental factors, i.e. raising the interior to avoid flooding, as appears to have been the case at Deer Park Farms, county Antrim (Lynn 1989). The platform ringfort in Dillagh, appears to be the only example in Clanmahon to fit into this category and it is outside the major distribution of platform ringforts in the barony. Kerr (2007, 80) noted a correlation between land suitable for arable farming and platform ringforts in counties Fermanagh, Down and Tyrone.

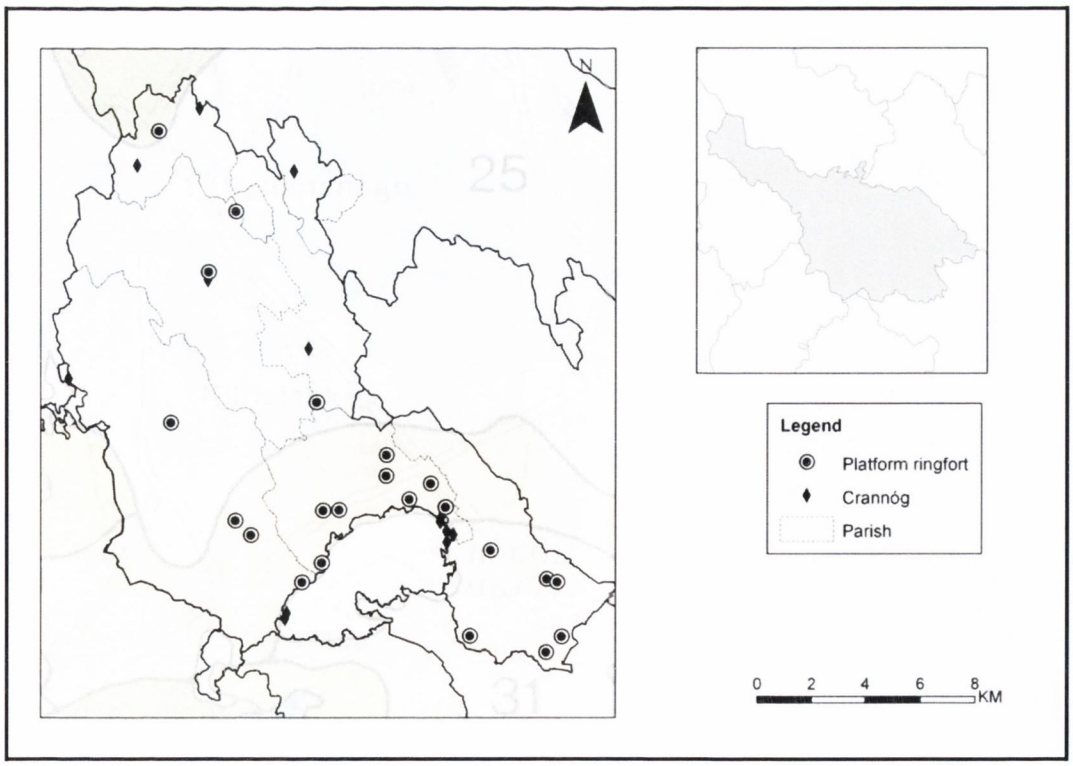


Fig. 7.13: Soil map (after Gardiner and Radford 1980) overlaid with the platform ringforts of the barony of Clanmahon.

Fig. 7.14: Crover bivallate platform ringfort, Ballymachugh, Clanmahon (from the SE) (CV038-020---).

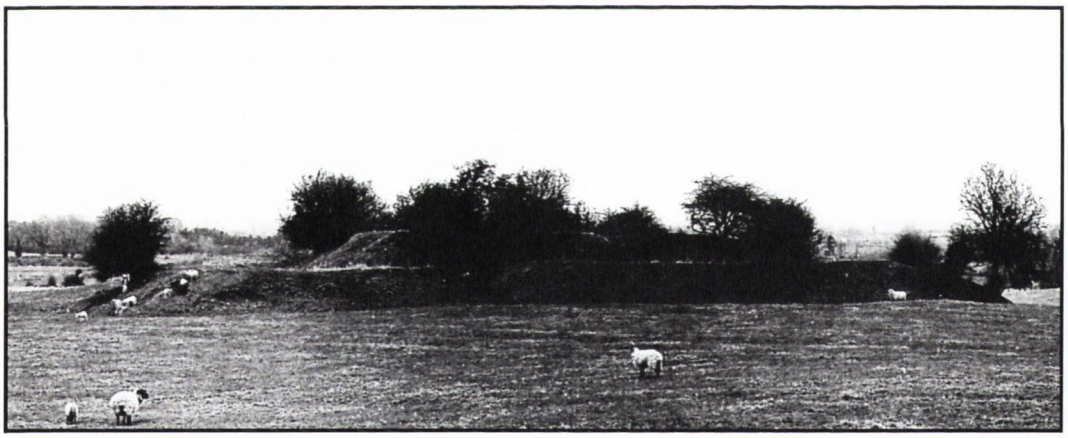


Fig. 7.15: Garrysallagh O'Reillly bivallate platform ringfort, Kilbride, Clanmahon (CV042-026---).

The platform ringforts in Clanmahon can perhaps best be categorised by the number of banks they have. Generally a platform has a bank or berm on the edge of the platform and this has not been included in the calculation of banks. As it is generally of low height, it is susceptible to destruction especially as the interiors of many of these sites contain evidence of cultivation. The inclusion of these banks, where they survive, in the calculation of the number of banks would create a misleading impression of their overall morphology. Clanmahon contains three bivallate sites, Lisduff, Crover and Garrysallagh O'Reilly, eight univallate sites (Clonbockoge, Raheever, Lismore, Fortland 1 and 2, Raclaghy, Enagh, Dungummin Upper and Mullaghoran) and the

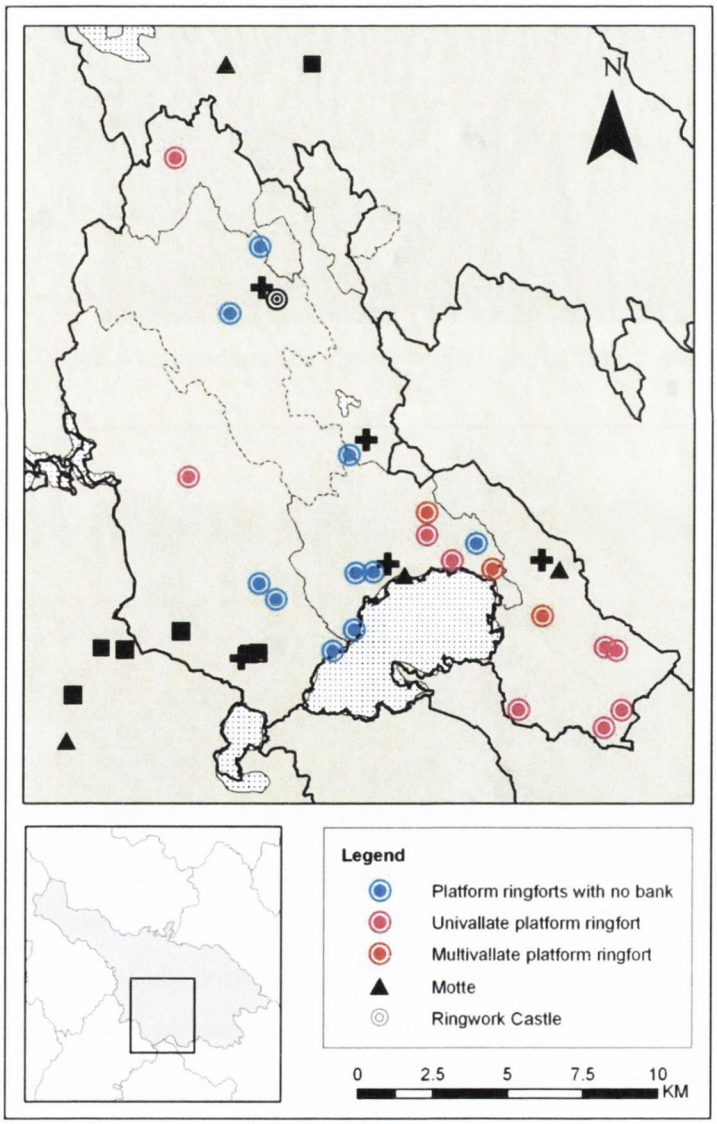
remaining sites are simply platforms, with a berm or bank around their edge and no enclosing banks. One example in Aghacreevy has traces of an enclosing ditch, at the foot of the platform. It is possible that banks, which have been destroyed by agricultural improvements or practices, may once have surrounded these sites.

Fig. 7.16: Fortland II univallate platform ringfort, Ballymachugh, Clanmahon (CV038-027---).

Fig. 7.17: Aghacreevy platform ringfort (no enclosing banks), Ballymachugh, Clanmahon (CV037-003---).

These sub-classifications were then plotted on a map of the barony and the results analysed. Given the small sample size, it is important to note that any conclusions must be viewed as applying only to the barony of Clanmahon, extrapolating a national or even county picture on the basis of these results could be extremely misleading. The bivallate sites are clustered around the east shore of Lough Sheelin, between the motte

in Lavagh and the motte in Racraveen. There is a cluster of univallate sites at the southeast corner of the barony, in the parish of Kilbride close to the border with modern county Meath. The sites with no external enclosing bank tend to be clustered east of the moated sites in the parish of Drumlumman, on either side of the border between the parish of Drumlumman and Ballymachugh. There are only five platform ringforts in the northern half of the barony and three of these are within 4km of earthwork castles likely to have been constructed by the de Lacys or their followers. I would argue that the distribution of these sites suggests that their raised interiors were a response to the monumentality of the earthwork castles, both ringwork castles and mottes, constructed by the Anglo-Normans who attempted to establish themselves in the barony and the Anglo-Normans in the neighbouring areas. Therefore rather than seeing these sites as marking a frontier, I would suggest that it should instead be considered a contact zone, an area in which the Gaelic-Irish came into contact with the arriving Anglo-Normans and who may have adapted their settlement forms in response to the types of settlement forms that were introduced to their wider landscape. There are only two tower houses within this contact zone,



Map 7. 18: Map showing the different platform ringfort classifications in Clanmahon.

suggesting a significant lull in building activity in the late medieval period (see section 8.6 for a discussion of these tower houses).

7.2: *Overk and the Carlow Corridor: a contact zone*

In Overk the contact zones are less readily apparent on a distribution map of archaeological sites, but they can be identified through the analysis of archaeological, topographical and documentary sources. Overk is fringed by a series of uplands at its northern end while to the west it borders the Carlow Corridor. The Carlow Corridor, which was focussed on the River Barrow, was a vital river and road transport route which connected Dublin to the colony in the south. Doran (2008, 197) has argued that in Carlow 'the incompleteness of the Norman settlement resulted in the creation of large Gaelic enclaves, where the earlier landholders had been forced on to the land above 600ft and into the vast stretches of bog and densely forested areas that hemmed the Carlow Corridor'. In 1288 the government led by John de Sandford made the Seneschal of Carlow, along with those for Kildare, Kilkenny and Wexford, responsible for guarding the marchlands fringing the Barrow Valley (*C.D.I.*, III 266).

7.2.1: Mottes and manorial centres

The archaeology of Western Overk, which forms part of the Carlow Corridor reveals an area with little evidence for significant Anglo-Norman settlement in the early years of the colony. There are fewer mottes in Leinster than in Ulster and Oriel and it has been postulated that, in Leinster, the ownership of these monuments did not permeate as deeply the many levels of aristocratic society (McNeill 1990). There are few mottes in western Overk, and the only motte located along this stretch of the river Barrow is in St. Mullins, which is outside the barony of Overk. The mottes in Clonamery (KK033-02202-) and Listerlin (KK036-026---) would appear to have been the focus of early settlement in the area and they are both located at the north end of the barony and *c.*7.5km from the River Barrow. A 1240 grant of lands and tithes to the nunnery in Kilculliheen by David fitzMilo, a descendant of Milo fitzDavid, the original grantee of the barony, mentions the new castle at 'Cloone' (*C.D.I.*, I 370-371), which Orpen (1920, 389-390) has identified as the motte in Clonamery. The fact that this reference refers to a new castle suggests either that it was not the first castle constructed in Clonamery or that it was of recent construction. This deed refers to a chapel at this new castle, suggesting that the castle complex here was substantial, especially as there is ample evidence that the pre-Norman church in Clonamery was extended in the late twelfth or early thirteenth century. O'Conor (1993, 493) has suggested that originally there was a bailey to the east of the motte and while the evidence for this suggestion is

far from definitive, the combination of landscape features and the suggestion that this was a substantial castle complex would support his thesis. Orpen has suggested that the mottes in Clonamery and Portnascully (KK045-001---) both of which are mentioned in this deed were constructed by the fitzMilos (for further details see chapter 3.5).

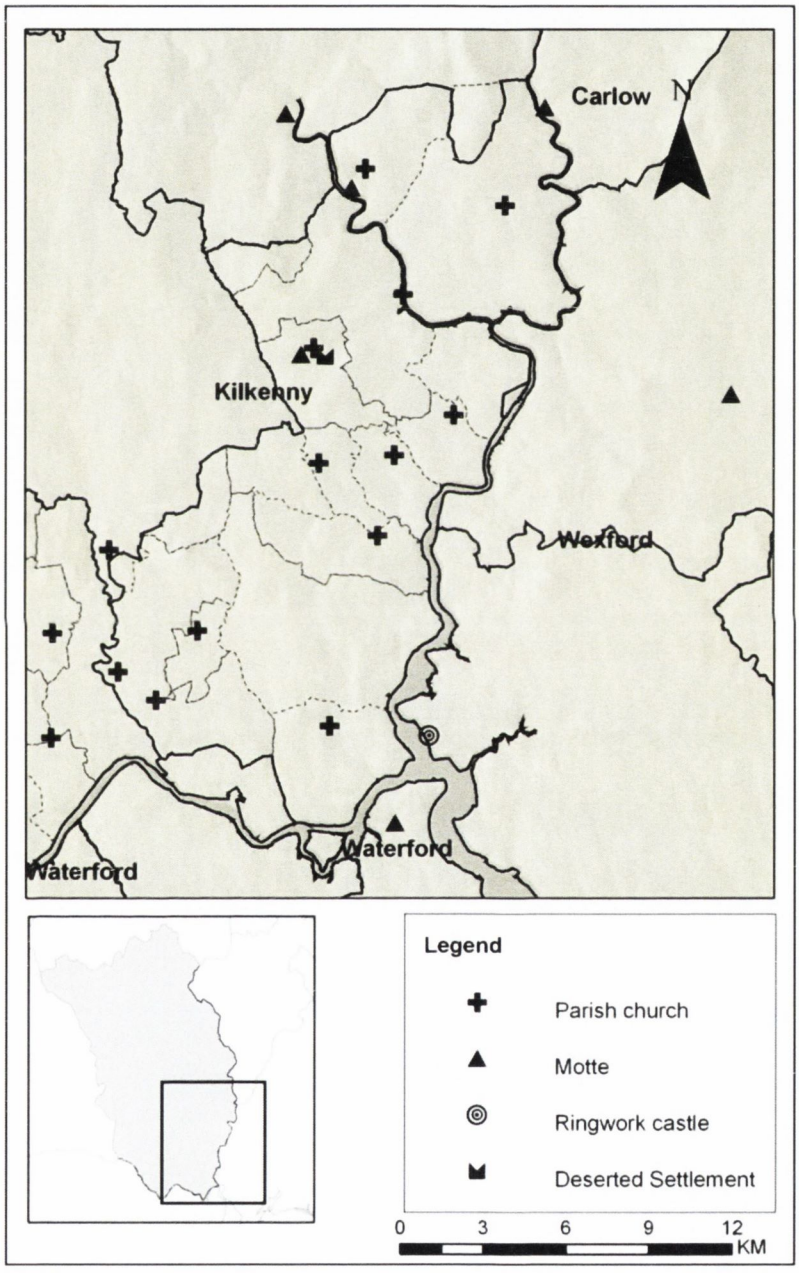


Fig. 7.19: Map showing the archaeological sites connected with early Anglo-Norman settlement in eastern Overk.

Fig. 7.20: Clonamery motte, Clonamery, Overk (KK033-02202-).

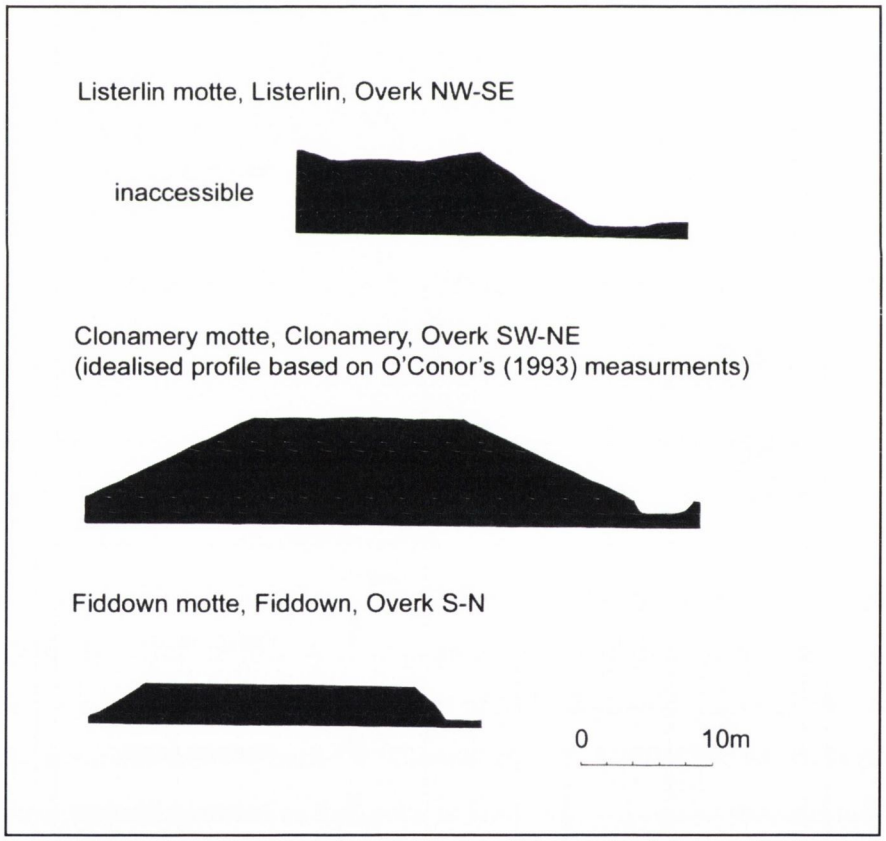


Fig. 7.21: Profiles of mottes in Overk.

The motte in Listerlin is located in close proximity to a church and there is evidence to suggest that there was once a settlement in the immediate vicinity. The archaeological evidence suggests that this was once a manorial centre, and Orpen (1909, 324-5) interpreted Carrigan's description of the motte and the nearby earthworks as the

remains of 'the usual Anglo-Norman vill' (Orpen 1909, 325). He also indicated that the dedication of the adjacent church to St. David suggested an early Anglo-Norman settler, and went on to surmise that this was probably the seat of the 'manor of Lostling' mentioned in the 1314 extent of Overke as being held by Agnes FitzMaurice from Henry Roche (*Red Bk. of Ormond*, 131-135). In 1332 a confirmation of the grant of 'the manor of Lesterglyn' to Oliver de la Freigne by James Butler is recorded in the *Patent Rolls* (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Edward III, vol. II 307). This document also records that the manor had previously been in the possession of Henry Roche.

Fig. 7.22: Listerlin motte and church, Listerlin, Overk (KK036-026---) as depicted on *Ordnance Survey* First Edition six-inch map.

The mottes in Listerlin and Clonamery, like the other two mottes in the barony of Overk, Portnascully and Fiddown, are located at manorial centres. All four are located in close proximity to a parish church and are located in townlands with the same name as the parish in which they are located. Indeed, Carrigan (2005, IV 316) observed that mottes and parish churches are regularly found in close proximity to each other in the diocese of Ossory. 'Indeed, there is general agreement amongst Irish archaeologists and historians that most castles marked the centres of estates and that farming was carried out from many of them' (O'Conor 1998, 28 and 2002, 175). Most of the buildings associated with this farming economy, would have been constructed of timber, like castle defences and accommodation, and consequently they do not survive on the modern landscape. Little archaeological work has been done on the nature of

these structures and most of the available evidence on the number and type of buildings at these manorial centres comes from documentary sources. An extent of the manor of Knocktopher, county Kilkenny, dated to 1312 states that a palisade, a *bretache* or timber tower, a hall, a chamber, a chapel with an attached storeroom and a kitchen were located within the castle complex. Another building and a *bretache,* which probably acted as a gatehouse lay outside the gate. A wooden grange, a byre, a dovecote, two mills and three herb and fruit gardens lay in the lower courtyard, which O'Conor (1998, 29) suggests could have been a bailey. The bailey was also the location of probably the only stone building in this complex, a hall (Empey 1982, 332). The manor of Danesfort also in county Kilkenny had a ringwork castle with a detached bailey at its centre (Arbuthnot, forthcoming) that contained a hall, a dairy, a granary and a bretache beyond the gate and other wooden houses according to an extent dated 1307. A dovecote, rabbit-warren and watermill also occurred at the site (O'Conor 1998, 31; *C.D.I.*, V 195-196). Although similar records were not uncovered for any of the manors in Overk that contain earthwork castles, it is likely that the manors at Clonamery and Listerlin would have contained a similar range of buildings associated with the manorial farm.

The files of all the ringforts in the barony of Overk were examined and only one possible platform ringfort was identified (See section 8.3 and gazetteer entry for Owning earthwork for details). However, this site, located in the townland and parish of Owning (KK035-038---) is not located within the contact zone under discussion. It is clear that the Gaelic-Irish continued to be based in Overk, yet they don't appear to have constructed platform ringforts. This could suggest that these sites were constructed and occupied by the Gaelic-Irish lords, as it was these people who have been dispossessed by the arriving Anglo-Norman lords. These Gaelic-Irish lords would have lost their lands, while the native Irish population would have continued to live on the lands they had always inhabited, becoming the tenants and workforce of the Anglo-Norman manorial economy.

7.2.2: Moated sites and the development of the Anglo-Norman colony

It has been suggested by Barry (1977, 101-102, 1996, 137), O'Conor (1998, 59-60) and others that moated sites are located along what were frontier areas of the Anglo-Norman colony and where settlers would appear to have come under increasing

pressure from the neighbouring Irish from the second half of the thirteenth century onwards. Empey (1982, 334) argued on the basis of evidence from the cantred of Knocktopher, county Kilkenny that moated sites represented a secondary phase of Anglo-Norman settlement in Ireland. McNeill (1997, 148-149) has suggested that as moated sites rarely occur at the capita of Anglo-Norman manors in Ireland, they represent the farmsteads of assarting free tenants. However, as indicated above, moated sites do occur at manorial centres in Wicklow (Shanahan 2004) and Galway (Holland 1996) and may await discovery in other parts of Ireland. The distribution maps of the archaeological sites in those areas which border the Carlow Corridor would appear to suggest that moated sites played at least as significant a role in this contact zone as they did in the contact zone in Clanmahon. However, the fact that initial attempts by the Anglo-Normans to settle Clanmahon were likely to have been much later than was the case in Overk, means that the temporal divide between the construction of earthwork castles and moated sites could be much shorter there. This may explain why it is possible to argue that moated sites occurred at manorial centres in Clanmahon, but not in Overk. This distribution map suggests that Anglo-Norman settlement in Overk moved southwards

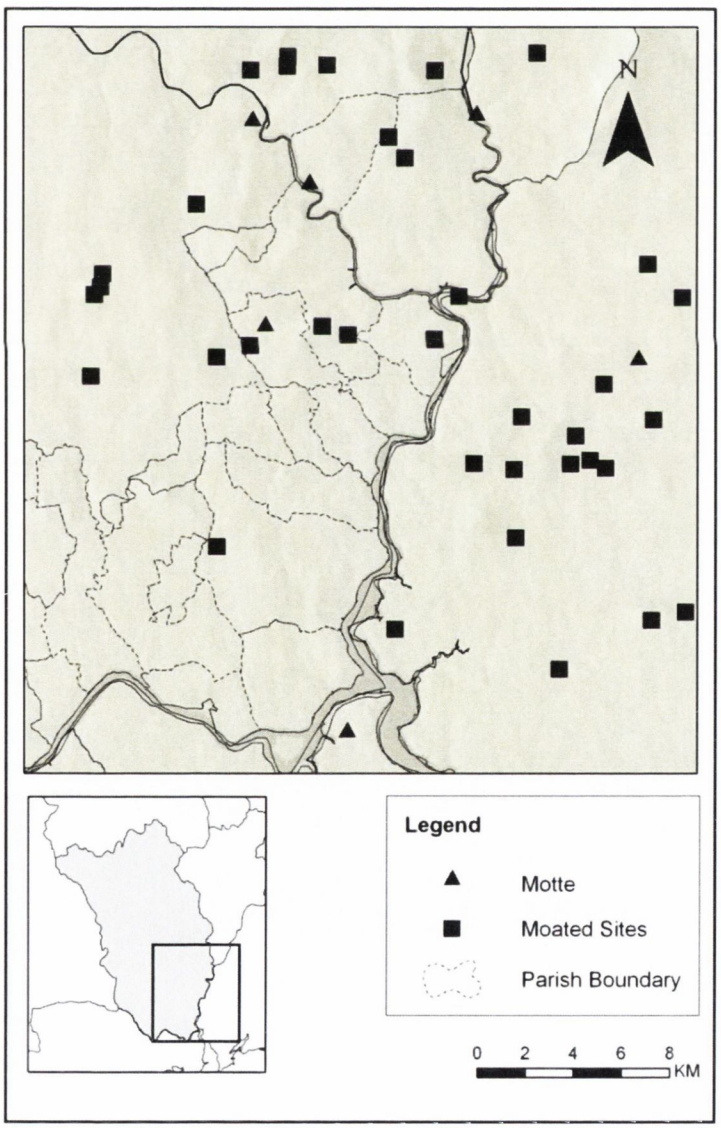


Fig. 7.23: Map showing the moated sites and mottes in eastern Overk

and eastwards in the later thirteenth century. It also reveals a line of four moated sites (Listerlin KK036-038---, Brownstown KK037-009---, Ballyknock KK037-01101-, Garranbehy Big KK037-04001-) that runs east to west across eastern Overk and south of the settlements at Clonamery and Listerlin.

The manor of the Rower contains one moated site in Brandonhill (KK033-03701-), there is another located very close to the border of The Rower and Clonamery in Ballygub New (KK033-012---), and a circular moated site just over the border in modern county Wexford in the townland of Mountelliott (Moore 1996, 106). The moated sites in Ballygub New and Brandonhill are smaller than those in Clanmahon, but are of average size for the southeast of Ireland (Barry 1977, 39). The moated site in Ballygub New consists of a rectangular area (internal dimensions 29.6m N-S and 26.5m E-W) enclosed by a single bank with external fosse. The bank of the moated site is 0.80m to 1.10m high externally and 0.45m to 0.30m high internally and *c*.4.3m in overall width. The external ditch is approx 0.5m in depth and 2m to 2.3m in width. The moated site in Brandonhill, encloses a larger area (int. dims 45m E-W and 41m N-S) and it has two enclosing banks and a fosse. It was not possible to gain access to this site and so the description provided relies on that included in the SMR file for this site. A mid nineteenth century account of the site indicated that at this date the site contained the stone foundations of a structure (Moore 1849-51, 26).

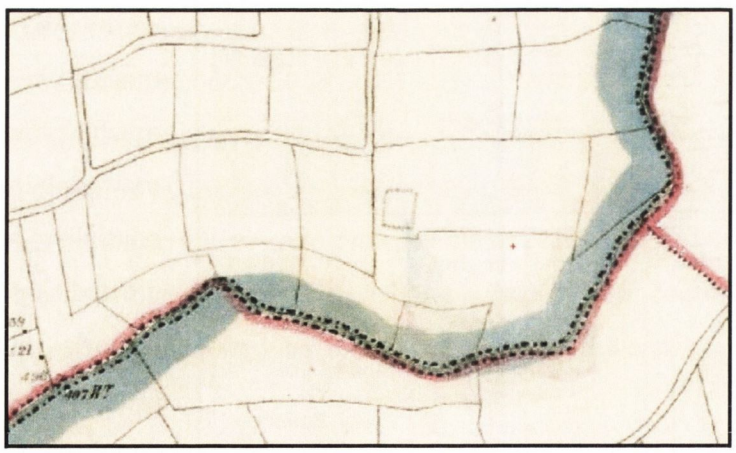


Fig. 7.24: Ballygub New moated site as depicted on the Ordnance Survey First Edition six-inch map.

Ballyknock moated site (KK037-01101-) in the parish of Dysartmoon also encloses a roughly square area with internal dimensions of 27m SE-NW by 26m SW-NE. An

earthen bank, with external fosse, encloses it. At the NE corner of the site the inner bank is 1.55m in height above the bottom of the fosse and 1.70m in height above the interior of the site. The fosse is 3.40m in width and 1m in depth below the external ground level. The fosse narrows on the southern side of the site, where it is 2m in diameter. The moated sites of eastern Overk enclose a smaller area, have less impressive defences and appear to have been located on more marginal lands than those in Clanmahon. There is no evidence that any moated site in Overk acted as a manorial centre.

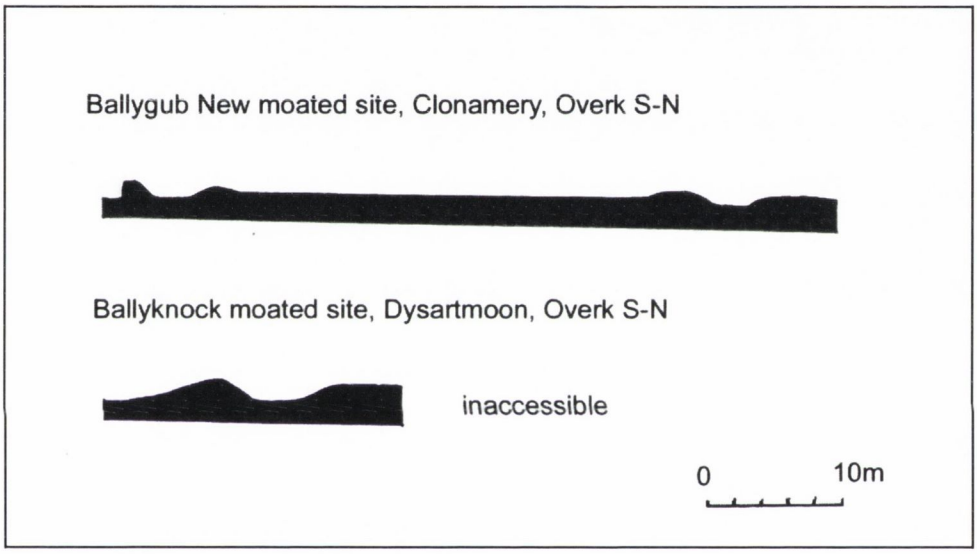


Fig. 7.25: Profiles of Ballygub New and Ballyknock moated sites in Overk.

The moated sites in Brandonhill and Ballygub New may represent the earliest Anglo-Norman settlement in the manor of the Rower. We can suggest that the Roches, who are recorded as holding both Listerlin and The Rower, had their manorial centre at Listerlin and moved into The Rower after they had lost possession of the manor to the de la Freignes. It is also possible that the Roches may have had a previous manorial centre in The Rower, but the evidence for this is far from clear. The site of a circular enclosure in Farrantemple, is located within the modern village of The Rower adjacent to the remains of a Church of Ireland church, which is located in the same townland. The site has been largely destroyed making it very difficult to accurately classify it. The proximity of this site to the site of the parish church, as well as its location in the hamlet of The Rower could indicate that this site may have been a ringwork castle. However, the large diameter of the site, together with the fact that the site is

overlooked would argue against this classification (see gazetteer entry and section 6.3 for further details).

There are a significant number of moated sites on the Carlow and Wexford side of the Barrow along the Carlow Corridor. This suggests that broadly similar processes may have been at work in these areas. It is possible that some of the moated sites in the Carlow Corridor may have been constructed by the Gaelic-Irish who were pushed out into this area by the first wave of Anglo-Norman settlers, but without documentary references there is as yet no way to distinguish an Anglo-Norman moated site from a Gaelic-Irish one. However, the fact that the moated sites in Overk tend to be smaller and less defensible than those in Clanmahon, could suggest that the settlers in Overk did not consider themselves to be under as much pressure from the Gaelic-Irish as those in Clanmahon. However, it is also possible that the size of the moated sites is a reflection of the resources of their inhabitants. If Anglo-Norman assarting tenants constructed the moated sites in Overk and Gaelic-Irish lords of the first rank constructed those in Clanmahon we might expect a discrepancy in their size and elaboration.

7.2.3: Tower houses and a shift in settlement patterns

McNeill (1997, 201) follows Leask's (1941) description of a tower house as square or rectangular towers (occasionally equipped with side turrets) normally with a vault over at least one floor, usually the ground floor, and with the upper floors marked by better windows, fireplaces etc, entry was usually through a door on the ground floor. The fact that the entrance to a tower house was located at ground floor level suggests that defence was not the primary concern of these castles, despite the murder holes and machicolations designed to protect the entrance. Some tower houses were accompanied by a stonewalled enclosure, known as a bawn, which either surrounded them or was attached to them. While there is debate over whether a small number of tower houses were constructed in the fourteenth century, most tower houses appear to have been constructed during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. This type of 'castle' was constructed by both the Anglo-Normans and the Gaelic-Irish. The function of tower houses appears to vary depending on their location, in towns they could act as merchant's houses, beside churches they could be priest's residences, beside rivers and

the sea they acted as trading points and they could also act as centres of manorial economies.

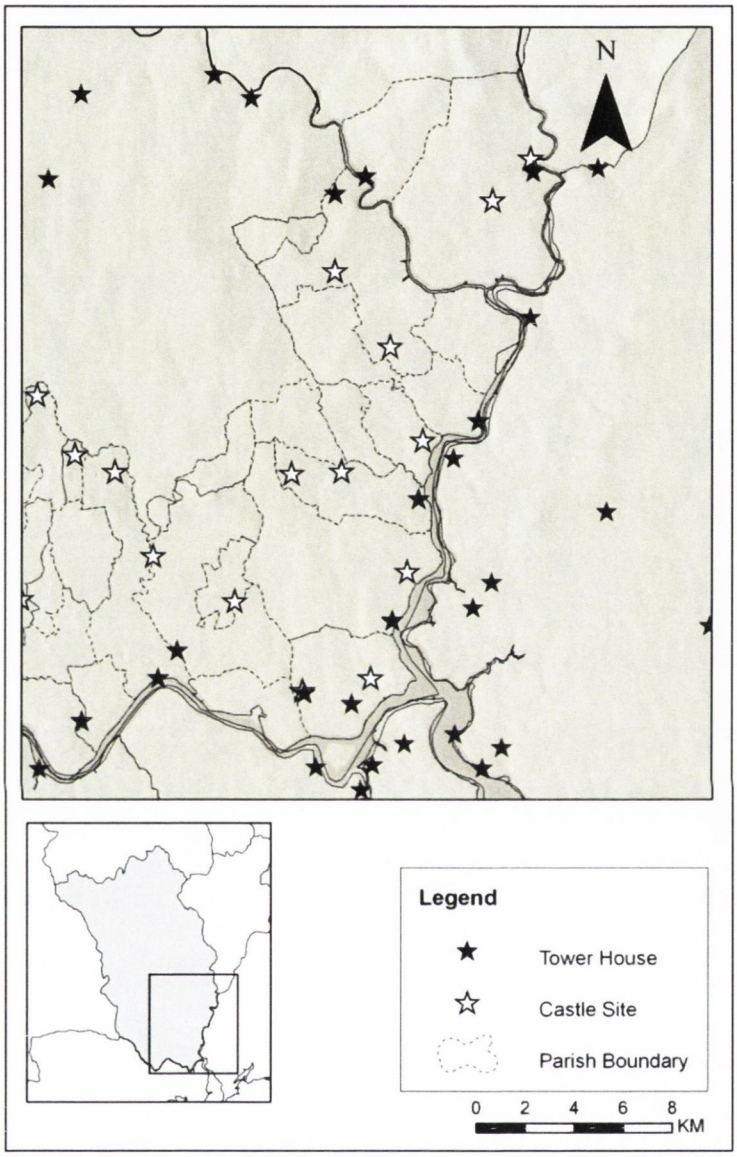


Fig. 7.26: Map showing tower houses and castle sites in eastern Overk.

In eastern Overk, and indeed within the entire barony of Overk, tower houses tend to have riverine locations. Within eastern Overk there are the remains of a number of tower houses and castle sites, some of which may have been tower houses, along the River Barrow, illustrating a further push eastwards during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The tendency of tower houses to be constructed close to rivers has been noted in other parts of Ireland, including north Cork, where they occur along the River Blackwater. Cotter (1994) suggested a number of reasons for the preference for riverine locations, including the ability to control fording points. In Overk, the control

of ferries appears to be another possible explanation for the location of castles close to rivers. Murtagh has suggested that the tower house in Ballinlaw was built to defend Drumdowney Ferry, which crossed a narrowing in the river Barrow over to Loughtown and on to the Great Island in county Wexford (Murtagh 2001, 99). Granny castle also controlled an important ferry route, and in both cases the ferry route appears to pre-date the construction of the stone castles.

Fig. 7.27: Coolhill Castle, The Rower, Overk (KK033-02701-).

Management of trade was another possible explanation and this may certainly have been the case for Coolhill Castle in The Rower (KK033-02701-). This circular tower house was located on a bend in the River Barrow. The *Great Parchment Book of Waterford* contains a reference to the Rower that suggests that it was a significant location in trade along the Barrow. In 1508 it was enacted that wood had to be transported in a half barge or a smaller quarter, which were types of flat-bottomed boats, which were suitable for river navigation and wouldn't have been used in a maritime context, perhaps indicating the existence of a local trade network. It also specified the number of men required for each type of vessel with an extra man required on both types of vessel if it went to 'the Roure' (Byrne 2007, 107 cxl). As the modern village of The Rower is not located on a river, it is likely that this document refers to Coolhill. An illustration of Coolhill Castle which dates to 1775, depicts a boat

on the opposite side of the river Barrow, illustrating that the river was navigable and that there were landing places close to the castle.

Coolhill castle is located close to a precipitous cliff-edge that overlooks the River Barrow and this type of location was also common for tower houses along the Blackwater. This location gave commanding views over the surrounding countryside. As noted above, in 1545 Cahir, son of Gerald Kavanagh of 'Cwilkyll' (Coolhill) in the Rower, becomes bound to James, Earl of Ormond (*Ormond Deeds*, IV 277), suggesting that the MacMurrough Kavanaghs may have constructed or at least occupied this tower house. Indeed, there is a castle site on the opposite side of the bend in the River Barrow in the townland of Clogharalt which Edwards (2000, 59) has identified with the *Cloch Gerailt*, a stone fort built 'by 1500 or thereabout by Cahir's son, Gerald Kavanagh' to consolidated the Kavanagh's hold on the region'. Edwards, however, gives no reference for this information. A 1599 document refers to two *martlands* in The Rower, suggesting that by this date at least the area was considered to be a marchland, an area subject to the competing interests of both the Anglo-Normans and the Gaelic-Irish (Lambeth MS 614:141). (See section 6.3 for further details).

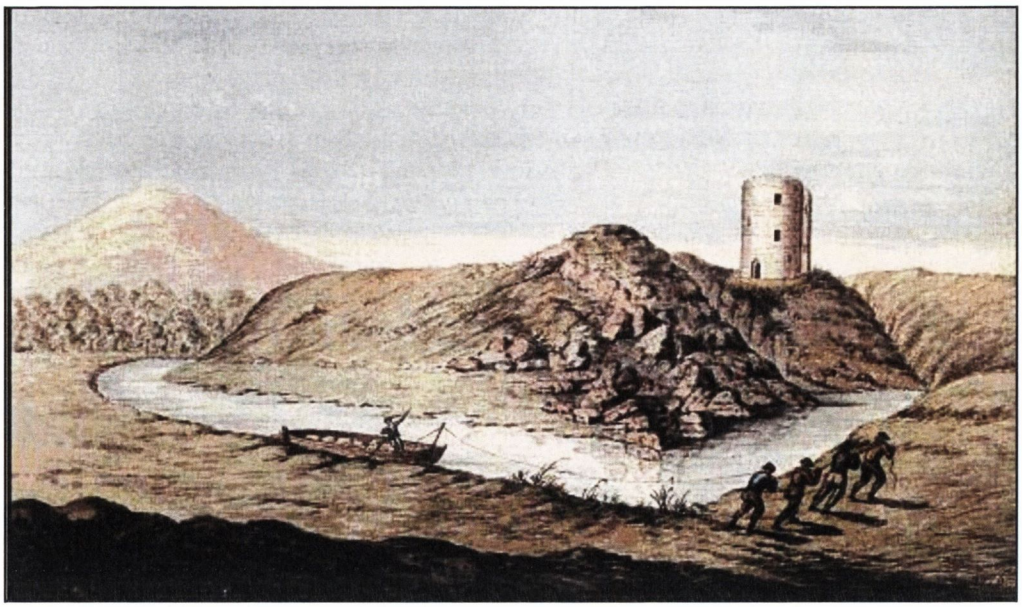


Fig. 7.28: Coolhill Castle from *Beranger's views of Ireland* (Harbison 1991).

There is pictorial evidence from 1835 to suggest that there was a slipway into the River Barrow at Annaghs tower house (KK041-01401-), suggesting that the owners of this castle were involved in trade or at least river transport. The Butlers are traditionally credited with the construction of the tower house at Annaghs and Carrigan quotes several late sixteenth, early seventeenth century references to the Butlers holding Annaghs (Carrigan 2005, IV 195).

Fig. 7.29: Castle Annaghs, Shanbogh, Overk (KK041-01401-).

In north Cork, Cotter (1994, 153-154) noted that only eight of the fifty-eight tower houses in the study area can definitely be said to represent continuity of settlement from the high medieval period. The same is certainly true in Overk, only the tower house at Clonamery which is located on top of the motte is located at known high medieval manorial centres. To Cotter (1994, 154) the implication was that the existence of earlier settlements had little bearing on the siting of tower houses. He went on to argue that by the late medieval period the political and social landscape had changed and new dynamics dictated new patterns and types of settlement. As the lineages which had dominated the area sub-divided into cadet branches these new minor lords with limited land and resources saw the tower house, 'a scaled-down version of the earlier more massive keeps', as adequate for their needs (Cotter 1994, 154). Abraham also noted a similar pattern for tower houses in county Meath where, they were not built by the major lords of the county, instead, they were constructed on

the estates of the lesser tenants in chief of the Crown, or the larger tenants of the main lords (As quoted by McNeill 1997, 209). Cairns, however, attempted to demonstrate in county Tipperary that that tower houses were located close to the sites of mottes, and he argued that of the twenty-seven mottes that had been identified in county Tipperary at this date, that all but nine of them had a certain or possible tower house on or near the motte (Cairns 1984, 173). However, Cairns does not define what is the maximum distance from a motte for inclusion in this category. He also does not define what exactly are his criteria for identifying tower houses and possible tower houses in county Tipperary. Research carried out as part of this thesis has indicated the difficulty of assigning the classification of tower house to a 'castle site' in the absence of upstanding remains a difficulty that was also recently highlighted by O'Conor (2008b, 329-332). In the absence of information on his criteria and methodology it is difficult to make any conclusions on the basis of Cairns observations. The tendency of tower houses in eastern Overk to be located along the river Barrow, represents a further move eastwards towards the Carlow Corridor and suggests that by this date that the focus of settlement in the barony had moved towards the river valleys.

7.3: Conclusions

The movement of Anglo-Norman settlement to the east and south across Overk and towards the Carlow Corridor inevitably brought them into contact not just with the Gaelic-Irish who were tenants on their lands, but also with the Gaelic-Irish lords who had been pushed towards the Carlow Corridor and the marginal lands at the northern boundary of the barony. This will inevitably have created cross-cultural tensions as the Gaelic-Irish felt themselves squeezed out again by these assarting settlers. The results of this expansion and increased cross-cultural interactions can be seen in the construction of moated sites, the increased cross-cultural tensions which eventually led to the Gaelic resurgence and perhaps the construction of tower houses by the Gaelic-Irish.

In Overk the Anglo-Normans seem to have expanded inexorably over time, while in Clanmahon the Anglo-Norman advance was short-lived and more limited. However, in both areas the archaeological monuments of the period can be used to trace this advance and retreat. In both regions Anglo-Norman settlement began in a small number of centres, and while expansion of this area of control was to be the outcome

in Overk, retreat southwards was to be the result in Clanmahon. Although, there were more attempts by the Anglo-Normans to gain control of Cavan, they never resulted in a significant Anglo-Norman presence in the area. Conversely, in Kilkenny, while the colony experienced several setbacks, and there was an almost complete breakdown of centralised power, the Anglo-Normans maintained control of the area.

Chapter eight - Ethnicity and settlement

Ascribing ethnicity to an archaeological site or site type can be a difficult task. Ethnicity is often determined by the geographical location in which a site is found and the date ascribed to it. A motte shaped mound found in an area believed to have been settled by the Anglo-Normans, in the high medieval period, will be classified as a motte. While the same mound found in a Gaelic-Irish controlled area might be classified as a platform ringfort or even a bronze age barrow. Austin (1990, 15) highlighted this practice in the classification of Anglo-Saxon cemeteries in eastern and southern England. These cemeteries are labelled Anglo-Saxon on the basis of the mode of deposition and the metalwork and pottery found in association with them. However, this mode of deposition and the artefact assemblages have a common affinity throughout northern Europe. These burials are labelled Anglo-Saxon because 'they are found in a place where, and in a time when, the early historians said the first Angles and Saxons set up their homes in Britain' (Austin 1990, 15). This according to Austin makes the archaeology a self-fulfilling assumption. Even if this was a valid methodology for determining the ethnicity of an archaeological site in other areas, it breaks down when it is applied to frontier areas. In areas where two or more groups are competing for contested land how are we to classify these sites? In such areas would Anglo-Norman influence encourage the Gaelic-Irish to modify their monument types in imitation to those constructed by their new neighbours? Similarly would the Anglo-Normans have modified their settlement types to fit in with the Gaelic-Irish or would they have emphasised those differences to impress their Irish neighbours with their wealth and power, in an attempt to discourage theft or attack.

The difficulty of assigning ethnicity to archaeological sites was illustrated in the previous chapter in the discussion of moated sites and tower houses, but these difficulties also apply to other site types. The often discussed similarities between ringwork castles, which were constructed by the Anglo-Normans, and platform ringforts constructed by the Gaelic-Irish, is another example of monument types that can be ethnically ambiguous, particularly in border areas. Some of the low, unenclosed platform ringforts in Clanmahon are not dissimilar to the low motte in Fiddown, in the barony of Overk. In areas which experienced both Anglo-Norman and Gaelic-Irish

influence, is it possible or indeed desirable to assign ethnicity to archaeological monuments?

8.1 Earthwork castle or platform ringfort?

The ringwork castle in Ballintemple (CV031-008---) and the bivallate platform ringforts in Crover (CV038-020---) and Garrysallagh (CV042-026---) are a case in point. All three are classified in the *Archaeological Inventory of county Cavan* (O'Donovan 1995, 43-44, 69, 95) and on archaeology.ie as ringforts. They have a very similar morphology, a substantial platform, enclosed by banks and ditches. All three earthworks have a low bank or berm around the circumference of the platform. While the bivallate ringforts in Crover and Garrysallagh O'Reilly are surrounded by two sets of banks with internal fosses, the Ballintemple ringwork castle is surrounded by only one bank and internal fosse. However, there are eight platform ringforts with only one bank and internal fosse in Clanmahon and consequently, we cannot distinguish between these sites on the basis of morphology alone, a conclusion previously reached by O'Conor when examining earthwork castles in county Laois (O'Conor 1999,192). We must therefore turn to other criteria to justify the classification of one site as a ringwork castle and the other as a platform ringfort. O'Conor (1992, 193-4) had previously suggested three criteria to distinguish earthwork castles from platform ringforts. However, in this thesis it was decided to utilised Arbuthnot's (forthcoming) set of five criteria for the identification of ringwork castles: morphology, siting, documentary evidence, associated Anglo-Norman settlement and cartographic and other evidence, and these criteria will be applied during this discussion.

The siting and location of these earthworks may help establish their appropriate classification. The ringwork castle in Ballintemple is located in a prominent position in the landscape, the summit of a drumlin, which is a typical siting for a ringwork castle. With the exception of the nearby platform ringfort in Drumlion (CV031-032---), the other platform ringforts in Clanmahon are located on the shoulders of hills, a siting more typical of a ringfort (Cody 2007, 6) or on relatively level ground. The Crover earthwork is located on the side of the valley which runs down to the north shore of Lough Sheelin and the Garrysallagh O'Reilly site is located in level pastureland.

One of the most important criteria for differentiating ringwork castles from platform ringforts is the archaeological sites found in close proximity to them. The probable site of the medieval parish church in Ballintemple is located *c.*420m north of the ringwork castle and is connected to it by a roadway, giving a strong indication that this site was founded by the Anglo-Normans and may have acted a manorial centre. There are only two platform ringforts within 1km of a church (Drumeeny and Aghacreevy) and both of these platforms are unenclosed by banks, the smallest class of platform ringfort. The platform ringfort in Crover is located *c.*3km from the site of the medieval parish church for Ballymachugh parish in Lavagh (CV037-041---) and more than 2km from the site of the parish church at Gallonreagh (CV038-032---) and the possible church site in Aughnaskeagh (CV042-00101-). Similarly, the site in Garrysallagh O'Reilly is located *c.*900m from the possible church site at Aughnaskeagh which includes a burial mound with cross-inscribed stone (CV042-046---) and a wayside cross (CV041-00102-), which appear to date to the pre-Norman period. The parish church for Kilbride is located *c.*1.7km to the NE in the townland of Gallonreagh.

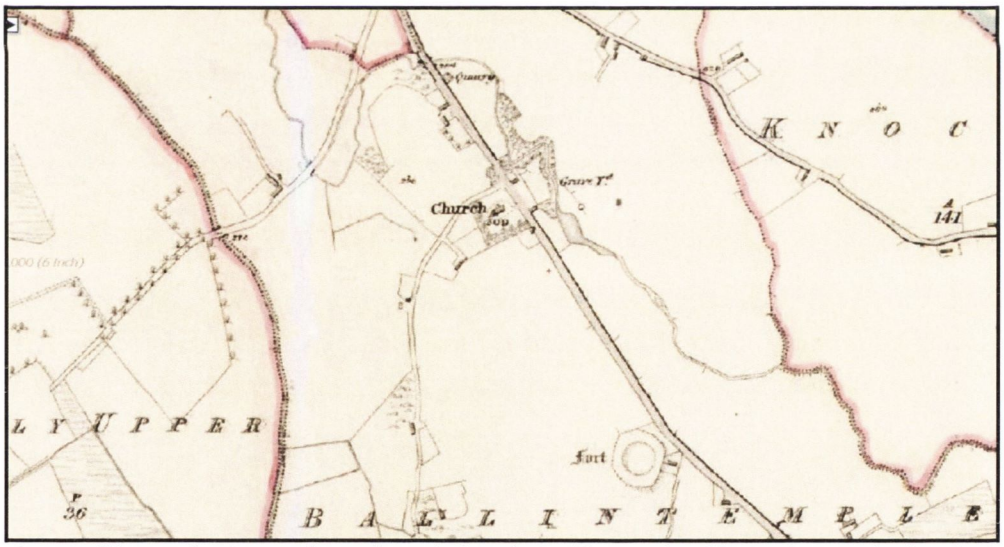


Fig. 8.1: Ballintemple ringwork castle and church, Ballintemple, Clanmahon as depicted on the *Ordnance Survey* First Edition six-inch map.

The fact that the townland in which the church and earthwork are located has the same name as the parish (Ballintemple) would also suggest that this site was an Anglo-Norman earthwork castle. Castlerahan ringwork castle is similarly located in the townland and parish of Castlerahan, whereas, the bivallate platform ringforts in Garrysallagh O'Reilly and Crover are located in the parishes of Kilbride and Ballymachugh respectively, suggesting that they were not areas of Anglo-Norman

activity. As the Anglo-Normans are generally credited with the establishment of the parish network in Ireland (Otway-Ruthven 2008, 265), they would give the parish the name of the townland in which they established their manorial centre or *caput.*

Finally, one of the most obvious ways to establish whether a site was a platform ringfort established by the Gaelic-Irish or a ringwork castle established by the Anglo-Normans is a documentary reference to a castle site or event at these locations. While there are no documentary references to a castle in Ballintemple, there is evidence that the De Lacys controlled the parish in the late twelfth, early thirteenth century (see section 6.2 and gazetteer entry for Ballintemple earthwork for full discussion). It is, therefore, probable that they or their followers would have been responsible for the construction of a ringwork castle in the parish. Similarly, there is evidence in the thirteenth century that the Anglo-Norman Richard Tuite controlled parts of Ballymachugh, the parish in which the Crover platform ringfort is located. The motte and parish church in the townland of Lavagh, are likely to mark the location of the Anglo-Norman centre in the parish. However, the *Genealogical History of the O'Reillys* suggests that Crover may have been the centre of the Gaelic-Irish Clan Mahon O'Reilly family, when it states that their chief Tómas O'Reilly (who died in 1390) established *Caislén na Locha* (Carney 1959, 12). This castle has traditionally been identified as Crover Castle (CV038-019---), a tower house which stands on an island in Lough Sheelin. However, this tower house is likely to date to the sixteenth rather than the fourteenth century on the basis of the gun loops and large windows contained in its fabric. On this basis it can be argued that there was at least one earlier Clanmahon O'Reilly castle in the area, indicating that Crover, and perhaps at some stage the platform ringfort there, may have been their traditional centre. Few references were found during this research which referred to locations in Kilbride parish. The Tuites (O'Connell 1962, 13) were associated with its early history and were probably responsible for the construction of this motte and nearby parish church in Gallonreagh. However, no documentary references to Garrysallagh O'Reilly were uncovered in either the Gaelic-Irish or the Anglo-Norman sources. Having applied Arbuthnot's (forthcoming) five criteria it can reasonably be concluded that while the earthwork in Ballintemple is a ringwork castle, those in Crover and Garrysallagh O'Reilly are bi-vallate platform ringforts.

The Dungummin Upper earthwork in county Cavan, is another site whose ethnicity is in question. The *Archaeological Survey of Ireland* has identified two ringwork castles in modern county Cavan, one of which is this earthwork in Dungummin Upper, the other in Castlerahan. While the ringwork castle in Castlerahan, located in the neighbouring barony of Castlerahan, was included as such in the *Archaeological inventory of county Cavan*, the earthwork in Dungummin Upper was classified as an earthwork (unclassified), indicating that its classification as a ringwork castle occurred after 1995 (O'Donovan 1995, 225, 245). However, if we examine this earthwork under the criteria outlined by Arbuthnot (forthcoming), it fails to qualify as a ringwork castle. As we have discussed above it is difficult to differentiate between a ringwork castle and a platform ringfort on the basis of morphology alone. The earthwork consists of a central platform surrounded for much of its circumference by a single bank with internal ditch, which would suggest that it could be either a platform ringfort or an earthwork castle. As the site is built into the side of a slope, it falls dramatically on the downhill side, creating an illusion of great height. The siting of the earthwork on the shoulder of a slope is more typical of a ringfort than a ringwork castle. This earthwork, which is located in the parish of Kilbride, is located more than 3km from the site of the parish church in Gallonreagh (CV038-032---) and the church in Aghnaskeagh (CV042-00101-). Instead, the earthwork is located close to a barrow (CV042-01301-) and a number of ringforts, including the platform ringfort in Clonbockoge (CV042-00501-).

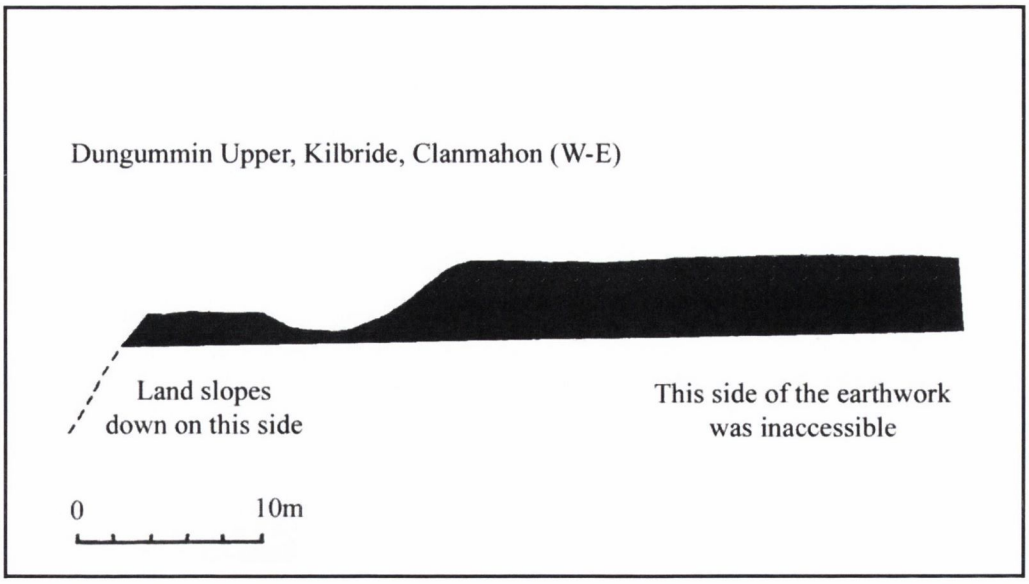


Fig. 8.2: Dungummin Upper Platform Ringfort, Kilbride, Clanmahon.

As discussed above, the motte in Racraveen and the nearby church in Gallonreagh are likely to be the location of any Anglo-Norman settlement in the parish of Kilbride. Given the fact that Anglo-Norman settlement in the parish was short lived and precarious, it is unlikely that two earthwork castles would have been constructed in a single parish. Finally, no documentary references to a castle in Dungummin Upper were detected during the course of this research. The major reason for the identification of this site as the site of a ringwork castle appears to be Davies' (1947a, 86) description of the site as an early castle of keep and bawn type. He describes a stone wall along the 'lip' of the fosse and that the interior of the platform was divided in two, with one section being raised over a metre above the other. Although the summit of the earthwork was heavily overgrown, no such change in height was observed on the site during my own visit to the site or is recorded in the inventory entry for it (O'Donovan 1995, 245). Davies also describes the remains of a rectangular structure on the platform, 8.2m x 4.6m in internal dimensions with walls *c.*1.4m thick. A rectangular structure is depicted within this earthwork on the *Ordnance Survey* First Edition six-inch map of the area. The stone foundations of a rectilinear structure were also located upon the platform of the platform ringfort in Garrysallagh O'Reilly. While it is possible that this earthwork does represent the remains of a ringwork castle, the balance of evidence would appear to suggest that it is one of the many platform ringforts found on the fertile soils which fringe Lough Sheelin.

On the basis of the discussion above we must conclude that we cannot differentiate between platform ringforts and ringwork castles on morphological grounds alone. We must look at all the criteria outlined by Arbuthnot (forthcoming) and evaluate the sites in their wider landscape to determine an accurate classification.

As was alluded to above, similar criteria can be used to differentiate between mottes and unenclosed platform ringforts. The mottes in Lavagh (CV037-042---) and Fiddown (KK042-00101-) are morphologically similar to the platform ringforts in Moat (CV041-018---) and Aghacreevy (CV037-003---). Indeed, the ASI classifies the mound in Moat as a motte, but it will be argued that this site was in fact a platform ringfort. The earthworks in Lavagh, Aghacreevy and Moat are all circular or at least

sub-circular, while the site in Fiddown is irregular in plan. The earthwork in Moat has a much smaller maximum diameter (16.85m) to that in Lavagh (27.7m), Aghacreevy (30m) and Fiddown (26.10m). The heights of the different sites do not vary significantly, (Lavagh 3.1m H, Fiddown 2.5m H, Moat 1.95m H. and Aghacreevy 2.05m H.) and all four are well within McNeill's (1990, 264) smallest category of mottes (less than 5m in height). It is clear that, as with ringwork castles, we must look beyond morphology to differentiate between mottes and platform ringforts.

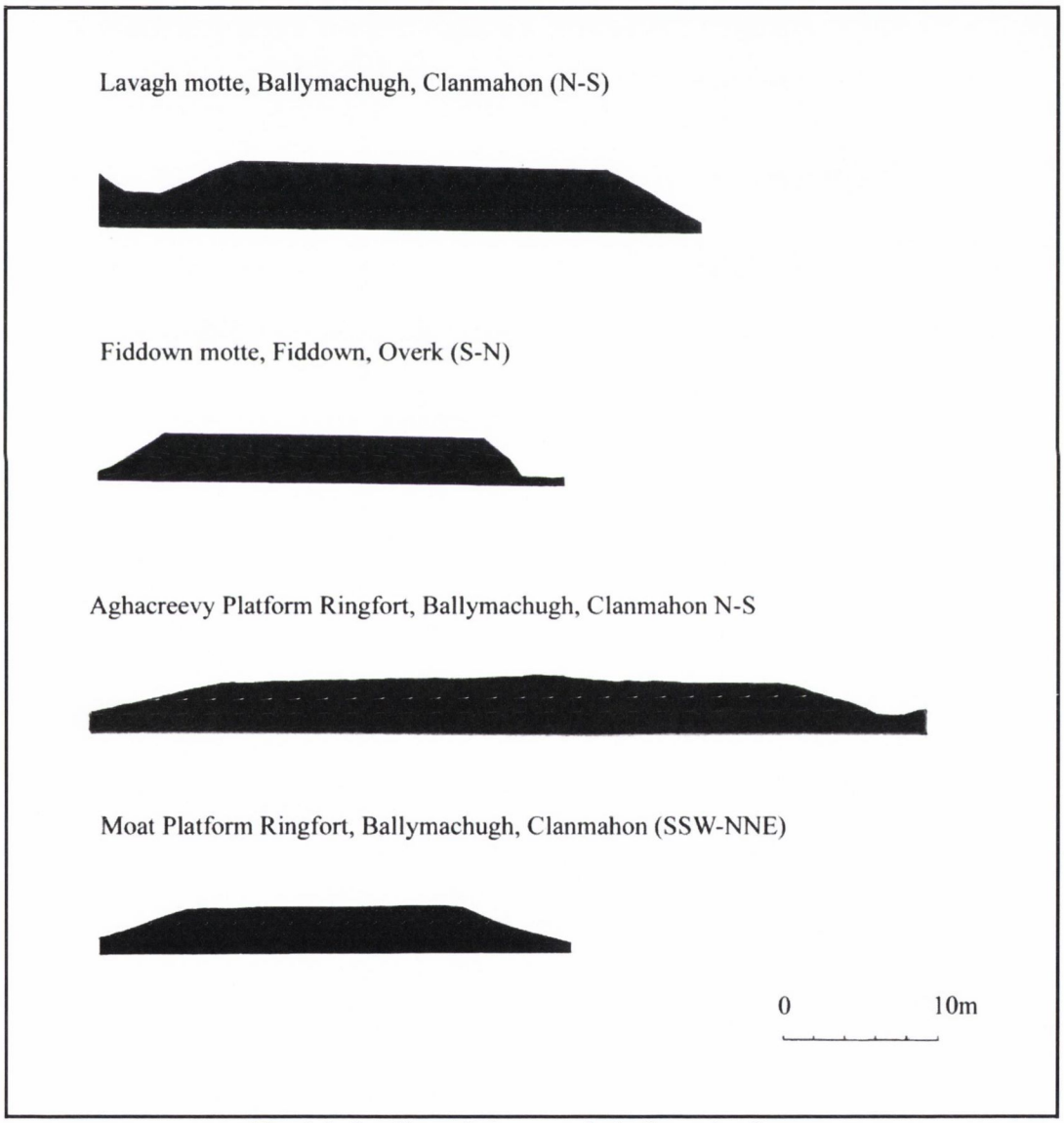


Fig. 8.3: Profiles of mottes and platform ringforts.

The sitings of the mottes and platform ringforts in Clanmahon are very similar. All three (Moat, Lavagh, Aghacreevy) are located close to the north shore of Lough

Sheelin and are sited on the side of the valley that runs down to the lake. The site in Fiddown is located on the north shore of the River Suir, on the flat ground of the flood plain. Similarly, all four sites are located on fertile soils, suitable for arable agriculture.

It is when we turn to the criteria of adjacent sites that we can begin to differentiate between mottes and platform ringforts. The mottes in Fiddown and Lavagh are both located in close proximity to the site of the medieval parish churches. The motte in Lavagh is *c*.450m from the probable site of the medieval parish church for Ballymachugh. The motte in Fiddown is only *c*.400 from the site of the medieval parish church, and between the church and the motte are traces of the remains of a deserted medieval village, indicating that there may have been a nucleated settlement on the site in the later medieval period. The platform ringfort in Aghacreevy is only *c*.880m from the church in Lavagh, but that is still almost twice as far from Lavagh church as Lavagh motte. The platform ringfort in Moat is located *c*.2.7m from the church in Lavagh. The mottes in Lavagh and Fiddown are both located in the same townlands as the medieval parish church sites, but only the motte in Fiddown is located in a townland with the same name as the parish.

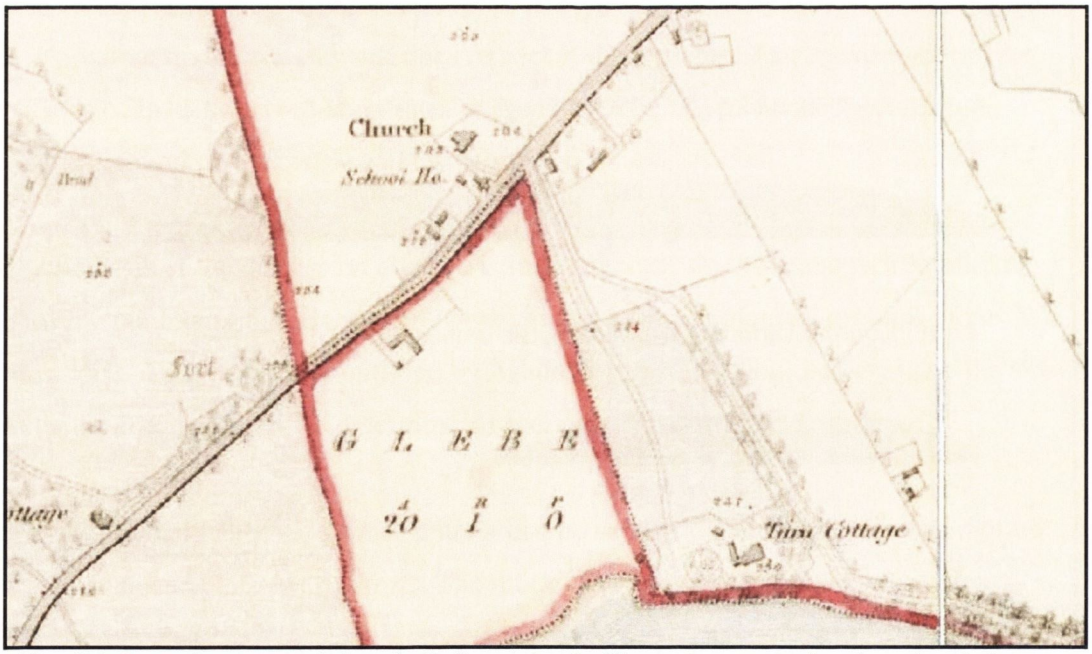


Fig. 8.4: Lavagh motte and church, Ballymachugh, Clanmahon as depicted on the *Ordnance Survey* First Edition six-inch map (the motte is located west of Tara Cottage towards the bottom of the image).

Fig. 8.5:Fiddown motte and church, Fiddown, Overk as depicted on the *Ordnance Survey* First Edition six-inch map.

As we have seen in chapters two and six, there are much greater documentary resources for the study of the high and late medieval periods in Overk, than in Clanmahon. However, we do know that the Anglo-Norman Richard Tuite held the parish of Ballymachugh in the early thirteenth century (Otway-Ruthven 1993, 121). It is probable that as Tuite held the parish, he or one of his followers would attempt to settle it, in order to strengthen the Tuite hold on the area. The presence of a motte and a parish church in the townland of Lavagh would indicate that this was the manorial centre. The ringforts at Moat and Aghacreevy, like the motte in Lavagh, are not mentioned in the sources; however, they are located at a greater remove from the site of the medieval parish church. While, there is no specific documentary reference to a castle in the parish of Fiddown, it is clear that the area was occupied by Anglo-Normans and that the church in Fiddown is on the site of a thirteenth century parish church (see section 6.4 and gazetteer entry for Fiddown Church). It seems likely that the earthwork in the townland of Moat was given the classification of motte, partly as a consequence of the townland name. However, the townland name appears to have been applied to the townland after the mid-seventeenth century and would not therefore have been in use in the high medieval period, when the motte would have been constructed and occupied. Indeed, when Davies (1947b, 13) examined this site and the site in Magheraboy (before it's destruction) in the 1940s he concluded that they were built in imitation of Anglo-Norman mottes. O'Conor has indicated that eighty percent of the mottes in the catalogue of earthwork castles in medieval Leinster occurred at historically attested Anglo-Norman centres (O'Conor 1993, 53). It can therefore be concluded that the earthworks in Lavagh and Fiddown should be classified as mottes,

while those in Aghacreevy and Moat should be classified as platform ringforts. This discussion also illustrates the benefit of using both the historical archaeology and landscape archaeology methodologies throughout this thesis. It is only by studying these sites in their landscape and historical contexts that we can arrive at an understanding of them.

8.2: Earthwork castles and platform ringforts: a comparative analysis

While it may be challenging to differentiate between Gaelic-Irish platform ringforts and Anglo-Norman earthwork castles (mottes and ringwork castles), it is possible when we look beyond morphology and into their wider landscape and historical context. Nevertheless, the fact that these archaeological sites have many similarities warrants some discussion. If earthwork castles and platform ringforts have similar morphologies and at times similar sitings, is it valid to suggest that they may have fulfilled some of the same functions? Furthermore, it is important to recognise that a platform ringfort and a ringwork castle might have looked very different in the high medieval period because of their different timber defences. Hen Domen, a motte-and-bailey castle located in Wales close to the border with England, is one of the most comprehensively investigated earthwork castles in Britain and Ireland. These excavations revealed evidence of substantial timber defences in both the motte and the bailey. These defences would have made ringwork castles and mottes appear much more imposing on the landscape than they do today and perhaps more imposing than the platform ringforts constructed by the Gaelic-Irish. Indeed, O'Conor (2002, 177 and 2008b, 336) has argued that the timber defences on Anglo-Norman earthwork castles were structurally and militarily stronger than those on contemporary Gaelic-Irish sites. He goes on to state that this may explain why Anglo-Norman sites are described as castles in contemporary colonial and native sources, while few Gaelic sites were described as such.

There is evidence to suggest that pre-fabricated timber defences for earthwork castles were in use in England and Wales. A twelfth century poetic history of the dukes of Normandy describes the construction of a castle at Hastings immediately after the landing of William the Conqueror at Pevensey. It describes timbers, which had already been drilled and trimmed, being brought ashore from ships. It also describes barrels of pre-made pegs and the construction of a timber castle in a single day (Higham and

Barker 2006, 144). While there is likely to be an element of exaggeration in this account the pre-fabrication of castles, at least during the initial phase of any settlement, would reduce the need to import expensive, skilled labour. The documentary sources indicate that pre-fabricated timber defences were imported into Ireland. There are two separate accounts of wooden towers being sent into Ireland by Henry II in the early 1170s (*C.D.I.*, I 1, 4) and a reference to ropes and cables being used to 'raise the houses of Reginald de Winton' (*C.D.I.*, I 4). This suggests that pre-fabricated panels were erected using ropes and cables. However, the importation of wooden defences would probably only have been practical in coastal areas or places close to navigable rivers, as transporting large amounts of timber over land would be costly and time consuming. Whatever their size, the different types of timber defences would have made it clear to a contemporary observer that they were looking at either an Anglo-Norman earthwork castle or a Gaelic-Irish platform ringfort. A bardic verse which describes the construction of the house at Cloonfree, county Roscommon by Hugh, son of Rory O'Conor in the late thirteenth-early fourteenth century illustrates that Anglo-Norman timber defences would have stood out on the landscape of areas dominated by the Anglo-Normans. The house mentioned in the poem has been identified as the moated site in the townland of Cloonfree and it was described as an unusual structure 'seeing the strangeness of its design, we would ask whether the novel strange woodwork is made of (materials) from the forests or soil of Ireland' (Quiggin 1913, 314). For this reason it is important that modern archaeologists attempt to differentiate between these two monument types so we can reconstruct more closely the landscape of the later medieval period as it would have appeared to a contemporary observer.

Since both earthwork castles and platform ringforts are located on the fertile soils that fringe Lough Sheelin, we can argue that agriculture, and possibly arable agriculture, was important to both the Gaelic-Irish and the Anglo-Norman who constructed these earthworks. Kerr (2007) has argued that platform ringforts are likely to be associated with arable agriculture because of their preference for soils suitable for tillage and because their ramped nature and relatively confined space would make them unsuitable as a shelter for livestock. Kerr (2007, 115) suggests that this move towards arable agriculture, reflected in a concerted phase of horizontal mill construction at the end of the eighth century, led to the emergence of a slave owning elite during the ninth century. As discussed above (section 7.1.3) Kerr's dating evidence for platform

ringforts is based on C14 dates from only ten examples, some of which are hardly definite examples; for example he includes the passage tomb at Knowth (Kerr 2007, 88-99). While there is evidence of early medieval activity at the passage tomb there is no evidence to suggest that the mound was raised during this period. The re-use of this significant site occurred at many points in its history and are likely to be related to its 'ritual' significance rather than it raised profile.

Both earthwork castles and bivallate platform ringforts, can be argued to have represented centres of power in the landscape. The earthwork castles, as outlined above, often functioned as manorial centres; they were centres of local justice and revenue and would often have been market centres. The deserted medieval village remains in Fiddown confirms that nucleated settlements, along with the local parish churches, often accompanied earthwork castles. The bivallate platform ringforts at Crover and Garrysallagh O'Reilly possibly acted as centres of Gaelic power, with local affairs being administered from this base. However, these platform ringforts are not located close to parish church sites, perhaps suggesting that they were constructed prior to the formation of parishes in the area.

8.3: Reuse of sites by both the Anglo-Normans and the Gaelic-Irish

There are other sites, earthworks included, whose ethnicity is difficult to determine, perhaps because they are reused sites. As outlined in section 7.1.3, there is evidence that several of the excavated mottes in Ulster were constructed on top of ringforts. The reverse can also be true; the Gaelic-Irish have taken over and inhabited Anglo-Norman castles. Clough Oughter castle in Cavan, for example, was constructed by the Anglo-Norman, William Gorm de Lacy, but was taken over by the O'Reillys in 1233 and held by them until the end of sixteenth century. There is evidence that in the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries this castle was modified by the O'Reillys to suit their needs (Manning 1989-90). There is evidence that a number of other stone castles constructed by the Anglo-Normans were taken over and used by the Gaelic-Irish: Ballintober Castle, Sligo Castle and Ballymote Castle. There are few recorded instances of the Gaelic-Irish taking over existing earth and timber castles. A 1405 reference to the construction of a castle in Granard by Uilliam O Fearghail may be one of these rare examples (*Misc. Ir. Annals*, 1405). It is possible that this castle was built on the site of the motte-and-bailey castle in Granard; the site was certainly used as an O Fearghaill

inauguration site by 1475 (AC, 1475). Moving from one earthwork to another did not have the obvious benefits of moving from an earthwork to a stone castle. Therefore, while it is possible that the mottes in Lavagh and Racraveen and the ringwork castle in Ballitemple may have been reused, it is does not seem probable.

There are several excavated examples of ringforts in Ulster that were adapted by the Anglo-Normans for use as mottes (see section 7.1.3). O'Keeffe has argued that the excavation of what the excavator interpreted as an unfinished motte at Beal Boru in county Clare, was also found to have been constructed on top of a ringfort, indicating that this practice was not exclusive to Ulster (O'Keeffe 2000a, 21; O'Kelly 1962). Talbot however argues that the strengthening of the primary bank was all that was ever intended and that the ringfort was reused as a ringwork castle (Talbot 1972, 12). Twohig (1978, 8) agrees with this hypothesis and attributes the excavator's interpretation to the scarcity of information on ringwork castles at the time of the excavation. Whether the intention was to convert the ringfort at Beal Boru into a ringwork castle or a motte it still represents the reuse of Gaelic-Irish sites by the Anglo-Normans.

According to McNeill (1997, 64), the advantage of constructing a motte on top of an existing ringfort is that the ring acts as a stable base for the earthwork. O'Keeffe (2000a, 22) agrees that convenience was probably a strong motivation for the use of ringforts as a foundation for motte construction and this could also apply to their reuse in the construction of ringwork castles. He goes on to argue, however, that native earthworks might have been colonised by new castles for symbolic gain. He further argues that the mound-like ringfort at Rathmullen was still occupied when John de Courcy invaded Ulster (O'Keeffe 2000a, 22); its elevation by the new settlers would have signalled the arrival of a new political authority. He also cites the example of the fortress of Telach Caíl, now Delvin, county Westmeath. Flanagan has argued that it may have replaced, or been superimposed upon, a pre-Norman earthwork (Flanagan 1993, 389). The basis for her argument are references to Gilbert de Nugent's castle at Talaghkuil; de Nugent's knight's fee is recorded as being coterminous with the pre-Norman kingdom of Delbna. The similarity of this placename with Telach Cail, the principal royal site of the pre-Norman kingdom of Delbna, suggests to her that the de Nugent's castle was constructed on the site of this earlier monument. Ó Drisceoil's

analysis of the fifteen excavations of mottes in Ireland concluded that there was evidence that eight of them were built on pre-existing monuments, and in four cases the 'adapted settlements were active immediately prior to being built upon' (Ó Drisceoil 2002, 193). While Ó Drisceoil argues that in some cases the native Irish may themselves have effected these transformations, he also suggests that in some cases the mottes were constructed by the Anglo-Normans with the consent of the local population (Ó Drisceoil 2002, 193).

The earthwork in Owning (KK035-038---) may be an example of a ringfort reused as a motte. This earthwork is classified as a motte in the RMP and on archaeology.ie but O'Conor (1993) did not include it in his study of the earthwork castles of Leinster, indicating that he might not have considered it to be an earthwork castle. The site is marked on the *Ordnance Survey* Discovery Series map (no. 75) with a ringfort symbol, rather than being marked as a motte. The morphology and the siting of this earthwork would suggest that it was a ringfort, rather than a motte. The site consists a small circular platform, with a bank on the edge of the platform and a fosse at its base. This earthwork is sited on a SE facing slope, which slopes down to the south and to the east.

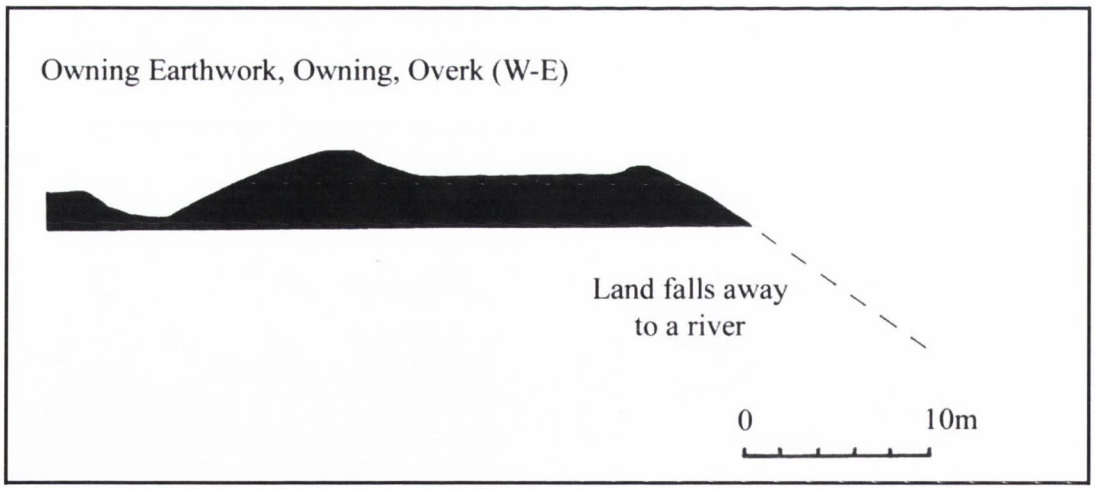


Fig. 8.6: Profile of Owning earthwork.

The fact that the earthwork is located in the townland of Owning in the parish of Owning, and that the site of the medieval church in Owning has evidence of thirteenth century activity, would suggest that this might have been the site of a manorial centre or *caput*. However, the earthwork is located *c*.1.8km to the north and uphill of the parish church site while, the archaeological monuments in close proximity to the motte

are a holy well and a portal tomb. The parish of Owning was in the possession of the Anglo-Norman Grace family from at least the early years of the thirteenth century (*Red Bk. of Ormond*, 134). In the mid-fifteenth century Owning was referred to as a manor (*Ormond Deeds*, III 163) and later was mentioned a number of times as a tenement (*Ormond Deeds*, 170, 172). No reference to a castle of any description in Owning has been uncovered during this research. While the earthwork in Owning is not convincing as a motte, there are a number of factors that make it impossible to rule out the possibility entirely. It is possible that this site could be what Ó Drisceoil (2002) has termed a 'recycled rath'. The quality of the church architecture in Owning would indicate substantial investment in the thirteenth century when an earthwork castle would have been in use. However, there are a number of manorial centres in Kilkenny (eg Earlstown, Newtown Jerpoint) that have no evidence for an earthwork castles and it has been argued that in these manors a manor house fulfilled the required administrative and domestic functions (Shine 2004, 40).

Fig. 8.7: Owning earthwork, Owning, Overk as depicted on the *Ordnance Survey* First Edition six-inch map.

While it is possible that this earthwork could be an example of a platform ringfort, there are no other examples of platform ringforts in Overk (the SMR file for every ringfort in the area was examined). The site is not located in an area of wet soils, so the raising of its interior was not just an attempt to raise the interior above the water table. Indeed, O'Conor has commented on the very small numbers of platform ringforts from Leinster as a whole (O'Conor 1993, 55). Emma Arbuthnot (pers. comm.) has suggested that the correct classification for this site is a partial ringwork castle and in light of the unusual morphology of this site, this classification has much merit. On the basis of all of the above evidence there would appear to be two possible explanations for the

earthwork in Owning: it was either a ringfort adapted by the Anglo-Normans for use as an earthwork castle, perhaps a partial ringwork castle, or it was a ringfort that was raised by the Gaelic-Irish in imitation of Anglo-Norman earthwork castles. The former explanation appears to be most likely when we consider the documentary evidence that the land was granted to an Anglo-Norman and that the area was referred to as a manor in the fifteenth century.

8.4: Parish size and its effect on settlement patterns

An analysis of parish size in the two baronies reveals a significant difference in their average parish size. Average parish size in Overk is 3,727 acres, while in Clanmahon the average size is 12,680 acres. While there are some large parishes in Overk (Fiddown is 11,109 acres in extent) twenty-seven of the thirty parishes in Overk are less than 7000 acres. The large parish size in Clanmahon means that it is composed of much fewer parishes than Overk. Clanmahon contains all or part of seven parishes, while Overk contains all or part of thirty parishes. This variation in parish size, with generally smaller parishes in those areas settled by the Anglo-Normans, and larger parishes in those areas that continued to be controlled by the Gaelic-Irish, was observed by Duffy elsewhere in Ireland (Duffy 2006, 41).

Duffy explains these differences in cultural terms, while acknowledging that the Anglo-Normans typically settled in areas with good agricultural soil in 'the rich lowlands and river valleys where small manorial parishes developed along European lines' (Duffy 2006, 43). He also indicates that the greater variation in size noted in Overk, is found generally in those parts of Ireland settled by the Anglo-Normans. The greater uniformity in parish size in Clanmahon, and other areas controlled by the Gaelic-Irish, often coincided with thinly populated areas or marginal undeveloped land where parish support called for more extensive districts. Duffy (2006, 43) argues that the differences in parish size and formation 'across the frontier' might be reflected in the development of local ministry and pastoral care and management of church business. Erenaghs in later medieval Clogher, for example, were generally responsible for two-thirds of the cost of repairing the church from the revenues of the erenagh land in the parish (as well as paying rent to the diocese) (Duffy 2006, 45). These parishes may therefore have needed to be larger so as to include sufficient erenagh lands to fund their many and significant expenses.

Table showing parish size in the baronies of Overk and Clanmahon

Overk barony	
Parish	***Area in acres***
Arderra	776
Ballytarsney	895
Tubbrid	1004
Gaulskill	1302
Aglish	1343
Kilcoan	1583
Kilbride	1696
Shanbogh	1802
Ballygurrim	1923
Clonmore	2091
Whitechurch	2186
Ullid	2248
Portnascully	2452
Rosbercon	2674
Muckalee	2711
Kilmakevoge	3231
Clonamery	3390
Rathkieran	3478
Pollrone	3596
Owning	4030
Rossinan	4433
Kilmacow	4445
Rathpatrick	4479
Listerlin	5431
Jerpoint West	5515
Dysartmoon	6207
Dunkitt	6773
Kilcolumb	8274
The Rower	10,758
Fiddown	11,109
Total acreage	**111835**
Average parish size	3727.8
Mean parish size	2711

Clanmahon barony	
Parish	***Area in acres***
Ballymachugh	7728
Kilbride	8316
Ballintemple	10,657
Denn	11598
Crosserlough	16435
Kilmore	16885
Drumlumman	17147
Total acreage	**88766**
Average parish size	12,680
Mean parish size	11598

Simms has argued that the terms '*ecclesia inter Anglicos*' and '*ecclesia inter Hibernicos*' as used in the diocese of Armagh were not just expressions of mutual racial distrust, but 'they arose from real discrepancies in ecclesiastical organisation between those areas that had undergone significant Anglo-Norman colonisation in the first fifty years of English rule, and those which had not' (K. Simms 1995, 177). Between the Synod of Rathbreasail in 1111 and legislation enacted in the early thirteenth century to transfer ownership of all unassigned land to the diocesan bishop, there was an opportunity for the arriving Anglo-Normans to dispose of land not assigned to new monastic foundations, or assigned as parish glebe or mensal lands, how they pleased (Simms 1995, 184). Some former church lands were annexed to the Anglo-Norman lord's secular lands, while the majority of these lands were used to endow new monastic foundations. Eliminating these erenagh lands meant that in Anglo-Norman areas there was a clean slate on which 'to lay out standard diocesan and parochial structures, in accordance with the newly codified system of canon law' (Simms 1995, 185). The relationship between the lineage group and the church and parochial lands dates back to earlier times when these groups had a more influential role, so it is logical that the ecclesiastical and secular administrative boundaries in these areas should coincide (Duffy 2006, 45).

It is clear that these differences in parish size would have had a significant impact on the organisation of the church in both areas. The parish priest would have ministered to a more widely scattered congregation, and some of the people of Clanmahon must have lived further from their parish churches than the people of Overk. The lower density of churches in Clanmahon could indicate a more sparse population base. Similarly in Overk, where there is a parish of less than 800 acres and nine parishes of less than 2000 acres, we can question the ability of the population of such a small parish to maintain a parish church and a priest. In those parts of Ireland that experienced widespread Anglo-Norman settlement the parish and the manor are generally held to be coterminous, as they were established at the same time by the arriving Anglo-Normans. However, in the case of these small parishes, it seems unlikely that they would have the resources to support not only a parish church but also a manorial centre.

It does not seem to be simply a question of smaller parishes being composed of better quality land, while larger parishes contain unproductive areas or less fertile soils. The parish of Fiddown is more then 11,000 acres in extent and while it does contain uplands, at least half of the parish, 5,500, acres, has good fertile soils. It is possible that these larger parishes are the result of them being early grants before this part of the colony was fully conquered. Perhaps some like The Rower (over 10,000 acres), were contested zones, liable to attack by the Gaelic-Irish. Ballygurrim is one of the parishes that contain less than 2,000 acres and the documentary references suggest that it may not have been an economically viable area. By 1314, when the extent of the barony of Overk was compiled, four separate people were in possession of the manor of Ballygurrim, each holding a quarter part (*Red Bk. of Ormond*, 132). It is possible that a single lord might have held a number of parishes and administered them as a unit or a single manor. This appears to have been the case with those manors associated with the manor of Granny at least in the late medieval period (see section 3.4 for further details).

In Clanmahon and other Gaelic-Irish areas the same coincidence between the boundaries of the parish and secular administrative units does not appear to exist as they did not experience significant levels of Anglo-Norman settlement. For this reason the parish is a less useful unit of analysis in this barony. The larger parish size, and the fact that parishes were defined centuries later, could indicate a greater persistence of the status quo in the organisation of settlement and religion.

8.5: Dispersed or nucleated, an ethnic imperative?

A comparison of settlement in an area dominated by the Anglo-Normans and an area dominated by the Gaelic-Irish must address the veracity of the traditional dichotomy of dispersed Gaelic-Irish settlement and nucleated Anglo-Norman settlement. Is this dichotomy reflected in the settlement patterns of high and late medieval Clanmahon and Overk? O'Keeffe has suggested a model for the evolution of the Irish landscape from 800 to 1200. He argues that dispersed settlement predominated until 1000 when it was replaced by a cluster of settlement around church sites and settlement mounds. These clusters provide the focus for Anglo-Norman settlement and they refortified earlier settlement mounds and 'then disperse back into the country side, first with mottes and then with moated sites' (O'Keeffe 1996, 147). O'Keeffe also argued in the

same article that platform ringforts, which he termed 'Pre-Norman settlement mounds' were constructed in the period of between 1000 and 1200. He went on to argue that 'these mounds can be interpreted as manifestations of the pan-European phenomenon at the close of the first millennium AD of building defended mounds (O'Keeffe 1996, 146). He cites Higham and Barker's (2006, 78-113) chapter on the origins of timber castles in Europe in their seminal work on timber castles in support of this argument. Kerr (2007, 113) has argued in his more recent publication that this change in settlement patterns occurred earlier, at the end of the eighth century, when population change caused by famine and severe weather conditions freed up land for arable production. He argues that an elite, who rose to power in the ninth century and practised arable agriculture, were responsible for the construction of platform ringforts or 'settlement mounds'.

O'Keeffe's proposed model suggests that platform ringforts could form the focus of settlement clusters and that they would be associated with church sites. However the evidence from Clanmahon does not fit into O'Keeffe's proposed model. None of the platform ringforts in this barony are located adjacent to a church site. There is only one platform ringfort within 500m of any type of religious site: the univallate platform ringfort in Raheever is located *c.*300m from the site of a stone cross and *c.*420m from a holy well. There are only two platform ringforts located within 1km of a church site; the platform ringfort in Aghacreevy townland is located *c.*880m from the church site in Lavagh and the platform ringfort at Garrysallagh O'Reilly is located *c.*900m from the possible church site at Aghnaskeagh. A glance at the distribution map of platform ringforts and church sites would indicate that there is no correlation between the two site types.

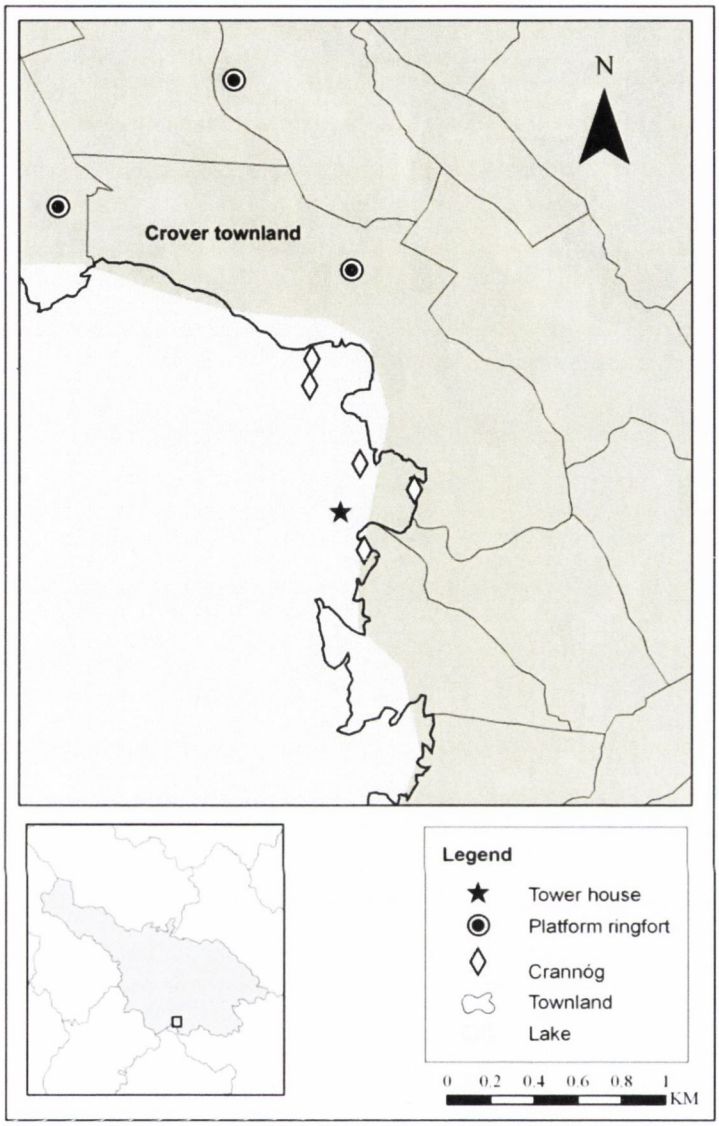


Fig. 8.8: Platform ringfort, tower house and crannógs in Crover, Ballymachugh, Clanmahon.

The greatest evidence for nucleation around a platform ringfort occurs in the townland of Crover, and does not include a church site. The townland of Crover contains a large platform ringfort, a possible ringfort, six possible crannógs in Lough Sheelin and a tower house. While it is impossible to determine whether any of these sites are contemporary with each other, one of the crannógs (CV038-018---) is located *c.*450 S of the platform ringfort and a roadway that runs to the edge of the Lough Sheelin connects the two sites. It is possible that the fact that this townland was the seat of power of the Clan Mahon O'Reillys was the major factor in the establishment of some nucleation of activity in the area. Cavan town was a Gaelic town which was established *c.*1300 (Bradley and Dunne 1989, 34) and it demonstrates that settlement nucleation by the Gaelic-Irish of East Bréifne was not unprecedented. By the fifteenth century at least complaints are made to parliament that markets at Cavan, Granard and Longford were taking trade away from markets in areas controlled by the crown (Bradley and Dunne 1989, 34-35). However, it is also clear that nucleated settlements were not widespread in areas controlled by the Gaelic-Irish.

The absence of this type of settlement mound on the Overk landscape makes it impossible to test O'Keeffe's thesis about settlement in the period 1000 to 1200 in that barony. Although the absence of platform ringforts in this area would seem to argue against this model of pre-Norman settlement nucleation, there is significant evidence for nucleation in the high medieval period in many of the parishes in Overk. These include Fiddown (parish church, motte, deserted settlement), Listerlin (parish church, motte, possible deserted settlement), Portnascully (parish church and motte-and-bailey), Clonamery (parish church and motte) and Castletown (deserted settlement and parish church). However, this is not the case in every parish and there are many possible reasons that can be advanced for this failure to establish nucleated settlements. Both Clonmore and Shanbogh appear to have been controlled by the church and this might explain the absence of evidence for a manorial centre. The parish of Aglish appears to have contained a large amount of poor marshy land and this might explain the failure of the early Anglo-Normans settlers to establish a manorial centre there. As outlined above, some of these parishes may simply have been too small to function as independent manors. It is also possible that there were not enough Anglo-Normans settlers in high medieval Overk to effectively settle the entire barony. Earthwork castles were established in those areas that could be conquered and where good agricultural land promised a return on their investment. As was discussed in chapter seven, Anglo-Norman settlement appears to have spread eastwards throughout the later medieval period. At Rosbercon the development of the settlement had to wait until after the partition of the Marshal palatinate. After this partition the settlements at New Ross and Rosbercon were under the ownership of different lord and there was an economic case for establishing a settlement at Rosbercon to take advantage of the significant trading activity at New Ross (see section 3.5 for further details).

It has been argued by a number of commentators that the pre-existing townland system affected the layout and structure of the manor. McNeill's study of the earldom of Ulster in 1980 was the first to suggest that the morphology of the manor in Ireland did not always mirror the typical manor layout in midland England (McNeill 1980). Within his study area there was no evidence for nucleated settlements of village form. These manorial centres appear to have consisted of the lord's residence, usually located at a motte, as well as a church and a mill. Neither does there appear to have

been an influx of settlers to populate these manors; the manor was instead rented to Irish tenants who continued to live in the townlands they had always inhabited. In this area therefore, the manorial centre or capita was an administrative and judicial centre rather than a nucleated settlement and a centre of agricultural production. While McNeill's model is based solely on the situation in Ulster, it introduced the idea that there may not have been large nucleated settlements at the caputs of all Anglo-Norman manors, especially in those areas that did not see widespread immigration of peasant tenants. This pattern of dispersed rather than nucleated settlement within the manor has been identified in border areas and agriculturally marginal areas of the Anglo-Norman colony (Barry 1988b). There was, for example, a predominantly dispersed settlement pattern in county Westmeath during this period (Meenan 1985).

Research into the manors of Newcastle Lyons and Esker in south county Dublin has led Edwards, Hammond et al (1983) and A. Simms (1983) to argue that the pre-existing townland system prevented the formation of large nucleated English style villages. This south county Dublin area would probably have experienced large-scale immigration of peasant tenants from England, where the large nucleated village would have been the norm. However, in this model the manorial centre consisted of the lord's residence, farm buildings, a mill and the manorial church as well as the residences of some cottars or tenants-at-will who owed labour services to the lord. Burgesses, where they existed, would also have lived at the manorial centre but the rest of the tenants would have lived on compact holdings in townlands of their own, well away from the manorial centre. So while villages or settlement nucleations did exist within these manors, the fact that so many tenants did not live at the manorial centre meant that the villages could never become as large as their English counterparts. Graham (1985), however, has criticised this model as it is based on sources that date to the fourteenth century at the earliest. This pattern of dispersed settlement may therefore be part of a secondary colonisation of marginal lands that look place during the thirteenth century. The decline in village life after *c.*1300, when tenants moved out of villages into the surrounding countryside, perhaps as a result of a move towards pastoral farming, is another possible explanation for this settlement pattern (Graham 1985). He went on to argue that there is a relationship between arguments about continuity and nationalism, which is part of an attempt to see continuity from the idealised early Christian Ireland.

Further evidence for dispersed settlement in those parts of Ireland dominated by the Anglo-Normans comes from an excavation at Tullykane, county Meath. This excavation revealed evidence for two structures, at least one of which appears to have been a house along with ditches, gullies, pits, hearths and burnt spreads. An extensive area of small stone cobbling with pits and depressions on either side was also uncovered. Tullykane is located at the edge of the civil parish of Kilmessan, whose manorial centre appears to be located at the church and possible motte site in the townland of Kilmessan. The excavator has argued that its location, together with the fact that the site is not spatially cohesive, indicates that this is the house of a manorial tenant of the second half of the thirteenth century (Baker 2009, 8). On the basis of the artefactual assemblage, the excavator has argued that the tenant who occupied this house would have been of Anglo-Norman origin. The high quality of the local wares and the fact that the decoration showed a strong influence from Ham Green ware is the evidence advanced to support this thesis. The excavator argues that the indigenous population would have used their knowledge to produce and decorate pottery in familiar styles with the local materials available to them (Baker 2009, 9). This reveals the difficulty of assigning ethnicity to sites even where the evidence of excavation is available. Very few sites of this date that can be definitively declared to have been inhabited by the Gaelic-Irish have been excavated, so we have almost no information on the artefactual evidence that would come from such a site. The idea that the Gaelic-Irish could not have produced high quality glazed pottery by the second half of the thirteenth century does not seem credible.

A similar site was excavated at Attyflin, county Limerick, but in this case the excavator interpreted the site as the home of Gaelic free tenants. Although no clear evidence for any structure was uncovered during this limited excavation, the excavator was confident that the site represented the remains of a settlement of thirteenth and fourteenth century date (Eogan 2009, 75). Documentary evidence was cited to indicate that there were free tenants with Irish names in the surrounding area and this, together with the fact that the site is located at a distance from the known manorial centres in the area, was used to support the argument that this site occupied by people of Gaelic-Irish origin (Eogan 2009, 75, 76). Unfortunately the documentary evidence is general in nature and does not refer to the site in question or even the parish in which it is contained. The artefactual assemblage was dominated by glazed medieval pottery of

local manufacture and also included both stick-pins and ring brooches. Eogan argued that stick-pins are a Gaelic-Irish type and ring-brooches are an Anglo-Norman type; and the fact that both are found on this site could suggest cross-cultural interactions. However, in her publication on medieval ring brooches, Deevy (1998, 44) argued that 'while Anglo-Norman craftsmen would appear to be the main candidates for the production of ring brooches, it is also possible that metal workers trained in the native tradition were involved'. Furthermore, the fact that ring brooches have also been found on crannógs gives support to the argument that the Gaelic-Irish also adopted the use of this form of jewellery. Given the general absence of evidence for settlement types occupied by the Gaelic-Irish in areas dominated by the Anglo-Normans it is tempting to interpret this type of site as the homes of Gaelic-Irish tenants, like those identified from documentary sources in the parishes of Ballytarsney, Rathkieran, Pollrone and Kilmacow in Overk. Unfortunately, there is not enough evidence to support this thesis and the search for the homes of the Gaelic-Irish within the colony must continue.

Finally, at Baltrasna in county Meath a site was excavated that was also interpreted as the home of a free tenant at the edge of a manor controlled by the Anglo-Normans. In this case the excavator does not speculate on the ethnicity of the inhabitants of the clay or cob-walled building, along with two possible grain drying kilns and a storage pit uncovered during the excavations. Instead, the focus of the article is the evidence for continuity of activity on this site from the initial occupation of the late twelfth to fourteenth century into the early modern period (Fallon 2009). The sites at Attyflin and Tullykane are both isolated farmsteads of free tenants, located on the periphery of their manors. They have similar artefactual assemblages, and the interpretation of one as Gaelic-Irish and the other as Anglo-Norman appears to have been based on the historical prism through which their excavators viewed them. All of the above evidence for dispersed settlement was found during pre-development excavation and only the site at Attyflin had any above ground features. These dispersed settlements appear to have been the homes of free tenants; and people at this end of the social scale in later medieval Ireland only rarely appear in the documentary sources, so we cannot rely on them to determine the ethnicity of these sites.

This excavated evidence, together with the models of manorial settlement outlined above, go some way towards explaining the settlement pattern observed in Overk.

Dispersed settlements may have been the dominant settlement form in these areas but this does not explain the absence of evidence for a motte or other form of lord's residence in many of the Overk's parishes. Perhaps the answer lies in absentee landlords who had no need for a lord's residence or any of the structures associated with a demesne farm. In these cases the only building required in a manorial centre was a parish church for worship and to mark the significant events of the parish's inhabitants through its sacraments. It is also possible that several manors were administered from a single manorial centre, as has been suggested for those manors associated with Granny. Finally, it is possible that some Anglo-Norman lords might have lived in manor houses and that the traces of these manor houses would be more difficult to identify on the modern landscape than the remains of earth and timber castles (Shine 2004, 40).

It is clear that many of the inhabitants of Clanmahon and Overk lived in dispersed settlements. What is not clear is how we can distinguish between Gaelic-Irish and Anglo-Norman dispersed settlements and perhaps the ethnicity of the inhabitants is not important, as it would not have affected the day to day running of the manor and its economy. There is also evidence for nucleated settlement in both baronies, although the evidence is strongest in Overk but also at earthworks castle that appear to have been constructed by the Anglo-Normans in Clanmahon. We can perhaps best conclude that while it is not impossible that the Gaelic-Irish would have established nucleated settlements, they are much more likely to have inhabited dispersed settlements.

8.6: Tower houses: a sign of cultural uniformity?

Tower houses were constructed by both the Gaelic-Irish and the Anglo-Irish, but no criteria have yet been identified to distinguish a Gaelic-Irish tower house from an Anglo-Irish one. O'Keeffe (2004, 13) argues that as the architecture of Gaelic-Irish and Anglo-Irish tower houses is similar, it is probable that 'some of the domestic rituals for which the micro-topography of tower-houses was designed in colonial areas were also adopted by the Irish'. He also argues that the fact that the ethnic identities of the builders of tower houses is not readily apparent to modern scholars suggests that 'tower houses also blurred for contemporary spectators the outwardly visible distinctions between elite Gaelic-Irish and English society of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries' (O'Keeffe 2004, 14). He concludes his argument by adding that the

construction of a tower house may have been a way for the Gaelic-Irish to draw themselves closer to English cultural practices (O'Keeffe 2004, 14). O'Conor (1998, 103) has also argues that tower houses 'are really an archaeological indication of cultural uniformity that prevailed across most of Ireland by the later fifteenth century'. He goes on to argue that Gaelic construction of tower houses indicates that cultural change affected the Gaelic-Irish too, as a result of intermarriage and contact with neighbouring Anglo-Norman families since the late twelfth century.

Loeber (2001, 309-311) attempted to establish the differences and similarities between Gaelic-Irish and Anglo-Irish castles. It is only when we can identify the differences between the castles constructed by the two groups that we can begin to quantify the extent to which the Gaelic-Irish adopted types of castles directly from the Anglo-Irish or modified them to suit their needs. Loeber (2001, 277) also argues that, while the overall appearance of Gaelic-Irish and Anglo-Irish tower houses may not be distinct from each other, this might not apply to details of craftsmanship and mode of construction. He also argues that as tower houses were part of the territorial organisation of both groups, differences in the way in which land was held may have had an impact on the function, siting and size of a castle. He (2001, 296) identifies a number of architectural differences between Gaelic-Irish and Anglo-Irish tower houses, although it is possible that the differences he observed may be caused by regional rather than ethnic factors. The significant regional differences in design and layout of the tower house have been noted by many commentators (Leask 1941, McNeill 1997, Sweetman 1999) and this regionality will make any architectural differences between Anglo-Irish and Gaelic-Irish tower houses difficult to identify. Loeber (2001, 297-298) also suggests that the stylistic differences noted in Gaelic and Anglo-Irish ecclesiastical architecture might be reflected in castle architecture. This would appear to be the most promising method of detecting any architectural differences. In addition, it has been suggested that many of the stylistic differences between one castle and the next are the result of personal choices (Johnson 2002, 220).

Despite the fact that both the Gaelic-Irish and the Anglo-Irish constructed tower houses, it is notable that while Clanmahon has only two tower houses, Overk has ten. As only one of the tower houses in Clanmahon has any upstanding remains, it is impossible to conduct any meaningful analysis of the architecture of the tower houses

in this parish so it does not advance the discussion of the architectural differences between Gaelic-Irish and Anglo-Irish tower houses.

There is some evidence to suggest that the highest-ranking families in both baronies constructed tower houses. The tower house on Crover Island in Lough Sheelin is traditionally associated with the Clan Mahon O'Reillys who, as discussed in chapter four, controlled the barony of Clanmahon and at times were the chiefs of East Bréifne. Likewise, the accommodation tower, hall and bawn at Granny are associated with the Butlers, who controlled Overk and large parts of modern county Kilkenny; their coat of arms appears on the soffit of the arch of one of the windows in the hall building. The scale of the castle complex, which consisted of three towers along the River Suir, as well as the tower house style accommodation tower, stone hall and bawn wall would suggest that this was a significant Butler centre. Indeed Edwards (2000, 69) has argued that 'it was a focal point of feudal power in the Butler Earldom'.

Fig. 8.9: Granny Castle, Kilmacow, Overk (Poole Whole Plate collection 1884 - 1945, NLI: P_WP_0204).

Crover castle appears to be located at a pre-existing centre of the Clan Mahon O'Reillys, indicated by a nucleation of crannógs and a bivallate platform ringfort in the townland. However, the tower house in Granny is not located at a pre-existing Butler centre. The Butlers acquired the barony of Overk in the early fourteenth century and certainly held the land in 1415 when an extent of the manor was compiled. Although this extent mentions a rabbit warren, the ferry toll, a watermill and other features that would indicate the centre of a manorial farm, it does not mention a castle or any other

Fig. 8.10: Crover Castle, Ballymachugh, Clanmahon

dwelling (*Red Bk. of Ormond*, 124-125). As an extent is a valuation of a manor, it is unusual that a castle or other dwelling for a lord would not have been included, if there was a castle, even a ruined one, at this date. An extent of the manor of Pollrone, which was also held by the Butlers, was compiled two days later and it included a description of a keep or tower (*uno turre*) (*Red Bk. of Ormond*, 126). There are some suggestions that the towers and curtain wall along the River Suir date to the earlier, le Poer period of ownership but an examination of these structures does not appear to support this assertion. The accommodation tower and its surrounding wall and mural towers all appear to be of a similar date range. Murtagh (pers comm. 29th May) has suggested that there is evidence of older phases of construction at the base of Granny castle, but it is unclear whether this older phase of construction dates to the le Poer or Butler periods of ownership. It is possible that a le Poer centre would have been located at the modern hamlet of Kilmacow, where the parish church is located.

Both of these tower houses are located close to large bodies of water. Granny castle is located on the edge of the River Suir and Crover castle is located on an island in Lough Sheelin. However, the majority of the tower houses in Overk are located close

to rivers, as was discussed in section 7.2.3 and the only other tower house in Clanmahon (the site of the tower house on Racraveen motte) is located at a bend in a river. The location of Granny Castle 5km upriver from the town of Waterford, and documentary references to a ferry there, would suggest that the Butlers sited themselves at this location to take advantage of trade with the town. Access to the Butler centre at Carrick-on Suir would have been comparatively straight forward as there is a navigable stretch of the River Suir between it and Waterford. It is also possible that the castle on Crover Island might have been involved in trade with the Anglo-Irish who lived on the other side of Lough Sheelin. Both castles appear to have been constructed after the second half of the fifteenth century when firearms were introduced to Ireland as the fabric of both castles include gun loops that do not appear to have be later insertions. It seems probable that although the tower house complex at Granny is on a much grander scale than Crover castle, both castles appear to have fulfilled similar functions.

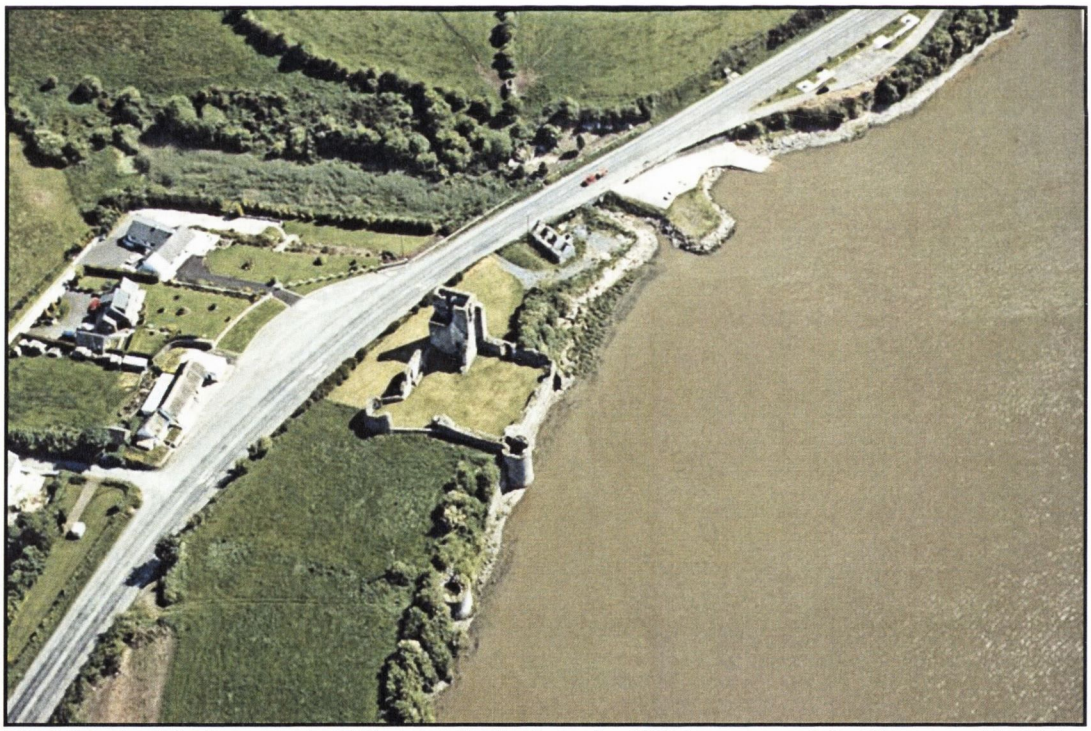


Fig.8.11: Aerial photograph of Granny Castle from the SW (courtesy of the Photographic Unit, DOEHLG).

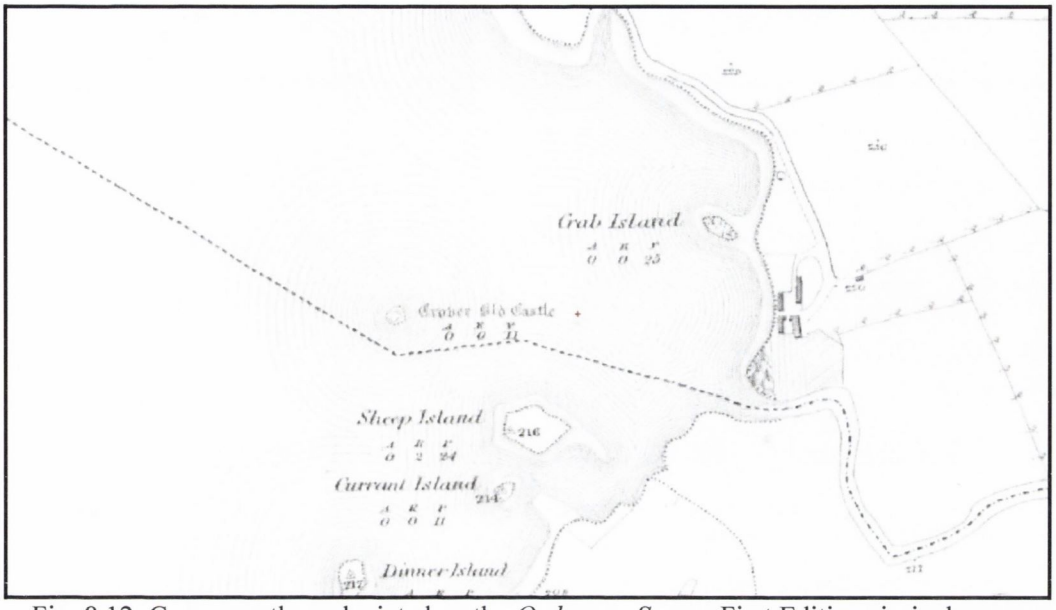


Fig. 8.12: Crover castle as depicted on the *Ordnance Survey* First Edition six-inch map.

The only other evidence for a tower house in the barony of Clanmahon are the foundations of a tower house on top of the motte at Racraveen. A tower house is depicted in a townland labelled 'Racknaum' on the *Maps of the Escheated Counties of Ulster*. Davies (1947a, 87) suggests that this castle was constructed and occupied by the Nugents in the sixteenth century, but he does not provide any evidence for this assertion. Like the tower house in Crover, this tower house is located at a pre-existing centre, but in this case it appears to have been an Anglo-Irish one. Despite the fact that one of these tower houses is traditionally associated with the Anglo-Irish and the other with the Gaelic-Irish they are depicted identically in the *Maps of the Escheated Counties of Ulster*, suggesting that, as is the case today, the early seventeenth century observers could detect no architectural difference between them. Both of the tower houses in Clanmahon are located close to existing centres of population. Perhaps this indicates that there was no significant shift in settlement patterns between the high and late medieval period, in contrast to the situation in Overk, as discussed in section 7.1.3. While, the castle site at Dundavan in Clanmahon could suggest that a shift in settlement occurred in sixteenth century, the castle site at Lismore is located close to a platform ringfort, while that in Kevit Upper is located close to a crannóg.

8.7 Conclusions

The research questions addressed in this chapter all indicate the difficulty of assigning ethnicity to archaeological monuments. Recent excavations have revealed that there is

also considerable difficulty assigning ethnicity to excavated sites of the later medieval period. The only way we can even attempt to begin to address this issue is by taking a broad view of these sites, one that includes the wider landscape and the documentary evidence. It does appear to be important to assign ethnicity to the earthworks of the high medieval period. To the contemporary observer, platform ringforts would have looked much different to contemporary people to ringwork castles and mottes not least because of their timber defences, and the adoption of moated sites by the Gaelic-Irish tells us something very important about the nature of cross-cultural interactions. We do need to ask when the assignation of identity ceases to be important; if tower houses really are a sign of cultural uniformity should we cease our attempts to assign ethnic identities to them?

Chapter nine - Conclusions

This thesis set out to discover whether the interactions between the Anglo-Normans, later the Anglo-Irish, and the Gaelic-Irish had an effect on the types of settlements constructed or modified and inhabited by them. This was perhaps an ambitious research question, but one which was both timely and important. As archaeologists begin in earnest to study the archaeology of the Gaelic-Irish in the high and late medieval period, it is imperative that we do not compartmentalise the archaeology of the Anglo-Normans and the Gaelic-Irish as two mutually exclusive fields of study. The Anglo-Normans and the Gaelic-Irish were neighbours; they lived side-by-side in those areas that experienced large-scale Anglo-Norman settlement. Even in those areas that remained largely under the control of the Gaelic-Irish, they often shared borders, or engaged with each other socially, politically and economically as well as the military interactions which have, until now, been the aspect of their interactions that has been most highlighted. This study has illustrated not only the impact of the interactions between these two ethnic groups on the settlement forms they constructed but also that their integrated study leads us to a greater understanding of the archaeology of both groups.

The introduction to the historical archaeology of the two study areas revealed diversity both between and within each study area. This impression was reinforced through the selection of two case-study areas within each barony. This regional diversity encourages the adoption of one of the key methodologies of this thesis, landscape archaeology, which considers the landscape setting, as well as the historical archaeology of the settlement patterns that emerged in the study areas and the case-study areas. Soil quality in the later medieval period may help to explain why manorial centres developed in some areas while there is no evidence for them in others. Proximity to water also appears to have been an important consideration for the builders of tower houses. In Overk, many tower houses are sited close to the Barrow and Suir rivers, which form the eastern and southern borders of the barony. Although we can only identify the sites of two tower houses in Clanmahon, both of these are located close to bodies of water; Crover Castle is located on a small island in Lough Sheelin and the site of the tower house at Racraveen is located adjacent to a bend in the River Inny. In Overk, we can suggest that the preference for a riverine siting was

connected to trade along the river, from and between the major towns that fringe the barony: New Ross, Waterford and Carrick-on-Suir. In Clanmahon the evidence for trade is unclear but it is possible that these tower houses were established to manage trade between the Gaelic-Irish who lived in east Bréifne and the Anglo-Normans whose lands bordered the barony.

Clanmahon and Overk are disparate baronies, with very different histories but also some similarities. Even though both regions have similarly classified monuments, there can be differences in the morphology and possibly the function and the ethnicity of these monuments. There are mottes and moated sites in both Clanmahon and Overk. Although the mottes in both regions would have been constructed by the Anglo-Normans, there are differences between the majority of the mottes found in Overk and those in Clanmahon. The mottes in Overk tend to be much higher than those in Clanmahon, with average heights of *c.*2.6m for the two mottes in Clanmahon and *c.*5.2m for the four mottes in Overk. If we exclude the motte in Fiddown, which is ver,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,y low compared to the other Overk mottes, the average height of an Overk motte rises to *c.*7m. Although there are a very small number of mottes in the two study areas (four mottes in Overk and two in Clanmahon), it is possible to reach some conclusions on the basis of this height discrepancy. We might have expected mottes in Clanmahon to be more defensive as they were located in a border area. It is possible that this height discrepancy is a reflection of the resources available to those who commissioned their construction. McNeill (1990) has argued that in Leinster the ownership of mottes did-not permeate the many levels of aristocratic society as deeply as they did in Ulster and Oriel. It is reasonable to suggest therefore that the lower mottes in Clanmahon could have been constructed by men further down the social scale, than those who constructed the mottes in Overk, as well as the nearby large mottes in Granard and Kilmore. Tenants at the lower end of the social scale who held lands in these border areas might have felt a greater need for the protection of a motte, while tenants with similar resources in Overk did not.

There is also a marked discrepancy in the size of the moated sites that were constructed in Overk and Clanmahon. These conclusions are made on the basis of a small number of sites, but again the pattern that emerges appears to support the observations made by other archaeologists. The moated sites in Clanmahon generally

have a much larger enclosed area and have larger defences. The exception to this rule is the moated site in Lisnadarragh, but as observed in section 7.1.2, its proximity to the moated site in Carrickabane would suggest that it was a less important site, perhaps functioning as a livestock enclosure. Unfortunately, many of the moated sites recorded on the SMR in Overk have been destroyed, with five out of the eight identified sites recorded as having been levelled. Although this high level of destruction could be attributed to intensive agriculture in Overk, it is noteworthy that the majority of these sites are located in upland and more marginal areas. It is possible that the reason that these sites have suffered a high level of destruction is that their defences were small and easily removed, unlike those of the moated sites in Clanmahon. Those moated sites that do survive in Overk have small defences, with their banks between half and a third as high as those in Clanmahon and these defences also tend to enclose smaller interiors. It was proposed in chapter seven that this difference in size might also be a reflection of the relative status of the inhabitants of moated sites in Overk and Clanmahon. O'Conor (1998) and others have argued that moated sites were constructed by both the Anglo-Normans and the Gaelic-Irish. While the Anglo-Normans who lived in moated sites are generally regarded as assarting tenants who lived on more marginal land and would therefore have had limited resources, O'Conor (1998, 88) has argued that moated sites were occupied by Gaelic-Irish lords and kings of the first rank. These Gaelic-Irish lords would surely have had significantly greater resources than an Anglo-Norman assarting tenant. It is possible therefore that the moated sites in Clanmahon were constructed by Gaelic-Irish lords. While it is possible to argue that Anglo-Norman settlers, who felt themselves under threat in this border area, constructed these massive and apparently defensive moated sites, the small size of the mottes in Clanmahon would not support the thesis that settlers in the area required large defences.

The issue of ethnicity was necessarily a central concern of this thesis, as it aimed to examine the evidence for cross-cultural interactions in the high and later medieval periods. The difficulty of assigning ethnicity to both earthworks and stone castles was highlighted in chapter eight. Platform ringforts can be morphologically similar to both ringwork castles and mottes making it difficult to differentiate between them. By using Arbuthnot's (forthcoming) criteria to identifying ringwork castles and modifying it to identify motte castles we can differentiate between these monuments types.

Arbuthnot's methodology, like an earlier methodology advocated by O'Conor (1999, 191-94), emphasises the necessity to look beyond the surviving monuments and into the documentary sources and the landscapes in which they were contained. While these monuments look very similar on the modern landscape, it has been argued that a contemporary observer would have been able to differentiate between them, as their original timber defences would have been significantly different (O'Conor 2002, 177; 2008, 336 and 2010, 39). Therefore, if we are to reconstruct the high medieval landscape and attempt to see it through the eyes of a contemporary, we must accurately classify the surviving remains of these monuments. A ringwork castle or a motte with their substantial defences would have made a very different statement to the inhabitants of a local area than a platform ringfort.

In the later medieval period both the Anglo-Irish and the Gaelic-Irish constructed tower houses. Loeber (2001) has attempted to define the unique architectural features of Gaelic tower houses, but this is very problematic given the regional diversity of tower house architecture. Any differences observed in architectural styles could be the result of regional rather than ethnic diversity. O'Conor's (1998, 103) suggestion that tower houses are an architectural indication of cultural uniformity would seem to be supported by the evidence from Clanmahon and Overk. As outlined above, tower houses in Clanmahon may also have been involved in trade as they, like the Overk tower houses, are located adjacent to bodies of water. The tower houses in Crover and Granny both seem to have acted as centres of power; the tower house in Granny was the focus of settlement for the Anglo-Irish, Butler Earls of Ormond in Overk, while Crover Castle was the focus of settlement for the Gaelic-Irish, Clan Mahon O'Reillys in Clanmahon.

The notion that the Anglo-Normans lived in nucleated settlements while the Gaelic-Irish lived in dispersed settlements reflects the traditional view of the two groups. Historical geographers have long argued that not all of those who lived within an Anglo-Norman manor inhabited large nucleated villages. The excavated evidence to support this thesis was uncovered during pre-construction excavation in the 'Celtic Tiger' years and is now beginning to be published (Corlett and Potterton 2009). The Gaelic-Irish town of Cavan would indicate that the Gaelic-Irish in this part of Ireland established nucleated settlements and used them as market centres. It is possible

therefore that the Gaelic-Irish in Clanmahon might have established nucleated settlements, at Crover perhaps, to act as trading centres with the neighbouring Anglo-Normans. In summary, there is sufficient evidence from both baronies to indicate that the Gaelic-Irish and the Anglo-Normans both lived in a mix of nucleated and dispersed settlement.

The distribution maps compiled during the course of this research indicate the presence of contact zones in both baronies. These contact zones allow us the opportunity to examine the impact of the interactions between the Anglo-Normans and the Gaelic-Irish who lived side by side. It is in these areas that we would expect to uncover the greatest evidence of Anglo-Norman and Gaelic-Irish interactions and this has proven to be the case. The platform ringforts that cluster along the southern border of Clanmahon, where it shares a border with medieval Meath, are a visually striking result of cross-cultural interactions. This study would argue that there is much merit in Davies' (1947b) suggestion, more than sixty years ago, that the platform ringforts in south county Cavan were 'imitations' of Anglo-Norman mottes. Indeed, Kerr's (2010, 67) recent article on platform ringforts concedes that some of the sites identified as platform ringforts located close to Anglo-Norman earthwork castles could be termed 'Gaelic mottes' that were constructed in imitation of the earthwork castles as symbols of power and status. He does not indicate that there are any morphological differences between these 'Gaelic mottes' and the platform ringforts to which he ascribes an early medieval date. Instead he states that Gaelic mottes 'might account for the presence of ten raised raths in Inishowen, Co. Donegal, and another ten in and around the short-lived extension of the lordship of Ulster west of the Bann into modern north County Londonderry' (Kerr 2010, 67). Analysis of platform ringforts in a number of border areas, when combined with Kerr's work in northwest Ulster, should cast light on any possible morphological or siting differences between what he describes as 'Gaelic mottes' and platform ringforts. However, the absence of morphological or other differences could reveal the distinction between 'Gaelic mottes' and platform ringforts to be an artificial one.

The distribution maps also indicate that borders between areas of Anglo-Norman and areas of Gaelic-Irish control truly were contact zones rather than frontiers. The clusters of mottes, moated sites and platform ringforts in south Clanmahon illustrate that this

was an area in which the Gaelic-Irish and the Anglo-Normans lived side by side rather than on either side of an ethnic divide. In Overk the gradual movement of the Anglo-Normans towards those areas that remained under the control of Gaelic-Irish lords, illustrates that the Anglo-Normans were interacting not only with the Gaelic-Irish who remained within the colony but also the Gaelic-Irish outside their borders.

This study has illustrated the wealth of available archaeological evidence for the study of cross-cultural interactions in high and late medieval Ireland, especially if the available documentary and landscape evidence are incorporated into the study. The decision to use the methodologies of landscape archaeology and historical archaeology has helped to create a rich and multi-facetted view of the cross-cultural interactions in both baronies. Historical archaeology allows us to integrate documentary evidence into the study, without becoming merely a 'handmaiden to history' (Moreland 2007, 10) but facilitating the integration of all the available data into a seamless narrative. The landscape approach that was adopted by this study allows the landscape as well as the historical context of the archaeological monuments in the study areas to be considered. The landscapes in which these archaeological sites are contained, and the other sites that were found in association with them, are crucial in establishing the correct classification and interpretation for each site. The combination of these two methodologies, as outlined by Astill and Davies (1997), allows a relatively detailed and accurate picture of the lives of the inhabitants of these baronies to emerge.

9.1 Challenges for this research

One of the challenges of comparing rural settlement in Overk with rural settlement in Clanmahon is the discrepancy in the amount of available documentary evidence for the two baronies. The *Ormond Deeds* and the *Red Book of Ormond* provide a wealth of detailed information on the manors that made up the barony of Overk but a similar wealth of information is not available for Clanmahon. The annalistic sources, like the English administrative records, both of which include events in Clanmahon, focus on a wider geographical stage, making it more difficult for local events to appear in these national or regional sources. Consequently, it is difficult to establish a profile of the historical archaeology at the level of the parish, necessitating a focus on the barony and at times even at the level of the history of Bréifne. In chapter six, where the focus was on four case studies, it was demonstrated that at least a loose historical framework

could be established for those Clanmahon parishes. To this framework, archaeological, cartographic and genealogical information was added to create a picture of these parishes in the high and late medieval period. It was, however, impossible to match the level of detail available for the Overk parishes, despite spending significantly longer in the library scouring all the available sources for these parishes. While it is important to acknowledge these differences, they should not prevent archaeologists from attempting to research areas that do not feature prominently in the documentary sources nor should it prevent comparison between them and other better-documented areas that were dominated by the Anglo-Normans. The difference in levels of documentation is unavoidable in any comparison of areas dominated by the Anglo-Normans with those dominated by the Gaelic-Irish. However, if we use historical archaeology and landscape archaeology together we can look beyond the monuments themselves, and reduce the gap in evidence available for the two areas.

Any thesis that is predominantly based on archaeological fieldwork will encounter problems with chronology. For example, without the excavation of a number of the platform ringforts identified in southern Clanmahon, we cannot establish a definite date range for either their construction or occupation. However, a large programme of excavation of monuments in Clanmahon or Overk is beyond the scope of this study (and any other PhD research). The costs associated with excavation and post-excavation make it an impossible proposition for any research student. The decision to excavate also involves a large commitment of time for excavation and more particularly post-excavation analysis, which places it outside the financial resources of most PhD research. Instead, this study must use dating evidence from elsewhere in Ireland, as well as comparative analysis with other monument types, and the evidence of distribution maps compiled using GIS, to advance the study not only of platform ringforts but all the settlement forms occupied in the high and late medieval period. The absence of a clear and scientific chronology can be mitigated by rigorous analysis of the available evidence, as well as a multi-disciplinary approach that integrates as many sources of information as possible.

9.2 Priorities for future research

As with any research project, there are many more questions at the end of the project than there were at the beginning. This project has revealed the potential for research

into Anglo-Norman and Gaelic-Irish interactions to explore not just the contested spaces of high and late medieval Ireland but also to learn more about the settlement forms we might expect to find within the Anglo-Norman colony and in the rest of Ireland. However, this study has confined itself, of necessity, to two baronies in the modern counties of Cavan and Kilkenny, and it is clear that an expansion of this study to wider areas would reveal much more information about rural settlement in Ireland in the high and late medieval period. We must, as Christine Baker (2009, 9; Barry 2009, viii) has suggested, stop trying to fit the Irish evidence into the model of the quintessential medieval village of midland England and instead examine and interpret the evidence that the Irish landscape presents. The archaeological evidence is never as tidy and as easy to classify as the textbooks and the theory suggest.

Further studies of moated sites in areas controlled by the Gaelic-Irish, and those in border areas, should be analysed in conjunction with the work already completed on moated sites in those parts of Ireland that experienced large-scale Anglo-Norman settlement. While regional studies are important, it is essential that comparative analysis be carried out to highlight the similarities and differences between moated sites throughout the island of Ireland. This should allow any morphological differences between moated sites found in these different areas to be analysed and interpreted (Barry 1977, 1988a, Glasscock 1970), and could eventually allow archaeologists to differentiate between the Gaelic-Irish and Anglo-Norman examples. We should also consider the possibility that the Gaelic-Irish reoccupied the moated sites abandoned by the Anglo-Normans when they were pushed out of an area, although as yet no example of this phenomenon has been found in Ireland. As noted above, a wider study of platform ringforts in those parts of Ireland that are likely to have been contact zones in the high medieval period, should cast further light on the dating and function of this monument type.

Targeted excavation of some of the sites highlighted by this thesis in Overk and Clanmahon would obviously increase exponentially our knowledge of the high and late medieval period. However, the modern 'ghost' housing estates that are found throughout Cavan in particular, and the reduction in the infrastructure budget throughout Ireland, makes it unlikely that there will be any large-scale excavation in Clanmahon or Overk in the near future. Very few archaeological investigations were

carried out in either study area during the years of the 'Celtic Tiger' and as the economy contracts it seems very unlikely that this situation will change. Excavations by Davies in the 1940s and other small-scale excavations in Clanmahon, indicate that excavation in the area has the potential to add to, and perhaps drastically alter, our interpretation of the high and late medieval archaeology of the area. The results of excavations carried out in advance of the N25 Waterford bypass illustrate that there is still much evidence of the later medieval period to be found in many of the apparently featureless fields of Overk. However, the results of excavations from elsewhere in Ireland still await processing and analysis and it is hoped that the results of some of these excavations might cast further light on the subject of Gaelic-Irish and Anglo-Norman interactions. Corlett and Potterton's (2009) recent publication suggests that this will certainly be the case.

There is documentary evidence to suggest the presence of a designed landscape around some of the manorial centres in Overk, particularly Granny and Rosbercon. The 1415 extent of the manor of Granny refers to a ferry, rabbit warren, watermill and garden as well as the various categories of pasture and cultivated land. It also stipulates the amount of service due from the tenants to the lord each year (*Red Bk. of Ormond*, 125). Detailed studies of the landscape and field systems that surround Granny Castle might reveal some evidence of the elaborate landscapes that would have surrounded this castle. Creighton (2009) has recently highlighted the designed landscapes that surrounded English castles and there is evidence to suggest that this would have been the case at large castle complexes in Ireland, such as Granny Castle. Rosbercon is another manor that would benefit from a detailed analysis of its landscape and field systems in an attempt to reconstruct its high status landscape that included water mills, a ferry, two swarms of bees and a rabbit warren. Rosbercon is recorded as a borough, with a hundred court in the fourteenth and fifteenth century and was clearly once a place of some importance. Its history has been largely overlooked, with many scholars dismissing it as merely a suburb of New Ross; indeed the RIA map of New Ross does not include Rosbercon (Doran 2008b). This thesis has suggested that the settlement nucleation at Crover in Clanmahon could have been the centre of power for the Clan Mahon O'Reillys. Most of the land around Crover is in pasture and there has been a comparatively small amount of development in the area, making it particularly suitable

for Lidar survey or geo-physical prospection, all of which were unfortunately beyond the resources available to this PhD research project.

Further research must not just focus on the glamorous centres of power occupied by the elite; indeed archaeological research in the past has probably focused too much on the archaeology of the elite, because it is more visible in the landscape, to the neglect of the more mundane and more difficult to identify sites of the ordinary people. It is particularly important that archaeologists seek to understand the position of the Gaelic-Irish who remained within the colony and attempt to identify the types of sites they might have inhabited. This is likely to be a difficult and frustrating task, but we cannot accurately reconstruct the past landscapes of these areas without factoring in the Gaelic-Irish and their settlement forms. As more archaeologists research the archaeology of high and late medieval Gaelic Ireland, our view of Ireland in the period becomes more comprehensive. However, we must not study the two groups in isolation from each other. Hopefully, this thesis has illustrated that research which seeks to understand the interactions between the Gaelic-Irish and the Anglo-Normans is essential to our understanding of the archaeology of high and late medieval Ireland.

Glossary

Advowson: The right to appoint a priest to a benefice, especially a parish church.

Amercements: The fine for an offence at a manorial court. The jurors presented the offender, the steward declared him to be 'in mercy' of the court, and the amount of the amercement was then decided.

Bretache: Wooden tower or wooden defences usually associated with earth and timber castle.

Crosslands: Land in Ireland in the possession of monasteries and churches or of prelates. These lands were subject to intervention by the county sheriff in guarding the crown's right, even if within a liberty or franchise.

Escheator: The royal official responsible for lands that came into the king's hands on a temporary basis, by reason of forfeiture, wardship or a vacancy in a bishopric.

Extent: An extent is a detailed survey and valuation of an estate, which records the name of tenants, the size and nature of their holdings and the form of their tenure.

Feodary: A feodary is a survey of the obligations of tenants of the crown.

Frankalmoign: A tenure of title in lands given to people who devoted themselves to the service of God, usually on condition that they pray for the soul of the donor and his heirs.

Impropriate: Annex an ecclesiastical benefice to a corporation or person as property.

Marchland: These were areas that lay between the 'land of peace' those areas controlled by the Anglo-Normans and the 'land of war' areas under Gaelic-Irish control. These areas are generally held to have highly militarised areas where defence was the primary concern.

Palatinate: A border region where the demands of security dictated that the local rulers should have special powers, particularly to raise troops and to administer justice to all levels.

Purparty: A portion or share of an estate allotted to a coparcener.

Quit-claim: A quit-claim is a document which officially renounces all claim on specified lands.

Rural deanery: an ecclesiastical administrative division comprising a group of parishes under the supervision of the rural dean or archpriest

Sub-infeudate: This term is used to refer to the process whereby land was divided up among arriving Anglo-Normans. It is does not imply that the model of feudalism envisaged in relation to feudal France by Duby and others operated in Ireland.

Placenames in Obercon Deanery identified from six taxations of the Diocese of Ossory (*Red Bk of Ossory*, 162,176, 178, 180, 186, 188).

Modern Placename	**No 3**	**No 19**	**No 20**	**No 21**	**No 36**	**No 41**
Thomastown	Thomastown	Thomastoun	Thomastoun	Thomastoun	Villa Thome	Thomastoun
Inistioge	Styok	Instyok	Instyok	Prior of Instyok	Inystyok	Instyog
Kilcoan	Cowan	Kilcoan			Kylcoan	
Rosbercon	Bryd Barcoun	Rosbergoun		Rosbagoun,	Rosbargoun	Rosbargoun
Ballymagurrim	Gorme	Ballymagorme		Balymagorme	Balamalgurme	Ballygurym m
Rower	[Rower]	Rowyr	Rowyr	Rowyr	Rowyr	Rowyr
Listerlin	Lesterlyn	Lesterglyn	Lesterglyn	Lesterlyng	Kylestyrglyn	Listerlynn
	Mothan					
Kilmackevog	Hauok	Kilmahauok		Kylehauoc	Kilmehawoke	Kilmokeuog
Kilcolumb	Colme	Colmekyll Chapel	Colmekille		Kylcolmkylle	Kylcolm
		Fossith chapel			Fosyt	
Kilbride		Ballyfassath	Balyfassath	Balyfassagh	Bafasaht	
		Kilcolyn	Kylcolme	Kilcolm	Kylcolmdery g,	Kylcolm
Dysertmoon		Trystelmokan		Tristelmohan	Tristelmochan	Tirstelmoaynn
Shanbogh		Shenboth		Sheneboth	Schenbohv	Seanbogh
Clonamery		Clon				Clonymry
Rathpatrick		Droundonnenni	Dromdowny		Drumdowny	
		Dysert		Dysert	Dysert	Disert
				Tainewyrghlan		
					Kyltahan	
					Balyduf	
					Lyssyntan	
						Kilbryd

Placenames in Overk Deanery identified from six taxations of the Diocese of Ossory (*Red Bk of Ossory*, 162-163, 176, 178, 181, 187, 188).

Modern Placename	**No 3**	**No 19**	**No 20**	**No 21**	**No 36**	**No 41**
Rathpatrick	Rathpatrik			Rathpatrik		Rathpadryg
Dunkitt	Donkytt	Dunkyth	Dunkyt	Dunkyt	Dunkette	Downket
Kilculliheen	Kylkylleghyne	Kilkilhyn	Kilkylehyn	Kilkylehan	Kylkylkych	Kylklynn
	Kyltakane			Kiltakan		Kyltokechann
	Tybryt			Tybrit		
Ballytarsney	Ballytartyn	Balytarsyn	Ballytarsyn	Balytarsyn	Balytarsne	Ballitarsne
Kilmacow	Kylmaboygh	Kilmaboy	Kilmaboy	Kilmaboy		
	Kylbecok			Kilbecok	Kylbecok	Kylebecog
	Kylkned					
	Kyllagh			Killagh		Kyllagh
Muckalee	Maculi	Macully	Macully		Macully	Macully
Ullid	Illyd	Illyd	Iuylhaght		Yllyd	Illad
Portnascully	Portscholl	Polnescoly Chapel	Polnescoly	Polscoul	Polscoly	Polsculie
Rathkieran	Rakeyran	Rathkeran		Rathkeran		Rathkyerann
Pollrone	Polrothan	Pollerothan		Polrothan	Polrothan	Polrothann
	Balmartyn			Balymartyn		Ballymartynn
Owning	Beawley	Beaullu	Beaulu		Beaulu	Bevle
Fiddown	Fydone	Fydon	Fydoun	Fydoun	Fydun	Fydownn
Templeorum	Fothram					
	Kylmethall					
Castletown	Cassellan	Castlan	Castlan	Castlan	Casstlan	Caselan
Clonmore	Clonmor	Clonmore		Clonmor	Clonmor	Cloynmor
		Euilhauth				
		Typerauth		Typeraght		
		Clonamill	Clonymyl			

		Typeryd			Tyberaht	
		Karcoman	Carcoman			
Rossinan				Rosshenan	Rossenan	Rossenan
				Ballyheth		
						Lymmaboey
Whitechurch						Ecclesia Alba
						Ballyee
					Killahyht	

Abbreviations

AB = de hÓir, É. (ed.) 1970. "Annala as Breifne". *Breifne,* IV(13):59-86.

AC = Bambury, P. (ed.) 2001. *The Annals of Connacht.* Cork: CELT. http://www.ucc.ie/celt/published/T100011/index.html.

ACL = Murphy, D. (ed.) 1993. *The Annals of Clonmacnoise*, Felinfach: Llanerch.

AFM = Ryan, E. (ed.) 2002. *Annals of the Four Masters*. Cork: CELT. http://www.ucc.ie/celt/published/T100005A/index.html.

ALC = Färber, B. et al. (eds), 2002. *Annals of Loch Cé*. Cork: CELT. http://www.ucc.ie/celt/published/T100010B/index.html.

ASI = Archaeological Survey of Ireland

AT = Stokes, W. 1897. (ed.) "The Annals of Tighernach". *Revue Celtique* 18, 9-95, 150-197, 267-303.

AU = Bambury, P. and Beechinor, S. (eds) 2003. *Annala Uladh: Annals of Ulster otherwise Annala Senait, Annals of Senat*. Cork: CELT. http://www.ucc.ie/celt/published/T100001B/index.html.

C.D.I. = Sweetman, H. S. (ed.) 1875-86. *Calendar of documents relating to Ireland, preserved in Her Majesty's Record Office, London,* (5 Vols). London: Public Records Office.

Cal. justic. rolls Ire. = Mills, J. et al. (ed.) 1905-56. *Calendar of Justiciary Rolls of Ireland*, (3 Vols). Dublin: H.M.S.O.

Cal. Papal Reg. = 1893-1998. *Calendar of Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, (20 Vols). London and Dublin: H.M.S.O. and Stationery Office.

Cal. Pat. Rolls = 1891-1916 *Calendar of Patent Rolls preserved in the Public Records Office (1232-1509)*, (52 Vols). London: HMSO.

Chart. Duiske Abbey = Butler, C. M. and Bernard, J. H. (eds) 1918-20. "The charters of the Cistercian Abbey of Duiske on the county of Kilkenny". *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy,* 35C:1-188.

Chart. St. Mary's = Gilbert, J. T. (ed.) 1884. *Chartularies of St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin.* London: Longman.

Clyn's annals = Williams, B. (ed.) 2007. *The annals of Ireland by Friar John Clyn.* Dublin: Four Courts Press.

Expug. Hib. = Scott, A. B. and Martin, F. X. (eds) 1978. *Expugnatio Hibernica: the conquest of Ireland by Giraldus Cambrensis*. Dublin: Royal Irish Academy.

Fiants = 1994. *The Irish fiants of the Tudor sovereigns during the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, Philip & Mary, and Elizabeth I / with a new introduction by Kenneth Nicholls ; and preface by Tomás Ó Canann.* Dublin: Éamonn de Búrca for Edmund Burke.

Gormanston Register = Mills, J. and McEnery, M. J. (eds) 1916. *Calendar of the Gormanston register, from the original in the possession of the Right Honourable the Viscount of Gormanston.* Dublin : Printed at the University Press, for the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland

Inq. in officio rot. canc. hib. = 1826-9. *Inquisitionum in Officio Rotulorum Cancellariae Hiberniae Asservatum Repertorum*, (2 Vols). Dublin: Grierson and Keene.

Irish Exch. = Connolly, P. (ed.) 1998. *Irish Exchequer payments 1270-1446*. Dublin: Irish Manuscripts Commission.

Irish Pipe Roll = Davies, O. and Quinn, D. B. (eds) 1941. "The Irish pipe roll of 14 John 1211-12". *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* 4 (New series, supplement):37-41.

Lambeth MS 614:141 = 1599. "Lambeth MS 614:141". *Elizabethan Ireland and the settlement of Ulster: the Carew papers at Lambeth Palace Library*. London: World Microfilms.

Misc. Ir. Annals = Farber, B. and Bambury, P. (eds) 2000. *Miscellanous Irish Annals (MacCarthaigh's Book).* Cork: CELT.
http://www.ucc.ie/celt/published/T100013/index.html.

NMI = National Museum of Ireland

Ormond Deeds = Curtis, E. (ed.) 1881-1943. *Calendar of Ormond Deeds*, (6 Vols). Dublin: Stationery Office.

Patent Rolls, Jac. I = Griffith, M. C. (ed.) 1966. *Irish Patent Rolls of James I.* Dublin: Stationery Office for the Irish Manuscripts Commission.

Red Bk of Ossory = Lawlor, H. J. 1908. (ed) "Calendar of the Liber Ruber of Ossory". *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy,* 27C:159-208.

Red Bk. of Ormond = White, N. B. (ed.) 1932. *The Red Book of Ormond.* Dublin: Stationery Office.

Rot. Pat. Hib. = Tresham, E. (ed.) 1828. *Rotulorum patentium et clausorum cancellariae hiberniae calendarum*. Dublin: His Majesty's Printer

REPS = Rural Environmental Protection Scheme

RMP = Record of Monuments and Places

SMR = Sites and Monuments Record

Bibliography

Andrews, J.H. 1974a. *History in the Ordnance Map: an introduction for Irish readers*. Dublin: Ordnance Survey of Ireland.

Andrews, J.H. 1974b. "The maps of the escheated counties of Ulster, 1609-10". *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy,* 74C:133-170.

Andrews, J.H. 1985. *Plantation Acres: An historical study of the Irish land surveyor and his maps*. Belfast: Ulster Historical Foundation.

Andrews, J.H. 1997. *Shapes of Ireland: Maps and their makers 1564-1839*. Dublin: Geography Publications.

Anon. 1599. "Lambeth MS 614:141". In *Elizabethan Ireland and the settlement of Ulster: the Carew papers at Lambeth Palace Library*. London: World Microfilms.

Anon. 1849-51. "Miscellaneous Antiquities". *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 1:382-389.

Anon. 1864. "Proceedings, July Meeting". *Journal of the Kilkenny and South-East of Ireland Archaeological Society* 5(1):109-139.

Arbuthnot, E. Forthcoming. *The ringwork castles of medieval Leinster and Meath.* Unpublished PhD thesis, Trinity College Dublin.

Archdall, M. 1873. *Monasticon Hibernicum: or a history of the abbeys, priories and other religious houses in Ireland*. Dublin: W.B. Kelly.

Astill, G. and Davies, W. 1997. *A Breton Landscape*. London: UCL Press.

Aston, M. 2000. Monasteries in the landscape. Stroud: Tempus.

Austin, D. 1990. "The 'proper study' of medieval archaeology". In D. Austin and L. Alcock (eds), *From the Baltic to the Black Sea: studies in medieval archaeology,* 9-42. London: Unwin Hyman.

Baker, C. 2009. "Tullykane, Co. Meath: a medieval rural settlement." In C. Corlett and M. Potterton (eds), *Rural settlement in medieval Ireland in the light of recent archaeological excavations*. 1-11. Dublin: Wordwell.

Barker, G. 1991. "Introduction: methods and problems". In G. Barker and J. Lloyd (eds), *Roman landscapes: archaeological survey in the Mediterranean region*. 1-9. London: British School at Rome.

Barker, K. and Darvill, T. 1997. "Introduction: Landscape old and new". In K. Barker and T. Darvill (eds), *Making English landscapes*. 1-8. Oxford: Oxbow

Barrett, G.F. and Graham, B.J. 1975. "Some considerations concerning the dating and distribution of ringforts in Ireland". *Ulster Journal of Archaeology,* 38:33-45.

Barry, T.B. 1977. *The medieval moated sites of south-eastern Ireland: counties Carlow, Kilkenny, Tipperary and Wexford.* Oxford: British Archaeological Reports. 35.

Barry, T.B. 1988a. "Medieval moated sites in Ireland; some new conclusions on their chronology and function". In G. MacNiocaill and P.F. Wallace (eds), *Kiemelia: studies in medieval history and archaeology in memory of Tom Delaney*, 525-535. Galway: Galway University Press.

Barry, T.B. 1988b. "The people of the country .....dwell scattered." In J. Bradley (ed.), *Settlement and society in medieval Ireland.* 345-357. Kilkenny: Boethius.

Barry, T.B. 1981. "The shifting frontier: Medieval moated sites in counties Cork and Limerick". In F.A. Aberg and A.E. Brown (eds), *Medieval Moated Sites in North-West Europe*. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports International Series: 121.

Barry, T.B. 1995. "The last Frontier: Defence and settlement in Late Medieval Ireland". In T.B. Barry, R. Frame and K. Simms (eds), *Colony and frontier in medieval Ireland: Essays presented to J.F. Lydon*. London: The Hambledon Press.

Barry, T.B. 1996. "Rural settlement in Ireland in the Middle Ages; an overview". In J. Fridrich (ed.), *Ruralia I*, 134-141. Prague: Institute of Archaeology.

Barry, T.B. 2003. "The defensive nature of Irish moated sites". In J.R. Kenyon and K. O'Conor (eds), *The medieval castle in Ireland and Wales: Essays in honour of Jeremy Knight*, 182-193. Dublin: Four Courts Press.

Barry, T.B. 2003. *The archaeology of medieval Ireland.* 5th Edition. London: Routledge.

Barry, T.B. 2008. "The study of medieval Irish castles: a bibliographic survey". *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, 108C:115-136.

Barry, T.B. 2009. "Foreword." In C. Corlett and M. Potterton (eds), *Rural settlement in medieval Ireland in the light of recent archaeological excavations*, viii-x. Dublin: Wordwell.

Bermingham, H. 2006. "Priests' residences in later medieval Ireland". In E. FitzPatrick and R. Gillespie (eds), *The parish in medieval and early modern Ireland.* Dublin: Four Courts Press.

Boyle, J.W. 2004. "Lest the lowliest be forgotten: Locating the impoverished in Early Medieval Ireland". *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 8(2):85-99.

Bradley, J. and N. Dunne. 1989. *Urban archaeological survey, part xxvi, County Cavan.* Dublin: Unpublished report presented to the Office of Public Works.

Bradley, J. et al., 1989. *Urban Archaeological Survey - County Longford.* Dublin: Unpublished report presented to the Office of Public Works.

Bradley, J. 1990a. "The early development of the medieval town of Kilkenny". In W. Nolan and K. Whelan (eds), *Kilkenny: history and society*. Dublin: Geography Publications.

Bradley, J. 1990b. *Urban Archaeological Survey - County Wexford*. Dublin: Unpublished report presented to the Office of Public Works.

Brady, C. 1985. "The O'Reilly's of East Breifne and the problem of 'Surrender and Regrant'". *Breifne* VI(23):233-262.

Brady, N. (ed.) 2005. *Discovery Programme Reports 6: North Roscommon in the later Medieval Period: an introduction*. Dublin: Royal Irish Academy.

Brady, N. and O'Conor, K. D. 2003. "The later medieval usage of Crannogs in Ireland." *Ruralia* V, 127-136.

Burenhult, G. 1984. *The archaeology of Carrowmore: Thesis and Papers in North-European archaeology*. Stockholm: Stockholms Universitet.

Burke, W.P. 1902. "The nunnery of Kilculliheen". *Journal of the Waterford and South East of Ireland archaeological society* 8(31): 9-17.

Burtchaell, G. 1893. "The Geraldines of the county Kilkenny. Part II - The Barons of Overk, and the Barons of Knocktopher". *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland,* 23:179-186.

Byrne, N.J. ed. 2007. *The Great Parchment Book of Waterford: Liber Antiquissimus Civitatis Waterfordiae*. Dublin: Irish Manuscripts Commission.

Cairns, C. 1984. The tower houses of county Tipperary. Unpublished PhD thesis, Trinity College Dublin.

Carney, J. 1959. *A genealogical history of the O'Reillys by Eóghan O'Raghallaigh*. Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies.

Carrigan, W. 2005. *The History and Antiquities of the Diocese of Ossory* (4 Vols), Revised edition with a biographical essay by Fearghus Ó Fearghail Edition. Dublin: Archive CD Books Ireland Ltd.

Champion, T. 1990. "Medieval archaeology and the tyranny of the historical record". In D. Austin and L. Alcock (eds), *From the Baltic to the Black Sea: studies in medieval archaeology*, 79-95. London: Unwin Hyman.

Chapman, H. 2006. *Landscape archaeology and GIS*. Gloucestershire (Stroud): Tempus.

Clancy, P. 2001. *A landscape study of the prehistoric monuments on the Curragh*. Unpublished MA thesis, National University of Ireland, Galway.

Clinton, M. 2001. *The souterrains of Ireland*. Bray: Wordwell.

Cody, E. 2007. "A brief look at aspects of ringfort morphology and distribution". In C. Manning (ed.), *From ringforts to fortified houses: studies on castles and other monuments in honour of David Sweetman*, 1-8. Bray: Wordwell.

Collins, T. and Cummins, A. 2001. *Excavation of a medieval ringwork at Ballysimon, county Limerick*. Limerick: Aegis Archaeology Ltd. Aegis Archaeology Reports

Connolly, P. 2002. *Medieval record sources*. Dublin: Four Court Press.

Cooney, G. 2000. *Landscapes of the Neolithic*. London: Routledge.

Corlett, C. and Potterton, M. (eds) 2009. *Rural settlement in medieval Ireland in the light of recent archaeological excavations*. Bray: Wordwell. Research papers in Irish Archaeology, no. 1.

Costello, M.A. (ed.) 1909. *De Annatis Hiberniae: a calendar of the first fruits levied on papal appointments to the benefices of Ireland AD 1400 to 1535. Vol I: Ulster*, Dundalk: W. Tempest.

Cotter, E. 1994. *The tower-houses of North Cork*. Unpublished MA thesis, University College Cork.

Cowman, D. 1982. "The parish of Rathpatrick in the nineteenth century". *Decies: Journal of the Waterford Archaeological and Historical Society* 19:4-17.

Creighton, O. 2002. *Castles and landscapes: power, community and fortification in Medieval England*. London: Equinox Publishing Ltd.

Creighton, O. 2009. *Designs upon the land: elite landscapes of the middle ages*. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press. Garden and landscape history.

Crooks, P. 2005. "A nation in medieval Ireland? Perspectives on Gaelic national identity on the Middle Ages by Thomas Finan". *History Ireland* 13(1):60-61.

Cunningham, B. 1995. "The Anglicisation of east Breifne: the O'Reilly's and the emergence of county Cavan". In R. Gillespie (ed.), *Cavan: essays on the history of an Irish county*, 51-73. Dublin: Irish Academic Press.

Darvill, T. 1997. "Landscapes and the archaeologist." In K. Barker and T. Darvill (eds), *Making English landscapes*, 70-91. Oxford: Oxbow Books.

Davies, O. 1942. "Contributions to the study of crannógs in south Ulster". *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, 5:14-30.

Davies, O. 1947a. "The castles of county Cavan: part 1". *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, 10:73-100.

Davies, O. 1947b. "Types of rath in Southern Ulster". *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, 10:1-14.

Davies, O. 1948a. "The castles of county Cavan: part 2". *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, 11:81-126.

Davies, O. 1948b. "The churches of county Cavan". *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland,* 78:73-118.

Davison, B.K. 1961-2. "Excavations at Ballynarry Rath, Co. Down". *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, 24-25:39-87.

Davison, B.K. 1967. "The origins of the castle in England: the Institute's research project". *Archaeological Journal,* 124:202-211.

Deevy, M.B. 1998. *Medieval ring brooches in Ireland; a study of jewellery, dress and society*. Bray: Wordwell.

Doherty, G.M. 2004. *The Ordnance Survey: History, culture and memory*. Dublin: Four Courts Press

Doran, L. 2004. "Medieval communication routes through Longford and Roscommon and their associated settlements". *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, 104C(3):57-80.

Doran, L. 2008a. "Medieval settlement hierarchy in Carlow and the 'Carlow Corridor' 1200-1550". In Thomas McGrath (ed.), *Carlow: history and society*, 173-212. Dublin: Geography Publications

Doran, L. 2008b. *New Ross, c.1200 to c.1900: seven hundred years in the making.* Dublin: Royal Irish Academy.

Driscoll, S. 1984. "The new medieval archaeology: theory vs history". *Scottish Archaeological Review* 3:104-109.

Dryburgh, P. and Smith, B. (eds) 2007. *Inquisitions and extents of medieval Ireland.* Kew, Surrey: List and Index Society.

Duffy, P.J. 1982/3. "The nature of the medieval frontier in Ireland". *Studia Hibernica,* 22-23:21-38.

Duffy, P.J. 1995. "Perspectives on the making of the Cavan landscape". In R. Gillespie (ed.), *Cavan: essays on the history of an Irish county*, 14-37. Dublin: Irish Academic Press.

Duffy, P.J. et al. (eds) 2001. *Gaelic Ireland c.1250 - c.1650: Land, lordship and settlement*. Dublin: Four Courts Press.

Duffy, P.J. 2006. "The shape of the parish". In E. FitzPatrick and R. Gillespie (eds), *The parish in medieval and early modern Ireland: Community, territory and building*, 33-61. Dublin: Four Courts Press.

Duffy, S. 1997. "The problem of degeneracy". In James Lydon (ed.), *Law and disorder in thirteenth century Ireland: The Dublin parliament of 1297*, 87-106. Dublin: Fourt Courts Press.

Edwards, D. 2000. *The Ormond lordship in County Kilkenny, 1515-1642: the rise and fall of Butler feudal power*. Dublin: Four Courts Press.

Edwards, K.J. et al. 1983. "The medieval settlement of Newcastle Lyons, county Dublin: an interdisciplinary approach". *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy,* 83C: 351-376.

Edwards, N. 1999. *The archaeology of early medieval Ireland*. 3rd Edition. London: Routledge.

Ellis, S. 1986. "Nationalist historiography and the English and Gaelic worlds in the late middle ages". *Irish Historical Studies* 25(97): 1-18.

Ellis, S. 1991. "Historiographical debate: Representations of the past in Ireland: whose past and whose present?". *Irish Historical Studies,* 27(108):289-308.

Empey, C.A. 1970. *The Butler Lordship in Ireland 1185-1515*. Unpublished PhD thesis, Trinity College Dublin.

Empey, C.A. 1971. "The cantreds of the medieval county of Kilkenny". *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland,* 101:128-134.

Empey, C.A. 1980. "County Waterford in the thirteenth century: parts III and IV". *Decies* 13:7-16.

Empey, C.A. 1982. "Medieval Knocktopher: a study in manorial settlement. Part 1". *Old Kilkenny Review*, 4:329-342.

Empey, C.A. 1983. "Medieval Knocktopher: a study in manorial settlement. Part 2". *Old Kilkenny Review*, 2(5):441-452.

Empey, C.A. 1990. "County Kilkenny in the Anglo-Norman period". In W. Nolan and K. Whelan (eds), *Kilkenny: History and society*, 75-96. Dublin: Geography Publications Ltd.

Empey, C.A. 1997. "Inistioge in the Middle Ages". In J. Kirwan (ed.), *Kilkenny: Studies in honour of Margaret M. Phelan*, 9-15. Kilkenny: Kilkenny Archaeological Society.

English, B. 1995. "Towns, mottes and ring-works of the conquest". In A. Ayton and J.L. Price (eds), *The medieval military revolution: state society and military change in medieval and early modern Europe*, 45-61. London: Tauris Academic Studies.

Eogan, J. 2009. "A betagh settlement at Attyflin, county Limerick". In C. Corlett and M. Potterton (eds), *Rural settlement in medieval Ireland in the light of recent archaeological excavations*,. 67-77. Dublin: Wordwell, Research papers in Irish Archaeology, no. 1.

Evans, E.E. 1992. *The personality of Ireland: habitat, heritage and history*. Dublin: Lilliput Press.

Fallon, D. 2009. "Continuity: the archaeological and documentary evidence for medieval to modern rural settlement and landholding in the townland in Baltrasna, Ratoath, Co. Meath". In C. Corlett and M. Potterton (eds), *Rural settlement in medieval Ireland in the light of recent archaeological excavations*, 79-90. Dublin: Wordwell, Research papers in Irish Archaeology, no. 1.

Finan, T. 2004. *A nation in medieval Ireland? Perspectives on Gaelic national identity in the middle ages*. Oxford: Archaeopress.

Finan, T. and O'Conor, K. 2002. "The moated site at Cloonfree, Co. Roscommon". *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society*, 54: 72-86.

FitzPatrick, E. 2009. "Native Enclosed settlement and the problem of the Irish 'ring-fort'". *Medieval Archaeology*, 53:271-307.

Fitzsimmons, F. 2001. "Fosterage and gossiprid in late medeival Ireland: some new evidence". In P.J. Duffy et al (eds), *Gaelic Ireland c.1250-c.1650: Land, lordship and settlement*, 138-152. Dublin: Four Courts Press.

Flanagan, M.T. 1993. "Anglo-Norman change and continuity: the castle of Telach Cail in Delbna". *Irish Historical Studies*, xxvii(112):385-389.

Fleming, J.S. 1910. "Annaghs Castle". *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland,* 40:346-348.

Fleure, H.J. 1918. *Human geography in western Europe: a study in appreciation.* London: Williams and Norgate.

Flynn, T.S. 1981. *The Dominicans of Rosbercon (1267-c.1800).* Kilkenny: Wellbrook Press.

Forrester, H. 1972. *Medieval gothic mouldings: a guide*. London and Chichester: Phillimore.

Frame, R. 1982. *English lordship in Ireland 1318-1361*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Frame, R. 1984. "War and peace in the medieval lordship of Ireland". In J. Lydon (ed.), *The English in medieval Ireland*, 118-141. Dublin: Royal Irish Academy.

Frame, R. 1990. *The political development of the British Isles 1100-1400*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Frame, R. 1993. "'Les Engleys Nées en Irelande'; The English Political Identity in Medieval Ireland". *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*. Sixth series 3:83-103.

Frame, R. 1998. "Military service in the lordship of Ireland 1290 -1360: Institutions and society on the Anglo-Gaelic frontier". In R. Frame (ed.), *Ireland and Britain 1170-1450*. London: The Hambledon Press.

Frame, R. 2004. "Identity of the medieval Irish frontier: Degenerate Englishmen, Wild Irishmen, Middle Nations by James Muldoon". *English Historical Review*, 119:1029-1030.

Fredengren, C. 2002. *Crannógs*. Bray: Wordwell.

Galloway, P. 2006. "Material culture and text: Exploring the spaces within and between". In M. Hall and S.W. Silliman (eds), *Historical Archaeology*, 43-64. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

Gardiner, M.J. and Radford, T. 1980. *Soil associations of Ireland and their land use potential; explanatory bulletin to soil map of Ireland 1980*. Dublin: An Foras Talúntais.

Gerrard, C. 2003. *Medieval archaeology: Understanding traditions and contemporary approaches*. London: Routledge.

Gillingham, J. 2007. "Normanising the English invaders of Ireland". In H. Pryce and J. Watts (eds), *Power and identity in the Middle Ages: Essays in memory of Rees Davies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Glasscock, R.E. 1970. "Moated sites and deserted boroughs and villages; two neglected aspects of Anglo-Norman settlement in Ireland". In N. Stephens and R.E. Glasscock (eds), *Irish Geographical Studies*, 162-177. Belfast: Department of Geography, The Queen's University of Belfast.

Glasscock, R.E. 1971. "The study of deserted medieval settlements in Ireland (to 1968)". In M. Beresford and J.G. Hurst (eds), *Deserted medieval villages: studies*, 279-301. Cambridge: Lutterworth.

Glasscock, R.E. 1987. "Land and people, c.1300". In A. Cosgrave (ed.), *A new history of Ireland, volume II, 1169-1534*, 205-239. Oxford: The Clarendon Press 2.

Gosden, C. 1994. *Social being and time*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Grace, S. 1823. *Memoirs of the family of Grace*. London: Weed and Rider.

Graham, B.J. 1975. "Anglo-Norman settlement in county Meath". *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, 75C:223-248.

Graham, B.J. 1980a. *Medieval Irish settlement*. Norwich: Geo Abstracts.

Graham, B.J. 1980b. "The mottes of the liberty of Meath". In H. Murtagh (ed.), *Irish Midland Studies*, Athlone: The Old Athlone Society.

Graham, B.J. 1985. "Anglo-Norman manorial settlement in Ireland: an assessment". *Irish Geography,* 18:4-15.

Graham, B.J. 1988. "Medieval settlement in county Roscommon". *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, 88C:19-38.

Graham, B.J. 1993. "The high middle ages c.1100 - c.1350". In B.J. Graham and L.J. Proudfoot (eds), *An historical geography of Ireland*, 58-98. London: Academic Press.

Gwynn, A. and Hadcock, R.N. 1988. *Medieval religious houses in Ireland.* 2nd Edition. Dublin: Longman.

Hall, D. 2003. *Women and the church in medieval Ireland, c. 1140-1540.* Dublin: Four Courts Press.

Hall, M. and Silliman, S.W. 2006. "Introduction: Archaeology of the modern world". In M. Hall and S.W. Silliman (eds), *Historical Archaeology*, 1-19. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

Hanks, D. and Hodges, F. 1988. *A dictionary of surnames*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Harbison, P. ed. 1991. *A collection of drawings of the principal antique buildings of Ireland / designed on the spot & collected by Gabriel Beranger*. Dublin: Royal Irish Academy.

Harbison, P. 1992. *Guide to national and historic monuments of Ireland.* 3rd Edition. Dublin: Gill and Macmillan.

Harkness, D. and O'Dowd, M. 1981. *The town in Ireland.* Belfast: Appletree Press, Historical Studies.

Hazzard, B. 2007. *Remonstrance of the Irish chiefs*. Cork: CELT. http://www.ucc.ie/celt/published/T310000-001.html.

Herity, M. (ed.) 2003. *Ordnance Survey Letters Kilkenny*. Dublin: Four Courts Press.

Hicks, D. and Beaudry, M.C. 2006. "Introduction: the place of historical archaeology". In D. Hicks and M.C. Beaudry (eds), *The Cambridge companion to historical archaeology*, 1-9. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Higham, R. and Barker, P. 2006. *Timber Castles*. 2nd Edition. Exeter: University of Exeter Press.

Hill, G. 1970. *An historical account of the Plantation of Ulster at the commencement of the seventeenth century, 1608-1620.* Facsimilie of the original edition. Shannon: Irish University Press.

Holland, P. 1996. "The Anglo-Normans and their castles in county Galway". In G. Moran and R. Gillespie (eds), *Galway:History and society*, 1-26. Dublin: Geography Publications Ltd.

Horning, A.J. 2004. "Archaeological explorations of cultural identity and rural economy in the North of Ireland: Goodland, County Antrim". *International Journal of Historical Archaeology,* 8(3):199-215.

Horning, A.J. 2006a. "Archaeology, conflict and contemporary identity in the north of Ireland. Implications for theory and practice in comparative archaeologies of colonialism". *Archaeological Dialogues*, 13(2):183-200.

Horning, A.J. 2006b. "Focus found. New directions for Irish historical archaeology". *Archaeological Dialogues,* 13(2):211-219.

Johnson, M.H. 2002. *Behind the castle gate: from medieval to renaissance*. London: Routledge.

Johnson, M.H. 2005. "On the particularism of English landscape archaeology". *International Journal of Historical Archaeology*, 9(2):111-122.

Jope, E.M. 1972. "Models in medieval studies". *Models in archaeology*, 1972:963-990.

Joyce, P.W. 1995. *The origin and history of Irish names of places*. Facsimile Edition. Dublin: Éamonn de Búrca for Edmund Burke.

Kerr, T.R. 2007. *Early Christian Settlement in North-West Ulster*. Oxford: Archaeopress. British Archaeology Reports, British Series, 430.

Kerr, T.R. 2010. "The height of fashion: raised raths in the landscape of north-west Ulster". *Irish Journal of Archaeology* 18 (2009):63-75.

Leask, H.G. 1941. *Irish castles and castellated houses.* Dundalk: Dundalgan Press.

Leask, H.G. 1966. *Irish churches and monastic buildings*, vol. II. Dundalk: Dundalgan Press.

Loeber, R. 2001. "An architectural history of Gaelic castles and settlements 1370-1660". In P.J. Duffy et al (eds.), *Gaelic Ireland: land, lordship and settlement c.1250 - c.1650*, 271-314. Dublin: Four Courts Press.

Logan, P. 1970. "Medieval Hospital System in Breifne". *Breifne,* 1(13):52-58.

Lydon, J. 1984. "The middle nation". In J. Lydon (ed.), *The English in medieval Ireland*, 1-26. Dublin: Royal Irish Academy.

Lydon, J. 1995. "Nation and race in medieval Ireland". In S. Forde, L. Johnson and A.V. Murray (eds), *Concepts of national identity in the Middle Ages*, 103-124. Leeds: University of Leeds.

Lydon, J. 2008. "The problem of the frontier in medieval Ireland." In P. Crooks (ed.), *Government, war and society in medieval Ireland.* 317-331. Dublin: Four Courts Press.

Lynn, C.J. 1975. "The dating of raths: an orthodox view". *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, 38:45-47.

Lynn, C.J. 1981-2. "The excavation of Rathmullan, a raised rath and motte in county Down". *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, 44 & 45:65-171.

Lynn, C.J. 1989. "Deer Park Farms". *Current Archaeology*, 113:193-198.

Lyttleton, J. and O'Keeffe, T. (eds). 2004. T*he manor in medieval and early modern Ireland.* Dublin: Four Courts Press.

Mac an Ghallóglaigh, D. 1988. "Breifne and its Chieftains 940-1300: Part 1". *Breifne*, VII(26):523-555.

MacCotter, P. 2008. *Medieval Ireland: territorial, political and economic divisions.* Dublin: Four Courts Press.

MacLysaght, E. 1991. *Irish families; their names, arms and origins*. Fourth Edition. Dublin: Irish Academic Press.

MacLysaght, E. 1997. *The surnames of Ireland.* Dublin: Irish Academic Press.

MacNiocaill, G. 1964. *Na Buirgéisí: XII-XV Aois: I.* Dublin: Cló Morainn.

MacNiocaill, G. 1975. *The medieval Irish annals*. Dublin: Dublin Historical Association.

MacNiocaill, G. 1990. "The Irish Charters". In P. Fox (ed.), *The Book of Kells MS58 TCD: Commentary*, 153-166. Zurich: Faksimile Verlag Luzern.

Maher, J. 1934. "Francis Place in Drogheda, Kilkenny and Waterford etc". *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 64:41-53.

Manning, C. 1989-90. "Clough Oughter Castle". *Breifne* 8:20-61.

Manning, C. 1997. "Delusions of grandeur: the pictorial forgeries of Sheffield Grace". In J. Kirwan (ed.), *Kilkenny: Studies in honour of Margaret M. Phelan,* 112-128. Kilkenny: The Kilkenny Archaeological Society.

Manning, C. 1999. "The 1653 survey of the lands granted to the countess of Ormond in Co. Kilkenny". *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries in Ireland*, 129:40-66.

Manning, C. Forthcoming. "Some examples of a rare medieval roof-system in Ireland". In J. Bradley and B. Murtagh (eds), *Festschrift for David Newman Johnson*. Bray: Wordwell.

Masterson, R. 2003. "The Diocese of Kilmore and the Priory of Fore: 1100-1540". *Breifne*, 39:1-20.

McCarthy, J.K. 2007. *Castles in space: An exploration of the space in and around the tower houses of south-east Kilkenny*. Unpublished MPhil thesis, Queen's University Belfast.

McCarthy, J.K. 2008. "Two castles at Coolhill and Clogaralt in county Kilkenny". *Old Kilkenny Review*, 60:16-33.

McCutcheon, S. 1995. "New Ross". Dublin: Wordwell Ltd. http://www.excavations.ie/Pages/Details.php?Year=&County=Wexford&id=2512

McCutcheon, S. 1998. *Stratigraphic report: Archaeological report of the New Ross Main Drainage Scheme, County Wexford*. Unpublished report: Archaeological Development Services Ltd for New Ross Urban District Council.

McNeill, T.E. 1980. *Anglo-Norman Ulster*. Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers Ltd.

McNeill, T.E. 1990. "Hibernia Pacata et Castellata". *Chateau Gaillard*, 14:261-275.

McNeill, T.E. 1997. *Castles in Ireland: Feudal power in a Gaelic World*. London: Routledge.

McSparron, C. 2009. "A potted history: medieval Ulster coarse pottery". *Archaeology Ireland*, 23(1):13-15.

Meenan, R. 1985. "Medieval villages of county Westmeath". Unpublished MA thesis: Trinity College Dublin.

Moore, M.J. 1988-9. "The 'Moat' at Castletown Kilberry, Co.Meath". *Ríocht na Midhe* 8:21-29.

Moore, M.J. 1996. *Archaeological inventory of county Wexford*. Dublin: The Stationery Office.

Moore, M.J. 1999. *Archaeological inventory of County Waterford*. Dublin: The Stationery Office.

Moore, P. 1849-51. "Observations on raths". *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 1:22-26.

Moore, P. 1879. "Parochial papers". *Transactions of the Ossory Archaeological Society*, 1874-9:23-40.

Moore, Rev. 1879. "Parochial Papers". *Ossory Archaeological Society*, 1874-9:23-40.

Moreland, J. 2007. *Archaeology and text*. London: Duckworth. Duckworth debates in Archaeology.

Morgan, H. 2007. "Firearms". In S.J. Connolly (ed.), *The Oxford Companion to Irish History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 7th January 2010 <http://www.oxfordreference.com/views/ENTRY.html?subview=Main&entry=t245.e684>.

Morrin, J. 1862. *Calendar of the patent and close rolls of chancery in Ireland from the 18th to the 45th of Queen Elizabeth*. Dublin: A. Thom for H.M.S.O.

Morris, R. 1989. *Churches in the landscape*. London: Phoenix Giant.

Morrisey, J. 2005. "Cultural geographies of the contact zone: Gaels, Galls and overlapping territories in late medieval Ireland". *Social and Cultural Geography,* 6(4):551-566.

Muldoon, J. 2003. *Medieval Irish Frontier: Degenerate Englishmen, Wild Irishmen, Middle Nations.* Florida: University of Florida.

Mullally, E. 2002. *The deeds of the Normans in Ireland: La geste des Engleis en Yrland; A new edition of the chronicle formerly known as the The Song of Dermot and the Earl*. Dublin: Four Courts Press.

Murtagh, B. 2001. "Kilmurry Castle and other related sites in Slieverue parish: in the light of recent investigations". In J. Walsh (ed.), *Sliabh Rua - a history of a people and places*. 59-122. Naas: Leinster Leader.

Myles, F. 2006. "A note on CHAT in Dublin 2005". *Irish Post-Medieval Archaeology Group Newsletter,* 5:12-16.

Neely, W.G. 1989. *Kilkenny: An urban history 1391-1843*. Belfast: The Institute of Irish Studies.

Newman, C. 1997. *Tara: an archaeological survey*. Dublin: Royal Irish Academy.

Nicholls, K. 1976. *Land, law and society in sixteenth-century Ireland: O'Donnell lecture delivered at University College Cork, May 1976*. Cork: National University of Ireland.

Nicholls, K.W. 2003. *Gaelic and Gaelicized Ireland in the Middle Ages*. 2nd Edition. Dublin: Lilliput Press Ltd.

Nicholls, K.W. 1987. "Gaelic Society and economy in the high middle ages". In A. Cosgrave (ed.), *A new history of Ireland, Vol. II: Medieval Ireland 1169-1534*. Oxford: The Clarendon Press.

Nicholls, K.W. 1999. "Worlds apart? The Ellis two-nation theory of late medieval Ireland". *History Ireland,* 7(2):22-26.

Nugent, P. 2006. "The dynamics of parish formation in high medieval and late medieval Clare". In E. FitzPatrick and R. Gillespie (eds), *The parish in medieval and early modern Ireland*. Dublin: Four Courts Press.

Ó Drisceoil, C. 1996. *The archaeology, topography and layout of medieval New Ross, county Wexford*. Unpublished MA thesis, University College Dublin.

Ó Drisceoil, C. 2002. "Recycled ringforts: the evidence from archaeological excavation for the conversion of pre-existing monuments to motte castles in medieval Ireland". *County Louth Archaeological and Historical Journal,* xxv(2):189-201.

Ó Fearghail, F. 2005. "Canon William Carrigan: Staraí Osraí". In W. Carrigan, *The History and Antiquities of the Diocese of Ossory*. Dublin: Archive CD Books Ireland Ltd.

Ó Gallachair, P. 1958. "1622 Survey of Cavan". *Breifne,* 1(1):60-75.

Ó Ríordáin, S.P. 1979. *Antiquities of the Irish countryside*. London, New York: Routledge.

O'Byrne, E. 2005. "Military Service: Gaelic". In S. Duffy (ed.), *Medieval Ireland.* New York and London: Routledge.

O'Connell, P. 1937. *The Diocese of Kilmore: its history and antiquities*. Dublin: Browne and Nolan.

O'Connell, P. 1958. "Early colonisation of Breifne". *Breifne,* 1:3-16.

O'Connell, P. 1962. "The parish and district of Kilbride: Part I". *Ríocht na Midhe*, 2(4):5-16.

O'Connell, P. 1964. "The parish and district of Kilbride: Part III". *Ríocht na Midhe*, 3(2):89-95

O'Connell, P. 1965a. "The Kildrumfertan Epitaphs". *Breifne,* 2(8):455-459.

O'Connell, P. 1965b. "The parish and district of Kilbride: Part IV". *Riocht na Midhe,* 3(3):173-180.

O'Conor, K.D. 1987-91. "The later construction and use of motte and bailey castles in Ireland: New evidence from Leinster". *Journal of the Kildare ArchaeologicalSociety and surrounding districts*, 17: 13-29.

O'Conor, K.D. 1992. "Irish earthwork castles". *Fortress,* 12:3-12.

O'Conor, K.D. 1993. *The earthwork castles of medieval Leinster*. Unpublished DPhil thesis, University of Wales, College of Cardiff.

O'Conor, K.D. 1998. *The archaeology of medieval rural settlement in Ireland.* Dublin: Royal Irish Academy. Discovery Programme Monograph.

O'Conor, K.D. 1999. "Anglo-Norman castles in Co. Laois". In P.G. Lane and W. Nolan (eds), *Laois: History and Society*, 183-211. Dublin: Geography Publications

O'Conor, K.D. 2000. "The ethnicity of Irish moated sites". In J. Fridrich et al (eds), *Ruralia III*, 92-101. Prague: Institute of Archaeology, Prague.

O'Conor, K.D. 2002. "Motte castles in Ireland: Permanent fortresses, residences and manorial centres". *Chateâu Gaillard* 20, 173-182.

O'Conor, K.D. 2008a. *Survey of Bawn moated site, Co. Cavan.* Unpublished report N.U.I, Galway.

O'Conor, K.D. 2008b " Castle studies in Ireland – the way forward". *Château Gaillard,* 23: 329-339.

O'Corráin, D. 1972. *Ireland before the Normans*. Dublin: Gill and Macmillan Ltd.

O'Doherty, R.S. 1982. "Tomb fragments at Rosbercon". *Old Kilkenny Review,* 2(4):380.

O'Donovan, P.F. 1997. *The castles of county Cavan*. Unpublished MLitt thesis, Trinity College Dublin.

O'Donovan, P.F. 1995. *Archaeological Inventory of County Cavan*. Dublin: Stationery Office.

O'Keeffe, T. 1995. "Settlement and frontier in Anglo-Norman Ireland: some reflections". *Group for the study of Irish Historic Settlement Newsletter,* 4:2-3.

O'Keeffe, T. 1996. "Rural settlement and cultural identity in Gaelic Ireland, 1000-1500". In J. Fridich (ed), *Ruralia I,* 134-141. Prague: Institute of Archaeology, Prague.

O'Keeffe, T. 2000a. "Ethnicity and moated settlement in medieval Ireland: a review of current thinking". *Medieval Settlement Research Group Annual Report*, 15:21-25.

O'Keeffe, T. 2000b. *Medieval Ireland: an archaeology*. Gloucestershire: Tempus.

O'Keeffe, T. 2001. "Concepts of 'castle' and the construction of identity in medieval and post-medieval Ireland". *Irish Geography*, 34(1):69-88.

O'Keeffe, T. 2004. *The Gaelic peoples and their archaeological identities, A.D. 1000-1650.* Cambridge: Department of Anglo-Saxon, Norse and Celtic, University of Cambridge.

O'Keeffe, T. 2006. "Starting as we mean to go on. Why we need a theoretically informed historical archaeology in Ireland". *Archaeological Dialogues,* 13(2):208-211.

O'Kelly, M.J. 1962. "Beal Boru, Co. Clare". *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society,* 67:1-27.

O'Kelly, O. 1969. *Kilkenny: A history of the county. Kilkenny*: Kilkenny Archaeological Society.

Orpen, G.H. 1907. "Motes and Norman Castles in Ireland". *English Historical Review,* 22(86):228-254.

Orpen, G.H. 1909. "Motes and Norman castles in Ossory". *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland,* 39:311-342.

Orpen, G.H. 1920. *Ireland under the Normans,* (4 Vols). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Orpen, G.H. ed. 1994. *The song of Dermot and the Earl: an old French poem from the Carew manuscript no. 596 in the Archiepiscopal library at Lambeth Palace.* Felinfach: Llanerch Publishers.

Orser, C.E. 1996. "Introduction: Images of the recent past". In C.E. Orser (ed.), *Readings in Historical Archaeology.* Walnut Creek: Altamira Press.

Orser, C.E. 2006. "On finding focus". *Archaeological Dialogues,* 13(2):202-205.

O'Shea, M. 1999. *Parish of Templeorum: a historical miscellany.* Kilkenny: Mary O'Shea.

O'Sullivan, A. 2001. "Crannogs in late medieval Gaelic Ireland c.1350-1650". In P.J. Duffy et al. (eds), *Gaelic Ireland: land, lordship and settlement c.1250-c.1650*, 397-417. Dublin: Four Courts Press.

Otway-Ruthven, A.J. 1993. *A history of medieval Ireland.* 3rd Edition. New York: Barnes and Noble books.

Otway-Ruthven, A.J. 2008. "The character of Norman settlement in Ireland". In P. Crooks (ed.), *Government, war and society in medieval Ireland*, 263-274. Dublin: Four Courts Press.

Painter, S. 1960. "The family and the feudal system in twelfth century England". *Speculum* 35(1):1-16.

Parker, C. 1995a. "The internal frontier: the Irish in County Waterford in the later middle ages". In T.B. Barry, R. Frame and K. Simms (eds), *Colony and frontier in medieval Ireland*, 139-154. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Parker, C. 1995b. "Paterfamilias and Parentela: the le Poer lineage in fourteenth century Waterford". *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 95C:93-117.

Parker, C. 1995c. "Cavan: a medieval border area". In R. Gillespie (ed.), *Cavan: essays on the history of an Irish county,* 37-50. Dublin: Irish Academic Press.

Parker, K. 1991. "The O'Reillys of East Breifne, c.1250 - c.1450". *Breifne* 8(2):155-180.

Perros, H. 1995. "Crossing the Shannon Frontier: Connaught and the Anglo-Normans 1170-1224". In T.B. Barry, R. Frame and K. Simms (eds), *Colony and frontier in medieval Ireland.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Pratt, M.L. 1992. *Imperial Eyes: travel writing and transculturation.* London: Routledge.

Prunty, J. 2004. *Maps and map-making in local history.* Dublin: Four Courts Press.

Quiggin, E.C. 1913. "O'Conor's house at Cloonfree". In E.C. Quiggin (ed.), *Essays and studies presented to William Ridgeway*, 333-352. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Reeves-Smyth, T. and Hammond, F. 1983. *Landscape Archaeology in Ireland.* Oxford: British Archaeological Reports British Series.

Rowley, T. 1978. *Villages in the landscape.* Gloucester: Sutton.

Scott, A.B. and Martin F.X. eds. 1978. *Expugnatio Hibernica: the conquest of Ireland by Giraldus Cambrensis.* Dublin: Royal Irish Academy.

Shanahan, B. 2004. "The manor in east county Wicklow". In J. Lyttleton and T. O'Keeffe (eds), *The manor in medieval and early modern Ireland*, 132-159. Dublin: Four Courts Press.

Shine, L. 2003. "The Cantred of Erley: a case study of manorial organisation". *Old Kilkenny Review*, 55:11-25.

Shine, L. 2004. "The manor of Earlstown, county Kilkenny: an interdisciplinary approach." In J. Lyttleton and T. O'Keeffe (eds), *The manor in medieval and early modern Ireland*, 56-62. Dublin: Four Courts Press.

Simms, A. 1983. "Rural settlement in medieval Ireland: The example of the royal manors of Newcastle Lyons and Esker in south county Dublin". In B.K. Roberts and R.E. Glasscock (eds), *Villages, fields and frontiers*, 133-152. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports International Series.

Simms, K. 1979. "The O'Reillys and the kingdom of East Breifne". *Breifne,* 5:305-319.

Simms, K. 1989. "Bards and barons: the Anglo-Irish aristocracy and the native culture". In R. Bartlett and A. MacKay (eds), *Medieval frontier societies,* 177-198. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Simms, K. 1995. "Frontiers in the Irish church - regional and cultural". In T.B. Barry, R. Frame and K. Simms (eds), *Colony and Frontier in medieval Ireland: Essays presented to J.F. Lydon*, 177-200. London: The Hambledon Press.

Simms, K. 2009. *Medieval Gaelic Sources*. Dublin: Four Courts Press.

Smith, B. 1988. "The concept of the march in medieval Ireland: the case of Uriel". *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy,* 88C:257-269.

Smith, B. 1989. "The medieval border: Anglo-Irish and Gaelic-Irish in late thirteenth and early fourteenth century Uriel." In R. Gillespie and H. O'Sullivan (eds), *The borderlands: essays on the history of the Ulster - Leinster border*, 41-54. Belfast: The Institute of Irish Studies, The Queen's University of Belfast.

St. John Brooks, E. 1950. *Knight's fees in counties Wexford, Carlow and Kilkenny*. Dublin: The Stationery Office.

Stephenson, A. and Ó Maoldúin, R. 2003. *Rathpatrick: Site 10. Fulacht fia, medieval kiln and structures*. Unpublished Report: National Roads Authority.

Stoddart, S. 2000. "Introduction". In S. Stoddart (ed.), *Landscapes from Antiquity*, 1-5. Cambridge: Antiquity Publications

Stout, G. and Stout, M. 1997. "Early landscapes: from prehistory to plantation." In ed. F.H.A. Aalen, *Atlas of the Irish rural landscape,* 31-63. Cork: Cork University Press.

Stout, M. 2000. *The Irish ringfort*. Dublin: Four Courts Press.

Stringer, K.J. 1994. "Social and political communities in European history: some reflections on recent studies". In C. Bjorn, A. Grant, K.J Stringer (ed.), *Nations, Nationalism and Patriotism in the European Past*, 9-34. Copenhagen: Academic Press.

Sweetman, D. 1981. "Excavations of a medieval moated site at Rigsdale, county Cork, 1977-78". *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy,* 81C:193-205.

Sweetman, D. 1999. *Medieval castles of Ireland*. Cork: The Collins Press.

Talbot, E.J. 1972. "Lorrha Motte, county Tipperary". *North Munster Antiquarian Journal* xv:8-12.

Tarlow, S. 1999. "Strangely familiar". In S. Tarlow and S. West (eds), *The familiar past: Archaeologies of later historical Britain*, 263-272. London: Routledge.

Tilley, C. 1994. *A phenomenology of landscape*. Oxford: Berg Publishers.

Tolan-Smith, C. 1997. *Landscape Archaeology in Tynedale. Newcastle upon Tyne*: Department of Archaeology, University of Newcastle upon Tyne: Tyne-Solway ancient and historic landscapes research programme.

Twohig, D.C. 1978. "Norman ring-work castles". *Bulletin of the Group for the Study of Irish Historic Settlement,* 5:7-9.

Ucko, P. 1990. "Foreword". In D. Austin and L. Alcock (eds), *From the Baltic to the Black Sea: Studies in medieval archaeology*, ix-xviii. London: Unwin Hyman.

Various ed. 1893-1998. *Calendar of Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, (20 Vols). London and Dublin: H.M.S.O. and Stationery Office.

Wallace, P.F. and Ó Floinn, R. (eds) 2002. *Treasures of the National Museum of Ireland.* Dublin: Gill and Macmillan.

Waterman, D.M. 1959a. "Excavations at Ballyfounder Rath, county Down". *Ulster Journal of Archaeology,* 21:39-61.

Waterman, D.M. 1959b. "Excavations at Lismahon, Co. Down". *Medieval Archaeology,* 3:139-176.

Went, A.E.J. 1955. "A Short History of the Fisheries of the River Nore". *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland,* 85(1):22-33.

White, N. ed. 1943. *Extents of Irish monastic possessions 1540-1541: from manuscripts in the Public Record Office, London.* Dublin: The Stationery Office.

Wilkie, L. A. 2006. "Documentary Archaeology". In D. Hicks and M.C. Beaudry (eds), *The Cambridge Companion to historical archaeology*, 13-33. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Wilkins, B. et al. 2009. *N25 Waterford Bypass final excavation report AR34 Newrath, Co. Kilkenny (04E0319).* Unpublished final excavation report submitted to Waterford City Council by Headland Archaeology Ltd.

Williams, B. (ed.) 2007. *The annals of Ireland by Friar John Clyn.* Dublin: Four Courts Press.