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# THE TOWER HOUSES OF COUNTY TIPPERARY

T. B. BARRY

TCD



# THE TOWER HOUSES OF COUNTY TIPPERARY

2 volumes; volume 1

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Frontispiece: Grallagh Castle.

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This thesis is entirely the candidate's own work, and has not been submitted as an exercise for a degree at any other university.

## SUMMARY

This thesis examines the form and purpose of the minor castles in one Irish county, with some notice taken of those elsewhere in Ireland and abroad. It uses as evidence the remains of buildings, and printed and manuscript sources.

Tower houses seem to have been partly derived from earlier stone castles in Ireland, and may have had some links with similar structures in Scotland; but the main reason for their popularity was that they provided some protection from the raiding and minor warfare endemic to Ireland. They were not designed for full-scale war, but were sometimes involved in it, and several underwent sieges. They fell more frequently than not, especially when an attacker had artillery, but nevertheless could put up a stout resistance.

Contemporary accounts and actual buildings reveal much of the everyday life in a tower. They could be centres of arable farming as well as cattle-raising; and some had plentiful furniture. A large quantity of surviving documentation reveals the varied methods and conditions under which tower houses were held or rented.

They were the dominant form of architecture in most of Ireland; Tipperary alone had over 400 towers. A few may have been planned for strategic reasons, but most were sited to suit the local needs of the owner. They were the normal residence of both Gaelic and Anglo-Irish gentry, and seem to have replaced raths, mottes, and moated sites. The earliest ones were probably built around 1300, and they continued until the Cromwellian conquest.

There is an analysis of tower architecture; on the whole builders were conservative, but some late castles show important innovations. Relatively little is known about the architects, although it seems that much construction work was supported by "coign and livery".

Urban tower houses were basically similar to rural ones, and often could be used to defend the town. Ecclesiastical ones were the result of frequent attacks on clerics, and were usually built onto a church or monastery.



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Conrad Gains.

ABBREVIATIONS OF PERIODICALS.

| | |
|---|---|
| An. Hib. | Analecta Hibernica. |
| BGSIHS | Bulletin of the Group for the Study of Irish Historic Settlement. |
| CHASJ | Clonmel Historical and Archaeological Society Journal. |
| EHR | English Historical Review. |
| IG | Irish Genealogist. |
| JBS | Journal of the Butler Society. |
| JCHAS | Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society. |
| JGAHS | Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society. |
| JNMAS | Journal of the North Munster Antiquarian Society. |
| JOWS | Journal of the Old Wexford Society. |
| JRSAI | Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland. (Known for part of its history as the Journal of Kilkenny and South-East Ireland Archaeological Society, and the Journal of the Royal Historical and Archaeological Society of Ireland). |
| JWSEIAS | Journal of the Waterford and South-East Ireland Archaeological Society. |
| NMAJ | North Munster Antiquarian Journal. |
| OKR | Old Kilkenny Review. |
| PRIA | Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy. |
| UJA | Ulster Journal of Archaeology. |

CONVERSION TABLE FOR MEASUREMENTS.

All measurements in this thesis are in Imperial units, partly because they are more convenient and practical for the task, and partly because they have been used in almost all the sources and architectural surveys. When converting to Metric, it should be remembered that the dimensions of many buildings are only approximate; this is particularly so for the sides of bawns, and other sizeable lengths. The RIA MS OS Letters often gives dimensions in paces, equal to three feet.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1 inch | = | 0.025 m. |
| 3 inches | = | 0.075 m. |
| 6 inches | = | 0.150 m. |
| 1 foot | = | 0.305 m. |
| 3 feet = 1 yard = 1 pace | = | 0.914 m. |
| 1 mile | = | 1.6 km. |
| 5 miles | = | 8.0 km. |

GLOSSARY OF ARCHITECTURAL TERMS.

| | |
|---|---|
| Alure | The wall-walk on a tower, behind the battlements. |
| Ashlar | cut stone. |
| Barbican | An advanced work to protect the gate of a castle. |
| Bartizan | Overhanging, open-topped corner-turret. |
| Batter | The inward inclination of a wall from its base. |
| Centring | Temporary framework used to support a vault or arch while under construction. |
| Corbel | A stone projection from a wall, to support a weight. |
| Crenellated | (of a wall) with battlements (i.e. merlons and embrasures.) |
| Embrasure | Opening cut in a parapet. |
| Garderobe | Latrine. |
| Machicolation | Projection from a wall from which objects can be dropped. |
| Merlon | The solid part of a parapet, between two embrasures. |
| Mullion | Vertical bar dividing a window. |
| Mural | Of, or in the thickness of, a wall. |
| Newel | A spiral stair (properly, the central pillar of the stair). |
| Ogee | An arch whose head is composed of two S-shaped curves. |
| Oversail | To project horizontally (applied to the tops of towers). |
| Parapet | Wall on a tower or bawn to protect defenders. |
| Postern | A door smaller than the main one. |
| Put-log hole | A hole in a wall into which are placed the end of a beam, to support wooden machicolations, floors, etc. |
| Quoin | Stone at the angle of a building. |
| Rubble | (Of masonry), uncut stones. |
| String course | A horizontal projecting band of masonry. |
| Transom | Horizontal bar dividing a window. |

## CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND.

### THE CASTLE IN IRELAND.

A castle is a building with two functions: home for an individual, his family and household, and a fortress. It is thus distinct from a communal fortification like a walled town on an Anglo-Saxon burgh, and from a fort held by regular troops, such as a Roman "castrum". In some castles the domestic side predominates, in others the military; good examples of each sort are Stokesay near Ludlow, a comfortable manor-house with fortifications that could see off only the weakest of attacks, and Harlech, a great and grim stronghold that, while having a residential suite (in the gatehouse), was built with the sole object of cementing the conquest of North Wales.

In Ireland, the castle arrived with the Normans, as it had, in any real sense, in England, Scotland and Wales. The raths in which most Irish of any standing dwelt were defended homes, but most were very feeble, perhaps intended as much against wolves as men. The annals refer to seven "castles" (caisteol or caislen) being built between 1124 and 1166, all of them, it seems, of wood.[1] It is impossible to say exactly what there were - perhaps raths, or copies of English mottes or ringworks by Irishmen who travelled abroad. Giraldus Cambrensis says explicitly that the Irish had no castles, and in the early wars against the Anglo-Normans their only fortifications were walled towns.[2]

Some used to believe that the artificial conical hills found in Ireland were Celtic fortresses, but Orpen and Armitage proved they were mottes, almost all built by the Normans.[3] (The Irish may have put up

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1. Leask, Castles, pp. 6-7.
2. Ella S. Armitage, The early Norman castles of the British Isles, London, 1912, pp. 323-4.
3. ibid., pp. 326-30; Orpen, "Mottes" in JRSAI; Orpen, "Mottes", in EHR.

a few late mottes, but only as copies of Norman ones).[4] Even more than in England - because the Irish were even less skilled at sieges - the majority of early castles were of wood and earth, quickly thrown up and needing little expert labour. They were usually the caput (or head) of a manor, where a knight and his men would live, so that they could both hold down the newly-won lands and use the castle as a base from which to conquer more. Mottes are found in the low-lying fertile areas that the Normans preferred to occupy, and were sometimes built on top of, or re-modelled from, existing native earth-works.[5] Other earth castles lacked a motte, and had an enclosure with banks and ditches as the main defence.

It will be considered later (Ch. V, pp. 174 ) when mottes acquired stone defences, and how long they remained inhabited; it appears that non-stone castles survived, in small numbers, until the end of the sixteenth century. In 1380 there were wooden castles in Tipperary (Ch. III, p. 102), and an order of 1496-7 proposed the building of a wooden fortalice on Mellok island, Co. Dublin.[6] In 1548-9 Sir William Wheland promised to erect a timber castle with a slate roof in Co. Kilkenny,[7] and Edmund Spenser speaks in 1595 of a "little fortalice or wooden castle" to block passes.[8] However, when they had the time and money, the Normans began to make their castles of stone. The first stone castle in Ireland was probably Carrickfergus (the central section of which seems to have been built c. 1178-1195),[9] and during the thirteenth century stone fortresses appear in various shapes.

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4. T.E. McNeill, "Doonbought", pp. 63, 80-3.
5. Leask, Castles, p. 7.
6. RIA MS Fergusson 24/H/17, p. 213.
7. COD, V, p. 27.
8. Morley, p. 206.
9. McNeill, Carrickfergus, p. 42; Leask, Castles, pp. 27-8. Much of this section is based on Leask, pp. 27-74.

Most early castles had two main parts, the keep and bailey; the latter was a fortified courtyard, often with its own towers and gate-houses. In the bailey stood large numbers of "soft" buildings, the most important being the hall where the lord of the castle would eat, at least on important occasions, and display his power and dominion. Baileys were sometimes enlarged and strengthened as time went on - Carrickfergus has work of many periods. A keep could either form part of the defences of the curtain-wall, acting as a very large wall-tower, or stand isolated in the bailey.

Leask has classified all thirteenth-century keeps into three main groups.[10] Firstly, there are rectangular towers, the earliest very similar to the famous English square keeps. They were already old-fashioned, but for some reason still found limited favour in Ireland. Perhaps this was because the castle-builders did not fear competant attacks from the Irish,[11] for they were certainly in touch with the latest developments in England.[12] Less common are the round or polygonal keeps, which Leask dates to around the first decade of the thirteenth century.[13] A round tower is stronger against assault, as its round face should deflect projectiles, and it lacks corners to be undermined or picked away. But it is less suitable for everyday life; for one thing, it is hard to partition off the floors into convenient rooms. Tipperary has three early round keeps, including Nenagh (321), the best in Ireland. Finally, there are what Leask christened "towered or turretted keeps", rectangular with a prominent round turret at each corner. They are peculiar to Ireland in the

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10. Leask, Castles, pp. 26-7.
11. Stalley, pp. 32-5, has argued this from the keep at Trim, Co. Meath. However the outer defences of the castle are most efficient, and a castellan might have had to face other Anglo-Normans as well as Irish.
12. At least one Irish master-craftsman was involved in the building of Edward I's North Welsh holds - A.J. Taylor, The King's Works in Wales, 1277-1330, London, HMSO, 1974, pp. 1039-40.
13. Leask, Castles, p. 41.

first half of the thirteenth century; English specimens like Nunney in Somerset, are considerably later.[14] They are proof that the castle-architects of Ireland were able to evolve new designs themselves.

Not every castle had a keep. Those at Dublin, Limerick and Kilkenny, all originating before 1250,[15] had their strength in the several large towers and gatehouses on the curtain-walls. Castles on rocky sites sometimes dispensed with a single great tower, and the fashion for keepless castles grew after the middle of the thirteenth century. (Fashion is a frequently overlooked factor in determining the style of castles, although sensible builders would bend it to suit the lie of the land, the purpose of the castle, and the needs, wealth and inclination of its lord). In these strongholds the gatehouse took on a new importance; equipped with rooms for the lord and his family, it combined the functions of a great residential tower, ultimate strongpoint, and guard of the main entrance. The use of "keep-gatehouses" and of symmetrical plans are both reminiscent of Edward I's contemporary Welsh castles, and they are all members of the same wide family. Not all bailey-based castles have these features, though; Castle Grace (218) is just a square enclosure with four corner-towers and no gatehouse, while Swords, near Dublin, is far from symmetrical.

As with many early thirteenth-century castles, the chief feature of the tower house is a single keep, usually rectangular. As this thesis will proceed to explain in detail their nature, use and form, elaborate description would be out of place here. However, even at the risk of anticipating some conclusions, it would be as well now to see how they fit into the overall development of Irish castles.

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14. ibid., p. 47; Stalley, pp. 47-50.
15. Leask, Castles, pp. 53-7.

It used to be thoughtthey were a "second wave" of castles, dating from the fifteenth century and after, separated from the Norman works by a hundred years during which nothing much was put up. This is partially true. Most tower houses do seem to date from the fifteenth to seventeenth century. However, in some parts of the country, there were fortalices at the beginning of the fourteenth century, and these seem to be, in some part, the logical evolution of the castles of the 1200's. There was perhaps some disruption caused by the Black Death, but tower houses probably existed before this (Ch. V, pp.182 , 186-7).

They are also thought of as smaller than "real" castles, and by and large this is true. However, there are num erous exceptions, for some tower houses are in fact bigger and stronger than some of the smaller thirteenth century castles.

Thirdly, it is commonly said that whereas the Norman castles emphasized the military side of their nature, tower houses were primarily residential. Again one must not be too dogmatic, for many Pale towers received government grants, because they were to strengthen its borders.[16] A very few, like Ireton's Castle, Co. Tipperary (179), were built by the Elizabethan or Cromwellian armies purely as garrisons, and so technically ought not to be called castles at all.

A fourth distinction is that while earlier castles - and the first tower houses - were a prerogative of the invaders, by the fifteenth century they were just as much part of the culture of the Gaelic Irish. They are far more numerous than Norman castles, and for most of Ireland they were the standard dwelling for a man of moderate means.

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16. Davin, M. Litt., pp. 139-43 and passim.

The tower house was the last form of Irish castle. In James I's reign, it got a new lease of life when English and Scots newcomers built "Plantation Castles" in considerable numbers, bringing in new styles to graft onto the native stem. But it appears that in many of these castles the bawn and its flankers were taking over the primary weight of defence,[17] and all over the country the actual towers became less defensible. The Cromwellian conquest brought a new military efficiency, against which no tower could prevail; even more important, the ancient habits of petty war and cattle-raiding were at last being extirpated, and thus the minor castle lost its chief reason for existence. The medieval castle split into its two constituent parts: on the one hand gentlemen now inhabited country houses, the last flicker of defence being the hedges, walls and flankers that still surrounded some mansions built in Charles II's time;[18] and so the other military architecture, like war itself, became the concern of regular soldiers, and took the form of a low-lying defence designed to mount and to resist artillery, a fort rather than a castle. Elizabeth's soldiers used such works, and Tipperary once contained two built by Cromwell's men.[19]

THE TOWER HOUSE AS A TYPE.

The subjects of this study had many names in their own day - peles (peels, piles), towers, houses, manor-houses, fortalices and by far the most common, castles. "Tower house" first appeared, as far as the writer is aware, in 1912 in relation to an Irish castle.[20]

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17. Jope, "Fortification", p. 112.
18. Loeber, "Houses", pp. 30-1.
19. One fort was in Bourney parish, built in 1652 (CS, I, p. 8); the other was Fort Ireton (not to be confused with Ireton's Castle), Longfordpass (NLI MS Callanan, Eliogurty, p. 144).
20. L.M. McCraith, Suir, pp. 30-1.

The term became popular with the books and articles published between the wars and later by W. Douglas Simpson on Scotland and England, and Leask seems to have been responsible for giving it wide currency in Ireland. He provides no other definition than "single towers - fortified residences",[21] and the Oxford English Dictionary does not list the phrase. This may be wise, as different authors have used it in differing ways.

Leask and Simpson both employ it to describe the castles of the latter Middle Ages whose main feature was a residential tower, usually small, although some especially in Scotland, were both large and formidable.[22] This usage is followed by Cruden, the most important author on Scottish castles after Simpson, although he adds a few twelfth-century examples.[23] In England, Toy avoids the word for Northumbrian peles, but uses it for the splendid residential towers built from about 1290 to the end of the Middle Ages, both when they are the main part of the work (as at Tattershall, Lincolnshire), and when they just form the keep in a fortress with many other strong defences (such as Warkworth, Northumberland, and the Eagle Tower, Caernarvon).[24] Brown, who like all these authors does not define the term, uses it for the same sort of things as Toy, which he rightly sees as a continuation of of the old idea of a keep in a bailey. "Tower house" is almost synonymous with "keep", except that it generally applies to later and more comfortable towers.[25] For Platt, a tower house is any castle tower for living in, even when it is neither the dominant feature of the castle nor the home of the lord himself, as at Caesar's and Guy's

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21. Leask, Castles, p. 75. The first edition was in 1941.
22. ibid., pp. 75-122; Simpson in Jope, Studies, pp. 229-42.
23. Cruden, pp. 100-176.
24. Sidney Toy, The Castles of Great Britain, London, 1953, pp. 190-202, 221-31.
25. R. Allen Brown, English medieval castles, London, 1954, pp. 108-9.

Towers at Warwick. Even the shell-keep at Restormel, arguably a house but hardly a tower, receives the appelation.[26]

With all this vagueness, it might be better to discard the word altogether, and simply call the buildings in question what their owners did, castles. However the term is of some value, and not only because of wide use. It succinctly describes a common type of private fortification, whose sole or main element is a single tall building in which the owner lived, or could if he had to. They are normally fairly small, but not always. Thus defined, the term will cover almost all the Tipperary castles in this study, as well as some that are earlier.[27] It is best when anomalies do occur to turn a blind eye, and remember that the people who built, lived in and recorded the castles were not worried by an urge to classify and define everything precisely, and to fit every building into an inflexable category.

Having provided a definition of the tower house, far from perfect, but it is hoped, serviceable, it is possible to look for comparison at countries other than Ireland. Scotland has the best known concentration of towers in Great Britain, and a large literature on the subject.[28] There are many similarities with Ireland. In both places the tower house is easily the most common sort of castle; it

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26. Colin Platt, The castle in medieval England and Wales, London, 1982, pp. 31, 157.
27. Ardfinnan, Kiltinan (as originally built) and Terryglass are all early Norman castles that would, strictly speaking have to be called tower houses; Terryglass is a small version of Nunney, which is often so designated. Later castles that should not really be called tower houses are Kiltinan and Ardfinnan (which, in their later states each had two towers), and Roosca and Cullohil (which have lower houses, not towers).
28. All extant specimens should appear in D. MacGibbon and T. Ross, The castellated and domestic architecture of Scotland, 5 vols., Edinburgh, 1887-92, or Nigel Tranter, The fortified house in Scotland, 5 vols., Edinburgh, 1962-70. There are many other books.

is usually small, with a barmkin (in Ireland called a bawn), but some, like Borthwick (Midlothian) or Hermitage (Roxburghshire), are as big as some square Norman keeps in England. They were built and inhabited at roughly the same time, when some parts of Scotland were almost as free of central government as much as Ireland, and where many social habits, in particular thieving, were shared by both countries. Basically, the structure is similar to an Irish tower; the bottom storey is usually a cellar, with various, often complicated, sets of stairs leading up to the living rooms. There are often small mural chambers, and they have the same sort of domestic fixtures. As in Ireland, some later towers have larger windows (e.g., Craigievar, Aberdeenshire), and lack battlements; when these are present, they and the chimneys often project out from the wall.

But there are important differences. In Scotland the original door is often not at ground level, and details of doors and windows vary. Scottish towers are frequently better built than Irish ones, in some cases of ashlar, although most later ones are of rubble with cut-stone quoins. Most are not battered. The later Scottish towers are much more ingenious in the way they sprout turrets to provide complicated ground plans, partly to increase accommodation, partly to cover one part of the castle with fire from another. The top storeys of later Scottish castles also swell out in spectacular ways, to give more room and for aesthetic reasons. While the Irish only had provision for hand-firearms, the Scots frequently used artillery to defend tower houses, either with splayed ports (as at Claypotts, near Dundee) or with a reinforced wall-head, on which the guns were placed (as at Blackness, W. Lothian).

There has been some argument about the origin of the Scottish

tower house: Norman keep, gate-house castle, a wooden or stone hall-house - but there is no general consensus.[29] It is important to mention that there were a few tower houses in Scotland from the earliest days of castle-building,[30] although, some, like Castle Tioram in Inverness-shire, are so far from the main areas of tower-dwelling that it is hard to believe in direct influence. Scotland also has the remains of about 500 brochs, round tower houses dating from the Iron Age, which seem to have been lived in only a short time; one theory is that the enemies of the broch-people ceased to menace them when they in turn were attacked by the Romans.[31]

The greatest number of English tower houses is in the border counties, which were subject to much the same lawless conditions as parts of Scotland and most of Ireland.[32] In many ways the "pele towers", built during the fourteenth century and later, are closer to Scottish towers than castles in the rest of England, but there are differences, particularly around the wall-head. They often had courtyards and ancillary buildings; the "bawn" at Witton-le-Wear, Co. Durham, is defended by most unusual double-storeyed bartizans, serving the same purpose as Irish flankers. As well as towers the borderers built a variety of less redoubtable buildings, some no more than fortified farmhouses, and known by several names.[33] Some were of wood, or clay.[34]

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29. Arguments summarized by Davin, M. Litt., pp. 109-13.
30. Cruden, pp. 103-4.
31. ibid., pp. 1-6; Alan Sorrell, Reconstructing the past, London, 1981, pp. 18-9.
32. The literature on this area is plentiful; the best modern account is George MacDonald Fraser, The Steel Bonnets, London, 1971.
33. H.G. Ramm, R.W. MacDowell, and E. Mercer, Shielings and bastles, London, HMSO, 1970; Philip Dixon, "Towerhouses, pelehouses and border society", Archaeological Journal, 136 (1979), pp. 240-2.
34. D.L.W. Tough, The last years of a frontier, Oxford, 1928, pp. 40-1.

In the rest of England, some tower houses were built throughout the Middle Ages. Platt has shown the importance of the single, free-standing tower among smaller post-conquest castles, some of wood, others, like St. George's Tower, Oxford, stone.[35] These seem to have been smaller, less expensive counterparts of the great square keeps. The idea of a relatively small tower continued through such varied buildings as Bramber keep, Sussex, converted from a gatehouse around 1140,[36] the four-turretted Ypres Castle at Rye, built following an order of 1249,[37] and the towers added to manor-houses about 1300 at Stokesay, and at Longthorpe near Peterborough.[38] In the fourteenth century the single tower was one (but only one) of the methods used to strengthen the age's many fortified manors; in some cases (Tattershall, Lincolnshire, or Hylton, Co. Durham) the tower was large and ornate, designed to impress the visitor with the owner's wealth and fashionable good taste.

Wales has several small keeps of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, like the English-built Tretower Castle, Brecon, a small version of the great cylindrical donjon of Pembroke. To the north are Welsh towers such as the square Dolwyddelan and the round Dolbadarn (both in Caernarvonshire), the former with a second, later tower, the latter with a contemporary bawn. A northern speciality was the D-shaped tower house, of which the only to survive to any height is at Ewloe in Flintshire. In the latter Middle Ages the Principality only produced a few scattered towers, even though it was at least as troubled as England.[39]

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35. Colin Platt, The castle in medieval England and Wales, London, 1982, pp. 18-9.
36. Alan Sorrell, British castles, London, 1973, pp. 14-5.
37. Kenneth Clark and Clifford Foster, Rye Royal, 21st ed., Rye, 1980 p. 40.
38. The original house at Longthorpe has disappeared; the one now attached to the castle postdates it.
39. Peter Smith and Peter Hayes, "Llyseurgain and the Tower", Flint-

France has a large number of tower houses greatly varying in strength, age, location, and style. Some stand alone, while others still have outworks and fortified courtyards. Some (such as Abbeville) are miniature "Romanesque" keeps; others are later and less war-like, called sometimes "maisons-fortes". They would seem to have been more necessary than contemporary English fortified manors, as France was on the whole worse beset by wars and peasant uprisings. There is space here only to note a few interesting examples. Amberiea-en-Bugey, like Kiltinan (263) in Tipperary, has a round and a square tower to protect a courtyard. At Epiry the main strength of the maison-forte is a tower with machicolations at two levels, and cannon-ports in the top storey. Plouguenast is one of many minor Breton castles, like a few in Ireland, that are more house- than tower-shaped. At Saint-Martin-de-Bromes, on the contrary, the keep is immensely tall and slender, with almost the proportions of a North Italian town-tower.[40] In neighbouring Burgundy, the maison-fortes were very much like those in France; they could take several shapes, but were normally based on a stone tower, the residence of the lord of a village and the centre of his "seigneurie domestique".[41]

France is also a leading country for fortified churches, with a multiplicity of styles from various centuries. Some, like those in Ireland, consist of a tower house on the end of the church.[42]

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shire Historical Society Publications Journal, 22, (1965-6), pp. 1-8. These two towers appear in an architectural vacuum, which argues that there could have been independant small-scale development of tower houses.

40. Charles-Laurent Salch, Dictionnaire des châteaux et des fortifications du moyen age en France, Strasbourg, 1979, lists all these and many others.

41. J.M. Pensex and Fr. Piponnier, "Les maisons-fortes bourguignonnes", Château-Gaillard, 5, (1970), pp. 143-64.

42. see Saint-Sylvain and Saint-Nicholas-de-Pierrepont in Salch, op. cit.

In Spain, tower houses are often connected with the successive "front lines" of the Reconquista. On the last of these, the Granadan-Castillian frontier of the fifteenth century, there was a constant guerra chica of raids and assaults, which made use of all sizes of fortress, from cities down to small towers with bawns; one tower house defended itself successfully against a whole army.[43] Atalayas, or single small towers for watching the enemy, were also common in other parts of Castille. One at Osma, near Soria, is a simple, round structure that could have been originally Moorish, and which, like some of those on the Granadan frontier was used by the Christians as the forward post of a larger castle; presumably it would have had a beacon for signalling.[44] Then there are the small versions of a well-known late medieval type the castle centred around a single great keep or torre de homenaje. This sort of tower house sometimes had a very strong courtyard, better than most Irish bawns; although they were the private homes of gentlemen, these castles are grim-looking and tough, with few windows.[45] There are also minor castle in towns; those near Santander are rather lower than their rural counterparts, but at least until the fifteenth century, as forbidding and windowless.[46]

Aragon, with a different political, and in some ways, architectural tradition from Castille, built tower houses over a long period. Some of the earliest Christian castles were based on a small, sometimes circular, tower, often perched on a rock and intended for

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43. C.T. Cairns, The last century of the Granadan frontier, MA thesis, Edinburgh, 1980, pp. 5-9; for the siege of Roma, see Juan de Mata Carriazo (ed.), Hechas del Condestable Don Miguel Lucas de Iranzo, Madrid, 1940, p. 91.
44. A.A. Weismuller, Castles from the heart of Spain, London, 1967, pp. 87, 89.
45. Castillos de Espana, Barcelona, 1970, pp. 7, 42, 46, 48, 66, 94, 95.
46. Camasasca, p. 94.

full-scale war; by the fifteenth century they were closer in function to their Irish counterparts.[47]

The Low Countries had a diverse array of tower houses. The rural towers of Lower Lotharingia, now part of Belgium, were the homes of simple knights; the same rooms were for the same purposes as in Ireland and Scotland, although the entrances and stairs were very different.[48] A Dutch artist, the "Master of 1480", shows in stylized form what appears to be a noble's residence, or, very, likely, the country retreat of a rich burgher from the nearby town. It is a tower house with a shallow, wet moat and a drawbridge, with decorative, partly wooden upper works, as well as elaborate corner-turrets and gun-and-arrow-loops.[49] Minor castles occur frequently enough in the art of the early seventeenth century to show they were still being lived in; that in Averkamp's Winter scene, in the National Gallery, London, was once a strong building, but, like many in Ireland, had been later pierced by large windows.

Some towers are very spectacular like Ter Heiden near Rostelaur in Belgium. Like Tattershall in Lincolnshire to which it is closely related, it is of brick with ashlar details, but is a much more formidable building, intended as both a private habitation and a watch-tower. It has a most unusual plan of a hexagon with three enormous square turrets.[50]

As early as the ninth and tenth centuries land was valuable

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47. C.G. Aparicio, Castillos de Aragon, Saragossa, 1976, I, pp. 97. 100-1, 116-20; II, pp. 23-5, 38-40, 135, 142, 153-4.
48. William Ubreghts, "Quelques idées sur la castelologie lotharingienne", Château-Gaillard, 8, (1976), pp. 287-97.
49. A.I.J.N. Schellart and Theo de Vries, Burchten en kastelen, The Hague, n.d;, pl. 12-3.
50. A.J.Z. van de Valle, Gothic Art in Belgium, Brussels, 1971, colour plate XV. Ter Heiden is so similar in plan to Henry II's keep at Orford, on the Suffolk coast, that it is hard to believe it was not directly inspired by the latter.

in the prosperous cities of the area, which explains the height of many town-houses. Some were defensible, such as the Hoedenmakers-kasteel in Bruges, which name suggest it belonged to a guild rather than an individual. It was an imposing tower, surrounded by a moat, itself in a courtyard.[51] A smaller castle, squashed into a street of similarly proportioned but undefended dwellings, appears in a painting by the Master of Alkmaar (d. 1504).[52] The ground floor is a windowless cellar, or perhaps a merchant's warehouse, with its own door; an external stair leads to the main entrance, on the second storey. This is similar in some respects to urban tower houses in Ireland.

In Germany there are a number of small or medium-sized dwelling towers, often with buildings added on later to make them into larger castles. Both the castles of Hapsburg in Switzerland (whence the Imperial family) and Stafen (from which the Hohenstaufen emperors took their name) were, at one stage of their careers, based on single, small towers. That at Staufen appears to have been a bergfried, a tall, slender tower with an external entrance, used only in time of need.[53] Dürer shows several tower houses, the most unusual being a Weiherhaus, a half-timbered tower mainly defended by water, and used by soldiers in time of war.[54] The mountainous sites of some Swiss castles only allowed space for one tower, which was generally somewhat larger and better built than those in Ireland; a few seem to have minor bawns.[55] An important difference between tower houses in Teutonic lands, and many in France and the Low Countries, on one hand, and most British examples on the other, is that the former lack wall-

51. ibid., pp. 19-20.
52. Feeding the Hungry, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.
53. William Anderson, Castle of Europe, London, 1970, pp. 65,68.
54. Christopher White, Durer: the artist and his drawings, London. 1971, pp. 60-1.
55. Eugem Probst, Schweitzer Burgenfuhrer, Bern, 1960, plates facing pp. 17, 24, 32, 40, 57.

heads; they have a row of large windows in the top storey to take the place of embrasures.

Denmark and Sweden are not renowned for castles, but they do have some late medieval tower houses. German influence seems the dominant one, and it is not surprising that the Glimmingehus in south Sweden, a very plain tower with no wall-walk, was built in 1499 by a master-mason from the Lower Rhine.[56]

The Italian tradition is completely different to that in the above countries, where, although there were sometimes urban tower houses, they were never as important as those in the countryside. In northern Italy the most important people generally dwelt in cities, and their castles were inside, and totally separate from the town walls. Several cities had fortified town halls; the most famous is Florence's Palazzo Vecchio, a massive and deliberately imposing block with a very tall central turret, symbol of the power and dignity of the commune. But more common were individual private casatorri (literally "tower houses"), which, it has been said, started in the eleventh century when noblemen came to live in towns, and brought the idea of watchtowers, which had decorated their country seats. They were very necessary because of the deadly feuds between families, and there are even accounts of siege-engines used against them. Smaller or weaker clans would form alliances and build one between them; the text of one such agreement, at Bologna in 1177, said the purpose of the tower was not only for defence, but also for harming the enemies of the consorzeria or alliance. There is a case in 1160's of families fighting each other from the tops of neighbouring towers; in such circumstances, and with the casatorri so close together, it would

56. Armin Tuulse, Castles of the Western world, London, 1958, p. 115.

be unpleasant to be overlooked by a rival, which probably explains the amazing height of such towers. Only at San Gimignano do they remain in any great quantity, but they were once very common in such cities as Florence, Genoa, Siena, Bologna (which once had 180), and Perugia.[57] In Lucca the towers were much lower (four storeys) and built into streets; the bottom storeys were shops, in the Roman tradition, with living quarters above.[58] Tuulse speculated that these Italian towers spread into the Tyrol, from where Austrian cities like Vienna got the idea.[59]

Europe, then has many areas where small, single residential towers are numerous, mainly, but not only, in places where minor noblemen or rich burghers had to defend themselves from violence, in the absence of an efficient enforcement of law and order. There are also tower houses in other continents, the majority so far discovered by the writer in Islamic lands. Around Saladin's citadel in medieval Cairo were five- or six-storey towers, built for defence but often containing a ground-storey shop. The "bawn" contained gardens and a reception room for visitors.[60] Modern urban tower houses of the same height can be seen in large numbers in Yemeni towns; like most African and some Middle Eastern towers they are of mud, clay or earth, which can be a very strong material, suitable even for slender towers.[61] In the last century the German explorer Ferdinand Werne described the castles of the Hejaz. They were needed because of never-ending feuds,

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57. Anderson, op. cit., pp. 167-8; Camasasca, pp. 73, 76.
58. Camasasca, p. 76.
59. Tuulse, op. cit., p. 95.
60. Camasasca, p. 68.
61. Colin Duly, The houses of mankind, London, 1979, p. 25. For the art of mud-building, see Jean Dethier, Down to earth, London, 1982. This book illustrates many mud tower houses; the kasbahs of Morocco are as big as Norman keeps - pp. 111-2.

and had only one door, very low, through which men could only pass by stooping low:

> "The upper storey of the house is used to contain the horses, camels, cows & c., all of which have been used from birth to creep in on their bellies through two such low doorways, and the inside thus gained to mount up a narrow, small, stone staircase, at which they are most expert, difficult though the task may be."

The castle could be provisioned with food for man and beast when a siege was expected, at which time the doorway was blocked up from the inside with stones and stakes.[62]

There are many people of West Africa who use tower houses; some, by no means all, are Muslim, so it is possible the idea arrived with other items of Islamic culture they share with the Middle East. According to Major Denham's journal of his explorations in the 1820's the houses of the Bornu towns to the south of Lake Chad, were towers with walled courtyards. His account of these tower houses is rather confusing, but it seems each consisted of two turrets linked by a "terrace", and with "castellated windows". Richer men had more than one tower on their houses.[63] In a later work, his companion Captain Clapperton gives a full description of the chief's house in the Hausa town of Baelaegie, some hundreds of miles to the west, which he (a Scot) compared to a Border pele. It was built of clay, three storeys high, with a flat roof; in times of danger the governor occupied the top part, his retainers the lower. There was a courtyard with twenty-foot walls, sheltering the huts for horses, women, eunuchs and domestics. Clapperton said such dwellings were common in Hausa-

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62. Ferdinand Werne, African wanderings, London, pp. 111-2.
63. Dixon Denham and Hugh Clapperton, Narrative of travels and discoveries in northern and central Africa, London, (1826), pp. 322-3.
64. Hugh Clapperton, Journal of a second expedition into the interior of Africa, from the Bight of Begin to Soccatoo, London, 1829, pp. 165-6 and passim.

land, as well as walled towns and villages.[64] Rather more unusual was the town of Bute, in the Gonja region of what is now northern Ghana. It had many three-storeyed towers, with cisterns built on artificial mounds, as a barrier to Ashanti agression; these are the only tower houses in the world known to the author to have been distinctly the property of commoners, for the important people of the area lived outside the town.[65] Other African castle-dwellers include the SSola of Togo, the Tabernu of Upper Volta, and the Somba of northern Benin;[66] the last are a proud, individualistic people who resist central government, and live in two- or three-storeyed structures of puddled mud, with a curtain-wall linking them. It would seem that one reason for these miniature strongholds is to keep the women secluded from outsiders.[67] Similarly linked groups of small towers exist in Dahomey and the Cameroons; some are not dwellings but granaries.[68]

Islamic people in Asia also built tower houses. Those in the Caucasus are made of stone and largely windowless, looking rather like the Irish variety - they also have a battered profile. They stand in groups in villages, each serving as a refuge for a family in time of danger. There are other larger castles in the Caucasus, but these aðul (village) towers are the predominant form of defensive building.[69] In Afghanistan the tower houses are of a different and more complex pattern, multangular or rounded rather than square as

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64. See above, page 18 .
65. Jack Goody, Technology tradition and the state in Africa, London, 1971, pp. 59-60.
66. The modern state, not the ancient civilization, of Benin.
67. Duly, op. cit., pp. 44-5.
68. Enrico Guidoni, Primitive architecture, New York, 1978, pp. 18, 252.
69. Gottfried Herzbacher, Aus dem Hochregionen des Kaudasus, Leipzig, 1901, I, pl. x, figs. 33, 35, 48, 52, 91; II, p. xxv, figs. 127, 135, 138, 142; Fitzroy MacLean, To Caucasus, the end of all the earth, London, 1976, p. 157.

in the Caucasus. Battlements are known, but in some specimens the top storey is the largest room, overhanging the rest of the tower, and provided with windows or even a balconey.[70] Afghanistan is unusual in that many of its small, private fortalices are not towers but low-lying qalas, usually consisting of a square enclosure with houses inside.[71]

The above is not a full account of tower houses throughout the world. It would be very odd if there were none in the Indian subcontinent, and there may have even been some built by the North American Indians.[72] However, even such a quick survey makes it clear that where heavy artillery was not a major danger, the normal form that small private holds took was a single tower. Sometimes, but by no means in all countries, there would be additional buildings, usually a defended courtyard. Most, as in Ireland, seem to have been actually lived in by the owner (and sometimes his family), but some (such as those in San Gimignano and the Caucasus) were not strictly residential, but reserved for emergencies. As in Ireland, many countries had these small castles grouped inside towns as well, or instead of, in the countryside. The tower houses of the world present an immense variety of styles and materials, and are found in equally varied and unconnected societies: the common feature is that people felt the need to protect themselves from violence, and so built homes that would re-

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70. Camasasca, pp. 67-8.
71. Duly, op. cit., p. 24; S.I. Hallett and Rufi Samizay, Traditional architecture of Afghanistan, New York, 1980, pp. 123-7.
72. The Pueblo tribes built towers, which could have been; see for example, one in the Mesa Verde pueblo, Colorado, in Guidoni, op. cit., p. 121. The Japanese, however, despite their numerous castles, did not go in for tower houses; in Japan the strength of a fortress lies in its elaborate curtain walls rather than its keep - c.f. Kiroshi Hirai, Feudal Architecture of Japan, New York and Tokyo, 1973, pp. 11-4; Duffy, pp. 143-5.

pel or deter armed thieves, and perhaps put up resistance to more serious attacks. Most countries in Western Europe had them, and given, that Ireland was among the more lawless parts of that area in the Middle Ages, it would have been surprising if it had not built tower houses.

AN OUTLINE OF TIPPERARY HISTORY.

The Norman conquest of Ireland was characterized by the invader's great military superiority; they could defeat the Irish, who lacked armour and cavalry, then built fortresses that were resistant to most of the natives' counterattacks. In Tipperary there were early setbacks, such as the destruction in 1196 of the recently-built motte at Kilfeakle (248),[73] but on the whole the invasion was a rapid Norman success, consolidated by the construction of earth castles. The first we know of was at Ardfinnan (7) which Giraldus says was built in 1185,[74] followed by Thurles (383) which existed by 1189 and was built near a Gaelic fort.[75] Kilfeakle and Knockgraffon (273) followed in 1192.[76] As only a minority of the county's mottes are dated, one cannot be exactly sure how long this first phase of settlement lasted; Roscrea (360) motte was constructed as late as 1213.[77] By this time there were stone castles; Kiltinan (263) existed by 1215, and Nenagh (312), and perhaps Terryglass (379) were products of Theobald Walter, who died in 1206.[78]

Three of the early stone castles have round keeps, and it is hard not to believe that these were copied from those in South Wales,

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73. Orpen, "Mottes", in EHR, p. 448. The castle was rebuilt in 1203.
74. Renn, p. 92. This is the standard work on the subject, but omits many Irish castles for which there is no documentary evidence. The motte was soon replaced by a stone tower.
75. Renn, p. 322; NLI MS Callanan, Eliogurty, p. 343.
76. Renn, pp. 215, 219.
77. Renn, pp. 303-4.
78. Renn, pp. 216, 252; Leask, Castles, p. 46; Leask, "Terryglass", p. 141.

which was both the home of many of the Norman conquerors, and the prime area in Britain for round keeps. There is a particularly close resemblance between Ardfinnan and Kiltinan and the early thirteenth century tower at Skenfrith, Monmouthshire, which has a similar rounded bulge to hold the staircase (plate 2).

Theobald Walter was one of the most prominent of the colonists, and was the ancestor of the family that gradually became known by its hereditary office, Butlers to the King. This family was the most important political force in Tipperary until Cromwell. King John granted to the Butlers about half of what was to become the county, held by 22 knights, each the tenant of a manor.[79] Although there were losses, as when the barony of Ikerrin passed by marriage to the Purcells, who were to hold it for centuries,[80] the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries were a time of expansion for the Butlers. The other two leading families in the original conquest, the de Burgos and the de Worcesters, failed to match them and lost large tracts of land, such as the manor of Carrick-on-Suir (104), a Butler property from 1315.[81] The great moment was in 1328, when James Butler became first Earl of Ormond (he was already Earl of Corrick) and was granted the county of Tipperary as a Liberty. It was to remain a Liberty until 1716, although there were short gaps when it was resumed into the King's hand, always to be regranted;[82] and so, theoretically, and, when Butler power was great, in practice, all Tipperary was administered by the family.

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79. It is not certain when in fact Tipperary became a shire. Officially it was part of the bounty of Munster until just before 1254, but a court, implying some sort of administration, was held in Cashel in 1235 - Empey, PH.D., pp. 2-3, 113-6.
80. ibid., p. 3.
81. ibid., pp. 4-5, 9-12, 24-52.
82. ibid., pp. 49, 69, 391-2. One gap was 1621-62 (p. 372).

The Liberty meant that tenants-in-chief became tenants of the Earl in respect of all lands in Tipperary,[83] so the Earl held the whole county (save church lords - see Ch. IX). As the historian of the lordship remarks, "in short, the charter of 1328 placed the earl of Ormond in the position formerly occupied by the king and his ministers." All pleas (with four exceptions) were to be tried by the Earl's courts, and all writs, even Royal ones, were to be executed by his officers. In theory the Liberty had to follow Common Law,[84] but in practice the Earl could make some laws of his own, such as the fifteenth century Ordinances of the White Earl. The king exerted little direct influence, and there was only one castle permanently in Royal hands, the small prison-tower of Cashel (112). The government of Tipperary was by two sets of officers, those for the Liberty as a whole, and those for the Earl's own lands. These were mainly the normal feudal functionaries, but by the fifteenth century there were such peculiarly Irish additions as Captain of the Kern.[85]

The geographical pattern of settlement is shown by the distribution of mottes, early stone castles and market towns in the count, the main centres which the invaders established in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (see Ch. V and Maps 2-3). Two considerations seem to have influenced the pattern. Firstly, there was the desire to control communications, the most important being the Carrick-Clonmel-Tipperary route that linked Dublin, Wexford and Waterford with much of counties Cork, Limerick and Kerry. When the Butlers also owned Kilkenny they had exclusive control of the Barrow-Nore-Suir basin, which proved of national strategic importance in the late fifteenth

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83. ibid., p. 69.
84. ibid., pp. 371-2, 387.
85. ibid., pp. 426-60.

century when it helped foil the Yorkist pretenders.[86] Secondly, they naturally wanted the most fertile lands, those less than 600' above sea-level.[87] The mottes and early stone castles were the capita of manors as well as fortresses, and no settlement could succeed if unable to produce enough food to feed itself. The manor, in theory the home of a fully-armed horseman, was the basic division of land, although in Tipperary it seems the Normans also retained the old Irish tribal areas (or cantreds), which were sometimes coextensive with the lands of large manors.[88]

As the knights and their followers were few in number, they could never dispossess the mass of the native population, whom they needed to work the land. However, in some parts, particularly the south, there were considerable influxes of other non-Gaelic immigrants of lower social standing, who would have become lesser farmers or burgesses. By Edward I's reign, Otway-Ruthven estimates that in some areas the English and Welsh may even have outnumbered the Irish.[89] There is no definite proof of how racial divisions were reflected in agriculture, but the betaghs (Irish unfree tenants) seem to have stuck to cattle, rather than plough the land. Field systems and settlement patters seem to have varied over Ireland, but Buchanan believes the betaghs lived in baile or clachans as opposed to the normal manorial village.[90] In Ormond, despite several castles, the Normans never seem to have been able to induce enough tenants to settle, and never fully imposed a feudal system on the area. The O'Kennedys

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86. ibid,, p. 26.
87. Otway-Ruthven, History, p. 115.
88. Empey, PH.D., pp. 121-2.
89. Otway-Ruthven, "Settlement", pp. 77-82. It is very difficult to be sure on this matter for identification of nationality rests on the fallible test of surnames.
90. Buchanan, pp. 609-11.

continued under their own chiefs in a semi-independent fashion - fourteenth-century documents show that they may have had to provide soldiers and rent to the Earl, but had to do suit or court only at Nenagh, and not, like Anglo-Norman lords, at the Liberty and county courts. The O'Kennedy's continued to use Brehon law, as did the Butlers in dealing with them.

The failure to break and subdue some powerful tribes explains to a large degree the weakness of the Norman hold over much of the country, which became obvious in the partial reconquest known as the "Gaelic Resurgence". This had most effect in those areas where the basic political structure of the clans does not seem to have been attacked, and least in the south where the Irish had been to some degree integrated into the feudal system, and where there was the heaviest density of immigrants.[92]

By the late thirteenth century Tipperary appears to have been fairly prosperous,[93] and even in the mid-fourteenth century it was much richer than Cork, Kerry, Waterford or Limerick, to judge from an assessment based on the land and wealth of each county's inhabitants.[94] However, wars and disturbances, caused by both Gaelic and Anglo-Norman lords, had started to harm the whole county in the 1290's;[95] in 1290 Theobald Butler complained that his castle of Dorrha had been taken and knocked down, to the detriment of his lands that he could no longer protect,[96] and in 1297-8 the county was said to be in a state of civil war.[97] The first large-scale ex-

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91. Empey, Ph.D., pp. 102-6.
92. ibid., p. 110.
93. ibid., p. 124.
94. NLI MS Betham Excerpta, II, p. 158. The exact date appears to be 1356-7 or 1361-2, and the assessment was for a defence subsidy.
95. Empey, Ph.D., pp. 133-4.
96. CDI 1285-92, p. 315.
97. PROI MS Betham, XII, p. 29.

pulsion of Normans was in 1306 in Ely O'Carroll, when the O'Carrolls took advantage of a quarrel between two sets of colonists.[98] Then came the Bruce invasion and two Ormond minorities, and all during the century the Earl lost land ; this included Nenagh (321), an old possession but rather isolated from his main power base in south Tipperary and Kilkenny. But the Irish never had the machinery of government needed to wage a long and successful war against the heavily Normanized south, and so by the beginning of the fifteenth century they had reached their limit. This does not seem to have been realized by the Anglo-Normans (or English, which seems a more suitable name by this stage) who often argued that the total destruction of the colony in Ireland seemed imminent, especially when it came to asking for money for defence.[99] Even places like Cashel that were proof against real conquest could be greatly inconvenienced by raids, and the Earl's revenues in this period were only a fraction of those he enjoyed in the thirteenth century.[100] In 1393 the baronies of Cahir and Drumlummin, both in the far south, were described as "marches" which implies that there was also danger of attacks from Cork and Limerick.[101]

A related threat to the colony was that the settlers themselves were being "contaminated" by Gaelic society, reverting, it was felt, from civilization to barbarism. English sources of the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries are full of references to this, and various sets of laws were passed to stop it, the most famous being the Statutes of Kilkenny of 1366 - which still clasified Tipperary as "English" or obedient" land.[102] People (in Dublin at least) thought of a

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98. Empey, Ph.D., pp. 138-9.
99. ibid., pp. 143-52.
100. ibid., pp. 201, 234.
101. Graves, King's Council, p. 220.
102. Curtis, History, p. 232.

divide between the "land of peace" where feudal institutions and Common Law remained, and "the land of war" where Gaelic anarchy held sway, by conquest or cultural encroachment.

This was partly true. The old Anglo-Norman families of Tipperary did adopt a lot of Gaelic habits, including, to give but one example, Irish-speaking poets to praise a sixteenth-century Earl of Ormond just as if he had been an Irish chieftain.[103] Some of his tenants, with names like Purcell, Tobin and de Burgo ( or Burke) had become almost indistinguishable from the original natives.[104] Methods of war and military organization became very similar (Ch. II). The people intermarried, and many scions of Anglo-Norman families were fostered out to Irish women, thus learning the Irish tongue as well as, or instead of, English or French. Towns could not trade in a hostile environment, so had to come to some arrangement with nearby chieftains.[105]

But this is not the complete picture. Irish gentlemen also took up Anglo-Norman ideas, the most important of which was living in stone castles. A great deal of Norman culture did survive. Some manors were destroyed, but many still functioned in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Ch. V, p. 170 ). There were areas of Tipperary where people lived by English, not Brehon, law, and refused to acknowledge any lord save the Earl. In many parts of the countryside there is some evidence that English was the normal language in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[106] The Earl used the Irish method of coign and livery as the major means of defending Tipperary in the fifteenth century, but at least he seems to have asked for

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103. Maher, Carrick, pp. 56-61.
104. Empey, Ph.D., p. 496.
105. Lydon, "Frontier", pp. 12-6, 18-9.
106. Empey, Ph.D., pp. 495-6.

the consent of the Liberty court before introducing the impositions.[107] The administration and courts of the county never ceased to operate for long, and the merchants were kept trading and would not have been able to do so without some sort of protection from Englaish law.[108]

One gets the impression that the higher ranking people of Tipperary in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were culturally amphibious, at ease in both traditions and taking what they wanted from either as the occasion demanded. Black Tom, Earl of Ormond, seems to have been as much at home with his intimate friend Queen Elizabeth as in a Tipperary castle with his Irish bard. It is clear from a document of 1537 that the Butler lord of Cahir used Brehon lawyers,[109] but somebody in his position would also have had to use common law. Even the 1569 Laws of Munster, while forbidding Brehon law, in fact incorporate a Brehon method of adjudicating responsibility in matters of cattle-theft.[110]

In the fifteenth century it may have seemed that there was little real difference between the "land of peace" and the "land of war", in the quarrelling and raiding that went on. One contributory factor was that the Earls often had matters other than their local concerns to occupy their attention; in 1417 a dispute with Sir John Talbot led to a temporary confiscation of Butler estates, and after 1452 the Earls were absentees, in England. They were Lancastrians - one was beheaded in 1461 for being on the wrong side[111] - and the period of Yorkist supremacy allowed their traditional foes,

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107. Empey and Simms, p. 172.
108. Empey, Ph.D., pp. 499-501, 507-9.
109. ibid., p. 502.
110. Carew, I, pp. 411-2.
111. J.H. Ramsey, Lancaster and York, Oxford, 1892, II, p. 274.

the Yorkist Fitzgeralds, to pillage their lands.[112] Cadet branches of the Butler family had grown to maturity by the end of the century, with enough lands and power to defy the Earl at times. For example, the illegitimate son of the third Earl received the manor of Cahir,[113] and his descendents were a thorn in the flesh of the main branch for many years. Having built the biggest castle in South Tipperary, the Barons of Cahir squabbled with other Butlers over the ownership of Carrick, and generally opposed the restoration of firm government.[114] A composition (peace-treaty) of 1515 between Earl and Baron shows how both cousins had their own administration and army, raised by an amalgam of feudal and Gaelic means.[115] Lesser families were also split, such as the Keatings. Most of this old Norman family "gone native" were loyal to the Crown in the sixteenth century, but not all; one was killed fighting the Earl of Essex in Elizabeth's wars.[116]

The sixteenth century broughtimportant changes, the results of Tudor efforts to do what the Normans never had, impose an effective rule over all Ireland. There had been military expeditions to Ireland in the fourteenth century, the most important led by Richard II, but they never stayed long enough to have a permanent effect, as the crown was unwilling to pay the high financial cost of a full conquest, with its numerous permanent garrisons. The English cause was helped by occasional forays of the Justiciar's army to Tipperary, such as that of 1348 to Nenagh,[117] but these, too, never stayed long. The Tudors were more determined, and, ultimately, more

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112. Empey, Ph.D., pp. 264, 299-300, 304-5.
113. ibid., pp. 315-6.
114. ibid., pp. 329-30, 334.
115. COD, IV, pp. 43-5.
116. Burke, "Keating", p. 173.
117. Clynn and Dowling, p. 35.

successful.

Henry VIII (who was the first King, rather than Lord, of Ireland) and his successors wanted to make the country peaceful and Anglicized; among their main obstacles were the great independent lords, who could aid rebels like Perkin Warbeck, or foreign enemies like Phillip II. There are many contemporary estimates of the size of these men's armies; one of 1599 gives a total of 2,260 foot and 192 horse for the rebel fources in Tipperary, which consisted of eight separate lordly or tribal groups.[118] The battle of Affane in 1565 (where Ormond beat and captured the Earl of Desmond) is usually regarded as the last private battle in Ireland,[119] but in fact during the remainder of the century a great number of Irishmen fought for and against the Crown, and for themselves. Men of Norman surnames as well as Gaelic were prominent in the struggle against Elizabeth.

One English strategy was to descend with an army on some locality and force the chiefs to make formal submission to the Crown, from which in future they would hold their lands and owe service in the English manner. In Tipperary this process occured in 1538, when Leonard Grey, Lord Deputy, made a progress with a force through parts of the county, causing O'Kennedy and Mac I Brien Ara to submit. An indenture between the King and the "chief captain" of Ely O'Carroll stipulated that the latter would provide soldiers and aid for the Royal army when called on.[120] In 1541, the Dublin Parliament judged a succession dispute in Ely O'Carroll, but they said that if any further argument should come up, what sounds like a native

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118. Carew, III, p. 301. Some of these lords normally dwelt in adjoining counties, but all were operating in Tipperary that year.
119. G. Butler, "Affane".
120. W.F. Butler, "Surrender and regrant", pp. 59-60; Carew, I, pp. 141, 145.

system of adjudication should be used.[121]

For a while these shows of strength may have prevented trouble, for while in 1537 a Royal commission set up to examine the state of Carlow, Kildare, Wexford, Waterford, Kilkenny and Tipperary held that the last two counties were the scenes of the worst mismanagement,[122] in 1553 a lengthy report on the state of Munster said all was well and the O'Kennedys, O'Carrolls and O'Dwyers, "which were wont to be mortal enemies to the English pale" now served the King, and lent him gallowglass. The Irish were obedient; they had been prevented from following their traditional occupation of raiding by the newly enforced English law, and so were unable to maintain any soldiers, without whom they could not raid.[123] But this break in the circle, if achieved at all, did not last long. In 1562 the Earl of Sussex saw great oppression and disorder in Munster, caused largely, he said, by the Gaelic social system and the lack of English law.[124] In 1567 Deputy Sidney visited Clonmel, Cashel and Fethard, towns which complained that the Liberty officers were unjust, and that trade was interrupted by violence that some towns were under a perpetual siege.[125] Sidney recommended that a Lord President and Council were necessary to keep the peace in Munster, and the idea took form in 1569.[126]

Tipperary was involved in the wars against Elizabeth. The depredations of the Earl of Desmond in the 1580's (Ch. II, pp. 63, 65-6) were disastrous to the county, and there was also trouble in the late 1590's between Tyrone and his allies and the English and their allies.[127]

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121. Carew, I, pp.176-7.
122. P. Wilson, Beginnings, pp. 60-1.
123. Carew, I, pp. 235-7, 245-6.
124. ibid., pp. 335-6, 339-42.
125. Bagwell, II, p. 112. No sources quoted.
126. Bagwell, II, pp. 115, 127, 155-6.
127. D.F. Gleeson, Last lords, pp. 21-9. For a general survey of the wars, see Falls.

Although there were no major battles in the county, there was a great deal of raiding and destruction. Vivid, if perhaps overdone, descriptions of the desolation of the place are found, notably in 1566, 1584 and 1598 - in this last years towns as important as Emly and Tipperary were reported to be "waste".[128]

Peace only came with Mountjoy's victory over the main rebel army, and his taking of many rebel strongholds. English garrisons came to towns and fortresses, although not, it seems in Tipperary - here the power of the Earl was presumably thought adequate. The rebels of the country had suffered great losses in recent years, especially among their chieftains,[129] and so perhaps the country was quiet through exhaustion as much as anything else.

One means of increasing the number of loyal subjects that found much favour in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was "plantation" with Scottish or English settlers. No doubt because of the Earl's presence, Tipperary was never subjected to this until Cromwell's time, although neighbouring Ely O'Carroll was planted in 1619 and the following years.[130] There were plans made to plant Ormond in the reigns of James I and Charles I, but they were never implemented.[131]

Even without these schemes, there can be no doubt that during the seventeenth century Tipperary, like the rest of Ireland, became more Anglicized, and the "Gaelic Resurgence" in cultural matters was at last reversed. Documentation for this period is more plentiful, but there are no mentions of Brehon law, which indicates the triumph

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128. Flynn, pp. 329-30; AFM, V, pp. 1783-5 is very lurid.
129. Fiants of Elizabeth (RDK, 11-18, index in 21-2) list many Tipperary men slain in rebellion. For casualties in Ormond, see D.F. Gleeson, Last lords, Appendix II.
130. Atkinson, M. Litt., pp. 46-8. Ely at times included parts of north Tipperary - J. Gleeson, Ely, pp. vii-viii.
131. D.F. Gleeson, Last lords, pp. 53-4, 61-5; J.P. Prendergast, "Plantation", pp. 399-405.

of common law. The O'Kennedys, some of whom appear to have taken English leases on their lands in Henry VIII's reign,[132] still fought as a Gaelic sept in the Elizabethan wars, led by the "captains of their nation"; but when they next took up arms, in 1641, it was as officers of the Confederate army, organized along European lines.[133] The constant petty warfare that was endemic in Gaelic society (Ch. II) was curbed (although not eradicated - it broke out again when law and order collapsed in the 1640's), for there are hardly any reports of troubles between 1603 and 1641. The only incident Gleeson can find in north Tipperary is the burning of Pallis fair in 1629 by some O'Kennedys. A "planter" from Waterford was involved in the case,[134] and it is notable that The Civil Survey shows that in 1640 several Tipperary castles were owned by noblemen and merchants from other counties, often "English Protestants" who came individually rather than as part of a plantation. Although travellers who visited Ireland in the seventeenth century normally felt, and said, that it was still different in life, style and manners from most of Europe, the difference was much less than it had been, especially after Cromwell.[135] One of the most important changes was the abandonment of the tower house, the traditional gentlemen's home, for a country house in the English style.

This process was cemented by the war of 1640-51. Ireland's first real religious conflict, it united Gaelic Irish and "Old English", the Catholics of Norman stock, against the newcomers. Tipperary saw heavy fighting, an assortment of atrocities by various factions, and in the

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132. J.P. Prendergast, "Plantation", p. 397.
133. D.F. Gleeson, Last lords, p. 31.
134. ibid., p. 68.
135. MacLysaght, (p. 4) points out how Gaelic much of life still was, but it comes across clearly from his book that the Irish gentleman of the later seventeenth century was much closer to other Europeans than those of previous times.

end complete control by Cromwell's army, which held all the important towns and castles, and even built a few more holds. Determined to break up what was left of the Gaelic, Papist, social system that he saw as the root of all troubles, Cromwell simply deported large numbers of people. More than 30,000 ex-Confederates soldiers were allowed to leave Ireland. The landowners who were judged to have supported the rebellion lost all their property and lands; those regarded as innocent were transplanted to Connacht or Clare, where they were given new lands, the old ones going to the new Protestant upper class of English soldiers and settlers.[136] Research has yet to be done on how many men left Tipperary; all four of the Tipperary septs chronicled by Callanan lost important men, either exiled or just dispossessed.[137] The Williamite confiscation after the Treaty of Limerick in 1691 strengthened the change,[138] and the age of Protestant Ascendency replaced the Middle Ages.

THE SOURCES

As the contents page indicates, the tower house was important in most areas of Tipperary history from the fourteenth to the seventeenth centuries. So it is surprising to find how little interest the subject of tower houses, and of Irish castles in general, has aroused among scholars, especially considering the amount written in the past century on English, Scottish and Welsh castles.

Most eighteenth-century scholars preferred the more obscure parts of Ireland's past; one exception was Gabriel Beranger, whose volumes of water-colours, about 1775-80, include many castles.[139] The first

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136. Moody and Martin, pp. 202-3.
137. Callanan, Septs, pp. 54, 102-3, 147-8, 179-80.
138. Moody and Martin, pp. 201, 217-8.
139. RIA MS Beranger; for Tipperary he drew Knochgraffon and Carrick, 3.0.30, pp. 21.63.

to publish on the subject was Edward Ledwich, who did most of the work for the two Irish volumes of Grose's Antiquities. He quotes (and believes) Sir John Davies' opinion that the Irish were not normally castle-dwellers, and "have only in imitation of us, erected some few piles for the captains of their country." He says Irish castles are in no respect dissimilar to English ones, although he does note their great density.[140] The bulk of the work consists of short pieces on individual monuments, many of them castles, with engravings (sometimes inaccurate). More modest were the diaries of Austin Cooper, compiled between 1784 and 1812, and including several Tipperary castles; his engraving of a 1744 drawing of Ardfinnan (7) is particularly valuable, showing it as it was before its drastic restoration.[141] Even better is a drawing done in 1818 by Lt. Robert Shaw - it shows Knockagh Castle (206), almost complete, while today only the tower and some foundations remain.[142]

In the 1830's the Ordance Survey, in preparing its 6" maps of Ireland, undertook an antiquarian survey which was intended to list every old stone building, and provide copies of some primary sources that mention them. This work fell into two parts. The Extracts and Inquisitions are copies of documents, which contain many references to tower houses; the Sketches and Letters are pictorial and written representations of the buildings themselves.[143] The Letters for Tipperary cover the majority of the county's castles, some in minute detail. Their defects are inaccuracies (particularly in orientation), lack of plans, and an idiosyncratic and inconstant architectural vocabulary. The

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140. Grose, I, pp. xxxvi-xxxix. Davies was very ill-informed on this matter, considering his position - Attorney General of Ireland.
141. Price, Cooper, pl.23. Price does not publish all the diaries; c.f. NLI MSS Cooper.
142. Victoria and Albert Musuem, D. 264-91 Box 64a; there is a copy in the Irish Architectural Archive.
143. All these documents are RIA MSS.

Sketches are fewer in number, but of very high quality. Many are by George du Noyer, the first man to publish an analysis of any sort of tower house; he identified the fortified churches of Ireland as a distinct type.[144]

The second half of the nineteenth century saw a considerable increase in interest in all sorts of Irish ancient monuments, including castles. Henry O'Neill wrote six notebooks on antiquities, including a number of tower houses, some in Tipperary. He drew measured plans, and analysed certain features of towers, notably their ground plans.[145] Others contented themselves with drawings, either on the site, or from earlier pictures (particularly the OS Sketches) or prints.[146] The archaeological journals have always had articles on individual castles, and much more rarely, surveys in varying detail of whole counties. Thirteenth-century works, because they are usually bigger and better documented than tower houses, have received much of the attention, but there is nevertheless a large number of towers from all over the county described in print, often with plans and pictures.[147] Several of the regional works are very valuable.[148] Westropp was the first to see the small castles which he called "peel towers" as different from earlier buildings, and gave what is a fairly accurate dating. He knew many were Irish-built, whereas many people were still tempted to call any castle "Norman".[149] Ulster, with relatively few castles, has two of

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144. Du Noyer, pp. 32-9.
145. NLI MS O'Neill, II, pp. 14-5 for ground-plan analysis.
146. NKI MSS Anon Sketchbook; Fleming; Frazer. For a list of pictures of Tipperary subjects, see Elmes.
147. There is no adequate bibliography of these articles. For those on Tipperary, see the bibliography in this thesis; and for those in the Pale see that in Davin, M.Litt. Most Ulster castles have appearing in the UJA, but in the rest of the country there are so many castles that many of even the well-preserved towers have never been covered.
148. For a list of counties surveyed, see Ch. V, Table 1.
149. Westropp, "Clare peel towers", pp. 348-9.

its counties well served by full archaelogical surveys. That of Down has descriptions (often with pictures and plans) of each of the county's castles, and that on Donegal is similar, but adds remarks on vanished tower houses.[150] Equally interesting is Davin's thesis on the four Pale counties; she does not give so comprehensive an architectural account, but it is very valuable when it comes to the distribution, function, origin and evolution of tower houses. A second work on Pale fortalices concentrates on those in towns.[151]

There are several incomplete unpublished surveys or collections that cover the whole country. An annonymous late nineteenth-century manuscript claims to list and give brief details of all extant castles, but fails by a long way, noting only 114 in Tipperary, just over half the present figure.[152] The Irish Architectural Archive and the Office of Public Works have large collections of pictures of the best preserved specimens, and the National Musuem of Ireland has a Field Monument File, written descriptions collected from various sources. An Foras Forbartha, the office of physical planning, has several reports on antiquities; two cover the northern half of Tipperary, but as yet there is no material for the south.[153]

The first published book solely about Irish castles appeared in 1904; it was a series of histories of (usually) the larger castles.[154] In 1941 Leask produced Irish castles and castellated houses, whose analysis of the architecture of tower houses, supported by expert drawings and plans, has been followed by all subsequent authors including the present one. Stalley's Architecture and sculpture in Ireland

150. County Down, pp. 120-32; Lacy, pp. 350-84.
151. Davin, M. Litt.; Murtagh, MA.
152. NLI MS Ancient castles, pp. 190-203.
153. An Foras Forbar - tha MSS Craig; Healy.
154. Adams; the only Tipperary subject in Carrick, pp. 85-9.

1150-1350 has additional material on the early castles, while McNeill's monograph on Carrickfergus Castle is easily the most thorough work on any Irish castle. De Breffny's Castles of Ireland adds little to the general account, but illustrates a number of interesting individual castles. Craig's Architecture of Ireland has emphasized that the tower house is an important and integral part of the development of Irish building; as well as summarizing earlier evidence, he describes certain hitherto neglected architectural features.

If the secondary sources on castles are relatively few, there is no lack of literature on at least the Anglo-Norman and English aspects of the more general history of Ireland in the late Middle Ages and early modern period.[155] Empey's study of the Butler lordship, which is virtually a political and administrative history of Tipperary until 1515, has proved especially valuable; Tipperary has also produced many local historians, whose writings are very useful for the background to tower houses.[156]

There is not space to describe all the primary sources available; but as it is sometimes thought that the materials for the study of the later Middle Ages, and in particular tower houses, are very scarce, it would be as well to give a brief outline of the sorts of sources available.

Sources originally in Irish fall into two categories, annals and poetry. The annals were, at least until the fourteenth century, normally compiled in monasteries, and they contain material both con-

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155. Bibliographies in Asplin; Moody, Martin and Byrne.
156. There is a bibliography for work on north Tipperary 1915-1982 by George Cunningham in his introduction to J. Gleeson, Ely, pp. xxvii-lxxx, to supplement Gleeson's own list of earlier works. For the whole county there is Tipperary County Library MS McLoughney; and R.J Hayes, Sources for the history of Irish civilization; articles in Irish periodicals, IX, Boston, 1970.

temporary with the writer and relating to the past, often copied from a lost original work. Sometimes items were entered under the wrong years, and it takes detailed textual criticism to establish the order and method of composition, and in some cases the reliability, of Irish annals. This can also be so with the less important Anglo-Irish annals, usually written in Latin.[157] Fortunately, this thesis mainly draws on the later sections of annals, which seem the fullest and most accurate parts.

Peotry, by its nature, is suspect as an historical source, and the majority of poems encountered here are paeans of praise for a lord or his castle, which compare man and stronghold to ancient or mythical ideals. However when a tower house is described in a poem designed to be sung in the very castle, the words could not have been too far from reality, or else the whole affair - which was propaganda as well as entertainment - would be laughable. The poems may exaggerate the deeds of the towers' lords, but they probably give a good idea of how the lords wanted to be thought of, and so their whole ethos. Particularly interesting is the epic, The triumphs of Turlough, which describes wars, some in Tipperary, at the very beginning of the tower house era. A recent scholar has concluded, by examining its vocabulary and style, that it is a sound and early document, perhaps written shortly after the events it records.[158]

Material in English, French and Latin, and dealing mainly with the Normans and their descendants is more common. There are the normal government records, the Pipe, Memoranda, Close, Patent, Statute and Justiciary Rolls of the Dublin administration, which exist in numerous manuscripts and printed collections, sometimes only in a

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157. MacNiocaill, Annals, pp. 13-9, 28, 38-9.
158. L.F. McNamara; MacCraith, Triumphs.

nineteenth-century summary. Then there are the Inquisitions, in four main collections.[159] These are inquiries into the lands and property of an individual, taken after his death or when he was involved in an attainder, and they very often mention castles. Unfortunately, inquisitions only became common and detailed in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

For the sixteenth century there are new complications of documents, generally referred to as State Papers. They deal mainly with political and military affairs in Ireland, and reports to London on the state of the country. The official volumes are the Calender of State Papers, Ireland, but the entries here are often abbreviated heavily, and it is therefore useful to supplement them with fuller accounts in various other collections, which sometimes contain documents omitted from the official series.[160]

Tipperary is very fortunate that the muniments of the Earls of Ormond survived in Kilkenny Castle, and they have yielded much material on castles and manors, as well as the social and political life of Tipperary. The Red Book of Ormond contains a number of manorial accounts for the fourteenth, and a few for the fifteenth, century; the various calendars, published and unpublished, of Ormond Deeds, give a wealth of information for the whole of the tower house period.[161] Another invaluable work is The Civil Survey; it exists for many counties, but the volumes for Tipperary are particularly full and detailed. It was a survey of Ireland initiated by the Cromwellian government, and, in Tipperary's case, carried out in 1654. A thorough

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159. RIA MS OS Ings; PROI MSS Deeds,; Exchequer Ings; Record Commission, Chancery Ings.
160. Carew; Brady; Collins/Sydney.
161. COD; NLI MSS COM; SCOD.

piece of work, it includes the majority (352 out of 410 certain) of castle in the county. It is likely that if a tower house is listed here, it did exist - the same cannot be said for some less reliable works - which is an important consideration as The Civil Survey is in some cases our only record of a fortalice. The Survey notes who owned the lands and buildings before the 1641 rebellion,[162] yet it describes the physical condition of the county just as the surveyors saw it, with all the damage wrought by the war.

Troubles and misfortunes naturally loom large in documents, and there is a fair number of descriptions of the crimes and wars of Tipperary in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which provides much of the material for the next two chapters. Some are accounts by soldiers who fought in the wars they discuss, and which are usually more honest, it seems, than many propagandists away from the fighting. Complaints by victims of crime and war are particularly liable to untruth and exaggeration; this is above all so when there is a possibility of compensation or revenge, as there was in the case of the famous Depositions of 1641.[163]

Another effect of the Tudor and later conflicts was to increase enormously English interest in matters Irish. In the Middle Ages most English chroniclers dealt with Ireland by ignoring it, but in Elizabeth's reign the public supported a number of journalistic, historical and anthropological books on Ireland. Camden's Britannia has an Irish section, mainly based on other writers of his time; he was keen, like most interested Englishmen, to show the Irish in the worst possible light.[164] Most of these historians are of little use to the

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162. CS, I, pp. xii, xv.
163. TCD MS, Depositions; see Ch. III, pp. 108.
164. Camden, IV, p. 469, for an example of this attitude.

student of tower houses, as they tend to see the Middle Ages in broad terms, as the story of a struggle for English dominion. The works of "journalism" covering the contemporary or recent wars, and the habits of the people, are much more valuable; but they are biased as modern publicists, both in exaggerating English martial prowess and civilization, and in demeaning the enemy. Perhaps the least trustworthy of all is the only example from the other side, O'Sullivan Beare's History of Catholic Ireland. One exception is Luke Gernon, who wrote in part to defend the Irish from calumny.[165] Gernon published seventeen years after Tyrone's war ended, and on the whole travellers of the seventeenth century are more favourable than their predecessors. Even here one must beware; Thomas Dyneley's journal is justly celebrated for its eyewitness drawings of tower houses, but not all are "genuine" - some are copies of prints in Pacata Hibernia, published half a century before.[166] In the wars after 1641 and 1690 there was more hastily produced propaganda: one example simply copies much of what it says about the Irish from Elizabethan and Jacobean sources, as even the author admits.[167]

Maps and geographical works[168] are essential to find and place the most important source of all, the tower houses themselves. There are relatively few pre-1843 maps of Tipperary, and most are too small in scale to be of much use. (The few detailed ones are mainly of towns - see Ch. VIII). One exception is the Down Survey maps, drawn

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165. Falkiner, p. 356. The question of the Elizabethan attitude to Ireland is covered fully by Quinn.
166. NLI MS Dineley, pp. 164, 181, 196; compare Stafford, I, facing pp. 53, 89; II facing p. 91.
167. Eachard, pp. 23-5, and preface.
168. The most important of the latter are Killanin and Duignan; White, Anth. Tipp.; Lewis.

in the 1650's and intended to be as comprehensive as The Civil Survey.[169] But while informative in many ways, they distort area, and should only be used cautiously, and with a modern map. Maps of this period usually show buildings by pictures of them, sometimes quite accurate, but usually, especially on small scale maps, very stylised. The representations on the Down Survey are suspiciously similar, and so can only be trusted to give the most elementary feature of a tower house.

More important are modern maps of the county, of which there are two sets to be considered. The 6" sheets were printed in 1843, with a revised edition early this century. As might have been expected from the Ordnance Survey, which took so much trouble over Ireland's antiquities, they mark all the castles then existing, as well as sites of vanished towers. The maps' only omissions are a grid and a means of judging height above sea-level; both these are on the ½" Ordnance Survey sheets, last revised in 1976-80.[170] The ½" maps normally indicate ancient monuments, but not as thoroughly as on larger ones - sometimes a castle is omitted, and in a few places a castle is marked where in fact none exists.

In many ways Tipperary is the ideal county to study, for it has probably the highest number of castles in any county, many of which have substantial remains. The written sources are also plentiful, by Irish medieval standards. Although the county did not often come under the direct control of Dublin, and so lacks government papers that record the subsidised tower houses such as are found in the Pale, this is more than made up for by other considerations, chiefly

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169. Published by the Ordnance Survey in 1908; see vol. 11, 2 (Munster) for Tipperary.
170. Sheets 15, 18 and 22 cover Tipperary.

the records of the Earls of Ormond. Tipperary was far from tranquil, but some sort of administration kept going, it appears, for most of the time, and this has left its traces. The county has enough Gaelic influence for it to have yielded Irish poems, and to appear in Gaelic annals. The next eight chapters will show how far these materials can give a full picture of one county's tower houses over a period of some 350 years.

## CHAPTER II. WAR, CRIME AND TOWER HOUSES.

> "Every petty gentleman lives in a stone tower, where he gathers into his service all the rascals of the neighbourhood (and of these towers there is an infinite number)" - a Spanish agent in Ireland, reporting to Philip II. (1)

The purpose of this chapter and the next one is to examine how the tower house protected the owner and his property from violent attack. The danger of such attack was one of the most prominent reasons for their construction, and the ending of this threat and its replacement by the worse one of Cromwell's guns led eventually to their abandonment. Unfortunately, for many aspects of violence, most of the evidence comes from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Comparable earlier sources often have not survived; unlike the relatively plentiful documentation for most English castles, hardly anything is known about the military life of most Tipperary towers.

Luckily, conditions and patterns of petty war seem to have been much the same through the period, or at least until the beginning of the seventeenth century (ch. I, p.32). In particular, cattle-raiding seems to have been universal. Therefore, it has been assumed that practices, techniques and machines described as late as the 1640's were like those used earlier. The greatest change must have been the introduction of large English armies, with cannon, and this certainly altered the conduct of some later sieges; but it is striking that many detailed descriptions of sieges in the 1640's do not mention technology (save the musket) or tactics unknown to the soldiers of the Middle Ages.

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1. E. Thompson, Sir Walter Raleigh, London, 1935, p. 13.

A second limitation is that there is not enough material on certain points from Tipperary alone, so for some aspects of the subject one has to use examples from other counties. Tipperary was, of course, no cultural island, and so there was probably little difference between the methods employed here and those in the rest of Ireland. Ch. III is split into two parts, the first looking at sieges all over the country, the second a compilation of material for Tipperary.

CRIME

The most common sort of predator that a tower house was designed against was the local thief, active in times of peace, and taking advantage of war to continue his depredations. Robber bands would normally have been small and not very formidable - a significant piece of evidence from Tipperary appears in the Justiciary Rolls of 1306, when one Robert Hacket was appointed keeper of the peace by the Justices in Eyre at Cashel, "for the preservation of the peace to repress the malice of felons invading from day to day divers parts of the country." The Archbishop of Cashel agreed the same day to maintain six horsemen at his own expense for the defence of his lands.[2] These look like police rather than military measures, although people must have though that collectively the robbers were a menace.

Some evidence shows that anarchy may not always have been the norm. Partly because of the survival of county court rolls, Empey believes that the administration of justice remained intact in the Liberty until the late fifteenth century, with the only serious breakdown in the period just before the arrival of James of Ormond as deputy for an absentee Earl in 1492.[3] The first half of the sixteenth

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2. Empey, Ph.D., pp. 134-5.
3. ibid., pp. 499-501.

century seems to have been disturbed, but there is one report of peace and law throughout Munster in 1553 (ch. I, p.31 ), and in 1569 many of the leading men of Tipperary sent a "certificate" to the Queen praising the Earl of Ormond for restoring order; he had recently arrived in the area.[4] It would be interesting to know the real story behind this document, and it is at least reasonable to suspect it was to curry favour with the Earl, or even a "put up job" by Ormond himself. It does seem likely, that after a long period of troubles, crime became less prevalent under James I and Charles I; which theory is supported by a long list of presentments at the Sheriffs court at Kilkenny in 1637, noticeably free of the sort of thefts so common in Tipperary earlier.[5]

But the normal impression, gained from well-known Tudor writers, is that the Irish were a nation of thieves, and cattle-stealing was normal for many, indeed a proof a manhood.[6] As Stanihurst said, night-thieving was generally though cowardly, but it was honourable to raid and steal by day, and fight if opposed. Anyone who lost goods did not complain, but waited until strong enough to retaliate - and so feuds started.[7] Other authors held that there particular groups who were prone to theft; Edmund Spenser was particularly concerned with masterless, wandering men who hid such "stealths" as they took in booleys, temporary transhumance shelters where officers of the law would not find them.[8] In 1562 the Earl of Sussex reported that:

> "the stealing of bestial and robbing of houses be the greatest matters that annoy the English people and disorder the whole government within the shire ground; which stealths and robberies be commited

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4. Gilbert, Account of Facsimilies, II, p. 166.
5. NLI MS COM, IX, pp. 251-77, d. 4052.
6. Luke Gernon took a different view (Falkiner, p. 345 ff). What is more, it seems from the very similar phrases used that some of the Elizabethan accounts of the Irish plagiarised each other.
7. Lennon, Stanihurst, pp. 147-8.
8. Quinn, pp. 53-4.

> by light persons that have no dwellings themselves..and therefore they be forced to provide receivers for their stealths that have houses of their own and places to hide the stealths." (9)

Barnaby Rich, writing a little later, after 47 years in Ireland, speaks of "the Kerne of Ireland ... the very drosse and scum of the countrey ... that live by robbing and spoiling the poore countreyman":[10] his is a common sentiment about these unemployed professional light infantrymen. Sussex, in his report to the Queen, believed that the habit of electing a chief lay at the root of unlawfulness, for each potential candidate needs must keep a band of Kern, who, idle for most of the time, naturally turned to preying.[11] Fynes Moryson said that the lords of Ireland "nourished thieves, as we do hawks, openly boasting among themselves who had the best thieves."[12]

These are mainly outside observers, who, even after lengthy stays in Ireland, eventually returned to England. Some were biased against the Irish. Yet their testimony on this matter seems to be quite near the truth, and that the crimes they mention were widespread is confirmed by other sources.

One of these is the Law. In 1569 the Laws of Munster took steps to stop men drifting into the state of vagrants, and made it legal for a "good subject" to "take and kill" notorious thieves caught robbing, spoiling or breaking houses by day or night, with 4d reward for every plough in the barony where the thief was killed, and 2d for every cottier.[13] These were not the only statutes passed for the "reformation" of the land, and the very fact that laws were made so

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9. Carew, I, p. 342. This passage is evidence that animals were at times kept indoors.
10. Rich, p. 37.
11. Carew, I, p. 339.
12. Falkiner, p. 247.
13. Carew, I, pp. 409-10.

often indicates that the problem remained serious. An even more revealing law was described in 1589 by one Robert Payne, who seems to have spent some time managing land in Co. Cork:

> "The lawe is there, if you track any stolne goodes into any mans land, he must tracke them from him or answere them within XI daies, so where the tracke ceaseth, the goodes must be answered." (14)

That this was indeed an Irish custom is proved by a Brehon law which stated:

> "The people of the place to which the track of the stolen cattle are traced, unless they can shew the track away from themselves, or restore them, are liable to pay for the theft, unless the road may be the common walk of cattle, or that it is hard and dry, in which the track would be likely to be imperceptible, and then it amounts to but ground of suspision." (15)

The remarkable thing is that this arrangement is the same as that used by another society much beset by cattle-raiding, on the Castillian-Granada border in the fifteenth century.[16] Also, both Irish and Spaniards used expert trackers as "detectives" in matters concerning stolen beasts.[17] A system of specialised law and custom had grown up to counter a specific, widespread problem.

Records of court cases throw some light on crime in Tipperary. The Calenders of Justiciary Rolls, which record several assizes in the county between 1295 and 1314 mention various cases of animal-stealing, although other offences are more common.[18] The Calender of Ormond Deeds contains many documents regarding livestock thefts in the fif-

14. Payne, p. 8.
15. TCD MS H.3.18, fol. 159, trans. Eugene O'Curry, quoted in notes to Payne, p. 21.
16. Juan Torres Fontes, "Notes sobre los fieles des rastro y alfaqueques murcianos", Miscelanea de Estudios Arabes y Hebraicos, 1961, p. 91.
17. ibid., p. 90; Lennon, Stanihurst, p. 148.
18. Cal. Justiciary Rolls, I, pp. 12-3, 132; III pp. 252-8, 272-4, 313, 322-4.

teenth and sixteenth centuries - for example, in 1402 Shane Fyne Bratteragh and his family seized twelve horse, attacking and wounding the owner's men.[19] In 1404 various de Burgos and others robbed Thomas Poer of four farm beasts (2s each) and house furniture (instrumenti domi) worth 20s.[20] A 1514 Inquisition in the Liberty Court of Tipperary does not show cattle-stealing as the predominant crime; of twelve offences only one was about cows, when a Clonmel man is accused of receiving six stolen beasts.[21] No less than five cases ended in murder, of which two are of particular interest to the student of tower houses. William Hackett kidnapped Hugh McGillaghan "galloglagh", and kept him for two days in Balligowill castle before decapitating him. Thomas Tobin, "captain of his nation", led a party " vi et armis" with swords and lances in a warlike manner, to Lawlesstown (282), where they broke into the house of Hugh O'Donill and murdered him.[22]

The lack of cattle-thefts could be explained on the assumption that this inquisition does not seem to be representative of crime in all Tipperary - many of its names are English, and a high proportion of the affairs took place in towns, where such happenings were more likely to find their way into court.

A longer, and perhaps more typical, list of wrongs is in a series of inquisitions taken before royal justices in Tipperary between 1547 and 1553. They reveal a very different pattern of crime. The first inquisition, of 1547, records nothing but thefts, the stolen goods being

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19. COD, II, p. 257. This is but one of several cases around this time. In Curtis' translation the animals are called "cattle" further on, for, according to the OED, the word at this time meant not just "cows", but movable property ("chattels") or any form of livestock.
20. COD, II, p. 259.
21. COD, IV, p. 18. If this man was a proper "fence", it indicates cattle-thieving was on some scale.
22. COD, IV, pp. 16, 17. Lawlesstown is not named after the crimes that went on there, but after a family called Lawles.

63 horses, more than 153 cows, £8 in silver, a cloak and three spears. The largest single haul of horses was 20, and of cows, 120; at the other end of the scale there are two cases of single cows being taken.[23] A year later the next inquisition reveals the loss of 200 kids, 180 goats, over 94 horses, 216 cows (with five other cases of "many" cattle being stolen), 18 pigs, and some money, wool, and household objects. There were four "messages" (probably cabins) burnt, fourteen murders (one in the course of a cattle-raid) and one rape.[24] The other inquisitions are similar; the vast majority of crimes were thefts of livestock, occasionally with violence. What is surprising is that cattle did not form so large a proportion of the preys as might have been expected; the last inquisitions shows the loss of only 12 cows, as against 17 horses, 21 sheep, 8 goats, 16 pigs, and a hive of bees.[25] Even small thefts could be capital offences; a Bourke was hanged for taking a single sheep.[26]

During major political troubles crime would thrive. A report of 1567 on the Ormond - Desmond feud gives the losses of Ormond as 9,875 cows, 3,631 horses, 4,458 swine, 9,841 sheep and goats, and many crops and other properties, as well as 140 people killed, and 4 "towns" and 92 houses burnt.[27] It is not stated how long a period this statement covered, nor what proportion was caused by larger war parties as opposed to the thieves discussed in this section (these were in fact not mutually exclusive categories - see p. 56 below). After the end of the Elizabethan wars things seem to have improved, and in a document of the first decade of the new century

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23. COD, V, pp. 1-2.
24. COD, V, pp. 2-4.
25. COD, V, p. 16.
26. COD, V, p. 17.
27. COD, V, pp. 169-71. "Towns" probably means baile or small settlements rather than real towns.

the Attorney General, Sir John Davies, commented on how well run Munster was.[28] The old habits broke out again in 1641, and again, in a final spasm, during the 1690 war; in that year a parcel of rogues lived in Ballynahow (57) castle, apparently with their animals; after their capture they were kept in a Thurles tower house.[29]

The records are not extensive enough to show a territorial correlation between thefts and the building of towers, either out of the profits of crime, or as a defence in a particularly lawless ares.[30] However, looking at the county as a whole, it is clear that a lot of robbery did go on, sometimes by armed parties who would use violence. Thus a tower house was desirable for any man of property. It had to have small windows, a stout door, and thick walls to prevent the "breaking and entering" that was commonly reported, as when a kern broke into a house in Boytonrath (93) and stole 50 sheep.[31]

This incident, and the case of a receiver keeping stolen animals in his house (p. 48 above), show that beasts could be lodged indoors, and tower houses have ground storeys suitable for this - although their entrances might have sometimes made it hard to get livestock indoors (ch. VI, p. 212 ). However, one room would not have held the large herds enjoyed by many gentlemen, and so castles also had bawns, or fortified courtyards. According to John O'Donovan the word is an anglicization of bàd-hùn, an enclosure or fortress for cows, although another writer believed it was a teutonic word.[32] Fynes Moryson said the numerous cows of the Irish, for which they

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28. CSPI 1603-6, pp. 463-4.
29. Rowland Davies, Journal, pp. 133-4.
30. Philip Dixon, "Towerhouses, pelehouses and Border society", Archaeological Journal, 136 (1979), pp. 240-52, has tried to do this with Northumbrian towers.
31. COD, V, p. 11. It must have been a big house to hold 50 sheep; perhaps what is meant was the bawn of a castle.
32. A.T.Lee, "Bawns", pp. 126, 133. W.A.Hennessey, editor of The Annals of Loch Cé, agreed with O'Donovan - A Loch Cé, II, p. 191.

fought "as for their altars and families" stayed small as they could only eat by day, being brought into the castle bawns at night:

> "for fear of thieves, the Irish using almost no other kind of theft, or else for fear of wolves, the destruction whereof being neglected by the inhabitants, oppressed with greater mischiefs, they are so much grown in number as sometimes on winter nights they will come to prey in villages and the suburbs of cities." (33)

The reference to wolves is not fanciful; in 1614 James I, alarmed by the number of these brutes plaguing Ireland, made a grant to Henry Tuttesham to destroy them, with a bounty of 4 nobles (£1.6.8d) per head.[34] Some thirty years earlier Stanihurst had also described precautions taken against nocturnal dangers:

> "Moreover they keep armed guards to prevent violence being done to them while they sleep. To avoid such an occurence, they post sentries atop the castle, as in a watchtower, who frequently call out and remain vigilant throughout the night. They shout repeatedly as a warning to the head of a household against nocturnal thieves and vagrants lest he sleep so soundly that he be unprepared to repel his enemies bravely from his hearth. The guards awaken him whenever they suspect the arrival of foes and if necessary the prince must be ready to fight it out, sword in hand, in close combat." (35)

A note to the 1753 edition of Dean Swift's works implies that the bawn, "a place near the house, inclosed with mud or stone walls, to keep cattle from being stolen at night", was still occasionally used.[36]

The fear of loss of property must have been compounded by a fear of the considerable force sometimes used to achieve it. To the cases already mentioned should be added that of 1295, when there is a complaint that Hugh Purcell, sheriff of Tipperary, broke the castle of Donoghill (182), stealing a quantity of goods inside.[37] In Northum-

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33. Morley, p. 421.
34. NLI MS Betham, Enrollments, p. 94.
35. Lennon, Stanihurst, pp. 146-7.
36. Lee, "Bawns", p. 126.
37. Cal. Justiciary Rolls, I, pp. 6-7.

bria in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, another area beset by cattle-stealing, there do not seem to have been any buildings of quality constructed without defence in mind,[38] and the same seems true in Tipperary. The tempting conclusion is that anybody with property lived in fear of its theft.

Castles were not just protection from thieves; in some instances they were themselves the base of robbers (who, of course, were quite liable to become victims in their turn). In a presentment of 1537, Richard Graunt , a Fethard burgess, was betrayed by Edmond Maurice, gentleman, who took him and his property to Rehill (356), home of Maurice's master, Sir Thomas Butler. Richard was imprisoned in the "town" for six months until he paid a ransom of £8.10s Irish.[39]

A subtler form of theft was to exact tolls by force from travellers on rivers and roads that passed by a castle. Such payments might have been legal under manorial law, but exemption from such for their merchants was an important feature of the privileges granted to towns like Carrick.[40] This did not prevent seizures by Patrick Wall of Ardcollum (64), James Mandeville of Ballydine (36), and William Butler of Poulakerry (336).[41] Poulakerry tower almost overlooks the Suir, and the others are not far from it. In 1537 the citizens of Clonmel complained that the officers of the Liberty had not executed

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38. H.G Ramm, R.W MacDowell and E. Mercer, Shielings and bastles, London, HMSO, 1970, p. 70.
39. Hore and Graves, Social State, pp. 251-2. In many documents it is not stated whether a sum of money was English or Irish currency, which two had different values. The "town" was probably Rehill tower house, which existed by 1542 at latest (COD, IV, p. 242.)
40. Power, p. 31.
41. State Papers, Henry VIII, Oct. 18 1537, quoted by Power, p. 31. These details do not appear fully in the published CSPI, so it seems Power is refering to the MS originals.

the King's laws against Walter of Poulakerry; because some Clonmel boats had refused to pay dues as they passed the castle, he had gone to Clonmel quay with a "rout " of kern and forcibly taken 16 pounds worth of goods from a boat there.[42] It is just possible the Poulakerry bandits made craft stop and pay tolls by means of a gun, but much more likely that, like Edmond Butler, Archbishop of Cashel, they were fresh-water pirates, and attacked from boats. Waterford presentments describe how the Archbishop's men, "being in a boat on the River of Waterford (the Suir) anno twenty fourth King Henry VIII", spoiled a Clonmel vessel of goods worth £100. The prelate was based in Kilmeaden castle, Co. Waterford.[43] Power believes these exactions were ended by a statute of 1537 (28th Henry VIII, cap. 22),[44] and the present writer can find no notices of river thieves after this date; but the incomplete nature of the sources means that this is not proof they did not still operate. If they did cease, it would have been more due to effective policing by Butler officials than to another law passed in Dublin.

In the Ormond deeds is a puzzling passage, from 1553, which seems to be another example of military architecture used to prey on travellers. One Patrick Sale of Cashel:

> "Forcibly entered upon a part of the kings way of the said town leading from the double-ditched road (biffosario lapideo) of that town ... and made a great ditch on the said way, and forcibly occupies said part to the grave damage of all the king's people going that way, against the king's peace." (45)

This seems to have been some sort of earthwork fortification with which Sale blocked the road and from which he operated as a highway robber.

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42. ibid., p. 32.
43. Burke, Clonmel, p. 28.
44. Power, p. 32.
45. COD, V, p. 15.

LARGE-SCALE RAIDING.

The above events were normally on a small scale, but they could involve loss of life; even if not brought into play, weapons were often carried and used to intimidate. So to make a clear distinction between "crime" and major raiding is, in a way, misleading and artificial. There was no hard and fast line between simple theft, and raids carried out as part of a war. Elizabethan English writers believed that some common thieves were also liable to start more serious trouble. Fynes Moryson said the habit of lords keeping thieves (above p. 48 ) was a "secret fuel of civil war"; for such people were "prone to rebellion."[46] In the most recent work on Gaelic warfare, Simms concentrated on the cattle-raid as the chief form of aggression, often as a means of territorial conquest as well as taking of property. "Killing one's enemy was not an object of Irish warfare, but only an incidental necessity,"[47] the prime object being the removal of preys.

Such raids could be very large - in 1569 Maghnus O'Ruairc was said to have taken 5,000 cows and a "proportianate" number of horses from Connacht.[48] They were seen as glorious acts of war rather than as theft, for the annalist called O'Ruairc's raid "splendid", and other annalists described Thomas Burke as "the most noble-deeded Englishman of his time" because he had plundered Hy-Many.[49] In 1559 William Odhar made what the Four Masters called his "captain's first expedition", which their editor explained by saying that every chieftain thought it his duty to make a raid as soon as possible after his inauguration.[50] It was equally noble to defend against raids, and Tur-

46. Falkiner, p. 247.
47. Simms, "Warfare", pp. 99-102, 104.
48. Á Loch Cé, II, pp. 405-7.
49. AFM, V, p. 1339 (1517).
50. ibid., p. 1573.

lough Mac I Brien Ara was praised on his death in 1601 both for raiding and for defending his "hilly district" from his castle of Castletown (125).[51]

Englishmen often wrote of the raiders using bogs and woods, with which the country abounded, as bases for depredation. A statute of 1281-2 talks of robbers living in bogs and woods,[52] and Stanihurst says that thieves dwelt in such places, but not out of choice.[53] The annals give the impression that raiders often hid in great woods, and the Cromwellian general Ludlow remarked that a "fastness" was better than a stone fortress, because it would not be surrounded, and needed no garrison when not in use.[54] There is, however, evidence that in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries woods were less valuable than previously. People had been destroying them in wars, or making them into pipe-staves or charcoal, and at the end of Elizabeth's reign Fynes Moryson was surprised to find Ireland less woody than he had expected. By the 1650's it was said one could travel for days without seeing any trees, except around gentlemen's seats.[55] Troops fresh from England were in awe of woods and bogs, but it was possible to flush the Earl of Desmond's force out of the great forest of Aherlow (in Tipperary and Limerick), and even enter it and slay his men in their huts.[56] In 1572 Sir John Perrott pursued some raiders to their marshy fortress; they abandoned their prey of cows which could not enter the bog, but this did not save them, for the English cavalry dismounted, chased after them, and killed fifty.[57]

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51. AFM, VI, p. 2241.
52. Berry, John to Henry V, p. 209.
53. Lennon, Stanihurst, p. 159.
54. Ludlow, I, p. 498.
55. Falkiner, pp. 148-9.
56. This happened in 1583 - Holinshed, VI, p. 452.
57. History of Perrott, p. 52 (an anonymous life by a contemporary).

In such circumstances raiding parties often prefered artificial fortifications as bases. In 1423 Mac Donough "erected a castle in the territory of the son of Mulrony MacDonough, that is, at Caiseal Locha-Deargain (Castledrangan, Co. Sligo) and entirely destroyed their crops and fields."[58] This sounds as if it played the same role as a Castillian real; the Spaniards, much addicted to the same sort of warfare, built temporary fortresses in the middle of enemy lands, from which parties went out to plunder and destroy.[59] In 1435 an O'Neill built a "fortified camp" in a raiding campaign in Co. Donegal, which evidently caused much distress, as his foes stormed it, and O'Neill had to retake it in a great struggle at night.[60] In 1598 Redmond Burke took and kept Drominagh Castle, Co. Tipperary (187), out of which to make war on Clanrickard.[61]

Tower houses, then, could be used in attack; but naturally, it would be more common to find them as shelters against raids. Before one can judge how effective they were, it is necessary to see what sort of possessions they would have to protect.

The sources, especially the Irish annals, normally speak of cattle as the chief source of loot, normally for their own value, although there is a case of Sir Henry Docwra holding 1,000 head as "hostages" until a MacSweeney chief submitted.[62] Although some writers have exaggerated their importance to the economy of Ireland, cows did provide the most important source of food, and their skins were valuable for trade. They were certainly common. In 1601 the son, grand-

58. AFM, IV, p. 857.
59. Juan de Mata Carriazo, En la frontera de Granada (Homenaje al Profesor Carriazo, I), Seville, 1971, ch. II.
60. AFM, IV, pp. 903-5.
61. AFM, VI, p. 2079.
62. Ó Domhnaill, pp. 41-2.

son and cousin of Turlough Luineach O'Neill each owned 2,000 beasts.[63] Cows (and other livestock) could slow down an army, but at least they would move; large quantities of inanimate booty would need carts, which would have been impractical in certain areas, due to a lack of good roads. By comparison, there are few mentions of large-scale horse-raiding; perhaps the more valuable and less numerous horses would be the first to be ridden away or locked up in a tower house when danger threatened, or perhaps there is some truth in the story that Irish horses were unfit for long journeys.[64] Other prized captures included armour - in 1498 O'Donnell took seventeen armours from Castle Moyle, Co. Tyrone[65] - and prisoners. As elsewhere in Europe at this time, a live enemy could be a source of profit; Murrough O'Conor received 1,400 marks as ranson for the son of the Baron of Shane, whom he took in 1414.[66] Armour and captives were both easy to move.

In such circumstances tower houses would have been very useful. They could be held by a fairly small garrison, and could deter assault from anything less than a large force that would be willing to risk heavy losses. A raiding party would not want to lose men needlessly when it could move to a softer target. The main problem may have been that towers themselves could only hold a few beasts, and even the more vulnerable bawns could normally only contain a fraction of giant herds like those of the O'Neills mentioned above.[67] However, this was probably less serious a defect than it seems, for

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63. Nicholls, Gaelic Ireland, pp. 114-9.
64. Moryson, in Falkiner, p. 223. It is hard to believe this, as raiders' horses travelled long distances with armoured men on their backs.
65. AU, III, p. 433.
66. AFM, IV, p. 817.
67. Tipperary has a few really large bawns, like Cully, Knockkelly, and Ballynakil ; the paddocks of Buolick are even bigger, but could not be defended.

the sort of people who owned really large herds would, at least in Tipperary, have had several towers, and could divide the animals between them.

Another difficulty was that castles were sometimes built, for security, on restricted sites. Worst of all must have been those on islands, of which there are several in Tipperary (ch. VII, p. 268 ); not only was there often no space for a bawn, but it would have been hard to ferry cows across in small boats.[68] Captain Cuellar, an Armada survivor, said that when an English force came near the island castle of Rossclogher, in the north-west of Ireland, the MacClancy defenders fled to the hills, despite the strength of their tower, which was held successfully by nine Spaniards. The Irish fled not through cravenness, but rather a desire to save their cows and women, "for they possess no other property, no more moveables nor clothing."[69] On the mainland, according to Cuellar's editor, was MacClancy's "town" (baile), the huts where his people dwelt, which shows how little room there could have been on the island. There was a circular enclosure (which sounds like a large rath), 220' in circumference, which the editor thought was a cattle fold, but it was evidently not defensible in conjuction with the castle.[70]

On the whole, though, it must have been better to weather the storm in a good defence. An Elizabethan army, such as that which attacked Cuellar, was slow and easy to avoid, but a native Irish force would have had a much better chance of catching refugees, especially if burdened with herds. What could happen then is shown by the fate of Mag Mathganna, who abandoned his longport (see ch. V, p.168 )

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68. Even if the cows were much smaller than modern ones. Nicholls, Gaelic Ireland, p. 117.
69. Allington, pp. 61-2, 64.
70. Allington, p. 17.

when attacked by the Antrim MacDonnells in 1365, and in the pursuit to Lough Erne lost all his cattle and chattels.[71]

While one can suspect this sort of raiding to have happened in Tipperary throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, there is no proof. Most of the evidence for larg scale raiding is rather late, no doubt partly because the various annals get fuller as they approach the period of their compilation. Perhaps Empey is correct to suggest that Butler power in the fifteenth century could have curbed violence (above p. 46 ), but this would not have helped the large parts of the county not under Butler rule. In periods of full-scale war (chiefly the Desmond and Tyrone wars of the 1580's and 1590's, and the Confederate war of the 1640's) there could have been an anarchic condition when neither the Butlers nor any English government could control large portions of Tipperary; then all forms of raiding and crime would probably have increased. What follows is by no means a full list of raids, but it should illustrate something of the scope and nature of the phenomenon in Tipperary.

The first example shows how hard it is to distinguish large-scale raiding from crime or, sometimes, from law enforcement. Some time before 1429, the Liberty Seneschal, John of Ardmayle, raided the O'Sheas of Crompstown (165). It might have been a police action, or private war covered by a legal veneer. John outlawed some O'Sheas, and killed others,[72]

In the next century John Butler used Roscrea (360) as a base to raid Ikerin[73], and in 1517, Thomas, son of Ulick Burke, was killed

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71. AU, I, p. 523.
72. T.B. Butler, "Dunboyne", p. 80.
73. J. Gleeson, Ely, p. 386.

by pursuers after carrying off a prey from Ormond.[74] According to the "Complaint" that the Freeholders of Tipperary sent Henry VIII in 1542, there was an increase in raiding in the early sixteenth century. Due to the absence of a resident Earl, the junior branches of the Butlers and their Irish allies brought the whole county into chaos and ruin, a situation only ameliorated when Earl Piers took over. The same had happened in the reign of Henry VI; while the White Earl was away, his kin:

> "fell suddenly out of their good obedience to be murderers and mansleers of each other. Where of followed depredations roborie and taking of prisoners and of unmeasurable redemptions amongs themselves"

until the Earl regained his power.[75] It seems one of the methods the Earls used to re-assert their authority was the raid. A letter of 1563, from Piers Butler, Baron of Cahir, to the Earl of Sussex, complained that the Earl of Ormond came in warlike array with his "train" (probably his retinue, not an artillery-train) and spoiled his "poor tenants" of 1,000 pounds worth of cattle, household goods, and clothes, "as thoghe they were mortal enymies, alledging that I have caused the White Knights sonne to take the pray of a village called the Grange."[76] Evidently one raid led to another, as retaliation.

Most references to raiding in sixteenth-century Tipperary come from the last two decades, a very troubled time. In 1580 John, son of the Earl of Desmond, raided Eliogarty with thirteen horse and under 100 foot, beating off attacks from the local people. He set up camp in the Slieve Bloom mountains, from where he could

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74. AFM, V, p. 1339.
75. COD, IV, pp. 210-1.
76. Hore and Graves, Social State, pp. 230-1. There are several places called "Grange" in the county - see Appendix I.

raid Butler lands, and where "evil men" from far afield could join him.[77] The next year his father raided as far as Cashel, taking booty of iron, copper, clothing, and "great and small cattle", as well as defeating a force raised from a considerable area of Tipperary.[78] Nor was it just Irishmen or Anglo-Irish lords who reived, but English soldiers too; a letter from Captain Greemes and Lieutenant Flower in 1596 reported that they had taken 80 cows from the Butlers.[79] One of the worst attacks on the county must have been that of Hugh O'Neill, who in 1600 sent three parties to strip Ely O'Carroll bare, as revenge for Calvagh O'Carroll's killing of the MacMahons, who were under O'Neill's protection. It was said that the Ulstermen carried away or destroyed all that territory's movables and wealth, and burnt all its mansions to the ground (if this is meant to include tower houses, it is clearly untrue). They then passed to Cois-Siure (a district west of Cashel), attacking only enemy lands. The army was evidently a large one, for although the Butlers threatened to attack it, they never actually dared to do so.[80]

After the Elizabethan wars the county was fairly quiet, but there was a new spate of raiding in the 1640's. In the early days of the rising, cattle-stealing was one of the main means of waging war, and it was described thus by the President of Munster; "Never was the like 'war' heard of. No man makes head; one parish robs another; go home and spare the goods and there is an end of it."[81] The Trinity Depositions reveal that many of the sieges and attacks

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77. AFM, V, pp. 1749-51. The Spartan life of a raider emerges from this passage; John's men lived and slept in the open, with no cooking utensils save twigs.
78. AFM, V , pp. 1757-9.
79. Carew, III, p. 251. It is not certain this incident took place in Tipperary.
80. AFM, VI, pp. 2147-51.
81. Letter of December 11, 1641, quoted in O'Dwyer, p. 132.

covered in Ch III began when the insurgents started to drive off cattle; and no doubt a decade later the guerillas who held out after the main confederate forces had surrendered would have stolen cows, if only to survive.[82] Finally, it appears that there was some raiding even in the Williamite war. In March 1691 a party from Birr, Co. Offaly, and Roscrea (360) marched to Nenagh (321), beat the Jacobites into the castle, and took 300 head of cattle.[83]

THE DESTRUCTION OF LANDS AND CASTLES.

Apart from raiding, another common Irish tactic was harrying, the destruction of subsistence and shelter to break an enemy's will to resist, or starve him into surrender. Naturally, harrying was often combined with theft; it seems when Hugh O'Neill attacked Tipperary he made useless what he could not take with him. Even animals would sometimes be killed rather than removed, as when in 1352 Aedh, son of Toirdhelbhach, demolished Baile-in-dain (county unknown), and also destroyed its cows and sheep.[84]

This last example seems to have been on a fairly minor scale, but Tipperary was at several times subjected to far worse depredations, when large bands did their utmost to remove physically their enemies from the land. In the very early fourteenth century Turlough O'Brien turned the town of Moyaliff (314) into a sea of fire that consumed men, dwellings, gold, clothes and cattle. Turlough spared not churches, and he burned Latteragh (281) in Tipperary as well as the fortress of Quin, Co. Clare.[85] Destruction of English property was a

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82. For a highly prejudiced account of the querilla war in Tipperary, see Gilbert, History.
83. London Gazette, Nos. 2648-9. Quoted in RIA MS OS Extracts, I, p. 474.
84. A. Lough Cé, II, p. 9.
85. MacCraith, Triumphs, pp. 28, 30.

feature of the "Gaelic Resurgence" of the fourteenth century; in 1329 Brien Ban O'Brien, encouraged by the Earl of Desmond, burnt the towns of Athassel (10) and Tipperary; he burnt Tipperary again in 1336.[86] His twenty-year career of demolition seems to have had a definate and successful strategic purpose, to force out the Anglo-Normans so that he could move into the territory himself - The Civil Survey (admitedly written 300 years later ) shows O'Brien as the predominant surname in several nearby parishes.[87] This was done by making it economically impossible for the victims to remain on the land the aggressor chose to attack. A Cashel inquisition of 1338 said the manor of Moyaliff had no edifices left save one stone tower, and was of no value as nobody was willing to hold it.[88]

Burning was not peculiar to this phase of Tipperary history, nor to the Gaelic lords. The Earl of Desmond has already appeared as a destroyer, and it is well known how in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries Desmond and other Anglo-Irish noblemen in Munster used to depend largely on Irishmen for their fighting strength. Not only did the Butlers make extensive use of the Irish means (coign and livery) of raising troops, but they also allied with independent Irish chieftains. This is shown by the formidable list of auxillaries from Tipperary and elsewhere mentioned in 1487, when the Earl was in England.[89] Thus the tactics of the Butlers and Fitzgeralds were naturally very similar to those of the O'Kennedys and O'Dwyers. In fact the most notorious plunderer of the county was the Earl of Desmond,

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86. Empey, Ph. D., pp. 166-7.
87. ibid., p. 165.
88. COD, III, pp. 374-6. The inquisition is, however, not necessarily true, for it was often in the interests of those who were responsible for such documents to make the property seem poor. For more of the "Gaelic Resurgence" see Empey, PH. D., pp. 168, 188.
89. COD, IV, Appendix 9. (Quoted by Empey, PH. D., p. 336).

who in 1582 looted large areas of Tipperary, undeterred by the many battles he had to fight:

> "At this time it was commonly said, that the lowing of a cow, or the voice of a ploughman, could scarcely be heard from Dun Caoin (Dunqueen, the most westerly part of Co. Kerry) to Cashel in Munster." (90)

Not until he died was country at rest.[91] This was part of the general war of Desmond against Royal partisans, but also owed much to the ancient dispute between this Earl and Ormond - as early as 1514 John, son of Desmond, is said to have burnt all Middlethird in a war against Sir Pierce Butler (later Earl of Ormond).[92] Some even destroyed without the excuse of a war: in 1576, according to the Presentments of the Clonmel Sessions, Tybott Hanckuth of Meldrum (301), "with divers other malefactors", burnt 30 houses, 100 pounds worth of household stuff, a woman and a boy at Shripstown, or Ballyherbery (44).[93]

Just as they took to the habit of cattle-stealing, so English soldiers in Ireland had as few qualms as the Irish about destruction. Cromwell's army was eager to burn crops in Tipperary, although one Captain Lanksey argued against it because of the hurt it would do local friends, and because English garrisons could not do without corn.[94]

It is difficult to be sure of exactly how bad these wastings were, since both a victim and a laudatory annalist of the attacker would be inclined to exaggerate. So perhaps the wilder reports of destruction in Munster in 1566, 1584 and 1598 should not be taken

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90. AFM, V, p. 1785.
91. AFM, V, p. 1817.
92. A. Con, p. 627.
93. Quoted by White, Anth. Tip., p. 13.
94. RIA MS, OS Extracts, I, pp. 648-9.

too literally.[95] However, even when the sources are treated cautiously it still seems Tipperary suffered many destructive attacks, probably reaching the worst point in the late sixteenth century. Unfortunately, few of the accounts of wastings mention tower houses, so one has to rely mainly on guess-work to assess their value when subjected to these pressures.

There is reason to believe that even a large number of castles did not prevent a foe from doing great damage to an area. In 1582 Desmond plundered the two baronies of the Ormonds, Ikerrin, Middlethird, South-Ely, the "Forthuathas", "Clonmel-third", and the districts on either side of the Suir as far as Waterford.[96] This would have included wasting heavily-castellated areas immediately west of Cashel. Tower houses were built in the richest and most populated parts of the county, which were also the most tempting to devastate. An example from outside Tipperary shows that if a party stayed clear of any tower houses, it could act fairly freely in the lands. A detailed account of O'Donnell's attack on Thomond and Clanrickard in 1600 shows that his large army passed within ten miles of the castles of Athenry, Kiltartan and Loughcutra on its way south, then, if the road was where it was in 1840, under the very walls of Dungory, Co. Galway, between Corcomroe Abbey and Meadhraigne; then, having reduced his force to 500 foot and 60 horse, he based himself at Loughrea, about ten miles from Athenry and little more from the castles of Pallas and Isentkelly. But so unafraid was he that he divided his men into even smaller parties, which he sent out in all directions.[97]

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95. Flynn, pp. 329-30.
96. AFM, V, p. 1785.
97. AFM, VI, pp. 2197-2201. There were, in fact, may more tower houses than those mentioned in the area; those recorded in the text are simply the most important.

But if tower houses failed to protect the lands around them, they were probably more valuable in saving their owners, and whatever herds they could get into them. A mobile force that had to split into small groups to do its work effectively would not have the necessary artillery or equipment for breaching a wall, nor the time for a blockade. Without these, taking a tower might well cost more in lives than was justified by the amount of goods inside. It would be better for a ravager to seek an easier victim. It is hard to prove that this was indeed the normal pattern of events, but the 1542 Complaint, already quoted, shows that certain tower houses could survive as islands in a sea of looting. While the Earl of Ormond was away, the county was brought "into utter desolation and waste, saving a fewe castells,"[98] (author's emphasis). Garrisons of castles might have been strong enough sometimes to protect part of their immediate surroundings. In 1564, Sir T. Wrothe wrote that Desmond's men could have burnt the whole town of Kilfeakle (248), had it not been rescued by the castle garrison and its inhabitants.[99]

But towers themselves were not always invulnerable, and an important type of destruction was that of castles and other fortifications. During the fifteenth century there were many references to the demolition of castles in various parts of Ireland, and in a number of the cases this does not seem merely incidental to the taking of the fortalice or the killing of those in it. It was a deliberate act, undertaken when the siege was over, to render the the structure either uninhabitable (which could be done just by

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98. COD, IV, p. 211.
99. Flynn, p. 183.

burning the roof and the non-vaulted floors) or unfit for defence. The motive may have been like the great antipathy, racial in this case, that the writer of his Triumphs implies siezed Turlough O'Brien: he wanted the anihilation of his enemy, especially if "Saxon", and every trace he had made on the land. MacCraith revels in the descriptions of burnt bodies and property in burnt castles.[100] It was probably more usual, and sensible, to carry away rather than destroy movable and valuable plunder, as Art Mac Murrough did before he burnt New Ross, Co. Wexford, and its castles in 1394.[101] There would also have been the natural desire behind many of these razings to deny a castle to any future foe.

There are a few references in the Irish annals to the destruction of castles in the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries,[102] and after 1450 they become fairly frequent. Possibly the earliest reference to the use of Tipperary tower houses by an Irish chief in a military context dates from 1433, when Ormond ravaged Ely and demolished O'Carroll's two castles.[103] D.F. Gleeson believed these were Leap and Birr in Co. Offaly,[104] but there is no proof that they were not other towers in Tipperary.

However, it would be wise to consider exactly what is meant by the various dramatic words used in the translations of the various annals to describe the fate of tower houses. A British officer with experience of trying to destroy stone and mud houses in Waziristan has said how difficult it is even for a modern army to render them more than temporarily uninhabitable.[105] Naturally, a

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100. MacCraith, Triumphs, pp. 27-8.
101. AFM, IV, p. 761.
102. A. Con, p. 363; An. Clon., pp. 327-8.
103. AFM, IV, p. 893.
104. D.F. Gleeson, Killaloe, p. 422. Ely O'Carroll is a hard area to define; see ch. I, note 130.
105. D.F. Gordon, "Fire and the sword: the technique of destruction", Antiquity 27 (1953), pp. 149-52.

building specifically designed to withstand its enemies would be even harder to ruin. Without large quantities of explosives, it is a slow job to spoil thoroughly a stone castle, even when unoccupied. After burning what would burn, the best way would probably be to prise away the corner-stones. Yet although this is in the long term detrimental, it does not always lead to immediate collapse, as is shown by Tipperary towers like Grallagh (225) and Rathnaveoge (351), which still stand long after people have removed the quoins for new buildings. In 1512 O'Donnell re-erected the castle of Omagh, Co. Tyrone, in the space of one week, to a state in which he could leave it garrisoned - and this after it had been "broken down" by the Earl of Kildare.[106] It seems the annalists or their translators are habitually guilty of hyperbole when they use phrases like "throw down" or "demolish", both of which come in a passage of The Annals of the Four Masters for 1526, when O'Donnell did not really destroy the castles in question, just made them "no longer habitable."[107]

The slighting of tower houses was in large part an acknowledgement of their potential in warfare, so it is interesting to see how late the custom lasted. The greatest number of Tipperary destructions probably was in the 1650's, for the Cromwellian government shared earlier English rulers' fears of leaving potentially rebellious people in charge of stone defences. Outeragh (331) and Boytonrath (93) are both said to have been blown up, and, according to information given by a local to the Victorian antiquary J.D. White, in Cromwell's time men took out private contracts to demolish certain tower houses in Tipperary.[108] Cromwell himself was said to

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106. AFM, V, p. 1317.
107. AFM, V, p. 1387.
108. White, Anth. Tip., p. 27. Outeragh is very thoroughly ruined; Boytonrath is too heavily overgrown for the observer to detect marks of an explosion.

have slighted Moorestown (312), Ballygarran (41) and Killenure (254) in March 1650,[109] although the first of these shows no signs of damage today. While historians must always be wary of traditions about the ubiquitous Cromwell, The Civil Survey of 1654 records at least half of the county's castles as ruined, "destroyed" or " a stump", with all 32 in Upper Ormond save Cloghonan (140) and Dunally (192) in this state - and these two had been repaired by Commonwealth authorities.[110] A lot of this damage could have been deliberate demolition, which certainly took place in Co. Clare in the 1650's.[111]

There was no widespread slighting after the next war. In 1692 the King ordered certain Irish castles, including Nenagh (321) and Roscrea (360), to be evacuated, "and as they would be dangerous for the peace and safety of the Kingdom if they fell into the enemy's hands, you are to order them to be demolished."[112] No tower house was flattered by this attention; doubtless enough had already been destroyed, and people realized their part in full-scale war was by now very minor. In fact, the authorities did not even take the major castles seriously, for a second order said that they were only to be rendered indefensible,[113] and the present state of Roscrea shows how slackly these directions were fulfilled.

## THE VALUE OF THE TOWER HOUSE IN IRISH WARFARE

The above section has shown that a tower house was of use in defending its owner and his property from robbers and raiders,

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109. O'Dwyer, p. 238.
110. CS, II, pp. 230, 245.
111. Dwyer, pp. 219-20.
112. Calender of State Papers, Domestic, 1691-2, I, p. 152.
113. ibid., p. 267.

and could, perhaps, at times resist burnings. However, as some writers have argued that the Irish castle had little effect on "real" warfare in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (ch. III, p. 79 ), this section will look at other ways in which they would serve military purposes.

This chapter has already shown how some people used tower houses as bases out of which to commit crimes or raid, and several sixteenth century poems about castles endow them with a very warlike ethos. In those of Tadhg Dall Ó Huiginn, notably that on Enniskillen castle, the tower house comes across very much as the home of a warrior chieftain, full of military exercises, the repair of gear, "healing of warriors, wounding of warriors".[114] A praise-poem for Black Tom, the Elizabethan Earl of Ormond, reflects a similar spirit in Carrick (104) in Tipperary, the "court well fortified", filled with soldiers and mounted with cannon, from which the Earl rode forth to devastate his enemies.[115] The owners of towers, therefore, liked to have people think of their homes as real fortresses.

Later, both Confederates and Cromwellians used tower houses as bases for manor war. Burntcourt (97), a very weakly-defended house, owes its name to having been fired, probably by its owner, to stop the Ironsides using it.[116] Cromwell established several garrisons in castles, one of which, in Roscrea (360), allegedly lost 50 cows, 50 men and 50 garrons (horses) to raiders from

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114. Ó Huiginn, pp. 49-52.
115. Written by Eoghan McCraith, bard to the Earl - Maher, Carrick, pp. 56-61. The cannon were probably mounted over the door in the new, attached mansion, rather than in the castle proper; their ports are still to be seen.
116. Everard, "Burntcourt", pp. 79-80. Another theory is that Cromwell burnt it.

Offaly in 1652.[117] Even in 1690 castles played a part in guerilla operations. "Long Anthony" O'Carroll raided the Williamites from Nenagh (321), and the castle was strong enough to protect him when the enemy took the town. The Williamites sent a special force to reduce Nenagh,[118] but on the whole were not much worried by castles. A final tailpiece is the use of the Redwood tower house (355) as a refuge for James Meary's band of outlaws after the 1798 rising.[119]

Castles have often been used for another type of aggression, the conquest and domination of land. This is what the Normans did with their castles, and it seems that even tower houses could serve this purpose in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. In 1510 the Earl of Kildare, on behalf of the Dublin government, marched into Munster and built a castle at Carrigkittle, Co. Limerick, in spite of the Irish whom it seems to have been intended to subdue.[120] Such towers might have to be built quickly, before the enemy could assemble a force to stop the work: Brian O'Rourke built Leitrim "in a short time" in the midst of a war being fought against him "on every side" in 1540.[121] One of the early tower houses built by a Gaelic lord seems to have been the "small castle" of Roscommon, which William O'Kelly erected opposite the "great castle", despite the enmity of "Gaels and Gauls" who held the latter fortress. The Annals of Ulster states that the "small castle" was put up specifically "to aid the taking" of the main work, and it was dangerous enough for O'Kelly's

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117. D.F. Gleeson, Roscrea, pp. 82-4. His source is the unreliable Aphorismical Discovery.
118. ibid., p. 97; "Nenagh Castle" in Dublin Penny Journal, I, No. 38 (March 16, 1833), p. 298. This unreferenced source gives a different account of the fall of Nenagh.
119. G. Gleeson, Ely, pp. 309-10.
120. A. Con. p. 615.
121. AFM, V, p. 1559. A. Con. says the castle stood in 1530, so perhaps O'Rourke merely repaired or rebuilt an old tower.

enemies to besiege it.[122]

There is no direct evidence that any Tipperary tower house was designed primarily for the conquest of territory in this manner. The towers could be bases of aggression of some sort, however; this is shown by the actions of Lord Justice Pelham, who in 1580 helped the Earl of Ormond to take three towers in Muskry, in which the Burkes kept "traitors".[123] Pelham certainly believed his foes were more dangerous if they had castles, for later the same year, in his plan for the permanent pacification of Munster, he suggested that no Irishman should be permitted to fortify without a royal licence,[124] a means of controlling castles that had been used for centuries in England.

The second way a tower house could be of value was in defence, Apart form deterring robbers and reivers towers sometimes succeeded in protecting their owners against full-scale invasions or risings. In the Tyrone war, Redmond Burke invaded the country of Kilnamanagh belonging to Dermot O'Dwyer of Clonyharp castle (155); he killed and burnt everything, but left the tower houses.[125] The English Justice Saxey explained at some length the advantages of fortifications in his 1597 advice for the "Reformation of Munster", intended no doubt for the parts of the province to be "planted", but demonstrating conditions of warfare that would have applied also to Tipperary. He advanced a theory that the Irish tenants who held lands for at most three years lacked motivation to build themselves de-

122. A. Con. pp. 439-41; AFM, IV, p. 837; AU, III, p. 77. The incident took place either in 1418 or 1419.
123. Carew, II, p. 224.
124. Carew, II, p. 285.
125. Callanan, "Bourkes", p. 68. Based on CSPI, passim.

fences. This inclined them more to rebellion, as their situation meant they possessed nothing that they could not carry away or convert into money. He said that Englishmen in Munster had recently been killed and robbed because they lived alone and in unfortified houses. They should either dwell in castles, or in groups of at least twenty households, surrounded by a trench and a quick-set hedge; at night they should shut their cattle up in the bawn or enclosure.[126] The next chapter shows how some tower houses held out for a long time against the rebellion of 1641.

It was harder for a tower to protect what lay outside bow- or gun-shot of its walls but some contemporaries thought they could guard lands. In 1532 Piers Butler stressed the importance of the manors of Arklow and Tullagh, Co. Wicklow, which his family had captured; he called them the "Keys" to the surrounding area,[127] a word often found in conjunction with castles or towns in the Pale. Territorial defence was the chief rationale of some Pale towers, including the "£10 castles".[128] During the Earl of Kildare's rebellion, John Allen wrote to Thomas Cromwell to say that all Kildare's men, English and Irish, would forsake him if his garrisons fell. If he lost six of his Co. Kildare castles, Thomas Fitzgerald would not have been able to hold the country, even were the Spaniards to land.[129] In 1521 the Earl of Surrey, Lord Deputy and victor of Flodden, wrote to the King to say that the only way to hold Ireland permanently at peace was with settlers protected by strongholds;[130] and in the next century and a half succeeding English governments used garrisons

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126. Carew, III, pp 208-9.
127. Carew, I, pp. 45-6.
128. Davin, M. Litt., pp. 169-200.
129. Carew, I, pp. 61-2.
130. Carew, I, pp. 18-9.

of regular soldiers and armed settlers, in old and new fortifications of all sorts, expecially tower houses, to pacify the surrounding country.

Any fortification, however, can only hold land when it has enough men to patrol the area, and to harass if not destroy, any insurgent or intruder. Most Tipperary tower houses belonged to fairly minor gentlemen, who would not be powerful enough to worry a sizeable marauder. Numerous towers did not stop Desmond from attacking much of Tipperary in 1582, or O'Donnell from pillaging Thomond and Clanrickard in 1600 (see p. 67 above). Even more striking is the lack of concern shown by O'Sullivan Beare in 1602, who led a fairly small force, emcumbered by non-combatants, through Tipperary to escape the English. The march is described in his nephew's eulogistic account, much criticized by John O'Donovan,[131] and by the Four Masters.[132] According to the latter work, on his first night in Tipperary, O'Sullivan stayed at Solloghod (375) (where there was probably a tower house by 1608 - see Appendix), then proceeded north, via Latteragh (281) and Lackeen (279) on the fourth and fifth nights. This route did nothing to avoid castles, and at Latteragh the warders of the tower shot at O'Sullivan, and sallied out to attack him, without success. His nephew says he stormed Donohill castle (182) to get food.[133] The party then travelled through the Ormands, through one of the most heavily-castellated parts of the county. On the fifth day O'Sullivan seems to have defeated Carbry MacEgan, and on the sixth he left Tipperary, crossing over the Shannon at Redwood. This

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131. Byrne, pp. 162-6; for O'Donovan's comments, see RIA MS OS Letters, I, pp. 261; II, pp. 192-5.
132. AFM, IV, pp. 2313-7.
133. Byrne, p. 164.

was done not far from the MacEgan tower house of the same name (355), whose garrison did nothing to prevent him from killing his horses, making curraghs of the hides, and escaping in them.

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Although some tower houses were built with some strategic purpose, most were designed not for major wars in the European fashion, but to resist the sorts of violence that were very common in late medieval and early modern Ireland. Much of this disturbance was on a very small scale, and is closer to a modern notion of crime than of war. Stealing was the chief danger, particularly of cows, but there were also cases of murder, extortion of illegal tolls, and kidnapping. Both victims and aggressors used tower houses - the former to portect themselves and their animals against aggressors, the latter to keep stolen goods and prisoners. Certain features of design, notably the bawn or courtyard, indicate that protecting animals was one of the houses' main functions.

Thieving was endemic to Ireland, and although illegal both under Brehon and English law, it seems to have been for some a respectable occupation, even praiseworthy. Perhaps this was because large-scale raiding was one of the chief tactics in warfare, and was praised by poets and annalists. Tower houses could be bases for these major raids, but more often they appear to have protected animals and property from raiders. Towers were strong enough to inflict heavy losses on parties that tried to assault them, so it would be more sensible for the looters to pass on and look for an easier target. A minority of tower houses were unable to protect the owners' cows, and there is a case of the lord of such a castle abandoning his tower rather than his herds; but this was not a safe option, and

could end in disaster.

However, tower houses were not always immune. Sometimes the enemy's tactic was not just to steal, but to destroy one's means of subsistence. Fortalices could survive, isolated, in the midst of this harrying, but they, too, often fell, and were pulled down or made uninhabitable. Some towers may have been built as bases for conquest, and others were used to defend lands against invasion or rebellion, or shelter settlers; but it appears that even large groupings of castles often failed to prevent an enemy passing through or pillaging a territory. On the whole, tower houses were probably most successful at dealing with small scale violence than with "real" war.

## CHAPTER III. THE TOWER HOUSE UNDER SIEGE.

The last chapter has shown how tower houses could be of some use in warfare, if not as successful as when countering smaller-scale violence. However, certain authorities have felt that overall, the castle in Ireland was of relatively little military value, and played only a minor part in the conflicts of the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries.

One of the modern proponents of this view, Hayer-McCoy, said the Irish had little taste for siege warfare between 1535 (the "Pardon of Maynooth")[1] and the famous defence of Clonmel in 1650; castles enjoyed "a relative immunity from attack, and in their turn, their existence had usually but little effect on the progress of the fighting that took place."[2] Earlier, many English believed the Irish more at home in the open than behind walls. This particularly struck the Elizabethans, in whose period the fortress was very important in "civilized" wars (notably those in the Low Countries, where many English served) with the result that sieges were more common than battles. Fynes Moryson believed that the Irish were physically better suited to the open-air life,[3] and so ideal guerillas; but "because they are not trained to keep or take strong places, they are easily beaten out of any forts or trenches, and a weak house or fort may easily be defended with a few shot against their rude multitude."[4] Barnaby Rich, who had little good to say about Irish military habits,

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1. See p. 88.
2. "The significance of the siege of Clonmel", in O'Connel and Darmody Clonmel Tercentenary, p. 34.
3. It has often been common for soldiers of a more civilized country campaigning against less advanced people to believe that their enemies, being "closer to nature", are tougher and can survive in worse conditions than they can.
4. Falkiner, p. 287.

was even more assertive:

> "I might farther inlarge how they are not able to uphold any garrisons, nor to maintaine a Camp, nor yet to conteine themselves in any company, one whole weeke together, but they must betake themselves to their Woodes, to their Bogges, and to their starting holes." (5)

Rich cannot be fully trusted, as he must have known that Tyrone at least could keep large armies together; but his general theme is reinforced by Sir John Davies' well-though-out Discovery, a work which analysed contemporary and historical military problems but hardly mentioned Irish castles.[6]

Some incidents support the view that the Irish disliked attacking or defending castles. In 1507 "Philip son of Brian Mag Uidir demolished his own castle for fear of O'Domnail",[7] and it has been noted (ch. II, p. 62) how Desmond preferred to raid from natural, not man-made fastnesses. Some years before one Thomas Phettiplace said that O'Neill placed no trust in castles, razing the strongest ones and keeping as his only fortifications some cranogs, where "lyeth all his plate which is much, and money, prisoners, and gages."[8] In 1601 another Ulsterman, Red Hugh O'Donnell, on his march to Kinsale made a camp with plashed edges in woods and bogs between Roscrea (360) and Templemore (378). As he had 2,500 men, no tower house would have been big enough to shelter him, even if he could have seized one.[9]

What seems to have been a common series of events, at least from the 1530's, was that an English force would batter down one castle, and then other nearby holds would either be abandoned, or

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5. Rich, p. 96.
6. It was written in 1612, and is printed in Morley.
7. A. Con., p. 613.
8. A letter of May 15, 1567, quoted in notes to AFM, III, p. 1109.
9. NLI MS Callanan, Ely, p. 73.

sue for peace, convinced by such a powerful demonstration. After the Lord Deputy took Carrigogunnel, Co. Limerick, in 1536, James of Desmond fled from Lough Gur, his strongest castle in the county, and left it without a ward.[10] No doubt one reason why the Earl of Essex attacked the "impregnable" castle of Cahir (99) in Tipperary in 1599 was to start such a chain-reaction. He may have been proved correct, for when shortly afterwards he moved into Co. Cork, the Earl of Desmond destroyed (it is said) his castle of Conan and made no attempt to impede Essex.[11]

Apart from lack of prowess in siege-technique, and fear of massacre, another reason why a garrison might have come out of its tower was because to remain behind walls was to surrender the initiative, and allow the enemy to plunder at will. When Hugh Boy O'Donnell and Maguire attacked Manus O'Donnell in 1532, the "Sons of Manus" left their "town" to await the foe in the open, and only fell back behind their defences after being defeated. The attackers' aims seems to have been raiding and destruction, for they did not try to take the "town" or castle itself.[12] It was not just Gaelic lords who could prefer open battle; in the early fourteenth century the "stout Foreigners" of Caherconlish, Co. Limerick, sallied out to meet Turlough O'Brien, even though they had a strong castle.[13]

Evidently, there is an amount of truth behind the theory that the Irish did not like to defend fixed positions. But perhaps its proponents have exaggerated their case. This seems to have been because they have concentrated their attention on the wars in the sixteenth century with the English, whose guns made them more for-

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10. Carew, I, p. 113; CSPI 1509-73, p. 22.
11. Dymnok, p. 37; see also AFM, VI, p. 2177.
12. AFM, V, p. 1407.
13. Mac Craith, Triumphs, p. 27.

midable as attackers of tower houses than any Gaelic force. Moreover, some Elizabethans concentrated more on the situation in Ulster, where, due to the general lack of tower houses (ch. V, pp. 152-5 ) in many cases the option of taking refuge in one would not exist.

Nicholls has warned against over-emphasizing the nomadic and pastoral nature of Irish society,[14] and the sheer number of castles in Tipperary shows most people must have been fairly settled. Nomads do not build tower houses. If the inhabitants of a tower fled on the approach of a foe, not only would they leave their valuable fortalice itself and its contents, but, apart from they flocks they could drive with them, they would also abandon their food. In such conditions, life in the open would be much more dangerous for a band of refugees, including women, children and old people, than for a party of fit raiders. Edward Barkley, one of Essex's would-be planters, wote of the O'Neills of Clandeboyne who in 1573 fled to the woods for a winter: "How these people are able to continue any time, I cannot imagine." They could not plant grain, and lupine and human robbers took their sheep. Lacking houses, they lacked the means of making warm clothing.[15]

The best proof of the value contemporaries placed on the tower houses lies in their actions. In Tipperary alone, wars were fought over who should own certain castles. For example, in the late fifteenth century Thomas, Baron of Cahir and James Butler quarrelled over Carrick-on-Suir (104). James expelled Thomas from the castle, and a truce was arranged, by which a neutral party should hold it for a year.[16] Part of the significance of Carrick was that whoever

14. Nicholls, Gaelic Ireland, pp. 114-6.
15. CSPI, 1574-85, p. 23. Quoted by Quinn, p. 132.
16. COD, III, pp. 260-1.

held the town and castle controlled a bridge over the Suir, and could perhaps extort tolls from merchants. In 1498 there was the threat of a second war between the sons of the contestants, over who should have the bridge.[17] Later, one of the causes of the great Ormond-Desmond feud in the mid-sixteenth century was the ownership of the castle of Kilfeakle (248) and the town of Clonmel.[18] Again, encounters in the open field for the sake of a tower show how highly they could be regarded. There was a battle fought in 1495 to relieve Sligo castle, then besieged,[19] and another in 1526 when O'Neill fought Manus O'Donnell to try to prevent him building a castle that John O'Donovan identified as Lifford, near Strabane.[20]

In 1456, far from abandoning a threatened tower and melting away into the hills, O'Donnell and his allies "proceeded expeditiously on horseback, and unattended by any others, to place warders in the castle of Cuil-Mic-an-Treoin" (county unknown) when he learnt that O'Neill had pitched a camp near this (presumably unguarded) stronghold.[21] In a letter of 1642, the President of Munster shows that the Catholic Confederates were preparing largely for a war of defending castles, as they felt too weak to stand in the field. The rebels had stocked their towers with corn, but had driven their flocks into the mountains rather than keep them in their bawns, and used the tower houses as secure bases out of which to conduct a guerilla war: "so he (the enemy) both annoyes us in or severall passages, and secures himself."[22] These two examples, and the numerous ones that fill

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17, COD, IV, pp. 336-7.
18. Flynn, p. 143.
19. AFM, IV, pp. 1215-7.
20. AFM, V, p. 1385.
21. AFM, IV, p. 997.
22. PROI MS Carte Papers, III, p. 74. The President was undecided whether to garrison (which would take up men) or demolish the castles once he took them.

the rest of this chapter, show that people in Ireland were often prepared to defend their tower houses, at times with great doggedness, and in spite of danger to themselves. This, and the equal willingness of the people to take great pains to capture them, is the most impressive proof of the high regard in which towers could be held.

SIEGES IN IRELAND

The ability of some Gaelic chieftains to take castles antedated their living in such structures themselves. During the thirteenth century the Four Masters record over a dozen castles taken or demolished by Irishmen, a process that continued into the next century.[23] In 1336 Kern under a Mac Gosdeallie defended Castlemore-Costello, Co. Mayo, against Turlough O'Conor,[24] and by the fifteenth century the annals give more frequent notices of sieges by Irishmen, the majority of which succeeded.

A common tactic was fire. Turlough O'Brien burnt several fortresses (ch. II, p. 64 ), and in 1435 an Irish confederation attacked Ballintobber, Co. Roscommon; in the course of a mêlée an attacker threw a burning "wattle" into the castle's bawn, which destroyed much property, and most of the houses in the town.[25] The ward of Macroom, Co. Cork, accidentally set fire to the thatch of a cabin in the bawn while cooking a pig: this let Queen Elizabeth's soldiers take the place, which had hitherto defied them.[26] The thatched roofs of many tower houses (ch. VI, p. 219 ) were themselves inflammable, although the height of the structure would have been some protection against thrown brands; but in 1596 an English soldier set fire to an un-named Leix or Offaly tower this way. Then,

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23. RIA MS Petrie, Essay, pp. 11-7.
24. AFM, III, p. 559.
25. AFM, IV, p. 901.
26. Stafford, Pacata, II, pp. 260-1.

"whilst our shot played at their spike holes, a fire was made to the grete and the door, which smothered many of them." Even this second fire was not enough to reduce the castle, although it must have put many of the garrison hors de combat while the English broke down the walls.[27] Another case where smoke rather than flames was the deciding factor was related in The Annals of Ulster, when fifteen people were asphyxiated in an un-named tower.[28]

The stone walls of a bawn could protect property inside, as when, in 1417, enemies burnt all the outer buildings of Lissardowlin castle (county unknown) but could not hurt what lay within the bawn.[29] However, the low, thatched halls that in Tipperary were often inside the bawn could be a danger during the night, when foes could creep up and set them alight. Muirgius O'Coineail was burnt in a fire started by reivers in his own house in 1416,[30] and Stanihurst said chiefs retired from their halls at night, for fear of fire (ch. IV p. 131).

Even non-thatched towers could have weak points. In 1454 Rury O'Donnell burned the door and gate of Inch castle, on an island in Lough Swilley, Co. Donegal, and set the stairs on fire, although in this case Rury was killed by a stone from the battlements while his men waited for the flames to die down.[31] Even an iron grille or "grate" was not always protection, for the heat and smoke of a fire could pass through its gaps. In 1651 Ludlow's soldiers took Gortenshegore tower, Co. Limerick, by placing so great a fire against

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27. Carew, III, p. 243.
28. AU, III, p. 393. This happened in 1495.
29. A. Con. p. 437.
30. A. Con. p. 429.
31. AFM, IV, p. 989. The "gate and door" suggest a double door, or a grille before the door. This passage proves some fifteenth century tower houses had wooden stairs.

the grille that the floors and other wooden fittings caught light.[32] Thus, fire was still an effective weapon in the age of cannon.

Another way to capture a tower house was by treachery or bribery. In 1401 the Ward of Lough Key surrendered "for a reward",[33] and in 1491 the men of Leitrim gave in half "for purchase and half by force",[34] which implies bribery was only attempted, or only worked, after the siege had been under way for some time. In 1553 a churl treacherously slew three "distinguished men" of the castle of Clonony, Co. Offaly, with a chopping-axe, tied up a woman and took possession of the tower.[35] Evidently, some tower houses were not heavily manned when they were not expecting an attack. In the 1580's in the same part of Ireland, the Baron of Lexna took Lesconlie, held by eight Englishmen, by getting an old woman who brought coals to the castle to drop her load between the outer, iron door and the inner one, thus preventing either from being shut. Lexna's men, lurking nearby, then rushed in. Shortly after he tried to seize Adragh by sending in a harlot to "humble hirselfe to the captains devotion, being supposed, that he by these means would fall to the liking and fantaseing of hir", and so let her open the gate; but the captain guessed what was afoot, and threw her from the top of the tower.[36]

Such tactics were less risky than a direct assault. One of the very few cases of a successful escalade, that of Sligo castle in 1501, seems to have worked because the ladders were "stretched from its top down by the sons of Ruaidhri Ua Conchabair"[37] - another

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32. Ludlow, I, pp. 271-3.
33. A. Con. p. 381.
34. AU, III, p. 353.
35. AFM, V, p. 1533. Here, as so often, the word baile seems to mean castle.
36. Holinshed, VI, pp. 447-8.
37. AU, III, p. 453; AFM, V, p. 1261 is a shorter account, with no hint of betrayal.

example of treachery. Night attacks occured, as in 1494 when Donnell O'Conor was slain and burnt in the bawn of his castle of Bunfinne, Co. Sligo,[38] but, although they could be effective if they were unexpected they have always been dangerous for the attacker, and needed good planning. Surprise was also very useful by day; in 1595 Sir William Russell passed through the outer gates of Fiagh O'Byrne's castle of Ballincor, Co. Wicklow, before Fiagh realized what was going on. All he could do was send some men to delay the English while he fled through the "escaping-doors" or postern.[39]

The Earl of Castlehaven, a Confederate general, has left three accounts of how he stormed castles with nothing more than crowbars, pick-axes, etc. In one instance, 2 or 3,000 of his "boys" attacked Milltown, Co. Cork, intending just to breach the bawn and carry off the livestock, but they got so carried away they took the whole castle in three or four hours.[40] However, he was lucky not to have lost hundreds of men in this sort of assault, if contemporary accounts of casualties are to be believed.[41] There is no proof that earlier armies used it, but the standard formation for approaching a breach in Elizabethan and later times was a large column. The idea was to draw up a dense body of troops, cramming as many as possible into the narrow frontage that could be brought into contact with the chosen part of a eastle, with great depth to give impetus and moral support. The Irish used a column ten or twelve wide and forty or fifty deep against Antrim castle in 1642, when it was called "an odd way to attack a town,"[42] but similar concentrations appear in Elizabethan

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38. AFM, IV, p. 1209.
39. AFM, VI, pp. 1955-7.
40. Castlehaven, pp. 104-5, 106-7, 163.
41. McComlish, p. 19, quotes two Pyrrhic victories for stormers of castles.
42. Hogan, Warr, p. 20.

pictures of attacks on Irish positions, the best, perhaps, being of that which carried Tyrone's Blackwater Fort in 1597.[43] Such a large and dense formation would have been an ideal target for any sort of missile weapon.

Sometimes the fate of a tower house was settled by the death of a leader; Rury O'Donnell's army withdrew from Inch castle, which they had almost taken, when he was killed ( p. 85 above). This would have been a particular risk when a force was made up of the personal allies and following of one lord. In 1595 it appears the issue was settled by single combat - Walter Reagh attacked a neighbour's tower, but its owner "came to a bold and fierce combat with Walter", who was wounded and withdrew his forces.[44] In 1499, during the siege of Bundrowes castle, there was a "personal encounter" in which Philip Maguire, ally of the besieger O'Donnell, captured one Donagh-na-nardog; the castle fell the same day, and O'Donnell gave Philip 60 cows as a reward, indicating that it was his feat that led to the surrender.[45]

This gentlemanly style of fighting contrasts strongly with the very common habit of giving the captured ward the "quarter of Maynooth" (in other words, none at all), which took its name from the 1535 siege of that castle, when, after a hard fight, the English hanged all the defenders.[46] As these, like any garrison to resist a royal force, were rebels against the crown, their treatment should not come as a surprise; neither should the fact that the Irish often reciprocated in kind. Actually, Silken Thomas' rebellion did not open a new era in siege ethics, for massacres of

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43. "Blackwater Forts", p. 213.
44. AFM, VI, p. 1957.
45. AFM, IV, pp. 1249-51. The castle is unlocated.
46. Carew, I, pp. 64-5.

most of the people in a castle took place before. MacCraith praised Turlough O'Brien for leaving castles full of blackened bodies,[47] and when in 1424 the Earl of Ormond's "Saxons" took the Magennis castle of Brickland, Co. Down, they demolished it and killed almost everybody inside.[48] Even without such deliberate cruelty, casualties among the defenders of a work could be very high, as when in 1595 Hugh Roe O'Donnell took Longport O'Farrell by setting fire to it on all sides. Fifteen men were burnt to death, and only a couple escaped.[49]

Apart from fire and sword, an attacker could also use hunger and thirst to reduce a tower house. Omagh Castle, Co. Tyrone, fell in 1471 after O'Neill had invested it from the beginning of autumn to early spring;[50] in 1572 Castlemore, Co. Kerry, had to surrender after being besieged for three months by an English and Irish force, for "want of provisions, not at all through want of defence."[51] In 1599 the Queen's men had to yeld Castlemaine, also in Kerry, to the Earl of Desmond through lack of food.[52] To maintain a blockade, an army would have to be fairly well controlled, with a leader who could stop his kern from going away during the tedious and unrewarding vigil. In 1444 O'Neill formed a "besieging camp",[53] and in 1601 the Burkes had a camp with "tents and booths",[54] which shows that at least some Irishmen preferred the relative comforts of a European-style siege-camp to lying in their mantles.

Assuming the besiegers had enough tenacity and could supply

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47. MacCraith, Triumphs, pp. 27-8.
48. AFM, IV, p. 863.
49. AFM, VI, pp. 1965-7. The longport was perhaps a rath - see ch. V, p. 168.
50. AFM, IV, p. 1075.
51. AFM, V, p. 1663.
52. AFM, VI, p. 2141.
53. AFM, IV, p. 937.
54. AFM, VI, p. 2227.

themselves from the countryside, what ruled the length of a blockade was the amount of food and water in the castle. In Tipperary at least, hardly any tower house has a well visible, which would mean that all the water would have to be stored in casks before the investment, or collected from rainfall. Casks need long preparation, but could last a long time - wooden warships with crews of several hundred men, could stay at sea for many months on casked water. Problems would arise when a tower's normal population was swollen greatly by refugees, as happened in 1642 at Tralee, Co. Kerry. The two castles had to hold almost 700 people, and provisions originally estimated their garrisons two years would only have been enough for seven months. The enemy diverted the course of a river to cut off the normal water-supply, and all of the thirteen wells dug gave bad or poisonous water.[55] This sort of problem led to the fall of several Tipperary tower houses in this period (p. 115 below).

Besiegers have often constructed machines and dug ditches to aid their task, and those of medieval Ireland certainly knew some techniques. Those attacking Bunratty, Co. Clare, around 1300, constructed an impressive wooden boom to cut off water-borne supplies.[56] To protect themselves from shot, at least in the gunpowder age, men built wicker gabions, filled with earth, and dug trenches.[57] In 1642 the Irish before Rathberry castle, Co. Cork, maintained a hot fire from a trench half a musket-shot from the castle, and also built seven "cabins" nearby, from which they dug further trenches. This

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55. Caball, pp. 315-7. This article is based partly on the account of an eye-witness.
56. MacCraith, Triumphs, p. 31.
57. For example, in another siege of Bunratty, in 1646 - Frost, p. 374. There are several pictures of Elizabethan siege-works; see Stafford, Pacata Hibernia, I, facing pp. 53, 89, 95; Hayes-McCoy, Maps, p. XI.

forced the defenders to "build up" the battlements on their tower (presumably with wooden hoardings) to give extra protection to men shooting down into the trenches.[58]

In Europe during the Middle Ages there was a large number of siege-engines to break down or climb over the walls of a fortress, or pick off defenders. The Irish sources do not mention most of these. There were engines built by Fermanagh carpenters for an attack on Lough Key in 1478, one of which, evidently a ballista, killed an important defender with an "arrow".[59] At the battle of Dysert O'Dea in 1318, O'Brien's men dropped their "rampart-arms" to move faster;[60] these were probably crossbows, heavy weapons whose range, penetration, accuracy and slow rate of fire combined to make them more suitable for sniping during sieges than ordinary bows. In 1588 Cuellar's nine Spaniards held Rossclogher with six muskets and six crossbows.[61] But apart from such rare mentions, information is limited to two siege weapons only, the sow and the cannon.

The sow (or cat, or penthouse) was known in Hellenistic times (as were the ballista and crossbow) and was used in Europe throughout the Middle Ages; the English still employed it in the 1640's, but they were very old-fashioned in this respect.[62] It was a wooden shed, moved up against the part of the castle selected for attack, so that men under its protection could pick away at the walls. The earliest mention of one in Ireland seems to have at the siege of Castlereagh (Mayo or Roscommon) in 1527 or 1528, when it was called

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58. Freke, p. 18. A musket's maximum effective range is 150-200 yards, which is usually what is meant by "musket-shot".
59. AFM, IV, p. 1109; A. Con. pp. 581-3.
60. MacCraith, Triumphs, p. 128.
61. Allington, p. 64.
62. Duffy, p. 159.

in Irish a muc or pig. It was "of good, firm oaken beams, and long truly large beams supporting it,"[63] moving on four wheels. Despite its strength, the garrison broke it at last, and only surrendered to hunger.[64] Here an annalist calls the sow "wonderful", which implies this ancient weapon could be new to Ireland, hard as this is to believe, or that it was particularly well-made. Whenever it came to Ireland, the sow was well-known a century later.[65] The English used sows, as in 1595 when Sir Richard Bingham constructed one to attack Sligo castle out of monastic furnishings, covered with cow-hides (these were usually soaked in water as a protection from fires). Filled with "heroes, warriors and artizans" it was wheeled up to a corner of the castle by night, "and immediately proceeded to destroy the wall", probably with men inside pulling out stones. But the defenders threw down rocks from the battlements, and shot bullets and "showers of fire", so that the soldiers in the sow retired, glad to escape alive. Bingham raised the siege.[66] Two years later, at Ballyshannon, Co. Donegal, the English again employed "wall-razing engines", crewed by picked men, while some soldiers wore "thick and strong iron armour", no doubt the massive siege-harness that was too heavy for normal warfare, " with a bright testudo of round, broad, hard iron shields around them."[67] None of this saved them from guns and "costly" muskets, the stone and "beams and blocks of timber which

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63. A. Loch Cé. II, p. 265.
64. A. Con. p. 667.
65. Stafford, Pacata Hibernia, I, p. 98.
66. AFM, VI, pp. 1981-3. According to O'Sullivan Beare, the ward "pounded the roof of the sow and soldiers in it with a beam of great size fastened to the battlements and alternately raised and dropped" - Byrne, p. 90.
67. "Testudo " is a Roman term for a close formation of legionaries with their shields protecting them on all sides. This is an interesting example of some Renaissance learning on the part of the Four Masters.

were (kept) on the battlements of the fortress in readiness to be hurled down." Harassed by O'Donnell's main force outside the castle, the English withdrew.[68]

Sows do not seem to have been very successful, but were much used, often when no artillery was available. The English could not land guns from their ships at Castle-ny-Park, Co. Cork, in 1601, so they had to employ a sow.[69] Sows were very popular with the Confederates, who sent three against one of Tralee's two tower houses. Gunfire drove one off, but the other two broke down a brew-house next to the "Short Castle", then set to work on the tower with picks and crowbars. A defender loosened "an intire pinnacle" or merlon from the castle with a crowbar, which crushed a sow and its crew; others threw down faggots and burnt it to ashes. The last of the engines was abandoned and burnt. An eyewitness described a sow as:

> "an engine ... having its 3 sides made musket proof with boards; it was drawn on 4 wheels, each a foot high, with folding doors to open inwards, and several loop holes to shoot through, without a floor, that 10 or 12 men, who went therein might drive it forward." (70)

Maurice Cuffe, also an eyewitness, described the two sows that attacked Ballyally Castle, Co. Clare, in great detail; the small one went ahead of the large one, 35 feet long, to clear the way and reinforce the large one with more men. However, the garrison shot several men as they tried to get provisions to the crew of the great sow, then sallied forth and killed all but one of their occupants, burning the sows.[71]

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68. AFM, VI, pp. 2029-31.
69. Stafford, Pacata Hibernia, II, pp. 22-3.
70. Caball, pp. 315-7.
71. Croker, pp. 17-21. The lesser sow was more like a wheel-barrow than a shed; perhaps it was like the large wooden shield on wheels that is labelled as a sow in a map of Enniskillen in 1593-4, and used as cover for musketeers - Belmore, "Enniskillen", facing p. 217.

Despite the care that went into their construction, sows were always shown as failures - even the "poor little castle called Lischaren" in Co. Kerry resisted one in 1600.[72] What is more, it was possible to demolish a wall without the protection of a sow, as when Perrott's men took a castle somewhere between Killmallock and Limerick. The corner collapsed, killing some of the ward.[73] It is rather a mystery why sows were so popular.

Much more formidable was gunpowder - artillery. However, in a recent article McComlish wrote of the difficulties arising from abominable roads, the poor quality of many guns, and the shortage of competent artillerists;[74] a demand for guns in 1642 lists the number of different people, many skilled, and materials needed to get a piece into action.[75] Sometimes guns were simply not available in Ireland, or not big enough to hurt tower houses. In 1642 the Lords Justices and Council asked for two "whole cannon"; they had culverins, but the larger calibre cannon were more useful in sieges.[76] All these problems meant that even an English besieging force in Tudor times and later could be without guns; when Gaelic chiefs got possession of artillery the tasks of crewing and transporting a gun were so great that it was often just left to defend a castle. It is for these reasons that so many sieges, especially

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72. Carew, III, p. 427.
73. History of Perrott, p. 53.
74. McComlish, pp. 16-9.
75. PROI MS Carte Papers, III, p. 74.
76. Note in Irish Sword, 15 (1982), p. 88. A culverin was a long gun that fired a smaller shot than a cannon, but more accurately. Sixteenth and seventeenth-century artillery went under a variety of anmes, but these were not standardized with exact barrel-lengths or calibres. For a table of types of guns, see A.W. Wilson, The Story of the Gun, Woolwich, 1944, p. 14; other sources vary somewhat.

those undertaken by the Celtic lords, were in effect medieval, and why castles remained important military works until Stuart times.

The first gun arrived in Ireland in 1361, and there are several references in the late fifteenth century, with Balrath castle, Co. Westmeath, the artillery's first victim - it fell in 1488.[77] In the next century there are numerous accounts of guns used against tower houses, successfully in most cases. In 1557 it only needed sixteen shots to break down Mulbricke, near Kilmainham,[78] and in 1575 Sir Henry Sidnew so terrified the ward of Ballymartyr Co. Cork, that they slipped away by night after he had fired a culverin from musket-range.[79] Both attackers and defenders came to see artillery as the decisive factor; Sir Henry Docwra wrote in 1602 that he could not take Ballyshannon castle, Co. Donegal, because he lacked a gun and other supplies.[80] The castle fell when a gun did at last arrive.[81] A letter of December 31, 1535, says that an expedition against the tower on O'Brien's Bridge, Co. Limerick, had to be postponed because it was too late in the year, and the roads were too wet for guns. So great was O'Brien's awe of artillery that he later forsook two of his castles, only to re-occupy them when he found the English had no guns.[82]

Tower houses could not have really been built to withstand artillery; and some that were constructed without this threat in mind were overlooked by high ground. At the siege of Dunboy, Co.

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77. Hayes-McCoy, "Guns", p. 47; de h Óir, pp. 80-6. The second article discusses why guns remained ineffective for so long.
78. Carew, I, p. 267.
79. "Sidney's Memoir", UJA, 5 (1857), p. 311.
80. Moryson, Itinerary, III, p. 256.
81. Falls, p. 327.
82. Carew, I, pp. 73, 77.

Cork, in 1602 the English ensconced themselves within musket-shot of the heavily-armed tower, but were protected from its fire by rising ground between camp and castle.[83] The bawn at Ardmore, Co. Waterford, was dominated by a nearby church, so musketeers in the latter during the 1642 investment made the bawn untenable.[84]

Guns not only brought down walls; they could also inflict heavy losses on a garrison. An English gunner in 1534 was said to have killed 24 men,[85] and, two years later, of 63 men in Carrickogunnel, Co. Limerick, seventeen were killed during a siege, all but four by ordnance.[86] The smaller types of artillery- sakers, minions, falcons and the like - were normally anti-personnel weapons, as they were not strong enough to damage more than the thin stonework of battlements and around loops. Sir Henry Sidney defied local advice and took one of the White Knight's castle, probably in Co. Kilkenny, with nothing heavier than a saker and two minions which he fired at the shot-holes while his men rushed the place.[87]

The English had more guns than the Irish - seven times as many, it was said in 1515[88] - and used them more offensively. The Confederates had a few siege-pieces, such as one that needed 25 yoke of oxen to pull it to Liscarroll, Co. Cork,[89] and earlier chieftains had begged ordnance from the English and Spaniards,[90] but they do not appear

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83. Moryson, Itinerary, III, p. 285.
84. Buckley, p. 58.
85. Carew, I, p. 58.
86. Carew, I, pp. 108-9.
87. "Sidney's Memoir", UJA, 3, (1855), pp. 348-9.
88. Carew, I, p. 5.
89. It took 13 days to bring down the castle which does not argue on efficient ammunition supply, or handling of the gun - Gibson, II, p. 68.
90. For example, the Earl of Desmond asked the Privy Council for guns, and, tellingly, for men to fire them, in 1563 - CSPI 1509-73, p. 228. O'Donnell received artillery from the French and Spaniards in 1543 - see Hayes-McCoy, "Guns", pp. 53, 56-8, 64-5 for this and other examples of Irishmen with large guns.

to have used them much to batter castles. O'Donnell owned "cannon, and other military engines" when he went on an extensive foray through O'Conor lands in 1536, but, as some castles were among the few things he did not destroy, it would not seem that they were very effective.[91] Artillery was much too cumbersome to take on cattle-raids, which circumstance probably extended the useful life of the tower house.

What ordnance the Irish lords did have was, it appears, more for defending than attacking castles. Specially designed artillery-ports are very rare, but some towers had artillery among their armaments. One of the earliest guns to have been found in Ireland was the sort used, on a swivel-mount, on fortresses rather than in the field. It is a small-calibre breech-loader[92] (which increased its rate of fire at the cost of range and accuracy) and it would have been very useful as an anti-personnel weapon, for deterring rushes against a tower. This and three other small cannon, all late-fifteenth or sixteenth-century, are in the National Museum of Ireland, and it is very likely the "bases" the garrison of Ballymartyr, Co. Cork, used in 1575 were swivel guns.[93] As for larger weapons, the late Elizabethan picture-maps of Richard Bartlett show several emplaced in fortifications. The most interesting is Augher castle, Co. Tyrone, a tower house with an inner and outer bawn; a large muzzle protrudes through a port in the corner of the outer bawn, and the gun appears to rest on an earth platform.[94]

Irish gunners, then, would sometimes reply to battery-fire, although seldom as effectively as those at O'Brien's bridge, whose

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91. AFM, V, p. 1431.
92. Cuffe, "Gun."
93. "Sidney's Memoir", UJA, 5 (1857), p. 311.
94. Hayes-McCoy, Maps, pl. X. Like most of Barttlet's strongholds, Augher was in English hands by the time he drew it.

two great guns outclassed the royal demi-cannon, while the 12-13 foot thick "hewn marble" walls of the castle, reinforced by earth and timber "as the like have not been seen in this land", defied the English gunners.[95] More often, though, even if there were enough guns, they were let down by the incompetence of their crews. The large tower house of Dunboy, Co. Cork, was found to hold a brass demi-culvierin and three smaller pieces, plus eight iron guns, all Spanish, when the English took it in 1602. The garrison had erected gabions and placed their ordnance on a "low platform" for counter-battery, but three guns had been hit by English balls, and they failed to prevent a total defeat for the Irish.[96] In 1527, Castlemore-Costello, Co. Mayo, had the best "engines" in Ireland, including guns, but fell after a long siege to an O'Donnell force that the annalists do not mention as possessing artillery.[97] Eight years later, 60 out of 100 men in Maynooth were said to be gunners, but they only managed to kill seven English, despite losing 60 men themselves during the siege.[98]

On the whole the Gaelic lords were less skilled and less well-equipped for sieges than the English in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. They usually lacked heavy guns, and sometimes the organisation and discipline to transport them, or maintain an effective blockade. Some Irish did abandon their castles (pp. 80-81 above) or let the Spanish defend them in their stead. The Cork chiefs sur-

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95. "Marble", as in other writings of the time, means limestone - Carew, I, pp. 102-3; Bradshaw, "Limerick", p. 49. There is only one case in Tipperary where parts of a castle might have been designed against artillery, at Ballynahinch (ch. VII, pp. 254-5)
96. Stafford, Pacata Hibernia, II, pp. 152-3; Moryson, Itinerary, III, p. 285.
97. AFM, V, p. 1391.
98. Carew, I, pp. 64-5. Here "gunners" might mean arquebusiers rather than artillerists.

rendered their coastal towers to Spaniards, so the latter could control vital harbours during the Kinsale campaign.[99] The exaggerated description of the four guns that shot at Carrigafoyle Co. Kerry, in 1580, given by the Four Masters, verges on the superstitious, and shows how even educated Irishmen might be in awe of artillery.[100] In 1538 some of the best Clanrickard tower houses fell to 250 soldiers and one gun; such castles beat of 600-800 soldiers of the Burkes, who lacked artillery.[101]

All this does not mean that Irish garrisons could not defend tower houses with enormous determination, sometimes to the last man. None of the Dunboy ward survived the fighting or the "Pardon of Maynooth", and one only just failed to blow up the castle when all was lost.[102] When in 1567 Sidney's men had driven the garrison of one of the White Knight's castles up into the "first and greatest vault", and disposed of some of them, after two days of siege, he offered the rest their lives; they refused, as they had promised to hold the castle, and expected help. The next day the English:

> "made a somewhat larger passage than the staire, with sword and target they won the first vault, and killed a great many of the defenders; yet divers of them got up by other privey stairs into the top of the castle, and into the other rooms crawled, whom my men never ceased to fyr-ret owt ... the rebels made seven or eight fights after the first vault was woun!"

All of them seem to have died by the sword.[103] This shows how a fanatical garrison could prolong the resistance of a tower, taking advantage of their knowledge of the complicated arrangement of rooms,

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99. Stafford, Pacata Hibernia, II, pp. 40-1.
100. AFM, V, p. 1733.
101. Nolan, "Clare barony", p. 17.
102. Gibson, I, p. 401.
103. "Sidney's Memoir", UJA, 3 (1855), p. 349.

and the deliberately difficult access from one part to the next. Tower houses seem to have been more designed for this sort of affair, when a castle could lose first its bawn and outer buildings, then one floor after another of the tower itself, rather than for an artillery battle.

With their reputation for light warfare in the open, it might have been expected that the Irish would have been spirited and imaginative in sortying from a besieged castle, one of the principal ways of slowing down an attacking force. However, most of the evidence of this tactic comes from English sources, and concerns the exploits of English garrisons, such as that of twelve men that Holinshed says sallied out against 240 at Leighlin Bridge, Co. Kilkenny.[104] During the later stages of the siege of Ballyally castle, the inhabitants raided out of their tower, with their enemies leaving ambushes after them as they withdrew. So the English burnt all the houses within a mile of their tower, after which they found life much safer, and gained many preys.[105] This sort of operation could lead to skirmishing around the castle, especially when there were buildings outside the bawn which could give cover to attackers. Thus at Ardmore in 1642 the besiegers first took some of the castle's out-houses from which they maintained a fire on the "spikes" or loops, then wrested the church, which overlooked the bawn, from the defenders.[106]

This section has pointed out the weapons and tactics that the garrisons of a tower house sometimes faced, although it must be re-emphasized that most of the small castles of Ireland were not built

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104. Holinshed, VI, pp. 395-6.
105. Croker, p. 21.
106. Buckley, p. 57.

to stand up to starvation, sieges, sows, and cannon. Two general conclusions can be drawn from the above sieges. Firstly, the majority of attacks ended in the capture of the castle, and this was practically a certainty if the investors had artillery. Secondly, apart from the introduction of gunpowder, there seem to have been few major changes in techniques from the fourteenth to the seventeenth centuries. There is no evidence that sows appeared before 1527, but it is hard to believe that so ancient and widespread a device was not used until 166 years after the first gun is recorded. Fire, starvation and treachery are always useful weapons in sieges, and the attacks of the early 1640's were almost entirely medieval, except that muskets had replaced bows and crossbows, and even these could be in short supply.[107] The historian is handicapped by a lack of detailed information for the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, but what there is suggests that sieges of tower houses were in many respects like those of later years.

SIEGES IN TIPPERARY

The preceding section was needed because there is not enough information from Tipperary alone, especially in the early part of the tower house period, to provide a picture of all siege techniques, or to give details of certain devices. For example, while it is known that sows were used in the county, one must look outside it to understand their function or construction. Nevertheless, there are enough cases on record to indicate that sieges in Tipperary were much like those elsewhere.

The earliest known sieges are those of the late twelfth century,

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107. Buckley, p. 58, gives a case of 40 Irishmen with only two muskets.

when the Irish destroyed the mottes of the earliest invaders (ch. I, p. 21 ), and Turlough O'Brien's victories are well-known. Callanan, a modern historian, did not give any sources for saying that the Irish raided Cabbragh (98), a tower house held by William, son of Peter Butler, in 1392,[108] but if he is correct this might be the earliest attack on a tower in the county. It is more certain that MacWilliam Uachtrach and Clanrickard took Portland (337) in 1441, along with much spoil in arms and armour.[109] John Gleeson said O'Madden lost the castle because he was involved on the losing side in a quarrel over the Kingship of Thomond, and guesses he also lost Drominagh tower house (187) at the same time.[110]

More than a century later, Edmund Spenser said that during the reign of Edward IV Murrough O'Brien overran all of Munster; his lack of siege-engines stopped him taking walled towns, but making the most of his mobility he took many English castles, attacking the English "before they could fortify or gather themselves together". In Tipperary he captured Thurles (383),[111] a town with eleven tower houses. Then, during the 1489-91 Desmond attack on the Butler lands, Edmond Butler had to attack the town of Lisronagh (291), held by Thomas Howet for the Geraldines, or so a recent author believed; it is certainly true the castle was "razed" at some date prior to 1530, which may imply a fight over it (see Appendix I for details). In 1480 (or, much more likely, 1380) wooden castles at Lisronagh (291) and Carrigeensharagh (108) were captured and burnt, and the towers of Drangan (183) and Ballywehill (see Ballyboe in Appendix I) were also taken,

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108. NLI MS Callanan, Elioqurty, p. 45.
109. AFM, IV, p. 925.
110. J. Gleeson, Ely, pp. 316, 447.
111. Morley, pp. 51-2.

by various lords including Peter Butler and the Earl of Desmond.[112]

In 1538 the first Dublin forces that entered the county for many years, commanded by Leonard Grey, Lord Deputy, passed through Tipperary taking submissions of chiefs in the north of the county. Tower houses presented only minor problems. On June 23 he took Birr (Co. Offaly) and Modreeny (307), Lower Ormond, both in the hands of recalcitrant O'Carrolls. The two actions cost him one dead and four wounded, and afterwards Dermonde O'Kennedy, the "chief captain", submitted, as did Mac I Brien Ara.[113] In 1539 Ormond gained both castles peacefully when the Deputy changed tack and favoured the Earl instead of the O'Carrolls.[114] Another document claims that Modreeny belonged to the Earl, and that reveals the force that took it consisted of 100 Englishmen of the royal retinue, Palesmen, 30 horse, 24 kern, and 200 gallowglass, with no mention of artillery.[115] A recent researcher believed these border castles between the O'Carroll and Butler domains probably changed hands several times during the century.[116] In 1538 the Deputy also attacked Ballinaclogh (13).[117]

In 1548 the O'Carrolls struck back, and "burned Nenagh (360) upon the Red Captain (a Butler), both monastery and town, from the fortress out." This was a successful attempt to take land from the "Saxons", all of whom left the region except for a "few warders who

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112. T.B. Butler, "Dunboyne", p. 163, quoting Annales Hiberniae (TCD MS E.3.20, p. 396) gives 1480 as the date, as does NLI MS Butler Docs., p. 2 (quoting same source). But there is some mistake, for the MS quoted is a part of the entry for 1346-7 in Clynn's Annals, and does not mention the attacks. Ross' Annals (printed in Clynn and Dowling, p. 46) gives the date as 1380, which would seem to be the correct one.
113. Carew, I, p. 145.
114. Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, 1539, II HMSO, London, 1895, p. 271.
115. Carew, I, p. 164-5.
116. Atkinson, M. Litt, pp. 27-8.
117. Bagwell, I, p. 244.

were at Nenagh, in the tower of MacManus",[118] presumably the keep of the castle. What exactly happened that year is somewhat confused; perhaps the fire did not get as far as the keep. Mac Geogheigan says that in 1550 Teig O'Carroll "seized upon and destroyed the castle of Nenagh, in spite of the determined resistance of the garrison. After that, he expelled the English from the district."[119] Whatever the truth of the matter, the old castle of Nenagh still seemed central to the defence of Ormond, as it had been in 1536 when there was a recommendation that Royal troops should garrison it, as well as large numbers of "piles" in the vicintiy.[120] It is perhaps significant that one hears nothing of struggles for these lesser castles, even though some would have been held by the Earl.

It is odd that in other territorial disputes there are so few notices to sieges, for without control of an area's tower houses it would have been impossible really to hold the land. There were no known sieges in the "Butlers' War" of 1569, when Sir Peter Carew, backed by Deputy Sidney, claimed many of the family's lands.[121] The long Ormond-Desmond feud had a little more action - in 1567, when Desmond was interrogated in London, he admitted taking Kilfeakle (248) one of the disputed manors behind the quarrel.[122] Most of this war consisted of cattle-raids, with one memorable battle at Affane; Rory Mac Shane, an ally of Desmond, kept Clonmel (also disputed) under pressure for years. In 1574 he captured the Butler tower house of Derrinlaur (just across the Suir in Waterford) to cut off trade from Clonmel. In August the same year the Deputy mined Derrinlaur's walls

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118. AFM, V, p. 1513.
119. J. Gleeson, Ely, p. 126.
120. State Paper, H.8, II, p. 326.
121. Blackhall, NMAJ, 6 (1949-52), p. 112.
122. Flynn, p. 207.

and massacred the garrison. Desmond gave in a week later. Whether the Deputy dug a real mine, which was a very unusual tactic against a tower house, or just "undermined" the walls above the ground, is not revealed.[123]

There were more sieges when Tipperary was involved in the major wars at the end of the century. In 1580 Ormond, with English help, took three Burke castles in Muskry, to the east of Aherlow wood. The same year, John of Desmond's brother, assaulting what may have been a Tipperary tower, was crushed by a log from its battlements.[124] In 1599 the Earl, in his guerilla war against local partizans of Tyrone, took Ballinaclogh (13), a strong castle in Upper Ormond, killing several O'Kennedys. Some of the inhabitants of Ormond thereupon swore loyalty.[125] The same year 1,000 Ulstermen under Tyrone's son tried to take the two castles at Templemore (378), but were beaten off by the ward of twelve men. They then marched on Cashel, but the Earl met them, and forced them back.[126] In 1600 the rebels, under an O'More, burnt Ormond's manor of Buolick (96), which had a tower house and fortified church, but Sir William Butler caught them, killed 60, and recaptured a great deal of their prey.[127] One real rebel success was in 1598, when Redmond Burke, acting under instructions from Tyrone, took Drominagh (187) and four other of Ormond's castles.[128] Dermot O'Dwyer of Clonyharp Castle (155) left Burke to become Sherriff of the Palatinate, and in 1600 broke Archbishop Magrath's tower of Ballyvorein (41), and spoiled the attached "town", as well as taking "a great prey" from the "churchyard" of Cashel, perhaps the fortified

123. Burke, Clonmel, pp. 30-2.
124. Carew, II, pp. 224-5.
125. CSPI 1599-1600, p. 135.
126. Perrott, Chronicle, p. 158.
127. RIA MS, Smith, p. 355.
128. AFM, VI, p. 2079.

enclosure on the Cathedral rock. He also "brake a part of the stone walls" of Milltown , and "cessed" the Archbishop's manor of Camus (100), taking cattle from it.[129]

Most of the attacks seem to have been to settle local quarrels and old enmities as much as to contribute to the "real" war. Many of the above besiegers, such as the O'More who burnt Buolick (96), were local people. Redmond Burke, who in 1600 took several castles in Ely and Ormond, including Portland (337), was another man with strong regional interests.[130]

So far the sources have revealed that several towers in Tipperary were besieged, and shown some of the causes, but have had little to say about the methods used. In several cases the impression is that the castles fell victim to fast-moving forces that were unlikely to have had artillery, or the time to make sows. Yet although there are no references to guns in action, they could well have been used, for they certainly existed in this part of Ireland.

The earliest notice is in 1525, when four gunners, servants to the Earl of Ormond, went to Leap Castle, Co. Offaly, to defend it and its O'Carroll lord against the Deputy, or anyone else.[131] In 1532 the Earl lost several falcons in battle to Mulrony O'Carroll; they were described by an annalist as "the foreign weapons, whereby they (the Butlers) most got access and sway."[132] Falcons were light field pieces, too small for serious battering, but useful for more general work in a siege, or defending a castle. In 1538 a Butler allegedly

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129. Callanan, Septs, p. 116, quoting a plaintive letter from Magrath.
130. AFM, VI, p. 2187. Portland is the only one of the castles named that can be definitely said to be a Tipperary tower.
131. Carew, I, pp. 30-1.
132. AU, III, p. 589; AFM, V, p. 1409.

sent powder for the guns at Modreeny (307) castle when it was due to be attacked by royal soldiers,[133] and a 1543 indenture of the Earl granted to Martin Poterchelo, "yeoman of Kilkenny, gunner", a garden. The document contains the earliest known picture of a gun in Ireland, on a fortress mount, which suggests it was installed in one of the Earl's towers. The gunner's name sounds Italian; very likely he was one of the many wandering military experts of his nation.[134] Another artillerist was Cornelius MacShane O'Meagher, of Carnlee (probably Garranlee Castle (208) ) who was pardoned in 1560. His name appears below those of two horsemen, but above that of a horseboy (a servant or groom, not a warrior like the horsemen), which probably indicates something of his social status.[135] In 1566 Ormond twice asked the Queen to lend him or his kinsmen guns to batter down "certen castells in Tipperary" held by the Burkes and other rebels,[136] and he seems to have had cannon to put behind the gunloops in his house at Carrick (104) (above p. 72 ).

The only known use of guns in a siege in Tipperary before the seventeenth century was when the Earl of Essex took the large stronghold of Cahir (99) in 1599. The siege was very well documented; the English, who had overwhelming numbers, sited a cannon only 47 yards from the castle, and a culverin 97 (later 78) yards away.[137] They also had two "petayers" or mortars.[138] As the castle was later fully repaired, it is difficult to say how much damage the artillery did;

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133. State Paper, H.8, III, p. 73.
134. NLI MS Ormond Deeds, D. 2408 - photograph in de h Óir, facing p. 80.
135. COD, V, pp. 99-100.
136. Ó Laidhin, pp. 25, 44.
137. D.N. Johnson "Cahir", p. 114. He estimates the culverin to have fired around 200 shots, the cannon less.
138. "Capture of Cahir", p. 72.

trenches, sows, scaffolds, and ladders were also made during the siege.[139] A short time after Essex took it, the rebels re-took Cahir, by a combination of surprise and treachery, with only 60 men.[140]

In this exploit the rebels gained the two guns that had battered Cahir, but, despite Mountjoy's fears, they do not seem to have used them.[141] In the next round of sieges, in the 1640's, artillery was not heard of. These sieges were of the castles held by Englishmen in Tipperary, which were assaulted in the early stages of the Confederate war. Most of the information comes from one source - the Trinity Depositions, a set of narratives drawn up by the participants during the next decade or so, with the object of listing the murders and thefts to secure revenge and the restoration of property. The temptation to inflate the numbers of dead and the amount of loss must have been irresistible, especially in an atmosphere of general dislike for Catholics, and most of all rebellious ones. Yet it is improbable that anyone would tell deliberate lies about what is here under discussion, the military details of the sieges (except perhaps to magnify the numbers of the enemy) so most of the following accounts are likely to be sound.

Elizabeth Dashwood of Ardfinnan (7) was one of forty English who sheltered in Ballyknock (47) a tower house some fifteen miles away. Why she went there rather than to the larger castle of Ardfinnan is unknown. Ballyknockwas surrounded by several hundred men, who built a siege-camp of sheds and cabins. They knocked down the bawn wall, then brought up a sow to work on the tower, the sow being destroyed by the garrison. The Confederates were close enough to shout in-

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139. ibid., pp. 71-2; D.N. Johnson, "Cahir", pp. 110-2.
140. Stafford, Pacata Hibernia, I, pp. 53-4.

sults to the castle, which surrendered after four months.[142]

In February 1641/2 a large number of well-armed rebels with pickaxes, iron crowbars and "other engines", broke through a wall of Mary Busken's house at Knockgraffan (273). Whether this was one of the two towers there is unknown, but it must have had some sort of defence for the door if the foe felt it better to enter through the wall.[143] Another case, which shows a tower house needed some time to prepare for a siege, is that of one of the Fethard (198) castle-dwellers; when the rebels seized the town he had no provisions, arms or garrison in his tower, so the insurgents entered and expelled him and his wife.[144] A confused Deposition by Katherine Jones shows that Donaskeagh (181) was invested for eight months; when it fell it is alleged that some of the warders were wounded and imprisoned, and the tower house ransacked.[145]

A more detailed account is that of Thomas Grove of Rochestown (357), who was one of the nine fighting-men and forty others besieged in Rochestown castle by 400 Irish during the winter of 1641-2. The enemy pressed closely, and deprived the ward of their water-supply, over two furlongs from the tower; they survived by collecting rain from the lead roofs. A sow broke down the bawn wall, but as it approached the tower the defenders threw down stones and broke it; its crew evacuated the engine, which was then burnt. Seven men sallied out of the castle and "went to the town that was close by and secured the benefitt of the water". The document then gets muddled, but it

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141. ibid., p. 112.
142. TCD MS Depositions, pp. 38-41. As this original is often nearly illegible, it is easier to consult the transcript, NLI MS Hayden, pp. 98-101.
143. TCD MS Depositions, p. 106; NLI MS Hayden, pp. 29-10.
144. TCD MS Depositions, p. 23 ; NLI MS Hayden, pp. 60-1.
145. TCD MS Depositions, p. 63 ; NLI MS Hayden, pp. 165-6.

seems there were two real sieges, each of five weeks. The castle at last yielded upon a promise of quarter, after no answer came to requests for help. Again, for part of the time, the two sides must have been close together, for there was shouting of insults. The English claimed to have killed about thirty rebels.[146]

The attack on Golden tower house (212) is also well documented, by John Don, a local cobbler. Captain Peizley, with 200 horse, took the place from the Irish; as cavalry are unsuited to any sort of siegework except a rush, this could not have been a lengthy operation. It was later alleged this all took place after the rebels had robbed cows from Golden town, and burnt seven houses. After Peizley departed, the castle was besieged by the Confederates; it held 20 men and six score women and children, refugees form Cashel, some four miles away. The assailants, said Don, were at first 200 strong, "thereafter on every side ... 50 men at least". They offered quarter, which was refused, "because of yielding the river" - the tower stands on an islet in the Suir, and so controls the bridge over the river as well as being hard to approach. Somehow the enemy got a sow onto the island but it was burnt, with ten of them inside. Twelve other Confederates are said to have been killed, but, the defenders lost about 30 in all, six of them soldiers. At last, after eleven weeks, the garrison ran out of food and slipped away, but, said Don, most were killed by pursuing rebels.[147] Golden is a round tower only 16ft. in diameter on the inside, so even if there was a bawn (there is no sign of one today) it would have been very crowded during the siege. Perhaps most of the defenders' heavy losses were

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146. TCD MS Depositions, pp. 56-56b; NLI MS Hayden, pp. 144-6.
147. TCD MS Depositions, pp. 40b-43, 58-58b; NLI MS Hayden, pp. 106-13, 149-51.

caused by privations due to lack of food, air and sanitation, rather than direct rebel action.

Alexander Listor gave an account of the siege of another Tipperary tower, owned by Henry Pesly, who was perhaps the Captain (or Major) Peizley above. This was Archerstown (4), which with Beakstown (82), a hold four miles away, was invested from December 17, 1641, by 1,500 men under Theobald Purcell, Baron of Loughmoe, and other Tipperary lords. There are two versions of the end of the affair; one says that in May 1642 the garrison ran out of food, attempted to break out, and was forced to surrender a few hundred yards from the tower; the other, that around midsummer it was obliged to eat eleven horses. A third account, from Pesly himself, says that he had to surrender after nine months from hunger. Beakstown held out until October, 1642 during which time one of the ward was killed when he showed himself at the battlements.[148] The stout defence of Beakstown earned Cromwell's praise, and in 1657 a grant of land for its owner, George Cooke.[149] Both these tower houses had been in correspondence with Lady Thurles, and a document of the Cromwellian Commission reveals how Pesly's castle was overcrowded with old men, women, and children, fourteen of whom she sheltered in Thurles castle. When 1,500 men under Lt. Colonel Brian O'Neill presumably Ulstermen from the main Confederate Army, more formidable than the local rebels, demanded admission to Thurles town, her command of the castle (383) allowed her to forbid them entry,[150]

Other castles were not so stoutly defended. Monemore (pro-

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148. TCD MS Depositions, pp. 44b, 80-80b; NLI MS Hayden, pp. 120, 201-2.
149. NLI MS Callanan, Eliogurty, p. 112.
150. ibid, pp. 140-2. The castle was probably the chief one, the caput of the manor, now called Black Castle.

bably Emly (194) - see Appendix I)was robbed of goods worth 337 pounds 10 shillings (sterling), of which 206 pounds (sterling) was livestock. No resistance was mentioned here,[151] nor when goods were carried out of Ballyboy tower (28) to the Baron of Cahir's lands.[152] In 1642 the English miners at Silvermines took refuge in Ballycahil castle (30), but were induced to return on a promise of protection, which, a deponent claimed, was later broken.[153] The rebels laid siege to the small tower house[154] of Ballyowen (65), and one of their leaders offered a reward to anyone who would betray the place. John Harris, servant to the garrison commander, persuaded his master to "walke abroade", saying that there was little danger. Since this was believed, it indicates the investment was not closely pressed. An Irish fowler shot Wyse, the commander, and two days later the rebels entered and looted the tower.[155]

Those who defended Knockordan tower (276) were more spirited; according to the widow of its owner, Thomas Baker, who died during the attack, it held out for sixteen weeks before the warders ran out of musket-ammunition. Two days later, Lord Mountgarrett arrived with a large force, and the castle surrendered on terms; but, it was alleged, the rebels later stripped and robbed the inhabitants.[156] The Bakers thus lost a large amount of goods, but it was probably safer to try and defend it in a castle than to send it away by slow and clumsy convoys; Christian Jones of Cloghine lost all the property he sent for security to one of Sir Richard Everard's towers.[157]

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151. TCD MS Depositions, p. 130; NLI MS Hayden, p. 304.
152. TCD MS Depositions, p. 186; NLI MS Hayden, p. 446-7.
153. TCD MS Depositions, pp. 193b-9; NLI MS Hayden, pp. 475-99.
154. CS, I, p. 243.
155. TCD MS Depositions, p. 231; NLI MS Hayden, pp. 530-1.
156. TCD MS Depositions, pp. 169-170b; NLI MS Hayden, pp. 403-5.
157. TCD MS Depositions, p. 184; NLI MS Hayden, pp. 440-1.

Of all the Tipperary sieges of the period, that of Cullen (171) attracted the most attention, due to the atrocities that followed, rather than the attack itself. In early November, 1641, many English took shelter here, some of them from Clonmel.[158] This was a walled town, 28 miles away, with a direct escape route to Waterford along the Suir, so why they went to what seems to have been just an ordinary tower house is puzzling.[159] The Confederates "straightened and besieged" the castle, which was said to contain about 220 people,[160] until July, 1642. Then William Hibbard, its governor, wrote to the attackers to arrange terms (that all the occupants were to be conveyed safely to an English army), but after the surrender the rebels killed or stripped most of the people.[161] Gamaliell Warter, who, according to The Civil Survey, leased the place from Ormond,[162] said the garrison received no provisions (or pay !) during the siege.[163] More details come from Hibbard, who said people took refuge in the tower about the beginning of December, 1641, and the siege started a month later. The first enemy action was to send 400-500 men by night to take the house adjoining the castle, siezing four men and the horses that were kept there. If valuable beasts had to be stabled in so lightly-defended a building, it argues that the rest of the castle was very overcrowded. A fortnight later the investment was raised by a party of horse, but it recommenced after they left.[164]

Early in the siege the Confederates had made a sow or "Hogge", which was promptly burnt by the warders; they had only inflicted a

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158. TCD MS Depositions, p. 202b; NLI MS Hayden, pp. 499-501.
159. All traces had gone by 1840 - RIA MS OS Letters, I, p. 22. CS, II, p. 56, calls it "a castle in good repair".
160. TCD MS Depositions, p. 272; NLI MS Hayden, p. 929.
161. TCD MS Depositions, pp. 202-202b; NLI MS Hayden, pp. 499-501.
162. CS, II, p. 56.
163. TCD MS Depositions, p. 265; NLI MS Hayden, pp. 921-2.
164. TCD MS Depositions, pp. 276-276b; NLI MS Hayden, pp. 934-6.

few casualties on the garrison, by hanging people they caught.[165] However, near the end of the siege, perhaps even during negotiations, 34 men, women and children went out into the fields to gather barley, which shows the castle must have been low on food. The Irish assaulted these; the English claimed it was a dastardly atrocity,[166] but in a statement ten years later the Confederate commander said that after the siege had been drawn off, presumably during talks about surrender, a small party had been left to "block up" the castle. This group fought with the people sallying out of the tower, losing two men themselves, and killing an unknown number of the English.[167]

The Depositions relate the taking of fourteen castles, nine of which were defended. This was only a small proportion of those towers noted as held by "English Protestants" in The Civil Survey; no doubt some were abandoned, some were never attacked, and the owners of some could have joined the Confederates. But the detail is admirable, and gives a very good picture of late medieval and early modern Irish siege techniques. For apart from muskets, which had supplemented but not entirely replaced older weapons,[168] the means of attack and defence were the traditional ones. The forces on both sides were local, if not "amateur", and the leaders would doubtless have known personally their opponents in many cases. The attackers used sows and quick rushes to take outworks, but on the whole seem to have preferred investment, slow as it might have been (Beakstown (82) held out for almost a year) to a costly escalade. Clearly, the Confederates felt no sense of urgency, as they knew they were dealing with

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165. TCD MS Depositions, p. 267; NLI MS Hayden, pp. 924-5.
166. TCD MS Depositions, pp. 276b-277; NLI MS Hayden, pp. 934-6.
167. TCD MS Depositions, p. 263; NLI MS Hayden, p. 920.
168. Darts were still in use - NLI MS Callanan, Eliogarty, p. 110.

isolated "pockets of resistance" that were unlikely to be relieved. Ballyowen (65) fell to treachery, but in all other cases hunger was the prime cause of collapse, with two garrisons trying to escape, and one surrendering. What is surprising is how long some held out; English-garrisoned tower houses had survived long sieges in Elizabeth's reign, if they had sufficient food and ammunition,[169] but they lacked the additional problem of large numbers of refugees.

There were other attacks after 1642. In 1645 the Confederate general the Earl of Castlehaven was based in Clonmel, and operated against several Munster castles, saying the enemy garrisoned every gentleman's house or castle and so "kept the country in awe."[170] One Dean Boyle came to see him, begging him to spare Doneraile (probably in Co. Cork or Waterford), and other towers. Castlehaven replied that he had no desire for destruction, "tho hitherto they had annoyed the Country, equally as if they had been strong", i.e. the stronger the castle, the more of a menace it was. He had orders to garrison all he thought fit, and destroy the rest, but if Boyle could arrange for towers to surrender, he would do his best to preserve them.[171]

Nenagh (321) was held for the king, but does not figure in the records of the war until 1646, when Owen Roe O'Neill by-passed it,[172] having taken Roscrea (360) with 1,200 men.[173] It fell in 1648 first to Phelim O'Neill and then to Lord Inchiquin.[174] This last general, on his way to the notorious sack of Cashel in 1647, is said to have heard that the Burke lord of Roosca (358) had two brass

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169. Falls, p. 187.
170. Castlehaven, p. 104.
171. Castlehaven, pp. 99-100.
172. D.F. Gleeson, Last Lords, pp. 81-2.
173. Cunningham, p. 42.
174. D.F. Gleeson, "Nenagh", p. 257.

culverins on his battlements. Burke refused to surrender them, but lack of powder stopped him from using them when Inchiquin used his four or five guns to batter breaches for a storming-party. They fought from room to room until all the ward were dead. Unfortunately, this story has no contemporary account to back it up,[175] but Inchiquin was active in the area. According to his own report to Westminster, he took twelve catles in Tipperary besides Cahir (99), which fell quite easily after one of his men had discovered weaknesses both in the fortress and its garrison.[176]

There were more sieges in 1649-50, when Cromwell conquered Tipperary. Surprisingly, although information on the campaigns of the New Model Army should be plentiful, there are recorded less than twenty cases of their taking castles. Even when Confederate sieges are added, and a number of deliberate slightings (ch. II, pp. 70-71 ) the total cannot approach the 180 or so castles that The Civil Survey said were in ruins, "a stump", or "out of repair" in 1654. In normal times these valuable buildings would not have been allowed to fall down, and although this may have happened to a degree in the troubled decade 1641-50, it is very likely that there were attacks on Tipperary tower houses which have left no record.

Cromwell's strategy seems to have been to take all the larger castles and walled towns, particularly if they could hinder communication between Limerick, Kilkenny and Waterford, and selected tower houses. These could be like the ring around Clonmel, from which people could harass the siege-camp for his famous attack on the town;

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175. It was told to the antiquarian Otway Wheeler Cuffe by one E.B. Fenessy of Pallasgreen, Co. Tipperary - Cuffe. "Roosca", p. 432. In 1640 the castle was held by Theobald Butler (CS, I, p. 367), but it could have fallen into Burke hands in the next turbulant seven years.
176. White, Cashel of the Kings, pp. 58-9.

or holds of troublesome chieftains; or towers that themselves threatened communications. Once these were broken, he expected the rest to see sense and come to terms.

Not even Cahir (99) could do much against the New Model Army; by one account it surrendered without a shot, and when the English brought up their heavy guns by another.[177] In 1649 100 of the Confederate garrison of Carrick-on-Suir town fled to the double tower house (104), but gave in within a day.[178] The English now blocked the Waterford-Limerick route, so their enemies tried to retake the castle, settingfire to the gates and springing a mine under the walls.[179] This is the only known use of a mine in Tipperary, a deadly weapon but one that needed skilled men if it was to work. Despite being cavalry, armed only with swords and pistols, the Cromwellians beat off the attack with considerable loss, even throwing stones at the besiegers.[180] The Earl of Castlehaven, who was there, attributed his side's defeat to lack of materials for breaching or scaling the wall.[181]

Some of the smaller towers put up a better fight, but it did them no good. Colonel Sankey took Dundrum (193), although it was strongly guarded and well-provisioned, his horse attacking the wall of the large bawn, while his foot cleared the adjoining "town". Confined to the tower, the garrison surrendered. Dundrum was an O'Dwyer castle, and perhaps one reason for the attack was to capture the notable soldiers Edmund and Donagh, who, however, were not among

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177. "Notes" of RSAI, p. 274; Murphy, Cromwell , pp. 269-70.
178. Adams, p. 88.
179. Lanigan, p. 34. He gives no reference for this. The mine probably did not work, for there is no sign today of the damage it would have caused.
180. Ludlow, I, p. 238. This attack took place on November 24, 1649.
181. Castlehaven, pp. 149-50.

the prisoners.[182] About this time Golden (212) also fell, with its bridge over the Suir, then Ballynakil (58), Ballagh (11) and "Doon". The last two were O'Dwyer properties, and they resisted.[183] The Cromwellians also took, in two weeks,three of the castles used by the Clonmel garrison to protect its northern and eastern approaches - Kilcash (241), held by 100 Ulstermen, Ballydine (36) held by 16, and Kiltinan (263).[184] The last is a fine two-towered castle in a good position, but it was battered by heavy artillery and fell without the loss of a single attacher.[185] Ardfinnan (7), similar in many ways, sustained a night's warm bombardment from Ireton (which did not kill anybody), and surrendered in the morning with honourable terms.[186] The weaker structures of Rehill (356) and Burntcourt (97) both gave in without resistance on February 1, 1650.[187] Later, after Cromwell, returned to England, Ireton remained in the county. When Nenagh fell on October 29, he sent a party that captured Dromineer (188), held by 50 men, after no very hard fighting, and then, proceeding along the shores of Lough Derg, took other places including Castletown Arra (125).[188]

Castles did not play a very important part in the Williamite war in Tipperary. Nenagh (321), a stronghold of "Long Anthony" O'Carroll, was the scene of some guerilla fighting; it fell to two

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182. Murphy, Cromwell, p. 272. The Perfect Diarnal, a contemporary newpaper, reported that the Irish cavalry, who formed a large part of the garrison, charged the English outside their walls - quoted in O'Dwyer, p. 166.
183. O'Dwyer, pp. 180-1. "Doon" is perhaps Dromline.
184. O'Connell and Carmody, Clonmel Tercentenary, pp. 9, 19.
185. Murphy, Cromwell, p. 271.
186. According to an eighteenth-century genealogy, quoted in Hayman and Graves, JRSAI 14 (1876-8), p. 22. O'Connell and Darmody (Clonmel Tercentary, p. 9) say it capitualted after only four or five shots.
187. Burke, Clonmel, p. 68. No sources given.
188. D.F. Gleeson, "Dromineer", p. 26, following a TCD MS Diary of Parliamentary Officer.

Williamite guns in a 24-hour siege, in which the attackers lost fourteen men, but do not seem to have placed a garrison of their own in the place.[189] A Williamite military engineer did go and view this place and other nearby towers, presumably with a view to their future use; the engineer and his party were besieged in Cragg tower house (164), but they killed several Jacobites and the rest ran away on the approach of a Williamite force.[190] Other castles were used as prisons[191] or as bases for operations, but do not seem to have been able to resist serious attacks, although they could beat off smaller raiding-parties. Some rapparees tried to take Roscrea (360), but were defeated with loss.[192] On March 3, 1690, 70 Williamite musketeers raided Kilfada (247), dispersing two troops of cavalry they caught there, and gaining much boot, but they apparently ignored the tower house. The next year 60 Williamites were ambushed by "Long Anthony" O'Carroll, and took refuge in an old castle. They surrendered when the Irish set it alight.[193] A Captain John Odell asked to be allowed to raise a local militia to hold his tower house of Ballingarry (19); he said it was very strong and in an advantageous position to protect the country around, and would provide good winter quarters for cavalry.[194]

Apart from a final incident in the eighteenth century to evict a tenant from Ballinmona (Moorestown) tower (311),[195] these were the

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189. RIA MS OS Extracts,I, p. 635; D.F. Gleeson, Last Lords, pp.218-9. For a somewhat different account, see Storey, Continuation, p. 180.
190. R. Davies, Journal, p. 145.
191. NLI MS Callanan, Eliogurty, pp. 170-3.
192. Storey, Continuation, p. 112.
193. J. Gleeson, Ely, pp. 32-3, based on O'Carroll family papers.
194. PROI MS Phillipps, p. 77. This is undated, but the context shows it must date from this period.
195. White, Anth. Tip,, p. 54. The tenant gave in after one shot.

last occasions when Tipperary tower houses had to face enemies.

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This chapter ought to have refuted, or at least seriously modified, the claim that the Irish had little taste for siege warfare, and that sieges were uncommon and unimportant in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It is true that the Gaelic lords, and even the Catholic Confederates were inferior to contemporary armies at sieges, because they lacked heavy guns, and, sometimes, the discipline to maintain a blockade; it also happened that garrisons abandoned towers when faced by enemies who would certainly take the castles, and probably kill all within. On the whole, though, people, whether the owners, refugees or regular soldiers, defended castles with courage. This is true even in the case of tower houses, which were not built to withstand real sieges, yet often put up a very good fight and sometimes repelled their attackers.

On the whole, the methods used in attacking towers remained much the same from the fourteenth to the seventeenth centuries. Enemies could set fire to the doors or (if they were thatched) the roofs, they could use tricks or an inside traitor to gain entry, or they could simply try to overwhelm the tower with a rush, preferably aided by surprise or very large numbers. They could rely on starvation to make a fortalice surrender, but this could be a lengthy process, and a commander needed to have a strong grip on his men to make them wait. There are a very few references to crossbows and one to a balista, but the only sort of common siege-engine was the sow, which, however, does not seem to have been very successful. The one major change in siege warfare was the introduction of heavy guns, but although they always brought results when used, there were

many problems involved in getting the ordnance to the tower house, and it was not until Cromwell that even the English army could normally count on artillery support.

There is no detailed information on attacks on Tipperary tower houses until the seventeenth century, although it is known that sieges of fortalices had occurred for at least two centuries previously. However, the Confederate war and Cromwell's conquest have left a number of narratives that show a lot about siege-warfare in the period. The Confederates used traditional methods, and although always successful in the end, it often cost them much in time and effort to take a tower. But the Cromwellians had an efficient train of guns; no tower resisted long, and it was obvious that the tower house would no longer be important to warfare.

## CHAPTER IV. THE TOWER HOUSE IN PEACETIME.

Evidence is rather scarcer about the peaceful life of tower houses. Annals and histories normally mention castles only when they were involved in raids or wars, and to see how a tower house operated in other circumstances it is necessary to look at other documents. Perhaps surprisingly, one can get a good idea of the interior appearance of at least the richer castles and the objects within them, but apart from that the evidence is only really plentiful about legal affairs and the various methods of tower house tenure.

### INSIDE THE CASTLE - FURNISHINGS.

There are five documents from Tipperary that describe the furnishings of the nobility and gentry. In 1295 it was alleged that goods worth £500 were stolen from chests in Donoghill castle (182); they included table-cloths, clothes, sheets, armour, weapons, charters, debtor's bonds, gold, silver, cash and brass pots and cauldrons.[1] Turlough O'Brien burnt gold and silver, chairs and people at the manor of Moyaliff (314) in 1304, just before the first mention of a stone castle on the site.[2] Over 250 years later, a praise-poem of "Black's Tom's" favourite castle, Carrick-on-Suir (104) said there were many banquets (during which it appears the poem would have been sung), with "richly carved horns and goblets", choice fruit, and "curiously-antique tables." The castle, then the most splendid in Tipperary, was lit by wax tapers rather than torches, and its walls were covered in embroideries.[3] In 1632, a prosperous Clonmel bur-

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1. Cal. Justiciary Rolls, I, pp. 6-7.
2. MacCraith, Triumphs, p. 28; See Appendix I for age of Moyaliff .
3. Maher, Carrick, pp. 57, 59-60; for the accuracy of the poem, see ch. I, p.39.

the original French), gold and silver spoons etc. (value £8), ten brass pots (£12) and £12 of other metal vessels. There were also

> "pillows, counterpanes, pallets, coverlets, spits, tripods (for braziers ?) candlesticks, a chopping dish, á fine dish, 6 brandirons, butter, cheese, wool, linen, sacks, canvasses, and all other utensils of the house to the value of £40." (9)

While such complaints naturally would try to make the loss sound as bad as possible - the first one was actually fraudulent - unless they were realistic they would not have been believed, so they probably give a fairly accurate picture of the sort of objects normally found.

On the whole, most goods mentioned are to do with sleeping and eating. Beds seem to have been the most important, as well as probably the largest, pieces of furniture, although there were also wardrobes and chests. Some tables, although not those in Carrick, were simply boards and trestles. Metal items were highly prized, and the large number of pots at Castlelumney suggests that food was boiled as well as roasted on spits. The sorts of property in Irish tower houses sound similar to the contents of houses in other countries at the the time; in fact they seem better furnished than Scottish castles. Here, it has been said, some noblemen took their furniture, tapestries, windows and sometimes even doors with them as they moved from tower to tower, and modern tables only replaced trestles and boards in the seventeenth century.[10]

Some castles must have been like this until the middle of the seventeenth century - the lord of two tower houses in 1642 (probably in Co. Cork) said his valuables were " a store of plate, Brasse, pew-

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9. Berry, Edward IV, I,pp. 501-3.
10. Oliver Hill, Scottish castles of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, London, 1953, pp. 96-8. If this was true, some castles must have been left as shells when the lord was absent. Much of Scotland lacked wood, which was never a problem in Ireland.

ter, Iron potts and ffeatherbedds."[11] But there is evidence that, as in England, the sixteenth and, in particular the seventeenth, centuries saw an increase in the amount of furniture, and some changes with solid tables, clocks, carpets, and other items coming into use. One most interesting source is a set of wills of the Shee family of Kilkenny. The first and second, of 1499 and 1548, mentioned no movable property. The third, of 1556, had "standing beddes, cupboards, presses, benches, boards and formes", as well as six pieces of tapestry, all to remain in Robert Shee's principal home. The fourth will, of Sir Richard, who inherited the above property, had more to leave to his wife including tablecloths, at least two carpets, 36 napkins and various items of silver.[12] What is not certain is whether this reflected a general increase in furniture, or just the growing prosperity of one family.

The Shees did not live in a tower house, but Sir Hardress Waller did. The list of goods he said he lost from Castletown, Co. Limerick in 1642, is the most detailed known to the writer for any castle, and shows a degree of luxury that must have been rare even in the 1640's. Apart from silver goods, all the items mentioned in preceding accounts were at Castletown, as well as canopies for beds, curtains for windows, cushions, chamberpots, apparatus for distilling, four copper vessels for both brewing and washing, five iron fire-grates each with its tongs and shovels, an iron grate and door for a brewing-furnace,, a large number of vessels and bottles, a chest of books (£60), 21 long firearms, "and such like necessary furniture for a cassell." A clock (£6) and a quantity of Venice glass (£5) were imported from

11. A letter of Urbanus Vigors, NLI MS Hayden, bundle 2, p. 322.
12. Power O'Shee Papers, ed. J.A.Ainsworth and Edward MacLysaght, Annalecta Hibernia, 20 (1958), pp. 222-30.

England, while a "great yron jacke" (a machine for turning a spit) was said to be hard to obtain in Ireland. There was in addition a large quantity of supplies, much of it food, but also £8 worth of tallow, one hundredweight of "cotton wooll", half of this quantity of linen yarn, and a fishing boat. All this shows the tower was a well-stocked centre of an arable and dairy farn, and that a good deal of "cottage industry" took place, notably the manufacture of linen and woollen cloth, spirits and beer, the last in a seperate brewhouse. Much of this would have been for home consumption, not sale; in England all important houses brewed their own ale. Outside the tower were the usual ancillary buildings; one that was a rarity in Ireland, although common in Scotland and well known in England,[13] was a dovecot, for fresh meat during the winter. The total (perhaps exaggerated) value of the food in the castle was about £100, and of everything else £735·12·10$^{d}$. This compares with £100 for twenty horses, £200 for a stone and wooden stable, £605 for 32 good stone houses (all part of the manor); and £100 for a small castle with all its useful chouses and offices at Clough, Co. Limerick,[14]

All these descriptions and inventories come from English or Anglo-Irish lords, and there is at least a possibility that Gaelic chieftains used less furniture - although by this time they were so close to the Anglo-Normans in other matters of life-style that it would be surprising to find a radically different attitude to furniture. Some elaborate items like carpets or clocks might have to be brought long distances, but most furniture could be made by local carpenters or ironworkers. Various seventeenth-century Irish poems

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13. For example, Craigmillar and Nunraw, East Lothian and Leeds, Kent.
14. TCD MS Limerick Depositions, pp. 562-6. Part of this list was published as Seymour, "Furniture."

give an impression of some luxury,[15] but against this there is the testimony of several travellers who visited Ireland. Boullaye le Gouz said in 1644:

> "They have little furniture, and cover their rooms with rushes, of which they make their beds in summer, and of straw in winter. They put the rushes a foot deep on their floors, and on their windows, and many of them ornament the ceiling with branches." (16)

Boullaye was the only man to specify tower houses, but others said that in general the Irish had little furniture. Fynes Moryson maintained that the Irish chiefs did not use tables, but simply "set their meat upon a bundle of grass, and use the same grass to wipe their hands." They did not use normal candles, but rather one great candle of reeds and butter, placed on the floor in the middle of a great room. As he says they had central hearths in the great men's rooms, he must be thinking of halls or the more primitive tower houses that lacked fireplaces.[17] He had a low opinion of towers and their attached halls, finding them full of "filth,and slovenliness."[18] Barnaby Rich has left a similar description with rushes (straw in winter) serving as table, table-cloth, carpet, napkins, and stools.[19] The two are so alike that one may suspect that Moryson, who wrote a few years after Rich's book came out in 1610, might have copied.

Against this, Stanihurst spoke of a table and couches at feasts;[20] and Luke Gernon was generally more well-disposed to the Irish than Rich or Moryson. Gernon was scornful of cabins, but said that in

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15. MacLysaght, pp. 100-1.
16. Boullaye le Gouz, p. 41. Rushes and straw were the normal floor-coverings even in the greatest palaces in the fifteenth century, but rich men had them woven into mats, not just thrown on the floor. See January in Les très riches heures du duc de Berri.
17. Falkiner, p. 231.
18. Moryson, Itinerary, III, p. 498.
19. Rich, pp. 39-40.
20. Lennon, Stanihurst, p. 150.

tower houses people ate off a table in the hall, and slept in beds, even though several might have had to share the same one.[21]

A final remark about furniture - when early this century MacLysaght visited Lohort castle, Co. Cork, all large items had to be made in situ.[22] This would have been the case in most Tipperary castles, as the stairs are much too narrow and sharply twisted to manoeuvre up large objects. Long planks and beams would have had to be swung in through the windows of the rooms where they were wanted, using, very likely, pulleys from beams fixed into the drainage-holes under the battlements.

The embroideries, tapestries and perhaps some of the carpets in tower houses would have been wall-coverings, but on the whole cheaper means must have been used. The Deposition about Castletown, Co, Limerick mentions a large quantity of boards and other seasoned wood for wainscoting the hall which was to be built beside the castle.[23] The most common method was undoubtedly plaster, which survives on the inside of a number of Tipperary castles. Most of this is plain, although the Elizabethan part of Carrick and one of the wall-towers at Roscrea (360) both have stucco-work.[24] Some may have been coloured; part of the plaster at Clara, Co. Kilkenny, is green, while at Holy Cross Abbey there survive figurative and ornamental frescoes, proving that this art was known in fifteenth-century Tipperary. The insides of several English and Scottish tower houses are painted;[25] the habit in seventeenth-century Scotland was to decorate the ceiling.

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21. Falkiner, pp. 360-1.
22. MacLysaght, p. 94.
23. TCD MS Limerick Depositions, p. 566.
24. Cunningham, p. 45; at Roscrea the stucco is only over the fireplace.
25. Notably the wall-paintings in Longthorpe tower near Peterborough.

However, most rooms would probably have been whitewashed. This makes a room much lighter, which is very important with small windows; the difference can be seen where the whitewash has been recently restored, in castles like Redwood (355). Written sources reveal that the outsides of towers were often whitewashed - Inishowen, Co. Donegal, appears to have been "limewashed",[26] as was Bunratty in the days of Turlough O'Brien,[27] and in 1572 there were "white-sided towers" between the Shannon and the Burren.[28] Carrick was whitewashed,[29] and many Tipperary castles retain amounts of the harling that would have provided a better surface for limewash than bare stone.[30]

DAILY LIFE.

The arrangement of rooms in surviving towers tells a certain amount about how and where the inhabitants lived. The bottom storey was for storage, the top storey was usually the principal living area for the lord, and the bedrooms were small mural chambers off the main rooms in the upper storeys (ch. VI for details). But a great deal about life in a castle remains unknown.

Most important, there is no certain way of saying how many people normally lived in a tower house. Sometimes scores were besieged in a tower, but these included refugees (ch. III). In 1542, in peacetime, Rehill (356) had a garrison of 8 men, and Ardcollum (64) had 4,[31] but these were fighting-men added to, or instead of, the non-combatant population. It is known that mercenary soldiers,

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26. Ó Huiginn, II, p. 135. See also p. 49.
27. MacCraith, Triumphs, p. 8.
28. AFM, V, pp. 1659-61.
29. Maher, Carrick, p. 58.
30. For details of plastering and harling, both used on Scottish towers, see Clifton-Taylor, pp. 353, 360-2.
31. Gilbert, Account of facsimiles, III, p. 131.

horseboys and workmen were billeted in castles,[32] a practice the Earl of Ormond still used in 1612,[33] but there is no information on the relationship between these "guests" and the Lord of the castle. MacLysaght said that men would have spent little time indoors except to eat, sleep or shelter from the weather, for they would be busy working, travelling or hunting,[34] but this may not have been so with women, who only enter the records when they entertained guests or were heiresses in their own right.

The most valuable information about everyday life comes not from the inhabitants, but rather from the visitors to a tower house. MacLysaght, who visited a tower that was still inhabited at the beginning of this century, said the ground-floor was the kitchen, stores and servant's quarters, the next storey was the dining-room (in medieval terms, the hall), the one above was the drawing-rooms, with the fourth for sleeping.[35] Sir William Brereton, who visited Clonmullen, Co. Carlow, in 1635, spoke of ascending, steep, narrow stairs to the dining-room and chambers;[36] Luke Gernon, describing how a visitor was treated in a typical Irish tower, said that the hall was the uppermost room, where feasting, drinking and entertainment took place. This was both a semi-public dining-room and the lord's principal chamber; in Gernon's castle only the top room could have had a real fire, for it had a central hearth instead of fireplaces. (This would suggest cooking had to be done, not in the tower, but in a separate building, which would make taking hot food to the top of the castle inconvenient), The "lodgings" or bedrooms were separate from this main room, although Gernon did not say exactly where they were.[37]

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32. Empey and Simms, pp. 162, 173, 175, 178.
33. NLI MS COM, VII, pp. 115-6, d. 3510.
34. MacLysaght, pp. 110-1.
35. MacLysaght, p. 94.
36. Brereton, p. 148.
37. Falkiner, pp. 360-1. Central fires were said to be antiquated by

Some towers had halls built onto their sides to provide more room than would have been possible in the tower itself (ch. VII, p. 261). The inhabitants of such castles feasted in the hall, then went up into the tower to sleep, for reasons of security;[38] Moryson also said that the lord and his family ate downstairs in a lightly-built hall.[39]

Feasting was a common occupation for tower-owners, and was probably their main form of entertainment. Two things that many observors noticed were the "rhymers" and harpers, and the large quantities of aqua vitae, without which "it is not worthy to be called a feast."[40] Gernon said a guest was presented with a large range of drinks, each first tasted by the lady of the castle; there was sack before the meal, aqua vitae first thing in the morning, and all the drinks in the house on departure.[41] Stanihurst, like Gernon, mentioned heavy drinking, and also agreed with him in emphasizing the role of the lady of the house at feasts. She took the high place at table, and she and her husband alone stayed silent during the meal.[42] The quantity of the food was noted by Stanihurst, who said the main meal of the day was in winter before nightfall, and in summer around seven,[43] and its quality by Boullaye le Gouz.[44] As regards amusements, Gernon spoke of the harper and the rhymer as one man, who sung "rymes of ancient making", and, if he was any good, would compose a new song for the present occasion.[45] The bardic poetry quoted throughout this thesis was to praise a lord or his castle, and, when sung at a

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the end of the seventeenth century, at least in south Co. Wexford - Hore, "Forth", p. 72.

38. Lennon, Stanihurst, p. 146.
39. Moryson, Itinerary, III,p. 498.
40. Rich, p. 40.
41. Falkiner, pp. 360-1.
42. Lennon, Stanihurst, p. 150.
43. ibid., pp. 150, 147.
44. Le Gouz, p. 40.
45. Falkiner, p. 361.

feast, would make it a political as well as a social ceremony: the lord would display his wealth, generosity and hospitality, while his rhymer informed the assembled of these and his other virtues. At Magennis in Ulster, which Captain Josias Bodley visited in 1602-3, the custom of the lady serving the drinks was observed, but at Lecale, in place of a harper the gentry themselves provided the entertainment, which, as in contemporary England, was a "masque."[46] Harpers appear to have declined along with tower houses; at the beginning of the seventeenth century most of the gentry could harp themselves, and kept another man to play as they ate, but by its end, as people abandoned their castles, the harper became a rarity.[47]

One reason for the delight shown in these meals was that it was part of the tower house's purpose to offer hospitality. This was one of the most prized virtues in Ireland; partly this may have been a result of a want of good inns, for Edmund Spenser complained of a lack of soft lodgings, and Fynes Moryson of the dirty beds travellers had to suffer,[48] but a stronger reason was, it seems, love of company. Stanihurst wrote that the homes of Irish chiefs were daily frequented by large numbers of guests, and "you cannot gratify them more than by visiting their homes freely and willingly, or by extending invitations to them."[49] Travellers were accepted at once; Boullaye le Gouz and his party were pressed by Lord Ikerrin, to whom they seem to have been strangers, to stay a few days in his tower near Callan, Co. Cork.[50] According to Fynes Moryson, a Bohemian nobleman who visited an Ulster lord in 1601 was entertained most hospitably,

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46. Falkiner, pp. 332, 342.
47. MacLysaght, p. 111.
48. Morley, pp. 207, 426.
49. Lennon, Stanihurst, p. 147.
50. Le Gouz, p. 14.

although he was surprised to find the lord and sixteen women all naked in their house.[51] On rare occasions people abused hospitality; a bard called O'Daly went around in 1617 saying how the chieftains were neither hospitable nor generous, until he was murdered at Bawnmadrum (81), Co. Tipperary, for composing a satire on his host. It was alleged that he had been persuaded to do this by the English.[52] Much more commonly poets praised the hospitality of a tower house; in a poem believed to have been composed in return for a stay there, Ó Huiginn lauded the castle of Lifford, speaking of the pleasure it gave visitors and the reluctance of people to leave it.[53] In Tipperary, both Carrick (104) and Cahir (99) were celebrated in verse as seats of hospitality.[54]

THE TOWER HOUSE AS FARM, SCHOOL AND COURT.

The tower house was a home, a refuge, a place to entertain guests, and probably a social symbol; it also had various other functions, about which, unfortunately, very little can be said, through paucity of material.

The tower served pastoralism as a fortified cow-paddock, but as Nicholls has argued, there were other sorts of food-production practised in Ireland. Arable farming was widespread, if perhaps on a smaller scale than cattle-raising; it may have declined in the late sixteenth century, as the crops were more vulnerable in warfare,[55] but in 1611 there was enough corn produced for some to be exported to Spain.[56] The tower house would have formed the centre of many

51, Moryson, Itinerary, III, pp. 237-8. The part about nakedness sounds unlikely, though others mention the unseemliness of Irish dress.
52. O'Meagher, pp. 20-1.
53. Ó Huiginn, II, pp. 24-5, 215.
54. Maher, Carrick, p. 58; R. Prendergast, "Poem", pp. 103-4.
55. Nicholls, Gaelic Ireland, pp. 114-5.
56. O'Brien, p. 41.

arable farms; harvested crops were stored within the bawn, partly for security, partly, no doubt, to feed the people living in and around the tower. In 1635 Brereton saw four hay-stacks in the bawn at Carrick,[57] and in his will of 1628 Redmond Morris left his wife two ricks of wheat and oats by the castle of Templemore (378).[58] Castletown, Co. Limerick, had in the "house" itself 30 carucates of wheat, 60 of oats, 10 of barley, and 17 of malt - the first two would have been ground in the mills that The Civil Survey said were beside many Tipperary fortalices, the second two were for making beer. There was hay in the loft of an outhouse and wheat in the "haggard", and also a large quantity of farm equipment, including 40 draught oxen, carts, ploughs, scythes, mattocks and hoes.[59] Many tower houses must have been very much as they are today - the centres of farmyards.

The tower of Redwood (355) has a ruined stone building beside it, locally called the MacEgans' school. The remains do not show whether in fact this was what it was, but it is probable that some sort of legal training did go on at this castle. The MacEgans were an important family of hereditary lawyers, who owned this tower house and that at Aghnameadle ( 1);[60] they still held Redwood in 1641.[61]

As the next chapter shows, there were dozens of tower houses that either formed the capita of manors, or were built on their sites. Every manor had its court, in some cases, as at Drom (185), two - a court leet and a court baron.[62] Some manor courts were mentioned

57. Brereton, p. 161.
58. NLI MS Callanan, Notes, MS. 11422, near top of largest bundle (no pagination).
59. TCD MS Limerick Depositions, pp. 561-2.
60. Blake, pp. 4-5.
61. CS, II,p. 322.
62. CS, I, p. 59.

in the present tense in The Civil Survey, which implies they were still functioning in 1654.[63] There were other kinds of court - the County Cross held its ecclesiastical court at Cashel (113); the Earl's Liberty Court was conducted at Cramp's Castle (165). Liberty assizes were normally held at Clonmel (153), sometimes at Thurles (383).[64]

All these were places with tower houses, so it is reasonable to imagine that people used the castles' halls or chief chambers as courtrooms, since they would have the size and dignity suitable for the ceremonies of justice.

TENURE.

There is a very large amount of source material for the holding of tower houses in Tipperary, mostly from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Very often the leases, grants and inquisitions do not refer to a castles when there was one on the land in question at the time, because a tower was seen as an integral part of a piece of land, like other buildings on it. Nevertheless, these documents provide plenty of evidence to show how property was owned and used.

Perhaps the most important characteristic of castle-ownership was that (by 1640 at least) it was a fairly stable matter, despite all the disputes and complications outlined below. The Civil Survey lists 352 castles; Table I shows that the vast majority were simply inherited from the owner's ancestors. These are almost all local men; the "English Protestants" who held a number of tower houses came into them by purchase or mortgage.

The Civil Survey portrays a county run mainly on English principles, but for a large part of the tower house period much of Tipperary would have been subject to Brehon law. There is considerable

63. Rathronan, for example - CS, I, p. 292.
64. Empey, Ph.D., pp. 461-3

CHAPTER IV. TABLE I. METHODS OF CASTLE-HOLDING. 1640.

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|---|---|
| Held by mortgage, or come into present hands by a mortgage | 16 |
| Purchased by present owner, or his immediate ancestors | 29 |
| Leased from a bishop (church property) | 5 |
| Leased from Crown | 1 |
| Rented or leased from other sources | 10 |
| Held by royal grants | 3[a] |
| Dowers and other miscellaneous means | 11 |
| By descent from ancestors | 277 |
| Total | 352 |

a. These included the new "castle" of Burntcourt (97), the tower of Clogheen (134) which was part of this newly created manor, and Golden (212) - CS, I, pp. 260,374; II, p. 7.

Information from The Civil Survey.

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uncertainty about how Gaelic land-law worked, especially as custom varied from place to place.[65] Most legal instruments that survive do not explain the law to which they refer, as the reader was assumed to be familiar with it; another difficulty is that a lord had two seperate sets of rights: powers (like tribute and exactions) that he derived from being chief of his country; and control over land that he enjoyed as head of a sept.[66] But generally speaking, the unit of landownership was not the individual but the family (which would have a head), and the land would be divided among the heirs on the death of the head. This system was known as "gavelkind" by

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65. Nicholls, Gaelic Ireland, p. 57.
66. Nicholls, Land, pp. 5, 17.

the Tudors. In south Munster, at least, Nicholls says, the best pieces would go to the new chief.[67]

There are reflections of this system in documents relating to Tipperary. Turlough Mac I Brien Ara (d. 1601) divided his lands, including several tower houses, amongst his sons.[68] A Brehon judgement of 1584 concerns the "castle and cow-keep" of Ballycapple (31); it divided the property, with the senior of the "descendants of James the Deer" getting the castle, and the greater and lesser "cow-keeps" ( or bawns).

> "Each co-relative should have a share in the place in proportion to his contribution to its fortification; and such as will not strengthen it, to be at the disposal of the senior to be dealt with as it may suit himself." (69)

The Civil Survey said that the land where Kilboy Castle (238) stood was bought from the "sect of Clan Morrish alias Kenedy" some time in the past, an indication of communal ownership.[70]

All these castles were in or near Ormond, an area that was largely Gaelic for much of the tower house era. Nicholls believes that by the sixteenth century in Munster there were in fact few differences between Gaelic and Anglo-Irish customs of law.[71] Empey says that many Anglo-Normans in the Butler lordship used Brehon justice themselves, just as they took up coign and livery.[72] There is a deed of about 1420 by which the Earl of Ormond granted lands in Co. Kilkenny to a Brehon lawyer for services rendered, and "to be rendered to the Earl and his heirs in future";[73] the Earls must have been able

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67. ibid., p. 6; Nicholls, Gaelic Ireland, pp. 58-9.
68. Berry, "Birdhill", p. 108.
69. NLI MS, Lennon, pp. 16-7. A different translation in RDK 29 (1897), p. 41, has "erect buildings" instead of "fortify."
70. CS, II, p. 248.
71. Nicholls, Land, p. 6.
72. Empey, Ph.D., p. 495.
73. COD, III, p. 49.

to work within either system as suited the place or situation. There were also attempts made to have Tipperary castles held by English, rather than Irish tenure, a process which had succeeded by the early years of the seventeenth century. In Henry VIII's reign some O'Kennedy's of Ormond took new English leases;[74] and later there are documents like that of 1561 which licensed Richard Nettervile to alienate various Tipperary tower houses to persons English by both parents.[75] In 1585 Archbishop Magrath received the fortified priory of Thome (381) and the castle of Aghnameadle (1), on condition that he did not alienate them to anybody who was not English, Welsh or born in the Pale.[76]

There is much more evidence for Anglo-Norman tenure. From the twelfth and thirteenth centureis, feudal methods, at least in theory, applied to all of Tipperary. The king granted manors to lords, who in turn granted lesser manors to lesser lords or knights. In some instances a small manor could be held directly from the king (see below). In return for his fief, the recipiant had to provide military service to the lord or king, and defend his lands.

There were still parts of this system operating in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It is common to find a castle "held of" a manor, showing it was a sub-tenancy of that place. On the whole, the principal manors would have had castles at least as formidable as those of their dependencies; but the tower of Ballyneil (61) was held of the manor of Kilsheelan, which never had any stone defences.[77] One of the main features of a manor was its private court; there are grants

74. J.P. Prendergast, "Plantation", p. 397.
75. RDK, II (1879), pp. 70-1, fiant 347.
76. RDK, 13 (1883), p. 139, fiant 4804.
77. RIA MS OS Inqs, III, pp. 199-201.

like that of 1581, when the new grantee of Ballyquirk (67) is allowed the profits of its courts.[78] The knight-service owed for lands is mentioned quite frequently; for example an inquisition said that in 1595 Clonyharp castle (155) was thus held from the Queen.[79] The lords of such towers were not still expected to supply armed men, but rather pay a sum of money instead, the "40's royal service when scutage runs" mentioned in a 1570 grant of several towers and other properties.[80] In fact, money payments seem to have replaced knight-service several centuries earlier, as a 1308-9 rental for Knockgraffon (273) shows.[81]

But while this ancient system had lost its raison d'être, a new incarnation of the same idea, a castle in return for military service, developed as a practical reality. In 1583 there is a lease to Peter Sherlock of Grangemore (229) and other lands, in return for which he had to maintain one English horseman.[82] By an indenture of 1581-2 the Earl of Ormond granted Donoghill (182) to John O'Dwyer, who was to "give attendance when required upon said Earl and his heirs in his best defensible manner (i.e. equipped for war) to serve by the said Earl's direction."[83] In 1576 a Fitzgerald received Ballyboy (28) castle, bud had to maintain six English cavalrymen, as well as pay a rent.[84] In "real" feudalism the armed men only had to serve a certain period each year, but in its later re-birth there was no limit set; in some 1584 indentures the grantees are to attend on the Earl in warlike manner for all hostings and journeys.[85]

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78. COD, V, p. 310.
79. Quoted in Callanan, Septs, pp. 133-4.
80. The grantee had also to attend the Earl's Liberty Court and pay him £4 Irish as rent, as he was the grantor - COD, V, p. 187.
81. White, Red Book, pp. 145-6.
82. RDK 13 (1883), fiant 4168.
83. COD, V, p. 312.
84. RDK, 12 (1880), p. 186, fiant 2873.
85. COD, VI, pp. 10-12.

These were grants in return for future services; but tower houses could also be granted for military aid already rendered. In 1538 the Earl and another Butler were granted (or, in fact, as most of the properties had bbeen theirs for a long time, confirmed in) a large number of castles as a reward for fighting the Geraldines and other rebels.[86] In 1578 the castle of Clonbrogan (147) passed from its owner, who had been attainted, to one George Moore, because of his services in the wars of Scotland and Ireland.[87]

According to documents, the monarch played a substantial rôle in granting tower houses; in fact, the real decisions would normally have been taken by the Earl or another local power (or by the Dublin Government) using royal forms and charters. The Earl was the most important tenant-in-chief in Tipperary, and there are several royal grants or confirmations to him of fortalices,[88] sometimes after they had been temporarily taken into royal hands as a result of a minority.[89] Lesser men could also hold directly of the Crown, as when Oliver Grace and his heirs were granted Cloghprior (141) in 1563;[90] and they would do deals concerning tower houses without, it appears, obtaining royal permission. According to a 1638 inquisition, Thurlesbeg (384), held of the king "in capite", had passed directly from Redmond Nagrath to Galfrid Sall.[91]

In some cases incolving the Crown, there are traces of a wider political policy in the granting of tower houses. Under a Queen's

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86. COD, IV, pp. 178-9.
87. RDK, 12 (1881), p. 78, fiant 3317.
88. See RIA MS OS Inqs, II, pp. 122-6 for a list of just some of the properties held by the Earl of the King in 1633.
89. For example, in 1550 - RDK 8 (1876), fiant 625.
90. RDK 8 (1876), fiant 562.
91. RIA MS OS Inqs, III, pp. 177-9. This inquisition is like several others of the time when it admits openly that nobody knew how some of the lands were held.

Letter of 1586 for the repeopling of Munster with loyal subjects, Ballinacourty(15), Dun Grot and other castles in three counties were granted to Sir Richard Fyton, who was to build houses for 87 families, presumably English settlers who would shelter beside the towers; a clause existed to take back some of the land from Fyton if he failed to fulfil his task.[92] There is no evidence that this plantation ever took place ( in 1640 Ballinacourty castle was held by Sir John Magrath, "Irish Papist"),[93] but it is interesting that here is one case in which the Queen really did say who was to hold castles, and that for political motives. In the second half of the sixteenth century a large number of tower houses fell into royal hands, when their owners were either attainted of treason or involved in rebellion, which involved automatic forfeiture. These properties were granted either to heirs, or to outsiders, and obviously Elizabeth was interested in replaceing the disgraced castle-owners with men who could be trusted not to rebel. Thus in 1593 several important Tipperary castles were granted to Robert Straude, all of which had belonged to attainted rebels. Again, he had to build houses for settlers, each of whom was to receive a certain number of acres.[94] The Earl, a great friend of the Queen, and the leading loyalist and land-owner in the county, was in a particularly strong position to gain by such changes, and in 1591 he received eight Tipperary tower houses, once Burke properties; the deed said he had made strenuous efforts to transplant settlers.[95] The Ormond castles themselves were taken into royal hands for a period in Henry V's reign - the official rea-

92. RDK 16 (1884), pp. 35-7, fiant 5032.
93. CS, II, p. 23.
94. RDK 16 (1884), pp. 218-9, fiant 5781. No castles are actually mentioned, but several of the sites definately had castles by this date.
95. COD, VI, pp. 45-7.

son was debts he owed the crown, but it was really due to machinations by his enemy Talbot, who was in control at Dublin.[96]

In a few cases Dublin or London adjudicated disputes over a Tipperary tower. After the quarrel had involved force, in 1586 Lord Deputy Perrott judged a disagreement about Lacka (278); he decided in favour of Walter MacButler, perhaps because he was a tenant of Ormond.[97] The Privy Council intervened in 1565 on behalf of Lord Dunboyne, after there had been fighting for Grallagh castle (225); but his rival, his brother Peter Butler, was well in with the Earl, who, through his influence with Elizabeth, got Lord Deputy Sidney to re-try the case by common law. Peter did at last take possession, after more violence, an order for the arrest of both parties, and the eventual death of Dunboyne.[98]

The conditions mentioned in leases and enfeoffments were very varied, and together give some idea of the duties expected of a castle-holder. Sometimes the tenant had to be obedient to the grantor, as in 1440 when the people of Powlystown had to "be intendent, obeidiant and respondent to the Earl and his heirs for the manor, castle and lordship as is befitting." They had also to support all burdens laid on them, except cessings of soldiers and subsidies for Co. Kilkenny.[99] In 1597 a later Earl tranted Dromineer (188) and other places for a rent of £5.6.8$^{d}$ "for ever", but "reserving to the said Earl the use of the said castle, bawn, and hall and other houses for dwelling or defense of the country,"[100] and in 1633 the Earl granted the

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96. Empey, Ph.D., pp. 261-5.
97. COD, VI, pp. 24-5.
98. T. Butler, "Grallagh", pp. 198-9.
99. COD, III, pp. 125-6. The castle was probably in Tipperary - see Powerstown in Appendix I.
100. COD, VI, p. 100.

castles of Thurles (383) and Seefin (364), but reserved to himself the hunting and timber on their lands.[101] The rights to cut various types of wood for different domestic purposes went sometimes to the grantor, sometimes to the grantee.[102] Tenants were frequently enjoined to keep the tower and its buildings "stiff and staunch", and sometimes had more precisely worded duties regarding the building or repair of various structures (ch. VII, p.280 ).

There were great differences in rents, so extreme and (usually) unexplained that it would be hard to say what was the "average" rent for an "average" tower with an "average" amount of land in any year. Sometimes there was no charge at all save the presentation of a symbolic red rose every year, a common way of formal recognition that the property was held of another man. This was the case for Powlystown in 1440,[103] although sometimes the rose was combined with a payment, such as £5 a year royal service for Ballinaclough (13) in 1360.[104] In 1338 the tower and manor of Moyaliff (314) was held by the Earl from the king for no rent, as, allegedly it was of no value because nobody wished to hold it, no doubt because of enemy action.[105] In 1633 Theobald Butler was granted LisM$^{c}$heugh castle (287) for the very modest yearly rent of £3, but only after he first had given a lump sum of £1,050 sterling.[106] Not all entry fines were so great; that for Ballyhomick (151) tower and its dependancies in 1609 was a mere 40$^{s}$ ,[107] while in 1595 the Earl granted Nenagh (321) and all its apparte-

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101. NLS MS, COM, VIII, p.170, d. 3927.
102. COD, III,pp. 125-6 for an example of the former.
103. ibid.
104. COD, II, p. 55. The rose and suit at the Earl's court were in recognition of his position; the money should have gone to the King.
105. COD, III, pp. 374-6.
106. NLI MS COM, VIII, p. 179, d. 3942. Normally it is not said whether money was English or Irish, which makes it even harder to arrive at a scale of values.
107. Callanan, Septs, p. 130.

nances for £20.[108] That for Ballycahil (30) in 1583 was £24 or 24 "good beeves", with annual rent of 53$^{s}$.[109] When the rent for Cramp's Castle (165) was 4 marks a year (plus perquisites) and that for Donaskeagh (181) was 8 marks (plus perquisites),[110] the historian is forced to wonder why. As the vanished tower of Donaskeagh is unlikely to have been much better than the fine Cramp's Castle that was so much cheaper, perhaps it was better maintained, or had better and more extensive lands.

Several documents make clear what these "usual perquisites" were - a poundage hog, a summer sheep, six watch hens, half the heriots (payments on the death of unfree men), profits of courts, and strays.[111] An extent of the manor of Ballyboe (27) in 1415-6 said that the sheep and pig were each worth half a mark, and the hens a penny each,[112] which could imply that animal rents might be paid in cash. In the Gaelic north of the county animals were probably used rather more as payment; they were acceptable as a entrance fee for Ballycahil in Ormond (see above). The ancient and mysterious "kine of Ormond" could have been a sort of rent for Nenagh in the sixteenth century,[113] and in 1541 in Ely O'Carroll certain numbers of cattle were paid annually as rents, although not specifically for tower houses.[114]

In a few cases no money at all was involved, for people exchanged one tower house for another. At the instigation of the Earl of Ormond, who was trying to settle the dispute about Grallagh (225) in

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108. COD, VI,pp. 78-9.
109. COD, V, pp. 325.
110. COD, VI, pp. 14, 18-9. Both deeds are from 1585.
111. e.g. COD, VI, pp. 14, 18-9. It would seen that "profits of court" had become part of a set formula, used even if a document did not refer to a manor.
112. White, RedBook, p. 123.
113. Empey, Ph.D., pp. 192-3.
114. Carew, I, pp. 176-7.

1592 two Butlers exchanged Grallagh for Boytonrath (93).[115] In 1556 the Earl agreed to give Ballyartella (25) to the Dunne family, receiving another castle, Dromineer (188) in return.[116]

Leases, as opposed to grants and enfeoffments, were for a stated length of time, usually about twenty or thirty years, although a 99 - year lease was obtained for Killenaule (253) in 1633.[117] A lease could be renewed; an O'Kennedy lease on Ballinaclough (13) was due to expire in 1571, but the family were still in possession in 1640.[118] In 1633 the tower of Cappagh (101 or 102) was let to a new tenant on the same terms asthe previous one.[119] Enfeaffments were usually for life, and after that to the legitimate male heirs of the feoffee, sometimes "for ever".[120] But there were varients, as when Powlystown was granted in 1440 to Edmund Butler and all the "issue male of his body, both bastard and legitimate." This document also contained a more common clause, by which if Edmund (and presumably his heirs) should die without male issue, the castle would revert to the Earl.[121] In 1643 and 1645 Ormand granted Grenane (232), Buolick (96) and Knockgraffon (273) in return for £400, £200 and £200 sterling respectively, the Earl to recover the castles when he paid back these sums to the grantees.[122] Clearly these were means of raising cash, with tower houses as securities, rather than grants proper. A puzzling pair of deeds are those that concern Rathmacarty (349); in 1588 Piers Hackett granted it to Edward Hackett and Patrick Sawce for a sum of money; and in 1591 John Everard and James Briver granted it to the use of the Earl.

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115. T. Butler, "Grallagh", p. 201.
116. COD, V, pp. 91-2.
117. NLI MS COM, VIII, p. 150, d. 3897.
118. COD, V, p. 187; CS II, p. 259; D.F.Gleeson, "Ballinaclough", p. 134.
119. NLI MS COM, VIII, p. 138, d. 3879.
120. as in COD, IV, p. 36.
121. COD, III, pp. 125-6. See Powerstown in Appendix.
122. NLI MS COM, VIII, pp. 377, 404, 407; d. 4231, 4290, 4297.

In both deeds was a clause giving Piers Hackett re-entry on a payment of £10.6.8$^{d}$. What in fact happened, as explained by a third deed of 1592, was that Piers had mortgaged the tower to Edward Hackett, the seisin of which eventually passed to yet another party. In 1592 Piers regained the castle by paying £10.8$^{s}$, but even this was not the end of the affair.[123] It was fairly common, as here, for lands and castles to be held by other men for the use of the Earl.

Most people came into a castle by inheriting it from a father (above, p. 135); some fathers, such as the Earl, had enough tower houses[124] to divide among the members of the family. In 1540 Earl James granted Killenaule (253) to his mother for her life,[125] and when Black Tom, who had no legitimate son, made his will, he left some castles to his "base son", some to his brother for life, and some to his servant Edmund Butler Fitz Theobald, his heirs and assigns for ever.[126] In 1601 Thady O'Meagher left the tower of Lissinisky (293) to Margaret, wife of John O'Meagher, and after her death to John and his heirs.[127] In a will of 1624 Daniel O'Meagher left the castle to his second son, as the eldest "meaneth to be a spirituall man and refuseth to undergoe any worldly charge," while his widow was to enjoy Lisbunny (283) for life.[128] Whatever the complications, castles remained with one family for generations; Grallagh (225), or the land on which it stood, was held by the Dunboyne branch of the

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123. COD, VI , p. 194.
124. According to The Civil Survey, the Earl and Countess owned in full (or, in a few cases, in part) 40 castles, while 75 more were held by other Butlers, wholly or partly.
125. COD, IV, p. 194.
126. COD, V, pp. 276-8.
127. Callanan, Septs, pp. 165-6.
128. PROI MS Deeds, 1a. 48.111, pp. 402-3 (or 396-7 in alternative pagination).

Butlers from the fourteenth century to after 1538, and from then until at least 1640 by this and other branches of the family.[129]

A man with many castles had to employ constables to look after those he was not living in. There are five references to a constable at Cashel (113), the only royal castle in Tipperary, during the fourteenth century,[130] and one during the reign of Henry VI.[131] It was still recognised as the Queen's property in 1570; however, it was now occupied by the town of Cashel, by what title an inquisition failed to discover.[132] Nenagh (321) was held by a constable, in 1344,[133] while in 1428 the Earl granted to

> "his faithful knight Richard Vale for good service the office of Constable of his castle of Carrickmagiffin (104), and the ferry there, together with the usual fees, customs and rewards."

This post was for life, with an annual salary of ten marks, and the duty of supplying "fuel for the Earl's hostel" as other constables have been want."[134] In 1434 Ormond granted this office to Annata Walsh and her son Robert, with the accustomed wages and rewards, in return for which they were to guard the castle and return it "stiff and staunch" when the second of them should die. They were also in charge of the Earl's fish (probably his weirs in the Suir) and were exempt from all coign and subsidies. The phrasing of the document makes it plain that the institution of a constable was an old-established one.[135] Lisronagh (291) had a constable during the minority of an owner in the reign of Richard II.[136] In 1546 Conagher O'Kennedy granted Dromineer (188) to the Earl, and was in return made con-

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129. T.Butler, "Grallagh", pp. 196-203; CS, I, p. 244.
130. Tresham, pp. 44, 49, 63, 65, 67.
131. PROI MS Fergusson, Reportary, 1a.49.148, p. 36.
132. RIA MS, OS Inqs., I, pp. 185-6.
133. Empey, Ph.D., p. 182.
134. COD, III, p. 54.
135. ibid., pp. 112-3.
136. PROI MS Fergusson, Reportary, Ia.49.146., p. 127.

stable, "receiving the ancient fees, commodities, customs and profits as to the Earl's other constables at his manors of Nenagh, Corkehynne (Templemore, 378) and Thurles (383)." The Earl could also place some of his servants in the castle for its defence.[137]

A castle was normally granted or leased as part of a piece of land, very often with a "town" (in reality just a group of huts or houses - see ch. VII, pp. 256-64). It was very rare for a man to hold land without the castles that stood on it[138] - tower houses and their surroundings were treated as units. The land often seems to have been the most important thing; some documents specify what land is being dealt with, and just add standardised formulae to cover any towers or other buildings there may have been.[139]

One occasion when tower houses were mentioned without lands is when only part of a castle was involved. Some towers were shared by two families, and in others the owner let a room to an outside party. Thus in 1626 Clement Fanning granted a chamber in Ballycahil (30) to his daughter;[140] this may have been all he was entitled to give, for it was only one room of the tower that was mortgaged to him in 1623 and in 1628.[141] Early in the seventeenth century Thadeus O'Mulryan held a fourth of the castle and bawn or barbican of Derry-leigh (177).[142] Carrick manor was split in two for a time in the early sixteenth century, for one half was granted to a cousin of the Earl in 1532.[143] The document did not specify whether he lived in half the castle (104), but this, consisting of a pair of tower houses,

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137. COD, IV , p. 299.
138. It did sometimes happen - see the case of Mylerstown (320), PROI MS Deeds, 1a.48.111, p. 1.
139. e.g. COD, V, p.310.
140. NLI MS COM, VIII, p. 4 d. 3676.
141. D.F.Gleeson, "Ballinaclough", p. 134.
142. PROI MS Deeds, 1a.48.111, p. 43.
143. COD, IV, p. 157.

is one of the few in the county that would have been suitable for such a division.

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There is enough evidence, when Ireland is taken as a whole, to give a fairly vivid picture of certain aspects of life in a tower house. Most English-owned towers seem to have been adequately furnished, and a few, at least towards the end of the period, were luxurious by the standards of the time. The Gaelic chieftains probably had rather less furniture, and used rushes freely for many purposes in their castles. The insides of tower houses were not always bare stone, for various types of wall-covering were in use, the most common being plaster.

The activity most frequently mentioned as taking place in towers, or their attached halls, was feasting. The feast was partly a method for the lord of the castle to display his status and generosity, with bards and harpers entertaining the guests and praising their master; it was also a means of putting into practice that most characteristic Irish virtue, hospitality. Bed-chambers were separate from the principal rooms, and the ground storey was only used for storage.

Apart from sheltering cattle, tower houses and their bawns also held the crops and the tools needed to produce them. Several Tipperary castles had mills nearby to grind corn, and one in Co. Limerick produced not only its own ale but also linen and woollen cloth. Redwood (355) might have been a school for Brehon lawyers, and it is likely that several towers were the scenes of various types of courts.

There is a very large number of documents concerning the tenure of Tipperary tower houses, only a small fraction of which have

been quoted in this chapter. They cover the whole period from the fourteenth century, even if most date from Elizabeth's reign and later. Although there were many legal, as well as armed, disputes over towers, tenure seems to have been fairly stable on the whole, with most fortalices remaining with the same family for many years. The methods of castle-owning, too, were long-lived, with standard feudal forms still found in the seventeenth century. Although the military basis of feudal tenure appears to have been commuted to money-payments before the tower house period, by the 1570's a new form of military service had arrived; in return for a tower, a man agreed to fight on behalf of the grantor. There was one royal castle (Grant's Castle, (113) ) and the monarch's name often appears on deeds relating to tenure, but the real decisions about who was to live in what tower house were probably made locally. The terms of grants and leases, and the rents due for a castle, were very varied.

Almost all the information on tenure, however, concerns those castles held by English law. The only important conclusions that can be reached about Brehon tower-holding was that it was widespread, used by some Anglo-Norman lords as well as Irish chieftains, and it was to be found in Ormond at least until the late sixteenth century.

## CHAPTER V. THE DISTRIBUTION AND DATING OF TOWER HOUSES.

This chapter will examine two related aspects of tower houses. Firstly, there is the question of where they were built, for they were not evenly distributed over Ireland, while in Tipperary itself they are only found in certain areas. It is also important to relate them to earlier forms of settlement, both Anglo-Norman and Gaelic. Then it is necessary to attempt to date as many tower houses as possible, using remains of towers and written sources, which should also shed some light on their origin.

### DISTRIBUTION IN IRELAND.

There have only been two attempts to survey all the castles of Ireland. One, an anonymous manuscript of the late nineteenth century, claimed to list all the castles of which any part remained, a total of 1,751; but as it noted only 114 for Tipperary, a figure too low even for the ruins to be seen in 1982, this is probably an under-estimate.[1] The second was by Leask, who in 1941 produced a total of over 2,900, including mottes and vanished specimens. As he admitted, he lacked much information; for many counties he just counted those marked on OS maps. This is an incomplete list, as the 6" series only show the castles that existed, or which were known to have existed, in 1840 - in Tipperary this is only "at least 250",[2] whereas there were over 400 stone castles. Table 1 is less ambitious. It is a list of the 20 counties for which approximate numbers of stone castles (the vast majority of which were tower houses) can be found, or deduced.[3] This pro-

1. NLI MS Ancient Castles.
2. Leask, Castles, pp. 153-62.
3. The figures for Northern Ireland counties are only of tower houses, as are those of Dublin, Kildare, and Meath.

duces a total of about 3,000; Louth probably had over 73,[4] and Leask's figures, based on the Ordnance Survey alone, give 380 castles for the remaining eleven counties,[5] so there almost certainly were over 3,500 stone castles in Ireland, and perhaps more.

This leads to two conclusions, Firstly, Ireland was the most heavily-castellated part of Britain, especially as its population at the time of Cromwell was perhaps only around one million.[6] Scotland once had almost 1,200 stone castles, with heavy groupings around Aberdeen, Angus, Glasgow, Dumfries, Ayr, the Lothians, Fife, Peebles and Galashiels.[7] England and Wales, richer and more prosperous in the Middle Ages, had only about 900 stone castles; of these 218 (176 of them pele-towers) were in the lawless border county of Northumberland.[8] Even here, however, the density does not approach that of Tipperary, which was substantially smaller in area.

Despite the avaliable data being limited, and sometimes imprecise, it is clear that most of Ireland, apart from Ulster, had concentrations of tower houses. The contrast becomes even more marked when one realizes that a very high proportion of Ulster castles were built in the seventeenth century by newly-arrived Scottish and English settlers. This scarcity of early tower houses in the part of Ireland most closely connected with Scotland is a strong argument against the theory that the Irish fortalice is a copy of a Scottish prototype; but why there were so few is not wholly clear. The relative lack of

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4. Davin, M. Litt., p. 197. The Office of Public Works (pers. comm. June 22, 1984) knows of 80 castle or castle sites in Louth.
5. Leask, Castles, pp. 154-61.
6. In 1672 Sir William Petty estimated the population as 1,100,000, and in 1687 at 1,300,000 - Petty, I, p. 141; Pender, p. xii. These figures have been questioned - O'Brien, pp. 122-3.
7. Castles of Scotland, a Collins map, Edinburgh, 1975. Most Scottish castles are tower houses.
8. King, passim.

towers in Kerry might be due to the infertility of much of the land in the south and west, which would have kept the population down, but it cannot be shown that Ulster was much less heavily populated than the rest of Ireland in the Middle Ages. Ó Danachair suggested that Ulstermen were naturally conservative and resisted new fashions like tower houses;[9] while another explanation could be that much of Ulster was not heavily settled by Anglo-Normans.[10] Tipperary evidence suggests that the Anglo-Norman lords probably started the idea some time before the Gaelic chieftains copied them (see p. 183).

Before looking at the pattern of distribution in Tipperary, it is well to consider research done on other counties, the most detailed being Davin's work on the Pale. She showed that the large majority of tower houses in Co. Dublin were south of the Liffey, where the Wicklow mountaineers were a considerable danger, although the land was generally poorer than in the north. This is a case of military necessity rather than wealth being the cause of towers; but this was near the capital, which itself could be the target of raids. In the fourteenth century the government set up garrisons in dangerous areas, and later it subsidised castle-building for the same purpose. The towers north of the Liffey, less likely to see action, were on the whole larger; money, and a desire for prestige, must have been responsible for this.[11]
In Co. Kildare the belt of fortalices continues, as a defence against raiders from Wicklow and from west of the Pale, but here other factors were also important. Between Clane and Kilcock there were few castles, probably because of the poor soil, although Davin puts forward the hypothesis that it was because the land was too wild and disturbed for

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9. Ó Danachair, "Tower-houses".
10. For instance, there are few early castles in any part save the east of Ulster - T.E. McNeill, Ulster, p. 66.
11. Davin, M. Litt. pp. 131, 170-4.

CHAPTER V. TABLE I. NUMBERS OF STONE CASTLES IN IRELAND.

ANTRIM (752,000 acres). G.S Corbett, who is currently writing a thesis on Northern Ireland tower houses, says (pers. comm., March 8, 1984) that there are a total of 20 tower houses, 10 built after 1603. Corbett's figures exclude larger stone castles.

ARMAGH (328,000 acres). Corbett (see Antrim) gives a total of 5 tower houses, only 1 before 1603.

CAVAN (467,000 acres). O. Davies, "Cavan", UJA, 3rd ser. 11 (1948), pp. 104-12, gives a total of 39.

CLARE (788,000 acres). Westropp, "Clare peel towers", pp. 361-3, gives a total of 195. A list of the county's castles in 1584 has 165 (Dwyer, Appendix VII), so about 30 seem to have been built in the last half-century of construction.

CORK (1,843,000 acres). Cochrane pp. 184-97, gives a total of 325.

DONEGAL (1.194,000 acres). Lacy, pp. 351-84, gives a total of 52.

DOWN (609,000 acres). Corbett, (see Antrim) gives a total of 36 tower houses, 12 after 1603.

DUBLIN (228,000 acres). Davin, M. Litt., p. 175, gives a total of 124.

FERMANAGH (457,000 acres). Corbett (see Antrim) gives a total of 14, all but one post-1603.

GALWAY (1,468,000 acres). A list of 1574 gives 270 castles in the county (Leask, Castles, p. 156). Allowing for the same increase in the last decades of the tower house period as in Clare (see above), there would probably have been a total of about 320.

KERRY (1,162,000 acres). Leask (Castles, p. 157), basing himself on an earlier survey (J. Coleman, "The Castles and Abbeys of the County Kerry, Kerry Archaeological Magazine 1 (1908-12), pp. 148-59) and other sources, gives a total of 89.

KILDARE (419,000 acres). Davin, M. Litt., p. 175, gives a total of 218.

KILKENNY (509,000 acres). The Diocese of Ossory (Carrigan, IV, pp. 423-5) had 195 castles; however the Diocese is slightly larger than the county, and this figure includes several mottes, so the county total should be somewhat lower.

LIMERICK (664,000 acres). Westropp, "Limerick", in PRIA, p. 248, gives a total of 405. Some of these are very doubtful, or now in other counties. There were 159 ruins, and if, as in Tipperary, about half the total of castles have left traces, the real figure is probably about 320.

LONDONDERRY (523,000 acres). Corbett, (see Antrim) gives a total of 8, all but one after 1603.

MAYO (1,334,000 acres). A list of 1574 gives 136 (Leask, Castles, p. 159). Allowing for the same increase in the last years of the tower house period as in Clare (see above), the total was probably around 160.

MEATH (578,000 acres). Davin, M. Litt., p. 193, gives a total of 225.

TIPPERARY (1,051,000 acres). There are 410 definite sites, plus another 63 possible - see Appendix I.

TYRONE (807,000 acres). Corbett (see Antrim) gives a total of 18, all but 4 post-1603.

WEXFORD (581,000 acres). Jeffrey, Introduction, gives a total of 235.

Areas of counties from Encyclopaedia of Ireland, Dublin, 1968, pp. 143-4.

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people to build anything there.

Most of the government subsidies in Kildare went not to towers that strengthened the Pale, but rather to those which enhanced the Earl of Kildare's lordship - the Earls, of course, controlled the machinery of patronage for much of the fifteenth century.[12] In Meath, some areas were curiously bereft of castles, but on the whole the highest densities were on the borders of the March. Again, Deputies and Lieutenants used their powers to enact legislation to help them put up tower houses in their own lands. In Louth, too, the greatest number of castles were in the areas east of the border, although as part of The Civil Survey for Louth is missing, Davin could not produce as complete a list of castles as for the other counties.[13]

Not only did the Pale's boundaries move from time to time, but eventually its purpose changed from a defensive enclave to a fortified base for the Tudor reconquest of Ireland. When this happened, new

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12. ibid., pp. 176-83.
13. ibid., pp. 189, 192, 194.

tower houses were put up or occupied in Leix and Offaly, and later in Munster, for settlers or for royal tropps assigned to protect them.[14]

A similar situation, on a smaller scale, prevailed in south Co. Wexford, where the baronies of Bargy and Forth formed a natural defensive enclave, surrounded on most sides by water. After an incursion from the landword side in 1441, the Anglo-Irish started a line of tower houses (many still standing) from Clonmines to Wexford, both of which towns were well fortified, as was Taghmon, in the middle of the line. Here, as in the Pale, fortified towns were used in conjunction with rural towers to provide what was, to employ a useful anachronism, a "cordon defence" of a large area.[15]

It was, however, rare for tower houses to be built as parts of a pattern in this way. In the Inishowen peninsula, Co. Donegal, each castle seems to have been located to suit its owner. Almost all are on the edges of the penisula, with access to good farmland, and easy communications by sea, leaving the central hills as poor and empty as they are today.[16] The O'Carroll territory of Ely O'Carroll (the "finger" of Co. Offaly between the two northern projections of Tipperary, but also including part of Ormond, notably the tower houses of Lackeen (279) and Behamore (83) ) had eleven castles, which do not seem to have been built in any defensive pattern. They were not in a cordon or ring, but spread over the country, with several around its heartland at Leap. The main danger was from the Butlers of Nenagh, who could attack the west and south west of Ely, the O'Carroll's best land and unshielded by any hills - yet there was no particularly strong line of tower houses here to make good this lack.

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14. ibid., pp. 35-6, 153-4.
15. Hadden, pp. 5-8.
16. Davis and Swan, pp. 178, 184.

One O'Carroll castle that did have a strategic purpose was Birr, at the juncture of three rivers and several land routes, important to any force operating in the middle of Ireland.[17] There are other references to the use of towers for the control of communications, such as the Dublin subsidy given in 1458-9 for a "Castle or Fortalice" to block a road in Co. Cork used by the O'Byrnes "to come into the marches of the King's lands".[18] In 1462-3 a castle was built at Kinnafad, Co. Meath, to block the entry of the O'Connors.[19] In 1521 Deputy Surrey was not sure whether to hand back to O'Connor the castle of Monasteroverys (probably near this area) that he had taken from him. To return it might pacify O'Connor, but if ever the English were to conquer his land, they would need the tower as an "entry-point", as Berwick was to Scotland.[20] Tower houses, some with gates through them, were built to guard crossing-places over the Liffey in the fifteenth century.[21] In 1595 Edmund Spencer proposed that bridges, guarded by castles, should be the only means of crossing rivers in Ireland, fords being "marred and spilt". This would not only improve trade (as unguarded fords were common places to ambush travellers), but could also stop robbers getting far with booty. He also suggested, to prevent or imperil the movements of rebels, "some little fortalages or wooden castle" to command hill passes or passages between bogs.[22] In 1602 Deputy Mountjoy, a very able soldier, wrote that until the English made "passages and bridges into Countries otherwise inaccessible, and to build little piles of stone in such garrisons, as shall be thought fittest to be continuall bridles upon the people", it would not be safe to reduce the English army.[23]

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17. Atkinson, M. Litt, maps IV, VI.
18. Berry, Henry VI, p. 633.
19. Berry, Edward IV, I, p. 23.
20. Carew, I, pp. 19-21.
21. Berry, Henry VI, pp. 403-5.
22. Morley, pp. 205-6.
23. Moryson, Itinerary, III, p. 280.

THE PATTERN IN TIPPERARY.

In Tipperary there was no grand military purpose behind the distribution of tower houses, not surprising given the lack of political unity. Even in the southern part of the county, theoretically under Butler rule for most of the time, there was no solid military or political block, as the Earl held only a minority of the castles. Other tower-owners could not be relied on to protect the Earl's lands; the Butlers of Cahir, who owned (among many others) the greatest fortress in the south of the county, were known for their animosity to the head of the family (see, for example, Ch. II, p. 62).

Nevertheless, there were perhaps a few lines of towers defending southern Tipperary. To the east was Co. Kilkenny, also part of the Earl's lordship; but attacks could come from Cork and Waterford in the south, and Limerick in the West. The river Suir formed a barrier in the south, flowing from Carrick (104) to Clonmel (153), and then on to Newcastle (323) before turning north-east. There was a string of strong-points along the Suir, the most important at Carrick and Clonmel, where there were towns and bridges; others were the tower houses of Newcastle (323), Ballydine (36), Powerstown (339), Mylerstown (320), Carrigteary (110), Knocklofty (275), Ardcollum (64), Ballyglasheen (42), Newton-Anner(324), Poulakerry (338), and Ballyboe (27), plus some castles on the Waterford side. This line looks impressive on a map, but in 1640 only two of the castles (Carrick and Ardcollum) were under the direct control of Ormond;[24] a century earlier the Butlers of Poulakerry had been a lawless group, certainly not reliable allies of the Earl (Ch. II, p. 54 ).

After Newcastle, where the Suir ceased to give protection, the

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24. CS, I, pp. 266, 269, 273-4, 276, 281, 286, 326-7, 331.

Knockmealdown mountains form the rest of the southern border of the county. There may have been a fear that these could disgorge attackers, for there is a close line of ten towers along their northern margin, from Newcastle (323) to Shanrahan (369) - a distance of only 8½ miles. That this area was dangerous is shown by a 1654 comment that the lands of Newcastle and Curraghcloney (173) were "putt out of lyne, for being neere mountains and woods where Tories usually frequent."[25] Then there are four tower houses (Knockane (268), Drumlummin (190), Cloheenfishoge (144), and Rehill (356) ) that controlled the Mitchellstown (Co. Cork) - Cahir road, which lies in a broad valley. Three were held in 1641 by the Baron of Cahir,[26] who was probably more directly concerned than the Earl by threats to this area.

There are the only apparent examples of castles built in defensive lines, and it is not even certain that this was always their prime reason: many of the banks on the Suir could have been there to take advantage of this important trade route. However, other towers seem to be sited partly for defensive reasons. Lisquilibeen (290) is on an "island" in a bog, Cullahill (170), Roosca (358), Cragg (164), and Graystown (231) are on hills or by steep cliffs, and Latteragh (281), now destroyed, was on a spectacular promontory.[27] Others were on islands or had water defences (Ch. VII, pp. 268 ). All these features would have made attacks, and daily life for the inhabitants, more difficult. Other castles could control communications, such as those by bridges at Fethard (198), Thurles (383), Carrick (104), Cahir (99), Farney Bridge (195), Thorney Bridge (382), and Cloghaneena (131). The most interesting is at Golden (212), where the tower is on an islet that forms part of the

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25. CS, I, p. 332.
26. CS, I, pp. 365-6, 372.
27. Morris, print near end of volume.

bridge, which carries the road from Cashel to Tipperary. Other tower houses are beside rivers, although whether to dominate the river or to use it for transport and a source of water is not certain. Suir Castle (376), though, is on a steep bank, with no easy access to the water, but men in the tower could overlook a stretch of river, and shoot into passing boats. The Cromwellian post of Ireton's Castle (179) is at an important point where the Shannon flows out of Lough Derg. Soldiers there had an excellent view of the north end of the lough, although the river here is so wide they would probably have needed artillery to stop boats passing by.[28]

Towers were less useful for blocking land routes. At most major intersections there was already a town, monastery, or older castle. Where there is a tower house at a road junction, it is impossible to be sure whether it was built because of the roads, or whether the roads were constructed to serve the tower; nor even are we sure how many of today's roads existed in the Middle Ages.[29] What is more, these medieval routes were in such poor condition that blocking one in open country would have been ineffective, for an enemy could easily travel across country to avoid the castle. Only when a road was flanked on either side by obstacles such as a river or mountains could a block be useful. There were six castles - Borrisoleigh (92), Cullahill (170), Latteragh (281), Cloghinch (136), Cloghonane (140), and Cominstown (157) - either on or near the road between Thurles and Nenagh as it went through a hilly pass. And in 1573 Sir John Perrott recommended that Ballinacourty (15), in the Glen of Aherlow between two ridges, should be streng-

28. Portumna Bridge, a mile upstream, is a more suitable point to control movement along the Shannon; the castle of Portland there was ruined in 1654 (CS, II, p. 319).
29. Most, but not all, of the roads traced in Lyons, "Roads", are on or near modern routes.

thened to prevent rebels taking shelter in Aherlow wood.[30]

The main warlike use of a tower house, as Ch. II has shown, was not strategic, but to shelter the owner and his animals from thieves and raiders. There appear to have been no attempts at cordon defences of blocks of lands in Tipperary, perhaps because the lands of the wealthier lords were usually too extensive and scattered;[31] rather, towers were spread evenly over the good farm-lands. Most were in low-lying, flat, fertile regions, suitable for agriculture and pastoralism. One of the reasons, apart from defence, that would have encouraged the towers along the Suir and the north of the Knockmealdown range is that the lands here are of high quality; the towers north of the mountains all lie in the valley of the river Tar. There are concentrations around towns like Clonmel, Cashel, Fethard, Thurles, and Nenagh; the owners of the castles would thus be near merchants to whom they could sell their hides and surplus produce.

Very few towers were in the hills, and those that were like Gortkelly (215), were not in the centre of high country but on the edges of lower ground. Most towers were below 400′ O.D. and only a small number (Gortkelly, Bawnmadrum (81), Cashlauncreen (114), Farranrory (196), Grange Kilcooley (227), Coolquil (160), Cullahill (170), Cloncannon (149), and Ballynamoe (59) ) are as high as 600′ O.D. Only one, O'Loughlan's Castle (329) is high up in the Galtymore Mountains, at just below 2,500′ O.D. but as the first and only evidence of its existence was its being

30. History of Perrott, p. 95.
31. For example, Turlough Mac I Brien Ara (d. 1601) held land in Ormond, with seven tower houses in Tipperary plus one that seems to have been in Co. Limerick. The lands were spread out too much to be defended by eight small castles, and there were other men's properties, with tower houses, in the midst of Mac I Brien's lands - Berry, "Birdhill", p. 108.

marked on the 6" OS map, it may not have been a genuine tower house (the author has been unable to see if there are any ruins extant).

Another way of looking at the matter is to see what areas lack towers. These are mainly mountainous - the Knockmealdown mountains in the very south, the Galty range in the south west, Slievenamon (a large hill between Garrangibbon (207) and Kiltinan (263) ), the area bordered by Borrisoleigh (92), Ballysheeda (68), Dunally (192) and Co. Limerick, its extension north-east called the Devil's Bit, and the Slieveardagh Hills in the east of the county.

Tower houses seem to have been built on the best lands for farming. They were the homes of those who exploited crops and cows for sustenance and income, so this is only to be expected. The chief disadvantage of most sites is that they lack a supply of water; only Suir Castle (376) and Kiltinan appear to have had wells. During a siege , when water would have been rationed this problem might have been overcome (Ch. III, p. 90 ), but what was done to meet the greater demands of everyday life ? By Ballymacady (52) is a stagnant pond (plate 16), and aeiral photographs show what could be depressions left by such pools beside four towers.[32] Whether in fact these ever contained water is unknown; nor can it be said, if they did, whether they were natural or artificial reservoirs. It is possible that lack of water would have been a problem for many fortalices, as it was for Cashel, which still lacked a supply in 1832.[33]

Tower houses in the countryside are usually found singly, but there are some exceptions. At Ardmayle (8) there are two towers, a church-castle, and a motte, all within a few hundred yards of each other.

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32. Moorestown(-Keating) (Cambridge Univeristy Collection of Air Photographs, APA 2), Buolick (APD 54), Ballynahinch (APD 24), Moycarkey (APD 37). The features in question are irregular in shape, and some distance from the tower, especially at Buolick.
33. NLI MS Cooke, I, folder 19.

In 1640 Theobald Butler of Ardmayle held Ardmayle Castle (which, by its appearance, had probably been built quite recently), while Walter Butler of Nodstown (327) owned the other tower house, Castle Moyle (316).[34] At Loughlohery (296) there were once two tower houses, one on either side of a road (one has now disappeared, but locals can still point out the site). Loughlohery Beg and Loughlohery Keating were both owned by Morris Keating in 1640,[35] but presumably at one stage the two towers had belonged to different families, hence the addition of "Keating" to one of their names.

A final method of interpreting the distribution pattern of Tipperary tower houses is to compare it with the density of Anglo-Norman settlement. By gathering data from several sources - early fourteenth-century Ecclesiastical Taxation, the distribution of mottes, early stone castles, manorial villages and market centres, the (so-called) Census of c. 1659, and the proportion of townland names - Barry has produced a map, which includes Tipperary, graded according to the estimated density of settlers.[36] This confirms that the invaders settled in the most fertile lands, although, since some of the sources used postdate the Gaelic Resurgence, there may once have been more settlers in some parts of north Tipperary. Comparing this with the map of tower house distribution (maps 3 and 4) it is clear that castles were, on the whole, thickest in the areas where there were the heaviest concentrations of settlers. Otway-Ruthven has seen the 600' O.D. contour, above which land is not usually worth farming, as the upper limit for Norman colonization,[37] and this is, in all but a few cases, the highest level for Tipperary tower houses. This does not prove that towers were mainly built by

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34. CS, I, pp. 245-6.
35. CS, I, p. 358.
36. Barry, Moated sites, pp. 126-62. The map is on p. 160.
37. Otway-Ruthven, History, p. 115.

the Anglo-Normans, although it appears that the earliest ones were; it is just that the newcomers naturally took the best lands, which were the places that later had the most tower houses. There are some areas - most notably in the two Ormond baronies and along the southern half of Lough Derg, and the south-west border of Arra and Owney - that were heavily castellated, but which either had little Norman settlement, or from which the Normans had been driven in the fourteenth century.

TOWER HOUSES IN RELATION TO OTHER FORMS OF SETTLEMENT.

The tower house was, in its time, the dominant form of dwelling in most of Ireland, the almost universal home of anyone of standing. Its successor was the unfortified farm or country house. However, it is less obvious what people inhabited before the rise of the small castle, and this is the next problem that needs to be investigated. On the eve of the tower house era the population was probably divided more deeply on cultural and national grounds than it was later, so it is best to consider the homes of the two peoples separately.

i. Raths.

Unfortunately, scholars are undecided about what types of settlements the Gaelic lords dwelt in before they took to castles. It is likely that they still used raths or ring-forts, the most common settlement-type for Irishmen of any importance in the first millenium A.D. These were circular earthworks, with a bank inside a ditch (in some cases two or even three banks); inside were "soft" buildings. Although probably not often as strong or impressive as tower houses, raths were similar in function, the bank and ditch offering protection against thieves and wolves. Like towers, some raths are associated with fields

that can be seen from the air.[38] Proudfoot has analysed the excavation-reports for ring-forts; it seems each was the home for a single family, which was normally, although not always, the situation with a tower house (Ch. IV, p. 148). The bones of cattle and other animals are found in raths, but, like castles, they could also have been centres of arable farming.[39] They were normally found in fertile areas, and were even more numerous than tower houses. Westropp estimated that around 28,800 (12,232 of them in Munster) "ancient forts" are shown on OS 6" maps, and the vast majority of these are raths.[40] A more modern estimate has produced a similar figure - probably over 30,000 surviving in the whole country.[41]

A major difficulty confronting any student of raths is the lack of historical and archaeological evidence for the huge majority of sites; this has emerged in a recent dispute over their chronology. There had been less than 80 excavation reports published by 1975, half for raths in Northern Ireland. Of those that could be dated, most produced evidence of Early Christian occupation, and distinct medieval occupation layers had been found at only three sites, all in Ulster.[42] This is enough, however, to allow Proudfoot to argue that there was definite occupation, and perhaps construction, of raths in Ulster during the Middle Ages.[43] In what he called "an orthodox view", Lynn disagreed with the notion of large-scale use of ring-forts in this period, saying that there was no evidence at all for their being built after the Nor-

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38. Norman and St. Joseph, pp. 38-41, 63-5; Buchanan, p. 612.
39. Proudfoot, "Economy", pp. 101-111.
40. Tipperary has 2,244 raths on the maps, the highest density of any county save Longford and Sligo. Another estimate is that there were once 40,000 raths in Ireland - Westropp, "Forts", pp. 587-8.
41. Norman and St. Joseph, p. 38.
42. Barrett and Graham, pp. 34-5.
43. Proudfoot, "Chronology", pp. 44-5.

man conquest. He added that the archaeological evidence so far collected would permit the chances of occupation of any individual rath in the Middle Ages as only 5-15% (which would nonetheless yield a total of some 1,500 to 4,500 sites). He mentioned Barrett's and Graham's idea that, as ring-forts were not found in large numbers in areas of heavy Anglo-Norman settlement as the Normans forbade these Irish defensive sites in the areas they controlled, while raths continued to be built in Gaelic lands. However, the evidence from the country as a whole does not support this view, and there are some heavily-settled places, such as Tipperary, which contain many raths. Lynn also held that medieval literary sources make little mention of ring-forts, and that Giraldus Cambrensis states that the Irish used no fortifications when the Normans landed.[44] (As, however, all but the largest raths were too feeble to present an obstacle to a Norman attack,[45] it is likely that Giraldus did not think of them as real fortifications). Lynn could have added that Edmund Spenser said they were still used for "moots" and, more commonly, "mischiefs", but did not mention them as dwellings.[46] An anonymous writer, describing south Co. Wexford in the late seventeenth century, said that raths were built by the Danes, which implies they were mere archaeological curiosities by this date.[47]

To show some continuity between raths and tower houses it is not necessary to prove that raths were built in the Middle Ages, simply that a number were inhabited up until the period when the Irish adopted the tower house. As mentioned above, archaeological dating is very limited. However, if one accepts Lynn's minimum figure of 5% of all raths being

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44. Lynn, "Dating", p. 46; Lynn, "Chimera", pp. 29-33.
45. T.E. McNeill, "Raths", p. 38.
46. Morley, pp. 116-8.
47. Hore, "Forth", p. 63.

occupied at some time during the Middle Ages, then 112 of the ring-forts marked on the OS maps of Tipperary were occupied in this period.

There is also some historical evidence to be considered. Westropp mentioned several families, such as some O'Briens, living in "ring-walls" until the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[48] In 1317 the "ollaves" of Co. Clare were said to live in raths, the chieftains in "strongholds", and "every layman in his liss" (fort ?). In 1387 Niall O'Neill erected a house in the great rath of Emania, near Armagh; the rath itself appears to have been much older.[49] According to The Triumphs of Turlough, Donogh O'Brien "built a circular hold and residence" at Clonroad, Co. Clare. A later O'Brien, Conor MacDonough, was also said to be the first to construct "a permanant stronghold with earth-works" there; but whoever built it, it was abandoned in 1278 as the result of an enemy invasion. Seven years later, "the other Turlough came to Clonroad to occupy the camp, and it was he that built a castle there. (By him was also constructed the first stonework at Mur Innse to the west of Clonroad)". This could have been a very early tower house, but nothing is known of it. In 1311 Clonroad, with its "open smooth-grassed lawns, wide roadways" and "excellent dwellings" was again taken, and burnt, but it may have been restored by 1343 when Turlough O'Brien died there.[50] The precise site of the structure has not been established, but an excavation in the vicinity produced objects that "argue a rich and cultured occupation in the neighbourhood" during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.[51]

Another poem praised a rath at Cloonfree, near Strokestown, Co.

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48. Westropp, "Forts", pp. 626-7.
49. Barrett and Graham, p. 36; AFM, IV, p. 709.
50. MacCraith, Triumphs, pp. 2, 5, 11, 26, 45, 130. If there was a stone castle in 1285, it could well have been the earliest Irish-built one.
51. Hunt, pp. 208-9.

Roscommon, belonging to Hugh O'Conor (the O'Conor Connacht, 1293-1309); it was a palace surrounded by a rampart, topped by a wooden palisade. The activities that went on there, the comparisons with legendary fortresses, the terms used to praise it, and the whole ethos of the place were very similar to those in sixteenth-century praise-poems for tower houses.[52] Cloonfree still existed in 1683, when it was deserted, and was then described as square rather than round, most unusual for a rath. The Annals of the Four Masters say it was burnt in 1306, and refer to it as a pailis (palace) and longport.[53] Longport occurs quite often in the medieval Irish annals, going out of use in the first half of the fifteenth century; it usually seems to mean some sort of earth fort, perhaps a defended berth for boats, and not a stone castle, for which other terms are used.[54] Irish-built castles start to occur in the sources around the time longports disappear from them (see pp. 187-8 below) which points to a probable change from earth to stone dwellings by Gaelic chieftains from about 1400-1450. Raths were almost entirely the prerogative of the Irish; the only man with a non-Gaelic name the author has discovered owning a ring-fort was one Edmund Walter, who in 1319-20 claimed to hold one at Donnybrook, Co. Dublin.[55]

In Ulster raths were probably in use much later than this, not surprisingly in a province with so few tower houses. Maps drawn in 1609 to depict several baronies in the province show numbers of raths (22 in Fermanagh, 54 in Tyrone), some divided or with double banks.[56]

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52. Quiggan, pp. 333, 337-51.
53. AFM, III, pp. 483-7 ; Quiggan, p. 334; A Loch Cé, I, p. 535.
54. e.g. AFM, III, pp. 607 (1355), 647 (1369); IV, pp. 699 (1385), 712 (1388), 833 (1418 - here the word is forlongport), 849 (1421 - in this case caislen is also used, which could refer to the same building); A. Loch Cé, II, p. 99 (1401).
55. PROI MS Betham, II, p. 169.
56. Belmore, UJA, pp. 16-20, 23.

A Jacobean cartographer (little is known about this particular man) was unlikely to spend much effort on objects of antiquarian interest, so these raths were no doubt still used. Richard Bartlett, who drew a series of picture-maps around 1600, mainly of English military posts, included a picture of Tullahoge, Co. Tyrone. This rath was dilapidated, but still used as O'Neill's inauguration seat, and, to judge from the houses inside (one of them two-storeyed) also as a dwelling.[57]

The conclusion would seem to be that raths continued as homes of Irish chieftains into the late Middle Ages, and possibly later in Ulster. The Gaelic lords probably turned to tower houses like those built by their Anglo-Norman counterparts when they could afford to, and when they saw they needed more modern and impressive homes to maintain their prestige.

The evidence for medieval raths in Tipperary is rather thin. The only excavated one, Bowling Green near Thurles, may have been in use in the thirteenth century, but it is not known exactly when it was abandoned.[58] The towers of Rahelty (340) and Behamore (83) stand in raths, but it is impossible to say whether the raths were inhabited right up to the building of these castles (the re-use of raths for later settlement-types such as moated sites,[59] mottes,[60] and tower houses[61] is indicated from various sites in Ireland). The names of 18 tower houses contain "rath" (see Appendix I), which suggests there was such a structure in the vicinity, and aerial photographs show raths beside seven towers.[62] Behind Beechwood House (220), itself based on

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57. Hayes-McCoy, Maps, pl. IX.
58. Fanning, pp. 19-21.
59. Barry, Moated sites, pp. 72-3.
60. Dickson and Waterman, "Rath", pp. 80-2.
61. Dickson and Waterman, "Castle Skreen", p. 64.
62. APA 11-12 (site of Ballymacadam), APG 51-2 (Barrettstown), BGK 57

a tower, in a rath,[63] but the most interesting ruin in Castleroan, Co. Offaly, about a mile north-west of Ballynamoe (59). This is a very rough octagon of stone walls inside a rath; the walls are between six and eight feet thick, and what seems to be the bottom of a garderobe chute, and a crude round arch, indicate that it is probably medieval. One explanation could be that a chieftain, instead of a tower house, built an inner defence for his rath, using castle-building methods copied from the Anglo-Normans.[64]

ii. The Continuity of Anglo-Norman Settlement.

The basic unit of Anglo-Norman settlement was the manor, an institution rather than any specific type of edifice. Most manors in Tipperary were founded within a century of the original invasion, and some continued operating for several centuries.[65] Their distinguishing mark, the manor-court, still existed in places (for example, Drangan (183) or Ballydine (36) ) on the eve of the Confederate War.[66] In 1639 a new manor was set up - or rather, re-established where it had existed in the early fourteenth century - at Burntcourt or Ballysheehan (97).[67]

Appendix II is a list of all the manors in Co. Tipperary that have come to the author's notice. Out of 95 place-names, 15 are unlocated; these were probably alternative (and unidentified) names for other places on the list, or manors wiped out in the troubles of the

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(Kilfeakle), BGO 9 (near site of Milltown), BGO 17 (Synone), BGO 95-6 (Twomileborris), BGD 19 (Meldrum).

63. J. Gleeson, Ely, p. 526.
64. Thanks are due to George Cunningham, discoverer of this site, for introducing it to the author.
65. Empey, Ph.D., pp. 1-20 and passim; Frame, Colonial Ireland, pp. 80-1 for a map and description of Thurles manor.
66. CS, I, pp. 160, 266.
67. Evarard, "Burntcourt", p. 75; White, Red Book, p. 60.

fourteenth century. Of the rest, only Tipperary and Clonmel Friary lacked any known fortifications, while Ballysheehan had only a lightly-defended house and Kilsheelan a motte - all the remainder had at least one tower house, or, in a few cases, a larger castle. This shows that most of the places the Normans designated as manors continued as centres of settlement into the tower house period, with a lord wealthy enough to afford at least a small castle. When the manor was still recorded as an institution in the sixteenth or seventeenth century, the tower could be the caput or chief dwelling. In 1609, for example, the castle of Lisronagh (291) was called the "manor-house".[68] One cannot be certain of the size of most manors, but there were so many tower houses that several manors contained more than one; in 1624 the castle of Nodstown (327) was held of the manor of Ardmayle (8).[69]

The early Anglo-Normans lived in four main types of protected settlement - the borough, the stone castle (which both continued to be occupied until the end of the tower house period), the motte, and the moated site. Another type of earthwork castle, the ringwork, may also have been important, but as there is as yet published information on only 20, none of them in Tipperary,[70] this section will be confined to the relationship between mottes and moated sites, and tower houses.

A motte was an artificial, or partly artificial, hillock, often with a wooden tower, palisades, and an entrenched bailey. Table II is based on Barry's list of mottes in Tipperary, with a note of any stone defences on or near the mound. Out of 27 sites (4 of which are uncertain), all but 9 had a certain or possible tower house on or near the

68. Curtis, "Lisronagh", p. 57.
69. PROI MS Record Com., Chancery Inqs., pp. 238-9.
70. Barry, "Ringwork castles", pp. 299-301.

CHAPTER V. TABLE II. MOTTES IN COUNTY TIPPERARY.

(After Barry, Moated sites, pp. 148-9).

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Ardavullane (?) | R 8733 | Tower house. |
| Ardmayle | S 0546 | Two tower houses and a church-castle. |
| Ballinaclogh | R 8975 | Tower house. |
| Ballyboe | S 2827 | Tower house. |
| Baptistsgrange | S 2130 | Tower house. |
| Bruis | R 8333 | |
| Buolick | S 2856 | Tower house, church-castle. |
| Donoghill | R 9043 | Probably tower on motte. |
| Garraun | R 9989 | |
| Greenane | R 9139 | |
| Kilfeakle | R 9637 | Possible tower house at base of motte; another nearby. |
| Kilsheelan | S 2923 | |
| Knockgraffon | S 0428 | Two tower houses, one at base of motte. |
| Knockkelly | S 2040 | Tower house nearby. |
| Le Nynche | | Possible tower house (probably near Ballyhock tower house). (Not in Barry's list.) |
| Lisronagh | S 2130 | Tower house (This motte is not in Barry's list; for evidence, see Curtis, "Lisronagh", p. 58). |
| Lorrha | M 9104 | Possible tower house. |
| Moat Quarter | S 0582 | |
| Moyaliff | S 0455 | Tower house on motte. (Motte is not in Barry's list, but it still exists). |
| Murgasty | S 8030 | |
| Roscrea | S 1389 | Castle. |
| Rosegreen (?) | S 1135 | |
| Shanbally | S 2029 | (Different from Shanbally (367) or Shanballyduff (368) tower houses). |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Thurles | S 1358 | Eleven tower houses in the town. |
| Tipperary Hills | R 8836 | Near Tobberbryan castle (385). |
| Tullaghmaine | S 1435 | Tower house. |
| Twomileborris (?) | S 1957 | Tower house. |

For locations, see Map 2.

This list may not be complete; Cunningham has discovered nine new mottes in Ely O'Carroll, part of which is in north Tipperary, but details have not yet been published (Barry, "Ringwork Castles", p. 309). There is also a possible motte near Killaghy tower house (S 3341) (250).

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motte; Roscrea (360) had a larger castle. At Moyaliff (314) a ruined tower house, perhaps that recorded in 1300-1311 (see Appendix I) is on top of the motte; and at Knockgraffon (273) there is a stone tower on the mound's side, near its base. There are fragments of masonry on top of Donoghill (182) and at the base of Kilfeakle (284). Those at Donoghill, at least, probably represent a tower house, as it is known a castle stood there in 1569.[71] At Le Nynche in 1303 there was "a castle (castram) standing on a motte (motam) surrounded by a weak palisade whose greater part has been laid flat", a new hall, old wooden chambers, a stable, a fishpond, and other ancillary buildings.[72]

One danger of a tower on a motte was that the artificial base might not have provided stable foundations for a stone building.[73] Knockgraffon, and perhaps Kilfeakle, had a tower at the base of the mound, but this would mean enemies could have overlooked it if they held the motte. Perhaps for this reason, at both these sites there are second towers some distance from the mottes.

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71. Carew, I, p. 391.
72. White, Red Book, p. 52. Neither the castle nor the hall were said to be stone, but the fact that the chambers are noted as made of wood indicates they probably were.
73. At Duffus, near Elgin, Scotland, a tower house has been too heavy for the motte on which it stands, and half has fallen away.

There are examples from other counties of tower houses replacing mottes. On Coney Island, Lough Derg, Co. Donegal, a round tower succeeded a motte, although in circumstances that suggest violence followed at a later date by re-occupation, rather than smooth continuity.[74] At Clough, Co. Down, a motte is topped by a small stone tower, probably erected in the late thirteenth century. The castle seems to have been abandoned soon after Bruce's invasion, but it was re-occupied and the tower house extended in the fifteenth or sixteenth century.[75] A picture on a map of Co. Limerick in 1590 shows Shanid motte, with a tower and a hall on its summit, and what looks like a second tower at the base of the hillock. All the buildings are neat and roofed, and the lower tower is striped, perhaps to show it was made of wood.[76]

There is insufficient evidence to say when Irish mottes ceased to be occupied. It seems reasonable to assume that where they were replaced by a tower house, they or their baileys were used until the tower was habitable. There was a castle ( as opposed to a mota) by 1303 at Le Nynche, by 1300-1311 at Moyaliff (314), by 1338 at Ballinaclogh (13), and by 1408 at Ballyboe (27). The towers by the rest of the Tipperary mottes are first noted in the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries (see Appendix I for evidence of these dates). By the late Middle Ages most British mottes had been abandoned or improved with stone, but as late as 1346 Liddel Strength (Cumberland) was occupied, without any stone defences. Around 1400 Owen Glendower lived on a wooden house on the motte of Sycharth in Denbigh,[77] while a new motte was probably constructed in the early fourteenth century at Roberton, Lanarkshire.[78]

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74. Addyman, pp. 89-93.
75. Waterman, "Clough", pp. 121-2.
76. Westropp, "Limerick", in PRIA, pl. XIII.
77. King, I, p. xxxii.
78. Note in Medieval Archaeology 24 (1980), p. 249.

Little is known about the eight Tipperary mottes that never had tower houses. Seven (three of them around Tipperary town, put up to menace Donal Mor O'Brien in the late twelfth century[79]) do not appear much in records, so perhaps only had short lives. But Kilsheelan was a very different matter. The manor was the subject of a long-running and bitter feud between the Earls of Ormond and Desmond, a quarrel so serious that at one stage Elizabeth adjudicated between the Earls.[80] It was frequently mentioned in documents, yet never called a castle, only a manor (or manor-house[81]), and there are no visible signs of buildings today save the motte itself. It remains a mystery why so desirable a property was never given any stone fortifications.

The most numerous type of Anglo-Norman settlement was what is today called a moated site. This was closer to a rath than a motte, usually a rectangular earthwork with a ditch outside a bank. Although much cheaper and weaker than a tower house, its purpose was similar: to provide a family with a defended home, with the bank, no doubt topped with a palisade, serving as a bawn to shelter animals. It would seem reasonable to assume that people changed from them to tower houses, as they appear to have done with raths.

There is little written source-material on moated sites, so any attempt to date them has to be based on limited excavation evidence and deduction from comparable research in other parts of Europe. Barry places their construction in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, which is roughly when English moated sites were dug; he speculates that sites in areas subject to the Gaelic Resurgence may have

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79. These are Bruis, Greenane, and Murgasty - Barry, Moated Sites, pp. 146-7.
80. Flynn, pp. 173-7.
81. NLI MS COM, VIII, pp. 77-9, d. 3439.

been abandoned in the fourteenth century. The only specific mention of a moated site in a medieval document appears to be of one near New Ross in the late thirteenth century, and radiocarbon dating placed the construction of Kilmagoura, Co. Cork, to 1225 ± 70.[82] Empey, discussing part of Co. Kilkenny, comes to the conclusion that, since an extent of 1312 and other documents that described the original Anglo-Norman tenancies did not mention them, and since moated sites were established after the colonists had worked out the parochial organization of the area, they must belong to a second wave of settlement. In this county, and generally in south-east Ireland, they were located in "second-best" land, which would probably have come under cultivation in the increase in agricultural production during the second half of the thirteenth century. He therefore gives a date of around 1225-1325 for the building of moated sites, with some, seemingly, occupied in the sixteenth century.[83] The report of an excavation at Rigsdale, Co. Cork, puts the beginning of construction of the moated site at around 1280; there was probably some temporary occupation between then and 1307, but the work was never completed, and it was probably deserted due to hostile action. At another moated site, Crossbarry, four miles away, there is a stone hall, probably of the fifteenth century.[84]

This accumulated evidence would put the period of moated site construction just before that of tower houses, although there seems to have been an overlap in the early fourteenth century when men were probably constructing both types of settlement. While many went out of use - once could hardly expect such feeble structures to withstand major risings - some seem to have been used for centuries afterwards.

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82. Barry, Moated sites, pp. 29, 84, 88-90, 93-103.
83. Empey, "Knocktopher", pp. 334-5; Barry, Moated sites, p. 101.
84. Sweetman, p. 204.

They look like the direct predecessors of tower houses; people probably changed over when they had the money to do so. Barry hints at this process, saying that the initial poverty of the minor gentry would not have enabled them to build much in stone until the fifteenth century. However it is difficult to agree that the introduction of gunpowder would have helped the change;[85] if people had really been concerned about artillery, they might have stayed in moated sites. The palisades were vulnerable, but the ditches and banks were basically similar to many artillery fortifications. Earth ramparts would normally absorb cannon-balls, not crumble and shatter into deadly fragments like stone walls.

Rigsdale had features that may demonstrate this change from earth to stone. Inside the moated site were stone buildings, including a hall like those found beside tower houses, and an unfinished gatehouse, one wall of which was battered.[86] In Tipperary, an aerial photograph shows what looks like a moated site around where Cloone tower house (156) once stood, and some of the earth bawns surrounding castles could originally have been moated sites (Ch. VII, pp. 250-1, 263, 265).

Barry has identified 138 moated sites in Tipperary. His distribution map shows that while the less fertile areas of the county that have no towers likewise lack moated sites, there are castellated regions with few or none of the earlier structures - around Cahir (99) and the Tar Valley; Ardfinnan (7); Thurles (383); Roscrea (360); between Toomyvara (388), Rathurles (353) and Rapla (341); and along the Shannon from Garrykennedy (209) to around Cragg.(164).[87] The last two of of these areas were, it seems, never colonized by the Anglo-Normans

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85. Barry, Moated sites, p. 102.
86. Sweetman, pp. 195-9.
87. Barry, Moated sites, p. 49.

(map 3); another part of the explanation is that moated sites were usually located on the peripheries of the conquered lands. There would have been no need for them in the fertile lands near towns, the first to have been taken over by the Normans.[88]

Table III lists those moated sites which have, or had, a tower house in the same townland; they number 35, just over a quarter of known sites in Tipperary. Many others had a castle nearby. It is likely that a number of tower houses were the direct descendants of moated sites, although not as many as the above evidence might lead some to expect. However, most of the moated sites that share their townland with a tower were in the densely-settled areas of the county that were not subject to the Irish revival, and so would have had a better chance of surviving as continuous settlements. What is surprising, and so far unexplained, is that so few tower houses were actually located within the moated sites they seem to have replaced;[89] the moated sites would have made useful bawns. Some towers were built on islands or rocky hills for defensive reasons, where there would have been no moated sites, but these are only a small percentage of the total.

## THE DATING OF TOWER HOUSES

Little work has been done so far on the dating of tower houses, although some writers have made estimates for either all or part of the country. The reason for this is mainly the absence of written references to the vast majority of Irish towers until the seventeenth century. Although evidence is hardly plentiful for Tipperary, it is better

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88. ibid., pp. 157-62.
89. See Cloone (APG 56) and Meldrum (BGD 18-9); even with these two there is not absolute proof. Others might be found if aerial photographs were available for more tower houses.

CHAPTER V. TABLE III. MOATED SITES OF TIPPERARY.

This table lists those moated sites which had a tower house in the same townland. Sites taken from Barry, Moated sites, Appendix 1-3. For details of castle and location, see Appendix I.

Ballagh
Ballingarry (2 MS)
Ballyboe
Ballyherbery
Ballykerin
Ballymacadom
Ballynahinch
Ballytarsna
Behamore
Barronstown (= Cloghareily Beg)
Cloncody
Crohane
Dromline
Fennor
Gortmakellis
Grange Kilcooley
Grantstown
Killenaule
Knigh (2 MS)
Knockagh
Knockkelly (2 MS)
Mocklerstown
Modreeny
Mohober
Outeragh
Pallasmore
Rathkenny
Rathronan
St. Johnstown (2 MS)
Thomastown
Twomileborris (Borris)

MS = Moated sites.

than for many other parts of Ireland. This section will first seek to date as many Tipperary castles as possible, and then to compare the findings with information from outside the county.

Appendix I lists 410 stone castles that still exist, or which fairly certainly once existed, plus 63 more "possible" or "doubtful" sites, normally those known from only one source, and that sometimes an unreliable one. It contains all the information the writer has found to help date each castle, either observations on the ruins or the earliest reference to a castle on the site. Appendix III is an abstract of the dating information.

Appendix III, part I, contains all those castles where the construction can be (reasonably certainly) dated to within about a century. The towers classed as having been built after about 1525 are those with original gun-loops; this would seem a probable date for hand-firearms to have become common in the county. The earliest mention of hand-firearms in Ireland is in 1489, when the Earl of Kildare was presented with six handguns from Germany, and in 1495-6 an Act forbade their keeping in private homes.[90] In 1498-9 Kildare asked the King for 300 archers and 60 gunners, but there is no proof that they ever came to Ireland;[91] in 1498 and 1504 it seems some Palesmen were using guns.[92] It is not certain when people outside the Pale took to arquebuses (which replaced handguns from the late fifteenth century[93]), but by 1543 Irish kern had a good reputation as arquebusiers, and St. Leger said they had more firearms than he would wish.[94] Next year, 700 kern marched through London with guns,[95] and there were

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90. Hayes-McCoy, "Guns", pp. 48-9.
91. COD, IV, p. 336.
92. de hÓir, pp. 81-2.
93. However, the word "handgun" is often found in Tudor English; an arquebus has a serpentine, which a handgun proper lacks, but such niceties of nomenclature were often ignored at the time.
94. State Papers, H.8., III, p. 444.
95. de hÓir, p. 76.

two references to foreigners supplying the Irish with powder, shot, and arquebuses, "whereby the idle men of the realm are most plentifully replenished".[96] So 1525 seems a safe estimate for towers in Tipperary with shot-holes.[97] Likewise, it seems fair to guess that tower houses with original ports for pistols were probably built after about 1575; pistols had been known in Europe for many years previously,[98] but the earliest reference for Ireland that the writer has discovered is 1565, when a Butler used one at the battle of Affane.[99]

Another physical feature of some castles, the sheela-na-gig, is of less value for dating. Four Tipperary towers had these carved female figures, but unfortunately, although they seem to have gone out of fashion in the late fifteenth or early sixteenth centuries, their dating is as elusive as their precise meaning and purpose. What is more, some may have been later insertions in castles.[100]

Appendix III, part I, would tend to show that most Tipperary stone castles were late - there are seven that can be definitely or possibly dated to the thirteenth century, three to the fourteenth, eight to the fifteenth, and 44 to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. However, this is only about one-ninth of all the castles in the county. Moreover, the great preponderance of towers datable to after 1525 is partly due to an increase in the surviving written evidence, and partly to the introduction in some tower houses of particular architectural features which can be dated (but the lack of such

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96. ibid., p. 85.
97. A surviving gun probably dates from around 1500, but is is a wall-piece, for firing over battlements rather than through shot-holes - Caldwell, pp. 53-5.
98. Pistols were first used en masse at the battle of Muhlberg, 1547 - Sir Charles Oman, The art of war in the sixteenth century, London, 1937, pp. 85, 88.
99. Bagwell, II, p. 87.
100. Andersen, pp. 114, 149-50.

features does not prove that a building is older). Apart from shot-holes, one of the most distinctive innovations is the "Renaissance" idea of a plaque in a prominent place, with the date of construction or the owner's arms or initials. These stones provide relatively precise dates for St. Johnstown (363), which has an unusually fine tablet (pl. 1), Graigue (220), Killaleigh (252), Knockgraffon (273), and Burntcourt (97).

Appendix III, part II, lists all those sites where a castle was recorded before 1500, but where the date of building is unknown - they could have been put up the year they were noted, or decades before. Unfortunately the two earliest references are not totally secure. The word "castle" as early as 1295 could refer to a motte, one of which still stands at Donoghill (182), while the early date for Ballycahil (30) relies on an uncertain identification (see Appendix I for details). Even so, the table gives a group of at least eight from the fourteenth century, and ten to eleven more from the fifteenth.

When added together, the evidence from both tables still only dates about one-fifth of the towers of Tipperary, but it does show that a number existed in the early fourteenth century. There was perhaps a break in construction for some years following the Black Death, and the bulk of tower houses were built in the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries. The last castles were four put up in the 1650's, of which one, Ireton's Castle (179), was a newly-founded military post. It should be noted that all the tables prove is that a castle stood, or was built, on a certain site in a certain year; it does not follow that when a tower house is there today, it is necessarily the one referred to in the sources. Most of the thirteenth-

century castles, and some of the late tower houses have architectural features to help date them, but there is no proof that the Cramp's Castle (165) now standing is that noted in 1308-9, and the present Clare castle (127) is certainly not that of 1358.

One significant conclusion is that early tower houses seem to have been Anglo-Norman, not Gaelic. All the castles known before 1400 were either capita of manors, or in important towns, with five exceptions - Terryglass (379), which was perhaps never completed, Drominagh (187), Portland (337) and Ballycahil (30), for which the references are questionable, and Clare, which was in an area never lost in the Gaelic Resurgence. It would be hard to identify the first Irish tower house in Tipperary, but it is unlikely to have been before the fifteenth century.

Unfortunately there is not information available to correlate periods of tower-construction with social and economic conditions in Tipperary. One tempting theory would be that towers were built in times of prosperity, but what little evidence there is does not fit it. There seems to have been an increasing economic decline from the 1290's to the late fourteenth century, which encompasses the period when tower houses seem to have begun; nor is there proof that there was an overall improvement in the fifteenth century and sixteenth centuries, when they became more popular.[101]

It is also impossible to show the effects of periods of especial violence and disorder on architecture; it may have been that such times stimulated people to build more tower houses, but, conversely, they may have impoverished them so that they could not afford to do so. The Civil Survey noted many castles in ruins by 1654, and

101. Empey, Ph.D., pp. 133-4, 151, 233-54.

Rathnaveoge's (351) construction may have been interrupted by the 1641 war.[102] All that can be said is that a certain level of violence was necessary before tower houses were built. Once they became common, it would have been more and more desirable for anybody with pretensions to importance to copy the fashion, simply to "keep up with the neighbours" - in the Middle Ages, just as today, a castle was a good address.[103]

Tower houses ceased to be built when there was no more need for them. After Cromwell there was no mass rebellion like that of 1641 nor large-scale raiding by the dispossessed. The Williamite war was fought mainly by large forces, with artillery, and tower houses do not seem to have been important (Ch. II, p. 71 ). Perhaps after 1650 people saw that for the first time the county was under effective Government control, and felt secure in the peace brought about by the army units and soldier-settlers; perhaps the new English landlords had a more modern standard of comfort than their predecessors (many of whom were exiled), and wanted new-fashioned houses like those they knew in England. At any rate, although tower houses had proved of some value in irregular warfare as late as 1641-2, only four were built in Tipperary after the war. After centuries of predominance, the fortified home was no longer the most desirable of dwellings.

The above evidence does not completely support previous ideas about the dating of tower houses. Leask believed that hardly any castles were constructed in the fourteenth century, and that the first

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102. CS, I, p. 16 says it was never finished ; as the structure is mainly complete today, some work may have been done after 1654.
103. This phrase was used by A. Clifton-Taylor when describing Stokesay in The spirit of the age, London, 1975, p. 20.

tower houses were built about 1440. He argued that perhaps they originated in the "£10 castles", subsidised defences for the Pale, the earliest examples of which seems to have been ordered in 1429.[104] This theory is partly based on a comparison with churches, of which he could only find three examples of construction in the second half of the fourteenth century in Ireland.[105] He also said that the Elizabethan wars would have prevented much building, although he made a partial exception for areas protected by the Earl of Ormond.[106] Craig has produced Kilclief, Co. Down, as the earliest dated tower (1412-41) and Derryhivenny (1643) and Castle ffrench (1683), both in Co. Galway, as the last.[107] Ó Danachair is more restrictive, holding that most tower houses were built between 1450 and 1550, with hardly any before 1400, and few after 1600.[108]

There have been some attempts to date the tower houses of a particular region. Davin believed the earliest Pale towers were in Dublin in the early fourteenth century, but they did not become common until there was a certain amount of political and economic stability in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. There were definite mentions of rural towers from 1403; a large number were built before 1500, with probably somewhat fewer in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[109] Westropp used a list of Co. Clare castles, probably drawn up in the late sixteenth century, to conclude:

> "that some of the peel towers date back to about 1380, still more from 1400 to 1450, and a great majority from that time to 1500, with a few at intervals down to 1540, when a new and more commodious type of residence came into being."

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104. Berry, Henry VI, p. 17.
105. Leask, Castles, pp. 75-7; Leask, Churches, II, p. 136.
106. Leask in Jope, Studies, p. 243.
107. Craig, pp. 96-7, 109. The last recorded Scottish towers were built in 1644, 1657, 1661, 1667, and 1678 - Cruden, p. 152.
108. Ó Danachair, "Tower-houses", pp. 158-9.
109. Davin, M. Litt., pp. 117-21, 124-7.

Westropp placed the demise of tower houses about a century earlier than in Tipperary, partly because his evidence came to an end in Elizabeth's reign, and partly because he did not realize that "soft" houses were built alongside castle for many years later.[110] A recent work on Co. Wexford castles only manages to date beyond doubt two of the county's tower houses, Brownes to 1422-61 and Ballyconnor to 1510.[111]

However, contemporary documents suggest that there were probably tower houses in several parts of Ireland from the beginning of the fourteenth century. There were various references to "fortalices"; the word was never defined, but by the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries it was probably used to mean tower houses. In 1300 the Dublin government promised to pay £100 to John fitz Thomas when he had begun to build a fortalice in Co. Offaly to protect the area from the depredations of the Irish. In 1305 a Wexford man was granted a subsidy to put up a fortalice at his manor of Moylagh for the same purpose, the money coming "from every carucate of land of the liberty accustomed to contribute to common subsidies so granted."[112] These two documents reveal that there was already an established procedure for Dublin or local government to aid builders of what may well have been tower houses, over a century before the "£10 castles". In 1343-4 castles and fortalices were mentioned in the marches to guard against Irish incursions; in 1358-9 there were two fortalices at Galbardstown, near Leighlin (Co. Carlow), also in the marches.[113] In 1352 a King's letter expressed concern that the constables of castles and fortalices should keep them strong

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110. Westropp, "Limerick", in PRIA, p. 71. He was less definite about Limerick although he assembled all the material he could for that county as well (pp. 75-108, 143-247). The list of founders of Clare castles is primted in O'Grady, I, pp. 68-75, but yields little information to one not possessed of great genealogical knowledge.
111. Jeffrey pp. 4, 99.
112. Cal. Justiciary Rolls, I, p. 362; II, p. 13.
113. Tresham, pp. 46, 66; see also p. 103.

and secure against Irish enemies.[114] All these references show fortalices having more of a military function than did most later tower houses, but that is perhaps because the sources are all official documents. Even the notion that the Black Death halted all building is not quite true, for, again in 1352, only four years after the first plague, Lord Robert Savage "began in Ulster to build new castles in divers places, and upon his owne manours."[115]

There are also some clues as to when Gaelic chieftains took to living in towers. At the time of Edward Bruce's invasion, the Scots established themselves in fortalices among the Irish.[116] These were not necessarily their own constructions; perhaps they were just occupying Anglo-Norman works, like the English castles in Ely O'Carroll which they "took and held" in 1346.[117] The first castle The annals of the Four Masters recorded as Irish built was Lis-ard-abhla, in 1377; however, O'Donovan, the editor, identified this with Lissardowlin, Co. Longford, where in his day there was a "curious moat and rampart", which implies an earthwork.[118] In 1408 the Irish put up two castles, one in Co. Sligo; more castles occur in 1419, 1420, and 1423, all in the north or midlands,[119] and by the later fifteenth and sixteenth centuries Irishmen are frequently connected with castles in the annals. The annals of Connacht mentioned the "bawn of Roscommon" in 1413,[120] and the Miscellaneous Irish annals related that in 1405-6 no less than six castles were erected,

114. PROI MS Bethan, VIII, pp. 86-90.
115. Gilbert, St. Mary's, pp. 391-2. The author does not know if any remains exist of these early fortalices.
116. Otway-Ruthven, History, p. 229. For a possible castle in 1284, see above, footnote 50.
117. Clynn and Dowling, p. 33.
118. AFM, IV, p. 669. It could have been that a tower house stood by the earthwork, but subsequently vanished. There were seven twelfth-century "castles" said to have been built by the Irish, but what these were is not known - Leask, Castles, pp. 6-7.
119. AFM, IV, pp. 797, 837, 843, 859.
120. A. Con., p. 419.

five by men with Irish names - taree in co. Longford, one in Co. Roscommon, and one in Co. Westmeath.[121]

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Although there is still much work to be done before a full list of Irish tower house can be compiled, there is already enough information, from several sources, to point to certain conclusions. Ireland probably had over 3,500 stone castles, mostly tower houses, many more than any other country in the British Isles; on the whole they seem to be located in the richer areas, where there would have been enough people with the wealth to maintain them. In parts of some counties - Wexford, Dublin, Kildare and Meath - defensive lines of tower houses were deliberately built, but on the whole castles were sited to suit their owners. Some Tipperary tower houses were in topographically difficult locations to make attacks harder, and others were sited in order to control communications; but apparently the first locational priority was to be near the owner's cows and crops, and to serve as a refuge for people and animals.

The tower house seems to have been the almost universal home of Tipperary gentlemen, Gaelic and Anglo-Norman alike, and there are no apparent architectural distinctions between castles inhabited by peoples of different languages. In the fifteenth century it appears to have replaced the rath, which had fulfilled the same sort of purpose as a dwelling for Gaelic chieftains. There are a few cases of Irishmen living in castles before, but they do not seem to have built them until then. Evidence from Co. Tipperary shows that towers were often built on the capita of manors, replacing mottes, and in some cases at least, moated sites. That for the first time both Irish and English lived in

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121. ÓhInnse, Annals, pp. 175,181.

the same type of residence could be seen as a symptom of the widespread merging of cultures in the later Middle Ages.

Tower houses are usually very hard to date; some have distinctive architectural features (which usually indicate a late date), and written sources can place a few. But even in Tipperary, where the written material is more plentiful than in most parts of Ireland, only a fraction of the county's 400 or so castles can have even an approximate date applied to them.

This is nonetheless sufficient to show that probably several tower houses were built by the early fourteenth century, with the bulk being constructed between around 1400 and the 1650's. Mentions of "fortalices" in other parts of Ireland during the fourteenth century tend to reinforce this early date. It is impossible to say yet whether tower houses started at the same time in various places, or whether they spread from one particular centre. One obvious spawning-ground, the Dublin Pale, cannot be shown to have had any rural towers before the beginning of the fifteenth century.[122] All that can be said is that the early tower houses seem to have been Anglo-Norman, and were copied by the Gaelic chieftains after 1400. Nor is it possible to make a clear link between the times when towers were built, and periods either of particular violence, or increased prosperity; but clearly they depended on a degree of danger, for when Tipperary finally acquired a stable government the tower house became out of date.

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122. Davin. M. Litt., pp. 117-9.

CHAPTER VI ARCHITECTURE - THE TOWER

## THE BASIC STRUCTURE

### i. Shapes and Sizes (see fig. 1)

There are fairly substantial remains of about 150 tower houses in Tipperary; perhaps forty more have left some fragments, sometimes enough to reveal their general shape. Of these, nearly three quarters are rectangular in plan, or were intended to be so - inexact measurements and irregularities of ground could make parallel sides of a tower vary in length by a foot or more. Table 1 gives a selection of sizes; the largest can rival any other Irish tower house save Blarney (Co. Cork) and Bunratty (Co. Clare), but some are far smaller. There is rather less variation in height. Well-preserved castles of any size almost always have four or five storeys, often with an attic on top of these,and stand around 55 to 65 feet high. The small towers tend to be a little shorter, either because they have fewer storeys, or because the ceilings of rooms could be lower.

It is rather disappointing for anyone acquainted with Scottish tower houses, which have a large number of ingenious ground-plans, to realize that only two dozen Tipperary towers have some sort of projection to break up the rectangular outline. Only one, the heavily ruined, and perhaps very early Templemore (378), has buttresses. Four wedge-shaped ones survive, one wrapped around a corner; it would seem that some weakness may have developed in the south wall of the tower, and so a builder added the reinforcements, very likely in the process of construction. The normal projection is a single round or rectangular turret at the corner of the main tower.

CHAPTER VI. TABLE I. DIMENSIONS OF SELECTED TOWER HOUSES.

Unless otherwise stated in this thesis all wall thicknesses are of the first storey; in battered castles, the upper works are thinner. The OS measurements have been checked in many cases by the author; they are normally fairly accurate, although in a few instances (e.g. Modeshill, RIA MS OS Letters, I, p. 192) they are wildly inaccurate. It is very difficult for one person to measure a building exactly, especially when the ground is broken or covered in undergrowth, so such figures in this thesis must be regarded as reasonably correct rather than precise.

| | Length | Width | Thickness of Wall | Ref. to OS Letters. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ballymacady | 46′ | 35′ | 5′ 6″ | II, p. 298 |
| Suir Castle | 42′ | 35′ | 8′ 6″ | I, p. 223 |
| Knockkelly | 37′ | 34′ 7″ | 7′ | II, pp. 451-3 |
| Grantstown | 31′ 11″ | 27′ | 6′ 4″ | II, p. 295 |
| Kilfithmone | 26′ | 26′ | 6′ | Own measurements |
| Ballycolliton | 21′ 3″ | 17′ | 4′ 7″ | II, p. 53 |
| Cabbragh | 21′ | 15′ 9″ | 4′ | II, p. 554 |
| Powerstown | 15′ 6″ | 12′ | 3′ | Own measurements |

Grantstown and Kilfithmone probably represent the most common sort of size.

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Turrets served several purposes. At Killusty (260) the round turret holds the newel stair of a small square castle, thus giving more living-area within the castle proper. At Ballyneill (61) a similar turret is all that remains of another castle; as well as stairs it

has six rather cramped loops, three of which covered the castle's door. A turret can give flanking-fire along two sides of a building; to cover all four sides of a rectangular structure there must be two turrets, at diagonally opposite corners. There are several bawns with this scheme of defence (Ch. VII, p. 254 ), but only one tower, Ireton's Castle at Derrymacegan (179 - pl. 4). Each of its two imposing round turrets has a large number of musket-loops, and one also had stairs. But the most unusual feature is a large spur or beak projecting from each turret, unique in the author's experience.[1] One has the marks of a roof, showing the spurs were covered, perhaps so that they could be used for storage. But their main purpose was to transform the rounded outer face of each turret into a pointed bastion, thus eliminating any dead ground below the castle's walls. Derrymacegan is a very formidable little fortress, a product of the Cromwellian military government - it was described in 1654 as "being lately built by Sir Charles Coote a ye Comon Wealthes charge ... (standing) opposite to Portomny in Connaght."[2] While generally similar to Burt, Co. Donegal, built at least fifty years before,[3] and several Scottish towers,[4] its spurs have no real parallel. It is, however, in many respects in the Tipperary tradition, little different in most ways from the late, unvaulted tower houses of the county.

One castle, Killenure (254), has a round turret at every corner. Its lack of vault, and string-courses (like those on the mansion at

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1. Many twelfth- and thirteenth- century towers in England and France have spurs but most are much lower, and have sloping, not vertical sides. Perhaps the great beak of Château-Gaillard offers the closest comparison.
2. CS, II, p. 317.
3. Leask, Castles, pp. 108-9.
4. For example, Claypotts, near Dundee. The spurs must have been a stroke of genuis on the part of the designer, inspired by the pointed bastions on contemporary fortresses.

Loughmoe (297) ) show it to be a late building; Craig would not call it a real castle, but rather a variety of towered house, such as is represented in Tipperary by Burntcourt (97).[5] He has a case, but Killinure has features that show it is related to the more normal style of tower house - a ground storey used as a cellar, small windows in the tower parts of the walls, and a formidable array of shot-holes in the turrets. It was probably inspired by the group of thirteenth-century keeps of the same plan, one of which, Terryglass (379), is in Tipperary (Ch. I,pp. 3-4).[6]

Other castles with round turrets include Kilfeakle (248), where one contained stairs, and Tullow (394), where it consists of small rooms, the lowest covered by a beehive dome. Of the six examples in the county, only these two lack gun-loops; this, along with a 1650's date for Ireton's Castle and the reasonable assumption that Killinur was put up about 1600, suggests that rounded turrets may have been quite a late innovation.

On the other hand, rectangular turrets tend not to have loops, and were often not built with flanking in mind - some, as at Drominagh (187) (pl. 22, fig. 7) cover only one face of the tower. Here, as at Ballycapple (31), where the turret does cover the door, and Clonmicklon (154), the main purpose seems to have been to hold a stair. (At Clonmicklon, when the tower house was extended, what seems to have been originally a corner turret found itself in the centre of a wall). At other sites turrets were just to provide more room; an example of this is Knigh (264), where the turret, which is all that is left standing, appears to have been built after the main body of the castle, and

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5. Craig, p. 122.
6. Agivy, an Ulster Plantation castle that existed by 1618, was very similar; Jope, "Fortification", pp. 106, 108.

to have replaced an earlier turret on the same ground. At Graigone (219) the turret is separated from the castle proper by a dividing wall, pierced by a door on the second storey.[7] The only access to the lowest storey seems to have been through a trap-door from above, an arrangement that still exists in the round turret by the inner gate of Cahir (99). At Drumnamahone (191A) the only entrance to the turret is in the third storey, which argues for two trap-doors. Graigone and Graiguepadeen (224) are both small and badly-built towers, showing that square turrets were not the prerogatives of the larger castles.

Only at Rathnaveoge (351) was a square turret definitely designed as a flanker. Here the stair-turret projects boldly from one corner, to cover two faces of the main tower with its shot-holes. Rathnaveoge is a sheer-sided (i.e. without batter), vaultless, castle; it is similar in many respects, although better fortified, to Ballycowan, Co. Offaly, which was built in 1626.[8] Other castles with a single square turret are Ballygriffin (43), Borrisoleigh (92), Mullinahone (319), and probably Killoskehane (257) and Castleiny (118), making a total of thirteen.

Only four towers have two square turrets, or a square one and a round one. Cramp's Castle (165) seems to have had a shallow projection on the same face as the larger turret; Redwood (355) has two turrets on one face, both with rooms and, for part of their heights, separate newels. The present owner has restored this castle, and linked the tops of the two turrets by a flying arch containing bedrooms. According to the foreman of his masons, there was no evi-

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7. It is more convenient to refer to the stages of a castle as first (or ground) storey, second storey, etc., rather than by the normal convention of ground floor, first foor, etc.
8. Craig, pp. 131-2. Rathaveoge is a little later - see Appendix I.

dence in the stonework for this feature, but such spans do exist at several Irish towers,[9] and at the Hermitage in Roxburghshire. Clohaskine (143), a large but roughly-built and much-ruined tower house, has two turrets, on opposite sides. Certainly one, and probably both, were added at a later date. Mellison (302) is smaller, but very interesting. From its south-west corner projects a round turret that holds not only a newel, but also the door to the whole castle; at the east end of the south wall is a rectangular turret, with a chute for several garderobes in its upper storeys. At third storey level the main south wall of the castle is projected out by two corbels, so that it links the two turrets, and causes the whole upper half of the south wall to run flush.

One exceptional castle is Sopwell or Killaleigh (252 - pl. 5). Built in 1601,[10] it has a rather Scottish appearance, consisting of two roughly equal blocks covering each other with shot-holes and bartizans. The stair is unique for a Tipperary tower house, being a broad wooden flight around a pillar in a central well; this reflects the fashionable English notion of giving prominence to the main staircase of a house.

Many of the details, though, are distinctively Irish. It has stepped merlons, Irish rather than Scottish bartizans, box-machicolations, and windows like those in other local towers. Killaleigh seems to have been a particularly radical variant on the vertical-sided, vaultless late Irish tower house, such as Ballyglasheen (42) or Rathnaveoge (351), where the turret has expanded to form almost

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9. Craig, pp. 96-7, for a list of arches on Irish towers.
10. Craig, p. 129, notes a vanished date-stone. He is wary about accepting this as proof, but while admitting that a Victorian plaque (as at Killoskehane) might be wrong, there is no obvious reason why a genuine date-stone should lie about the year when a castle was built.

half the tower. Its builder is unknown, but he was perhaps an ancestor of Constance MacEgan who held it by descent in 1641,[11] and therefore a local man.

One speciality of Tipperary is the circular tower house. Although there are some in other parts of Ireland,[12] and one, Orchardstown, in Scotland,[13] the major concentration is in Tipperary. Seventeen existing towers are round, three of them early thirteenth-century keeps; the OS Letters say that the vanished structures of Bansha (74), Crohane (168), Latteragh (281), and Carrigatogher (109) were circular,[14] and a twenty-second example was at Cloghabreeda.[15] A round tower is generally recognised as the strongest type against attack, with a curved surface to deflect stones flung from engines, and no sharp corners to be picked away, but it has less room inside than an equivalent rectangular tower. It is also difficult to sub-divide round rooms with wooden partitions. This suggests that those who built round tower houses might have been more concerned than most castle-owners with security.

One round tower could be explained away as an architectural aberration, but not a probable 8 or 10% of the county's castles. The most likely explanation is that these tower house builders were inspired by the three earlier round keeps in the county, which were themselves probably related to those in South Wales (Ch. I,pp. 21-2). Two of the keeps, Ardfinnan (7) and Kiltinan (263 - pl. 2) are similar

11. CS, II, p. 328. The castle was then called Kilnalahagh.
12. Craig, p. 103, notes sixteen for all Ireland, but as he records only seven in Tipperary, this list would seem to be very incomplete.
13. It is near the coast of Kirkcudbright, an area in regualr contact with Ireland, and so very likely built by Irishmen or copied from an Irish round tower house.
14. RIA MS OS Letters, I, pp. 33, 429, 526; III, p. 340.
15. NLI MS Ancient Castle, p. 198. This is not always a reliable source.

in overall size and appearance to the later rounded castles, although different in internal arrangements; Nenagh (321) was a bigger affair, in fact the greatest round keep in Ireland, a symbol of Butler power and so an obvious model for anybody who wanted to make an impressive building. All three were occupied during the tower house period.

Table II lists the owners of all the known round towers in the county, and shows Irish and "Old English" names, great lords and small, and even a couple of owners from outside the county, proving that, by 1640 at least, no one group of people had a monopoly of this sort of defence. The only clue is that Curraghcloney (173) and Newcastle (323) were not only owned by the same man, but seem to have belonged together as parts of the same lands.[16] Their similar designs (although there were significant differences)[17] suggest that they could have been products of the same master-mason, or perhaps Newcastle was a later and slightly more sophisticated copy of Curraghcloney. Synone (377) and Ballynahow (57 - pl. 3) were also very likely products of a single designer.

Round towers share the same external and internal features as rectangular ones, and are variations on the same theme rather than a separate architectural tradition, (Compare plans of Ballyhow and Lackeen (279), Figs. 8 and 9). Newcastle is only 12′ in internal diameter, but on the whole they are quite large, At least on the ground storey, their walls are often thicker than those of rectangular castles. Ballynahow is 36′ 6″ in external diameter with 10′ walls,[18] Moorestown (312) 35′ 4″ with 9′ 4″ walls,[19] and Synone 29′ 10″ with 7′ 6″ walls.[20] The biggest of all is probably the much-altered Far-

16. CS, I, pp. 331-2.
17. RIA MS OS Letters, I, pp. 58-9.
18. ibid., III, pp. 284-5.
19. ibid., I, pp. 109-10.
20. ibid., I, p. 288.

CHAPTER VI. TABLE II. OWNERS OF ROUND CASTLES.

The information is from The Civil Survey, and relates to 1640.

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|---|---|
| Ballinaclough/Bewper | Sir Philip Percival; by lease from Earl of Ormond. |
| Ballynahow | Theo. Purcell of Loughmoe; by descent. |
| Ballysheeda | Philip O'Dwyer; by descent. |
| Bansha | Donough McGrath, Irish papist. |
| Carrigotogher | Lewis Walsh; by his wife Onora Brien. |
| Cloghabreeda | Not recorded. |
| Cranna | Earl of Cork; purchased from Daniel O'Bryan. |
| Crohane | Thomas Butler; by ancestors. |
| Curraghcloney | Edward Prendergast; by descent. |
| Drumbane | Several Ryans. |
| Farney Bridge | Earl of Ormond; by descent. |
| Farranrory | Wm. Fanning, Irish Papist; by descent. |
| Golden | Dr. Fennel; leased from Earl of Ormond. |
| Knockagh | Sir James Morris of Knockagh; by descent. |
| Latteragh | Robt. Cox; by mortgage from Richard Keating, the inheritor. |
| Moorestown | Edmund O'Dwyer of Moorestown, Irish Papist; by descent. |
| Newcastle | Edmond Prendergast; by descent. |
| Rathurles | Four O'Kennedys and one Grace, Irish Papists; by descent. |
| Synone | Sir Wm. St. Leger, Lord President of Munster; by purchase. |
| | (the following are thirteenth-century keeps) |
| Ardfinnan | Richard Butler; lease from Bishop of Waterford. |
| Kiltinan | James, Baron Dunboyne; by descent. |
| Nenagh | Countess of Ormond. |

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ney Bridge (195), 42′ in external diameter at the base, narrowing to 36′ at the top of the batter.[21] Farney and Ballynahow have five storeys, Synone has four, and Newcastle seems never to have had more than three.

So far, the three styles of castle examined, plain rectangular,

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21. Tip. Co. Library MS Coleman, p. 9.

turreted rectangular, and round, are undeniably towers, lofty in proportion to the area of their base. But there are a few Tipperary castles which, while seemingly of the same age and function as the tower houses, are more horizontal than vertical, strong houses rather than tower houses.

Rathdrum (346) and Modeshill (306) were perhaps of this style, but it is hard to be sure as they are heavily ruined. Killenure (254), mentioned above, is a very large specimen of the type, its basic house-shape altered by its turrets. Roosca (358 - pl. 6 and fig. 7) and Cullahill (170) are simple strong-houses, each of two storeys plus an attic under a gabled roof, both are in excellent defensive positions. Roosca is built into a good stone bawn, and Cullahill has remains of a bawn and another stone building, perhaps a small tower. Both must have been intended to withstand attacks, but their architects seem to have thought that their sites and outworks made them strong enough to obviate the need for a real tower. Both are on sloping sites, where it might have been safer to build a house than a tower, for reasons of stability. Cullahill measures externally 55' 6" by 22' 4", with 3' 2" walls, and Roosca is almost the same.[22]

Rather different in proportions, but at least as much "house-" as "tower-shaped" is the Templars' Castle,[23] Fethard (198). It is well-preserved, and has many features, especially those in the upper storey, such as are found in the "standard" tower house. There are only two full storeys, plus a low loft between them, and an attic; the proportions and layout of the ground storey are similar to those of Ballymagir and the Castle of the Deeps, Co. Wexford (speculatively

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22. RIA MS OS Letters, I, pp. 42-4, 518.
23. This is probably a misnomer. The full history of the castle is not known, although it must have been eventful, for it shows work of several periods.

dated to the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries). It seems that Ballymagir, and perhaps the Deeps, were originally halls built on vaulted undercrofts,[24] and it is possible that Fethard is such a hall, later turned into a castle. This would explain one of its unusual features, the outside stair that leads to a door in the second storey. There is no communication inside between this main room and the cellar below.

ii. Foundations, Batter and Quoins.

There are several castles, such as Graystown (231 - fig. 7) and Kiltinan (263 - pl. 23), built on rocky prominences, but the supply of such sites is limited. Tower houses were, moreover, intended for everyday use at least as much as for defence, so many of their owners would not have been prepared to place them on inconvenient heights. At Kilfeakle (248) the architect has managed to get the stability of a solid rock base by placing his castle on a low plinth of natural stone, probably crudely fashioned into a rectangle by man. This was effective, but it must have needed a great amount of luck or labour to find a castle-shaped rock. Normally a builder had to prepare an artificial foundation.

It is hard to say much on this subject, as there has only been one "excavation" of a Tipperary tower in recent years. Killoskehane's (257) walls go down at least ten feet below present ground level; but as it seems that the whole bottom storey of the structure was buried last century when the garden was banked up to make a flat lawn, little of this can have been actual foundation.[25] At Ballintotty (24) soil

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24. O'Callaghan, "Deeps", pp. 34, 38; O'Callaghan "Fortified houses", pp. 5-6.
25. This was reported to the writer by Mr. Browne, the owner of Killoskehane, May 1982.

erosion has revealed the foundations of the south-west corner of the tower, which consists of a carpet of small stones projecting about a foot out from the base of the walls. At a few sites it may have been a deliberate policy to leave the top of the foundations exposed to the air, producing a slight plinth on which the tower stands. Cragg (164) has three courses of heavy masonry on its north side, each about a foot high, and rough even in comparison with the patchy superstructure. Ballydoyle (37) has a better-built plinth (pl. 7), varying in height from almost nothing to about eighteen inches, in accordance with the irregularities of the ground. Such a plinth would not only give a level base on a slightly undulating site, but, by raising the whole tower house some distance off the soil, would help to keep it free from damp.

A local mason, with much experience of building stone walls, informed the writer that Carrigeen (107), like many other towers in the area, has very little foundation.[26] The lowest visible courses in the walls are the worst built in this castle, which would seem very unwise as they have to bear the most weight.

One reason for that characteristic of so many Irish tower houses, battered walls (frontispiece, pl. 3, figs. 8,9) may have been a lack of confidence in foundations; but one should not ignore an early tradition of battered building in Ireland,[27] nor the strong likelihood that contemporaries were sensible of its aesthetic effect.[28] A battered tower appears tapered on the outside, but inside the walls are vertical, which makes the upper parts thinner and lighter - as do the

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26. Converstion with Mr. Jim Tobin of Carrigeen, April, 1982.
27. Leask, Churches, I, p. 54,
28. Ó Huiginn (II, p. 137) praised Inishowen, Co. Donegal, by calling it a "tapering tower of firm, even stones".

bigger window recesses in the upper storeys. Most towers have a noticeable splay for the first five to fifteen feet, with the rest vertical or with a reduced slant. A pronounced batter at the base also meant that a missile dropped from above would, or should, hit the batter and bounce outwards at the level of the attackers' heads.

Batter is one of the most characteristic features of a tower-house - it is only by looking at the slope of the corners of the farm-house of Glenahilty (210) that one realizes it was once a castle - but it was not universal. The tower of Mullinahone (319), probably built in the late thirteenth century, has vertical walls, but Grant's Castle in Cashel (113 - built shortly after 1318), and Templemore (378), which is perhaps also a very early tower, are battered. A vault greatly increases the downward and outward thrust, and so makes thickened lower walls desirable. It is natural, then, to find that many of the vertical-sided castles also lack vaults, not just Mullina-hone but also late, thin-walled towers like Clare (127 - pl. 8), Kil-colman (242 - its walls are 3' 3" thick),[29] and Ballyglasheen (42). But there is no infallible rule: all Clonmicklon's (154) floors were wooden, yet it has a stong batter, while Drominagh (187) is almost vertical, despite its vaults.

Practically all tower houses were built of rubble, with cut stone reserved for doors, windows, stairs, and other small features (pl. 12). This could produce a neat, strong, and impressive building when done with sufficient skill and large enough stones, but all too often this was not the case. To provide stability, most architects inserted large cut-stone quoins all the way up the angles; their

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29. RIA MS OS Letters, III, p. 39.

superior quality is proved by the fact that later people have tended to select them for re-use, leaving the rest of the walls. The best quoins are the large "alternating" ones - oblong blocks, with every other one extended along one face of a tower, to provide as much surface as possible for the mortar to grip (frontispiece, pl. 5). One varient is to have quoins only on the upper parts of a tower, as at Cramp's Castle (165) where they begin about twenty feet from the ground. At Grantstown (230) there are good alternating quoins for the upper walls, but for the lowest ten feet or so, the heavily battered part, the quoins are smaller and less regular. There seems to have been no benefit in such a procedure, but even less in having feeble quoins or none at all. This happens surprisingly often, even at a big and expensive castle like Clonmicklon (154).

Rarer than quoins, but perhaps for the same purpose, are rounded corners on a tower (pl. 7). Such corners needed some skill to build, and at Kilfeakle (248) they are the best parts of an otherwise undistinguished little castle. They do not seem to indicate any particular style or date, but appear to have been built sporadically until the late, vaultless, tower of Carrigeen (107). Rounded corners are occassionally found abroad (for example in the tower house at Drum, Aberdeenshire), but it could be argued that they are a survival of an ancient Irish constructional method, used centuries before the first tower house. The Early Christian church of Agha, Co. Carlow, displays rounded corners, as well as rubble masonry, remarkably similar to those of some later towers in Tipperary.[30]

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30. Craig, p. 29.

iii. Vaults, Floors, and Stairs. (see figs. 3, 4, 8, 9).

Every room save the highest would have had as a ceiling either a stone vault, or the underside of a wooden plank-and-joist floor. In most castles, each storey had one level ceiling that covered its whole area, but there are two classes of exceptions. The first is when turrets were floored separately from the main building - at Tullow (394) the first storey was over a wooden floor in the main chamber, but over a vault in the turret. The second is in towers that are divided at each level into a main room and a smaller one. Particularly near the top of the tower, the vault covering the smaller chamber often runs at right-angles to that over the larger space, in order to achieve two uninterrupted barrel-vaults. A good example is at Killaghy (250), where the vault over the fourth storey runs east-west over the chief room, but north-south over its subsidiary chamber.

There are never more than two vaulted storeys in a tower house, often only one, or none.[31] As a general rule vaultless castles tend to be late - probably from the late sixteenth century onwards - and they also lack certain defensive features, notably wall-walks outside the gables. From external appearance the visitor would not expect Clare (127 - pl. 8), Rathnaveoge (351), or Ballyglasheen (42) to have vaults, and indeed they do not. But, as so often in this field, there is no iron rule. Kilcash (241), and Loughlohery (296) look similar, with well-preserved gables, yet only the latter is vaulted. The early tower at Mullinahone (319), unlike most castles of its sort in other counties, has no vault (see p. 242 below).

A vault was expensive, and put strain on the walls. Apart

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31. NMI Field Monuments File says three of Drominagh's five storeys were vaulted; but this does not seem to be the case. However, since half the tower fell away in 1979, it is difficult to be sure of some internal features.

from prestige, its main advantage must have been that it was fireproof. As Ch. III shows, it was a normal tactic of attackers to try to set fire to a tower house, and a vault should have been able to isolate a blaze. One over the ground storey and a second near the top would have sealed off those parts of the tower most vulnerable to incendiaries, the door and the roof. Domestic fires may have been another risk, and it is perhaps significant that at Ballynahow (57) for example, the only fireplaces are in storeys over stone vaults. Most castles with vaults had one under the top room, which, as its windows and fittings indicate, was usually the most luxurious and important in the tower (pl. 10). A second vault could be anywhere else save immediately under the first; two such masses of stone high up would have been unsafe. Occassionally the only vault was over the ground storey, as at Castletown. (125).

The vault is almost always a barrel or a very flat pointed arch, made of uncut stones. When a vault has partially fallen in, an observer can see that it is largely composed of flattish stones, packed so their long sides are almost vertical.[32] Sometimes not all the stones are visible, for adhering to their underside can be some of the mortar bed in which they were set, which in turn rested, while it hardened, on wickerwork centring. This was not as risky as it sounds, for wicker can be a very tough material; the Four Masters recorded a "strong wicker bridge" over the Blackwater in Co. Tyrone in 1482.[33] Some laths are still embedded in the mortar at Graigue or Beechwood Park (220), and marks left on many vaults show that the mats were formed of large numbers of thin rods laid in one direction, inter-

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32. Diagram in Leask, Castles, p. 87. All he says about vaults (p. 86) would seem relevant to Tipperary.
33. AFM, IV, pp. 1125-7.

woven by a smaller number of thicker rods at right-angles. The mortar is just sand and lime,[34] and it is a testimony to its adhesive properties that so much remains in place. This rough surface seems to have formed the ceiling; in cases where smooth plaster now covers a vault, it appears to date from the last two centuries.[35]

There were other ways of covering a narrow room or passage. When the roof was level, that is on all occassions when it did not form part of a stair, it could be made in exactly the same way as a vault, but with no, or very slight, curvature. Gortmakellis (216) has a passage-roof which is quite flat. This is not a very strong method, and is usually found over entrance-lobbies - which have often collapsed. Another style was the oldest of all, the lintelled roof, just large flags laid across the top of a passage. Those over the mural stair at Rochestown (359) are over a foot broad. At Drumnamahone (191A) the flags are less neatly-cut than usual, and, perhaps as a consequence, arranged in an odd pattern with small triangular slabs protruding from the walls to support the main ones (fig. 2). One castle often has both types of roof; Ballindoney's (16) mural rooms have both flagged and wicker-vaulted ceilings.

Round tower houses sometimes have hemispherical vaults. There is such a "beehive" over the second storey at Ballynahow (57 - fig. 8) even though the room below, like many in round towers, is square. The upper vault is the normal shape.

Vaults are massive affairs, and often have passages inside them, parallel to the line of the crown of the vault. At Ballygriffin

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34. Conversation with Mr. Jim Tobin, Carrigeen, April 1982.
35. It is, however, always difficult to be sure of the date of plaster inside a tower house. Wicker vaulting can be found in a few places outside Ireland, such at Troyes cathedral and the castles at Lancaster, Helmsley (Yorkshire) (Harvey, p. 107), and Dunollie (near Oban).

(43) the vault over the first storey of the turret, that is all that remains of the tower house, seems to have been packed solid, as a firm base for upper works. The tops of vaults should be fairly level (the heavily-ridged one at Buolick (96) has taken on this shape because of exposure to the elements), but they are usually not smooth. In several cases, as at Ballynoran (64), there is a definate raised "spine" marking the line of the crown. To make a comfortable floors the builders would have had to cover this with a smooth surface, probably planks. At Ballynahow the vaults are topped by smooth stone paving, but some of this could be modern restoration.

Wooden floors were more common than vaults, although in most cases one has to deduce where they rested by the stone features that supported the joists. At Ballyglasheen (42) and Knockgraffon (273) these rested on ledges, and at Curraghcloney (173) they fitted into slits that ran along the wall. At Ballagh (11) the beams for the fourth storey floor rested on a stone sill, held out from the wall by a row of corbels.[36] But on the whole there were only two main methods of support, put-log holes and corbels[37] (fig. 3). With the first method, each end of a joist was lodged into a hole in the wall. This would have meant that either the builders had to lay the joists into the holes as the walls were being built up, or make them in two pieces and join them in the middle. Duggan, who has studied in detail the floor-arrangements of a number of tower houses, has concluded that this system, the "double-floor", was normal until about 1475, and again after about 1575, whilst corbelled, or "beam-wall-plate" floors

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36. This arrangement is also used at Threave, Kircudbrightshire - W.D. Simpson, in Jope, Studies, pp. 234-5.
37. Corbels never seem to have been decorated in Tipperary, although above one in the Templars' Castle, Fethard, is carved TP .

were standard in the intervening period.[38] In Tipperary, the later castles do rely mainly on put-log holes, perhaps because this gave more space for windows - at Kilcash (241) some corbels had to be altered when larger windows were inserted. However, on the whole both methods seem to have been used simultaneously, even in the same tower house. It is typical of the Tipperary architects that if there was more than on style or way of making a particular feature, they would use as many as possible in the same tower.

The second method was to use corbels to hold a wall-plate, a long beam parallel to the wall, which in turn supported the joists, and above them the floorboards. In what seems to be the only early floor in the county, at Killowney (259), the joists, are about a foot square, and the wall-plates half this bulk.[39] At Clara, Co. Kilkenny, there are three surviving sets of beams; here the wall-plates are as massive as the joists.[40] In a circular room the wall-plates were made of many short lengths that formed a ring, across which lay joists of varying length. A floor at Cranna (167) has been rebuilt recently in this way, using the original twelve corbels around the room. Because of the thickness of the wall-plates and the joists, the actual floor would have been eighteen inches and two feet above the corbels; so there would not have been so deep a step down to a floor from a door opening onto it as appears today. When the room in question was a low one under a vault, this effect of raising the floor would have

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38. Duggan, MA, Conclusions, pp. 3-7. The author has not examined the whole thesis, simply the last chapter which contains a summary of the evidence, which Mr. Duggan was kind enough to provide.
39. Duggan, after examining a photograph of this structure, believes that the beams are probably not the original ones, but date from the early eighteenth century - pers. comm., 1983.
40. Clara is the best preserved Irish tower house known to the author, very similar (except for its barbican) to many Tipperary castles. It is fully described in Leask , Castles, pp. 79-88.

made it very cramped indeed, often too low to stand up in. At Golden (212) the storey under the vault could have only been used for storage.

The only castle that may have had pillars to support a floor is Killusty (260), where there are the bases of what seem to be two crude columns, one round and one oblong, in the ground storey. The uniqueness and roughness of the work suggests that these were not an original part of the design, butwere added later to prop up a sagging part of the ceiling.

Castletown-arra (125) and Killenure (254) have external stairs to the second storey, but they are not original, and the real entrances were at ground level. Shanballyduff (368) and Moorestown (312) both have what appear to be genuine stone steps, leading to entrances, which, although on the first storey, are some feet above the ground because the towers are on irregular sites. The only true upper-storey entrance is at the Templars' Castle in Fethard (198), which has stairs that ran up through a "forebuilding", a little like the entrance to an English "Norman" keep. There is another door to the first storey, which has no internal communication with the main room. At the very small tower of Powerstown (339), and in a few other castles there is no evidence of internal stone stairs, so it seems that they must have been wooden; such must have existed at Inis, Co. Donegal, for the Four Masters recorded that they were set on fire.[41]

These are all exceptional types; the vast majority of tower houses had internal stone stairs from ground storey to roof. These were either newels (pl. 9), a form liable to collapse, which means

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41. AFM, IV, p. 989.

the tops of several towers are now inaccessible, or mural flights. The following is far from a comprehensive list of all the variations, but should outline the most common arrangements.

Simplest of all is a newel that goes direct to the top of the tower, with one or two doors at every storey. It normally starts near the front door, usually at the end of a lobby, as at Lisquilibeen (290). At Ballylusky (49) there is hardly any lobby, and the stairs are immediately to the right of the entrance. The newel usually ends at the top storey, with seperate access to the battlements; this let people in the principal chamber control who went out onto the wall-head. The newel often continues a few steps above the threshhold of the top storey, until blocked by a wall, as if the builder had changed his mind while building. However, this feature is common enough to show it was deliberate, and may have been to allow a little more room for manoeuvreing bulky or long objects into the top room. Newels demand exactness and skill in their manufacture, and well-cut stones. That at Lisquilibeen is particularly fine, with punch-mark decoration on every step.

It is more common to find newels combined with straight (or, in circular castles, curved) flights, in the thickness of the walls. At Ballysheeda (68) and Shanballyduff (368) the mural flights are short, and just lead to the base of the newel. But it is more normal to find things the other way round, in other words to have the main stair mural, replaced near the top of the tower by a short newel. A straight stair is easier to climb but it needs bulky walls; a newel is valuable near the top of a tower where the walls are thinner. In some cases the mural stair becomes a spiral on reaching a corner of the building, but at others - Suir (376), Mortalstown (313), and Bally-

colliton (34) for example - it ends, usually at the third storey, in a room, for the other side of which the newel starts. Ballytarsna (70) is particularly ingenious; a straight stair goes to the second storey, then a newel to the third. From here a second mural stair, directly above the first, ascends to the top storey. This has the advantage that only the west wall, through which both stairs run, has to be especially thick.

Lastly, there are castles with only mural stairs. These vary in steepness, but it usually takes between one-third and two-thirds of the length of one face of a castle to climb one storey. At Ballintotty (24) one stair crawls through two and a half sides of the tower house to reach the top (fourth) storey, from where two new stairs give onto the ramparts. At Ballynahinch (56), on the other hand, the main stair stops at the third storey, and another takes over from there. In front of doors leading off them, straight stairs often have a small landing, lit by a slit. This can be seen very well at Ballintotty.

Several tower houses have, as well, as the storeys proper, small chambers between two levels, in the thickness of a wall or vault. These are reached either from the main stair, or from seperate short flights from main rooms.

Clearly, one principle that governed stair-design was to fit them into the minimum space; another was to make them easy to defend against intruders.[42] These reasons combined to render them narrow and steep, so that it is often impossible for two people to pass. The old and the ill would have found tower house life very trying.

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42. Moryson, Itinerary, III, p. 498; Luke Gernon, in Falkiner, p. 360.

iv. The Ground Storey (see figs. 4, 8, 9).

People do not seem to have dwelt in the bottom storeys of tower houses. Ardmayle (8) and Cullahill (170), neither of what are "standard" towers, have ovens there, Lismalin (288) has plaster on the walls, and a few others have stone presses; but the almost universal small windows, and mud[43] or perhaps duck-boarded floors argue against human habitation. They could have been stables, but in many cases it would have been difficult to get a horse or cow through the twisted entrance-lobby. Storage seems to have been the most likely function.

The basic plan is the same for most castles; the storey is divided into a main room and a lobby, the latter lying along all or part of the wall where the entrance is. Stairs lead off the lobby; direct communication to the upper floors from the main room is rare. This not only allowed people to gain the living-quarters without having to walk through a store or stable, but also meant that the store-room could be held as an independant redoubt in emergencies. The main rooms normally have slits that command the lobby; these could be of unusual shapes, cruciform at Killahara (251), or quatrefoil at Farranrory (196) and St. Johnstown (363) (see fig. 6).

The sketch-plans in fig. 4 show how some typical lobbies are laid out, with several doors to divide them up, and to hinder any attacker who broke down the main entrance. While struggling against the doors to the stairs or the main chamber he would have been vulnerable to the murder-hole (pp. 237-8 below). In most towers, such as Lisquilibeen (290), the door to the main room is directly in front of the main entrance; at Shanballyduff (368) it is staggered, which makes it most secure and less convenient. Even at the late castle

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43. Making mud floors can be a skilled job, and the results quite finely finished - see Innocent, pp. 157 ff.

of Rathnaveoge (351) there seems to have been once an entrance-lobby. In round castles lobbies are similar, but curved to follow the outline of the tower; at a few tower houses the stairs are to the right, not left, of the main door. This is the case at Bally arsna (70).

Some towers have a different plan. Killusty (260) and Derrymacegan (179) each have only one room and no lobby, although it is not impossible that there were once stone or wooden partitions to mark one off. One or two castles have two main rooms as well as a lobby. Two of the castles called Castletown (124 and 125) have cross-walls that divide their bottom storeys; although both have been repaired, these features could be original.

As the lowest storey ought to be the most solid, it is surprising to find that in several places the builders left great arched recesses in the walls. Sometimes, as at Castle Moyle (316), these surround slits, but they do not let in much more light than would a more modest splay. At Cappauniac (102) and Grantstown (230) the two recesses that occupy most of one wall of each castle are unconnected with any window. The only effect of these gaps would seem to be marginally to increase the amount of storage space, and to make the walls less able to carry the weight of the tower, so they must remain unexplained.

v. The Upper Storeys (see figs. 4, 8, 9).

The layout of the upper rooms of a tower house are varied and often complicated. They are best studied with the aid of a series of floor plans, but there are unfortunately only a few sets of full plans for Tipperary castles,[44] two of which appear as figs. 8 and 9

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44. There are full or partial plans of Lackeen, Ballynoran, Redwood, Synone, and Ballynahow in the Office of Public Works; of Lackeen,

in this thesis. In the limited space available here, all that can be done is to give a brief description of the three most common systems of arranging rooms.

The simplest castles are the vaultless towers of Rathnaveoge (351), Ireton's Castle (179), Kilcash (241), and Ballyglasheen (42). Ignoring the turrets, each storey comprises one large room. However, it may have been convenient to divide some by wooden or wattle partitions, such as have left marks in the plaster at Ballyglasheen. There are other towers, like Knockgraffon (273), with the same basic plan, but also a few small mural chambers, in this case at second and fourth storey levels in the north-east corner.

Killaghry (250) demonstrates the second main scheme. Here each storey save the top one is divided into two by a stone wall that runs from the ground to the bottom of the vault over the fourth storey. The rooms are therefore the same size on every stage; the smaller ones are duplicates of the entrance lobby, which is the lowest of this pile of chambers. There are variations on this theme; sometimes the two rooms on each level connected with each other, sometimes they could only be reached from the stairs. What is more, in some tower houses the smaller rooms not only have lower ceilings, but are on different vertical planes from the large ones; so at Carrigeen (107) four small rooms fit into the same vertical space as occupied by three large ones.

The third main scheme is when each storey is different from the next, with various mural passages and small rooms at some or all of the levels (for example, Ballynahow (57) ). These chambers often

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(44 con.) Ballynoran, Boolabaun, and Ballinaclough/Bewper in the NMI Field Monuments File; of Farney in Tip. Co. Library MS Coleman, p. 63; and of Loughmoe in Crawford, "Loughmoe", pp. 235-7. There is a cross-section of Castle Blake in RIA MS O'Neill, VI, p. 4.

hold garderobes (see "Sanitation") or firing-galleries with loop-holes; or they seem to be sleeping-chambers for important people. These minor rooms can occupy considerable amounts of space. At Killowney/ Castle Willington (259) there are two long passages opening off the newel between the third and fourth storeys; between them they ran round three sides of the castle. At the same height in Knockkelly (274) are also two passages, which, as fig. 4 shows, run parallel for a time through the same wall. The examples of different rooms of this type are far too numerous to catalogue here.

Arched recesses to lighten the wall are common in upper storeys (pl. 10) and not unknown lower down. The second storey at Suir Castle (376) has two recesses, topped by wicker-marked vaults, to relieve the weight over the first storey windows which are directly below. At Ballynahinch (56) a pair of large recesses each occupy the height of two storeys. Ballynoran (64) displays a characteristic style; here, on the top storey, the whole of one end-wall is scooped out. The wall-walk above is held by well-made, if irregular, arches, supported by corbels shaped like inverted cones. At Lisquilibeen (290) three out of four windows in the highest room are in recesses by pointed arches.

Most rooms, except the lowest, have features such as fireplaces, presses, garderobes and slop-sinks that indicate that they were for living in. In many tower houses the greater quantity and quality of these items in the top storey show that it was the most important room of the castle. It would usually have the largest and most ornate windows (pl. 12). If any storey had a stone floor, this one usually did; in castles without chimneys this floor, and the proximity

to the roof, meant it could have had an open fire , with the smoke escaping through a louvre.[45] Contemporary accounts show that this room could act as the hall, where feasts were held and guests entertained (Ch. IV, p. 130).

It is uncertain where food was cooked. Medieval kitchens are very distinctive, and none of the rooms in a tower house has the great fireplaces and ventilation systems needed for roasting meat.[46] Perhaps food was prepared in a separate building, which, if it burnt down, at least would not set fire to the important structures. This would have presented few problems when people ate in a hall beside a tower (Ch. IV, p. 131 ; Ch. VII, p. 261 ) but would have made it hard to supply the top storey of a tower with quantities of hot food, when the room could only be reached by one narrow stair.

vi. Turrets, Roofs and Battlements. (see fig. 5).

Apart from gables (for example, pl. 8), the skyline of over two dozen[47] tower houses is broken by one or more turrets that rise a storey above the rest of the wall-head. These take three main forms. Firstly, when there is a turret that projects horizontally from the tower, it might also be carried up vertically from the main body, as at Drominagh (187 - fig. 7, pl. 22). Secondly, the top of a stair that leads to the ramparts can also end in a small turret,

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45. This would not have worked if there was an attic over the top storey; put-log holes or corbels show that this was sometimes the case.
46. Kitchens normally either have a very high roof (as at Hampton Court) or a large opening in the centre of the roof (Papal Palace, Avignon; Raby Castle, Durham), When there are other rooms on top of the kitchen (as at Dinan castle, Brittany), the ventilators are still enormous, but have to be angled.
47. And probably once many more. The turret is a weak part of a castle, so it tends to be destroyed before other features. In some cases it is impossible to tell whether there was ever a turret or not.

occupying one corner of the castle. These are normally square, although at Rahelty (340) and Templemore (378) they are cylindrical, while the second of Drominagh's two turrets is square to the field but rounded inside.

A more interesting feature, seemingly unique to Ireland, might be christened a "long turret" (frontispiece). The whole of one wall, or a facing pair of walls, is raised by a storey, to provide lofty fighting-platforms with a small amount of accommodation inside.[48] They are always on the shorter walls of rectangular towers, and their inner faces provided gables for roofs, as is shown by ridge-marks at Ballynilard (62) and other towers. Such turrets are only wide enough to hold a single, narrow room. That at Nodstown (327) looks particularly bulky, but this is probably because the tower proper is a small one; most long turrets are reserved for the larger castles.

Access is from straight or spiral stairs from the top storey; these lead to the room inside the turret, from which the visitor can get onto the battlements. At Ballintotty (24) each of the two long turrets has a door in each end, giving a continuous passage around the wall-walk; but at other towers, like Grange Kilcooley (227), the stair blocks are such possible doors, producing in effect a "one-way system" around the ramparts. At Loughmoe (297) another internal stair led to the top of the long turret, but it is more normal to have stone steps set into the outside of the turret, over the roof. The turret always has a stone roof, with the same battlements and drainage as the tower alure (pl. 11), and sometimes even bartizans. At Ballindoney (16) are the remains of two small turrets, perched on top of the long turrets.

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48. Leask, Castles, p. 89, for elevation and section of this feature at Burntchurch, Co. Kilkenny.

No Tipperary castle has an original roof, so the historian has to deduce their form from the stone features that supported them. Unfortunately, gables were thinly-built, and prone to collapse; and some types of roof, like the hipped, or semi-hipped (as found at Dunsoghley, Co. Dublin, the only known genuine tower house roof in Ireland[49]) have no gables. It does appear, however, that the predominant form of roof, at least in earlier castles, was a simple ridge between two gables, which were either free-standing or the inside walls of long turrets. In perhaps the last century of construction, more complicated types evolved. One was the four-gabled roof, with the ridges crossing in the middle, which could once have been seen at Loughlohery (296) and Knockgraffon (273). Clare (127 - pl. 8) and Killenure (254) had six gables; in the former at least, four of these would have provided dormers protruding from the main roof. Killenure has modern "pepperpots" on its round turrets, as once did Newcastle (323) and probably other round towers and turrets,[50] but the standard roof for a round tower was a single ridge (fig. 8).

Roofs had to be designed with the wall-walk in mind. The simplest scheme, as demonstrated by Lackeen (279 - fig. 9) and reconstructed at Drominagh (187 - pl. 22), was to have an alure all the way round the roof, with eaves and gables two or three feet inside the battlements.[51] Other towers, like Behamore (83 - reconstructed

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49. Leask, Castles, p. 120. Duggan believes this roof dates from 1573, when the fifteenth-century castle was repaired, and is not typical of tower house roofs - MA, Conclusions, pp. 11-12.
50. For Newcastle, see NLI MS Fleming, I, p. 61. A Down Survey map shows the large round tower of Farney with a pointed roof, but its small-scale drawings are not to be trusted. Thomas Dineley drew Tullagh, Co. Carlow, with a pepperpot, and he depicted Ballinaclogh's vanished bawn-turrets with pointed roofs and elaborate finials - NLI MS Dineley, pp. 88, 90, 165-6. Pl. 4 of this thesis is a reconstruction of Derrymacegan with such roofs.
51. Lackeen's gables are crow-stepped, no doubt to match its equally

in pl. 20), had gables flush with the walls, so only the longer sides of the tower were available for wall-walks. If, like Loughlohery, the tower house had four gables, the ramparts were further constricted, and became just platforms at each corner of the castle. Circular castles often had a complete wall-walk, but not always; at Ballynahow (57) there was a curved gable flush with the outer face of the wall, leaving a restricted alure. Some tower houses, mainly late ones, had no battlements at all, with their eaves coming down to the top of the wall. At Clare (127 - pl. 8) and Knockane (269) there were bartizans to compensate for this lack, no doubt reached from the attic, but Castle Blake (87) lackes even these.

The holes and corbels that held the wooden framework of roofs are still visible, but to find out what covered the beams and rafters it is necessary to consult written sources. Although they had the obvious disadvantage that enemies could set fire to them[52] (at least when they were dry), thatched roofs were common. Boullaye le Gouz, writing in 1644, gave the impression that straw was the normal material,[53] although MacLysaght is of the opinion that most thatch was of reeds.[54] Stanihurst said that the halls beside towers had roofs that were easy to set alight, while tower houses themselves were safer - but whether this was because they were of a different material or just because they were higher, he does not say.[55] The Civil Survey described five castles, Drangan (183), Rathkeany (348), Roosca (358), Ballyboy (28), and Tullaghmaine (391) as thatched;[56] while only Kil-

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(51 con.) individual squat, stepped merlons, rather than because of any Scottish influence.

52. e.g. Carew, III, p. 243. See Ch. III, pp. 84-5.
53. Boullaye le Gouz, p. 41.
54. MacLysaght, p. 172. The chief crop, oats, gave an inferior straw.
55. Lennon, Stanihurst, p. 146.
56. CS, I, pp. 160, 179, 206, 367, 372.

tinan (263) was said to be slated,[57] but since the county contained numerous "slate houses", often beside towers, it is likely that this was also a common covering for castles.[58] A 1558 Dublin record said that slates were held to laths by pins,[59] as they are today. A final method was to cover the roof with wooden shingles. In 1338 there was a shingled tower at Moyaliff (314),[60] and in 1604 the Earl of Ormond leased to John Devoreux the island of Dunbar (county unknown), provided he roofed the castle in oak.[61] Gerard Boate said in the 1640's that shingles were a common material, but only remained watertight for a while.[62]

The wall-walks themselves were of the normal Irish and Scottish pattern (pl. 11), stone slabs with the joins covered by "cappings", the whole giving a ridged effect. This provided a large number of small gutters, each of which drained through a hole on the parapet. Killowney (259 - pl. 12) shows these well, and a set of other holes that may have been to hold put-logs that supported a wooden gallery or machicolation.[63] At Grant's Castle, Cashel (113), three gargoyles with flat, plain faces take the water off the sides of the tower, and at other castles unornamented spouts survive. Some towers never seem

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57. CS, I, p. 170.
58. Duggan believes "slate" meant thick stone slabs, modern slate not arriving in Ireland until the late seventeenth century (pers. comm., 1983). He holds that thatch was the most common material; it can be identified by a roof-slope of 45° or more, and by a large gap between the line of the rafters and the stone "flashing" on a gable that marked the top of a roof (MA, Conclusions, p. 13).
59. COD, V, p. 107.
60. COD, III, p. 375.
61. NLI MS COM, VII, p. 3, d. 3336.
62. Boate, p. 122.
63. There seem to have been wooden galleries on other Irish towers, such as Dunsoghley, Co. Dublin, which has holes for them on three of its turrets.

to have had spouts; instead, the wall-top oversails slightly. The uneven surface and heavy outward slope of an alure, combined with obstructing chimneys, must have made rapid movement around the top of a castle difficult.

Some towers, such as Poulakerry (338), Ballynahow (57 - pl.3), and Grantstown (230), have neat, level parapets, but there is no proof that these are as they were when the tower houses were new - the first two have recently been repaired.[64] While some crenellations are equally modern, there are in the county at least five fairly complete examples that appear genuine. Ballybeg's (26) merlons have holes in them at about eye-level, as do the fine stepped merlons at Ballygriffin (43), and, in particular, at Ballynilard (63). A recent work has postulated that these were for observation rather than shooting, and this would seem to be correct, for none of these three castles has any other provision for firearms.[65]

Killaleigh (252 - pl. 5), Ballygriffin, Ballynilard, and Lackeen (279 - fig. 9) all have "stepped" battlements, those at the first three castles tall, levelled at the top, and very elegant. These seem to have been common. A carving, probably dating from the fifteenth century,[66] and now set into the south wall of Cashel cathedral, shows a war-elephant with a tower on its back; the artist has depicted this as a local castle, complete with stepped merlons (pl. 13). The castles at Fethard (198) may have had "English" battlements,[67] but before restoration Ardfinnan (7) had three-stepped merlons. Ballyna-

64. Leask believed Derryhivenny, Co. Galway, always had flat parapets - Leask, "Derryhivenny", pp. 72-6.
65. County Down, p. 125.
66. The cathedral was heavily rebuilt in this century.
67. NLI MS Maps of Fethard, p. 6; the drawings here are too small in scale to be totally reliable.

hinch (56) had the more normal two-stepped variety.[68] In 1681 Cragg (164) and Birdhill (34) both had "Irish" merlons.[69]

Leask has tried to show that these battlements, which seem to have appeared in Ireland late in the fourteenth century, were inspired by foreign examples.[70] It is true that they can be found in Catalonia and Roussillon on the twelfth-century churches,[71] and on oasis forts in south-east Morocco,[72] but there is no evidence that the Irish copied these. They occur in two other places in the British Isles, but here they seem to have been taken from similar features in the Low Countries[73] or in Ireland itself.[74] It appears that they were purely decorative, and that the idea has occurred to several people independently,[75] including the builders of Irish tower houses.

While discussing the tops of towers, it is well to point out a drawing of Moycarkey (315) in 1840, showing a feature that no longer exists.[76] Above the alure rises not a roof, but a further storey, slightly narrower than the tower proper. Such "telescope" additions to castles occur in Scotland (for example at Prestopans and Niddry in

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68. RIA MS OS Sketches, I, pp. 23, 32-3.
69. Berry, "Birdhill", pp. 107-8.
70. County Down, p. 125; Leask, Churches, II, pp. 89. 134-5.
71. Raymond Rey, Les vielles églises fortifiées du Midi de la France, Paris, 1925, pp. 70-2.
72. R.E. Dunn, Resistance in the desert, London, 1977, pl. 2.
73. The only area in England to have stepped merlons is East Anglia, which had close links with the Netherlands. They did not start in East Anglia until the late fifteenth century - Jope, "Fortification", p. 99.
74. Dunvegan Castle, Isle of Skye, is shown with stepped battlements, on a tombstone of its owner who died in 1528 (cast in National Musuem of Antiquities of Scotland, Edinburgh). This man, Alexander MacLeod, was probably in contact with Ulster, as the stone also depicts a galley of the sort chiefs used for visiting Ireland.
75. It is, after all, a rather obvious idea, occurring even on the tower of a modern Baptist church in Vancouver, Canada.
76. RIA MS OS Sketches, III, pp. 128-30.

in Midlothian , in order to increase accommodation without building a more vulnerable low structure, but this is the only Irish example known to the writer. The normal Tipperary solution was to build a house onto the tower (Ch. VII, pp. 257-9).

FITTINGS OF THE TOWER

i. Sanitation and Storage.

The sanitary arrangements of Tipperary tower houses are normally satisfactory, at least in the removal of excrement and dirty water from the tower itself. (There would always have been the problem of removing filth from piles at the bases of garderobe-chutes, and the cleaning of the chutes themselves). The latrines are of the normal medieval pattern, consisting of a pierced stone seat over a chute that leads to a square hole, some distance from the castle's main door. A large tower usually had three garderobes, all giving onto the same chute. At Cramp's Castle (165) and Mellison (302) there are special turrets for the fortalice's latrines, but they do not (like Dunsoghley, Co. Dublin), use their ground storey as a sort of internal cess-pit.

The garderobes are always in separate chambers, in the thickness of a wall or vault, or branching off from a larger room (fig. 9). Sometimes, as at Killowney/Castle Willington (259 - fig. 4), the chambers are very long; as they often lack windows, it would seem that these passages were used as the name garderobe implies - to store clothes. People believed the fumes preserved fabrics. Rahelty (340) has one garderobe with a square recess beside it, which would have been ideal to hold the equivalent of toilet paper.[77] As the

77. Such recesses can be found in Scottish tower houses, as at Castle Campbell, Fife, or Castle Menzies, Perthshire.

latrines were built into a wall or vault, in late, relatively thin-walled towers such as Rathnaveoge (351) and Derrymacegan (179) there are no traces of such features; the inhabitants must have used wooden alternatives, or chamber-pots.

Only one site, Ballymackey (53), has anything that may have been a drain.[78] The normal way to get rid of dirty water was to pour it out via a slop-sink, a hole in the wall with a shallow sink inside and a spout outside. These are found all over a tower; often, as at Castle Moyle (316), they are beside a garderobe, and no doubt would have served as wash-basins. At Fethard, in the Templars' Castle (198), there is what seems to be a church's piscina serving as a slop-sink. The room is clearly not a chapel, despite the building's name,[79] and even if it had been, the piscina is in the wrong place. Perhaps the object was looted from a church.

Obtaining water seems to have been more of a problem than disposing of it. Kiltinan (263 - Ch. VII, p. 271) may have had a well, and Suir Castle (376) and Cully (172) do today, although that at Cully may be comparatively modern; at other castles disused wells could have been filled in. However, Tipperary may not have been exceptional, for in Co. Clare not a single tower has a well.[80]

Dry goods and utensils were stored in castles; most Tipperary tower houses have a good array of wall-cupboards or presses. They are usually cubic in shape, sunk into a wall, or very often, into the

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78. The owner, Mr. J. Gleeson, uncovered what he believed was a drain, a few feet from the tower. He also unearthed large quantities of sea-shells, which could be evidence of the inhabitants burying their refuse.
79. The Order of the Temple was dissolved early in the fourteenth century, and all their property went to the Hospitallers. There are records of only one Hospitaller house in Tipperary, at Clonaul - MacDermott, p. 13.
80. Westropp, "Clare peel towers", p. 357.

sides of window-recesses in the main rooms. Graigue/Beechwood Park (220) has a particularly large cupboard, about six feet deep, with a socket that shows it once was closed by a wooden door. Some of the taller, shallower niches in walls might not have been presses, but rather used, as they were in England, to hold candles.[81]

ii. Prisons

In eight tower houses, all of the common, square, vaulted, variety save Ballynahow (57), there are entrances that lead down from the top storey to small chambers in the thickness of the vault below. These are lighted very badly, if at all, and seem inconvenient for storage. They were probably used to hide the owner, his family, or his valuables, in emergencies - the lack of a window would have made the room impossible to spot from outside - or, as secret prisons, where a captive could be kept close to the main room, yet out of sight and secure. There are plenty of references in The Annals of the Four Masters to imprisonment in tower houses; and in Scotland late castles sometimes had small prisons, entered from above.[82] The chamber of Killaghy (250) was definitely a prison, for there is a hole for a drawbar that would have closed the trapdoor from above (pl. 14).

At Ballindoney (16) a newel leads down to the secret room, but in all other cases one had to be lowered through a trap-door. This was usually hidden at the side of a window-recess. At Ballytarsna (70) the entrance to the trap is disguised as a press, and Loughmoe (297) has a special ante-room with a hole in the floor. Suir Castle

81. Ayres, p. 58.
82. Some Scottish prisons (for example at St. Andrews, Fife), are "bottle dungeons", of very different construction; however, Castle Menzies, Perthshire, has what could be a prison similar to those in Tipperary.

(376) has two secret rooms, the lower reached by a trap in the floor of the upper.[83]

iii. Fireplaces and Chimneys.

All fireplaces consist of a recess in a wall, with a flue above and a stone floor below. Sometimes, as at Barrettstown (78), where part of the wall has fallen away to reveal the passages, more than one hearth might share the same flue; in other castles a large number of chimneys show this was not the case. Barrettstown is unusual in having a fireplace on the ground storey, a peculiarity it shares with Clare (127) and Ardmayle (8); but normally one might expect to find hearths in any storey but the lowest, with the best-constructed usually in the top room.

The variety in fireplaces lies in their tops. These can range from the crudest, as at Rahelty (340), which are simple, shallow, arches with a cut stone at each end, through a number of types of cut stone lintels. At Tullow (394) and Shanballyduff (368) the lintels are each one large block of stone, but it is more common to have them formed of several interlocking pieces, held by a key stone in the middle. The joins between stones are usually Z-shaped, although at Knockkelly (274) they are vertical; there can be a sill over the lintel, and at Ballynahow (57 - fig. 8) there is a rope-like border as well. The constructors of hearths evidently tried to make some individual: Kilcash (241) has four fireplaces, all of the same general style, but differing in detail. At St. Johnstown (363) that on the fifth storey is basically like that on the third, but more elaborate to suit its position. The famous second-storey fire-surround

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83. Rahelty and Castle Moyle also have prisons.

at Loughmoe (297) is covered in "Renaissance"-style shields and foliage, with a label-mould above.

This fireplace can be dated fairly accurately by the initials TP (for Thomas Purcell, Baron of Loughmoe, who died in 1601[84]), and IFP (for Joan FitzPatrick, whom he married in 1597[85]); but as it is a later insertion, it does not place the tower, only the attached mansion that contains a similar fixture. More important is a fireplace marked 1603, an original part of Knockgraffon (273), and the similar, but damaged, lintel at Graigue/Beechwood Park (220). Here the keystone has disappered, but it was probably the stone cared with 1594 and OH noticed in 1837.[86]

Craig would see fireplaces, or their absence, as a way of dating a tower house, as he maintains only the early towers lacked them.[87] There is no direct evidence to the contrary from Tipperary; and fireplaces were added to castles that previously were without them, which may indicate that they were a relatively late innovation. However, Gernon, writing in 1620, said that "the fyre is prepared in the middle of the hall", the highest room of the tower,[88] so some tower houses must have lacked them even at this date. Nor can one use the different styles of fireplace to date a tower, for these do not appear to have followed fashion; the common multi-pieced Z-jointed (or "joggled") lintel was a very long-lived model, found for example in the twelfth-century keep at Conisborough in Yorkshire.

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84. de Breffny and ffoliott, p. 43. They say the house was built by the couple's son or grandson, but provide no evidence; the initials of Thomas and Joan would make this theory unlikely.
85. Journal of the Association for the Preservation of the Memorials of the Dead in Ireland, 5 (1901-3), p. 262. For a picture of the fireplace, see Crawford, "Loughmoe", facing p. 240.
86. Lewis, I, p. 46. OH probably stood for the man who built it; in 1640 it was held by a Hogan "by descent" - CS, II, p. 293.
87. Craig, p. 97.
88. Falkiner, pp. 360-1.

Most chimneys are plain and square, although one of those at Knockagh (267) is large and oblong, and Grallagh (225) has a rounded stack, with a sill at its base. At Knockkelly (274) there are three pairs of "Jacobean" chimneys, set diagonally to the tower, with creases on the inside to fit against the gable. Leask believed that inserted chimneys usually rise vertically out of the alure, greatly impeding it, while original ones are more likely to be corbelled out of the way.[89] At Knockkelly, St. Johnstown (363) and Twomileborris (395) what seem to be non-original chimneys protrude directly up from the rampart; but there are very few cases of disposing of the chimney by removing it outwards. Ireton's Castle (179) has corbelled-out chimneys, Drom-mineer (188) has a stack effectively as a separate turret, while at Ballytarsna (70) one straddles the battlements. The normal means of keeping chimneys out of the way was to build them into gables.

iv. Doors and Windows.

No tower in Tipperary has more than one original outside door, although it is just possible that some of the jagged holes and modern entrances in many castles could be the sites of posterns or "escaping doors", as mentioned at Ballincor, Co. Wicklow.[90] Apart from the exceptions noted (p. 209 ), Tipperary tower houses conform to the nor-mal Irish pattern of having the door at ground level. Most outside doors have pointed heads (pl. 15), although a few, as at Rahelty (340) are rounded; however the numerous interior doors (pl. 9) can be of both these shapes, or have a plain stone lintel. Ballycaple's (31) main door is ten feet high, and Lisronagh's (291) nine, but most are just tall enough for a man to enter without stooping.

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89. Leask, Castles, p. 93.
90. AFM, VI, p. 1957.

Doorways are usually of cut stone. Pointed arches can be made up of as many as nine, eleven (both at Ballybeg (26) ) or fourteen (Loughmoe (297) ) segments, but the best comprise just two great stones, with simple moulding on the outer face. In many cases the surround is ornamented with fields of punched work, and at Kilcash (241) the bottom of a jamb of one of the internal doors has three concentric rectangles. Two castles have much more elaborate decoration. Ballymackey's (53) front door has square panels filled with rectilinear designs, worked with two sizes of punch; both the entrance and an inner doorway at Graigue/Beechwood Park (220) have mainly punched work, although some of the major lines are incised. The inner door, which is the more elaborate, has square panels, some with triangular patterns reminiscent of the painted sides of an Elizabethan galleon, some with chequered patterns. The third storey fireplace is similarly ornamented. These are very similar to designs painted on buildings in Devon, Somerset, and Massachusetts, believed to date from the seventeenth century.[91] Graigue was erected in 1594 (p. 224 above), and Ballymackey was probably contemporary. Punched decoration seems to have started in the sixteenth century, and was still being done in 1643.[92]

Such elaborate surrounds may have held ornamental doors, such as Ó Conchobair took from Turrock to Sligo when he demolished the former castle in 1536,[93] but no doubt most doors would have been simpler; a plain, strong, iron-studded door still hung in 1913 at the "New" castle of Lough Gur, Co. Limerick.[94] Doors were not on hinges, but had pintles (either iron spikes, or wooden bars[95]) which fitted into

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91. Ayres, pl. B, p. 43. This sort of decoration is also found on a fireplace now built into Castke ffrench, Co. Galway. Craig (p. 139) dates this to the seventeenth century.
92. Leask, "Derryhivenny", pp. 72-6.
93. A. Con., pp. 697-9.
94. Seymour, Emly, p. 210.
95. Leask, Castles, pp. 97-8. He believed wooden pintles were normal.

stone gudgeons. The lower gudgeon was usually crudely-made, but the upper one was often a well-carved socket. It could be shaped like an inverted, pierced, and truncated cone (as at Graigue (220) ), or a large doughnut (as at Rahelty (340) ).

The normal method of securing a door was a draw-bar. A fragment of the bar survives at Suir Castle (376), and in many other places the visitor can see where bars once existed by their holes in the stonework. The hole at Ballindoney's (16) entrance, worn smooth by much use, is about four inches square. Many interior doors had draw-bars, especially those leading to top rooms. None has a more impressive draw-bar hole than Killaghy (250), which, instead of being set into the wall, is a large stone ring protruding from the jamb.

Many front doors have round holes in their surrounds, the maximum number being three, one at the crown and one at each jamb,[96] (pl. 15). These were probably mainly for observation, and for firing guns. Most are angled to cover the area in front of the door; but in some cases it would have been difficult or impossible to use them effectively, and these examples were probably just for show, or tradition. The door of the mansion built onto Loughmoe (297) has three holes, but one is a dummy. Ballydoyle (37) has two grooves worn beside its single hole, to the right of the door, which seem to have been caused by a chain which passed through the wall to secure an iron grille that was in front of, or instead of, the door. Such a grille exists at Ballea, Co. Cork,[97] and grilles were in use as early as 1381.[98]

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96. A picture of "Carrigeen, or Farren Eilleen near Thurles" shows a double shot-hole on either side of the door; however, the drawing is wrongly titled. The round tower it illustrates could be Crannagh or Drombane - NLI MS Fleming, VII, p. 56.
97. Waterman, in Jope, Studies, pl. XXXI, p. 256.
98. A. Clon., p. 307. Also NLI MS O'Neill, VI, pp. 103-5.

Although some Irish towers had a portcullis,[99] no real tower house in Tipperary seems to have had one. Their distinctive grooves are only to be found in three buildings of the period - Cahir Castle (99), the gatehouse to Athassel Abbey (10), and the lightly-defended "castle" of Burntcourt (97).[100]

The predominant form of window is the vertical loop or slit; in some towers, like Lisquilibeen (290) which has 32 loops, they are the only providers of light and air. This was their main purpose. There is a temptation to call all narrow openings in castles arrow-slits, but in Ireland this must be resisted, for several reasons. Firstly, many are in such cramped positions that it would have been impossible to draw even a short bow behind them. A splay inside a loop allows a wider field of fire, but this does not mean all splayed windows were for shooting; the splay also lets in more light. Lastly, castles like Roosca (358) still had slits, even when they were built in an age when the gun had replaced the bow, and were equipped for the new weapon. Many loops could have been used for shooting through in emergencies, but the only ones that seem to have been specifically designed for war are those in the angles of towers, or those with cross-arms, as at Ballynahinch (56), Killaleigh (252), and Ballynahow (57) (figs. 6,8; pl. 5).

Knockgraffon (273) has a slit with a rounded head on square shoulders, and Ballindoney (16) has four "Caernarvon" arches,[101]

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99. Ballinafad in the Curlews, Co. Sligo or Roscommon, for example. Waterman has detected evidence for a sliding gate at Knockgraffon, but it is not obvious to the present writer - Waterman, in Jope, Studies, pp. 257, 272.
100. ibid., p. 257; Price, Cooper, p. 28.
101. There is also a crude "Caernarvon" arch over a door at Tullow. Leask ascribes this feature to the early fourteenth century (Castles, p. 24), but as it could have been used for many years

but there are only three common sorts of head. All three styles, flat, rounded, and ogee, occur together in the same castles. There is no rule to tie any style to any period[102] or to any part of the tower house, except that ogee heads tend to be found in upper floors.

Loop-surrounds are often of well-cut stone and marked with punched decoration; some slits at Ballynahow are thus treated, even though they are so high up that it is hard to see. There are particularly fine ogees at Lackeen (279) and Ballynahinch, with moulding around the inside of the frame. The inside of a blocked window at Carrick (104) has an angel with stiffly-folded drapery in the fifteenth/sixteenth century style, and Carney (103) has Celtic interlace around the outside of one slit. But perhaps the most interesting ornament is that at the top of ogees at Killough (258) and the church-castle of Ardmayle (8). They have flat faces, and foilage similar to that on the sedilia at Holy Cross Abbey (233) near the castles; so it is probable all three are the work of the same carver, in the first half of the fifteenth century.[103]

Inside, most slits are splayed, but few architects used this as an opportunity to build window-seats, so common in England. They are to be found only in a group of towers near Thurles, such as Grallagh (225 - pl. 10) and Ballytarsna (70), and in the great hall of Cahir (99 - here they could be Victorian); there were once some at Drominagh (187).[104] At Ballagh (11), Grantstown (230), and several other castles the ground storey slits are heavily splayed both inside

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(101 con.) after this, it is not safe to date Tullow and Ballindoney to this early period.

102. The typically "medieval" ogee is found as late as 1603, at Knockgraffon.

103. Hayes, pp. 28-30, provides evidence to show that the principal rebuilding of the part of the abbey that contains the sedilia was done between around 1400 and 1423. The sedilia bear the Royal Arms as adopted in 1413.

104. NMI Field Monuments File.

and outside, for no apparent reason. This used to be thought of as a characteristic of east Ulster tower houses, but clearly it was more widespread. Jope has speculated that it may have been partly to aid firers of hard-guns,[105] but there are two objections to this. Firstly, one of these slits occurs at Dunsoghley, Co. Dublin, probably built considerably before the first mention of hand-firearms in Ireland.[106] And the exterior part of the splay would funnel any enemy bullet or arrow straight through the loop, and so make it a hazardous shooting position.

In some castles large slits are grouped in pairs (or, more rarely, as at Killowey (259), in fours) to produce what are in effect quite sizeable windows (fig. 8; pls. 3, 10, 12). It is a short step from these to the true rectangular windows, with stone mullions and sometimes transoms, that became fairly common in roughly the last century of Tipperary tower-building (pls. 5, 8). Some tower houses had the new type of windows inserted (as at Killowney and Loughmoe (297), pls. 12, 17), although not on the ground storey. People may have been rather less worried about enemies, but, like slits, rectangular windows have the holes that show they were crossed by numerous iron bars.[107]

A very large number of windows of all styles have as an upper sill the distinctive label-mould of the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries, to prevent water from running down into them (frontispiece; pls. 5, 8, 12). This would have been useful, for although the larger windows seem to have been designed with glass in mind,[108] it is likely

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105. Jope, "Fortification", p. 100.
106. Harbison, p. 76.
107. In 1635 a Carrick house had "a substantial stone window with strong iron grates" - NLI MS COM, IX, p. 216, d. 4001.
108. By Elizabeth's reign glass was almost universal for English county houses, but a lot of still had to be imported - Airs, p. 119.

that many windows and slits, especially in the earlier tower houses, would have had only wooden shutters, or some translucent material - horn, wicker, paper, sheepskin, parchment - in a wooden frame. In several windows tiny stone gudgeons show that the frame pivoted to open; at St. Johnstown (363) an iron pintle survives at the top of a slit.

DEFENCE

i. Shot-holes (see fig. 6).

Many normal slits could have been used to fire guns through, but apart from these there are numerous smaller openings in castles that seem to have been designed solely with firearms in mind. The Elizabethan mansion at Carrick (104) has a set of five cannon-ports, its only concession to defence, and Ballyneil (61) has openings that look suitable for artillery from the outside, but which in fact could only have been used for small-arms.[109] Apart from these, and the gun-tower at Kiltinan (263 - Ch. VII, p.271 ), all ports are for hand-firearms. These "spike-holes" are generally just small round or square openings, funnelled on the inside. As these would have been too small to give a good field of vision, especially when blocked with the barrel of a gun, a few have extensions - those at Newcastle (233) and Ballysheeda (68) have vertical slits for aiming, producing a keyhole-shape. At Ballydoyle (37), the slit is separated from the hole. More commonly, ordinary slits were flanked with spike-holes - two of Ballynahow's (57 - fig. 8) ground storey slits each has two holes, and there are four around a corner-slit at Loughlohery (296).

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109. Cannon ports are very rare in Irish tower houses; County Down, p. 125.

Ballindoney (16) has a small horizontal slit, perhaps for firearms.

Gun-holes can be found all over a tower, from the ground storey (where they are often angled to cover the door) to the bartizans and machicolations (as at St. Johnstown (363) ). Ballynahow has a well-designed system of 28 holes, excluding those of the wall-head, so that the whole castle is covered - the upper holes are angled down to reach the bottom of the walls. Ballymacady (52) has an inverted, recessed V on each face, designed, it has been said, so that a hole at the apex can command the whole of the wall[110] (pl. 16). One of the most ingenious of all shot-holes is one of the few meant for firing inside a tower house - a man sitting on the sixth or seventh step of St. Johnstown's spiral stair could shoot through the central newel to the end of the entrance-lobby, without being seen.

Most shot holes are suitable for the arquebus (often called a caliver at the time) or the longer musket, but at Ballinaclough (14) there are some practical only for a pistol. Castle Blake (87), Synone (377) and Killaghry (250) have holes almost as constricted; it might have been possible to fire a very short arquebus or a petronel through them, but not to reload it in the space behind. At Ballyneil (61), too, a pistol seems the most reasonable answer. Naturally, when a castle was built with a specific weapon in mind - hardly any gun-ports are later insertions - this will help date it (Ch. V, pp. 181 ). But the lack of shot-holes is no proof that a tower house is early; Ballyglasheen (42), for example, which is clearly a late building, has no spikeholes.

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110. This is Craig's explanation (p. 103) for identical features at Ballynamona, Co. Cork, and Newton, Co. Clare. However, the shot-holes at Ballymacady are no longer visible.

ii. Machicolations and Bartizans (see fig. 5).

Machicolations and bartizans are two varieties of the same defence, a bottomless projection protruding (usually) from the top of a tower; it could provide flanking-fire through holes in its sides, and people could drop missiles on enemies' heads or water on a door they had set alight. Bartizans (fig. 9, frontispiece, pls. 4, 5, 8, 12, 20, 22) are rounded (except for the late ones at Ardmayle (8)[111] and Derrymacegan (179) ), and are placed at the angles of tower; box-machicolations (fig. 8, pls. 3, 5, 22) are square, or, on some round towers like Moorestown (312), blister-shaped, and are found on other parts of a wall. Both are held out by stone corbels. Although a few bartizans, like those at Behamore (83) and Killaleigh (252), were only for firing, and so have solid floors, they always have individual corbels, not the Franco-Scottish tapered courses sometimes seem below Ulster bartizans.[112] They do not appear to have been battlemented. In England, machicolations apparently evolved from wooden hoardings that served the same function, and holes suitable for such hoardings can be seen at Ballytarsna (70) and Killowney (259 - pl. 12).

Although they are known elsewhere, as at Affleck in Angus,[113] box-machicolations are distinctively Irish. Normally they are over the door, but it is curious that sometimes, as at Moorestown, they are offset and so less valuable. Round towers can have several - Ballynahow (57) has four (fig. 8) - distributed at equal intervals around the wall-head to give all-round covering-fire. Loughmoe (297) has corbels that show it had machicolation running the whole length of its north and south faces, with smaller extrescences on the

111. Now hidden by ivy - see RIA MS OS Sketches, I, p. 22.
112. Jope, "Scottish features", p. 32.
113. Cruden, pl. 15.

other two sides (pl. 17). Such a feature does not exist elsewhere in the county, but can be found at Blarney and Kilkeedy, Co. Cork.[114]

Box-machicolations are not always on the battlements; at Knockgraffon (273) and Knockane (269) they protrude from gables, and at Ballindoney (16) one is in the side of a long turret. In these cases the box was entered from indoors, and capped by a sloping stone roof. Aghnameadle (1) has two corbels outside a third-storey window over the entrance that could have carried a fourth example. This type of enclosed machicolation could have been inspired by an identical feature at Nenagh Keep (321); but they could also be logical variations on the normal wall-head style. They could be related to what Leask called the "wall-bartizan", unknown in Tipperary but quite common in the south and west of Ireland.[115]

iii. Murder-holes.

Most towers have one or more murder-hole, vertical chutes for dropping objects on enemy heads, in the entrance-lobby. Here one could strike at a foe who had broken down the main door, but was still trying to get past the inner ones. Some castles have them in other situations; Kilcash (241) has no lobby, but there are the remains of a murder-hole in the standard place, immediately inside the entrance. At Killowney (259) and Drumnamahane (191A) there are holes to command the entrances to upper rooms, while at Ballynahinch (56) one covers the stairs before what seem to be a very unimportant mural chamber.

The top of the chute is often a square hole, surrounded by cut stone; the bottom can also be neatly-trimmed, although this is

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114. Westropp, "Clare peel towers", p. 356. These features are so rare that they would seem to have been the work of one architect, which means one can date Loughmoe - see Appendix I.
115. Leask, Castles, pp. 105-6.

not always the case (pl. 18 shows both top and bottom of a hole). At Knockkelly (274) the bottom is four feet square, but more usual dimensions are those of Buolick (96), one foot by three.

## ARCHITECTURAL ORIGINS OF THE TOWER HOUSE

Having looked at the various parts of Tipperary tower houses, it is now possible to try to reach some conclusions about their architectural development, and about how they fit into the general pattern of Irish castles.

The architectural evidence gives a few precise dates and many more vague ones; combined with the examination of written records (see Ch. V, pp. 180-3 ) this means enough castles can be dated for one to trace at least the last century of tower house evolution. Fireplaces perhaps, and shot-holes and large windows certainly, became common features of towers, and fireplaces and windows were added to earlier specimens. This reflects three trends - a desire for more comfort, (i.e. light and heat), a slightly lessened concern for security, and a desire to make use of firearms. More fundamental changes were the decrease in size of the wall-head, the decline of the batter, and the disappearance of vaults. This produced such castles as Clare (127 - pl. 8), Killenure (254), Rathnaveoge (351), and Ballyglasheen (42); and Burntcourt (97), the first major free-standing, largely undefended house in the county.[116] The vault went partly because of expense, but also because it imposed a limit on the size of a house; Killinure and Burntcourt are both bigger in plan-area than any vaulted

116. It must be re-emphasized, however, thst some builders were very conservative, and several late castles incorporate few of these innovations.

tower house (fig. 1).

It is easier to plot the decline of the tower house than its rise and its antecedents. Leask did not venture any opinion on this subject; Craig seem to think that some earlier castles in Ireland may have provided an inspiration,[117] but Ó Danachair held that the fashion "undoubtedly" came from Europe - the western Alps, northern Italy, Germany, and the Low Countries. He ruled out England and Scotland as examples, because he believed Irish towers are unlike those in the other two kingdoms in being found in peaceful, low-lying areas.[118] Davin was less confident, but thought the origins may well have been in Scotland.[119]

There is indeed evidence of cultural exchange between Ireland and Scotland, with Scottish features on some Ulster towers before the Planation,[120] as well as some Irish influence in Scotland. The stepped battlements at Dunvegan, and the round tower at Orchardstown (above, notes 13, 74) were both probably copied from Ireland, and the wicker vault of Dunollie, near Oban, indicates it was built by an architect familiar with Irish towers. All these examples come from areas known to have been in fairly regular contact with the other country. Davin pointed out a number of features common to most of the minor castles of Ireland and Scotland, but she also noted several structural differences. As in Ireland, in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries many Scottish towers became less defensible.[121]

In a recent article on the architectural diversity of the

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117. Craig, p. 96.
118. Ó Danachair, "Tower-houses", pp. 43-7.
119. Davin, M.Litt., pp. 93-9.
120. Jope, "Scottish features," pp. 31-47.
121. Davin, M.Litt., p. 99. See Ch. I, pp. 8-10.

British Isles, Scotland and Ireland have been united under most criteria as having a generally different tradition of rural building from England, especially the south and east of England.[122] Ireland and Scotland do seem to share a considerable amount of their architectural history, and both needed numerous small private strongholds for protection from minor warfare and thieves. But while their towers may well belong to the same general family, it would be hard to prove that the Irish just copied the Scots.

Firstly, if the Irish towers had been an import, it would be reasonable to find them most numerous in that part of the country in closest communication with Scotland, that is Ulster; yet this province has relatively few tower houses (Ch. V, Table I). Moreover, although there were earlier towers, these were rare, and it was not until after about 1330 that the tower house became the dominant type of Scottish residence.[123] As a few Irish towers were probably being built in the early fourteenth century, this does not allow much time for copying.

It seems that the Irish tower house is an architectural type in its own right; it is much easier to find similarities between one Irish tower and another than between an Irish tower and an overseas example. There are local peculiarities, such as the round towers of Tipperary or the "hall-castles" of south Wexford;[124] some features are distinctive of certain areas, such as the Scottish motifs in Ulster. However, the great majority of Irish tower houses are closely related to many other Irish towers; those of Tipperary are fairly typical. Pale castles may be more varied, and have more tur-

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122. P. Smith, "Personality", pp. 2-10, 15-17.
123. Cruden, pp. 103-4.
124. O'Callaghan, "Fortified houses", pp. 15-39.

rets,[125] while those of Co. Clare seem perhaps rather plainer,[126] but all are part of a same architectural tradition.

It would seem to follow that the tower house evolved in Ireland more from need than from foreign influences. For anybody of fairly moderate means who wanted a secure dwelling against minor violence, the single tower is an obvious solution; this is shown by the great variety of areas of the world in which it has evolved, in most apparently independantly. So even if it had suddenly arrived fully developed, it would be possible to argue that the Irish tower was a native invention.

It is not necessary to do this, however. The early Irish tower houses were, it seems, the products of Anglo-Norman rather than Gaelic lords, and these would have had experience of stone castles, certainly in Ireland and perhaps abroad as well.[127] It seems that tower houses were being built by the early fourteenth century, which is not very long after the period when most of Ireland's major castles were erected.

Naturally, there are important differences between the castles of the thirteenth century and the towers of the following age (see Ch. I, p. 5 ), and tower houses have many features that cannot be traced back to the earlier fortresses; the ground-storey entrance and box-machicolations are two examples. Yet there is evidence to show that the early Norman castles did have some effect on the tower house builders. The round towers of Tipperary seem to have been inspired by three thirteenth-century cylindrical keeps, two of which are basically similar to the later fortalices, although different in

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125. Davin, M. Litt., pp. 39-92, passim.
126. Westropp, "Clare peel towers", passim. Clare towers have very few turrets.
127. At least one Irish master-craftsman was involved in building Edward I's North Welsh castles - A.J. Taylor, The King's Works in Wales, 1277-1330, London, HMSO, 1974, pp. 1039-40.

many details. The ground plan at Terryglass (379) (c. 1250) appears to have been revived for Killenure (254) (c. 1600) (see pp. 192-3 above). This is paralleled by some Co. Down towers, which have a high arch between two turrets, showing a link with Anglo-Norman keep-gatehouses.[128]

There is a group of modest keeps, built in the second half of the fourteenth century, which could be transitional structures between the larger keeps and the tower houses proper. The best-known is Athenry, Co. Galway, which Leask dated to about 1250. It has the same basic layout as a tower house, with a ground-storey storage room under two residential stages, although many of the details are not found in later fortalices.[129] There are other such keeps, which Waterman has dated to the late thirteenth century, at Clough, Co. Down, Grenan, Co. Kilkenny, and probably Glanworth, Co. Cork.[130] Mullinahone (319), Co. Tipperary, also appears to belong to this family; it is the same general size and shape, with no entrance on the ground floor. Like Grenan, it appears to have had fairly large windows in the upper works. Its turret seems to have been a later addition, and its only major difference is that it lacks a vault. It is also possible that Templemore (378) could be of this class, but it is too ruined and altered to be sure.

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This chapter has described the most prominent and distinctive features of the tower houses of Tipperary, and allows several conclusions about their architecture. Although there are a few items whose purpose has not been discovered, on the whole the towers were very

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128. County Down, p. 120. The authors believe tower houses evolved from earlier local castles.
129. Leask, Castles, pp. 36-9; Craig, p. 96, first thought of Athenry as a proto-tower house.
130. Waterman, "Clough", p. 121; Waterman, "Rectangular Keeps", p. 67.

practical buildings, combining elegance with a degree of comfort and some protection. They were sometimes, but not always, well-built; although usually lacking ornament, it must have taken considerable skill to produce such features as their newel staircases.

Naturally, there were architectural developments in three and a half centuries of tower building, but so far not enough dating evidence is available to let us be sure on most points. Only in the last hendred years or so can one identify definite and important innovations in certain castles; the decline of batter and vaults, larger windows, gun-holes, smaller wall-walks. These changes made towers cheaper and more comfortable, but weaker; perhaps people were less concerned about attack, but it is also possible that they relied now on more formidable bawns and flankers (Ch. VII, p. 255).

However, even in this late period not all new towers followed the fashion, and generally builders and patrons were very conservative. Although there are a few exceptional towers, and a few with uncommon features, most Tipperary towers are similar to most other Tipperary towers. And although there are local specialities, they seem fairly typical of Irish tower houses as a whole. There was a very distinct Irish tradition in this matter, which lasted as long as the social conditions that caused tower houses.

Tower houses were above all utilitarian buildings, that evolved to meet definite needs. It is therefore unnecessary to assume that they must have been copied from other castles. There are some links with the other major area of tower houses in the British Isles, Scotland; but it cannot be shown that the Irish copied the Scots. The most that can be said is that both countries put up broadly similar structures over the same period, for the same sort of reasons, and there are some examples of influence on the peripheries of each region.

Earlier castles in Ireland directly inspired a limited number of tower houses, and there are a few structures that could be called "transitional"; but many features of the tower house cannot be traced back to any source. People built them because they suited their purpose.

## CHAPTER VII. OTHER ASPECTS OF TOWER HOUSE ARCHITECTURE.

This chapter will examine some other features of the tower house. The tower itself is the most durable part of a castle, because its construction is strongest and its walls thickest, but around most towers there was once a number of lower buildings - bawns and their defences, halls , houses, and others. Then there were a few castles, built or altered during the tower house period, that cannot be classified as a single tower and bawn. After considering these the chapter will gather what evidence there is on how castles were built and who the builders were.

### BAWNS (See Fig. 7)

Over thirty towers still have significant remains of bawns; in other cases it is likely that they have been incorporated into, and hidden in, modern farm buildings and garden walls. The simplest way to describe types of bawns is to ignore, for the moment, their gates and flankers, and classify them according to their relationship with the tower.

The most common method is to have a bawn completely surrounding the tower, but not touching it. Most of these bawns are quadrilateral, usually a true rectangle; however, at Ballynahinch (56) the enclosure seems to have been extended at some period, producing an L-shape. The tower is sometimes, as at Kilconnel (244) or Ballygriffin (43), close to the middle of the courtyard; but probably in the majority of castles it is near one side or corner (as at Ballynahinch or Knockkelly (274) ), so it could defend the part of the bawn wall it overlooks.

The second category is where the tower straddles the wall, some-

times protruding to form a flanker. This is the case at Ballingarry (19), where, most unusually, the bawn has survived better than the poorly-built tower. At Ballytarsna (70) the tower was only two feet from the bawn's gate, thus giving it excellent protection. Here the bawn is bonded into the stonework of the tower, showing that the two were erected simultaneously; it is more normal for the bawn to be abutted on, indicating that it was built after the tower.

The third type is the irregular bawn, its shape dictated by the lie of the land. At Roosca (358) it forms something near to a rectangle, but with round corners because of the steep ground. Enough remains at Graystown (231) to show that the spectacular outcrop of rock on which the castle was built was a most important part of the defence, with the bawn following its line. An escarpment, or even a low rocky ledge as at Ballynakil (58), would have given secure foundations to a bawn; these would seem to have been a rare luxury, judging by the number of bawns that have vanished. Cully bawn (172) is rectangular, but this has been achieved by banking up the courtyard, which at its northern end is seven feet above the surrounding field. Newcastle (323) is unusual by being irregular for no apparent reason - it is on flat ground, yet its tower house protrudes beyond one angle. It also has four large arched recesses in the bawn; these would have weakened the walls, and their only purpose seems to have been to give more room to lean-tos.[1]

There is no reason why a tower should not have had more than one bawn, although the only one to have several definite stone enclo-

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1. There are similar recesses in Clonmel town walls, in the bawn at Newtown Trim, Co. Meath, and in the bawn of Dungiven, Co. Derry, which was rebuilt shortly before 1611 (Boyle, pp. 127-8). At Norham, Northumberland, there are recesses that go all the way through the curtain-walls, forming a series of arches - nobody has advanced a convincing explanation of these.

sures is Buolick (96); it had a large bawn, with a smaller one subdivided off inside it, and two vast paddocks surrounded by high stone walls.[2] The picture of Moorestown (312) in a Down Survey map (for what it is worth) shows a second bawn outside the main one, about equal in size, and with what looks like a small tower for protection. At Nicholastown (325) there are traces of stone walls that could have been a second bawn, and many other castles have nearby walls of indeterminate date.

Most bawns are of lighter build than towers, although dimensions vary. Coyne (163) is only eighteen inches thick, and about nine feet high (parapets, if any, are excluded in these figures of bawn heights); nearer an average is Shanballyduff (368), three feet thick and about twelve high. At Rochestown (359) the bawn varies between two and four and a half feet in thickness. A more formidable series includes Clonmicklon (154), Ballynakil (58 - pl. 19), and Carney (103), all between four and a half and five feet thick, and between fifteen and twenty-five feet high. There is more variety in area; quite a number are no more than 105′ by 115′ (Drominagh (187) ) or about 100′ by 75′ (Clonakenny (145) ); the largest, save the paddocks of Buolick, is Ballynakil, 450′ by 250′.[3]

Apart from defensive features, bawns are usually quite plain. The corners sometimes have quoins; at Lackeen (279) the corners are battered, and at Moorestown two are rounded. Many, like Clonmicklon,

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2. They looked ancient in 1840 - RIA MS OS Letters, I, p. 434. The whole complex is best seen from Cambridge University Air Photograph APD 54.
3. Craig, p. 134. It is even harder to measure bawns than towers, and figures for lengthes of sides are only approximate. Both the Ordnance Survey and the author were sometimes reduced to pacing them out.

have put-log poles to support the floors or roofs of buildings put up on their inside; and some have modifications, such as windows or chimneys, where they formed one wall of a house or hall. Ballynakil has square recesses, like presses in a tower; but some are a considerable distance from ground level, and there are no other signs at that point that there was ever a building there.

Bawns usually have a ragged top today. There is no evidence of any crenellations, but Knockkelly and Ballynakil (pl. 19) still have numerous gun-loops in their well-preserved flat parapets. The wall is usually too thin to hold both a parapet and a full wall-walk, so the latter was no doubt a projecting wooden platform (see reconstruction of Drominagh, pl. 22). At Tullow (394) and Nodstown (327) doors in the upper storeys of towers would have led onto these walks; in both cases the bawns have disappeared, but they have left marks against the towers, directly under the doors. At Tullow a man would have had to descend some six feet from door to rampart, so there would have had to have been some sort of raised parapet to make the climb down less dangerous. Lackeen (279) has a set of stone steps set into the bawn, but they seem to have been primarily to reach some form of overhanging defence (p. 253 below), not the wall-walk itself. In most cases there is no sign of how people gained the top of the bawn, so there must have been wooden ladders or stairs.[4] Shanballyduff's (368) bawn is topped by rounded cut stones, and so seems never to have had a wall-walk.

Apart from those in parapets, a few bawns have firing loops lower down, in all cases (except Ballynakil) meant for men on the ground. At Kilconnel (244) they are at various heights from ground

4. There are plenty of stone steps to serve the curtain walls of Cahir.

level, which would mean, unless the ground has risen in some places and fallen in others, an equal variety of shooting-postures, including an uncomfortable crouch. At Grallagh (225) the only surviving length of bawn has a closely-spaced set of seven holes at knee-level, proof that here at least the ground has moved. The Kilconnel loops are splayed both laterally and vertically inside, as well as laterally outside, a more complicated but probably no more effective style than that found in towers. There is half a bawn at Clonakenny (145) with four holes, all in one corner. One is angled to protect the nearby entrance to the bawn, and the arrangement enables one man to cover a wide area.

The only bawn with a full complement of loops is Ballynakil (pl. 19), which is almost perfectly preserved. The lay-out is eccentric, with all the mural (as opposed to parapet) loops concentrated around the north corner, for no obvious reason. At one place there are three tiers of loops, one for men on foot, one about four feet higher, and one in the parapet. The middle set could not have been reached by firing-steps, since these would have blocked many of the lower holes. The only solution would appear to have been a wooden platform, on which men could fire from a kneeling position through the middle loops. But the entire arrangement - which seems to have been built as a whole - is hard to explain.

As bawns decay more readily than the more massive towers, many have disappeared. Of the 352 castles in The Civil Survey, 81 were said to have had bawns, and ten more "barbicans" - these were probably the same thing, rather than real barbicans, the difference

in terminology being due to different surveyors.[5] This is not a comprehensive list; several have a bawn today when none was mentioned in the Survey.[6] Only for a few of Tipperary's tower houses is there physical evidence that a bawn was unlikely. Ashley Park (9), Golden (212), and Castlelough (120) are on small islands, which would have meant there was little space for such a structure, although another island tower, Derry (175) did have a bawn.[7]

The Civil Survey reveals other interesting facts. The bawn around Ballyboy (28) tower house had lately been repared,[8] which shows they were still thought useful in the 1650's. Cloghustone (142), Ballinree (194), and Ballyknock (47) were bawns with no tower,[9] presumably keepless castles like some still standing (p. 272 below). Meldrum (301), Cloghbridy (133), Carrigeen Iveagh (106), and Clocully (128) are said to have been "stone houses" with bawns, rather than castles; so they were probably like the strong-house at Roosca (358 - pl. 6) which is likewise described,[10] or the less formidable Ballyherbery (44).

It is quite likely that not all bawns were stone. Some in Ulster were of "sods",[11] and mud and earth walls were common in the Middle Ages, defending even important towns like Perth in 1339.[12] The section below on earthworks reveals that they are frequently associated with tower houses. Earth walls would have normally been topped

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5. The only simple tower house known to the author that has a real barbican is Clara, Co. Kilkenny.
6. For example, Cully (CS, II, p. 193), Ballyglasheen (CS, I, p. 273), Coyne (CS, I, p. 323.)
7. This depends on the identification of this castle with Cahirconner - CS, II, p. 160.
8. CS, I, p. 372,
9. CS, II, p. 286; I, pp. 216, 223.
10. CS, I, pp. 226, 230, 232, 342, 367.
11. County Down, p. 126
12. J. MacKinnon, The History of Edward the Third, London, 1900, pp. 189-9.

by a wooden palisade (see a reconstruction of Behamore, pl. 20), such as that at the Blackwater Fort, Co. Armagh in 1597; an Englishman who attacked it described " a wall of great stakes, hard wattled, at least four score (paces) long, and two men's height, which my lord and those that were with him putted down a pike's length" (15-18 feet), consisted of vertical posts, with lathes woven between them.[13] Dinely depicted the tower house of Ross Roe in Thomond as surrounded by a bawn made of a hedge, with a plain wooden gate,[14] and there were palisades around Ballysonan castle, Co. Kildare, in 1649-50.[15] Ó Huiginn described Eniskillen castle as surrounded by a "bright", "wooded" rampart,[16] and Lifford, put up rapidly in 1527, had "works of stone, wood and boards."[17] Around 1600 Richard Bartlett drew a wattled bawn around Augher tower house, Co. Tyrone. The wattled work formed part of an outer enclosure, the remainder of this, and the inner bawn, being stone. Lined with planks on the inside, it had a gate, and a wall-walk below the parapet. There were four wooden flanking-towers perched on the bawn, and supported by wooden stilts that went down into the lake that surrounded the castle.[18]

GATES AND FLANKERS (see Fig. 7 ).

The main gate to a bawn is usually a large, round-headed affair, which held two leaves in a cut-stone surround. At Ballygriffin (43) the iron pintles that supported each leaf (some ten feet high and five feet wide, a fairly normal size) still exist, but at Ballynahinch (56) the gates operated the same way as those in towers, with large stone

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13. Gilbert, Facsimiles, IV, p. 201, pl. XXIII.
14. NLI MS Dineley, p. 183.
15. Graves, "Ballysonan", pp. 110-7.
16. Ó Huiginn, II, p. 50.
17. AFM, V, p. 1391.
18. Hayes-McCoy, Maps, pl. X.

gudgeons. Carney (103) has particularly elaborate moulding over the arch, similar to that at the chapel by Dunsoghley castle, near Dublin, which is dated 1573; it also has two more common features, a long draw-bar hole, and a loop in the jamb for seeing, or shooting, anyone in front of the gate. Ballynahinch has a deep gate-passage, topped with a wicker-centred arch; above this was a small room which gave onto the wall-walk. Ballygriffin once may have had such a room, but all that can be said for certain is that there was an inscribed plaque in a recess over the arch.[19] Lackeen (279) has, as well as a main entrance, a postern about five feet wide through the bawn.

Borrisoleigh (92) once had a gatehouse,[20] but today only two towers to protect gates remain, neither of them easy to study. At Knockkelly (274) the gate-tower, now built into the farmhouse, consists of two thick-walled rooms, one above the other; it probably flanked the vanished entrance. The gatehouse of Moorestown (312) is much grander,[21] and consists of a high, wicker-vaulted gate-passage, with a murder-hole, and jambs for two pairs of gates. On either side is a room; one of these, with a door leading into the passage, would have been perhaps for a porter. The gatehouse is contemporary with the bawn, but is a crude affair, with few of the features that made many British gatehouses so formidable a defence. It is flush with the outer wall of the bawn, so cannot act as a flanking-tower, and lacks slits or loops for men on either side to control the passage. It seems to have been inspired by parts of local towers, applied in new ways, rather than by study of a real gatehouse. Moorestown originally had a box-machicolation over the gateway;[22] there are corbels

19. RIA MS OS Sketches, I, p. 35.
20. Callanan, "Bourkes", p. 77.
21. It was described as "a little castle over the gate of the sd bawne" in 1654 - CS, I, p. 311.

22./

that look as though they once held such a feature in the middle of one side of Moycarkey (315) bawn, but there is no opening underneath for it to protect.

As mentioned above, the word "barbican" when used about Tipperary towers seems to have meant a bawn. However, there is a real barbican in front of the gate of the double tower house of Kiltinan (263), with shot-holes; and an undated document said that Derryleigh (177) had both a bawn and a barbican[23], implying there was some difference.

Lackeen (279) has a set of five corbels on a blunt angle of its irregular bawn, which may have carried a wooden turret, as at Augher (p. 251 above). Ballynakil (58), Moycarkey (315),[24] Knockagh (266),[25] and Knockkelly (274) all had bartizans, the last three probably at those angles that lacked flankers; and Thurlesbegg (384) relied on a single bartizan to protect that part of the bawn furthest from the tower.[26] But the most usual way of protecting a bawn (or at least the most durable) was to cover its sides by small gun-towers, or flankers. They still survive at nine Tipperary sites, while at a tenth, Kilfadda (247), all that remains of the castle is what could have been part of a flanker. There were, in addition, once flankers at Borrisoleigh (92),[27] Knockagh,[28] Black Castle in Thurles (383),[29] and perhaps at

22. The upper parts of the gatehouse are covered in ivy, but they can be seen in a 1840 sketch, which also reveals two ridged roofs (RIA MS OS Sketches, II, pp. 84, 87). The gatehouse of Pallas, Co. Galway, is smaller, but generally similar.
23. NLE MS Callanan, Notes, 11422 (no pagination).
24. Picture on unnumbered scrap of paper near end of NLI MS O'Neill.
25. Drawing by Lt. Robert Shaw, 1818 - V and A D.264-91, Box 64a. (Photograph in Irish Architectural Archive). This picture also shows one of the flankers with gables for a roof, a feature that no longer exists on any Tipperary castle.
26. NLI MS Conyngham.
27. Callanan, "Bourkes", p. 77.
28. Note 25 above; RIA MS OS Letters, I, p. 507.
29. NLI MS Fleming, I, p. 63.

Archerstown (4).[30]

The most practical and economical use of flankers was to have a pair at opposite corners of a quadrilateral bawn, thus covering all four sides. This was the pattern at Shanballyduff (368), Moycarkey, Moorestown(312-pl21) Knockkelly, and very likely at Ballygriffin (43 - the bawn is heavily ruined, and only one tower still stands). Ballynahinch (56) has both its flankers, as well as the tower house and the gate, at one end of the bawn. This concentrates all the strongest parts of the castle together, and breaks the basic rule of military architecture, that no fortress is stronger than its weakest point. Clonmicklon (154) was better designed, with both of its turrets on the side of the bawn which was not covered by the main tower. Roosca (358) has only one wall-tower, a late addition, which covered the parts of the enclosure that are not protected by rocky ledges or the strong-house. Cully (172) is incomplete, and heavily ruined, but has three projections (one a small corner-bastion), two of which guard the sections of the bawn furthest from the probable site of the tower house.

One of Cully's turrets is square, like that at Ballygriffin, but all other flankers are rounded. The simplest, those at Roosca and Cully (lower walls 1′ 8″ thick, external diameter 8′ 10″) are two storeys high, with a vanished wall-head above. The floors and stairs were wooden. The flankers at Knockkelly and Shanballyduff are larger; one at the latter site has an external stone stair to a door in the second storey, and one at Knockkelly has a stair running up from the wall-walk on the bawn to the wall-head of the turret, shielded by raising the bawn's parapet at that point. Those at Ballynahinch are not very large, but look very purposeful. Heavily battered, they are shaped

30. NLI MS Callanan, Eliogurty, p. 312.

like inverted flower-pots, or, more exactly, like miniature Henrician artillery-towers,[32] with five-foot-thick walls and rounded parapets over a string course. They have only one storey, covered by a strong vault, with a fighting-platform above.

The largest flankers are in many ways similar to three of the curtain-wall towers of thirteenth-century Castle Grace (218), which may have provided a model. Sometimes battered around the base, they appear to have been built with their bawns as single units. At Moycarkey both towers are vaulted, and at Clonmicklon one has a machicolation to cover the junction with the bawn. Both Clonmicklon's towers have three storeys, direct access to the wall-walk, an external diameter of about 18 feet, and four-foot walls. Those at Moycarkey have elaborate stairs, mainly stone.

Craig and Simpson have pointed out that in Scotland and Ireland flanking turrets for minor castles only came in with the introduction of firearms.[33] This would appear to have been the case in Tipperary. All the flankers on bawns have (usually numerous) gun-holes, except those at Cully, which have undatable slits. At Ballynahinch one hole is of very unusual design(Fig. 6 ), and one at Moycarkey is cross shaped. Flankers may have been introduced in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries partly to compensate for the greater luxury and weakness of the tower itself; for example, at Knockkelly, the tower house has large, inserted windows. However, other towers with formidable

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32. c.f. The embarkation of Henry VIII, by an anonymous artist - copy in the Musée de la Marine, Paris (the original is in Hampton Court, but hung in such a way that it is almost impossible to study). There may also have been such towers at Ambleteuse, an English harbour in the Pas de Calais (L.R. Shelby, John Rodgers - Tudor military engineer, Oxford, 1967, pl. 17-8). The Ballynahinch flankers are very different from anything else in Tipperary, and they could have been designed against artillery; it is possible that they were copied from these coastal defences.
33. Craig, p. 99

pairs of flankers on their bawns, like Moorestown, show no concessions to this trend. Some bawn-flankers were not entirely military in purpose - one at Knockkelly has a fireplace in the upper storey, as does one at Moycarkey, although at the second site it is probably an insertion.

"SOFT" BUILDINGS (see Fig. 7)

Apart from the "hard" elements - the tower itself, the bawn and its defences - most castles seem to have had "soft" buildings, the houses, lean-tos, stables, sheds, halls, etc., made of stone or wood, which were less substantial than the main works, and are usually much harder to trace. More often than not an investigator has to turn to written and pictorial sources to obtain some idea of these ancillary structures.

The most common trace to be seen is a "crease" or gable-mark against a tower, which shows that a building, usually of one or two storeys, has been there. At Ballintotty (24) and Kilfeakle (248) there were three-storey structures; in the latter one storey was a barrel-vault bonded into the tower, evidence that the vanished building was contemporary with the tower. Quite often the outer house would have covered the door to the tower, so a visitor would have had to pass through it before getting to the castle proper. At St. Johnstown (363) there are two ridge-marks, one above the other, showing that one building replaced an earlier one on the same site. The main difficulty with ridge-marks is that they give no clue as to when the buildings they represent were put up; in many cases it could have been after the 1650's. The problem is highlighted by Ireton's Castle (179), which has a roof-crease. It is hard to believe that any build-

ing was added while the tower was still a military post, as the protruberance would have ruined the carefully-designed fire-plan.

The difficulty of dating them forces one to ignore the majority of ruined or whole buildings that adjoin many castles today. However, there are some sites, mostly long abandoned, where there are substantial remains of structures that seem to have been added during the active life of the castle. The most important example is Drominagh (187 - see pl. 22) where there are two two-storeyed gabled structures, each with a very small square building attached, the exact purpose of which is unknown. Entrance to the tower was only through the south house. All the outer buildings and the bawn have walls about two feet thick. In one corner of the bawn is a pair of enigmatic low stone passages running parallel along the ground (A in Fig. 7), each three feet square and 38 long. They have no obvious purpose, but similar passages are at Dollymount and Mount Venus, Co. Dublin.[34] Newcastle (323) also had several important ancillary buildings, the most important of which is a rectangualr structure much larger in area than the tower house itself. Its ground floor is cobbled - the only example of this in the county - and is topped by two parallel vaults. Over these was an upper storey of which very little remains. This was probably a hall, with cellars for storage underneath.

Blean (88) had a large house built into the bawn walls some distance from the tower; Moycarkey (315) and Clonmicklon (154) both had important buildings in the corners of their bawns, that at Clonmicklon with two rows of windows, an upper floor held by corbels projecting from the bawn wall, and direct access to one of the flankers.

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34. An Foras Forbartha MS Craig, p. 16.

More common are rows of put-log holes in a bawn, to support one- or two-storeyed structures. It was common in many countries to have lodgings or a hall set into a castle wall, and Tipperary has, at Castle Grace (218), an arrangement that could have been the prototype for that at Clonmicklon.

Most of the above buildings would no doubt have been plain, utilitarian structures, overshadowed by the tower proper. But in a few places there are elaborate mansions that equal or surpass the castle in visual impact. They probably took over its role as the principal accommodation at the end of the sixteenth or in the early seventeenth century. The Elizabethan wing of Carrick (104) is too well known to need more than a mention, and there was once something similar at Knockagh (266).[35] Kilcash (241) has a fine two-storeyed house, with large windows even on the ground storey, built on one side of the tower. Ballynakil (58) has a large cuboid house, similar in general size and shape to the castle, and intended to look as much like it as possible (pl. 19).[36] The two were linked by a new central wing, to produce an effect very much like that at Loughmoe (297), where a fifteenth-century tower was extended between 1597 and 1601 (Ch. VI, pp. 227 ). Here an undefended tower matched the real castle on the other end of a central block, to give a symmetrical effect. The huge new fireplace added to the old tower at this time shows it was not obsolete, as do the large windows of the same date inserted into the top storey. Security was still important, as the builders resisted the temptation to open new connecting doors between house and tower; these would have made normal life much easier, but at the cost of

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35. Note 25 above; RIA MS OS Letters, I, p. 507.
36. The tower has been altered at some time, being given decoration like that on the house. This might post-date 1654, as it is not mentioned in CS, I, p. 15.

weakening the tower as a strongpoint.

The Civil Survey contains many more references to the sorts of buildings that once surrounded tower houses. About ninety castles had a house, sometimes qualified as "stone", "thatch", or "slate", and several had three or four. The Survey often noted whether they were inside or outside the bawn; Clonmicklon had one inside (this would have been the building already noted), and others without.[37] Killaghy (250), recently repaired at the State's expense, had two thatched houses within the bawn, and twelve houses and cabins outside.[38] Nicholstown (325) was said to have had a house with a chimney, which could imply that chimneys were still rare on houses.[39] At Knockagh (266) the castle was inhabited while the house was in ruins,[40] and, more surprisingly, the proprietors of Drangan (183) had thatched the castle, reserving slate for the house.[41] The latter was therefore perhaps the principal dwelling, although it could have been that the inhabitants thought the hall's roof was lower, and in more danger. At Slainstown (373) the house was just finished;[42] while at Noan (326) the Confederate war appears to have interrupted construction.[43]

The Down Survey maps are hardly accurate or reliable, yet there must be some significance in the numerous plain, single-ridged houses beside or adjoining castles. One of the most interesting pictures is of Graystown (231) on the Barony map of Slievedagh and Comsey; it shows a tower with two "soft" wings, and three small houses, all within

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37. CS, I, p. 128.
38. CS, I, p. 136.
39. CS, I, p. 317.
40. CS, I, p. 58.
41. CS, I, p. 160.
42. CS, I, p. 189.
43. CS, I, p. 106.

a bawn with three distinct artillery bastions. As most of the bawn has disappeared it is impossible to tell whether in fact it was like this. Many of the Down Survey castles are clearly just conventional symbols, but the uniqueness of this representation may mean it did bear some relation to the real castle. Such an enceinte did surround the tower house of Ballysonan, Co. Kildare, at about this time.[44]

The Civil Survey always distinguished "houses" from "cabins" or "cottages"; some towers had up to twenty of these smaller buildings in addition to any houses.[45] They occur on the Down Survey maps, but not with any detail. Boullaye le Gouz also made a distinction between them and houses, saying houses were built of wood (which was not always so in Tipperary), while cabins were smaller, with walls the height of a man, and a roof of straw and leaves. They lacked chimneys, and were consequently smokey.[46] Luke Gernon said that:

> "The baser cottages are built of underwood, called wattle, and covered w.th thatch, and some w.th green sedge, of a round frame and wthout chimneys, and to my impaginacon̄ (sic) resemble so many hives of bees." (47)

Bartlett's maps illustrate both round and oblong huts of this sort, as well as some with stone walls.[48]

The Civil Survey frequently mentions mills, for grist or corn, near castles; Ardcrony (6) had a "little vaulted chapel",[49] and Kilcash's (241) fine Romansque church, which still stands outside what may have been the bawn, is also recorded.[50] Oddly enough, it does not mention any halls, although they formed part of some castles

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44. Graves, "Ballysonan", pp. 110-7.
45. CS, I, p. 187.
46. Boullaye le Gouz, p. 40.
47. Falkiner, p. 355.
48. Hayes-McCoy, Maps, passim; Ó Danachair, in Jenkins, Studies, pp. 91-103.
49. CS, II, p.292. Ardcrony is in fact a fortified church, the only one noted in the Survey.
50. CS, I, p. 271.

(Ch. IV, p. 131). No doubt many of what were called "houses" in fact served as halls; and other sources confirm that Tipperary tower houses could have them. In 1459 John Cantwell, Archbishop of Cashel, took possession of the "castle, hall, and place in Boyrebalstret", while Curtis identified with Cramp's Castle (165).[51] The manor of Ballinaclough (13) in 1338 had "one castle, one hall, one chapel with a thatched roof and two rooms covered with tiles."[52] In 1594 Tobber, a castle in Co. Dublin, had "a great Hall on a Vault",[53] probably like that at Newcastle (323 - above, p. 257).

In 1588 Ballyboy (28) had "½ A....., untiled & ruinous, wherein is a hall, 4 chambers & 2 cellars" - the word "castle" was probably omitted before "untiled".[54] The numerous inquisitions concerning Tipperary towers normally just mentioned "messuages", which probably meant cabins or houses; but a 1633 inquisition of the manor of Thurles (383) described it as having three turrets, a hall, various rooms, a kitchen, "necessary buildings", a bawn and an atria (a porch ?) with a house.[55] An undated early seventeenth-century document gave Kilcash a hall, (perhaps one floor of the surviving mansion), a bawn, twenty messuages, and twenty gardens.[56] In 1540 Clonoen (151) had a "fortalyce or castle", a hall with annexe, twelve cottages, and a water-mill.[57] A contemporary said that after the Restoration the Wexford gentry still lived in quadrangular castles, with stone-walled houses containing spacious halls. These used to have open hearths, but this had become an antiquated custom, and all the more recently-

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51. COD, III, p. 393 This is one of a series of eight deeds about Cramp's Castle.
52. COD, VI, pp. 91-2.
53. PROI MS Lodge Transcripts, I, p. 253.
54. ibid., p. 478.
55. RIA MS OS Ings. II, p. 73.
56. ibid, I I p. 133.
57. ibid, I , p. 39.

built halls had proper chimneys.[58]

References to gardens and orchards were common enough to show that a fair proportion of tower houses must have had them. There was an orchard at Carrick (104) as early as 1366, thus probably antedating the present castle.[59] What is more, it seems that orchards could be fortified. An indenture of the early fifteenth century granted to two men the Earl of Ormond's orchard on the manor of Torvy (unlocated) "for which they shall ditch (fossabunt) the said orchard.... and make a pallised fence (fretrenam) at their own costs and charges."[60] In 1585 a later Earl granted two men lands in Slievedagh barony "provided they build six good thatch houses, a strong, defensible garden, with a gate and strong ditches set with quickset" (hedge).[61] One of The Civil Survey's many castles with orchards or gardens was Rochestown (359), which had "an orchard finced with a ditch of quickset close by the Bawne".[62] None of these was quite as strong as the garden at Blarney, Co. Cork, which in the early seventeenth century was given "very strong walls, and turretts with Battlementes and ... many places of Defence."[63]

Many castles, then, were not just lonely towers, but consisted of many different "hard" and "soft" buildings. Some of the latter were outside the bawn, so clearly the lords of the castles were not very worried by the cover they could give attackers. Perhaps this was because they could quickly burn down outlying buildings when danger approached, as Edmund Butler did in 1569 when he had to defend an un-named castle near Cashel;[64] but it is more likely that it was

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58. MacLysaght, p. 102.
59. COD , II, p. 94. The deed says there was a castle there at that time.
60. COD, II, pp. 272-3.
61. COD, VI, p. 21.
62. CS, I, p. 348.
63. NLI MS Hayden, second bundle, p. 317.
64. RIA MS OS Extracts, I, p. 526, quoting an unspecified annals.

because a tower was the strongpoint at the centre of a set of buildings in which people lived and worked, rather than a purely military fortress.

EARTHWORKS

Around several Tipperary tower houses are low earth banks that are the remains of enclosures. Ballysheeda (68) has extensive mounds, about two feet high, that mark out three large, irregular enclosures, and two smaller ones. At Nicholastown (325) similar, if lower, remains exist where the main bawn must have stood, while others define what could have been subsidiary bawns. Knockagh (267) has oblong earthworks on two sides of the tower, one of which is all that is left of a stone bawn once twenty feet high.[65] Both Castleiny (118) and Cullahill (170), the former on a low rise and the latter on a prominant hill, are surrounded by earthwork rings that run around the summits of the hills, each with a double thickness at one side. The banks at Castleiny and Knockagh are both full of stones, indicating they are the remains of a masonry wall rather than earthworks.

These five all seem to have been bawns. In Rahelty (340) and Behamore (83) the tower-builders followed the sensible course of constructing the castles inside raths, which provided ready-made circular bawns (pl. 20 is a reconstruction of Behamore). At Behamore there is a secondary bank looping out from the tower, of unknown purpose. In 1840 Boytonrath (93) castle stood in a large ring-fort, but as John O'Donovan feared at the time, this has subsequently been destroyed.[66] These raths, and other earthwork bawns, would have probably been topped by a palisade or wicker rampart, like the "poli-

65. RIA MS OS Letters, I, p. 507.
66. ibid., p. 220.

shed, resplendent ... long battlements," the "belt of dark boarding surrounding the spacious wall" at the fort of Cloonfree around 1300.[67]

Much more can be gained from aerial photographs than by looking for earthworks on the site. Apart from the above examples, earthworks and markings that show up from the air are invisible or very hard to interpret from ground level. The largest traces are those that seem to be deserted villages, several of which are near Tipperary castles. While sometimes there is no way of being sure that the village had not vanished before the tower house was built, at certain places - Barrettstown (78), Ballynahinch (56) - the positions of the markings reveal that the structures they represent were put up around a fortalice already in existence.

At Ardfinnan (7) the deserted settlement was about a quarter of a mile from the castle;[68] at Kiltinan (263) there seem to have been dwellings between the castle and the nearby fortified church.[69] But on the whole the buildings were clustered around the castle itself. At Barrettstown there is no obvious bawn; small rectangles and irregular markings are immediately adjacent to the tower, indicating houses, cabins and outbuildings, while beyond are fields, much smaller than modern ones.[70] Ballynahinch had a large settled area; most of the enclosures are rectangular, but a few are irregular, and one is round. Some, more prominent than others, could have been outer bawns or ditched orchards, with the remainder representing fields. Some smaller traces look like buildings.[71] There are

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67. Quiggan, pp. 337, 345.
68. Cambridge University Collection of Aerial Photographs, nos. APA 6-10.
69. BGK 68.
70. APG 51-2.
71. APD 22-5.

similar markings around the sites of the vanished tower houses of Tulla ghmaine(391)[72] and Ballyclerahane (33),[73] and the extant one at Liskeveen (286)[74].

Bawns and outer defences can also be seen from the air. Around Bog Castle (90) is a large eye-shaped space, surrounded by a double rampart and double ditch. Beyond are fragments of other double-ditched earthworks. There is no way of telling their age, and they could be an older fort re-used by tower-builders.[75] Cloone (156) tower house is destroyed, but an aerial picture of the area around Cloone house, where the castle used to be, shows several earthworks. The most prominent one is almost square; it could be a castle bawn, or a moated site that later became part of a tower house.[76] The site of another castle, not a tower but "a good stone house with a bawne about it"[77] at Meldrum (301) can be seen in a photograph - a small house-shaped oblong, defined by pale marks (perhaps stone) in a larger rectangle. At one end of the bawn is a semicircular loop, like those at Castleiny and Cullohill.[78] These are all cases of stone castles in non-stone bawns, perhaps older works re-used. The interior of the bawns seem unmarked, save for the tower or strong-house, which indicates that the "soft" buildings were probably small and unimpressive.

This is not so at Nicholastown, where the main bawn has several irregularities, probably indicating a number of buildings.[79] At Moycarkey (315) a ditch ran around the main bawn, and there are

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72. AIF 17. There is a modern "castle" of this name, but the tower house has gone.
73. APG 44-8.
74. APD 44-5.
75. APD 41-2.
76. APG 56.
77. CS, I, p. 226.
78. BGO 18-9.
79. APA 4-5.

two possible ditched orchards or gardens, irregular in shape.[80] Moorestown (311) also might have had two gardens, and there is what could be a dried-up pond[81] - some Irish castles, like Newcastle O'Connel in Co. Limerick, had fish-stews.[82]

The markings beside Knockkelly (274) and Ballymacady (52) would be hard to interpret,[83] while Kilconnel (244) seems to have been by a broad, ditch-lined road.[84] All in all, the majority of towers for which aerial photographs have been examined display some sort of earthwork or crop-marks, and those that do not are often surrounded by modern buildings which would have obliterated such traces. This, however, is no random sample, as the cameraman would have concentrated his attention on places with interesting markings.

Conventional plans have yielded a little more information. Rynne found a large quantity of irregularities around Ballydoyle (37), but it is not clear what they represent.[85] Lyons mapped a large rectangular earthwork around Powerstown (339),[86] which could have been a moated site, or a ditch-and-bank bawn. Around Lisronagh (291) he found what he called a "burgh" (which looks rather like a deserted village), and several earth "baileys".[87] Some of these marks could represent the chapel, cellar, "camera ultra portam cum quondam prisona sub eodem" and wall which existed here in 1333, and the six messuages and six gardens here in 1609.[88]

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80. AOZ 83, APD 36-7.
81. APA 2-3.
82. Desmond Roll of 1583, quoted in Maxwell, p. 63.
83. AYO 49, 76-7.
84. AYO 63-5.
85. Rynne, pp. 72-4.
86. Lyons, "Powerstown", p . 153 .
87. Lyons, "Lisronagh", p. 243 .
88. Curtis, "Lisronagh", pp. 41, 57. The Latin translates as: "a chamber outside the gate, with,at one time, a prison beneath it."

The written and pictorial evidence for earthworks is fairly meagre. The earth and timber outworks of O'Brien's Bridge (Ch. III, p. 98) and some records of ditching (above, p. 262) have already been noted. There are two detailed pictures of tower houses protected by stone and earth bawns, as well as wet moats at Ballysonan, Co. Kildare, and Glin, Co. Limerick. Like O'Brien's Bridge, these towers were attacked by English troops, so these might have been extra defences against artillery, rather than permanent bawns of the traditional sort. In 1548-9 Sir William Whelane agreed to erect within five years at Lysteriny, Co. Kilkenny, a "tymbre castell glased and covered with sclate ... and mounde or compace the chiefe dwellyng place with a wall or grene sodes so as it shalbe defensyble".[89] It is interesting that a wooden and earth castle should have enjoyed the luxury of glass windows. (See Ch. I, p. 2 for more on wooden castles).

In spite of the obstacles, in particular lack of written material and the difficulty of dating much of the evidence, it is possible to draw some conclusions about the earthworks around Tipperary towers. Several had bawns of earthbanks and ditches, which could be re-used raths or moated sites. Of the other enclosures, the smaller and better-defined were probably gardens or orchards, delimited by ditches or banks; larger ones seem to have been fields. Traces of destroyed buildings are also present, which reinforces the conclusion of the last section, that towers were often the centres of clusters of lesser structures.

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89. Graves, "Ballysonan"; de Breffny, Irish world, p. 95; COD, V, p.27.

WATER DEFENCES.

The most important defense of a few towers was water, or marshy ground. Ashleypark (9), Derry (175), and Castlelough (120) are on islands on lakes; all were close to the shore, so the islands might be ex-crannogs, if these man-made structures could have supported the weight of a tower. At Derry a long, thin spit of land points directly to the castle, and might be the remains of a causeway, such as led to Augher castle in a lake in Co. Tyrone.[90] Golden (212) is on an island in the Suir, which forms part of a bridge over the river. In the seventeenth century there was a drawbridge here,[91] no doubt a moveable section of the main bridge. This need not have been housed in any additional building; lifting bridges in the open, held by simple wooden frames, were known in Ireland at that time.[92] Clare (127) is also on an island in a river; on one side the river protects it, and on the other a marshy rivulet, crossed by a low stone bridge.

There is no inland castle with a wet moat, but it is very possible that Garrykennedy (209), today at the end of a jetty, was once surrounded by water. The owner of Dromineer (188), also on the shores of Lough Derg, believes his castle was moated. There was until recently a wet ditch cutting through part of the peninsula on which the tower house stands.[93]

Two towers were protected by bogs. Curraghcloney's (173) marshes have largely dried out, although there are still traces of earth banks, a possible second line of defence. Lisquilibeen (290) is on a low hill in the centre of a morass, and, locals say, it can

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90. Hayes-McCoy, Maps, pl. X.
91. TCD MS Depositions, p.58. NLI MS Hayden, p. 149.
92. Graves, "Ballysonan". There is such a bridge in working order at Tilbury Fort, Essex.
93. Conversation with Mr. Hogan, Dromineer, April 1982.

be approached only by one (natural) causeway. Bogs had the advantage over water in that enemies could not row across them; but a force took Dengin, in "O'Connor's country" in 1537 by putting faggots into the marshes and ditches around the tower.[94]

SECRET PASSAGES.

One of the most widespread traditions about Tipperary tower houses, found among the inhabitants and in several modern works,[95] is that there were secret underground passages leading from one tower to another, or to a church or hidden exit. The great bulk of such tales are probably legend, but there is some evidence for a few of them.

In 1935 what may have been such a passage was discovered some ten yards from Kilconnell castle (244),[96] although the position was lost after it was filled in again. At Templemore (378) there is the end of a vaulted tunnel that runs from the bottom storey of the tower house to a point some twenty or thirty feet from its walls. Carrigeen (107) has some sort of cavity under the lowest storey, although it has never been properly investigated.[97] There is reputed to be a tunnel between Ballymackey (53) and Killowney (259), a distance of about 7/8 of a mile; the owners of the latter castle discovered what looked like an entrance to this passage, which they filled in.[98]

It is possible that these cavities were cellars, but unlikely, since some go outside the line of the walls. No other tower house in the county has a cellar, which would not have been necessary if

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94. Carew, I, pp. 122-3.
95. e.g. Carville, p. 38.
96. NLI Field Monuments File.
97. Mr. Jim Tobin, of Carrigeen, believes this to have been the start of a tunnel.
98. Conversation with Mr. Jim Gleeson, owner of Ballymackey, May 1982.

the ground storeys were used for storage. None of these castles has any sign of stairs going down to an underground chamber.

EXCEPTIONAL CASTLES.

There are a few castles in Tipperary which are, it seems, contemporary with those described in this chapter and the last, but do not conform to the normal tower house pattern of one central strongpoint, with bawns and other buildings around it. Some of these differ by being larger, others because they are older fortresses with a tower added; while some reject the idea of a "keep" completely, and simply rely on a curtain wall.

Most of the older castles continued in use throughout the tower house period, and some were added to. Roscrea (360) has a seventeenth-century top to its gatehouse,[99] and the Commonwealth "rebuilt" Castle Grace (218),[100] perhaps to use it as an army post. Ardfinnan (7) has a round tower of the early thirteenth century, but by 1654 it was described as "a castle & the walls of a castle, ye walls of a stone house & a bawne",[101] all of which can be identified today. There is a bawn wall with a house or hall built into it, and a square tower house, both of which seem to have been added in the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries.[102] Kiltinan (263) ia similar in many respects - here, too, a round keep (pl. 2) was joined later by a bawn and a square tower house, which last was the centre of the castle in 1654, when The Civil Survey call it, not the Norman tower, the "manor Castle."[103]

99. Leask, Castles, pp. 58-9.
100. CS, I, p. 371. There is no work of obviously seventeenth century date, so the Cromwellians probably just repaired the Norman fabric.
101. CS, II p.410 .
102. The tower has been heavily rebuilt, but a picture done in 1840 proves it is genuine - RIA MS OS Sketches, I, p. 23.
103. CS, I, p. 170. The tower house is one of a pair of towers that form part of an eighteenth-century mansion; it does not look genuine, but it is - RIA MS OS Letters, II, p. 442.

Kiltinan's bawn has a round flanker, and the remains of a square barbican, with shot-holes, in front of the gate. But the most interesting part of the fortress is a small, round tower outside the main enceinte, to which it is linked by a stone-vaulted passage (pl. 23). The tower is on a river-bank, at the foot of the cliff on which the castle stands; it and the passage have shot-holes, so as to deny an attacker the river-valley. Like a Spanish torre de albarrana, this was a firing-position detatched from the main castle, to trap an enemy between two fires if he came near the chief work.[104] The tower is said to have had a well,[105] but there is no sign of one today; it is of two storeys, the lower with three round parts for bed-mounted cannon, the upper with four holes for small arms. Ingenious as it was, the lack of openings for aiming and for letting smoke clear would have probably made it an inefficient bastion.

There was also three multi-towered castles that seem to have been completely built in the tower house period. Brittas (94) has disappeared, but appears to have had a square and a round tower, plus other buildings.[106] Carrick (104) has two linked tower houses, a large bawn, and an Elizabethan mansion. Cahir (99) has a keep, converted from a gatehouse, and a multitude of details that show it belongs to the same general tradition of architecture, but it is no tower house. It worked on a very different principle, with defence based on a series of towers around three bawns. Each tower was

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104. The author can only think of two features in British castles in any way comparable - the outwork at Dover and the sixteenth-century caponier at Craignethan, Lanarkshire (David Caldwell (ed.), Scottish weapons and fortifications, Edinburgh, 1981, pp. 124-6).
105. White, Anth. Tipp. p. 83.
106. An eighteenth-century print in NLI MS Callanan, Eliogarty, p. 315. Many parts of this castle may in fact post-date the tower house period; see p. 276 below.

covered by fire from another, and each could be held independently if need arose.

Finally, there is a series of keepless castles. One is "Cobbler's Box" at Terryglass (379), not to be confused with the other, thirteenth-century, castle there. It consists of a rectangualr bawn, with one limb protruding to join a churchyard. The only major features of the wall are a main gate, a small postern, a bartizan, and a very small corner-turret. Bawnmadrum (81) is a rectangualr enclosure about 25′ high and six feet thick, battlemented, with a gate and a ditch outside. It is much too large to have been an outwork of the nearest tower, Boolabaun (91), about a mile away, so seem to have been an independent fortalice. There are large numbers of put-log holes on the inside of the walls which would have held buildings. A third such castle is "The Garrison", Ballyherbery (44), where there is only a stone house, of uncertain age, besides the bawn .

It is possible that there were once towers at these castles, although there are no traces now, but it is very unusual for a tower to vanish completely while most of the more lightly-built bawn survives.[107] The Civil Survey mentioned bawns on their own at three sites (p. 250 above), and called Bawmadrum "an old Bawne & noe other improvement";[108] but it said Terryglass has two old ruined castles with bawns, and also noted a castle at Ballyherbery.[109] In other counties there were bawns without towers, such as at Tinnycross, Co. Offaly.[110]

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107. Cully, Bleane, and Ballingarry on first sight appear to be just bawns, but inspection reveals in each a ruin or appears to be a tower or strong-house.
108. CS, I, p.9.
109. CS, I, p. 218; II, p. 312.
110. Craig, p. 134.

CONSTRUCTION.

One way of seeing how tower houses were built is to look at the buildings themselves. The towers are of rubble masonry of varying quality, with cut stone details; the bawn and "soft" buildings are usually less well-constructed. The stones are held by lime and sand mortar; this was made on site, if the evidence of lime-kilns near Ballyherbery and Ballynahow (57) castles is anything to go by (although these kilns could be of a different date from the castles).

Towers generally look as if they were constructed in one operation, with at most some windows and fireplaces added later. Clonmicklon (154) is an exception in that it was extended horizontally (Ch. VI, p. 193), while Moycarkey (315) had a top storey added (Ch. VI, p. 222).

Local limestone was the normal material.[111] At Grantstown (230), Knockkelly (274), Ballynahow, and Cullahill (170) there are still open gashes in the ground whence the stone for the castles came. The fireplaces of Loughmoe (297) are supposed to be "Kilkenny marble" (a type of limestone),[112] but the only exterior use of contrasting stonework is at Cragg (164), where the whole tower is made of three different coloured stones, grey, red and sandy. The cut stone is all grey, and there is a continuous band of red along the north wall, but the mass of the rubble walls uses all three colours indiscriminately.

The ways in which faults have developed show the inherent weaknesses of some towers. Attacks by ivy or the theft of quoins for new

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111. It is the only material much mentioned by RIA MS OS Letters. In the last century there were many limestone quarries in Tipperary - Lewis, passim.
112. NLI MS Callanan, Eliogurty, p. 750.

buildings[113] could have been avoided when the tower was in use, but there was little one could do to support a vault or newel, both of which are danger areas. Both have collapsed at Ballymacady (52), while at Suir (376) the newel-well remains intact while the stairs have fallen in.

Subsidence, caused by insecure foundations, is the most obvious cause of the cracks that can open up in castle walls. At Coolquil (160) is a large split in the west wall, which at some distant period has been repaired with stone of a different colour to the main body of the tower. In recent years the wound re-opened and now the whole tower is in a parlous state. At Killaghy (250) a fault in the stair-well will, in time, threaten the corner of that castle. Military operations, vandalism, and neglect have destroyed many tower houses, and the last two are still dangers.[114] However, the fact that so many abandoned or misused towers stand, some almost perfect, is testimony to the skill of at least some of their builders.

The written evidence on this subject is interesting but patchy. Only one book of the tower house period says much about the process of building in Ireland, Gerard Boate's Ireland's Natural History.[115] Boate confirmed that most buildings were of local grey limestone, which he said was a Norman innovation. This stone, he believed, absorbed the wetness of the air, and so, to protect their homes from damp, the English in Ireland covered the inside walls with wooden

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113. Re-use of old stone is a very old habit; in 1551 a Westmeath man pulled down the church for material for his castle - PROI MS Fergusson, Collection, 1a·49·134, p. 220 dorso.
114. Most of Black Castle, Cormackstown, was deliberately pulled down in 1969 (Carville, p. 98).
115. Written between 1641 (see p. 96) and 1649, and published in London in 1652. See Craig, p. 145, for comments. Boate was "Doctor of Physick to the State in Ireland."

panelling, or, more recently, with brick. He mentioned shingles and locally-quarried slates, but added that tiles were manufactured in several places in Ireland. When producing mortar, he said, it was best to take stones from old buildings rather than fresh from the ground; but none of the types of kiln he described for cooking the limestone were at all like the two mentioned above. Boate was based in Dublin, but wrote about all Ireland. He was not specific about what sorts of buildings he was concerned with; although it would seem that his chief interest lay in large houses, many of his remarks would have been apposite to towers.[116]

Unfortunately, Boate said nothing on how buildings were designed, or who did the designing. It is possible that whoever was in charge worked mainly by eye, an expert in his trade who was able to guage by instinct and experience whether any feature was "right". Many wrights of quite large wooden vessels work by this method, so it should not be rejected out of hand. However, European medieval architects used plans, drawn by geometry rather than arithmetic, for structures of any size,[117] and there is evidence that the Dublin government drew plans of proposed tower houses. In 1540 Henry VIII told the Deputy to send him "plots" of the various "Towres, pyles and fortresses" he planned to build "upon the Straytes and Passages of the Yryshe", together with some estimate of the cost.[118] The poem about Cloonfree, around 1300, speaks of the "Mason" responsible for its buildings who "needed no exact rule or plumb-line",[119] which implies that other builders did. The writer knows of only one Irish visual representation of a building site of this period, a relief from over a

116. Boate, pp. 120-8.
117. Harvey, pp. 101- 4.
118. PROI MS Lodge, Patent Roll, p. 6.
119. Quiggan, p. 339.

fireplace in Old Bawn House, Co. Dublin, dated 1635, and now in the National Museum of Ireland. Although the object is supposed to be the walls of Jerusalem, it looks like a castle, and shows the sort of techniques one might expect to find on tower house sites. Stones are measured by dividers before being cut by hammers and wedges; scaffolds, of beams lashed together, go to the top of the work, and are reached by what appear to be solid, stepped ramps. These methods were all known in medieval Europe.[120]

The only contemporary specifications of Tipperary castles are not plans, but written directions from the "client". The best such document is one of 1547 in which the Lord Deputy, acting for Richard Butler, described how Brittas (94) was to be built; although it cannot be said for sure how closely, if at all, the instructions were carried out, as the castle no longer exists. It is still worth quoting in full:

> "The same castell to be of three loftes besides the rofe, and the same substantially builded; the first loft to be with a vault and to be xiiii fote hy, and the other ii loftes to be every of them x fote hy; and the rofe to be substancially covered with slate and the gutters with gutterstone well embatelde; and to be furnisshed with a chymney in every of the ii over loftes and a substanciall persoum (?) with drawghtes accordinge; the same castell to have a goode substanciall berbikan of stone as is at Pollywherie, and to the neither gate of the castell to have a good grate of iron; and the said castell to be substancially buylded with goode lyme and stone, the walls to be vi fote thick undre the vaulte and iiii fote above, and furnisshed with dores and wyndowes and all other things necessarie to a castell, as shalbe though good by the iudgement of Mr. Darby Ryan and the tresorer of Lismore, calling to them one mason and one carpenter." (121)

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120. See, for example, a late fifteenth-century miniature of men building a tower in Andrews, Builder, pl. IX.

121. COD, V, pp. 22-3. The document does not say how long or wide the tower was to be.

A document of 1610 let the castle of Bansha (74) to Richard Fitz Piers Butler, provided he should "build" (i.e. repair) the castle, and, within ten years,

> "raise the said castle two storeys higher than the same is at present with lime and stone, and each storey to be ten foot high & shall also build with lime and stone four good turrets with sufficient flankers upon them and upon the battlements of the said castle for the better defence thereof."

Even with these impositions, there was still a £20 rent.[122]

MacLysaght believed lords were their own architects, and with the help of "agents and tradesmen" designed and constructed their homes with few plans or drawings. He had no proof of this theory,[123] and, considering the skill needed for the job, it would seem more likely that there was a class of professional architects, or master-masons who had risen to this height by years of practical work.[124] Some evidence from Ulster Plantation castles suggests that here the proprietor made the general design, but all the detail was left to the men who built the towers; this resulted in buildings of generally Scottish or English appearance, but constructed in the Irish manner.[125]

When, as at Brittas, there was a reference to a single "mason" being employed, as opposed to masons in the plural, this would seem to be a master mason. But this is almost all one can say about these men. English master masons were very secretive about their trade,[126] but much more is known about them than the designers of tower houses.

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122. NLI MS COM, VIII, p. 174, d. 3621. The "flankers" on the battlements were probably bartizans; this word was not used until the nineteenth century.
123. MacLysaght, p. 98.
124. See Knoop and Jones, p. 176.
125. J.D. Johnston, "Fermanagh", pp. 85-6.
126. Harvey, passim.

One theory could be that there were families of builders in Gaelic society, just as there were families of lawyers, coarbs, and erenaghs.[127] Certain pairs of towers, for instance Synone (377) and Ballynahow (57), are likely to have been the product of the same man, and the detailed carving on Ardmayle church-castle (8), Killough (258), and Holy Cross Abbey all appears to be the work of one hand. (Ch. VI, p. 232 ). This indicates that a master could undertake several jobs in the same area, but does not prove that he was local. The machicolations of Loughmoe (297 - pl. 17) and the inverted V's of Ballymacady (52 - pl. 16) are matched only by examples from other counties, showing that some architects travelled considerable distances (see Ch. VI, pp. 235-7).

The rest of the work would have been done by lesser, although still skilled, masons and carpenters, backed up by unskilled assistants and labourers. They would have been supervised either by the master-mason, or, as at the fortifications of Kilmainham, and Tuam in the Pale in 1455-6, by agents of the "client".[128] It is reasonable to assume that the ordinary masons and carpenters would have been local men, and fairly common, even if a claim made in 1655 that five or six out of every hundred Irishmen were masons and carpenters, more skilled than their English counterparts, is an exaggeration.[129]

A tower builder, it seems, often compelled his tenants to foot the bill for his castle, as it was common to use the system of "coign and livery", exactions in return for protection, both to billet workmen on locals, and to force the locals themselves to do

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127. Blake, p. 4; Nicholls, Gaelic Ireland, pp. 111-3.
128. Berry, Henry VI,pp. 403-5.
129. It was made by one Vincent Gookin, quoted in Craig, p. 148.

the less skilled jobs. As early as 1297 Irish kings forced subjects to thatch houses and build ramparts,[130] and in 1348 the Irish had to rebuild the walls of Nenagh, which they had pulled down.[131] In 1537 Tipperary gentlemen complained about the billeting of "workmen ... called mostrons" (masons):[132]

> "When the said Thomas Butler hathe a castell or any other substantyall work to be made or amakeing, his subjects poore and riche haveyng shepe must gyve hym to the saide worke evy of them a shepe, yf they have any."

One Richard Butler had 7 marks, 11s 1d taken from him by Thomas for refusing to provide horses and slates for Cahir castle (99).[133] The worst offender appears not to have been Ormond himself, but rather the junior Butlers, who imposed obligations through sheer (and illegal) strength when the Earl did not prevent them. In 1537 the town of Clonmel said that whenever a gentleman wanted to build a castle, he exacted workmen and horses from the tenants without reward of food or money, and set to coign his skilled men, the masons and carpenters, upon them "every holly (=whole, not holy) day".[134] In 1544 the Earl agreed with the Baron of Cahir that if the Baron should build a castle in the marches for the defence of the country, the gentlemen and freeholders of the cantred should provide workmen, and the Earl's lands should be cessed.[135] A quarter of a century earlier the Earl had let the "town" of Clonturc (not located), and included in the lease a guarantee that he would not desire any workmen or labourers for his buildings[136] - this implies that in many cases he would have

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130. Empey and Simms, p. 182.
131. Clynn and Dowling, p. 35.
132. At this time "workman" seems to have meant a skilled worker; in 1541 Calais and Guisnes employed 439 "workmen" as spposed to over 2,000 "labourers" - Knoop and Jones, p. 197.
133. Social State, p. 233.
134. Social State, pp. 244-5.
135. COD, IV, pp. 262-5.
136. COD, IV, p. 64.

demanded them from a tenant.

There were more exactions when the castle was complete. A complaint similar to the above, from the Tipperary gentlemen in 1542, said Sir Thomas Butler cessed them not only for his garrisons (Ch. IV, p. 129 ), but also for "all manner kynd of labourers", who repaired his towers and made hedges and ditches around his orchards and gardens. They had to provide "the carriage aswell of all stoones, tymbre, and other necessaries to any worke he hathe."[137] In 1631 various of his tenants agreed to give money, and provide forty labourers and ten garrons (horses) with drivers for the Earl's works at Carrick.[138]

Complaints of extortions always are liable to be exaggerated, and give only one point of view. Another was expressed by a 1441-2 complaint by the Lords and Commons of Ireland that the Earl of Ormond was not fulfilling his duties as Lord Deputy; he should have laboured more on his castles.[139] Elizabethan writers denounced coign and livery as a particularly Irish vice, but in fact impressment of men for royal works was a long-established custom in England.[140] Along with subsidies to castle-builders it was a common method of building tower houses in the Pale;[141] it is not impossible that this would have inspired some features of the system found in Tipperary.

It was often the responsibility of the tenant to build or repair fortifications on his land. In 1356 Ormond granted to Edmond Butler the manor of Weyperous or Ballinaclogh (13) on condition that Edmond "agreed to repair, build and resore the said manor according to his power, within twelve years...and to dwell in the same."[142]

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137. COD, IV, p. 213.
138. NLI MS COM, VIII, p. 79, d. 3798.
139. Berry, Henry VI, p.51. It is not sure whether the danger here was decay, or capture.
140. Knoop and Jones, pp. 81-3.
141. Davin, M. Litt. passim; Berry, Henry VI, passim.
142. COD, II, pp. 26-7.

The Earl's motives were to increase the value of the land by building on it, and to have a tenant who would defend it if need be. In 1434 the Earl left the castle of Carrick (104) to a constable who was to return it "stiff and staunch",[143] a phrase commonly found in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century deeds. In 1604-5 a later Earl granted the castle and manor of Templemore (378) to Redmond Morris and his heirs, who were bound to build and repair the castles, barns (=bawns ?), houses and edifices on the estate at their own cost.[144] Two parts of the manor of Brownstone, Co. Kilkenny, were granted in 1363, with "ffyre bot, heybot and housebot." The last was for building new houses by the manor and repairing old ones;[145] "housebot" was the right to wood to repair houses, "heybot" for repairs to hedges, and "ffyrebot" for burning.[146]

The right to cut wood, and even the provision by the landlord of building materials,[147] was enlightened self-interest on his part, for buildings deteriorate rapidly if not cared for. In 1541 Donald O'Meara was erecting a castle at Thome Abbey, but by 1597 it was already ruined.[148] Two centuries earlier, it was the law that the treasurer or some other officer had to inspect the king's castles every year so that defects might be remedied in time.[149]

Building a tower house could take either a long or a very short time, depending on the pocket and will of the person in charge. A Dr. Arthur of Limerick spent over five years on his stone house or castle in the early seventeenth century.[150] James Dowdall was pro-

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143. COD, III, pp. 112-3.
144. NLI MS SCOD, pp. 12-3 (second series of pagination), d. 3352.
145. COD, II, pp. 72-3; for county, pp. 351-2.
146. PROI MS Glossary, p. 50; also see Carville, p. 82.
147. Carville, p. 82.
148. PROI MS Lodge Transcripts, I, pp. 66, 308.
149. Berry, John to Henry V, p. 327.
150. Mac Lysaght and Ainsworth, pp. 176-7.

mised a subsidy of £10 if he built the tower of Upper Castletown, Co. Louth, within three years;[151] and in 1434-5 Philip FitzWilliam was to get 20 marks if he built a castle at Balibother (county not stated) in four years. Reciting this grant in 1438, Henry VI granted him 40 marks more, this time saying that the work could take another six years. However, even this was not enough, for a document of 1446 reveals that Philip had begun, but not, it seems, finished, the castle.[152] In 1420 James, Earl of Ormond, granted to John Rushe the manor of Great and Little Ratron, Co. Meath. During the first seven years of the lease John had to make vaults, parapets, and battlements for the castle at Great Ratron, and rebuild and make parapets for the hall of the castle of Cloyncurrey. If this was not done in seven years, the Earl would distrain John in his goods and chattels.[153] A statute of Henry VI that granted a subsidy for towers fifteen by twelve feet inside and forty high (smaller than most in Tipperary) said that the castles had to be erected within three years of the letters patent.[154] Shortly afterwards William Nugent was fined for not building a fortalice in the specified time.[155] Kinnafad, Co. Meath, was evidently to be put up in a hurry (two years), for four whole baronies provided meat and drink for the large number of workmen.[156] This was not a unique occurrence, for in 1472-4 it was ordered that Laracor, Co. Meath, be erected within two years of its £10 subsidy.[157]

The Irish annals usually give shorter times than the above Anglo-Irish cases, perhaps because Gaelic lords could be more ferocious or

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151. PROI MS Lodge Patent Roll, p. 56.
152. Cal. Pembroke Deeds, pp. 43, 47.
153. COD, III, pp. 29-30.
154. Berry, Henry VI, p. 109.
155. ibid., p. 143.
156. Berry, Edward IV, I, p. 23.
157. ibid., p. 123.

efficient in obtaining coign and livery than Palesmen. The normal notice is that in such a year, such a castle was built. Perhaps this meant that the work began, or finished, that year, but in 1419 the Four Masters definitely state that the "Small Castle" of Roscommon was put up in fifteen days, despite enemy action.[158] A little easier to accept is the account of Lifford, Co. Donegal, which was started a few days before 16 May 1527, and completed the same summer.[159] It is very likely that work on tower houses would stop during the winter because of the damage frost can do to setting mortar; this was very often, but not always, the procedure in England.[160]

It would be very difficult to calculate the costs of building a tower house. The references to money are very fragmentary, and they do not say whether English or Irish is meant. What is more, they are spread over several centuries, during which the value of money fluctuated greatly. It would be reasonable to assume that the £10 grants of the fifteenth century covered a sizeable fraction of the expense of the small towers they subsidized, or they would have been useless as an incentive. But other castles in the same period received larger subsidies, 60 marks in all for Balibother (p. 282 above). A memoranda roll of 1329-31, concerning royal mills at Salmonsleap, Co. Dublin, gives some building charges. A "wey" of lime cost 7s, and its carriage from Dublin 2s; five masons each were paid 2s a week, while ten labourers each received 9d.[161] The pay of

158. AFM, IV, p. 837.
159. AFM, V, p. 1391.
160. Knoop and Jones, pp. 118-9.
161. RIA MS Fergusson, Extracts, 24/H/17, pp. 49-50. For a comparison of the wages of masons and carpenters (1d-2d a day) with those of other workers according to a statute of 1349-50, see Betham, Origin, pp. 295-6.

a knight a little later was 2s a day, with 12d for other men-at-arms and 6d for archers, so building workers were far from the highest-paid of people.[162]

It is uncertain how relevant even these few figures are to tower houses financed by cessing, as many in Tipperary were. The only information discovered for the county is that it was planned it spend £50"building up" Ballmacourty (15) in 1573, and in 1662-3 £300 went on repairs to Loughmoe.[163] Some buildings are valued in the 1642 Limerick Depositions, but these are estimates of worth rather than construction costs, and, as they refer to lost properties, could be inflated. A bawn with a "turfhouse", two kennels, a washhouse, a brewhouse, and a garden was said to be worth £100, while two bawns and an outhouse were £50. A "little castle, and all useful houses and offices" was £100, and good stone houses as much or more.[164]

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Although at many sites today a tower is all that remains, when the castle was in use it would very often have been surrounded by other buildings. The most important of these was a fortified courtyard or bawn, of stone or earth and wood, sometimes a re-used rath or perhaps a moated site. By the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries some bawns had turrets at the corners to provide flanking-fire, but sophisticated gatehouses did not develop. A few castles lacked a tower, and relied entirely on a bawn for their defensive strength.

Inside or outside the bawn were frequently a variety of unforti-

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162. PROI MS Lodge Misc. Collection, p. 24.
163. Seymour, "Purcell papers", p. 195. History of Perrott, p. 95.
164. TCD MS Limerick Depositions, pp. 566-7.

fied buildings, most of which have disappeared, and can only be investigated from written or pictorial sources. There were wooden or stone houses and cabins to hold the people who would not have lived in the tower house itself; and in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries a few castles had imposing stone mansions built onto the tower, which could have superseded the tower in importance. There were also halls beside some castles, a few chapels, and many mills, orchards, and gardens. Aerial photographs show that there were what look like deserted villages around some tower houses, with fields as well as houses and cabins.

The great majority of castles built in Tipperary were based around a single strongpoint, but there were a few exceptions. Two small thirteenth-century keeps each had a later tower house and bawn added, and there seem to have been three castles with two or more sizeable towers built completely within the tower house period.

Very little is known about the architects of tower houses, except that some had knowledge of castles outside the county. The towers were built by skilled masons and carpenters, assisted by unskilled labourers; as far as is known, construction methods were the same that were used in England and Europe. There may have been plans made for tower houses, but the only specifications to survive for Tipperary are written instructions. It was common for a lord to use coign and livery to make his tenants bear a large proportion of the cost of building; he could force them to billet the skilled men, and to do the unskilled labour and provide materials themselves. When a piece of land was let, it was sometimes the tenants' responsibility to build or repair a castle on it.

It seems that the building of tower houses could take anything from a few months to several years, and the records for Gaelic lords generally show prompter work than those for Anglo-Norman areas. Information on how much it cost to build a castle is very paltry, and for many Tipperary tower houses whose construction was supported by coign and livery it would have been irrelevant.

CHAPTER VIII URBAN TOWER HOUSES

THE STUDY OF FORTIFIED HOUSES IN IRISH TOWNS

There are several ways in which fortifications have been used in towns. A wall around a whole settlement is a very ancient and widespread idea, as is a large castle or citadel that helps defend the town, or lets a ruler dominate the citizens. Less common is a small private fortress which, although it can be used for communal defence, is chiefly the residence of an individual. The casa torri of north Italian towns are well-known, and there are equivalent buildings in the Low Countries, Nigeria, Ghana, and Arabia,[1] and a few in Scotland.[2] Ireland is the only part of the British Isles where they are at all numerous, and here they have received even less attention than their rural counterparts.

One problem is that, being built in towns, they have been more liable to "development" than the tower houses in the country; of 58 that once existed in the Pale, 10 survive,[3] and in Tipperary's walled towns only 5 still exist out of 20 (excluding private wall-towers). Those that were not destroyed may have been hidden by later buildings and so become hard to locate.[4] On the other hand, maps of towns were normally better and more detailed than those of the countryside, and can yield valuable information about a town's tower houses.

Although there have been several articles on individual towers, only one work has considered town towers as a group.[5] Murtagh has

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1. Ch. I, pp.
2. Such as Bothwell Castle, Haddington, and Croft-an-Righ, Edinburgh. Neither of these is very strong.
3. Murtagh, MA, I, p. 22.
4. Delaney, p. 54.
5. See Murtagh's bibliography for articles on individual structures.

produced a very thorough survey of urban fortalices in the Pale, and hazards some guesses as to their distribution in the rest of Ireland, with a provisional list for the whole country. The Pale is particularly important in that it seems to have once had the highest concentration of urban tower houses in Ireland. They are in two sub-groups, one in Liffey valley towns that lacked stone walls, where they were presumably intended to protect their owners from the Wicklow mountaineers; the other in walled towns in the north of the Pale.[6] The two other regions where there were urban towers are east Ulster and a vaguely-defined region in the south and west, with many examples in Limerick. These are all lowland areas, ruled by the Anglo-Irish in the later Middle Ages, so it would appear that urban towers were particular to one segment of the population. Murtagh links them with wealthy merchants who were based in towns, and used to store goods in the cellars - this would seem a sensible guess, as many are on the coast. He compares them with the north Italian casatorri, inspired by the need for defence and for prestige, and by the congestion inside towns.[7] However, it would be dangerous to press this parallel too closely, for the Italian towers were the product of riots and internal feuds, while the main danger for Irish town-castles seems to have been attack from outside.

Murtagh, on the evidence of ten towers, has distinguished urban from rural tower houses on architectural grounds; he refuses to use the words "tower house" or "castle", preferring "fortified house". He also excludes from his study towers on town walls, and believes that the fortified houses originated earlier than tower houses; they are alike in being tall, with battlements, arrow-loops, machicolations,

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6. Murtagh, MA, I, pp. 19-20, 22.
7. ibid., pp. 2-3, 23-4.

turrets, and murder-holes, but are generally lower (two to four storeys) and often have large windows in the ground storey.[8] However, it would seem that the distinction into two types is not needed, and that it was not made by contemporaries, who normally called all these buildings "castles". Murtagh's exhaustive descriptions and detailed drawings of the Pale fortalices show several other similarities with rural towers in Tipperary and, in particular, in the Pale. Most have vaults, all are battered and built of rubble with cut-stone quoins. The doors, windows, garderobes, bartizans, and entrance-lobbies are all like those in country castles. The only complete wall-walk, at Dalkey, near Dublin, is of the normal tower houses style. Although the Pale examples are undoubtedly squatter, on average, than most rural towers,[9] this is not always the case in Ireland. Those in Tipperary can have slender proportions, and those shown in a carefully-drawn Elizabethan picture-map of Carrickfergus are quite tall.[10]

Architecturally, urban castles may have been almost the same as those in the country, but their function could be different. Although primarily intended to protect the person and property of their owner, and to demonstrate his wealth (witness the gargoyles at Grant's Castle, Cashel (113), and the rich ornament of Lynch's Castle, Galway), they would also have had a communal role, most importantly in defending the town. Murtagh shows this, partly by maps which demonstrate how the tower houses were built at points where their garrisons could command the main streets of a town. He quotes a Dundalk document of the 1590's that shows the Rothe family giving up their tower to the town government in times of danger; it had been built "for flanking

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8. ibid., pp. 1, 17, 32; Leask, "Mint", p. 305, stresses the similarities as well as the differences.
9. Murtagh, MA, I, pp. 12-17; II, passim.
10. T.E. McNeill, Carrickfergus, frontispiece.

of the streets on evrie side of the said castle."[11] Another town defended by internal strongpoints was Athboy, Co. Meath; when Michael Johes attacked it in 1647 it had six castles and a church tower, all of which were held by Confederates. The fighting took place around these towers, and Jones believed he only took the town so easily with divine aid, as it was such a strong place.[12] In 1642 when the Confederates attacked Tralee, Co. Kerry, all the resistance came from its two tower houses.[13] This method of defending a town not by a linear obstacle (walls) but by a series of separate forts that rely on their firepower is one normally associated with the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, not the age of castles.[14]

Most important towns seem to have had walls, and in these cases private residences added to the communal defence by providing strongpoints on the walls. A patent of 1310 allowed Geoffrey de Mortone to build a tower at the town end of the bridge at Dublin, and another at the corner of the town wall to the west, and between them fortified houses "on the wall", all with crenellations and strongly built, for "the great defence of our city".[15] The nature of the fortified houses is not precisely clear, but there can be little doubt that Mortone was to build two private wall-towers, probably numbers 19 and 20 on Healy's plan, known as Usher's Tower and Bridge Gate.[16] A 1585 report on the Dublin walls reveals that of 24 towers and gates (excluding those on Dublin castle), 13 were held by private families, and two more by guilds. In several cases the towers had been private residences

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11. Murtagh, MA,I, pp. 25-8.
12. Jones, pp. 155-7.
13. Caball, pp. 315-7.
14. One can compare these tower houses with World War II pillboxes, or with the forts built to protect Portsmouth in the 1860's. These forts had such powerful guns that they were placed outside the city.
15. Jope and Seaby, pp. 115-8.
16. P. Healey, "Walls", pp. 17, 21, 22.

since the thirteenth century.[17]

Some town tower houses had more peaceful municipal functions - court-rooms, town halls, customs-houses - or could be used by royal administrators.[18] Grant's Castle in Cashel (113) was originally built as a royal prison;[19] in Clonmel there was a jail by 1312, and in 1314 the king's prison in that town was in the "house" of Walter Wyncestre.[20] This could perhaps have been the tower house in the town, as could the jail that existed in the town in the early seventeenth century.[21] In 1641 Grant's Castle seems to have been used by the mayor for some official purpose, as he kept the town charter and much of his regalia there.[22]

From architectural evidence, Murtagh believes that some of the urban tower houses could have been derived from the "£10 castles" of the mid-fifteenth century. However the Mortone case argues that there were some in Dublin in the early fourteenth century; Davin has speculated that, because this document antedates any known rural tower in the Pale, urban tower houses may have been the first built. Murtagh thinks that tower house construction in towns other than Dublin began around 1400, when the improved economic condition of the country "coincided with a massive secular and ecclesiastical building revival". He has found early towers in Limerick (shortly before 1402), Trim (1414-19), and Cork (built by John Skiddy, who was Bailiff in 1445).[23]

In Tipperary, the earliest dated urban tower house is Grant's

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17. ibid., pp. 16-22.
18. Murtagh, MA,I, pp. 23-4.
19. PROI MS Betham, II, p. 141.
20. Cal. Justiciary Rolls, III, pp. 252, 323.
21. CSPI 1603-6, p. 475.
22. NLI MS Hayden, pp. 903-4.
23. Davin, M.Litt, p. 124; Murtagh, MA, I, pp. 30-8.

Castle, built shortly after 1318 (see Appendix I). So town castles seem to have been among the earliest tower houses, but there is not enough evidence to say whether they derived from those in the countryside, or vice versa. As both are just slight variations on one form of architecture, the likelihood is they began around the same time.

TOWNS IN MEDIEVAL TIPPERARY (See Map 2)

Medieval towns in Ireland have received some attention in the last twenty years. Although it is generally thought of as a predominantly rural country, Russell , admittedly working with sparse and sometimes unreliable figures, has estimated that in fact Ireland was up to the European average in the size and number of its boroughs. Most of the large towns were on the coast, but those inland were kept alive by merchants, who always needed a hinterland, and so risked travelling through an often disordered countryside.[24] Nicholls speculated that the profits of trading towns must have been considerable; coastal towns were well-built, as several writers noted in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries,[25] and some inland ones were also impressive. The ordinary houses of Athboy were stone,[26] and enough survives of Kilkenny and Fethard to show that there could be fairly wealthy towns in the middle of Munster.

Towns were the homes and business-places of traders, where markets were held, to some extent protected from the lawlessness and thieving that went on outside. Depending on a measure of stability to make a profit, towns had a reputation of loyalty to the government

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24. Russell, p. 510.
25. Nicholls, Gaelic Ireland, p. 120.
26. Jones, p. 155.

in Dublin, as was shown by their part in the wars of the sixteenth century. Clonmel remained loyal to Elizabeth throughout her reign,[27] and in 1567 the people of Clonmel, Cashel and Fethard agreed with Lord Deputy Sidney's gloomy vision of affairs in the region. They stressed that they depended on the coming and going of travellers to survive, and so felt threatened and besieged when there were disorders around them.[28] It is significant that the surnames of townsmen recorded in The Civil Survey of Tipperary more commonly indicate Norman or English origin than do those of people in the countryside.

Inland towns could not have operated in total isolation. They needed rural produce to buy and sell, and always had to beware of attacks from outsiders. In 1329 Brian O'Brien burnt Athassel and Tipperary, and in 1336 he burnt Tipperary again.[29] Athassel has a lightly defended monastery, but there is no proof that Tipperary ever had any fortifications.[30] In 1314 Cashel suffered the same misfortune,[31] and it cannot be coincidence that in 1318 the Archbishop allowed the King to erect a castle, and in 1319 the town received a murage grant.[32] The weakness of an unprotected town is shown by a letter of 1576 that relates how only 140 rebels burnt Naas, which was undefended by any works (in fact there is a tower house there; perhaps it was built after 1576). Despite Naas' population of 500, who were asleep after a festival, the enemy destroyed 6-700 houses (probably a great exaggeration) in half an hour.[33] A statute of 1449-50 said that Carrick-on-Suir "is from day to day destroyed by

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27. "Notes" of RSAI, p. 245.
28. Collins/Sydney, I, p. 20.
29. Otway-Ruthven, History, pp. 247, 255.
30. See Appendix IV for evidence of fortifications in Tipperary towns.
31. Clynn and Dowling, p. 19 (second series of pagination).
32. PROI MSS Betham, II, p. 141; Ir. Rec. Com., Chartae, p. 52.
33. Collins/Sydney, I, pp. 166-7.

English rebels, and in these fourteen years the said town was twice entirely burned, excepting only the church and the castle, and all their goods taken"; the people were taken prisoner, and "a general pillage ... made four times". The walls had only been half built, due to the poverty of the citizens.[34] In 1498, according to a letter to the Earl of Ormond, Carrick was still in danger of attack, for the "brenys" (O'Briens ?) were said to be intending to burn the town next harvest, in revenge for a death.[35]

Even if many of the accounts were over-coloured (some were appeals for finance, which must always be treated carefully), it seems clear that a rich townsman was often in danger of physical attack. Walls lessened the risk, but they could not always be relied on. The complaints about their feebleness or decay are common, perhaps the most vivid being a description of how one of Cashel's gates was broken down in 1641 - with a hatchet ! Things would have gone very badly for the inhabitants when the rebels took the city, if it had not been for the latters' discipline.[36] Six years later, when Inchiquin approached the city, the defenders (by Inchiquin's estimate 800 men, including six companies of soldiers) made no attempt to hold the walls, but defended only the Rock with its tower house and fortified cathedral.[37] The walls of Nenagh did not prevent the whole town, except the castle, being burnt in 1548.[38]

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34. Berry, Henry VI, p. 243.
35. COD, IV, pp. 336-7.
36. NLI MS Hayden, p. 908; O'Dwyer, pp. 136-40.
37. Inchiquin's account is in O'Dwyer, pp. 176-7. This probably more reliable than John Gleeson's unreferenced story (Cashel, pp. 271-2), according to which Inchiquin first broke down the walls, and only then did the people use the Rock as a stronghold.
38. AFM, V, p. 1513.

There is some difficulty in deciding how many real towns there were in Tipperary. The word town, which occurs very often in documents, especially in inquisitions, is often a translation of the Irish baile, and can mean nothing more than the few cabins and houses which frequently clustered around rural tower houses. As Moryson said, when the Irish built a wooden shelter for themselves and their cows, they called it a town.[39] Vill is equally deceptive, applied to something as big as Carrick[40] or to a few huts. Villata might be more useful, but it is only found rarely, as in 1421 when used to describe Clonmel.[41] The real towns were not very large - Clonmel, generally agreed to be the richest in Tipperary by the seventeenth century,[42] had, according to Poll Money returns of 1660, 394 adults within its walls and 476 outside[43] - but they were clearly different from the paltry settlements often called towns.

One way of identifying towns proper is to seek places with borough status. However, not all sites so endowed were necessarily important concentrations of people, for it appears that grants of borough status could be used as bait for settlers from England. As he lacked any means of telling "rural boroughs" from genuine towers, Graham resigned himself to having to deal with both as one mass. Towns would have had special economic and military functions, but there is often insufficient evidence to say whether these applied to any one site. What is more, boroughs noted in the thirteenth or early fourteenth centuries might have been destroyed by military action or the Black Death before the time when tower houses were

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39. Itinerary, III, p. 499.
40. COD, II, p. 81.
41. COD, III, pp. 32-3.
42. e.g. Eachard, p. 97.
43. Burke, Clonmel, p. 90.

built.[44]

More recently, Martin has attempted to draw up a list of all possible medieval boroughs in Ireland. He said that towns might have had a military role, especially in the early stages of colonization; they also had an economic purpose, sheltering merchants, markets, and manufactures. So some defence - he specified castles rather than walls - was necessary. Martin also believed that small towns would have sprung up around most castles, to supply them with crafts and a market.[45] This could be partly true for Tipperary, but three of the county's thirteenth-century castles - Terryglass (379), Mullinahone (319), and Castle Grace (218) - do not seem to have had genuine towns about them.

Martin's list contains all those places with enough documentary evidence to establish their borough status in the Middle Ages, plus three "probables", giving a total of 33 sites in Tipperary.[46] But, as he says, these figures "certainly do not represent such numbers of effective urban communities engaged in trade, paying rates and taxes, and managing their own affairs". Some may have been token settlements; the borough of Lisronagh was probably not an independent, flourishing town in 1465, for it did not use its own seal but that of Clonmel.[47]

Appendix IV contains Martin's list and that of Barry. The latter notes all those places in Tipperary for which there is medieval documentary proof of borough status, or where there exists a grant

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44. Graham, in Butlin, Development, pp. 29-30, 38-9, 49-51.
45. Martin, in Harkness and O'Dowd, pp. 28-9.
46. ibid., pp. 29-30, 33-51. Martin's total is 34, but two of his sites, Kyldenall and Killenaul (pp. 44-5) are the same place. This is easily the highest total for any county, and must reflect the same prosperity that gave Tipperary so many tower houses.
47. ibid., pp. 28, 31.

for weekly markets.[48] The two lists are very similar, and both include all the important towns.

The combined total of 37 will include all the proper towns of Tipperary, as well as some chimeras. The trouble lies in separating the two. The number of buildings recorded in The Civil Survey should give some indication, but it has two weaknesses. Not only does it omit, for no apparent reason, important towns like Cashel and Fethard, it mentions only those buildings left after the wars of the 1640's. For example, it says there was only "a little Church unroofed" at Kilsheelan, although the place was a town with several courts and other privileges.[49] For some now - abandoned sites aerial photography can provide evidence of the size of the settlement - these include Ardfinnan, Ballynahinch, Baptistsgrange, Athassel (where the town was inside the very large fortified perimeter of a monastery) and Kiltinan.[50] But these are no larger than some of the other deserted villages around tower houses, which have left no claims to be boroughs (Ch. VII, pp. 264-5).

Appendix IV shows that the majority of boroughs were nothing more than small settlements, often clustered around a tower house. Real towns probably numbered at the most nine - the six walled towns,[51] the two (Emly and Tipperary) which had murage grants but no evidence that walls were ever erected,[52] and Roscrea, which had "many houses", and other buildings in 1654.[53] Of these some were more important than others. F. Jobson's Elizabethan map of Ireland marks only five

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48. Barry, Moated sites, pp. 138-40.
49. CS, I, p. 278.
50. Cambridge University Collection of Aerial Photographs, Nos. APA 6-10, APD 22-5, APG 50, AIE 20-2, BGK 66-9.
51. This does not include Athassel, inside a monastic precinct.
52. Applying for a murage grant, which allowed a town to charge extra taxes and tolls, could have been used as an underhand way of increasing local revenue, if no walls were built.
53. CS, I, p. 29.

settlements in Tipperary: Carrick, Emly, Clonmel, and oddly, Castle Grace (218) and Clocully (128). The much better-drawn product of Baptista Boazia, of roughly the same date, has Carrick, Cashel, Clonmel, and Emly.[54] In the middle of the eighteenth century the historian Charles Smith considered Carrick, Cashel, Clonmel, and Thurles as the county's leading towns.[55] Tipperary was at any rate well urbanized, for by one estimate there were only 40 walled towns in all Ireland in Elizabeth's reign.[56] Not all these towns were in existence throughout the tower house era; from a description of its buildings it would seem that Thurles was still a rural manor in 1303.[57]

There was never a strict dichotomy between the physical aspect of towns, and the country outside. Of course, the area inside the walls would have been dotted with buildings, and perhaps a higher proportion of houses was stone.[58] Boullaye le Gouz noticed a difference between town and country architecture, although he is frustratingly vague.[59] But there were also large open areas in towns, shown by the references to gardens within the walls, and a grant about 1470 of a messuage with an acre of arable land in the vill of Carrick.[60] Maps of Fethard in 1703 and 1752 show large open spaces, and as late as 1763 it had only 60-70 houses and a few castles within its walls.[61] Black Castle, Thurles, had a large and formidable bawn with several turrets;[62] this, as far as is known the only urban tower in Ireland

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54. TCD MS Maps, pp. 36, 83.
55. RIA MS Smith, pp. 274-85.
56. Moody, Martin, and Byrne, p. 160.
57. White, Red Book, pp. 69-70.
58. In Elizabeth's reign most of Limerick's houses were built of stone, "in the style of towers or fortresses" - Bradshaw, "Limerick", p. 47.
59. Boullaye le Gouz, p. 40. He said towns were built "in the English fashion", which was untrue at least as regards their tower houses.
60. COD, III, p. 210.
61. NLI MS Maps of Fethard, pp. 5, 6, 8.
62. CS, I, p. 53.

with a bawn, shows that space within the town walls was not in short supply.

TOWER HOUSES IN TIPPERARY TOWNS.

The chapter will conclude with a study of the tower houses in the nine principal towns identified above. Of these, Roscrea, Nenagh, and Tipperary never seen to have had any towers; there was probably one at Emly, but it has left very little trace in the records. The other five sites, however, are worth examining in some detail.

Carrick had the large double tower house which exists today. It was a principal seat of the Earls of Ormond, and was administered seperately from the town, although the latter was also in the Earl's hands.[63] There was also, it seems, a separate tower near the bridge; it could have served a municipial function by collecting the tolls from traffic on the river.[64] In 1649 there was a "guardhouse on the bridge" with a garrison of 80 men, probably this tower.[65] A third castle stood in the town, near the "common street or lane", and was associated with "Stokes Hall" in 1544.[66] There were also private fortifications on parts of the town walls, for a document of 1635 said that Thomas Merry should build a new stone house by a gate, and keep up part of the adjoining wall. There was to be a "substantial stone window with strong iron grates", and he was to build stone steps by his house to give access to the walls.[67]

Cashel has two tower houses, one built onto the cathedral (see

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63. COD, III, pp. 112-3. This document of 1434 perhaps antedates the present castle.
64. PROI MS Exchequer Ings., p. 10.
65. Meagher, Annals, p. 32.
66. COD, IV, pp. 269-70.
67. NLI MS COM, IX, p. 216, d. 4001.

Ch. IX), the other a free-standing castle originally used as a prison (above, p. 291 ), then a royal castle. By 1673 it was in private hands[68] and in 1677 it may have been a fire-station, for it was ordered that the buckets kept there be removed.[69] Although now but a modernized shell, the basic shape of this ordinary rectangular tower is still visible. As with other urban fortifications, it seems that this castle was kept in a defensible state at least until the late seventeenth century, for its gate was mended in 1678. Even after the Williamite war the town's defences were maintained, as protections against "raparees".[70] It is likely that Cashel had private wall-towers - in 1673 Henry Barre was ordered to repair the town gate adjoining his house, and in 1680 the proprietor of the house that had fallen down on top of the Canafie Gate was told to clear up the mess and repair the town wall.[71] This suggests the ill-fated house had been directly over the gate, and was perhaps like the upper part of the gate-tower that stands at Fethard.

Two of Clonmel's wall-towers survive, one with a sizeable window facing the town which shows it could have been a private house. During the Jacobite scare of 1745 the Corporation ordered the repair of "the walls, castles, gates and fortifications of this town",[72] and since there was only one free-standing tower house, "castles" probably meant the wall-towers. This in turn suggests private ownership, a view reinforced by The Civil Survey. This work mentions a private chamber built over the Water Gate, and castles and turrets on the walls which yielded an annual rent to the Corpora-

68. White, Cashel of the Kings, p. 67.
69. ibid., p. 68.
70. ibid., pp. 69, 73, 78, 80. White based this on the Corporation minute books.
71. ibid., pp. 67, 70.
72. Quoted in Burke, Clonmel, p. 124.

tion.[73] As for the castle proper, fragments of which survived until recently,[74] one cannot say much about its architecture, although it was probably an ordinary tower house. The Civil Survey seems to be referring to it when it mentions

> "The stone house in the middle of the Towne in the south side, The upper pt whereof was formerly used for a guard house, the middle part thereof was continually used by Butchers to sell meate & the loer part thereof comonly used for a comon goale wch was alwayes time out of minde pperly belonging to the Corporation & employed to the uses aforesd."

This passage also describes the County jail as the town hall,[75] so one castle seems to have served a great variety of civic purposes. By 1666 it had been "destroyed", although it is not known why.[76]

Much more survives at Fethard. Three eighteenth-century picture-maps show the town with wall, wall-towers, and free-standing castles inside. The 1703 map despicts, in stylised form, five fortified gates and three tall, free-standing tower houses, all battlemented. One is the Templar's Castle; the other two were on the main street towards the west end of the town, but are no longer extant. The second map, dating from 1752, marks three structures as "a good house, castle and yard"[77] (this is the Templar's Castle), "a Castle at Bierses gate" (now disappeared), and "a Castle at North Gate" (still standing), three tower houses, and 10 or 11 (one is very rubbed) wall-towers and gates, mainly roofed. It depicts all the

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73. CS, I, p. 387. The Corporation must have owned the towers, but let them to individuals.
74. Bassett, p. 77; Lyons, "Norman antiquities", p. 288.
75. CS, I, p. 387. This description of the site corresponds with that marked by Lyons as that of the castle - Lyons, "Norman antiquities", facing p. 285, p. 288.
76. Burke, Clonmel, p. 89.
77. This could indicate an urban bawn.

structures that can be viewed today. While the detail may be too stylised to reveal the exact form of these castles, the maps seem only to commit sins of omission, rather than depict buildings which never existed. Fethard once must have had three internal tower houses, plus almost a dozen wall-towers.[78]

For its size, Fethard seems to have been better-defended than any of the above towns; very likely this was because it lacked the power of an Archbishop or Earl, or a large population as at Clonmel, to protect it. An Act of 1467-9, in effect a murage grant for repairing the walls, excused the people of Fethard from dues, as they were hard-pressed to maintain their numerous defences.[79] At times it may have been more of a military base than the southern towns; it suffered for the royal cause in revolts, and relieved the garrisons of several strongholds in the area; and in 1607 was still a place of strength.[80] Even Cromwell gave good terms of surrender rather than storm it in his usual way - some have said that this was because of the heavy rain, or because of imitation guns the townsmen mounted to bluff him,[81] but the real reason could have been that he was wary of attacking so strong a town.

We know more about the civil life of the Fethard castles than about any other urban tower houses in the country. A list of property, drawn up in 1663 but referring to the period before 1641, mentions Thomas Everard holding a castle, with half an acre of gardens belonging to it - the 1752 map shows long, narrow gardens running from the backs of terraced buildings to the wall. James Hackett,

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78. NLI MS Maps of Fethard, pp. 5, 6, 8.
79. Berry, Edward IV, I, p. 497.
80. Morrin, III, p. 326.
81. "Notes" of RSAI, p. 292.

another owner, had adjoining his tower three stone houses, one back-house (= bakehouse ?). one Killhouse (?), one barn, and one small garden,[82] the same sort of structures as accompanied rural towers. Presumably the owners did not keep large herds in the town, but were merchants who used the barn to store agricultural produce bought and sold in the town's market. However, townsmen did not have economic interests totally separate from people without the walls; inportant men could own property in both town and country, and these may have treated their urban castles as "town-houses". Of the two men mentioned here, Hackett held a townland outside the town,[83] and Nicholas Everard, head of the powerful Fethard family who held the other castle, was in 1638 seized of "a Castle or stone house" in Fethard, as well as a large amount of rural property, all within a convenient distance of the town, and the tower houses of Knockkelly (274) and Barrettstown (78).[84]

The Templars' Castle is the only one of the free-standing towers to survive, and has been noted several times in Ch. VI because of its peculiar architecture(pp.199,207,209,224).One of the main oddities, lack of communication between storage and living areas, suggests that the former was a warehouse for commercial goods, rather than a place to keep domestic necessities. It only has two full storeys, plus a low loft and an attic, and in height resembles Murtagh's "fortified houses" in the Pale; but, unlike them, it has no large windows on the ground storey.[85]

Immediately to its south is a heavily overgrown fortalice, today with only two storeys. A projecting garde-robe chute ( a very

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82. "Proprietors of Fethard", p. 6; NLI MS Maps of Fethard, p. 5.
83. CS, I, p. 194.
84. RIA MS OS Inqs., III, pp. 206-15.
85. Murtagh, MA, I, p. 12.

rare feature) and an ogee window show it was a private residence, built astride the town walls. One author has guessed it could have been a bishop's palace, or part of Fethard abbey.[86] It was clearly built at some period other than that of the wall; it lies flush with the wall, which makes it inefficient as a flanking tower. Another wall-tower, at the south-west corner of the town, does project; again, it is not contemporary with the wall. Apart from a door giving onto the battlements it is very like a small rural tower house, with the top storey (of three) the main living area. There are two more fortifications on the wall - a round tower, probably not residential, and the north gate. This has a two-storeyed tower on one side and the remains of a room over the gate-passage, and could have been a private dwelling.

The fifth town, Thurles, was perhaps once as strong as Fethard. Edmund Spenser called it a great town,[87] and the Ordnance Survey Letters record that it once had eleven separate castles; there was also a motte, and the tower of the Carmelite Friary was locally called a castle. Crow's Tower (a relatively modern name) was circular, 50 feet high and almost 32 feet in external diameter. Callanan, writing long after it had been destroyed, believed it was the round tower Grose showed on the town wall, but this differs in many respects from the Crow's Tower in the Ordnance Survey Letters.[88] Apart from one

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86. Fleming, Town-walls, frontispiece, p. 34.
87. Morley, p. 52.
88. RIA MS OS Letters, III, pp. 11-22. Crow's Tower stood on the right of the road to Cashel, about 40 yards from Black Castle. The other castles were Bridge Castle, a tower near the Protestant church, one near the motte (of which no trace remains), one on the Dublin road, and five on the site of the Court House. See also NLI MS Callanan, Eliogurty, p. 345; Grose, I, facing p. 69; and pl. 24 of this thesis.

in Carrickfergus,[89] this was the only circular urban tower house in Ireland known to the author, wall-towers excluded.[90] Other writers assert there were only nine castle in Thurles, but produce no evidence,[91] and Callanan put the figure as low as seven.[92]

The only two castles that stand are both normal tower houses (pl. 24). Bridge (or Barry's) castle has four storeys, with joist-holes for a fifth; Black Castle is bulkier, and would appear to have been the chief tower, the Earl of Ormond's house, and once surrounded by a bawn.[93] In the 1640's Lady Thurles used the castle as a refuge for a time, when the rest of the town was not safe for Englishmen,[94] and in 1690 the Williamites still thought it worth fortifying, apparently ignoring the town walls.[95] Like the Fethard towers it was the centre of various dependent buildings, of which some fragments remain. The Civil Survey mentioned three stone houses inside the bawn,[96] and an Inquisition of 1633 recorded a hall, a barn, a house with its dormitory, and other "edifices".[97] Grose published a plan of what he called "Templar's Castle" but which in fact is Black Castle. Although inaccurate, it is of value in that it shows a large building whose sizeable windows and lack of stairs suggest it was a single-storeyed hall attached to the tower house.[98]

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It is now possible to summarize the evidence from Tipperary

89. T.E. McNeill, Carrickfergus, frontispiece.
90. Fleming (Town-walls, p. 10) said the majority of surviving wall-towers in Ireland were round.
91. Bassett, p. 371; Kennedy, p. 7.
92. NLI MS Callanan, Eliogurty, p. 345.
93. State Papers - King Henry the Eighth. III, London, 1834, p. 165; NLI MS Fleming, I, p. 63.
94. RIA MS OS Inqs., II, pp. 10-11.
95. R. Davies, Journal, pp. 144, 146.
96. CS, I, p. 53.
97. NLI MS Callanan, Notes, 11422 (no pagination).
98. Grose, I, facing p. 71.

towns, and decide to what degree their tower houses were like those of other parts of the country.

Although two of Fethard's towers are rather low, on the whole Tipperary urban towers would seem to be of much the same proportions as their rural counterparts. They are no less well-built or well-defended. All the large openings made in the lower parts of towers are modern, and there are no major windows, as in the Pale (or in Kilmallock, Co. Limerick, where the many urban towers had large windows[99]). Town and country tower houses are basically the same structures, although those at Fethard have some unusual features.

Tipperary towers, like those elsewhere, were both private dwellings and protection for the town as a whole; some also had civic functions. Some acted as flanking-towers for the town walls, while others, as in the Pale, seem to have been placed in tactically important positions within the town. One at Carrick protected the bridge, as did Bridge Castle at Thurles (pl. 24) and two at Fethard (the "Bishop's Palace" and the Templar's Castle, on higher ground beyond the former, but still within easy bow-shot). Grant's Castle commands the main street of Cashel, and the three tower houses in Fethard covered the whole of that town's cross-shaped street-pattern.[100] It is less easy to be sure of the overall layout of Thurles' towers, but Black Castle guarded the road to Nenagh, Crow's Tower that to Cashel, and a third castle was on the Dublin road.[101]

As far as dating goes, urban tower houses are probably as early as those in the country. Grant's Castle was built shortly after 1318, and two of those in Thurles in 1453 (see Appendix I). None of the

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99. See a painting of the town by John Mulvaney, in the National Gallery of Ireland.
100. NLI MS Fethard Maps, p. 6.
101. RIA MS OS Letters, III, pp. 16, 22.

towers that stand today has gun-loops, or any other feature indicative of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; but as few survive, and as some late castles were built in an old-fashioned style, this does not prove that the habit of urban tower-building died out in the sixteenth century. The urban tower houses of Tipperary are part of the overall pattern of the county's fortalices; they were usually in the same style, presumably built by the same architects, and sometimes owned by the same lords, as those in rural areas.

## CHAPTER IX THE CHURCH AND TOWER HOUSES

### THE PROBLEM - VIOLENCE AGAINST THE CHURCH.

A fundamental difference between medieval and modern Europe was that the church was then a far more important part of society. With a few trivial exceptions everybody was a practising member; clerics were not isolated from society, but took part in most "lay" activities, from the village priest with his few acres to the Bishops who ruled cities and served as advisors and officers to kings. Only monks could - or were expected to - escape from the world, and in fact they were often as involved with the laity as were the secular clergy.

In Ireland there were traditional pre-Norman links between priests and people which in some places survived into the tower house period. The offices of coarb and erenach enabled families to hold monastic and episcopal lands for generations, without much control by the church proper. The Normans tried to abolish these institutions,[1] but with only partial success. In the diocese of Killaloe some existed until the seventeenth century, and some places in Tipperary stayed with the same family for many years.[2]

Probably a more serious cause of the blurring of distinctions between layman and cleric was that the church owned land. In Tipperary, however, the amount was not excessive, and no Tipperary monastrey had the vast tracts held by some of the great houses in England, or by St. Thomas in Dublin.[3] Gwynn and Hadcock identified about 26 houses in Tipperary that would have existed in the later Middle Ages,[4]

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1. Nicholls, Gaelic Ireland, pp. 111-113.
2. D.F. Gleeson, Coarbs, pp. 163-7.
3. White, Extants, p. 45.
4. Gwynn and Hadcock, passim.

to which must be added the cathedrals of Emly and Cashel, and one Hospitaller property. Some of these had very paltry lands at their Dissolution;[5] and, overall, Empey has said that the church only had about 90,000 acres in the county, about 1/12 or 1/13 of the whole area. Some of this was lost in the fourteenth century, when the Gaelic Resurgence affected the north of Tipperary.[6] Most land did not belong to the monasteries but to the Archbishop of Cashel, and the Bishops of Killaloe, Emly, Lismore and Ossory, so the Reformation did not diminish it as greatly as would otherwise have been the case.[7]

As in England, there were ecclesiastical manors, complete with manor courts. One example was Ardcrony (6), where, according to Gleeson, an erenach ruled on behalf of the Bishop of Killaloe, although unfortunately there are no references to the place between the mid-fourteenth century and the Reformation.[8] The church lands were organised into a separate county from the Liberty of Tipperary, the County Cross which survived as a rump until 1662. It was a shire inside a shire, its lands scattered throughout Tipperary; it had a sheriff and prison to deal with its own affairs. However, clerics could fall under Liberty jurisdiction in some matters, for they seem to have held some lands outside the County Cross.[9] The Abbot of Holy Cross (233) had his own court, equivalent to that of the Earl, and was called "Earl of the County of the Cross",[10] but in fact he had to share power with other clerics, the most important of whom

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5. White, Extants, passim.
6. Empey, Ph.D., p. 413.
7. ibid., p. 398; CS, II, pp. 357-412.
8. D.F. Gleeson, "Ardcrony", pp. 15-21. Some of his remarks about the tower house are suspect.
9. Empey, Ph.D., pp. 395-6, 398-9, 414-6.
10. Carville, p. 57.

was the Archbishop of Cashel.

Owning land meant that the clergy of Tipperary would have been caught up in the general lawlessness and violence described in Ch. II. They had had the land and cows and so would have been involved in the same legal wrangles as the laity, and, one must assume, as subject to robbery.

Not surprisingly, Synods were always complaining about the "lay" behaviour of Irish clerks; and a recent historian has concluded that by 1400, at least in the Gaelic areas, monks had ceased to live by their Rules, and married as openly as secular priests. Abbacies, priorships, and other benefices became hereditary. In a report of about 1498 the Abbot of Mellifont said that many (Cistercian) monks lived as lay nobles in effect, taking the revenues of their houses and garrisoning them with armed men when he came to inspect them.[11] (The same reception had greeted Stephen of Lexington, sent to report on Cistercian houses in 1228[12]). In Tipperary the Abbot of Holy Cross was really a secular figure whose chief interest in the house was as a source of income; this emerged when he surrendered it at the Dissolution.[13] In Anglo-Norman areas the great abbeys were mainly staffed by monks of that nation; as was their wont the Normans used the church as an instrument of conquest in Ireland, and houses in border districts were habitually used as fortresses.[14] Clerics also had armies; Archbishop Bickner of Dublin (1317-49) led a large force, which he sometimes used when inspecting his brother of Ossory.[15]

Bradshaw has recently attacked the usual image of decadence

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11. Nicholls, Gaelic Ireland, pp. 107-8.
12. Watt, Two Nations, pp. 93, 97-8.
13. Nicholls, Gaelic Ireland, pp. 108-9.
14. D. Wilson, Beginnings, pp. 152-3.
15. Frame, Lordship, p. 3.

and chaos in the Irish church, quoting the great rebuilding of monasteries in the fifteenth century as evidence of vitality. He may be right to doubt some of the more lurid stories, but he cannot deny a heavy involvement in secular life. Heads of houses seem to have used various subterfuges to make money from their lands, often to aid their kin. The Butler abbots of Inishlounaght and Athassel (10) in Tipperary were involved in a scheme with the Earl of Ormond at the time of the Dissolution.[16] In 1537 Ormond compiled a set of complaints by laymen against various superiors: the prior of Cahir "Abbey" (99) was interfering with the trade of Clonmel merchants; the abbots of Kilcooley (243) and Holy Cross (233) were among the churchmen who extorted coign and livery. In short, the charges were very much the same as were made against lay lords at the same time. As Bradshaw remarks in their defence, "the average abbot was no more of a cad than the average country gentleman." In fact he was in many ways an average country gentleman, subject to all the same pressures; he was usually a member of a leading local family, or, as in the case of Edmund Lonergan of Cahir, under the direct patronage of a nobleman.[17]

One exception seems to have been the friars. They appear to have been energetic and respected, with 13 new Franciscan houses founded in the 80 years preceding the Reformation.[18] It is very interesting that there is no fortified friary in Tipperary (or, to the author's knowledge, in any part of Ireland). They alone seem to have had the prestige to deter agressors.

But they were in a minority. Many churchmen chose to, or

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16. Bradshaw, Dissolution, pp. 25-9.
17. ibid., pp. 31-2, 34.
18. ibid., pp. 10-16; Nicholls, Gaelic Ireland, pp. 109-110.

were forced to, fight as much as laymen. The fifteenth and sixteenth centuries saw several warlike bishops, including Cormac MacCoghan, slain with his son (an archdeacon) in a battle in 1441.[19] Sometimes they died in disputes with other clerks; in 1461 the Bishop of Killaloe was murdered by the sons of his rival in a struggle for the see.[20] On other occasions the reason for conflict was secular - in 1496 the Bishop of Ardagh took prisoner Rory O'Farrell, and soon after proclaimed himself the O'Farrell.[21]

In the early sixteenth century Edmund Butler, an illegitimate son of the Earl of Ormond, a pirate, and Archbishop of Cashel, waged war against his father. It was said (untruly, no doubt) that nearly all the churches in Tipperary and Kilkenny were destroyed, and - if one can trust a Fitzgerald writing on Butler affairs - Mass was no longer said in them. He alleged that there was a danger that there would be no more Christianity in these two counties "than in the midst of Turkey".[22] Edmund had tried to prevent his father from raising revenue in Tipperary, and was accused of extorting money from Waterford.[23] A little later a group of bandits who robbed travellers from a castle on the borders of Co. Clare turned out to be sons of the Bishop of Killaloe.[24] A plan for the "Reformation" of Ireland made in 1515 said some people were of the opinion that the prelates were the chief cause of the "mysorder of the land", as they neglected

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19. Mooney, p. 54, quoting O'Donovan, "Mac Firbis' Annals", pp. 204-5.
20. Nicholls, Gaelic Ireland, p. 101.
21. Mooney, p. 54.
22. P. Wilson, Beginnings, pp. 135-6, 143. He might have been inspired to be a pirate by Baldassare Cossa, who followed this trade before he became Pope John XXIII - E.J. Kitts, In the days of the Councils, London, 1908, pp. 142-3. Many of the complaints levelled against Irish clerics were also made against their counterparts in other countries.
23. Bagwell, I, pp. 291-2.
24. CSPI, 1603-6, pp. 471-2.

their religious duties.[25]

No less than three annals praised Turlough O'Brien, Bishop of Killaloe, who died in 1525, because he defended his rights and frequently sent large armies to destroy his enemies.[26] Some sections of society must have come to expect a prelate to behave in this way. Another expression of this ethos is a praise-poem for John Cantwell, an Archbishop of Cashel in the second half of the fifteenth century, which has the style and atmosphere of the usual sort of paean to a warrior chief. Although it uses euphemisms for his burnings and raidings, it is clear that a chief quality of this churchman was "his energy in defending his right", his "martial deeds", and the fact that he stopped the raiding of his see's cattle which had occurred before he took office.[27]

It was natural, then, that the church should enjoy little immunity from violence. In 1342 an O'Kennedy burnt Tyrone priory at Nenagh, and Athassel (10) was burnt twice in the fourteenth century. In 1447 the Archbishop of Cashel sent Geoffrey de Burgo to protect the place from various nobles; he was wounded while trying to rescue a stricken cannon. Moor Abbey, another Tipperary house, was plundered in 1472, only a year after its foundation.[28] A proposal for Ireland's "reformation" in 1515 said that nobles robbed the prelates of their possessions and liberties,[29] while in 1555 the Cashel clergy alleged that the Earl of Ormond and the Baron of Dunboyne cessed the properties of churchmen with gallowglass, kern, horses and hounds.[30]

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25. State Papers, H.8, II, pp. 15-6.
26. Mooney, p. 54.
27. A. O'Sullivan, "Poem", pp. 106, 109-15.
28. Gwynn and Hadcock, pp. 158, 214, 250.
29. State Papers, H.8, II, p. 10.
30. Hore and Graves, Social State, pp. 225-6.

Secular churches were also vulnerable to armed attack. In 1330, in what Mooney believed to have been a campaign to drive out the English, the Leinster Irish were accused of burining 340 churches. A large amount of church property was destroyed in Emly diocese in 1377.[31] Turlough O'Brien had spared the religious buildings at Latteragh (281) in his burning expeditions to Tipperary in 1304, but this was unusual; even he did not baulk at the destruction of a church and seminary at Ara.[32]

The Justiciary Rolls of around 1300 record several cases of smaller-scale violence against churches, usually in order to steal the goods kept inside.[33] In 1295 three men broke into Fethard church and took 40s in cash out of a chest, other money, and valuables including two silver cups. Two of the robbers claimed to be clerks,[34] but perhaps only to obtain Benefit of Clergy (the right to be tried by a church court). In 1305 six men were accused of breaking into Molagynan church, also in Tipperary, and taking £100 worth of goods, some of which belonged to the vicar.[35] Seven years later a man was said to have broken open and stolen from the chests of various people in Killenaule church.[36] So in Tipperary people apparently used parish churches as depositories for valuables; the churches also could contain the priest's goods, and altar plate (this is what the two silver cups may have been). It is not known whether this habit continued after people built tower houses, and fortified towers on the churches.

The great churches of the county were among the targets, none

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31. Mooney, p. 53.
32. MacCraith, p. 28.
33. Cal. Justiciary Rolls, I, pp. 3, 174, 191; II, pp. 161, 501.
34. ibid., I, p. 12.
35. ibid, II, p. 464.
36. ibid., III, p. 253. In this instance the accused was found not guilty.

more so than Cashel cathedral (113). Perhaps the lure of archiepiscopal valuables, or a desire to capture the Archbishop (who sometimes lived in a tower house on the Rock itself) led men to overcome the cathedral's formidable defences. In 1381 the town and the house of mendicant friars were said to have been impoverished by the situation on the march (i.e. raids);[37] at the end of the next century the Earl of Desmond burnt the cathedral, as he believed his enemy the Archbishop was inside.[38] In 1581 a later Desmond raided into Cashel,[39] and about this time the Archbishop of Armagh wrote that his counterpart of Cashel had been taken prisoner in his own house (perhaps the castle on the Rock) and carried away by a Papal agent.[40] The final disaster was in 1647 when Inchiquin's army stormed the Rock, despite opposition, and, by his own admission, killed over 700 men (some were priests and friars) in the church, plus some women.[41] It may have been because of attacks that the cathedral needed to be rebuilt in 1329, and was again dilapidated by 1407.[42]

One voice was raised against this general picture of attacks on the church; Stanihurst said the Irish were religious, and gave honour to their priests, who could live in safety during a war. Both sides deemed "it monstrous that any part of a priest's property be plundered", let alone his person harmed.[43] However, his work might have been in part a polemic, for by his day the coming of Protestantism had further complicated the situation. In fact the Re-

37. Empey, Ph.D., p. 201.
38. Lennon, Stanihurst, pp. 158-9. Leask (Cashel, p. 9) doubts whether this famous incident ever took place.
39. White, Cashel, p. 46.
40. Brady, p. 63.
41. O'Dwyer, pp. 176-7.
42. Seymour, Archbishops, pp. 41,53.
43. Lennon, Stanihurst, p. 157.

formation in Tipperary was very far from a religious revolution. Perhaps the most obvious change was that the monasteries were abolished, mostly in 1540-41,[44] but some lingered for decades after this. The Franciscans of Moor Abbey carried on for many years, and some were killed by Elizabeth's soldiers. There were at least titular abbots of Kilcooley (243) in the next century, and a Dominican house seems to have existed at Clonmel in the 1640's.[45] Holy Cross (233) was spared until 1563, and there were signes of life even later, for people went on pilgrimage there in the seventeenth century.[46] The monastic lands were distributed to local secular landowners, the Earl of Ormond receiving the lion's share. The new owners could use their buildings as dwellings or for other wordly purposes.[47]

As for the secular clerics, the Reformation does not seem to have rescued them from the decadence and violence in which they were floundering. In one respect it may even have made matters worse, dividing the church further into hostile factions. The church in Ireland had never really been unified or freed from political ties, for after the Norman conquest there were in many areas two churches, Gaelic and Anglo-Norman, which expressed mutual intolerance in excluding members of the other culture from their houses. However, by Henry III's reign, it had been found that racial discrimination would not work in certain areas,[48] and in Tipperary there seems to have been some lessening of the cultural divide in the late Middle Ages. When the great rebuilding of churches took place in the fifteenth

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44. White, Extracts, passim.
45. Gwynn and Hadcock, pp. 138, 232-3, 250.
46. Carville, pp. 33, 116, 144.
47. Bradshaw, Dissolution, pp. 130, 195.
48. Watt, Two Nations, p. 78.

century, it was in the same architectural style all over the county, which implies some degree of coming together.

The Reformation was inextricably linked with politics, and with war. More than before, Englishmen saw the enforcement of their creed on Ireland as part of their political conquest, and as a means for ensuring order. As Deputy Sidney said in 1576, referring to Munster, "preposterous it seemeth to me to begin reformation of the politic part and neglect the religious";[49] according to Sir John Perrott, also talking about Munster, one of the clergyman's jobs was to teach the people "perfect Obeidience to their Prince."[50] In 1582 two Lords Justice informed Walsingham that the rebel leaders were themselves irreligious, but "had free use of all Papistry", and maintained friaries, as they hoped for support from followers of the older faith.[51] In 1562 Shane O'Neill attacked the "church" (probably the cathedral) of Armagh; after failing to destroy it a Catholic Bishop said Mass for his men, who swore to burn the church, "and all the English churches".[52] In 1580 it was said that the rebel Burkes had threatened clergy with death, and destruction of their church if they refused to say Mass.[53] In this atmosphere it is not surprising to find a recommendation to Walsingham that bishoprics should only be bestowed on hardened soldiers - religion and law could not succeed before the sword had cut a way for them - and an allegation that priests and friars were themselves rebel leaders.[54]

There was certainly a degree of religious warfare in Tipperary.

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49. Brady, p. 14.
50. History of Perrott, pp. 87-8.
51. Brady, p. 64.
52. Letter from Deputy Sussex, quoted in Dwyer, pp. 37-8.
53. Brady, pp. 44-5.
54. Brady, pp. 10,43.

Some attacks on Cashel cathedral (113) have already been noted. Miler Magrath, the Protestant Archbishop, remembering that a predecessor had been kidnapped and that a rival Catholic Archbishop had said Mass in the Cathedral, blamed this on a lack of security, and the military weakness of the see. He felt that the same fault had led to his being robbed and wounded, and Bishop Walsh of Kilkenny murdered, and so asked for a bodyguard of up to 100 men.[55] Apparently, he was not so favoured, for in 1593, nine years later, he complained that his houses had been burnt, his castles spoiled, his tenants preyed upon, his servants murdered, his goods extorted, and his life frequently endangered. Shortly afterwards he fled to London, carrying, it was alleged, great sums of money and jewels.[56] The tone of his letter shows he was scared silly, which could mean he inflated his misfortunes; but it also indicates the pressures on him were very great. In 1600 he was back in Cashel, and complained that Dermot O'Dwyer had "broke my castle and spoiled by town of Ballyvorein" (Ballingarron(17) ) and taken a great prey from Cashel churchyard (presumably the wall around the top of the Rock), and cows from his manors of Killough (258) and Camus (100), as well as damaging walls at Milltown castle (303).[57] There was also some dispute in the diocese of Killaloe between a Catholic and a Protestant bishop.[58]

Numerous reports of damage to churches indicate that this sort of warfare involved the destruction of religious buildings. In 1576, all over Ireland, even in the relatively well-governed diocese of

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55. Brady, pp. 62, 89-90. The murder of Walsh is confirmed on p. 103, although he is said to have been Bishop of Ossory.
56. Brady, pp. 134, 139-42.
57. Callanan, Septs , pp. 116-7. O'Dwyer denied the charges, and said any action he took was as part of his duties as sheriff.
58. Dwyer, pp. 53-4.

Meath, churches were said to be ruinous, due to the preying of the prelates, and "the Potentates, their noisome neighbours".[59] In 1587 it was reported that over the entire country, the only churches fit for use were those in walled towns.[60] This sort of damage happened in Tipperary, as is shown by a 1607 regal visitation to the diocese of Cashel and Emly. Both cathedrals were ruined, and there were not more than six churches in repair in the two bishoprics combined.[61] By 1615, after more than a decade of peace, matters were somewhat better, in Killaloe diocese at least, and in 1622 the Bishop said no church needed complete rebuilding, although many had to be "re-edified".[62] But then came the 1641-50 war, which had strong religious overtones, and seems to have done more damage. The Civil Survey does not give a thorough listing of ecclesiastical buildings, but out of the sixteen churches and nine abbeys mentioned, six and seven respectively were in ruins after the war.

THE RESULT: FORTIFIED CHURCHES AND MONASTERIES.

The section has brought forward many pieces of evidence, from Tipperary whenever possible, to make one point - that, because of their involvement in the same sort of armed disputes and crimes as the laity, and because wars became in part religious after the Reformation, clergymen needed to protect their persons and their churches from force. In earlier times some religious buildings had been ring-forts;[63] and when the laity took to tower houses, so did some of the clergy.

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59. Brady, pp. 15-17.
60. Brady, p. 117.
61. Phair, p. 81.
62. Dwyer, pp. 89-97, 129.
63. Westropp, "Forts", pp. 639-40.

There were two main sorts of church-owned tower house. The first was a normal castle on church land, either let to laymen or run as a monastic grange. These were mentioned in an Act of 1541-1543, when it was said that the prelates of the marches had "strong cassels & houses mete for defence of the Kings subjectes thereunto adjoining", but had let them decay, for which reason the castles were to be taken into Royal hands.[64] A grange, at least in the Cistercian order, was a farm run for profit by lay-brothers (or by laymen); it was not to have a chapel lest it take over the religious role of the main house. Several of these monastic farms had towers. Carville lists four tower houses on the lands of Holy Cross (233), but one is very doubtful, and another was built after Dissolution.[65] Grange Kilcooley (227) guarded the abbey's farm,[66] while the castle of Grangemore (229) belonged to the priory of Cahir (99),[67] and Baptistsgrange (75) to the hospital of St. John Baptist in Dublin.[68] Athassel (10) owned Golden (212) before it was granted to the Earl in 1557-8.[69] The Civil Survey said that seven more tower houses were on episcopal lands.[70] Baptistsgrange probably stood by 1500, and Killough(258) some decades later (see Appendix I); none of the others can be dated. All the existing specimens seem to be ordinary towers, with no ecclesiastical features.

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64. An. Hib. 10 (1941), p. 161.
65. Carville, p. 98. The castles were Farney (see Appendix I), Rathcannon (see Appendix I), Beakstown and Cormackstown.
66. White, Extants, p. 323.
67. ibid., pp. 331-2.
68. Gwynn and Hadcock, p. 216, Index. This place was also called Achafad, Athforth, or Athfath.
69. Morrin, I, p. 384.
70. Ballingarron (CS, II, p. 359), Emly (p. 363), Kilcarnan (p. 364), Ballydrehid (p. 365), Camus (p. 376), Killough (p. 380), and Ardfinnan (p. 410).

The second class of building was when the church or monastery itself was fortified. This was not unique to Ireland, for in certain parts of Europe fortified churches appear to have been quite common. The cathedrals of St. Brieuc in Brittany and Bayeux in Normandy used their towers as refugees, and in both areas smaller churches were also defended; as in Ireland, they were not intended against large armies, but against small parties of rapidly-moving raiders. In many parts of France fortified churches survived as long as private wars did.[71] In sixteenth-century Northumberland many priests dwelt in pele towers, and in addition some churches here and in Cumberland have fortified towers,[72] but on the whole church-castles are not very common in any part of the British Isles save Ireland.

One of the earliest and best-known cases of ecclesiastical fortification comes from 1228, when Stephen of Lexington tried to visit the Cistercian abbey of Maigue, Co. Limerick. It hired 200 mercenaries, built a defensive tower over the high altar, turned the dormitories into armouries, and filled the cloister, tower, and dormitories with cattle and meat for a siege. Stephen's men had to fight their way in, eventually pulling down a rampart on the east side of the church.[73] By the fifteenth century more churches were fortified, and one can speculate that Taghmon, Co. Meath, received its well preserved tower as a result of the plundering suffered in 1452, or the burning of 1467-8.[74]

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71. Raymond Rey, Les églises fortifiées du Midi de la France, Paris, 1925, pp. 14-9, 23, 26, 44-59.
72. Sidney Toy, The Castles of Great Britain, London, 1953, pp. 262-3; W.W. Tomlinson, Life in Northunberland during the sixteenth century, London, n.d., pp. 30-1.
73. Watt, Two Nations, pp. 97-8.
74. Leask, "Taghman", pp. 104-9; AFM, IV, pp. 982-3; Berry, Edward IV, I, p. 605.

Another reason for tower houses on churches was the habit of Irish priests of living in their churches. Du Noyer said that by the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries architects almost invariably made provision for dwelling inside a church, but most medieval churches are too ruined to provide evidence. At Donaghmore (180) in Tipperary a Romanesque church, which O'Donovan said was twelfth century, has a small priest's room over the vaulted chancel.[75] There is a very fine priest's house above the nave of Cormac's Chapel, Cashel, clearly part of the original twelfth-century design. It has two storeys, windows, and a chimney; there is a smaller dwelling over the chancel.

The dating of church-castles is not easy. That at Maigue has not survived, so it is impossible to say if it was like extant examples. Du Noyer said St. Catherine's, Nook, Co. Wexford, dates from the late fourteenth century because of the style of its windows, but it could be somewhat later due to the possible time-lag across the Irish Sea in design of church windows.[76] Harbison believes its tower house was added to Bective Abbey, Co. Meath, in the fifteenth century,[77] and this appears to have been the probable date of Taghmon.[78] In 1436 the monks of Owney Abbey, Co. Limerick, said that their Irish abbot, foisted on them by the violent (Irish) laity, behaved in so riotous a fashion that they could not leave the castle of their monastery.[79]

It is likely that many of these castles do date from the fifteenth century. This was not only a period of many lay tower houses,

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75. Du Noyer, p. 31; see also NMI Field Monuments File. The battlements of Donaghmore are an addition.
76. Du Noyer, p. 32; Leask, Churches, III, p. 14.
77. Harbison, pp. 179-80.
78. Leask, "Taghmon", pp. 102, 108-9.
79. Callanan, Septs, pp. 57-8.

but also of renewed church-building, after a gap in activity caused by the Black Death. Notable features of fifteenth-century churches are unfortified towers over the crossing, often similar in appearance to defensive towers - that at Cashel cathedral (113) even had a roof like a tower house.[80] Some castles, however, were put up after the Reformation, such as those a lay proprietor added to Harbarstone, Co. Offaly, and Durrow, Co. Laois.[81] The church at Clareen, in Offaly, has a "gun-tower" to protect it,[82] and Armagh cathedral was once encircled by a wall with curious "port-holes", which seem to have been intended for firearms.[83]

Only a few Tipperary church castles can be dated. Ardmayle's tower (8) has a decorated window that indicates the first half of the fifteenth century, as it seems to have been carved by the man responsible for the sedilia at Holy Cross (233) (Ch. VI, p. 232). The tower house on Cashel Cathedral was probably built by Archbishop Richard O'Hedian (1406-40), who was responsible for the Hall of the Vicars Choral, which also forms part of the defences of the Rock, or by John Cantwell (Archbishop 1450-82). There is no proof for either man, but O'Hedian is a likely candidate: he was an energetic prelate who rescued the possessions and buildings of the see from decay and alienation,[84] and so might well have erected this strong and handsome palace to demonstrate the renewal of archiepiscopal power. An anonymous medieval poem referred to Holy Cross as a "castle", as did a "book of reference" to The Civil Survey,[85] but although the church

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80. RIA MS Moloy, p. 21; Leask, Churches, II, pp. 123-4; III, p. 1.
81. CSPI, 1515-73, p. 458.
82. Cunningham, p. 68.
83. Ware, I, facing p. 1.
84. J. Gleeson, Cashel, pp. 194, 235; Leask, Cashel, p. 9.
85. Callanan, Holy Cross, p. 40; Carville, p. 20.

has battlements, there is no sign of a real fortification. The poem may well have been allegorical, describing the place as a fortress of God. In 1541 the new lay proprietor of Thome (381), Donald O'Meare, was building a castle in the house to resist the Irish and defend the King's subjects.[86] This tower, in ruins by 1630, was "whithin the scite" of the monastery.[87]

Table I (below) summarizes the fortified churches in Tipperary that have come to the writer's notice. Seven monasteries and twelve other churches were, or may have been, defended. This is not a high figure when compared to over 400 tower houses, or the total number of churches - The Civil Survey said there were 185 parishes in the county, so presumably there were at one time as many parish churches. Many of these churches must have been too poor to afford a tower, and as many churches are beside tower houses the priest could have taken refuge with a lay patron.[88]

Another reason why relatively few church tower houses are known is that hardly any, except those in monasteries which were noted at the Dissolution, appear in contemporary records as such. The earliest written references to fortified parish churches are in the works of nineteenth-century antiquarians. Few churches appear in The Civil Survey, and when, like Ardcrony (6), they are in fact defended, this is not mentioned.[89] The Royal Visitations distinguished between "church" and chancel, but did not bother with where the priest lived,

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86. PROI MS Lodge Transcripts, p. 66.
87. PROI MS Deeds, 1a·48·111, p. 301 (or 307 in alternative pagination).
88. In some cases a priest preferred his own private fortalice; the church-castles of Ardmayle, Buolick, and Kiltinan are all beside lay castles.
89. CS, II, p. 292.

CHAPTER IX. TABLE I. FORTIFIED CHURCHES IN TIPPERARY.

| | For more details, see Appendix I. |
|---|---|
| Ardcrony | Tower house on west end of church. |
| Ardmayle | Tower house on west end of church. |
| Athassel Priory | Possible tower house on north west corner of church; defended precinct with gatehouse. |
| Ballycahil | (No connection with Ballycahil castle). Weak tower house on west end of church; machicolation over door. |
| Ballysheehan | Tower house on west end of church. |
| Buolick | Tower house on west end of church. |
| Cahir "Abbey" | Tower house on south-east corner of cloister; residential tower over crossing of church. |
| Cashel Cathedral | Walled precinct around Rock; tower house on west end of cathedral. |
| Donaghmore | Romanesque church with later battlements. |
| Fennor | Tower house on west end of church. |
| Holy Cross Abbey | Possible castle. |
| Kiboy | Tower house on west end of church. |
| Kilbarron | Early church with probable later tower house on west end. |
| Kilcooley Abbey | Possible tower house to south-east of cloister. |
| Kiltinan | Tower house on east end of church. |
| Maginstown | Tower house on church. |
| Nenagh (St. John's Abbey) | "Small tower". |
| Thome Abbey/ Toomyvara | Castle once in abbey precinct. |
| Thurles (Carmelite Friary) | The tower was once called "the castle". |

or how he protected himself.[90] The only real evidence is archaeological; and as about half Tipperary's lay towers have totally vanished, it is likely that a number of church-castles have also left no traces.

It is tempting to think that the Military Orders, a cross-breed between knights and monks, should have lived in buildings that were half castle and half church. In Tipperary the Hospitallers had a house in Dlonaul, and property in Cashel and Carrick, but there is no proof that they owned any specific surviving building in the county.[91] The Templars had revenue out of Ardmayle church (8), but their order was destroyed before the Church was fortified. However; as the Hospitallers usually took over Templar property, it is at least possible that they were responsible for this tower house.[92]

Although the church tower was recognised as an architectural type quite early,[93] not much has been written about its form or distribution. They existed in Wexford, Kerry,[94] Dublin, Meath,[95] and Louth;[96] Clare had one example.[97] However, and analysis of Ulster churches has not produced any fortified specimens.[98] The church-castles of which descriptions have been published are usually similar to those of Tipperary, and consist of a western tower built onto a church, with one or more vaults. St. Katherine's at Nook, Co.

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90. Marsh's Library MS, Hamilton, passim; Phair, passim.
91. MacDermott, p. 13; White, Extents, pp. 116-7.
92. An. Hib. 24 (1967), p. 225.
93. The first writer to discuss them in print was Du Noyer in 1866; and O'Neill, who wrote his manuscript notebooks between 1850 and 1875, realized clearly the relationship between church and secular tower houses - NLI MS O'Neill, II, p. 10.
94. Du Noyer, pp. 32-7.
95. Leask, "Taghmon", p. 109.
96. Peterson and Davies, pp. 246-7.
97. Westropp, "Clare churches", pl. X.
98, Davies, "Churches", passim.

Wexford, had a wall walk around the sides of the nave and chancel, as did (probably) Ballycahil (29) in Tipperary. One type not found in Tipperary is the church at Clonmines, Co. Wexford, which looks like an ordinary tower house from outside, but contains a small church on the ground floor, with living accommodation, parapets, and an oven higher up.[99]

In Tipperary, church-castles fall into two groups, those that were built onto monasteries, and those on parish churches (and Cashel cathedral (113)). From the few remaining monastic tower houses, it seems that there was no standard site in the precinct for putting a tower. Athassel's (10) defensive works are extensive rather than strong. As revealed by an aerial photograph,[100] the whole complex is in an eye-shaped enclosure, formed by a ditch cutting off a bend in the river Suir. The only access to this "island" is by a gate-house with a portcullis; on the island are the monastery and two large bawns. There is the base of a tower built into the west front, and clearly of the same age (probably around 1280); this could be the "castle" noted in 1558, for it has a vault, and a window-seat, but it is equally likely to have been a belfry.[101]

Cahir "Abbey" (99) has two residential towers. One (pl. 25) is over the crossing of the church, and has two storeys with large mullioned windows, and four gables. The gables have replaced a battlemented parapet, as shown by drainage holes and spouts, and possible blocked-up crenellations. This was probably a normal fifteenth-century friary belfry, converted into a residence after the Dissolution.

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99. Du Noyer, pp. 32-7.
100. Cambridge University Collection of Aerial Photographs, APD 17-21.
101. Leask, Churches, pp. 95-9 ; Harbison, pp. 219-20; Office of Public Works Monuments File (Tipperary no. 120, Athassel) and unnumbered old photographs. The writer was unable to inspect Athassel personally.

The other tower house is at the south-east corner of the cloister, with four storeys, an attic, and windows like those in the crossing-tower. Apart from having its ground storey covered by two narrow vaults instead of one broad one, it seems very similar to normal towers. It was able to cover two sides of the monastery with flanking-fire. As there was no mention of a castle when the house was dissolved,[102] and because of its large windows, this tower too may have been built by a lay-owner rather than the clerks.

Kilcooley (243) has a fairly long rectangular building, now free-standing, to the south-east of the monastery. Damage and alterations have obscured its original function, but it may well have been a castle, although of unusual shape. This theory is supported by its position (it covers two sides of the monastery), its narrow loops, and the opinion of a nineteenth-century writer.[103]

The towers attached to normal churches are usually on their west ends. On the whole, they are similar to the smaller lay tower houses (pl. 26). They are always rectangular, three of four storeys high, and lack turrets, with the exception of Cashel (113); as befits an Archbishop's palace, this is one of the county's best tower houses, 28 feet by 43 and five storeys high.[104] They do not seem to have halls, houses, or any other ancillary structures (except Kiltinan (263), which has the crease-marks of a vanished building). None has a bawn, but their stone graveyards are often well-built, and could have served as such. Ardcrony (6), once the caput of an ecclesiastical manor, and Fennor (197), share with Cahir "Abbey" the peculiarity of having the ground storey divided into two halves, although at

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102. White, Extents, pp. 301-2.
103. Healy, "Kilcooley", p. 221.
104. RIA MS OS Letters, I, p. 310. It is also unusual in having circular windows.

Ardcrony it is just by a rough, inserted wall rather than by two vaults. Only Cashel has mural stairs; in all other cases ascent must have been by newel or wooden stairs. Normally entrance is by a door from the body of the church, but at Ballysheehan (69) there is a very curious arrangement. One can only enter the tower house by a vaulted passage connecting to a door in its second storey (due to an irregularity of ground, this is on about the same level as the church floor). This passage appears to have had a battlemented parapet on its roof and can be reached from the church, or from outside. It was built in at least two stages, but the reason for it remains undiscovered.

In some instances the church roof was linked to the tower, and formed part of the defences. Cashel cathedral could have been defended from much of its upper works, and the tower house connects by a passage with additional living quarters above the cathedral porch. At Ballycahil (29) there is the base of what was probably a very small castle at the west end of the church, which gave access to the church roof. From here people could cover the church's main door by a machicolation. At the Romasesque church of Donaghmore (180) there is no tower, and the only possible defence is a parapet around the church roof.[105]

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This chapter has described the problems of the late medieval church in Ireland, to show how clerics faced the same need for protection as laymen, and adopted the same solution.[106] There was some

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105. NMI Field Monuments File. The writer did not visit the site.
106. The church-castle was almost entirely a product of local conditions, but there is one example of Irish builders apparently copying a Continental original. The remarkable machicolations of Kildare cathedral, supported by buttresses rather than corbels, were probably inspired by the same feature at the Pope's Palace in Avignon, which some of the Irish hierarchy must have seen.

lay involvement in the running of church properties in the Gaelic church, and also in the Norman system. By the late Middle Ages it was almost impossible in some areas to make any real distinction between clergy and their flock; monks lived secular lives, and their abbots and priors were often local noblemen. This meant that people saw no reason to respect their cloth, and so churches and religious houses were subject to thieving and raids. Nor were churchmen always the victims of aggression, and it seems that in the fifteenth century it was not thought abnormal for them to wage war themselves. The Reformation made the division between the Gaelic church and the English one much deeper, and clergy had important roles, both active and passive, in the wars of Elizabeth and the seventeenth century.

Clerics' persons, property, and churches were all at risk, so they built small castles for protection, either free-standing on ecclesiastical lands or built onto monasteries and parish churches. It is not possible to be sure of the distribution of church-castles over Ireland as yet; nor can the historian be sure of how many there were in Tipperary, since most are known only from their remains, and many may have vanished completely. Dating is also difficult; many probably were put up in the fifteenth century, but there was some sort of tower built in Co. Limerick in 1228, and a few Tipperary examples of post-Reformation fortified monasteries. Architecturally, the church tower houses are generally much the same as their smaller lay counterparts, although some have unusual features. In some cases the body of the church itself was also lightly fortified.

## CHAPTER X. CONCLUSIONS.

This thesis has attempted to give as complete as possible an account of the tower houses of Co. Tipperary. Although evidence on many points has been scarce, the fact that, for centuries, practically everyone of importance lived in, or owned, one or more of these minor castles means that they influenced life in a number of ways. However, it cannot be questioned that the main raison d'être of the great majority was a fortified private home, to protect the owner, his people, and his animals from raiders.

### ORIGINS

In Tipperary, as in most areas where people have built tower houses, they appear in quantity; in fact in such numbers that they seem to have excluded most other forms of stone dwelling. Part of the reason for their popularity must have been their aesthetic quality. We know, through a few bardic poems, that certain chiefs did regard their towers as objects of admiration. The prevalence of stepped battlements, which have no practical advantages, but which look very handsome and make a tall, slender tower seem taller and more slender, shows that owners and builders were prepared to spend some effort on appearence. So does the habit of white-washing the outsides of towers; the inscribed stones that proclaimed who built a castle, or when it was built, show that some of the later owners wished to enhance their prestige by associating their names with impressive buildings. In Europe, noblemen were proud of the beauty of their castles, and took pains to record and celebrate it,[1] and the same seems to be so, in a

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1. Writers on castles have concentrated mainly on the military and domestic sides of their subjects but the importance of display

much more modest way, in Ireland.

A second cause for the prodigious numbers of tower houses is likely to have been fashion, and a desire not to be outdone by one's neighbours and rivals. There is no evidence for this assertion, save the almost universal human desire not to be thought poor or old-fashioned. Although a rath could, in its day, be a home to be proud of (witness the poem of praise for Cloonfree, c.1300), such a low-lying, mainly earth and timber dwelling would not have the prestige of a tall, expensive stone tower house. There was room for individual tastes to make themselves felt in the details of some towers, but respect came from conforming to the architectural ideas of the rest of society.

There is, unfortunately, little concrete proof that aesthetics and fashion led men to build tower houses. One can, however, speak at greater length about a more tangible reason for their growth, the desire for security. As in Scotland, Spain, Northumbria, Italy, the Caucasus and other regions with numerous small castles, there was a frequent lack of control by central government in Tipperary, and no effective means of ensuring that crime was kept down. There are a few indications to suggest that at times in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries robbers were in check, but on the whole it seems that the well-known picture conveyed by Elizabethan and Jacobean writers was fairly true for Tipperary. These commentators often mention that stealing was a way of life for Irish chieftains, and not considered as dishonourable, a view that is supported by Irish poems and annals that praise men for raiding. The law also sheds light on this matter, not only the Brehon customs introduced especially to deal with

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has not gone unrecognised. The elaborate decoration of many later medieval castles, laudatory written accounts, and pictures painted to record actual castles all prove castellans were very concerned about their appearance of their castles.

cattle-raiding, but also the records of court-cases in Tipperary. These exist for the fourteenth, fifteenth and especially, sixteenth centuries, and from these it seems that stealing animals, often in large numbers, was common. This could involve violence; the person was also at risk in cases of kidnapping. Things quietened down, it seems, in the early seventeenth century, after the devastating wars of Elizabeth's reign, but the habit of raiding was only finally destroyed by Cromwell, who removed many of the existing gentry from the county.

There is no proof that any one Tipperary tower was built with the sole purpose of defeating raids, or to raid out of, but it is clear that the main reason why fortalices as a whole were built was to protect the owner and his property from thieves. The bottom storey of the tower could, in some castles at least, hold a small number of beasts, but more important was the bawn or courtyard, the very name of which reveals it was to protect cows. As reivers might use considerable violence to achieve their ends, and move in quite large gangs, the house had to be fortified enough to keep them out. However, it does not appear that tower houses were intended to withstand full armies (although they did just that in several cases). A raider wanted booty, not casualties, and if a place looked too strong for him to take with light losses, he would move on to a softer prey. As Stanihurst said, the lords of castles took precautions to let all know that their houses would not be taken with impunity.

As cattle-raiding was so widespread, and indeed by many so accepted, one cannot always draw a line between victims and aggressors. Tower houses might have held stolen beasts; there are several cases of castles being used to imprison people for ransom, or to extort money

from travellers in the form of illegal tolls, doubtless with the threat of death or injury.

Raiding existed long before tower houses did, and before they took to stone towers Gaelic chieftains lived in circular raths. These fulfilled much the same function as tower houses, but were less impressive to look upon, and, except for the relatively rare multi-banked specimens, less strong against attackers. There has been some dispute in recent years about the extent to which raths were still used in the Middle Ages, but they seem the most likely homes for the Gaelic lords before they changed to tower houses. There is little evidence on this subject from Tipperary, but it would seem from several sources from elsewhere that they were in use at least until the fifteenth century, which is the time when one first hears of castles built by Irishmen. Tipperary has two fine examples of tower houses actually inside raths, Behamore (83) and Rahelty (340).

The situation was more complicated with the Anglo-Norman gentry. Most of the manors, the institutional framework of the county after the invasion, survived as centres of settlement, with a tower house; in some cases the manor with its court went on operating, with a tower as its caput. A manor was not itself any particular sort of building; many of the rural Norman gentry appear to have dwelt in two types of earthwork, the motte and the moated site. Mottes, less common and much stronger, were in the majority of cases supplanted by towers, although exactly when is not sure; the process could have continued for many years. Usually, the motte itself was abandoned and the tower house built some distance away, but in up to five cases in Tipperary the stone tower was added to the earth hillock. As moated sites are

much more common than mottes, and similar in function to tower houses, it would seem reasonable they were the latter's immediate predecessors. Moated sites seem to have been dug in the century 1225-1325, and sometimes inhabited for long after that, so the chronology fits neatly into this theory; unfortunately, the evidence from Tipperary is less satisfying. Only just over a quarter of the moated sites have a tower house in the same townland; in only two cases does it seem that a moated site has been used as a bawn for a later castle. However, most of the moated sites that do share a townland with a castle are in the heavily Normanized areas of the county, and others could have fallen victom to the Gaelic Resurgence of the fourteenth century, before most towers were built.

The fact that in the fifteenth century Gaels and Anglo-Normans began to live in the same sort of dwelling for the first time, rather than structures peculiar to each people, is significant in relation to the much-discussed cultural merging of the late Middle Ages. English commentators at the time saw this mainly as the settlers "degenerating" by taking up the ways of the natives, but here is an example of the Irish adopting a foreign import, the stone castle. There does not seem to have been any architectural distinction between towers built for Celtic and Anglo-Norman patrons.

The time when the latter first began with tower-houses is not precisely clear, but it seems to have been about a hundred years before the Irish copied them in the early fifteenth century. There are various references to "fortalices", a word commonly used in the fifteenth century to describe what we today by the neologism "tower houses", in the first half of the fourteenth century for various parts of Ireland. Tipperary has several references to castles in this per-

iod, where today there stand tower houses, or where we know they once stood. A royal castle was built in Cashel shortly after 1318, almost certainly the moderately-sized tower now called Grant's Castle. Even for Tipperary, which is richer than most parts of Ireland in written evidence, it is impossible to say when all but a fraction of the castles were built; most of the known dates are in the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries, although, since material becomes more plentiful then, this does not necessarily mean that most tower houses are so late.

Types of settlement that fulfilled the same purpose as tower houses - raths and moated sites - were very common in Ireland before there were tower houses, so in one way the fortalices were just another step in the old tradition. Architecturally, however, they are very different, and so there is some question as to where the idea came from. The very number of countries that have towers (which arguably shows that the idea of a single, small tower is fairly obvious, and occurs to different people faced with similar problems) has given rise to various theories as to the foreign origin of the Irish tower. However, the only such country that does seem to have had a link with Ireland is Scotland. There was considerable contact between Ulster and the west coast of Scotland; at least two Scottish castles show Irish characteristics, and some Ulster towers - sixteenth-and seventeenth-century ones admittedly - have distinctly Scottish characteristics. There are architectural features, such as the ridged wall-walks, found in both countries, and, as far as is known, not elsewhere.

One can admit that the growth of both Irish and Scottish tower houses (and the southward projection of the Scottish phenonomen into

northern England) may well be part of the same general architectural movement, in societies that shared such problems as lawlessness and cattle-stealing. However, it would be difficult to show that the Irish towers were copied from Scotland. If this had been the case, the area of the heaviest concentration of castles presumably would have been Ulster, the only part of Ireland in direct regular communication with the northern kingdom; instead, there are many fewer tower houses here than in the rest of the country. There were earlier tower houses in Scotland, but they only became important in the first half of the fourteenth century, around the time they are first detected in Ireland. Finally, it is clear that Irish towers form an architectural group, with several features that are not found in Scotland (or vice versa).

A more likely inspiration is the most obvious one - the stone castles built in Ireland in the thirteenth century. Naturally, there are distinctive features in most tower houses, and they are, on the whole, smaller than the early keeps, but there is also evidence of continuity. For instance, Tipperary's noted circular tower houses, some built as late as the sixteenth (Ballynahow (57) ) or seventeenth (Ballinaclogh (14) ) centuries, seem to have been in part copied from the county's three round castles, two no bigger than most tower houses, which date from the early thirteenth century. It used to be believed that there was a break in Irish castle-construction during the whole fourteenth cnetury, but this appears now not to be so; the castles of the late Middle Ages are, in part, descendants of those of the Norman invaders.

ARCHITECTURE OF THE TOWER HOUSE.

In some ways it is misleading to concentrate so much attention on the antecedents of the tower house, for it could cause one to forget that this sort of castle was a practical response to a real problem. Many of its features appear to have been for a definite purpose, and all in all, it was well suited to its job. If it had not been, it would not have been so popular, nor would it have lasted so long.

Although there are a few fortalices in Tipperary with a stronghouse as the central point, and even some consisting of just a bawn, the vast majority are centred around one tower, which was the strongpoint of the defense, and also, usually, the chief living quarters of the castle's owner. Some are cylindrical, others have one or more round or rectangular projecting turrets, but most are simple oblongs or squares in plan, with three to five storeys. There is a considerable variation in size, although none is quite as big as Blarney or Bunratty. In most towers there are the same features of construction - rubble walls, cut stone details, quoins at the corners, a battered profile, and one or two vaults, built by the distinctive method of laying cement over a wicker centring. However, by the late sixteenth century both vaults and batter became less common, and most new castles were built like modern houses; i.e. with vertical walls and floors of wood.

The door to the tower house was almost always on the ground storey, and near it, usually, there was a stair leading directly to the upper parts of the tower, for the lowest storey was intended for storage. As a general rate, the principal room of the tower was at the top, with the most impressive ornament and the largest windows.

This was used for entertaining guests and for feasting, at least when the establishment lacked a separate free-standing hall outside. Some castles have complicated internal arrangements, with numerous small rooms, some fitted with garderobes, and some used as bedrooms. On the whole, internal fittings were fairly sophisticated. There were slop-sinks (although how most towers received their water is unknown), and large numbers of wall-cupboards or presses. A few castles have what must have been either prisons, or, less likely, secret chambers to hide in when one's castle was taken. Fireplaces are common, although not universal (some rooms would have had to rely on braziers, or open fires in the centre of the floor), and in some cases they have been added after the original building. Another sign of increasing luxury was the windows: before the mid-sixteenth century all were fairly small, for security (especially in lower storeys); after that date one finds larger rectangular windows, sometimes replacing smaller openings. Doorways are generally well-built, and quite numerous within the tower; they were fastened, for security again, from the inside, with powerful draw-bars. In the design of doorways, as with many other features of the tower house, the builders were very conservative, with the same styles continuing over a long period. There are some instances of Renaissance devices, notably in the ornament above fireplaces and doors, but they are relatively few, and late.

The main means of defending tower houses before the sixteenth century were by shooting through the windows, and from the battlements, which usually were quite extensive running all the way around the roof. Projecting from the wall-walk were often bartizans, to cover the sides of the castle with missiles, and a box-machicolation, so that defen-

ders could drop water or stones on people trying to burn or smash the door. Inside the door was usually a murder-hole, so that if enemies did gain entrance, men in the upper storeys could drop missiles on them as they struggled in a confined space to batter down the inner door.

Castle-builders paid little attention to cannon, but they did supply towers liberally with "spike holes" for arquebuses and muskets, which were probably common in Tipperary before the middle of the sixteenth century. Sometimes the holes are arranged very ingeniously, notably in one of the last tower houses to be built in the county, Derrymacegan (179) erected between 1650 and 1654. Loopholes, however, were so small that it would have been hard to see much through them, especially when firing.

It is not established how many of the county's tower houses once had bawns, but certainly large numbers did. As bawns were on the whole less well built than the towers themselves, they have not survived in such numbers, but there are still enough to give a good impression of what they were like. They were courtyards to shelter herds (and inflammable buildings) from attackers; most of them are defended only by a wall-walk, but some are fairly massive, and have impressive turrets at their angles to sweep their sides with fire. These improved bawns all seem to date from the sixteenth century or later; the greater strength of the outer defences may have been to compensate for the somewhat weaker and more comfortable towers inside them. Not all bawns were stone; some earth banks survive (in two cases old raths), and written sources reveal that quickset hedges and palisades sometimes surrounded Irish castles.

Inside the bawn, and sometimes outside, were "soft" buildings. Of these, few now survive; many were not built of stone, and cannot be traced except by documents and pictures. Halls were sometimes built to give more room for feasts and ceremonies; a few castles had chapels, and mills processed the produce of the farm. Houses and cabins held those who did not live in the tower house itself. Towers were often the centres of quite large clusters of buildings, and aerial photographs can reveal vanished villages beside castles. Gardens and orchards, sometimes hedged or fenced lay near some tower houses.

The architecture of tower houses provides some information about methods of building. Regional peculiarities in castles, such as the round tower-houses of Tipperary, indicate local schools of architects; on the other hand, some builders appear to have known other parts of Ireland, for a rare feature may occur in two different counties.

The architects themselves, however, and their methods of design, remain unknown. Perhaps surprisingly, one hears more often of the humbler workers, the skilled masons and carpenters who were often brought in from outside, and the unskilled labourers who tended to be local. In Tipperary a common way for a lord to reduce the costs of building was to force his tenants to contribute by the system of coign and livery; in practice this meant they had to provide board and lodging for the skilled workmen, produce transport, and do the menial jobs themselves. There are also complaints about people being forced to repair tower houses once they were completed; in other cases it was specifically the duty of the tenant who hired

the castle to keep it "stiff and staunch."

There is some evidence on how long it took to build a tower house, but not enough to give an "average" time. Some appear to have been put up in a few months, while others took several years. Clearly, a lot depended on the size of the task, the wealth and the resources of the builder, and the urgency with which the tower was needed. It would be even harder to work out the cost of a tower house in monetary terms, partly because of lack of information, and partly because in many cases much of the cost was borne by the unfortunate tenants.

THE TOWER HOUSE AT WAR AND PEACE.

As described above, the main function of a tower house was not to resist large armies, but rather to shelter the owner and his property from raiders. However, this general statement does need modification. Some towers were used as military garrisons, one in Tipperary being built solely to house a detachment of the New Model Army. In other counties they were subsidised by the Dublin government, which believed a line of towers owned by armed Englishmen would stop raiders from penetrating an area. The distribution of castles in Tipperary shows that most were on the low-lying, rich farming lands, where they would be most convenient for everyday life and best able to shelter the owner's herds. However, some are on more difficult sites, which are easier to defend; and numbers are placed where they could control communications, mainly rivers - although this may have been so that the owners could prey off travellers, or use the rivers themselves, rather than deny them to enemies.

Moreover, tower houses were called upon to protect their occu-

pants from a range of dangers, some of which may not have been envisaged when the castle was erected. Traditional Irish warfare was not completely a matter of cattle-raiding; another strategy was the destruction of an enemy's crops or buildings, in order to make him surrender or vacate his lands. This was an important tactic of Turlough O'Brien in Tipperary at the beginning of the tower house period, and continued until the late sixteenth century. Unfortunately, little is known about the role of Tipperary tower houses in this sort of warfare, but they must have been caught up in it. There is evidence that castles could survive in an area that was otherwise devastated and even protect nearby buildings from attack. In other instances, however, towers themselves fell, and were among the properties destroyed. In the fourteenth century, when castles were a symbol of Anglo-Norman control, this may have sprung from a wish to eradicate all traces of the invaders; or it could have been done to protect a potential enemy from using the tower.

This desire to destroy a tower house rather than risk an enemy taking possession of it argues against a theory that the tower house had little part to play in the warfare of the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries. This view, shared by at least one distinguished modern historian, Hayes-McCoy, and various Elizabethan writers on Ireland, was that in "real" warfare castles had little effect, and little value. They were not often fought over, partly because the Irish were so unsuited to siege warfare that they could not properly attack or defend any fortified place. A common occurence in the sixteenth century was for an English force, with guns, to take one castle with ease, upon which others in the neighbourhood submitted rapidly.

There is something to be said for this point of view. Tower

houses were never intended to resist full-scale attacks, especially when the enemy could bring up heavy artillery; and often it would seem suicidal to hold out, particularly in light of the common custom of executing everybody inside a castle that fell. On the other hand, to flee from a tower house meant abandoning property, and risking death from cold and hunger, as well as from the foe, in the open. What is more, not all armies had artillery, and there were cases of towers successfully holding off very formidable forces. Even when the intention of one side was to wage guerrilla war, tower houses would provide useful bases and depots for food. Bardic poems show they could be the centres for raiding; they were also a means, if often not a very effective one, of preventing the passage of enemies through one's lands.

One proof of the value that contemporaries put on tower houses is that there were several wars in Tipperary to decide who should own a certain castle. Another is that there were very determined attacks on and defences of tower houses, normally, but by no means always, ending in victory for the aggressor. There was no real defence against heavy guns, but this was less of a liability than might appear. Although guns were introduced into Ireland much earlier, they did not become common until the mid-sixteenth century, and were almost always the prerogative of English forces. What is more, the numerous practical difficulties involved in getting heavy pieces into action against tower houses meant that, until the time of Cromwell, even royal armies often had to fight without them.

Detailed accounts of sieges of Tipperary tower houses occur only in the seventeenth century, although we know there were many attacks in previous periods. However, using what information there

is from Tipperary in the Confederate war and later, together with descriptions of earlier attacks in other parts of Ireland, we can obtain a fairly detailed picture of siege methods. These were in fact the techniques used in medieval Europe, although there are few references to crossbows, and the only siege-engine that seems to have been used regularly was the sow, a wooden shed to shelter attackers; it did not have much success, as far as the sources reveal. There were also trenches and temporary fortifications to protect combatants.

The defenders could sally forth, shoot from the castle, and throw objects from the battlements, but on the whole the initiative lay with the attackers. Sometimes they contented themselves with a blockade, to starve out the garrison. This could take many months, even when, as was sometimes the case, the castle was full of refugees. Although a blockade was not so dangerous in terms of losses, it needed a fairly well-disciplined force to maintain it, with determination to endure the discomforts and boredom of a siege-camp. Blockades could be practical in events like the 1641 rebellion, when the Confederates had enough time to extirpate the islands of resistance in a county they controlled, but in other circumstances an attacker might wish for a more immediate result. Escalades were rare, but direct assaults on doors or other weak points, sometimes with large bodies of men to swamp the defenders, could work. Or the besieger could try to set fire to the tower house, which would be particularly vulnerable if it had a dry thatched roof. Fire could be applied to the main door; an iron grille would not burn down, but it could not protect the inhabitants from smoke. Finally, as in all periods of warfare, tricks and treachery were common.

It is only to be expected that we should have a fuller picture of the tower house at war, with incidents that seemed noteworthy to historians and annalists, than of everyday life. Nevertheless, although there are some major gaps - one cannot be sure, for instance, how many people lived in any one Tipperary tower - there is a considerable amount of evidence on some aspects of ordinary life in a tower.

Firstly, there are several documents, some from Tipperary, that describe the furniture and other property in castles, from the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries. These suggest tower houses were well provided with basic utensils and furniture. By the seventeenth century they also could have had such luxuries as tapestries, curtains, carpets, books and even a clock. One Co. Limerick inventory of 1642 shows that a range of activities - distilling, brewing, weaving woolen and linen cloth - took place in or beside the tower house. It was well stocked with supplies, and had a dovecot to provide fresh meat in the winter. On the other hand, traveller's descriptions record that even in the seventeenth century the Gaelic lords of towers had little furniture, and made liberal use of rushes for various purposes in their castles. Some rooms may have had coloured plaster, or stucco, but most were probably whitewashed.

Apart from being simply a dwelling, the tower house had other peaceful purposes. The feasts held in the top room or hall were both social occasions and methods of demonstrating the owner's status and hospitality. Tower houses were sometimes centres of arable farming, as well as cattle-raising, and harvested crops and farm equipment could be stored inside the bawn. Those castles that were the

capita of manors would probably have been used to hold the manor court.

Many documents concern the tenure of Tipperary tower houses, mostly from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and almost all concerning areas subject to English rather than Brehon law. Castle-holding seems, despite the violence and the law-suits, to have been fairly stable, with towers staying in the hands of one family for generations. Feudal forms of tenure were also very long-lived, persisting even at the end of the tower house period. While the original basis of feudal tenure (the granting of land or a castle in return for military service) soon disappeared, the idea grew up again in the sixteenth century. In Tudor times towers were granted on condition that the tenant maintained a certain number of armed men, and served with them when called upon. In other cases castles were granted for military service already done.

There were large numbers of other conditions that could also be attached to the holding of tower houses. The holder sometimes had to be obedient to the grantor, and often support various burdens, as well as keep up the tower. Rents were very variable; leases (as opposed to grants and enfeoffments) were for a stated length of time, usually twenty or thirty years, with various conditions for re-entry. When a lord of several tower houses did not lease them, he would employ constables, as in England, to look after those in which he himself was not residing.

URBAN AND ECCLESIASTICAL TOWER HOUSES.

The tower house was so prevalent in Tipperary that it became not only the standard dwelling for the rural gentry, but also sometimes housed townsmen and clerks. Basically, these castles were

closely related to the "normal" type, but they did have peculiarities due to their specialized purposes, and so it has been found best to treat them separately.

Urban tower houses seem to have occured in three parts of Ireland: the Pale, east Ulster, and a vaguely-defined area in the south and west. Of the nine principal towns in Tipperary, at least five had tower houses, producing a minimum of 23 tower houes or inhabited wall towers. Naturally they did not hawe bawns (but see ch. VIII , p. 298 ) and some, especially at Fethard, have architectural features not found elsewhere in the county; however, on the whole, they are similar to those of the countryside. It is hard to accept, therefore, the thesis of an earlier writer who wished to make an architectural distinction between urban "fortified" houses and tower houses. Nor is it possible to say whether towers in towns were copied from those in the country, or vice versa; as both seem to have come into existence at about the same time, the likelihood is that both are slightly different manifestations of the same architectural movement.

There is material from Tipperary and other areas to show that urban tower houses had functions not shared by their counterparts outside the towns. Primarily, they were the protected homes of their owners, but some could also have a communal purpose. Those on the walls of towns (as at Clonmel and Fethard) strengthened the defence of the whole place; others could command the main streets of the town. In Tipperary town tower houses also served as a prison, a town hall, a guard house, a repository for the town charter and regalia, a shop, and perhaps a courtroom.

In several parts of medieval Europe churchmen found it desir-

able to safeguard themselves with castles; in Ireland they had good reason to. Clergy were drawn into the lay world by owning lands and holding manors - and their cattle were as available as anyone else's for robbery. There was in practice little immunity granted to clerics from those who liked to rob and do violence, and indeed many of them behaved like laymen. Many of the monks seem to have ignored their rules, and some religious houses, even before the Reformation, appear to have been in the hands of laymen, who used them for profit. Some Irish clerks had a penchant for violence themselves, raiding and waging war like their flocks, so it is not to be wondered at that their cloth gave them no immunity. There are several cases of churches and monasteries being attacked; robbers found churches attractive because they were often used as depositories for valuables.

From the Norman invasion, the church was split into Anglo-Norman and Gaelic parts; the tension became greater after the Reformation, which some Englishmen saw as a means of enforcing political control. Naturally, this was another cause of violence, one form of which was the destruction of churches themselves.

So churchmen built tower houses. Some of them were free-standing, on church lands or monastic granges, others were actually built onto the church or monastery. As early as 1228 the Cistercian abbey of Maigue Co. Limerick, built a fortified tower, and a few of the Tipperary church-castles can also be dated - to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. They are found in several other counties, mainly areas heavily colonized by the Anglo-Normans and others may be discovered when more research is completed.

In Tipperary, seven monasteries and twelve other churches

were, or may have been, fortified; and since church-castles occur even less frequently than tower houses in contemporary documents, the full total would have been rather higher. The commonest form was a single tower on the west end of a church, similar to the smaller tower houses, in which the priest would live. The entrance is usually connected to the body of the church; there do not seem to have been bawns as such, but the stone graveyard walls are often strongly-built and could have served the same purpose. At one site there is no tower, but the church itself is battlemented; at another, Cahir Abbey (99), there are two residential towers.

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This thesis has attempted a comprehensive survey of the tower houses of one Irish county, to explore the need for "such a house as thieves will need to knock at ere they enter",[2] how and when it originated, its varieties of architecture and how they reflected its use, and how the minor castle would serve various types of people in peace and war. Tipperary is in some respects an ideal county to study for it probably had more tower houses than any other, with many still almost perfectly preserved;[3] documentation is plentiful by Irish medieval standards; and the county contained a wide variety of castle-builders, from purely Gaelic chieftains to Cromwell's engineers. Frequent comparisons have been made with equivalent buildings in other counties (and in other countries), but this is not a general history of the Irish tower house. It may be that Tipperary was fairly

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2. This classic justification of the tower house is in fact Scottish; it was used by Patrick Forbes, c. 1500 - see Cruden, p. 224.
3. This is not to deny, however, that several have fallen down or deteriorated in recent decades, and that others are at risk. However, an encouraging feature is that in 1982 two towers were being restored, and others had already been made habitable.

typical of Ireland as a whole in some matters relating to tower houses, but this can only be established after further work on the minor castle in other counties of Ireland.

APPENDIX I. THE STONE CASTLES OF TIPPERARY.

This appendix is designed to list all known or possible stone castles in the county, the vast majority of which were tower houses.

1. First is the name of the castle, usually spelt as in the 1843 6" OS Maps. Alternative names and the more extreme variation of spelling have been cross-referenced.

2. Second is the location of the castle on the 1843 6" OS Maps. When only a reference is given, this implies the castle or its site is marked on the map. When a modern feature (e.g. a house) appears, the castle was probably near this feature. When there is a townland (or townlands) it implies the castle was probably located on them. A second reference, in brackets, is to the ½" OS Sheets 15, 18, and 22.

3. Thirdly, there is the earliest reference to a castle on the site, and any information about when it was built. It has been assumed that by about 1300 the word "castle" meant a stone defence, unless there are specific reasons for believing otherwise. The Civil Survey and the OS Letters are generally reliable sources, and although they omit some towers, they do not seem to include ones that never existed. However, other sites are witnessed only by a single, less riable document, and in these cases the works "only reference" appear as a warning. Several of the doubtful entries are likely to be unidentified names for other castles. One should be particularly wary if the site is unknown.

4. Fourthly, there is a note of remains existing in 1982, based on the writer's visits, and any dating information that can be extracted. This should include any significant ruin, but there are probably some fragments of masonry that mark a fallen tower which are not recorded here.

5. Finally, there is a number for each located site, to identify it on the distribution map.

Abbeville see Lackeen

Achafad see Baptistsgrange.

Actonagh see Nenagh.

Adamstown see Ballymacadam.

Aghm$^{c}$thomas see Ballythomas.

Aghnacaragy see Carrig.

Aghameadle/Varras. Lower centre OS 22 (S 0177). 1654 (CS, II, p. 216). Most of tower remains; brick-topped windows argue a C.17 date. (1)

Allivolane see Ardavullane.

Annagh Lower centre OS 9(R 8390). 1570 (COD, V, p. 186). About half tower stands. (2)

Annfield/Gortanny. Townland bottom right OS 34, top right OS 40 (S 0462). 1654 (CS, I, p. 77). (3)

Archerstown/Archersland/Arthurstown/Rathfern. Bottom right of OS 41 (S 1557). 1625 (NLI MS Callanan, Eliogurty, quoting an unspecified law-suit). (4)

Ardavullane/Allivolane/Ardanvollane/Ardloman. Townland right bottom OS 66 (R 8532). 1636 (RIA MS OS Inqs., II, p. 310). (5).

Ardcollum see Ballynoran.

Ardcrony Top left OS 15 (R 8987). 1654 (CS, II, p. 292). This says there was a castle seperate from the church; today there is only a tower on the end of the church. D.F. Gleeson, "Ardcrony", p. 18, said there was a joined castle and chapel in C.13, but provided no proof. (6)

Ardfinnan/Thomas Castle. Top left, OS 88 (S 0518). Founded 1185, with early C.13 round keep, and a later tower house (Leask, Castles, p. 41; Renn, p. 92, - he says the keep may date from John's reign, although he is incorrect about its shape). Extensive remains. (7)

Ardfinnan Abbey. Probably Short Castle (372). Only reference 1543 (NLI MS Egerton, p. 439).

Ardloman see Ardavullane.

Ardmayle/Garryfeach. Right OS 52 (S 0545). 1450 (COD, III, p. 168). There are 3 stone castles in Ardmayle village - a tower house on the church (dated by windows to 1st half of C.15), a late, many-windowed tower (probably C.17), and Castle Moyle (316), which has no datable features. (8)

Ardrollum see Ballynoran.

Arthurstown see Archerstown.

Ashleypark/Lough Ourna/Rathone. An island in Lough Ourna, centre left edge OS 15 (R 8886). 1654 (CS, II, p. 342). Could not inspect closely. See Ballyamery. (9)

Athassel Abbey. Top OS 68 (S 0137). Only reference 1558 (RIA MS Egerton, p. 182). This could have been a strong C.13 tower on the NW angle of the church, probably built as a belfry. There are also two bawns and a gatehouse. (10)

Athfath, Athforth see Baptistsgrange.

Aughnagomaun see Ballytarsna.

Ballagh Upper left centre, OS 52 (S 01 48). Probably Ballie castle, mentioned 1576 in a presentment (NLI MS Callanan, Eliogurty, p. 64). One corner of tower stands. (11)

Ballanaghie see Emly

Balldeyne see Ballydine.

Balldrinan see Ballydrehane.

Ballenemaistregh see Masterstown.

Ballenloggen see Masterstown.

Balligowill Unlocated. Only reference 1514 (COD, IV, p.16).

Ballina/Beallanaha Upper left, OS 25 (R 7173). Late C.16 (O'Brien pedigree, quoted in J. Gleeson, Ely, p. 504). (12)

Ballinaclogh (-y)/Stonetown/Weyperous. Top left OS 27 (R 8975). 1338 - a hall, castle, chapel, and two rooms (COD, VI, p. 92). In 1356 there was an agreement to "repair, build and restore" the manor (COD, II, pp. 26-9). Castle attacked 1538 (Bagwell, I, p. 224) (13)

Ballinaclogh (-y)/Stonetown/Bewper/Mogh. Left edge OS 60 (R 9841). Built by Sir Philip Perceval in 1639-40 (Arthur Collins, The Peerage of England, 5th ed., London, 1779, VIII, p. 188). Three storeys of tower remain; pistol ports. (14)

Ballinacourty/Clonbeg Ballinacourty House, top right OS 73 (R 8729). 1569 (Flynn, p. 225). (15)

Ballinacree see Emly.

Ballinahensy see Ballynahinch.

Ballinard see Ballynilard.

Ballincky see Ballymackey.

Ballindoney Lower left centre OS 82 (S 1021). Ballyendonys noted 1547 (RIA MS OS Inqs., I, p. 62). Tower almost perfect. (16)

Ballingarron/Ballyvorein/Ballygarran. Townland bottom left OS 52 (R 9945). 1600 (Letter in Callanan, Septs, p. 116). (17)

Ballingarry Upper left OS 55 (S 30 48). 1615 (PROI MS Lodge Wardships, II, p. 75). (18)

Ballingarry — Bottom left OS 8 (R 9896). 1625 (J. Gleeson, Ely, p. 285). All bawn and bottom of tower remains. (19)

Ballingree — see Graystone.

Ballinhalla — Centre right OS 87 (S 0515). No references. (20)

Ballinlenty/Ballinleenty. Townland right edge OS 66 (R 8634). 1654 (CS, II, p. 32). (21)

Ballinlonty/Fishmoyne/Kilfithmone. All these townlands are adjacent in right OS 34 (S 0667). In 1840 there was said to have been a castle in Kilfithmone parish at Ballinlonty (RIA MS OS Letters, II, p. 551). This was probably one of the two castles in 1654 (CS, I, p. 73). (22)

Ballinmona — see Moorestown.

Ballinree/Heathstone. Ballinree House, upper left OS 53 (S 1048). Bawn, but no tower, in 1654 (CS, I, p. 216). (23)

Ballinrossy — see Rossetown.

Ballintotty — Lower left centre OS 21 (R 9278). 1654 (CS, II, p. 255). Tower almost complete. (24)

Ballionan — see Ballyowen.

Ballyartella — Bottom OS 14 (R 8483). 1539 (COD, IV, p. 187). Little left of tower. (25)

Ballyamery — Unlocated; but as it is associated with townlands of Rathone and Rathfleminge, it is probably another name for Ashleypark. Only reference 1591 (COD, VI, p. 46).

Ballyawryne — Unlocated. Only reference 1547 (RIA MS OS Inqs., I, p. 55).

Ballybane — see Boolabaun.

Ballybeg/Littleton. Left OS 48 (S 1853). About 1486 (COD, III, p. 258. Tower almost complete. (26)

Ballyboe/Ballybody/Ballybothy. Townland lower right OS 77, lower left OS 78 (S 2827). About 1408 (COD, IV, p. 177). T.B. Butler identified this with Balywehil, taken by Earl of Desmond 1480 (recte 1380 - see Ch. III, note 112). (27)

Ballyboy — Centre OS 87 (S 0115). Everard ("Shanrahan", p. 68) said it was built c. 1450, but has no evidence. First reference 1579 (RDK, 13 (1881), p. 122, fiant 3583). (28)

Ballycahil — Right OS 40 (R 0660). No references. Ruined tower house on church. (29)

Ballycahil — Lower right OS 20 (R 8477). Callahan (NLI MS Eliogurty, p. 29) believed itto have been Bealach Eachaille, burnt c. 1300. First definite reference 1583 (COD, V, p. 325). A few fragments. (30)

Ballycapple/Bellaghcaple. Upper right OS 15 (R 9586). 1584 (NLI MS Lennon, pp. 1-34). Most of tower remains; shot-hole. (31)

Ballycatigan — see Catharganstown.

Ballyclerahane — Townland upper right OS 76 (S 1729). 1595 (Reports of Commissioners, I (1815), pl. V). (33)

Ballycolliton — Townland botton right OS 9 (R 8590). Very probably Ballycolenan mentioned 1434 (COD, III, p. 107). Most of tower remains, with no features to contradict this early date. (34)

Ballycomyne — Unlocated. Only reference 1630 (PROI MS Record Com., Chancery Ings, p. 242).

Ballycormack — see Cormackstown.

Ballycorsky — see Ballytarsna.

Ballydavid — Upper left OS 48 (S 1855). 1840 (RIA MS OS Letters, I, p. 456). Two castles marked on map. (35)

Ballydine/Ballindeyne. Ballydine House upper right OS 84 (S 3423). 1654 (CS, I, p. 266). (36)

Ballydomurryn — see Ballymurreen.

Ballydoran — see Ballynoran.

Ballydoyle/Ballydwill. Centre OS 69 (S 1135). 1625 (PROI MS Record Com., Chancery Ings, p. 11). Most of tower stands; gun loops. (37)

Ballydrehane/Balldrinan/Ballydrenane. Bottom right OS 81 (S 0718). 1623 (PROI MS Record Com., Chancery Ings, p. 150). (38)

Ballydrehid/Bealladrehiddiff/Bealladrohid/Beallasohed. Ballydrehid House, right centre OS 75 (S 0328). About 1580 (Desmond Inquisition, quoted in Flynn, p. 226). For the identification of the various names of this castle, see Marsh's Library MS, Hamilton, p. 153, and NLI MS Egerton, p. 632. (39)

Ballyerck — see Lisheen.

Ballyfenny/Beallafyrmye. Unlocated. Perhaps Ballyfinboy. 1546-7 (NLI MS Callanan, Microfilm Notes, no pagination).

Ballyfinboy/Beallafinvoy. Upper left OS 10 (S 9094). 1599 (D.F. Gleeson, Last Lords, p. 237). J. Gleeson (Ely, p. 446) says it was built c. 1560, but has no proof. (40)

Ballygalward see Galbardstown.

Ballygarran see Ballingarron.

Ballygibbon see Glenahilty.

Ballyglasheen/Ballyglisen. Botton left OS 78 (S 2925). 1654 (CS, I, p. 273). Tower almost complete - probably early c. 17. (42)

Ballygriffin Centre OS 60 (S 0140). 1654 (CS, II, p. 8). Only a stair-turret remains of the tower. Bawn datable to c. 1550-1650 by gun-holes and plaque-recess. (43)

Ballyherberry/Shripstown/The Garrison. Top right OS 61 (S 1342). Before 1595 (PROI MS, Record Com., Chancery Ings., p.238). Bawn with gun-holes. (44)

Ballyhock/Ballyhaugh. Top right OS 7 (M 9500). 1654 (CS, II, p. 348). Most of ground storey lobby remains. (45)

Ballyhominick, Ballyhoniny see Cloneen.

Ballykerin Left centre OS 55 (S 2846). 1654 (CS, I, p. 131). (46)

Ballyknavine see Ballynavin.

Ballyknock Townland top left OS 61 (S 0943). 1641 (NLI MS Hayden, p. 98). (47)

Ballylishen Townland lower left OS 27 (R 9272). 1654 (CS, II, p. 235). (48)

Ballylusky/Ballylosky. Townland top right OS 62 (S 2643). 1654 (CS, I, p. 164). A castle of Ballynaloesty in 1619 (RIA MS OS Ings, I, p. 284) probably here or at Ballylusky below. (49)

Ballylusky/Beallaghlosky. Centre bottom edge OS 10 (R 9188). 1626 (PROI MS Record Com. Chancery Ings., p. 52). Much of tower stands, covered in ivy. (50)

Ballymacadam/Adamstown. Top left OS 82 (S 0824). 1558 (Burke, Clonmel, p. 274, quoting a 1578 Inquisition). (51)

Ballymacane Unlocated. 1633 (RIA MS OS Ings., II, p. 134). This, the only reference, said it was a parcel of Kilcash.

Ballymackey/Ballincky. Top right OS 21 (R 9580). 1599 (Carew, III, p 297). This only refers to a "house", but as the

ornament around the door is very similar to that at Graigue/Beechwood, (built 1594), the castle is probably of around the same date. Lower part of tower remains. (53)

Ballymoddagh Unlocated. Only reference 1546 (NLI MS Callanan, Microfilm notes, no pagination).

Ballymore Centre OS 52 (S 0247). 1641 (TCD MS Depositions, p. 38). (54)

Ballymurren/Ballydomurryn/Ballyomurren. Centre left edge OS 48 (S 1753). 1546 (NLI MS Callanan, Microfilm notes, no pagination). (55)

Ballynahinch/Ballinahensy. Right OS 60 (S 0441). 1543 (COD, IV, p. 242). Tower and bawn almost complete, gun-loops in flankers. (56)

Ballynahow/Bowleinehow. Left centre OS 41 (S 0860). 1601 (PROI MS Record Com., Chancery Inqs., p. 173). Tower perfect, if slightly restored. Gun-loops. (57)

Ballynakil Left centre OS 17 (S 1085). Two writers believed it to have been built c. 1580, but gave no evidence (Corcoran, "Walter Butler", p. 183; D.F. Gleeson, Roscrea, p. 98). First real reference 1619 (PROI MS, Lodge Wardships, I, p. 165). Fairly complete bawn (with gun-holes), tower, and mansion. (58)

Ballynaloesty see Ballylusky.

Ballynamoe/Beallanamoe. Top left OS 23 (S 0882). 1654 (CS, I, p. 16). One wall remains of what looks like a late tower house. (59)

Ballynavin/Ballyknavine. Modern Ballynavin "Castle", centre right OS 10 (R 9891). In 1654 described as "a new castle not finished the walls onely standing" (CS, II, p. 287). (60)

Ballyneil Lower left edge OS 79 (S 3625). 1654 (CS, I, p. 267). Only a stair-turret stands, with loops for pistols. (61)

Ballynilard/Ballinard/Friar's Grange. Top left OS 70 (S 2636). 1637 (RIA MS OS Ings., III, p. 86). NLI MS Ancient Castles, p. 199, says it was built 1530, but has no evidence. However the almost perfect tower has nothing to contradict this date. (62)

Ballynilard Upper right edge OS 66 (R 8735). 1840 (RIA MS OS Letters, III, p. 111) - a hearsay report, for no ruins remained. (63)

Ballynoddaghe see Nodstown.

Ballynoran/Ballydoran/Ardrollum/Ardcollum/Dovehill/Duffhill. Right OS 84 (S 3423). 1542 (Gilbert, Facsimiles, III, p.131) Almost complete. (64)

Ballyomurren see Ballymurren.

Ballyowen/Ballyone/Ballionan. Newpark or Ballyowen House, bottom centre OS 53 (S 1244). 1607 (NLI MS COM, VII, pp. 57-8, d. 3406). (65)

Ballypadeen Townland top left OS 61 (S 0842). 1840 (RIA MS OS Letters, I, p. 312). Hearsay only. (66)

Ballyporeen see Newcastle.

Ballyquirck Bottom centre, OS 4 (M 9102). J. Gleeson (Ely, p. 314), said castle built in 1480, but gave no proof. First definite mention 1654 (CS, II, p. 317). Part of a wall remains. (67)

Ballyrorad see Rorardstown.

Ballysheeda/Ballysida/Kilnamanagh. Centre OS 51 (R 9347). 1607 (PROI MS Record Com., Chancery Inqs., p. 7). Almost complete, gun -loops. (68)

Ballysheehan see Burntcourt.

Ballysheehan Left OS 53 (S 0945). No references. Tower house on church. (69)

Ballysida see Ballysheeda.

Ballytarsna (-hackett)/Ballycorsky/Aughnagomaun. Top centre OS 53 (S 1149). 1600 (Carew, III, p. 400). Almost complete. (70)

Ballytarsny - McKeorish. In Dangandaran parish (OS 60, 68). This townland no longer exists. 1654 (CS, I, p. 241). (71)

Ballythomas/Aghmcthomas. In Uskane parish (OS 7, 8, 10, 11). No townland of that name exists today. 1591 (COD, VI, p. 47). (72)

Ballyvada, Ballyvaddy see Suir Castle.

Ballyvadin Townland tower left edge OS 62 (S 1838). 1654 (CS, I, p. 200). (73)

Ballyvadok Not located. Only reference 1607, when there was a castle with a fortalice and a "power" (PROI MS Record Com., Chancery Inqs., pp. 28-30).

Ballyvorein see Ballyingarron.

Ballywehill see Ballyboe.

Bansha/Banshigh/Breanshagh. Lower right OS 67 (S 9533). 1585 (RIA MS OS Inqs., I, p. 142). Repairs ordered 1610 (NLI MS COM, VIII, p. 174, d. 3621). (74)

Baptistsgrange/St. John Baptistsgrange/Achafad/Athforth/Athfath. Top centre OS 77 (S 2130). Glane mentioned 1499-1500 as an Ormond castle four miles from Clonmel. This was probably Baptistsgrange (COD, IV, p. 344). Next reference 1541 (Gwynn and Hadcock, p. 216 and index). (75)

Barna see Knockagh.

Barnane/Shackleton Tower. Townland left edge OS 29, right edge OS 28 (R 0572). 1604 (PROI MS Record Com., Chancery Inqs., p. 134). (76)

Baronstown/Cloghrayle. Middle right OS 35 (S 1566). 1654 (CS, I, pp. 50, 70). (77)

Barrettstown/Barrettsgrange. Upper left OS 70 (S 1834). 1590-1 (PROI MS, Exchequer Inqs., p. 47). Fairly complete; shot-holes around door. (78)

Barry's Castle see Thurles

Baurstoken see Golden.

Bawn Right top OS 26 (R 8575). 1641 (TCD MS Depositions, p. 38b). Mentioned twice in CS (II, pp. 247, 251), but there was probably only one castle. Another townland of this name in lower right OS 20 (R 8373) presumably once had a bawn. (79), (80)

Bawnedonemone In Upper (RIA MS OS Inqs., II, p. 157) or Lower Ormond (COD, VI, Index). 1588 (COD, VI, pp. 40-1).

Bawnmadrum/Modromy. Bottom right OS 17 (S 1682). There was some type of residential building here in 1617 (J. Gleeson, Ely, p. 414). About half a massive bawn survives. (81)

Bawnreagh see Buolick.

Beakstown Townland top left OS 47, bottom left OS 41 (S 0956). 1624 (PROI MS Record Com., Chancery Inqs., pp. 248-50) (82)

Beallacarrin see Ballycarron.

Bealladrehidiff, Bealladrohid see Ballydrehid.

Beallafinvoy see Ballyfinboy.

Beallafyrmye see Ballyfenny.

Beallaghlosky see Ballylusky.

Beallanaha see Ballina.

Beallanamoe see Ballynamoe.

Beallasohed see Ballydrehid.

Beechwood Park see Graigue.

Castle Beggs see Drominagh.

Behagh see Glenbeha.

Behamore/Behagh/Hawkshaw. Lower left OS 11 (R 9991). 1654 (CS, II, p. 288). Half a tower stands in a rath. (83)

Bellaghcaple see Ballycapple.

Bewper see Ballinaclough.

Birdhill/Knockananeen. Village top left OS 31 (R 7168). Later C.16 (Pedigree in J. Gleeson, Ely, p. 504). (84)

Black Castle/Garranbane. Unlocated; near Loughmoe. Could be Graigue (221). 1654 (CS, I, p. 69).

Black Castle/Urard/Oorard. Top left OS 43 (S 2962). 1840 (RIA MS OS Letters, I, p. 447). (85)

Black Castle Lower centre OS 69 (S 1135). The townland had this name in 1654 (CS, I, p. 220), so it is reasonable to assume there was once a castle here. (86)

Black Castle see Borrisoleigh, Carrow, Cormackstown, Moorestown, Castle Moyle, Templemore, Thurles, Twomileborris.

Castle Blake/Owneskiegh/Unskeagh. Lower right OS 69 (S 1333). 1631 (PROI MS Record Com., Chancery Inqs., p. 280). Almost perfect; shot-loops. (87)

Blean Lower left OS 22 (R 9977). 1654 (CS, II, p. 212). Tower a heap of rubble. Most of bawn remains, but overgrown. (88)

Bleenaleen Townlands botton right OS 71, bottom left OS 72 (S 3531). 1654 (CS, I, pp. 101, 144). (89)

Bog Castle/Killeen. Centre top, OS 54 (S 2149). No references. A masonry fragment in extensive earthworks. (90)

Boolabawn/Bollybane/Ballybane. Bottom right, OS 17 (S 1583). 1595 (NLI MS COM, VII, pp. 75-6, d. 3436). Most of tower exists. (91)

Borrisoleigh/Burrisse Leigh/Burrisland/Black Castle/Castlequarter. Upper right centre OS 34 (S 0367). 1516 (COD, IV, p. 36). First storey of tower remains. (92)

Borrisoleigh see Twomileborris.

Bowleinehow see Ballynahow.

Boyrebalistret Unlocated; seems near Fethard. Only reference 1459 (COD, III, p. 393). Curtis identifies it with Cramp's Castle, but does not say why.

Boytonrath Centre right OS 68 (S 0335). 1637 (RIA MS OS Inqs, III, pp. 130-1). A fragment remains. (93)

Breanasmore Unlocated. Only reference 1632-3 (NLI MS COM, VIII, p. 142, d. 3885). Probably Bansha.

Breanshagh see Bansha.

Bridge Castle see Thurles.

Brittas/Brittadge. Near modern Brittas "Castle", upper centre OS 41 (S 1362). Probably built following an order of 1547 (COD, V, p. 22). The earliest reference to a castle existing is 1635 (NLI MS Callanan, Notes, II, no pagination). (94)

Brownstown Lower right OS 35 (S 1464). 1601 (PROI MS Record Com., Chancery Inqs., pp. 173-5). Ivy-covered lump. (95)

Buolick/Bawnreagh. Top right OS 48 (S 2856). Tower house built 1453 (note in Cashel Psalter - G. Butler, "Piltown", p. 201). Three storeys survive, as do extensive bawns and a second castle on a church. (96)

Burntcourt/Ballysheehan/Everard's Castle. Bottom right OS 80 (R 9518). Built 1641 (date-stone; see Everard, "Burntcourt", p. 77). Not a real castle, rather a weakly fortified mansion. Almost perfect. (97)

Burrisse Leighe, Burrisland see Borrisoleigh.

Cabbragh Top centre OS 47 (S 1256). 1392 (NLI MS Callanan, Eliogurty, p. 45. No sources given). Apart from this, earliest notice 1654 (CS, I, p. 55). Two storeys remain, much rebuilt. (98)

Cahiestown see Cassestown.

Cahir/Cahirdowneyske. Bottom right OS 75 (S 0525). The castle, or part of it, was being slated in 1537 (Hore and Graves, Social State, p. 233). Complete although restored. Cahir "Abbey" has two residential towers, probably post-Reformation. (99)

Cahirconnor see Derry.

Caistrbanemoyle Unlocated; probably Castle Moyle. Only reference is in an Inquisition of Edward VI's reign (NLI MS Callanan, Microfilm notes, no pagination).

Camus — Two castles marked on top right edge OS 60 (S 0543). In 1600 there was a manor-house here (letter quoted in O'Dwyer, pp. 89-93). This was probably the "large stone house with a bawne about it" mentioned in 1654 (CS, II, p. 376). (100)

Cappa — Right of top edge OS 21 (R 9582). 1615 (D.F. Gleeson, Last lords, p. 145). Most of the tower remains. (101)

Cappa(-uniac) — Upper left OS 75 (R 9928). The "Cappagh in Muskryquirke", noted first in 1590 (RIA MS OS Inqs., I, p. 215) is probably this one. Part of tower remains, very overgrown. (102)

Carey's Rock — see Graiguepadeen.

Carney — Bottom left OS 10 (R 8891). "Residence" built after Reformation (D.F. Gleeson, Last lords, p. 13). The earliest mention of a castle is 1614 (PROI MS Record Com., Chancery Inqs., p. 105). Half tower and most of bawn survive; bawn probably after 1550. (103)

Carranlea — see Garranlea.

Carrick-on-Suir/Carrickmagriffin. Centre OS 85 (S4022). According to Killanin and Duiginn (pp. 135, 143 - no sources given) the earliest castle was built 1309, and the double tower-house that stands today was the work of Edmund MacRichard Butler (d. 1464). There was a castle in 1315 (NLI MS Phillipps, p. 32), and Carte (I, p. xliv) says Edmund constructed "the castle of the bridge". Most of the castle survives, with an Elizabethan mansion attached; it could very well be mid-fifteenth century.

There were two other tower houses, one noted in 1544 in the town (COD, IV, pp. 169-70) and another in Edward VI's reign on the bridge (PROI MS Exchequer Inqs., p. 10). There were also defended houses on the town walls in 1635 (NLI MS COM, IX, p. 216, d. 4001). (104)

Carrickpatrick — see Cashel.

Carrig/Aghnacaragy/Doughill. Bottom centre OS 5 (N 0201). 1605 (NLI MS SCOD, p. 23, d. 3354). (105)

Carrigeen (Iveagh). Townland centre left OS 69 (S 0837). Bawn and house 1654 (CS, I, p. 232). (106)

Carrigeen(-brenock). Lower left OS 62 (S 1939). 1654 (CS, I, p. 188). Shot-holes in door; probably late. Most of tower stands. (107)

Carrigeen(-sharragh). Upper centre OS 77 (S 2228). In 1380 a wooden castle here was burnt (Ch. III, note 112). There was a castle in 1520 (COD, IV, p. 63), destroyed stone by stone in 1528 (NLI MS Butler Docs., p. 6, quoting a 1565 docu-

ment). It must have been rebuilt by 1625 (PROI MS Record Com., Chancery Inqs., p. 25). (108)

Carriggatogher/Carrigboghe/Castle Togher. Bottom centre OS 20 (R 8276). 1628 (PROI MS Record Com., Chancery Inqs., p. 153). (109)

Carrigichoniquick Unlocated. Only reference 1623 (RIA MS OS Inqs., II, p. 158). In Lower Ormond, so Probably Carrig (105).

Carrigteary Townland no longer exists in Tullaghmelan parish, lower right OS 82, upper right OS 88 (A 1318). 1654 (CS, I, p. 326). (110)

Carristown Probably by the so-called motte, upper right OS 41 (S 1561). 1654 (CS, I, p. 56). (111)

Carrow/Karrow/Black Castle. Upper centre OS 26 (R 8375). 1654 (CS, II, p. 243). (112)

Carrownreddy see Tobberbryan.

Cashel/St. Patrick's Rock/Carrigpatrick. Left OS 61 (S 0840). Castle and other fortifications on Rock probably built 1406-1482 (Ch. IX, p. 322). Mainly complete.

The second tower, Grant's (or the King's) Castle, was built between 1318, when the Archbishop gave a site in the city for a prison (PROI MS Betham, II, p. 141) and 1337-41 when a King's Castle existed (NLI MS Betham, Excerpta, p. 82). It was called the "old town castle" or "King's Castle" in 1570 (RIA MS OS Inqs., I, pp. 185-6). Today its shell is a hotel.

Nothing remains of private houses over a town gate (Ch. VIII, p. 300) (113)

Cashlauncreen/Curraghduff. Centre left edge, OS 40 (R 9859). 1840 (RIA MS OS Letters, I, p. 514). Hearsay only. (114)

Cashlaunteigeboght/Poor Teige's Castle/Knockballylea. Upper centre OS 9 (R 8493). 1654 (CS, II, p. 308). Part of two walls of the tower remain. (115)

Cassestown/Cahiestown. Townland upper right OS 41 (S 1761). 1624 (PROI MS Record Com., Chancery Inqs., p. 259). (116)

Castellenroe Unlocated, but very probably Castleroe, a rough octagonal stone enclosure just inside Co. Offaly (S 0783). Only reference is an Edward VI Inquisition (NLI MS Callanan, Microfilm notes, no pagination). (117)

Castlecranna see Crannagh.

Castlegare see Garry Kennedy.

Castleiny/Castle Einey/Castle Iny. Lower right OS 29 (S 1471). 1654 (CS, I, p. 25). Part of tower stands; earth bawn. (118)

Castlelake Centre right OS 60 (S 0340). No references. The owner of a farmhouse here, which has no external signs to prove it, is sure it is the remains of a castle. (119)

Castlelough(-y)/Cornoide. Bottom OS 13 (R 7483). 1608 (PROI MS Lodge Wardships, II, p. 79). Some ruins, very heavily overgrown. (120)

Castleloughnan see Kilcornan.

Castlepark Bottom centre OS 60 (S 0138). 1840 (RIA MS OS Letters, I, pp. 221-3). Much of two storeys remains. (121)

Castlequarter see Borrisoleigh, Toomyvara.

Castletown Bottom centre OS 36 (S 2244). 1654 (CS, I, p. 51). A few fragments. (122)

Castletown Top right OS 8 (N 0301). 1654 (CS, II, p. 325). One spike of masonry, overgrown. (123)

Castletown/Castle Cumbre. Upper centre OS 9 (R 8293). 1654 (CS II, p. 309). Tower almost complete, but greatly modernised. Some lengths of a probable bawn. (124)

Castletown(-arra) Top centre OS 19 (R 7481). Late C. 16 (J. Gleeson, Ely, p. 504). Most of tower and some of bawn remain. (125)

Catharganstown/Ballycatigan. Left bottom edge OS 54 (S 1944). No references. (126)

Clare Centre right edge OS 70 (S 2635). A castle existed in 1358-9 (Tresham, p. 73); the present structure, of which half survives, was probably fairly new when recorded in 1618 (RIA MS OS Inqs., III, p. 202). (127)

Cloane see Cloone.

Cloch Othanain see Cloghonan.

Clocully/Cloghully. Upper left centre OS 88 (S 1115). Bawn in 1654 (CS, I, p. 342). (128)

Cloghabreedy see Cloghbridy.

Cloghanancody/Cloghnecody. Townland lower left OS 82 (S 0921). 1654 (CS, I, p. 246). (129)

Cloghaneena/Clogh an Fíona. Upper left OS 25 (R 7172). 1840 (RIA MS OS Letters, II, p. 28). Bottom of tower and part of bawn, much overgrown. (130)

Cloghaneena/Clogh an Fíona/Kilfithmone. Upper right OS 34 (S 0468). 1625 (PROI MS Record Com., Chancery Inqs., p. 34). Low ruins. (131)

Cloghaready/Clogh Iready. Townland OS 57 (R 7638). Ruined castle 1596 (PROI MS Lodge Transcripts, p. 292). (132)

Cloghbridy/Cloghabreedy/Cloghnabreeda. Centre right edge OS 75 (S 0628). 1621 (PROI MS Lodge Wardships, II, p. 83). (133)

Clogheen Village lower left OS 87 (S 0013). 1654 - but the reference is rather confused, and could mean Burnt-court. (CS, I, pp. 260, 374). (134)

Clogher Lower right OS 46 (S 0452). 1641 (NLI MS Hayden, p. 361). A few stones left. (135)

Cloghinch/Cloghensy. Bottom right OS 27 (R 9570). 1597 (PROI MS Record Com., Chancery Inqs., pp. 73-4). (136)

Clogh Iready see Cloghaready.

Cloghjordan Top right OS 16 (R 9788). 1654 (CS, II, p. 288). Part of the tower remain. (138)

Cloghleigh see Graigue(-frahane).

Cloghmartin Upper centre OS 47 (S 1254). 1840 (RIA MS OS Letters, II, pp. 555-8). Building was said to be large and thin-walled; probably not a real castle. (139)

Cloghmonockode see Nockodestown.

Cloghnabreeda see Cloghbridy.

Cloghnacody see Cloncody.

Cloghnacoraha see Graigue.

Cloghnecody see Cloghanacody.

Cloghonan/Cloch Othanain. In a rath, right bottom edge OS 27 (R 9569). 1654 - recently repaired (CS, II, p. 230). (140)

Cloghowstnay see Cloghustone.

Cloghprior Modern Cloghprior "Castle", bottom right OS 9 (R 8589). 1654 (CS, II, p. 341). (141)

Cloghrayle see Baronstown.

Cloghully see Clocully.

Cloghastone/Cloghowstnay. Probably around bottom right OS 10 (R 9589). 1624 (An. Hib., 26 (1970), p. 107). (142)

Clohaskine/Glahaskine. Top centre OS 8 (N 0100). 1654 (CS, II, p. 325). Much of tower remains; built at different periods. (143)

Cloheenfishoge Lower left OS 81 (R 9919). No reference. (144)

Clonakenny/Clonenakenny. Top centre OS 23 (S 1280). 1624 (Inquisition in Callanan, Septs., p. 164). Part of tower and about half bawn remains; shot-holes in latter. (145)

Clonbeg see Ballinacourty.

Clonbrick Townland bottom OS 50 (R 8544). 1608 (Callanan, Septs., p. 69, quoting inquisition). (146)

Clonbrogan Clonbrogan Housem upper left OS 62 (S 1842). 1568-9 (PROI MS Fergusson, Index). (147)

Clonbuogh/Clonebogh/Clonmore. Top left OS 30 (S 1974). 1654 (CS, I, p. 20). (148)

Cloncannon/Clonekeneanane. Perhaps near motte, right centre OS 22 (S 0378). 1637 (RIA MS OS Inqs., III, pp. 80-1). (149)

Cloncody/Cloghnacody. Cloncody House, bottom left OS 70 (S 2031). 1654 (CS, I, p. 193). (150)

Clonebogh see Clonbuogh.

Cloneen/Clonyny/Ballyhominick/Ballyhominy. Top right OS 17 (S 1487). 1540 (RIA MS OS Inqs., I, p. 39). (151)

Clonekeneanane see Cloncannon.

Clonenakenny see Clonakenny.

Clonismullen/Cloneo Smullyne. Townland top right OS 34 (S 0568). 1629 (PROI MS Lodge Wardships, II, p. 89). (152)

Clonmel Upper left OS 83 (S 2022). Castle called "care" (=cahir) in 1499-1500 (COD, IV, p. 344). Also wall-towers, probably inhabited, two of which survive. (153)

Clonmicklon/Clonmilcon. Top left OS 49 (S 2926). 1654 (CS, I, p. 128). Half of a large tower, built in two stages, and most of a strong bawn, survive. (154)

Clonmore see Clonbuogh.

Clonyharp/Clonyhorpa. Centre right OS 46 (S 0453). 1595 (PROI MS Lodge Wardships, II, p. 75). (155)

Clonyny see Cloneen.

Cloone/Cloane Centre bottom OS 29 (S 1269). 1624 (PROI MS Royal Com., Chancery Inqs., p. 268). (156)

Cloughterrad Unlocated; part of Nenagh manor. Only reference 1589-94 (COD, VI, p. 120).

Cobbler's Box see Terryglass.

Cominstown No townland of this name in Kilnaneave parish, OS 27. NLI Field Monuments File says it was in Milbrook townard. 1654 (CS, II, p. 236). (157)

Coolbane see Loughlohery.

Coolcroo Left bottom edge OS 42 (S 1857). 1654 (CS, I, p. 38 - but on p. 48 it is said there was no castle there). (158)

Cooleagh/Culiegh. Cooleagh House right centre OS 53 (S 1346). 1654 (CS, I, p. 119). (159)

Coolenure see Killenure.

Coolquil Centre right edge OS 54 (S 2546). 1654 (CS, I, p. 130). All but the top storey of tower stands. Shot-holes around door. (160)

Cordangan Lower left centre OS 67 (R 9033). 1569 (W.F. Butler, "Clan and settler", pp. 10-11). However, Butler is quoting Carew, I, p. 391, which spells the name Corregan - this might therefore refer to Carrigeen. (161)

Corkatenny see Templemore.

Cormackstown/Ballycormack/Black Castle. Bottom left OS 41 (S 0857). 1624 (PROI MS Record Com., Chancery Inqs., pp. 248-51). (162)

Cornoide see Castlelough.

Castle Coyne Centre left OS 76 (S 0928). 1654 (CS, I, p. 323). Part of overgrown tower; part of bawn, with shot-holes. (163)

Cragg Lower left OS 31 (R 7165). 1654 (CS, II, p. 179). Most of tower stands. (164)

Cramp's Castle/Crump's Castle/Crampisland/Crumpistown. Upper centre OS 70 (S 2235). Name in 1308-9 (COD, I, p. 163). Most of tower survives. (165)

Castle Cranna Cranna House, centre left edge OS 26 (R 7973). 1654 (CS, II, p. 167). (166)

Crannagh/Castlecranna. Bottom right OS 29 (S 1769). 1654 (CS, I, p. 27). Bottom three storeys stand; being restored (1982). (167)

Crohane Lower left OS 55 (S 2845). 1565 (T. Butler, "Grallagh", p. 198, but he quotes no proof). A small, overgrown mound. (168)

Crottagh/Lisleigh. Townlands upper right centre OS 10 (R 9493). 1654 (CS, II, pp. 279, 336). Perhaps two separate castles, for Lisleigh is "onely one story of wall new built", and Crottagh "a stumpe of a castle." (169)

Crump's Castle, Crumpistown see Cramps's Castle.

Culiegh see Cooleagh.

Cullahill Upper left OS 34 (R 9967). 1623 (PROI MS Deeds, p. 362/368). About half a fortified house, and the possible remains of a tower, inside an earth bank. (170)

Cullen/Rathduff. Left centre OS 58 (R 8140). Begun by Earl of Desmond in 1579 (AFM, V, p. 1715). (171)

Cully/Castle Waller. Right top edge OS 37 (R 7763). 1654 (CS, II, p. 193). Most of bawn remains, and what looks like the base of a tower. (172)

Cullynure see Killenure.

Castle Cumbre see Castletown.

Curraghcloney Top rightOS 91 (S 1711). 1654 (CS, I, p. 332). Half a tower remains. (173)

Curraghduff see Cashlauncreen.

Curragh(-nemony). Lower left OS 88 (S 1113). 1626 (PROI MS, Lodge Wardships, II, p. 79). (174)

Derry/Cahirconnor. On an island, bottom edge OS 19 (R 7178). Cathair Conchubhair mentioned late C. 16 (J. Gleeson, Ely, p. 504). Much of tower remains, very overgrown. Could not inspect closely. (175)

Derrygrath Townland top centre OS 82 (S 1125). 1654 (CS, I, p. 316). (176)

Derryisland see Derrymacegan.

Derryleigh Upper right OS 37 (R 7362). 1608 (Inquisition in Callanan, Septs, p. 70). (177)

Derryluskan Derryluskan House, top left OS 70 (S 1736). 1628 (PROI MS Record Com., Chancery Ings., p. 135). (178)

Derrymacegan/Derryisland/Ireton's Castle/Newcastle. Right OS 4 (M 8703). Built by Cromwellian government 1650-1654 (CS, II, pp. 279, 317). Almost complete. (179)

Desgrallagh see Grallagh.

Donaghmore Left centre OS 77 (S 1929). No references, save NMI Field Monuments File. Ruined Romanesque church with added battlements. (180)

Donaskeagh/Dunenaskeagh/Dune Iskeagh. Upper right OS 59 (R 9441). 1569 (Carew, I, p. 389). (181)

Dondroma see Dundrum.

Dongrote see Dun Grot.

Donoghill/Duneoghill/Okonagh/Moatquarter. Left top edge OS 59 (R 9043). 1295 (Cal. Justiciary Rolls, I, p. 6). Next references 1567 and 1569 (Flynn, p. 195; Carew, I, p. 391). Stone fragments (of a tower ?) on the motte. (182)

Dorland Probably a scribal error for Durlas (Thurles). Only reference 1499-1500 (COD, IV, p. 344; c.f. Empey, Ph.D., p. 324).

Dorrha/Dorg. Unlocated. In north Ormond. This could be Lorrha. Castle demolished here 1290 (Empey, Ph.D., pp. 135-7).

Doughill see Carrig.

Dovea see Killahara.

Dovehill see Ballynoran.

Drangan Centre left OS 63 (S 2841). 1380 (Ch. III, note 112). Not stated to have been in Tipperary, but as it was taken by the sons of Peter Butler, it probably was. There was a Drangan manor in Tipperary 1356-7 (PROI MS Betham, VIII, p. 105). (183)

Dranganmore/Kilveligher. Top centre OS 75 (S 0430). 1654 (CS, II, p. 15). Site marked on Dranganmore townland, but CS says it was in nearby Kilveligher. (184)

Drehednefarney see Farney Bridge.

Drohydneskehe see Thorney Bridge.

Drom/Dromencvarren/Drumsperane. Townland OS 28, 29, 34, 35 (R 0769). 1624 (PROI MS Record Com., Chancery Inqs., p. 226). The only castle today is part of the church. (185)

Drombane Top centre OS 46 (S 0255). 1654 (CS, II, pp. 75, 106). Castle ruined, but it was intended to rebuild it. Base of a tower remains. (186)

Dromdyle Unlocated. 1550 (RIA MS OS Inqs., III, p. 216).

Dromenahane, Dromenemahane see Drumnamahane.

Drominagh/Castle Beggs. Centre OS 6 (R 8398). 1598 (AFM, VI, p. 2079). Traditionally said to have been built by Eoghan O'Madden, shortly after 1336 (J. Gleeson, Ely, pp. 316, 447). All of the bawn, and most of the tower survives. (187)

Dromineer — Upper centre OS 14 (R 8196). 1547-8 (RIA MS OS Inqs., I, p. 58). Two complete walls of tower stand. (188)

Dromline — Upper right OS 67 (R 9435). 1840 (RIA MS OS Letters, II, pp. 299-300). (189)

Drumlummin/Dromlomane. — Upper left OS 87 (R 9916). 1654 (CS, I, p. 366). (190)

Drummin/Dromyn. — Lower left OS 30 (S 1871). 1654 (marked on Down Survey map). (191)

Drumnamahane/Dromenahane/Dromenemahane. — Upper right OS 10 (R 9593). 1549 (COD, V, pp. 40-1). Most of tower exists. (191A)

Drumsperane — see Drom.

Duffhill — see Ballynoran.

Dunally/Gortshaneroe. — Lower centre OS 26 (R 8371). "Partly repaired" in early 1650's (CS, II, p. 245). 1644 (TCD MS Depositions, p. 195b). (192)

Dundrum/Dundroma. — Bottom left OS 52 (R 9844). 1607 (PROI MS Record Com., Chancery Inqs., p. 6). (193)

Dunenaskeagh, Dune Iskeagh — see Donaskeagh.

Duneoghill — see Donohill.

Dun Grot/Dongrote. — No townland of this name in Clonbeg parish, Clanwilliam (in or near OS 73, 74). (See RIA MS OS Letters, I, p.2). 1569 (Carew, I, p. 390).

Durlas — see Thurles.

Einey — see Castleiny.

Emly/Ballincree. — Centre right OS 65 (R 7735). In 1635 there was a castle at Ballanaghie; if this was not it, the first reference is a "Great Castle" at Emly in 1640 (RIA MS OS Inqs., II, pp. 221-2; III, p. 276). See Monemore. (194)

Everard's Castle — see Burntcourt.

Farney Bridge/Drehednefarney. — Bottom right OS 40 (S 0758). Built by Thoman, Earl of Ormond, in Elizabeth's reign. (Carte, I, p. lxv; Callanan, Septs, p. 107, quoting unspecified State Papers). First reference 1571-2 (NLI MS d. 2804). Tower complete, but heavily rebuilt. (195)

Farranrory — Lower right OS 49 (S 3351). 1654 (CS, I, p. 115). Bottom of tower remains. (196)

Farteana — see Fertiana.

Fennor — Top left OS 43 (R 2762). The church-castle is the only one of two castles to have survived. (RIA MS OS Letters, I, p. 446 describes what seems to have been a different structure). (197)

ffenogh — see Finnoe.

Fethard — Centre OS 70 (S 2135). Two castles in 1450 (COD, III, p. 168). The "Templar's Castle" is almost complete; two other free-standing tower houses once existed (NLI MS Maps of Fethard, p. 6). There are three surviving wall-towers, two of which seem to have been used as private castles, and a possible house over a gate. (198)

Fertiana/Fartiana. Upper left OS 47 (S 1055). 1654 (CS, I, p. 55). (199)

Finnoe/ffenogh. Finnoe House upper left OS 10 (R 8893). 1654 (CS, I, p. 279. But no castle is mentioned on pp. 343-6, under the parish survey). See also Rodine. (200)

Fishmoyne/Fithmone. Fithmoyne House, right OS 34 (S 0567). Two castles in 1654 (CS, I, p. 73). See also Ballinlonty. (201)

Forgestown/Foulcherstown. Lower right OS 47 (S 1352). 1654 (CS, I, p. 57). (202)

Frehans/ffreaghans. Lower left OS 88 (S 1115). 1654 (CS, I, p. 334). (203)

Friar's Grange see Ballynilard.

Gaile. — Townland left bottom OS 47, left top OS 53 (S 1049). Gowll castle 1603 (PROI MS Lodge Wardships, II, p. 93). (204)

Galbartstown/Ballygalward. Left centre OS 47 (S 1153). Castle at Galbary's Town, 1358-9 (Patent Roll, in NLI MS Phillipps, p. 47). This may not have been in Tipperary; first certain notice 1573 (RDK 12 (1880), p. 109, fiant 2323). Little remains; probably a house-castle rather than a tower. (205)

Garranbane — see Black Castle.

Garrane — see Grange.

Garrane/Garraun. Bottom right OS 53 (S 1244). 1636 (PROI MS, Lodge wardships, II, p. 93). (206)

Garrangibbon. Townland top right OS 78 (S 3530). 1543 (Bond quoted in T.B. Butler, "Seneschals", p. 51). (207)

Garranlea/Carranlea. Garranlea House, right OS 68 (S 0533). 1637 (RIA MS OS Inqs, III, pp. 152-3). (208)

The Garrison see Ballyherbery.

Garryfeach see Ardmayle.

Garrykennedy/Castlegare. Right edge OS 13 (R 7784). 1593 (RIA MS OS Inqs., I, pp. 241-2). Corner of tower remains. (209)

Garrytobbed see Graigue Kent.

Gibbonstown see Glenahilty.

Glahaskine see Clohaskin.

Glane see Baptistsgrange.

Glangowel. Unlocated. Only reference 1633 (RIA MS OS Inqs., II, p. 114).

Glasdrum see Shanaclogh.

Glenahilty/Ballygibbon/Gibbonstown. Lower right OS 15 (R 9384). C.1486 (COD, III, p. 258). Bottom two storeys almost complete. (210)

Glenbeha/Behagh. Centre OS 17 (S 1285). 1654 (CS, I, p. 14). (211)

Golden/Gowling/Baurstoken. Bottom centre OS 60 (S 0138). 1551 (RIA MS OS Inqs., I, p. 71). Half tower remains. (212)

Gormanstown. Townland centre right edge OS 87 (S 0516). 1574 (RIA MS OS Inqs., p. 155). (213)

Gortacullin/Gort Ichullen. Lower right edge OS 87 (S 0713). 1654 (CS, I, p. 339). (214)

Gortanny see Annfield.

Gortkelly. Upper centre OS 40 (S 0161). Already "old" in 1625 (PROI MS, Royal Com., Chancery Inqs., p. 1). (215)

Gortmakellis. Left top edge OS 61 (S 0844). 1654 (CS, I, p. 223). Almost complete; shot-holes. (216)

Gortnahoo/Ikerrin. Village lower left OS 43 (S 2758). Only reference is Bassett, p. 393, who said ruins of Ikerrin castle stood in village. (217)

Gortriddane/Gortrodan. Alternative name for second castle of Kilfeakle (CS, II, p. 24).

Gortshaneroe see Dunally.

Gowling see Golden.

Castle Grace. Right centre OS 87 (S 0314). Thirteenth century;

Leask (Castles, p. 71) suggests c.1250. Rebuilt early 1650's (CS, I, p. 371). Most of quadrilateral castle remains. (218)

Gracetown see Graystone.

Graigone. Right centre OS 46 (S 0352). No references. Corner turret survives. (219)

Graigue/Gracopp/Beechwood Park. Left centre OS 15 (R 9186). Built 1594 (date stone: J. Gleeson, Ely, p. 526; Lewis, I, p. 46). Most of tower survives, on back of a later house. (220)

Graigue/Pallas. Top left OS 5 (N 0007). 1634 (castle in Graige and Killine, the latter being an adjacent townland: PROI MS Lodge wardships, II, p. 99; CS, II, p. 322). (221)

Graigue(-frahane)/Clonghleigh. Upper centre OS 35 (S 1367). 1619 (PROI MS Lodge wardships, I, p. 164). (222)

Graigue (Kent)/Kent's Graigue. Townland OS 68, 69, 75, 76, (S 0731). 1585 (COD, VI, p. 19). This deed called on the tenant "to strengthen the mansion place called Garrytobbed with ditches and a gate"; this townland is beside Graigue Kent. (223)

Graigue see Shanbally.

Graiguepadeen/Carey's Rock/Cloghnacoraha. Upper right OS 42 (S 2561). 1840 (RIA MS OS Letters, I, p. 477). Lowest storey of tower survives. (224)

Grallagh/Desgrallagh. Top right OS 53 (S 1649). 1421 (Inquisition quoted by T. Bulter, "Grallagh", p. 197). Another early reference is 1499-1500 (COD, IV, p. 344). Tower almost perfect; part of bawn survives. Both have shot-holes, so cannot be much older than 1525. (225)

Grallaghbegg see Lismcheugh.

Grange/Garrane. Bottom right OS 14 (R 8883). 1654 (CS, II, p. 337). A few fragments. (226)

Grange (Kilcooley). Centre top edge OS 49 (S 3157). 1611 (NLI MS SCOD, p. 104, d. 3495). Tower fairly complete. (227)

Grangebeg/Little Grange/Parva Graundgia. Top right OS 77 (S 2330). 1616 (PROI MS Lodge wardships, I, p. 152). (228)

Grangemore/Great Grange. Grangemore House lower centre OS 53 (S 1045). 1654 (CS, I, p. 243). (229)

Grant's Castle see Cashel.

Grantstown. Lower right OS 59 (R 9539). 1575 (COD, V, p. 365). Almost perfect. (230)

Graystown/Gracetown/Ballingree. Lower left OS 54 (S 1946). 1629 (PROI MS Lodge wardships, II, p. 91). Most of tower, part of house and bawn remain. (231)

Great Grange see Grangemore.

Grenanstown. Grenanstown House right bottom OS 21 (R 9677). 1654 (CS, II, p. 220). A castle of Grenan in 1619 (PROI MS Deeds, I, p. 62). (232)

Hawkshaw see Behamore.

Heathstone see Ballinree.

Holy Cross Abbey. Upper left OS 47 (S 0954). Castle mentioned in a "book of reference" to The Civil Survey (Callanan, Holy Cross, p. 40), and Monastery called a "castle" in a medieval poem (Carville, p. 20). The buildings have battlements, but there is no real fortification today. (233)

Ikenin see Gortnahoo.

Inchirourke/Inchy O'Rourke/Inchirotherie. Bottom left OS 36 (S 2663). 1840 (RIA MS OS Letters, I, p. 447). A piece of the vault remains. (234)

Castle Iny see Castleiny.

Ireton's Castle see Derrymacegan.

Castle John. Lower left centre OS 72 (S 3932). 1654 (CS, I, p. 142). (235)

Johnstown see St. Johnstown.

Karrow see Carrow.

Castle Keale. Townland bottom left OS 82 (S 0919). 1636 (RIA MS OS Inqs., II, p. 274). (236)

Kedragh. Centre right edge OS 75 (S 0728). 1635 (RIA MS OS Inqs., II, p. 202). (237)

Keitiruo see Redwood.

Keltefadda see Kilfadda.

Kent's Graigue see Graigue Kent.

Kiboy/Kilboy. Kilboy House centre right edge OS 26 (R 8772). 1654 (CS, II, p. 248). There are also ruins of what seems to have been a castle on the church (D.F. Gleeson, "Templederry", p. 8). (238)

Kilbarron — Centre OS 9 (R 8392). Early church with probably later tower house, (see NMI Field Monuments File). Much ruined. (239)

Kilbridy — Unlocated. Only reference is to reign of James I (PROI MS Fergusson, Index).

Kilcarren/Kilcharin. Bottom right OS 4 (M 9304). 1654 (CS, II, p. 318). (240)

Kilcash. Right centre OS 78 (S 3227). In 1544 there was a Constable, so presumably a castle (COD, IV, p. 270). Castle 1547-8 (RIA MS OS Inqs., I, p. 55). Tower fairly complete; it is in an advanced style, so would probably have been quite new at the time of the references. Later mansion. (241)

Kilcharin — see Kilcarren.

Kilcolman. Centre OS 20 (R 8278). Later C.16 (J. Gleeson, Ely, p. 504). Most of tower stands, but totally covered in ivy. Extensive walls, some of which could be a bawn. (242)

Kilcooley Abbey. Lower left OS 43 (S 2958). No references. Possible tower house beside monastery. (243)

Kilconnell. Lower right OS 61 (S 1539). 1654 (CS, I, p. 202). (See also NLI MS Fleming, I, p. 47). Corner of tower and half a gun-holed bawn remain. (244)

Kilcornan/Castleloughnan. Kilcornan is probably Castle Loaghny in Longstone townland, lower left OS 58 (R 7939). 1654 (CS, II, pp. 4, 364). (245)

Kildanage/Kildonogy. Townland OS 87, 88, 90, 91 (S 0713). 1654 (CS, I, p. 338). (246)

Kildonale — see Killenaule.

Kilfadda/Keltefadda. Top centre OS 7 (M 9201). 1654 (CS, II, p. 347). One fragment, which could be part of a bawn-flanker. (247)

Kilfeakle (see also Gortriddane). Lower right OS 59 (R 9637). Motte built 1192, destroyed 1196, restored 1203 (Renn, p. 215). "Castle" noted 1281 (Tresham, p. 1), then not again until 1541 (COD, IV, p. 196). A few stone fragments at base of motte may represent a tower; a separate tower house some distance away has substantial remains. (248)

Kifithmone — see Cloghaneena and Ballinlonty.

Kilkillahara — see Killahara.

Kilknockan. Top centre OS 70 (S 2137). 1654 (CS, I, p. 189). (249)

Killaghy. Right OS 63 (S 3341). 1601 (PROI MS Record Com., Chancery Inqs., pp. 173-5). Repaired early 1650's (CS, I, p. 136). Almost complete, gun-loops. (250)

Killahara/Killkillahara/Killaghy/Dovea. Bottom left OS 35 (S 0864). 1654 (CS, I, p. 72). Almost complete; some C.19-20 restoration. (251)

Killaleigh/Killilea/Kilnalahagh/Sopwell. Top right OS 10 (R 9794). Built 1601 (date-stone; now gone, but noted by Craig, p. 129). Almost perfect; vault added C.19. Clearly late; gun-loops. Most of bawn remains, but the battlements look modern. (252)

Killeen see Bog Castle.

Killenaule/Kildonale. Centre OS 54 (S 2346). Reign of Edward VI (NLI MS Callanan, Microfilm notes, no pagination). (253)

Killenure/Cullynure/Coolenure. Left bottom edge OS 52 (S 0044). 1654 (CS, II, p. 91). Almost complete. Could not have been built much before c. 1590. (254)

Killerk. Lower left OS 70 (S 2033). 1654 (CS, I, p. 197). (255)

Killevardy. Unlocated; only occurs in a Civil Survey list, but not in main body of work (CS, I, p. 4).

Killilea see Killaleigh.

Killinane. Left centre OS 41 (S 1160). 1584 (Indenture quoted in Callanan, "Bourkes", p. 69). (256)

Killoskehane. Bottom right OS 28 (S 0570). 1654 (CS, I, p. 23). Tower fairly complete, but very heavily rebuilt. (257)

Killough(-y). Lower centre OS 47 (S 1152). Said to have been reconstructed late C.15 (Seymour, Archbishops, p. 56. No proof given). Tower complete but respored; carvings on windows argue for an early C.15 date (Ch. VI, p. 232). (258)

Killowney (Beg) Castle Willington. Right top edge OS 21 (R 9482). 1654 (CS, II, p. 219). Almost perfect. (259)

Killusty/Kyllasty. Lower right OS 70 (S 2533). 1654 (CS, I, p. 171). Almost complete. (260)

Kilmacogue. Lower right OS 31 (R 7665). 1572 (COD, V, p. 218). (261)

Kilmahine. Unlocated; near Clonmel. 1577 (RIA MS OS Letters, I, p. 129).

Kilnalahagh see Killaleigh.

Kilnamanagh see Ballysheeda.

Kilnasare. Unlocated; near Loughmoe. 1840 (RIA MS OS Letters, I, p. 498)

Kiltaroe see Redwood.

Kiltillan see Templemore.

Kiltinan. Lower right OS 70 (S 2332). 1215 - this must have been the early C.13 round keep (Renn, p. 216; Leask, Castles, p. 41 ). This is now part of an extensive C.15-17 castle, which includes a barbican with shot-holes, a gun-tower, and a square tower house. Nearby is a fairly complete church-castle. (263)

Kilveligher see Dranganmore.

King's Castle see Cashel.

Knigh. Centre right OS 14 (R 8586). 1654 (CS, II, p. 338). One turret survives. (264)

Knockacurra. Right centre OS 67 (R 9333). 1840 (RIA MS OS Letters, II, pp. 314-7). The ruins, if any, are now in the middle of a forest. (265)

Knockagh/Barna. Bottom left OS 29 (S 0870). Bawn in 1625 (NLI MS Callanan, Notes, no pagination). Castle in 1654 (CS, I, p. 58). Tower almost perfect, with shot-holes around door; only a few traces of bawn and mansion. (266)

Knockananeen see Birdhill.

(Tou)Knockane. Townland centre left OS 31 (R 7166). 1635 (RIA MS OS Inqs., II, pp. 221-3). (267)

Knockane(-canvoy). Bottom left OS 81 (R 9918). 1624 (PROI MS Lodge wardships, II, p. 85). (268)

Knockane(mcGullymicheal). Upper left edge OS 22 (R 9880). 1654 (CS, II, p. 266). Almost perfect; shot-holes. (269)

Knockanderry see Nenagh.

Knockanroe. Lower right OS 23 (S 1377). 1654 (CS, I, p. 79). (270)

Knockballylea see Cashlaunteigeboght.

Knockbrack. Townland bottom centre OS 21 (R 9475). Only reference 1586 (COD, VI, pp. 23-4). (271)

Knockeevan/Knockynanamy. Knockeevan House, upper left edge OS 77 (S 1729). 1654 (CS, I, p. 302). (272)

Knockgraffon. Upper right OS 75 (S 0428). Motte built 1192 (Renn, p. 219). Tower at its base built between then and 1583 (COD, V, p. 324). Only base remains. A second tower, almost complete, has a date-stone marked 1603. (273)

Knockkelly. Bottom right OS 62 (S 2337). 1558 (NLI MS Egerton, p. 347). Tower and bawn almost complete; both have shot-holes. (274)

Knocklofty. Knocklofty House lower right OS 82 (S 1420). 1654 (CS, I, p. 327). (275)

Knockordan. Townland lower centre OS 66 (R 8333). 1558 (Inquisition quoted in Callanan, "Bourkes", p. 68). (276)

Knockorny. Unlocated. Only reference 1570 (RIA MS OS Inqs., p. 189).

Knocksalloghode see Solloghodbeg.

Knockynamony see Knockeevan.

Korkehynne see Templemore.

Kyle/Raheen/Ratheene. Townlands lower right OS 58 lower left OS 59 (R 8839). 1654 (CS, II, p. 55). (277)

Kyllasty see Killusty.

Kyllinvehone. Unlocated; probably Kilveligher. Only reference 1577-8 (PROI MS Fergusson, Index).

Kymafynyn. Unlocated; very near Clonmel. Only reference 1539 (RIA MS OS Inqs., I, p. 37).

Lacka/Leckagh. Lacka House left centre OS 8 (S 0198). 1586 (COD, VI, pp. 24-5). (278)

Lackeen/Abbeville. Right OS 4 (M 9504). 1635 (RIA MS OS Inqs., II, p. 271). Almost perfect tower; most of bawn survives. (279)

Laffally/Laghvally/Laghwalle/Leaighvalle. Unlocated; in Corroge parish, Clanwilliam. In 1588 there was a High Castle and a Low Castle (COD, VI, p. 31).

Lagganstown. Upper centre OS 68 (S 0334). 1654 (CS, II, p. 10). (280)

Laghvalley, Laghwalle see Laffally.

Lainstown see Lyonstown.

Latteragh. Centre left edge OS 28 (R 9773). 1602 (Byrne, p. 164). (281)

Lawlesstown. Townland bottom left OS 77 (S 1927). Only reference 1547-8 (RIA MS OS Inqs., I, pp. 62-3). (282)

Leaighvalle see Laffally.

Leckagh see Lacka.

Lisbunny. Upper left OS 21 (R 8981). 1596 (RIA MS OS Inqs., III, p. 47). Much of a large bawn exists, heavily overgrown. (283)

Lisdalleen. Lower left OS 30 (S 1871). 1840 (RIA MS OS Letters, II, p. 230). A small fragment. (284)

Lisheen/Ballerck. Upper left OS 36 (S 1767). 1633 (RIA MS OS Inqs., II, p. 115). A few fragments. (285)

Liskeveen/Lisvine. Lower left edge OS 48 (S 1752). 1631 (Inquisition quoted in NLI MS Callanan, Notebooks, 1670), no pagination). Shell of tower complete; but everything above 1st storey is modern. Gun-loops. (286)

Lisleigh see Crottagh.

Lismcheugh/Lismakne/Grallaghbegg. Probably in bottom left OS 68 or top left OS 75. 1633 (NLI MS COM, VIII, p. 179, d. 3942). (287)

Lismalin. Bottom centre OS 55 (S 3244). 1632 (Inquisition, quoted in NLI MS Callanan, Notes, II, no pagination). Most of tower stands, ruined and overgrown. (288)

Lisnamrock. Left top edge OS 55 (S 2950). 1654 (CS, I, p. 114). (289)

Lisquilibeen/Tulaum/Tolloghane. Right OS 9 (R 8491). 1654 (CS, II, p. 307). Tower almost perfect. (290)

Lisronagh. Upper left OS 77 (S 2130). In 1333 there were several buildings, including a gate and a stone wall (= a bawn ?) (Curtis, Lisronagh, p. 41). A wooden castle destroyed here 1380 (Ch. III, note 112). COD, IV, p. 142, says castle razed at some date previous to 1530. Rebuilt by Edward VI's reigh (NLI MS Callanan, Microfilm notes, no pagination). The tower is fairly complete, with shot-holes around door. (291)

Lissava. Bottom OS 75 (S 0325). 1654 (CS, I, p. 352). (292)

Lissinisky. Lissinisky House, centre right OS 21 (R 9479). 1596 (RIA MS OS Inqs., III, p. 45). (293)

Lisvine see Liskeveen.

Little Grange see Grangebeg.

Littleton see Ballybeg.

Castle Loaghny see Kilcornan.

Lock Kent. Townlands lower left OS 69, upper left OS 76 (S 0631). 1654 (CS, I, p. 233). (294)

Longstone see Kilcornan.

Lorrha/Lorhoe. Village centre OS 4 (M 9205). Only reference is two castles on a Down Survey map, 1657. The so-called Black Castle is a mill. (295)

Loughlohery/Lochlochry. Left top edge OS 82 (S 0924). There were two castles; Loughlohery Beg, first noted 1638 (RIA MS OS Inqs., III, p. 185), and Loughlohery Keating, first recorded 1654 (CS, I, p. 358). One of these is almost complete and has gun-holes, but the secondary sources disagree to which it is. One was also called Coolbane. (296)

Loughmoe/Tinvoher. Upper centre OS 35 (S 1267). 1654 (CS, I, p. 69) Tower has remains of a full set of machicolations, as at Blarney, Co. Cork, built 1446 (Leask, Castles, p. 113). It is probably roughly contemporary. Attached mansion built 1597-1601 (Ch. VI, p. 227 ). (297)

Lough Ourna see Ashleypark.

Lyonstown/Lainstown. Left top edge OS 69 (S 1137). 1654 (CS, I, p. 221). (298)

Maginstown. Top right OS 76 (S 1530). 1618 (PROI MS Record Com., Chancery Inqs., p. 108). Small remains of castle and fortified church (NMI Field Monuments File, "Moorestown church"). (299)

Magorban. Unlocated; in Middlethird (COD, V, Index). Only reference 1547-8 (RIA MS OS Inqs., I, p. 60).

Magowill/Ragowill. Unlocated. Only reference 1555 (NLI MS Egerton, p. 175; PROI MS Lodge transcripts, p. 123).

Manselstown/Mauncestown. Townland, upper left OS 42 (S 1961). 1585 (COD, VI, p. 21). (300)

Mastertown/Ballenemaistregh/Ballenloggen. Unlocated. Only reference 1589-90 (PROI MS Exchequer Inqs., pp. 35-8).

Castle Mayle see Castle Moyle.

Maylordstown see Mylerstown.

Meldrum. Upper centre OS 61 (S 1241). 1654 (CS, I, p. 226). (301)

Mellison/Moylesan. Centre right edge OS 48 (S 2356). 1565 (COD, V, p. 152). Most of tower and bawn stand. (302)

Milbrook see Cominstown.

Milltown. Bottom right OS 46 (S 0551). Two references in 1600 - one is a stone wall half a mile from Cashel, but the other seems to be this castle (Callanan, Septs, pp. 116-7). Part of a small tower survives, probably belonging to a larger castle. (303)

Moaliffe see Moyaliff.

Moatquarter see Donoghill.

Mobarnan. Mobarnan House lower left edge OS 62 (S 1740). 1633 (PROI MS Lodge wardships, II, p. 101). (304)

Mocklerstown. Bottom right corner OS 69 (S 1742). 1654 (CS, I, p. 210) (305)

Modeshill. Top right OS 63 (S 3543). 1840 (RIA MS OS Letters, I, p. 192). Base of tower remains. (306)

Modreeny. Bottom right OS 10 (R 9590). 1538 (Carew, I, p. 145). Heap of stones. (306)

Modromy see Bawnmadrum.

Mogh see Ballinaclogh.

Mohober. Mohober House, lower right OS 55 (S 3546). Moytobyr castle noted 1334 - this is almost certainly Mohober (Clynn and Dowling, pp. 25, 61). Ruinous by Edward VI's reign. (PROI MS Exchequer Inqs., p. 11). (308)

Monaquill. Monaquill House left OS 27 (R 9072). 1654 (CS, II, p. 235). (309)

Monemore. This would seem to have been Emly, as a townland of this name could have held Emly castle (CS, II, p. 363). Only reference 1641 (NLI MS Hayden, 3rd bundle, p. 304).

Monroe. Left top edge OS 20 (R 8082). Late C.16 (J. Gleeson, Ely, p. 504). (310)

Moorestown/Ballinmona. Upper left centre OS 60 (R 9941). 1613 (RIA MS OS Inqs., III, p. 69). (311)

Moorestown(-Keating)/Black Castle. Lower centre OS 76 (S 1126). 1654 (CS, I, p. 311). Tower, bawn and flankers almost perfect; gatehouse overgrown. Shot-holes in tower and flankers. (312)

Mortlestown. Top centre OS 62 (S 2243). 1615 (PROI MS Exchequer Inqs., p. 129). Most of tower stands, very dilapidated. (313)

Moyaliff/Moaliffe. Right top edge OS 46 (S 0455). "Stone castle" in 1300-1311 (White, Red Book, pp. xi, 64). "A stone tower covered with shingles" in 1338 (COD, III, p. 375). "Castle" in 1344 (Tresham, p. 48). Remains of stone tower on motte. (314)

Moycarkey. Right OS 47 (S 1454). 1654 (CS, I, p. 57). Tower almost complete; most of bawn stands, its flankers having shot holes. (315)

Castle Moyle/Castle Mayle/Black Castle. Right OS 52 (S 0545). 1547-8 (RIA MS OS Inqs., I, p. 60). Most of tower stands. See Ardmayle. (316)

Moylesan see Mellison.

Moyneard. Bottom left OS 36 (S 1963). 1654 (CS, I, p. 45). Most of tower survives. (317)

Moytobyr see Mohober.

Mullaghnony/Mullinony. Lower right OS 76 (S 1327). 1654 (CS, I, p. 303). (318)

Mullinahone. Wrongly marked as a "monastery", OS 63 (S 3440). 1840 (RIA MS OS Letters, I, p. 189). Most of tower stands, very ruined. It seems to be late C.13, (Ch. VI, p.242) (319)

Mylerstown/Maylordstown. Centre bottom edge OS 77 (S 2224). 1622 (RIA MS OS Inqs., III, pp. 242-4). (320)

Nenagh/Actonagh/Knockanderry. Right edge OS 20 (R 8679). Castle mainly early C.13 (Leask, Castles, pp. 41, 46; Renn, p. 252). Repaired early 1650's (CS, II, p. 295). Most of keep, and some outer works, survive. A small tower (which was not a belfry) belonged to the monastery of St. John's in 1551 (Gwynn and Hadcock, p. 215). (321)

Newcastle see Derrymacegan.

Newcastle/Ballyporeen. Lower right centre OS 86 (R 9313). 1588 (NLI MS Egerton, p. 592). (322)

Newcastle. Lower centre OS 88 (S 1314). Name existed 1300-1301, so there must have been some sort of castle by this date (PROI MS Betham, III, p. 184). "The newe castell" mentioned 1537 (Hore and Graves, Social State, p. 248). Prendergast family appear to have owned the castle from 1300 to 1640 (CS, I, p. 331), a useful means of telling this castle from (322). Extensive remains; the small tower house has shot holes so may have been the last part built. (323)

Newtonanner. Newtonanner House lower right edge OS 77 (S 2424). 1654 (CS, I, p. 274). (324)

Nicholastown. Upper centre OS 82 (S 1223). A castle of this name existed 1413, but there is no proof it was in Tipperary (Hunter, Rotuli, pp. 80-1). First definite reference 1654 (CS, I, p. 317). (325)

Noan. Noan House lower left edge OS 54 (S 1745). 1654 (CS, I, p. 106). (326)

Nockodestown/ Cloghmonockode. Unlocated; only reference 1541 (COD, IV, p. 198). Could be Nodstown.

Nodstown/Ballynoddaghe. Upper right edge OS 52 (S 0748). 1547-8 (RIA MS OS Inqs., I, pp. 53-4). Tower almost complete. (327)

Le Nynch/Nycheaunlef. Unlocated. "Castle standing on a motte" in 1303 (White, Red Book, p. 52). Probably near Ballyhock.

Okonagh see Donoghill.

Old Castle. Townland bottom centre OS 17 (S 1283). 1654 (CS, I, p.7). (328)

Old Court see Terryglass.

O'Loughnan's Castle. Top centre OS 80 (R 9224). No references. (329)

Oorard see Black Castle.

Orchardstown. Orchardstown House left OS 77 (S 1927). 1654 (CS, I, p. 301). (330)

Outeragh. Upper left edge OS 76 (S 0829). 1499-1500 (COD, IV, p. 344). A few fragments. (331)

Owneskiegh see Castle Blake.

Castle Owney see Castleiny.

Pallas see Graigue.

Pallas/Palliccoleigh. Bottom centre OS 34 (S 0265). 1628 (PROI MS Record Com., Chancery Inqs., p. 138). Held by Butlers of Nodstown, which serves to distinguish it from other castles of that name. (332)

Pallas(more). Centre left OS 20 (R 7979). Late C.16 (J. Gleeson, Ely, p. 504). (333)

Parkmore. Top right centre OS 17 (S 1388). No references. (334)

Parkstown. Lower right OS 47 (S 1652). 1840 (RIA MS OS Letters, III, p. 274). (335)

Parva Graundgia see Grangebeg.

Pointstown/Poyntstown. Pointstown House lower right edge OS 48 (S 2653). 1654 (CS, I, p. 120). (336)

Polkerry, Pollywherie see Poulakerry.

Poor Teige's Castle see Cashlaunteigeboght.

Portland/Portolloghane. Top left OS 4 (M 8804). J. Gleeson said it was built shortly after 1336, but gives no proof (Ely, p. 316). Captured from O'Madden family 1441 (AFM, IV, p. 925). (337)

Poulakerry/Pollywherie/Polkerry. Top centre OS 84 (S 3023). 1547 (COD, V, pp. 22-3). Complete; recently restored. Shot-holes around door. (338)

Powerstown. Centre bottom edge OS 77 (S 2324). Castle of Powlystown noted 1440 (COD, III, p. 125). Not said to be in Tipperary, but probably was; only county mentioned in deed Kilkenny, which does not have a townland of this name. Next notice 1612 (NLI MS COM, VII, p. 110, d. 3510). Two storeys remain, but covered in vegetation. (339)

Poyntstown see Pointstown.

Ragowill see Magowill.

Raheen see Kyle.

Rahelty/Rathelty. Top of left edge OS 42 (S 1742). 1601 (PROI MS Record Com., Chancery Inqs., pp. 173-5). Almost perfect tower in a rath. (340)

Ranaleen see Rathnaleen.

Rapla. Rapla House bottom left OS 15 (R 9882). 1654 (CS, II, p. 252). (341)

Rathcannon. Townland lower right OS 46 (S 0653). Only reference modern and doubtful (Carville, p. 98). (342)

Rathcarden. Townland bottom centre OS 34 (S 0165). 1840 (RIA MS OS Letters, I, p. 519). (343)

Rathcool/Rathcowley/Rathgoole. Top left OS 70 (S 2037). 1617 (PROI MS Lodge wardships, II, p. 85). (344)

Rathcown. Bottom right OS 60 (S 0638). 1840 (RIA MS OS Letters, I, p. 314 - there was not enough left to say if it had been a castle). (345)

Rathdrum/Red City. Lower left OS 70 (S 1833). 1654 (CS, I, p. 209). One storey of tower remains. (346)

Rathduff see Cullen.

Ratheene — see Kyle.

Rathelty — see Rahelty.

Rathfern — see Archerstown.

Rathgowle — see Rathcool.

Rathinane. — Townland lower right OS 7, lower left OS 8 (R 9896). 1654 (CS, II, p. 283). (347)

Rathkenny. — Townland lower right OS 62 (S 2338). 1654 (CS, I, p. 179). (348)

Rathmacarty/Rathm$^{c}$carry. — Townlands upper right centre OS 69 (S 1336). 1591 (COD, VI, p. 38). (349)

Rathnaleen/Ranaleen. — Top left OS 21 (R 8880). Two castles in 1654 (CS, II, p. 256). An overgrown heap of stones. (350)

Rathnaveoge. — Lower left OS 17 (S 0884). 1654, "a stumpe of a castle wch was never finished" (CS, I, p. 16). Tower of late style, and fairly complete, so probably finished after 1654. (351)

Rathone — see Ashley Park.

Rathronan. — Rathronan House, lower left OS 77 (S 2026). 1654 (CS, I, p. 292). (352)

Rathurles. — Centre left OS 21 (R 9180). 1654 (CS, II, p. 253). Two storeys of tower remain, almost completely covered in ivy. A possible bawn. (353)

Reaghill — see Rehill.

Red City — see Rathdrum.

Redmondstown. — Redmondstown House bottom right OS 77 (S 2825). Only reference some small remains observed in 1934 (Lyons, "Forts", p. 261). (354)

Redwood/Kiltaroe/Keiltiruo. — Centre OS 1 (M 9310). 1602 (AFM, VI, p. 2317). Complete; restored early 1980's. (355)

Rehill/Reaghill. — Bottom left edge OS 81 (R 9718). 1542 (COD, IV, p. 212). (356)

Rochestown. — Lower left edge OS 82 (S 0820). 1553 (PROI MS Record Com., Chancery Inqs., pp. 277-8). Three storeys of a tower, and much of bawn, survive. (357)

Rodine. — Only reference is a tower on a Down Survey map, c.1657; either Ballyfinboy or Finnoe.

Roosca/Ruskeagh. Lower left edge OS 35 (S 0866). 1619 (PROI MS, Lodge wardships, I, p. 164). A few stones. (359)

Roscrea. Lower right OS 12 (S 1389). Probably built late C.13; rebuilt 1332, slightly added to C.17 (Leask, Castles, pp. 57-9; Cunningham, pp. 40-42). Fairly complete. (360)

Rosnaharley. Perhaps near Harleypark House centre left OS 56 (S 3646). 1654 (CS, I, p. 124). (361)

Rossestown/Ballinrossy. Top right OS 41 (S 1462). 1654 (CS, I, p.40). (362)

Ruskeagh see Roosca.

Sadleirswells see Tobberbryan.

St. John Baptistsgrange see Baptistsgrange.

(St.) Johnstown/Scadanstown. Upper right centre OS 62 (S 2341). Built around 1566; in that year Robert Saint John, who built the castle, lived here (pl. 1; RDK II (1879) p. 138, fiant 929). Tower almost perfect; shot-holes and other features suggest a C.16 date. (363)

St. Patrick's Rock see Cashel.

Seefin/Swyfine. Centre OS 67 (R 9334). 1590 (RIA MS OS Inqs., II, p. 211). The ruins, if any, are in the middle of a forest. (364)

Shackleton Tower see Barnane.

Shanaclogh/Glasdrum. Upper left OS 51 (R 9048). Only reference 1840 (RIA MS OS Letters, I, pp. 262-3). (365)

Shanclogh. Lower right OS 20 (R 8476). 1840 (RIA MS OS Inqs., III, pp. 357-8). Some low walls remain. (366)

Shanbally. Right centre OS 47 (S 1354). 1654 (CS, I, p. 57). This source mentions only one castle in the area; there was also Graigue, no. 221. (367)

Shanballyduff. Bottom right OS 60 (R 0537). 1632 (RIA MS OS Inqs., II, pp. 39-40). Most of tower and bawn survive; flankers and tower have shot-holes. (368)

Shanecourt see Terryglass.

Shanerynagh. Unlocated; probably Shanrahan. Only reference 1608 (PROI MS Record Com., Chancery Inqs., pp. 42-3).

Shanrahan. Lower left OS 87 (R 9914). Everard believed it to have been built 1453 by Earl of Desmond, but had no proof ("Shanrahan", p. 68). (369)

Sheela. Lower left OS 14 (R 8184). No references. (370)

Short Castle. Left OS 76 (S 0928). 1654 (CS, I, p. 323). Two storeys of tower stand, covered in ivy. (371)

Short Castle. Townland bottom left OS 82 (S 0819). 1654 (CS, I, p. 345). Probably Ardfinnan Abbey castle. (372)

Shripstown see Ballyherbery.

Slainstown. Lower centre OS 62 (S 2239). 1654 (CS, I, p. 189). Much of tower stands, covered in ivy. (373)

Slevoir/Sleiwiere/Sleiroyre. Slevoir House, bottom left OS 4 (M 8702). 1654 (CS, I, p. 312). (374)

Solloghodbeg. Townland upper left OS 59 (R 8841). Probably the Knocksalloghode castle mentioned 1608 (PROI MS Record Com., Chancery Ings., p. 51). (375)

Sopwell see Killaleigh.

Stonetown see Ballinaclogh.

Suir Castle/Ballyvada/Ballyvaddy. Left centre OS 68 (S 0035). 1578 (PROI MS Deeds, I, p. 148). Tower almost complete. (376)

Swyfine see Seefin.

Synone/Swyneon. Centre left edge OS 53 (S 0946). 1628 (PROI MS Record Com., Chancery Ings., p. 208). Tower almost complete; pistol-ports. (377)

Templar's Castle see Fethard.

Templemore/Black Castle/Corkakenny/Korkehynne. Lower centre OS 29 (S 1172). 1547-8 (RIA MS OS Ings., I, pp. 56-7). Half tower remains; possibly C.13. (378)

Terryglass/Tirdglass/Old Court/Shanecourt. Top right OS 6 (M 8601). Main castle C.13 (Leask, "Terryglass", pp. 141-3); the second, "Cobbler's Box", first noted 1654 (CS, II, p. 312). Two storeys of Norman work and most of later, keepless castle still stand. (379)

Thomas Castle see Ardfinnan.

Thomastown. Bottom left corner OS 60 (R 9838). 1628 (PROI MS Lodge wardships, II, p. 87). (380)

Thome Abbey. Curtis (COD, IV, Index) identifies this with church in Toomyvara village, lower left OS 22 (R 9878). Castle built 1541 (PROI MS Lodge transcripts, p. 66). Part of church remains, but no sign of any fortifications. (381)

Thorney Bridge/Drohydneskehe. Bridge near right edge OS 77 (S 2528). In 1544 the Earl of Ormond intended to build a castle here (COD, IV, pp. 268-9). This is the only reference; no proof castle was ever erected. (382)

Thurles/Durlas. Lower right OS 41 (S 1358). Motte by 1189 (Renn, p. 322). Said, without proof, that Earl of Ormond built a castle in 1328 (Kennedy, p. 7). Two castles built 1453 (G. Butler, "Piltown", p. 201, quoting contemporary note in Cashel Psalter). The "Castell upon the bridge" noted 1547 (COD, IV, p. 293). At one time there were 11 castle, plus the possibly fortified tower of Carmelite Friary (RIA MS OS Letters, III, pp. 11-22). Today two well-preserved towers: Bridge (or Barry's) Castle, and Black Castle. (383)

Thurlesbegg. Bottom left Os 53 (S 0744). Bawn 1624 (PROI MS Record Com., Chancery Ings., p. 265). (384)

Tinvoher see Loughmoe.

Tirdglass see Terryglass.

Tobberbryan. Probably on townland of Carrownreddy or Sadleirswells, bottom left OS 59, top left OS 67 (R 8938). 1654 (CS, II, p. 43). (385)

Castle Togher see Carrigatogher.

Tolloghane see Lisquilibeen.

Tombrickane. Bottom left OS 7 (R 9096). 1592 (COD, VI, p. 50). Half tower stands. (386)

Tomona/Tomonyne. Lower left OS 14 (R 8085). 1654 (CS, II, p. 299). (387)

Toomyvara/Tome (Ivara)/Castlequarter. Townland lower left OS 22 (R 9277). 1654 (CS, II, p. 213). (388)

Touknockane see Knockane.

Townlough. Centre OS 19 (R 7279). 1840 (RIA MS OS Letters, III, p. 66). Probably a fortified house rather than a tower - small remains. (389)

Traverstown. Traverstow House lower left OS 27 (R 8972). 1654 (CS, II, p. 240). (390)

Tullaum see Lisquilibeen.

Tullaghmaine. Modern Tullaghmaine "Castle", upper right OS 69 (S 1435). 1634 (PROI MS Lodge wardships, p. 99). (391)

Tullahedy. Lower right OS 20 (R 8476). 1638 (MacLysaght and Ainsworth, NMAS 6 (1949-52), p. 67). Fragment of tower. (392)

Tullamoylin. Townland right OS 26, left OS 27 (R 8773). 1619 (Inquisition quoted in D.F. Gleeson, "St. John", p. 214). (393)

Tullow (macjames). Lower left OS 30 (S 1972). 1654 (CS, I, p. 27). Most of tower stands. (394)

Twomileborris/Borrisoleigh/Black Castle. Lower left OS 42 (S 1957). 1654 (CS, I, p. 47 - two castles). One tower, almost complete. (395)

Unskeagh see Castle Blake.

Urard see Black Castle.

Urra. Centre top OS 14 (R 8288). 1654 (CS, II, p. 303). (396)

Uskane. Uskane House, bottom right OS 7 (R 9496). 1632 (NLI MS COM, VIII, p. 126, d. 3862). (397)

Varras see Aghnameadle.

Castle Waller see Cully.

Weyperous see Ballinaclogh.

Woodinstown. Woodinstown House left bottom edge OS 69 (S 1031). 1654 (CS, I, p. 234). (398)

Castle Willington see Killowney.

There were 410 stone castles in Tipperary, plus another 63 possible examples.

APPENDIX II. MANORS IN COUNTY TIPPERARY.

This is a list of all the manors noted by the author as having existed between about 1300 and 1660. The name of the manor is followed by the evidence to justify its inclusion, the date of that evidence and a note of the fortifications to be found there. For more details of the castles, and map references, see Appendix I.

Ardcrony — Empey, Ph.D., p. 409 (no date). Church tower house.

Ardfinnan — CS, I, p. 345 (1654). Castle.

Ardmayle — White, Red Book, p. 62 (1305). 3 tower houses, motte.

Ballinaclogh/Weyperous. — Empey, Ph.D., p. 173 (1338). Tower house.

Ballybeg — NLI MS COM, VIII, p. 66, d. 3783 (1630). Tower house.

Ballyboe/Ballybothy. — Empey, Ph.D., p. 72b (1374). Tower house.

Ballydine — CS, I, p. 266 (1654). Tower house.

Ballydoyle — PROI MS Lodge transcripts, p. 274 (1595). Tower house.

Ballygarran — Empey, Ph.D., p. 404 (no date). Tower house.

Ballyhaugh/Ballyhock. — White, Red Book, p. 51 (1303). Tower house.

Ballylodge — NLI MS Egerton, p. 370 (1595). Unlocated.

Ballysheehan/Burntcourt. — White, Red Book, p. 60 (1305). Lightly fortified house.

Balydliss — PROI MS Betham, IX, p. 19. Unlocated - in Iffa and Offa Barony.

Balydufe — PROI MS Betham, II, p. 100 (1313-4). Unlocated.

Balykeyr — PROI MS Betham, II, p. 145 (1317-8). Unlocated.

Bansha — NLI MS COM, VIII, p. 66, d. 3783 (1603). Tower house.

Borrisoleigh — NLI MS Callanan, Microfilm notes (1628). Tower house.

Brittas — Empey, Ph.D., pp. 264-5 (1417). Tower house.

Buolick — COD, VI, p. 120 (1589-94). Tower house.

Burntcourt — see Ballysheehan.

Cahir — Empey, Ph.D., pp. 264-5 (1417). Castle.

Camus — O'Dwyer, pp. 89-93 (1600). Fortified house.

Carrick-on-Suir/Carrickmagriffin. White, Red Book, p. 119 (1415). Castle.

Castletown — PROI MS Royal Commission, Chancery Ings., p. 144 (1628). 4 tower houses of this name - it is not certain which was the manor.

Clogher — Empey, Ph.D., p. 177 (1378). Tower house.

Clonmel — Empey, Ph.D., p. 19 (1290). Fortified town, tower house.

Clonmel Friary — PROI MS Lodge wardships, II, p. 103 (1640).

Clonyharp — CS, II, p. 100 (1654). Tower house.

Cooleagh — PROI MS Lodge transcripts, p. 351 (1402). Tower house.

Corkedan — NLI MS Betham, Excerpta, p. 186 (1361-3). Probably Templemore.

Cosleys — PROI MS Betham, II, p. 145 (1317-8). Unlocated.

Crohane — PROI MS Bethan, IX, p. 19 (1379). Tower house.

Dergard — NLI MS Betham, Excerpta, p. 68 (1331-5). This, like Dorgrath, is probably Derrygrath, where there was a tower house.

Derryleigh — CS, II, p. 191 (1654). Tower house.

Donoghill/Okonagh. Empey, Ph.D., p. 121 (C.13). Tower on motte.

Dorgrath — see Dergard. PROI MS Betham, II, p. 145 (1317-8).

Drangan — PROI MS Betham, VIII, p. 105 (1356-7). Tower house.

Drom — PROI MS Royal Commission, Chancery Ings., p. 226 (1624). Church tower house.

Dromineer — D.F. Gleeson, "Dromineer", pp. 22-8 (C.16). Tower house.

Durlas — see Thurles.

Emly — NLI MS Egerton, p. 36 (1371). Tower house.

Everard — Empey, Ph.D., p. 404. Possibly Everard's Grange, parish of Peppardstown, Middlethird, OS 62, 63, 70.

Glenardal/Glenasdall. PROI MS Betham, XII, p. 132 (1308-12). Unlocated.

Castle Grace White, Red Book, p. 118 (1293-1311). Castle.

Grallagh T.B. Butler, "Dunboyne", p. 112 (1452). Tower house.

Grenanstown/Grenane. Empey, Ph.D., p. 264 (1417). Tower house.

Grenmoyarf NLI MS Egerton, p. 36 (1371). Unlocated.

Inchirourke Empey, Ph.D., p. 51 (1313). Tower house.

Kilbrenan PROI MS Betham, XII, p. 132 (1308-12). Unlocated.

Kilcash NLI MS COM, VIII, p. 106, d. 3836 (1631). Tower house.

Kilcornan/ C. Loaghny. PROI MS Royal Commission, Chancery Inqs., pp. 155, 158 (1608). Tower house.

Kilcooley NLI MS SCOD, p. 16 (1604-5). Probable tower house.

Kilfeakle Empey, Ph.D., p. 121 (C.13). Tower house, tower on motte (?)

Killardy Empey, Ph.D., p. 404. West of Cashel; unlocated.

Killenaule PROI MS Exchequer Inqs., pp. 1-3 (Edward VI). Tower house.

Killerk NLI MS Callanan, Notes, II, (James I). Tower house.

Killough RIA MS OS Inqs., I, p. 2 (Charles I). Tower house.

Kilmore O'Russyns. Empey, Ph.D., p. 314 (c. 1460). In the parish of Lisronagh, so possibly part of that manor, rather than a seperate one.

Kilsheelan Empey, Ph.D., p. 18 (1281). Top left, OS 84. Motte.

Kiltinan Empey, Ph.D., p. 19 (C.13). Castle.

Knockgraffon Empey, Ph.D., p. 19 (C.13). Tower house; tower on motte.

Knockkelly NLI MS Callanan, Notes, II (1623). Tower house.

Lacka COD, VI, p. 120 (1589). Tower house.

Latteragh Empey, Ph.D., p. 94 (1284). Tower house.

Leghmoy NLI MS Betham, Excerpta, p. 186 (1361-3). Unlocated, perhaps Loughmoe.

Lismalin Empey, Ph.D., p. 52 (1374). Tower house.

Lisronagh Curtis, "Lisronagh", p. 41 (1333). Tower house.

Lorrha — Empey, Ph.D., p. 17 (1333). Possible tower house.

Loughmoe — NLI MS Callanan, Notes, II, (1623). Tower house.

Milltown — COD, I, p. 165 (1308-9). Tower house.

Modeshill — NLI MS Betham, Excerpta, p. 304 (1399-1413). Tower house.

Mohober — PROI MS Betham, II, pp. 72, 85 (1311-2). Tower house.

Monaho/Nonalie. — NLI MS Betham, Excerpta, p. 304 (1399-1413). Unlocated.

Moyaliff — White, Red Book, p. 64 (1300-11). Tower on motte.

Mullinahone — PROI MS Lodge wardships, II, p. 93 (1603). Castle.

Nenagh — Empey, Ph.D., p. 92 (1338). Castle.

Newcastle — PROI MS Betham, III, p. 184 (1300-1). This is tower house 323.

Nonalie — see Monaho.

Le Nynche/Nyncheaunlef. — White, Red Book, pp. 50-2 (1303). Unlocated, but probably near Ballyhaugh, as it was said to be part of this manor.

Okonagh — see Donohill.

Outeragh — PROI MS Betham, VI, p. 13 (1303). Tower house.

Portland — Empey, Ph.D., p. 191 (1432). Tower house.

Powerstown — COD, III, pp. 125-6 (1440). Tower house.

Rahelty — PROI MS Betham, II, p. 176 (1321). Tower house.

Rathdrum/Red City. — PROI MS Betham, VII, p. 50 (1299). Tower house.

Rathronan — CS, I, p. 292 (1654). Tower house.

Rehill — PROI MS Lodge wardships, II, p. 85 (1624). Tower house.

Roscrea — Cunningham, p. 41 (1315). Castle.

Shanrahan — White, Red Book, p. 145 (1308-9). Tower house.

Skyvyus — NLI MS Betham, Excerpta, p. 186 (1361-3). Unlocated.

Stranagh — NLI MS Egerton, p. 36 (1371). Unlocated.

Synone — White, Red Book, p. 61 (1305). Tower house.

| | |
|---|---|
| Templemore | CS, I, p. 78 (1654). Tower house. |
| Terryglass | Empey, Ph.D., p. 17 (1333). Castle. |
| Thome Abbey | CS, II, p. 213 (1654). Tower house. |
| Thurles/Durlas. | White, Red Book, p. 69 (1303). Walled town, with eleven tower houses. |
| Thyllaghmeen | COD, I, p. 164 (1308-9). Unlocated. |
| Tipperary | Empey, Ph.D., p. 17 (C.14). |
| Tullow | Empey, Ph.D., p. 264 (1417). Tower house. |

APPENDIX III, PART I. CONSTRUCTION DATES OF STONE CASTLES IN COUNTY TIPPERARY.

For details, see Appendix I. A question mark after a date implies considerable doubt.

The date given is normally that of the tower house itself; bawns and other buildings are harder to date, and could have been added later. The following bawns contain original gun-holes, so were probably constructed after about 1525: Ballygriffin, Ballyherberry, Ballynahinch, Ballynakil, Clonakenny, Castle Coyne, Grallagh, Kilconnell, Moorestown (Keating), Moycarkey, Roosca, Shanballyduff.

| | |
|---|---|
| Ardfinnan | Early C.13 (Round tower only - rest later). |
| Kiltinan | Early C.13 (Round tower only- rest later). |
| Nenagh | Early C.13. |
| Terryglass | C.13. |
| Castle Grace | c.1250. |
| Mullinahone | Late C.13. |
| Roscrea | Late C.13. |
| Cashel (Grant's Castle) | Shortly after 1318. |
| Drominagh | Shortly after 1336 ? |
| Portland | Shortly after 1336 ? |
| Cashel (Archbishop's Castle) | 1406-1482. |
| Ardmayle (Church Castle) | Early C.15. |
| Killough | Early C.15. |
| Carrick[1] | Mid - C.15 ? |
| Loughmoe | Mid - C.15 ? |
| Buolick | 1453. |
| Shanrahan | 1453 ? |
| Thurles (two castles) | 1453. |
| Poulakerry | c. 1525-1547. |

1. Carrick - the existing castle replaced one built perhaps in 1309.

| | |
|---|---|
| Knockkelly | c.1525-1558. |
| Ballycapple | c.1525-1584. |
| Barrettstown | c.1525-1591. |
| Ballynahow | c.1525-1601. |
| Killaghy | c.1525-1601. |
| Ballysheeda | c.1525-1607. |
| Ballydoyle | c.1525-1625. |
| Castle Blake | c.1525-1631. |
| Liskeveen | c.1525-1631. |
| Roosca | c.1525-1637. |
| Coolquil | c.1525-1654. |
| Gortmakellis | c.1525-1654. |
| Grallagh[2] | c.1525-1654. |
| Knockagh | c.1525-1654. |
| Knockane (-McGullymichael) | c.1525-1654. |
| Moorestown (-Keating) | c.1525-1654. |
| Carrigeen (-sharragh)[3] | 1528-1625. |
| Ballynilard | 1530 ? |
| Lisronagh | 1530-1557. |
| Kilcash | c.1540. |
| Thome Abbey | 1541. |
| Brittas | Shortly after 1547. |
| Farney Bridge | 1557-1572. |
| St. Johnstown | c.1566. |
| Synone | c.1575-1628. |

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2. Grallagh, Clare - the dates given are for the existing castles; there were earlier ones recorded (part II) on the same sites, replaced by the present towers.
3. Carrigeen (-sharragh) - this is the second stone castle on the site, replacing one destroyed in 1528.

| | |
|---|---|
| Ballyneil | c.1575-1654. |
| Cullen | 1579. |
| Graigue/Beechwood Park | 1594. |
| Ballymackey | Late C.16. |
| Ardmayle | Late C.16, early C.17. |
| Killenure | Late C.16, early C.17. |
| Aghnameadle | c.1600-1654 ? |
| Ballyglasheen | c.1600-1654. |
| Carrigeen (-brenock) | c.1600-1654. |
| Killaleigh | 1601. |
| Knockgraffon (second castle) | 1603. |
| Clare[2] | Shortly before 1618. |
| Rathnaveoge | Probably begun before 1641 and finished after 1654. |
| Rallinaclogh/Mogh | 1639-1640. |
| Burntcourt | 1641. |
| Derrymacegan | 1650-1654. |
| Ballynavin | 1654. |
| Lisleigh | 1654. |

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PART II. OTHER STONE CASTLE IN EXISTENCE BEFORE 1500.

For details, see Appendix I. A question mark after a date implies some doubt.

These are castles for which the period of construction is not known, but which were recorded at some time before 1500. The list excludes all castles in Part I, as their dates are known (Grallagh and Clare are earlier castles than those that now exist on the same sites, and which appear in Part I).

| | |
|---|---|
| Donoghill | 1295 ? |

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2. See footnote 2 above.

| | |
|---|---|
| Ballycahil | 1300 ? |
| Newcastle | 1300-1301. |
| Le Nynche | 1303. |
| Cramp's Castle | 1308-1309. |
| Moyaliff | 1300-1311. |
| Ballinaclogh/Weyperous | 1338. |
| Mohober | 1344. |
| Clare | 1358-1359. |
| Drangan | 1380. |
| Ballyboe | 1380 ? (it certainly existed by about 1408). |
| Grallagh | 1421. |
| Ballycolliton | 1434. |
| Powerstown | 1440. |
| Ardmayle | 1450 (See Appendix I). |
| Fethard (two castles) | 1450. |
| Ballybeg | c.1486. |
| Glenhilty | c.1486. |
| Baptistsgrange | 1499-1500 ? |
| Clonmel | 1499-1500. |
| Outeragh | 1499-1500. |

APPENDIX IV BOROUGHS OF COUNTY TIPPERARY

i. The first column is the known (or, in the cases of Borrisoleigh, Ballynahinch and Piperstown, probable) medieval boroughts from Martin.
ii. The second column is Barry's list of medieval market towns and boroughs
iii. The third column is a summary of the description of the site given in The Civil Survey, 1654.
iv. The fourth column is a summary of the stone defences on each site; the evidence for towers is given in Ch, VIII, passim, or or in Appendix I; walls in the footnotes.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Ardfinnan | Ardfinnan | Castle, house, bawn, mill, some cabins. | Large castle, partly C.13. |
| Ardmayle | Ardmayle | Castle, mansion, several cabins | 2 tower houses, fortified church. |
| Athassel | Athassel | Abbey | Fortified monastery; tower house; walls. |
| Ballinaclough (Weyperous) | Ballinaclough | Castle, church, mill | Castle (type uncertain) |
| Ballyhoghill | Ballyhoghill | | |
| Ballyinnyvir (Unlocated) | | | |
| Ballynahinch | | Castle, bawn, house few cabins | Tower house, bawn |
| Baptistsgrange | (1) | Castle, bawn | Castle (very probably a tower house) |
| Borrisoleigh | | 2 castle, 2 mills, a few cabins | Tower house; another castle (very probably a TH). |
| Buolick | Buolick | Castle, some ruins | Tower house, bawns, fortified church. |
| Cahir | Cahir | Castle, 2 mills | Large castle. |
| Carrick | Carrick | | Large castle; 2 tower houses, stone walls. (2) |

1. Barry notes this as a possible deserted village, p. 145.
2. In 1344 there was a grant to "build and repair" the stone wall and bridge (Ir. Rec. Com., Chartae, p. 57), and an earlier murage grant between 1339 and 1342 (RDK 44 (1912), p. 26). The walls were in existance by 1364 (COD, II, p. 85) but have now vanished.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Cashel | Cashel | | Tower house built onto cathedral; another ("Grant's Castle") in town; stone walls. (3) |
| Clonmel | Clonmel | About 147 houses and cabins, 3 mills. | Castle (very probably a tower house), stone walls with residential towers. (4) |
| Emly | Emly | Castle, 2-3 houses, many cabins. | Castle (very probably a tower house). Possibly walls. (5) |
| | Fennor | Castle | Tower house, fortified church. |
| Fethard | Fethard | | Three tower houses; walls with residential towers. (6) |
| Fetmothan (= Fishmoyne) | Fetmothan | 2 castles, 2 mills | 2 castles (very probably tower houses. |
| Karkeul (unlocated) | Karkuenl | | |
| | Kilfeakle | 2 castles, house, some cabins | Stone tower on motte; tower house. |
| Killenaule | Killenaule | | Castle (very probably a tower house). |
| Kilsheelin | | Church | |
| Kiltinan | Kiltinan | Castle, bawn 2 mansions. | Large castle, partly C.13; fortified church. |
| Knock-graffon | Knock-graffon | | Stone tower on motte; tower house. |
| Lisronagh | Lisronagh | Castle, mill, some cabins. | Tower house. |
| Loughmoe | Loughmoe | Castle, bawn, house | Tower house. |

3. Grant for stone walls 1319 (Ir. Rev. Com., Chartae, p. 52). Walls existed by 1578 (RDK, 13 (1881), pp. 109-11, fiant 3514). Jackson (p. 24) claimed they were built in 1319-24, and provides a map of the vanished fortifications.
4. Murage grants 1298, 1319, 1355, 1364, 1408 (Burke, Clonmel, p. 215). The last of these seems to have been the important one, for a charter of Henry V said the burgesses had recently built "great walls, towers and fortifications around said town" (Shee and Watson, p. 20). Part of the wall, and some towers, stand.
5. Murage grant 1303 (Ir. Rec. Com., Chartae, p. 41). No evidence that walls were built.
6. Murage grant 1375 (Ir. Rec. Com., Chartae, p. 77). Walls in need of repairs in 1467-9 (Berry, Edward IV, I, p. 497). Large sections survive, including towers.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Linnane | Linnane | Waste | |
| | Modeshill | House, 12 cabins. | Tower house. |
| | Modreeny | Castle, bawn, 3 houses, mill. | Castle (almost certainly a tower house). |
| Moyaliff | Moyaliff | Castle | Stone tower on motte |
| Nenagh | Nenagh | Castle, 60 houses and cottages | Large C.16 castle; walls, but perhaps not stone. (7) |
| Newcastle | | Castle, bawn, house, mill, cabins. | Tower house. |
| Piperstown | | | |
| Roscrea | Roscrea | Castle, bawn, abbey, mill, many houses and cabins. | Large C.13 castle. |
| Thurles | Thurles | 2 castles, bawn, 2 churches, 3 houses, several cabins. | 11 tower houses, stone walls. (8) |
| Tipperary | Tipperary | Mill, some houses and cabins. | Possibly walls. (9) |
| Two-mile-Borris | Two-mile-Borris | 2 castles, 2 mills, some cabins. | Tower houses; another castle (very probably a tower-house). |

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7. In 1348 Fulco de la Frene forced the Irish to rebuild Nenagh's walls, which they had broken (Clynn and Dowling, p. 35).
8. Murage grant 1356-7 (Tresham, p. 65). Walls said to have been pulled down in the Confederate war (RIA MS Smith, p. 285).
9. Murage grant 1310 (Ir. Rec. Com., p. 43). No evidence that the walls were built.

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For works that occur in footnotes, there is a shortened title in brackets after the main title.


Manuscripts: p. 402

Theses: p. 407

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i. Calendars of Documents p. 408

ii. Other works p. 410


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CONRAD CAIRNS. THE TOWER HOUSES OF COUNTY TIPPERARY.

This thesis examines the form and purpose of the minor castles in one Irish county, with some notice taken of those elsewhere in Ireland and abroad. It uses as evidence the remains of buildings, and printed and manuscript sources.

Tower houses seem to have been partly derived from earlier stone castles in Ireland, and may have had some links with similar structures in Scotland; but the main reason for their popularity was that they provided some protection from the raiding and minor warfare endemic to Ireland. They were not designed for full-scale war, but were sometimes involved in it, and several underwent sieges. They fell more frequently than not, especially when an attacker had artillery, but nevertheless could put up a stout resistance.

Contemporary accounts and actual buildings reveal much of the everyday life in a tower. They could be centres of arable farming as well as cattle-raising; and some had plentiful furniture. A large quantity of surviving documentation reveals the varied methods and conditions under which tower houses were held or rented.

They were the dominant form of architecture in most of Ireland; Tipperary alone had over 400 towers. A few may have been planned for strategic reasons, but most were sited to suit the local needs of the owner. They were the normal residence of both Gaelic and Anglo-Irish gentry, and seem to have replaced raths, mottes, and moated sites. The earliest ones were probably built around 1300, and they continued until the Cromwellian conquest.

There is an analysis of tower architecture; on the whole builders were conservative, but some late castles show important innovations. Relatively little is known about the architects, although it seems that much construction work was supported by "coign and livery".

Urban tower houses were basically similar to rural ones, and often could be used to defend the town. Ecclesiastical ones were the result of frequent attacks on clerics, and were usually built onto a church or monastery.