# Bulletin of the group for the study of Irish Historic Settlement

## No 5 1978

BULLETIN OF THE GROUP FOR THE STUDY OF IRISH HISTORIC SETTLEMENT

No. 5 1978

## CONTENTS

G.S.I.H.S. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. 1

Billy English : An Appreciation .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. 3

Annual Conference Report : Clonmel, 1978 .. .. .. .. .. .. 5

Urban Archaeology in the Republic of Ireland .. .. .. .. .. 12
T.B. Barry

Cork City Excavations 1974-77 .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. 19
D.C. Twohig

Recent Discoveries at Wood Quay .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. 23
P.F. Wallace

Irish Settlement Studies : Bibliographical

Notes, 1975-78 .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. 27
Compiled by A. Hamlin, T.B. Barry and B.J. Graham

Notes

The Documentation of Medieval Irish Boroughs : Addenda .. .. 41
B.J. Graham

Rathmichael Historical Society Course in Field Archaeology :
A Report .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. 46
J. Delaney

Free to Members. Price to Non-Members - £2.00

# GROUP FOR THE STUDY OF IRISH HISTORIC SETTLEMENT

(founded 1969)

## Aims

1. To produce and circulate useful information concerning Irish historic settlement.
2. To promote and co-ordinate studies of particular aspects of settlement.
3. To express opinions on matters of historic settlement which are of national and local concern and, where necessary, to press for action.

## Information

The formation of the Group stems from the belief that the study of settlement is inter-disciplinary and that there is a great need for a group to act as a focus for everyone in this field, including economic and social historians, archaeologists, geographers, architects, surveyors, planners, school teachers, students, and all others who, as active members of local societies, have an interest in the subject. The name of the Group is left deliberately wide so that all shades of interest, rural and urban, may be included. The programme of the Group includes the production and circulation of an annual Bulletin and an annual weekend conference to focus attention on a particular theme and area.

## Membership

Membership (annual subscription £2.00) is open to all who are prepared to support the aims of the Group. Enquiries should be sent to the Hon. Secretary who will be pleased to send further information. Banker's order forms are available from the Hon. Treasurer for those members who would prefer to pay their subscriptions by this method. Members receive all publications of the Group and the annual report on Excavations edited by T.G. Delaney of the Ulster Museum.

## G.S.I.H.S. Officers and Committee, 1978-79

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| President | : | Dr. M. MacCurtain |
| Hon. Vice-Presidents | : | Dr. R.E. Glasscock |
| | | Mr. P. Healy |
| | | Mr. B.S.C. Wilson |
| Hon. Secretary | : | Dr. B.J. Graham |
| Hon. Treasurer | : | Dr. T.B. Barry |
| Committee | : | Mr. L. de Paor |
| | | Dr. A. Simms |
| | | Dr. A. Hamlin |
| | | Mr. H. Murtagh |
| | | Mr. R. Haworth |
| | | Mr. D. Twohig |
| 1978-79 Membership | : | 250 |

## Communication

All communications should be addressed to the Hon. Secretary at the School of Environmental Sciences, Ulster Polytechnic, Newtownabbey, Co. Antrim with the exception of subscriptions which should be sent to the Hon. Treasurer, Department of Medieval History, Trinity College, Dublin 2. Limited backnumbers of Bulletins 1-4 (1970-2 and 1977) are available from the Hon. Treasurer at a cost of £1.00 per copy (including postage).

## Editorial Note

The theme of Bulletin No. 5 is 'Urban Archaeology in Ireland'. In addition, several new features which will appear on an annual basis, are included. These are firstly, a brief report on the 1978 Conference at Clonmel, together with synopses of the papers read and secondly, a selective review of recent archaeological, geographical and historical books and papers on historic Irish settlement.

## BILLY ENGLISH : AN APPRECIATION

Norman William (Billy) English of Athlone who was a vice-president of the Group since 1972 died on 17 February 1978. He was a well-known figure and an unfailing attender at successive annual conferences, having played a major part in organising the 1972 gathering at Athlone.

His occupation as principal of a long-established family firm of auctioneers brought him from an early age into contact with the field monuments, artefacts and *objects d'art* of the midlands, and from this sprang his interest in all aspects of the midland past; archaeological, historical, architectural, artistic and folk. In the early post-war years he trod a lonely path as a midland antiquarian, but as his knowledge grew his reputation spread and by the end of his life he was automatically consulted by scholars from all over Ireland (and by many from other countries) who were engaged in research on the Irish midlands and its personalities. His ability to generate enthusiasm in others culminated in the foundation of the Old Athlone Society in 1965 and Billy was its devoted and highly successful secretary from then until his death. He left behind a thriving organisation which continues to fulfil the programme of activity he set for it, including the presentation of lectures, the arrangement of outings, the publication of a journal and the maintenance of a small museum.

A lunatic decision by the local urban district council to demolish Athlone Castle plunged him into the conservation battle and, for the rest of his life, he maintained a continuing vigilance over the field monuments of the midlands, lobbying for their protection by the state, rescuing grave-slabs, instilling enthusiasm for preservation in improvement-minded farmers and shopkeepers, and generally drawing attention in every way he knew to the plight of our decaying and disappearing physical heritage. It was work he regarded as a duty rather than a pleasure, for although good-humoured and outgoing in personality, he was a gentle easy-

going character who disliked controversey and had no enemies.

Members of the Group will probably best remember Billy as a worker in the field and as a correspondent, but he had a considerable number of published papers to his credit in various historical and archaeological journals. Those who were familiar with his work were impressed by his scholarship: as one noted archaeologist said of him, Billy was only an amateur in the sense that he did not make his living as an antiquarian; in all other respects he was a true professional.

There were many calls for a permanent memorial of some sort to Billy English after his sudden premature death. The Old Athlone Society has taken the initiative in this and are arranging the publication of a book of scholarly essays entitled *Midland studies in memory of N.W. English*. The topics treated will mainly relate to aspects of historic settlement in the midlands and the Group is well represented amongst the contributors.

H. M.

## ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF THE G.S.I.H.S. : CLONMEL : APRIL 1978

The 1978 Conference was held in the Clonmel Arms Hotel, Clonmel from Friday 28th - Sunday 30th April. The theme of the meeting to which Dr. Elizabeth Twohig provided an illustrated introduction, was medieval settlement in County Tipperary. The remaining four speakers and their subjects were:

Rev. Dr. C.A. Empey, 'The Anglo-Norman Liberty of Tipperary: an historical survey';

Mr. D. Twohig, 'Norman ring-work castles';

Mr. K.W. Nicholls, 'Change or continuity? : problems of late medieval Irish settlement';*

Dr. R.E. Glasscock, 'Medieval settlement desertion : some examples from Co. Tipperary'.

Two excursions were organized to visit examples of the settlement forms referred to in the lectures. These included the ring-works at Rosegreen and Lisronagh, Lowesgreen moated site, Athassel Priory, Knockgraffon motte-and-bailey, the deserted medieval village at Kiltinan and the walled town of Fethard. The Committee are most grateful to Dermot and Elizabeth Twohig who organized and led the excursions. Synopses of the papers delivered to the Conference are included beneath.

(* No synopsis was available at time of publication).

B.G.

### Synopses of Papers

### THE ANGLO-NORMAN LIBERTY OF TIPPERARY : AN HISTORICAL SURVEY

by

C.A. EMPEY

Tipperary was one of several Anglo-Norman liberties established by the crown in Ireland. The term "liberty" is derived from the latin *Libertas*, the equivalent of the French *franchise*, meaning an "exemption".

In twelfth-century French parlance the *franchises* exercised by the communes included various exemptions from seigneurial impositions and freedom from interference by seigneurial officials in the affiars of the commune. When applied to larger territorial units like the Irish liberties, a whole county or lordship was considered to be exempt from the intrusion of royal officials. Private jurisdictions of this kind were to be found everywhere in medieval Europe, especially on the continent, where many owed their existence to Merovingian, Carolingian, or Ottonian foundations.

The charter of the liberty of Tipperary in 1328 conferred on the earl of Ormond the right to determine all pleas arising in the county hitherto pleaded before the king's justices : such pleas were now determined in the earl's court before his officers by writ sued out of his chancery. But this judicial authority was circumscribed in a number of ways : four pleas were reserved to the crown (cf. *les quatre cas* reserved to the count in Anjou) as in other Irish liberties, and the judicial process was subject to the overriding *write of error*, which meant that if error was alleged, a case could be removed to the king's court. The effect of this measure was to ensure that the judicial system operating in the liberty was carefully integrated into the general structure of royal justice, and strictly subordinated to it. The fact that the earl's principal officer, the seneschal of the liberty, was obliged to swear an oath of office to the barons of the exchequer on the occasion of his appointment, further underlines the formal integration of private jurisdictions into the general structure of royal government. The charter also conveyed to the earl the immediate allegiance of all tenants-in-chief in the county in respect of all lands they held there, with the notable exception of the ecclesiastical magnates (hence the exception of the crosslands).

In order to exercise these powers, the earl appointed his own officers to oversee the administration of the county in lieu of the former royal officials whom they superseded : a seneschal of the liberty, chancellor, treasurer, sheriff, and various minor officials. In general, he based his administration on the pattern of the older Irish liberties but it may be noted that in the case of Tipperary, the specific functions of the liberty and seigneurial administrations were more clearly defined due to the fact that a seigneurial administration (headed by the seneschal of the earl's lands) was already in existence before the liberty came into being. Thus the earl had two seneschals heading separate administrations unlike the older liberties where one seneschal discharged both functions.

The liberty of Tipperary enjoyed an unusually long life, outliving the older liberties by two centuries until its suppression in 1715. Not less remarkable is the fact that Tipperary escaped the axe of Tudor legislation which consigned the English liberties and the Welsh Marcher lordships either to extinction or to near oblivion. Perhaps its most important historical function was to maintain the practice of common law in East Munster in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries at a time when royal justice had virtually ceased to exist outside the large towns and the area of the Pale.

## NORMAN RING-WORK CASTLES

DERMOT C. TWOHIG

There were two types of Norman earthwork castle; (1) motte with or without a bailey, (2) ring-work. Research into Norman earthwork castles in Ireland has concentrated principally on the motte type of castle (Glasscock and McNeill 1972, Glasscock 1975, Orpen 1907 etc.). The distribution map of mottes in Ireland does show that certain areas of Norman conquest had a very low density of mottes (see distribution

map in Glasscock 1975). Compare, for example, the high density of mottes in parts of Ulster (130) and Leinster (184) with that of Munster (24), out of an estimated total of about 342 mottes in Ireland (Glasscock and McNeill 1972). It could be suggested that this distribution pattern is a function of the intensity of field-work in certain areas. However while the absolute number of mottes will have to be revised, as a result of further field-work, it seems unlikely that the relative distribution of mottes in Ireland will change significantly from the pattern produced by Glasscock and McNeill (1972).

The documentary evidence clearly indicates that the number of Norman castles in Munster was considerably greater than the distribution map of mottes would suggest (it seems unlikely that had these castles been mottes that none would have survived). Although I have not succeeded in inspecting, on the ground, all of the early Norman castles in Co. Cork, three of the sites I have examined - Dunamark (Dun na mBarc), Castleventry (Caislen na Gide) and Castlemore Barrett (Mourne/Ballynamona), can be classified as ring-work castles. Dunamark is one of the best examples of a ring-work I have seen in either Britain or Ireland. Castlemore Barrett had a hall-keep built within the ring-work c.1250, to which a tower-house was added in the fifteenth-century. Caslteventry may have had a stone built gate-tower similar to the one at Castletobin, Co. Kilkenny. Ring-work castles are known elsewhere in Ireland, both from field-work and excavation, as for example Adare, Co. Limerick (Rynne 1961), and probably Clonmacnoise. The excavated sites are Piper's Fort, Co. Down (Waterman 1959), Beal Boru, Co. Clare (O'Kelly 1962), Pollardstown, Co. Kildare (Fanning 1974) and Castletobin, Co. Kilkenny (Sutton - forthcoming). Piper's Fort and Beal Boru were excavated at a time when little was known about medieval ring-works, and were suggested as being unfinished mottes. On the basis of present knowledge, it seems reasonable to accept these two sites as ring-works.

Pollardstown, though published as a ring-fort, was suggested by the excavator as having possibly been 'fortified by the Anglo-Normans in the manner of the Welsh ringworks'.

Ring-work castles are a well known type of earthwork castle in England and Wales where the ratio of mottes to ring-works is in the order of 3.7 to 1 (King and Alcock 1969). The heavy distribution of ring-works in Pembrokeshire, Carmarthen, Glamorgan, Monmouthshire and the Welsh marches is significant for Ireland in that many of the Cambro-Normans who arrived in Ireland as conquerors subsequent to the invasion of 1169, came from those areas of Wales where the heaviest density of ring-works occur. Further field-work and excavation will, I believe, demonstrate that the ring-work castles constituted a very significant element of fortification in the Norman conquest of Ireland.

References

T. Fanning, 'Excavation of a Ringfort at Pollardstown, Co. Kildare', *Kildare Arch. Soc. Jn.*, XV, 1973-4, pp. 251-61.

R.E. Glasscock, 'Mottes in Ireland', *Chateau-Gaillard*, 7, 1975, pp. 95-110.

R.E. Glasscock and T. McNeill, 'Mottes in Ireland : a Draft List', *Bulletin of the G.S.I.H.S.*, 3, 1972, pp. 27-51.

M.J. O'Kelly, 'Beal Boru, Co. Clare', *Cork Hist. Soc. Jn.*, 67, 1962, pp. 1-27.

G.H. Orpen, 'Mottes and Norman Castles in Ireland', *R.S.A.I.Jn.*, 37, 1907, pp. 123-52.

E. Lynne, 'Was Desmond Castle, Adare, Erected as a Ringfort?', *N. Munster Antiq. Jn.*, 8, 1961, pp. 193-202.

D.M. Waterman, 'Piper's Fort, Farranfad, Co. Down', *U.J.A.*, 22, 1959, pp. 83-7.

# MEDIEVAL SETTLEMENT DESERTION : SOME EXAMPLES FROM CO. TIPPERARY

ROBIN E. GLASSCOCK

While some historians of medieval Ireland, notably Curtis, Orpen and Otway-Ruthven, have made passing reference to deserted medieval settlements, no attempt had been made before the mid-sixties either to identify sites on the ground or to see whether they were an isolated or a general phenomenon.

Co. Tipperary was selected for study mainly because a number of medieval settlements have some surviving documentation, for example Lisronagh with its published rental of 1333 (Curtis, 1936) and several other manors whose early fourteenth-century extents have been published by the Irish Manuscripts Commission (see *The Red Book of Ormond*, 1932). This documentary evidence for the existence and size of settlements was combined with what can only be described as 'detailed homework' on the first edition of the Ordnance Survey Six Inch map which, of course, can only indicate whether or not a settlement of the same name was still there in the early-mid-nineteenth century. The map evidence is valuable, however, for clues to relict features of the medieval landscape, especially mottes, stone castles, churches and in a few instances, earthworks. Cartographic evidence alone confirmed the varying fortunes of medieval manors, some come through to the modern period as flourishing small towns, for example Cashel, Fethard and Thurles, while others have virtually disappeared, their names preserved only in parish and farm names. Subsequent ground survey showed that a number of such sites had earthworks. (Various examples of these were illustrated in the lecture from map, ground survey and aerial photographic evidence).

What questions should be asked of this field evidence? First, we want to know when these sites were deserted and whether their abandonment is to be associated with a particular period, and, if so, why. Secondly, was desertion due to particular sets of local circumstances or was it

because of more general historical processes, for example, demographic decline, rural-urban migration, changes in ownership and land-use? Thirdly, from the earthworks, what were medieval settlements like (we still have only a handful of excavated medieval houses in the country) and, in particular, did Anglo-Norman settlements overlie earlier Irish ones : did free and unfree tenants live side by side or were they separated; did their houses differ, and, if so, in what ways? Can the culture or status of the occupant be detected from the archaeological assemblage? What was the life-span of the medieval house? Can the history of the church and its grave-yard throw any light on the economic and social history of the community? In its abandoned medieval settlements, Tipperary, not to speak of other counties, is a storehouse of potential research on the medieval period.

Additional note

During the Clonmel meeting it was reported that the earthworks of Kiltinan, one of the best examples of a deserted medieval settlement in Co. Tipperary, and indeed in the entire country, had been levelled. (For further details of this site and others see Glasscock, 1970). A visit was made to the site which was in a sorry state; whatever the circumstances, the partial destruction of this impressive site is a sad loss for Irish archaeology and historical enquiry.

References

E. Curtis, 'Rental of the Manor of Lisronagh, 1333, and notes on 'Betagh' Tenure in Medieval Ireland', *R.I.A. Proc.*, XLIII (C), 1935-7, pp.41-76.

R.E. Glasscock, 'Moated sites and Deserted Boroughs and villages : Two Neglected Aspects of Anglo-Norman Settlement in Ireland', in N. Stephens and R.E. Glasscock (Eds.), *Irish Geographical Studies*, Belfast, 1970, pp. 162-77.

*The Red Book of Ormond*, Ed. N.B. White, Irish Manuscripts Commission, Dublin, 1932.

# URBAN ARCHAEOLOGY IN THE REPUBLIC OF IRELAND

T.B. BARRY

A glance at the map accompanying this article will reveal the extent of the task facing any archaeologist wishing to study the origins and development of urban growth in Ireland. It is still a matter of scholarly contention when nucleated settlements in Ireland took on an urban character. It has recently been suggested that some of the larger Early Christian monasteries such as Cashel, Co. Tipperary, and Kells, Co. Meath, functioned as 'proto towns ', both before and during the coming of the Norse invaders who founded many of the more important sea ports along the east coast in the 10th century.[1] It was not, however, till the years following the Anglo-Norman invasion in 1169 that any kind of urban network was established throughout Ireland. This urban network has grown from the 12th century to the present day mainly because of new foundations in the 16th and 17th centuries by the Planters and in the two following centuries by wealthy landowners. In more recent times, new towns have developed as a result of increased population growth as well as the general movement of population from the countryside to the urban centres.

The map only includes towns which possessed a population of over 3,000 in the 1971 census and therefore represents those towns that have successfully developed from their original foundations. It is precisely because of this successful development through the centuries that much of the past fabric of our towns has been destroyed. In his series of excavations in the heart of medieval Dublin, Ó Ríordáin found that the late medieval layers had not survived because of the intrusion of deep cellars from the 18th century which were constructed over much of the city.[2] This destruction of archaeological horizons has recently been increased by the necessity to clear a site down to bed-rock to secure the piles for high-rise office buildings.

This recent re-development of the historic centres of our cities and towns, caused by the rapid development of the Irish economy, has allowed archaeologists some access to larger cleared sites than has hitherto been possible. Usually the archaeologists have been able to make good use of the time between a site being cleared for re-development and the commencement of building work. The problems are that this time is often very short and that there is also a limitation on the financial resources for excavations. There has often, in addition, been a clash of interests between the developers and the archaeologists, as has been all too apparent over the Wood Quay site in Dublin.

In the Republic only two cities, Dublin and Cork, have been excavated on any large-scale[3]. The most sustained programme of excavation has been in Dublin and yet only about 10% of the area of the medieval walled city has been investigated to date. The first modern archaeological excavation in Dublin took place inside the Castle in the winter of 1961-2 under the direction of Ó h-Eochaidhe. He found a whole series of wooden structures and associated artefacts which dated from the 10th to the 13th century but no report has yet been published of the work there[4]. From 1962 to the present the National Museum has conducted excavations in the central city area, the majority directed by Ó Ríordáin with the latest ones directed by Wallace. These excavations revealed many foundations of stave-built as well as post and wattle houses, wooden pathways, fences and wood-lined pits of the Viking and early medieval periods. Because the archaeological deposits were often water-logged, many artefacts and structures were preserved which would otherwise have been destroyed. Both the quantity and the quality of the small finds from these sites revealed the great economic importance of the port of Dublin from the 10th to the 13th century[5].

However, the Dublin excavations were only undertaken as a response to various piecemeal schemes of re-development in the inner city area, mostly in the environs of Chirst Church Cathedral, and not as part of a planned programme of urban archaeology. Thus the excavations have not revealed the exact location of the original 9th century *longphort* or traces of the later medieval growth of the city suburbs.

The town of Wexford, again originally founded by the Norse as a trading port, has received the most attention from archaeologists after Dublin and Cork. Unlike these two cities, however, there has not been a sustained series of excavations by one or two teams of archaeologists. A limited excavation in 1973 by Fanning of St selskar's Abbey elucidated several structural features of the original Augustinian priory and produced some fragments of carved stone, as well as sherds of sgraffito and Buckley ware pottery[6]. Other small excavations were directed by Ó Ríordáin in Main Street in 1971 and later by Wallace at Oyster Lane in 1974. Wallace's excavation revealed three phases of occupation, the first two broadly dating to the 13th and 14th centuries and the third to the 17th century. Property boundaries, floor boards and joists as well as a stone drain were uncovered in association with imported and local medieval pottery fragments. Below these occupation layers was a natural horizon of sand so that no trace of the Norse settlement was located. An interesting aspect of this excavation was the discovery that all the excavated structural features had identical orientations which diverged only $40^{o}$ from the present line of Oyster Lane[7].

In September 1976 Cahill and Ryan examined a section which had been cut through the line of the town defences in the Abbey Street/Cornmarket area. The existence of a fosse is mentioned in the historical descriptions of Wexford's town walls but no trace of it was found in this long section. One possible explanation for this might be that the town wall here is a later extension of the circuit and may not have had a fosse. Finds

# Origin of Irish Towns


Reproduced by kind permission of the editors of the "NEW ATLAS OF IRELAND" and the two compilers, Anngret and Katherine Simms

recovered from this pipe-line section included sherds of post-medieval and modern pottery, roof slates and skeletal material[8].

There have been two recent excavations in Limerick City, the first being by Shee in 1975 on the Dominican Priory in advance of road construction. She excavated portions of the church as well as the adjoining cemetery, and most of the finds were from the 13th and 14th centuries[9]. The other excavation, directed by Sweetman, concentrated on the north western quadrant of the castle. The remains of two 18th century barrack walls were found to have 13th century foundations, and late 13th century and post-medieval pottery sherds were also recovered from the site[10].

The only other recent excavations in an urban environment have been those undertaken by Sweetman on the medieval stone castles of Trim, Co. Meath[11] and Ferns, Co. Wexford[12]. Smaller excavations have also been directed by Sweetman inside Kilkenny Castle[13] and by Foley outside the southern bawn wall of Athenry Castle, Co. Galway[14].

Apart from these excavations several local archaeological societies have taken an interest in their urban past and nowhere more than in Drogheda. During the construction of the ring road and the new bridge across the River Boyne, considerable quantities of medieval pottery, mainly Saintonge ware, and a medieval gaming piece were located[15]. In 1976 Ó Fhloinn investigated a pipe trench in John Street in which archaeological horizons up to 1.50m in depth were observed. A large amount of pottery recovered from the spoil heap, was mainly of 13th and 14th century date. About 80% of it was of local manufacture, the remainder being imported French wares with a few sherds of Ham Green Ware and one or two sherds from Chester[16].

In Dundalk, Lynn and Warner were able to draw a few sections of the archaeological strata which were revealed during site preparation for the new Bank of Ireland branch in Clanbrassil Street, and in 1977 Kelly examined further medieval deposits revealed by a Department of Posts and Telegraph's trench in Park Street[17].

For the future the Department of Medieval History at Trinity College, Dublin, is planning to mount exploratory excavations on two cleared sites on either side of the Bishop's Palace on the Mall in Waterford City. It is hoped that these excavations will recover the base of the city wall which Giraldus Cambrensis recorded as being there in 1170[18], as well as revealing structures and finds of the Viking and medieval city. Waterford Corporation has also been actively engaged in clearing away several later structures which have obscured the existing lengths of the city wall and towers.

Despite the setting up by the Government of a Committee for Urban Archaeology in 1977, there does not seem to be a coherent national policy for urban archaeology in the Republic. No excavation has crystallised this failure of Government policy so completely as has the Wood Quay site in Dublin. Sites which would be of great significance in providing comparative archaeological data to the Dublin excavations are now becoming available in other cities such as Waterford and Limerick. However, the two state organisations for archaeological research, the National Museum and the National Monuments Division of the Office of Public Works, have neither sufficient personnel nor the necessary specialist facilities for large-scale urban excavations.

The National Monuments Acts of 1930 and 1954 urgently need to be up-dated so that the specific problems of urban archaeology can be included in the legislation. It might even be possible to write a new clause into the planning legislation whereby a site developer would be required by law to fund a certain level of archaeological excavation on a site prior to any building work. This would have the dual advantage of taking some of the burden off central Government funds as well as saving some developers a great deal of money in the long term.

The Irish Association of Professional Archaeologists is in the process of submitting a policy for urban archaeology to the Government whereby urban excavations would be the responsibility of independently-funded archaeological units. If this suggestion is ignored, and the two relevant governmental bodies are not expanded in the very near future, both the quality as well as knowledge of our past urban environment will be totally lost.

References


1. R.A. Butlin, 'Urban and Proto-Urban Settlements in Pre-Norman Ireland', in R.A. Butlin, (Ed.), *The Development of the Irish Town*, London, 1977, pp. 20-25.
2. T.G. Delaney, 'The Archaeology of the Irish Town', in M.W. Barley (Ed.), *Towns: Their Archaeology and Early History*, London 1977, p. 58.
3. For Wood Quay see pp. 23-6 and for Cork see pp. 19-22 of this *Bulletin*.
4. Delaney 1977, p. 55.
5. A.B. Ó Ríordáin, 'Excavations at High Street and Winetavern Street Dublin', *Medieval Archaeology*, 15, 1971, pp. 73-85
6. T.G. Delaney (Ed.), *Excavations 1973: Summary Accounts of Archaeological work in Ireland*, p. 28.
7. Delaney (Ed.), *Excavations 1974*, p. 28.
8. Delaney (Ed.), *Excavations 1975-76*, p. 37.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 14.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 33.
11. P.D. Sweetman, 'Archaeological Excavations at Trim Castle, Co. Meath, 1971-74', *R.I.A. Proc.* 78C, No. 6, 1978, pp. 127-198 and plates.
12. Delaney (Ed.), *Excavations 1972*, pp. 28-29.
13. Delaney (Ed.), *Excavations 1975-76*, p. 13.
14. Delaney (Ed.), *Excavations 1972*, p. 12.
15. Personnal communication from N. Ross, 7th January, 1979.

16. Delaney (Ed.), *Excavations 1975-76*, p. 33.

17. N. Ross, 7th January, 1979.

18. Giraldus Cambrensis, *Expugnatio Hibernica : The Conquest of Ireland*, Ed. A.B. Scott and F.X. Martin, Dublin, 1978, p. 67.

# CORK CITY EXCAVATIONS 1974-77

DERMOT C TWOHIG

The earliest settlement we know of in that general area where the medieval walled town of Cork subsequently developed was in the form of a monastic foundation, attributed to St. Finbarr, which can be tentatively dated to the early 7th century. Some fragmentary remains of that foundation survived into the 18th century (particularly the round tower). Nothing survives today and no excavation has been undertaken in that area. The monastic foundation was followed by a Norse settlement in the 9th century but nothing is known of the nature of this settlement. In four years of excavation in Cork no evidence of a Viking presence could be satisfactorily demonstrated. There seems little doubt, however, that a Viking settlement did exist, but its exact location will need to be determined by excavation. In 1177, at Oxford, Henry II granted the Kingdom of Cork to his knights Robert FitzStephan and Milo de Cogan, but retained for the crown the city of Cork and the cantred of the Ostmen. John, in 1188, granted the citizens of Cork the rights and privileges of the citizens of Bristol which would indicate that the Norman town was beginning to establish itself. The churches of St. Peter and Holy Trinity - Chirstchurch which stood within the walled town, are mentioned in the decretal letter of Innocent III in 1199. The first record of town defences occurs in 1206 when the construction of a castle is recorded[1]. This castle was burned in 1230[2]. The earliest murage grants date to the middle of the 13th century and at least some circuit of the wall had been completed by 1291 as shown by the grant of a licence to break part of it to enable a ship, built within the wall, to be conveyed to the river[3]. In his *Economic History of Cork* O'Sullivan suggests that Cork did not become a viable economic entity until about the middle of the 13th century and he cites as evidence the murage grants, the prisage of wines and the right to form guilds, all of which were granted at about this time.

The archaeological evidence, as will be shown, would support this suggestion.

The cartographic, documentary and archaeological evidence shows that the medieval city developed on two islands, situated between the north and south channels of the River Lee. The main streets of the medieval town ran north-south on these two islands and were joined to the north and south banks of the river by timber bridges. The two islands were enclosed by a town wall in the 13th century. This wall had gate towers defending access to the enclosed town from the north and south bridges. The river channel dividing the north and south islands was developed into a dock, the entrance to which was defended by a water-gate (King's Castle and Queen's Castle). This allowed ships to embark/disembark cargoes within the safety of the walled city.

The decision to undertake excavations in Cork was made in 1974, principally as a result of a report *Cork Our Heritage* (prepared by Sheila Lane and Ann Brady) which listed extensive areas within the walled city which had become available for excavation. The two sites chosen for investigation were Skiddy's Castle on the north island and the College of Holy Trinity-Christchurch on the south island.

Excavation of Skiddy's Castle demonstrated that the castle was of the tower-house type. This was built for John Skiddy in 1445. The walls of the castle, which had survived to first floor level, had been built on a floating foundation. This was evidenced by an extensive timber raft on which the foundations rested. The raft had been assembled on a layer of transported river gravel which measured about 1m in thickness. The gravel had been laid directly onto the underlying peat into which had been driven a large number of pointed stakes which measured about 1m in length. The lines of force set up by the stakes were sufficient to 'squeeze out' some of the water in the upper layers of peat thereby making the surface sufficiently dry and compacted so as to prevent the

overlying gravel sinking into the peat. Although the weight of the castle had caused some amount of sinkage due to compaction of the underlying peat, the combination of raft, gravel and stakes had helped maintain an equal rate of settlement at all points along the raft. Thus the occurrence of structural instability of the castle walls had been prevented. The construction of the castle had resulted in much disturbance of the underlying and adjacent horizons and, as a result, structural features of the late 13th and 14th centuries were difficult to interpret. The medieval pottery recovered suggested that this site had not been settled before the middle of the 13th century.

Excavation of the Holy Trinity - Christchruch College site produced structural information in three areas of importance:

1. Holy Trinity - Christchurch College (built 1482);
2. Medieval and post-medieval street frontage;
3. Town wall and one of its flanking towers (Hopewell Castle).

The wall of the college had survived to a height of about 1m above the foundation courses. A large number of vertically driven stakes were found beneath the foundations and these had served a similar function to those which had been uncovered beneath the foundations of Skiddy's Castle. There was however no evidence for a raft beneath the college foundations. No window or door fragments were found during excavation of the college. Timber framed and post and wattle houses were found on the street frontage (South Main St.) and in the area of sub-development behind the street frontage. These timber houses had been replaced by stone built houses in the early 14th century. A short length of the medieval town wall was excavated and there was some evidence to suggest that a semi-circular flanking tower had been built to the outer wall face. This tower has been tentatively equated with Hopewell Castle, which is known to have stood at the east end of Christchurch Lane (this lane was immediately adjacent to the excavated run of wall). The range of finds from the Holy Trinity-Christchurch site would suggest that the

earliest settlement in this area was *circa* 1300. There was nothing which could be definitely shown to be pre-1300 in date.

To date, the excavation results from Cork city show that there was little settlement on the south island before *circa* 1200. The north island does not appear to have been settled until about fifty years later. Most of the houses which were built before *circa* 1300 were situated on the main street frontage with some amount of sub-development behind the street frontage. Soon after *circa* 1300 the timber houses were being replaced by stone built houses and it is only then that houses began to be built fronting onto the narrow lanes which ran at right angles to the main streets. In was probably not until the 17th century, however, that full utilization was made of all the available plots which fronted onto the lanes.

The range of finds can be divided into two main groups, 13th and early 14th century material and late 16th and 17th century material. The medieval material includes pottery, metal, stone, bone, leather and wood. Approximately 80% of the medieval pottery was imported, principally from the Bristol region and S W. France. The post-medieval material includes pottery, glass and clay pipes. The bulk of the pottery is from North Deven (around Barnstaple and Bideford).

On the basis of the pottery therefore, one can suggest an extensive trade with Bristol and S.W. France in the mid-13th to the early 14th century. There is little evidence for any overseas trade from about the mid-14th to the mid-16th century. From the mid-16th to the end of the 17th century, the bulk of the trade is again with the River Severn estuary, through the ports of Bristol, Barnstaple and Bideford. This suggestion however is based on the imported pottery alone and certainly needs to be tested against other sources of information.

# RECENT DISCOVERIES AT WOOD QUAY

PATRICK F. WALLACE
(Director of Wood Quay Excavation Site)

The excavation of this site since 1974 has established at least seven stages by which Dublin's medieval waterfront was advanced into the tidal estuary of the river Liffey between the tenth and the fourteenth centuries. Earthen banks of the tenth and eleventh centuries, a stone wall of the late eleventh century, a series of wooden quay revetments of the thirteenth century and a stone quay wall of the early-fourteenth century have all been found. Apart from the development of the port of Dublin by the Vikings, Hiberno-Norse and Normans, the present excavations have also thrown considerable light on ships and ship building, especially of the eleventh and thirteenth centuries, on houses and property fences and the topography of the pre-Norman town. In this respect, a series of property fences have been unearthed which by their successive adherence to the exact positions of their predecessors show an early continuity of respect for property demarcation in Dublin. The information from the numerous finds, zoological and botanical samples from the site has considerably amplified our knowledge of the early medieval urban environment.

The archaeological excavation campaign at Wood Quay has divided itself in two, the earlier programme dealing with the reclaimed area of the thirteenth-century port, north of the wall which bisects the site from east to west and the current programme (since 1977) which is dealing with the early Viking banks built south of and before the stone wall. From the earlier programme has come much information on the wooden quay fronts which were built across the site in the thirteenth century and a vast range of finds which gives us a very complete picture of social life in early Norman Dublin.

While the National Museum's 1974-76 excavations programme was largely centered on the Norman period waterfront area, north of the old city wall, the work of the past twelve months has contentrated on the Viking waterfront of the tenth and eleventh centuries. Here, the composition and position of the early defences has been unearthed. It appears that the Vikings erected an embankment along the high water line of the shore about 950 A.D. This bank was stabilised at its core by a post and wattle (i.e. extended basketry) fence. The bank was comprised of earth and gravel and banded with estuarine mud. It was protected from the erosive action of the tidal river by a post and wattle breakwater. While this bank may have been intended as a flood barrier to keep dry the houses and gardens on the slope above the Liffey, there can be little doubt that the bank also fulfilled a defensive role. However, the ditch which was dug into the limestone bedrock outside the bank may have been for docking ships at low tide as much as for defending the town.

A second embankment built in at least four different structural phases was erected outside (further out into the Liffey) the early embankment about 1000 A.D. The breakwater basketry of the early bank was partly used to retain the later bank which was also protected by a fresh and sturdy post and wattle breakwater. In addition to mud and earth, gravel, stones and boards robbed from a palisade on the outer slope of the early bank were used on the second bank. It appears to have been flat topped and in its final phase was covered over with estuarine mud brought in from the bed of the river. This mud dried out to form a hard and firm surface.

The present excavation work has also exposed the first stone wall, which was built about 1100 A.D. to replace the earlier banks. The numerous finds of imported grey wares of French origin such as glazed Andennes ware and the red painted wares of Normandy, unearthed in the organic refuse dumped behind the wall to stabilise it from the pressure of the tides, indicate that Dublin was part of an active Franco-Norman trading network long before the Norman invasion of 1169.

Recent work has also concentrated on the excavation along Fishamble of eleventh-century houses and the property boundaries between which they were situated. These houses as is known from previous Museum excavations at High Street and Christchurch Place, are of rectangular plan and measure about 20 feet by about 12 feet across. They have hearths at the centre of a mud floor around which the occupants squatted. The bedding consisted of brushwood layers along the side walls. Only the ground plans of these houses survive. Also uncovered are the remains of footpaths made of transverse split logs and cess or rubbish pits, sometimes lined with supported weatherboards. More houses will be investigated in the forthcoming resumed excavations along Fishamble Street.

The artefacts recently found include a wide range of everyday domestic articles and ornaments of the tenth and eleventh centuries. Among these is a beautifully carved wooden figurine possibly used in a pegboard game, a carved bone figurine (possibly a deity?) which may also be a gaming piece, coins of the Saxon King Eodgar (mid-tenth century) and the Dublin Norse King, Sitric and a finely decorated leather satchel which may have been carried on a pack animal. Also found was an ampulla of a tiny metal pilgrim's flask brought by a pilgrim from Canterbury about 1210 A.D., a bronze prick-spur of French origin and a variety of Anglo-Saxon wheel-stamped glazed wares and cooking wares. More recently a vessel of so-called Irish souterrain type, attributable to a pattern of the north-east of Ireland, has been found. Other finds of particular note include a gaming piece of carved walrus ivory, a dyed woollen garment, a leather shoe (with a hole to relieve a bunnion sufferer!), skeletons buried in a Christian manner and a considerable quantity of carbonised amber from a workshop which was burned to the ground in a possible industrial accident.

Animal and bird bones as well as fish bones and shells are found in prolific quantities and are examined and researched on the site. Not only are the species being recognised but evidence of the longevity of the

animals, butchery practices and meat preferences of the inhabitants is also coming to light. Cockles and mussels are most numerous among the shells with oysters becoming more prominent as the Viking period wanes into the Anglo-Norman. Samples of insect remains are also taken as well as soil and botanical specimens which will expand our knowledge of the urban environment of early medieval Dublin.

The archaeological excavation of the earthen banks is now completed. After this, the National Museum's crew of diggers, supervisors, draughtsmen and archaeologists hope to deal with the habitation remains along Fishamble Street. The work of drawing, and recording, photographing and sampling the structural remains will go on every day while registration and indexing of the artefacts is also carried out. Organic and metal items in need of conservation are dispatched to the laboratory of the National Museum and there is a constant flow to the site of experts whose scientific expertise is generously offered in an operation dedicated to win the maximum information about Dublin's earliest remains.

# IRISH SETTLEMENT STUDIES

## BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES 1975-8

This section is a new innovation in the Bulletin and it will appear on an annual basis. It is not an attempt to catch up with the list of articles in Irish journals which appeared in the early numbers of the Group's *Bulletin*; it is instead aimed at pinpointing certain recent books and articles in the three fields of Archaeology, History and Geography which may be of interest to the Group's members. This is inevitably a small and personal selection.

### ARCHAEOLOGY

The Council for British Archaeology's *British Archaeological Abstracts* reached Vol. 11 no. 2 in October 1978. This has appeared twice yearly since 1968 and it offers short summaries of selected articles in a wide range of British, Irish and overseas periodicals (202 were consulted for vol.11 no. 2), as well as notes on legislation, reference works and some books. The C.B.A.'s *Archaeological Bibliography for Great Britain and Ireland* covers publications dealing with the whole range from earliest prehistory to about 1600, but it is far slower to appear than the admirably prompt *Abstracts*.

Since 1974 the Royal Archaeological Institute has reduced the number of reviews in the *Archaeological Journal* and introduced an annual section entitled 'British Antiquity', in Vol. 134 (1977) covering pp. 377-441. *Bulletin* readers will be particularly interested in the 'Western British, Irish and later Anglo-Saxon' and 'Medieval' sections which combine brief reviews with more general discussion of the 'state of the subject' *Antiquaries Journal*, appearing twice yearly, carries lists of contents of recent journals as well as reviews, and *Post-Medieval Archaeology* each year lists articles relevant to the journal's interests in recent publications.

The valuable *Excavations* summaries compiled by T.G. Delaney need no introduction to Group members. I was interested to note the break-down of the 1975-6 issue in terms of periods and topics:

| | 1975 | 1976 |
|---|---|---|
| Prehistory | 11 | 10 |
| Urban | 6 | 16 |
| Ecclesiastical | 9 | 2 |
| Ringforts/mottes | 6 | 1 |
| Castles | 2 | 1 |
| Souterrains | 0 | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 2 | 2 |

Prehistory warrants only a brief mention in this context. The later parts of M. Herity and G. Eogan's *Ireland in Prehistory* (1977) should be of particular interest to the Group, dealing with the early Iron Age, but the treatment of this 'proto-historic' period is disappointingly brief. Though this will doubtless have a long and useful life as a text book, it is regrettable that settlement and environment do not bulk larger in the discussion throughout. Peter Harbison's title, *The Archaeology of Ireland* (1976), was over-ambitious for what the book offered : a light introduction, attractively presented, to some themes of Irish archaeology through selected excavations. Lloyd Laing's *The Archaeology of Late Celtic Britain and Ireland* has had a mixed reception, warmer for the Scottish than the Irish exposition and far warmer for the factual apparatus than for the synthesis and discussion. The *attempt* to deal with both sides of the Irish Sea must be welcomed, though the degree of success is limited, and the book is certainly a useful quarry for bibliographical and other information.

The *Proceedings of the Seventh Viking Congress, Dublin 1973*, edited by B. Almqvist and D. Greene(1976) included Liam de Paor's discussion of town development in Ireland (pp. 29-37) and James Graham-Campbell's full treatment of Ireland's rich Viking-age gold and silver hoards

(pp. 39-74). Further hoard publications contribute to the overall picture, such as Stephen Briggs and James Graham-Campbell's provenancing of an old hoard find, coin-dated to the ninth century, to Magheralagan, Co. Down (*Ulster J. Archaeol.* 39, 1976, 20-24).

On secular settlement the debate over the time-span of ring-forts has rumbled on. C.J. Lynn and T.E. McNeill argued against medieval construction in *Irish Archaeological Research Forum* 2 (1) (1975), 29-35. G. Barrett and B. Graham offered 'Some considerations concerning the dating and distribution of ring-forts in Ireland', arguing from archaeological and distributional evidence, in *Ulster J. Archaeol.* 38 (1975), 33-45, and C. Lynn commented in pp. 45-47. Bruce Proudfoot's examination of the survival of Irish forms of settlement in the post-invasion period involved valuable discussion of the varied forms of pre-Norman secular settlements. A full bibliography was appended to supplement his own 1970 *(Ulster J. Archaeol.)* bibliography : 'Economy and settlement in rural Ireland' in *Studies in Celtic Survival,* British Archaeological Reports no. 37 (1977), 83-106. The chance discovery of wooden mill fragments at Drumard, Co. Derry, assumed great significance when the wood was dendrochronologically dated to the mid-eighth century (M.G.L. Baillie in *Ulster J. Archaeol.* 38, 1975, 25-32), and fragments of another of similar date were found near Rasharkin, Co. Antrim, in 1978. There must be others awaiting discovery! T.E. McNeill's detailed check-list and map of Ulster mottes, probable, possible and rejected appeared in *Ulster J. Archaeol.* 38 (1975), 49-56.

T.G. Delaney examined the state of urban archaeology in Ireland (to 1975) in *European Towns : their archaeology and urban history,* ed. M.W. Barley (1977), 47-64 - the first survey of its kind ('The Archaeology of the Irish town'). Reports of two major O.P.W. National Monuments Branch projects on important medieval sites have made a welcome appearance in *Proc. Royal Irish Acad.* D. Sweetman's publication

of his 1971-4 excavations at Trim Castle, 'the largest Anglo-Norman fortification in Ireland', is in Vol. 78C (1978), 127-198, and we now have the evidence of below-ground features and finds to set against the documentary records and the standing remains.

In *Vernacular Architecture* 7 (1976), 3-10,M.G.L. Baillie expounded 'Dendrochronology as a tool for the dating of vernacular architecture in the north of Ireland', and in Vol. 9 (1978), 3-9,A. Gailey and D. McCourt published 'A list of north Irish crucks' with a map.

Publications an ecclesiastical subjects have been plentiful over the last few years. B. de Breffny and G. Mott's *Churches and Abbeys of Ireland* (1976) is a broad survey from the earliest to recent times, richly illustrated, but is unlikely to please the specialist in any particular period, and the same is true of Daphne D.C. Pochin Mould's *The Monasteries of Ireland* (1976), not entirely reliable even as a quarry for facts. On the samll book I wrote with the late Kathleen Hughes, *The Modern Traveller to the Early Irish Church* (1977), I can at least answer the question that reviewers so often ask : whom was the book intended for? It was written for visitors to early ecclesiastical sites, to answer the kinds of questions they might ask, about the functions of monasteries, their siting, economy, and the material remains that survive.

A preliminary account of the important excavations at the early ecclesiastical site at Reask, Co. Kerry, appeared in the *J. Kerry Archaeol. Hist. Soc.* 8 (1975), 5-10, and Tom Fanning's final report is eagerly awaited. Hilary Richardson published an invaluable bibliography of Dr. Francoise Henry's work from 1928 to 1976 in *Studies* (Winter 1975), 313-325. Peter Harrison examined 'Some possible sources of Irish high cross decoration' (in English!) in *Festschrift zum 50 jahrigen Bestehen des Vorgeschichtlichen Seminars Marburg* (1977), 283-297, discussing some likely influences from metal, ivory and bone models. His examination of certain motifs and traits indicated an eighth or early ninth-century

date, not only for the Ahenny group of crosses but also for the major figure-carved series. C.A. Ralegh-Radford discussed 'The Mediterranean sources of sculpture in stone among the insular Celts and its survival into the full medieval age' in the B.A.R. *Celtic Survival* (1977) volume already-mentioned (pp. 113-123).

Several detailed studies of individual buildings have appeared. R. Stalley considered the plan and elevation of the first church at Mellifont and subsequent alterations in *Studies* (Winter 1975), 347-367. In an examination of the far western daughter-house of Mellifont, Corcomroe (Clare), he suggested a start to work in 1205-10 on stylistic grounds, rather than the earlier date claimed on the basis of the confused written sources (in *J. Roy. Soc. Antiq. Ireland* 105 (1975), 25-46. Skill in stone-carving was accompanied by uncertainties in setting out the plan and building the presbytery vault. T.Fanning's publication of a tile pavement discovered during the 1971 Swords Castle excavations includes a valuable general discussion of floor tiles in Ireland, confined to Anglo-Norman controlled areas of Leinster and Ulster (*J. Roy. Soc. Antiq. Ireland* 105 (1975), 47-82. In *Proc. Roy. Irish Acad.* 76C (1976), 97-169, he describes the excavation and conservation of the Augustinian Priory at Clontuskert (Galway), where the impressive remains stand within a extensive complex of earthworks. Recent reports in *Ulster J. Archaeol.* describe the standing remains and excavations at two important northern churches : D.M. Waterman on Banagher church, Co. Derry in Vol. 39 (1976), 24-41 and C.J. Lynn on Armagh Franciscan Friary in Vol. 38 (1975), 61-80.

Finally, there have been notable contributions on stone-carving. Helen Hickey in *Images of Stone* (1976) surveys the long and rich stone-carving tradition of the Erne basin, from the Iron Age to modern folk art. This is an admirable treatment of a difficult subject : difficulties are not glossed over and suggested dates are carefully argued. Similar material elsewhere needs to be subjected to this kind of careful scrutiny.

John Hunt's long-awaited corpus and discussion of figure-carved tombs appeared in two volumes in 1974 : *Irish Medieval Figure Sculpture 1200-1600 : a study of Irish tombs with notes on costumes and armour*. This badly-needed corpus illustrates a large body of important material, amazingly neglected in the past, and provides the necessary basis for comparison and further progress. A bibliography of some of John Huut's writing appeared with an obituary in *Studies* (1976), 322-9. My last choice takes us to western Scotland. K.A. Steer and J.W.M. Bannerman's *Late Medieval Monumental Sculpture in the West Highlands* (R.C.A.H.M., Edinburgh, 1977) presents not a full corpus (to appear in the county inventories) but detailed discussion of style, content, schools of carving, sources of stone, inscriptions and genealogy, fully and beautifully illustrated. It is important to Irish readers not simply because of the obvious Ulster links but also for the insight the stones give into west highland society and late medieval craftsmanship.

Ann Hamlin
(Archaeological Survey of
Northern Ireland).

## HISTORY

Undoubtedly the most important historical publication over the last three years has been the publication of Volume III of the *New History of Ireland*, edited by T.W. Moody, F.X. Martin and F.J. Byrne (1976). So far this is the only text-volume to have appeared since the setting up of the *New History* in the Royal Irish Academy in 1968. Altogether seven volumes of narrative history, two references volumes and several ancillary publications have been planned. Therefore it has been something of a misnomer to call this series the *New History of Ireland* because of the long delay in producing any addition to Volume III and the four Ancillary Publications so far published.

Volume III, 'Early Modern Ireland 1534-1691', opens with a general introduction to the period by T.W. Moody which is followed by a survey of Ireland in 1534. There are twelve chapters of narrative history as well as chapters on the economy, the coinage, language and literature, and the Irish abroad. From the settlement point of view, the most interesting chapters are five, 'Land and people, c. 1600' by Robin Butlin and eighteen, 'Land and people, c. 1685' by John Andrews.

Butlin (pp. 142-67) describes the settlement pattern in 1600 as mixed but with much dispersed settlement, even in some English areas of Munster. He also discusses the evidence, mainly derived from maps drawn by Bartlett, Mountjoy's cartographer, for the continuous occupation of some raths and crannogs in the seventeenth century. Finally, he looks at the towns of Elizabethan Ireland which were few in number because the wave of new town development had yet to come. Andrews (pp. 454-77) notes the impact of immigration from Britain which had a great effect on settlement patterns from the 1680's onwards. He also examines, in detail, the information contained in Petty's *Down Survey* which provided the cartographic foundation for the Cromwellian and Restoration land-settlements. He also discusses the seventeenth-century urbanisation of Ireland and concludes that Connacht was the only province which could still be regarded as under-urbanised. Not all these new town foundations were successful, especially when they were not established in good locations such as on navigable rivers or on estuaries. The population size of these towns is then examined and a comparison is attempted between the morphology of historic towns and those founded in the seventeenth century.

Of the four Ancillary Publications to the *New History*, the most important for settlement studies is *Expugnatio Hibernica* (The Conquest of Ireland) by Giraldus Cambrensis, edited with translation and historical notes by A.B. Scott and F.X. Martin (1978). It is extremely valuable to have the Latin text and its translation on facing pages as

well as copious historical notes on a chapter on 'Giraldus as historian'. What is so valuable about Giraldus' work is that he writes of the invasion and initial settlement of Ireland as an Anglo-Norman who had visited Ireland for two periods soon after the invasion. Apart from his prejudices about race and family, he gives much useful information on the construction of the first castles in Ireland. However, I would be very wary about calling Ferrycarrig 'the first Norman castle in Ireland' and 'undoubtedly.. of the mote - and - bailey type' (footnote 58 p. 298) with the little information that we possess about this site as well as the problem of the probable existence of Norman ring-works in Ireland at this time. It is hoped that new editions and translations of Giraldus' *Topographia Hibernica*, his first book, and the anonymous Anglo-French poem. 'The Song of Dermot and the Earl', will also be forthcoming.

In recent years there has been much interest and study of the historical development of towns in Ireland. *The Development of the Irish Town*, ed. R.A. Butlin (1977) seeks to trace this development from the Iron Age to the present day. In a short introductory chapter (pp. 11-27) Robin Butlin investigates the accepted theory that towns were founded in Ireland by the Anglo-Normans with a few ports established earlier by the Vikings in the ninth and tenth centuries. He produces tenuous evidence of 'proto-urbanism' in the hill-forts of the Iron Age and, more certainly, in some of the large Early Christian monasteries, such as Downpatrick. The chapter reveals how much more historical and archaeological research needs to be done on this crucial period as the surviving evidence is very limited. The second chapter by Brian Graham, 'The Towns of Medieval Ireland', (pp. 28-60) is an important review of our knowledge of the Anglo-Norman period of urbanisation. The author builds upon Robin Glasscock's earlier writings by statistically analysing the most important factors governing the distribution and location of these towns such as the distribution of river-crossings, navigable rivers and pre-Norman monastic sites. He then examines the urban functions of Anglo-Norman boroughs under the main headings of general economic

functions, specialised economic functions, and military functions. Under the second heading he analyses the functions of the medieval ports and he uses the customs returns from the Irish Pipe Rolls for 1276-1333 as an indicator of the urban rank of each port. As the Pipe Rolls were destroyed in 1922 he had to reply on the published resumes in the *Reports of the Deputy Keeper of the P.R.O.* which is no real substitute for the original documents because medieval customs returns are fraught with many problems of interpretation.

The final section of this chapter is taken up with an attempt to look at the internal organisation of these towns. Because of the dearth of contemporary documentary accounts of this aspect of urbanism, archaeological investigations assume an even greater importance. However, some rough idea of the population size of these boroughs can be gained by documentary references to burgesses and burgage rents. The size of the multiplier for calculating the average number of people in a medieval household has, however, caused much controversy among economic historians of the period. At the end of his chapter Graham has included two very useful lists of medieval Irish Boroughs and Market Towns.

The final two chapters in this book are by Butlin and Freeman and they examine Irish towns in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, respectively. Both these chapters are also illustrated by distribution maps, and plans of various towns. However, the cost of the book at £6.95 excluding VAT is a very expensive price to pay for only 138 pages of text. Also, the quality of the paper as well as the presentation of some of the maps could have been improved upon. Nevertheless the contributors have succeeded in adding much to our otherwise scant knowledge of the historical development of Irish towns.

Howard Clarke also investigates the origins of Dublin in his 'The topographical development of early medieval Dublin' in *R.S.A.I. Jn.* 107

(1977), 29-51. Most of the information on this development as the title suggests, is derived from topographical analysis because of the lack of study of contemporary documents as well as the absence of pre-Norse occupation evidence in the archaeological excavations of the city. Clarke investigates the continental background for urban development by comparing the evolution of Dublin with that of Magdeburg in East Germany. In doing this he makes a plea for a stronger comparative dimension to early Irish history. He then describes the bifocal development of Gaelic Dublin before examining the Scandinavian influence on the city's evolution. He concludes by dating the evolution of a true town as Dublin to no earlier than the tenth century A.D. when a new generation of Scandinavians came to the area from Britain.

Roger Stalley's 'William of Prene and the royal works in Ireland' (*J. British Archael. Assoc.* 131, 1978, 30-49), studies the career of the King's master carpenter at the end of the thirteenth century. The article is illustrated by several useful plans of some of the major Irish castles including Rindown in Co. Roscommon. Finally, R. Frame has recently written two articles which are of some interest to medieval settlement studies. In his 'The Bruces in Ireland, 1315-18' (*I.H.S.* xix, 1974-5, 3-37) he examines the reasons behind the Bruce Invasion by first of all looking at the extant documents and secondly at historians explorations of these events. He also describes the destruction wrought by Bruce's campaign across Ireland. In his second article, 'Power and society in the Lordship of Ireland 1272-1377' (*Past and Present* 76, 1977, 3-33), he attempts to analyse the nature and location of power in the Edwardian lordship of Ireland, and the forms of social organisation among the settlers. He concludes that the fourteenth century was not as black a period for Ireland as the contemporary royal documents and many twentieth-century historians have maintained.

Terry Barry,
(Department of Medieval History
T.C.D.)

## HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY

During the past three years, two volumes which deal with the historical geography of Ireland, have been published. Both although chronologically organized adopt rather different viewpoints. F. Mitchell's *The Irish Landscape* (1976) is a study of physical and human processes which together determined the evolution of today's landscape. It is a book of three principal subject areas which deal with the geological origins of Ireland, the late and post-pleistocene climatic and vegetational changes which occurred prior to man's arrival, *circa* 5-6000 B.P. and thirdly, with the role of man in moulding the Irish landscape. The first two thames combined undoubtedly form the more convincing section of the book, providing a lucid introduction to the landscape across a wide range of physical parameters. For the general reader, this must provide the most useful introduction available to such a complex problem. The book is however less satisfactory in its treatment of man as a landscape-forming process. Fifty-one pages are devoted to man prior to A.D. 300 discussing such factors as woodland clearance, the extension of bogland and the effect of climatic deteriorations. Conversely, only forty-four pages are alloted to man between A.D. 300 and 1900 which seems to be a rather odd balance, given man's ever-developing abilities to alter the landscape. The content is also rather generalized and is unlikely to satisfy readers possessing a reasonable knowledge of Irish settlement. Such factors, for example, as enclosure and Norman agriculture are dealt with in a cursory fashion. Nevertheless, Professor Mitchell's approach still affords useful glimpses of the evolving landscape and this book is very much a unique one in its synthesizing approach to the topic. It is never less than interesting.

Unfortunately, the same cannot be said of the second general text on Irish historical geography, F.H.A. Aalen's *Man and the Landscape in Ireland* (1978). There is thought to be an obvious need for a higher-education textbook on Irish historical geography and this volume is designed to fill that particular requirement. It adopts a traditional chronological approach, taking seven chapters to advance from the Mesolithic to the present day. Chapters on rural buildings and towns are appended. Such an approach, although easy to organize, is not very satisfactory, militating, as it does, against the development of themes such as continuity,urbanization and the establishment and evolution of the economy. The book also reflects the rural bias of much past research and it must be doubtful if there is any need for yet another summary of Irish archaeology's prehistoric leanings.

However, the most important defects in the book are reflected in the author's claims in the preface, particularly with reference to the relatively full bibliography. There are very few past-1971 references and none later than 1974. Nowhere is the out-dated nature of the material more apparent than in Chapter 5 on the Middle Ages which summarizes only the pioneering work of Professor Otway-Ruthven in the 1950's and 1960's and Robin Glasscock's well known basic work on distributons such as rectangular earthworks and mottes. Consequently, all the recent archaeological, historical and geographical work on this period is ignored. This criticism can be extended to the remainder of the more modern chapters which show no appreciation of recent work in economic history and geography on, for example, the Ulster Plantations or urbanization. My point is that this book does not provide an accurate statement of the current development of Irish historical geography and its associated disciplines. In format, it closely resembles W.G. Hoskin's, *The Making of the English Landscape*, but that was first published in *1955*. Above all, Aalen's book illustrates the undoubted need for a

thematic historical geography of Ireland which can, without making claims for completeness, develop a depth of explanation which is nowhere apparent in this study.

Turning to more specific studies, Terry Barry's *Medieval Moated Sites of South-East Ireland* (British Archaeological Reports, 35, 1977) is a fine example of the contribution that a geographer can make to the study of a virtually undocumented settlement form. Many of the questions which he raises can only be answered by archaeologists who have steadfastly ignored the existence of these sites. Barry identified 322 moated sites (over half of which have been destroyed since the 1830's) in Counties Carlow, Kilkenny, Tipperary and Wexford and he makes a convincing attempt to discuss their functions through adopting the only possible course of examining their morphology. He also discusses parallels with England and the interrelationships of moated sites with other Norman settlement forms in the four counties considered. Barry has also written specifically about the moated sites of Wexford and Waterford in *J. of the Old Wexford Society* 6 (1976), 5-17 and *Decies* 10 (Jan. 1979), 32-6 respectively. Robin Glasscock's 'Mottes in Ireland' *(Chateau-Gaillard* V11, 1975, 95-110) is an extension of his article in *Bulletin,* No. 3, 1972. The same lists of mottes appear but they are put into an historical and distributional context and the article also includes a distribution map.

I. Leister's *Peasant Openfield Farming and its Territorial Organization in County Tipperary* is a curious attempt to discuss field systems, one of the more neglected aspects of historical geographical research in Irland. The text may have suffered during its translation from German and is frankly incomprehensible in places. Further, it is not at all clear what the aim of the study is and its structure does not provide much guidance. Essentially, it is an attempt to trace the Irish openfield tradition, linked to a peasant social stratum, from the pre-Norman territorial and political structure to the nineteenth

century. There is also some discussion of the associated settlement form, the clachan.

Finally, two papers which deal with later periods are worthy of mention. Arnold Horner's 'Two Eighteenth-Century Maps of Carlow Town' (*R.I.A. Proc.* 78C (1978), 115-26) describes two maps, drawn by Thomas Moland in 1703 and Charles Colombine in 1735. Their value as sources for studies of the growth of pre-nineteenth century Carlow is assessed. Horner concludes that despite their limitations, the maps provide a link between the inferred medieval layout and the 1839 six inch Ordnance Survey plans. Philip Robinson's 'Irish settlement in Tyrone before the Ulster planation' (*Ulster Folklife*, 22, 1976, pp. 59-69) examines the pre-plantation Irish land divisions and settlements because these strongly conditioned the patterns of seventeenth-century British settlement. He deals with ballyboes, the pre-Plantation land divisions from which modern townlands evolved and uses their distribution in Tyrone as a surrogate for population density, the latter factor strongly related to the distribution of woodland. Finally, he discusses the relationship of the clachan to the ballyboe and the associated economy.

Brian Graham
(School of Environmental Sciences,
Ulster Polytechnic).

## NOTES

### The Documentation of Medieval Irish Boroughs : Addenda

B.J. Graham

In G.S.I.H.S., *Bulletin* No. 4 (1977) a list of medieval Irish boroughs appeared, together with their earliest extant documentation. Additional information has since become available and the following tables include both this and corrections to the earlier lists. I am most grateful to Ms. P. Connolly, Rev. Dr. C.A. Empey, Mr. C.J.F. MacCarthy and Mr. K.W. Nicholls for their help and information.

### LIST ONE : MEDIEVAL BOROUGHS

| County | Borough | Grid Reference | Earliest Extant Documentation of Borough Status/Notes |
|---|---|---|---|
| Antrim | Antrim | 5, J 150867 | 1350 - P.R.O., S.C. 1239/33 |
| Carlow | Dunleckny | 19, S 722621 | Before 1213 - Chart. St. Mary's, I, pp. 112-4. |
| | Leighlin (Old) | 19, S 860655 | 1217-38 - Bodl. MS Rawl. B502 ff. 102. |
| | St. Mullins | 19, S 726378 | Before 1213 - Chart. St. Mary's, I, pp. 112-4. |
| Clare | Inchiquin | | Wrong identification - this should be deleted. See Cork below. |
| Cork | Ballyhac | 21, R c 551196 | Prob. Ballyhay (Fermoy Bar.) |
| | Bellonar | 25, W 729620 | This is Carrigaline |
| | Donaghmore | 21, W 489821? | 1360 - Rotulus Pipae Clonensis, p. 26. |
| | Inchiquin | 22, X 042748 | 1288 - C.D.I., III, no. 459 / C.I.P.M., II, p. 432 |
| | Kinsale | | Wrong identification - this should be deleted. (See Waterford below). |

| County | Borough | Grid Reference | Earliest Extant Documentation of Borough Status/Notes |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Moymide | 25, W 443669 | This is Dundanion or Dundrinan recorded on List 3. Now known as Castlemore - Moviddy. 1317 - P.R.O.I., IA. 3. 25 p. 58 |
| Galway | Claregalway | 14, M 373333 | 1307 - provost - P.R.O.I., R.C. 7/12 (i) p. 3. |
| Kilkenny | Dunamaggan | 18, S 482390 | c 1450 - C. Or. Deeds, III, no. 263. |
| | Kilbline | 19, S 574474 | 1363 - C. Or. Deeds, II, no. 433. |
| | Killamery | 18, S 378360 | c 1420 - C. Or. Deeds, III, no. 33. |
| | Newtown-Earls | 18, S 463438 | 1346 - C. Or. Deeds, I, no. 781 (All had burgages) |
| Limerick | Clonshire | 17, R 437445 | 1418 - B. Book of Lim., p. 157. |
| | Corkmoy | Prob. 17, R 445302 | The present Castletown-Conyers (Conello Upper Bar.) |
| | Effin | 21, R 581237? | 1372 - R. Book Kildare, no. 151. |
| | Galbally | 18, R 798377 | 1290 - C.D.I.,III, no. 591 - this is Natherlak or Aherlow which appears under Tipperary on earlier list. |
| | Shanagolden | 17, R 253474 | 1418 - B. Book of Lim., p. 159. |
| Mayo | Ballinrobe | 11, M 191645 | 1349 - provost - P.R.O., S.C. 1239/30. |
| Meath | Ratoath | 13, O 020519 | c 1200 - Reg. St. Thomas, p. 8 - primary reference. |
| Offaly | Dunkerrin | 15, S 062848 | 1305 - R. Book of O., p. 151 (Burgage rent and burgesses) - was in the medieval co. of Tipperary - now in Offaly. |
| Tipperary | Buolick | 18, S 264564 | 1259 - Reg. of St. John the Baptist, nos. 496-7 (burgages in) |
| | Fetmothan Karkeul | 18, S 191649 | Prob. Fishmoyne, Eliogarty Bar. Delete - this is Carkenlis (Caherconlish), Co. Limerick |
| | Kiltinan | 18, S 230319 | 1308 - C. Or. Deeds, I, no. 418 - borough. |
| | Kyldenall | 18, S 220462 | This is Killenaule. |
| | Lettrach | 18, R 973726 | This is Latteragh (Ormond Upper Bar referred to in (17th as having be a borough-P.R.O.I., R.C. 7/1, p. |
| | Lorrha | 15, M 916044 | 1333 - T.C.D. MS. 1060 - burgages and burgage rent. |
| | Moylak | 22, S 127135? | May be Newcastle (Offa and Offa Bar). |

| County | Borough | Grid Reference | Earliest Extant Documentation of Borough Status/Notes |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Natherlak | | Galbally, Co. Limerick - see above. |
| | Terryglass | 15, M 005864 | 1333 - T.C.D. MS 1060 - burgages and burgage rent. |
| Waterford | Kinsalebeg | 22, X 130800 | 1292 - C.I.P.M., III, p. 94. |
| Wexford | Bally-mascaller | Unidentified | Is in Forth Bar.: 1384 - P.R.O., C136/34 (3). |
| | Curtun | 19, T 200562 | This is Courtown (Gorey Bar.) Delete question mark for grid ref. |
| Wicklow | Burgage | 16, N 972124 | Site identified |
| | Kilmacberne | 16, O c 265104 | Probable location at Downs (Kilcoole Parish, Newcastle Bar). |
| | LIST TWO : PROBABLE BOROUGHS | | |
| Kilkenny | Tibberaghny | 22, S 442217 | 1242 - granted market - C.D.I., II, no. 2422. |
| Tipperary | Kilfeakle | 18, R 960377 | 1242 - granted market - C.D.I., II, no. 2422. |
| | Buolick | 18, S 264564 ) | These should all be deleted from List Two. See List One above |
| | Killenaule | 18, S 220462 ) | |
| | Kiltinan | 18, S 230319 ) | |
| | LIST THREE : SETTLEMENTS WHICH RECEIVED GRANTS OF WEEKLY MARKETS AND ANNUAL FAIRS BUT WITH NO FURTHER EVIDENCE OF BOROUGH STATUS | | |
| Carlow | Wells | 19, S 690646? | 1247 - C.D.I., I, no. 2877 May be at Ballyknockan Motte in Parish of Wells. |
| Clare | Corofin | | Wrong identification - this should be deleted. See Galway below. |
| Cork | Bridgetown | 22, W 690997 | Wrong location. This is correct grid ref. 'Prob. Fermoy' should be deleted. |
| | Carrigaline | | Delete. This is Bellonar, Co. Cork. See List One. |
| | Midleton | 22, W 880716 | This is correct grid ref. |
| Galway | Corrofin | 11, M 428433 | 1252 - C.D.I., II, no. 112. |
| Laois | Derevald | 18, S 406772 | This is Durrow : 1245 - C.D.I., I, no. 2780. |

| County | Settlement | Grid Reference | Earliest Extant Documentation/ Notes |
|---|---|---|---|
| Kilkenny | Aghour | 18, S 406648 | This is Freshford |
| | Derevald | | Delete-see Laois above. |
| | Irishtown | 19, S c 500570 | 1370 - 'Cal. of Liber Ruber of the Diocese of Ossory'. |
| | Tachsquithin | 19, S 600592? | Prob-location (Tiscoffin Parish, Gowran Bar). |
| Limerick | Actonagh | 18, R c 830447 | 1299 - C.D.I., IV, no. 646 - this is Castletown, Coonagh Bar. |
| | Castleconnell | 18, R 661628 | 1242 - C.D.I., I, no. 2422. |
| Longford | Adleck | 12, N 005693 | 1284 - C.D.I., II, no. 2303. This is Ballyleague (Lanesborough) |
| Mayo | Adleen | 11, M c 270990 | 1253 - C.D.I., II, no. 250. This is Ballylahan or Strade. |
| Tipperary | Actonagh | | Delete - see Limerick above. |
| Westmeath | Adleck | | Delete - see Longford above. |
| | Incheleffer | | Site is on Lough Ree |
| Unident-ified | Adleen | | Delete - see Mayo above. |
| | Adneri | | Delete - this is Athery, Co. Galway - See List One. |
| | Lettrach | | Delete - this is Latteragh - see List One. |
| | Tybracht | | Delete - this is Tibberaghny, Co. Kilkenny - see List Two. |
| | Welles | | Delete - this is in Co. Carlow-see above. |

ABBEVIATIONS

B. Book of Lim. — *The Black Book of Limerick*, ed. Rev. J. MacCaffrey, Dublin 1907.

Bodl. — Bodleian Library.

C.D.I. — *Calendar of Documents Relating to Ireland*, 5 vols., ed. H.S. Sweetman, London 1875-86.

C.I.P.M. — *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem*, 17 vols., various editors, London 1904-70.

| | |
|---|---|
| Cal. of Liber Ruber of the Diocese of Ossory. | 'Calendar of the Liber Ruber of the Diocese of Ossory', ed. H.J. Lawlor, *R I.A. Proc.*, XXVII C, 1908, pp. 159-208. |
| C. Or.Deeds | *Calendar of Ormond Deeds*, 6 vols., ed. E. Curtis, Dublin 1932-43 |
| Chart. St. Mary's | *Chartularies of St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin*, 2 vols., ed. J.T. Gilbert, London 1884. |
| P.R.O. | Public Record Office, London. |
| P.R.O.I. | Public Record Office, Ireland. |
| R. Book Kildare | *The Red Book of the Earls of Kildare*, ed. G. MacNiocaill, Dublin 1964. |
| R. Book of O. | *The Red Book of Ormond*, ed. N.B. White, Dublin 1932. |
| Reg. St. Thomas. | *Register of the Abbey of St. Thomas, Dublin*, 2 vols., ed. J.T. Gilbert, London 1889. |
| Rotulus Pipae Clonensis | *Rotulus Pipae Clonensis*, ed. R. Caulfield, Cork 1859. |
| T.C.D. | Trinity College, Dublin. |

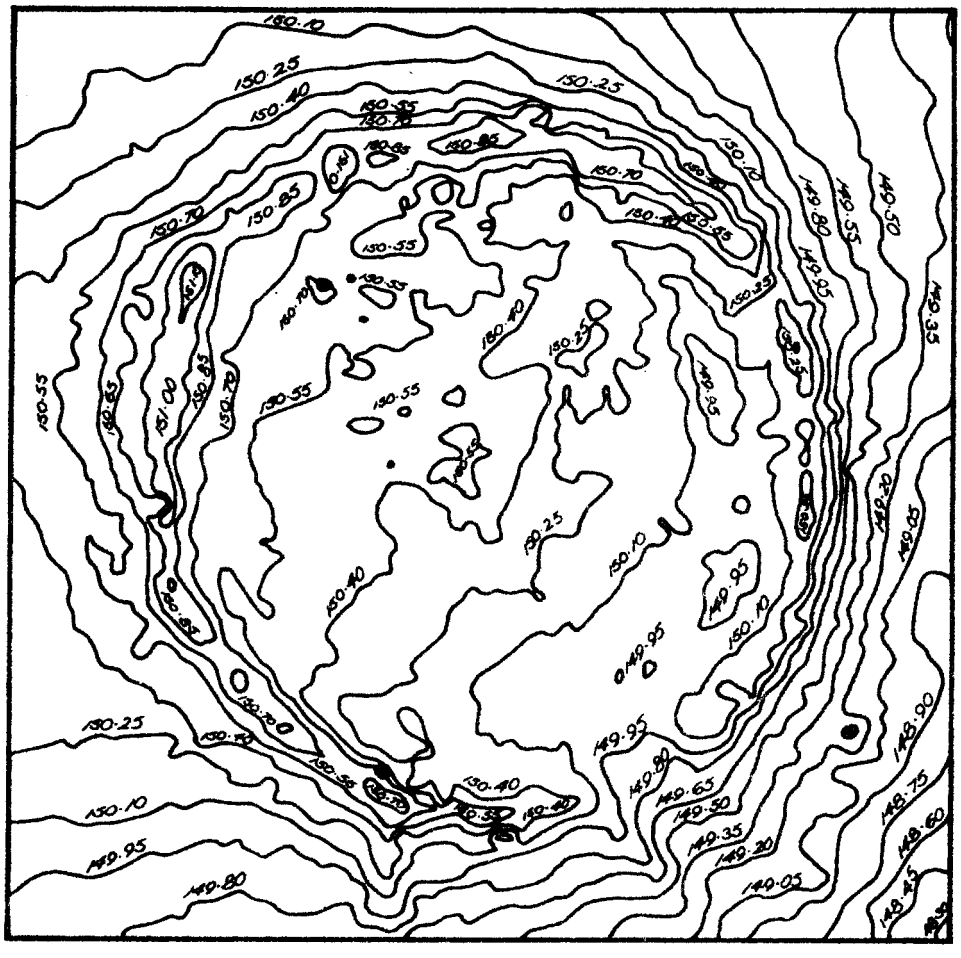
## Rathmichael Historical Society Course in Field Archaeology : A Report

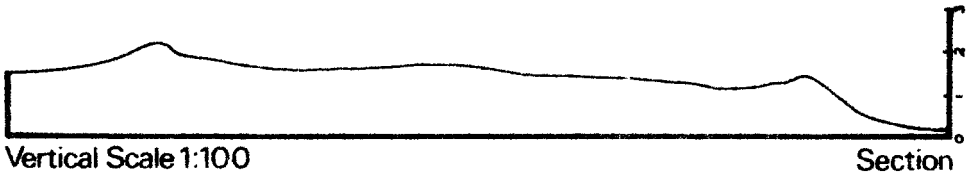
Joan Delaney

In the spring of 1975 Rathmichael Historical Society decided to organise a Course in Field Archaeology. It was hoped that a small excavation could be undertaken on which the course could take place. However, the system of obtaining licences does not allow for training excavations. Archaeologists who are doing research do not usually wish to instruct on site, rescue excavations are often the prerogative of the National Museum while the Office of Public Works undertakes excavations when needed to conserve monuments.

It was therefore difficult to find an experienced archaeologist who was not fully involved in his own excavations. Marcus O hEochaidh, formerly Assistant Inspector of National Monuments, consented to direct the course. The last week of August was chosen as the time to hold it. Thirty students was deemed the maximum number that could be successfully accepted. The programme consisted of five days work from 10a.m. to 5 p.m. during which tuition in the rudiments of surveying and planning was given. Local sites were visited and one glorious afternoon was spent at Kilternan Dolmen. Dr. George Eogan kindly allowed the group to visit the excavations at Knowth and so one day was spent on sites in that area. A lecture was given each evening by Breandáin Ó Ríordáin, David Sweetman, (Liam de Paor, although on the programme,was unable to be present and so Breandáin Ó Ríordáin gave a second lecture) George Eogan and Dermot Twohig.

The course was fully booked and proved what the Rathmichael Society had felt to be true, that a great number of people are interested in taking part in archaeological work. In fact, quite a lot of frustration was expressed about the lack of opportunity for volunteers to become involved in excavations. Marcus O hEochaidh was a wonderful

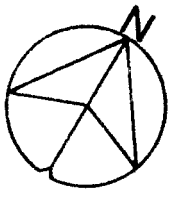


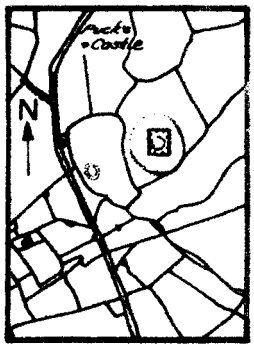
Vertical Scale 1:100 Section

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 metres

Horizontal Scale 1:200




Key Plan




# Contour Survey
# Rathmichael Hillfort

## Rathmichael Historical Society

director and those who took part were so enthusiastic that many of them wanted to continue the surveying activities. Marcus suggested that they did a survey of the damage done to Rathmichael Hillfort by a forest fire earlier that year and so the Rathmichael Survey Group was formed. The group worked at weekends during the winter of 1975/76 on the hillfort and also at Ballymaan and spent a weekend at Roscrea, organised by George Cunningham. The Group was anxious to help with excavations and eagerly accepted an invitation from Liam de Paor to work at Inis Cealtra in 1976 and 1977. As there was no excavation going on there in 1978 members helped at Kilteel.

In 1976 the Course was again directed by Marcus O hEochaidh. Dr. Michael Herity got the week off to a fine start on Monday morning with a general lecture on Archaeology followed by discussion and demonstration. Dr. Eogan gave a lecture on Knowth on Wednesday evening and again allowed the group to visit Knowth. There was only one other evening lecture given by Mr. Thomas Delaney. Survey and planning exercises were done at the wedge tomb at Ballyedmonduff. This programme did not attract so many applications and suffered because there were not so many evening lectures, but some of the most enthusiastic members of the Survey Group came from that year's entries.

In October 1976 Mr. H.E. Kilbride Jones was looking for a site in the Rathmichael area to excavate. When he saw the hillfort on the S.E. side, he was shocked by the damage done by tree planting and felt that all archaeological evidence had been destroyed. However, on seeing the stone wall at the top, which became visible as a result of the fire in 1975, he was delighted. He applied for a licence to excavate and asked the Rathmichael Survey Group to make a contour survey of the site as a preliminary step. This excavation would have enabled the course to develop into a training excavation. The licence was not granted. However, the contour survey was completed (see Figure).

Leo Swan agreed to direct the course in 1977. The earth-works at Ballybeetagh were chosen as site for surveying practice although it would be hard to imagine a more difficult site. However, Mr. Swan was well able for the challenge. The evening lectures were given by Thomas Fanning, Breandáin Ó Ríordáin, George Eogan, Leo Swan and Joan Duff. A good thing that occurred in 1977 was the Department of Education's recognition of the course for "personal leave" for National teachers. Field work was done in 1978 at Newtown Hill, Glencullen and Noel A. Carroll assisted with the surveying. Lectures on the theme "The importanceof archaeological surveys" were given by Thomas Fanning, Seán O Nuallain, George Eogan, Ann Hamlin and Seamus Caulfield.

(The Rathmichael Historical Society is indebted to the following; Marcus O hEochaidh, Leo Swan, the land-owners- Mr. A. Law and Mr. J. Lenehan, Paddy Healy, Mr. B. Merry, G. Cunningham, B. Kealy, J. Bradley, our lecturers and Cement Ltd. for generous financial support).