

Siting of Castles in the Midlands of Ireland:
a spatial approach to cultural landscapes

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Yet meet him in his cabin rude
Or dancing with his dark-haired Mary
You'd swear they knew no other mood
But mirth and love in Tipperary

Thomas Davis

Abstract

During the medieval period, an attempted colonization of Ireland by Anglo-Norman lords resulted in the widespread construction of castles of all forms in the Irish countryside. The placement of castles in the landscape was an attempt to subdue the local Gaelic Irish population to create a lordly manorial landscape of dominance.

This dissertation examines the spatial siting of timber castles in north County Tipperary, Ireland to investigate the role castles played in the first decades of Anglo-Norman conquest and lordship. Located in the midlands of the country, County Tipperary provides an ideal location for a case study on the colonial motives of placing castles in the landscape.

In addition, this work reevaluates the classification of ringwork castles in north County Tipperary as designated in the *Archaeological Inventory of County Tipperary Volume 1: North Tipperary* (Farrelly and O'Brien 2002). Ringwork castles are a contentious site type as they are morphologically similar to the early medieval ringfort. This reevaluation rejects 66.6% (18/27) of the classified ringwork castles.

Results of the landscape siting of timber castles provides evidence of the importance of controlling routes and ford crossings, the connection to ecclesiastical foundations, and the placement of castles in wet or boggy locations. The results contribute broadly the fields of medieval archaeology and castle studies by utilizing an interdisciplinary approach of colonial studies, historical landscape studies, and GIS.

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Chapter One: Introduction

- 1.1: Aims of the thesis
- 1.2: Colonialism, Colonization, and the Middle Ground
- 1.3 The Normans
 - 1.3a: Historical
 - 1.3b: Archaeological: state of research to date
- 1.4: Methods
- 1.5: Structure
- 1.6: Conclusion

1.1 Aims of the thesis

Castles are a physical manifestation of colonial governance, power, and display. In Ireland, these castles were constructed under Anglo-Norman lords. This thesis contributes to the understanding of how timber castles fulfill these roles through the examination of castle siting. By constructing timber castles, Norman colonizers across Europe attempted to bring centralized authority into new spaces, represented in the private residences of lords, which also served as hubs of estates. The romantic view of castles, and castle ruins, often obscures the role castles of all types served, as political, economic, and social centers of the medieval period. Thus, this study examines the siting of timber castles in north Co. Tipperary in the decades after the arrival of the Anglo-Normans to Ireland in 1185 to view the ways the lords utilized the landscape to further their colonial efforts, as well as the ways the physical landscape shaped their efforts in colonization.

This project reappraises the evidence for timber castles in what was a medieval frontier zone in the midlands of Ireland utilizing a landscape archaeology approach which incorporates geographic information systems (GIS) methodology. In frontier zones where lords struggled to gain—and hold—territory, the construction of castles represents successful colonial development and these structures became deeply rooted in the local landscape, as evidenced by the general survival of these monuments into the modern period (Figure 1.1).

No uniform criterion determined the siting of castles; the Normans broadly adapted castles to the conditions of the landscape. Siting in castle studies refers to the

location in the landscape in which a castle is constructed. This includes the physical landscape of woodland and pasture, underlying geology, hydrology, and topography, as well as the social landscape of boundaries and people. This study views the landscape through coexistent structures found in the archaeological and landscape records, which include but are not limited to proximity to water, contemporaneous and/or ancient archaeological sites, administrative boundaries, and natural features.

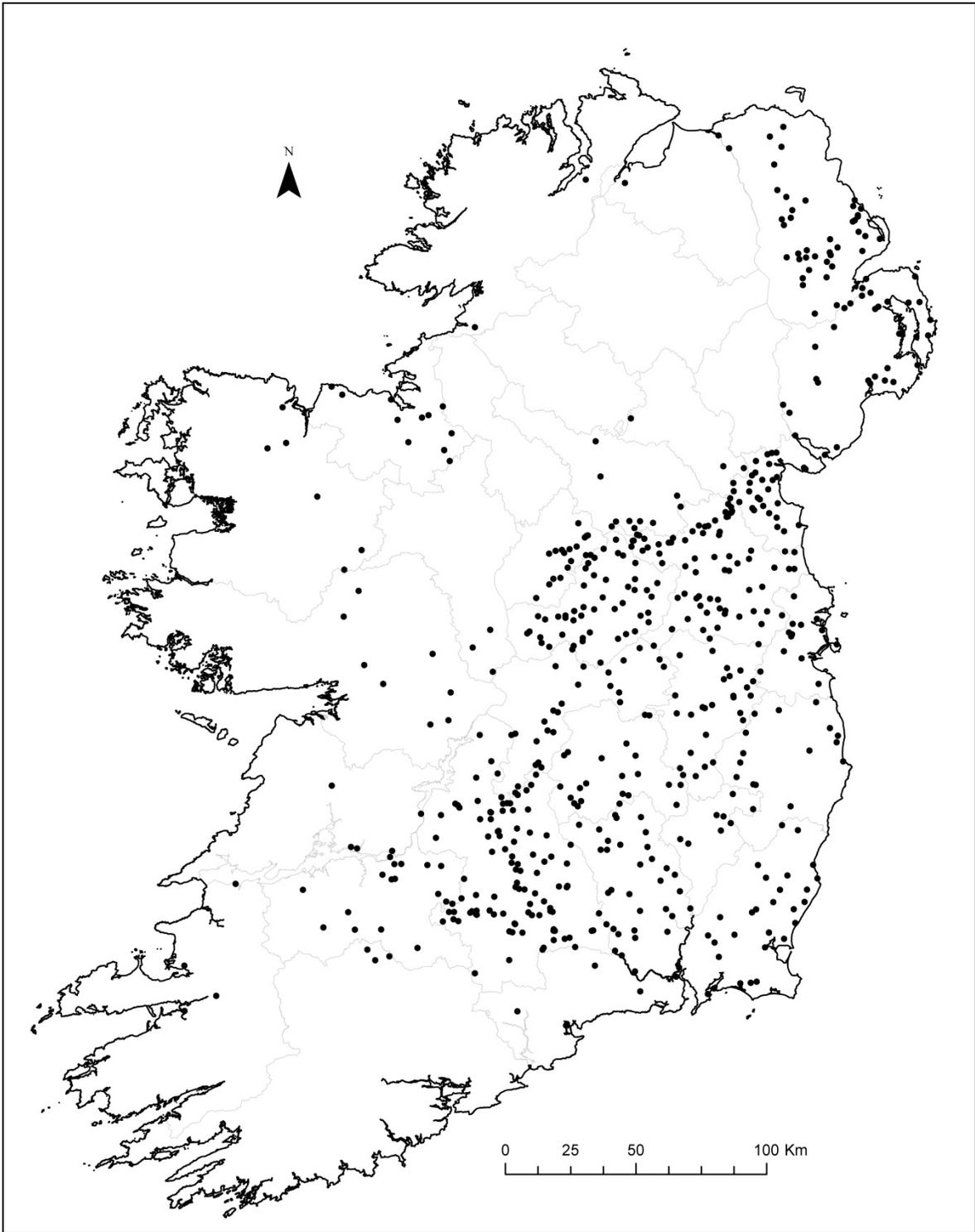


Figure 1.1: Timber castle locations in Ireland.

The archaeological classifications of the timber castles of north Co. Tipperary come from the *Archaeological Inventory of County Tipperary Volume 1: North Tipperary* (Farrelly and O'Brien 2002: 289-297). As north and south Co. Tipperary evidence a higher percentage of one particular timber castle type, the ringwork castle, than the rest of Ireland, reassessment of the classification is a necessary precursor to a systematic survey. This dissertation applies a methodology of classification created by Kieran O'Connor (1993), subsequently field tested on ringwork castles by Emma Arbuthnot (2011) to the north Co. Tipperary sites to reevaluate the classification of all timber castles in the county. A major research question undertaken in this thesis is:

- 1) Is archaeological and historical evidence for the classification of timber castles in north Co. Tipperary consistent with the criteria as established for assigning class types field monuments?

Simply put, are the classified timber castles of north Co. Tipperary classified to a standardized system of archaeological monument? If not, what other classifications would the archaeological site best fit?

Classifying sites without excavation is difficult at best. Some archaeologists (e.g. McNeill 1990; 1997) wholly discourage the practice of classifying monuments in the field. Nevertheless, field classification of archaeological sites is important for monument protection and is routinely completed across Ireland. The methodology applied here provides a solid foundation for future timber castle classification based on the association of morphology, siting in relation to adjacent high medieval settlements, and documentary evidence. With this reclassification, 18 of the 26 identified ringwork castle sites of north Co. Tipperary did not fit the proposed timber castle classification. Alternative site classifications are assigned to rejected sites.

With the reclassification of timber castles in north Co. Tipperary, the remaining four motte and bailey castles, 15 motte castles, and nine ringwork castles are examined for landscape siting principles with of the following questions:

- 2) What factors contributed to the location of timber castles in north Co. Tipperary?
- 3) What can the siting of timber castles in north Co. Tipperary reveal about the process of colonization of the county, region, and country?

There is no simple or single explanation for the siting of castles in the landscape (Creighton 2002: 32). However, reoccurring themes of control, estate planning, and ecclesiastical association appear to explain the location of the majority of castles. A methodology of examining archaeological sites in relationship to their physical and social landscape focused on adjacency to land and water routes, underlying geomorphology, low-lying locations, and ecclesiastical neighbors. Findings revealed 32.1% of timber castles controlled land or water routes; the majority of motte and bailey (25%) and motte (27.8%) castles are located on limestone till or sandstone and shales, respectively, whereas ringwork castles tend to be located on glaciofluvial deposits (13.5%); 71.4% of timber castles are located immediately adjacent to a river or a wet field; 46.4% of the castles sites are located immediately adjacent to or within the same townland as a church or other religious site.

These siting factors evidence a clear military strategy by Anglo-Norman lords in north Co. Tipperary. Timber castles overlooked major and minor route ways in addition to controlling fords and crossing points at rivers, and restricting access at major and minor boundaries. The natural boggy and wetness of the Irish landscape was utilized by 20 of the 28 timber castles, evidencing the use of natural defenses and opening the possibility for lordly estates of display. Castles were placed in the center of manors to facilitate the settling of the countryside for agrarian economic intentions. The case study of north Co. Tipperary demonstrates the late construction of timber castles in the landscape, in addition to the use of low wet fields for defenses. These deviations in siting reveal variability in Irish timber castles previously overlooked by scholars. This study broadens the view in timber castles in Ireland with siting evidence in a growing field.

This thesis utilizes the following chronological convention (after Duffy *et al.* 2001: 17):

Early medieval	(fifth century to <i>c.</i> 1100)
High medieval	(<i>c.</i> 1100 – <i>c.</i> 1350)
Late medieval	(<i>c.</i> 1350 – <i>c.</i> 1600)

Theoretical basis for the present study

In 2008, Creighton and Liddiard (2008) responded to Colin Platt’s (2007) “great debate” paper, which continued the emphasis of viewing castle studies in the 21st century as military strongholds as opposed to revisionists’ interpretations of castles as fulfilling social/symbolic functions. The response argued that the perpetuation of the false dichotomy of castle studies is misrepresentative of not only current studies on castles, but also the view of medieval peoples (Creighton and Liddiard 2008). In this paper, Creighton and Liddiard set out three methodological goals for castle studies to move beyond war or status in castle studies; the approaches proposed here answer this request.

To develop theories on castle studies, three methodological considerations are provided by Creighton and Liddiard: 1) archaeological excavation, 2) landscape studies and non-intrusive fieldwork, and 3) the context of noble fortified building. Archaeological excavation for Creighton and Liddiard (2008) is not based purely on new excavations, but rather takes advantage of the potential of past excavations and synthesizing results. Most importantly, the authors reemphasize O’Conor’s (2008) call for the need for examination beyond defensive features: “our understanding of bailey interiors...is rudimentary” (Creighton and Liddiard 2008: 165). Social activities of castles must be viewed from beyond the castle walls, understanding how space was used and constructed around castles, from landscape studies as well as artifact studies.

Included in landscape studies is the need for non-intrusive fieldwork. Viewing castles in multiple scales helps us understand how the expression of dissatisfaction and resistance (or understanding and admittance) by local native peoples developed on the ground. GIS and other virtual visualization technologies can help situate castles in wide scale contexts (Creighton and Liddiard 2008). As excavation is destructive and expensive, non-intrusive archaeological techniques are necessary to build theories and methods.

Finally, castles need to be examined in a broader European context of noble buildings. Diversity in the construction of castles needs to be recognized. Castles built at the fringes of the Norman influence should be compared and contrasted, without exportation or transplantation of arguments based on British examples (Creighton and Liddiard 2008; O’Conor 2008). Therefore, Irish timber castles are compared in this research.

1.2 Colonialism, Colonization, and the Middle Ground

As the discussion of timber castles in north Tipperary is inherently bound up with the colonization of Ireland by Anglo-Norman lords, this section examines the myriad of terminology used by those studying colonialism. Briefly discussed are the definition and usage of the following terms: colonialism, colonization, imperialism, colony, and culture contact. This review of terminology is not exhaustive but serves to examine the ways in which past and present researchers define their study subjects and objects with historically ingrained assumptions of colonialism in mind. Dietler (2010) provides a comprehensive overview of the terminology utilized by archaeologists.

Because the terminology used to define colonialism diverges within disciplines, a review of terminology is important for an appreciation of the difficulties encountered in even the basics of studying the archaeology of colonialism. Here the word used most often is colonialism, defined, at base, as a set of strategies of individuals interacting and asserting control over other individuals, often under direct policies of a leading organization. In contrast, the study of colonization implies an action or an event of movement by peoples into new areas, with intent to control space and native peoples. Imperialism is a magnitude greater than colonization involving military and/or economic control. The geographic location of colonizers in the foreign space is a colony, populated primarily by the colonizing force.

Colonialism can occur without colonization. Colonialism can exist without colonies and not all colonial experiences result in imperialism. Conversely, the movements of people into foreign lands are not always to fulfill colonial agendas. For example, in late 12th century Ireland, populations of colonist farmers were brought to

Ireland from England and Wales to farm in exchange for upward mobility within their class system; however, this population of colonizers cannot be seen as having the same colonial agenda as the Crown. The self-identity of colonizers was not necessarily that of a powerful agent of a major world changing force; the colonized peoples did not necessarily view themselves as such. Given this complex arrangement of colonialism, exposing how people thought about themselves and others from the archaeology is no simple task.

Colonialism, Colonization, Imperialism

Attempts to briefly define the terminology of colonialism illustrate the complex and multifaceted nature of colonial studies. Small changes in terminology highlight the elaborate nature of colonialism theory within the discipline of archaeology. We turn now to a number of prominent key scholars and how they define the terminology of colonialism.

Edward Said (1978), who is arguably the founding figure of post-colonial theory, defines colonialism as the implantation of settlements on a distant territory. Imperialism, in contrast to colonialism, is defined as a dominative metropolitan center that imposes their dominant core cultural practices, including politics, economy, and religion, on a distant territory (Said 1993: 9). For Said, the physical and ideological appropriations of colonialism are the most prominent features. In efforts to discuss colonialism, representation of those involved comes to the front of discussion. Said (1989) has approached the problem of representation through two lenses: one focuses on anthropologists' selection of the study population (colonizer/colonized/associated population); the second concentrates on the manner of representation by anthropologists who are themselves situated in a specific moment in time. A particular anthropologist's (or archaeologist's) circumstances are reflective of society, thus, "anthropological representations bear as much on the representer's world as on who or what is represented" (Said 1989: 224). When examining colonialism it is only through situating an author's own moment in time can we fully understand the representations of peoples examined.

A basic definition from archaeologist Peter van Dommelen (1997) states that colonialism is “the presence of one or more groups of foreign people in a region at some distance from their place of origin, and the existence of asymmetrical socioeconomic relationships of dominance or exploitation between the colonizing groups and the inhabitants of colonized regions” (van Dommelen 1997: 306). This definition stresses the dominance of colonizers over colonized and does not allow for shifts of power, whether between homeland and colonizing group or between colonizer and colonized (Domínguez 2002). Implicit in most views of colonial forces is the assumption that those forces are composed of large or powerful numbers of foreign colonizers. In contrast to this view, archaeologist Jane Webster (1996) denotes all instances of direct political control of people by a foreign state and agent as a form of colonialism (Webster 1996), irrespective of the numbers of colonial settlers present.

In the Marxist tradition, colonialism (the conquest and control of other peoples’ land) is a stage in the history of imperialism, which is an advanced stage in the capitalist production of global expansion (Lenin 1996). Fifteenth and sixteenth century modern Western colonial expansion is largely seen within the framework of imperial capitalist competition—implicitly including plantations, slavery, dominance, and violence. Wallerstein’s conceptualization of World-Systems theory articulates with the Marxist view of colonialism due to derivation of theory from a Marxist base (Wallerstien 2011). The representation of individuals by Wallerstein can be situated within an academic moment. These capitalist premises of global expansion and Western ideology do not fit within the wide temporal and spatial comparative colonial viewpoint examined here, but are representative of most laypeople's thoughts on colonialism.

Historian Jürgen Osterhammel defines colonization as a *process* of territory acquisition and colonialism as a *system* of domination (Osterhammel 1997). “Colonialism is a relationship of domination between an indigenous (or forcibly imported) majority and a minority of foreign invaders” (Osterhammel 1997: 16); for Osterhammel, colonialism can exist without colonies and colonies can exist without colonialism. Stein (2002; 2005a) and Domínguez (2002) reiterate the case of colonies without the action of colonialism. For Osterhammel, imperialism is different from colonialism based on scale;

the result of imperialism is transcontinental empires, a magnitude larger than colonies (1997).

Geographer Donald Meining and historical geographer William Smyth also view colonialism as a process (Meining 1982; Smyth 2006). Meining describes the process of intrusion into territories by external powers as “the aggressive encroachment of one people upon the territory of another, resulting in the subjugation of the latter people to alien rule” (Meining 1982: 71). Smyth’s work focuses primarily on 16th-18th century Ireland, particularly the 17th century Cromwellian plantation and settlement period, an era that can be considered an imperial/colonial state (Smyth 2006: 9). Whereas in contrast, Tom McNeill (1997) actively avoids the terminology of “conquest” and “colonization” arguing that these are over-determined by 20th century connotations (McNeill 1997: 76). Emma Arbuthnot (2011) also evades any mention of colonization/colonizer in her examination of ringwork castles in medieval Leinster and Meath.

The present work focusing on the Anglo-Normans in Ireland, follows the definition of colonialism set by archaeologist Michael Dietler (2010) who also contrasts colonialism with colonization. Colonization is defined as an expansionary act into foreign territories and over foreign peoples through the imposition of political control from a top authority, often located in a distant core region(s) (Dietler 2010: 18). Similar to the definition set out by van Dommelen (1997), Dietler views colonialism as the result of interactions between societies that are marked by asymmetrical power relations along with the process of cultural and social transformations which result from these interactions (Dietler 2010: 18). In medieval Ireland, the colonizing agents are the Anglo-Normans, either in reference to the Crown, or the lords who actively participated in the subjugation of the local Irish population.

Within these definitions, colonization is maintained through colonialism, and colonialism can operate without colonization, specifically the formal representation of political sovereignty that is implied in colonization. Colonization can be thought of as a vehicle or result of the process of colonialism; however, it is not to be implied that every colonial encounter results in colonization. This focus on the *results* of unequal relations of power allows archaeologists to examine the practices and strategies of all peoples

involved in colonialism – both colonizers and colonized. These results—the products and practices of colonialism—are complex and transformational to all involved (Dietler 2010; Gosden 2004).

For Chris Gosden (2004), colonialism inherently concerns material culture. Instead of focusing on colonies, Gosden is more interested in the materiality of colonialism, where colonialism is executed through the circulation of people and things (Gosden 2004). Gil Stein (2005b) reiterates the effort by Gosden to provide a general cross-cultural perspective on colonialism through both time and space. Stein's edited volume on the comparative perspectives of colonial encounters focuses on manifestations of identity in the archaeological record of material culture (Stein 2005b).

Colony

Stein (2005b) follows historian Finley's (1976) attempt to define colonies based on historical (16th-20th century European) meanings, although Stein, unlike Finley, broadens the definition to encompass non-European colonialism (Stein 2005b: 10). A colony therefore is “an implanted settlement established by one society in either uninhabited territory or the territory of another society” (Stein 2002: 30). The population of these colonies is both spatially and socially distinguishable from the surrounding indigenous people. Further, an initial formal identity link to the homeland through cultural/ritual, economic, military, or political ties is necessary (Stein 2002).

Not all colonies are created for the same purpose; according to Stein the most common reason for colony establishment is exchange and/or resource extraction. Other functions include: 1) colonies as military/administrative outposts; 2) colonies as refuges; 3) colonies as resettled populations to defuse situations of conflict or shortages in the homeland; 4) colonies as outposts for the spread of ideologies; 5) colonies as agricultural investments; 6) colonies as outposts for resettled indigenous populations (Stein 2005b). Stein (2005b) roots each instance of colony establishment in specific examples (Stein 2005b: 12-13).

Historically, the terminology applied to colonies differed within Greece and Rome. Two different types of colonies were known by the ancient Greeks: *apoikea* and

emporion. The *apoikea* referred to settlement colonies where key features of the city-state were reproduced, whereas the *emporion* referenced trading outposts (Stein 2005b: 12). English words rooted in the Latin word *colonia* (settlement) include: colonization, colonialism, colonial and colony. The English words from the Latin show the branching of definitions. According to Gosden (2004), the Latin use of the word *colonia* is linked largely with the noun *colonus* (tiller farmer, planter or settler in a new country) and verb *colere* (to cultivate) thus linking colony to cultivation (Gosden 2004: 1-2). Colony therefore has deeper linguistic roots than colonialism.

The thoughtful usage of the terminology of colonialism is important because reflecting the expressions of present models of meaning into the past results in ancient cases of colonialism taking on modern variants. The Greek usage and definition of colonies may appear similar to modern situations; however, they are intrinsically different in relationships both in cultural and political contexts (Dietler 2010).

Culture Contact

Why, therefore, can we not examine the situations of colonialism as “culture contact” and avoid issues of terminology? Silliman (2005) examines the overemphasis of culture contact and the avoidance of the terminology of colonialism as a particularly North American archaeological phenomenon. Culture contact terminology and examination often privileges a predefined set of cultural traits and manifestations (Silliman 2005: 55). With these predefined ideas, the mixed products of colonial interactions, often called hybrid products, are subverted and subjugated in favor of the simplistic examination of stark contrasting differences in culture, objects, and peoples (Silliman 2005). Even those texts under the rubric of culture contact studies (Cuisck 1998) struggle with the resulting terminology imbedded in their text (Alexander 1998). If we refute the use of the term “culture contact” to mean colonialism due to its innate simplification of the past, fundamentally we come closer to a model where the discussion of colonialism can accept the complications of the terminology (Lyons and Papadopoulos 2002b).

The terminology of colonialism provides a framework for understanding the multifaceted nature of colonial situations. In recent archaeological investigations of colonialism, shared spaces and shared material culture have become the medium through which interpretations are created. The middle ground, where we turn next, represents a specific examination of shared space with the specific definitions of terminology in mind.

The Middle Ground

Richard White (1991) formulated the concept of the *middle ground* in his investigations of interactions between Native Americans and Europeans between 1650-1815 in the Great Lakes region of the United States. The middle ground is defined as both a geographic location and a conceptual space where diverse groups of people met and interacted. In shared meetings, individuals on both sides held cultural expectations and standard conventions of interaction, the way groups interact with other cultural groups. “People try to persuade others who are different from them by appealing to what they perceive to be the values and practices of others” (White 1991: x). Ultimately, the convention of interaction and cultural expectations would not be met upon first contact, and thus the expected traditions of interaction (such as formal exchange or ritualized meetings) were denied through cultural misunderstandings (White 1991). New, mutually shared practices and meanings resulted from the confusion of cultural norms, resulting in a communal middle ground (White 1991).

The middle ground is a shared experience between colonial agents and indigenous peoples, constructed by both sides and sustained as a physical space and a cultural metaphor. It is a space of mutual dependence with no coercive authority. Maintenance of the middle ground is reliant on people who strive to understand a world shared in common (White 1991: 522). The middle ground is a place for diplomatic relations, but it also is involved in daily life (White 2006).

The middle ground can therefore be understood as a space that is ephemeral, dependent on specific cultural times and places where particular relationships are shared. The middle ground has an unknown expiration date, a time when colonizers likely outnumber the native population and the necessity for shared interaction weakens. In

White's study "the middle ground itself withered and died" (White 1991: 523) for the French fur traders and Algonquians of the Great Lakes America in the 19th century, in part, due to the refusal of recognition of the middle ground by new American and British influences in the region.

For the Irish and Anglo-Norman colonizers, the concept of a middle ground is helpful as a framework for understanding the first phases of the construction of timber castles. In that, although the lordly classes of both societies were involved in conflict, the construction of castles by Anglo-Norman lords was completed, in several instances, with the approval and assistance from the Irish. In these instances, a mutually beneficial agreement was achieved, for the Anglo-Normans, a castle and all the rights associated with the building were achieved, for the Irish (often the Church) rents associated with the land were gained. Broadly, the Irish invasion, as many prefer to call it, within the framework of the middle ground, was a place of mutual reliance with limited coercion.

Other researchers studying colonialism have utilized the idea of a particular space, such as historian Greg Denning's use of the metaphor of 'the beach' (Denning 1980) and critical theorist Mary Pratt's studies of 'contact zones' (Pratt 1992). These spaces allow archaeologists to study bidirectional interactions. White (2006) did not intend for the middle ground to become a theoretical tool, but rather an analytical method that links geography with historical processes. Perhaps White's denial of the middle ground as a theory illustrates the inherent limitations of the historical record. Historians, unlike archaeologists, are reliant on text for their datasets. In colonial situations, the only available texts are those of the colonizing agent; finding voices for the colonized can be problematic, especially for historians. White (1991) created an ethnography, or ethnohistory, of colonized people (Desbarats 2006). The middle ground was to be the space and place of cultural production, an in-between-place (Deloria 2006).

Archaeologists have utilized the conceptualization of the middle ground to examine case studies of accommodation between different cultural forms. Gosden (2008) approaches Iron Age (150 BC – AD 43) Britain and Roman middle ground interactions as subtle exchanges of necessity, which allowed for a transition without much violence during the Claudian invasion of AD 43 (Gosden 2008: 173). Irad Malkin (2004) focuses

on Greek colonialism (770-750 BC) of the Italian Bay of Naples and Campania. A middle ground situation developed in Campania due to its geographic location as a periphery for both native Etruscans and Greek colonizers. “For long periods of time Greeks, Etruscans, and local elites could neither dictate to nor ignore one another” resulting in a middle ground space of shared cultural creations (Malkin 2004: 153).

Other archaeologists avoid the term middle ground and focus on general zones of contact (Dielter 2010) to circumvent White’s unintentional development of a middle ground theory. In any case, the middle ground provides a means of conceptualizing the beginnings of colonial interactions. In the middle ground, concessions are made on all accounts, accommodation of different cultures allow for the creation and transformation of material culture by active agents. As postcolonial theoretical approaches stress, it is only through a detailed examination of both colonizer and colonized that we can come to understandings of colonial situations.

The Ethnicities of Anglo-Norman Ireland

The political history of the first Anglo-Normans in Ireland is part of the narrative of medieval Irish archaeology. The individuals implicated in the events and processes of Anglo-Norman colonialism are treated by historians as the only individuals involved; the past is much more complicated than simple stories allow. For instance, the number of Anglo-Normans who arrived in Ireland between 1169 and 1171 is unknown as there are no population statistics (Barry 1987: 72); the numbers nevertheless are debated. However, the castles and other fortifications set up by these Anglo-Normans from England and Wales are tangible. The process of colonizing Ireland was both psychological and physical.

In defining the population of later medieval Ireland, most scholars break the population into three broad ethnic categories: Gaelic, Anglo-Norman, and Anglo-Irish. These ethnic identity categories can be understood as “the essence of who the individual is, or who the group is, in relation to larger social contexts” (Wells 1998: 242). Identity studies subsume investigations of ethnicity, race, gender, age, religion and status. Ethnicity studies are important in colonial investigations, as ethnicity was and continues

to be used as a vehicle for oppression. Common heritage, language, culture, and ancestry create the foundation for inclusion and/or exclusion within group membership of ethnicity.

Cognitive studies by Brubaker, Loveman, and Stamatov (2004) have illustrated how ethnic identity is part of an individual's perspective *on* the world, not a thing *in* the world. As archaeologists study things *in* the world, identifying ethnicity through objects is arguably difficult. However, there are differences in the archaeological record, which appear to be tied to ideas of ethnicity, in particular differences tied to the laws under which Anglo-Normans and Irish elites were held. The concepts and labels of ethnicity are important for this examination as the standard interpretation of timber castle sites is that the great majority of timber castles were built by Anglo-Norman lords (e.g. O'Connor 1998: 20, 25-26); however, arguably, these sites were constructed, at least in part, by laborers and craftsmen of "Gaelic" or "Irish" ethnicity (see, for example, *ALC*: 1186AD; *Expugnatio*: 235, 353-4). Fortifications of the medieval period become caught up in nationalistic disputes of the modern period.

As Said (1994, 407) notes, "labels ... are no more than starting-points, which if followed in actual experience for only a moment are quickly left behind". Modern perceptions of historical identities, especially in tracing identity through the archaeological record, illustrate that self-identity and ascribed-identity are shifting and nebulous (Soderberg and Immich 2010). As historians and archaeologists continue to utilize ethnic divisions in their discussions, an overview of the labels is necessary.

1.3a: Background – History

The Normans

A brief and general historical background of the Normans in Europe contextualizes the peoples who would eventually attempt to colonize Ireland in 1169 and afterwards, partly through the construction of earth and timber castles. The Norman people were the descendants of Viking raiders from northern Europe, who first raided large swathes of north-western Europe from the late 8th century and then, as time went on, settled down in certain places to become farmers and traders. From their first raid on

Lindisfarne, Northumberland, England, in 793, the Vikings were responsible for raiding and trading along the North Sea. The Frankish kingdoms, which included parts of modern France, Belgium, Holland and Germany, all ruled by the descendants of German tribes who had become somewhat Romanized, were a particular target of the Vikings (Davis 1976; Forte *et al.* 2005). By the late-9th century, the Frankish government and culture of this region was depleted by Norman plundering and the presence of large Viking raider encampments (Davis 1976: 7).

In 911, the Frankish King, Charles the Simple, offered a large amount of land in northern France on the mouth of the Seine River (in Neustria) to Rollo, a Viking leader of either Norwegian or Danish descent, in return for the latter's conversion to Christianity and the giving of his allegiance to Charles (Davis 1976: 19; Coupland 1995: 201). Many similar arrangements had been offered to Viking leaders elsewhere, but the Treaty of Saint-Clair-sur-Epte between Charles and Rollo, in particular, led to the successful settlement of this part of northern France by these Vikings. This eventually led to the emergence of the Duchy of Normandy in c. 996 (Davis 1976: 19-48).

In 1066, Duke William of Normandy defeated Harold II of England at the Battle of Hastings and the kingdom of England, along with parts of Wales, fell to the Normans (Davis 1976: 103; Howarth 1978). In the present context, the Bayeux Tapestry, a 70m-long embroidered cloth roll, which was woven in the 1070s or 1080s, depicts the events leading up to the Battle of Hastings and the battle itself. The Tapestry includes a depiction of a motte under construction and there are other representations of timber castles on it, including ones under attack (Stenton 1965).

The Norman invasion of England in 1066 brought about new legal, political, and social changes to a land formerly controlled by Anglo-Saxon elites. A major change in fortifications in areas under Norman influence was the beginnings of construction of earth and timber castles, a type of monumental architecture that developed, along with stone castles, in the late 9th and 10th centuries in what is now modern Germany, the Low Countries and northern France (see Chapter 2; De Meulemeester and O'Connor 2007: 323-331). In addition, land tenure and service to lords grew under Norman power. Land came to be owned under patrimony (inherited land along the male line) and extended lands

were gained through conquering. The conquered lands were passed through the patrilineal line. The Norman expansion went far beyond Normandy, England and Wales in the 12th century, successfully conquering or colonizing parts of Ireland, Scotland, Italy, Sicily, Greece and even the Holy Land, as some were Crusaders (Davis 1976: 71-102; Bartlett 1993).

The Anglo-Norman Invasion of Ireland

A very brief historical survey of the Anglo-Norman political and economic lordship in Ireland is necessary to situate the construction of fortified monuments in Ireland after 1169. The invitation to Anglo-Norman lords, mostly from South Wales, to come to Ireland by Diarmait (Dermot) Mac Murchada (Mac Murrough), the deposed king of Leinster, must be seen in three distinct historic dimensions. The first is the international Church Reform movement of the twelfth century; the second is the politics of the “Irish Sea” area (including western Scotland, the Isle of Man, Cumbria, Northumbria, Wales, Ulster, and Leinster); the third is local power-struggles within the island of Ireland (Martin 2008b: 50-51). Ireland was a major player in international trade during the pre-1169 period, as evidenced by excavations at Wood Quay in the Hiberno-Norse towns of Dublin and Waterford, which show connections to England almost a century before the Anglo-Normans arrived in Ireland (Wallace 1985; Hurley *et al.* 1997).

The story of the arrival of the Anglo-Norman to Ireland, which some call an invasion, has been told so many times that it has become a caricature of itself; the historical events and people involved have become scapegoats or heroes, depending on who is telling the story. Irish historians first painted the Anglo-Norman invasion as a nationalistic event, as an “invasion” and “conquest”; these same scholars ignored the fact that the invitation to the Anglo-Normans had been extended by an Irishman—Diarmait Mac Murchada of Leinster (Martin 2008b: 48; Otway-Ruthven 1980: 41). The colonizing forces of the Anglo-Normans classified Ireland as “backwards” and “uncivilized”, as the writings of Giraldus Cambrensis (himself a close relative of many of the earliest Anglo-Norman arrivals to Ireland) directed them to believe (Lilley 2002; Smith 2008). The tales of chroniclers, like Giraldus, were used in the colonial agenda, since Ireland was seen by

the Anglo-Normans to be at an underdeveloped stage; therefore, Anglo-Norman colonization and conquest was justified in this scenario (Lilley 2000). The complex social phenomenon of colonization in Ireland was much more than the named individuals “responsible” for bringing the Anglo-Normans to Ireland; nevertheless, a basic understanding of the story of the individuals, events, and phenomenon of the Anglo-Normans in Ireland is necessary when considering the resulting castellation of the island.

In 1166, Mac Murchada, the deposed king of Leinster, expelled by the high king Rory O’Conor, sailed to Bristol to find help in retrieving his kingship. After following Henry II, king of England, to Aquitaine, Mac Murchada acquired a letter that gave him permission to recruit men to bring to Ireland to aid him in his struggle to regain his throne (Otway-Ruthven 1980: 42; Frame 1981: 4). His main recruit was Richard fitz Gilbert, earl of Pembroke, known to Irish history as Strongbow. Mac Murchada promised fitz Gilbert his daughter Aoife (Eva) in marriage and the kingdom of Leinster after his death if he agreed to help him restore his kingdom (Otway-Ruthven 1980: 77). Mac Murchada traveled throughout Wales, recruiting Anglo-Norman lords and some native Welsh mercenaries for his campaign (Lydon 1972: 30-35; Frame 1981: 4; Martin 2008b: 63).

In August 1167, Mac Murchada sailed back to Leinster and re-established himself at Ferns, his old capital city, and waited for his Anglo-Norman support. In May 1169, the first contingent of between three and four hundred men arrived from Wales under Robert FitzStephen, including knights, men at arms, and archers, some of whom were mounted (Martin 2008c: 67). These men immediately took Wexford. What followed was a series of battles between the forces of the kings of Connacht (who was then the principal king), Munster and Ulster with the Anglo-Norman troops. In August 1170, over eleven hundred men from Wales arrived to the south Wexford under the leadership of Strongbow (*Expugnatio*: 31; Lydon 1972: 36; Martin 2008c: 74; see O’Conor 2002). The Hiberno-Norse city Waterford was the first to fall to Strongbow and this is where he married Aoife. Strongbow and his combined Anglo-Norman/Irish force then moved on to conquer Leinster, Dublin, and finally Meath. By the summer of 1171, a large Irish army was mustered to respond to the invasion but it was defeated outside Dublin (Otway-Ruthven 1980: 42). Mac Murchada died in May 1171, leaving Strongbow in charge of Leinster,

though most people did not accept him as king; some of the Leinster Irish attacked Wexford after the death of Mac Murchada (*Song*: lines 1728-1732; Lydon 1972: 49-51; Otway-Ruthven 1980: 57-61; Martin 2008d: 109).

King Henry II, in the midst of his own international problems, which included the death of Thomas Becket, was concerned with the success and independence of Strongbow in Ireland, thus ordered the latter to surrender his new conquests in Ireland before Easter of 1171 (Lydon 1972: 40-42; Martin 2008c: 80-82). An embargo on reinforcements or supplies to Ireland soon followed. Despite this embargo, Strongbow and his troops attacked the Hiberno Norse city of Dublin in the summer of 1171 (Otway-Ruthven 1980: 48); they succeeded and this provided them with enough supplies for months. On October 17, 1171, King Henry II arrived in Waterford, with approximately 500 knights and 1000 additional men, to look after his interests and made himself Lord of Ireland (Martin 2008c: 87). Thus began the period of English lordship in Ireland (e.g. Lydon 1972), a lordship that was not accepted by many of the Irish people in the succeeding centuries.

Colonial Population in Ireland

The ethnic group called the Anglo-Norman are defined as the invaders of Ireland coming from England and Wales (the ancestors of the elite amongst them mainly originated in Normandy prior to 1066). The term “Anglo-Norman” covers a mix of Norman and Flemish knights, English-speaking peasants, and Welsh living under English common law. Irish sources before 1169 refer to the Normans as *Frainc* — i.e. French or Franks; after 1169, the term changed to *Sasanach*—“Englishman”—or *Allmuraig*—“men from overseas”—finally settling on *Gaill*—“foreigners”, perhaps more accurately translated as “Irish residents of non-Gaelic origin” (Martin 2008a: li). The term “Anglo-Norman” was adopted by historians in the 19th century; however, “Anglo-Norman” is problematic given its inherent assumption that the peoples who came to Ireland in 1169 were a homogenous group from England who originated in Normandy (Gillingham 2000; O’Keeffe 2001: 79). Thus, some scholars reject the term Anglo-Norman in favor of geographically descriptive labels such as Norman, English, Anglo-Welsh, Cambro-

Norman, Cambro-French, or Anglo-French to more accurately describe the the people of Norman descent who had most recently lived in southern Wales (Duffy 1997; McNeill 1997: 15-16). Whereas other scholars, in particular archaeologist Tadhg O’Keeffe (2001; 2004a) problematizes the application of ethnic terminology in the medieval period as it carries “profound implications ... it allows a *corpus* of material evidence in Ireland and England to be identified and gathered under one rubric, thus promoting a particular comparative context” (O’Keeffe 2001: 79, emphasis original). The discourse on using modern ethnic terms to describe past populations is unresolved, leaving many scholars across disciplines to continue employing these terms, often with caveats.

An additional named people in Ireland came into existence in the centuries after the invasion of 1169. This population is regarded as Anglo-Irish and includes the descendants of the original Anglo-Norman colonizers, consisting largely of immigrant groups, such as free tenants from Wales and Western England (Muldoon 2003). This hybrid population is labeled *Gall*, Anglo-Irish, or Old English (a much later term) (Morrissey 2005: 3-6). Sources from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries refer to them as the “English”, “the English nation”, the “English born in Ireland”, or the “English inhabiting our land” (Martin 2008a, x-lxii). The term Anglo-Irish is not used before the late fourteenth century (Frame 1977: 3-4).

The distinction between Anglo-Normans and Anglo-Irish is blurred. When do they stop being English? Later medieval discussions of identity are known from chroniclers and the Irish annals. Frequently quoted, and essential in the examination of the Anglo-Irish label, is an extract from Giraldus Cambrensis:

Just as we are English, as far as the Irish are concerned, likewise to the English we are Irish, and the inhabitants of this island and the other assail us with an equal degree of hatred (*Expugnatio*: 81).

Some ethnic distinction can be helpful in guiding discussion of archaeological settlement types, with the knowledge that firm ethnic identity is very difficult to find in the archaeological and historical record (see O’Conor 2005 and forthcoming, for an opposite view in regards to recognizing the archaeology of the Gaelic elite in high medieval Ireland). Through structuralist and agency approaches, settlements of the early medieval

period (c. 400-1100) can be seen as “key venues for the enactment or performance of the social identities of ethnicity, social status, gender, kinship and community and for social and economic interactions between people, places, animals and things” (O’Sullivan *et al.* 2010: 60), the same can be said of the later medieval period.

Identity and Buildings

Settlements of the later medieval period can be read as places where social identities were created and reproduced, especially within castles (Johnson 2002; Morrissey 2003; O’Keeffe 2001; O’Sullivan *et al.* 2008; Parker Pearson and Richards 1994; O’Conor forthcoming). Material culture is the medium through which archaeologists attempt to view identity. Humans operate in deliberate ways and are active decision-making beings; the intentionality of material culture is reflected in the archaeological record and interpreted by archaeologists. In colonial situations, material culture was employed to help negotiate and adapt to a changing world, a period in which new identities were created.

The terms used to describe the population of later medieval Ireland are not ideal. Identity is a distinguishing factor of groups and individuals, but can be self-defined or ascribed by others. In colonial theory, ethnic identity is thought of as a vehicle of oppression. In medieval Ireland, the term Anglo-Irish is especially troublesome (Barth 1969; Jenkins 1997). Unfortunately, researchers often use terms without critical analysis of what it means to identify groups with labels. Given the difficulties with assigning descriptive terms to differing groups of peoples, but still in need of describing the peoples we study, ethnic labels are accepted and utilized. However, using colonial theory we can discuss the problems with ethnic labels and use critical theory to analyze descriptive labels.

1.3b: Background – Archaeology: state of research to date

As this dissertation focuses on castles, a brief overview of the most basic terminology and historiography of castles is covered here, to situate the reader within the field. A more detailed and nuanced overview of castles is covered in Chapter Two (74-

78). The first earth and timber, and, indeed, masonry castles, were constructed by the new aristocracy of what is now northern France, the Low Countries, and the western part of Germany during the late 9th and 10th centuries. These lords came to prominence because of the instability created by Viking raids and the linked collapse of the Carolingian Empire in this area (De Meulemeester and O’Conor 2007: 324-325). The appearance of castles is traditionally linked to the appearance of the social structure known to historians from the 19th century onwards as *feudalism* (De Meulemeester and O’Conor 2007: 324; Down 2008: 441-442).

The term *castle* is used to describe a variety of constructions that look quite different from one another today; from earth and timber motte and bailey and ringwork castles to different types of masonry structures, which range in size from several acres to small, single buildings such as hall houses (see De Meulemeester and O’Conor 2007: 323-334; O’Conor 2011: 252-260). Castles can be defined as the private fortified residences of the lordly class, be they princes, nobles, or minor knights and this makes them distinct from other fortifications of the medieval period and indeed all periods (e.g. De Meulemeester and O’Conor 2007: 323-324).

The terminology utilized to describe timber castles, or more broadly any castle, is rife with contention. Giraldus Cambrensis (*Topographia*: lv) claimed that Ireland had no castles prior to the conquest. The term *motta* was first used in the eleventh century; the descriptive noun referenced a castle-like structure (Déborde 1980: 18-19). In contrast, the term *caistél* first appears in Ireland in 1124, to describe the foundations of Toirdelbach Ua Conchobhair at Galway, Colloony Co. Sligo and Ballinasloe or Dunlo Co. Galway (Stokes 1896-1897: s.a. 1124). Contemporary chroniclers described monumental architecture in the landscape of Ireland as *caistél* or *caislén* perhaps to reflect upon the political or physical structure, but the difference between these terms is not well defined. Archaeologists and historians today enjoy terminology as “bins” to place sites, however it often appears we are caught in semantics, more concerned with what to call sites, instead of studying sites as unique features of the colonial landscape.

Timber castles continued to develop across Europe during the 11th centuries and eventually became the standard (with much variation) that we see in the 12th century,

with mottes being a particularly common choice of castle in this century (Higham and Barker 1992: 93-111; De Meulemeester and O’Conor 2007: 330-331). The process of constructing castles was a widespread geographic phenomenon across Europe and parts of the Middle East between the late 9th and 17th centuries. Medieval fortified monuments, especially earth and masonry castles, are iconic symbols of power and influence, and acted as “residential, administrative, and defensible foci within their landscape” (Creighton 2002: 65). Castles were often the centers or *capite* of their owners’ estates or manors. As some of this land was farmed directly by the lord of the castle, agricultural buildings such as barns, byres, and granaries occurred within and around castles (see O’Conor 1998: 26-35; 2002: 175; 2004: 231-239 for this aspect of castle function in Anglo-Norman Ireland).

The coming of the Anglo-Normans to Ireland can be viewed and has been described as the furthest expansion of the Normans into the “fringes” of the known world (Lilley 2000: 527-528; 2002). It cannot be defined solely in terms of its secular or ecclesiastic, military or political, intellectual or artistic aspects. The Norman influence penetrated into every aspect of life and culture in the areas that it reached across Europe (Creighton 2002: 1-7). The archaeology of the Anglo-Normans in Ireland is best and most visibly defined in the construction of castles of different types. For various reasons, extant medieval parish churches are not as common in the landscape of Ireland today as they are in England. This makes castles, particularly large Anglo-Norman castles, the principal visible reminder of the medieval period in the Irish countryside today (O’Conor 1998: 17).

(Proto-) Feudalism

Persistent themes in medieval Irish history and archaeology include economy and pre-Norman castle fortifications. Many scholars have called the period in Ireland before the Anglo-Norman invasion in 1169 “proto-feudal” in attempts to understand the economy during the period and the transformation of the rural economy afterwards (e.g. Byrne 1973; Dohery 1980; Graham 1980; McNeill 1997; Ó Corráin 1972; O’Keeffe 1998; 2000; Otway-Ruthven 1959). The argument put forth by Ó Corráin examines

textual evidence for an increase in social stratification of Irish society from the late 9th to 10th century, with larger and more cohesive kingdoms emerging and resulting in a “narrower, more powerful, and more exclusive lordly class” (Ó Corráin 1978: 11). The view of Ireland and the Irish rapidly moving towards a feudal society after the 10th century was a rejection of Orpen’s (1911) description of the Irish as in a tribal state until the arrival of the Anglo-Normans.

O’Keeffe (2000: 58) argues that if we *accept* feudalism as a meaningful construct, then Ireland was feudal well before the conquest of 1169. This however is based strongly in an argument that feudalism is a construct of the modern period (e.g. O’Keeffe 2005: 16). Thus, as O’Keeffe argues for the terminology used to define castles, the question remains as to if the concepts of recognizably modern feudalism transfer into the past to a transferable economy of medieval peoples. In addition, a debate exists among historians that the Anglo-Norman lordship in Ireland was not royal in nature, rather the lordship was divided into liberties overseen largely by mobile earls resulting in “Bastard Feudalism” (Crouch and Carpenter 1991; Hicks 2013: 108).

The debate on the type of medieval economy in place in Ireland is relevant in viewing the colonial efforts of the Anglo-Normans. If a basic feudal economy existed in Ireland prior to the Anglo-Norman invasion, the construction and transformation of existing fortified monuments into castles would have played a different role in the mindset of the colonized Gaelic, as well as the colonizing Anglo-Normans (Graham 1980). O’Conor strongly disagrees with the concept of Ireland as a “proto-feudal” state prior to the Anglo-Norman invasion (Brady and O’Conor 2003: 128); arguing instead that Gaelic society was “very much in tune with developments in greater Europe, and chose itself those elements which it found attractive from the wider trends, as when it wanted them, more or less”. That is, as Ireland was increasingly tied to England and continental Europe, as Ó Corráin states “through the church reform movement, the introduction of foreign religious orders, and through pilgrimage” (1978: 30) the Irish chose to incorporate elements of both social organization and settlement types.

Tied to the argument of feudalism in pre-Norman Ireland, some authors (Graham 1988: 20-22) have made a case for Gaelic fortifications of platform raths as an indigenous

fortification. Platform raths have profiles comparable to motte castles—circular elevated mounds with a flat top. Graham (1988) goes as far to state: “it is conceivable that mottes and platform raths fulfilled synonymous social functions” (36). Waterman (1959: 165) found that the platform rath at Lismahon, Co. Down might have functioned as a pre-Norman fortification of the indigenous population. There is historical evidence for Gaelic fortifications, such as platform raths, in the annals; however, the archaeological evidence for Gaelic castellated monuments prior to the Anglo-Norman invasion has been challenged (see Chapter 2) (Barry 2000: 42-55).

A strong argument against the native Irish constructing castles is the lack of solid historical and archaeological evidence for Irish castles. There are no great numbers of castle sites that can be traced historically to Irish construction. Even in Wales, where the native Welsh lords preferred to live in their unfortified *llysoedd* (courts), seven percent out of more than 470 castles still standing in the landscape of Wales have been shown to be constructed by Welsh lords (Avent 2004: 3-4). Evidence for Welsh lords constructing castles comes largely from historical documentation; the earliest reference is an entry in the *Brut y Tywysogyon* (the Chronicle of the Princes) from 1111 (Avent 2004: 4).

Nevertheless, morphologically, Welsh and Norman motte castles are indistinguishable; such as at Tomen y Rhodwydd, Denbighshire, constructed in 1149 by Owain Gwynedd, where the standing remains show no Welsh modification in the classic motte form (Davis 2011: 66). The native Irish lords may have constructed timber castles; without excavation (and perhaps even with excavation, due to the shared material culture amongst lordly classes), distinguishing between site types in the field, as evidenced by the Welsh example, is terribly difficult. The lack of historical documentation for the Irish lords building castles, and the evidence for the Irish constructing other lordly site types (see Chapter 2), points towards the Irish lords choosing not to construct motte and bailey or ringwork castles.

Historiography of Archaeology in Ireland

To situate the study here within the larger framework of archaeology in Ireland, a brief overview of Irish archaeology follows. What is at stake in this section is the position

of understanding medieval castle siting in the midlands of Ireland, in contrast to the more thoroughly excavated sections of the country and time periods, particularly Northern Ireland and prehistoric Ireland. Tracing the history of excavation in Ireland is important in recognizing the field of medieval castle studies as it stands today, with impediments to our current understanding, which arose in other colonial periods of Irish history.

Antiquarian interest in the 1600s began the study of archaeological material in Ireland; this time period saw archaeological investigation blossom across the western world (Trigger 2006). Early antiquarian interest focused on prehistoric tombs, cairns, and dolmens, monuments with far reaching histories. Medieval buildings were occasionally documented for their architectural features, but field monuments dating to the medieval period were largely neglected. Based on these interests, interested individuals began to form various societies with a focus on archaeology, included the Dublin Philosophical Society (1683), Physico-Historical Society (1744), the Royal Irish Academy (1785), and the Irish Archaeological Society (1840) (Waddell 1998). Amateur archaeologists and surveyors such as Thomas Westropp and Major-General Charles Vallancey, as well as Trinity College-trained historian Goddard Orpen were actively involved in the development of medieval antiquity collections and theoretical arguments on Irish archaeology (O’Sullivan et al. 2008; Waddell 2005).

The first recognizable archaeological “fieldwork” undertaken in Ireland was focused on monumental landscape surveys documenting the number and location of antiquarian sites. The first collection was undertaken by Walter Harris in 1744 documenting Co. Down (Smith and Harris 1744). Charles Smith surveyed the history, topography, and antiquities of Co. Waterford (Smith 1746), Co. Cork (Smith 1750), and Co. Kerry (Smith 1756). Artists Gabriel Beranger, a Dutchman, and Angelo Maria Bigari, an Italian, set out to survey Connacht in 1779 under the sponsorship of the Hibernian Antiquarian Society; the fruits of their labor were sketch views, plans, and sections of late medieval buildings and some megalithic tombs. Peter Harbinson (2002) reconstructed the tour based on unpublished material housed at the National Library of Ireland and the Royal Irish Academy. Beranger and landscape artist John James Barralet continued wider landscape surveys of Ireland in 1780, surveying and documenting the

antiquarian sites of Co. Wexford and Co. Wicklow (Harbinson 2002). These early publications include little on the siting of archaeological monuments, but set the stage for the study of archaeological monuments in Ireland.

With the creation of the Ordnance Survey Office in 1824 came the first island wide mapping project, undertaken in 1829 (Andrews 1975; Doherty 2004). Not only did the Survey seek to record contemporary boundaries, ownership and acreage for taxation purposes, but also to record the history and location of every antiquarian site across Ireland (Prunty 2004). The goal of the Ordnance Survey proved to be too large; the only Ordnance Survey Memoir published was for the parish of Templemore, Co. Londonderry in 1837 (Colby and Larcom 1837) and the only counties surveyed in great detail were those of northern Ulster.

The earliest university excavations introduced controlled archaeology to Ireland (Waddell 2005). Robert Alexander Stewart Macalister, Professor of Archaeology at University College, Dublin was trained as the director of the Palestine Exploration Fund (1900-1909). In Ireland, Macalister campaigned for legislation to protect archaeological features, which eventually lead to the National Monuments Act of 1930, in addition to excavating mostly prehistoric sites, but also at the royal site of Rathcroghan, Co. Roscommon in 1913 (unpublished). The Harvard Archaeological Mission (1932-1936) undertook systematic large-scale archaeological excavation in Ireland, excavating medieval crannóg sites at Ballinderry crannóg No. 1, Co. Westmeath (Hencken 1936), Ballinderry crannóg No. 2, Co. Offaly (Hencken 1942), and Lagore, Co. Meath (Hencken 1950). Aiden O'Sullivan (2003) noted that the "Harvard Mission" was welcomed in Ireland, in part for the employment and training it offered, but also in creating a Celtic/Gaelic narrative in state formation.

After the Harvard Mission, it was Sean P. Ó Ríordáin, University College, Cork, who continued the development of excavations in the Irish Free State. Ó Ríordáin excavated between 1930-1940 in Co. Cork and Co. Limerick, including notably the investigations of early medieval ringforts at Cush and Lough Gur (Ó Ríordáin 1940; Ó Ríordáin 1949). Following appointment as Chair of Celtic Archaeology in Dublin, Ríordáin led the first major excavations at the Hill of Tara in Co. Meath in the early

1950s (Edwards 1996; Ó Ríordáin 1971). Another key figure in archaeology was Oliver Davies, lecturer in ancient history at Queen's University, Belfast; who excavated widely in Northern Ireland on both prehistoric and medieval sites (Davies 1940). Davies was involved with the Ancient Monuments Advisory Committee assembled to complete a comprehensive survey of Northern Ireland, resulting in the publication of *A Preliminary Survey of Ancient Monuments in Northern Ireland*, which for forty years stood as the only classified field survey of archaeological monuments completed and published for all of Ireland (Chart 1940). Most university excavations of the 1900s focused on high status sites, not rural traditional sites, setting the tone for later university-based excavations which focused similarly on high status, highly visible sites (O'Sullivan et al. 2008; Waddell 1998).

With political developments and the partitioning of Ireland in 1921, the United Kingdom funding took over the care of heritage monuments and excavation programs in Northern Ireland. From 1950-1970, the Historic Monuments Branch of the Ministry of Finance developed a phase of medieval excavations, resulting in the archaeological county-wide surveys of Co. Down and Co. Armagh (Barry 1987). By contrast, archaeological county inventories with field investigation in the Republic of Ireland began in 1963 (Haworth 1975). State funding in the 1980s provided through farm improvement grants from the European Economic Community resulted in full excavations of significant medieval sites across Ireland (Heritage Council 1999).

Legislation of the 20th century resulted in official protection of archaeological sites and monuments; particularly the Record of Monuments and Places. The Archaeological Survey of Ireland (ASI) is now online at (www.archaeology.ie/ArchaeologySurveyofIreland/), with digital access to 140,000 archaeological records. In 1991, among other archaeological legislation brought about in part by the European Union and Heritage Council in Ireland, the first public institution for advanced research in Irish archaeology was set up, the Discovery Programme. O'Connor's 1998 monograph *The Archaeology of Medieval Rural Settlement in Ireland* was a preliminary survey that led to the first widespread study of medieval settlement outside urban work (including Dublin—published in the Medieval Dublin series edited

by Seán Duffy—Cork , and Carrickfergus) by the Discovery Program (O’Conor 1998). In 2002, the Discovery Programme began its Medieval Rural Settlement Project (MRSP) focusing on rural settlements in Ireland c. 1100-1650 (Brady 2002; Brady 2005). The largest module of the MRSP was the excavation at Tulsk, Co. Roscommon from 2004-2009 (Brady 2003; Brady forthcoming); Immich excavated at Tulsk in the summers of 2007 and 2008.

Landscape studies of rural and urban interaction around Dublin have resulted in a major archaeological monograph publication by the Discovery Programme, which combines historical and archaeological sources for a full picture of the area around Dublin between 1170-1660 (Murphy and Potterton 2010). The Dublin monograph focuses on the settlement, land-use, and economy of not only the urban center of Dublin, but the hinterlands surrounding medieval Dublin, consisting of parts of the modern counties of Kildare, Meath, and Wicklow. The text thoroughly utilizes excavation material from the “Celtic Tiger” period (see below) as well as historical, art-historical, literature, and economic material to examine medieval Co. Dublin.

Since the mid-1980s, landscape studies of Gaelic Ireland have steadily increased, and rescue archaeological investigation spurred on by construction projects has resulted in a better understanding of settlement types from the medieval period. Rescue excavations completed due to road schemes and gas pipeline work under the so-called “Celtic Tiger” economy of the late 1990s-mid 2000s resulted in long-term, full excavations of sites, many medieval in character. Funding for rescue excavations by developers has brought questions of the agenda for excavations, as rescue excavations are not directed with research questions, as academic excavations would be (McNeill 2002: 555).

Irish Nationalism in Archaeology

Prior to the Celtic Tiger boom of excavations, and even now as the reports from those excavations are slowly published, the medieval period, including material culture and settlement patterns, of Anglo-Norman and Gaelic Ireland was understudied. The reasons for this are twofold. First, the surviving historical evidence from Gaelic sources

is scarce. Whereas the Anglo-Normans tracked economic and social transactions, the Gaelic Irish of the 13th-15th centuries did not produce the same administrative and economic records (Nicholls 1987: 398; Watt 1987: 314). Others argue the Gaelic Irish elite did produce records, but the vast majority from the 13th-14th centuries were “destroyed in the endemic warfare that characterized Ireland into the seventeenth century or lost through simple archival neglect over the last 800 years” (O’Conor 1998: 73). The Irish annals do survive from this time period in addition to poetry and literature from medieval Gaelic sources, but have been understudied by modern historians (Duffy 1997: 3-4).

The second reason the medieval period was understudied lies broadly in Irish nationalism. As seen above in the tracing of Irish archaeology, the majority of archaeological inquiry in Ireland prior to 1950 focused on the prehistoric and early Christian period. It is from this period that Ireland, even today, draws its national identity (O’Conor 1998: 11). This is not to say the prehistoric and early Christian periods are not worth studying, indeed, the argument has been made that early Christian Insular Art, as seen in such works as the Tara Brooch and Book of Kells, is one of the most accomplished artistic styles the world has seen (Edwards 1996: 132). However, what remains is a near complete avoidance of the high medieval period by archaeologists of the Republic between c. 1900-1970 (with major exceptions in historian Goddard Orpen and architect Harold Leask).

Nevertheless, there was a definite avoidance of the archaeology of the high medieval period. The periods most studied after the 1950s, in particular the early medieval and prehistoric, were seen as “eras free from Norse interference or Anglo-Norman and English domination—halcyon days of great cultural and spiritual achievement for the Irish people, which could be attained again now that the Republic had gained its independence” (O’Conor 1998: 10-11). To study the high medieval period was to study England, as R.A.S. Macalister expressed candidly (Macalister 1928: 356); this distain is evident in his excavation focus on the prehistoric. Macalister was chair of Celtic Archaeology at the University College Dublin from 1909-1943 and was arguably one of the most prominent archaeologists of his period (Herity and Eogan 1977: 13). It is

little wonder, given the anti-English and nationalistic sentiment of the period, that little medieval work was undertaken.

Meanwhile, in Northern Ireland, in the province of Ulster, following trends in British archaeology, the high medieval period became a period of serious investigation beginning in the 1950s, with major university courses in medieval Britain appearing in the 1970s (Clarke 1984: 9). Excavations undertaken on motte castles in Co. Down in the 1950s and 1960s (e.g. Dickinson *et al.* 1960; Waterman 1954b; 1955; 1958; 1959; 1963) and masonry castles (e.g. Waterman 1951; 1955; 1964) led the foundation for work on medieval rural settlements after the 1970s in Ulster (e.g. Waterman 1954a: 102; Jope *et al.* 1966). McNeill (1997: 2) argues this program of Anglo-Norman period excavation in Ulster made Co. Down one of the foremost locations for castle research in the whole of Europe during the 1950s and 1960s.

In the Republic of Ireland, the first scientific excavation of a motte castle took place at Lurgankeel, Co. Louth in advance of development during the 1960s (*Oibre* 1965: 22). No complete excavation report has been published of the Lurgankeel site (O'Connor 1998: 6). Unfortunately, the missing publication on the Lurgankeel site is a regular occurrence for excavations from this time period (e.g. Bunratty Castle, Co. Clare was also excavated and not published). In the 1970s, investigations and publications on all aspects of medieval Ireland became common. In particular, three Anglo-Norman masonry castles in the Republic were excavated: Swords Castle, Co. Dublin (Fanning 1975), Trim Castle, Co. Meath (Sweetman 1978b), and Ferns Castle, Co. Wexford (Sweetman 1979). With the Discovery Programme's Rural Medieval Settlement project and a variety of archaeologists (e.g. Barry; O'Connor; O'Keeffe; McNeill; Sweetman) working in the Republic, focus on the high medieval period has increased since 1998.

Historiography of Timber Castles in Ireland

Interest in timber castles in Ireland began with a series of publications by the historian Goddard Orpen and, to a certain extent, the English historian Ella Armitage, in the early 1900s. Orpen noted that the locations of motte castles in Ireland correlated to historical references of Anglo-Norman castles, particularly ones of late 12th-century and

early 13th-century date. This quickly led him to realize (helped by his reading of work being carried out in England at the same time) that mottes were in fact timber castles built by the Anglo-Normans (Orpen 1906; 1907a; 1907b; 1907c; 1909; 1911-1920, i: 341; ii: 343-345). Set within a larger European context, Orpen was on the forefront of a contemporary, international debate on the origins of mottes. Armitage published her seminal work *The Early Norman Castles of the British Isles* in 1912. This text focused primarily on the earth and timber castles of England, but included a section on Irish mottes (Armitage 1912: 323-350). As Orpen had contested that mottes were of Norman origin in Ireland, appearing after 1169, Armitage recognized and argued that sites previously categorized as Anglo-Saxon in date were actually early castles constructed after the Norman Conquest of England in 1066 (Armitage 1912: 1-11).

Harold Leask (1941) published the first modern study of castles in Ireland entitled *Irish castles and castellated houses*. Inspector for the National Monuments for 26 years, Leask had visited and sketched the majority of castles presented in his text. Leask paid little attention to earthwork castles, as he was an architect; however, the first chapter of the text does cover motte and bailey castles (Leask 1941: 5-11). Ó Ríordáin, although primarily interested in prehistoric Irish archaeology, included a reconstruction of a motte and bailey castle with a discussion of the site type (Ó Ríordáin 1942: 54-59). Notably Ó Ríordáin observed that many motte and bailey castles utilized earlier earthworks for their bases, in particular ringforts (O Riordain 1942: 56).

The first challenge to motte castles as being of Norman or Anglo-Norman in origin was brought to light by Brian Davidson in the 1960s (Davidson 1967: 202-211; Davidson and Seaby 1961-1962). Davidson noted in the 1959 excavation of Ballynarry ringfort that “a number of sites show the deliberate transformation of a low-level settlement into a high mound” (Davidson and Seaby 1961-1962: 79). Citing German, Dutch, English, and Irish examples, Davidson began to cast doubt on the direct lineage of the motte as the timber castles first constructed by Anglo-Norman lords in Ireland (and England). In 1967, Davidson published his hypothesis, which flatly rejected motte and bailey castles as the “characteristic form of earthwork castle in Normandy in the period before the Conquest of England” (Davison 1967: 42). The model brought to light by

Davidson suggested castles constructed in the first years of the English invasion of 1066 were of the “old enclosure” type. He noted that the Normans tended to utilize Roman forts, Iron Age hilltop sites, and Saxon *burhs* then followed with the construction of earthworks resembling ringworks, or moundless motte castles (Davidson 1969: 37-47). For Davidson, the time invested in constructing a motte castle made them of little use in an invasion context, large ringworks were quicker to construct and defend.

Two years later King and Alcock (1969) published their article “Ringworks of England and Wales”, which cataloged ringwork castle sites, as well as defined the criteria to find such sites in the landscape (100-127). However, not all contemporaneous scholars accepted the ringwork-followed-by-motte castle construction timeframe proposed by Davidson and King and Alcock. Notably historian R. Allen Brown rejected ringwork castles as the predecessor to motte and bailey castles in England, following a rigid chronology of what defines a castle and the sequence of castle construction (Brown 1969: chp 1). It is generally agreed now that the motte and bailey form of timber castles was a relatively recent development in the chronology of castle types; with ringwork castles being constructed first, and, chiefly in Ireland, masonry structures being constructed prior to motte castles, most notably in Dublin.

Contemporaneous to Davidson, Dermot Twohig (1978) and Terry Barry (1983) also challenged the form of earth and timber castles, particularly in Ireland. There was a push for the acceptance of ringwork castles as an alternative castle form in the formative early years of land seizure. Twohig (1978: 9) argued the men who first constructed castles in Ireland arrived from Wales, where there is a high density of ringwork castles; therefore their default mode of construction would be what they knew from home. On the other hand, Barry (1983: 300-301) argued the distribution of timber castles in Ireland did not match the historical record for where Anglo-Norman lords settled; therefore, he suggested archaeologists look for ringwork castles in those zones to fill in the gaps. These two publications prompted a number of archaeologists, including William Colfer (1987) to seriously consider ringwork castles as an Anglo-Norman site type, which is classifiable in the field.

By the 1990s, a backlash against ringwork castles was voiced loudly, particularly by Irish archaeologists Tom McNeill and, later, Tadhg O’Keeffe. In a discussion on a methodology for identifying motte castles in the field (which hinges primarily on height of the motte), McNeill (1989/1990) voiced concern on the lack of a clear methodology to distinguish ringwork castles from early medieval ringforts¹—

We must produce traits which we can use to distinguish [ringworks], from a ringfort, and we must show that sites so distinguished occur regularly at sites named as those of castles, rather than randomly through the countryside. (McNeill 1989/1990: 58).

Later that year, he argued only through contemporary documentary evidence can a ringwork castle be identified in the field (McNeill 1990: 262-263). Other archaeologists recognize the problem of identifying ringwork castles amongst the thousands of ringforts; O’Conor (1999) forcibly stated: “in purely fieldwork terms, the identification of ringworks in Ireland is a major problem” (196). It is generally accepted that morphology is not adequate as a diagnostic criteria for distinguishing ringwork castles from other types of earthwork sites, including ringforts (Barry 1983: 308; 1987: 45; O’Conor 1999: 192; Sweetman 1990: 30). Additional characteristics, including historical documentation and defensibility must be taken into account when producing a classification of a site as a ringwork without excavation.

Siting of ringworks is the most common identifier in the field, with attention towards defensible siting (Barry 1983: 308; Farrelly & O’Brien 2002). However, as Creighton (2002) takes great lengths to illustrate, very few English castles of any classification were located in defensive locations. McNeill (1997) and O’Conor (1999) both stressed the importance of historical documentation of ringwork sites, or lacking any documentary evidence, the proximity to a manorial center or medieval church. Sweetman (1990), alongside highlighting the importance of morphology of a site, argues for an examination of siting in the local landscape as well as distance to known Anglo-Norman manorial settlements (10-14). Arbuthnot (2011: 71-74) combines Sweetman’s

¹ Ringforts are the most numerous archaeological monument in Ireland, consisting of a circular or oval space, surrounded by a bank and ditch of earth or stone (Stout 1997: 14). They functioned as residences or farmsteads of the early medieval period (c. 500-1000 AD).

identification methods for identifying ringwork castles in four steps: 1) Morphology, 2) Siting in the landscape, 3) Siting in relation to high medieval settlement, 4) Documentary evidence.

McNeill (1997: 61) continued to warn against a “hunt the ringwork” in a country inundated with small, circular, embanked enclosures; particularly in direct opposition to Barry’s (1983: 299; 1987: 50) call for seeking out more ringwork castles. Barry (1983; 1987) cited the proportion of ringworks to mottes in England and Wales as a guide; “The present total of 20 possible ringworks in Ireland should be increased to a figure of over 100, if the comparable proportion of 3.7 mottes to one ringwork ... is used” (Barry 1983: 299). O’Keeffe (forthcoming) states his rejection of 83% of the ringwork castles identified in the Archaeological Survey of Ireland as a widespread site type even stronger:

The frantic rush to identify ringworks has been an ill-advised turn in the study of earth-and-timber castles in Ireland: instead of pausing to explore (by referencing to other parts of Europe where both are found) why low-elevation enclosures were used in some instances in preference to mottes, or to explore the cultural implications of Anglo-Norman sometimes deploying an earthwork form identical to the older indigenous earthwork form that we describe as ‘ringfort’, some archaeologists have been engaged in a trolley dash across Ireland, scooping into the ‘ringwork’ category that might not be a classic ringfort, and a more than few that are! (O’Keeffe, forthcoming: Chp 3, Castles of Earth and Timber).

Farrelly and O’Brien’s designation of 17 ringworks in north Co. Tipperary (SMR: 27) has especially been called into question as being on a “ringwork hunt”. Ringwork castles are not the only Anglo-Norman site type that has found opposition in the literature. Motte castles themselves, as seen by McNeill’s (1989/1990: 57) attempt to standardize the definition of the site type, can be difficult to distinguish in the field.

Higham and Barker (1992: 36-61) detailed the chronology of motte construction, arguing that Norman experience with motte castles may have only been twenty years old by time they began constructing them in England. Notably, they stress the importance of a mixed origin and process of development for timber castles: “We must not forget that English timber castles continued to ‘originate’ in a whole variety of circumstances, down to the 13th century” (Higham and Barker 1992: 61). The earthen form of timber castles

allowed for the element of experimentation and improvisation by the lord who ordered their construction (Barry 1987: 37-55). Given comparisons between known lords who were exposed to earthen castles in England, then were stationed and constructed their own timber castles in Ireland, it appears that the choice between ringwork castle and motte and bailey castle was down to personal preference and geographical limitations (King 1983; Higham and Barker 1992: 75-77).

1.4: Methods

The framework used here to understand timber castle construction and the importance of timber castles in the landscape of later medieval Ireland is provided, in part, by Creighton (2002: 35-64). Creighton (2002) examined British castles through their symbolism in architecture, use and manipulation of social space within castle design, and broad understanding of context and significance of sites in their wider landscape. His 2002 *Castles and Landscapes* brought castle studies to a wider audience through the use of multiple data sources. Typically, the superstructures of castles are the focus for researchers. Creighton (2002: 65) and others (e.g. Creighton and Higham 2002; O’Conor 2008: 335) have called for archaeological examination of areas outside the standard castle superstructures, including earthworks and bailey areas, to view and study cultural activities of medieval fortifications. Medieval landscapes were intertwined—only through the examination of fortified monuments in relation to their environment, natural and constructed, can we approach a full understanding of the past.

A methodology for the reclassification of ringwork castles

Given the problems on classifying ringwork castles as discussed above, a standardized methodology for evaluation of previously identified ringwork castles is necessary. Thus, in order of importance in classification, analysis of the following data sources was undertaken to identify an appropriate classification of a site as a ringwork castle:

1. Historical documentary evidence
2. Morphology
3. Physical Siting

4. Cultural Siting

Historical documentary evidence

The strongest and most compelling evidence for a site representing a ringwork castle is historical documentation of the site as a castle. If there is historical documentation, either contemporaneous or from the 17th-century, a site was classified as a castle. Contemporary documentation tends to be annalistic, with records of the construction or destruction of a castle in a town or townland. The Annals provide the most credible historical document. Other documents, such as the *Civil Survey of 1654-1656* and the *Inquisitions Post Mortem* may contain references to castles within townlands. However, due to the collection and publication dates of these documents, in addition to the purpose of collection of these data, these documents are not as reliable for classifying castles in townlands (see Appendix 1 for more detailed information on each of these documentary sources).

Examination of historical documents included the Ordnance Survey 1829-1847 and 1897-1913 maps, given the much later date of these maps, they were considered only as additive to other evidence for a castle. Likewise, placename evidence was considered for each townland. At a very basic level, townlands can be divided into Anglo-Norman and Gaelic in origin. Therefore townlands with Anglo-Norman roots (e.g. Thurles Townparks site no. 10 – *Dhurlais*, meaning strongfort) are examined further for historical links to manorial centers. Many townlands that held a castle developed a townland with the term “castle” in their names. In creating a methodology for analyzing sites for classification as a castle, historical documentation was the first and most important identifier for a site. If no historical documentation existed for a site, a combination of morphology, physical landscape siting, and cultural landscape siting was analyzed next for classification of a site as a timber castle.

Morphology

Given the problems (described above) with relying on morphology alone as an indication of a timber castle, morphology is considered an additive indicator. That is, a

site did not have to fit the standard morphological designation. The standard site morphology entails a circular or sub-circular platform enclosed by at minimum one bank and ditch. The enclosed area of ringworks tends to be between 35-50 m in diameter and often, though not always, is raised above the external ground level at a height up to two meters. Given the destruction of some castles (e.g. Thurles Townparks site no. 10), morphology occasionally is not necessary with documentary evidence. Each site was measured either with a Total Station or tape measure for accurate records of the earthwork. Details of the site surveys can be found in Appendix 1.

Physical Siting

The next criterion for classification as a ringwork castle is the physical environment surrounding a castle. In order for a castle to be classified as a ringwork, the earthwork of a site must be in a location that can be described as strategic or at minimum, defensive. As noted by O’Conor (1993), this location may include proximity to fords, passes, and roads. Creighton (2002) has shown many castles were overlooked by higher ground; therefore the physical environment plays a small role in the identification of a site. Indeed, some castles were sited with no specific strategic advantages, but they hold a defensive nature in the views they provide of the surrounding countryside. In the process of site surveying, the fields surrounding a site were examined with the intention of viewing the site from multiple views (see Chapter 3 for a discussion of methods of archaeological phenomenology).

Cultural Siting

The cultural siting of a castle refers to the proximity of adjacent archaeological sites within the townland immediately containing the possible castle site, or within townlands immediately adjacent to the townland containing the possible site. This adjustment, from only examining the townland containing the site is due to the shifting nature of boundaries from the medieval period to the present. As shown at the site of Moatquarter (site no. 2) in the townland of Moatquarter/Castle Phillip adjacent to the

townland of Busherstown, this boundary has changed since the medieval period leaving an artificial division of the medieval sites within the townlands (MacCotter 2013: 49-52).

Castle classification work undertaken by O’Conor emphasizes the cultural siting of a castle, in particular a sites proximity to either a historically attested manorial center, or a medieval church and graveyard (O’Conor 1993: 43). Sweetman (1999: 10-14) concurs the importance of a castle being classified within close proximity to Anglo-Norman manorial centers. An important indication of a site representing a castle is therefore the proximity to sites of medieval, preferably high medieval or later, dating. Preferred site types for this analysis include historically attested manorial centers, archaeological evidence for medieval churches and graveyards, deserted medieval settlements, mills, medieval roads, moated sites, tower houses, or burgage plots and house sites. The Archaeological Survey Database from the National Monuments Survey and the *Archaeological Inventory of Tipperary* were consulted to examine archaeological sites within the townland of a site in addition to nearby townlands. In addition, the *Archaeological Survey of the barony of Ikerrin* (Stout 1984) and *The Anglo-Norman advance into the south-west midlands of Ireland 1185-1221*(Cunningham 1987) were referenced for archaeological sites within their corresponding analyzed boundaries (which did not match the entire study area here).

In sum, if a townland contains historical documentation recording a castle site, classification is positive for a castle. Historical documentation carried the most weight in the evaluation. Evidence from historical maps and placenames can provide supporting evidence, but should not be taken alone. Morphology is considered an additive condition, a site should conform to a basic circular, enclosed, raised earthwork; however, classification cannot hinge solely on morphology. The weighting of morphology, historical maps, and placename evidence are not included alone in the weighing of data for classification—they are only used as additive measures. The siting of an earthwork in the physical environment, in combination with morphological evidence can provide positive data towards the classification of a site as a ringwork. Siting provided a mid-weight in evaluation. Cultural siting provides stronger indication than physical siting, with excavation or geophysical data offering the strongest corroboration of a site as a

castle. Cultural siting in addition to a positive morphological condition carries the second most weight in classification.

Weighing of Castle Classification Criteria		Historical Documentation	Historical Map or Placename	Physical Siting	Cultural Siting	Physical and Cultural Siting
	Full certainty	██████████				██████████
	Mid-certainty	██████████		██████████	██████████	██████████
	Low-certainty	██████████		██████████		
Additive Condition		██████████	██████████	██████████	██████████	

Interdisciplinary Approach

Examining the siting of castles without excavation takes an interdisciplinary approach. Landscape archaeology method and theory is combined here within an anthropological framework of colonial studies. The data collected in the field is examined and modeled with geographic information systems (GIS) and considered with geographic information science (GISci) theory. Archaeological landscape evidence consists of detailed elevation and siting data collected during multiple field visits, when available, information from excavation reports, and reports from the Sites and Monuments Records published by the Department of the Environment, Heritage, and Local Government. Digital datasets analyzed were provided by the Office of Public Works, Dublin (Bathymetric Survey of River Suir Catchment Area), the National Roads Authority, Dublin (noise mapping datasets), the Ryan Institute, National University Ireland Galway (Geological Survey Ireland), the Environmental Protection Agency (Corine Landcover, hydrology dataset), and the National Monuments Service, Dublin (Archaeological Survey data). Historical sources utilized here include literary sources (*Expungnatio Hibernica*), administrative records (*The Civil Survey 1654-1656*), and annals (*Red Book of Ormond*).

Cartographic sources, both of historical and modern maps, were examined, including the Ordnance Survey six inch and 25 inch maps, the Down Survey maps, and aerial photographs.

The case study area will be north Co. Tipperary, Ireland. Co. Tipperary is an ideal place for such a study for three main reasons: 1) it is a region that has been described as “hybrid” in physical, economic, and cultural terms (Smyth 1983: 17), 2) the archaeological inventory of north Co. Tipperary is published (Farrelly and O’Brien 2002), and 3) 43 timber castles are located in north Co. Tipperary, allowing for a comparative representative assessment of castles in the region. The history and archaeology of north Co. Tipperary will be covered in detail in Chapter 4.

The castle sites of north Co. Tipperary, consisting of motte, motte and bailey and ringwork castles along with masonry hall-house castles were examined through the course of two seasons of site survey (survey techniques are described below). The sites were compiled for the medieval boundaries within north Co. Tipperary from the north Co. Tipperary and Co. Offaly archaeological inventories and the Record of Monuments and Places (RMP), National Monuments Service. The first survey was completed in June 2012, which included total topographic surveys of the Tullahedy, Rathfalla, and Ballylusky sites. Five days were spent at Tullahedy and Rathfalla each with a day surveying Ballylusky, due to the variable tree cover on each site. Ballylusky is treeless and therefore was easily surveyed. The second survey season included baseline surveys of sites from June to July 2013. Thirty-six sites were visited, measured, with a field report out of the possible 43 total sites in the study area (84%) with two sites (Thurles Townpark and Townparks) destroyed and unavailable for surveying. This includes 9/11 motte sites (one destroyed: Thurles Townpark), 5/5 motte and bailey sites, 22/27 ringwork sites (one destroyed: Townparks), and 6/7 hall house sites (Dromineer was locked and unavailable). The Gazetteer of sites (Appendix 1) compiles the detailed morphological information gathered during site visits.

This study also examines extreme southwest “thumb” of Co. Offaly, the modern barony of Clonlisk, as this region was nominally part of Co. Tipperary until 1606 (Nolan 1986: fig. 23). However, the timber castles in this barony were not surveyed due to time

constraints; measurements from the Archaeological Inventory of Co. Offaly (O'Brien & Sweetman 1997) with supplementary evidence from the Archaeological Monuments Service are utilized for comparisons. There are nine timber castle sites in the barony of Clonlisk: eight motte castles and one ringwork castle. See Chapter 4 for maps and additional information.

Measurements were taken at each site visited with either tape measure or Nikon DTM-322 Series Total Station utilizing XYZ coordinates collected with a Trimble GeoExplorer 2008 series handheld GPS, representing (where vegetation allowed) a north-south and east-west section, and sections were drawn where possible. When GPS coverage was not clear, arbitrary units of E200, N200, and Z200 were used for the starting Total Station survey location. The county inventories and RMP provide some measurements; however, given the time passed since the last visit (for the county inventories, the majority of visits were in 1995-6), and for consistent, complete, and reliable data, new measurements were taken. Eight out of 43 sites were not measured due to inaccessibility of the site or in cases where the site is no longer extant, or in very poor condition in the field. For each of these sites, a note is marked in the Gazetteer, and when possible, digital measurements from aerial photography or other digital imagery are provided and noted.

The site profile data file created with the Total Station was edited in Microsoft Excel and transformed into a .shp data file in QGIS 2.2 Durfour in Irish National Grid projection. The shapefile created in QGIS was imported into ESRI ArcMap 10.1 then R version 3.1.1 software to create profile views of each site surveyed with the Total Station. See Appendix 1 for the results of these profiles.

Examining archaeological sites without excavation, as this landscape archaeological investigation does, requires specialized methods of archaeological prospecting. This project incorporates prospecting techniques collected with spatial technology. Spatial technology here refers to the hardware and software associated with the representation of real world locations (Lock 2000; Wheatley 2000; Wheatley and Gillings 2002). In archaeology, the most widely used spatial technology is Geographic Information Systems (GIS). GIS integrates hardware, software, and data for capturing,

managing, and displaying geographically referenced information to visualize and interpret patterns and relationships in spatial data. Geographically referenced information has accurate locations on the earth; data are projected utilizing the correct ellipsoid and datum.

GIS technology supports combinations of multiple data sources, including aerial photographs (raster format) and GPS points (vector format). The analyses of spatial data with spatial statistics are well developed within archaeological investigation, including spatial regression, spatial autocorrelation, cluster analysis, and nearest neighbor statistics (Immich 2009; Logan *et al* 2010; Goodchild 2011). GIS has been called the most powerful technological tool to be applied to archaeology since the invention of radiocarbon dating (Westcott 2000). Archaeological data are spatial and temporal in nature; GIS technologies were developed to handle complex data of spatiotemporal nature and therefore are a natural fit to store and analyze archaeological datasets (Green 1990; Savage 1990; Reilly and Rahtz 1992; Harris and Lock 1995; Aldenderfer 1996; Kvamme 1999). See Chapter 2 for more information on GIS.

Digital representations of landscape are models of the real world. Utilizing spatial technology in archaeological investigation is a method, not a specialization or theory (Evans and Daly 2006). Incorporating technology into archaeology helps connect approaches of theory and practice. Fundamentally, the data collected, analyzed, and presented by spatial technologies are representative of reality, but they are not reality. Therefore, caution and self-reflectivity of those carrying out archaeological analysis with spatial technology must be regarded.

This project will expose evidence for the siting of timber castles through spatial technology by ground truthing (the process of matching physical sites on the earth to spatial data) and surveying sites. The method applied in this project has been applied in the survey plan of motte and bailey sites (O'Connor and De Meulemeester 2007); however, integration of the resulting data into theoretical development of colonialism theory in Ireland has not been completed.

Digital Elevation Model Creation

Digital elevation model (DEM) construction is an important way to reflect the environment. Elevation (z) and location (x,y) points are collected to accurately model the surface of the earth in DEMs. DEM creation employs direct survey techniques with Total Stations or GPS, as well as satellite imaging radar (SIR), synthetic aperture radar (SAR), airborne imaging radar (AIRSAR), and airplane mounted scanners that use light detection and ranging (Lidar) (Carey *et al* 2006; Challis 2006; Crutchley 2006). In this project, elevation and location data will be collected with either a Total Station, reflective prism or a differential geographic positioning system (GPS) with known base points matched to the Irish National Grid.

The collection of point data (x,y,z) will be completed with an optical Total Station electronic theodolite, electronic distance meter and reflective prism. A grid across the selected motte and bailey site will be set out and matched to a known base point on the Irish National Grid; the grid will allow for point measurements at every fifty centimeters to one meter spacing. Over-collection of data points will be avoided. In Ireland, archaeological monuments are protected under the National Monuments Acts 1930-2004, and the in Heritage Act 1995. The National Monuments Service of the Department of the Environment, Heritage and Local Government keeps records of sites in the form of the Record of Monuments (RMP).

After the point data for DEMs are collected, spatial interpolation methods are needed for the construction of topographical surfaces. Interpolation for this project will be completed in ESRI ArcMap 10.2 3D Analyst, QGIS and the GRASS extension, and Applied Imagery's Quick Terrain Modeler, a suite of geospatial processing programs available at the University of Minnesota. The creation of DEMs in Ireland by archaeologists has focused on three techniques. The first is through an algorithm from digitized aerial photographs of ringforts (Redfern *et al* 1999), the second is through field survey point collection with a Total Station at the motte-and-bailey castle at Lissardowlan, Co. Longford (O'Connor and De Meulemeester 2007), and the third is through lidar scanning (Brady and Shaw 2006).

Comparisons of these techniques vary greatly. The motte and bailey castles examined in Ireland indicate a range in ground spacing between 10 meters and one kilometer by the use of DEMs. Archaeological investigations indicate lower ground spacing is more likely to pick up features of interest in addition to the increase of accurately representing the feature. Redfern, Lyon, and Redfern's (1999) aerial photography analysis had an overall accuracy of between .94 and .71 meters. In contrast, O'Connor and De Meulemeester (2007) analysis utilized a one-meter grid. Lidar data, described in detail in Chapter 3, can result in sub-meter accuracy.

1.5: Structure of Dissertation

This thesis consists of seven chapters and one appendix, the Gazetteer of sites. The first chapter is the introduction to the text, providing the aims, methodology, and background literature review of timber castle studies in Ireland. The second chapter focuses on castle siting in Western Europe, in particular England and Wales. The literature reviewed in the second chapter provides a wider context of Norman engagement in Europe and the resulting monuments in different and varied landscape siting. The third chapter introduces landscape archaeology as a theoretical construct for the study of castle siting and geographic information systems (GIS) as a methodological approach to study castle siting. The geography, history, and archaeology of the study area, north Co. Tipperary, are covered in chapter four. Chapter five introduces the castles examined in the study and examines the specifics in the locations of castles in north Co. Tipperary. Chapter six focuses on four case studies of castle siting in north Co. Tipperary and discusses the overall findings of the examination of castle siting in north Co. Tipperary. Conclusions are offered in chapter seven. Illustrations and bibliography are included with the main text of the thesis.

The Gazetteer is located in Appendix 1. Site reports for each of the sites are included, organized alphabetically. Information regarding the site name, townland, parish, barony, cantred, and co-ordinates are included. The RMP number and classification as well as the Archaeological Inventory number and classification are given. Each site is discussed in the field report, including: siting, measurements,

placename, documentary references (when applicable), contemporaneous sites within townland, excavation material (when applicable), maps, and plans. See Appendix 1 for more information.

1.6: Conclusion

This chapter served as an introduction to the themes of medieval timber castles, including the methodology used and the layout of this thesis. The historical background of Anglo-Normans in Ireland and the terminology utilized by historians to describe the peoples of Ireland during the high medieval period was covered. To situate this study, the historiography of not only castle studies, but also medieval excavation in Ireland alongside an understanding of the role of Nationalism in castle studies was undertaken. The study area of north Co. Tipperary was rationalized. Lastly, the methodology, including GIS technologies, and structure of this thesis was covered. The aim of the next chapter is to examine the archaeological record for fortifications in Temperate Europe with an in depth examination of timber castle siting in England, Wales, and Ireland.

Chapter Two: Fortifications of Temperate Europe

- 2.1: Introduction
- 2.2: Origins of Fortifications
- 2.3 The Study of Castle Siting
- 2.3 Castle Siting in England
- 2.4 Castle Siting in Wales
- 2.5 Siting of Castles in Continental Europe
- 2.6 Siting of Castle in Ireland
- 2.7 Distribution of Castles in Ireland
- 2.8: Conclusion

2.1 Introduction

Earth and timber castles can only be understood in the context of medieval fortifications. This chapter examines the archaeological evidence for fortifications in Temperate Europe with special attention on Irish fortifications from the Neolithic to the medieval period. The origin of timber castles is introduced at the end of the fortification section, including details on early excavations at Husterknupp, Germany. The Norman conquest of England after 1066 is discussed in the context of castle siting in England. Brief examples of castle siting from Wales, continental Europe, and Ireland follow. Finally, the distribution of timber castles in Ireland is examined by utilizing mapping of the sites by castle type and county.

2.2 Origins of Fortifications

Definition of “fortification”

The archaeological record of defensive features covers an exceptionally long time period. Fortifications, including the strengthening of any human built monument, have been utilized throughout the world for the protection against the threat of raiders and warfare, as well as threats from wild animals. Archaeological terminology for defensive sites is varied; there is no formal standardization (e.g. Parkinson and Duffy (2007: 102) compiled a list of 20 different terms used in Europe). Tracing the first defensive fortifications in Europe is complicated by the nature of archaeological terminology in the modern period. Nevertheless, the current literature indicates a development of defensive

sites with sedentary farming and specialist communities in the Neolithic (c. 6500-3000 BC) across the European continent (Toy 1966). The following section briefly traces the archaeological record of fortifications across Temperate Europe² from the Neolithic to the medieval period with special attention to landscape setting as a foundation in understanding the non-linear trajectory of basic site fortifications to timber castles.

The Neolithic

With the introduction of herding populations and small scale farming in Europe during the Neolithic (c. 10,000-3,000 BC), the construction of ditches, walls, earthworks, and stone enclosures begin to appear. Some of these banks and ditches were not associated with settlement locations, but appear in locations in the landscape with evidence for ritual activity, burials, or in communal meeting places. Coasts, shorelines, cliffs, and other physical defenses were also used as natural fortification. The use of cereal agriculture and domesticated animals reached Ireland c. 4000 BC (Waddell 2010: 25-31). For a full synthesis of the variation amongst these Neolithic settlements see: Anderson (1997), Darvill and Thomas (2001), Gibson (2012), Varndell and Topping (2002), and Whittle (1996).

One of the most common classes of Neolithic monumental fortification is the causeway camp. These sites are classified by an open space with one or more ditches, which are broken up by other open spaces known as causeways. Causeway camps are very common in southern Britain, eastern France, the Rhineland, and southern Scandinavia (Bradley 1993). Archaeological evidence for the function of causeway camps is diverse. The monumental ditches and banks were built by communities, with some estimates of man hours at 50,000 hours per site (e.g. Windmill Hill, Wiltshire (Whittle 1999: 70-71)). Material culture excavated from the ditches points towards ritualistic or ceremonial functions, and includes pottery, stone axes, animal bones

² Europe was divided by prehistorian Grahame Clark (1977) in *World Prehistory: in New Perspective* into “Mediterranean” and “Temperate” zones. Deciduous forest and marked seasonality characterized Temperate Europe, spanning from the British Isles, across central Europe and the southernmost portion of Scandinavia, into European Russia. Temperate Europe consists of multiple environmental zones, making it more diverse than Mediterranean Europe—warranting special attention as a geographic zone.

(representing communal feasts), and human bones. Southern British sites in particular show evidence of use as places related to death and mortuary rituals. At the causeway site of Etton, Cambridgeshire, pits held an unusually large number of human and animal bones, possibly representing a site for funerary rituals (Pryor 1998).

Alternatively, causeway enclosure sites on the continent contain more evidence for use as refuge sites. Sarup, near Funen, Denmark, is a causeway camp located on a promontory. Dating to 3400 BC, the enclosure at Sarup defined an area of 21 acres. The exposed side of the site was defended with a palisade and two parallel rows of segmented ditches with associated causeways. Outside the palisade, excavation revealed pottery, burnt bones of animals and humans, and charcoal denoting hearths. Inside the palisade, evidence for ritual deposition and settlement activities were found (Andersen 1997). Evidence from Sarup and other Danish Middle Neolithic sites illustrates causeway camps as holders of multiple identities; places of ritual importance, but also as settlement camps with impressive fortifications (Nielsen 2004).

In Ireland, the Neolithic period was defined by the construction of massive enclosures in the landscape. Notably at Céide Fields, Co. Mayo, where the oldest stone field system in the world exists under a natural blanket of bog (Caufield *et al.* 2011). The field system covers more than 1000 hectares and is delimited by long, low, parallel stone walls up to two kilometers in length, 150-200 meters apart, and enclosing up to seven hectares. Associated with the wall system are three contemporary court cairn tombs. The field system is reflective of a period of intensive farming from 3700-3200 BC (Caufield 1983). Systematic enclosures in the landscape during the Neolithic period are representative of increased privatization of land with sedentary farming and domestic animal husbandry (Cooney 2000). The stone walls of Céide Fields and other Neolithic field systems are analogous to territorial or linear fortifications of the Iron Age and Medieval period (discussed below).

Neolithic fortifications in Ireland include promontory enclosures with material culture, which provide evidence of a wide range of trade. For example, at Tullahedy, Co. Tipperary, an important Neolithic (3670-3400 BC) settlement complex was constructed in three phases on a small hillock. The site was completely excavated in 2006-2007 by

University College Cork on behalf of the Limerick County Council and the Irish National Roads Authority in advance of the M7 motorway between Nenagh and Limerick (Cleary and Kelleher 2011). Originally located on a promontory location, the first phase of habitation on the exposed side of the site was defended with a palisade fence of oak. Inside the fortified area were two rectangular settlement structures and hearths, with an additional structure outside the palisade at the shores of Lough Derg (which has recessed significantly since the Neolithic). Associated with these structures were dozens of storage pits with polished stone tools, pottery, and plant remains (Cleary and Kelleher 2011).

The second phase of occupation at Tullahedy saw the earliest Neolithic houses and pits covered with charcoal rich layers in which more material culture, including flint arrowheads and scrapers, polished stone axeheads, organic remains, and considerable amounts of pottery, were deposited. The glacial hillock upon which the site was located was raised by depositing over one meter of glacial till on the lower slopes of the hill; the hillock was then surrounded by another larger palisade. Over 1200 stone tools were found at the site, including an impressive 105 polished stones (Sternke 2011: 216-321). Tullahedy was a manufacturing site for stone tools, as evidenced by the number of leaf/lozenge-shaped arrowheads at the site; the authors offer up questions regarding the purpose of this collection/creation—who was creating these items and why? Who were their enemies? (Sternke 2011: 224). Cleary (2011: 143; 432) parallels Tullahedy with Knockadoon Hill, Lough Gur, Co. Limerick (one of the most important Neolithic sites in Ireland), arguing these sites functioned as regional centers at the end of the Neolithic (Ó Ríordáin 1949). The second Neolithic phase at Tullahedy, on its raised glacial hillock, would have been a dramatic, highly visible landmark in an otherwise low-lying landscape. Exotic material found on the site highlights the importance of trade at the settlement, as well as its place in a large social sphere of Neolithic Ireland.

Another fortified settlement category that has its foundations in the Neolithic in Ireland is the crannog. Crannogs are partially or wholly artificial islands built in lakes, rivers, and estuaries. Found in Ireland and Scotland (with one example from Wales) and dating from the late Neolithic to the 17th/18th centuries in some areas, these sites are wetland fortified settlements (reflected later in Wasserburg-Buchau and Biskupin, see

below). The majority of crannog settlements in Ireland date from the Late Bronze Age and Iron Age, and will therefore be discussed below.

The Bronze Age

With increased trade, social stratification, wealth, and spread of settled communities in the Bronze Age (c. 3000-800 BC), the majority of settlements had some basic fortification in the form of banks and ditches with timber defenses. A well preserved, heavily fortified example from the late Bronze Age was found at Wasserburg-Buchau, Germany. Excavated in 1921 and 1937, two main phases of occupation on the site were revealed. These phases (1200-800 BC) are characterized by an oval area surrounded by a timber palisade enclosure of roughly 150 meters by 120 meters; over 15000 pine posts were hewn and utilized for the palisade in each phase of construction (Kimmig 1992). Dendrochronology evidence places each phase of the palisade 150 years apart. The settlement was located on a low island in moorland; timber bridges may have connected the palisade to dry land in the interior of the site (Kimmig 1992). Nothing is known of the circumstances of construction or desertion of the site; however, it represents a clear necessity for a move towards time-intensive fortified communal settlements in troubled periods in the first millennium BC.

The Middle and Late Bronze Age of Ireland was a period of extensive metalworking; the material culture from these periods is full of ornate bronze and gold objects. From 1500-1200 BC, the landscape saw an increase of human activities and expansion across Ireland. This movement can be traced through the number of *fulachta fiadh* (burnt mounds), trackways, and settlement sites (Ó Néill 2005). One of the largest Middle Bronze Age settlement sites in Ireland, Corrstown, Co. Londonderry, is unenclosed. The village site has 74 roundhouses, with approximately 60 occupied at any given time, representing 200-300 individuals (Ginn and Rathbone 2012). Corrstown is a reminder that although some major settlements appear in the archaeological record to have no fortifications, it does not mean they had no fortifications at the time the site was in use. As discussed by Bradley (2007: 178-187), Late Bronze Age Ireland saw a marked increase in settlement sites, sometimes enclosed by ditches, within larger communities of

enclosed field systems and land boundaries. However, Early Bronze Age settlements are ephemeral and left little trace in the archaeological record; but, as is often stated, the lack of evidence is not evidence of absence.

The most impressive fortified site type to appear across Temperate Europe during the Bronze Age is that of the hillfort. Hillforts are most often located in hilltop locations and are associated with massive earthwork fortifications, such as banks and ditches, often in multiples surrounding the sites. There are more than 4000 hillforts in the British Isles (Harding 2012). Hillforts are monumental-scale archaeological sites, dominating the landscape they are located within. Trends in analysis of hillforts have begun to include landscape studies, much like trends in castleology. New perspectives on hillforts, including those of landscape archaeology have recently been published (e.g. Champion and Collis 1996; Harding 2012; Sharples 2010).

Hillforts are associated with the suggestion of powerful chieftains and accompanying large-scale strife with the increase of population pressure on the land. Some hillforts, such as Dun Ailinne, Ireland were largely ceremonial, with short term seasonal occupation associated with banks, ditches, and palisades (in sites that are interpreted as ritualistic or ceremonial contexts, the ditch is on the inside of the bank) (Johnston and Wailes 2007: 183-193). Located on Inis Mór in the Aran Islands, Co. Galway, Dún Aengus is the most famous dry-wall stone fortification in Ireland. Dún Aengus is perched at the edge of sheer sea cliffs with foundations in the late Bronze Age (c. 1100 BC) and further construction in the Iron Age and early medieval period. The site appears to have half dropped into the sea; interpretations set the original fortification as a whole oval shape with three layers of stone fortifications, with 14 acres enclosed (Westropp 1910: 10-12). Defenses at the site include one of the largest timber and stone *chevaux-de-frise* (palisade of vertically set stones placed at angles) in Europe, measuring 1.75 meters high (Cotter 2012; Waddell 1998: 354-357). The location of Dún Aengus on the southern coast of Inis Mór allows for impressive monitoring of the west coast of Ireland, as well as any sea crafts from the mainland (Cotter 2013). The Discovery Programme excavated the fort as part of the *Western Stone Forts Project* between 1992-1995 as part of an effort to identify and investigate settlements dating to the prehistoric

Iron Age (broadly 500 BC to AD 500); through these investigations, the late Bronze Age date of the site was uncovered (Cotter 2012).

The Iron Age

The Iron Age (800 BC – 500 AD) saw agriculture in Europe completely adopted (with the possible exception of northern Scandinavia). Land was thoroughly exploited and competition for land had grown significantly since the Neolithic. Thus, fortified settlements increased in scale and number. Small farming and manufacturing settlements had surrounding palisades, and large communal spaces were demarked by complex ditch and bank enclosures with palisades. The wetland stockade site at Biskupin, Poland is an early Iron Age (c. 750-708 BC) parallel site to the fortified Bronze Age settlement at Wasserburg-Buchau. Biskupin is representative of a site type that is common in Central Europe during the Iron Age, including Sobiejuchy, Smuszewo, and Izdebno, Poland (Harding and Rączkowski 2010). The site of Biskupin was almost completely excavated beginning in 1936, exposing over 8000 square meters of waterlogged archaeological material, including streets, houses, and ramparts (Kostrzewski 1938).

The island settlement (160 meters by 200 meters) at Biskupin was enclosed by a tilted palisade, which served as a defensive fence and a breakwater, and a wooden box-framed rampart filled with sand and earth. A single entrance in the southwest section was flanked by a twin gated gate tower (Rajewski 1957). Within the palisade, 102 houses of uniform size (eight by nine meters) were separated by common walls, and opened to a communal area with a stone hearth. Between the rows of houses and between the houses and the fortified palisade were 11 narrow timber streets (Rajewski 1957). Excavations revealed two phases of construction, the first utilized oak timbers whereas the second was mainly pine; archaeologists presume a shortage of mature oak trees in the landscape created the transition to the softer wood (Wazny 1994). The availability of suitable timber for construction of monumental fortifications, such as the wall at Biskupin highlights the importance of these sites to the communities who constructed them.

The political and social situation that led to the rise of stockade sites, such as Biskupin, during the early Iron Age in central Europe must have been unstable. These

island settlements were isolated and heavily defended; subsistence activities such as animal grazing and agriculture would have taken place on the mainland and in the hinterland beyond. Activities within these early urban places, such as metallurgy and other crafts would take place within domestic spaces, as there was only one small area directly inside the entrance gate for gatherings or recreation. Sites such as Biskupin therefore are examined in a wider interregional socio-economic network of sites; wetland sites utilized their defenses as well as the landscape for fortifications, but were not cut off from the wider social, cultural and economic network of regional contexts surrounding them. Quite the contrary, these sites can be seen as analogous to contemporary Iron Age mining sites—where everyday subsistence activities took place externally to the archaeological monument (e.g. Hallstatt, the Dürrnberg).

Iron Age fortifications include hillforts, sometimes extensively modified and refortified earlier sites, including Maiden Castle, Dorchester England. Maiden Castle is among the largest and most complex Iron Age hillforts in Temperate Europe. The site, located on a natural hilltop that was cleared of woodland, originated as a Neolithic causeway camp of two concentric circles, which was abandoned c. 3500 BC (Wheeler 1943). The Iron Age fortification began c. 500 BC and overcut the Neolithic ditches. The internal enclosure expanded to 31 acres with multiple banks and ditches circling the hilltop and sides of the mound. Access to Maiden Castle was difficult with mazes of banks and ditches at the west and east sides along with double-portal gateways. The inner defensive wall stood over 5.5 meters high by c. 200 BC. Excavations have revealed roundhouse postholes, illustrating a densely packed settlement with associated storage pits and craft activities (Sharples 1991). By c. 100 BC, the settlements within the enclosure at Maiden Castle were largely abandoned, with specialist craft activities remaining in the main defenses of the hill fort (Wheeler 1943). The fortifications at Maiden Castle represent the extent to which Iron Age communities went to protect their communities from advancing groups, including the Romans, while also representing the power and authority of the community who lived within its walls.

Until the Celtic Boom and the rise of contract archaeology in Ireland, the archaeological record for Iron Age settlements in Ireland was lacking at best (Raftery

1994). Virtually nothing was known of this period (Becker 2009). With this dearth of undiscovered material in mind, the Discovery Programme instigated the Late Iron Age and Roman Ireland (LIARI) project in 2011. The project continues to examine the environment, settlement patterns, social structures, and ritual practices of Ireland from c. 0-500 AD, in particular how Ireland fit within the Roman world. In 2012 the first international conference of the LIARI project was held in Dublin. In a post-1990s world with thousands (almost 2300 sites excavated between 1992-2009, with eight percent dating from the Iron Age) of new archaeological sites uncovered during the major road schemes, the settlements of Iron Age date are appearing outside of the grey literature (McCarthy 2010: 41).

National Road Authority excavations in Munster alone revealed a minimum of 30 new Iron Age sites, including settlement sites. The majority of settlement sites contain individual or multiple round houses, such as at Muckridge, and Ballinaspig, Co. Cork, and Ballydrehid, Co. Tipperary. Two Iron Age enclosed settlements were excavated at Knockcommane, Co. Limerick and Ballywilliam, Co. Tipperary (McLaughlin and Conrad 2008: 52). The 49 meter D-shaped enclosure at Ballywilliam (170 BC-AD 30) was sited on a plateau of the Kilmastulla River with expansive views east towards the Silvermines Mountains. Evidence for three internal palisades, one with a considerable gate, a stone-lined cereal drying kiln, a large pit, the remains of a circular structure (diameter c. 67 meters), and two pits possibly representing graves were excavated (Bennett 2010; Taylor 2008: 54-55). The Ballywilliam site represents a basic defended enclosure where people lived and worked during the Iron Age in Ireland.

Late Iron Age

By 200 BC, new urban centers had developed in Temperate Europe. These sites, called oppida (sg. oppidum), were large defended settlements with urban characteristics (Collis 1984). The 30 known oppida of Temperate Europe represent a widespread distribution (from Britain to Hungary) of large fortified settlements dating to the Iron Age (Collis 1984; Wheeler and Richardson 1957). Manching, Bavaria is the most extensively excavated oppidum in Europe; located on a gravel terrace above the Danube River, the

rampart fortifications of the site enclose 865 acres. The original level of Manching (c. 300 BC) shows an unfortified open settlement with little natural defense. In 120 BC, fortification of Manching began with an impressive final rampart extending seven kilometers in length. The timber and stone wall at Manching was constructed with the *muris gallicus* technique (Collis 1984). This impressive structure was rubble filled with transverse cross beams and timbers longitudinally placed with iron nails through holes. The outside of the wall was faced with stone. The *muris gallicus* technique was described by Caesar in the *Commentaries on the Gallic Wars*:

But this is usually the form of all the Gallic walls. Straight beams, connected lengthwise and two feet distant from each other at equal intervals, are placed together on the ground; these are mortised on the inside, and covered with plenty of earth. But the intervals which we have mentioned, are closed up in the front by large stones. These being thus laid and cemented together, another row is added above, in such a manner, that the same interval may be observed, and that the beams may not touch one another, but equal spaces intervening, each row of beams is kept firmly in its place by a row of stones. In this manner the whole wall is consolidated, until the regular height of the wall be completed (*The Gallic War*: vii, 23).

While utilizing colonial historical documents, such as Caesar's writings, as sources for what was actually happening in Temperate Europe is problematic (e.g. Wells 1998b; 1999; 2001), the archaeology at Manching matches this description of a heavily fortified wall. The settlement at Manching is clustered with regular streets, an impressive level of industrial activity, including textile production, metalworking (including iron objects and coin production), and fine wheel-turned pottery production. At the height of Manching's occupation, the population may have reached 10,000 people (Collis 1984).

Roman Fortifications

From the perspective of a Mediterranean classical scholar, the years between 800-500 BC were the 300 years that changed the world, culminating in the Roman Empire (e.g. Cunliffe 2008: 270-316). During this period, the groups which later became major influences on the rest of Temperate Europe emerged; Greeks, Phoenicians, Etruscans, Carthaginians, and Romans. Written texts documented the individuals and stories

associated with political and mythological foundations of these groups; thus we know much more about the actions and histories of these cultures due to the textual evidence alongside archaeological material. Temperate Europe was not unknown to the Mediterranean, nor was the Mediterranean unknown beyond its fringes, especially in elite contexts. Material culture from sites across Temperate Europe has Mediterranean origins, including wine and feasting equipment.

The biggest change to occur in Temperate European fortifications, which came along with the northern movement of Mediterranean cultures, is the use of stone. Prior to these invasions, in areas with plenty of forests such as the northern European plain, central uplands, and Alpine mountains, timber fortifications were the norm. In those areas with little forest coverage, such as the western coast of Ireland, stone fortifications did exist earlier (e.g. Céide Fields, Dún Aengus) (Jeličić and O'Connell 1992). By c. 600 BC, the trade center at Massalia, France (Marseille) was founded by the Greeks at the base of the Rhône on a defended promontory with ramparts and defended gates protecting the city; there are no existing indigenous foundations at the settlement (Dietler 2010). The fortifications of Massalia are distinctly of the Greek Hellenistic period; regular blocks of pink limestone faced a rubble core with square towers. Massalia rapidly expanded by 200 BC, enclosing three hilltops at a size of 50 hectares; it was by any definition an urban center with domestic and craft buildings and activities placed within a larger hinterland of trade and support (Dietler 2010).

In 58 BC, Julius Caesar of Rome began a series of military campaigns against Gallic tribes in France and Belgium. Rome was a militaristic state; most male citizens were required to serve in a 25 year commitment in the army which was standardized in all forms. Battlefield excavations such as those at the siege-works at Alésia, on the plateau of Mont Auxois, France (Levithan 2013) and at Teutoburg Forest, Kalkriese, Germany (Wells 2003), illustrate, albeit with drastically different outcomes, the methods of Roman warfare on the move. With the movement of Caesar into Gaul, traditional Roman fortifications now appear in Europe.

The Romans utilized a system of border demarcation called *limes* (pl. *limites*); these fortifications denoted the boundary of the frontier of the Roman Empire. In

Germany, the *limes* stretched 568 km included at least 60 forts and 900 watchtowers; research has been published through seven volumes by the Reichs-Limes-Kommission (Fabricius *et al.* 1984-1937). The *limes* were straight timber walls with ditch fortifications with watchtowers and gates at regular intervals. The purpose of a *limes* was not to keep out those beyond the walls, nor to keep Romans from crossing beyond Roman territories. Rather, the *limes* were constructed to control and tax all traffic; the area around the *limes* was that of contact and exchange between Romans and local peoples (Curta 2005).

Roman forts (*castra*) were of standardized rectangular shape with rounded corners, permanent bases constructed with stone walls and at least one V-shaped ditch (Johnson 1983). The Romans constructed forts along the *limes* and at the frontiers of their colonized areas, not within already colonized zones. Timber and earth fortifications were included in the forts; as in the majority of stone fortifications, they were not simply stone, but also constructed with timber. Just as many oppidum sites became major cities (Paris, Budapest, Belgrade), Roman forts also developed into modern urban centers (York, Bonn, Strasbourg, Cologne).

The first stone fort to be excavated was at Housesteads on Hadrian's Wall, *limes* in northern England (Bosanquet 1904). Housesteads was an auxiliary fort constructed in AD 124 and is one of the best preserved sites along Hadrian's Wall, which is now within the designated UNESCO Hadrian's Wall Military Zone World Heritage Monument (Rushworth 2009). The fortifications at Housesteads were standardized, as at the majority of Roman forts. High stone walls surrounded the five acre "playing card" rectangular shape of the fort with rounded corners and defensive gates facing north and south (Bosanquet 1904). As Housesteads was along Hadrian's Wall, the north curtain wall follows the *limes*, constructed prior to the foundation of the fort in AD 122. Hadrian's Wall, as with other *limes*, was fortified in stone and timber with a nine meter wide, three meter deep ditch called a *vallum*; the berm created from the digging of the ditch was ten meters high on either side of the ditch in front of the stone wall (Toy 1966: 43). The berms served as roads alongside the fortified walls. On the enemy side of the wall was another ditch nine meters wide and three meters deep. Roman fortifications were

intensive and built to withstand enemy attack and time. The influence of the Romans permanently altered the economic patterns and landscape of Temperate Europe, with roads, bridges, and major stone monuments.

There are no stone Roman forts in Ireland; however, Roman artifacts have been found in Ireland, including coins, broaches, pottery, and glass (Waddell 1998). Tacitus, a Roman historian, describes Ireland (Hibernia) in *Agricola* chapter 24, written in 97-98 AD:

Hibernia, lying between Britannia and Hispania and easily accessible also from the Gallic Sea, might to great general advantage bind more closely that powerful part of the empire. In extent Hibernia is smaller than Britannia, but larger than the islands of our sea. In soil, in climate and in the character of its inhabitants it is much like Britannia. Its approaches and harbours are tolerably well known from merchants who trade there. ... I often heard Agricola say that Hibernia could be reduced and held by a single legion and few auxiliaries, and that the conquest would also pay with regard to Britannia, if Roman arms were in evidence on every side and liberty vanished off the map. (Tacitus; XXIV).

The Romans knew of Ireland, just as the Irish knew of other places beyond the Irish Sea. However, the standard “Roman package” of roads, settlements, and fortifications did not make it to Ireland. The biggest influence brought during the Roman period to Ireland was that of the Christian church and Latin as the language of the Church (Edwards 1996).

Medieval Fortifications

With the collapse of the Roman Empire in Temperate Europe, some (especially antiquarian) historians would lead us to believe a “Dark Age” overcame our study region from 476-800 AD. Fortifications from the Roman period were reused and refortified in Britain. Examples include: Bath, Dorchester, Leicester, St. Albans, and York (see below). As Ireland was not fortified in the same manner as Britain, there is a debate regarding when towns or urban centers first arrived (see Doherty 2000 for a concise history of the discussion). Indeed, the transition from the Iron Age to the early medieval period in Ireland was one of *visibility* (e.g. Raftery (1994) *Pagan Celtic Ireland* Chapter 6: “The Invisible People”). The archaeological remains of the Irish medieval period are everywhere. Excavations and the sheer numbers of archaeological sites of medieval

Ireland, including the 45,119 ringforts representing farmers, craftsmen, and noblemen (Stout 1997). There are over 1200 recording crannogs representing wealthy farmers, noblemen, elites, and kings (O'Sullivan 1998), alongside an innumerable enclosed and unenclosed settlement sites, burials, and ritual sites, testify to a large body of knowledge regarding this period, as well as highlighting the work that still needs to be done.

Medieval fortifications follow the same general type as those from earlier periods. Earthen banks with timber palisades surrounded by deep ditches continued to fortify both small and large settlements. In the medieval period, as well as times before, the greatest weakness of timber fortifications was their vulnerability to fire, as well as the capital investment involved in hewing large swaths of forests for the construction of palisades and structures. However, in comparison to stone construction, timber was not as limited in availability and was not as easily undermined. The majority of Temperate Europe is located within deciduous forest biomes (for more on the environmental zones of Temperate Europe see: Bogucki 1996: 242-244). Roman sites with stonewalls were reused by other communities.

With the introduction of Christianity in the fifth century AD, a host of Christian religious places were constructed during the next five or six centuries, including enclosures, monasteries (some fortified), high crosses, churches, and associated burial grounds (Edwards 1996: 99-131). In the secular world, economic and demographic expansion after the 5th century AD led to the construction of ringforts on a scale of tens of thousands, representing farmsteads of a mixed agriculture economy and industrial sites for metalworking (Stout 1997; Kerr *et al* 2013). The early medieval period continues to be well studied thanks, in part, to the funding provided by the Irish Heritage Council, who founded the Irish National Strategic Archaeological Research (INSTAR) program, which began the Early Medieval Archaeology Project (EMAP) to study precisely this period. At the end of the 8th century, Ireland was homogeneously Gaelic, Gaelic-Irish, or *Gael*, as historians traditionally classify the native-born population who were the sole occupants of the Irish landscape until the arrival of the Vikings in the late 8th century (Morrissey 2003; 2005). Early Irish laws identify social stratification within Gaelic

society ranging from different grades of king to free commoners to unfree slaves (Kelly 1988: 1-97, esp. 17-38).

Viking raiders first attacked Ireland in 795 AD, sacking a monastery in modern Co. Antrim. Following these first attacks, the *Ostmen*, as they called themselves, established settlements at Dublin, Cork, and Waterford. In addition, the archaeological record illustrates *longphorts*; Viking ship enclosures or shore fortresses at various points along the coast (Byrne 2005: 617, 815-816; Valante 2008: 37-56). With the establishment of walled cities, such as Dublin, the Scandinavian population of Ireland grew, asserting a cultural influence. “No longer are the Scandinavians thought of solely as plunderers of monasteries and notorious agents of destruction in the culture of Early Christian Ireland” but instead have become traders and merchants, linking the Gaelic hinterlands of their settlement to the wider world (Barry 1987: 32; Valante 2008: 135-149). There was a mixing of ethnicities in these cities. For example, excavations from Dublin illustrate a mixture of elements of Irish and Scandinavian cultures, archaeologists now regard Dublin as a Hiberno-Norse city (Duffy 1993: 18).

Another type of fortification that emerged during the late ninth century along the coast of north-west Europe is the refuge site (*ringwalburgen/rundwälle* and *vluchtburgen*). These large circular fortified sites functioned as defended open sites for temporary sanctuary during times of stress, most often Viking raiding, for people and livestock. Many refuge sites lack evidence for habitation structures or finds during excavation (De Meulemeester and O’Conor 2007: 316-318). An example of an unoccupied refuge site is found at the promontory fort of Unterregenbach, Germany. The site was constructed in the 8th or 9th century for the protection of a nearby monastic settlement in times of Viking raiding. Excavation revealed scarce evidence for buildings or finds (Fehring 1991). Other refuge sites, such as Oost-Souburg, Zeeland (Van Dierendonck 2009; Ten Harkel 2013; Heeringen *et al* 1995) and Vourne, West Flanders (De Meulemeester and O’Conor 2007: 318) have multiple layers of occupational refuge. Excavations at the *ringwalburgen* of Oost-Souburg revealed the foundations of 21 houses over two phases illustrating continuous occupation from the 10th-12th centuries (Ten Harkel 2013: 229).

Similar circular or D-shaped refuge sites are found from northern France to the coast of Germany and Holland, and even further east into Slavic territories (De Meulemeester and O’Conor 2007: 318). In Ireland, McCormick (1995) and McCormick and Murray (2007) contend that early medieval ringforts with no internal structures may represent refuge sites, in particular for the protection of livestock during cattle raids; however the raiders in the Irish cases were both native Irish and foreign, Vikings and later Anglo-Normans. The morphology of refuge sites varies greatly; “some can effectively be hill-forts, while others are large circular enclosures on relatively level ground, or can be inland or costal promontory-forts” (De Meulemeester and O’Conor 2007: 317). Defensive structures associated with refuge sites include banks and ditches along with timber fence structures.

Some medieval fortified sites reused older sites, including Roman and prehistoric sites. Anglo-Saxon *burh* sites are reminiscent of refuge sites of the continent, as enclosures with heavy fortifications of ditches and palisades. In the 9th century the Anglo-Saxon burh at Winchester, Hampshire reused the Roman stone defenses (Hunter Blair 2003: 293). The development of burh sites in England saw a movement from garrisoned towns to residential and manufacturing centers, often as the fortified residence of local Kings or noblemen (Hunter Blair 2003: 277). At Dover, Kent, the Anglo-Saxon burh began as an Iron Age hillfort, then was utilized by the Normans into an earth-and-timber stockade castle after 1066 (Armitage 1912: 138-144). Other burh sites were constructed from scratch at purely strategic sites of river crossings or trade routes. Scholars disagree as to whether these sites were castles, as they were communal—for the protection of local populations and elites at times of need (Brown 1969: 144-145; King 1988:34; Higham and Barker 1992: 42-43).

In Scotland and Ireland, elite fortifications of the early medieval period took the shape of crannogs. Crannogs, as detailed above, are artificial islands. These settlements have traditionally been interpreted as defensive island refuge sites or as high-status lake-dwellings occupied by wealthy farmers, lords, and craftsman for status, display, and prestige (Wood-Martin 1886; O’Sullivan 1998; 2000). The height of occupation for crannogs was during the early medieval period (500-1200 AD); “a period of profound

internal social and economic change in Ireland, and there may well have been significant differences in the function and role of crannogs at different times” (O’Sullivan 2000: 10). The earliest period of crannog construction saw smaller, lightly defended homesteads constructed with later sites evolving into larger more heavily defended centers of political and social importance (Henderson and Sands 2013; O’Sullivan 2000). Evidence from Lagore, Co. Meath illustrates the site as an aristocratic residence for kings; the site was a defensive stronghold, especially during the summer months, and was highly visible in the landscape (Hencken 1950). O’Sullivan (2009) argues the crannog at Lagore would have served as a site of symbolic power within territories. Crannogs were occupied and constructed into the 17th century (Brady and O’Conor 2003; O’Conor 1998: 79-85; O’Sullivan 1998: 150-177).

Kingship in Ireland was an important institution. It has been estimated that between 80-100 local petty kingdoms existed in Ireland with high kings (called *Ard Rí*) of the provinces (Armagh, Munster, Connacht, Ulster, and Meath). Great dynastic families ruled over the five provinces in the centuries prior to the Anglo-Norman invasion, competing for hegemony amongst themselves (See Ó Corráin 1972: 28-74; 175-188; Byrne 2001: 254-274; Ó Cróinín 2005: 182-187 for more information on early medieval Ireland and its dynasties).

Given that crannogs were the defended residence of lords, are they castles? This question is deeper than it seems, as it is peering into the abyss of questioning if the Irish constructed castles. Most scholars (e.g. Barry 1987: 19; McNeill 1997: 8-10; O’Conor 1998: 94) do not consider crannogs castles. The argument against crannogs being classified as castles is linked to their lack of connection to territorial estates and feudalism, although some timber castles in Ireland and Wales were not feudal (McNeill 1997: 8-9). The second argument against crannogs as castles is circular in logic, but powerful – that is, they do not look anything like what we would consider a castle.

McNeill (1997) argues that the problem is not with crannogs; they are a site type that fulfilled a variety of functions, from heavily defended household for a lord as illustrated at Lagore (Hecken 1950) to marginal sites at the fringes of settlements occupied by lower social classes (O’Sullivan 2007: 167-168). Rather the issue is that

castles take a myriad of forms as illustrated in the variation between ringwork and motte castles. “In Ireland, by contrast [to Britain], we have evidence of fortification, linked to royal power, but not of the structure of landed lordship parceling out the landscape” (McNeill 1997: 15). This comment on the *structure* of lordship is the crux of the argument against *native* Irish castles prior to the Anglo-Norman invasion or indeed after the Anglo-Norman invasion. Primogeniture, the right of the firstborn male to inherit the family estate, was not practiced by Irish (or Scottish) lords. A structure as permanent and expensive to construct as a castle would lock a lordship to a locality and the Irish did not, in a strict sense (see Nicholls 2008: 423-425 for the rules and exceptions of succession in Irish society) subscribe to such laws of inheritance (McNeill 1997: 168; O’Conor 1998: 94-101; 2001: 207-208).

Brady and O’Conor (2003) argue that the continuity of occupation and construction of sites, such as crannogs, by the Irish elite is representative of a “strong and vibrant cultural identity that continued throughout a period marked by colonization” (128). Evidence from historical documentation at the moated sites—a site type traditionally associated with lesser Anglo-Norman lords—of Cloonfree, Longford Hill, and Inishatirra Island in Co. Roscommon, shows these sites were built and occupied by the O’Conors and MacDermots, Irish lords (O’Conor 1998: 87). The construction of moated sites by the Irish and the knowledge of continental and greater European trends, such as a rise in urbanism and increased trade, are seen in Ireland (see Dorherthy 1980; 2000; Duffy 1997: 7-56; Flanagan 1989; Ó Cróinín 1982). Perhaps, most strikingly, Irish society, especially elite society, selectively incorporated elements of wider trends and rejected others (Brady and O’Conor 2003: 128).

As discussed by Finan and O’Conor (2002) in regards to the moated site at Cloonfree, Co. Roscommon, Irish lords of the high medieval period demonstrated their status and power in ways other than building large stone (or earth) structures. “These seem to have included such things as regular feasting . . . , ceremonial [sic] at outdoor assembly and inauguration sites, the keeping of armed retainers, the ownerships of great numbers of cattle and horses and the patronage of the Church and processional learned classes” (86). As discussed in Chapter 1 (19-47), just because some native Irish sites

dating to the medieval period (e.g. platform raths) look like castles, does not mean they functioned as what would be considered a castle in either the medieval period or today.

This does not mean the Irish did not understand siege warfare or the importance of well-defended sites. There are many references in the sources to Irish lords sacking and burning timber fortifications at timber castle sites in addition to evidence of the Irish capturing complex masonry castles. The motte castle at Lorrha, Co. Tipperary (site no. 12) was recorded as being burnt by Murtough O'Brien in 1208, and rebuilt in 1222 (Orpen Vol. II: 296). As O'Connor (1998: 95) illustrates using the siege of the castle of Bunratty, Co. Clare by Tulough O'Brien in 1305, O'Brien constructed a temporary camp at the site, and blocked the river with a bridge or barrier to prevent seaborne supplies from reaching the castle. Historical evidence such as the siege of Bunratty are clear evidence for Irish lords understanding and implementing siege warfare. As to understanding the structure and meaning of castle sites, they chose to not construct castles, in part due to their laws, which offered no impetus to construct castles (O'Connor 1998).

Origin of castles

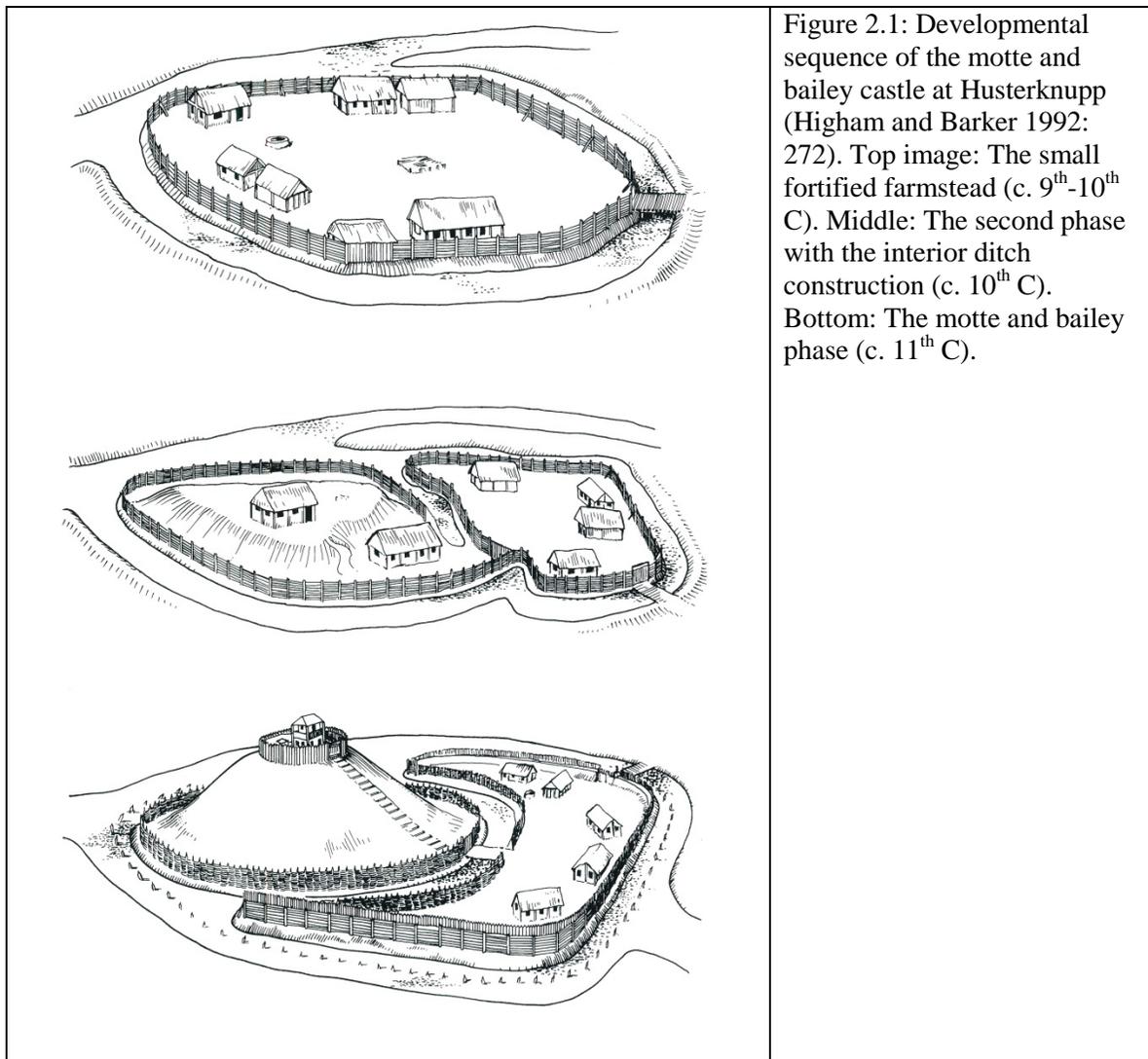
Castles, as defined here, are the private fortified residences of a lord or noble. The origin of motte castles is obscure (Bradbury 2008: 50-51). However, while the traditional view on the development of timber castles pointed to origins in northern France with the Normans importing the site type to Britain, this view is now challenged and the origin of timber castles appears to be located in north-western Europe (Higham and Barker 1992: 101). As research currently stands, the erection of earth and timber castles first began under the new aristocracy in the region between the Loire and the Rhine rivers under Otto the Great (936-962) and Henry III (1034-1056) (De Meulemeester and O'Connor 2007: 324; McNeill 2001: 43). Feudalism emerged from turbulent times full of instability from Viking and other attacks across the north-western coast. The society of feudalism was tied to security and protection offered through mutual relationships based on loyalty and service following the collapse of the centralized Carolingian Empire after 841 AD (De Meulemeester and O'Connor 2007: 324).

Castles and feudalism go hand in hand, developing first in the region between the Loire and the Rhine, and then later spreading into Western Europe ultimately reaching Eastern Europe, including Russia. Earthen castles were constructed by feudal lords to protect their families and retainers and to maintain a powerful image to their fellow lords. Much like in Ireland, the transition from the Iron Age to the early medieval period in this part of Germany was not disrupted by Roman fortifications; rather the development of earthwork fortifications “blurs the conceptual boundaries that we are accustomed” to seeing between these periods (Thompson 1991: 13). The obscured boundaries in archaeological site types in Germany made the quest for the origins of timber castles complicated. This complication extends to Ireland, where, as discussed in Chapter 1 (19-47), distinguishing between prehistoric hillforts and enclosures, early medieval fortified sites, and medieval castles can be difficult.

The first major scientific excavation of a motte and bailey castle was undertaken in 1934 and 1949-1951 by Adolf Herrbrodt at Husterknupp, northwest of Cologne (Herrbrodt 1958). The earthen castle at Husterknupp was preceded by several earlier phases of fortifications; first, a small farmstead of sub-rectangular shape, containing five buildings and an associated fortified palisade were constructed above a bend in a river in the 9th-10th centuries. This earliest phase of construction utilized the water from the river as a component of the site fortification and could be described as a ringwork castle (Higham and Barker 1992: 268-273). The second phase saw a low mound constructed over the enclosure and fortifications, with the site being split into two by a ditch. This splitting isolated an area to the east of the mound site, clearing way for the future bailey.

A true motte was created with a crescent-shaped bailey in the eastern quadrant of the site in the 11th century (see Figure 2.1). The site was impressive, the motte standing over six meters high with a base width of 50 meters (Creighton 2010: 338). The last phase of development at the site was a brick-built castle dating to c. 1244, replacing the timber structure on top of the motte. The site of Husterknupp illustrates the gradual construction and nebulous character of earthen castles; due to the materials utilized to construct these sites, they could change in character over time. Pinning down the origins for the construction of earth and timber castles is therefore nearly futile—these sites

developed over time, and the motte castle did not make a sudden appearance in north-western Europe during the mid-11th century with a particular ethnic group (the Normans).



The Morphology of Motte Castles Today

Timber castles were constructed of earth and timber; the timber remains have disappeared in most cases, leaving behind the earthen motte or ringwork base in the landscape today. Timber castles varied considerably in morphology but can be classified with a basic standard morphological definition. The standard morphological definition of mottes assigns man-made round, flat-topped mounds at least two meters high, with a

height range from three meters to over ten meters (e.g. McNeill 1989/1990: 57; Higham and Barker 1992: 194-200; De Meulemeester and O’Conor 1997: 325-331). Few Irish mottes have baileys (only 23-45% extant mottes), which has yet to be explained in the literature. The lack of baileys is particularly puzzling given the understanding that classically a bailey was used as a defended living space, with the motte and associated tower as the refuge place. Without a bailey, where was the lords’ residence? This is a question that validates further landscape examination; continued geophysical examination of mottes and their surroundings is necessary. This lack of baileys also warrants new investigation into the date of motte castles in the landscape; as evidenced by mottes in townlands with masonry hall houses and other stone structures.

Stone castles were constructed early in the sequence of the Anglo-Norman conquest; however, timber castles were the preferred fortification. As Anderson (1970) states: “Money was scarce, but wood was plentiful, and every able-bodied peasant could act as a woodcutter if not as a carpenter” (51). Motte and bailey castles took time to build; they were not erected overnight, as some early historians and archaeologists suggest (e.g. Toy 1939). Nonetheless, they were quicker to construct than masonry castles. Mottes are often found on natural landscape features, such as esker ridges or drumlins; these sites would necessitate less labor in the building up of the artificial mound. The process of digging the ditch surrounding the motte would provide soil for the motte and surrounding bank. If a bailey was attached to the motte, it was often also slightly raised and could be surrounded by both internal and external banks.

Hingham and Barker describe five classifications of motte castles (Hingham and Barker 1992: 198-200) (ringwork castles are described below):

- 1) Ringwork without bailey
- 2) Ringwork with one bailey or more
- 3) Motte without bailey or no bailey apparent
- 4) Mottes with one bailey or more
- 5) Ringwork and motte (with or without bailey) within earlier earthworks

According to the National Monuments survey, a total of 423 motte sites (253 mottes and 170 motte and baileys) are extant in Ireland, 16 percent found in Ulster (Archaeology

Monuments Database 2010) (see Figure 1.1). O’Conor (1998) examined mottes known in Ireland, and determined, in part through historical documentation of destroyed timber castles, that 476 motte castles would have existed between the late 1100-early 1300 (38). Out of 336 studied mottes in the Republic of Ireland, 149 (44 percent) have baileys. In Ulster, 23 percent of the mottes have baileys (Sweetman 1999: 22). Some mottes have crescent shaped double baileys.

The remains of motte castles in the landscape today are, of course, the final remains of the site. Beyond hundreds of years of erosional activity on these sites, one must consider the process of construction of the site. As evidenced by the excavations at the motte of Lorrha, Co. Tipperary, Ireland and Goltho, Lincolnshire, England, some motte castles have origins as ringwork castles, or at minimum structures resembling ringwork castles (there were no domestication layers found at the excavation at Lorrha motte) (Talbot 1972: 12). “The earthworks which we see now, therefore, are mutilations of their original size and shape—flatter, with lower mottes and shallower ditches, damaged by deliberate demolition or by trees which have grown on them and been blown down, or, most drastic of all, by leveling for agriculture or the breaching or ramparts to enable cattle to reach water-filled ditches, or to take a plough into the more interior level” (Higham and Barker 1992: 198). Archaeologists must consider this lifespan when classifying monuments in the field, as well as in discussing the purpose of a site in the landscape.

The Morphology of Ringwork Castles

Ringworks are roughly circular areas *c.* 30-60 meters in diameter, enclosed by a bank and ditch, with the bank rampart originally topped with a timber palisade (Higham and Barker 1992: 194-243; King 1988: 42-61). To be classified as a ringwork today, the rampart must be a minimum of two meters above the surrounding earth (Archaeological Survey Ireland 2010). The width of the ditch differentiates ringworks from ringforts during surveying and acts as a guide to categorization. Ringworks tend to have wider ditches, banks that are more pronounced, and more irregular plans than early medieval ringwork sites (Sweetman 1999: 14). The siting of ringworks also vary from ringforts;

ringworks are found on the top of raised areas and on raised areas in low-lying wetland locations (Collins and Cummins 2001: 8). “The majority of identified ringworks were sited to control strategic positions close to river crossings and passes through valleys” (Collins and Cummings 2001: 8). The majority of agreed upon ringworks considered in this study align with this defensive and strategic siting.

Occasionally, ringworks were adjoined by raised enclosures; this type of site is considered a ringwork and bailey castle; such as at the site of Cefn Bryntalch, Wales (Higham and Barker 1992: 209). Other ringworks utilize natural features for defenses, including cliff-tops, or inland promontory locations. The partial-ringworks sites required man made fortifications only on their landward sides, and utilized similar fortifications to full ringworks (De Meulemeester and O’Conor 2007: 325-327).

Ringworks were built quickly to oversee agricultural management in Britain, and possibly were built in Ireland under similar time constraints (Creighton 2002: 49). Unlike mottes, constructing a ditch and bank around a large enclosure could be rapid. As discussed above, ringworks and ringforts are difficult to tell apart without archaeological excavation. There is a large variety in early castle forms. The problem of identifying low mounds from mottes without baileys is the same problem as identifying ringwork castles from large ringforts (Sweetman 1999: 4). This problem of classifying site types is discussed below. The varying morphology of motte and ringwork castles illustrates the complex nature of colonization of Ireland (Barry 1987: 37-72).

Excavations of timber castles in Ireland

Historically, excavations on mottes first focused on the motte mound, with later excavations uncovering the surrounding areas, including baileys (Sweetman 1999: 16-32). The fortifications of mottes have been revealed in these excavations. Examples for wooden palisades surrounding the motte include Clough Castle, Co. Down where a post-hole palisade around the base of the motte mound was found (Waterman 1954a: 106-107). Excavations at Lurgankeel, Co. Lough found post-holes representing a timber palisade around the motte as well as a timber tower on top of the motte (*Oibre* 1965: 22). Some mottes appear to have no additional fortifications, for instance at Dunsilly, Co.

Antrim, no building was constructed on top of the motte (McNeill 1991-1992); however, as evidenced at Hen Domen, the lack of post-holes does not negate the construction of fortifications.

Dating of settlement types can be complicated without historical documents illustrating construction of mottes; excavated material culture can help place monuments in date ranges. For example, the motte at Rathmullan, Co. Down is dated to 1200 with three coins and historical data. On the summit, excavations revealed a rectangular timber building which had been burnt down (Lynn *et al.* 1981-1982: 78-80). A motte at Lismahon, Co. Down was dated to 1200 with a coin; a rectangular wooden building existed on the top of the mound with a later wooden tower constructed to the north-east (Waterman 1959). Some mottes can be dated through historical documents, including the motte at Dromore, Co. Down, which was dated to 1211-1212 based on the Irish Pipe Roll (Waterman 1954b). Some important mottes have no historical documentation.

Castleskreen, Co. Down was the site of an early excavation in the 1950s. The final phase was a motte, dating to c. 1200, with no defenses, although archer pits surrounded the perimeter of the mound and palisade (Dickinson *et al* 1960: 63-77). In the middle of the thirteenth century, a one story stone hall was constructed on the motte. Later in the thirteenth century a two story rectangular keep was built. Rich material culture was collected from the site, illustrating it was a motte of some importance; however, there is no historical documentation of the site (Dickinson *et al* 1960: 66).

Mottes were used as fortifications until the seventeenth century (O'Connor 1998: 38). Later stone fortifications built on mottes sometimes ended up "squaring" off the mound, as illustrated at Aghaboe, Co. Laois and Faughart Upper, Co. Louth (Sweetman 1999: 31; 88). The study of the landscapes of mottes is not as well developed as ringfort landscapes. Mottes were built close to churches, near rivers, in commanding positions on the landscape, producing what has been called a landscape of control (Sweetman 1999: 34-41). Creighton (2002) provides the best examination of the landscapes of castles through a focus on the environs of control, including gardens, walls, urban settings, distributions, and power. Barry (2008) suggests that castle studies are taking a turn

towards being placed in a broader examination of medieval settlement, and are no longer examined simply as examples of military fortifications.

The excavations of ringworks are more limited than motte excavations, in part due to the debate surrounding ringwork castles as a site type. The majority of excavations of ringworks were completed in the process of excavation surviving masonry castles standing on top of the ringwork; examples of these sites include Trim, Co. Meath, Ferns Castle, Co. Wexford, and Carlow Castle, Co. Carlow.

The excavations at Trim Castle, Co. Meath revealed a ringwork castle underlying the masonry structure with an inner palisade trench (Sweetman 1999: 4). Excavations on the interior of the ringwork at Trim also contained large postholes indicating a large building was constructed, then burnt in later phases (Hayden and Brown 2012: 57-78) (Chapter 2: 78-81 covers the siting of Trim Castle in detail). The 13th century masonry castle at Ferns, Co. Wexford was situated on a rock-cut ditch, which has been interpreted as the fortifications of an earlier ringwork castle (Sweetman 1979: 217-220). Similar evidence was found under the 13th century masonry structure of Carlow Castle, Co. Carlow (O’Conor 1997). The ringwork at Carlow was greatly disturbed; however, portions of the curvilinear ditch survived alongside a series of post-holes on the inner edge, which were interpreted as the remains of a palisade wall surrounding the site (O’Conor 1997: 13-16). Furthermore, a corn drying kiln was uncovered four meters beyond the ringwork ditch at the site, emphasizing the domestic activities undertaken at the site (O’Conor 1997: 16). Ringwork excavations continue to be debated amongst Irish archaeologists, even with high medieval material culture found on the site, as evidenced by the excavation at Ballysimon, Co. Limerick (Collins and Cummings 2001).

The Appearance of Timber Castles

The fortifications associated with timber castles have long since disappeared into history. However, through archaeological excavation, the defensive nature of these sites is revealed, as well as the domestic buildings associated within bailey areas. We now can piece together what timber castles would have looked like during their use. The excavations from Hen Domen, Montgomery, Wales (as discussed below) (Higham and

Barker 2000: 164-171) have provided detailed information on what a timber castle could look like during the height of occupation. Since Hen Domen is the most thoroughly investigated motte and bailey castle in England or Ireland, and the publication systematically emphasizes the appearance of the castle, it will be discussed in depth here as a case-study on the appearance of a motte castle.

Fortifying the bailey of the castle was a bank and ditch with massive timbers protruding from the bank. The earliest structure of the castle, C14 dated to a 95% confidence range, between 1170-1290, was a low bank of clay and turf, which later was buried under the rampart (Higham and Barker 2000: 35-45). The palisade of the bailey was framed in timber, and was laid, pre-castle construction, on top of the bank of clay and turf; therefore, the palisade arose from the bailey rampart for strength in the base (Higham and Barker 2000: 34-38). The palisade on the outer rampart contained a skeleton of timbers irregularly set; additional structures of the palisade include thick pegged planking laying directly on top of the earthen rampart, possibly clad in clay (Higham and Barker 2000: 164-165). The inner bailey defenses were not of uniform dimensions throughout their length, however, all stood within the bailey mound, buried in the earthen foundation.

The buildings within the bailey at Hen Domen were constructed primarily of oak wood with wattle and daub walling. The majority of buildings within the bailey were cornered with large ground-fast posts held in the ground with stone supports, which presumably supported high walls with upper timbers, fabricated with wattle and daub walling. Other walls were constructed with smaller ground-fast posts and stakes, then framed with clay walling. From Hen Domen, we have evidence for walling that would leave no traces in the archaeological record, as they were framed completely, and did not utilize ground stakes or posts. These framed walls were discovered through floor extents in the archaeological record or sill-beams in waterlogged features (Higham and Barker 2000: 164). The waterlogged nature of portions of the Hen Domen site have helped build the argument against the ephemeral nature of excavated sites with no post-holes, interpreted as mottes with no timber tower constructed upon them (see below). The

aforementioned building styles were used in all of the phases of the site; there were no distinct periods of construction type.

One building with distinctive ground-fast post construction was the granary (building XXXVIII). This structure contained 12 contemporary pit features in a space measuring approximately 20ft by 14ft. Waterlogged timbers illustrate a planned nature of at least some of the wooden foundation walls; they were closely spaced, which suggests the building was designed for storage material, and a granary is the most likely interpretation (Higham and Barker 2000: 46-48). The interpretation of the building and associated post-holes, with build-up of material demonstrates the long life span of this structure (Higham and Barker 2000: 165).

A possible hall with two stories is suggested in building L1a, due to its proximity to the motte ditch, western wall, and entrance bridge over the ditch (Higham and Barker 2000: 49). This structure may have been the original major residence within the first phases of the castle. At its widest, the structure is eight meters by twelve meters (28ft wide); the southern-most extent of the possible hall structure was unexcavated and is known only through radar probing survey (see Figure 2.2). Building L1a stood for the majority of the castles life, in front of the motte bridge, which connected the bailey to the motte itself (Higham and Barker 2000: 168). The structure was massive, well defended, and important throughout the life of the castle. There is no direct evidence for roofing material; the archaeologists assumed thatch with wooden shingles. No elaborate carvings were found, but contemporary pictorial evidence and surviving medieval buildings suggest the structures excavated may have been more elaborate than the buried sections of post demonstrated.

Buildings within the bailey area were tightly packed, and therefore very defensively positioned. As Higham and Barker (1992) have argued “once an attacker got into the bailey the battle would then become like street-fighting—in many ways the most difficult and fearful kind of fighting—in which each building has to be taken separately, with the attackers surrounded on all sides” (337). This duality of the nature of buildings, as fortified living and working spaces, within and external to the bailey, show the domestic and defensive nature of castle sites. Hen Domen was provisioned heavily with

water in a cistern constructed early in the castles lifespan, and storage, in the well-defended granary. In addition to these defenses, the motte itself and its formidable tower overlooked the bailey.

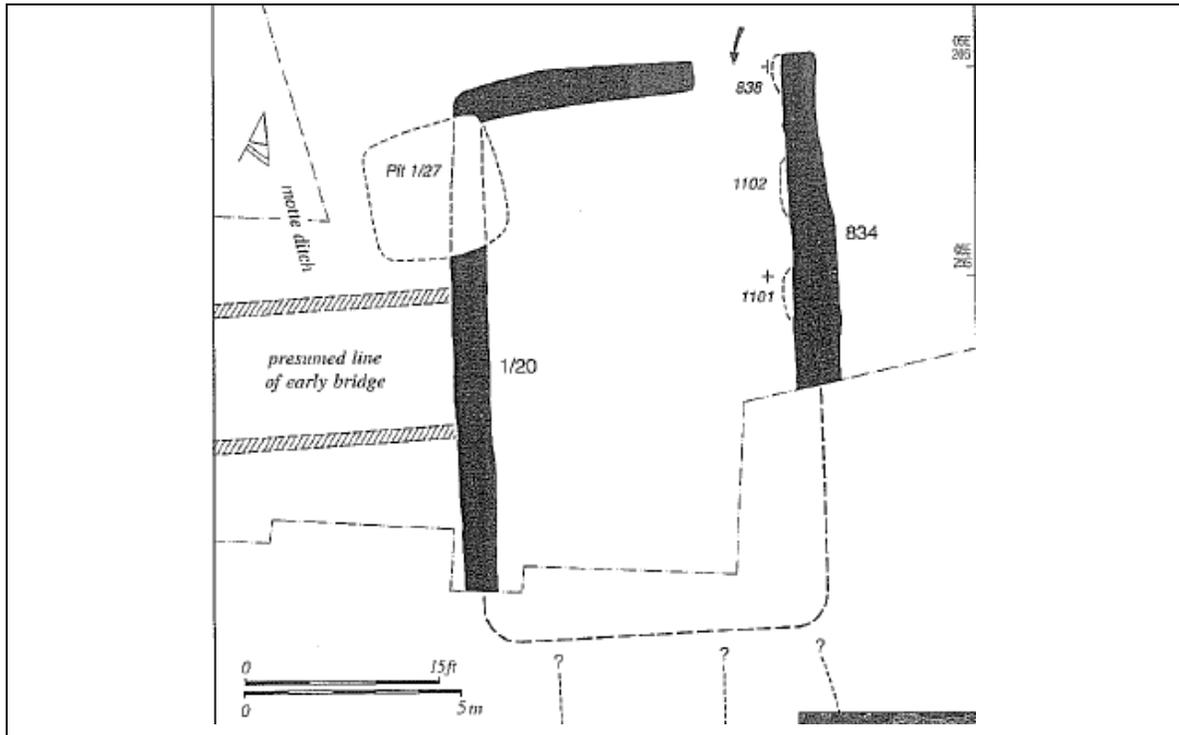


Figure 2.2: Building L1a, the possible hall of the earliest castle at Hen Domen (Higham and Barker 2000: 48).

The motte at Hen Domen was eight meters high and 40 meters in diameter at the base, six and a half meters in diameter at the top (Higham and Barker 1992: 326). The motte was heavily defended with double banks and ditches, which signifies the importance of defending the motte, which was the primary feature in the sites design. All other components of the site were built around the motte, in order to protect and be overseen by it. On top of the eroded platform of the motte were post-holes and structural features related to building LVII. The first floor of this building connected, via a bridge, to the hall (building L1a) inside the bailey (Higham and Barker 2000: 69) (see reconstruction drawings below). A major fire at the site destroyed the building at the top of the motte and led to a succession of towers and bridges being constructed after 1223

(Higham and Barker 2000: 70-73). The last building on top of the motte was constructed *c.* 1250-1300, when Hen Domen had only a minor military role in the area; as the masonry castle at New Montgomery had overtaken the social and military importance in the region. This last building is imagined as a freestanding, belfry-like tower of clay wall construction (Higham and Barker 2000: 73).

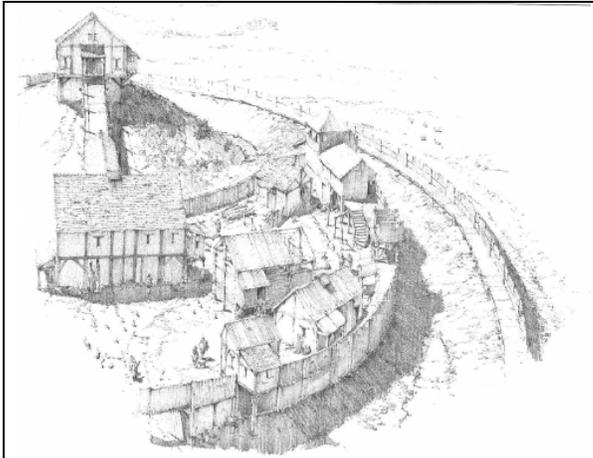


Figure 2.3: Artist Peter Scholefield's reconstruction of the early phase at Hen Domen (Higham and Barker 2000: 166).

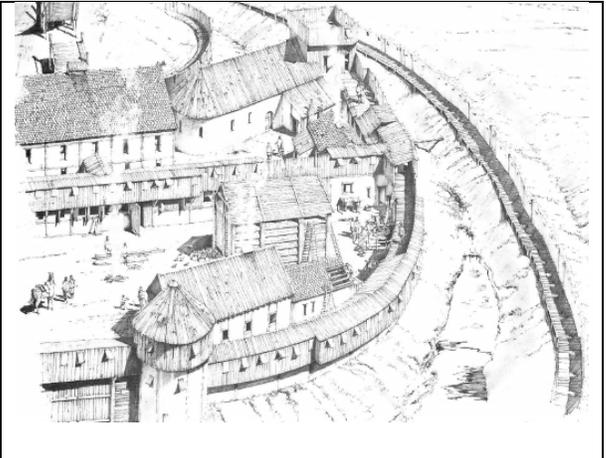


Figure 2.4: Artist's reconstruction of the middle period of Hen Domen (Higham and Barker 2000: 166).

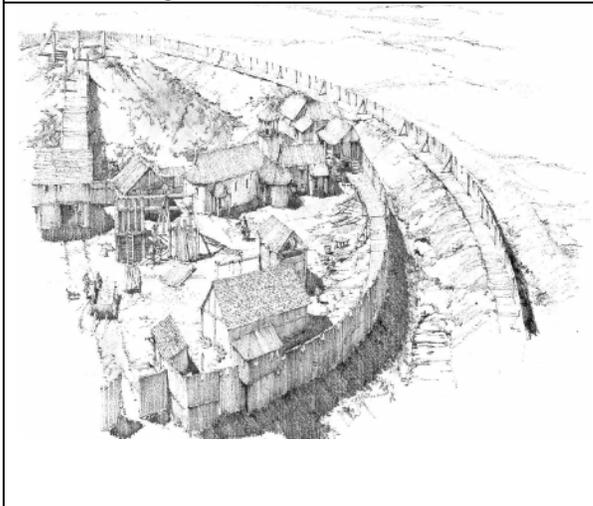


Figure 2.5: Artist's reconstruction of the later period of Hen Domen (Higham and Barker 2000: 167). The tower on top of the motte was not excavated at time of reconstruction and therefore is not represented.

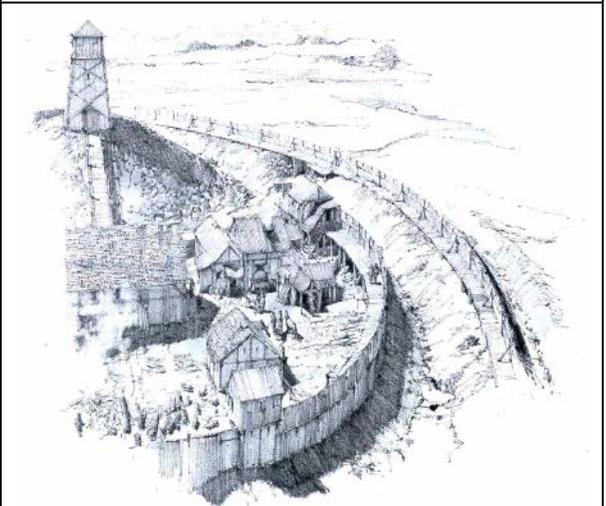


Figure 2.6: Artist's reconstruction of the last period at Hen Domen (Higham and Barker 2000: 167), note the smaller tower on top of the motte.

Hen Domen was an aristocratic site of the Montgomery family and of crucial strategic importance in Wales. Metalwork found on the site demonstrates a community sufficiently wealthy to own them; evidence on the site shows metal parts were melted down and reworked (occupants were iron smithing, not iron smelting) (Higham and Barker 2000: 176). Finds from the palisades reveal the military nature of the site; from weapons, spurs, chain mail links, knives, to arrow heads. Padlocks and padlock keys found at the site suggest a certain level of security was important on the site from both invaders and neighbors (Higham and Barker 2000: 176).

From the exterior, the site of Hen Domen would have appeared in all its phases as an impressive, dominating wooden fortification with massive timbers and fences surrounding the banks and ditches. The motte and topping tower would have rose above the densely packed bailey like an all seeing eye for over two centuries. With over 30 years of excavation on the site of Hen Domen, it is evident that timber castles were not, as so many would like to think, second-rate erections of flimsy timber, constructed overnight, easily overcome, and replaced with stone as soon as possible.

Few ringwork castles have been excavated, none as thoroughly and systematically as Hen Domen. Through excavation, it is known that ringwork castles were as defensive as motte castles, and included buildings for domestic activities of the lords. Aegis Archaeology Consulting excavated the ringwork castle at Ballysimon, Co. Limerick, Ireland in 1999, in advance of a national roadwork project (Collins and Cummings 2001). The Ballysimon ringwork is a D-shaped enclosure *c.* 35m in diameter surrounded by a U-shaped ditch (averaging 4m wide by 1.7m deep) with a causeway entrance in the northern side of the ditch. There was no evidence of an external bank or post-holes of a palisade along the ditch enclosure (Collins and Cummings 2001: 19-21) (Figure 2.7).

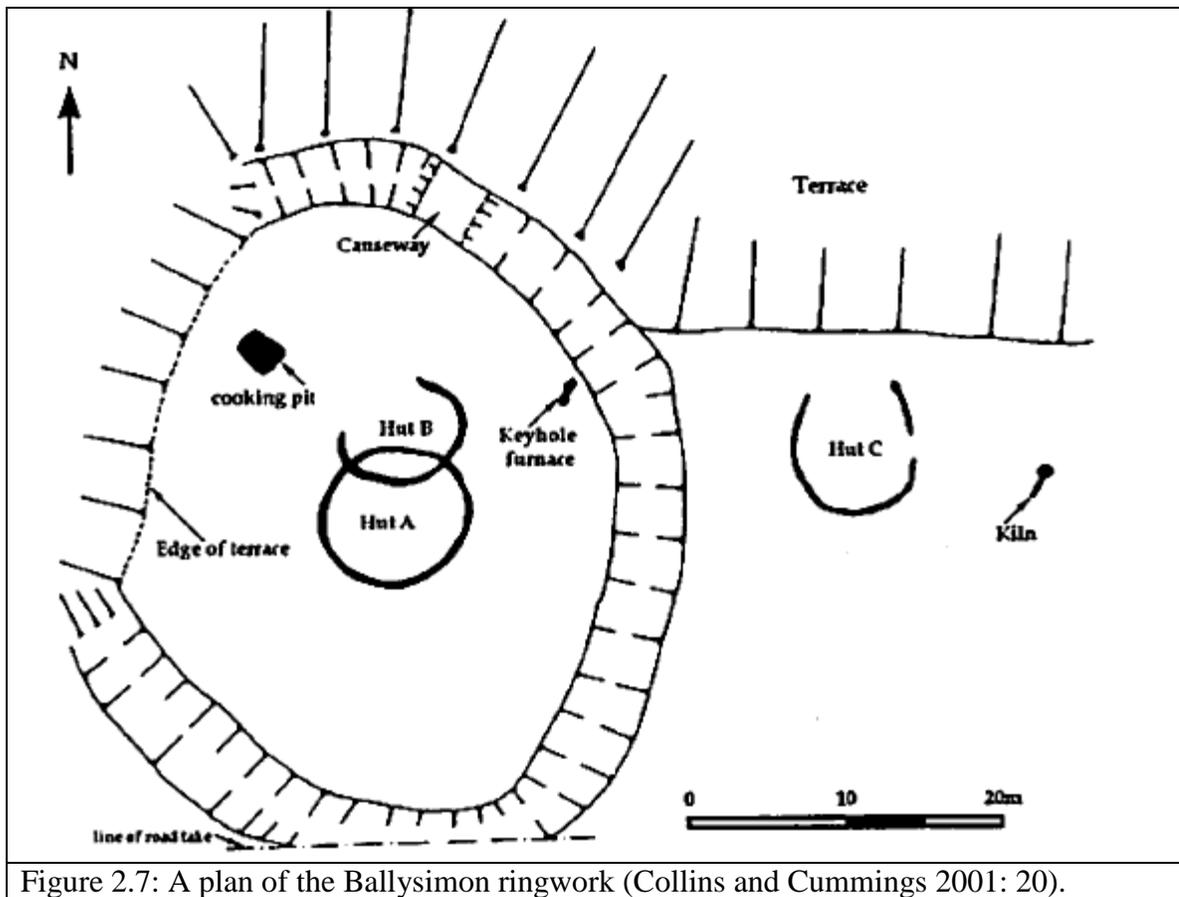
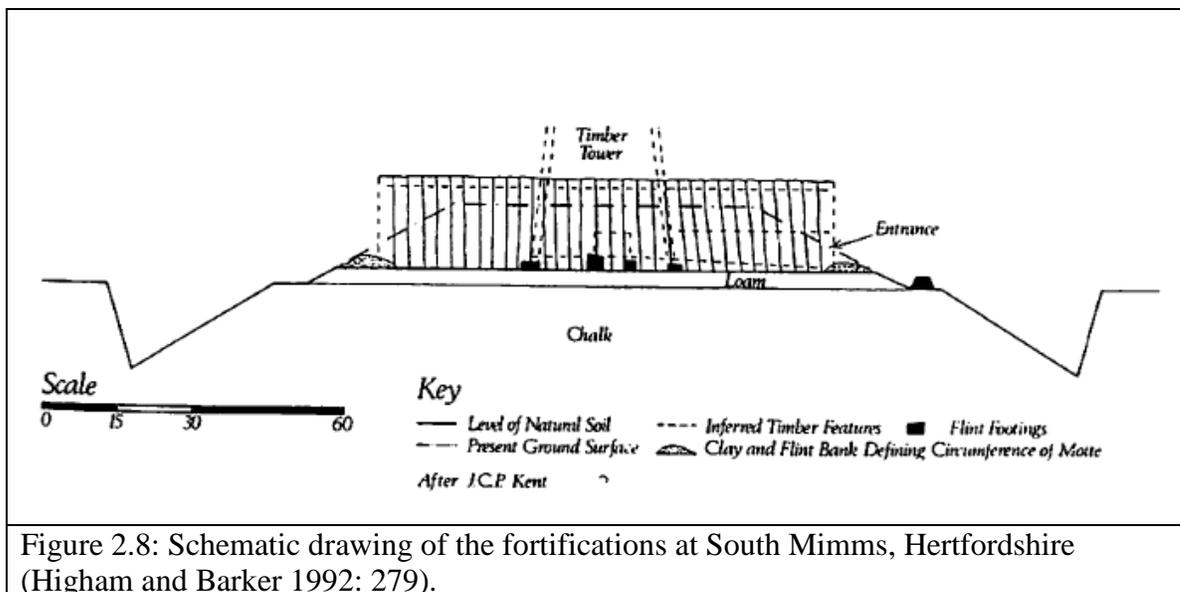


Figure 2.7: A plan of the Ballysimon ringwork (Collins and Cummings 2001: 20).

Two buildings were excavated on the platform of the Ballysimon ringwork with one building excavated to the east of the ringwork ditch. Each of the buildings was constructed in circular plan. A tentative interpretation of post-holes on the northern edge of the site, near the possible causeway entrance, was of a square gate structure (Collins and Cummings 2001: 34). Building A is the best preserved of the buildings, enclosing an area of 7.8m in diameter, delineated by a shallow slot trench with a cobbled entrance (Collins and Cummings 2001: 23-24). Building C, located exterior to the platform, was located directly adjacent to a keyhole shaped corn-drying kiln. Two pits associated with building C were filled with fragments of charcoal and burnt animal bones (Collins and Cummings 2001: 30). Tentative interpretations of building C include its use as a farm building associated with the processing and storage of grain, rather than a domestic structure. Cultivation furrows in the southern and western quadrants of the ringwork further illustrate the agricultural nature of the site (Collins and Cummings 2001: 37-38).

The excavators have interpreted the Ballysimon site as a ringwork castle due to the morphology and location of the site, alongside a 13th-14th century material culture. These objects include pieces of medieval pottery and stone mortar in a secure context on the site (Collins and Cummings 2001: 39). With few traces of habitation layers on the site and little evidence for the defensive nature of the fortifications at Ballysimon, the classification of the site is based primarily on its landscape siting adjacent to a church and graveyard. Arbuthnot (2011) notes the two circular buildings excavated at Ballysimon have more in common with buildings of early medieval ringforts, than with Anglo-Norman buildings (22). Herein lies the complicated nature of ringwork castles in Ireland; even through excavation, the true nature of a site may not be revealed.

A variant style of motte fortifications occurs in the drum motte. These sites look today like traditional motte castle mounds; however, excavations at South Mimms revealed a surface of flint footing, 10.5m² to support timber tower sleeper beams within the mound (Kent 1968; Kent *et al.* 2013). Earth was then built up around the base of the tower for stability; access to the tower was through a timber-lined tunnel. The resulting 10ft by 12ft mound was fortified around the base with a vertical timber palisade (Kent 1968; Higham and Barker 1992: 279-280) (see Figure 2.8). The resulting mound looks like a drum, hence the term drum motte.



2.3 The Study of Castle Siting

Castle siting, the physical location of a castle within its immediate environment, is a focus of study that has taken a long time to appear broadly in castle literature. This is, in part, due to the narrow focus of early excavations on the castle itself focusing on the material culture of the excavations. Slowly excavation reports started to include the wider context of castles, as noted by Creighton (2002). Early archaeological reports that included castle siting in their final reports in England and Wales are limited. The report from the royal castle at Portchester, Hampshire, included a study of the local and regional character and context of the site (Cunliffe and Munby 1985; Cunliffe and Garrett 1994). The report from the motte and bailey at Hen Domen, Powys, Wales, included detailed information on the excavation of the motte and bailey, as well as extensive field survey and archival research resulting in a very rich landscape context of the site (Higham and Barker 1992; 2000). The five year training and research excavation undertaken at the motte and bailey of Middleton Stoney, Oxfordshire, included extensive excavation, archival work, and surveying that produced a nuanced examination of the parish and the castle within the landscape (Rowley 1977; Rantz et al 1984). The excavations at the royal castle of Ludgershall, Wiltshire, from 1964-1972 focused primarily on the castle and material culture; however, the final publication included a reanalysis from the 1990s that focused on the surrounding earthworks and layout of the castle with a comparison to nearby royal palaces (Ellis and Addyman 2000).

Irish excavations and reports tended to include at least some reference to castle siting from the beginning (Creighton 2002: x) and acknowledged the position of castles as private residences as well as well-defended fortresses (O'Connor 1998: 26). This focus has been attributed to the relatively late date of study of castles in Ireland, with the majority of medieval interest focusing on the Christian period of the early medieval period (see Chapter 1: 10-19). Leask (1941), Sweetman (1995), McNeill (1997), and O'Connor (1998) all discuss defensive features of castles of all dates as well as architectural details of masonry castles. O'Connor (1998: 28) detailed the lack of focus of archaeological work on the nature and layout of buildings surrounding castles. O'Connor's (1998) findings implicate, in part, the lack of archaeological material available in

excavation from castles of all types, as these buildings were constructed mainly of wood and clay, leaving little archaeological evidence. Secondly, the intervening years of warfare in Ireland until the 17th century left many castles and buildings surrounding them destroyed. And thirdly, there is a general lack of thorough and complete excavations of bailey and areas adjacent to castles in Ireland, as well as elsewhere (O’Conor 1998: 28).

The siting of castles in England illustrates that the first ringwork castles of the Conquest were constructed by reusing Saxon burh sites. English (1995) sums the importance of controlling Anglo-Norman settlements by the Normans stating; Burhs “produced considerable revenue; they contained the largest clusters of population; they were often located at significant road junctions or river crossings” (English 1995: 45). The siting of burhs was important; they were both accessible and well located to the built population and contained Roman or Anglo-Saxon defensive structures including banks, ditches, and timber palisades. The Anglo-Saxon system of administration, including shire and sheriff, was familiar to the Normans; burhs contained fiscal and military connections, including mints, law courts, and markets. The Normans could construct a castle in a burh and immediately take over the area, reusing the administrative fabric of a community (English 1995).

Herein lays a crucial difference between the process of conquest in England and that in Ireland. Without the feudal system in place in Ireland, taking over a ready-built landscape was not an option. The majority (82%) of English and Welsh castles were rural in nature; 13% are defined as castle-boroughs, and 5% are urban, having been founded in a pre-existing urban space (Creighton 2002: 281). Irish castles are predominantly rural, constructed in green field sites, but often disruptive of extant settlement patterns. Excavations at Hen Domen, Powys, reveal this disruption of earlier settlements, as the impressive motte was constructed on top of an earlier ridge-and-furrow field system (Higham and Barker 2000: 28-29). The local community was disrupted with the construction of the castle site, but it did not reuse fortifications from earlier periods.

Castle-borough sites occur on green field sites and an urban settlement grows contemporaneously or directly subsequent to the foundation of the castle (Beresford 1967). Castle-borough sites hold an equivocal space in castle classification, as a rural

castle may represent a reduction of a castle-borough to maintain an associated settlement, or transform into an urban castle. As discussed by Fradley (2011): “classification [of castle-boroughs] is based upon a process attempted or experienced, rather than the topographical context of foundation as in the case of rural and urban castle examples” (27). Urban castles are found in association with pre-existing urban settlements, such as those sites located at burh sites. The siting of urban castles in England, as examined by Fradley (2011), was primarily in the corners of existing enclosures.

It should be noted, in the following examples of castle siting by country, the siting of each castle is not unique to that region, unless otherwise noted. Timber castles are being discussed as examples of the variety of castle siting.

Function of Castles

Castles were the residence of the lord; however, they were also the administrative center of local authority. The first castles built in a region would have played the role of powerful military influence in an otherwise native landscape. The ideal process of subinfeudation resulted in a transplantation of population from England or Wales to farm the manorial burgess plots; a burgess is a poor townsman who contributed towards the payment of fidelity to a lord through agricultural activities on a plot of land (burgess plot). As seen in Chapter 1 (2-10), this transplantation was not always successful, resulting in the local native population serving Norman lords. The environment of cooperation, even collaboration or transference of fidelity to Normans, by native groups highlights the “middle grounding” of the creative construction of mutually understandable and beneficial practices that took place during the centuries of encastellation during medieval period (See Chapter 1: 2-10).

As discussed in Chapter 1 (47-53), castle studies scholars of the past tended to polarize the “military” and “social” functions of castles. In recent years, the pendulum has swung towards the center, accepting castle sites as locations of major social and psychological importance as well as recognizing the defensive military function of the spaces. As stated by Creighton (2002): “All castles had a wide range of functions—military, domestic and residential, social and symbolic, administrative, economic, and

judicial—that varied not only through time, but also regionally and in response to different demands of lordship, in a manner so complex as to almost defy classification” (7). Even more important, scholarship *on* castles has begun to question our assumptions on knowing what ‘The Castle’ was and what it did in the medieval period (O’Keeffe 2001; forthcoming; Coulsen 1996; Creighton 2002; Johnson 2002; Liddiard 2005). This scholarship is in part due to diligence of castleologists to actively contribute to the process and theory of castle studies (e.g. Coulson 1979; O’Conor 2008), even if they disagree with that direction (e.g. Platt 2007; Creighton and Liddiard 2008).

2.3 Castle Siting in England

For comparative study, three earth and timber castles for each Wales, England, and Ireland are discussed below. As evidenced by Creighton (2002), landscape siting is a complex and multifaceted topic in castle studies. There was no overarching goal in placing castles in the landscape; access to water and some defensibility were important, however, access to associated features of the lordly manor were also imperative. Therefore, in examining landscape siting of castles, individual sites must be examined in their own complex setting.

As outlined above, the Normans did not introduce timber castles as a fully-formed site type to England with the Norman invasion of 1066 (see Chapter 2: 78-81). Some scholars now argue that the Normans were constructing earthen castles as early as the 1051 at “Pentecost’s Castle”—the motte at Ewyas Harold, Herefordshire—and “Richard’s Castle”—possibly Hereford Castle (which was destroyed in the 18th century), as described in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (Irving 2004: 83-84; King 1988: 34; Higham and Barker 1992: 42-43). Excavations at Goltho, Lincolnshire found an early fortified hall within an earthen bank and ditch structure dating to the 9th century (Beresford 1981: 13; 1987). A stone hall within an earthen rampart at Sulgrave, Northamptonshire could also pre-date the Conquest (Davison 1977: 105). Goltho and Sulgrave were high-status Anglo-Saxon sites, leading some scholars to accept, or at least acknowledge that the possibility of private fortifications of Anglo-Saxon England that resemble Norman timber castles (Eales 2003: 44).

In 1066, Duke William of Normandy defeated Harold II of England at the Battle of Hastings (Howarth 1978). Many scholars point to the motte castle at Hastings, the entry point for the Normans into England, as the first earth and timber castle; however, excavations at Hastings found no datable material (Barker and Barton 1977: 80). The motte at Hastings was constructed on an Anglo-Saxon settlement within an older Iron Age hillfort, overlooking the English Channel. The original defenses at Hastings appear to be of the ringwork variety, with a low mound which was later transformed into a motte and bailey castle. However, the site had suffered from erosional damage, as it was constructed largely of sand; excavations were undertaken in part to contrast the construction process against the illustrations of the motte on the Bayeux Tapestry of horizontal “layer-cake” construction. Historical documentation from 1181-1183 noted the site as “the castle of ‘New Hastings’” perhaps indicating the original site had already begun collapsing in the 12th century (Higham and Barker 1992: 156).

The historical tradition developed by Armitage (1912) and historian J. Horace Round (1912) of earthen castles as a Norman import was based primarily on the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. As discussed in Chapter 1 (47-53), Davison (1977) was the key player in successfully arguing against the idea that William the Conqueror utilized ringwork castles as the main fortification type in the conquest of England (Davison 1977: 105-114). A more recent examination of defenses constructed after the Conquest by Barbara English emphasizes the continuity of pre- and post- Conquest defenses (English 1995: 51-52). The first defenses of the Norman Conquest appear to be rampart defenses, or ringwork castles in England, Wales, and Ireland (King and Alcock 1969: 90-127; Higham and Barker 1992: 46-47; English 1995: 45; O’Conor 1998: 35-36). Motte castles appear later in the sequence, after 1170. Therefore the identification of ringwork castles in the landscape is integral in assembling a timeline of subinfeudation in a particular region.

Regional distributions of castles in England highlight the frontier stacking of castles against the Welsh and Scottish borders; Northumberland, Herefordshire, Shropshire, and Cumberland have the highest density of castles of all type: timber and masonry (King 1983; White 2012: 186). However, it is noticeable that Cheshire County has a low density of castles, similar to Hampshire and Essex, possibly reflecting a policy

of restriction by the Earls of Chester to allow barons to construct castles. The environment also limited castle construction in England. Cambridgeshire is a county composed primarily of fenland, which was unsuitable for the construction of castles; in addition, the majority of Cambridgeshire was largely in the hands of religious houses, who maintained land (White 2012). Restrictions from the crown protected royal forests (in Nottinghamshire and Staffordshire) and few castles were constructed in those areas as well (King 1983; Creighton 2002). The distribution from England highlights the lack of a “master-plan” in early castle construction; a theme that is evident in Ireland’s castle distribution as well.

In terms of specific siting, the military needs of a site were often considered, including promontory sites, such as Lewes Castle, East Sussex. Located on a steep-sided chalk promontory, the site overlooked an important crossing at the River Ouse (Creighton 2002: 36). A major monastic foundation of Cluniacs was founded within view of the *capita* at Lewes, representing the wealth of the families founding timber castles in changing the shape of the landscape (Creighton 2002: 127-132). Lewes is one instance of a site with two motte sites on either end of the bailey, constructed of chalk blocks (Drewett 1992: 69-72). Creighton identifies four origins for “multiple castles” such as that at Lewes (Creighton 2002: 55); it appears the double mottes at Lewes coexisted under the same ownership and were united in a unified strategy of defense (Creighton 2002: 55).

Excavation evidence from Castle Neroche, Somerset demonstrates a ringwork castle developing into a motte castle. Four main phases of construction took place at the site; the first was the defense of the inland promontory with a bank and ditch enclosing a large area (Davison 1972: 19). The second phase constructed a partial ringwork within the defenses of the earliest fortification; this site consisted of a bank and external ditch, which enclosed a D-shaped interior platform of 8000m² (Davidson 1972: 23). This ringwork is dated through pottery finds to immediately after the Norman Conquest. There are no historical documents referencing any phase of the castle construction. Davidson, the excavator, suggests the third phase, the motte and bailey (6-7.5m in height) constructed over the ringwork bank at the northern portion of the promontory with the D-

shaped ringwork becoming the sites bailey, was constructed by Count Robert of Mortian, brother of William the Conqueror (Davidson 1972: 24-25). The last phase of the castle is post-medieval (Davidson 1972: 26).

2.4 Castle Siting in Wales

The most thorough excavation on a motte and bailey castle was that of the 30 years of excavation at Hen Domen, Montgomery, Wales (Higham and Barker 2000). Detailed information regarding all aspects of construction and life at Hen Domen was uncovered during the process of excavation (See Figure 2.2). Founded in the 11th century by Roger de Motgomery, Earl of Shrewsbury, the motte and bailey at Hen Domen was massively defended and occupied by many, as evidenced by the large, simple domestic buildings packed tightly into the bailey area. Domestic buildings within the bailey included upper and lower halls, a chapel, a granary, workshops,

The site of Hen Domen is an eight-meter high motte mound, with a base diameter of 40m and a top diameter of six meters. The oval shaped bailey covers one third of an acre and was heavily defended with palisaded double ramparts and ditches (Higham and Barker 2000: 10). The site is located on a natural ridge of boulder clay which overlays a shale bedrock; the motte mound itself, as well as the banks, were constructed with the natural clay, which were dug out of areas that formed the ditches. Excavation material also revealed the local clay was utilized in wall cladding for timber structures associated with the site (Higham and Barker 2000: 111-116). Multiple building phases from the castle indicate its build-up over time, as well as its decline after the construction of the masonry castle at New Montgomery; timber castles, such as Hen Domen, had use lives that were continuously evolving over time, and should not be seen as static structures in the landscape.

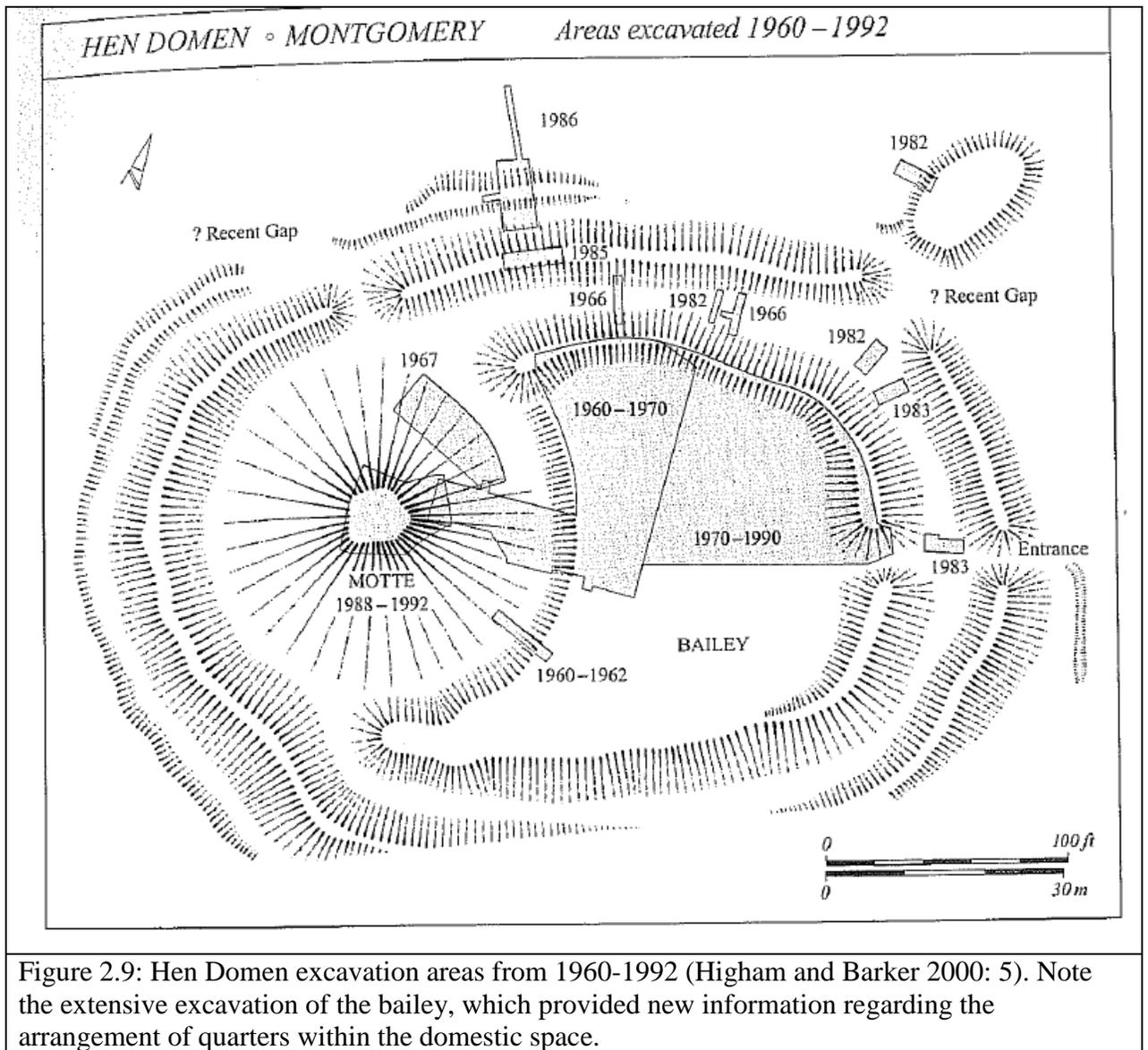


Figure 2.9: Hen Domen excavation areas from 1960-1992 (Higham and Barker 2000: 5). Note the extensive excavation of the bailey, which provided new information regarding the arrangement of quarters within the domestic space.

The landscape surrounding Hen Domen has evidence for pre-Norman use; the fields surrounding the site illustrate evidence for ridge and furrow agricultural activity (Barker and Lawson 1971). Pre-castle ditches undercut the bailey, along with earlier plough soil, including evidence for a ridge and furrow system. An early medieval building was found under the north-west sector of the bailey (Higham and Barker 2000: 28). Higham and Barker (2000: 12) argue the siting of the castle was influenced by its proximity to a nearby crossing of the River Severn at Rhydwhyman; the place-name

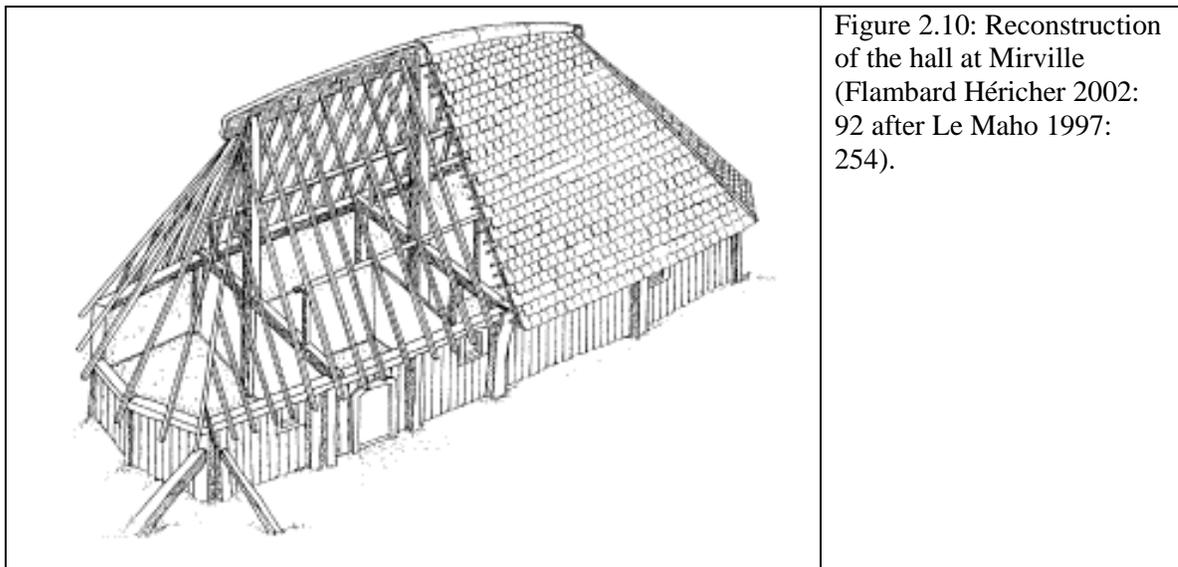
evidence from this crossing implies a military value and two road systems in this region are also evident today. The siting of the castle implicate two things, first, the castle was located on a green field site, that was not without its own early medieval history; second, the site held an important location on a road, near a major river crossing. The impressive structure must have acted as a central meeting place, as indicated in the large hall from the middle period of the site occupation (Higham and Barker 2000: 169).

Hen Domen would also have been visible in the landscape to the site of (New) Montgomery, which post-dates the motte castle. The royal masonry castle at Montgomery, Powys, Wales, with construction beginning in 1223 by King Henry III, contained permanent fortifications of both masonry and wood. Montgomery is a prime example of the long-term use of timber fortifications within a masonry structure, as the outer barbican and the inner ward were defended in wood for at least the first 30 years of the castle's existence (Knight 1992: 100-102; 176-179). The castle at Montgomery is sited on a rocky spur near the River Severn, and actively controlled the river crossing at Rhydwhyman. This crossing was "a critical meeting place for Welsh-English negotiations" during the middle of the 13th century (Higham and Barker 2000: 173). This inter-visibility of sites further emphasizes the landscape of control during the medieval period, siting was not only for control of the river crossing, it also tied together an earlier landscape with the later medieval period.

2.5 Siting of Castles in Continental Europe

Mottes of the Low Countries, including the Netherlands tended to fit into the longstanding tradition (dating to the prehistoric) of raising mounds known as *terpen*. The *terpen* sites generally held no military function, rather they were raised habitation sites against flooding (Higham and Barker 1992: 91). The Dutch *terpen* sites underwent a gradual development into higher more "motte" like platforms over five meters in height. Completely new platforms, include such sites as aforementioned the site at Oost-Souburg, Zeeland (Van Dierendonck 2009; Ten Harkel 2013; Heeringen et al 1995). The siting of Oost-Souburg is on the fertile agricultural flatland of Zeeland (Higham and Barker 1992: 91).

The almond shaped motte site of Mirville, Normandy underwent intensive restructuring during its lifespan, from a humble ditch fortification of the second to third centuries AD to a motte in the 12th century (Higham and Barker 1992: 265). The motte at Mirville was sited at the bottom of a small valley fed by a small river (La Maho 1984). The final phases of construction at the site include a large wooden residential hall (17m by six meters) separated into two sections by a straight row of posts (see Figure 2.3). The upper levels of the motte top have disappeared due to erosion on the site (Maho 1984: 40-48). As seen at Hen Domen, the final phases of timber castles are a shadow of the complex phasing of these sites in their lifetime.



The royal site of Notre-Dame-de-Gravenchon, Normandy, of multiple ringwork construction, located on the site late Roman or early Frankish dated sunken floor huts (Higham and Barker 1992: 267). The surrounding landscape of the site was not defensive in nature, being situated in a valley bottom next to a watercourse. The site eventually was designed with a fishpond and outer enclosure, including a walled garden or orchard (Loveluck 2013: 239-240). The archaeologists interpreted a further enclosure to the north and west, measuring 95 hectares in size, as a hunting park (Loveluck 2013: 239). The associated earthworks are part of a package of elite landscape features; enclosures for gardens and deer parks represented the elite nature of lordly status. These sites would

have represented the symbolic power of the lords, and would have encoded the social values of medieval lordship (Creighton 2002: 65-69).

These three examples are just a few of the multiple excavated timber castles from Temperate Europe. What is evident is that there is no singular explanation for the reasons a lord would have selected a particular site for his castle. What we can learn from the siting of castles, rather is the processes of moving into a region, the progression of colonization in new regions, and the structure of developing manorial extends in the medieval period.

2.6 Siting of Castle in Ireland

Irish castle siting shows no real variation from timber castles in England. The pattern of timber castles is neither random nor regular; the surviving evidence shows heavy concentrations in some areas, with sparsely of castles in others. Further discussion of castle distribution in Ireland is below. The siting of castles in Ireland are in rural and urban areas, high and low elevations.

One of the first timber castles in Ireland is located at Baginbun Head, Co. Wexford (see Figures 2.11 and 2.12). Located on the very south-western tip of the province of Leinster, the site is a refortified promontory fort with *c.* 241m linear earthworks protecting a large area (twelve hectares) for safe landing (O'Connor 2003: 19). The second fortification of Baginbun Point, a long bivallate outer earthwork, was constructed in the months after Raymond le Gros' arrival in Ireland, and victory over the Irish and Norse of Waterford, after May 1170 (O'Connor 2003: 30). The promontory fort at Baginbun Point is fortified on the western side by two large inner banks, two deep rock-cut ditches, and two shallow ditches; the northern, eastern, and southern sides of the Point are fortified by steep sea cliffs (O'Connor 2003: 22). The interior of Baginbun Point was intended as a landing site for Strongbow and his troops (between 1200-1500 men) (O'Connor 2003: 25-29).

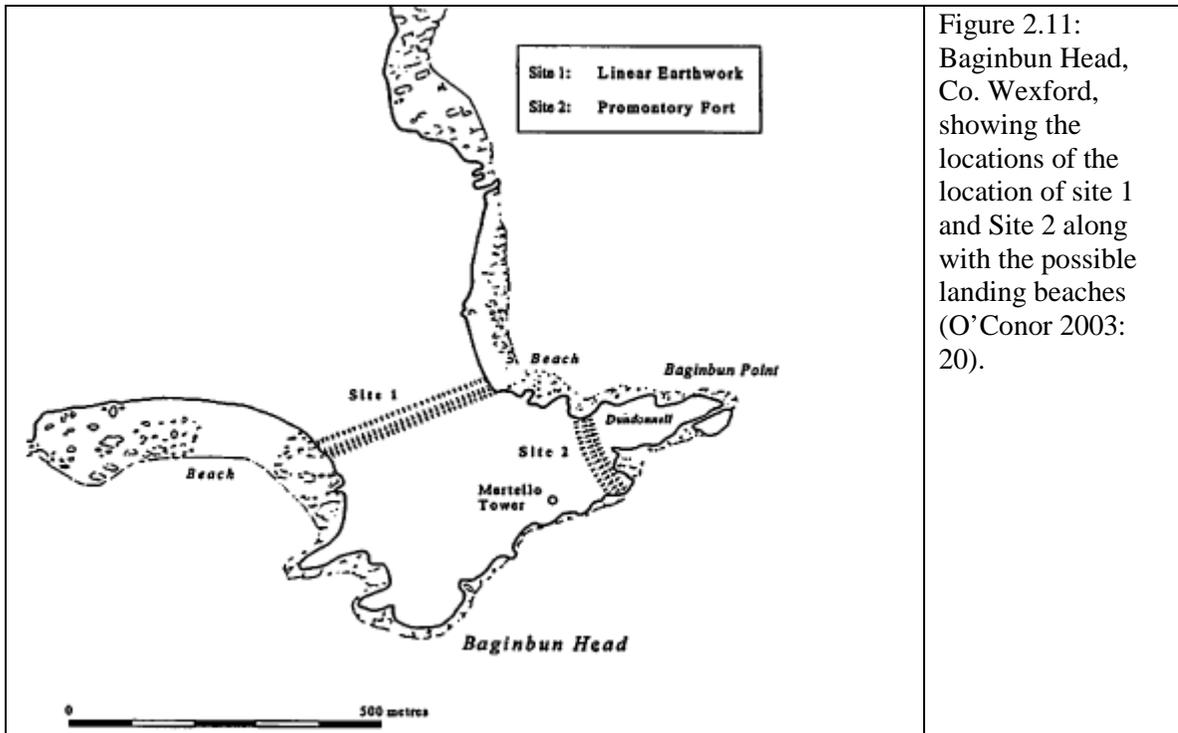


Figure 2.11: Baginbun Head, Co. Wexford, showing the locations of the location of site 1 and Site 2 along with the possible landing beaches (O’Conor 2003: 20).

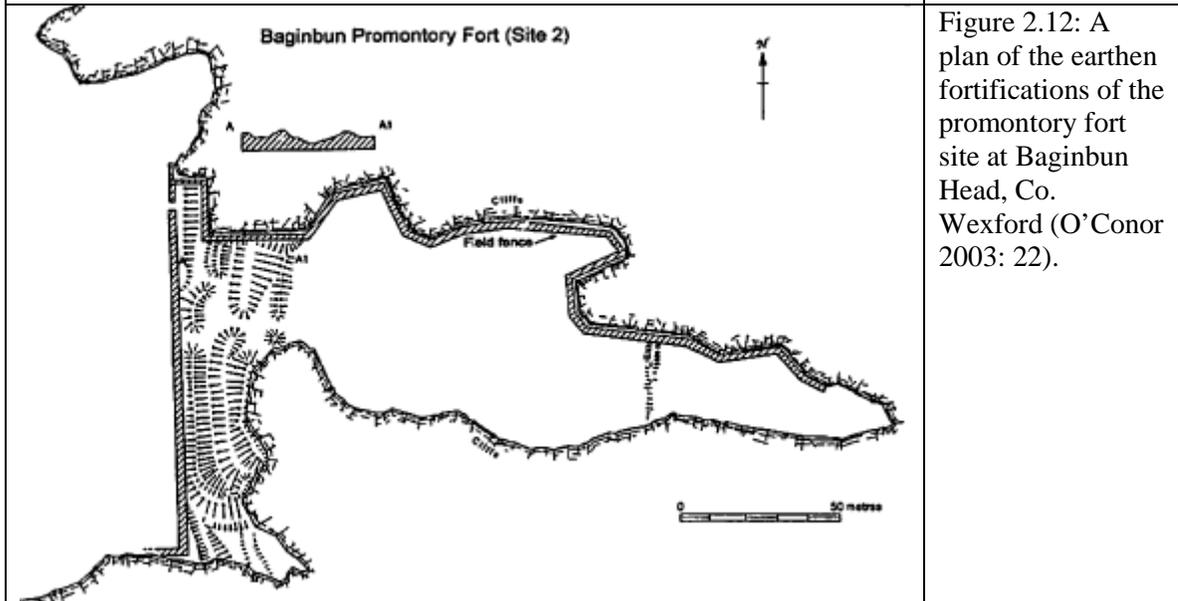


Figure 2.12: A plan of the earthen fortifications of the promontory fort site at Baginbun Head, Co. Wexford (O’Conor 2003: 22).

Clonmacnoise castle, Co. Offaly was constructed as a royal castle in 1214. The first castle constructed on the site was of the motte and bailey variety, which utilized an esker ridge for the foundation of the motte mound (O’Conor and Manning 1988: 138). The castle is sited directly on the east bank of the Shannon river, which flows south past the site. According to O’Conor and Manning (1998: 138), a crescent-shaped inlet on the

west side of the bailey provides a natural harbor, perhaps the best along this stretch of the river. The bailey at Clonmacnoise is rectangular, 38m north-south and 48m east-west defined by an earthen bank and wet external ditch (O’Conor and Manning 1998: 154).

A later masonry castle hall sits on top of the motte, and masonry walls reinforce the earlier earthwork fortifications. It appears the motte and bailey and associated wooden features were in place prior to the construction of the masonry castle; however, it is apparent from the masonry that each component of the castle, the earth and timber and the masonry hall and inner-ward walls, were planned from the beginnings of construction (O’Conor and Manning 1998: 158). This preplanning is evident in the continuity of masonry construction in tandem with the earthwork fortifications; Clonmacnoise was planned to be of earth, timber, and stone construction from the beginning, as were many other castles in Ireland and Europe (O’Conor and Manning 1998: 159).

The late 13th-early 14th century D-shaped ringwork at Ballysimon, Co. Limerick is located on the top of a terrace overlooking a bend in the River Groody, three kilometers southeast of Limerick City. The west edge of the terrace constrains the ringwork platform, creating a straight edge of the sites D-shaped enclosure. This straight western side along with the north side of the terrace slope sharply downward to a marshy river floodplain below (Collins and Cummings 2001: 18). Adjacent archaeological sites to the ringwork include a graveyard, 100m to the south, which lies on the site of a medieval church, with records to 1291 (Westropp 1904/1905). Directly below the site, the stretch of the River Groody was adapted as a mill-race in the post-medieval and early modern periods (Collins and Cummings 2001: 18). Even with the siting adjacent to high medieval ecclesiastical sites and high medieval material found in the course of excavation, archaeologists continue to question the classification of the site as a ringwork castle (Arbuthnot 2011: 22).

As discussed in Chapter 1 (19-47), the majority of ringwork castles that archaeologist can agree upon are found under masonry castles of the later high medieval period. One such ringwork and associated masonry castle is found in Kilkenny, Co. Kilkenny. The Office of Public Works carried out extensive restoration projects on the castle beginning in 1990; these restorations included a series of excavations that

uncovered the ringwork foundations underlying the castle (Murtagh 1993: 1101).

Kilkenny castle is located on a commanding position overlooking a crossing point on the River Nore; the medieval walled town of “High Town” Kilkenny was constructed around the castle, which was located in the south-east corner.

Historical documentation records the sacking of the castle at Kilkenny by the Irish in the Annals of Tigernach in 1173 (Murtagh 1993: 1103). Excavations revealed a large earthen bank with a large ditch through the original ground level; the bank was later truncated by the construction of the later stone buildings (Murtagh 1993: 1109-1110). The earliest reference to a construction of a masonry castle at Kilkenny dates to 1307, when it is described as having “a hall, four towers, a chapel, a moat, and other diverse houses necessary to the castle” (Murtagh 1993: 1106). The curtain wall of the masonry castle appears to follow the ridge of the ringwork bank and circular towers were constructed at four corners of the site (Murtagh 1993: 1111). The circular towers are unique in Ireland, but not without parallels; it is noteworthy that the Butler family purchased Kilkenny Castle in 1391 given the masonry castle at Nenagh also contained a circular tower. Ben Murtagh, excavator of Kilkenny Castle, suggests the castle of Nenagh might also lie on top of a ringwork castle in analogous to that at Kilkenny (Murtagh 2013: *pers. comm.*).

The city of Trim, Meath, is an informative example of urban excavations revealing detailed information on the landscape surrounding an earth and timber, then later masonry castle in Ireland. The work completed at Trim has revealed much on the local landscape and siting of the castle (e.g. Hennessy 2004). Trim Castle, the largest masonry castle in Ireland, was first excavated by David Sweetman in 1971-1974, the masonry structure now visible is sited on top of a ringwork castle (Sweetman *et al* 1978: 185-186); the continuation of excavations in the 1990s by Alan Hayden solidified evidence illustrating the ringwork castle at Trim (Hayden and Brown 2012). Excavations revealed a deep, wide bank (max width 8m; max depth 3m) with no evidence for a motte structure (Sweetman *et al.* 1978: 138). The first historical mention of Trim is found in *The Song of Dermot and the Earl*, which has Hugh de Lacy fortifying a house in 1172 (Orpen 1892).

Then Hugh de Lacy fortified a house at Trim, and threw a trench around it, and then enclosed it with a stockade. Within the house he then placed Brave knights of great worth; then he entrusted the castle to the wardenship of Hugh Tyrrel; to the harbour he went in order to cross the high seas to England. But when the king of Connaught heard it—He who was king at this epoch—That Hugh had fortified a castle, He was enraged at the tidings; His host he summoned to him, He will go to attack the castle. (*Song*: 235).

Construction on the stone castle of Trim began in 1175. Situated on the south bank of the River Boyne in the south-east corner of Trim, the castle was constructed on land belonging to the early medieval church. Rent was paid to the church from the 1170s to the 19th century for the use of the property (Potterton 2005). Continued excavations in Trim at Dominican Friary of Black Friary, founded in 1263 have continued the wider examination of medieval Trim, tying with the history of the de Lacy lordship in the region (O’Carroll 2011).

2.7 Distribution of castles in Ireland

The distribution of castles in Ireland has been called “surprising” given they do not map in an even spread over the counties with Anglo-Norman lordship (McNeill 2005: 110). This lack of even distribution is evidence for the choices associated with the construction of castles of all varieties by Anglo-Norman lords. The following maps document the spread of timber castle site by type in Ireland; the Republic of Ireland data is from the National Monuments Service Archaeological Survey Database whereas the Northern Ireland data is from the Northern Ireland Sites and Monuments record. A caveat to the maps is the “flattening” of chronology that happens in all mapping—the sites are mapped as though they were contemporaneous with each other.

As the majority of castle sites in Ireland have not been excavated, and excavation sometimes does not result in datable material, the chronology of these castle sites is unknown. The maps therefore represent a totality of castles *as either documented or standing in the landscape today*, which also presents limitations on our body of knowledge. Not all castle sites are extant. Figure 2.13 represents the distribution of motte castles (n=253); Figure 2.14 represents the distribution of motte and bailey castles

(n=169); Figure 2.15 represents the distribution of ringwork castles (n=108). All castle types are combined in a total distribution map in Figure 2.16.

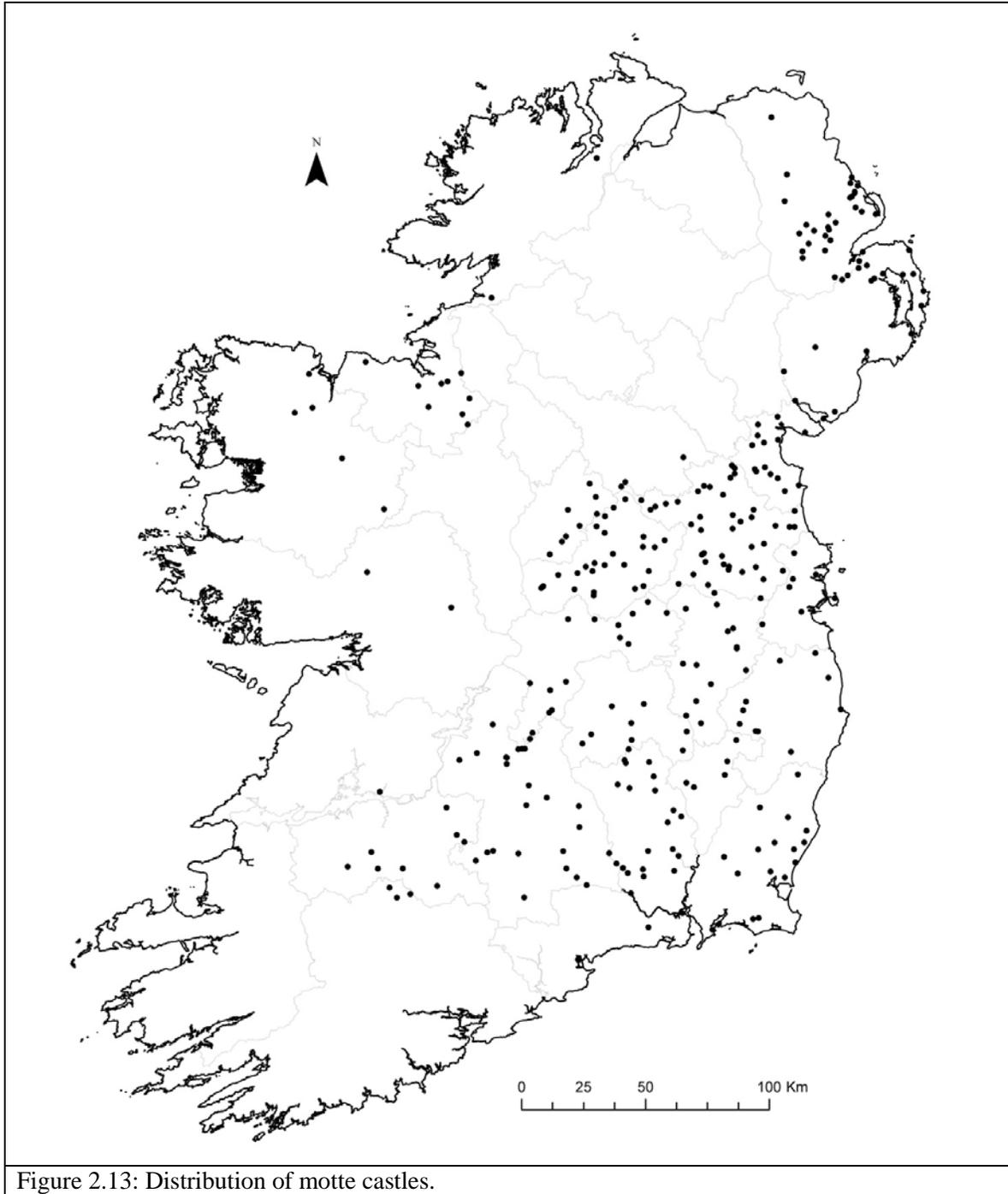
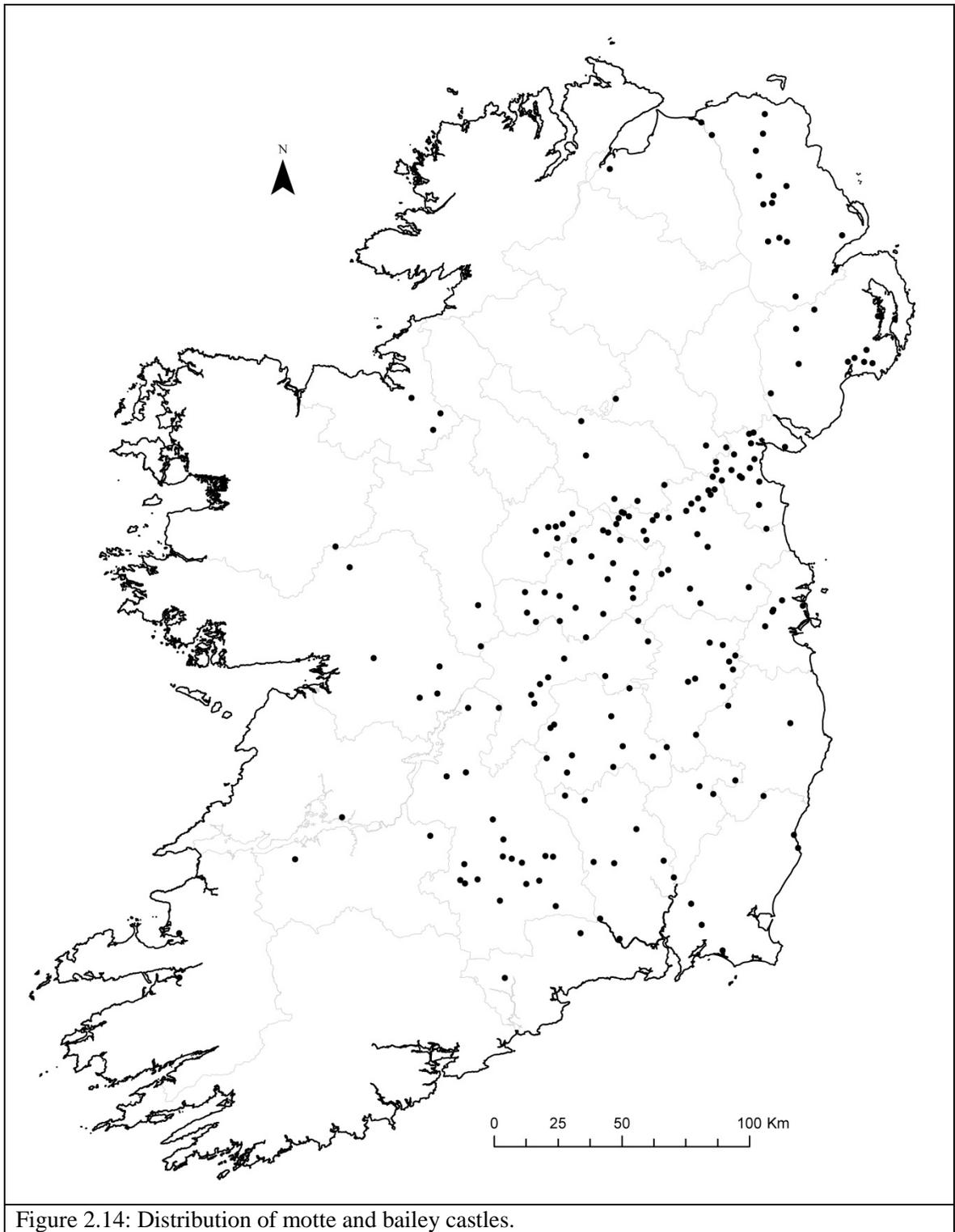


Figure 2.13: Distribution of motte castles.



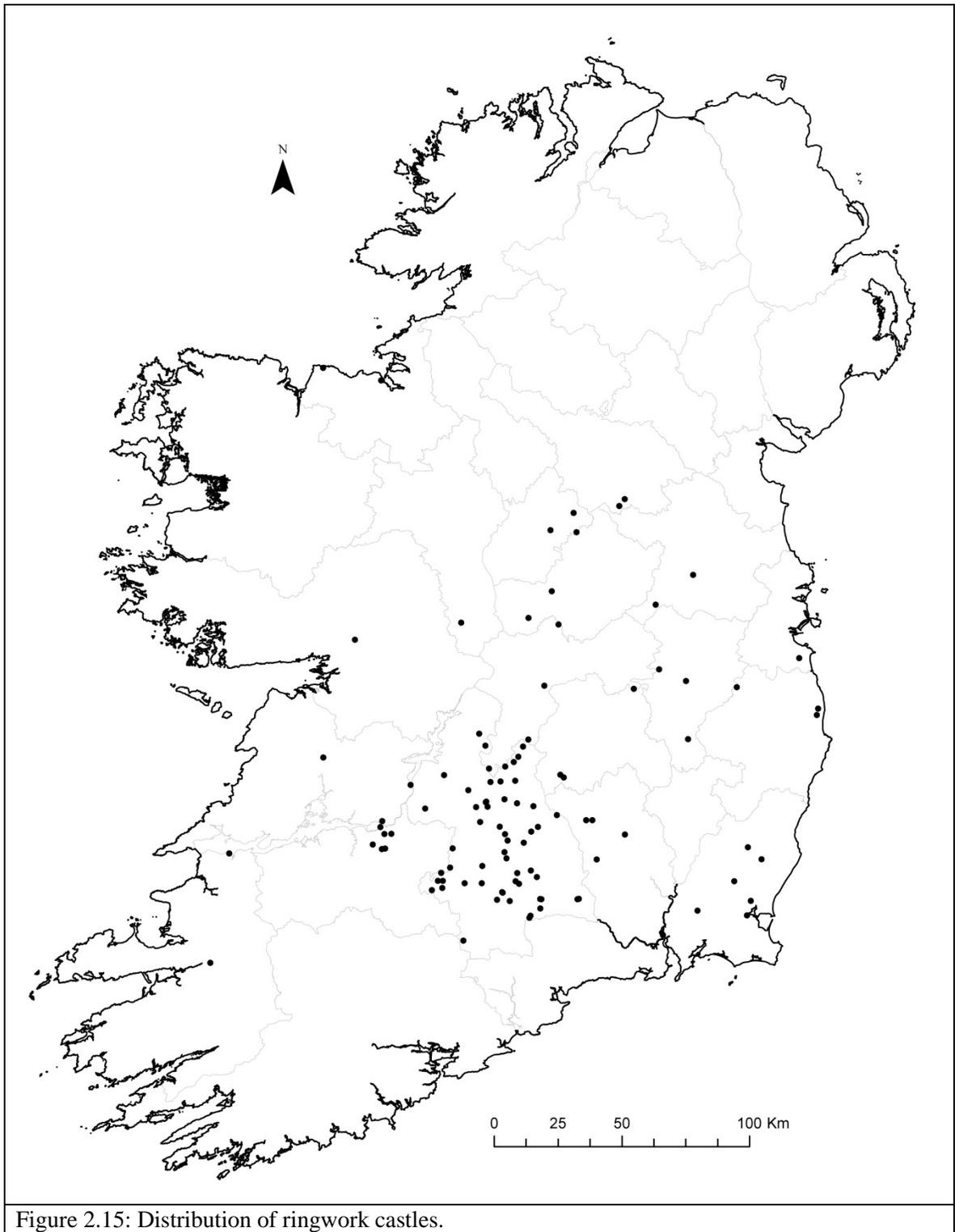


Figure 2.15: Distribution of ringwork castles.

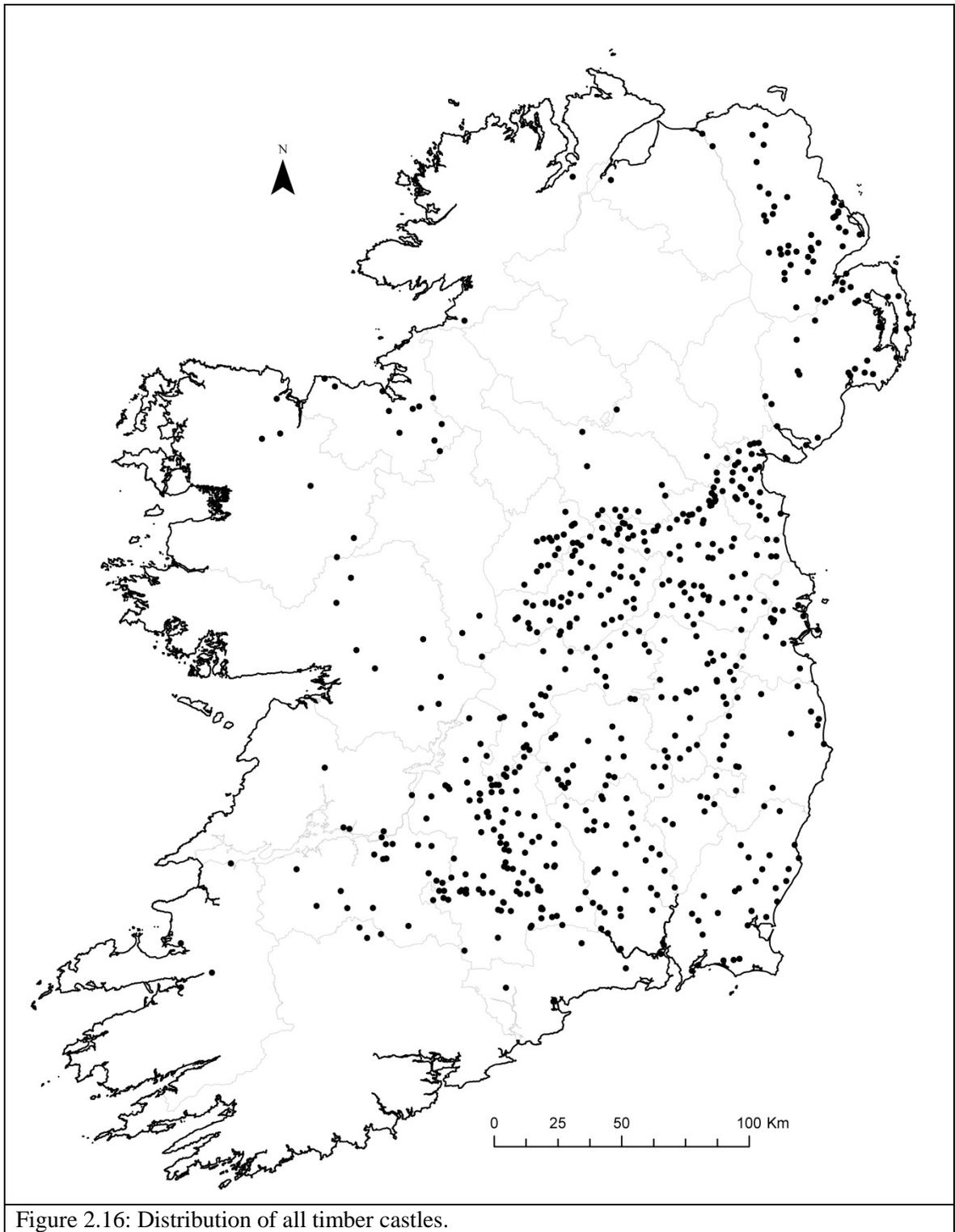


Figure 2.16: Distribution of all timber castles.

Table 2.1 below divides castles by type as they fall within modern county boundaries. As shown in the maps and table below, the county with the most motte castles is Co. Meath with 42 sites. Co. Meath also contains the most motte and bailey castles with 24. However, it is south Co. Tipperary and north Co. Tipperary that hold the most ringwork castles, at 30 and 27 respectively with no other county coming close to these numbers, the third place spot is seven ringworks in Co. Wexford. Chapter 5 (166-205) discusses this identification of ringwork castles in Co. Tipperary.

County	Motte	Motte and Bailey	Ringwork	Ringwork and Bailey
Carlow	5	3	0	0
Cavan	3	5	2	0
Clare	1	1	4	0
Cork	3	0	0	0
Donegal	2	0	0	0
Dublin	7	6	1	0
Galway	2	0	1	0
Kerry	0	2	2	0
Kildare	15	8	3	0
Kilkenny	21	10	4	1
Laois	12	11	3	0
Leitrim	0	0	0	0
Limerick	8	2	6	0
Longford	8	7	3	0
Louth	14	17	0	0
Mayo	6	1	0	0
Meath	42	24	2	0
Monaghan	0	3	0	0
Offaly	16	0	3	0
Roscommon	1	7	1	0
Sligo	8	3	2	2
Tipperary North	11	5	27	8
Tipperary South	12	14	30	0
Waterford	3	2	0	0
Westmeath	26	21	2	0
Wexford	15	6	7	0
Wicklow	12	4	3	0

Table 2.1: Distribution of castles, by type in counties.

Timber Castle Height Comparison

As discussed in Chapter 1, Müller-Wille (1966) classified the distribution of motte castles by height: Class I (greater than 10 m); Class II (10-5 m); Class III (less than 5 m). This division of height is not entirely arbitrary, as approximately five meters correlates roughly with the old English measure of the perch (pole, rod, *perticata*) which ultimately became fixed at 16.5 feet or 5.03 meters (King 1972: 101). If the construction of Class II castles at five meters was an attempt to standardize to the perch, one must also consider the passing of time on a timber castle motte structure; that is, hundreds of years of erosional activity, natural and human caused, could significantly modify the height and shape of an earthen castle. Therefore, while classifying castles by height is important in understanding distributions of castles and the process of fortification across the countryside, relying on height for distinguishing between lordly classes, or in trying to identify wealth of builder, is difficult.

King (1972) analyzed the motte castles in England and found 47 of 473 (10%) extant castles are in Class I. In comparison to the results found from Müller-Wille (1966) for the Rhineland are markedly lower than the English castles, with only six of 147 mottes being Class I (4%). Analysis of the published Irish castle sites from the Archaeological Inventories of motte castles found of the 157 measured motte castles, 10 are Class I, with one recorded in the past and destroyed (Thurles Townparks, North Tipperary TN041-042004). The resulting percentage (6.3%) is much closer to England than King (1972) estimated based on fieldwork available at the time. If we include motte and bailey castles into the calculation, an additional 11 sites of Class I height of 112 measured motte and bailey sites. Together, of the measured earthen castles in Ireland, 21 of 269 are Class I (8%). McNeill's analysis of 100 motte castles in Ireland from Meath, Louth, Ulster, and the South-West Midlands also resulted in 8% of castles in Class I (McNeill 1989/1990: 61).

While arbitrary, this division of timber castles into height is historically important in the field of castle studies. Too often Ireland and Irish timber castles, particularly in the Republic, were marginalized, deemed too sparsely spread, too small, and lacking any and all historical documentation for further analysis. At the Castle Studies Group Summer

conference on Timber Castles in 2012 upon hearing Immich's dissertation focus was on the timber castles of north Co. Tipperary, renowned castleologists Tom McNeill commented "But there are no castles there!" This bias against timber castles in Ireland is not, therefore, only continental, but also driven by Irish archaeologists.

2.8: Conclusion

The archaeological evidence for fortification dates as far back as the Neolithic in Temperate Europe where earthen banks and ditches were constructed to protect causeway camps and promontory sited settlements. Complex field systems are linked to sedentary agricultural communities, such as at Céide Fields, Co. Mayo. With increased trade, social stratification, wealth, and spread of settlement, heavily fortified settlements developed in the Bronze Age. Hillforts, oppida, and other similarly fortified sites arose in large numbers during the Iron Age. Fortifications of the medieval period reused Roman stone-built camps, in addition to the standard timber and earthen bank and ditch fortifications of the earlier periods. The first earthwork castles of Temperate Europe developed during the 10th-11th centuries; sites such as the Husterknupp, near Cologne, modern Germany, illustrate the development castles sites took over time. Castles were sited in a variety of areas, natural defensibility was not always the first reason for constructing a castle in a particular location. Proximity of communication routes and water sources, distance from/to pre-existing urban settlement, control over strategic fording and bridging point or mountain passes were also considered. The distribution of castles in Ireland has been called "surprising" given the movement of Anglo-Norman lords into the countryside; these castles were mapped for spatial analysis. New inquiry of the Archaeological Inventory of Ireland collaborated an earlier study by Tom McNeill, showing that 8% of castles in Ireland are of Class I in height.

Chapter Three: Landscape Archaeology and Geographic Information Systems

- 3.1 Introduction
- 3.2 History of Landscape Archaeology
- 3.3 Spatial Technology
- 3.5 Geographic Information Systems
- 3.5 Visualization
- 3.7 Spatial Modeling
- 3.8 Landscape Archaeology and Spatial Technology
- 3.9 Conclusion

3.1 Introduction

Landscape archaeology provides a methodological approach in this dissertation, as it is a holistic set of interdisciplinary methods used to examine the archaeological remains of timber castles in their landscape settings. This chapter examines landscape archaeology as a methodological approach, details the history of the term and the place of Geographic Information Systems (GIS) in landscape studies. Spatial technologies, including GIS are an increasingly relevant technology for archaeologists, especially in the field of landscape archaeology. The role of GIS in archaeology is particularly applicable to studying landscapes on multiple scales, as is demonstrated in this thesis. This chapter concludes with an examination of spatial modeling techniques utilized by landscape archaeologists, and describes the model created to examine timber castle sitings in Chapter Six (207-244).

3.2 History of Landscape Archaeology

Landscape, as a term, traces its history to the late 16th century Dutch painters of rural scenery (David and Thomas 2008). Landscape does not simply mean land, or earth, nor does it refer only to scenery. “Landscape is qualitative and heterogeneous” (Ingold 1993, p 153) in comparison to quantitative and homogenous land—land can be weighed and measured, whereas landscapes cannot. Landscape is difficult to define categorically; issues of scale and boundaries are complicated by time and cultural views (Ingold 1993). Landscapes can be artificial or natural. Landscapes can be constructed, conceptualized, and idealized (Knapp and Ashmore 1999). Landscapes can hold memories, sustain social

memory, fundamentally order cultural relations, and be transformed. Studying landscapes in archaeology includes measuring earthworks and surveying sites, as well as examining mental conceptualizations of the self, others, and the world.

The first studies of archaeological landscapes can be traced to antiquarians of the 16th century, when Greek and Arab travelers trekked to Egypt to view the pyramids and European travelers journeyed to Tells in Mesopotamia. These first expeditions to remote surface monuments produced descriptions and sketches of archaeological landscapes. Serious antiquary studies in Britain began with the 1533 appointment of John Leland to King's Antiquary by Henry VII (Daniel 1981). John Leland traced chroniclers and historians across England and Wales describing sites of archaeological interest, such as ruins, in addition to narratives on libraries, monasteries, cemeteries, and natural features such as streams and hills (Leland and Smith 1964).

In 1586, antiquarian William Camden, Clarenceux King of Arms in the College of Heralds, traveled across Britain in search of visible antiquaries producing *Britannia*, the first general guide to antiquities (Camden *et al.* 1806). In 1600, the new edition of *Britannia* included illustrations of Stonehenge and Roman coins; Camden was the first to observe and document ancient cropmarks (Fagan 1959). Edward Lhwyd, the second curator of the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford, traveled extensively across England, Wales, Scotland, Ireland and Brittany. Lhwyd was the first antiquarian to describe and sketch the Irish chambered tomb at New Grange in 1699 (Cambell 1960-1963). A Roman coin discovered near the top of the tomb led Lhwyd to correctly situate the monument as being built by ancients (O'Kelly 1967).

Scandinavian antiquarians described and sketched monuments; in 1588 a dolmen north of Roskilde was excavated with the hope of proving the tombs were of ancient giants and warriors as folklore described (Burke 2003). Excavations of a French megalithic tomb at Cocherel took place in 1685 (Bakker 2010: 52-53). Megaliths drew early attention of antiquaries; the tombs scattered across continental Europe were mapped and described. In Jutland, Denmark, runes on tombs were described and deciphered (Mallet 1770). Motivation behind descriptions and excavations of monuments in the 17-

18th centuries were tied to larger questions of geology and antiquity of humankind (Daniel 1967; Daniel 1981).

In America, descriptions of archaeological monuments in the landscape began with accounts of Native American mounds, first by General Samuel Parson in 1783. The mounds of Marietta, Ohio were described as being built by the Canaanites after the expulsion of Joshua (Haven 1973: 14-16). In 1787-8, Brigadier General Rufus Putnam measured the Ohio earthworks in great detail, representing the first attempt at a systematic survey of archaeological monuments in America (Renfrew and Bahn 2004). Thomas Jefferson, prior to becoming the third US president, trenched a mound on his property in Virginia in 1784 (Sayre 1998: 225); Jefferson's publication included detailed notes on the built up strata of the mound representing the first American excavation dug not as a treasure seeker but to determine who built the mounds (Hatzenbuehler 2011: 121-123). The question of who built the mounds continued to draw antiquarian interest in America through the 19th century.

Nineteenth century landscape archaeological studies in Europe were fueled by the Lake Settlement discoveries in Switzerland by Ferdinand Keller (Keller 1866); in 1863, forty-six settlements were found on Lake Neuchâtel, in 1875, two hundred lake settlement sites were known in Switzerland alone (Menotti 2004). The excavations at Hallstatt began in 1846, and led to the division of the Iron Age by metalwork style (Kromer 1959). European inclusion of classical writers into investigations of archaeological landscapes and peoples led to the 19th century link of geography and barbarian tribes. For example, the Keltoi described by Greek writer Hecataeus are geographically linked to the area around Marseille, France; other tribes, including the Germans as described by Julius Caesar, lived east of the Rhine River, whereas the Gauls (Celts) lived to the west (Caesar 1982). This dichotomy set up by Caesar was, in part, a diversion for why the Roman army did not invade west of the Rhine River. The people were different, the landscape was different, and therefore invading that area was not suggested. In the 19th century, the terminology of barbarian tribes was used to describe modern people and culture, specifically on linguistic breaks (Trigger 2006). This primordialistic model helped political movements of the 19th century, such as German

nationalism, through the linking of race and culture under a cultural historical perspective (Siapkas 2003).

By the 20th century, the link between archaeology, geography, data, and interpretation had developed into what we think of as landscape archaeology today; that is, as a study of the connection between the environment and how humans move about, manipulate, and react to their surroundings. O.G.S. Crawford was the first archaeological officer of the Ordnance Survey of Britain; Crawford used aerial photography to accurately map archaeological sites (Crawford 1924; Reeves 1936). The German limes were traced first by aerial photographs by T. Wiegand in the early 1900s (Gojda 2009). At Biskupin, Poland, Army balloons were sent 150 meters high to photograph the extensive site in the 1930s (Kostrzewski 1938). Cyril Fox pioneered the exclusively geographic and landscape approach to archaeological investigation with topographical studies of Britain from the Bronze Age to the Anglo-Saxon period (Foster and Alcock 1963; Fox 1959). Fox introduced the idea of investigating small-scale regions in great detail, studying archaeological remains alongside vegetation, topography, and other geographic variables (Fox 1959).

American geography contributed to landscape studies beginning with Carl Sauer in 1925. Sauer's influential paper on methodology in geography, "The Morphology of Landscape" (1925), introduced the ideas of cultural landscapes. This is the view that landscapes are repositories for any particular culture, given that humans adapt to their physical environment, leaving residue from their culture. Sauer was heavily influenced by the French and German (*Landschaft*) schools of geography which considered not only "landscape", but also the concepts of "culture" and "chronology" in space; particularly Johann Christoph Adelung's (1732-1806) model of *Kulturgeschichte* (culture history) which was rare in North American geography (Gade 2009: 31). For Sauer, "cultural landscape is fashioned out of a natural landscape by a cultural group" (1925: 46); the past of a landscape influences its presence and future.

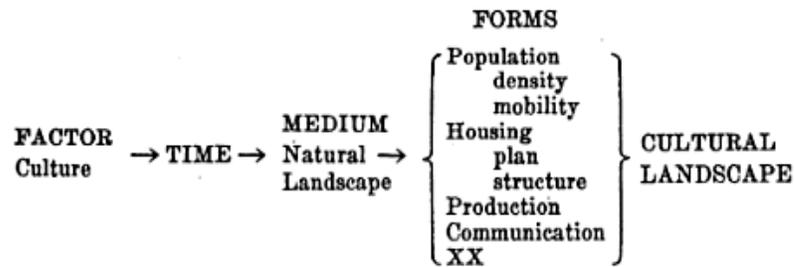


Figure 3.1: Sauer's diagrammatic representation of the morphology of the cultural landscape (Sauer 1925: 46).

For Sauer, as diagrammed in Figure 3.1, culture was the agent, the natural environment was the medium, and the cultural landscape was the result; long-term interactions in space (Sauer 1925). Culture is the shaping force of landscape. Critics have disparaged Sauer for ignoring individuals and relationships between individuals, instead focusing on the outcomes of cultures, their material imprints in the landscape (Mathewson 2009: 13-16). Landscape archaeology is influenced by Sauer's cultural landscapes inherently; however, the majority of work on the archaeology of landscapes includes cultural landscapes (formal, planned) with incidental or "natural" landscapes (Hood 1996: 122). As discussed above in defining *landscape*, separating natural landscapes from cultural landscapes is a matter of cultural definition and contextualization, not an objective process. (Hood 1996: 124).

Sauer's work continues to maintain an influence on cultural geographers, anthropologists, and a variety of other fields, including artists, poets, and painters; as chair of the geography department at the University of Berkeley, the "Berkeley School" of theoretical geography was developed, where Sauer aligned the departments of Geography with History and Anthropology. The study of landscape as a serious topic of investigation on its own shaped the "English landscape tradition", which itself was heavily influenced by the visual arts, music, and literature of English Romanticism (e.g. Johnson 2007).

The "father of landscape history" is W.G. Hoskins (Johnson 2007: xii). Hoskins' *The Making of the English Landscape* was the seminal work on landscape studies in the United Kingdom (Hoskins 1955). This trailblazing work in the field provided the concept

of historical palimpsest of the familiar English countryside. The field of landscape history, landscape archaeology, or historical ecology was born out of Hoskins work; Hoskins invited cultural geographers to “read the text” of the landscape (Hoskins 1955: 19-20). Hoskins traced what we can see in the English landscape in a large view, from geological processes to the coming and goings of different peoples, acts of law and parliament, to technological advances all leaving traces in the landscape of a place, nothing is too mundane for his text. Hoskins and his students participated in archaeological fieldwork at the deserted medieval village of Hamilton, near Leicester (Johnson 2007: 63); he was present at the foundations of the field of historical landscape archaeology. The great successor of Hoskins, Rackham (1986) took up the revolution in storytelling the landscape of England.

Exploration into post-Roman landscapes of Britain in the 1970s reengaged the geographic perspective of inquiry (Aston and Rowley 1974). However, amongst the history of archaeological investigations of landscape, no mention of the term *landscape archaeology* is found in major archaeological journals until the mid-1980s (David and Thomas 2008). Studies during this period were focused mainly on environmental archaeology, the impact of humans on land. The field quickly developed to encompass the often-contrasting themes of *place* and *space*. Developments in landscape archaeology since the 1980s include: elite garden studies (e.g. Yentsch and Kratzer 1994), regional landscapes (e.g. Yentsch 1996), vernacular built environments (e.g. Rotman 2003), sacred landscapes (e.g. Crumley 1999), and digital landscapes (e.g. Verhagen 2012).

At the beginning of the Cold War, with the launch of Sputnik in 1957, nearly all disciplines in the USA underwent a quantitative revolution, with a call towards more ‘scientific’ studies (Redman 1991; Schuurman 2000). With this quantitative revolution in archaeology, previous modes of archaeological inquiry, including Culture-History theories, were included alongside wider comparisons of ecology and settlement patterns (Trigger 2006). With the concerns of quantitative archaeology, the methodological call for systematic and accurate measurements was met with developments in surveying (Binford 1964; Dannel and Dancey 1983; Foard 1978), predictive modeling (Clarke 1968; Sabloff 1981; Schiffer 1972), geoarchaeology (Hassan 1979; Rapp 1975), and

statistical relevance models (Salmon *et al* 1971; Salmon 1967) all subsumed under the category of spatial technology. The major shift was, in effect, a movement from describing landscapes and environments to finding correlations between environment and human behavior in explanatory models.

An early champion of quantitative archaeology was Binford (e.g. 1964) who examined patterns and collected data through the systematic study of settlement systems. Early settlement system research focused on the relationship between the ‘archaeology of place’ or settlements, places where people lived and undertook economic activities, and subsistence, places where food was obtained (Binford 1982). Binford’s archaeological ethnographic case studies followed the Nunamiut of Alaska with the aim of examining the ‘rational’ choices the Nunamiut made in manipulating food choices (Binford 1987; Binford 1981); the results of these studies include multiple indices that continue to be utilized by zooarchaeologists. Questions by landscape archaeologists quickly changed from processes of landscape development to locations of humans on the landscape as advocated by Binford. Studies of human-environmental relations where landscape became an active entity in human lives became the norm (Knapp and Ashmore 1999). Data acquisition techniques, such as aerial photography, also played a role in the development of landscape archaeology. With aerial photographs, large swaths of countryside could be seen for the first time and wide scale patterns of human activity became visible (Paine and Kiser 2003).

British archaeologists of the 1970s first challenged the science and technological approach of quantitative archaeological analysis of landscape in favor of cultural and social archaeological analysis of landscapes. Ian Hodder’s (1978) edited volume *Spatial Organization of Culture* specifically addresses the relationship between human identities and spatial distributions of material culture. Alongside critiques of landscape studies in archaeology were questions of scale in archaeological research. When attempting to reconstruct landscapes and human interactions with landscape, the single site level (settlement or material culture) is not a wide enough scale to fully develop an understanding of the utilized landscape. Archaeological investigations of stone sourcing, tracing source mining or collection locations of knapped flint, illustrated the need for

wide scale investigations of landscapes beyond traditional site analysis (Bradley 2000; David and Thomas 2008).

The entry of cultural resource management (CRM) archaeology, due to resource protection laws in the late 1960s and 1970s, saw new developments towards socially oriented landscape studies—the call to put people back into landscapes. With an increase in salvage archaeology, the idea that archaeological landscapes are heritage worth protecting and saving became written into protective laws (Schiffer and Gummerman 1977). Salvage archaeology in Britain also exposed widespread archaeological landscapes. For example, beginning in 1965, gravel excavation in Essex exposed cropmarks three-hundred and fifty meters wide and over 1 kilometer long with 3000 years of continuous human occupation beginning in the Neolithic (Darvill 2008). The results of this exposure of large socially constructed landscapes included better strategies for archaeological survey and planning.

Cultural landscapes are legally recognized by UNESCO through special criteria, including: 1) intentionally designed and created landscapes (such as gardens and parklands, especially those associated with religious structures), 2) organically evolved landscapes (places with particular socioeconomic, religious, or administrative associations with the natural environment, an example includes mines or quarries), and 3) associative cultural landscapes (religious settlements in the landscape, such as Mount Athos, Greece) (Ashmore and Knapp 1999; Cleere 1995; Mitchell *et al.* 2009). Inherent in new laws and strategies for protecting archaeological landscapes were new job opportunities outside of academia in independent CRM and governmental companies tied to salvage archaeology landscape surveys (David and Thomas 2008).

The British archaeological movements of qualitative study also focused on cultural themes of settlements through an examination of being *in* the landscape using all senses. This “phenomenological” approach critiques Cartesian rationalism of scientific archaeological approaches (Brück 2005). Christopher Tilley (1994) pioneered the systematic utilization of phenomenology for understanding prehistoric landscapes. The phenomenological method embodies the researcher, requiring the use all senses to provide insight into past experiences of monuments (Tilley 1994).

For Tilley, landscapes could be read and interpreted as ‘texts’. Other methods of the phenomenological approach include the ‘hyper-interpretive style’ of archaeological writing by Mark Edmonds (1999), which includes poetic social geographies and limited academic citations or maps, and the ‘distanced’ perspective, such as cultural geographer Denis Cosgrove (1984), who accuses traditional scientific geography as hiding behind surveys, maps, and aerial photographs. For Tilley and colleagues, the attack on social geography was transferred to criticism of traditional landscape archaeologists (Tilley 1994).

Archaeological phenomenology is related to the philosophical nature of ‘Being’ and is largely appropriated from Heidegger’s phenomenology (Barrett and Ko 2009). For Heidegger, phenomenology is the study of structures of experience, or consciousness (Heidegger 1962). The conscious experience is ultimately known from a first person point of view (Spiegelberg and Schuhmann 1982). Critics of the phenomenological method in archaeology voiced their opinions strongly (e.g. Barrett and Ko 2009: 276-277; Fleming 1999: 119-120; Fleming 2006: 271-276). Fleming (2006) evokes three critiques of phenomenology, including most convincingly employing geological data to oppose Tilley’s ‘beach in the sky’ premise of barrow construction in Neolithic Dorset Ridgeway as a key example of phenomenology failing to represent the past accurately (e.g. Tilley 1999; Tilley 2010).

The main critique of the ‘beach in the sky’ concept takes Tilley’s examination of the Neolithic barrow of Maiden Castle in a landscape of chalk ridgeways and deconstructs past links between Chesil Beach and the tradition of long barrow construction (Fleming 2006). For Tilley (1999; 2010), the size (225 meters west to east, central section of 65 meters long, and an eastern section of 157 meters northwest to southeast) of Maiden Castles bank barrow, as well as its orientation curving to the right, as seen from the south, provide a metaphorical link between Chesil Beach and the monument (see Figure 3.2). “The Maiden Castle Bank barrow in its linearity, regularity, and morphology—curving round to the right—is an almost exact representation of the beach—the beach converted into a cultural form and set out for display along the Maiden Castle ridge” (Tilly 2010: 209). Tilley (1999) argues this mimicking of the environment

illustrates a link between the construction of the enclosure and bank as an explanation for the Neolithic peoples connection to the land.

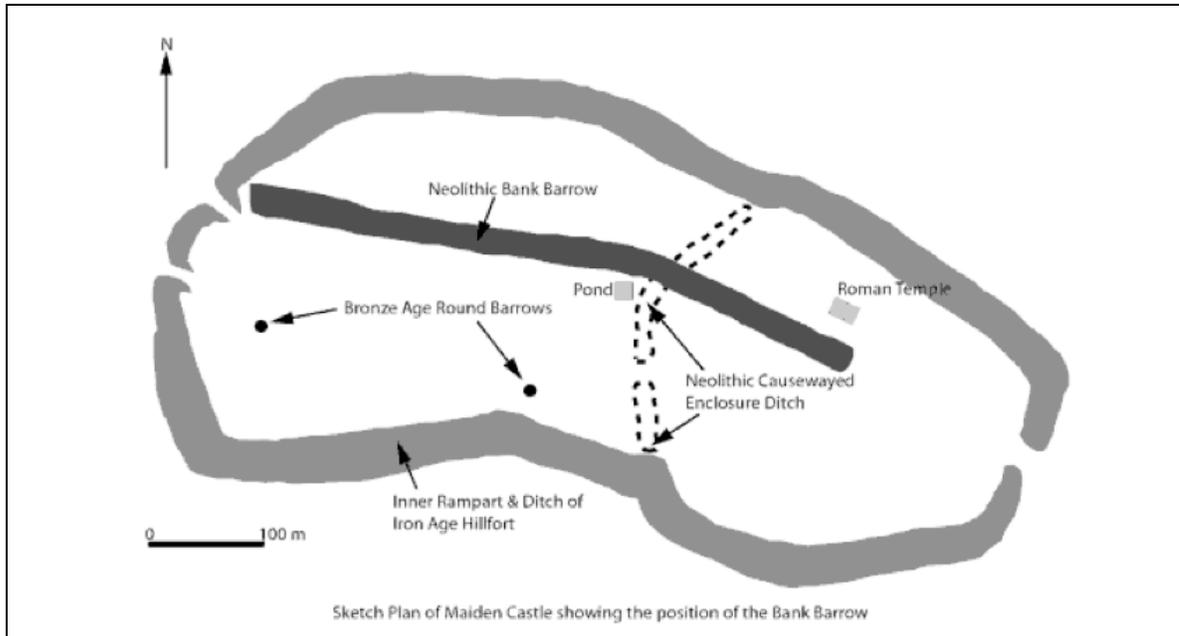


Figure 3.2: Maiden castle causeway enclosure, bank barrow, and the relationship between the monuments (Tilley 2010: 10). The Neolithic Bank Barrow under discussion is illustrated in the center.

Fleming (2006), utilizing radiocarbon dating places the Neolithic barrow of Maiden Castle to the mid to late fourth millennium BC (with the eastern end dated between 3520-3200 BC); with this date, Fleming examined the geological and hydrological processes that created Chesil Beach. According to the geology, Chesil Beach would still be rising to modern levels during the construction of the Neolithic barrow at Maiden Castle (Fleming 2006: 274). Chesil Beach existed, however it would not have been the same height, position, and character it has today. Therefore the background presented by Tilley—as the reason for the construction of the bank barrow at Maiden Castle is questionable (Fleming 2006). The warning presented by Fleming in the Chesil Beach example is that examining modern landscapes and interpolating the past can be dangerous and misrepresentative of the motives of past people. Fundamentally, the interpretative style of phenomenological archaeology aids the scientific data driven

approach of traditional landscape archaeology. Too much of either method exposes inherent obstacles in the attempt to accurately represent the past.

Landscape archaeology after the quantitative/qualitative debate has largely cast off steadfast dedication to scientific or interpretive methodologies and embraced an approach that recognizes the best qualities of each technique, in part by understanding the role of interpretation in the scientific method. Researchers such as Matthew Johnson (2007) have critically examined the history of landscape archaeology to situate their investigations. For Johnson this includes convincingly arguing that British landscape archaeology is rooted in the tradition of English Romanticism (Johnson 2007).

Other recent landscape archaeology perspectives include gendered landscapes. Gendered perspectives of cultural landscapes include studies by Spencer-Woods (2010) on powered landscapes; Allison (2002) on Roman houses and military forts; and Evans' (2006) quantitative analysis of gendered identities in north-eastern France. Landscape archaeologies focused on the medieval period are most applicable to this analysis, including those undertaken on Anglo-Saxon England (Hingham & Ryan 2010), Ireland (Aalen *et al* 1997; Brady 2009; Reeves-Smyth & Hamon 1983; Smith 2008), and Medieval England (Aston 1985; Cantor 1982; Rackham 1986).

Landscape archaeology depends on datasets that include multiple scales. With advances in technology in the 1980s, including increased accessibility of computer memory and data management capabilities (see Zubrow 2006: 17), new techniques in collecting and analyzing spatial landscape data became available to archaeologists (Zubrow 1990; Wheatley 1993; Harris and Lock 1996). Innovations in field methods in archaeology began with Gordon Willey's (1953) use of aerial photography and have continued at a ratcheted pace to the present.

3.3 Spatial Technology

Spatial technology, as used in this dissertation, refers to the hardware and software associated with the representation of real world locations (Lock 2000; Wheatley 2000; Wheatley and Gillings 2002). Spatial technologies include GIS, Global Positioning systems (GPS), laser mapping, remote sensing, and geophysical survey (McCoy and

Ladefoged 2009). The technology used to represent spatial data often includes multiple data collection peripheral devices (for example: survey equipment such as TotalStations, remote sensing gear such as ground-penetrating radar, magnetometry, and electronic resistivity/electromagnetic conductivity) as well as specialized and general software for data storage and analysis (GIS systems such as ESRI's ArcGIS, MapInfo's GIS products, Clark Labs Idrisi, open source QGIS and GRASS systems; image analysis programs such as ERDAS IMAGINE; drawing software for cartography such as AutoCAD and Adobe Illustrator; data converter programs such as Microsoft Access and Excel; and statistical software packages such as R and GME).

3.4 Geographic Information Systems (GIS)

In archaeology, the most widely used spatial technology is GIS; which integrates hardware, software, and data for capturing, managing, and displaying geographically referenced information to visualize and interpret patterns and relationships in spatial data. Geographically referenced information has an accurate location on models of the earth; data are projected utilizing the correct ellipsoid and datum.

GIS technology supports combinations of multiple data sources, including aerial photographs (raster format) and GPS points (vector format). The analyses of spatial data with spatial statistics are well developed within archaeological investigation, including spatial regression, spatial autocorrelation, cluster analysis, and nearest neighbor statistics (Immich 2009; Goodchild 2010; Logan 2010). GIS is often mistaken as being the only spatial technology that archaeologists utilize, however much of the data included in GIS layers has been produced through other spatial technologies, such as GPS, geophysical evaluation, or digitized maps. However, GIS has been called the most powerful technological tool to be applied to archaeology since the invention of radiocarbon dating (Westcott 2000). Archaeological data is spatial and temporal in nature; GIS technologies were developed to handle complex data of spatiotemporal nature and therefore are a natural fit to store and analyze archaeological datasets (Aldenderfer 1996; Green 1990; Harris and Lock 1995; Kvamme 1999; Reilley and Rahtz 1992; Savage 1990).

Digital representations of landscape are models of the real world. Utilizing spatial technology in archaeological investigation is a method, not a specialization or a theoretical school (Daly and Evans 2006). Incorporating technology into landscape archaeology helps connect approaches of theory and practice. Fundamentally the data collected, analyzed, and presented by spatial technologies are representative of reality, but they are not reality. Therefore caution and self-reflectivity of those carrying out archaeological analysis with spatial technology must be heeded.

A major question in the field of spatial technology is how to best meld theory and practice. Work tends to focus either on methodological concerns, for example tolerance limits of buffer zones or precision of measurements within certain projection systems, or theoretical themes, for example phenomenological approaches of being in the world or gendered perspectives of viewing monuments. It is no surprise the literature is split, just as archaeological dialog was divided along quantitative and qualitative lines with the foundations of high technological digital spatial technology. New work that addresses the connections between theory and spatial technology within archaeology has moved towards the integration of spatial technology within theoretical frameworks (Hodder 1987), which are addressed below.

Literature focusing on archaeology and specific spatial techniques, such as GIS and remote sensing, are numerous. McCoy and Ladefoged (2009) and Kvamme (1999) provide two comprehensive literature reviews of spatial technology in archaeology. In this review, the author follows the general themes of McCoy and Ladefoged (2009) as explained below: Visualization, Archaeological Prospecting, and Modeling.

3.5 Visualization

Visualization of spatial data includes two types; data visualization and representative visualization. Data visualization sets out to examine patterns and relationships through automated exploratory spatial data analysis (ESDA) described by Goodchild and Janelle (2004). ESDA uses GIS software to perform graphic and summary statistic functions to examine data for general trends. Lemmens *et al* (1993) utilized ESDA for extracting features from digitized aerial photographs, using contrast and spatial

feature manipulation of aerial photographs and helped discover faint circular archaeological sites otherwise hidden to the naked eye. Redfern and Lyons (1999) investigated the use of computer automated object extraction algorithms to locate and accurately map sub-circular archaeological features from aerial photography, specifically ringforts in Ireland.

Representative visualization is the direct representation of archaeological data, including maps of archaeological sites, as well as reconstructions of past places and objects. Archaeologists compiling representations of archaeological sites decide what data to collect and represent utilizing prior knowledge as well as interpolation and simplification methods (McCoy and Ladefoged 2009). Cartographic standards for representation of data on static maps allow for the ease of readability and simplification of data for professional and public audiences (Brewster 2005). With new technological advances, such as Google Earth, mashups (such as Google's .kml files), and Web 2.0, archaeology is "likely on the verge of an era of better, more accessible, and more creative virtual reproductions" of spatial archaeological data (McCoy and Ladefoged 2009: 265). The critiques of representative visualization are similar to those of quantitative landscape archaeology. Hodder (1999) critically assesses the lack of humans and artifacts in "empty sites" where architecture and landscapes are painstakingly reconstructed.

Archaeological Prospecting

Archaeological prospecting is the systematic use of methods (such as geophysical survey) for the non-destructive localization and documentation of archaeological sites and monuments. As archaeological excavation becomes increasingly expensive, time consuming, in addition to destructive and non-repeatable, other methods of investigating archaeological sites and features are increasingly sought. Archaeological prospecting has a long history, first used by Colonel William Hawley in 1921 at Stonehenge (Hawley 1921). Hawley probed the ground over circular pits, first noticed by John Aubrey, with an iron rod and marked the maximum penetration depth (Linford 2006). A method that seems old-fashioned and outdated, probing continues to be utilized in bog areas, where archaeological excavation threatens to burst the bog, such as at the Neolithic field system

of Céide Fields, Erris Fields, and Belderrig More, three bog sites in County Mayo, Ireland (Caufield 1983; Caufield *et al.* 2011).

With technological innovations, virtual prospecting techniques can uncover detailed archaeological information without the need for excavation (Barratt 2005). The majority of archaeological prospecting focuses on remote sensing data collection techniques and representation (Conyers 2004; Conyers and Goodman 1997; Johnson 2006; Scollar 1990). Other techniques include traditional surveying, terrestrial laser scanning, and digital elevation model (DEM) creation, increasingly from lidar (Barber *et al.* 2005; Bradley 2006; Howard 2007).

Prospecting methods examined here include digital elevation models (DEM), aerial photography, photogrammetry, terrestrial laser scanning, and geophysical methods of remote sensing. These techniques assess subsurface remains through surface application of hardware technology and processed analysis of resulting data. The following section examines each technique in succession, with attention to Irish data sources.

Digital Elevation Models

Digital elevation model (DEM) construction is an important aspect of reflecting the environment. Elevation (z) and location (x,y) points are collected to accurately model the surface of the earth in DEMs. DEM creation employs direct survey techniques with TotalStations or GPS, as well as satellite imaging radar (SIR), synthetic aperture radar (SAR), airborne imaging radar (AIRSAR), and airplane mounted scanners that use light detection and ranging (lidar) (Carey *et al.* 2006; Challis 2006; Crutchley 2006). Lidar scans provide photometric data of archaeological sites. Often used in detection and far ranging analysis, lidar utilizes optic remote sensing technology collected in low altitude flight paths or balloon surveillance (Brady and Shaw 2006; Crow *et al.* 2007; James *et al.* 2006). Digital surface models generated by lidar provide a high vertical accuracy; the newest sensors claim vertical accuracy in the sub-5 centimeter range. DEMs collected by lidar have been used in recent years in the production of cost-effective large-scale terrain

maps (Jones 2010). A detailed explanation of the lidar data utilized in this dissertation is offered in Chapter Six (219-244).

After the point data for DEMs are collected, interpolation methods are used for the construction of surfaces. Hageman and Bennett (2000) explore four DEM interpolation methods (including inverse distance weighted—IDW method, ordinary and universal Kriging methods, and the Triangulated Irregular Network—TIN method). The algorithm selected for interpolating data points can result in differing representations of the same data. In choosing a DEM interpolation method, one must consider the type of data used, if the data fits the assumption of the algorithm, the accuracy desired in the DEM, and the amount of time available for data processing (Hageman and Bennett 2000: 117). The TIN interpolation method may prove the most useful in this research due to the nature of the data as it represents landforms not contour lines; however, root mean square error (RMSE) calculations will be employed to check the accuracy of any model (Hofierka 2009).

The creation of DEMs in Ireland by archaeologists is focused on three techniques: the first is uses an algorithm from digitized aerial photographs of ringforts (Redfern, Lyons and Redfern 1999), the second uses field survey point collection with a TotalStation at the motte-and-bailey castle at Lissardowlan, Co. Longford (see Figure 3.3 and 3.4) (O’Conor and De Meulemeester 2007), and the third is through lidar scanning (Brady and Shaw 2006). Data sources for Irish DEMs are shown in Table 3.1. Comparisons of these techniques can show the expected relative accuracy. The motte and bailey castles examined in Ireland indicate a range in ground spacing between 10 meters and 1 kilometer by the use of DEMs. Archaeological investigations indicate lower ground spacing is likely to pick up features of interest in addition to the increase of accurately representing the feature. Redfern, Lyon, and Redfern’s (1999) aerial photography analysis had an overall accuracy of between .94 and .71 meters. In contrast, O’Conor and De Meulemeester’s (2007) analysis utilized a one meter grid. The resolution of DEM created by traditional field survey is unparalleled by any commercially available DEM (except lidar), though more time consuming.

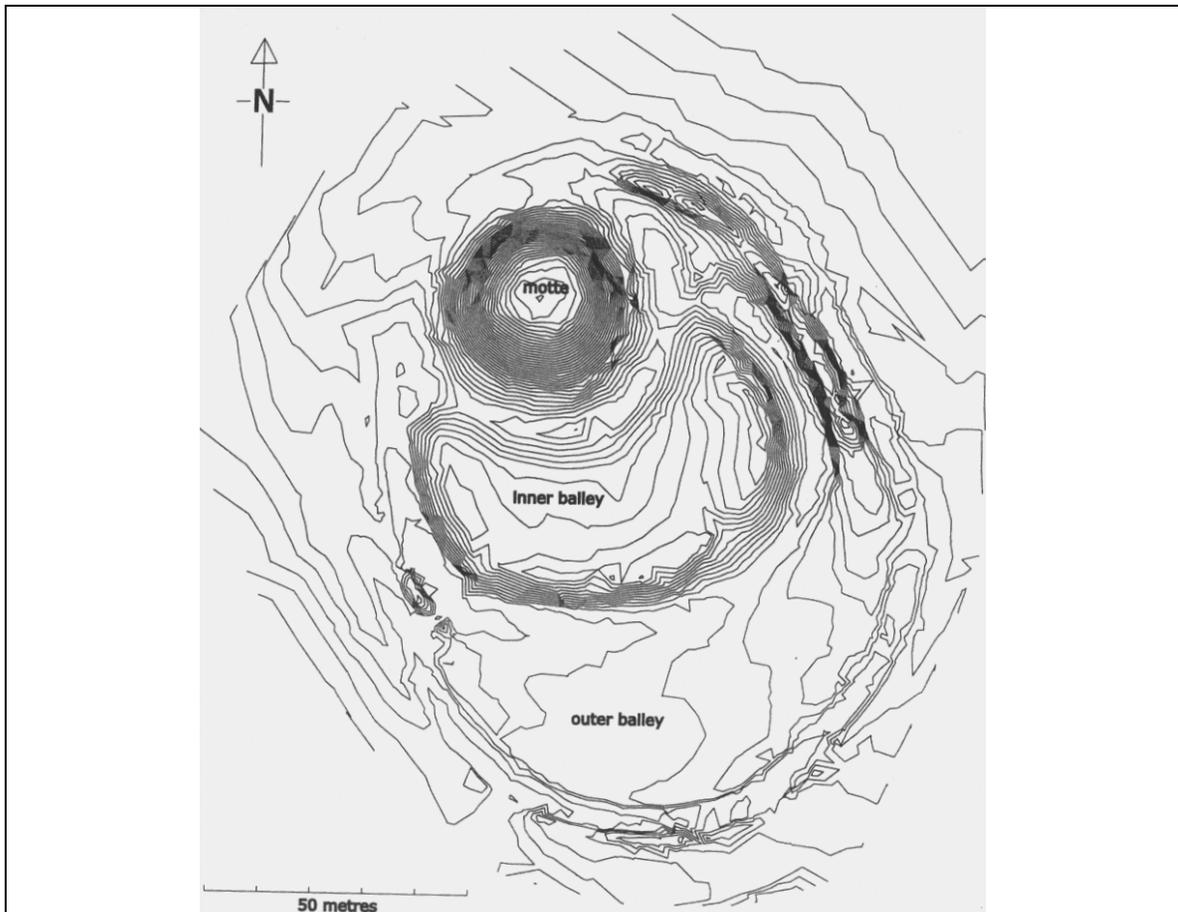


Figure 3.3: Topographic map of the motte and crescent shaped bailey of Lissardowlan, Co. Longford from TotalStation survey by O’Conor and De Meulemeester (2007).

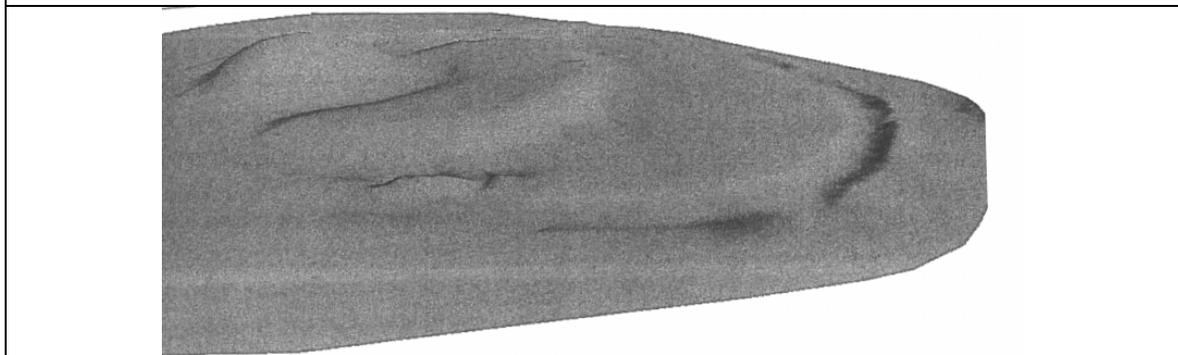


Figure 3.4: Surface DEM of the motte and crescent shaped bailey of Lissardowlan, Co. Longford from TotalStation survey by O’Conor and De Meulemeester (2007).

<i>Source</i>	<i>Resolution</i>	<i>Acquisition Method</i>
Ordnance Survey Ireland	Urban 2m; Rural 10m	Purchase from OSI
USGS SRTM DEM	90m	Free from USGS SRTM
SRTM DEM from ERA-Maptech	70m	Purchase from ERA-Maptech
SRTM DEM Hillshade	Hillshaded DEM	Free from NASA
Synoptics DEM	50m	Purchase from Synoptics
LANDMAP DEM	30m (not good quality)	Purchase from LANDMAP
GTOPO30 DEM	30m	Free from USGS
ACE-DEM	1km	Purchase from ACE-DEM
ASTER DEM	User generated	Purchase from ASTER

Table 3.1: Irish DEM sources

Aerial Photography

The use of aerial photography in archaeological site reconnaissance dates to the 1950s (Willey 1953), although historical aerial photographs date to the 1930s. Collections of aerial photographs are found in libraries, provincial, regional, and military archives as well as in private collections. In the Republic of Ireland, the National Monuments Section of the Department of the Environment, Heritage, and Local Government holds archival aerial photograph material in Dublin. Also in Dublin, the National Museum Ireland, Ordnance Survey Ireland, and Geological Survey of Ireland hold collections of photographs. Collections of aerial photographs are also held by Universities and other Research Institutes, including the National University of Ireland at Galway and Cork, Queen's University Belfast, and the Discovery Programme. The Public Records of Northern Ireland (PRONI) in Belfast holds the largest public archive of aerial photography for Northern Ireland. For more information on aerial archaeology in Ireland, see *Air and Earth: Aerial Archaeology in Ireland - A Review for the Heritage Council* (Lambrick 2008).

There are two types of aerial photographs, vertical and oblique. Vertical photographs are taken with the camera pointing directly perpendicular to the ground. Historically vertical photographs have been taken for a variety of reasons, from military purposes, commercial collection for generalized mapping, census and planning information, to environmental protection. Vertical aerial photographs can be viewed in stereoscopic, allowing for elevation comparisons (Campana 2009). Oblique photographs

vary the camera's point of view; depending on the time of year oblique photography can illuminate shadows and depressions otherwise not visible. Archaeologists often commission oblique photographs specifically for site prospecting. Schollar *et al* (1990) review specific conditions for aerial photography, including light, weather, and seasonality of images and the impacts of these conditions on interpretation. Archaeological prospecting can be undertaken on either vertical or oblique photographs. Aerial photographs allow for a bird's eye view of full landscapes and provide archaeologists with new techniques for examining large-scale sites (Campana 2009; Lambrick 2008).

To use aerial photography in GIS applications, the images are first rectified through image processing. This matches the limits of the aerial photograph to known landmarks such as modern roads, survey benchmarks, or DEMs. Schollar *et al* (1990) set out the algorithms for image rectification. In Ireland, the Ordnance Survey Ireland provides digital aerial photographs from the 1970s. Recent developments in web mapping products, including the use of Landsat (28.5 meter resolution) and QuickBird (~one meter resolution) with aerial photographs in Google World and World Wind (Beck 2006), have furthered the use of aerial photograph by archaeologists without the need for specialized GIS software.

Photogrammetry

Accurate data from satellites are now incorporated alongside aerial photographs for archaeological prospecting. Satellite imagery is collected and transformed into 3-dimensional coordinates through photogrammetric techniques. Distant range photogrammetry discerns features in variation of pixels, which indicate ground coverage (Lockhart & Green 2006). The data are collected and converted into Raster format, with grids representing landcover types. Remote sensing measures the amount of light reflected from surfaces in discrete portions of the electromagnetic spectrum. Depending on the resolution of the remotely sensed image, greater levels of land cover detail are detected (Shennan & Donoghue 1992). Many researchers (e.g. Giardino & Haley 2006;

Lock 2003) discuss satellite platforms in depth, covering Landsat Thematic Mapper, Landsat 4 and 5, and SPOT.

Archaeological prospecting with satellite photogrammetric images is similar to the techniques utilized in analyzing aerial photographs with a few key differences. Aerial photography is often lumped under the general term remote sensing; however, scale, color, and detection, differ between traditional aerial photography and satellite applied remote sensing (von der Osten-Woldenburg 2005). Scale and resolution of satellite images tend to be of a wider scope than aerial photography. Color variability in satellite images is greater than aerial photography, which is traditionally black and white (with some techniques of false color in infra-red) (Schollar *et al* 1990). Detection capabilities are dependent on the scale and resolution of either aerial photography or satellite images.

In satellite images, vegetation variance, such as crop markings, can indicate otherwise hidden archaeological features. Classification completed through the GIS process can discern ground coverage, and image processing permits grayscale, noise removal, and filters to be applied to the dataset (Ladefoged *et al* 1995). Further implementation of GIS can meld geophysical datasets with site plans, distribution maps, and topographic maps (von der Osten-Woldenburg *et al* 2006).

Terrestrial Laser Scanning

Recent trends in archaeological site reconstruction include virtual aids and laser scanning, including a major initiative by English Heritage (Barber *et al* 2005; Jacobson 2001; Slator *et al* 2001; Vlahakis *et al* 2002; Von Scoy *et al* 2001). Terrestrial laser scanning has, in recent years, been adopted as a tool for capturing object level three-dimensional survey data. In archaeology it has been used to capture the process of excavation, to maintain historic buildings during refurbishment, and to model shape in artifact analysis (Barber *et al* 2005). For example, the Discovery Programme, Ireland utilized terrestrial scanning to produce accurate high-resolution 3-dimensional models of archaeological earthworks and excavation at Tulsk, County Roscommon (Corns and Shaw 2009). Material culture, including Paleolithic hand-axes, ceramics, and faunal remains have been examined with three dimensional scanners (Grosman *et al.* 2008;

Karasik and Smilansky 2011; Niven *et al* 2009). Landscape features including Native American petroglyphs at Jeffers Petroglyphs, Comfrey, Minnesota were scanned with a white light scanner (Soderberg 2012).

Incorporating data collected by terrestrial laser scanning into GIS models can illustrate how GIS in archaeology is a fast and cost-effective tool for recording in the process of excavation (Barber *et al* 2003; Barber *et al* 2005; Brady Shaw 2006). Data collected with scanners is especially valuable in museum contexts, where objects can be ‘handled’ virtually in the final scanned product (Chapman *et al* 2013). However, laser scanning is not without inherent issues; resolution of the captured image is essential and the size of datasets recorded is large. The process of laser scanning itself is a slow and labor-intensive; and the results are often “devoid of their landscape context” (Corns and Shaw 2009, p e77). Scanners occasionally are not well equipped for outdoor weather, while the tilt range of scanners does not always allow for maximum potential of the scan (Brady and Shaw 2006). The stability of digital data into the future has been questioned, due to inappropriate data standards, lack of understanding, and the ‘rush of capture and digitize’ (Thwaites 2013).

Geophysical Survey Methods

Geophysical survey methods are non-destructive archaeological prospecting techniques including electrical resistivity, magnetometry, and ground-penetrating radar among other techniques not examined in this review. Archaeologists work with geophysical specialists who perform geophysical surveys and analyze the data. Geophysical techniques follow standard field survey techniques, either before excavation or replacing excavation in sensitive cultural areas, and work best in locating shallow-buried archaeological remains and structures (Piro 2009).

Ground-penetrating radar and electrical resistivity are active methods of geophysical analysis using a device that emits electromagnetic fields into the ground and then senses the return of those signals, which are altered by the physical properties of subsurface features (Cammarano *et al* 1997). Magnetometry is a passive method that measures the total magnetic field of the earth and detects variations in the magnetic

properties the soil (Piro 2009). A typical anomaly picked up by magnetometry is fires from hearths or open pits. In most prospecting, multiple techniques are employed to accurately measure anomalies representative of archaeological remains (Bickler & Low 2007). Geophysical surveys include specialized techniques that combine additional data in GIS mapping. The literature focusing on geophysical survey for archaeologists is well developed (e.g. Cammarano *et al* 1997; Campana & Piro 2009; Piro 2009; Wiseman & El-Baz 2007) and includes critiques and reexamination of proper methods (Bickler & Low 2007).

3.7 Spatial Modeling

As spatial technologies produce general models of landscapes, a few techniques of data integration explore models for specific purposes. The first of these is predictive modeling, a technique explicitly set out to find unknown archaeological sites through known criteria. The second type, agent based modeling, can be applied to a variety of past scenarios for explanatory purposes.

Predictive Modeling

Archaeological predictive modeling aims to predict archaeological characteristics of places from environmental characteristics, such as soils, slope, or proximity to water (Judge & Sebastian 1988; Wheatley 2000; Verhagen 2007; Verhagen & Whitley 2011). It is a process of predicting a value (or probability of value occurrence) of a dependent variable in an unsampled and untested location using one or more independently sampled variables (typically based on data or theoretical knowledge of analogous human behavior) (Kvamme 1992; Conolly & Lake 2006). As the past is complex, often unknowable, non-confirmable, and expensive to discover, modeling is often the only way to approach an explanation through experimenting with known, observed, collected data (Lock 2003).

Predictive models are extrapolations from known data. GIS methods such as Thiessen polygons, cost allocation, spatial clustering, and logistic regression are a few of the tools, which can aid in the process of predictive modeling (Warren 1990). Predictive

modeling in archaeology has generally drawn on known physical points of information; however, recent modeling has taken into account social, religious, ideological, and political factors of the known culture and landscape, factors previously considered incapable of being mapped (Ebert 2004). Models can link data and interpretation; examples include simulated decision-making processes of Mesolithic hunter-gatherers (Mithen 1990), simulated colonization of the Americas by hunter-gatherer groups of Palaeo-Indians (Steele *et al* 1996), determining routes of Roman roads (Menard 2011), and surveying locations of Roman pottery kilns in the Argonne Region of Northeastern France (Verhagen & Gazenbeek 2007). As with the few samples here, generally models with fewer variables have better results through predictive modeling than models with many variables (Ebert 2004; Verhagen 2007).

Predictive modeling is used most across “large, often poorly surveyed sections of North America” (McCoy & Ladefoged 2009: 271). Archaeology in the Netherlands also utilized predictive modeling with success (Verhagen 2007). It has been argued that predictive modeling in a general European context has not been used due to a more complete knowledge of site distributions (Richards 1998: 337). Whereas a lack of site distribution in North America makes predictive modeling more attractive to labor intensive surveying (Verhagen & Whitley 2011).

There are three main goals of predicative modeling: 1) as a cost and time saving measure of investigation, 2) to explain observed spatial distributions, and hence behavior of past communities, and 3) to inform cultural resource management practices (Wheatley 2000; Verhagen 2007). The majority of predictive models in place today are funded by organizations tied to CRM activities. For example, MN/Model Statewide Archaeological Predictive Model, funded by the Minnesota Department of Transportation (DOT) Federal Highway Administration Intermodal Surface Transportation Efficiency Act, was created by Minnesota’s DOT in reaction to Section 106 laws of the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) (Minnesota Department of Transportation 2005; Hudak *et al* 2002). MN/Model is being updated (2014) with new environmental datasets, statistical methods, and new historical hydrography models. Access to MN/Model is not web based;

archaeologists must contact the state DOT offices to gain data of predictions. This type of proprietary nature of some predictive models equates to a lack of user-base.

Critiques of predictive modeling are numerous and well developed (van Leusen *et al* 2005; Wheatly 2000; Wheatly and Gillings 2002). Wheatly in “Making space for an archaeology of place” (2000: n.p.) systematically set out his objections as follows:

- 1) Explaining the past through correlations between environment and behavior is reductionist to the extent that it “effectively de-humanises [sic] the past”.
- 2) Correlative prediction as explanation is “profoundly anti-historical”. Space is denied having history and biographies.
- 3) Mathematical equations are substituted for meaningful human actions; correlative prediction “ignores the critical theoretical space that lies between past people’s behaviours [sic] and their physical surroundings”. Human behavior is not simply produced as a reaction to their environment.

In addition to these oppositions, Wheatley (2000) points out the ‘catch-22’ of predictive modeling. Since predictions are compared to known data, data collection is inherently important to assess accurate model creation. Yet predictive models are used to avoid data collection (through excavation or survey), but need the data produced by excavation or survey to accurately predict site locations. Predictive models, therefore, utilize incomplete archaeological data sets (van Leusen *et al* 2005). Accusations of environmental determinism also plague predictive modeling (McCoy and Ladefoged 2009), especially when models are based solely on one dependent environmental value such as slope.

Wheatley (2000) succinctly explains the academic disenchantment with predictive modeling; predictive models “will never work because archaeological landscapes are too complex, or to put it another way, too interesting” for correlative modeling processes. Instead the focus of CRM companies seeking to save time and money should be on well-designed and properly implemented sampling strategies (Wheatley 2000). Cultural resource managers who plan and implement archaeological investigations, should also

take expert knowledge of archaeologists working in the field into consideration, often over results of predictive models.

Agent-Based Models

Archaeologists (and social scientists in general) rarely use simulation modeling, such as agent-based models (ABM). However, recent advances in spatial technology visualization methods have used simulation models and spatial technology to study changes in demography, migrations, settlement patterns, and battlefield movement (Anderson and Gillam 2000; Axtell *et al* 2002; Bandy 2004; Campillo *et al* 2012; Dean *et al* 1999; Ladefoged *et al* 2008; Murgatyord *et al* 2012; Peterson and Drennan 2005). Agent based models are not predictive, instead they are “much more concerned with theoretical development and explanation” (Gilbert 1997, p 2.1). Therefore, agent based models are not as constrained to environmental factors as predictive models.

ABM are bottom-up computer programs where agents participate through defined interactions with other agents and their environment in artificially designed spatial environments. Agents are representative of individuals (e.g. families, clans, households, water molecules, drivers), and therefore are heterogeneous units; agents have attributes (e.g. life span, nutritional requirements, movement capabilities, family ties, directionality), based on selected rules of behavior programmed by the designer (Gilbert 2008). Interactions between agents and environments are recorded by ABM software programs (such as NetLogo) and are outputted as quantitative data. Analysis of agent behavior over multiple generations and thousands of iterations allows for examination of decision-making processes (Gilbert 2008; Goldstone & Janssen 2005).

The most well developed and cited ABM utilizing archaeological data examines the population growth and collapse of the Kayenta Anasazi Long House Valley tradition (Axtell *et al* 2002). In this study, artificial agents represented individual families or households, the smallest social unit definable by the archaeological record of the area. The environment was constructed through known topographic boundaries of settlement and large collections of paleoenvironmental data (soils, climate, and hydrology). The simulation follows agent attributes (see Figure 3.5), which are based on known

archaeological attributes such as maize consumption (nutritional needs) and cultural groupings (matrilineal and matrilocal locations) (Axtell *et al* 2002).

The Long House Valley population was tracked and simulated levels followed historically known trajectories (see Figure 3.6). The ABM of the Anasazi created by Axtell *et al* (2002) seeks to *explain* the historical and archaeological record of abandonment of the Long House Valley through environmental and nutritional simulation. Results found that the abandonment of the Long House Valley cannot be exclusively explained by environmental variation.

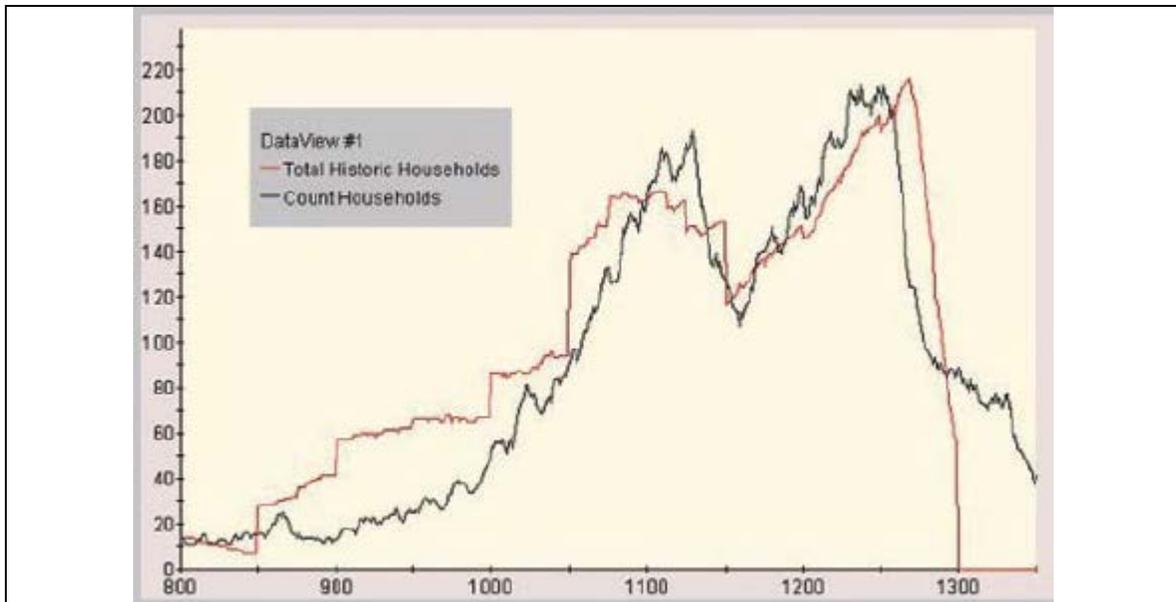


Figure 3.5: Historically known trajectories of the Long House Valley Population (red) compared to the model households (black) (Axtell *et al* 2002: 7278).

Critiques of ABMs in archaeology cite two categories: computational issues and cultural problems. ABM is computationally intensive, requiring heavy demand on computer memory systems. Recreating models from source data can be impossible, or very difficult depending on the software program the original model was created within (especially when software programs are not open source) (Janssen 2009; Stonedahl and Wilensky 2003). ABMs are not simple mathematical functions, and analysis of the

multitude of variables, parameters, and settings are practically infeasible (Stonedahl and Wilensky 2003).

Artificial Anasazi Household Attributes

1. Five surface rooms or one pithouse is considered to represent a single household.
2. Each household that is both matrilineal and matrilocal consists of 5 individuals. Only female marriage and residence location are tracked, although males are included in maize-consumption calculations.
3. Each household consumes 160 kg of maize per individual.
4. Each household can store a maximum of 2 years' total corn consumption (1,600 kg), i.e. if at harvest 800 kg of corn remains in storage an additional 800 kg can be added to that from the current crop.
5. Households use only 64% of the total potential maize yield. (The unutilized production is attributed to fallow, loss to rodents, insects, and mildew, and seed for the next planting.)

Figure 3.6: Household (agent attributes) (from Axtell *et al* 2002: 7276).

Calibration of models for error measurement can be impossible depending on the number of parameters required by the model. Simply put, to perform an exhausting grid-based search on the parameter space of the Anasazi model “would involve 6.5×10^{16} combinations of parameters, and would require a million processors each running over a million years to complete” (Stonedahl & Wilensky 2003: 122). Examinations of the Anasazi model have found bugs in the original source code (Stonedahl & Wilensky 2003), carrying capacity concerns (Janssen 2009), and issues with the robustness checking in parameter calibration and sensitivity analysis (Stonedahl & Wilensky 2010).

Cultural attributes of the Anasazi model were given to agents based on ethnographic and biological studies of “historic Pueblo groups and other subsistence agriculturalists throughout the world” (Dean *et al* 1999, p 187). Projecting ethnographic data onto prehistoric groups is difficult. Researchers investigating the Anasazi settlement abandonment of Long House Valley were foremost economists (R.L. Axtell) in consultation and collaboration with archaeologists and anthropologists (J.S. Dean and G.J. Gumerman), as well as environmental researchers. If ABM is to flourish in archaeological investigations, more archaeologists need to learn the programming skills to create, run, and analyze data from simulation models.

3.8 Landscape Archaeology and Spatial Technology

Not all landscape archaeology investigations employ data created and analyzed by spatial technologies; however, those that use spatial technology allow for the creation of fully fleshed out landscapes representative of real world experiences. The theoretical aim of landscape archaeology increasingly focuses on space and place, where spatial technology allows for a body of method and theory that can explore meaningful spatial relationships of archaeological material (Wheatley 2000). Spatial technology helps understand the dynamic relationship between humans and the environment. Only through examining the lived landscapes can we view the relationships between people and places that provide the context for everyday life (Thomas 2001). Of course not all landscape archaeologists have found all spatial technologies equally appealing. Those technologies specifically dealing with visualization have found more generalized success than spatial analysis methods.

In approaching the problem of integrating spatial technology and theoretical robust studies, three recent studies stand out as models of approach and analysis. These studies do not present simplistic versions of spatial technology, nor do they avoid discussion of the theoretical basis for the work.

The first study that stands out is in an edited volume focusing on bridging approaches such as phenomenology with spatial data elements (Salisbury and Keller 2007). Tina Thurston (2007) traces the early processual understandings of regional patterns of domination in a study of southern Scandinavian political and spatial landscapes to the development of British post-processualism. Thurston discusses the impact of changing theoretical trends and involvement of spatial data and how they impacted her own work in colonial landscapes (Thurston 2007). This study is important in that Thurston follows the development of spatial technology used in archaeological theories, and still finds a place for complex colonial theory and spatial data.

The second study combining spatial data and archaeological theory is by Shelly D. Werner examining site morphology and settlement distribution in the North Channel Region (Werner 2007). Werner's dissertation uses visibility analysis of sites in Argyll, Northern Ireland, and Co. Donegal to examine seaway travel and trade communication.

Spatial data and analysis are used to investigate settlement patterns within theoretical views of landscape archaeology. Conclusions of the study are optimistic for the use of spatial technology in examining large-scale multi-site studies, as well as theoretical developments of settlement interaction in the North Channel (Werner 2007).

The third study that skillfully combines method and theory is by Henry Chapman (2006). *Landscape Archaeology and GIS* covers spatial technological procuring, processing, interpretation and integration with landscape archaeology theories. Chapman discusses how landscape studies can be enhanced by GIS technologies. An important case study discussed in the text focuses the DEM creation of a possible double bailey at Beaudesert Castle, Warwickshire England. The 4,508 data points were collected in the field with a TotalStation and GPS to examine the monument defenses on a steep hill. Only through this analysis was it uncovered that the motte did not have two baileys, rather the sharp decline away from the site mimicked an additional fortification. Only through examination utilizing the construction of a DEM was this archaeological problem of subtle features resolved (Chapman 2006: 95).

3.9 Conclusion

Landscape archaeology provides a framework for contextualizing observations of the siting for the earliest Irish castle sites as well as establishing parallels and relationships between medieval sites. The environment in which castles were constructed was not a static backdrop; rather it was integral to human activity within it, providing constraints, opportunities, reference, and meaning. This chapter introduced the history of landscape archaeology, as well as the particulars of geographic information systems in landscape archaeology. As multiple scales are utilized in examining any landscape, spatial technology provides a method for such detailed and multiscalar study.

Chapter Four: Timber Castles of north County Tipperary

- 4.1: Introduction
- 4.2: North County Tipperary: History
- 4.3: North County Tipperary: Geography
- 4.4: Timber Castles in North County Tipperary
- 4.5: Conclusion

4.1 Introduction

The history of the attempted colonization of Ireland by the Anglo-Norman lords was covered in Chapter 1; here the terminology associated with study of colonialism in the archaeological record is covered. The concept of the Middle Ground is discussed in its original context; this model of colonialism is applied to the Anglo-Normans in Ireland. Moving onto the study area, the history and geography of north County Tipperary are detailed. The timber castles and their locations within the historical boundaries of north County Tipperary are discussed and presented through maps. Finally, a discussion of the distribution of the castles within north County Tipperary is presented.

4.2 North County Tipperary: History

As discussed in Chapter 1 (47-54) the geographic focus of this study is north Co. Tipperary (see Figure 4.1). Located in the midlands of Ireland in the province of Munster, north Co. Tipperary is a distinctive region to examine castle siting. Historical geographer William Smyth described Co. Tipperary as occupying a transitional zone in Ireland from east to west as well as a “hybrid country in physical, economic and cultural terms” (Smyth 1983: 17). This dissertation contrasts castle siting in the midlands to other regions of Ireland, in particular, Ulster, a region well studied (see Chapter 1 for this historiography of castle studies).

An examination of the historiography of the lords who encastellated the region provides a context for the process of colonization; however, the specifics of the conquest of Co. Tipperary is largely omitted from the historical record (Empey 1985: 76). We know of the names and lives of the lords who were granted land in modern Co. Tipperary

after 1185 upon the arrival of John, Lord of Ireland³. However, we do not know why these lords decided to construct castles in particular locations within north Tipperary, nor do we know from the historical record the timeframe within which lords constructed timber castles. The majority of castle sites discussed here are undated and are therefore lumped together chronologically after 1185. This lumping is a problem in castle studies, specifically in studies of timber castles, where architectural details cannot help fill in dating sequences. Because excavations may not yield datable material (such as at Hastings), there is no good solution to this problem.

Through examination of the siting of timber castles of north Co. Tipperary, we can begin to trace the process of colonization by Anglo-Normans into the midlands of Ireland independent of historical documentation. Tipperary “was a significant region in the middle of the country, where the tension and battles between Irish and intrusive forces have been both sustained and creative. It is a key heartland region” (Smyth 2006: 309). Historical documents record the conquest of Tipperary as being complete with the main outlines of settlement already taking shape by 1206. Outlining the physical manifestation of conquest in north Tipperary is difficult due to the sparse documentation of particulars in the construction of castles. The remains of castles in the archaeological record reveal the process of colonization through the midlands of Ireland.

³ John, son Henry II of England, was 10 when granted lands in Ireland in 1177.

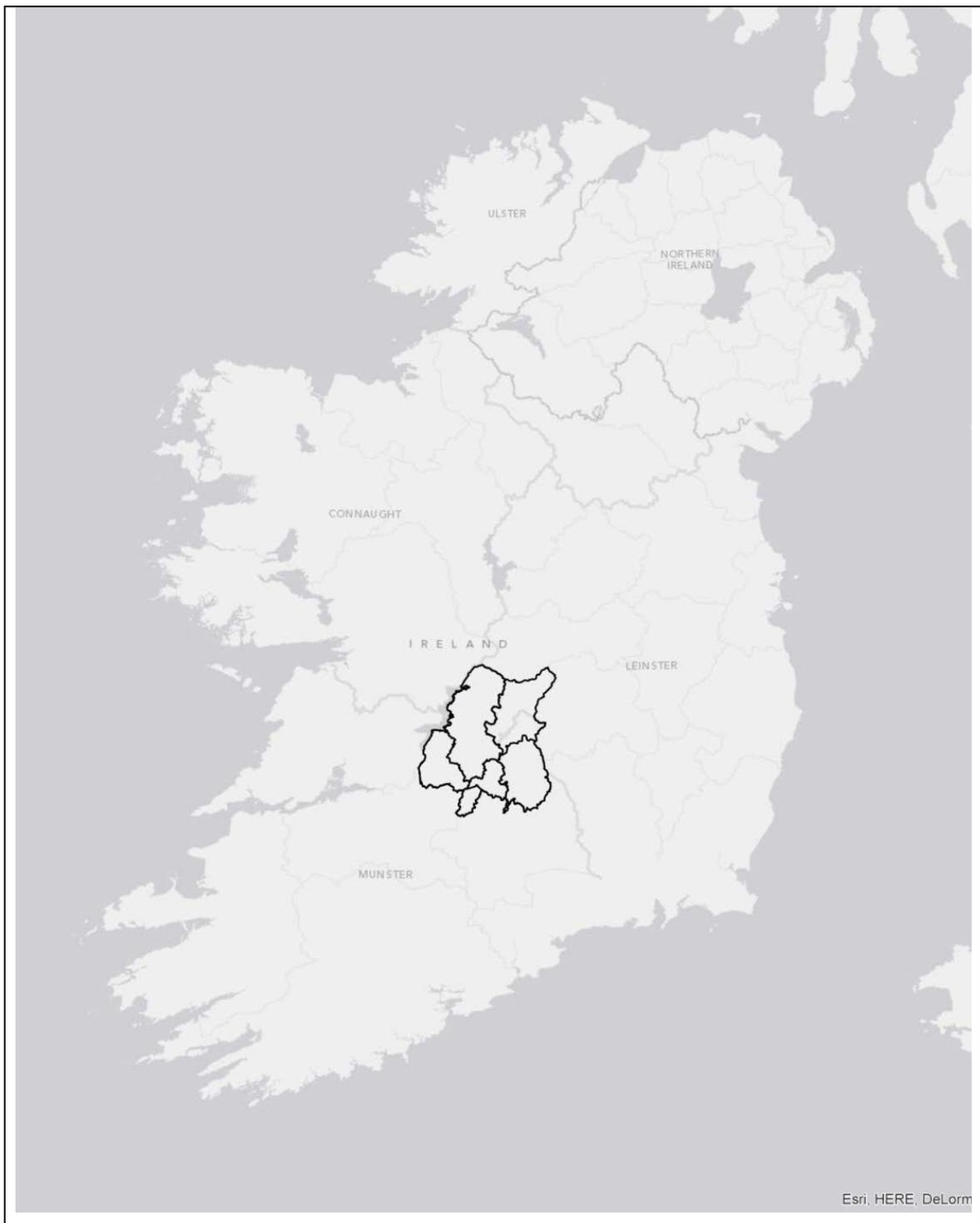


Figure 4.1: Location of north Co. Tipperary in Ireland. Medieval administrative boundaries are outlined in black.

Lords

In 1185, John, Lord of Ireland, granted land in Tipperary to three individuals with the rank of principle seigniorial class (the Archbishop of Dublin was granted a much smaller estate): William de Burgh, Philip de Worcester, and Theobald Walter. Walter was John's butler, therefore he came with John from England to Waterford on April 25, 1185 (Curtis 1991: 56). William de Burgh also accompanied John on this trip. De Burgh was granted a large fief in south Tipperary, on the northern border of the diocese of Waterford, and he subsequently built the motte at Tibberaghy, Co. Kilkenny (Hennessy 1996: 118). The principle tenants of de Burgh were Elyas Fitz Norman and Giles de Saint John. The de Worcester lordship was granted five cantreds (see below) in south central and eastern Tipperary (Empey 1985: 76-83; Hennessy 1996: 119). The impressive motte at Knockgraffon, south Tipperary, was constructed by c. 1192 under the de Worcester lordship (Lyons 1950; Orpen 1911). Theobald Walter was granted five and a half cantreds across the modern countries of Tipperary Offaly, Limerick, and Clare. In Tipperary this landholding encompassed approximately 568,000 statute acres, 60,000 of which belonged to the church (Empey 1970a: 27). Table 4.1 below illustrates the division of north Co. Tipperary by lordship.

As the majority of timber castles were not documented in the historical record, the examination of those castles is important for understanding patterns of conquest. John established the motte castles at Ardfinnan and Tibberaghy in 1185 on the northern side of the River Suir; both castles lay in the diocese of Lismore (Empey 1985: 76). Although outside the bounds of the study area under investigation here, the fortifications along the River Suir represented John's first steps in moving into Co. Limerick (of which Tipperary was part of at that time). The motte at Tibberaghy is located on the north side of the River Suir on a natural hill; the 30 foot high motte is topped with a flat platform "eighteen paces in diameter" (Orpen 1907a: 252). Surrounding the motte is a bank and ditch; the bailey is destroyed, but probably rested at the north of the site, following the natural slope of the hill (Orpen 1907a). Tibberaghy is located in the barony of Iverk, located in modern Co. Kilkenny, and borders the baronies of Iffa & Offa East, south Co. Tipperary. The earliest castle at Ardfinnan was a "promontory castle" located on a ford

over the River Suir where the remains of a later stone castle exist still today (Orphen 1911 II: 98). The siting of the Ardfinnan castle is high with views over the River Suir valley and with a rocky approach; the original timber castle was possibly constructed as a base for the advancement into eastern Munster.

Geographic Boundaries

The Anglo-Normans divided Ireland for administrative purposes; the principle subdivision was the cantred. As discussed in post-colonial discourse, “boundaries are critical in the colonial taming of the wild and the control of space” (Ashcroft 2013: 162). The term cantred was Norman, imported from Wales, and is equivalent to the English hundred; however, the majority of cantred boundaries in Ireland were undoubtedly based on pre-invasion Irish boundaries. Medieval Anglo-Norman cantreds served three purposes: 1) they reflected the boundaries of the great ‘capital’ manors; 2) frequently they aligned with internal diocesan divisions (the rural deanery); 3) and a cantred was the basic administrative unit of the country (Empey 1985: 73). “Each cantred had its own serjeant and coroner and was separately presented before the justices in eyre when they visited the country” (Empey 1970b: 23). In his doctoral dissertation and subsequent publications, historian Adrian Empey traced the history of the Butler (Walter) lordship in north Tipperary and traced the geographical boundaries of medieval Anglo-Norman Tipperary (Empey 1970a; 1970b; 1985). The cantred and manors of 13th century medieval Tipperary, as defined by Empey from the *Calendar Roll of Justices Itinerant* in Co. Tipperary, 33-34 Edward I, are as follows (after Empey 1970a; 1970b; 1985 and Hennessy 1996) (see Figure 4.2 for the cantreds of north Co. Tipperary):

Cantred	Manor	Lordship	Location	Size⁴
Ormond	Nenagh	Walter	North Tipperary	200,000 acres
Owney and Arra	Nenagh	Walter	North Tipperary	
Elyocarroll	Dunkerrin	Walter	North Tipperary	100,000 acres
Eliogarty	Thurles	Walter	North Tipperary	
Muscry	Kilfeakle	de Burgh	North Tipperary	
Okonagh	Tipperary	Henry, archbishop of Dublin	South Tipperary	
Eoghanact Cashel (alias Ardmayle)	Ardmayle	de Worcester (later de Burgh)	North Tipperary	
Moyenen	Knockgraffon	de Worcester	South Tipperary	
Slievardagh	Knockgraffon	de Worcester	South Tipperary	
Moctalyn	Kiltinan	de Worcester	South Tipperary	
Comsey	Kiltinan	de Worcester	South Tipperary	
Offa	Knockgraffon	de Worcester	South Tipperary	
Iffowyn (Iffa)	Kilsheeland & Clonmel	de Burgh	South Tipperary	

Table 4.1: The medieval boundaries of north Co. Tipperary as granted into lordship with principle manor (as distinguished from the historical records). White shaded cells represent north County Tipperary; gray shaded cells represent south County Tipperary.

⁴ Empey 1986: 15

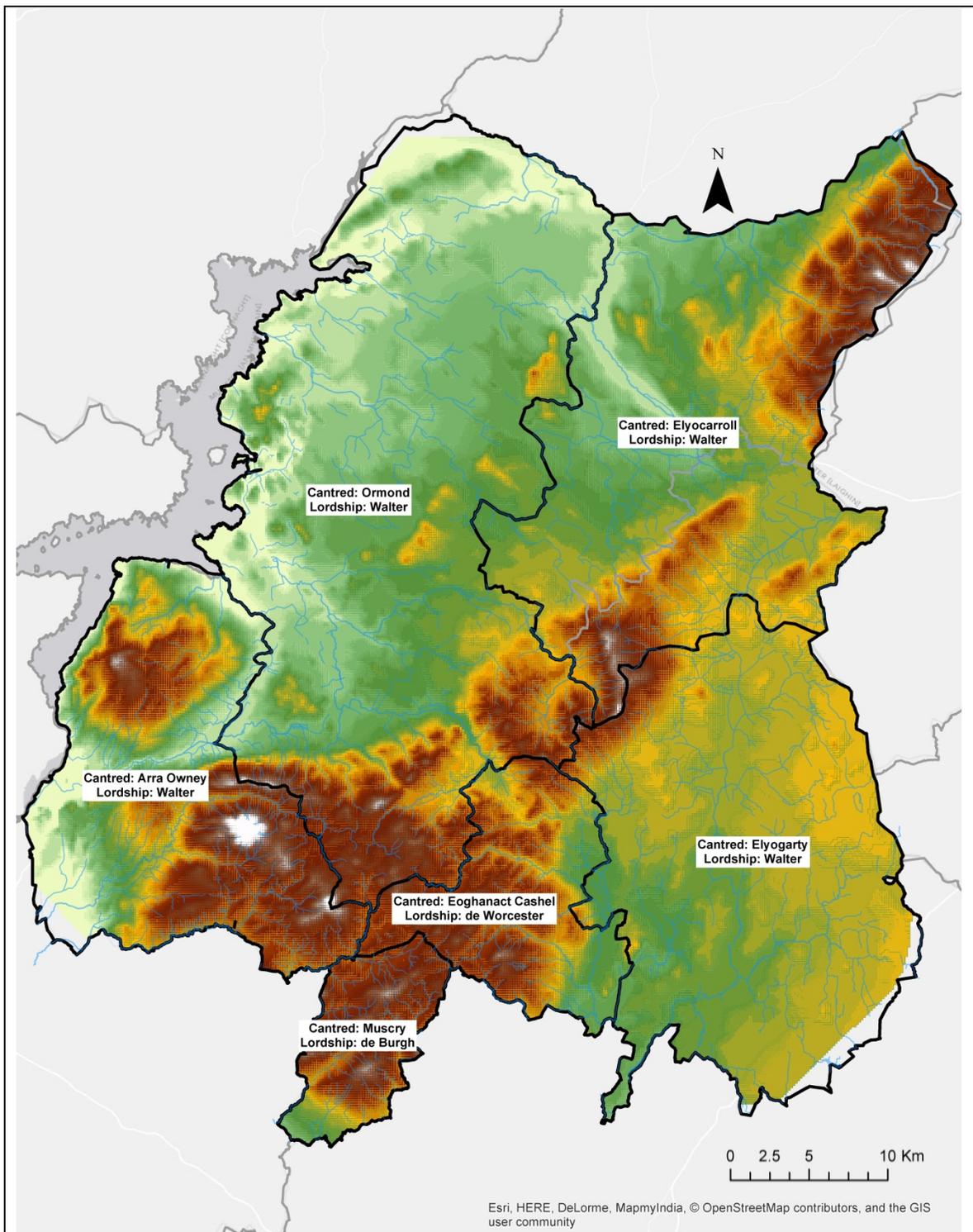


Figure 4.2: North Co. Tipperary as divided by John, Lord of Ireland into cantreds overseen by William de Burgh, Philip de Worcester, and Theobald Walter. The background map shows elevation of the region.

By the beginning of the 14th century, the cantreds of Comsey and Owey and Arra disappear from the *Calendar of Documents Relating to Ireland* (here forth CDI); for legal and administrative purposes Tipperary was then divided into 11 parts (Empey 1970b: 22). In the 16th and 17th centuries, the subdivision of counties changed from the cantred to the barony. Baronies are larger than civil parishes (which were based on medieval ecclesiastical parishes) and were established by the British administration in Ireland as the primary administrative subdivision of the country. Boundaries of baronies were based largely on the geography of the cantred; the division of Ireland into cantreds and baronies varied with different lordships (Price 1953-1955: 186-187). The change from cantred to barony in north Tipperary was radical, with the cantreds of Okonagh, Muscry, Eoghanacht Cashel, Moyenen, Moctalyn, Comsey, and Elyocarroll disappearing. The baronies in north Tipperary thus became: Eliogarty, Ikerrin, Ormond Upper, Ormond Lower, Owey and Arra, and Kilnamanagh Upper. Southern Tipperary also has six historic boundaries: Clanwilliam, Kilnamanagh Lower, Iffa and Offa West, Middle Third, and Slievardagh. (See Figure 4.3).

It should be noted, that the 43 timber castle sites surveyed in this dissertation correspond to the modern county boundaries of Co. Tipperary. (See Figure 4.4) The modern boundary varies from the medieval boundary. The discussion here therefore includes the barony of Elyocarroll; however, the far northern portion of this region was not surveyed (the barony of Clonlisk). Any discussion or measurements of these sites are taken from the *Archaeological Inventory of County Offaly* (O'Brien & Sweetman 1997) and the National Monuments Service Archaeological Survey Database.

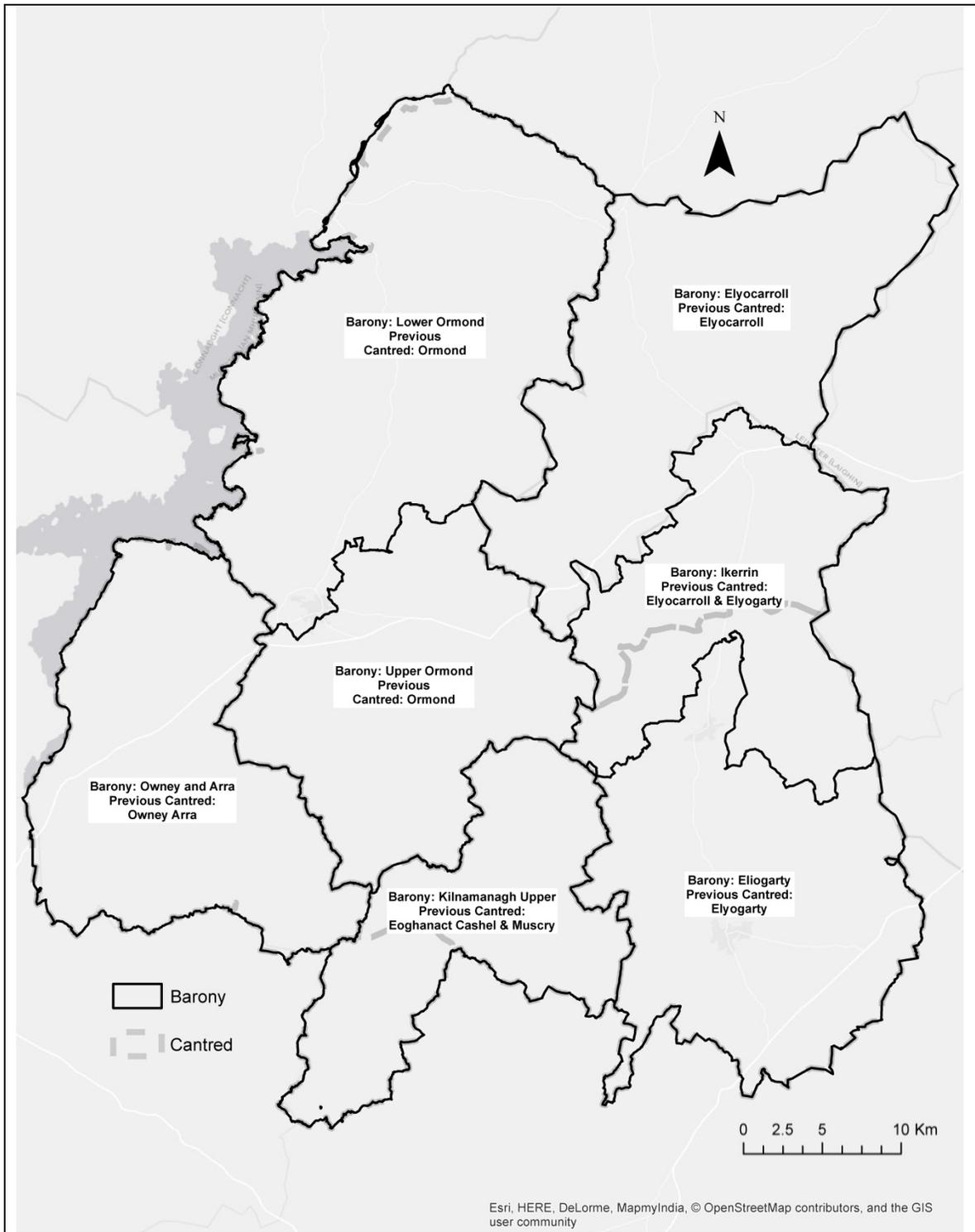


Figure 4.3: Sixteenth century division of cantred into baronies, the cadastral unit of subdivision until the Local Government (Ireland) Act 1898 division of the country into County and Council Districts.

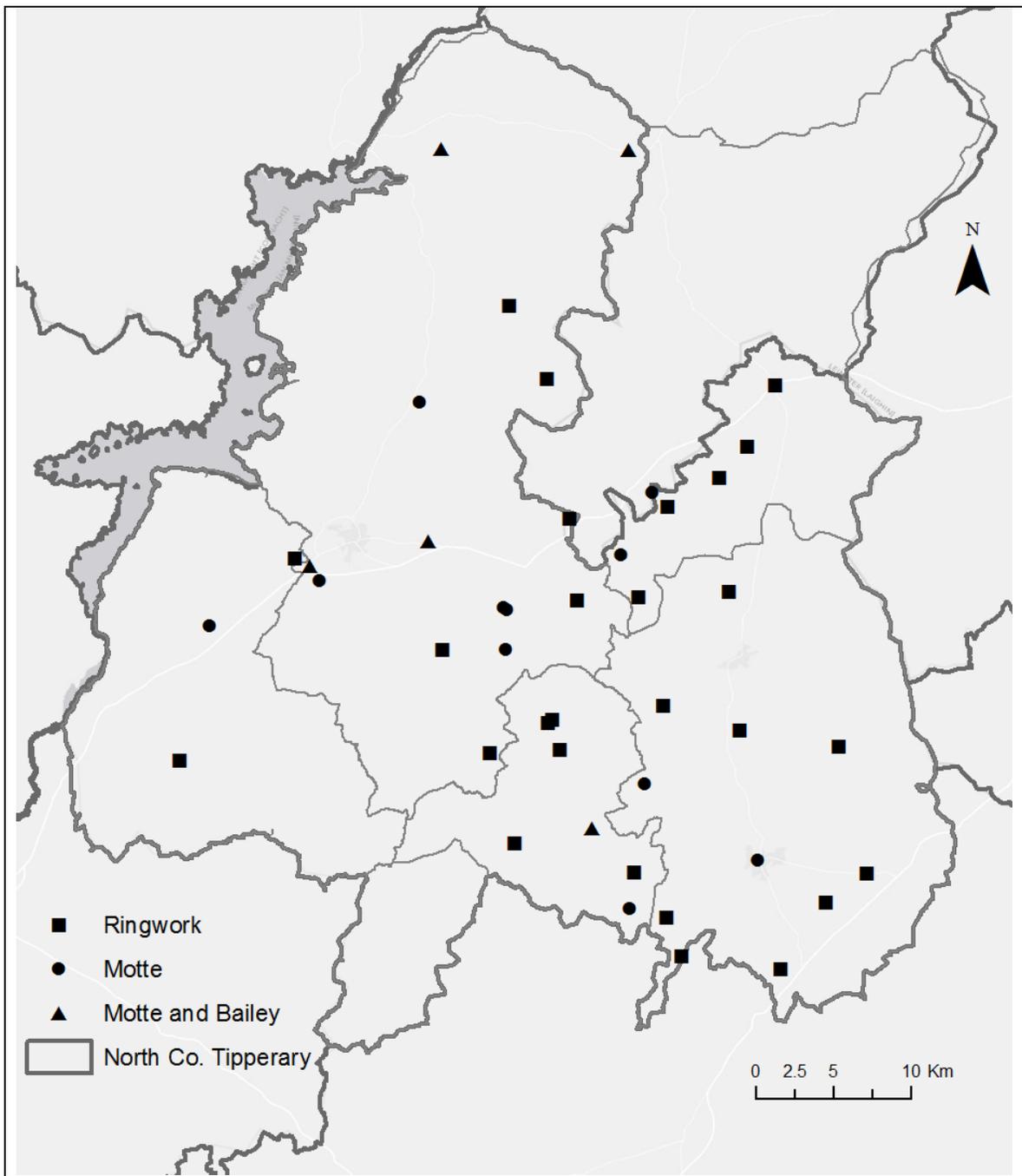


Figure 4.4: The modern boundary of north County Tipperary with the 43 surveyed timber castle sites. See Gazetteer of sites, Appendix 1.

Tipperary separated from the Honor of Limerick as a county around 1254 (Empey 1985: 71; Hennessy 1996: 116). From 1838-2014 County Tipperary was broken into

north and south Tipperary Riding for administrative purposes⁵. The examination here of the timber castles of north Tipperary is analogous to the Butler lordship in the county. As Empey and Geographer Mark Hennessy have illustrated, it is a region where Anglo-Norman colonization of the late 12th-14th centuries was fundamentally compromised through a combination of royal interference, minorities (under-age heirs), and absenteeism by overseeing lords resulting in “effective decapitation of the feudal hierarchy throughout Tipperary” during the “formative stages of colonization,” which had percolating effects throughout the feudal history of the county (Hennessy 1996: 120).

The manorial system was imposed on Irish soil, unlike the situation in England or the continent where the manor was a product of gradual evolution (Empey 1988: 450). The manorial system was prospective; to succeed economically lords needed to attract a significant number of settlers. As Hennessy shows from the *Calendar of Documents relating to Ireland*, the term “manor” was not used prior to 1237 in Ireland (Hennessy 1996: 120 citing *CDI* no. 2422). Land was broken into units called “cantred”, “cantred and vill”, “castle and lands”, and “lands and fortresses”; these subdivisions are much larger geographically than the manor (Hennessy 1996). This dissertation therefore utilizes the cantred boundaries as geographic limits, with reference to the manor and civil parish.

The center or *caput* of a manor housed a castle; early in the colonization, these castles were made of earth and timber, constructed either in the form of ringwork or motte castles, or early masonry castles (O’Conor 1998: 26-33). Over the 21 years between 1185 (with John’s grant) and 1206, with the deaths of de Burgh (1204) and Theobald Walter I (1206), Tipperary “witnessed the disruption of the Gaelic order and its replacement by a feudal regime organized by different principles” (Empey 1988: 76). These lordly principles were centered on manorial life, with agricultural activities, rural administration and justice, alongside the military function of castles taking place within the manor, castle, and demesne land (lordly land, farmed by the lord directly) (O’Conor

⁵ The Local Government Reform Act 2014 demolished North and South Tipperary as separate administrative boundaries (Local Government Reform Act 2014: Part 2, No. 9b, i and ii.). It should be noted, the fieldwork presented here was undertaken during the summers of 2011, 2012, and 2013 while north Tipperary was administered separately from south Tipperary.

1998: 26; King 1988: 5). The Charters for Nenagh, Roscrea, Thurles, and Templemore date to the 13th century, when the market towns of north Tipperary were established.

Manors and medieval parishes have been shown to be territorially coincident in eastern Ireland, where the patronage of Anglo-Norman lords established parish churches (Graham 1985: 11; Hennessey 1985: 60; O’Conor 1999: 194). In areas with sparse manorial documentation, such as north Tipperary, the medieval parish boundary can act “as a substitute ... for the geographical identification of Anglo-Norman manors carved out in the subinfeudation process” (O’Conor 1999: 194). As O’Conor (1998) demonstrated in 12 instances in Co. Laois, the low flat-topped mounds adjacent to parish churches are likely to be motte castles, as supported by evidence of the medieval usage of the sites. The timber castles can be found in manorial centers; therefore where the historical record lacks geographic boundary information for manors, medieval parish boundaries can be utilized as a proxy (Figure 4.5). This is essential for authenticating the classification of the ringwork castles in north Tipperary.

However, as evidenced from the case of Moatquarter, parish boundaries have changed over time. Moatquarter motte has a long history of being categorized as a royal inauguration mound, beginning with a reference to local tradition (Gwynn & Gleeson 1962: 183) and, more recently, by archaeologist Elizabeth FitzPatrick (2004: 94). However other scholars, including George Cunningham (1987: 114) and Paul MacCotter (2013: 51-52), argue that the site exhibits Anglo-Norman origins. MacCotter (2013: 51-52) utilizes the saint’s life of Mó-Cheomóc of Leigh, Co. Tipperary, to illustrate the site Gwynn (1962) described is in fact the site of Moneygall (Maigh na nGaill) and is indeed the location of the inauguration site, not the motte at Moatquarter.

Moatquarter townland was also called Castle Philip townland and was settled by the Anglo-Norman family of the de Barrys, who settled widely over the cantred of Elyocarroll (MacCotter 2013: 28). “In the 1305 extent we read that Reginald de Barry once held ‘one theod at Castle Philip in Ossergele’” (White 1932: 149). References mention the church at Castle Philip in 1300, 1306, 1425, and 1506, denoting specifically that the location of this church is in the parish of Castletown Ely, near the ruined church of Drumroe. This tracing of Castle Philip provides strong evidence that Moatquarter

motte is in fact the caput of de Barry associated with the church, graveyard, and moated site which are located south in the townland of Busherstown (Kiely and MacCotter 2012). Tracing the geographic boundaries of the townland of Moatquarter is complicated by a change in townland names prior to the Down Survey and Ordnance Survey maps.

Furthermore, as MacCotter (2013: 49-52) demonstrates, the Anglo-Norman townlands and their measurements of tuath and colpe may have begun their geographic limits as subdivisions of the early medieval Irish bailte. Therefore utilizing the townlands from historical documents, such as the *Civil Survey*, must be undertaken with caution and reflection to archaeological sites in the surrounding area. As MacCotter (2013) revealed in findings through the tracing of early medieval ringforts in the townlands—one ringfort was associated with each townland.



Figure 4.5: The Civil Parish boundaries of north Co. Tipperary with names, as known.

Documented Castle Construction in County Tipperary

As discussed above, there are few historical records for the process of timber castle construction in Co. Tipperary. There are mentions of the castles of Munster in the annals, notably castles in Cork and Kerry the *Annals of Innisfallen*. However, the documentary evidence does provide a rough chronological sequence of castles in Co. Tipperary. Often these documents record the sacking and burning of castle sites by the Irish, or the completion of construction. Because the records are so scant, only timber and masonry castles are discussed here. As mentioned, the mottes at Kilfeakle and Knockgraffon provide the first documentary evidence for construction. These mottes were erected in south Tipperary *c.* 1192 by de Burgh and de Worcester respectively and are documented in the *Annals of the Four Masters* (O’Cleary *et al.* 1990: 95). Historian Patrick Lyons described the mottes in 1950 as large, high, well defended castles, each with a bailey and ditch fortifications (Lyons 1950). There is evidence that the motte at Kilfeakle was attacked by the Donal MacCarthy of Desmond in 1196, and again by Donal More O’Brien of Thomond (Empey 1985: 77).

The timber castle at Thurles must have been constructed prior to 1192, when the *Annals of Innisfallen* record a victory by the O’Briens at the battle of “Durlas Ua Fócarta” (Empey 1986: 16; *A.I.F.*: 1192.4). It is possible that Walter was defeated in the process of constructing his motte castle, which necessitated the refortification and urgency of castle construction in this area after 1192. The next Annal entry highlights this processes wherein, “many castles were built this year against the men of Mumu, and there were great and frequent raids by foreigners on Tuadh Mumhan⁶” (*A.I.F.*: 1192.5). After 1192, there is a gap in the historical documents with regard to castle building and sacking. The next evidence for castles in Co. Tipperary comes in the form of excavations at the masonry structures built at Nenagh and Roscrea.

Historian Dermot Gleeson places the foundation of the masonry castle at Nenagh (Figure 4.6) between *c.* 1216 and 1220, built by Theobald Walter (Gleeson & Leask 1936: 247). The manor of Nenagh was Walter’s *caput*; the masonry structure is located west of the main street (Castle Street) on a slight rise of ground, which used to be covered

⁶ The Tuadh Mumhan rose as a separate region in the province of north Munster (Mumu) in the 5th century.

in oak wood. The castle itself exists today as a single round keep of 75 feet in height, 55 feet in diameter (Gleeson & Leask 1936: 265). The top of the castle was crenellated in the 17th century, destroying the internal top walkway and lowering the original height of the tower. Four smaller round towers, which created a pentagon enclosure with a twin-towered gate at the south, have been destroyed (see Figure 4.7). There is no external evidence of a bank and ditch enclosure around the site where it is located in the center of the modern town of Nenagh; however, the remains of a curtain wall were still standing in 1840, since then destroyed. Excavations at the masonry structure revealed two coins bearing the image of John and Henry II, which solidify in part the construction date of c. 1220 (Gleeson & Leask 1936).

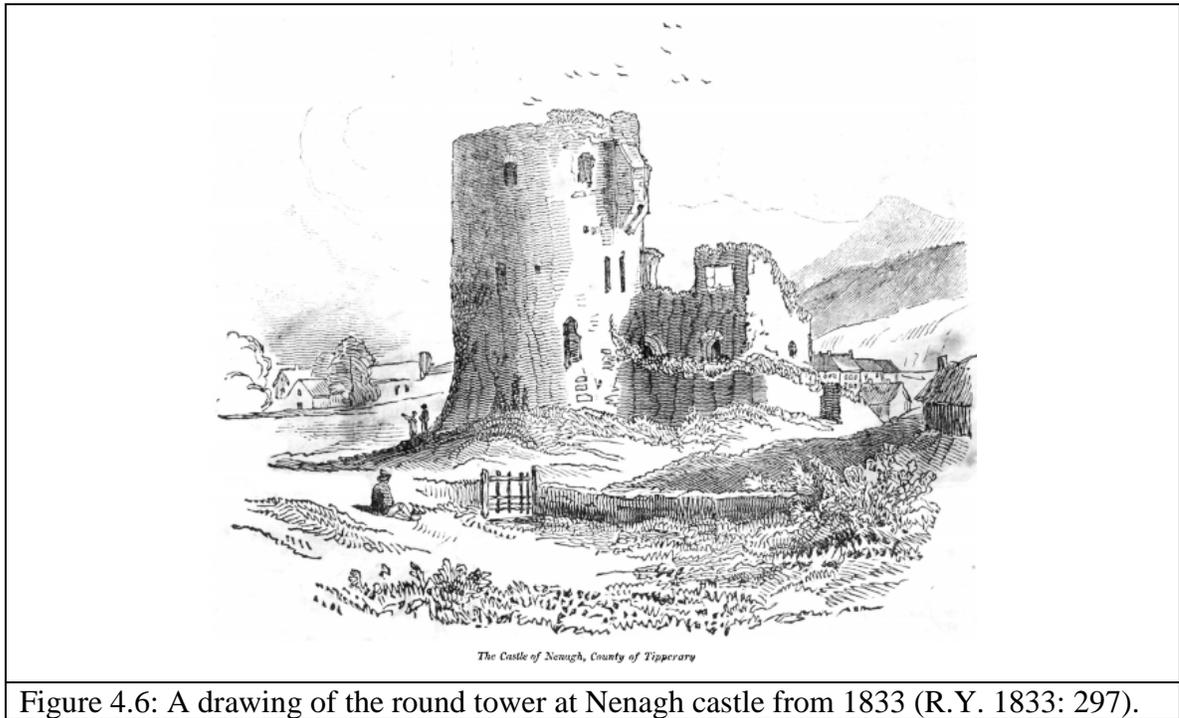


Figure 4.6: A drawing of the round tower at Nenagh castle from 1833 (R.Y. 1833: 297).

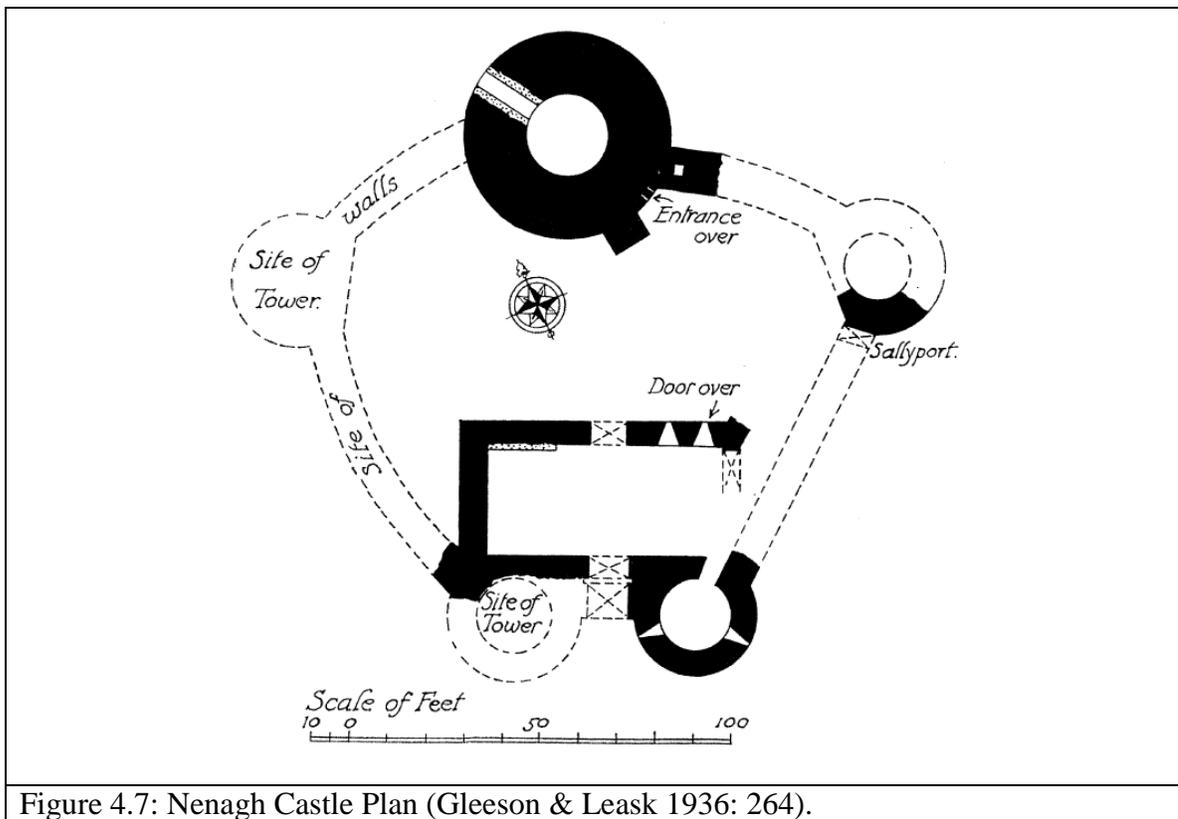


Figure 4.7: Nenagh Castle Plan (Gleeson & Leask 1936: 264).

In 1207, Murchad Ua Briain sacked five castles in central Elyocarroll, which prompted the construction of a castle at Roscrea (Stout 1984: 114). The timber castle of Roscrea was constructed on church lands c. 1212, marking the widespread beginnings of Anglo-Norman colonization of Elyocarroll (Cunningham 1987: 55, 77). Church lands in Roscrea were seized to construct the new castle in 1212, causing the Bishop Conchobar Ua h-Éindi to threaten ecclesiastical sanctions against the builders (Gwynn & Gleeson 1962: 221). The original structure at Roscrea is described as a mote and timber castle; the masonry castle of Roscrea dates to the 1280s and includes a gate tower, curtain walls, and two corner towers.

Other masonry structures in north Co. Tipperary, such as the castle at Terryglass, also have historical documentation that largely details their destruction. From the *Calendar of Document Rolls* there is evidence of a castle at Terryglass being destroyed by the Irish between 1285-1290 (Empey 1970: 10). Other documentary evidence comes in the form of inquisitions and manorial extents. Manor at Lorrha (site no. 12) was

included in the de Burgh lands as early as 1243 (*CDI* 1171-1251: 2607). The 1303 extent of the manor of Inch (Magherareagh) (site no. 9), is found in the *Red Book of Ormond* and the motte castle located here is described as consisting of a “broken-down palisade, the greater part of which lies prostrate” (White 1932: 52-3). The manor surrounding the castle included “a new hall, an old wooden chapel, and other rooms (kitchen, larder, fish-house, stable, granary, sheepcote, and malt-kiln” (White 1932: 52-3). Certainly at one point, the manor and castle at Inch were impressive. The 1338 inquisition on the manor of Moyalliff (site no. 11) describes the castle to be in a state of disrepair (see below).

Cantred of Ormond

Why is the manor of Nenagh, the *caput* of Theobald Walter, located where it is and not on Lough Derg, and thus the Shannon River? As Empey (1986) notes, towns were founded with the intention of channeling trade through a market owned by the lord of the area: “While he (the lord) may well have pondered the full range of their economic potential, his primary motive was to exclude others from reaping the direct profits of trading with his tenants” (Empey 1986: 9-10). If Walter had decided to locate the manor of Nenagh on Lough Derg, he would have opened accessibility, but posed difficulties in the control of trade and trade routes. Instead, Walter sited the manor of Nenagh on the Nenagh River, which provided a control point in the landscape.

The extent of the manor of Nenagh in 1338 is the best historical account we have for reconstructing the subinfeudation process of Ormond (Empey 1970a: 69-70).

According to this account, the entire area was held and farmed by seven greater tenants (in eight and a half túaths of theods⁷) (Empey 1970a: 92).

1. John de Bermingham ½ tuath in Choyg by the service of two knights;
2. Thomas Cantwell 1 ½ tuath in Arrech (possibly Arra?) by the service of one knight;
3. Robert Travers 1 tuath in Arch (possibly Arra?) by doing suit;
4. John de Cogan 2 tuaths in Mouncheuen by doing suit;
5. Heir of John de Marrys (Marisco) 1 tuath in Odarr (possibly Dorrha?) and ½ tuath in Obboyn;
6. Heir Richard de Marrys 1 tuath in Kerkyndiffyn/Corkedufeny;

⁷ A tuath is 10 fees or 100 carucates of land.

7. Nicholas Creke (Croke) 1 tuath in Fynmagh (possibly the parish of Finnoe, Lower Ormond?)

The evidence for the landholdings of tenants in Ormond indicates each tenant was responsible for a large fief of land; however, this does not necessarily indicate that the area was sparsely settled, as there might have been sub-tenants on these estates. However, as Empey (1970a: 97) indicates: “the fact there were remarkably few towns in the area strongly suggests,” that the area was sparsely settled. This settlement pattern may rest on the geographic limitations of the land, as the economic potential of landholding in this region is poorer than other parts of Co. Tipperary (see Geography section below). The distribution of castles in Ormond might reflect the sparse nature of settlement of greater tenants and is an argument against the classification of some of the ringwork sites in north Co. Tipperary as timber castles.

Empey (1970a: 110) notes that Owney, Arra and Eloycarroll were also thinly settled by the Anglo-Normans; the whole of north Co. Tipperary, therefore, was held in a military aristocracy in agreements with local Irish lords, including the great O’Kennedy family, who were permitted to remain on their ancestral lands with varying degrees of subjection. The Irish, “were consequently able to preserve their separate identity to a remarkable degree. This gave them a cohesion which the Irish in the more intensively feudealised regions had lost” (Empey 1970a: 111). The Walter lordship in Ormond made peace with the Irish opposition, largely the O’Kennedy’s in 1336 (Empey 1970a: 102-109, 173). By 1338, the demesne near Nenagh was controlled by the Irish (Empey 1970a: 172).

Cantred of Elyocarroll

The cantred of Elyocarroll was chartered by Theobald Walter utilizing the pre-invasion Irish social unit of the túath as the basis of his deeds (Latin: *theod*, pl. *theodum*). Historian Paul MacCotter (2013) traced the division of Elyocarroll from an inquisition of 1305, which reveals that the settlement of the area was centralized on several large military holdings based on the Irish geographic boundaries, with smaller fees and manors

within, and largely populated by Irish betaghs. The caput of Elyocarroll was Dunkerrin. Dunkerrin and Roscrea were the only populated boroughs in 1305, populated largely by colonist families and a handful of small rural boroughs populated by native Irish (MacCotter 2013: 38). The inquisition reveals 20 principle fees, including “Reginald de Barry [...] Robert de Dundonevold for one theod at Castle Philip in Ossergele (Moatquarter and surrounds)” (MacCotter 2013: 38). The cantred of Elyocarroll was bounded on the east by land left unsettled by Anglo-Norman lords and therefore in the position to receive frequent attacks by the Irish, who also escaped to this region upon the arrival of the Anglo-Normans. See MacCotter (2013) for a full description of the see-saw period of the early 14th century which oscillated between the, “pragmatic co-existence and of marcher warfare and raids” between the Anglo-Norman and Irish of Elyocarroll (45-46).

Gaelic Resurgence

The socio-economic downturn experienced by Europe in the 14th century was felt in Ireland and is broadly labeled the “Gaelic Resurgence”. This term is used to describe the process of Anglo-Norman retreat and assimilation into Irish culture alongside a host of other socio-economic upheavals of the century, including the Great European Famine (1315-1317) and the Bruce invasion of 1316, followed by the Black Death (1348-1350) (Barry 1987: 168). There is much debate amongst historians and archaeologists as to the depth of the nature of the Gaelic Resurgence; however, it is evident that by the 15th century, the linear earth and timber defenses around the “Pale” had been constructed (Barry 1987: 168).

As evidenced above at the manor of Nenagh, by the mid-1300s a major disruption in the process of colonialism by Anglo-Norman lords in north Tipperary can be seen. Additional documentary evidence further emphasizes this division of land back into Irish hands. During the 1338 inquisition at Moyaliff manor, James le Botiller (by this time the Earl) held the “...Manor of Moyallvy in Co. Tipperary of the King in chief without any rent or service” (Curtis 1935: 375). Furthermore, “no English dare to hold or let the land...” as the Earl had granted the land surrounding the motte castle with its masonry

structure on top to the Irish by the Treaty of Kennedy in 1336 (Murphey 1980-1981: 79-80).

On the Butler manors in north Tipperary, Anglo-Norman colonization did not take hold as strongly as was the case in the de Burgh lands of south Tipperary. With few manorial extents for north Tipperary, tracing the historical record for south Tipperary that survives can illuminate particular aspects of the colonial process in the county. Hennessy (1996) examined the manor of Kilsheelan, south Tipperary, and described in the 1243 manuscript of the *Inquisition post mortem* (the earliest surviving manorial extents in England, preserved in the Public Record Office, London PRO, 131/1/19 no. 2) for patterns of upset in the holdings of Anglo-Norman lands that emerged prior to the Gaelic Resurgence. The tenants of the manor at Kilsheelan were primarily Gaelic; given that there was no explicit mention of colonists, free or unfree, outside the list of Jurors. Furthermore, since no identity is given for the tenants who paid fixed rents, the tenants could have been either colonist or Irish farmers (Hennessy 1996: 123). The success of a manor depended on attracting tenants loyal to the Crown; the de Burgh manor therefore illustrates the failure of colonizing the land of south Tipperary. The colonization of Tipperary, along with concessions that allowed for the mixing of Anglo-Norman lords and Gaelic landholders, could be understood as a middle ground, as conceptualized by White (1991).

In addition to the manorial superstructure at Kilsheelan being built around a native population, the manorial court records little activity, as the Gaelic tenants probably continued to practice their own legal system (Hennessy 1996: 123). Geographically the Kilsheelan manor is located on the north bank of the River Suir on some of the best agricultural land in Tipperary. As Hennessy (1996: 124) notes, Kilsheelan manor:

“straddled the River Suir on fertile well-drained acid brown-earth soils developed on the carboniferous limestone till of the area. It also had direct access downstream to Waterford, one of Ireland’s principal seaports in the Middle Ages, and to the west and east within a few miles of the market towns of Clonmel and Carrick-on-Suir. If Kilsheelan was so underdeveloped, it is reasonable to speculate that manors in, for example, the Butler lordship in the north of the country where soil and drainage characteristics were less advantageous, where

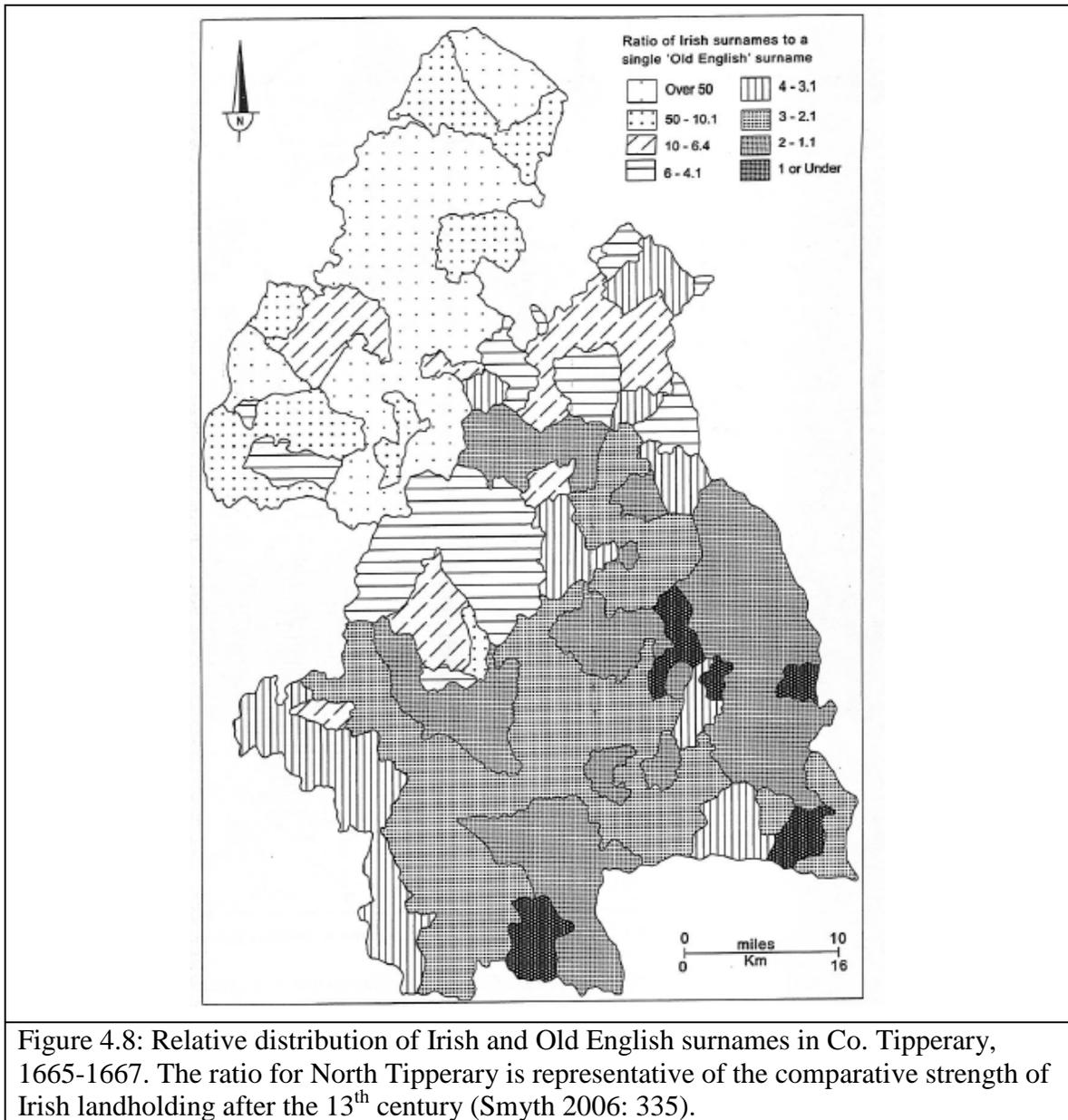
access to markets were more restricted and where the Gaelic frontier was a threatening reality, were even less developed.”

The map below further emphasizes the strength of Irish continuity in the face of colonialism (Figure 4.8); here the relative distribution of Irish and Old English surnames are mapped from manorial accounts dating from 1665-1667. The ratio represented in north Co. Tipperary is representative of the comparative strength of Irish landholding after the 13th century. Simply put, the Irish held far more land in north Co. Tipperary than south Co. Tipperary; the process of colonialism in north Co. Tipperary was far less than it might have been (Smyth 2006: 335).

The historical documentation from the *Irish Pipe Roll of 14 John*, dating a hundred years before the Gaelic Resurgence, also illustrates a lack of colonial tenants in de Worcester lands at the manor of Knockgraffon and Ardmayle. In 1212, the expenditure portion of the *Pipe Rolls* depicts a landscape under de Worcester as under construction. Wood for a new hall at Knockgraffon was purchased and construction on the mill at Ardmayle, a key component of agricultural activity, began in 1212 (Hennessy 1996). These components could be seen as basic infrastructure in a manor. The castle at Knockgraffon was established in 1192 (Orpen 1911 (2005): 209-211); 20 years later, construction continued.

The 14th century saw pressure from the Gaelic resurgence in the Butler lordship; over half the Butler lands were lost to the Irish (Empey 1970a: 88-89, 143). Irish raids in north Tipperary resulted in the relocation of the chief Butler residence to Kilkenny from Nenagh.

The Irish of Ormond, Elyocarroll and Arra had merely to stage a revolt against a numerically small military aristocracy: they did not have to contend with a large class of small tenants and burgesses. Here the feudal aristocracy had simply replaced the native rulers: the Irish were compelled to live within the framework of feudal society, but for the most part they were untouched by feudalism (Empey 1970a: 147).



The Irish of southern and central Tipperary were less successful than those in the north. “The real situation seems to have been that by the beginning of the fifteenth century a stalemate had been achieved, not only in the Butler lordship, but in the country generally. The Irish were unable to complete the conquest; the Anglo-Normans were unable to recover lost territories” (Empey 1970a: 154). By 1325, the O’Carrolls destroyed the colony in Elyocarroll, with subsequent abandonment of settlements at Moatquarter

(site no. 2) and associated settlements in Busherstown (Chrobak *et al.* 2012: 11; MacCotter 2013: 28). The consequential rise of the Butler lordship at the end of the 14th century in south Co. Tipperary was tied to the control of the Barrow-Nore-Suir River Basin, which included domination of the port at Waterford (Empey 1970a: 26).

McNeill (1997: 72) argues the lack of castles in Munster (in particular citing only 22 mottes in Waterford, Tipperary, Cork, and Limerick counties) was due in part to the speculative nature of the grants made by John in the eastern portion of Munster. As seen above, Empey (1970a; 1985) thoroughly traces the grants in Co. Tipperary (and beyond); the grants themselves were only a component of the subinfeudation process in Tipperary. McNeill (1997) ignores the ringwork castles of Munster and was writing prior to the published county inventories; the Sites and Monument Record contains 59 motte and motte and bailey castles in these countries and an additional 72 ringwork castles (Archaeological Survey of Ireland: 2010). Rather, as Empey (1970a) takes pains to illustrate, there are two reasons the Anglo-Norman lordship collapsed in this region: 1) the Irish had never lost their traditional way of life and organization; 2) the Anglo-Norman settlers were too few to maintain themselves in the face of repeated Irish rebellions (Empey 1970a: 111).

4.3 North County Tipperary: Geography

County Tipperary (*Tiobraid Árann* “House of the Well of Ara”) is located in the province of Munster in south-central Ireland. A land-locked county, Tipperary is bounded by Counties Offaly and Laois (north), Kilkenny (east), Waterford and Cork (south), and Limerick, Clare, and Galway (west). Geologically, Co. Tipperary is located largely in the Southern hill and vale area of the Central Lowlands of Ireland. North Co. Tipperary covers an area of 198,830 hectares (1988 km²). See Figure 4.9 for major towns and roads of north Co. Tipperary.

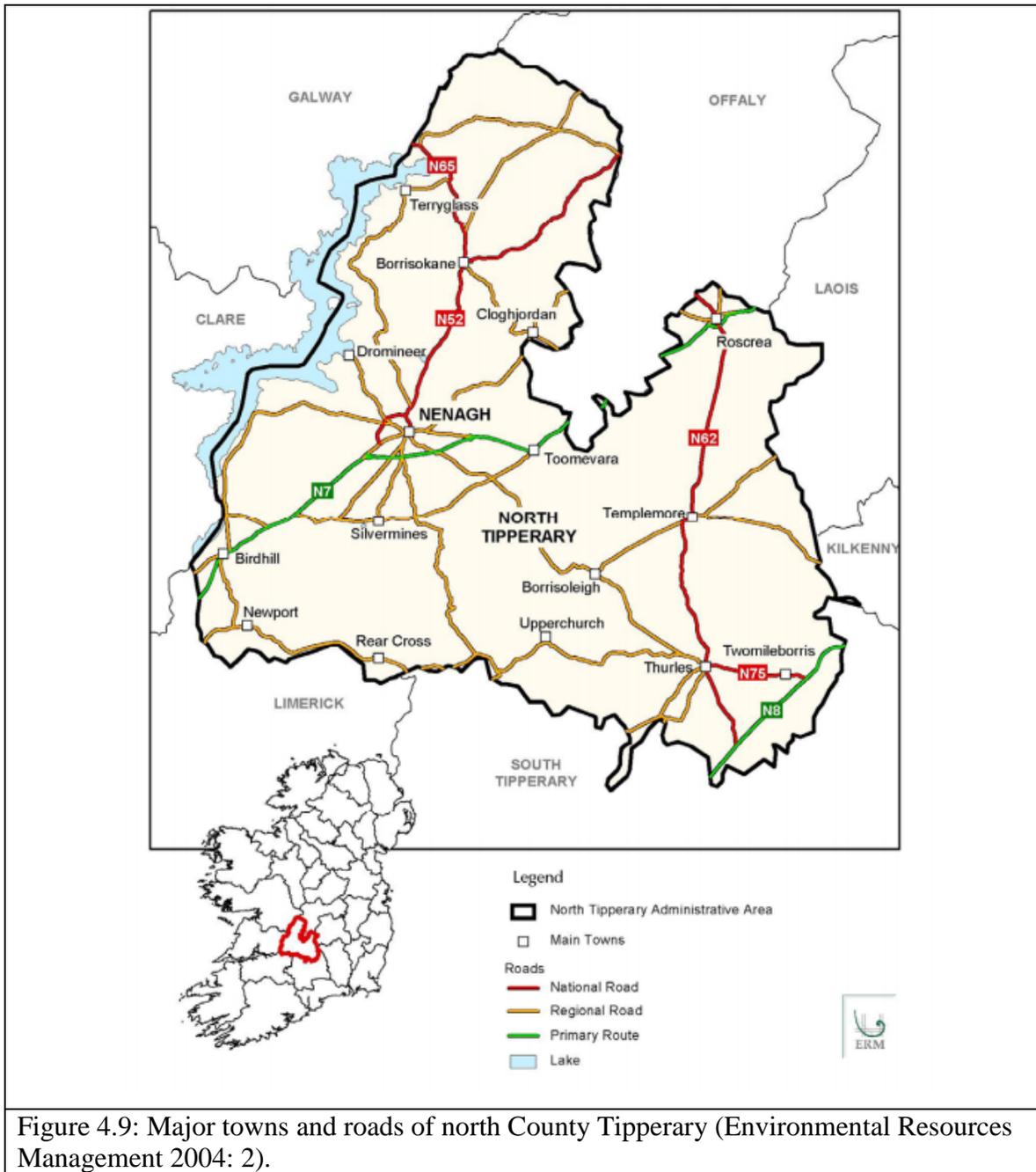


Figure 4.9: Major towns and roads of north County Tipperary (Environmental Resources Management 2004: 2).

The county is divided into five main regions with three in North Tipperary (as denoted on Figure 4.10 below). The first of these regions is the North-Western Lowlands. Here Lough Derg bounds the western portion of the county with lowland directly east of the lake shores; the administrative center of north Tipperary, Nenagh, is located in this lowland. The great Irish central lowland extends from the north of the country here, with

medium sized (20 hectares) modern farms with crops, particularly oats and potatoes. Midland-type raised bog covers ~6700 hectares in all of Tipperary, a majority of which is in Munster (Hammond 1981: 37). The far north branches of Tipperary contain multiple Natural Heritage Areas of bog, including the River Little Brosna Callows, the Arragh More Bog, the Scohaboy Bog, and the Lorrha Bog. At the south base of Lough Derg rises the Arra Mountains (460 m) (See Figure 4.10).

Connecting the Arra Mountains from Co. Limerick eastwards are masses of hills, creating region two, the Keeper Hills, including the highest point in Co. Tipperary, Keepers Hill (694 m). This mountainous region, including the Silvermines (490 m) is a series of isolated midland ranges formed on the resistant Silurian and Old Red Sandstone upland substratum that underlie the Carboniferous limestone, and which covers the entire county. The Silvermines mountains run as a 30 km belt northeast across north Co. Tipperary to the Devil's Bit (481 m) and the Roscrea Gap, located in the far north section of the second zone. One of the original roads to Tara from north Kerry passed through the Roscrea Gap, illustrating the importance in valleys between the mountain peaks (Stout 1984). The valleys between these peaks have been home to small farms and communities, from early medieval ringforts to modern villages.

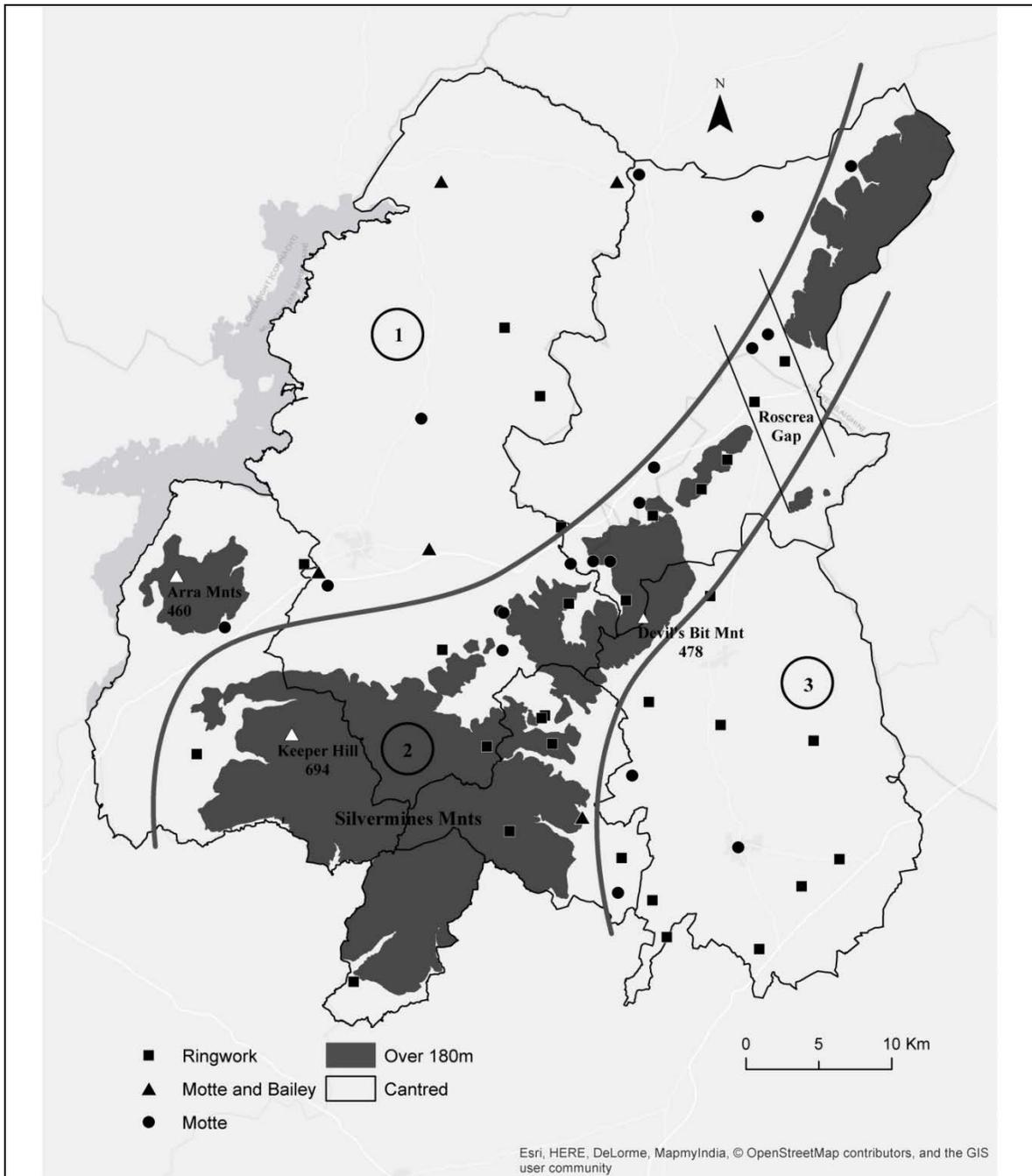


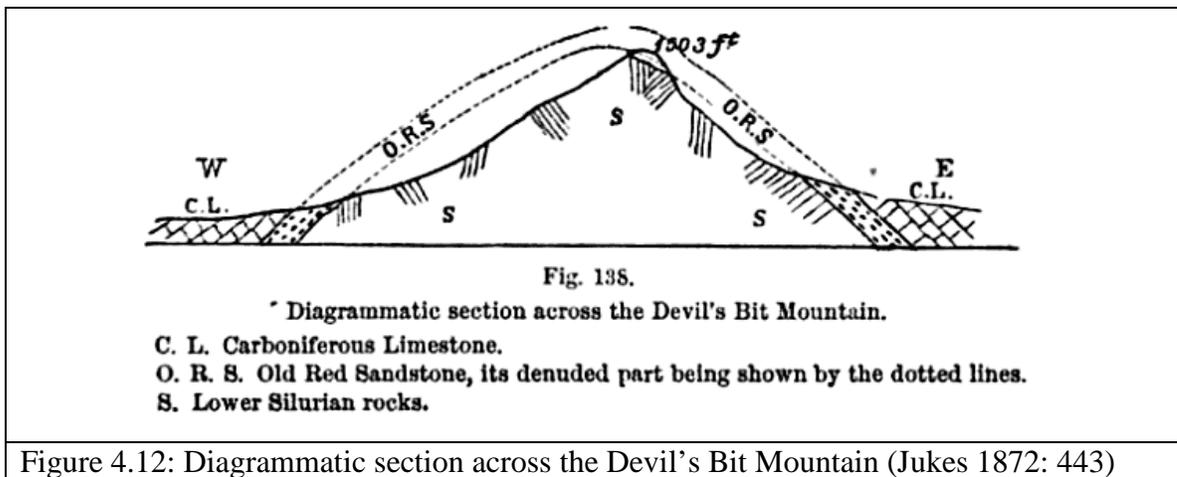
Figure 4.10: North county Tipperary by zone (as designated by numbered circles) with elevations over 180 meters shaded in dark gray.

The Devil's Bit Mountain (*Barnane-Ely*, "The gapped mountain of Ely," after the Irish territory of Ely) has a conspicuous notch in its contour, and is visible from

a variety of distances from the north and south. According to local legend, which maintains to this day, the mountain got its name when the devil took a bite out of the mountain to spite it, which in return broke his tooth when he spat out the rock, which became the outcrop upon which the Rock of Cashel, in south Co. Tipperary is constructed. Geologically the Devil's Bit consists of an Old Red Sandstone anticline cap laid on top of a Lower Silurian deposit (see Figure 4.11 and Figure 4.12) (Jukes 1872). Views from the Devil's Bit are expansive, including the Knockmealdown and Comeragh Mountains of Co. Waterford, the Galtee Mountains of Co. Cork, Limerick, and Tipperary, to the northwest, Lough Derg and the River Shannon, in addition to the northern lowlands of north Tipperary. The ringwork castle at Borrisnafarney (site no. 25) is the closest possible Anglo-Norman settlement to the Devil's Bit Mountain gap.



Figure 4.11: The Devil's Bit mountain gap as viewed from the west at Borrisnafarney ringwork.



The third region, the North-Eastern Lowlands of Tipperary, is a 25 km section of flat land east of the upland hills of the Devil's Bit Mountains, through which runs the main railway between Dublin and Cork, allowing for more access to this region than north of the mountains. The boundary between north and south Co. Tipperary runs west to east in this area. This stretch of land is covered in fertile glacial drift, which includes peat bogs. The River Suir, which headwaters in the Devil's Bit Mountain, flows south in this region known as the Golden Vale. The Golden Vale is some of the richest pastureland of Ireland, with various uplands and well drained, largely bog free, diversified glacial deposited soil (Aalen *et al.* 1997: 12). Modern agricultural production in the Golden Vale favors cattle production and dairying (Central Statistics Office 2012).

The mountains stretching across southern north Tipperary are often hazy, shrouded in a mist of the humid Irish atmosphere. As Mitchell (1976: 87-88) describes it, the humid atmosphere mutes colors, which produces the effect of a spectrum of greens, browns, and blues with a different color variety than elsewhere. This muting creates an image of the mountains rising dark grey and black when approached from the north, with ominous peaks, ridges, and valleys that produce a notable difference in character from those in other parts of north Co. Tipperary.

The north is flat and dotted with glacial landforms; farms are medium sized with stretches of grain crops and dairy farming. The central mountainous region, with valleys and peaks, is dark and rugged with expansive views. The southeast fertile section is also

flat, but the soil fertility is palatable, and supporting larger modern farms (many focused on horses); the towns themselves are larger, including Thurles and Templemore.

Geographically this difference in character is a function of the soil capability of the region, as well as the variety in upland versus lowland regions and the character of local spaces, rivers, bogs, transportation routes, towns, and so forth. Culturally the regions were overseen by different Anglo-Norman lords, with the northern cantred of Ormond overseen by the Theobald Walter of the Butler family and the south central cantred of Eoghanact Cashel overseen by the de Worchester lordship, who controlled a majority of south Co. Tipperary. Lordship styles produced different processes of subinfeudation.

Glacial Landforms

Glaciers across Ireland melted approximately 12,000 years ago, leaving behind drift sheets in lowland regions, producing fertile agricultural soils. Glacial landforms in Co. Tipperary are abundant and of the *esker* and *kame* variety. *Eskers* are long, winding ridges of stratified sand and gravel that formed within embedded glacier streams. As glaciers melted, the stream sediment deposits in the landscape; the term *esker* is derived from the Irish *eiscir* (ridge) as described by Maxwell Close in 1867 to distinguish Irish ridges from hills of glacial till called *drumlins* (Close 1867). The collection of eskers known as *Esker Riada* (or *Slí Mhór* – “Great Road”), stretching from Dublin to Galway through the Counties of Dublin, Kildare, Westmeath, Offaly, Roscommon, and Galway, is an ancient highway of sorts, providing passage above the bogs of the Central Lowlands (Geissel 2006).

Mythological stories surround the *Esker Riada*, including their political division in 123 AD after a battle at Maynooth, when Ireland was divided into a northern half (*Leath Cuinn*) and southern half (*Leath Mogha*) at the *Esker Riada* (Geissel 2006). Historical accounts describe pilgrims traveling over 100km to Tara and Newgrange from Co. Offaly on the *Esker Riada*. Very little is known of the specific prehistoric and historic roads of Ireland; current research by Yolande O’Brien at that National University Ireland, Galway is focusing on prehistoric and historical movement on *esker* roads across the

north Offaly landscape. Esker ridges were utilized in north Tipperary as platforms for motte construction in a number of cases.

Kames are masses of gravel and sand sediment that became trapped along meltwater drainage routes in glaciers, which deposit transverse to the movement of the glacial ice. In the landscape, kames look like rounded or haphazard esker segments and are commonly pocketed with kettle holes, which result from the melting of buried blocks of glacial ice. Esker and kame landscapes are commonly found in tandem; in north Co. Tipperary, the majority of kames are found at the foothills of Keeper Hill, Silvermines Mountains, and Slieveardagh Hills.

The mining of eskers is common, both in the past and present, as they contain sand and gravel utilized for road making, road-fill material, and cement manufacturing. A number of timber castles sites in north Tipperary are located adjacent or on top of esker ridges with mining activity. The motte site of Ballylusky (site no. 1) is located on the top of a mined esker ridge; the motte at Cloncannon (site no. 4) is on top of a glacial hillock surrounded by mining activities. Additional information on the particular siting location of individual castles is covered in Chapter Six (207-244) and the Appendix (278).

Rivers

Major rivers of north Co. Tipperary include the Shannon and the Suir. The northern lowlands and west of the Silvermines Mountains drain west into the Shannon through Lough Derg through a series of smaller rivers, including the Nenagh, the Ballyfinboy, the Kilmastulla, and the Mulkier. In region two, between Roscrea and the Black Hills in the “thumb” of modern Co. Tipperary, water drains northeast to the Nore River. The rest of north Tipperary is drained into the River Suir and its tributaries south, including the Clodiagh and the Drish.

Access to water is particularly important in the selection of the location of a castle, not only for the purposes of watering horses and men, but also for protecting timber fortifications against attack by fire. In addition to the logistical purposes of sourcing water in close proximity to a habitation site, lords controlled access to watermills and windmills for the purposes of milling grain (Brady 2007).

Agriculture and Land Potential

Medieval Ireland was overwhelmingly rural, with highly managed agricultural activities embedded in the landscape. The majority of the population participated in agricultural activities on a daily basis, including the Anglo-Norman lords responsible for constructing timber castles. Agricultural activities were not limited to tending crops from the fields, but also to the production of agricultural byproducts and other domestic activities related to agriculture (e.g. Kelly 2000). McCormick *et al.* (2011) emphasize the importance of agricultural activities in the early medieval period as fundamentally organizing the society. “Whether they were a lord or a slave, most people would have depended for their social status, subsistence and livelihood on the agricultural produce of the land” (McCormick *et al.* 2011: 4). The Irish population maintained a rural character; it was not until the year 2000 that the urban population surpassed the rural population.

Land use is anthropocentrically defined in contrast to land cover, which is limited to the observed physical cover of the ground, including natural landforms and vegetation, water resources, and human constructed objects. Land use potential is thus tied to a series of operations with the intention to obtain products or benefits from land resources. Therefore, when discussing land use potential we are discussing not only the soil capacity, but also the topography and use of a region. The distinction between land cover and land use is important when examining remotely sensed imagery of the Earth.

The land use potential in Co. Tipperary is high, with the Golden Vale area of far southern part of north Co. Tipperary and the majority of south Tipperary holding some of the most fertile soils in the country (Finch & Gardiner 1993). Marginal land—areas limited in agricultural potential due to soil type, topography, or climate—account for only 37% of Tipperary land, with the majority in mountains and hills. Tipperary has the second greatest amount of land suitable for tillage (0.7 million acres at 63%), after Co. Cork, with the majority of tillage land falling in Class 2: Suitable Tillage Soils. These soils are not as easily tilled as Class 1 soils, nor do they drain as quickly (Gardiner & Radford 1980: 144). The predominant land use is tillage and pasture alongside intensive dairying and cattle rearing (Gardiner & Radford 1980).

4.4 Timber Castles in north County Tipperary

The archaeological inventory of north Co. Tipperary classifies 43 sites as timber castles (Farrelly and O’Brien 2002: 289-297). These sites include 11 motte sites, five motte and bailey sites, and 27 ringwork sites in modern north Co. Tipperary. The historically documented timber castles located Thurles Townparks (site no. 10) and Townparks (Roscrea Parish) (site no. 19) are destroyed with locations under the modern cities of Thurles and Roscrea respectively. Additionally, the ringwork sites of Grange (site no. 40) and Moycarky (site no. 42) are poorly preserved in the landscape and could be considered destroyed.

The timber castles of north Co. Tipperary are distributed unequally in the county cantreds; this is not surprising, given the mountainous region stretching across the middle of north Tipperary and the personal choice of the lords who constructed timber castles in their cantred (see Table 4.2). The following analysis of timber castles includes the whole of the cantred of Elyocarroll, which expands beyond the bounds of modern north Co. Tipperary to timber castles that were not surveyed (including eight motte and one ringwork castle). Furthermore, the classification of each site is examined in Chapter 5.

Cantred	Motte	Motte and Bailey	Ringwork	Total	Lordship
Ormond	5	4	6	15	Walter
Arra Owney	1	0	2	3	Walter
Muscry	0	0	1	1	de Burgh
Eoghanact Cashel	1	1	5	7	de Worcester
Elyogarty	2	0	9	11	Walter
Elyocarroll	10	0	6	16	Walter
Total	19	5	29	53	

Table 4.2: Number of timber castle by type by cantred.

Using a digital contour map of Ireland, a 20 meter digital elevation model (DEM) of north Co. Tipperary was created. The timber castle sites were mapped on the DEM and analyzed for location in elevated areas. The results are found in table 4.3.

Cantred	0-100 m	100-140 m	140-180 m	180 m+	Total
Ormond	7	4	3	1	15
Arra Owney	1	2	0	0	3
Muscry	0	1	0	0	1
Eoghanact Cashel	2	1	1	3	7
Elyogarty	4	7	0	0	11
Elyocarroll	4	5	3	4	16
Total	18	20	7	8	53

Table 4.3: Number of timber castles in each cantred by elevation.

The following maps (Figures 4.13, 4.14, and 4.15) illustrate the distribution of timber castles by type in the medieval cantreds of north Co. Tipperary. The cantred of Elyocarroll contains the most motte castles, whereas the cantred of Ormond contains the majority of the motte and baileys. Again, it is important to note that a missing bailey in the modern period does not mean a bailey was not associated with the castle site in the medieval period. The cantred of Elyogarty contains the majority of the ringwork castles.

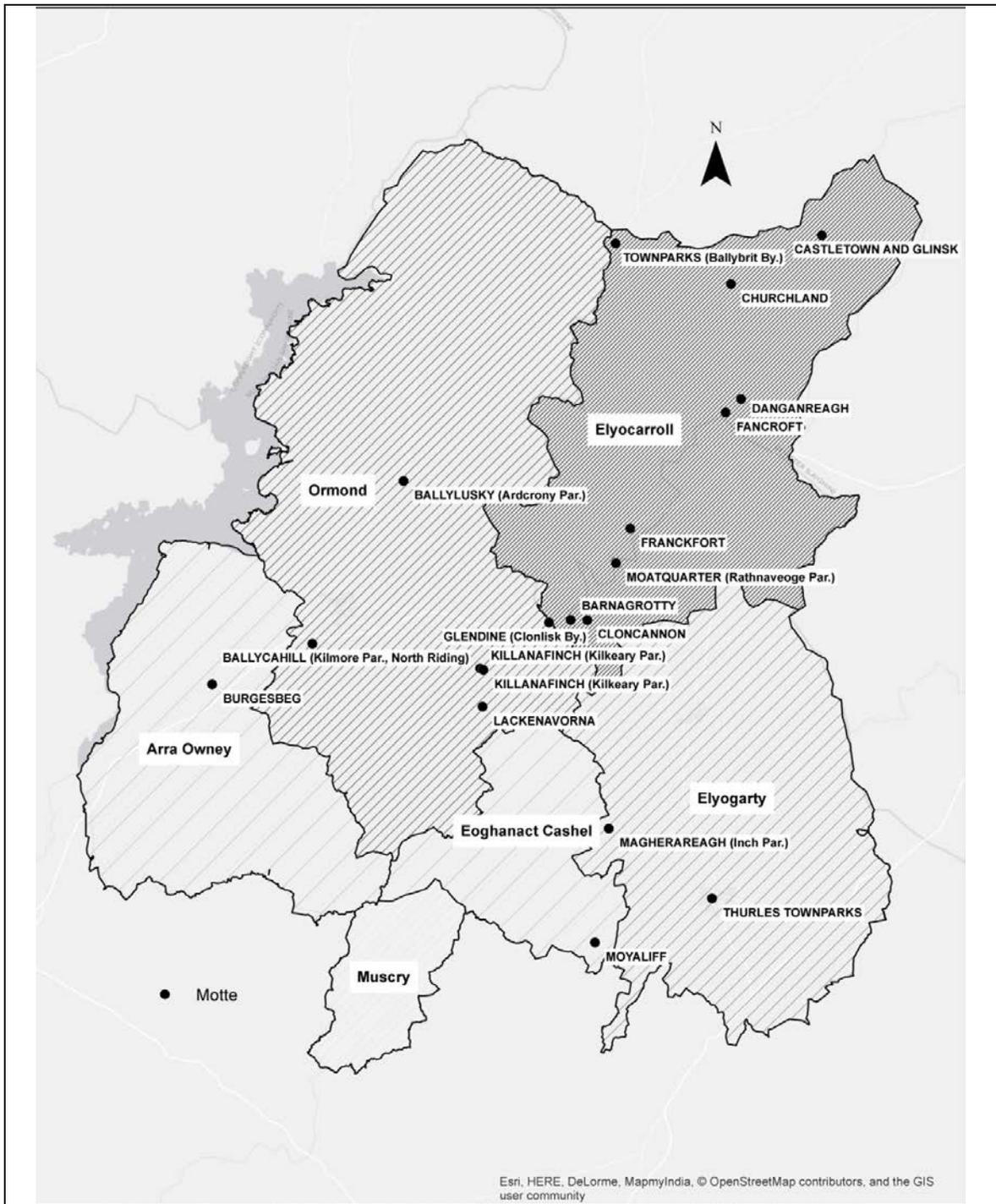


Figure 4.13: Location of motte castles in north County Tipperary by cantred. The hatching of the background within the cantred boundaries represents the density of castles in that cantred; the cantreds with the most castles have the darker and closer lines represented.

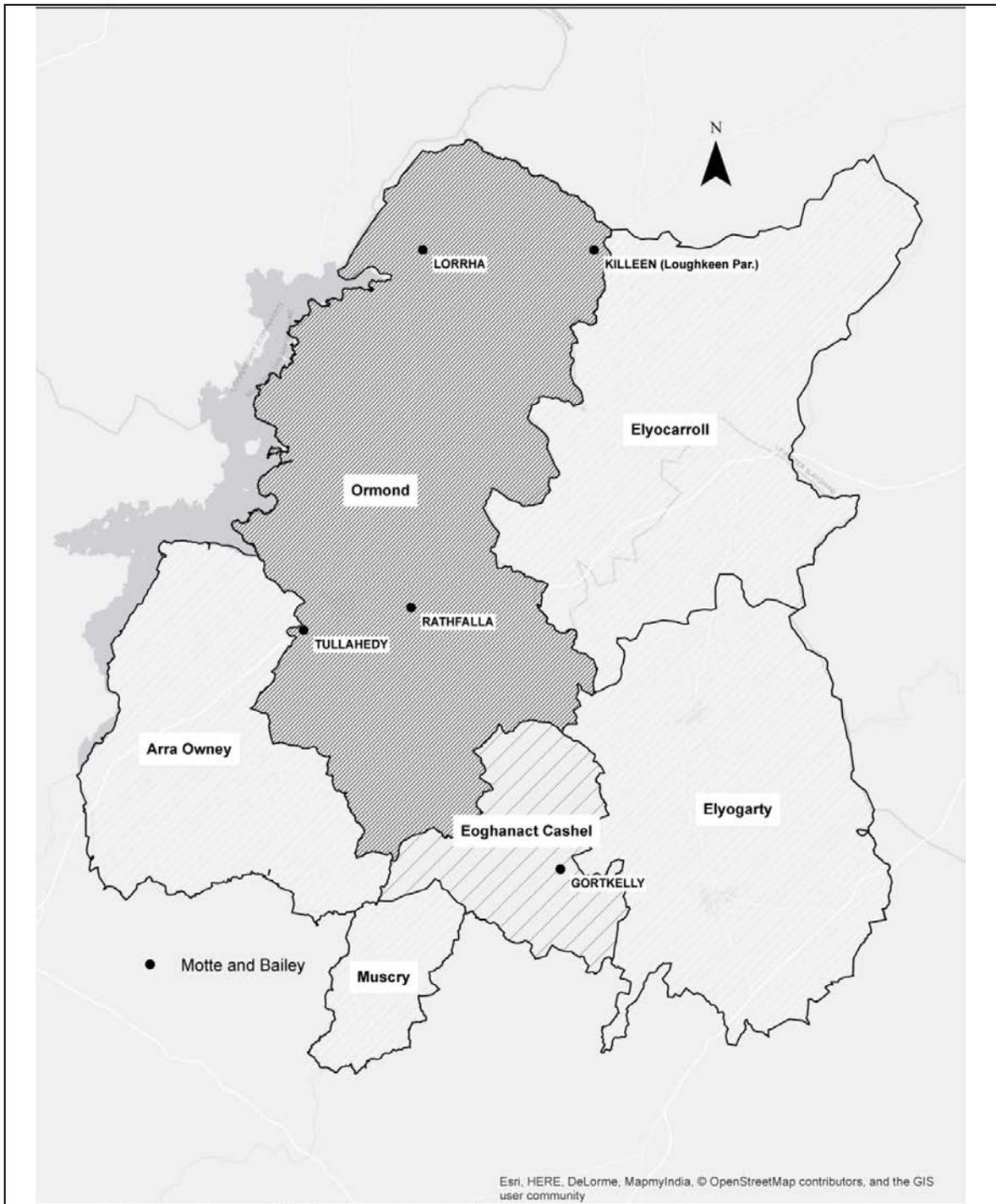


Figure 4.14: Location of motte and bailey castles in north County Tipperary by cantred. The hatching of the background within the cantred boundaries represents the density of castles in that cantred; the cantreds with the most castles have the darker and closer lines represented.



Figure 4.15: Location of ringwork castles in north County Tipperary by cantred. The hatching of the background within the cantred boundaries represents the density of castles in that cantred; the cantreds with the most castles have the darker and closer lines represented.

4.5 Conclusions

In this chapter, the lords with the rank of principle seigniorial class (William de Burgh, Philip de Worcester, and Theobald Walter) involved in the construction of timber castles in north Co. Tipperary were detailed alongside the historical construction of the first castles in Munster. The geography of north Co. Tipperary was presented in detail to understand the high medieval boundaries of the cantred and barony within the geographic limitations and allowances of north Co. Tipperary. Lastly, the timber castles themselves were introduced within the geographic boundaries of the cantred, as well as the physical geographic bounds of the mountain ranges that cover the middle of the country. This chapter establishes the background information to begin the thorough examination of the siting of castles in north Co. Tipperary, conjointly with the analysis of the classification of sites as timber castles.

Chapter Five: Rejection of Timber Castle Sites

- 5.1: Introduction
- 5.2: Methodology for the Rejection of Castle Sites
- 5.3: Rejection of Sites
- 5.4: Motte Sites
- 5.5: Circular or Ring Moat Sites
- 5.6: Enclosures
- 5.7: Ringforts
- 5.8: Civil Parishes
- 5.9: Conclusion

5.1 Introduction

This chapter analyzes field based evidence for the classification and siting of timber castles in north Co. Tipperary. The first section provides parameters for the inclusion or rejection of timber castle sites as classified by the Archaeological Inventory (Farrelly and O'Brien 2002) and the National Monuments Service Archaeological Survey Database of the Sites and Monuments Record (SMR). This methodology includes an examination of the site morphology, siting in the landscape, adjacent archaeological sites, and documentary evidence. Eighteen of twenty-six identified ringwork sites are rejected as castles. Alternative site types are offered for each rejected site. Finally, mapping illustrates the changes in distribution within the cantred, barony, and civil parish.

5.2 Methodology for the rejection of castle sites

The Archaeological Inventory of County North Tipperary lists 42 timber castle sites in north Co. Tipperary (Farrelly and O'Brien 2002: 289-297). Of these castles, 17 sites are designated with a "(possible)" after the classification, indicating the probable nature of the classification of those sites. The transfer of the Archaeological Inventory to the National Monuments Service Archaeological Survey Database of the Sites and Monuments Record (SMRS) removes this supplementary classification, and in some cases inflates the classification of the record to a more solid class of archaeological site than warranted. As the SMR is accessible online (<http://webgis.archaeology.ie/NationalMonuments/FlexViewer/>), these sites are most

routinely utilized for site classification in the county. Therefore, caution must be undertaken in accepting the classification provided in the webviewer.

As discussed in Chapter 1 (19-47), distinguishing ringwork castles from landscape survey alone is difficult. The methodology for classifying ringwork site is based on the work undertaken by Barry (1983: 308), O’Conor (1999: 45), Sweetman (2005: 393-394), and Arbuthnot (2011: 69-74). The main objection of the aforementioned authors is the classification of ringwork castles in the field solely through morphological considerations. That is, the sites modern day surface appearance should not be the only consideration for classifying a site as a ringwork (Barry 1983: 308; Cunningham 1987: 97; Barry 1987: 59; O’Conor 1999: 196; McNeill 1997: 63; Sweetman 1999: 30; Arbuthnot 2011: 69). Without the ability to classify sites based on their surface morphology, additional evidence therefore is necessary.

One such type of evidence can come from the siting of a possible ringwork in the landscape, through the proximity to defensive locations (Barry 1983: 308). However, as Creighton takes great lengths to illustrate, a large number of castles of all types are located in poor defensive locations (Creighton 2002). Other location based evidence for the classification of ringworks can come from the proximity to manorial centers or medieval churches with historical documentation (O’Conor 1999: 196-197; Sweetman 1999: 10-14). Therefore, the methodology utilized for the inclusion or rejection of ringwork castles in this study approaches the classification of a site from four angles:

- 1) Historical documentary evidence
- 2) Morphology
- 3) Physical Siting
- 4) Cultural Siting

Outside of excavation, and in some instances in spite of excavation, the best evidence for the classification of ringwork castles comes from contemporaneous documentary evidence. These records can include administrative records, and in some parts of the country, literary evidence. As mentioned in Chapter 1 (10-19), direct historical references to timber castles in the historical record of Ireland are rare. However, as with evidence for the siting of castles in manorial centers, historical

documents that mention manors without mentioning castles can be utilized as supportive evidence for a site located in those regions. The ringwork at Tinvoher (site no. 35) is located in a historically documented manorial center, strengthening the argument for the inclusion of the site as a ringwork. Thus, historical documentation of manorial centers can be viewed as alternative evidence for historical documentation of timber castles, especially if the case is strengthened with additional evidence.

Other evidence, broadly under the heading of historical documentation can also be used for the classification of timber castles, namely cartographic evidence from the first edition Ordnance Survey maps published in 1843 (for Co. Tipperary), which show many sites that have since been removed. Place name evidence is also important to understand through the lens of the colonial implications of map-making, naming, labeling, and representing places as static entities (Nash 1999: 460). The place name data utilized in this study come from the Place Names Database of Ireland (<http://www.logainm.ie/>); sites were analyzed for terminology traditionally associated with Irish sites (rath, dun) and those associated with Anglo-Norman sites. The argument for the inclusion of the earthwork castle site at Oldcastle (site no. 22) is strengthened due to the “castle” in the place name.

Morphologically, ringworks, as with motte castles, vary widely. However, there are some general morphological standards in confirmed ringwork castles throughout Ireland. To be classified as a ringwork castle, the site must fit within the following general morphology; the shape of ringwork castles tend to be a circular or sub-circular platform (most of the time a raised) enclosed by at least one bank and ditch. The diameter of the enclosed area often measures between 30-60m. Generally the platform of ringwork castles in Leinster were shown to be raised at least two meters above the external ground on one side (Arbuthnot 2011: 86-87). The difference between motte morphology and ringwork morphology therefore lies primarily in the height of the platform, with motte platforms being higher than ringwork platforms (between two and ten meters high) (e.g. McNeill 1989/1990: 57; Higham and Barker 1992: 194-200; De Meulemeester and O’Conor 1997: 325-331). Platform height is critical in aiding in classification, but should not be the only factor (e.g. Cunningham 1987: 97). As described in Chapter 1, mottes

may also be located immediately adjacent to a bailey area, although, as seen in north Co. Tipperary, baileys are not as common here as other locations.

The location in the landscape must be strategic, if not defensive, to be considered a ringwork castle. Some ringwork castles, such as Bagbun Head, Co. Wexford are coastal or located on a promontory location; this type of location provides a natural defense on at least one side of the site. Other ringworks are strategic, overlooking roads or river crossings, such as the ringwork at Newtown (site no. 41) located on the River Suir and the ringwork at Cullahill, Curraghkeal (site no. 31) located overlooking a pass in the Sivermines Mountains range. Other ringwork sites have no specific strategic advantage, but are located in areas with a good view of the surrounding countryside, such as the ringwork of Borris (site no. 39). While landscape studies within castleology, primarily figure headed by Creighton (2002), have revealed the constraints of the locations of castles within manors, castles primarily were constructed at a strategic location within in the manor. Furthermore, O'Connor (1999: 194) has shown the correlation between parish boundaries and manors in Co. Laois; therefore, parish boundaries can be utilized as a proxy when no manorial boundary survives.

Ringwork castles tend to be located near churches and graveyards at known medieval centers with high medieval dates (O'Connor 1999: 193-194; Sweetman 1999: 13; 2005: 393-394). Therefore proximity to a medieval church is important in classifying a site as a ringwork castle; however, association between sites at a distance is difficult. Further complicating the variable of church, manor, or castle, is the location of historically documented motte castles at a distance more than a couple hundred meters away from a medieval church (such as the motte and bailey at Killeen (site no. 13)). While churches were arguably the most visible component of manorial settlements in the landscape, other high medieval archaeological remains can also indicate a manorial siting for a ringwork castle. These sites include burgrave plots and house sites, mills, rabbit warrens, fishponds, moated sites, and tower houses. Just as some motte castles are located in areas of the modern landscape without adjacent manorial sites, so can ringwork castles. Reasons for these types of sites can include temporary campaign castles that never developed into manorial centers, hunting lodges that were isolated in the landscape

on purpose, or are isolated due to the destruction of any evidence for contemporaneous archaeological sites.

5.3 Rejection of Sites

The rejection of the classification of certain sites is not limited to ringwork castles. One site in the study area has been rejected in its classification as a motte and bailey. Tullahedy (site no. 14) is classified as a motte and bailey by Farrelly and O'Brien (2002: 297) due to the berm halfway up the motte face. Cunningham (1987: 147) suggests the bailey at Tullahedy was located southwest of the motte platform, bound by the small stream that flows to the west of the site. Discussion with the farm hand who manages the property suggests the bank immediately above the stream is a result of dredging of the stream in the modern period. Upon further examination, Immich and O'Connor (pers. comm.) suggest that the berm is not the bailey of the Tullahedy motte, rather just a modification of the motte form. The berm may also be representative of a slumping of the top of the motte, as the site conceivably was fortified as a drum motte. Intensive surveying at the site in 2012 created a digital elevation model (see Chapter 6: 233-244) of the Tullahedy motte and surrounding area. From this model, it is possible that the original bailey stood immediately to the south of the site, was accessed by causeway entrance, and now lies under a modern farm structure. However, there is no solid evidence at this time for an associated bailey at the Tullahedy motte. With the rejection of the site at Tullahedy as a motte and bailey site, the number of motte and bailey sites in north Co. Tipperary decreases to four.

Of the 27 ringwork castles identified in the Archaeological Inventory, 18 sites are rejected when examined with the above methodology. One additional site, Kilmacogue (site no. 29) is listed as an "Earthwork castle (possible)" in the Archaeological Inventory, and listed twice in the SMR as both a "Castle – unclassified" (TN031-055001) and as a "Castle – ringwork" (TN031-055002). The field evidence for Kilmacogue suggests the site is sited in a location of an unclassified castle, next to a possible medieval trackway. The field based morphological evidence, consisting of a square platform (measuring 11.5m north-south, 9m east-west) and associated field enclosures, also points toward a

possible castle location (Figure 5.1). Furthermore, the Civil Survey of 1654-1656 describes the townland of Killmocoage as holding “a demolished Castle” (Simington 1934: vol. 2, 192). Together this data suggests the townland of Killmocoage held a castle; however, the field-based evidence does not suggest this is the site of a ringwork castle.



Figure 5.1: Aerial image of the ringwork castle at Killmocoage (Microsoft 2014: Killmocoage).

5.4 Motte Sites

Of the rejected sites, three (sites no. 18, 33, 39) might better be classified as motte castles considering their morphology and siting. Barry (1977:83) designates the classification of the platform at Garraun (site no. 18) as either a degraded motte or platform rath. Adjacent archaeological sites at Garraun include a destroyed moated site and a destroyed ringfort. Historical documentation from the Civil Survey 1654-1656 describes a “small old Castle” in the townland of Garraun (Simington 1931: 217). The site is quite small morphologically (22m north-south, 25.5m east-west, with a height of 2-3 meters), however, it is in the range of motte castles within the cantred of Ormond (e.g.

Rathfalla [site no. 15]). The site lacks external defenses; Farrelly and O'Brien (2002: 291) noted a faint bank at the southwest and southeast corners with a shallow external ditch upon their visit in 1995, however, no traces of these defenses remained upon visitation in 2013. The classification of the platform at Garraun as a possible ringwork castle appears to be based on the height of the platform, which seems to have degraded over time.

Similarly, the ringwork at Borris (site no. 39) has historical documentation from the *Calendar of Ormond Deeds*, which states it resided within the medieval borough of Two Mile Borris (Curtis 1935: 14; 1937: 36; 1941: 200, 204, 227, 277). Additionally the townland of Borris contains a number of high medieval sites and excavation has revealed early medieval and high medieval settlements adjacent to the site. Geophysical survey undertaken by Target Archaeological Geophysics Ltd revealed defenses external to the platform top (Figure 5.2). Glasscock (1974: 108) and Barry (1977: 149) designate the site as a possible motte. The morphological remains of the platform fit within the range for a ringwork castle (39m north-south, 50m east-west, height 1.8 at north, 80cm at the south). Classification therefore might be best described as a 'castle -unclassified' or a 'motte (possible)'.

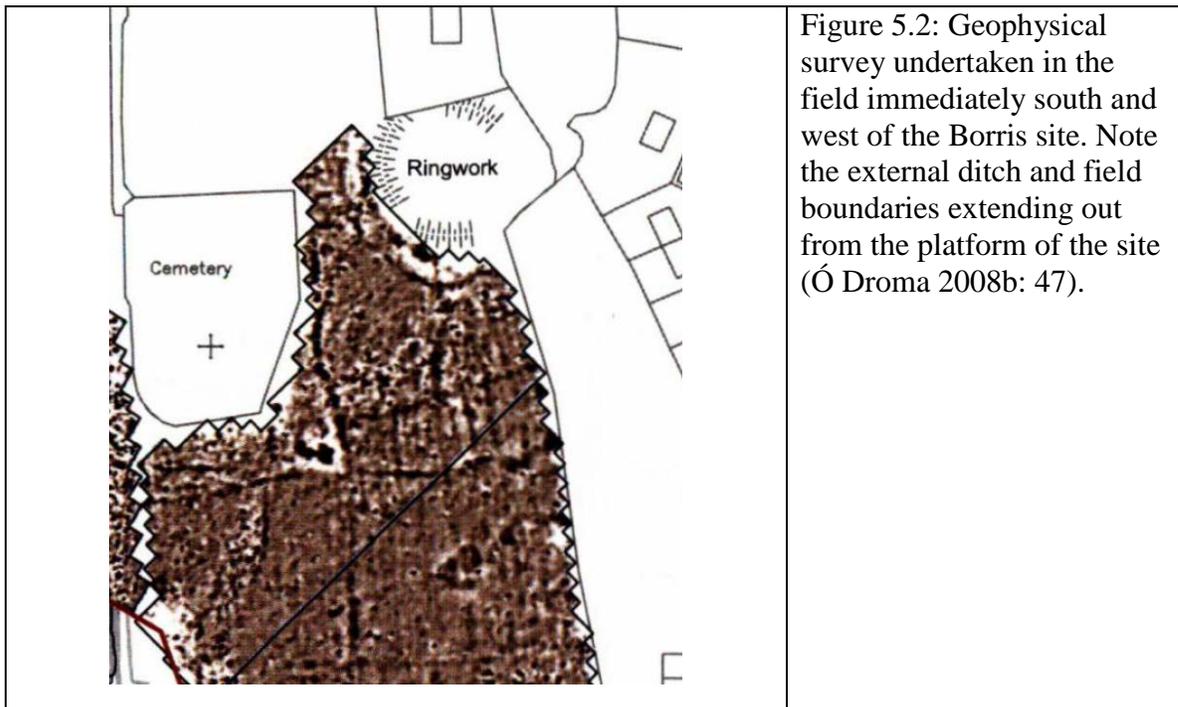


Figure 5.2: Geophysical survey undertaken in the field immediately south and west of the Borris site. Note the external ditch and field boundaries extending out from the platform of the site (Ó Droma 2008b: 47).

The townland of Cullahill (site no. 33) is also described historically in the 16th and 17th century literature. The *Calendar of Ormond Deeds V: 1509-1547* records the granting of manors, lordships, and pastures including the townland of Cwolleghill Oleighe on July 13, 1570 (Curtis 1941: 168). Additional descriptions of the townland come from an Inquisition undertaken in Clonmel in 1628, which describes the townland of Colloghill in particular as holding a castle, town, and lands (Callanan 1936-1937: 68). The morphology of the Cullahill platform is comparable to other motte castles in north Co. Tipperary, with the lowest side of the platform raising two meters above the surrounding countryside and the highest side rising over 20 meters from the valley below. The site is one of the most strategically located in the whole County, overlooking a mountainous gap between a valley in the Silvermines Mountains and the Devil's Bit Mountains. A 17th century house and bawn immediately west of the site illustrate the reuse of the location over time. A modified classification of "motte" is suggested for the Cullahill site based on the platform morphology, siting, and historical documentation (Figure 5.3).



Figure 5.3: The Cullahill platform with steep valley below.

5.5 Circular or Ring Moat Sites

Two sites previously classified as ringwork castles (sites no. 17 and 43) are reevaluated for classification as circular moated sites or ring moats (Roberts 1962: 28-31). Excavations in England have provided evidence for the construction of circular moated sites in the 12th century (le Patourel 1978: 41). The following sites do not fit the classification for ringwork castles, due to the lack of historical documentation and the associated archaeological sites within the townland. However, their siting is indicative of moated sites, near wetlands with access to water for the moats. Their morphology also is not in line with a standard ringfort, with a platform height above two meters. Therefore a possible classification of circular moated site or ring moat is offered.

Barry (1977; 1987; 2000; 2003) has illustrated, the presence of a moated site is indicative of Anglo-Norman occupation of the countryside. These sites were built and occupied by sub-tenants and lesser lords of the manors for agricultural purposes (Barry 1977: 30). A moated site is an “enclosure defined by a rectangular or sub-rectangular ditch, usually filled with water” (Barry 1977: 1). The enclosed platform may or may not be raised, and often was occupied with houses or similar structures, as evidenced by the first excavated moated site at Kilmagoura, Co. Cork (Glasscock 1968). County Tipperary contains some 138 moated sites, 75 classified, 68 extant, and 70 destroyed. According to Barry’s investigation, Tipperary contains the highest number of moated sites in the southeast section of the country, Carlow, Kilkenny, Tipperary, and Wexford (Barry 1977: 34). The morphology of ring moats includes a low platform and bank edge, round or sub-rectangular in shape, with a V-shaped ditch (Roberts 1962: 28-31). This description should sound familiar, as the majority of ringfort sites also contain a circular raised platform with a V-shaped or D-shaped ditch. Therefore, classification of these sites is a suggestion with a recommendation for future research.

Barry (1977) and Empey (1982) mapped the distribution of moated sites and found these sites to be located not in the core of Anglo-Norman manors, but rather at fringe locations, often scattered, occasionally in clusters. Through the examination of finds from excavated moated sites, O’Keeffe (1998b: 94) finds, “it is probable that moats were monuments associated principally with arable farming and with food processing,

and that the processed grain was for marketing at a nearby nucleation and for distribution out”. Evidence presented by Barry (1977), Empey (1982), and O’Keeffe (1998b) illustrates that it was second, or third, generation Anglo-Normans who constructed moated sites across the countryside. Circular moated sites would be no different; therefore, classification here is tied into later phases of colonization.

The first site under consideration is that of Sopwell (site no. 17). Sopwell is a subcircular platform located in low marshy pasture with views of the surrounding countryside. The platform is enclosed by a wide flat-bottomed ditch that is pronounced at the south-southeast. Immediately east of the platform a wide ditch runs northwest-southeast draining the field to the southeast. Aerial imagery of the site today illustrates the flooding of the site (Fig. 5.4). Two depressions southeast of the platform may represent foundations of stone structures. Historical documentation of the Sopwell townland reveals the original name, Killaleigh (Killnelahaghe) which first appears in 1570.

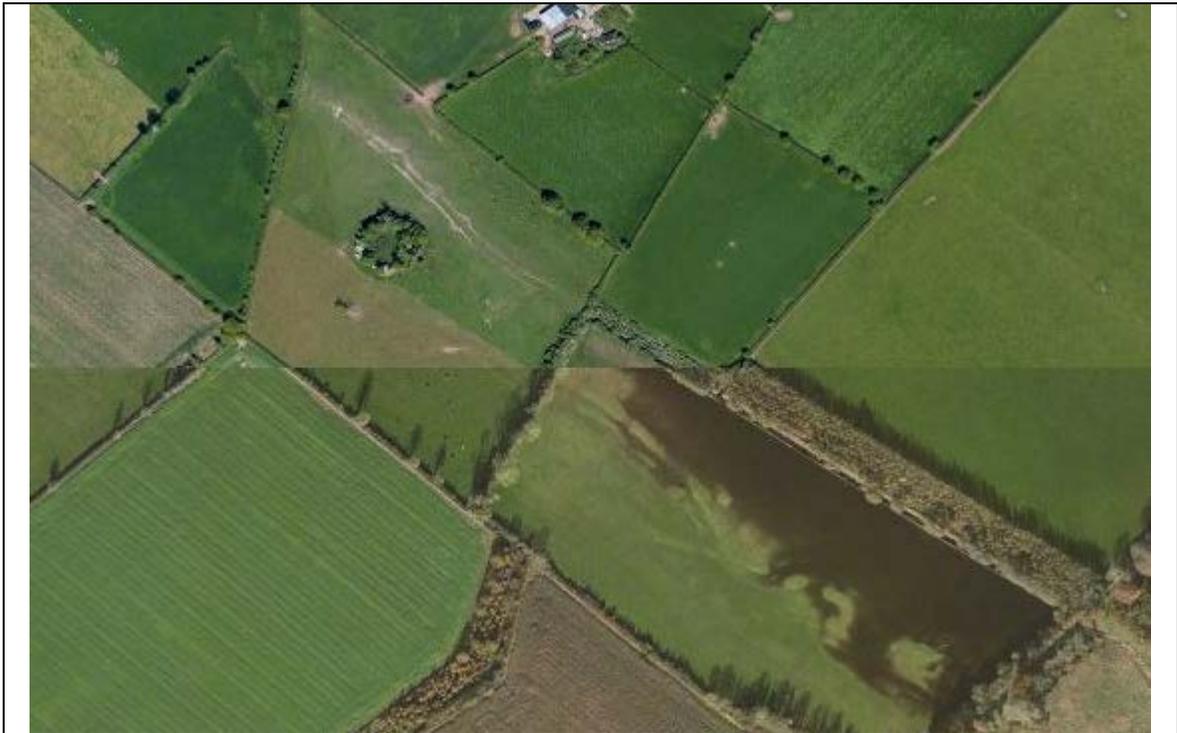


Figure 5.4: Aerial imagery of the Sopwell platform, note the drain immediately north of the platform site and the flooded field to the southwest of the site (Microsoft Sopwell 2014).

The Civil Survey 1654-1656 describes a “ruined castle the walls onley standing, a garden fower cottages, and a Water Crone Myll” in the townland of Kilnalaghagh (Simington 1934: 328). The reference to a ruined castle may be to the early 17th century Z-formation house called “Killaleigh Castle” on the first edition Ordnance Survey maps. As the Civil Survey 1654-1656 was a record of the extent and value of lands forfeited by Catholic and Royalist rebels defeated in the Cromwellian conquest, the description of castles and houses were often reported as of less value for strategic purposes of the landowners. This is why so many castles and houses were described as having walls only standing, whereas, with the Killaleigh Castle, the structure stands solidly to the modern period. It is doubtful, therefore, that the castle described in the Civil Survey is that of the platform under consideration at Sopwell.

As described, the modern townland of Sopwell contains an early 17th century historical house and associated bawn. This could illustrate a continuity of lordly settlement at the site. The townland also contains two now destroyed enclosures, mapping evidence points towards these sites being ringforts. The water mill described in the Civil Survey has not been found. The townland of Creeragh, located 2 km northeast of Sopwell, contains a square moated site (Barry 1977: 198) and a ringfort site. The siting of the Sopwell platform is not strategic; from the top of the platform views are limited in all directions due to the sunken nature of the surrounding field.

The morphology at Sopwell holds the strongest evidence for reclassification of the site. The subcircular platform measures 31 meters north-south at 2-2.5 meters in height. The platform is enclosed by a wide, flat-bottomed ditch that is most pronounced at the south-southeast. A virtually destroyed enclosing bank is also most evident at the southeast, measuring 50 cm in height. Two stones *c.* six meters apart on the outside of the north ditch may represent a causeway entrance (Figure 5.5). The linear drain and ditch lie 43 meters from the northwest-north-east-southeast of the platform and could easily have fed the ditch of the platform (Figure 5.6). O’Conor (pers. comm. 2013) proposed the revised classification of circular moated site or ring moat upon visitation in Spring 2013. An alternative reclassification for the Sopwell site is ringfort, due to its sunken location.



Figure 5.5: The northeast ditch at the Sopwell platform, possibly representing a causeway entrance to the site.



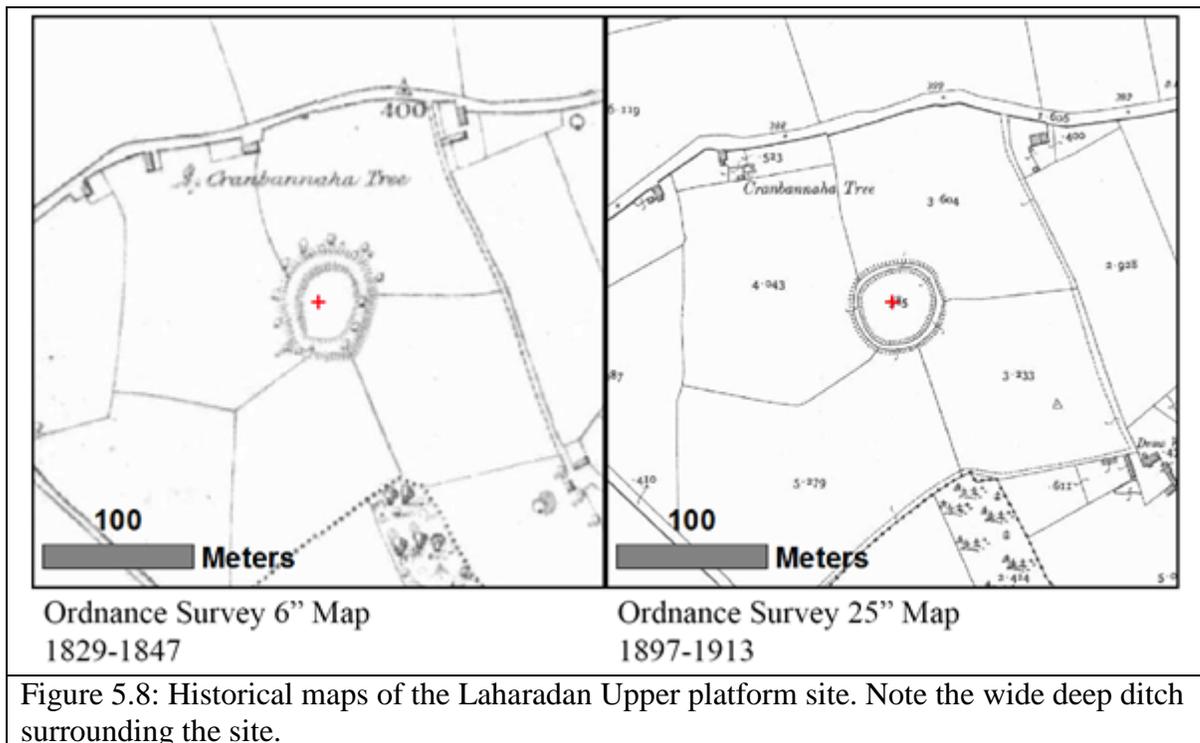
Figure 5.6: The Sopwell platform under tree cover with ditch intervening in photograph.

The second site with a suggested classification change to circular moated site or ring moat is that of Lahardan Upper (site no. 43). The site of Lahardan Upper is a subcircular raised platform in rolling pasture with good views of the surrounding countryside. The siting could be described as defensive due to the views provided. The site is located in Twomileborris parish, along with the townland of Galbooly, which is located *c.* 734 meters southwest of the Lahardan Upper townland. Galbooly townland contains a church and associated graveyard, which were listed in the ecclesiastical taxation of the Diocese of Cashel in 1302. The field immediately surrounding the church and graveyard is full of earthworks visible on aerial photography (Figure 5.7). The townland of Lahardan Upper contains a holy ash tree, located in a field directly northwest of the site. North of Lahardan Upper, in Lahardan Lower townland, is a square moated site enclosed by a dry-stone bank with a flat bottomed outer ditch (Barry 1977: 75). Lahardan Lower also contains two ringforts.



Figure 5.7: Galbooly church and graveyard with associated field structures located north, east, and south of the site (Microsoft Lahardan Upper 2014).

Historical documentation of Lahardan Upper is limited to the Civil Survey 1654-1656 (Simington 1934: 48). There is no mention of a castle in the townland. The morphology of the site, much like that at Sopwell (site no. 17), is the strongest case for classification as a circular moated site or ring moat. Specifically the ditch around the site; much like at Sopwell, the Lahardan Upper ditch is wide (4.5 meters), flat-bottomed, only it is also steep sided with a depth ranging from 50 centimeters to 1.5 meters (Figure 5.8). The platform at Lahardan Upper ranges in height from 2.5 meters at the north to 50 centimeters at the east where a modern cow path has caused major destruction to the site. This path has destroyed the stone-lined causeway entrance described by Farrelly and O'Brien (2002: 293). The ditch surrounding the site, according to the landlord, is wet in the winter. The pasture surrounding the site was dry and did not appear wet or marshy during the field visit in 2013; there is no stream immediately adjacent to the site, the River Breagh is c. 314 meters to the east.



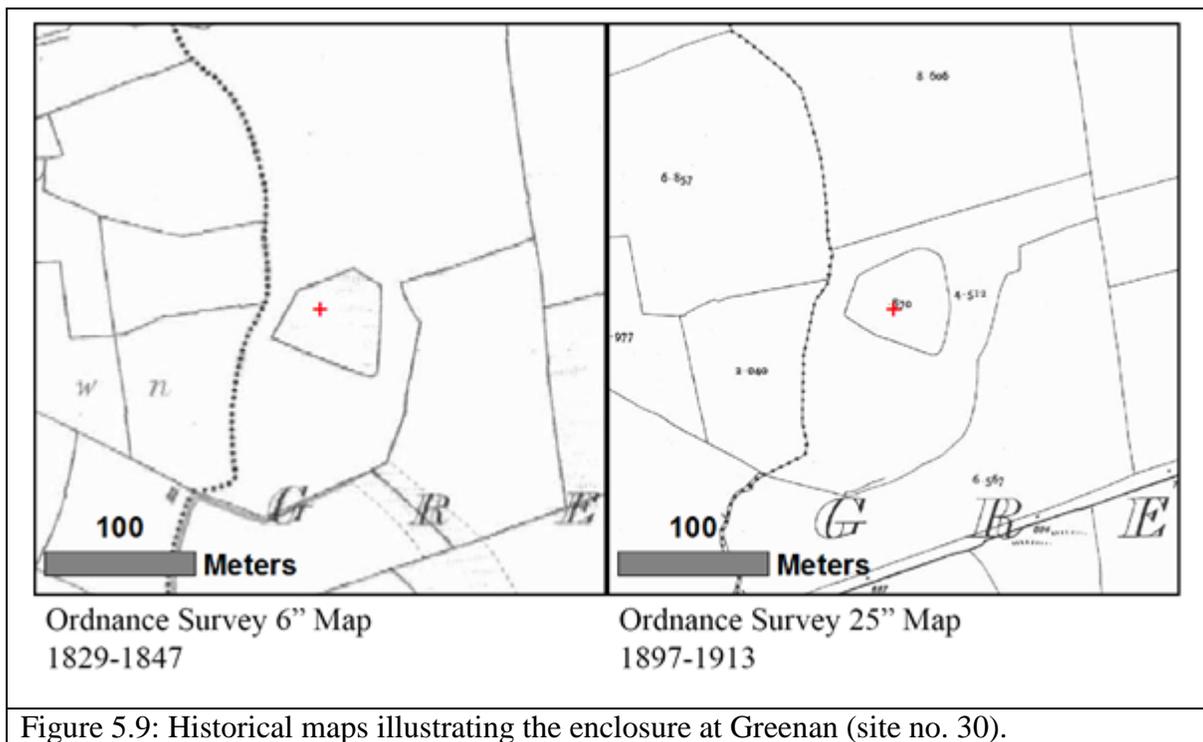
Classification of sites such as Lahardan Upper and Sopwell are complicated, as they do not neatly fit into a basic classification scheme. The earthwork remains at Galbooly townland, directly adjacent to Lahardan Upper suggest an early medieval occupation of the area. The square moated site in Lahardan Lower, directly north of Lahardan Upper, suggests a continuity of occupation in this region of the parish into the high medieval period. As O’Conor argues, the siting of platforms on low-lying ground with wide-wet ditches is more reminiscent of moated sites, rather than ringwork castles (O’Conor 1993: 350). Due to the morphology of the ditch and platform combination in association with the wetness of the ditch, a revised classification for Lahardan Upper platform is that of circular moated site or ring moat.

5.6 Enclosures

Classification of the ringwork sites of Ballycahill, Clontaaffe (site no. 26), Greenan (site no. 30), and Stook (site no. 28) by Farrelly and O’Brien (2002) is based on morphological comparison to the excavated polygonal enclosure at Clonard, Co. Meath (Sweetman 1978: 10-22) and the 1202 documented castle enclosure of William Burke at Meelick, Co. Galway (Murphy 1993: 218). However, the site at Clonard, Co. Meath was south of a historically documented monastic site and the large motte and bailey style castle. Excavation at Clonard across the roughly trapezoidal ringwork enclosure bank and ditch revealed a handle sherd from a late 13th/early 14th century pot at the base of the bank (Sweetman 1978: 15). However, as discussed by O’Keeffe (1998: 191), classification of the site at Clonard as a “ring-work” was prior to the term ringwork acquiring a specific cultural-functioning meaning; the impressive motte and bailey castle at Clonard is nearby and possibly representative of the Anglo-Norman castle at the site. Classification of these sites as ringwork castles is tenuous.

When examining each site with the set methodology, these three sites do not fit the classification of ringwork castle. They lack historical documentation across the board. The adjacent archaeological sites are either completely lacking (in the case of Ballycahill, Clontaaffe (site no. 26)) or centered around early medieval sites, including ringforts and fulacht fia sites (for Stook (site no. 28) and Greenan (site no. 30) respectively). All three

sites are located in marshy locations. The triangular morphology of Stook and Greenan platform enclosures is irregular: (Figure 5.9). The platform at Stook is raised the highest of these sites, at two meters above the surrounding countryside. Place name evidence for Stook supports a classification as a ringfort as it is reported on the first edition Ordnance Survey map as “Knockauns Fort” (Figure 5.10). An alternative suggested classification for these sites include ringfort or enclosure⁸.



⁸ Per the National Monuments Service simplified hierarchical class list, an enclosure is “an area defined by an enclosing element (e.g. bank, wall, fosse, scarp), or indicated as such cartographically, and occurring in a variety of shapes and sizes, possessing no diagnostic features which would allow classification within another monument category. These may date to any period from prehistory onwards” (National Monuments Service 2014: n.p.).

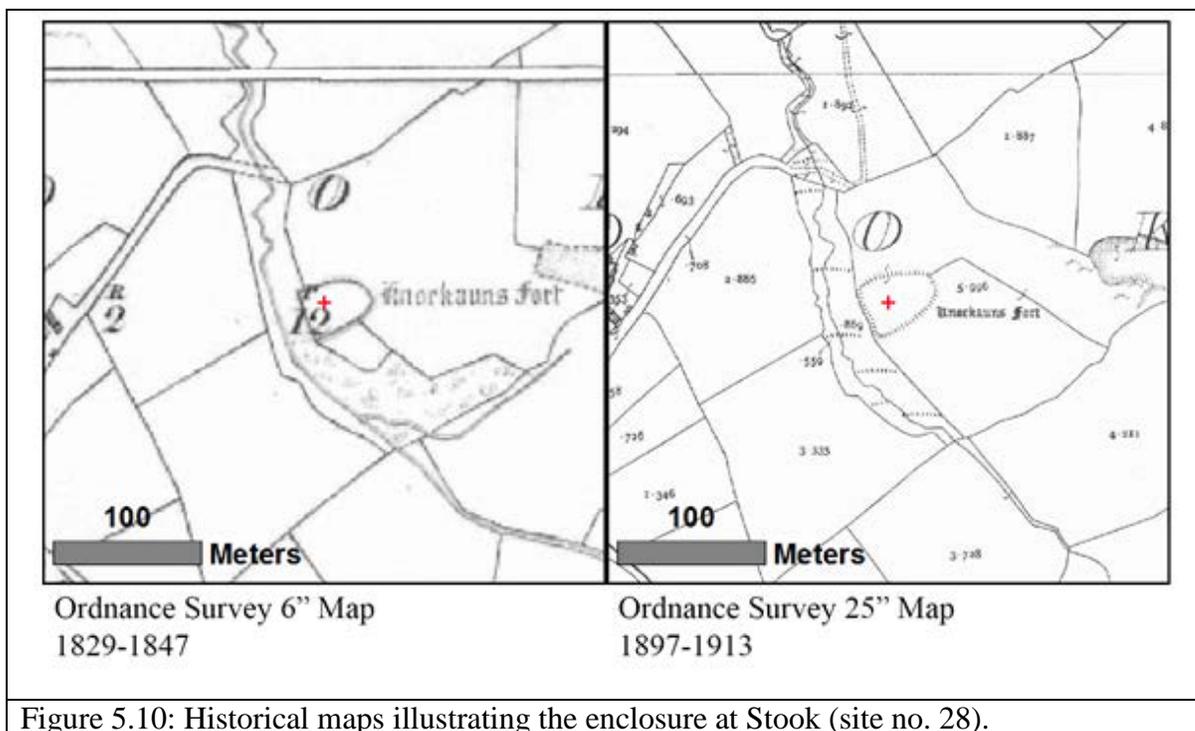


Figure 5.10: Historical maps illustrating the enclosure at Stook (site no. 28).

The ringwork sites of Coolkill (site no. 38) and Moycarky (site no. 42) are practically eradicated in the landscape. Historical mapping from Coolkill illustrates a complex of banks and ditches in the early 19th century (Figure 5.11), including a possible moated site located immediately south-west of the main platform that is now destroyed through incorporation into a modern field boundary. The remains of the site at Coolkill are a low oval enclosure (height above surrounding pasture ranges from 50 cm to one meter) (Figure 5.12). There are no historical records of a manor in the Coolkill townland. Adjacent archaeological sites do include a now-destroyed church some 600 meters southeast of the enclosures. Coolkill is located in flat pasture on a flood plain of the Clodagh River, which is located immediately west of the site with boggy and marshy land intervening to the west and south. Modern drains cross the pasture further illustrating the wet nature of the land at Coolkill. An alternative classification for the Coolkill site is enclosure.

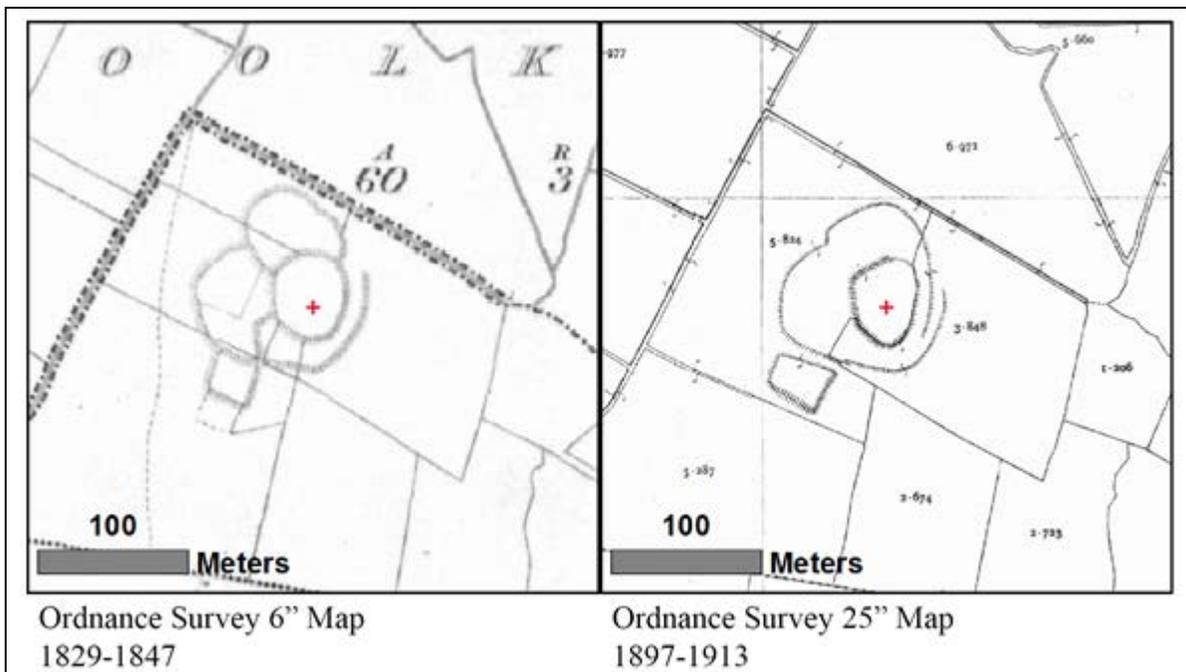


Figure 5.11: The complex of enclosures at the site of Coolkill as represented on historical maps.



Figure 5.12: The low oval platform of Coolkill.

Similarly, the site at Moycarkey is represented as a large enclosed area on the historical maps with a smaller platform enclosure in the middle of the site (Figure 5.13). The classification of site at Moycarkey is complicated, in that the physical remains of the site are damaged on the surface level (Figure 5.14). However, the center of the townland of Moycarkey, located 1.5km north-northeast of the ringwork site, contains a number of high medieval sites including a church and graveyard, tower house and bawn, moated site, deserted medieval settlement earthworks, and other earthwork sites. Directly adjacent to the platform at Moycarkey is a road hollow-way oriented east-west towards the platform; Farrelly and O'Brien (2002: 166) suggest this track is associated with the ringwork site. In the Ordnance Survey 25 inch map, the beginnings of the trackway become apparent from the main road to the west of the platform, whereas there is no evidence of the track on the 6 inch OS map. This suggests the track is not contemporaneous with the ringwork platform at Moycarkey.

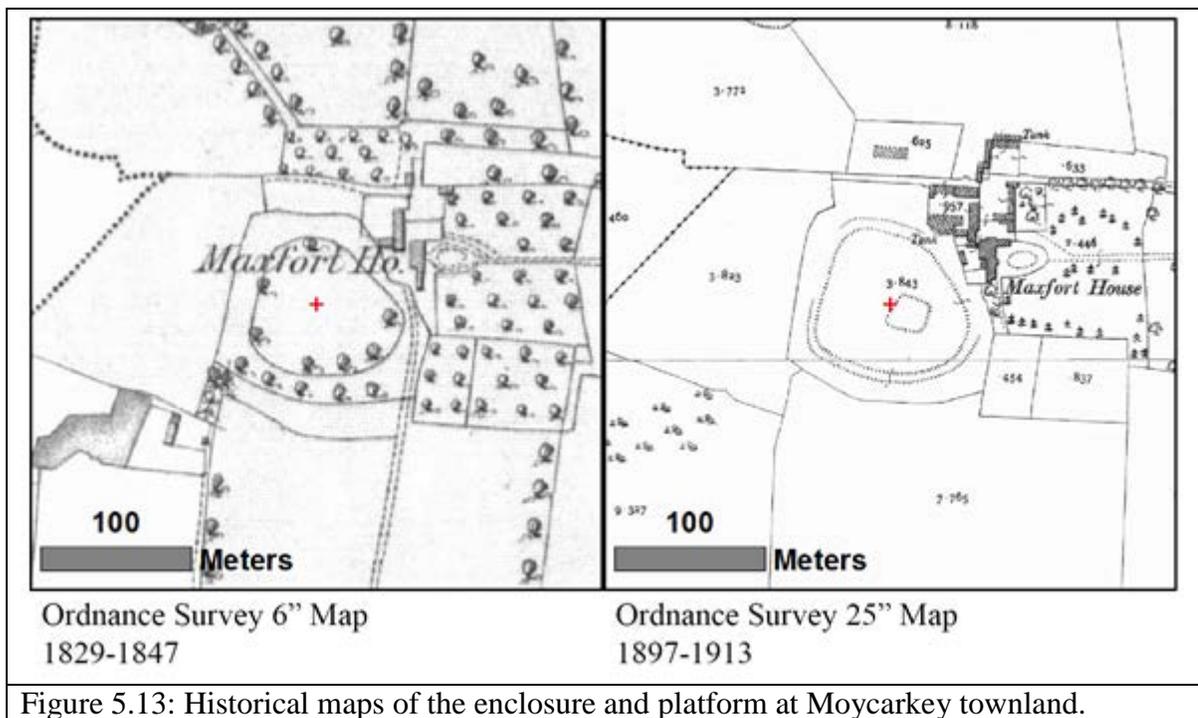


Figure 5.13: Historical maps of the enclosure and platform at Moycarkey townland.



Figure 5.14: Moycarky ringwork facing north, the extent of the site platform with Kale (left) and Cramblit (right) at furthest bounds. The 18th century landed estate of the Maxford House stands in the background.

Historical documentation for the Moycarkey townland abounds, including evidence from the *Red Book of Ormond* in 1304, where the manor of Moycarkey had 39 tenants. However, morphological evidence for the site at Moycarkey is inconclusive. The site is badly damaged with only a faint scar of a platform standing next to the Maxford House, a landed estate dating to the early 19th century. It is apparent that the manor of Moycarkey was important in the high medieval period, with a fair twice a year and a bi-weekly market as reported in the Civil Survey 1654-1656 (Simington 1931: vol. 1, 57). Nevertheless, is the platform located 1.5km away from the center of Moycarkey hamlet and associated high medieval sites a ringwork? Evidence points towards the possibility, however, the morphological data does not support this claim. A possible reclassification to an 'enclosure' or a 'castle – unclassified' might fit the site of Moycarkey better than the claim of a ringwork castle.

5.7 Ringforts

The majority of the sites (8/18) classified as ringwork castles are suggested for reclassification as ringforts. Reevaluation is based on the above methodology. As these sites have been classified by Farrelly and O'Brien (2002), amongst others (Stout 1984, Cunningham 1987), classification is often muddled; the data for each site can point to a number of site types. Therefore, the strongest case is often made with the majority of evidence, and conversely, one piece of historical documentation can provide evidence that is undisputed by the rest of the data under consideration. Thus, the sites here are suggested for classification as early medieval ringforts with a caveat that future surveys may provide additional information that yet again changes their classification.

The site of Grange (site no. 40) was bulldozed, primarily in the 1990s, secondarily in 2010 (Figure 5.15). The destruction of the site has removed any possibility of analysis of the morphology of the platform. The 1st edition OS maps of the site reveal a triangular enclosure with a center platform; the 25-inch OS maps mark a D-shaped enclosure with a new field boundary intersecting the site. Adjacent archaeological sites include a ringfort and two destroyed enclosures, possibly ringforts. A possible holy well is located 1km southwest of the platform at the edge of the Shansruhaun stream; there is no local tradition associating this spring with a holy well (Farrelly and O'Brien 2002: 276). There is no historical documentation of the townland of Grange. The siting of the platform is not strategic, although it provides views of the surrounding rolling landscape. Reevaluation of the platform in its current state suggests a classification of a ringfort (destroyed) or enclosure.



Figure 5.15: The remains of the platform at Grange, Kale (left) and Cramblit (right) stand at the furthest extent of the western side of the platform banks.

The sites of Park (site no. 23), Lisduff (site no. 24), Kilnaneave (site no. 27), Killamoyne, Rosnamulteeny (site no. 34), and Shevry (site no. 37) are recommended for reclassification as ringforts. No historical documentation links the townland to locations with castles. The place name of Park is indicative of a field. In the case Lisduff townland, place name evidence points towards an origin of a ringfort or enclosure (*An Lois Dubh*—black, ringfort, enclosure). An alternative name for Kilnaneave, as noted in the first edition Ordnance Survey maps, is *Lisnaraha*, or enclosure of the fort, also evidencing classification as a ringfort. The place name evidence from Killamoyne, Rosnamluteeny references a church or woody area, no church remains in the townland. The townland of Shevry has no place name information associated with it.

The associated archaeological sites in these townlands are predominately early medieval (Park, Lisduff and Killamoyne, Rosnamulteeny) or prehistoric (in the case of Kilnaneave and Shevry). In particular, the site of Killamoyne, Rosnamulteeny is located

in a townland with four ringforts and four enclosures directly north of the site (Figure 5.16). These sites all are within a range of 26-50 meters in diameter and surrounded by an enclosing ditch and bank, as marked on the map or surviving in the landscape today.

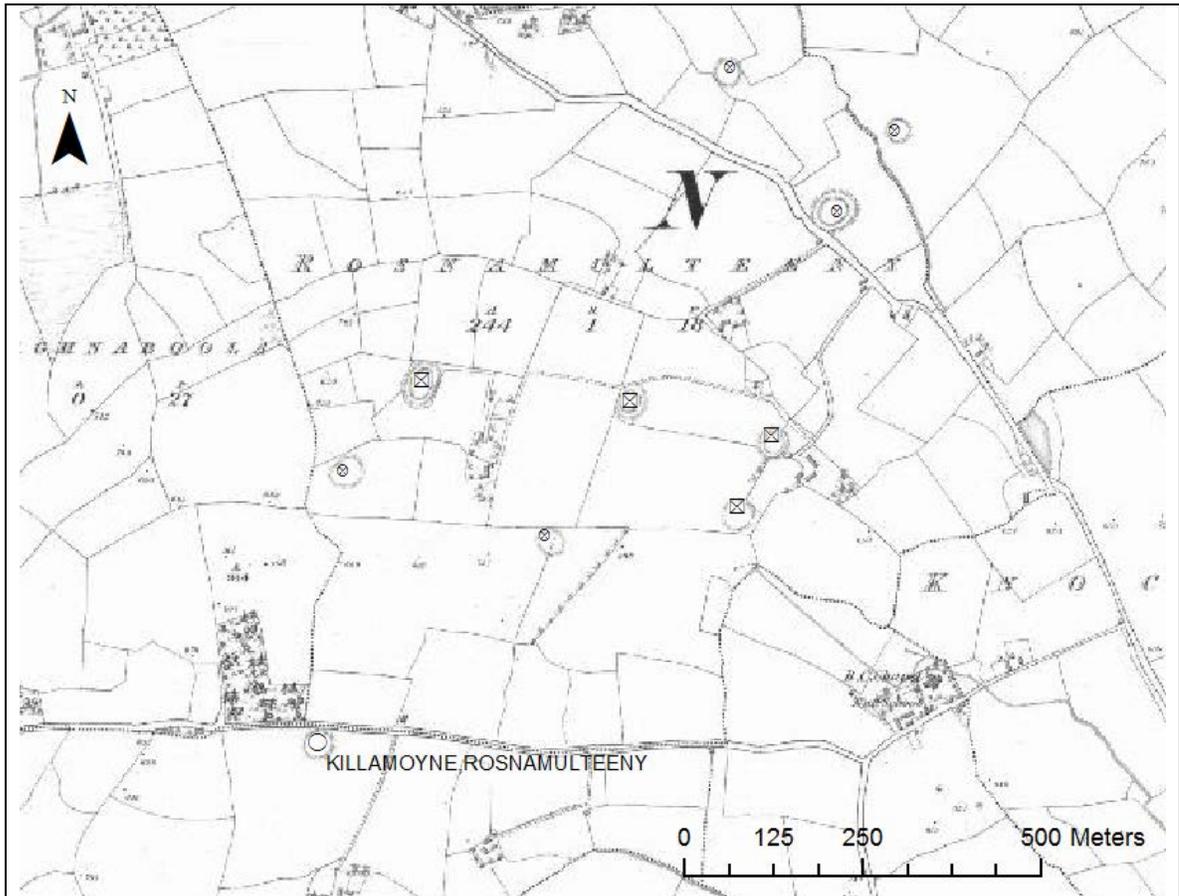


Figure 5.16: First edition Ordnance Survey map showing adjacent archaeological sites in the townland of Rosnamulteeny—ringforts are marked with crossed squares and enclosures are marked with crossed circles. The Killamoyne, Rosnamulteeny ringwork is marked with a circle and labeled.

Siting continues to build the case against these site classifications as ringworks. Park is located in an upland area on the south slope of a hill (120-130 meters high) with limited views uphill to the north and expansive views to the east, south, and west. The platform at Lisduff is located in rolling pasture with moderate views of the surrounding countryside. Killamoyne, Rosnamulteeny is located at the top of a hill in a very mountainous region of the Silvermines Mountains, the site provides good views, but is

difficult to access. Much like Park and Killamoyne, Rosnamulteeny, the site at Kilnaneave is located on the side of a steep hill in mountainous regions with expansive views; however, the site is extremely difficult to access and located on a steep hill. The platform at Shevry is located in a strategically poor location, in a valley, overlooked by a steep mountain at the west, with moderate views to the valley north and east. Although these sites are located in mountainous regions with moderate to expansive views, the locations are extremely rural and difficult to access, with no associated church, road, or other high medieval site. The church (as represented in the *cill* of *Cill na Naomh*) is located 780 meters west of the site and many not be associated with the platform of Kilnaneave. Only the townland of Lisduff contains a high medieval site, a possible moated site, in addition to a ringfort (Barry 1977: 207).

The morphology of these sites also supports reanalysis. Park's platform is roughly circular and measures 36 meters north-south with a 3.5 meter high platform surrounded by a U-shaped ditch and four meter high bank. The ditch is partially cut into the sloping hillside at the west and the outer bank is destroyed from the north to the east. The site is large, but not outside the range of ringforts found in the cantred of Ormond. It appears Farrelly and O'Brien (2002) combined the townland of Park in Aghnameadle Parish with those in Ballymackery Parish and Killea Parish. Whereas the townland of Park in Ballymackery Parish borders the Park in Aghnameadle Parish, the townland of Park in Killea parish is located outside of Templemore, on the southeast side of the Devil's Bit Mountain. These sites are located some 10 kilometers (as the bird flies) away, over the mountain range. A simple mistake made by Farrelly and O'Brien, but one that results in much different adjacent archaeological sites.

The site at Lisduff measures 27 meters north-south, two meters high at the north, with a top scarp of stone and earth, and no external bank. Farrelly and O'Brien (2002: 294) noted an exterior bank and ditch at the site; however the current landowner was quite vocal in regards to wanting to bulldoze the site, and may have caused damage in the years intervening (1996 to 2013). There is also is no evidence of wall footings for a rectangular building, which was also noted by Farrelly and O'Brien (2002: 294) during

their site visit. A ringfort immediately south of the platform measures 29 meters in diameter, similar in size to the Lisduff site.

The platform at Killamoyne, Rosnamulteeny has a north-south diameter of 27 meters, which is enclosed by a ditch and an outer bank. The site was heavily covered in gort during survey, obscuring any evidence for a second external bank or causeway entrance as described by Farrelly and O'Brien (2002: 293). As described above, the surrounding four ringforts and four enclosures in the townland of Rosnamulteeny range in size from 50 meters north-south to 26 meters north-south. Thus the morphology of the platform at Killamoyne, Rosnamulteeny is well within the range of early medieval sites in the townland.

Kilnaneave's platform (40 north-south, 47 east-west) is topped with an earth and stone bank, surrounded by a U-shaped ditch with a further outer bank surrounding. Kilnaneave townland is large, containing *c.* 742 acres of mountainous land. There are 11 ringforts in the townland ranging in size from 18 meters to 46 meters north-south; a trivallate ringfort (dimensions: 20.1 meters north-south) is located *c.* 1.9 kilometers southeast on the mount of Ballincurra Hill. These factors illustrate that the platform at Kilnaneave is located in a rich early medieval archaeological landscape and easily fits into the classification of ringfort.

The platform at Shevry is the smallest of these four earthworks, at 15 meters north-south and 11 meters east-west with a maximum platform height at three meters. The platform itself has a large depression in the middle of the top with a maximum depth of one meter. Quarrying has also damaged the site at the east. There are no comparable ringforts in the townland of Shevry, as the majority of the adjacent archaeological sites are prehistoric, Bronze Age and Iron Age. These three sites, Lisduff, Killamoyne, Rosnamulteeny, Kilnaneave, and Shevry are suggested for reclassification as ringforts based on a lack of historical evidence and morphological characteristics that match other ringforts within their individual townlands. The next set of sites is not as clearly cut in reclassification.

The platform located at Ballycrine (site no. 20) provides compelling evidence for a possible high-medieval date, but morphologically is similar to other ringforts in the

townland. Farrelly and O'Brien (2002: 290) classify the site as a ringwork, whereas Stout (1984: 35-36) classifies the site as a large, well-defended ringfort—"the maximum overall diameter of the fort is 69 meters, making it one of the largest and best defended ringforts in the Barony" (Stout 1984: 35). Stout (1984) classifies three sites in the Barony of Ikerrin as ringwork castles, therefore not showing a bias against the classification of platforms as ringworks.

Ringfort (possible)

The site of Ballycrine is a large platform, during site visit in 2013 it was completely covered in vegetation as it now stands on property owned by the Tipperary County Council (and therefore is not grazed). Investigation of the site was undertaken, however, site surveying proved impossible. Therefore all measurements are taken from Stout (1984) and Farrelly and O'Brien (2002). Ballycrine is a bivallate site with a large interior platform and an impressive ditch and bank complex. As Stout noted, the platform is 31 meters at the maximum diameter and enclosed by a nine meter wide bank which is raised 1.4 meters above the interior level (Stout 1984: 35). Exterior to the first bank is another 10 meter wide bank rising two meters above the ground level. The interior ditch is 4.4 meters below the top of the highest bank and forms a U-shaped ditch. A causeway entrance (not visible at time of visit) is located at the east; this entrance completely cuts through the banks and ditches and provides easy access to the interior platform (Stout 1984: 35; Farrelly and O'Brien 2002: 290). Stout (1984: 35) noted three large stones at this entrance, which may have provided revetment for the bank. Supporting evidence for an early medieval ringfort classification of the Ballycrine platform comes from anecdotal evidence from 1940, where a souterrain is mentioned at Lisnageeha, in a carnival program (Stout 1984: 35).

The siting of Ballycrine could be considered defensive, and it is the location that Farrelly and O'Brien (2002: 290) heavily rest their case for the platform being classified as a ringwork castle. The site is located at the 182 meter contour line in a very hilly region. The platform overlooks a pass between two hills that both rise over 200 meters.

Views from the site are impressive to the east, towards the valley, but compromised in other directions and overlooked at the west.

Archaeological sites within the townland of Ballycrine include two ringforts, an enclosure, and a possibly holy well. The closest ringfort is *c.* 560 meters to the north of the platform and consists of a circular area 38 meters in diameter. A causeway entrance is located in the southeast sector of the site (Farrelly and O'Brien 2002: 69). The second ringfort is located north of the ringwork site, and is largely destroyed through modern agricultural activity; it survives as a kink in the field boundary. The site was *c.* 30m in diameter and surrounded by a bank of clay and stone and wall surrounding a natural hillock (Farrelly and O'Brien 2002: 69). A low earthwork is located immediately north and downslope from the platform site at Ballycrine. The OS maps indicated the site was largely destroyed between 1840-1904, with the last remnants of the site completely bulldozed in the 1950s (Stout (1984: 86). The large enclosure (*c.* 95 meters north-south) was defined by a bank and ditch complex in the south, with a raised platform in the northeast (Farrelly and O'Brien 2002: 173). A smaller circular enclosure (*c.* 30 meters north-south) is located in the north of the enclosure; if these were associated, the site would have been massive (Figure 5.17 and 5.18). The possible holy well lies 150 meters east of the enclosure site, and Stout (1984) suggests these associated sites and the large size of the enclosure might suggest ecclesiastical associations.



Figure 5.17: Aerial photograph of the destroyed enclosure (foreground) and ringwork site (background) taken *c.* 1984 (Stout 1984: 86).



Figure 5.18: Bing maps aerial image of Ballycrine ringwork (bottom left) and destroyed enclosure (middle in grass), north is at the top of the image (Microsoft 2014: Ballycrine).

Historical maps name the platform at Ballycrine *Lisnageeha* or the Fort of the Winds, supporting a ringfort classification. The Civil Survey 1654-1656 mentions the townland of Ballycrine in the parish of Roscrea as bordering the parish of Burrin; no mention is made of a castle in the townland (Simington 1934: 7). With the provided evidence, the classification of the Ballycrine platform as a ringwork castle is rejected and a reclassification as a ringfort is suggested. If new evidence that supports Farrelly and O'Brien's assertion of the ecclesiastical nature of the enclosure north of the site is uncovered, a ringwork classification may again be apt for the site of Ballycrine.

With the above sites rejected as ringwork castles, the distribution of castles in north Co. Tipperary takes a much different shape. With the suggested reclassification, the number of motte and bailey castles falls to four from five, the number of motte sites increases from five sites to 15, and the number of ringwork castles decreases from 27 to nine (Table 5.1 and Figure 5.19).

Type	SMRS	Site Name	Cantred
Motte and Bailey	TN040-013002-	GORTKELLY	Kilnamanagh Upper
Motte and Bailey	TN004-010012-	LORRHA	Lower Ormond
Motte and Bailey	TN005-021----	KILLEEN (Loughkeen Par.)	Lower Ormond
Motte and Bailey	TN021-036----	RATHFALLA	Upper Ormond
Type	SMRS	Site Name	Cantred
Motte	TN042-052003-	BORRIS (Twomileborris Par.)	Eliogarty
Motte	TN034-090002-	MAGHERAREAGH (Inch Par.)	Eliogarty
Motte	TN041-042004-	THURLES TOWNPARKS	Eliogarty
Motte	TN016-003----	MOATQUARTER (Rathnaveoge Par.)	Ikerrin
Motte	TN022-036----	CLONCANNON	Ikerrin
Motte	TN034-025004-	CULLAHILL (Glenkeen Par.)	Kilnamanagh Upper
Motte	TN046-006004-	MOYALIFF	Kilnamanagh Upper
Motte	TN011-025----	GARRAUN (Modreeny Par.)	Lower Ormond
Motte	TN015-020----	BALLYLUSKY (Arderony Par.)	Lower Ormond
Motte	TN025-037----	BURGESBEG	Owney and Arra
Motte	TN027-016----	KILLANAFINCH (Kilkeary Par.)	Upper Ormond
Motte	TN027-018----	KILLANAFINCH (Kilkeary Par.)	Upper Ormond
Motte	TN020-084002-	BALLYCAHILL (Kilmore Par.)	Upper Ormond
Motte	TN027-105001-	LACKENAVORNA	Upper Ormond
Motte	TN020-075----	TULLAHEDY	Upper Ormond
Type	SMRS	Site Name	Cantred
Ringwork	TN036-021--	LISDONOWLEY	Eliogarty
Ringwork	TN035-030001-	TINVOHER	Eliogarty
Ringwork	TN034-022----	BROOKLEY,DROM	Eliogarty
Ringwork	TN047-047----	NEWTOWN (Holycross Par.)	Eliogarty
Ringwork	TN012-010008-	TOWNPARKS (Roscrea Par.)	Ikerrin
Ringwork	TN017-050002-	OLDCASTLE (Bourney Par.)	Ikerrin
Ringwork	TN022-058----	BORRISNAFARNEY	Ikerrin
Ringwork	TN034-007----	CULLAHILL (Glenkeen Par.),CURRAGHKEAL	Kilnamanagh Upper
Ringwork	TN020-072----	CLAREEN (Burgeshbeg Par.)	Owney and Arra
Table 5.1: Timber castle sites by type.			

5.8: Civil Parishes

A study in Co. Meath found of the motte and bailey sites that were historically documented, there is a connection with principle land grants and manors (Graham 1974: 47-48). Graham argues that motte and bailey sites therefore can be used to pinpoint the location of the manorial headquarters or capita of the principle land grants in the absence of historical documentation. O'Connor (1998; 1999: 194) similarly argues that the parish boundary can act as a geographic identifier of the manorial boundaries. Castles located in those parish boundaries therefore potentially represent the *caput* of that manor. The following series of maps matches known historic parish boundaries with the timber castle located within.

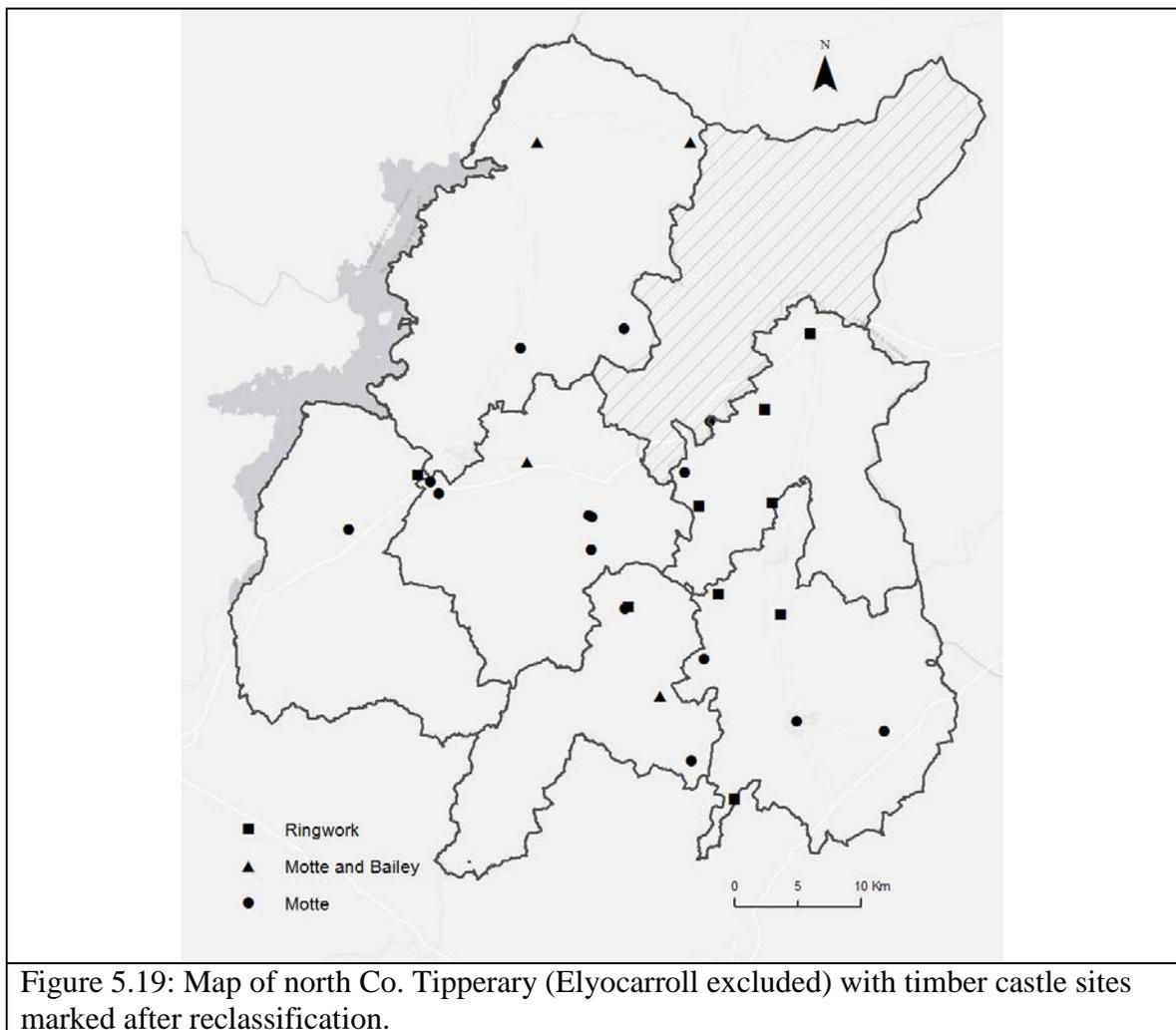


Figure 5.19: Map of north Co. Tipperary (Elyocarroll excluded) with timber castle sites marked after reclassification.

In the barony of Lower Ormond, two motte and two motte and bailey sites remain under the lordship of Walter. The motte and baileys are located within known historical parishes, Lorrha (site no. 12) in Lorrha and Killeen (site no. 13) in Loughkeen. The motte sites are also located in named parishes, Ballylusky (site no. 1) in Ardcrony and Garraun (site no. 18) in Maghdrifne. It is likely these castles represent the manorial centers of these regions. In the barony of Upper Ormond (together with Lower Ormond forming the cantred of Ormond), five motte sites with one motte and bailey exist. Of the mottes, only Ballycahill (site no. 3) is located in a known parish, Kilmore. The rest of the sites, Tullahedy (site no. 14), Killanafinch 1 (site no. 6), Killanafinch 2 (site no. 7), and Lackenavorna (site no. 8) are located in unnamed civil parishes. The motte and bailey located at Rathfalla (site no. 15) is located in the parish of Tyone (Figure 5.20 and 5.21).

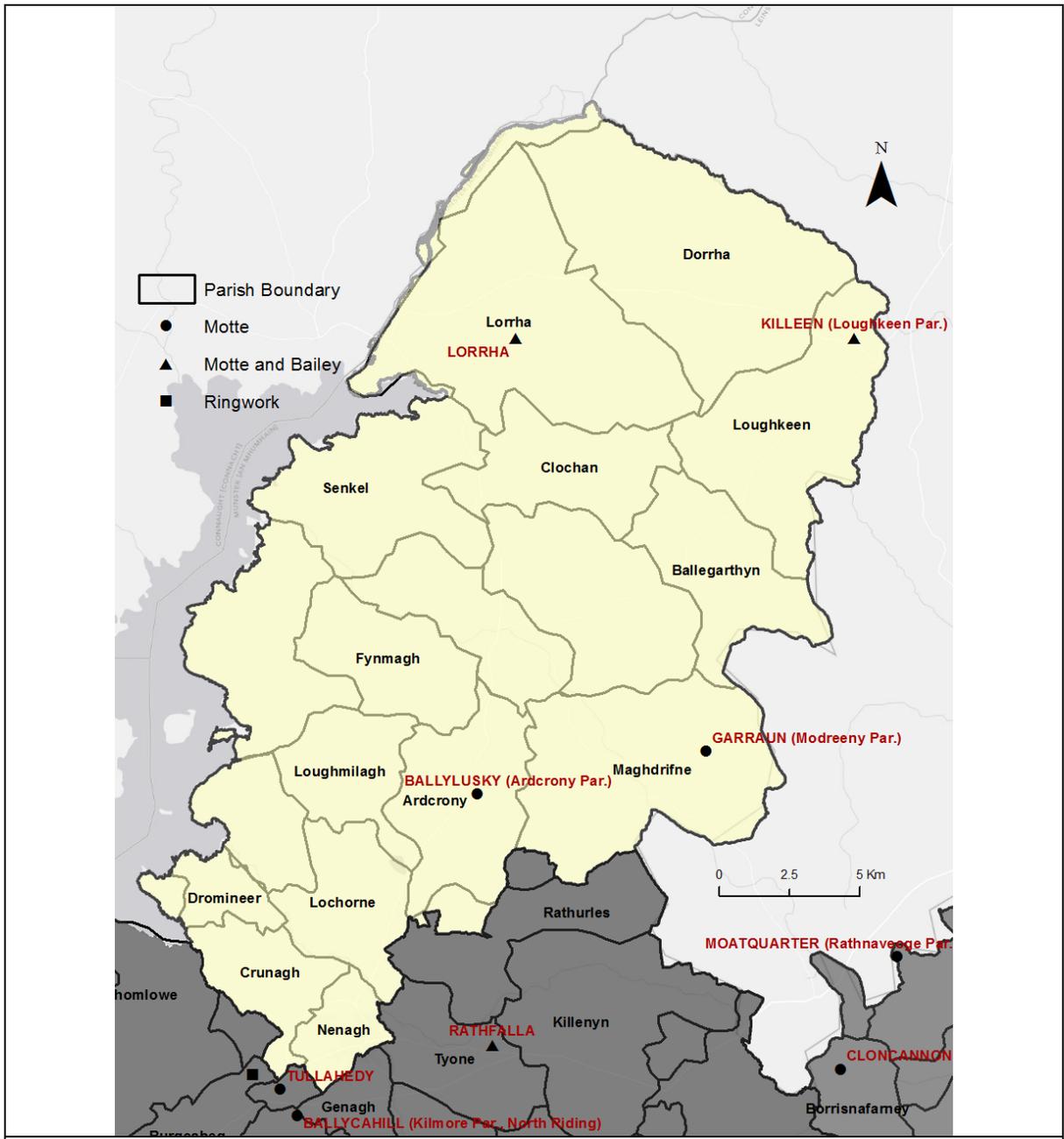


Figure 5.20: Timber castles in the barony of Lower Ormond. The red labels are the townland of the castle, the black labels are the names of the parishes.

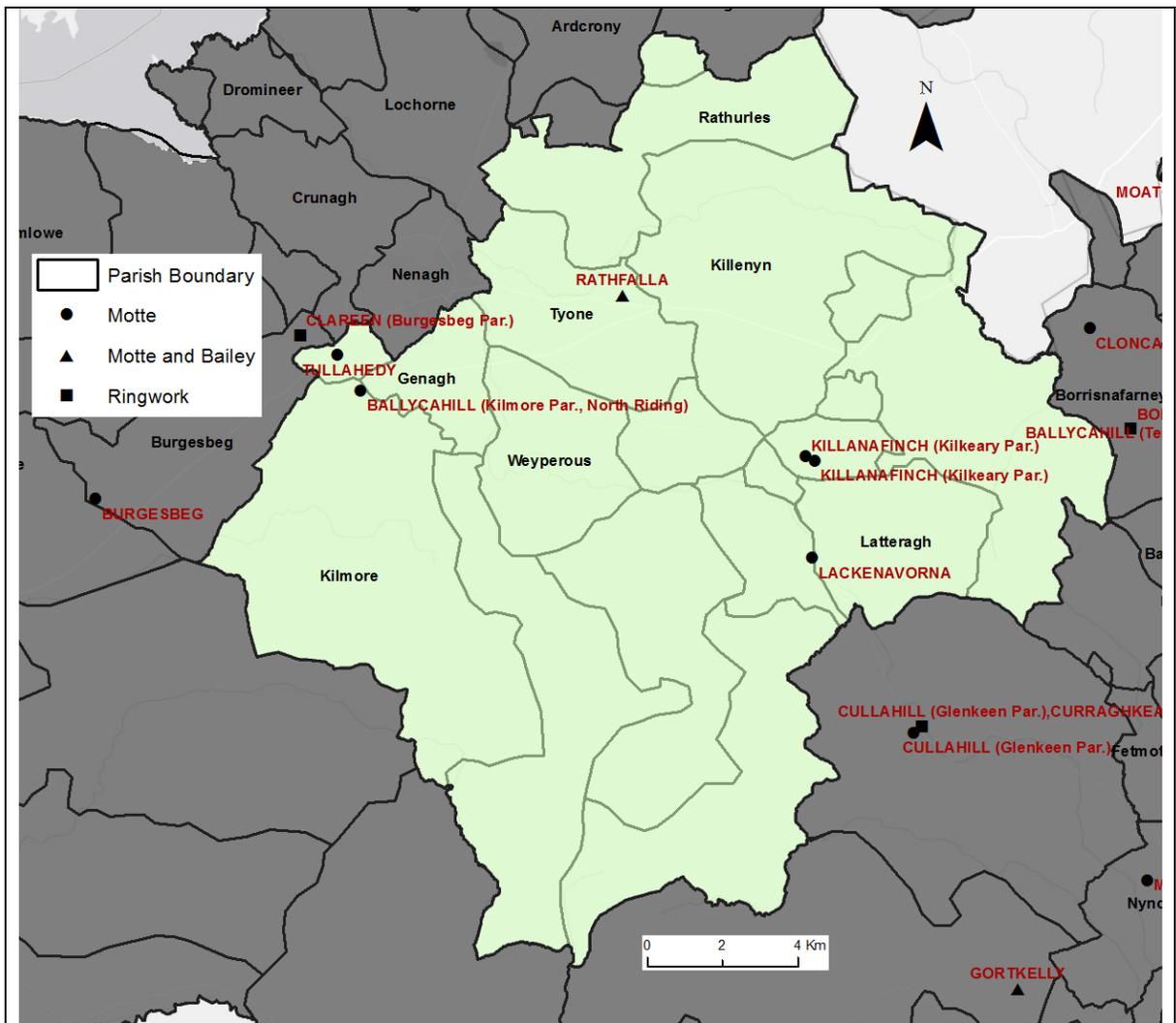


Figure 5.21: Timber castles in the barony of Upper Ormond. The red labels are the townland of the castle, the black labels are the names of the parishes.

In the cantred of Arra and Owey, the ringwork of Clareen (site no. 22) and the motte of Burgeshbeg (site no. 5) are both located in the parish of Burgeshbeg on opposite ends in the northeast and southwest respectively (5.22). The cantred of Eoghanact Cashel holds two mottes, one ringwork, and one motte and bailey. Gortkelly (site no. 16), the motte and bailey, is located in an unknown parish; analogously, the motte at Cullahill (site no. 33) and the possible ringwork at Cullahill, Curraghkeal (site no. 31) are located in an unknown parish. The motte at Moyaliff (site no. 11), alternatively is in the parish of Adlongport and is a known manorial center from the historical documentation (5.23).

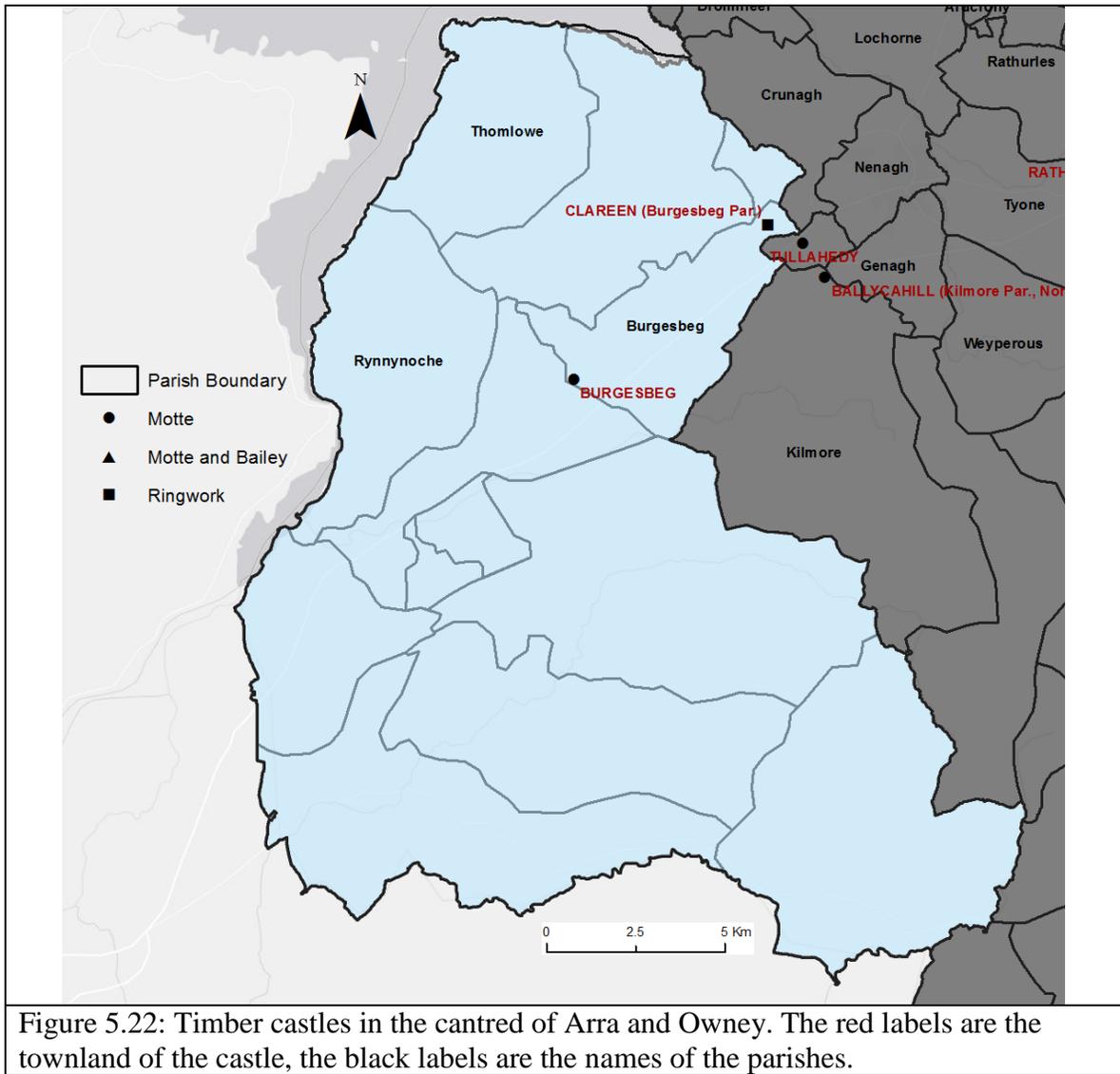


Figure 5.22: Timber castles in the cantred of Arra and Oweiny. The red labels are the townland of the castle, the black labels are the names of the parishes.

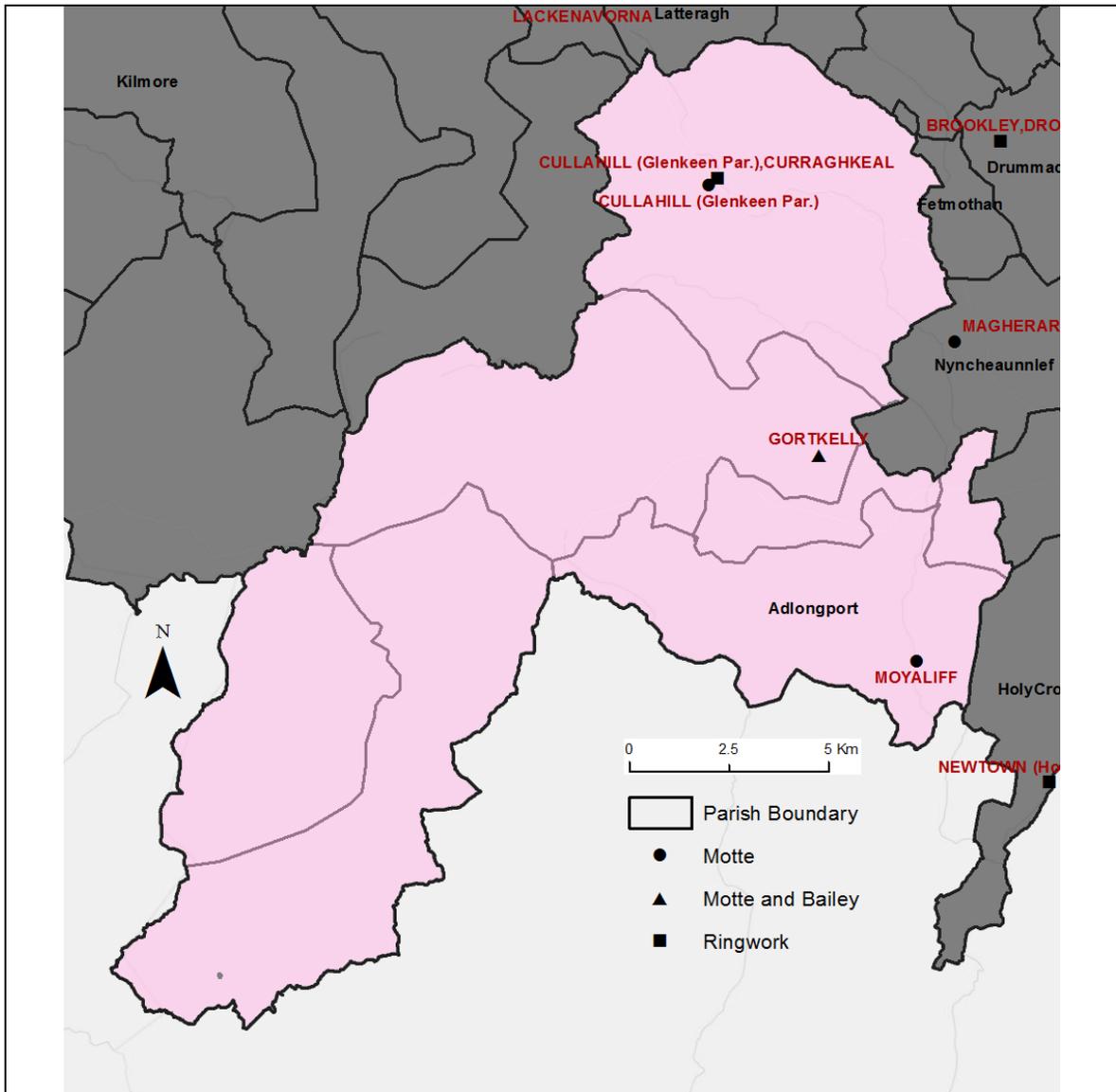


Figure 5.23: Timber castles in the barony of Eghanact Cashel. The red labels are the townland of the castle, the black labels are the names of the parishes.

The barony of Ikerrin (only this area was used in this analysis as the cantred of Elyocarroll spans the boundary of modern north Co. Tipperary and Co. Offaly) contains five timber castles, two mottes and three ringworks. Three sites are located in known parishes: the ringwork at Townparks (site no. 19), located in Roscrea parish, the ringwork at Borrishnafarney (site no. 25) and motte at Cloncannon (site no. 44), located in

Borrisnafarney parish. The motte and Moatquarter (site no. 2) and ringwork at Oldcastle (site no. 21) are located in unknown parishes (Figure 5.24).

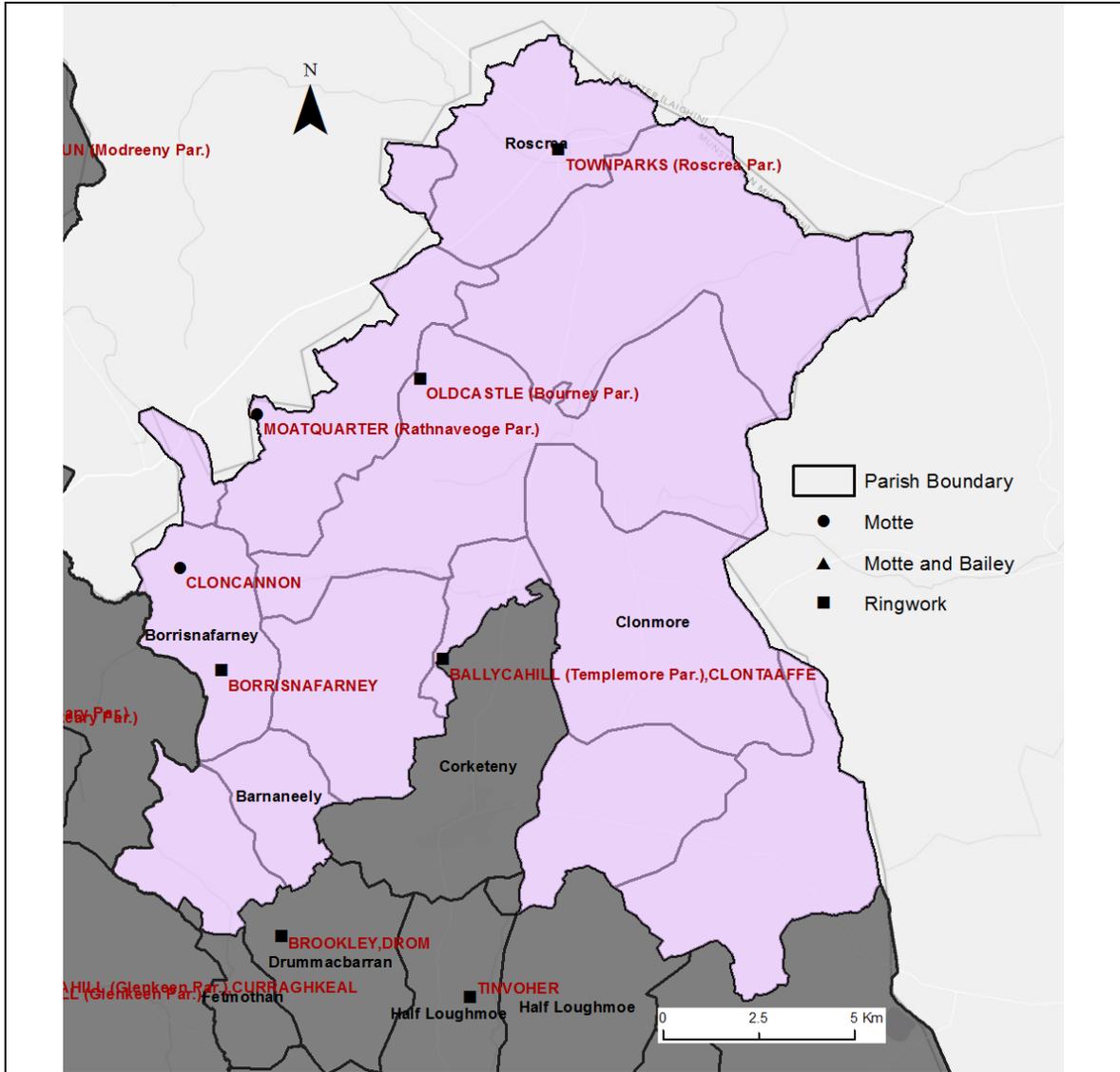


Figure 5.24: Timber castles in the cantred of Ikerrin. The red labels are the townland of the castle, the black labels are the names of the parishes.

The cantred of Eliogarty, under the lordship of Walter, also contains seven timber castles, three mottes and four ringworks all in known historical civil parishes. The mottes include Magherareagh (site no. 9) in Nyncheaunnlef parish, Thurles Townparks (site no.

10) in Killruss parish, and Borris (site no. 39) in Noard parish. The ringworks include Ballycahill, Clontaafe (site no. 26) in Corketeny parish, Brookely, Drom (site no. 32) in Drummabarran parish, Tinvoher (site no. 35) in Half Loughmoe, and Newtown (site no. 41) in Holycross parish (Figure 5.25).

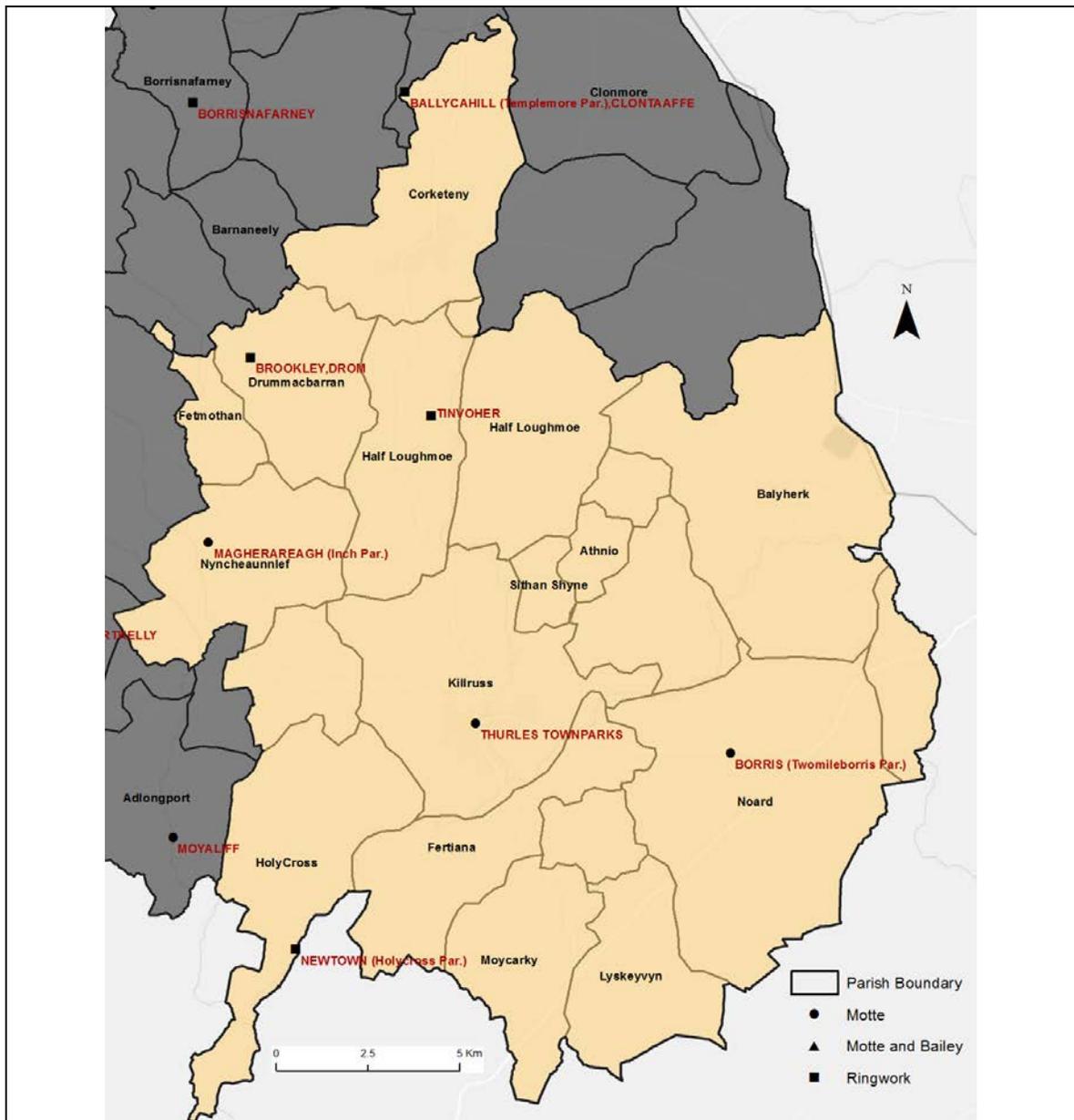


Figure 5.25: Timber castles in the barony of Eliogarty. The red labels are the townland of the castle, the black labels are the names of the parishes.

The rejection of 18 ringwork sites in north Co. Tipperary drastically alters the distribution map of Irish ringwork sites (Figure 5.26). Compared to the pre-rejection distribution map of ringwork castles (Chapter 2: 37), a more distributed view of this castle type appears. Future work is necessary, including the reevaluation of ringwork castles in south Co. Tipperary (the darkest shaded country in the map).

5.9 Conclusion

The process of classifying archaeological sites in the landscape without excavation is problematic. Field identification has been laden with the lack of a clear definition and a lack in understanding (or outright rejection) of ringwork sites as a castle type. This chapter has reevaluated the field evidence for ringwork castles as classified in north Co. Tipperary. The methodology employed here has been successful in other cases (O’Conor 1998; Arbuthnot 2011) to aid in distinguishing ringwork castles from the various other round fortified enclosures in the countryside of Ireland. The four step classification (historical source evidence, morphology, physical siting, and cultural siting) resulted in the rejection of 18 identified ringwork castles from the Archaeological Inventory. Possible alternative site classifications are offered in each case, some resulting in the reclassification of sites to alternative castle types. The specifics of each site are discussed in the Appendix.

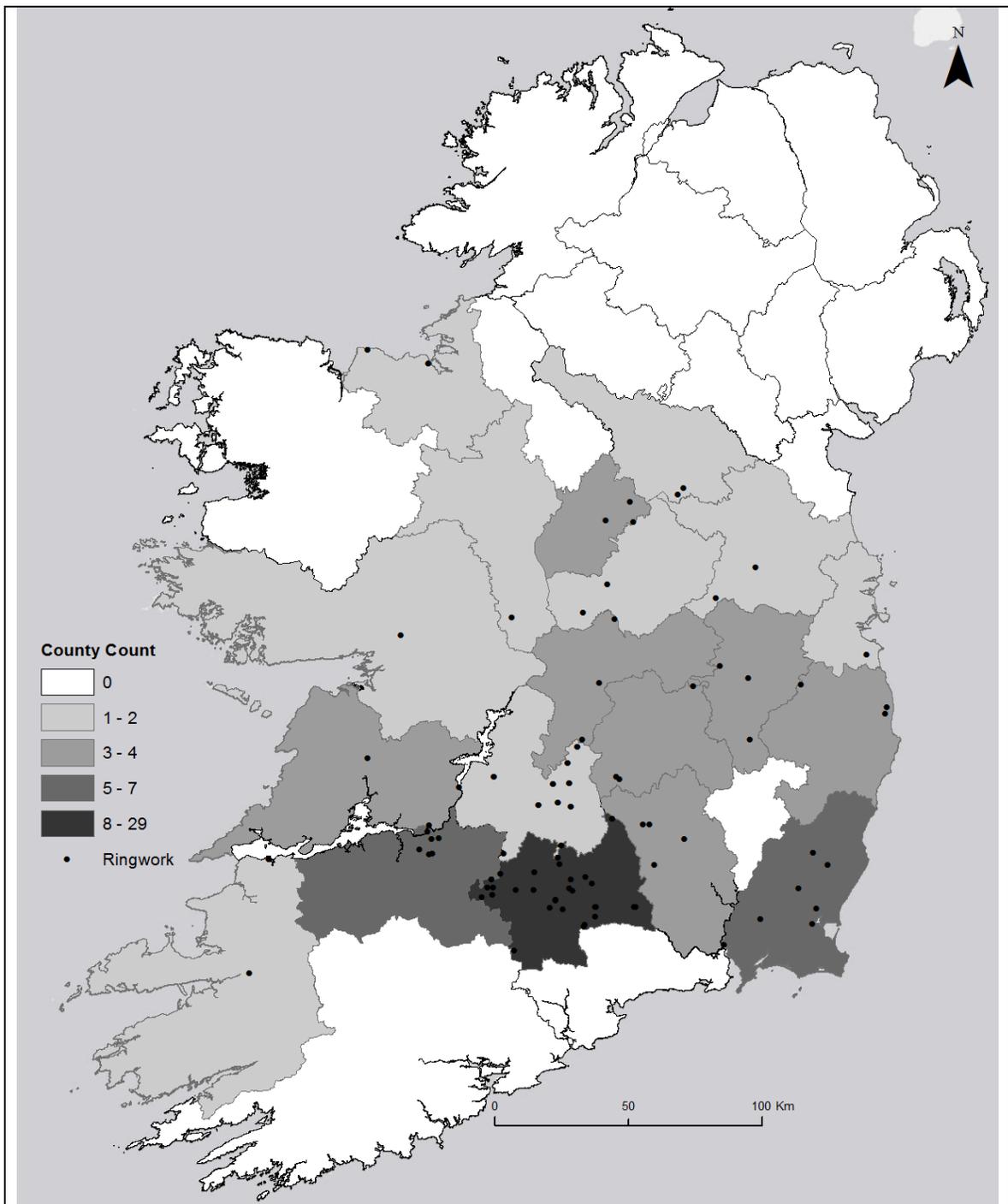


Figure 5.26: A distribution map of the ringwork castles in Ireland by count. The more ringworks in a county, the darker the shading of the county boundary.

Chapter Six: Castle Siting

- 6.1: Introduction
- 6.2: Castle Siting
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6.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the evidence for the siting of timber castles in north Co. Tipperary. First a possible timeline of the encastellation of the country is detailed with historical and morphological evidence. Next the major themes of castle siting are covered with specifics from individual sites, including: geomorphology, elevation, platform height, routes, and religious siting. Finally, four sites are detailed with specific attention to their location in their townland and cantred.

6.2 Castle Siting

As emphasized emphatically by Creighton (2002), there was no overarching ideal location for siting castles. “Castles were so multifaceted in terms of their functions, built at such a range of levels within society, and applied to such a variety of landscapes, that in fact no overall trend [of siting] is apparent” (Creighton 2002: 36). Nevertheless, scholars have sought to formulate ideal locations for castles, beginning with David Cathcart King publishing 13 major functions and siting locations in his 1983 two volume tome *Castellarium Anglicanum: An Index and Bibliography of the Castles in England, Wales and the Islands* (King 1983: xvi-xxiii). The objective of this dissertation is not to find the overarching ideal location for castle sites in Ireland; rather, by examining castle

siting through the archaeological remains of the castles, information can be gathered on the process of colonialism in the midlands of Ireland.

The underlying principle of constructing a castle was to control profitable land. Therefore there was a direct connection between military and economic frontiers in castle construction (King 1983: xvii-xxiii; Cunningham 1987: 93). A castle must be sited not only for agricultural potential in the construction of a manor, but also to rapidly deploy troops in case of an attack, counterattack or the need to spread into the hinterland as necessary. Thus, castles were often not sited on the highest, inaccessible hilltop position (Creighton 2002: 35). Creighton (2002) has noted the surprising number of medieval castles of all types that are overlooked by higher ground; in this study of north Co. Tipperary seven (25%) of the sites are overlooked, including those in locations that could be considered primarily strategic in their locations. Only three sites in this study were located at the highest points in the surrounding countryside (Ballylusky (site no. 1), Moatquarter (site no. 2), and Cloncannon (site no. 4). Whereas Arbuthnot (2011) found that 33% of ringworks in her study area were on the summit of natural ridges.

The height of motte castles gave them dominance in the landscape that was not afforded to ringwork castles (O'Connor 1993 i: 360). As Creighton argues, castles were “a prominent landmark and a conspicuous symbol of power with a panoptical viewshed over the surrounding territory” (2002: 35). Class I mottes (higher than 10 meters) in the study area include Cloncannon (site no. 4), Lackenavorna (site no. 8), Moyliff (site no. 11), and Tullahedy (site no. 14). The motivation factor of the Anglo-Norman lords was to control profitable land. Profitable land was measured in arable acres; therefore, castles located to control such land were not in boggy lowlands, nor on high precipices.

6.3 Timeline of timber castle construction

Cunningham (1987) traced the timeline of Anglo-Norman advance into the south-west midlands, including the Irish area of Ely O'Carroll, part of which was transformed into the modern barony of Elyocarroll. In his timeline, the construction of timber castles in north Co. Tipperary began at Thurles, then the mottes at Moatquarter (site no. 2) and Cloncannon (site no. 4) were constructed by 1200 to advance into the hostile Irish

countryside along main routes through the mountains (Cunningham 1987: 103). As Moatquarter and Cloncannon are located on esker ridges or mountainous zones, the interpretation of early fortifications primarily for strategic forays to delineate the countryside is reasonable.

Theobald Walter died in 1206, and his son Theobald Walter II did not come to age until 1221. While previous surveys of north Co. Tipperary claimed the area was completely settled from 1185-1206, research has shown that little is actual known of the activities of Walter in north Co. Tipperary in those 21 years⁹ (e.g. Empey 1970a; 1970b; 1981; Cunningham 1987). The only timber castles constructed under Walter therefore is Thurles, and possibly Moatquarter and Cloncannon. The date of construction for Moatquarter and Cloncannon is not arbitrary at 1200; for in 1200, John, King of Ireland, ordered all those holding lands “in the marches of Ireland” to fortify them on pain of forfeiture (*CDI* 1171-1251: no. 125).

The next set of mottes Cunningham identified in the sequence include Lorrha (site no. 12) and Killeen (site no. 13) both in Lower Ormond, constructed by an estimated date of 1208 (Cunningham 1987: 103). The motte at Lorrha was sacked by 1208 (Gleeson and Gwynn 1961: 180). An earlier construction date might be more reasonable to allow for construction prior to the burning of the timber fortifications. Killeen was located on a provincial boundary, between Munster, Connacht, Meath, and Leinster; therefore, the placement of this motte and bailey could highlight more than simple Anglo-Norman strategy against the Irish (or other Anglo-Norman lords). Killeen is also located on the Little Bronsna River; the control of this river crossing might indicate the reason for siting in the parish.

The possible ringwork at Roscrea (site no. 19) was constructed on the lands of St. Cronan in 1213, in response to the sacking and burning of the castles at Lorrha, Kinnitty, and Birr (possibly Killeen motte and bailey) (Stout 1984: 112). Although the site is now destroyed, possibly under the masonry castle of Roscrea (Barry 1987: 35), the siting of

⁹ Walter had considerable holdings across Ireland, in Arklow, Tullow, Meath, Gowran, South Armagh, and Dublin, it is not to suggest he spent all his time in Tipperary or worrying about his holdings in this region (Empey 1970a: 113-142).

the castle is important as it lies on the *Slighe Dala*, an ancient route (see more on routes below). The site is also strategic, in alignment with Moatquarter and Cloncannon. Likewise, the motte at Ballylusky (site no. 1), perched on an esker ridge, provided an important route between Lorrha and Nenagh. Cunningham (1987: 103) estimates the construction of the Ballylusky motte in 1214 in accordance with expansion across the county. The motte at Tullahedy (site no. 14) is estimated by Cunningham (1987: 103) to have been constructed in 1215, for strategic protection of Nenagh; however, Barry (*pers. comm.*) and O'Connor (*pers. comm.*) agree the motte at Tullahedy may represent later construction due to the morphology of the mound.

The last site discussed by Cunningham is that of Inch (Magherareagh) (site no. 9) no construction date is suggested (Cunningham 1987: 103). However, it is apparent the timber fortifications at Magherareagh were sacked and burnt in 1285, along with castles at Moyaliff (11), Ballycahill (3), and Lackenavorna (site no. 8) (Westropp 1903: 176). The site at Magherareagh appears to be constructed primarily as a manorial center, as it is located in gentle, rolling pasture adjacent to the Fishnoyne River near a church and graveyard. The manor in Nyncheaunlef (Inch) is well documented in the 14th century *Red Book of Ormond*, including such components of lordly status as fishponds and mills (Empey 1985: 80).

The ringwork at Brookely, Drom (site no. 32), located on a crossing of the Fishboyne River, is the last documented timber castle in the study area. A charter of the tuath of Kenelfenelgille (Drom) is given to Gilbert de Cantwell *c.* 1185 (Empey 1986: 16). Empey (1986: 16) indicates this charter was part of the earliest settlement into Eliogarty, where the tuath of Drom was later transferred into a military tenement or fief. This means the ringwork castle may have been constructed early in the sequence of encastellation of the study area, possibly contemporaneously with Thurles or Moatquarter and Cloncannon.

6.4 Geomorphology

O'Connor (1993) argued that geomorphology may partly explain the prevalence of ringwork castles in Connacht and Munster and the lack of motte castles (O'Connor 1993: i 358-359). As discussed in Chapter 4 (151-160) the underlying geology of north Co. Tipperary consists of Carboniferous limestone, covered by glacial drift soils (Whittow 1975: 187). The agricultural potential of the countryside increases in profitability moving south past the Silvermines and Devil's Bit Mountains into the Golden Vale region of the country. As north Co. Tipperary was glaciated, the resulting esker ridges were utilized by the Anglo-Normans as naturally high locations for castle siting. Examples include the mottes at Cloncannon (site no. 4) and Ballylusky (site no. 1). Modern quarrying activities at both of these sites have revealed the internal gravel structure of the esker ridge. It is possible other timber castle sites were located on now-destroyed esker ridges that cross the countryside.

Analysis of the underlying soils in a 200 meter buffer area around the castle sites is revealing, but not surprising. The most predominant underlying soil of mottes is sandstone and shales (27.8%). This soil is characteristic of glacial till deposits (Fealy *et al* 2006). Motte and bailey sites (25%), and ringwork (21.6%) on the other hand, tend to be predominately sited on limestone till Carboniferous soils, a different variety of glacial till deposits. Ringworks have the highest percentage of glaciofluvial deposits, in particular sandstone and shale sands and gravels, at 13.5%. These types of soils are found in ancient glacial stream beds, illustrating the low-lying placement of a number of the ringwork sites, in contrast to motte and motte and bailey sites. The motte and bailey sites are the only site type located near cutover peat (8.3%), illustrating a possible proximity to bogland. Perhaps most surprisingly, all timber castle classes are found within 200 meters of bedrock at the surface, however, this is predominately the soil classification within Co. Tipperary.

Overall, the geomorphology of north Co. Tipperary evidences timber castles being constructed in areas with underlying glacial till. This soil type is expected, given the primary purpose a manorial center was for agricultural activity. Future research into the particulars of soil types between north and south Co. Tipperary, or more specifically,

between the boggy portions of Ormond and the Golden Vale region of Eliogarty is needed.

6.5 Water

As discussed above, locating timber castles in high elevation was not the primary objective of the lords who aimed to create manors. Therefore, castles were often constructed in agricultural land or in rolling pasture. These locations are not distinctive to north Co. Tipperary, nor to timber castles. The masonry castle at Carlow, Co. Carlow, constructed *c.* 1210 by William Marshall the Elder, located on the site of an earlier timber castle, was constructed on a small low rise in an area surrounded by marshland at the confluence of the River Barrow and the River Burren (O’Conor 1997: 13). O’Conor (1997) has emphasized that the siting of Carlow Castle takes advantage of the naturally defensive surrounding marsh (13).

The greenfield site utilized by the masonry castle at Roscommon was chosen because of the lake (now drained) associated alongside it; as Murphey (2003: 47) has shown, the waters of the lake would have formed a defense, insomuch as the water would have lapped against the northern, western, and south-western walls of the castle. This watery barrier would have limited access to the castle site to the north-east, eastern, and southern walls, protecting all other sides from attack (Murphey 2003: 47).

O’Conor (1999: 197) states the masonry structure at Lea Castle, Co. Laois, dates to *c.* 1216; the original foundations of this castle may have been a ringwork. Located in a low-lying position on the River Barrow for defense, the surviving masonry structure on the site is on slightly higher ground to the rest of the castle and the surrounding area. An alternative name for Lea Castle is *Port na hinch*, “fort of the island” (O’Conor 1997).

The morphological evidence for the defensive character at Lea Castle also includes the curvilinear structure of the inner ward, suggesting an original oval shape of the underlying bank/ditch/palisade structure. “Therefore, the original castle at Lea, in existence by *c.* 1200 at least, may have been an oval ringwork located on a natural, dry, slightly-elevated bog-island” (O’Conor 1999: 197). Evidence of such sites is directly in rejection of McNeill’s (1997: 8) stance of castles in Ireland not being constructed in wet

or boggy regions for strategic purposes. It also can be stated that castles immediately adjacent to, or surrounded by water resemble other castle sites with known qualities of a display of wealth, such as the 14th century Bodiam Castle, East Sussex, England (Creighton and Higham 2002: 19-21). Bodiam is completely surrounded by water, and has been shown to be primarily located for display, as the defenses of the castle are weak against siege warfare technology of the period (Creighton 2002: 75-78). The site of Tullahedy (site no. 14) is covered in the case study below, representing new data in support of the argument that timber castle sites were constructed in the same manner on water.

The proximity of a castle to water was essential and must have been a driving force behind the choice of locations for a castle. In particular, timber castles, with flammable base material would need a stock hold of water for protection. Siting on rivers, therefore, is not only related to important crossing points, but also to accessibility of clean water for the livelihood of those stockaded in a castle, and the protection of the castle against fire (Creighton 2002: 54). In her analysis of Leinster, Arbuthnot found 33% of ringwork castles were located next to rivers that were navigable in the Anglo-Norman period (Arbuthnot 2011: 138). Creighton (2002: 41-43) found that many castles in England are located on riverside sites, especially in locations that overlooked crossing points. Ruckley (1990: 23-24) found that 82% of castles of all types in the United Kingdom contained wells within the inner defenses. While no wells were found in this investigation, 20/28 (71.4%) timber castle sites in north Co. Tipperary are located immediately adjacent to a river or in a wet field.

The sites of Lackenavorna (site no. 8), Thurles (site no. 10), Moyaliff (site no. 11), Killeen (site no. 13), Brookley, Drom (site no. 32), Tinvoher (site no. 35), Borris (site no. 39), and Newtown (site no. 41) appear to be sited to control river crossings. The rivers include the Suir and its tributaries including the Black River, which has been previously shown to be an important river flowing from Tipperary to Waterford, and the Ollatrim River, which flows to the Nenagh River. The Nenagh River flows to Lough Derg in the western boundary of the county, providing access to the Shannon River and locations beyond, including Clonmacnoise upstream and Limerick downstream.

6.6 Platform Height

The height of motte castles varies considerably in Ireland as well as England and Wales. Research in the past 50 years from England and Wales has shown that many motte mounds are very low in height with broad spanning summits. Examples include: Haresfield, Gloucestershire where the height of the mound is only 1.5-2 meters above the present ground level, with a summit diameter of 55 meters (Walker 1991; O'Connor 1999). And Legsby, Lincolnshire, where the motte height is 1.2 meters above the present ground with a summit diameter of 9-12 meters in width (King 1983: 260; O'Connor 1999). O'Connor (1993) has also shown the mottes of Leinster tend to be lower and more angular than earlier motte castles elsewhere in the country (O'Connor 1993: 321-328). O'Connor (1993) argues these low, angular, square or rectangular shaped mottes with large summit areas (e.g. Aghaboe, Co. Laois; Castlekevin, Co. Wicklow; Ballymore Demense, Co. Wexford; Ballykilleen, Ballymooney, and Ballyshannon Demense, Co. Kildare) were constructed in the late medieval period, and not during the first waves of subinfeudation.

In the study area, four of the motte and baileys demonstrate low motte platforms: Killeen (site no. 13), Rathfalla (site no. 15), Gortkelly (site no. 16), and Borris (site no. 39). Cunningham (1987: 103) places the construction of Killeen early in the colonization of the county, *c.* 1208. However, the construction dates for Rathfalla, Gortkelly, and Borris are unknown. It is possible the low platform (sub-two meters) for the sites can be explained using the castle siting. At Rathfalla, the motte was constructed within an early Christian ringfort; this previous construction equated to less soil for the height of the motte. It is possible the external bank was dug during the construction of the castle, providing the earth for the motte. Nevertheless, the platform at Rathfalla is very low compared to other nearby timber castle sites (in particular the motte at Tullahedy (site no. 14) and the ringwork of Clareen (site no. 22).

In contrast, the site of Gortkelly is located in a mountainous region in the foothills of the Silvermines Mountains, perched on the side of a steep hill. The motte and bailey at Gortkelly are of unusual shape for north Co. Tipperary, consisting of a triangular bailey within a larger oval enclosure. The platform of Gortkelly is three meters high in the east leading to the bailey area; however, the surrounding bank and ditch west of the platform

drops steeply down the mountain, providing natural protection. Therefore, the low motte mound at Gortkelly is somewhat misleading, given the location on a mountainside.

The platform at Borris does not crest two meters; in the north it is 1.8 meters high and in the south it is 80 centimeters high. As a result, the platform has been classified alternatively as a ringwork castle (Farrelly and O'Brien 2002: 290) and a motte castle (Barry 1977: 149; Glasscock 1974: 108). The current examination classifies the platform at Borris as a possible motte. Geophysical examination on the site revealed a wide now-destroyed external ditch; it is possible the platform at Borris has been denuded in the years intervening construction and the modern period. Nevertheless, historical documentation of the borough at Borris dates to 1312 (Empey 1985: 85), therefore it is possible the platform at Borris aligns with the low platforms of Leinster (O'Connor 1993: 321-328).

6.7 Routes

The ancient road of *Slighe Dhála* or *Slighe Dhála Meic Umhóir* formed part of the northern border of Munster, trailing from west Munster to Tara. Very little is known about early medieval routes, which likely played a role in castle siting. O'Lochlainn's (1940) *Roadways in ancient Ireland* was the first study to examine communication routes of the early medieval period, followed only by Doran's 2001 PhD work, and his publications on roads in Longford and Roscommon (Doran 2004), and the Carlow corridor (Doran 2007).

O'Brien (2001) traced four land routes between timber castles in Co. Tipperary based on his classification of sites resulting in the North County Tipperary Inventory (Farrelly & O'Brien 2002). These routes are mapped in Figure 6.1. The first travels east to west than north through Ormond: Thurles-Ballycahill-Inch-Kilanafinch-Rathfalla-Nenagh. The second travels east to west than north through Elyocarrol: Thurles-Ballycahill-Inch-Latteragh-Kilanafinch-Glendine-Cloncannon-Moatquarter-Roscrea-Seir Kieran-Kinnitty. The third travels similarly to the first, east to west than further north through Ormond: Thurles-Ballycahill-Inch-Latteragh-Kilanafinch-Rathfalla-Nenagh-Ballylusky-Birr. The last route starts in Ormond and travels west to Limerick: Nenagh-

Tullahedy-Burgesbeg-Killaloe-Limerick. The route north from Thurles to Roscrea and Nenagh to Lorrha was avoided in the medieval period due to intervening bogland.

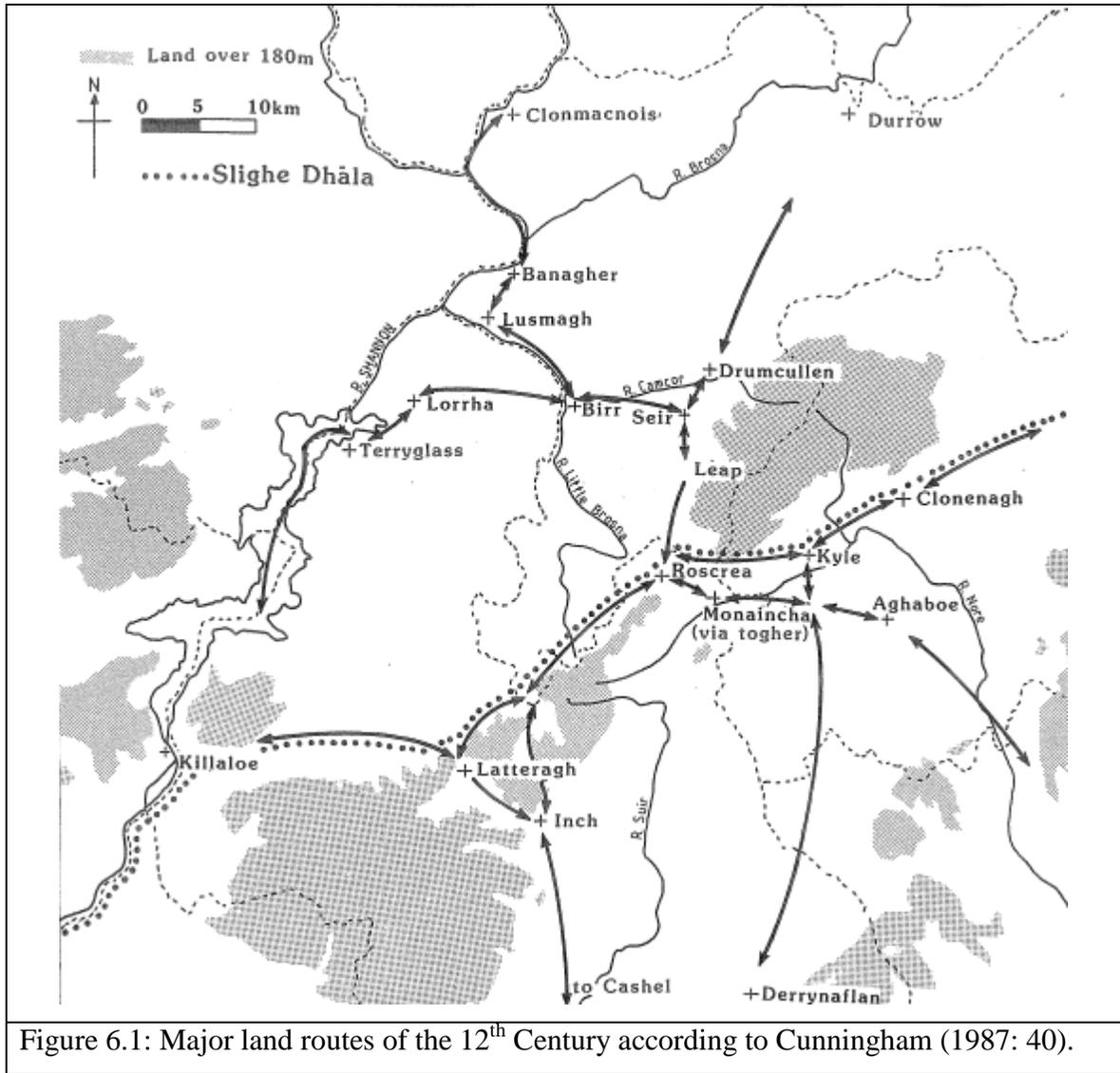


Figure 6.1: Major land routes of the 12th Century according to Cunningham (1987: 40).

Nine of the 28 sites were positioned to control major or minor land routes through the countryside. Sites that control main corridors of communication include Knock and Roscrea (Cunningham 1987: 93). The site of Ballylusky (site no. 1), beyond having a siting on an esker ridge, also holds place name evidence (Bellagh Lusky—*bealach* means way, road, or route) for being located on a strategic route. The site at Lackenavorna (site

no. 8) was a route way in the early medieval period (Westropp 1912: 214), continuity of paths through mountainous regions, along the Nenagh River illustrates the importance of the site as a route and a river crossing. The dual sites of Cullahill, Curraghkeal (site no. 31) and Cullahill (site no. 33) also emphasize the importance of routes in mountainous regions, as they span a gap between a modern road. Without historical documentation, it is not evident the sites are related, or contemporaneous, but their landscape location appears strategically planned.

Strategically, control of river crossings were also important in the choices made in constructing a timber castle. Nine of the 28 timber castles were also located at river crossings. For some sites, the importance of river crossing as documented in the Civil Survey is the only indication a platform could be a timber castle (Clareen site no. 22). Other historical documents from the early medieval period illustrate the importance of both a route way and an important river crossing (Lackenavorna site no. 8).

6.8 Religious Siting

Religion permeated almost every aspect of life in the medieval period; therefore, it is no surprise to find castles and ecclesiastical centers intertwined in the landscape. Connections to the church were an important aspect of lordship, and churches, much like castles, created powerful changes in the landscape (Morris 1989). The founding or patronage of an ecclesiastical body by a lord was an outward sign of piety, an important social statement, as well as an expression of wealth, much like building a castle (Creighton 2002: 110). As in England, the framework of parish churches was established in Ireland prior to the Anglo-Norman invasion. Ecclesiastical records, such as inquisitions and taxations, record the existence of churches across the study area prior to the construction of castles.

Almost half of the castle sites examined (13/28 or 46.4%¹⁰) are located adjacent to churches or ecclesiastical sites, with an additional two located near holy wells

¹⁰ These sites include: Ballylusky (site no. 1), Moatquarter (site no. 2), Ballycahill (site no. 3), Burgesbeg (site no. 5), Lackenavorna (site no. 8), Magherareagh (site no. 9), Thurles Townparks (site no. 10), Lorrha (site no. 12), Rathfalla (site no. 15), Borrisnafarney (site no. 25), Brookley, Drom (site no. 32), Tinvoher (site no. 35), and Borris (site no. 39).

(Killanafinch 1 and 2, sites no. 6 and 7). This number matches studies completed in Normandy, where almost 50% of 11th and 12th century earthwork castles were within 500 meters of a church (Le Maho 1976). This connection, as indicated by the proximity between church and castle, is identified as a “magnate core”, which forms the nucleus of a settlement (Roberts 1987: 73-75). The location of a castle next to a church allowed the “church founder or patron [to] receive spiritual benefit as well as social status from his action” (Creighton 2002: 113). The resulting allowance of spiritual benefits to a lord integrated political power with ecclesiastical power, sending a strong message of social, military, and spiritual control to the surrounding settlement.

Beyond exhibiting powerful connections to the spiritual realm, the proximity of castles to churches also served a practical benefit. It is known that in twelfth century Ireland, churches were used as storage centers for grain and valuables as well as meeting places for conferences and assemblies (*Expug. Hib.* note 324: 335). Cunningham surveyed the castles of the south-west midlands, including Elyocarrol and of 24 mottes, he found eight (33.3%) reused early Christian sites. The early Christian sites were also often on strategic routes of communication.

The motte at Lorrha is an exception to this rule; while it is located in an important early medieval Christian landscape, it was recorded as being inaccessible in the early medieval period (*VSH*: vol. I, 194). Nevertheless, the Lothra monastery is an important early medieval site, founded by St. Ruadan at Lorrha and is mentioned in the annals and the Saints Lives. The Stowe Missal and Shrine were written and constructed at Lorrha (Gwynn and Gleeson 1962: 47-52). The motte itself is located within earlier ecclesiastical enclosures on the far east side of the town of Lorrha, next to the Lorrha river, which flows north-south on the east half of the motte. Excavations were carried out by Talbot on the eastern half of the motte and he concluded it was constructed by first forming a ringbank, perhaps a ringwork castle, then filling in the center with earth (Talbot 1977: 8-13). The reuse of the ecclesiastical landscape at Lorrha may have represented an alignment of the lord with the church, for protection and politics.

Murchad Ó Briain of Thormond sacked the castle at Lorrha in 1208, as recorded in the Annals of Clonmacnoise (Gleeson and Gwynn 1961: 180). The motte castle was

again recorded in 1221; it appears as though Marshal refortified the structure on top of the mound (Gleeson & Gwynn 1961: 180, 230; Talbot 1972: 9). The manor of Lorrha was held by the Bishop of Killaloe after a dispute in this period (Cunningham 1987: 42). In 1335, the land was listed in the *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem Vol. 3* as belonging to William de Burgo, and consisting of a grange and “the mill of the town of Lothar” (Farrelly & O’Brien 2002: 294). No high medieval archaeological sites remain in the Lorrha townland; however, it is evident that, in spite of the remains in the modern period, the castle and ecclesiastical village at Lorrha were very important during the medieval period.

Although many castles were constructed on or directly adjacent to ecclesiastical properties, it appears sites were only constructed at those locations with permission. In 1213, the bishop of Killaloe threatened to excommunicate all those involved in the construction of the castle at Roscrea (*CDI 1171-1251: no. 2760*). This building policy appears to be dependent on the bishop, for in 1210, the castle at Athlone was constructed on monastic property with 1/10th the expenses given to the monks in compensation (*CDI 1171-1251: no. 693*). Likewise, in the construction of the castle at Clonmacnoise, compensation was paid to the bishop for the construction in 1215 (*CDI 1171-1251: no. 694*). Alternatively, as discussed above, a timber castle may have been constructed at a church site as part of a knight's endowment to the church, as part of the benefice to the parish, or included in tithing arrangements (Cunningham 1987: 95; Creighton 2002: 114).

6.9 Case studies in castle siting

In order to illustrate the variation in timber castle siting, this section presents the landscape siting data for four timber castle sites. The first case study is the motte and bailey located in a ringfort at Rathfalla townland. The second is the motte located on an esker ridge adjacent to a hall house at Ballylusky townland. The third is the ringwork castle located in Tinvoher townland. The fourth and final castle study is from the reclassified motte castle located in the Tullahedy townland.

6.9a Rathfalla—*motte and bailey*

The motte located in Rathfalla townland (site no. 15), is located in Upper Ormond c. 4.5 kilometers east of Nenagh castle. Total topographic survey was undertaken at the motte and bailey site with Trimble Total Station in May 2012 with the assistance of two University of Minnesota survey interns, Joel Cramblit and Nica Carrillo, to create a digital elevation model of the mound (Figure 6.2 and 6.3). Preliminary survey results are available in the 2014 American Society for Irish Medieval Studies journal *Eolas* (Immich 2014).

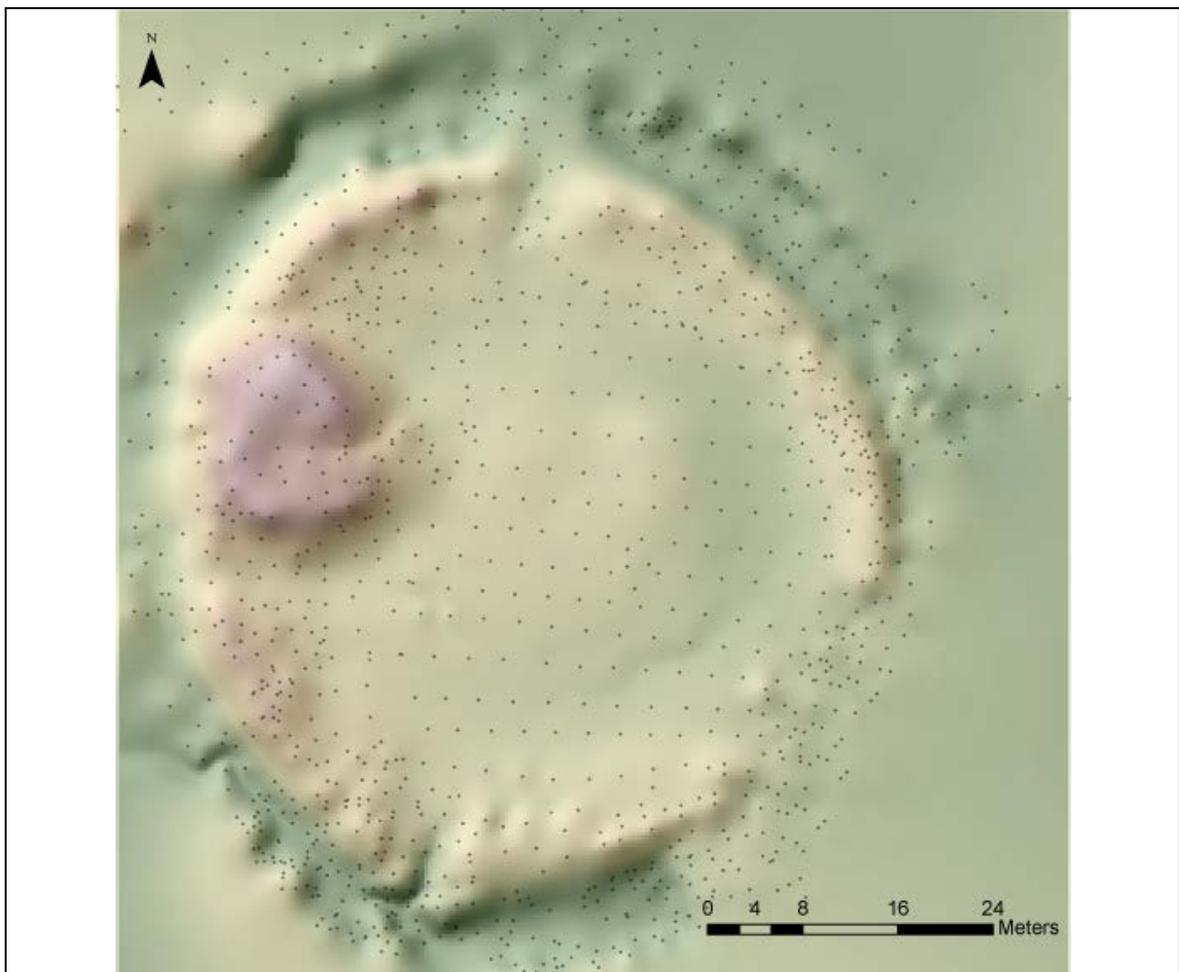


Figure 6.2: Digital elevation model of Rathfalla motte and bailey constructed from the 2012 Total Station Survey.

Rathfalla motte and bailey, as the *rath* in the place name indicates, is located within the bounds of an early Christian ringfort in flat, gently undulating pasture that

slopes slightly to the northeast. The motte is a small circular flat-topped mound (base diameter 18 meters; top diameter 13.8 meters north-south nine meters east-west, with a height of 2.5 meters) in the northwest quadrant of the ringwork bailey with modern disturbances. The bailey area includes a slightly raised circular area (diameter *c.* 20m) surrounded by a broad depression (width 17 meters) that may be indicative of an internal ditch. Beyond this broad area is a flat zone leading to an outer bank (width 2.5 meters, internal height 50 centimeters, external height two meters at the maximum). Surrounding the site is a wide, deep, flat-bottomed ditch, which varies greatly from the north to the south (maximum width 7.6 meters and depth of 90 centimeters).

Disturbances to the bank and ditch of the site are in the southeast, associated with a modern house, and in the southwest and north, due to modern bulldozing. According to the landowner, the bulldozing activity uncovered a small stone-lined chamber (estimated length 1.2 meters) oriented east-west under the bank at the north. This may have been a souterrain associated with the early medieval ringfort; however, no finds survive from the trench to support this possibility. The motte and bailey is located in rolling pasture with good views in all directions. The Ollatrim River flows north and west of the Rathfalla townland with modern field drainage cuts intervening.

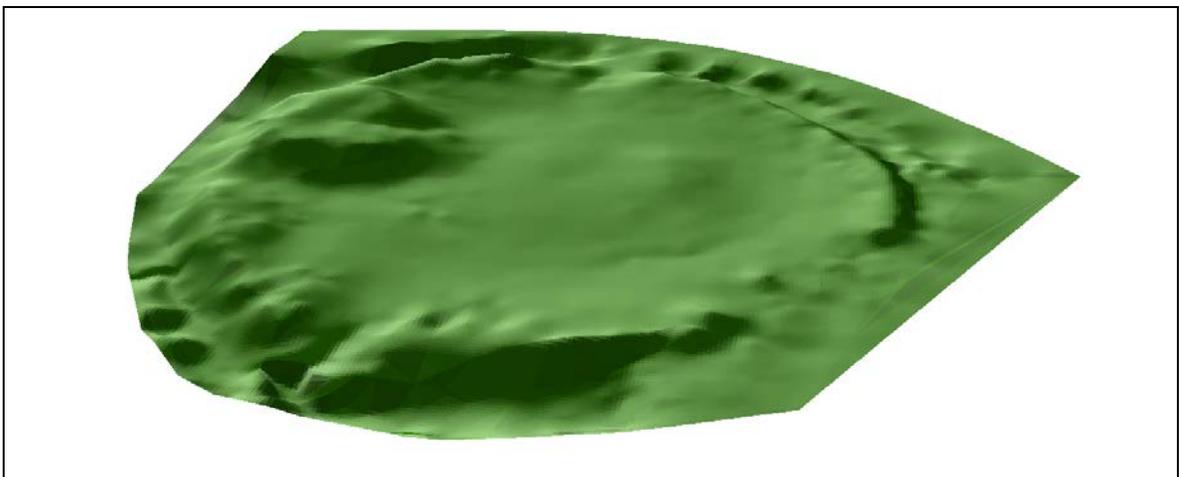


Figure 6.3: Three-dimensional rendering of the Rathfalla motte and bailey created from the digital elevation model.

The modern townland of Rathfalla contains one archaeological site, a large, well-defended ringfort immediately north of the motte and bailey site (Figure 6.4). This ringfort measures 90 meters north-south and 88 meters east-west, with an internal bank, a wide U-shaped ditch, and an outer bank. A causeway entrance is located in the southwest and southeast sections of the bank and ditch. The question remains for Rathfalla, why did the Anglo-Norman lords, under the direction of Theobald Walter, choose this particular location in the townland, and not the larger ringfort with more space for defenses? After a site visit in 2012, Terry Barry suggested the ringwork adjacent to the motte and bailey at Rathfalla was too large for use as a bailey (Barry 2012: *pers. comm.*).

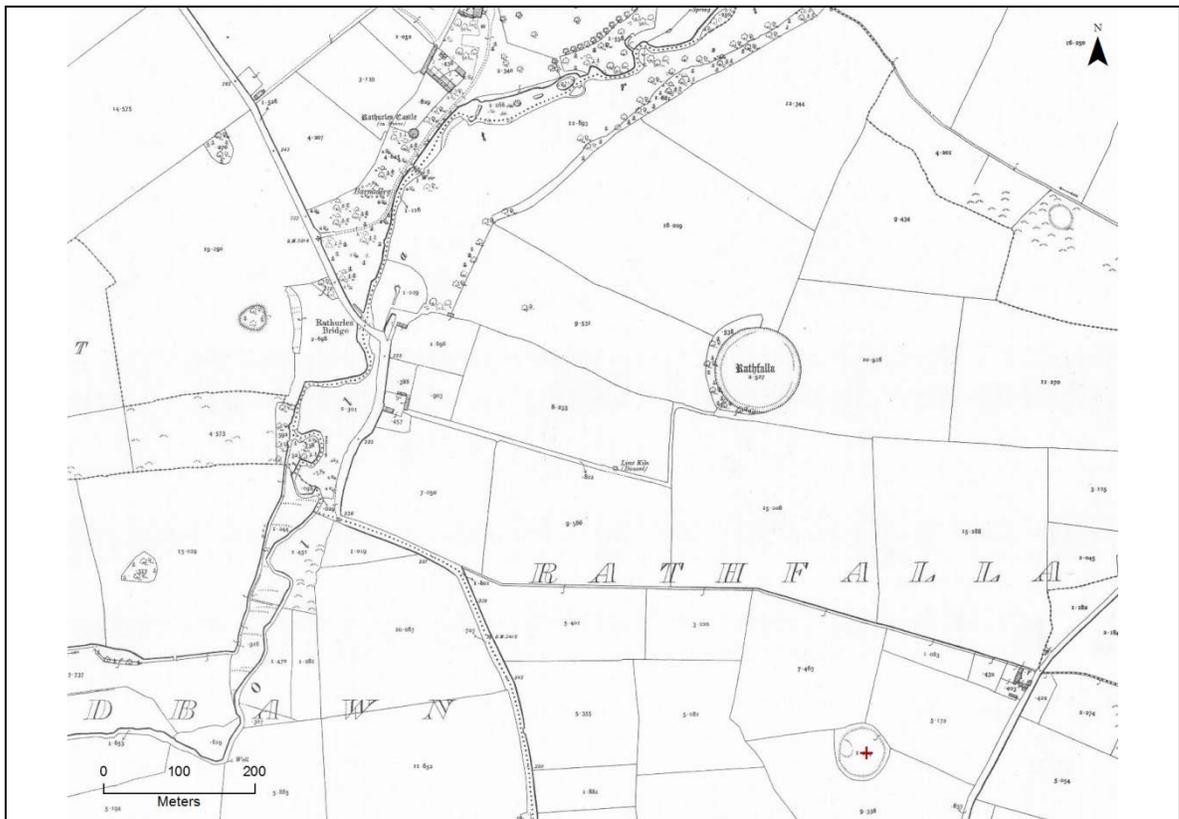


Figure 6.4: Rathfalla motte and bailey (red cross) is located south of the ringfort named “Rathfalla” on the 25-inch Ordnance Survey map.

Rathfalla is located in the parish of Tyone, which was granted early in the historical sequence to Theobald Walter, in contrast to much of Lower Ormond, which was held by the bishop of Killaloe in a special arrangement (Curtis 1932: nos. 447, 428,

499). It is possible that the motte at Rathfalla was an early fortification in the sequence of encastellation in Ormond. Tyone contains a number of masonry castles, including the hall house at Lisbunny (Figure 6.5). Lisbunny is located two kilometers east of Rathfalla and contains a number of medieval sites beyond the hall house, including a church and graveyard (noted in the *c.* 1306 Papal Taxation), watermill and mill, and a deserted medieval settlement. It is possible the motte and bailey at Rathfalla were constructed earlier and abandoned in favor of the hall house at Lisbunny.



Figure 6.5: The hall house at Lisbunny, facing northwest.

The relationship between monuments and space drives the question of reuse. Reuse is defined as the use of an area or object more than once. In settlement and landscape archaeology, this can mean utilizing material from an abandoned building or wall, refortifying old walls, such as the medieval refortification of Roman walls (Breeze 2002), building on top of or directly next to previous monuments, or incorporating and evoking landscapes into new construction patterns (Bradley 1998). Reusing land and

monuments is not, by any means, uncommon. In Athens, builders of the Akropolis reused stones from the Parthenon (Jacks 2008). Megaliths across Europe have been reused for burial, and later as Christian meeting places (Holtorf 1998).

Entire landscapes can provide evidence for reuse. In Ireland, the prehistoric royal site of Tara, Co. Meath, saw over 4,500 years of ritual activity and reuse of monuments such as the Mound of Hostages and Banquet Hall (Newman 1998). Associated prehistoric mounds built in the Boyne Valley surround the landscape of Tara, including cemeteries of Loughcrew and Forknocks. The landscape of reuse at Tara expands far beyond the structure of mounds at the center of the site (Newman 1997). Similarly, large-scale reuse of Iron Age hillforts at Almondbury, West Yorkshire show a focus on previously occupied landscapes for castle bailey construction (Creighton 2002).

The motives for reusing settlements in new construction are complicated and may include interrelated objectives. On one hand, existing sites may have been abandoned or forgotten and reuse is coincidental. On the other hand, “reoccupation of an earlier site may provide certain advantages and its appropriation could be more of a deliberately calculated process” (Creighton 2002: 69). As McNeill (1997) states: “There are strong hints that the mottes of the incoming English at the end of the 12th century may have reused sites of Irish lords; was this accident or were the new estates continuations of the old?” (555). Barry (2008) states the reuse of ringforts most strongly:

Not only was this re-use of existing indigenous earthworks practical as they provided an excellent base for the raising of the earthen mound itself, use of existing earthworks was also symbolic, representing the triumph of the new invaders over the indigenous population (117).

Within periods of colonization, reusing sites could be explicitly political. Was the reuse of the ringfort at Rathfalla for a base of a motte political? One can only guess, without excavation, as to whether or not the site was occupied until the construction of the motte.

Many authors have noted the conversion of ringforts in Ireland to motte castles (Westropp 1904; Orpen 1907; Ó Ríordáin 1964; Lynn 1982; Barry *et al* 1984; Barry 1987; O’Keeffe 1996; McNeill 1997; O’Keeffe 2000; Ó Drisceoil 2002; O’Conor and De Meulemeester 2007). The majority of authors have focused on the convenient

morphology of ringforts for adjustment into mottes; however, some authors (Barry *et al* 1984; O’Keeffe 2000; Ó Drisceoil 2002) have discussed the symbolic nature of reusing settlements in a colonial period. Ó Drisceoil (2002) is the most explicit in his effort to catalogue the number of ringforts recycled into mottes by focusing on stratigraphic data from the 3.15 percent total excavated mottes (14 out of 476). Lynn (1975) estimates ringfort reuse for castle sites at 5-15 percent.

In the south-west midlands, a number of ringfort sites were reused as mottes, including Skirke and Knock in Co. Offaly (Cunningham 1987: 96). Other notable ringfort sites reused as timber castles include Rathtrim (Rathconrath), Co. Westmeath, Knockaholet, Co. Antrim, Ballykillen, Co. Offaly, and Lismahon, Co. Down (Waterman 1959: 136-145; Ó Ríordáin 1942: 20; Cunningham 1987: 96-102). Site reuse was not uncommon; however, Rathfalla represents the only reused ringfort in north Co. Tipperary.

6.9b Ballylusky—motte

The motte at Ballylusky (site no. 1) is located on an esker ridge in undulating pasture. The esker crosses the country running northwest to southeast. The placename evidence for Ballylusky (Bellagh Lusky) indicates the townland is located on a route, or with a route running through it (Simington 1931: 158). The motte at Ballylusky is an oval shaped, flat-topped mound (dimensions 8.4 meters northeast-southwest, 16.2 meters northwest-southeast, rising two meters above the height of the esker, and 12 meters above the surrounding pasture). Total topographic survey was undertaken on the motte site with a Trimble Total Station in May 2012 with the assistance of two University of Minnesota survey interns, Joel Cramblit and Nica Carrillo, to create a digital elevation model of the mound at Tullahedy (see Appendix 1 for more details on the topographic survey and analysis) (Figure 6.6 and 6.7).

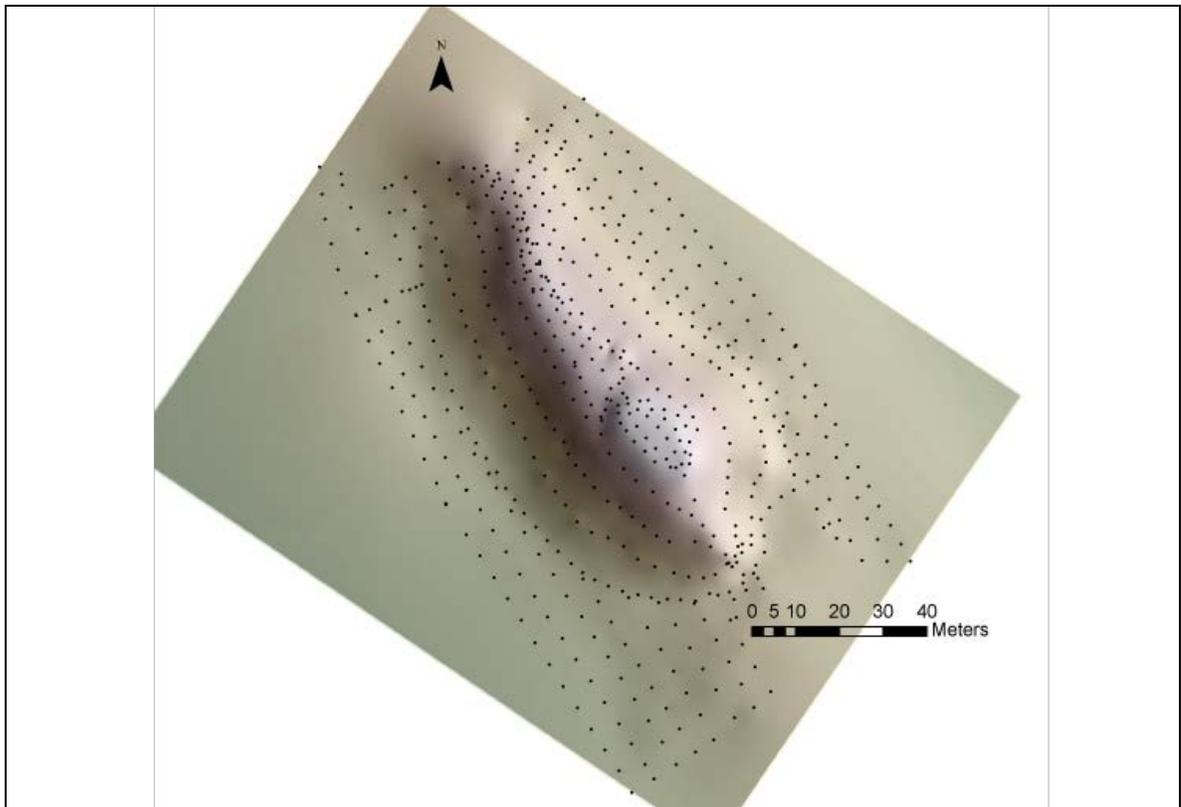


Figure 6.6: Digital elevation model of Ballylusky motte and bailey.

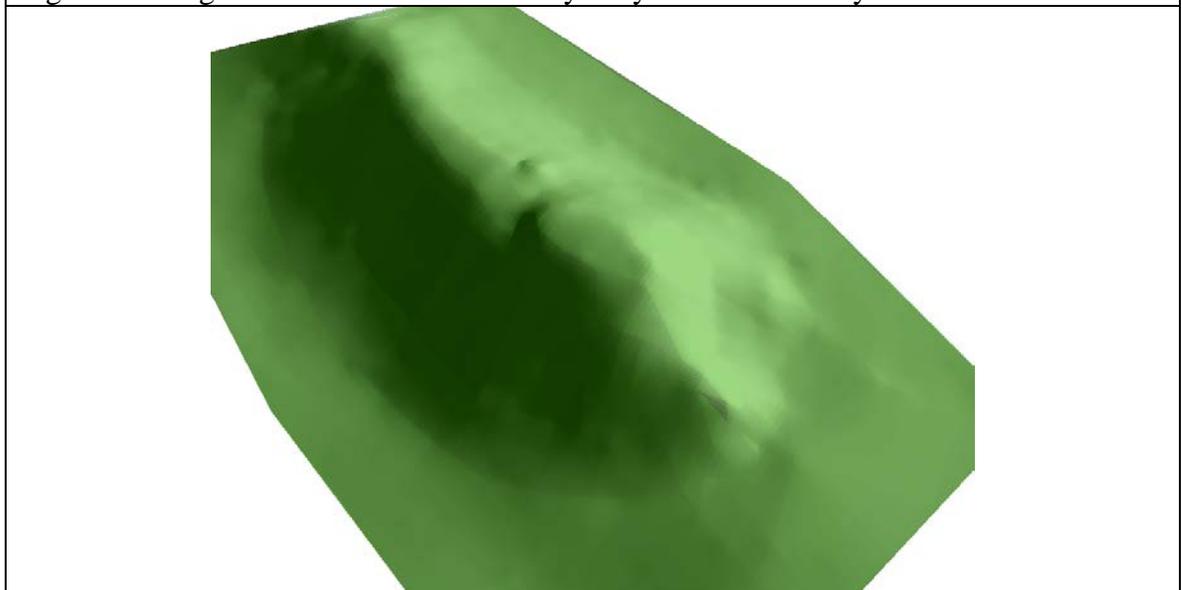


Figure 6.7: Three-dimensional rendering of the Ballylusky motte created from the digital elevation model.

The esker ridge could have been utilized as a raised passage in the landscape. As the Saints Lives tell us, Lower Ormond was boggy and impassible during much of the early Christian Period (*VSH* vol. I: 194). Cunningham (1987: 45-47) has suggested the bogginess of north Ormond was the reason for the lack of castles in this region. The Ballylusky motte, therefore, becomes important in maintaining a non-secular Anglo-Norman presence in the north portion of Theobald Walter's campaign. Only the motte at Lorrha, in the far north portion of the cantred, the motte and bailey of Killeen by Birr, and the motte at Garraun stand in this zone. As emphasized previously, the purpose of a castle was to control the local population and create a manorial center for the production and distribution of agricultural goods. The soil and drainage characteristics of Ormond are poor, compared to other portions of north Co. Tipperary, therefore Ballylusky, elevated on the esker ridge, become a stronghold in the landscape.

The townland of Ballylusky also contains a hall house, lying northeast of the motte site on a natural outcrop of rocks with expansive views of the surrounding pasture. The structure was described in the Civil Survey 1654-1656 as “Ballylosky castle reddy to fall” (Simington 1931: 158) and “the ruins of an old castle the walls onely standing” (Simington 1934, vol. 2: 291). The 13/14th century hall house has a first-floor entrance with a later ground-floor entry. The standing building is a rectangular two story high structure constructed of roughly coursed limestone rubble with a high, wide base-batter that has been severely robbed of stone. Modern internal divisions of the hall house illustrate its later usage as a farm building with sheep pens. It has been obliquely suggested that the esker-topping motte of Ballylusky was thrown up, fortified, and occupied while the hall house was constructed. However, given the poor drainage of the field immediately north of the esker ridge and motte, a plausible interpretation of the sites may be of simultaneous occupation or of the motte being utilized in times of attack in addition to the hall house. The combination of the two sites together provides an expansive view of the surrounding countryside, more than either site can offer alone.

A church and graveyard are located immediately south of the Ballylusky townland in Ardcroney townland. The church has multiple architectural modifications and was significantly altered in the late 16th century; the original nave and chancel appear to

have been an undivided unit (Farrelly & O'Brien 2002: 229). A rectangular graveyard is associated with the church as well as an adjoining tower house immediately to the west. The tower house was described in the Civil Survey (1654-1656) as “the ruines of an old castle the walls onley standing neer the vaulted chappell being all wast” (Simington 1934: vol. 2, 292), and now stands four stories high, and constructed of roughly cobbled limestone (Farrelly & O'Brien 2002: 353-354). It is possible there is a multiphase continuity in the Ardcroney Parish, starting with the construction of the motte castle at Ballylusky on the esker ridge, moving to the hall house north of the esker on higher ground, finally to a tower house immediately adjacent to the parish church in Ardcroney. In summary, Ballylusky motte appears to have been sited on the esker ridge in Ardcroney Parish due to the surrounding poorly drained pasture, in order to control access along a possible esker routeway, and due to its proximity to the church and graveyard.

6.9c Tinvoher—ringwork

Tinvoher (site no. 35) ringwork is located on the outskirts of Loughmore village on the banks of the River Suir in the middle of the Golden Vale region in the barony of Eliogarty. The modern village of Loughmore has built up around the ringwork site to the north and northeast, leaving no remnants of the possible high medieval settlement at the site. The ringwork at Tinvoher consists of a raised circular platform (diameter 24 meters east-west) on a rise of ground with extensive views in all directions. The platform is enclosed by a very low, damaged earth and stone bank (maximum width two meters, internal height 15 centimeters, maximum external height two meters), appearing as a scarp with a possible causeway entrance at the east (width of three meters). The external stone facing of the platform bank is most evident at the east near this possible entrance. A 19th century limekiln built of stone is inserted into the south face of the platform and bank; quarrying for the insertion has removed a portion of the platform. There is no external bank or ditch to the site; however, lidar data covering the site reveals a wide-low surrounding enclosure spanning from the west side of the platform to the southeast (Figure 6.8).

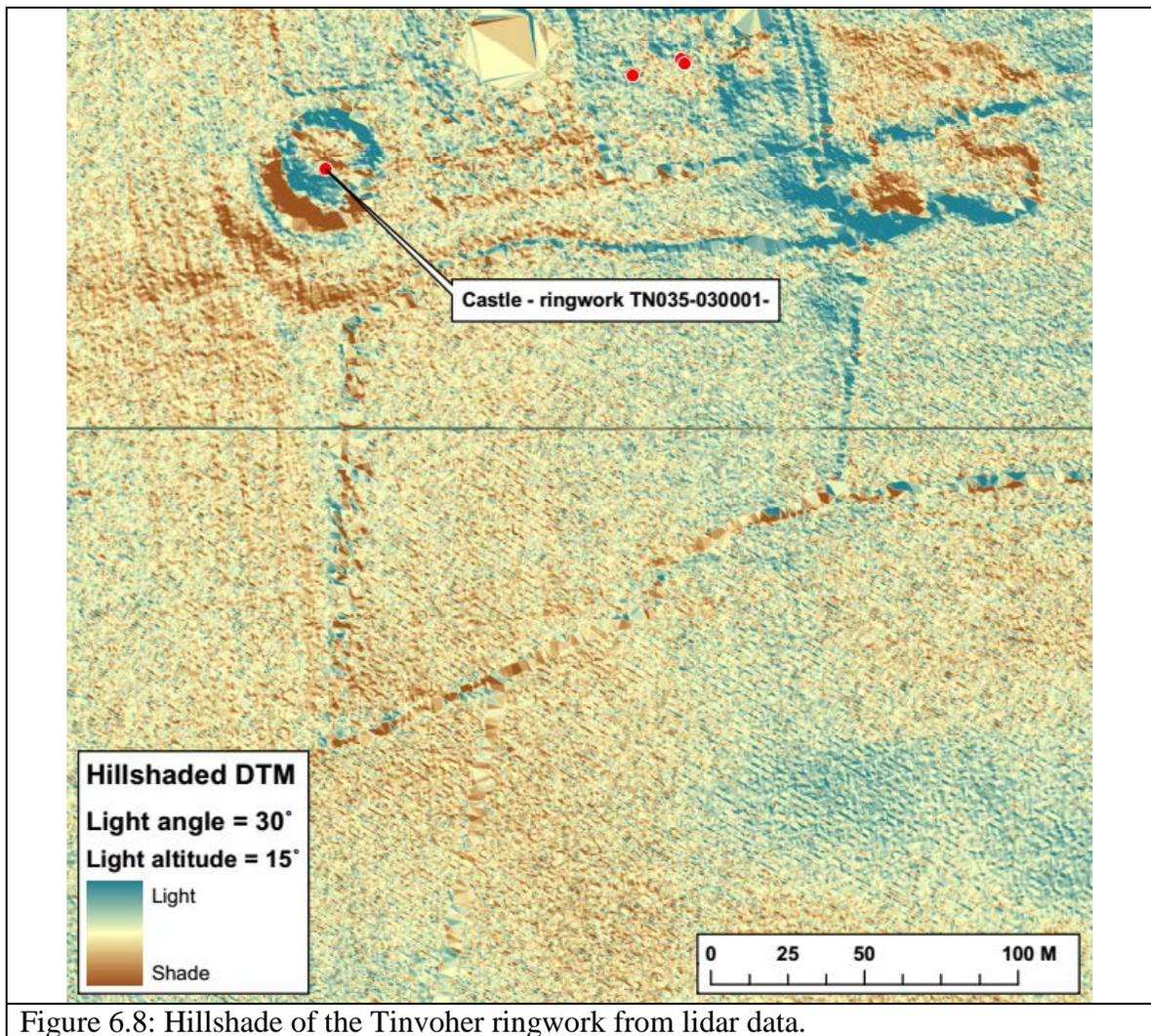


Figure 6.8: Hillshade of the Tinvoher ringwork from lidar data.

The townland of Tinvoher contains many high medieval archaeological sites, illustrating the importance of this region in the medieval period. These sites include: a church, graveyard, a tower house and attached fortified house, a regulating weir, and a deserted medieval settlement. The church is recorded in the ecclesiastical taxation of the Diocese of Cashel in 1302 (CDI 1302-1307: 283). Like many other castle sites in north Co. Tipperary, including Lorrha and Roscrea, the castle at Tinvoher was constructed immediately adjacent to a church site.

Adjacent to the timber castle site is Loughmore Castle, the seat of the Purcell family, Barons of Loughmoe, constructed in 1328. A later Elizabethan defended house was added to the quadrangular tower and stands today (Silloway 1828-1910: 67) (Figure

6.9). Hugh Purcell accompanied Strongbow to Ireland in 1169; shortly before 1200, Hugh Purcell II acquired land in Loughmore through marriage to Beatrix Butler, Theobald Walter's daughter. In 1328 the Palatinate of Tipperary was established with the Purcell family as titular Barons of Loughmore (Long 1898: 111). No documentary evidence remains for the beginnings of the Purcell family in Loughmore after 1200.



Figure 6.9: The 14th century Loughmore Castle with 17th century addition.

The tower house of Loughmoe Castle represents the only ringwork site in north Co. Tipperary with historical evidence backing the classification of the site. Although there are no historical documents linking the Purcell family to the tower house, there is architectural evidence for the identification of the owners. On the second floor of the tower house stands an armorial fireplace, now blocked and inaccessible, this fireplace bears the shields of the Butler and Purcell families with the initials IFP and FP or BP (Figure 6.10 and 6.11) (Farrelly and O'Brien 2002: 382-383).



Figure 6.10: Armorial fireplace in the tower house at Tinvoher, Loughmoe (Farrelly and O'Brien 2002: 383).

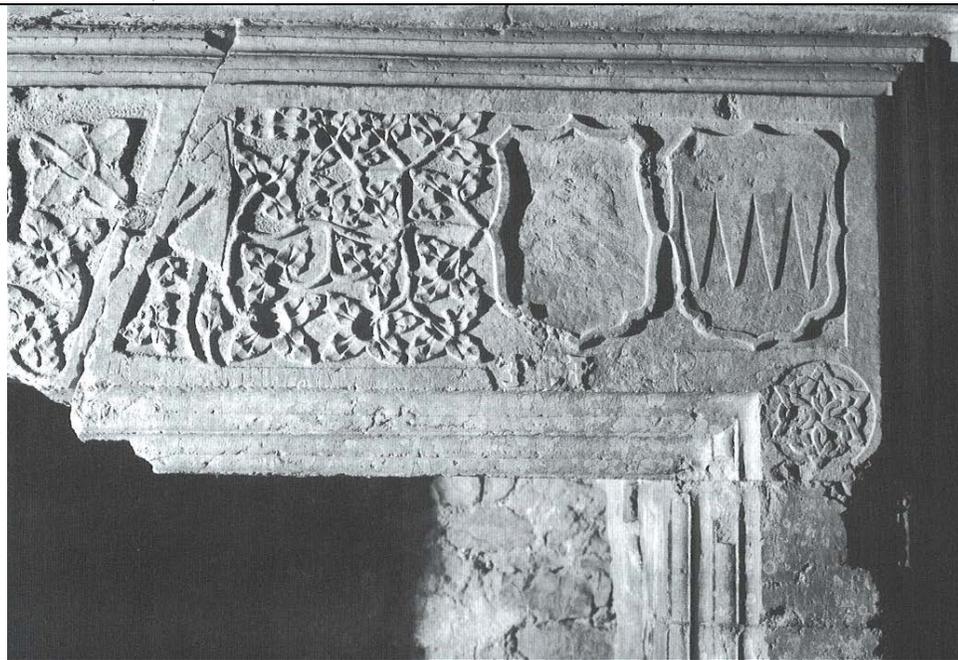


Figure 6.11: Detailed image of the decorated shields on the Tinvoher, Loughmoe armorial fireplace (Farrelly and O'Brien 2002: 383).

In 2002, archaeological testing in the village of Loughmoe was undertaken at a dormer-style dwelling at Tinvoher by Eachtra Archaeological Projects (02E1520) (Richardson 2002:1739). Eleven trenches were excavated with nothing of archaeological significance uncovered. Furthermore, in 2007, eight test-trenches were opened in the village of Loughmore at Tinvoher (TN035-030) by the Mary Henry Archaeological Services Ltd (07E0896). The test-trenches cut over the medieval borough site in preparation for road development. Two of the trenches were opened in previously stripped areas and revealed no archaeological evidence. The remaining six trenches were on green field sites. Excavated features included two drains, a lens of burnt modern dumping, and other modern dumping sites. Otherwise, the site was featureless and uncovered no archaeological remains (Henry 2007:1734).

It appears the possible deserted medieval village located in the townlands of Graiguerfahane, Tinvoher is destroyed, and possibly lies under the modern town of Loughmore. The townland of Lovemoy/Loweny is first noted in Extent of the Manor of Thurles in the Red Book of Ormond dating to 1303 (White 1932: 70). Here, a marsh called Loweny is valued at an unknown amount in the right to take turf and a ‘conegeria’ (rabbit warren) worth 6d per annum (White 1932: 70). In 1358, the reeve and community of Loghmoy were fined “40d for the assize of bread and ale” (Curtis 1932: 38) and “summoned to senschal’s court” in 1432 (Graham 1977: 18). The townland of Graiguerfahane located east of Tinvoher, according to the Ordnance Survey Letters, also contained a castle of the Purcell family (O’Flanagan 1930: vol. I, 181). There are no remains of this castle standing.

The siting of Tinvoher ringwork in the townland is associated with the early Christian church of Loughmoe and the River Suir, which flows *c.* 600 meters east of the platform. The dual parishes of Half Loughmoe are bounded by the Parish of Nyncheaunnlef, with the motte of Magherareagh (Inch), at the southwest and Drummacbarren, and the ringwork of Brookley, Drom, at the northwest. It is possible the ringwork at Tinvoher represents the manorial center of this parish. The Golden Vale region of north Co. Tipperary contains the most fertile agricultural lands, and as Hennessey (1996) noted, those regions on the River Suir, in good agricultural lands, were

most successful in the creation of a manorial center. At Tinvoher, the continuity of occupation into the 17th century by the Purcell family can be viewed as a success, even if the site did not develop along the same lines as Thurles or Roscrea.

6.9d Tullahedy—motte

Tullahedy townland (site no. 14), is located in Upper Ormond *c.* 3.5 kilometers southwest of Nenagh castle. Total topographic survey was undertaken at the motte site with a Trimble Total Station in May 2012 with the assistance of two University of Minnesota survey interns, Joel Cramblit and Nica Carrillo, to create a digital elevation model of the mound at Tullahedy (see Appendix 1 for more details on the topographic survey and analysis) (Figure 6.12 and 6.13). Preliminary survey results are available in the 2014 American Society for Irish Medieval Studies journal *Eolas* (Immich 2014).

The motte is a steep-sided, flat-topped mound (base diameter 59 meters north-south, top diameter 18.55 meters north-south, 11 meters in height) with a berm around halfway up the motte mound (width between 2-4 meters; external height 5 meters) that spreads widest at the south. Farrelly & O'Brien (2002: 297) designate this berm as the bailey, however, this author and Kieran O'Connor suggest the bailey was possibly located further south of the motte mound, external to the bank of the site, and accessed through a raised causeway entrance (width 2 meters). The motte is enclosed by a wide, flat-bottomed ditch (width 4-7 meters, depth 2-2.5 meters) and a wide flat-topped external bank (width 4-7 meters; height 2 meters) of earth and stone construction, which is greatly reduced from northwest-north-northeast due to modern agricultural activity (Figure 6.13).

A small, unnamed stream flows east-west directly west of the motte mound (*c.* 10m). Directly south of the site has been destroyed by modern bulldozing activities and construction of a farm building, which flooded the site in 2013. Large stones resulting from field clearance material are dumped at the north edge of the motte. The field directly north of the motte mound is cut on all sides for drainage.

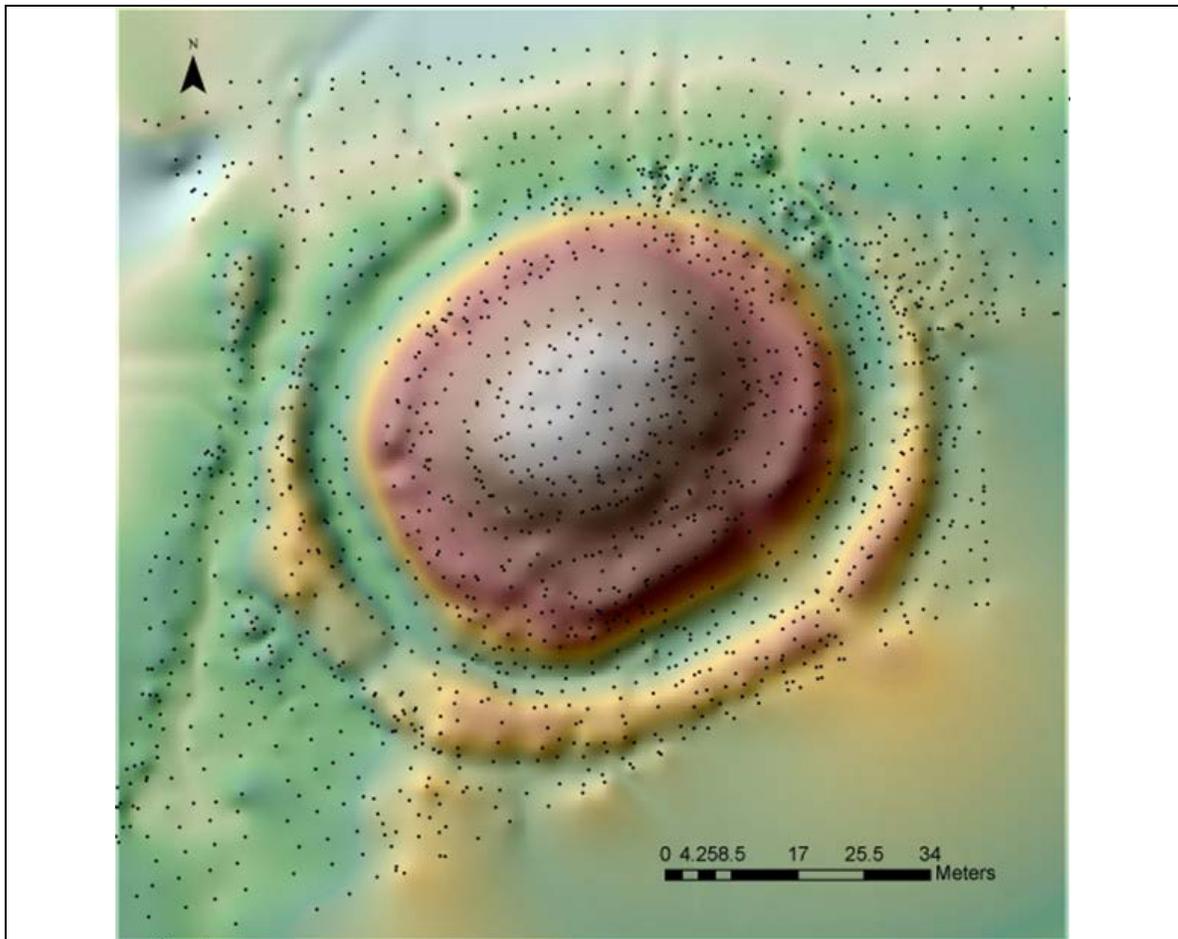


Figure 6.12: Digital elevation model of Tullahedy motte and bailey constructed from the 2012 Total Station Survey.

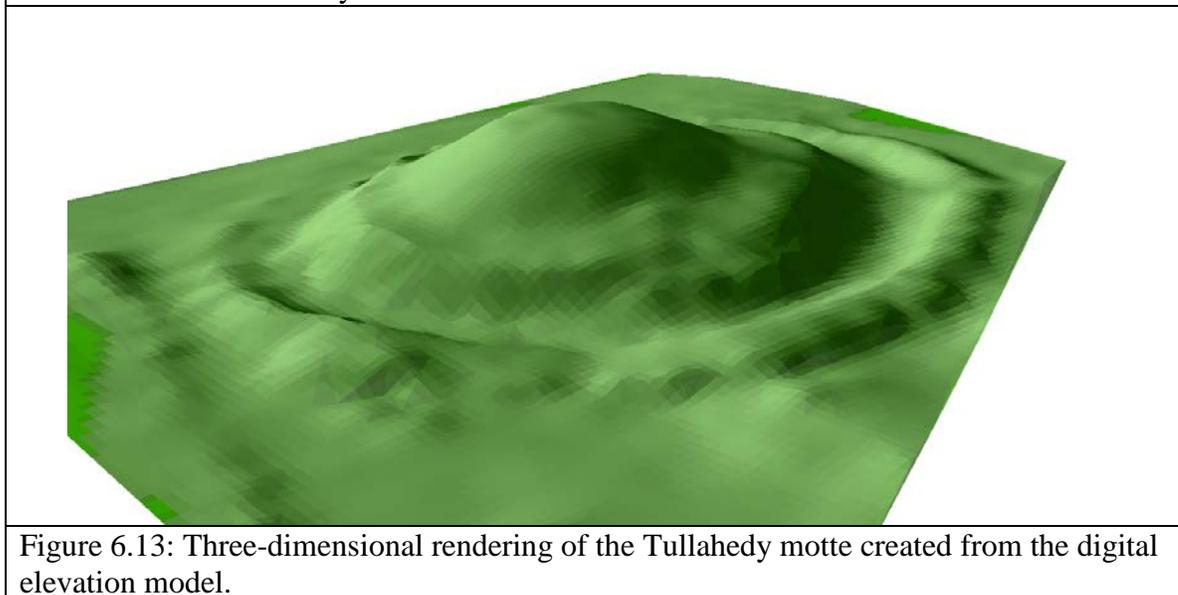


Figure 6.13: Three-dimensional rendering of the Tullahedy motte created from the digital elevation model.

The townland of Tullahedy is located immediately north of the M7, the longest motorway in Ireland connecting Limerick and Dublin. Construction to create the dual carriageway was completed in 2010; complete excavation ahead of the motorway uncovered the Neolithic site at Tullahedy (Cleary and Kelleher 2011). The Neolithic settlement complex was located on a small hillock, originally surrounded by the waters of a lake. Hundreds of stone tools were found at the site illustrating the importance of the site during this period. The water levels in Ireland during the Neolithic were low, making Lough Derg higher at the time. With artificial fill, the later phase of the construction was even higher in the landscape, providing impressive views and visibility to the site. A result of motorway construction was a mandate from the European Union commission for noise contour mapping. The National Roads Authority (NRA) Ireland was contracted to collect high accuracy elevation contours from lidar data on a 500-meter stretch on either side of the motorway. Lidar data for two of the three timber castle study sites, which were completely surveyed with a Total Station to create a digital elevation model (Rathfalla and Tullahedy Townlands), were generously provided to the author by the NRA (NRA 2013).

As discussed in Chapter 3, light ranging and detection (lidar) is a remote sensing method that uses light to measure ranges (distance). Data collection is simple in that the distance to an object equals speed times time; essentially, the time for the light to travel to and from a target is used to determine the distance from the object. The distance to the target and the position of the airplane (or whatever is being utilized as a collection agent) is then used to determine the elevation and location. The result from this data collection is precise, 3-dimensional information on the shape of the object under scanning, often the Earth and its surface characteristics (Figure 6.14).

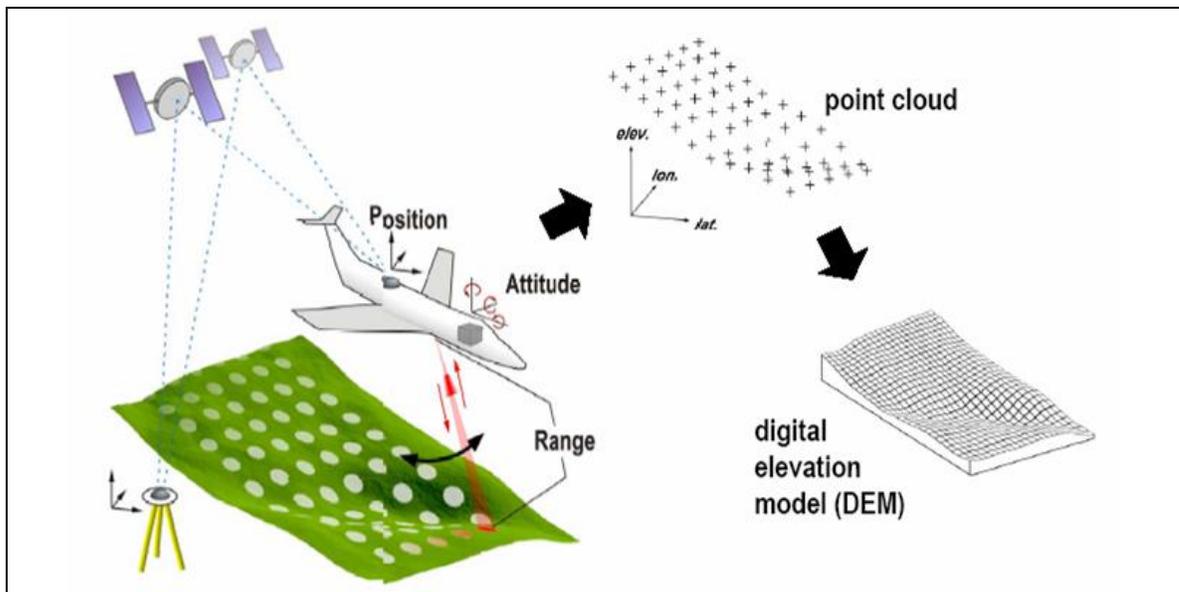


Figure 6.14: Lidar data collection method (Covasnianu et al. 2008: 4).

The Tullahedy townland was flown over for data collection in June 2010 and July 2011. In the case of the NRA lidar data, the raw .las files (the standard lidar dataset) provided were unclassified, with no information on the returns of the points, which allows for analysis of different layers of vegetation. Without proper data classification, the elevation data provided does not strip away vegetation, not allowing for constructing bare earth elevation points; classifying returns is expensive and time intensive, if done by hand. For this reason, ground survey on the sites was important, as the castle site in consideration was densely covered with trees (Figure 6.15 and Figure 6.16). The data processing procedure followed that of the Minnesota DNR lidar and DEM toolset: from raw data files to a raster image representative of the surface of the earth at the site (Loesch and Vaughn 2013). The final raster image has .25 meter spacing. The raster surface illustrates lower topography directly north-northwest of the motte (Figure 6.17).



Figure 6.15: Lidar point cloud illustrating data collection over the castle mound at Tullahedy.

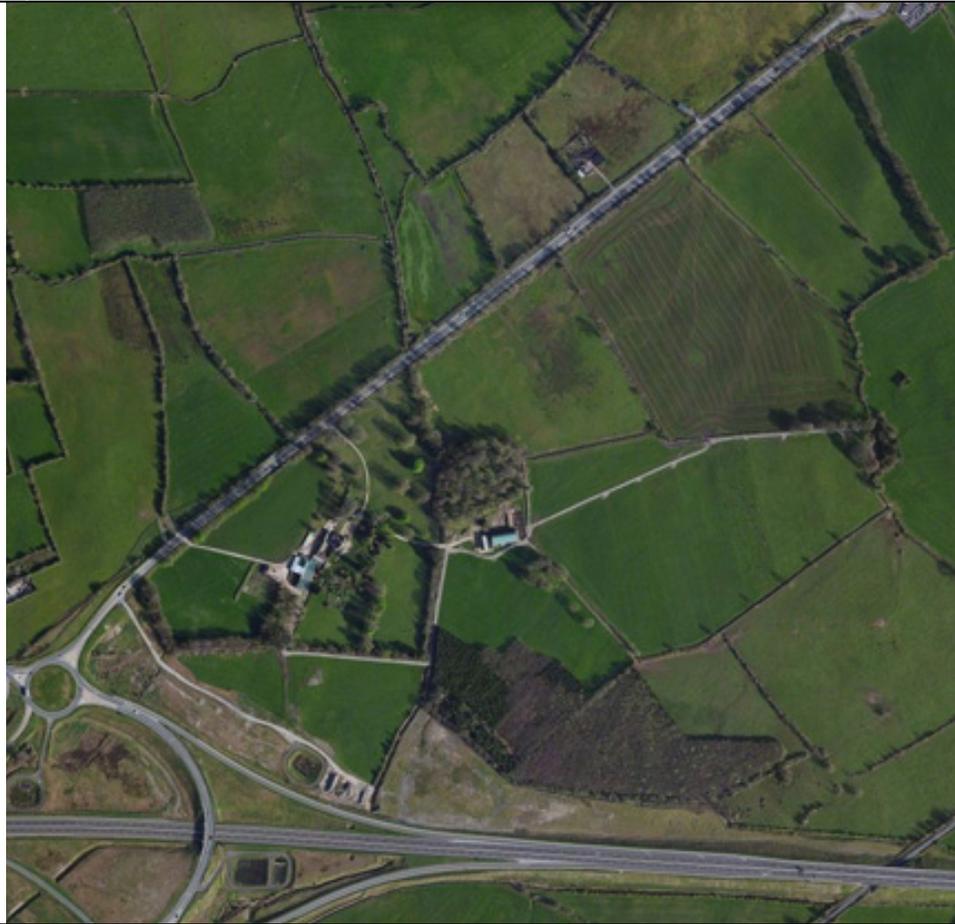


Figure 6.16: Aerial imagery of the Tullahedy motte, center frame under dense tree cover (Microsoft 2013).

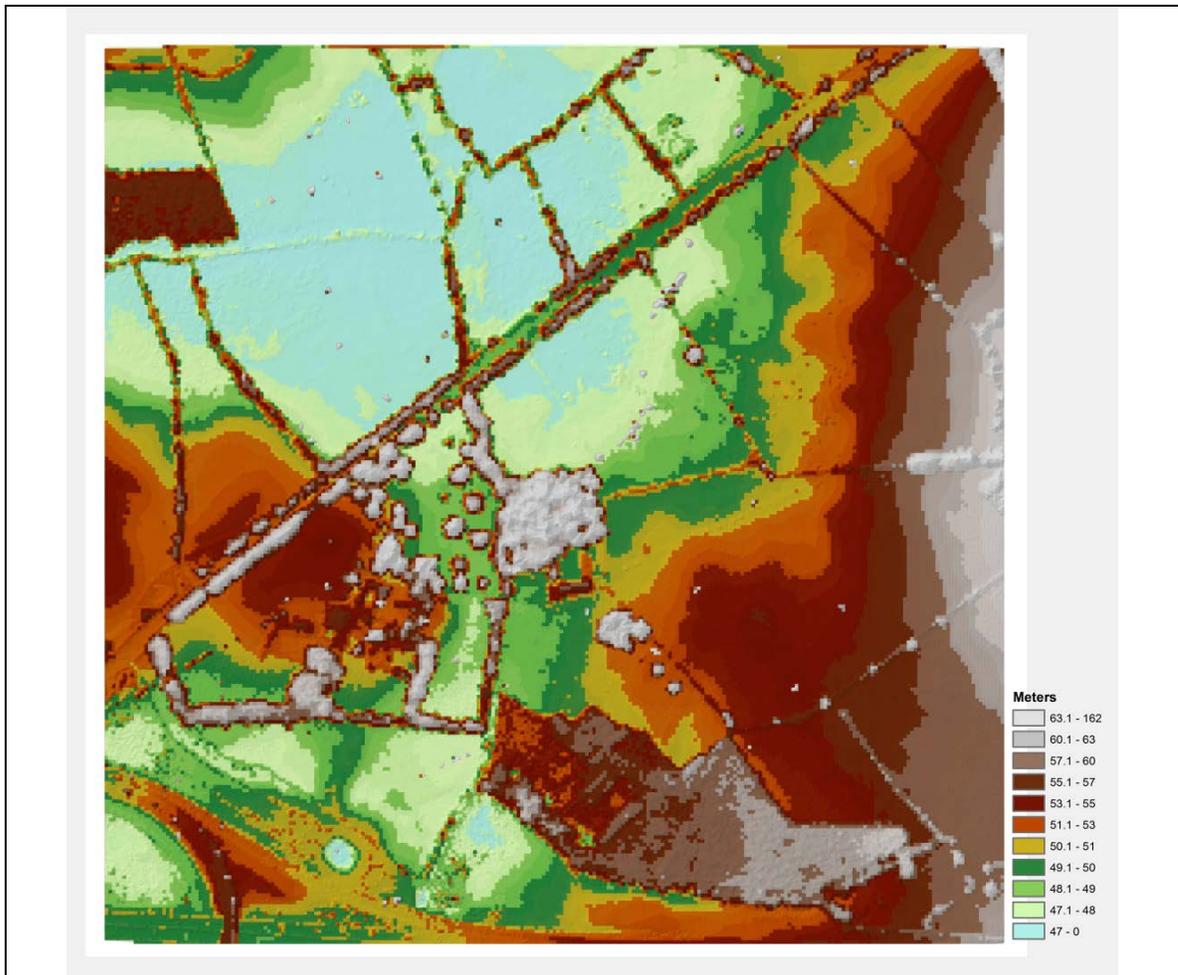


Figure 6.17: Digital Elevation Model of the Tullahedy motte castle constructed from the lidar point cloud.

The weeklong survey at Tullahedy to collect detailed information on the shape of the mound provided a phenomenological experience of the site and its surrounding landscape, including interviews with the landowner, her son, and the field hand who manages the farming activity undertaken on the site today. The fundamental objective for the study of the Tullahedy motte was to examine the siting of the mound in the landscape, a small-scale question in regards to location within the cantred of Ormond, but also a large-scale question of location of the castle within the townland.

What at stake in this question, of location within of timber castles in townlands, is a fundamental understanding of the importance of earth and timber castles in the context of castle studies, a field predominantly focused on masonry structures. The results of this

investigation at Tullahedy supports the interpretation of timber castles as an important component of the landscape, utilizing natural defenses as well as maintaining locations of lordly power. The motte at Tullahedy is located down slope in the middle of the townland, directly adjacent to a small stream with an overlooking rise immediately to the southeast and east. Streams, of course were very important to castles, having accessible water on sites is one of the main reasons many castles were constructed (Creighton 2002). However, this stream was very small, dredged in the late 2000s and built into a network of ditch cuttings around the Tullahedy farm. The medieval stream must have been smaller and lower. On top of the rise to the east, a 15/16th century tower house sits on a rocky outcrop adjacent to a possibly contemporaneous quarry. (Figure 6.18).

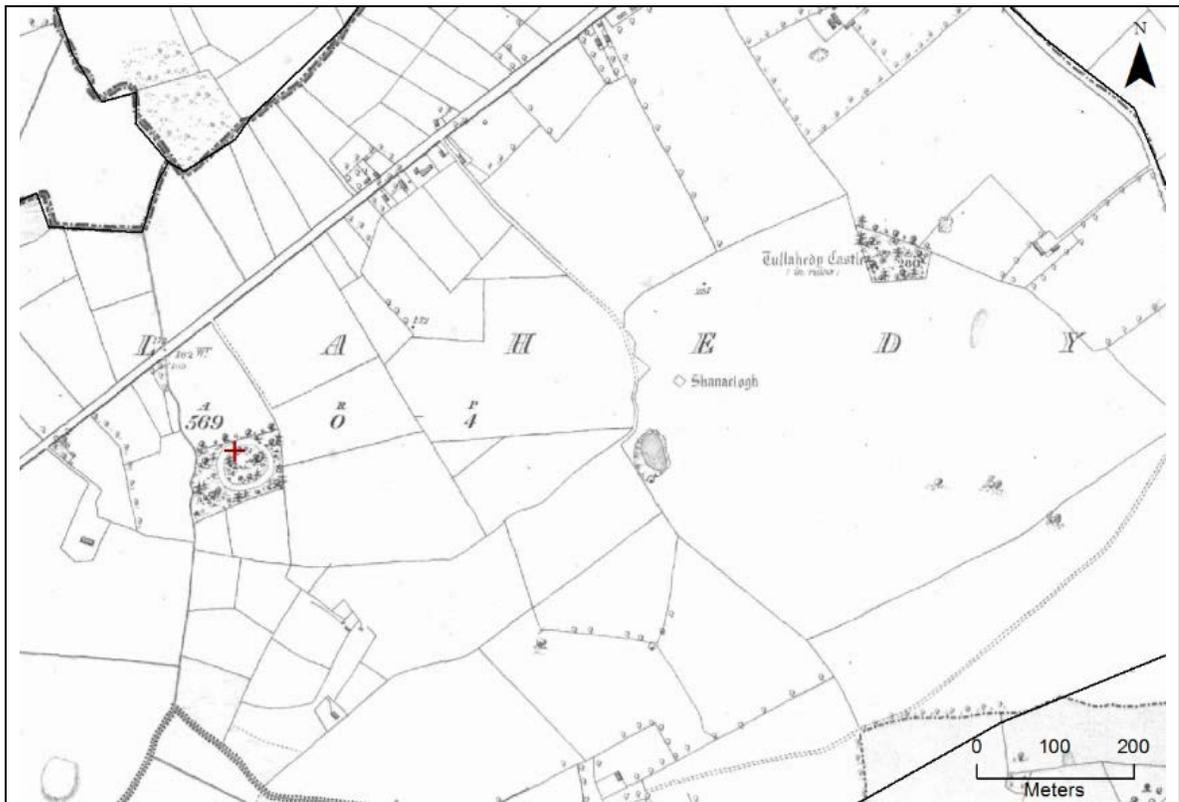


Figure 6.18: Ordnance Survey 6-inch map of the Tullahedy townland with the motte on the left and the 15/16th century tower house uphill, on the right (under trees).

To contextualize the townland, an understanding of the known physical and environmental data from the Neolithic excavation is covered. The Neolithic settlement

complex was located on a small hillock, originally surrounded by the waters of ancient Loch Derg (Clearly and Kelleher 2011: 406-411). Hundreds of stone tools were found at the site illustrating its importance during this period. The low water levels in Ireland during the Neolithic meant that Lough Derg was higher; with artificial fill, the later phase of the construction was further raised in the landscape, providing impressive views and visibility to the site. The landscape around Tullahedy and this region is filled with low-lying areas with poorly draining soils (Finch and Gardiner 1993), as evidenced by the modern field drainage systems and the remains of a glaciated landscape, with drumlins and eskers. The Ordnance Survey topographical maps name the depressed valley, which lies between the Arra Mountains in the west and the Silvermines Mountains in the east where the Tullahedy townland resides, the *Carrigatogher Valley* (Mitchell and Ryan 1997). The question is, was the low-lying field directly north of the Tullahedy motte wet in the past as it is in the modern period —perhaps the location of the motte was not just beneficial given the stream, but also the very nature of the landscape itself.

The digital elevation model constructed from the lidar data was used to examine field wetness in the modern period. Lidar training for this research was through the University of Minnesota's U-Spatial lidar course, provided in tandem with the Soil, Water, and Climate Department taught by Joel Nelson. This training utilized ESRI ArcMap 10.1 tools. Other software packages utilized for the analysis include Rapid Lasso's LAStools and Applied Imagery's Quick Terrain Modeler. FUGRO geospatial solutions' FugroViewer is used for visualization of the data.

To examine the wetness of the field, a Compound Topographic Index (CTI) model from the digital elevation model was created with the lidar data (Figure 6.19). A compound topographic index examines the steady state of wetness in the field. The flow accumulation of water on a landscape is divided by the slope of the landscape (Rampi, Knight, and Lenhart 2013). The result is a model of where water collects or ponds in the landscape. In the conservation world of terrain analysis, CTI is utilized to examine upland depressions, which are critical areas that have a higher likelihood of conveying pollutants to surface waters and effects on overall water quality. Management for upland

depressions today includes the construction of riparian zones, which act as natural biofilters. CTI is a standardized and well-established wetland modeling technique.

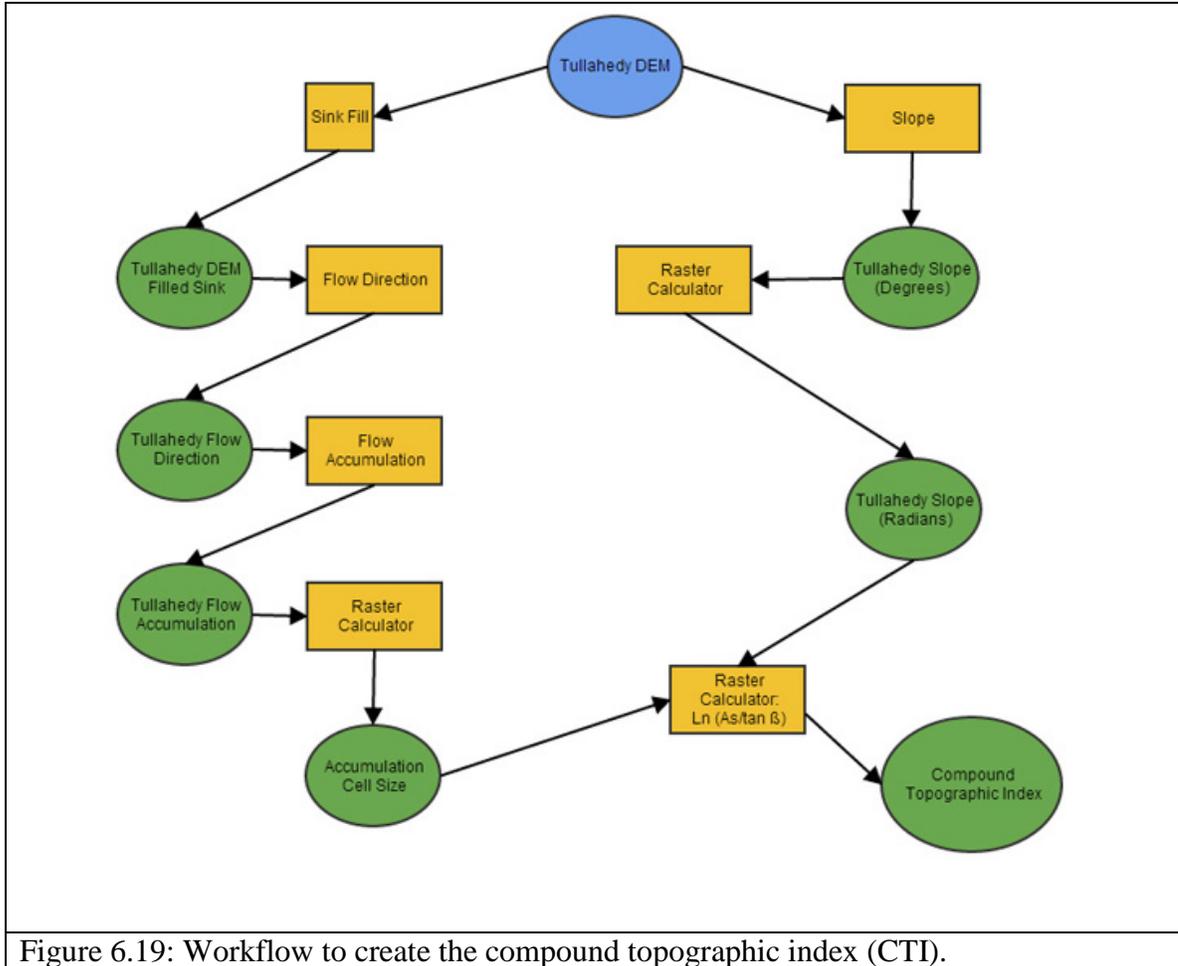


Figure 6.19: Workflow to create the compound topographic index (CTI).

The CTI allowed the Tullahedy landscape to be modeled for an examination of potential areas of pooling or water collection. As the landscape from the medieval period to today has been modified in many aspects, as illustrated by the difference between the Neolithic settlement at Tullahedy, modeling can help recreate past landscapes. Phenomenology can only take us so far; the field worker at Tullahedy once off-handedly mentioned that the whole farm was once the bottom of a lake. As a researcher, the wetness of a field can be measured in drainage cuts, which in this case bisect the entire farm, and seasonal lakes or turloughs in the landscape. In non-dramatic landscapes, such

as the townland of Tullahedy, and much of north Co. Tipperary, siting options for castles could be limited in a strategic sense. However, at a site such as Tullahedy, when looking at the townland scale, the highest and therefore most militarily strategic location was avoided in preference for a low-lying location.

The CTI results for the Tullahedy townland corresponded with the proposed field wetness. The raster surface illustrates lower topography directly north-northwest of the motte. The highest value (10), noted in dark blue in the model illustrates a potential for field wetness surrounding the motte castle (Figure 6.20). The road crossing the field was constructed c. 1940 and field cuts around the north field have drained the natural sink. The Anglo-Norman lords who constructed the manor centered at Tullahedy sited the motte castle in a low-lying location next to a stream and adjacent to a field with the potential for seasonal flooding. The siting left the castle overlooked by higher ground, but in a location with natural protection, access to water, and the possibility for lordly pleasure pools.

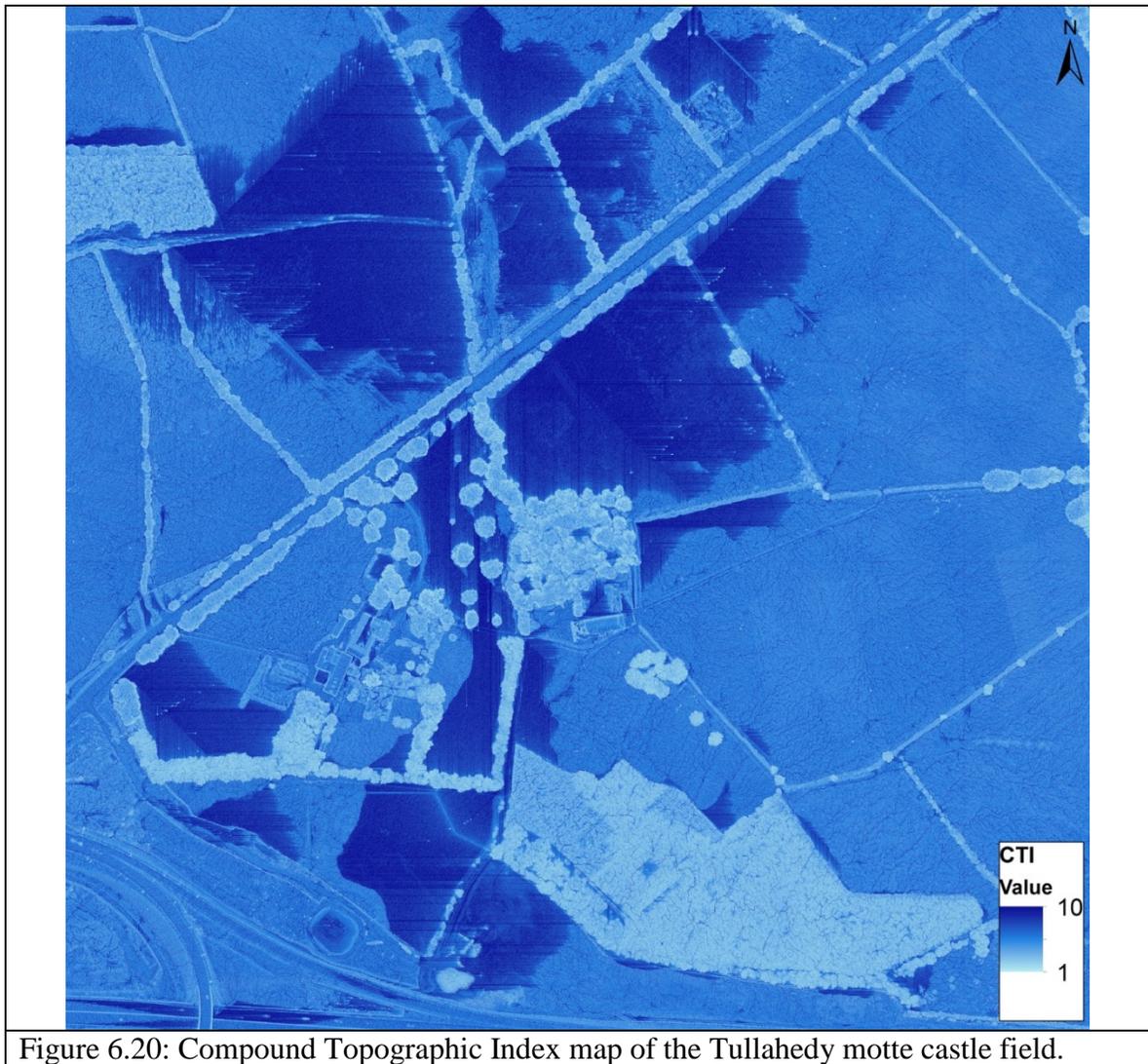


Figure 6.20: Compound Topographic Index map of the Tullahedy motte castle field.

Examination of castle sitings in north Co. Tipperary found 20 of the 28 sites (71.4%) are located in areas that are close to rivers or in low-lying wet fields. This wetness was denoted either by the county archaeologists or through site visits—via the presence of wet-growing plants, discussions with farmers, or tromping through wet ground. As Cunningham (1987: 74) notes, the water table of the medieval period was higher, there was more bog, and a warmer climate than today. The physical landscape of the Anglo-Normans would be quite different than in the modern period.

As the call to examining castles in Ireland as separate units with special attention to the unique features of each site has been raised (O’Conor 2008: 39-40), it appears, at

least in north Co. Tipperary, that perhaps there was a theme of constructing timber castles in low-lying wet fields with the potential for flooding for defense and display. This style of construction has been utilized in the Netherlands since the prehistoric period with terpens. This style of construction was rejected for Irish castles by McNeill, based on his work in Ulster, stating: “defense in Ireland comes from height alone, not from water” (1997: 8). Broad countrywide statements such as this are increasingly shown not to fit the variety of castles in Ireland. Local and regional geography are important; work is continuously needed on a multitude of scales in our examinations of sites, which can be undertaken through an approach that utilizes GIS technologies and landscape study methodologies.

6.10 Conclusion

This chapter examined the details of timber castle siting in north Co. Tipperary. The timeline of encastellation was covered, starting with the construction of the motte at Thurles in 1190. The next sections covered themes of specific reasons for castle siting. These included an analysis of geomorphology, not surprisingly the majority of timber castles are located on glacial till, good agricultural soils. The elevations of platform sites was then covered, findings suggest that lowland and river adjacent sites were preferred (71.4%). Low platforms were compared to those from Leinster; it was found that three sites may date later than suggested due to comparative sites. Routes in the landscape, from rivers to land paths were examined, finding 9/28 (32.1%) of the sites controlled major or minor routes. Whereas 9/28 (32.1%) sites also were located on rivers or river crossings. Finally, the proximity to religious houses was examined, 13/28 (46.4%) of the sites are located immediately adjacent to or within the same townland as a church or other religious site. Finally, four detailed case studies examined the particulars of siting.

Chapter 7 – Conclusions and Future Research

7.1: Conclusions

7.2: Future Research

7.1 Conclusions

This dissertation examined the locations of timber castles (classified as motte, motte and bailey, and ringwork castles) of north Co. Tipperary in order to explore the process of Anglo-Norman colonization in the midlands of Ireland. Prior to starting analysis of the timber castle sites, a reevaluation of the 42 previously identified timber castles was undertaken. The methodology for rejecting sites included analysis of the 1) historical source documentation, 2) morphology, 3) physical siting, and 4) cultural siting. Through this process, the number of timber castles in north Co. Tipperary was reduced to from 42 sites to 28 sites. The rejected sites were reclassified from ringworks to mottes, circular moated sites, enclosures, and ringforts.

Results of Reclassification

The process of colonization of north Co. Tipperary can be seen in the reclassification of timber castle sites, which reduced the number of timber castle sites from 42 to 28. This reclassification also produced a vastly different distribution of timber castle sites across the country as a whole. This suggests the lords who constructed timber castles in north Co. Tipperary were likely not as prolific in their attempts to colonize the landscape.

Furthermore, as revealed by the use of reclassification in this study, with fewer castles in the landscape, the pattern of manorial extents expands. As manor boundaries appear to map coincidentally with parish boundaries, fewer castles in the landscape could indicate larger manorial boundaries. In particular, in Lower Ormond, where the physical geography of boggy land limited colonization, manors may have spanned these vast areas. The patrol and ownership of non-profitable bog would have put stress on the limited resources of the lords in the beginning phases of colonization, when timber castle

construction would have begun. The expanded parish boundaries can be seen in the case of Moatquarter, as discussed, as well in Tinvoher and the adjacent parishes of Loughmoe.

Without the landscape survey that was undertaken in this dissertation, the 18 rejected ringwork castle sites inflated the distribution of castles in Ireland. The reclassification methodology used in this study in north Co. Tipperary produced a ratio of ringwork castles to motte and motte and bailey castles that corresponds better to the ratio of ringwork castles in England and Wales, as found by King and Alcock (1969). In north Co. Tipperary, the ratio of ringwork castles to motte and motte and bailey castles becomes 1:2.1 with reclassification. King and Alcock (1969) found the ratio for Welsh ringwork castle to motte castles to be approximately 1:3.7 (98). These ratios differ to results from Leinster, where Arbuthnot found the ratio of ringwork to motte castles as approximately 1:12 (or 1:5.5 if possible ringworks are included) (Arbuthnot 2011: 157-159). It is possible, therefore, that the colonization pattern of the study area was closer to that of Wales than eastern and south-eastern portions of Ireland. Evidence from Wales does support the construction of ringworks by the native Welsh lords; there is no corresponding evidence for the construction of ringwork (or any other variety) castles by Gaelic Irish lords.

Results of Castle Siting

Some archaeologists have argued that there was little strategic planning in the siting of castles in the Irish landscape (McNeill 1989-1990; Flanagan 1996). The process of colonization in north Co. Tipperary was different than that of Meath, where a deliberate plan of action resulted in the successful castellation of the northern frontier boundary with Bréifne (Prior 2006: 189-195). Furthermore, the process in north Co. Tipperary was different from that of Ulster, where the clustering of castles around Lough Neagh and west of Dundrum Bay deliberately controls entry into the lordship from the west (McNeill 1997: 68). The midlands, which north Co. Tipperary spans, had many entry points which were difficult to control given the physical characteristics of large stretches of bog, a mountainous zone stretching across the region, and the bounding of the country by Lough Derg to the east. Despite the difficulty in defending the terrain, the siting of

castles in this region demonstrates clear military strategy. Timber castles overlooked major and minor route ways, controlled fords and crossing points at rivers, and restricted access at major and minor boundaries.

One of the major themes to appear in this study was the importance of water and low-lying areas to the location of castles. Although McNeill (1997: 8) disagrees, this study found evidence that boggy and wet landscapes played a large role in the siting of castles in the midlands of Ireland during the Anglo-Norman colonization. In north Co. Tipperary, 71.4% (20/28) of the reclassified timber castle sites are located next to a river or immediately adjacent to a wet field¹¹. The case study of Tullahedy (site no. 14) illustrates the importance of modeling landscapes to view the potential of the surrounding drained field for wetness. Rivers also played a role in castle location due to their use as travel routes during the medieval period.

Routes, therefore, are another important aspect of castle siting. Prior to the intensification of road construction and tracks, natural routes along esker ridges, mountain passes, bog tracks, and rivers were the quickest and easiest paths through the countryside. Thirty-two percent of sites (9/28) were positioned to control major or minor routes. For example, the esker-topping motte of Ballylusky (site no. 1) was situated along possibly the only land route through the boggy region of Ormond, connecting Nenagh with the isolated center at Lorrha.

Control of river crossings was strategically important in the choice of location for construction of a timber castle. A further 32% of the timber castles (9/28) studied was located at river crossings. For some sites, the importance of a river crossing, as documented in the Civil Survey, is the only indication a platform could be a timber castle, such as Clareen (site no. 22). Other historical documents from the early medieval period illustrate the importance of both a route way and a river crossing at the site of a castle, such as those near Lackenavorna (site no. 8).

Historical boundaries provided opportune locations for the siting of timber castles. The motte and bailey of Killeen (site no. 13) is located at a provincial boundary

¹¹ It is to note, each castle could hold multiple siting purposes in the landscape; therefore, the counts will not sum to 28.

and a river crossing, and would have provided a powerful message to those crossing into the next territory. Within the cantreds, the timber castles of Clareen (site no. 22), Tullahedy (site no. 14), and Ballycahill (site no. 3) are all located within viewing distance of each other (Figure 7.1). However, Clareen is located in the cantred of Arra and Owney whereas Tullahedy and Ballycahill are located within the cantred of Ormond (Upper). Clareen is located on the far north portion of the Civil Parish of Burgesbeg, Tullahedy is in an unnamed Civil Parish, and Ballycahill is located in the far northern reaches of the Civil Parish of Kilmore. This distribution may be the product of Anglo-Norman in-fighting or strategic alliances surrounding the *caput* of Nenagh. Further research is necessary on these triplet timber castles. Likewise the two mottes at Killanafinch (site no. 6 and site no. 7), located in the same townland necessitate further investigation.

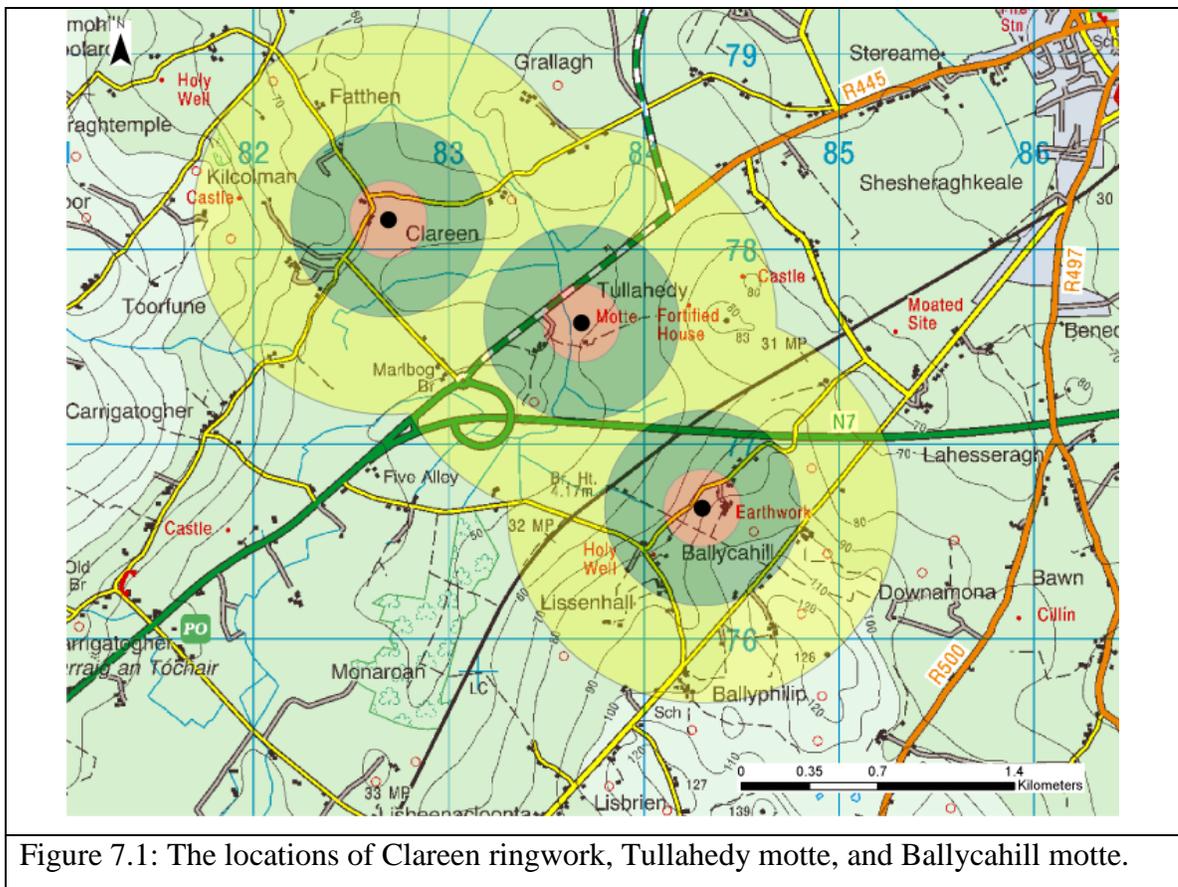


Figure 7.1: The locations of Clareen ringwork, Tullahedy motte, and Ballycahill motte.

Eight of the timber castles in the townland have additional remains of masonry castles on their summits. Of these, only Roscrea (site no. 19) and Thurles (site no. 10) were major urban centers, successfully transforming the *caput* into a thriving agricultural village. No documentation survives to shed light on the construction of the other masonry structures, their subsequent abandonment, or their destruction. The masonry fortifications at some sites, such as Borrisnafarney (site no. 25) appear to have been reused into the modern period. The Ordnance Survey historic maps indicate the platform and top encircling masonry wall were used as a “Battery”. The classification of Borrisnafarney is tenuous, based on the morphology of the site and its proximity to a small church and graveyard. Where the landscape siting of Borrisnafarney is far up the site of the Devil’s Bit Mountain, near the motte at Cloncannon (site no. 4), other sites such as Moyaliff (site no. 11) were precariously topped with masonry towers to control the manor. The historical documentation regarding the manor at Moyaliff provides solid information regarding the buildings and extent, in addition to the persistent sacking and burning of the castle located there.

In addition to masonry castles being built atop timber castles, the continuation of occupation at castle sites was revealed. The sites of Ballylusky (site no. 1) and Rathfalla (site no. 15) are located near masonry hall houses, a contentious site type, dating to the 14th-15th centuries. It appears that the lords of these castles were successful in weathering the storm that was the Gaelic Resurgence of the 14th century. Closer chronologically, the sites of Tullahedy (site no. 14), Tinvoher (site no. 35), and Borris (site no. 39) are constructed in the same townland as a tower house; Ballylusky (site no. 1) is located in a townland immediately adjacent to a tower house. Future investigation exploring the connection between these settlement types is needed.

What is evident from the siting analysis is the complexity and development of timber castles in north Co. Tipperary. Much like Hen Domen, the timber castles of the area were constructed with serious defenses and were associated with multiple phases of development in association with complex buildings. The historical documentation from the manor at Magherareagh (site no. 9) provides compelling evidence for the types of buildings associated with a rather modest surviving motte structure. As illustrated by the

excavations adjacent to the possible ringwork castle site of Borris (site no. 39), the multi-period settlement that surrounds the site includes a medieval vertical watermill, wheelhouse, wheel pit, and water management system (Ó Droma 2007). Much like Hen Domen, the evidence from Borris illustrates the complex nature of these sites, with multiple heavy defenses in association with living and working spaces; timber castles were as much domestic and defensive as later masonry structures.

The historical and landscape archaeological investigation of timber castle siting allows for the analysis of the sites within their distinct geographic units: townlands, baronies, and cantreds. With a methodology of GIS that integrates theoretical perspectives with landscape and colonial studies, the choices made in the first stages of colonization can be seen. Namely the choices in site locations on a small cantred scale, as well as on a large townland scale are visible. Factors that stand out in siting choices include the control of important routes and crossings, spaces next to existing ecclesiastical foundations for patronage and protection, locations on glacial tills for agricultural production, and watery spaces near rivers and boggy fields. The location of castles in wet fields may have been a result of the Irish landscape, and not a purposeful choice by the Anglo-Norman lords; nevertheless, those watery sites appear to be favored in the high medieval period.

Broad Conclusions

Some archaeologists propose the motte and bailey castle was an out of date and almost obsolete castle type by 1200 (O’Keeffe 1992: 59; McNeill 2000: 56, 76). The construction of Roscrea castle (site no. 19) in 1212-1215 suggests otherwise, as shown in the particular study area of the midlands of Ireland. Here it appears, as with a delayed granting of lands to the lords capable of constructing castles, that timber castles were constructed late in the sequence of timber castle construction in Ireland. In addition to the evidence from Roscrea, it was in 1200 that John, Lord of Ireland, ordered men in “the marches of Ireland” to fortify their lands on pain of forfeiture (*CDI* 1171-1251: no. 125). Timber castles were a statement of power in the landscape and were militarily important

in securing lands beyond the arbitrary cut-off of 1200 as suggested by those authors, it appears especially in the midlands of Ireland.

The individual territories in Ireland exhibit different strategies of castle construction and maintenance, which makes island-wide statements on the process of the Anglo-Norman colonization of Ireland difficult, as demonstrated by the differences of north Co. Tipperary to Leinster, Ulster, and Meath. These differences in colonization are due in part to the physical limitations of some regions of the country, but also to the differing local requirements of control and planning. The lords of north Co. Tipperary ended up fighting each other as much as they did the Ui Briain of Munster, which may have resulted in fewer recruited tenants to farm manors, as well as fewer castles on the ground.

Ultimately, for the Anglo-Normans of north Co. Tipperary to succeed, the initial conquest and consolidation period had to be followed by one of colonial settlement. Success in north Co. Tipperary can be seen in the towns of Thurles, Roscrea, and Nenagh, with masonry castles built either immediately on top of, or adjacent to timber castles. However, success can also be seen in the motte castles located in the major manorial centers of Magherareagh, Moyaliff, and Brookely, Drom, in addition to the ringwork castle at Tinvoher. Each of these castles provides evidence for solid manorial settlement after the original stages of conquest; however, each ultimately failed to flourish into a lasting settlement.

This is the story of timber castles in north Co. Tipperary, as elsewhere in the Irish countryside. Timber castles were constructed to provide a sound military base and adequate security in the initial stages of conquest. Some of those castles went on to become major settlements lasting to the modern period, others did not, as not every castle could be a *caput*. Nevertheless, the physical remnants of timber castles in the countryside remain today as manifestations of a colonial period of Ireland's past.

7.2 Future Directions

To create a baseline distribution of timber castles across Ireland, reclassification of the 27 ringwork castles in south Co. Tipperary must be undertaken. While some

scholars reject ringwork castles as a site type, the field evidence suggests otherwise. A reevaluation in the field of timber castles as a whole should be undertaken to provide an expanded baseline of identification criteria.

Historical analysis of the manorial extents should be undertaken with a particular orientation towards incorporating archaeological sites. Historical geographers such as Hennessy (1985; 1996; 2004) have started this work; however, more interdisciplinary collaboration is necessary. Tracing the timber castles of one lordly family (e.g. the Butlers) could be a fruitful analysis of the process of colonialism.

As noted by many other scholars (Creighton and Liddiard 2008; O’Conor 2008), more non-destructive archaeology, such as geophysical analysis, of medieval period sites is necessary. As the majority of sites discussed here have no historical documentation, the results from geophysical analysis could completely reevaluate the classification of sites. In particular, the rejected sites of Coolkill (site no. 38), Moycarky (site no. 42), and Lahardan Upper (site no. 43) would benefit from further ground penetrating analysis. If these sites were found to represent timber castles, the distribution map of sites in north Co. Tipperary would again change.

Lidar analysis may be the future of GIS in archaeology. The information gathered during the course of this dissertation went from a complete lack of quality elevation data to abundance. Nevertheless, the available data does not completely cover the country at a high resolution nor is such a survey done at a low cost. Purchasing the Ordnance Survey data, software required analyzing the data, and hardware to run the software can be prohibitive. Training for archaeologists in using lidar data is also centered on a few archaeological schools in Ireland, and a few curious minds in the United States. For those sites adjacent to major rivers (the Suir, for instance), data is available. Without these data, the site of Tinvoher (site no. 35) would be lacking an outer defensive bank, one of the criteria for ringwork castle classification. More work is needed on these high resolution datasets, to examine individual fields surrounding timber castles, and search for the low banks of borough agriculture. An expanded program with funding for such training and implementation of data collection at these schools would benefit the study of archaeology in Ireland.

In addition, more work is needed to integrate lidar data and GIS modeling of the modern landscape to discuss the past. The case study of Tullahedy presented here pushes the boundaries of historical landscape studies, and challenges how modern modeling techniques can be applied to our understanding of past landscapes. More work similar to this must be undertaken, with the caveat that technology moves at a ratcheted pace, much faster than archaeology. Finding one modeling technique, such as Compound Topographic Index, does not provide a one-size-fits-all solution to integrating GIS and archaeology, further modeling work is needed to combine historical landscapes with GIS technology. Nevertheless, the Compound Topographic Indices tested in the case of Tullahedy motte revealed important evidence hidden in the modern landscape.

Lastly, excavation is also an important avenue of future research. As no full-scale excavation of a historically documented, well-preserved motte has been undertaken in the Republic of Ireland, future directions would best be served in excavating such a site. Like Hen Domen, much can be learned through excavation. In north Co. Tipperary, the motte at Magherareagh (site no. 9) and motte and bailey of Killeen (site no. 13) could reveal a wealth of information that is yet unknown and untouched.

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Gazetteer of Sites: Description of form

Site No:	Sequential numbering of sites based on SMRS number
Site Name:	Site name from Sites and Monument Record and Archaeological Inventory of County Tipperary Vol. 1 – North Tipperary (Farrelly & O’Brien 2002)
Ordnance Survey designation on current 6-inch map:	Ordnance Survey designation: ‘hachured’ (marks indicating the presence of a scarp, bank, or mound) or named, indicated or not indicated as a feature on the landscape
Townland:	Townland site is located within
Parish:	Administrative boundary larger than Townland where site is located within
Barony:	Administrative boundary larger than Civil parish where site is located
Cantred:	Administrative boundary larger than Barony where site is located
Coordinates (Irish Grid Reference):	Irish Grid Reference (E,N)
SMR no:	Unique Site and Monument Number
SMR classification:	Site classification
Inventory no:	Unique inventory number
Inventory classification:	Site classification
Date of survey:	Date of field survey by Immich, Cramblit, and Carrillo or Kale
Revised classification (if applicable):	Revised site classification by Immich

Siting

Description of site location, topography, and historical references including descriptions of upstanding remains of the site with principle dimensions. Diameters are given from crest to crest of features (for instance, from bank to bank). Approximations of site measurements are given as circa (*c.*).

Abbreviations and contractions used in the descriptions (Farrelly & O’Brien 2002: xiii):

Dimensions and orientation

<i>c.</i>	circa
D	depth/deep
diam.	diameter
dim.	dimension
dims.	dimensions
E	east
ext.	external

ft	feet
H	height/high
int.	internal
L	length
m	meter
cm	centimeter
max.	maximum
min.	minimum
N	north
S	south
T	thickness
W	west

Place name

Place name information for each townland was collected from the Place names Database of Ireland in collaboration with the Place names Branch (Department of Arts, Heritage and the Gaeltacht - www.logainm.ie/en/). Each site is translated into Irish, the Irish translation of the Place name is given, and the first recorded use from the Archival scanned record is given including citation.

Documentary references

The majority of timber castles were not documented in the historical record as they were being constructed. However, we do have some evidence from the Irish Annals, manorial records, and survey accounts.

The Irish Annals are chronicles documenting the history and culture of Ireland until c. 1600. Chronologically ordered, the Annals document deaths of kings, prominent persons (ecclesiastical and lay), alongside battles, plagues, weather, and a number of other miscellaneous events. Compiled from older, now destroyed manuscripts, the Annals were written largely in ecclesiastical settlements by monks; for instance the *Annals of the Four Masters* was written in Irish by a Franciscan brother and three laymen. The Annals that contain information on castles include: *Annals of the Four Masters*, *Annals of Innisfallen*, *Annals of Clonmacnoise*, *Annals of Tigernach*, and the *Annals of Ulster*.

The *Civil Survey of 1654-1656: County of Tipperary* is divided into two volumes. Volume One covers the eastern and southern baronies, while Volume Two covers the western and northern baronies. Edited by Robert C. Simington and published in 1931 and 1934 respectively, the Civil Survey consists of the returns of the extent and value of lands across Tipperary, Limerick, Waterford, Kerry, Dublin, Kildare, Meath, Wexford, Donegal, Londonderry, and Tyrone that were forfeited by Catholic and Royalist rebels following their defeat during the Cromwellian conquest of Ireland (Simington 1931: iv). County Tipperary was surveyed first, and the complete baronial collection was completed in 1654. The Survey utilized the Down Survey maps (1655-1658) for boundaries.

The Inquisitions Post Mortem (or *escheats*) was undertaken after the death of a feudal tenant in chief to establish inheritance of land. The *Calendar of Inquisitions of the Justiciary Rolls of Ireland 1295-1314* are documents related to inquisitions conducted into the Crown's rights and privileges upon the death of a feudal lord. The *Calendar of documents relating to Ireland preserved in the Public Record Office 1171-1307*, edited by H.S. Sweetman, was published in five volumes (1875-1886). This compilation includes Chancery, Exchequer, King's Bench, and Common Plea documents, including Patent rolls, Close rolls, Charter rolls, Fine rolls, Liberate rolls, Norman contrabrevia, Vascon rolls, Inquisitions *post mortem*, Papal bulls and briefs, Cartae antiquae, Royal letters, Chancery miscellaneous, and Chancery files.

The *Red Book of Ormond* (White 1932) is a roll relating to the foundation, privileges, and legal rights of the Butler family from 1192-1547. The Ormond estates of Co. Tipperary (and Co. Kilkenny), including nearly 30 manors in seven counties, are documented in this cartulary, which includes rental documents and deeds from the family. This text is supplementary to the *Calendar of Ormond Deeds* (Curtis 1932-1970), which contains charters, rentals, surveys, records of local administration, and agreements with Irish chiefs by the Ormond family.

Adjacent archaeological sites

Archaeological sites located within the townland of each timber castle are described. All measurements are taken from the National Monuments Service web viewer Version 2.2 (www.archaeology.ie). Supplemental information from each site is provided from the *Archaeological Inventory of County Tipperary: Vol. 1—North Tipperary* (Farrelly and O'Brien 2002).

Excavation evidence

Summary excavation evidence from the Database of Irish Excavation Reports (www.excavations.ie) is reported by townland when available.

Profile

Measurements were taken in meters using a Nikon DTM-322 Series Total Station on loan from Joe Fenwick, Archaeological Field Officer, National University of Ireland, Galway School of Geography and Archaeology, utilizing GPS coordinates from a Trimble GeoExplorer 2008 series handheld GPS. When GPS coverage was not clear, arbitrary units of E200, N200, Z200 were utilized. When a monument was too overgrown or damaged for Total Station measurements, tape measurement and ranging rod measurements were taken and noted.

The .xyz data file created with the Total Station was edited in Microsoft Excel and transformed into a .shp data file in QGIS 2.2 Durfour in Irish National Grid projection. The shapefile created in QGIS was imported into ESRI ArcMap 10.1 then R version 3.1.1 software to create profile views of each site surveyed with the Total Station.

Pictures

Multiple images of each site are provided when available. Direction, date, and a short description of the image are provided. Immich captured the images, unless otherwise noted, with a digital Canon PowerShot SD1100 IS. In some instances, dark images have been lightened.

Maps

Four maps are provided for each site:

- Aerial imagery
- Ordnance Survey Ireland Historic 6”
- Ordnance Survey 25” Historic
- 1:50,000 Discovery Series maps

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Site No:	1
Site Name:	Ballylusky
Alternative Name:	“Ballylusky Moat”
Townland:	Ballylusky
Parish:	Arderony
Barony:	Upper Ormond
Cantred:	Ormond
Coordinates (Irish Grid Reference):	190730, 188174
SMR no:	TN015-020----
SMR classification:	Castle - motte
Inventory no:	2032
Inventory classification:	Motte
Date of survey:	June 2012; June 3, 2013
Revised classification (if applicable):	--

Siting

The Ballylusky motte is located on top of a northwest-southeast oriented esker ridge with extensive quarrying at the northwest and southeast edge in otherwise gently rolling pasture. The oval shaped flat-topped mound (diam. 8.4m NE-SW, 16.2m NW-SE, H above esker 2m; H above pasture 12m) sits on top of a 10m high esker ridge providing good views in all directions. The northwest and southeast sections of the esker ridge on either side of the motte platform have been quarried away for sand. No bailey is evident, however, the esker platform on northwest could have served this function as it levels out into a flat section.

Place name

Irish: *Baile Locha Loiscthe*

Place name: townland, town, homestead; lake, inlet; burnt town; from the practice of burning the surface in tillage.

First recorded use: 1580c; Belagh loisce; Last Lords 234

Documentary references

In 1212, King John ordered the transfer of castle lands (a seisin) to Reginald de Pontibus from Theobald Walter, which included the castle at Loske (*CDI* 1171-1251: no. 514).

Although the location of Loske is debated, the motte at Ballylusky has been offered as a possible location (Cunningham 1987: 145).

A castle at Ballylusky is described in the Civil Survey (1654-1656) as “Ballylosky castle reddy to fall” (Simington 1931: 158) and “the ruines of an old castle the walls onely standing” (Simington 1934, vol. 2: 291). The ecclesiastical taxation of the Diocese of Killaloe lists Ardcroney church nearby in 1302 (CDI, vol. 5, 302); the O’Hogan family patronized the church (Gwynn & Hadcock 1970: 373).

Adjacent archaeological sites

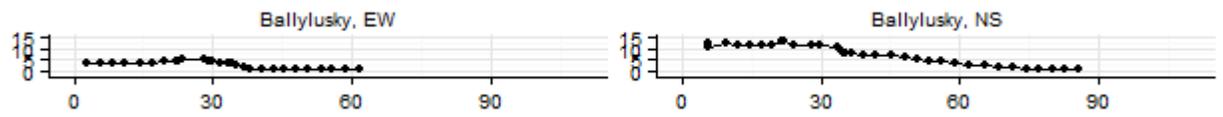
Ballylusky hall house (TN010-070) lies northeast of the motte site on a natural outcrop of rocks with expansive views of the surrounding pasture. The standing building is a rectangular two story high structure constructed of roughly coursed limestone rubble with a high, wide base-batter that has been severely robbed of stone. Modern internal divisions of the hall house illustrate its later usage as a farm building with sheep pens.

Ardcroney church (TN015-015001) is located south of the motte site in Ardcroney townland. The church has multiple architectural modifications and was significantly altered in the late 16th century; the original nave and chancel appear to have been an undivided unit (Farrelly & O’Brien 2002: 229). A rectangular graveyard (TN015-015004) is associated with the church as well as an adjoining tower house (TN015-002) immediately to the west. The tower house was described in the Civil Survey (1654-1656) as “the ruines of an old castle the walls onely standing neer the vaulted chappell being all wast” (Simington 1934: vol. 2, 292), and now stands four stories high of roughly cobbled limestone (Farrelly & O’Brien 2002: 353-354).

Excavation evidence

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Site Profile



Pictures





Ballylusky motte profile facing southwest with Cramblit on esker ridge for scale.



View of the pasture northeast from the motte mound, note the ephemeral lake.

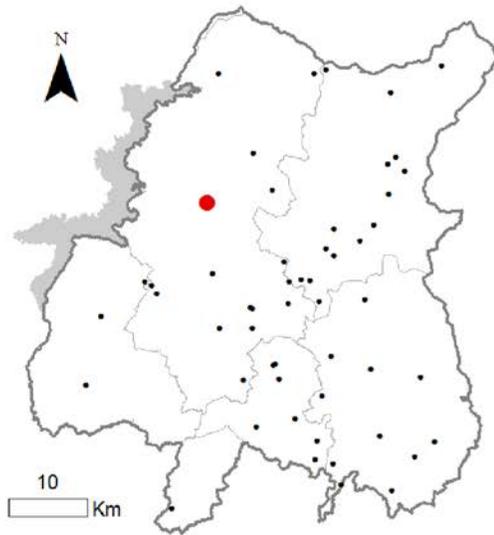
Maps

Ballylusky (Ardcrony Parish)

SMR classification:
Castle - motte

Coordinates (Irish Grid Reference):
190730 E, 188174 N

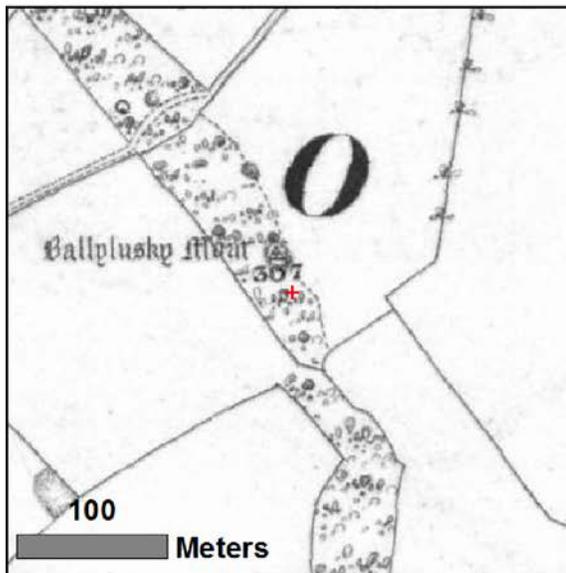
SMR no: TN015-020----



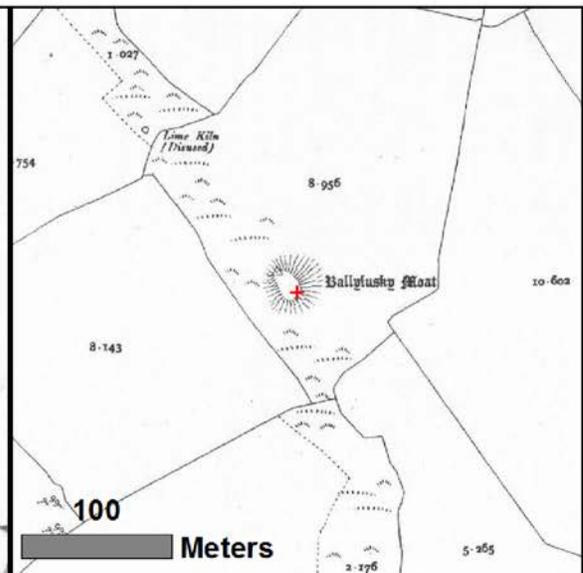
Locator Map
Featured site shown in red



Aerial Imagery
2005-2010



Ordnance Survey 6" Map
1829-1847



Ordnance Survey 25" Map
1897-1913

Site No:	2
Site Name:	Moatquarter
Alternative Name:	“Moat”
Townland:	Moatquarter
Parish:	Rathnaveoge
Barony:	Ikerrin
Cantred:	Elyocarroll
Coordinates (Irish Grid Reference):	205726, 182368
SMR no:	TN016-003----
SMR classification:	Castle - motte
Inventory no:	2058
Inventory classification:	Motte
Date of survey:	June 3, 2013
Revised classification (if applicable):	--

Siting

Moatquarter motte is located on the south end of a rise in steeply (north-south) sloping pasture overlooking a valley. The large, tall (max. diam. 11m NE-SW, 8.5m N-S, H 9m) mound is of classic Christmas pudding style, with steep sides and a flat top. The mound is surrounded by a ditch and bank, especially from the east-south-west with limited remains to the north. The ditch appears to be cut into the rise at the southwest.

Views from Moatquarter are expansive in all directions, and the mound itself is highly visible in the surrounding landscape, indicating it was purposefully sited to see and to be seen. To the south-southwest a church, graveyard, rectangular enclosure, and sunken trackway on the opposite (southwest) ridge are visible. Access by cows in the past three-five years has heavily eroded the mound. In 2008 a National Monuments Preservation Order no. 4 was placed on the southeast edge of the site in preparation for the N7 Castletown to Nenagh motorway.

Place name

Irish: *Ceathramhain an Mhôta*

Place name: quarterland (*ceathrú*)

First recorded use: 1614; Kearrowenmoto CPR 268

Documentary references

There is some argument to whether or not Moatquarter (*Ceathramhain an Mhôta*) is representative of a motte or an inauguration site of the kings of Éile (FitzPatrick 2004: 94). Local historian George Cunningham describes the monument as a motte (Cunningham 1987: 114), while Dermot F. Gleeson, 17th century historian, defines the site as the inauguration site referencing local “tradition” documented in 1929 (Gwynn & Gleeson 1962: 183). MacCotter (2013: 51-52) utilizes the saints live of Mó-Cheomóc in Leigh, Co. Tipperary to support the theory that the site Gwynn (1962) describes is in fact the site of Moneygall (*Maigh na nGaill*), and this is the location of the inauguration site, not Moatquarter motte.

Moatquarter townland was also called Castle Philip townland and was settled by the Anglo-Norman family of the de Barrys, who settled broadly over the cantred of Elyocarroll (MacCotter 2013: 28). “In the 1305 extent we read that Reginald de Barry once held ‘one theod at Castle Philip in Ossergele’” (White 1932: 149). References mention the church at Castle Philip in 1300, 1306, 1425, and 1506, specifically denoting the location of this church in the parish of Castletown Ely, near the ruined church of Drumroe. This tracing of Castle Philip provides strong evidence that Moatquarter motte is in fact the caput of de Barry associated with the church, graveyard, and moated site. Tracing the geographic boundaries of the townland of Moatquarter is complicated by a change in townland names prior to the Down Survey and Ordnance Survey maps.

Adjacent archaeological sites

South of the motte site lies the rectangular Drumroe church (OF047-009) built of roughly coursed limestone and sandstone rubble, in the north sector of an associated graveyard (OF47-009001) (O’Brien & Sweetman 1997). Southwest of the motte lies Busherstown rectangular earthwork (OF047-008) defined by a scarp with no surface evidence for a ditch. It has been suggested that the shape of the earthwork and associated medieval sites could indicate this site as the remnant of a moated site (McCarthy Hyder Consultants

2005: N7 EIS Appendix 13.8). Excavations undertaken in 2007 and 2008 confirmed the site as a location with an important moated site and intensive cereal-grain processing (Chrobak *et al.* 2012).

Excavation evidence

The rectangular earthwork (OF047-008) was partially excavated by Brian Hodkinson (Hodkinson 1999:732) in 1999 in preparation for the N7 Castletown to Nenagh road. Additional excavations in 1999 revealed two ditch-like features. One feature had indeterminate function, while testing in the other suggested it might have been a watercourse. Stripping of the site in 2004 revealed no further evidence.

Excavations undertaken in 2007-2008 by Eachtra Archaeological Projects, commissioned by the Laois County Council and the National Roads Authority in advance of the N7 Nenagh Bypass and the M7/M8 Poartlaoise-Castletown scheme, revealed a multi-period site with six phases of activity, including an intensive cereal processing phase dating to the early medieval period and a medieval phase of deep ditches associated with a moated site (Chrobak *et al.* 2012: VII). The early medieval activity on the site included finds of 17 extant cereal kilns, seven truncated kilns, and three associated buildings (Chrobak *et al.* 2012: 42-47).

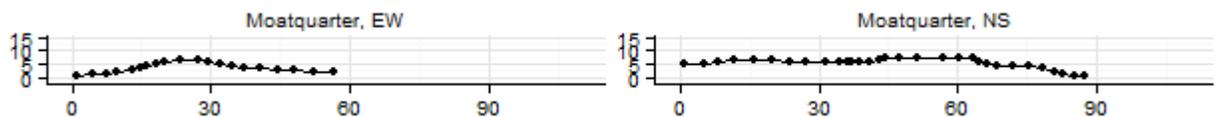
The first phase of the high medieval period is an enclosure associated with large scale cereal processing, recut and dated to the late 12th-early 13th century. The first ditch was radiocarbon dated to 1210-1271AD and the associated moated site ditch was dated to 1292-1394 AD (Chrobak *et al.* 2012: 48). The recut of the ditch is so similar to the early medieval ditch that the authors (Chrobak *et al.* 2012: 72) suggest continuity on the site, if not continuous occupation. The ditch at the moated site is an annex to the main platform structure, which was external to the excavation site. This annex may have functioned as an animal enclosure or the boundary of a large house plot. The moated site faces an unnamed stream and the motte at Moatquarter. The south-eastern corner of the site was excavated and revealed a wide ditch and bank with a shallow external ditch. Charred

cereal remains from the ditch of the site were radiocarbon dated to 1292-1394 AD (Chrobak *et al.* 2012: 73). Two incomplete building footprints and domestic activity, including a metalled surface, post-holes, three substantial pits, and a hearth, were excavated on the moat platform.

The botanical evidence from the site reveals a change from the early medieval period, associated with the intensive cereal processing, to the high medieval period, associated with the moated site and annex. The most common grain types of the early medieval period were oat and barley; whereas the most common grain from the high medieval period was wheat, most likely free-threshing wheat (Chrobak *et al.* 2012: 161-162). This change in grain processing is associated with the agricultural changes brought by the Anglo-Normans.

Excavations at the moated site of Busherstown, associated with the Moatquarter site, further support the classification of the site as a timber castle dating to the high medieval period (Kiely & MacCotter 2012).

Site Profile



Pictures



The west side of bank, ditch, and Moatquarter motte facing east with Cramblit for scale.



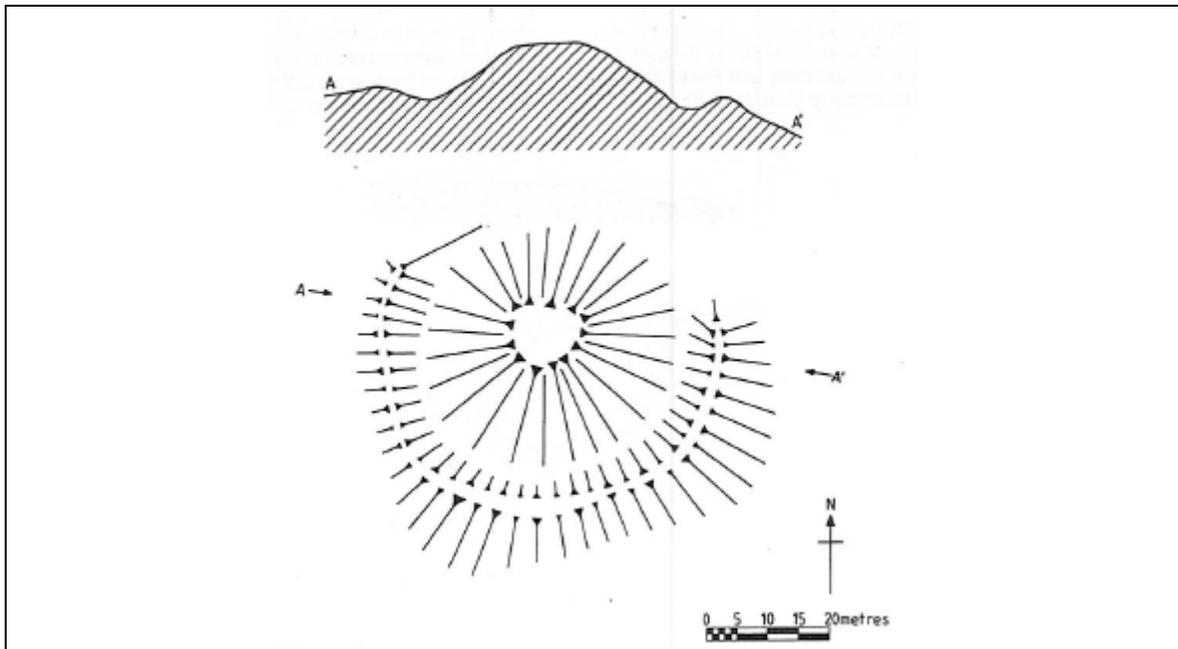
Moatquarter motte facing north.



View from top of Moatquarter motte facing southwest, note the graveyard (OF047-009001), church (OF047-009), and rectangular enclosure (OF047-008) in the southwest field adjacent.



View from top of Moatquarter motte facing southwest, note the intensive quarrying in the field adjacent.



Plan and section of Moatquarter motte (Stout 1984: 113).



Aerial view of the Busherstown excavation and moated site with Moatquarter motte in the background (top right corner) (Roycroft 2008: 37)

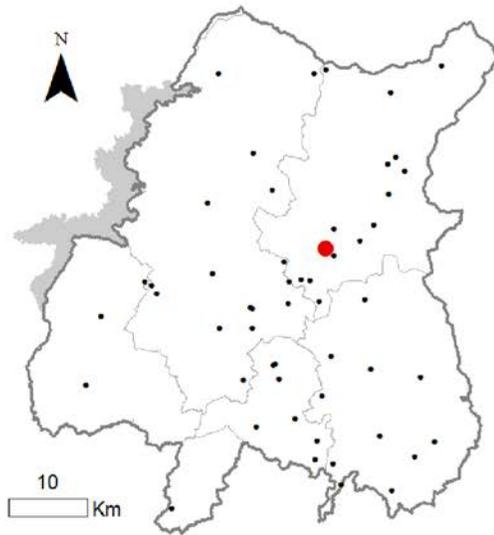
Maps

Motquarter (Rathnaveoge Parish)

SMR classification:
Castle - motte

Coordinates (Irish Grid Reference):
205726 E, 182368 N

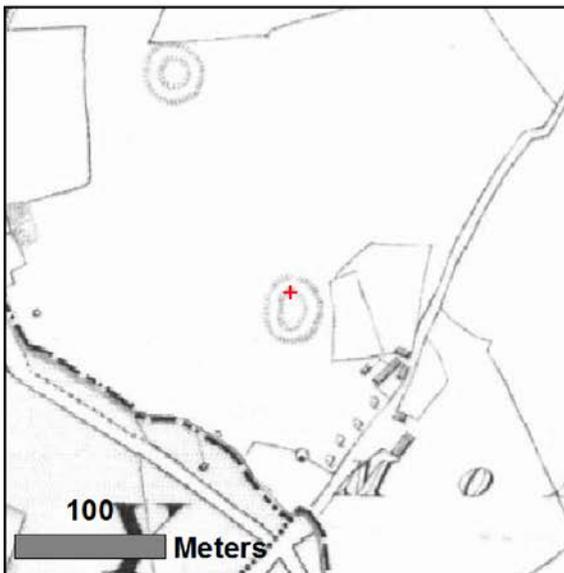
SMR no: TN016-003----



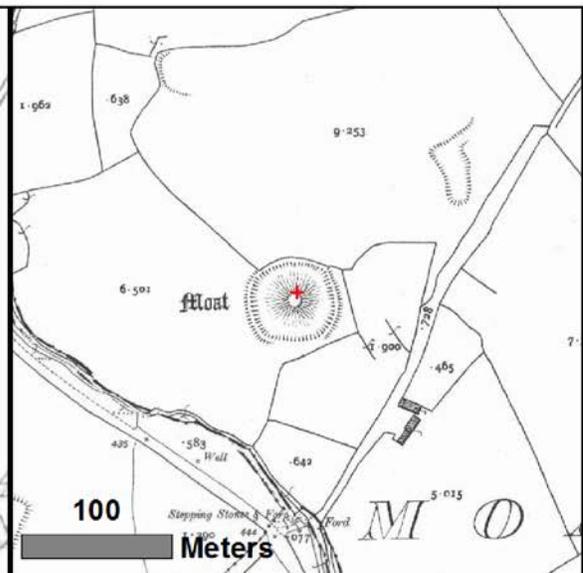
Locator Map
Featured site shown in red



Aerial Imagery
2005-2010



Ordnance Survey 6" Map
1829-1847



Ordnance Survey 25" Map
1897-1913

Site No:	3
Site Name:	Ballycahill
Alternative Name:	Hachured
Townland:	Ballycahill
Parish:	Kilmore, North Riding
Barony:	Ormond Upper
Cantred:	Ormond
Coordinates (Irish Grid Reference):	184300, 176670
SMR no:	TN020-084002-
SMR classification:	Castle - motte
Inventory no:	2029
Inventory classification:	Motte (possible)
Date of survey:	June 3, 2013
Revised classification (if applicable):	--

Siting

Ballycahill motte is located on a slope of high ground in an upland area with expansive views to the north, east, and south. The western view is blocked by a rise of ground. The roughly circular flat-topped mound (base diam. 18m, H 2.3m) has damage to the north face in the form of sheep paths. A poorly preserved masonry castle structure (Ballycahill TN020-084001) tops the mound.

Place name

Irish: *Baile Uí Chathail*

Place name: townland, town, homestead

First recorded use: 1546; Balykahill; COD IV 299

Documentary references

In 1285, Toirdelbach Mór, the high-king of Ireland, crossed the Shannon River and ravaged Moyliffe, Kilfithmore, and Ballycahill in Kilnamanagh¹² before burning the settlement at Latteragh (Westropp 1903: 176).

¹² “Next spring he raided all Tradree, and then determined to ravage the other possessions of de Clare (in County Limerick). He got the submission of Ownney, Eli, and Ormond, overran Aes Greine and Coonagh, and destroyed the English. He burned their castle in the town of Cathairkinnlios (Caherconlish), dismantled Inchaulliff town and Moyliff, burned their castle of Bealacheachaill and the town of Latteragh (except the monasteries), and burned Ara’s church and seminary. The Earl of Ulster at last persuaded him to return by Lough Derg” (Westropp 1903: 176).

Adjacent archaeological sites

The masonry castle at Ballycahill (TN 020-084001) that tops the motte mound is in disrepair. According to the landowner, the masonry structure fell considerably in the winter of 2012; the stones that fell into the field were removed as a danger.

Ballycahill church (TN020-082001) was located directly north of the motte and is associated with a disused graveyard (TN020-084002). The OS Letters (O'Flanagan 1930: vol. 3, 118) note the church (dims. 6m N-S, 15m E-W, wall T 1m) survived with no visible east wall. The abandoned graveyard was used as an animal pen, with human bones visible on the ground surface (O'Flanagan 1930, vol. 3: 118).

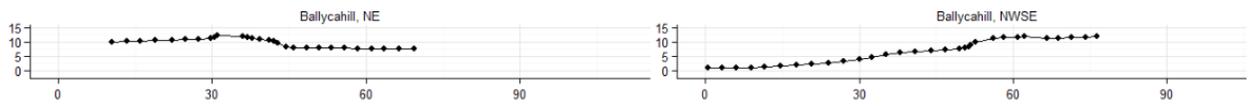
A disused holy well (TN020-085001), filled in by the late 1970s, and bullaun stone (TN020-085002), a large stone with hemispherical hollows or basin-like depressions, frequently associated with ecclesiastical sites and holy wells, lie south of the motte. The local landowner describes the site as a natural spring surrounded by flagstones and a possibly associated bullaun stone (Farrelly & O'Brien 2002: 279). By 1985 there was no trace of the bullaun stone (FitzPatrick 1985: 112).

One destroyed ringfort (NT020-087) lies southeast of the motte site, while the second destroyed ringfort (TN020-086), the outline of which is visible in aerial photography, lies to the south of the motte. The motte site of Tullahedy (TN020-075) is visible from the motte site at Ballycahill.

Excavation evidence

Test trenching for the construction of a proposed milking parlor and slatted shed revealed no features or deposits of archaeological significance adjacent to the motte and castle site. However, excavation did reveal previous large-scale disturbance (Hodkinson 2004).

Site Profile



Pictures



Ballycahill motte facing east with masonry structure on top of the mound.



Motte facing north, with Cramblit (left) for scale.



Motte and masonry castle facing south, with Kale (right) for scale.

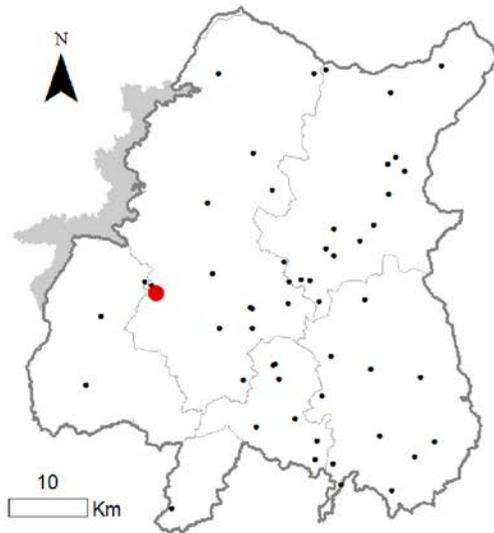
Maps

Ballycahill (Kilmore Parish, North Riding)

SMR classification:
Castle - motte

Coordinates (Irish Grid Reference):
184300 E, 176670 N

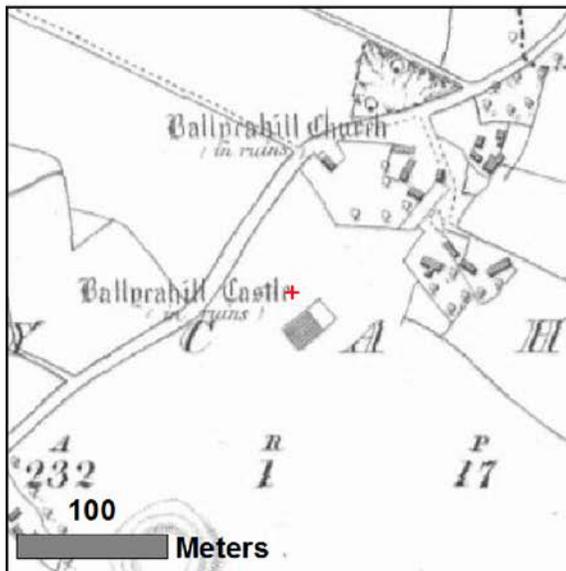
SMR no: TN020-084002-



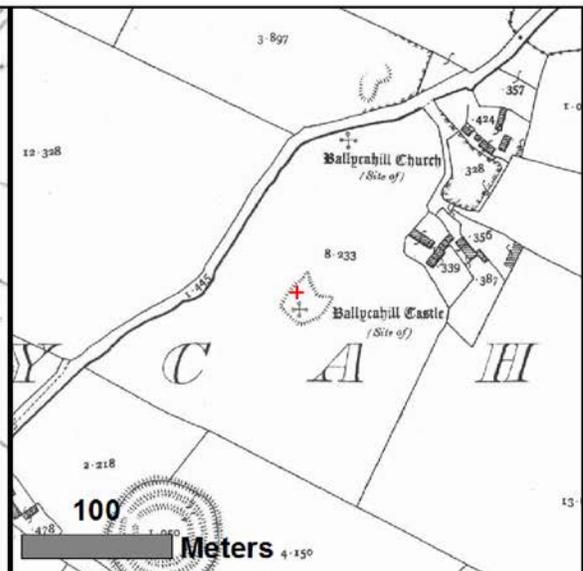
Locator Map
Featured site shown in red



Aerial Imagery
2005-2010



Ordnance Survey 6" Map
1829-1847



Ordnance Survey 25" Map
1897-1913

Site No:	4
Site Name:	Cloncannon
Alternative Name:	“The Moat”
Townland:	Cloncannon
Parish:	Borrisnafarney
Barony:	Ikerrin
Cantred:	Elyocarroll
Coordinates (Irish Grid Reference):	203704, 178333
SMR no:	TN022-036----
SMR classification:	Castle - motte
Inventory no:	2038
Inventory classification:	Motte
Date of survey:	N/A (no access)
Revised classification (if applicable):	

Siting

Located on a glacial hillock, the Cloncannon motte has extensive views in all directions. Modern ongoing quarrying activity limits access to the site; therefore, all measurements are from Farrelly & O’Brien 2002: 291. The motte consists of a steep, flat-topped mound (H 9m; top diam. 25.5 NE-SW, 19.5 NW-SE) with a defining scarp and enclosing berm (Wth 4m) located 4m from the top of the mound, which may represent the natural hill surface. An enclosing ditch (Wth 3m) and external bank (Wth 5m; ext. H 1.5m; int. H 0.9m) is destroyed from northwest-north-northeast by quarrying activity. No bailey is visible, but it may have been destroyed in quarrying north and east of the motte.

The Little Brosna River lies north of the motte site flowing east from the foothills of the Devil’s Bit Mountains, which are located east of the motte. The Devil’s Bit gap is visible from the site. A moated site and watermill on the Ollatrim River lie southwest of the motte. A preservation order was placed on the motte in April 1984.

Place name

Irish: *Cluain Canann*

Place name: meadow, pasture

First recorded use: 1160c; Clúain Cannan criche Ele; LL III 20399

Documentary references

The Civil Survey 1654-1656 describes the townland of Cloncannon as holding “a castle wanting repaire and a mill seate upon a brooke called Collatrom in the meare of this halfe barony between it and the barony of Upper Ormond” (Simington 1931, vol. 1: 22).

Adjacent archaeological sites

Two ringforts (TN022-037, TN022-039) lay northeast and south-southwest of the motte respectively. A visible moated site (TN022-038001) and watermill (TN022-069) lie 1.1km to the south of the motte in the flat valley of the Ollatrim River in an otherwise upland area. A large rectangular enclosure is visible on this spot on the first edition OS 6-inch map (1840). The ditch is largely destroyed with a soil dump on the surviving east corner.

Excavation evidence

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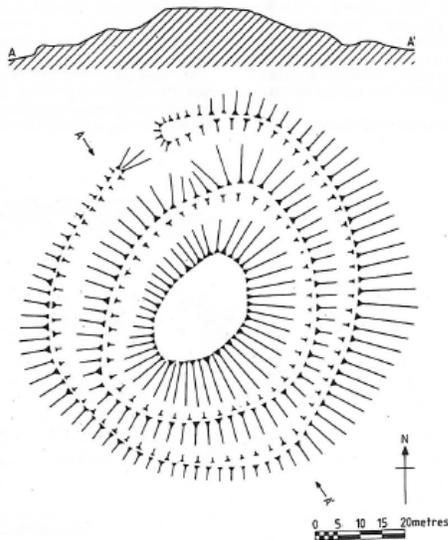
Site Profile

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Pictures



Motte from Cloncannon road facing west. Note the intensive quarrying at the site and steep approach from the south.



Plan and section of Cloncannon motte (Stout 1984: 112)

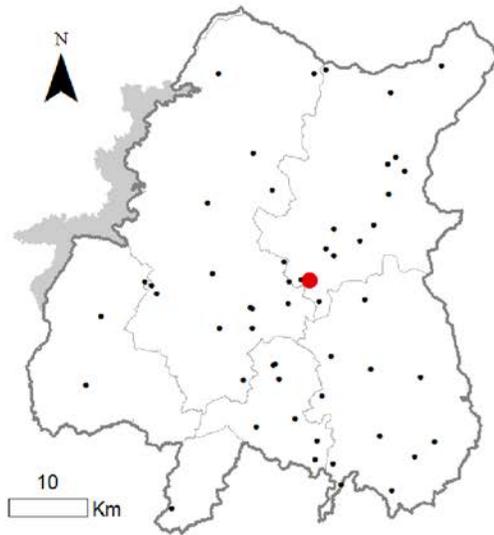
Maps

Cloncannon

SMR classification:
Castle - motte

Coordinates (Irish Grid Reference):
203704 E, 178333 N

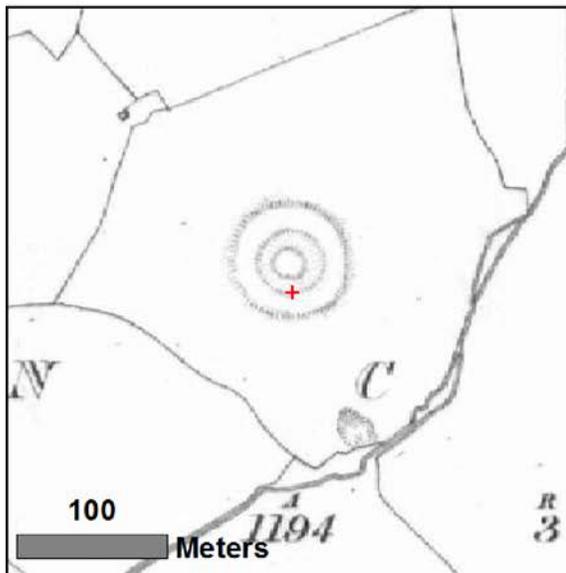
SMR no: TN022-036----



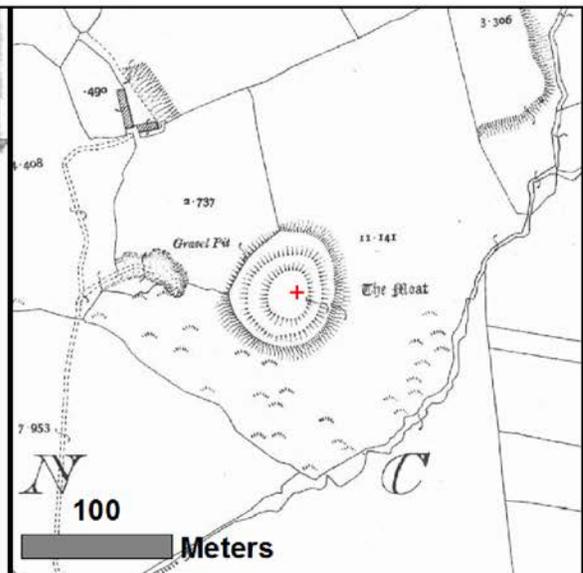
Locator Map
Featured site shown in red



Aerial Imagery
2005-2010



Ordnance Survey 6" Map
1829-1847



Ordnance Survey 25" Map
1897-1913

Site No:	5
Site Name:	Burgesbeg
Ordnance Survey designation on current 6-inch map:	Hachured
Townland:	Burgesbeg
Parish:	Burgesbeg
Barony:	Owney and Arra
Cantred:	Owney and Arra
Coordinates (Irish Grid Reference):	177232, 173792
SMR no:	TN025-037----
SMR classification:	Castle – motte
Inventory no:	2036
Inventory classification:	Motte
Date of survey:	June 13, 2013
Revised classification (if applicable):	

Siting

A heavily tree-covered mound is situated on the west face of a steep ravine with a river (to the west) in an upland area of the Arra Mountains. The motte overlooks the valley below, including the Kilmustulla River. A nearby medieval church and graveyards are directly west of the castle.

The mound is very steep-sided, flat-topped, and circular (H 3m at E, 6m at W, top. diam. 14.6m, N-S, 15.1m E-W) with a wide deep ditch intervening at the northwest (Wth. 3m), though destroyed elsewhere. An external bank survives at the north and northwest sides of the motte beyond which drops steeply into the ravine where an unmarked stream flows south past. There is no evidence of a bailey.

The motte is situated midway down a steeply sloped pasture with impressive views south and east west views are blocked by trees. An unnamed river flows immediately west of the motte site, two waterfalls located directly north and south of the platform on this river, along with a ford crossing are noted on the Historic 25' map.

Place name

Irish: *An Bhuirgéis*

Place name: -

First recorded use: 1306c, Burgeisbogideum, Pap. Tax. 301; 1511, Burgis Ann. Laon. 95

Documentary references

The church adjacent to the motte site is noted in the ecclesiastical taxation records of the Diocese of Killaloe in 1302 (*CDI* 3010).

The Civil Survey 1654-1656 mentions the Parish of Borgesse on multiple occasions (Simington 1934: 210, 244, 243, 249). However, the townland of Burgess is described as holding the “Parish Church of Borges” with no mention of the castle (Simington 1934: 151).

Adjacent archaeological sites

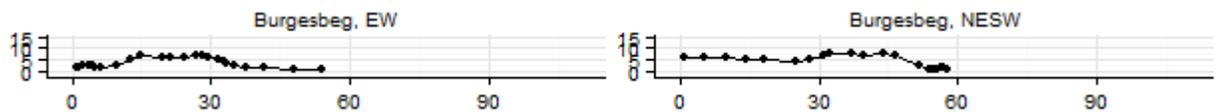
Located 218m directly east of the motte site is a medieval church (TN025-038001), associated graveyard (TN025-038003), and removed sheela-na-gig (TN025-038002). The church is listed in the ecclesiastical taxation records of the Diocese of Killaloe in 1302.

The surviving remains include the south wall of the nave in the center of a large graveyard. In the 1930s, the Ordnance Survey describes the north and south walls of the church as standing (O’Flanagan 1930: 113).

Excavation evidence

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Site Profile



Pictures



North ditch and bank from top of motte mound.



East side of motte with D. Rhiel standing half way up mound.



Church and graveyard located southeast of the motte site with the Silvermines Mountains in the background.

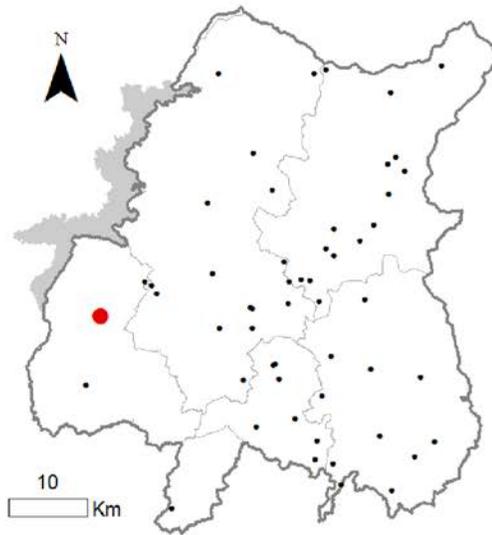
Maps

Burgesbeg

SMR classification:
Castle - motte

Coordinates (Irish Grid Reference):
177232 E, 173792 N

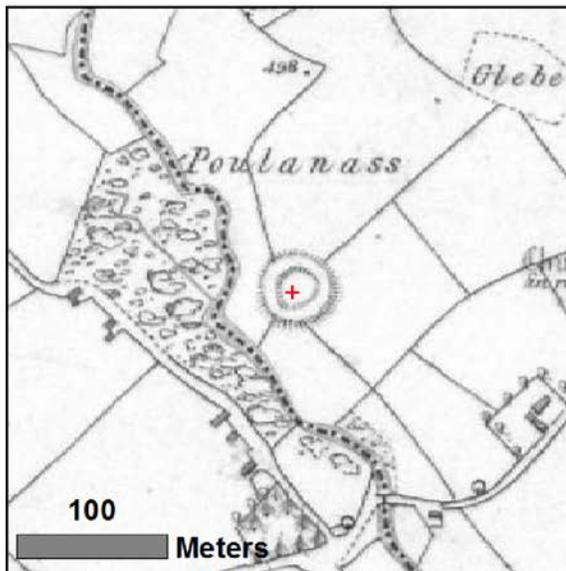
SMR no: TN025-037----



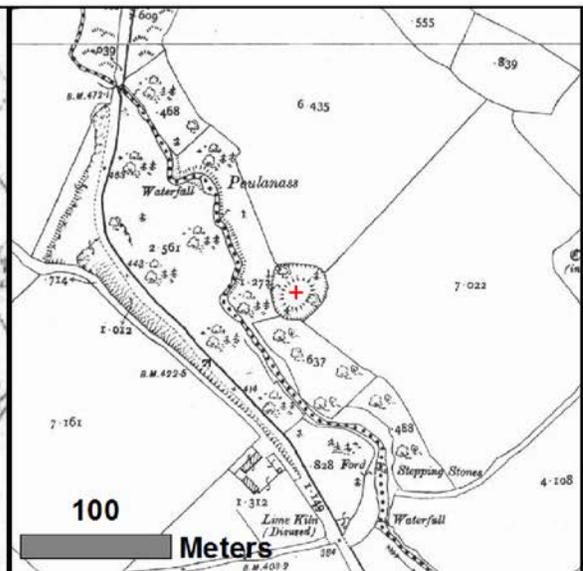
Locator Map
Featured site shown in red



Aerial Imagery
2005-2010



Ordnance Survey 6" Map
1829-1847



Ordnance Survey 25" Map
1897-1913

Site No:	7
Site Name:	Killanafinch
Ordnance Survey designation on current 6-inch map:	Indicated
Townland:	Killanafinch
Parish:	Kilkeary; Latteragh
Barony:	Ormond Upper
Cantred:	Ormond
Coordinates (Irish Grid Reference):	196381, 174806
SMR no:	TN027-016----
SMR classification:	Castle – motte
Inventory no:	2049
Inventory classification:	Motte
Date of survey:	June 24, 2013
Revised classification (if applicable):	

Siting

The motte site is located in rolling pastureland on a west-facing slope in the foothills of the Silvermines Mountains with a fast flowing unnamed river, which flows east to west located directly north of the site. A second motte site (TN027-016) is located across the river to the northwest. The steep-sided, flat-topped motte (16m N-S, 14m E-W, H 4m) is roughly circular in shape (base diam. 25 N-S) surrounded by a deep, broad ditch (Wth. 4m; D 1m) and enclosed by a bank at the south, which appears to be constructed from a later field enclosure. Vegetation covering the site made surveying very difficult.

The motte has good views of the surrounding countryside to the north, west, and south with limited views to the east due to the rising foothills of the Silvermines Mountains. The fast flowing unnamed river to the south of the site has been modified in recent years to provide a deeper riverbed to avoid flooding. This river flows into the Nenagh River approximately 1km to the southwest of the motte sites.

Place name

Irish: *Cill na Fuinseann*

Place name: church

First recorded use: 1654; Kylynafinsyn; CS II 225; Kylynafynsin; CS II 263; Kyllinafoinsyn; CS II 264, 267; Klyyenafoynsyn; CS II 264; Kyllinafoynsin; CS II 26; Kyllanafoynsin; CS II 264; Klynafinsyn; CS II 266; Kyllynafoynsin; CS II 264

Documentary references

The three plowlands of Kyllinafoinsyn, covering 320 acres (290 arable, 10 meadow, 20 pasture) are described in the Civil Survey of 1654-1656 (Simington 1934: 264). No castles are mentioned on this townland.

Adjacent archaeological sites

A smaller motte site (TN027-016) lies directly northwest of the Killanafinch 2 (site no. 6) motte across the unnamed stream. Intervening the castles is a holy well, still in use, in a low-lying marshy area along the stream flowing east-west from the rise of ground to the north. Farrelly & O'Brien (2002: 276) note no visible trace of the well; however, the landowner showed the author the location of the holy well, with associated drinking cup. It appears to be in disuse to all except the landowner's family, who largely utilize the site as a source of fresh water, rather than as a ritual site. The OS Name Books note "it was formerly resorted to as a holy well the water of which together with prayers offered to the Saints healed and cured divers sores and diseases" (Farrelly & O'Brien 2002: 276).

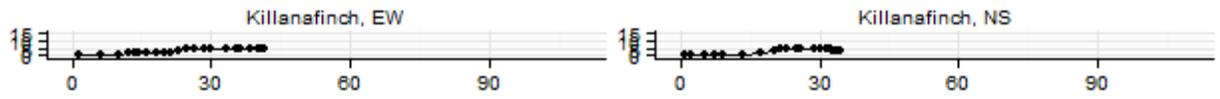
To the northwest of the Killanafinch 1 site lie two ringforts (TN027-023/TN027-024) and a standing stone (TN027-167).

To the northeast lie two moated sites (TN027-014002/TN027-014001), the first of which was identified in aerial photography taken in June 1963 (Farrelly and O'Brien 2002: 293). The second site (TN027-014001) is located in a low-lying position on the valley flats by a series of connected unnamed rivers. The partially leveled site remains as a slightly raised rectangular platform with bank and ditch enclosing. Both rectangular platforms are visible on the 6 inch and 25 inch historical maps. Barry (1977) confirms the moated sites at Killanafinch (204).

Excavation evidence

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Site Profile



Pictures



Motte mound under tree cover, facing south. Note the cow path across the mound and the low height of mound on the northeast (left) section.



Northeast ditch and bank complex illustrating shallow motte height on this side.



Photography fom Killanafinch 1 motte facing Killanafinch 2 (under tree cover), on right of photograph, and unseen possible holy well. The foothills of the Silvermines Mountains rise in the background.

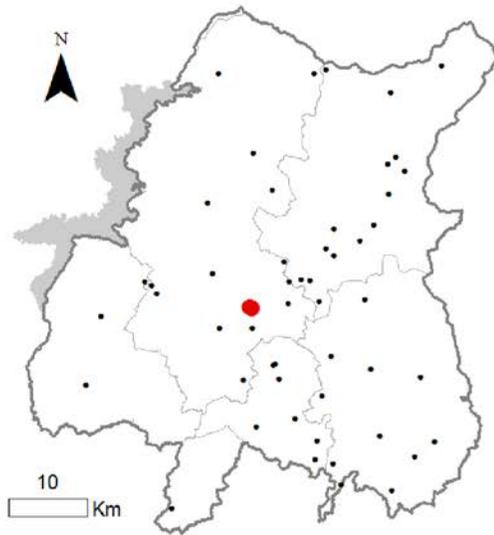
Maps

Killanafinch (Kilkeary Parish)

SMR classification:
Castle - motte

Coordinates (Irish Grid Reference):
196138 E, 174920 N

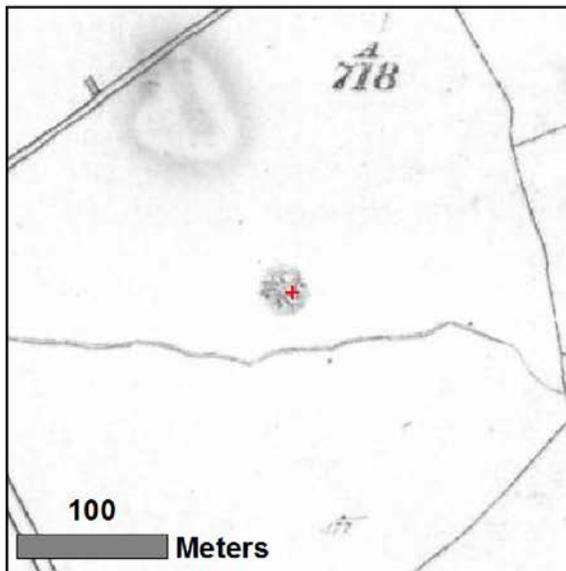
SMR no: TN027-016----



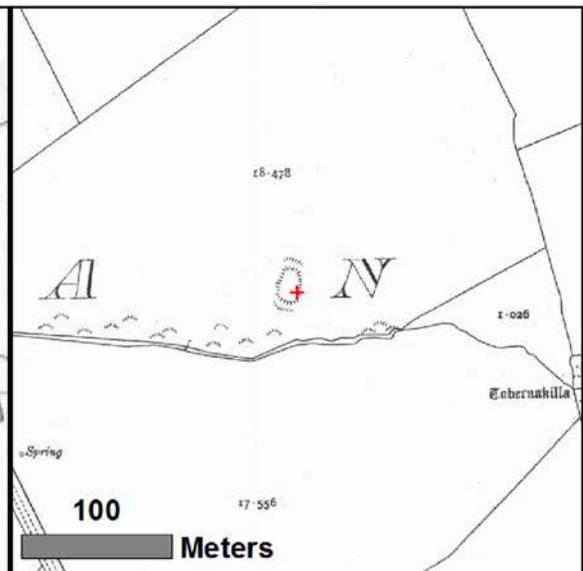
Locator Map
Featured site shown in red



Aerial Imagery
2005-2010



Ordnance Survey 6" Map
1829-1847



Ordnance Survey 25" Map
1897-1913

Site No:	6
Site Name:	Killanafinch
Ordnance Survey designation on current 6-inch map:	Hatchured
Townland:	Killanafinch
Parish:	Kilkeary
Barony:	Ormond Upper
Cantred:	Ormond
Coordinates (Irish Grid Reference):	196138, 174920
SMR no:	TN027-018----
SMR classification:	Castle - motte
Inventory no:	2048
Inventory classification:	Motte
Date of survey:	June 24, 2013
Revised classification (if applicable):	--

Siting

Killanafinch 2 is located in rolling pastureland on a west-facing slope of the Silvermines Mountains foothills with a fast east to west flowing unnamed river located directly south of the site. A second motte site (TN027-018/Killanafinch 1 (site no. 6) is located across the river to the southeast. The motte mound of Killanafinch 2 is oval in shape, flat-topped and steep-sided on the west-south side with a low approach on the north-east (base diam. 25m N-S, 19m E-W, top 19m N-S, 11m E-W, H 3m W, 2.4m E) enclosed by a ditch (Wth 4m; Ext. D 0.8m) and bank that has been cut into the bedrock at northeast to southwest. Quarrying on the site has destroyed the southeast quadrant and the site is now cut thoroughly by cattle paths.

The motte has good views of the surrounding countryside to the north, west, and south with limited views to the east due to the rising foothills of the Silvermines Mountains. The fast flowing unnamed river to the south of the site has been modified in recent years to provide a deeper riverbed to avoid flooding. This river flows into the Nenagh River approximately 1km to the southwest of the motte sites.

Place name

Irish: *Cill na Fuinseann*

Place name: church

First recorded use: 1654; Kylynafinsyn; CS II 225; Kylynafynsin; CS II 263; Kyllinafoinsyn; CS II 264, 267; Klyyenafoynsyn; CS II 264; Kyllinafoynsin; CS II 26; Kyllanafoynsin; CS II 264; Klynafinsyn; CS II 266; Kyllynafoynsin; CS II 264

Documentary references

The three plowlands of Kyllinafoinsyn, covering 320 acres (290 arable, 10 meadow, 20 pasture) are described in the Civil Survey of 1654-1656 (Simington 1934: 264). No castles are mentioned on this townland.

Adjacent archaeological sites

A larger motte site (TN027-018) lies directly southeast of the Killanafinch (1) motte across the unnamed stream. Intervening the castles is a holy well, still in use, in a low-lying marshy area along the stream flowing east to west from the rise of ground to the east. Farrelly & O'Brien (2002: 276) note no visible trace; however, the landowner showed the author the location of the holy well, with associated drinking cup. It appears to be in disuse to all except the landowner's family, who largely utilize the site as a source of fresh water, rather than as a ritual site. The OS Name Books note "it was formerly resorted to as a holy well the water of which together with prayers offered to the Saints healed and cured divers sores and diseases" (Farrelly & O'Brien 2002: 276).

To the southwest of the motte site (1) lie two ringforts (TN027-023/TN027-024) and a standing stone (TN027-167).

To the northwest of the motte site (1) lie two moated sites (TN027-014002/TN027-014001), the first of which was identified in aerial photography taken in June 1963 (GSIAP, R22/1). The second site (TN027-014001) is located in a low-lying position on the valley flats by a series of connected unnamed rivers. The partially leveled site remains as a slightly raised rectangular platform with bank and ditch enclosing. Both rectangular platforms are visible on the 6 inch and 25 inch historical maps.

Excavation evidence

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Site Profile

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Pictures



Killanafinch (2) motte facing east, under tree cover (site was excessively difficult to photograph due to tree cover).

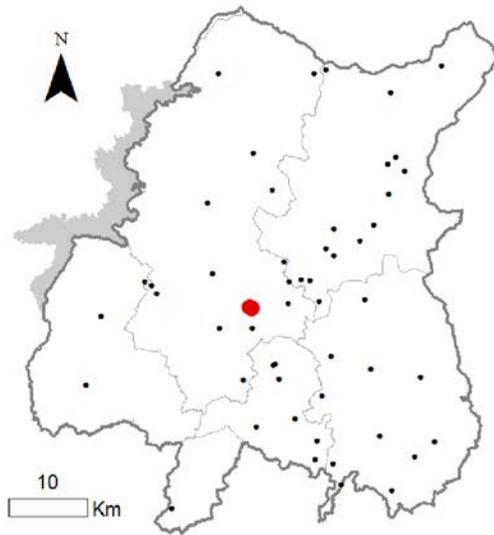
Maps

Killanafinch (Kilkeary Parish)

SMR classification:
Castle - motte

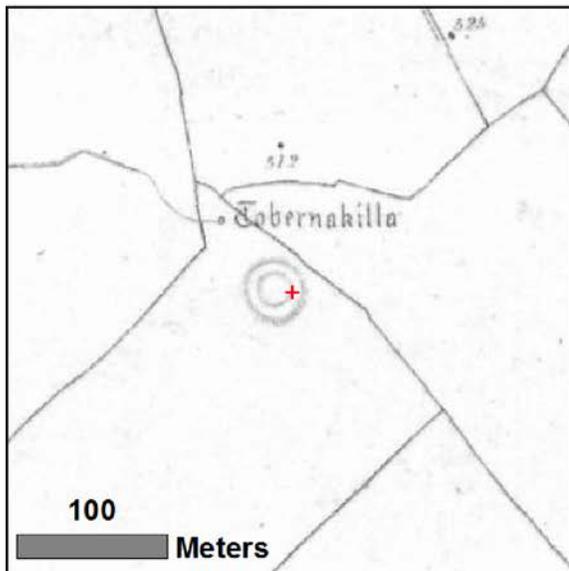
Coordinates (Irish Grid Reference):
196381 E, 174806 N

SMR no: TN027-018----

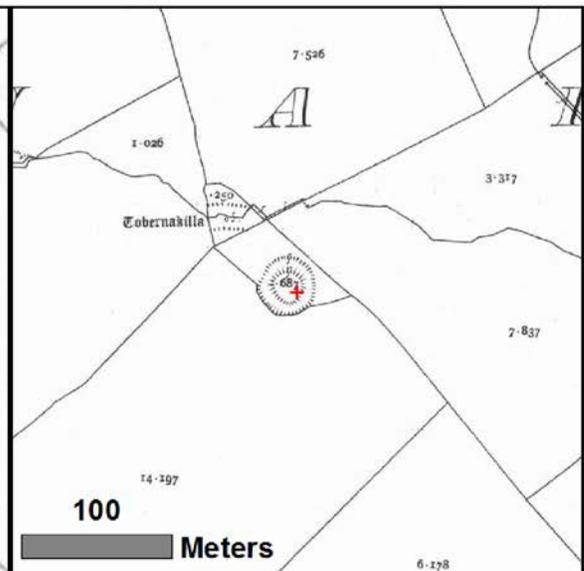


Locator Map
Featured site shown in red

Aerial Imagery
2005-2010



Ordnance Survey 6" Map
1829-1847



Ordnance Survey 25" Map
1897-1913

Site No:	8
Site Name:	Lackenavorna
Ordnance Survey designation on current 6-inch map:	-
Townland:	Lackenavorna
Parish:	Aghanmeadle
Barony:	Ormond Upper
Cantred:	Ormond
Coordinates (Irish Grid Reference):	196313, 172215
SMR no:	TN027-105001-
SMR classification:	Castle - motte
Inventory no:	-
Inventory classification:	-
Date of survey:	June 24, 2013
Revised classification (if applicable):	-

Siting

Located on a hillock in the foothills of the Silvermines Mountains on the west bank of the Nenagh River, the motte is a heavily overgrown natural hill that has been scarped at the top to form a steep-sided flat mound (diam. 48m N-S, 45M E-W, H. 9.5m N, 5.6m S). The mound is enclosed by a ditch (int. D 5.6m S, ext. H 1.8m, with. 7m S) and bank. The bank is destroyed at the north due to modern road construction and heavily damaged at the west due to a horse farm. The top dimension is unmeasurable due to vegetation growth on the summit. The south inner bank is stone lined, possibly a modern addition to reinforce the ditch from slippage. The inner ditch is now utilized as a cow path between the farm and pasture. The east bank and ditch slopes steeply to the river at least 10m below. A possible stone and earth causeway entrance is located in the southeast quadrant, however due to farm damage it is difficult to ascertain.

The site is highly defensive with views to the north and south with the Nenagh River flowing immediately to the east with a modern bridge to the northeast. A possible destroyed bridge footing of masoned stone protrudes from the southeast base of the motte mound. The landowner calls this feature “the weaves”. The main Nenagh-Thurles road runs north-south to the east of the motte.

Place name

Irish: *Leacain Bhoirne*

Place name: hillside

First recorded use: 1577; Lackynworny; F 3102

1269; Latteragh; PROI, RC 7/1, 481

Documentary references

It is evident from a poem by Cuan na Leochain (d. 1024) in the Book of Rights that the site of Latteragh was an important crossing point – “The King of Cashel (over-king therefore, of North Munster) was forbidden to pass at night at Latteragh in northern Tipperary at the beginning of harvest” (Westropp 1912: 214).

The bishop of Killaloe granted the Manor of Latteragh to de Marisco in the early 13th century (Cunningham 1987: 147; Gwynn & Gleeson 1962: 285). The Calendar of Patent Rolls for Oct 8 1254 grants a Charter to William de Mariscis “free warren in all his demense lands which he has at present in Ireland; a weekly market on Thursday at his manor of Lettrach in Ireland, and a fair there on the eve and day of Michaelmas and the six following days” (CPR 1254: 342).

In 1285, Toirdelbach Mór, the high-king of Ireland, crossed the Shannon River and ravaged Moyaliffe, Kilfithmore, and Ballycahill in Kilnamanagh¹³ before burning the settlement at Latteragh (Westropp 1903: 176).

Adjacent archaeological sites

The townland of Lackenavorna holds a number of early Christian sites, including a church (TN027-100004) and associated graveyard (TN027-100006), ecclesiastical

¹³ “Next spring he raided all Tradree, and then determined, to ravage the other possessions of de Clare (in County Limerick). He got the submission of Oowney, Eli, and Ormond, overran Aes Greine and Coonagh, and destroyed the English. He burned their castle in the town of Cathairkinnlios (Caherconlish), dismantled Inchaulliff town and Moyaliff, burned their castle of Bealacheachaill and the town of Latteragh (except the monasteries), and burned Ara’s church and seminary. The Earl of Ulster (de Burgo) at last persuaded him to return by Lough Derg” (Westropp 1903: 176).

enclosure (TN027-100001) with associated children's burial ground (TN027-100002), and a standing stone (TN027-100003). Seven ringforts cluster together in the townland and may be representative of the important early Christian date of the associated sites. There is a moated site in the adjacent townland of Tiermoyle (TN027-051), in wet pasture (Barry 1977: 210).

Excavation evidence

An early medieval ecclesiastical settlement of Killederdadrum, adjacent to the Lackenavorna motte, was excavated in 1979, revealing occupation associated with an early Christian (400-600 AD) enclosure and burials of primarily post-medieval date (Manning *et al.* 1984). The site is referred to as a parish church, but with no finds of Anglo-Norman date. The excavators suggest the church was not a physical structure into this period (Manning *et al.* 1984: 262).

Site Profile

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Pictures



South ditch and bank facing west at the Lackenavorna motte.



Possible original Nenagh River bridge located southeast of the motte site.

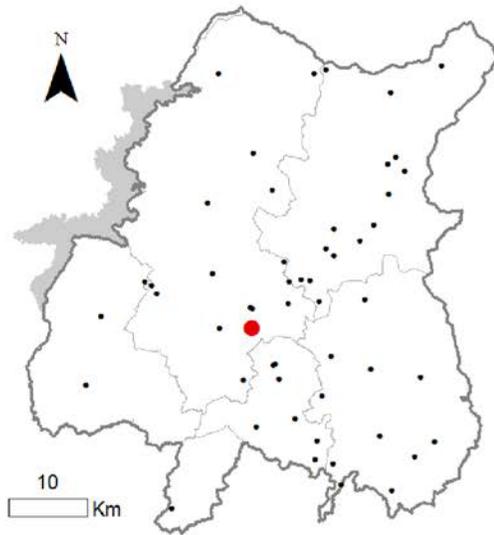
Maps

Lackenavorna

SMR classification:
Castle - motte

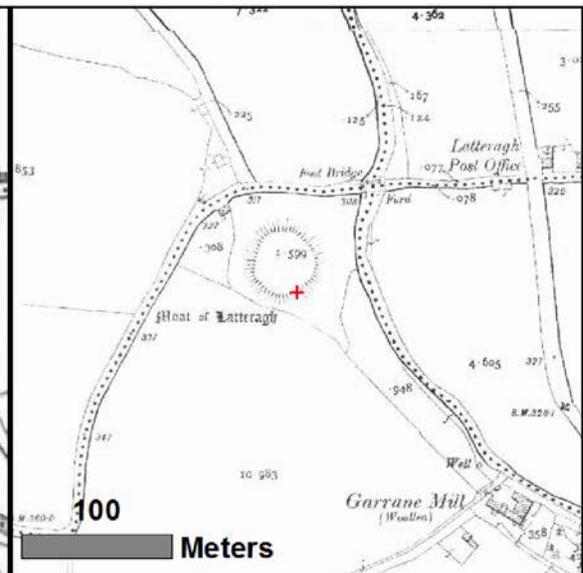
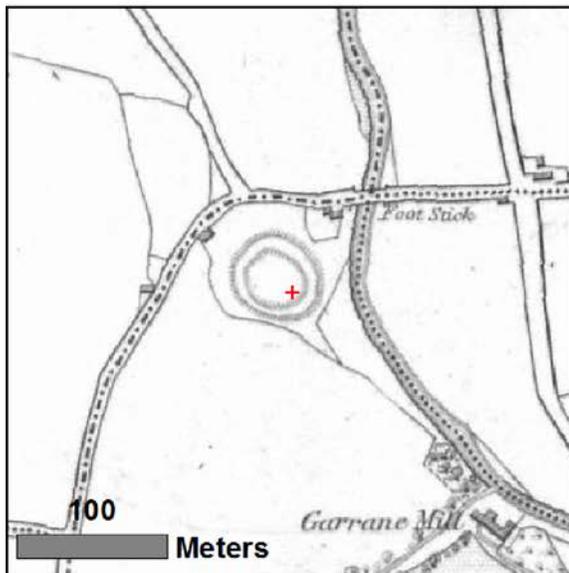
Coordinates (Irish Grid Reference):
196313 E, 172215 N

SMR no: TN027-105001-



Locator Map
Featured site shown in red

Aerial Imagery
2005-2010



Ordnance Survey 6" Map
1829-1847

Ordnance Survey 25" Map
1897-1913

Site No:	9
Site Name:	Magherareagh
Ordnance Survey designation on current 6-inch map:	“Moat”
Townland:	Magherareagh
Parish:	Inch
Barony:	Eliogarty
Cantred:	Elyogarty
Coordinates (Irish Grid Reference):	205229, 163605
SMR no:	TN034-090002-
SMR classification:	Castle - motte
Inventory no:	2058
Inventory classification:	Motte
Date of survey:	June 7, 2013
Revised classification (if applicable):	-

Siting

The motte at Magherareagh is situated in flat pasture immediately adjacent to a church and graveyard (TN034-090001) at the east. The site was overgrown with dense vines and nettles, resulting in difficulty surveying the oval flat-topped mound (H 4-5m; top diam. 15m E-W, base diam. 30m). The north section of the mound is badly damaged through quarrying, and modern field activities are encroaching on the north and east portions of the mound. There is no evidence for an enclosing ditch or bank. The west and south face of the mound are built into the graveyard wall (at west) and modern road wall (at south). The site was described in 1945 as “a well-preserved motte (H 20ft top [6m]; diam. 43 yds [39m]; base diam. 80 yds [73m]) with enclosing fosse at base” (Farrelly & O’Brien 2002: 294). There is no evidence for a masonry structure on top of the motte; the manorial description may be focused on a timber castle on top of the motte.

The Fishnoyne River flows to the west of the site. All modern fields are cut at their boundaries for drainage, as the Fishnoyne floodplain covers the majority of the townland.

Place name

Irish: *An Machaire Riabhach*

Place name: plain; streaked, grey

First recorded use: 1811; Mogherareigh; C 631.405.434919

Manor: 1303; manor of Nyncheaunlef; *RBO*

Documentary references

The 1303 manor of Nyncheaunlef is recorded in the *Red Book of Ormond*; which describes the manor as “an old wooden chapel, and other rooms (kitchen, lash-house, stable, granary, sheepcote and malt kiln). They have stood there for many years and are in bad repair. There is a cowhouse inside the fosse in poor repair and a grange in good condition. Long ago there was a dovecote worth 12d. a year. They say also that there is a certain mill there together with the fisheries of all the ponds there which they value at £6-13-4 a year less upkeep” (Empey 1985: 80). The *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem* describes the site as “the grange of Hyncheaule” in 1339 (Farrelly & O’Brien 2002: 294).

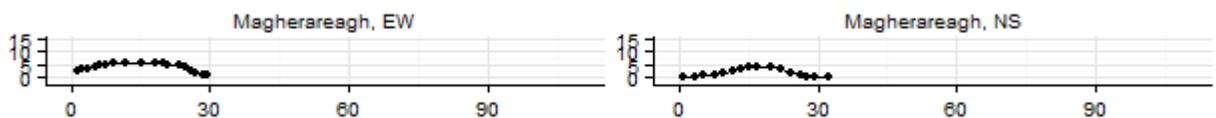
Adjacent archaeological sites

Abutting the motte site to the west is a graveyard (TN034-090005) and church (TN034-090001) which was described in the 1303 ecclesiastical taxation of the Diocese of Cashel (*C.D.I.*: vol. 5, 284). A natural spring and possible holy well (TN034-113) named Toberfelin lies in the abandoned fish pond across a modern field cutting to the northeast.

Excavation evidence

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Site Profile



Pictures



Heavily tree covered Magherareagh motte mound as viewed from the north.



View west towards Magherareagh motte (under tree cover) from the early Christian graveyard.

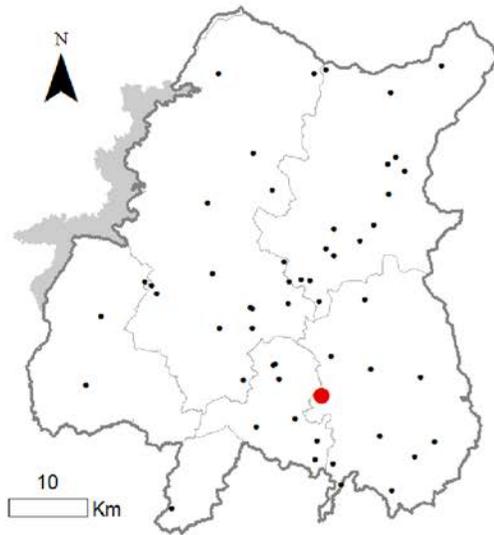
Maps

Magherareagh (Inch Parish)

SMR classification:
Castle - motte

Coordinates (Irish Grid Reference):
205229 E, 163605 N

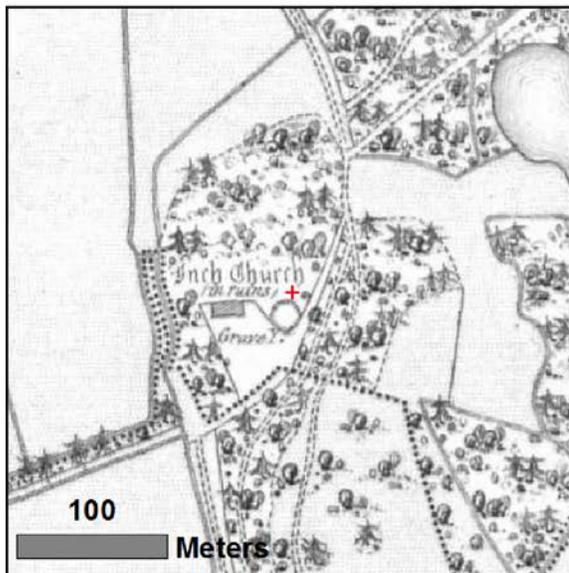
SMR no: TN034-090002-



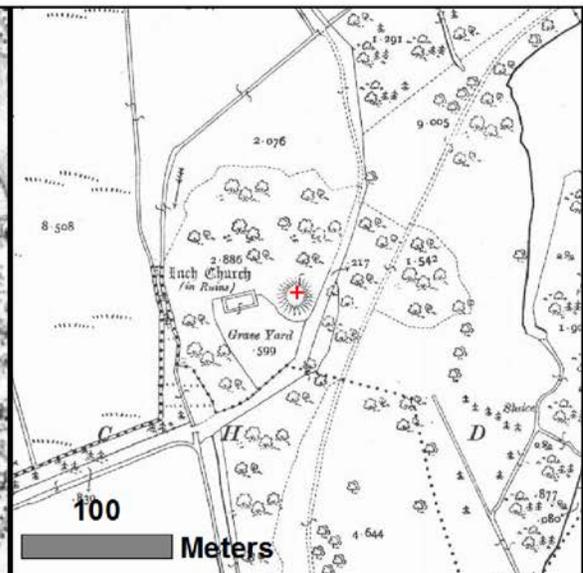
Locator Map
Featured site shown in red



Aerial Imagery
2005-2010



Ordnance Survey 6" Map
1829-1847



Ordnance Survey 25" Map
1897-1913

Site No:	10
Site Name:	Thurles Townparks
Ordnance Survey designation on current 6-inch map:	Not indicated
Townland:	Thurles Townparks
Parish:	Thurles
Barony:	Eliogarty
Cantred:	Elyogarty
Coordinates (Irish Grid Reference):	212517, 158656
SMR no:	TN041-042004-
SMR classification:	Castle - motte
Inventory no:	2068
Inventory classification:	Motte (site)
Date of survey:	N/A (destroyed)
Revised classification (if applicable):	-

Siting

The Thurles townparks motte was located at the west end of Thurles town, near the Black Castle (TN041-042001), and destroyed around 1800 (O’Flanagan 1930: vol. 3, 1, 7). A traveler’s account of Ireland describes the site in 1752 as “a mount with a winding ascent” (Stokes 1891: 174). A possible masonry castle was constructed on top of the motte, standing *c.* 30m high (O’Flanagan 1930: vol. 2, 7) and was destroyed with the motte around 1800.

No remains of the motte stand. The motte would have stood at in flat pasture with views of the surrounding countryside.

The Ordnance Survey letters describe the motte (O’Flanagan 1930: vol. 3, 7):

Directly to the north of this (Black) Castle on now an open space near the Barracks stood, according to local information, a beautifully constructed moat of earth which rose in a very abrupt ascent to a height of no less than 100 feet and had a spiral path from base to top. It was destroyed about 40 years ago¹⁴. This was Theobald Walter’s first major fortification and probably remained his *caput* until the stone castle of Nenagh was completed.

¹⁴ *c.* 1800.

Place name

Irish: *Dhurlais*

Place name: strongfort

First recorded use: 1206, Durlas, COD I: 18; 1293; Thurles; *RBO*

Documentary references

A charter granted by Theobald Walter references the castle at Thurles by 1206 (*COD*: vol. 1, 18, 34). The *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem* (vol. 8: 184) describes the manor at Thurles in 1338 as “a chamber, a chapel, a kitchen of stone walls covered with shingle, a bankhouse with a stone wall and covered with straw of no value because no one wishes to rent them”.

Adjacent archaeological sites

The townland of Thurles Townparks consists of many archaeological sites, including the destroyed motte castle site. The high medieval sites include: the historic town (TN041-042) and defenses (TN041-042007), two tower houses (TN041-042001/ TN041-042002), a sheela-na-gig (TN041-042005), bridge (TN041-042006), church (TN041-042009) and associated graveyard (TN041-042019), a 13th century Anglo-Norman masonry castle (TN041-042013) and bawn (TN041-042020).

Excavation evidence

Excavations in Thurles have revealed a multitude of medieval evidence. The site of Black Castle, located in the center of the town was excavated in 1995; no medieval finds were uncovered (Gowen 1995:261). Excavations undertaken in 1998 on Cathedral Street revealed medieval and post-medieval structures along with a series of furrows to the rear of the street. The present interpretation of the furrows is ploughing, associated with burgage plots (Stevens 1998:625).

Site Profile

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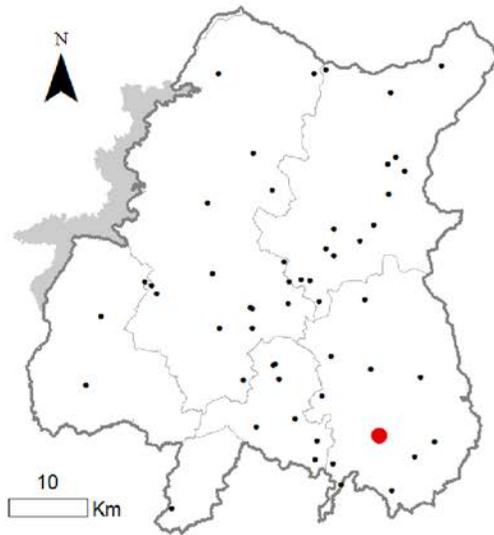
Maps

Thurles Townparks

SMR classification:
Castle - motte

Coordinates (Irish Grid Reference):
212517 E, 158656 N

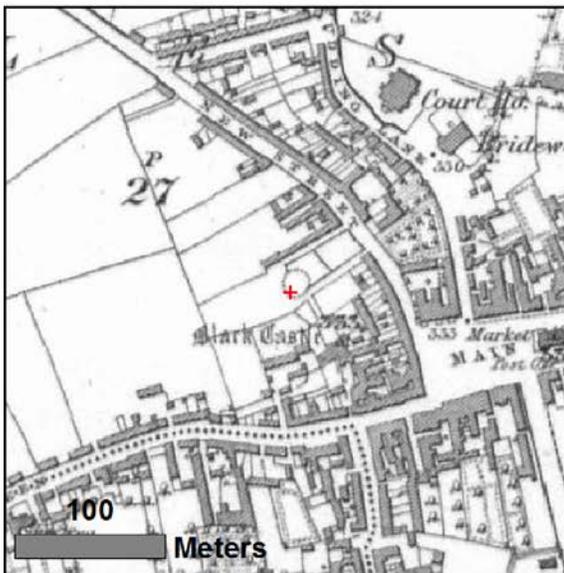
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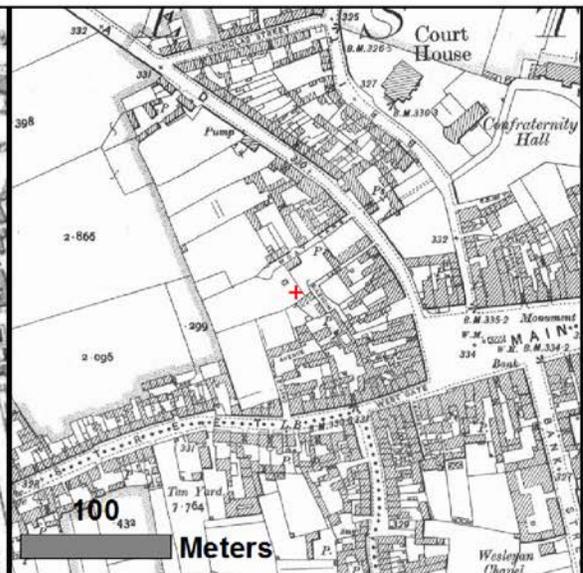
Locator Map
Featured site shown in red



Aerial Imagery
2005-2010



Ordnance Survey 6" Map
1829-1847



Ordnance Survey 25" Map
1897-1913

Site No:	11
Site Name:	Moyaliff
Ordnance Survey designation on current 6-inch map:	“Moat”
Townland:	Moyaliff
Parish:	Moyaliff
Barony:	Kilnamanagh Upper
Cantred:	Eoghanact Cashel
Coordinates (Irish Grid Reference):	204257, 155532
SMR no:	TN046-006004-
SMR classification:	Castle – motte
Inventory no:	2059
Inventory classification:	Motte
Date of survey:	June 17, 2013
Revised classification (if applicable):	-

Siting

Moyaliff motte is located in a low-lying river valley in the garden of a modern house to the north on the east bank (c. 100m) of the Clodiagh River, which runs north-south. The high, steep-sided, flat-topped motte (diam. 42m N-S, 49m E-W, H 17m N, 10m S, top diam. 11m N-S, 10m E-W) is topped with a poorly preserved roughly coursed limestone castle (TN046-006002) with no visible bailey. Given the modern construction surrounding the mound, any previously existing bailey could be destroyed.

Place name

Irish: *Maigh Ailbhe*

Place name: plain

First recorded use: 1247; Moyalvi; COD 1.45; 1279 Moalvy, COD 1.92

Documentary references

The first reference to Moyaliff comes from a grant from Lady Matilda de Marisco to her cousin, Ysode de Hosey and her heirs a half of carucate in the tenement of Moyalvi in c. 1247 (Curtis 1935: 45). The next listing is of John Laweles, bailiff of Moalvy (Moyaliff) who signed as a witness in a grant from 1279 as recorded in the *Calendar of Ormond Deeds* (Curtis 1935: 92).

In 1285, Toirdelbach Mór, the high-king of Ireland, crossed the Shannon River and ravaged Moyalliffe, Kilfithmore, and Ballycahill in Kilnamanagh¹⁵ before burning the settlement at Latteragh (Westropp 1903: 176).

In 1336, O'Brien burnt Tipperary again, and in 1338, Ardmayle and Moyalliff were devastated by the Irish. "Northern Kilkenny and Tipperary were exposed to the constant attacks of the O'Carrolls and McGillpatricks in 1323, 1328-1336, 1345, and 1346, the period from the Bruce invasion up to the Black Death in Co. Tipperary was one of catastrophic decline" (Barry 1977: 24).

The masonry structure on top of the Moyalliff motte is described in the *Calendar of Ormond Deeds* (374-375 #347). An inquisition took place at Cashel in 1338 "concerning the manor of Moallive in county Tipperary..." (Curtis 1935: 374);

Jurors say on their oath that the said Earl (James le Botiller) held his Manor of Moyallyvy in county Tipperary of the King in chief without any rent or service. No edifies in the manor except a stone tower covered with shingles. Of no value because nobody wishes to hold it. He had there eighty acres in demesne which used to be under the lord's plough, each acre of which used to be in past times in time of peace worth 4d per annum but now of no value, because the said Earl granted the land to the Irish by his charter, to hold to them and their heirs. So no English dare to hold or let that land ... and nothing can be received therefrom. There is also a wood called 'Hurle' containing four hundred acres of no value because it is in the hands of Irishmen and felons... (Curtis 1935: 375).

A reference dated to c. 1305 states that the burgess at Moyallif renders 6. 14d per annum (Bradley 1985: 58). The 1338 reference states the 60 burgesses of Moyalliffe "held 220

¹⁵ "Next spring he raided all Tradree, and then determined, to ravage the other possessions of de Clare (in County Limerick). He got the submission of Ownney, Eli, and Ormond, overran Aes Greine and Coonagh, and destroyed the English. He burned their castle in the town of Cathairkinnlios (Caherconlish), dismantled Inchaulliff town and Moyalliff, burned their castle of Bealacheachaill and the town of Latteragh (except the monasteries), and burned Ara's church and seminary. The Earl of Ulster (de Burgo) at last persuaded him to return by Lough Derg" (Westropp 1903: 176).

acres of land for which they paid £4 16d rent yearly ... [of which] nothing can be levied in time of war" (*CIPM*: vol. 7, 120).

Adjacent archaeological sites

The townland of Moyaliff hosts a number of archaeological sites indicative of an Anglo-Norman borough settlement (Otway-Ruthven 1965: 79). Beyond the motte, these sites include the masonry castle (TN046-006002), a water mill (TN046-005), a church and graveyard (TN046-006001/TN046-006005), and a deserted medieval settlement (TN046-006).

Excavation evidence

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Site Profile

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Pictures



Moyaliff motte facing east, note the heavily modified base of the mound and masonry castle atop.



The remains of the masonry castle (TN046-006002) on the summit of Moyaliff motte, facing south.

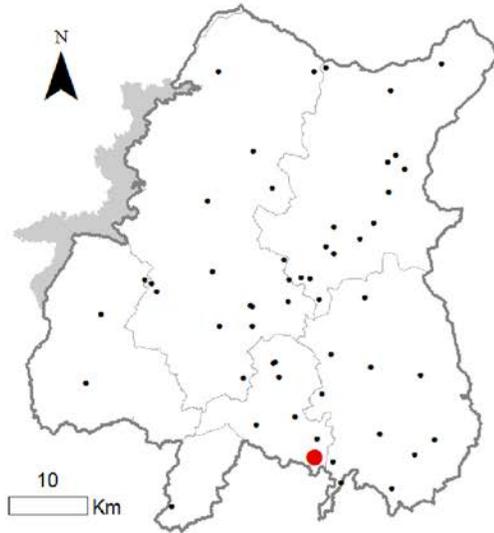
Maps

Moyaliff

SMR classification:
Castle - motte

Coordinates (Irish Grid Reference):
204257 E, 155532 N

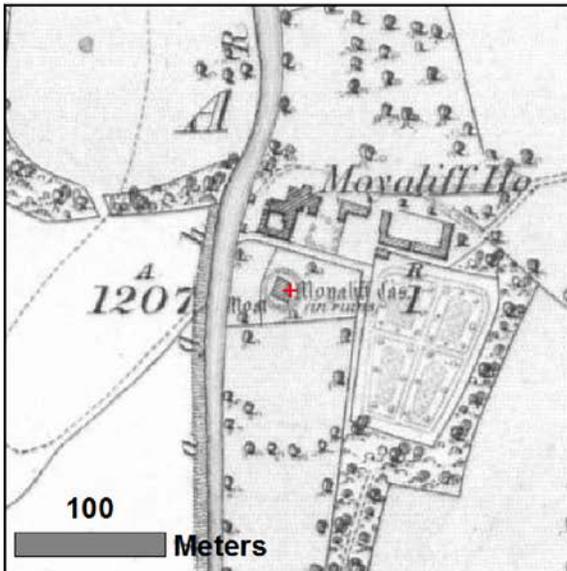
SMR no: TN046-006004-



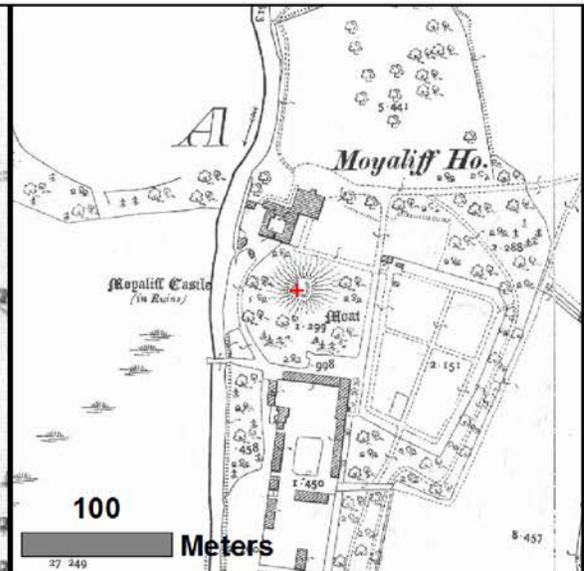
Locator Map
Featured site shown in red



Aerial Imagery
2005-2010



Ordnance Survey 6" Map
1829-1847



Ordnance Survey 25" Map
1897-1913

Site No:	12
Site Name:	Lorrha
Ordnance Survey designation on current 6-inch map:	“The Moat”
Townland:	Lorrha
Parish:	Lorrha
Barony:	Ormond Lower
Cantred:	Ormond
Coordinates (Irish Grid Reference):	
SMR no:	TN004-010012-
SMR classification:	Castle - motte and bailey
Inventory no:	2056
Inventory classification:	Motte and bailey
Date of survey:	June 9, 2013
Revised classification (if applicable):	-

Siting

Situated on a slight rise in flat pasture in open countryside, the motte and bailey at Lorrha is sited close to the village of Lorrha next to a parish church (TN004-010008) with an associated graveyard, two high crosses, and a well. The motte and bailey structure are incorporated into the southeast earthwork of the earlier ecclesiastical settlement. To the east of the site runs the Lorrha river, a small stream, which flows to Lough Derg.

The motte stands today as a small flat-topped mound (H 4m; diam. base 25m; top diam. 9m) with a large amount of modern disturbance on the southwest face. A wide shallow ditch (Wth 3m) encloses the mound from north to west with destruction on the east-south side. A poorly preserved possible bailey area (as identified by Farrelly & O’Brien 2002: 294) extends west of the mound. Additional earthworks also extend north of the mound, but may be representative of the ecclesiastical earthworks (TN004-010011), rather than associated with the motte.

Place name

Irish: *Lothra*

Place name: -

First recorded use: 563; Lohra; AClon. 85

Documentary references

John Marshal, who settled first near Terryglass in the early 13th century, had constructed the motte at Lorrha by 1207 (Gleeson & Gwynn 1961: 180). In the following year the castle was demolished by Murchad Ó Briain, king of Thormond. The motte castle was again recorded in 1221; it appears as though Marshal refortified the structure on top of the mound (Gleeson & Gwynn 1961: 180, 230; Talbot 1972: 9). The manor of Lorrha was held by the Bishop of Killaloe after a dispute in this period (Cunningham 1987: 42). In 1335, the land was listed in the *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem Vol. 3* as belonging to William de Burgo, consisting of a grange and “the mill of the town of Lother” (Farrelly & O’Brien 2002: 294).

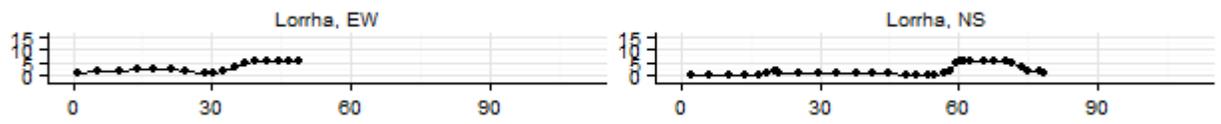
Adjacent archaeological sites

The motte at Lorrha was placed at the edges of an earlier monastic settlement and town. Alongside the immediately adjacent parish church, graveyard, high crosses, well and holy well, a 13th century Dominican friary (TN004-010001) and mill (TN004-01005), a 15th century Augustinian prior (TN004-010006), graveslabs, and historic town boundaries lie west of the motte site. The historic town (TN004-010) dates to the 6th century, founded by St. Ruadhán. The monastery at Lorrha was attacked by the Vikings in the 9th and 11th centuries. The Stowe Missal was probably written at the monastery of Lorrha in the 9th century (Gleeson & Gwynn 1962: 49).

Excavation evidence

Talbot (1972) excavated a disturbed portion of the site, a modern field access between the river and the east side of the motte. This hurried excavation suggests the motte mound was constructed first by forming a ringwork, than filling it in from the sides to achieve the final height over the landscape. Evidence for this construction process is in the form of soil variations between the internal and external central sections (Talbot 1972: 11).

Site Profile



Pictures



The motte at Lorrha under tree cover from modern road abutting the mound at the south, note the modern disturbance on the southwest face of the mound.



Lorrha motte (under tree cover) with Cramblit (foreground) and Kale (background) standing on opposite ends of possibly enclosing bailey structure.



Parish church and graveyard west of Lorrha motte, as viewed from bailey area at base of mound.

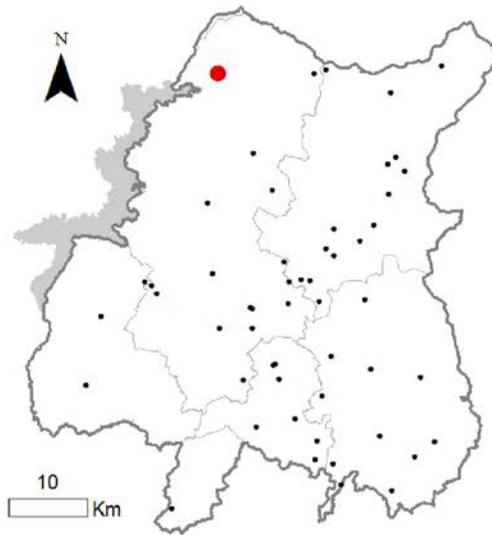
Maps

Lorrha

SMR classification:
Castle - motte and bailey

Coordinates (Irish Grid Reference):
192103 E, 204501 N

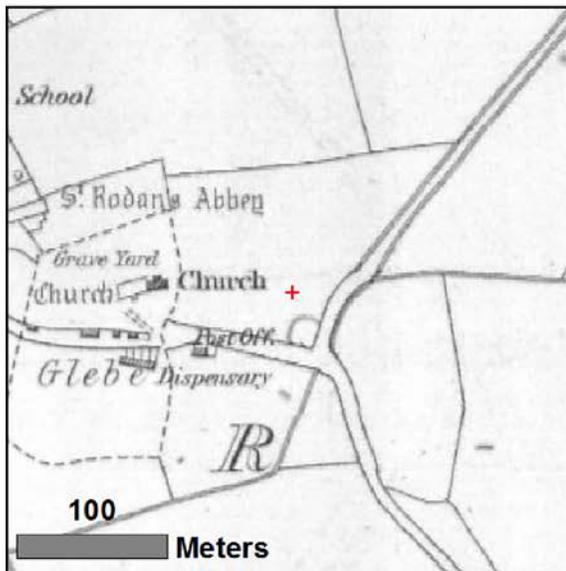
SMR no: TN004-010012-



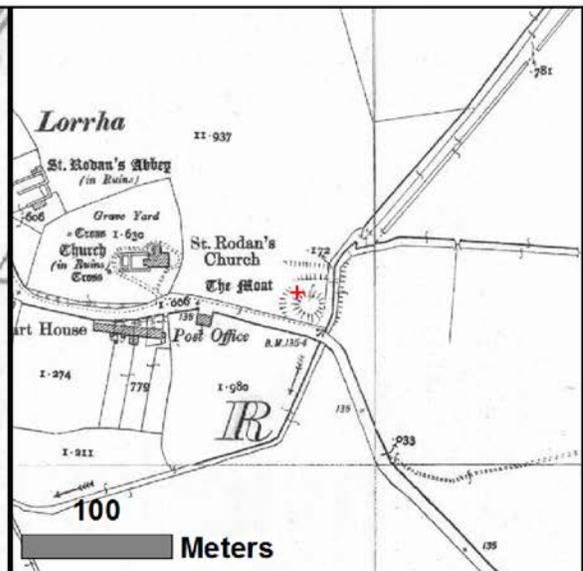
Locator Map
Featured site shown in red



Aerial Imagery
2005-2010



Ordnance Survey 6" Map
1829-1847



Ordnance Survey 25" Map
1897-1913

Site No:	13
Site Name:	Killeen
Ordnance Survey designation on current 6-inch map:	Hachured
Townland:	Killeen
Parish:	Loughkeen
Barony:	Ormond Lower
Cantred:	Ormond
Coordinates (Irish Grid Reference):	204187, 204493
SMR no:	TN005-021----
SMR classification:	Castle - motte and bailey
Inventory no:	2050
Inventory classification:	Motte and bailey
Date of survey:	June 4, 2013
Revised classification (if applicable):	-

Siting

Killeen motte and bailey is situated in flat pasture on a natural slight rise. The low flat-topped mound has a roughly circular face (top. diam. 17m N-S, H 3.5m) with a large roughly rectangular shaped bailey (int. dims. 48m N-S, 43m E-W) immediately to the east. The entire structure is surrounded by two earthen banks with an intervening ditch. The external bank is lower than the internal bank, and the internal ditch is the deepest (D 1.5m). The site is heavily overgrown with trees and currently houses a murder of crows. The Archaeological Inventory notes an entrance gap (Wth 5m) at the northeast, which was not visible (Farrelly & O'Brien 2002: 293).

The Little Brosna River, which forms the modern boundary between Co. Tipperary and Co. Offaly is located approximately 450m to the east.

A petrosomatoglyph, or footprint carved into stone representative of secular coronation stones, was reported to be found beside Killeen motte and bailey and buried in the 1950s (FitzPatrick 2004: 240).

Place name

Irish: *An Coillín*

Place name: Little Wood

First recorded use: 1654; Killine CS II 277, 320, 325

Documentary references

The Civil Survey 1654 notes one ploughland of Killine with no mention of a castle (Simington 1934: vol 2, 325).

The site of Killeen has been suggested as the site of the historically documented manor of Birr or the site of the castle of Dorz (Cunningham 1987: 140). The location of the castle of Dorz is contentious. The *Calendar of Documents Relating to Ireland 1285-1292* records the destruction of the castle at Dorz while under the care of William le Marshall “the castle was taken and knocked down to the great damage and destruction of Theobald’s lands” (*CDRI* 1290: 315). Empey (1970: 135) suggests the site of Dorz is in the parish of Dorrha, which borders Killeen to the west. Cunningham (1987: 140-141) suggests the site of Killeen motte and bailey.

Adjacent archaeological sites

An earthwork enclosure (possibly a ringfort) is marked on the 6-inch historic maps to the northwest of the motte site, however, no modern surface evidence exists. Killeen is located 1.5km outside of Birr, which includes a medieval mill, holy well, motte castle, ecclesiastical settlements and other medieval sites. The now destroyed motte castle (OFO035-012009) at Birr was established by 1207 and inhabited until at least c. 1315 (O’Brien & Sweetman 1997).

Excavation evidence

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Site Profile

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Pictures

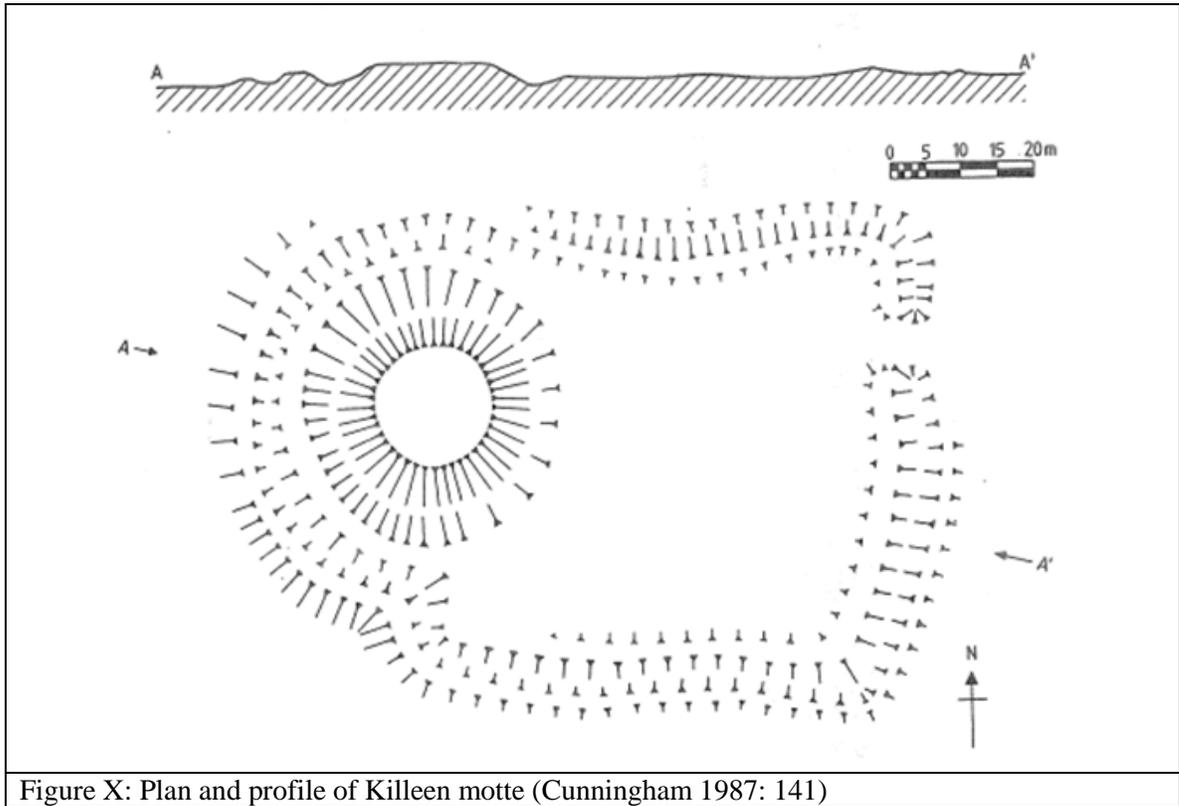


Figure X: Plan and profile of Killeen motte (Cunningham 1987: 141)



Killeen motte and bailey west section internal ditch and bank.



Killeen bailey external south ditch and bank.



Ditch on north side of motte mound (right)

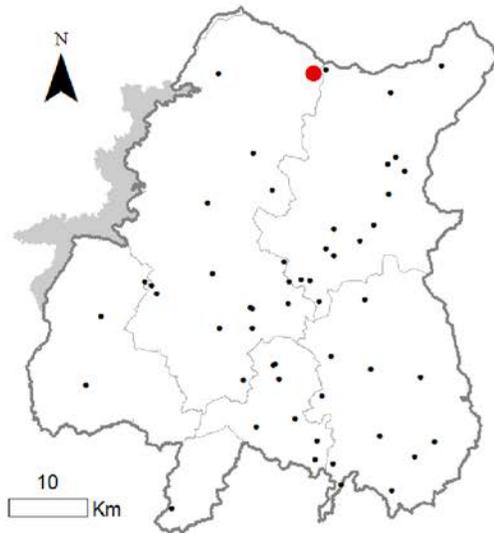
Maps

Killeen (Loughkeen Parish)

SMR classification:
Castle - motte and bailey

Coordinates (Irish Grid Reference):
204187 E, 204493 N

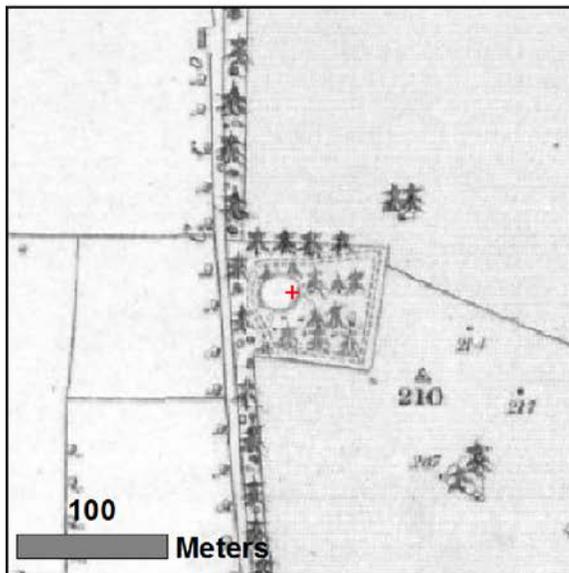
SMR no: TN005-021----



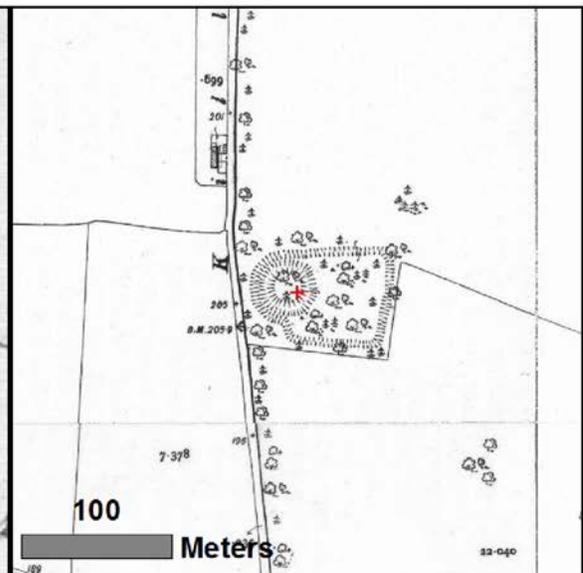
Locator Map
Featured site shown in red



Aerial Imagery
2005-2010



Ordnance Survey 6" Map
1829-1847



Ordnance Survey 25" Map
1897-1913

Site No:	14
Site Name:	Tullahedy
Ordnance Survey designation on current 6-inch map:	Hachured
Townland:	Tullahedy
Parish:	Kilmore
Barony:	Ormond Upper
Cantred:	Ormond
Coordinates (Irish Grid Reference):	183680, 177620
SMR no:	TN020-075----
SMR classification:	Castle - motte and bailey
Inventory no:	2070
Inventory classification:	Motte and bailey
Date of survey:	June 2012
Revised classification (if applicable):	Motte

Siting

The Tullahedy motte is located on a small natural hill in a flat, poorly-drained pasture with extensive views to the northwest, west, and south with an overlooking rise to the northeast. The motte is a steep-sided, flat-topped mound (base diam. 59m N-S, top diam. 18.55m N-S, H 11m) with a berm around halfway up the motte mound (w. between 2-4m; ext. H 5m) that spreads widest at the south. Farrelly & O'Brien (2002: 297) designate this berm as the bailey, however, this author and Kieran O'Conor suggest the bailey (if constructed) was possibly located further south of the motte mound, external to the bank of the site, and accessed through a raised causeway entrance (Wth 2m). The motte is enclosed by a wide, flat-bottomed ditch (Wth 4-7m, D 2-2.5m) and a wide flat-topped external bank (wth 4-7m; H 2m) of earth and stone construction, which is greatly reduced from northwest-north-northeast due to modern agricultural activity.

A small, unnamed stream flows east-west directly west of the motte mound (*c.* 10m). Directly south of the site has been destroyed by modern bulldozing activities and construction of a farm building, which flooded the site in 2013. Large stones resulting from field clearance material are dumped at the north edge of the motte. The field directly north of the motte mound is cut on all sides for drainage.

A possible 16/17th century house is visible from the castle on a rise northeast near a flooded quarry. Further northeast of the castle lies a tower house in ruins, with the northwest corner standing. The landowner calls the tower house the “goal”.

Place name

Irish: *Tulache Éide*

Place name: hillock

First recorded use: 1552; Tullaghedde; F 1020 (1312; John Ede; CJR III 253 TÁ)

Documentary references

The townland of Tulloughedy is mentioned in the Civil Survey 1654, in particular the masonry castle: “upon ye said lands stands a demolished Castle wth three Cabbins” (Simington 1934: vol 2, 242) and “the Walls standinge, And the rotten stumpe of the Castle Bawne” (Simington 1934: vol 2, 241). This is a description of the tower-house (TN020-074001) located northeast of the motte and bailey.

Adjacent archaeological sites

The townland of Tullahedy contains multiple ringforts, fulacht fia, and burnt mounds. A souterrain (TN020-152004) located in a ringfort (TN020-152003) north of the motte and bailey site was excavated in 2000 resulting in a C14 date of 661-668AD (Murphey 2000:0969). An undated house of possible 16/17th century construction (TN020-080001) stands on a rise of ground east of the castle site. A tower house (TN020-074001) stands further northeast of the castle site; presently only the northeast corner of the two storied roughly coursed limestone structure remains. A complex Neolithic enclosure (TN020-079001) and settlement were excavated to the northwest of the castle site with the N7/M7 by-pass (Cleary & Kelleher 2011).

Excavation evidence

Intensive post-medieval field cuttings were excavated in 1996 to the west of the castle site. These field enclosures and associated drainage systems were uncovered near the

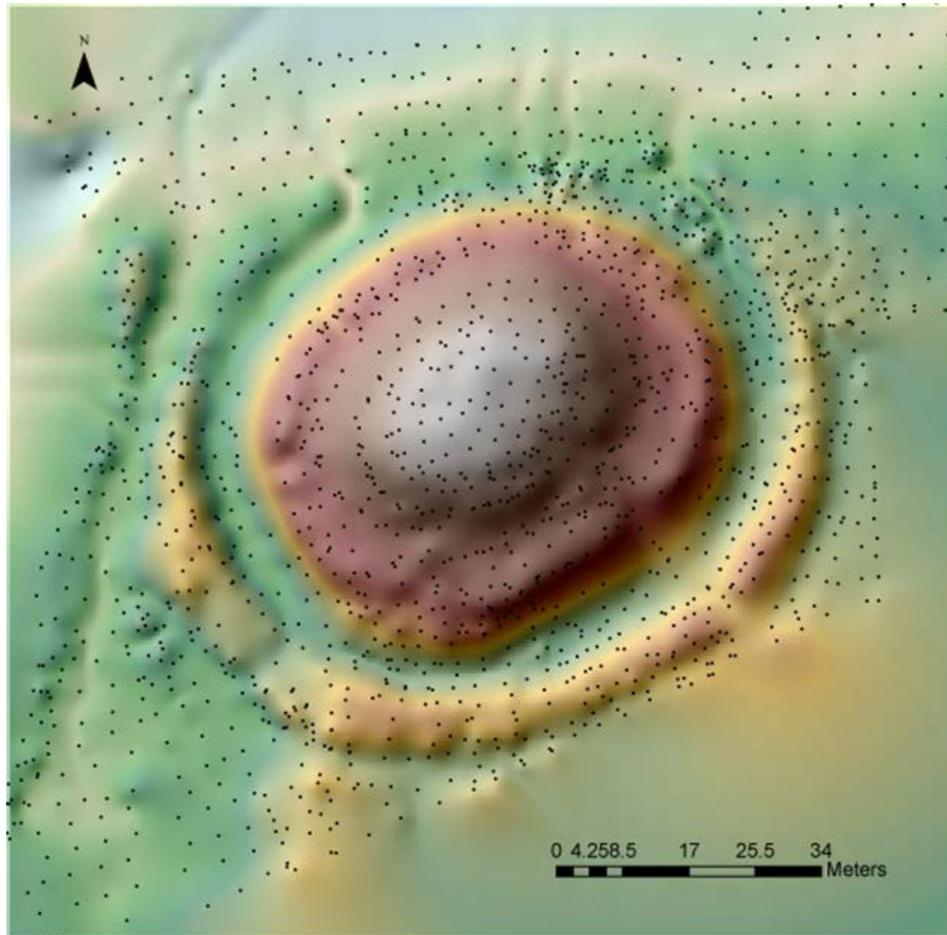
“Tullahedy Old House” located in a modern apple orchard to the west of the standing manor house and castle. The excavation revealed a ditch (Wth 1.92m, D 0.94m) with a stone drain (Eogan 1996:382).

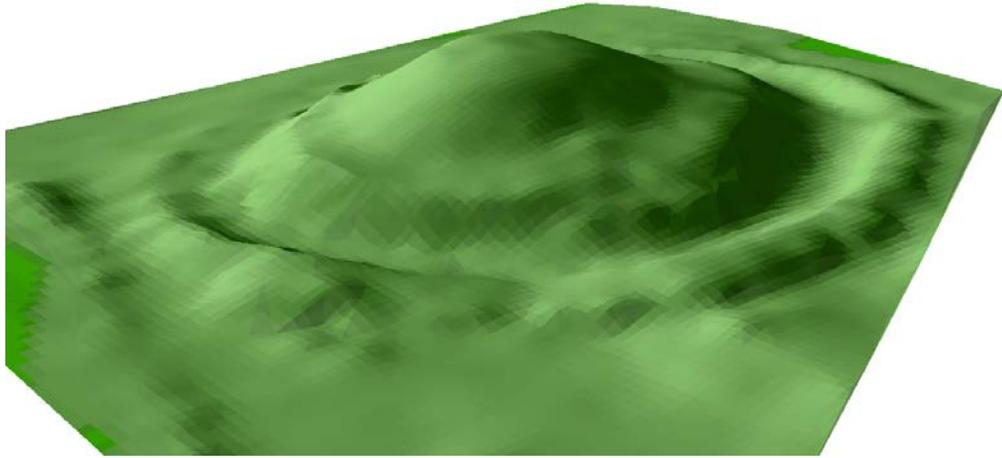
Located to the west of the castle site is the impressive Neolithic (3670-3400 BC) settlement (TN020-079001) complex was constructed in three phases on a small hillock. The site was completely excavated in 2006-2007 by University College Cork on behalf of the Limerick County Council and the Irish National Roads Authority in advance of the M7 motorway between Nenagh and Limerick (Cleary & Kelleher 2011). Originally located on a promontory location, the first phase of habitation on the exposed side of the site was defended with a palisade fence of oak. Inside the fortified area were two rectangular settlement structures and hearths, with an additional structure outside the palisade at the shores of Lough Derg (which has recessed significantly since the Neolithic). Associated with the houses were dozens of storage pits with polished stone tools, pottery, and plant remains (Cleary & Kelleher 2011).

The second phase of occupation at Tullahedy saw the earliest Neolithic houses and pits covered with charcoal rich layers in which more material culture of flint arrowheads and scrapers, polished stone axeheads, organic remains, and considerable amounts of pottery were deposited. The glacial hillock upon which the site was located was raised by over one meter of glacial till deposition on the lower slopes of the hill. The hillock was then surrounded by another larger palisade. Over 1200 stone tools were found at the site, including an impressive 105 polished stones (Sternke 2011: 216-321). Tullahedy was a manufacturing site for stone tools, as evidenced by the number of leaf/lozenge-shaped arrowheads at the site. Sternke offers up questions regarding the purpose of this collection/creation—who was creating these items and why? Who were their enemies? (Sternke 2011: 224). Cleary (2011: 143; 432) parallels Tullahedy with Knockadoon Hill, Lough Gur, Co. Limerick, one of the most important Neolithic sites in Ireland, in arguing these sites functioned as regional centers at the end of the Neolithic (Ó Ríordáin 1949). The second Neolithic phase at Tullahedy, with a raised glacial hillock, would have been a

dramatic, highly visible landmark in an otherwise low-lying landscape. Exotic material found on the site highlights the importance of trade at the settlement, as well as its place in a large social sphere of Neolithic Ireland.

Site Profile





Pictures



Ditch and bank west of Motte (left).



Possible causeway entrance to the motte site at southwest.



South side of Motte mound facing north, note the intervening berm above measuring rod halfway up the mound.

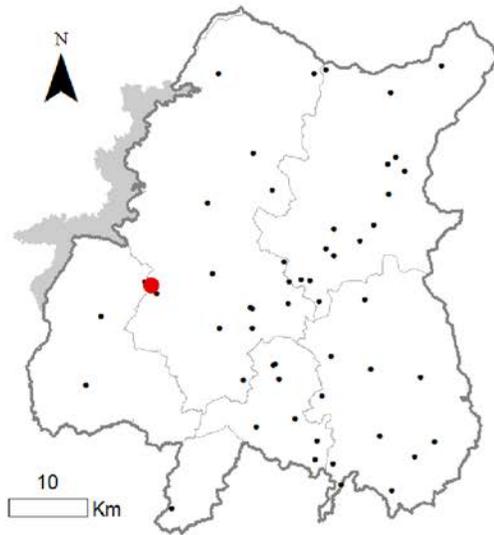
Maps

Tullahedy

SMR classification:
Castle - motte and bailey

Coordinates (Irish Grid Reference):
183680 E, 177620 N

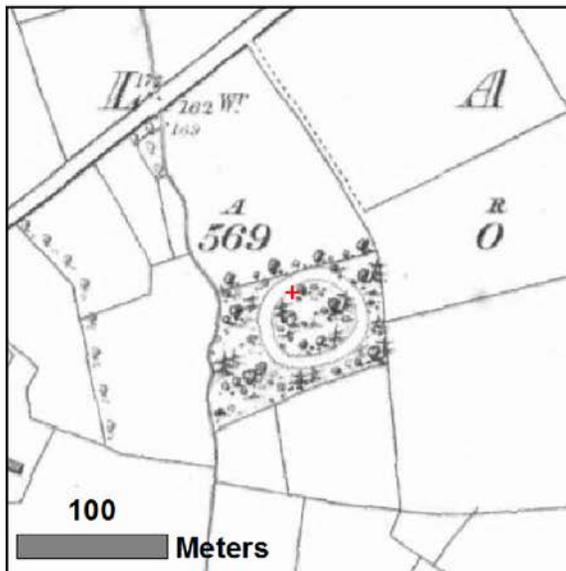
SMR no: TN020-075----



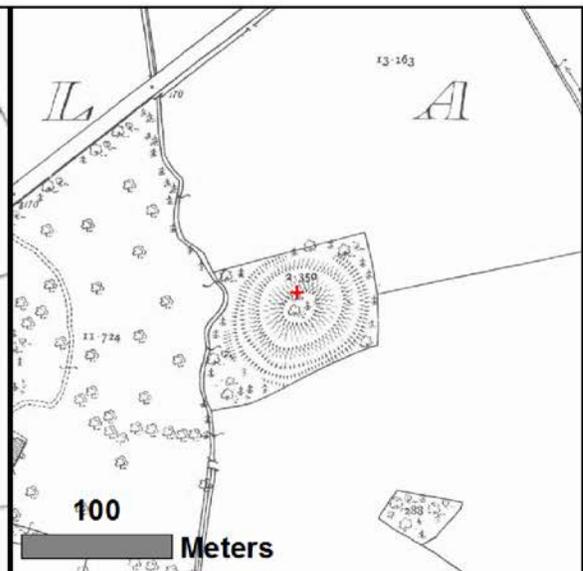
Locator Map
Featured site shown in red



Aerial Imagery
2005-2010



Ordnance Survey 6" Map
1829-1847



Ordnance Survey 25" Map
1897-1913

Site No:	15
Site Name:	Rathfalla
Ordnance Survey designation on current 6-inch map:	Hachured
Townland:	Rathfalla
Parish:	Lisbunny
Barony:	Ormond Upper
Cantred:	Ormond
Coordinates (Irish Grid Reference):	191280, 179211
SMR no:	TN021-036----
SMR classification:	Castle - motte and bailey
Inventory no:	2063
Inventory classification:	Motte and bailey
Date of survey:	June 2012
Revised classification (if applicable):	-

Siting

Rathfalla motte and bailey is located within the bounds of an early Christian ringfort in flat, gently undulating pasture that slopes slightly to the northeast. The motte is a small circular flat-topped mound (base diam. 18m; top diam. 13.8m N-S, 9m E-W, H 2.5m) in the northwest quadrant of the bailey with modern disturbances. The bailey area includes a slightly raised circular area (diam c. 20m) surrounded by a broad depression that may be indicative of an internal ditch (Wth. 17m), a flat area with an outer bank (Wth 2.5m; int. H .5m, ext. H 2m) and a wide deep flat-bottomed ditch that varies greatly from the north to the south (max wth. 7.6m, D 90cm).

There are disturbances in the southeast of the site associated with a modern house, and in the southwest and north from bulldozing. According to the landowner, the bulldozing activity uncovered a small stone-lined chamber (est. L 1.2m) oriented east-west under the bank at the north. This may have been a souterrain associated with the early medieval ringfort.

The motte and bailey is located in rolling pasture with good views in all directions. The Ollatrim River flows north and west of the Rathfalla townland with modern field drainage cuts intervening.

Place name

Irish: *Ráth Bhaile*

Place name: townland, town, homestead; ring-fort

First recorded use: 1654; Rathbally; CS II 220, 254, 255

Documentary references

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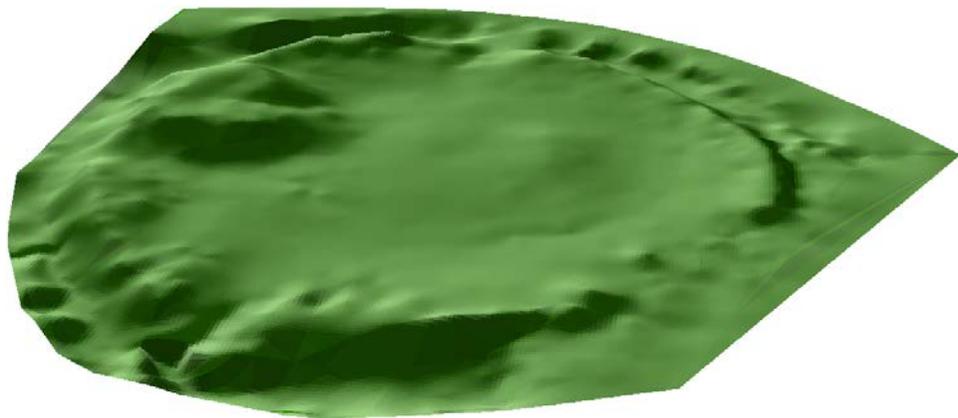
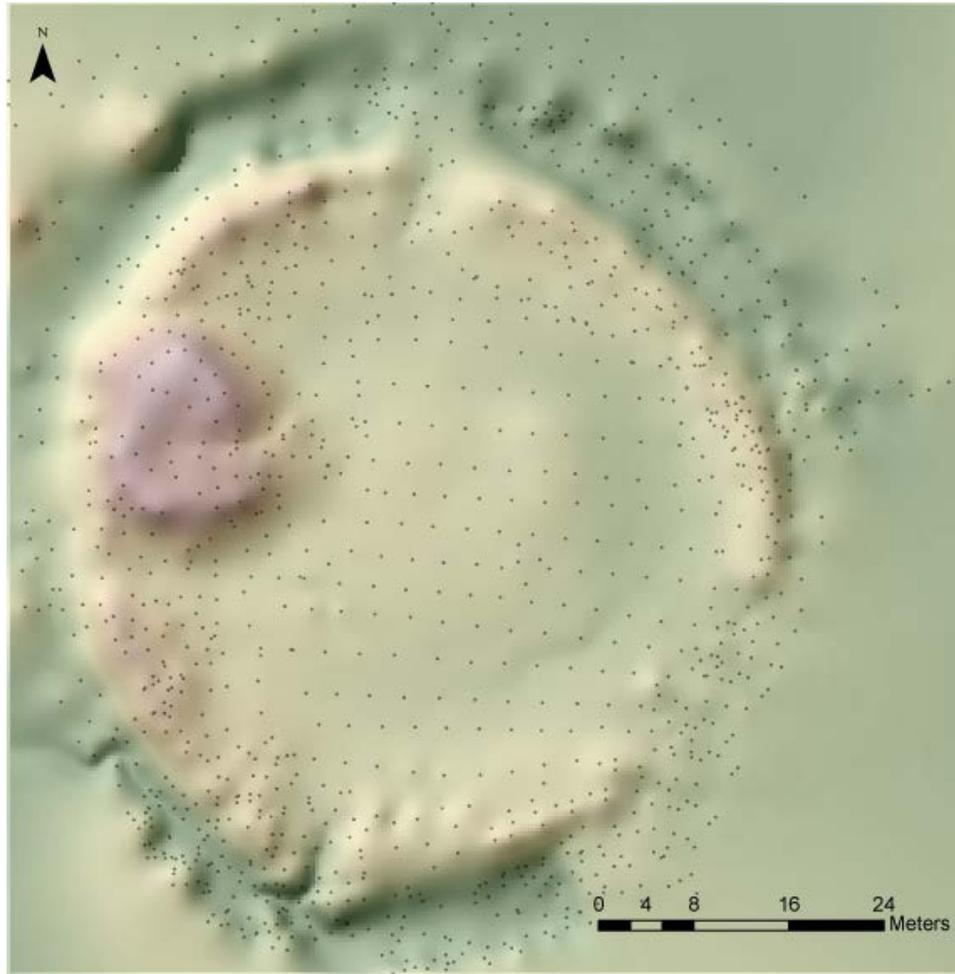
Adjacent archaeological sites

A large (diam. 90m N-S, 88m E-W) ringfort (TN021-034) defined by an internal scarp, wide U-shaped ditch, and outer bank, lies northwest of the motte site two fields beyond the field drainage cuts. In the adjacent townland of Lisbunny lie a high medieval hall house, parish church and graveyard, watermill and mill, two ringforts with an enclosure, and a deserted medieval settlement. The settlement was described in the Civil Survey 1654-1656 as “a ruined castle a Church the Walls onely standing, one Orchard, a Mill & a Rivolett running through the said land & six cabbins” (Simmington 1934: vol. 2, 257). The motte and bailey and hall house in such close proximity may represent continuity of Anglo-Norman settlement in this area.

Excavation evidence

Five test trenches were excavated in close proximity to the Rathfalla motte and bailey in 2005 for a driveway constructed immediately north of the castle site. Nothing of archaeological significance was uncovered in the shallow excavation pits (Devine 2005:1460).

Site Profile



Pictures



Rathfalla motte, facing north ditch from internal bank.



Rathfalla motte and bailey under tree cover from west field in wheat.

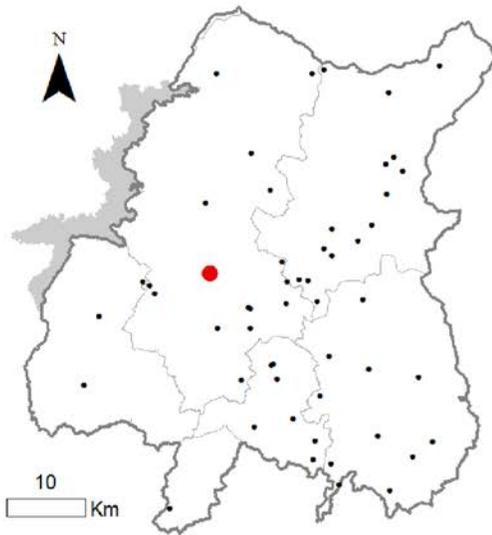
Maps

Rathfalla

SMR classification:
Castle - motte and bailey

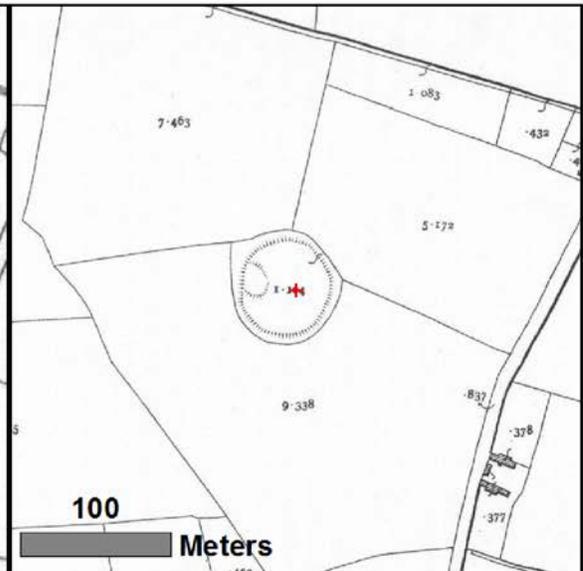
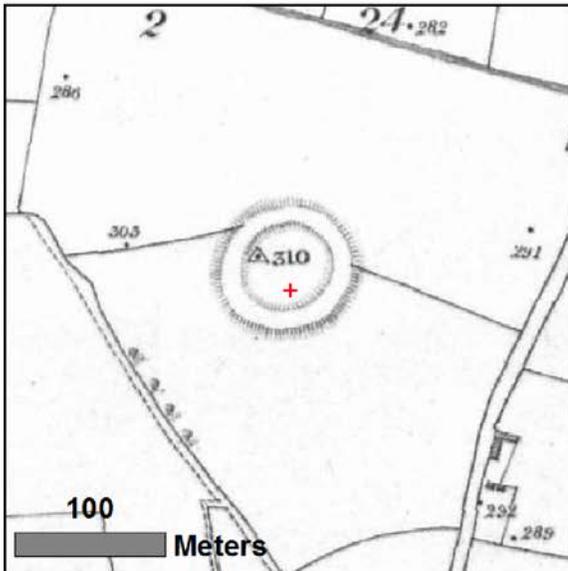
Coordinates (Irish Grid Reference):
191280 E, 179211 N

SMR no: TN021-036----



Locator Map
Featured site shown in red

Aerial Imagery
2005-2010



Ordnance Survey 6" Map
1829-1847

Ordnance Survey 25" Map
1897-1913

Site No:	16
Site Name:	Gortkelly
Ordnance Survey designation on current 6-inch map:	Hachured
Townland:	Gortkelly
Parish:	Upperchurch
Barony:	Kilnamanagh Upper
Cantred:	Eoghanact Cashel
Coordinates (Irish Grid Reference):	201811, 160710
SMR no:	TN040-013002-
SMR classification:	Castle - motte and bailey
Inventory no:	2044
Inventory classification:	Motte and bailey
Date of survey:	June 7, 2013
Revised classification (if applicable):	-

Siting

Gortkelly motte and bailey is an overgrown flat-topped roughly circular (Base diam. 26.5m N-S, 29.4m E-W, top diam. 23m N-W, 19.2m E-W, H 5.3m N, 3m W) motte in a valley between a ravine to the east and a marshy area to the west. Surmounting the motte are the remains of a stone castle (TN040-013001) in poor condition. The north end of the motte slopes gently to the bailey area with outer defenses beyond the bailey bank (Wth 3m; int. H 1m; ext. H 1.8m) and an internal ditch (Wth. 3m; D 1m). The south and east edges of the motte drop steeply (*c.* 6m) to grassy flats below.

The east edge of the motte has stone facing, perhaps contemporary construction to shore up a collapsing wall with stones from the masonry castle (TN040-013001). Only the west side maintains evidence of the ditch and bank; however, this may be original, as the natural slope would negate the need for defenses on the south and east.

Place name

Irish: *Gort Cheallaigh*

Place name: field

First recorded use: 1586; Gortkally; F4937

Documentary references

The Civil Survey of 1654-1656 describes the site as “by a little brooke to an old decayed castle called Gortkelly” (Simington 1934: 124).

Adjacent archaeological sites

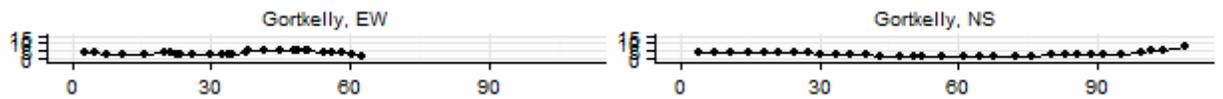
The motte is topped with a masonry structure (TN040-013001) of undetermined date.

The south wall of the masonry castle is poorly preserved with east and west walls (wall T 1.5m; H 3m) to a first-floor level with centered window.

Excavation evidence

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Site Profile



Pictures



Gortkelly motte (under trees) and bailey (foreground) facing southeast.



East side of Gortkelly motte and bailey external to north end of bailey.



South wall of the masonry castle (TN040-013001) constructed on top of the Gortkelly motte.

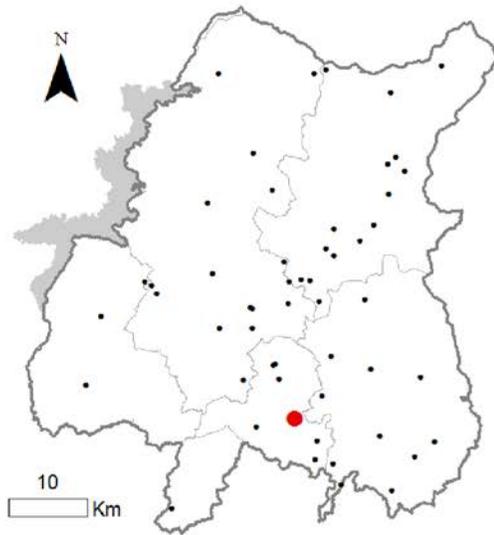
Maps

Gortkelly

SMR classification:
Castle - motte and bailey

Coordinates (Irish Grid Reference):
201803 E, 160729 N

SMR no: TN040-013002-



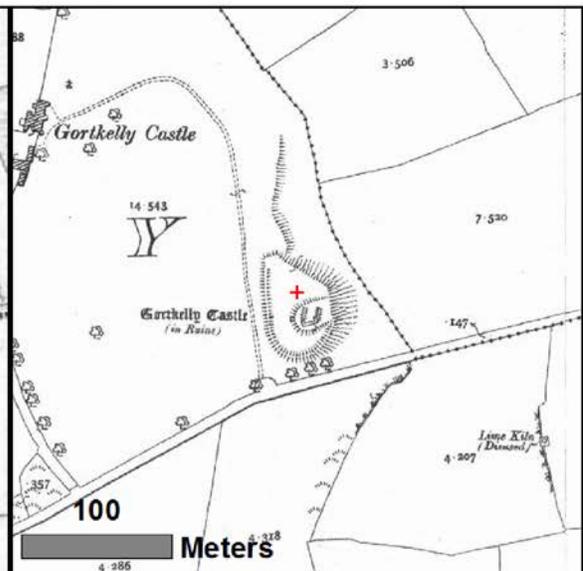
Locator Map
Featured site shown in red



Aerial Imagery
2005-2010



Ordnance Survey 6" Map
1829-1847



Ordnance Survey 25" Map
1897-1913

Site No:	17
Site Name:	Sopwell
Ordnance Survey designation on current 6-inch map:	Hactured
Townland:	Sopwell
Parish:	Uskane
Barony:	Ormond Lower
Cantred:	Ormond
Coordinates (Irish Grid Reference):	196462, 194423
SMR no:	TN010-015----
SMR classification:	Castle - ringwork
Inventory no:	2065
Inventory classification:	Ringwork
Date of survey:	June 5, 2013
Revised classification (if applicable):	circular moated site/ ring moat / ringfort

Siting

Sopwell ringwork is situated on in a low marshy pasture with limited views in all directions. A subcircular platform (diam. 31m N-S, H 2m) is surrounded by a wide flat-bottomed ditch, which is pronounced at south-southeast. North of the ditch, two stones c. 6m apart may represent causeway entrance.

A field east of the site contains a ditch running northwest-southeast and a drain, which is at least 100 years old according to landowner. Water flows south through the field to a marshy area and an additional east-west running ditch at the field boundary. Wetland plants growing in the north-south ditch illustrate wetness of the field even in prolonged dry weather. A slight rise in the field to the northwest of the platform may represent an outer badly damaged enclosure. Two areas of rectangular field debris are located southeast of the site, possibly representative of house structures.

Upon visitation on May 29, 2013, O'Connor (pers. comm.) noted the site is not of typical ringwork morphology or siting and may possibly represent a circular moated site.

Place name

Irish: *Coill na Lathach*

Place name: wood

First recorded use: 1507; Kilnelahaghe COD V. 188, 189

Documentary references

Sopwell gained its name after the nunnery near St. Alban's, England called Sopwell Nunnery: General Thomas Sadleir obtained land in Co. Tipperary c. 1745 and altered the name of the townland to Sopwell with permission from Charles II (Longmans 1877: 18). The original name of the Sopwell townland was Killaleigh (Kilnelahaghe). The first record of Kilnelahaghe in 1570 comes from the *Calendar of Ormond Deeds V* (Curtis 1941: 188). The Civil Survey 1654-1656 records two ploughlands in Kilnalagh comprising of 454 acres (300 arable, 20 timber wood, 80 pasture, 10 shrubby wood, 44 in red bog), upon these lands “stands a ruined castle the walls onley standing, a garden fower cottages, and a Water Corne Myll” (Simington 1934: 328). This description may be of the house called Killaleigh Castle.

Adjacent archaeological sites

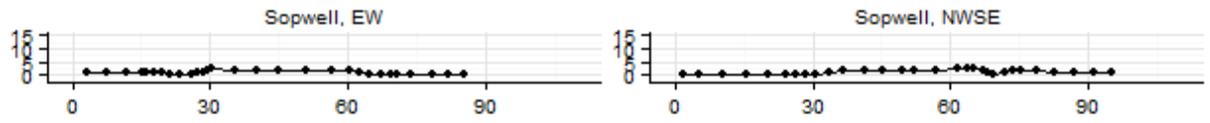
The townland of Sopwell contains two enclosures, probably early Christian ringforts (TN01-014/TN010-016001), including one in the field immediately north of the Sopwell site past an intervening lime kiln and drain. The second enclosure (TN010-016001) lies adjacent to a linear earthwork that is now destroyed. The linear feature (TN010-016002) appeared on aerial photography as a roughly north-south feature that ran c. 74m before turning northwest-southeast for c. 20m running between the ringwork and associated earthwork to the north (Farrelly & O'Brien 2002). Immediately to the east of the destroyed linear feature is an early 17th century fortified house (TN010-017001) and bawn (possibly related to the original house with a datestone of 1601) (TN010-017002) (Farrelly and O'Brien 2002: 398-399). The Historic 6-inch and 25-inch maps name the fortified house “Killaleigh Castle”.

In the townland of Creeragh (Ballingarry Parish, North Riding), located northeast of Sopwell townland (2.07km east) is a square moated site (TN011-002) adjacent to an unnamed stream (Barry 1977: 198).

Excavation evidence

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Site Profile



Pictures



Sopwell ringwork facing northwest, note the ditch and drain running directly east of the site



Sopwell ringwork facing south, standing in ditch and drain east of site.



Stone "platforms" in northeast ditch



Field debris south of Sopwell ringwork, facing north.

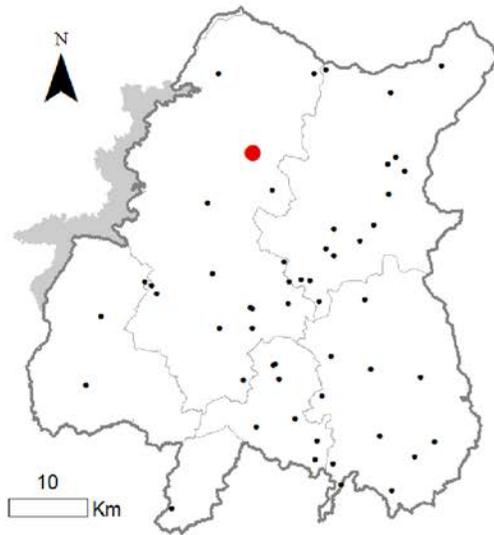
Maps

Sopwell

SMR classification:
Castle - ringwork

Coordinates (Irish Grid Reference):
196462 E, 194423 N

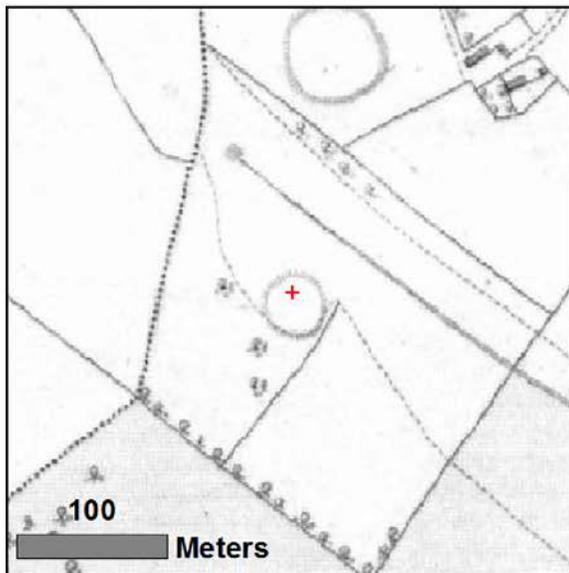
SMR no: TN010-015----



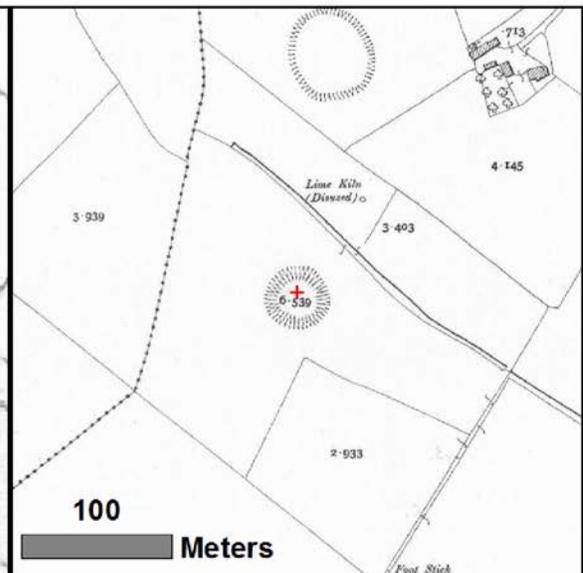
Locator Map
Featured site shown in red



Aerial Imagery
2005-2010



Ordnance Survey 6" Map
1829-1847



Ordnance Survey 25" Map
1897-1913

Site No:	18
Site Name:	Garraun
Ordnance Survey designation on current 6-inch map:	Hachured
Townland:	Garraun
Parish:	Modreeny
Barony:	Ormond Lower
Cantred:	Ormond
Coordinates (Irish Grid Reference):	198900, 189710
SMR no:	TN011-025----
SMR classification:	Castle – ringwork
Inventory no:	2043
Inventory classification:	Ringwork (possible)
Date of survey:	June 4, 2013
Revised classification (if applicable):	Motte

Siting

Garraun ringwork is located in a gently rolling field with good views of the surrounding countryside. A low rectangular platform (dims. 22m N-S, 25.5m E-W, H 1.4) with a flat west-sloping interior stands alone. No evidence for a ditch or bank remains at present, however, Farrelly and O’Brien (2002: 291) noted a slight bank at the southwest and southeast corners alongside a shallow external ditch surrounding during their investigations in 1995.

The site at Garraun was classified as an earthwork in the 1998 Record of Monuments and Places (Dúchas 1998). The ringfort on the Ordnance Survey map adjacent to site has been destroyed. According to a neighbor who played on the site as a child, the field surrounding the monument was and is rarely plowed but rather kept in pasture for cows. The neighbor also evoked story from his childhood; all of the children would search the low mound for a stone that would lead them to a tunnel that led from the site to the tower house located east down the road.

Barry (1977) indicates two moated sites in the Garraun townland, “from field examination it was impossible to tell whether it was a degraded motte or a platform rath” (Barry 1977: 83).

Place name

Irish: *An Garrán*

Place name: Grove in a plain.

First recorded use: 1593, Garran... Garranballiverickin COD VI 55

Documentary references

The first documentary evidence for the townland of Garraun comes from the *Calendar of Ormond Deeds vol. 3*, where the heirs of a freeholder in the townland is recorded in 1508 (COD: vol. 3, 334).

The Civil Survey 1654-1656 describes the townland of Garrane as containing “a small old Castle & five or six Cottages” (Simington 1931: 217).

Adjacent archaeological sites

A now destroyed moated site (TN011-027) was located northeast of the ringwork site in rolling pasture. The site was indicated on the OS 6-inch map, but not marked on the 1903 edition. Barry (1977: 83) examined the site in the 1970s, and noted the site had no moat, only a raised central area 2-3m over the surrounding pasture. A now destroyed ringwork (TN011-026) lay in the field immediately south of the ringwork site.

Excavation evidence

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Site Profile

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Pictures



Garrun ringwork facing south



Garrun ringwork facing north

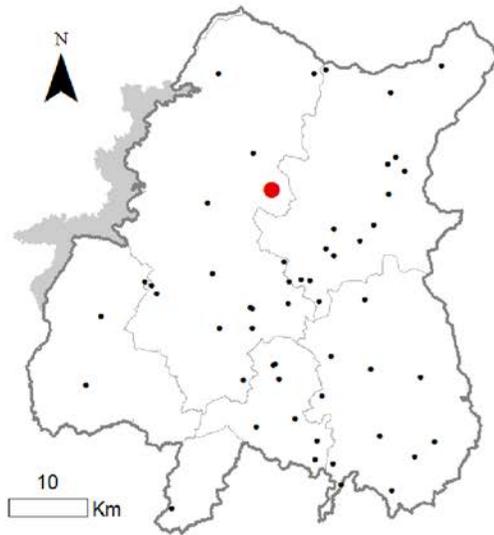
Maps

Garraun (Modreeny Parish)

SMR classification:
Castle - ringwork

Coordinates (Irish Grid Reference):
198900 E, 189710 N

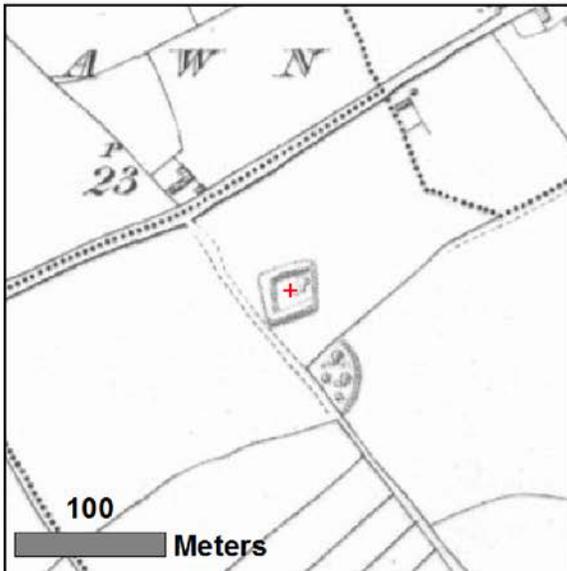
SMR no: TN011-025----



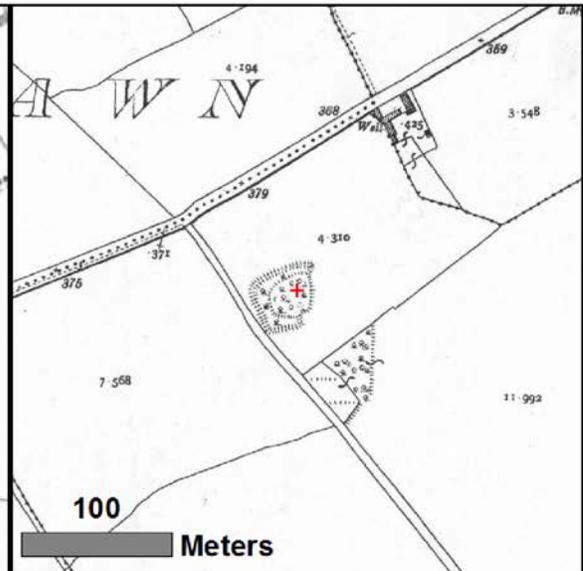
Locator Map
Featured site shown in red



Aerial Imagery
2005-2010



Ordnance Survey 6" Map
1829-1847



Ordnance Survey 25" Map
1897-1913

Site No:	19
Site Name:	Townparks
Ordnance Survey designation on current 6-inch map:	Not indicated
Townland:	Townparks
Parish:	Roscrea
Barony:	Ikerrin
Cantred:	Elyocarroll
Coordinates (Irish Grid Reference):	213634, 189315
SMR no:	TN012-010008-
SMR classification:	Castle - ringwork
Inventory no:	2067
Inventory classification:	Earthwork castle
Date of survey:	N/A (destroyed)
Revised classification (if applicable):	-

Siting

Now destroyed, located under the masonry castle of Townparks (TN012-010007). No surface remains.

Located in the center of the modern town of Roscrea, the castle site would be located on the route of the *Slighe Dala*. Barry (1987: 35) notes the irregular polygon shape of the masonry castle at Roscrea as evidence of the timber castle underlying the foundations, and cites the *Calendar of Document Rolls relating to Ireland* as evidence for the fortification of a wooden tower and moat (*CDI*: vol. 1, no. 2760). Leask (1941) dates the gate tower to 1280 through archaeological details, while the rest of the castle dates to the mid-13th century.

Place name

Irish: *Páirceanna an Bhaile*

Place name: townland, town, homestead; field

First recorded use: 1830; Townparks and Garden; CGn.862.294.574794

Documentary references

The earthen castle at Townparks was erected on the lands of St. Cronan in 1213 (Stout 1984: 112), against incursions of Moriartach MacBrien, who seized control of the castles at Lorrha, Kinnitty, and Birr in 1208 (Gleeson 1982: vol. 2, 381). Reginald de Pontibus was given full seisin by Henry, Archbishop of Dublin upon orders from the king on August 24, 1213, over the castles of Dorles, Roskere (Roscrea), Loske, Armolen, and Kakaulis, which previously belonged to Theobald Walter (*CDI*: vol. 1, no. 514). The structure was described in 1245 as a “mote et britagium” (Cunningham 1987: 124).

Adjacent archaeological sites

Located in the center of the modern town of Roscrea, the castle is surrounded by archaeological sites and surmounted by the masonry castle of Roscrea (TN012-010007). Associated sites include: the historic town of Roscrea (TN012-010), church and graveyard (TN012-010001/ TN012-010001), round-tower (TN012-010005), high cross (TN012-010011), mill (TN012-010014), and three inscribed slabs.

Excavation evidence

During a conservation project on Roscrea castle with minimal excavation focused on the 13th century gatehouse, a drawbridge pit and moat were revealed (Manning 2013). Further excavation in 2009 revealed no evidence for an early earth and timber castle on the site (Collins 2009: 770).

Site Profile

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Pictures

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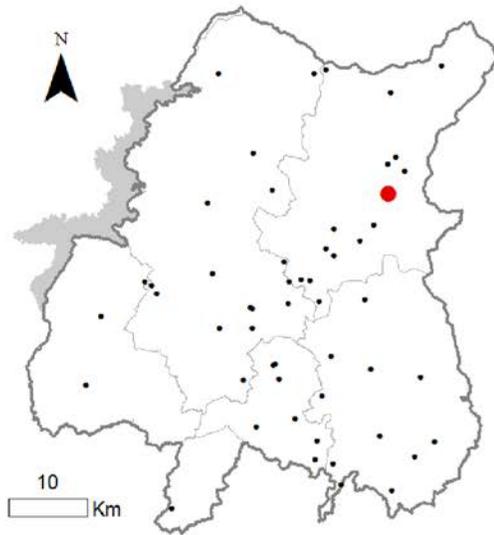
Maps

Townparks (Roscrea Parish)

SMR classification:
Castle - ringwork

Coordinates (Irish Grid Reference):
213634 E, 189315 N

SMR no: TN012-010008-

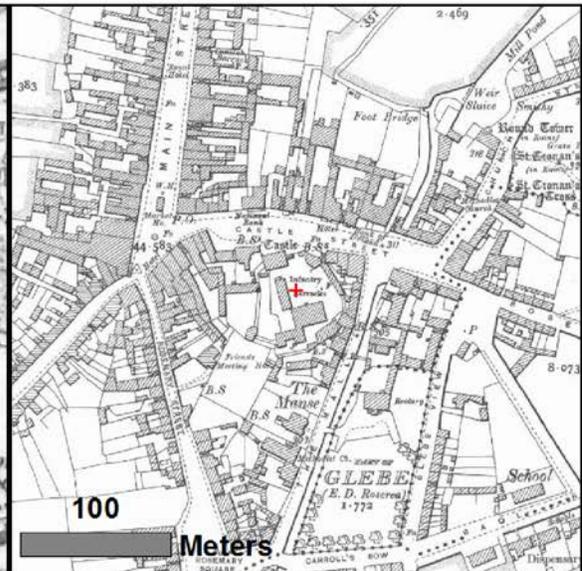


Locator Map
Featured site shown in red

Aerial Imagery
2005-2010



Ordnance Survey 6" Map
1829-1847



Ordnance Survey 25" Map
1897-1913

Site No:	20
Site Name:	Ballycrine
Ordnance Survey designation on current 6-inch map:	“Lisnageeha”
Townland:	Ballycrine
Parish:	Corbally
Barony:	Ikerrin
Cantred:	Elyocarroll
Coordinates (Irish Grid Reference):	211775, 185336
SMR no:	TN017-027----
SMR classification:	Castle - ringwork
Inventory no:	2031
Inventory classification:	Ringwork (possible)
Date of survey:	N/A (overgrown)
Revised classification (if applicable):	Ringfort

Siting

Located in a pasture in undulating terrain, the Ballycrine large bivallate site consists of a large circular platform with impressive bank and ditch complex. The site is located on County Council land reserved for a reservoir; therefore the site is very overgrown with brambles, nettles, and trees, and was impossible to survey, even with tape measures, upon visitation.

Approach to the site from the northwest revealed an impressive partially rock cut bank surrounding a wide flat bottomed ditch (est. D c. 2.5m) leading to a large circular flat topped platform (27m N-S, 28.5m E-W¹⁶) enclosed by an earthen bank (Wth 2.5m; H 0.88m; ext. H 3m¹⁷).

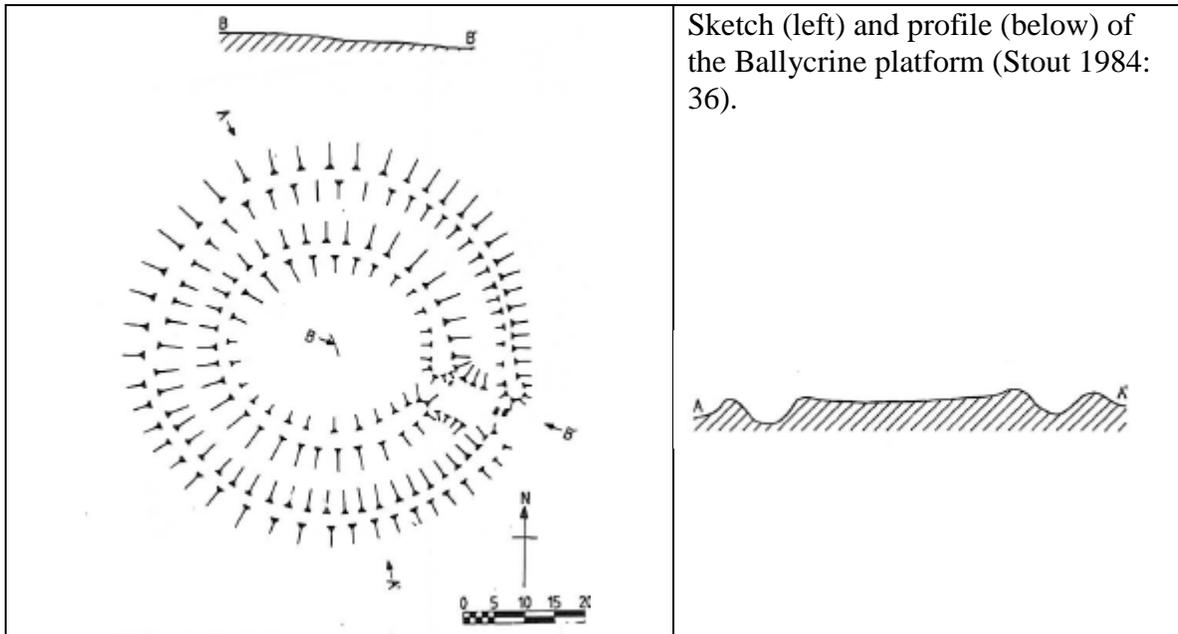
Farrelly and O’Brien (2002: 290) argue that the site at Ballycrine is a ringwork castle:

The vertical profile of the banks is very impressive and indicates that this site was an important defensive earthwork of possible early medieval date. Its morphology is unlike that of the ringforts of this region although its location is typical of a ringfort rather than a motte or ringwork. The overall emphasis of the site is on its impressive defensive features which suggest that this was not a simple defended farmstead of a single family unit.

¹⁶ Measurement taken from Farrelly & O’Brien 2002: 290.

¹⁷ Measurement taken from Farrelly & O’Brien 2002: 290.

It appears Farrelly and O'Brien (2002: 290) designated the site as a ringwork castle due to the classification of the nearby enclosure (TN017-025) as an ecclesiastical site, in addition to the nearby possible holy well (TN017-026).



Place name

Irish: *Baile Cruinn*

Place name: Townland, town, homestead; round town or town of the tree

First recorded use: 1654; Ballycrine; CS 1 6

Irish: *Lisnageeha*

Place name: The Fort of the Winds

Documentary references

The Civil Survey of 1654-1656 mentions Ballyrine in the parish of Roscrea as bordering the north of the parish of Burrin (Simington 1934: 7). There is no further mention of Ballycrine in the Civil Survey.

Adjacent archaeological sites

In the townland of Ballycrine there are two ringforts (TN017-022/TN017-024), an enclosure (TN017-025), and a holy well (TN017-026) in addition to the ringwork site.

The closest ringfort (TN017-024) is a large raised hillock enclosed by an earth and stone bank with a steep-sided U-shaped ditch, and an external bank of clay and stone with evidence for stone revetting on both internal and external banks. A causeway entrance is located in the southeast sector of the site (Farrelly and O'Brien 2002: 69). The second ringfort (TN017-022) is located north of the ringwork site, and is largely destroyed through modern agricultural activity; it survives as a kink in the field boundary. The site was *c.* 30m in diameter and surrounded by a bank of clay and stone and wall surrounding a natural hillock (Farrelly and O'Brien 2002: 69).

The enclosure at Ballycrine (TN017-025) is located immediately north and downslope from the ringwork site. The OS maps indicated the site was largely destroyed between 1840-1904, with the last remnants of the site completely bulldozed in the 1950s (Stout (1984: 86). The large enclosure (*c.* 95m N-S) was defined by a bank and ditch complex in the south, with a raised platform in the northeast (Farrelly and O'Brien 2002: 173). A smaller circular enclosure (*c.* 30m N-S) is located in the north of the enclosure; if these were associated, the site would have been massive. The possible holy well (TN017-026) lies 150m east of the enclosure site, and Stout (1984) suggests these associated sites and the large size of the enclosure might suggest ecclesiastical associations.

The possible holy well (TN017-026) is located in a hollow between ridges in undulating pastureland. The site is "a well presumably contained in a tank which is covered by a barrel-vaulted concrete roof adjacent to which is a small concrete pump-house" (Farrelly and O'Brien 2002: 274). A small stream flows southeast from the well site. The well provided water for the town of Roscrea prior to 1984 (Stout 1984: 90). The site is

designated “Patrick’s Well” on the OS maps; however, there are no known traditions associating the site with St. Patrick.

Excavation evidence

Test-trenching ahead of the proposed N7 Castletown-Nenagh road scheme was undertaken in 2007 (Flynn 2007: 1713). No archaeological material was found in area nine cut through the Ballycrine townland.

Site Profile

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Pictures



Aerial photograph of the destroyed enclosure (foreground) and ringwork site (background) taken c. 1984 (Stout 1984: 86).



Bing maps aerial image of Ballycrine ringwork (bottom left) and destroyed enclosure (top right), north is at the top of the image (Microsoft 2014: Ballycrine)

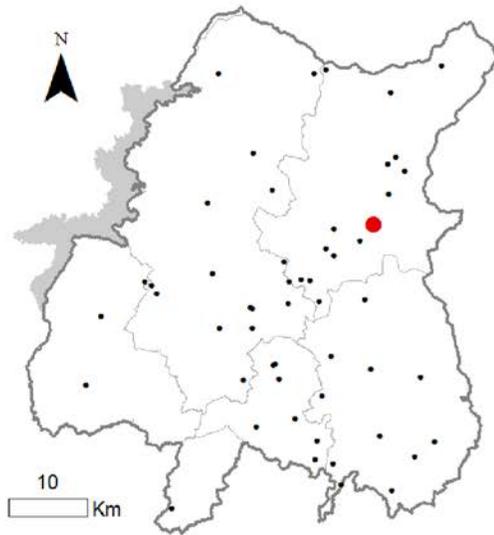
Maps

Ballycrine

SMR classification:
Castle - ringwork

Coordinates (Irish Grid Reference):
211775 E, 185336 N

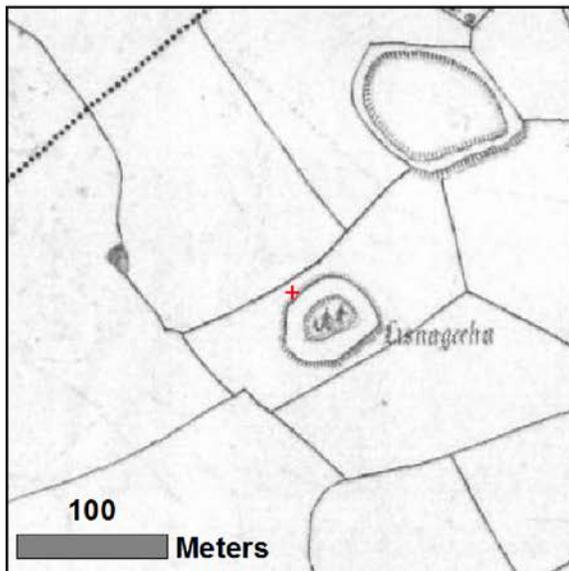
SMR no: TN017-027----



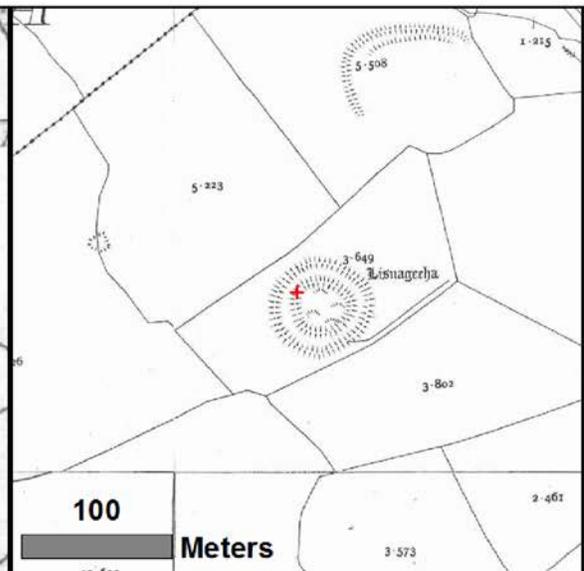
Locator Map
Featured site shown in red



Aerial Imagery
2005-2010



Ordnance Survey 6" Map
1829-1847



Ordnance Survey 25" Map
1897-1913

Site No:	21
Site Name:	Oldcastle
Ordnance Survey designation on current 6-inch map:	Hachured
Townland:	Oldcastle
Parish:	Bourney
Barony:	Ikerrin
Cantred:	Elyocarroll
Coordinates (Irish Grid Reference):	
SMR no:	TN017-050002-
SMR classification:	Castle - ringwork
Inventory no:	2061
Inventory classification:	Ringwork (possible)
Date of survey:	June 20, 2013
Revised classification (if applicable):	-

Siting

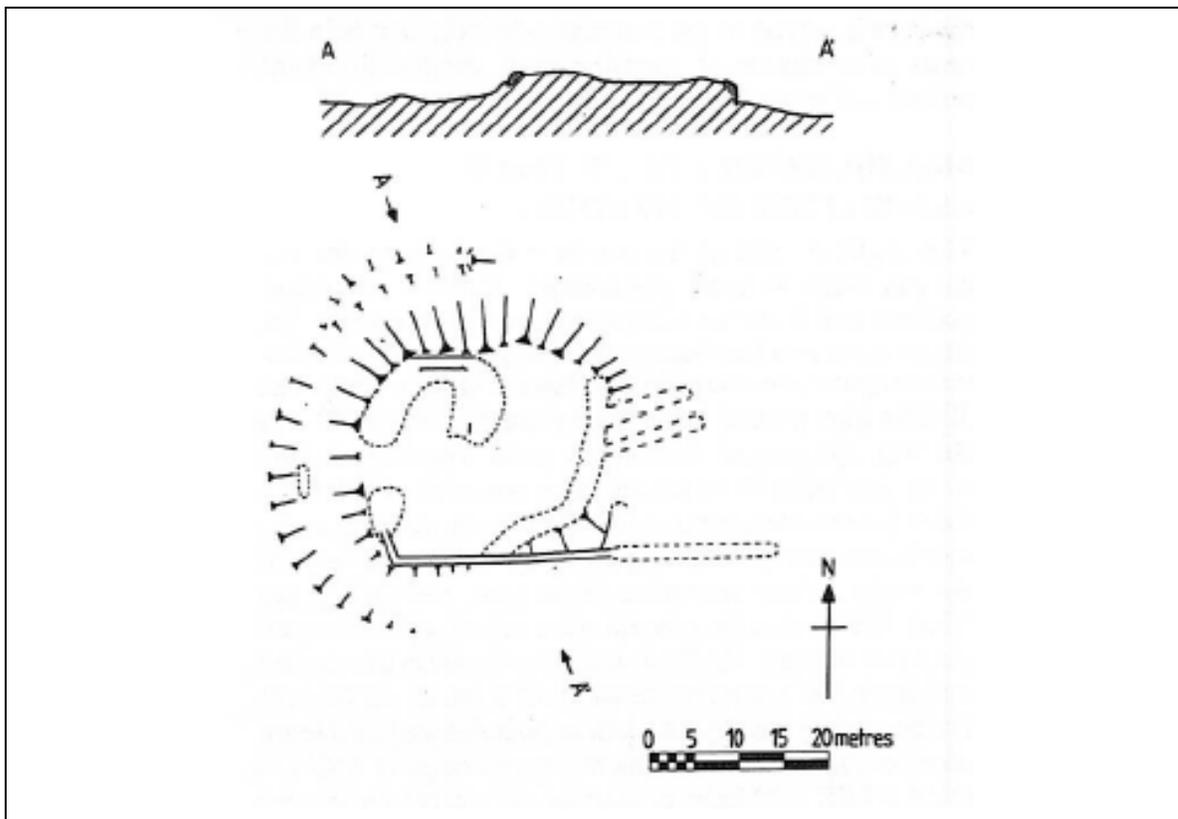
The site of Oldcastle is a roughly oval platform (diam. 23m N-S, 28m E-W, H 3.5m at northwest corner) located on a natural hillock in rolling pastureland with good views to the west-south-east and limited views to the north-west. The immediate pasture surrounding the site is very marshy and wet, even in dry conditions. A small stream flows immediately west of the platform site beyond the modern field boundary, upon survey, it was undetermined if the stream was natural or the result of a ditch cut. The hillock appears to be cut through at the north and west to build a taller platform mound (H *c.* 3.45m). On top of the platform, lining the south-west side is a masonry wall (ext. H *c.* 4m; int. H *c.* 1.5m; width 1.5m) in disrepair; stones from this wall cover the top of the platform, and at the base of the mound.

The castle in ruins (TN017-050001) is limited to the southwest wall; there is no evidence for a structure in the northwest quadrant as described by Farrell and O'Brien (2002: 295). Stones line the top edge of the platform, but are very low and non-descript from the west to northwest. Stout (1984: 114-115) describes this horseshoe shaped collection of stones and protruding corner faces as indicative of a structure of at least three sides, perhaps a tower.

Stout (1984) describes the ditch at the west of the site as “a waterlogged, 40cm deep ditch, which is 3m wide at the base and as much as 7m wide from the outside lip of the fosse to the base of the platform” (115). A low ditch survives at the base of the platform at the west; it has been much eroded since Stout’s examination and in the dry conditions of July 2014 it not waterlogged.

There is no evidence for a causeway entrance at the east; the platform slopes greatly at the east side to the marshy terrain external to the platform. Unlike the description provided by Farrell and O’Brien (2002: 295), the interior of the site is higher than the external of the site on all sides.

Stones from the masonry structure are now incorporated into a field wall running northwest-southeast from the southeast section of the platform towards the southeast.



A plan and section of the Oldcastle ringwork (Stout 1984: 115). It is to note the horseshoe section in the northwest of the platform and causeway in the northeast section were destroyed as of 2014.

Place name

Irish: *An Seanchaisleán*

Place name: -

First recorded use: 1654; Oldcastle; CS 1 7, 10

Documentary references

The Civil Survey of 1654-1656 describes Oldcastle: “uppon the lands of Old castle a stumpe of a castle ye lands all wast” (Simington 1934: 7). Oldcastle, Clonenakeany, and Gurteenelonford contain “three quarters of a colpe,¹⁸ one eight and one twelfth pt colpe, with 400 acres arable, 100 acres wood, 225 acres pasture, nine meddow, and 100 acres unprofitable Redd bogg, held by proprietor John Magher” (Simington 1934: 7).

Adjacent archaeological sites

The Oldcastle site is topped by a masonry structure, described as an Anglo-Norman masonry castle (TN017-050001) by the SMR and Farrell and O’Brien (2002: 313). The surviving masonry structure surrounds the mount at the south and is composed of “roughly coursed sandstone rubble with quartz inclusions, utilizing both flat and rounded boulders” (Farrell and O’Brien 2002: 313).

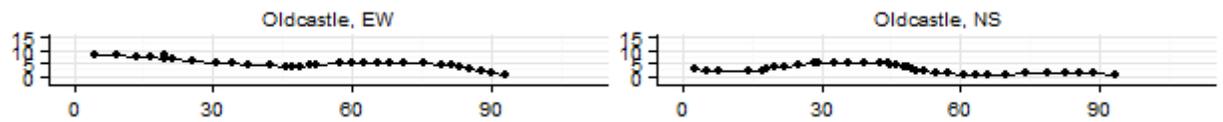
A circular ringfort (TN017-049), 17m in diameter, lays *c.* 300m northwest of the ringwork site with panoramic views in all directions. This ringfort is skirted by a modern road and is heavily damaged; the remaining defenses include a stone and earthen bank (Wth 0.8m; int. H 0.23m; ext. H 1.8m) with a steep drop into the interior of the site. An outer ditch is visible only at the northwest (Farrelly and O’Brien 2002: 146). A second ringfort (TN017-053) is located on an east-facing slope 1.5km southeast of the ringwork. The second ringwork is a circular enclosure measuring 27.5m in diameter, 26m east-west and is defined by an earth and stone bank (Wth 1.3m; int. H 1.22m; ext. H 1.6m), which has been leveled at the east (Farrelly and O’Brien 2002: 146).

¹⁸ A colpe is an unquantifiable measure of land, generally understood to be the amount of land it takes to feed a horse or cow for a years’ time.

Excavation evidence

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Site Profile



Pictures



The rolling pastureland looking southeast with the platform on the left of the photograph.



The tree covered platform at Oldcastle facing north. Note the masonry wall fronting the platform in the center of the image.



The masonry fronting of the Oldcastle platform.

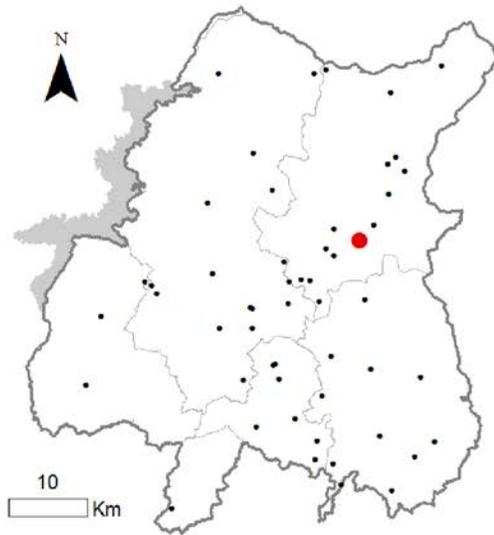
Maps

Oldcastle (Bourney Parish)

SMR classification:
Castle - ringwork

Coordinates (Irish Grid Reference):
210000 E, 183300 N

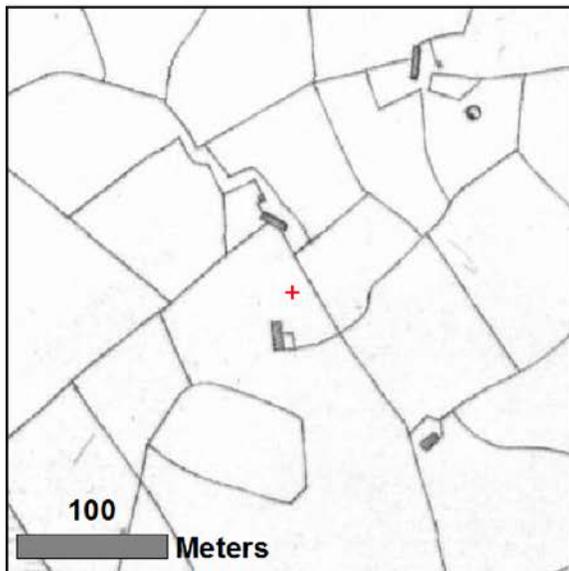
SMR no: TN017-050002-



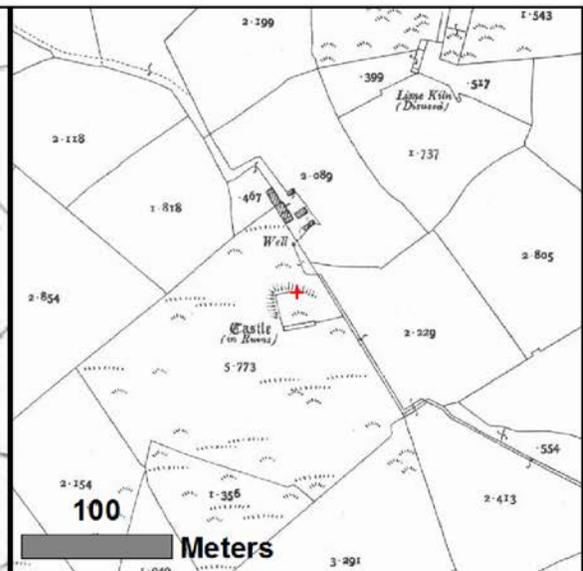
Locator Map
Featured site shown in red



Aerial Imagery
2005-2010



Ordnance Survey 6" Map
1829-1847



Ordnance Survey 25" Map
1897-1913

Site No:	22
Site Name:	Clareen
Ordnance Survey designation on current 6-inch map:	Hachured
Townland:	Clareen
Parish:	Burgesbeg
Barony:	Owney and Arra
Cantred:	Owney and Arra
Coordinates (Irish Grid Reference):	
SMR no:	TN020-072----
SMR classification:	Castle - ringwork
Inventory no:	2037
Inventory classification:	Ringwork
Date of survey:	June 5, 2013
Revised classification (if applicable):	-

Siting

Clareen ringwork is located on a slight natural rise in undulating pastureland with poorly drained marshy land located to the north and south of the site; a drain cut in the west field allows for pasturage. The D-shaped low platform (39m N-S, 31m E-W), facing north, is defined by a scarp (H 2.5m N; 1.5 S) and surrounded by a wide flat-bottomed ditch (Wth 5m; D 1.5m) and an outer bank (Wth 2.5m). The bank and ditch are destroyed at the south. A causeway entrance is located at the east (Wth 3.2m).

Place name

Irish: *An Cláirín*

Place name: -

First recorded use: 1654; Clarine CS II. 140, 146, 279, &rl.

Documentary references

The Civil Survey II describes the ploughland of Clarine as:

Bounded on the East with the lands of Grelagh in the Parish of Musea in Lower Ormond, on the West with the lands of Towerfoune in this Parish, on the North with the lands of Curraghtemple in the parish of Youghill, and on the South with the lands of Derry in the parish of Kilmore. The said Mortagh ó Bryen proprietor in fee by purchas long before Rebellion from Daniell ó

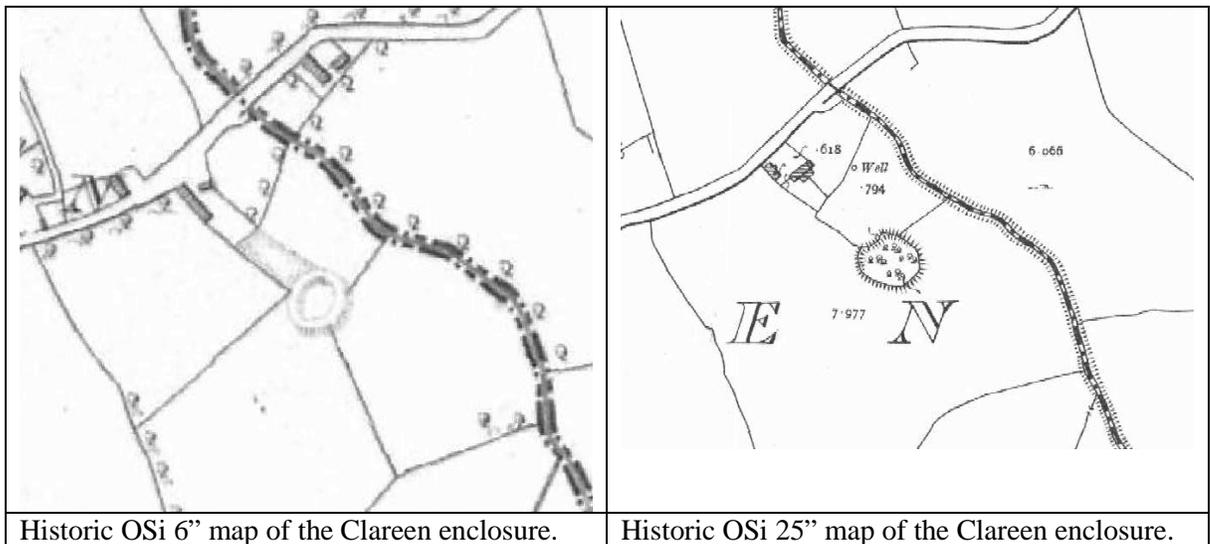
Hogan and Rory ó Hogan, of the said halfe ploughland of Clarine (as we are informed). The said ploughland at present totally waste without any improvement (Simington 1937: 146).

The 1640 estimate on the ploughland of Clarine consisted of 30 plantation acres, of this, 25 acres were arable and five acres were pastureland.

Clarine is also mentioned in the description of the Barony of Lower Ormond as the “foord of Clarine thence by the Walls south-westward of Nenagh Thence to a heighway leading to the lands of Beanedyn part of the lands of Nenagh” (Simington 1937: 278-279). This and two additional mentions of a ford at Clarine illustrate the importance of this townland as a crossing point.

Adjacent archaeological sites

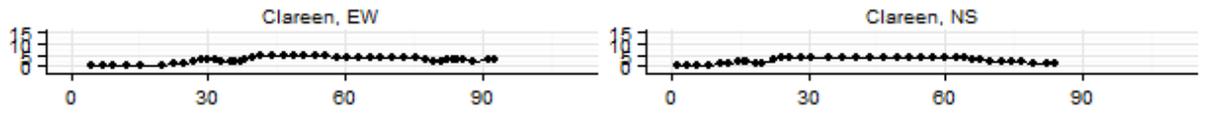
A destroyed enclosure is located on the east side of the Clareen townland. Visible on the six and 25-inch OS maps, the roughly circular enclosure is under a modern silage pit. Size of enclosure is reminiscent of a ringfort site.



Excavation evidence

Archaeological monitoring on a greenfield site the north of the Clareen ringwork in 2002 produced no features or deposits (Hodkinson 2002:1715).

Site Profile



Pictures



Marshy section of land north of Clareen ringwork, a view from platform top, looking into north ditch/bank enclosure.



Clareen ringwork causeway entrance east of the platform, facing south in ditch, between the platform (right) and bank (left).



Platform facing southwest from marshy area to the north.

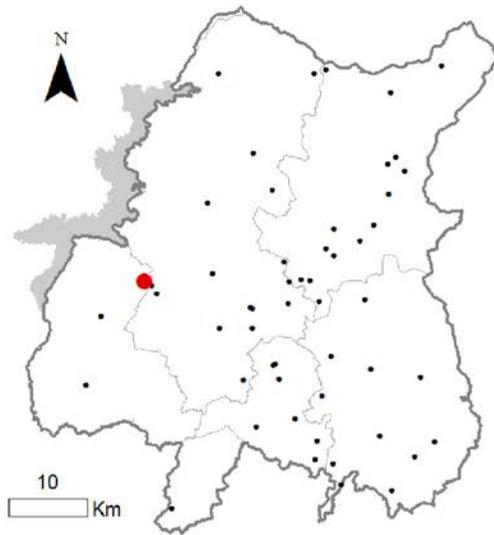
Maps

Clareen (Burgeshbeg Parish)

SMR classification:
Castle - ringwork

Coordinates (Irish Grid Reference):
182690 E, 178150 N

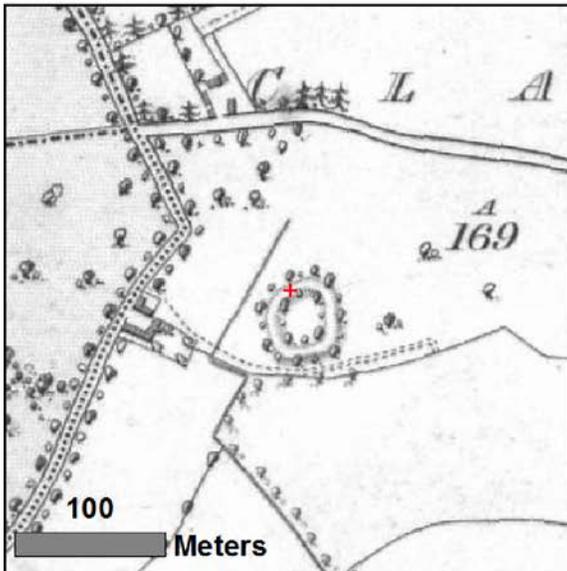
SMR no: TN020-072----



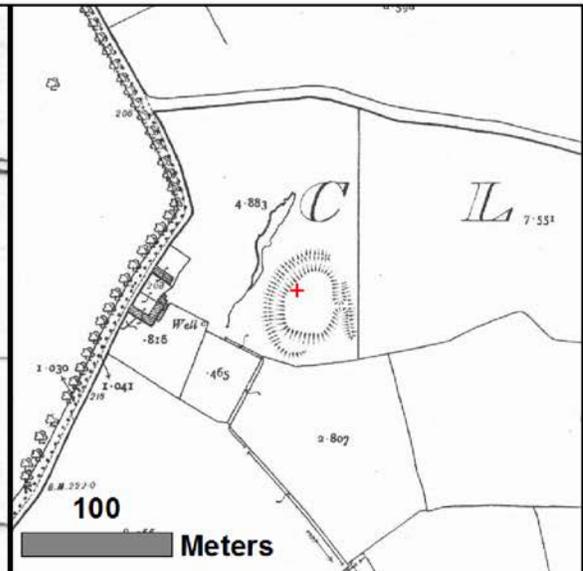
Locator Map
Featured site shown in red



Aerial Imagery
2005-2010



Ordnance Survey 6" Map
1829-1847



Ordnance Survey 25" Map
1897-1913

Site No:	23
Site Name:	Park
Ordnance Survey designation on current 6-inch map:	Hactured
Townland:	Park
Parish:	Aghnameadle
Barony:	Ormond Upper
Cantred:	Ormond
Coordinates (Irish Grid Reference):	200350, 180689
SMR no:	TN022-004----
SMR classification:	Castle - ringwork
Inventory no:	2062
Inventory classification:	Ringwork (possible)
Date of survey:	June 6, 2013
Revised classification (if applicable):	Ringfort

Siting

Park ringwork is situated on the south slope of a hill (130m to 120m) in an upland area with extensive views east-south-west and limited views north. The remains of a roughly circular platform (diam. 36m NE-SW, 32m NW-SE) with a low internal earth and stone wall at the northeast and SSW (H 1m) is enclosed by a wide ditch (Wth 4m) and bank complex (Wth 4m; int. H 1m, ext. H 3.5m). The ditch is partially cut into the sloping pasture on the west. The outer bank is destroyed from north to east. Wall-footings as distinguished by Farrelly and O'Brien (2002: 295) were not found.

The site is located 550m from the Ollatrim River, which flows into the Nenagh River before flowing to Lough Derg north of Dromineer.

Place name

Irish: *An PhAgáirc*

Place name: field

First recorded use: 1582; Parke, Pairke COD V 317

Documentary references

The first reference to the townland of Parke or Pairke comes from the *Calendar of Ormond Deeds* volume v, 1547-1584 (Curtis 1941: 317).

Eight O’Kennedy and O’Tierney deeds (in Latin):

Cornelius O’Kennedy of Parke in Ormond, gentleman, son and heir of Maurice O’Kennedy late of the same, in consideration of rool, current money of England, grants to Donald O’Meara of Lisenusky, chief of his nation, a quarter and half of a quarter of a carucate of arable land of his own patrimony, and his messuages, lands and tenements in the towns and fields of Pairke and Kaeillaghalaehin, and all his rights, services, suits of courts, etc. To hold to said Donald, his heirs and assigns for ever, of the chief lords of the fee, etc.

Signature: Cornelius O’Kennedy. ‘Et Tathens filius eius consensit.’
March 29, 1582 Seal.

In the next two years, the townland of Park and adjacent townlands (Gortnemore, Corlisse, Kaeillagha) passed between these two Irish families, the O’Kennedy’s and O’Tierney’s in eight different transactions with seals. Many of the witnesses of these deeds held Irish names, emphasizing the strength of the Irish in this region after the Gaelic Resurgence.

Adjacent archaeological sites

The townland of Park in Aghnameadle Parish, the same townland in which the ringwork is found, contains one additional archaeological site, a burnt mound (TN022-071). This fulacht fiadh was partially excavated in 2007 ahead of the N7 bypass (see below).

Farrelly and O’Brien (2002) appear to have combined the adjacent townland of Park in Aghnameadle Parish with the townland of Park in Ballymackery Parish, as they are both designated as “Park” townland on the Ordnance Survey Ireland 6 and 25-inch map. Farrelly and O’Brien (2002) also combine the townland of Park in Killea Parish, which is located north of Killea outside of Templemore on the southeast side of the Devilsbit Mountains. This combination of townlands might be the reason for the designation of the Park site as a ringwork castle, as the Killea Parish Park townland contains a church

(TN029-006001), a graveyard (TN029-006002), a moated site (TN029-009), three ringforts (TN029-002; TN029-049; TN029-048), and a house of indeterminate date (TN029-092). The combination of church, graveyard, and moated site suggest the possibility that the Killea Parish townland of Park dates to the high medieval period; whereas the burnt mound and associated excavation of the Park townlands in Aghnameadle and Ballymackery Parish point towards the possibility of dating to the early medieval period.

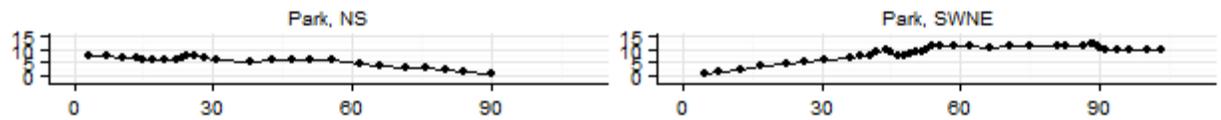
Excavation evidence

In 2007, phase two excavations were undertaken in the Park townland ahead of the N7 Castletown to Nenagh national road scheme. Multiple areas with archaeological remains were uncovered, including a concentration of pits, post- and stake-holes. Nine stake-holes in a cluster were interpreted as a structure; an adjacent pit and hearth contained animal bones and pottery fragments. An additional cluster of twelve stake-holes and a post-hole located west of the first structure had an undetermined purpose. A line of post-holes ten meters to the northwest of the structure was interpreted as a fence; a second line of five post-holes 20m to the south may be a second fence line. Features associated with the southern fence include twelve pits, seven post-holes, and a hearth. The far western edge of this complex of pits contains four oval cremation pits (Mullens 2007: 1710).

A later phase of activity was also uncovered, including four possible kilns. One of the kilns was keyhole shaped, comprising of two chambers and a flue in an area of intensive burning (Mullens 2007: 1710). The second, a dumbbell-shaped kiln, was found to the east of the first kiln. Fragments of rotary querns were utilized in the stone lining of this second kiln. The third kiln was also keyhole shaped, stone lined, and comprised of a two chambers and a flue. The fourth kiln was partially destroyed in a later ditch. The ditches surrounding the kilns show evidence of metalworking in the form of slag spread across the site (Mullens 2007: 1710).

Medieval field boundaries intersected the entire site, a total of 47 furrows were excavated during the 2007 testing. The features uncovered suggest intensive agricultural activity from the medieval period, as evidenced by the kilns for cereal drying and quernstone fragments associated with corn processing (Mullens 2007: 1710).

Site Profile



Pictures



Park ringwork view from east field



Park ringwork west ditch and bank facing south



Park ringwork west edge of platform facing north

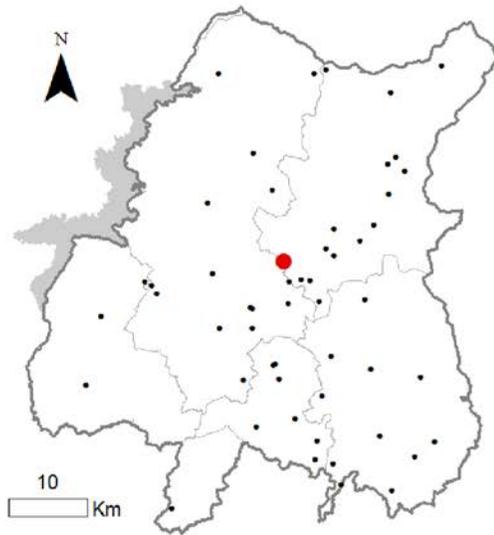
Maps

Park (Aghnameadle Parish)

SMR classification:
Castle - ringwork

Coordinates (Irish Grid Reference):
200350 E, 180689 N

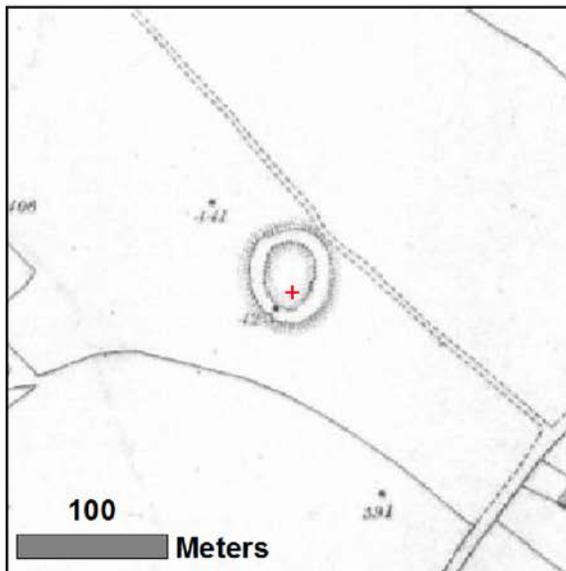
SMR no: TN022-004----



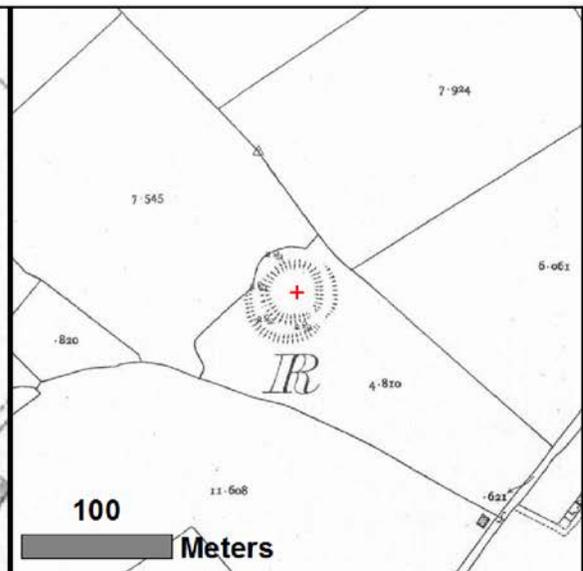
Locator Map
Featured site shown in red



Aerial Imagery
2005-2010



Ordnance Survey 6" Map
1829-1847



Ordnance Survey 25" Map
1897-1913

Site No:	24
Site Name:	Lisduff
Ordnance Survey designation on current 6-inch map:	-
Townland:	Lisduff
Parish:	Rathnaveoge
Barony:	Ikerrin
Cantred:	Elyocarroll
Coordinates (Irish Grid Reference):	206654E, 181485N
SMR no:	TN022-009----
SMR classification:	Castle - ringwork
Inventory no:	2055
Inventory classification:	Ringwork (possible)
Date of survey:	June 21, 2013
Revised classification (if applicable):	Ringfort

Siting

Lisduff ringwork is situated on a very low hillock in an upland area surrounded by gentle rolling pasture. A raised circular platform (diam. 27m N-S) is enclosed at the top by an earth and stone bank (Wth. 2m; int. H 0.2m; ext. H 2.3m), which has been reduced to a scarp. There is no evidence for an exterior ditch or bank, as described by Farrelly and O'Brien (2002: 294). A modern farm lane passes immediately to the east of the platform and the northwest platform edge has been quarried away to a steep side. The ringfort to the south is completely reduced to a very slight hump of earth with no visible shape.

There is no evidence for wall footings of a rectangular building in the interior of the site and no evidence for wall footings at the top of the bank, as described by Farrelly and O'Brien (2002: 294). The site has been utilized as a cow path and severely damaged; a tractor was parked on the southeast edge of the site during June 2013. The farmer is very vocal in wanting to bulldoze the site and it should be considered as in danger of destruction.

Place name

Irish: *An Lois Dubh*

Place name: black; ring-fort, enclosure

First recorded use: 1654; Lisduffe; CS X 32

Documentary references

The Civil Survey 1654-1656 volume 10, containing Miscellanea, including a map showing changes to the county and barony boundaries since this 1654-1656 Civil Survey first mentions the townland of Lisduff (Lissduffe):

“...the lands of Lisduffe from thence to Fentoire, from thence betweene the lands of Crenkill and the lands of Lisduffe to a high roadway leading to Birr, from thence by a quittsett ditch betweene the lands of Mordell and Lisduffe to a streame betweene the lands of Crea and Lisduffe...” (Simington 1961: 34).

Adjacent archaeological sites

A poorly preserved ringfort (TN022-011) lies directly south of the ringwork site. The ringfort is described by Farrelly and O’Brien (2002: 138) as a raised D-shaped area (diam. 29m N-S) with a straight edge at the east (L 26m) enclosed by an earth and stone bank. The siting of the ringfort is on a southwest-facing slope of rising ground (Farrelly and O’Brien 2002: 138). A field visit in July 2013 revealed a low mound with no discernable surface features under the grass.

A possible moated site at Lisduff, according to Barry (1977: 207), was removed between 1840 and 1903 as evidenced by the Ordnance Survey 6-inch to 25-inch. Farrelly and O’Brien (2002: 307) note the location of the possible moated site was in pastureland where a number of quarry pits were opened in the past. There are no visible remains of the site and no water source to feed a moated site.

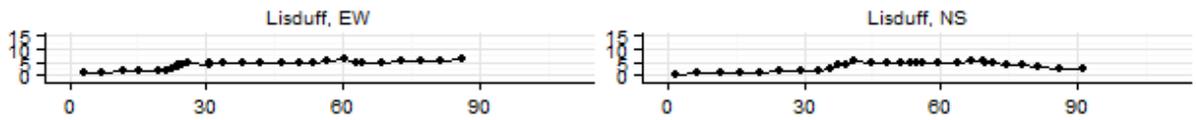
<p>Ordnance Survey Ireland 6" historical map (1829-1847) showing the possible moated site in Lisduff township, the rectangular site in center right located southeast of the ringwork site.</p>	<p>Ordnance Survey Ireland 25" historical map (1897-1913) showing the removal of the field boundaries of the possible moated site at Lisduff.</p>

The Lisduff townland and ringwork are located 1km southeast of the Moatquarter motte, which is associated Busherstown medieval settlement (Chrobak *et al.* 2012).

Excavation evidence

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Site Profile



Pictures



Lisduff ringwork site facing south.



Top of the Lisduff platform, illustrating the stone and earthen bank (right).

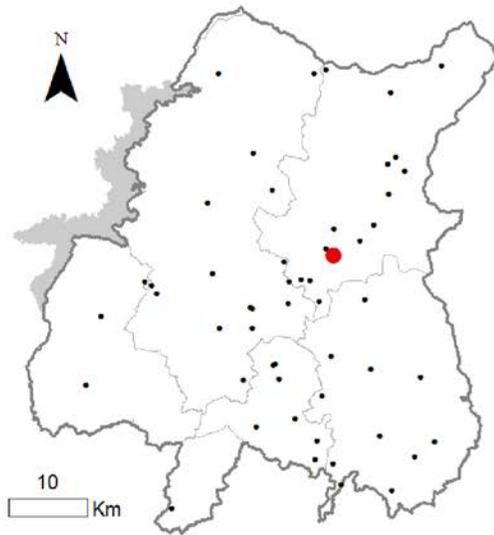
Maps

Lisduff (Rathnaveoge Parish)

SMR classification:
Castle - ringwork

Coordinates (Irish Grid Reference):
206654 E, 181485 N

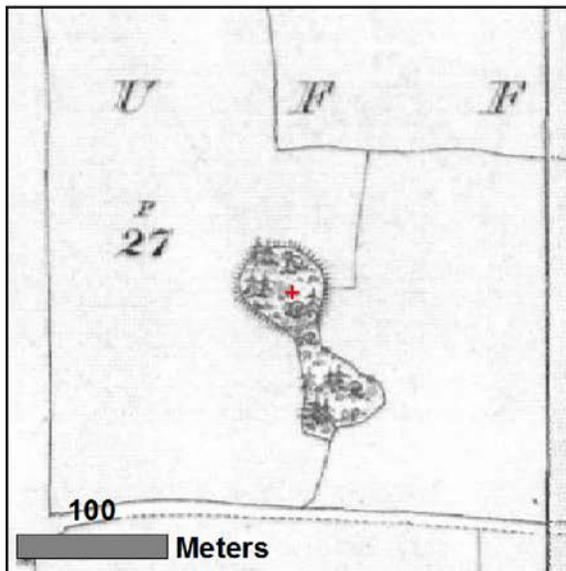
SMR no: TN022-009----



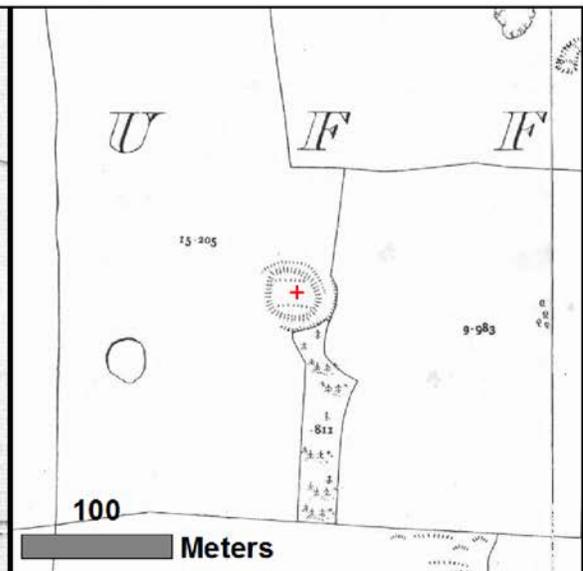
Locator Map
Featured site shown in red



Aerial Imagery
2005-2010



Ordnance Survey 6" Map
1829-1847



Ordnance Survey 25" Map
1897-1913

Site No:	25
Site Name:	Borrisnafarney
Ordnance Survey designation on current 6-inch map:	“Battery”
Townland:	Borrisnafarney
Parish:	Borrisnafarney
Barony:	Ikerrin
Cantred:	Elyocarroll
Coordinates (Irish Grid Reference):	
SMR no:	TN022-058----
SMR classification:	Castle - ringwork
Inventory no:	2034
Inventory classification:	Ringwork (possible)
Date of survey:	June 6, 2013
Revised classification (if applicable):	-

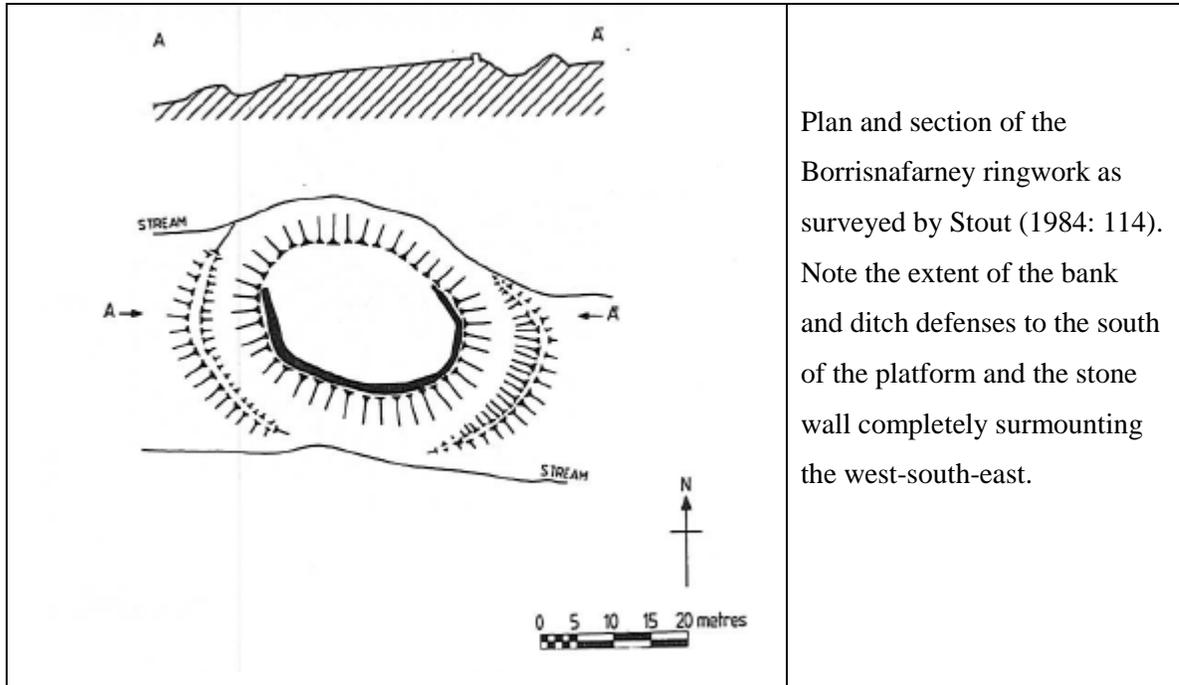
Siting

The Borrisnafarney ringwork is situated on a natural hillock in sloping terrain with good views to the north, south, and west with limited views directly upslope to the east. Two steep-sided ravines originally straddled the site; the south-most ravine is completely destroyed, as of July 2013, in modern agricultural activity, which also cut into the southernmost bank and ditch complex. The site is a raised oval-shaped platform (diam. 24m E-W, 19m N-S, H *c.* 3m) surmounted by a stone and masonry wall at the southwest and the southeast with cuts removed through the south and no wall from the west-north-east.

The masonry wall is *c.* 2m thick at the widest point of the base at the east and survives at a height of one meter at points in the west and east. There is no wall or remnants of a wall at the west-north-east; Stout suggests this area was left undefended due to the natural defense of this steep side into the ravine to the north (Stout 1984: 114).

Stout (1984) describes the bank and ditch complex to the east and west of the platform as “banana-shaped banks stretching from the northern stream to 2m short of the southern stream. The banks are six meters wide at their widest point and are raised 1.6m above the ground level” (114). Stout (1984) also describes the ditch surrounding the site as “very

waterlogged”, three meters in maximum depth below the platform top (114). The remaining bank and ditch complex is high (1.5m) and wide (c. 5m) but greatly reduced back, equal to the base of the platform on both the eastern and western sides (see pictures below). The site is marked “Battery” on both the 6 and 25-inch Ordnance Survey Ireland maps.



Place name

Irish: *Buiríos na Fearná*

Place name: -

First recorded use: 1306c; Burgesyfarna; Pap. Tax. 302

Documentary references

The church of Burgesyfarna (Burrenafarney) is recorded in the Calendar of Documents relating to Ireland under the ecclesiastical taxation of the Laoniensis (Killaloe) Diocese as holding a value of 3 marks, 4 shillings (*CDI 1302-1307*: 302).

Adjacent archaeological sites

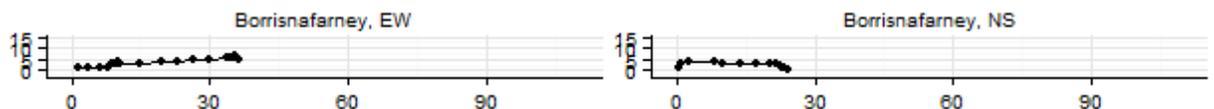
A circular ringfort (diam. 25m E-W) (TN028-021) lies 80m immediately south of the ringwork site. The ringfort is well preserved and enclosed by two earth and stone banks with an intervening ditch. The outer bank has been cut close by the modern agricultural field activity. Three additional ringforts (TN022-056/TN022-057/TN028-022) are found downslope to the west of the ringwork and associated ringfort.

Immediately downslope to the ringwork and ringfort is a graveyard (TN028-020002) and destroyed church (TN028-020001). Marked as the “Templeshane Church” on the second edition 6-inch OS maps, what remains of the church is a modern graveyard in a rectangular enclosure with a projecting recess to the west. Stout (1984: 100) assigns a medieval foundation to the church based on a reference in the Calendar of Ormond deeds, which refers to the “rectory of the church of Burgagenefarne” in 1364 (Curtis 1934: 84). The church was listed in the 1302 ecclesiastical taxation of the Diocese of Killaloe (*CDI*: 302). However, by 1615, with the Royal Visitation, the location is described as being without a church or chancel (Farrelly and O’Brien 2002: 290). According to the OS letters, the graveyard was known locally as St. John’s church (O’Flanagan 1930: 84).

Excavation evidence

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Site Profile



Pictures



The south side of Borrisnafarney ringwork and dry waterway in May 2012.



The south side of Borrisnafarney ringwork, with modern agricultural disturbance, in July 2014. The small stream has been completely removed from the field from the far east stretch to the west end of this field, resulting in the north stream channel widening and deepening.



The south-western platform from the ground level at the Borrisnafarney ringwork, note the masonry wall at the top of the platform.



Top of the Borrisnafarney ringwork platform facing west.



The eastern masonry wall on the top of the Borrisnafarney ringwork platform.

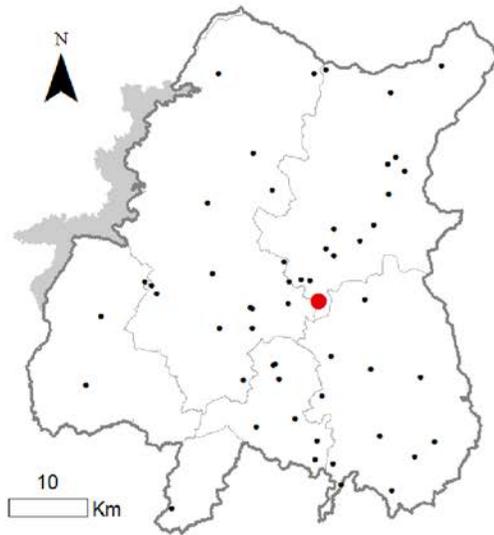
Maps

Borrisnafarney

SMR classification:
Castle - ringwork

Coordinates (Irish Grid Reference):
204810 E, 175650 N

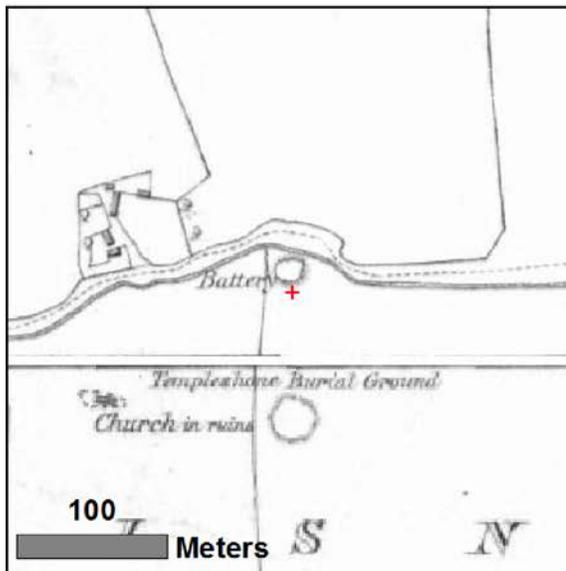
SMR no: TN022-058----



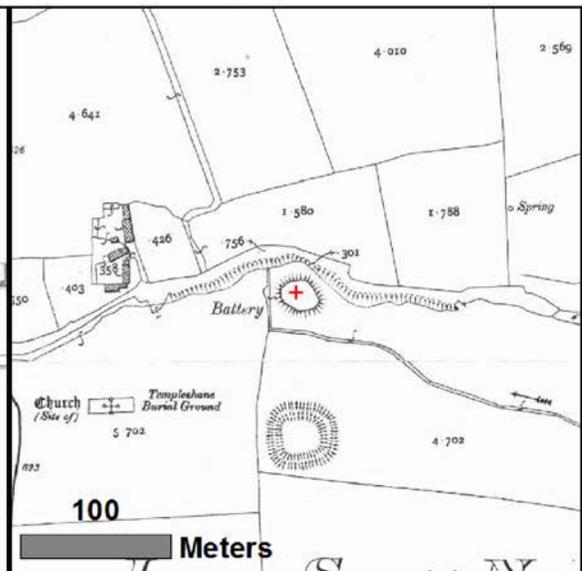
Locator Map
Featured site shown in red



Aerial Imagery
2005-2010



Ordnance Survey 6" Map
1829-1847



Ordnance Survey 25" Map
1897-1913

Site No:	26
Site Name:	Ballycahill, Clontaaffe
Ordnance Survey designation on current 6-inch map:	Hachured
Townland:	Ballycahill; Clontaaffe
Parish:	Templemore
Barony:	Eliogarty
Cantred:	Elyogarty
Coordinates (Irish Grid Reference):	
SMR no:	TN023-055----
SMR classification:	Castle - ringwork
Inventory no:	2030
Inventory classification:	Ringwork (possible)
Date of survey:	N/A (bull in field)
Revised classification (if applicable):	-

Siting

Ballycahill, Clontaaffe ringwork was not visited due to the presence of a bull in the field in which the site is located. According to Farrelly and O'Brien (2002: 289-290), the site is located on a valley floor with a small unnamed stream flowing roughly north-south just west of the site. The platform is located in wet, marshy terrain in rough pasture. The site is "a raised, oval platform (38m N-S, 32.5m E-W) defined by a scarp (H 1.2m) with no visible evidence of an external fosse" (Farrelly and O'Brien 2002: 290). Outside of the northeast quadrant, Farrelly and O'Brien (2002) note a drain running roughly north-south (290).

The site is at the base of Devil's Bit mountain in a valley with the Ballycahill hill; it is of very unusual siting for a ringwork castle.

Place name

Irish: *Baile Uí Chathail; Cluain Tífe*

Place name: townland, town, homestead; meadow, pasture

First recorded use: -; 1614; Clonteabe; CPR 268

Documentary references

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Adjacent archaeological sites

The townland of Ballycahill contains no other archaeological sites.

Excavation evidence

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Site Profile

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Pictures

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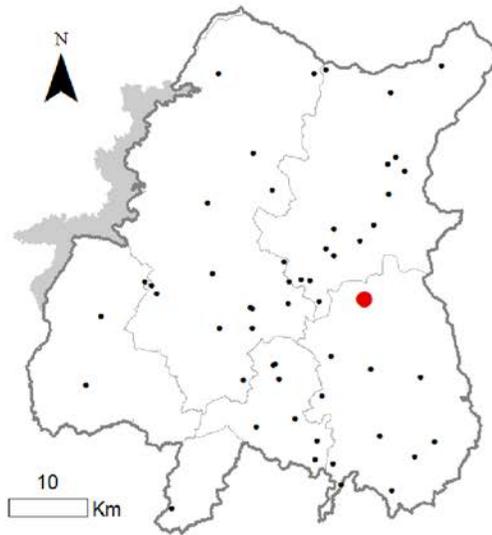
Maps

Ballycahill (Templemore Parish), Clontaaiffe

SMR classification:
Castle - ringwork

Coordinates (Irish Grid Reference):
210595 E, 175947 N

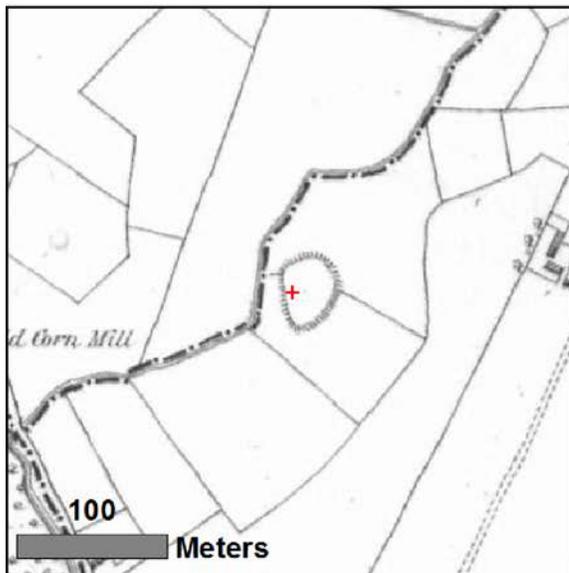
SMR no: TN023-055-----



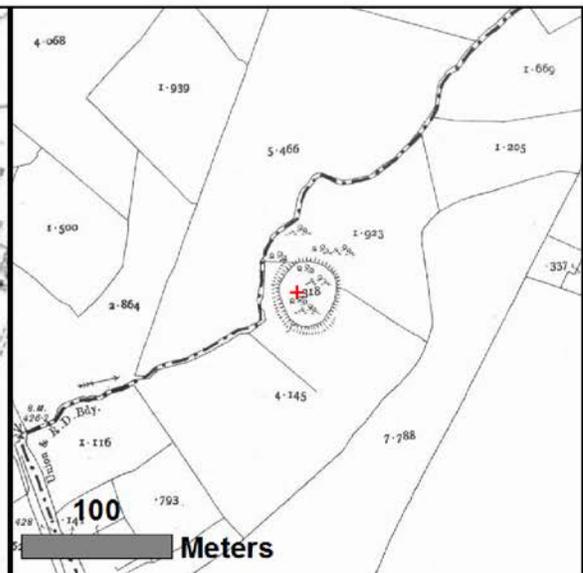
Locator Map
Featured site shown in red



Aerial Imagery
2005-2010



Ordnance Survey 6" Map
1829-1847



Ordnance Survey 25" Map
1897-1913

Site No:	27
Site Name:	Kilnaneave
Ordnance Survey designation on current 6-inch map:	“Lisnaraha”
Townland:	Kilnaneave
Parish:	Kilnaneave
Barony:	Ormond Upper
Cantred:	Ormond
Coordinates (Irish Grid Reference):	192184E, 172256N
SMR no:	TN027-072----
SMR classification:	Castle - ringwork
Inventory no:	2052
Inventory classification:	Ringwork
Date of survey:	June 20, 2013
Revised classification (if applicable):	Ringfort

Siting

The Kilnaneave site is located on top of a steep hill (H 554m) with expansive views of neighboring hills and valleys in all directions. The raised circular platform (40m N-S, 47m E-W) is topped with a raised earth and stone bank (Wth 5m; int. H 0.5m; ext. H 4.25m). Surrounding the platform is a deep, steep-sided, U-shaped ditch (Wth. 9.5m), which is destroyed in the east due to modern farm activity, and a cattle path. The ditch is earth and stone in the interior, which is visible due to slippage. A substantial outer bank (max. Wth 2.5m at top, 8m at base) encircles the site from north-west-south with destruction at the east due to farm activity. There is no evidence for the possible causeway entrance as described by Farrelly and O’Brien (2002: 293)

Place name

Irish: *Cill na Naomh*

Place name: church

First recorded use: 1306c; Church of All Saints; Pap. Tax 301

Irish: *Lios na ratha*

Place name: enclosure of the fort

Documentary references

The Church of All Saints (Kilnameave, Kilnauro) is recorded in the Calendar of Documents relating to Ireland under the ecclesiastical taxation of the Laoniensis (Killaloe) Diocese as holding a value of 3 marks, 4 shillings (*CDI 1302-1307*: 301).

There are no references to a castle in the townland of Kilnameave.

Adjacent archaeological sites

There are 18 archaeological sites in Kilnameave and four adjacent, interrelated townlands (Kilnameave, Monaquill; Curraghanuddy, Kilnameave; Jordansquarter, Kilnameave; Ballincurra, Killeen). Eleven of these sites are ringforts (TN027-032/TN027-034/TN027-037/TN027-070/TN027-074/TN027-076/TN027-083/TN027-086/TN027-095/TN027-136). As the ringwork is located in the far eastern portion of the townland, the two closest archaeological sites are ringforts in the townland of Curraghgraique Lower (TN027-088/TN027-089) located 290m and 355m to the east, respectively.

Two prehistoric sites lie to the south of Kilnameave ringwork on the top of Ballincurra Hill, which is part of the Silvermines Mountain range, northeast of Keeper Hill. These sites include an unclassified cairn (TN027-140002) and a hillfort (TN027-140001), which overlooks the entire surrounding area.

A church (TN027-071001) and graveyard (TN027-071002) are located 780m to the west of the ringwork site. The church was first mentioned *c.* 1306 in the Papal Taxation records; and was described in the OS letters as having a doorway constructed of chiseled limestone (O'Flanagan 1930: 191). Finally, a large, now destroyed, undated enclosure (TN027-087) is located one kilometer southwest of the ringwork site.

Excavation evidence

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Site Profile

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Pictures



The northeast view of Kilnaneave ringwork, facing uphill.



The northeast ditch of Kilnaneave ringwork, facing east.



Top of the Kilnaneave ringwork platform facing north from the disturbed entrance in the south.

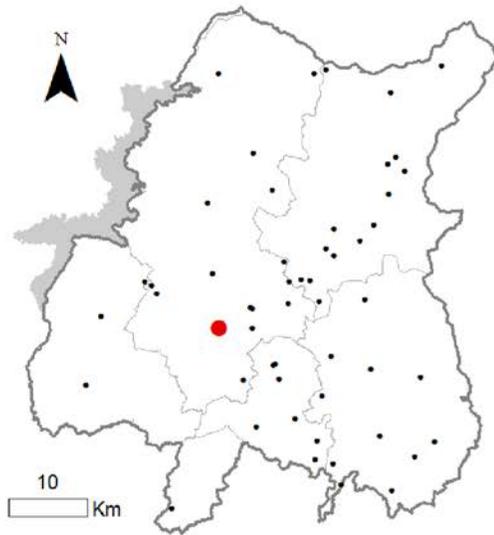
Maps

Kilnaneave

SMR classification:
Castle - ringwork

Coordinates (Irish Grid Reference):
192184 E, 172256 N

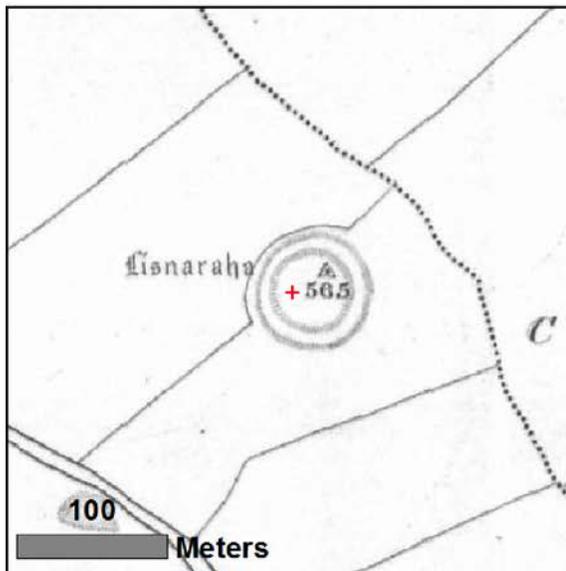
SMR no: TN027-072----



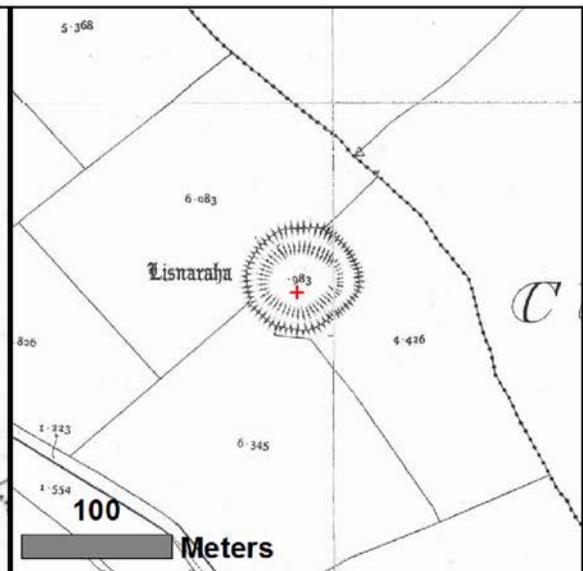
Locator Map
Featured site shown in red



Aerial Imagery
2005-2010



Ordnance Survey 6" Map
1829-1847



Ordnance Survey 25" Map
1897-1913

Site No:	28
StookSite Name:	Stook
Ordnance Survey designation on current 6-inch map:	“Knockauns Fort”
Townland:	Stook
Parish:	Aghnameadle
Barony:	Ormond Upper
Cantred:	Ormond
Coordinates (Irish Grid Reference):	200881, 175442
SMR no:	TN028-007----
SMR classification:	Castle - ringwork
Inventory no:	2066
Inventory classification:	Ringwork
Date of survey:	June 6, 2013
Revised classification (if applicable):	Enclosure

Siting

Stook ringwork is located on a natural rise in a mountainous region east of Knockohilligan Peak (780m), overlooking a stream (a branch of the Ollatrin River) and ravine to the west. The site is noted on both the 6 and 25-inch Ordnance Survey Ireland maps as “Knockauns Fort”. A roughly D-shaped platform (diam. 31m N-S, 44m E-W, H 0.5m N, H 2m S) is enclosed by a coarse earth and stone bank (Wth 1.5-2m; int. H 0.5m) that is missing at the southwest. No outer bank or ditch complex is noted.

Discussion with the landowner revealed the area south of the platform was one meter higher about three years ago; he removed gravel from this area and replaced it with clay, resulting in some slumping of the ground. The field is now in pasture for cows, which have access to the platform. The landowner noted the platform top had “potato farming ridges” when he purchased the property (c. 5-8 years prior); subsequent cow use of the platform trampled these out. The field around the site to the south regularly becomes muddy and swampy during wet times.

Place name

Irish: *An Stuaic*

Place name: -

First recorded use: 1654; Knocklegane al. Towerhorny, CS II 213; Kncklegan al. Towerhorny CS II 213; Knockligane CS II 212; Kocklegane CS II 214; Towerhorny CS II 213

Documentary references

The townland of Stook was known as Toorhomey/Towerhorney until at least 1841. The ploughland of Knocklegane (also Towerhorny) is recorded in the Civil Survey of 1654 as holding 168 plantation areas, 96 arable, 60 in pasture, and 12 in meddow (Simington 1934: 213). Walter Butler is noted as the proprietor “in fee of one 4th part of a ploughland of ye afforsaid by descent from his father who purchased the same from the Kenedyes (as we are informed)” (Simington 1934: 213). The land is described as in waste without any improvement.

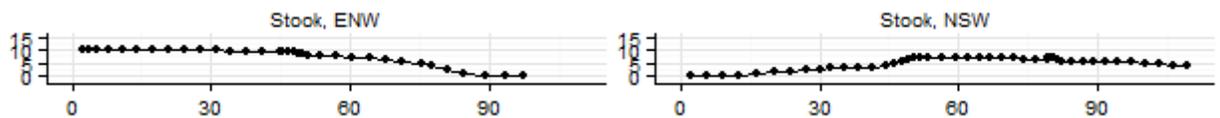
Adjacent archaeological sites

The townland of Ballinlough (Aghnameadle Parish), Stook, contains one large ringfort. Measuring 77m east-west in diameter, the large circular area is enclosed by an earth and stone bank with an outer ditch and possible outer bank.

Excavation evidence

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Site Profile



Pictures



Stook ringwork platform facing southwest, note the difference in platform height from north to south.



Stook ringwork platform facing south.

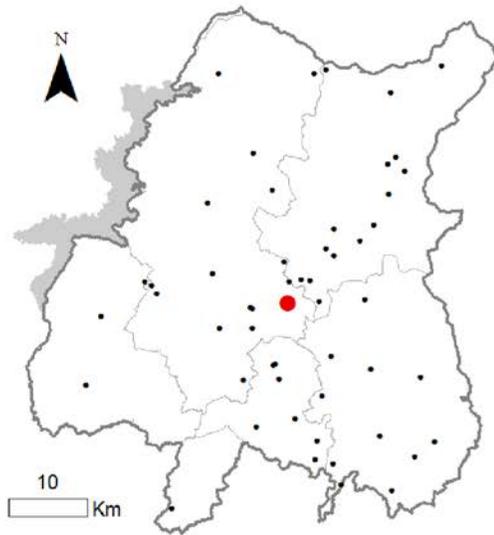


Gravel removal and clay deposit on south edge of Stook ringwork platform.

Maps

SMR classification:
Castle - ringwork

SMR no: TN028-007----



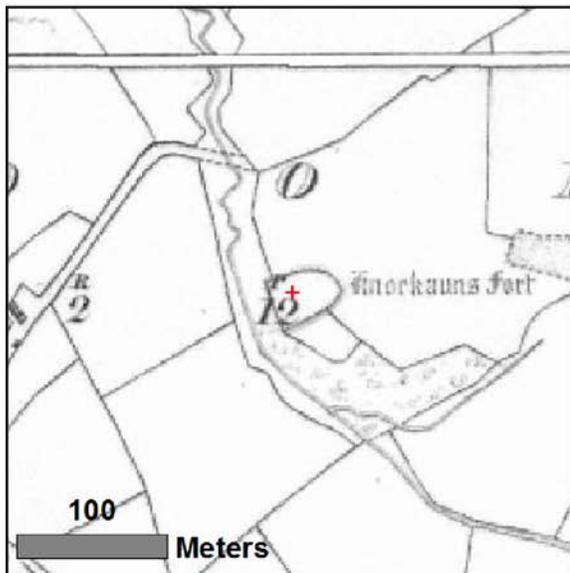
Locator Map
Featured site shown in red

Stook

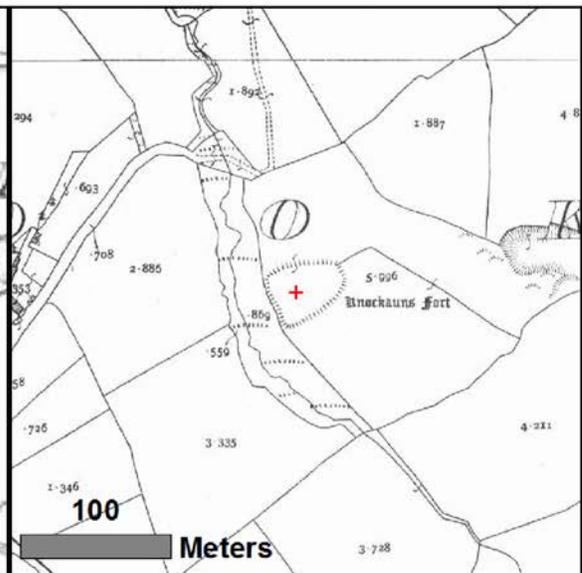
Coordinates (Irish Grid Reference):
200881 E, 175442 N



Aerial Imagery
2005-2010



Ordnance Survey 6" Map
1829-1847



Ordnance Survey 25" Map
1897-1913

Site No:	29
Site Name:	Kilmacogue
Ordnance Survey designation on current 6-inch map:	“Kilmacogue Castle (Site of)”
Townland:	Kilmacogue
Parish:	Kilnarath
Barony:	Owney and Arra
Cantred:	Owney and Arra
Coordinates (Irish Grid Reference):	175310, 165070
SMR no:	TN031-055002-
SMR classification:	Castle – ringwork
Inventory no:	2051
Inventory classification:	Earthwork castle (possible)
Date of survey:	N/A (bulls in field)
Revised classification (if applicable):	Castle - unclassified

Siting

Kilmacogue ringwork was not visited due to a bull in the field. According to Farrelly and O’Brien (2002: 293) the site is situated on the southeast-facing slope of a hillock in the foothills of the Silvermines Mountains. The site consists of a square area (diams. 11.5m N-S, 9m E-W) enclosed by a wide stone-and-earth bank (Wth 3.2m; int. H 1.5m; ext. H 1-2m) and outer ditch (Wth 3.2m; D 0.4m) with a possible causeway entrance at the southwest (Farrelly and O’Brien 2002: 293). Marked on the 6 and 25-inch Ordnance Survey Ireland maps as “the site of Kilmacogue Castle”.

The site is also classified as “Castle – unclassified” (TN031-055001) with the same description as the ringwork castle.

Place name

Irish: *Cill Mochuóg*

Place name: church

First recorded use: 1550; Killmocowoge; F491; 1572 Kilmocogh; COD V.218

Documentary references

The site is described in the Civil Survey 1654-1656 as owned by “Theobald Lord Barron of Brittas proprietor in fee by purchas long before the Rebellion (as we are informed) of the said ploudland and a halfe of Killmocoage and ffarrininerly. Upon the said lands standeth a demolished Castle, the lands being intermixt with underwoods and at present waste without any improvement” (Simington 1934: vol. 2, 192). The ploughland of Killmocoage and ffarrin Ineirly contained 236 plantation acres, 166 arable, 6 meddow, and 64 in pasture (Simington 1934: vol. 2, 192).

Adjacent archaeological sites

Farrelly and O’Brien classify the site as an unclassified earthwork castle (TN031-055001) which has been updated to a ringwork castle by the National Monuments Service (TN031-055002). There is no church in the townland irrespective of the Place name.

A road or trackway (TN031-092) is located 873m northeast of the ringwork castle site in Drumbaun (Killoscully Parish), Gortolee, Kilmacogue townland. The poorly preserved traces of a metalled roadway (avg Wth 3.5m) runs *c.* 6.8 km northeast-southwest skirting the foothills of the Silvermines Mountains from Killoscully to the Kilmacogue townland. According to the Ordnance Survey Namebooks, the trackway was “an old road used by Cromwell along which he conducted his armies and military stores” (Farrelly and O’Brien 2002: 163). No excavation or dating has been undertaken on the road.

Excavation evidence

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Site Profile

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Pictures



Aerial image of the ringwork castle at Kilmacogue (Microsoft 2014: Kilmacogue).

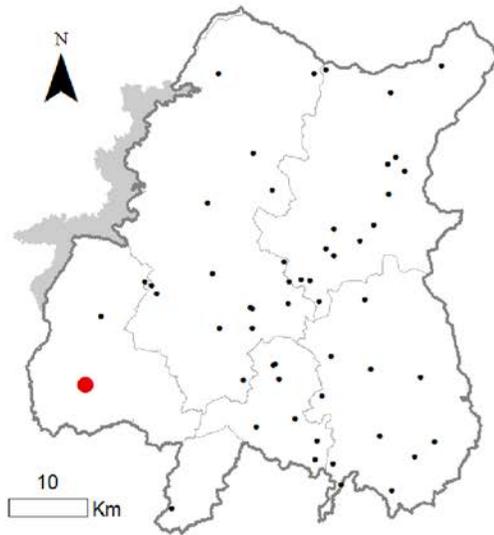
Maps

Kilmacogue

SMR classification:
Castle - ringwork

Coordinates (Irish Grid Reference):
175310 E, 165070 N

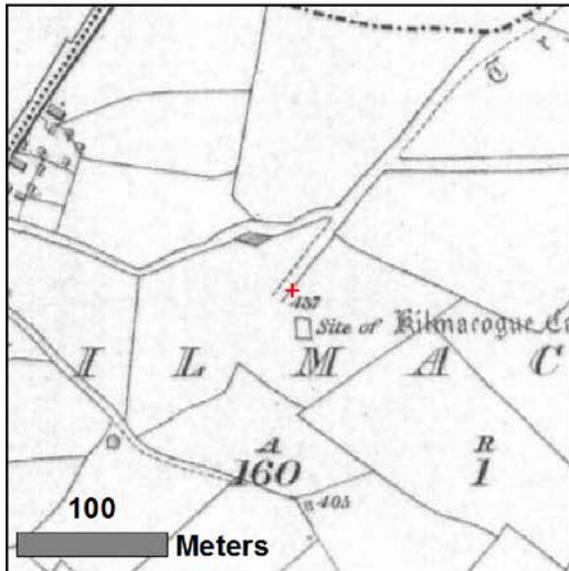
SMR no: TN031-055002-



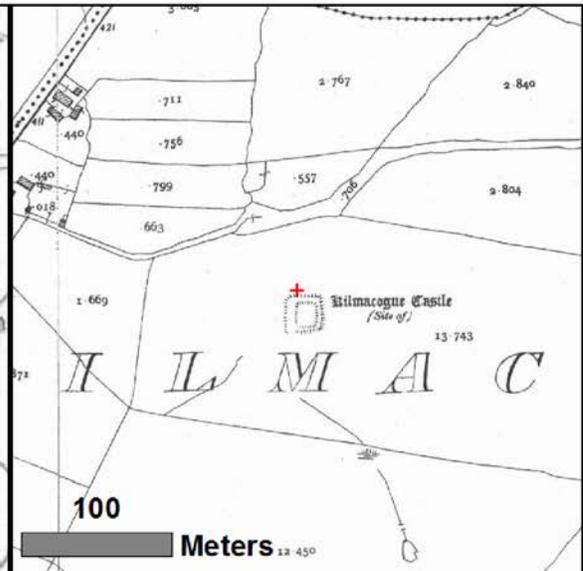
Locator Map
Featured site shown in red



Aerial Imagery
2005-2010



Ordnance Survey 6" Map
1829-1847



Ordnance Survey 25" Map
1897-1913

Site No:	30
Site Name:	Greenan
Ordnance Survey designation on current 6-inch map:	Indicated
Townland:	Greenan
Parish:	Templederry
Barony:	Ormond Upper
Cantred:	Ormond
Coordinates (Irish Grid Reference):	195250, 165610
SMR no:	TN033-029001-
SMR classification:	Castle - ringwork
Inventory no:	2046
Inventory classification:	Ringwork (possible)
Date of survey:	June 18, 2013
Revised classification (if applicable):	Enclosure

Siting

Greenan ringwork is located in a marshy valley on the base of a south-facing slope in rolling pasture in the foothills of the Silvermines Mountains. The site is a manmade, grass covered, trapezoidal platform (67m NE-SW, 65m NW-SE) enclosed by a low earth and gravel bank. There is no ditch or bank complex outside the platform, which is very wet and marshy on all sides. A fulacht fia site is incorporated into the northeast angle of the site. The west and south edges of the platform fade into the marshy area with no real bank on the top.

Place name

Irish: *An Grianán*

Place name: -

First recorded use: 1654; Grenane; CS II 126, 210

Documentary references

The Civil Survey of 1654 mentions the “ploughland of Grenane” in the record of Gortclimurihy ploughland (Simington 1934: vol. 2, 126). There is no mention of a castle in the ploughland.

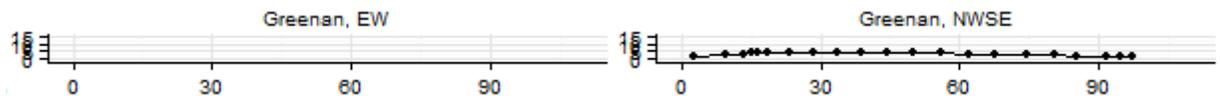
Adjacent archaeological sites

Two fulacht fia sites (TN033-029002/TN033-029003) are embedded in the ringwork platform. The first mound of burnt material (TN033-029002) is in the northeast angle of the ringwork and measures 5.3m NE-SW and 7.5m NW-SE (Farrelly and O'Brien 2002: 42). The second is a large (diam. 14.8m E-W, ext. H 0.66m) horseshoe-shaped mound of burnt material (TN033-0290003) with a possible trough area at the south (diam. 3.8m N-S, 2.8m E-W, int. H 0.9m) located immediately north of the possible ringwork (Farrelly and O'Brien 2002: 42).

Excavation evidence

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Site Profile



Pictures



View of the Greenan ringwork platform facing east, note the wetland plants in the foreground of the picture.



View of the north bank of the Greenan ringwork platform. Note the wetland plants in the foreground of the picture illustrating the marshy nature of the site.

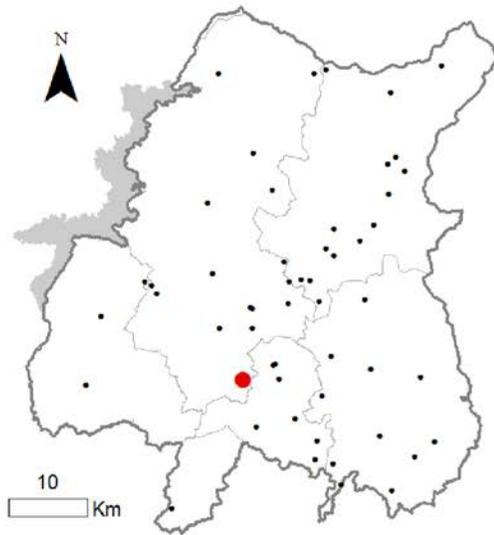
Maps

Greenan

SMR classification:
Castle - ringwork

Coordinates (Irish Grid Reference):
195250 E, 165610 N

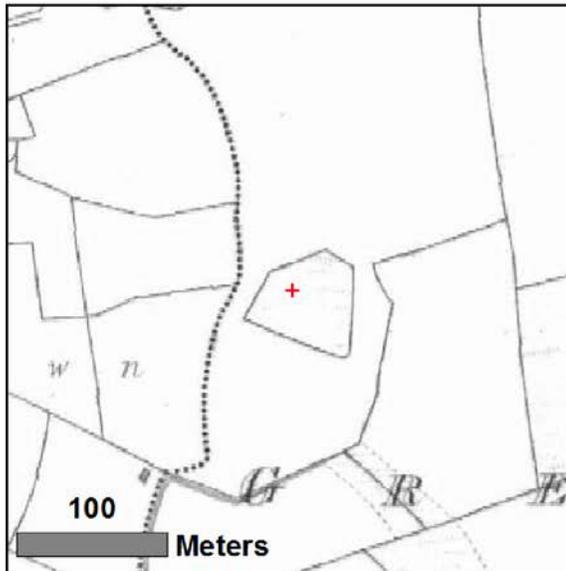
SMR no: TN033-029001-



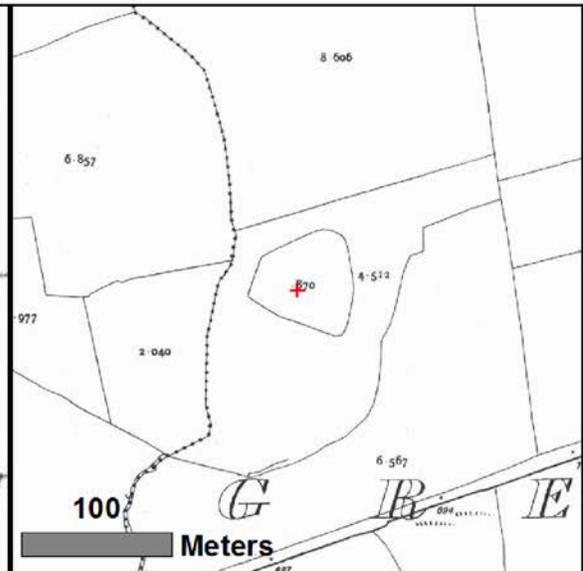
Locator Map
Featured site shown in red



Aerial Imagery
2005-2010



Ordnance Survey 6" Map
1829-1847



Ordnance Survey 25" Map
1897-1913

Site No:	31
Site Name:	Cullahill, Curraghkeal
Ordnance Survey designation on current 6-inch map:	
Townland:	Cullahill, Curraghkeal (border)
Parish:	Glenkeen
Barony:	Kilnamanagh Upper
Cantred:	Eoghanact Cashel
Coordinates (Irish Grid Reference):	199247, 167726
SMR no:	TN034-007----
SMR classification:	Castle – ringwork
Inventory no:	2041
Inventory classification:	Ringwork (possible)
Date of survey:	June 20, 2013
Revised classification (if applicable):	-

Siting

The ringwork at Cullahill, Curraghkeal is situated on a natural rise in undulating terrain overlooking a river to the west. The Cullahill ringwork (TN034-025004) is located up the mountain face southwest of the site across the river and modern major road. The platform is in a defensive location with good views to the southeast and northwest along the valley. The site is a raised oval shaped platform (diam. 47m NE-SW; H 1m W, 4m E) with a wide flat-bottomed ditch. The outer bank is of earth and stone construction and is best preserved from north-west-south and destroyed at the east, or alternatively, the eastern side of the site was never fortified and the natural dip in the hill pasture acted as a ditch and bank (as viewed on the Historical Ordnance Survey Ireland maps). The internal bank around the top of the platform as described by Farrelly and O'Brien (2002: 291) is destroyed. Two linear depressions run north-south on the top of the platform, possibly associated with farming activity on the site.

Place name

Irish: *An Chúlchoill, An Currach Caol*

Place name: -; marsh; narrow; a narrow, marshy stream

First recorded use: 1570; Cwolleghill Oleighe; COD V.186; Cowlleghill Oleighe; COD V.187; 1657; Curraghkeale; DS

Documentary references

The first reference to the townland is in the *Calendar of Ormond Deeds V: 1509-1547* wherein William Bourke fitz Theobald granted Thomas Butler, Earl of Ormond, his manors, lordships, and pastures, including “Cwolleghill Oleighe” on July 13, 1570 (Curtis 1941: 168). An Inquisition undertaken at Clonmel in 1628 describes the site as “a castle, town, and lands of Colloghill” (Callanan 1936-1937: 68).

Adjacent archaeological sites

The townland of Cullahill is situated in a mountainous region with a valley splitting the eastern stretches of the Silvermines Mountains. It is bordered by the townland of Curraghkeal to the east; a ringwork castle (TN034-024004) is located southwest of the Cullahill, Curraghkeal ringwork. The Cullahill ringwork is discussed as Site No. 33.

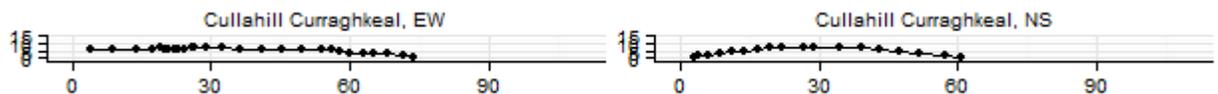
A deserted medieval settlement (TN034-025006) is located in the townland of Cullahill southwest of the ringwork. There are no earthworks visible of this site.

An enclosure (TN034-026) was located south of the ringwork as marked on the Historic 6 and 25-inch maps; no remains survive at ground level.

Excavation evidence

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Site Profile



Pictures



A view of the Cullahill, Curraghkeal ringwork from the Cullahill (TN034-025004) located southwest of the site. Note the natural valley on the far eastern side of the site (beyond platform).



A view of the ringwork platform facing east with the Cullahill ringwork in the background below the 17th century house (right of image).



A view of the Cullahill, Curraghkeal ringwork platform facing south; note the bank and ditch intervening the platform and the camera from the middle to the right of the image.

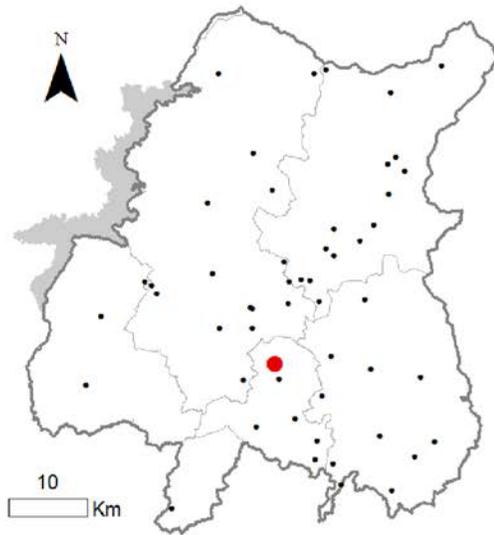
Maps

Cullahill (Glenkeen Parish), Curraghkeal

SMR classification:
Castle - ringwork

Coordinates (Irish Grid Reference):
199247 E, 167726 N

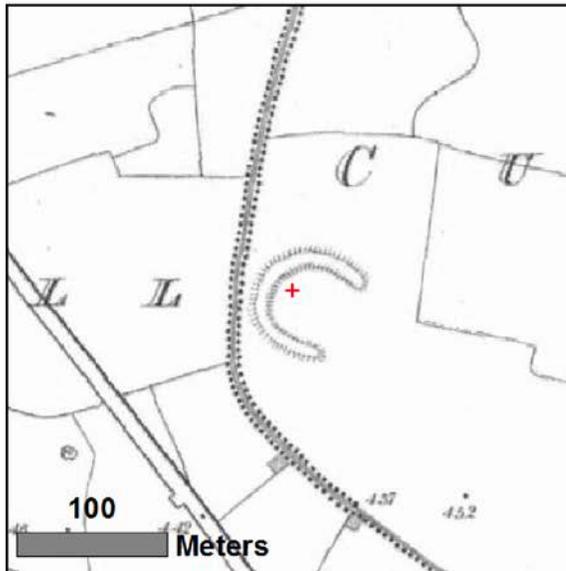
SMR no: TN034-007----



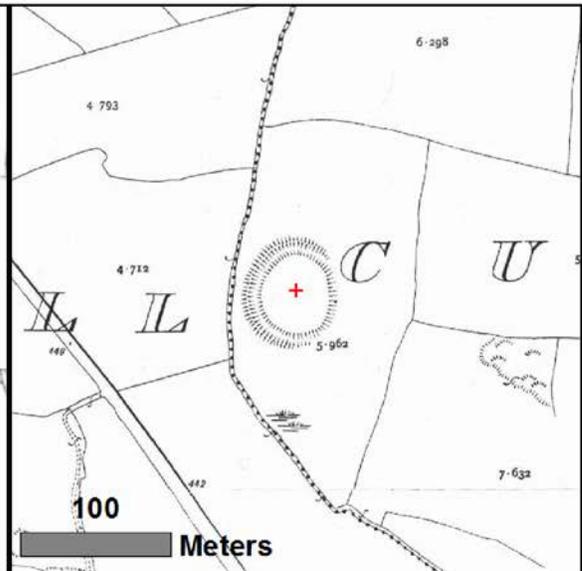
Locator Map
Featured site shown in red



Aerial Imagery
2005-2010



Ordnance Survey 6" Map
1829-1847



Ordnance Survey 25" Map
1897-1913

Site No:	32
Site Name:	Brookley, Drom
Ordnance Survey designation on current 6-inch map:	Hachured
Townland:	Brookley, Drom (boundary)
Parish:	Drom
Barony:	Eliogarty
Cantred:	Elyogarty
Coordinates (Irish Grid Reference):	206379, 168668
SMR no:	TN034-022----
SMR classification:	Castle - ringwork
Inventory no:	2035
Inventory classification:	Ringwork
Date of survey:	June 18, 2013
Revised classification (if applicable):	-

Siting

The ringwork at Brookley, Drom is a large oval flat-topped platform (diam. 34m E-W) with an impressive ditch (Wth 7m; D 2m) and outer bank (Wth 1.8m, ext. H 2m) to the north and east, which is greatly reduced at the west and destroyed and incorporated into a field wall at the south. The bank appears to be constructed of earth and stone at the north-northeast. The site is heavily overgrown with nettles and brambles; the top scarp and wall-footings, as described by Farrelly and O'Brien (2002: 290), were not visible. A wide (Wth 5m) causeway entrance broaches the ditch at the east-southeast. To the north of the site there is a possible associated very low platform.

The site provides impressive views in all directions, including views of the church and graveyard in Drom townland.

Place name

Irish: *Brookley; An Drom*

Place name: -; ridge

First recorded use: 1792; Brookly; C 449.143.287583; -

Documentary references

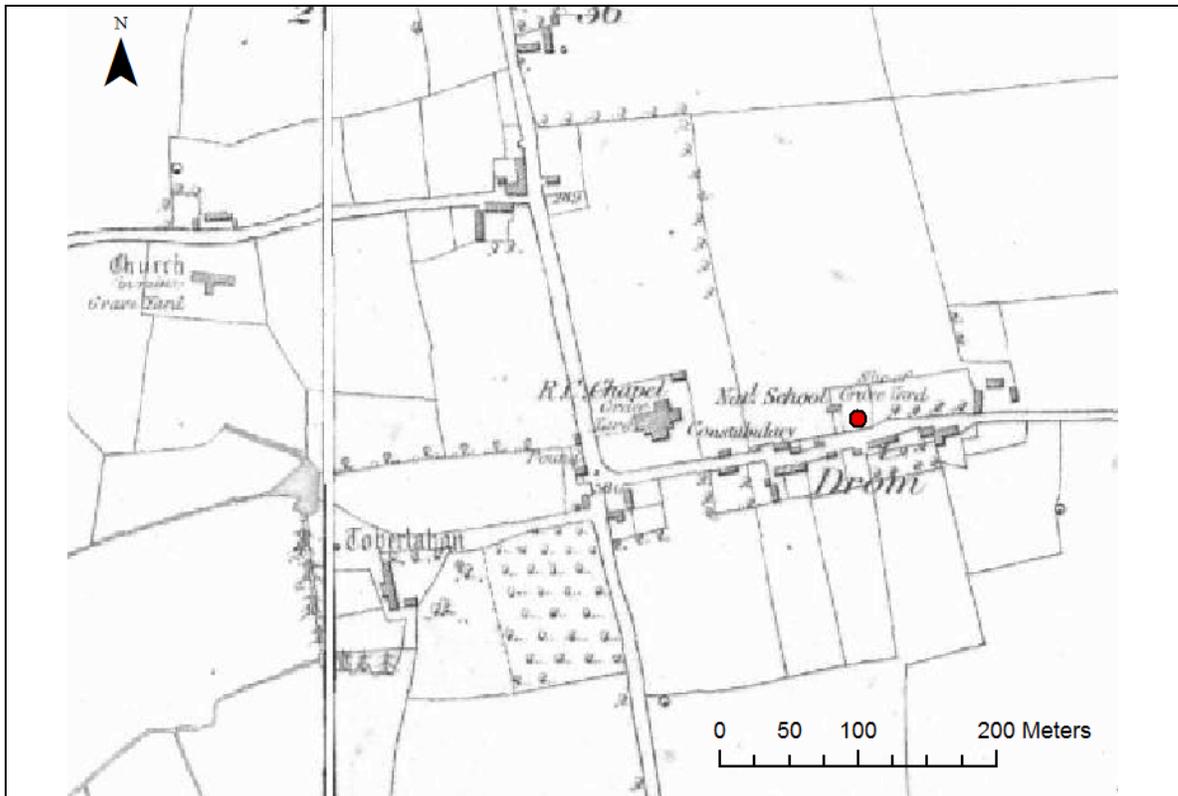
The manorial extents of Theobald Walter, as written in the *Ormond Deeds, 1172-1350*, traces the chartering the tuath of Kenelfenelgille [Drom] to Gilbert de Cantwell c. 1185 (Empey 1986: 16). Empey designates this charter as part of the earliest stages of settlement in Eliogarty; the tuath of Kenelfenelgille later was transformed into a military tenement or fief (Empey 1986: 16).

Adjacent archaeological sites

The ringwork of Brookley, Drom is the only site in the townland of Brookley. However, the adjacent townland of Drom contains many archaeological sites dating to the high medieval period. These include: a graveyard (TN034-023001), a church (TN034-023), a destroyed burial ground (TN035-002), a holy well (TN035-001), and two ringforts (TN034-024/TN034-053).

Located 370m east of the ringwork, the church (TN034-023) and associated graveyard (TN034-023001) are listed in the ecclesiastical taxation of the Diocese of Cashel in 1302 (*CDI*, vol. 5: 284). Local tradition places the Synod of Ráith Bressail in 1111 at this church, which consists of a poorly preserved nave and chancel with a transept off of the south wall of the nave (Farrelly and O'Brien 2002: 241). The church is located in the south quadrant of the large rectangular shaped graveyard with modern memorials.

A now-destroyed burial ground (TN035-002) is located 450m to the east of the church and graveyard. It is marked as a burial ground on the Ordnance Survey 6-inch map, however, on the Ordnance Survey 25-inch map, the location is marked by a school. The site is now a field.



The destroyed burial ground is located at the red dot in the above Ordnance Survey 6-inch map.

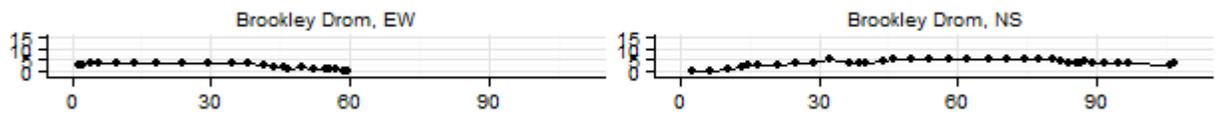
The holy well (TN035-001) is located south of the church and graveyard. Consisting of a natural spring encased in modern concrete, the well appears to have gone out of use as a ritual site (Farrelly and O'Brien 2002: 275).

The two ringforts (TN034-024/TN034-053), as described in 1996 by Farrelly and O'Brien (2002: 107), are located southwest of the ringwork castle site on the flood plains of the Fishmoyne River. The first (TN034-024) consists of a raised circular area (diam. 30m N-S) enclosed by an earth and stone bank and outer fosse. The second (TN034-053) also consists of a raised circular area (diam. 31m N-S) and is also enclosed by a stone and earth bank with traces of a shallow external ditch. Modern aerial photographs show only faint traces of circular enclosures in the modern pasture.

Excavation evidence

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Site Profile



Pictures





A view of the causeway entrance of Brookley, Drom located in the east ditch, facing south.



A view from the field south of the Brookley, Drom ringwork facing east towards the Drom church and graveyard (middle of image).

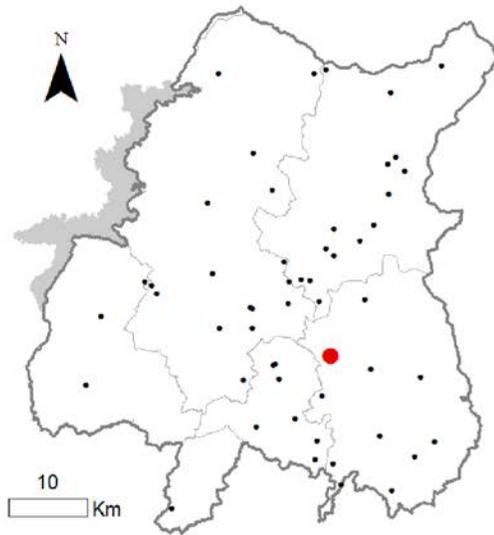
Maps

Brookley, Drom

SMR classification:
Castle - ringwork

Coordinates (Irish Grid Reference):
206379 E, 168668 N

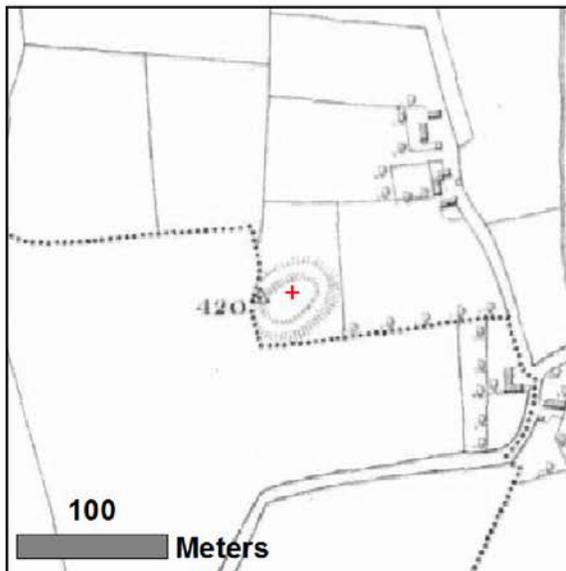
SMR no: TN034-022----



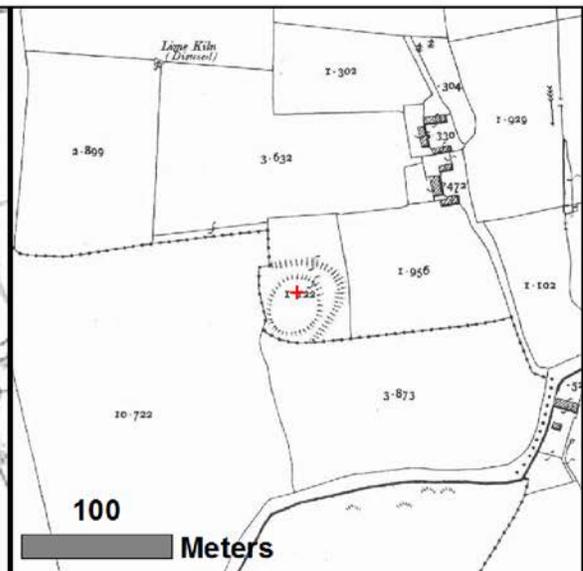
Locator Map
Featured site shown in red



Aerial Imagery
2005-2010



Ordnance Survey 6" Map
1829-1847



Ordnance Survey 25" Map
1897-1913

Site No:	33
Site Name:	Cullahill
Ordnance Survey designation on current 6-inch map:	
Townland:	Cullahill
Parish:	Glenkeen
Barony:	Kilnamanagh Upper
Cantred:	Eoghanact Cashel
Coordinates (Irish Grid Reference):	
SMR no:	TN034-025004-
SMR classification:	Castle - ringwork
Inventory no:	2040
Inventory classification:	Ringwork
Date of survey:	June 20, 2013
Revised classification (if applicable):	Motte

Siting

The Cullahill ringwork is a raised circular platform (diam. 29.5m E-W, H 2m at NW) enclosed by a very low and eroded earth and stone bank (Wth 2m, int. H 30cm, ext H 2m) with a cut outer ditch (Wth 2m, max D 1.5m) most evident at the west and south. The north-east-west portions of the platform slope to a flat-bottomed ditch; the north-east side drops steeply to the valley below. In the north and west sides of the platform, there is slight evidence for an external bank (H 30cm).

A modern earth and stone field wall attaches to the platform at the southwest. A hollow on the north face of the platform appears to be quarrying of the site; nearby stone quarries lie southwest of the ringwork.

The site has impressive views of the valley between the mountains to the southeast and northwest through the valley. The southwest is completely blocked in views by the mountain face; on this steep incline of the mountain face stands a 17th century strong-house and bawn.

Place name

Irish: *An Chúlchoill*

Place name: -

First recorded use: 1570; Cwolleghill Oleighe; COD V.186; Cowlleghill Oleighe; COD V.187

Documentary references

The first reference to the townland is in the *Calendar of Ormond Deeds V: 1509-1547*, wherein William Bourke fitz Theobald granted Thomas Butler, Earl of Ormond, his manors, lordships, and pastures, including “Cwolleghill Oleighe” on July 13, 1570 (Curtis 1941: 168). An Inquisition undertaken at Clonmel in 1628 describes the site as “a castle, town, and lands of Colloghill” (Callanan 1936-1937: 68).

Adjacent archaeological sites

The townland of Cullahill is situated in a mountainous region with a valley splitting the eastern stretches of the Silvermines Mountains. It is bordered by the townland of Curraghkeal to the east; a ringwork castle (TN034-024007) is located northeast of the Cullahill ringwork. The Cullahill ringwork is discussed as Site No. 31.

A deserted medieval settlement (TN034-025006) is located in the townland of Cullahill southwest of the ringwork. There are no earthworks visible of this site.

An enclosure (TN034-026) was located south of the ringwork as marked on the Historic 6 and 25-inch maps; no remains survive at ground level.

Excavation evidence

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Site Profile



Pictures



Cullahill ringwork, facing east from above.



Cullahill ringwork ditch on the northwest side of the site platform. Note the intensive quarrying activity in the background of landscape.



Cullahill ringwork facing southeast, note the steep drop off of the site platform to the valley below (left of image).

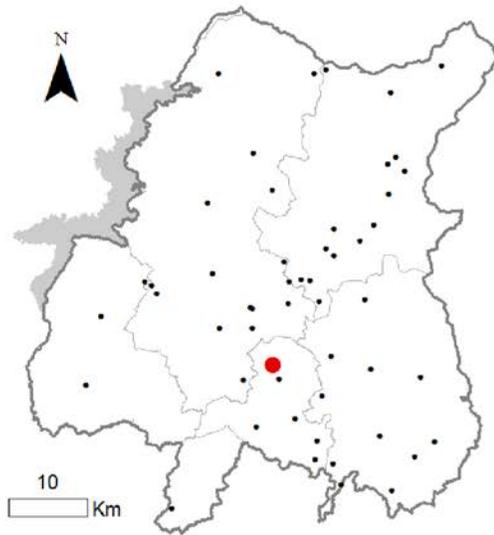
Maps

Cullahill (Glenkeen Parish)

SMR classification:
Castle - ringwork

Coordinates (Irish Grid Reference):
199010 E, 167550 N

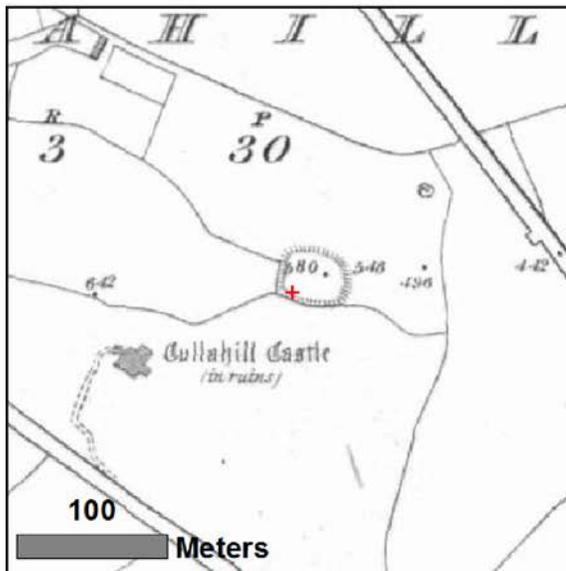
SMR no: TN034-025004-



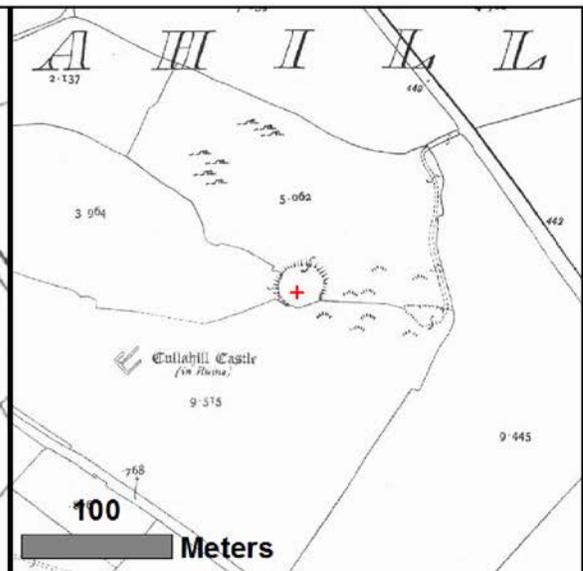
Locator Map
Featured site shown in red



Aerial Imagery
2005-2010



Ordnance Survey 6" Map
1829-1847



Ordnance Survey 25" Map
1897-1913

Site No:	34
Site Name:	Killamoyne, Rosnamulteeny
Ordnance Survey designation on current 6-inch map:	Hachured
Townland:	Killamoyne; Rosnamulteeny (boundary)
Parish:	Glenkeen
Barony:	Kilnamanagh Upper
Cantred:	Eoghanact Cashel
Coordinates (Irish Grid Reference):	
SMR no:	TN034-057----
SMR classification:	Castle – ringwork
Inventory no:	2047
Inventory classification:	Ringwork
Date of survey:	June 18, 2013
Revised classification (if applicable):	Ringfort

Siting

Killamoyne, Rosnamulteeny ringwork is located on the top of a hill in a very mountainous region of the Silvermines Mountains overlooking the Clodiagh River. The raised circular platform (diam. 27m NE-SW) offers impressive views in all directions and is enclosed by a ditch (D 1m) and outer bank (Wth 3m, ext. H 3m). There is no evidence, possibly due to overgrowth of gort, for a second external bank and ditch or causeway entrance as described by Farrelly and O'Brien (2002: 293).

The platform of the site has marshland plants growing in it, as the site acts as a natural basin for water. Due to vegetation growth on the site, the east-west transit is most representative.

Place name

Irish: *Cill Ó Muáin; Ros na Moiltíní*

Place name: church; (wooded) height, wood, promontory

First recorded use: 1545; Kyilomoan; COD IV.287; 1601; Rosenemolitinny; F6519

Documentary references

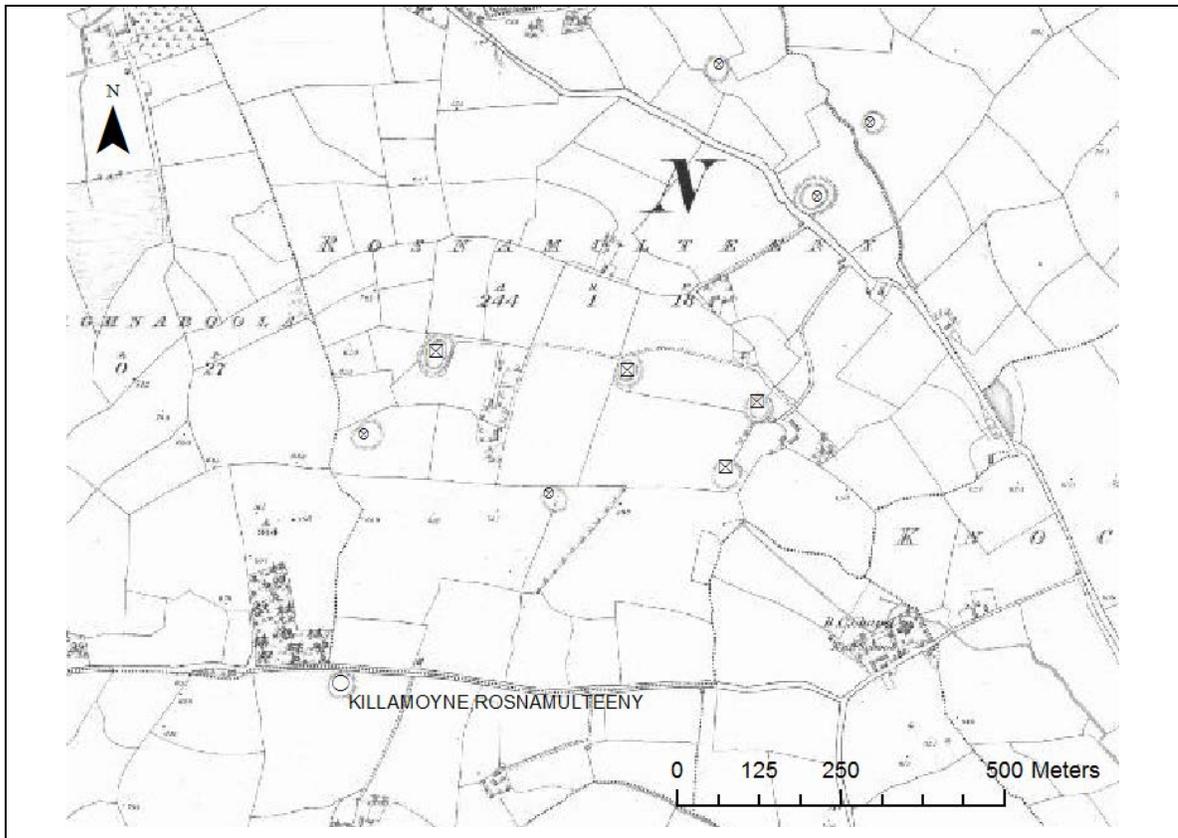
The first mention of the townland of Kiltynan (Killamoyne) is in a grant to Thomas Butler and Richard Butler from James Swetman and Leonard Blanchevill on October

15, 1545, as noted in the *Calendar of Ormond Deeds IV* (Curtis 1937: 286-287). There is no mention of a castle.

Adjacent archaeological sites

The townland of Killamoyne borders the townland of Rosnamulteeny at the south. Killamoyne townland contains one additional archaeological site to the ringwork castle, a ringfort (TN034-056001) located south near the banks of the River Clodiagh. This site is in a poorly drained river valley and consists of a raised circular area (diam. 31m E-W) enclosed by an earth and stone bank and waterlogged external ditch (Farrelly and O'Brien 2002: 124).

The townland of Rosnamulteeny holds four ringforts (TN034-033/TN034-036/TN034-039/TN034-040) and four enclosures (TN034-032/TN034-034/TN034-035/TN034-038). The four enclosures are not visible at ground level, but are marked on the Ordnance Survey 6 and 25-inch maps.



Ordnance Survey 6-inch map showing adjacent archaeological sites in the townland of Rosnamulteeney—ringforts are marked with crossed squares and enclosures are marked with crossed circles. The Killamoyne, Rosnamulteeney ringwork is marked with a circle and labeled.

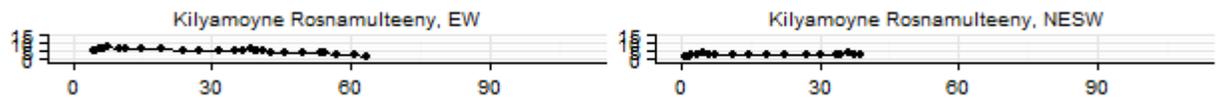
The largest ringfort (TN034-033), c. 380m north of the ringwork, is barely visible on the surface of the ground and consists of an oval platform (diam. 50m N-S) defined by a scarp and external ditch. A second ringfort (TN034-036) is a roughly circular area (diam. 32m E-W) enclosed by two earth and stone banks with an intervening ditch and possible entrance at the north-northeast (Farrelly and O’Brien 2002: 153). Directly east is a third ringfort (TN034-039) consisting of a circular area (diam. 26m) enclosed by an earth and stone bank with an outer ditch and entrance gap at the southeast. The fourth ringfort (TN034-040) lies south of the aforementioned site, and consists of a circular area (diam. 33m NW-SE) and also is enclosed by an earth and stone bank with an outer ditch and entrance gap at the southeast (Farrelly and O’Brien 2002: 153).

The dimensions of the above ringforts align with the dimensions and enclosure arrangement of the Killamoyne, Rosnamulteeny ringwork, which provides support of the recommendation of this site not being a ringwork castle.

Excavation evidence

Archaeological monitoring undertaken upon construction of a private house in 2004 revealed no features or deposits of significance (Hodkinson 2004b:1626).

Site Profile



Pictures





A view of the platform at Killamoyne, Rosnamulteeny, facing east. Note the heavy gort vegetation covering the site.



A view east from the Killamoyne, Rosnamulteeny ringwork platform.

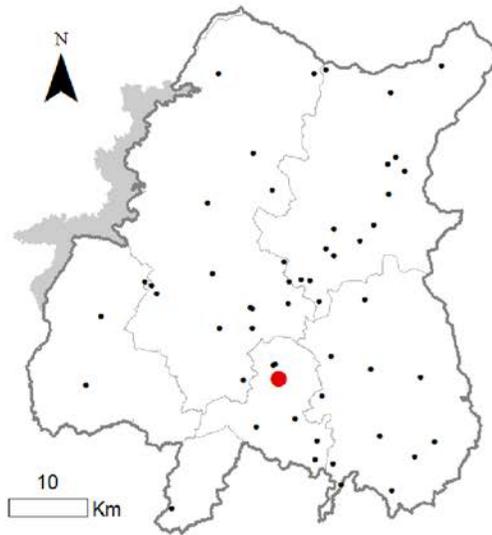
Maps

Killamoyne, Rosnamulteeny

SMR classification:
Castle - ringwork

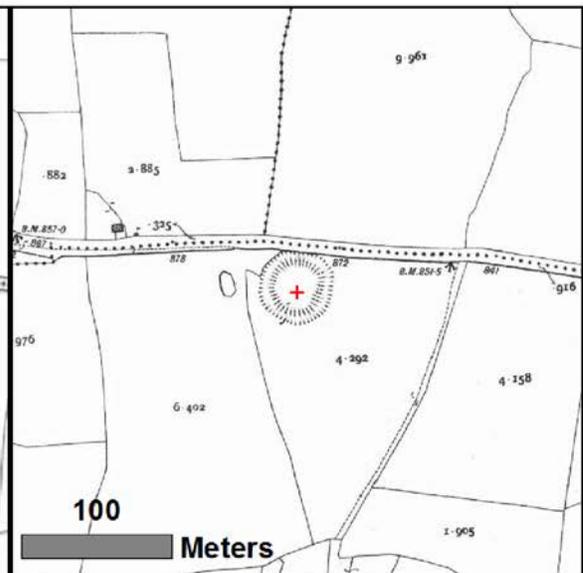
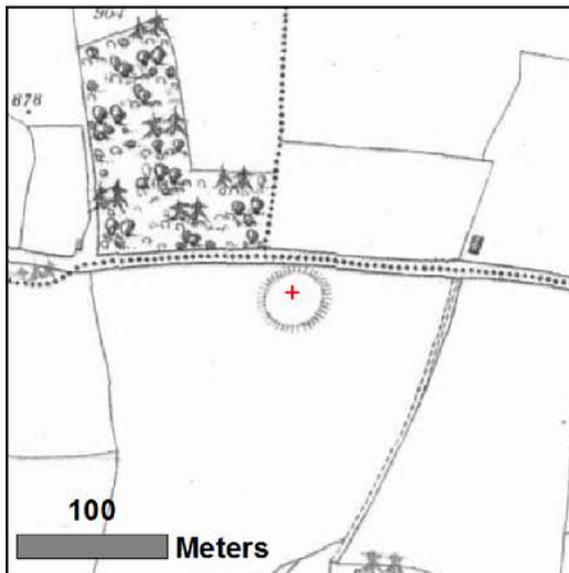
Coordinates (Irish Grid Reference):
199740 E, 165780 N

SMR no: TN034-057----



Locator Map
Featured site shown in red

Aerial Imagery
2005-2010



Ordnance Survey 6" Map
1829-1847

Ordnance Survey 25" Map
1897-1913