Parks and Deer-Hunting:
Evidence from Medieval Ireland

Volume I of II

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Table of Contents

Volume II (Appendices)

List of Figures

Volume I

Volume II (Appendices)

List of Plates

Volume I

Volume II (Appendices)

List of Tables

Volume I

Volume II (Appendices)

Abstract

This thesis examines aspects of hunting in later medieval Ireland, with particular reference to the Anglo-Norman period, from 1169 to *c*. 1350. The focus is on deer hunting and on parks, in which fallow deer could be kept. To date no detailed study of hunting in high medieval Ireland has been carried out, and as a result the study uses an interdisciplinary approach in order to maximise the scope of coverage. The aim of this thesis is to understand how parks and deer hunting were used to create and maintain identities, and how these functioned as a form of social and cultural expression in high medieval Ireland.

Deer hunting was central to elite society, having symbolic significance, as well as developing military skills and forging social bonds. Fallow deer were unusual, but not rare in later medieval Ireland. They were limited to the east of the country and to the highest tier of Anglo-Norman lordly society, being relatively common finds from castle excavations. Notably, the evidence suggests that the bones of all species of wild mammals are much less frequently found on Irish castle sites than on English elite sites.

The study identifies thirty-nine documented high medieval parks, and includes detailed examination of five of these. All thirty-nine were in Anglo-Norman areas, with no high medieval parks found in Gaelic Ireland. Today, the parks have been forgotten, however survey has shown that physical features do survive at the sites of many of those surveyed. Parks were integral to Anglo-Norman identity, being used to create a sense of place and familiarity in a foreign land. Unlike England, however, they did not become widespread, and few were stocked with deer.

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Chapter 1: Background to the study

1.0 Introduction

This thesis examines aspects of hunting in high medieval Ireland (*c*. 1100 – *c*. 1350, see Section 1.5). The focus is on deer hunting and on parks, which were among the potential venues for hunting to take place and for deer to be kept. The study is interdisciplinary in nature, but is dominated by the archaeological, documentary and cartographic evidence. The work stresses the importance of the landscape and of the deer within it as integral aspects of the material culture of high medieval Ireland. It is argued that in the high medieval period, while hunting was common to the Gaelic-Irish, Anglo-Normans in Ireland and to the English in England, the three groups used hunting in different ways to mediate their social relations. Specifically, in high medieval Ireland, parks containing deer were an elite Anglo-Norman landscape feature, used by this group to create their identity in a new environment.

The image of aristocratic hunters riding out from a castle into the surrounding woodland is a familiar one from mythology, literature and films. The jangling horse harnesses, the bright colours of the clothing, the baying of hounds and the call of the hunting horn are evocative of a bygone age and have been imbued with a romanticism that endures in regular retellings of these stories. Similarly, the hero poaching deer owned by the evil king or lord and striking a blow for the common man is a theme that is found in many tales. These images of hunting evoke a past that is much more interesting, colourful and exotic than the simple provision of meat for the table. They have inspired storytellers, songwriters and poets for hundreds of years in a way that herding cattle or ploughing a field rarely have (e.g. *A Gest of Robyn Hode*; *Acallam na Senórach*; *Duanaire Finn*; *Morte d'Arthur*; *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*). For example, when the mythical early Irish warrior Fionn and three thousand of the Fianna set out to go hunting, a late twelfth-century Gaelic source tells us:

> 'I believe there was no warrior amongst us without a satin shirt and two hounds, without a soft, smooth wadded tunic and a corselet of sharp clean tow, an upstanding jewelled and gilded headpiece and two spears in each man's hand, without a green conquering shield and a hard sword for splitting heads …' (*Duanaire Finn*, ii, 217-9)

In the fourteenth-century English poem *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, when the Green Knight went hunting, a similarly evocative image was presented:

> 'Bugles blew the triumph, horns blared loud.
> There was hallooing in high pride by all present;
> Braches bayed at the beast, as bidden by their masters.
> The chief huntsmen in charge of that chase so hard.
> Then one who was wise in wood-crafts
> Started in style to slash open the boar'
> (*Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, 81)

Pitting one's wits against the forces of nature, and an occasional evil king, was seen as a noble pursuit where triumph brings its own rewards. This suggests that the study of hunting and attitudes to it can shed light on the high medieval mind and can help to develop our understanding of high medieval society, particularly elite culture.

Prior to the adoption of farming at the beginning of the Neolithic period, hunting would have been essential as a source of food, particularly of proteins and fats, so that the bones of wild mammals, fish and birds are common on Mesolithic sites (McCarthy 1999; Van Wijngaarden-Bakker 1989). The introduction of domestic livestock saw an almost total change in the faunal remains recovered from settlement sites, with very few wild animals bones being found across Europe, even from the earliest periods (Marciniak 2005, 213; McCormick and Murray 2007, 24). This may have been as a result of wild foods being deliberately avoided, or of them being consumed away from permanent agricultural settlements. Despite this, wild species never entirely disappear from the zooarchaeological record. In certain circumstances these foods undoubtedly provided valuable nutrition, and if their remains were limited to the lowest status sites, then a simplistic approach could interpret these as

being a 'second choice' food for the poor (Marciniak 2005, 5). This is not the case, in fact, as will be shown below, in the high medieval period the highest proportions of wild species actually occur on high status sites, where the provision of adequate supplies of food would have been least likely to be an issue. Thus, as alluded to above, it can be suggested that hunting had roles in society other than the mere provision of food.

An outline of dating and numerical conventions is given in Section 1.5. Furthermore, this chapter is supported by two appendices, to be found in Volume II. Appendix 1.1 provides a glossary of terms while Appendix 1.2 gives a very brief outline of high medieval Irish history as it relates to the thesis.

1.1 Aim of the study

The aim of this thesis is to understand how parks and deer hunting were used to create and maintain identities, and how these functioned as a form of social and cultural expression in later medieval Ireland, with particular reference to the period from the arrival of the Anglo-Normans in 1169 to *c*. 1350. This will be examined by means of three specific research objectives, as follows:

1 To draw together the range of evidence for high medieval parks and deer hunting in Ireland from widely scattered sources.
2 To carry out detailed historical and cartographic analysis and to physically identify and survey a number of the documented high medieval parks.
3 To examine the differences between the hunting practices of the Gaelic Irish, the Anglo-Normans in Ireland and the English in England.

1.2 Approaches to archaeological research

Methods and areas of research in archaeology have gone through a number of changes of fashion and outlook, both in Ireland and in Europe generally. The initial method of study was through description of the upstanding remains (Waddell 2005, 57-66). In Ireland this dates back to the time of the antiquarians such as Grose (1791) and Ledwich (1804), and was continued by researchers such as Wakeman (1891). This approach was then followed into more recent times by archaeologists such as Ó Ríordáin (1942) and still continues to this day (e.g. Egan, Byrne, Sleeman, Ronan and Murphy 2005). In tandem with this, the seriological study of artefact typology was used to provide a chronology in the period before the development of radiocarbon dating in the 1940s, with the classic example being the development of Bronze Age axe design elucidated by Montelius (1885; 1903). From a theoretical perspective, the nineteenth-century interest in seriation mirrored contemporary scientific understanding of biological evolution, particularly an idea of past society as having evolved from the simple to the complex. In this regard, modern Western society was seen as being the apogée of civilisation. By contrast, from a practical perspective, it provided a chronological framework in which a theoretical understanding of the past could be placed (Lucas 2000, 76-77; Trigger 1989, 146, 157-58).

As typologies of artefacts from around Europe were compared, the concept developed of separate cultures, with each characterised by specific groups of artefacts (Trigger 1989, 149). By contrast with the chronological framework, this culture-historical approach to archaeology provided a geographical or spatial framework. This became strongly associated across Europe with the rise of nationalism and the development of ethnic identity. The German archaeologist Kossinna (1911) was the first to synthesise these ideas into a coherent structure, arguing that the German nation could be traced back through its culture to the first Indo-Europeans. These theories were used as the foundation for the later Nazi claims to much of northern and eastern Europe, on the basis that if prehistoric 'Germanic' material was found in a region, then Germany could feel justified in the conquest of that land (Arnold 1990; Trigger 1989, 163-67).

In contrast to the imperialist use of culture-historical archaeology in justifying expansion, similar ideas were used in promoting nationalism amongst peoples under colonial or imperial rule, with Ireland providing a good example of this. During the Gaelic revival of the late-nineteenth century, the early medieval period, and some aspects of prehistory, were seen as the Golden Age of Irish civilisation, untouched by Viking or Anglo-Norman society. This idea continued well into the twentieth century, and after the formation of the State in 1922, was promoted due to the need to reinforce national identity (Cooney 1996; O'Conor 1998, 10-12; O'Sullivan 1998; Waddell 2005, 113, 204-5). As a result, for example, until quite recently, perhaps until *c*. 1980, the study of the later medieval period was neglected in the Republic. It was perceived to be the study of English archaeology that took place in Ireland, and so was considered of marginal importance by Irish scholars (Barry 1987, 1; McNeill 1997, 2; 2002; O'Conor 1998, 9-10; 2008). One particular outcome was that the study of later medieval castles was largely ignored. These were seen as symbols of oppression rather than elements within the Irish landscape, and, as will be shown below, as a result, associated features such as high medieval parks have therefore also been under-studied (McNeill 1997, 2-3; O'Conor 2008, 332).

Over time the research perspectives moved from the culture-historical approach to the processual 'New Archaeology', which developed in the 1960s. Processualism saw society in terms of fixed systems and subsystems with cultural evolution being brought about by external forces such as environmental factors and with very little scope for the role of the individual in initiating change (Jones 1997, 41; Trigger 1989, 296). One consequence of this was that processualism could accommodate a scientific approach to archaeology, so promoting methodological development. For example, since society was made up of interconnected systems, it was possible to interpret a site or a society by sampling and analysing a statistically-valid portion of the whole (Tilley 1994, 9-10; Trigger 1989, 308-12). This has had profound effects on the practice of archaeology so that syntheses of particular site types have been published based on surveys and case studies (e.g. Stout 2000). These have led to a much greater understanding of the general form of past society in terms of economy, subsistence and settlement. Nevertheless, processualism is limited in that it does not take account of variability and individual action in creating and changing society. This limitation has been recognised so that issues such as identity and diversity have

become a feature of more recent theoretical developments that have been grouped under the umbrella of what is called post-processualism. This change has included a realisation of the importance of material culture in creating society rather than merely reflecting it, in seeing space as being socially constructed rather than fixed, and in understanding the subjective nature of the interpretation of archaeological data (Fredengren 2002, 62; Jones 2001, 58-9; Jones 1997, 5-6; Knapp and Ashmore 1999, 1-2; Tilley 1994, 10-11; 2004, 29-30).

For reasons already discussed, Irish archaeology has been, and continues to be dominated by a culture-historical approach, in which the emphasis has been on the history and prehistory of the Irish as a nation. This national focus has been overlaid by elements of processual and post-processual theory and method. However, post-processual approaches have provided insights predominantly in prehistoric archaeology. In this case, an absence of written records has hindered, or arguably freed, archaeologists from taking a more direct approach to interpretation (Moreland 2001, 98). Prehistorians in particular have used landscape as a vehicle for trying to understand the way in which past peoples understood, interacted with and created their world, studying, amongst other things, the spatial distribution and location of monuments, their intervisibility, astronomical alignments and routeways (Barrett 1999; Bergh 1995; Bradley 1993; Cooney 2000; Tilley 1994, 27-9).

The development of studies in later medieval archaeology has followed a similar pattern to those of other chronological periods. Initially studies concentrated on the upstanding architectural structures such as castles and abbeys, see for example Orpen (1907) and later Leask (1936; 1941; 1955-60). Until relatively recently this emphasis has continued, for example Sweetman (1999) focused on the architectural features of castles rather than their significance in the wider landscape or their social context. However, McNeill (1997) moved beyond this to use the architectural features of castles in Ireland to consider their social context. Whereas theoretical approaches have been important in prehistoric archaeology for some time now, it is only much more recently that medieval archaeology has begun to develop models that consider wider social questions. This situation is probably due to the availability of written records as, perhaps, this makes medieval archaeologists more cautious about inferring less tangible meanings from the archaeological record (Moreland

2001, 98). More research is now being carried out on later medieval landscapes, moving beyond the core of the castle itself. Examples include those by O'Conor (1998; 2004) and O'Keeffe (2001; 2004) and a number of edited works have brought together shorter case studies of individual manors and parishes as a focus for study (e.g. FitzPatrick and Gillespie 2006; Lyttleton and O'Keeffe 2005). These studies have led to a more complete understanding of the time and a more complex interpretation of the communities and how they interacted.

Documentary and literary evidence is important since it provides a particular understanding of the time, however these can be integrated with archaeology to obtain a more holistic view. Documents and literature of the high medieval period were invariably created by, or for the elite, and for specific purposes. They present 'a truth' as it was perceived by the writer, rather than 'the truth', which varies depending on the perspective of the individual (Midgley 2004, 26-28; Moreland 2001, 18-9). In the past, as today, text was used 'in the production, negotiation and transformation of social relations' (Moreland 2001, 31). In this regard, the use of text to record the ownership of property, or the amounts of taxes owed can be seen as examples where documents were used as a vehicle for social control. Similarly, later medieval Irish praise poems describing the houses and virtues of the patron are not necessarily documentary accounts of the lifestyle of the time. Instead, language is used and manipulated to create an impression of timeless continuity and heroism, harking back to, and connecting the lord with mythological characters (Simms 2001, 248), and so, giving him cultural and social capital and, therefore, power in the present.

Recently, scholars such as Finan (2010, 11) and O'Conor (2008, 333) have stressed the value of combining various approaches by means of interdisciplinary studies, seeking synergies that will unlock new levels of interpretation and meaning. Finan particularly identified the work of Duffy, Edwards and FitzPatrick (2001a) in spearheading this change of approach in Ireland, and noted that it is 'in the margins between disciplines' that innovative work on the medieval period is being conducted (Finan 2010, 11).

The use of archaeological theory, the recognition of the role of material culture in creating rather than just reflecting society, and the development of social interpretation have begun to make an impact in medieval studies. This has taken place through vehicles such as the Theoretical Archaeology Group and the Animals as Material Culture in the Middle Ages conferences (Kucera and Kunst 2010; Pluskowski 2007a; TAG07 2007; www.tagconference.org 2008). The concept that identity is inextricably linked with places, landscapes and objects has become familiar, particularly in prehistoric archaeology (Bradley 2000, 155-61; Thomas 1998, 80, 90). This approach has slowly gained favour in historic archaeology (Breen 2007; O'Keeffe 2001) and also in historical geography (Duffy 2007; Muir 2000). It is only recently however that the idea has been extended to animals and their interaction with human society, and that animals have begun to be seen as part of the material culture of a society (Crabtree 2007, 237; Ingold 2000, 61-76; Soderberg 2010).

Approaches to archaeological research have varied over time and geographical area. The development of methodological and theoretical approaches has improved the potential for understanding past society, while the expansion of interest in later medieval archaeology has opened up a wider range of subjects for study. This work will draw on these influences using an interdisciplinary approach. It will attempt to integrate the various forms of evidence and theoretical perspectives to achieve a richer interpretation of the subject than would be possible using only one approach.

1.3 Previous research relating to the archaeology and history of hunting in Ireland

A number of authors have considered different aspects of the archaeology and history of hunting in Ireland, but as will be demonstrated below, much of the focus has been on the early medieval evidence, with little study carried out on the later material. By contrast with Ireland, aspects of later medieval hunting have also been well studied in Britain and mainland Europe, and continue to be a fruitful topic (Chapter 2). The development of a pan-European elite culture has also been widely discussed in a range of contexts (e.g. Borst 1968; Ichijo 2004, 64; McNeill 1997;

Miller 2000, 172; Pluskowski 2007b), and while the study of British and European evidence will not provide a direct analogy for Ireland, a review of this evidence does give a background against which the Irish evidence can be compared.

One of the most detailed treatments of the subject of early medieval hunting in Ireland is that given by Kelly (2000, 273-82). However this does not deal with the period after the coming of the Anglo-Normans except where later sources such as Giraldus Cambrensis are quoted to describe aspects of pre-1169 Gaelic hunting. Again, dealing mainly with the early medieval period and with red deer, Soderberg (2004) discusses representations of deer on high crosses and in literature, as well as examining zooarchaeological evidence from Clonmacnoise. Harbison (1994; 2007) and Richardson and Scarry (1990) also touch upon early medieval hunting as a theme seen on high crosses, while Newman (2002) has reinterpreted the early phase of Ballinderry Crannog No. 2 as a possible hunting and feasting camp.

1.3.1 Historical approaches

In recent times, the major English-language studies of later medieval hunting have been those by Gilbert (1979), Cummins (1988) and Almond (2003). Gilbert's (1979) seminal study explored hunting in Scotland from a mainly historical perspective but also included evidence from literary sources such as poetry and song. He concentrated on reserves and royal forests, examining the documentation of the time to determine how these operated and were managed. By contrast, both Cummins (1988) and Almond (2003) take a wider scope, reviewing historical and literary sources from throughout Europe, but in both cases focusing their attention on England.

Cummins (1988) provides a detailed analysis of the evidence from the documentary, literary and pictorial sources for each of the major hunted species. He mainly examines elite hunting, but does review the evidence for hunting by the peasantry. He also discusses the symbolic aspects of hunting in some detail and provides a good account of this, particularly for deer-hunting and hawking.

Almond (2003) begins by describing aristocratic hunting in some detail, before widening the discussion to include hunting by groups other than aristocratic males,

such as the lower orders and women. He writes as a hunter and angler so that his view on later medieval hunting influences his conclusions regarding the relevance to modern hunting, arguing that hunting was enjoyed by all social groups (Almond 2003, 167) and that it continues to be a part of rural life to this day (Almond 2003, 173-4). In this, he evidently wished to make a political point in support of field sports, which have been the subject of recent legislative restrictions in Britain (*Hunting Act* 2004). Both Cummins and Almond take a purely historical approach to the subject with no examination of the archaeological evidence. It could be argued that this was a failing of these authors, nevertheless the scope of these works was substantial and focused.

1.3.2 Zooarchaeological approaches

Zooarchaeological evidence for hunting in Ireland is generally scattered through a range of unpublished and published reports that have not been collated or interpreted as a body of material. Nevertheless, there are two articles of relevance, both by McCormick, the first of which (1991), concentrates on zooarchaeological and documentary evidence for changes in the domestic fauna seen with the coming of the Anglo-Normans. This includes a brief discussion of the documentary evidence for the introduction of fallow deer to Ireland and for the Anglo-Norman interest in hawking. The later paper (1998), provides an account of a range of wild mammal species from the Pleistocene onwards, including discussion of the evidence for the introduction and extinction of individual species through both natural and anthropogenic causes.

In the past decade a number of researchers elsewhere in Europe have made contributions to our understanding of the zooarchaeological evidence for later medieval hunting. Sykes used zooarchaeological data to study the impact of the Norman Conquest on England, and has subsequently published a book (Sykes 2007b) and a series of articles on this subject (Sykes 2004; 2005; 2007a; 2007c; 2010; Sykes, Carden and Harris 2011). These concentrate mainly on the introduction of fallow deer to England and examine the effects of the Conquest on diet and social identity. They provide a valuable comparative resource for Ireland since they reflect a similar change from a pre- to a post-conquest society. Furthermore, she also examines the zooarchaeological evidence from medieval

France to provide a baseline against which change and diversity can be compared. The overall result is that she has identified a visible signature of social change with the introduction of Norman identity to England (Sykes 2007b, 13-26, 94-98).

Thomas (2005) studied the faunal material from Dudley Castle in the West Midlands of England and subsequently developed aspects of this study in published form (Thomas 2007a; 2007b). Deer and bird bones formed a significant proportion of the faunal remains at the castle, where he obtained similar results to those found by Sykes (2007b). He has used these to demonstrate the role of foods such as wild birds and the importance of hunting ritual in creating elite identities during the later medieval period. Temporal change in the role of red deer in the Scottish Isles was examined by Morris (2005). He linked the presence of deer remains, predominantly hind limbs, in ninth- to thirteenth-century deposits at the monastery on Iona to the provision of hospitality for high-status guests.

In south-eastern Europe some work has been done to collate zooarchaeological evidence for hunting (Bejenaru and Tarcan 2007; Bejenaru, Tarcan and Stanc 2004), but this has not been placed into a wider social or geographic context and is limited in the conclusions drawn. In Italy there was a change between the seventh and eleventh centuries from a situation where hunting was available to all social classes to being an activity confined to the aristocracy (Valenti and Salvadori 2007). The zooarchaeological evidence showed an increasing incidence of wild species in aristocratic faunal assemblages simultaneously with the development of masonry castles. The authors demonstrated a clear link between the acquisition of these status symbols and the rise of a military aristocracy (Valenti and Salvadori 2007, 187).

1.3.3 Artefact studies

Hunting-related artefacts can include items such as spears, bows, arrows, swords, knives, horns, traps, nets, dog-handling equipment such as leads, muzzles and collars, tridents for otter hunting and hawking equipment such as leashes, hoods and bells (Blackmore 2000). There has been no systematic study of Irish hunting artefacts from the later medieval period, however military weapons have been examined from both a historical and archaeological perspective. Weapons of war differ from those of hunting due to differences in the theatres in which the activities

took place, the nature of the opponents and the circumstances of use. While many weapons are multifunctional, some have very specific uses as, for example, the types of arrowheads developed to pierce plate armour would have been of little use in bringing down flying birds (Blackmore 2000, 183). Halpin's (1997a; 1997b, 538-52) studies of early and high medieval archery concluded that of excavated examples from Dublin and Waterford, the majority of arrowheads were of military type, with only 5% being of definite hunting type and a further 15-25% being either multi-purpose or ambiguous in their design. McCutcheon (2006, 120-21) has identified the remains of at least five Saintonge ceramic horns from Wood Quay, as well as several from Waterford (Gahan and McCutcheon 1997, 313) and Cork (McCutcheon 1996, 45; 1997, 82; 2003, Tab. 4.4.11). She notes that these horns are limited to Ireland and the southwest of Britain and may have been for hunting or for sounding alarms.

1.3.4 Art historical studies

In terms of iconographic representations, some individual Irish later medieval hunting scenes have been published in more general or site-specific works, but again the interpretation of these scenes have not been analysed as a body. The wall paintings at Clare Abbey, Co. Mayo, are a good example of where a number of hunting scenes are preserved. These were examined by Morton and Oldenbourg as part of a conservation project at the abbey (Morton 2005; Morton and Oldenbourg 2005). A detailed interpretation of the subjects of the individual hunting scenes was outside the scope of the publication, nevertheless, these articles, as well as a further publication by Morton (2004), did discuss some of the meanings of the motifs in a wider social context, and compared them with a number of other images. Hunting scenes were common in both early and later medieval art, appearing, for example, on tapestries, as illustrations in books, as sculpture and on fine metalwork (Almond 2003; Cummins 1988; Kalof 2007, 53-55; Schlag 1998). Animals were important in art and literature, not only in a decorative sense but also as symbols and metaphors with meaning relating to religion and the human condition. Hunting scenes in particular have often been associated with the Passion of Christ but also with the sexually-charged quest for courtly love (see Section 3.1.2).

1.3.5 Castle studies

As described above, castle studies such as those by Leask (1936; 1941) and Sweetman (1999) have mainly focused on the architectural features of castles and their role as military structures rather than on their significance in the wider landscape or their social context (see Section 1.2). This has changed however, with McNeill (1997, 77, 142-7) discussing the use of stone building materials as an expression of prestige, rather than military need, and the development of domestic space to provide comfort over high levels of security. These, and other non-military aspects of castles have become more of a focus for study in recent times so that O'Conor (1998, 26-33; 2002; 2004, 235-9) identified the importance of the castle as the manorial centre, as a location for administration, arable and pastoral agriculture, the provision of speciality foods such as rabbits, pigeons and freshwater fish and semi-industrial activities such as milling. O'Keeffe (2001) took a more theoretical approach, considering the role of the castle in creating identity in terms of gender and ethnicity, arguing that depending on the perspective of the spectator, castles embody different meanings. Furthermore, he attempted to identify landscapes designed with aesthetic principles in mind, arguing that the surroundings of the very early fourteenth-century castles at Ballymoon and Ballyloughan, both in Co. Carlow, may be examples of this (O'Keeffe 2004).

As with Ireland, in Britain castles have traditionally been studied from a mainly architectural perspective and considered in isolation (e.g. Brown 1976; King 1988). Again this is changing so that they are being examined in terms of their relationship with the landscape around them (Creighton 2002; 2009; Everson 1996; Johnson 2002; Liddiard 2000; 2005; Taylor, Everson and Wilson-North 1990). Creighton (2002, 9-10) highlighted this, identifying that one major cause of this inward-looking approach has been the limitation of the size of excavations. Instead he advocated fieldwork over an area the size of the surrounding parish in order to obtain a much greater insight into the role of the castle in society.

These works demonstrate the evolution of castle studies from a purely functionalistic approach, which saw castles solely as military establishments, to a more rounded interpretation in which castles are also seen as symbols of power and authority. Creighton (2009) is a prime example of how a single researcher can use

interdisciplinary methodologies in an integrated way to gain an understanding of medieval designed landscapes. His aims were to examine the scope of medieval designed landscapes, to examine landscapes in their entirety rather than as component parts, to synthesise data from a large number of local and regional studies, and to understand the symbolism and medieval perceptions of the landscape. Liddiard (2000, 123; 2005, 97) addressed issues such as architecture and landscape setting and utilised archaeological information as well as extensive historical documents and cartographic evidence. He examined castles within their landscape, arguing that rather than being military in nature, their surroundings have more symbolic, economic and recreational value. As with O'Conor (1998, 26-33), he stresses the role of castle landscapes in provisioning the castle at a level commensurate with the status of the occupants, again highlighting the production of deer, rabbits, fish and birds as being of major significance in the role of the wider castle landscape (Liddiard 2005, 103). Like O'Keeffe (2004), he notes the importance of ornamental features such as gardens and parks (Liddiard 2005, 111-16). Johnson (2002, 19-54) devotes an entire chapter of his book to examining the landscapes in which castles were placed, and the ways in which views of the castle were manipulated by careful placement of woods, water and roadways. This again stresses the symbolic role of the castle and its landscape in creating an elite status. By contrast, both Creighton (2010) and McNeill (2006) recently took a view in the opposite direction, examining how access to the vista from the windows or roof of a castle could be seen as symbolic of control over the surrounding landscape.

1.3.6 Park, forest and woodland studies

In later medieval terms a forest was a legally defined area in which the king had control over hunting and all timber resources (see Section 2.1.1). By contrast, a park was a relatively small area of land that was enclosed by a wall, fence or hedge, in which animals, including deer, could be retained, and in which timber was grown (see Section 2.3.1). Parks and forests have been widely studied in England (see Sections 2.1; 2.3). This is one area in which some limited research has been carried out in Ireland. The physical remains of what was believed to be an arc of the boundary of a high medieval park was identified by Westropp (1913) at Curtlestown in Glencree in Co. Wicklow, within the bounds of the royal forest described by Le

Fanu (1893). Much of this earthwork remained at the time of the county survey (Grogan and Kilfeather 1997, 105).

Weir (1986) discussed documentary evidence for a number of post-medieval parks in Clare but extrapolated this evidence backwards in time to make the assumption that these had been in continuous use since shortly after the arrival of the Anglo-Normans. The value of this article was limited since he conflated later medieval and post-medieval practice from a variety of sources and a number of countries. Furthermore he provided few references or evidence to support his claims, and, where examples were given, these were undated. Gibbons and Clarke (1990/1991) reviewed documentary evidence for deer-parks in Carlow, with a detailed account of the historical evidence for the high medieval park at Balydonegan and a discussion of a number of other examples that are probably of post-medieval date. They noted the need for detailed study of this topic. Reeves-Smyth (1997, 198) mapped the general location of eight high medieval parks, but did not identify them on the ground. All of these were east of the Shannon apart from a single example from Loughrea, Co. Galway. Murphy and O'Conor (2006) recently reviewed the documentary evidence and identified fourteen high medieval parks with a similar geographical spread, although they noted that some of these may have had functions other than the keeping of deer. O'Conor had previously summarised historical evidence for parks and forests in Munster (O'Conor 2004, 238-9), while Murphy and Potterton (2010, 376-80) have recently collated evidence for forests around Dublin. The first review of both archaeological and documentary evidence for deer-parks was carried out by the present author (Beglane 2010b). This provided a preliminary listing of sites where fallow deer remains have been found and attempted to cross-reference these with the sites identified by Murphy and O'Conor (2006).

Irish later medieval forests and woodlands have been subject to some degree of study. The first meaningful work in this area was carried out by Le Fanu (1893), whose research is still regularly quoted. Recently historical geographers, historians or, occasionally, archaeologists, have carried out a substantial amount of work on this subject. Generally these have focused on examining the woodlands from the economic perspective of their timber resources, although some researchers have also discussed the hunting aspect of their role (e.g. Murphy and O'Conor 2006; Murphy

and Potterton 2010, 357-82; Neeson 1997; Nicholls 2001; O'Conor 2004, 239; Rackham 1976; Slattery 2009; Tomlinson 1997).

This review of previous work has indicated that while some aspects of later medieval hunting in Ireland have been considered within research projects, these initiatives were generally peripheral to the main aims of these works, or were quite limited in their scope. This dearth of research is probably due to a combination of factors. The first of these is the interdisciplinary nature of the evidence, since in order to access multiple forms of information the researcher is required to move outside the comfort zone of their specialism. A second issue has been the traditional lack of emphasis on later medieval studies in Ireland. This has meant that over time less research has been carried out in this chronological period compared to countries such as England (see Section 1.3.5). Ironically, this also means that there is considerable scope for success in new research. Finally, there has been the traditional tendency of medieval scholars to concentrate on upstanding architectural structures such as castles and abbeys, rather than taking a wider view of medieval society within its landscape and material culture (see Section 1.3.5). The discussion above has demonstrated that hunting was an important aspect of later medieval society so that an interdisciplinary study on this subject, drawing together evidence from a range of sources and disciplines should provide a valuable insight into elite Irish high medieval life.

1.4 Sources and Methodology

This study takes an interdisciplinary approach to investigating hunting landscapes. It combines a range of sources such as evidence from literature, folklore, placenames and art, as well as edited historical sources and some original documents. This complemented the archaeological fieldwork and the review of a range of published and unpublished excavation reports and faunal reports. As noted (see Section 1.2), the fields of archaeology, history, literature studies and art history have traditionally operated independently of each other, however in this case the integration of these strands is essential in order to gain a rich understanding of the subject.

Further information on the various sources of evidence is given below (see Sections 1.4.1-1.4.3). These were first collated individually, so providing a baseline of information (see Chapters 3 and 4 and Appendices 3 and 4). While these formed separate strands of evidence, where possible, they were then cross-referenced and integrated in order to gain a fuller interpretation, for example where fallow deer remains were found at the site of a castle with a documented park (section 4.5.6). This integration of data was particularly detailed for Chapters 5 to 9, where all the evidence relating to particular case study locations was reviewed together. A decision was taken to focus on parks for which there was documentary evidence dating to the later medieval period. A preliminary survey of several of these was carried out using the 1st Edition maps and aerial photographs, and from this a number of sites were selected for more detailed research, including ground survey and a thorough investigation of historical and cartographic evidence. Further details of the way in which case studies were selected is given in Section 4.7. By combining written, oral, archaeological and cartographic evidence with the results of fieldwork, it was possible to reconstruct the location, function and chronology of the various documented high medieval parks.

1.4.1 Documentary, literary and folklore sources

A wide range of published documentary sources and a small number of unedited original documents were accessed as part of this research, and are listed in the bibliography. It is not proposed to give a detailed review of these here, instead the reader is referred to works by Connolly (2002) and Simms (2009). The vast majority of sources consulted were Anglo-Norman in origin. The most important of these was Sweetman's five volume *Calendar of Documents Relating to Ireland* (*CDI*) which collated a large number of Irish and English Anglo-Norman documents for the period 1171-1307. Beyond this date it was necessary to search a range of publications, including Calendars of Inquisitions (e.g. *CIPM*; *Inq. & Ext. of Med. Ire.*), Close and Patent rolls (*Cal. close rolls*; *Cal. pat. rolls*; *Cal. pat. rolls Ire.*; *Cal. pat. rolls Ire. Jas I*; *CIRCLE*; *RPH*) and the *Red Books of Kildare* and *Ormond* (*Red Bk. Kildare*; *Red Bk. Ormond*). While many of these were edited in English, this was not always the case, so that it was necessary to search Latin texts on the basis of seeing certain words on the page and then carrying out more detailed review of likely passages. In terms of Gaelic documents, these were examined in less detail, as the

present writer has little knowledge of Irish and many literary texts have not been translated. The main sources consulted were the various chronicles, all of which have been edited (*AC*; *ACL*; *AFM*; *ALC*; *AU*). One final group of documents utilised were later medieval hunting manuals from England and France (*Livre de Chasse*; *Livre du Roy Modus*; *Master of Game*; *Turbervile's Booke*), which provided an insight into hunting methods and rituals of the later medieval period.

Literary evidence was not searched systematically, but instead, where secondary sources (e.g. Gilbert 1979) or personal communications suggested that these might be relevant they were reviewed on an individual basis (e.g. *Acallam na Senórach*; *Duanaire Finn*). Similarly, folklore and placename evidence relating to the local area was collected on an *ad-hoc* basis while conducting fieldwork in the case study locations.

1.4.2 Archaeological and zooarchaeological data

Forty-four published and unpublished zooarchaeological reports, as well as a considerable number of excavation reports and monographs were consulted during this research and the results collated in Chapter 3. The faunal reports came from thirteen separate zooarchaeologists, who between them have probably analysed *c.* 90% of the assemblages recovered in the last two decades. As such, these specialists would have worked on a good cross section of the excavated faunal material. The present writer must express her sincere thanks to the archaeologists and faunal specialists who allowed access to their unpublished data and to the various faunal specialists and the National Museum of Ireland who facilitated the re-examination of reported fallow deer remains.

1.4.3 Cartographic and fieldwork evidence

A number of high medieval parks that had been identified in documentary sources were selected for further study. Initially this consisted of detailed examination of the Ordnance Survey 6-inch-to-the-mile (hereafter the 6" maps), in particular the first edition of these (hereafter the 1st Edition maps) and 25-inch-to-the-mile maps (hereafter the 25" maps), as well as online Ordnance Survey aerial photographs from 1995, 2000 and 2005 (OSI). Further details of the case study selection are given in Section 4.7. Where likely park boundaries could be identified based on this

information, often in conjunction with papers discussing aspects of local history, the site was then visited. Fieldwork consisted of walking the proposed boundaries of each park and of visiting recorded and unrecorded archaeological sites within the park. In addition, notable landscape features within these parks such as hills, lakes and ponds were also examined and recorded.

1.5 Dating and numerical conventions

There is ongoing debate in Ireland regarding the naming conventions for the various chronological periods. Some writers (e.g. O'Conor 1998, xi) defined the end of the early medieval period as occurring in the last years of the eleventh century on the basis of ecclesiastical reforms and increased urbanism. Others, (e.g. Duffy, Edwards and FitzPatrick 2001b, 17) used the year 1100 as a cut off, while a third option of *c*. 1169/1170, marking the arrival of the Anglo-Normans in Ireland was used by other writers (e.g. Barry 1987, 1). In this work the start of the high medieval period has been defined as *c*. 1100, so that the Anglo-Norman period falls within this.

The high medieval period can be defined as continuing until the fourteenth century, after which point it is usual to refer to the late medieval period. Again the timing of this change is debatable. Orpen (1911-1920, iv, 557-9) finished his review of Anglo-Norman history in 1333, a year marked by the murder of William, Earl of Ulster and Lord of Connacht, and arguably the end of Anglo-Norman or English control over much of Ireland. More commonly, *c*. 1350 and the aftermath of the Black Death has been seen as marking a turning point in Irish and European history (Barry 1987, 168, 197; McNeill 1997, 173). This study will demonstrate that there are social changes from *c*. 1350 and will use 'high medieval' to refer to dates up to this point. Nevertheless, documentary sources used in this thesis have been reviewed up to *c*. 1400 for three reasons. The first of these is related to the type of the documentary evidence for parks, which, by its nature lags behind the creation of parks by at least a generation (see Section 4.5.4). As a result, for example, the earliest documentary reference to the park at Trim is in 1388 (see Appendix 4.5), at which time it was already well established, and so it would have been created in the period traditionally referred to as the high medieval period. Secondly, comparison of data over the

course of the fourteenth century provides a clear demonstration of changes in society at this time. Thirdly and finally, data for England have often been collected to *c*. 1400 or beyond, so again facilitating comparison (e.g. Mileson 2009; Sykes 2007b).

In summary therefore, the high medieval period has been defined as *c*. 1100 to *c*. 1350, with the Anglo-Norman period being 1169 to *c*. 1350, and hence falling within this. Furthermore, the later medieval period is used as an overall term to refer to the entire high and late medieval period, *c*. 1100 to *c*. 1600. The following conventions have been employed:

Early medieval	*c*. 400 to *c*. 1100
High medieval	*c*. 1100 to *c*. 1350
Anglo-Norman	1169 to *c*. 1350
Late medieval	*c*. 1350 to *c*. 1600
Later medieval	*c*. 1100 to *c*. 1600
Medieval	*c*. 400 to *c*. 1600
Post-medieval	*c*. 1600 to *c*. 1850
Modern	*c*. 1850 to present

Calendared and transcribed later medieval documents contain a number of dating conventions. The following have been adopted in this work:

1 Sometimes the exact date of a document is unknown, but a range can be extrapolated from the context. In these cases the form 1231x1234 is used to indicate that the document dates from somewhere within the period 1231 to 1234.
2 During the medieval period the civil, legal and ecclesiastical year began on Lady Day, or the Feast of the Annunciation, which was 25 March. As a result, a document originally dated 2 February 1231 would today be classified as 2 February 1232. Similarly, the harvest year ran from Michaelmas to Michaelmas, and regnal years ran from the date of accession of the monarch. Documents with any of these potential ambiguities have been shown as 1231-1232 in the form used by Sweetman (*CDI*, i-iv; M. Gardiner, *pers. comm.*)

Another convention occasionally adopted in transcribed documents is the use of xx as a superscript after a number expressed in Roman numerals. This convention means that the number should be multiplied by 20 so, for example, III^{XX} is 60 (Cappelli 1982, 45).

1.6 Conclusions

Since no synthesis of high or late medieval hunting had previously been attempted in Ireland, it was not known at first how much information would be available for analysis. The initial proposal was therefore to examine all aspects of hunting in Ireland during the entire later medieval period, *c*. 1100 to *c*. 1600. It soon became apparent however that this scope was too broad, and would need to be narrowed substantially so that it could be carried out within the confines of the size and timeframe of a PhD project. An example of this is that it was initially thought that surviving evidence for high medieval parks would prove elusive and could be described in a single chapter, whereas in reality these have become a major focus for the study. As a result, it was necessary to limit detailed treatment of the zooarchaeological and documentary evidence almost entirely to deer, which were the major hunted animals, with other species only being briefly mentioned. Dogs, horses and hawks, all of which were important tools for the later medieval hunter, have been excluded from the study. Nevertheless, much of the primary data for these other species has been collected and could be developed for further study, possibly as part of a book. Similarly, it was not possible to conduct detailed examination of other aspects of the material culture such as hunting artefacts, pictorial representations of hunting and high medieval literature.

The thesis is divided into two volumes, with the main chapters contained in Volume I and the appendices grouped in Volume II. Each appendix relates to the chapter of the same number, e.g. Appendix 2 relates to Chapter 2. The appendices are extensive, providing background information, documentary evidence and archaeological data and site surveys. As such, the chapters should be read in conjunction with their accompanying appendix. The surprising quantity of material

available for analysis has made these appendices essential in providing written chapters in Volume I that are coherent and not over-burdened with tables of data and background material.

Chapter 2 reviews hunting landscapes in other countries of later medieval Europe, particularly England. Four landscape types are reviewed: 'forests', 'chases', 'warrens' and 'parks', with a particular emphasis on the latter. This chapter demonstrates the range of hunting landscapes potentially present in Anglo-Norman Ireland, and provides a basis for comparison of these.

Chapter 3 examines the animals of the hunt, particularly red and fallow deer, but also discusses other species briefly. Firstly, the various species are examined from the perspective of their modern biogeography and also the high medieval and post-medieval understanding of them. Secondly, the documentary evidence relating to deer in high medieval Ireland is then examined, and finally the zooarchaeological evidence is discussed. Since animals are an integral part of the material culture of a society (see Section 1.2), the data presented in this chapter is used to formulate an understanding of the relationship between people and animals, particularly deer, in high medieval Ireland.

Chapter 4 provides an overview of hunting methods and landscapes in high medieval Ireland using documentary, literary and pictorial material from high, and, in some cases, late medieval Ireland. This chapter integrates the animals from Chapter 3 with the landscapes in which they, and the hunters act. Further, the chapter provides the baseline from which the case studies of high medieval parks in the following chapters were chosen.

Chapters 5 to 9 provide case studies of documented high medieval parks identified on the ground and surveyed during the course of this research. These range from parks such as Earlspark, Loughrea, Co. Galway, which is still substantially intact, to Nenagh, Co. Tipperary, where the extent of the park has been reconstructed using later cartographic and documentary evidence. In some cases, such as at Dunamase, relict landscapes have been preserved within the parks, while at the other extreme

approximately half of the park at Nenagh is now under the modern town of the same name.

Chapter 10 is the discussion, in which the key points raised in the preceding chapters are brought together and the findings synthesised. The chapter argues for the importance of parks and deer hunting in the creation of Anglo-Norman identity in Ireland. It demonstrates that the chronology and geographical distribution of high medieval parks and of fallow deer inextricably link these with the development of the colony. It shows that, while modelled on an English original, hunting in Anglo-Norman Ireland took on a lesser, but still crucial role in the formation of elite identity for the new settlers. Finally, Chapter 11 provides conclusions, discusses the limitations of the work and identifies a number of potential areas for further study.

Chapter 2: Hunting landscapes in other countries

2.0 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to introduce the various types of hunting landscapes that were known outside Ireland. This information will then be used in later chapters to see how these may have influenced later medieval hunting practice in this country. Four landscape terms need to be discussed when considering hunting in the high and late medieval periods: 'forest', 'chase', 'warren' and 'park'. Each of these four terms will be examined in turn, with the emphasis being placed on parks. Examples have been chosen from England, Wales, Scotland and continental Europe. This choice was based on geographical and political reasons. In addition to being adjacent to Ireland, England and Wales were the source of the Anglo-Norman settlers in Ireland, and as such these were considered likely to have had the most direct bearing on the way in which high medieval hunting systems were organised in Ireland. Unfortunately, little work on the subject of hunting has been carried out in Wales up to this time (Spencer Smith, *pers. comm*.). Scotland, being a neighbour of both Ireland and England was also a logical country for comparison, and this is even more so since Scotland had a Gaelic heritage and long-standing connections to Ireland (e.g. Ó Cróinín, 2005, 216-8).

The chapter provides a detailed review of parks in England, followed by a brief comparison with the situation in Scotland and Wales. Brief mention is made of the situation in a number of other European countries, however, a detailed case study from Hesdin, in northern France is included in Appendix 2.3, since, in the early fourteenth century, this park was famed throughout Europe. Appendix 2.1, in Volume II, includes an introduction to English Forest Law while case studies from Woodstock Park, England, and Hesdin, France, are found in Appendices 2.2 and 2.3, as comparisons for the Irish evidence to be presented in subsequent chapters.

2.1 Forests and chases

2.1.1 Definition of forest and chase

In modern usage the word 'forest' is almost synonymous with 'woodland', particularly with plantations of economically important trees. In later medieval times, however, '*forest*' referred to land in which the timber and the hunting of certain game was reserved for the king, so that forest could include woodland, open heaths, farmland and even villages and incorporate both land held by the king or held by his subjects (Cantor and Wilson 1963, 141; James 1981, 3; Rackham 1987, 130; Watts 1996). These large areas were not fenced in, instead they were legally-defined places that were subject to forest law, rather than common law, with their own set of courts known as the 'forest eyre' (see Appendix 2.1). Any enclosure of land within the bounds of a forest, including for agriculture or for park formation, required royal permission (Cantor and Wilson 1964; James 1981, 5; Watts 1996; Young 1979, 16, 88).

A 'chase' or 'chace' was similar to a forest but was under the control of a noble rather than the king (Cantor 1982, 70; Watts 1996). An aristocrat required royal permission to set up a chase, and it may or may not have been subject to all or part of the forest law depending on the particular circumstances. It has been noted that the words forest and chase are sometimes used interchangeably and that the implementation of forest law in private chases varied (Cantor and Wilson 1964, 141; Grant 1991, 30-1; James 1981, 5; Watts 1996, 141-2). For example, Young (1979, 46) states that a chase 'placed the protection of the beasts of the royal forest in private hands and the forest eyre and other forest courts no longer operated within the boundaries', suggesting that the landowner was entitled to hold his own courts to protect the venison. By contrast, Cantor (1982, 70) disagrees, stating that generally common law applied within chases and that 'in some cases the owners enjoyed only limited rights of protecting the deer and venison' but that despite this they often used their own officials to enforce restrictions similar to those in royal forests. Certainly at Leicester, Bowland, Blackburn and Needwood in the late thirteenth century, the Earls of Lancaster were given the right to enforce forest law in their chases, and were entitled to set up their own courts and appoint their own officials (Cantor 1982, 70).

2.1.2 Origins of Forests

Forests have been identified in England, Scotland, Wales, France, Belgium, Germany and Italy, as well as in many other countries (Gilbert 1979; Rackham 1987, 131; Wickham 1994, 156). There is debate as to the origin and meaning of the word 'forest'. Rackham (1987, 129) thought that it had a Germanic origin and meant 'tract of trees'. By contrast, Wickham (1994, 159-60) stressed that it defined rights to the land rather than ecology. As such, in the seventh to ninth centuries, it was land 'in royal possession' and by the thirteenth century in both English and German the word related to 'land reserved for the use of the king, above all for his hunting' (Wickham 1994, 159-60). He noted that as landholding became more complex, the concept of forest moved from being a property with specific rights to being a right to hunt over property. Wickham places the origins of the forest system as beginning in the sixth century when the Germanic tribes, including the Franks and Lombards, introduced the concept of royal hunting grounds. The first recorded usage of the word *forestum* or *forestis* (i.e. forest) is with reference to the Ardennes in AD648 (Wickham 1994, 160). In early medieval Germany the word *Wildbann* or *eremus* land referred to desolate wilderness owned by the king, and it was often these areas that were subsequently declared to be forests, probably where pressure on land by colonising peasants resulted in the king choosing to preserve his hunting and timber rights over hitherto unused land (Keiss 1998).

As in other countries, the concept of a hunting reserve existed in England prior to the Norman Conquest, although the complexity of the system at this early date has been the subject of debate (Grant 1991, 7-10; Hooke 1998, 20). Hooke (1998, 25) has argued that Anglo-Saxon hunting took place in three types of landscape: firstly in uninhabited regions that were often heavily wooded; secondly, in areas of opportunity where earlier settlement had been abandoned leaving wasteland that could be exploited and, thirdly, on royal lands, many of which contained *hay* or *haga* in their placenames. These were enclosures that are further discussed in Section 2.3.2. The *Charter of the Forest* was a document supposedly created by King Canute in 1016 in which the legal aspects of the forest system were introduced to England. However, many modern scholars consider this to be a forgery instituted by William the Conqueror in order to minimise resistance to the Norman introduction of the forest system (James 1981, 9-10). Either way, by the time of

Domesday in 1086, a generation after the Norman conquest, some twenty-five royal forests are recorded (Rackham 1987, 130-1). Certainly it can be said that the forest system became fully developed during the twelfth century, so that by the time of the Magna Carta in 1216 this figure had risen to at least 143 royal and aristocratic forests (Bazeley 1921, 160-2; Rackham 1987, 131).

In Wales, there were over a hundred forests of which only a few were royal forests. Many had been set up by marcher lords, who held their land as liberties, and so were free to impose their own forest law (Linnard 2000, 38; Rackham 1987, 131). In Scotland Gilbert (1979, 5-13) has demonstrated that the forest system was based on the Norman or Frankish models, with the earliest extant references being dated to the period 1136 – 1144. He maintained that there was no system of hunting reserves controlled by the king prior to this, but that kings would have had 'favoured hunting areas (Gilbert 1979, 10). In the earlier part of the period, the Scottish later medieval forests were concentrated in the east of the country, but they gradually spread westward. Unlike England and Ireland, where it will be shown that disafforestation was a feature of the thirteenth century, new forest creation continued to a certain extent right up to the seventeenth century. James I (d.1437) developed a number of new forests and reorganised the administration of these. His son, James II (d.1460), further expanded the forest system while the subsequent periods were generally ones of consolidation (Gilbert 1979, 39-48; Rackham 1987, 131).

2.1.3 Management and function of forests

In England, royal forests were typically 20 km^2 or 5000 acres in size, and were concentrated in areas in which royal lands and palaces were found (Rackham 1987, 132-3). Despite this, they varied considerably in size so that, for example, the whole counties of Surrey, Essex, Rutland and Huntingdonshire were forests at one point and the Forest of Dean and Sherwood Forest each extended across *c.* 100,000 acres (Serovayskaya 1998, 34; Watkins 1998, 94). Most royal forests were associated with a castle, which generally lay on the edge of the forest, while additional lodges might be constructed within it (Creighton 2002, 186-7).

The animals protected by forest law were red, fallow and roe deer as well as wild pigs. However, roe deer were removed from the list of 'beasts of the forest' in

England after 1338 (Cantor and Wilson 1964, 141; James 1981, 34). Although some kings were keen huntsmen and did use their forests, from a hunting perspective these primarily provided a location in which professional huntsmen could source venison and live deer for royal feasts and gifts (Rackham 1987, 133-5).

As well as venison, forests were a source of timber for construction, with royal permission being needed for the cutting of wood. Timber was often used as a gift to favoured subjects and ecclesiastical houses. For example, during the building of Salisbury Cathedral, Henry III piously contributed 418 timber trees from sixteen parks and forests, as well as large quantities of smaller trees, and wood for fuel (Rackham 1987, 136; Simpson 1998, 40). Various officers of the forest were entitled to receive timber and wood as part of the perquisites of their position and other individuals and local residents could also have rights (James 1981, 42, 45). Underwood and dead trees were used for fuel and were also sold (Rackham 1987, 136). However, the construction of forges and tanneries within forests was strictly controlled, as these were significant users of wood and charcoal (James 1981, 2).

Forests were not empty of domestic animals, as these were taken there for agistment and pannage on payment of a fee (James 1981, 43). Pannage was the term given to allowing pigs to root in the woods to feed on acorns and beech mast, while agistment referred to grazing or pasturage, and these fees provided a significant income for the crown (Young 1979, 129). Cattle, horses and pigs were generally allowed into the forest, while sheep and goats competed for food with the deer and so were normally excluded (James 1981, 43). Animals were generally removed from the forest during the Fence Month, which ran from 9th June to 9th July, as this was the time at which the deer gave birth to their young, so that disturbance was kept to a minimum. If they were admitted during this time, an additional, hefty charge was likely to be payable. After the Fence Month cattle and horses would be admitted until Holy Rood Day on 14th September and then the pannage season began, running until Martinmas on 11th November (James 1981, 43-4). The 'heyning' season ran from Martinmas to St Georges Day on 23rd April. During this period domestic animals were generally excluded once again, with the aim being to preserve the available fodder for the deer (James 1981, 44).

2.1.4 Disafforestation

Up to the reign of John, the area of England covered by forest law had expanded to such an extent that this was a major issue in the signing of the Magna Carta, which provided for the disafforestation of all forests created during John's reign, returning this land to the common law (James 1981, 10). This process was extended during the reign of Henry III, so that in 1217 the *Charter of the Forest* disafforested any land that had been afforested during the reigns of Richard or John. Furthermore, it allowed for a review of forests created by Henry II. The aim of the review was to determine whether the landowners had been disadvantaged by the inclusion of their land within the forest. Where this was found to be the case, the land was then disafforested (James 1981, 10-11). As a result, many forests were disafforested, with the crown retaining rights mainly in those areas where the land was actually owned by the king (Rackham 1987, 138). Nevertheless, when Henry III came of age in 1227, he attempted to reinstate forest law in a number of areas and this process was repeated a number of times throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries (James 1981, 11-12; Young 1979, 72-3).

Between the mid twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, Serovayskaya (1998, 37) has estimated that 9.8% of Exchequer income in England came from the forests, a figure which rose further until the fourteenth century. While the forest system provided a regular income in the form of sales, fees and fines, another source of income for the Crown was disafforestation, since landowners would pay for the removal of forest law and the restrictions on the cutting of timber and assarting. This had the advantage of providing relatively large 'once-off' sums of money, such as the 500 marks (*c.* £333) paid for the disafforestation of the County of Surrey in 1207, however, sometimes the money was paid over a period of time so that the effect on the Exchequer accounts was limited (Young 1979, 20-1). These figures can be contrasted with the £1980 raised by the forest eyre of 1198 (Young 1979, 39), but it must be borne in mind that this sitting of the court dealt with a backlog of cases from a number of years, and the cost of maintaining the forest system and difficulties of collecting the fines also had to be offset against the monies raised in the courts. Nevertheless, forests were a very significant source of income for the Crown.

Since forests and chases were legally defined areas rather than having a particular physical form, they leave no archaeological trace. Place-name evidence, for example Cannock Chase, Staffordshire, and small, extant woodlands are the most common reminders of their presence. Nevertheless, a few examples of later medieval English forests have survived to the modern day, albeit in fragmentary form. The New Forest in Hampshire still retains forest officials and courts that deal with some aspects of management. Epping Forest in Essex was part of Waltham Forest and still retains some of its old boundaries as well as some ancient trees (Rackham 1987, 146-7). Rackham (1987, 150) considers that Hatfield Forest, Essex, is the best preserved of the later medieval forests as it still exhibits a range of features including 'deer, cattle, coppice-woods, seven species of pollards, scrub, timber trees, grassland, fen, and a seventeenth-century lodge and rabbit warren'.

The forests had a role in providing venues for royal hunting parties but this was not their main function, nor was it purely economic. Instead it was based on the power to control access to venison and timber trees that had a value as gifts, and to provide opportunities for giving lucrative positions to favoured subjects and so bind them closer to the Crown (James 1981, 2; Rackham 1987, 138). As such, the forest system has been described as 'a perfect instrument for the monopolization of natural resources in the interests of the rulers of feudal England' (Serovayskaya 1998, 37).

2.2 Rights of free warren and warrens

The word 'warren' had two meanings in the later medieval period: a 'right of free warren' meant that a landowner had the exclusive right to hunt the 'beasts of the warren' on his land and that others were forbidden by law to do so (James 1981, 6). The other meaning of the word 'warren' relates to an artificial construction for rearing rabbits (Williamson 2007, 17).

2.2.1 Free warren

By contrast to the 'beasts of the forest', the 'beasts of the warren' included the hare, rabbit, fox, wild cat, badger, wolf and squirrel, and after 1338, the roe deer as well (James 1981, 39). In addition, there were a number of 'birds of the warren'

including pheasant, partridge and woodcock, with occasional mention of plover and lark (James 1981, 39). These could be hunted at will outside of the bounds of a royal forest, except where a landowner held a 'right of free warren' on his lands, in which case only he was entitled to hunt them (James 1981, 39; Young 1979, 46). Rights of free warren were hotly sought after as marks of royal favour as they were a way of demonstrating prestige, and also a way of controlling access to hunting activities (Young 1979, 11).

2.2.2 Rabbit warrens

Rabbits were not native to Britain, originating in the western Mediterranean. They were probably originally introduced by the Romans and then were reintroduced later by the Normans (Williamson 2007, 11). The original rabbits were not the hardy creatures of today, which, through natural selection, have become able to withstand northern European winters. Instead, artificial warrens, often earthen mounds, were constructed to house these delicate creatures, and until the mid fourteenth century these were usually termed 'coneygarths' (Williamson 2007, 12, 17). Initially, ownership of a warren was a preserve of the elite, but as the animals multiplied, possession widened to the gentry classes. Later medieval coneygarths were often situated in parks or on islands where the rabbits could be protected from predators (Williamson 2007, 11, 17). Pillow-mounds, which are cigar-shaped earthworks are a common archaeological feature of the English countryside. These have been interpreted as coneygarths and some may date to the later medieval period, however many of those that have been excavated have been found to be post-medieval, often dating to the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries (Williamson 2007, 31, 47-53).

One likely reason for the origin of the confusion of 'rights of free warren' with 'warrens' or coneygarths is that where a lord had a 'right of free warren' on a piece of land, including common land, he was entitled to keep rabbits there. This was despite the adverse effect this may have had on the crops and grazing available to his tenants. The peasant's crops and grass would have been a source of food for the rabbits, and their grazing lands would have been reduced by the areas enclosed to keep predators away from them (Williamson 2007, 17).

2.3 Parks

2.3.1 The word 'park'

By contrast to forests and chases, parks were relatively small, enclosed areas of land. In England these were used to confine deer, usually fallow deer, but they were often also used for a range of other purposes such as to graze cattle and sheep, raise horses, supply timber for construction and provide a location for fish ponds and rabbit warrens (Rackham 1987, 125). A detailed case study of the royal Woodstock Park is given in Appendix 2.2. This important park provided a template for English ideas of the ideal park, and was itself upgraded after a visit to Hesdin, France (see Appendix 2.3), by Edward II in 1313 (Richardson 2007, 37).

The word 'park' comes from the old French word *parke* which could mean both an enclosure and a hunting territory (Muir 2000, 12, 17). Old French dates from the ninth to the fourteenth century (Einhorn 1974, 1). Moorhouse (2007, 101-2) particularly notes that the Old English word *pearroc* meant 'an enclosed plot of ground, a paddock, a field' so that it does not necessarily denote a deer park, but can instead refer to enclosures with a range of functions. Extensive studies have been carried out on the parks of later medieval England and so sources of information regarding their expected form were of assistance in the identification and analysis of Irish examples. Much of the early work was done by Cantor (e.g. Cantor 1970-1; Cantor and Hatherly 1979; e.g. Cantor and Wilson 1962-1980) who described the key landscape features of parks and used documentary evidence in conjunction with extensive fieldwalking to identify a large number of examples on a county-by-county basis. In more recent times, other researchers have made more in-depth studies of particular counties or parks (Hoppitt 2007; Moorhouse 2007; e.g. Richardson 2005; Rowe 2007; Winchester 2007) so that good comparative evidence from a range of landscape types and regions is available. Furthermore, recent publications by Mileson (2009) and Fletcher (2011) provide up-to-date overviews of the subject.

Rackham (1987, 123) has estimated that at their peak around AD1300, there were approximately 3,200 parks in England, resulting in an average of one park for every 1500 acres of woodland recorded in the Domesday Book. Crouch (1992, 309) calculated that by the early fourteenth century, there was one park for every four

parishes in lowland England. These high figures have been disputed since Cantor and Hatherly (1979) had earlier suggested a more conservative minimum figure of 1,900. Either way, the numbers are large, and despite this large quantity, Liddiard (2007, 2) has argued that at their peak in the early fourteenth century they constituted possibly only 2% of the land in England. Nevertheless, this 2% was contentious, being seen as a symbol of aristocratic power and hence a focus for discontent by the lower orders. Parks are rarely, if ever, referred to as 'deer parks' in later medieval documents, instead the word 'park' is used, with the function of the enclosure sometimes stated. For this reason, there is often an ambiguity about the word and this needs to be borne in mind when examining the landscape features described as 'parks'.

2.3.2 Origins of parks

The idea of confining wild animals in order to stage a hunt goes back at least as far as Pharaonic Egypt, where pictorial evidence shows that temporary constructions of nets and ditches were stocked with wild animals immediately before a hunt. One of these temporary parks has been excavated and has been dated to 1402-1364BC (Allsen 2006, 36). The earliest written records of hunting parks or 'paradises' (*par-de-su*) date from the sixth century BC. At this time Syrus the Great had a hunting park at Sippar, on the banks of the Euphrates, in modern day Iraq. On conquering Mesopotamia, he gave his administrators permission to create and stock their own parks in the newly-annexed territory. His successors continued to construct parks and when Mesopotamia and Persia were conquered by the Muslims in the seventh century, the caliphate took on the trappings of the former Persian rulers, including adopting the concept of the hunting park (Allsen 2006, 35-6; Fletcher 2007, 35). Muslim Sicily was conquered by the Normans between 1060 and 1071, and the fashion for keeping fallow deer was then copied by the Normans and brought to northwest Europe (Brown 2003, 106; Fletcher 2007, 36).

The concept of the park was also known in the Classical World, having spread from Asia to the Greeks and Romans, who maintained parks filled with a range of wild animals such as deer, wild pigs, wild goats and wild sheep. These could be extravagant features, for example the park owned by Quintus Hortensius at Laurentum, south of Rome, had an area of *c*. 34 acres and contained a dining room

from which diners could view the animals when they were summoned by blowing a horn (Jennison 2005, 133-6; Toynbee 1973, 16). These Roman parks, and the wild animals that they contained, spread across the empire and eventually reached Britain. Sykes, White, Hayes and Palmer (2006) used strontium isotope analysis on the skeletal remains of an individual fallow deer from Roman Britain, showing that it had spent the early part of its life outside southeast England, but that it had been reared to maturity in the Fishbourne area, with a diet that demonstrated that it was probably confined within a garden or park.

Parks continued to be used and created in Europe during the post-Roman period. For example, Charlemagne had a park containing 'multitudes of antlered stags' (Allsen 2006, 40). Andrén (1997, 470) considered that this was a deliberate imitation of Roman status symbols as a means of legitimising the new imperial power. In Anglo-Saxon England there is substantial evidence for the existence of reserved hunting grounds or 'hays', often with royal or ecclesiastical associations. The word *hay, haga, hage, hege* or *haia* is believed to have originally meant an impenetrable barrier of vegetation and to be related to the modern words 'hedge' and 'haw' as in 'hawthorn'. The word evolved by the late eleventh century to mean a deer enclosure, with over thirty being identified in the Domesday Book, of which only nine were royal (Cantor 1982, 76; Fletcher 2007, 37-9; Hooke 1998, 21; Liddiard 2003; Vera 2000, 159-62; 2007, 109-10). Until recently it was thought that few of these hays predated the Norman Conquest and that they were not true parks (Rackham 1987, 123). However, this view has been questioned by Liddiard (2003) and Vera (2000, 160) who argue that the Anglo-Saxon hays were used in the same way as later parks. Both Liddiard (2003) and Richardson (2007, 33) have demonstrated that a number of aristocratic royal parks have origins in the Saxon period. Vera (2000, 160-1) posited that in Saxon times animals were originally driven into groves surrounded by impenetrable shrub growth, where they were protected from predators. Once in the groves they could easily be hunted on horseback, since the centres of these were relatively open grassy areas or 'lawns'. Planting additional bushes and adding stretches of fencing or nets would then have maintained the boundaries of the groves, and gradually over time these developed into the concept of permanent barriers.

Zooarchaeological evidence suggests that in England there was a shift away from the hunting of roe deer towards hunting the also-native red deer between the mid-eleventh and the mid-twelfth centuries and then a later shift towards hunting fallow deer in the mid-twelfth to mid-fourteenth centuries (Sykes 2007a, 59-60). Sykes has argued on the basis of this, and of documentary evidence, that roe deer may have been the species hunted in the semi-enclosed 'hays'. After being present in the Roman period, fallow deer appear to have been re-introduced to England during the early Norman period, but she further argues (Sykes 2004; 2007a, 59) that these would initially have been an exotic species to be securely contained and then observed rather than hunted, until stocks rose sufficiently to allow for widespread consumption of the species. Furthermore, the zooarchaeological evidence suggests introduction of fallow deer direct from the Mediterranean, probably from Norman Sicily, to England (Sykes and Carden 2011). This means that while there is substantial evidence for hays being used as parks in the Saxon period, with the coming of the Normans there was a fundamental shift in the way deer were utilised. Initially there was a move towards hunting red deer while retaining fallow deer as exotica in parks. This led to the development of parks that were specifically focused on containing and managing fallow deer as opposed to roe deer, and over time these became the hunted species of choice.

To summarise, the history of deer parks goes back as far as the ancient civilisations of Egypt and Mesopotamia. Parks were well known in the classical world of ancient Greece and Rome, and there is evidence to suggest that parks and fallow deer were present in Roman Britain. In England during the post-Roman period fallow deer died out, but the concept of a *hay* or *haga* to enclose deer continued. Elsewhere in Europe, parks also continued in use, and were a symbol of royal status. When the Normans conquered Sicily in the late eleventh century, they adopted the use of parks and shortly after this the idea of a closed secure park seems to have been reintroduced to England. They also reintroduced fallow deer to northern Europe in considerable numbers, so that over time these became the major deer species in England.

2.3.3 Distribution and morphology of parks

Cantor and Hatherly (1979, 76) identified four groups of later medieval park owners in England. These were the Crown and aristocracy, the religious houses, knightly families and newly enriched landowners and merchants.

Royalty, high-ranking ecclesiastics such as abbots, bishops and archbishops, as well as the great magnates often had many parks, which were commonly situated on their principal manors. For example, the earls of Lancaster had forty-five parks while the bishop of Winchester owned twenty-three (Cantor 1982, 76). Parks were also developed by more modest individuals, with many minor, untitled knights aspiring to ownership, so explaining the large number of parks present in the English landscape by *c*. 1300 (Rackham 1987, 125). Although knights might have retained a single park, high-ranking aristocrats often had a number of parks even within a small geographical area, so that, for example, Needwood Chase in Staffordshire, owned by the earls of Lancaster, boasted eleven of their forty-five parks (Cantor 1982, 80). Cantor and Hatherly (1979, 78) state that the parks held by monastic orders were often gifts from benefactors. They argue that these were likely to have been retained mainly for economic reasons or to provide entertainment for high-ranking guests, rather than to provide hunting for the abbots themselves. Later on the same page however, they note that the bishops of Winchester and Salisbury obtained permission to hunt in Windsor Forest, so demonstrating the interest of high-ranking ecclesiastics in hunting activities. Watts (1996, 88) also notes that hunting was often carried out by high-ranking ecclesiastics, with seven parks owned by bishoprics and abbeys in Wiltshire alone.

Although found in all parts of England, parks were most common in the midlands and south of the country, and were less frequently found in peripheral areas such as Devon and Cornwall, the extreme north of England and East Anglia (Fig. 2.1) (Cantor 1982, 78; 1983). Many counties had large numbers of parks, for example, Essex boasted at least ninety-eight while the West Riding of Yorkshire had at least seventy-three (Cantor 1982, 80) Both Cantor and Wilson (1963, 145) in Dorset, and Watts (1996, 94) in Wiltshire, noted that most castles had an associated deer park, but do not clarify whether this applies only to stone castles or includes motte and

ringwork castles. However, Liddiard (2000, 17; 2005, 97-121) notes that they were common at mottes and ringworks in Norfolk and elsewhere.

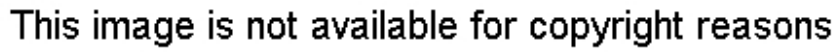


Fig. 2.1: Density of parks in England (after Cantor 1982, 79)

Within a region, parks were most common in those areas that were well wooded and that had been subject to only limited development of arable agriculture prior to the Norman Conquest (Cantor 1982, 78-9; Cantor and Hatherly 1979, 74). Thus, while they were mainly situated in the relatively affluent and accessible parts of the country, they generally made use of land within areas that had seen little intensive agriculture and hence could be utilised without major disruption. Royal parks were often associated with areas under forest law (Cantor 1982, 76), but for the lesser aristocracy and gentry, access to land suitable for emparkment was limited until disafforestation in the thirteenth century made more land available. Increasing availability of land and improved prosperity led to a rise in the number of parks between 1200 and 1350. This second wave of park-making was carried out by a

lower social group than the initial phase of emparkment, and hence, these parks tend to be smaller and more irregularly shaped, and on more marginal land than the parks of their social superiors (Cantor 1982, 76-7; Cantor and Hatherly 1979, 72, 75; Cantor and Wilson 1963, 145-6; Rackham 1976; 1987, 125).

In later medieval England, parks usually took the form of an enclosed area of ground surrounded by a high, wide bank, usually with an internal, rather than external, ditch. They varied in size from 30 acres to 4300 acres, with parks of 100 acres to 300 acres most typical (Fig. 2.2). The evidence suggests that minor gentry held the smaller parks, with great magnates and royalty having parks of up to or exceeding 1000 acres (Cantor and Hatherly 1979, 73-4). The largest later medieval park in England was that attached to Clarendon Palace in Wiltshire. This royal palace was built from *c*. 1100, possibly on the site of a Saxon hunting lodge, and is set within a substantial park that in turn lay within the Forest of Clarendon. The park was roughly circular and had a maximum acreage of 4300 acres. It was first empaled *c.* 1223 – 1228, being repaired and enlarged on a number of occasions up to the sixteenth century, and sections of embankment still survive (Richardson 2005, 113-6, 119; 2007, 1, 28). Other parks followed a similar, although more modest format. They were often lobe-shaped, roughly circular, or approximately square with rounded corners, depending on the local topography and land availability. Aristocratic parks often abutted and extended outwards from the castle and so provided an enclosed area of land adjacent to it. The top of the bank was generally surmounted by pales, which were vertical or angled slats of wood, sometimes by a hedge, or, rarely, by a stone wall. Stone-walled parks without banks and ditches were less common than those surrounded by wooden palings and were generally confined either to areas where there was an abundance of stone or to high-status parks where the cost of transportation of building materials was not an issue. Ideally the boundary of the park ran just below the brow of a hill or slope so that a deer could jump in but due to the internal ditch and the uphill direction of slope, could not jump back out. This meant that over time the number of deer within the park should increase. Deer could be further attracted to enter by addition of a 'deer leap' or saltatorium (Fig. 2.3), an area of pale where the fencing was absent or very low, but where a deeper pit was placed inside the gap to prevent the deer escaping in the opposite direction (Cantor

1982, 73; Cantor and Wilson 1962-1980; Creighton 2002, 188-9; Higham 2003; Moorhouse 2007, 104-6; Rackham 1987, 125; Watts 1996).

The earliest and largest English parks were often large and of regular shape (Fig. 2.2). One example is the pre-Domesday Ongar Great Park in Essex, which was a rectangle with rounded corners and which had an area of 1200 acres, while Barnsdale Park in Rutland was oval in plan. Later parks became more irregularly shaped since they had to fit within existing land boundaries and avoid existing settlement features (Rackham 1976, 144; 1987, 125). As a result, these were often located on the periphery of manors where the least agricultural development had occurred, and for both earlier and later parks their boundaries often partly follow modern parish boundaries (Cantor and Hatherly 1979, 75). Parks ideally contained a range of habitat types including woodland and open grazing and also had a requirement for a stream or ponds to provide the stock with water. By 1616, Liebualt, in his *Maison Rustique or the Countrey Farme*, identified that the ideal park:

> ‘must consist of divers hills, divers plains, and divers valleys; the hills which are commonly called the viewes or discoveries of parks, would be all goodly high woods of tall timber as well for the beauty and gracefulnesse of the parke, as also for the echoe and sound which will rebound from the same … the plains which are called in parkes the lawnds, would be very champion and fruitfull, as well for the breeding of great store of grasse and hay for the feeding an nourishing of the deere or other wild beastes, as also for the pleasure of coursing with greyhounds … . (cited by Shirley 1867, 234)

Despite this, many parks were not heavily wooded, either due to the natural landscape of the area, such as in Egton, Yorkshire, where the park is situated in moorland, or due to the emparkment of former arable land (Rackham 1987, 126).

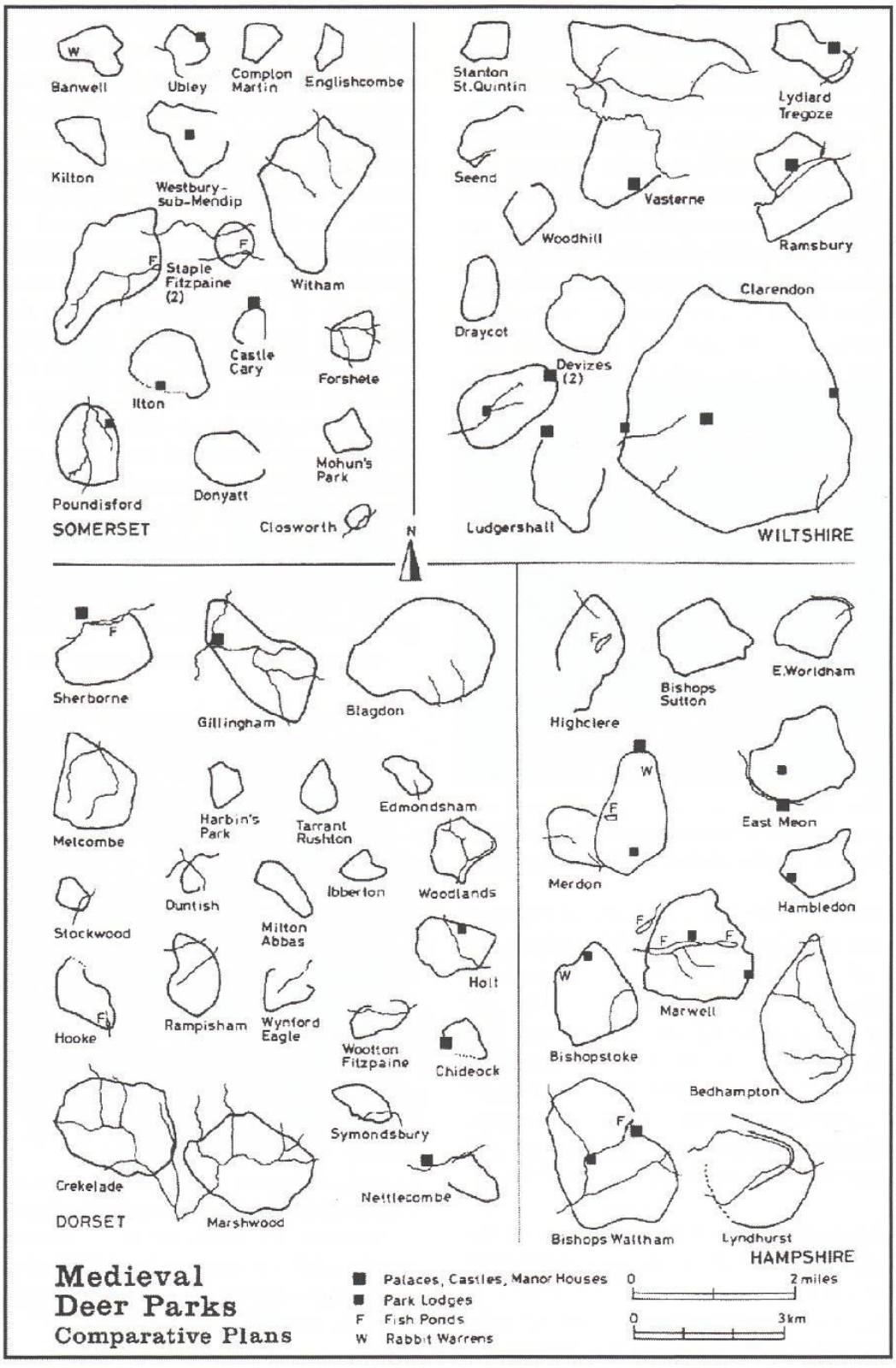


Fig. 2.2: English medieval deer parks comparative plans after Bond (1994)

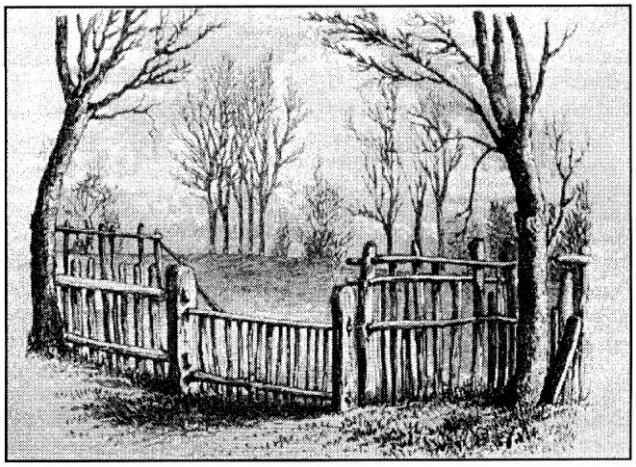


Fig. 2.3: Deer leap after Prior (1993)

Where parks were large, or were situated at a distance from the manorial centre, often marked by a castle, they could incorporate a lodge, from which the activities were managed. These were often moated sites, and the moats could be stocked with fish (Watts 1996, 90). Lodges were usually at the highest point of the park with commanding views over the landscape (Rackham 1987, 126). Over time many of these changed from purely functional farm-like buildings to incorporating accommodation and dining facilities for the elite (Birrell 1992, 119; Cantor and Wilson 1962, 110). One example is at Writtle, Essex, where in the mid-1950s excavation took place of a documented royal hunting lodge visited by John, Henry III and Edward I. There was occupation evidence dating from the thirteenth through to the fifteenth centuries. The lodge consisted of a moated site, which contained a number of buildings including a hall, kitchens, a chapel, a great chamber and a gatehouse. Finds were typical of a high-status domestic site and included ironwork, a gemstone, objects of copper alloy and of silver, and locally made and imported pottery from as far away as the Near-East. A spur rowel and a small bell similar to those used in hawking or on horse harnesses are of particular relevance to the function of the place as a hunting lodge while the animal bone included the remains of at least three fallow deer as well as a variety of wild game birds (Rahtz 1969). The site was partially re-excavated in 1991 when further fifteenth-century structural evidence was identified (Ecclestone and Reidy 1993). This lodge provides an insight into the activities that took place around hunting as well as more domestic activities such as spinning and sewing that also occurred there.

In summary, due to their distinct morphology, the locations of former parks can often be identified from cartographic sources. Early parks in particular are often circular, lobe shaped or square with rounded corners. On the ground they may be walled, or the remains of a bank-and-internal ditch may be present. Parks range between 30 and 4300 acres in size, with 100 to 300 acres common. While parks associated with castles were often immediately adjacent to the castle, those belonging to lesser owners were often sited on more marginal land at the limits of the manor. As previously described, their pales often followed part of the parish boundaries and were irregular in shape to take advantage of unused land in the manor.

2.3.4 Uses of parks

As well as retaining deer, parks were commonly used as a source of timber, underwood and coppiced wood, firewood and charcoal, pannage (allowing pigs to root for acorns and beech nuts), agistment (pasturage), turbary (peat cutting for fuel) and mining. They could have fruit trees, rabbit warrens, fish ponds, dovecotes, beehives, stud farms and even areas of tillage within their bounds (Cantor 1982, 77-8; Cantor and Hatherly 1979, 80-1; Creighton 2002, 190-1; Franklin 1989, 159; Watts 1996, 90; 1998, 94). The uses to which a park was put could vary over time and a single park could perform a number of functions simultaneously. Where parks were non-compartmentalised, a number of authors (e.g. Cantor and Hatherly 1979, 72; Mileson 2005, 27-8) have argued that it was difficult to maintain a range of uses since grazing animals are incompatible with the economic management of woodland and meadow and since deer would be in direct competition with cattle or sheep for pasturage. In contrast, Vera (2007, 107-9) argues that wood pasture can be a sustainable way of both producing timber and grazing deer or cattle, since the trees can be separated from the open ground by groves of spiny shrubs, such as the blackthorn or, as it is also known, the sloe (*Prunus spinosa*). He argues that these will develop and regenerate in a natural cycle of non-linear succession. In this model, open, grassy areas gradually become overgrown by shrubs, which provide cover in which trees can regenerate. Eventually the trees shade out the shrubs from the centre of the growth, resulting in a stand of trees surrounded by shrubs. In turn the trees die, leaving an open grassy grove in the centre once again.

Researchers place a varying degree of emphasis on the practical and aesthetic aspects of parks. Some scholars have stated that due to their limited area they were of little use for actual hunting and functioned mainly as live larders for venison, pasturage and sources of timber (e.g. Bond and Tiller 1997, 25; e.g. Rackham 1987, 125). Bond and Tiller (1997, 25) saw the purpose of the later medieval Woodstock Park as being fundamentally a mundane source of venison, with the recreational use of the park for hunting being important but the landscape setting being incidental. In support of this, they note the orders for 200 does in 1250 and for 100 does in 1298, which were to be killed, salted down and dispatched elsewhere for the use of the royal household. Cantor (1982, 75) concurred, differentiating between the appearance of later medieval parks and what he described as landscaped 'amenity' parks dating from the eighteenth century onwards. He also highlighted the economic importance of parks, arguing that these could be a profitable source of income (Cantor 1982, 77-8).

Mileson (2005, 26-7) has countered that parks were genuinely used for hunting, and actually became more popular and developed over time. The fourteenth-century French writer Gaston Phoebus was somewhat disparaging about 'bow and stable' hunting which he particularly associated with England, suggesting that those interested in hunting with bows should visit England to receive further instruction (*Livre de Chasse*, 71). Later, in his English-language volume *The Master of Game*, which was based on the *Livre de Chasse*, Edward, Duke of York emphasised the suitability of the bow for parkland hunting (Cummins 1988, 53, 64; *Master of Game*, 188-200; Mileson 2005, 26). There are also many records of monarchs, aristocrats and ecclesiastics being involved in parkland hunts and in 1415 the Bishop of Winchester received a gift of a bow and arrows specifically for use in his parks (Mileson 2005, 27).

By contrast with many earlier writers, more recent studies such as those by Creighton (2009, 75-84; 2010) and Liddiard (2000, 123; 2005, 97-8, 100-1, 106-7) saw the entire landscape around many castles as being at least partially designed to enhance the aesthetic appeal of the area. In particular, Liddiard (2005, 98) cites the redevelopment of Leeds Castle in the 1280s, while Creighton discusses a number of sites dating from the thirteenth to sixteenth centuries. To modern eyes, this concept

can easily be applied to features such as parks and fishponds, but Liddiard (2005, 100-4) extends this to the placement of apparently mundane features such as settlements and mills. Both Creighton (2009, 218-24) and Liddiard (2005, 97-8) stress the placement of an inner core consisting of gardens, orchards and small ponds, with more extensive areas beyond in which parks, mills, settlements and warrens were located. In particular, Liddiard noted that these economic activities were important in creating and maintaining an elite lifestyle and in displaying aristocratic control over resources. There has been a considerable recent interest in the views from castles. At Clarendon Palace, entirely surrounded by a 4300 acre park, Beaumont James and Gerrard (2007, 71) specifically comment on the placement of the palace gallery to provide views over much of the park and its hinterland, and, as will be described in more detail below, the palace at Woodstock was similarly endowed (see Appendix 2.2) (Bond and Tiller 1997, 43). Similarly, McNeill (2006) and Creighton (2010) have also developed ideas around the views from castle roofs and windows. There is a consensus, however, that by the beginning of the fifteenth century, there was a significant focus on the aesthetic and amenity value in the creation and layout of parks. These became larger and tended to surround rather than abut the residence and from then on this emphasis was maintained, culminating in the great flowering of landscape parks in the eighteenth century (Mileson 2005, 20; Stamper 1988, 146).

Despite the emphasis on the practical aspects of park ownership and the debate on their aesthetic qualities, there is universal agreement that parks were one of the ways to express lordship and status (Creighton 2002, 188; Liddiard 2000, 123; 2005, 97; Mileson 2005, 20-1; Orser 2006). The ability to create and maintain a park could be used to demonstrate the power of the owner in a form of symbolic violence. The construction of a park pale reduced access to grazing, timber and underwood for the local inhabitants and could often take in areas that had previously been arable or inhabited land (Franklin 1989, 149; Mileson 2005, 33-7). Emparking also prevented movement across the landscape, resulting in roads being blocked and necessitating their rerouting (Franklin 1989, 165). Franklin (1989, 164, 166) argues that 'The major economic aims of emparking were to secure close control over both woodland and pasture' and that this went hand in hand with the aim of establishing hunting preserves both for pleasure and as a status symbol.

Status was demonstrated by access to a park and to the venison it contained. In England, many regional surveys of historical documents have been based on the availability of 'licences to empark'. However, these can be unreliable in identifying parks since strictly speaking, they were only necessary where a park was in or close to a royal forest, in which case, they could potentially reduce the availability of deer in the forest (Cantor 1982, 75; James 1981, 6). Additionally, the erection of any boundaries within forests, even to prevent damage to crops, required royal permission (James 1981, 14-15). Thus, licences to empark generally only provide evidence of those parks in or near forests and would not identify parks outside these areas, unless the owner obtained a licence as a precautionary measure. Furthermore, a licence to empark does not necessarily mean that a park was ever constructed. Since these were akin to 'planning permission', even if the park was never built, having a licence could be considered as a form of royal favour and hence a status symbol in itself. Another form of documentary evidence for parks can be found in licences to construct deer-leaps. A licence was necessary since providing a leap meant that extra deer would enter the park, again to the potential detriment of the stocks in nearby royal forests (Cantor and Hatherly 1979, 73). While both of these licence types could be considered as a mark of royal favour, they were also a lucrative source of revenue for the crown (Cantor and Hatherly 1979, 73).

In addition to the display of power by supplying venison for the lord's table and sport for the lord himself, parks were important in the opportunities that they provided for social transactions. These included the development of reciprocal obligations through gift-giving and hospitality (Birrell 1992, 126). Venison could be sent as a gift, but was rarely if ever sold in the high medieval period, and if it was sold, it had usually been illicitly poached (Birrell 1992, 114-5). Live deer could be gifted to stock a new park or to restock an existing park. This was often used as a sign of royal favour, so that for example, on three occasions in the thirteenth century a total of sixteen bucks and seventy five does from the royal Woodstock Park were supplied to the nearby aristocratic Middleton Stoney Park (Bond and Tiller 1997, 27). Similarly, in 1202 in Buckinghamshire, Richard Montfitchet received a royal gift of 100 fallow deer from Windsor Forest to stock his park at Langley Marish, so binding his loyalty to the Crown (Cantor 1982, 76).

A visitor could be allowed the privilege of hunting in another man's park. In 1262 a Bedfordshire knight, Sir John de Grey, lent his park to his social superior, Roger de Quincy, Earl of Winchester (Crouch 1992, 308-9). Honours of this type could be used to climb the social ladder, since by accepting a day's hunting in this way, de Quincy was now under an obligation to reciprocate to de Grey, setting up a cycle of gift-giving and providing potential social opportunities for this ambitious knight.

Parks could also be used to demonstrate piety. For example, from 1444 onwards the king granted four bucks and four does per year to Abingdon Abbey, which were to be supplied from Woodstock Park (Bond and Tiller 1997, 25). Similarly, constructional timber and underwood sourced from the parks could provide an important gift, with a nunnery and two friaries, for example, being the beneficiaries of oaks from Woodstock in 1275 (Bond and Tiller 1997, 39, 41).

2.3.5 Park management

Three species of deer were present in medieval Britain: red, roe and fallow deer. Of these, red and roe were native, while fallow deer had been reintroduced by the Normans, having previously been present in Roman times (Harris and Yalden 2008, 578-9, 599, 610; Sykes, White, Hayes and Palmer 2006). For reasons described in Chapter 3, fallow deer were the most suited to being maintained in a park environment and the evidence suggests that the majority of English parks were stocked with this species (Rackham 1987, 125; Watts 1996, 92). As stated, royal gifts were a common source of deer to stock or restock a park, with the animals transported by cart and fed *en route* (Birrell 1992, 120-1). Males were usually hunted between June and September when their body fat levels were at their highest, while females were usually hunted from late November to mid February (Birrell 1992, 122-3). Based on figures from parks in Cornwall and at Havering in Essex, a park owner could expect a venison yield of approximately one eleventh of his stock per annum (Birrell 1992, 125). Sixteenth-century stocking densities at Woodstock may have been as high as 2,000-3000 animals in *c*. 1500 acres (Bond and Tiller 1997, 25), but probably a maximum of one individual per acre was a more feasible and sustainable figure, depending on the terrain and ground cover. Despite the large number of parks present in later medieval England, Dyer (1988, 25) has calculated

from household accounts that only seven percent of the meat consumed by the elite was venison, suggesting that the significance of venison was in its symbolic value as an elite foodstuff rather than it being an important contribution to the diet. Nevertheless, this seven percent was highly significant, with the proportion of wild mammal bones identified from excavations of castle sites being of the order of six times higher than from excavations of rural non-elite sites (Grant 1988, 165; Sykes 2007b, 65).

In addition to high costs of wall or paling construction to set up a park, there was considerable ongoing expenditure for management of the herds and timber and for maintenance of the boundaries. Unlike palings, stone walls had the advantage that they did not rot and were less easily breached by poachers. By the thirteenth century the royal park at Woodstock was bounded by a stone wall, although the form of the earliest boundary is not clear. Despite this apparently sturdy construction, the wall was not maintenance free, with repairs being recorded on a regular basis. For example, in 1255 local residents had paid for lime to be produced and the walls repaired. They complained that they had been overcharged by the contractor and that the work was poorly executed, so that much of the lime plaster fell off (Bond and Tiller 1997, 29-30). A stone-walled park was more impressive but was also more expensive to construct than a paling fence, and hence it brought more prestige to its owner. As a result, a number of local parks in the area around Woodstock were upgraded from wooden palings to stone walling between the late twelfth and early fourteenth centuries in a clear case of emulation of their more prestigious royal neighbour (Bond and Tiller 1997, 30).

Prior to the fourteenth century, boundary maintenance was often carried out as part of the labour obligation of tenants, however over time this declined as tenants converted their labour service to a money payment. As a result, park owners were forced to pay for the upkeep of their own parks (Cantor and Hatherly 1979, 73; Hoppitt 2007, 160). Alternatively, as was the case in Woodstock in 1255, described above, tenants whose lands adjoined parks were often obliged to pay for these works themselves in order to prevent their crops being predated by escaping deer (Crossley and Elrington 1990, 439-48). This could be an expensive undertaking, for example, the king's park in Northampton was walled, and in 1393 repairs were carried out that

involved the hiring of two carts to transport stone at 10d per day for 36 days as well as the costs of four masons and three assistants for 45 days (Steane 1978, 213).

Records of the park at Castle Donnington, Leicestershire, dating to 1322 provide an insight into the cost of keeping a park. These include 'remaking 97 perches of hedge round the park at 1¼d a perch….food and wages of 1 park keeper keeping the said park 4s.' (Cantor 1970-1, 14). A century later, in 1439/40 at Madeley Great Park in Staffordshire, the cost of employing a parker had risen to £3 0s 8d per annum or 2d per day (Cantor 1982, 78). At the royal park of Ludgershall in 1438 costs were higher with the keeper paid 3d per day, equating to just under £5 per year. The status of parkers was below that of the senior officials of the manor but was nevertheless significant (Franklin 1989, 155). Below them was a further tier of assistants who could be responsible for particular aspects of park management such as the gatekeepers or *clausatores* of the park and those responsible for the sale of wood or pasture. These assistants sometimes appear in the records, for example, in 1462-3 the Duke of Somerset employed a head parker at 3d per day plus three park keepers whose wages were 3d per day between them to administer his parks at Canford (Cantor and Wilson 1964, 142). In addition to parkers, lords might employ professional huntsmen either on a permanent or seasonal basis, and larderers could be employed to process and salt the meat (Birrell 1992, 122; Franklin 1989, 157).

Wild deer, whether inside or outside forest bounds, lived lives that were primarily independent of human management. They were hunted both by humans and predators such as wolves but were not usually fed and were rarely moved around the landscape. By contrast, park deer lived in an unnatural, enclosed space that lacked non-human predators and so that unsustainable stocking densities could potentially develop. Furthermore, the enclosed nature of parks meant that deer could be easily obtained for hunting, gift-giving and venison production. This manipulation and management brought with it the requirement to control stock levels and to provide winter feed (Birrell 1992; Pluskowski 2007b, 74-5; Richardson 2005, 34). Records were often kept detailing the total numbers of deer, the numbers hunted and to whom the carcasses were distributed as well as the employment and pale maintenance costs described above (Birrell 1992, 119, 121).

In bad winters, or in parks that were overstocked with deer, winter fodder was provided either in the form of hay or as browse wood that had been freshly cut from evergreen trees or had been cut from deciduous trees and stored for the winter. Sometimes this came from elsewhere on the manor, but it could also be bought in, and there was inevitably a cost for the associated labour and transport. For example, in 1389 the sum of 3s 6d was spent on winter feed at Castle Donnington (Cantor 1970-1, 14). This practice reduced winter deaths and enabled higher stocking densities of deer within the park, an important consideration since it has been estimated that a red deer will consume its own body weight in fodder in less than a fortnight (Birrell 1992, 117-8). All of this demonstrates that constructing a park was only one stage of the process and that ongoing management costs in terms of labour and materials were significant portions of the manorial budget.

Conversely, as with forests, parks could also be a source of revenue. If deer stocks were low or they were completely absent then the agistment or pasturage of the park could yield a profit, and regardless of the presence of deer it was common for pigs to be set loose within parks to avail of the pannage in the autumn. This was the case in Castle Donnington around 1482 when pannage and herbage yielded more than £5 per year (Cantor 1970-1, 14). Thus, although parks are thought of as being enclosed and therefore private, there were occasions on which outsiders of relatively low status could legitimately enter.

2.3.6 Changes over time

It has been demonstrated above that parks of some form were present in England before the Norman Conquest. While a number of parks were created between 1066 and 1200, nationally there was a peak of construction occurring *c*. 1320-1360 (Mileson 2009, 128). One argument is that the favourable economic circumstances of the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, combined with the freeing up of land due to disafforestation, provided a major opportunity for this creation of large numbers of new parks (Cantor 1982, 76-7; Cantor and Hatherly 1979, 79). Nevertheless, some regional differences occurred, with emparkment in Suffolk peaking slightly earlier, around the late thirteenth century (Hoppitt 2007, 147). In Oxfordshire the peak came much earlier, around the later twelfth century and into the thirteenth century (Bond and Tiller 1997, 23).

Over time park construction moved down the social scale so that whereas in the eleventh century only the most powerful individuals had parks, by the late twelfth century they were moderately common even amongst knights. These latter parks typically had a land area of *c*. 200 acres, and this class of society sometimes placed themselves under financial strain to aspire to the trappings of a more wealthy section of society (Crouch 1992, 112, 309). Since the task of constructing the park boundary was a significant cost, some parks started on a small scale but were then expanded over time as resources became available (Cantor 1982, 75; Cantor and Hatherly 1979, 72). Both Edward II and Edward III enlarged their parks in the fourteenth century, and Richardson (2007, 36-7) suggests that this was due to reduced availability of royal forest as a source of venison and increased focus on the embellishment of a small number of royal residences. She particularly notes the influence of Edward II's visit to Hesdin, France, in 1313 as an inspiration for park enlargement and improvement of the facilities attached to them.

As a result of the series of famines and the Black Death in the mid-fourteenth century, there was a labour shortage that led to significant increases in rural wages. This lack of cheap labour has been suggested as a primary cause for the decline in the number of new parks being created after this time. Ironically, however, the reduced levels of human population meant that some existing parks were expanded and new ones created, taking in land that was no longer needed for cultivation (Cantor 1982, 77; Cantor and Hatherly 1979, 74; Mileson 2005, 22). Mileson (2005, 19, 22) argues that the decline of emparkment in this period has been over-emphasised, estimating that only one thousand of the parks present in AD1300 had disappeared by the mid- to later- fifteenth century, whereas possibly 250 parks were created or extended in the fifteenth century. He further stresses that new emparkment was generally unnecessary by this time since there were usually already sufficient parks available to the aristocratic and gentry families (Mileson 2005, 23).

There was a change in the layout of parks over time. Earlier parks were often separate from the manor house, or, in the case of castles, it was more common for the park to abut one side of the residence, such as that at Devises Castle, Wiltshire (Cantor and Hatherly 1979, 72; Cantor and Wilson 1963, 145-6; Liddiard 2005,

102). In the fifteenth century there was an increasing linkage between residences and parks, so that new parks were often constructed to surround the owner's residence, or parks were enlarged so that they encircled the residence rather than merely abutting it. Alternatively, new residences, sometimes in the form of crenellated, pseudo-militaristic towers, were created within a park setting. This change can be seen as part of a movement away from the use of highly-defensible elite residences as a way of demonstrating power and status. Instead, an aura of power was created by deliberately designing landscapes that stressed privacy and seclusion and that provided suitable venues for social occasions. This process again began at the top of the social scale, gradually becoming more common over time, and there is also some indication that it was most prevalent amongst those rising rapidly in society, suggesting a conscious aggrandisement (Creighton 2002, 188-9; 2009, 127; Mileson 2009, 23-5; Rackham 1987, 128-9; Richardson 2007, 34-5, 38). While designed landscapes in England have been identified dating from at least the very early twelfth century, there is a considerable growth in their scale, frequency and complexity from the late fourteenth century onwards (Liddiard 2000, 51; Taylor 2000, 46). At an early date some parks, particularly 'little parks' found immediately adjacent to major residences, appear to have been gardens or pleasure grounds rather than deer parks, however, as discussed above, true deer parks could also be used in this earlier period as part of an aesthetic landscape.

It has been suggested that some of the very large fifteenth-century parks were created or expanded for primarily aesthetic rather than practical reasons and contained few deer. As a result, they may not have been completely surrounded by a pale. Development of these ornamental landscapes continued until at least the late sixteenth century (Taylor 2000, 52), so that it can be argued that these provided the forerunner or template on which the great landscape parks of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were created.

Expansion of existing parks could provide opportunities for improved aesthetics both directly, in terms of giving unhindered views of parkland from the residence, and indirectly, by facilitating compartmentalisation of parks. Citing the example of Feckenham in Hereford and Worcester, Muir (2000, 20) identified that this was a key feature by the sixteenth century when many of the existing and newly created

parks were very large. Compartmentalisation allowed for specialisation of different functions within the park so that mundane and aesthetically-pleasing activities could be separated more easily and the vegetation could be managed to provide a more idealised landscape in areas within view of the manor or lodge.

From 1500 onwards a series of events also combined to encourage disparkment, whereby parks were transformed into agricultural land. One major factor was the Tudor dissolution of the monasteries and the transfer of church lands, including parks, to the laity (Cantor and Hatherly 1979, 79). Another was the development of improved farming methods in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, providing an economic incentive for disparkment of previously marginal land, an issue commented on at the time by Fynes Moryson:

> 'The King's Forrests have innumerable heards of Red Deare, and all parts have such plenty of Fallow Deare, as every Gentleman of five hundreth or a thousand pounds rent by the yeere hath a Parke for them inclosed with pales of wood for two or three miles compasse. Yet this prodigall age hath so forced Gentlemen to improve their revenewes as many of these grounds are by them disparked and converted to feede Cattell. Lastly (without offence be it spoken) I will boldly say, that England (yea perhaps one County thereof) hath more fallow Deare, then all Europe that I have seene' (*Itinerary*, iv, 168-9)

The final factor in disparkment was the English Civil War and its effects on the economic and social make up of the country, as a result of which many parks fell into disrepair and were converted to farmland (Cantor and Hatherly 1979, 79). By the eighteenth century, formal geometric gardens, and later, landscape parks, were being created around many large country houses, and where later medieval parks were still in existence, these were often used as the basis for these ornamental designed landscapes (Watts 1996, 88). Deer were kept in them, and were killed for venison, but fox-hunting had taken over as the main form of aristocratic hunting (Watts 1996, 93).

2.3.7 Later Medieval parks today

Today, the physical remains of later medieval parks range from having entirely disappeared to continuing in the same use as during the later medieval period. Many of the former English parks are found as relict stretches of banks, bank-and-ditch systems or walls and often these follow parish boundaries for part of their perimeter, while many are known only from cartographic analysis (Cantor and Wilson 1962-1980; Hoppitt 2007, 157; Watts 1996, 92; Winchester 2007, 178-9). This potentially low visibility, even in England, where there was cultural continuity through the later medieval and post-medieval period is a point that will be returned to in discussing Irish parks. Trees and shrubs can also provide significant evidence, for example, as species-rich ancient hedgerows forming the ancient boundary (Moorhouse 2007, 105) or as ancient pollarded oaks (Rotherham 2007, 86). Pre-existing landscapes from the prehistoric or early historic periods can be fossilised within the bounds of a park as minimal ploughing is likely to have occurred there (Moorhouse 2007, 106-7). Riverside meadows were sometimes left as a strip outside a park boundary in order to provide access for grazing and for hay crops. These have sometimes been retained in the field boundaries (Moorhouse 2007, 107). The location of lodges can be identified by the pattern of situating them at high points in the landscape and by place-name evidence such as the use of 'Old Lodge Farm' or similar names (Cantor and Wilson 1962-1980).

2.3.8 Parks outside England

The emphasis of this chapter up to now has been predominantly English evidence, since this is where the creation of later medieval parks reached its apogée. Nevertheless, parks were created in other European countries, such as Belgium (Cummins 2002, 48), Germany (Creighton 2009, 149), Italy (Almond 2003, 141, 150; Cummins 2002, 47), Denmark and Sweden (Andrén 1997; Taylor 2006, 457). One of the most spectacular was the park at Hesdin, France. This is described in detail in Appendix 2.3. In general, parks elsewhere in Europe were similar in form and function to those found in England, however the situation in Denmark and Sweden is worthy of comment. In these countries the traditional view that few deer parks were established before the post-medieval period has been challenged by Andrén (1997) who argues, on the basis of documentary evidence, that many of the

medieval parks there were established on islands and so required no artificial fencing.

The seminal work of Gilbert (1979) examined the role of forests, reserves and parks in later medieval Scotland and forms the basis of this summary of Scottish evidence. He identified 25 royal and 49 baronial parks appearing in documentary sources between 1165 and 1512 (Gilbert 1979, 356-9). Many of the royal parks in these lists were created in the fourteenth century with baronial park creation peaking in the fifteenth century, a century after the peak in England, and little development in the thirteenth century. He identified that the number of baronial parks increased because they were more easily managed than the private forests that had been popular up to this point (Gilbert 1979, 222). This implies that up to that time, cross-country drives or *par-force*-style chases had remained the preferred form of hunting, suggesting a continuation of Gaelic-influenced hunting styles.

Red and fallow deer were present in Scotland and both were maintained in parks, with the latter being mentioned from 1288x1290 (Gilbert 1979, 219). Documentary evidence from the royal park at Falkland describes how in the early sixteenth century the park was restocked by driving deer into a wattle enclosure called a 'hay', while boundaries of the royal park at Kincardine and the probable baronial park at Lintrathen seem to have incorporated permanent features suitable for driving deer in this way (Gilbert 1979, 85, 87, 220). As with parks in England, many seem to have been constructed with a ditch and a bank topped by palings, however by the late fifteenth century the royal parks of Linlithgow and Stirling were both at least partly walled (Gilbert 1979, 219). Again, the pales sometimes follow the line of parish boundaries and so can be identified using cartographic evidence (Gilbert 1979, 82), and parks could be constructed close to, or abutting castle sites (Gilbert 1979, 85-7).

The royal parks were managed by hereditary or life keepers, some of whom were of high rank, so that for example the Abbot of Lindores was appointed Keeper of Linlithgow in 1498 (Gilbert 1979, 218). Management of the parks was similar to that in England, with hay and oats being provided for winter feed and deer stocks being moved between parks (Gilbert 1979, 220-1). Maintenance of the pales was again an ongoing financial burden on the parks (Gilbert 1979, 219). Lodges were an

important feature of Scottish parks and could either take the form of relatively small stone castles that served a variety of purposes or could be wooden structures that were used only for hunting (Gilbert 1979, 80). One excavated example is at Castlehill of Strachan, where a motte functioned as a hunting lodge for the Giffard family, who held their lands 'in forest', so that they had full hunting rights on these lands (Yeoman 1984, 318).

Many but not all of the king's parks in Scotland were formed from forest lands, and where this was the case they seem not to have been subject to forest law, but to have been taken out of the forest (Gilbert 1979, 215-7). The barons were free to create their own parks, but where these were in or near royal forests they needed royal approval (Gilbert 1979, 215-6). Forest law did not normally protect baronial parks, so that barons relied of grants of free warren to punish those hunting in their parks. This gave only limited rights, however, since it excluded deer and boar from the species protected from illicit hunting and as a result, in 1474 the Scottish parliament passed legislation making it a crime of theft to hunt deer in a park or enclosure belonging to someone else (Gilbert 1979, 217-8).

Very little work has been carried out on the parks of later medieval Wales, however these are currently the subject of research by Spencer Smith (*pers. comm.*) of the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historic Monuments of Wales (RCAHMW). There are approximately fifty recorded medieval parks in Wales. The majority are in south Wales and the Marches, with some also found in north Wales (Linnard 2000, 52; Rackham 1987, 124-5). One example is Senghennydd, which is an oval-shaped, 2,500-acre park situated in the uplands of east Glamorgan, now in the county of Caerphilly. It was surrounded by a bank and internal ditch, which still partly survive, with the bank up to 1.2m high and the ditch up to 1.2m deep (Linnard 2000, 53). As with parks in England, timber, coppice, underwood and pannage were economically-important park products, and cattle were regularly pastured in Welsh parks (Linnard 2000, 53-4).

2.4 Conclusions

It was stated that the aim of this chapter was to introduce the range of hunting landscapes that were known outside Ireland so that this information could be used in later chapters to see how these may have influenced later medieval hunting practice in Ireland. A number of hunting landscapes have been discussed: forests, chases, warrens and parks. Forests and chases were the largest of these (see Section 2.1). They are unlikely to leave physical remains that can be detected by archaeologists, but are sometimes identifiable using cartographic methods or from place-name evidence. By contrast, due to the extensive legislation developed to control these landscapes, they are very visible in later medieval documentary sources. Rights of free warren are also archaeologically invisible, but well documented (see Section 2.2). Rabbit warrens or coneygarths may leave physical remains in the form of pillow mounds, enclosures and warrener's lodges, many of which are of late medieval or post-medieval date. Parks have been the main focus of the chapter and are known from a range of documentary and cartographic sources (see Section 2.3). Extensive studies have been carried out on the parks of later medieval England and so sources of information regarding their expected form could be expected to be of assistance in the identification and analysis of Irish examples. Physically, they range from having entirely disappeared to continuing in the same use as during the later medieval period. The majority are known only from documentary evidence so that the use of cartographic and documentary sources is important in locating medieval parks (Winchester 2007, 179), however where remains are extant, these are often short stretches of relict wall or bank, sometimes alongside a parish boundary.

Parks in England ranged from the smallest at around 30 acres, to vast areas of land such as at Clarendon, which was over four thousand acres in size (Richardson 2005, 1). 30 acres is an area of approximately 350m x 350m while Clarendon measured 5.2km x 4.6km (Richardson 2005, 69). Parks varied from simple enclosures to complex systems that incorporated a range of landscapes types, several buildings and designed views. The smallest parks are likely to have functioned as 'live larders' for venison, and can certainly not have had any true hunting capability. Some of these 'little parks' may also have been considered as extensive gardens, and may not have actually contained deer. By contrast, the largest parks could support substantial

herds of deer and in these, bow and stable hunting could take place, guests could be entertained in bowers and 'pleasaunces', and displays of horsemanship and other skills could be undertaken (see Section 2.3.4 and Appendices 2.2 and 2.3). Vast sums were expended on creating new parks and expanding existing ones.

The study of these landscapes in other countries, particularly England, has provided data that has proved invaluable in the search for Irish hunting landscapes. It has highlighted particular features such as mounds, banks, ditches, walls, roads and lodge sites that are of potential significance, and has provided an idea of the likely size and shape of the parks, which are the main focus of the study. Furthermore, the possibility that parks could have very low visibility in the modern landscape has been noted. As a result, the importance of cartographic and documentary sources in identifying parks has been realised (see Section 2.3.7).

The chapter has clearly identified the importance of hunting landscapes in the display of status and prestige in later medieval England. It has highlighted the role of parks and forests in providing venues and opportunities for setting up cycles of obligation through gift-giving, provision of lucrative employment and provision of entertainment. Furthermore, it has shown that parks and forests were landscapes of exclusion, to which those of lower social status had limited access and rights (see particularly Sections 2.1.3 and 2.3.4).

Documentary evidence to be presented in Chapter 4, suggests that all of these landscape forms are present in Ireland. A focus for the research will be to examine in what way these are similar or different to the examples from other countries. Areas for comparison will include chronology, use and social significance and symbolic meanings.

Chapter 3: The hunted

3.0 Introduction

Any discussion of hunting must consider the animals being hunted. They provide the focus for the activity and without animals; there can be no hunt. It can be argued that both in life and in death animals are part of the material culture of a society (e.g. Pluskowski 2007a). In life, some animals have certain symbolic meanings, so that in medieval Europe, for example, the pelican was seen as a symbol of virtue as it was believed that she would pluck her breast to provide blood to feed her chicks. This was equated to Christ's sacrifice of blood for humanity (Morrison 2007, 39). Today, the pets chosen by an individual reflect their self-perception, whether they choose a toy poodle or a pit-bull terrier. This continues in death, through food that is eaten, or rejected for ethical or religious reasons, or that is considered as being 'inedible' on the basis of body part or of species (O'Connor 2007, 3). Also in death, the use to which the remainder of the carcass is put can vary, depending on the culture of the society. In the later medieval period fur was considered a luxury to be restricted to the elite, and subject to sumptuary laws, whereas by contrast, today, the wearing of fur is a politically-charged issue arousing often violent emotions (Amt 1993, 75-8; O'Connor 2007, 5). It will be shown that for the high medieval hunter, the chosen quarry was intimately related to his status, the availability of the species and the reason for the hunt.

In Sections 2.1.3 and 2.2.1, it was demonstrated that hunted animals were divided into two categories during the later medieval period. The first of these were the 'beasts of the forest', which in England included the red and fallow deer as well as wild pigs, with roe deer also included until 1338 (Cantor and Wilson 1964, 141; James 1981, 34). By contrast, the 'beasts of the warren' included the hare, rabbit, fox, wild cat, badger, wolf and squirrel, and the roe deer after 1338. The 'birds of the warren' were the pheasant, partridge, woodcock and sometimes the plover and lark (James 1981, 39). Important sources of information about animals in this period include European and English hunting manuals (e.g. *Boke of St Albans*; *Livre de*

Chasse; *Livre du Roy Modus*; *Master of Game*), which shed light on later medieval perceptions of the various animals, and which are discussed in more detail in Chapter 4. In an Irish context, Giraldus Cambrensis' *Topographia Hiberniae*, written in the 1180s and Philip O'Sullivan Beare's *Natural History of Ireland*, written in the 1620s, provide views on Ireland and its natural history from two perspectives that bracket the period under study. Neither is entirely impartial in their view, with Giraldus often disparaging Ireland, its customs and people. His aim in doing this is likely to have been to justify the Anglo-Norman conquest as bringing civilisation to the country, and to enhance the reputation of his patrons and relatives, the powerful Geraldines (e.g. Kohn 2011; O'Conor, Brady, Connon and Fidalgo-Romo 2010, 36). For example, Giraldus stated that the Irish

> 'are a wild and inhospitable people. They live on beasts only and live like beasts. They have not progressed at all from the primitive habits of pastoral living' (*Topographia*, 101)

By contrast, four centuries later, the Gaelic Irishman O'Sullivan Beare gave a much more sympathetic picture of his compatriots. He stated that his aim in producing his work was that he had been

> 'moved to refute at least those things by means of which he has contrived to obscure the glory of Ireland' (*Nat. Hist. of Ire.*, 31).

The biology and ecology of animals is important since the way in which an animal behaves and the circumstances in which it is found will inevitably shape how humans interact with it (Soderberg 2004, 171). The chapter will therefore first examine the various species by looking at their biogeography and also contemporary and near-contemporary people's understanding of them. The documentary evidence relating to the various species will then be reviewed and finally the zooarchaeological evidence. Deer were the most important of the animals hunted, so that the focus will be on these. However the other beasts of the forest and warren, will also be discussed briefly. Appendices 3.1 and 3.2 provide more detailed accounts of the biology and natural history of red and fallow deer. Appendix 3.3 summarises high medieval documentary references to deer of both species while

Appendix 3.4 details customs, murage, pontage and pavage records for the period. The remaining appendices (Appendices 3.5 – 3.9) give detailed zooarchaeological data for the period.

3.1 Later Medieval and modern perceptions of the animals

3.1.1 Deer

The main animals of the hunt throughout medieval Europe were deer. These included red (*Cervus elaphus*), fallow (*Dama dama*) and roe (*Capreolus capreolus*) deer, with reindeer (*Rangifer tarandus*) also hunted in northern regions (Schlag 1998, 20-3). Two species of deer were present in Ireland during the later medieval period. Red deer are native or at least pseudo-native in that there is evidence for their presence in Ireland during the Late Glacial period, at the end of the Ice Age, but then there is a gap, before they reappear in the late Neolithic period. It is likely that they became extinct, but were then reintroduced by people (McCormick 1998, 360-1; Woodman, McCarthy and Monaghan 1997). By contrast, fallow deer were introduced by the Anglo-Normans in the early thirteenth century (McCormick 1998, 360-1; Murphy and O'Conor 2006). Roe deer is not a native species, and there is no documentary or convincing archaeological evidence for them being in Ireland in the medieval period, other than as stray antler from craftworking (e.g. McCormick 1997, 836-7; McCormick 1998, 361). Reindeer and giant Irish deer were present in Ireland during the Late Glacial period at the end of the Ice Age, however they died out as conditions warmed (Woodman, McCarthy and Monaghan 1997, 153). Thus, the two species to be considered in later medieval Ireland are red deer and fallow deer. Details of their biology are given Appendices 3.1 and 3.2, with key similarities and differences between the species shown below in Tab. 3.1. Most notable are the later medieval names of the two sexes, stags/harts and hinds for red deer and bucks and does for fallow deer. In this thesis stag and hart are used interchangeably, since in modern usage ‘stag’ is most commonly used to refer to mature males (e.g. Rose 2011). Also notable is the relative size of the two, with a red deer typically twice the weight of a fallow deer of the same sex.

	Red deer	**Fallow deer**
Latin name	*Cervus elaphus*	*Dama dama*
Male	Stag (5 years old) or Hart (6+ years old)	Buck
Female	Hind	Doe
Juvenile	Calf	Fawn
Colour	Red-brown in summer, duller red in winter. White rump	Variable, red and menil varieties are spotted as adults, also black, brown and white. White rump often outlined in black
Antlers	Male only, branched. Shed Mar/Apr	Male only, palmated. Shed Apr-June
Live weight (kg)	<225kg (male) <130kg (female)	<105kg (male) <55kg (female)
% meat (hog dressed carcass)	45-56%, 53-60% depending on source of information	56-63%
Rutting season	End-Sept to Nov	Oct to early-Nov
Birthing season	Mid-May to end-July	June to early-July

Tab. 3.1: Comparison between red and fallow deer

(based on Appendices. 3.1 and 3.2)

3.1.2 Red Deer

Giraldus Cambrensis (*Topographia*, 47) was uncharacteristically positive in his view of Irish red deer, stating that they 'are not able to escape because of their too great fatness' and that they have particularly impressive heads and antlers. He also noted though, that in common with the other wild species of animals they were small. Four centuries later, O'Sullivan Beare (*Nat. Hist. of Ire.*, 77) again commented on the 'most dense herds of fat deer' in Ireland and the protection afforded to them by their antlers, which they used against both dogs and people (Pl. 3.1).

Pl. 3.1: Red deer (after Beglane 2010c, image M. Langford)

Red deer are a common image on wall paintings and tapestries and in carvings, and in Ireland they appear on a number of hunting scenes, and this is discussed further in Chapter 4. They were tightly bound into a complex symbolism, with both religious and erotic connotations. In the legend of St Eustace, the stag hunt symbolised the conversion of a pagan. The latter was originally a Roman pagan called Placidus who, while out hunting, saw a hart with a cross between its antlers. The deer spoke to him with the voice of Christ who stated that 'through this which you hunted, I myself might hunt you' (cited by Arnold 1990, 35). As a result, Placidus was converted to Christianity and changed his name. In this, not only was the idea of the pursuit of the hart turned around into the pursuit of the pagan, but the ten points of the antlers were associated with the Ten Commandments (Cummins 1988, 68-70). The hart was believed to be able to regenerate its body, and to live almost indefinitely, symbolising the resurrection of Christ and the hope of eternal life (Cummins 1988, 69-71; Fletcher 2011, 127)

The hunting and final killing of the deer was sometimes seen to symbolise the passion and crucifixion of Christ, with the hounds being cast as the forces of evil, or as the people for whom Christ died. The stages of the hunt could be seen

symbolically, so that the lymer or scenting hound that tracked the hart was associated with Judas. Later, there were the ceremonies of the 'unmaking' or butchery of the deer and the curée in which the carcass was ritually divided between the hunters and the hounds (see Section 3.3.4). This shedding of the blood of the deer was compared to the Blood of Christ, commemorated in the Eucharist, especially since the hounds portion of the kill consisted of a mixture of blood and bread (Cummins 1988, 71-2; Stuhmiller 2005, 132).

This symbolism was taken a step further when novice hunters were, and, although technically illegal, they often still are, 'blooded', by smearing the blood of the slain animal onto the face of the hunter after his first successful hunt. This is a procedure which can be likened both to baptism and to a pre-Christian rite to absorb the life-blood and, hence, the positive attributes of the slain animal (Almond 2003, 152). One entirely pagan tradition associated with the unmaking was the removal and gifting of the *os corbin*, the corbyn's or raven's bone, as these harbingers of death had to be propitiated after the hunt. This bone may variously have been the pelvis or part of the sternum, with Sykes (2007c, 150) finding an under-representation of pelvises in the body-part distribution of identified deer bones from elite sites. Throughout Europe the raven or crow was a symbol of death. For example, in Irish mythology the Morrigan, or goddess of war and death was represented by a raven, while in Britain she has been transformed into the evil Morgan of the Arthurian legends (Monaghan 2004, 338-40; Ó hÓgáin 2006, 36, 361-3; Squire 1912, 53; Stewart and Matthews 1989, 150-1).

The red deer was also associated with courtly love and with eroticism. The male hart is an obvious symbol of masculinity and virility, particularly in its ability to hold a harem of females (Fletcher 2011, 123). But deer could also symbolise fidelity and even chastity. The chosen lover could be symbolised by a hind or a hart being chased by a suitor (Cummins 1988, 78; Stuhmiller 2005, 202-3). This allegory could also be turned around so that the stag was the lover pursued by Love (Stuhmiller 2005, 203), and the death of the deer could symbolise both the consummation of that love, with the symbolic shedding of virgin blood, and the capture of the heart (Stuhmiller 2005, 203). Many romances of the period use hunting imagery to heighten the tension and create a counterpoint in the story (Almond 2003, 37, 149;

Cummins 1988, 78-80; Stuhmiller 2005, 202-3). The most famous is probably *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* in which the lady of the castle pursues Gawain while her husband hunts in the surrounding woodland. Another aspect of this connection with love is the association of red deer with endurance and loyalty, as the deer was said to have a bone in its heart. This heart bone is actually gristle that develops in older harts, and was believed to imbue the deer with a stoutness of heart, that enabled it to take on the challenge of the hunt (Cummins 1988, 68).

Harts were also associated with nobility of spirit and with noble or even royal birth. Unlike domesticated animals, they are wild creatures and difficult to subdue, despite being smaller than, for example, cattle and horses (Fletcher 2011, 126-9; Stuhmiller 2005, 138). White deer in particular were highly symbolic, often being the preserve of the king and there are legends from many places around Europe in which deer with collars were identified as the property of long-dead kings and emperors. This is again linked to the idea of immortality and resurrection, but also to the concept of a rightful lineage of kings and elite control of the land and people stretching back through time (Bath 1974; Cummins 1988, 69-71; Fletcher 2011, 127-9).

3.1.3 Fallow deer

As described in Section 2.3.2, the Romans first introduced fallow deer to Western Europe from the eastern Mediterranean, as exotica to be kept in parks (Pl. 3.2). Their numbers declined markedly after the fall of the Roman Empire, but with the spread of Norman culture along the Atlantic seaboard, they were reintroduced to north-west Europe, again as a park animal (Cummins 1988, 84; Sykes 2010, 51-2, 57; Sykes, Carden and Harris 2011). As a result, the species first came to Ireland with the Anglo-Normans. The earliest mention of the species in connection with this country was in 1213 when the Archbishop of Dublin was granted 30 fallow deer from the King's park of Brewood in England (*CDI*, i, no. 477). They are therefore not mentioned by Giraldus Cambrensis, who was writing in the 1180s, but are discussed briefly by O'Sullivan Beare, writing in the seventeenth century (*Nat. Hist. of Ire.*, 77), who comments that they are smaller than red deer and 'protected by simple, but bigger horns, bent over their foreheads; here, sometimes you may see them fighting bravely'.

Pl. 3.2: Fallow deer (after Beglane 2010c, image R. Ford)

There was much less symbolism attached to fallow deer than to red deer. While red deer had connotations associated with nobility, Christ, love and eternal life, fallow deer had few such symbolic associations, and those that they did have were often shared with, or more likely, borrowed from red deer (Cummins 1988, 84). This is unsurprising since, while red deer were native to Western Europe, and so had millennia of history and folklore to draw upon in developing imagery, fallow deer were relatively recent incomers (Cummins 1988, 84; Sykes 2010, 51-2, 57; Sykes, Carden and Harris 2011). Thus, while a fallow deer doe or buck might occasionally take the role of the red deer hind or hart in a courtly romance, poem or tapestry, this was not the usual form of the image. Instead fallow deer existed in a liminal space, neither wild, and hence noble, nor domestic and hence ignoble or 'brute'. They could therefore be used in new ways to mediate new relationships as Europe entered the later medieval period in the eleventh century and beyond. The symbolism that the fallow deer commands is related to its role as the deer of the park. As described in Section 2.3.2, Roman game parks were popular amongst the elite who maintained herds of deer and other wild animals in them. Later, parks continued to symbolise elite, often imperial power, and fallow deer, as an exotic species, neither domestic nor wild, but obviously related to the noble red deer, were enclosed within these parks. The construction of parks was conspicuous consumption of land taken out of agricultural use and had connotations of elite power, extreme wealth and long-

distance connections to the Mediterranean, which was perceived as the centre of the earth (Andrén 1997, 470; Sykes 2010, 57-8).

3.1.4 Other species

The final beast of the forest relevant to Irish hunting was the wild pig. The term 'wild pig' rather than 'wild boar' is preferred since a boar is a male pig, whereas a sow is a female pig, regardless of domestication. Wild pigs are woodland animals, and are omnivores, eating roots, seeds, fruit, plant material, carrion and eggs (Harris and Yalden 2008, 563-4). These were often hunted *par force* (see Section 4.1.1), but could also be trapped and they were considered to be the most dangerous of the animals (Schlag 1998, 26). There is controversy regarding their fate, since the latest zooarchaeological example of wild pig is from thirteenth or fourteenth century material at Trim Castle (McCormick 1998), but O'Sullivan Beare refers to wild pigs (*Nat. Hist. of Ire.*, 79). This led McCormick to suggest that O'Sullivan Beare may have seen feral domesticated pigs, since these are essentially the same species.

The beasts of the warren were generally the smaller mammals, including hare, rabbit, badger and fox, but also wolf. In addition, creatures such as squirrel, otter, pine marten and wild cat were considered to belong to this category. Most of these species could be hunted using dogs or by being caught in nets and traps. Depending on the species concerned, they could be valued for sport, fur or for food (*Livre de Chasse*, 55-9; *Nat. Hist. of Ire.*, 79, 83, 85, 87; *Topographia*, 48).

3.2 Documentary evidence for deer in Ireland

References to deer are relatively scarce in later medieval documents, which concentrate on ownership of land and goods and on taxation. Nevertheless documents do mention them, and can be broadly grouped into two categories. These are

- Mentions of deer as gifts or recorded as present on particular properties;
- Deer skins or antlers mentioned in taxation documents such as murage and pavage grants

3.2.1 Recorded presence of deer

Deer are recorded as royal gifts or as being present in particular locations in a number of documents, particularly in the first half of the thirteenth century (Fig. 3.1; see also Appendix 3.3). References to deer as royal gifts reach a peak in the 1250s, but then almost entirely disappear. In many cases only 'deer' has been calendared, without reference to the species, but where the species is given, these are usually fallow deer, since 'bucks' or 'does' are referred to rather than 'stags' or 'hinds'. This is unsurprising, since 'wild' red deer were unlikely to be housed in parks or given as gifts, whereas fallow deer were commonly kept in parks and so were available for gift-giving (Birrell 1992, 126). Occasionally editors have calendared 'does and stags', which suggests confusion over the terminology when translating from the Latin documents, since it is unlikely that mixed species were being gifted. As a result, Fig. 3.1 probably underestimates the proportion of fallow deer, and hence a 'total deer' column is also provided. Once in Ireland, the fallow deer would have been considered as unusual and valuable, so that they would almost certainly have been kept within enclosed parks rather than being allowed to roam the open countryside and become prey to poachers and wolves. Documentary evidence for the presence of fallow deer should therefore provide indirect evidence for parks (see Section 4.5) (Murphy and O'Conor 2006, 79; Sykes 2007b).

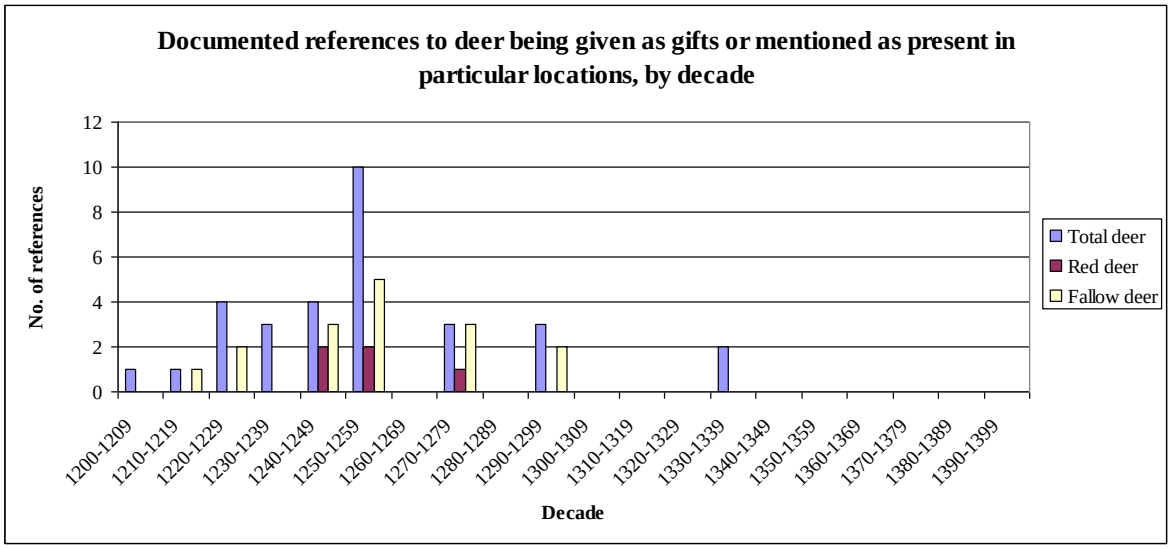


Fig. 3.1: Summary of references to deer being given as gifts or mentioned as present in particular locations (based on Appendix 3.3)

The earliest mention of deer in an Anglo-Norman document is in *c*. 1185 when Alard, son of William, received grants of various lands along with 'hunting of stag, doe, pig, hare, wolf, and rabbit in said lands' (*Ormond Deeds*, i, no. 7), in essence a grant of free chase (see Section 4.4). These, however, are general legal references, rather than relating to actual deer. Stags and does are listed in the document, but this should not be considered to relate to male red deer and female fallow deer, as this would not be a logical grouping. Undoubtedly the editor used doe instead of hind to refer to female red deer and Alard's right to hunt both the male and female of the species.

The first actual reference to real, as opposed to 'legally defined' deer in an Anglo-Norman document is in 1207, when John, Archbishop of Dublin, requested permission to construct a park and deer-leap at Kilcopsentan (*CDI*, i, no. 316) (see Section 4.5.4), while the earliest record of fallow deer mentioned in connection with Ireland is in 1213, relating to his successor:

> **477.** Mandate to the keepers of the see of Coventry, to cause Henry Archbishop of Dublin to have 30 fallow deer of the K.'s gift in the park of Brewood, and to lend him aid in taking them. (*CDI*, i, no. 477)

Unfortunately this reference does not categorically state that the deer were to be transported to Ireland, so that they could have been brought to lands in England, but it is likely that they were since the archbishop had been recently appointed and so would have been setting up his household at that time. Contrary to McCormick (1991, 49; 1998, 360) and Chapman and Chapman (1997, 57) who state that the earliest evidence for fallow deer actually arriving in Ireland was the delivery of eighty fallow deer from Chester to Glencree in 1244, there are earlier references. In 1225, William, Earl Marshal received twenty does from the King's Forest of Cheddar specifically 'to convey them to Ireland'(*CDI* i, no. 1323) and in 1242 the Justiciar of Chester was ordered to send sixty fallow deer 'to stock the King's park in Ireland' (*CDI*, i, no. 2580).

The actual number and type of people receiving gifts of deer or venison from the King was very restricted and was as follows:

Archbishops and Bishops:

- Henry, Archbishop of Dublin 1213 (30 fallow from Brewood), 1225 (2 does for Christmas, Oxfordshire)
- Luke, Archbishop of Dublin Apr and Oct 1234 (5 deer from Bardfield and 5 from Wychwood), 1251 (7 does and 4 bucks from Glencree)
- Hugh, Bishop of Ossory 1253 (5 stags from Decies)
- John, Archbishop of Dublin 1291 (12 fallow from Windsor)

Magnates:

- William Earl Marshal 1225 (20 does from Cheddar to bring to Ireland)
- Geoffrey de Marisco 1226 (venison while waiting for wind at Bristol)
- Maurice FitzGerald, Justiciar of Ireland, 1240 (12 deer and 2 stags from Havering), 1244 (4 stags, 6 fallow from Wirral), 1250-1 (12 deer from Selwood) and 1251 (12 deer from Bradenstock)
- Walter de Burgh, 1250 and 1251 (4 does and 4 stags from Forest of Slefco/Slescho)
- John FitzGeoffrey, Justiciary of Ireland 1251 (3 bucks from Forest of Dean), 1254 (15 deer - well cured)

- Roger de Mortuo Mari (Mortimer) 1275 (4 does from forest of Pember), 1275 (24 bucks and does from the park and forest of Duddely), 1279 (2 harts and 10 bucks from the forest of Dene)
- Eustace le Poer 1296 (6 male and 6 female from Glencree)

In addition, John, Archbishop of Dublin (1206-7), Richard de Burgh, the 'Red Earl' at Balydonegan (1305) and his grandson William the 'Brown Earl' at Ballydonegan and Loughrea in 1333 are recorded as having parks already stocked with deer at the time of recording.

The Archbishops of Dublin were evidently well favoured with royal deer. Based on the number of fallow deer and the fact that the Archbishop was to have help in taking them, the reference from 1213 suggests that the deer were to be taken alive and transported elsewhere, rather than killed for sport or venison. Henry was appointed Archbishop of Dublin in 1212 and Justiciar of Ireland in 1213 (Murphy 2004, 212). Since we have documentary evidence of a park being constructed around 1207, and another associated with Bishop's palace of Colonia, St Sepulchre's in 1226 (*Archbishop Alen's Reg.*, 170-2), it is not unreasonable to suggest that the deer were to be transported to Ireland. This supposition is further strengthened as the grant was made shortly after Henry's appointment, so that it is likely that the deer were to be transported as part of the setting up of the Archbishop's household in Ireland. The number and sex of the deer supplied at various times to the three Archbishops of Dublin shows that at least one of the parks owned by the archbishop was designed to retain deer. Apart from the numbers of deer involved, one way of determining whether the deer were for sport and consumption or for breeding stock is the sex of the animals involved. Stocking a park or forest with breeding animals requires that the majority of individuals should be female, so maximizing the potential increase. By contrast, male deer were primarily used for meat since only one buck is needed to service a number of does (Chapman and Chapman 1997, 133, 159). Henry is likely to have stocked his parks using the 30 fallow deer brought from Brewood and it seems probable that the eleven deer from Glencree supplemented these in the time of Luke. It is unlikely that the 12 deer mentioned in December 1291 were sent to

Ireland, since by this time Archbishop John had resigned his post in Ireland and after March 1291 had travelled to England on royal business (Lee 1897, 274).

There are also a number of references to deer being given to various Anglo-Norman nobles and ecclesiastics that appear to have been for sport and consumption rather than gifts of breeding stock. In 1225, Henry, Archbishop of Dublin received two does for Christmas by mandate of the King to Thomas de Langley, the forester of Wychwood, Oxfordshire (*CDI*, i, no. 1336). Similarly, in 1226, Geoffrey de Marisco, justiciar of Ireland, was given permission

> 'to take venison by view of the forester in the forest of Ralph's bailiwick, so long as the justiciary shall remain at Bristol awaiting a favourable wind to cross over into Ireland' (*CDI*, i, no. 1421).

This may have been the case in April and again in October 1234 when on each of these occasions Luke, Archbishop of Dublin was given five deer from the King's parks and in 1251 when John FitzGeoffrey, Justiciar of Ireland was given three bucks from the Forest of Dean (*CDI*, i, nos. 2103, 2214, 3173, 3175). Gifts of venison and the opportunity to hunt on the King's lands were particularly highly regarded in the later medieval period, as the meat could not be sold (Birrell 1992). One particular reference is explicit in stating that venison rather than live deer were being referred to, when Ernisius de Bosco, justice of the forest 'beyond the Trent', is ordered to supply John FitzGeoffrey, justiciar of Ireland with '15 fat deer well cured of the K.'s gift' (*CDI*, ii, no. 394). These references to Geoffrey de Marisco and John FitzGeoffrey are therefore clearly to the hunting and consumption of venison, rather than documenting the import of deer to Ireland.

The final recorded recipient of royal favour is Eustace le Poer who received a grant of six male and six female deer from Glencree in 1296 (*CDI*, iv, no. 352). Based on these constituting a reasonable number of both males and females, these are likely to have been breeding stock. Only four days previously he received a grant of free warren in his demesne lands of Ughtertur in Co. Waterford (possibly in the cantred of Obride, now in the baronies of Upperthird and Decies-without-Drum (Cotter 2008, 247), Nerny (Nurney) Co. Carlow and Obrun in Co Dublin (near Powerscourt,

Co. Wicklow (Price 1954, 72; Simpson 1994, 192)) (*CDI*, iv, no. 347). Subsequently, in 1301-2 this was extended to 'his demesne lands of Otthirtir, in the county of Waterford ; Crouhan (Curraheen? Co. Waterford), Slefdile (Slievenamon, Co. Tipperary (Higgins 2009, 24)), Offath (Iffa and Offa West (Cotter 2008, 217), Moyonauryth, and Kylclon, in the county of Tipperary; Grennagh (Grannagh), in the county of Kilkenny; Nerney and Kilmohede, in the county of Carlow; Cuyllenagh, in the county of Kildare; and Kenmoy (In the parish of Leitrim, Co. Galway (Knox 1901)) and Castleconor (possibly near Kenmoy or Castleconor near Ballina (Knox 1901)), in the earldom of Connaught' (*CDI*, v, no. 6) and again in 1304 he received a grant of free chase for his demesne lands of Slefto, Ireland (*CDI*, v, no. 331). Le Fanu (1893, 270) suggested that le Poer may have moved the fallow deer to Slefto, although given the timing in relation to his grant of free warren, it may be more likely that the deer were destined for Ughtertur, Nurney or Obrun. As with William, Earl Marshal, Richard de Burgh, Walter de Burgh and Maurice Fitzgerald, Eustace le Poer was an important subject and although not a member of the titled classes, he had been a member of the Parliament of 1295 (Le Fanu 1893, 270). He also held his lands directly of the king, and his ancestor Robert le Poer had accompanied Henry II on his expedition to Ireland, receiving extensive grants of land in Waterford as his reward (Leslie 1885, 15).

In addition, there are a number of more general mentions of deer at various locations. In particular royal deer are documented at Decies, Glencree and in the Dublin forests (see Appendix 3.3).

3.2.2 Murage grants and customs duties

In addition to mention of deer being given as gifts to individuals, there are a number of references to deer skins or antler among the customs and murage, pavage and pontage grants. These grants allowed towns to levy taxes on goods brought in for sale, and to use the proceeds to provide defensive walls, pave town streets or construct bridges (O'Brien 1986, 372). Hides were valuable commodities, essential for leather making, and the hides of different species could be used to create artefacts with very different physical properties (Thomson 2011, 3).

Red deer hides are regularly mentioned, along with those of a range of other wild and domestic species, ranging from squirrels to horses. By contrast, fallow deer hides are not listed until 1286, when they are included at Tralee, Mallow and Ard (Fig. 3.2; see also Appendix 3.4). This suggests that in the earlier part of the thirteenth century fallow deer were sufficiently rare that there was no advantage in placing a tax on their skins. It is likely that the standard wording of grants was updated between 1284, when the grants for Cork and Dublin do not mention fallow deer, and 1286, when they are first mentioned.

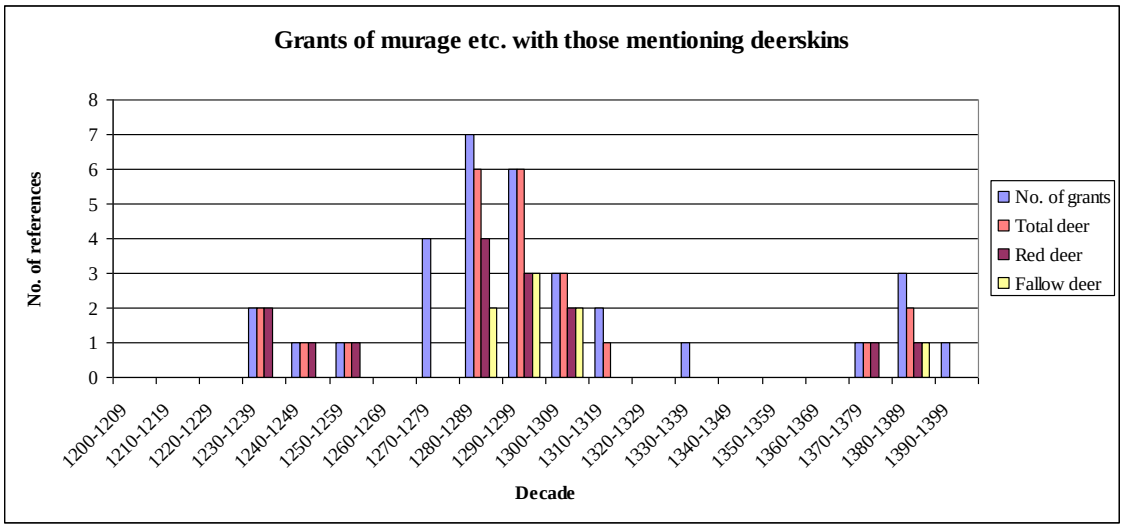


Fig. 3.2: Summary of murage grants and taxation, including those mentioning deerskins or antler (based on Appendix 3.4)

3.3 Zooarchaeological evidence

The zooarchaeological evidence for hunting of wild animals is an important source of information in understanding how and why hunting took place, who carried it out and where. The starting point for this analysis was data recorded by the present writer in her work as a zooarchaeologist. In addition, a range of published and unpublished faunal reports provided by other researchers was also reviewed and the data included as appropriate. The location of all sites analysed is shown in Fig. 3.3, from which it will be noted that the majority of these are in the eastern half of the country (see Sections 1.4.2; 10.8).

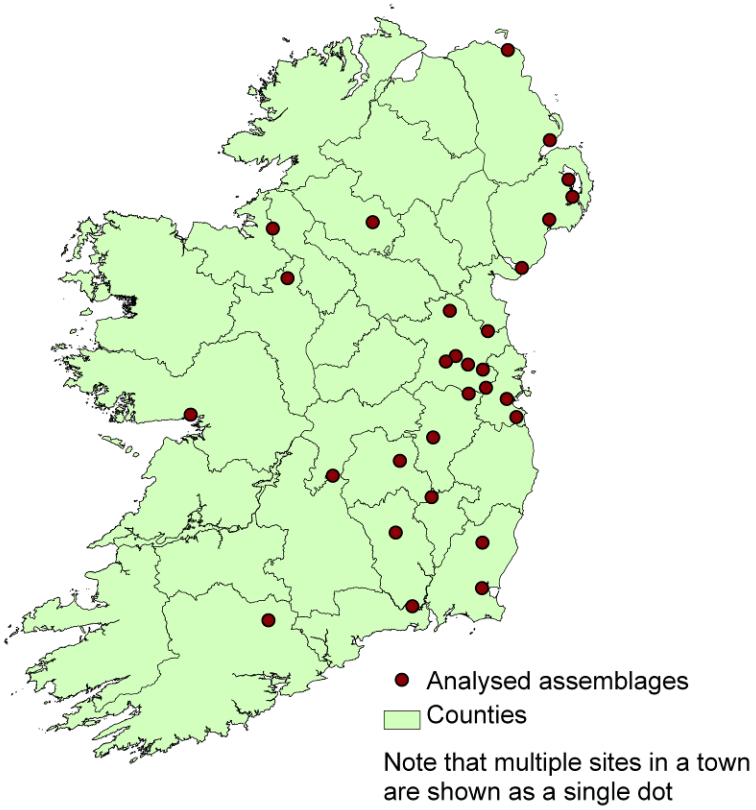


Fig. 3.3: Origin of faunal assemblages discussed in this chapter

3.3.1 Later medieval sites analysed by the present writer

A review was carried out of all wild species from sites with later medieval phases that have been analysed by the present writer. In addition to the truly wild species, this analysis included fallow deer and also rabbits, which, during the later medieval period were essentially farmed, but then hunted with nets (Williamson 2007, 13-7). The analysis excluded rodents such as rats and mice, as well as amphibians and birds. For the purposes of this analysis, sites with phases dated to between the twelfth and sixteenth centuries were included, and some extremely small assemblages were excluded. There were 22 samples from 16 separate excavations, which were classified by site type into ecclesiastical, castle, urban and rural (Tab. 3.2; Fig. 3.4; see also Appendix 3.5) and a total of 6648 individual bones were considered. The numbers of sites and assemblage sizes can be considered to be representative when compared to the data utilised by Sykes (2007b, 127-32). Separate samples were generally from distinct phases of activity or physical areas within the excavation. The Number of Identified Specimens Present (NISP) was the

measure used throughout this analysis and those that follow. This measure is a count of bone fragments that can be positively identified as coming from a particular species. An alternative measure, the Minimum Number of Individuals (MNI), is inappropriate for small numbers of bones, potentially leading to misleading results, and so has not been used (Reitz and Wing 1999, 191-4, 200-2).

	Total NISP	Total wild	Total wild % NISP	Deer NISP	Deer % NISP	Other Wild NISP	Other Wild % NISP
Castle sites	1316	51	3.9	33	2.5	18	1.4
Urban sites	1910	11	0.6	7	0.4	4	0.2
Ecclesiastical sites	984	16	1.6	2	0.2	14	1.4
Rural sites	2438	22	0.9	5	0.2	17	0.7
Totals	**6648**	**100**	**1.5**	**47**	**0.7**	**53**	**0.8**

Tab. 3.2: Summary of the recorded presence of wild species at later medieval sites analysed by the author (based on Appendix 3.5)

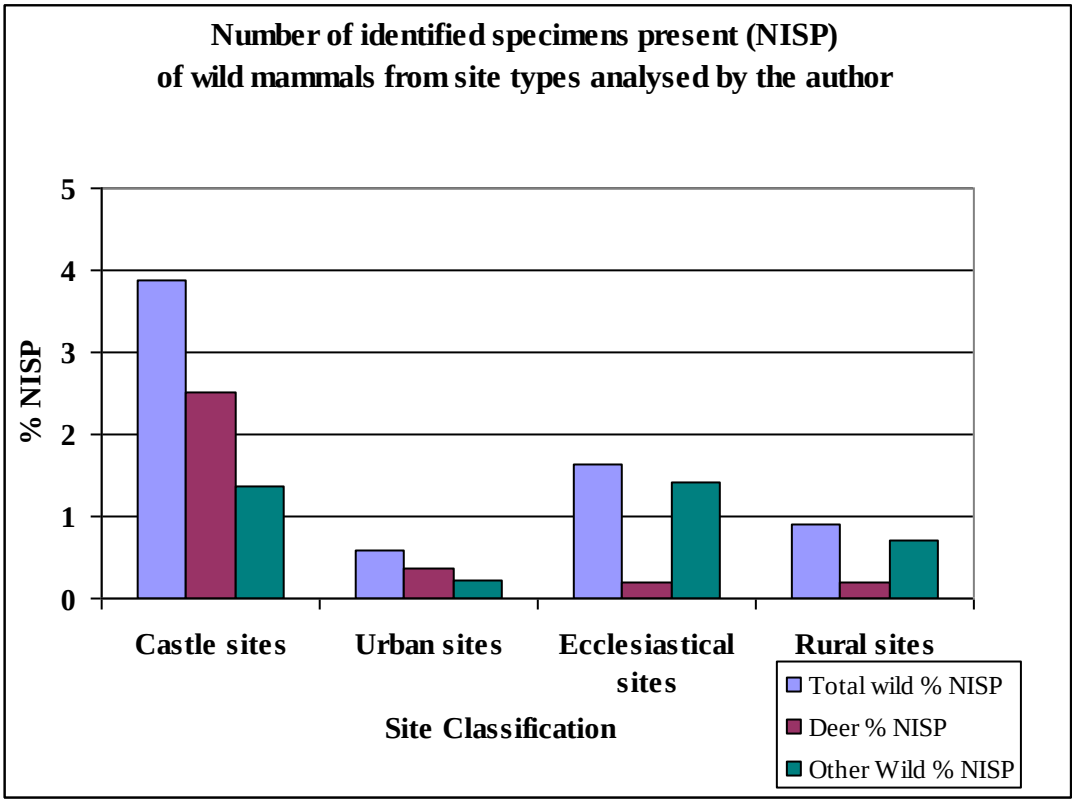


Fig. 3.4: NISP of wild mammals from a range of site types analysed by the author (based on Tab. 3.2)

Of 6648 identified bones from these sites, a total of 100 bones from wild mammal species were identified, giving an average of 1.5% (Tab. 3.2; Fig. 3.4). There were 47 deer bones, of which 35 were from red deer, five from fallow deer and seven could not be separated into species. All five of the castle samples yielded red deer, with Greencastle, Co. Down, also contributing the only fallow deer bones identified. In addition to having the greatest likelihood of deer bones being present, castles also supplied the vast majority of deer bones, with urban locations the next most likely source of them. Deer were not common on any of the site types, still only reaching an average of 2.5% of the identified bones at castle sites, however, this is six times the level achieved at urban sites, and twelve times that at ecclesiastical and rural sites, and so must be considered significant.

By contrast, for the ecclesiastical sites, only two out of six samples contained deer. These were the Cistercian site of Bective Abbey Co. Meath, and the 'Bishop's Seat' at Kilteasheen, Co. Roscommon, the centre of an episcopal estate belonging to the Bishop of Elphin, and particularly associated with one of the holders of this office, Tomás O'Conor (Read 2008, 44-5). The urban assemblages are dominated by the town of Trim, Co. Meath, which supplied six out of seven of the samples, four of which included low levels of deer bones. This dominance by samples from one town is unfortunate, as it could be argued to be atypical, however, the presence of the Anglo-Norman castle in Trim means that it is possible to directly compare deer usage between the town and castle, which is a positive aspect. Of the four samples in the rural category, two yielded deer elements.

Wild mammals constituted an average of 1.5% of the assemblages overall, but 3.9% on castle sites, where they were the most common. Ecclesiastical sites were second, with 1.6% wild mammals and rural sites contained an average of 0.9% wild species. Unsurprisingly, urban sites were least likely to contain wild mammal elements, with only 0.6% present. In England, wild mammal bones were also most likely to come from elite sites, making up *c*. 13% of the assemblages (Sykes 2007b, 65). By comparison, a total figure of 3.9% for all wild mammals from castle sites analysed by the author is very small. This suggests that the elite in Anglo-Norman Ireland were much less interested in hunting and in the consumption of wild mammals than in England. Nevertheless, it is a figure that is considerably higher than for other site

types. In England, religious sites yielded the next highest proportion at *c*. 3%, with *c*. 2.5% for rural sites and *c*. 0.8% for urban sites (Sykes 2007b, 65). The Irish data shows a similar pattern, although again with smaller numbers.

In addition to the 47 deer bones, a total of 53 elements from other wild species were found in the assemblages. This included rabbit, hare, fox, otter, seal, badger and pine marten, but species such as rats and mice have been excluded from this total. Overall numbers are small so that care must be taken not to overstate the importance of any apparent patterns. Rabbits and hares are both members of the order Lagomorpha, and their bones are sufficiently similar that they cannot always be separated. Rabbits were the most common species identified, however, since they burrow, it can be difficult to determine whether they were truly present in a context or if they are intrusive and merely burrowed into the context later. For example, on Dunnyneill Island 16 rabbit bones were identified, but islands have often been used as warrens since it is easy to exclude predators such as foxes, and it is possible that this was the case there. As a result, high proportions of rabbit bones on an island are not unexpected (O'Conor 2004, 237).

It is notable however, that while deer were the most important wild species at castle sites, rabbits were more dominant on ecclesiastical sites, although it must be stressed that the sample size was small. In England, Sykes (2007b, 65, 67) found that the most common wild species in religious house assemblages was fallow deer at *c*. 1.5% followed by hare at *c*. 0.6% and negligible levels of rabbit. This compares with 0.7% rabbit, no hare and 0.2% total deer in Ireland. There are references to rabbit warrens being held by abbeys and bishops in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries (e.g. *Archbishop Alen's Reg.*, 44; *Pipe roll of Cloyne*, 249-50) and the medieval church considered foetal and new-born rabbits to be fish substitutes because of their enclosure within the liquid environment of the womb (Ervynck 1997). Fox bones were also relatively widespread on the various sites, albeit in small numbers, while other species were extremely rare.

3.3.2 Sites yielding fallow deer

A request was made to the zooarchaeological community via the Irish Zooarchaeological Working Group (IZWG) and the ZOOARCH Internet forum for

information on the presence of fallow deer remains in Irish assemblages. The later medieval examples are detailed in Tab. 3.3 and Fig. 3.5. This has been further developed from a provisional list previously published by Beglane (2010b, 81). The present whereabouts of the various assemblages was ascertained, and, where possible, the relevant bones were re-examined to confirm the presence of fallow deer. Male fallow deer are similar in size and form to female red deer, while female fallow deer can be the size of large sheep, and the two are somewhat similar in form (Lister 1996; Schmid 1972). This, coupled with the relative rarity of the species in Ireland, and a general lack of examples in comparative reference collections held by specialists, particularly in the past, means that on re-examination a number of examples were reclassified as being from other species. Unfortunately however, many of the assemblages have been disposed of since they were analysed and so could not be reviewed. In these cases, any fallow deer recorded were deemed to have been correctly identified. There were originally eight castle sites that purported to contain fallow deer; but the material from Carlow Castle (O'Conor 1997) has been reclassified, reducing this total to seven. In addition, three bones from Trim Castle were reclassified from fallow to red deer, however fallow deer were still present in the remainder of the material examined. Apart from castle sites, the only other examples of fallow deer were from urban sites in Dublin, Kilkenny and Waterford, and the species was absent from ecclesiastical and rural sites. Denham (2008) reported that fallow deer remains had been found in a late medieval context at Carrickfin, Co. Donegal, however review of the original report (McCormick n.d.), showed that red, not fallow deer, were present on this rural site.

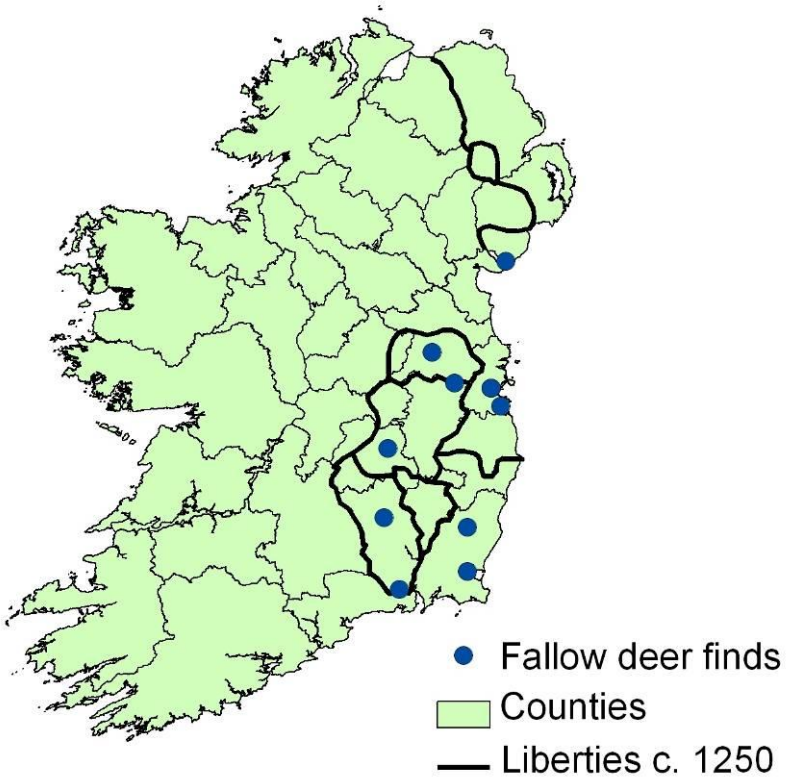


Fig. 3.5: Fallow deer finds at later medieval archaeological sites. Liberties after Stringer (2008, 6)

Site	Dating	Status	Results of re-examination
Castle Sites			
Carlow Castle, Co. Carlow	13th C	Assemblage available	Antler reclassified as red deer. Pelvis reclassified as sheep/goat No fallow deer present
Carrickmines Castle, Co. Dublin	Medieval	Assemblage available but fallow deer bone not available	Re-examination not possible. Fallow deer deemed present
Dunamase Castle, Co. Laois	Medieval	Assemblage whereabouts unknown	Re-examination not possible Fallow deer deemed present
Ferns Castle, Co. Wexford	Early 14thC	Assemblage discarded	Re-examination not possible. Fallow deer deemed present
Ferrycarrig Ringwork, Co. Wexford	13th-14thC	Assemblage discarded	Re-examination not possible. Fallow deer deemed present
Greencastle, Co. Down	13th - 14thC	Assemblage available	Fallow deer present
Maynooth Castle, Co. Kildare	14-15th C and 15-17th C	Assemblage discarded	Re-examination not possible. Fallow deer deemed present
Trim Castle, Co. Meath	13-15th	Assemblage available	Some fallow deer remains reclassified as red deer, but fallow deer also present.
Urban Sites			
Arran Quay Dublin City	Late 14th-early 15thC	Assemblage discarded	Re-examination not possible. Fallow deer deemed present
Cornmarket St Dublin City	16th C	Assemblage discarded Fallow deer bone retained and examined	Fallow deer present.
Wood Quay Dublin City	13th C	No information available	Re-examination not possible. Fallow deer present deemed present.
Patrick St/ Pudding Lane, Kilkenny City	13-14th C	Assemblage discarded	Re-examination not possible. Fallow deer deemed present
Peter St. Waterford City	13thC	Assemblage discarded	Re-examination not possible. Fallow deer deemed present
(Beglane 2007c; Butler 1989; 1995; Denham and Murray n.d.; Lynch n.d.; MacManus 1995; McCormick 1997, 837; 1998; 2004, 229; Undated-a; Undated-b; McCormick and Murray Undated; Murphy 1999; Murray Undated; O'Conor 1997; Whelan 1979)			

Tab. 3.3: Published and unpublished reports purporting to contain later medieval fallow deer and results of re-examination where possible

3.3.3 Evidence from castle sites

Having established that the majority of wild mammal bones, particularly deer bones, were found at castle sites, a review of published, and selected unpublished zooarchaeological reports from castle sites was carried out (see Appendix 3.6). For ease of comparison this review also includes the castle data previously analysed by the author in Section 3.3.1 and Appendix 3.5. In all there were 26 samples from 18 excavations at 16 separate castles and a total of 28,946 bones were included. As such, while not covering all castle excavations in Ireland, this does include many of the major examples, as well as some more modest castles. The numbers of sites and assemblage sizes can be considered to be representative when compared to the data utilised by Sykes (2007b, 127-32).

In this larger sample of castle sites, wild species made up a total of 2.7% of the total NISP, compared to 3.9% for the castle sites analysed by the present writer. 1.0% (NISP=299) were deer bones, compared to 2.5% for the castle sites analysed by the present writer. This 1% included 205 red deer and 72 fallow deer, with the remainder not identifiable to species (Fig. 3.6). In terms of frequency these were followed by rabbit (NISP=254) and hare (NISP=138), but, as noted above, there is always the concern that rabbits may be intrusive. Fox was again the next most common species, with occasional examples of other species, including eleven seal bones from Maynooth, which is *c*. 30km from the sea, and whale at Clough Castle, Co. Down, which is in an estuarine location. Of the castle sites examined, all but one yielded deer bone. The exception was the Late Medieval phase in Area 2 of Courthouse Lane, Galway, where part of a former castle was exposed (Murray 2004). By comparison with the overall figure of 2.7% wild species, Sykes (2007b, 65) demonstrated that for the twelfth to fourteenth centuries approximately 13% of the mammal bones found on elite sites in England were those of wild mammals. Of these, fallow deer were the most common species in England, at *c*. 35% of the wild mammals, followed by rabbit (*c*. 28%), and with red deer, hare and roe deer less common. In total in England, all species of deer constituted *c*. 62% of the total wild species or *c*. 8% of the total mammals recorded. This comparison with Ireland, where deer made up 37% of the wild mammal remains, or *c*. 1% of total the mammal remains suggests a much greater emphasis on wild foods at later medieval English elite sites than at their equivalent in Ireland.

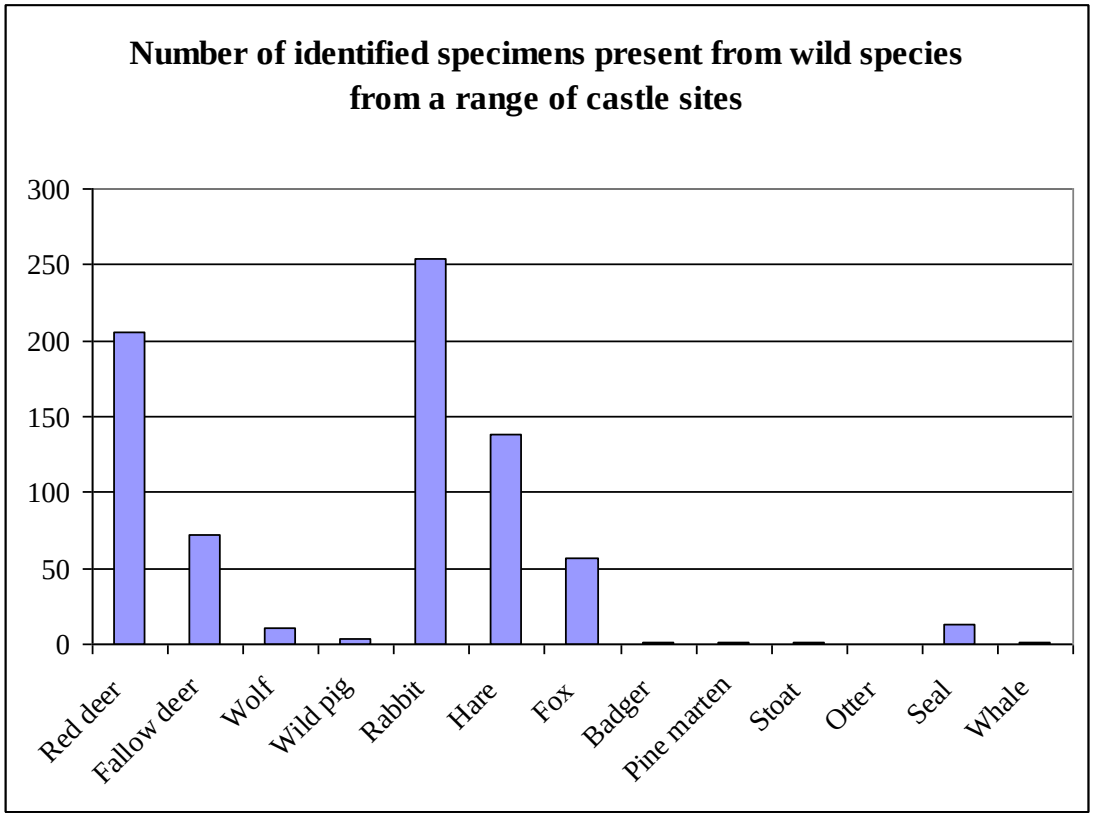


Fig. 3.6: Number of identified specimens present (NISP) from wild species from a range of castle sites (based on Appendix 3.6)

There was considerable variation between different castle sites. The percentage of wild mammals varied between 0.1% for the Anglo-Norman levels at Killeen Castle, which yielded a single deer bone, to 20.7% for F107, an early fifteenth-century phase at Maynooth Castle, and the statistically invalid 100% at Ferns Castle (late thirteenth – early fourteenth century, east fosse, south section) where the only faunal remains recorded were three pieces of antler. As Fig. 3.7 demonstrates, the majority of sites yielded less than 10% wild mammals, with most sites yielding between 1% and 5%, and most yielding less than 3% deer elements.

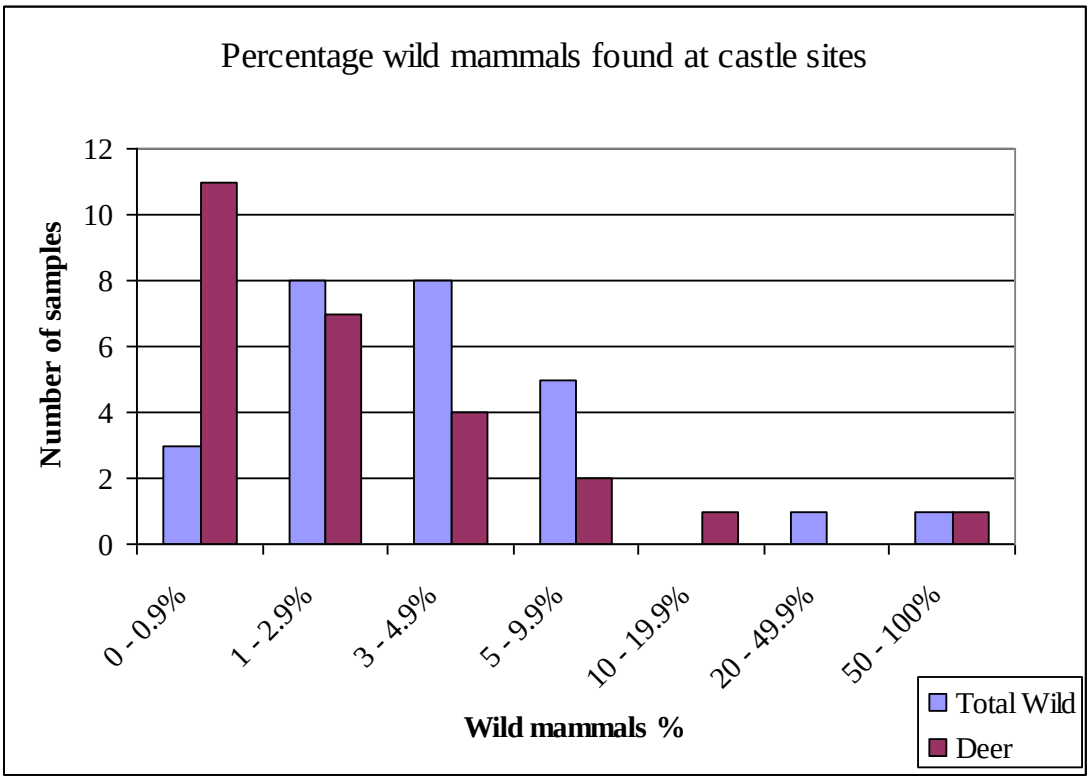


Fig. 3.7: Percentage of wild mammals found at castle sites (based on Appendix 3.6)

Comparing the frequency of red and fallow deer provided some interesting results. 21 out of 26 samples yielded red deer bones, while 10 of the samples, from seven individual sites, yielded fallow deer bones. The results show that while fallow deer are relatively rare overall in the Irish archaeological record, they are not infrequent in castle excavations. In the samples where they were present, the total of 72 fallow deer bones was complemented by 126 red deer bones. Dunamase Castle was the largest assemblage, with an overall NISP of 10966 over four years of excavation. This had largest sample of deer bones at 89, but only two of these were fallow deer (Butler 1995; 1996a; 1996b; n.d.). Excluding this site the new total of 70 fallow deer bones was complemented by only 39 red deer bones. This gives a ratio of 1.8 fallow deer bones to every red deer bone, and Sykes (2007b, 67) found a ratio of *c*. 1.9 for the same two species in England. This suggests that although fallow deer were much less prevalent than in England, where they were available, similar patterns of consumption generally occurred and that they were consumed preferentially to red deer. Another measure of the frequency of occurrence is the relative number of sites on which a species appears. As well as being more common overall than all species

apart from red deer, rabbit and hare, they are also present on more sites than all other species apart from these three. The reasons for the low proportion of fallow deer relative to red deer at Dunamase are unclear, but there are a number of possibilities. Evidently the area around Dunamase was well stocked with red deer, and this dominance of red deer in the assemblage may reflect hunting or dietary preferences by the inhabitants of the castle. In comparison to other parts of Leinster and Meath, the area of the modern county of Laois was exceptionally well-wooded up to the seventeenth century (Smyth, 1982, 68-77, 101-75). These woods were perhaps ideal breeding ground for wild red deer and this may explain the preponderance of their bones in the assemblage from Dunamase Castle. While there may have been fallow deer in the documented park associated with the castle (see Section 7.4.4), their numbers may have been small so that they were not regularly culled. A final option is that fallow deer may not have been present locally, but instead occasional carcasses were brought to Dunamase from elsewhere.

3.3.4 Body part distribution

There were a number of methods of hunting used during the later medieval period, which are discussed in detail in Section 4.1. These often included ritual steps, some of which depended on the method of hunting, and some of which were more generally applicable.

The process of dismembering or unmaking the carcass was one of the most ritualised of the stages and in France this was often carried out by the most senior person present. In England this was more usually delegated to a professional huntsman, or to the person who killed the deer, although in the late sixteenth century Queen Elizabeth I, a keen hunter, was willing to undertake the feat herself (Fig. 3.8). Special sets of knives were sometimes used and certain organs were reserved for the lord by being set up on display on forked sticks stuck into the ground (Cummins 1988, 41-3).

Fig. 3.8 The unmaking ritual being conducted by Queen Elizabeth (*Turbervile's Booke,* 133)

In England and France during the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries the practice was for the left shoulder of the carcass to be given to the person doing the 'unmaking' or dismembering, the right shoulder to the forester, and the haunches or back legs were reserved for the lord (Thomas 2007a, 128). Depending on which source is consulted, the head was either reserved for the lord or given to the lymer, which was the scenting hound that tracked the deer. The *os courbin*, which may have been the pelvis or possibly the sternum, was given to the ravens (Thomas 2007a, 128). By contrast with England, where this introduction of a structured distribution has been dated to the later medieval period, Kelly (2000, 275-6) found an early Irish judgement that was preserved in a law text and poem. This seemed to refer to customs extant in the seventh or eighth centuries, and gives a similar body-part distribution:

> 'the first person who wounds the deer is entitled to the *classach*, which presumably refers to some part of its body, the person who flays the deer gets its shoulder (*lethe*), and the owner of the hounds gets the haunch (*cés*). Another person – perhaps he who actually

> kills the deer – gets the neck (*muinél*), and the hounds themselves get the legs (*cossa*). The last man on the scene gets the intestines (*inathar*) and the rest of the hunting-party get the liver (*áe*). Finally, the landowner gets the belly (*tarr*).'

So this means that in both later medieval England and in early medieval Ireland, a shoulder was given to the person dividing up the carcass. This judgement also demonstrates that in Ireland the owner of the dogs was given the haunches. Since dogs were expensive to maintain, they presumably belonged to the lord or king, so that in this the same distribution can be inferred. A number of researchers, including Albarella and Davis (1996, 32-4), Thomas (2005, 60, 63; 2007a) and Sykes (2007c), have examined aspects of this custom in the zooarchaeological record of England. They have identified that this distribution can be demonstrated for red and fallow deer, with a disproportionate amount of bones from the rear of the animal present at elite sites, and forelimbs over-represented at the homes of foresters, parkers and huntsmen. Sykes (2007c, 150) has argued that this body part distribution is a feature of the period after the Norman Conquest of England and that it becomes increasingly evident over the course of the later medieval period. The presence of documentary evidence for this practice in Ireland prior to its alleged introduction to England is interesting as it may potentially suggest that the systematic division was introduced much later to England than to Ireland. A more likely scenario however is that the smaller scale of pre-Norman society in England meant that although the carcass was divided up systematically, the huntsmen lived in close proximity to their lords so that the refuse was disposed of together and is therefore archaeologically inseparable.

An analysis was carried out to examine the body-part distribution of the bones from the various Irish site types described above, with selected additional published and unpublished faunal reports included in the case of castles and urban sites. In total, this involved 28 samples from 16 castle sites and 28 urban samples from Dublin, Kilkenny, Galway, Trim and Waterford. Due to the small numbers of deer bones found at ecclesiastical and rural sites in assemblages analysed by the present writer, it was not considered likely to be fruitful to research these more widely in the published record. One further limitation is that published data does not always include body-part distribution so that some published sites could not be included.

This is a limitation imposed by the routine non-publication of the appendices that are invariably submitted with the original reports. The data tables in the appendices can run to fifty to a hundred pages and few excavators and monograph editors understand their value for other zooarchaeologists. In recent years this has been partly overcome by the inclusion in publications of CDs containing much of this specialist material (e.g. Beglane 2007f; 2010a).

For the body-part distribution analysis, the four main bones of the front and hind limbs were compared (Fig. 3.9). In the case of the front limb, the scapula, humerus, radius and metacarpal were included. The ulna was not included since the equivalent bone in the hind leg of a deer is extremely small and rarely quantified by zooarchaeologists. In the case of the hind limb, the pelvis, femur, tibia and metatarsal were used. Most zooarchaeologists do not record all the individual carpals and tarsals (wrist and ankle bones), however they do generally record the calcaneus and astragalus, which are the two largest tarsal bones. It was decided to exclude these as otherwise the analysis would be weighted in favour of identifying hindlimb bones, purely because more of them are systematically recorded. In addition, the phalanges (toe bones) cannot easily be separated between front and hind limbs except where they are excavated from an articulated skeleton; therefore these bones were excluded from the measure.

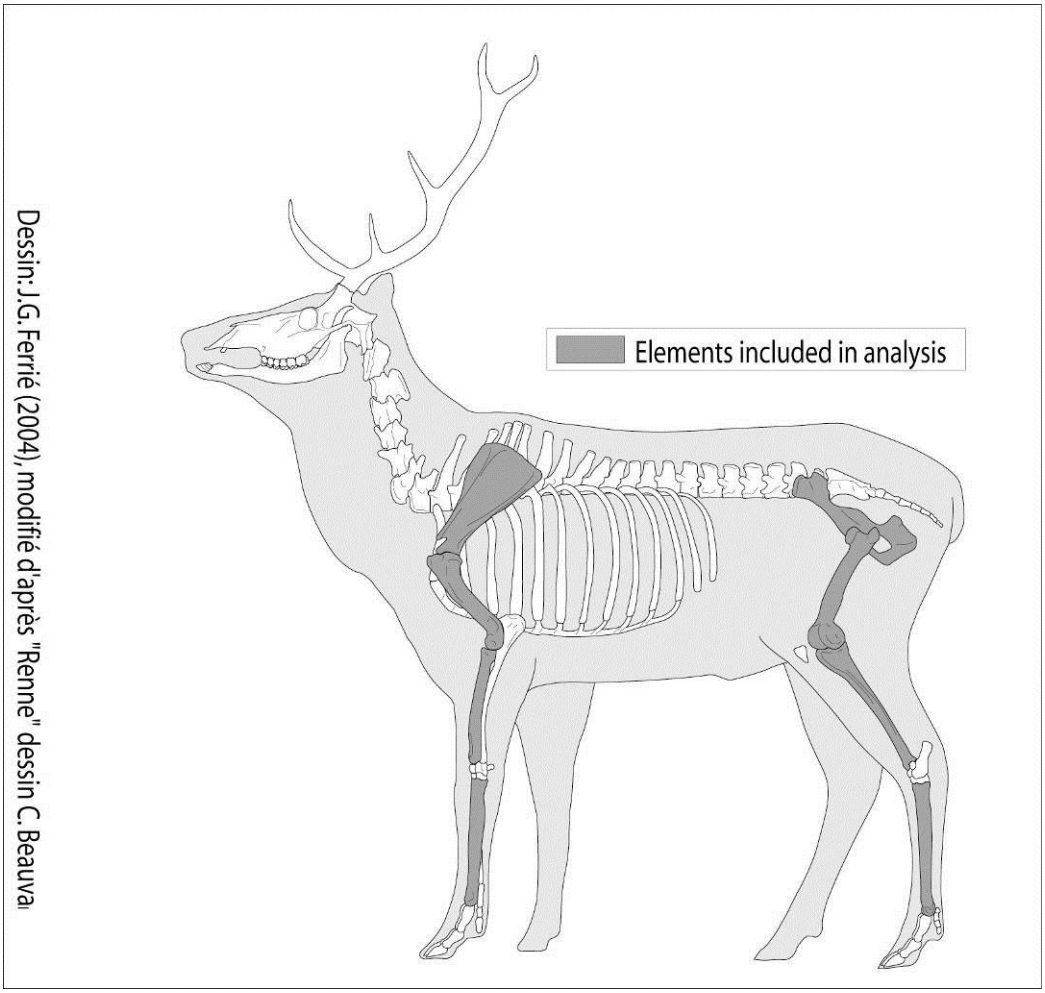


Fig 3.9: Elements included in body-part distribution analysis

For the castle sites, 73.7% (101/137) of the identified bones were from the hindlimb. By contrast, only 50% (25/50) of the bones from urban sites were from the hindlimb. In the case of ecclesiastical sites and rural sites, only one bone was counted from each, so that no assessment can be made, but notably both were from the forelimb (Tab. 3.4; Fig. 3.10). Detailed results are shown in Appendices 3.7, 3.8 and 3.9.

	Forelimb NISP	**Hindlimb NISP**	**Forelimb NISP%**	**Hindlimb NISP%**
Castle sites	36	101	26.3	73.7
Urban sites	25	25	50.0	50.0
Ecclesiastical sites (author's only)	1	0	100.0	0.0
Rural sites (author's only)	1	0	100.0	0.0

Tab. 3.4: Distribution of deer body parts by site type

(based on Appendices 3.7; 3.8; 3.9)

The evidence suggests that the general body-part distribution found in English elite sites is also found in Irish Anglo-Norman castle assemblages, with a majority of bones being from the hindlimbs (Figs. 3.10; 3.11). Nevertheless, some differences do occur when compared to the English data. Thomas (2007a, 134-8) demonstrated that forelimbs were either absent or were present only at extremely low levels, arguing that where forelimb bones were present, this was evidence for occasional lapses in the systematic division of the carcass. By contrast, the Irish evidence is for the presence of approximately three hindlimb bones to every one forelimb bone at castle sites. This may suggest that the unmaking ritual was less common in Ireland than in England. There are other possible explanations, which will be further explored.

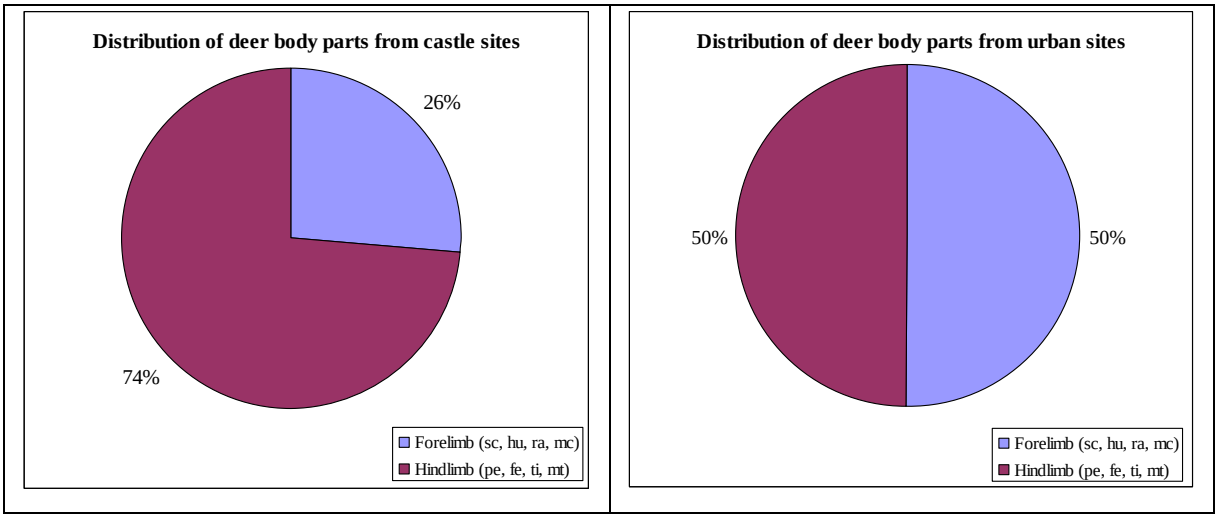


Fig. 3.10: Distribution of deer body parts from castle sites (left) and urban sites (right) (based on Appendices. 3.7; 3.8)

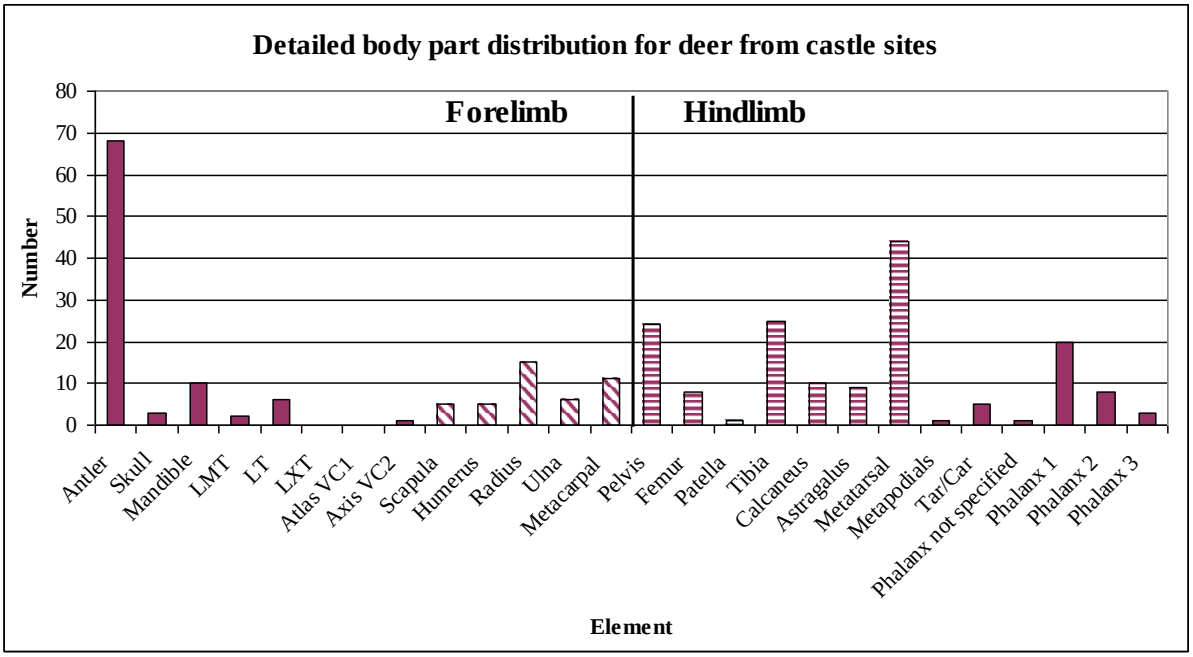


Fig. 3.11: Detailed body part distribution for deer from castle sites (based on Appendix. 3.7)

The urban results suggest that there are generally equal numbers of fore- and hindlimbs present in Irish towns (Figs. 3.10; 3.12). Samples came from Dublin, Kilkenny, Galway, Trim and Waterford and so could be argued to include representative data from a range of later medieval towns. In England, Sykes (2007c, 155-7) also found that urban assemblages contained both fore- and hindlimb bones. She further argued that the other body parts present, including head and hindlimb elements, were evidence for the organised poachers who were known to operate out of taverns and alehouses. These poaching gangs worked on a commercial basis, supplying venison to relatively wealthy individuals, such as merchants, who did not have official access to this high-status meat. The presence of all body parts in the urban assemblages does suggest that illicit poaching was also occurring in Ireland and there is documentary evidence of this (e.g. *CDI*, i, no. 926).

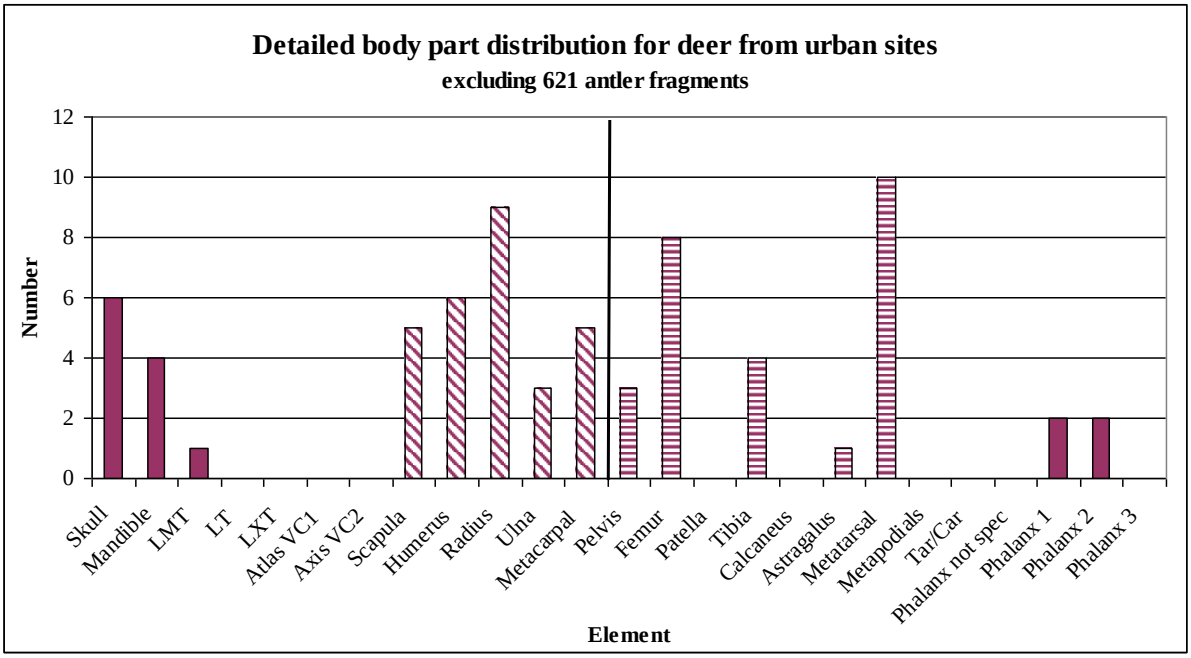


Fig. 3.12: Detailed body part distribution for deer from urban sites (based on Appendix 3.8)

The ability to make a direct comparison between elements from the urban site of Trim Townspark and the immediately adjacent Trim Castle is highly revealing, although the urban sample of deer bones from Trim is very small and could therefore be argued to be unrepresentative. Nevertheless, for the castle, 71% (15/21) of elements were from the hindlimb, whereas in Townparks 100% (3/3) of the assessed bones were from the forelimb (Fig. 3.13). The Townparks excavation also yielded a tooth, an antler fragment and a single astragalus. This is a bone from the hind limb, in the ankle, but has been excluded from the analysis for the reasons described above. Significantly, while the other bones came from burgage plots in an area known as Kiely's Yard, the astragalus was found in the 'Castle Lawn' area immediately outside the castle. As such, it may well be debris produced by the inhabitants of the castle rather than being associated with the townsfolk.

This comparison of results from the town with those from the castle strongly supports the idea that systematic body-part distribution was being undertaken in Trim. As the town is immediately adjacent to the castle, the forelimb bones found in the Townspark excavations could potentially have come from poached animals, or could have been legitimate meat. The size of the bones suggests that they were from

a male red deer. For aristocratic hunting, males would have been deemed to provide the best sport, but for poachers, looking for a simple and quick hunt, a mature male would not necessarily have made the best target. Coupled with the presence of only forelimb elements at this location, the evidence suggests that this meat had come from huntsmen. This may have been in the form of gifts, or the huntsman's share if he lived in the town, or could potentially have been illicitly sold on by a huntsman who had obtained it legally. Two other urban excavations at Trim have also yielded deer bones. At High Street, Lynch (2007) found a single deer metacarpal, which is from the forelimb, so that there a similar set of scenarios can be construed. Excavations at 18 Market St yielded a red deer metatarsal, from the hindlimb, which came from an early context dated to 1020-1180, and so is outside the period under discussion (Beglane 2009b, 359).

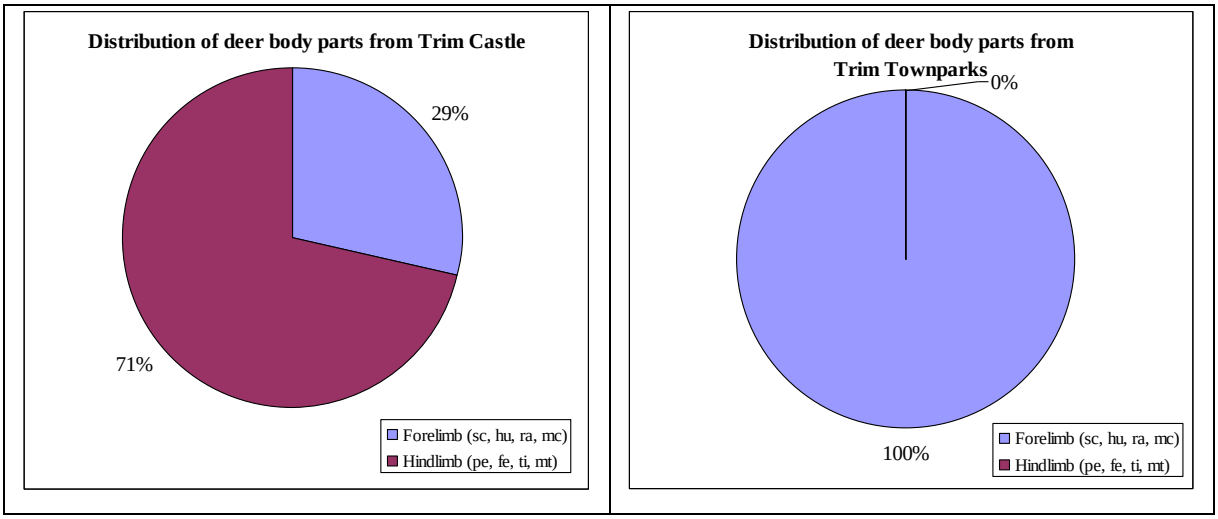


Fig. 3.13: Distribution of deer body parts from Trim Castle (left) and Trim Townparks (right) (based on Appendices 3.7; 3.8)

The analysis of the body part distribution for the Irish castle sites was then repeated separately for red and fallow deer, with any bones that had not been identified to species being excluded. For red deer this analysis showed 71% (64/90) of the identified bones were from the hindlimb, whereas for fallow deer 76% (26/34) were from this part of the body (Fig. 3.14). This clearly demonstrates that the same procedure was being undertaken for both species. The small difference between the two species may be insignificant or could potentially be explained by alternative hunting strategies for the red and fallow deer, and may also shed light on the

relatively large numbers of forelimb bones present in castles. Any fallow deer were almost certainly taken from deer parks, and therefore a parker would have been employed, who would have been entitled to his share of the carcass. Since he would have lived in a lodge that was either in, or immediately adjacent, to the park, his refuse would have been disposed of there. By contrast, wild red deer would have been hunted in open country. In England large areas of the country were forest or were enclosed parks, so that there were many professional foresters and parkers as well as professional huntsmen (James 1981, 27-32, 41). By contrast, Ireland had far fewer forests and parks (see Chapter 4), and communities were smaller. As a result, there were less foresters and parkers and many professional huntsmen probably lived either in the castle or immediately adjacent to it. In this case their share of the deer may have been consumed in the castle and/or the refuse disposed of with the castle waste. As a result, higher proportions of front limb bones are expected to be found at Irish castle sites than at elite sites in England, and this will be more so with the bones of the wild red deer than the emparked fallow deer. This suggestion of the professional hunters living adjacent to the aristocratic hunters is borne out in Trim where, as described above, forelimb elements were found in urban excavations.

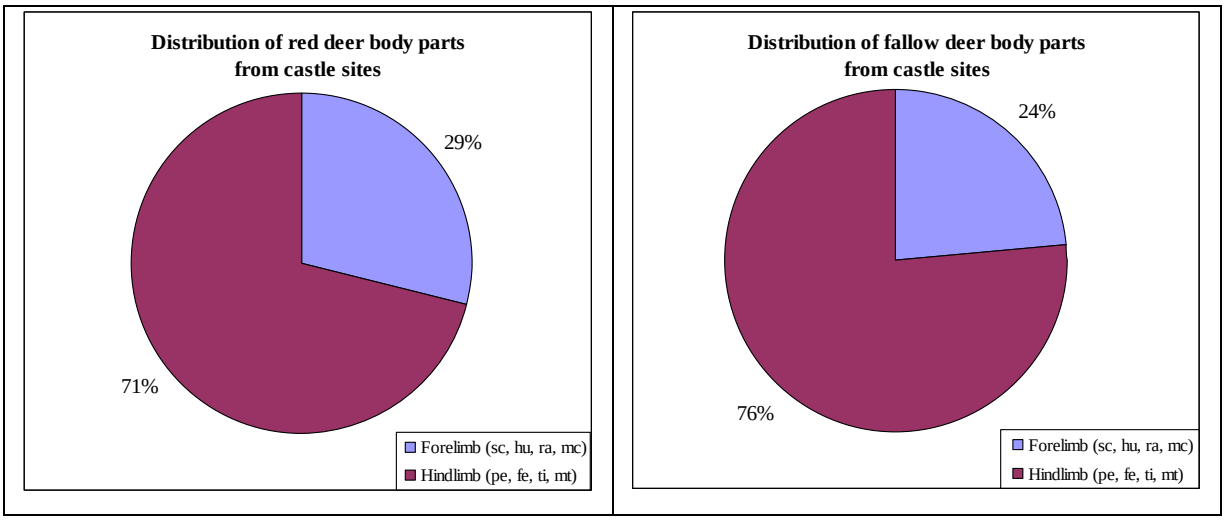


Fig. 3.14: Distribution of body parts for red deer (left) and fallow deer (right) from castle sites (based on Appendices 3.7; 3.8)

3.4 Discussion

Understanding the animals of the hunt and the way in which they were used sheds considerable light on the role of hunting in the later medieval period. The live animals themselves were part of the material culture of the time, particularly those that lived in semi-domesticated circumstances, such as fallow deer in parks and rabbits in warrens. They were considered to be the property of the owner of the park or warren, and therefore possessing them was a reflection of his status and position in society (Chapter 4). Even wild animals, although not owned as such, were a reflection of the status of the lord, who may have had a right of free warren or free chase on his lands, while the lord of a liberty had, in essence, forest rights over his land. These landowners therefore had exclusive rights to hunt certain wild animals within certain limits of geography and species.

Hunting can also be considered as the production of material culture in which a live animal was converted into meat, bones, antlers and hides (Crabtree 2007), and in doing so provided opportunities for individuals to accumulate both wealth and social capital (Bourdieu 2008). Pelts and hides were included in the lists of taxable goods in murage grants, while antlers and bone were valuable commodities for craftwork. In turn, the pelts of fur-bearing animals became important symbols of wealth and status when they were converted into high-status clothing. In theory, venison could not be sold, so that social capital could be obtained both by the ability to obtain venison and by gifting whole carcasses or portions of venison to favoured individuals or institutions. This was true for the lord gifting portions to his retainers or to a nearby abbey, but was also true for the parkers, foresters and huntsmen, who had legal access to a highly-prized meat. For them the opportunity to gift or to illicitly sell this meat was also an opportunity for increased prestige and income. Poachers probably supplied a willing urban market, with relatively well-to-do individuals keen to sample the meats consumed by the aristocracy and to serve them at feasts as a method of impressing their guests, so increasing their social capital.

Red deer and fallow deer have similar lifestyles and appearances, both are creatures at home in open woodland or in more grassy open country. They are both herd species, and both are ideal as food animals for two main reasons. Firstly, they

convert material that is non-edible for humans, i.e. grass and browse, into edible meat. Secondly, they are polygynous, meaning that one male will mate with a number of females. This is ideal since it means that the majority of males can be removed from the herd and consumed without affecting reproduction rates, so ensuring a constant supply of meat. The main differences identified between the species are that red deer are much larger than fallow deer and that their life-stages happen earlier in the year, with earlier rutting, birthing and shedding of antlers. Both are suited to living in parks and yet it was predominantly fallow deer that were emparked in the later medieval period and by contrast, red deer that are kept on venison farms today. The reasons for this are complex.

Fletcher (2011, 98-101) argues that fallow deer are much more likely to panic when being handled and that their small size makes them less economic for modern deer farms, however he also notes that they have considerable advantages over red deer for emparkment. They can become quite tame, and may not try to escape from even low-walled enclosures. Their small size can be an advantage as it makes it easier to lift carcasses or live individuals that have been tied by their feet and that are being moved between locations. In terms of their diet, he also believes that medieval red deer were more dependent on browsing than their modern descendants. Modern red deer have been subject to centuries of a grass-based diet as a result of being kept in parks, and hence natural selection processes are likely to have modified the species. As a result, it is possible that fallow deer may have fattened better than red in the later medieval parks. This may well have been important since the provision of sufficient winter fodder was potentially limiting to the herd size. The symbolism of red deer as a noble, wild untamed creature, with religious and moral overtones may have meant that it was considered in some ways demeaning to enclose them in artificial parks and to kill them without the formality of a *par force* hunt (see Section 4.1). The smaller size of fallow deer may also have been an advantage in the later medieval parks. It meant that the amount of meat available when an animal was killed was smaller, which may have been more convenient, reducing the need for preservation of excess meat by salting or smoking. Overall, therefore, compared to red deer, fallow deer were aesthetically pleasing, while providing good quality venison in a smaller, more manageable individual. They were free of any individual

symbolism, but the possession of a deer park in which to keep them was in itself a symbol of high status (see Section 4.5.6).

The evidence from the Irish later medieval assemblages suggests that similar patterns of wild species exploitation existed to those found in England. Crucially however, the proportions of wild species in assemblages were at a much lower level in Ireland, fallow deer in particular were much less common, being restricted to the highest echelons of the aristocracy, and the distribution of body parts on elite sites was not as extreme as in England (see Section 3.3).

Castles were the most likely site type to yield wild mammal bones, with urban sites unsurprisingly yielding the fewest (Tab. 3.2, see also Appendix 3.5). Castles in Ireland that were analysed by the present writer yielded 3.9% wild species and 2.7% deer, while in a wider range of castle excavations wild species made up a total of 2.7% of the total, and deer bones constituted 1% of the faunal remains (see Section 3.3.3). This has to be compared with *c*. 13% wild species and 8% deer for twelfth-to-fourteenth-century England (Sykes 2007b, 65). This suggests much less interest in hunting in Ireland than in England, a point that will be further discussed in Chapter 10. Approximately 37% of the wild mammal bones found at the wider range of castle sites were from deer, of which one quarter were from fallow deer. Rabbit and hare made up the bulk of the remainder, with other species only occasionally found. By contrast, approximately 62% of wild mammal elements from English elite sites were from deer, with rabbit (28%) constituting the majority of the remainder (Sykes 2007b, 67).

Ecclesiastical sites were the second most likely to yield wild mammal bones, which were dominated by rabbit, with only occasional deer bones (Tab. 3.2, see also Appendix 3.5). This is in contrast to England, where fallow deer were the dominant species, followed by hare. There are documentary references to rabbit warrens belonging to ecclesiastical sites (e.g. *Archbishop Alen's Reg.*, 44; *Pipe roll of Cloyne*, 249-50) and the relative lack of hunting at castle sites may have meant that few deer carcasses or joints were gifted to the ecclesiastical sites and that relatively few ecclesiastics hunted. This in turn may then have led to a greater emphasis on rabbit as a source of food.

The dominance of rabbit over hare was true for all the site-types examined, again suggesting a relative lack of interest in hunting wild animals, compared to rearing rabbits in a controlled environment (see Appendix 3.5). Rabbit warrens are mentioned relatively frequently in manorial extents (e.g. *CDI*, i, no. 2422; *Inq. & Ext. of Med. Ire.*, no. 54), adding to the mystery of the near absence of warrens from the archaeological record in Ireland. This suggests that the warrens are being misidentified in the field, or that, as O'Conor has suggested, disused ringforts were utilised for this purpose (Murphy and O'Conor 2006; O'Conor 2004, 237-8).

One particular focus of this chapter has been the presence of red and fallow deer on different types of site. The initial review of sites analysed by the author demonstrated that by a factor of 6:1 deer were most likely to be found on castle sites, with urban sites the next most likely source of deer elements (Tab. 3.2). Re-examination of all available fallow deer bones resulted in some being reclassified to other species, and Carlow Castle was removed from the list of sites yielding fallow deer remains (see Section 3.3.2). In total, therefore, fallow deer have only been found in Ireland on seven castle sites and four urban sites, nevertheless, they constitute 24% of the deer bones identified from all of the castles studied. Furthermore, looking in detail at the castles where fallow deer remains were found, and when Dunamase is excluded, on these sites fallow deer elements dominate red deer by a ratio of 1.8:1 compared to *c.* 1.9:1 for elite sites in England (see Section 3.3.3). This evidence suggests that the rarity of fallow deer in the Irish record is more a perception than a reality and that what is actually being identified is the lack of wild species as a whole. By definition no fallow deer remains are likely to be found in zooarchaeological assemblages from the Mesolithic through to, and including, the early medieval period. Post-medieval assemblages are under-represented in both grey- and published literature, partly because these site types are less commonly excavated, but also because, in the author's experience, these site types are least likely to have a full zooarchaeological analysis carried out. Only later medieval assemblages are therefore potentially likely to yield fallow deer remains, and of these, only castle sites are likely to have any reasonable proportion of deer (1.0 - 2.5%). It is therefore relatively rare for a zooarchaeologist in Ireland to identify a fallow deer bone. Nevertheless, fallow deer bones are more common on

later medieval castle sites than, for example, fox and badger. Neither of these species would be considered worthy of particular note in an assemblage purely because they are also found in assemblages of other chronological periods and so are, on average, seen more frequently.

Since wild animals in general, including fallow deer in particular, can be considered as rare in the Irish archaeological record, this raises the question of why this should be. It will be demonstrated in Chapter 4 that parks were also much less common in high medieval Ireland than in England. By contrast, rabbits are relatively more important than in England, despite the lack of archaeological evidence for their warrens. This suggests a different emphasis in food procurement and in leisure activities between the two countries, a discussion that will be returned to in Chapter 10 once all the evidence has been assimilated.

Body-part distributions of deer bones have also provided some interesting results (see Section 3.3.4). In England extremely few forelimb bones are found on elite sites, which instead, are dominated by the hindlimb bones that formed the 'lord's portion' of the carcass. In Ireland, 71% of red deer bones and 76% of fallow deer bones from castle sites were from the hindlimbs. These figures demonstrate the same basic pattern, but are less extreme than the English results. They show that selective distribution was taking place but that this was slightly more visible for fallow than red deer. It can be suggested that this is a feature of the way in which the two species were hunted and the way in which Irish later medieval society was structured. Fallow deer would almost certainly have come from parks and therefore a parker would have been entitled to his share of the carcass. Parker's lodges would have been either in or adjacent to the park so that any waste bones would have been disposed of there, but by contrast red deer carcasses would have been more likely to have been consumed within or adjacent to the castle. Many huntsmen and/or foresters employed by the lord may have lived in or adjacent to the castle so that their shares would be archaeologically indivisible from those of their lord. The excavation at Trim Townparks, immediately adjacent to Trim Castle, provides more evidence for this. There, a number of red deer forelimb elements were found during excavation of a burgage plot, suggesting that a huntsman's share had made its way

into a nearby home. This may even have been the huntsman's own home, being located in close proximity to the castle.

Trim was a large town by later medieval standards, but was small compared to cities such as Dublin or Waterford, and so employment and trade would have largely centred on the castle. By contrast, for the larger urban centres like Dublin and Waterford, there were multiple opportunities and ways of making a living. When the urban evidence is examined as a whole, this dominance of forelimb bones does not hold out, with approximately equal numbers of elements from the fore- and hindlimbs found. A similar pattern in England has been linked to evidence for poaching, and it is likely that this is also the case in Ireland (Sykes 2007c, 155-7).

3.5 Conclusions

Wild animals make up only a small percentage of the faunal remains from later medieval excavations but they provide important information about society at that time. There are some similarities with the situation in England, but there are also differences. There is evidence that hunting was significantly less important to the Anglo-Normans in Ireland than it was to their cousins in England. On elite castle sites there is nearly a five-fold difference in the proportion of wild mammal bones between the two countries, with English elite sites typically yielding *c.*13% wild mammals and Irish castle sites typically yielding only 2.7%. Despite this, the relative importance of the various species on elite sites is similar. It is also possible that the Anglo-Normans in Ireland undertook a form of hunting where the meat was not brought back to the castle, but instead was consumed in the field. For ecclesiastical sites, rabbits were relatively much more important in Ireland than in England, where they formed only a tiny proportion of the wild mammals, but by contrast, in Ireland deer and hare were much less significant. This is likely to be a result of the lesser emphasis on hunting at castle sites, resulting in less meat being available for gifting to the religious houses, and also potentially less hunting by the ecclesiastics themselves. Body-part distributions show that similar practices were in place in Ireland and England, but, probably due to the size of households and due to the lack of parks and forests, this patterning is somewhat masked by shared consumption of meat and disposal of waste.

Chapter 4: The hunt: practice and place

4.0 Introduction

In early medieval Ireland hunting was primarily an aristocratic pastime particularly associated with sport and military training, but in addition hunting provided opportunities for social, political and cultural interaction (Kelly 2000, 273-4). Chapter 3 showed that this association of deer hunting with the aristocracy continued into the later medieval period, and this chapter will demonstrate that this was strengthened by the introduction of parks and royal forests and the restrictions that were thereby imposed on non-aristocratic hunters.

The aim of this chapter is to provide an overview of the documentary, literary and iconographic evidence for hunting in later medieval Ireland, particularly the methods of hunting and the locations in which these took place. Chapter 2 noted that overseas there were a number of potential places in which hunting could take place, and this chapter will show that there is evidence that all of these were present in later medieval Ireland. From this baseline of data, the case studies that appear in the following chapters will be introduced and the reasons for their selection will be discussed.

4.1 Practice: Hunting methods

Hunting manuals were popular throughout later medieval Europe and Britain. These included the fourteenth-century *Livre de Roy Modus*, the late fourteenth-century *Hunting Book of Gaston Phoebus* which was based on the latter, the *Master of Game,* written 1406x1413, which in turn was based on Phoebus, and the 1486 *Boke of St Albans*. While these do not provide direct evidence for hunting in Ireland, they give an insight into the activities enjoyed by the related aristocracy in France and England (Rooney 1993, 7-20). Hence they provide an insight into the form of hunting potentially aspired to by the Anglo-Normans in Ireland. These manuals gave information on the animals, processes and rituals of hunting, but the level of

detail and the use of technical terms were such that they assumed familiarity with the subject. As such they could not be used as a true 'teach-yourself' manual, instead their role was to provide a pleasurable reading experience for the *cognoscenti* while excluding those outside the inner circle from participating (Rooney 1993, 5, 15; Jacqueline A. Stuhmiller, *pers. comm.*).

There were essentially three methods of hunting, with variations within these three categories. Firstly, animals could be chased with hounds. In the case of smaller animals, the hounds then brought them down, while with larger animals such as deer and wild pig they were brought to 'bay' for the hunters to kill using spears, swords or knives. Secondly, the prey could be driven towards waiting hunters who had spears, or bows and arrows, or finally, they could be caught using nets or traps (*Livre de Chasse*, 39-85).

4.1.1 Par force hunting

In later medieval Europe, *par force* hunting of red deer was considered to be the highest and most noble form of hunting. This involved selecting a single animal, then tracking it using a dog called a lymer, before chasing it using greyhounds. This method needed a large land area such as unenclosed countryside, and possibly the very largest deer parks, since the aim was to pit the wits and stamina of the men and dogs against those of the quarry (Almond 2003, 73-5; Cummins 1988, 32-46). By the high and late medieval period in England and Europe, the *par force* method was highly ritualised, with a number of key steps that had to be carried out for the hunt to be correctly performed (Cummins 1988, 32-46, 72).

The first stage was the 'quest'. In this the 'lymerers' set out at dawn or even the night before the hunt, to find the noblest quarry available. They used 'lymers' which were dogs trained to track using scent, and the huntsman would also consider evidence such as the tracks of the deer, its droppings known as 'fewmets' or *fumées*, and any trampled grass, in their quest to find the best stag available (*Livre de Chasse*, 28, 29, 30; *Master of Game*, 130-9). The minimum acceptable quarry was a hart-of-ten, a male red deer with at least five tines on each antler. Once a huntsman found a suitable quarry he would mark its location and return to report his findings. This took place at the 'assembly', where the professional and aristocratic huntsmen

brought evidence such as the *fumées* to the meeting, discussed the possibilities and decided on the most appropriate quarry. The meeting was often accompanied by a meal and could be held the night before the hunt, or over breakfast. The final decision on which animal to hunt was taken by the lord in conjunction with his 'Master of Game' or chief huntsman (*Livre de Chasse*, 38; *Master of Game*, 140-1, 148-51, 163-5)

This led on to the hunt itself, of which the first stage was called the 'relay'. The hounds were divided into small groups, and leashed together in pairs in strategic locations so that when the hart ran, the hounds were correctly positioned and could chase it. Once the chase started, hounds could be released just after the deer passed. This meant that there were always fresh hounds to chase the hart, so minimising the chance of it escaping (*Livre de Chasse*, 45*; Master of Game*, 165-6). The moving or unharbouring was the next stage. In this, the lymerer whose hart had been selected led the hunters to the known location of the deer. The lymer then tracked the deer, and part of the skill was making sure that the dog and the huntsmen were on the trail of the correct animal, not a lesser beast. The hart would eventually take flight and careful examination of the tracks would show that the animal was nearby and moving swiftly; at this point the horn was sounded and the hounds were progressively 'uncoupled' or taken off the leashes (*Livre de Chasse*, 39; *Master of Game*, 166-9). This was then the start of the actual 'chase'. The skill was in keeping the hounds on the correct trail or line, and not letting the deer escape by doubling back on its own scent. This part of the hunt was noisy as the hounds would bay and the hunters would call to each other and blow their horns. The horns were used to signal the direction of the stag, the distance between the stag and the hounds, and to show when a particular group of hounds had been released or uncoupled (*Livre de Chasse*, 45; *Master of Game*, 170-3)**.**

Eventually the deer would weaken and instead of running, its final attempt at freedom would be to turn 'at bay' to take on the hounds. The hounds would surround the deer but would not be allowed to bring it down, instead they would be kept back until the rest of the party caught up. Then the lord would decide who would have the honour of killing the hart. This was done with a thrust of the sword behind the shoulder and forward into the heart (*Livre de Chasse*, 45; *Master of*

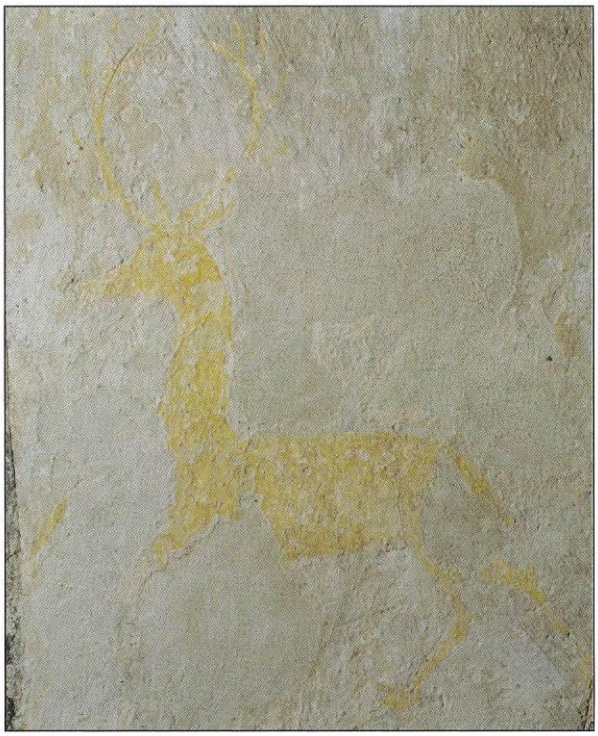
Game, 173-4). Interestingly, in the miniatures that accompany his manuscript, Phoebus does not show the death of the stag in *par force* hunting. Other animals, and deer being hunted by other methods are shown being killed, but not the death of a hart. One possibility for this omission is that the hart, or male red deer had religious connotations, being associated with the crucified Christ (Section 3.1.2), in that sense it may have been considered to be semi-blasphemous or inappropriate to show this event. Having caught and killed the hart, it was then 'unmade' in a ritual fashion and the carcass divided between the hunters and the hounds (see Section 3.3.4) (*Livre de Chasse*, 40, 41; *Master of Game*, 174-80).

Par force hunting was mainly associated with hunting male red deer and wild pigs, although it could have potentially also been used to hunt fallow deer that had been deliberately released from deer parks in advance of the hunt, as well as feral fallow deer. Fallow deer have less stamina than red deer and although the females tend to flee as a group, males flee individually (Feldhamer, Farris-Renner and Barker 1988; Livre de Chasse, 47). While a full-scale *par force* hunt of a male red deer would be potentially unsatisfactory even in a large park, Mileson (2009, 30) has suggested that coursing was a variation on the *par force* theme, modified for a parkland setting.

In Ireland there are a number of iconographic representations of individual deer being hunted. Most notable are the wall and ceiling paintings in a Gaelic-Irish context at Clare Abbey in Co. Mayo (Morton and Oldenbourg 2005, 61-95). These probably date to the first half of the fifteenth century, and as well as hunting scenes, they include musicians, herdsmen, mythical creatures and St Michael (Morton 2005, 118-9; Morton and Oldenbourg 2005, 61-95). One focal image at this site is a large painting of a stag being chased by a hound, which is positioned on the north wall above a decorative tomb niche (Pl. 4.1) (Morton and Oldenbourg 2005, 62-3). There are also hunting scenes on the ceilings: notable are an image of a stag being attacked by three hounds (Pl. 4.2), and that of a halting or standing stag being confronted by a hunter and his hound on a sliplead (Pl. 4.3) (Morton 2005, 107; Morton and Oldenbourg 2005, 82, 90). The ceiling also includes scenes of hawking, and of using hounds to chase hares, as well as other images in which dogs appear.

Pl. 4.1: Wall painting of a stag being chased by a hound at Clare Abbey, Co. Mayo (Morton and Oldenbourg 2005, 63, image C. Oldenbourg)

Pl. 4.2: Wall painting of a stag being attacked by three hounds at Clare Abbey, Co. Mayo (Morton and Oldenbourg 2005, 82, image C. Oldenbourg)



Pl. 4.3: Detail from a wall painting of a halting stag being confronted by a hunter and his hound on a sliplead at Clare Abbey, Co. Mayo (Morton and Oldenbourg 2005, 90, image C. Oldenbourg)

At Urlan More Castle, Co. Clare, a towerhouse which collapsed in 1999, again in a Gaelic-Irish context there was also a painted hunting scene (Fig. 4.1) (Gleeson 1936b; Morton 2005, 106-7). This showed a stag being brought down by two hounds, one of which was wearing a collar. At Holycross Abbey, Co. Tipperary, a wall painting depicts a stag lying behind a tree, while a huntsman with a dog approaches and blows his horn. Two further figures, both carrying bows and arrows approach from behind the huntsman (Fig. 4.2) (Crawford 1915; Morton 2005, 106-7). Finally, an overmantle found at Ardamullivan Castle, Co. Galway, again in a Gaelic-Irish late medieval context, shows a hunting scene in which a rider and his hound chase a stag. This hunter has thrown a spear and also has a sword in his scabbard (Pl. 4.4) (Morton 2005, 100). The imagery of the stag as a religious and moral symbol has been discussed in Section 3.1.2, and it is likely that it is in this context, as well as from an aesthetic perspective, that these images should be seen.

Fig. 4.1: Now-destroyed painted hunting scene at Urlan More Castle, Co. Clare, showing a stag being brought down by two hounds, one of which was wearing a collar (after Morton 2005, 106-7, image K. Morton)

This image is not available for copyright reasons

Fig. 4.2: Wall painting depicting a stag, a hound and three huntsmen at Holycross Abbey, Co. Tipperary (after Crawford 1915)

Pl. 4.4: Hunting scene from Ardamullivan Castle, Co. Galway, showing a stag chased by a mounted huntsman and his hound (image R. Sherlock)

4.1.2 The drive and 'bow and stable' hunting

The second method of hunting was the 'drive' or 'ambush' and its variation, 'bow and stable' hunting. The drive could be carried out in the wider countryside, but was also much more suitable than *par force* hunting for confined spaces such as deer parks, and furthermore it was much less strenuous for the hunters. In this method archers or spearmen positioned themselves in a suitable area towards which the deer were driven by human beaters, with or without hounds to assist them (Cummins 1988, 47-67; Gilbert 1979, 52-55). With the advent of shotguns, this method is known as 'driven shooting' today, when shooting pheasants and woodcock using beaters and dogs (Kieran O'Conor, *pers. comm*.)

Gilbert (1979, 52) identified that the drive was the most important of the methods employed throughout the course of medieval Scotland. Further, he considers that its use in early medieval Ireland is supported by literary evidence such as the *Duanaire Finn* or *Book of the Lays of Finn*. This text contains material dating from the late twelfth century onwards, but describes events occurring at some unspecified time in the past, and involving the mythical figure of Fionn Mac Cumhaill (*Acallam na Senórach*, xli-xlii). The tales in this therefore relate to Gaelic Ireland, and many are on the theme of hunting. These often note the slaughter of large numbers of animals, suggesting drives rather than *par force* hunts. On occasions, however, individual stags or boars were also selected as the quarry, which is a form of *par force* hunting (*Duanaire Finn*, i, xlv-xlvi, 180-2, 141-4). The deer were hunted using spears and using dogs, that were coupled in pairs (*Duanaire Finn*, i, 113, 124, 187-9). One particular tale, *The Chase of Sliabh Truim* (*Duanaire Finn*, i, 187-190) clearly describes a drive, in which individuals, with tethered pairs of hounds:

> '… were spread over every glen: stout was our strain against the hills; two by two on each slope … There was many a cry of deer and boar on the mountain, of those that fell by the chase: from the spoils of herds and hounds blood abounded on the slope … No deer went east or west, nor boar of all that were alive on the mountain, not one of them all but was killed by the good pack fierce in attack'

Scenes in which a stag or a group of animals that include deer are chased by hunters and/or hounds are relatively common on early medieval Irish high crosses, and where groups of animals are shown, these again suggest 'drives' (Soderberg 2004, 174). The *Acallam na Senórach,* which also comes from a Gaelic context, probably dates to the first decade of the thirteenth century (*Acallam na Senórach*, xli). This is also an important source of evidence regarding hunting in the early and later medieval periods and perceptions of hunting at the time of its composition. This source includes a description of a hunt by Bran, son of a king of Munster, in which his method of hunting is unfavourably compared with that formerly practised by the *fianna*:

> 'Well now, Bran,' said Caílte, 'what is your method of hunting? 'We surround a hill or a mound or a high, level wood with our hounds, our servants and warriors and spend the whole day chasing the game. At times we kill some game, but at other times it gets away.' On hearing this Caílte, in the presence of Patrick, wept tearfully and sorrowfully until both his shirt and his chest were wet' (*Acallam na Senórach*, 28-9)

Anne Connon (*pers. comm*.) has noted that the phrase 'with our hounds, our servants and warriors' appears only in the Franciscan manuscript recension and suggested that if this phrase is omitted then one possibility is that the text may be referring to a deer park, with Caílte weeping because he considers this an unsporting way to hunt. Another possibility, which is probably more likely, is that this hunt was a 'drive'. The Old Irish *timchell*, meaning 'going around, surrounding' passed into Lowland Scots as *tinchell* meaning a beater in a deer drive (Kelly 2000, 277). In this case Caílte is likely to have wept because by his standards a hunt in which all the game escaped would be considered to be a very inferior attempt at hunting. By comparison, in the large-scale hunts of his own time hundreds of animals were successfully slaughtered (*Duanaire Finn*, i, 130-1). Furthermore, as hunting was a symbol of masculinity, a man who was not a successful hunter could not be considered to be a noble warrior (Section 3.1.2).

Drives in open country would have been major undertakings in terms of providing sufficient people and dogs to move the deer. This implies that these were events of particularly high status, where power was conspicuously demonstrated by control of large numbers of individuals and the death of hundreds of animals in one hunting day (Cummins 1988, 49; *Duanaire Finn*, i, 130-1). By the later medieval period, parks of several hundred acres would have been eminently suitable for carrying out 'bow and stable' hunting, in which a relatively small group of beaters and dogs could drive a more modest number of deer towards the archers waiting in their 'stables' or hides (Cummins 1988, 48-9, 53-5). It is unlikely that any worthwhile drive could take place within the confines of the smallest parks of 30 acres to 60 acres in size, however, in Ireland there is little evidence for deer being maintained in these small parks, which seem to have functioned more as sources of wood and for cattle pasture (Section 4.5.6). In England, by contrast, where fallow deer were common in parks of all grades, these small parks were probably used as live larders to maintain deer for slaughter and consumption, with coursing and stalking on foot also feasible (Fletcher 2011, 105; Mileson 2009, 30). Bow and stable hunting was considered by the French to be poor sport, however the *Master of Game* devotes an entire chapter to this form of hunting. This reflects the relative importance of parks in England compared to France, where there were much larger areas of unenclosed land and *par force* hunting continued to be the main form of the hunt throughout the later medieval period (*Master of Game*, 188-200; Mileson 2009, 32; Schlag 1998).

4.1.3 Trapping

Although hunting was primarily an aristocratic activity in later medieval Ireland, there was also a requirement for additional fresh venison for the table and for live deer to be given as gifts, and therefore the aristocracy often employed professional huntsmen to supply this. Venison was an important gift to be provided to the lord's peers and subordinates as well as to high-ranking members of the clergy (Cummins 1988, 235, 260-65; Gilbert 1979, 57; Kelly 2000, 279; Murphy and O'Conor 2006, 59). This leads on to the third and final method of hunting, which was to trap the deer. Deer could be driven into nets or fences, thereby allowing live deer to be captured and either transported elsewhere or killed at leisure (Gilbert 1979, 54; Kelly 2000, 277). This was, however, considered to be ignoble and unsuitable for aristocratic hunting. For example, the late fourteenth-century French aristocrat

Gaston Phoebus believed that driving deer into nets to kill them was 'in reality the work of a fat and aged man, who wants not to work' (*Livre de Chasse*, 60). Instead this technique would mainly have been used by professional huntsmen in the lord's employment to provide live deer for gifts and to supply venison specifically for the table (Cummins 1988, 235; Gilbert 1979, 57).

Deer could also be caught on spikes, in leg traps or in pit-fall traps. These were likely to be low-status attempts to obtain venison, rather than being officially sanctioned by the lord, and could potentially have been used by poachers. Leg traps had a long history, for example, a deer caught in a trap is shown on the ninth-century high cross at Banagher Co. Offaly (Kelly 2000, 280), and archaeological examples such as that found at Prumplestown Lower have been dated to the early medieval period (Long 2008, 38). In 1997 a pit trap was excavated at Garryduff Bog, in Co. Galway (www.excavations.ie, 1997 no.196). This contained the remains of a red deer that had fallen through a covering of leafy branches and brushwood into a pit below, and had died in the pit. Radiocarbon dating of wood from the pit gave a date of AD1410-1650 for the trap.

4.2 Place: Hunting Landscapes

Having reviewed the potential ways in which hunting could be carried out it is clear that the methods used depended to a great extent on the landscape in which the hunt took place. In Chapter 2 there were shown to be four types of hunting landscapes available overseas: unenclosed land, forests and chases, demesne land with rights of free warren, and parks, the Irish evidence for each of which will be reviewed in turn.

The situation in early medieval Ireland is not clear, however there is currently no evidence for any royal or aristocratic hunting reserves. Mountain and bog land was generally held in common by the *tuath*, and while some woodland seems to have been held in private ownership, the majority was held in common (Kelly 2000, 272-81,389-90, 406-7; Neeson 1997, 138). Kelly (2000, 272-81) describes various forms of hunting and trapping taking place on undivided land, and the penalties associated with injuring people or domestic livestock as a result of this. All of this suggests that

it is most likely that early medieval aristocratic hunting also took place on the unenclosed open ground and woodland owned by the *tuath*. There is a reference to the 'king of Lynsters parcke' in the *Annals of Clonmacnoise* (*ACL*) for AD936, however this specifically refers to it as a park full of cattle, with no connection to hunting. This suggests that the seventeenth-century translator was using terminology familiar to him to describe a cattle enclosure, rather than a park for deer.

With the advent of the Anglo-Norman period, the introduction of new land-holding practices to Ireland would have had a significant effect on the landscapes in which hunting took place during later medieval Ireland. Hunting on unenclosed land is rarely mentioned in official sources, since these documents were mainly interested in detailing the various rights of landowners and tenants, but the frequency of finds of red deer bones (Section 3.3) suggests that this continued to take place. By contrast, there are a significant number of Anglo-Norman documents that refer to forests, rights of free chase and free warren and parks.

4.3 Forests and chases

As described in Section 2.1, the word 'forest' has come to be synonymous with 'woodland', but this was not the case with later medieval 'forest' which generally referred to land in which the timber and the hunting of certain game animals was reserved for the king, while the land itself could be held either by the king, or, often, by one of his subjects (Cantor and Wilson 1963, 141; James 1981, 3; Rackham 1987, 130; Watts 1996). Any enclosure of land within the bounds of a royal forest, including for agriculture or for park formation, required royal permission (Cantor and Wilson 1964; Young 1979, 16). This definition of forest, *forestis* or *forestum*, as opposed to woodland, *boscum* or *silvis*, can cause problems when using calendared or translated texts, since some authors use the words interchangeably (*Pipe roll of Cloyne*, 29, 59). A further complication is that during later medieval times 'forest' could also be used for areas of woodland held in demesne (Gilbert 1979, 19). One example of this is at Maynooth, Co. Kildare, where the forest of Croghmore is listed in the assignment of dower of 1283 (*Red Bk. Kildare*, no. 120), and in 1540-1 is described as '100 acres of wood and underwood called Crymore' (*Crown Survey*,

142). A final complication is that the terms 'chase' and 'forest' were often used interchangeably in the later medieval period so that a magnate might well refer to his forest, and a king to his chase (Rackham 1987, 131). For the purposes of this discussion the word 'forest' will be used to refer to both royal and seigniorial forests and chases.

4.3.1 Forests as a legal concept

A number of later medieval documents refer to forests in general, or to forests as a legal concept, rather than to particular forests (Appendix 4.1). The earliest of these dates to 1199, when Milo de Bret received a licence to hunt and take foxes and hares throughout the King's forests of Ireland (*CDI*, i, no. 100). The following year the Knights Hospitaller were freed from any requirement to perform works in royal forests (*CDI*, i, no. 123). These rights did not necessarily mean that forests existed in areas that would have had an effect on the Hospitallers, but instead these are legal documents that sought to ensure that the Order would have the same range of liberties that they had in England. One of the most important of these general documents was the Magna Carta for Ireland (*Hist. & mun. doc. Ire.*, XIII, 65-72; *Stat. Ire. John - Hen. V*, 17, 19), which will be discussed below with regard to disafforestation.

4.3.2 Specific forests

Documentary references were found to *c*. 13 individual later medieval forests in Ireland, and, as well as these, there are references to forests in Dublin and Leinster (Appendix 4.2). These latter are probably general geographical references to all forests in those areas rather relating to specific forests. The forests identified included both royal forests and those held by the great magnates. There are also four references that appear to refer to demesne woodland rather than true 'forest': at Duiske, Maynooth, Old Ross and Trim, where in all cases there is evidence of either a relatively small area of land, or of enclosure of that land, neither of which are features of true forest in the legal sense.

The majority of recorded Irish forests were royal forests. Large areas of land in Co. Dublin, and in what is today Co. Wicklow, were designated as royal forest, including Coillach (Lower Talbotstown) (Murphy and Potterton 2010, 78)), Glencree,

Glendalough, Obrun, which was around Powerscourt, Co. Wicklow, (Price 1954, 72; Simpson 1994, 192) and Slefco/Slescho. The location of Slefco/Slescho is unknown but according to Iredale and Barrett (2003, 117), this was around Dublin. In addition to these, which were conveniently located for Dublin, the king held forests at Decies, Co. Waterford, Connacht, Trybary, and Cracelauh. Sweetman (*CDI*, i, no. 849) considered that Trybary was probably Tipperary. O'Conor (2004, 239) identified Cracelauh as Cratloe, Co. Clare, near Limerick, while Iredale and Barrett (2003, 117) and Rackham (1987, 131) have suggested Carlow. Cratloe is probably correct, as in 1215 Geoffrey Luttrell paid 20oz of gold to have land and a wood at a place called Cratelach/Cratelerch in Thomond (*CDI*, i, nos. 580, 633). Furthermore, in 1252 Robert de Muscegros was granted 200 oaks from the forest of Cracelauh (*CDI*, ii, no. 51), which Sherlock (2011, 204-5) believes were destined for Muscegros' castle at Bunratty, Co. Clare. Finally, in 1251 Roger Waspayl was given a right of free warren for lands at Radguel, Limerick, provided that his lands lay outside the forest. Radguel is believed to be modern Rathkeale, Co. Limerick (*CDI*, i, no. 3164; Westropp 1907, 213). Cratloe and Rathkeale are a considerable distance apart, with Cratloe lying northwest of Limerick City and Rathkeale to the southwest, nevertheless, it demonstrates that there was a forest in the Limerick area and it is reasonable to assume that Cratloe is correct. Since Limerick was a royal centre, a forest nearby would have been an important resource (see Section 4.3.3).

The Archbishopric of Dublin also held considerable forests, mainly in an area to the south and southwest of Dublin City. Murphy and Potterton (2010, 76-80) give a detailed account of the location of the lands of the Archbishopric, many of which are recorded as being within the Archepiscopal forests. The final recorded holder of true forest rather than demesne woodland was Richard, Earl Marshal, who is recorded as having disafforested parts of his forests of Ross and Taghmon in Co. Wexford in 1231x1234 (*CERM*). This will be discussed further below. Other holders of their lands as liberties undoubtedly also designated some of their holdings as forest, in the same way as Ross and Taghmon, or imposed general restrictions on hunting by tenants, but unfortunately these are not recorded.

Comparison of the density of forests on the Irish and English landscape is difficult since forests varied considerably in size. As Section 2.1.3 demonstrated, forests in

England were typically 5000 acres in size, but could encompass entire counties (Rackham 1987, 132-3; Serovayskaya 1998, 34; Watkins 1998, 94). Nevertheless, in 1216 there were at least 143 forests in England, which contrasts noticeably with the *c*. 13 known from thirteenth-century Ireland (Rackham 1987, 131). At 130,360km^2 England is physically larger than Ireland, which has an area of 83,045km^2 (Ewington, Middleton, Lewis and Winkleman 1989, 20, 38-9), this gives 1.1 forests per 1000km^2 in England, by contrast with only 0.16 forests per 1000km^2 for Ireland. This clearly demonstrates the greater significance of forests in the landscape of England compared with Ireland.

4.3.3 Function of forests

The locations of the known forests leads on to their functions. In England, they were occasionally used for royal hunting but functioned more for professional hunters to provide venison and live deer as royal gifts (Rackham 1987, 133-5). Furthermore, they were a vital source of timber both for royal construction and to be given as gifts (Rackham 1987, 136; Simpson 1998, 40). In Ireland, the same is true. Where function is discussed, the majority of references to Irish forests relate to timber. Most of the forests are located close to major Anglo-Norman centres in Dublin, Waterford, Wexford, Limerick and Tipperary (Lydon 1987a, 151-2). The exception could be argued to be Connacht, which in 1227 was peripheral to Anglo-Norman settlement, not being under direct Anglo-Norman control until 1235-6 (Lydon 1987a, 164-5). The availability and control of timber in those areas close to the cities is likely to have been the main driver in their designation as forest since the timber would have been a valuable resource in those regions. This was certainly the case in England, where individual forests were assigned to provide timber for ongoing repair of particular castles and towns (Grant 1991, 99). The forest of Connacht is exceptional in that the only mentions of this forest relate to the hunting that could be had there (*CDI*, i, no.316; ii, no. 434). This is not, however, to be taken to imply that hunting was irrelevant in the other forests, on the contrary, there are a number of references to deer and to poaching taking place within them, demonstrating that venison was an important commodity.

4.3.4 Administration of forests

Not all of the land within royal forests was owned by the Crown, instead, in some cases the Crown had the hunting and timber rights, while another individual or an organisation such as the Church could own or hold the actual land (Cantor and Wilson 1963, 141; James 1981, 3; Rackham 1987, 130; Watts 1996). Where the land was owned by the Church, this could lead to further complications in determining whether forest law or church law applied on those lands. The Archbishopric of Dublin held a considerable area of land within the royal forests around Dublin, and this led to tension and disputes over the years. In January 1219-1220, Thomas Fitz Adam, keeper of the royal forest, complained to the King that the then Archbishop of Dublin 'strives to disinherit the K. of his forest' (*CDI*, i, no. 926). Thomas stated that some of the Archbishop's men, who had been cutting wood in the forest, had beaten and robbed a number of foresters. He also complained that when a poacher was followed back to his house and found to have 'his bow, with a bloody arrow, a stag's antlers, also bloody, a hide, and some venison' he arrested him, at which point the Archbishop demanded that he release the man as the culprit had been taken on church lands. Being refused, the Archbishop excommunicated Thomas, arguing that 'the land, wood, forest, and beasts were his' and that Thomas was exceeding his powers under the charters of King John. Eventually, in March, the King took the Archbishop's side in the matter, telling Thomas to 'desist from troubling the Archbishop', and subsequently, in August, he replaced Thomas with Geoffrey de Marisco (*CDI*, i, nos. 925, 926, 930, 932, 933, 951). Tensions evidently continued however, and in 1228-9 Luke, Archbishop Elect of Dublin, paid a fine of 300 marks to the King to disafforest those parts of the royal forests around Dublin where the land belonged to the Archbishopric (*Archbishop Alen's Reg.*, 62; *CDI*, i, nos. 1657; 1757; 1760; 1765; 1766; 1769; 1770; 1783).

Interestingly, this dispute between the Archbishop of Dublin and the keeper of the royal forest is one of only a few occasions found during this research where justices of the forest are mentioned in Ireland (*CDI*, i, no. 926). A number of years before this, in 1216, the *Magna Carta for Ireland* (*Stat. Ire. John - Hen. V*, 17, 19) also refers to justices of the forest. They are mentioned again in 1284-5 in the *Statutes of Westminster the First* (*Stat. Ire. John - Hen. V*, 51) where the legislation states that

'it is provided that the points aforesaid bind as well our Councillors, Justices of the Forest, and our other Justices as other persons'. This demonstrates that the separate forest legal system was formally established in Ireland, but the scarcity of references shows that it operated on a smaller scale than in England, where forests were a much more integral feature of the administration. In 1227, Richard de Burgh was charged with the care of both 'the cantred of the forest in Connaught' and of the forest of Decies (*CDI*, i, nos. 1512, 1513). Richard was a rising star in the Anglo-Norman administration, demonstrating the importance attached to maintaining the forests. He had been appointed seneschal of Munster and keeper of the Castle of Limerick in 1223 and again in 1225 and was regranted Connacht in 1226. Furthermore, he was given the custody of the counties of Cork and Waterford and all the crown lands in Decies and in Desmond prior to being appointed Justiciar of Ireland in 1228 (Smith 2004).

4.3.5 Poaching

Since the deer in the forests were reserved for the king, poaching was an issue that needed to be dealt with. In addition to the case described above, in which jurisdiction over a poacher was disputed between the Archbishop of Dublin and the Keeper of the royal forest, another case is worthy of note. In this case, the Abbot and monks of St Mary's Abbey in Dublin were accused of poaching in the royal forest using greyhounds, nets and 'engines', meaning ingenious devices. The abbot was acquitted when he successfully argued that he had regularly taken deer with the full knowledge and consent of the sheriff (*Chartul. St. Mary's*, 4, 136-7).

4.3.6 Disafforestation

While they remained in place, royal forests were a source of revenue, however disafforestation could also be lucrative for the crown (Serovayskaya 1998, 37; Young 1979, 20-1, 39). In England, a key clause in the Magna Carta was the disafforestation of forests created during John's reign as well as a review of forests created at an earlier date (James 1981, 10). The Magna Carta for Ireland (*Hist. & mun. doc. Ire.*, XIII, 65-72; *Stat. Ire. John - Hen. V*, 17, 19) had similar provisions, but, as the number of forests in Ireland was so much less, this had relatively little practical effect. As a result, Luke, Archbishop Elect of Dublin, whose lands were directly affected by forest law, found that it was in his interest to pay a fine of 300

marks to the crown to obtain disafforestation of part of the royal forest. This allowed him to develop his holdings as he saw fit, without requiring royal permission for such matters as creating new areas of cultivation, fencing fields or cutting timber. Furthermore, it solved the problem of multiple systems of law potentially co-existing on a single piece of ground. The overall effect, therefore, was to increase the potential economic value of the lands and to increase the level of control of the Archbishop within his territory. The final documented example of disafforestation is that of the forests of Ross and Taghmon in Co. Wexford in 1231x1234 (*CERM*). These two private forests were held by Richard, Earl Marshal, within his liberty of Leinster, and it is likely that he disafforested them with the aim of stimulating economic development in the area. Again, following disafforestation, his tenants would have been free to clear land for agriculture, build settlements, construct fencing to separate arable and pasture areas, and cut timber for construction and for firewood on the lands within their holdings (*CERM*; Seery 2005).

4.4 Grants of free warren and free chase

As described in Section 2.2, a 'right of free warren' meant that a landowner had the exclusive right to hunt the 'beasts of the warren' on his land and that others were forbidden by law to do so (James 1981, 6). The 'beasts of the warren' included the hare, rabbit, fox, wild cat, badger, wolf and squirrel, and after 1338, the roe deer as well, however this last species was irrelevant in an Irish context. There were also a number of 'birds of the warren' including pheasant, partridge and woodcock, plover and lark (see Section 3.1) (James 1981, 39). A grant of 'free chase' was similar, but allowed the landowner to hunt the 'beasts of the forest' on his land. These were red, fallow and roe deer as well as wild pig (see Section 3.1) (Cantor and Wilson 1964, 141; James 1981, 34).

In Ireland, as in England, grants of free warren and free chase were seen as marks of royal favour and as a way of restricting legitimate hunting to the elite landowning class. The documentary evidence for grants of free warren is somewhat sporadic. Documents date from various times, with the earliest dating to *c.* 1185 (*Ormond*

Deeds, i, no. 7), but there is a large peak in the 1250s, midway through the long reign of Henry III (Fig. 4.3; also see Appendix 4.3).

Within the decade of the 1250s, fourteen of the eighteen documents referring to grants of free warren were dated between 1252 and 1254. A total of six of these relate to a single individual, Godfrey de Lezignan, the king's brother. These all refer to one transaction in which Godfrey was to be granted land in Connacht. Unfortunately, there were complications since this land had already been assigned to other members of the royal family, and so there were a series of documents in order to resolve this issue (*CDI*, ii, nos. 321, 364, 365, 367, 434, 524). Even reducing these to a single count would still leave this decade as the peak for documented rights of free warren. In 1252 Henry III was planning to depart on crusade to the Holy Land, and as a result set about collecting money to fund this expedition (*CDI*, ii, xvii). One possibility is that Henry used grants of free warren as a way of raising additional revenue. The king would gain extra resources, at little or no loss to himself, while the landowners gained status and improved rights over their demesne lands. In support of this possibility, a number of the documents refer to payments being made in return for these rights, sometimes in conjunction with, for example, the right to hold a fair (e.g. *CDI*, ii, no. 1557).

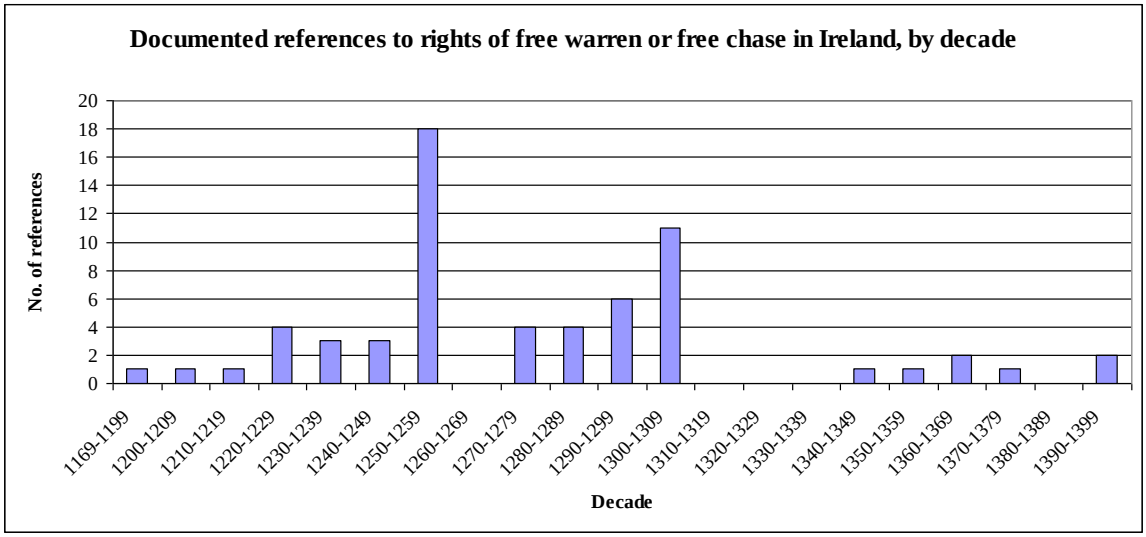


Fig. 4.3: Documented references to rights of free warren or free chase in Ireland, by decade (based on Appendix 4.3)

Only six of the documents relate to rights of free chase. The first of these was in *c.* 1185, when Alard, son of William, received the right to hunt stag, doe, pig, hare, wolf and rabbit on his lands (*Ormond Deeds*, i, no. 7). Then in 1244, Maurice FitzGerald gained free chase for lands in 'Conmakonekule and Luyne', and John FitzThomas gained the same for lands in 'Okonyl, Muskry, Kery, Yonach and Orathat' (*CDI*, i, no. 2680). It was sixty years later, in 1304, when Richard de Burgh received a grant of free chase in Torterye, Kenath, Kenalowen, Inchyven, Menkone, and Matherne in the Earldom of Ulster, and Cenyde, and Estermoy, in the county of Limerick (*CDI*, v, no. 304) . In the same year Eustace le Poer received a grant of free chase for his demesne lands in Slefto (*CDI*, v, no. 331). In addition, in 1307 on her death, Joan, Countess of Gloucester and Hertford, was recorded as possessing 'the issues of the chase of the warren and its pasturage' at Rosclar (*Inq. & Ext. of Med. Ire.*, no. 156). A range of different grades and types of landowners are listed amongst those with rights of free warren, however it is notable that those with rights of free chase are from the highest stratum in Anglo-Norman society. Since a right of free chase referred to deer, whereas a right of free warren referred only to the lesser species, this serves to demonstrate the high regard in which deer hunting was held.

Eustace le Poer was a frequent recipient of royal favour. As well as the right of free chase in 1304, in November 1296 he had received a grant of free warren for his demesne lands 'of Ughtertur, in the county of Waterford, Nerny [Nurney], in the county of Carlow and Obrun …, in the county of Dublin' (*CDI*, iv, no. 347), and four days later was granted deer from the King's herds in Glencree (*CDI*, iv, no. 352). Given that these were six male and six female deer, it suggests that these were to stock a park (see Section 3.2.1). Le Fanu (1893, 270) has suggested that the deer were to be moved to le Poer's demesne at Slefto, in Co. Waterford, while McCormick (1998, 360) thought that they were destined for the le Poer lands in Co. Carlow. It could equally be suggested that le Poer had a park in Obrun, however there is no evidence to support any of these locations, since no park is documented. Subsequently, in 1301-2 there was a more extensive grant of free warren in his demesne lands of 'Otthirtir, in the county of Waterford; Crouhan, Slefdile, Offath, Moyonauryth, and Kylclon, in the county of Tipperary; Grennagh, in the county of Kilkenny; Nerney and Kilmohede, in the county of Carlow; Cuyllenagh, in the county of Kildare; and Kenmoy and Castleconor, in the earldom of Connaught'

(*CDI*, v, no. 6). This list replicates some manors from 1296, perhaps to reiterate them, and includes other previously unnamed manors.

Several of the rights of free warren were issued to ecclesiastics, including the Archbishops of Dublin, the Bishop of Ossory and the Prioress and nuns of Lismolin (e.g. *Cal. chart. rolls*, v, 155-6; *CDI*, i, no. 2780; ii, no. 1605). In some ways this is surprising since hunting by the clergy was frowned upon in medieval Europe, but it nevertheless often took place (see Section 2.3.3) (Cummins 1988, 10; Thiebaux 1967). Most high-ranking clergy such as bishops and abbots were from noble families; therefore, these clergy had been trained in the aristocratic arts from boyhood. The example of the poaching incident described in Section 4.3.5 clearly demonstrates that many ecclesiastics continued to hunt despite official disapproval and regardless of the occasional dubious legality of their activities.

4.5 Parks

In England, by the thirteenth century, parks stocked with fallow deer were a common feature of the manorial system (see Section 2.3). They were part of the aristocratic package but were moving down the social ladder and had become accessible even for minor aristocracy and knights (Mileson 2009, 103). The question then arises whether this was also the case in Ireland, and if so, then to what extent?

Cantor (1983, 5) has suggested that identifying later medieval English parks relies on three main strands of evidence: place-name evidence, documentary materials, including later maps, and physical remains. The same principles can be applied to a search for Irish deer parks, and therefore the aim of this section is to review the documentary, cartographic and archaeological evidence for deer parks in Ireland. This provides the basis on which case studies in the following chapters were selected for more detailed analysis. The evidence is not extensive, for reasons that will become evident during the discussion, however patterns have emerged which are explored further.

4.5.1 Place-name evidence for parks

Detailed physical and individual place-name evidence will be discussed in subsequent chapters on a case-by-case basis, however 'Deerpark' is a common townland name in Ireland, with 91 townlands of this name, rising to 112 when townlands incorporating 'deerpark' into a longer name are included. These appear on first sight to be significant in the search for later medieval parks, but there are a number of reasons why this is not the case. On the contrary, it will be shown that these refer to post-medieval and modern parks. The 112 'Deerpark' townlands are distributed through all four provinces (Broderick 1999). There is a high concentration of 'Deerpark' townlands in the west of the country, particularly Mayo, Galway, and Clare as well as a number in Wicklow, Tipperary and Waterford. Only Down and Armagh have no townlands of this name (Fig. 4.4). In total, there are 776 townlands with 'Park' in the name (Broderick 1999). These 'Park' townlands, including those called Deerpark, are more evenly spread, but are still dominated by 129 examples in Co. Galway, with high numbers in Tipperary and Cork. These names include townlands simply called 'Park', or that give details of function such as Calfpark, Co. Longford or Woodpark, of which there are fourteen examples. Many also incorporate the names of landowning families e.g. Ffrenchpark, Co. Galway (Fig. 4.5).

Reeves-Smyth (1997, 198) identified 317 Irish 'deer parks' of various dates, but due to a typographical error these were incorrectly labelled, so that what he described as fourteenth- and fifteenth-century examples were incorrectly shown as dating to the nineteenth century, whilst seventeenth- and eighteenth-century parks were labelled as later medieval (T. Reeves-Smyth, *pers. comm.*). Allowing for this, his work identified a total of eight later medieval parks, all of which were east of the Shannon apart from a single example from Loughrea, Co. Galway. Cantor (1983, 95), focused his work on England, but also noted documentary evidence for four Irish parks. Murphy and O'Conor (2006) recently reviewed the documentary evidence and identified 14 later medieval parks with a similar geographical spread to that found by Reeves-Smyth, although they noted that some of these may have had functions other than the keeping of deer.

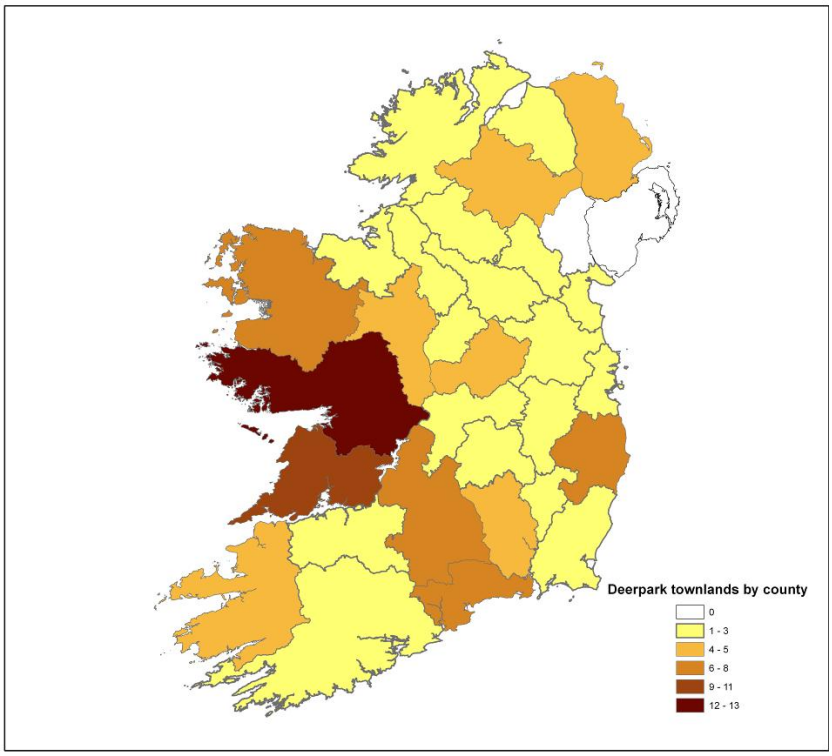


Fig. 4.4: 'Deerpark' townlands by county

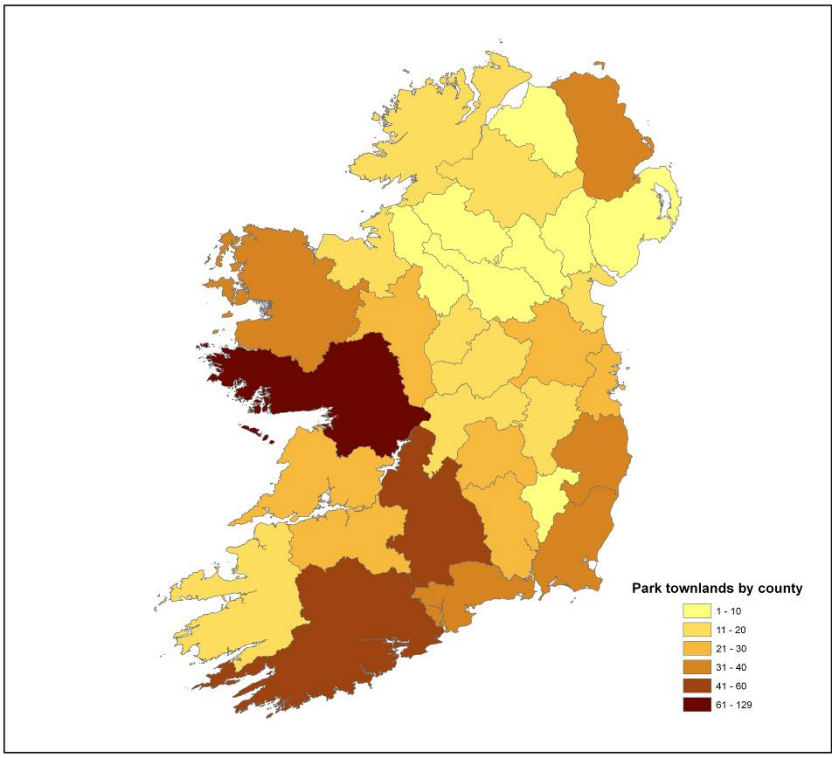


Fig. 4.5: 'Park' townlands by county

4.5.2 Parks as a legal concept

Searches of calendars and transcriptions of later medieval documents have yielded a large number of references to parks both as specific locations, but also as a concept (see Appendix 4.4). For example, as described above, the Knights Hospitaller received a Charter of Liberties that included freedom from works regarding parks (*CDI*, i, no. 123). In a legal dispute in 1290 the Knights Templar produced a charter dating from the time of Henry III (r.1216-1272) that gave similar rights to this order (*CDI*, iii, no. 666). As with forests, these rights did not necessarily mean that parks existed in areas that would have had an effect on the orders, but instead refer generally to the concept of parks. Another example is in 1234 when the Justiciar, Maurice FitzGerald, was charged to look after the lands of the late Richard Marshal, Earl of Pembroke and lord of Leinster and 'to allow no waste, sale or spoil, in the lands, parks, woods or mines' (*CDI*, i, no. 2111). Although there is documentary evidence to demonstrate that the earl did have parks, again this does not necessarily refer to specific parks, but ensures that all types of potential landscape are included in the instructions.

4.5.3 Specific parks

As discussed in previous chapters, in addition to confining deer, later medieval parks could also be used for grazing cattle, sheep, and horses, for timber and underwood and to provide pannage for pigs in the autumn. In neither Irish nor in English documents do the writers ever refer to 'deerparks'. Instead the documents detail 'parks' and on occasion the uses to which those parks were put. Down (1987, 477) argues that lands '*in parco*' could refer to aristocratic game reserves such as that at Loughrea, but that in many cases, particularly for more modest landowners, this phrase merely referred to enclosed lands used for arable or pasture, to differentiate these lands from the unenclosed strip fields. This multi-functional aspect means that even if no specific mention is made of deer in a later medieval document, it was decided to note the location of the park regardless of whether deer were mentioned or not (see Appendix 4.5). As a result, 39 documented parks have been identified in Ireland in Anglo-Norman contexts. Of these, the general location of 29 is clear, although only five have been selected for case studies to be identified on the ground. The location of the remainder is known to the level of the county or to the cantred,

which was a smaller subdivision of land that sometimes, but not always, became fossilised into baronies (McCotter 2008, 17-21, 26-7).

4.5.4 Dating park construction

The earliest reference to a particular park is at Kilcopsentan, Co. Dublin, in 1207, where the Archbishop of Dublin gained permission to make a park and a deer leap on his lands (*CDI*, i, no. 316). The majority of first references to individual parks are in the period between 1270 and 1339 (Fig. 4.6). However, when combined with other evidence (see Section 10.3.1), it is highly likely that the peak of park building was earlier than this, possibly in the period 1220 to 1260. The reason for this is that these references do not date the construction of the park. Instead they usually date the transfer of the park to the heir, since many of the parks are first mentioned in the *Inquisitions Post-Mortem*. Others are mentioned as a result of, for example, court cases relating to existing parks. Only in the cases of Kilcopsentan (1207) and Nenagh, Co. Tipperary (1299), is there direct evidence for the date of construction. Furthermore, as will be discussed in Chapter 5, the park at Loughrea, Co. Galway is first mentioned in 1333, but has been radiocarbon dated to 1251-1297 (UBA-18087 2σ), demonstrating that a park could exist for a considerable period of time before being recorded on a surviving document. A third strand of evidence in dating parks is the gifting of fallow deer to magnates in Ireland. It was shown in Section 3.2.1 that the majority of references to deer as gifts were in the period 1207 to 1259, with only a few after this time. This suggests that by 1260, either park-building was essentially complete, or there were sufficient stocks of fallow deer already in Ireland that there was no further need to supply extra deer to Ireland to stock new parks. By 1340 there are very few further references to previously unmentioned parks, and, as will be demonstrated in the case study chapters, many existing parks probably fell out of use in the mid-fourteenth century.

By contrast, Mileson (2009, 128) has shown a much wider spread of park construction dates in England and Wales (Fig. 4.7). In those countries, park construction required a royal licence if parks were located in, or near royal forests, and even where this was not the case landowners often sought licences as a status symbol to demonstrate royal favour (Cantor 1982, 75; Cantor and Hatherly 1979, 73; James 1981, 6). Because of this, and the relatively large proportion of England that

was defined as royal forest (Section 2.1), licences to empark were very common and can be used as an indicator of the dates of park construction. Mileson (2009, 128) found that parks were created at relatively steady rates through the decades of the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, but with a peak in park creation between the 1320s and 1360s. After this, emparkment continued, but at a slower rate, declining to very few examples by the mid-fifteenth century. The peak of park creation in England is therefore at least thirty and possibly fifty or sixty years after the peak in Ireland.

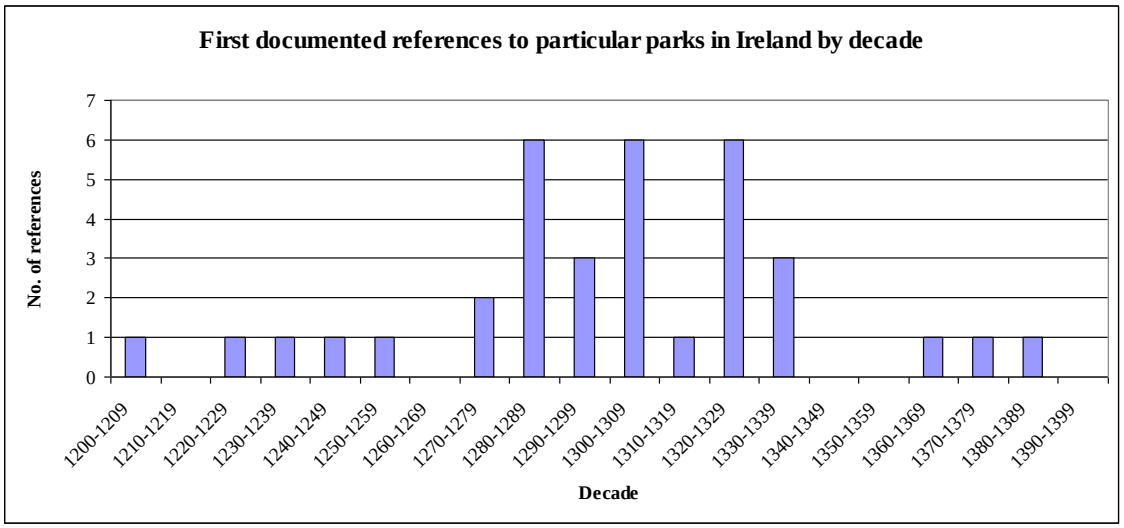


Fig. 4.6: First documented references to particular parks in Ireland by decade (based on Appendix 4.5)

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Fig. 4.7: English and Welsh licences to empark after Mileson (2009, 128)

The reasons for the differences between the two countries are reflected in the relative status of the park owners (see Appendix 4.5) and in the different legislative frameworks in which they operated. In England, the first parks were created by the major magnates in the century following the Norman conquest and over time emparkment moved down the social scale (Crouch 1992, 309). As such, the peak of park creation was the period in which the minor aristocracy and gentry were creating their parks. These were generally smaller than those of the major magnates, but conferred status and hunting rights in the same way, albeit on a more modest scale (Section 2.3.6).

By the time of the Anglo-Norman conquest of Ireland, the major magnates in England had already created their parks. The initial decades of the Anglo-Norman settlement would have focused on military and economic endeavours, so that it would have taken some time before lordships were sufficiently established to create parks, thus they are likely to have created their parks in the relatively stable period between *c*. 1220 and 1260. It is noticeable from the documentary sources that the vast majority of parks in Ireland were held by the top tier of the Anglo-Norman aristocracy or by senior ecclesiastics, with very few mentions of parks being held by gentry. Mileson's (2009, 128) period of peak construction by the English gentry was a time at which Ireland was in turmoil. After the Bruce invasion of 1315, the fourteenth century was a period of decline for the Anglo-Norman settlements in Ireland, so that the frontier between Anglo-Norman and Gaelic settlements was pushed eastward. This period also saw an almost complete lack of construction of major new castles, which did not recommence until the mid fifteenth century, although tower houses, a smaller form of castle, were built, particularly in frontier areas (Leask 1941, 75; Sweetman 1999, 133). Furthermore, some ostensibly Anglo-Norman families, such as the de Burghs, but also to a certain extent the Butlers and Fitzgeralds, became Gaelicised in the fourteenth century, moving away from English customs and law (e.g. McNeill 1997, 171-4; e.g. Nicholls 1972, 12-15, 143-4). In combination, it is therefore unsurprising that few parks were created in this period and that parks declined in significance after this time. While the initial wave of park-building took place in a period of expansion and consolidation for the Anglo-Norman colonists, the spread of parks down the social scale was stunted by the decline in the colony and the gaelicisation of society.

It is likely that the short lifespan of many of the Irish parks is the reason that they have been neglected as an area of study and that they have not been recognised in the landscape to date. Having only existed in their primary form for a relatively short period of time, the pattern of field boundaries would often not have had time to fossilise around the parks, so that they have become invisible by being incorporated into farmland at an early date. This is true of many of the case studies described in the following chapters. A park constructed using a bank and palings, or a hedge, would be relatively insubstantial and prone to being incorporated into field boundaries and disappearing through ploughing. One case study will be presented in which the park at Loughrea has been clearly preserved in the landscape (Chapter 5). This was constructed using stone walls, which were extremely durable, but even so, it is only through this survey that the park and its walls have been archaeologically recognised.

4.5.5 Geographical spread

The identified parks are mainly in Leinster, in an area along the eastern seaboard and stretching inland (Fig. 4.8). The majority are either in Co. Dublin, in what subsequently became Co. Wicklow, or are within the great Liberties of Ireland. They were therefore within the main area of Anglo-Norman settlement. There is also a cluster of documented parks in Co. Cork with a few examples in more westerly areas. There are three examples in Galway: Earlspark at Loughrea, (Chapter 5), Kylkarban/Kylwarban, also in de Burgh lands but in the adjacent cantred of Muntremolynan, and Ardrahan, which was held by the de Clares. It is notable that these are the only three parks that are west of the River Shannon, but again they are in Anglo-Norman heartlands. The other outlier, although it is east of the Shannon, is at Adare, Co. Limerick, which was held by the Fitzgerald, earls of Kildare, who also held Maynooth (Adams 1904, 4). Importantly, contrary to the assertions of Weir (1986), at present there is no evidence for Gaelic Irish lords constructing parks in the high medieval period, however this may change if more work is conducted in this area. It is only later, such as at Leamaneh, in the seventeenth century, that there is any evidence for this practice spreading into what were Gaelic-dominated lands during the high medieval period (Reetz 2003, 82-95).

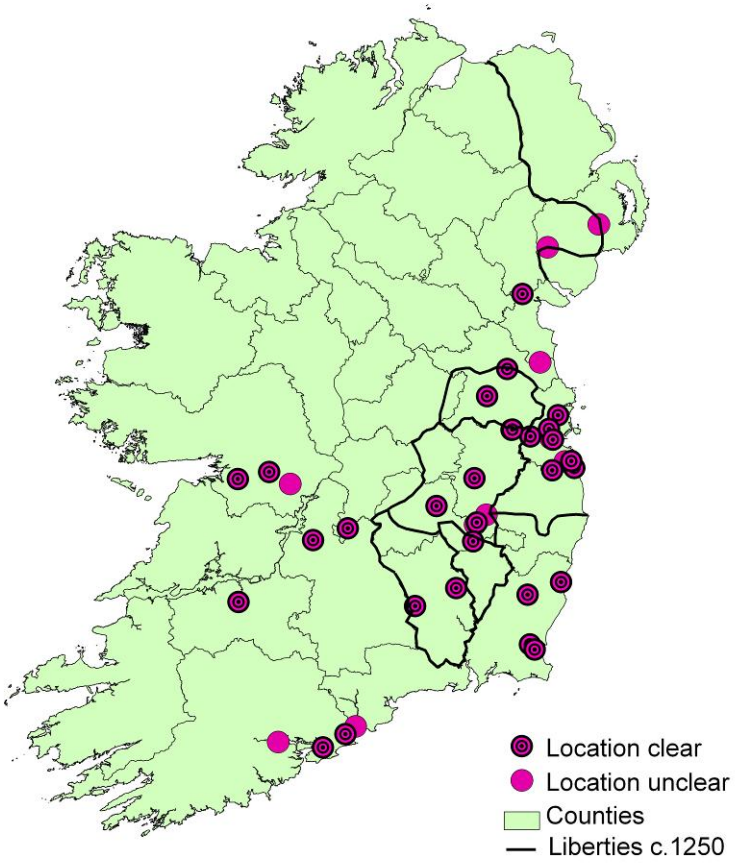

Fig. 4.8: Locations of documented high medieval parks (based on Appendix 4.5) Liberties after Stringer (2008, 6)

When the locations of parks on Fig. 4.8 are combined onto the county surveys of 'Park' and 'Deerpark' placenames, it becomes apparent that there is no automatic connection between the placename evidence and a high medieval park (Figs. 4.9; 4.10). The case studies will demonstrate that in some cases the townland names incorporating 'Park' are present at the site of the high medieval park, but in none of the cases was 'Deerpark' present. This strongly suggests that 'Deerpark' in particular, is associated with a later wave of park-making in the late medieval, post-medieval or modern periods. The case studies will also show, however, that in some cases there is a reuse of the site of a high medieval park for a post-medieval deer park or ornamental park, so that sites with the name 'Deerpark' should not be automatically discounted as possibly having an origin in the later medieval period. For places with 'park' as an element in the name, the local history and the origin of

any supplementary name, such as ‘Calfpark’ or ‘Ffrenchpark’ needs to be considered.

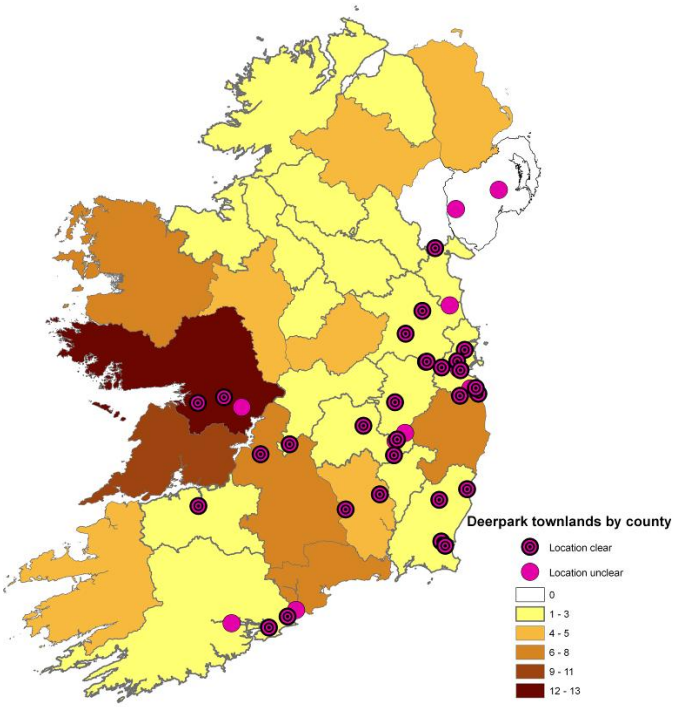

Fig. 4.9: ‘Deerpark’ townlands by county with high medieval parks overlaid

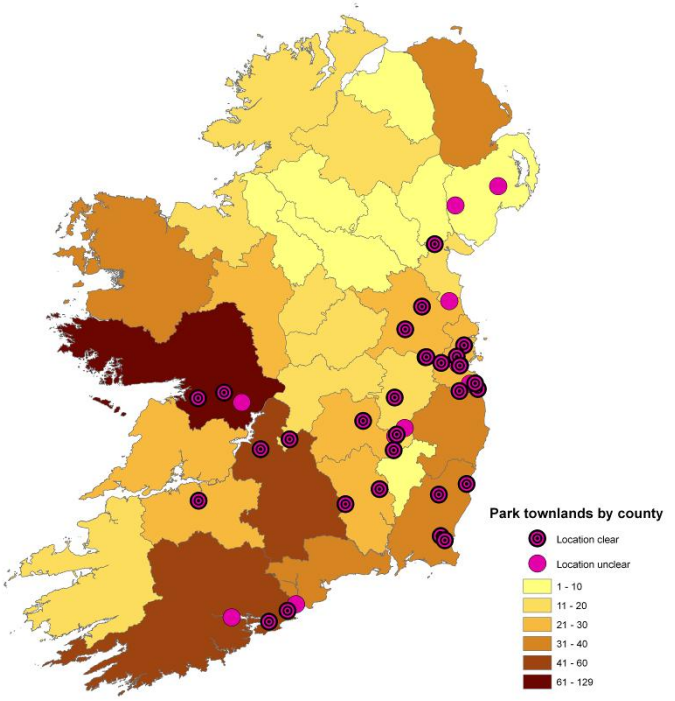

Fig. 4.10: ‘Park’ townlands by county with high medieval parks overlaid

For the reasons described above, licences to empark are very common in England. There is only one known licence in Ireland, which is the case of 'Kilcopsentan' in 1206-7, in which the Archbishop of Dublin was granted the right to make a park and a deer-leap and was exempted from feeding foresters. This was the manor of Kilmasantan, identified by Murphy and Potterton (2010, 170) as located in the foothills of the mountains close to the Kildare-Dublin-Wicklow border. This would have been in or close to the royal forests, which were extensive in this area, and so would have required a royal licence. By comparison with England, as noted, there were few royal forests in Ireland, and so for most parks there was little requirement to seek a licence. On the contrary, within the great liberties, where the majority of parks are located, the lord had the right to construct parks at will. There are some examples of tenants holding parks, but again, where these were within a liberty, it would have been the permission of their lord that was required. Since very few Irish later medieval manorial documents have survived, it is unsurprising that no licences granted by lords of liberties have been identified, and it is possible that more parks may have existed within these liberties.

4.5.6 Park ownership

Surprisingly, the largest number of documented parks were owned by the Archbishops of Dublin. This may be an accident of survival, since the church was a keen record-keeper, or may accurately reflect an ecclesiastical interest in park-making. The Archbishopric is recorded as having parks at Fynglas, Kilcopsentan, Senekyll, St Sepulchre's and Welshtown (*Archbishop Alen's Reg.*, 170-2, 173, 195; *CDI*, i, no. 316; ii, 1281). Furthermore, while some of these contained domestic livestock, the evidence from Kilcopsentan demonstrates that at least this park was specifically constructed with deer in mind. This is further supported by the evidence for the Archbishop receiving royal gifts of fallow deer, which could be used to stock a park (Section 3.2.1). The bishops of Cloyne and of Ferns are also documented as having parks at their *caputs*, with wild 'parkland' cattle, as opposed to domestic cattle, being kept at Ferns (*CDI*, ii, no. 297; Pipe roll of Cloyne, 13). These wild parkland cattle were relatively common in England, with some herds such as at Chillingham, Northumberland surviving to the present day (Visscher, Smith, Hall and Williams 2001) The final ecclesiastical example is Robert Baggot, the founder of the Carmelite Order in Ireland, who had a 'small park' at Shanballymore, Dublin

(*Archbishop Alen's Reg.*, 146). It is important to remember that not all parks were stocked with deer, however it has been seen that there is sufficient evidence to show that many clergy took part in hunting in Ireland despite official disapproval (Section 4.3.5).

A number of the references to parks and fallow deer can be traced to William, Earl Marshal the Younger, and his collateral descendants. The King gave twenty does to William the Younger in 1225 and the reference suggests that these were to stock a park (Section 3.2.1). Parks are documented at Carrick, Co. Wexford, and at Wexford itself (Chapter 8). This land became part of the de Valence portion after the partition of Leinster (see Appendix 1.2) (Connolly 1999, 577). At Ferrycarrig Castle, just north of Wexford town, excavation yielded six fragments of fallow deer (McCormick Undated-b). Parks are also recorded at Dunamase, (Chapter 7), and at Trim, which were held by the de Mortimers, with the former inherited through the female line from the Marshal, and the latter castle from the de Lacys. Notably, fallow deer remains have also been found at both of these locations (Butler 1995; McCormick and Murray Undated).

The de Burgh, earls of Ulster first came to Ireland early in the Anglo-Norman conquest, and had their *caput* at Loughrea from the 1236 onwards, as well as holding extensive lands in Munster, Connacht and Ulster. As such, they were among the leading families in Anglo-Norman Ireland (Orpen 1911-1920, ii, 146-7; iii, 191-2). There are documentary reference to their parks at Loughrea (Chapter 5), Kylkarban, Co. Galway, and Ballydonegan (see Appendix 4.5). Reference to Walter de Burgh being given four does in 1251 supports the documentary evidence that the de Burghs had deer in their parks in the thirteenth century and suggests that these were stocked using gifts from the King (see Section 3.2.1). The land of Balydonegan, modern Dunganstown in Carlow, lies slightly to the north of Carlow town and was originally part of the lands of the Earl Marshal. In the partition of Leinster it passed to Matilda Marshal and hence to the Bigod Earls of Norfolk (see Appendix 1.2), being acquired by the de Burghs at some point probably prior to 1279 (Murphy and O'Conor 2006, 59). The park may therefore have been created either in the time of the Marshals or of the de Burghs.

The FitzGeralds, who were the earls of Kildare, were extremely powerful members of the Anglo-Norman aristocracy in Ireland (Orpen 1911-1920, iii, 111-4). Their park at Maynooth (Chapter 6) is documented twice in 1328, first in an extent and then as part of the dower of Joanna de Burgh. In addition, twenty-eight fallow deer fragments were found during the excavation of Maynooth Castle (Murray Undated). In addition to the documentary evidence for the FitzGerald family having an existing deer park at Maynooth in 1328, there are references to Maurice FitzGerald receiving deer in England between 1244 and 1251 (Section 3.2.1). These may refer to deer for export to stock the Irish park, and so may indicate the date at which the park was first established. Parks owned by the earls of Kildare are also documented at Kildare and at Adare, Co. Limerick, but in neither case are deer mentioned.

A park is referred to at Inchiquin, Co. Cork, in 1321 (*CIPM*, ix Ed. III, no. 119; *Inq. & Ext. of Med. Ire.*, no.205, 207, 291). Prior to *c.* 1275 the manor of Inchiquin and the vill of Youghal were in the possession of Maurice FitzMaurice FitzGerald. They were given to Thomas de Clare on his marriage to Maurice's daughter and prospective heiress Juliana (Orpen 1911-1920, iv, 66). Maurice was the one of the FitzGerald Barons of Offaly, and his son was created Earl of Kildare (Orpen 1911-1920, iv, 129). Again, the date of construction of the park is unclear so that it may date from the time of the FitzGeralds or from the time of the de Clares. Thomas de Clare is also listed as holding Baliduwil, Co. Cork, in 1286-88, and in 1321 there is a park mentioned at Ardrahin, (Ardrahan), Co. Galway, owned by Thomas fitz Richard de Clare.

Joan, Countess of Gloucester and Hertford was a daughter of Edward I, who married Gilbert de Clare, and, after his death, inherited his lands (Orpen 1911-1920, iii, 94-5). At the time of her death in 1307 these included a park at Callan, Co. Kilkenny (*CDI*, v, no. 659; *Inq. & Ext. of Med. Ire.*, no.154).

Nenagh (Chapter 9) was the *caput* of the Butler family, who were amongst the most important of the Anglo-Norman families in Ireland, with the founder of the family, Theobald Walter Butler (d. 1205-6) being the brother of Hubert, Archbishop of Canterbury, as well as the Justiciar and Lord Chancellor of England (Gwynn and Gleeson 1962, 175). Parks have also been documented at Gowran, Co. Kilkenny,

which became the *caput* of the Butlers by the late fourteenth century, as well as at Donkeryn, Co. Offaly (Gleeson 1936a, 248-9, 251, 253; *Red Bk. Ormond*, nos. 14, 91) .

Three or possibly four parks are associated with the de Ridelsfords and their descendant Christiana de Mariscis or de Marisco: Bray, Garnenan, Kylka and Curtun (*CDI*, i, no. 1641; ii, nos. 1801, 2340; *Red Bk. Ormond*, no. 10). Walter de Ridelsford was one of the earliest Anglo-Normans to come to Ireland and in 1173 he was given the manor of Bray by Richard de Clare, also known as Strongbow (Lewis 1837, i, 221). In 1228 he sought royal permission to 'divert outside his park of Garnenan, a way which passes through its middle' (*CDI*, i, no. 1641). Murphy and O'Conor (2006, 67) suggest that this may be in Wicklow. However, St. John Brooks (1951, 124) located 'Carvenagh' or 'Garnenagh' in the parish of Kilkea, Co. Kildare. There is mention of a park at Kylka (Kilkea) in 1284 (*CDI*, ii, no. 2340), so these may refer to two separate parks within the parish or to a single park. In 1280-1 there is documentation of a 'coveria' or preserve on the lands formerly belonging to Christiana de Mariscis at Curtun (Courtown) in Co. Wexford (*CDI*, ii, no. 1801). This may refer to a park for deer or to an area of chase. Christiana was a granddaughter of Walter de Ridelsford, and on this side of her lineage was a descendant of Henry I. The de Mariscis family were also well connected, being descended from a nephew of Strongbow (St. John Brooks 1932, 67; Webb 1878, 134).

There was only one park in Ireland recorded as the property of the Crown, but this is extremely well documented, since most of the later medieval documents still extant relate to correspondence to and from the royal court. This park was at Glencree, Co. Wicklow, within the royal forest of the same name (*CDI*, i, no. 2580, 2671, 3123; ii, no. 1633). This lack of royal interest in emparkment in Ireland can probably be explained by the almost entire absence of the King from Ireland throughout the whole later medieval period. Instead, the park at Glencree probably operated as a livestock store, providing live deer and venison for gifts to favoured subjects or to be used in great feasts at Dublin Castle, the royal centre of government in Ireland.

In the case of the remaining parks, these are the only documented parks held by these landowners. These examples come from a lower tier in society, but still relate to substantial landowners. For example, at Lucan, Roesia de Peche and her husband John Hanstede held the manor and park in 1299 (*Cal. justic. rolls Ire.*, i, 222). While the de Peche family were not titled, they did hold their lands directly from the crown and an ancestor of Roesia, Richard, had been Bishop of Lichfield in the twelfth century (Elrington Ball 1906, 36-37; Lewis 1837). It is notable that in most of these cases the parks are mentioned in relation to cattle being pastured, emparked or stolen. This means that as Down (1987, 477) suggested, there are likely to be many other small, non-hunting parks, owned by the second and third tiers of society and used as enclosed pasture.

In summary, documentary evidence for high medieval parks is mainly, but not exclusively restricted to the first tier of Anglo-Norman society. Some great magnates had several parks in their manors, but the numbers of parks held by each magnate did not reach the large numbers in England, where, for example, as noted, the Earls of Lancaster had forty-five parks while the bishop of Winchester owned twenty-three (Cantor 1982, 76).

4.6 Discussion

The aim of this chapter was to give an overview of the documentary, literary and iconographic sources of information about hunting in Ireland. The documentary sources have yielded a significant number of references to hunting and to the locations in which these took place. A survey of the iconography of hunting is limited by a number of factors. Firstly, paint and indeed plaster, survives poorly in the damp Irish climate. Secondly, many of the buildings that would originally have been decorated are now in extremely poor condition (Morton 2004, 314-8). Many of the extant later medieval wall paintings from Ireland are from churches, but it is highly likely that many more pictures have been lost (Morton 2004, 314). The Reformation and warfare in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries initially led to many churches falling into ruin, and although some were subsequently repaired, this process would have led to the destruction of earlier wall paintings. In many cases

the buildings were not repaired, and from 1711 the Board of First Fruits constructed new churches for the Church of Ireland, allowing the later medieval buildings to fall further into decay or to be destroyed (Cotter 2006, 266; Oram 2007, 345-6). As a result, while early medieval hunting is well-represented iconographically, with deer and hunting scenes common in the high relief carvings on high crosses (Harbison 1994; Soderberg 2004), there are few extant representations from the later period. The problem of the limited survival of Irish medieval written documents is well known (Connolly 2002, 9-11), but nevertheless a substantial number of relevant documents were identified. In terms of Gaelic sources utilised, these were mainly the various *Annals*. Some references in Gaelic literary texts have been described, however the dearth of modern translations have limited the extent to which these sources have been utilised, and it is acknowledged that no systematic search of the body of translated works has been undertaken for this study.

In Europe the *par force* hunt, in which a chosen stag was tracked using dogs, was considered to be the noblest form of hunting. The evidence suggests that this form of hunting also took place in Ireland, as there are a number of iconographic representations and literary tales from Gaelic-Irish sources in which a single stag is pursued. This type of hunting would have required considerable space and distance. As such it was suited to unenclosed countryside, where the destructive effect of a stag, horsemen and hounds on fields of arable crops was negligible. In forests, or in areas of 'free chase' this form of hunting could also take place, since the king, or the lord, as appropriate, was entitled to hunt over these lands without regard for any crops that might be damaged as a result. All these landscape types existed in Ireland, and, as Chapter 3 has demonstrated, red deer remains are most commonly found on high status sites, supporting the notion that this form of hunting was undertaken.

Evidence for the drive as a method of hunting is also present, particularly in Gaelic-Irish literary sources, which sometimes refer to large numbers of animals being killed. There is also documentary evidence for parks in Ireland being stocked with deer during the later medieval period. These parks would have been too small for the 'classic' *par force* hunt, and it is likely that, as in England, bow and stable hunting would have dominated in these landscapes. The documentary and archaeological evidence suggest, however, that only a relatively small proportion of

the Irish parks supported herds of deer. Where deer were stocked in parks, these were generally fallow deer, which, as Chapter 3 has shown, were present in Ireland, albeit only at the highest levels of society. This is in contrast to England, where all grades of the aristocracy and the wealthier gentry aspired to a park stocked with fallow deer.

For those further down the social scale, trapping deer on unrestricted land was likely to be the major potential source of venison. The archaeological evidence presented here brackets the timeframe of this research, with evidence from the early medieval period and from the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries. This paucity of physical evidence, coupled with the low levels of deer remains found on non-elite rural sites (Section 3.3.1) suggest that deer hunting was rare for the lower orders in this period. It should, however, be borne in mind that this is the section of society for which the least archaeological and historical evidence is available, so rendering them effectively invisible.

The majority of the evidence discussed in this chapter relates to Anglo-Norman Ireland, with relatively little emphasis on Gaelic Ireland. The wall and ceiling paintings at Clare Abbey date from the end of the study period and are likely to have been commissioned by a Gaelic lord, probably one of the O'Malleys (Stalley 2005, 146). Ironically, the only non-literary reference to hunting found in Gaelic texts relates to the death of a non-Gaelic individual rather than focusing on the hunt itself, and this individual was in Ireland when he died. In 1409 the annals record the death of the Gaelicised Richard Burke (*AC*; *ALC*; *AU*). His leg was broken by a running greyhound that was chasing a hare and he subsequently died, presumably as a result of infection. This dearth is surprising when compared to the number of references in Anglo-Norman texts and in literary texts such as the *Acallam na Senórach*. Instead, the various *Annals*, which form the main body of Gaelic factual writings of the period, frequently mention raids and petty warfare in which cattle and other livestock were rounded up and brought back to the *caput* of the Gaelic lord who sponsored or led the expedition. The focus on cattle, by contrast to the Anglo-Norman focus on land-holding, is a theme that will be returned to in Chapter 10.

Evidence for high medieval parks was sought from a range of documents and using a number of methodologies. This knowledge was used to identify suitable subjects for the case studies presented in subsequent chapters. In England, Cantor (1983, 5) found place-name evidence useful to identify medieval parks. This was partly true in Ireland, where 'park' place-names are associated with a number of the case studies presented. It was found, however, that there was no association between the place-name 'deer park' and the presence of a high medieval park. On the contrary, the majority of 'Deerpark' townlands are in the far west of the country, while documented high medieval parks are found mainly in the east of the country, with outliers in more westerly Anglo-Norman-controlled areas. The geographical spread of townlands containing the element 'park' is more even; nevertheless, many of these townlands have names that demonstrate post-medieval origins, for example by association with an Anglo-Irish landowning family.

The earliest record of a park in Ireland was that created by the Archbishop of Dublin in 1206-7, and this is the only known licence to empark from Ireland, although such documents are very common in England. While at first sight this may appear strange, it is easily explained since licences to empark were only required in or adjacent to forests, and, since legally-defined forest was limited in Ireland, so was the requirement for a licence. Furthermore, the majority of documented parks were constructed in the great liberties of Ireland, where the lord held semi-regal powers and did not require royal permission for the routine development of his lands.

The peak of 'first mentions' of particular parks is in the period 1270-1339, but as the majority of parks are documented in *Inquisitions Post-Mortem*, this suggests that they are likely to have been created up to a generation or more prior to them first being documented. When combined with other evidence (see Section 10.3.1), a peak of park creation may therefore be tentatively suggested for the period 1220-1260. By contrast, in England the peak of construction is much later, between 1320 and the 1360s. In Ireland, the documented owners of the recorded parks are mainly from the higher echelons of the aristocracy, whereas the peak of park building in England was fuelled by the growing influence of the lower aristocracy and wealthy gentry. This dichotomy may be explained by the observation that by the time that park-building was becoming accessible to the English gentry, the Anglo-Norman colony in Ireland

was under pressure and in retreat, with endemic warfare and the Gaelicisation of some sections of Anglo-Norman society limiting the development of elite manorial features.

In England, all grades of aristocracy owned parks, and over time these filtered down the social hierarchy so that even minor gentry held parks. While the parks of the magnates were often over 1000 acres in size, those of the gentry could be as small as 30 acres. Stocks of deer are often mentioned in the sources, but the parks were also used for wood, pasture and arable agriculture (Section 2.3). The evidence from Anglo-Norman Ireland suggests that a similar situation prevailed, but on a much more modest scale. The great magnates had multiple parks, which were often a few hundred acres in size and sometimes contained deer, but the numbers of these did not match the numbers of parks held by the English lords of equivalent rank. Lower-ranking members of society did occasionally have parks, but these were mainly used for timber, arable agriculture and pasture and were not stocked with deer.

4.7 Case Study Selection

The following chapters consist of a number of case studies examining the detailed evidence for particular high medieval parks. A number of factors were considered when selecting these for study. The first, and most important was a decision to focus on parks documented in the later medieval period. There are undoubtedly other parks located at major manors, but as this was the first systematic study aiming to identify parks in the landscape it was considered important to ensure that there was at least the possibility of success. Another consideration was the modern landscape. A number of the documented parks are in highly urbanised areas such as, for example, Dublin. In these cases the most that could be hoped for was that the line of the park boundaries would be retained in the streetscape, with no possibility of any extant features. Instead, more rural or suburban examples were selected. A similar problem was encountered with post-medieval demesnes, which sometimes appear to overlie the likely site of the earlier park. An example of this is Oakpark demesne and the adjacent townland of Bestfield or Dunganstown, Co. Carlow, which is likely to be the site of the park at Ballydonegan. In this case much of Dunganstown is

occupied by a landfill site and by the now-defunct Irish Sugar plant, while Oakpark Demesne was subject to heavy landscaping in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It is now divided between a Teagasc agricultural research station, with large open fields that are used for arable agriculture and a golf course, both of which have added to the ground disturbance in that area.

Having carried out a preliminary survey of potential sites using the 1st Edition maps and aerial photographs, a number of sites were selected for research. These were visited for detailed ground survey and a more detailed analysis of historical and cartographic evidence was conducted. Results are detailed in the following chapters and their associated appendices.

Estate maps and the 1st Edition maps were an important resource. It was found that in many cases the RMP maps, which are based on the 3rd Edition map, and the 25" maps showed considerable subdivision of land, straightening of boundaries, canalisation of rivers and extension of town boundaries in the intervening century. Related to this was the importance of the availability of paper maps. While online versions were extremely useful once parks were located, the large size of the parks, which typically consist of one or more townlands and are up to a mile across, meant that searching on-screen images for potential park locations was ineffective. If the map was zoomed out sufficiently so that townland boundaries could be clearly visualised in their landscape context, then the text was too small to read. Conversely, if the townland names could be read then the map image showed insufficient land area to gain an assessment of, for example, curving boundaries or distances from the castle.

4.8 Conclusions

In Chapter 2 it was identified that in medieval England and Europe hunting could take place in a number of types of landscapes, and that restrictions on hunting could be imposed within forests and chases, parks and areas of free chase and free warren. This chapter has demonstrated that all of these landscape forms existed within Anglo-Norman Ireland. There is evidence from later medieval Ireland for selective

hunting of a single deer, similar to the French *par force* method, as well as for use of the drive, or bow and stable hunting and for trapping of deer. A total of 39 high medieval parks have been identified by documentary evidence, and five of these have been selected for more detailed study. The peak of 'first mentions' of documented parks in Ireland is 1270-1339, however many of these parks were well established by the time they were recorded, and it is likely that the peak of construction of the parks was *c*. 1220-1260. This is considerably earlier than in England, where the peak of construction was between 1320 and the 1360s. While park building in high medieval Ireland was restricted mainly to the highest stratum of society, this was not the case in England where a second wave of emparkment by more modest landowners occurred. By the time that this phenomenon was occurring in England, the Anglo-Norman colony in Ireland was in retreat and few landowners would have been sufficiently financially or militarily secure that they could invest in inessential landscape development. Alternatively, they had begun to take on cultural traits that meant that they demonstrated their high status in different, less tangible ways to before.

Chapter 5: Earlspark, Loughrea, Co. Galway

5.0 Introduction

The work of Murphy and O'Conor (2006) indicated that there was a deer park at Loughrea, Co. Galway. This was recorded in the inquisition that was conducted in 1333 after the death of William de Burgh, Earl of Ulster and Lord of Connacht (*CIPM*, vii Ed. III, no. 537; *Inq. & Ext. of Med. Ire.*, no. 262). Cartographic and place-name evidence suggested that the townland of Earlspark seemed the most likely location for this park. Subsequently Seamus O'Grady, a local historian who lives in Earlspark, was able to point out stretches of the townland boundary wall, known locally as 'Nora Novar's Wall', that survived as a mortared stone wall to a maximum height of 2.6m. This park is the most impressive of the surveyed sites and has been analysed in the greatest detail (see Appendix 5).

5.1 Background

5.1.1 General description of the townland and surroundings

The townland of Earlspark lies on the eastern shore of Lough Rea, approximately 2km south of Loughrea town in Co. Galway. The modern townland is split into two parts, with a northern portion of 326 statute acres in the parish of Loughrea and a southern portion of 587 statute acres in the parish of Killeenadeema, making a total of 913 statute acres on the 1st Edition map (Figs. 5.1; 5.2). The two parts of the townland are separated by a road that is also shown on this map. The western portion extent of this townland boundary was modified between the 1st and 2nd Editions. Originally it followed the main road, before dog-legging back along the Killeenadeema road and then continuing on its original course. This resulted in some adjustment of the two acreages between the map editions, but with the overall boundaries of the townland remaining constant. Earlspark is roughly square in shape with a triangular section that extends out to meet the lake on the western side of the southern portion, and each side of the square is a little over a mile in length. The

northwestern and southwestern corners are rounded, the southeastern corner forms an approximate right angle whereas at the northeastern extent the townland boundary kinks in a sinuous fashion before forming an acute angled corner.

The lake of Lough Rea is approximately triangular in shape with rounded corners at the southeast, adjacent to Earlspark, at the northwest and at the northeast, adjacent to the town of Loughrea. Several streams flow into the lake in Earlspark townland and a stream flows out of the lake at the town, subsequently joining St Cleran's River. Several crannogs are recorded in the lake, of which the most significant are Island McHugh/McCoo close to the southeast shore at Earlspark, and Shore Island close to the western shore of the lake. The islands were excavated by Kinehan (1861-4) who found a range of objects including large numbers of animal bones, hones and sling stones. He also noted that a local man had recovered a number of objects from Reed's Island on the western shore. These included an iron shears, a brass pin, a cast for a coin and an iron vessel, as well as a crozier and a battle axe, both of which were sold to the museum of the Royal Irish Academy. Loughrea town is surrounded on its northern and western sides by a moat. This is fed from the lake and joins a stream running northwards out of the lake on the eastern side of the town (McKeon 2008, 66). It is likely that the moat was part of the original construction of the town and predates *c*. 1300. It is unclear whether during the high medieval period the moat was supplemented by a townwall or was bounded by an earthen bank. However, on the basis of excavation and documentary evidence, McKeon (2008, 72) considers the latter to be more likely. There seem to have been three or possibly four gates to the town, however only one gatehouse, with late medieval punch-dressing now exists (McKeon 2008, 66-73). Loughrea was originally a walled town, and portions of the wall and the town gate at the eastern side are still upstanding. The exact location of the later medieval castle is unknown, but it is likely to have stood in the southwest quarter of the town, somewhere between the site of the now-disused SuperValu supermarket and Kelly's Street to the east of this (McKeon 2008, 60-4; Spellissy 1999, 401). McKeon (2008, 97-9) argues that the site of Loughrea was probably chosen for its strategic importance in controlling traffic between Dublin and the port town of Galway. He also notes however, the subsequent lack of economic and architectural development and the aesthetic appeal of the lakeside setting. He

suggests that Loughrea might have become more important to the de Burghs as a recreational retreat rather than as an economic centre.

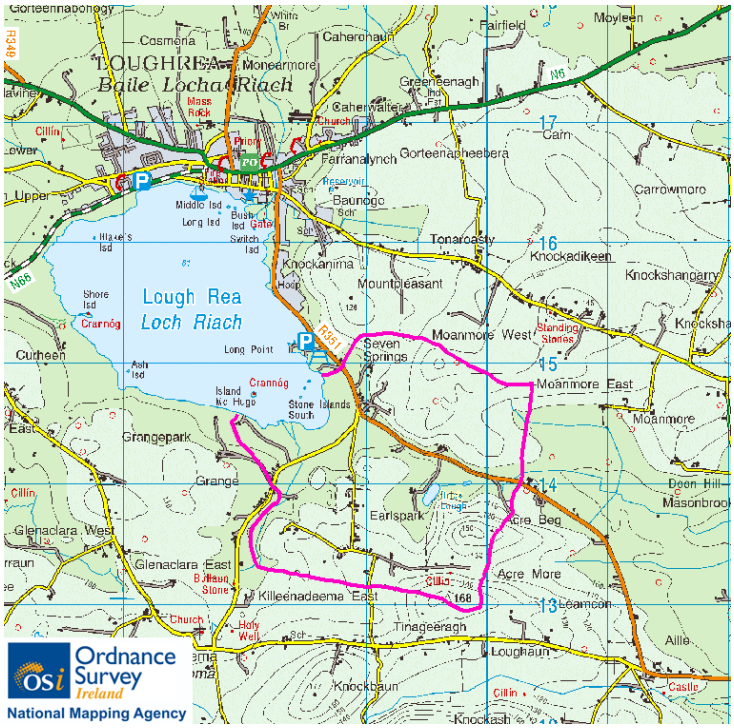

Fig. 5.1: Loughrea and surroundings (Discovery Series)

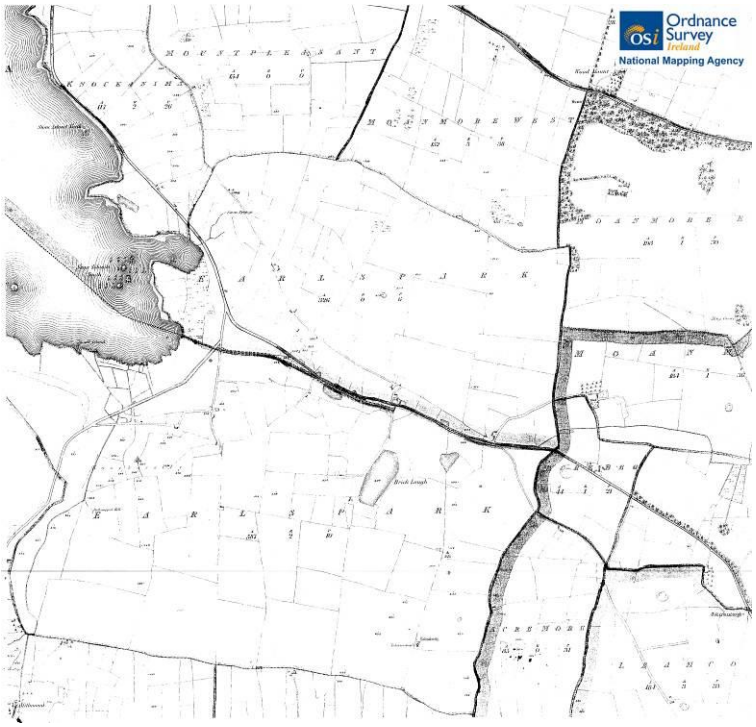

Fig. 5.2: Earlspark townland (1st Edition 1837-1842)

5.1.2 Brief historical background to Loughrea and the de Burghs

The de Burghs claimed descent from Pepin, King of France (Webb 1878, 126), and from a half brother of the English king, William the Conqueror (Lodge 1838, 77). Furthermore, William's stepfather John de Burgh had accompanied him in his conquest of England in 1066 (Lodge 1838, 77). The de Burghs first came to Ireland early in the Norman conquest, established themselves in Munster and shortly afterwards William de Burgh received a speculative grant of Connacht from the king (Orpen 1911-1920, ii, 146-7; Otway-Ruthven 1968, 67-9, 72). William (d.1205) was probably married to a daughter of Donal Mor O'Brien, a descendant of Brian Borumha. Webb (1878, 127) stated that he was also married to Isabel, a daughter of Richard I, although more recent genealogists are circumspect in this, or mention only the daughter of O'Brien. Throughout the later medieval period de Burghs married into the royal family of England and thus the family was extremely well connected by marriage and birth to the royal lineages of France, England and Ireland and were considered to be in the top rank of the aristocracy. This was reflected in the offices that they held. Richard de Burgh I held the office of deputy justiciar of Ireland under his brother Hubert de Burgh, who was Earl of Kent and justiciar of England, and who had been appointed justiciar for Ireland in 1232 (Orpen 1911-1920, iii, 13). The second Richard, 'The Red Earl', was extremely powerful and a noted warrior. He led an army into Connacht in 1286, went on campaign with the king in Scotland in 1296 and again in 1303. He was general over the King's armies in Ireland in the very early fourteenth century, and one of his daughters married Robert de Bruce, King of Scotland, while his sister married James the Steward of Scotland, who was one of the guardians of Scotland during the interregnum (Barrow 2005, 20; *Clyn's Annals*, 1326; Orpen 1911-1920, 504-10; Webb 1878, 127).

In early medieval times the area around Loughrea had been part of Máenmaige. This area seems to have been under the control of the Uí Fhiachrach Aidni, part of the Uí Maine, whose styled themselves *rí Locha Riach* in the ninth century (MacCotter 2008, 140-1; Orpen 1911-1920, ii, 183; iii, 191). In 1236, following the successful conquest of Connacht, Richard de Burgh, Lord of Connacht, built a castle at Loughrea and founded the associated town, so that from this time Loughrea was the *caput* of the de Burgh family (Knox 1901, 366; McKeon 2008, 41-99; Orpen

1911-1920, iii, 191; Otway-Ruthven 1968, 98-9; Spellissy 1999, 401). He was succeeded by his son Richard, and subsequently by his younger son Walter, who received the title Earl of Ulster in 1263 or 1264 (Lydon 2003, 86; Orpen 1911-1920, iii, 266, 280). In 1310-11, Richard III de Burgh, the 'Red Earl' of Ulster, unsuccessfully petitioned the king for a liberty in Connacht similar to that which he held in Ulster (*Affairs of Ireland*, no. 86). After the death of the 'Red Earl' in 1326 and the subsequent murder of William, the 'Brown' Earl, in 1333, the Connacht lands of the de Burghs became split into two factions, the Clann Uilliam Íochtair, the Lower, or Mayo de Burghs and Clann Uilliam Uachtair, the Upper de Burghs, or Clanrickards (*AFM*, iii, 550-1n; *Clyn's Annals*, 1333; FitzPatrick 2001, 364-5). This process of Gaelicisation, in which the de Burghs and other families of Anglo-Norman origin adopted Irish customs has been described, amongst others, by Nicholls (1972) and FitzPatrick (2001, 357-74). The Clann Uilliam Uachtair, or Clanrickards continued to be based at Loughrea until the *caput* was moved to Portumna by the 4th Earl of Clanricarde, Richard de Burgh, very early in the seventeenth century (Cunningham 1996, 97; Spellissy 1999, 380). This means that Loughrea was the *caput* of the de Burgh lands in Connacht from the 1230s through to the seventeenth century.

5.1.3 Nora Novar's Wall

It has been mentioned above that the wall around Earlspark is known locally as Nora Novar's Wall. The story of Nora Novar was recounted at various times by residents Fergal Nevin, Seamus O'Grady and Michael (Micky) Murphy. A literature search did not reveal any information about Nora Novar, but the outline of the same story has been documented by MacWeeney and Conniff (1998, 85). Their version, as told to one of the authors by one Willie Leahy from the Loughrea area, is reproduced below:

> 'There was this woman had no place to sow potatoes,' he began. 'No place at all, at all. And she had family. And she went to the big estate and she said, 'Will you ever give me a plot of land to sow potatoes?'

> ‘And they said, ‘No, no, we have no time for that.’ And she kept begging – ‘the family is starving’ – and they said, ‘No, no.’
>
> ‘So she said, ‘Won’t you even give me the ground I can build a wall around in a night?’ and they said, ‘Yes,’ just to be rid of her. So she communicated this to friends and neighbours and they all turned out with horses and carts and gathered stones from all over the area. And whether it was 300 or 400 acres that the wall enclosed, I can’t say, and what the Man Above was doing.
>
> ‘Now,’ Leahy concluded, slapping his knee, ‘are there any more lies I can tell you?’

The version told to the present writer by Fergal Nevin and Seamus O’Grady was fundamentally the same but attributed the wall being built in a single night to the use of magic rather than the labour of her neighbours and Nora was described as a witch, so that their versions had a more supernatural connotation. Similarly, in a version told by Michael (Micky) Murphy, Nora was offered as much land as could be bounded by the contents of her ball of golden thread, which was of a miraculous length. In its various forms this story may be related to the tales told about St Brigid who claimed the land she could cover with her cloak from the King of Leinster, and the cloak then miraculously spread to encompass a vast area. This story is based on a common motif, and probably originates with Dido, when she founded the city of Carthage. Dido was given as much land for her city as her ox-hide cloak could cover, but she cut it into thin strips and enclosed a vast area (Bourke 1999, 13, 23; Ó hÓgáin 1991, 63, 257; 2006, 54; Rollin 1832, 156).

The name ‘Nora Novar’ is of interest since Novar does not appear to be a typical Irish surname. This implies that the name has been corrupted or that it is not a surname in the usual sense of the word. Noilín ní Iarnían (*pers. comm.*), a professional translator and native speaker has suggested that Nora Novar could be a form of *Nora na fomhair* relating to harvest or autumn or could be *Nora na fobhan* relating to a well. Interestingly, in this regard, another local tale tells that Lough Rea itself was created when a woman drawing water from a well accidentally left the

cover off, resulting in the water rising up to create the lake. As a result, the 'old town' of Loughrea became engulfed by water and the present town was built. The crannogs and the presence of submerged features in the lake are said to be the remains of the old town (Joe Dunne *pers. comm.*). Again, possibly connected with this is that Nora Novar was said to have drowned and was then buried at the site known as the 'Lady Stone' or 'Earl's Chair' (Fergal Nevin *pers. comm.*).

The importance of this local legend of Nora Novar is that it emphasises that local people identify the wall as being different from other boundaries in the area. This is particularly relevant since Loughrea is in 'stone wall country' where dry stone walls make up the majority of the field boundaries. It is likely that the legend originates from local people trying to make sense of the reasons why a mortared stone wall of this magnitude should be present in the area.

5.2 Documentary and cartographic evidence

Following his death, an inquisition into the lands of William de Burgh was taken at Athenry on 18th October 1333. This detailed lands in the cantred of Monewagh and the manor and castle of Loghry (Loughrea) (*CIPM*, vii Ed. III, no.537; *Inq. & Ext. of Med. Ire.*, no.262). Two authors have published further details of the extents, both of whose translations include reference to a park:

> 'Park, — A park there for the earl's wild beasts, containing 7 carucates, is worth nothing beyond the keep of the beasts' (Knox 1902, 134)

Knox equated this to the modern townland of Earlspark. Murphy and O'Conor (2006, 69) translated using a slightly different wording

> '…a park containing 7 carucates, which is worth nothing apart from its deer' (Murphy and O'Conor 2006, 69)

A carucate is defined as the area of land that could be ploughed by a single team in a season, and could vary between 60 and 180 acres, although 120 acres was usually used by both the English and Irish exchequers (MacCotter 2008, 25). Thus 7 carucates of 120 acres would equate to 840 modern statute acres, which, given the limitations of later medieval surveying and potential changes in lake levels over time is remarkably similar to the 913 statute acres of Earlspark marked on the 1st Edition map. Conversely, if Earlspark contained 7 carucates, then each local carucate could be considered as 130.4 or approximately 130 statute acres. While parks may have a number of functions (Chapters 2 and 4), both translations suggest that the keeping of domestic livestock or the production of timber were not the primary function of this park, but instead that it was mainly used to contain wild beasts or deer.

In 1250 and 1251 there is evidence that Walter de Burgh was given four stags and four does from the king's Irish forest of Slescho/Slefco (*CDI*, i, nos. 3076, 3197). Although these records do not state that the deer were to stock a park, this is very likely, given the number of animals and that they included both sexes. Furthermore, the gift element suggests that these are likely to have been fallow deer, since de Burgh would not have needed gifts of the native wild red deer.

Loughrea and its surroundings are shown in various forms on a number of historical maps, of which John Browne's 1591 map of Connacht is the earliest. (Fig. 5.3). This shows the boundaries of the barony of Loughrea and the lake is clearly marked. At the northern extent of the lake the town of Loughrea is shown with the placename Ballalough i.e 'Bally-Lough' or 'town of the Lough', and is represented by a dot. A pictorial symbol is also present that shows a single spired building with two windows, and two smaller building blocks so that the town is represented as being considerably smaller than nearby Athenry, which is shown with three spired buildings and two further buildings. Two islands are shown in the lake, presumably representing the crannogs, and a river is correctly shown exiting the lake to the north, adjacent to the town. The area immediately to the south of the lake is given as 'Killinadimon' and can be equated to the modern parish of Killinadeema.

Fig. 5.3: Detail of Loughrea on John Browne's map of Connacht (Browne 1591) after Andrews (2003)

The *Compossicion Booke of Conought*, (32, 49) listed major land holdings in 1585, and in this the Indenture of Clanrickard stated that Ulick Earl of Clanrickard held 'also the Mannor of Loghreagh consisting of twelue quarters adioyning to the house and in the parke 4 quarters' with similar wording and the same quantities of land given in the Office of Clanrickard. A quarter is given in the Indenture as 120 acres so that at this time the Earl held approximately 480 acres in the 'Parke', although since these are plantation acres it is likely that the actual figure was *c*. 772 statute acres. This suggests that by 1585 part of the park may have ceased to be entirely under the direct control of Clanrickard and had been converted to farmland, or alternatively this may only have considered land deemed to be of arable quality.

The *Inquisitions of Galway* (III.33 cited by www.logainm.ie) mentions Pairkavore (Park-Mhór or Large Park) and Parkeyrkaragh (Earl's park) in 1608, while the the Patent Rolls (*Cal. pat. rolls Ire. Jas I*) for 1610 again list Payreckvore (Park-Mhór or Large Park) and Park-Icharagh (Earl's park) and also include Parkebegg (Small Park).

The *Books of Survey and Distribution* (*BSD*, xxviii, 330) identify several landholdings of interest. In 1641 in Loughrea parish 'Earle Clanrickard' held 'Great Parke and Parkbeg 1 qu^{r}' which was listed as containing 124 profitable acres with the earl retaining ownership of these. Similarly, in 'Kilnedeema' parish the Earl held 'Parkmore Polbreny and Parkegheragh 2 qu^{rs} (*BSD*, 334-5).

Polbreny cannot be identified, and while Parkmore and Parkegheragh (Earl's park) might be presumed to both be in the townland of Earlspark another possibility is that one of these may equate to the nearby townland of Grangepark, which currently consists of 65 acres. To summarise, the relevant portions of this information, the *Books of Survey and Distribution* identify one quarter (given as 124 acres) in Loughrea parish and two quarters (*c*. 240 acres) in Killenadeema parish that had park elements in the name and that were held by Earl Clanrickard. In total, these give 360 plantation acres. This equates to 580 statute acres, considerably less than the size of the townland. Nevertheless, since acreages were often calculated based on the grazing or arable value of the land rather than on actual area, it is likely that this represents the townland of Earlspark.

Petty's (1685) map of Connacht from the Hiberniae Delineatio was based on information gathered in the 1650s for the Down Survey (Prunty 2004, 49-50, 57)and also clearly demarcates the barony of Loughrea and the lake (Fig. 5.4). The town of Loughrea is shown and labelled as 'Loughreagh'. The area immediately south of the lake, in the area of the current Killeenadeema portion of Earlspark, is shown as 'Parke' and 'Kilonademoe' (Killeenadeema) itself is shown to the south of this.

Fig. 5.4: Detail from the Hiberniae Delineatio map of Connacht (Petty 1685)

Petty's (1685) county map of Galway from the Hiberniae Delineatio provides more detail and a remarkable degree of continuity of place-names can be demonstrated (Fig. 5.5). Again the barony boundaries and the lake are clearly shown. The boundaries of the parish of 'Lguohreagh'(sic) are demarcated. 'Lough reagh Towne' is shown with a large residence on the shores of the lake, a church set back behind the shore and two parallel rows of small houses running northwards to the east of these structures. Along the shore of the lake many of the place-names can be equated to the modern townlands. It is notable that by 1685, when this map was published, the boundary between the parishes that separated the two portions of Earlspark appeared to be very similar to the modern boundary. A particular feature of this map is the presence of trees in the area of 'The Parke', suggesting that this area was at least partly woodland, or at any rate not arable land at the time of the survey. This is the only area in the vicinity shown in this way, so that it is also unlikely to represent ordinary agricultural land. Furthermore, the presence of Parkbeg immediately to the north demonstrates that the Parkbeg referred to in the *Books of Survey and Distribution* and the *Inquisitions of Galway* is the northern portion of Earlspark.

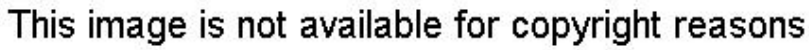

Fig. 5.5: Detail from the Hiberniae Delineatio map of Galway (Petty 1685)

Depending on the route being described, the series of road maps by Taylor and Skinner (1778, 82, 89, 92, 197, 209) show the lake, the town of Loughrea and Mount Pleasant house, owned by the Daly family. Furthermore, they also show the Dalystown road running over Knockanima Hill, and in the case of Fig. 5.6, Brick Lough is also shown, directly above Lough Rea. The park and the townland of Earlspark are not mentioned, however the road is shown running through the park.

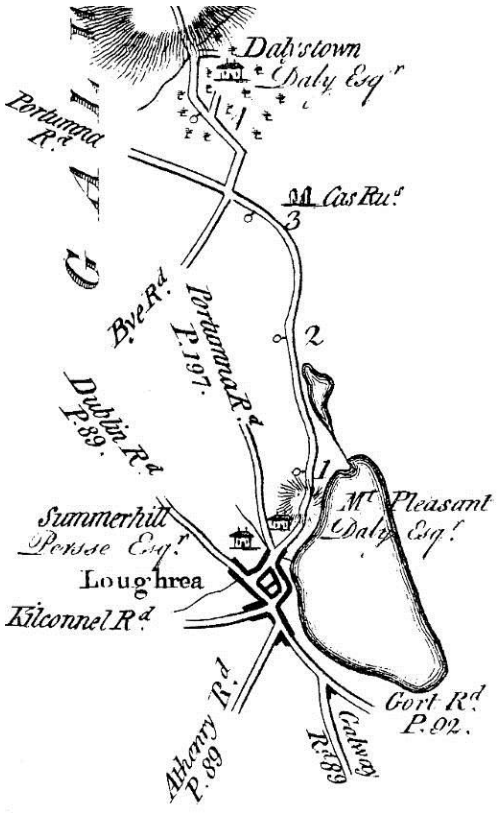

Fig. 5.6: Detail of Taylor and Skinner's (1778, 209) map

By the time of Larkin's Map, dated 1819, the line of the current Loughrea-Dalystown road is shown dotted as the course of the 'New Road', while the route over Knockanima remained as the existing course (Fig. 5.7). The southern portion of Earlspark is shown as 'Parkamerle', i.e. 'The park of the earl' in English, and Brick Lough is marked as 'Lake'.

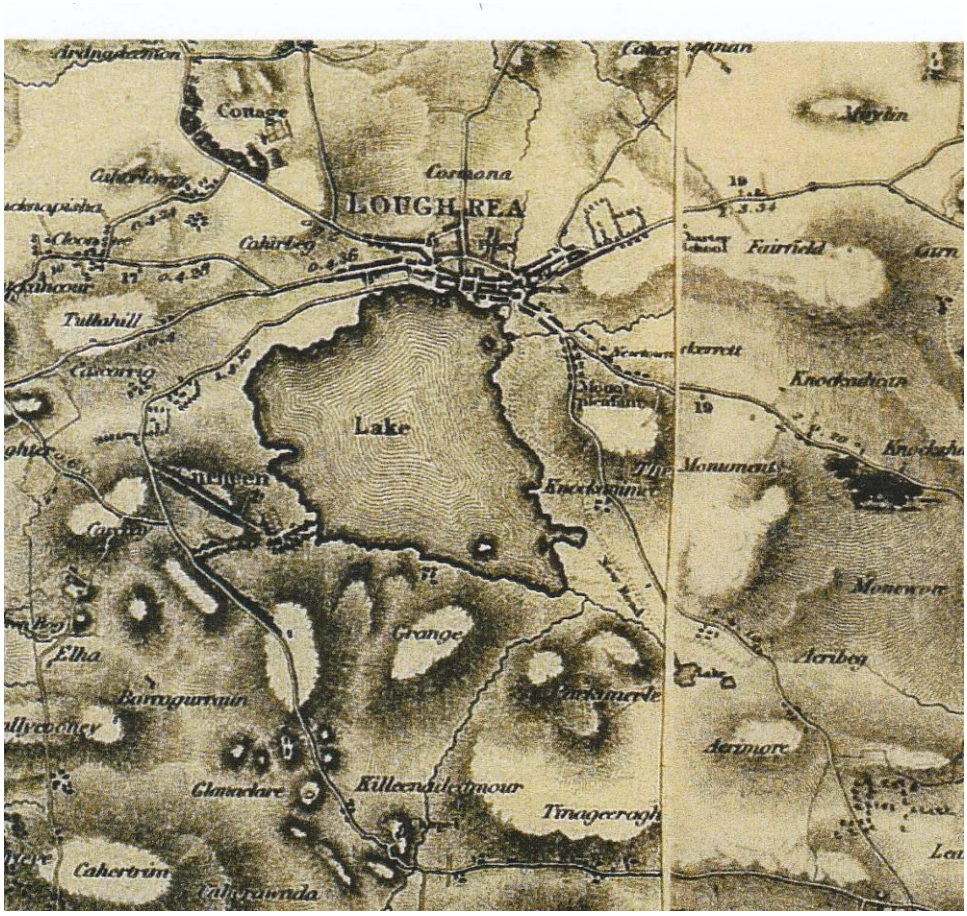

Fig. 5.7: Detail of Loughrea on Larkin's map of Galway (1819)

The current Loughrea-Dalystown road was constructed sometime soon after 1819, however the former road ran northwest-southeast, rising after leaving Loughrea and contouring at a height of OD110m, entering Earlspark at survey point E45 (see Appendix 5.1). This 'old' road was evidently in existence in 1783 when Taylor and Skinner (1778) surveyed their routes and local knowledge (Seamus O'Grady *pers. comm.*) suggests that it may have been the road used by Sarsfield in 1691 in his retreat from Loughrea to Limerick after the Battle of Aughrim. Close to the eastern boundary of Earlspark the former road crosses the path of the modern road and continues southeast. The second road through the townland is the road to Killenadeema which splits from the Dalystown road and runs south, skirting the Lough. This was evidently constructed between 1818 and 1838, since it appears on the 1st Edition map but not on Larkin's map.

Comparing Petty's (1685) Galway map with the 1st Edition map, the parish boundary separating the two halves of the park appears to be essentially unchanged and was defined by the line of the stream that runs from Brick Lough to Lough Rea. By the time the 25" map was surveyed in 1892, this boundary had been modified to follow the line of the modern Loughrea-Dalystown road. The setting out of the diocesan sees generally took place in the twelfth century, however the definition of parish boundaries could be somewhat later (Ní Ghabhláin 1996, 38; Nicholls 1971, 53). The parishes of Killeenadeema and Loughrea were certainly in place by 1302-6 when they were listed in the ecclesiastical taxation of the Diocese of Clonfert (*CDI*, v, no. 707), however the boundaries of the parish are not known. It is unlikely that the boundaries of the parish were defined during the time that the park was in use. If the parishes were created after the formation of the park but before the inquisition of 1333 they would be expected to follow the obvious lines of existing property boundaries, with the park being in one parish or the other. This suggests either that the parishes were defined at essentially the same time as the park was constructed, so that the two systems contradicted each other, or more likely, the parish structure was already in place when the Earl decided to construct the park. He ignored the existing parish boundaries and placed the park in what was deemed to be the ideal location. While parishes are often held to concord with manors (Ní Ghabhláin 1996, 38; Nugent 2006, 191; O'Conor 1999a, 194), this would not have been a limiting factor for the de Burghs as they were seized not only of the area around the castle at Loughrea, but all the surrounding land as well. Knox (1902, 136) identified the holdings of a number of free tenants of the 'manor of Loghry' and makes it clear that in this context the 'manor' incorporated what is now the wider barony of Loughrea, formerly the cantred of Moenmagh, and a number of modern parishes. In addition, land in other cantreds, such as land in Portumna is listed, which are also totalled as 'parcel and manor of Loghry'. Since the de Burghs held all the land they would have been able to define the park boundaries as they saw fit, without regard for pre-existing land divisions, and evidence presented later will demonstrate that the boundaries of the park were chosen for aesthetic and practical reasons, rather than to be bureaucratically convenient.

5.3 Archaeological work

A walking survey was carried out to investigate the townland boundary wall of Earlspark, which has an area of 913 acres on the 1st Edition map. The details of the walking survey are presented in Appendix 5.1, and the key elements are summarised below. Radiocarbon dating was also carried out on a piece of charcoal extracted from mortar from the exposed core of the wall. A gateway feature at the northeast corner of the townland was surveyed in greater detail. This included geophysics in the area immediately outside the gateway, as well as a topographical plan and photography. A topographical survey using a total station was carried out for sites RMP No. GA105-080 and RMP No. GA105-205 and the area between these. Further, a geophysical survey was carried out for RMP No. GA105-080.

5.3.1 Modern field boundaries within the townland

The modern land usage in Earlspark townland is predominantly cattle grazing, with some land grazed by sheep or horses and some retained for hay and silage. During the survey it was found that individual fields within the townland were generally divided by dry stone walls, typically 0.9 – 1.4m in height and often supplemented by barbed wire, typically at a height of 1 – 1.4m. Modern field boundaries were generally 0.6 – 0.8m wide at the base, rising with a very slight batter to give a similar width at the top. The stones used in the field boundary walls included both rounded and angular examples, with the long axis often set at right angles to the line of the wall and a dry-stone construction was used.

5.3.2 Townland boundary walls

A detailed description of the townland boundary wall at the surveyed locations is given in Appendix 5.1.

The townland boundary wall extended over a length of 7.4km, much of which consisted of walling to a similar height as the surrounding fields, although in places walling of up to 2.6m high was identified. The construction of these high portions of wall was not typical of that seen in the surrounding modern field boundaries. These stretches of townland boundary wall were constructed using angular blocks of limestone rubble built into rough courses with the long axis of the stones set parallel

to the line of the wall. In places where the construction of the wall was visible it was clear that there was a rubble core with two faces of roughly coursed limestone rubble. The facings and the core were mortared using a gritty lime mortar and at the base of the wall the facing stones were typically 0.2 – 0.4m long and 0.2m high. This size was maintained until approximately 2m high, after which the size of the stones diminished to 0.2m – 0.3m by 0.15m high for the uppermost section. The base of the wall was generally 0.9m – 1.0m thick, rising almost vertically so that at a height of 1m – 1.6m a width of 0.8m – 0.9m was still generally observed (Pl. 5.1).

In many places the townland boundary currently existed to a height of only 1m – 1.6m, similar to the surrounding fields. In some of these stretches the construction was identical to that found in the high sections, however in the majority of places, only one or two courses of original wall still existed, supplemented by more recent rebuilding, so that the most frequently occurring height of 'original' wall was less than 0.4m (Fig. 5.8). The repair and rebuilding of the townland boundary wall used the same dry-stone construction technique as that used in the surrounding field boundaries (Pl. 5.2), so that in many cases the bottom of the wall was a mortared stone construction, with modern dry-stone repair above this. By close examination of stretches of wall the total existing height of the wall and the height of any remaining 'original' wall within this could be identified. It could therefore be determined that the original height of the townland boundary wall was approximately 2.6m high, but in many cases this was no longer extant, and the wall had been repaired in modern times to a height of 1m – 1.6m, so providing a barrier to the movement of domestic animals.

Pl. 5.1: An excellently preserved stretch of original wall at E39

Pl. 5.2: A rebuilt stretch of wall, with one probably original course surviving at the base immediately to the west of E43

Examining the total height of stretches of extant townland boundary wall, total wall heights of 0.9 – 1.4m were most common, with some extant stretches of 1.6m or greater (Figs. 5.8; 5.9). Much of the boundary was supplemented by barbed wire

typically at a height of 1 – 1.4m. It can be suggested that once a wall reaches a height of 1.6m or greater there is no increase in the efficiency of the wall in retaining cattle. For example, the modern Charolais breed in Ireland has a typical withers height of 150cm in the male and 140cm in the female while the Holstein-Friesian has a height of 160/144cm (EAAP-AGDP 2009). The withers height is the height to the shoulders, this means that walls above 1.6m would be higher than the cattle being retained. These are amongst the largest of the modern breeds, with medieval cattle in assemblages analysed by the present writer typically ranging between 100 and 130cm to the withers (e.g. Beglane 2007g). Similarly, a height of 1.6m (5'4") is at head height for a small adult, so that walls above this height restrict visibility. Of 193 points surveyed 51 points had wall or wall-plus-slope surviving to a height of 1.6m or greater, with the maximum overall height being some 4m, where a natural bank had been scarped to a vertical face and then topped by a modern wall. Furthermore, 37 locations had wall surviving to at least 1.9m, with 2.6m being the apparent original height of the wall as noted. The most common height for the original wall to survive was less than or equal to 0.4m, generally surmounted by more recent repairs, and in 36 places no original wall appeared to remain *in situ*. At each point where field boundaries and the townland boundary met, the join was examined in order to determine the sequence of construction and it was notable that in all cases where the sequence could be identified, the field boundaries butted to, and hence post-dated the townland boundary wall.

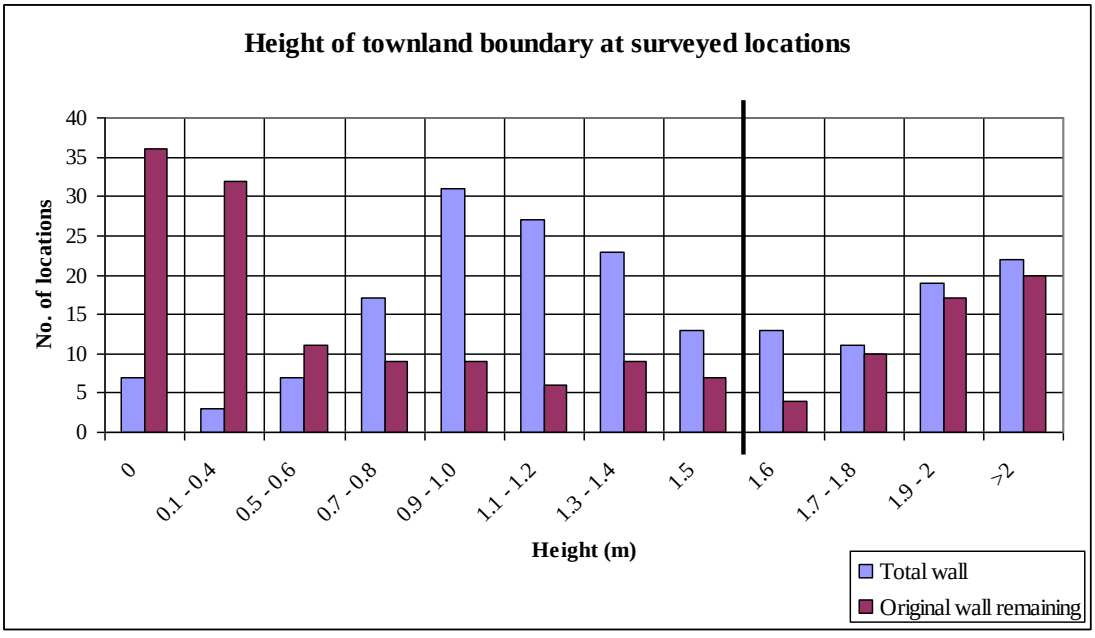

Fig. 5.8: Height of townland boundary at surveyed locations

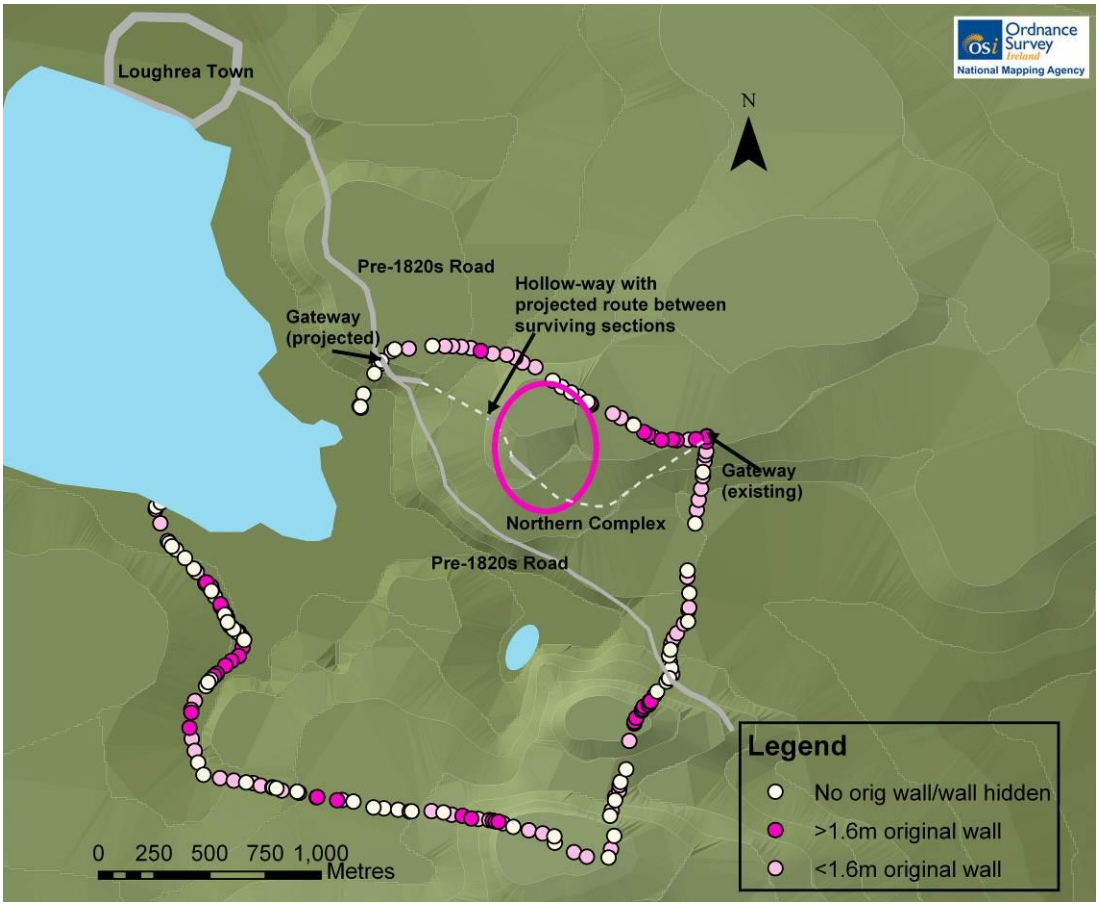

Fig. 5.9: Key locations and wall heights at Earlspark

(base mapping © Ordnance Survey Ireland/Government of Ireland Copyright Permit No. MP 0003612)

5.3.3 Radiocarbon dating

There were a number of locations where part of the core of the wall was exposed and samples of mortar were removed from eight of these. These locations were selected for two reasons; firstly samples could be removed without danger of affecting the structure of the wall. Secondly, areas of exposed core were unlikely to have been repointed or repaired. In total *c*. 35 litres of mortar were recovered and these were broken down with a hammer to reveal fragments of charcoal. Initially it was hoped to obtain dates from both the northern and the southern parts of the townland, however only one piece of charcoal large enough for radiocarbon dating was obtained. This was recovered from a point close to E40, on the northern wall, *c.* 245m east of the gateway feature at NGR 164128 214849. Wood species identification was unsuccessful since the sample was too small (Mary Dillon *pers. comm.*). Radiocarbon dating by Queen's University Belfast gave a date of AD1251-1297 (UBA-18087 2σ) (Tab. 5.1). While it could be argued that the date may be

subject to the 'old wood effect', this is unlikely since lime production requires substantial quantities of wood, so that it is most likely that pieces of fast-growing wood were used. The date fits with the founding of the town in 1236 and the documentary evidence of the park being in existence by 1333, and ties the construction of the wall to the time of either Walter (inherited 1248, d.1271) or his son Richard, the Red Earl, (d.1326). It may well be that having completed the stone castle and town walls at Loughrea, the skilled masons moved directly on to constructing the park.

Date ranges cal AD	**% area enclosed**	**Reimer et al. (2009) relative area under probability distribution**
AD 1269 – 1284	68.3 (1 sigma) cal	1.000
AD 1251 – 1297	95.4 (2 sigma) cal	0.999
AD 1374 – 1376		0.001
UBA-18087 Radiocarbon Age: BP 726 +/- 24 Calibration data set: intcal09.14c Sample location NGR 164128 214849		

Tab. 5.1: Radiocarbon dating results

5.4 Discussion

5.4.1 The original form of the wall

The survey evidence clearly demonstrates that the entire townland of Earlspark was surrounded by a mortared stone wall, which, when constructed, was *c*. 2.6m high and 0.9m thick (see Appendix 5.1). Access to the townland would have been restricted to two or more gateways and unauthorised individuals would have had to circumvent the townland boundary. As well as restricting access to the townland, the wall would also have restricted visibility so that a passer-by would not have been able to see what was occurring inside the townland. By contrast, when viewed from a distance from the town or castle at Loughrea, Earlspark would have been visible and clearly delineated by the walls especially if the surrounding landscape was unenclosed arable or pasture land.

There were only a few short stretches where a bank or escarpment was present at the base of the wall. In the southwest portion of the townland, this was a natural feature

that had been incorporated into the boundary. In several places, only a low bank of 0.2m – 0.4m was present at the base of the wall, and this was notably stony, so that it may actually have been caused by soil and fallen stones deposited against the wall, obscuring the lowest levels of the wall rather than underlying it. In other cases the wall was constructed on top of scarped or sloping ground in order to provide additional security. Excavation would be required in order to determine the actual sequence of events at particular locations, but there is currently little evidence to suggest that the construction of the stone wall was predated by a bank-and-ditch topped by a paling. Given the shallow soil depth at Earlspark, a ditch would have been impracticable to dig, as in many places it would have needed to be rock-cut. A stone wall was therefore a practical as well as aesthetically-pleasing way of surrounding the park.

The method of construction was the same on all sides of the townland wall, with two faces of mortared rubble stone and a mortared rubble core. The wall was a constant thickness of *c*. 0.9m along its entire length, and was up to 2.6m high in places. Walls of 1.6m or higher serve no practical purpose in retaining cattle or sheep and yet stretches of wall with heights above this were present on all sides of the townland, demonstrating that the entire townland boundary defined a single land block. The form of the corners of the townland also supports a hypothesis of a single construction. The southeastern corner of the townland boundary was a curving length of wall with a small radius, showing that the southern and eastern walls were constructed as a single event. At the northwestern corner, the townland boundary curved round in a single large sweep and the gateway feature was identified at the northeastern corner. Unfortunately the construction sequence at the extreme western end of the northern part of the townland at the modern road was unclear. In summary, the consistency in the construction of the wall and the presence of high stretches of wall on all sides of the townland strongly support the idea that this was a single construction.

5.4.2 Dating the townland boundary wall

There is considerable physical, documentary and map evidence to suggest that the townland boundary was created in a single phase and at an early date. A park was present by 1333 and the radiocarbon date from the charcoal in the mortar indicates a construction date of AD1251-1297 (UBA-18087 2σ). Furthermore, the gift of four stags and four does to Walter de Burgh in 1250 and 1251 (*CDI*, i, no. 3076, 3197) fits well with the documentary and radiocarbon dates for the park, and suggests that the early 1250s are a likely date for construction of the park, with these deer being approved as royal gifts to stock the park. Although stags and does are specified, it is likely that these were fallow deer, since red deer would be unlikely to have been given as gifts.

5.4.3 Preservation of the wall

The state of preservation of the wall is remarkable, given that it dates from the period 1251 to 1297. This is especially true given that for at least 170 years, since the 1st Edition map was surveyed the land has been divided into fields. It is likely that many of the internal and external field boundaries were created using stone robbed from the wall and this has resulted in the wall being reduced from over 2.5m high to a typical height of 0.9 – 1.4m around the circumference. Local tradition suggests that when the Land Commission subdivided the land in the early twentieth century many of the field walls were constructed using stone from the townland boundary (Micky Murphy *pers. comm*.). While this is undoubtedly true, many of the field boundaries, particularly in the northern half of the park predate the 1st Edition map, which was surveyed in 1838. In many places the remaining wall consisted of one or more courses of original stonework topped off by more recent repairs that sought to raise the wall to a suitable height to retain livestock, and barbed wire and electric fencing have often supplemented this. Remarkably, of 193 surveyed locations, there were only 36 points at which no original walling now exists, demonstrating the sturdy nature of this construction method. Unsurprisingly, the best-preserved areas of wall are those protected by bushes and trees. This is true of many points in otherwise open land around the wall, but is particularly true in the southwestern portion of the townland. In this area the ground is very wet, almost to the point of inaccessibility so that it is not extensively used for agriculture. The bushes and trees at the margins of this ground are heavily overgrown and in many places the wall

actually forms a revetment against a steep natural bank on the external side. All these factors combine to result in the best levels of preservation for this part of the site.

5.4.4 Engineering the wall

The wall itself was constructed of two faces of roughly coursed limestone rubble, separated by a mortared rubble core. It had a length of 7.4km and a maximum extant height of 2.6m, but only reaching 2.4m at the gateway feature, where the full height of the wall was present. The wall was *c*. 0.9m thick at the base, and 0.8m thick close to the top of the gateway feature. Based on these dimensions and taking an average of 2.5m for the original height of the wall, it is calculated that the construction would have required 15,725m^3 of stone. Limestone has a density of 1,900 – 2,100kg/m^3 (Perry and Green 1985, 3-95), so taking a typical value of 2,000kg/m^3, this gives a total of 31,450,000kg or 31,450 tonnes of stone used in the construction. To put this in perspective, in modern terms this is equivalent to over 1,000 lorry-loads of stone. Loughrea is 'stone wall country' and it is likely that much of the material, particularly for the rubble core, came from loose stone collected from the ground, providing a quick and cheap source of materials and requiring only unskilled labour to gather it. Even so, loose stone must have been brought from some considerable distance around to provide sufficient material, and considerable extra stone would probably also have needed to have been quarried. This raises the question of the location of the quarries for the additional stone. Today there are two quarries marked on the Ordnance Survey maps, one in Moanmore West townland at NGR 164158 214956, close to the northeast gateway, and another in the centre of the townland at NGR 163306 214344 along the length of the modern road separating the two parishes. There is also an area of very uneven ground immediately to the southeast of the trigonometric point NGR 163818 213604 and the trigonometric pillar itself sits on a rock outcrop that appears to have been quarried out. At RMP No. GA105-205 there is a sub-rectangular depressed area cut into the rock, which may also be a small quarry. It is impossible to date quarrying of this sort, and it is not known whether these quarries were used in the high medieval period, but these are likely sources, and it may be that other sources further away were also utilised.

As well as the stone itself, mortar was needed to hold the wall together. This would have been manufactured by burning limestone to make quicklime. Water was then added, so causing a chemical reaction that resulted in slaked lime being formed. The slaked lime could then be mixed with sand to create a mortar (Hislop 2000, 29-31; Rynne 2006, 157). Hislop (2000, 10-11) noted that this work could take place either on-site or at a specialist works. In the case of building a castle or a town wall, the area of the building site was relatively limited, but in this case the wall was spread over a considerable distance. Since burning the limestone would have required fuel, it would also have been necessary to provide large quantities of wood for the process. In combination, these factors suggest that it is likely that the limestone was produced at a central location and distributed to work crews along the length of the wall.

Even with the use of modern machinery, construction of a wall of this length and height would be a massive undertaking. All of the stone would have been quarried or collected by hand, taken to the appropriate site along the length of the wall and then built. The time taken to complete the work would have depended on the number of people involved, but during the medieval period building work would only have been possible in the summer months as otherwise structures risked collapse due to the action of rain on the slow-drying mortar (Hislop 2000, 40-41). Sean Adcock (*pers. comm*.) and Patrick McAfee (*pers. comm*.), both professional stone wallers, suggest that once stone and mortar are delivered to the site, for a wall of this height and thickness they would anticipate that a team of two builders and one labourer would complete approximately two linear metres of wall per day. This gives a total of 11,100 man-days to complete the work, excluding sourcing and delivering stone, lime mortar, sand and timber. If a six-day week from March to October is assumed, then one team of three would take eighteen years to complete the work. This would suggest several teams of several skilled masons probably worked simultaneously on separate sections. If three years was an acceptable timescale, it could mean that approximately six teams of three masons were working on the job, with a further array of support workers to provide stone, mortar and transport.

An analogy can be made with Plumpton Park in England, which was constructed between 1332 and 1335, and where construction cost 5d per rod of wall (Young 1979, 116). A rod, perch or pole varied between eighteen and twenty-four feet in length, but with 16½ feet as the standard (James 1991, 146). If the wall at Plumpton is assumed to have been of a similar height and thickness to that at Earlspark, then this would equate to a cost of £33 10s for the skilled work, plus other costs for quarrying, transport and mortar. Again at Plumpton each man quarrying stone or fencing was paid 3d per day and carting stone cost 6d per week (Young 1979, 116). Plumpton Park had an area of 2536 acres, and cost £185 6s to construct (Jefferson 1840, 460; Young 1979, 116). As a rough estimate, it might therefore be expected that the cost of constructing Earlspark was approximately £66, a considerable sum in the later medieval period.

Sean Adcock (*pers. comm*.) also noted that with modern Portland mortar he would build to a height of one metre, then allow the mortar to go off for two days before continuing upwards. Medieval lime mortar would take longer to go off, so that longer time gaps would be needed, but it is likely that the entire height of a section could be finished in a single season, so that no horizontal banding would necessarily be visible. Hislop (2000, 40-45) gives a detailed discussion of how separate phases and seasons of work can be identified in stonework, however due to the intermittent nature of the survival of high sections of the wall no obvious phase changes of original stonework were identified during the survey.

The level of commitment involved in this construction was considerable, and would not have been undertaken lightly, however it did provide a permanent solution compared to palings by minimising ongoing maintenance and repair costs for the park boundary. Most English parks used an earthen bank created by digging a ditch and with the bank topped by 'palings' or vertically placed wooden slats (see Section 2.3.3) (Cantor and Wilson 1962-1980; Watts 1996). Earthen banks and a paling would not have required such skilled labour to construct them, and the cost of transporting materials would have been much lower than using stone. Despite these advantages, ongoing costs would have been much higher, so that sums for maintaining park palings were a regular feature of English manorial accounts (see Section 2.3.5) (Moorhouse 2007, 104). Furthermore, palings did not provide as great

a degree of security as a stone wall as they would have been more easily breached by poachers. A stone wall therefore had a number of practical advantages over the much more easily constructed earthen bank. As will be discussed in more detail below, it would also have had symbolic advantages, by demonstrating the extreme wealth of the de Burghs and the level of power exercised by them.

5.4.5 Access and security for the park

The walls of the park enclosed and delineated a private space, and prevented the movement of deer and people into and out of the park, however it was also necessary to be able to access the park. Deliveries would have included additional livestock, winter feed for the animals and provisions for any lodge within. It would also have been necessary to remove material from the park, including livestock, venison, timber and underwood (Rackham 1987, 125) and of course, the de Burghs would have needed access to the park in order to hunt.

The townland is relatively inaccessible by road, and even today there are only two roads through Earlspark (see Sections 5.2; 5.4.5). The first of these is the current Loughrea-Dalystown road, which was constructed sometime soon after 1819. This replaced the older road that was shown on the maps by both Taylor and Skinner (1778, 209) and Larkin (1819). The second is the road to Killenadeema, which splits from the Dalystown road and runs south, skirting the Lough and was constructed between 1818 and 1838. Other modern roads split off from these, providing access for farms and houses, but many parts of the townland are still a considerable distance from a roadway.

During the survey, a number of access features were identified. The most obvious of these was the gateway in the northeast corner of the townland (see Section A5.1.4 and Appendix 5.9). At 3.04m or exactly 10ft wide, this was of a sufficient size to easily allow access for carts since Verdon (2003, 25) has argued that a cart road in medieval Europe would have been about 8 feet (2.4m) wide. Nugent (2009, 198-210) has summarised the results of a number of excavations of medieval roads in Ireland, demonstrating that these generally varied between two and four metres in width, and has used documentary evidence to suggest that a *bothar*, or cow track, the narrowest of the road types mentioned in early medieval texts, was *c.* 2m wide. The

entrance gateway was probably fitted with a wooden gate and the evidence suggests that this was secured from the outside rather than the inside. There is stony, disturbed ground immediately outside the gate, which was already tree-covered and walled in the early 19th century. It is likely that during the high medieval period a gatehouse was sited here to protect the entrance, and the geophysical survey carried out in this area suggests that a cobbled yard and track may have existed there.

At the westernmost end of the townland an old road from Loughrea enters the townland and then splits in two (see Appendix 5.4). One leg of this forms the old Loughrea-Dalystown road, while the remains of a second relict road or hollow way head eastwards through the park at least as far as the Northern Complex (see Appendix 5.3). It is likely that this hollow way continued along the same contour to the gate at the northeast corner of the park.

No other gateways have been found that appear to be original. However, at E30 there was a sub-rectangular aperture through the wall, which was part of the original construction. It measured 0.2 x 0.2m and was situated 0.8m above ground level. This was sited on the east side of the townland, at the top of a hill and close to recorded monument RMP No. GA105-086, which is recorded as a univallate hillfort. This mysterious aperture may have been a 'delivery slot' similar to a modern letter-box that allowed small items to be passed into and out of the enclosed park without having to visit a gate but would have prevented larger items, such as haunches of venison, from being illicitly removed from the townland. Another use may have been to allow individuals inside and outside the park to communicate with each other by speaking through the aperture. Since there is no evidence for a gateway in this part of the park, it would have been important to be able pass messages and small items to the workforce within the park.

The known gates into the park are therefore at the western limit and at the northeast corner. It is also possible that the Loughrea-Dalystown road was part of the original construction and that a gate was present on the eastern side, where a modern gateway accesses a farm in Acremore townland.

5.4.6 Buildings in the park

A number of buildings were typically found within parks including lodges, towers, kennels and barns (Moorhouse 2007). In the case of Earlspark, three locations must be considered for the lodge and associated structures:

1 RMP No. GA105-086 (OD 150m): The hilltop enclosure recorded as a hillfort, and lying adjacent to the modern water reservoir in the southern half of the townland. This is close to the 'letterbox' aperture.

2 RMP No. GA105-080 (OD 130m): The large enclosure recorded as a ringfort at the northern edge of the townland i.e. the Northern Complex

3 NGR 163818 213604 (OD 168m): The trigonometric point at the extreme southeast of the townland

The most extensive views across the park are from RMP No. GA105-086, from where almost the entire townland as well as the lake and the town of Loughrea can be seen. Thus it would be logical for the park to be administered from this point. The difficulty with this location is access. The only confirmed gate is in the northeast corner, with another postulated at the northwest, coming from Loughrea, and another possibly having been located on the eastern side of the park, in the valley immediately north of RMP No. GA105-086. In all cases, access to the top of this hill by any direct route would involve a very steep climb that is likely to have been extremely difficult for heavily-ladened carts. Directly below RMP No. GA105-086, at the base of the hill and adjacent to the modern road is RMP No. GA105-087, a field system with an associated enclosure. The date of this is unknown, however if the lodge itself were situated at the top of the hill, it would be logical to position any associated barns, timber works and storage facilities close to the valley bottom, so minimising the climbing involved in moving material to and from the gates.

The area at the Northern Complex, containing RMP Nos. GA105-080 and GA105-205 also has extensive views over the townland, lake and town (Pls. 5.3; 5.4). As a result, the only part of the park that cannot be seen is the extreme southeast region behind the hilltop on which RMP No. GA105-086 is found (see Appendix 5.3). The large enclosure (RMP No. GA105-080) has a number of interesting features. The ditch appears to have been re-cut at some point so that it now *c*. 3.5m wide at the base and *c*. 7m at the top, with a flat bottom, and inside the ringfort are the remains

of an internal ditch and what may be a number of buildings (see Section A5.3.1). Many park lodges in England were constructed as moated sites (Pluskowski 2007b, 65; Rahtz 1969) and it is tempting to see this as possibly an originally bivallate ringfort, or a prehistoric monument that was modified for use as a 'circular moated site'. It was important to provide water for deer so that parks could include lakes, ponds or rivers within them. In addition, ponds could be constructed in parks, which could also double as a source of wild fowl (Pluskowski 2007b, 65), so that the presence of a pond nearby is potentially relevant. From a practical perspective the monuments of the northern complex lie on the route of the hollow way and are midway between the gateways in the northeast corner and the west of the park, so that anyone travelling along the road between the two gates would pass directly in front of RMP No. GA105-080.

Pl. 5.3: Loughrea viewed from the hilltop enclosure GA105-205 in the Northern Complex

Pl. 5.4: Looking south into the park from the large ringfort GA105-080 in the Northern Complex

The final potential lodge location is the trig point at the extreme southeast of the townland. This is the highest point in the townland, and there is an unrecorded linear bank feature immediately to the west of the rock outcrop on which the trig point is located. There are no recorded archaeological monuments on this hilltop, but there is a *cillín* and holy well at the bottom of the hill. While the views are extensive to the west and northwest, much of the centre and east of the townland is shielded behind the hill on which RMP No. GA105-086 is located. Access from the known gate in the northeast corner of the townland would be very difficult since this would involve climbing two steep hills between the gate and this point and it can be concluded that this is an unlikely lodge location.

Both the enclosures RMP No. GA105-086/087 and the northern complex at RMP No. GA105-080/205 are potential lodge locations. The advantages of the latter site and the range of features present there suggest, however, that this was likely to have been the heart of the park. It is also possible that the two halves of the townland were administered from separate lodges, or that a lookout point or secondary lodge was sited on the southeastern hilltop to ensure that all parts of the townland were

visible and that this extensive area was properly maintained. This could potentially explain the presence of the 'letterbox' aperture (see Section 5.4.5)

5.4.7 Practical aspects of the siting and use of the park

There is evidence to suggest that on a number of levels the siting of Earlspark was no accident. The factors to be taken into consideration in the design would have included:

1. The ability to retain deer inside the park
2. The landscape setting and its suitability for the activities taking place
3. The convenience of the location
4. Any existing symbolic associations of the location
5. The demonstration of status and power

Many English parks were sited immediately adjacent to the castle, providing a pleasant setting for the castle and ensuring easy access to the resources of the park. This was not always the case, however, and early parks were often separate from the castle or manor (Cantor and Hatherly 1979, 72; Cantor and Wilson 1963, 145-6; Richardson 2005, 9). Earlspark is situated approximately 2km from Loughrea, but is clearly visible from the town, on the opposite side of the lake. The castle was probably located in the southwest of the town, close to the northern shore of the Lough (McKeon 2008, 60-4; Spellissy 1999, 401). Even standing at ground level, the townland of Earlspark is clearly visible from the shore adjacent to this area, so that given that the main buildings within the castle would have had at least two storeys, the view of Earlspark would have been even clearer. This visibility would have been enhanced if the land surrounding Earlspark was unenclosed pasture or open-field arable (Glasscock 1987, 211), since the wall would then have been even more noticeable from a distance.

The wall was constructed so that on the western, southern and northern sides there is generally high ground outside the perimeter and lower ground within. On the eastern side it runs across the lie of the land, but where possible, such as adjacent to Acrebeg ringfort RMP No. GA105-001, the ground is again higher on the outside of the wall. This is typical of the siting of parks, since it maximises the effectiveness of the park

boundary. While deer could enter the park relatively easily, it was more difficult for them to jump out, since they would be jumping uphill (Watts 1996).

The townland has high ground on three sides, funnelling down into flat land adjacent to the lake; this means that from a vantage point in the town the park is spread out and displayed on the hillside (Fig. 5.1). The southern portion of the townland contains two hills, while much of the northern part is a south-facing hillside. While flat land may have provided good chase, the nature of hunting in parks was different, being focused on the use of bows and arrows (see Section 4.1.2). The undulating nature of the ground in Earlspark would have provided an interesting visual experience for the hunters and made the hunting more challenging and potentially dangerous by providing hidden valleys and folds in which deer could secrete themselves.

By contrast with Earlspark, much of the land around Loughrea is relatively flat, with the Slieve Aughty Mountains 11km south of the town, the hill of Knockroe 5km south of the town and Knockbaron hill situated 5km to the east. Earlspark, only 2km from the town, is therefore the most conveniently accessible of the hills around, since, even on foot it can be reached from Loughrea in 25 minutes. Unlike the other nearby hills, Earlspark also would have provided a visual statement since any visitor to the town or castle would be able to see the park displayed before him.

The area of the Northern Complex is of importance in understanding the significance of the siting of the park. This area has the densest concentration of archaeological monuments in the townland including the ‘Lady Stone’ or ‘Earl’s Chair’, a possible hillfort with two associated structures, two ringforts, a rectangular structure and a pond (Fig. A5.1; Pl. A5.43). The park wall passes immediately to the north of this ensuring that the monuments of the Northern Complex are incorporated into the park, while the relict road through the park leads directly to this group of monuments. This suggests that the inclusion of this area was important to the builders of the park.

5.4.8 Symbolic aspects of the siting and use of the park

Earlspark is the largest of the parks surveyed in this thesis, and by far the most impressive due to the presence of a mortared stone wall. By 1236 the de Burghs were Lords of Connacht, and by 1264 they had added the Earldom of Ulster to their honours. As a result had some degree of control over *c.* 40% of Ireland (Frame 1998, 68). This made them extremely powerful, so that, for example, Richard the Red Earl was a close confidant of the King, but he was also able to defy the king and act independently, with little royal control over his actions (Lydon 2003, 86, 112). Ulster was a liberty so the Earls were entitled to exercise independent authority in this area, whereas Connacht was not, and yet it was often administered without regard for the common law (Lydon 2003, 112).

Much of the preceding discussion has revolved around how local people would have seen the wall. The enclosing of this land for a park was also symbolic in its own right, and this is a symbolism that extends beyond the immediate area and sought to place the de Burghs in the mainstream of the European elite (see Section 2.3.4). It has already been demonstrated that hunting was an integral part of the later medieval elite lifestyle (Schlag 1998, 19). Parks were expensive to build and to maintain, and a park of the size of Earlspark was of royal proportions (see Section 2.3.3). It has already been noted that the lineage of the de Burghs was illustrious, being related to the kings of France, England and Scotland and to the Irish king Brian Borumha, and that their level of control in Ireland was extensive, both through their estates and through royal offices (see Section 5.1.2). As one of the most powerful families in Ireland, a park of this size and of such an impressive design demonstrated their status in a European context, placing them firmly in the upper echelons of the European aristocracy. Any visitor would be impressed by the scale of the park, and it may well be that in creating the park the de Burghs sought to give an impression of almost-royal status. The siting of the park, so that it was clearly visible from the castle and town and was located on land that was of historical importance, legitimised their status by embedding them into the fabric of the country and providing a permanent and visible reminder of their lordship to the local inhabitants and to any visitors to the area.

Over time the nature of the lordship changed from one that was focused on the English court to a Gaelicised lordship. Richard, the 'Red Earl', died in 1326 and subsequently William, the 'Brown' Earl, was murdered in 1333. The Connacht lands of the de Burghs then became split into two factions, the Clann Uilliam Íochtair, the Lower, or Mayo de Burghs and Clann Uilliam Uachtair, the Upper de Burghs, or Clanrickards, who held the lands in Galway and around Loughrea. Nominally these lands had been inherited by Elizabeth, the baby daughter of William, but she was unable to enter or derive benefit from these (*Clyn's Annals*, 1333; FitzPatrick 2001, 357-8; 2004, 166-8; Lydon 2003, 124; Otway-Ruthven 1968, 273). The de Burghs moved away from using Anglo-Norman symbols of status as these no longer had meaning in a Connacht becoming increasingly independent of the English Crown. Examples of this being the adoption of such Gaelic-Irish customs as inauguration, and the use of Irish names (FitzPatrick 2001, 357-74; 2004, 166-8). As a result the park was undoubtedly allowed to fall out of its primary use of retaining deer. Nevertheless, the area of Earlspark remained an important demesne property, with the southern portion being wooded, or partly so, as late as 1685 (Petty 1685), and the original function of the townland was retained in the place-names.

5.5 Recommendations

It is recommended that the following archaeological features be added to the RMP to provide them with statutory protection.

- Townland boundary wall of Earlspark with the adjacent townlands, particularly the gateway feature at 164352 214821 in the northeast of the townland. The boundary wall could be protected as a linear feature rather than requiring the entire enclosed area of the townland to be listed.
- The surviving sections of hollow way connecting the western limit of the townland to the Northern Complex
- The 'Lady Stone' or 'Earl's Chair' at 163606 214536.
- Enclosure at NGR 162125 213758. Probable ringfort.

- Linear earthwork at NGR 163637 213075, adjacent to trig point
- Horizontal mill site at NGR 162404 213280
- Souterrain site at NGR 162686 213573
- Rectangular enclosure at NGR 164335 214662

It is further recommended that the National Monuments Service revisit Hawkin's Old House to determine whether any mill features are present at this location and if not then to de-list the site.

A small excavation in the area of the recorded ringfort RMP No. GA105-080 should be carried out to examine the sequence of events in creating the ditches and to examine the nature of the internal features. This would clarify the nature and dating of the monument and of any remodelling or reuse of it.

5.6 Conclusions

Earlspark is the most complete surviving high medieval park in Ireland and is of international importance. It extends over an area of 913 acres and was entirely surrounded by a mortared stone wall that was originally up to 2.6m high. The construction of this wall has been radiocarbon dated to AD1251-1297 (UBA-18087 2σ), and there is a historical reference to its existence in 1333. Furthermore, the historical reference to Walter de Burgh receiving royal gifts of deer in 1250 and 1251 may well relate to the stocking of his new park at the de Burgh *caput.* Since Loughrea was founded in 1236, it suggests that the initial phase of colonisation included the building of the castle and town defences, and the development of agriculture. At this point, it is likely that the location of the park was decided, but that construction did not take place until the manor was well-established. The construction of the wall around Earlspark would then have taken place as a second phase in the development of the *caput*. Indeed, it is possible that having finished work in Loughrea itself, the teams of masons were relocated to begin work on constructing the nearby park, a generation after the initial subinfeudation of Connacht.

The evidence from Earlspark demonstrates that the de Burghs created a designed landscape at a distance from Loughrea castle and yet inter-visible with it. This landscape was used on a practical level to retain deer for venison and probably to supply timber, firewood and pannage for pigs. On a less tangible level, it was an area with excellent views of the town, lake and surroundings, as well as being pleasantly rolling countryside in its own right. Earlspark provided a venue for enjoyable activities such as hunting, and its visibility from the town, placement in the landscape and expensive method of construction were all designed to demonstrate the status and power of the de Burgh lords, who controlled much of Ireland.

Chapter 6: Maynooth, Co. Kildare

6.0 Introduction

The first reference to a park at Maynooth is that given in an extent of the manor of Maynooth and the subsequent assignment of dower to Lady Joanna de Burgh in 1328. This followed the death of her husband Thomas, 2nd Earl of Kildare (*Red Bk. Kildare*, nos. 119, 120). Later maps that show the 'Park of Maynooth', and documentary evidence, discussed in Section 6.2.2, make it clear that the park lay to the north of the town, in the townlands now known as Maynooth, Crewhill and Mariavilla. Fieldwork carried out in this area has provided physical evidence of the park and of related features, including the presence of a substantial boundary ditch, a potential lodge/viewing site and the remains of a decoy pond of probable post-medieval date.

A detailed survey of the park boundary is included in Appendix 6.1. Appendix 6.2 lists archaeological features in and adjacent to the Park of Maynooth, while Appendix 6.3 surveys a previously unrecorded enclosure and souterrain at Crewhill.

6.1 Background

6.1.1 General description of the park and surroundings

Maynooth is in the parish of Laraghbryan, the barony of Salt, and the county of Kildare. It lies 2km south of the Rye Water, which is a tributary of the Liffey, and which formed the early medieval boundary between Brega and Leinster, but now marks the boundary between Kildare and Meath (Horner 1995, 1; Smyth 1982, 45-6) (Fig. 6.1).

Fig. 6.1: Maynooth and its surroundings (Discovery Series)

The later medieval castle is situated on the confluence of the Lyreen River and of a tributary known as the 'Joan Slade' or 'Owen Slade', with Joan or Owen being a corruption of the Irish '*abhainn*' meaning 'river'. This means that two sides of the castle are delimited by water, so providing a defensive position (McNeill 1914, 281; Sweetman 1999, 32). The castle lies at the western end of the modern town, adjacent to St Patrick's College, a Roman Catholic seminary, which is now part of NUI Maynooth. The town is laid out on a northeast to southwest axis, with a main street that stretches in a north-easterly direction from the castle, terminating at the Presentation Convent, and with a formal avenue extending from there to the grounds of Carton House, while a similar avenue extends south-westwards from the rear of the Seminary. The layout of the town was subject to considerable modification in the eighteenth century (Horner 1995), and the modern town has also extended to the north and south of this later medieval and post-medieval core. At its closest point the deer park came to within *c*. 450m of the castle.

The probable park boundaries enclose an area of 496 statute acres, with a circumference of 6.3km (Fig. 6.2). Moving anti-clockwise from the northwest, the park is bounded on the entire south-western side by a substantial ditch, on the south-east by the road now known as the Dunboyne Road, on the north-east by the Rye Water and on the north-west by a now defunct field boundary within the townland of

Timard. It forms a sub-rectangular shape with a rounded corner at the north-western edge.

NUI Maynooth now owns much of the land to the northeast of the town, including part of the high medieval park, which is used as farmland. Some of the remainder of the park has been subject to residential development over the last 15-20 years, however much is still agricultural. The land in and around Maynooth is generally flat but the park contains a small hill, known as Crewhill, some 1.5km northwest of the castle. The land in and around the park is of good quality, being used for a mixture of arable and pasture (Pls. 6.1; 6.2).

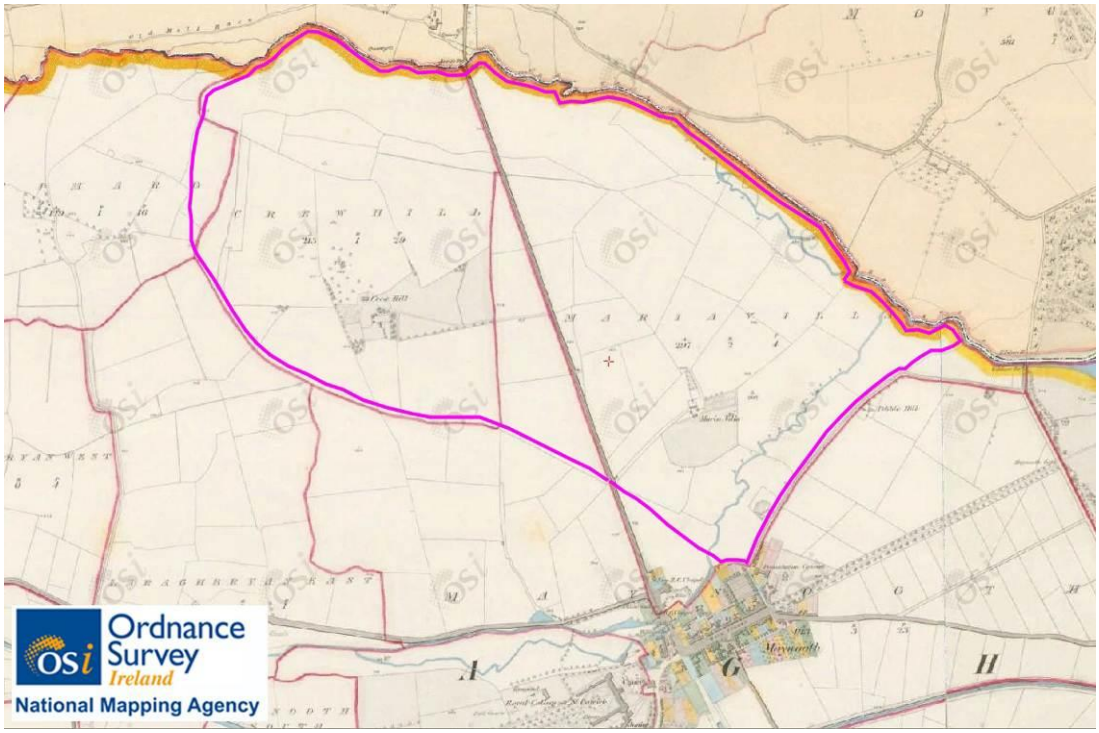

Fig. 6.2: Proposed park boundary overlaid on the 1st Edition map based on cartographic, documentary and archaeological evidence to be presented (1st Edition 1837-1842)

Pl. 6.1: Looking south across the park from close to the northeastern extent at the Rye Water

Pl. 6.2: Looking northwest across the park from the Dunboyne Road

6.1.2 Brief historical background to Maynooth and the Fitzgeralds

The name Maynooth comes from *Mag Nuadat*, the 'plain of Nuadu', and as noted above, in the early medieval period the Rye Water formed the boundary between Brega and Leinster, being held *c*. 1150 by the Ua Broin (Horner 1995, 1; Smyth 1982, 9, 45-6, 149). In 1176, Strongbow granted the manor of Maynooth to Maurice Fitzgerald (Fitzgerald 1895, 223; Orpen 1911-1920, iii, 112-3), and this was confirmed in a grant by John, Lord of Ireland in 1185x1189 (*Red Bk. Kildare*, no. 1). Maurice was a key figure in the Anglo-Norman conquest of Ireland and was politically well connected, having a son married to Strongbow's sister and a daughter married to his uncle. Some authorities believe that Maurice constructed the stone castle, however it may also have been built *c*. 1200 by his son Gerald, or his grandson, also Maurice. During excavations, an earlier structure was found on the site, so that the stone castle may have superseded an earthwork castle (Fitzgerald 1895, 223; Leask 1977, 36; McNeill 1914, 281; McNeill 1997, 36-8; Orpen 1911-1920, 111; Sweetman 1999, 37).

Throughout the later medieval period Maynooth Castle was the *caput* of the Fitzgeralds, who were the Barons and later the Earls of Kildare. Gerald (d.1205), the son of the first Maurice, became the 1st Baron of Offaly and was granted the lordships of 'Magnoded, Lathrebryn and Tactou' (Fitzgerald 1895, 223), now Maynooth, Laraghbryan and Taghadoe. Over a century later, in 1328, the death of Thomas, 2nd Earl of Kildare and Justiciar of Ireland, resulted in the assignment of dower described above (Fitzgerald 1895, 223).

In 1248 the church at Laraghbryan had been made a prebend of St Patrick's Cathedral in Dublin (*Archbishop Alen's Reg.*, 71; HJ 1880). In 1521, Gerald, the ninth Earl, endowed the College of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Maynooth, which was probably sited in the area of the current seminary. Gerald provided the college with lands in the county as well as the castle chapel, the remains of which form part of the existing Church of Ireland church, adjacent to the castle. In doing so he also moved the prebend from the church at Laraghbryan to the college church (Fitzgerald 1895, 224-5; HJ 1880, 538-41; McNeill 1914, 282). The college was disbanded during the suppression of the monasteries in 1538. In 1551 the former college property, including a house, close, park and garden were given to a cook named John

Kelly on a twenty-one year lease for 13s 4d per year (Fitzgerald 1895, 225; HJ 1880, 546-7; McNeill 1914, 282), and two years later were valued in Elizabeth I's rent roll at £6 13s 0d (McNeill 1914, 547).

The FitzGeralds held Maynooth until the rebellion of Silken Thomas in 1535. A false report that his father had been executed, sent Thomas into revolt against King Henry VIII and as a result Maynooth was garrisoned in preparation for a siege. This siege began in March 1535 when the armies of the King arrived in Maynooth. The castle fell to the Crown forces, allegedly due to treachery, and the lands and properties of the Earls of Kildare were forfeit (Fitzgerald 1895, 226-9; McNeill 1914, 283-4). Nevertheless, in 1552, Gerald, the eleventh Earl, regained his family seat, which continued to be occupied for the next century (McNeill 1914, 285). By 1630 the castle had become dilapidated and at that time underwent repairs and improvements (Fitzgerald 1895, 232-3; McNeill 1914, 286-8). In the rebellions between 1641 and 1647 the castle was the scene of a number of battles and sieges so that it was partially demolished in 1647, as a result it was no longer inhabited by the Fitzgeralds, who subsequently moved to the nearby Carton House (Fitzgerald 1895; McNeill 1914, 288).

6.2 Documentary and cartographic evidence

6.2.1 High medieval sources

As noted above, there is reference to a park at Maynooth given in the assignment of dower to Lady Joanna de Burgh in 1328, following the death of her husband Thomas Fitzgerald, 2nd Earl of Kildare and Justiciar of Ireland. An unpublished full translation of the assignment of dower was kindly supplied by Margaret Murphy. Relevant sections are shown below, translated from the *Red Bk. Kildare* (no. 120).

> 'Park: Assigned in dower of the park that is the third part of two parts next to the dower of Lady Blanche… It is assigned to the said Joanna in her dower free ingress and egress by the gates, ways and footpaths of the park from any part of the park to drive

> [or possibly hunt] all her animals….' (*Red Bk. Kildare*, no. 120. Transl. M. Murphy)

The location of the park is hinted at in the descriptions of the various aspects of the manor. The assignment says that

> 'she is assigned 6 acres and a half and a third part of a half acre in the field called *Lympittisfeld* lying and from both parts extending from the haggard to the park … *Meadow* [?]: 21 acres of which assigned in dower 4 acres beside *le Rye* and 3 acres in *le Loghmede* next to the park' (*Red Bk. Kildare*, no. 120. Transl. M. Murphy)

There is also reference to forest at Maynooth

> *'Forest:* Of the forest of *Croghmore* is assigned in dower the third part of two parts next to the dower of Lady Blanche … Assigned also in dower an acre of turbary in *le More dil Rathen* and the third part of the profits of two parts of the moor of *Rothan* by *Creghmore*.' (*Red Bk. Kildare*, no. 120. Transl. M. Murphy)

Other features of interest in terms of elements of an elite landscape include reference to 'a chamber newly built in the garden'. There was 'assigned also as dower that place [*placea*] between the door/gate of the castle and the wall next to the water, extended towards the north with free ingress and egress towards the street [*stratam*] of Maynoth and the garden by both gates by day as well as by night.' Joanna was 'assigned also the third part of the garden extended in length from the gate of the garden to the ditch lying within the land of Robert Baker, chaplain, and from the water towards the dovecot to the herbarium with the third part of the profits of the said dovecot.' (*Red Bk. Kildare*, no. 120. Transl. M. Murphy)

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Another document, possibly also from 1328, is an extent of the manor (*Red Bk. Kildare*, no. 119). This includes reference to the effect that the:

> 'Lympitisfeld contains 20 acres and a half and one stang and a half … Crenegele alias Cravile now in the park contains 36 acres …Moriceisfeld contains 13 acres and 1 stang' (*Red Bk. Kildare*, no. 119. Transl. present writer).

There is also an undated later medieval reference to a tenant to have reasonable estovers, housebote and haybot from woodland outside the park of Maynooth (*RPH*, Antiquissime Dorso no. 41. 3).

6.2.2 Late medieval and Post-medieval sources

After this there is no further mention of the park until almost two hundred years later, in 1518, and from then on it is mentioned sporadically throughout the post-medieval period. The record in 1518 is the rental of the Earl of Kildare, in which the value of lands leased to tenants is recorded. This includes the following arable lands

> 'Closet to the Park: Parke the Lymepitsfeld 20 acres dim. 1 stang. dim, Crewile or Creugele 36 acres, the Moricefeld 13 acres 1 stang. So rest clere with the tenantes 244 acres lacking dim. stang.' (*Crown Survey*, 279-80)

As well as grazing, given as

> 'Th'erbage of the parke: 65s.' (*Crown Survey*, 281)

'Closet to the park' appears to refer to enclosures within the park. The Lymepitsfeld is presumably the same lympittisfeld/Lympitisfeld referred to in the fourteenth century. Crewile or Creugele can be equated to 'Crenegele alias Cravile' and to Crewhill, the modern townland name. Hore (*Rental of Kildare*, 514) stated that a 'morice feld' was for dancing, having the same origin as the word morris dancing and was a corruption of 'Moorish', although two other possibilities present themselves. The first, and most likely is that this was 'Moor-ish' or boggy ground.

The second is that may be this was an area known as 'Maurice's field', since there were a number of Maurice's in the Fizgerald lineage.

The next references are in relation to the siege of Maynooth of 1535 during the rebellion of Silken Thomas.

> 'The Lord Deputie forewarned of his drift, marched with the Englishe army, and the power of the pale to Maynoth, and layde siege to the Castell on the North side, towardes the parke' (Holinshed's *Chronicles*, 1577, iii, 97)

Subsequently the lands of the Earls of Kildare were forfeit and as a result

> '… where the Kinge heretofor hathe been advertised of the wast and decay of the manor and parke of Maynoth, the Lord Leonarde [Grey], trusting to do the Kinge good service in reduceng the same to the oolde astate and condicion, is contented to take the hooll manor by lesse, and to paie yerelie therfor asmoche rent as was perceived therof by thErle of Kildare, who was the gretest improver of his landis in this land, and also to enclose the parke agayne at his awne chargis; which we thinke is a good bargayne for the Kinge, and shalbe a grete ease and reformacion for the country theraboutes.' (*S.P. Hen. VIII*, ii, 299-300)

demonstrating that at this time the park was still essentially whole and enclosed, with the presumed exception of damage to the park pale as a result of the siege.

In 1537 Maynooth was in the hands of the King, and various lands in Maynooth were listed as those which 'most be occuped by the costume plowys of the lordsipe of Maenyosly' (*Kildare Rental* in *Crown Survey*, 232). These included 6 acres 'in the Kylokys' and 4 acres 'by the gat of the parke called Kyloke'. It will be demonstrated later that Killioges Lane lay on the east side of the park and this therefore provides evidence for a gate on the east side of the park. This document

also gives details of the 'costome plowys of Mayothe', which included one plough in 'the lytyll maue', now part of The Maws, suggesting that this area was under tillage and outside the area of the park. Many of the placenames on this list can be identified with modern townlands, and it is notable that the areas occupied by the 'custome plowys of mayoth' form an arc from the east of Maynooth, through the south and round to the southwest, before including Catrye (Carton), Trodyston (Treadstown) and the Lytyll maue (Maws). The list notably excludes lands to the north and immediate west of the town in which the park was situated. By contrast, it is much harder to identify the list of placenames 'occupied by the costume plowys of the lordsipe of Maenyosly, presumably since these were held by the lord and not occupied by tenants, so that the names were not recorded in rental agreements and have disappeared.

In October 1540 the patent rolls note the

> 'Appointment of John Alen, esq., and Thomas Alen, gent., to the offices of Constable and Keeper of the King's Castle of Maynoth, in the county of Kildare, seneschal of the court, surveyor and keeper of the manor or lordship of Maynoth and Maynothesley, and of the woods and forests there; and keeper and ranger of the park of Maynoth; To hold for life, with a salary of £10 a-year, and the right of depasture in the park' (*Cal. pat. rolls Ire.*, i, 67)

The *Crown Survey* of 1540-41 gives extensive details of landholdings in Ireland and includes reference to the following lands in the manor of Maynooth. At that time Maynooth was held by the king, since the Fitzgerald lands were still forfeit due to the rebellion of Silken Thomas:

> 'There are there belonging to the said castle 320 acres of arable land of which 70 acres are included in the park of the lord king' (*Crown Survey*, 132).

The document goes on to detail non-arable land, which included

> 'a park with wild animals (*feris*) enclosed by hedges and ditches, containing by estimation 300 acres namely meadow, pasture and wood of which 200 acres is wood and underwood and the residue is meadow and pasture and for which the herbage is valued at £6 per year. And that there is in the same place 2 acres of grove (*nemoris*) or wood (*bosci*) called le Hayllis lying next to the park of the lord king in that place, for which the tenants of the aforesaid render nothing for the year.' (*Crown Survey*, 132-3)

This is the first occasion on which an acreage is given for the whole park and notes that the total enclosed area is *c*. 300 plantation acres, or *c*. 486 statute acres, of which 70 acres is arable and the rest wood, underwood, meadow and pasture. The description of the park as bounded by hedges and ditches provides information about the boundary of the park. Later in the same survey, the 'Town of Mawe' is detailed. This includes arable, pasture and meadowland, as well as

> '6 acres of wood called Kyllocoraghan and 100 acres of wood and underwood called Crymore for which the tenants render nothing' (*Crown Survey*, 142)

This wood at Crymore is undoubtedly the same land referred to in the 1328 dower as the 'forest of Croghmore'. Interestingly, in this regard, while the definition of forest has been discussed extensively above, Gilbert (1979, 19) noted that in later medieval Scotland 'forest' was sometimes used to refer to ordinary woodland as a result of '*le forest*' having this meaning in vernacular French. While a size of 100 acres would be excessively small for a true 'forest' in the legal sense (see Section 2.1), it would be a suitable size for demesne woodland, and this would explain why the Lady Johanna received a share of it in her dower. Kyllocoraghan can be equated with the modern townland of Ballycurraghan.

The next mention of a park at Maynooth is in 1585, when it still contained deer:

> ‘22 June 1585. Recognizance of John Hillan of Straffan in the county of Kildare, yeoman, and George King of Clontarf in County Dublin, gentleman, in £40.
>
> The condition is that if the above bounden John Hillan do from henceforth continue to be of good and honest behaviour and do not henceforth kill any of the Deare of Manoth Parke but use himself as becometh hym that then etc. or els etc.
>
> 22 June 1585. Recognizance of Nicholas Lee of Straff an in the county of Kildare, yeoman, and Robert Caddel of Dublin, merchant, in £40 that the said Nicholas Lee do not kill or consent to the killing of any more of the deer of Manothe Park.’ (*Cal. Irish Council Bk*, 318-9)

The deer still remained at the time of Fynes Moryson’s visit of 1600-1603 since he comments that

> ‘The Earle of Ormond in Mounster, and the Earle of Kildare in Lemster, had each of them a small Parke inclosed for Fallow Deare, and I have not seene any other Parke in Ireland, nor have heard that they had any other at that time, yet in many Woods they have many red Deare, loosely scattered which seeme more plentifull, because the inhabitants used not then to hunt them, but onely the Governours and Commanders had them sometimes killed with the piece. They have also about Ophalia and Wexford, and in some parts of Mounster, some Fallow Deare scattered in the Woods. Yet in the time of the warre I did never see any venison served at the table, but onely in the houses of the said Earles, and of the English Commanders.’ (*Itinerary*, iv, 193-4)

In the war of 1641 Fitzgerald (1895, 232) notes that an Edward FitzGerald and his associates and followers took possession of the castle and park from the Earl of

Kildare. Unfortunately the source of this is not noted, and subsequent authors have cited Fitzgerald, not the original source. As a result of the turbulence of the early 1640s the castle was partly ruined and was no longer occupied by the FitzGerald family (Fitzgerald 1895). It is likely therefore that it was at this time that the park fell out of use, as by 1652 it was leased out to a tenant, John Rinnsford / Raynsford / Rainsford, citizen of London, draper, who held:

> '…those two Parkes within the Lordshipp of the Mannor of Mynouth in the County of Kildare in the Realms of Ireland being part of the demeane of the said Lordshipp comonly called the great Parke, or further known by the name of Crew hill and the little Parke conteyning by estimation one thousand acres or there abouts be the land more or less to geather with all woods underwoods and comodities thereunto belonging for the terme and time of forty one years as by the said Indenture may more at large appear' (*Leinster Deeds* 13)

The area given is of great interest, since assuming that this is 1000 plantation acres (*c*. 1600 statute acres) this is very much larger than the 300 plantation acres specified in 1541. Alternatively, it is possible that this refers to 1000 English, or statute acres, since John Rinnsford was an Englishman. In this case the size is again much greater than 300 plantation acres. This also suggests the presence of two separate parks, the Great and Little Parks. It may explain the wording of the assignment of dower in 1328, which states that Joanna is assigned 'the third part of two parts' of the park.

The Down Survey map (Petty 1655) for the Barony of Salt is not helpful, since Maynooth and the surrounding areas were unforfeited lands and therefore are shown only in outline. Pender and Smyth (*Census Ire. 1659,* 400-2) list 42 English and 247 Irish in 'Mynowth'. It then lists the remainder of the townlands in the barony of Salt, before adding a further two English and one Irish in 'Mynowth'. It is unclear whether these three additional individuals had been forgotten from the main listing or whether, as seems more likely, these related to individuals residing in the park of Maynooth rather than the town and its associated lands.

The park and its gate are mentioned in 1674, as part of an investigation into a riot that took place on 12 September, in which the perpetrators seem to have emerged from the park:

> ‘1 Roger Long(?) …he was walking at the park gate of Maynooth …
> 3 - Wilson … about (off) lane called Lady’s Chase in the park of Maynooth but did not know who he was until …
> 3a4 Richard Leagah …Chatto out of the park of Maynooth and then walking towards the pound then came on James Gardiner (?) being one of the …
> 5c6 Abraham Spongoes (?) …Chatto out of the park of Maynooth and forward on his journey and before he went to Laragh-Bryan it was …’ (*Leinster Deeds* 36)

In 1674 Thomas Emerson surveyed lands owned by the Earl of Kildare at Maynooth, these included ‘the park of Manooth, 346a.0r.0p.’, and in 1677 a further survey of the lands by the same surveyor included ‘the Park of Manooth, 346’ with the rest of the text missing (*Kildare Estates*). This figure of 346 plantation acres was to be continued in later documents.

Although in 1652 the park was being leased for a period of forty-one years, so apparently bringing the lease to 1693, in 1683 parts of the park were being leased to three tenants who were in arrears with their payments.

> ‘John Nelson …. For arrears of halfe a yeares Rent of his proporton of the Parke of Maynooth due May C83. Arrears £019 06s 8d of which received £005 05s 0d
> Michael Osbery for arrears of halfe a yeares Rent of his proporcon of the parke of Maynooth due May C83. Arrears £004 05s 0d of which received £004 05s 0d
> Thomas Mallary for arrears of halfe a yeares Rent of his proporcon of the Parke of Maynooth due May C83. Arrears £004 05s 0d of which received £004 05s 0d’ (*Rent roll 1684*)

In the same year a new lease was enacted for the park, again giving its size as 346 plantation acres, or 557 statute acres. All of this suggests that Rainsford's lease had been terminated early:

> 'James Swanton esq for the park of Maynooth cont 346 ar by lease for three lives from May C83. ½ year rent £70 0s 0d whereof received £7 0s 0d' (*Rent roll 1684*)

Speed's map of Leinster shows 'Minoth' and a schematic view of the Rye Water, but provides little other detail. The *Book of Survey and Distribution* gives the land area of Maynooth townland as 425 plantation acres, equivalent to 688 statute acres and owned by George, E(arl) of Kildare.

By 1719 and again in 1725 the area of 346 plantation acres or 557 statute acres in Maynooth that had previously been leased to Swanton was leased to James McManus Senior. In this case, more details of the landholding emerge:

> 346 plantation acres bounded on W. by Laraghbryan and Maws on N. by Moyglare and Rye Water, on E. by Killioges Lane and on S. by Lyreen R., leased to James McManus Senior (cited by Horner 1995)

Horner (1995) could not identify the location of Killioges Lane, however given the location of the park, this description means that Killioges Lane is likely to have been the name of the northeast-bound road from Maynooth heading towards Moygaddy, to the east of the modern Carton Demesne. This road is now known as the Dunboyne Road. Any other location for the lane would result in the Lyreen River being described as the 'eastern' rather than 'southern' boundary. Thus Killioges Lane seems to have led to 'the gat of the parke called Kyloke' mentioned in the list of 'costome plowys of the Lordship of Maneyosly' (*Rental of Kildare*, 516)

Noble and Keenan's map of Kildare dated to 1752 shows the 'Park of Mannooth', 'Cruehill', 'Larrybrian', 'Mauce' and the town of Maynooth (Fig. 6.3). The hill at

Crewhill is shown schematically, with a relatively modest house shown at the foot of the hill, in the location still occupied today by a Georgian house. A road is shown heading north through the park to Moyglare, running to the east of Crewhill, approximately in the same line as the modern road. The area in what is now Mariavilla is shown blank on this map, with no house present and without a road running to either this location or to Crewhill House. The Dunboyne Road heading northeast from the town is shown running parallel to the Lyreen River and making a direct crossing of the Rye Water, whereas at the river crossing this road now diverts eastwards to meet the road that skirts the Carton Demesne.

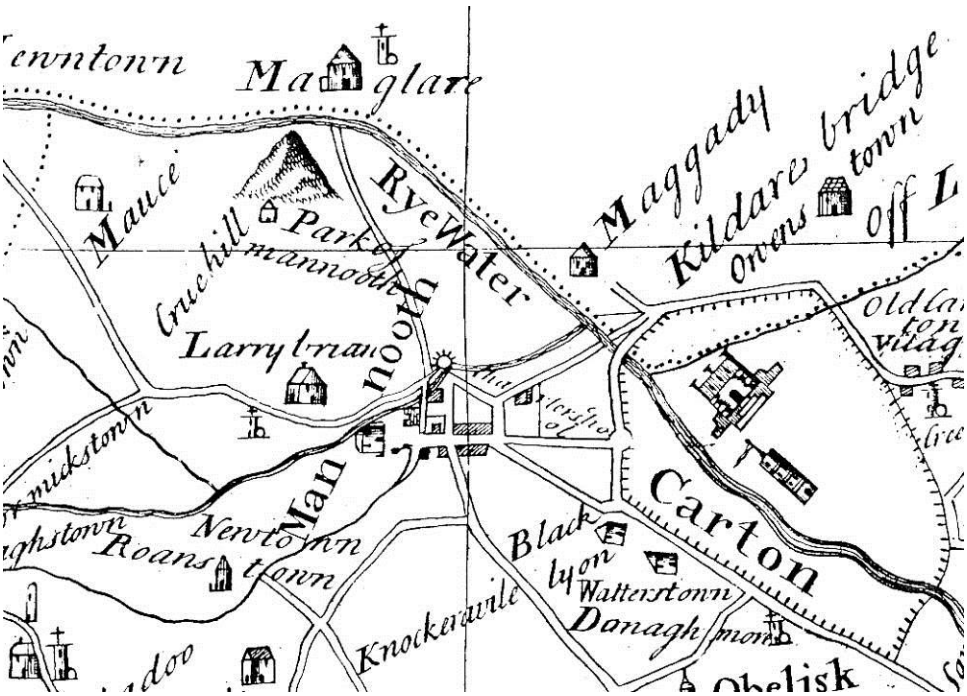

Fig. 6.3: Noble and Keenan's map of Kildare (1752)
(reproduced courtesy Trinity College Dublin)

The manor of Maynooth was mapped by John Rocque (1757), providing a superb insight into eighteenth-century landholdings (Fig. 6.4). Individual fields are listed and depicted and for Maynooth townland itself the names of the leaseholders are given. At this time Councillor McManus, who was presumably a direct descendant of the James McManus Senior, referred to in 1719, held 579 plantation or 933 statute acres, part of which is shown on the map as 'Maynooth Park'. The boundaries of this landholding include the lands held by James McManus, as well as the castle area and additional lands lying to the west of the castle, in what are now the townland of

Collegeland. As well as the lands incorporated within the bounds of the high medieval park, McManus is also shown as holding land between the town and the park itself, in what is now Maynooth townland.

Interestingly, although shown on Noble and Keenan's (1752) map, this map does not clearly show the road northwards to Moyglare, however a faint line on the microfilm image suggests the route. It would require examination of the original to confirm whether the route is mapped or whether this is a later addition, but this document was not accessible. Mariavilla House is shown on this map, as is Crewhill House and both are accessed by roads not shown in 1752. This map continues to show the Dunboyne Road/Killioges Lane heading northeast across the Rye River, but by this time the eastward link road had also been constructed. The map retains the original later medieval layout of the town, which was modified to the current plan of the main streets later in the eighteenth century.

A decoy pond is shown at the northeast of the park, adjoining the Rye Water and a further example of a decoy pond is shown in the separate map of Laraghbryan West. Field names in Maynooth townland are also of interest. Fields listed as numbers 73 and 81, close to the river are called the 'long marsh', despite being set back from the river, suggesting poor drainage. Other fields close to the river, while unnamed, are frequently classified as marsh and meadow rather than arable or pasture.

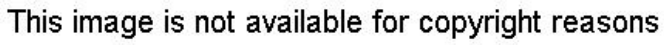

Fig. 6.4: Map of Maynooth townland (Rocque 1757)

In 1773 306 acres in the Park of Maynooth was referred to as being 'set in six divisions', which can be totalled to give 306 plantation acres:

> 'To be let for lives or years, part of the estate of the Duke of Leinster, in the Co. of Kildare, to wit …. in the MANOR OF MAYNOOTH, the Lands called the Park of Maynooth, in 6 divisions, the 1st Crew Hill about 130A. the 2d about 56A. the 3d about 29A. the 4th about 36A. the 5th about 26A. the 6th about 29A. – Also some lands near the Town of Maynooth…' (FDJ, 6-9 February 1773)

The park is not shown in Taylor and Skinner's (1778, 61) map of the area, although the Carton demesne is clearly marked as are the ruins of Laraghbryan Church (Fig.6.5). This map was primarily designed as a road map so that landmarks were shown and the only homes shown were those of the contributors.

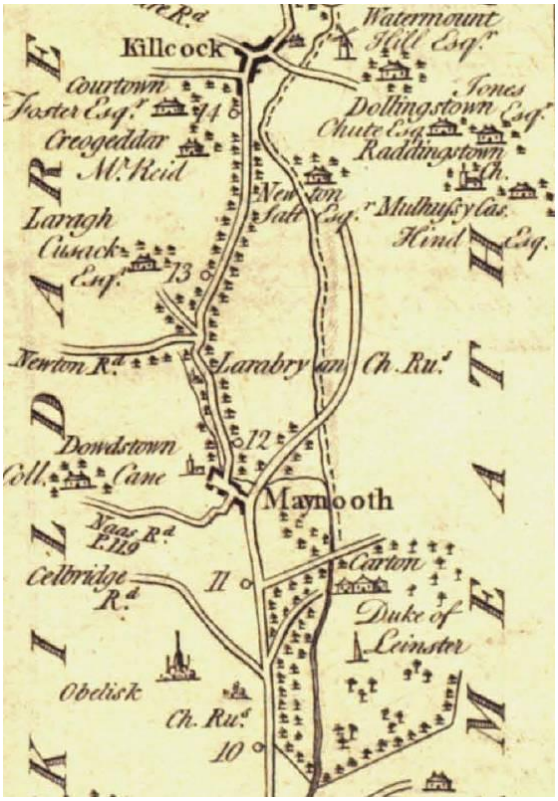

Fig. 6.5: Taylor and Skinner's (1778, 61) map

Alexander Taylor's 1783 map of Kildare shows 'Crewhill or Park of Maynooth' extending from the Lyreen River on the east to Tinard [*sic*] on the west, with the ruins of Laraghbryan Castle immediately to the north of the Kilcock road and the church (Fig. 6.6). 'Mause' extends over the modern townlands of Maws and Laraghbryan West. This map continues to show both the northeasterly crossing of the Rye Water as well as the easterly link road. Both Crewhill House and Mariavilla House are shown on this map, and once again, as with Rocque, there is no north-bound road to Moyglare, with roads only reaching as far as Crewhill and Mariavilla.

Fig. 6.6: Alexander Taylor's map of Kildare (1783)

The 'Park of Maynooth' is again referred to in the Dublin Evening Post in 1804:

> '…the lands called the PARK OF MAYNOOTH, containing about 70 acres, all choice feeding and meadow grounds; late the property of Mr. Lawrence Sword, dec. and now to be let by order of his administrator … the lands not to be tilled or broken up. (DEP, 28 January 1804)

A second estate map was created by Sherrard, Brassington and Greene (1821) (Fig. 6.7). This was similar to that produced by Rocque (1757) some sixty-five years previously. This map is the first of the more detailed maps not to make a reference to the Park of Maynooth, presumably because by this time it had become irrelevant as a landscape feature, being divided between a number of tenants. As with Rocque's map, this and the accompanying table detail the usage of each field, its acreage in plantation acres and the name of the tenant. Only a few field names are given, and these are less descriptive than Rocque's, e.g. 'Bottom Meadow' appears a number of times. Again, many of the fields close to the river are classified as meadow. This map showed the replacement of the town bridge over the Lyreen river with a new bridge to the east of the later medieval castle and the construction of a new road running northwards from the bridge through the park, initially parallel to

the older road that previously serviced Crewhill and Mariavilla, and then extending further north, crossing the river at the location of the current bridge and allowing traffic to access Moyglare. There is therefore a period between 1752 and 1821 where this northbound road is not marked on the maps, including the large-scale Rocque map. This may suggest either that there was a basic track heading north, which did not warrant mapping, or that in 1752 there was a proposal to construct a road to Moyglare, which did not actually take place until much later, after Alexander Taylor's (1783) map was surveyed.

Fig. 6.7: Estate map of Maynooth (Sherrard, Brassington and Green 1821)

By the time the 1st Edition map was surveyed in 1837, the park had disappeared from the cartographic record, with the area that was earlier leased by McManus having been effectively divided into the townlands of Crewhill, Mariavilla and part of Maynooth itself. Interestingly, however, although it does not appear on the map,

'Maynooth Park' is listed as a placename in the Ordnance Survey Name Books (*OS Name Books*), as are Crewhill, Laraghbryan East and West, Lyreen River, Mariavilla, and Maws Great and Little, Rye Water and Timard.

This was not, however the last record of the park. On 16 February 1843 an indenture between Augustus Frederick, Duke of Leinster and Charles William, Marquis of Kildare listed lands of Maynooth which again included 'the demesne lands, park of Maynooth ...'(*Leinster Deeds* 47). This is an indication that while the park was no longer relevant on a day-to-day basis, it may still have been a memory in the FitzGerald family, and was still noted by lawyers, who continued to repeat descriptions of lands given in earlier documents.

6.2.3 Origin of place-names in and around the park

The Placenames Commission has documented research into the origin of various townland names (www.logaimn.ie). As well as a small part of the townland of Maynooth, the park contains the townlands of Mariavilla and Crewhill. On the surface, Mariavilla might be considered as an eighteenth-century house name given in recognition of a wife or daughter, however it appears in the Inquisitions of Elizabeth as 'Merywall' and O'Donovan considered it to have originated as *Machaire bhile*, 'plain of the ancient tree'. This is interesting since in early medieval Ireland the *bile* was the ancient or sacred tree of a *tuath* and associated with kingship (Lucas 1963; Mac Coitir 2003, 5-6). Crewhill was translated by John O'Donovan as *Creamh-choill*, 'wood of the wild garlik' (www.logaimn.ie). There is however another alternative, which is that the first part may have originated as *craobh*, either in the form *Craobh*-hill or as *Craobh-choill*. *Craobh* means 'tree' or 'branch' and Flanagan and Flanagan (2002, 63-4) have noted this at Crew Hill, Co. Tyrone, where the name is given to a 'steeply rounded hill with an associated standing stone'. Since the name was 'Crenegele' or 'Cravile' (*Red Bk. Kildare*, no.119) it suggests that in this case 'hill' is not the origin of the second syllable. As with *bile*, the word *craobh* is often associated with totemic properties and symbols of kingship and community (Flanagan and Flanagan 2002, 30-1, 63-4). The potential for both place-names to have ritual associations in pre-Norman Ireland is a point that will be returned to in Section 6.4.8.

Timard seems to have been a late creation as a townland, having previously been considered a part of the Maws. O'Donovan translated it as *Tuim arda*, 'high bushes', while Laraghbryan is believed to have been 'Brian's site' and Maws to have come from *más*, 'a buttock' (www.logaimn.ie). These place-names in and immediately around the park show a preponderance of woodland/tree names, suggesting that in the early medieval period the land was well wooded and not used for agricultural purposes. This may have been one of the reasons why the area north of the town was selected for a park. Another reason may be that if the *bile* of the former incumbents was located within the park, then creating a park there would restrict access to this, and would symbolise the control of the incoming Anglo-Norman FitzGeralds.

6.2.4 Summary of documentary and cartographic evidence

The evidence demonstrates that the park at Maynooth existed from sometime prior to 1328, when it is mentioned in the dower settlement and in an extent of the manor of Maynooth (see Section 6.2.1). It survived until sometime between Moryson's visit in 1600x1603 and 1652 when the land was leased to a tenant, with deer still present in 1600x1603 (see Section 6.2.2). Since the castle was partly ruined and was no longer occupied after 1647 it is likely that it was at this time that the park was abandoned. In 1540x1541 the park was recorded as being bounded by hedges and ditches, and it is likely that this was the case throughout its lifespan (see Section 6.2.2). Even after the park passed out of its primary use, the name 'Park of Maynooth' stayed current up to the beginning of the nineteenth century and was occasionally used beyond this. In the nineteenth century the area was subdivided into the townlands of Maynooth, Crewhill and Mariavilla, which were all names of parts of the park that had been in existence prior to this subdivision (see Section 6.2.3).

6.3 Archaeological work

In addition to the documentary evidence for the FitzGerald family having an existing park at Maynooth in 1328, there are references to Maurice FitzGerald receiving gifts of deer in England between 1244 and 1251 (*CDI*, i, nos. 2701; 3104; 3144) These may refer to deer for export to stock the Irish park, and so may indicate the date at which the park was first established. There is also archaeological evidence to show that the park of Maynooth was used to retain deer, and not just used for pasture since twenty-eight fallow deer fragments were found during excavation of Maynooth Castle (Murray Undated).

As described above, the probable park boundaries enclose an area of 496 statute acres with a circumference of 6.3km (see Appendix 6.1). Working anti-clockwise from the northwest, the park is bounded on the south-western side by a substantial ditch, with a depth of 2m – 2.5m (Fig. 6.8). For part of its length this has an external hedge, which is probably the original boundary referred to in the *Crown Survey* (see Section 6.2.2), as well as a very flattened internal bank which is likely to be up-cast from re-cutting the ditch. On the south-east side, the park is bounded by the road now known as the Dunboyne Road, which is up a relatively steep incline from the Lyreen River below. On the north-east the boundary is likely to be the Rye Water, however the area close to the river is marshy, wet floodplain and it is likely that the ditch and external bank set back from this floodplain and demarcating the edge of higher, drier ground were the effective edge of the area used for deer, so preventing them swimming the river. The low-lying area also includes a decoy pond, which is likely to date from the post-medieval period, although a later medieval date is possible. On the northwestern side the park boundary is absent, but is likely to have been marked by the line of a now-defunct field boundary within the townland of Timard. Overall the park has a sub-rectangular shape with a rounded corner at the northwestern edge.

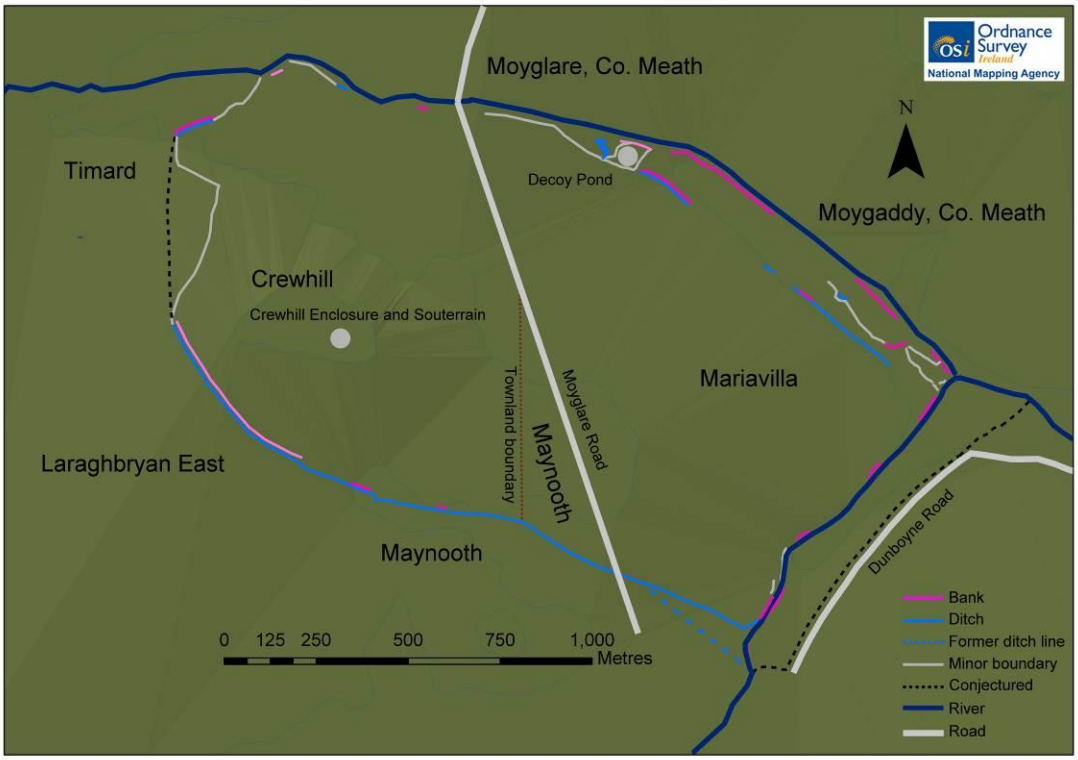

Fig. 6.8: Key features of the park of Maynooth
(base mapping © Ordnance Survey Ireland/Government of Ireland Copyright Permit No. MP 0003612)

In the centre of the park is Crewhill, and on the top of this hill is an enclosure that has not been recorded by the National Monuments Service. This enclosure is not shown on any of the Ordnance Survey maps, despite the location being marked on the 1st Edition and 25" maps as being the site of a trigonometric station (see Appendix 6.3). Initially, this might suggest that the enclosure is a tree-ring and was therefore not considered worthy of inclusion on the maps, however, the morphology, its location on the top of the ridge, and the presence of an also-unrecorded souterrain immediately down-slope suggest that the site is a ringfort. Furthermore, the possibility that the place-name may link the hill with the *craobh* of the early medieval population may also be significant (see Section 6.2.3).

The site was surveyed using a total station (Fig. 6.9) (see Appendix 6.3). From the top of this hill there is excellent visibility in all directions and this is the only hill for some considerable distance around. It provides a view of almost the entire park area and is the only place in or around the park to do so. There is a local tradition that during the siege at the time of Silken Thomas's rebellion in 1535 the castle was

bombarded with guns stationed on Crewhill (John Geoghegan and Bill Mulhern, *pers. comm.*). To add to this the current landowner previously had in his possession what he described as a cannon-ball that he had found on the land, but unfortunately this cannot now be located (John Geoghegan, *pers. comm.*). The oral history relating to the site supports the evidence for the strategic nature of the location, since it would be a natural choice for a command post to attack the town. Military archaeologist Damien Shiels (*pers. comm.)* has suggested that positioning a cannon at this location would have been more impressive than effective. This suggests at least two phases of use for the enclosure, first during the early medieval period and later, in the sixteenth century. Furthermore, during the period when the park was operational, this would have been the ideal location for a viewing stand or a parker's lodge as it represents the highest point in the park.

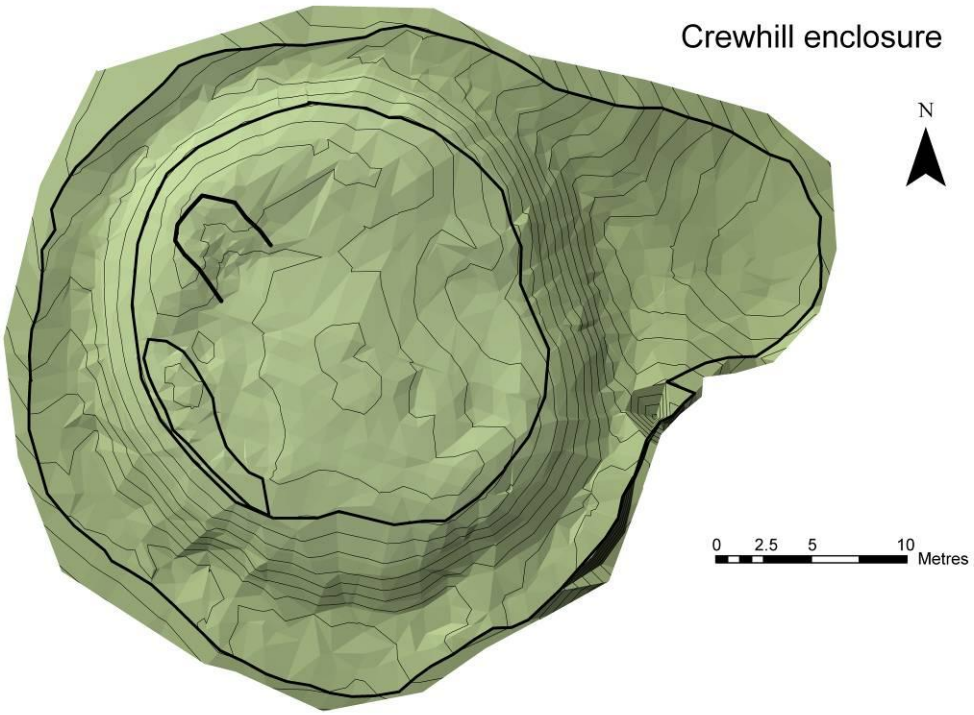

Fig. 6.9: Topographical survey of unrecorded enclosure on Crewhill

6.4 Discussion

6.4.1 Dating of the park construction

The earliest evidence for the park is in 1328, when it appears in two separate documents; however, it is likely to have been envisioned during the initial setting out of the manor of Maynooth, over a century before (see Section 6.2.1). The location of the park close to the castle, its careful positioning so that it is surrounded by water on two sides (see Appendix 6.1) and the integration of the park into the layout of the fields and other manorial features support this idea. Between 1240 and 1251 Maurice Fitzgerald was given royal gifts of deer on no fewer than four occasions. This suggests that these were to stock a park or parks, and, as Maynooth was the *caput* of the Fitzgerald holdings, may give an indication of the date of emparkment, or that the park already existed by this time. This means that it is likely that the park was established in the early- to mid-thirteenth century. The park continued in use until at least the early 1600s, probably passing out of use when the castle was destroyed in 1647 (see Section 6.2.2).

6.4.2 Layout of the high medieval manor and park

It is clear that the park of Maynooth lay to the north of the castle and town, in the modern townlands of Crewhill, Maynooth and Mariavilla. The evidence suggests that the park was bounded on the southwestern side by the substantial ditch, which in part forms the boundary of Crewhill townland. Three areas within the park were enclosed at an early stage, the Lymepitsfeld, Crewile and the Moricefeld, with acreages given for these enclosures in 1328. The area encompassed by a high medieval acre is the subject of much dispute and variation; however, the acreages for the same enclosures are identical in 1518, suggesting that in this case these high medieval acres may have been essentially identical to Plantation acres.

Using the castle and the Lyreen and Rye rivers as fixed points, the various documents and maps can be used to develop a layout for the high medieval manor of Maynooth. It can be suggested that the area to the west and north of the castle were the demesne lands of the manor. This area contained the parks, gardens, orchards, mills and granaries of the manor as well as woodland and demesne agricultural land.

By contrast, the area to the east and southeast of the castle was given over to the town and to the lands rented to tenants.

6.4.3 The original form of the boundary

The *Crown Survey* (132-3) states that in the 1540s the park was 'enclosed by hedges and ditches'. The park is bounded on the north and northeast by the Rye Water, which, with the presence of marshy floodplain close to the river and the addition of a thick hedge along the far riverbank, which is much steeper, would have provided a sufficient barrier to retain the deer. On the southeastern side the boundary appears to have been close to the road now known as the Dunboyne Road, which heads northeast out of Maynooth, parallel with the Lyreen River. The river runs in a valley and if there were a hedge either close to the top of this slope, or along the immediate riverbank below it then it would again have been sufficient to prevent the escape of deer. The southwest boundary is still partly represented in the landscape today by the steep-sided substantial ditch that was traced for some 1.5km. This is currently 2 - 2.5m deep and 3m - 6m wide, providing a formidable barrier to movement. Today, an external hedge bounds the northern part of this, and it is likely that this was also originally the case along the entire length. As noted in Section A6.1.1, a stretch of internal bank was identified running intermittently for *c.* 700m along this boundary and while an external bank with internal ditch is more common on English deer parks, it is possible that this is the remains of the high medieval bank. This is unlikely, however, since a similar bank was noted parallel with the Timard-Crewhill ditch, in an area where the park is believed to have followed a different line through Timard townland. It is most likely that this internal bank has been formed by the upcast of repeated ditch-clearing and/or by ploughing of the fields to the east, and that the ditch and external hedge formed the original park boundary.

6.4.4 Preservation of the park

One notable aspect of the park at Maynooth is that there is surprisingly little to distinguish it from the surrounding land. This is despite being in use for up to 400 years. It had been constructed at some point prior to 1328, probably by the mid-thirteenth century, and probably existed until 1647. Even after this, the area was still recognised as the 'Park of Maynooth' up to the nineteenth century. The main remaining features are the decoy pond, which is likely to be post-medieval (see

Section A6.1.3), and the steep-sided ditch, which is notably large, but is no larger than the east-west ditch that met the boundary close to M2 (see Section A6.1.1). Even this main boundary ditch has had its route modified at its southern extent in the last 200 years. Today, due to issues of economic viability, arable agriculture is carried out on only the best lands in the country, but even so, substantial areas of the former park and its immediate surroundings are under crops. This attests to the excellent quality of the land incorporated into the park, and it is likely that ploughing has removed many features within the park. One example is the boundary at the extreme northwest in Timard (M43-M1) (see Section A6.1.4), which is not visible today, but which can be traced cartographically.

Of all the parks identified in this thesis, the park at Maynooth is the longest surviving, and even so this has not resulted in substantial remains being present. This clearly demonstrates the ephemeral nature of these designed landscapes and highlights one of the main reasons why the monuments have lain unidentified in the landscape for so long. This long survival is probably due to the FitzGeralds being amongst the least Gaelicised of the former Anglo-Norman families and the location of their lands on the edge of the English Pale.

6.4.5 Access and security for the park

The identification of the modern Dunboyne Road as probably being the Killioges Lane of 1719 and the evidence that in 1537 there was a 'gat of the parke called Kyloke' suggests a gate into the park at some point along this length (see Section 6.2.2). Logic would suggest that this should be at the southeast corner of the park, conveniently located for access from the castle. The curving boundary at that point, shown on Rocque's (1757) map and retained in the modern townland boundaries up to the present day, is a likely location for this. Other gates may also have provided access, but the potential locations of these are unknown. There is a building shown at this southeast corner of the park on both Rocque's (1757) map and the map of 1781 (Sherrard, Brassington and Green 1821) (Fig. 6.10). This is situated on the turn of the road and the edge of the park prior to the realignment of the southernmost section of the boundary ditch. This may have been on the site of the entrance; and potentially this was the site of a gate lodge, although by the eighteenth century this could well have been a replacement building serving another function. A problem

with an entrance at this point is that the main portion of the park was on the far side of the Lyreen River. There must therefore have been another gate to access the main part of the park. One possibility for this is this was on the immediately opposite bank of the river, where the ditch met the river, close to Bride's Well. The other alternative is that it lay at the point where the northbound road from Maynooth intersected with the park.

Fig. 6.10: Possible park entrance, (ringed) and Bride's Well (arrowed) shown on Rocque's (1757) map

Security would have been a significant issue in the construction of a park. Being bounded by rivers meant that there was a reduced need for ditches to surround the park. Since all work would have had to be carried out by hand, the digging of the 2km-long southeastern ditch would have been a significant undertaking in itself. In addition to this, the park would have required a hedge or a paling fence on all sides, and even after construction this would have had to be maintained on a regular basis, both to prevent the escape of deer and to deter poachers.

6.4.6 Constructions within the park

The unrecorded enclosure on the top of Crewhill may be an early medieval ringfort, it may be a later medieval park lodge/viewing stand, or it may be related to the siege of Maynooth in 1535. Alternately it may have had multiple phases of use and reuse. Only excavation would conclusively determine this, however the topographical survey carried out on the site was a first step in this process (Fig. 6.9 and see Appendix 6.2). The location on the top of the only hill within the park and indeed for some considerable distance around would have made this a strategically important location on an ongoing basis. The views from Crewhill are extensive in all directions, although today the view of the town is limited by trees and by the presence of Crewhill House.

The extant decoy pond at M30 (see Section A6.1.3) is shown on Rocque's map of 1757, but is absent on Sherrard, Brassington and Green's (1821) map, suggesting that it was no longer in use at that time. 'Decoy' comes from the Dutch for a duck cage, *eendenkooi*. It has been suggested that some decoy ponds may date to the later medieval period. This may be the case, however the majority were constructed from the 1660s onwards (Alexander 2011, 2-7; Reeves-Smyth 1997, 198). In their post-medieval form they originated in Holland and Reeves-Smyth (1997, 198) has argued that in Ireland they were most common in the period 1660-1780, while Alexander (2011, 5) considers that in England they were mainly constructed in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. They are relatively rare in Ireland, with only sixty-two recorded by Reeves-Smyth (1997, 198). In this case, the cartographic evidence suggests that it falls into the earlier chronological category. Although it is possible that the pond dates to the latter stages of the FitzGerald occupation of Maynooth, it is more likely to have been constructed by one of the tenants prior to 1757. With the exception of smaller, short-term tenants, who seem to have been in arrears and therefore of limited means, the likely candidates are John Rainsford, James Swanton, James McManus Senior, or Councillor McManus. John Rainsford, a draper from London, may be the strongest contender, since he took an indenture for 1000 plantation acres from the FitzGeralds and was therefore a person of substantial means. He may well have chosen to create a decoy pond within his short-lived new holding as a symbol of his wealth and increasing status in the world.

6.4.7 The Little Park

McNeill (1914, 288) states that:

> 'The College was probably built on what was formerly the deer park of the castle, which was in existence in 1585; and, with the exception of one belonging to the Earls of Ormond, was the only deer park in Ireland'

All the evidence suggests that the Park of Maynooth lay in the area to the north of the town, however, there is evidence that a second 'Little Park' existed in this area. In the assignment of dower Joanna she was 'assigned in dower of the park that is the third part of two parts next to the dower of Lady Blanche'. Some three hundred years later John Rainsford leased 'those two Parkes within the Lordshipp of the Mannor of Mynouth … comonly called the great Parke, or further known by the name of Crew hill and the little Parke conteyning by estimation one thousand acres or there abouts'. The difficulty with the lands taken by Rainsford is the quantity, as 1000 plantation acres is 1610 statute acres. The Park of Maynooth is consistently given as *c*. 300 plantation acres and this fits with the area defined on the ground. In this case it would mean that the Little Park would be *c*. 700 plantation acres in size, which hardly fits with the name applied to it, being substantially larger than the Great Park. Alternatively, since John Rainsford was a London draper, the indenture may have been put together in statute or English acres, in which case, given a total area of 1000 acres, the area of the little park would have been *c*. 500 statute acres, similar to the 'great Parke' and so still very large. This still does not aid in identifying the limits of the Little Park, however there are two possibilities. The first is a sub-circular area of *c*. 213 statute acres shown in pink in Fig. 6.11. This is located in the lands to the west of St Patrick's College. This would be a suitable location for a Little Park as they were often extensive gardens attached to castles or manor house (Fletcher 2011, 94). If this area was the Little Park and if this area was added to the land separating the two parks, a figure of *c*. 1000 statute acres could be achieved. The second alternative is defined by the 579 plantation, or 933 statute acres held by Councillor McManus in 1757 (Rocque 1757). This area of land included the Park of Maynooth, as well as what is now the grounds of the seminary, plus the land between the two. It is possible that these two rental agreements refer to

the same portion of land, in which case it is likely that the little park refers to the 28-acre area shown in blue in Fig. 6.11. A combination of the two is also a possibility that should not be discounted, since the park could have been compartmentalised.

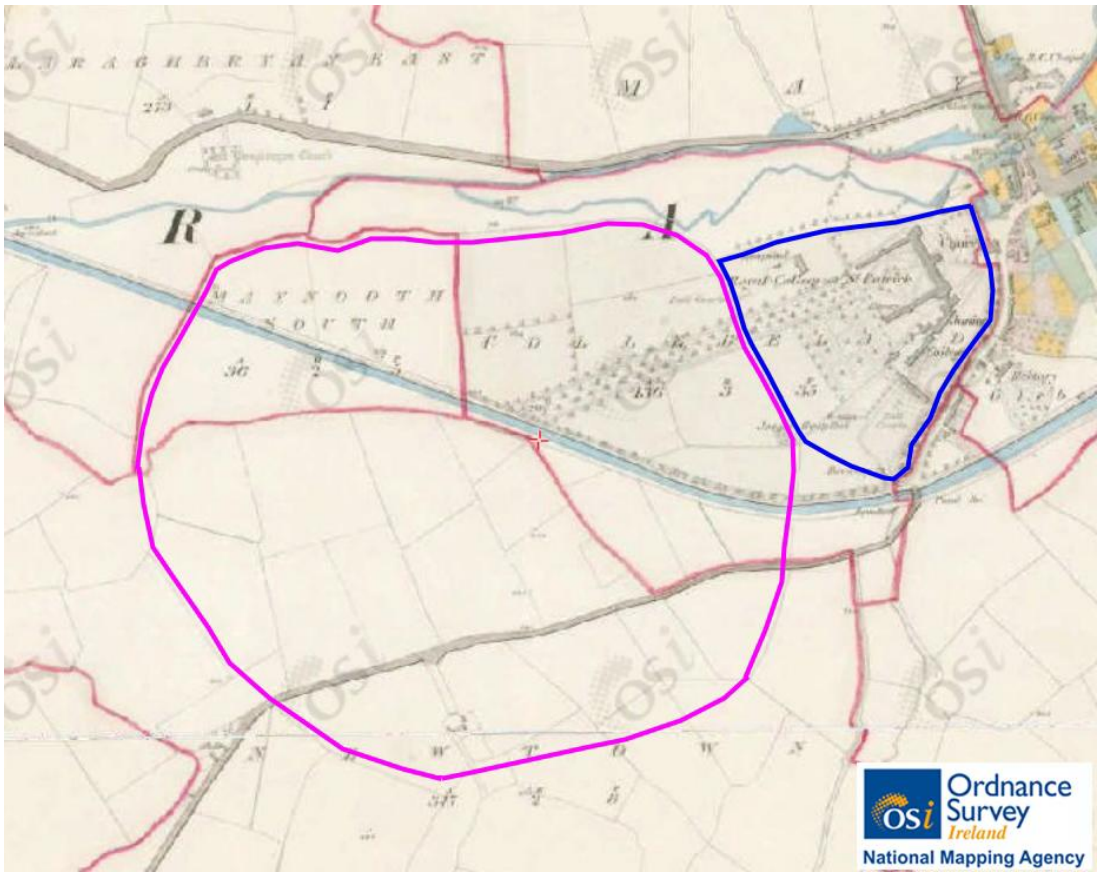

Fig 6.11: Two alternative possibilities for the site of the 'Little Park' (1st Edition 1837-1842)

6.4.8 Practical and symbolic aspects of the siting and use of the park

From a practical perspective the siting of the Great Park of Maynooth is convenient to the castle, with the nearest part lying only 450m northeast of the castle. It is easily accessible and can be walked in a matter of minutes. In terms of an arrangement of space within the manor, an area in an arc from the northeast round to the southwest was dominated by the castle and its demesne, which included mills, haggards, gardens and parks, with the town and the agricultural land of the tenants restricted to the southeastern and northeastern quadrants. This would have showcased the manorial landscape for any visitors to the town or for those passing through Maynooth as they headed westwards, away from Dublin. They would have passed through the town, into the castle by passing through the gatehouse and would then

have exited the castle when crossing the river. From there the traveller would have been surrounded by the demesne lands, with the park to the north. Liddiard (2005, 100) has noted the importance of 'landscapes of production' in demonstrating the social status of the lord. By displaying the agricultural, industrial and aesthetic resources in his possession, a lord was making a powerful statement about his membership of an elite group. Giraldus Cambrensis makes this point clearly when he describes Manorbier Castle in Wales, commenting on the presence of mills, fishponds, orchards and vineyards as part of his description that 'it is evident, therefore, that Maenor Pirr is the pleasantest spot in Wales' (*Itinerary through Wales*, 85).

Once within the park there is a feeling of privacy and seclusion. From the top of Crewhill there is a partial view of the town and castle, however today trees and Crewhill House obscure this view. At other locations, the town is invisible, with only the tallest building, the spire of St. Patrick's Roman Catholic Church, being seen from selected locations in the park. This spire would not have been present in the high medieval period, as it dates to the nineteenth century. As a result, the park would have been almost complete secluded, and this feeling would have been heightened as there were probably more trees and undergrowth within the park.

The importance of the park in the symbolic holding of the land is demonstrated in the documentary sources on a number of occasions (see Section 6.2.2). Firstly the park was used as a staging post for the English army in the siege of Maynooth in 1535. Subsequently, Lord Leonard Grey's offer to rent the lands and park and to 'enclose the parke agayne at his awne chargis' provides further evidence of its importance in maintaining what is perceived as the proper order of things, as does the ongoing focus on the value of the park land during the remaining time that it is held by the King. Again, in 1641, when the castle was taken, specific mention was also made of the taking of the park. There is a direct association between possession of a well-managed park and a perception of order in society (Richardson 2005, 116). Parks were sometimes 'broken' by poachers not to access food due to hunger but to insult the owner or to make a political point (Birrell 1992, 11; Mileson 2009, 155). To break a park was to put a slur on the honour of the owner, attacking his status as a custodian of his land and his ability to maintain order.

There is placename evidence that may suggest that the area that became the park was important prior to the arrival of the FitzGeralds, and that they may have deliberately enclosed an area of ancestral significance to the pre-existing populace (see Section 6.2.3). On the surface, the name Mariavilla appears to be post-medieval or modern in origin, however it has been documented back at least to Tudor times. The Irish origin of the name Mariavilla has been argued by O'Donovan to be *Machaire bhile*, 'plain of the ancient tree', while Crewhill may be *Craobh*-hill or *Craobh-choill* (Flanagan and Flanagan 2002, 63-4) (see Section 6.2.3). *Bile* and *craobh* were often used interchangeably (Mac Coitir 2003, 6). They were extremely important symbols of kingship in early medieval Ireland and if the tree was within the area enclosed by the park then the Fitzgeralds would have been making a very powerful statement about their control of the land (FitzPatrick 2001; Lucas 1963; Mac Coitir 2003, 5-6). The park boundary would have restricted access to the *bile/craobh*, and would have defined it as a Fitzgerald possession. By controlling this they had control over the land and so may have sought to legitimise their claim to the area and its people. The importance of this symbolic aspect should not be understated. There is no requirement in this for the Fitzgeralds to have taken on Irish customs at this early stage, but there would have been an awareness of the importance of embedding the lineage into the land.

6.5 Recommendations

It is recommended that the enclosure and the unenclosed souterrain at Crewhill be added to the RMP list of recorded monuments. The evidence suggests that the enclosure was originally a ringfort, but it is also possible that it was reused as part of the management features of the park. There is also documentary evidence and oral history that the enclosure was in use at the time of the rebellion of Silken Thomas in 1535. Similarly, it is recommended that the decoy pond be added to the RMP list of recorded monuments. These are relatively rare features in the Irish landscape and should be protected. Situated on the northern boundary of the park this artificial pond was in use in 1757, but may have been constructed at any time from *c*. 1660 onwards, or could potentially even be of late medieval origin. Finally, it is

recommended that the line of the southwest boundary ditch of the park be maintained, and development should not be allowed to obscure or remove this. The ditch is actively used in water management on the land so that restrictions should not be placed on maintaining a clear water flow, but the line of the ditch is the one of the few remaining features of the Park of Maynooth and so should be preserved for posterity.

6.6 Conclusions

The FitzGeralds, earls of Kildare were among the leading Anglo-Norman families, and continued to be extremely important throughout the later medieval and post-medieval history of Ireland. Maynooth was their *caput* and hence there was continuous occupation of the castle and the park throughout the period under study. The park at Maynooth is first referred to in 1328, but there is circumstantial evidence to suggest that it is probably *c*. 100 years older than this. It was located to the north of the town, in the townlands now known as Maynooth, Crewhill and Mariavilla. The documentary evidence shows that there were still deer there at the start of the seventeenth century. It passed out of use as a park at some time between 1600 and 1652, probably immediately after the partial destruction and abandonment of the castle in 1647, becoming farmland after this. As such, Maynooth is the park in the study that probably has the longest period of use in its primary role but despite this, and despite being a recognisable entity until the nineteenth century, the physical remains are ephemeral but not unrecognisable. This demonstrates the importance of using an interdisciplinary approach to the identification of medieval landscape features.

Fieldwork carried out in this area has provided physical evidence of the park and of related features, including the presence of a substantial boundary ditch, a potential lodge/viewing site and the remains of a decoy pond probably dating to the post-medieval period. The Park of Maynooth is an important site in further developing our understanding of the landscape of later medieval and post-medieval Ireland.

Chapter 7: Dunamase, Co. Laois

7.0 Introduction

In January 1282-3 an inquisition was held into the lands held by Roger de Mortimer at the time of his death. These included reference to a park at Dunamase (*CDI*, ii, no. 2028; *Inq. & Ext. of Med. Ire.*, no. 54). The 1st Edition maps of the area, and the work of Murphy and O'Conor (2006, 62) highlight three townlands in the immediate vicinity of Dunamase Castle that incorporate the name 'Park', which suggested that these were worthy of further investigation as potential locations for the park mentioned. Of these, the archaeological, historical and cartographic evidence shows that the townland of 'Park or Dunamase', surrounding and extending west from the Rock of Dunamase, was held in demesne and was emparked in the high medieval period. The Rock is topped by the late twelfth- or early thirteenth-century Dunamase Castle (Hodkinson 2003; O'Conor 1996). A second, smaller park may also have been present in the wider area. This chapter will focus on Park or Dunamase, but will also briefly review evidence for alternative locations.

Fallow deer remains were found during excavations at Dunamase (Butler 1995; 1996a; 1996b; n.d.). There is also a reference in 1225 to William Marshal the Younger, lord of Leinster, receiving a gift of twenty does from the king, to be brought to Ireland from the Forest of Cheddar (*CDI*, i, no.1323). Although there is no evidence that these were brought to Dunamase rather than to any of the other lands held by the Marshals, including Carrick, Co. Wexford (See Chapter 8), this demonstrates the regard in which Marshal was held by the king, and a possible source for the fallow deer remains found at Dunamase. Similarly, twice in 1275, and once in 1279, Roger de Mortimer received gifts of deer from the King, with one of the references stating that these were to create a park (*Cal. close rolls*, Edw. I, ii, 149, 214, 536). These were granted from forests and parks in England, and so may have been destined for some of his extensive English lands, or even elsewhere in Ireland, including the de Mortimer lands at Trim. There are therefore two windows of possibility for dating the construction of the park based on gifts of deer.

Appendix 7.1 contains a detailed survey of the townland boundary of Park or Dunamase, while an alternative, suggested by Hodkinson (RMP No. LA013-121) is detailed in Appendix 7.2. Archaeological features in and adjacent to Park or Dunamase are listed in Appendix 7.3, and there is a detailed topographical survey of the recorded 'deserted medieval village' (RMP No. LA013-051) in Appendix 7.4. Finally, Appendices 7.5 and 7.6 review evidence for woodland resources and quarries and a limekiln respectively.

7.1 Background

7.1.1 General description of the area

Dunamase Castle is one of the most dramatic later medieval castles in Ireland, lying in Co. Laois, immediately to the north of the modern N80 road between Carlow and Portlaoise and halfway between the towns of Stradbally and Portlaoise (Pl. 7.1). The castle dates to the late twelfth or early thirteenth centuries, and appears to have been abandoned in the fourteenth century (Hodkinson 2003; O'Conor 1996). It is in the parish of Dysartenos, but was formerly in the adjoining parish of Kilteale (Fig. 7.1). The castle was strategically important, as it controlled the route connecting the central lowlands of Laois with the Barrow valley (Bradley 1986, 24).

Pl. 7.1: The Rock of Dunamase from inside the park

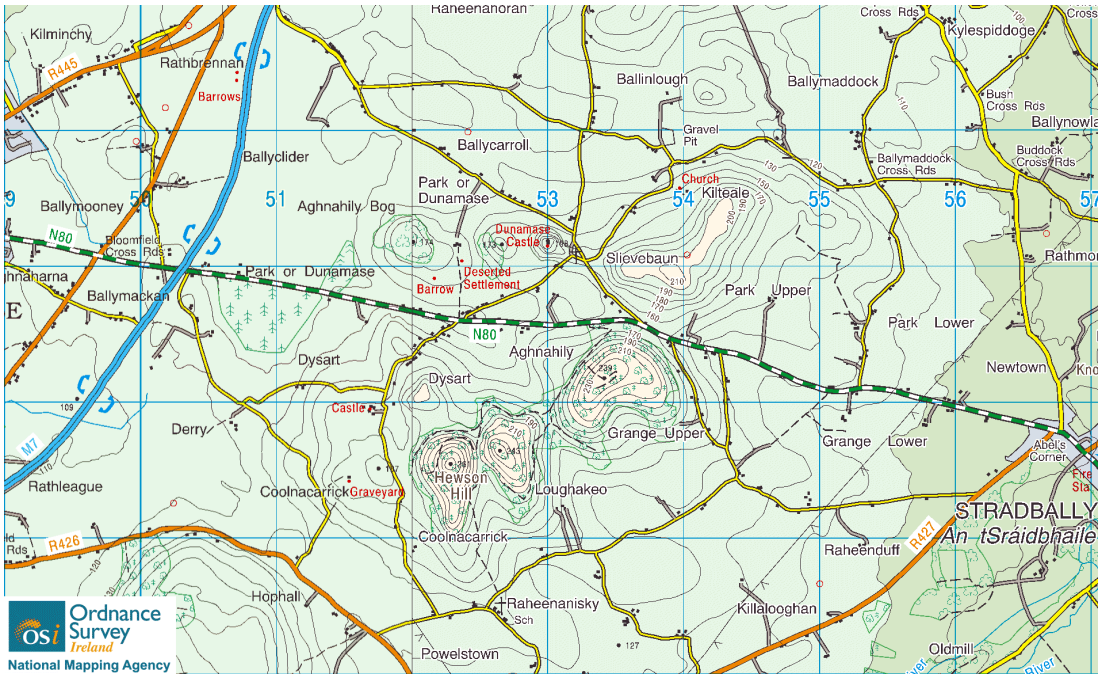

Fig. 7.1: The area around Dunamase (Discovery Series)
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The castle is situated on a prominent craggy outcrop, known as the Rock of Dunamase (Pl. 7.2). This is the highest and easternmost of three outcrops that form an east-west line to the north of the modern road. The lands to the west towards Portlaoise, to the southwest and to the north are flat, including areas of bog and

reclaimed bog land, while to the east and south a range of hills separates Dunamase from Stradbally. The castle sits at the eastern end of the townland of 'Park or Dunamase', which consists of 338 statute acres, and is currently used for both arable farming and for cattle grazing. Travelling towards Stradbally, on the eastern side of the range of hills are the townlands of 'Park Upper' and 'Park Lower', with 426 and 199 statute acres respectively. Today these are mostly given over to cattle grazing (Fig. A7.2).

Pl. 7.2: First view of Dunamase when approaching from Stradbally and Grange: note the alignment of the gatehouse (circled) with the road

7.1 2 Brief historical background of Dunamase

The name Dunamase is held by most authorities to be the *Dún* or fort of Masg or Masc and the site has been identified with the *Dunum* of Ptolemy's map of Ireland (Fitzgerald 1909, 3; Ledwich 1781, 6; O'Leary 1909-11, 161-2; Orpen 1911-1920, i, 142). It was also the site of a Viking raid (*AFM*, AD843). Prior to Anglo-Norman control of the area around Dunamase, it was in the territory of the O'Mores or Ó Mórdha, with Dunamase itself being held by their vassals the Uí Chremthannáin (Ó Cléirigh 1999, 163-4). Hodkinson (2003) identified elements of a dry-stone walled enclosure on the Rock, which he was able to date to the early medieval period.

Ó Cléirigh (1999, 162) has argued that the history of Anglo-Norman Laois can be divided into three phases: conquest until the death of King John in 1216; stability until 1272; and then a period of impending crisis and Gaelic resurgence in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. This demarcation into three periods is clearly seen in the history of Dunamase and reflects the wider political landscape of Ireland in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

The early history of the later medieval masonry castle at Dunamase is obscure, with Strongbow, Meyler FitzHenry, Geoffrey de Costentin and William Earl Marshal all having held the area and having been suggested as being the builder of the castle. Nevertheless, by 1208 it appears to have been under the control of the Earl Marshal, who had married Strongbow's daughter and hence gained control of the lordship of Leinster (Hodkinson 2003, 46-49; McNeill 1993, 236; O'Conor 1996, 101; 1999a, 186; O'Leary 1909-11, 20; Ó Cléirigh 1999, 167; Orpen 1911-1920, ii, 201-2). The first phase of Anglo-Norman activity was the construction of the hall and a gate tower to provide access to the lower ward (Fig. 7.2). In the early thirteenth century the site was re-fortified with more defensive features including a new gatehouse and porches to protect the doors of the hall. The barbican may represent a third phase, possibly as late as the mid to late thirteenth century, but this is a matter of dispute (Hodkinson 2003, 35-42; O'Conor 1996).

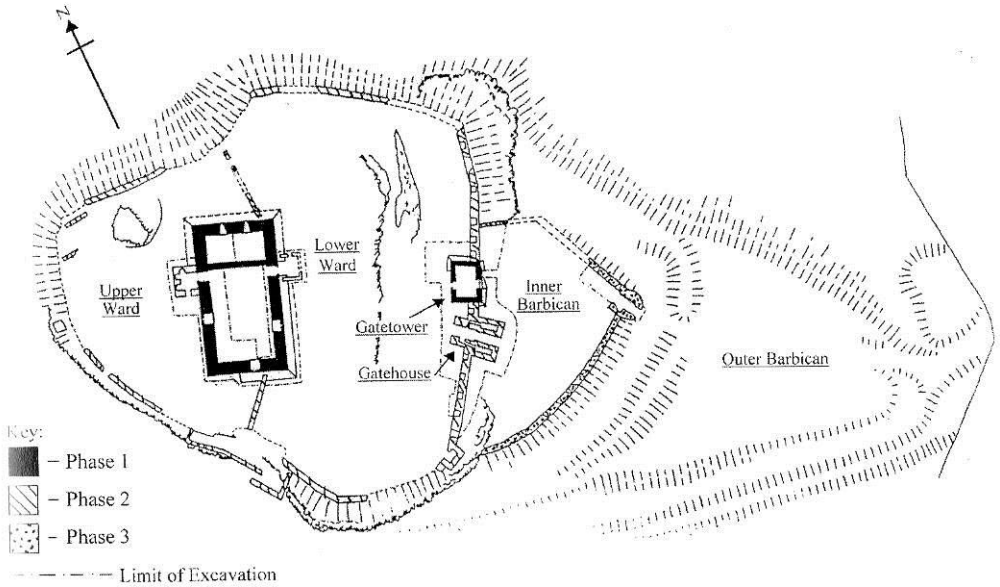

Fig. 7.2: Plan of Dunamase Castle (after Hodkinson 2003, 33)

Following the death of the last Earl Marshal in 1245, the lands were divided among a number of female heiresses (see Appendix 1.2). The castle and honour of Dunamase passed to the youngest sister, Eve, who was herself dead by the time of the partition. As a result, her daughter Maud, who had married into the de Mortimer family, inherited the land. The lands of the manor are listed in an inquisition after the death of Roger de Mortimer in 1282-3 and were held by the family until 1330, when a later Roger de Mortimer was executed for treason and his lands seized by the Crown. Around this time, but possibly shortly before the death of the later Roger in 1330, Lysaght O'More is recorded as having taken the castle and lordship from the de Mortimers (*Clyn's Annals*, 1264, 1342; Delaney 1996, 8; Hodkinson 2003, 46-49; O'Leary 1909-11, 20; Ó Cléirigh 1999, 169; Orpen 1911-1920, i, 375; iii, 103-4). Although the Crown granted the forfeited de Mortimer lands to Fulke de la Freigne in 1334, Hodkinson (2003, 43, 49) contends that this was probably a speculative grant, as he notes that there is no mention of Dunamase in later medieval records after this, and furthermore that his excavations revealed little evidence for activity at the castle after *c.* 1330. Dunamase Castle was in the hands of the O'Mores in the mid-sixteenth century (*Inq. Rot. Canc. Hib.*, Eliz. (1)), but their lands were taken from them and distributed to English settlers later in this century (*Inq. Rot. Canc. Hib.*, Eliz. (5), Jac. I (1)).

The castle itself changed hands a number of times during the 1640s but may have been finally destroyed by the Cromwellian army in 1650, although during his excavations Hodkinson did not find any evidence for this in the form of, for example, cannonballs or musket balls (Bradley 1986, 25; Hodkinson 2003, 44; Ledwich 1804, 296). By 1791 the ruined castle was in the possession of Sir John Parnell, whose descendants continued as the major landowners in the area until three Fitzpatrick brothers purchased the castle and associated townland through the Land Commission. Their nephews, the Kelly brothers, inherited the land and in turn, the Dowling brothers who were nephews of the latter, took possession and still hold it today. In the time of the Kellys, ownership of the castle and the Rock itself was transferred into State care (Grose 1791, 12-13; O'Leary 1909-11, 168; Michael Dowling, *pers. comm.*).

7.2 Documentary and historical map evidence for the manor of Dunamase and the park

In 1282-3 an inquisition was carried out following the death of Roger de Mortimer. At this time the manor of Dunamase included 127 burgesses in the 'New Town of Leys', where the inquisition was held. The jurors noted that the lands included:

> 'The manor and honor of Dumasek in the tenement of Leys, in the county of Kildare of 2 carucates and 73 acres in demesne, with a stang of arable land, which they extend at 10*l* 8*s* 10*d*, namely, at *8d* an acre a year. …They extend the mountain pasture and the pasture in the park at 33*s* 4*d* a year' (*CDI*, ii, no. 2028).

The first paragraph implies that of the demesne land, only one stang is arable, with the rest having an unspecified purpose, however Dryburgh and Smith (*Inq. & Ext. of Med. Ire.*, no. 54) give a slightly different, and more logical translation for this paragraph:

> 'Roger held 2 carucates, 73 acres and a stang of arable land in demesne in the manor and honour of Dunamase … The mountain pasture and an emparked pasture extend at 33*s* 4*d* a year'

The inquisition also mentions the burgages and a large number of other possessions of the manor, which included a rabbit warren worth 2*s* a year. This suggests a thriving manor with a full range of facilities and activities. The presence of the 'new town of Leys' is significant, and will be discussed further. The '2 carucates and 73 acres and 1 stang of arable land' is interesting. Division of the total value of the land by the stated value of 8d/acre gives an area of 313 acres, which fits with 2 carucates being *c*. 240 acres. A value of 313 acres is surprisingly close to the modern townland size of 338 acres at the townland of Park or Dunamase which includes the immediate area of the Rock of Dunamase, and strongly suggests that this townland

was the demesne land, which was *in parco* or enclosed, and that the high medieval acre used in this case was similar in size to a modern statute acre (Down 1987, 477).

The mention of the value of pasture raises the issue of whether there was a second park in the area, used for grazing, or whether part of the demesne park was used in this way. If a modest value of 4*d* per acre is assumed for this category of land then the total acreage of the mountain and park pasture would be *c*. 100 statute acres. Given that mountain pasture is likely to be extensive rather than small scale, any second park must be very small, so that it is much more likely that a portion of the demesne park was being used for pasture rather than that there was a second park.

Another inquisition took place in 1323, but by this time, due to the ravages of famine, the Bruce invasion and the actions of the rebellious O'Mores, much of the manor and the castle of Dunamase were destroyed and the New Town of Leys had declined to a population of only forty burgesses (Ó Cléirigh 1999, 176; Otway-Ruthven 1968, 252).

There is then a gap in documentary evidence, as about this time the region fell into the hands of the O'Mores, who held it for the next two hundred years. In 1538, Piaras Mac Maol-Lochlainn O'More submitted to the king, keeping much of his land by surrender and regrant, but renouncing title and lordship to the castle at Dunamase and acknowledging the king as his overlord (Carey 1999, 216-7; Fitzgerald 1909, 25; *S.P. Hen. VIII*, iii, CCLI). The details of this were later reiterated in the Indenture of his successor Rory Caech O'More, which was dated 1542 (Fitzgerald 1909, App. IV). The next document of interest in terms of the park is the inquisition into the lands of Rory Caech O'More, taken at Maryborough on 17th June 1566 (Comerford 1886, 362). Rory held land both as a result of his 'Captainship of Leyse' and 'in his own seizin, of his own proper inheritance'. While the former brought him only the town of Stradbally, his own inheritance, as well as various lands in mortgage, included '… Dysarte-eneys, Carrickeneparkye' (*Inq. Rot. Canc. Hib.*, Eliz. (1)). Dysarte-eneys can be equated to the modern townland of Dysart in the parish of Dysartenos, and it will be demonstrated that Carrigneparke is the townland of 'Park or Dunamase'. Subsequently, in 1577, Robert Piggott received extensive grants of lands from Queen Elizabeth, centred around Dysart (Comerford 1886, 276).

Following his death in 1607, the lands were described in an inquisition when he was 'seised in fee of the … townes and lands of Carrickneparke, al' Carryneparke (*Inq. Rot. Canc. Hib.* Jac. I (1)).

The earliest map showing the Dunamase area is a map of Leix and Offaly which Andrews and Loeber (1998, 243-9, 250-5) argue show the landholdings as they were in the 1560s. The best known of these is known as the 'Cottonia' map of *c.* 1563 (Fig. 7.3), in which west is shown at the top of the map. This clearly shows Dunamase Castle (RMP No. LA013-052) as a structure on the outcrop of the Rock, and immediately to the northeast is a small gabled building, probably signifying Kilteale Church (RMP No. LA013-053). To the west of Stradbally is 'Ye Parke' in the location now occupied by the townlands of Park Upper and Lower. This area is shown as wooded and there is a small gabled structure at Ye Parke, possibly in the location of the extant 'Park House'.

Fig. 7.3: Map of Leix and Offaly (Cottonia *c.* 1563)

The *Books of Survey and Distribution (BSD)* list the townlands of Dunamase and of Carrignapairky, although as with all the townlands in the parish the acreages are very much smaller than those of the modern townlands, suggesting that in this case only areas of arable cultivation were being recorded (Tab. 7.1)

Townland	**Plantation Acres in *BSD***	**Statute Acres calculated from *BSD***	**1st Edition map townland acreage (statute)**
Carrignapairky	68	110	338 with Dunamase
Dunamase	5	8	338 with Carrignaparky

Tab. 7.1: Land areas in the *Books of Survey and Distribution*

For the Barony of Maryborrough Pender and Smyth (*Census Ire. 1659*, 497, 504) gave a population of eleven, all Irish, in the townland of Caricknaparkny, while in the Barony of Stradbally there were ten Irish in Parke townland and four Irish in Grange townland.

Taylor and Skinner's (1778, 157) map shows the road from Dunamase to Dysart and the road from Stradbally to Dunamase and then to Mountmellick. This Mountmellick Road is the road that runs along the northern boundary of Park or Dunamase townland, heading northwest, and although roads are heavily stylised by Taylor and Skinner, on their map it appears to head northwards, along the route of the road to Portarlington. In either event, only one of the two is shown. The map also shows the location of Parnell's house at Rathleague (Fig. 7.4).

Fig. 7.4: Taylor and Skinner's (1778, 157) map

Alexander Hogg's (1786) map of Leinster showed Carickdonamase to the east of Maryborough (Portlaoise) and also showed main roads and barony boundaries (Fig. 7.5). The road connecting Maryborough with Dunamase is not shown, although it was present on Taylor and Skinner's map (1778, 157).

This image is not available for copyright reasons

Fig. 7.5: Map of Leinster (Hogg 1786)

By the late eighteenth century, Sir John Parnell, ancestor of Charles Stewart Parnell, was the owner of Dunamase and 'very much improved the aspect of this rock by clothing it with trees and on the eastern side [*sic*] he has built a banqueting-room' (Grose 1791, 13). Grose included three views of the castle (Fig. 7.6). Bradley (1986, 25) follows O'Leary (1909-11, 168, 170) in stating that Parnell carried out the construction and planting in 1795, however, it would appear from Grose's (1791, 13) book that the work was begun a few years prior to this. Furthermore, Coote (1801, 221) noted that Sir John had received grants from the Dublin Society in 1789 and 1793 to enclose thirteen and fourteen acres of plantation respectively at unspecified locations, and it is likely that this was at Dunamase. Coote gives an extensive description of the history and ruins at Dunamase, before continuing with an eye-witness account of Parnell's work. One feature of note is the mention of 'above two hundred acres here inclosed', which, in statute acres would be an area of *c*. 322 acres, and is the approximate area of the modern townland:

> 'Sir J. Parnell, who wishes to preserve the venerable appearance of this celebrated place, is rebuilding the castle on its ancient site, in the same style of gothic architecture. The apartments within are laid out with taste and comprize a complete banquetting room, ball room, dressing-room, kitchen, and cellars: the well will again be opened. The land, on which stands the rock, is the property of Sir John Parnell, who has above two hundred acres here inclosed. Some fine timber is on this demesne, and the plantation, for which Sir John received the Dublin Society's premium, is admirably enclosed with high stone ditches, breasted with a double row of quicks, and the trees thriving in proper heart' (Coote 1801, 116-7)

Fig. 7.6: Three views of Dunamase from Grose (1791)

Ledwich (1804) also included a view of Dunamase in his volume, and again the Rock is notable for not being tree-covered, despite being some twenty years later in date (Fig. 7.7). O'Leary (1909-11, 168-70) notes that Sir John's son, Sir Henry Coote Parnell, did not continue with the works, but instead allowed them to decay and cut down the trees after his succession to the title in 1812.

Fig. 7.7: The Rock of Dunamase without the present tree cover (Ledwich 1804)

Daniel Cahill's Grand Jury Map (1805) includes much relevant detail (Fig. 7.8). This provides a link between Rory Caech O'More's land at Carrigneparke held in 1566, 'Carrickneparke, al' Carryneparke' mentioned in the 1607 inquisition of Pigott's lands and the townland of 'Park or Dunamase' given by the Ordnance Survey. It confirms that Carrigneparke is the townland of Park or Dunamase.

Fig. 7.8: Grand Jury map of Queen's County (Cahill 1805)

Although Sir Henry Coote Parnell did not continue with the landscaping and construction works begun by his father, the land of Park or Dunamase continued to be held essentially as a single block. By the time of Griffiths Valuation (1847-64) it was rented to William Clarke, who sublet two small portions close to the Rock itself. By contrast, the townland of Ballycarroll, which was owned by the Earl of Mornington, and lies immediately to the north and west of Park or Dunamase, was rented out in small parcels (Fig. 7.9).

Fig. 7.9 Griffiths Valuation map (1847-64) of Dunamase and surrounding townlands

7.3 Location of the high medieval park

It has been noted above that there are three modern townlands in the locality with the name 'Park':

- 'Park or Dunamase' / Carricknapark
- Park Upper and the contiguous Park Lower, which can be considered together

The evidence relating to the two locations will be summarised, and as part of this the evidence for the location of the New Town of Leys will also be reviewed.

7.3.1 Park or Dunamase/Carricknapark

Working backwards, the townland of Park or Dunamase was previously known as Carricknapark, which can be traced to as early as 1566, when it was held by Rory Caech O'More. By this time, the O'Mores had held their lands for over two hundred years, since *c*. 1330. Carrignapark translates as 'the rock of the park', fitting well with the ruined castle on the rock and the modern name of the townland as 'Park'. While park/parc/páirc could be considered as being of English, French or Irish

origin, 'carrick' is clearly of Irish origin. It is therefore highly unlikely that the name in that form was given either by Anglo-Norman or English settlers. As a result, the name must have come into use in the period in which the O'Mores held the land. As yet there is no evidence for the Gaelic Irish constructing parks in the high medieval period (see Section 4.5.5), and this therefore suggests that the park at this specific location was already a landscape feature by the 1330s, which the O'Mores took over when they reclaimed their land. Moving backwards from this, the demesne lands were documented as extending over *c*. 313 statute acres in the inquisition of 1282-3. This can be compared to 338 statute acres for the modern townland, of which 13 acres are the Rock, supporting the assertion that the townland of Park or Dunamase was the location of the high medieval demesne and that it was emparked.

One problem with the townland of Park or Dunamase being equated with the demesne park is the presence of a 'deserted medieval village' in the centre of the townland (RMP No. LA013-051). This group of earthworks has been suggested as the site of the New Town of Leys, a possibility that will be discussed in detail below (Bradley 1986, 34; 1999, 262-3). Survey undertaken as part of this research strongly suggests that the earthworks are not the New Town of Leys in particular, or of a later medieval village in general, and interpretation regarding their actual identity is made in Section 7.4.3.

There is also evidence that there may have been a second park elsewhere since the jurors 'extend the mountain pasture and the pasture in the park at 33*s* 4*d* a year'. This could be taken to imply that there was a second park adjacent to the mountain pasture. While this is a possible interpretation, it is much more likely that this is referring to pasturage within the demesne park, and that all the pasture lands were being discussed together, since there is no other mention of pasture in the inquisition.

7.3.2 Park Upper and Lower

Ye Parke and Grange appear on the 1568-9 Cottonia map, in the positions occupied by the modern townlands of Park Upper and Lower and Grange Upper and Lower respectively. There is some continuity of field boundaries between Grange Upper and Lower, to the south of the modern N80 road, and Park Upper and Lower, to the north of the road. The two 'Upper' townlands in particular, form a neat sub-

rectangular block of land and their eastern limits form the boundary of the modern barony of Stradbally, suggesting that these were previously one block of land.

There are a number of possibilities for the origins of Park Upper and Lower. One is that this is the area referred to in 1282-3 when the jurors 'extend the mountain pasture and the pasture in the park at 33*s* 4*d* a year' and Grange is the area described in the phrase 'Near the grange of Dumasek there are 6 acres of meadow, which they extend at 2*s* a year, namely, 4*d* an acre'. 'Grange' was a term for a farm run directly by an estate, rather than rented to tenants. Granges were usually associated with an ecclesiastical establishment, although the word could also relate to aristocratic possessions (Barry 1987, 6-7, 76; Berman 1991) and in this case it must refer to the Grange belonging to the castle, since if it was an ecclesiastical property it would not have been included in the manorial extent. It is, however, unclear whether this is the same Grange as the modern townlands of Grange Upper and Lower in Stradbally.

'Grange' is shown in the position of the modern townland on the sixteenth-century Cottonia map, and by 1596 the townland of Grange was held by Cosby, who had received lands formerly belonging to the O'Mores and to the Franciscan friary. (Comerford 1886, 361; *Inq. Rot. Canc. Hib.*, Eliz. (5)). Ye Parke is not mentioned, however, as such, it is likely that by Tudor times the townlands of Ye Parke and Grange were among the lands of the O'Mores. They may have been part of the lands formerly belonging to the de Mortimers, but Bradley (1999, 262) suggests that the Stradbally area was outside the Anglo-Norman manor of Dunamase. By the Tudor period, Stradbally was the site of the O'More castle and also of the Franciscan friary endowed by them. This suggests that it had been their ancestral centre for some time, and so strengthens Bradley's argument that Stradbally was not within the manor of Dunamase. In this case it is possible that Grange and Ye Parke were always within O'More lands, and that Ye Parke may have been a later medieval Gaelic-Irish park.

A final suggestion is that Park Upper/Lower is a post-medieval creation by Cosby. Examining the Cottonia map, while the names of the landowners, Cosby, Pigot and others, were clearly added in different ink to the remainder of the text, the placenames appear to be from a single phase of cartography, suggesting that these

were in place when the map was created. This raises issues over the date of the map and any subsequent annotations, however a post-medieval creation is certainly possible.

To summarise, while it is possible that Ye Parke, or Park Upper and Lower was the site of the high medieval park associated with Dunamase, the evidence suggests that it is more likely to have lain outside the manor of Dunamase, and to have been created at a later date, possibly up to the late sixteenth century.

7.3.3 The New Town of Leys

The New Town of Leys first appeared in the documentary record in June 1232 when 'the new vill of Leys' was part of the dower of Eleanor, widow of William Marshal II who had died in 1231 (*CDI*, i, no. 1950). The town was mentioned on a number of occasions after this, including references to troops being stationed or passing through the town during attempts to put down Irish insurrections (*CDI*, ii, no. 2291). The New Town of Leys was also included in the Ecclesiastical Taxation of 1302-6, when the church had a value of 12 marks, with the vicar receiving a portion of 5 marks (*CDI*, v, no. 712), suggesting that it was a relatively wealthy church.

The location of the town has been the subject of much debate, with Sweetman (*CDI*, index 666) and Otway-Ruthven (1959, 183) arguing for the townland of Newtown adjacent to the modern Stradbally. Helen M. Roe (cited by Bradley 1999, 262) suggested Borris Great and Borris Little, some 5km to the west, and immediately adjacent to the modern town of Portlaoise. Finally, Lea Castle was suggested by O'Leary (1909-11, 164). Bradley (1986, 49-50; 1999, 261-3) argues that Newtown and Lea can be discounted since they were outside the manor of Dunamase. He notes that it is unclear whether Borris was part of the manor, but in its favour it has a documented church site and has watercourses that could have been the location of the two mills recorded as being associated with the settlement. The name Borris relates to the presence of a borough or burgage land, and furthermore, a pre-existing settlement in the immediate locality would explain the choice of location for 'Fort Protectour', later Maryborough and Portlaoise, which was founded in the mid-sixteenth century.

The other possibility discussed by Bradley on two occasions (1986, 24; 1999, 262-3), is that the New Town of Leys was situated at Dunamase. In favour of this location, in his 1999 work, he cites the presence of earthworks (RMP No. LA013-051001) that he believes are the remains of a later medieval settlement and the proximity of these to the castle, but against this he notes the absence of a church in the immediate vicinity and the absence of waterways that could be the location of the documented watermills. Surprisingly, in 1999 he does not comment on the presence of the later medieval church in the adjacent townland of Kilteale (RMP No. LA013-053), *c.* 1km to the north, which he had previously suggested as the location of the church associated with the castle of Dunamase (Bradley 1986, 33). The road connecting the Rock of Dunamase with the church at Kilteale would be a logical site for a settlement, however the lack of water in this area does count against it being the New Town of Leys.

A settlement of 127 burgesses would have had a total population of over 600 people and so would have been very substantial. While Bradley acknowledges that the earthworks (RMP No. LA013-051001) may not be the New Town of Leys he is quite definite that they do represent the site of a later medieval settlement (Bradley 1986, 24; 1999, 263). These earthworks were surveyed by O'Conor (1986, 240-3), who identified an irregularly shaped enclosure and five or six rectangular areas that he termed 'tofts', one house platform, two hollow-ways and a pond (Fig. 7.15). The site has been re-surveyed as part of this thesis and the results are presented in Section 7.4.3, where it is argued that they are not the remains of a later medieval village.

7.4 Archaeological work

The historical and cartographic evidence for the high medieval park being at Park Upper/Lower is weak, and while these townlands were surveyed during this project, the results will not be presented here. Brian Hodkinson (*pers. comm.*) believes that the northern boundary of the park is defined by a curving bank lying to the north of the east west road that separates Park or Dunamase from Ballycarroll, and it is this feature that he reported to the National Monuments Service and that has been recorded as RMP No. LA013-121 (Archaeological Survey of Ireland 2010) (see

Appendix 7.2). The other alternative is that the townland boundaries of Park or Dunamase essentially preserve the boundaries of the high medieval park (see Appendix 7.1). The evidence for each will be presented, and the reasons why the townland boundaries are considered to be more likely will be discussed.

7.4.1 Townland boundary

A walking survey was carried out to investigate the boundaries of the townland of Park or Dunamase, which has an area of 338 acres on the 1st Edition map (see Appendix 7.1). On the basis of cartographic and historical evidence, the townland was considered to be the demesne lands of Dunamase. Furthermore the boundaries of this townland were considered to be essentially the same as during the high medieval period and it is suggested that the demesne was *in parco* or emparked (see Section 7.3). The details of the walking survey are presented in Appendix 7.1, and the key elements are summarised here and shown in Fig. 7.10. The majority of the townland is surrounded by a mortared stone wall, up to 1.8m in height. This is likely to have been constructed by Sir John Parnell at the end of the eighteenth century (Section 7.2), although it is possible that this represented the reconstruction of an older, high medieval wall. In addition, however, intermittent stretches of bank were present on all sides of the townland, running either inside, or sometimes under the wall, demonstrating that the bank predated the wall (e.g. Pl. A7.8). On the boggy, western side of the townland the wall was absent, and a ditch ran parallel to the bank, however there is some evidence that a wall may have been present, or that an attempt to build a wall may have been abandoned (Pl. A7.9). A curious semi-circular feature in the boundary at the southwestern extent may signify the location of a gate. Viewed from the western end of the castle, at the solar, or from the site of the small tower on the extreme western side of the upper ward, much of the townland is visible, and is highly aesthetically pleasing, with green fields and wooded knolls stretching into the distance (Pl. 7.3).

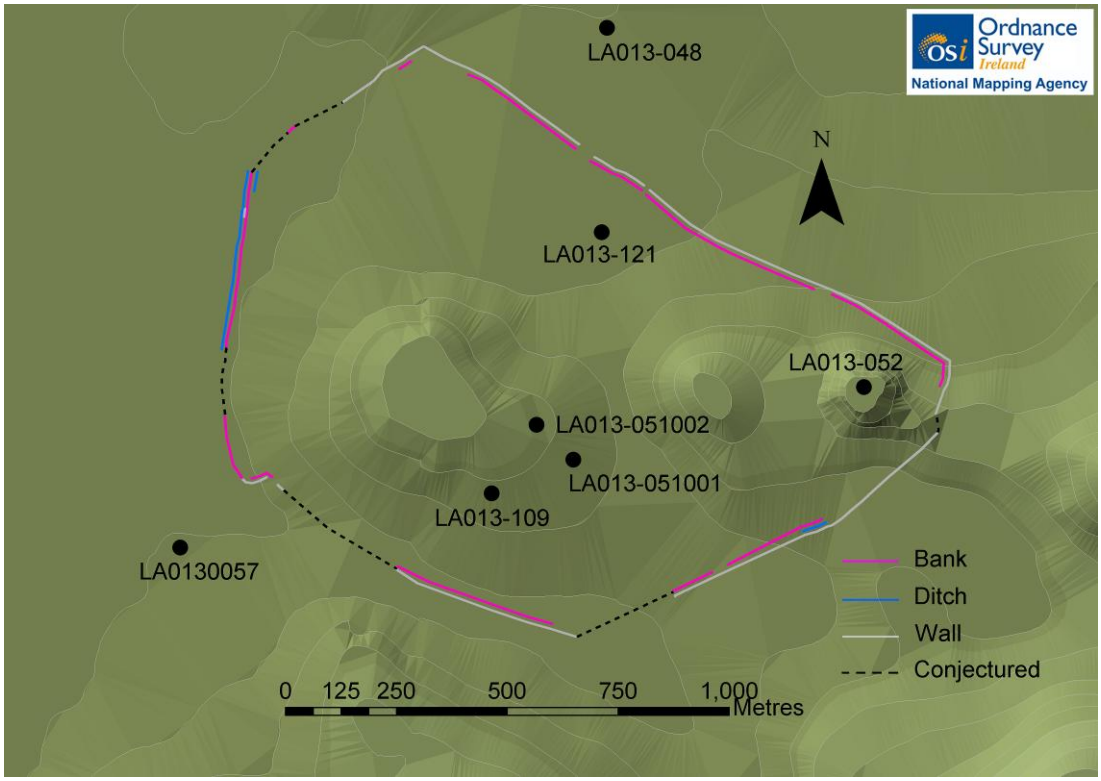

Fig. 7.10: Proposed park boundaries at Dunamase
(base mapping © Ordnance Survey Ireland/Government of Ireland Copyright Permit No. MP 0003612)

Pl. 7.3: View from the location of the solar, extending west across the park

7.4.2 RMP No. LA013-121: 135-acre enclosure

In 2002 Brian Hodkinson informed the National Monuments Service that he believed the northern boundary of the high medieval park was represented by a series of curving hedges to the north of the east-west road separating Park or Dunamase from Ballycarroll. This was on the basis of observation from the Rock of Dunamase, but he did not carry out any fieldwork to investigate this boundary (B. Hodkinson *pers. comm.*). This site was added to the online SMR in August 2010, and given the RMP No. LA013-121 (Archaeological Survey of Ireland 2010). Independently, the present writer also noticed this arc prior to its inclusion on the online SMR, and also considered it worthy of further study.

Fieldwork carried out to examine the boundaries is detailed in Appendix 7.2. This showed that it was possible to construct a sub-circular enclosure of *c*. 135 statute acres, measuring *c*. 900m east-west and 750m north-south using existing field boundaries (Fig. 7.11). The northern part of this proposed enclosure is clearly seen in Pl. 7.4. The potential enclosure is bounded on the southeast and southwest by the two tree-covered outcrops or copses in the centre of Park or Dunamase townland. At its northwest extent the enclosure abuts and respects a ringfort (RMP No. LA013-048), suggesting that the field boundary at this location is either contemporary with, or post-dates the ringfort. There are, however, a number of areas where the boundaries of the potential enclosure are difficult to define in a logical way. At the point where the enclosure meets the road at the western end, there is a discontinuity of *c*. 45m east to west between the boundary features to the north and south of the road. Similarly, at the eastern end, if the existing field boundaries are used there is a discontinuity of *c*. 60m east-west. At this eastern end it is possible that there was a direct boundary from the north of the road to the south, however, there is no physical or cartographic evidence for this. In the northeastern section of the proposed boundary of RMP No. LA013-121 there is a gap that was not filled with a field boundary even at the time of the 1st Edition map. Instead, the 1st Edition map (Fig. 7.12), suggests that alternative sinuously shaped land-blocks were in use at the time that this was surveyed. The easternmost of these lines is the line of the northbound road from the Rock of Dunamase. To the east of this is a line of field boundaries running parallel with the road, and then, further east again, the northeast part of the arc of the proposed enclosure runs parallel to this. This suggests that this portion of

the potential enclosure was aligned parallel to the road. While a road could respect the line of the park boundary (Tab. 11.1), it would be likely to run immediately adjacent to the park boundary, and not 350m east of it. Furthermore, two other arcs running northwards from the westbound road ignore the line of the potential enclosure (Fig. 7.12). When these strands of evidence are considered together, it suggests that the arc of RMP No. LA013-121, and the enclosure constructed from it, while attractive as a potential park boundary, is likely to be purely coincidental, and that this arc was laid out parallel to the road, not the road being laid out parallel to a park boundary. Overall, in summary it is likely that this apparent circular enclosure is purely co-incidental, and that this is not the boundary of the high medieval park.

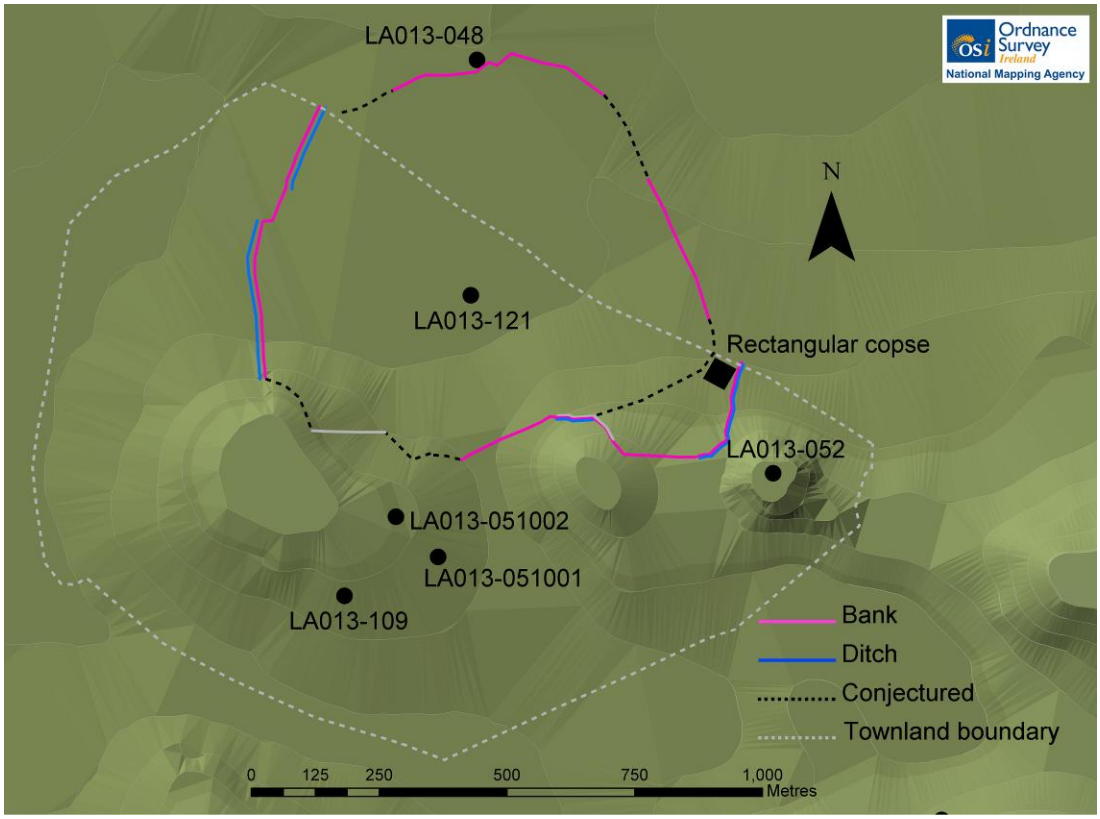

Fig. 7.11: The boundaries of the 135-acre enclosure, RMP No. LA013-121
(base mapping © Ordnance Survey Ireland/Government of Ireland Copyright Permit No. MP 0003612)

Pl. 7.4: The northern curve of the 135-acre enclosure, RMP No. LA013-121, viewed from Dunamase Castle. Ringfort, RMP No. LA013-048, is visible between the two middle arrows

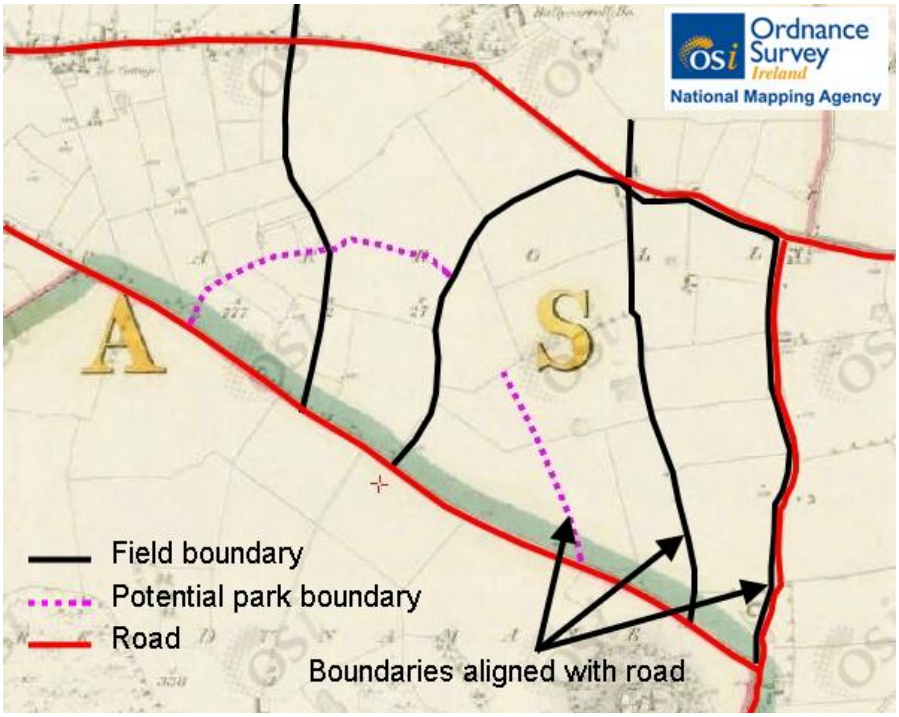

Fig. 7.12: Alignment of the northern portion of the 135-acre enclosure, RMP No. LA013-121, and the nearby field boundaries and road overlaid on the 1st Edition map (1st Edition 1837-1842)

7.4.3 The earthworks (RMP No. LA013-051001) and Sally's Bower (RMP No. LA013-051002)

7.4.3.1 Previous scholarship

As described in Section 7.3.3, Bradley (1986, 34; 1999, 262-3) suggested that the earthworks (RMP No. LA013-051001) could be the site of the New Town of Leys, but noted the absence of a church and the waterways that would have been needed to power the documented mills. These earthworks are shown on all editions of the Ordnance Survey maps, being marked as 'Site of Ancient Village' on the 1st Edition map, and similar words thereafter, they are currently recorded as a 'deserted medieval settlement' (Archaeological Survey of Ireland 2010). The 1st Edition map shows a rectangular enclosure with rounded corners measuring *c*. 70m east-west by *c*. 50m north-south (Fig. 7.13). A second rectangular enclosure measuring *c*. 20m x 46m butts against this to the north and a series of linear features extend from this in a generally north-south alignment, with two smaller sub-rectangular features also following the same north-south axis. A linear feature measuring over 300m north-south runs parallel with the axis of the earthworks, some 25m to the west of the main enclosure. In addition, a circular feature, surrounded by trees and labelled Sally's Bower lies to the northwest of the main enclosure and a pond is situated to the northeast.

Fig. 7.13: Close up of earthworks at Dunamase (1st Edition 1837-1842)

The survey conducted at the time of the 25" map was more detailed and showed additional features (Fig. 7.14). As well as hachures on the features already described, a curved inner boundary had been added to the main enclosure as had linear features extending to the south and east. A small sub-circular feature was included to the southeast of the main enclosure. At the northern extent of the site modifications to the interpretation of the northernmost of the smaller enclosures had been made to show a sub-rectangular enclosure and a small circular feature. Sally's Bower was also shown in more detail, appearing to be a circular ringfort.

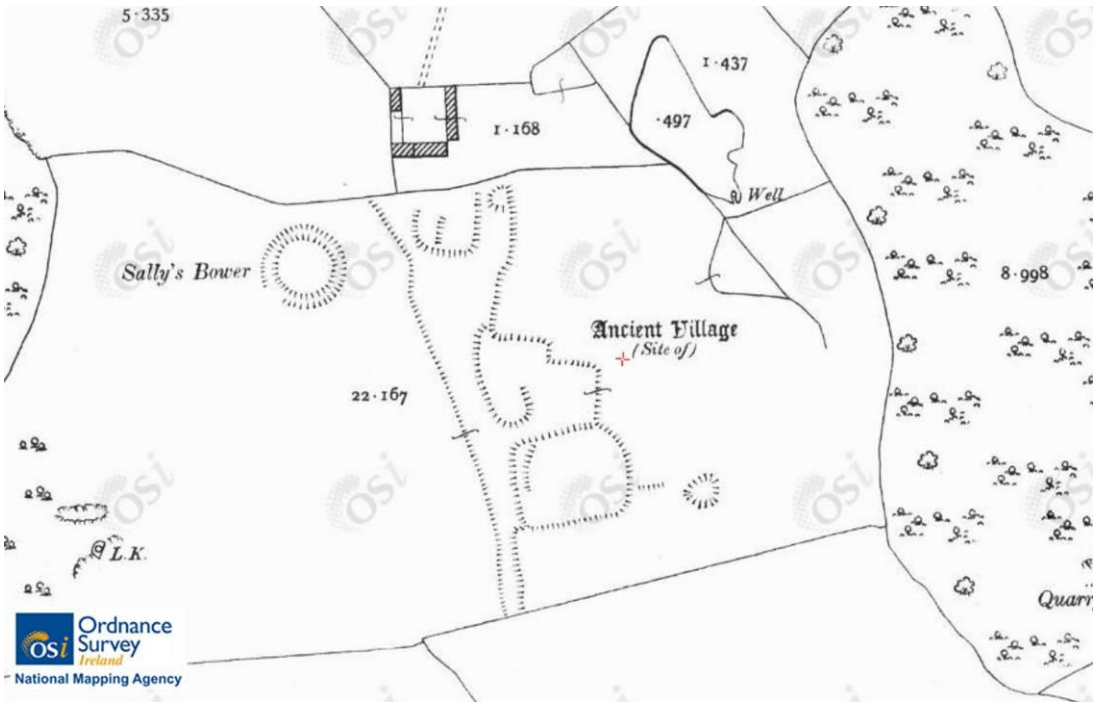

Fig. 7.14: Close up of earthworks at Dunamase (25" map 1888-1913)

O'Conor (1986, 240-3) surveyed the earthworks and described them as including an irregularly shaped enclosure and five or six rectangular areas that he termed 'tofts', one house platform, two hollow-ways and a pond (Fig. 7.15). His survey shows the same general features as had been identified by the Ordnance Survey, with the addition of a square structure measuring *c.* 12m in each direction, lying to the west of the main enclosure and two small sub-rectangular features immediately northwest of the main enclosure. O'Conor does not include the pond, Sally's Bower or the circular feature to the southeast of the main enclosure in the plan.

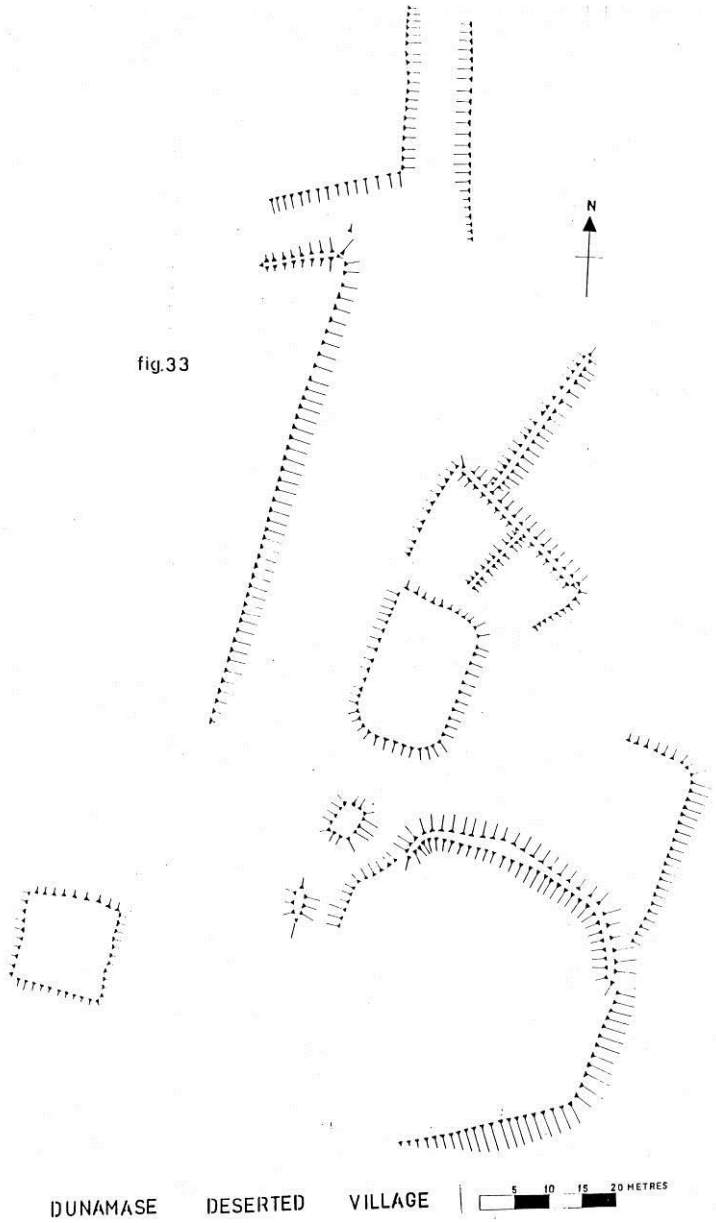

Fig. 7.15: RMP No. LA013-051 as surveyed by O'Conor (1986)

In essence all the previous surveys have suggested an essentially rectangular main enclosure with rectangular features extending from this and aligned along a north-south hollow-way. Sally's Bower has been interpreted as both a ringfort and as a modern tree-ring, with Bradley (1986, 34) suggesting a date of *c.* 1795 for its construction, and hence associating it with the works carried out by Parnell. The apparently rectangular form of the main enclosure, in conjunction with the north-south alignment along the hollow way are undoubtedly the reasons that this site was originally interpreted as a later medieval village.

7.4.3.2 Survey of the earthworks

The site was surveyed by the present writer, using a total station, and this is described in detail in Appendix 7.4. The site consists of a substantial number of low-profile earthworks spread over a considerable distance, but with a concentration extending across an area 200m north-south by 100m east-west (Fig. 7.16). This, coupled with the presence of a north-south hollow way and an apparently rectangular main enclosure have resulted in the site being interpreted as a 'deserted medieval village', and, potentially, as the site of the New Town of Leys. There are, however, problems with these interpretations. Most specifically, as other writers have pointed out, the New Town of Leys possessed two watermills and there is no source of running water nearby. More generally, a parish church, or at least a chapel of ease, is a key feature of a later medieval village, but there is no evidence for a church at the site, instead there is a church at Kilteale some 2.2km to the northeast. Most importantly, if the high medieval demesne park incorporated all of the modern townland of Park or Dunamase then these earthworks lie in the middle of this. By definition, parks were enclosed spaces into which access was restricted and would not have been constructed to surround a village.

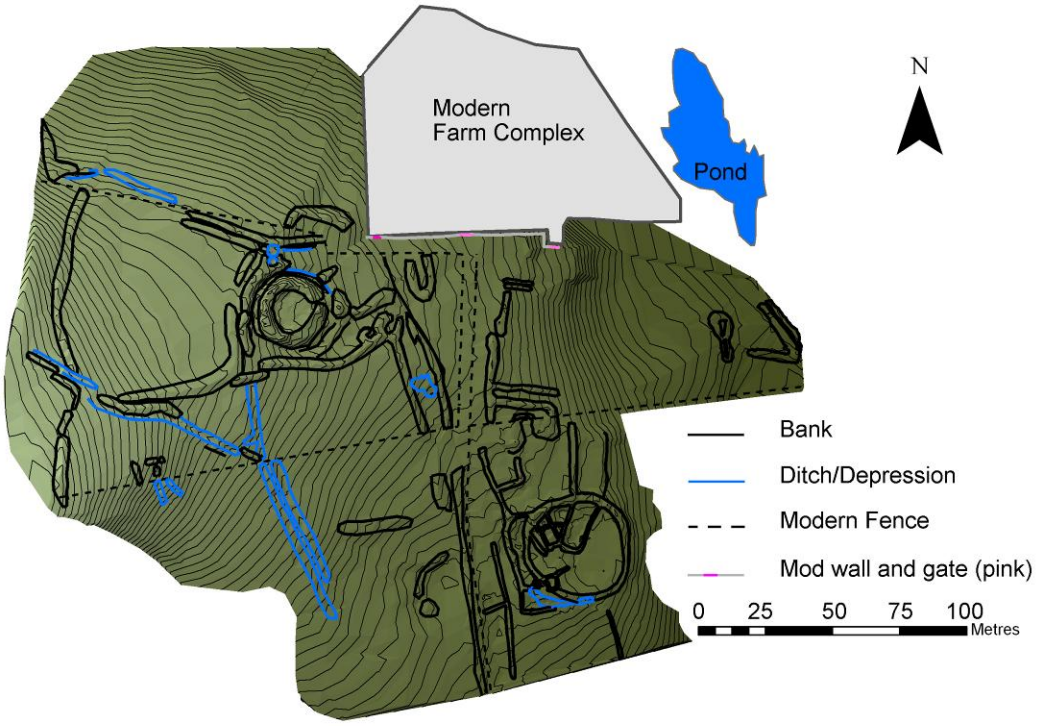

Fig. 7.16: Topographical survey of RMP No. LA013-051

The form of the main enclosure was previously identified as essentially rectangular, however this more detailed survey has demonstrated that the enclosure is in fact circular, with rectangular features abutting it. Coupled with the evidence for an external ditch at the south and southwest of this circular enclosure this suggests that it could well be a ringfort, and so calls into question the dating of this monument to the high medieval period. Ringforts with upstanding associated field systems are not common, and certainly at the time of the 1st Edition map, fieldwork was in its infancy. Excavation can provide details of features not visible on the surface, and over the past decade these have identified a number of early medieval settlements with associated field systems, sometimes extending out in rectangular patterns from a central, circular enclosure (e.g.Wallace 2010). It is therefore most likely that the earthworks at Dunamase represent early medieval habitation that was either already deserted or was vacated at the time of the construction of the park.

What had been interpreted as a later medieval hollow way running north-south through the site may have been constructed at an early date, but seems to have been in use as an access to the western-most gateway into the farm complex, so that it may have continued in use or may have been a later feature.

The feature known as Sally's Bower has been interpreted as both a ringfort and as a late eighteenth-century tree ring, with Bradley (1986, 34) supporting the latter, and suggesting a construction date of *c*. 1795, presumably in association with the works on the castle. Examination of this feature suggests that its form fulfils the criteria for a ringfort. The presence of a bank, external ditch and apparent entrance on the east side as well as a suitable diameter and location would all support it being a genuine monument. However, while the remainder of the site is made up of relatively low-level earthworks, the bank of Sally's Bower is much more substantial with a clear ditch feature surrounding it. One interpretation of this is that this is a more recent construction. It is likely that the better levels of preservation suggested this interpretation to Bradley, especially as the remaining earthworks were deemed to be later medieval and hence would be deemed to post-date a ringfort. Close examination of the previously unrecorded banks in the vicinity of Sally's Bower shows that these features respect the monument, suggesting that they either post-date it, or were part of the field systems associated with this ringfort. With the exception

of the northern boundary banks, these banks do not appear on any of the Ordnance Survey maps, and therefore predate the 1830s. If Sally's Bower were constructed *c*. 1795 this would provide only a small window of time for the banks to be constructed, used, and fall out of use sufficiently that they were not recorded by the Ordnance Survey in the 1830s. It is therefore most likely that Sally's Bower is a genuine ringfort that has been preserved to a greater extent than the surrounding monuments by virtue of being surrounded by trees. A series of ditches in the southwest of the site are present on the 1st Edition map, but disappear thereafter, so that these could date to any time prior to the 1830s.

This series of earthworks were classified as a 'deserted medieval village' at the time of the survey carried out for the 1st Edition map, and this interpretation has not been thoroughly questioned since. Only excavation is likely to be able to conclusively prove the age and function of the earthworks described. Meanwhile, the interpretation of the site as a later medieval deserted village becomes increasingly tenuous given the circular form of the main enclosure and its location inside the high medieval demesne park. More likely, as stated, is that this site was an early medieval habitation site. It is possible that occupation of the site continued into the later medieval period, for a purpose other than as a village. Given its location inside the bounds of the demesne park, and immediately adjacent to the pond which is the only water source in the area, one possibility is that it functioned as the site of a parker's lodge. As described elsewhere in this volume, in England, especially in the twelfth and thirteen centuries, lodges were usually functional rather than elite structures, often constructed at moated sites. In addition to features such as living accommodation, kennels and stables they could have a range of other buildings. These might include facilities for storage of hay, browse and timber, storage and maintenance of tools and materials for constructing and repairing hedges, fences and ditches (Moorhouse 2007, 107, 115-7). The Rock of Dunamase is relatively inaccessible so that it would have been essential to have storage facilities that were more easily accessed by ox carts or on foot, making this site the perfect location for the administrative centre of the park.

7.4.4 Zooarchaeological evidence

The faunal material recovered from excavations at Dunamase Castle included two fallow deer bones amongst the eighty-nine deer bones recovered (Butler 1995; 1996a; 1996b; n.d.). These were recovered from secure later medieval contexts (Brian Hodkinson, *pers. comm*.). This suggests that there may have been deer kept in the nearby park, rather than it merely being used as enclosed pasture. It is possible however, that if deer were kept then their number was small, or that they were kept only for a short period. Alternatively, since the excavation did not include the entire castle area, it is possible that many other fallow deer bones may be present in unexcavated portions of the site. At the castles of Maynooth and Trim (see Appendix 3.7) there is firm evidence for fallow deer being kept, and their bones dominate the deer bone assemblage. It is also possible therefore; that the Dunamase fallow deer bones reflect transported venison. This may be unlikely however, since the remains were a metacarpal and a metatarsal, two foot bones that are usually discarded early in the butchery process. This suggests that the bones come from a locally sourced fallow deer, and hence that fallow deer were present in the park at Dunamase.

7.5 Discussion

7.5.1 The location and form of the park

The cartographic and documentary evidence shows that the demesne land referred to in the inquisition of 1282-3 was located at what is now the townland of Park or Dunamase and was previously called Carrickneparke, and that this had an area of 2 carucates and 73 acres, or *c*. 313 acres (Section 7.2). The name suggests that this land was *in parco* or enclosed. Later in the same document a value is placed on 'pasture in the park'. It is possible that there was a second park elsewhere, which, in conjunction with the mountain pasture, had a total size of *c*. 100 acres or less. Given that mountain pasture would be likely to be extensive, unenclosed land, it suggests that any other park would have had to be a small enclosure of say 30 acres maximum, possibly in the area of the modern townland of Park Upper, which has an overall area of 426 acres. The more likely alternative is that a relatively small enclosure within the demesne park situated at Park or Dunamase had a value for

pasture, and that this was referred to in conjunction with the mountain pasture because all pasture was being dealt with together in the document.

The boundary of the recorded demesne land appears to be the entire townland of Park or Dunamase. The modern townland has an area of *c*. 338 statute acres of which *c*. 13 acres is the Rock itself, so that the high medieval and modern land areas are consistent. The townland is bounded on the east by the castle and on the west by Moanvaw bog. To the north is the townland of Ballycarroll, while to the south are Dysart and Aghnahilly. Much of the townland is visible from the castle, with the exception of the earthworks (RMP No. LA013-051), which are hidden behind the more easterly of two wooded outcrops. A bank surrounds much of the townland to the north, east and south. With arable agriculture common in these fields, the possibility that these are plough headlands needs to be taken into consideration, but this is considered unlikely, since examination of other boundaries in the arable fields did not yield similar banks. The banks vary in height up to 1.5m, with 0.5-0.8m relatively common and with mature trees growing on the bank in places, suggesting some age and that they were deliberately constructed, however only excavation would provide firm evidence for the date of these substantial banks. Most of the townland is also surrounded by a mortared stone wall, with a height of up to 1.8m in places. This appears to have been constructed by Sir John Parnell in the late eighteenth century, but may potentially represent the rebuilding of a high medieval wall around the park. At some locations the wall and bank co-existed, either with the wall running outside the bank or running over the bank, and in these latter cases it demonstrates that the wall post-dates the bank (see Appendix 7.1), suggesting that at least initially the high medieval park boundary consisted of a bank with either a hedge or palings.

One problem with the interpretation of Park or Dunamase as emparked demesne is the traditional interpretation of the earthworks in the centre of the townland. If, as has been widely assumed, these are the remains of a later medieval village, then the park could not have extended out to cover these, since villages did not exist within park boundaries, which were private places (see Section 2.3.3). The evidence suggests, however, that these earthworks are early medieval in origin, and they therefore pre-date the emparking of this area (see Appendix 7.4). These earthworks

include two circular structures that appear to be ringforts and there is no evidence for the type of tofts and rectangular house sites found in other deserted later medieval villages such as Newtown Jerpoint, Co. Kilkenny or Piperstown, Co. Louth (see Barry 1999, 9; O'Conor 1998, 49-51). While it is probable that these are early medieval structures, this cannot be proven without excavation. Furthermore, their siting at the centre of the park would make this the ideal location for reuse as a parker's lodge and administrative core for the park (see Section 7.5.4).

The evidence for the park being located in the 135-acre area that was suggested by Hodkinson and is defined by the curving bank to the north of the road is sparse (see Appendix 7.2). This potential enclosure, (LA013-121) overlaps with the 338-acre area of the demesne lands, so that both could not have been in use at the same time. If this were the location of the high medieval park, then the demesne land would have had to be elsewhere in the manor, which seems unlikely. The cartographic evidence suggests that the curving northern boundary of RMP No. LA013-121 is likely to be a coincidence, which would not be remarked upon if it were not so highly visible from the western end of the Rock of Dunamase. A final possibility is that this is a genuine enclosure that either pre-dates or post-dates the later medieval period. In support of this it is notable that there is a ringfort (RMP No. LA013-048) at the northwest extreme, and one possibility is that this area defines agricultural land associated with the ringfort.

On balance, the present townland of Park or Dunamase is likely to be the emparked demesne land mentioned in 1282-3. In many ways, it is the subsequent history of the townland in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries that is of more interest in understanding how later people come to view the past and re-interpret the physical remains left in the landscape (see Section 7.5.6).

7.5.2 Dating the park

The Anglo-Norman manor at Dunamase had its origins in the late twelfth century, with the castle being placed on the site of an early medieval fortress (see Section 7.1.2). The boundaries of the townland of Park or Dunamase and hence of the emparked demesne land cut through the possible 135-acre enclosure (RMP No. LA013-121), which respects the ringfort at the northern extreme (RMP No. LA013-

048). It is likely that the siting of the demesne park was decided early in the development of the manor, as it is carefully positioned to maximise the views from the castle, however emparkment could have taken place at a later date. When the earthworks (RMP No. LA013-051) were considered to be a later medieval village, the interpretation of the townland boundary as the location of the demesne park presented a difficulty. However, as survey has shown the presence of circular structures that are atypical of a later medieval village site, the likelihood is that this was an early medieval site that was either obsolete or that was reused for manorial functions in the later medieval period. The refortification of the castle took place at some time in the first two decades of the thirteenth century (Hodkinson 2003, 48), and it is probable that emparkment of the demesne land took place as part of the redevelopment of the castle, probably immediately after the military works had been completed. Furthermore, the gift of fallow deer to William Marshal the Younger in 1225 (*CDI*, i, no.1323) may potentially give an indication of the date of emparkment.

Deer were gifted to Roger de Mortimer in 1275 and 1279 although there is no indication that these were transported to Ireland (*Cal. close rolls*, Edw. I, ii, 149, 214, 536). There is also mention of the park and of the land held in demesne in 1282-3 (*CDI*, ii, no. 2028; *Inq. & Ext. of Med. Ire.*, no. 54). Sometime *c*. 1330 the castle and manor of Dunamase were recovered by the O'Mores, who included 'Carrickeneparkye' in the lands of their inheritance in 1566 (*Inq. Rot. Canc. Hib.*, Eliz. (1)). As will be argued elsewhere in this thesis, the evidence suggests that high medieval Gaelic lords had little or no interest in the creation or development of parks for keeping deer (Section 4.5.5), so that it is probable that the lands were used for cattle pasture and timber after the O'More take-over. As a result, the park probably had a lifespan of *c.* 100 years in its original conception. Nevertheless, it is likely to have been retained in demesne by the O'Mores since it remained a single land block, rather than broken up into small tenancies, and this has continued up to the present day. With the exception of the Rock, which is now in State ownership, and a number of sites of modern bungalows, one family still owns the entire townland.

The townland boundary wall is present for much of the townland perimeter and where present, the wall is in generally good condition with un-eroded mortar between the stones. It varies from being a revetment separating high ground inside

from low-lying ground on the outside of the townland, so that it has an effective height of zero from inside, to having a height of up to 1.8m. It is generally *c*. 0.4m wide, and in places there is evidence that it was constructed in a number of horizontal bands, suggesting that this wall was built over a number of seasons. In places the wall overlies the intermittent stretches of bank present at a number of locations around the townland boundary, demonstrating that it post-dates the banks. Coote (1801, 116-7) stated that 'Sir John Parnell, who has above two hundred [Irish] acres here inclosed' had constructed the walls around the copses. These statements coupled with the similarity to the stonework of the gateway into the western copse, all suggest that Parnell built the townland boundary wall in the late eighteenth century and that this is not a high medieval park wall. Nevertheless, the possibility remains that Parnell may have rebuilt an existing ruined wall as part of his reaggrandisement of the castle and its demesne (see Section 7.5.6). While stone-walled high medieval parks were not common in England, they were seen as being of particularly high status due to the added costs of their construction (see Section 2.3.3). At Dunamase, building stone is plentiful, with many quarries and rocky outcrops present in the immediate vicinity (see Appendix 7.6). As such, a stone-walled high medieval park is possible.

7.5.3 Access and security for the park

On the basis that the townland boundary wall was probably not present during the high medieval period, this raises the issue of what bounded the park. It has already been noted that the townland has a relatively substantial, but intermittent, relict bank with some sections of ditch surrounding it. A tightly-grown and well-maintained hedgerow, especially in combination with a bank, and even without any internal or external ditches, would be sufficient to retain fallow deer or other grazing animals and prevent casual access by humans.

It is probable that rather than entirely surrounding the Rock; the demesne park abutted it, coming close to the entrance on either side. On the south side the various Ordnance Survey maps show a bank southwards of the main castle ditch that surrounded the outer barbican, and this was still present in heavy woodland when walked as part of this survey. Palings placed on this bank would have served the double purpose of preventing animals from leaving the park and adding to the

defences of the castle by providing an additional barrier that needed to be surmounted. On the north side there is no substantial ditch, but again a set of palings running towards the steep ground would be sufficient to prevent stock escaping or poachers entering. Hedging would probably not have been selected close to the castle since this would potentially have provided cover for attackers. From the castle, access to the park was possible via the postern gate on the southwestern side of the Rock. There would also have had to be a second gate into the park from the outside, to allow access for heavy carts. Regardless of whether the park was used for deer or for pasture of domestic animals, deliveries of hay and browse would have been needed in the winter months and it would also have been necessary to remove cut timber and underwood for use elsewhere. It is most likely that this gate would have been on either the north or south side. At the southwest extent a curious circular portion juts out from the line of the townland boundary, and it may be that this was the site of a second gate, however the flatter land of the northern side of the boundary would be more logical.

The entire park was not visible from the castle because of the presence of the two more westerly outcrops. The townland boundary is beyond the second outcrop, but is protected by bog land, while the area between the two outcrops is also invisible from the castle. As such, this location, or the top of the more westerly outcrop would be the ideal place for a lodge to provide security for the western part of the park. There is no evidence for any structures on top of the western outcrop, but this area is planted with trees and the ground has large numbers of rocks strewn around as a result of quarrying, so that it is possible that a structure lay at the top of this hill, but no remains are evident there today. The saddle area between the two outcrops is the site of the earthworks (RMP No. LA013-051), and good views of the majority of the townland can be had from there.

7.5.4 Structures in the park

The earthworks (RMP No. LA013-051) are within the demesne park and conventional wisdom over the last one hundred and eighty years has interpreted these as the remains of a later medieval village, with some writers suggesting it as the site of the New Town of Leys (see Section 7.4.3). This survey has demonstrated that the earthworks are more likely to date to the early medieval period, so that they

may well have been obsolete by the time of the Anglo-Norman manor. It is quite possible, however that they continued in use as the administrative core of the park, providing facilities such as barns, storage, kennels, stables and living quarters for staff. Excavation would be necessary to clarify when and how these features were constructed and used.

If this represents an early medieval settlement, and if the 135-acre enclosure to the north of this (RMP No. LA013-121) is also early medieval in date and associated with the adjacent ringfort (RMP No. LA013-048), then these settlements abutted each other rather than being more widely scattered. This suggests a well-occupied landscape at the time of the Anglo-Norman incursion into the area.

7.5.5 Practical and symbolic aspects of the siting and use of the park

The demesne park, which became the townland of Park or Dunamase, surrounded or abutted the Rock of Dunamase and its Anglo-Norman castle, with most of the park clearly visible from the western side of the solar in the main keep, or from the small tower on the western edge of the upper ward. This tower may well have been a viewing platform, designed to highlight the park (Fig 7.2). The location of the park, abutting the western side of the Rock, would have made it convenient for visiting and would have provided a scenic backdrop for elite enjoyment of the landscape. As the antiquarian images show (Figs. 7.6; 7.7), the townland is exceptionally picturesque. The Rock and the two adjacent outcrops form a central ridge for the park and the land drops down on all sides from these high points. Today only the top of the Rock is bare of trees, but it is possible that the smaller outcrops also provided extensive views during the high medieval period, if they were free of growth. The castle is visible from the majority of the townland, with the exception of those places hidden behind the two smaller outcrops. Thus, from the majority of locations, the Rock and its castle would have dominated the landscape, expressing power and control over the region.

The quality of the land is excellent, so much so that even today, much of it is used for arable agriculture. By contrast, the land to the north and west of the park is poorer, including low-lying bog and heath. In this regard, as with many of the other parks identified in this thesis, the demesne park was created on what was being

considered as a blank canvas, regardless of the presence of earlier settlement forms. This was not marginal land at the fringes of the manor, but was centrally and deliberately placed in a location that suited the elite owners of the Rock, regardless of the fact that this was removing prime agricultural land from potential cultivation.

Down (1987, 477) argues that lands '*in parco*' could refer to aristocratic game reserves, but that in many cases this phrase merely referred to enclosed lands used for arable or pasture, to differentiate these from the unenclosed strip fields. In this case the presence of a high status castle, which yielded fallow deer bones suggests that the presence of deer in the park is likely. The small proportion of fallow deer bones compared to red deer bones is unexpected (see Section 3.3.3), but cutting sizes were limited and further excavations within the castle bounds could potentially reveal more fallow deer remains. There is no mention of deer in the *Inquisition Post-Mortem* (*CDI*, ii, no. 2028; *Inq. & Ext. of Med. Ire.*, no. 54), but this does not mean that they were not kept. Given the impenetrable, craggy nature of the Rock, the park would have been a suitable nearby place to retain horses and so may have also included stables and stud farms. The pond adjacent to the earthworks (RMP No. LA013-051) would have been ideally located for a fishpond to supply the castle. There is mention in the inquisition of a warren, worth 2*s*. per year, but this seems to be associated with the New Town of Leys, rather than being within the park. The other major use to which the land could have been put was for timber and underwood. As evidenced today by the tall stands of trees that were planted in the late-eighteenth century and in the 1950s, this ground is eminently suitable for production of good quality wood (see Appendix 7.5).

Visitors to the area would have passed alongside the emparked boundary when travelling from the west, for example from Borris, near modern day Portlaoise, or from the southwest, for example from Abbeyleix, via Dysart to the Rock. As a result the embanked-and-paled or embanked-and-hedged boundary would have defined the route of their journey. Depending on the height of the boundary, the castle would have been visible over the hedge or paling, providing a tantalising view of this most dramatic of fortresses. Coming from the northwest, the same would have been true travelling along the northern boundary of the emparked area. Visitors arriving from Stradbally and Grange in the east, or from further afield such as Carlow, Athy or

Kilkenny, would not have seen the park, instead their first close-up view of the castle would have been aligned directly with the main gatehouse (Pl. 7.2), with the castle suddenly rising up, facing the traveller. By contrast, those coming from the later medieval church at Kilteale, to the northeast, would have had their view dominated by the Rock and the castle for most of the journey, and as noted, this is one possibility for the site of the New Town of Leys. Thus, approaching the Rock from all sides the visitor would be struck by its domination of the landscape, and the park would further reinforce this by providing a scenic backdrop for the dramatic Rock. Further, it would have demonstrated the prestige, wealth and power of the owner, who could afford to retain a large block of excellent quality land exempt from intensive agricultural use.

7.5.6 The eighteenth-century concept of Dunamase

In the late eighteenth century Sir John Parnell, 2nd baronet, was an influential politician and major landowner. He was a long-standing member of the Irish Parliament, served as Chancellor of the Exchequer of Ireland from 1785 to 1798 and was a member of the Privy Council of both Ireland and Britain. Sir John was a loyal member of the government and a strong supporter of the Protestant interest, having opposed Catholic relief bills in the 1770s and 1780s and voted against Catholic emancipation in 1795. In 1798, however, he was sacked from his position in the government as a result of his determined opposition to the Act of Union, which came into effect in 1801 (Johnston-Luik 2009). Both his opposition to religious reforms, and his opposition to the Act of Union can be considered as forms of conservatism, a feeling that the *status quo* should continue to exist, and that the introduction of new forms of government was an event to be resisted, and it is in this light that his developments at Dunamase can be interpreted.

The work carried out by Sir John *c*. 1789 - 1795 included the renovation of part of the castle to provided banqueting and dancing facilities. This allowed him to offer entertainments that were enjoyed as much in the thirteenth, as in the eighteenth centuries. The reconstruction included new window- and doorframes and major rebuilding work, which is still visible today (Hodkinson 1999; 2003). These entertaining rooms were situated at the northern end of the keep and would have looked out west over the park, as had the original solar, five hundred years

previously. As a result, Sir John needed to ensure that the view from the castle fitted with his re-creation of a romantic past. He chose to create his interpretation of a later medieval park as the backdrop for his 'medieval' banqueting hall. As an educated man, he undoubtedly knew that hunting and parks were intimately associated with later medieval castles, he may well have read some of the historical sources that referred to Dunamase, and it is likely that he recognised that the name of the townland probably signified the original location of the high medieval park.

This was the heyday of the landscaped parks surrounding large country houses and as such Parnell had a wealth of models to choose from. These included his own home at nearby Rathleague where 'a rich plantation of exotics, cover the banks of an extensive lake, well resorced [*sic*] with wild fowl, and a Grecian temple, which is executed with taste, commands all the variety of the demesne' (Coote 1801, 97). In rebuilding at Dunamase, and in creating a sylvan landscape there, Parnell was at the forefront of late eighteenth-century fashion. Tree-planting was promoted by the Dublin Society, which provided grants for landowners who were prepared to plant particular species on their lands and to retain them for a minimum of ten years (Coote 1801, 221; Tomlinson 1997, 127) (see Appendix 7.5). The concept of a park that appeared to be natural was one much sought after in the period from the mid-eighteenth to the mid-nineteenth centuries, following on from, and reacting against, the formalised symmetrical gardens of the preceding century. The ideal was the supposed 'natural' countryside of southern England, rather than a wild, 'Atlantic' form of naturalism or an Irish 'midland-bog' naturalism that might today be considered more appropriate in such a setting. Furthermore, Parnell would have seen the castle as being English in origin, and hence would probably have considered that an English landscape was the most appropriate backdrop for the castle. These landscaped parks aimed to provide open expanses of grassland, interspersed with clumps of trees and real or re-created ruins. They were often surrounded by demesne walls, with trees planted on 'glens, rocky knolls and even archaeological sites' (McErlean 2007, 276; Orser 2007, 78; Reeves-Smyth 1997, 201; Tomlinson 1997, 127, 129). All of these features can be seen at Dunamase, which had the added advantage that the ruins were genuine and dramatic.

At Dunamase, Parnell sought to recreate an imagined past, with picturesque ruins set amid a parkland landscape. By enclosing the townland and the Rock with a demesne wall, Parnell was reconstituting a mythical past in which the castle and its Anglo-Norman lord were central to society. This 'Cult of the Ruin' (Orser 2007, 88) could be used to convey 'the comforting notion that the social order was somehow natural, immutable and inevitable' (Reeves-Smyth 1997, 203) by promoting 'a sense of antiquity and continuity' (Orser 2007, 88). For a conservative such as Sir John, the social and political changes of the late eighteenth century must have been threatening, with the Anglo-Irish ascendancy coming under pressure both from their tenantry and from the government of England. This was at a time when the French Revolution of 1789 had stoked calls for revolution and reform throughout Europe. Many of the penal laws against Catholics were repealed between 1778 and 1793, resulting in the rights of Catholics to purchase and lease land, found schools, practice their religion and vote, and in addition, these reforms led to the removal of restrictions on employment (Kelly 1988, 96; McDowell 1986, 290, 307-313). The Union of Scotland and England in 1707 provided a potential template for a Union of Ireland and England, and throughout the eighteenth century this was periodically suggested. After the Rebellion of 1798, calls for Union became stronger, as this was seen as one way in which trouble could be averted in the future and economic prosperity improved. Parnell was one of the MPs who opposed Union, which would greatly reduce the political power of the Irish landowning class, as their influence would be diluted within a Westminster parliament (McDowell 1986, 364-73). In recreating a mythical past at Dunamase, it can be argued that Sir John sought to reassure himself of the extent of his power and control. This came at a time when both the English government and the mass of the Irish population were both seeking to increase their influence at the expense of the Anglo-Irish landowning class to which he belonged.

Eighteenth- and nineteenth-century landscape parks provided privacy and a feeling of seclusion, where the outside world was not visible. They existed at a time of low tree-cover, in a period of intense agricultural usage of the land, yet within the parks, new trees were deliberately planted and existing trees maintained (McErlean 2007, 276, 279). They were landscapes in which status was demonstrated by the ability to control access and restrict agricultural use of the landscape (McErlean 2007, 276),

and in which those 'inside' the walls were considered socially, ethnically and religiously superior to those 'outside' the walls (Orser 2007, 78). It is notable that many of these were the same drivers that were present in the high medieval period and that caused the original high medieval parks to be created.

7.6 Recommendations

This survey has demonstrated that the townland of Park or Dunamase is the high medieval demesne park of the manor of Dunamase and that it is surrounded by an intermittent bank varying up to 1.5m in height (see Appendix 7.1). It is recommended that the townland boundary be added to the list of protected monuments as a linear earthwork. Parts of this boundary have been disrupted by the construction of modern houses, and while not a major problem in the current economic circumstances, further development could potentially remove more of the bank. In addition, the landowner should be encouraged to continue leaving an unploughed margin at the edge of the fields. In some fields the bank is invisible and in some that are currently under pasture it is only just visible as an extremely low earthwork that is not immediately obvious, but these should be included in the protected zone.

The gateway into the western copse at NGR 252092 198280 appears to have been constructed *c.* 1789 - 1795 as does the townland boundary wall, although the latter could potentially be a reconstruction of a high medieval wall (see Appendices 7.1; 7.5). These features are important in understanding the relationship of the Parnell family with the past, and understanding Sir John Parnell's concept of the high medieval park. For these reasons, it is recommended that these be added to the list of recorded monuments. Similarly, the post-medieval limekiln may be associated with this period of development, and should also be recorded (see Appendix 7.6).

The total station survey of the earthworks RMP No. LA013-051 has shown that these extend outside the current boundaries shown on the RMP maps (see Appendix 7.4). Furthermore, this work has called into question the interpretation of the site as a later medieval village. Without excavation it is not possible to absolutely determine the

date or function of these earthworks, however their form strongly suggests that they are early medieval in origin, although they may have continued in use into the later medieval period. It is recommended that the protected area be expanded out to incorporate all of the earthworks identified. It is also recommended that the site type be modified to a more general category such as 'earthworks'. A series of targeted excavations at these earthworks would hopefully answer the questions that have been posed by this work, and it is recommended that funding for excavation and the landowner's permission be sought.

7.7 Conclusions

Historical, cartographic and archaeological evidence have combined to show that the townland of Park or Dunamase, which abuts the Rock of Dunamase on the western side, is the demesne park of the manor mentioned in an inquisition of 1282-3 (see Sections 7.2; 7.4). It is likely that the park was created in the early thirteenth century and that it had a lifespan of *c.* 100 years, becoming ordinary pasture and woodland when the O'Mores gained control of the area in the 1330s. Physical remains of the high medieval park are still present as an intermittent bank that partially surrounds the townland. For the past one hundred and eighty years, a series of earthworks at the centre of the townland have been identified as the site of a later medieval village, however this work has demonstrated that this is highly unlikely (see Appendix 7.4). More likely is that the site is early medieval in origin, although it is possible that there was continuity of use or reuse and that it functioned as the administrative centre of the park and manor, due to its proximity to the only water source in the park. A vision of the park was recreated at the end of the eighteenth century when Sir John Parnell constructed entertainment facilities on the Rock, planted walled copses of trees and walled the townland itself (see Section 7.5.6). In recreating the past in this way, by reusing ancient symbols of authority and status, Sir John sought to demonstrate power and control in a time when both the English government and the mass of the Irish population were both looking to increase their influence at the expense of the Anglo-Irish landowning class.

Chapter 8: Carrick, Co. Wexford

8.0 Introduction

A park at Carrick, Co. Wexford, is first referred to in the charter of disafforestation of the Forests of Ross and Taghmon, written at some time between 1231 and 1234, when Richard, Earl Marshal, disafforested part of the forest of Ross and part of the forest of Taghmon (*CERM*, 56). The modern townland of Park lies immediately to the east of the Carrick River, in exactly the location described in the disafforestation charter. Fallow deer remains have been found in thirteenth- to fourteenth-century deposits at Ferrycarrig ringwork (McCormick 1998; Undated-b), the 'castle of Karrich' which is referred to in the disafforestation charter (*CERM*, 56). In addition, there is a reference in 1225 to William Marshal the Younger, lord of Leinster, receiving a gift of twenty does from the king, to be brought to Ireland from the Forest of Cheddar (*CDI*, i, no.1323). Although there is no evidence that these fallow deer were brought to Carrick rather than to any of the other lands held by the Marshals, including Dunamase, Co. Laois (see Chapter 7) this demonstrates the regard in which Marshal was held by the king and indicates a possible source for the deer found at Ferrycarrig.

Detailed cartographic analysis and field survey has identified the probable southern limit of the park, which survives as a set of curving field boundaries and an associated ditch, with a relict road following this line. This is situated at a maximum of *c*. 300m south of the current townland boundary of Park, within the townland of Ballyboggan. The park is elliptical in shape and is bounded to the north by the River Slaney, to the east by an unnamed stream and to the west by the Carrick River. Later medieval documentary records of a second park in the area, associated with Wexford Castle, were also identified. This evidence has been summarised here, however no fieldwork was carried out to identify this second park. Appendix 8.1 details the survey of the proposed park boundaries, while Appendix 2 reviews evidence for roads in and around the park. Finally, Appendix 3 summarises the archaeological features to be found in and adjacent to the park.

8.1 Background

8.1.1 General description of the park and surroundings

The townland of Park lies in the parish of Carrick in the barony of Shelmalier, in the county of Wexford, however, it previously lay in the Barony of Forth (Colfer 2008, 46). Park is surrounded by water on three sides: on the east it is bounded by a small stream, which separates Park from the townland of Stonybatter, beyond which is the medieval town of Wexford. To the north is the River Slaney, which at this point in its journey is a wide, tidal estuary. To the west the townland is bounded by the Carrick River, which flows south to north, entering the Slaney just downstream of Ferrycarrig Ringwork (RMP No. WX037-028) (Figs. 8.1; 8.2). The modern southern boundary of the townland is the continuation of Old Hospital Road westwards from Wexford Town towards Ferrycarrig. To the north of this road the land rises up slightly, particularly at the western end, but it is predominantly flat. To the south of this road is the townland of Ballyboggan, which rises relatively steeply up away from the road and from the flatter lands of Park. At one point the southern townland boundary of Park diverts northwards away from the road for a distance of *c*. 280m, running for *c*. 100m along a track that leads to a farm shown on the 1st Edition map (Fig. 8.2). The townland boundary continues westwards after the track turns into the farm and then rejoins the existing road after a further *c*. 180m, close to the road bridge over the Carrick River. It is likely that this track and the line of the townland boundary were the original line of the roadway. Haddon (1969), in his sketch map of Wexford and its immediate surroundings, describes Old Hospital Road as the 'Tudor Engineered Road', although he provides no evidence for a Tudor origin. Within the townlands of Park and Ballyboggan, the field patterns to the north and south of this road shows that in some places it appears to have bisected existing fields when it was constructed. This suggests that while this road now forms the townland boundary, it was not the original boundary of the high medieval park, since it post-dates the division of the land into separate fields.

To the north of this road is the Mail-Coach Road, constructed in the early nineteenth century, in conjunction with the 'Carrigg Bridge', which was erected by public subscription after 1794 (Lewis 1837, 701; 1845, 279-80). Further to the north again is the line of the railway, opened in 1872 (Middlemass 1981, 8) (Fig. 8.1).

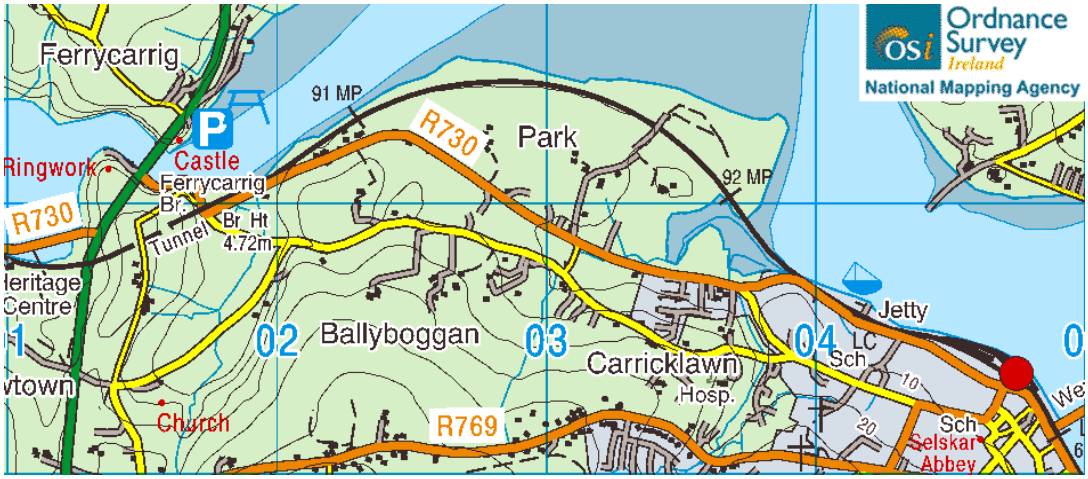

Fig. 8.1: The townland of Park and its surroundings (Discovery Series)

Cartographic analysis identified a curving boundary visible on all editions of the 6" and 25" maps and less clearly on aerial photographs (Figs. 8.2; 8.3). This boundary is at a maximum of *c.* 300m due south of the townland boundary, and lies within Ballyboggan townland. It forms the edge of a land-block with no pre-existing agricultural fields bisecting it, suggesting that it is one of the original land divisions of the area. At its eastern extremity the curve has been partially disrupted by eighteenth- and nineteenth-century suburban development, however, the approximate line is still maintained. The western extent of this boundary is again the Carrick River, and the eastern extent is the same unnamed stream bounding the townland of Park. The southern extent curves to take in an area of high ground, so that to the north of the boundary the ground slopes relatively steeply down to the road, whereas to the south the land flattens out considerably. This curving boundary is *c.* 1.2km long, and in conjunction with the river boundaries on either side, encloses an area of 308 statute acres, consisting of 249 acres in Park townland and 59 acres in Ballyboggan townland. When viewed from Ferrycarrig tower house, (RMP No. WX037-027), on the north bank of the Slaney, the curving boundary appears to sit close to the skyline, enclosing the coastal strip between the Carrick River and Wexford town (Pls. 8.1; 8.2).

This boundary was inspected in detail and compared to other field and townland boundaries in the area, which were also walked (see Appendix 8.1). The survey was carried out in 2010 and 2011, by which time inspection was hampered by

considerable residential development that has taken place in the past decade. This has resulted in many fields that were still agricultural at the time of the 2005 aerial photographs being either housing estates or abandoned post-Celtic Tiger developments. Nevertheless, the evidence suggests that this curving boundary is the southern extent of the high medieval park. It is likely that a road ran east-west to the immediate south of the boundary (see Appendix 8.2). Furthermore, there is evidence that the townland boundaries of Park have varied over the past four hundred years and so there is no intrinsic problem with these not defining the boundaries of the high medieval park.

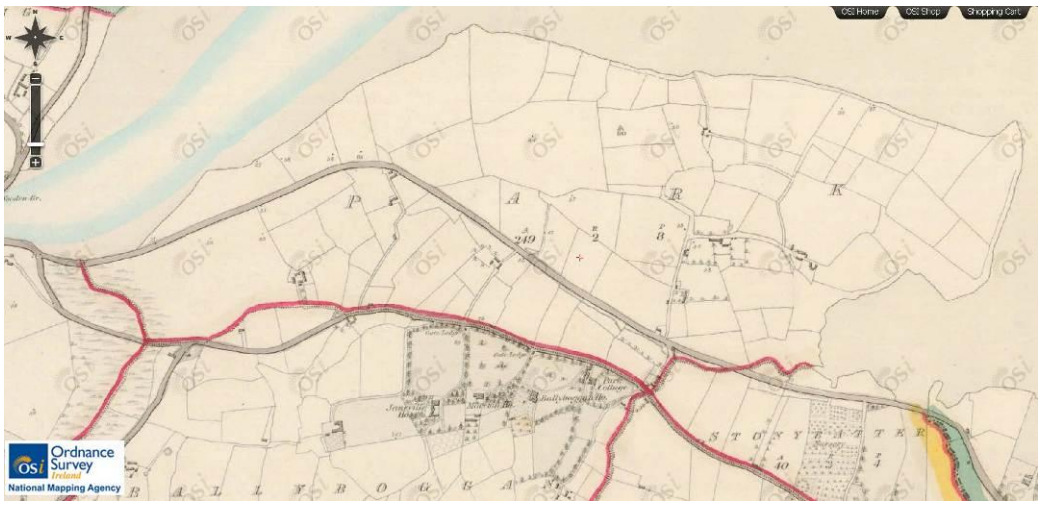

Fig. 8.2: The townland of Park (1st Edition 1837-1842)

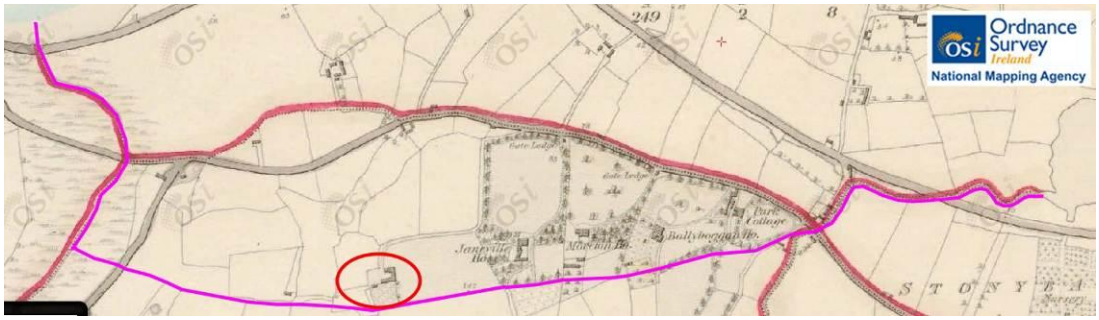

Fig. 8.3: Detail of the proposed boundary of the high medieval park, highlighted, and Slaneyhill House circled (1st Edition 1837-1842)

Pl. 8.1: Park and Ballyboggan townlands from the later Ferrycarrig Towerhouse (RMP No. WX037-027) on the north bank of the Slaney River. The low-lying area with the model giraffe is the marshy confluence of the Carrick River with the Slaney

Pl. 8.2: The high medieval park from the later Ferrycarrig Towerhouse (RMP No. WX037-027) on the north bank of the Slaney River, with the probable park boundary as it may have looked

8.1.2 Brief historical background to Wexford Town and castle, Ferrycarrig ringwork and their surroundings

By the late ninth century the Vikings had established a settlement at 'Weisfiord', which developed into an enclosed town that was well established by the time of the Anglo-Norman invasion. During the first wave of the Anglo-Norman landings in 1169, Robert FitzStephen and Dermot MacMurrough marched on, and successfully took Wexford. MacMurrough then granted the town and its lands, which were essentially the later medieval barony of Forth, to FitzStephen and his half brother Maurice FitzGerald (Colfer 1990-1, 8, 13; 2008, 40; Orpen 1911-1920, i, 151-7). In 1171 Henry II visited Ireland and took control of the town and lands, subsequently granting them to Strongbow in 1173 (Orpen 1911-1920, i, 326; *Song*, lines 1850-6) (see Appendix 1.2). Wexford was again held by the king between 1176 and 1189, between the death of Strongbow and the marriage of his daughter Isabella to William Marshal I. Subsequently, the town developed quickly, receiving a charter prior to the first arrival of Marshal in the area in 1200 (Colfer 1990-1, 14; 2008, 44; Orpen 1911-1920, ii, 201-2).

The castle at Wexford was sited to the southeast of the town, outside the walls, and is likely to have originated as some form of timber castle soon after the departure of Henry II (Colfer 1990-1, 18; Orpen 1911-1920, i, 373). It is probable that either William Marshal, or his son, also William, who inherited in 1219, built the stone castle. It is only known from antiquarian drawings, but is believed to have been a towered keep, which would support this date by architecturally placing it in the first quarter of the thirteenth century (Leask 1941, 27, 51; Sweetman 1999, 60). The castle is first mentioned on the death of William Marshal II in 1231 (*CDI*, i, no.1872). A century later, in 1324, it was described as being in poor repair, suggesting that it had been built some considerable time before that and had not been well maintained (*Inq. & Ext. of Med. Ire.*, no. 228). The castle was demolished in the early eighteenth century and replaced by a military barracks (Colfer 1990-1, 21; Hadden 1969, 8).

The population of Wexford fluctuated over time. In the mid-thirteenth century there were 365½ burgesses, equating to a population of *c*. 2000, however by 1298 there were 128½ vacant burgages, a figure which had risen to 221½ by 1324 (Colfer 1990-

1, 21-2; *Inq. & Ext. of Med. Ire.*, nos. 156, 228). These numbers demonstrate that while Wexford was initially successful as an Anglo-Norman town, this was not sustained, as trade moved to other, more accessible ports, and was adversely affected as a result of the Bruce Wars (Colfer 1990-1, 22; 2002, 78-9).

Ferrycarrig ringwork (RMP No. WX037-028) is situated on a prominent rocky crag on the southern bank of the Slaney. It lies in the townland of Newtown, parish of Carrick and barony of Shelmalier, *c*. 4km west of medieval Wexford, and during later medieval times was situated in the barony of Forth. This site should not be confused with the townland of Ferrycarrig, and the associated late medieval towerhouse (RMP No. WX037-027), which are situated directly opposite the ringwork, on the northern bank of the Slaney, in the area held by the Roche family. There is no evidence of any fortification predating the towerhouse on the northern side of the Slaney (Bennett 1984-5, 26, 28; Colfer 2002, 104-5). The ringwork on the south side of the river is well recorded since both Giraldus Cambrensis (*Expugnatio*, 53) and the anonymous *Song of Dermot and the Earl* (*Song*, lines 1295-9) mention the defences there, suggesting that the fortifications were constructed by either Robert FitzStephen or Maurice FitzGerald as part of the initial conquest of the area (Bennett 1984-5, 28). The site was lost to the Irish, but was soon regained, and in 1173 was part of the lands that Henry II granted to Strongbow (*Song*, lines 1850-6). Subsequently, a stone castle was constructed on the ringwork, and was recorded in 1231, at the same time as the castle at Wexford (*CDI*, i, no.1872). Again similarly to Wexford, by 1324 the castle was in poor condition (*Inq. & Ext. of Med. Ire.*, no. 228) No trace of the stone castle remains today, but it was present in 1587 (Holinshed's *Chronicles*, iii, 10.11), and more recently, excavation revealed some stone footings (Cotter 1986; 1987). The Crimean War monument that is now situated within the ringwork, Belmont House (built *c*. 1800) and the Bridge of Wexford have all been cited as having sourced their stone from the castle (Bennett 1984-5, 30, 32; Lewis 1845, 280).

Carrick was also the focus of a rural borough, with 111 burgesses recorded on the death of Joan de Valence in 1307 and 110 on the death of her son Aymer de Valence in 1323-4 (*Inq. & Ext. of Med. Ire.*, nos. 156; 228). The borough did not prosper but declined in population soon after, probably due to competition with the adjacent

town of Wexford, and its exact location is unknown (Bradley and King 1990, 67; Colfer 2002, 78).

The demesne manors of Wexford and Carrick passed through a number of hands in the twelfth to fourteenth centuries due to deaths and inheritances, however these can be summarised as follows. The lands were briefly held by FitzStephen and FitzGerald. They then passed to Strongbow (de Clare), and through the marriage of his daughter to William Marshal, they were transferred into the Marshal family. Although the main *caput* for the Marshals in Leinster was Kilkenny, Wexford was a major manor within the liberty of Leinster. After the partition of Leinster in the mid-thirteenth century (see Appendix 1.2), Wexford became the *caput* of the portion allotted to William Marshal's second daughter Joan. Hence Wexford and Carrick came into the hands of the de Munchensy and then de Valence families, who continued the tradition of absenteeism. Certainly Aymer de Valence was an absentee landlord, although his completion of the Wexford town walls in the early fourteenth century suggests that he had an active interest in the town. By 1324, when the Hastings family inherited the lands, the castles at Carrick and Wexford were in a poor state of repair, and both boroughs had declined. In the late fourteenth century the lands passed to the Talbots, earls of Waterford and Shrewsbury, and by 1537 were taken into the King's hands as a result of the continued absence of the lord (Bennett 1984-5, 27-31; Colfer 1990-1, 13-21; Hadden 1970-1, 5; Hore 1900-1911, v, 41-8; *Inq. & Ext. of Med. Ire.*, nos. 156, 228; Lewis 1837, 700-1; Orpen 1911-1920, 79-107).

8.2 Documentary, placename and cartographic evidence

A range of edited sources were consulted, in addition, Hore (1900-1911) quotes extensively from uncalendared and unpublished records, which have been included here as citations by him.

8.2.1 Later medieval sources for the park at Carrick

As described above (see Section 8.0), a park at Carrick is first referred to in the charter of disafforestation of the Forests of Ross and Taghmon, written at some time between 1231 and 1234. This charter states:

> 'Now of the forest around Tauchmune I have deforested outside the metes and bounds hereunder-written, that is to say, from the place where the river which flows between the castle of Karrich [and] the park [into] the Slaney, and by that river ascending to my mill on that river…' (*CERM*, 56)

No mention is made of the park in the Inquisition held on the death of Joan de Valence in 1307, but this does include the following:

> 'In Carrick there is a castle with two carucates and 20 acres of appurtenant land in demesne worth 60s a year' (*Inq. & Ext. of Med. Ire.*, no. 156)

What may be of significance in this is the land area given. A carucate is defined as the area of land that could be ploughed by a single team in a season, and could vary although 120 statute acres was used by both the English and Irish Exchequers (McCotter 2008, 25). Bennett (1984-5, 30) has taken a medieval acre to be 2.5 statute acres, a figure supported by McCotter (2008, 25). On these figures the land held in demesne would equate to 290 statute acres, very similar to the 308 acres of land surveyed at Park and Ballyboggan, suggesting that this may be the piece of land referred to. Park townland has 249 statute acres to the north of the current townland boundary, and the relevant part of Ballyboggan has 59 acres to the south. Alternatively, if the medieval acre used in this case were similar to the statute acre,

as at Loughrea (see Section 5.2) and Dunamase (see Section 7.2), then there were approximately 260 statute acres in demesne. The reference to a value for the land suggests that at that time it was used for agriculture rather than retaining deer and growing timber. For example, in the same inquisition the values of the 'pasture and underwood of Colunagh Cullentra' were given as 10s per annum, so that woods were generally listed as such. A later inquisition in 1323-4 on the death of Aymer de Valence included a value of £2 for 'Two carucates arable and pasture in demesne' (*Inq. & Ext. of Med. Ire.*, no. 228), presumably the same lands. Neither inquisition specifically mentions a park, which at an area of *c*. 260-308 statute acres should be significant in the possessions of a manor. There are no further references to the park at Carrick until post-medieval times (see Section 8.2.3).

Summarising what is known about the park at Carrick, it must have been constructed by one of the two William Marshals in the period between 1189 and 1231x1234 as it is unlikely to have been created during the short period in which Strongbow held the land, or during the minority of Isabella, his daughter. Furthermore, since the stone castles at Carrick and Wexford were probably constructed by one of the Williams, it is likely that the park was created at the same time, as these would have been considered to be essential features of major high status manors (Crouch 1992, 112, 309). The park seems to have been put to agricultural use by the time of Joan de Valence's death in 1307, so that it had a lifespan of not more than a century in its primary function. Nevertheless, the place-name remained as a reminder of the original conception of the manor.

8.2.2 Later medieval sources for the park at Wexford

There is also firm evidence for a park at Wexford but some of the evidence is misleading, and has been wrongly interpreted over the years.

On 28th April 1275 it was noted that as a result of the partition of the inheritance of the Earl Marshal, Agatha de Mortimer, daughter of Sybil, had received

> '…the manor of Thachmonn' [Tagmon], in the co. of Wexford, excepting 35 solidates, 2 denariates, and 1 obolate of land, and rent assigned to the park of Wexford.' (*CDI*, ii, no.1109)

However, this reading makes little sense since there is no reason for rents to be paid to a 'park'. By contrast, Orpen (1911-1920, iii, 88) noted the following:

> 'Taghmon (Tech Munna). This vill was assigned to the purparty of Kildare, but the sum of £1 15s 2½d out of it was assigned to the purparty of Wexford'.

The sums of money thus match, as an obolate was an area of land worth ½ penny. A more likely reading for (*CDI*, ii, no.1109) is therefore 'and rent assigned to the purparty of Wexford' suggesting a transcription error by Sweetman, possibly as a result of having abbreviated 'purparty' to 'p.' in his notes.

In 1324, in the inquisition following the death of Aymer de Valence, the demesne of Wexford Castle was recorded as having a park of 60 acres, which contained oak trees and was used for pasturing cattle (*Inq. & Ext. of Med. Ire.*, 228). Furthermore, in the assignment of dower of Mary, his wife, on 6th December 1324 it is noted that Mary is to receive a number of properties including

> 'Weisseford. 6 burgages submerged by the sea, 66 and a third part of ½ wasted burgages, and a third part of the park on the eastern side' (*CIPM*, Edw. II, vi, 339-40)

To which Dryburgh and Smith add the detail that it is

> '…a third part of the park in Wexford, lying on the eastern fringe of the meadow' (*Inq. & Ext. of Med. Ire.*, no. 237)

This is likely to refer to the park attached to Wexford castle, since the manor of Carrick is dealt with earlier in the document as a separate entry when it states that Mary would receive:

> 'Carryk. The manor, excepting 40*d*. arising from a moiety of the wood of Colynath which is assigned to the pourparty of the castle of Weisseford.' (*CIPM*, Edw. II, vi, 339-40)

In 1331 William de Aldesheles was constable of Wexford castle and park and at that time the park fencing was to be repaired at a cost of 30s (cited by Hore 1900-1911, v, 106). In 1335 and 1336 there are a number of references to the park and castle of Wexford. First, in June of 1335 John de Ruggeleye was given custody of the castle of Wexford (*Cal. pat. rolls*, Edw. III, iii, 123). In January of the following year there was a

> 'Grant to William de Aldsheles of the keeping of the castle and park of Weyseford and of the prises of Weysford and the mills there, in the king's hand by reason of the minority of Laurence, son and heir of John de Hastynges, tenant in chief of Edward II, to hold with the issues thereof received by John de Rogeleye, until the lawful age of the said heir, receiving for that keeping the usual fee and rendering 141. a year.' (*Cal. fine rolls*, iv, 470)

Unfortunately, in March, due to an oversight, the king also granted Wexford to John de Ellerker (*Cal. pat. rolls*, Edw. III, iii, 225-6). In May there was a document granting John de Ruggeleye a number of rights including custody of the park of Wexford (*Cal. pat. rolls*, Edw. III, iii, 257). By June the problem was compounded as the king also appointed de Ellerker as Constable of Wexford castle (*Cal. pat. rolls*, Edw. III, iii, 272). This evidently caused an problem, and in October the grant to de Ellerker was rescinded on the grounds that de Ruggeleye had already been appointed (*Cal. pat. rolls*, Edw. III, iii, 320).

The park at Wexford is further mentioned in an inquisition taken in February 1375/6 after the death of John de Hastyngs, Earl of Pembroke (*CIPM*, Edw. III, xiv, 152-3; *Inq. & Ext. of Med. Ire.*, no. 339). This noted that his assets included 'pasture of a park which extends at 13s 4d', which at a typical pasture value of 4d per acre gives a 66-acre park, so dovetailing with the size given in the extent of 1324. After the death of the earl, the park and manor came into the king's possession and in 1377

there was an inquiry into the management of the park. It appeared that trees had been illicitly cut down and the timber removed (cited by Hore 1900-1911, v, 121).

Colfer (2008, 78) considers that the Park of Wexford was in the area now known as Townparks, and this seems to be correct. The location of the park is set out in 1378 when at least part of it was being used for agriculture:

> GRANT to John Piers and John Boudram of custody of all lands which, by ancient custom, were cultivated and now are cultivated within the park of Wexford, with moors and pasture within the bounds of that park, viz. from a place called Laffaed to Redstherd, and from the sea to the place called Trorp's lakes, to hold during pleasure rendering 10s p.a. from the hands of the provost of Wexford (CIRCLE, PR 1 Richard II, no.11).

This is highly likely to refer to Townparks since 'Laffaed' is probably the street known as 'Faigh' at the time of William Petty's map in 1657, 'The Feagh' on the 1st Edition map and as 'The Faythe' today. It is likely however, that the name 'Townparks' is entirely unrelated to the high medieval park, except in the sense that it was open land that had not been built on. There are fifty-seven townlands in Ireland incorporating the name 'Townparks' (Broderick 1999) including Maynooth, and in that case, Horner (1995, 3) has stated that this name was applied in the eighteenth century for grazing land given to new residents of the town. Hore (1900-1911, v, 121), however, discounted that this reference was to the park belonging to the castle. Instead he considered that it referred to a third park, which he placed in the Barony of Forth, incorporating Tacumshin and part of Carne. This was based on his reading of the phrase 'Trorp's lakes' which he read as ' les treys lakes' or three lakes. He identified the lakes as Loughs Togher, Tacer and Salle.

By 1381, due to the minority of the heir of John de Hastynges, the manor was still in the hands of the king, and at this time the Park of Wexford was in the custody of Nicholas Hore, who was asked to account for the issues of the park in 1389 (cited by Hore 1900-1911, v, 123, 4). In 1384 John Botilston, who was Constable of Wexford castle was asked to account for his management, including that of the gardens and

park of the Courtheyes of Wexford (cited by Hore 1900-1911, v, 123), which Hore interpreted as the gardens and park of the courthouse of Wexford. In 1399 Reymund Flemyng was executor of the will of Dionisius Roche. Roche had held the tenancy of the park of Wexford and two thirds of the watermill at Carrick (cited by Hore 1900-1911, v, 33). This may be a confusion between the parks of Carrick and Wexford, since if Roche held the watermill at Carrick it would be more likely that he held the park at Carrick than the park at Wexford.

In 1420, Wexford was again in the king's hand as a result of the minority of the heir of Gilbert Talbot. At this time the hunting and chase of the manor of Wexford are mentioned, as is the park of Wexford, all of which are quoted in a much later Elizabethan document (cited by Hore 1900-1911, v, 130).

The park associated with Wexford Castle is very well documented, with many of the constables and tenants recorded. It seems to have been *c*. 60 later medieval acres in size and to have contained timber trees until at least 1377, but was already in use for pasture before this time. Arable agriculture is mentioned in 1378, but at least part of the park was probably already used for crops before this since the park was stated to be 'lands which by ancient custom, were cultivated' (CIRCLE, PR 1 Rich. II, no.11). It is likely that the park was located close to the castle, in the area now known as The Faythe.

The Faythe area of Wexford town was already developed by the time of the 1st Edition map, and is now partly under housing. No attempt was made to trace the Wexford park on the ground, however, cartographic evidence indicates a 60-acre area defined by sinuously curving boundaries immediately to the south of the site of Wexford Castle (Fig. 8.4). This takes in all of the townland of Cromwellsfort, as well as parts of the townlands of Maudlinstown and Townparks. A slightly larger area would also take in the townland of Whitewell, and would be an equally attractive possibility, as it includes the race of a mill shown on the 1st Edition map and so would have been bounded by water on the northwestern side. The area to the east of the Feagh/Faythe was originally low-lying land that has been reclaimed from the bay (Colfer 1990-1, 19), so is unlikely to have been occupied in the medieval period.

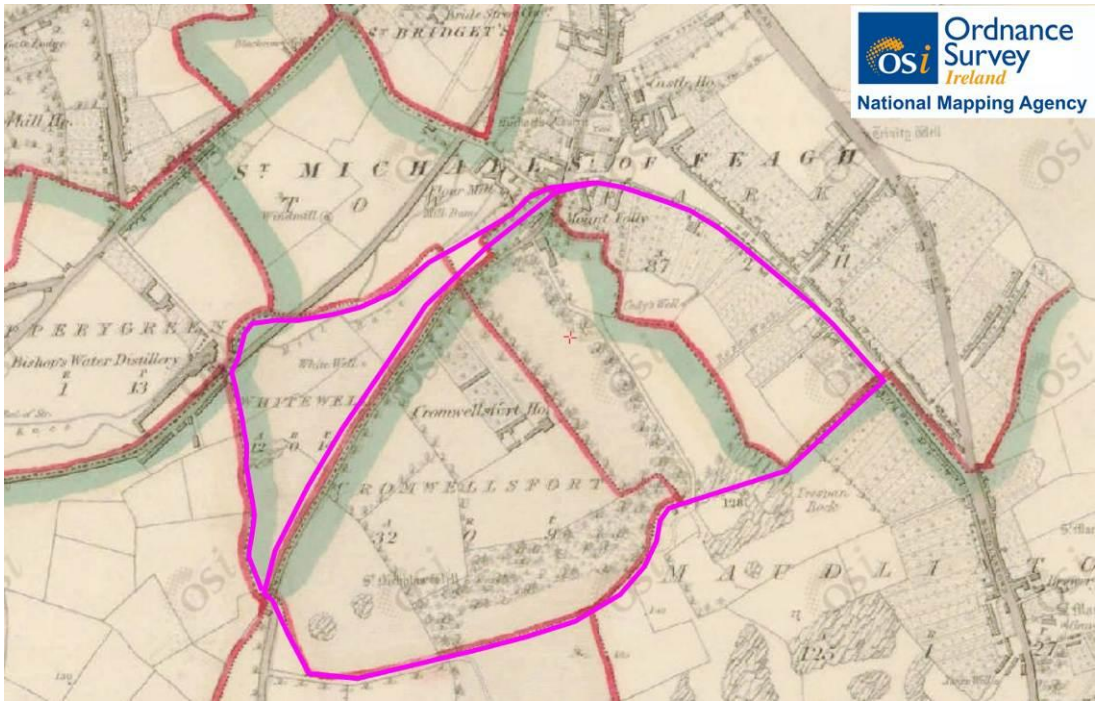

Fig. 8.4: Possible location and potential boundaries of Wexford Castle park (1st Edition 1837-1842)

8.2.3 Late medieval and post-medieval evidence for Carrick and Wexford

Evidence from the late and post-medieval period again becomes somewhat confusing, since references to the parks at Carrick and at Wexford seem at times to have been conflated. The evidence for both locations will be given together, in chronological order, and then the results summarised.

In 1537x1540, there was a grant to William Seyntlo (Synnott) of Roscarlon of:

> ‘60a of land in the parish of le Parke, parcel of the manor of Carge, with the ferry or passage of the town of Wexford; which were parcel of the possessions of the late George Earl of Shrewsbury, in the county of Wexford, and since granted to the King by authority of Parliament … to hold of the King, for the life of said William, by fealty, without rent or accompt.—The said William Seyntlo previously surrendered the King's patent granting the premises to him for a term of 21 years.’ (*Cal. pat. rolls Ire.*, 49)

In 1567 Richard Devereux is recorded as having a 21 year lease for lands including the village of Ballifewckle, 'and a certain parcel called the Parke and the Ferry of Wexford, with the lands in Saint Jones, besides Itiskorscy, of the yearly value of 20s.' (*Cal. pat. rolls Ire.*, 517).

In 1575 (enrolled 1582) Lancelot Allford sold the following to Richard Synnot of Ballybrenan:

> 'one Park or enclosure, containing 60 acres of arable land near to the town of Wexford, parcel of the Manor of Carrick, with all and singular its messuages, lands, tenements, meadows, pastures, woods and underwoods, waters, pools, rivulets, weirs, fisheries, and all and singular the other hereditaments, emoluments and profits …6s 8d chief rent…' (cited by Hore 1900-1911, v, 34, 186)

Under 1582 in the *Calendar of the State Papers relating to Ireland* (*Cal. S.P. Ire.*, ii, 389) there is a statement that the Wexford lands held by Synnot were noted in the document, but no further details were given. In the same year Hore (1900-1911, v, 180) cited a crown rental which stated that the 'Park or Close near Wexford, containing 60 acres, rented at 6s 8d and the ferry at Carrig, or Carrick, was granted to Geo. Bourchier', with the rent for the ferry being given as 5s a year. Another undated manuscript cited by Hore (1900-1911, v, 182) has Walter Synnott as tenant of the 'Park or enclosure near Wexford town' at a rent of 6s 8d and William Synnott and Nicholas Turner as joint tenants of the 'Ferry of the town' at a rent of £2 7s 8d.

John Speed's map of Leinster, published in 1610, shows the town of Wexford, but no relevant detail. In 1635 Sir William Brereton (cited by Hore 1900-1911, v, 246) noted that travelling from Carrick to Wexford:

> 'about a mile hence lies a farm called the Park, which is now leased unto one Mr Hardye, an Englishman, who lives upon it and hath an estate in it [of] about thirteen years. The landlord is one Mr William Synode of the Lough, a man that needs money. This land is [worth]

> about £16 per annum. He saith it contains about 300 acres, others say 200 …'

The land area given here is useful, Hardye, an Englishman, would be assessing land in English acres, and so reckoned his holding at 300 acres, 'others', being Irish, would reckon land in plantation acres and so would arrive at a figure of closer to 200 acres. This confirms that the area of Park, and hence of the high medieval park associated with Carrick is of the order of 300 statute acres in size.

The *Books of Survey and Distribution* (*BSD*) show that in 1641 William Synnott was still the landowner. He was listed as an 'Irish Papist' who held 144 plantation acres in the 'The Parke' and 38 plantation acres in 'pt of Balliboggan' in the barony of 'Shelmaleere', Synnott also held a further 'pte of Balliboggan' listed as 86 plantation acres (139 statute acres), giving him a total landholding of 433 statute acres. Petty's map of the 'parrish of Carrigge' (Fig. 8.5) shows these holdings and in Fig. 8.6 they are transposed onto the 1st Edition map. From this it can be seen that Synnott's land included all of the modern townlands of Park and Ballyboggan, apart from a holding of 53 plantation acres called Fortumny, which was owned by Robert Roch[e], and which lay between Synnott's two portions of Ballyboggan. In addition, most of the modern townland of Stonybatter was in Park, with the remainder in Ballyboggan. The modern townland of Carricklawn was also split, with part of it being the 38-plantation acre portion of Ballyboggan, and part being within Fortumny. Furthermore, the extreme western extent of the modern Park townland was also part of Ballyboggan. What this map demonstrates is that while the townland names are essentially unchanged, the boundaries of the townlands have moved quite considerably in the past four hundred years.

This image is not available for copyright reasons

Fig. 8.5: Part of the Down Survey parish map (Petty 1655)

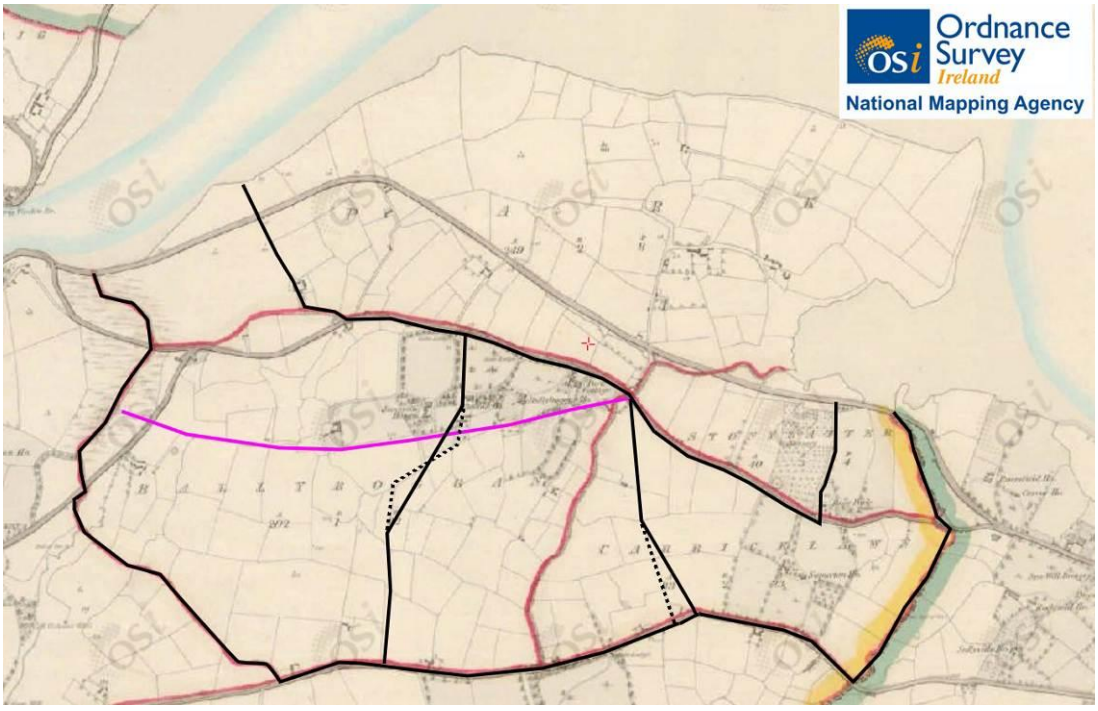

Fig. 8.6: William Petty's parish map (Petty 1655) transposed onto the Ordnance Survey map (1st Edition 1837-1842) with the proposed park boundary also shown. The dotted lines indicate where field boundaries on the 1st Edition differ slightly from boundaries drawn by Petty

The land areas in the *Civil Survey* of 1654-6 initially appear to contradict the *Books of Survey and Distribution*. They show that in the Barony of Shelmaliere the same William Synnott held 60 plantation acres in The Parke, of which 57 acres were arable, and he also held 180 plantation acres in Ballyboggan, giving a total of 240 plantation acres or 388 statute acres, which the document notes was held as his inheritance. Robert Roch's land of 'ffarrtomry' is given as only 15 plantation acres, of which 10 acres are listed as arable. No other landowner is listed for these townlands. The Civil Survey gives the bounds of Synnott's lands as:

> 'Bounded on the southeast wth (*sic*) the River Wexford Liberties & Colcotts on the West with Newtowne, & on ye north with the River of Slany' (*Civil Survey*, 107)

Overall the figures give a similar total to that of the earlier survey, suggesting that this was due to differences in land estimation and definitions of the townlands and that the same portions of land are being referred to.

The Down Survey barony map of Sheelmaleere (Fig. 8.7) showed similar features, with Park extending into the modern townland of Stonybatter, and Ballyboggan extending into Carricklawn.

Fig. 8.7: Down Survey barony map of Sheelmaleere (Petty *c.* 1656)

Reproduced courtesy Trinity College Dublin

William Petty's map of 1685 (Fig. 8.8) shows the walled town of Wexford and the parish boundaries. The parishes themselves are not named. Within the parish of Carrick, the area of Ye Parke is clearly noted, as is Faigh, to the south of the town, in the location probably containing the Park of Wexford. Waddingsland separates the Park of Carrick from Wexford Town, and Turner's lies immediately to the east of this, so that these areas cover the lands now known as Coolcots, Carricklawn and Stonybatter. Balbgogan (Ballyboggan) lies to the south of Park and Baltings to the west. Cultrater (Cullentra) is visible as is Newtown. These placenames demonstrate a continuity, not just for Park townland, but also for many other townlands in the surrounding area. Unfortunately the size of the typescript means that some of the placenames are shown incorrectly, for example Ballyboggan is too far to the west in relation to Park.

Fig. 8.8: Map of Wexford from the *Hiberniae delineatio* (Petty 1685)

Pender (*Census Ire. 1659*, 542) lists three residents of Parke townland, of which two are English and one is Irish. This suggests a single land holding and household, with the land not subdivided. Ballibogan, by contrast, was occupied by a total of twenty-four people, of whom two were English and the remainder Irish. This shows that the

area of Parke was considered to be a single block of land and was not subdivided into numerous small tenancies, suggesting that it had been held in demesne prior to being let out to a substantial tenant. A similar situation prevailed at Dunamase, which even today is still essentially held by one family (see Section 7.2).

Scale and Richard's map of 1764 (Fig. 8.9) was principally concerned with coastal navigation so that only selected inland locations were shown as landmarks. This map has north to the left and west to the top. Wexford Town and the navigation in that area are shown in considerable detail. Park is clearly marked, with a significant residence shown midway between the un-named stream on the east and the Carrick river, which are both marked as 'pills', a name historically used for tidal inlets (Hall 1842, 153). Comparison with the 1st Edition map suggests that this residence is likely to be in the approximate location of Slaneyhill House. The present house was built in 1832, possibly on the site of an earlier structure (NIAH, no. 15607026). Maps produced shortly afterwards by Vallancey and by Taylor and Skinner do not show Slaneyhill House but do mark Bettyfield House, which actually lay further to the south. It is therefore possible that this residence is Bettyfield rather than Slaneyhill. Bettyfield House, which has now been demolished, was on the site of the Wexford Racecourse, and would not have been visible from the water to the north, but may have been visible from the east, whereas Slaneyhill House is visible from the north. Park Point and Park Spitt are clearly shown along the coast, and the areas of Ferry and Carrick are marked, as is Newtown.

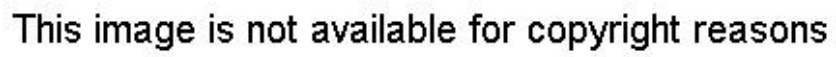

Fig. 8.9: The harbour and town of Wexford (Scale and Richards 1764) after Colfer (2008, Fig. 11) showing Park townland with a significant building, probably either Bettyfield House or Slaneyhill House

Charles Vallancey's map of 1776 (Fig. 8.10) was principally military, and concentrated on features such as roads, maritime navigation and the location of big houses and demesnes. The map clearly shows a road running from Wexford to Ferrycarrig. Haddon (1969) called this the 'Tudor Engineered Road', but as noted, gave no evidence to support this having been built in the Tudor period. The map does not name the Park area, and Slaneyhill House is not marked, however 'Bettyfield' is marked as the possession of Dr Jacob. Close comparison of this with the location of Bettyville on the 1st Edition map, however, shows that this portion of the map is somewhat inaccurate. Similarly, the distinct bay at the eastern end of Park townland, south of Park Point, which is shown on both Petty's map and the 1st Edition map, is merely a river mouth on this map. Park Point is shown but not marked, however Park Spitt is marked as a Slab, or area of mud flats, and this area is again very different in shape to that surveyed by Scale and Richards. All of this calls

into question the accuracy of the survey conducted, and suggests that it is very schematic. Vallancey's map also provides a view of what appear to be field boundaries, however close inspection of these suggests that they are very large at *c.* 30 acres each and are more likely to represent land ownership blocks. Comparison with the portion in which 'Bettyfield' sits shows that it is similar in shape to that shown for 'Bettyville' in the 1st Edition map, and similarly, other nearby areas can also be seen to be schematically shown in this way. Interestingly, no boundaries are shown in the modern townlands of Park, Carricklawn or Stonybatter, nor in the northern part of Ballyboggan, with the boundary of the final set of blocks in the approximate location of the proposed park boundary. It is therefore possible that even at this late date this area was considered as a single entity, but caution must be expressed due to the schematic nature of the cartography.

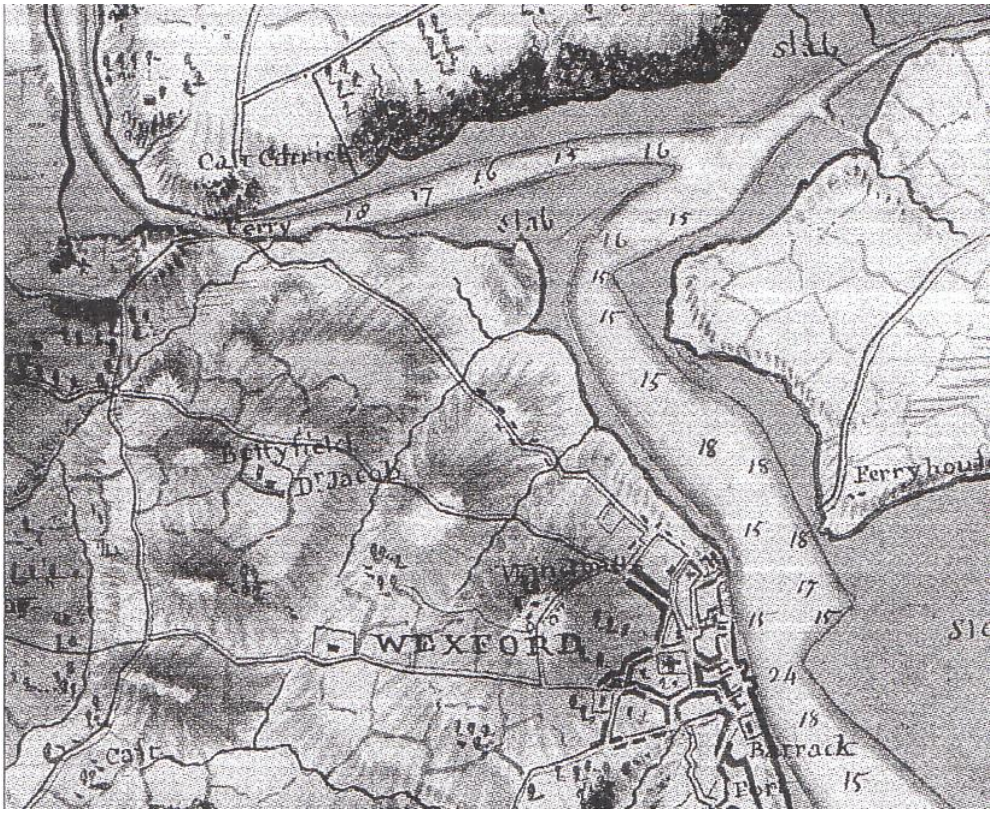

Fig. 8.10: Wexford harbour (Vallancey 1776)

© The British Library Board Maps K.Top.51.31.2.

Taylor and Skinner's (1778) road map (Fig. 8.11) was designed for long-distance travel, so that it concentrated on roads, distances, notable landmarks and gentry houses where the owners subscribed to the production of the map. By contrast, areas away from roads are rarely shown and even the main roads are often purely schematic. Park is not specifically named, however a number of features are noted. The road between Wexford and Ferrycarrig is marked, and is shown crossing the Carrick River. At this time the bridge over the Slaney at Ferrycarrig had not been constructed, however Ferrycarrig itself is marked. As with Vallancey's map, Bettyfield is noted as part of the Jacob estate, and is shown on the Wexford to Newtown road.

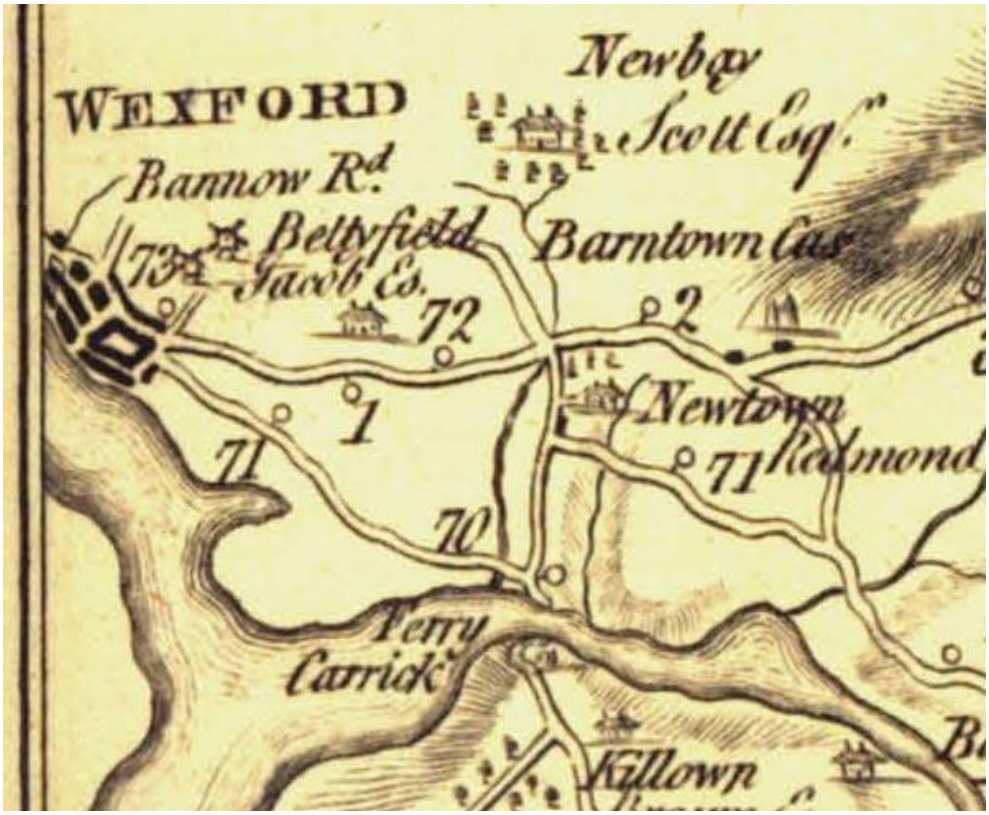

Fig. 8.11: Taylor and Skinner's (1778) road map in the area of Wexford and Ferrycarrig

The 1st Edition map of the area, surveyed in 1840 (Fig. 8.2), clearly shows townlands and field boundaries. The townland boundary runs along Haddon's (1969) 'Tudor Engineered Road' to Ferrycarrig, and to the north of this is the Mail Coach Road. The curving boundary proposed here as the park boundary is visible as an arc to the south of the townland boundary, and has been highlighted on Fig. 8.3. By the time

of the 1st Edition map a number of gentry villas had been constructed at the eastern end of Ballyboggan, with the southern garden walls partially respecting the curving boundary.

8.2.4 Summary of documentary and cartographic evidence

In summary, there is evidence for two high medieval parks in the area. The first, represented by Park townland and the northern part of Ballyboggan was part of the manor of Carrick, and had an area of *c*. 308 statute acres. The second park lay close to Wexford Castle, and had a land area of *c*. 60 statute acres (Fig. 8.12). Both were in demesne manors, but eventually both parks were rented out and used for agriculture. The park at Carrick seems to have had 60 acres rented for arable cultivation in the post-medieval period. It is possible that these 60 acres refer to the land inside the park boundary, but south of Haddon's 'Tudor Engineered Road' through the townland (see Appendix 8.2). As a result of having two parks with stated areas of 60 acres, later commentators have occasionally experienced some confusion as to which of the two parks is being referred to. While belonging to the manor of Carrick, the larger park was equally conveniently located for use by the inhabitants of Wexford Castle. Given the proximity of the two, the park at Wexford Castle may have originally served as a 'little park', functioning more as an extensive garden, while the larger park was more suited to keeping herds of deer and cattle.

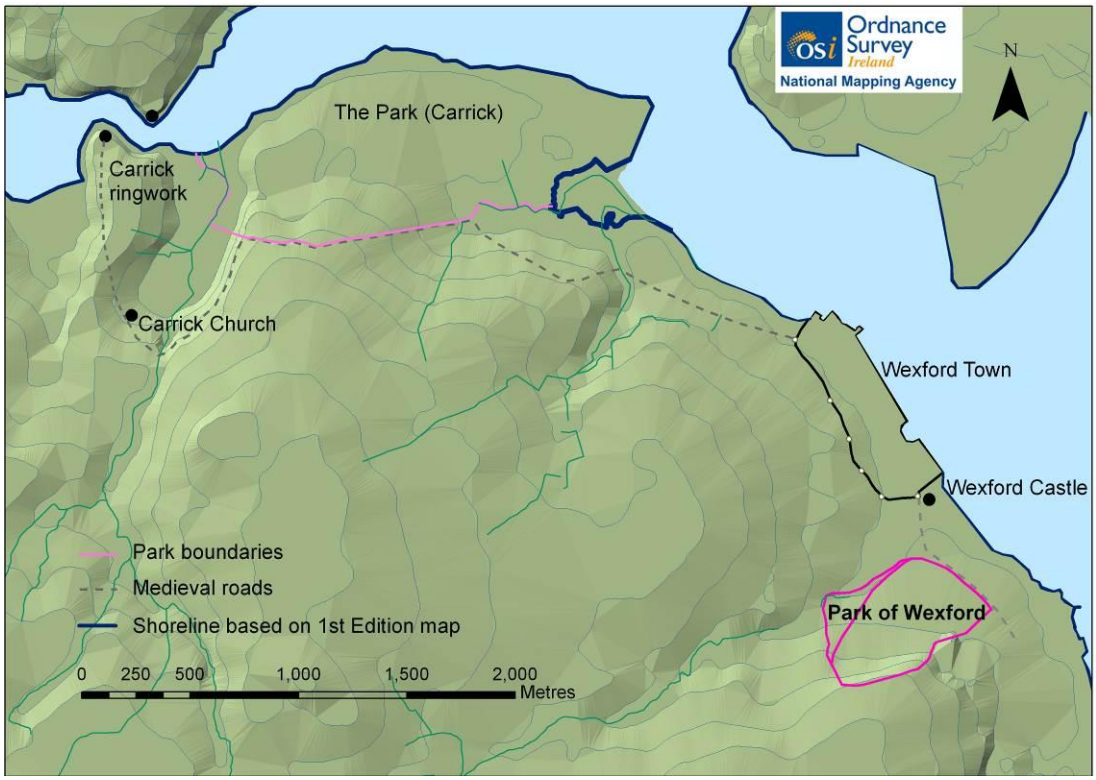

Fig. 8.12: Large scale plan of high medieval Carrick and Wexford showing the location of the park at Carrick and a possible location for the park at Wexford. Also shown is the projected line of the high medieval road from Wexford to the ringwork at Carrick

8.3 Archaeological work on the park of Carrick

Archaeological work was restricted to the park associated with the manor of Carrick, and no attempt was made to trace the Park of Wexford on the ground. The potential boundaries of the park at Carrick were walked and inspected to determine if any park-related features remained.

8.3.1 Field boundaries in the area

Typically, field boundaries in the area consisted of a bank of 1m to 1.5m high, topped by a hedgerow, but without a ditch. Substantial land-blocks and townland boundaries where they were not alongside a modern road were generally similar, but usually also incorporated a ditch, or they ran alongside rivers or streams. Boundaries alongside roads varied, depending on the level of development. However, where these bounded agricultural land, they were generally similar to other field boundaries.

8.3.2 Park boundaries

The historical, cartographic and placename evidence suggest that the high medieval park associated with the castle at Carrick was essentially situated within the townland of Park, but that the boundaries of this townland have been fluid. The survey suggests that the boundary of the high medieval park ran further south, within the townland of Ballyboggan, where a relict ditch and road-bed could be followed for over a kilometre. On the east the park was bounded by the unnamed stream that flows northwards into the Slaney, while on the west it was bounded by the Carrick River. This results in an area of *c*. 308 statute acres for the park (Fig. 8.13). A detailed survey of the park is given in Appendix 8.1. As with many of the other parks surveyed, such as Maynooth, Dunamase and Nenagh (see Chapters 6; 7; 9), the importance of both extant and relict roads in understanding the layout and location of the parks cannot be overstated (see Appendix 8.2).

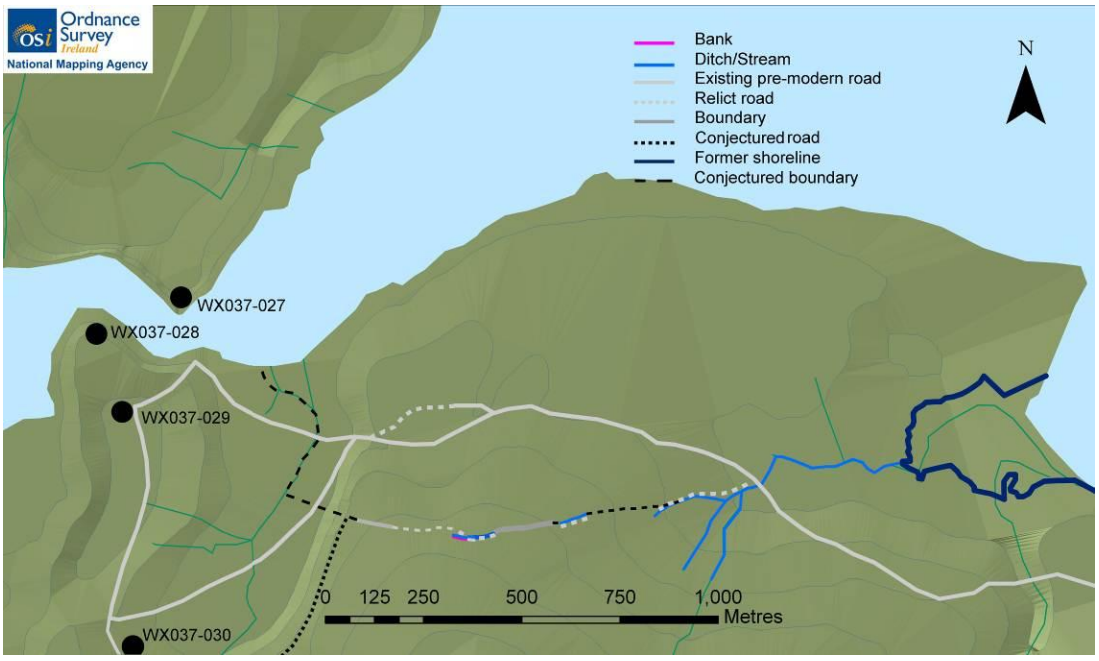

Fig. 8.13: Plan of the park at Carrick
(base mapping © Ordnance Survey Ireland/Government of Ireland Copyright Permit No. MP 0003612)

While the existence of the park had not been forgotten, and had lived on in the townland name, the boundaries had been lost to memory due to changes in land use, ownership and the realignment of roads. As with many of the other parks in this

study, the physical remains are ephemeral and would not be commented upon if it were not for the place-name evidence to link the ditch and relict road with the boundaries of a later medieval landscape feature.

8.4 Discussion

8.4.1 Dating the park

The evidence suggests that a park was created at Carrick at some time between 1189, when William Marshal I obtained the lordship and 1231x1234 when his son Richard Marshal disafforested part of the forest of Taghmon, and first mentioned the park (see Sections 8.1.2; 8.2). Construction is likely to have taken place in conjunction with the building of the stone castles at Carrick and Wexford, which probably occurred prior to 1231. It is unlikely that a park would have been created during the brief period that the land was held by Strongbow, or during the minority of his daughter Isabella. Fallow deer remains (Tab. 3.2, and see Appendix 3.6) found in contexts with early thirteenth-century pottery at Ferrycarrig ringwork support the notion that the park was used to retain deer rather than purely for timber and pasture (McCormick Undated-b), and in 1225 William Marshal II received twenty does to be brought to Ireland, showing that at least one of the Marshal parks in Ireland was ready to be stocked by this time (see Section 8.0). It appears likely, however, that the park did not function as a deer park indefinitely, as by 1307 and 1324 there is no reference to a park, but there is reference to a similar area of land held in demesne (see Section 8.2.1). This is unsurprising, since after the partition of Leinster, Wexford and Carrick were held by William de Valence, half brother to Henry III through his wife Joan Marshal (Orpen 1911-1920, iii, 86), and these manors were subsequently held by a variety of other lords. William de Valence's primary estates were in Pembrokeshire and his interests were in English politics and military action, although Wexford was his *caput* in Ireland. This absenteeism culminated in the mid-sixteenth century in the confiscation of lands by the king (Bennett 1984-5, 31). As a result, while Wexford began as an important manor in the Marshal holdings, and continued to be of economic significance, the castles at Carrick and Wexford were administered by seneschals throughout their history (Colfer 1990-1, 21), and were rarely occupied by the lord. This is reflected in the level of maintenance afforded to

the fabric of the two castles, which in 1324 were both in a very poor condition (*Inq. & Ext. of Med. Ire.*, no. 228).

While the evidence suggests that the park was only used for deer for a maximum of one hundred years, the place-name has endured for some eight hundred years. This is testament to the longevity of place-names in the landscape and provides another demonstration of their value for archaeologists (e.g. Cantor 1983, 3; Cooney 1999, 61; FitzPatrick 2004, 29-34; Joyce 1910, vi-vii; Muir 2000, 13).

8.4.2 Construction of the park

The site of the park was carefully chosen to minimise the complexity of construction whilst maximising the impact of the park. Locating it on a peninsula, bounded to the north, east and west by water meant that only a southern boundary needed to be constructed. The curving boundary was identified cartographically, and visual inspection suggests that this is significant. Prior to beginning this work it was suggested to the present writer that the current townland boundary, running along the road, was the original park boundary (Emma Arbuthnot *pers. comm.*). However, this is unlikely for a number of reasons. Firstly, examination of the 1st Edition map shows that in several places this road appears to bisect pre-existing fields, so that these fields must be earlier than the road. Since there is no reason for field boundaries to exist within a newly-constructed park, these suggest that the road, and hence the townland boundary, is more recent than the field system (see Appendix 8.2). Secondly, at the western end, the road runs through an east-west valley, with rising ground to both the north and, more steeply, to the south. Evidence from England, as well as common sense, suggest that a deer park boundary should be close to the top of a slope to maximise the difficulty for a deer seeking to escape and to minimise the height of the palings needed to retain the deer within the park (Moorhouse 2007, 106). For this reason the line of the current road would be impractical as a park boundary, and the curved boundary to the south, incorporating a relict road feature is much more likely, as it runs along the break of the slope.

Today the southern boundary of the park consists of a relatively short length in which a ditch is present, with evidence of a bank to the north and a relict road to the south of the ditch (see Section A8.1.2). This ditch feature measures up to 1.8m deep

and 3m wide. While unusual for the area, it does not immediately stand out as a feature of archaeological importance, but should be considered in the context of the apparently short lifespan of the park, so that its pale would soon have become obsolete. The cartographic evidence is more convincing than the physical remains, clearly demonstrating a constructed boundary running across a distance of *c.* 1.2km and enclosing an area of 308 statute acres.

It is likely that an outer, southern bank would have formed the main barrier to retain the deer, probably with wooden palings, or possibly a tightly-maintained hedge (Cantor 1983, 3; Moorhouse 2007, 104-6). Palings and hedges are likely to leave minimal archaeological traces. It is only along a short stretch of the length of the curving boundary that the ditch appears to have survived, and even at this location there has been significant disruption to the features. At the Carrick River, it is likely that the river itself, in conjunction with the reed beds would have been sufficient to retain the deer. At the eastern end, there is some aerial photographic evidence to suggest that prior to recent disruption there may have been a bank external to the unnamed stream that formed the boundary at this point.

8.4.3 Access and security for the park

The park lay immediately adjacent to the castle at Ferrycarrig and so may not have had a lodge within it, instead being administered from the castle itself. If, however, a lodge was required, then the site of Slaneyhill House, adjacent to the extant remains of the boundary, is the most likely location. This is at the highest point in the park and commands good views over the lands to the north. It is highly probable that gatehouses were present at the access points, however these are likely to have been made from wood and so would leave very little above-ground evidence.

In order to access the park from Ferrycarrig ringwork it would have been necessary to cross the Carrick River. At the suggested river crossing point to the south of the park (Fig. 8.12), a wooden or stone bridge could easily have spanned the river. The current, more direct crossing at W2 (Fig. A8.1) is much wider and is flanked by a wide area of reed beds, and so presents a treacherous prospect (Pls. A8.2; A8.3). It is possible that a ford or a causeway was present there, for use on foot and horseback, but heavy carts, for example to transport timber would have been more

likely to circumvent the reed beds and access the park at W5 using the relict road (see Appendix 8.2). This suggests that it is likely that there was a gate into the park at that point.

Many English and European parks had a number of gates (see Appendices 2.2; 2.3) and a gate accessing the park from the Wexford side is also extremely likely, since the two manors were so closely linked, both physically, and as part of a single lordship. This would probably have been sited at the modern townland boundary intersection of Park, Ballyboggan, Stonybatter and Carricklawn, where the modern road crosses the unnamed stream. Ironically, this is the location of the lodge house of the nineteenth-century Park Cottage. While the evidence from the field boundaries suggests that the modern road through the park is a later feature, it is quite likely that a path or track wound through the east-west valley bottom essentially following the same line, providing access to the park from Wexford and easy removal of timber to Wexford.

8.4.4 Practical and symbolic aspects of the siting and use of the park

It will be argued later that parks in Ireland were constructed primarily for political and economic purposes, rather than as pure hunting parks (see Chapter 10). The park at Carrick is a prime example of this since it was already present in 1231x1234, and so was created early in the Anglo-Norman occupation of the area (see Section 8.0). As such it was an essential part of the Anglo-Norman elite 'package' of castle, park, mill, church, demesne lands and borough (Bailey 2002, 2-5; Liddiard 2005, 100-19; O'Conor 1998, 26-38) .

The park was sited for maximum visibility. As demonstrated in Pls. 8.1; 8.2; A8.1 and A8.2, it was clearly visible from the contemporary Ferrycarrig ringwork as well as from the northern shore of the Slaney River. Similarly, any travellers on the river would have had to pass by the park en-route to Carrick or further upstream. The park is also visible from Wexford Town itself (Pl. A8.19). Anyone travelling between Carrick and Wexford by land would either have had to pass through the park, if they were permitted to do so, or to skirt it to the south using the relict road, in which case the view northwards would be dominated by the park boundary. This visibility was important because parks were created as much for their value as status

symbols as for their practical uses. Any visitors to the area or residents would have been aware of the park and of its symbolism. The park represented potentially useful land that was inaccessible to the non-elite. It was not designed to be cultivated or primarily used for pasture, but instead was designed to hold deer and timber that were for the exclusive use of the lords. As with many of the other parks surveyed, this example was not constructed on marginal land (Tab. 11.1). Even today some of the land within the high medieval park is used for arable agriculture, while the remaining undeveloped land is good quality pasture.

At 308 statute acres, the park at Carrick was typical of the size of the parks surveyed in this work. By comparison with some parks in England, however, it was of a relatively modest size (see Section 2.3.3). Nevertheless, this should be seen in an Irish context, where extensive timber stocks and the more prestigious red deer hunting were freely available to the magnates within their liberties, and where parks were relatively uncommon. For these reasons, and given the relatively scarcity of parks and fallow deer in later medieval Ireland, it was the possession of a park at Carrick, rather than its absolute size that was of significance. The presence of the park, and the act of stocking it with fallow deer, meant that the Marshals could display power and prestige. This was due to the visibility of the park in the landscape as well as the ability to provide feasting at the highest level and to make gifts of venison or live deer to their peers and subordinates.

8.5 Recommendations

The relict road bounding the high medieval park is still visible in places and the line of the park boundary can be traced (see Appendices 8.1; 8.2). It is recommended that this linear feature be added to the RMP. It is further recommended that any future development should be required to retain the line of the boundary as to remove this would remove the final vestiges of the high medieval park from the landscape.

8.7 Conclusions

At 309 acres, the park at Carrick, Co. Wexford, was of a typical size for the surveyed high medieval parks, and today is a somewhat ephemeral monument, being reconstructed by mainly cartographic evidence (see Section 8.2). By using water as a boundary on three of the four sides the Marshals minimised the costs of constructing and maintaining the enclosure (see Appendix 8.1). On the south side, the boundary is today represented by a relict road that circumvented the park and by a relatively short stretch of a substantial ditch. This would have formed part of the barrier to prevent the escape of deer and domestic animals pastured in the park. Despite its ephemeral nature, the park was an important feature in the high medieval landscape, representing the status of the Marshals as magnates of the highest echelon. This was one of a number of parks owned by the Marshals and was situated on the relatively minor manor of Carrick, albeit adjacent to the large trading town and seigniorial castle at Wexford (see Section 8.1.1). The almost entire lack of archaeological remains, despite the strong place-name evidence, is a reminder that any parks that are not recorded in surviving documents have undoubtedly disappeared into the landscape and would be difficult to recognise.

Chapter 9: Nenagh Co. Tipperary

9.0 Introduction

In March 1299 Theobald Walter (Butler) V petitioned the king to allow him to divert a road to create a park in Nenagh, where his *caput* and castle were situated (*Cal. justic. rolls Ire.*, i, 234). On the basis of cartographic and historical evidence, Gwynn and Gleeson (1962, 288) suggested the area to the immediate north and east of the castle as the location of the park, a theory which is borne out by the results of this survey. Appendix 9.1 contains a detailed survey of the proposed park boundaries, while Appendix 9.2 details the archaeological features in and adjacent to the park.

9.1 Background

9.1.1 General description of the park and surroundings

The castle at Nenagh was built in the late twelfth or early thirteenth century, and consists of a round keep incorporated into a curtain wall that forms a five-sided courtyard and a later gatehouse (Leask 1941, 43-6; McNeill 1997, 28) (see Section 9.1.2). The evidence suggests that the park lay to the north and east of this, extending 1km eastwards from the castle funnelling into a lobe shape as far as the River Nenagh, where it seems to have measured *c*. 650m northwest to southeast. Overall the park enclosed an area of *c*. 127-137 statute acres (Figs. 9.1; 9.2). Today the western and northern portion has been built over as part of the post-medieval and modern development of the town of Nenagh. Much of the eastern portion is still given over to fields and gardens, associated with eighteenth-century demesne houses at Summerville and Riverston. From the castle at Nenagh heading eastwards, the land is flat at first, but then slopes gently downwards towards the river. Heading north from the castle, there is a gentle rise upwards, before the land falls away on the northern side of the hill. As a result, the park lies on an area of high ground with the land sloping away gently on all sides. Immediately to the northwest of the castle is the Roman Catholic parish church, which was constructed in the 1890s (Gleeson

1936a, 259). The highest point of the park, to the northeast of the castle, is at an elevation of *c*. 70m. This is now under a modern water reservoir, and immediately adjacent lie the remains of a disused infantry barracks constructed in 1832 (Nenagh Town Council 2007, 118), with nineteenth- to twenty-first century housing surrounding this high point. Many of the road names in Nenagh have changed over the last two centuries, and a number of roads surround the proposed boundaries of the park. These have been detailed in Fig. 9.3.

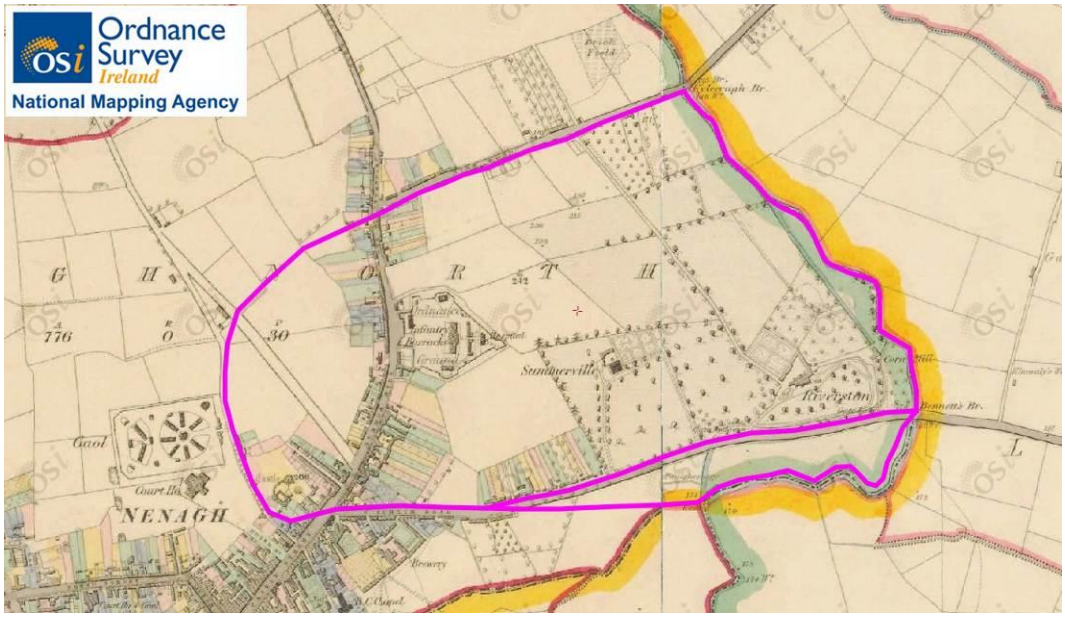

Fig. 9.1: Nenagh with proposed alternative park boundaries highlighted (1st Edition 1837-1842)

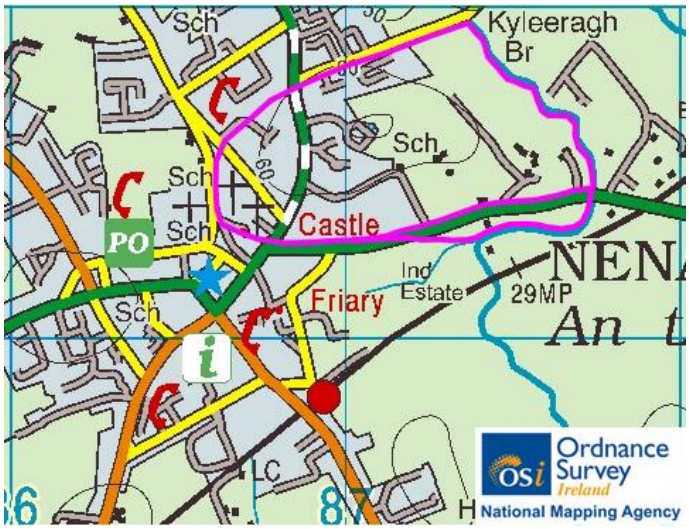

Fig. 9.2: Nenagh with proposed alternative park boundaries highlighted (Discovery Series)

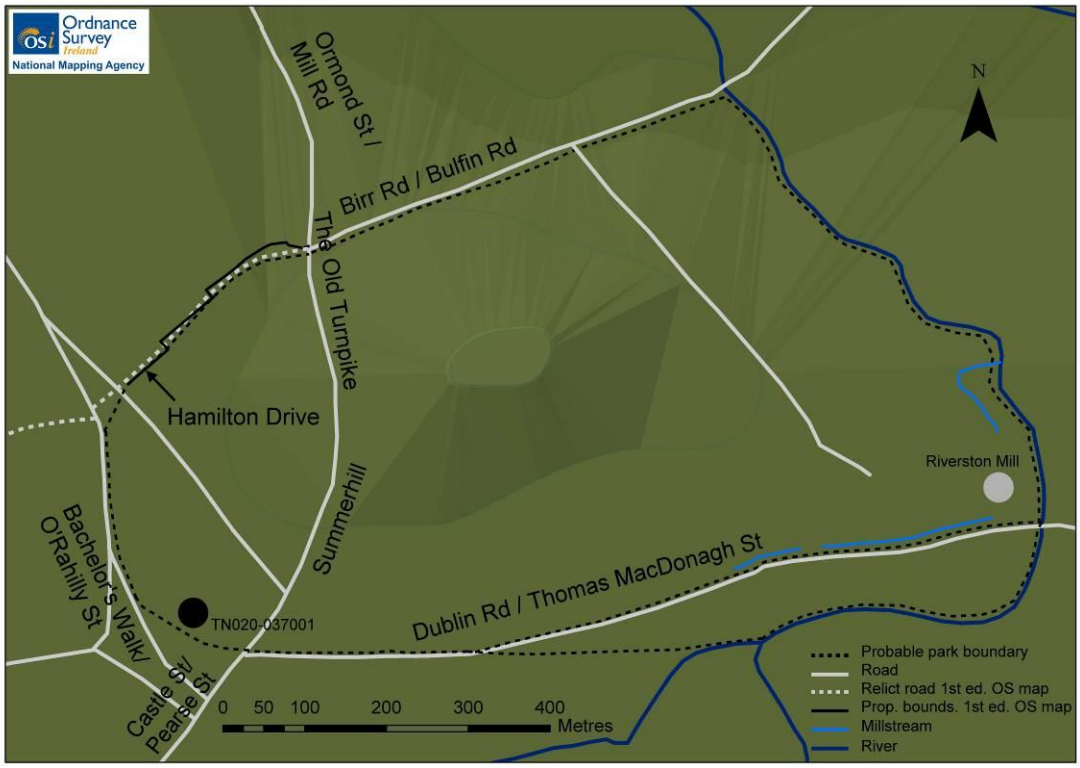

Fig. 9.3: Plan of the park

(base mapping © Ordnance Survey Ireland/Government of Ireland Copyright Permit No. MP 0003612)

9.1.2 Brief historical background to Nenagh and its surroundings

During the later medieval period, Nenagh was in the cantred of Ormond and Arra, which lay in the diocese of Killaloe and in the eastern portion of the former kingdom of Limerick. After *c*. 1254 Nenagh became part of the county of Tipperary (Empey 1985, 71-3). Subsequently, in 1328, the county became a liberty controlled by the earls of Ormond, a situation which was maintained until 1716 (Empey 1985, 75, 89; Marnane 2003, 41; McCarthy 1993, 12-3)

The name Nenagh is an Anglicised form of *an aenagh* or *an Aonach*, in modern Irish, meaning 'the fair' (Murphy and Murphy 1994, 1; Sheehan 1950, 73) An alternative name of Knockanderry was also in use throughout the later medieval period and up to the eighteenth century. This name, meaning 'hill of the oaks', is believed to refer to the height on which the town and park stood (Gleeson 1936a, 247). Another alternative, Derrynenagh, meaning 'oaks of Nenagh' was also in use at the time of the Civil Survey (Gleeson 1936a, 250). This association of the high point of the town with the name 'Derry' is important since there is only one known

reference to the high medieval park, but it is believed to have been at this location, and timber was a vital resource in later medieval parks (see Section 2.3.4).

Theobald Walter I accompanied Prince John to Ireland in 1185 and was given the title *Pincerna* or Butler of Ireland, from which the family name was later derived (Gwynn and Gleeson 1962, 175; Orpen 1911-1920, ii, 94-5) . He came from a well-connected family since his father was also hereditary Butler of England. Later, his brother was the Archbishop of Canterbury, as well as Justiciar of England and subsequently became Chancellor (Gwynn and Gleeson 1962, 175; Orpen 1911-1920, ii, 94-5). Theobald Walter (Butler) I was granted some half a million statute acres of land in what was then the Kingdom of Limerick, and towards the end of the twelfth century he established his *caput* at Nenagh (Empey 1985, 78-9; Gwynn and Gleeson 1962, 176; Orpen 1911-1920, ii, 104-5). He died in 1205 and was succeeded by his son Theobald Walter (Butler) II, who was a small child at the time of his father's death. The lands were administered by the Justiciar Geoffrey de Marisco, whose daughter subsequently married the young Theobald (Gwynn and Gleeson 1962, 179). The dating of Nenagh castle is in some doubt. It was certainly in place by 1220, and a coin dated 1205-18 was found in the foundation trench of the gatehouse during excavations (Gleeson 1936a, 248; Gwynn and Gleeson 1962, 178; Hodkinson 1999, 178). McNeill has argued on stylistic evidence, however, that the circular main tower is likely to date to the time of Theobald Walter (Butler) I who died in 1205 (McNeill 1997, 50, 52) (Fig. 9.4). Somewhat confusingly, the name 'Theobald Walter' continued in use so that it was the fifth holder of that name that petitioned for the diversion of the road to be allowed in order that he might construct his park in 1299 (Gwynn and Gleeson 1962, 287).

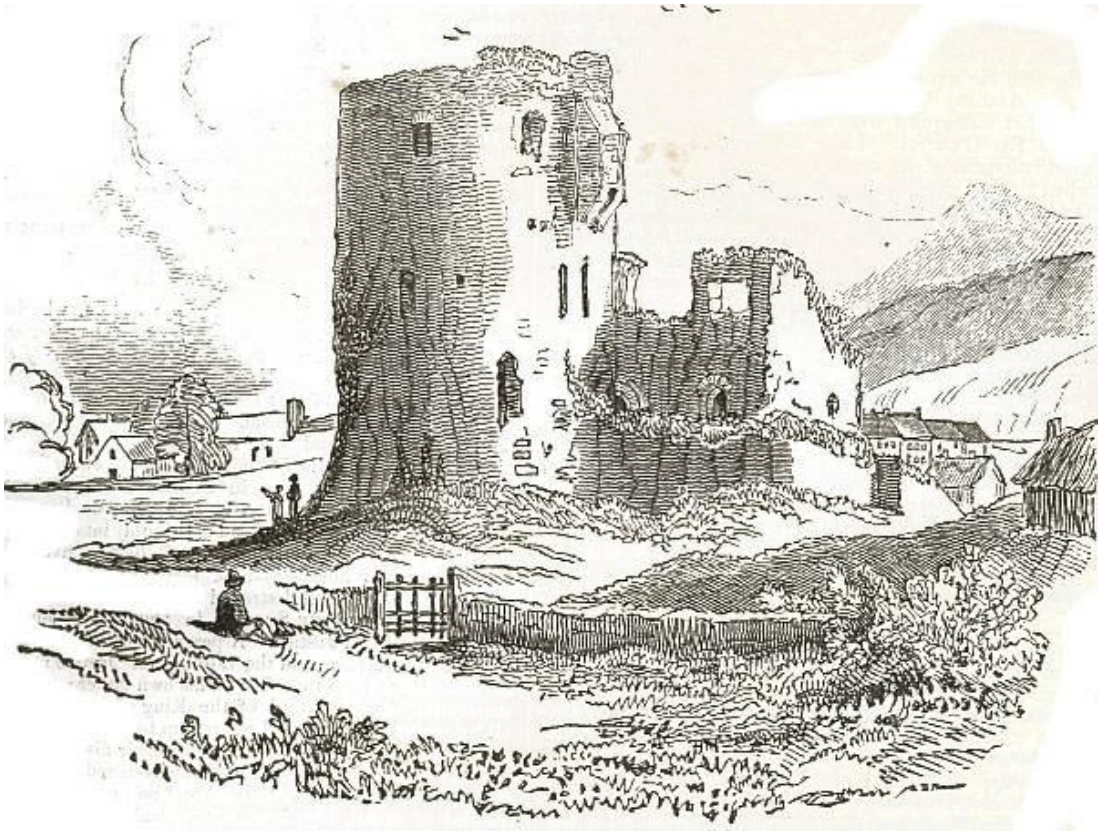

Fig. 9.4: Nenagh Castle, County of Tipperary
(after *Dublin Penny Journal*, 16/3/1833)

Many of the towns in Tipperary received murage grants in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century. None survives for Nenagh, however there are records demonstrating that murage taxes were collected, and Thomas (1992, 174) considers it 'inconceivable' that Nenagh should have been unwalled (Bradley 1985, 38, 50-1; Thomas 1992, 173-5). Nenagh was therefore probably walled, and portions of the wall have been tentatively identified, although initially the town may have been surrounded by a palisaded bank and ditch. It is possible that the castle and the parish church may have been outside the boundary, while the friary and hospital certainly were (Bradley 1985, 38-9; Bradley and King 1994, 51; Sheehan 1950, 15, 21; Thomas 1992, 173-5). Nenagh was unstable in the fourteenth century, with the town being burnt in 1316 during the Bruce Wars and by the local O'Kennedys in 1348 (Gleeson 1936a, 251-2). As a result, during the 1330s and 1340s, revenues fell to approximately one quarter of their previous value, implying that the population was considerably diminished, and Bradley (1985, 50) has suggested that much of the current street plan may actually date to the sixteenth or seventeenth century.

Nevertheless, the castle was still held by the Earls of Ormond and there were a series of peace accords between the Ormonds and the O'Kennedys in the fourteenth century (Empey 1985, 89; Gleeson 1936a, 250-3). By the late fourteenth century the Earls of Ormond had moved to Gowran, and later they moved again, this time to Kilkenny Castle, which they purchased in 1392 from the Despencers (Gleeson 1936a, 248-9, 251, 253). At some point thereafter, Gleeson (1936a, 254-5) suggests that the castle and manor of Nenagh passed into the hands of the Mac Ui Brian sept, who held it until 1533, when it was regained by Sir Piers Butler. Empey (1985, 88), however, refutes this, arguing that Nenagh and its castle remained in Ormond hands. Regardless, the Earls of Ormond were still acknowledged as overlords of Nenagh, apparently receiving rents from the O'Kennedys for their Nenagh lands until at least 1653 (Gleeson 1936a, 252-3). The Butlers sold the manor and town of Nenagh to Nehemiah Donnellan in 1703, and in 1733 the lands were sold again, this time to the Holmes family (Gleeson 1936a, 258-9; Gwynn and Gleeson 1962, 418).

9.2 Documentary, place-name and cartographic evidence

9.2.1 Later medieval Sources

The full reference to the park at Nenagh is as follows:

> 1299 March 16. Pleas at the Nanagh, before John Wogan, Chief Justiciar, on Monday in the Second Week of Lent.
>
> Tipperary. The petition was heard of Theobald le Butteiller that he might divert a highway which leads through the midst of his wood of the Nanagh, and prepare another road for it, below said wood towards the south, and maintain it at his own expense; and that he might enclose the wood, and make a park of it. The Sheriff was directed to summon a jury to make known whether it be to the damage of the King or of others that the King should grant this. And John son of Robert, Dionysius de Mariscis, Nich. Crok, Hugh son of Robert, Geoffrey Techeseye, Ph. Lagheles, Ric. de Mariscis, Ric. de Barwe, Ph. le Blund, Henry Golcfre, Rob. Goer .... Trauers, and

> Will. Shorthals, jurors, say that it would not damage any but those who dwell in Theobald's town of the Nanagh in the street below the castle towards the east, viz., Rob. son of David, and his neighbours dwelling in that street; and it is to their hurt if the way is diverted, because it would oblige them in going to their lands on the other side of the wood to make a circuit of four furlongs. And they estimate their damage at 40s. *(Cal. justic. rolls Ire., i, 234)*

There are no further references to the park at Nenagh, however woods belonging to the manor are mentioned in 1339:

> Tipperary. Inq. Saturday after the Annunciation, 12 Edward III (defaced). Nanagh or Le Nanagh. The manor with the grange of Clonleyn (extent given with names of tenants), including a castle surrounded with five towers, a hall, a house beyond the gate, and a kitchen with stone walls roofed with shingle, 40a. pasture called ‘Clonmayn,' and a wood called 'le Dirre', held of the king in chief, doing suit for the same at the county[court] of Typerarie every month.
> Free tenants:
> ……Le Dirre. 10a. by ' le Dirre ' held by Nicholas le Bryt and Adam Bokeler for 10s
> Free tenancies in decay :
> … Le Dirr' by Nannagh. A pasture which the burgesses of Le Nanagh used to hold and render 13s. 4d. yearly, but now nothing because near the Irish. (*CIPM*, viii, no. 184).

The majority of the later medieval manor of Nenagh extended to the north of the town towards Rapla and westwards as far as the modern townlands of Ballyannymore, Ballyhimikin, Kyleashalloo (Richmond), Springfort and Shesheraghkeale, to the southwest of the town. The grange of the manor, Clonleyn, was situated two miles north of the town in Grange Upper and Lower townlands. The 1st Edition map shows Nenagh Mill situated there on the riverbank, in what

became the demesne townland of Wellington (Gleeson 1936a, 261; 1938, 201; Gwynn and Gleeson 1962, 178). A grange was a farm belonging to the demesne lands or to a monastic order, and which provided agricultural produce for the castle or manor (Barry 1987, 6-7, 76; Berman 1991).

9.2.2 Post-medieval sources

The *Books of Survey and Distribution* (*BSD*) show that in 1641 the Countess of Ormond was in possession of 1393 plantation acres in the manor of Nenagh, with only small acreages held by others at 'Broder', 'Clonemuck' and 'Shesiraghdyrevohir' in Lower Ormond and the former monastic lands in Upper Ormond. The *Civil Survey* of 1654-6 lists the Countess of Ormond as the owner of the majority of the land in the part of the Parish of Nenagh that was in Lower Ormond. This is made up of 'the Castle Towne & pt of the Manor of Nenagh three plds & a half'. It totalled 700 plantation acres (1134 statute acres), of which 130 plantation acres (210 statute acres) were described as 'shrubby wood' and 10 plantation acres (16 statute acres) of 'underwood'. In the Civil Survey the boundaries of the Barony of Lower Ormond ran

> 'along the said river of Geagh (Nenagh River) eastward to a ditch on the east side of the shrubby wood called Derryneana meareing betweene the meddowes of Tyone and Nenagh, thence to the south side of the Abby of Nenagh …' (*Civil Survey*, 278)

This description, as well as Petty's maps (Figs. 9.5; 9.6) show that the barony boundary initially followed the same line as the parish and barony boundary on the 1st Edition map, but at the point where these separate on the 1st Edition map, the barony boundary used to continue southwards with the parish boundary as far as the abbey, at which point it turned northwest towards the town. This demonstrates that Derryneana is the area of the proposed park, lying to the north of the meadows of Tyone and Nenagh, and to the west of the river. The name continued to be used for the area identified as the park up to the late eighteenth century, when it is used in the Holmes leases (Gwynn and Gleeson 1962, 288). At the time of the *Down Survey* in the 1650s (Fig. 9.5), the castle of Nenagh was shown as being in the possession of the Countess of Ormond, as were the areas of Grange (Grandge) and Rapla

(Rapplagh) to the north. At this time the Ollatrim River and further downstream, the Nenagh River, were called the River Geagh, while the portion of the Nenagh River that bounded the park was not marked or named. On Petty's county map from the *Hiberniae Delineatio*, published in 1685, Nenagh is shown, as is the barony boundary, and the Nenagh and Ollatrim Rivers (Fig. 9.6).

Fig. 9.5: Down Survey barony map of Nenagh (Petty *c.* 1656)
Reproduced courtesy Trinity College Dublin

Fig. 9.6: Map of Tipperary from the *Hiberniae delineatio* (Petty 1685)

In this case Pender's census (*Census Ire. 1659*, 298) provides little enlightenment, stating that Nenagh town contained 203 people, of whom 47 were English and 156 Irish.

A number of leases were assigned in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, which shed light on the development of the town and the area around the castle. These were collated and studied by Sheehan (1950), providing a valuable resource. They are important in demonstrating that the area in which the park is believed to have been located remained as wood pasture until late in the history of the town. It has been stated above (see Section 9.1.2) that the Butlers sold the manor and town of Nenagh to Nehemiah Donnellan in 1703, and that in 1733 the lands were sold again, this time to the Holmes family (Gleeson 1936a, 258-9; Gwynn and Gleeson 1962, 418). The eastern area of the park has a somewhat complex history, having become the demesne lands of Riverston and Summerville, owned by the Donnellan family and Holmes family respectively, however, as a result of marriage and inheritance the two estates were brought back together late in the eighteenth century (Sheehan 1950, 26-8). The leases are given here as detailed by Sheehan, in chronological order with [ ] signifying editorial insertions by the current writer, and ( ) signifying editorial insertions by Sheehan (1950). The main point to be gained from these is the sylvan

nature of the land and the ongoing presence of woodland in this area until the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries:

> 'Riverston: 1725 Alderman Mills of Youghal demised to John Dexter, agent for Nehemiah Donnellan, the parcel of ground comprising 2 acres which Donnellan lately enclosed in the lands called the 'Woods of Nenagh'' (Sheehan 1950, 26)

In 1732, Nehemiah Donnellan was constructing the house at Riverston, and the well-known traveller, Mrs Delany, visited, recording her impressions of the site:

> 'Nature has done everything for him he can desire – fine woods of oak, a sweet winding river, and charming lawns that will afford him sufficient materials to exercise his genius on' (Delany 1861, 386-7).

> 'at the bottom of the hill which is covered with wood, runs the river, by the side of which Mr. Donnellan can make a walk three miles long, of the finest turf that ever was seen. The river is so well disposed, that he can make cascades, and do what he pleases with it' (Delany 1861, 388).

In 1739 a lease between James Taylor and David Malone makes mention of the 'field adjoining the wood-gate, and gardens in front joining the Ash-park extending back to John Lockingtons's field (behind gardens in Summerhill)' (Sheehan 1950, 27). Subsequently, in 1783, James' widow, Mary, leased the wood-field to Mathew [*sic*] Morres (Sheehan 1950, 27).

In 1743 the demesne at Riverston included 'Woodfarm (35 acres), Holmes' meadow (7 acres); Nixon's meadow (6 acres), also called Lockington meadow; priest's park or field (6 acres)' (Sheehan 1950, 27).

The area around the castle was also undeveloped in the mid-eighteenth century, with the land currently occupied by the Roman Catholic parish church being known as the 'Castle garden'. In 1752 the castle and its garden were let to Robert Minnit by Sarah

Newsome, with the bounds of the garden clearly delineated in the lease (Sheehan 1950, 24).

By the early nineteenth century the Riverston area was still undeveloped and well wooded:

> ‘Summerville: In 1806 Capt. Wills Croft of Riverston demised to Rev. Thomas Falkiner (Clerk) that part of a field near Nenagh named Dawson’s meadow (6 acres) bounded on the west by Lockingtons’s meadow or field, on the north by Sam Lawrence’s field, and on south by road to Toomevara [Dublin Rd/Thomas MacDonagh Rd], and all timber and timber trees now standing or growing or for ever thereafter to grow on said premises.’ (Sheehan 1950, 26).

Dawson’s meadow was conveyed from Samuel Lawrence to John Bennett in 1827. This was bounded:

> ‘on the east by Millmount [Riverston], on the west by Lockington’s meadow and the Grove, on the north by the Wood-field, on the south by the road to Toomevara [Dublin Road/Thomas MacDonagh Road], and also that part of Lockington’s meadow including the passage from Castle Street (Summerhill) to said meadow.’ (Sheehan 1950, 27).

In 1860, the lands of the ‘Castle plot’ were purchased to erect the Roman Catholic Church to the north of the castle (Sheehan 1950, 24).

9.2.3 Summary of documentary and cartographic evidence

Gleeson (1936a, 250) originally considered that the park of Nenagh had been situated in what became an eighteenth-century 'barley field', and subsequently became the grounds of the Catholic church, along 'with the area to the north of it'. By 1962, however, he had reconsidered, giving the area as being the 'barley field' and land extending eastwards to the Nenagh River, so that his boundaries were those suggested by the present writer (Gwynn and Gleeson 1962, 288).

Gwynn and Gleeson (1962, 288) considered that 'those who dwell…in the street below the castle to the east' in 1299 lived on Bachelor's Walk/O'Rahilly St, so that the castle lay to the east of them. An alternative reading is that they dwelt to the east of the castle, possibly on the eastern side of Castle St/Pearse St, as considered more likely by this present writer and by Bradley (1985, 50). However, Hodkinson (2006) noted the lack of later medieval evidence found during excavations in the town, including in this area, and suggested that the later medieval town might have been in Summerhill, within the area proposed here as the park. Gwynn and Gleeson (1962, 288) also suggested, and this author agrees, that the road that was to be constructed to the south of the park was the Dublin Road/Thomas MacDonagh Road. Marnane (2003) noted that it was commendable that Theobald Walter (Butler) V went through the correct procedure to secure his park, however, it is quite possible that he deliberately wished to be seen to be publicly and officially creating a park at this time (see Section 9.4.1).

The maps and leases discussed above combine to demonstrate that in the post-medieval period the western part of the park, adjacent to the castle, consisted of small land holdings and residential units. By contrast, to the east of Summerhill/Ormond St/The Old Turnpike Road, the land was still rural then, for example, with references to features such as the 'Wood-field' and to the value of the timber in this area. Sheehan (1950, 27) states that Dawson's meadow was the field between Summerville and the Dublin Road. He also states that there was a tradition that the old Town Wall finished at Kyleeragh Bridge (Sheehan 1950, 33), a point that will be returned to in Section 9.4.2. He noted that the 'barrack field' and 'wood field' were one and the same. As mentioned above, certainly in 1732, Mrs Delany

was struck by the sylvan nature of the landscape around the site of Riverston House, which was under construction at this time.

The townland names on the eastern side of the river also suggest that during the medieval period there were extensive woodlands stretching northwards along the eastern bank of the river to the site of the later medieval manorial grange. The grange was situated two miles north of the town, in the modern townlands of Grange Upper and Lower, where the Nenagh Mill is located on the 1st Edition map (Gleeson 1936a, 261; 1938, 201; Gwynn and Gleeson 1962, 178). The townland to the south of this is Garraunanearla, the 'coppice' or 'shrubbery of the earl'. Moving further south, into the townland of Lisbunny, the northern extent of this is called Kyleeragh or 'the western wood' and further south in the townland was Garrannakill, 'the coppice or shrubbery of the wood' or 'church'. In combination, the evidence suggests that while the agricultural land lay to the north of the town, the area to the east and northeast, including the area believed to have been the high medieval park, was managed woodland throughout the high medieval period.

This evidence provides a window on the layout of the manor of Nenagh in later medieval and post-medieval times. The lack of development in the proposed park area demonstrates that this was not considered to be a part of the urban fabric of Nenagh, and instead was held in demesne and reserved for the Butlers. Later, this association of the proposed park with the landowner continued when, in the eighteenth century, the Donnellans and later the Holmes's both selected this pleasant location for their suburban dwellings (Pl. 9.1).

Pl. 9.1: View looking westwards into the park from the Nenagh River. The modern housing estate at the high point of the park is just visible on the horizon

9.3 Archaeological work

9.3.1 Property boundaries in the area

Much of the area of the park is within the modern town of Nenagh and its suburban hinterland. As such, the majority of property boundaries are modern and so can provide little information about high medieval agricultural and park boundaries. Where agricultural boundaries were located, these generally consisted of an embanked hedgerow with an associated ditch.

9.3.2 Park boundaries

A walking survey was undertaken of the boundaries of the proposed park. This had an area of *c*. 127-137 statute acres based on the 25" map. The proposed boundaries of the park are shown in Fig. 9.3, and a detailed description is provided in Appendix 9.1. The park is bounded on the west by existing roads, on the northwest by a relict road that was already redundant by the time of the 1st Edition map, and by a series of property boundaries, that were present at the time of the 1st Edition map, but some of which have subsequently been removed. On the north side, the park is bounded by

Birr Rd/Bulfin Rd, and on the east by the Nenagh River. In the southeastern portion of the park there are two possibilities. One option is that the park was bounded for its entire length by the current line of the Dublin Road/Thomas MacDonagh Road. In this case it is likely that the millstream running alongside the road originated as a park boundary and was re-used in the eighteenth or nineteenth century as the millstream for the corn mill shown at that location on the 1st Edition map. Another, more likely option is that the park continued to the south of the current road, being bounded by the Nenagh River, which turns to come from the east. This would be logical for a number of reasons. Firstly, more of the boundary of the park would be defined by river, so reducing the cost and complexity of construction. Secondly, the turn in the river, and the line of the ditch feeding into the river from the west form part of the townland boundary of Nenagh North, with the river section also forming the barony and parish boundary. Furthermore, extending a line westwards from the turn of the river at Poulsheshery (N20), alongside the east-west stream results in the boundary rejoining the Dublin Road/Thomas MacDonagh Road at a point were the 1st Edition map shows a kink in the line of the road (N29). Either way, the southwestern portion of the proposed park boundary follows the Dublin Road/Thomas MacDonagh road, then passes through an archway at Ayres in Castle St/Pearse St and abuts Nenagh Castle (RMP No. TN020-037001).

9.4 Discussion

9.4.1 Dating the park

Unlike most of the other parks in this study, there is direct evidence for the date of construction; since it was in 1299 that Theobald Walter (Butler) V petitioned that he might divert the road around his proposed park. This is significantly later than many of the other Irish parks for which documentary records exist. The earliest reference to a specific park was nearly a century earlier, in 1207, when John, Archbishop of Dublin was given permission to construct a park and deer leap at Kilcopsentan (*CDI*, i, no. 47) Apart from these two examples, none of the other parks have any evidence for the King's permission being sought to construct them, however there are good reasons for this.

It has been shown that in England, permission to empark was only required where a park was in or near a royal forest (see Section 2.3.4). However, individuals often sought a licence to empark, even if they did not actually construct a park as the possession of a licence was considered to be a status symbol, demonstrating royal favour (Cantor 1982, 75; Cantor and Hatherly 1979, 73; James 1981, 6). The majority of Irish parks for which there is documentary evidence were constructed within the liberties or palatine lordships (Fig. 4.6). As such, there would not have been a requirement for any form of royal permission since the lord of the liberty had control over almost all aspects of local administration (Otway-Ruthven 1968, 181). By contrast, Nenagh was in the county of Tipperary, which did not become a liberty until 1328. There is no evidence for the location of a royal forest in the vicinity, suggesting that Theobald Walter (Butler) V had no requirement to obtain permission for a park. On the contrary, his petition is primarily concerned with the diversion of the highway, rather than the actual park construction. In England, permission was needed to divert the royal road (*via regia*), which was defined as follows:

> 'That is called a royal highway which is always open, which no one can close or divert with walls he has erected, which leads into a city or fortress or castle or royal town' (*Leges Henrici Primi*, 80, 3a).

Generally, at this time, the law as it applied in England was deemed to be valid in Ireland, except in particular cases where legislation might be modified to suit the circumstances (Orpen 1911-1920, iv, 41-4). This may have influenced Theobald's decision to seek permission for realigning the road, since in 1130 in Newark, England, the Bishop's reeve was fined for diverting a road without permission (Cooper 2000, 357). As such, Theobald may have been concerned that to go ahead with his park construction without approval would potentially leave him open to royal disfavour. There was also a second potential reason for seeking royal approval, and indeed for creating the park at all, which relates to the timing of the decision to construct it.

The date of the park is late by comparison with many of the other documented sites. It is likely that the peak of park-building in Ireland was in the period up to *c*. 1260 (see Section 4.5.4). For Theobald Walter (Butler) V to have created a park between

eighty and one hundred years after the stone castle was built at Nenagh would seem to be somewhat belated. Three possibilities present themselves. The first is that woodland was beginning to come under significant pressure in the manor so that he wished to ensure a sufficient supply for the future by enclosing it. Another option is that he had secured a herd of fallow deer and needed an enclosed park in which to maintain them. The final option is more political than practical, and hinges on the notion that there was sufficient woodland around Nenagh to provide for the Butlers' needs and that sufficient wild red deer were available to provide venison and sport, so that a park was unnecessary for practical reasons.

It will be argued in Chapter 10 that as well as being a status symbol, possession of a park was very much a symbol of Anglo-Norman identity. In 1295, John Wogan was appointed Justiciar of Ireland, and charged with raising taxes and reducing corruption. As a result, in 1297 he summoned what can be regarded as the first true Irish parliament (Orpen 1911-1920, iv, 39-40). Legislation passed by the parliament sought, amongst other measures, to minimise absenteeism, restrict private armies, improve bridges and clear roads that passed through woodland, in order to reduce the danger of 'forestall', or highway robbery. This parliament also passed the first in a series of laws that aimed to prevent those of Anglo-Norman origin from taking on Irish dress and hairstyles (*1297 Parliament*; Orpen 1911-1920, iv, 43). It therefore had a clear agenda of reasserting Anglo-Norman, and specifically royal control over Ireland, at a time when Anglo-Norman lords were increasingly taking on Gaelic customs. A final possibility for why the park at Nenagh was constructed *c*. 1299 was that Theobald Walter (Butler) V might have wished to provide a clear demonstration of his Anglo-Norman identity and loyalty to the Crown by being in possession of this most Anglo-Norman of status symbols. The petition to divert the road would therefore have served as a vehicle for advertising this statement of Anglo-Norman identity to the king, stressing his loyalty to the king and the parliament.

This park may have had a very short lifespan as an enclosed park. Created *c.* 1299, it would certainly have fallen out of its primary use by the late fourteenth century when the Butlers moved to Gowran, Co. Kilkenny. The town was burnt in 1316 and again in 1348 (Gleeson 1936a, 250-3), so that it is quite likely that the park became obsolete in the first half of the fourteenth century (see Section 9.1.2). Nevertheless,

at least the eastern portion appears to have remained essentially wooded until the eighteenth century, when it was the location of choice for the houses of the local gentry (see Section 9.2.2).

9.4.2 Construction of the park

Due to post-medieval and modern development in Nenagh and its suburbs, it is difficult to determine what form of boundary was originally constructed around the park. The banks of the Nenagh River have been heavily modified in the last two hundred years so that any features there have been destroyed. There are stretches of mortared stone wall that run along the northern and southern boundaries of the park. It is possible that some of these stretches may have originally been later medieval in date, suggesting a walled park. If some of the walls are later medieval, then Sheehan's (1950, 33) local tradition that the town wall extended to Kyleeragh Bridge might actually reflect a walled park rather than the walls of the town itself (see Section 9.2.3). It is also most likely however, that the walls are post-medieval in date, originating from the eighteenth century, when these lands were developed as part of the demesne houses of Riverston and Summerville. This interpretation is supported by examination of the wall on the north side of the park, which is in poorest condition, and hence is likely to be oldest, and to have had the least interference in its structure. This wall had evidence of a bank underlying it and of brick close to the base, which suggests that it is likely to be of post-medieval date (see Section A9.1.2). If, as is probable, the walls are post-medieval, it suggests that during the high medieval period the boundary is likely to have been a bank and palings.

9.4.3 Access and security for the park

The main access to the park would either have been directly from the sallyport of Nenagh Castle, or there may have been a gate to access the park close to this (Fig. A9.5, A9.6). It is possible that a second entrance was located either close to Kyleeragh Bridge or, more likely, along the Dublin Rd/Thomas MacDonagh Rd, to facilitate movement of materials into and out of the park. If so this would have needed a gate to control entry, but no trace of any buildings remain. The park itself would have been small enough and sufficiently conveniently placed so that no lodge would have been needed to administer it as it could easily be controlled directly from

the castle. If however, a viewing platform or a lodge for entertaining were deemed desirable then the obvious site for this would be at the high point in the park, under the current water reservoir tower.

9.4.4 Practical and symbolic aspects of the siting and use of the park

At *c*. 127-137 acres the park at Nenagh was the smallest of the parks surveyed, but despite this small size and the inevitable limitations due to the late date of its construction, the park was well-sited to maximise its visual potential. The highest point in the immediate area was enclosed within the park and this then sloped gradually down to the river. The evidence suggests that in the later medieval period woodland extended across the Nenagh River into the areas of Garraunanearla, Kyleeragh and Garranakill, so that anyone standing at the highest point at the water reservoir and looking eastwards would see the park, the river, and then more woodland beyond this, giving an impression of a much larger area than was actually enclosed (see Sections 9.2.1; 9.2.2). From the lower-lying land near the river, this impression would be even further heightened, with parkland apparently extending on both sides of the river. Even in the eighteenth century the landscape in this area was worthy of comment by Mrs Delany (1861, 386-8) and was selected as the ideal location for a landlord's suburban residence. From a practical perspective, the location of the park was undoubtedly influenced by the presence of woodland in this area and stretching eastwards and to the northeast. This land was not in agricultural use, but instead would have contained a range of trees and shrubs and so was ideally suited to emparkment since it did not involve taking productive land out of use. Given the presence of later medieval demesne woodland in this area, the park itself would have served little additional practical use unless the Butlers had obtained a herd of fallow deer, but there is no documentary or zooarchaeological evidence to suggest that they had. This suggests either that control of woodland was the driver for park construction, or that it served a more political purpose.

Anyone arriving at Nenagh from Dublin or Roscrea would have come along the Dublin Rd/Thomas MacDonagh Rd, of which at least the western portion was constructed in conjunction with the park (see Section A9.1.5). For the last kilometre of their journey they would therefore have passed alongside the park boundary, and could not help but be impressed by the high walls or palings to their right. Similarly,

anyone arriving from Birr would travel along the north side of the park, and would enter the town with the park to their left (see Section A9.1.2). Arriving at the town from the west or south, the park would be visible as the highest point around, overtopping even the castle itself, and providing a scenic backdrop for the castle and town. The park would therefore be highly visible to travellers, and for the occupants of the town, it would be a permanent reminder of the power of the Butlers, and their identity as Anglo-Norman lords. This would especially be true for 'those who dwell in Theobald's town of the Nanagh in the street below the castle towards the east' who were now obliged to go out of their way to access their fields.

The park at Hesdin, France (see Appendix 2.3) was constructed almost contemporaneously with that at Nenagh, being completed in 1306. At 1977 acres, Hesdin was fifteen times larger than Nenagh, but has a strikingly similar layout, extending northwards from the castle and town in a lobe-shape and being surrounded by a stone wall (Fig. 9.7). Hesdin incorporated a river at the northern end, but unlike Nenagh, the park continued for some distance beyond the river. While it is unlikely that Hesdin provided a direct inspiration for the works at Nenagh, it does demonstrate that similar design concepts were being used in Ireland and France at this time, albeit on a more modest scale at Nenagh.

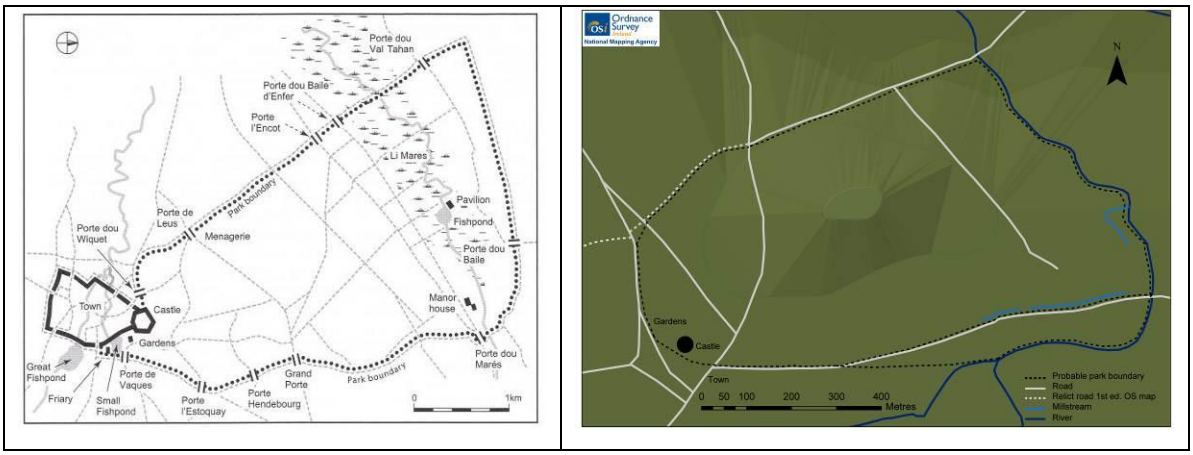

Fig. 9.7: Hesdin (left), after Creighton (2009, 148) compared to Nenagh (right)

There is a slight possibility that the park at Nenagh was walled, and for parallels for this, again Hesdin comes to mind, as does the park at Loughrea, 40km to the northwest (Chapter 5). The park at Loughrea was recorded in an inquisition of 1333,

and radiocarbon dating of mortar gave a construction date of 1251-97 (see Section 5.3.3), so that it was in existence prior to the construction of the park at Nenagh. It extended over 913 acres and was surrounded by a mortared stone wall (see Section 5.6). In England it was noted that aristocratic parks around the royal Woodstock Park were often upgraded from wooden to stone walling in a process of aggrandisement and emulation of the nearby royal park (Bond and Tiller 1997, 30). The same could be true at Nenagh, where Theobald Butler V may have decided to construct a park using similar methods to those employed by the de Burghs. At only 127-137 statute acres, this park was much smaller than Loughrea. Surrounding it with a stone wall, in a region of the country in which stone walling was not common would have been expensive and so would have demonstrated the status and wealth of the Butlers, however it is much more likely that banks and palings were used, in conjunction with the use of the river as a natural boundary.

9.5 Recommendations

While little if anything remains of the high medieval park, the line of the boundary is still cartographically visible. It is recommended that where future development takes place this boundary line should be maintained and that the line is recorded on the RMP as a linear feature. Furthermore, a detailed study of the fabric of the stone walls surrounding the park, in conjunction with a programme of radiocarbon dating, might be useful in determining whether there these are of later medieval or more recent construction. Any sections found to be later medieval should then be specifically added to the RMP, to afford them legal protection.

9.6 Conclusions

At 127-137 statute acres the park at Nenagh was modest in size, but there is a small possibility that it may have been surrounded by a stone wall, which would have added a further demonstration of status for its owner (see Section 9.4.4). It was constructed in 1299; some eighty to one hundred years after the stone castle, and it is possible that this was a deliberate statement of Anglo-Norman identity and loyalty at

a time when Gaelic customs were beginning to take hold amongst the Anglo-Norman elite, particularly in frontier areas such as north Tipperary. There is evidence that the surrounding area was well supplied with woodland, so that it may not have had a true practical purpose (see Section 9.2.1). Documentary evidence demonstrates that the area of the park continued as relatively well-wooded ground up to the eighteenth century when this attribute became a key factor in the decision to construct demesne residences in the old park (see Section 9.2.2). Today, the park can mainly be traced by cartographic means, with little remaining on the ground, however some stretches of apparently old wall may date to the later medieval period or, more likely, may be associated with the eighteenth century demesnes.

Chapter 10: Discussion

10.0 Introduction

This work has examined the evidence for high medieval hunting landscapes and for the deer within that landscape, arguing that these were integral aspects of the culture of high medieval Ireland. It has particularly focused on high medieval parks, and has identified thirty-nine of these in the documentary record. Of these, five were selected for more detailed study, which has variously included cartographic and historical analysis as well as field survey, topographical survey, and in one case geophysical analysis. Having reviewed the evidence in the preceding chapters, this chapter seeks to draw this evidence together and examine how deer hunting, and parks were used as a form of social and cultural expression in high medieval Ireland. In particular, it will argue that while hunting was common to the elites of the Gaelic-Irish, Anglo-Normans in Ireland and the English in England, the three groups used hunting in different ways to mediate their social relations. Specifically, in Ireland, parks containing deer, especially fallow deer, were an elite Anglo-Norman landscape feature, used by this group to create and emphasise their identity in a new environment.

10.1 Why hunt?

For a medieval aristocrat, hunting primarily served not just to put food on the table, but instead it was a part of elite culture, positioning the individual within society and creating an aristocratic identity (Pluskowski 2007b). An individual can be understood as having a particular balance of economic, social and cultural capital, that combine to provide him with a set of values, beliefs and tastes known as *habitus* (Barker 2004, 81; Bourdieu 1984). Bourdieu (2008) argued that success in society was not only a matter of financial wealth, termed economic capital, but that an individual also required suitable social and cultural capital to succeed. Social capital can be defined as connections within society or a subset of society, and cultural capital as an understanding and appreciation of particular forms of, for example, art,

music or technical knowledge considered to be of value within that group. He originally applied this influential idea to modern French society, arguing that it was social and cultural capital that restricted movement between social classes. These ideas have subsequently been applied to a wide range of other societies and societal sub-groups including popular culture and participation in sport (e.g. Stempel 2005; Whiteley, Bennett and Hawkins 2004, 7-8).

Writers such as Giddens (1984, 5-14, 23-4) have developed ideas regarding structure and agency. Structure is related to *habitus*, since it refers to the way that society is organised. Thomas (2000, 13) argues that agency is a complex idea. Some see it as the ability of an individual to make choices with regard to, for example, material culture, which in the long term make changes in society. In this view, the actions of individuals are separated from structure. By constrast, others, such as Shanks and Tilley (1987, 65), see material culture as producing individuals, since individuals are constrained from acting freely by the structure or norms of society.

In later medieval Europe, hunting provided opportunities to maintain and strengthen the social and cultural capital of an aristocrat. By providing opportunities to meet other individuals from a similar background, the young aristocrat could create networks of relationships that could lead to political, economic and social advantage, so further increasing his social and economic capital. This informal setting was able to operate in the same way that modern executives use golf club membership as a way to gain and maintain connections (Beglane 2010b; Birrell 1992, 126; Crouch 1992, 308-9). In Anglo-Norman Ireland, we have evidence that deer hunting took place, and that this activity was mainly associated with high-status sites, since castle excavations have produced the vast majority of deer bones (Tab. 3.2). So there is therefore evidence that the same processes were taking place in Anglo-Norman Ireland as in contemporary Europe. Hunting could be used to create cycles of gift-giving and reciprocal hospitality. There is evidence in Ireland of royal gifts of deer to favoured subjects (see Appendix 3.3), and invitations to hunts or to feasts serving venison would have been important occasions to demonstrate and create allegiances and alliances.

In order to operate successfully within this group, the young aristocrat needed to be provided with the correct cultural tools. He required skills in 'arms, love and hunting' (*Livre de Chasse*, prologue), of which Gaston Phoebus claimed a special mastery of the last. This cultural capital, the ability to practice, appreciate and master three apparently different areas of skill demonstrated to the viewer that the nobleman was an educated individual, at home in a variety of social settings, whether indoors or out, in the company of refined ladies or participating in a noisy, dirty and potentially dangerous hunt. Cultural capital could be acquired by long association with appropriate individuals, so that the young aristocrat gained the correct knowledge, skills and attitudes as part of his normal development. This involved learning to use particular language and to behave in particular ways (den Hartog forthcoming; Rooney 1993, 5, 15). The young nobleman could be assisted in this by using hunting manuals such as the *Livre de Chasse* or its English-language successor, the *Master of Game*. These were not aimed at outsiders; instead, they used arcane terminology to exclude outsiders, and noted which were the acceptable forms of hunting for participation by an aristocrat, and equally, which were considered to be below him. There is Anglo-Norman and contemporary Gaelic Irish evidence for various forms of aristocratic hunting taking place including the drive, and a form of *par force* hunting (see Section 4.1). There is also evidence for the ritual 'breaking' of the carcass along prescribed lines (see Section 3.3.4). The documentary evidence shows that this dates back at least to the early medieval period in Ireland, far earlier than scholars have argued for in Britain. For Anglo-Norman Ireland there was a predominance of hind limbs found at castle sites, which were the portions of the carcass traditionally reserved for the lord. By contrast, the forelimbs were given to the employed huntsmen, parkers and foresters, and these were under-represented at castle sites. This demonstrates that these traditions were known, understood and practised in Ireland. Nevertheless, the body-part distribution found at Irish castle sites was not as extreme as in England, where forelimb bones are rare on castle sites. This may be linked to the relative size of households, since in Ireland the huntsmen may have lived within the castles (see Section 3.3.4).

The stated aims of Gaston Phoebus' *Livre de Chasse* were that the reader should firstly 'avoid the Seven Deadly Sins', secondly that he should be able to 'ride with greater pleasure, greater daring and ease', thirdly that he should 'know better all

countries and all roads' and ultimately, as a result, 'all good customs and good manners come therefrom' (*Livre de Chasse*, prologue). Thus, hunting was not merely exercise for its own sake, but by pitting one's wits against the forces of nature it was a morally-uplifting experience that developed the individual, creating a godly character and avoiding what Edward, Duke of York described as 'imaginations of fleshly lust and pleasure' (Almond 2003, 14; den Hartog forthcoming; *Master of Game*, prologue). One notable example of this is Gawain, the most virtuous of Arthur's knights. Gawain was subjected to temptation as he lay in bed being seduced by his host's wife, while his host was up and out hunting at dawn (*Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* no. 44-51). This moral temptation to sin was reduced both by the uplifting nature of hunting, but also by the physical tiredness resulting from strenuous activity (*Livre de Chasse*, prologue). Further, the use of controlled violence as a release for the frustrations of youth can be seen to be similar to the reasons given today for encouraging boys and young men to participate in contact sports such as rugby and boxing (Phillips 1996, 82-3; Sas-Nowosielski 2004). Thus, hunting, riding and military skills were an essential part of the education of every young nobleman (Almond 2003, 14-17; Thomas 2007a). Furthermore, as Gaston Phoebus noted, the skills developed during hunting, such as physical fitness, the ability to ride well and the gaining of knowledge of the surrounding countryside were also of use in time of warfare and complemented each other:

> 'For it is the sign of a cowardly heart indeed that does not care to work at all. And in the case of necessity or of war, he would not know what it was, and another man would have to do what he himself should do.' (*Livre de Chasse*, prologue)

All of these were true in Ireland as elsewhere and hunting was evidently important to the Anglo-Norman elite. However, as will be discussed in Section 10.7, in colonial Ireland it appears that real warfare and skirmishing took priority over this semi-artificial training for war.

The identification of hunting and venison with the aristocracy raises the issue of venison in the urban environment. Sykes (2007c, 156-7) suggests that most of the fallow deer remains from urban sites in England were the result of poaching or of

illicit sales of the forester's and hunter's portions. The Irish evidence suggests that poaching was also important in Ireland. Urban assemblages are second only to castle sites in the number of deer elements found there (Tab. 3.2). Examining the body-part distribution, they have generally similar proportions of front and hind limb bones, as well as containing fragments of skull and mandible. These are indicative of deer that have been slaughtered and dismembered without regard for the formal rules of 'breaking' the carcass (see Section 3.3.4). Since venison was regarded as meat for the landed elite, it would have been highly sought after by wealthy, aspirational townsfolk. These rich merchants would have had the financial means to procure illicit venison, and by doing so, and serving it at feasts and banquets they sought to emulate their social superiors. By demonstration of their cultured regard for fine dining, they aimed to increase their standing among their peers.

10.2 What to hunt and where?

Deer can be considered to have been a part of the material culture of high medieval society as they were subject to human manipulation. For example, deer population growth could be promoted by the provision of suitable habitat or of additional winter feed (see Section 2.3.5). Restrictions on who could hunt deer, and when they could be hunted, meant that venison became a status symbol for the elite, and hence subject to poaching, often by men of low status (see Section 10.1; 10.6). By retaining deer within a closed environment such as a park, deer and venison became possessions that could be gifted to favoured individuals and institutions. This then meant that cycles of obligation and further gift giving were created, so binding members of the social group more closely together (see Section 3.2.1).

In high medieval Ireland, deer were present in the wider countryside and within parks. In Anglo-Norman Ireland, outside of the parks, hunting was restricted within royal and private forests and chases, where the king or the lord had exclusive rights. Rights were further limited in areas of free warren, in which landowners had a monopoly over hunting lesser prey in their demesne lands (see Sections 4.3; 4.4; 4.5). As a result of these restrictions, certainly in the Anglo-Norman areas, the great majority of legitimate deer hunting was carried out by aristocratic hunters or by their

employees, with very little legitimate hunting undertaken by the peasants. This is borne out by the zooarchaeological evidence, which shows that there are much higher proportions of wild mammal bones, particularly deer bones, on castle sites than on other site types (see Section 3.3.1).

The type of hunting and the species of deer hunted depended on the location in which the hunt took place. Red deer were essentially wild animals, and although they could be retained in parks, they were less common in parks in England than were fallow deer (see Section 2.3.1). Information regarding red deer in Irish parks is limited, but there is one potentially relevant piece of evidence. The request by the Archbishop of Dublin to create a deer-leap in 1206-7 (*CDI*, i, no. 316) suggests that he was trying to attract red deer to his park, since at this time few if any, fallow deer had been imported to Ireland (see Appendix 3.3). Red deer could be hunted individually, using the highly ritualised and symbolic *par force* method, and the iconographic and literary evidence suggests that this style of hunting did take place in Ireland. They could also be hunted using the 'drive' or by 'bow and stable' hunting, in which a number of animals could be targeted at once, methods suited for a less strenuous hunt or for parkland hunting (see Section 4.1).

Fallow deer had the advantage of being smaller and more manageable within parks and so were the species of choice for the English park (see Section 3.1). After initial importation to England, their numbers increased there and they became the dominant species (Rackham 1987, 133; Sykes 2007b, 66-8). The situation in Ireland is somewhat more complex. There is a perception that fallow deer are rare in the Irish archaeological record, as they have been found at only seven castles and five urban excavations (Tab. 3.3). Nevertheless, they constitute 24% of all the deer bones identified from the castle sites reviewed in this study, so that while they are unusual overall, they are relatively common among deer bones from castles (see Section 3.3.3). Fallow deer were probably introduced to Ireland by 1213, when Henry, Archbishop of Dublin, received thirty fallow deer from the king, but no destination is given for this gift. It was not until 1225 when William, Earl Marshal the Younger, received a gift of twenty does that were specifically stated to be for export to Ireland (see Appendix 3.3). These would have been destined for the Marshal lands in Leinster, which included Dunamase, Co. Laois (see Chapter 7) and Carrick, Co.

Wexford (see Chapter 8), potentially providing a date of construction for the parks at these locations.

The evidence suggests that where fallow deer were present at a particular castle, they were usually dominant over red deer remains (see Section 3.3.3). This may have had practical reasons, since the meat was available 'on demand' from the park, but may also have had symbolic connotations. Venison was, by its nature, a high status meat (Birrell 1992), but red deer were relatively common in the countryside, so that serving red deer venison would have marked a host as being from the aristocratic class, but it would not have marked him as being exceptional. By contrast, since fallow deer remains in Ireland are linked with the first tier of aristocratic castles, this suggests that the ability to serve 'exotic' fallow deer venison would have demonstrated the extremely high status of those with parks stocked with deer, so adding to the prestige of the host.

Fallow deer did not, however, become ubiquitous as they did in England, as by 1603 they seem to have been rare in the wild in Ireland, and only a few parks containing them existed at this time, according to Fynes Moryson (*Itinerary*, iv, 193-4). By contrast, he had noted the large numbers of parks in England where 'every Gentleman of five hundreth or a thousand pounds rent by the yeere hath a Parke for them inclosed with pales of wood for two or three miles compasse' (*Itinerary*, iv, 168-9). This study has shown that fallow deer are more commonly found in castle excavations than all other wild species, with the exception of red deer, rabbit and hare (Fig. 3.6). This suggests that the apparent rarity of fallow deer in the Irish record is more a perception than a reality. Instead, the evidence suggests a relative paucity of wild species in castles as a whole when compared to England, a point that will be returned to in Section 10.7.

The landscapes in which hunting took place can also be considered as an aspect of the material culture. Landscapes were not blank spaces in which events occurred, instead, they were manipulated and modified to suit human needs and imbued with social meanings (Tilley 1994, 14-5). The hunting landscapes identified in this work, *viz* forests, chases, warrens and parks, were all creations of human society and sought to restrict hunting, and in the case of parks, physical access to the land, to

certain select groups of people (see Sections 4.2; 4.3; 4.4; 4.5). While hunting on unrestricted land was also possible, the presence of liberties in much of Anglo-Norman Ireland means that forest-type restrictions on hunting could have been implemented over much of the country.

The initially small numbers of fallow deer would have necessitated them being kept in parks as valuable exotica, and the documentary evidence does suggest that many of those individuals given royal gifts of deer can be shown to have held parks (see Section 3.2.1 and Appendix 4.5). Down (1987, 477) has stressed the difference between later medieval pasture parks and hunting parks, considering them to be two separate phenomena. However, detailed study of the documentary evidence for parks and fallow deer and the archaeological evidence for fallow deer suggests a continuum. At one end of the scale were aristocratic parks stocked with deer, to which only the most powerful could aspire. At the other end of the scale, these landowners also had parks on their manors that did not hold any deer, as did their less-powerful relatives, neighbours and tenants (see Appendix 4.5). Thus, at the top of society parks, were undoubtedly larger and more common, but they did not always contain deer. For all grades of society that held a park, the ability to control access to the pasture, pannage, underwood and timber within the park seem to have been important. Deer in the park were an aspiration for those with royal favour, since these status symbols were often received as gifts from the king (see Appendix 3.3). This is reflected in the terminology used, since later medieval documents, both in Ireland and in England, refer to ‘parks’ rather than ‘deer parks’. The cartographic evidence supports this, suggesting that the term ‘deer park’ in place-names is of post-medieval origin, and that high medieval parks served a number of functions, not just the retention of deer (see Section 4.5.1).

10.3 Parks as material culture

10.3.1 Chronology

The study has identified thirty-nine documented high medieval parks in Anglo-Norman contexts in Ireland, of which at least the general location of twenty-nine is known (see Appendix 4.5). The first record of an individual park is that belonging to

the Archbishop of Dublin at Kilcopsentan in 1207. The last new park to be recorded was Trim, which is first mentioned in 1388, although it was already well established by this time. There is a notable peak of parks being first documented between 1270 and 1339. These were mainly in manorial extents, in Inquisitions Post-Mortem and in the Judiciary Rolls so that it is likely that the parks were constructed some considerable time prior to them first being documented. The peak of royal gifts of fallow deer to landowners in Ireland is found in the 1250s, suggesting that it is likely that many parks were being developed at this time, and notably this is also the decade with the peak of grants of free warren (Fig. 10.1). This supposition of a considerable time lag between construction and documentation is also supported by a number of examples from the case studies.

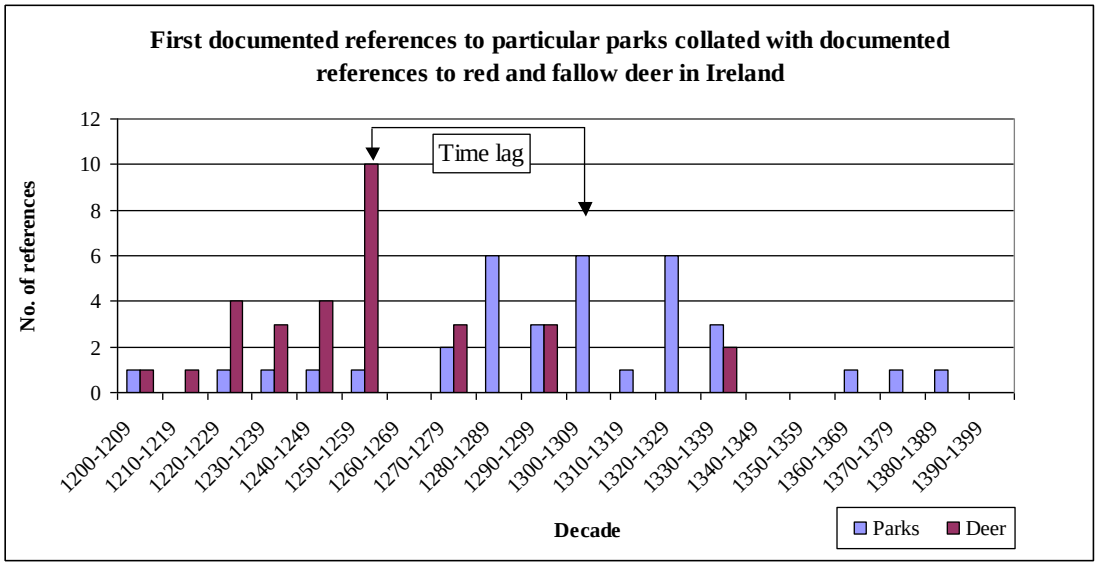

Fig. 10.1: First documented references to particular parks collated with documented references to red and fallow deer in Ireland (based on Fig. 3.1 and Fig. 4.4)

The first example relates to the dating of the park at Earlspark, Loughrea, Co. Galway. The castle and town were founded in 1236 as part of the conquest of Connacht (Orpen 1911-1920, iii, 191) and a radiocarbon date of AD1251-1297 (UBA-18087 2σ) was obtained from charcoal in the mortar of the park wall (see Section 5.4.2). There is also a historical reference to deer being gifted to Walter de Burgh in 1250 and 1251 (*CDI*, i, nos. 3076, 3197). Loughrea was the main *caput* of the de Burghs at that time, so the gifts of deer should have been destined for there.

This suggests that construction took place around this time, *c*. 15 years after the conquest of Connacht by the de Burghs and the founding of the town. By this time it is likely that the castle and town defences were complete, and other less critical features of the manor could be developed. Notably the park is not documented until an Inquisition Post-Mortem in 1333 (*CIPM*, vii Ed. III, no. 537; *Inq. & Ext. of Med. Ire.*, no. 262).

Two Marshal parks were used as case studies, Dunamase Co. Laois and Carrick, Co Wexford. Again there is reference to William, Earl Marshal the Younger, receiving a royal gift of deer in 1225, but whereas the park at Carrick is referred to shortly afterwards, in 1231x1234, the first documentation of the park at Dunamase is not until 1282-3. This raises the possibility that the park at Dunamase may also have been an early thirteenth-century creation that was not recorded until later. Finally, at Maynooth, *caput* of the FitzGerald family, the park is not recorded until the very late date of 1328, but gifts of fallow deer to Maurice FitzGerald are documented in 1244, 1250-1 and 1251 (*CDI*, i, nos. 2701, 3104, 3144), suggesting that this is likely to have been when the park was developed.

As a result, the peak of emparkment could be suggested as taking place much earlier than they are first recorded, giving a main construction window of say, 1220-1260, with some parks developed before and after this date. This peak period was a time when manors had already been developed and by then would have been operating efficiently and economically. This is one to two generations after the initial formation of the manors and building of the castles, particularly the stone castles (see Sections 6.1.2; 7.1.2; 8.1.2). It is tempting to suggest that, having achieved economic prosperity, this was the time at which landowners could turn their attentions to less immediate concerns. They could commit money and resources to emparking areas of existing demesne land, which may have been earmarked for a park from the initial laying out of the lands of the manor. There are likely to have been many more unrecorded pasture parks in the Irish landscape, but the concentration of fallow deer remains at castle sites, suggests that the true hunting park was relatively rare in Ireland.

There is little evidence in Ireland for fallow deer in the late medieval period (Tab. 3.3). They are present at various castle sites in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Only at Maynooth Castle, where the park is known to have contained fallow deer until the seventeenth century, were remains found in fifteenth- to seventeenth-century contexts. In urban Dublin, fallow deer bones were found in a late fourteenth- to early fifteenth-century context at Arran Quay and in a sixteenth-century context at Cornmarket St. Again, this fits with Fynes Moryson's assertion that by the early seventeenth century there were few fallow deer in Ireland.

Park construction appears to have tailed off in the fourteenth century, with few new parks being recorded from 1340 onwards. If the average of a sixty-year lag between construction and documentation is true, then it suggests that very few parks were built in the fourteenth century throughout Ireland. This decline is a point that will be returned to in Section 10.7, when possible reasons for its occurrence will be explored.

Many of the existing parks that had contained deer are likely to have gradually degenerated to become unenclosed demesne woodland and pasture. Of those chosen for the case-studies, Dunamase (see Section 7.1.2) and Nenagh (see Section 9.1.2) were in areas that fell under Gaelic control in the early fourteenth century, while at Loughrea, the collateral branches of the de Burghs, although nominally an Anglo-Norman family, broke away from English custom and adopted a Gaelic lifestyle after 1333 (see Section 5.1.2). As such, these parks are unlikely to have been used to retain deer after this time. As yet there is no evidence for Gaelic lords and princes creating parks in the Anglo-Norman period, and no evidence for them keeping fallow deer (see Section 10.4). Thus, in these areas that were reconquered by the Irish, the parks probably reverted to normal pasture and arable land. The evidence suggests, however, that they were very often retained in demesne, so that, for example at Dunamase, the park has remained as a single land unit up to the present day (Fig. 7.9), and the park at Nenagh was still a significant area of woodland in the seventeenth century, and even now retains woodland demesne features (see Sections 9.2.2; A9.1.3). Similarly, at Loughrea, the area of the park was still shown with trees on seventeenth-century maps (Fig. 5.5). The longest lived of the case-study parks in its primary conception is likely to be Maynooth, which was still known as the Park

of Maynooth up to the early nineteenth century, and which retained herds of deer until at least 1600, probably falling out of use when the castle was destroyed in 1647 (see Section 6.6). This continuity was probably related to the location of Maynooth close to Dublin and in the Pale, and to the loyalty of the FitzGeralds to the Crown. They were among the least Gaelicised of the late medieval lords, and continued to employ Anglo-Norman and English forms of display (see Section 6.4.4). By contrast, the shortest lived was probably the park at Carrick, Wexford, which seems to have been absorbed into demesne agricultural land by 1307, and which was certainly being rented to tenants by the sixteenth century (see Sections 8.2.1; 8.2.3). In this case the absenteeism of the lord seems to have been the key factor in the lack of interest in the park.

The restricted date range for park construction in later medieval Ireland, coupled with the documentary evidence for the types of manor on which parks were located, suggests that the vast majority will be found in manors that have a late-twelfth- or early thirteenth-century castle at their core. Sites at which the first recorded stone castle is a tower house are unlikely to yield a high medieval park, although a park may have been constructed beside these in one of the later waves of park-building. Most significantly, there is no documentary evidence for any parks being created by Gaelic lords during the Anglo-Norman period, although there is evidence of Gaelic park construction for much later periods (Weir 1986). Although outside the scope of this thesis, there were at least two further waves of park building in Ireland. The first of these was in the seventeenth century (Reeves-Smyth 1997, 198). A good example is at Leamaneh, Co. Clare where Reetz (2003) has identified and surveyed a probable seventeenth-century park close to the site of an O'Brien towerhouse and later fortified house built in the 1640s. Cardinal Rinuccini noted the presence of a park with three thousand deer when he visited the O'Brien castle at Bunratty in 1647 (Sherlock 2011, 215), and this is likely to have been a post-medieval development. A final wave of landscaped park construction came in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, when naturalistic landscapes became fashionable, and which often included deer parks within them (see Section 7.5.6) (Reeves-Smyth 1997, 198).

10.3.2 Morphology and features of parks in Ireland

Detailed analysis of the individual case studies are included in Chapters 5 to 9, however a summary of findings is shown in Tab. 10.1. The sites were compared with the key features of English parks (see Section 2.3.3), and in addition other common features were noted. It was found that none of the case study parks had notable pollarded oaks or particularly species-rich hedgerows, but all other landscape features identified in England were found at one or more of the Irish sites. In addition, a number of important common factors were identified. All the sites had some place-name evidence linking them to the high medieval park. This could be very obvious, such as the townland name 'Park' or could require more detailed research to identify it, such as the woodland-related field names still in use in eighteenth-century Nenagh, which demonstrated the importance of timber in the park (see Section 9.2.2).

In several cases relict or existing roads and tracks were found to form parts of the boundaries of the park. These roads were particularly important in the cases of Carrick and Nenagh (see Sections 8.3.2; 9.3.2), providing the main evidence for demarcating the park boundaries. As with England, rivers were important boundaries, and in the case of Maynooth and Nenagh, riverside meadow strips were present (see Sections 6.3; A9.1.3). Reed beds were found on the banks of the Carrick River and of the lake at Loughrea (see Sections A5.1.1; A8.1.1), demonstrating the importance of these watery landscapes in the high medieval economy. Watery boundaries were useful from a practical perspective, limiting necessary construction. They were often also aesthetically pleasing, providing varied vistas across which to view the parks (see Section 10.4). Many of the parks were situated on the parish boundary, but in the case of Loughrea, the park spanned across two parishes (see Section 5.1.1).

Manor	**Loughrea**	**Maynooth**	**Dunamase**	**Carrick**	**Nenagh**
Chapter	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**	**9**
Townland name	Earlspark	Crewhill, Mariavilla, Maynooth (part)	Park or Dunamase	Park, Ballyboggan (part)	Nenagh North (part)
Probable acreage (Statute acres)	913	495	338	308	127-137
Distance to Anglo-Norman castle	2km	450m	Abuts	450m	Abuts
Recorded gifts of deer to the park owner	1250 and 1251	1244, 1250-1, 1251	1225	1225	None
First reference	1333	1328	1282-3	1231x1234	1299
Construction date range	1251-1297 (UBA-18087 2σ)	1200?-1328	1200?-1283	1189?-1234	1299
Likely construction date	*c*. 1250?	*c*. 1244?	*c*. 1225?	*c*. 1225?	1299
Reason park first documented	Inquisition post-mortem	Extent and also assignment of dower	Inquisition post-mortem	Dis-afforestation of adjoining lands	Proposed construction of park
Deer status	Deer documented as present in the park, but species not identified	Fallow and red deer in excavation of castle. Doc. evidence for fallow in post-med period	Fallow and red deer remains in excavation of the Rock of Dunamase	Fallow and red deer remains in excavation of Ferrycarrig ringwork.	None documented or found in excavation.
Modern agricultural land usage	Good pasture, some arable in mid-20th C	Arable and good pasture	Arable and good pasture	Arable and good pasture	Good pasture, demesne and urban
Topography	Hills and valleys	Flat, single hill	Hills and valleys	Sloping hillside	Flat, single hill
Relict banks, banks-and-ditches or walls forming boundary	Y		Y	Y	
Ditch at boundary		Y			
River forming boundary	Lake	Y		Y	Y
Existing or relict road forming boundary		Y	Y	Y	Y
Administrative boundary		Parish, barony and county	Parish		Parish and barony
Species-rich ancient hedgerows					
Pollarded oaks					
Fossilised pre-existing landscapes	Y		Y		
Riverside meadows		Y			Y
Potential lodges at high points	Y	Y			
Place-name evidence	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Ancient woodland /demesne landscape			Y		Y

Tab. 10.1: Summary of the surveyed parks

Watts (1996, 92) suggests that in England few park banks and ditches survive as most have been ploughed out, mainly surviving as 'slight swellings in the ground or old field boundaries which have adopted the line of the park pale'. The same is true of the case studies examined here. The park at Maynooth survived until *c*. 1647 and was still recognised into the nineteenth century, and yet the southwestern boundary consists of a large, but not exceptional ditch, with banks that cannot be directly interpreted as related to a park (see Sections 6.2.2; 6.3). These ephemeral remains are typical. The ditches and boundaries identified in this study tended to be slightly sinuous, but the ditches were not necessarily excessively deep, and no particularly large external banks were identified. If the cartographic and place-name evidence had not led to them, they would not stand out as potential park boundaries. The exception to this is Earlspark, Loughrea, where a substantial wall has survived. Nora Novar's wall, as it is known locally, is a striking feature, and yet even this has not previously been archaeologically recorded, despite 2m high sections of the wall passing within *c*. 20m of the 'Northern Complex' group of recorded monuments (see Appendix 5.3). This demonstrates the importance of using an interdisciplinary approach for the identification of medieval landscape features to help preserve them for posterity.

Where the parks were situated in generally flat countryside, they had been designed to incorporate a hill, for example, at Nenagh and Maynooth. In the case of Carrick, a sloping hillside had been utilised, while at Loughrea and Dunamase the land was undulating. In several cases archaeological features were found at the top of the slope or hill, suggesting that these were potential lodge sites (see Section 10.5). The quality of the land in which the parks were located was notably good. In three cases part of the land is currently used for arable agriculture. Any land capable of being used for arable agriculture in today's global economy would have been considered to be of excellent quality in the high medieval period. At Loughrea and Nenagh the land is now used for good quality grazing, but has been used for arable in the past. This evidence contradicts that from England (see Section 2.3.3) where marginal land was often selected for emparkment. In the case of the documented Irish parks, it has already been demonstrated that the top tier of society was generally creating these. Although the parks seem to have been developed at a later date, it is likely that when the manors were originally laid out in the late twelfth- and early thirteenth- centuries,

the area for later emparkment was designated and set aside. As a result, the parks were positioned in carefully selected locations, incorporating good quality land. By contrast, in England, the gentry and minor aristocracy owned many of the recorded parks. They constructed their parks in a second wave of park formation as the means to do so moved down the social scale. These individuals would have used otherwise uneconomic, marginal land for their parks, which had to be shoehorned into existing manors. Furthermore, since they were less economically confident than the great lords, they would have been unable to justify taking some of their best land out of production and siting their park in a prominent location.

10.4 Parks and their landscape setting

The views of parks, and the views from parks were both important considerations in the layout of the manor. Parks could be viewed by outsiders, or could be viewed from their associated castles. From a distance away, the boundaries of a park would have remained visible, but depending on the topography and the vantage point, it would have been possible to see into the park. This would have maintained the overall privacy of the detail relating to activities taking place, while allowing the viewer a glimpse of paradise within. Such glimpses would have been most effective where the park was at a height, such as at Nenagh (see Section 9.1.1), or in rolling countryside such as at Dunamase (see Sections 7.1.1; 7.5.5), where the approaches to the castle were carefully manipulated to maximise the fortress-like, impregnable impression of the castle on the Rock. The effect of a park boundary would have been visually heightened during the high medieval period, when it would have consisted of freshly-quarried limestone, or freshly chopped wooden pales and when many of the parks were likely to have been surrounded by open field systems.

In recent times there has been a developing interest in examining how landscapes, parks and gardens could be viewed from castles (e.g. Creighton 2008, 86; 2010; McNeill 2006). At Earlspark, Dunamase, Nenagh and Carrick, the park is clearly visible from the associated castle, abutting it in the case of Dunamase and Nenagh. At Maynooth, heavy tree-cover and large buildings currently exist between the castle and the park, and restrict the view, but if these were absent then the park would be

visible, especially from the currently inaccessible upper storeys of the keep. Thus, despite being *c*. 450m from the associated castle, it could certainly be viewed. At Carrick and at Earlspark, the area between the castle and the park was water, so that the park would have seemed inaccessible, and very private, a peaceful location away from the hustle of everyday life. At Dunamase and at Nenagh the park abutted the castle and funnelled out from it. At Nenagh, third-floor windows faced east and north over the park, while at Dunamase the windows at the west end of the solar, or the small tower at the western extent of the upper ward would have provided views across the park, giving what even today is a spectacular vista (Pl. 7.3). Indeed it could be suggested that this latter feature, which has a very small internal area of *c*. 2-3m^2, may have primarily served as a viewing platform.

There has been considerable academic study on the role of water as a vehicle for showing off the design of architectural and landscape features (e.g. Johnson 2002, 19-54; Liddiard 2005, 7-11). This control over the view can apply both to viewers from castles and to those from outside looking in. The classic, oft-quoted example is Bodiam Castle in England. The routeway to this castle has been carefully designed and manipulated to lead the visitor past ornamental fish ponds and terraces. The view of the castle is gradually revealed until it appears to float above a lake (Everson 1996; Taylor, Everson and Wilson-North 1990). The reflections of the castle in the water make it look larger, and by appearing to float in this way, it can appear almost magical, calling Arthurian images to mind. At Loughrea, the park is clearly seen from the town and castle, lying directly across the lake, and similarly the castle and town would have been laid out for the viewer situated in the park (see Section 5.4.7). Similarly, at Carrick, the park is clearly seen from the ringwork, as well as from the River Slaney and the northern shore of the river, and the ringwork on its dramatic outcrop can be seen across the water from the park (see Section 8.1.1).

High boundaries can be used to prevent people seeing activities taking place inside them. The enclosed area of a park therefore provided privacy for those on the inside, who could carry out activities without being observed. From the perspective of the outsider, this lack of a view in would have a number of effects. O'Conor (2008, 335) has argued that elite landscapes and imposing stone buildings, whether well defended or not, served to deter would-be rebels by demonstrating the otherwise

unimaginable power of the Anglo-Norman elite. In this he suggests that they had a pedagogic role in society, and he follows Orser (2005; 2006) who argues that landlords in eighteenth and nineteenth-century Ireland used landscapes to 'provide physical reinforcement of the societal power structure' (Orser 2006, 28). Orser particularly used the example of the demesne parklands in which the houses of the landlords were situated. Taking this analogy further, the walls and fences surrounding high medieval and post-medieval parks would have added to this feeling of inferiority by towering over the observer, and restricting both vision and movement. The later medieval peasant or the nineteenth-century tenant would have had little doubt about his place in the 'natural order' of society as he walked around, rather than through, the emparked demesne of his lord. On arrival at the park boundary, even visiting aristocrats, be they Anglo-Norman or Irish, would have cause to reflect on their own status and economic and military resources relative to that of the owner.

The overall layout of the manor was also a demonstration of the power of the lord, and could be used to showcase a park and the status and wealth of its owner. At Maynooth, (see Section 6.4.2), the gardens, parks and manorial mills lay in an arc from the southwest round to the northeast of the castle, while the eastern side was given over to the streets and houses of the town, and beyond this to the fields of the inhabitants. The two halves were effectively separated by the eastern portion of the Lyreen River and a tributary that comes from the south and joins the latter river immediately to the east of the castle. Thus, from the castle the viewer could choose to see the lordly demesne, or, by looking in the opposite direction, could see the lands of the tenants. In medieval Europe, these lands were also of economic importance to the manor and its lord, and where these were ordered and successful, this reflected well on the FitzGeralds. This was exemplified by the idealised images in later medieval books of hours such as *Les Très Riches du Duc de Berry* (1412x1416) (Fig. 10.2), which stressed the 'natural order' of society. Medieval European society was often conceived of as being divided into three interlinked and interdependent orders: those who work, those who pray and those who fight, or the peasants, the church and the nobility. This model was first developed by Bishop Adalbero of Laon in the early eleventh century, and while other models using two or four orders also existed, they all served to place and keep individuals firmly within

their particular role in society (Bouchard 1998, 28-9). Thus, the castle at Maynooth and its setting within the agricultural and seigniorial landscape emphasised the power and success of the FitzGeralds. It positioned them at the top of an ordered and successful scheme, demonstrating their ability to control the environment and people around them.

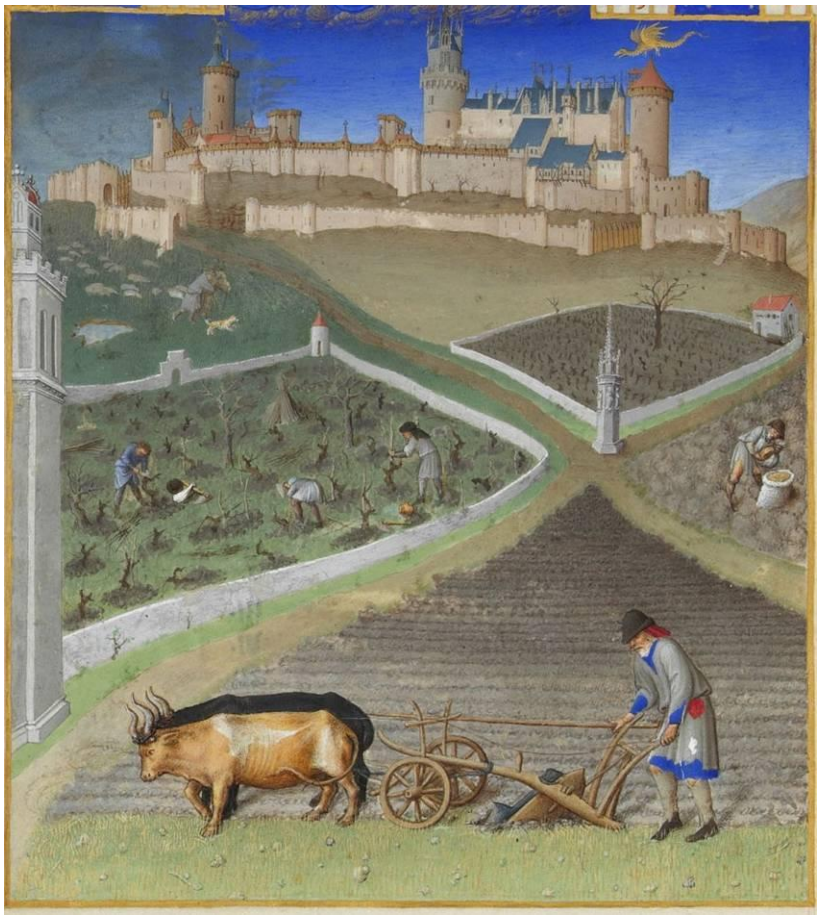

Fig. 10.2: An idealised manorial landscape, in which each member of society has their allotted role to perform (*Les très riches* 1412x1416)

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In the cases of Maynooth and of Carrick, there is documentary evidence for two parks in relatively close proximity. At Maynooth these were the Great Park and the Little Park that were referred to in 1652 (see Section 6.4.7). It is unclear whether the Little Park was a high medieval or later creation, however a tentative suggestion has been made for its location based on cartographic evidence and the knowledge that many 'Little Parks' were extensive areas of garden adjacent to the castle or manor (Fletcher 2011, 94). The manors of Carrick and Wexford were immediately adjacent

to each other and the park at Carrick was equally well situated for access from either castle. Both were seigniorial castles of the Earl Marshal, Lord of Leinster and his heirs. Based on cartographic evidence, the park at Wexford was probably situated immediately to the south of the castle, and, with an area of 60 acres, it may well have served as a Little Park (see Section 8.2.2). In the case of Wexford, the absenteeism of the lords meant that unlike the continuity seen at Maynooth and Loughrea, both parks soon became agricultural land. Nevertheless, the original concept was grandiose in its scope, with a park at the major castle in Wexford that could have been used for pleasure gardens and orchards, coupled with a more extensive facility at Carrick where venison and timber production could be concentrated.

10.5 Control of the landscape

The control of the landscape was an integral part of the Anglo-Norman policy of settlement. At the largest scale, forests were the ultimate symbol of royal authority since, as Serovayskaya (1998, 37) pointed out, they monopolised natural resources for the crown and a landowner could not cut timber or hunt deer even on land held by him. This was also true of parks, albeit on a smaller scale. A park took woodland and pasture, which in the early medieval period would have been held in common and, by enclosing it, prevented access to these natural resources. It divided the landscape and provided a visible sign of the status of the landowner and the lack of status of the lower orders (Mileson 2007). Park-making was conspicuous consumption of potentially arable land for an economically-marginal purpose. For example, as noted, three of the five case-study parks are partly used for arable agriculture today, attesting to the quality of the ground within the bounds of the park (Tab. 10.1). While the timber and pannage had a value, grazing deer instead of cattle was uneconomic. The value of venison could not, however, be measured in money, or in the calories contained in the meat, but instead venison was valuable as currency in the social capital that it provided (Birrell 1992, 114-5). For the owner of the park, being able to serve venison on-demand to guests would have a great advantage. Generally, venison could only be served after a hunt, while for the owner of a park stocked with deer, an animal could relatively easily be caught and slaughtered by his staff. This is likely to have been one of the important considerations when parks

were created at the *capita* of major lords such as those at Maynooth and Loughrea (see Chapters 5; 6). It may have been less critical at manors such as Dunamase and Carrick, which, while both seigniorial, were not the main *caput* of the Marshals (see Chapters 7; 8).

Walls and fences can serve a number of functions: to demarcate property, restrict movement and to prevent outsiders seeing in. Where walls and fences delineate property boundaries, the height of the boundary is often of less significance than its presence. Boundaries restrict movement through the landscape by providing a physical or symbolic barrier that must be circumvented. This was a controversial issue in the later medieval period, as it is now (Flegg 2009; Mileson 2005, 33-7). In the case of one of the documented parks, at Nenagh (Chapter 9) this came to modern attention as a result of a road being diverted around the park (see Appendix 4.5), and in the case studies it was notable that most of the identified parks were bounded by roads (Tab. 10.1). This lack of access to the land had practical implications for supplies of timber and firewood, pasturage and pannage, but also had symbolic implications by restricting access to pre-existing places. For the Gaelic Irish many of the parks contained places that would have been imbued with memory. At Earlspark, Loughrea, for example, the Northern Complex seems to include a number of potentially prehistoric and early medieval monuments, which would have had historical and familial importance to local people (see Appendix 5.3). Similarly, at Dunamase, the probable-early medieval complex (see Appendix 7.4), and the ringfort on Crewhill at Maynooth (see Appendix 6.3), would all have been previously accessible places in the landscape. In the case of Maynooth, there is also place-name evidence to suggest that the park may incorporate the site of a *bile* tree, significant to the pre-existing population (see Section 6.2.3, 6.4.8). The new aristocracy were therefore claiming rights not only over the land itself, but also over the associated memories and history.

One important aspect of controlling the landscape was control within the park. This could be purely practical, as a security measure to monitor happenings within the park, but could also be symbolic. In the same way that a view from the roof or window of a castle was symbolic of control of the landscape (Creighton 2008, 86; 2010; McNeill 2006), so too the view from the parker's lodge would have expressed

the power of the owner. In England, lodges were usually situated at the high point of the landscape, and were often moated sites (Rackham 1987, 126; Watts 1996, 90). No moated sites have been identified within the surveyed Irish parks, however, at Loughrea, Maynooth and Dunamase, archaeological features have been located at the sites of potential parker's lodges (see Sections 5.4.6; 6.4.6). The likely locations for lodges at the high points of the parks at Nenagh and at Carrick have been subject to more recent building work so that no remains of any previous structures were visible (see Sections 8.4.3; 9.4.3). At Loughrea, the suggested site for control of the park is in the Northern Complex, which contains a number of monuments including a large, bivallate, circular, earthen enclosure recorded as a ringfort (RMP No. GA105-080). At Maynooth, a previously unrecorded univallate, circular, earthen enclosure, with a nearby, unenclosed souterrain is positioned at the top of the only hill in the park (see Section 6.3). Again morphologically, this would be classified as a ringfort, especially in light of the presence of the souterrain, as these latter are believed to predominantly date to the early medieval period (Clinton 2001, 207-10). Finally, at Dunamase there are a series of earthen enclosures that have previously recorded as a later medieval deserted village with a second smaller, univallate earthern enclosure that has been interpreted as both an eighteenth-century tree ring and as a ringfort (RMP Nos. LA013-051001/002) (see Sections 7.4.3). A detailed survey of this site showed that the main enclosure, rather than being rectangular, as previously thought, appears to be circular, with an external ditch, and again is morphologically similar to what would traditionally be interpreted as a ringfort (see Section 7.4.3).

There are therefore circular earthen enclosures at the likely sites of parker's lodges within all three of the five surveyed high medieval parks where the proposed location could be examined. This raises a number of issues regarding the dating of monuments traditionally classified as ringforts since these are generally deemed to date to the early medieval period (e.g. Stout 2000, 22-3). A number of possibilities present themselves:

1 It is pure coincidence that early medieval ringforts are present at these locations, and lodges were either located elsewhere or were absent

2 Early medieval ringforts at these locations were taken over and reused by the Anglo-Normans as the sites for parker's lodges

3 In Ireland, circular enclosures in the ringfort tradition were constructed as parker's lodges, in place of the rectangular moated sites more usually found in England.

The issue of ringfort dating is a thorny one, and has been the subject of a recent paper by FitzPatrick (2009), having previously been reviewed by O'Conor (1998, 89-94). Both see evidence for the continuation of circular enclosed settlement in Gaelic areas into the later medieval period, and Fitzpatrick (2009, 274) notes that the term is over-reductive, conflating a wide variety of morphologically and chronologically different site types.

Option 1, is unlikely, since all of the sites where the most likely location for a lodge could be examined had a circular enclosure at this location. Option 3 would be most likely if there were evidence for parkers being of Gaelic Irish origin, however, at Trim and at Wexford, where the names of several parkers are known, these are of Anglo-Norman origin (see Appendix 4.5). This leaves Option 2 as the most likely option. It can therefore be suggested that early medieval ringforts at these locations were taken over and reused by the Anglo-Normans as the sites for parker's lodges. This is not unreasonable, since there is considerable evidence for early medieval ringforts being taken over by the Anglo-Normans and converted to mottes (e.g. O'Conor 1998, 90). Furthermore, they are similar in size and construction to moated sites, so that they would have been eminently suitable for the purpose, indeed the wide, flat-bottomed ditch of the large enclosure (RMP No. GA105-080) in the Northern Complex at Earlspark is reminiscent of the fosse of a typical moated site. Only excavation at one or more of these sites could definitively show that they continued in use into the later medieval period, however this would be a worthwhile exercise in understanding Anglo-Norman attitudes to the pre-existing landscape features.

10.6 Poaching and park-breaking: the politics and the personal

While most people may generally respect a symbolic barrier, in order to restrict animals and ill-intentioned people a relatively high and robust wall or fence may be necessary to keep them either inside or outside the property. In the case of parks surrounding or abutting castles, they were also literally the outermost of the defences that needed to be breached in order to gain access to the castle.

Public perception today, reinforced by such institutions as Hollywood, is often that later medieval poachers were starving peasants looking for a meal, but the truth is more complex, and often park-breaking and poaching were inherently political or social acts. Hunting was an important and exciting elite activity, to which further spice would be added if the hunting was illicit (Birrell 1992, 11). A number of examples of poaching in forests and parks were identified in the Irish documentary evidence. The activities of the Abbot and monks of St Mary's, who hunted with the connivance of the king's forester, can probably be seen as an illicit pleasure (*Chartul. St. Mary's*, nos. 1, 118a). A more political motive could be behind the case from 1305 when William Waspayl was found guilty of poaching, theft and breaking the park of Richard de Burgh, Earl of Ulster at Balydonegan, near Carlow (*Cal. justic. rolls Ire.*, ii, 136). William was a knight (*CDI*, ii, no. 2361) and had acted as a juror (*CDI*, ii, no. 1645), furthermore, in 1306 he married Margery, widow of Geoffrey le Poer, 'who held of the King in capite'. As such, he was a man of means and his theft of timber and poaching was not due to an empty stomach, or a desperate need for firewood. Instead it may have been aimed as a personal attack on Richard, as part of some ongoing dispute between them. He may even have considered this to be a noble act, in the style of Robin Hood, battling against oppression. Park-breaking as a political act is certainly not without precedent, and was common practice in England (Mileson 2009, 155). To attack a lord's park or to slaughter his deer was an affront to his dignity and honour, striking at the heart of his ordered manorial landscape. Another example of this took place during the siege of Maynooth at the time of Silken Thomas' rebellion, when the king's forces first took the park, and then attacked the castle from there (see Section 6.4.8). There are also a number of references to domestic livestock being forfeited by tenants and retained in parks, for example, at Ballykene, Swords, Co. Dublin in 1306 (*Cal. justic. rolls Ire.*,

ii, 326) or to parks being broken and livestock removed, either by thieves or by the original owners from whom they had been confiscated, for example at Kildare in 1298 (*Cal. justic. rolls Ire.*, i, 200) (see Appendix 4.5). This use of a park as an allegedly secure location within the manor again demonstrates the role of the lord in administering justice and maintaining order within his manor. It also emphasises the importance of the high boundary, such as that found at Earlspark, not just to retain deer, but also to prevent unauthorised access and egress.

Repairing park boundaries was seen as representing the strengthening of authority and order. In the case of the English royal park of Clarendon, on a number of occasions the pale was repaired immediately after the accession of a new monarch (Richardson 2005, 116). Similarly, at Maynooth, after the forfeit of the lands as a result of Silken Thomas' rebellion, Leonard Grey offered to rent the manor, and 'also to enclose the parke agayne at his awne chargis' (*S.P. Hen. VIII*, ii, 299-300). This re-establishment of order was significant in demonstrating the power and authority of the king over Kildare.

10.7 Anglo-Norman hunting in Ireland compared to England

The thirty-nine documented parks in Ireland are a very small number compared to the figure of between 1900 and 3200 in England. Similarly, with forests, a density of 1.1 forests per 1000km^2 in England was contrasted with only 0.16 forests per 1000km^2 for Ireland (see Sections 2.3.1; 4.3.2; 4.5.3). The pattern continues with the zooarchaeological results (see Section 3.3), which show nearly five times more wild animal bones present at English elite sites (13%) than at Irish castles (2.7%). Looking just at the various species of deer, their bones constitute approximately 9% of English elite assemblages, which contrasts sharply with 1% for Irish castle excavations (see Section 3.3.3). There is also a difference in the data for the 'unmaking' ritual (see Section 3.3.4). While the evidence suggests that the structured distribution of the carcass did take place in Ireland, it also suggests that either this was not always adhered to, or, more likely that the smaller scale of society meant that the huntsmen lived in much closer proximity to their lords, disposing of their refuse communally.

It could be argued that the lack of evidence for parks in Ireland is due to poor survival of later medieval documents, a problem which has frequently been noted by researchers examining this period (e.g. Barry 1987, 2). Potential reasons include the Four Court's fire, caused by shelling during the Civil War in 1922 (Barry 1987, 2), which destroyed many documents, the existence of many liberties in Ireland, the records of which have rarely survived (see Appendix 1.2), and the relative lack of forests in Ireland so that licences to empark were not needed (see Section 4.5.4). This is not borne out, however by the zooarchaeological evidence which shows that fallow deer were only present on major manors. Since a park would have been necessary in order to keep fallow deer, their restricted distribution suggests a restricted number of parks in Ireland.

In combination, these results suggest much less emphasis on hunting in Ireland than in England, but despite this, the zooarchaeological evidence does demonstrate that wild animal bones in general, and deer bones in particular are much more common on castle sites in Ireland than on other site types. This confirms that hunting was considered to be an elite activity in Ireland and that the elite considered it important to hunt, albeit less often than their cousins in England.

A number of elements of an elite package were necessary for a magnate belonging to the highest echelon in European society (Bailey 2002, 2-5; Liddiard 2000, 51; 2005, 100-19; O'Conor 1998, 26-38; 2004). These included a range of manors, each with a suitable fortified castle, and with agricultural land. The manors provided resources for the household and surpluses for sale. Mills, fishponds and rabbit warrens, markets and towns were key aspects of the manorial system. Hunting was a vital element of aristocratic society, and, particularly in England, this was symbolised by the ownership of a park stocked with deer. It is likely that the original aim of the Anglo-Norman colonists was to transport English ideas of the castle, manor and landscape directly into Ireland. Unfortunately, as a number of researchers have noted, until very recently little work was carried out on later medieval settlement patterns in Ireland (Barry 1987, 1-2; 2000, 112; O'Conor 1998, 9, 14). As a result, where there was a lack of data, researchers have assumed that this theoretical plan actually took place and that what held in England, was also true for Ireland, a

problem also highlighted by Oram (2008, 355) for Scotland. While the aim was probably to set up the manorial system in a similar format to that seen in England and Europe, with villages clustered around a central castle and parish church, this did not always occur (Barry 2000, 113-4), and whereas there were up to 3,000 parks in England, in Ireland there are only records of thirty-nine and zooarchaeological evidence suggests that this is a true reflection of the situation. The reasons for the differences are complex but can be considered in two categories: the landscape and the political situation, although these are inevitably intertwined.

The Irish landscape was physically and legally very different to that of England. England was relatively crowded compared to many other European countries, including Ireland. In twelfth-century England, as a result of population growth there was a need for additional agricultural land, and as a result the area of arable land almost doubled between 1086 and 1300 (Campbell 2000, 388; Gardiner 2009). Hence, by the thirteenth century land was at a premium in parts of England, so that there was a move to assart forest to create additional agricultural land. This led to a pressure on woodland and on uncultivated ground, so that by 1500 only 10% of England was woodland, while at the same time woodland constituted approximately one third of the land area of Germany (Wickham 1994, 169, 174). Because of the high proportion of royal forest and the pressure on agricultural land, English landowners created parks to provide themselves with access to timber and to venison (Mileson 2009, 58-9). Hence, while medieval parks are known from many European countries, they reached their apogée in later medieval England (Mileson 2009, 32). As such, England can be considered to be the exception rather than the rule in the creation of large numbers of parks.

In Anglo-Norman Ireland, these pressures were much less. The very limited areas of royal forest coupled with the presence of the liberties meant that whereas in England even the great magnates were restricted in where they could hunt, in Ireland this tier of society had open access to hunting in their liberties and lands (see Section 4.3 and Appendix 1.2). In the late twelfth century, the economy and landscape were much more pastoral than in England (*Topographia*, 34-5), there was no shortage of timber, there was plenty of undivided land on which hunting could take place without affecting arable agriculture and there were generally no royal restrictions on hunting

red deer. Parks were expensive to build and to maintain, and as a result there was relatively little incentive for a lord to create large numbers, and where they were created, they were not always stocked with deer. Only in the cases of Dunamase, Ferns, Ferrycarrig ringwork, Maynooth, and Trim is there zooarchaeological evidence of fallow deer remains at the castle associated with a documented park. The consumption of venison was symbolic of lordship and aristocracy, regardless of species. The low proportions of deer bones in the faunal assemblages demonstrate that venison was not an essential part of the diet; instead this meat was consumed on particular occasions, in order to make a statement about the status of the host. Hunting red deer was more strenuous, and was more highly regarded both from a physical and symbolic perspective than hunting fallow deer in parks (see Section 4.1), but where fallow deer were kept, their availability meant that venison could be served more often and on demand. Thus, red deer continued to be the favoured deer species for consumption at the majority of elite sites, but where fallow deer were kept, for example at Maynooth and at Trim, they usually became the dominant species (see Section 3.3.3). As a result, with fallow deer less common than in England, and red deer hunting more accessible due to a less controlled landscape, there was less need to construct parks to retain deer, and hence less parks to be found.

The political and military situation in Ireland was also very different to that in England. By the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, England had a generally peaceful countryside, with its wars fought overseas. As a result, castles and their surroundings were designed to be aesthetically pleasing whilst still retaining defensive features (Liddiard 2005, 6-11; O'Conor 2008). Castles in Ireland have long been interpreted as primarily military structures (Leask 1941; 1977, 5, 13-24; Sweetman 1999, 33, 41, 105) however this view is changing. McNeill (1997, 230, 235) identified that domestic comfort and the expression of power and domination were more important in castle design in Ireland. In particular, he noted the castle at Trim, where the design of the keep made it poorly defensible, yet highly comfortable and impressive to visitors (McNeill 1997, 52). Later he noted the importance of the ability to view the landscape from the roof of a castle in psychologically controlling and dominating the landscape (McNeill 2006). O'Keeffe (2001; 2004) also saw Irish castles as primarily designed for display, and expanded outwards from this to

consider the landscape in which castles sat, and the view from the exterior of the castles, seeing these as features that displayed power, domination and status.

O'Conor (2008), while understanding that castles had a number of functions, including peaceful ones, disagrees and believes that when properly analysed these places show themselves to have serious defences. In his opinion, this fits the documentary evidence, which shows that many of these castles were under constant pressure from the Irish. An example of this is Roscommon Castle. McNeill (1997, 165-6) believes that this castle was built for display and comfort, arguing that it lacks serious defences. However, Murphy and O'Conor (2008, 38) carried out an intensive inter-disciplinary study of the castle and found the site to be far more defensive than argued by McNeill. Evidence for concentric defence was found in the form of a possible palisade or outer wall and for a wide, deep moat around the castle on three of its sides. This ditch was fed by the waters of a now-dried up lake that acted as a defence for the fourth, western edge of the castle (Murphy and O'Conor 2008, 21-4). Furthermore all of the castle's towers were well provided with arrowloops, including plunging ones (Murphy and O'Conor 2008, 13-9). These defences were necessary since O'Conor (2008) noted that the castle came under Gaelic-Irish attack no less than ten times between 1270 and 1360, when it eventually succumbed.

This present writer also agrees that while castles had important functions in display and as domestic structures, they were also regularly called upon to perform military functions. While Anglo-Norman Ireland was modelled on England, the importance of warfare in thirteenth and fourteenth century Ireland had a significant effect on the activities and material culture of the Anglo-Normans. Hunting was an essential part of the training for war of a young nobleman in the south of England, and subsequently he would have maintained his skills and fitness through hunting. There was less need for this in Ireland, where the aristocracy would undoubtedly be involved in real skirmishes and battles on a relatively regular basis. For example, in the frontier region of the Lordship of Meath, in what is now modern-day Longford, O'Conor and Parker (2010) showed that the colony was under constant pressure from the Irish of Connacht and Ulster as well as from the local Irish septs. Despite McNeill (1997, 165-6) and O'Keeffe's (2001; 2004) views, it would seem that many historians agree with O'Conor and Parker's (2010) conclusions and that this was

reflective of most frontier areas during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, especially from *c*. 1250 onwards (e.g. Lydon 1987b, 286-7; 1987c, 240-1; Nicholls 1987; Smyth 1982, 105; Watt 1987a, 366-7; 1987b, 344).

This is probably one of the main reasons for the overall lower levels of wild species found at Irish castle excavations compared to their English equivalents (see Section 3.3). Thus, for both Anglo-Normans in Ireland and for their English cousins hunting was an important pastime, it took on a greater significance in the settled lands of southern and central England than in the more unstable lands of Ireland. When hunting did take place, however, red deer were an accessible quarry. Compared to emparked fallow deer these gave a more energetic cross-country hunt, whether hunted *par force* or by the drive, so providing considerably better physical and skills training for warfare (see Section 4.1).

A third area in which Ireland and England can be seen to differ is in the timing of emparkment (see Section 4.5.4). As described above, the documentary evidence for parks and the introduction of fallow deer stocks to Ireland, coupled with radiocarbon dating evidence, tentatively suggest a peak of park creation for the period between *c*. 1220 and 1260, with the parks being documented somewhat later, as a result of the increased production of manorial extents and Inquisitions Post-Mortem. This is significantly earlier than in England, where the peak is 1320-1369. In both countries the first wave of emparkment would have been at the highest level of society, and over time this gradually moved down the social ladder. By the time park-building in England was becoming widespread as a result of being accessible to the gentry and minor aristocracy, the Anglo-Norman colony in Ireland was in retreat, and many ostensibly Anglo-Norman families were taking on Gaelic customs (e.g. Nicholls, 1972; Watt 1987a, 352). As a result, in fourteenth-century Ireland, instead of becoming more common, park building and the keeping of fallow deer became less accessible and few new parks were created (see Section 4.5.4), and by *c*. 1600 Fynes Moryson knew of only two deer parks (*Itinerary*, iv, 193-4), both of which were owned by magnate families that had remained more anglicised than many of their Anglo-Irish contemporaries.

McNeill (1997, 230-1) identified that in the early years of the Anglo-Norman colony there was a heavy financial input in developing seigniorial castles and manors, with the quality of the buildings being notably fine. The money for this is likely to have been invested in a speculative way, using resources from the English and Welsh lands held by the lords, such as the de Lacys. After 1220 however, he sees a decline in the quality of construction and design in castles belonging to men of the first rank, which he linked to disappointing financial returns from the Irish estates. If this was the case, then it provides a further reason for the relative lack of parks in Ireland. While the very highest echelons of Anglo-Norman society created parks at their major manors in the period *c*. 1220-1260, they may have held back on enclosing parks at more peripheral castles, where there was little to be gained from the large expenditure involved. Similarly, for the second tier of Anglo-Norman lords the cost of emparkment of demesne lands may not have been a financially viable option, so that they did not create parks around even their principal manors.

Finally, the issue of absenteeism was important, particularly for the most powerful aristocrats. Some Anglo-Norman families were resident in Ireland and notable examples of these include the de Burghs in Connacht and Ulster, who held Earlspark at Loughrea, and the FitzGeralds in Leinster, who held Maynooth. These families had their primary lands and influence in Ireland and were committed to close management of their estates. This can be seen in the impressive nature of the park at Earlspark and the longevity of the park of Maynooth (see Sections 5.6; 6.6). Other parks were in manors that became less central to the interests of their owners. After the death of the last Earl Marshal, the partition of Leinster led to the inheritance of much of Leinster by a number of female heirs, and these were then passed to the families of their husbands (see Appendix 1.2). The result of this was that in many cases the inherited manors were of relatively minor significance to their owners, whose focus was on their English lands and politics. The case study parks of Dunamase, Co. Laois and Carrick, Co. Wexford come into this category. In the later thirteenth and early fourteenth century Dunamase was held by the de Mortimer family, who also held substantial lands in Wales and in England (*CIPM*, ii, Edw. I, no. 446). Furthermore, the castle and lands were lost to the O'Mores *c*. 1330 (see Section 7.1.2). The lands around Carrick, Co. Wexford passed through a number of hands: the de Munchensys, the de Valences, the Hastings and the Talbots. Finally, in

1537 Wexford was one of the areas taken into royal hands due to continued absenteeism by the owners (see Section 8.1.2). As has already been stressed, in addition to being used to retain deer, parks were important for timber and for pasture. In the case of an absentee lord, the timber and pasture uses would have continued to be integral to the maintenance and profitability of the manors. By contrast, for a manor rarely visited by the lord, there would have been little or no incentive to continue to stock a park with deer or to develop new hunting parks. These parks were therefore the most likely to be disparked by default. In other words, they did not have to be formally disparked, but there would have been little incentive to maintain security features such as high palings or lodges. Instead, once deer stocks had been exhausted they would have gradually reverted to 'ordinary' demesne pasture and woodland, while still being called 'parks'. As has been noted, as a result, by the start of the seventeenth century Fynes Moryson (*Itinerary*, iv, 193-4) noted the lack of deer parks and of fallow deer in Ireland, specifically commenting on the rarity of venison on the menu.

To summarise the differences between Ireland and England, in both cases, hunting, the ownership of parks and the keeping of fallow deer were perceived as aristocratic activities that should be aspired to. In Ireland, the accessibility of the more symbolically important red deer and the higher intensity of the hunt, as well as the relative lack of parks resulted in the continued dominance of red deer over fallow deer. By the fourteenth century the Anglo-Norman colony was in retreat, the manors had not fulfilled their early economic promise and many were held by absentee lords who were more concerned with their English lands. As a consequence, over the high medieval period, even major families may have developed only one or two hunting parks, with potentially other small parks to retain domestic animals. In both countries hunting was used as physical training and as a leisure activity, but whereas in England considerable time could be devoted to this, in Ireland the nature of frontier society was such that this was an occasional pastime rather than a regular event.

10.8 Anglo-Norman compared to Gaelic hunting

While the attitudes of Anglo-Normans in Ireland were different to those of their cousins in England, they were also distinct from the attitudes of the Gaelic Irish aristocracy. The most significant of these differences was the maintenance of fallow deer and deer parks by the Anglo-Normans, a fashion that was not adopted by the Gaelic elite. There is absolutely no evidence at present that Gaelic Irish lords constructed parks for deer in the high medieval period. They did not construct any of the documented high medieval parks and similarly, no fallow deer remains have been found at any Gaelic sites. For example, there was no evidence for fallow deer at the historically-attested O'Neill princely centre on Island McHugh, Co. Tyrone (McCormick n.d., cited by Denham 2008), and fallow deer reported by Denham (2008) from Carrickfin, Co. Donegal, were found, on review of the original report by the present writer, to be red deer (McCormick n.d.). The high status, later medieval Gaelic Irish episcopal site at Kilteasheen, Co. Roscommon yielded considerable quantities of animal bone, including red deer but not fallow deer (Beglane 2006b; 2007a). Instead all fallow deer remains have been found in Anglo-Norman castles or in urban assemblages (see Section 3.3.2). This difference of approach is likely to relate to the different understanding of landscape, land ownership, lordship and male identity between the two ethnic groups.

There is a very great lack of published and unpublished excavation and faunal reports for Gaelic Ireland, and this places a caveat on the results (Fig 3.3). There are a number of reasons for this lack of data (see O'Conor 2001, 329-31). Firstly, much of the development work during the Celtic Tiger years was carried out in the east and south of the country, in areas formerly under Anglo-Norman control. For example, the NRA detail sixty-nine excavations carried out under their remit in Meath, but only eleven in Donegal (NRA 2011). Secondly, soil conditions in the Gaelic west tend to be more acidic (Mitchell and Ryan 1998, 308), resulting in poorer survival of bone from these areas and hence leading to smaller, less well-preserved assemblages. For example, of approximately twenty-five animal bone assemblages with later medieval phases analysed by the present writer, only six were in areas of Gaelic-Irish control. Of these, only two, from Kilteasheen, Co. Roscommon, and Aghavea, Co.

Fermanagh, were of a reasonable size (Beglane 2006b; 2007a; 2007b). Other assemblages were all extremely small, consisted only of very poorly preserved fragments, or were assemblages of burnt bone, which will survive in acid soil. It could therefore be argued that the lack of fallow deer remains in Gaelic-Irish areas is due to a dearth of faunal reports or poor bone survival. While future excavation may yield fallow deer remains from these areas, other strands of evidence suggest that this is unlikely.

From a methodological standpoint, data used in this work has drawn together results from thirteen separate zooarchaeologists who between them have probably analysed *c*. 90% of the assemblages recovered in the last two decades. In addition, requests to the Irish Zooarchaeological Working Group (IZWG) and the ZOOARCH Internet forum did not yield any further incidences of fallow deer. This suggests that the vast majority of fallow deer bones that have been zooarchaeologically analysed are likely to have been recorded in this analysis.

The literary evidence suggests that in Gaelic Ireland, cross-country hunting was the method of choice. For example, both the *Duanaire Finn*, dating to the late twelfth century, and the *Acallam na Senórach*, dated to the early thirteenth century (*Acallam na Senórach*, xli-xlii), predominantly describe large-scale drives across open country, or describe a single animal being sought in a manner similar to *par force* hunting (see Section 4.1). Although Anne Connon (*pers. comm.*) suggested that one section of text (*Acallam na Senórach*, 28-9) might refer to a hunt in an enclosed park, this is more likely to refer to beaters surrounding the game during a drive.

As noted above, prior to the Anglo-Norman invasion, Ireland was relatively lightly populated, and this was a problem that continued throughout the later medieval period, with tenants being at a premium (Glasscock 1987, 226; Simms 1975). It has already been argued (see Section 10.7) that in Anglo-Norman areas of Ireland there were less forests and more land available for settlement than in England. Population pressures were therefore lower, resulting in less need for parks to retain deer compared to England. It has further been argued that rather than the number of parks in Ireland being atypical, instead the situation in England was unusual, when compared to, for example, France and Germany (see Section 10.7). In the western

parts of Ireland, where Gaelic settlement predominated, this was even more the case. The land was of poorer quality than in the Anglo-Norman east and as a result, a more pastoral economy was more suited to these areas (Glasscock 1987, 225-6; O'Conor 1998, 98). This lower proportion of arable agriculture means that large areas of unenclosed countryside would have been available for cross-country hunting similar to that described in the literary texts.

Cross-country hunting was a useful preparation for warfare for a number of reasons. Firstly, it developed the physical fitness and horse-riding skills necessary to move through the land (see Section 10.1). Secondly, by hunting regularly the lord and his followers would develop an intimate knowledge of the local landscape, becoming familiar with the routeways, valleys, rivers, woods and other natural features that could be utilised for attack or retreat. Thirdly, following on from the previous point, any enemy incursions or changes would soon be noticed if places were visited regularly. As will be discussed below, there were differences in the way that the Gaelic Irish and the Anglo-Normans used the landscape in times of war, with a detailed knowledge of the landscape being particularly important for the tactics employed by the Gaelic Irish (see O'Conor 1998, 98-100).

An essential element in the manorial system in England and elsewhere, including in Anglo-Norman Ireland, was the timber or masonry castle, particularly the latter (Bailey 2002, 2-5; Liddiard 2000, 51; 2005, 100-19; O'Conor 1998, 26-38; 2004). By contrast, during the high medieval period, the Gaelic Irish elite rarely built what contemporaries and modern scholars would call castles, although from the late fourteenth century onwards they did adopt the use of tower houses (McNeill 1997, 164; Nicholls 1987, 404-6; O'Conor 1998, 75-7; 2005, 213-5). For example, the Rock of Lough Cé, Co. Roscommon, was the stronghold of the McDermotts from the twelfth century through to the seventeenth century. This family were second only to the O'Conors in the Gaelic Irish hierarchy of Connacht and so would have had the resources to construct castles if they chose to do so (O'Conor, Brady, Connon and Fidalgo-Romo 2010, 17-20, 34). For example, they were probably responsible for the foundation of the nearby Boyle Abbey, which is noted for its fine architecture (Moss 2010). This site on Lough Cé contains what the researchers (2010, 21-4, 37) have termed a 'super-cashel', with 4m high, mortared-stone walls in

a defensive location on a semi-artificial island in the lake. They noted (2010, 33) however, that unlike contemporary Anglo-Norman, English and European castles, it lacked features such as 'flanking towers, battlements, a gatehouse or arrow-loops'. Similarly, at Cloonfree, Co. Roscommon, Finan and O'Conor (2002) identified that *c*. 1300, Aodh O'Conor built a moated site as his principal royal residence. In eastern Ireland this site type is more usually associated with minor Anglo-Norman lords or even wealthy peasants, rather than with the head of a powerful dynasty.

A number of reasons have been put forward for why few stone, or indeed complex Hen Domen-type timber castles were built by the Gaelic Irish during the high medieval period. The first of these is the method of inheritance. Gaelic lordships and kingships did not use primogeniture, instead a new leader was elected from within the extended family group or *derbfine*, the descendents of previous lords to the fourth generation (McNeill 1997, 72-4, 157-64, 167-8, 234; Nicholls 1987, 423-4; O'Conor 2005). While a son could inherit, it was also possible for distant cousins, nephews or brothers of the previous ruler to be selected. As a result, there was little incentive for a king or lord to invest money and resources in building a stone castle that would not necessarily be inherited by his son. By contrast, commissioning a fine abbey or church would imbue its patron with an air of godliness and virtue, and on death, would ensure a speedy entry into heaven. A second reason for lack of stone castles was the periodic redistribution of land within the kin group. This process as it operated in the high medieval period is poorly understood, but evidence from the sixteenth century does exist (Nicholls 1987, 432-3; O'Conor 2005, 217). Essentially the land was owned by the kin group rather than the individual and was redistributed on a regular basis between the males. In the sixteenth century this could be as often as each year, or it could be on the death of one of the coheirs. As a result, families would regularly move from one portion of land to another, and again this would have been a disincentive to costly building programmes. Finally, the third reason returns to the theme of the way in which landscapes were used in warfare. When under attack the Gaelic Irish would use natural features to force confrontations at chosen strategic locations, such as at woodland, mountain and bogland passes, or at major fords. If these were not successful they would retreat into the woods, bogs and mountains with their cattle and continue with guerrilla warfare (Nicholls 1987, 404; O'Conor 1998, 98-100; 2005, 218). This suited a

pastoral economy in which much of the wealth was held in mobile form, being herds of cattle rather than masonry structures. In the event of an attack, an expensive castle, or indeed a park, would therefore be a potential liability rather than an asset. It would need to be defended and if taken this would result in financial, territorial and psychological loss. The classic example of this use of the landscape is the famous image of Art McMurrough meeting Richard, Duke of York from Jean Creton's *Histoire du roy d'Angleterre Richard II (Histoire)* (Fig. 10.3) in which McMurrough emerges from a hidden valley in the surrounding woodland.

Fig. 10.3 Art MacMurrough meets Richard, Duke of York (*Histoire*)

It has already been shown (see Section 10.3.1) that the dating of Anglo-Norman parks was one or even two generations after the construction of the stone castles, so that even for them the park was of secondary importance. By extension, if Gaelic lords did not usually construct elaborate castles of stone or even timber as their primary residences, it can be seen to be highly unlikely that they would construct other elements of the elite landscape found in Anglo-Norman areas such as a park to enclose fallow deer. By the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, when Gaelic

lords were constructing tower houses and developing more nucleated settlement, the evidence suggests that few new parks were being created even in Anglo-Norman areas (see Section 10.3.1).

Instead of castles and parks Gaelic lords had other ways of showing status. Again these relate to Bourdieu's (1984; 2008) concepts of economic, social and cultural capital. In Gaelic Ireland social capital was tightly bound to genealogy and family lineage. As noted, election to leadership was open only to members of the *derbfine* of a previous lord, hence demonstrating a link to one's ancestors was extremely important. The inauguration rituals went beyond this by linking kingship to the distant past and to mythological heroes through the use of prehistoric monuments and landscapes (Duffy, Edwards and FitzPatrick 2001a, 41; FitzPatrick 2004, 52, 99; Watt 1987b, 319). Patronage of the church also increased the social capital of the elite patron, recording his name for posterity and demonstrating his piety (e.g. Nugent 2006, 188-9). Feasting was important in obtaining social capital by making alliances, rewarding good service and setting up cycles of obligation (O'Sullivan 2004, 85). This also allowed the lord to demonstrate his patronage of the arts by employing musicians and poets, who, in turn would create poems and songs in honour of the patron (O'Sullivan 2004, 237-9; Simms 2001). Gift-giving to one's peers and followers performed a similar function to hospitality, again creating cycles of obligation and binding clients to the lord (O'Sullivan 2004, 242). As noted, economic capital was not usually held in the form of elaborate castles, instead cattle and horses were perceived as wealth: cattle could be used as currency to pay rents and fines, while horses were often used as high-status gifts (Watt 1987b, 329-31). Cattle-raiding was therefore a vital part of the way in which Gaelic lords gained and maintained power and as a result, a successful lord or king would maintain large herds (O'Conor 2005, 216; Watt 1987b, 329-31). Hence, military prowess and the leadership skills to be able to call on large numbers of followers were therefore forms of cultural capital necessary to be successful in raiding and warfare (O'Conor 2005, 219).

In summary, a Gaelic lord held his land through his lineage, backed up by military prowess, patronage of the church and the arts, and the ability to maintain large numbers of clients, all of which required a level of economic success to underpin

them. The lack of large-scale castles and elite landscapes in the Anglo-Norman fashion should not, therefore be considered as a lack of status but of a different way of demonstrating that status.

Interestingly, at places like Dunamase (see Chapter 7) existing parks came under Gaelic control and continued to be held as single land blocks in demesne, rather than being divided among tenants. Similarly, Nenagh (see Chapter 9), while still nominally held by the Butlers, effectively fell out of their control for nearly two centuries. When they regained Nenagh, the park was still essentially intact, and remained that way. It was sold with the town and became the landscaped grounds of the two eighteenth-century landlords' houses. This shows that the Gaelic lords placed a value on retaining the parks, probably as sources of timber and grazing. However, the symbolism of stocking the parks with fallow deer does not seem to have been adopted, and instead these would have functioned as enclosed pasture and woodland.

This does not mean that Gaelic lords were not interested in hunting, on the contrary, literary and iconographic evidence demonstrates that they were (see Section 4.1). Thus, while the lack of faunal reports is a problem, the other strands of evidence can be called into play. It has already been shown (see Section 10.7) that red deer hunting was more accessible to the Anglo-Norman lords in Ireland than in England, and that this form of hunting continued to be important to them. For Gaelic lords, who were skilled in cattle-raiding and who needed to be able to move fast over considerable distances to undertake the guerrilla-style warfare that they excelled at, red deer hunting over wide areas of open countryside was also an appropriate form of military training. Coupled with the lack of what contemporaries and modern scholars would accept as castles, there was no impetus to create parks stocked with fallow deer. Red deer were symbolic of wildness, nobility and honour and to hunt these over vast swathes of countryside was a reflection of elite identity and power for both ethnic groups (see Section 3.1.2). Fallow deer and deer parks had little symbolic value for the Gaelic lords. Instead they would have been linked to Anglo-Norman symbols of lordship such as manorial settlement, arable agriculture and the development of masonry castles.

10.9 Landscapes of civilisation

Allsen (2006, 47) has argued that in the ancient world parks and paradises had a number of purposes and meanings. In addition to being venues for hunting, he shows that they had symbolic associations as places of 'material abundance and spiritual bliss' as well as political and ideological symbolism. Material abundance was demonstrated by the inclusion of orchards and timber stands within parks and on a less tangible level, the park could symbolise the pristine natural world, of which the Garden of Eden is probably the most familiar exemplar in a European context. He notes Pierre Briant's analysis of the paradise as an 'outpost of central authority', a 'model of agricultural prosperity' and an 'ideological statement' of the link between the ruler and the prosperity and fertility of the land (Allsen 2006, 49).

Parks were therefore intrinsically linked to ideas of order and civilisation. By contrast, at the time of the Anglo-Norman invasion, Ireland was perceived by the newcomers as a relatively under-populated land with large areas of woodland, open countryside and pasture, inhabited by a supposedly wild and uncivilised people (*Topographia*, 34-5, 101-2). As with much of Europe, the population density in Ireland was lower than that of England, and there was less pressure on agricultural land, with more woodland available (Campbell 2000, 388; Gardiner 2009). Thus, Giraldus must have perceived this as an excellent opportunity for his Geraldine relatives. In terms of the level of civilisation present in Ireland, two factors would have been at play. Firstly, a perception that a different way of life is less civilised than that of the viewer, so that Giraldus would have seen a more pastoral economy as being of a lower standard than an economy based on arable agriculture (*Topographia*, 101). Secondly, if a culture is perceived as second-rate, this can be seen as a way of justifying colonisation by bringing civilisation to the country (Kohn 2011; O'Conor, Brady, Connon and Fidalgo-Romo 2010, 36). From Giraldus' perspective therefore, he could argue that these landscapes and their people needed to be tamed and civilised by being brought into the arena of arable agriculture (Leerssen 1995; *Topographia*, 101-2). Wild landscapes were considered as being empty of anything of value, and the word 'waste' was used to describe uncultivated land, despite its importance for pasture, pannage and gathering wild foods (Luscombe and Riley-Smith 2004, 36-7). Waste land was therefore meaningless

'space' between productive land that needed to be re-formed and recreated as Anglo-Norman 'places' (Tilley 1994, 15). In doing so this would allow Anglo-Normans to become rooted in their new country and to take on an identity built around their new homes. 'Space' is devoid of meaning, but becomes 'place' by being imbued with memories, meanings and symbols (Tilley 1994, 15). This happened when the landscape began to contain such features as the graves of dead settlers, constructed buildings and monuments and tilled fields. A part of this 'civilising' effect was the recreation of a familiar landscape, creating a 'piece of home' in the new land (Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin 1998, 93, 177-80; Kealhofer 1999; Knapp and Ashmore 1999; Tuan 1977, 149-60). In the context of the case studies carried out, all of the parks were designed landscape features put in place for a reason. They created an idea of 'England in Ireland', bringing familiar landscapes to the settlers and placing them in society. For example, at Loughrea, the park was probably constructed in the 1250s, less than a generation after the castle (see Section 5.4.2). This shows the importance of this symbol of lordship in creating the idea of the manor. It is likely that having completed work on the castle the masons moved directly on to the park boundary wall. Many centuries later, at Dunamase, the Anglo-Irish Sir John Parnell sought to recreate the Anglo-Norman, and therefore English idea of the manor and of an ordered society, by rebuilding part of the castle and re-enclosing the high medieval park (see Section 7.5.6).

Enclosing land for a park, or ploughing it for arable agriculture were perceived as taming that land. This pushed out the limits of civilisation and in turn brought previously unused or undeveloped land into use (Beglane 2010b). History, cartography and pollen analysis show that this policy was only partly successful, being hampered by contraction of the Anglo-Norman colony, and the fall in population due to warfare and disease in the fourteenth century. As a result, even in the seventeenth century, Ireland was a generally well-wooded country, with timber trees as well as more shrubby underwood present (Glasscock 1987; Hall and Bunting 2001; Nicholls 2001, 209-10). In 1612, Sir John Davies, Attorney-General for James I, recognised the taming effect of agriculture, suggesting that if:

> 'those English lords, amongst whom the whole kingdom was divided had been good hunters, and had reduced the mountains, bogs and

> woods, within the limits of forests, chaces, and parks' then Ireland would have been long since subdued' (*Discovery*, 132).

This quote demonstrates both that Davies saw parks as an English and hence Anglo-Norman phenomenon, and that there were very few deer parks in Ireland in his time, supporting the evidence from Moryson (*Itinerary*, iv, 193-4) a decade earlier.

For both Anglo-Norman and Gaelic lords, therefore, hunting cross-country was a noble pursuit and excellent military training. For the Anglo-Norman, however, park hunting was a more sedate, civilised activity that helped to tame the landscape, whilst still providing exercise. It was imbued with connotations of status, the divine order and abundance. For the Gaelic lord, this sedate activity was meaningless, providing no worthwhile exercise and no expression of power or status. Thus, while the Anglo-Normans did introduce hunting parks and fallow deer from England, they perhaps did so in a somewhat half-hearted way. Red deer provided a better hunt, across open country with more physical prowess demanded and so provided the preferred form of sport. Parks and fallow deer, being part of the essential manorial package, were introduced, but never reached the large-scale penetration that they had done in the much more crowded, forested countryside of England. As a result, even the great magnates had only a few parks, compared to the dozens held by English lords of the same rank (see Section 2.3.3). In fact, the lack of parks and the emphasis on cross-country hunting by the Anglo-Norman elite, could, with hindsight, be seen as an early step on the road to Gaelicisation. Nevertheless, the role of deer in parks should not be underplayed. Both park hunting and venison consumption still defined an individual as being from the elite class, and where parks were stocked with fallow deer, such as at Maynooth; these provided the majority of deer carcasses (see Appendix 3.7). One possible example of the importance of being seen to maintain an Anglo-Norman identity is at Nenagh, where the park was not created until eighty years after the castle was constructed (see Section 9.4.1). This area was already demesne woodland, but in 1299, at a time when political tensions were rising and the Crown was concerned with the increasing Gaelicisation of the Anglo-Irish lords, Theobald Walter (Butler) V suddenly decided to very publicly create a park in his manor. His aim in doing so may perhaps have been to mark himself as a loyal subject of the Crown.

10.10 Parks into the post-medieval and modern period

The focus of this work has been on the evidence for high medieval parks and deer hunting. The case studies presented have shown that it is possible to identify these parks in the modern landscape. With the exception of Loughrea, the remains are ephemeral, however a combination of cartographic, historical and fieldwork evidence has brought these to light. Maynooth is the latest of the parks to have evidence for the keeping of deer, and this park probably fell out of use when the castle was destroyed in 1647. It probably survived the longest because of its location near Dublin, with its associated links to England, coupled with the loyalty of its lord (see Section 6.4.4). Most of the other parks probably gradually reverted to ordinary pasture, arable and woodland in the fourteenth century, albeit in many cases still held in demesne.

In England the dissolution of the monasteries in the sixteenth century, and the development of more intense agriculture in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries have been linked to disparkment, but simultaneously some large ornamental landscapes were being created until the end of the sixteenth century (see Section 2.3.6). Ironically, in this period there was a resurgence of interest in park-building in Ireland, fuelled by the new land grants to mainly English settlers of the Tudor, Stuart and Cromwellian periods (Reeves-Smyth 1997, 198). The eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were also important periods of emparkment in both Ireland and Britain, when 'naturalistic' landscape parks became an essential backdrop for large country houses, mainly built by the Anglo-Irish (Reeves-Smyth 1997, 201-3). As in England (Watts 1996, 93), these could contain deer, and the venison was consumed, but their role was not aristocratic hunting. By the eighteenth century the elite had turned their attention to fox-hunting, which was suited to the enclosed field systems that had come into vogue (Sleeman 1997, 245-6)

As noted, place-names have been surprisingly resilient to the changes of the last seven hundred years, with three of the five case studies having 'Park' elements to the modern townland name (Tab. 10.1), and the Park of Maynooth being called this until the early nineteenth century. Only at Nenagh is the place-name evidence less clear cut. At Dunamase and at Nenagh the land was retained in demesne until modern

times, and this is reflected in the wooded parkland features retained in the modern field systems (see Sections 7.3.1; 9.2.2). This association of place with function found expression at Dunamase in the late eighteenth century, when Sir John Parnell sought to recreate the past glories of the castle and its demesne by a process of rebuilding part of the castle, planting trees and re-enclosing the high medieval park. In doing so, as an Anglo-Irish landlord, he sought a return to a perceived Golden Age in which his role as lord of the manor would be unquestioned and his power would be undimmed by new ideas of democracy and equality (see Section 7.5.6).

Chapter 11: Conclusions

11.1 Findings of the study

The aim of this study was to examine the social and cultural roles of parks and deer hunting in high medieval Ireland, specifically in the period from the arrival of the Anglo-Normans in 1169 to *c*. 1350. Later medieval studies have become more popular in Ireland in the past two decades, but only limited work has been carried out to investigate the wider landscape of Anglo-Norman manors and castles (e.g. Lyttleton and O'Keeffe 2005; O'Conor 2004). As a result, this important aspect of later medieval culture has been largely ignored, or has been investigated utilising only one type of information, or concentrating on a single site or county.

Hunting was central to aristocratic society in high medieval Ireland, having practical purposes in developing military skills and in forging social bonds between the elite as well as important symbolic roles in creating elite identity (see Section 10.1). Deer hunting served as a social differentiator within society since access to legitimate hunting was restricted to a relatively small section of society. Venison could not legally be sold, but could be given as a gift, so that the ability to procure venison was a mark of social status. This is demonstrated by the finding that deer bones were six times more likely to be found in excavations of castle sites than any other site type (Tab. 3.2). This high status attached to hunting was true for both Anglo-Norman and Gaelic lords, but was expressed in different ways in the two cultures (see Section 10.8). In Gaelic Irish regions the iconographic and literary evidence shows that red deer were the hunted species of choice, providing excellent sport and training as well as a highly valued meat. In Anglo-Norman areas, red deer were also important for the same reasons, but fallow deer and parks were also crucial introductions. Parks were part of the manorial system of demarcating and structuring landholding and as such they were seen as markers of civilisation and of Anglo-Norman identity. They were part of the process of creating a sense of place and familiarity in a foreign land. However, unlike England, where they became ubiquitous, the relatively uncrowded nature of the Irish countryside, the presence of liberties and the small area of royal

forest meant that parks never became an essential feature of a manor (see Section 10.7). A lord aspired to stock his park with fallow deer, but these were much less accessible in Ireland than in England, and only the highest echelons of society received this ultimate royal gift. The deer did not become common and hence did not filter down the social ladder to the more humble parks of the minor aristocracy. While this was their original intention, the Anglo-Normans in Ireland did not live in a transplanted version of an English manor, and as O'Keeffe (2001, 80) noted, by leaving England or Wales, they may already have been aware that they had taken the first step on the process of Gaelicisation that was to cause such political problems in the fourteenth century.

The study has identified thirty-nine documented high medieval parks, and has included detailed case studies of five of these. The majority of the documented parks were east of the Shannon, with outliers in more westerly Anglo-Norman strongholds, and no high medieval parks were identified in Gaelic Ireland (Fig. 4.8). Several of the documented parks were owned by senior ecclesiastics, such as the Archbishop of Dublin and the Bishops of Cloyne and Ferns, or by major magnates (see Section 4.5.6). A number of the parks were associated with the lands of the Lordship of Leinster, held by the Marshals, and subsequently divided by inheritance. Other major magnates holding parks included the de Burghs, FitzGeralds and de Clares, with the Butler family creating a single, late park at Nenagh (see Chapters 5; 6 and 9). There are also a number of references to less significant landowners holding parks, but there is little evidence for these holding deer, instead, several of them are recorded as being used for pasture or for impounding domestic animals (see Section 4.5.6).

The evidence for red and fallow deer in later medieval Ireland has been examined in some depth. This has shown that contrary to received wisdom, fallow deer were unusual, but not rare in later medieval Ireland. Certainly their distribution was limited to the east of the country and to the highest tier of Anglo-Norman society, but they contributed 36% of the deer bones from the range of castle excavations examined. Furthermore, on these sites they were more common than all other wild species apart from red deer, hare and rabbit. Rather than fallow deer being rare *per se*, the evidence suggests that all species of wild mammals are much less common on

Irish castle sites than on elite sites in England, and that fallow deer are present in the proportions to be expected within that smaller number (see Section 3.3.3).

One interesting finding is that in three of the five case studies the likely location of the park lodge was occupied by a monument that would conventionally be described as a ringfort (see Section 10.5). In the other two case studies the likely lodge location has been built on and so could not be examined for earlier structures. It is suggested that the most likely explanation is that these were early medieval ringforts, which were taken over as suitable sites, due to their locations and their essential similarity to the moated sites that were commonly used for lodges in England.

O'Keeffe (2004) raised the question of whether there were designed landscapes in later medieval Ireland. This study shows that the answer is emphatically 'yes', but not as many as in England. Parks were created to demonstrate the power and status of the lord. To do this the sites were carefully selected for a number of reasons. One factor appears to be the incorporation of socially significant earlier landscapes within the park. This seems to be particularly true at Loughrea. There, the Northern Complex group of what appear to be prehistoric and early medieval monuments is accessed by a road from the town of Loughrea into the park, and the likely site of the park lodge is a large circular enclosure (GA105-080) which may be of early medieval or even prehistoric origin. Similarly at Maynooth, place-name evidence suggests that the park may incorporate the site of a *bile* tree, significant to the pre-existing population (see Section 6.2.3, 6.4.8).

The park boundaries were also considered in relation to the views to and from the park. In some cases, such as at Nenagh and Dunamase (see Chapters 7 and 9) the parks abutted the castle, providing a vista from the windows and wall walks, in other cases the parks were at a distance (see Chapters 5; 6; 8), but were still visible from the castle. These views showcased the attributes of the manor, they were conceived as part of the structured, ordered layout, for example, forming part of an arc of seigniorial landscape features at Maynooth (see Sections 6.4.2; 6.4.8). Often, as at Loughrea (see Section 5.4.6) historic and prehistoric monuments were deliberately incorporated into the parks. These were not haphazard constructions, they would have been costly to build and to maintain and this was not undertaken without

careful thought and planning. This high cost may be one reason why there are fewer parks and designed landscapes in Ireland than in England. There is evidence to suggest that the early promise of the Anglo-Norman colony was not fulfilled, and that castles constructed after 1220 were more modest than earlier examples (McNeill 1997, 230-1). It is likely that this is also the case with park construction, with thirteenth-century lords at all levels of society being much more cautious about committing money to unnecessary display in less profitable manors (see Section 10.7). By the fourteenth century, when emparkment was at its height in England, the Anglo-Norman colony was in retreat and under severe military, cultural and financial pressure, so that few parks seem to have been created at this time (see Section 10.7).

Today many of the parks are ephemeral features that do not exist in local memory, but only as cartographic features that can be recreated. Two exceptions are at Loughrea and at Dunamase. The park boundary wall at Earlspark, Loughrea is a dramatic landscape feature that locals have sought to explain by a folktale describing a semi-miraculous event. In the late eighteenth century the past glories of Dunamase were recreated and re-envisioned by a conservative landlord. The original role of the parks has been obscured by time and later landscape concepts. When created these were 'parks'; valuable for timber, pasture and pannage and a source of priceless venison and prestige, but they were multi-functional, and to describe them as 'deer-parks' is to do them a disservice.

There are three periods in which parks were created in significant numbers in Ireland: the Anglo-Norman period, the plantation periods of the later sixteenth to seventeenth centuries and the Anglo-Irish ascendancy of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The dating of these periods is no coincidence. In each case the parks were created by incoming or resident elites of Anglo-Norman or English origin, and these parks served a number of functions. Firstly, as a form of symbolic violence, they provided a pedagogic statement of power and lordship, controlling access to resources and closing off previously accessible land. Secondly, they sought to impose an English landscape in Ireland, to create a sense of place for the incoming elite and to disassociate the land with its past.

11.2 Limitations of the study and areas of future research

In order to undertake a study of this nature, it was felt to be appropriate to adopt an interdisciplinary approach, incorporating aspects of landscape analysis, zooarchaeology, history, art history and literary studies. This posed a number of practical difficulties, since any one individual is unlikely to be equally knowledgeable and skilled in all these disciplines. The present writer has a basic command of Latin, but little Irish, and this has limited the historical sources consulted. For example, some Latin texts such as the *Red Book of Kildare*, that were considered likely to contain relevant material, and that were edited in an accessible style, were reviewed in detail. By contrast, many other Latin texts were reviewed only to follow up specific references. It is also freely acknowledged that this study has utilised only very limited literary materials from both the Anglo-Norman and Gaelic sources, specifically where these have been recommended to the writer or have been referenced by other authors. Any work following on from this study should consider these limitations and seek to remedy them in order to provide as full a picture as possible. Similarly, no detailed treatment of the art historical or artefactual evidence for deer or for hunting has been possible due to the limitations of time and space, and this is an area that could be remedied in a further study, with some information already collated but not presented here.

Initially, in developing this project, the writer had hoped to include a wider spectrum of hunted animal species in the analysis and to include evidence for the horses and hounds that were an integral part of later medieval hunting. Potential areas of study include hares, foxes and wolves amongst others, and in addition rabbit warrens, dovecotes and fish-ponds were all often associated with later medieval parks. Unfortunately or fortunately, depending on the perspective taken, the author found that the evidence for deer hunting and for high medieval parks was substantial, and it was necessary to limit the scope of the project. Again, these are areas that would benefit from further study and much of the information has already been collated and could be incorporated into a future publication.

In terms of the parks themselves, this work has provided case studies of only five of the documented sites. Many more of the others may be archaeologically or

cartographically visible if they were subjected to equally detailed scrutiny. Furthermore, there are undoubtedly other parks mentioned in documents not consulted for this study, particularly in estate records and uncalendared sources. Thus there is great scope for continued study of the parks, their features and their landscapes. For example, the park at Earlspark, Loughrea is a dramatic monument. The documented parks at Kylkarban and at Ardrahan, both also Co. Galway (*Inq. & Ext. of Med. Ire.*, nos. 204; 262), are also in stone wall country, and so may have good potential for survival to the present day.

A final area that would benefit from further study is to conduct a detailed investigation of the development of parks through the late medieval, the plantation periods and into the modern era. The post-medieval period has arguably been even more poorly served than the later medieval period in Irish scholarship (Horning, O'Baoill, Donnelly and Logue 2007, xviii; Rynne 2006, 1-14), and detailed analysis of the reintroduction of the park concept at that time would be a valuable addition to our understanding of the remodelling of the landscape that took place at that point in history.

While the era of the Celtic Tiger was instrumental in identifying many previously-unknown archaeological sites and in highlighting the palimpsest that is the Irish countryside, it has also brought problems in its wake. Many of the park sites surveyed here had been subject to development within the last decade, some with no archaeological assessment or with absolutely no cognisance of the presence of a high medieval park in the area. As a result, it is likely that some park-related features such as park ditches and banks, relict roads, lodges and gate features may have been inadvertently destroyed during land clearance. Notable possibilities in this regard include the siting of the water reservoir and telecommunications aerial on the high point at Earlspark (see Section A5.1.3), the construction of housing estates at Maynooth (see Section 6.1.1) and Nenagh (see Section 9.1.1), and the recent land clearance of the boundary stream at the eastern end of the park at Carrick and construction of housing estates at the western end (see Sections A8.1.2; A8.1.3).

Understanding high medieval parks and the manorial landscapes in which they were placed is important in refining our knowledge of the development of the Irish

landscape. They were part of a complex manorial system that included mills, fishponds, roads, fields and the settlements of ordinary people. The recording of monuments and the process of planning permission have concentrated on stone monuments and on discrete earthwork monuments such as ringforts. Manorial landscapes including parks are much more ephemeral, and, as demonstrated here, a single monument can measure over a mile across, making them almost too large to see except cartographically. It is therefore imperative that lessons are learnt from the developments in the late 1990s and early-to-mid 2000s and that future planning constraints take into account the possible presence of these ephemeral archaeological monuments, particularly where place-name evidence or the presence of a nearby Anglo-Norman castle suggest that a later medieval manorial landscape may be present.

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Parks and Deer-Hunting:
Evidence from Medieval Ireland

Volume II of II (Appendices)

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Appendix 1: Background

Appendix 1.1: Glossary of terms

There are a large number of specialist terms associated with later medieval hunting, woodland, forestry and agriculture. The reader is referred particularly to James (1991) for an extensive list and more detailed descriptions than are given in Tab. A1.1.

Term	Definition	Source
Agistment	Pasture of cattle and pigs in a forest	(James 1991, 3)
Amercement	A fine paid by an offender against forest law	(James 1991, 4)
Assart	An area of land within a later medieval forest from which trees and shrubs had been cleared for cultivation. Could also be used as a verb 'to assart'	(James 1991, 6)
Attachment	Similar to a modern bail bond.	(James 1991, 6-7).
Browse	Foliage, brushwood and small branches that were cut and fed to deer	(James 1991, 25)
Buck	Male fallow deer	(Appendix 3.2)
Calf	Young red deer	(Appendix 3.1)
Caput	The chief place of an estate, whether a barony or an individual manor	(McNeill 1997, 245)
Chase or Chace	Similar to a **forest**, but with rights held by a nobleman, not by the king	(James 1991, 33)
Coneygarth	Rabbit warren	(Williamson 2007, 12, 17)
Demesne	Lands retained in the lord's hand	(Gilbert 1979, 408)
Disafforest	To free a forest or portion of forest from forest law and return it to civil law	(James 1991, 47)
Dispark	To throw open a park or to convert it to agricultural land	(James 1991, 48)
Doe	Female fallow deer	(Appendix 3.2)
Empale	To erect a fence around an area e.g. in order to establish a park	(James 1991, 55)

Term	Definition	Source
Empark/Impark	To convert an area into a park by enclosing it with a fence or wall	(James 1991, 55)
Estovers	The right of a tenant to take certain necessary materials from the land. Some of the more common included **firebote, haybote, housebote and ploughbote**	(James 1991, 56-7)
Eyre	Itinerant court. Both general and forest eyres existed	(James 1991, 57; von Kynell 2000, 46-9)
Fawn	Young fallow deer	(Appendix 3.2)
Firebote	The right of a tenant to take necessary firewood from woodland	(James 1991, 56-7)
Forest	An area of land in which hunting and timber rights belonged to the king or a nobleman, regardless of the ownership of the land	(James 1991, 63)
Haybote or Hedgebote	The right of a tenant to take wood for fencing from woodland	(James 1991, 56-7)
Hind	Female red deer	(Appendix 3.1)
Housebote	The right of a tenant to take wood for housebuilding and maintenance from woodland	(James 1991, 56-7)
Impark/Empark	To convert an area into a park by enclosing it with a fence or wall	(James 1991, 55)
Justiciar	The chief governor in place of the king	(McNeill 1997, 246)
Liberty	A lordship where the lord, not a royal official was responsible for administering justice	(McNeill 1997, 246)
Lymer	A hound which worked individually to find a deer suitable for hunting	(James 1991, 89)
Pale	A vertical fence timber	(James 1991, 121)
Pannage	A form of **agistment** in which pigs were allowed to root in woods for acorns	(James 1991, 122)
Park	Enclosed area of land	(James 1991, 122)
Ploughbote	The right of a tenant to take wood needed to construct or maintain ploughs from woodland	(James 1991, 56-7)

Term	Definition	Source
Purpresture	Illegal encroachment on forest lands, particularly involving constructing a house or building on the land	(James 1991, 134)
Rut	The mating season for deer	(Appendices 3.1; 3.2)
Stag	Male red deer, in later medieval times only those aged 5 years, but now commonly referring to all adult males	(Appendix 3.1)
Timber	Oak, ash and elm trees over twenty years old, although other economically useful species could be included	(James 1991, 191)
Underwood	Young trees, coppice and bushes growing beneath larger trees	(James 1991, 200)
Venison	The meat of deer and of wild pig. In modern usage only deer meat is included	(James 1991, 201)
Vert	Trees and bushes	(James 1991, 202)
Warren	The right to hunt beasts of the warren, but also an artificial construction to rear rabbits	(James 1981, 6; 1991, 204; Williamson 2007, 17).
Waste	Any action which destroyed **vert,** but particularly unauthorised tree felling	(James 1991, 204)

Tab. A1.1: Glossary of terms

Appendix 1.2: An outline of high medieval Irish history

The aim of this section is not to discuss the history of Ireland in any detail, but to describe a number of key events and concepts that have a bearing on the main body of the thesis. For further information the reader is referred to general accounts of Irish later medieval history (e.g. Cosgrove 1987; Orpen 1911-1920; Otway-Ruthven 1968)

Dermot MacMurrough, the king of Leinster, lost his lands as a result of a dispute with the new high king of Ireland Ruairí O'Conor. In August 1166 he left Ireland and sought help from the English king Henry II. Having received letters authorising the king's subjects to assist him he set about recruiting mercenaries and allies to come to his aid. The most famous of these was Richard FitzGilbert de Clare, known as Strongbow. In order to secure his aid, MacMurrough offered Strongbow his daughter Aoife in marriage and the kingdom of Leinster as his inheritance on MacMurrough's death. The expedition was successful and MacMurrough sought to extend his claim across Ireland with the aid of his allies. By 1171 MacMurrough was dead and Strongbow held much of Leinster. Late in 1171, Henry himself landed at Waterford with several thousand men and over the next few months received the fealty of a number of Irish kings, although not, apparently of the High King Ruairí O'Conor. Subsequently Henry granted large tracts of land to Anglo-Norman lords and so began the Anglo-Norman period of Irish history (Byrne 1987, 28; Frame 1998, 16-17; Orpen 1911-1920, i, 247; Otway-Ruthven 1968, 41, 48-50).

Over the course of the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries Anglo-Norman control was extended to cover much of Leinster, Munster and Connacht as well as eastern Ulster, although in many places Gaelic lords remained in control at a local level (Lydon 1987a, 174). Two methods of governance were in place. The first of these was direct government by the king through a number of counties that were administered by royal officials. The second form is less familiar; this was governance through 'liberties', which dominated in eastern Ireland. In the mid-thirteenth century the liberties of Ireland were Meath, Leinster and Ulster, however due to partitions by inheritance, Leinster was divided into Carlow, Kildare, Kilkenny and Wexford, while Meath was divided into Trim and Kells. Other liberties were

created at various times, and various liberties were also temporarily or permanently revoked by being taken into the 'king's hand' (Hartland 2008, 202; Otway-Ruthven 1968, 174). One of these later liberties was the liberty of Tipperary, created in 1328, which included the territory of Nenagh (see Chapter 9) (McCarthy 1993, 12-3). Liberties were lordships in which the lord of the liberty had much greater rights of jurisdiction and control than in shired counties. He had administration and jurisdiction over all events taking place in the liberty with the exception of the 'four pleas of the crown', arson, rape, treasure trove and forestall, which was highway robbery. In the case of the liberty of Trim, the lord also had jurisdiction over these. Another area not controlled by the lord were the 'crosslands', or churchlands, which were administered by royal sheriffs. A final control on the power of the lord was that of the royal writ of error. This meant that if the lord overstepped his authority, or his courts erred in their judgement, an appeal could be made directly to royal authority, and the liberty could revert to the king's hand. The liberty system effectively meant that the lord of the liberty acted as a client king, with control over his lordship provided that he did not exceed the bounds of his franchise. The advantage to the lord was increased power and hence scope for profit, while for the king the advantage was the ability to effectively govern areas that were a considerable distance from the royal court (Hartland 2008, 202-3; Otway-Ruthven 1968, 181-3).

The partition of Leinster has been mentioned above. This event led to the break up of the former kingdom of Leinster, latterly the liberty of Leinster, into a number of smaller liberties. After the death of Strongbow, the lands were inherited by William Earl Marshal I, through his marriage to the latter's daughter. William had five sons and five daughters, and must have considered his inheritance secure. Each of his sons inherited, but died childless and in 1245, Anselm, his final remaining son died. Under the law prevailing at that time, the Lordship of Leinster was then partitioned between the five daughters, and, in the event that they were dead, between their heirs (Hore 1900-1911, v, 41-2; Otway-Ruthven 1968, 100). The partition was completed in 1247 and was designed so that each of the five co-heiresses, or their representatives, received one fifth of the value of the inheritance, equating to £343 5s 6½d. Each share included a *caput* as well as lands and manors, which were generally, but not always in the county in which the *caput* was situated. In addition,

in some cases relatively small monetary values were assigned from one portion to another to ensure an equal distribution of the lands. These shares can be effectively considered as Carlow, Wexford, Kilkenny and Kildare, with the area around Dunamase as the fifth share. A further complication was the necessity to temporarily retain a portion of the lands as dower lands (Orpen 1911-1920, iii, 79-80). The final complication was that some of the shares of the actual inheritance needed to be further partitioned between female heirs in the next generation (Tab. A1.2). As a result, there were thirteen individuals who directly inherited as a result of the partition of Leinster, and this process continued in subsequent generations. This partition into a large number of relatively small portions was to have considerable political ramifications by weakening the lordship of Ireland (Otway-Ruthven 1968, 100-1).

Inheriting sister	Actual heir	Summary of share received	Comments
Maud d.1248	Maud	Carlow and surroundings, Ross (Wexford), Ballysax (Kildare)	Maud was succeeded by her son Roger Bigod, Earl of Norfolk, who also succeeded to the title of Marshal of England
Joan (dead at time of partition)	John, son of Joan	Wexford and surroundings including Rosslare, Carrick, Ferns, Bannow	Joan, sister of John and daughter of Joan Marshal. She was the wife of William de Valence, half-brother of the king (see Chapter 8).
Isabel (dead at the time of partition)	Richard, Earl of Gloucester and Hertford, son of Isabel and her first husband, Gilbert de Clare	Kilkenny, and various surrounding areas including Dunfert and Callan	Inherited by Richard's line. Eventually, in 1314 the lands were divided among several sisters. Kilkenny itself was part of the de Spencer portion, and their descendants sold the castle to the Butlers in 1391.
Sibyl (dead at time of partition)	Seven daughters of Sibyl and her husband William de Ferrars, Earl of Derby	Kildare and surroundings, Castlecomer (Kilkenny), Taghmon (Wexford), Clonmines (Wexford)	Subdivision of the lands into the seven portions of the seven daughters, and subsequent inheritance through their descendants. Kildare itself was initially dower land but was subsequently inherited by Agnes de Vescy. Her son William surrendered his lands and the liberty to the king in 1297 and in 1316 the king gave the castle and town to John FitzThomas (FitzGerald) on his creation as Earl of Kildare.
Eva (dead at time of partition)	Three daughters by her husband William de Braose: Maud, Eva and Eleanor	Dunamase, and surrounding lands in Laois, Carnew (Wexford/Wicklow border)	The land was subdivided into the three portions of the three sisters and subsequently inherited by their descendants. Dunamase was given to Maud and her husband Roger de Mortimer. It was held by their descendants until *c*. 1330 (see Chapter 7).

Tab. A1.2: The 1247 partition of Leinster based on Orpen (1911-1920, iii, 79-107)

Appendix 2: Hunting landscapes

Appendix 2.1: Forest Law

Section 2.3.2 has identified that forests in England may have been introduced by the Normans or may already have been a feature of English landholding. Regardless of this, the 'Assize of Woodstock', issued in 1184, formed the basis for forest law and separated this from common law (James 1981, 10)

The aim of forest law was to protect the 'vert' and 'venison', in other words the trees and bushes, and the deer and wild pigs (James 1981, 12-3). Landowners and tenants had certain rights, but these were clearly circumscribed. A licence was required to construct any buildings or enclosures within the forest or to enclose any felled areas of trees, or to create an 'assart' by grubbing up tree stumps to provide agricultural land (James 1981, 14-5; Young 1979, 16). Until 1327 the owner of a wood in the forest needed a licence from the Crown to fell trees or remove underwood. However, after this date, he was entitled to timber for repairing buildings and fencing, known as housebote and haybote, provided that the wood was cut 'in view' of the foresters (James 1981, 14).

The term 'venison' included wild pigs as well as deer. In addition to protecting the animals directly, forest law sought to ensure that they had sufficient food and were able to live undisturbed (James 1981, 15-7). The main provisions included the 'fence month' and 'heyning' (see Section 2.1.3), and the 'lawing' of dogs. The latter was the practise of cutting off three toes from the front foot of large dogs. Initially it applied only to mastiffs, but was later extended to all dogs that were of a sufficient size that they could potentially chase deer. Small dogs such as terriers were exempt if they could crawl through a space typically 5¾ inches in diameter (James 1981, 15-7).

To ensure that forest law was properly enforced there were a number of different officers and administrative procedures, which were managed through the operation of attachment courts, inquisitions and the forest eyre (James 1981, 18). The most

senior grade of official was the Lord Chief Justice or Justice of the Forest, with one assigned to the north and one to the south of the River Trent, and with each appointing deputies to assist them. Below these were the 'Justices in Eyre' or itinerant justices who presided over the eyre courts. These had wardens reporting to them who were generally responsible for overseeing a single forest and were often the keepers, or constables, of an associated castle. These wardens could also be known as keepers, stewards, bailiffs, chief foresters and master foresters and held office at the king's pleasure, although the office was often essentially hereditary (Creighton 2002, 186; Grant 1991, 88, 92, 94; James 1981, 28-9; Young 1979, 74-80).

Verderers were important local dignitaries such as knights or substantial landowners, and were of equal rank to the wardens but were elected by freeholders and reported directly to the king. They dealt with minor offences of the vert in the attachment courts and viewed and enrolled attachments for trespass against vert and venison (James 1981, 28-9; Young 1979, 85-6). Attachments were similar to modern bail bonds. When an individual was attached, if he did not appear at the court sitting then specific possessions, for example a cow, or money, were forfeited by him or his guarantors (James 1991, 6-7).

The next grade were the foresters themselves, who were effectively gamekeepers. Originally they did not receive payment, but instead were quartered with tenants whose holdings lay within the forest, and they also obtained tithes and tolls for activities in the forest, however later this was changed to provide wages (James 1981, 26, 29-30; Young 1979, 80-5). The lowest grade of officials were the woodwards who were employed by private landowners to look after their woods within the forest, but who also had an over-riding duty to protect the vert and venison for the king (James 1981, 30; Young 1979, 80-1). In purlieu lands, i.e. those that had been disafforested, rangers were appointed to drive deer back into the forest and to report any offences committed (James 1981, 31). Finally, the regarders were twelve individuals of the knightly class who carried out a three-yearly inspection of a forest with a view to ensuring that it was being properly managed (James 1981, 31; Young 1979, 87).

The forest legal system has commonly been associated with harsh punishments of death and maiming of offenders, however this applied only to the early period and over time collection of fees in the form of 'fines' became a lucrative source of income for the Crown (James 1981, 10; Rackham 1987, 137-8). After 1217 loss of life and limb was no longer a punishment for killing deer, and after 1327 imprisonment was no longer used, except in cases where the individual was caught in the act (James 1981, 15). A number of courts and administrative bodies met to manage the affairs of the forest, of which the most important were the attachment court, the eyre court, the swanimote and the regards and perambulations (James 1981, 7, 18, 21). There was often a castle within or abutting a forest, and these could be used as the location for the court to sit and could also provide dungeon facilities for jailing offenders (Creighton 2002, 186-7).

The attachment court met every 42 days and was run by the verderers. This only had jurisdiction over minor cases against the vert, with more serious offences being dealt with by the forest eyre, and had no powers to deal with offences against the venison (James 1981, 19). By contrast, the forest eyre was typically convened only once every seven years so that in advance of this, cases were investigated by inquisitions that prepared the evidence to be used in the case. All nobles or free tenants who held lands in the forest and all forest officials were called to the eyre, including those whose terms of office had expired since the last sitting (James 1981, 20-1).

The swanimote met three times a year at Michaelmas (29th September) to deal with agistment, or pasturage, on St Martin's Day (11th November) to collect pannage dues and on the 9th June, at the start of the fence month (James 1981, 18). 'Regards' or forest inspections were supposedly carried out at intervals of three years, however they were actually much less frequent than this (James 1981, 7). 'Perambulations' of the forest were occasionally carried out to determine the boundaries of the forest, which were fixed in relation to landmarks such as roads, rivers, hills and notable trees (James 1981, 7).

Appendix 2.2: Woodstock Park

While all grades of English gentry, aristocracy and royalty created parks, these varied from relatively small areas of land set aside by minor gentry to the great royal and aristocratic parks. For the more modest park, this might be stocked with relatively few deer. By contrast, the great royal and aristocratic deer parks were typically 1000 acres or more. Compared to England there are relatively few references to Irish parks in the high medieval documents, and where these do exist, they almost exclusively refer to elite parks (see Sections 4.5.3; 4.5.6). For this reason, a comparison with one example of a royal park in England is appropriate and will provide a potential archetype for the type of parks aspired to and created by the Anglo-Norman aristocracy in Ireland.

Woodstock, Oxfordshire, is now known as Blenheim, having been given to the Duke of Marlborough by Queen Anne in 1705 (Bond and Tiller 1997, 67; *Chronicles of Woodstock*, 103-4). The royal park at Woodstock may predate the Norman Conquest since by the late tenth century this was already the site of a royal residence. However, its construction is generally credited to Henry I, because *c*. 1110 he built a stone wall seven miles in length to encircle the park, and stocked it with exotic animals (Fig. A2.1) (Bond and Tiller 1997, 23; *Chronicles of Woodstock*, 3, 105; Crossley and Elrington 1990, 435-9, 439-48; Mac Dougall 1986, 18).

The park lay within Woodstock Forest and adjoined the forests of Cornbury and Wychwood, which extended for twelve miles to the west (*Chronicles of Woodstock*, 2). The earliest section was probably *c*. 1100 acres in size and limited to the west side of the river Glyme. Hensgrove, the eastern section, contained 333 acres and was incorporated into the park in the later twelfth century, having been formerly held by the Knights Templar. This had the effect that the High Lodge became surrounded by parkland rather than abutting it. It is believed that extensions on the west side were limited in the later medieval period, however in the post-medieval there were a number of additions there. Much of the area of the Straights or Straits was added in the late sixteenth century and the Combe Leys was incorporated during the seventeenth century. As a result, by the time of Queen Anne, the park had an extent

of 1793 acres (Bond and Tiller 1997, 48-50, 56-60; Crossley and Elrington 1990, 439-48; Richardson 2007, 38).

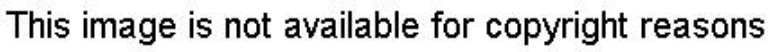


Fig. A2.1: Woodstock Park, after Crossley and Elrington (1990)

Over time the park was increasingly divided to prevent deer from grazing in an uncontrolled fashion, and while some of these divisions were constructed from stone, others were wooden fences and hedgerows. There are records from 1164-5 when the perimeter wall was repaired, and in the thirteenth century local residents were levied for further repairs and encouraged to contribute to this to protect their crops from depredation by deer. In the sixteenth century the walls were recorded as being 8ft

(2.4m) high but in poor condition, and a full-time mason was needed to maintain them (Crossley and Elrington 1990, 439-48). Nevertheless, stone was seen to be an economic way of dividing the park and of limiting the use of timber so that in the seventeenth century many of the existing internal wooden divisions were replaced with more durable stone walls. The park continued in use into the early modern period with many of the perimeter walls reconstructed in the 1720s. Crossley and Elrington (1990, 439-48) consider that it is likely that a ditch was present inside the line of the later medieval wall but note that few, if any traces of this survive, suggesting that it may have been removed during these eighteenth-century works.

Actual numbers of deer are not known for the later medieval period, however in the late sixteenth century herds of 2000 to 3000 were maintained within the park (Bond and Tiller 1997, 25; Crossley and Elrington 1990, 439-48). Bond and Tiller (1997, 25) have argued that these figures were very high, even despite the policy of bringing in additional hay from royal meadows. This suggests that smaller numbers were likely for the later medieval period, prior to the various enlargements of the park.

In addition to keeping deer, the park was used to keep other animals and plants, both for royal use and with surpluses available for sale (Bond and Tiller 1997, 31; Crossley and Elrington 1990, 439-48; Mac Dougall 1986, 12). In the later medieval period the park housed an eyrie of falcons, the royal stud and Henry I's menagerie, which included species such as *'*lions, leopards, lynxes or camels … also a creature called a porcupine*'* (*Chronicle of the Kings*, 443), as well as more mundane wild boar and extensive fishponds containing pike and eel. There were also up to 600 pigs pannaged in the park for profit and cattle were pastured there both for the royal household and for various park officials. Pigeons, honey and eels were sold in the thirteenth century and by the sixteenth century partridge and hare were maintained and a coneygarth or rabbit warren was also present (Bond and Tiller 1997, 31-37; Crossley and Elrington 1990, 439-48).

The park also contained woodland suitable for coppicing to produce charcoal, constructional timber, furniture, fuel and browse. These were utilised for the King's own use, by local residents with rights of estover, and on a commercial basis (Bond

and Tiller 1997, 39-41; Crossley and Elrington 1990, 439-48). The valley bottom was wet ground, and some of this was taken up with reed-beds that were essential for the supply of thatching materials. Extensive meadowlands also often yielded a surplus of hay that could be sold for profit, and these were protected by internal divisions in the park, with, for example, *c.* ¾ mile of fencing constructed around meadows in 1400. These meadows were originally worked by tenant labour but over time this duty was increasingly commuted to a financial payment and labourers employed (Bond and Tiller 1997, 37; Crossley and Elrington 1990, 439-48). Despite the presence of these lands however, in poor years additional fodder needed to be brought in to the park to maintain the deer (Crossley and Elrington 1990, 439-48).

Buildings were an important aspect of the park, which was administered from a number of lodges, each with its own parker. Until 1337 only one lodge is referred to, but this rose to five by 1586-7 (Bond and Tiller 1997, 48; Crossley and Elrington 1990, 439-48). Access was via a number of gates, with adjacent accommodation for many of the park officials, since it was necessary to guard against the perennial problem of poachers. During the late medieval period, the main gate had a chamber over it as well as a nearby janitor's house and a stable, with the house being mentioned as late as 1649 and possibly surviving until 1723.

Initially the park lodge was the highest status building in the park, and was probably constructed of wood, but Henry II developed a royal palace that lay some distance to the north of the current Blenheim Palace. This palace was modified on a number of occasions, with timber being replaced by stone and additional rooms and towers constructed. Eventually the palace complex was focused around two courtyards and included a hall and king's chamber, a suite of rooms and gardens for the use of the queen, administrative buildings and a number of chapels (Bond and Tiller 1997, 42-3; Crossley and Elrington 1990, 435-9).

The park at Woodstock is an example of a case where researchers that consider aesthetics to have been important in later medieval park design clash with those that stress the practical aspects. 'Rosamund's Bower' or Everswell was the site of a self-contained and enclosed group of buildings, cloisters, gardens, orchards and pools that lay to the west of the palace (Bond and Tiller 1997, 46; Crossley and Elrington

1990, 435-9; Mac Dougall 1986, 18-20). Woodstock was famed in the time of Henry II as the residence of the king's mistress, named 'Fair Rosamund' or Rosamund Clifford (d. 1176?), who reputedly lived there in the centre of a maze. As at Hesdin (see Appendix 2.3), these 'bowers' or 'pleasaunces' were a common feature of later medieval palaces and provided a retreat for the king. In particular, Rosamund's Bower is seen by a number of researchers as having parallels with the retreat mentioned in the romance of Tristan and Isolde (Bond and Tiller 1997, 46; Crossley and Elrington 1990, 435-9; Landsberg 1995, 11-12; Mac Dougall 1986, 18-20; Stamper 1988, 136). Again, as will be demonstrated for Hesdin, gardens were imbued with symbolic importance, being particularly associated with romantic love (Hagopian van Buren 1986, 131). The suggestion that aesthetics were important in the design of Rosamund's bower can be extended, with some researchers having suggested that the features of the park were also important as a landscape setting for the palace. One example is that in 1354 a balcony was constructed at the High Lodge specifically to allow the king's daughter Isabella to have a view over the park (Bond and Tiller 1997, 43; Mac Dougall 1986, 11; Richardson 2007, 31-2). Bond and Tiller (1997, 25) play down the significance of the landscape, suggesting that the park was designed for practical rather than aesthetic purposes. Despite this however, when they discuss the royal palace and other buildings, they stress the causewayed approach to the palace from the village of Old Woodstock and the way in which centuries later Capability Brown incorporated this into his ornamental landscape. This therefore highlights that the approach to the palace was managed in order to present a favourable impression to the visitor, and hence argues against their own view that aesthetics were of secondary importance.

Woodstock was an important royal park, favoured with regular visits by various kings, and hence was modified, improved and extended over the years. In the time of Henry I, the park was enclosed and was stocked with exotic species as well as deer. Subsequently there is evidence that aesthetics were important at least in the times of Henry II and Edward III if not in the original layout of the park. Despite this emphasis on the park as a source of pleasure, both visual and as the location of a menagerie, the park also performed important economic functions as a source of timber, hay, and other produce. This highlights that even for a royal park, both seemingly mundane and more alluring uses were juxtaposed in one location.

Appendix 2.3: Hesdin, France

The park of Hesdin is situated in what is now northern France, close to the town of Montreuil. It was constructed by Count Robert II of Artois at the end of the thirteenth century, and completed by his daughter in 1306, after the count's death (Fig. A2.2) (Hagopian van Buren 1986, 117-9, 129). The park was traditionally said to have been inspired by the famous Islamic park in Palermo, Sicily, although Hagopian van Buren (1986, 117-9, 125, 128-9) refutes this, noting that Robert showed no interest in Islamic culture and had local access to all the required technologies. In turn, Hesdin inspired other park-builders, for example Edward II of England visited in 1313 and immediately set about a process of expanding and improving his own royal parks in England, including Woodstock (Richardson 2007, 37).

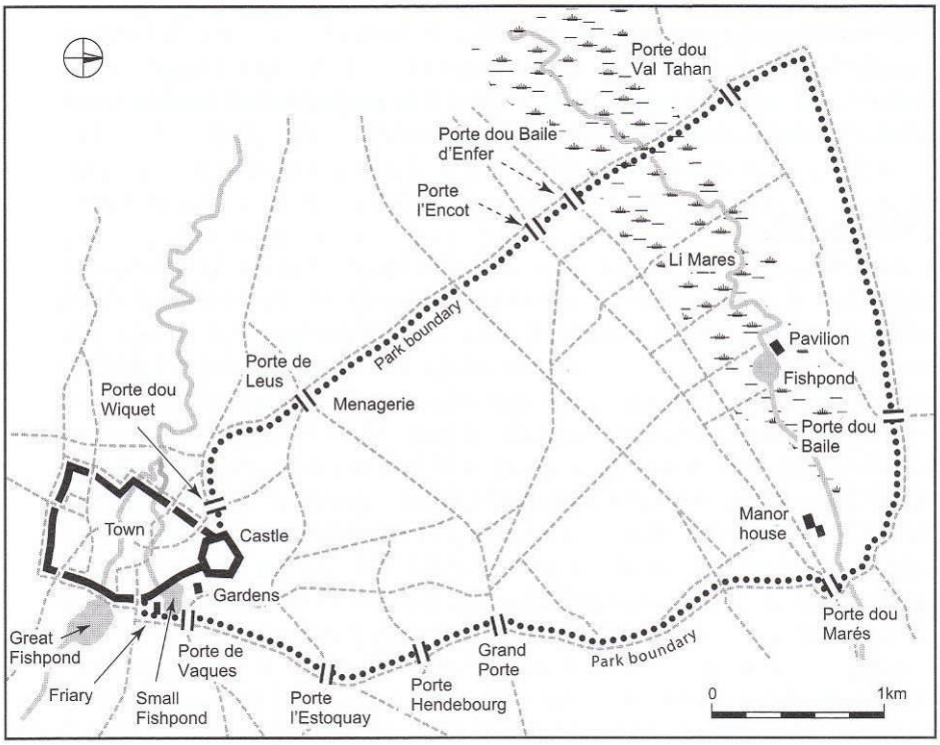


Fig. A2.2: Hesdin (after Creighton 2009, 148)

The park enclosed an area of 800 hectares (1977 acres), was a maximum of three kilometres wide and extended four kilometres from the castle, which lay on the northern side of the town (Creighton 2009, 148). It was surrounded by a stone wall with eleven gates and a number of postern gates and was divided into three main

sections. The section closest to the castle included pleasure gardens, meadows and orchards as well as a fish pond, a friary, the stables and a menagerie (Hagopian van Buren 1986, 120). Beyond this the landscape became less formal so that the central section contained woods and hills that held herds of deer (Hagopian van Buren 1986, 120-1, 123). The northernmost section, known as the 'marsh' or 'fen' was centred around the valley of the Ternoise river and incorporated fountains, ponds and a further series of orchards and gardens, as well as an old manor house and a pavilion complex (Hagopian van Buren 1986, 120-1). This pavilion complex provided a focus for the entertainments offered to guests and included secluded garden bowers and gazebos and a range of fountains and water-powered monkey marionettes, as well as more functional components such as kitchens, sleeping accommodation and stables (Hagopian van Buren 1986, 121).

Hesdin featured in a well-known love poem composed prior to 1342 by a poet in the employ of John of Luxembourg, and the level of detail displayed by the poet suggests that he had actually visited the site (Hagopian van Buren 1986, 123). It is laid out as a narrative in which the poet moves through the landscape, describing what he sees and Howes (2002, 197) stresses the importance of this pedestrian experience of the landscape in determining the later medieval view of both the real and imaginary world. Later, in the sixteenth century, it was associated with the Garden of Eden, both on the basis of the name 'Hesdin', which sounds similar to 'Eden' in French pronunciation, but also due to the exquisite nature of the gardens and parklands (Hagopian van Buren 1986, 130). From the time of the creation of the park, magical castles, closed gardens and bowers were particularly associated with romantic love. A common theme of later medieval literature was for lovers to meet in gardens, and for the hero to use a stratagem or illusion to succeed in his quest for the love of the maiden. Somewhat later, a painting that is probably a copy of an early fifteenth-century tapestry depicts a wedding scene at Hesdin, again linking the park with the concept of love (Hagopian van Buren 1986, 131-3)

Both Hesdin and Woodstock can be seen as extensive designed landscapes, important to their owners not just for economic reasons or as a source of venison but as a place separate from the cares of the world, where entertainment was the focus of activity. This was true of the active entertainment such as riding and hunting, but also more sedate pastimes such as eating, playing games of courtly love and viewing exotic animals in a menagerie. As Chapter 4 and the case studies in Chapters 5 to 9 will show, the parks in Ireland were on a much more modest scale, but still they aspired to the same ideals.

Appendix 3: The hunted

Appendix 3.1: The biology and natural history of red deer

Red deer are usually reddish-brown, becoming a duller red in the winter, but can also be beige or off-white. They have a light belly and, in common with fallow deer, they have a cream coloured rump patch, although, unlike fallow deer, this patch does not stand out, as it is not outlined in black. Males develop a mane during the rutting (mating) season and this is then present through the winter, being shed with the winter coat in the spring (Harris and Yalden 2008, 573-4).

The males have antlers with up to three branches along the main beam, called the brow, bez and trez tines, and a crown or fork at the top. In particularly large antlers this crown can form a palmated cup, which can be differentiated from that of the fallow deer, where the palmation is in a single plane. The antlers typically develop as the individual approaches its first year, being shed each year in late winter/early spring and becoming progressively larger over the years. The number of points or tines on the antlers is not a direct indicator of age as genetic and environmental factors are significant. However, the antlers will tend to become larger as the deer develops from a juvenile to an adult, provided that the animal is in good condition. Then, as a male becomes aged, the antlers begin to 'go back' resulting in a decrease in the size of the rack of antlers and giving a characteristic stumpy, thickened appearance (Harris and Yalden 2008, 573-5; Ryan 1998, 25-26; Schmid 1972, 89-90). In the later medieval period deer were given different names depending on their age and antler development. Edward, Duke of York gave this description:

> 'And the first year that they be calved they be called a Calf, the second year a bullock; and that year they go forth to rut; the third year a brocket ; the fourth year a staggard, the fifth a stag ; the sixth year a hart of ten and then first is he chaseable for always before shall he be called but rascal or folly.' (*Master of Game*, 29)

In hunting parlance a hart, or mature male, was defined as a 'hart of 10' when it had five tines on each antler. Eight to ten points are common in adults, with up to sixteen possible, but in modern parkland deer that have been selectively bred for trophy-hunting, up to 47 tines, equating to a hart of twenty-three points have been recorded (Harris and Yalden 2008, 573-5; Ryan 1998, 25-26; Schmid 1972, 89-90).

In Ireland and Britain, male red deer vary between 1.2m and 1.4m to the shoulder, or withers. They weigh up to 225kg when in peak condition in September, but can lose 35% of their body weight through the autumn rut and the poorer feeding conditions of the winter. By contrast the females are much smaller, with a withers height of 0.9-1.14m and a weight of up to 130kg. Weights depend on habitat and population density and are thus related to the available nutrition, with those individuals from woodland or modern deer parks heaviest and those from open moorland lightest (Harris and Yalden 2008, 576-7; Hayden and Harrington 2000, 327-335; Ryan 1998, 102). Genetics are also important, with modern red deer from Carpathia achieving up to *c*. 500kg live weight, while figures are lower further west in Europe (Geist 1998, 202). Geist (1998, 202) has argued that in the medieval period western European red deer were significantly larger than today, and in support of this cites data from East Prussia in 1617 where 41 stags had an average body weight of 314kg. Once killed, a 'larder carcass' weighs 60-73% of the live weight of the animal, excluding the blood and the alimentary canal, but including the offal and organs, reducing to 45-56% or 53-60%, depending on the source of the information, when the organs are removed to produce a 'hog-dressed' carcass. This excludes the blood, alimentary canal, head, feet, heart, liver, lungs, kidneys plus fat, udder and genitals but does include the skin (Harris and Yalden 2008, 577; Yerex and Spiers 1987, 111). In a later medieval context the organs would have been retained and some of these, along with the blood, were used as a reward for the hunting dogs, while others were consumed by people (*Livre de Chasse*, 40-1; *Master of Game*, 174-80).

In their natural state, red deer are creatures of the woodland margin, grazing on grass as well as browsing on the leaves and bark of shrubs and trees. Due to agricultural expansion, this habitat is now rare in Ireland and they have become associated with the open uplands of the west. There they subsist on grasses and shrubs such as heather and gorse or furze. A study of deer at two sites in Scotland showed that

there grass was the most important food during the summer, making up two-thirds of the diet, with shrubs, bark and other plant material becoming more important during the winter, when grass intake dropped to *c*. 45% of the diet. Some studies have shown differences in feeding patterns between males and females, with females obtaining better quality grazing areas and higher proportions of grass through the winter. Although red deer are herbivores, in winter and spring when food is short they will eat most things, including carrion and bones (Harris and Yalden 2008, 581-2; Hayden and Harrington 2000, 327-335; Ryan 1998, 77, 100).

Red deer are herd animals, with males and females generally living in separate herds except at breeding time. Females and their dependent juveniles form flexible groups; coalescing and moving apart even over the course of a single day. It is believed that the coalesced groups are formed along matriarchal lines with the home ranges of hinds overlapping with those of their mother (Clutton-Brock, Guinness and Albon 1982, 184-6, 192; Harris and Yalden 2008, 579). Males also form groups, with prime males at the core and juveniles at the periphery of the herd. On leaving the mother's herd, males disperse more widely than hinds and there is evidence that these bachelor groups are formed regardless of genetic relationships (Clutton-Brock, Guinness and Albon 1982, 190-2; Harris and Yalden 2008, 579-80). For both sexes, group size is typically between three and ten individuals, but potentially up to 100 deer. Groups are larger in the summer than the winter, and larger in open country than in a wooded environment (Clutton-Brock, Guinness and Albon 1982, 178-82; Harris and Yalden 2008, 580).

Red deer usually breed between the end of September and November, a period known as the rut (Fig. A3.1). Hinds gather into larger herds and reduce their territory sizes while the bachelor groups break up. The individual males increase their home ranges as they go in search of hinds, then attempt to create and hold harems of suitable females (Clutton-Brock, Guinness and Albon 1982, 52; Harris and Yalden 2008, 582-4; Rattray 2009, 58). They work to attract females and discourage rivals by displays of roaring, spraying urine and semen and thrashing vegetation. If a rival will not submit, the two males will 'parallel walk' and may then engage in fighting (Harris and Yalden 2008, 584; *Master of Game*, 24). Hinds will select the dominant male to mate with. This dominance is based on their

familiarity with him, and the pitch and timbre of his roar, which signals his size and condition (Rattray 2009, 63-4). The dominant male will breed with the females in his harem, while other subordinate males, including juveniles, stay on the periphery of the group and attempt to breed with any remaining females, once the dominant male has 'withdrawn and is poor of love' (Harris and Yalden 2008, 584; *Master of Game*, 24).

Prior to giving birth, the female separates from the hind group. The calves are usually born from mid-May to the end of July and for the first seven to ten days are left alone, except when being fed. After this they are strong enough to join the mother and remain with her until the following year. If she then gives birth to a new calf she will separate herself from the older yearling, but will continue to closely associate with it if she is barren (Clutton-Brock, Guinness and Albon 1982, 182-3). By the third year, male offspring have usually left their mother's group for the bachelor herds (Clutton-Brock, Guinness and Albon 1982, 190). They are sexually mature before the age of two, but are unlikely to mate until they are five or six years of age (BDS n.d.-b; Harris and Yalden 2008, 584). With sufficient nutrition females are ready to breed at 15-16 months, although under poor conditions this may be delayed by two years until they are 40 months old (Harris and Yalden 2008, 584).

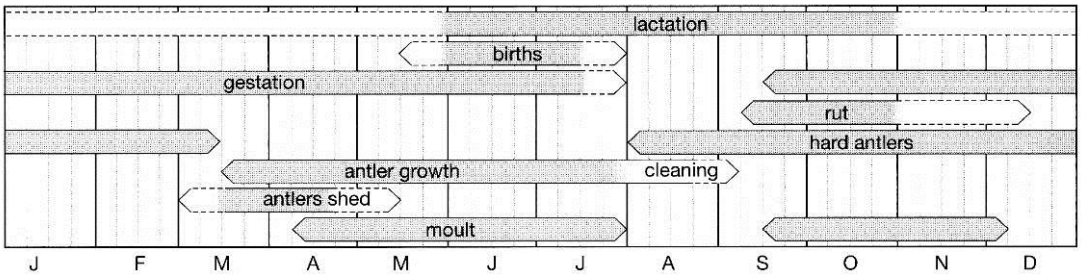


Fig. A3.1: The annual cycle for red deer,
(after Harris and Yalden 2008, 582 with permission from The Mammal Society)

Appendix 3.2: The biology and natural history of fallow deer

Fallow deer are smaller than red deer and are highly variable in colour. This wide range of colours is a feature of genetic bottlenecking, and as such is a result of emparkment and inbreeding over many generations. The most common colour in the summer is a reddish-brown with white spots on the back and flanks. This coat becomes darker in the winter and the spots become invisible or indistinct. The 'menil' variety is similar but paler and retains its spots through the winter. Both of these have a white rump, with the common type having a black border to the rump. The black and brown varieties are much darker, with no white on the rump, and, by contrast, a white variety also exists, in addition to true albinism (Chapman and Chapman 1997, 23-6; Feldhamer, Farris-Renner and Barker 1988, 316; Fletcher 2011, 98; Harris and Yalden 2008, 596; Nolan and Walsh 2005).

As with red deer, the males have antlers. These first develop as unbranched spikes in yearlings, and thereafter they become larger, with palmation from three years onwards. In a fully-grown adult there is a brow tine and a small trez tine just below the palm, but no bez tine is usually present. Protuberances called spellers or snags extend from the posterior side of the palmations, and in a mature buck there can also be a tine extending in this direction at the base of the palm. The antlers are shed between April and June and are fully grown by August-September. This is in contrast to the early-spring shedding of red deer antlers. As with red deer, the size of the antlers is related to age and condition of the individual, with antlers 'going back' on aged bucks (Chapman and Chapman 1997, 98-122; Feldhamer, Farris-Renner and Barker 1988, 317; Nolan and Walsh 2005).

Fallow deer males are generally 0.8-1.0m to the withers and weigh 50-70kg or potentially up to 105kg, while females have a withers height of 0.7-0.9m and a weight of 36-55kg (Chapman and Chapman 1997, 32; Feldhamer, Farris-Renner and Barker 1988; Harris and Yalden 2008, 597-8; Hayden and Harrington 2000, 343-347). Gaston Phoebus (*Livre de Chasse*, ch.3) argued that fallow deer provide a higher proportion of meat per carcass than red deer, which would make them more efficient converter of feed than their larger cousins. There is some evidence to support this, as Harris and Yalden (2008, 577, 597) suggest that on hog-dressing a

carcass a meat percentage of *c*. 56% can be expected for fallow deer, compared to 45-56% for red deer. Fletcher, however, argues that venison proportions are similar, citing work by Yerex and Spiers (1987, 111) which suggests dressing out proportions of 53-60% for red deer and 58% for fallow deer farmed in New Zealand. Either way, it would appear that any differences are marginal.

The natural range of fallow deer is believed to have been the Mediterranean, Asia Minor and possibly North Africa and Ethiopia, but over the millennia they were introduced to many countries in Europe (Feldhamer, Farris-Renner and Barker 1988, 2; Sykes, Carden and Harris 2011). Their preferred habitat is open woodland with grassy clearings, but they will thrive in a variety of environments, feeding on a range of plants. They primarily graze on grass year-round, supplementing this by browsing on broad-leaved trees in the summer, mast in the autumn and shrubs and conifers in the winter. During the daytime they mainly use copses and woods for cover and are more likely emerge into open grassland at night, particularly in areas where they are disturbed by human activity (Feldhamer, Farris-Renner and Barker 1988, 4; Harris and Yalden 2008, 600; Hayden and Harrington 2000, 343-347). Both Gaston Phoebus (*Livre de Chasse*, 3) and Edward, Duke of York (*Master of Game*, 39-40) stated that they live in high, dry country with valleys and small hills.

Fallow deer are also herd animals, with females generally forming separate groups for most of the year where the deer live in a wooded environment, but occasionally forming larger, mixed-sex herds especially in more open countryside. Female groups generally consist of one or two adult females with their offspring, including males under *c*. 20 months of age, giving a typical group size of up to five individuals, but herds of up to 200 have been known. Female groups tend to be larger in open countryside and in winter than in woodland, or during the summer, by contrast with red deer which form larger groups in the summer (BDS n.d.-a; Harris and Yalden 2008, 600). Males are often solitary, but in summer they may form small bachelor herds of unrelated individuals, however these then break apart in advance of the rut (Feldhamer, Farris-Renner and Barker 1988, 4-5; Harris and Yalden 2008, 600).

Rutting behaviour depends on the population density and on the environment (Fig. A.3.2). The rutting season is October and into early November and generally in September the males move to the female territories and select a 'rutting stand' or territory, often in dense cover. They mark this with urine, glandular secretions and by thrashing vegetation, driving rival males to the edge of their territory. Males seldom hold a stand until they are at least five years old, although they are physically capable of reproduction at *c.* 17 months. They 'groan', or, in Edward, Duke of York's (*Master of Game*, 39) words, 'bolk', to attract suitable females to their stand and attempt to develop a harem, although harems are less common than with red deer. In densely populated areas such as parks, a 'lek' may develop, this is an area in which a number of males compete for the attentions of the females rather than holding individual rutting stands. While females can sometimes breed at 6-7 months, it is more typical for them to first breed at 16 months (BDS n.d.-a; Chapman and Chapman 1997, 127-38; Feldhamer, Farris-Renner and Barker 1988, 3, 5; Harris and Yalden 2008, 600-2; *Master of Game*, 39; Nolan and Walsh 2005).

The female becomes solitary prior to the birth of her young, which takes place in June or early July. As with red deer, the mother and fawn stay apart from the herd for up to ten days, with the fawn left alone for most of the time while the mother feeds. After three to four weeks females gather into larger groups containing up to six individuals, and these coalesce again after another two to three weeks, to form larger herds. By *c.* 20 months males leave the mother's herd, becoming solitary or joining bachelor groups (Chapman and Chapman 1997, 139-56; Feldhamer, Farris-Renner and Barker 1988, 5; Harris and Yalden 2008, 600, 602).

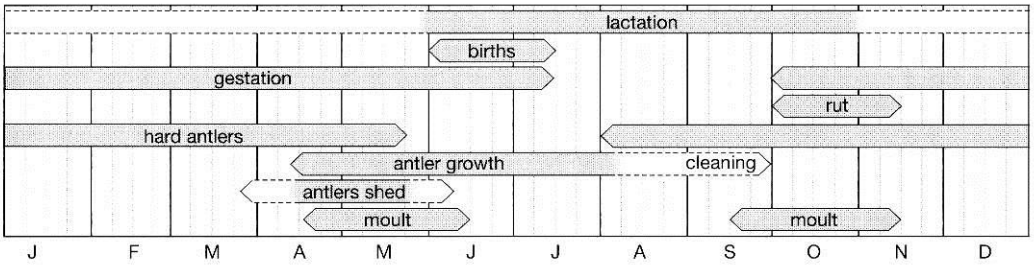


Fig. A3.2: Annual cycle for fallow deer
(after Harris and Yalden 2008, 601 with permission from The Mammal Society)

Appendix 3.3: High medieval documentary references to deer

Year	Deer	Red deer	Fallow deer	Names	Details
c. 1185		Y	Y	Alard son of William	Grant of various lands in Waterford, Wexford, Dublin, Kildare, Wicklow and hunting of stag, doe, pig, hare, wolf and rabbit in those lands (*Ormond Deeds*, i, no. 7)
1206-7	Y			John, Archbishop of Dublin	Archbishop make park and deerleap at Kicosentan and liberties of non-feeding of foresters (*CDI*, i, no. 316)
1213			Y	Henry, Archbishop Of Dublin	30 fallow deer from Brewood park (*CDI*, i, no. 477)
1219-20	Y			Archbishop of Dublin and Thomas Fitz Adam	Dispute between Archbishop of Dublin and the king's forester regarding who has jurisdiction over a poacher caught with the dismembered carcass of a deer on Archepiscopal land within the royal forest (*CDI*, i, nos. 925, 926, 927, 930, 932, 933).
1225			Y	William, Earl Marshal	Gift of 20 does from forest of Cheddar to convey to Ireland (*CDI*, i, no. 1323)
1225			Y	Henry, Archbishop Of Dublin	To get 2 does for Christmas at Wychwood, Oxfordshire (*CDI*, i, no. 1336)
1226	Y			Geoffrey de Mariscis	Can take venison from King's forests near Bristol while waiting for favourable wind (*CDI*, i, no. 1421)
1227	Y			Richard de Burgh	Mandate to Richard de Burgh to cause the forest of Des (Decies), which was in custody of Thomas Fitz Anthony, to be well kept, there shall be no waste or spoil of vert and venison in regard to it (*CDI*, i, no. 1513)
1234	Y			Luke, Archbishop Of Dublin	Luke to get 5 deer in the park of Bardfield (*CDI*, i, no. 2103)
1234	Y			Luke, Archbishop Of Dublin	Luke to get 5 deer in the forest of Whichwood (*CDI*, i, no. 2214)
1240		Y		Maurice FitzGerald	To get 12 deer and 2 stags from the park at Havering or the forest (*CDI*, i, no. 2701)

Year	Deer	Red deer	Fallow deer	Names	Comments
1242			Y	Justiciary Of Chester	20 bucks and 40 does to be sent to stock kings park in Ireland (*CDI*, i, no. 2580)
1244			Y	John Strange, Justiciary Of Chester	60 does and 20 bucks to be sent from kings parks to Dalkey and then to stock kings park at Glencry (*CDI*, i, no. 2671)
1244		Y	Y	Maurice FitzGerald	To have 4 stags and 6 fallow deer in the forest of Wirral (*CDI*, i, no. 2701)
1250		Y		Walter de Burgh	4 stags from forest of Slescho Ireland (*CDI*, i, no. 3076)
1250-1	Y			Maurice FitzGerald	To have 12 deer in the forest of Selwood (*CDI*, i, no. 3104)
1251			Y	Luke, Archbishop Of Dublin	Luke to have 7 does and 4 bucks in the king's park of Clinker - (Glencree) (*CDI*, i, no. 3123)
1251	Y			Maurice FitzGerald	To have 12 deer from Forest of Bradenstoke (*CDI*, i, no. 3144)
1251			Y	John FitzGeoffrey, Justiciar of Ireland	To have 3 bucks in the Forest of Dean (*CDI*, i, no. 3173)
1251			Y	John FitzGeoffrey, Justiciar of Ireland	To have 3 bucks in the Forest of Dean again (*CDI*, i, no. 3175)
1251			Y	Walter de Burgh	To have 4 does in Forest of Slefco (*CDI*, i, no. 3197)
1253		Y		Hugh, Bishop of Ossory	5 stags from forest of Dessya [Decies] (*CDI*, ii, no. 241)
1254	Y			John FitzGeoffrey, Justiciar of Ireland	Ernesius de Bosco, a Justice of the Forest in England to give John 15 fat deer well cured of the King’s gift (*CDI*, ii, no. 394)
1275			Y	Roger de Mortuo Mari	Roger to have four does from the forest of Pember (*Cal. close rolls*, Edw. I, ii, 149)
1275			Y	Roger de Mortuo Mari	Roger to have twenty-four live bucks and does from the park and wood of Duddely to stock a park of his (*Cal. close rolls*, Edw. I, ii, 214)
1279			Y	Roger de Mortuo Mari	Roger to have two harts and ten bucks from the Forest of Dene (*Cal. close rolls*, Edw. I, ii, 536)
1291			Y	John, Archbishop of Dublin	Constable of castle of Windsor to let John have 12 fallow deer (*CDI*, iii, no. 1014)

Year	Deer	Red deer	Fallow deer	Names	Comments
1291				Abbot and monks of St Mary's	Charged with poaching in the King's forest (*Chartul. St. Mary's*, nos. 1; 118a)
1296			Y	Eustace Le Poer	To have six male and six female fallow deer from forest of Glencree (*CDI*, iv, no. 352)
1305	Y			William de Burgh	Deer referred to in poaching case at Balydonegan, Co. Carlow (*Cal. justic. rolls Ire.*, ii, 136)
1333	Y			William de Burgh	Park containing deer at Balydonegan, Co. Carlow (*CIPM*, Edw. III, vii, 372; *Inq. & Ext. of Med. Ire.*, no. 251)
1333	Y			William de Burgh	Park containing deer at Loughrea Co. Galway (*CIPM*, Edw. III, vii, 375; *Inq. & Ext. of Med. Ire.*, no. 262)
1350	Y			John, Archbishop of Dublin	Commission of oyer and terminer on cmplaint that deer had been hunted at various manors in Dublin (*Cal. pat. rolls*, Edw. III, viii, 590)
1373-4	Y			Archbishop of Dublin	Commission of oyer and terminer on cmplaint that deer had been hunted at various manors in Dublin (*Cal. pat. rolls*, Edw. III, xv, 309)

Tab. A3.1: High medieval documentary references to deer

Appendix 3.4: Customs, murage, pontage and pavage records c. 1170-1400

Year	Location	Deer	Red deer	Fallow deer	Comments
1234	Waterford		Y		Murage taxes inc. stag hides and various furs (*CDI*, i, no. 2133)
1234	Drogheda		Y		Murage taxes inc. stag hides no furs (*CDI*, i, no. 2134)
1243	Waterford		Y		Murage taxes inc. stag hides and various furs (*CDI*, i, no. 2613)
1250	Dublin		Y		Grant for murage inc. stag hides and squirrel skins (*CDI*, i, no. 3057)
1275	Geoffrey de Geneville				Custom on various inc. wool skins and leather (*CDI*, ii, no. 1117)
1275	Tenants of Thomas de Clare at Youghal				Murage taxes inc. skins (*CDI*, ii, no. 1144)
1275	Eudo la Zuche Milisent				Customs on hides, skins and wool (*CDI*, ii, no. 1175)
1278	Drogheda				Murage tax inc. on furs of rabbits and squirrels (*CDI*, ii, no. 1517)
1282	Kilkenny				Murage grant inc. badger, squirrel, fox, rabbit, hare skins (*CDI*, ii, no. 1913)
1283	Kilkenny				Murage grant inc. badger, squirrel, fox, rabbit, hare skins (*CDI*, ii, no. 1117)
1284	Cork		Y		Murage grant inc. hides of stags, skins of rabbits, squirrels, fox, marten (*CDI*, ii, no. 2248)
1284	Dublin				Murage grant but no wild animals included (*CDI*, ii, no. 2181)
1285	Waterford		Y		Custom on horns of stags (*CDI*, iii, no. 2)
1286	Tralee, Mallow and Ard		Y	Y	Murage taxes at Tralee, Mallow and Ard - inc. skins of stags hinds or fallow deer, hares, rabbits, foxes, cats, squirrels (*CDI*, iii, no. 226)
1289-90	Trim		Y	Y	Murage of trim inc. stag, hind, buck, doe, rabbit, hare, squirrel skins (*CDI*, iii, no. 560)
1291	Kilkenny				Murage grant inc. skins of hares, rabbits, foxes, cats, squirrels (*CDI*, iii, no. 912)

Year	Location	Deer	Red deer	Fallow deer	Comments
1291	Waterford				Murage grant inc. skins of hares, rabbits, foxes, cats, squirrels (*CDI*, iii, no. 917)
1291-2	Fethard		Y	Y	Murage grant inc. skins of stags, hinds, bucks, does, hares, rabbits, foxes, cats, squirrels (*CDI*, iii, no. 1015)
1295	Dublin		Y	Y	Murage grant inc. skins of stags, hinds, fallow deer male and female … rabbits, foxes, cats and squirrels (*CDI*, iv, no. 250)
1295	Tristledermot				Murage grant inc. skins of hares, rabbits, foxes, cats, squirrels (*CDI*, iv, no. 253)
1296	Drogheda		Y	Y	Murage grant inc. skins of stags, hinds and fallow deer male and female, hares, rabbits, foxes, cats and squirrels (*CDI*, iv, no. 311)
1306	Kilkenny				Murage grant skins of hares, rabbits, foxes, cats, squirrels, badgers (*CDI*, v, no. 537)
1308	Trim		Y	Y	Pavage and murage grant to include skins of various species including 'stags, hinds, bucks and does, and also various smaller animals (*Cal. pat. rolls*, Edw. II, i, 70-1)
1308	Dublin		Y	Y	Grant for bridge repairs and for murage to include skins of various species including stags, hinds, bucks and does, and also various smaller animals (*Cal. pat. rolls*, Edw. II, i, 90-1)
1313	Ross and Rosbargon				Pontage of Ross and Rosbargon. Grant of taxes, mentions hides of various sorts but not deer hides (*Handbook*, 49-51)
1318	Cork		Y	Y	'Writ to the bailiffs and worthy men of the city of Cork …. a halfpenny from every ten sheepskins, lambskins, goatskins, deerskins, hind-skins, buckskins or doe-skins, ….' (*Handbook*, 51-2)
1338-1340	Callan				Murage of Callan (*Handbook*, 52-3)
1371	Ireland		Y		William de Wyndesore to stop exacting illegal taxes including taxes on 'fells [hides] of horses, harts and plough horses' (*Cal. close rolls*, Edw. III, xiii, 256-7)
1372	Ireland		Y		Robert de Assheton to announce that William de Wyndesor is to stop exacting illegal taxes including taxes on 'fells [hides] of horses, harts and plough horses' (*Cal. close rolls*, Edw. III, xiii, 380-1)
1380	Drogheda				Pavage and murage grant for Drogheda on the side of Uriel. Various inc. skins and hides and live animals. Rabbit skins mentioned specifically (CIRCLE, PR 4 Rich. II, no. 2)

Year	Location	Deer	Red deer	Fallow deer	Comments
1382	Kilkenny		Y	Y	Murage, pavage of Kilkenny. Including live animals and: 'from each hundredweight of skins of lambs, kids, hares, foxes, cats and squirrels for sale, ½d; from each hundredweight of wool-fells, and skins of goats, stags, hinds, bucks or does for sale, 1d;' (CIRCLE, PR 5 Rich. II, no. 147)
1382	Maritime customs	Y			Customs on hides 'a certain small new customs to be levied and taken for three years next coming from the underwritten merchandise and commodities conveyed in ships into the said land and out of the said land in all ports and maritime places of that land where any ships […] were for taking fish in the sea, as were granted, levied and received on another occasion in 43 Edw. III viz. .... from each librate of skins of horses, deer, draught-horses, and also pylfell and cloths of wool, and faldings and other merchandise whatsoever, 6d.' (CIRCLE, PR 5 Rich. II, no. 247)
1390	Clane		Y	Y	Customs for town of Clane ' from each hundred-weight of skins of lambs, kids, hares, foxes, cats and squirrels for sale, ½d; from each hundred-weight of skins of sheep, goats, hinds, bucks or does for sale, 1d;' (CIRCLE, PR 13 Rich. II, no. 223)
1395	Callan				Murage for Callan including hides and hawks and falcons and live animals (*CIRCLE*, PR 19 Rich. II, no. 7)
-	Dublin				Tolls in Dublin on various hides and pelts (*Hist. & mun. doc. Ire.*, no. XLII)

Tab. A3.2: Customs, murage, pontage and pavage records c. 1170-1400

Appendix 3.5: Recorded presence of wild species at later medieval sites analysed by the author

	NISP	Total Wild NISP	Total Wild NISP%	Total deer NISP	Total deer NISP%	Red deer NISP	Red deer NISP %	Fallow deer NISP	Fallow deer NISP%	Other wild NISP	Other wild NISP%	Wolf	Wild pig	Lagomorph total	Rabbit	Hare	Fox	Badger	Pine marten	Stoat	Otter	Seal	Whale
Ecclesiastical sites																							
Grey Abbey, Co. Kildare 13th C Phase III	70		0.0		0.0		0.0		0.0		0.0												
Bective Abbey, Co. Meath 2009 Season. Later Medieval	331	9	2.7	1	0.3		0.0		0.0	8	2.4			7	5		1						
Aghavea, Co. Fermanagh Later Medieval	58		0.0		0.0		0.0		0.0		0.0												
Blackfriary Trim, Co. Meath Ph1 Later Medieval	18		0.0		0.0		0.0		0.0		0.0												
Blackfriary Trim, Co. Meath Ph2 Later Medieval	11		0.0		0.0		0.0		0.0		0.0												
Kilteasheen, Co. Roscommon 2005-6 seasons. Early and later Medieval	496	7	1.4	1	0.2	1	0.2		0.0	6	1.2			3	2		2				1		
Castle Sites																							
Drumadoon, Co Antrim Reuse as Motte Ph3	37	2	5.4	2	5.4	2	5.4		0.0		0.0												
Greencastle, Co. Down Ph2. Castle construction	339	5	1.5	4	1.2	3	0.9		0.0	1	0.3						1						
Greencastle, Co. Down Ph3. Main occupation	311	27	8.7	19	6.1	12	3.9	5	1.6	8	2.6			5	3	1		1				2	
Mahee Castle, Co Down Occupation phase	300	10	3.3	3	1.0	3	1.0		0.0	7	2.3			2	2		5						
Parkes Castle, Co. Leitrim Sitewide total	329	7	2.1	5	1.5	5	1.5		0.0	2	0.6			2	2								

	NISP	Total Wild NISP	Total Wild NISP%	Total deer NISP	Total deer NISP%	Red deer NISP	Red deer NISP %	Fallow deer NISP	Fallow deer NISP%	Other wild NISP	Other wild NISP%	Wolf	Wild pig	Lagomorph total	Rabbit	Hare	Fox	Badger	Pine marten	Stoat	Otter	Seal	Whale
Urban sites																							
18 Market St. Trim, Co. Meath. 12th – 14th C	150		0.0		0.0		0.0		0.0		0.0												
Bridgepark, Nobber, Co. Meath Phases 1-4, 12th – 16th C	839	3	0.4		0.0		0.0		0.0	3	0.4			2					1				
Trim Townparks, Co. Meath AD1027-1290 Ph1	121		0.0		0.0		0.0		0.0		0.0												
Trim Townparks, Co. Meath AD1027-1400 Ph1-2	11	1	9.1	1	9.1	1	9.1		0.0		0.0												
Trim Townparks, Co. Meath AD1250-1400 Ph2	442	3	0.7	2	0.5	1	0.2		0.0	1	0.2						1						
Trim Townparks, Co. Meath AD1400-1640 Ph2a	238	1	0.4	1	0.4	1	0.4		0.0		0.0												
Trim Townparks, Co. Meath Castle St/Lawn. Medieval	109	3	2.8	3	2.8	3	2.8		0.0		0.0				1								
Rural sites																							
Clonee, Co. Meath Area 4, Medieval. Drainage ditches	97	1	1.0	1	1.0	1	1.0		0.0		0.0												
Dunnyneill Is., Co. Down Ph4 11-14th C Island occupation	2150	21	1.0	4	0.2	4	0.2		0.0	17	0.8			17	16	1							
Ratoath, Co.Meath 11-14th C Rural site	161		0.0		0.0		0.0		0.0		0.0												
Sheephouse, Donore, Co. Meath. Later Medieval. Rural ditches	30		0.0		0.0		0.0		0.0		0.0												
Totals	**6648**	**100**		**47**		**37**		**5**		**53**		**0**	**0**	**38**	**31**	**2**	**10**	**1**	**1**	**0**	**1**	**2**	**0**
(Beglane 2004; 2005a; 2005b; 2005c; 2006a; 2007a; 2007b; 2007c; 2007e; Beglane 2007g; Beglane 2008; 2009b; 2009c; 2009d; 2009e; 2009f; 2009g; 2010d)																							

Tab. A3.3: Recorded presence of wild species at later medieval sites analysed by the author

Appendix 3.6: Recorded presence of wild species at a range of later medieval castle sites

	NISP	Total Wild NISP	Total Wild NISP%	Total deer NISP	Total Deer NISP %	Red deer NISP	Red deer NISP%	Fallow deer NISP	Fallow deer NISP%	Other wild NISP	Other wild NISP%	Wolf	Wild pig	Lagomorph total	Rabbit	Hare	Fox	Badger	Pine marten	Stoat	Otter	Seal	Whale
Carlow Castle 13thC*	183	2	1.1	2	1.1	2	1.1		0.0		0.0												
Carrickfergus Bridge Pit	226	5	2.2	5	2.2	5	2.2		0.0		0.0												
Carrickmines Castle Later Medieval	2407	33	1.4	15	0.6	13	0.5	1	0.0	18	0.7			5	5		13						
Clough Castle Phase 1 Early 13thC	515	44	8.5	4	0.8	4	0.8		0.0	40	7.8			39	21	18			1				
Clough Castle Phase III-IV Late 13th-early 14thC	129	7	5.4	1	0.8	1	0.8		0.0	6	4.7			5	3	2							1
Courthouse Lane Galway, Area 2. High Medieval (Castle)	2086	41	2.0	2	0.1	2	0.1		0.0	39	1.9			39	26	13							
Courthouse Lane Galway, Area 2. Late Med (Castle)	526	4	0.8		0.0		0.0		0.0	4	0.8			4	1	3							
Drumadoon, Co Antrim Reuse as Motte Ph3	37	2	5.4	2	5.4	2	5.4		0.0		0.0												
Dunamase Castle, Co. Laois	10966	345	3.1	89	0.8	87	0.8	2	0.0	256	0.0			217	125	92	38			1			
Ferns Castle E. 14thC S fosse, E section	153	5	3.3	5	3.3		0.0		0.0		0.0												
Ferns Castle L. 13th-E. 14thC E fosse, S section	3	3	100	3	100	2	66.7	1	33.3		0.0												
Ferrycarrig ringwork High Medieval (midden dump)	1026	38	3.7	6	0.6		0.0	6	0.6	32	3.1	11		21	21								
Glanworth Castle 13th C	143	5	3.5	5	3.5	5	3.5		0.0		0.0												

* Modified from the original reports to include re-identification of fallow deer to other species (Beglane 2005a; Beglane 2009a; Butler 1995; 1996a; 1996b; n.d.; Crabtree and Ryan 2009; Denham and Murray n.d.; Jope 1954; Lynch n.d.; McCormick Undated-b; Murray 2004; Whelan 1979)

	NISP	Total Wild NISP	Total Wild NISP%	Total deer NISP	Total Deer NISP %	Red deer NISP	Red deer NISP%	Fallow deer NISP	Fallow deer NISP%	Other wild NISP	Other wild NISP%	Wolf	Wild pig	Lagomorph total	Rabbit	Hare	Fox	Badger	Pine marten	Stoat	Otter	Seal	Whale
Greencastle Co. Down (Waterman 1952) - Jope	24	1	4.2	1	4.2		0.0		0.0		0.0												
Greencastle, Co. Down Ph2. Castle construction	339	5	1.5	4	1.2	3	0.9		0.0	1	0.3						1						
Greencastle, Co. Down Ph3. Main occupation	311	27	8.7	19	6.1	12	3.9	5	1.6	8	2.6			5	3	1		1				2	
Killeen Castle Anglo-Norman	1037	1	0.1	1	0.1	1	0.1		0.0		0.0												
Killeen Castle Later Medieval	3254	5	0.2	4	0.1	4	0.1		0.0	1	0.0			1	1								
Mahee Castle, Co Down Occupation phase	300	10	3.3	3	1.0	3	1.0		0.0	7	2.3			2	2		5						
Maynooth Castle Anglo-Norman	838	43	5.1	41	4.9	41	4.9		0.0	2	0.2		3 poss	2	2								
Maynooth Castle, F171 mid-13th-15thC	844	36	4.3	24	2.8	0	0.0	20	2.4	12	1.4			1		1						11	
Maynooth Castle, F107 early 15thC	111	23	20.7	22	19.8	4	3.6	11	9.9	1	0.9			1	1								
Parkes Castle, Co. Leitrim Sitewide total	329	7	2.1	5	1.5	5	1.5		0.0	2	0.6			2	2								
Roscrea Castle 13thC	97	1	1.0	1	1.0	1	1.0		0.0		0.0												
Trim Castle Sample 1 Late 13th-Early 14thC*	2052	47	2.3	26	1.3	3	0.1	23	1.1	21	1.0		3	18	13	5							
Trim Castle Sample 2 Mid 14th - Mid 15thC*	1010	40	4.0	9	0.9	5	0.5	3	0.3	31	3.1			31	28	3							
Totals	**28946**	**780**	**2.7**	**299**	**1.0**	**205**	**0.7**	**72**	**0.2**	481	**1.7**	**11**	**3**	**393**	**254**	**138**	**57**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**0**	**13**	**1**

* Modified from the original reports to include re-identification of fallow deer to other species (Beglane 2007c; 2007e; 2009g; Birmingham 2003; Geber 2009; Jope 1952; McCormick and Murray Undated; Murray Undated)

Tab. A3.4: Recorded presence of wild species at a range of later medieval castle sites

Appendix 3.7: Detailed distribution of deer body parts for castle sites

	Carlow Castle 13thC*	**Carrickfergus Bridge pit waterman 1950**	**Carrickmines Castle Later Medieval**	**Carrickmines Castle Later Medieval**	**Carrickmines Castle Later Medieval**	**Clough Castle Phase 1 Early 13thC Waterman jope**	**Clough Castle Phase III-IV Late 13th-early 14thC**	**Courthouse Lane, Galway, Area 2 (Castle). High med**	**Drumadoon Ph III**	**Dunamase Castle Later Medieval**	**Dunamase Castle Later Medieval**	**Dunamase Castle Later Medieval**
	Red deer	**Total deer**	**Total deer**	**Red deer**	**Fallow deer**	**Red deer**	**Red deer**	**Red deer**	**Total deer**	**Total deer**	**Red deer**	**Fallow deer**
Antler	2		2	1					2	31	31	
Skull										1	1	
Mandible			1	1								
L. mand. tooth												
Loose tooth												
L. max. tooth												
Atlas VC1												
Axis VC2												
Scapula		2	1	1						1	1	
Humerus						1				1	1	
Radius			2	1	1	1				2	2	
Ulna												
Metacarpal			2	2						4	3	1
Pelvis		2				1		1		8	8	
Femur										1	1	
Patella												
Tibia		1	1	1			1			3	3	
Calcaneus									1	3	3	
Astragalus										4	4	
Metatarsal			2	2		1		1		16	13	1
Metapodials												
Tar/Car										3	2	
Phalanx not spec												
Phalanx 1			3	3						3	3	
Phalanx 2			1	1						1	1	
Phalanx 3												
Total	**2**	**5**	**15**	**13**	**1**	**4**	**1**	**2**	**3**	**82**	**77**	**2**
Forelimb (sc, hu, ra, mc)	**0**	**2**	**5**	**4**	**1**	**2**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**8**	**7**	**1**
Hindlimb (pe, fe, ti, mt)	**0**	**3**	**3**	**3**	**0**	**2**	**1**	**2**	**0**	**28**	**25**	**1**

* modified from original reports after re-examination of fallow deer remains (Beglane 2005a; Beglane 2009a; Butler 1995; 1996a; 1996b; n.d.; Denham and Murray n.d.; Jope 1954; Lynch 2007; Murray 2004)

	Ferns Castle early 14th C S fosse, E section	Ferns Castle late 13th- early 14th C E fosse, S section	Ferns Castle late 13th- early 14th C E fosse, S section	Ferns Castle late 13th- early 14th C E fosse, S section	Ferrycarrig ringwork	Glanworth Castle 13thC	Greencastle Co. Down (Jope 1952)	Greencastle PhII	Greencastle PhII	Greencastle PhIII	Greencastle PhIII	Greencastle PhIII	Killeen Castle Anglo-Norman	Killeen Castle Later Medieval	Mahee Castle	Mahee Castle
	Total deer	**Total deer**	**Red deer**	**Fallow deer**	**Fallow deer**	**Red deer**	**Total deer**	**Total Deer**	**Red deer**	**Total Deer**	**Red deer**	**Fallow deer**	**Red deer**	**Red deer**	**Total deer**	**Red deer**
Antler	1	3	2	1						3	2					
Skull																
Mandible															1	
L. mand. tooth								1							1	
Loose tooth																
L. max. tooth																
Atlas VC1																
Axis VC2																
Scapula										1	1					
Humerus														1		
Radius										2	2			1	1	1
Ulna	1				1		1			1	1					
Metacarpal										1		1				
Pelvis					1											
Femur													1			
Patella										1						
Tibia					2					2	2					
Calcaneus						1				1		1				
Astragalus					1	1										
Metatarsal	3				1	1		1	1	3		3		1		
Metapodials																
Tar/Car																
Phalanx not spec													1			
Phalanx 1								2	2	2	2					
Phalanx 2										1	1					
Phalanx 3										1	1					
Total	**5**	**3**	**2**	**1**	**6**	**3**	**1**	**4**	**3**	**19**	**12**	**5**	**2**	**3**	**3**	**1**
Forelimb (sc, hu, ra, mc)	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**4**	**4**	**1**	**0**	**2**	**1**	**1**
Hindlimb (pe, fe, ti, mt)	**3**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**4**	**1**	**0**	**1**	**1**	**5**	**2**	**3**	**1**	**1**	**0**	**0**
(Beglane 2007c; 2007e; Crabtree and Ryan 2009; Geber 2009; Jope 1952; McCormick Undated-b; Whelan 1979)																

	Maynooth Castle Anglo-Norman	Maynooth Castle F171 mid13th-15thC		Maynooth Castle F171 mid13th-15thC	Maynooth Castle F107 early 15thC	Maynooth Castle F107 early 15thC	Maynooth Castle F107 early 15thC	Parkes Castle	Parkes Castle	Roscrea Castle 13thC	Trim Castle Sample 1 l. 13th - e. 14thC*	Trim Castle S1 Late 13th-Early 14thC*	Trim Castle S1 Late 13th-Early 14thC*	Trim Castle Sample 2 Mid 14th - Mid 15thC*	Trim Castle Sample 2 Mid 14th - Mid 15thC*	Trim Castle Sample 2 Mid 14th - Mid 15thC*	Totals
	Red deer	Total deer	Fallow deer	Total deer	Red deer	Fallow deer	Total deer	Red deer	Red deer	Total deer	Red deer	Fallow deer	Total deer	Red deer	Fallow deer		
Antler	3	6	6	14		8	1NC		1								**68**
Skull	1	1															**3**
Mandible	5	3	3														**10**
L. mand. tooth																	**2**
Loose tooth	1									5		5?					**6**
L. max. tooth																	**0**
Atlas VC1																	**0**
Axis VC2				1													**1**
Scapula																	**5**
Humerus	1									1		1					**5**
Radius	4									1		1	1	1			**15**
Ulna	1												1	1			**6**
Metacarpal		1	1							1		1	2	1	1		**11**
Pelvis	5	2	1				2	2		2	1	1					**24**
Femur		2	1							4	1	3					**8**
Patella																	**1**
Tibia	4	4	4				1	1		4	1	3	2	1			**25**
Calcaneus	2	1								1		1					**10**
Astragalus										2		2	1		1		**9**
Metatarsal	7	2	2	2	1	1				1		1	2	1	1		**44**
Metapodials	1																**1**
Tar/Car										2		2					**5**
Phalanx not spec																	**1**
Phalanx 1	4	1	1	3	2	1	2	2									**20**
Phalanx 2	1			2	1	1				2		2					**8**
Phalanx 3	1	1	1														**3**
Total	**41**	**24**	**20**	**22**	**4**	**11**	**6**	**5**	**1**	**26**	**3**	**23**	**9**	**5**	**3**		**282**
Forelimb (sc, hu, ra, mc)	**5**	**1**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**3**	**0**	**3**	**3**	**2**	**1**		**36**
Hindlimb (pe, fe, ti, mt)	**16**	**10**	**8**	**2**	**1**	**1**	**3**	**3**	**0**	**11**	**3**	**8**	**4**	**2**	**1**		**101**

* modified from original reports after re-examination of fallow deer remains
(Beglane 2009g; Birmingham 2003; McCormick and Murray Undated; Murray Undated)

Tab. A3.5: Detailed distribution of deer body parts for castle sites

Appendix 3.8: Detailed distribution of deer body parts for urban sites

	Dublin, Arran Quay Late 14th - Early 17th C	Dublin, Arran Quay Late 14th - Early 17th C	Dublin, Arran Quay Late 14th - Early 17th C	Dublin, Cornmarket Phase 4	Dublin, Cornmarket Phase 4	Dublin, Cornmarket Phase 4	Dublin, Patrick St, Site B 13th C	Dublin, Patrick St Site C 13th C	Kilkenny, Patrick St/Pudding St	Galway Courthouse Lane (3.9). Area 1 (late med)	Galway Courthouse Lane (3.9). Area 2 (high med)	Trim Townparks Ph1-2	Trim Townparks Ph2	Trim Townparks Ph2
	Total Deer	Red deer	Fallow deer	Total deer	Red deer	Fallow deer	Red deer	Red deer	Fallow deer	Red deer	Red deer	Red Deer	Deer Total	Red deer
Antler				1	1		2	1	1	1				
Skull														
Mandible														
L. mand. tooth													1	
Loose tooth														
L. max. tooth														
Atlas VC1														
Axis VC2														
Scapula	1	1											1	1
Humerus												1		
Radius														
Ulna														
Metacarpal	1		1				1							
Pelvis											1			
Femur														
Patella														
Tibia	1		1											
Calcaneus														
Astragalus														
Metatarsal				1		1					1			
Metapodials														
Tar/Car														
Phalanx not spec														
Phalanx 1														
Phalanx 2									1					
Phalanx 3														
Total	**3**	**1**	**2**	**2**	**1**	**1**	**3**	**1**	**2**	**1**	**2**	**1**	**2**	**1**
Forelimb (sc, hu, ra, mc)	**2**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**1**	**1**
Hindlimb (pe, fe, ti, mt)	**1**	**0**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**2**	**0**	**0**	**0**
(McCormick 2004; McCormick and Murphy 1997; McCormick and Murray Undated; MacManus 1995; Murphy 1999; Murray 2004)														

	Trim Townparks Ph2a	Trim Townparks Ph2a	Trim Townparks Castle Lawn Med	Trim, High St	Waterford E406:2003 Pit	Waterford E435:1161tramural	Waterford E435:1163/1168 Extramural	Waterford E435: 1170/1174 Extramural	Waterford Peter St PS2-4 Gp 1	Waterford Peter St PS2-4 Gp 2	Waterford Peter St PS2-4 Gp 3	Waterford Peter St PS2-4 Gp 4	Waterford Peter St PS2-4 Gp 4	Waterford Peter St PS2-4 Gp 4	Totals
	Total Deer	Red deer	Red Deer	Red deer	Red deer	Red deer	Red deer	Red deer	Red deer	Red deer	Red deer	Total deer	Red deer	Fallow deer	
Antler			1		4	16	72	518				4	2	2	**621**
Skull									1		4	1		1	**6**
Mandible							1		1		2				**4**
L. mand. tooth															**1**
Loose tooth															**0**
L. max. tooth															**0**
Atlas VC1															**0**
Axis VC2															**0**
Scapula			1		1						1				**5**
Humerus						1				2	1	1	1		**6**
Radius					1	1	1	2		1	2	1	1		**9**
Ulna					1					1	1				**3**
Metacarpal				1					1		1				**5**
Pelvis					1					1					**3**
Femur					1	1	1		1		4				**8**
Patella															**0**
Tibia					1					2					**4**
Calcaneus															**0**
Astragalus			1												**1**
Metatarsal							1	2	1	1	3				**10**
Metapodials															**0**
Tar/Car															**0**
Phalanx not spec															**0**
Phalanx 1							1	1							**2**
Phalanx 2	1	1													**2**
Phalanx 3															**0**
Total	**1**	**1**	**3**	**1**	**10**	**19**	**77**	**523**	**5**	**8**	**19**	**7**	**4**	**3**	**685**
Forelimb (sc, hu, ra, mc)	**0**	**0**	**1**	**1**	**2**	**2**	**1**	**2**	**1**	**3**	**5**	**2**	**2**	**0**	**25**
Hindlimb (pe, fe, ti, mt)	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**3**	**1**	**2**	**2**	**2**	**4**	**7**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**25**
(Beglane 2007g; McCormick 1990-1991; 1997)															

Tab. A3.6: Detailed distribution of deer body parts for urban sites

Appendix 3.9: Detailed distribution of deer body parts for ecclesiastical and rural sites analysed by the author

	Ecclesiastical Sites		Rural sites			
	Bective	**Kilteasheen 2005&2006**	**Clonee**	**Clonee**	**Dunnyneill PhIII**	**Dunnyneill PhIV**
	Total Deer	**Red deer**	**Total Deer**	**Red deer**	**Red deer**	**Red deer**
Antler		3 NC	1			
Skull		1				
Mandible						
L. mand. tooth						1
Loose tooth						
L. max. tooth						
Atlas VC1						
Axis VC2						
Scapula						
Humerus						
Radius			1	1		
Ulna						
Metacarpal	1					
Pelvis						
Femur						
Patella						
Tibia						
Calcaneus					1	
Astragalus						
Metatarsal						
Metapodials						
Tar/Car						
Phalanx not spec						
Phalanx 1						
Phalanx 2						
Phalanx 3						
Total	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**
Forelimb (sc, hu, ra, mc)	**1**	**0**	**1**	**1**	**0**	**0**
Hindlimb (pe, fe, ti, mt)	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**
(Beglane 2004; 2006b; 2007d; 2009f; 2010d)						

Tab. A3.7: Detailed distribution of deer body parts for ecclesiastical and rural sites analysed by the author

Appendix 4: The hunt

Appendix 4.1: Forests as a legal concept

Year	Content of Document
1199	Milo le Bret received a 'licence to hunt and take foxes and hares throughout the K.'s forests of Ireland' (*CDI*, i, no. 100)
1200	Freedom of Knights Hospitaller from works in parks, forests and vivaries etc. (*CDI*, i, no. 123)
1213	Alan FitzRoland of Galloway (Galwea) received a 'grant … of the forest within the land which the K. gave to him in Ireland, and of the fairs and markets belonging to that land' (*CDI*, i, no. 463)
1216	Magna Carta for Ireland: Mentions forests and foresters, warrens and warreners, parks, men who hold land outside the forest, disafforests all forest that was afforested in the time of his father King John. '… Men that dwell out of the forest from henceforth shall not come before our justices of the Forest by common summons, unless they be impleaded or be sureties for some person or persons who were attached for the forest...' '… Men that dwell out of the forest from henceforth shall not come before our justices of the Forest by common summons, unless they be impleaded or be sureties for some person or persons who were attached for the forest.' (*Hist. & mun. doc. Ire.*, XIII, 65-72; *Stat. Ire. John - Hen. V*, 17, 19)
1219	Thomas FitzAdam received custody of all the king's forests in Ireland (*CDI*, i, no. 891)
1228	The Justiciar to determine who has what purprestures (wrongful encroachment upon another's property) on their lands, woods, forests etc. (*CDI*, i, no. 1603)
1274	R. Bishop of Dublin is 'quit of all summons of the justices in eyre, both for the pleas of the Forest and for other pleas' as he is in Scotland (*Cal. close rolls*, Edw. I, ii, 126)
1280	William Husee free from carrying out various legal duties e.g. forester in Ireland, for life (*CDI*, ii, no. 1730)
1280	William de la Corner and Roger de la Ryvere free from carrying out various legal duties e.g. forester in Ireland. for 4 years (*CDI*, ii, no. 1733)
1284-5	'… And it is provided that the points aforesaid bind as well our Councillors, Justices of the Forest, and our other Justices as other persons.' (Statutes of Westminster the First (Enacted in England 3 Edward I) *Stat. Ire. John - Hen. V*, 51)
1285	Mentions parks, woods, forests, chases, warrens etc (The statutes of Westminster (The second) *Stat. Ire. John - Hen. V*, no.XXV, 144-5)

Year	Content of Document
1290	Abbot of the Port of St Mary (Dunbrody) vs Master of the Templars: Charter of Henry III: Grant to them that they be for ever quit of all amerciaments and free of scot, geld, and aids of kings, sheriffs, and their ministers, of hidage, carvage, danegeld, hornegeîd, issues of wapentake, scutages, tallage, lestage, stallage, shires and hundreds, pleas and plaints, ward, ward penny, aver penny, under penny, bordel penny, thothyn penny, and of works of castles, parks, and bridges, inclosures, carriage, surnage, naval toll, building of royal houses, and all works. Their woods shall not be seized for those works or for other uses, or their corn for supplies of castles. They may take from their woods to supply their houses without forfeiting for waste or being amerced. Quit claim to them of all their lands and of all assarts of them or of their tenants made or to be hereafter made, of waste, regard, view of foresters, and of all other customs; grant, that they may without licence assart and cultivate woods within metes of the forest, without being brought to justice; they and their tenants shall for ever be quit of the lawing of their dogs, and free of toll in every fair, bridge, way, and sea, throughout the realm and throughout all the K's lands in which the K. can grant them liberties ; all the markets of them and their tenants shall be free of toll ... (*CDI*, iii, no. 666)
1293	John de Hastinges has three years free of summonses etc. incl. pleas of the forest (*CDI*, iv, no. 39)
1308	‘ …aforesaid, any robberies be done, that the lord be answerable therefore; and if murder be done the lord make fine at the King’s pleasure. And if the lord be not able to clear away the underwood, that the country aid him in doing it. And the King wills, that in his demesne lands and woods, within his forest and without, the roads be enlarged as aforesaid. And if perchance, a park be near the highway, it is requisite that the lord of the park diminish his park, so that there be a space of two hundred feet from the highway, as before said, or that he make a wall ditch or hedge, that evildoers will not be able to pass or return, to do evil.’ (Statute of Winchester (Enacted in England 13 Edward I AD 1285). No. V *Stat. Ire. John - Hen. V*)
1308	‘ VI …. And that all others who can have them, have bows and arrows out of the forest, and in the forest, bows and bolts, and that view of arms be made thrice every year … And that from henceforth sheriffs and bailiffs within franchises and without, be they greater or lesser, who have any bailiwick or forestry in fee, or otherwise, take good heed that they follow the cry with the country, and as they are able that they have horses and arms, so to do, and if there be any that do not, that the defaults be presented by the constables to the justices assigned, and afterwards by them to the King, as aforesaid.’ (Statute of Winchester (Enacted in England 13 Edward I AD 1285). No. V *Stat. Ire. John - Hen. V*)

Year	Content of Document
1335	William la Zousche Mortymer and Eleanor his wife. Licence to quit claim Kilkenny castle and lands to John Bishop of Ely. Various land types mentioned including parks, warrens, forests etc. (*Cal. pat. rolls*, Edw. III, iii, 106)
1342	Inspeximus of charter of lands held by Bishop Ralph in Down and Antrim, to be held 'with all liberties and free customs … in forests …in aeries of hawks, falcons and other birds, in warrens (*Cal. pat. rolls*, Edw. III, v, 507-9)
1361	Grant of lands of Humphrey de Bohun to William, Abbot of Walden including 'all regalities, liberties, forests, parks, woods, warrens, rents, services of free-tenants and bond-tenants, and other things pertaining thereto, and with the issues thereof' (*Cal. fine rolls*, vii, 187)
1369	Thomas de la Dale appointed surveyor of lands of Philippa daughter of duke of Clarence, ' …and of the keepers and other ministers and officers of the chaces, parks, woods, hunts and warrens pertaining thereto' (*Cal. fine rolls*, viii, 9-10)
1364	'The rental of the lord Bishop of Cloyne belonging to the manor and castle of Kilmaclenine in the pars of Muscrydonygan as made by all the underwritten tenants, in the time of the venerable father Sir John de Swafham, then Bishop of Cloyne AD1364' … 'sir John de Rochfort acknowledges holding of the lord, Kilbolane and the castle there with the whole of the lordship as it lies in length and breadth, with forests, woods, heaths, ponds, waters, mills, meadows and other freedoms ….' Note that Latin is 'silvis, boscis, bruariis ….' not forestis or forestum (the same word is translated as wood on p.59) (*Pipe roll of Cloyne*, 29-31)

Tab. A4.1: Forests as a legal concept

Appendix 4.2: Specific forests

Location	Dating of refs.	Summary
Connacht	1227, 1254-5	'Mandate to Richard de Burgh to cause the cantred of the forest in Connaught, which is a good chase, to be well kept; and to give or sell nothing out of that cantred; so that the K., when he goes to those parts, may range through it.' (*CDI*, i, no. 316). Geoffrey de Lezignan has free warren in his cantreds in Connacht and Thomond 'without the forest' (*CDI*. ii, no. 434)
Cracelauh (Cratloe or Carlow)	1252	Robert de Muscgros to have 200 oaks from royal forest of Cracelauh (*CDI*, ii, no. 51).
Decies	1219, 1227, 1253, 1282	Royal forest, under the custody of Thomas Fitz Anthony in 1219, but in 1227, control was passed to Richard de Burgh and by 1253, it was under the control of John Fitz Geoffrey, Justiciar. Vert and venison mentioned 1227, 5 stags to be given to the Bishop of Ossory in 1253 (*CDI*, i, nos. 892, 1513; ii, no. 241; *Inq. & Ext. of Med. Ire.*, no. 40).
Dublin/Wicklow Royal Forests: General or wide ranging references	1206-7, 1219-20 (6 times), 1220, 1228-9, 1229 (6 times) 1229-30 (twice), 1230 (twice), 1231, 1262	1206-7: Grant to the Archbishop of Dublin to make a park and deerleap at Kicosentan (Kilmasantan) and to be exempt from feeding forest officials in that vill. 1219-20: Dispute regarding rights and entitlements in the royal forests around Dublin in areas owned by the Archbishop of Dublin. Eventually the king replaced Thomas Fitz Adam, who had been keeper of the forest with Geoffrey de Marisco. In 1228-9 the Luke, the Archbishop Elect of Dublin agreed to pay the King 300 marks to disafforest lands belonging to See of Dublin. A detailed description of the lands is given in 1229 (*Archbishop Alen's Reg.*, 62, 81; *CDI*, i, nos. 316, 926, 927, 930, 932, 933, 951, 1657, 1757, 1760, 1765, 1770, 1766, 1769, 1783, 1787, 1823, 1860, 2336).

Location	Dating of refs.	Summary
Dublin/Wicklow Royal Forests: Coillach	1181-99, 1203, 1205, 1213, 1225, 1225-6	In 1181-99 the Archbishop of Dublin received the land of Coillache in barony. Subsequently the Archbishop was in dispute with the king and lost his lands. In 1203 he received the castle of Balimore (Ballymore Eustace), which he had previously been in possession of. He also received part of the forest of Coillach. In 1205 he received 200 marks of silver in return for surrendering the forest. Later, in 1213 the archbishop received a grant of land in Coillach. Finally, in 1225, the archbishop paid a fine of 20 librates to the king to ensure that the forests of Dublin, Glendalough and Coillach remained unchanged for five years (*CDI*, i, no. 180, 276, 475, 1317, 1359)
Dublin/Wicklow Royal Forests: Glencree	1282, 1283, 1284, 1285, 1287, 1288, 1289, 1289-90, 1290 (twice), 1291, 1292 (twice), 1293 (twice), 1296 (4 times), 1297, 1305, 1308	There are a considerable number of documents that mention this royal forest, both in relation to timber and to deer. There are also references to payment of rents and pannage within the forest. 1291: Accusation that the Abbot and monks of St Mary's Abbey poached deer in the royal forest (*Cal. justic. rolls Ire.*, ii, 35; *CDI*, ii, nos. 2002, 2084, 2195; iii, nos. 92, 309, 371, 542, 581, 641, 741, 965, 1148, 1151; iv, nos. 21, 41, 300, 329, 352, 408; *Chartul. St. Mary's*, nos. 1, 118a; *Inq. & Ext. of Med. Ire.*, no. 160; *Stat. Ire. John - Hen. V*, 219)

Location	Dating of refs.	Summary
Dublin/Wicklow Royal Forests: Glendalough	1213, 1219 1225, 1225-6, 1229, 1256-71, 1395 (twice)	Glendalough was granted to the Archbishop of Dublin in 1213, with the king retaining three knight's fees for the custody of the forest. In 1219 there was a dispute regarding the feeding of foresters on land owned by the Archbishop. In 1225 the archbishop paid a fine of 20 librates to the king to ensure that the forests of Dublin, Glendalough and Coillach remained unchanged for five years. In 1229 this area was among those disafforested by grant of the king. In 1256 the prior and canons of Glendalough noted that they were entitled to have fallen timber for firewood by view of the archbishop's foresters (*Archbishop Alen's Reg.*, 142; *CDI*, i, nos. 475, 892, 1317, 1359; *CIRCLE*, PR 18 Rich. II, no. 90, 96; *Hist. & mun. doc. Ire.*, 538-41).
Dublin/Wicklow Royal Forests: Obrun	1237	Geoffrey de Turville to have seisin of the kings wood of Garfloun in the forest and land of Obrun held by the archdeacon (*CDI*, i, no. 2409)
Dublin/Wicklow Royal Forests: Slefco/Slescho	1250, 1251	Walter de Burgh received four stags and subsequently four does from the forest (*CDI*, i, nos. 3076, 3197).
Dublin/Wicklow forests of the Archbishop of Dublin: Castle Kevyne: Lakyn and Muneglas, wood of Glasdrey. Kiladreny, wood of Balliloranth. Ballymaclocher, Ballydergory, Ballyomorthey and Ballyofinan. Ballymor, lands include Kilgarsan/Kilgarchane/ Kilgarthane, Glandeluri.	1228-55, 1228-44, 1255-66, 1256-66, 1256-71, 1395	Many references to the forests held by the Archbishopric. A forester, Thomas is mentioned by name in 1228-55. There are several references to tenants entitled to housebote, haybote and firebote when taken in view of the foresters. Glandeluri is possibly Glenmalure (O'Byrne 2010). There are also several references to pannage (*Archbishop Alen's Reg.*, 69-70, 81, 120-1, 123-4, 136; *CIRCLE*, PR 18 Rich. II, no. 96).
Duiske	1331	'William de Bermingham with his familia took possession of and held and remained in the forest of the monks of Duiske in the summer' (*Clyn's Annals*)
Leinster	1181-99	Archbishop of Dublin received custody of forest of Leinster (*Archbishop Alen's Reg.*, 26)

Location	Dating of refs.	Summary
Limerick/Thomond	1251, 1254-5	Roger Waspayl received a grant of free warren in Radguel Limerick unless it was in the forest (*CDI*, i, no. 3164). Geoffrey de Lezignan has free warren in his cantreds in Connacht and Thomond outside the forest' (*CDI*. ii, no. 434)
Maynooth: FitzGerald, Earls of Kildare	1283	Refers to the forest of Croghmore (*Red Bk. Kildare*, no. 120).
Old Ross: Roger le Bigod	1307	1307: 'In demesne at Old Ross … there is also a 20-acre oak forest, the pasturage of which extends at 2s. a year.' (*Inq. & Ext. of Med. Ire.*, no. 136)
Ross: 1231x1234: Richard Earl Marshal 1281 and 1282-3: Roger le Bigod	1231x1234 1281, 1282-3	1231x1234: Charter disafforesting part of the forest of Ros (Ross) and the forest of Tachmune (Taghmon), Co. Wexford (*CERM*). 1281: Forester's fee 26s 8d (Hore 1900-1911, i, 11). 1282-3: Paul the forester, part payment of his fee 6s 8d (Hore 1900-1911, i, 148)
Trim: (1211-12: King's steward. 1297: Geoffrey de Geneville)	1211-2, 1297	In 1211-2: 173 cows put into the forest of Trim by the King's steward. In 1297: Moygerre is described as being near the 'forest of Trym'. In 1340 Walter de Lascy granted lands at Mariners (Mornington) near Drogheda to the abbot and monks of St. Mary's, Furness, England. They are entitled to timber from his forest of 'Trum' (*Cal. justic. rolls Ire.*, i, 146; *Cal. pat. rolls*, Edw. III, v, 52; *Pipe Roll Ire. 1211-12*, 37)
Trybary (Tipperary?) Munster, Emly	1218	Archbishop of Dublin had freedom from feeding foresters at Trybary (Tipperary?) in Munster, Emly (*CDI*, i, no. 849)
Taghmon 1231x1234: Richard Earl Marshal 1275-1278: (Agatha de Mortimer, William de Valence and Joan his wife	1231x1234 1275, 1276 (5 times), 1278	1231x1234: Charter disafforesting part of the forest of Ros (Ross) and the forest of Tachmune (Taghmon), Co. Wexford. 1275-1278: After the partition of the Marshal inheritance, Agatha brought a case against William de Valence and his wife Joan. She argued that the forest of Taghmon was part of the manor of Thachmonn and hence part of her inheritance. William and Joan argued that when the extent of the manors was made this forest had been recorded as belonging to the manor of Wexford. Eventually the case was found in favour of Agatha (*CDI*, ii, nos. 1109, 1295, 1296, 1298, 1299, 1308, 1445; *CERM*)

Tab. A4.2: Specific forests

Appendix 4.3: Grants of free warren and free chase

Year	Names	Content
c. 1185	Alard son of William	Grant of various lands in Waterford, Wexford, Dublin, Kildare, Wicklow and hunting of stag, doe, pig, hare, wolf and rabbit in those lands (*Ormond Deeds*, i, no. 7)
1200	Walter de Ridellesford	Licence to hunt hares and foxes (*CDI*, i, no. 143)
1360	John de St Paul, Archbishop of Dublin	Free warren in all his demesne lands (*Hist. & mun. doc. Ire.*, nos. xviii, xix)
1213	Walter de Ridlisford	Licence to hunt hares and foxes in forest(*CDI*, i, no. 1213)
1226	Walter de Rydeleford	Right of free warren in Bre and Kylka and the vale of Dublin. Subsequently cancelled (*CDI*, i, no. 1394)
1228-9	Nicholas le Petit	Free warren at Admolinger (*CDI*, i, no. 1673)
1229	John d'Evreux	Free warren at lands listed in Decies Dessyo and doesn't need to maintain archers for these lands (*CDI*, i, no. 1680)
1229	John d'Evreux	Pays 10l to hold land direct of the king not of Thomas fitz Anthony and to have the warren there (*CDI*, i, no. 1681)
1230	Nicholas de Verdun	Free warren at Ferard. No one is to hunt hare without Nicholas' license (*CDI*, i, no. 1829)
1230	Nicholas de Verdun	Free warren at Ferard. Again (*CDI*, i, no. 1830)
1238	Nicholas le Petit	Free warren at Moyamet - no person without his licence to enter those lands to hunt (*CDI*, i, no. 2463)
1241	Maurice FitzGerald	Free warren at various manors listed (*CDI*, i, no. 2550)
1244	John FitzThomas	Grant of free chase and warren in Okonyl, Muskry, Kery, Yonach and Orathat (*CDI*, i, no. 2680)
1244	Maurice FitzGerald, Justiciar of Ireland	Grant of free chase and warren in Conmakonekule and Luyne (*CDI*, i, no. 2680).
1245	Geoffrey Bishop of Ossory	Grant of free warren in the demesne lands of various listed manors (*CDI*, i, no. 2780)
1251	Maurice Fitz Gerald	Free warren at Carbri Lmk and Makeylly Cork provided not in king's forest (*CDI*, i, no. 3137)
1251	Maurice Fitzgerald	Grant of free warren to Maurice Fitzgerald in lands of Carbry in Limerick and in Makelwy (Makeylly C.) in Cork outside the metes of the royal forest (*Red Bk. Kildare*, no. 2).
1251	Roger Waspayl	Free warren in Radguel Lmk. unless in kings forest (*CDI*, i, no. 3164)
1252	Roger Waspayl	5 marks for free warren at Radguel (*CDI*, ii, no. 55)

Year	Location	Deer
1252	Stephen and Emeline Longespee	Free warren provided not in kings forest (*CDI*, ii, no. 112)
1252	John de Cogan	Free warren in demesne lands (*CDI*, ii, no. 121)
1252-3	Robert de Muscegros	Free warren in demesne lands of Tradery and Ockormock provided not in forest (*CDI*, ii, no. 155)
1253	John le Botiller	Free warren in all his demesne lands in Ireland (*CDI*, ii, no. 219)
1253	Richard de la Rochelle	Free warren in Haghedrinn' Clonkin Hunesclan Clinehelch and Dredeglatha (*CDI*, ii, no. 224)
1253	Jordan of Exeter	Free warren in all his demesne lands in Ireland (*CDI*, ii, no. 250)
1253-4	Godfrey de Lezignan	Granted land in Connaught and free warren where outside the forest (*CDI*, ii, no. 321)
1254	Godfrey de Lezignan	4 cantreds in Connaught 1 in Thomond. Free warren without the metes of the forest (*CDI*, ii, no. 364)
1254	Godfrey de Lezignan	4 cantreds in Connaught 1 in Thomond. Free warren without the forest and all liberties and free customs belonging thereto. Again (*CDI*, ii, no. 365)
1254	Godfrey de Lezignan	4 cantreds in Connaught 1 in Thomond. Free warren without the forest and all liberties and free customs belonging thereto. Again (*CDI*, ii, no. 367)
1254	Maurice of Burmingham	Free warren in lands in Connaught outside forest (*CDI*, ii, no. 407)
1254	William de Mariscis	Free warren in his demesnes in Ireland outside the forest (*CDI*, ii, no. 404)
1254-5	Godfrey de Lezignan	4 cantreds in Connaught 1 in Thomond. Free warren without the forest and all liberties and free customs belonging thereto. Again (*CDI*, ii, no. 434)
1256	Godfrey de Lezignan	4 cantreds in Connaught 1 in Thomond replaced by land in England and Ireland inc. Louth and Castle Frank and Dublin if still short. Free warren there (*CDI*, ii, no. 524).
1277	Richard de Feypo	Requests warren at Ronconil (*CDI*, ii, no. 1397)
1279	Richard de Feypo	Recieves free warren outside forest at Rancouill (*CDI*, ii, no. 1556)
1279	Richard de Feypo	Pays for his free warren and fair (*CDI*, ii, no. 1557)
1279	Prioress and nuns of Lismolin	Free warren at Lismolyn, Belegrave, Dunsenekil, Clunschelach, Baligodinon, Balimolan, Pomtestun, Edrichestum, Paineston, and Kenard (*CDI*, ii, no. 1605)
1284 (about)	Richard de Feypo	Paid 40 marks for fair at screen and free warren at Rathconnel. But never got it from the Justiciar (*CDI*, ii, no. 2332)

Year	Location	Deer
1285	Walter de la Haye	Free warren in Kildemydan, Co,. Waterford (*CDI*, iii, no. 85)
1285-6	Milo de Crus	Free warren at Ballymaglassan in Co of Trim (*CDI*, iii, no. 177)
1286	Robert Purcell	Free warren at Bek, Auchrith, Moycoling in Co. Tipperary (*CDI*, iii, no. 225)
1290	John de Sampforde, Archbishop of Dublin and successors	'the right of free warren in their demesne lands of the mountains of Dublin, provided that these lands are not within the bounds of the royal forest' (*Archbishop Alen's Reg.*, 152)
1290	William de Deveneys	Looks for and gets a 'charter of warren in his demesne lands of Ballitened, Baliolachel, Dunders, Baliocolman, Tagmolyn in Co. Dublin (*CDI*, iii, no. 622)
1290	Otho de Grandison	Grant to Otho de Grandison of free warden in all his demesme lands of Conagh', Glinmontrany, and Glinnogaf, in the county of Tipperary, Ireland. - nb source has a typo, 'warden' not 'warren' (*CDI*, iii, no. 694)
1296	Eustace le Poer	'Grant to Eustace le Poer of free warren in his demesne lands of Ughtertur, in the county of Waterford, Nerny [Nurney], in the county of Carlow and Obrun …, in the county of Dublin' (*CDI*, iv, no. 347)
1296-7	Hugh Purcel	Free warren in his demesne lands of of Corkteny, Maghelonfert, Admylchan, Moydrom, and le Garth, in the county of Tipperary ; in his demesne lands of Maycro, Chynneche, and Balycathelan, in the county of Limerick ; and in his demesne lands of Clonmyn and Drunmethan, in the county of Kilkenny (*CDI*, iv, no. 377)
1301-2	Eustace le Poer	Grant in fee to Eustace le Poer of free warren in his demesne lands of Otthirtir, in the county of Waterford ; Crouhan, Slefdile, Offath, Moyonauryth, and Kylclon, in the county of Tipperary; Grennagh, in the county of Kilkenny; Nerney and Kilmohede, in the county of Carlow; Cuyllenagh, in the county of Kildare; and Kenmoy and Castleconor, in the earldom of Connaught (*CDI*, v, no. 6)
1301-2	John FitzThomas	Grant in fee to John Fitz Thomas of free waren in his demesne lands of Maynoth, Rathynnegan, Leye, Geshill', Moyrayghhyd, Oorbaly, Coiltagh, and Rathmor, in the county of Kildare; Taghmothok and Balyingnon, in the county of Carlow; and Adare, Crommuth, Castle Robert, Athlacca, Wyrgedy, Grene, Estgrene, and Cork Moighhid, in the county of Limerick (*CDI*, v, no. 7)
1301-2	John de Fresingfeld	Free warren in demesne lands of Finnoure near Incherorik Co Tipperary and Lin Co. Meath if outside forest (*CDI*, v, no. 18)

Year	Location	Deer
1301-2	Maurice de Rochefort	Grant to Maurice de Rochefort of free warren in all his demesne lands of Typerneyvin, Kilblaan, Kileycoicchy, Corbyn Inscorthy, Dusthir, and Killafgy, Ireland (*CDI*, v, no. 19)
1302	Maurice de Rochfort	Ancient Petition No 3395. Petition of Maurice of Rochfort for rights of warren and licence to mortmain (*Affairs of Ireland*, no. 72)
1303	John de Weyland	Grant to John de Weyland of free warren in all his demesne lands of Balyconar and Kylotheran, in the county of Waterford (*CDI*, v, no. 276)
1304	Richard de Burgh, Earl of Ulster	Free chace in all his demesne lands of Torterye, Kenath, Kenalowen, Inchyven, Menkone, and Matherne in the Earldom of Ulster, Cenyde, and Estermoy, in the county of Limerick, Ireland (*CDI*, v, no. 304)
1304	Nigel de Brun	Free warren in all his demesne lands in Rabo Co. Dublin and Luskeston Co. Trim (*CDI*, v, no. 319)
1304	Eustace le Poer	Grant of free chase in all his demesne lands of Slefto Ireland (*CDI*, v, no. 331)
1307	Joan, Countess of Gloucester and Hertford	'Rosclar and its members: … the issues of the chase of the warren and its pasturage, the wood and the avowry of customsmen at £9 9s 2d and the perquisites of the manor at 20s a year. ...' (*Inq. & Ext. of Med. Ire.*, no. 156)
1349	John de Grauntsete.	Grant, of special grace, to John de Grauntsete and his heirs of free warren in all their demesne lands of Levediscastel, Dieulamende, Balicarryk and Foilleston in Ireland (*Cal. chart. rolls*, v, 109).
1357	John, Archbishop of Dublin	'3. A charter dated at Reading 13 April 14 Henry III, inspecting and confirming with additions a charter of John, count of Mortain, lord of Ireland [Calendar Vol.I p119] with further confirmation of the grants made by the king's predecessors of free warren in all demesne lands of the archbishopric both hill-lands and others. For one mark.' (*Cal. chart. rolls*, v, 155-6)
1361	John, Archbishop of Dublin	Confirmation of rights of free warren to Archbishop John (*Archbishop Alen's Reg.*, 213)
1393	John de St Paul, Archbishop of Dublin	'And also free warren in all their mountains and demesne lands' (*CIRCLE*, PR 17 Rich. II, no. 1)

Year	Location	Deer
1378	Stephen son of Adam Hereford. Maurice son of Thomas, Earl of Kildare	Inspeximus of charter 'To have and to hold all the aforesaid lands etc. of him and his heirs in fee and inheritance forever, well and in peace, freely, quietly and fully, both in lordships and demesnes, homages, services, wardships, reliefs and escheats, in wood and plain, meadows and pastures etc., fishings, huntings, advowsons of churches and all liberties and free customs pertaining thereto: performing for this to him and his heirs the service of one quarter of a knight.' (*CIRCLE*, PR I Rich. II, no. 12)
1395	John, Archbishop of Dublin	Rights of his predecessors including 'free warren on all his mountains and demesnes' (*Archbishop Alen's Reg.*, 230)
	John fitz John fitz William le Poher	Rights of free warren for John fitz John fitz William le Poher (*Pipe roll of Cloyne*, 145n)

Tab. A4.3: Grants of free warren and free chase

Appendix 4.4: Parks as a legal concept

Year	Content of document
1200	Freedom of knights hospitaller from works in parks, forests and vivaries amongst others (*CDI*, i, no. 123)
1216	'But the guardian as long as he has custody of the land shall keep up the houses, parks, vivaries, ponds, mills and other things pertaining to that land out of the issues of the said land, and shall restore to the heir, when he shall have come to full age, all his lands stored with ploughs, and all other things, at least as he received them.' (*Stat. Ire. John - Hen. V*, 9)
1216	Mentions foresters, parks, men who hold land outside the forest, disafforests all forest that was afforested in the time of his father King John, mentions forests and foresters, warrens and warreners (Magna Charta for Ireland no.XIII *Hist. & mun. doc. Ire.*, 65, 67, 71, 72)
1229	Disafforestation of various lands listed in South Dublin, right to make parks in these areas (*Archbishop Alen's Reg.*, 62; *CDI*, i, no. 1757)
1234	Maurice fitzGerald to look after lands of Richard Marshal, late Earl of Pembroke, allowing no waste etc. in lands inc. parks (*CDI*, i, no. 2111)
1236	'Concerning trespassers in parks and vivaries it was not decided because the Lords demanded their own prison of such as they should take in their parks and vivaries, which the lord the King denied; wherefore it was deferred.' (*Stat. Ire. John - Hen. V*, no. XI)
1284/5	'It is provided in the case of trespassers in parks and vivaries that if any be thereof attainted at the suit of the plaintiff, good and substantial damages be awarded according to the manner of the trespass, and that they have three years' imprisonment, and after be fined at the King's pleasure, if he have whereof to be be so fined, and then fined good surety, that he will not trespass again, and ifhe have not whereof to pay the fine, after three years imprisonment, that he find like surety, and if he cannot find the surety, that he abjure the realm. And if any accused thereof be fugitive, and have no land or tenement whereby he may be made amenable to justice, so soon as the King shall find it by good inquest, that proclamation be made from county [court] to county [court]; and if he will not come, that he be outlawed. It is provided that if any sue not within the year and day after the trespass committed, the King shall have the suit, and those whom he shall find guilty thereof by lawful inquest, shall be punished in like manner in all points as abovesaid. And if any trespasser be attainted, that he has taken tame beasts, or any other thing, in parks, by way of robbery, in coming, tarrying or returning, that the Common Law be executed upon him as upon him that is attainted of open robbery and theft, as well at the suit of the King, as of another.' (*Stat. Ire. John - Hen. V*, no. 20)

Year	Content of document
1284/5	'It is provided also, that none, small or great, by colour of kindred, affinity, or any other alliance of for any other cause, course in another's parks, or fish in another's ponds, or lodge in another's manor or in the house of a prelate, or Religious person, or other, against the will and leave of the lord, or of the bailiff, at the cost of the lord there, or at his own cost….' (Statutes of Westminster the First (Enacted in England 3 Edward I) *Stat. Ire. John - Hen. V*, 49)
1285	Mentions parks, woods, forests, chases, warrens etc (The statutes of Westminster (The second) *Stat. Ire. John - Hen. V*, no. XXV)
1287x1293	Grant of lands in Munster and Leinster by Juliana de Cogan to John son of Thomas including various rights and types of land including parks (*Red Bk. Kildare*, no. 30)
1290	Charter of Henry III to the Knights Templar: 'Grant to them that they be for ever quit of all amerciaments and free of scot, geld, and aids of kings, sheriffs, and their ministers, of hidage, carvage, danegeld, hornegeîd, issues of wapentake, scutages, tallage, lestage, stallage, shires and hundreds pleas and plaints, ward, ward penny, aver penny, under penny, bordel penny, thothyn penny, and of works of castles, parks, and bridges, inclosures, carriage, surnage, naval toll, building of royal houses, and all works. Their woods shall not be seized for those works or for other uses, or their corn for supplies of castles. They may take from their woods to supply their houses without forfeiting for waste or being amerced. Quit claim to them of all their lands and of all assarts of them or of their tenants made or to be hereafter made, of waste, regard, view of foresters, and of all other customs ; grant, that they may without licence assart and cultivate woods within metes of the forest, without being brought to justice ; they and their tenants shall for ever be quit of the lawing of their dogs, and free of toll in every fair, bridge, way, and sea, throughout the realm and throughout all the K's lands in which the K. can grant them liberties ; all the markets of them and their tenants shall be free of toll ...' (*CDI*, iii, no. 666)
1308	'aforesaid, any robberies be done, that the lord be answerable therefore; and if murder be done the lord make fine at the King's pleasure. And if the lord be not able to clear away the underwood, that the country aid him in doing it. And the King wills, that in his demesne lands and woods, within his forest and without, the roads be enlarged as aforesaid. And if perchance, a park be near the highway, it is requisite that the lord of the park diminish his park, so that there be a space of two hundred feet from the highway, as before said, or that he make a wall ditch or hedge, that evildoers will not be able to pass or return, to do evil.' (Statute of Winchester (Enacted in England 13 Edward I AD 1285) *Stat. Ire. John - Hen. V*, no. V)

Year	Content of document
1335	William la Zousche Mortymer and Eleanor his wife. Licence to quit claim Kilkenny castle and lands to John Bishop of Ely. Various land types mentioned including parks, warrens, forests etc. (*Cal. pat. rolls*, Edw. III, iii, 106)
1350	Commission of oyer and terminer on complaint by John, archbishop of Dublin, that some evildoers broke the closes and houses and the stone-walls of his manors of Swerdes, Tallagh, Ballymor, Dublin, Balyboght, Clendolk, Ardnoth, Coloygne and Fynglas, in Ireland, broke his parks and entered his free warrens there, hunted therein, felled his trees and underwood, … and carried away … trees and underwood …deer from the parks, hares, rabbits, pheasants and partridges from the warrens. Not all of these necessarily have parks and warrens (*Cal. pat. rolls*, Edw. III, viii, 590)
1361	Grant of lands of Humphrey de Bohun to William Abbot of Walden including 'all regalities, liberties, forests, parks, woods, warrens, rents, services of free-tenants and bond-tenants, and other things pertaining thereto, and with the issues thereof' (*Cal. fine rolls*, vii, 187)
1369	Thomas de la Dale appointed surveyor of lands of Philippa, daughter of Duke of Clarence 'and of the keepers and other ministers and officers of the chaces, parks, woods, hunts and warrens pertaining thereto' (*Cal. fine rolls*, viii, 9-10)
1369-70	Grant to William de Wyndesore of the castle or manor of Dungarvan 'Le Blackcastle'. Including 'fisheries, chases, parks, woods, warrens, rents and all other appurtenances'. (*Cal. pat. rolls*, Edw. III, xiv, 222)
1373-4	Commission of oyer and terminer 'touching evildoers who broke the closes, houses, parks and stone walls of the manors at Swerdes, Tallagh, Balymore, Dublin, Baliboght, Clondolk, Ardnoth, Coloigne and Fynglas, Co. Dublin while they were in the king's hand in the last voidance of the archbishopric, and entered the free warrens of the archbishopric and hunted in these said parks, felled trees and underwood there ... deer from the parks and hares, conies, pheasants and partridges from the warrens ...' Not all of these necessarily have parks and warrens. (*Cal. pat. rolls*, Edw. III, xv, 309)

Tab. A4.4: Parks as a legal concept

Appendix 4.5: Specific parks

Location	Year	Associated names	Summary of documented information
Adare, Co. Limerick	1331	Richard, son of Thomas Fitzgerald	Land in the park for which Tathogh Othe renders 13s 10 a year (*Red Bk. Kildare*, no. 135).
Ardraghin, (Ardrahan), Co. Galway	1321	Thomas fitz Richard de Clare	100 acre brush and thicket which had previously been emparked (*Inq. & Ext. of Med. Ire.*, no. 204).
Arscol, Co. Kildare	1282	William de Mohun	Park extended at 13s 4d. Suggests around 66 acres based on a grazing value of 4d an acre (*Inq. & Ext. of Med. Ire.*, 46).
Baliduwil, Co. Cork	1286-1288	Thomas de Clare	Park of 4 acres good for oxen and for osiers for carts, extended at 12d (*CDI*, iii, no. 459)
Ballykene, Swords, Co. Dublin	1306	Geoffrey Sauuage	Animals impounded in park (*Cal. justic. rolls Ire.*, ii, 326)
Balydonegan, Co. Carlow	1305, 1306, 1333	Richard de Burgh, Earl of Ulster vs William Waspayl William de Burgh (The Brown Earl)	In 1333 there was a park with deer, surrounded by palings. The profits of the park, exluding those raised from the grazing of deer, but including those from underwood and pasturage, are valued at 8s a year. Beneath this park there used to be a dovecote, formerly worth 3s 4d, which now lies in ruins and extends at no value. The warren is worth 12d a year in 1333. In 1305, court case about poaching of deer, digging of pit-traps and and trespass (*Cal. justic. rolls Ire.*, ii, 136, 314; *CIPM*, Edw. III, vii, no. 537; *Inq. & Ext. of Med. Ire.*, no. 251).
Bray, Co. Wicklow	1284, 1311	Christina de Mariscis (Heir of de Riddlesfords) Richard le Botiller	In 1284, Walter de Belinges paid 6s 8d for the park. In 1311 park surrounded by a ditch which contained 60 acres and was valued at 20s a year (*CDI*, ii, 2340; *Red Bk. Ormond*, no. 10)

Location	Year	Associated names	Summary of documented information
Callan Co. Kilkenny	1300, 1307, 1350	Joan, Countess of Gloucester and Hertford	Refers to 6 acres of land in a park in 1300, Park with oak trees, wood worth 6s 8d per year in 1307. In 1350 2s 6d rent of 5 acres in the New Park and Cogedanesgrene at 6d an acre. Further area of *c*. 14 acres did not have tenants. Herbage in the park worth 2s and wood 27s 2d (*CDI*, v, no. 659; *Handbook*, 302-3; *Inq. & Ext. of Med. Ire.*, no. 154; *Red Bk. Ormond*, no. 25).
Carrick, Co. Wexford	1231x1234	Richard, Earl Marshal	Park separated from Carrick castle by a river which flows into the Slaney (*CERM*) (see Chapter 8).
Cloyne, Co. Cork	1364	Bishop of Cloyne	Tenants have a duty to 'make the lord's meadow and park' (Pipe roll of Cloyne, 13)
Co. Cork	1311	Thomas Cod	Cattle stolen from park (*Cal. justic. rolls Ire.*, iii, 200).
Curtun, Kinelahun, (Courtown) Co. Wexford	1280-1	Christina de Mariscis (Heir of de Riddlesford lands)	Lands include a 'coveria' or preserve, worth 5s (*CDI*, ii, no. 1801)
Donkeryn, (Dunkerrin) Co. Offaly	1305	Earls of Ormond	Reference to a newly afforested (planted) park (*Red Bk. Ormond*, no. 91)
Donmowe, Co. Meath	1415	Margaret Darcy, widow of John Darcy	Assignment of dower which includes a park held by a tenant (*Inq. & Ext. of Med. Ire.*, no. 347, 348)
Dunamase, Co. Laois	1282-3	Roger de Mortimer	Reference to a mountain pasture and emparked pasture, together worth 33s 4d a year (*CDI*, ii, no. 2028; *Inq. & Ext. of Med. Ire.*, no. 54). Chapter 7.
Dyuelynschachlyn, Drogheda, Co. Meath	1305	William de la Ryuere	Animals seized and emparked (*Cal. justic. rolls Ire.*, ii, 18)
Ferns, Co. Wexford	1253	Bishop of Ferns, but land in the King's hand	Wild cattle kept in the park (*CDI*, ii, no. 297)

Location	Year	Associated names	Summary of documented information
Fynglas, Co. Dublin	1326	Archbishop of Dublin	24-acre park worth nothing and a 71-acre park with grazing worth 2s (*Archbishop Alen's Reg.*, 173).
Garnenan, Co. Kildare	1228	Walter de Ridelesford	Walter asks to divert road that currently runs through his park of Garnenan (*CDI*, i, no. 1641)
Glencree, Co. Wicklow	1242, 1244, 1251, 1279/80	Royal park	1242: Fallow deer sent to stock an unnamed royal park in Ireland. 1244: 60 does and 20 bucks from kings parks in England to Dalkey and then to stock kings park at Glencry. 1251: Deer gifted from park to Luke, Archbishop of Dublin 1279/80: Timber trees gifted from park to John de Walhope (*CDI*, i, nos. 2580, 2671, 3123; ii, no. 1633).
Gowran, Co. Kilkenny	1306	Earls of Ormond	Various lands listed that lie outside, next to and under the park (*Red Bk. Ormond*, no. 14).
Inchiquin, Co. Cork	1321, 1348	Thomas fitzRichard de Clare, Isabella, widow of Gilbert de Clare, Giles de Badelesmere	In 1321, 3 parks: 18 acres at Garranglas and le Haggard and a wood called le Park. 1321 assignment of dower, of which 9 acres in the park, in 1348 60-acre oak wood called 'le Park' worth 5s in its pasture and not in underwood or in any other profits (*CIPM*, Edw. III, ix, no. 119; *Inq. & Ext. of Med. Ire.*, nos. 205, 207, 291)
Kilcopsentan, Co. Dublin	1206-7	John Archbishop of Dublin	Grant that he may make a park and erect a deerleap. Also no requirement to feed foresters (*CDI*, i, no. 316)
Kildare, Co. Kildare	1298	Earl of Kildare	Park broken and afers (draught-horses) removed which had previously been impounded by the sergeant for the lord (*Cal. justic. rolls Ire.*, i, 200)
Kylkarban/Kylwarban Muntremolynan, Co. Galway	1334	William de Burgh, Earl of Ulster	A carucate of parkland formerly worth 13s 4d (*Inq. & Ext. of Med. Ire.*, no. 262).
Kylka, (Kilkea) Co. Kildare	1284	Christina de Mariscis (Heir of de Riddlesford lands)	Pannage of the park 3s. Herbage and pasture in the park 40s (*CDI*, ii, no. 2340)

Location	Year	Associated names	Summary of documented information
Le Roche, Castleroche, Co. Louth	1378	Theobald de Verdun	A small plot called park and a garden lying around the castle (CIRCLE, PR 2 Rich. II, no. 38).
Loughrea, Co. Galway	1333	William de Burgh, Earl of Ulster	Park of 7 carucates worth nothing apart from its deer (*CIPM*, Ed. III, vii, no. 537; *Inq. & Ext. of Med. Ire.*, no. 262) (see Chapter 5).
Lucan, Co. Dublin	1299	Roesia dePeche and her husband John Hanstede Hugh de la Felde and Alianora his wife	Reference to rights of reasonable estovers for housebote and hayebote in the park of Lucan (*Cal. justic. rolls Ire.*, i, 222)
Maynooth, Co. Kildare	1328	Earl of Kildare, Johanna de Burgh	Extent of manor of Maynooth and assignment of dower of Maynooth, both mention the park and features within and adjacent. (*Red Bk. Kildare*, nos. 119, 120; *RPH*, Antiquissime Dorso no. 41, 3) (see Chapter 6).
Nenagh, Co. Tipperary	1299	Theobald Walter (Butler)	1299: King's permission sought to divert road to construct park. In 1338/9 lands called Le Dirre are described (*Cal. justic. rolls Ire.*, i, 234) (see Chapter 9)
Pouloc, Co. Down	1282	William FitzWarin	Park owned by William FitzWarin and containing tenants' beasts broken and beasts released (*CDI*, ii, no. 1918)
Senekyll, (Shankill), Co. Dublin	1326	Archbishop of Dublin	A park of oaks and thorns, 30a. no value in herbage or sale of underwood on account of war and another small park, 4a. no value for want of beasts and on account of war (*Archbishop Alen's Reg.*, 195)
Shanballymore, Co. Dublin	*c*. 1274	Robert Baggot, founder of the Carmelite friars	'Small park' (*Archbishop Alen's Reg.*, 146)
St Sepulchre's Colonia, Co. Dublin	1326	Archbishop of Dublin	66-acre woodland worth 20s a year with 'divers parks' (*Archbishop Alen's Reg.*, 170-2)

Location	Year	Associated names	Summary of documented information
Trim, Co. Meath	1388, 1400, 1401, 1425, 1425/6, 1427-9, 1430-1 and beyond	de Mortimer family and in the King's hand	Appointment and payment of parkers (*Cal. pat. rolls*, Hen. IV, i, 468; *Irish Excheq. Payments*, 562, 568; *RPH*, no. 38, 138; no. 22, 155-6; no. 83, 237; no. 46, 240; no. 28, 246)
Villa de Hacket, E. Ulster	1279	John son and heir of John Bisset	100 acres with a park (*Inq. & Ext. of Med. Ire.*, no. 36)
Welshtown, Co. Dublin	1276	Archbishop of Dublin	Wife of Elias le Waleys holds 55 acres with a park (*CDI*, ii, no. 1283)
Wexford, Co. Wexford	1275, 1324, 1324-5, 1331, 1335, 1336 (several), 1375/6, 1377, 1378, 1383, 1384, 1389, 1399, 1420	Earl Marshal and various heirs	Park of 60 acres containing oak trees and associated with Wexford castle, in 1324 it is worth nothing save for the pasturing of animals. Part of it was assigned in dower in 1324-5. In 1375/6 the pasture in the park was worth 13s 4d. In 1335-6 there was an issue where two separate individuals were assigned the custody of the castle and park of Wexford: The location of the park is detailed in 1378 (*Cal. fine rolls*, iv, 470; *Cal. pat. rolls*, Edw.III, iii, 123, 225-6, 257, 272, 320; *CDI*, ii, no. 1109; *CIPM*, Edw.II, vi, 339-40; Edw.III, xiv, 152-3; *CIRCLE*, PR I Rich. II, no. 11; Hore 1900-1911, v, 33, 106, 121, 123-4, 130; *Inq. & Ext. of Med. Ire.*, no. 339) (see Chapter 8).

Tab. A4.5: Specific parks

Appendix 5: Earlspark, Loughrea, Co. Galway

Appendix 5.1: Detailed survey of the park wall

A detailed walking survey was conducted in the townland of Earlspark, Loughrea, Co. Galway. The aim of this was to confirm that this was the high medieval park, to identify and record any traces of the park and to record any other features of archaeological significance. In addition, detailed topographical survey took place at the Northern Complex group of monuments and geophysical analysis was conducted at one of these, RMP No. GA105-080, as well as outside the gateway at the northeastern extent of the townland. The townland boundary is described travelling from E1 at the southwestern extent in an anti-clockwise manner to the northwestern extent at E46, internal features are then described (Fig. A5.1). An overview of the surrounding townlands is shown in Fig. A5.2.

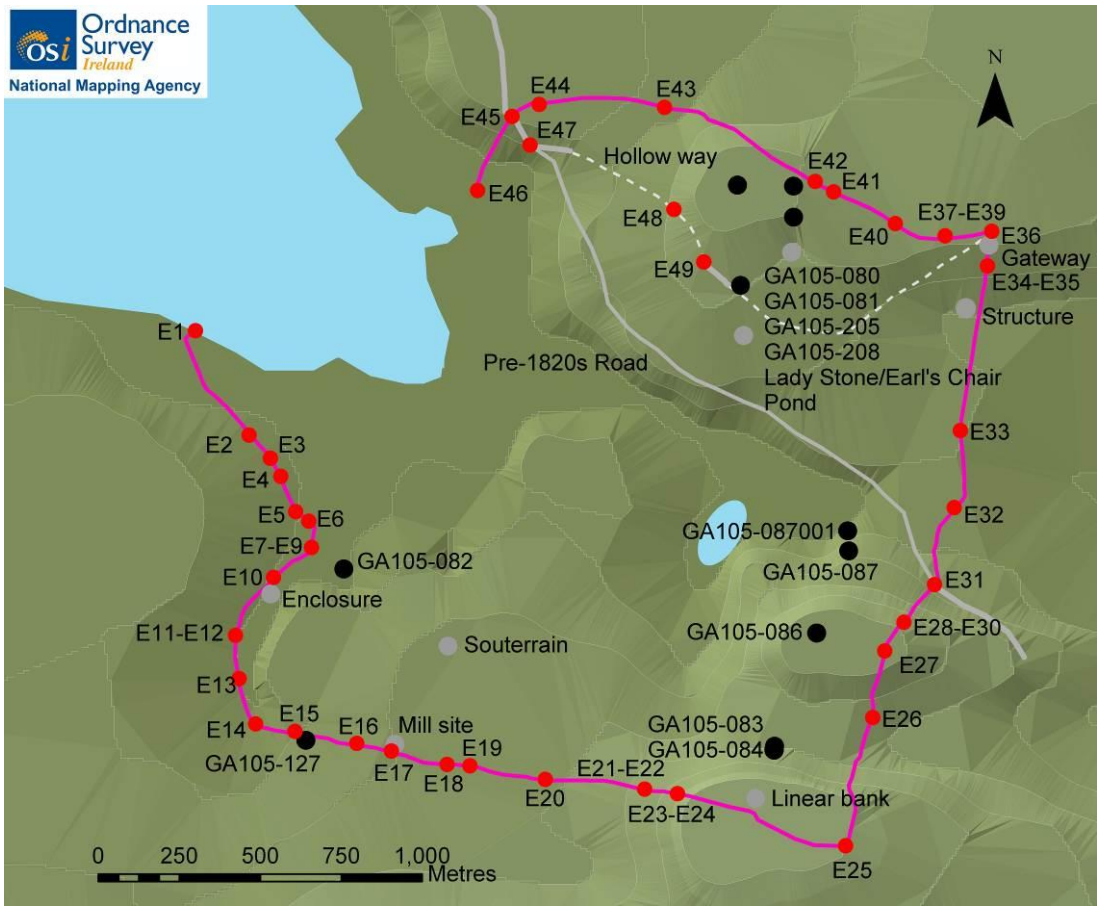


Fig. A5.1: Plan of Earlspark

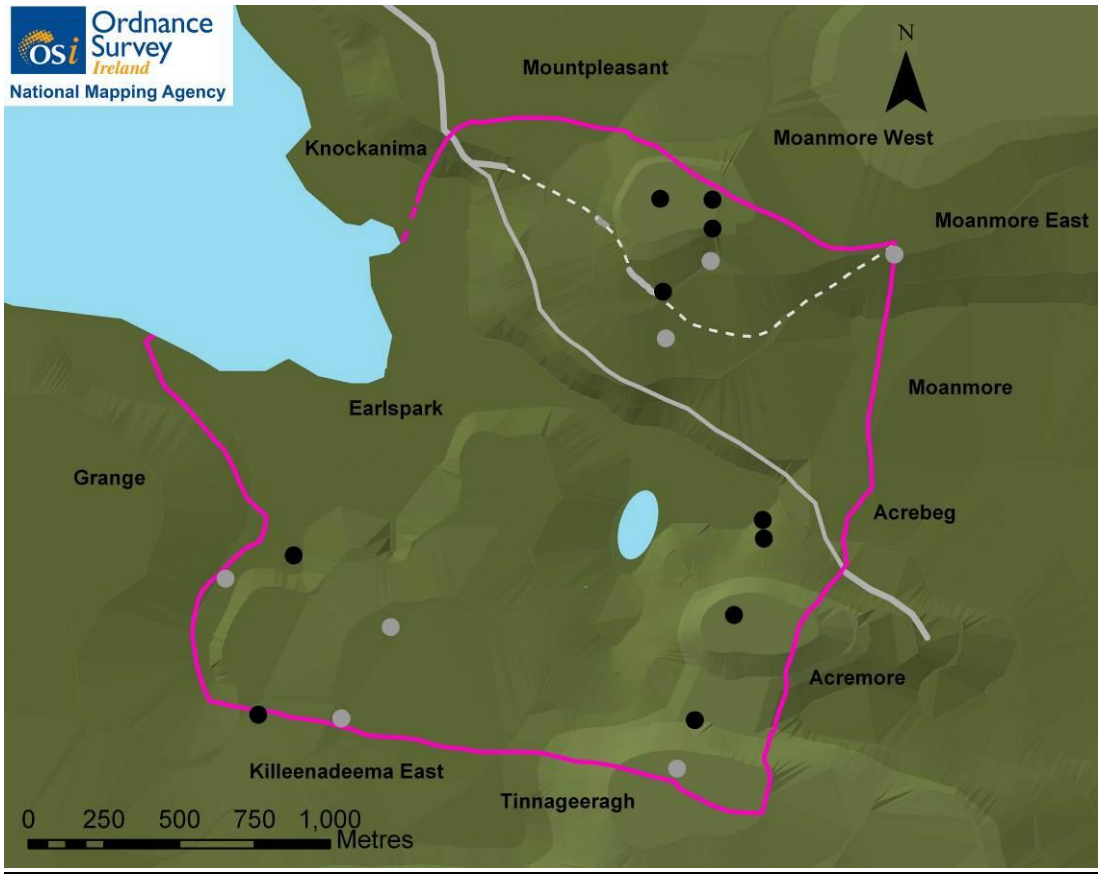


Fig. A5.2: Overview of surrounding townlands at Earlspark
(base mapping © Ordnance Survey Ireland/Government of Ireland Copyright Permit No. MP 0003612)

A5.1.1 Western boundary

At its southwestern extent (E1) the wall reached the limit of dry land and a line of stones extended into the water in the direction of Island McHugh (Pl. A5.1). The stones extending into the water were tumbled and generally rounded, suggesting that they were not part of the original structure, but given their position in the water, it is possible that a different construction technique was used at this point. The symbolic inclusion of Island McHugh within the boundary was notable. Inside the townland boundary the land immediately to the east of the lake was extremely wet and marshy, including extensive reed beds, except where a portion had been reclaimed to construct a modern house. This area was therefore surveyed from outside the boundary, where the land was higher and more safely and easily traversed.

Pl. A5.1: Western extent of the wall, E1

The wall along this edge of the townland headed southeast and for approximately 500m and ranged in height from absent to approximately 1.2m high, of which little appeared to be original. Due to the fall of the ground, the height of the wall was generally 0.3 – 0.5m higher when viewed from the inside of the townland compared to the outside. After 500m the wall rose to a height of over 2.2m on the outside and 2.5m on the inside of the townland, of which at least 2m appeared to be original. The wall was well-constructed at this point and well-mortared. This high section (E2) ran alongside a modern cattle shed so that it is possible that elsewhere along the length the wall had been robbed for stone and reduced in height but that the section adjacent to the cattle shed was retained at this height to disguise its presence from the adjoining Grange House property. The uppermost portion appeared to have been reconstructed and this may have occurred in order to ensure complete shielding of the shed. Brendan Haynes (*pers. comm.*), the farm manager at Grange House, stated that some parts of the wall had been reconstructed in his time, but he was not specific regarding which portions this related to. This high section continued, with varying amounts of reconstruction apparent, for a distance of approximately 50m (Pls. A5.2, A5.3).

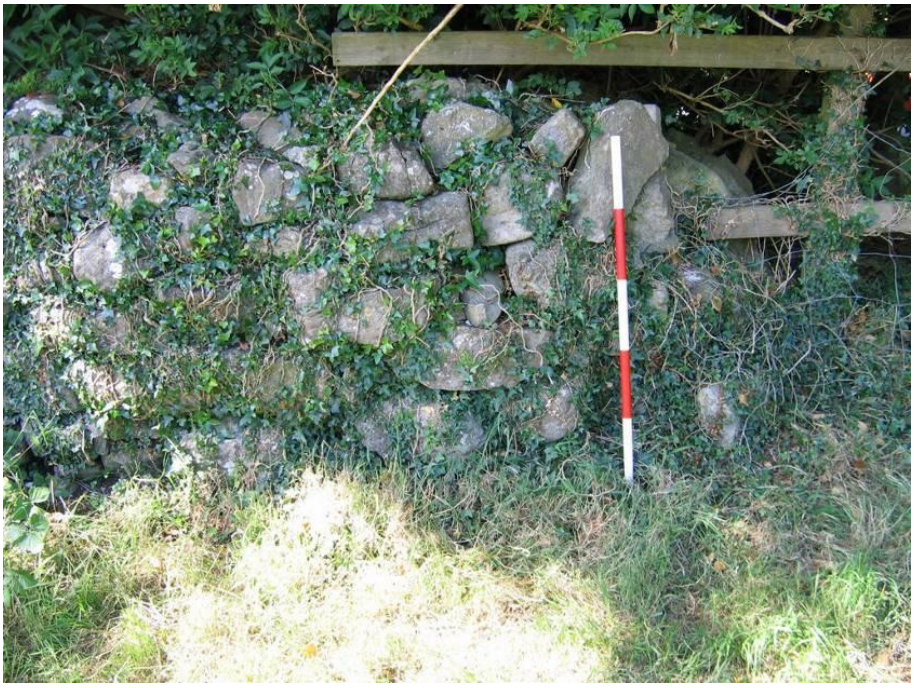
Pl. A5.2: High section of wall at cattle shed (from outside townland) showing 1.8m of original wall topped by modern repair, E2

Pl. A5.3: High section of wall close to cattle shed showing up to 2m of probable original wall topped by 0.4m of modern repair at centre, E2

After this the wall continued at a lower level for 150m before rising again to 2.2m or more for a short stretch close to the road to Killinadeema (E3). Where the townland boundary met the road (E4) there were tracks immediately to the north and south of the boundary and running parallel with it. These tracks had been cut into the land so that the boundary itself was positioned on a bank 2m above the surrounding tracks. Pl. A5.4.

Pl. A5.4: Bank of townland boundary at Killeenadeema road, showing track cut in immediately to the south, E4

Crossing the road, the townland boundary ran alongside a track, with the fence of a modern house forming the boundary itself (E5). At the end of the garden, walling reappeared but for the first stretch this was all reconstructed (E6) (Pl. A5.5).



Pl. A5.5: Start of reconstructed wall at end of garden, E6

The townland boundary then curved round in a reverse 'S' that ran generally southwards (E7-E10). The boundary was formed by a steep bank that rose up almost vertically to a height of approximately 3m, with 1m of modern wall on the top. In places this bank was revetted by a wall up to 1.8m high, which, where present, was protected by heavy undergrowth (Pls. A5.6-A5.8). Initially, inside the boundary there was a level track running parallel with the boundary and rising approximately 0.5m above the surrounding land, which was very marshy and difficult to traverse. It is likely that this whole bank section was originally reveted by stonework but that this has been robbed, with the stone used to construct the trackway in order to provide access to this low-lying marshy land.

Pl. A5.6: 3m of bank with 1.8m+ of wall forming a revetment, E7

Pl. A5.7: 2.5m+ of vertically sided bank topped by a 1m modern wall, E8

Pl. A5.8: Close up of revetment wall protected by heavy undergrowth, E9

After approximately 250m the townland boundary met a long ridge running north-south and rose up along the length of this ridge. At the start of this ridge there was an unrecorded enclosure, probably a ringfort, which underlay, and hence predated the wall (see Section A5.5).

At the townland boundary there was heavy undergrowth and beyond this the wall disappeared for a short stretch, with the boundary being formed by hedgerow. A short distance beyond this, the wall was approximately 0.8m high, all of which appeared to be original. It was then intersected by a track 3m wide (E11) entering from the road that ran to the west of the townland boundary. The ends of the wall where the track entered the townland were unfortunately too heavily overgrown to determine whether the track predated or postdated the wall (Pl. A5.9).

Pl. A5.9: Track enters from road to west, E11

Just after the track entered the townland the height of the wall rose up again to approximately 1.9m, consisting of nine courses of stonework, all apparently original, and remained at this height for some time before dropping to 1.6m and then 1.4m, mainly original, over a length of 200m (E12-E13) (Pl. A5.10).

Pl. A5.10: Wall nine courses high, E12

Some 300m south of this track the southern extent of the townland was reached and the townland boundary turned to the east, with a stream running inside the townland boundary at E14. There was another track in from the road to the west and a bridge over the stream at the boundary, so that at this point the stream entered the townland before heading northwards into the marshy ground previously traversed. The surface of the bridge was covered with concrete, but the bridge itself was stone built (Pl. A5.11).

Pl. A5.11: Bridge over the stream, E14

A5.1.2 Southern boundary

From here the wall ran eastward, forming the southern boundary of the townland. After a distance of 140m, rising gradually from the floor of the valley to a height of 100m OD was RMP No. GA105-127, recorded as a horizontal mill, and known locally as Hawkin's Old House. This lay just outside the townland boundary (E15). Little of the townland boundary wall leading to this point was original, with the total height being generally 1.2-1.6m high, and this continued for another 180m beyond Hawkin's Old House until E16, where 1.4m of original wall was preserved by undergrowth (Pl. A5.12).

Pl. A5.12: Undergrowth protecting original wall, E16

Beyond this point, preservation of the original wall was good, with 1m – 1.6m of original wall present for a distance of some 300m to E18. Along this stretch, at E17, there was a small arch in the original stonework that had been blocked off at some time after construction. The arch measured 1m high by *c*. 2m wide and was positioned at the base of the wall. This stretch of the wall lay in a boggy triangle of relatively low-lying ground that spanned the western end of the field in which it lay, and the eastern end of the previous field. Local historian Seamus O'Grady (*pers. comm*.) believes that this is the location of a horizontal mill and that the arch was used to conduct water for the mill, an interpretation that is highly likely to be correct (Pl. A5.1.3).

Pl. A5.13: Blocked arch in stonework, E17

After a relatively well-preserved stretch of wall, extending as far as E18, the overall height of the wall and of the original portion dropped, with very little if any original stonework remaining. At E19 a gateway has been created through the wall, obviously post-dating it. The base of the wall was clearly visible in the gateway, showing that at this point the wall had a basal thickness of 1m and clearly demonstrating the construction techniques used (Pl. A5.14).

Pl. A5.14: Modern access through wall showing the basal construction, E19

At E20 the wall was bisected by a modern road that is not present on the 1st Edition map, is shown as a footpath on the 2nd Edition map and as a road on the 3rd Edition map. After this the wall continued much as before. The field containing points E21 and E22 was well preserved, with much of the wall in this field being original and extant to a maximum height of 1.8m (Pls. A5.15; A5.16). This stretch was protected by ivy, undergrowth and hedgerow. From this point onwards the ground began to rise uphill, with the southeast corner of the townland being close to the top of the hill.

Pl. A5.15: Well preserved stretch protected by undergrowth, E21

Pl. A5.16: Well preserved stretch protected by undergrowth, E22

Beyond this point the wall and the height of the original portion dropped again for 100m until E23-E24 when for a stretch of 50m the wall was generally above 2m in height with much of this being original. In places this extremely well-preserved section was visible above a bank up to 0.5m high, however, it is possible that the wall extends to the base of this and that the bank has built up against the wall over time or, less likely, that the bank predates the wall (Pl. A5.17). Excavation would be required to determine which possibility is true.

Pl. A5.17: Well preserved wall and 0.5m high bank, E23

At the top of the hill there was an Ordnance Survey trigonometric point, built on the highest point on a quarried outcrop, with the townland boundary curving round to the south to respect the outcrop and hilltop. Views from this location were extensive and at 168m OD this was the highest point in the townland. To the north was a hill that restricted the visibility of the part of the townland beyond this, but much of the southern portion of Earlspark was visible, as well as the lake and the town of Loughrea.

Much of the townland boundary wall in this field was reconstructed, with little or no original wall remaining. After the trigonometric point the townland boundary wall continued eastwards for a further 250m on the ridge of the hill, before reaching the

southeastern corner of the townland at E25. At this point the townland boundary turned to run northwards along the eastern side of the townland. The wall formed a tight curve suggesting a single phase of construction. The southern portion of the wall was 1.5m high and well-constructed, with five courses of stones typically 0.4m by 0.2 – 0.3m in size topped by two further courses of smaller stones that may have been reconstructed. As the wall continued around the curve the wall became increasingly rubbly. It was heavily covered in lichen, suggesting that it was not recent, but the rubbly nature suggests that while the line of the curve may be original the actual wall has probably been rebuilt at some point in time (Pl. A5.18).

Pl. A5.18: Curved wall at the southeast corner of the townland, E25

A5.1.3 Eastern boundary

The wall then ran northwards downhill for a distance of 330m to the bottom of a steep-sided east-west valley separating this hill from the next. Over this stretch the wall typically had a height of 1m – 1.6m of which up to 1m appeared to be original, with considerable quantities of mortar visible in the basal courses. A road running along the valley is first shown on the 3rd Edition map. It has since been extended westwards by some 100m as a gravel track, so that it approaches the townland boundary before turning north and running up the hill on the north side of the valley. This recent track serves a water reservoir and a telecommunications mast, which

have been constructed at the top of the hill. The townland boundary ran up the hill for 280m immediately to the east of the track. In most places along this length the wall was either absent, or was a modern reconstruction to a maximum height of 1.4m, however there are places such as E26, where the original wall did remain intact (Pl. A5.19).

Pl. A5.19: Original wall immediately to the east of the track, E26

The townland boundary crested the hill at a height of 143m OD at E27. From this point there were excellent views of the surrounding countryside, with almost the entire townland visible as well as Lough Rea and the town itself. This high point provided the most extensive views of the townland and the surrounding area and the hill was surmounted by a hilltop enclosure (RMP No. GA105-086). Extending down the hill northwards from this point was a field system (RMP No. GA105-087) and at the bottom of the hill was an enclosure (RMP No. GA105:087001). A water reservoir and a telecommunications mast sat at the top of the hill, in the field immediately to the east of RMP No. GA105-086. There is no record of any requirement for archaeological monitoring of works in constructing the telecommunications tower and access track in the documentation associated with the planning application for this development (Galway Co. Co., planning ref. 043725).

At the top of the hill, at E27, adjacent to the water tower, the townland boundary wall stood to a height of 2.2m for a distance of 25m.

The wall then dropped in height for a distance of 40m, before rising up again in the next field to a height of 2.2m at E28. This continued for 20m, then there was a stretch of reconstructed wall for some 25m to E29 and then a stretch of 2.2 – 2.5m high wall for a further 20m to E30 (Pl. A5.20).

Pl. A5.20: Overview of a high stretch of wall protected by bushes. Taken from outside the townland, E28

Approximately 2m to the south of E30 was a sub-rectangular aperture in the wall. This is visible on the left of Pl. A5.21 and is shown in detail in Pl. A5.22 and Pl. A5.23. It measured 0.2m x 0.2m and was situated 0.8m above ground level. It ran completely through the wall and a loose stone was partially blocking the hole on one side. The rubble core of the wall was not visible in the base or roof of the hole, instead facing stones had been used to construct the aperture. The function of this hole was unclear, however it does appear to have been part of the original construction of the wall. One possibility is that it is somehow related to the recorded monuments immediately to the west. It may have been a 'delivery slot' to allow

objects to be passed into and out of the enclosed park without having to visit a gate. A small aperture would have allowed small items to be passed through but would have prevented larger items, such as haunches of venison, from being removed from the townland.

Pl. A5.21: Taken from outside the townland boundary. Note the rectangular hole on the left of the picture, E30

Pl. A5.22: Taken from outside the townland boundary. Close-up of the rectangular hole in the wall, E30

Pl. A5.23: Taken from inside the townland boundary. Close-up of the rectangular hole in the wall, E30

After E30 the wall continued downhill in a northerly direction for 140m to E31. This stretch had a height of approximately 1m, little of which was original. At E31 the wall was bisected by a track, which is the remains of the old Loughrea to Dalystown road, which is now used only for access to a house in Acremore townland. To the north of the track the wall continued much as before for a further 250m until it reached and was cut by the modern Loughrea-Dalystown road at E32. This stretch was typically 0.8 - 1.3m high, with generally only 0.2m – 0.4m of original wall remaining.

To the north of the road, the wall continued for a further 200m in much the same condition. At E33 the remains of a track leading off from the modern road intersected the wall. On the 1st and 2nd Edition maps the track left the road 200m to the west of the townland boundary and ran north-east, passed through the townland boundary wall and led to a farm in Moanmore townland. By the 3rd Edition the track extended only as far as the townland boundary, and today the last 100m of this was present only as a grassy hollow way, with no obvious sign of the track beyond the townland boundary wall. The point at which the track crossed the townland boundary (E33) was heavily overgrown but unsurprisingly, this appeared to be reconstructed wall.

Heading north from this point, the ground was generally flat, eventually becoming extremely boggy and wet to the point of being impassable close to the wall. It was necessary to traverse the ground away from the townland boundary, which could not be inspected. The 25" map shows a spring with associated stream feeding down into this area from the northwest. Immediately to the north of the boggy ground was a rectangular structure visible as a raised grassy bank (Pl. A5.24). This measured 33m north-south by 8m east west and ran alongside and parallel to the townland boundary wall. It is not shown on any edition of the Ordnance Survey maps, and is located at NGR 164335 214662.

Pl. A5.24: Unrecorded rectangular structure

The wall continued at a height of 0.8 – 1.4m with only one or two original courses until a 50m stretch from E34 to E35 where the wall was generally 1.4 – 1.8m high, possibly mostly original, including, in places, a stony, grass-covered batter of 0.4 - 0.6m height. This batter may represent an underlying bank or, more likely an area in which material has built up against the base of the wall (Pl. A5.25).

Pl. A5.25: 1.4m of wall including 0.4m of stony batter, E35

A5.1.4 Gateway: Northeast corner of the townland

Some 65m north of E35 there wa a gateway feature (E36), which was situated in the northeast corner of the townland (Pl. A5.26). The ground rose steeply up to this point from both the south and the west but flattened out beyond the townland boundary to the east and north. This gateway appeared to be part of the original construction of the wall. Rather than gate 'pillars' as such, it was formed by two wall-ends meeting at approximate right angles. These wall ends were 3.04m (10ft) apart on the outer, eastern edge. Each wall end was 2.4m high and survived for approximately 2m before dropping down to a height of 0.6 – 0.8m, with much of this lower portion rebuilt. The thickness of the walls at the ends was typically 0.9m, so that they were the same thickness as the other surveyed parts of the townland boundary. The space between the two wall ends was filled with poorly constructed dry-stone rubble wall to a height of 0.6m. The walls of the gateway were very well mortared, particularly on the outside and may have been rendered at some time in the past.

Pl. A5.26: The gateway from the west, E36

There were a number of features of particular interest on both the northern and the southern wall ends. The south wall end survived to its full height with a rounded top that was clearly visible when viewed from the north (Pl. A5.27). This had a sub-circular aperture measuring 0.145m across and 0.14m high positioned 1.06m above

modern ground level on the north face of the wall. This aperture extended 0.52m into the wall and the form of the stones showed that it had been built into the construction rather than being hollowed out afterwards. It was positioned 0.28m from the eastern edge of the wall and 0.2m from the western edge. Since the line of the wall and of the aperture was slightly angled this aperture did not align directly with the north wall, but instead pointed in the approximate direction of the eastern edge of the northern wall end. The western edge of the wall end had a recess or reveal measuring 0.24m east-west built in to its thickness. At the base this had a width of 0.15m north-south, rising to 0.23m at a height of 1.83m above ground level, where the recess terminated.

Pl. A5.27: Southern wall end viewed from the north, showing the central aperture and the western recess in the wall end

The northern wall end also survived to the full height, with the first 2m being constructed from stones typically 0.35-0.5m x 0.2m high, and the top being formed from smaller stones to create a rounded effect (Pl. A5.28). The north wall end incorporated a reused piece of cut masonry in the south face (Pls. A5.29; A5.30;

A5.31). This rectangular piece measured 0.6m east-west and 0.11m high with the base 1.69m above ground level. There was a rectangular slot 0.05m wide by 0.02m high cut into the stone 0.26m from the eastern end. When viewed from below it was just possible to see a channel approximately 0.01m deep running along the east-west face of the stone 0.037m back from the face, providing further evidence that this was a reused piece of stone. Vertical tooling could be seen on the stone itself, with eight lines visible over a distance of 0.06m. This tooling suggests an eighteenth- or nineteenth-century date for this stone (Miriam Clyne, *pers. comm.*). There was also evidence of repair on the southern face of the northern wall end, which was visible as an oval patch of poorer quality stonework measuring 1.1m by 0.6m wide and starting *c.* 0.5m above ground level, so that it is likely that the cut stone, which is very different to the rest of the fabric of the wall, was probably added during these repairs (Pl. A5.32). It is therefore likely that the gateway was repaired in the eighteenth or early nineteenth century.

Pl. A5.28: Northern wall end from the east (outside)

Pl. A5.29: Resused masonry piece

Pl. A5.30: Vertical tooling on the reused masonry piece

Pl. A5.31: Grooved channel on the reused masonry piece, viewed from below

Pl. A5.32: Northern wall end from the south showing re-used cut-stone masonry and repair

The area immediately outside the gateway was uneven and overgrown with nettles, suggesting disturbed ground (Pl. A5.33). This area is shown as a copse on all three editions of the 6" map, and as being walled on the 1st and 2nd Editions (Fig. A5.3). A line of substantial mature beech trees have grown on the outside of the townland boundary with one tree growing directly in front of the gateway, demonstrating that the planting of this tree post-dates the gateway falling out of use (Pl. A5.34). Damage to the trunks of all of these trees shows that when still young they have all had branches removed from a height of *c*. 1.5m above ground level. Currently the tree that partially blocks the gateway has a circumference of 2.8m at a height of 0.9m, i.e. below the damage, and 2.1m at 1.6m i.e. above the damage, suggesting that the trees are a considerable age. The presence of the copse on the 1st Edition map demonstrates that the gateway fell out of use prior to this being surveyed in 1838, and this suggests an earlier rather than later date for the repair of the gateway. A geophysical survey was carried out in this area in order to provide further information on any structures that may have been present immediately outside the gateway.

Pl. A5.33: Location of disturbed ground and former walled copse outside the gateway, from the northeast

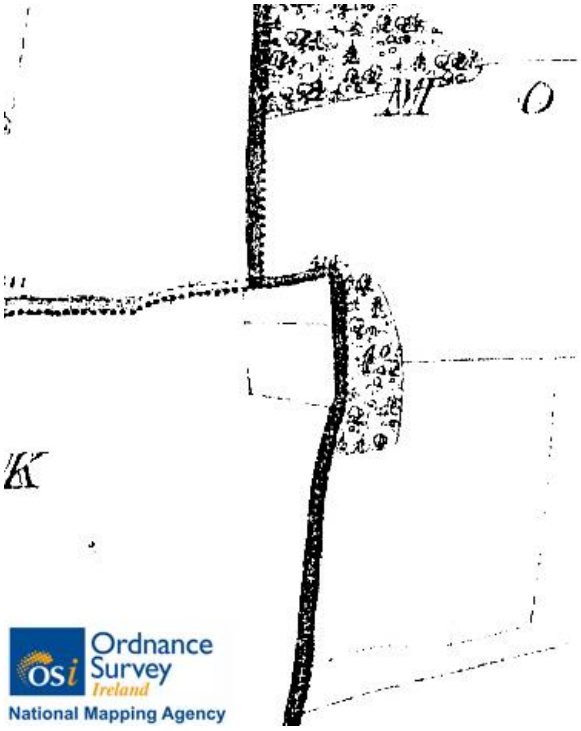


Fig. A5.3: Detail of the walled copse at the gateway, (1st Edition 1837-1842)

Pl. A5.34: Line of beech trees immediately outside the townland boundary at the gateway, looking south

The geophysical survey was carried out in June 2010 by Martina McCarthy, Geophysical Consultant, with fieldwork assistance by Fiona Beglane, Olive Carey and Bri Greene, and is included in full as Appendix 5.9 (McCarthy 2010). Magnetic gradiometry identified a number of anomalies (Fig. A5.4). Two areas of magnetic enhancement, M1.1 and M1.2 were immediately to the north and east of the gateway. There are a number of possibilities for these signals including archaeological features, but also potentially including decayed tree roots. A number of pit-type anomalies (M1.3), were found to define a 10m diameter circular zone lying 45m to the southeast of the gateway. These may be evidence of burning or of pits containing strongly magnetic material. A number of dipolar anomalies in an area around M1.3 indicate ferrous material or stone with high iron content. A range of poorly defined circular and oval anomalies are probably natural in origin while several weak parallel linear features (M1.15) may be due to ploughing, drainage or to a possible trackway (McCarthy 2010, 12-3). A raised linear feature was visible during the survey in the area to the north of the gate. This ran north-south and other, similar, but less well defined linear features ran parallel with this. The most defined of these may be evidence of a trackway heading north, or these may indicate ploughing.

The earth resistance survey showed a semi-circular area of high resistance extending *c*. 6m east and *c*. 15m south of the gateway (R1.1) (Fig. A5.5). This is likely to be compact, stony ground and may represent a cobbled surface. An arc of stony ground (R1.2) extending *c*. 15m southeast of R1.1 probably also represents a similar surface or a trackway, but was noted to be parallel with the line of the former copse boundary, so that it could also represent debris from an enclosing wall. Linear features R1.8 and R1.9 are parallel bands that correlate with M1.15, and may be associated with a trackway or more likely with ploughing. A number of sub-circular anomalies within the bounds of the former copse may be related to this, or may be archaeological in origin. A series of curvilinear bands R1.10-1.14 were poorly defined and did not correlate with the magnetic results, suggesting that they may be natural in origin (McCarthy 2010, 14-5).

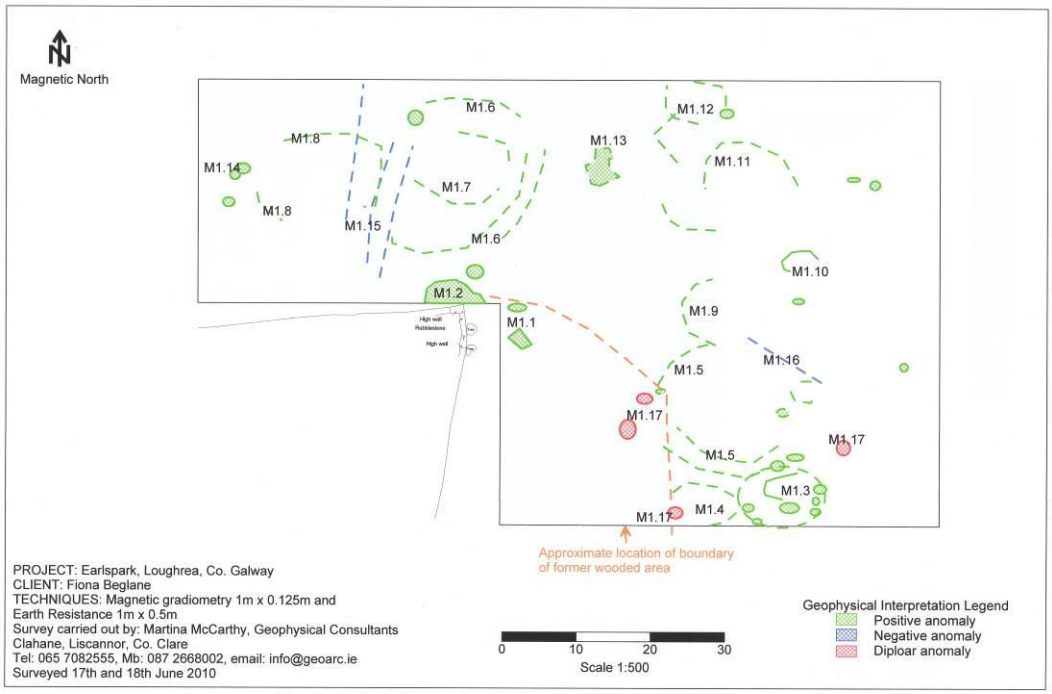


Figure 6. Geophysical interpretation plot of the magnetic gradiometry survey results, Site 1.

Fig. A5.4: Interpretation of magnetic gradiometry at the gateway (after McCarthy 2010, Fig. 6)

Figure 8. Geophysical interpretation plot of the earth resistance survey results, Site 1.

Fig. A5.5: Interpretation of earth resistance at the gateway (after McCarthy 2010, Fig. 8)

The evidence suggests that these wall ends formed a gateway in the townland boundary wall and that this was originally closed with a wooden gate, which closed into the recess on the southern wall end and was secured by a bar pushed into the circular aperture on this wall end. It is likely that the gate was hung either directly from stonework in the now-repaired area or from a post attached to the now-repaired area. Since the recess is on the inside edge of the gate and the bar-hole is centrally placed this means that the gate was secured from the outside rather than the inside of the townland. During the early nineteenth century there was a walled copse of trees in the uneven disturbed ground immediately outside the gate, suggesting that it was considered to be unsuitable for agriculture at that time. A possibility is that a gatehouse was originally present at this site, with the only trace now being the disturbed ground. This putative gatehouse would have allowed the gate to the park to be shut from the outside and would have provided protection from poachers. Geophysical survey suggests that there is an area of stony ground, potentially a cobbled surface to the east and south of the gateway, which would explain why it was unsuitable for agriculture. It is highly unlikely that a park gate would be left unguarded, but timber structures would not be easily identified using geophysics. While other geophysical anomalies were more ephemeral, there was evidence for potential burning and for the presence of ferrous materials. There were also curvilinear and sub-circular features that could potentially indicate buildings or enclosures. The possibility of a hamlet of wooden buildings in the area outside the park gate cannot therefore be discounted.

A5.1.5 North and northwestern boundary

Heading west along the northern boundary of the townland from E36 the wall continued much as before. Some 50m west of the gateway feature a modern gateway connected lands inside and outside the townland at E37. The wall ends at this point were rough and jagged, demonstrating that this feature post-dates the creation of the wall.

Beyond this there were a series of points where the wall survived to 2m or greater, sometimes protected by vegetation, as at E38 (Pl. A5.35), but sometimes with the stonework partially exposed as at E39 (Pl. A5.36).

Pl. A5.35: 2m+ stonework protected by vegetation, E38

Pl. A3.36: Exposed original stonework, E39

A well preserved section of wall measuring over 2m running for approximately 20m was noted at E40, unprotected by vegetation. In places the outer facing of the wall had disappeared, exposing the mortared rubble core of the wall (Pl. A5.37).

Pl. A5.37: 20m stretch of wall at 2m height, E40

Immediately outside the townland boundary there was a wide ditch or hollow way running parallel with the boundary. This is shown on all three editions of the 6" map where it extends westward for 500m from an external field boundary close to the northeast corner of the townland to a now-ruined building at E41, which is also marked on the maps (Pl. A5.38). Enroute this track passed a disused quarry at NGR 164158 214956, which is also shown on the 1st Edition map.

Pl. A5.38: Hollow-way on the external side of the townland boundary, E39

A13m section of wall 1.8m high was found at E42, in the same field and immediately adjacent to the large ringfort (RMP No. GA105-080) described below in Section A5.3 (Pl. A5.39). Beyond this point the wall dropped back to 1m – 1.4m in height with 0 – 1.2m of original walling present. This continued until E43, where a heavily overgrown section of 2m high wall was present for a length of 6m.

Pl. A5.39: 1.8m high wall adjacent to the large ringfort (RMP No. GA105-080), E42

After this the wall continued as before until E44 where a modern field gate entered the townland. A short distance beyond this, at E45 a hollow way entered the townland from the direction of Loughrea. At this point the wall blocked off the rout of the hollow way, but it was a reconstructed section and no gate pillars or edges were visible. This hollow way was the route of the original Loughrea to Dalystown road, marked as a track on the 1st Edition map and subsequently as a field boundary (Pls. A5.40; A5.41). Beyond this, the townland boundary consisted of a 1m high replacement wall, on top of a 1.5m high revetment caused by the ground on the outside being higher than that on the inside (Pl. A5.42). It is likely that this revetment has been artificially scarped to provide an effective barrier.

Pl. A5.40: Point at which the hollow way enters Earlspark, E45

Pl. A5.41: Hollow way extending eastwards into the townland, E45

Pl. A5.42: Looking southeast from the hollow way entrance the townland boundary revetment is topped by reconstructed wall, E45

The remainder of the wall as far as the modern Loughrea-Killeenadeema road was mainly replacement wall construction. At the road (E46) the boundary curved round and was integrated into the construction of the road, which was elevated above the fields to the north and south. At the far side of the road there was no evidence of the townland boundary wall. The 1st Edition map shows the townland boundary continuing to the shoreline of the lake. A wall is shown on the 1895 25" map. No wall was visible in the summer of 2009, when a short stretch of grass was followed by a heavily overgrown inaccessible copse of trees before the shore of the lake was reached. The wall along the road edge was very similar in construction to the townland boundary and it is likely that during the building of the road stone from the wall was reused and this curve constructed.

Appendix 5.2: Archaeological and natural features in and adjacent to Earlspark

A number of features of various dates and types are present in Earlspark or immediately adjacent to the townland. Some of these are recorded as archaeological monuments, while others are not (Tab. A5.1; A5.2). The townland boundary wall and a number of the other features have been described elsewhere in this chapter and where relevant the reader is referred to the relevant sections.

Townland(s)	**RMP No.**	**Description based on RMP, NMS topographical files and site visit**
Earlspark	GA105-080	Ringfort. Bivallate. Internal diameter 50m NE-SW. (Section A5.3)
Earlspark	GA105-081	Ringfort. Univallate. Internal diameter 20m N-S. (Section A5.3)
Earlspark	GA105-082	Non-archaeological secular well. Pollacappul well. Natural spring well.
Earlspark	GA105-083	Children's Burial Ground. Known as Kilnabasty at Tobernacoagh well (RMP No. GA105-084). Grave slabs define limit of site 10.3m N-S by 9.7m E-W
Earlspark	GA105-084	Non-archaeological secular well at Tobernacoagh. Natural spring well. Children's burial ground RMP No. GA105-083 is adjacent
Earlspark	GA105-085	Natural feature – natural feature noted on aerial survey as possible earthwork
Earlspark	GA105-086	Hillfort. Univallate. 200m E-W by 150m N-S enclosing the summit of a hill.
Earlspark	GA105-087 GA105-087001	Field System and enclosure – series of banks visible extending down the hill covering an area of c. 350m by 150m. A small enclosure 20m SW-NE by 10m SE-NW lies just to the west.
Earlspark	GA105-088	Natural Feature – recently quarried hill noted on aerial survey as possible earthwork
Earlspark	GA105-089	Non-antiquity – noted on aerial survey as possible antiquity. Recently levelled hillock used as dump for quarried material

Tab. A5.1: Recorded archaeological and natural features in Earlspark and surrounding townlands

Townland(s)	**RMP No.**	**Description based on RMP, NMS topographical files and site visit**
Earlspark	GA105-090	Non-antiquity – noted on aerial survey as possible antiquity. Recently levelled area used as dump for rubble, former house site
Earlspark	GA105-205 GA105-205001 GA105-205002	Enclosure, hut site and house site. Roughly circular hilltop enclosure 115m N-S by 100m E-W. (Section A5.3)
Earlspark	GA105-208	Enclosure. 21m N-S by 16.5m E-W. (Section A5.3)
Acre Beg	GA105-001	Ringfort – Bivallate, diameter 40.5m N/S. Just outside the eastern extent of Earlspark. Townland boundary curves at this point to respect the ringfort.
Killeenadeema East	GA105-127	Horizontal mill – Hawkins' Old House. Not visited by NMI due to bull in field (Section A5.7).
Killeenadeema East	GA105-232	Enclosure possible – circular enclosure lying just outside the townland boundary
Lough Rea (lake)	GA105-193	Crannog. Island McHugh/McCoo. Described by Wood-Martin (1886, 225, 228-9), partially excavated by Kinahan (1861-4). Contained gun barrels and bronze spear heads and with structural timbers still present at the time.
Lough Rea (lake)	GA105-227	Crannog. Stone Islands (South)

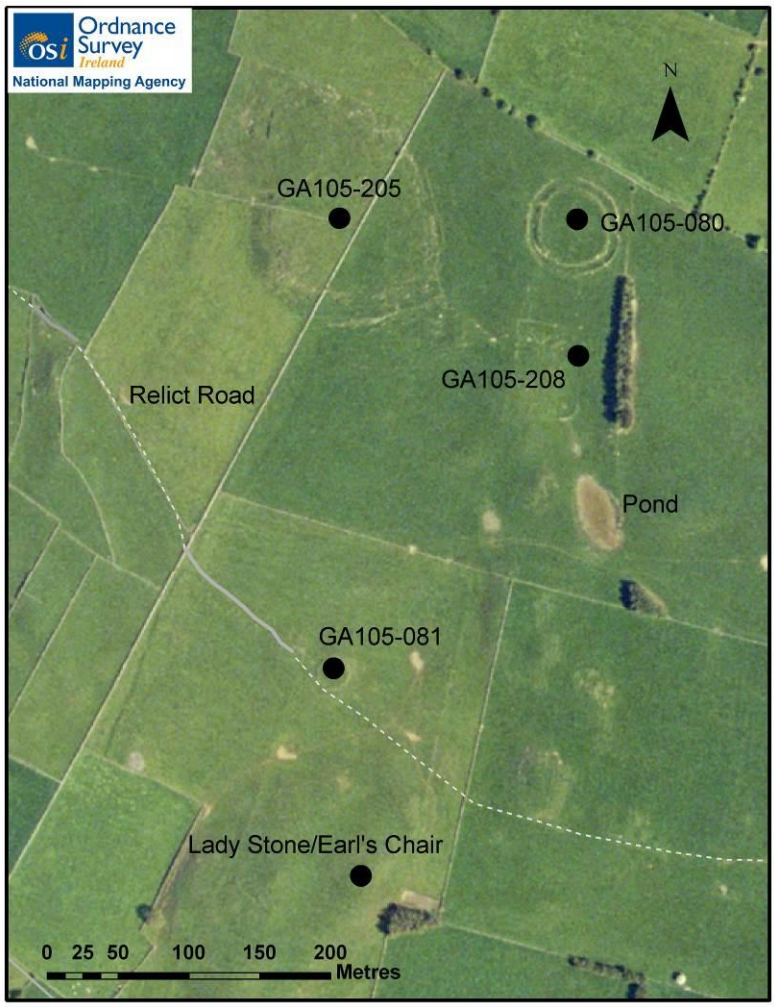
Tab. A5.1: Recorded archaeological and natural features in Earlspark and surrounding townlands (continued)

Townland(s)	**Description based on site visit**
Earlspark / Knockanima / Mountpleasant / Moanmore West / Moanmore East / Moanmore / Acre Beg / Acre More / Loughaun / Tinageeragh / Killeenadeema East / Grange	Townland boundary wall with gate feature at IM64358 14858 (Section A5.1)
Earlspark /Killeenadeema East	Possible horizontal mill site at IM62404 13280, E17 (Section A5.1.2)
Earlspark	Rectangular enclosure at IM 64335 14662 (Section A5.1.3)
Earlspark	Pond at IM63770 14798. Possibly artificial. Part of Northern Complex (Section A5.3)
Earlspark	The 'Lady Stone' or 'Earl's Chair' at IM63606 14536. Standing stone. Part of Northern Complex (Section A5.3)
Earlspark / Knockanima / Mountpleasant	Hollow way of old Loughrea-Dalystown road entering Earlspark at E45 (Section A5.4)
Earlspark	Hollow way connecting Loughrea-Dalystown road with the gateway at the northeast of the park (Section A5.4)
Earlspark	Enclosure at IM62125 13758. Probable ringfort (Section A5.5)
Earlspark	Souterrain at IM62686 13573 (Section A5.6)
Earlspark	Linear feature at IM63637 13075, adjacent to trig point and extending northward for 60m (Section A5.8)
Earlspark	Quarry within townland at IM63306 21344
Moanmore West	Quarry lying immediately north of the townland boundary at IM64158 14936
Moanmore West	Hollow way parallel to and immediately outside the northern portion of Earlspark townland boundary. Runs to a building shown on 1st Edition map.

Tab. A5.2: Unrecorded archaeological and relevant natural features in Earlspark

Appendix 5.3: Northern Complex: RMP No. GA105-080, RMP No. GA105-205, RMP No. GA105-081, RMP No. GA105-208, Pond, Lady Stone/Earl's Chair

A number of recorded monuments and other features were present in an area measuring 600m northeast-southwest by 400m northwest-southeast and located midway between the eastern and western extents of the northern section of the park (Pl. A5.43). These may be inter-related features, so they have been termed the 'Northern Complex' and a detailed description is presented.



Pl. A5.43: Aerial photograph of the Northern Complex

A5.3.1 RMP No. GA105-080

A large enclosure that is recorded in the RMP as a ringfort (RMP No. GA105-080) lay immediately to the south of the townland boundary midway between the eastern

and western sides of the townland. This was bivallate with a single ditch separating the internal and external banks (Pl. A5.44). It was essentially circular, with an external diameter of *c*. 70m and an internal diameter of maximum 50m NW-SE. The single, flat-bottomed ditch was *c*. 3.5m wide at the base and *c*. 7m at the top. The enclosure had an entrance on the eastern side, measuring *c*. 2.5m wide at the base. Inside the southern half of the enclosure were four linear features aligned east-west and forming a rough T-shape that measured 16m north-south by 17m east-west, while a second group of smaller east-west aligned features lay at the northern extent of the enclosure.

Pl. A5.44: RMP No. GA105-080: Flat-bottomed ditch separating enclosure banks

The enclosure and the surrounding area extending westwards to include RMP No. GA105-205 were topographically surveyed using a total station. This was carried out in June 2009 and April 2010 by Fiona Beglane with fieldwork assistance from Fergal Nevin. The survey collected 3820 datapoints spread over an area measuring 235m north-south by 320m east-west, but with a concentration in the area of the archaeological features RMP No. GA105-080 and RMP No. GA105-205 (Fig. A5.6, A5.7).

A series of banks representing disused field boundaries extended from the enclosure, aligned northeast-southwest. Two of these extended southwest until they met a natural scarp line that had been modified to form a bank running northwest-southeast. This dog-legged to follow the natural lie of the land to the northwest until it met a bank (RMP No. GA105-205), that encircled the eastern half of a natural hill, and which will be described in Section A5.2.3.

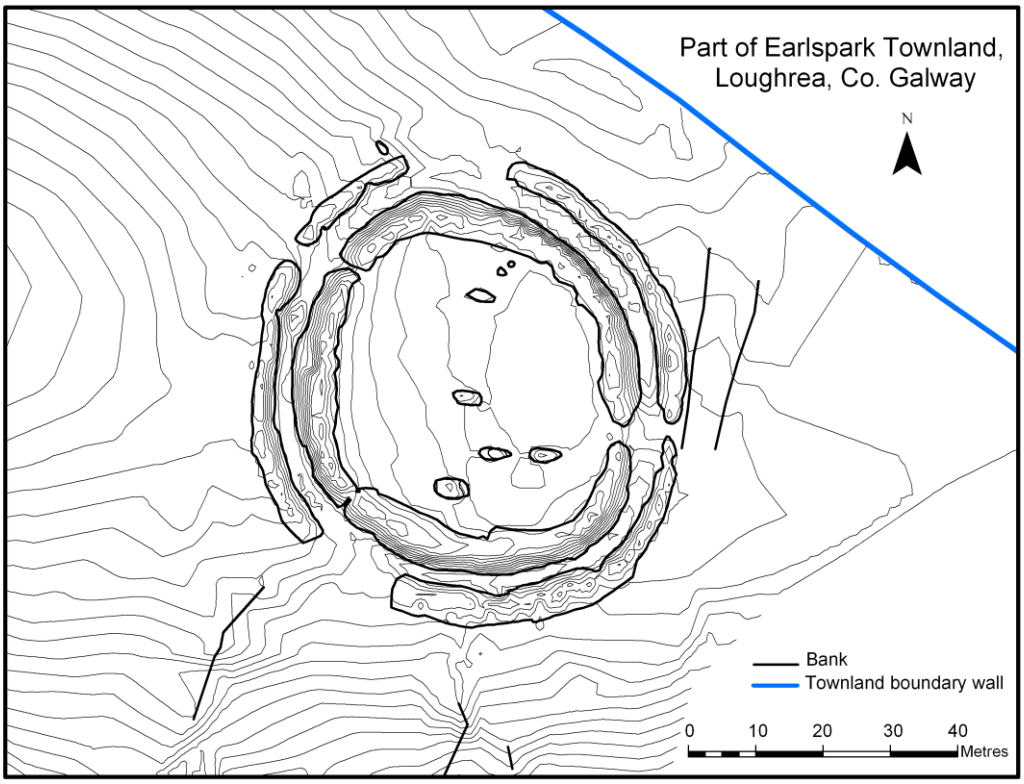


Fig. A5.6: Topographical survey of RMP No. GA105-080

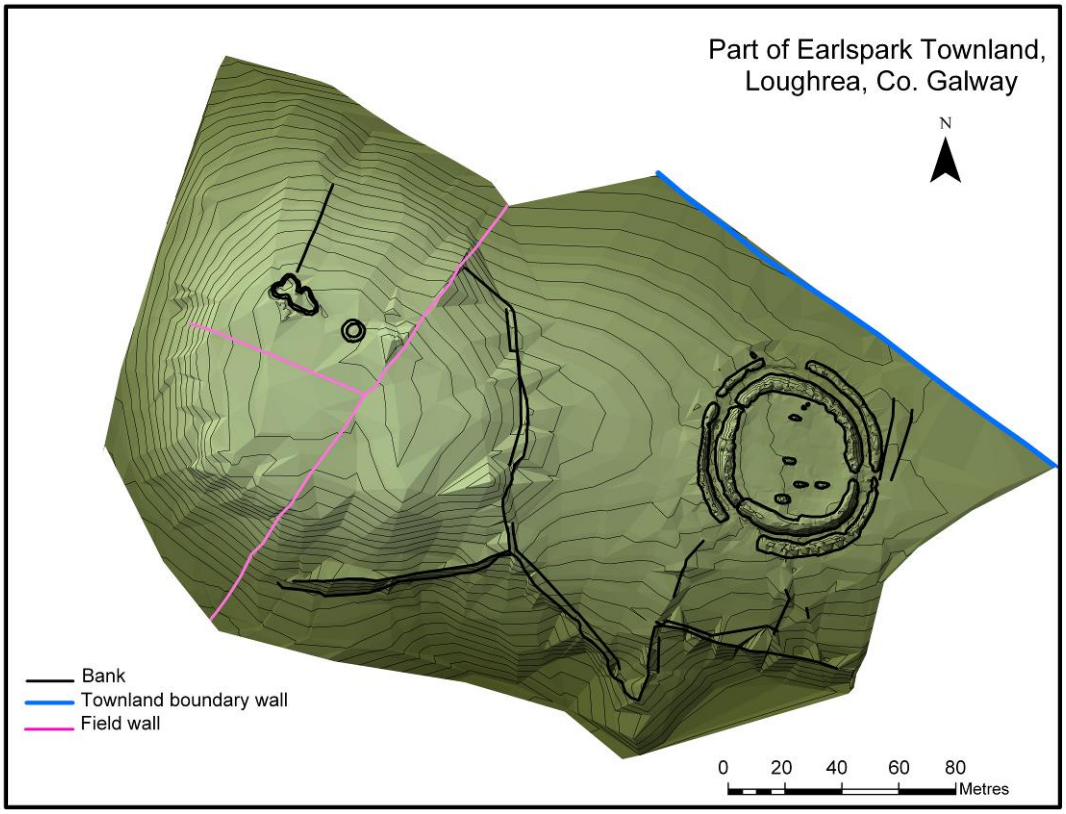


Fig. A5.7: Topographical survey of RMP Nos. G105-080 and G105-205

A geophysical survey of RMP No. GA105-080 was carried out in June 2010 by Martina McCarthy, Geophysical Consultant, with fieldwork assistance by Fiona Beglane, Olive Carey and Bri Greene, and is included in full as Appendix 5.9 (McCarthy 2010). The magnetic gradiometry results showed an anomaly at the eastern entrance to the enclosure (M2.2) (Fig. A5.8). This may represent a slot trench or post-hole infilled with potentially burnt material or may be due to stone with a high iron content. M2.3 and M2.4 are linear magnetic anomalies that may represent structures within the enclosure. Other, minor anomalies were also present. The earth resistance survey gave much stronger results (Fig. A5.9). Many of the areas of high resistance correlated with areas in which stone was visible on the surface, and it is possible that these represent the remains of structures within the enclosure. R2.9 and R2.10 were areas of high resistance, with linear feature R2.9 correlating with M2.3, suggesting that these may be due to the presence of a structure. A number of curvilinear areas of high resistance within the centre of the enclosure may potentially be the remains of house sites/enclosures. R2.15, a high resistance arc, and R2.16, a low resistance arc, follow the line of the inner bank of

the enclosure. There is flag iris growth that also follows this line, and it is suggested that R2.16 is potentially evidence for an internal ditch.

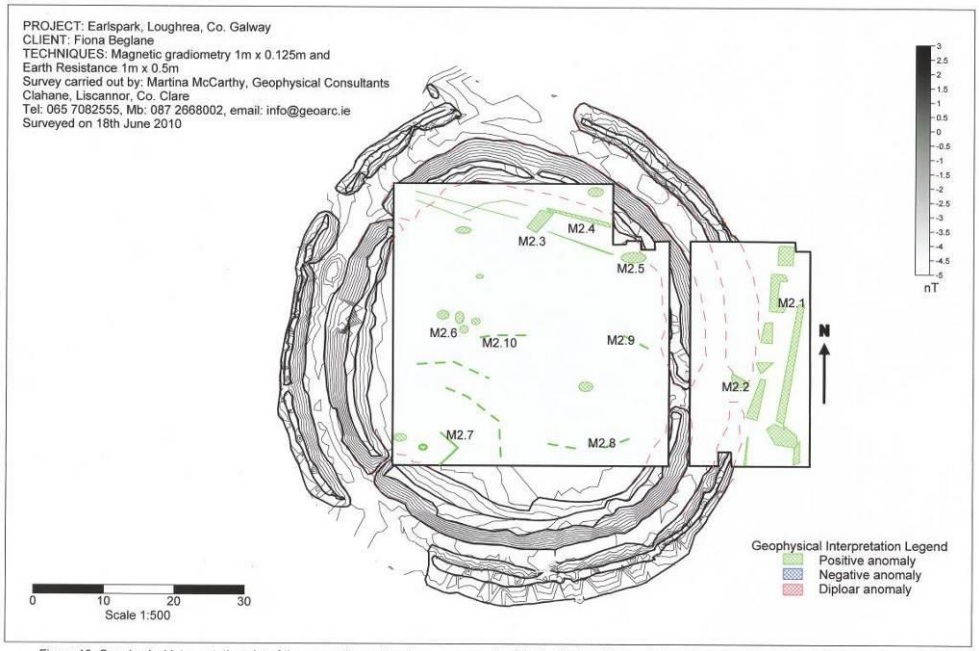


Figure 10. Geophysical interpretation plot of the magnetic gradiometry survey results, Site 2 - Ringfort, Earlspark, Loughrea, Co. Galway. Plot overlain on a topography map produced by Fiona Beglane.

Fig. A5.8: Interpretation of magnetic gradiometry at RMP No. GA105-080 (after McCarthy 2010, Fig. 10)

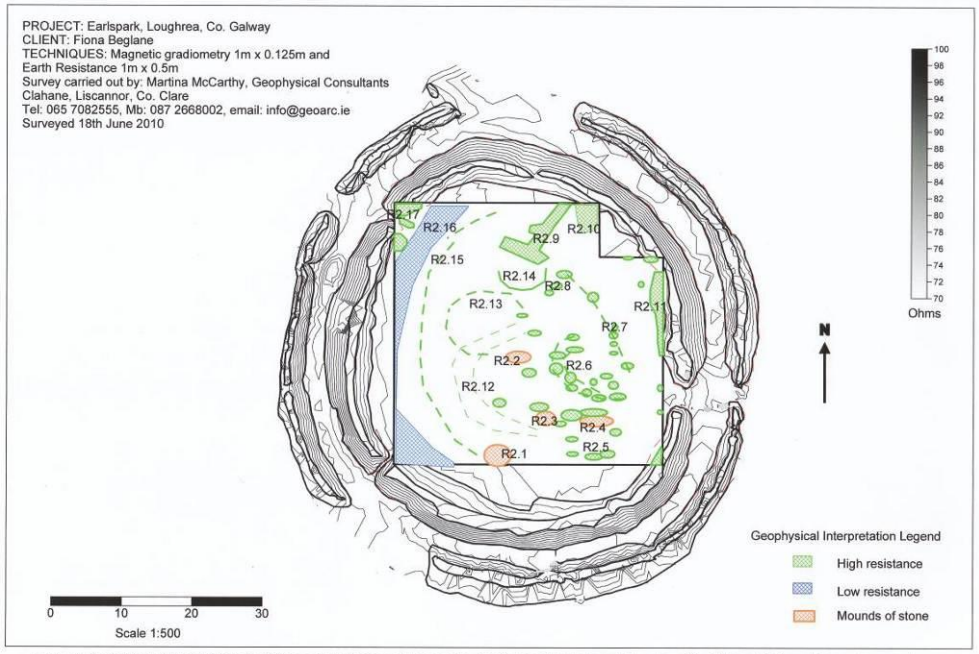


Figure 12. Geophysical interpretation plot of the earth resistance survey results, Site 2 - Ringfort, Earlspark, Loughrea, Co. Galway. Plot overlain on a topography map produced by Fiona Beglane.

Fig. A5.9: Interpretation of earth resistance at RMP No. GA105-080 (after McCarthy 2010, Fig. 12)

At 50m internal diameter, the size of the enclosure is at the upper end of the range for a ringfort, and is slightly larger than the 42.56m given in the law tracts as suitable for the residence of a tribal king (Stout 2000, 16). Where present, ringfort entrances are often on the east side (Stout 2000, 18), so in this sense, RMP No. GA105-080 follows a typical form. The monument is, however, atypical for a ringfort in the sense of having two banks separated by a single ditch, and having evidence for a second internal ditch. Most ringforts are univallate, with multivallate ringforts believed to be of higher status. Ringforts with two banks and a single ditch are not unknown, but are uncommon (Stout 2000, 17-8). Ringfort construction is usually dated to the early medieval period (Stout 2000, 22-31), although there is also evidence for them being constructed and used into the later medieval period (FitzPatrick 2009). In this earlier period they are usually associated with circular buildings, however Stout (2000, 32) found that 44% of buildings within ringforts were rectangular, but noted that these were generally later than the original construction, and may indicate a change in architecture in the period after *c*. 1000.

In combination, these features suggest that RMP No. GA105-080 is an atypical ringfort. There are a number of possibilities. First, this monument may have been constructed as a ringfort with two internal ditches and two external banks, although this is unlikely. Another option is that an additional internal bank may originally have been present inside the inner ditch. In addition, the external bank may not be original, but may be a later feature as a result of re-cutting the ditch. A further possibility may be that the monument was not originally constructed as a ringfort, but instead either predated the early medieval period or post-dated it. If the monument was originally prehistoric, it could be a bivallate barrow, which would explain the presence of internal ditches. Two examples of these are the Forrad at Tara and Rathbeg in Toberrory townland near Tulsk, Co. Roscommon (Newman 1997, 77-83; NMS, RO022-057001). It could also potentially be a henge monument, with the recently excavated example at Tonafortes, Co. Sligo being one example (Danaher, 2007, 50-5). In this case it is likely that the monument was later modified to its present form. Finally, if the monument was constructed in the later medieval period, it could have been designed as a circular moated site. Both bivallate and circular moated sites are known, as are circular moated sites with two ditches

(English Heritage 1992; O'Conor 1999b). In this case, it is likely that the monument was deliberately constructed as part of the development of the park, and the relict field boundaries extending to the south of the enclosure are likely to be park-related paddocks. Overall, the balance of evidence suggests that the monument predates the later medieval period, being either early medieval or prehistoric in origin. If this is the case then it is quite likely, given the other evidence from the Northern Complex that it was reused and modified during this period.

A5.3.2 RMP No. GA105-205 with RMP No. GA105-205001 and RMP No. GA105-205002

The monument RMP No. GA105-205 is recorded in the RMP as a roughly circular hilltop enclosure, containing a circular hut site at the centre of the interior and a possible rectangular house site near the southern limits of the interior. While the first of these was identified and surveyed as part of the topographical survey described above, the second internal feature was not located. Unfortunately, a drawing showing this structure that is mentioned in the RMP file was not available for consultation.

There was a bank surrounding the natural hill that was traceable in an arc from the field boundary at the northeastern extent of the hill, to slightly short of the same field boundary on the southwestern side of the hill. This field boundary was also a property boundary, and while the hill continued to be steep and possibly scarped on its western side, there was no evidence for a bank on that side. The bank on the eastern side connected to a series of relict field boundaries that extended eastward, to abut the enclosure RMP No. GA105-080.

The circular hut site (RMP No. GA105-205001) measured *c*. 8m external and *c.* 4.5m internal diameter and was visible as a raised bank of height *c*. 0.1m. There was an irregular, but essentially sub-rectangular depression measuring 17m northwest-southeast by 9m northeast-southwest *c*. 10m to the northeast of the hut site. This rock-cut form was divided into two approximately rectangular chambers and was 0.3-0.5m deep. It is likely that this represents quarrying of a small rock outcrop for construction purposes. The possible house structure (RMP No. GA105-205002) was not located.

A5.3.3 RMP No. GA105-208 and Pond

Some 150m south of the enclosure (RMP No. GA105-080) there was a pond measuring 60m northeast-southwest by 33m northwest-southeast and situated immediately south of a small hollow, with steep sides to all but the southeast (Pl. A5.45). A second, smaller pond that was almost dried up lay *c*. 60m west of this. Immediately to the east of the larger pond was the line of a north-south field boundary. Neither pond is shown on any edition of the OS map, but both were clearly visible on the ground and from aerial photographs. This suggested that the ponds were recent artificial creations, however the landowner, Claire Smyth (*pers. comm.*) noted that her now-deceased father had removed part of the field boundary to the east to stop field sports enthusiasts hiding in the undergrowth and shooting the ducks that visit the pond. She stated that while they did dry up in hot summers, the ponds had been there for as long as could be remembered and had certainly not been dug within the last 80 years.

Pl. A5.45: The larger pond from the north

O'Neill (2010) carried out an investigation into the palaeoenvironmental history of the larger pond as part of an undergraduate thesis. Fieldwork was conducted in February 2010 with assistance from Fiona Beglane and Fergal Nevin. Samples were

cored from the pond at a number of locations. The top of the pond sediment was often reddish-brown, which is likely to indicate the presence of organic matter. Below this sediments were greyish-green in colour, suggesting low organic content, and the base of the pond was generally compacted stones or bedrock (O'Neill 2010, 34-7, 60). The maximum depth of sediment measured was *c.* 0.4m, taken 6.5m north of the southern shore, and while water depths were greater in the centre of the pond, sediment depths decreased (O'Neill 2010, 41). She identified that the pond sediments had a low pH, which increased towards the base of the sediment (O'Neill 2010, 41). Given the underlying alkaline limestone rock, this increase was expected. She also identified that the organic matter content of the pond was low, suggesting that little plant debris was being deposited in the pond (O'Neill 2010, 42-3). The pond lies in a small valley with rises to the east and west, but with essentially flat ground to the north and south (O'Neill 2010, 22). There was evidence that it was silting up on the southern and western sides, probably due to run-off of sediment from the rise to the west. The acidic nature suggests that the sediments were anaerobic, and this is borne out by the presence of a sulphurous smell when the sediments were disturbed. It is likely that the pond is essentially spring-fed. It could be a semi-artificial construction that has utilised a natural spring and has been deliberately dug as a source of water for stock, however this could not be confirmed, and no date could be put on this potential construction.

At a distance of *c.* 35m northeast of the pond and secluded within the hollow was another enclosure (RMP No. GA105-208) (Pl. A5.46). This measured *c.* 20m on each side; it had banks 0.8m high and was aligned with the pond and the hollow. It appeared to be approximately square sided internally, while externally the shape of the banks resulted in rounded corners so that Byrne (1982) noted the site as 'oval-shaped'. Byrne also identified a slight depression and a concentration of small stones at the centre of the enclosure that were not visible during the summer of 2009.

It was not possible to determine whether the pond was natural or artificial, but it is likely that, as today, it has historically been used to provide water for grazing animals. While there is evidence that it has silted up to a certain extent, particularly on the southern and western sides, the pond is relatively shallow, and is likely to always have been prone to drying out in the summer, meaning that it is unlikely to

have ever acted as a fishpond. The pond is favoured by ducks (Claire Smyth, *pers. comm.*), and given that the enclosure (RMP No. GA105-208) is aligned with the north of the pond, it may be an animal shelter as Byrne (1982) suggested, or could potentially be a hide associated with duck hunting or shooting, but again, no date for this can be ascertained.

Pl. A5.46: Enclosure (RMP No. GA105-208) from the east

A5.3.4 RMP No. GA105-081

Approximately 350m south-southwest of the large ringfort enclosure (RMP No. GA105-080) was a smaller ringfort (RMP No. GA105-081), which was located on flat ground at an elevation of *c*. 120m OD. This ringfort had a maximum internal diameter of 20m and a single bank with a maximum height of 1m, although the bank was absent in some areas. There was no trace of a ditch (Pl. A5.47).

Pl. A5.47: Small ringfort (RMP No. GA105-081)

A5.3.5 'Lady Stone' or 'Earl's Chair'

Some 450m south of ringfort enclosure (RMP No. GA105-080) and 170m south-southeast of the small ringfort (RMP No. GA105-081) was a northeast-southwest ridge with a small, but prominent, steeply-sided hillock on which there was an upright standing stone, aligned north-south and known locally as the 'Lady Stone' or the 'Earl's Chair' (Pl. A5.48). The stone was at NGR 163606 214536 and the hillock rose some 7m above the surrounding land. It appeared to be an essentially natural hillock, but may have been scarped to enhance the steepness of the slope. Local folklore (Fergal Nevin, *pers. comm*.) holds that Nora Novar, the builder of the boundary wall, is buried at this location. This stone is not marked on the RMP or on any of the editions of the Ordnance Survey maps. It stands *c.* 80cm tall, and measures *c.* 55cm north-south by *c.* 24cm east-west. The northern end is higher than the southern end so that looking along the stone one's eye is directed to the hilltop enclosure (RMP No. GA105-205) (Pls. A5.49; A5.50). This upright stone is bedded into a stony base that forms a small knoll on top of the hillock. The possibility that the stone was in its natural position can be discounted, since this slab of limestone has been placed upright, at right angles to the bedding planes of the rock. One possibility is that this stone has been erected in relatively recent times as a cattle scratching post, which is unlikely given its position at the top of a steep sided

hillock, its relatively low height and the absence of soil erosion caused by cattle accessing the stone or of wear caused by rubbing on the stone. A more likely alternative is that the stone was deliberately set up in this position at some time in antiquity, probably as a prehistoric standing stone.

Pl. A5.48: Small ringfort (RMP No. GA105-081) in the middle distance and the Lady Stone or Earl's Chair shown with an arrow. From the north

Pl. A5.49: Lady Stone or Earl's Chair from the west

Pl. A5.50: The Lady Stone or Earl's Chair from the south. RMP No. GA105-205-001 and 002 arrowed on the left and RMP No. GA105-080 arrowed on the right. RMP No. GA105-081 is in the middle distance, immediately left of the ranging rod

Appendix 5.4: Roads through the park

There are two disused roads running through Earlspark. The first is the old Loughrea-Dalystown road, which became obsolete when the current road was constructed soon after 1819 (Section 5.2). Close to the point where this enters the townland of Earlspark a second road diverges from this. This second road heads towards the gateway at the northeast of the townland, and will be referred to as the relict road or hollow way.

The old Loughrea-Dalystown road still partially exists as a track that leaves Loughrea and travels up through Knockanima townland. When walked it was bounded on both sides by drystone walls *c*. 1.5m high and provided access to fields in this area. After some distance, the track was blocked by a poorly preserved wall, but continued beyond this. The old Loughrea pound was situated to the northeast of the track at this point. This rectangular structure was surrounded by dry stone walls *c.* 2.2m high. The track continued beyond the pound, bounded only on the southwest by a wall, but later the line of the wall changed so that it was on the northeast of the track.

Pl. A5.51: Looking back along the old Loughrea-Dalystown road towards Loughrea

At E45 the track entered Earlspark townland, but unfortunately the park wall at this point had all been reconstructed so that there was no gateway visible (see Section 5.1.5). Beyond this the track was in the form of a hollow way. After a short distance at E47 there was a junction between the old Loughrea-Dalystown road heading southeast and the relict road heading in a more easterly direction. A recumbent stone known locally as the 'resting stone' marked the junction, and served as a bench when the road was in use (Michael Linnane, *pers. comm.*) (Pl. A5.52).

The Loughrea-Dalystown road will not be described in detail beyond this point. It is clearly marked on the OS maps and the farmhouses in the northern half of the townland are placed adjacent to this road, demonstrating that they were constructed alongside it. It crossed the line of the current road near the eastern boundary of the townland, and exited the park as an existing track that provides access to a farmhouse in Acremore townland. It is unclear whether this road was an original feature of the park with a gate constructed at its eastern limit, or whether this road was constructed at some time after the park went out of use to make use of the Loughrea-Earlspark stretch and to provide a route to the southeast.

Pl. A5.52: The 'Resting Stone' at the junction of the Loughrea-Dalystown old road with the park hollow way, E47

Pl. A5.53: The ranging rod and tree mark the scarped line of the relict road, the scarped line near the bottom of the image is the line of the old Loughrea-Dalystown road, E47

From here the relict road ran east-south-east. Initially it was marked by a revetment *c.* 1m high with some bushes and trees lining the route (Pl. A5.53). This continued for some distance, with the revetment rising to *c.* 2m, before disappearing. Beyond this point the road bed was not visible for *c.* 350m but the route was defined by drystone wall field boundaries separating fields to the north and south of the line of the road. After this distance, at E48, the hollow way reappeared, running uphill for a length of *c.* 40m parallel to and immediately to the southwest of the field boundary (Pl. A5.54).

Pl. A5.54: Hollow way looking west towards Loughrea E48

The relict road disappeared again on crossing a field boundary, but reappeared at E49 after a further 160m, on crossing a property boundary. At this point the road was running due south of the hilltop enclosure (RMP No. GA105-205), and it extended for a distance of some 160m, finishing immediately to the south of the small ringfort (RMP No. GA105-081) (Pls. A5.55; A5.56). After this the line of the road became indistinct, although it seemed to continue generally eastwards. By remaining on this contour one would curve towards the northeast and finish at the gateway at the northeast corner of the park. It is likely that this was originally the case, but on crossing into the next property the land has been cleared and reseeded so that there is no visible trace of the hollow way. Close to the end of the visible section of the road at the small ringfort (RMP No. GA105-081), a relict field boundary could be seen to be cut by the road, showing that the field boundary predates the road and was obsolete when the road was constructed (Pl. A5.57). This field boundary is probably associated with RMP No. GA105-081, and so may well be early medieval. If so, then the road must therefore be later medieval or post-medieval in date.

Pl. A5.55: Looking westwards along the hollow way from the southern edge of small ringfort (RMP No. GA105-081)

Pl. A5.56: Looking eastwards along the hollow way, which finishes at the muddy patch. Small ringfort (RMP No. GA105-081) is visible on the left of the picture, while the Lady Stone is on the skyline at the right of the picture.

Pl. A5.57: Looking south from RMP No. GA105-081 along a relict field boundary cut by the hollow way. The southern side of the hollow way is shown by the ranging rod and the field boundary continues beyond this

To summarise, this relict road can be followed from the edge of Loughrea town to the western boundary of the park, and through the park, at least as far as the Northern Complex group of monuments. From there, maintaining the same contour brings a traveller to the northeastern gateway of the park. There are no modern farms on this line suggesting that it has been out of use for a considerable length of time, however it has been used to define field boundaries, suggesting that it predates these. It is highly likely that this road is an original feature of the park, connecting the two known gates, and providing access for people, equipment and supplies.

Appendix 5.5: Previously unrecorded enclosure

This enclosure at NGR 162125 213758 lay immediately adjacent to the townland boundary wall and since the wall overlay part of the enclosure, the wall post-dated the enclosure. It measured *c.* 40m NE-SW by 30m NW-SE and was bounded by a bank 0.5m high with an entrance on the northeast side, measuring *c.* 2m wide (Pl. A5.58). The central area was a grassy, circular platform, rising *c.* 1m above the surrounding ground, but due to the fall of the ground on the southern side, it was up to 3m above the surrounding wet marshy ground found on this side. The southern part of the enclosure bank was heavily overgrown with trees and brambles, restricting access in this area. Two approximately rectangular patches of flag irises measuring 6m x 3m and 2m x 2m were present inside the enclosure. These signify wetter ground and may represent the location of buildings within the enclosure. It is likely that this enclosure is a ringfort, however it is not recorded in the RMP.

Pl. A5.58: Enclosure entrance and bank, from the north

Appendix 5.6: Previously unrecorded souterrain

A previously unrecorded souterrain was pointed out by local historian Seamus O'Grady. This unenclosed souterrain was situated at NGR 162686 213573 in an area of rocky outcrops. It was constructed from stone and measured approximately 1.5m wide and 3m deep (Pl. A5.59).

Pl. A5.59: Previously unrecorded souterrain

Appendix 5.7: Siting of the mill

It was noted above that the site of a horizontal mill is recorded at a location known locally as 'Hawkins' Old House' (RMP No. GA105-127), however the Topographical Files note that the fieldworker was not able to access it due to the presence of a bull, and recorded the site on the basis of local information. This location lies close to the top of a hill and would be unsuitable for a mill as there would be difficulties in getting water to flow. Some 300m east of Hawkins' Old House, in a small valley, is the marshy ground and the arch in the stonework at NGR 162404 213280, E17, which Seamus O'Grady (*pers. comm.*) believes is the site of a mill, and which examination of the site tends to support. It is most likely that this is the actual site of the horizontal mill and that the recorded site at Hawkin's Old House is incorrect.

Appendix 5.8: Linear feature

Adjacent to the trigonometric point at the highest spot within the townland a relict bank 0.5m high and 3m wide was noted. This ran north-south to the west of the trigonometric point, first becoming visible at an internal field boundary and running southwards towards the townland boundary but disappearing before reaching the wall. This was located at NGR 163637 213075.

Appendix 5.9: Geophysical Report

A geophysical survey was carried out in June 2010 by Martina McCarthy, Geophysical Consultant, with fieldwork assistance by Fiona Beglane, Olive Carey and Bri Greene, and is included in full here.

EARLSPARK AND MOANMORE EAST TOWNLANDS, LOUGHREA, CO. GALWAY
REPORT ON AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL GEOPHYSICAL SURVEY

MMcC Project No. 04/10
DOEHLG Consent No.10R43

Author: Martina McCarthy
September 2010

Survey carried out for

Fiona Beglane
Animal Bone Specialist
Institute of Technology, Sligo

Martina McCarthy
Geophysical Consultants

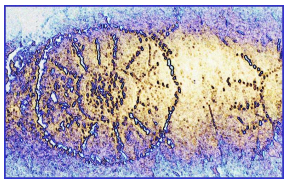


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TABLE OF CONTENTS

SUMMARY REPORT

A geophysical investigation was commissioned by Fiona Beglane, Animal Bone Specialist over two sites in the townlands of Earlspark and Moanmore East, Loughrea, Co. Galway. The geophysical investigation is being carried out as part of a general programme of archaeological research relating to Hunting in Medieval Ireland and with particular emphasis on a deerpark located within Earlspark townland.

The geophysical survey was carried out on the 17th and 18th June 2010 and focused on two areas within the general study area: Site 1 (Moanmore East townland) is located within the vicinity of a possible gateway into the deerpark. The objective of the geophysical investigation is to locate sub-surface evidence of a possible gatehouse or any other features that may be associated with the gateway.

Site 2 (Earlspark Townland) is located within the interior of a ringfort which is listed in the Recorded Monuments database held by the National Monuments. The objective of the geophysical investigation in Site 2 is to detect evidence of potential subsurface archaeological features/deposits that may be present within the ringfort.

A detailed magnetic gradiometry and earth resistance survey was carried out over both survey areas. Some of the area of interest adjacent to the deerpark gateway was inaccessible due to the presence of heavy vegetation. Nevertheless, a number of anomalies are identified on the magnetic gradiometry and earth resistance results from Site 1. The nature and form of these anomalies suggest the presence of remnants of enclosures, areas of burning, wall foundations and hard/cobbled surface. Some anomalies may be natural in origin or associated with drainage features and/or recent agricultural activity. None of the detected anomalies can be conclusively attributed to archaeological features such as the foundations of a gatehouse/lodge.

The geophysical survey at Site 2 revealed numerous curvilinear and linear anomalies that may represent the sub-surface remnants of former house sites/enclosures and wall foundations of possible archaeological origin.

Intrusive investigation is required to conclusively establish the date and character of the detected anomalies.

1.0 INTRODUCTION

The following report details the results of a geophysical investigation that was conducted over two sites in the townlands of Earlspark and Moanmore East, Loughrea, Co. Galway in June 2010. The geophysical investigation was carried out under Detection Licence No. 10R43 issued by the Archaeological Licensing Unit, National Monuments Service, Department of the Environment, Heritage and Local Government.

The geophysical investigation forms part of a programme of archaeological research being conducted by archaeologist Fiona Beglane in relation to hunting in Medieval Ireland and with particular emphasis on a deerpark in Earlspark Townland.

Site 1 is located in the townland of Moanmore East and there are no recorded archaeological monuments listed within the National Monuments database for this townland. However, a large pier is evident at the corner of a field boundary which also forms the townland boundary and this pier is thought to represent a possible gateway to the deerpark (Fiona Beglane, *pers. comm.*). The objective of the geophysical investigation is to detect evidence of potential sub-surface archaeological features/activity that may be associated with the deerpark gateway, such as a gatehouse.

Site 2 is located in the townland of Earlspark and the geophysical survey area is located within and around a recorded archaeological monument (RMP no. GA105-080), described as a Ringfort – Rath. The objective of the geophysical investigation is to detect evidence of any previously unrecorded subsurface archaeological features/deposits that may be present within the ringfort.

The magnetometry and earth resistance techniques were utilised to locate potential archaeological activity within both sites, as a combination of techniques that respond to different properties of the sub-surface allows for a greater success rate in detecting potential archaeological features.

The magnetometry technique is particularly effective in detecting archaeological features such as ditches, pits, hearths, kilns and ferrous material in the sub-surface (see Appendix A for further information on the technique). Stone features may often be identified by virtue of the fact that they produce a ‘negative magnetic enhancement’ relative to the surrounding media (provided the stone does not have a high content of magnetic minerals in its composition). However, it must be

emphasised that a contrast in magnetic properties must exist between any target features and the surrounding media in order for them to be detected and mapped.

Earth resistance is effectively a measure of soil moisture content, and is particularly suited to the detection of stone features, by virtue of the contrast in moisture retention between the subsoil and any surviving stonework. The technique is also capable of detecting a wide variety of other archaeological features, (see Appendix A for further information on both techniques).

1.1 LOCATION OF THE SURVEY AREA

Site 1 is located in the townland of Moanmore East, which is situated approximately 3km south-east of Loughrea town centre. Site 2 is located in the townland of Earlspark and is situated approximately 650m west of Site 1 (Figure 1 and 2). Both sites are located to the south of a third class road that extends southeast of Loughrea town. Access to the sites is gained via a private road/track that leads to Masonbrook Estate which is located to the northeast of the geophysical survey areas.

1.2 GEOLOGICAL AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL SETTING

The study areas are underlain by limestone bedrock of Caboniferous age (Geological Map of Ireland, 1962). Bedrock was not observed within the actual geophysical survey areas, but numerous limestone stones/rocks were observed in the dry stone field boundary walls and at other locations outside the survey areas.

The principal soil types in the general area are Degraded Grey Brown Podzolics with associated Peats, Brown Earths, Gleys and Podzols derived from mostly Limestone glacial till (National Soil Survey, 1980).

There are no recorded archaeological monuments listed in the SMR/RMP records for the townland of Moanmore East and therefore no recorded archaeological monuments listed for Site 1 (Figure 3). However, the geophysical survey area is located adjacent to the townland boundary and a large extant pier observed in the corner of the field/townland boundary (See Figure 2) is believed to be associated with a former gateway to the deerpark (Fiona Beglane, *pers. comm.*). The first edition ordnance survey map also shows an oval-shaped grove of trees located adjacent to the townland

boundary and west of the possible deerpark gateway (Figure 4). This grove of trees is no longer present but several large trees are observed along the field/townland boundary at this location.

The following extract (Beglane, 2010) describes the landscape features associated with Deer Parks:

There are 91 townlands called Deerpark in Ireland, but many are probably post-medieval. There are around 20 references to parks in Medieval Ireland. In England, there were up to 3,200 parks. They had a wide bank, internal ditch, wooden palings (or a wall), 30 – 4,300 acres and came in a variety of shapes. Most gentry owned parks around the 1,000 acre mark, as hunting was a very vital and important part of medieval aristocratic life.

Townland boundary wall – *the boundary wall is well preserved. It is a 7.4km long, 0.9m thick mortared stone wall and up to 2.6m high. Medieval cattle were smaller than today's cattle so there was no need for a high enclosure above 1.6m (5′4″) to retain cattle, and even by modern standards for cattle, the wall would not need to be made that high. The townland boundary is a single construction and the height of the wall suggests it was used for a deer park. The wall was constructed between 1236 – 1333; mortar dating will be done to confirm these dates. Maps and historical evidence suggest that the park was obsolete prior to 1585. Walls were used to demarcate property boundaries, as barriers to restrict movement or to prevent people from seeing something beyond it, thus giving the perception of privacy. The wall took approximately 30 man-years to build., 31,450 tonnes of stone and it is highly visible from Loughrea".*

Sixteen recorded monuments are listed for the townland of Earlspark and these include 2 Ringforts, 2 Holy Wells, 1 Children's Burial Bround, 1 Hilltop Enclosure, 1 Field System, 3 Enclosures, 1 Hut Site, 1 House Site and 4 Redundant Records (Figure 3). One of the ringforts (Site 2) is the focus of the geophysical investigation (GA105-080) and this ringfort is located near the summit of a slope that incorporates a hillfort and an enclosure.

Several grassed over mounds of loose stone (measuring on average 3m E-W x 2m N-S) are observed within the southern portion of the ringfort. It is not known if these mounds are modern or contemporary in origin and it is hoped that the geophysical investigation will reveal evidence of sub-surface structures/features that may be associated with these mounds of stone or any other internal features.

1.3 SITE DESCRIPTION AND CONDITIONS

Site 1 is located within a large pasture field that slopes from north to south. The geophysical survey area is located adjacent to the townland/deerpark boundary over part of an area that is depicted as a small wooded area in the first edition ordnance survey maps (Figure 4). There are currently no trees within this former wooded area but several large trees are located along the

townland boundary to the west of the survey area. Much of the survey area to the immediate east of the townland boundary was under a heavy cover of nettles and thistles at the time of field survey in June 2010. Several low profile parallel linear features are observed within the northern part of the geophysical survey area and these are orientated approximately north-south. These linear features appear to continue further north outside the geophysical survey area and they may represent an old road/trackway. Ground conditions were generally good at the time of field survey and the ground was firm and dry underfoot

Site 2 is located approximately 650m west of Site 1 and is situated to the east of the summit of a hill that incorporates a hilltop enclosure and several other recorded archaeological monuments. The ringfort is univallate and measures approximately 60m E-W x 70m N-S. The bank and ditch are mostly intact and evidence of an entrance feature is apparent along the eastern side of the ringfort. The interior of the ringfort is relatively flat but several low mounds of loose stone are observed within the southern portion of the ringfort. The western portion of the ringfort interior displayed a heavy growth of yellow iris indicating water-logged conditions.

2.0 METHODOLOGY

The geophysical investigation was carried out on 17th and 18th June 2010 and the weather was mainly dry, sunny and breezy. At Site 1 a basepoint for the geophysical survey grid was established 5m east of the northeast corner of the townland boundary. A north-south baseline was extended from the basepoint and the geophysical survey grid was extended from the baseline and subdivided into smaller grids measuring 30m x 30m using a compass, optical square and measuring tapes.

At Site 2, an arbitrary basepoint was established at the edge of the bank in the southwest quadrant of the ringfort and a north-south baseline extended from this. A geophysical survey grid was extended from the baseline. The grid location was measured relative to field boundaries and permanent site features and these measurements were later used for the purposes of overlaying the geophysical survey results on a detailed topographical map of the ringfort which was produced by Fiona Beglane.

2.1 MAGNETIC GRADIOMETRY SURVEY

The magnetometry survey was undertaken utilising a Geoscan FM256 fluxgate gradiometer and readings were recorded at 0.125m intervals along traverses spaced 1m apart.

The FM256 has a depth of investigation of approximately 2m under optimum conditions. A zero reference point was first established in a region where there were no localised changes observable in the magnetic gradient and this was used to zero the instrument at regular intervals. This procedure ensures that all panels of data match up with, and are referenced to, each other. The resolution used in this survey was 0.1nT.

Data acquisition commenced in the south-west corner of each survey grid and the first station was located on the origin of the specific grid. Lines were traversed in zig-zag mode with the instrument facing the same direction for all lines. The data were recorded with the instrument datalogger and subsequently downloaded to a laptop. A more detailed description of the magnetic gradiometry technique may be found in Appendix A.

2.2 EARTH RESISTANCE SURVEY

The earth resistance survey was carried out using a Geoscan RM15 Resistance Meter configured as a Twin Probe array. The resistance meter is mounted on a frame carrying twin electrodes (mobile probes) separated by a distance of 0.5m (one current and one potential) and a second pair of electrodes are placed at least 15m away (remote probes). The depth of investigation depends on geological, soil and climatic conditions and a mobile probe spacing of 0.5m produces a depth of investigation of approximately 0.5m.

The survey parameters are programmed into the resistance meter prior to survey commencement and the instrument also acts as a datalogger with a storage capacity of 15,000 readings. Readings may be logged automatically and the data logger keeps track of the survey position, giving both audible and visual indication of current survey position.

The earth resistance survey was conducted using a sampling interval of 1m x 0.5m. Data acquisition commenced in the southwest corner of each survey grid with the first station located on the origin of the specific grid. Data were collected in a zigzag fashion i.e. the operator direction is reversed for each new traverse. The data were recorded with the instrument datalogger and downloaded to a laptop at the end of the day. A more detailed description of the resistivity technique may be found in Appendix A

3.0 DATA PROCESSING

The magnetic gradiometry and earth resistance data were processed using *Archeosurveyor and Surfer 8. Archeosurveyor* is a commercially available geophysical data processing package specifically designed for archaeo-geophysical applications. Data may be downloaded directly from industry standard instruments into *Archeosurveyor*.

Only minimal data processing was carried out on the magnetic gradiometry results - the data from individual survey grids were destriped and merged into a composite. Earth resistance results were edge-matched and merged into a composite. All data were then exported into *Surfer 8* which is a contouring and mapping package designed for multiple purposes and greyscale image plots ere produced.

The magnetic gradiometry and earth resistance results from Site 1 and Site 2 are presented as a greyscale image plots at a scale of 1:500 in Figures 5, 7, 9 and 11. Interpretation plots were also produced using *Surfer 8* and these plots for the respective data sets are presented in Figures 6, 8, 10 and 12.

4.0 RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The geophysical results are described in terms of **anomalies.** Anomalies are disturbances in the background field caused by the presence of features/materials at or near the Earth's surface. In the case of magnetic gradiometry results, anomalies are caused by the presence of magnetically enhanced materials, which add to or subtract from the Earth's magnetic field producing **positive or negative anomalies**. Certain soils, stones and rocks possess variable amounts of magnetism and it is the presence of these materials in a relatively quiet magnetic background that produce anomalies (see Appendix A for further explanation of anomaly sources).

Positive anomalies are displayed in black in the following maps and in the case of magnetic gradiometry, generally these anomalies are assumed to derive from features containing magnetically enhanced material, e.g. ditches, pits, cultivation ridges, trenches, etc.

Due to the induction effect of anomalous features on the measured magnetic field, every positive magnetic gradiometry anomaly is always accompanied by a much weaker negative anomaly alongside it. It must be noted at this point, that in mid northern latitudes magnetic anomalies are asymmetric with the main peak displaced to the south of any archaeological feature. Thus, for example, a ditch filled with soil of contrasting magnetic response to background, generates a positive anomaly to the south, mirrored by a weak negative anomaly north of the feature. This phenomenon gives rise to a pseudo-relief effect

Negative anomalies are displayed in white in the following maps and in the case of magnetic gradiometry these anomalies may arise from materials with low magnetic enhancement relative to background, such as stone features composed of a non-magnetic rock such as limestone.

Dipolar anomalies are usually caused by magnetised sources such as iron objects or rocks/stones with high iron content and as the gradiometer is passed over the object the value changes from positive to negative. Dipolar anomalies may also be caused by archaeological sources such as hearths or kilns, which would possess a permanent magnetism due to repeated heating and cooling in the geomagnetic field. Typically, the source of the dipole is found at the centre of the positive and negative anomaly.

Positive earth resistance anomalies are usually caused by the presence of stone features, such as wall foundations, other masonry features and compacted material, which retain less moisture than the surrounding soil. Bedrock at or near the surface will also produce a strong positive anomaly. Negative earth resistance anomalies are usually attributed to soil filled ditches or other such features, which retain ground moisture. In practice, there is a broad range of variables that affect the nature of the geophysical response from a particular feature, such as the climatic variations, geometry of features, electrode configurations, geology, etc.

4.1 SITE 1 - MAGNETIC GRADIOMETRY SURVEY

Results: Figure 5, Interpretation: Figure 6

Figure 5 is a greyscale plot of the results of the magnetic gradiometry survey at a scale of 1:500 and Figure 6 shows the major anomalies. The magnetic gradiometry data values lie in the range -34.6 to +26.55nT and the results indicate a relatively subdued background magnetic response with some minor anomalies detected.

A number of small zones of magnetic enhancement are detected to the immediate north and east of the gateway to the deerpark (**M1.1** and **M1.2**). These anomalies may relate to former tree roots or a concentration of magnetically enhanced material that may have collected adjacent to the field boundary. It is also possible that the anomalies form part of a more extensive archaeological feature associated with the gateway. However, it is difficult to ascertain the source of these anomalies without delimiting their extent and data acquisition was not possible closer to the field boundary (i.e. west of M1.1) due to the presence of vegetation and stones.

A concentration of pit-type anomalies is detected near the southern edge of the survey area (**M1.3**). These are spread over a tentative circular shaped anomalous zone that measures 10m diameter. The nature and form of this anomaly indicates a possible archaeological origin such as areas of burning or pits containing strongly magnetic material, but this interpretation remain entirely in the realm of conjecture without corroborating evidence or intrusive investigation to confirm the anomaly source. It is also possible that this anomaly represents magnetically enhanced material associated with decayed tree roots, even though the anomaly appears to be located outside the eastern edge of the former grove observed in the 1st edition ordnance survey map (Figure 4 and 6).

Several other tentative circular and oval shaped anomalies displaying a weak magnetic response are detected: **M1.4, M1.5 and M1.6.** Numerous weakly positive curvilinear anomalies are also detected – **M1.7, M1.8, M1.10, M1.11** and **M1.12**. All the latter anomalies are barely detectable above background magnetic response and as such, are likely to represent natural variations within the sub-surface (soil/geological) or disturbance caused by agricultural activity. Nevertheless, an archaeological origin cannot be ruled out and many of the anomalies may represent the poorly preserved sub-surface remnants of former enclosures. Intrusive investigation will be required to conclusively establish anomaly sources.

A number of small anomalies displaying a strong positive magnetic response are detected (**M1.13 and M1.1.4 -** 2m and 4m wide respectively). These anomalies could relate to archaeological activity such as areas of burning and this interpretation is supported by the presence of a number of tentative curvilinear anomalies (M1.6 and M1.8) nearby.

A number of weak linear trends are detected on the magnetic results (**M1.15** and **M1.16**) and M1.15 correlates with part of what appears to be a slightly raised linear trackway observed on the site surface. There is no obvious surface manifestation of M1.16 but it is located adjacent to an anomalous area. The latter anomalies may also be associated with modern drainage features or cultivation activity.

Several isolated dipolar responses are also detected on the magnetic results from Site 1 (**M1.17**). These anomalies represent ferrous material on or beneath the surface, or stones/boulders within the sub-surface with high iron content. Dipolar anomalies are generally modern in origin (e.g. nails, horseshoes, fragments of farm machinery, etc.) but they can be indicative of archaeological material.

4.2 SITE 1 – EARTH RESISTANCE RESULTS

Results: Figure 7, Interpretation: Figure 8

The earth resistance results from Site 1 display a general trend of low earth resistance in the western part of the survey area and higher earth resistance in the eastern part of the survey area. This general trend indicates the presence of more moisture retentive ground or deeper overburden in the western part of the survey area and drier ground conditions or the presence of

bedrock/gravel close to the surface in the eastern part of the survey area. A number of anomalies are identified superimposed on this background.

R1.1 is a semi-circular shaped area of high resistance that extends east from the western edge of the survey area for *c*. 6m and north-south for a distance of *c.* 15m. The nature of this anomaly indicates the presence of compact, stony ground and it is possible that it represents a hard surface/cobbled area associated with the gateway to the deer park. It is also likely that the feature extends as far as the field boundary to the west but data acquisition was not possible close to the field boundary due to the presence of heavy vegetation. Some anomalous activity is detected on the magnetic gradiometry results in this area (M1.1 – Figure 6).

A curvilinear band of high resistance (**R1.2**) measuring approximately 4m in width is detected extending E-SE of R1.1. This anomaly extends for a distance of *c*. 15m to the southeast where it appears to be cut by an oval shaped zone of slightly high resistance (**R1.3**). The high resistance nature of R1.2 indicates the presence of stony material or rubble that may be associated with an enclosing feature such as a wall. R1.2 has a similar orientation to the former boundary wall surrounding the wooded area observed on the 1st edition O.S map (see Figure 8 for approximate location) but the latter boundary appears to be located further east. Furthermore, it is likely that the anomaly would continue further south if it represented the remnants of an enclosing wall surrounding the wooded area. It is more likely that the anomaly represents part of a trackway or a cobbled surface that may be associated with the gateway to the deerpark. This interpretation remains entirely in the realm of conjecture without corroborating evidence or intrusive investigation to confirm the anomaly source.

A number of less clearly defined high resistance anomalies are detected within this part of the survey area. **R1.4 and R1.5** are tentative sub-circular shaped zones of high resistance measuring *c.*14m and 7m diameter respectively and these are flanked to the west by a linear shaped zone of low resistance (**R1.6**). The source of these anomalies is unknown and it is possible that they are archaeological in nature or they may represent disturbance caused by tree roots associated with the former wooded area.

A number of linear trends are detected on the earth resistance results. **R1.7** is a NE SW linear trend that appears to define the transition between the general area displaying low resistance to the west and higher resistance to the east. **R1.8** and **R1.9** represent a series of parallel bands of low

resistance orientated approximately north-south. R1.8 correlates with a series of linear trends observed on the magnetic gradiometry results (M1.15 - Figure 6) and a trackway-type feature observed on the site surface. There is no obvious surface indication of linear features relating to R1.9. It is also possible that theses parallel linear anomalies relate to ploughing or drainage features.

R1.10, R1.11, R1.12, R1.13 and R1.14 are poorly defined curvilinear bands of low resistance that do not have any obvious surface indication. There is no direct correlation between these anomalies and those detected on the magnetic gradiometry results. This lack of correlation combined with the ephemeral nature of the anomalies suggest that they represent natural variations (soil/geological) within the sub-surface or features associated with disturbance caused by agricultural activity. However, an archaeological origin cannot be ruled out without intrusive investigation to establish anomaly source.

4.3 SITE 2 - MAGNETIC GRADIOMETRY SURVEY

Results - Figure 9

Interpretation – Figure 10

The magnetic gradiometry data values lie in the range -7.65 to +29.5nT and a greyscale plot of the results is presented in Figure 9. The results indicate a relatively subdued background magnetic response with a number of zones of stronger magnetic enhancement superimposed on this.

M2.1 is a disjointed positive linear anomaly that correlates with part of a collapsed field boundary observed on the site surface. The anomaly is likely to represent slot trenches infilled with more magnetically enhanced material (e.g. burnt material) or stones with high iron content relative to the surrounding media.

M2.2 is a small zone of positive magnetic enhancement that correlates with the terminus of the ringfort bank at a possible entrance feature. Again this anomaly may represent a slot trench or post hole infilled with more magnetically enhanced material (e.g. burnt material) or sub-surface stones with high iron content relative to the surrounding media.

M2.3 is a strong linear magnetic response that correlates with a raised linear feature observed on the ringfort surface. Two weakly positive parallel linear anomalies (**M2.4**) separated by a distance

of *c.* 4m and extending for a distance of *c.* 10m extend to the east of M2.3 and there is tentative evidence that these also extend to the west. Although the latter anomalies do not form patterns indicative of any clearly identifiable archaeological features, it is possible that they relate to structures associated with occupation of the ringfort. An isolated circular zone of positive magnetic enhancement (**M2.5)** is observed nearby adjacent to the edge of the ringfort bank and this anomaly may indicate the presence of burnt material or stones with high iron content.

The following anomalies are barely discernible above background magnetic response and do not form any particular patterns indicative of clearly identifiable archaeological activity:

M2.6 is a small concentration of weakly positive discrete magnetic responses that do not form any particular pattern. **M2.7** is a weakly positive magnetic response detected adjacent to a break in the ringfort bank. **M2.8, M2.9 and M2.10** are ephemeral curvilinear magnetic responses that do not form any particular pattern indicative of clearly identifiable archaeological activity.

4.4. SITE 2 – EARTH RESISTANCE RESULTS

Results – Figure 11

Interpretation – Figure 12

The earth resistance results from the ringfort interior are relatively noisy with values in the range 67 to 549 Ohms.

The majority of extremely high resistance values detected on the results are associated with mounds of stone observed on the site surface (**R2.1, R2.2, R2.3** and **R2.4**). Therefore, the isolated high resistance responses of a similar nature are likely to represent sub-surface stones or stony material. Many of these isolated responses appear to form tentative linear and rectilinear patterns e.g. **R2.5, R2.6, R2.7**, and **R2.8**. It is possible that these anomalies represent the subsurface remnants of former structures associated with occupation of the ringfort. However, intrusive investigation will be required to confirm such an interpretation.

R2.9 is a more clearly defined linear band of high resistance that extends for a distance of 12m in a NE-SW direction. This anomaly measures approximately 2.5m wide and at its southern end it extends perpendicular to the main linear trend for a distance of approximately 5m. A smaller rectangular zone of similar high resistance response (**R2.10**) is likely to be part of the same feature.

R2.9 correlates with a strong positive magnetic response detected along the main linear trend (M2.3 - Figure 10) and part of the anomaly correlates with a low profile linear feature observed on the site surface. This anomaly is likely to relate to highly resistive material such as stone either on or within the sub-surface. The regular shape of the anomaly indicates a man-made origin and it is possible that the anomaly represents part of a structural feature associated with occupation of the ringfort. However, intrusive investigation will be required to conclusively establish the date and character of the anomaly.

R2.11 is an area of high resistance that appears to relate to material within the ringfort bank. **R2.12, R2.13 and R2.14** are tentative curvilinear bands of relatively high resistance measuring 14m, 10m and 8m in diameter respectively. R2.12 appears to surround the area with the highest concentration of anomalies within the ringfort and this combined with the curvilinear nature of the anomalies suggests the presence of possible archaeological features - such as house sites/ enclosures.

R2.15 and **R2.16** are tentative curvilinear bands of high and low resistance respectively that appear to follow the orientation of the ringfort bank. The low resistance nature of R2.16 combined with the presence of yellow iris growth in this part of the ringfort indicates waterlogged ground conditions. The latter anomaly may relate to an archaeological feature such as an internal ditch.

R1.17 is a small zone of high resistance that correlateswith a break in the ringfort bank and the associated termini and this anomaly indicates the presence of stone.

5.0 CONCLUSIONS

Site 1

The objective of the geophysical investigation at Site 1 was to detect evidence of a feature such as a gatehouse/lodge or any feature that may be associated with an entrance/gateway to the deerpark. No clearly identifiable evidence for a gatehouse/lodge is detected on the geophysical results but numerous less clearly defined anomalies that may represent archaeological activity are detected.

Some magnetic anomalies display a strong response and these could relate to areas of burning/pits of a possible archaeological origin. Many of the magnetic anomalies form curvilinear patterns indicative of possible enclosing features but the weak and ephemeral nature of the anomalies indicates a natural origin.

The earth resistance results display a number of high resistance anomalies that are likely to be related to wall foundations or cobbled areas associated with the former wooded grove or the gateway to the deerpark. Evidence for a possible trackway/roadway is detected on both magnetic and earth resistance results and on the ground surface. A number of parallel linear anomalies detected on the earth resistance results may represent drainage features or cultivation activity.

It must be considered that if a gatehouse was present in this area, it was possibly of a timber construction and it is therefore unlikely that any sub-surface foundations would survive to the present day. Even if wooden foundations did survive, they would be difficult if not impossible to detect by a geophysical survey due to the lack in physical property contrast between the timber and the surrounding media. Therefore, an archaeological origin cannot be ruled out for any of the weak ephemeral anomalies and their weak geophysical response may indicate a poor level of preservation or disturbance caused by agricultural activity.

Site 2

The objective of the geophysical investigation at Site 2 was to detect evidence of sub-surface structures/features within the ringfort. Numerous anomalies are detected on both magnetic and earth resistance results but none of these form clearly identifiable patterns indicative of definite archaeological features/structures. Nevertheless, the earth resistance results reveal a number of linear and curvilinear anomalies that may be associated with the remnants of sub-surface archaeological features such as house sites/enclosures.

Intrusive investigation will conclusively establish the date and character of the detected anomalies.

Signed_____

Martina McCarthy, B.Sc. (Hons), M.Sc., Dip. Archaeology.

October 3rd 2010

Fieldwork:	Martina McCarthy
	Fiona Beglane
	Brí Greene
Report:	Martina McCarthy

APPENDIX A

The Magnetometer Technique

Geomagnetic survey methods respond to subsurface materials and features, both natural and artificial, that possess magnetic characteristics that contrast significantly from the surrounding background. Differing soils and rocks possess varying amounts of magnetism or acquire magnetic characteristics in the presence of the Earth's magnetic field. Igneous rocks such as basalt, for example, are particularly magnetic due to the amount of magnetic minerals composing them. On the other hand limestone is almost non-magnetic as it rarely has magnetic minerals in its composition.

Archaeological features may also possess magnetic characteristics either by being composed of naturally magnetic materials or by acquiring an artificial magnetic signature through the processes of heating and intensive cooling (e.g. kiln, furnace or hearth). This is known as remnant magnetism. Such features close to the surface can produce localised anomalies in the Earth's magnetic field, by either adding to or subtracting from it. These localised anomalies can be detected by a magnetometer. In Ireland the natural background magnetic field is in the order of 48,000 nanoTesla (nT), which varies over time and space. Archaeological anomalies typically range from a few nanoTesla to tens of nanoTesla and thus require highly sensitive equipment for their detection.

Two types of magnetometer are commonly used in an archaeological context. The proton magnetometer is a high precision instrument but relatively slow to operate. For this reason it has been largely superseded for large-scale intensive surveys by the fluxgate gradiometer which registers a continuous reading and when combined with a datalogger is a very rapid technique. The fluxgate gradiometer however, requires careful 'balancing' to maintain the mutual alignment of the two sensors thus cancelling the effects of directional sensitivity. This balancing process requires patience and skill and is a vital part of all surveys as incorrect balancing can result in poor quality data.

The Geoscan FM256 Fluxgate gradiometer is used by GeoArc Ltd. and this is the most commonly used gradiometer for archaeological surveys. This gradiometer has an inbuilt datalogger and is light and easily portable. Its' sensors are mounted 0.5m apart and these measure the vertical gradient of the Earth's magnetic field.

Magnetic gradiometry surveys are most effective at detecting the following archaeological features:

Furnaces, Hearths /Kilns, Middens
Pits, Ditches, Ridge and furrow
Barrows, Fualacht Fia, Earthen Enclosure, Palisade

The Resistivity Technique

Resistivity relies on the fact that many subsurface features, including buried archaeological remains, have differing electrical properties which contrast sufficiently from their background surroundings in order for them to be detected and mapped. Features such as pits, drains, foundation trenches, and masonry walls may be detected by virtue of the fact that the archaeological deposits composing them contain differing amounts of slightly conductive ground water.

Resistivity is defined as the resistance between the faces of a unit cube of the material (based on Ohm's Law R = V/I where R is resistance, V is potential difference and I is current). Four ground contacting electrodes are required to measure resistivity of the immediate area, two to pass a current through the ground (usually in the order of milliamps) and two to sample the potential induced by this current. The ground contacting electrodes can be configured spatially in a variety of ways called an array. Each array layout will sample resistivity in differing ways i.e. some arrays optimise the detection of lateral shallow features whilst some arrays are designed to detect features at depth. However, there is no one array which combines all the ideal requirements of speed, sensitivity, depth penetration and resolution. A compromise in terms of choice of array, spacing between electrodes and spacing of stations (sample interval) is required based on knowledge of a particular monument, the estimated depth and the scale and dimensions of the buried features.

The most commonly used array in an archaeological context is the twin pole array and to a lesser extent the Wenner array.

Resistivity surveys are most effective in detecting the following archaeological features:
Masonry Foundations
Brick Foundations
Paving/Floors
Buried Megaliths
Cavities e.g. Stone lined drains
Middens

Resistivity surveys are also effective at detecting the following archaeological sites:
Barrows
Ring Ditches
Mounds
Fualacht Fia
Cashels
Earthen Enclosures

APPENDIX B
Data Processing Programs

Processing Functions - *Archeosurveyor*

Show
Definition: displays an image of the data in each grid in accordance with the active palette, contrast and zoom value.
Method: Subtracts the mean value of the grid from each measurement to convert the grid to an array of positive and negative anomalies.

Merge
Definition: Combines grids to form an array of regularly-spaced data on a square mesh.
Method: Uses bilinear interpolation to: *first* interpolate the data within each grid to a square mesh with cells of size S; *then* interpolate the regions between the grids.

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http://www.medievalists.net/2010/06/02/debating-lordly-lanscapes-the-deer-park-of-earlspark-loughrea-co-galway/

Beglane, Fiona, June 2010 *Debating Lordly Lanscapes: the Deer Park of Earlspark Loughrea, Co. Galway*

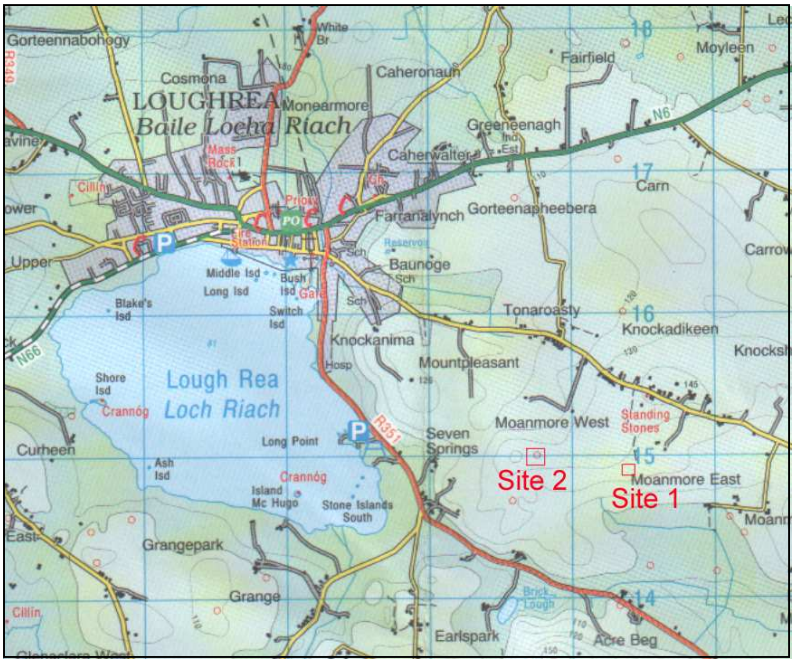


Figure 1. Map showing the approximate locations of the geophysical survey areas at Moanmore East and Earlspark townlands, Loughrea, Co. Galway. (Map extract from OSI Discovery Series, Map No. 52.).

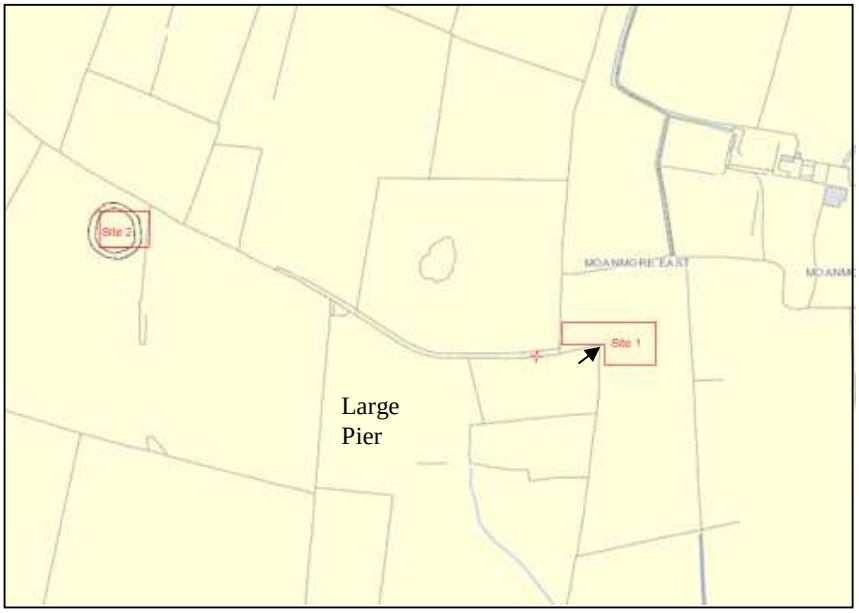


Figure 2. Detailed location map of geophysical survey areas: Site 1 – Moanmore East townland and Site 2 – Earlspark townland, Loughrea, Co. Galway.

Figure 3. Extract from SMR showing the location of the geophysical survey areas at Site 1 – Moanmore East townland and Site 2 – Earlspark townland, Loughrea, Co. Galway and the recorded archaeological monuments within the general area.
(Map extract from www.archaeology.ie/smrmapviewer/mapviewer.aspx).

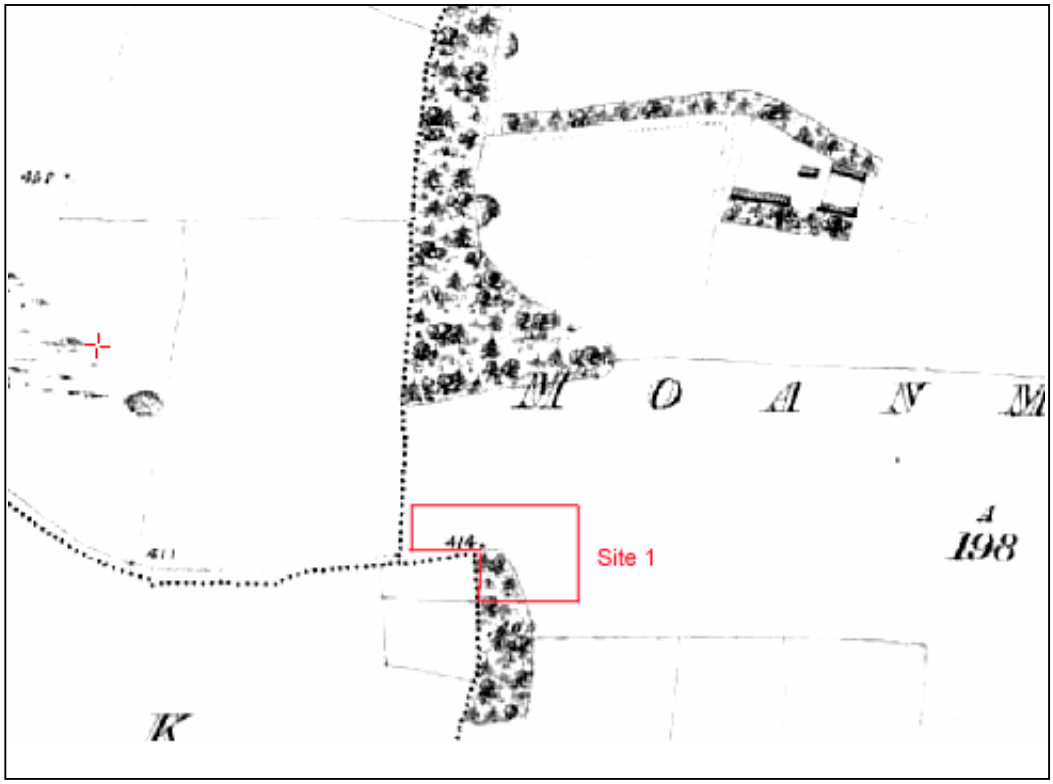
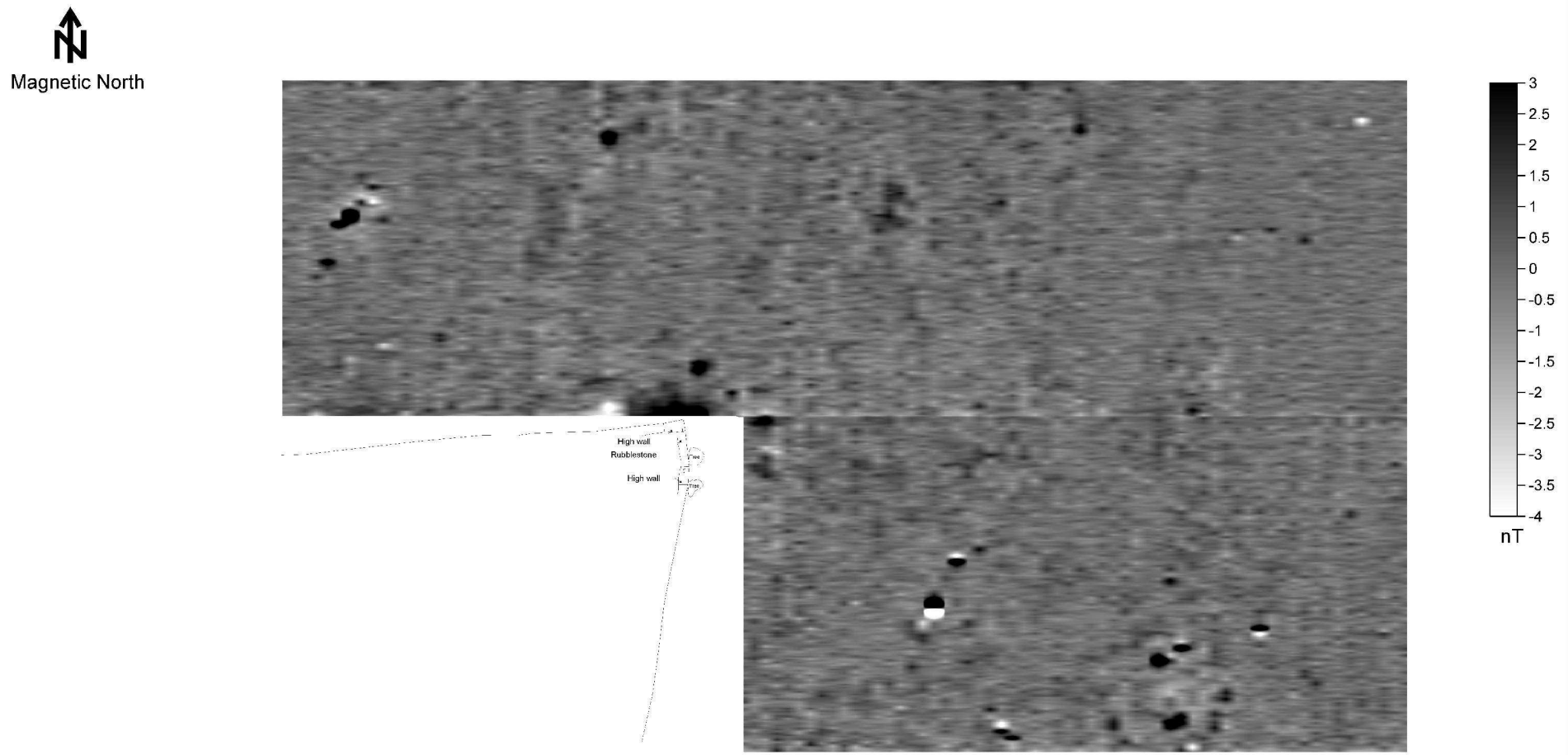


Figure 4. Extract from 1st edition OS map showing the location of Site 1 and the former wooded area, Moanmore East townland, Loughrea, Co. Galway.



PROJECT: Earlspark, Loughrea, Co. Galway
CLIENT: Fiona Beglane
TECHNIQUES: Magnetic gradiometry 1m x 0.125m and
Earth Resistance 1m x 0.5m
Survey carried out by: Martina McCarthy, Geophysical Consultants
Clahane, Liscannor, Co. Clare
Tel: 065 7082555, Mb: 087 2668002, email: info@geoarc.ie
Surveyed 17th and 18th June 2010

Figure 5. Greyscale plot of the magnetic gradiometry survey results, Site 1.

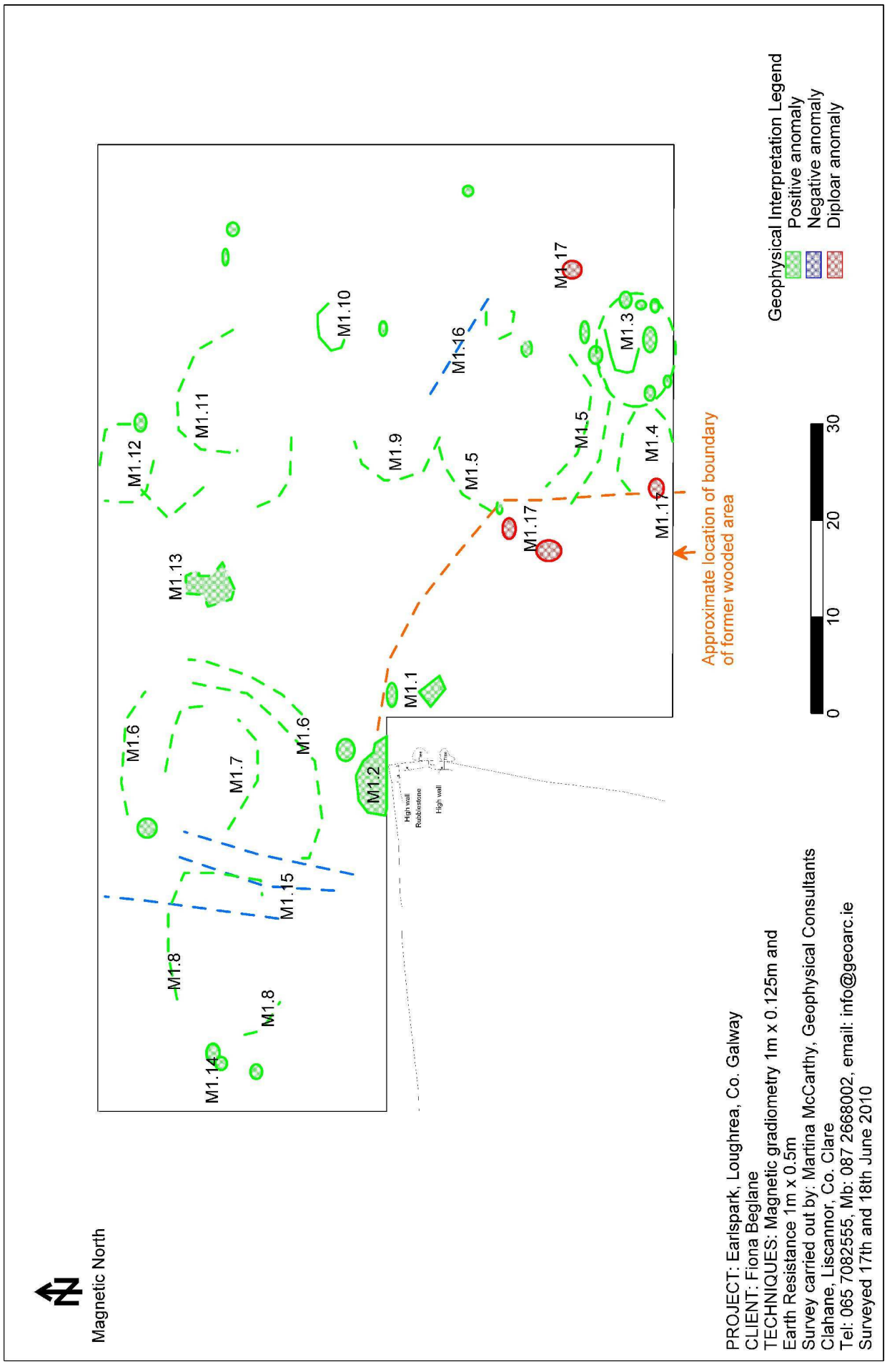


Figure 6. Geophysical interpretation plot of the magnetic gradiometry survey results, Site 1.

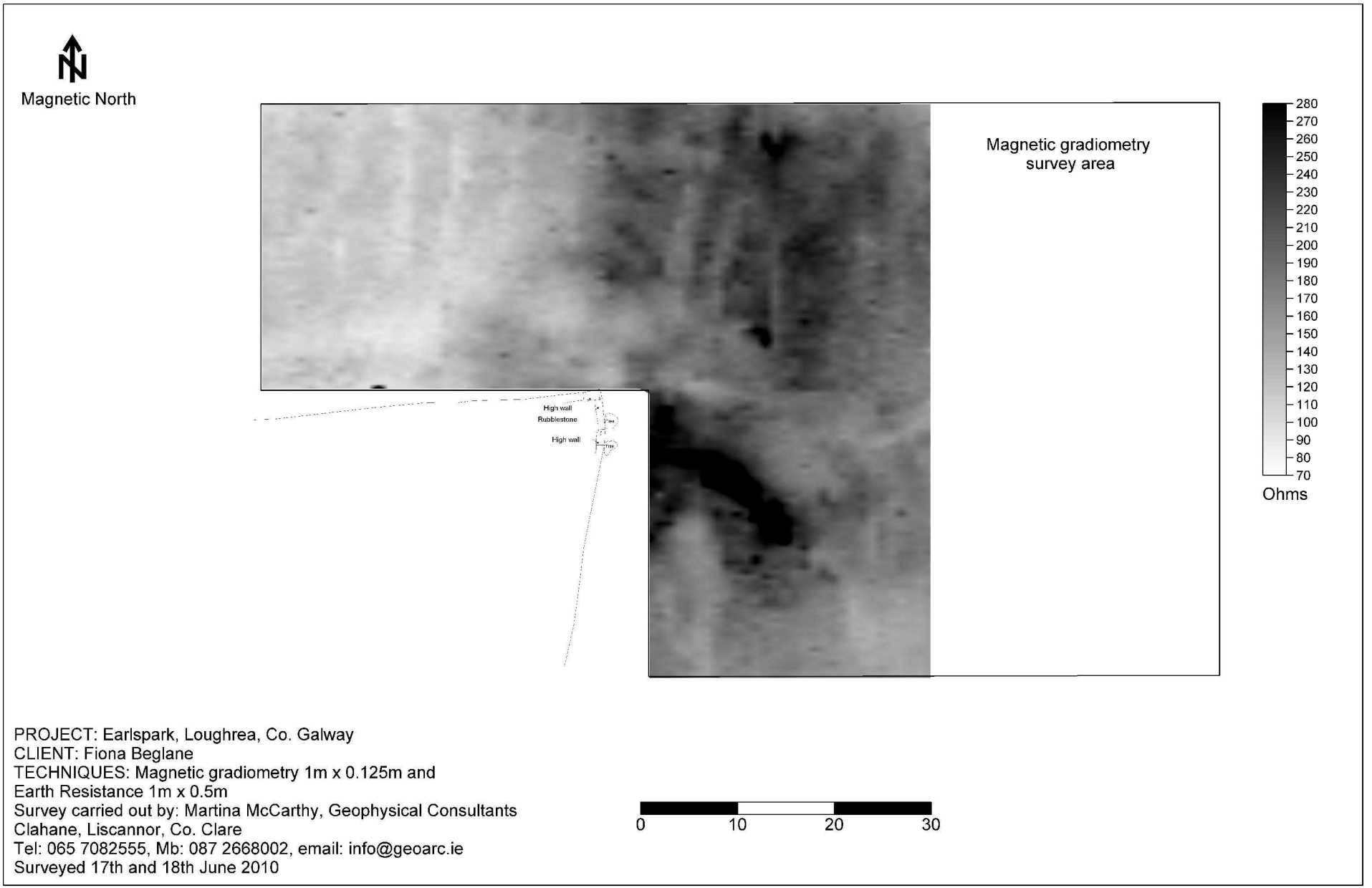


Figure 7. Greyscale plot of the earth resistance survey results, Site 1.

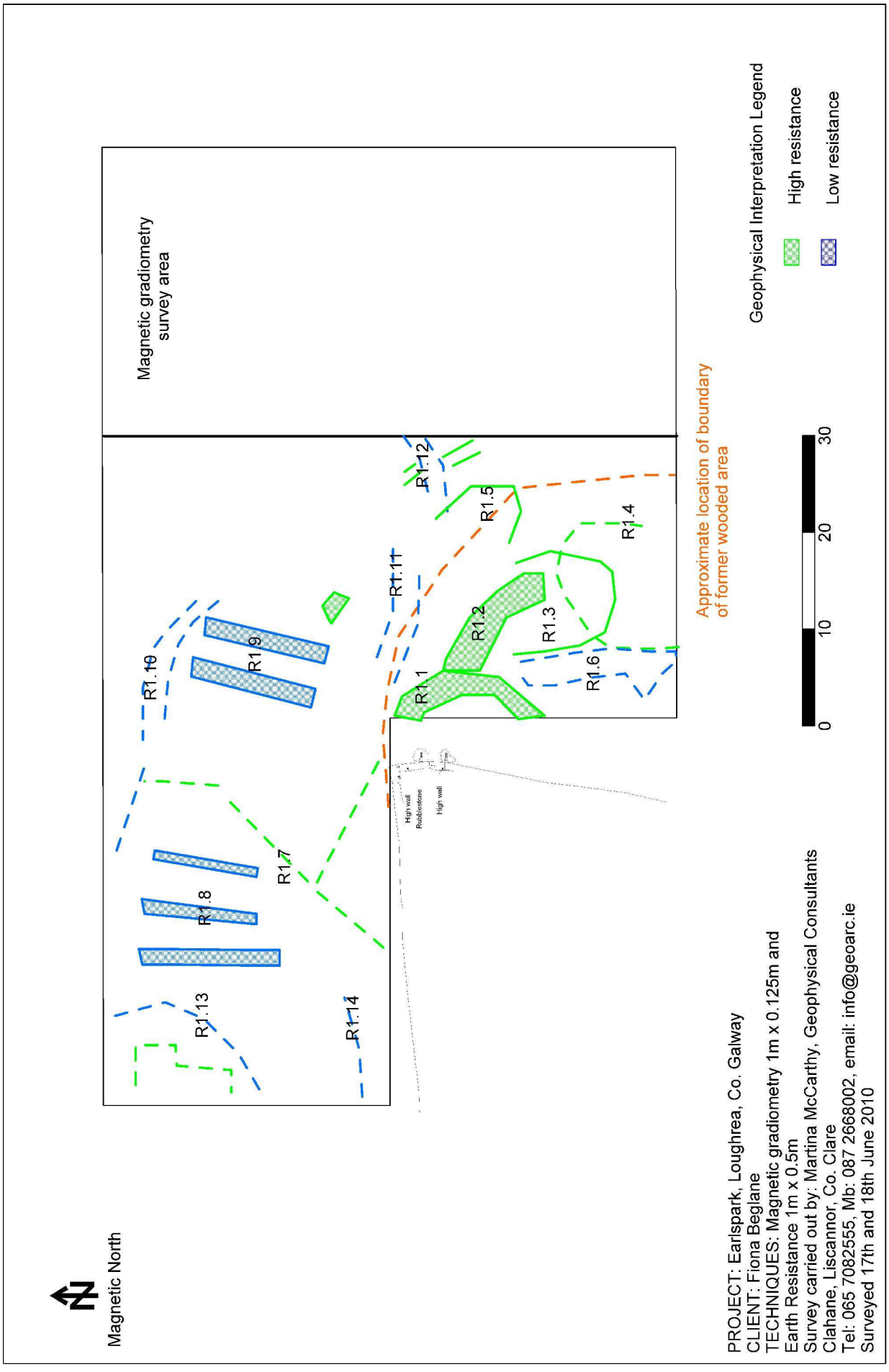


Figure 8. Geophysical interpretation plot of the earth resistance survey results, Site 1.

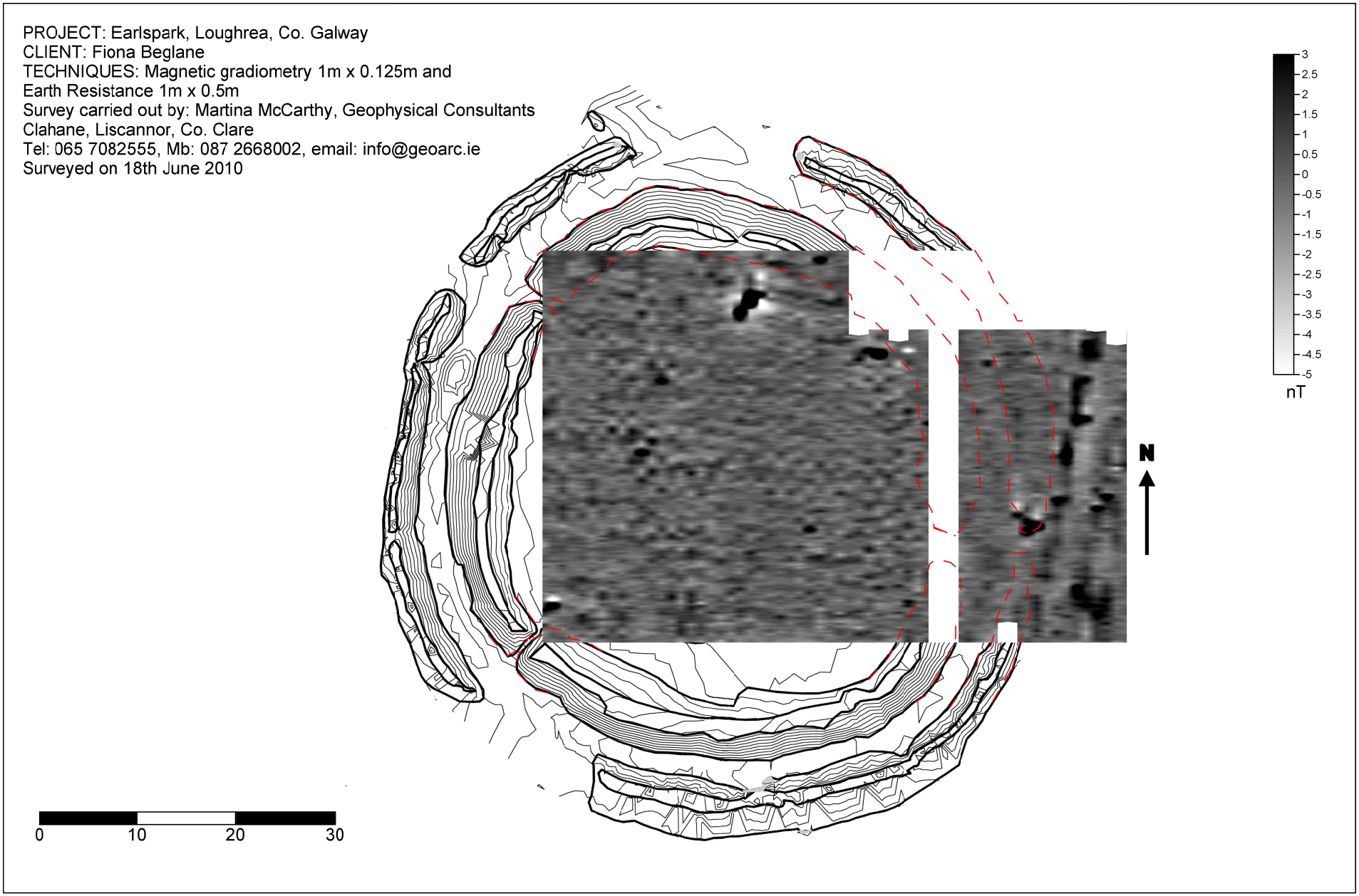


Figure 9. Greyscale plot of the magnetic gradiometry survey results Site 2, Ringfort, Earlspark, Loughrea, Co. Galway. Greyscale plot overlain on a topography map produced by Fiona Beglane.

Figure 10. Geophysical interpretation plot of the magnetic gradiometry survey results, Site 2 - Ringfort, Earlspark, Loughrea, Co. Galway. Plot overlain on a topography map produced by Fiona Beglane.

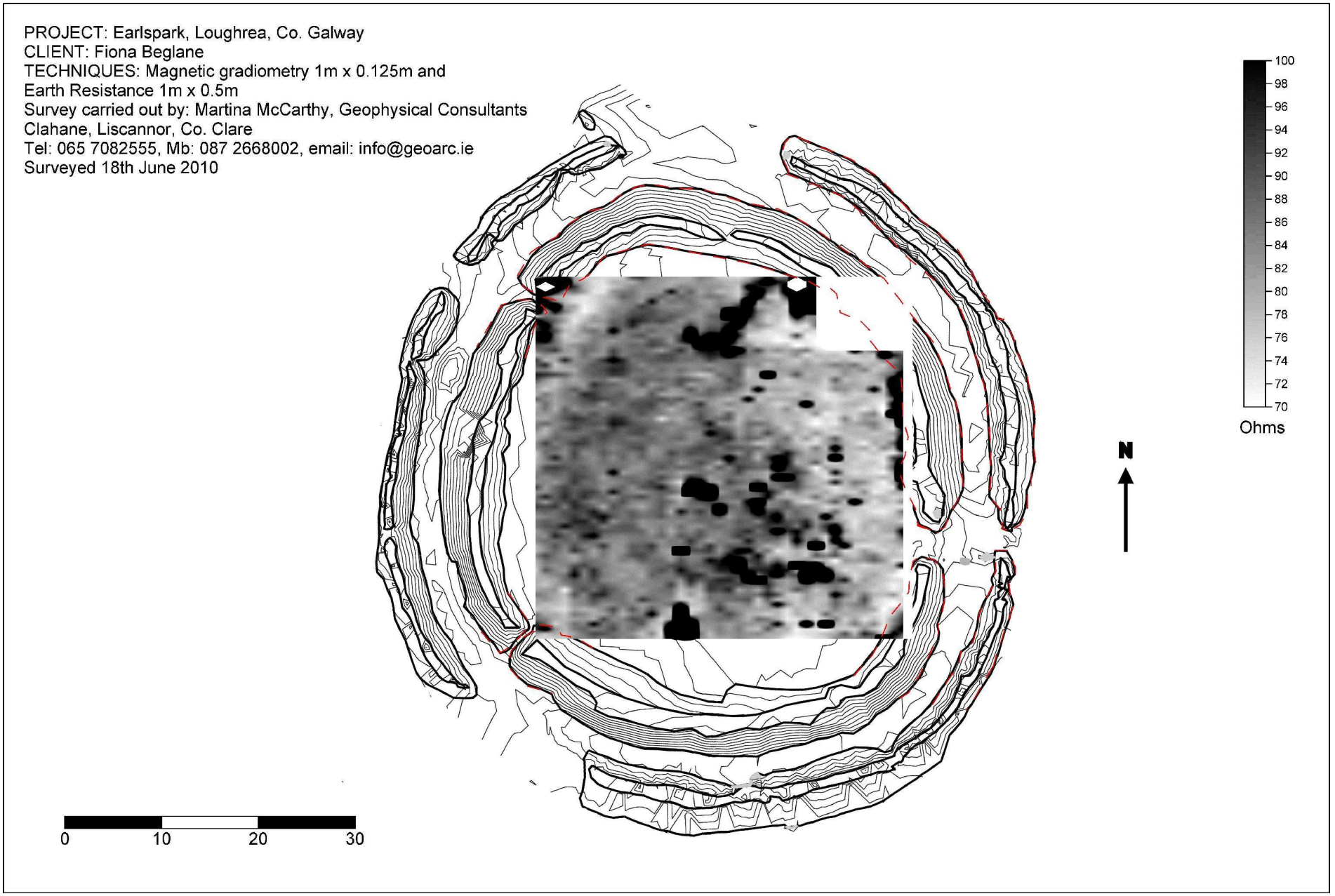


Figure 11. Greyscale plot of the earth resistance survey results at Site 2 - Ringfort, Earlspark, Loughrea, Co. Galway. Greyscale plot overlain on a topography map produced by Fiona Beglane.

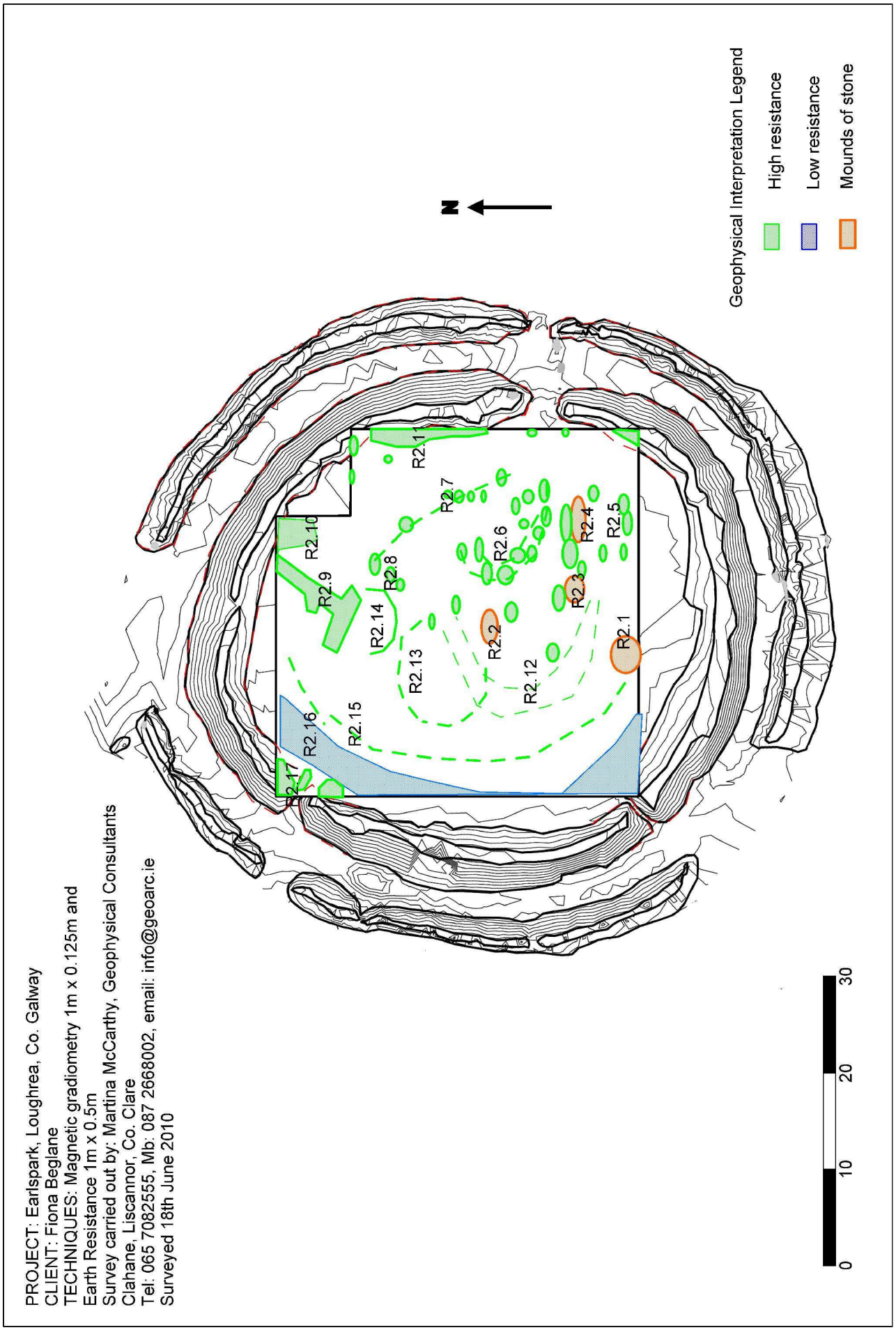


Figure 12. Geophysical interpretation plot of the earth resistance survey results, Site 2 - Ringfort, Earlspark, Loughrea, Co. Galway. Plot overlain on a topography map produced by Fiona Beglane.

Appendix 6: Maynooth, Co. Kildare

Appendix 6.1: Detailed survey of the park boundaries

A detailed walking survey was conducted around the Park of Maynooth, encompassing the modern townlands of Crewhill, Mariavilla and part of Timard. The aim of this was to confirm that this was the high medieval park, to identify and record any traces of the park and to record any other features of archaeological significance. In addition, detailed topographical survey took place at the previously unrecorded enclosure and souterrain at Crewhill (see Appendix 6.3). The circuit of the park will be discussed from the starting point at the northeast extent at M1, travelling anti-clockwise to M46 (Fig. A6.1). A plan of the townlands in and around the park is shown in Fig. A6.2.

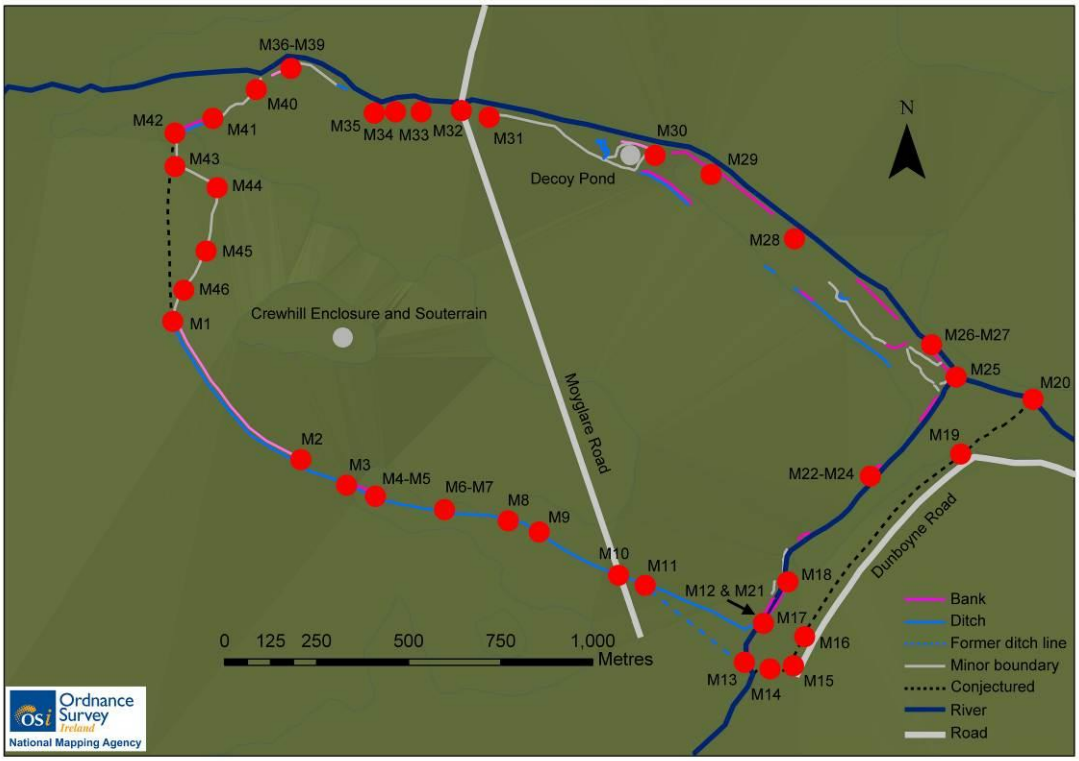


Fig. A6.1: Plan of the Park of Maynooth
(base mapping © Ordnance Survey Ireland/Government of Ireland Copyright Permit No. MP 0003612)

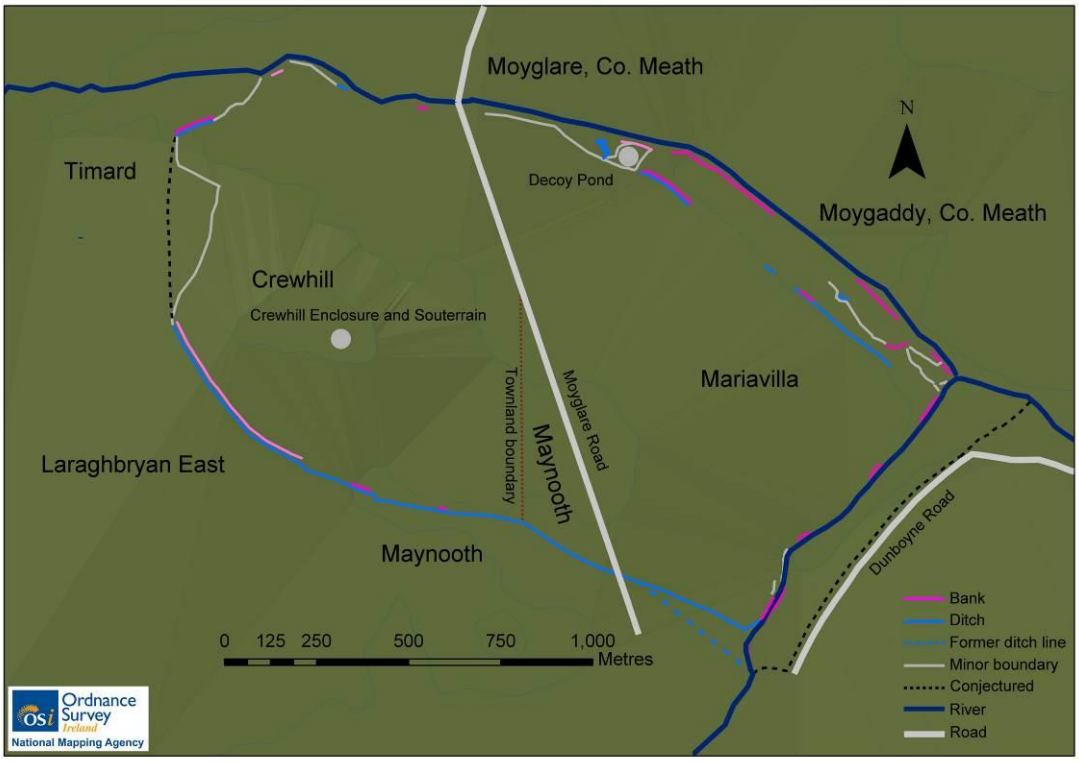


Fig. A6.2: Overview of the townlands in and around the Park of Maynooth
(base mapping © Ordnance Survey Ireland/Government of Ireland Copyright Permit No. MP 0003612)

A6.1.1 Southwestern boundary

A substantial ditch on the southwestern edge of the park formed part of the townland boundary between the townlands of Crewhill and Laraghbryan and then Crewhill and Maynooth. The circuit will be described beginning at the intersection of this ditch with the Timard townland boundary (M1). At this point the ditch headed southeast, and ran for approximately 1500m along what is believed to be its original course. It had a depth of *c.* 2-2.3m below the surrounding fields and was steep-sided so that it had a maximum width of 3-6m. For the first part of the length a mixed hedgerow ran on the western (exterior) side of the ditch, while denuded hedgerow consisting mainly of mature trees ran on the immediate eastern (interior) side of the ditch. A bank ranging from 0.5m to a maximum of 1m high and *c.* 5m wide ran along the eastern (interior) side of this denuded hedgerow for a distance of *c.* 500m, to M2 (Pls. A6.1; A6.2). A profile of this ditch was drawn at M2 (Fig. A6.3). Beyond this there was a gap of *c.* 100m in the bank, either side of a field boundary and gate. At this point a second large ditch merged in from the west. The internal bank then started again at M3, before disappearing after M4. Shortly after this, at M5, the ditch met a ditch coming in from the south.

Pl. A6.1: Hedgerow, ditch and slight internal bank looking northwest, M2

Pl. A6.2 Close-up of hedgerow, ditch and slight internal bank looking northwest, M2

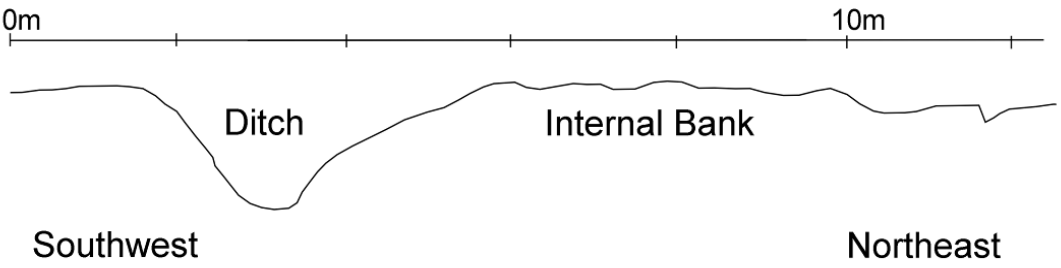


Fig. A6.3: Profile of the ditch, M2

After M5 the ditch continued much as before, but without the internal bank. To the north of the ditch, internal to the park, were a series of recently-built housing estates while to the south were the playing fields and grounds of NUI Maynooth. The land on which the housing estates have been built has been extensively remodelled and landscaped. Only in one small area was there evidence for the ditch-side on the northern side being undisturbed since before construction of the houses. This was at M6, where there was a small bank 0.3m high and 1m wide and with mature trees growing on it (Pl. A6.3). This formed the boundary between the ditch and the housing estate on the northern (internal) side. This section of housing estate was built at some time between 1995 and 2000 since it first appears on the 2000 aerial photographs (OSI). The size of the trees suggests that they, and therefore the bank, predate the housing estate. Immediately beyond this at M7, the bank disappeared, however the trees continued (Pl. A6.4). A further ditch profile was drawn at M7 (Fig. A6.4).

Pl. A6.3: Bank with mature trees bounding housing estate from ditch, M6

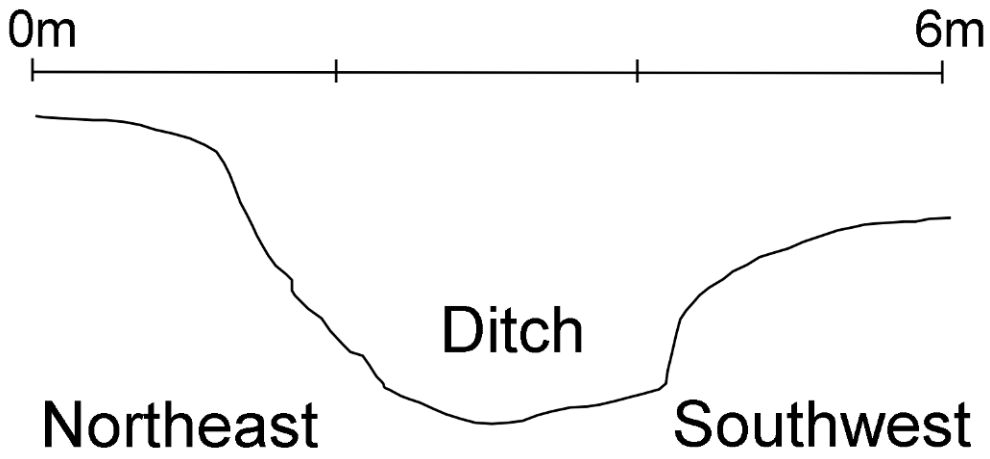


Fig. A6.4: Profile of the ditch, M7

Pl. A6.4: 2m deep, 3.5m wide ditch. Looking southeast. To the right of the picture are the playing fields of NUI Maynooth, while to the left is a modern housing estate, M7

At M8 the townland boundary of Crewhill diverged from the substantial ditch and turned to run northwards, separating the modern housing estates from Maynooth GAA. Between M8 and M9 the ditch had been piped, forming the boundary between the playing fields of NUI Maynooth and Maynooth GAA. On exiting from the pipe at M9 the ditch continued much as before, *c.* 2.5m deep and 3-6m wide. At M10 the ditch met the Moyglare Road heading north out of Maynooth (Pls. A6.5; A6.6). It was piped to cross the road and re-emerged at the opposite side of the road.

Pl. A6.5: Looking southeast to where the ditch is piped under the Moyglare Road, M10

Pl. A6.6: Looking northwest from the Moyglare Road. The ditch is *c.* 2m-2.5m deep and *c.* 3m wide, M10

Once across the Moyglare road the ditch re-emerged looking much as before. It continued southeast and was *c.* 1.5m deep on the Mariavilla (internal or northern) side, *c.* 2m deep on the southern side and *c.* 5m wide. Water flowed in the ditch to a depth of *c.* 0.1m on a gravel and stone base and this ditch entered the Lyreen River at M12. However, close examination of the maps of Rocque, Sherrard, Brassington and Green and the 1st Edition map demonstrate that the line of the ditch was modified between 1821 and the 1830s, and that originally the ditch flowed further to the south than is currently the case (Fig. A6.5). Examination of the previous line of the ditch showed that the ground in this area has been heavily modified so that the line of the ditch has disappeared. There has been infill of the ground with builder's rubble, hardcore and soil that has built up the level of the land above the original. Previously the ground on this side appears to have sloped gently down from the level of the road to the river, but now it is relatively flat and then slopes steeply down. The evidence suggests that the park boundary ditch crossed the river at M13 and ran southeast to meet what is now a curve on the townland boundary of Mariavilla and Maynooth town at M14.

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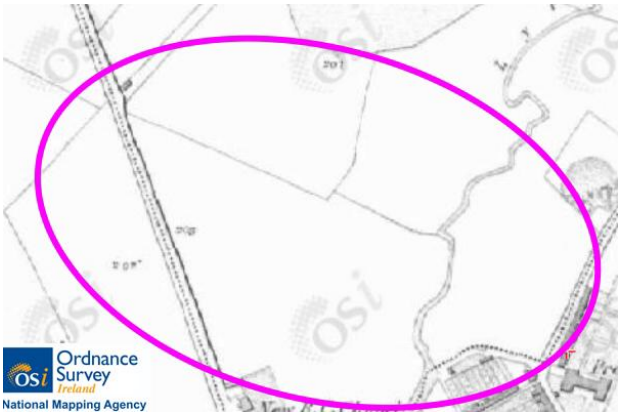


Fig. A6.5: The confluence of the park ditch with the Lyreen River on the maps produced by Rocque (1757) (top) and Sherrard, Brassington and Green (1821) (middle) and on the 1st Edition map (1837-1842) (bottom)

As described above, the reconfigured ditch continued until M12, where it met the Lyreen River. Immediately inside the enclosure formed to the north of the ditch and the river were a series of linear banks, some of which appeared to form an irregular

enclosure and a pair of arcs of a curve. These were positioned on a small plateau above the riverside but below the surrounding land. These banks may be the remains of a structure sited at the confluence of the ditch and river; however, they may also be geological, as they appeared to be somewhat irregular (Pl. A6.7).

Pl. A6.7: Possible structure at the confluence of the reconfigured ditch and the Lyreen River, M12

A6.1.2 Southeastern Boundary

After crossing the river and meeting the Mariavilla-Maynooth townland boundary at M14, it is likely that the park followed this boundary round to the modern Dunboyne Road at M15 and then turned to run alongside the road. There has been heavy modification of the land between the road and the river so that it is impossible to determine exactly where the boundary lay. The ground rose up steeply from the riverside to the road, and for the first 130m there were modern houses fronting the road. There was then an entrance (M16) providing access to a quarry that is shown on maps from Sherrard, Brassington and Green (1821) onwards. This quarry extended as far as the river, behind the houses and southeast to the Maynooth townland boundary. A bank 0.8-1.2m high ran along the river (M14/M17/M18) as far as the boundary to the next property to the north, which is a water processing

plant. This bank separated the quarry from the river, and a track and a line of manhole covers ran alongside this, with the former presumably providing access for quarry vehicles (Pl. A6.8).

Pl. A6.8: Riverside bank parallel with the Dunboyne Road, M17

Continuing further north along the Dunboyne Road is a water treatment works, followed by the Lyreen Angling Centre and the associated allotment plots which take up the remainder of the distance to the Rye Water. As a result of the construction of large ponds for angling, the spoil was deposited in the area between the road and the river, to provide a flat-topped area with a steep slope leading down to the riverbank. This raised area has a height of up to 10m above the river, and allotment gardens have been created on the flat top. North, beyond this area of spoil are the angling ponds themselves (Pl. A6.9). Based on the aerial photography (OSI) these were constructed early in the 2000s.

Pl. A6.9: Artificial angling lakes viewed from the Dunboyne Road, M19

The road was followed for a total of *c.* 700m, before the park boundary diverged from the modern road at M19, and continuing northeast to meet the Rye Water at M20. This followed the line of the northeast-bound road shown on Rocque's (1757) map and on Sherrard, Brassington and Green's (1821) map that used to cross the Rye Water beyond this point. This relict road is still visible as a spit of land extending from the line of the current road into the lake (Pl. A6.10). This was a short distance to the east of the confluence of the Rye Water and the Lyreen River

The park boundary may have been along the bank that ran immediately adjacent to the river, or it may have been on the break of slope of the original land, close to the line of the modern road. Since the road is the townland boundary, the latter is more likely, however the river itself probably formed part of the barrier to retain deer and prevent unauthorised entry into the main part of the park.

Pl. A6.10: Line of the relict road travelling across the angling pond towards the Rye Water, M20

The park side of the Lyreen River was also walked to determine if there were any features inside the park along this length. From the confluence of the modified ditch and the Lyreen River, looking northeastward the land inside Mariavilla was generally flat but close to the river it sloped steeply down. On the western side of the Lyreen River was a bank that began at the point where the ditch met the Lyreen River (M12) and was visible in places for much of the *c.* 850m between this junction and the confluence of the Lyreen River and the Rye Water at M25. The bank disappeared on occasion, and on other occasions it was not possible to determine whether it was present due to dense undergrowth. On the eastern side of the Lyreen River the ground also sloped steeply down to the river but, as described, for much of the length there was no bank present at the riverside. While the bank on the western, or interior side of the river, is attractive as a potential park boundary, comparison of the 1st Edition and 25" maps demonstrates that the entire length of the Lyreen River from Maynooth to the confluence with the Rye Water was straightened and canalised between the dates of survey of these two maps. This strongly suggests that this bank was formed as a result of these river improvement works and is not related to the use of the area as a park (Pl. A6.11).

Pl. A6.11: Probable nineteenth-century bank running alongside Lyreen River, M21

At M22 there was a ford crossing the river, and a 1m high bank meeting the river from the northwest. At M23 there was an area of uneven ground that could potentially be a possible archaeological feature, but is most probably geological.

A modern bridge has been constructed at M24 to allow access between farmland and the Lyreen Angling Centre on the far side of the river. Beyond this the ground flattened and opened up with no hedgerow present and very little slope down to the river on either side. The Lyreen River met the Rye Water at M25. Looking southwest from this point it was possible to see the spire of St Patrick's Church in at the seminary in Maynooth, however this is the highest feature of the modern landscape, so that it would not have been possible to see the later medieval town or castle from this point (Pl. A6.12).

Pl. A6.12: Looking SW towards Maynooth (St Patrick's church spire marked), M26

A6.1.3 Northeastern boundary

The Rye Water forms the northeastern boundary of the park. This river is the townland boundary of Crewhill as well as the parish boundary of Laraghbryan and the county boundary separating Kildare from Meath. Turning to walk northwest from here alongside the Rye Water there were again a series of bank sections extending intermittently for a distance of *c.* 1km. Cartographic evidence again suggests substantial river drainage works have taken place in this area, with a canalised section of the Rye Water being constructed to run along the county boundary. At the confluence of the Lyreen River and Rye Water a series of linear and L-shaped depressions were visible in the ground. These ran in a general northwest-to-southeast direction (M25-M26) (Pl. A6.13). One of these cut through the first section of riverside bank, so that these linear features must be modern, and post-date the canalisation of the river.

Pl. A6.13: Modern linear depressions running northwest-southeast, M26

From the next field boundary at M27, heading northwest, the ground became extremely wet and marshy. Cartographic evidence shows that this area was the original channel of the Rye Water, and a number of ponds and relict channels still exist (Fig. A6.6). Again, sections of bank were present along this length of canalised river. To the west of this marshy area a field boundary ran approximately parallel with the river. This had a narrow, water-filled ditch with a slight bank on the eastern (river side) of the ditch. The ground to the west of this field boundary was higher, and much drier than the area close to the river. It is likely that originally the marshy area close to the river functioned as water meadow. This would have flooded seasonally, with the river retained within the visible palaeochannels during the drier times of the year (Pl. A6.14).

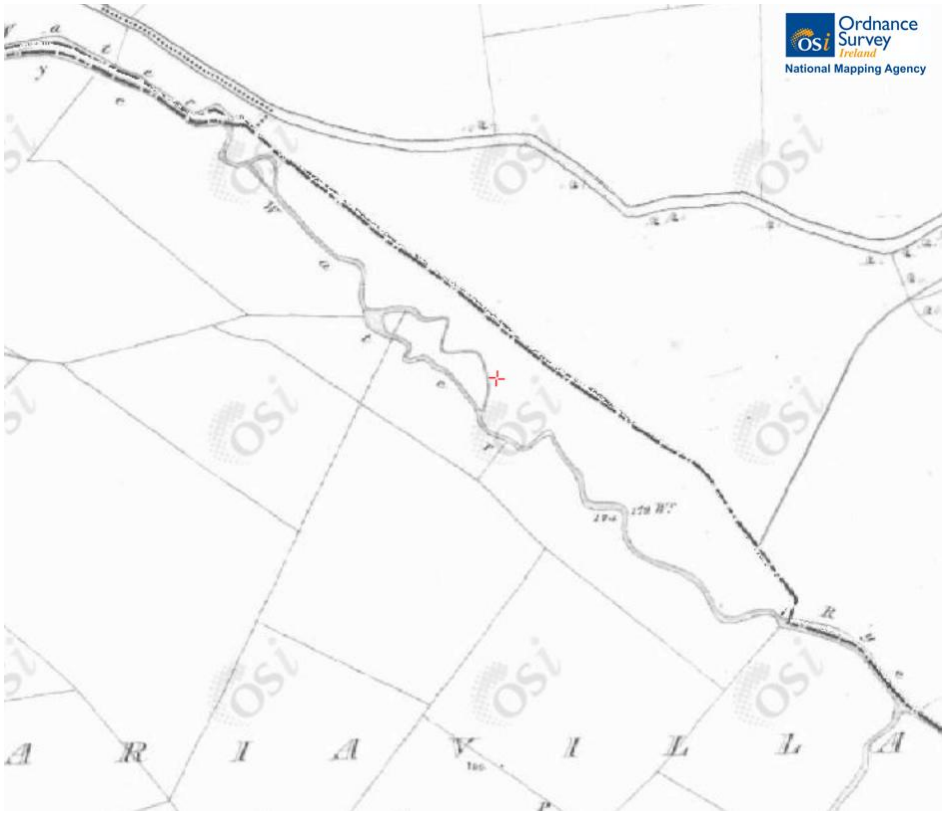


Fig. A6.6: The original course of the Rye Water (1st Edition 1837-1842)

Pl. A6.14: Looking northwest along the line of the palaeochannels. The modern canalised channel of the river is at the right of the picture, M27

At M28 there was a short stretch of relict channel heading parallel with the river and bounded by mature hawthorn trees to either side. At M29 a stone footbridge crossed the river (Pl. A6.15). This is shown on the 25" map but not on the 1st Edition, suggesting a nineteenth- or early twentieth-century construction date.

Pl. A6.15: Nineteenth- or early twentieth-century footbridge, M29

M30 marked the eastern extent of a decoy pond. This was shown on John Rocque's map of 1757 but not on subsequent mapping, suggesting that it had gone out of use by the time of Sherrard, Brassington and Green's survey in 1821. The pond was sub-rectangular and measured 65-90m southeast-northwest by *c.* 70m southwest-northeast and it had a depth of *c.* 0.5m. It was located at NGR 293443 239368. The northeastern edge of the pond was bounded by the nineteenth-century bank that ran alongside the river. As a result, it is likely that this bank covered part of the original northern extent of the pond. The southwestern extent was bounded by the ridge of rising ground that ran parallel to the river and separated the flood plain from dry land. At the extreme northeast there was a gap in the riverside bank to allow a narrow channel to run from the pond to the river. At the southwestern corner a palaeochannel entered the pond, curving in a sinuous fashion. (Pls. A6.16; A6.17; Fig. A6.7).

Pl. A6.16: Decoy pond from the northeast showing sub-rectangular depressed area surrounded by earthen banks. The corners are marked by arrows, M30

Pl. A6.17: Close up of the decoy pond showing the pond and relict channels close to the river and the extent of former arable cultivation on the higher ground **(© 2011 Google, DigitalGlobe, Geoeye accessed 28/6/2011)**

Fig. A6.7: Close up of the decoy pond on John Rocque's (1757) map, rotated to show north at the top of the page

At M31, close to where the Rye Water met the Moyglare Road, the line of the original boundary between dry land and the water meadows close to the river was particularly apparent (Pl. A6.18).

Pl. A6.18: Dry land (right) with former water meadow (left) and the current path of the Rye Water marked by the line of trees, M31

At M32 the Rye Water re-emerged from under the bridge into Crewhill townland, on the western side of the Moyglare Road. Comparison of the 1st Edition and 25" maps suggests that this stretch of the river has not been canalised and 'improved' in the same way as the stretch on the Mariavilla side of the Moyglare road. Along this portion of the river the fields stretched as far as the riverside with only a narrow band of trees separating the river from the fields. Set back from the river by *c.* 30m was a steep slope rising up from the riverside, again creating a meadow strip along the side of the river. At M33 there was a slight bank with a line of trees growing along the length running along the southern Crewhill side of the river. At M34 there was a modern bridge over the river providing access between lands on the two sides of the river. At this point the land on both banks is owned by Moyglare Stables. From M35 onwards a band of woodland fringed the edge of the river. At M36 there was a concrete wall forming a blockage across two-thirds of the river (Pl. A6.19). The position of the concrete wall suggests that it may have been associated with a ditch shown on the 25" map that was fed from a now-defunct millrace shown on the 1st Edition map.

Pl. A6.19: Concrete sluice partly blocking the Rye Water, M36

Two short stretches of bank were identified along the Crewhill side of the river, firstly a short stretch at M37, then a longer stretch of *c.* 30m from M38 to M39 which was 0.4m high and topped by mature trees.

A6.1.4 Western boundary at Timard

The Timard-Crewhill townland boundary was very different in character to the substantial ditch forming the southwest boundary. Much of it was difficult to access even in the early spring, with dense undergrowth preventing detailed survey. This stretch of the townland boundary was formed from a number of ditch segments, and, as will be described below, not all of these are believed to have formed part of the park boundary.

North of M39 a ditch met the river, this had come from the southwest and formed the townland boundary between Crewhill and Timard. This was a wet ditch with *c.* 0.2m of water and 0.4m of silt even when examined in July 2010. It was *c.* 1.4m - 2m deep and steep-sided on the Crewhill side with no bank on the Crewhill side. On the Timard side it was *c.* 0.5m - 1m below the fields and was shallow-sided.

At M40 the ditch was joined by a second ditch coming from the inner side of the park, which became more substantial to the southwest. Beyond this point the two ditches ran parallel but were separated by a substantial bank 1m high, 4m wide at the base and 1.5m high on its flat top. The main, outer ditch was wet, while the inner ditch was dry, and both had a depth of *c.* 1m below the surrounding ground. The outer ditch curved away from the inner ditch and bank at M41, heading westwards, parallel with the Rye Water. Beyond this point the bank continued southwest as a substantial feature *c.* 1.5m high, with an internal ditch of depth of up to *c.* 2m below the internal ground surface of the park. Up to this point it is likely that the wet ditch was the original park boundary ditch.

At M42 the boundary turned south and the character of the ditch changed to become a much shallower, dry ditch, 1m deep, 4m wide at the top and 2m wide at the base, with a flat-to-U-shaped profile. This ran as far as M43 and it is believed that this stretch (M42-M43) has been reconfigured and was not part of the original park

boundary. Instead, examination of Rocque's map and the 1st Edition map show a field boundary heading south from M43 and following the projected line of the park boundary. The fields in this area have subsequently been reconfigured, and are used for tillage, and this boundary is no longer evident. It is believed that the projected line met the current boundary again at the starting point, M1.

At M43 a new and separate ditch headed southeast along the Timard townland boundary to M44. Again this was *c.* 1m deep, 4m wide at the top and had a small bank 1m high and 1.5m wide on the Crewhill (internal) side. After a short distance to M44 this ditch segment appeared to finish and a new, southbound ditch started. At M45 this ditch had dense hedgerow on both sides. Again this ditch was 1m deep, 2m wide at the base and 4m wide at the top with a U-shaped base (Pl. A6.20). There was a slight internal bank on the Crewhill side that was *c.* 0.3m high and 5m wide, similar to that which bounded much of the substantial ditch (M1-M2), but this disappeared shortly before the point where the townlands of Timard, Crewhill and Laraghbryan met at M1.

Pl. A6.20: The ditch of the Timard-Crewhill townland boundary in early spring, M46

At M1 this ditch curved round to the west and continued to surround Timard townland. Also at this point was the start of the substantial ditch heading southwest that was described at the beginning of this circuit (M1 to M12). It is believed that the projected line of the park boundary through Timard townland from M43 re-connected with the substantial southwestern ditch at M1.

To summarise this section, much of the the Timard townland boundary was entirely different in character to the substantial ditch that headed southeast from M1, which had a much less-dense mixed hedgerow, a deep, wet ditch with a depth of *c.* 2m - 2.3m below the surrounding fields and a maximum width of 3-6m. This, coupled with cartographic evidence which suggests that the fields in Timard were laid out at a later date to the surrounding boundaries, suggest that the stretch M42 to M1 is not part of the original park boundary, but instead the line ran directly between these two points in a shallow arc.

Appendix 6.2: Archaeological features in and adjacent to the Park of Maynooth

A number of features of various dates and types are present in or around the Park of Maynooth (Tab.A6.1). Previously unrecorded monuments are shown in Tab A6.2. Some of the features have been described elsewhere in this chapter and where relevant the reader is referred to the relevant sections.

Townland(s)	**RMP No.**	**Description based on RMP, NMS topographical files and site visit**
Laraghbryan East	KD005-008	Castle – unclassified associated with Lararabryan Church (see Section 6.1.2)
Laraghbryan East	KD005-009 001/2/3	Ecclesiastical site assocated with St Senan, later medieval church and graveyard (see Section 6.1.2)
Maynooth	KD005-010	Ring-ditch
Maynooth	KD005-011001	Enclosure
Maynooth	KD005-011002	Road - road/trackway
Maynooth	KD005-012	Field system
Collegeland	KD005-013	Site of the Earl of Kildare's Council House demolished *c.* 1780. Nearby 18th C schoolhouse (KD005-014) incorporates late medieval fragments reputedly from the Council House
Maynooth	KD005-014	Architectural features probably from KD005-013
Maynooth	KD005-015	Castle - Anglo-Norman masonry castle (see Section 6.1.2)
Maynooth	KD005-015 001/2/3/4/5/6	Prehistoric house, early medieval houses, an Anglo-Norman building and two wells on the site of Maynooth Castle
Maynooth	KD005-016	Church incorporating later medieval church and associated with castle (see Section 6.1.2)
Laraghbryan East	KD005-021	Ecclesiastical enclosure likely to be associated with Laraghbryan church and early ecclesiastical site (KD005-009) (see Section 6.1.2)
Maynooth	KD005-023	Medieval field boundary found in advance of urban development
Moyglare	ME049A001	Castle - tower house across the Rye Water in Meath
Moyglare	ME049A002	Church – site of later medieval church across the Rye Water in Meath
Moygaddy	ME053-001	Castle - tower house, possibly a tower on a bawn wall, across the Rye Water in Meath

Tab. A6.1: Recorded archaeological features in the park of Maynooth and surrounding townlands

Townland(s)	Description based on site visit
Crewhill	Enclosure, probable ringfort but with possible later reuse. Adjacent unenclosed souterrain (see Appendix 6.3)
Mariavilla	Decoy pond predating 1757 (see Section A6.1.3)

Tab. A6.2: Unrecorded archaeological features in the Park of Maynooth

Appendix 6.3: Unrecorded enclosure and souterrain at Crewhill

A number of landscape features have been described as part of the circuit of the park boundary, including areas of uneven ground that may be archaeological features, as well as the decoy pond constructed close to the northern boundary on the Rye Water. Crewhill lies in the centre of the eastern portion of the park. It is the only high ground in the park and commands extensive views in all directions (Pls. A6.21; A6.22; A6.23; A6.24). Local tradition has it that during the siege at the time of Silken Thomas's rebellion in 1535 the castle was bombarded with guns stationed on Crewhill, *c.* 1.5km to the northwest of the castle (John Geoghegan and Bill Mulhern *pers. comm.*). This would appear to be too far away from the castle to have actually caused much damage, although use of such a weapon would have provided an impressive demonstration of military might (Damien Shiels, *pers. comm.*), and certainly the documentary evidence suggests that attack came from that quarter (see Section 6.2.2). Furthermore, the current owner found what he described as a cannonball that was about the size of a tennis ball (diameter *c.* 8cm) on the land (John Geoghegan *pers. comm.*), but unfortunately this could no longer be located. It is most likely that a command post was set up on the hill, which, as detailed below, is topped by earthworks that have not been archaeologically recorded.

Pl. A6.21: View to the south from Crewhill

Pl. A6.22: View to the west from Crewhill

Pl. A6.23: View to the north from Crewhill

Pl. A6.24: View to the east from Crewhill

The enclosure at Crewhill was situated on the crest of an east-west aligned hill (Pls.A6.25; A6.26). The site was subjected to topographic survey using a total station in June 2011 and over 1100 points were taken. This was carried out by Fiona Beglane with fieldwork assistance from Gareth Boyle. The enclosure was circular,

with a bank and external ditch and had an internal diameter of *c.* 16m and an external diameter of *c.* 27m (Fig. A6.8). To the immediate east was a depressed area extending from the enclosure ditch and measuring 9m north-south and 10m east-west. This may have been an entrance or an associated structure. Inside the enclosure was a mounded area on the western side and depressed areas on the northwestern and eastern sides. There were two large trees, one at the eastern bank and the other more centrally placed, on the northwestern side. There was also a row of bushes along the southwestern limit. A souterrain lay *c.* 60m down-slope to the southeast. It was filled in by the father of the current owner and is now visible as a depressed area of ground measuring *c.* 2m by 2m. This enclosure is not recorded on the RMP and was not noted as a monument by the Ordnance Survey, who showed a clump of trees at this location on both the 1st Edition and the 25" map, and who used Crewhill as a trigonometric station. While it is possible that the enclosure site is an eighteenth- or nineteenth-century tree-ring, the presence of a souterrain immediately downhill, coupled with evidence for the bank, external ditch and eastern entrance feature suggest that it is most likely to have originally been constructed as an early medieval ringfort. It may be that subsequent fieldworkers have assumed that if it were a historic monument then the Ordnance Survey would have recorded it.

Pl. A6.25: Unrecorded enclosure at Crewhill

Pl A6.26: Unrecorded enclosure at Crewhill

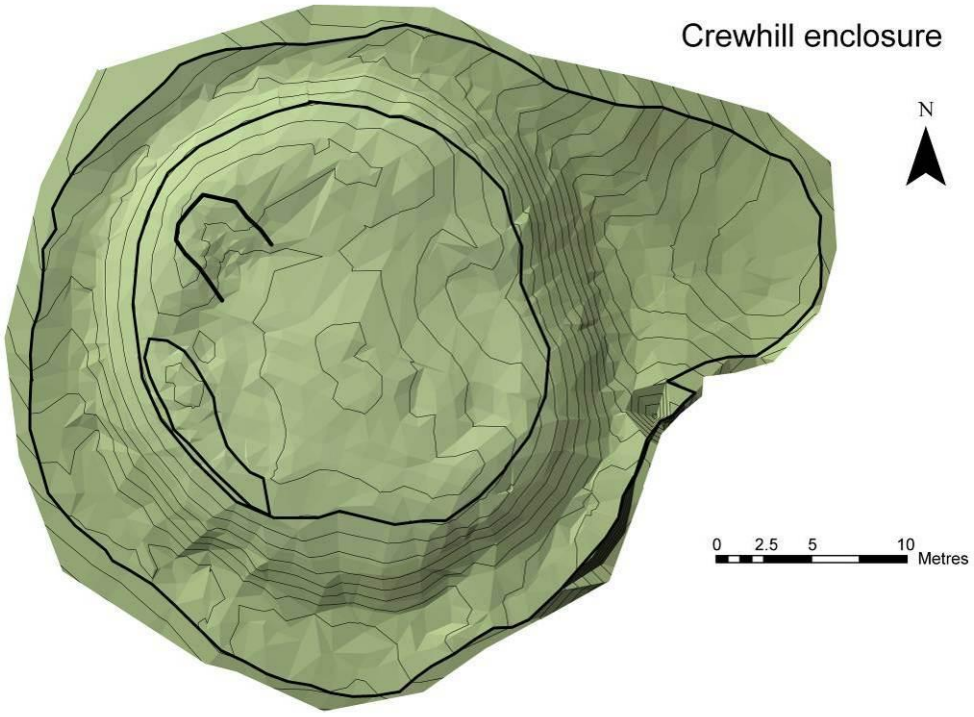
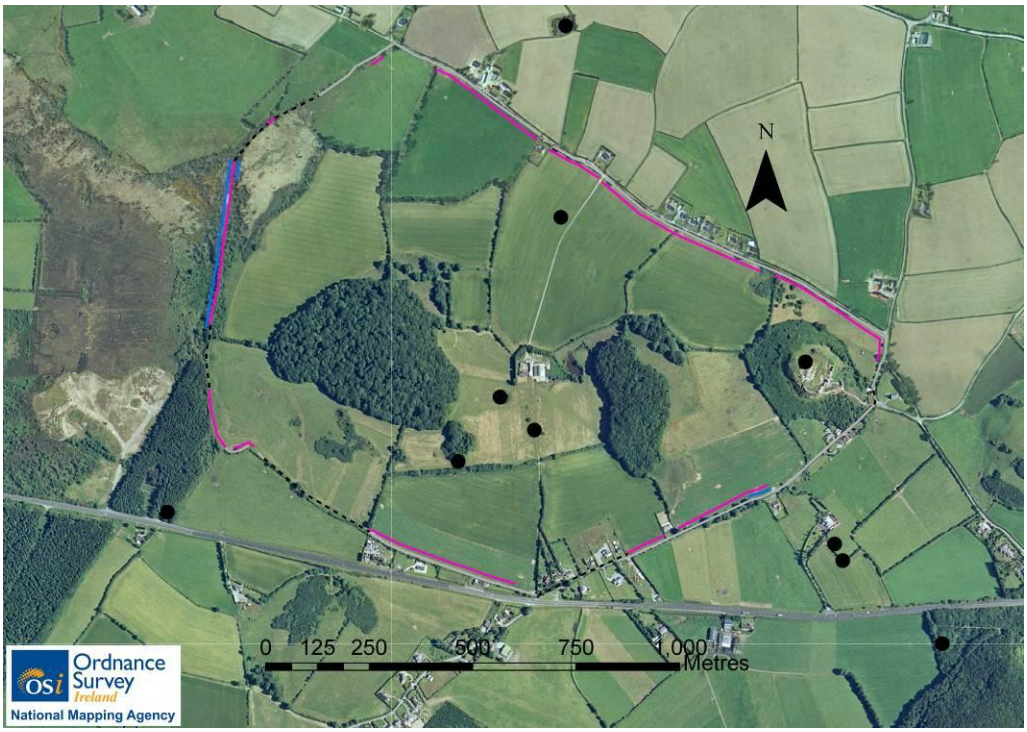


Fig. A6.8: Topographical survey of the enclosure on Crewhill

Appendix 7: Dunamase, Co. Laois

Appendix 7.1: Detailed survey of the townland boundary

A detailed walking survey was conducted around the townland starting from in front of the modern entrance to Dunamase Castle, and then travelling in a clock-wise direction from points D1 to D31 ((Pl. A7.1, Fig. A7.1). The aim of this was to confirm that this was the high medieval park, to identify and record any traces of the park and to record any other features of archaeological significance. A plan of the location of townlands around Dunamase is shown in Fig. A7.2.



Pl. A7.1: Townland boundary features on an aerial photograph

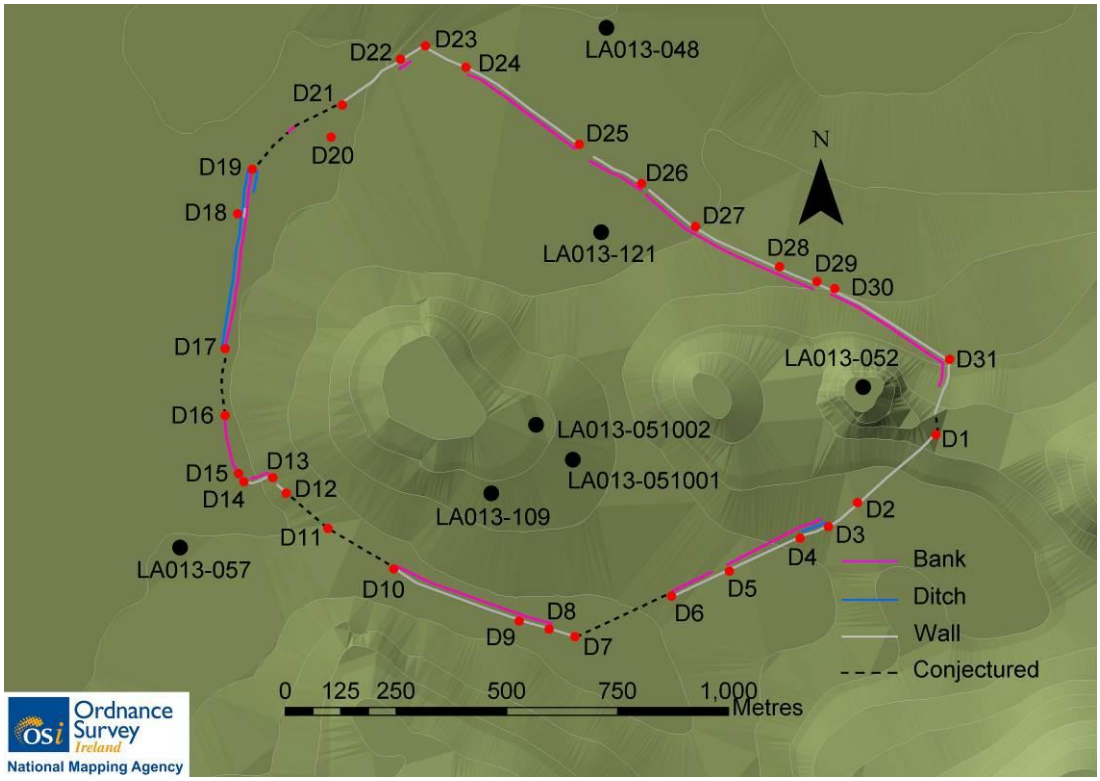


Fig. A7.1: Plan of the townland of Park or Dunamase
(base mapping © Ordnance Survey Ireland/Government of Ireland Copyright Permit No. MP 0003612)

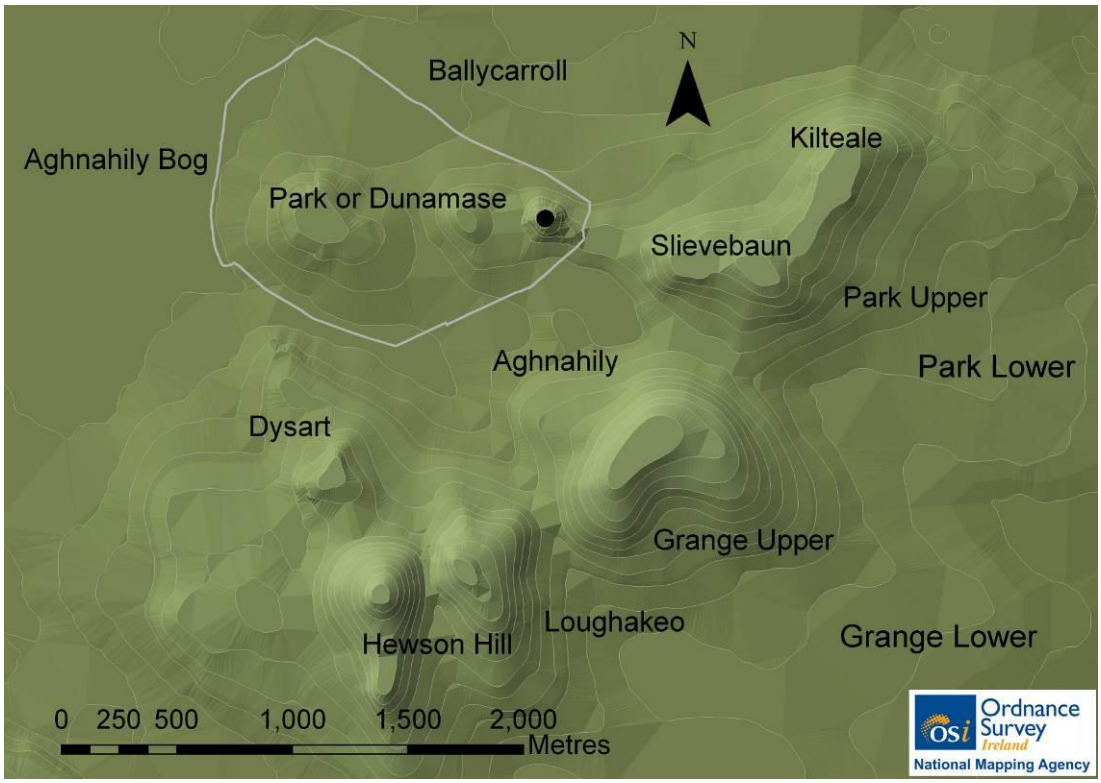


Fig. A7.2: Townlands around Dunamase
(base mapping © Ordnance Survey Ireland/Government of Ireland Copyright Permit No. MP 0003612)

A7.1.1 Southeastern boundary

To the south of the modern entrance to the castle, on the east side of the Rock, there was a bank 1.5m high with a 0.5m high stone wall topping it (D1). This was heavily overgrown and in poor condition so that it is unclear whether this was a mortared or drystone wall at this point. Turning head southwest along the road to Dysart the road travelled in a hollow-way, up to 2m high and continued to be topped by a wall. At D2 a mortared rubblestone wall over 1.6m in height began, and ran for *c.* 25m before dropping down in height (Pl. A7.2).

Pl. A7.2: 1.6m high mortared stone wall fronting the road, D2

Between D3 and D5 a 0.3-0.8m high bank was visible running inside the wall, with a slight ditch separating the wall from the bank for a short stretch until D4. At least part of this bank was of some age since for some of its length the bank was separated from the arable portion of the field by a line of mature trees that grew along the outer edge of the bank (Pl. A7.3; A7.4). Nevertheless, the problem of determining the age and origin of banks is demonstrated since in the next field a very similar bank of height 0.3m and width 3m continued on to circuit a modern bungalow. Beyond D6 was a row of modern houses with associated gardens. At D7 the townland boundary turned away from the road to Dysart at the point where the townland and road intersected with the modern N80 road connecting Portlaoise to Stradbally.

Pl. A7.3: Bank internal to the wall with a line of mature tree separating the bank from the arable field, D4

Pl. A7.4: Bank 0.3m high alongside arable agriculture. The modern bungalow also surrounded by the bank is visible in the middle distance, D5

A7.1.2 Southwestern boundary

Heading northeast along the southwestern side of the townland, the boundary again consisted of a wall (D7-D10), with an internal bank 0.6m high and 3.5m wide separating an arable field in Park from a garden in Dysart townland (Pl. A7.5). At one point the wall sat on top of the now-0.5m high bank (D9), suggesting that the wall post-dated the bank and that while these followed approximately the same line, this was not exact (Pl. A7.6). The next field (D10-D12) was in pasture and there was no wall, with a modern fence and denuded hedgerow separating the inside and outside of Park. The land outside was at a level *c*. 1.5-2m below that inside the townland (Pl. A7.7). At D12 the base of the mortared stone wall again became visible to a height of 0.2m, for a short distance, after which it appeared to have been destroyed since the was a rubble bank extending from here, with stone having toppled down the slope outside the townland.

Pl. A7.5: Bank 0.6m high and 3.5m wide interior to the townland boundary wall, D8

Pl. A7.6: 1.3m mortared stone wall on 0.5m bank, D9

Pl. A7.7: Fence and relict hedgerow separating the townlands, D11

A7.1.3 Western boundary

The boundary then turned from north-westward to westward and was again marked by a mortared stone wall up to 1.8m high (D13-D14), which was situated on top of a bank *c*. 0.5m high, and extending *c.* 1.5m out from the base of the wall, suggesting

an overall width of approximately 3m (Pl. A7.8). This then curved around in a curious semi-circular manner to again travel northwards, with no bank present.

Pl. A7.8: Wall on 0.5m high bank at the southwestern extent of the townland, D14

After a short distance, at D15 the wall disappeared again, however the bank reappeared and continued for *c.* 150m with a height of *c.* 1m. This substantial bank ran through trees, with dense forestry on the eastern side, outside the townland. The bank then disappeared at D16 for *c.* 150m, with the townland boundary being marked by a hedgerow. At D17 the bank reappeared as a substantial stoney bank with a ditch on the outside of the townland. For a short stretch of 15-20m at D18 there were two to three courses of unmortared rubblestone wall visible within the bank (Pl. A7.9).

Pl. A7.9: Unmortared rubblestone wall visible within the bank, D18

The bank continued northwards from here at a height of *c.* 1.2m and then for a stretch of *c.* 40m there were ditches 3m wide and 0.5m deep on both the inside and outside of the bank. At D19 the bank finished, the townland boundary turned towards the northeast, and beyond this it was marked only by a hedgerow for *c.* 260m, with the exception of a short stretch where a 0.5m high stony bank marked the boundary. The inside of the townland at this point was extremely wet, boggy ground and two modern ditches ran parallel with the townland boundary, one close to the hedgerow and the second *c.* 10m inside the boundary. These fed into a deep, modern pond, at D20.

From D21 to the road at D22 the townland boundary consisted of a mortared stone wall up to 1.7m high and *c.* 0.4m thick (Pl. A7.10). At the road at D23 this was 1.7m high and 0.4m thick and had four horizontal bands of 0.33m, 0.35m, 0.6m and 0.4m in height, suggesting that it may have been built over four seasons (Pl. A7.11). For a stretch of *c.* 30m At D22 there was a 0.5m high bank running along inside the wall. A further modern drainage ditch ran along inside part of this stretch of wall, again feeding the pond at D20.

Pl. A7.10: Wall *c*. 2m high on far side of modern ditch, D21

Pl. A7.11: Wall 1.7m high in four phases, D23

A7.1.4 Northern boundary

Turning right (east) along the road towards Dunamase Castle, the road was bounded by a mortared stone wall that varied between 1m and 1.8m in height when seen from the road D23-D26 (Pl. A7.12). At D24, three horizontal bands of 1.25m, 0.35m and 0.2m height were clearly visible. For much of this length, a very slight bank 0.2m high and 5m wide was visible running inside the wall and parallel to it. This was the case in both this field, which was in pasture and in the next field, which was under cultivation (Pl. A7.13). After D25 there was a short break in the boundary, where a modern house and associated garden had been constructed.

Pl. A7.12: Wall running alongside the road. Three phases are visible, D24

Pl. A7.13: Slight bank interior to the wall, which lies to the right of the picture, overgrown by hedgerow, D25

At D26 the townland boundary was cut by the track that accesses the farmhouse at the centre of the townland. Beyond this, the land continued in arable cultivation for two fields (Pl. A7.14). The townland boundary continued to be defined by a wall *c.* 1.5m high from the inside. The wall sat on a bank of *c.* 0.4m height, however, this gradually changed so that at D27 the wall sat outside the bank, which continued at the same height. This again suggests that the bank predated the wall (Pl. A7.15). A fragment of stone roof-tile was found on the ploughsoil at the edge of this field at NGR 252727 198485.

Pl. A7.14: 0.4m high bank topped by a stone wall of *c*. 1.5m. Looking eastwards towards Dunamase Castle, D26

Pl. A7.15: Wall external to the bank. A reconstructed section of wall is visible in this view, D27

From D29-D30 a rectangular copse of trees butted against the townland boundary. The wall continued along the road at this point. Inspection of the copse revealed no evidence for man-made constructions or for any other natural features within the copse, however much of it was dense undergrowth and impassable. It is likely that this served as a fox covert. The wall continued beyond the copse with a slight ditch separating the wall from a slight bank 0.3m high and 6m wide (Pl. A7.16). Due to the lie of the land the wall disappeared for a short section, when viewed from the inside, as it formed a revetment. It subsequently re-emerged with a height of only 0.5m from the inside, but 2m from the roadside. The road then met a north-south road (D31), and the townland boundary turned south towards the castle. This short stretch to the castle continued much as before, bounded by a stone wall and with a pasture field and slight bank to the interior.

Pl. A7.16: Slight bank *c*. 6m wide visible to the left of the ranging rod, D30

Appendix 7.2: RMP No. LA013-121, the 135-acre enclosure

Brian Hodkinson (*pers. comm.*) believes that the northern boundary of the high medieval deerpark is defined by a curving boundary lying to the north of the east west road that separates Park or Dunamase from Ballycarroll, and it is this feature that he reported to the National Monuments Service and has been recorded on the online SMR (Archaeological Survey of Ireland 2010). The present writer independently noted the same curve prior to its inclusion in the SMR and surveyed this as a potential park boundary (D32-52), however this is unlikely to be the park boundary (see Section 7.4.2) (Pl. A7.17; Fig. A7.3).

Pl. A7.17: RMP No. LA013-121 boundary features on an aerial photograph

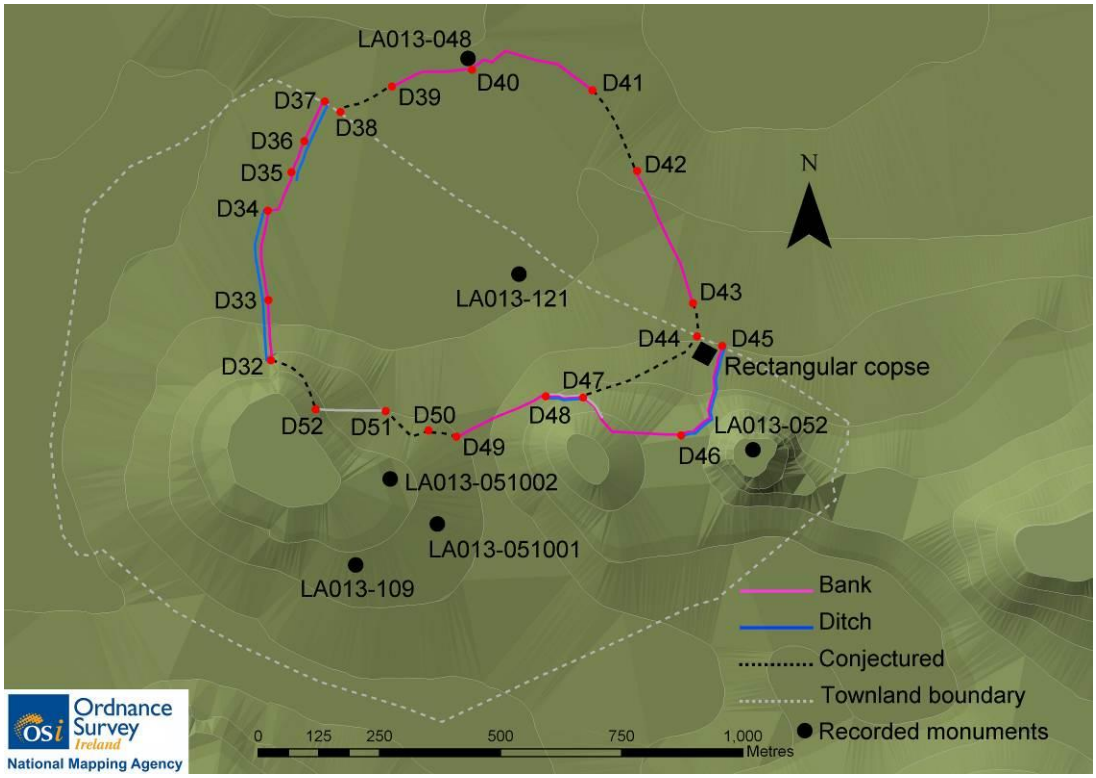


Fig. A7.3: Plan of the 135-acre enclosure RMP No. LA013-121
(base mapping © Ordnance Survey Ireland/Government of Ireland Copyright Permit No. MP 0003612)

Starting from the edge of the western outcrop (D32) a field boundary ran north, consisting of a 0.5m high, 2m wide bank, overgrown with trees and hedgerow plants and with a slight external ditch on the western side. This continued northwards, and after a short gap to provide access to the next field the bank continued, increasing to 1.5m high from the inside and 0.5m high on the outside due to the lie of the land (Pl. A7.18). The fields to the inside and outside were both in tillage.

Pl. A7.18: Bank from the inside, D33

In the field beyond this the bank continued to D34, where there was a dogleg in the line of the bank, which then continued to the intersection with the road at D37. This bank was sporadically present at 0.3-0.7m high, with a 0.3m deep internal ditch from D35 onwards (Pl. A7.19). The hedgerow on the bank was in the process of being cut back at the time of the survey, but also included a number of large trees along the line of the bank. These trees were typically 4.5-5m in circumference. The northernmost 100m of this field had recently had a new drainage ditch dug. At the southern end of this the original ditch was visible in section, demonstrating that this had a maximum depth of 0.8m when constructed (Pl. A7.20).

Pl. A7.19: Bank and external ditch, with old trees in the hedgerow, D35

Pl. A7.20: Original ditch visible in section in the newly-cut drainage ditch, D36

This section of the circuit from the start at the copse at D32 to the road at D37 was evidently not an original part of any potential circular feature since it included two straight sections of bank separated by a dog leg and since the northern extent at D37 does not match up with the southern extent of the part across the road at D38. This

suggests that if this is a true feature then there has been some realignment of the field boundaries in this area, but the age of the trees in the boundary means that this would have had to have occurred some considerable time ago.

On the northern side of the road the 1st Edition map shows a track running from D38 northeast through a farm, and forming the first part of the boundary. This was still present within the farmyard but has been heavily modified. At D39 the boundary of the enclosed area consisted of a bank *c*. 0.5m high with a thick, well-maintained bramble and thorn hedgerow, with no ditch visible on either side. Continuing along the boundary the bank increased to 0.9m in height and in the next field it increased further to 1.5m high where it diverted to respect a ringfort (RMP No. LA013-048) at D40 (Pl. A7.21). Beyond this the boundary turned from northeasterly to easterly, and along this stretch had a height of *c*. 1m to D41.

Pl. A7.21: Bank around the ringfort (RMP No. LA013-048) visible as the trees in the background, D40

Between D41 and D42 there was no extant field boundary, and this was the case even at the time of the 1st Edition map, however from D42 to D43 the boundary was again marked by a bank *c*. 0.6m high with a thick hedge of brambles and hawthorns.

From D43 to the road was the side of a garden for a modern house, meeting the road at D44.

Crossing the road to the south the projection of the possible enclosure runs along the western side of the rectangular copse, although nothing was visible on survey. A line projected from here to D47 heads across an arable field, again with no features visible. An alternative is that from the eastern side of the rectangular copse at D45, a bank and external ditch headed south towards the castle. There the bank and ditch circumnavigated the castle, heading southeast, and from the westernmost point of this, (D46) a bank without a ditch headed westwards to D47. At D47, a rubble wall, which had come from the south, circumnavigating the middle outcrop met the bank coming from the east. From there, a 1m high bank with an external ditch ran westward to D48. This separated rough pasture and woodland to the south from arable to the north. This bank continued at heights of between 0.3 and 1m to meet a conifer hedge at D49. The hedge then continued westwards to meet the track at D50 that provides access to the farmhouse.

To the west of the house the boundaries have clearly been modified, being very angular. The initial section, D50-D51, consisted of a dense line of trees and hedgerow, before a drystone wall headed due west to meet the boundary of the western outcrop at D52. The remainder of the circuit from the end of the wall to the start point at D32 consisted of tumbled drystone walling, low bank and rocky outcrop.

Appendix 7.3: Archaeological features in and adjacent to Park or Dunamase

A number of features of various dates and types are present in or around the townland of Park or Dunamase (Tabs.A7.1; A7.2). Some of the features have been described elsewhere in this chapter and where relevant the reader is referred to the relevant sections.

Townland(s)	**RMP No.**	**Description based on RMP, NMS topographical files and site visit**
Park or Dunamase	LA013-051001	Deserted medieval settlement. (see Appendix 7.4)
Park or Dunamase	LA013-051002	Sally's Bower. Ringfort (see Appendix 7.4)
Park or Dunamase	LA013-052	Rock of Dunamase, Anglo-Norman Castle (see Section 7.1.1)
Park or Dunamase	LA013-109	Barrow
Park or Dunamase/ Ballycarroll	LA013-121	Deer park (see Appendix 7.2)
Dysart	LA013-057	Enclosure. Present on 1st Edition map, no surface remains
Ballycarroll	LA015-048	Ringfort. 27m diameter. Bank and external ditch (see Appendix 7.2)

Tab. A7.1: Recorded archaeological features in Park or Dunamase and surrounding townlands

Townland(s)	**Description based on site visit**
Park or Dunamase	Townland boundary bank- park boundary (see Appendix 7.1)
Park or Dunamase	Mortared stone gateway *c*. 1789-1995 at NGR 252092 198280 (see Appendix 7.5)
Park or Dunamase	Post-medieval limekiln at NGR 252162 197988 (see Appendix 7.6)

Tab. A7.2: Unrecorded archaeological features in Park or Dunamase

Appendix 7.4: Earthworks RMP No. LA013-051

A7.4.1 Topographical survey of RMP No. LA013-051

The earthworks at Dunamase were surveyed over the course of seven days in June and July 2011, with over 5300 datapoints collected in an area measuring 300m north-south by 330m east-west. Modern fencing has divided the survey area into four fields, which will be referred to as the northeast, southeast, southwest and northwest fields. The main core of the 'deserted medieval settlement' (RMP No. LA013-051001) is an enclosure and a group of associated features found in the southeast field, while Sally's Bower (RMP No. LA013-051002) is in the northwest field. All the features identified by previous surveys were re-identified. In addition, some new features were recorded, as were some previously unrecorded details of existing features. All features were upstanding banks, except where stated. These were barely visible in places; often only 10-20cm in height, but in other places up to 1.3m of bank was present.

The main concentration of earthworks was slightly to the south of the centre line of the saddle between the two tree-covered outcrops west of the Rock of Dunamase. As a result, the castle was not visible from the earthworks. There was an excellent view to the south, with equally excellent views to the north to be had by moving slightly to the north, over the brow of the saddle. North-south the terrain was essentially flat due to the saddle, which formed a plateau, with the ground rising up relatively steeply to the west of the plateau. To the east the ground dropped away from the plateau, before rising once more. A pond lay to the northeast of the main earthworks, at the lowest point of the saddle (Figs. A7.4; A7.5).

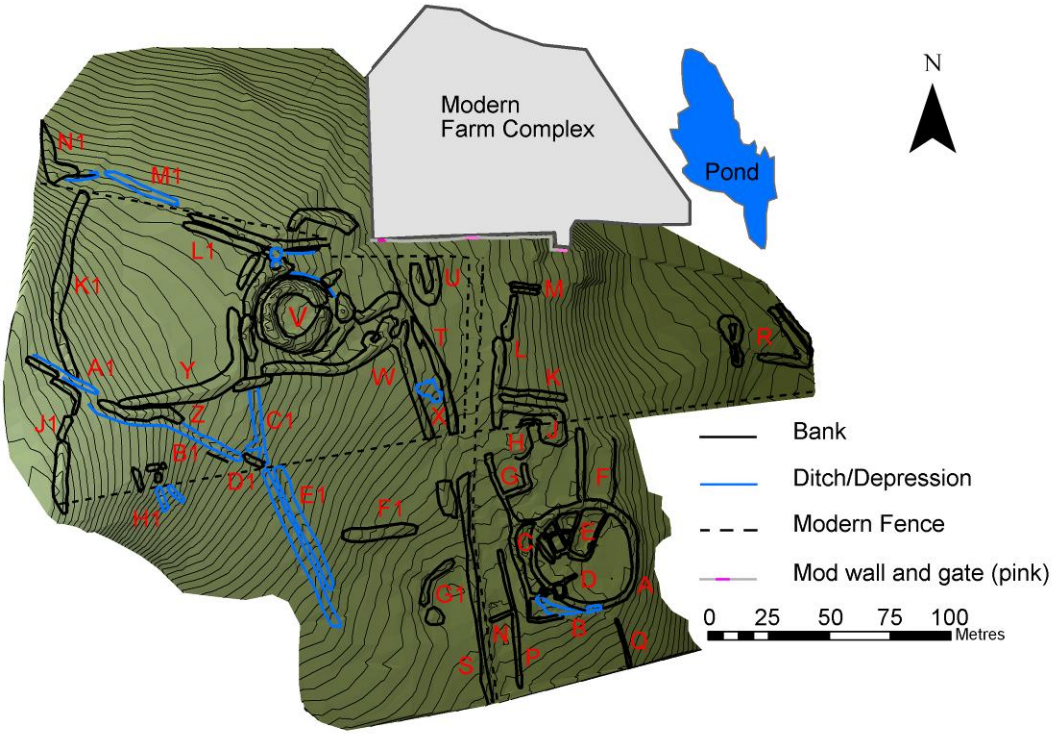


Fig. A7.4: Topographical survey of RMP No. LA013-051

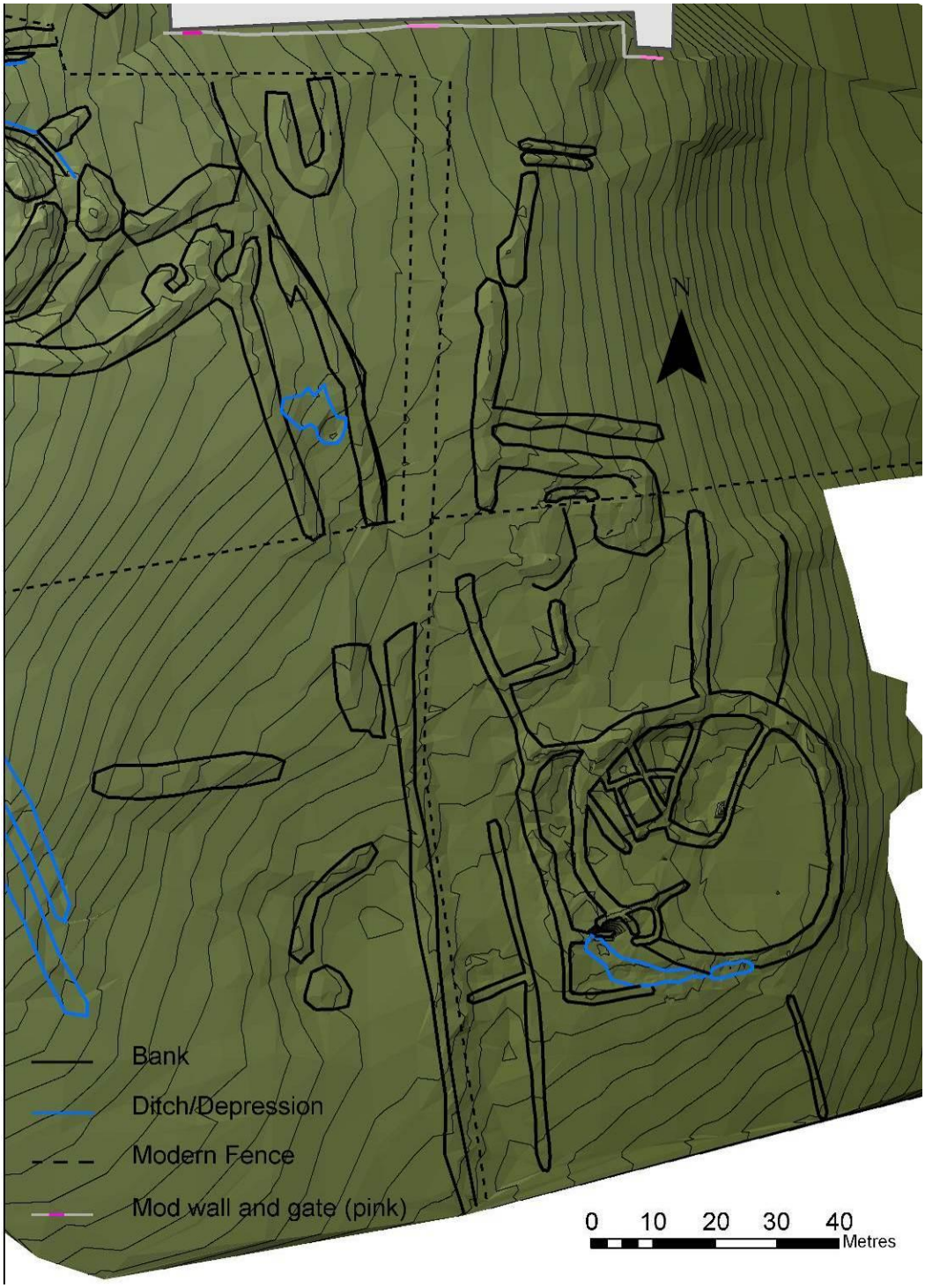


Fig A7.5: Detail of main area of RMP No. LA013-051

In the southeast quadrant, close examination of the main enclosure demonstrated that this was in essence a circular embanked enclosure of internal diameter 38m and external diameter 44-52m (A). An external ditch was present on the south and southwest sides (B). A further bank extended from the west side of the enclosure to form a rectangular enclosure (C) on the west of the main circular enclosure, giving

an overall east-west measurement of 52m. This overall group of earthworks is in effect the rectangular shape identified on the 1st Edition map. The rectangle was then further subdivided by an east-west bank, which was also traceable on the inside of the main enclosure (D). Internally, a number of subdivisions were identified in the northern half of the circular enclosure, which in combination formed rectangular spaces (E). Two of these linear features appeared to extend northwards outside the enclosure on the eastern side (F), and so may have a different time of construction to the main enclosure. A number of north-south and east-west aligned linear features also appeared to the north of the main enclosure. These appeared to form three rectangular enclosures close to the modern fence line (G, H and J). Extending westwards to the north of these were two further parallel linear features (K), and, at right angles to these heading north, a pair of linear features (L). At the northern limit of L a pair of parallel linear features (M) extended eastwards, however these appear to have been tracks caused by a tractor. To the south of the main enclosure, an east-west linear feature (N) extended westwards from a long north-south linear feature (P) and defined a low-lying area to its immediate north. A further north-south aligned linear feature was found to the southeast of the main enclosure (Q).

In the southwest field a long, linear feature (S) ran parallel to P, and extended from the southern limit almost to the northern limit of the field, where a further short stretch of bank ran parallel with it. In the northwestern field the line of S was continued by feature T, a low bank which became an edge or ridge as it headed north. This led directly to a side gate into the yards associated with the house. S and T define the western edge of what has been interpreted as a hollow-way associated with the 'deserted medieval settlement'; however, the alignment with the gate suggests that this may be a more recent feature associated with the use of the gateway. A U-shaped bank feature (U) lay close to the northern limit of the site, to the east of the ridge (T).

At the eastern limit of the northwest field, two features (R) were identified that align with field boundaries shown on the 1st Edition map, but that no longer exist.

In the northwest quadrant, Sally's Bower (RMP No. LS013-051002) was feature V. This consisted of an embanked enclosure with a flat central area and a probable

entrance on the eastern side. A number of disjointed banks surrounded this enclosure and respected it, and ditches were present between the inner and outer banks. A bank W ran parallel to bank T, and was separated from it by a low-lying area (X). W turned to run westward, respecting Sally's Bower, and ran towards the corner of Y, a bank which ran north-south, respecting Sally's Bower, before turning westwards and continuing the line set by X. A short bank (Z) ran parallel to the western extent of bank Y, with both finishing close to each other. A ditch extended westwards from this point A1 and a second ditch B1 extended to the southeast. This met a north-south ditch C1, which had come from close to Sally's Bower. Where these terminated close to the fenceline there was a short stretch of bank (D1), and then two parallel ditches (E1) extended southwards. The east-west bank (F1), in combination with W, C1 and E1 suggested a rectangular enclosure.

In the southwest field, a curving arc of bank and a small knoll (G1) lay close to the line of bank S. At the west of the site two short, parallel ditches on the south of the fenceline appeared to be associated with several short stretches of bank to the north (H1). A series of ditch segments A1, B1, E1 appear on the 1st Edition map as a field boundary. J1 was a series of disjointed bank sections that ran along the western extent of the site. They extended from close to the fenceline in the southwest field into the northwest field, turning west when met by ditch A1. Beyond ditch A1, Bank K1 continued the line northwards until it stopped at the fenceline.
Two parallel banks (L1) extended westwards from a point to the northeast of Sally's Bower (V), close to, and approximately parallel with the line of the modern fence. These terminated on the fenceline and on the northern side, ditch M2 continued the line before meeting bank N1, which turned to run north. This series of banks and ditches (L1, M1, N1) are shown as the field boundary on the 1st Edition map.

A7.4.2 Summary of survey findings

The site appears to consist of two banked and ditched circular enclosures, here termed A and V, with a series of smaller rectangular enclosures to the north of A. What had been interpreted as a medieval hollow way running north-south through the site (S-T) may have been constructed at an early date, but seems to have been in use as an access to the western-most gateway into the farm complex, so that it may have continued in use or may have been a later feature. A series of rectangular

enclosures in the two western fields are aligned with this hollow-way, but while the northern boundary (L1, M1, N1) and the southwestern boundary (A1, B1, E1) were present on the 1st Edition map, none of the other boundaries are shown. These others evidently post-date Sally's Bower, since they respect the line of the enclosure but were obsolete by the 1830's. This suggests that it is highly unlikely that Sally's Bower is a late-eighteenth century tree-ring, as suggested by Bradley (1986, 34). The form of enclosure A, a circular embanked area with a ditch present on part of its perimeter appears to resemble an early medieval ringfort much more than a later medieval settlement form. Excavation would be necessary to absolutely determine the date of this feature.

Appendix 7.5: Woodland resources

With the exception of garden and hedgerow trees, woodland in the immediate park area is restricted to the Rock and the two outcrops that lie immediately to the west. These are shown as wooded at the time of the 1st Edition map, and the extent of the woodland appears essentially unchanged. There is evidence that Sir John Parnell planted the trees on the Rock itself at the end of the eighteenth century, and it is likely that the other two outcrops were also planted at the time, as he received two Dublin Society premiums for enclosing plantations around this time (Coote 1801, 116-7, 221; Grose 1791, 13). Examining the trees in these copses there are a significant number of large beech trees with diameters up to 1.4m, suggesting a considerable age. Beech trees were popular amongst landowners at this time, and were one of the species sponsored by the Dublin Society (Tomlinson 1997, 127). The timber around the base of the Rock of Dunamase was cut in the early nineteenth century (O'Leary 1909-11, 168-70). In addition, the more westerly of the two smaller outcrops was cut for timber in the 1940s, resulting in a court case. The descendant of the former landlord arranged for the woodland to be cut for timber, on the basis that only the land had been sold to the Land Commission while the timber had remained in their possession. The Kellys, whose uncles had purchased the land from the Land Commission, sued for the loss of the timber, with the case eventually being found in their favour (Michael Dowling, *pers. comm.*).

The western copse is partly surrounded by a rubble-stone wall with a gateway providing access to the copse at NGR 252092 198280 (Pl. A7.22). This gateway is 1.4m wide, 0.7m deep and 1.65m high (truncated) and was constructed of well-mortared limestone. While the outside is flat-faced, on the copse side of the gateway two pillars extend 0.65m to either side of the entrance. The access is secured by an iron gate, with a bolt-hole on the northern gate pillar that measures *c*. 0.1m wide x 0.15high x 0.4m deep. The wall at this point extends *c*. 8m south to meet with the rock face and *c*. 7m north to meet with the corner of a wall heading east. It is likely that this gate and the associated wall were constructed in the late eighteenth century with the other aesthetic developments in the townland, and that this wall represents the 'high stone ditches, brested with a double row of quicks' described by Coote (1801, 117).

Pl. A7.22: Gateway to the western copse

Appendix 7.6: Quarries and limekiln

A number of quarry locations were identified during fieldwork and there is a post-medieval limekiln at NGR 252162 197988 in the woodland to the east of the earthworks (RMP No. LA013-051). The close proximity of the castle and the need for building materials mean that while some of the quarry sites may be post-medieval or modern, others may date back to the later medieval period. In places the ground underfoot in both of the wooded copses was strewn with loose rocks and boulders, In particular, the top of the western copse was extremely rocky. These rocks explain why the copses have been used for woodland rather than agriculture as they are entirely unsuited to arable, and would not be suitable even for pasturing cattle due to the danger of the animals breaking limbs.

Appendix 8: Carrick, Co. Wexford

Appendix 8.1: Detailed survey of the park boundaries

A detailed walking survey was conducted around the proposed boundaries of the park of the manor of Carrick. This will be described starting from the confluence of the Carrick River with the River Slaney, and then travelling essentially eastwards to the confluence of an unnamed stream with the River Slaney, from points W1 to W22 (Fig. A8.1). The aim of this survey was to confirm that this was the high medieval park, to identify and record any traces of the park and to record any other features of archaeological significance. The layout of the surrounding townlands is shown in Fig. A8.2.

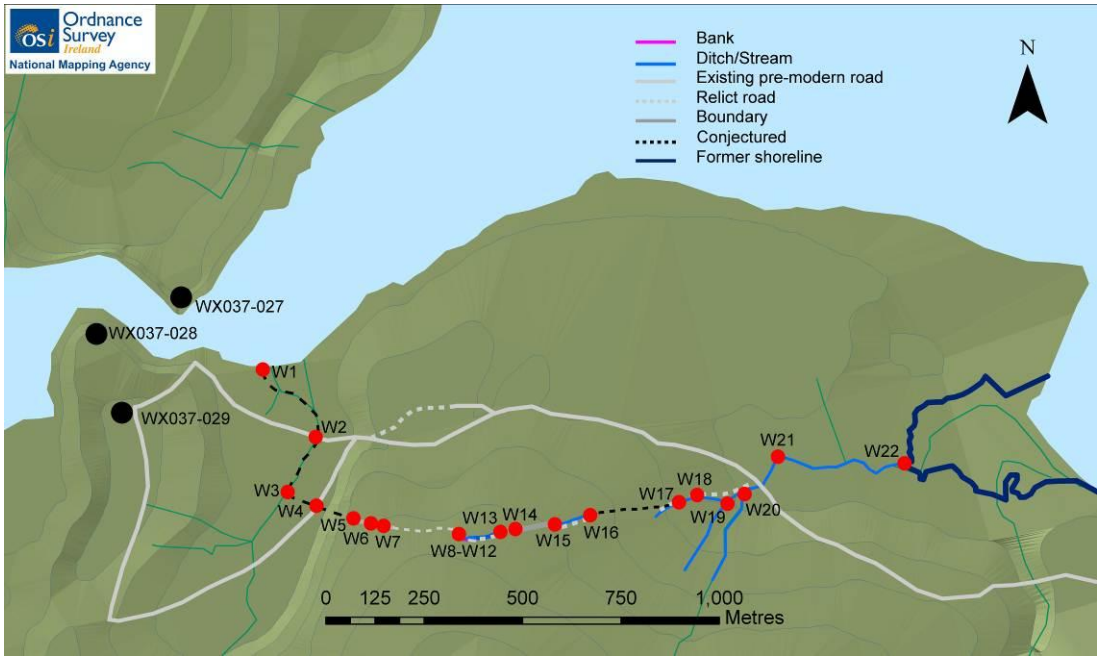


Fig. A8.1: Plan of the boundaries of the park of Carrick
(base mapping © Ordnance Survey Ireland/Government of Ireland Copyright Permit No. MP 0003612)

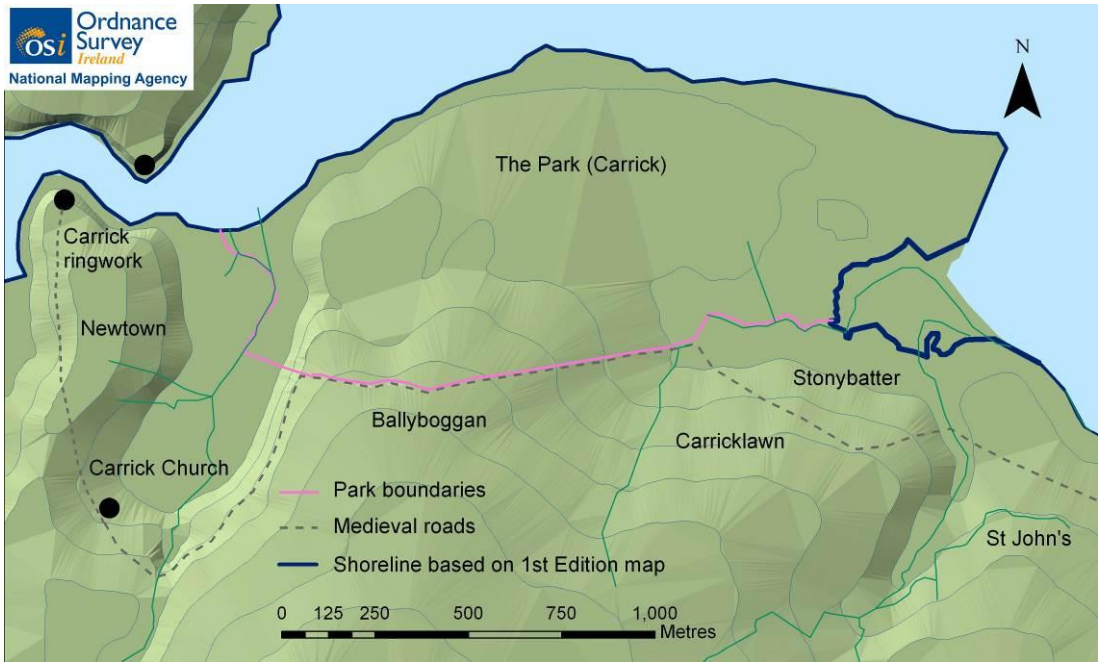


Fig. A8.2: The townlands around the park of Carrick
(base mapping © Ordnance Survey Ireland/Government of Ireland Copyright Permit No. MP 0003612)

A8.1.1 Carrick River

The Carrick River meets the River Slaney just downstream of Ferrycarrig Ringwork (RMP No. WX037-028) in an area of marshy reeds (W1) (Pl. A8.1). Moving upstream the reeds continued on both sides of the river, resulting in a treacherous stretch of land separating Ferrycarrig ringwork from Park. At the modern bridge over the Carrick River (W2), looking northwards towards the Slaney, there was an island of dry land on the Ferrycarrig Ringwork side and reeds on the Park side (Pl. A8.2). Looking upstream (Pl. A8.3), there were reed beds on both sides of the river. These reed beds would have constituted an effective barrier for all but the most determined of deer and poachers, since they are difficult to move through and can be treacherous. Cartographic evidence suggests that the site of the modern bridge was not the crossing point in the medieval period. Instead, this is likely to have been further to the south, close to Carrick Church (Appendix 8.2).

Pl. A8.1: Western extent of Park townland viewed from Ferrycarrig ringwork (Carrick Castle) (RMP No. WX037-028)

Pl. A8.2: View to the north (downstream) from the bridge over the Carrick River, W2

Pl. A8.3: View south (upstream) from the bridge over the Carrick River, showing the treacherous nature of the reedbeds, W2

A8.1.2 Curvilinear feature

A curvilinear feature appeared as a field boundary on the 1st Edition and 25" maps. It started from W3 and ran to W20, and in many places along its length a relict road marked its path. At W3 it was visible in the reed beds on the 2000 aerial photograph, but was absent on the 2005 aerial photograph (OSI). It can be seen as a vague feature on the satellite image (Pl. A8.4) (www.googlemaps.com, 16/12/10, 5/5/11). Inspection of the location in October 2010 showed no obvious sign of the boundary, however it is likely that this was due to heavy reed growth in this area, and it may well be visible from the shore at other times of the year. Since this area was reed bed rather than solid ground, no attempt was made to physically search for the feature. The boundary cut through low-lying marshy ground from the Carrick River to the northeast-southwest road connecting Park to Newtown at W4.

Pl. A8.4: Carrick River with the start of the curving boundary marked. The modern bridge over the river (W2), is situated near the top of the picture

(© 2011 Google, DigitalGlobe, GeoEye 1/2011)

On the eastern side of the road at W4 there were a series of modern one-off houses, however the site boundaries of two of these respected the line of the curving feature. This boundary travelled up an extremely steep, almost cliff-like section of ground that was heavily overgrown with trees. Above this, the line of the curving feature was formed by pasture fields to the north and a recent, partially-complete housing development to the south. This development was separated from the farmland by a highly visible green mesh fence (W5-W8) (Pl. A8.5). On the 1st Edition and 25" maps a track is shown running along the northern side of part of this boundary (W6-W8), however there have been a number of changes to field boundaries in this area and no definite evidence of this could be seen in the open field. Comparison of the 2005 aerial photograph with the 25" map suggests that the line of the boundary has been straightened at some time since the mapping was carried out. At this point the line of the boundary approached Slaneyhill House.

Pl. A8.5: Looking westward along the curving boundary, W7

Comparison of the various OS maps and recent aerial photography showed that a number of field and garden boundary changes have taken place around Slaneyhill House over the last 170 years. Nevertheless, relict features do remain, and can shed light on the park boundary. Crossing from the field into an overgrown copse of trees at W8, there was a line of substantial, mature sycamore trees growing on a denuded bank and following the general line of the curving feature. It is likely that these originally grew alongside the line of the relict track (Pl. A8.6). Immediately to the north of these trees was a ditch, which became more substantial as it continued eastward (Pl. A8.7).

Pl. A8.6: Line of sycamore trees on the bank in the overgrown copse, W9

Pl. A8.7: Ditch feature in the overgrown copse, W9

At W10, a fence and disused gateway separated the copse from a small, grassed enclosure (Pl. A8.8). From this enclosure onwards the line of the relict road was visible as a surface feature. To the immediate north of this roadbed was the line of a ditch with a further bank 3m wide and 0.3m high on the north side (Pl. A8.9). To the immediate south of the relict road was a revetted bank that formed the boundary to the fields to the south (Pl. A8.10).

Pl. A8.8: Line of the relict road marked by a disused gateway, W10

Pl. A8.9: Relict bank (right) with relict ditch to left (south), these bound the north side of the relict road, W10

Pl. A8.10: Revetted bank to south of relict road, W10

Passing into the next field the ditch reappeared as a substantial steep-sided feature that was up to 1.8m deep and 3m wide (W11-W13) (Pl. A8.11). This had a bank on the northern side that contained substantial mature trees, but no bank was visible on the southern side. This bank and ditch separated the yard and garden at Slaneyhill House from the agricultural land to the south. The ditch segment extended over a length of 40m to W13. It was dry rather than water-filled and neither the eastern nor western ends were piped, suggesting that this feature rarely collects water since there is no facility to carry water away. Most other field boundaries in the area were constructed from banks without ditches, and it is only at property and townland boundaries that ditches seem to have been used to demarcate the landscape. As such this ditch was unusual and worthy of note. A profile of the bank and ditch was drawn at W12 (Fig. A8.3)

Pl. A8.11: Substantial ditch, W12

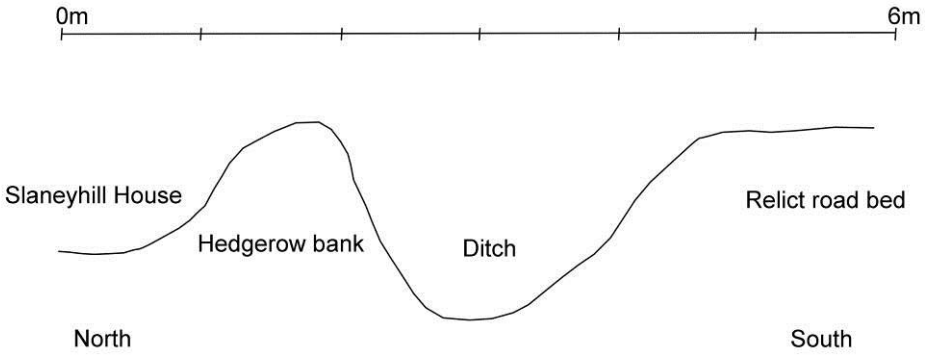


Fig. A8.3: Profile of the hedgerow bank and external ditch, W12

Continuing eastwards, the line of the ditch was retained as a modern boundary consisting of recently planted shrubs bounded by two lines of wooden fences, suitable for retaining horses (Pl. A8.12). After a short distance, this was reduced to a single line of fencing, running as far as W15. When viewed along the length of the fence it became apparent that a raised area ran parallel to the fence, suggesting that the relict road lay under this area as well (Pl. A8.13).

Pl. A8.12: Continuation of line of ditch in a modern field boundary, W14

Pl. A8.13: Looking west along the line of the relict road, which is visible as a slightly raised area running parallel with the fence, W14

Beyond this the boundary line had been bisected by the gardens of a series of large houses constructed in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The first 90m to W16 in essence followed inside the line of the north wall of a still-extant walled garden, shown on the 1st Edition map. Inside the walled garden a ditch 0.3m-0.6m deep ran parallel with the wall. This appeared to be a modern ditch but it ran along the base of a depression that suggested a previous ditch-line. The material visible in the base and sides of this modern ditch was extremely stony, supporting the notion that it was cut into the relict roadbed (Pl. A8.14).

Pl. A8.14: Narrow modern ditch, shown by the greener vegetation leading to the ranging rod. This was recut within an earlier ditch, W16

Beyond this was a stretch of *c*. 200m to W17 where the line of the boundary passed through two properties. Unfortunately it was not possible to access these, however, the 2005 aerial photographs suggest that the projected line of the boundary is continued in this area. From W17 to W18 there was a track or driveway providing access to a house. A ditch ran along the eastern side of this, which was *c*. 1m wide and had been canalised as a garden feature with revetments and weirs. Beyond W18 the ditch turned to run eastwards, becoming *c*. 5m wide and flat bottomed and running through heavy undergrowth (Pl. A8.15).

Pl. A8.15: Ditch feature heading through dense undergrowth, W18

A8.1.3 Stream boundary

At W19 the ditch fed into a larger stream that travelled from the south towards the Slaney River. This stream met another, larger stream at W20. This larger stream formed the townland boundary separating Ballyboggan from Carricklawn, and as it travelled further to the north it separated Park from Stonybatter. Immediately to the north of the confluence the combined flow passed under Haddon's (1969) 'Tudor Engineered Road', re-emerging on the opposite side. This field had recently been topsoil-stripped in advance of development, however the satellite image still showed the undisturbed field, with a thick line of bushes fringing the external side of the stream (Pl. A8.16) (www.googlemaps.com, 1/2011). The image suggested heavy growth so that it is possible that these bushes surmounted an external bank. If so, then in combination with the stream these would have provided a suitable barrier for stock. The stream continued northwards for *c*. 90m to W21, where it turned to run east (Pl. A8.17).

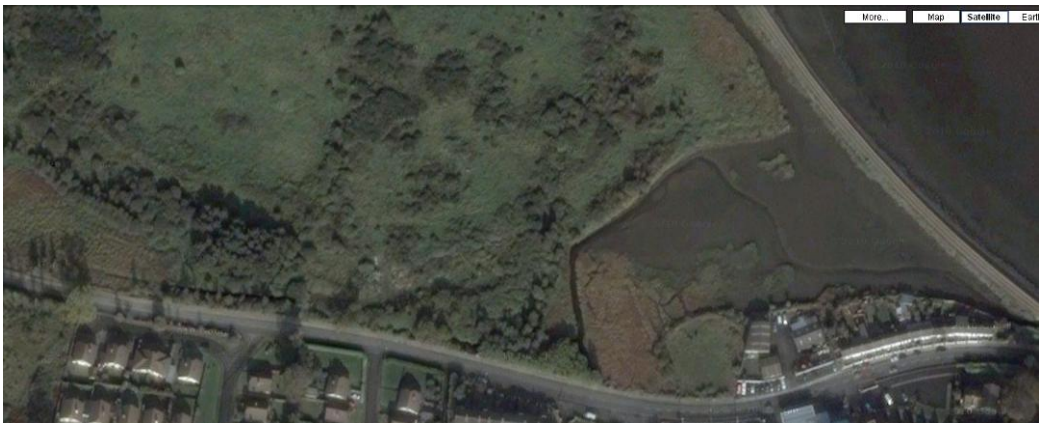
Pl. A8.16: Northeasterly section of unnamed stream with bushes (possible bank) on external side, prior to recent ground clearance

(© 2011 Google, DigitalGlobe, GeoEye 1/2011)

Pl. A8.17: The turn of the unnamed stream from a north-easterly to easterly direction of flow, remaining bushes shown at right, W21

After a short distance the stream passed under the Mail Coach Road and disappeared. The 1st Edition map showed that it continued eastwards, to meet the Slaney River at W22. This area was subsequently drained to marshland by the time of the 25" map, and modern aerial photographs show that it is now relatively dry land (OSI). When inspected, the area had been subject to very recent development-related disturbance,

with the line of the stream no longer apparent, although it was still visible on satellite photographs (www.googlemaps.com, 1/2011) (Pls. A8.18; A8.19).



Pl. A8.18: Eastern end of park townland prior to recent disturbance

(© 2011 Google, DigitalGlobe, GeoEye 1/2011)

Pl. A8.19: Eastern extent of Park townland viewed from Carcur Cottages at Wexford Town. Park townland begins at the far side of the bay. The modern GAA and rugby goals are clearly visible

Appendix 8.2: Roads

The route between the crossing point of the Slaney at Ferrycarrig Ringwork and Wexford Town has long been important, and there have been a number of roads constructed between them (Figs. 8.1; 8.12). The earliest of these appears to have been the relict road found circumventing the proposed park boundary (see Appendix 8.1). This was followed by the existing road that forms an extension to Old Hospital Road, which Haddon called the 'Tudor Engineered Road' (1969), and which still crosses the Carrick River at W2. Finally, the Mail-Coach Road (R730) was constructed to join the two places. The Mail-Coach Road was constructed in the early nineteenth century as part of the development of the bridge at Carrick / Ferrycarrig (Lewis 1837, 279-80, 701) and so need not be further discussed.

The earliest detailed map of the area is Petty's parish map of 1655. Transposing this onto the 1st Edition map (Fig. 8.6) showed that at this stage the townland boundaries had not become fixed into their modern pattern, but that many of the townland boundaries respected the line of the Tudor Engineered Road, strongly suggesting that this road was already in place at this time. It was another century, however until Vallancey's map (Fig. 8.10) actually showed this road. Close examination of the 1st Edition map showed that there are a number of locations where fields appear to have been bisected by the construction of this road, demonstrating that it post-dates the enclosure of fields in the area. Furthermore, close to the western end of the road, the townland boundary and road diverge from each other. At this point it appears that the road has been realigned but the townland boundary remained the same. This must have taken place between the surveying of Petty's map in 1655 and the surveying of the 1st Edition map in 1840. Unfortunately both Vallancey's map (1776) and Taylor and Skinner's (1778) map showed the roads schematically and it was not possible to successfully overlay these on the 1st Edition map to determine whether the road realignment pre- or post-dated these works.

Importantly, Petty's map also showed that the relict road around the park was already obsolete by the late seventeenth century since it is disregarded in the land divisions of Ballyboggan and Fortumny. This strongly suggests that the relict road was the high medieval route between Wexford and Ferrycarrig ringwork, and also

that the first stretch of the road provided access to the park from the two castles (Fig. A8.2). The road would have left Wexford by the West Gate and followed the line of the Spawell Road and Old Hospital Road as far as where the townland boundaries of Park, Ballyboggan, Carricklawn and Stonybatter meet, just northeast of W20. At this point the unnamed stream that forms the boundary would have provided a natural barrier for stock, and the area now occupied by the lodge for Park Cottage would have been an obvious location for a park gate. The road then turned southwest and circumvented the park. On the 1st Edition map a short stretch of field boundary starts from W5 and runs south, becoming a track. This starts at the point where the flatter land drops down westwards in a steep slope to the Carrick River. The track ran along what is now dense undergrowth and is bounded by modern development, on the edge of a steep slope. As a result no attempt was made to follow the line, however cartographically this would bring the traveller to cross the river close to the existing Newtown Road, to the south. Using this route would avoid the traveller having to climb a steep hill, and from there St Nicholas' or Carrick Church (RMP No. WX037-030) and Ferrycarrick Ringwork (RMP No. WX037-028) are due north, along a still-extant road.

The relict road evidently became obsolete when the road through the townland was constructed at some point prior to the late seventeenth century. This suggests that Haddon (1969) was correct in asserting that this was a Tudor road, since it post-dates the high medieval developments of the landscape but predates the post-medieval period. This Tudor Engineered Road took a direct path from Wexford to Carrick, and could only have done so once the park no longer served its primary function, and once the capability to construct a bridge at W2 was realised. The area to the south of this road, which was within the boundaries of the park is 60 acres in size, and it is likely that this is the land bought by Richard Synnot in 1575.

Appendix 8.3: Archaeological features in and adjacent to Park

A number of features of various dates and types are present around the townland of Park, although interestingly, none are preserved within the townland itself (Tabs. A8.1; A8.2). The only unrecorded feature found during this survey was the park boundary and associated relict road. Some of the features have been described elsewhere in this chapter and where relevant the reader is referred to the relevant sections.

Townland(s)	**RMP No.**	**Description based on RMP, NMS topographical files and site visit**
Newtown	WX037-030	Ruins of the later medieval St. Nicholas, or Carrick Church (001), graveyard (002) and font (003) (see Appendix 8.2)
Ferrycarrig	WX037-027	Ferrycarrig towerhouse (see Section 8.1.2)
Newtown	WX037-028	Ringwork castle (002) and later Crimean War monument (001) (see Section 8.1.2)
Newtown	WX037-029	Bronze Age pit burial with collared urn and cremated bone
Newtown	WX037-031	St Nicholas' holy well
Ballyboggan	WX037-086	Burnt mound
Ballyboggan	WX037-087	Burnt mound
Carricklawn	WX037-088	Fulacht fia
Carricklawn	WX037-089	Burnt Mound

Tab. A8.1: Recorded archaeological features in the surroundings of Park townland

Townland(s)	**Description based on site visit**
Ballyboggan	Park boundary and relict road (see Appendices 8.1; 8.2)

Tab. A8.2: Unrecorded archaeological features

Appendix 9: Nenagh, Co. Tipperary

Appendix 9.1: Detailed survey of the park boundaries

A detailed walking survey was conducted around the proposed boundaries of the park of Nenagh. This will be described starting from the modern gateway into Nenagh Castle in the south-west corner of the park (N1) and running in a clockwise direction around the park to N30 (Fig. A9.1). The aim of this survey was to confirm that this was the high medieval park, to identify and record any traces of the park and to record any other features of archaeological significance. Fig. A9.2 shows the layout of the major roads discussed in this chapter. The location of modern roads providing access to housing estates are not shown, but are discussed in the text and are given numbered locations.

Much of the western part of the park of Nenagh is within the urban fabric of the town, and so has been extensively modified. Nevertheless, the boundaries are described in full.

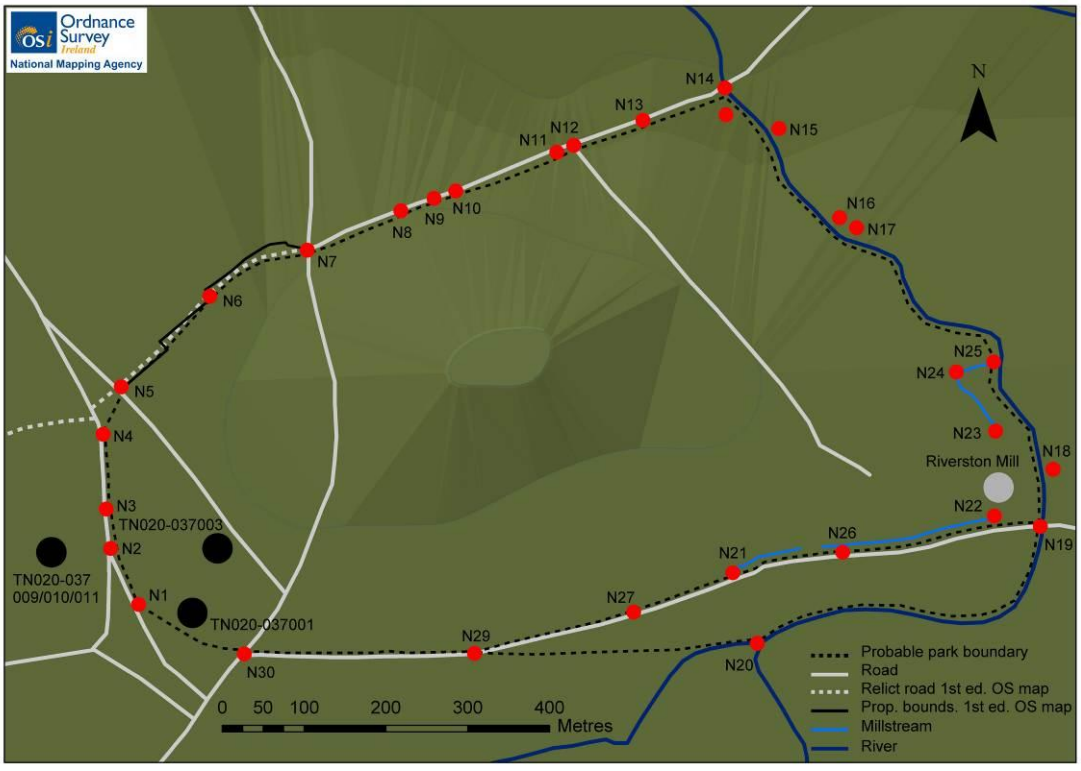


Fig. A9.1: Plan of the boundaries of the park of Nenagh. Some roads, including those leading into modern housing estates have been omitted
(base mapping © Ordnance Survey Ireland/Government of Ireland Copyright Permit No. MP 0003612)

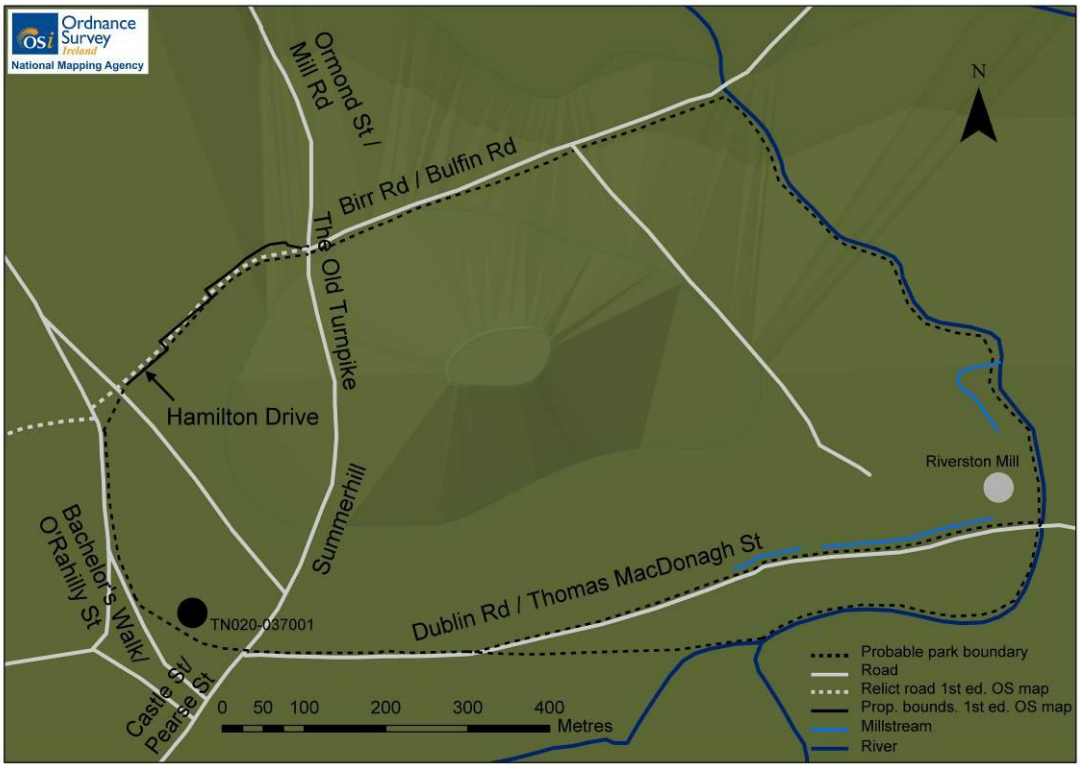


Fig A9.2: Plan of the park of Nenagh, with relevant local road names
(base mapping © Ordnance Survey Ireland/Government of Ireland Copyright Permit No. MP 0003612)

A9.1.1 Western boundary

The modern gateway into Nenagh Castle lies at the south-west corner of the park (N1). The gateway itself was a mortared rubblestone construction *c*. 2m high, with a semicircular entrance into the castle property. This marks the northern extent of the castle property shown on the 1st Edition and subsequent maps (Pl. A9.1).

Pl. A9.1: Modern entrance to Nenagh Castle, N1

Heading northwards along O'Rahilly St/Bachelor's Walk, the eastern side of the street was lined with nineteenth- or early twentieth-century terraced houses that curved in an arc from north-west to north. The next property was the Roman Catholic Church (N2), situated directly opposite the entrance to the old Nenagh prison. The wall bounding the church from the road was mortared stone, *c.* 1.8m high, but of a different construction to the previous wall. After *c.* 30m the wall reduced to *c.* 1.5m, with a different construction again (N3) (Pl. A9.2). This stretch of wall continued northwards. A small gate set between two mortared stone gate pillars *c.* 2.m high provided entry to the property on the east side. After travelling *c.* 200m northwards from the castle gate, the road veered to the northwest, while the line of the park continued north-north-east, cutting diagonally across a modern property (N4).

Pl. A9.2: Junction between two phases of wall construction, N3

The line was picked up again in Grace's St/St Flannan St, on the north corner of Hamilton Drive (N5). The southern boundary of the house on the corner was a modern concrete wall, but maintained the line of the property boundary shown on the 1st Edition and 25" maps. The eastern corner of this wall marked the end of the line of the park at this point. On the 1st Edition map, a boundary continued from here in a northeasterly direction, meeting a second and then third boundary via short dog-legs. The start of the third boundary section at N6 is currently the corner of the plot occupied by Abbey Furniture. This boundary continued northeast and then abutted the northbound Old Turnpike Road/Ormond St on the corner of the Birr Road/Bulfin Road (N7). A straighter projected line for the park boundary would run northeast from the start of the dog-leg at N6, slightly to the south of this current property boundary, to N7, and abut the Old Turnpike Road/Ormond St one property to the south, based on the 1st Edition map, within the grounds of the area currently occupied by Abbey Furniture. It is thus likely that the actual park boundary in the N6 to N7 section has been removed, but that the current property boundary runs parallel to it. Careful examination of the 1st Edition map shows that extending westwards from the line N5-N7, are a series of intermittent tracks and roads, suggesting that a road once connected the area to the west of the town with the Birr Road/Bulfin Road at N7.

A9.1.2 Northern boundary

From this point at N7, the park boundary headed generally north-east and was bounded by the Birr Road/Bulfin Road. Both sides of the road were occupied by nineteenth- to twenty-first-century housing (Pl. A9.3). After a short distance the area opened out to a green on the north (outside the park) while houses continued on the southern, inner side of the park.

Pl. A9.3: Looking northeast along Birr Road/Bulfin Road, N6

After *c*. 80m there was a left turn into Millmount, a twentieth-century housing estate (N8). From the east corner of this turning onwards, the road on the south side, enclosing the park, was bounded by a mortared stone wall, 2.3m high. The lowermost *c*. 0.4-0.5m consisted of angular stones with a slight batter, in several places the core of the wall was exposed close to the base. This was an earthen core that formed a basal plinth, faced and revetted by stonework and occasional brick (Pls. A9.4; A9.5). The 1.6-1.8m above this was well-mortared with relatively square rubble stones. Above this again were *c*. 0.2m of rounded stones with copious amounts of mortar and some rounded pebbles. The wall was essentially a revetment forming the back wall of the gardens of the housing estate.

Pl. A9.4: Earthen core exposed at base of wall, N9

Pl. A9.5: Brick visible in the base of the wall, N9

The wall finished after *c*. 90m, at the turning into Derrylavin Heights, another modern housing estate (N10). On the eastern side of the turning, a new well-mortared stone wall commenced, this was *c.* 1.2-1.5m high, and 0.5m thick, constructed of rounded stones typically 0.2m in size and again this wall formed a

revetted boundary for houses in the estate. This wall finished after *c*. 110m at the entrance to a commercial unit (N11) and beyond this were two small, roadside cottages. After the cottages, there was a gated laneway (N12) that ran in a straight line, directly to Riverston House. This track is marked on all editions of the Ordnance Survey maps. Continuing on the Birr Road/Bulfin Road were further modern commercial units, which extended for a distance of *c*. 100m to N13. From this point to Kyleeragh Bridge (N14), which crosses the Nenagh River, was a distance of *c*. 80m. To the south, inside the park, was a field in pasture, separated from the road by a low stone wall, that was heavily overgrown with a thick, mature hedgerow.

A9.1.3 Eastern boundary

From the Kyleeragh Bridge on the Birr Road/Bulfin Road, looking southwest into the park, the ground at the eastern extent was flat, moderately good pasture. Further to the west the ground could be seen to rise up to the hill on which the water reservoir and old barracks are situated. The higher ground still contains a substantial number of mature deciduous trees and provides a very pleasant landscape (Pl. A9.6).

Pl. A9.6: View from Kyleeragh Bridge looking southwest into the park, N14

The boundary at the Nenagh River was surveyed on both the east and west banks of the river. The east bank, or outer side will be described first, continuing from the northern extent, at Kyleeragh Bridge to Bennett's Bridge on the Dublin Road. The western bank will then be described in the same sequence.

On the eastern bank of the river the immediate riverbank was covered in undergrowth to the edge of the water. A gravel footpath had been constructed alongside the river as part of an angling facility. To the east of this path was a substantial upstanding bank 1-2m high. This is not shown on the 1st Edition map, but is shown on the 25" map as extending from Bennett's Bridge on the Dublin Road, northwards to Kyleeragh Bridge and north again to the confluence of the Nenagh River with the Ollatrim River, then southeast along the southern bank of the latter river, so enclosing part of Lisbunny townland. The evidence suggests that this bank is relatively modern, and constructed for flood prevention, since the enclosed area is marked as 'liable to floods' on the 25" map, which was surveyed in 1905 (Pl. A9.7).

Pl. A9.7: The 1-2m high bank on eastern side of the Nenagh River, N17

Approximately 100m along the riverbank from Kyleeragh Bridge, at N15 was a shallow stretch of river with slightly submerged large flat stones that could potentially have acted as a ford over the river, or may be part of the cascades

proposed by Mrs Delany in 1732 (Delany 1861, 388). A final alternative it is that this could have been constructed as part of the modern angling facilities (Pl. A9.8).

Pl. A9.8: Possible ford or cascade, N15

Another possible ford or cascade was present at N18 (Pl. A9.9). After a total distance of *c.* 700m travelling southeast the river met the Dublin Road/Thomas MacDonagh Road at Bennett's Bridge**.** The footpath and bank continued the entire distance between the two bridges, although in two places field boundary ditches ran down into the river from the east.

Pl. A9.9: Another possible ford or cascade, N18

On the western side of the Nenagh River, starting from Kyleeragh Bridge and travelling southeast, the ground was flat, with no evidence for a bank alongside the riverbank. Instead the immediate river edge was a relatively steep slope down the water (Pl. A9.10). This in essence continued all the way to Bennett's Bridge (N19), however, a number of field boundaries and ditches intersected the route. This area has been subject to considerable disturbance as a result of the construction of the town drainage system, which has meant that drains have been laid parallel to the river all along this stretch. The route of the drain can be seen from the line of manhole covers stretching across the land. This ground would originally have been likely to be a floodplain, with the field boundaries that run parallel to the river having been the original start of dry land.

Pl. A9.10: Kyleeragh Bridge and the western riverbank, N14

A9.1.4 The corn mill

Running along the Dublin Rd/Thomas MacDonagh Rd from Bennett's Bridge to the location of the Riverston Corn Mill was a mortared rubble-stone wall of *c*. 1m high, which shows some evidence of repair over time.

The land associated with the corn mill has been manipulated considerably over time. The origins of this mill are not known, it is not mentioned by Mrs Delany in 1732 (1861, 386-8), but is shown on the 1st Edition map, which was surveyed in 1840 (Fig. A9.3). At that time it was a modest L-shaped building with a mill stream diverted away from the Nenagh River at Poulsheshery (N20). This suggests that it was constructed in the century between 1732 and the 1840. The house currently at this location is listed as a steward's house, constructed *c*. 1840 (NIAH No. 22305018). From N20 the 1st Edition map shows that the millstream crossed the Dublin Road/Thomas MacDonagh Road to N21 and turned eastwards to follow the line of the road on the north side, before turning northward to the mill at N22. From there one branch of the millstream is shown on the 1st Edition map as entering the river close to the mill, while another branch headed northwest in a straight line, entering the river *c*. 300m northwest of the mill. By the time of the 25" map (Fig. A9.4), the buildings had expanded considerably and a pond and sluice had been

added to the water-management features immediately to the east of the buildings. Today, little of this complex system remains.

The millstream was identified at N21 and could be followed eastward for *c*. 320m. For the first 80m this was a ditch 1.2m deep behind a stone wall that fronted the road. Beyond this was a modern petrol station, where the ditch was not in evidence and after this premises the millstream was once more present as a ditch 2.5-3.5m wide and *c*. 2m deep, with a flat bottom (Pl. A9.11). It was essentially dry, with occasional stagnant water, despite being surveyed in late October in extremely wet weather, which can be explained since both ends of the ditch were closed off. The millstream disappeared close to the access gate of the gate lodge associated with the corn mill, on the Dublin Road/Thomas MacDonagh Road (N22). It was next located at N23, where it emerged from under a wall that ran alongside Lodge House, the site of the old Riverston Mill (NIAH No. 22305018). The millstream continued northwards for *c.* 80m to N24, where it turned to run eastwards. It met the river at N25, where it was a large ditch measuring *c*. 2m deep and *c*. 2m wide. The northernmost 200m of the straight outlet from the mill shown on the 1st Edition and 25" maps had disappeared.

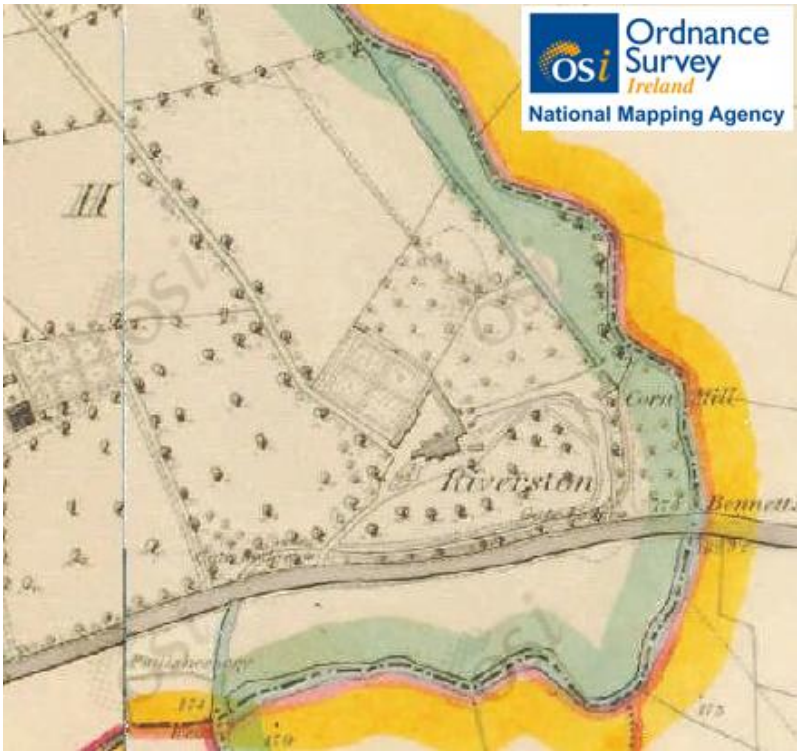


Fig. A9.3: Detail of Riverston and the corn mill (1st Edition 1837-1842)

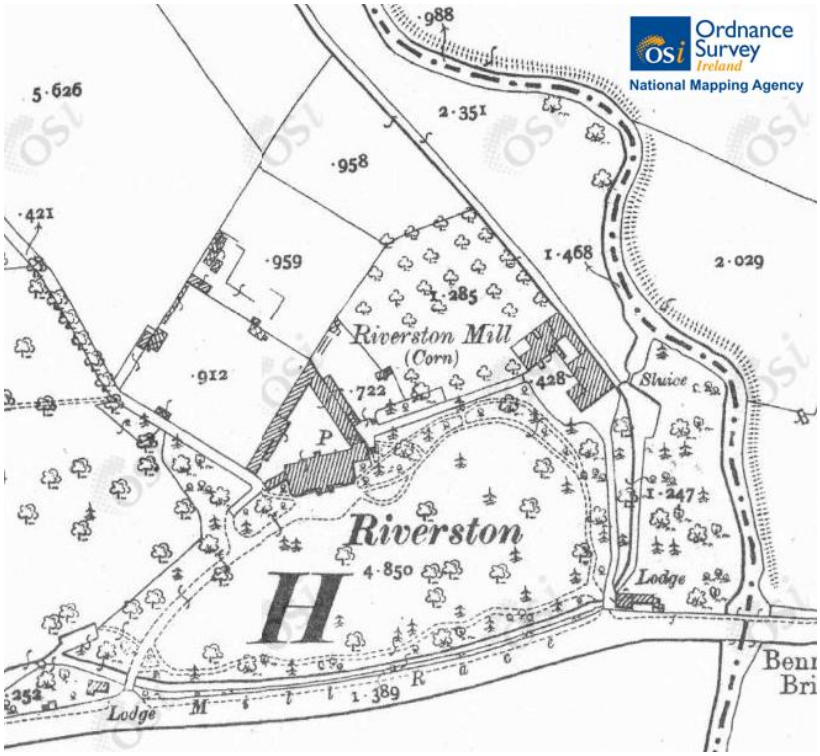


Fig. A9.4: Detail of Riverston and the corn mill (25" map 1888-1913)

Pl. A9.11: The disused mill stream alongside the Dublin Rd/Thomas MacDonagh Rd, east of N26

A9.1.5 Southern boundary

There are two possibilities for the southern boundary of the park. The first is that it followed the line of the Dublin Road/Thomas MacDonagh Road west from Bennett's Bridge (N19) to the town centre. Alternatively, the park may have continued south and been bounded by the Nenagh River, which continued much as before, traversing flat land, and, after a short distance, turned to come from the west. After turning the river continued for *c*. 300m, before turning again at N20, to come from the south. The river forms part of the townland boundary of Nenagh North, as well as parish boundary and the barony boundary between Lower and Upper Ormond. At this point (N20) at Poulsheshery, where the Nenagh Leisure Centre is now located, the 1st Edition maps show the river being joined by a stream that came from the southwest, which is an area now occupied by a hotel. From N20, a line projected due west meets the Dublin Road/Thomas McDonagh Road at N29, where the 1st Edition and 25" maps show there was a well and a kink in the direction of the road.

Alternatively there is the possibility that the park boundary lay alongside the current Dublin Road/Thomas McDonagh Road and ran westward from Bennett's Bridge (N19). The mill race was separated from the road by a low wall constructed of mortared rubble stone and was heavily overgrown with deciduous trees associated with the gardens of Riverston House. If this potential park boundary is the original line then it is likely that the millstream originated as a park boundary ditch, however, given the close proximity of the river and its east-west course, the use of the river is more likely.

The entrance to Riverston House (N26) was an ashlar gateway with cast iron gates (Pl. A9.12). Beyond this, the rubble-stone wall continued for a short distance before being disrupted by a petrol station. After the petrol station the road was again fronted by a mortared rubble stone wall *c*. 1.5m high, This consisted of both older stretches and also stretches with banded courses that are typical of modern stone wall construction.

Pl. A9.12: The gates to Riverston House, N26

The entrance to the Christian Brothers premises at Summerhill House was marked by a set of late twentieth-century railings (N27). Immediately after this was a stretch of mortared stone wall fronting a small cottage, however the wall has been heavily repaired and may date from any period. Beyond this, for *c*. 330m were garden-fronted cottages and modern bungalows. The front walls of these gardens were in a variety of materials, with occasional stone-walled sections, and map evidence shows that the westernmost half of these were constructed in the twentieth century. At N29, part way along this stretch of garden-fronted properties, the 1st Edition map showed a well and a kink in the direction of the road and it is likely that if the park extended to the south of the line of the road then the boundary rejoined the Dublin Road/Thomas MacDonagh Road at this point. Finally, the westernmost portion of Dublin Road/Thomas MacDonagh Road consisted of terraced houses opening directly onto the street for the remaining *c.* 140m. Directly opposite the junction where the Dublin Road/Thomas MacDonagh Road meets Castle Street/Pearse Street (N30) the route is aligned with the tower of the castle gatehouse, and alongside the sallyport on Leask's plan. This suggests either that access to the park was directly from the sallyport, as from the postern gate at Dunamase (see Section 7.5.3) or that there may have been a gate to access the park close to this sallyport (Figs. A9.5; A9.6).

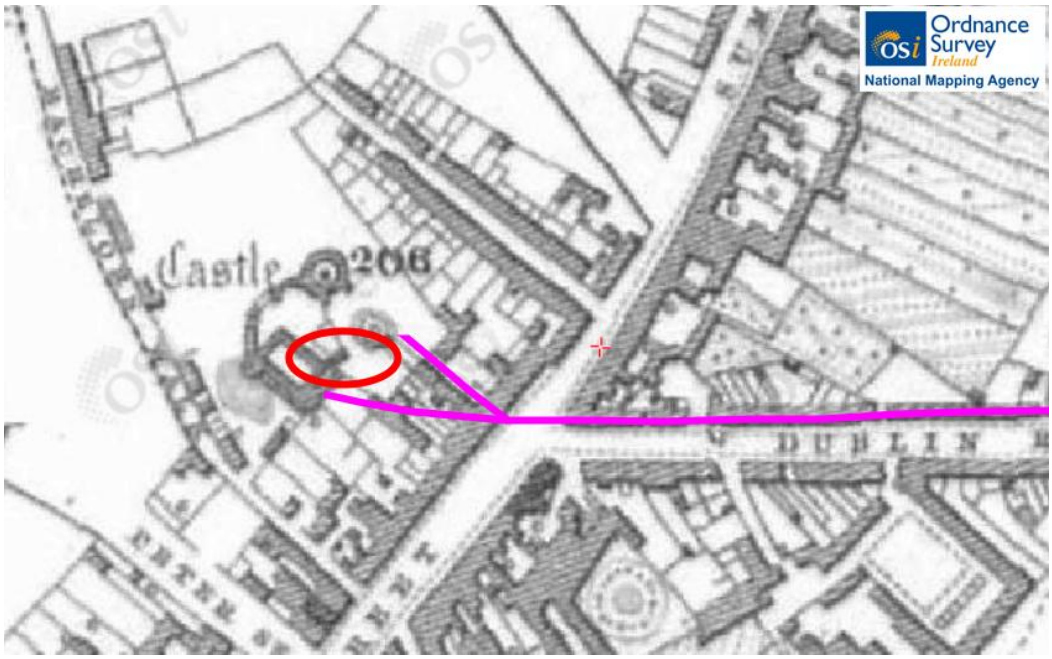


Fig. A9.5: Alignment of park boundary with castle.

The sallyport is circled (1st Edition 1837-1842)

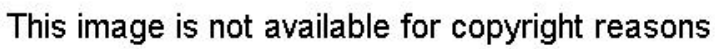


Fig. A9.6: Plan of Nenagh Castle (Leask 1941, 45)

Appendix 9.2: Archaeological features in and adjacent to the park at Nenagh

A number of features of various dates and types are present in Nenagh, but most are found in the southern portion of the modern town. There are only two archaeological monuments in the immediate vicinity of the park, and in addition a number of cross-slabs are curated at the Nenagh Heritage Centre (RMP No. TN020-037009/010/011/012). RMP No. TN020-037001 is the site of the Anglo-Norman castle while RMP No. TN020-037003 is a seventeenth-century memorial wall plaque located in the present Church of Ireland church (Tab. A9.1). The only unrecorded feature found during this survey was the line of the park boundary (Tab. A9.2). Some of the features have been described elsewhere in this chapter and where relevant the reader is referred to the relevant sections.

Townland(s)	**RMP No.**	**Description based on RMP, NMS topographical files and site visit**
Nenagh North	TN020-037001	Anglo-Norman castle (see Section 9.1.2)
Nenagh North	TN020-037003	Seventeenth-century memorial stone in the Church of Ireland church
Nenagh North	TN020-037009	Cross slab from the site of St. Odhran's Monastery, Latteragh, now housed in the Nenagh Heritage Centre
Nenagh North	TN020-037010	Cross slab from the site of St. Odhran's Monastery, Latteragh, now housed in the Nenagh Heritage Centre
Nenagh North	TN020-037011	Cross slab from the site of St. Odhran's Monastery, Latteragh, now housed in the Nenagh Heritage Centre
Nenagh North	TN020-037012	Cross slab from the site of St. Odhran's Monastery, Latteragh, now housed in the Nenagh Heritage Centre

Tab. A9.1: Recorded archaeological features in the surroundings of the park of Nenagh

Townland(s)	**Description based on site visit**
Nenagh North	Park boundary (see Appendix 9.1)

Tab. A9.2: Unrecorded archaeological features