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<td><strong>Author(s)</strong></td>
<td>Gleeson, Caitríona M.</td>
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<td><strong>Publication Date</strong></td>
<td>2015-05-26</td>
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A social archaeology of Anglo-Norman Cork

Vol. 1 of 1

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Thesis submitted to the National University of Ireland, Galway

for the degree of PhD

May 2015
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Declaration regarding the work

I, Caítríona Gleeson, certify that the Thesis is all my own work and that I have not obtained a degree in this University or elsewhere on the basis of any of this work.
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This PhD would never have been completed without the enormous support I received from a large number of people.

I owe a debt of gratitude to my supervisor, Dr Kieran O’Conor. His knowledge, intuition and support helped me hugely with this research, and his kindness got me through some of the grimmer moments! Thanks to Prof. John Waddell for accepting me onto this PhD programme and to other staff members at NUI, G for comments, conversation and encouragement including Dr Stefan Burgh, Dr Liz FitzPatrick, Maggie Ronayne and Conor Newman. Thanks also to the other staff and students who I came into contact with over the years.

Thanks to the Irish Research Council who generously funded this research.

Many professional archaeologists and university staff have kindly given me their time and access to their materials during the course of this PhD. These include Claire McCutcheon, Mags MacCarthy, Dr Merial McClatchie (UCD), Susan Lyons, Máire Ní Loingsigh, Catryn Power, Hilary Kelleher, Dr Anthony Beese, Gerry Breen Snr and Ciara Brett, who listened patiently to my enquiries about medieval Cork and generously granted me permission to consult, and refer to, their unpublished work. Diverse queries about the medieval period were answered good-naturedly by Dr Mark Gardiner (QUB), Dr Kim LoPrete (NUI,G) and Mick Monk (UCC), and other helpful conversations were had with Dr Maurice Hurley, Dr Niall O’Flaherty (KCL) Tom McErlean (UU) and Dr John Raven (Historic Scotland). I am extremely grateful to all of the above. A very sincere thanks to Dr Colin Breen (UU), whose insight and intelligence helped me achieve a huge breakthrough with this thesis.

My thanks go out to the friends (Miriam, Scott, Declan and David among others) and cousins who were sympathetic and kept me laughing throughout this process and over the last many years. Thanks to Aunty Noreen for feeding and keeping me many times during the course of this thesis.

Massive thanks to my brother-in-law Colin and his family Claire, Daire and Caoimhe, who were so supportive, generous and great company. I would also like to thank my parents-in-law, Gerry and Anne, for their endless kindness, support and good humour. Big thanks also to Daragh, Eileen, Evan and Phil.

My sisters Eilís, Eibhlín and Nóirín have never doubted me and have been so thoughtful and brilliant throughout this process, and along with Alan, Alan and little Thade, I can’t thank them enough. Ten pages of acknowledgements could not cover the debt I owe to my parents, who are
generous, caring and exceptional. They have given me every possible support during this thesis and for that I am truly grateful.

Finally, thanks to Gerry for going through it all with me, and never failing to provide love, kindness, support and tremendous times.

This is for him, and us.
Abstract

The Anglo-Norman occupation of Cork permanently altered the physical and societal landscape of the city, and its immediate surrounding area. Over the course of nearly a century and a half, a small but functioning harbour became the premier Anglo-Norman port on the south-west coast of Ireland, and the earlier settlement transitioned from a small Hiberno-Norse trading community and nearby monastic nucleus into a socially- and architecturally-diverse urban centre. This process of urbanisation was a deliberate action on the part of the Anglo-Normans to ‘civilise’ their new colony in the late 12th century, and by the late 13th and early 14th centuries, the thriving town of Cork was a testament to the successful realisation of this goal.

There has been extensive archaeological investigation within the city, which has uncovered significant evidence of Cork’s urban medieval development. To date, the results of these excavations have not been academically assessed as a compound entity. This study is the first attempt to establish a cohesive archaeological and historical understanding of the impact of Anglo-Norman occupation on the social morphology of Cork’s earliest urban inhabitants. It is, effectively, the first integrated interpretation of all available archaeological data from the Anglo-Norman period in Cork.

Using an approach which integrates historical and archaeological evidence to define exact temporal parameters, the present writer has interrogated all available excavation data as part of a high-resolution study of the social archaeology of Anglo-Norman Cork. This has resulted in a new understanding of some long-held perceptions of the period between c.1171 and c.1315 in the city. This research has challenged previous historical interpretations of the impact of the Anglo-Norman occupation on the existing Hiberno-Norse inhabitants, and re-defined their role as useful participants in the economy of the Anglo-Norman city. Evidence of at least four social strata within the town has been identified, and new information on the quality of life enjoyed by the lower-ranking craft-workers and artisans of the period is put forward. Phases of economic migration within the city have been recognised, as has physical evidence of the elite members of society at this time. Life-ways, both individual and familial, have been deciphered from the data in order to enrich, and personalise, this account of the social archaeology of Anglo-Norman Cork.
Chapter 1 - Introduction

1.1 Research context

The academic interpretation of high-medieval Irish urban archaeology is still in its infancy in Ireland. Until quite recently, most Irish archaeological, and indeed historical, academic debate has centred on the prehistoric and early medieval periods (Barry 1987, 1; O’Conor 1998, 9-10). The subject of Irish medieval archaeology has been largely concerned with the later medieval period and the landscape manifestations of the contemporary monumental culture (e.g. Leask 1941 & 1955-60; Sweetman 1995; McNeill 2005). The evolution of medieval archaeology in Ireland does not mirror the debate in Britain, where the medieval discourse is more strongly embedded in the national archaeological research framework. This was undoubtedly facilitated by the volume of documentary resources for the medieval period, which began to be transcribed in full during the late 18th century. Medieval settlement, both rural and urban, began to be actively investigated in the 1950s in Britain (e.g. Wharram Percy – Beresford and Hurst 1990; Caldecote - Beresford 2009; Medieval London - Schofield and Dyson 1980; York – Addyman et al 1974; Hall 1984). This evolved rapidly to encompass thematic studies of the excavated evidence, and strong research frameworks began to shape the urban medieval archaeological agenda (e.g. Hall and Kenwood 1982; Schofield and Leech 1987; Good et al 1991). As early as the 1960s, an integrated archaeological and historical approach was being taken to the study of medieval urban settlement (e.g. Pantin 1964), and this approach has become more sophisticated and open in the intervening period, culminating in a regular programme of thematic interdisciplinary conferences and publications (e.g. Beattie et al 2003; Giles and Dyer 2005; Woolgar et al 2006). The study of urban medieval structural evidence and material culture now acts as a significant agent in informing social archaeological studies of the period (e.g. Creighton and Higham 2005; Gilchrist 2012).

Although archaeological excavations have been on-going in Irish towns and cities for over five decades, the results of these investigations have not generally been integrated into the wider Irish medieval academic dialogue. There is currently very little academic focus on aspects of high-medieval and Anglo-Norman urban settlement and life-ways in Ireland. The earliest Irish urban medieval excavations were conducted in Dublin in the late 1960s and were swiftly followed by a series of investigations in Carrickfergus, Cork and Waterford (Wallace 1981; 1985b, Cleary et al 1997, Hurley 1997a). Some of the earlier excavations were grant-aided (e.g. Hurley 1989a; 1990; Cleary et al 1997), however, most were completed in response to proposed development within medieval urban centres, and as such, were commercial endeavours. This urban medieval archaeological work was
Fig. 1.1 Location of Cork City in Ireland, and County Cork (above), and location of the medieval urban core (below). The area highlighted in red is the former site of the two islands in the marsh that formed the nucleus of the Anglo-Norman town.

undertaken parallel to, but not integrated with, the prevailing medieval research interest at the time, castle studies. At its inception, the approach to this work was principally empiricist in nature and large amounts of fieldwork and historical data were compiled into text which remained
unexamined for the more theoretical, and social, insights that could be garnered from the study of these sites (e.g. Leask 1941; Sweetman 1995). This field of research has subsequently evolved to encompass a greater appraisal of the social context of these monuments within their temporal and landscape frameworks (e.g. McNeill 1997; Manning and O’Conor 2003; Sherlock 2006). There has been a concurrent growth in the academic exploration of medieval rural settlement, and more nuanced interpretations of the archaeological evidence in this field have been put forward. These include studies on the socio-economic nature of rural medieval settlement, both Gaelic and Anglo-Norman (O’Conor 1998; 2000; 2004), coastal medieval and post-medieval Gaelic occupation (Breen 2001; 2005), and the landscape evidence for Gaelic ceremonial practices during the medieval period (FitzPatrick 2001; 2004).

Unfortunately, there has been little contiguous evolution in the field of Irish urban medieval research, where, an overall approach to the evidence which over-emphasises the built remains on the site, and the manner in which their value is perceived by the excavators, continues to shape the narrative of the excavated sites (see 2.4.2 for further discussion). In contrast to the fields of castle studies and medieval rural settlement, both Gaelic and Anglo-Norman, which are well-served with individual courses and lectureships in the Republic of Ireland (e.g. University College Cork and University College Dublin, National University of Ireland, Galway) there is just one specifically-appointed Anglo-Norman medieval urban academic specialist (John Bradley – National University of Ireland, Maynooth) within the Departments of Archaeology at Irish universities. It can reasonably be stated that this almost complete omission from the academic sphere has created an intellectual void for urban medieval archaeology in Ireland, which has had to largely tread its own evolutionary path with regard the development of ideas and research frameworks. In the vacuum created by the absence of a well-framed theoretical framework for Irish urban medieval archaeology, a structuralist approach can often seem to be the best approach to the recording and publication of data. The results of Irish medieval urban excavations are uniformly presented using segmented narratives, with clear delineations between the historical, structural, material culture and environmental aspects of the sites (e.g. Hurley 1985; 1989a; Cleary and Hurley 2003). There is generally very little, if any, integration between these various sections which means that a true appreciation of urban medieval life-ways is difficult to trace in these works. The earliest Irish urban medieval excavations were conducted before the emergence of a national medieval research framework and agenda. Thus, a structuralist approach may have appeared to be the only way to understand and present the results of these investigations. Undoubtedly, there are other limiting factors which perhaps render such an approach necessary. Commercial
archaeological excavations are subject to economic and temporal constraints, which can restrict the interpretative scope of such projects. Time, and more crucially finance, are often not readily available to fund the range of specialists required to analyse the range of data that an urban medieval excavation can produce.

During the 1970s and 1980s, and possibly as a result of the well-publicised Wood Quay excavations (e.g. Wallace 1981a; 1992) which garnered a significant amount of media and public interest, the Hiberno-Norse town was gifted with more value in prevailing academic discussion that the newer, ‘colonial’ remains associated with the Anglo-Norman incursion into Ireland in 1169. Thus, the first coherent Irish urban archaeological research agenda was centred on the study of Viking and Hiberno-Norse towns. Unfortunately, in some Irish urban sites, the Anglo-Norman evidence fell victim to this modish urban agenda, and in at least one instance the remains from this period were dispensed with rather quickly to get to the underlying, more ‘valuable’ Hiberno-Norse features (e.g. Cleary et al 1997). It also shaped the attitude to the excavation of contemporary archaeological investigations (e.g. Hurley 1989a; 1990). This attitude has significantly altered in the intervening years, however, the interpretation of the archaeological evidence from Irish Anglo-Norman towns, and Cork, still seems to be presented via sterile narratives which simply communicate descriptions of the main features of the excavations, with little or no consideration of the social and cultural contexts of the remains (see 2.4.2 for further discussion).

The present research is the first academic study in an Irish context to develop a more nuanced, historically and archaeologically-blended approach to the analysis of the results of urban medieval archaeological excavations. This study is a holistic interrogation of all the available data, with the intention of informing a social archaeology of Anglo-Norman Cork town.

1.1.2 Brief background to the study area
Cork is the second largest city in the Republic of Ireland (Fig. 1.1). It is the capital city of the largest county in Ireland, Cork, which encompasses both fertile...
Fig. 1.3 Aerial photograph looking north-east across the city. The medieval core of Cork is outlined in red in the background, and the rectangular area highlighted in the foreground is the current area of St Finbarr’s Cathedral, the first area settled in the city in the 6th or 7th century AD (Aerofilms Ltd 1949, Courtesy of Cork City Council).

farmlands to the north and east, and more rugged pasture-land areas to its west (Murphy 1993, 5). The city is sited at the mouth of the river Lee, where it flows into a long deep natural harbour (Devoy 2005, 7). The name Cork, derives from the Gaelic word Corcach, meaning marsh, and the centre of the city overlies a series of marsh islands which are surrounded by various channels of the river Lee. The marsh was bounded at its north and south by hills. The initial settlement in the future site of the city was a monastery at the south bank of the Lee, and it is thought that the Vikings established a longphort or small settlement in the area by the 9th century (Hurley 2005a, 56). The city area was not continuously occupied until the 11th century, when a town developed in the region of the existing monastery and subsequently on the south island of the marsh. The port of Cork has been active since that period, and was formally developed following the Anglo-Norman arrival to the Hiberno-Norse town in the 1170s (O’Flanagan 2005, 100). The city’s motto is ‘a safe harbour for ships’ and Cork’s Coat of Arms, based on an older seals of the city, shows a ship safely ensconced between two guarding towers (Fig. 1.2). The Anglo-Normans settled within
the marsh, and by the 14th century, a walled town occupied much of its area. Although the walls of the city no longer survive, their imprint is very visible in the modern streetscape (Fig.1.3).

1.2 Central research aim
The central research aim of this thesis is to integrate archaeological data from published and unpublished excavations undertaken in the city, with information from the historical sources, to establish a multi-faceted understanding of the urban development of Anglo-Norman Cork, from c. 1170 to c.1315. The results of this analysis will be used to investigate the social morphology and life-ways of the high medieval town. This comprises a determination of the societal nuances of the Anglo-Norman period of the city’s evolution, and the evaluation of how these shaped the physical transition of the Hiberno-Norse settlement into a solid Anglo-Norman urban space. I wish to identify how the changing population of the town they established is manifested in the archaeological and historical records and how it progressed in shape and depth between these periods. The nature of archaeological manifestations of wealth and status, of varying levels, will be identified. The results of this research will comprise an account of the social archaeology of Anglo-Norman Cork. To add depth to this account, individual life-ways, where possible, will be considered in their spatial and contemporary contexts.

1.3 Central research question
The central research question asks: what were the societal structures and the nature of social differentiation in high medieval Cork as evidenced through the archaeological record? I will also consider how the archaeological evidence of these signatures can be integrated with the historic record to present a holistic interpretation of the evidence from this period. The various social groupings of Anglo-Norman Cork’s urban space will be identified, as will the evolution of their composition, socio-economic and political capital as the town developed.

1.4 Research objectives
There are three main research objectives that govern the processes within this study.

1.4.1 The first objective is to conduct an intensive, and integrated high-resolution investigation of the physical morphology and material culture of Anglo-Norman Cork. The period under assessment commences with the Anglo-Norman arrival in Cork in c. 1172 and concludes with the common terminus of Cork’s archaeological horizon at c.1315. This is the broad date at which most of Cork’s medieval archaeology was truncated by development during the late post-medieval and early modern period and this
Fig. 1.4 Location map of excavations discussed in this thesis (colour-coded by excavator – base map drawn from Cleary and Hurley 2003,2).
destruction of the record is broadly consistent across the expanse of the medieval town and marginally less pronounced at the very north of the medieval urban core (see 6.8).

This involves a forensic examination of all available archaeological data, encompassing the results of excavations and previous research within the study area. Primary historic sources and secondary works which interpret the history of the city are also studied. Pertinent research from the field of historical geography is also considered. The meeting of this objective is linked to the processes outlined in Stage 2 of the methodological approach to this research (see 1.5, below).

1.4.2 The second objective comprises the interrogation of all the available archaeological evidence to identify societal structures and social differentiation in an Irish urban medieval context, namely that of Anglo-Norman Cork.

This utilises the information obtained though the initial objective (see above), as the basis for a more nuanced investigation of the archaeological material informed by theories of social archaeology. The goal of this objective is to move forward from the previous low-resolution, broad brush-stroke approach which has been applied to earlier interpretations of the archaeology of the high medieval era in Cork city. This objective answers the central research question, and enables the realisation of the central research aim. This objective corresponds to Stage 2 of the methodology outlined below (see 1.5).

1.4.3 The third objective is to implement a more nuanced approach (than has been previously undertaken) to the interpretation of high-medieval urban archaeological remains in an Irish context, using Anglo-Norman Cork as a basis for this approach.

This successful realisation of the first two objectives will result in a much more detailed appreciation of the life-ways of high-medieval Cork than has been explored in Irish archaeological debate to date. The resulting approach will enable the present writer to present a temporally specific and socially detailed interpretation of the results of archaeological excavations in the city. This objective is met by Stages 3 and 4 of the methodology used in this thesis. The results of the present study will allow the author to establish a theoretical research framework and timeline for the city’s evolution which can be used to assess the results of future archaeological investigations in Cork.

1.5 Methodology (Fig. 1.5)
The following section describes the methodology employed in the completion of this research. The study was undertaken in four main stages
and comprised a mixed approach to the use of diverse sources. The processes involved in the production of this thesis were framed by the research objectives outlined above.

**Stage 1** Stage 1 of the methodology involved the formalisation of the research topic. The initial aim of this thesis was to investigate the dietary evidence for social differentiation in Anglo-Norman Ireland, using four cities (Cork, Limerick, Waterford and Galway) as study areas. As this research progressed, it became apparent that this discourse and approach was limiting the quality of the interpretation that could be applied to the material. This did not comply with my personal theoretical perspective, which was centred on the desire to fully maximise the information potential of the archaeological data set. As a consequence, it became clear that a more interrogative, informed approach would be more valid in an Irish context. The data-set was simultaneously narrowed and broadened, as the study area was confined to Cork, and the research material now included information on the structural remains and material culture, along with the dietary evidence. The temporal span of the research was curtailed in order to allow for full synchronicity between the archaeological and the historic data. It was deemed more valuable, with regard to the central research aim, to evaluate an entire grouping of evidence, within a set temporal framework in order to yield a more multi-faceted understanding of the data.

**Stage 2** Stage 2 comprised a desk-based analysis of the existing sources, both archaeological and historical, in order to establish the criteria for the analysis of understanding of the data. The present writer read widely to establish a set of commonly accepted archaeological indicators of status, occupation and ethnicity and to determine how these could have related to the Cork evidence. A set of functioning indicators were then established which allowed for a more socially-nuanced interrogation of the archaeological dataset. These may be found in the appendices to this research (see Appendices 1-3).

During this process each archaeological site from Cork site was assessed individually, the site plans and contextual descriptions were studied and compared, and where possible, all the material culture and the environmental data were analysed in conjunction with their archaeological context of origin (see Fig. 1.4 for site locations). This allowed for the re-dating of certain features and structures, and five set temporal periods were established to provide meaningful chronological contexts for the results of the analysis. Each of the relevant excavations was rigorously analysed to establish accurate date ranges for every site. This allowed for valid comparisons, and the overlaying of data, from and between separate, but contemporary areas of the Anglo-Norman town. This subsequently allowed
for a high level of comparison to be undertaken between sites at separate locations across the city. A qualitative approach to the research was taken, which involved interviews with relevant archaeologists and specialist with regards to understanding and re-positioning their findings within the theoretical framework of this study.
Stage 3 The third methodological stage consisted of a comprehensive and informed analysis and overview of all the available data using the criteria determined through Stage 2 (above). My primary perspective has been informed by social archaeological theory, and social understandings of change from a social archaeological perspective. The results of the analysis were contextualised within a framework that referenced drivers and agents of social change.

Stage 4 This stage involved the synthesis of the data strands to form a complete, chronologically-organised account of the archaeological evidence. The combined data from each temporally-defined period was interrogated for indicators of social morphology and agents of social change.

Stage 5 The final stage of this study was the preparation of the thesis and the presentation of the final results of the research. A new integrated narrative for the archaeology of high-medieval Cork was established and the value of the approach was validated with regard to the central research aim and question.

1.6 Thesis layout, structure and content.

The layout of the thesis follows a similar order to the methodological stages undertaken for the research. Chapter 1 comprises an introduction to the research. Chapter 2 sets out the background to the research, and outlines the theoretical influences and studies that informed the criteria for the analytical stages. The following four chapters (Chapters 3-6) are similar in format. Each contains a consideration of the basic integrated data, and the results of this analysis are presented in separate sections detailing the morphology, material culture and dietary evidence from the pertinent excavations. These four chapters (3-6) contain analytical and interpretive considerations where pertinent to the understanding and setting of the archaeological and historical data. Unless directly attributed to the excavator, all interpretation of the archaeological evidence is the present writer’s. The present writer is aware of the high density of archaeological information that is contained within Chapters 3-6, and which may, at times, seem challenging for the reader! However, I felt that it was critical to present all datable archaeological information in this thesis. Employing a selective approach, and ‘cherry-picking’ key sites and features, would have undermined the whole philosophy of this research, which was to complete a total and thorough interpretation of Cork from 1171 to 1315.

Each of the ‘data’ chapters (3-6) concludes with a discussion which considers the main drivers that propelled social change during each period, and investigates how these drivers reflect the social morphology at play
During the five main stages of Cork’s Anglo-Norman settlement. Chapter 3 is broken into two temporal stages. The first deals with the period immediately following the arrival of Anglo-Normans to Cork (c.1170-c.1195) and the second relates to a slightly politically calmer phase in the Anglo-Norman development of the town (c.1195-c.1205). There is a strong overlap between the archaeological evidence from both of these short periods, hence their shared chapter within the thesis. Chapter 4 outlines the next 40 years of the Anglo-Norman occupation of the town (c.1205-1240), and considers how their attempts to consolidate and develop this new settlement are reflected in the archaeological record. In Chapter 5, the data is assessed to provide a nuanced understanding of the most economically successful phase of the Anglo-Norman settlement in Cork (c.1240-1290), and the archaeological evidence that attests to this success and resulting societal change. Chapter 6 discusses the last phase of Anglo-Norman-led economic success in the city (c.1290-c.1315) and the continued attempts of the established settlement to maintain its strong economic foothold in the Anglo-Norman world. These data chapters are followed by a discussion, Chapter 7, which will consider the results of the research within a wider theoretical framework, and demonstrate their value towards the creation of an informed social archaeology of high medieval Cork. The final chapter (Chapter 8), is the conclusion of the thesis. This will outline the main findings of this study, along with reflections on their meaning and recommendations for further research.

Throughout the thesis the present writer has referred to the period from c.1171 to c.1315 as Anglo-Norman Cork, and the burgesses, religious and other immigrants that settled in the town as Anglo-Normans. This demographic entity has alternatively been referred to as ‘English’, ‘Cambro-Norman’, and ‘Anglo-French’ by medieval historians and historical geographers (e.g. Jefferies 2004; Nicholls 1993; Clarke 2002). The term ‘Anglo-Norman’ is still the most frequently used description of these people by Irish academics dealing with this period (e.g. O’Brien 1985; 1993; 2004; O’Conor 1998; 2004; O’Keeffe 1999; 2000) and as such, is the most readily understood shorthand for this grouping. As this urban group remained culturally distinct from the Hiberno-Norse and the Gaelic Irish, and most appeared to intermarry within the confines of Anglo-Norman Cork, they continue to be referred to as Anglo-Normans throughout this thesis. The dating chronology utilised in the research is as follows: early medieval – c.500-1150AD (including the Viking and Hiberno-Norse settlement period from c.950-1150AD), high medieval – 1150-1350AD and late medieval – 1350-1550AD.
Chapter 2 – Background to the research
Including a discussion of the theory and historiography of social archaeology and medieval archaeology in Ireland, the topography of Cork city and excavations undertaken in the city to date

2.1 Introduction
This chapter provides an outline of the ideas and studies that have shaped and informed the present research. The concepts behind social archaeology are presented, and the archaeological works that have utilised this approach are introduced to illustrate their informative input into the approach undertaken for this thesis. Brief histories of the evolution of medieval urban studies in both Britain and Ireland are put forward in order to provide a context for the current study. The chapter concludes with an introduction to Cork city, which discusses the historiography of archaeology in the city, and the background to the arrival of the Anglo-Normans in the late 12th century.

2.2 Social archaeology
The tenets of social archaeology are introduced because they underpin the approach being undertaken for the present research. This study will build on the previously empirical approach to the gathering of archaeological data from urban medieval Cork, to provide a more nuanced appreciation of the social morphology of the Anglo-Norman town. Achieving this goal requires the application of social archaeological ideas within a holistic and interrogative analysis of existing data. This is the first attempt to provide a social archaeology of an Irish urban medieval settlement. Previous urban excavation work in Cork has tended to operate within a theoretical vacuum. It is therefore considered necessary to present the broad evolution of ‘Social Archaeology’ as part of this chapter in order to position its application within the research framework employed for this study.

2.2.1 Introduction to social archaeology
Although the relationship between archaeology and ‘the social’ has been part of the general discourse of the subject since its earliest practice (e.g. Clark 1939; Childe 1946; 1949), the concept of ‘social archaeology’ was only truly codified in the 1970s. This approach to the study of archaeological evidence was articulated by Colin Renfrew during the processual wave of the 1970s, and he characterised social archaeology as the reconstruction of the social organisation of past societies and ‘the way they themselves looked upon the world’ (Renfrew 1973, 7; see also Preucel and Meskell 2004, 6). The proponents of post-processual archaeology continued to develop the concept of social archaeology beyond what they perceived to be the limits of the positivism which were a legacy of processual archaeology (e.g. Hodder 1982b; Shanks and Tilley 1987). They
argued against the focus on the ‘economic’ over the ‘political’ and ‘religious’ in the social characterisation of past societies, and emphasised a wider recognition of the agency provided by culture, values and religious belief on human actions and interactions as manifested in the archaeological record (Hodder 1986; Johnson 1999; Trigger 2004, 46). The application of social archaeological approaches in archaeology has also been continually informed by contemporary philosophical ideologies, and its current embodiment reflects the input of Marxist and neo-Marxist theories, high-structuralism and functionalism (Patterson 2004, 67-8; Preucel and Meskell 2004, 7). The impact of the divergent and diverse range of influences that governed the evolution of social archaeology can, however, be seen as a positive, and applications of this approach have considered the broadest array of human actions and conditions that leave an archaeological imprint. These have included studies on status, inequality, ethnicity, gender and sexuality as evidenced by human, material and architectural manifestations of archaeological evidence (see 2.2.2, below, for references).

For the purposes of the present study, the label ‘social archaeology’ is used to describe an approach to the assessment of the archaeology of Anglo-Norman Cork which aims to recognise, and acknowledge, the individual and extrasomatic actions which shaped the evolution of the town throughout its Anglo-Norman period of occupation. The impact of these actions on the social and physical morphology of the high-medieval townscape will be addressed as part of a multi-disciplinary study of the evidence. The overall aim of this approach is to use the entire range of accessible evidence to provide a deeper knowledge of the town at this time. This is an innovative and unique approach to current Irish urban medieval studies.

**2.2.2 Application of social archaeological theories**

The broad remit of social archaeology has encompassed a wide range of studies of the social facets of past societies. The application of social archaeological theories is most powerfully expounded by archaeologists working with prehistoric or undocumented archaeologies and those in ‘settler’ and post-colonial societies. Social hierarchies and interactions in prehistoric societies have been addressed on a global scale in archaeology (e.g. Renfew 1973b; Hodder 2004; Oates and Oates 2004). Questions of identity have been substantively discussed in Euro-American archaeologies, along with those from Australia, South America and Asia amongst others (e.g. Orser 1992; Mullins 1999; Lilley 2006). Gender and sexuality are part of a concurrent discussion on the facets of identity, and the foundational premises of sex and gender continue to be challenged with regards to their archaeological interpretation (e.g. Kehoe 1992; Gilchrist 1999; Lazzari 2003; Meskell and Preucel 2004). Both identity and gender have formed part of the discourse of the archaeology of inequality (e.g. Orser 1991;
Yentsch 1991; Rimmer 2011). Considerations of the social archaeology of the household, and the neighbourhood, are frequent, and theoretical approaches have revealed the motivations behind the social and spatial ordering of households, and the relationship between the house and its wider societal context (e.g. Ault and Nevitt 1999; Funari and Zarankin 2003; Smith 2010). Issues of power, status and class have been central to the study of social archaeology since its inception and these aspects of society continue to form a substantial focus of the discourse in this field (e.g. Renfrew and Shennan 1982; Shanks and Tilley 1987b; Saitta 1994; Chase and Chase 2011). Social archaeological approaches have been applied to the understanding of current conflicts and war zones (e.g. Schaum and Yayha 2003). More recently, the proponents of social archaeological theories have come to recognise the potential contribution of the consistent and underlying empirical approaches that underpin much archaeological practice in the field, and have called for resolution between empiricism and the application of theoretical interpretations to the material (Shanks 2004; Johnson 2011).

2.2.3 Archaeology and ethnic identity

One branch of social archaeology that is of particular relevance to this thesis is the question of ethnicity, and how archaeological evidence of ethnicity is manifested by the data. For the purposes of the present research I have utilised Jones’s (1997) definitions of ‘Ethnic identity’, ‘Ethnic group’ and ‘Ethnicity’ as detailed below (Fig. 2.1). The theoretical examination of the archaeology of ethnicity was contiguous with the processual ‘new’ wave of archaeology in the 1970s (Jones 1997, 107). Prior to this, the archaeological consideration of ethnicity had often been used to contribute to racist and nationalistic reconstructions of the past (ibid; Curta 2007, 162-4). To combat this, more critical methodologies were put forward by archaeologists to try and objectively identify evidence of ethnicity in the archaeological record. There have been discussions on how much archaeological evidence really represents ethnic groups (e.g. Binford 1965, 205), whether certain groups have even existed as archaeologically distinct entities (e.g. Hodder 1982a, 6) and how much evidence of ethnicity is actually a construct on the part of wishful archaeologists (e.g. Renfrew 1977, 94; Jones 1997, 108-9). Most frequently, the archaeologists involved in this discourse were and are concerned with data generated from the analysis of pre-historic and post-colonial cultures (e.g. Renfrew 1977; Orser 1992; Lilley 2006), and were mainly seeking evidence of ethnic groups that existed without supporting documentary data.

This research, is by contrast, focussed on a period with documentary evidence which attests to the presence of three separate ethnic groups within the historical town and hinterland of medieval Cork, namely the
communities of the Anglo-Norman immigrants, and the local Hiberno-Norse and the Gaelic Irish (see 3.2-3 for reference to the written data to support this). Thus, while the present author does not have to prove that these ethno-cultural distinctions were a facet of life in Cork during this period, the challenge of this research is to connect aspects of the material culture and archaeological record of the period, where possible, with these separate groups. It is therefore necessary to consider the relationship between material culture and the ethnic identities of the people living in Cork between 1170 and 1315, and problematize the potential of this relationship to successfully identify the distinct cultural affinities of these groups. To do this, the role material culture plays in shaping ethnic identity should be considered. Curta (2007, 169) has stated that ‘ethnicity is truly represented through such things as certain dress elements, speech forms, lifestyles, food ways, and the like’. Therefore, the symbols and associated with these ‘things’ are in fact the result of human action, and the material culture used in this expression is not a passive reflection of ethnicity, but an active element in its negotiation (Curta 2007, 170). It is actively structured and structuring throughout its social life and ‘consequently its meaning is not fixed but constantly subject to reproduction and transformation’ (Jones 1997, 123). As Curta (2007, 176-8) has discussed, material culture ethnic signifiers have been used to both align, and differentiate between, separate cultural groupings in various colonial situations during the early medieval and medieval periods. This malleability, and manipulation of the material culture, can be seen in Brown’s 2002 study of the pottery from medieval Southampton. Here, he has outlined how the use of certain types of tableware may have been a demonstrable means of cultural association during the initial Anglo-Norman period of the town. It is suggested that at one site the English occupants of the site bought mainly Norman tableware in an attempt to align themselves, either socially, economically or politically, with the French settlers in the town and the reverse may also have been true at a different archaeological sites (Brown 2002, 164).

The above example illustrates one of the problems when using material culture, in this particular instance the ceramic evidence in isolation, as a way to investigate ethic differences in the archaeological record. While broadly accepting that a high proportion of tableware (the ceramic material most likely used as display) from a particularly country in a house-site assemblage may also indicate an ethnic origin for that particular householder, several examples in Southampton did not conform to this assumption (Brown 2002, 163-5). The research in Southampton has flagged the danger of assumption that can be made when assessing single strands of evidence without recourse to supporting documentary or complementary archaeological evidence (e.g. structural and dietary remains). Jones (1997, 119) argues that the material evidence for ethnic identity can only clearly be
understood when assessed as part of a broad approach that also contextualises the archaeological record within a historical framework.

By and large, the archaeology of ethnicity does not feature strongly in the medieval archaeological discourse of Ireland and the UK. There have been some considerations by historical geographers and historians of the impact of the Anglo-Normans on various parts of Wales (e.g. Lilley 2000; Stevens 2005). In Ireland, a number of medieval archaeologists have addressed the ethnicity of the builders and occupants of some of the rural landscape features of the Anglo-Normans period, and in particular their link with the Gaelic Irish at that time (e.g. O’Keeffe 1996; O’Connor 2000; 2005; Bradley 2002; FitzPatrick 2004). Finbar McCormick (1997) has completed a study of the dietary differences between the Gaelic Irish and the Anglo-Normans, and in the process identified some potential indicators of ethnic distinction between their eating habits. Florin Curta (2007, 183) has considered the manner by which Gaelic Irish and Anglo-Norman identities visibly evolved from the 13th to the 15th centuries, and how the various shifts in personal style and housing choices can be interpreted as significant ethnic signifiers of political potency.

Applying the principles set out in the referenced works to the current study has allowed the present writer to identify a number of problems and biases that may potentially impact the search for ethnic signatures in the material culture assemblage from Cork for the period 1170 to 1315. At the earlier end of this period a number of factors could impact the formation processes that affected the material culture assemblage. These are probably most pertinent with regard to the pottery and similarly transportable finds excavated from some of the sites with late 12th-century dates. Cork, among many other Hiberno-Norse towns, had long standing contacts with the Norman world through the ports of Bristol and Southampton, and there were established trading relationships between towns and monasteries in the South of Ireland and Wales for at least 200 years before the arrival of the Anglo-Normans in Ireland (Duffy 1999, 98-100). Along with this, local Irish kings had entered marital alliances with Cambro-Norman families in the period preceding the invasion of 1169 (ibid.). These trade and familial connections would have had an impact on the material culture of the time, and allowed for the import and use of Anglo-Norman (and French or English) pottery and other domestic items during the pre-conquest period. Therefore, an assemblage containing mixed origin material with a late 12th-century date may not necessarily be attributed to an immigration event, but simply relate to an Irish or Hiberno-Norse household with market or familial access to foreign goods (see also 3.2.3.3). In the later period and prosperous 13th-century it is possible that some ethnic identities were too concealed or blended to allow for the identification of separate cultural affinities in the
material culture. For example in Southampton, the pottery from merchants’ houses in the town was found to be the most diverse of the assemblages and thus is can be stated that during this period a high proportion of imported ceramics were more indicative of wealth and status than ethnicity during the economically successful 13th century in the town (Brown 2002, 165). In these instances, other forms of archaeological evidence must be considered (e.g. structural and dietary data) along with the written sources to see whether they offer further insight into certain sites.

Fig. 2.1 Jones (1997, i) definitions of terms used when discussing the archaeology of ethnicity. (Note: in an Irish medieval context, the use of a particular form of Law, whether Gaelic-Irish or Anglo-Norman (English) can also form part of ethnic identity and act as a signifier and component of cultural differentiation).

To counter the outlined biases and problems, the present writer has been careful to only put forward definite statements regarding ethnic change in the archaeological record when the evidence from all three of the considered datasets (material culture, structural remains and dietary data) coincides to strongly indicate apparent ethnic shifts in particular sites. Using the documentary evidence and a consideration of the distribution of certain find types in the archaeological record of Cork, the present writer has identified a number of sites where separate ethnic groups may be recognised (see 3.2.2.4; 3.2.2.6; 3.3.2.5; 3.3.2.8; 4.2.8.1; 4.3.2; 5.2.12). In some cases the argument for a separate ethnic identity is simply offered as one possible explanation for an apparent disparity in the archaeological record, whereas in others, the combined evidence from all three data-strands strongly suggests that ethnic change has occurred. This is the first time that such considerations have featured in the interpretation of Irish medieval urban
sites. As discussed below (see 2.4.3), the social archaeology of the medieval period is still very much a developing topic in Irish archaeology.

### 2.2.4 Social archaeological approaches to the medieval period

As recently as the 1990s, the paucity of interaction between archaeological theory and medieval archaeology was lamented by practitioners in the field (e.g. Ucko 1990, xii). It has been suggested that an over-dependence on the historical record has created apathy towards the employment of theoretical approaches to the study of medieval archaeological data (Austin 1990, 11-3). Perhaps prompted by the recognition of the limitation of the historical data to provide a holistic and inclusive reflection of past life-ways across all strata of medieval society, a shift towards the inclusion of theoretically-derived approaches to the study of medieval studies began at this time. Historical data could also not provide significant information on the meanings and motivations behind the forms of particular structures and the spatial ordering of both large medieval monuments (particularly castles) and landscapes. The field of castle studies has included much of the theoretical debate in current medieval archaeology. This has been centred around the nature of castles, whether ‘social’ and ‘symbolic’ or primarily defensive (e.g. Creighton 2002; Johnson 2002; see Platt 2007 in response). Theoretical interrogations which aim to identify the full range of ‘the social’ in castles have also formed part of this debate, both in Britain (e.g. Creighton 2002; Liddiard 2005; Johnson 2011) and Ireland (O’Keeffe 2001; McNeill 2005; Sherlock 2011). The search for ‘the social’ as manifested by the material evidence from the medieval period is now a burgeoning field within the sub-discipline of medieval archaeology and pertinent social archaeological discussions have been based on a wide range of evidence from this period, including townscapes (O’Keeffe 1999), ceremonial landscapes (FitzPatrick 2004), structures (Saunders 1990; Giles 2007), material culture (Hall 2011; Gilchrist 2012) and environmental remains (Pluskowski 2007). This has contributed to a more meaningful appreciation of the daily life and human motivations during the medieval period, which ultimately, reflects the aim of the social archaeological approach (see further relevant studies listed in 2.3.4, below). The application of these approaches is still quite limited in Ireland, and theoretical interrogations of medieval archaeological remains are confined to the small number of aforementioned scholars in the field of Irish academia.

### 2.3 Medieval archaeology in Britain

The evolution of medieval archaeology in Ireland cannot be understood without reference to its development in Britain. Although this thesis is an Irish study, the theoretical perspective which informs the research is unequivocally derived from British medieval archaeology. The historical and geographic ties that bind the two islands mean that there are significant
parallels in the intellectual development of medieval archaeological studies in both nations. In this context, it is considered necessary to provide a brief outline of both medieval and urban archaeological studies in Britain, as the Irish approach to this period has been historically directed by earlier and contemporary methods and outlooks in Britain.

The above (2.2) discussion illustrates that the term ‘social archaeology’ has a broad applicative potential, and its employment facilitates a fluid dialogue between rigorous theoretical ideology and the archaeological evidence itself. Ultimately, social archaeological approaches have been used to imbue the archaeological data with deeper inferences that reflect the role and actions of human and societal agents in its creation and utilisation. The present writer’s theoretical outlook is formed as a result of a decade spent as a commercial archaeologist. The fieldwork that I conducted during this period operated completely separately from the theoretical study of archaeology and was mainly concerned with data-gathering and pre-development management of the archaeological resource. It has therefore been challenging to distinguish the applicative potential of some of the more abstract concepts of social archaeology (e.g. Johnson 1999; Boado 2001) in the context of the present research. Nonetheless, the cognitive awareness that governs much of the application of social archaeological theories presents the only path towards a more holistic appreciation of the evidence, and a determination of the social morphology of the high-medieval town of Cork. As such, the previously outlined studies, along with the more practical derivations of this approach (see 2.2.3 and 2.3.4 below) form the essential informative bedrock of this thesis.

2.3.1 Background to medieval archaeology in England, Scotland and Wales
The study of medieval archaeology began to emerge as a unique discipline during the period following World War II. Before this stage, the period had received some academic attention, particularly in the fields of castle studies and deserted medieval settlement, which had been on-going since the early 20th century (Counihan 1990, 51; Gerrard 2003, 87; Creighton 2004, 7-11). Castle studies was the most prominent of the two fields and significant overviews of these monuments emerged during both the pre-World War II and post-World War II eras (e.g. Armitage and Montgomerie 1912; Hamilton Thomson 1912; Braun 1936; Brown 1954; Beeler 1956). The potential for aerial survey to inform scholars on the settlement patterns of the medieval era was realised in the post-war period, and the development of this resource is said to have had a distinctive, and vitally important, impact in the development of medieval archaeology in Britain (Gerrard 2003, 115). Aerial photography allowed for a greatly increased recognition of new earthwork sites and informed a new appreciation of the distribution,
form and survival of medieval monuments in the landscape which led to the development of new archaeological methods and terminology (Beresford and St Joseph 1958; Gerrard 2003, 115).

Partially because of this, medieval studies in Britain the late 1940s and 1950s began to take shape and began to form a distinct sub-discipline within the overall field of archaeology. In 1957, the Society for Medieval Archaeology was formally established. This comprised a forum which had the potential to unite disparate academic and professional archaeologists within the discipline. The development of medieval rural studies was led by the excavation at the deserted medieval village of Wharram Percy, which was in itself a multi-disciplinary venture led by a historian (Maurice Beresford) and an archaeologist (John Hurst) (Gerrard 2003, 105). This period also saw advancement in the studies of other rural sites, including both monasteries and churches (Philp 1968; Thompson 1962), and castles (Biddle 1964; Rahtz and Colvin 1960). Nonetheless, the leading research agenda at this time was still governed by historians, and medieval archaeology continued to be an underdeveloped discipline during this time (Platt 1978, xvii; Gerrard 2003, 129).

During the 1970s, the increased pace of urban development, along with agricultural changes instigated by the Central Agricultural Policy, impacted on a large number of medieval monuments and landscapes in Britain (Schofield and Vince 2003, 6-7; Gerrard 2009, 7). This necessitated a strong archaeological response along with a strategy for managing the proposed destruction of these remains. It was at this time that the study of medieval archaeology emerged as a more coherent and individual sub-discipline in its state-led, academic and commercial approaches. Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, the range of bodies that administered to archaeological needs increased to include government agencies, museum-associated archaeological units, independent commercially-funded archaeological units and local archaeological groups and societies (Gerrard 2003, 137).

Active excavation and research progressed at a faster pace in urban environments (see 2.3.2 below). Rural excavation actually declined during this period, both with regard to large landscape features (e.g. deserted medieval villages) and monuments (e.g. castles and monastic sites) (Gerrard 2003, 138). A small number of excavations were conducted (e.g. Sandal Castle - Mayes et al 1983; Southampton Castle – Oxley 1986; Bordesley Abbey – Astill 1993) but other archaeological approaches, including field-walking, trial-trenching and watching briefs enabled an increased understanding of the wider medieval landscape during this period (e.g. Milton-Keynes - Aston and Rowley 1974; Shennan 1985; Mynard and Zeepvat 1991). Scientific methods for dating and analysis advanced
considerably during the 1970s and 1980s. This provided a new range of
definite chronologies for both medieval buildings and artefacts (e.g. Vince
1985; Grew and de Neergaard 1988; McCarthy and Brooks 1988). This
contributed to the development of a huge medieval archaeological data-set
which proved problematic in terms of both the intellectual management of
the information, and the publication of the results of these analyses.
Increased publication was made possible by the provision of state-sponsored
grants and developer-funding (Gerrard 2003, 167-8).

The approach to the intellectual management of the resource was slightly
more fraught, and a number of archaeologists came to resist what was
termed ‘the tyranny of the historical record’ (Champion 1990, 79). Although
the value of contextualising the archaeological evidence within a well-
developed historical framework was a conscious feature of the earliest
medieval archaeological investigations, some medieval archaeologists felt
that their contribution was viewed as subservient to the evidence provided
by the documentary sources (Austin 1990, 11-14). Nonetheless, the study of
medieval archaeological remained relatively untouched by the theoretical
approaches of ‘new archaeology’ (e.g. processualism) used in the
interpretation of earlier and later archaeological periods until the end of the
20th century when more post-processual and cognitive approaches began to
be applied to the study of medieval archaeological evidence (e.g. Graves
1989; Austin and Thomas 1990; Saunders 1990). This form of study has
continued to evolve, and current medieval archaeologists continue to seek
more social interpretations of landscapes, monuments and material
culture (e.g. Gilchrist 2004; Gerrard 2007; Creighton et al 2013). The consistency
of this approach, and indeed the enduring relationship between archaeology
and history, continue to be debated (Gardiner and Rippon 2009), but the
individual identity of the discipline can no longer be considered juvenile to
other branches of archaeological study. A vast range of publications,
conferences, scientific methods and publicly-disseminated discourse means
that medieval archaeology in Britain can continue to devise new
understandings of the Middle Ages, and re-interpret previously accepted
narratives of the past.

2.3.2 Urban medieval archaeology in Britain
The intense urban development that emerged in Britain in the late 1960s,
and early 1970s, fuelled the necessity for a coherent archaeological response
to the potential destruction of a significant amount of urban stratigraphy.
Although the required response was of a ‘rescue’ nature, one of the earliest
large urban excavations at Winchester did attempt to combine this approach
with research objectives (Biddle 1990). The Council for British Archaeology (CBA) addressed the overall issue in 1972, and formulated a
legislative and practical framework for the archaeological excavation of
urban areas (Heighway 1972). Although urban archaeological themes were under professional consideration in the period prior to this (Beresford 1967; Turner 1970; Addyman and Rumsby 1971; Biddle and Hill 1971), the guidelines and recommendations provided in the document *The Erosion of History*, formalised the archaeological approaches that would ensure the correct and considered excavation of threatened urban areas (Heighway 1972). An incredibly active period of urban excavation followed. This was on-going in many British cities throughout the 1970s and early 1980s. Large-scale excavation was undertaken in London, York, Southampton and Norwich and other towns (Addyman et al. 1974; Platt and Coleman-Smith 1975; Schofield and Dyson 1980; Hall 1984; Atkin et al. 1985). Along with Norman-influenced urban archaeology, remains from the earlier (Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Scandinavian) and later (late-medieval and Tudor) periods of urban development and change began to be excavated and assessed during this time (e.g. York - Hall 1983; London – Schofield 1994; material culture – Gaimster 1994).

The results of these excavations refined not only the recommended approach to archaeological excavations in general (MOLAS manual, DUA 1990), but the analysis of the material culture from the excavations provided a definitive chronological typology of a broad range of medieval artefacts (e.g. Cowgill et al. 1987; Crowfoot et al. 1992; Spenser 1998; Grew and de Neergaard 2001; Egan and Pritchard 2002; Mould et al. 2003). Currently-employed approaches to the recording of skeletal remains, along with sampling strategies for environmental evidence, also emerged as a result of the development of medieval urban excavation in Britain (e.g. Murray and Rackham 1990; Malt and Westman 1992). The original publications detailing these excavations have evolved from simple presentations of the results of the work and finds analysis (e.g. Atkin et al. 1985; Hall et al. 1988), into thematic considerations of the results in their broader temporal and spatial contexts (e.g. Hall and Hunter-Mann 2002; Brown et al. 2011). The inclusion of considered research agendas for urban areas within the larger Archaeological Research Framework programme in Britain has provided research objectives that can enrich further excavation work in towns and cities in Britain.

The publication of the first volume of *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain* (Palliser, Clary and Daunton 2000) provided the first overall and detailed overview of urban development in Britain, and combined evidence from historical, architectural and archaeological analysis to trace the evolution of English, Welsh and Scottish towns and cities. Complementing this, the English Heritage-funded Urban Archaeological Database Project has meant that future urban excavation trenches can be accurately mapped and synthesised with existing historic and archaeological data.
The public dissemination of archaeological data as practiced by the above, and bodies such as the York Archaeological Trust (yorkarchaeology.co.uk/resources/pubs_archive.htm) and the research undertaken by the AHRC on ‘Mapping the Medieval Townscape’ (Lilley et al 2005), ensures increased legibility and informational exchange. This can only have a positive impact on contemporary and forthcoming urban archaeological investigations and studies.

2.3.3 Studies on social morphology in the medieval archaeology of Britain and North-west Europe

Following on from the excavations undertaken from the 1960s onwards, a significant body of work has emerged which seeks to utilise the results of the analyses of the structural remains and material culture from archaeological investigations, in order to address elements of social morphology in the British medieval archaeological record. This form of study comprises publications which emanate from the analysis of individual sites, or distinct branches of the material culture, and those which were produced as a result of large-scale thematic investigations into certain aspects of the medieval archaeological record. Some general works on the period have expounded on the social morphology and elements of social differentiation which were at play in the medieval town or city (e.g. Ottaway 1992, 154-99; Schofield and Vince 2003).

The societal impact of the larger urban features (walls and castles) is a developing field in urban medieval archaeology (Creighton and Higham, 2005; Creighton 2006a; 2006b). This has moved on from the interpretation of urban castles and walls as primarily defensive features, to a consideration of their role in reinforcing the hierarchical structure of a settlement, and how they underpin and influence the social morphology of their urban environments.

Investigations of the potential of the medieval house and household to provide information on social status and nuances of occupation are currently a strong branch of study. The variety of publications range from more structure-focused interpretations (e.g. Schofield 1994; Emery 2005) to a wide body of work that employs the archaeological data within a multi-disciplinary framework to address issues of social differentiation (e.g Gardiner 2000; 2008; Grenville 2000; 2008; Pearson 2003; 2005). This field has evolved from attempts to decipher typologies between house structures, to a multi-disciplinary consideration of the spatial integration and divisions within houses and their environment, along with the social differences that are apparent in their associated material culture. Considerations regarding
the agencies provided by gender and childhood now form part of the discussion of medieval houses and households (e.g. Beattie et al 2003; Gilchrist 2012, 114-168).

The social morphology of ecclesiastical inhabitation using archaeological data as a primary source has also been considered (Greene 1989; Graves 1989; Gilchrist 1999; Giles 2007). Again, this discourse has moved on from cataloguing the architectural aspects of these sites, to an investigation of the life-ways and social/ritual roles associated with the monuments of the church, and their wider societal context and visibility. This field of study is now closely aligned with that of osteoarchaeology, and this dialogue commonly considers themes of death, memory and material culture in past societies. The cultural and gender factors that affect the ultimate physical destination of human remains, and the continuing relationship between the buried and the living now constitute part of the medieval archaeological debate (Williams 2003; Gilchrist 2012, 169-215).

The study of the material culture of excavations has produced results which attest to the value of assessing this type of evidence with the aim of investigating social differentiation and morphology. Some direct conclusions on occupation and status were made from the analyses of artefact assemblages from excavations at York, Winchester and London (e.g. York - Ottaway and Rodgers 2002; Winchester - Biddle 1990; London - Cowgill et al 1987; Grew and de Neergard 1988). More multi-disciplinary analyses have been completed on single and multiple assemblages from medieval sites which considered a number of social agents at play in their deposition (e.g. Gilchrist 1994; 2012, 114-168; Hall 2001; 2002; Egan 2005; Jones 2007; These include discussions on the agencies of gender, sexuality, social roles, childhood and occupation in the formation of archaeological assemblages and consider the material culture as reflective of the practices that shaped and defined medieval life-ways.

A large body of work on social differentiation and status has resulted from the study of medieval dietary remains. This appears to be one of the most significant developing areas of this particular sub-discipline of archaeological research. Information on social differentiation has come from the study of single-site environmental assemblages (Grieg 1981; Albarella and Davis 1996) along with multi-site environmental remains assessments (Noddle 1975; Hall 2000; Albarella and Thomas 2002; Cherryson 2002). Information on craft and industry has been derived from the animal bone data from medieval urban assemblages (e.g. Serjeantson 1989; Gidney 2000). The results of environmental remains analyses have been successfully synthesised with those from the historical sources, to form a number of pertinent discussions that address the social morphology of the
medieval period in Britain (Albarella 1999; 2005; Serjeantson 2000; 2006; Woolgar 2006, 94-7). A number of dietary remains assessments have been undertaken with the specific objective of identifying evidence of status, and social differentiation, within the environmental evidence (Grant 1984; 2002; Crabtree 1990; Ashby 2002; Driver 2004). In a broadly-related field, stable isotope analysis of skeletal remains has provided data on the welfare, and resultant status, of medieval societies in Britain (Müldner and Richards 2005). Together, these analyses have moved on from the presentation of results as a series of animal and plant lists, to an engaged understanding of the social processes that governed the original formation and deposition of the environmental assemblages. These studies have allowed for inferences regarding the progression and regression of personal and societal wealth, along with social status, differentiation and, ultimately, social morphology.

Apposite discussions on the social morphology of the medieval period have emerged from multi-disciplinary studies that combine elements of the dietary evidence, material culture and structural remains from archaeological sites. These studies are often addressed within a theoretical framework that considers the historic data and pertinent findings from the field of historical geography. These wide-ranging, thematically-centred discourses often emanate from conferences and conference-proceedings, and, collectively, they contribute significantly to our overall understanding of the social morphology of the medieval period. Themes addressed as part of this branch of study include the morphologically distinct, but related, settlements in medieval urban and rural areas (Giles and Dyer 2005), the medieval diet and its associated societal implications (Woolgar et al 2006), animals as material culture in the medieval period (Pluskowski 2007) and the archaeology of social hierarchy (e.g. Steane 2003; Creighton and Higham 2005). The work of Roberta Gilchrist has done much to advance, and maximise, the potential of the assessment of archaeological data. By framing the understanding of archaeological evidence, with an appreciation of the material realities that shaped medieval life-ways, she has taken the application of archaeological knowledge to its optimum discursive level (e.g. Gilchrist 2012).

2.4 Medieval archaeology in Ireland
2.4.1 Background to medieval archaeology in Ireland
In the late 1980s, medieval archaeology in Ireland was pronounced as being in ‘its infancy’ (Barry 1987, 1). Although it can no longer be conscientiously described as such, it is still quite a young sub-discipline within the field of archaeology in the Republic of Ireland. The study of medieval archaeology in Ireland was considered to have generally operated within a culturally-interrogative vacuum until the late 20th century, and it has been proposed that ‘theoretical awareness’ only started to shape the
study of this subject at that time (O'Keeffe 2000, 9). At the same time, similar observations were mooted regarding the study of medieval history in Ireland, and recent Irish medieval historians have been criticised for the lack of innovation in their assessment of the material, and their adherence to the methodological and intellectual approaches of the their early 20th-century predecessors (Breathnach 2000, 261-2).

Traditionally, academic research in Irish archaeology was focussed on the prehistoric and early-medieval periods. The natural inclinations of many Irish archaeologists to investigate eras from which little, or no, significant contemporary documentary records exist may account for one of the reasons for this. However, it must be remembered that many of the Irish documentary archives from the Anglo-Norman and later periods of English rule, have been lost or destroyed, the most notable instance being the destruction of the Public Record Office in Dublin in the 1922-3 Civil War (Delaney 1977, 51). It is also not possible to discount the role that nationalism, within a newly-formed state, played in shaping the approach undertaken to the analysis of its heritage. In Ireland, the prehistoric and early medieval periods were where the strongest notions of cultural identity could be seen to be best-represented in a post-colonial society (Sheehy 1980; Barry 1987, 1-2; Cooney 1997, O’Conor 1998, 15). The values that were attributed to these eras during Ireland’s early years as a Free State (from 1922) and latterly, as a republic (from 1937), reflected the ideals that the contemporary governments had for this developing country. The singularity, artistry and warrior-like spirit of the prehistoric and ‘Celtic’ periods, along with the ascetic, yet spiritually and artistically enriched, ideal of the early medieval (then known as the early Christian) era were the popular projections of how the leaders of the country envisioned the true manifestation of Irish values, and it seems that they were largely facilitated in this by the archaeological community of the time (O’Sullivan 1998; O’Conor 1998, 11-2; 2008, 332; see MacAllister 1928, 256-7 for an expression of the apathy towards Anglo-Norman archaeology felt by some archaeological academics during this period). Conversely, there was a contemporary cultural association between the larger monuments of the medieval period (in Ireland generally accepted as c.1100-1600), mainly castles and castle sites, and the era of English rule in Ireland, and consequently the subjugation of Irish ideals under English ‘oppression’ (for further discussion see Barry 1987, 1-2; McNeill 1997, 2; O’Conor 1998, 9-12; Waddell 2005, 216). In some instances, the negativity connected with these sites transitioned into open hostility towards the larger Anglo-Norman and later medieval castles (even those of Gaelic Irish construction), and a number were burnt down (e.g. Mitchelstown castle in 1922) or threatened with demolition (e.g. Athlone Castle in 1967) (O’Keeffe 2005, 139-40; Waddell 2005, 216; O’Conor 2008, 332). Thus, the study of the monuments
of the medieval period in Ireland had to be pursued within an academic and cultural atmosphere that was not fully accepting of their inherent value in the archaeological record.

The first significant academic attention on the monumental culture of the Anglo-Normans and the later medieval period in Ireland, occurred during the early 20th century, prior to the cessation of English rule in the country (e.g. Westropp 1904; Orpen 1907; Champneys 1910). In the period between this, and the ‘blossoming’ of the study of medieval archaeology in Ireland in the late 1970s and 1980s, a small number of textbooks on the larger monuments of the medieval period (castles and monasteries) were published along with a small number of short articles which mainly focused on stone castles (e.g. Leask 1941; 1955-60; Davies 1947; 1948). Leask’s short volume on castles was the only Irish textbook on this subject for over fifty years (O’Conor 2008, 332). The archaeology of medieval rural settlement, both Anglo-Norman and Gaelic, similarly received little academic attention during this period and its progress did not reflect the high level of interest in ‘deserted medieval villages’ that emerged in Britain in the 1950s (see 2.3.1). The situation was more progressive in Northern Ireland, where its continued participation in the United Kingdom possibly negated much of the negativity that formed an impediment to the study of the Anglo-Norman and later medieval monuments, landscapes and settlement sites in the Republic of Ireland (Barry 1987, 2; McNeill 1997, 2; O’Conor 1998, 10, 12; 2008, 332). Significant work on Anglo-Norman settlement and castle studies was on-going by Ulster-based archaeologists since the 1950s, and the approach undertaken there set much of the agenda for later work in both the north and south Ireland (e.g. Waterman 1954; 1955; McNeill 1980; 1981; 1997; Graham 1988; O’Conor 2008, 332).

A series of publications in the latter two decades of the 20th century brought about the start of a concerted attempt on the part of Ireland-based academics to address the study of the medieval archaeology of the country in a coherent, objective and possibly, a dispassionate manner. T.B. Barry’s *The archaeology of medieval Ireland* (1987), was the first synthesis of all work completed on the medieval period in Ireland up to that year, and it’s publication was marked as a ‘watershed’ in the study of medieval archaeology in Ireland (O’Conor 1998; 9). The archaeology of large monuments again dominated the first of the wide-ranging late 20th-century studies of medieval Ireland (e.g. David Sweetman’s *Medieval Castles of Ireland* published in 1999 and Tom McNeill’s *Castles in Ireland: Feudal Power in a Gaelic world* in 1997). Sweetman’s volume on castles and fortified houses was largely based on fieldwork, and comprises an important catalogue of a broad range of castles and later fortified houses. It does not, however, generally include considerations of the cultural and social
environments of these features. On the other hand, McNeill’s work investigated the social and economic backgrounds to the construction of various and questioned the primacy of the military function that had been granted to castles in previous studies. He re-appraised castles as sites which were built for a number of reasons that complemented or even supplanted their military function, including the desire for ostentatious displays of wealth and power. This volume was welcomed as a progression in the study of these monuments at the time of publication (O’Conor 2008, 332-3).

This was, more or less, the genesis of a more critical, and theoretically informed, approach to the study of medieval monuments and settlement sites in Ireland. This attitude to their analysis has continued to be employed from the late 20th century onwards. Theoretically interpretative works now form a part, albeit small, of the discussion within the field (e.g. O’Keeffe 2001, Sherlock 2010); the research agenda has advanced from one with a strictly empiricist base, and archaeological data has been successfully integrated into multi-disciplinary studies which seek to present a true reflection of the social environment of the monuments and settlements of the period (e.g. Murphy and Potterton 2010). Scholarship, both institutionally and government-funded, has resulted in the publication of a series of articles and books which address the nature of the structures, the material culture and the associated cultural formation processes that shaped their creation and evolution. This has been the case with castle studies, where the discourse now considers the social environment and landscape of these structures (e.g. O’Conor and Manning 2003; Murphy and O’Conor 2006; Sherlock 2006; 2011; O’Keeffe 2001). Medieval rural settlement, both Anglo-Norman and Gaelic-Irish, has received considerable attention since O’Conor’s seminal publication on this subject in 1998, and explorations of the morphology, socio-economic development and cultural associations of this type of site have been an emerging feature of the archaeological publication corpus (e.g. O’Keeffe 1998; Barry 2000; O’Conor 2000; Bradley 2002; Brady and O’Conor 2004). Further work on Anglo-Norman manorial settlement and the Gaelic-Irish aspect of medieval Ireland has been presented as part of a series of multi-disciplinary studies on both individual sites, and larger thematic assessments of the period (e.g. Breen 2005; Doran and Lyttleton 2007; Lyttleton and O’Keeffe 2005; Lyttleton 2011; Finan 2010; Finan and O’Conor 2002; FitzPatrick 2004; FitzPatrick and Gillespie 2006). The above works have contributed significantly to the intellectual advancement of Irish medieval archaeology; however, the academic research is still largely focused on rural and monumental expressions of Anglo-Norman culture. The Irish urban medieval experience is one that is less explored in contemporary Irish academia (see 2.4.2 below).
2.4.2 Urban medieval archaeology in Ireland

The interrogative interpretation of urban medieval archaeology still lags behind that of other aspects of the medieval monumental and material culture record in Ireland (see 2.4.1 above). Although excavations have been ongoing in an Irish urban context since the 1960s (see below, this section), the data generated by this work has not been comprehensively addressed in a manner commensurate with the theoretical developments outlined above. It has been observed that the publication record for urban archaeological excavations in Ireland far exceeds that from medieval rural sites (O’Conor 2004, 230). This is quite true, particularly when comparing Cork city to Cork County. However, the present author would argue that there are substantial qualitative discrepancies between the depths of interpretation and academic discourse contained between both sets of data. The published excavations reports from many Irish urban areas simply comprise a stratigraphic report and selective material culture and environmental remains appendices (see below, this section and 2.5.2). With the possible exception of Dublin and a single published volume from Galway (FitzPatrick et al 2005) (see below, this section), the results of urban medieval Irish excavations are seldom academically and analytically assessed within a wider, multi-disciplinary context, or even in relation to other sites within the same urban area. Overall, this means that the study of Irish urban archaeology has not evolved in the same manner as that of the rural or monumental elements of the period. A review of published work on this subject undertaken for the present research has suggested that, with the possible exception of Dublin, there is still no comfortable position or academic framework for the study and interpretation of fieldwork-generated urban archaeological data, and particularly that from the commercial sector of archaeology, where most of the field-work is conducted.

The genesis for urban archaeology in Ireland was a series of events in Dublin in the 1960s and 1970s. The development of the Irish archaeological response to urban development factors was shaped by the emergence of the discipline in that city. The separate recognition of urban medieval remains as archaeologically significant occurred later in Ireland than in Britain. No work comparable to Heighway’s 1972 document The Erosion of History was produced in Ireland, and indeed as late as 1977, where a serious urban archaeological response to development was being formalised in England (see 2.3.2, above), the idea of such a series of guidelines being produced in Ireland was inconceivable to archaeologists who worked in medieval urban area (Delaney 1977, 53).

This Irish archaeological response to urban development was initially directed by the National Museum of Ireland (NMI) in Dublin in the early 1960s. A team from the NMI identified key sites in the city that required
excavation in advance of development. These areas were those associated with the monumental culture of the Hiberno-Norse and Anglo-Norman town and led to excavations at Dublin Castle and the purported location of the medieval city wall (Lynch and Manning 2001). The first large-scale urban excavations in Ireland which produced deep organic strata, were those at High Street/Nicholas Street/Back Lane and Winetavern Street (all in Dublin) carried out between 1962 and 1972 (Ó Riordáin 1971). These were swiftly followed by an excavation which exposed c.60m of the river-front and associated domestic properties along Wood Quay, Dublin (Wallace 1985a; 1985b). At this site, initial planning permission had been granted for office buildings for Dublin City Corporation in 1970, but there was a sustained series of active and legislative protests until the late 1970s, along with a successful challenge to a high court judgement that ultimately overruled the preservation of the site (Haworth 1984; Johnson 2000, 47-8).

This battle was incredibly divisive and complex, and ultimately the sides were delineated as ‘officialdom’ (e.g. those within central and local government, some staff at the NMI and even academics within the discipline of archaeology) versus the on-site archaeological team and members of the public (including ‘ordinary people’, academics and non-academic) (Clarke 2004). Some of the debate was characterised by the dismissal of the remains at Wood Quay by archaeologists working in the prehistoric and early medieval fields, while other ‘official’ responses revealed the nationalistic sympathies of some staff of the NMI at the period, who were willing to ‘sacrifice all of the Anglo-Norman (“English”) levels outside the inner city wall in favour of the Viking and Hiberno-Norse levels inside’ (ibid.). The latter statement reveals much of the contemporary attitude to urban Anglo-Norman remains at this period in Ireland. Nonetheless, the emotional public response to the matters at Wood Quay, led to an increased awareness of the existence of archaeological remains beneath urban areas, and flagged this as an issue that required a response.

For the first time in an Irish context, the extent of the deposits at Wood Quay and the other Dublin excavations demonstrated the exact nature and depth of the archaeology that could survive within the medieval (and earlier) core of an extant Irish urban centre. This presented a challenge to the archaeological profession and the relevant state authorities to determine the best approach for managing such a resource. Excavation, legislation, and to a lesser extent, research strategies were developed to respond to the situation created by the Wood Quay site which impacted on the overall development of urban medieval archaeological practice in Ireland (Johnson 2000; Lambick and Spandl 2000). These resulted in the advancement of excavation techniques to deal with the type of closely-knitted and intercutting organic remains on urban sites and the more frequent inclusions of environmental remains assessments within the excavation publications.
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(Geraghty 1996; Knudson et al. 2012.). The legislation which governed archaeological practice was amended to afford more protection to such sites, along with a new series of regulatory procedures for pre-development works (to determine the nature of the underlying urban stratigraphy during the planning phase of development) and the funding of the resultant excavations and immediate post-extraction works (Johnson 2000; Lambrick and Spandl 2000). The Office of Public Works of Ireland (OPW) began to assume a more active role in the supervision of urban excavation, and city council-appointed archaeologists were put in place in Limerick, Galway and Cork (Johnson 2000, 45). Commercial archaeological companies were founded in and around Dublin and the regional cities of Ireland and these increasingly became part of the archaeological rescue response to development within urban areas. Thus, urban archaeological excavations continued in Ireland throughout the development boom of the 1970s, and the urban renewal phases of the mid-1980s and further re-development during the 1990s and early 2000s.

With regard to research frameworks or agendas, it can be argued that these aspects of the subject had to grow out of the practice of urban archaeology, rather than having governed its approach from the outset. The archaeological excavation of Wood Quay has been interpreted as ‘internationalising medieval Dublin’, and placing the city within a wider academic context (Clarke 1990, 21-33; Johnson 2000, 47). Indeed, the urban archaeology of medieval Dublin is undoubtedly more exposed and discussed within the wider academic sphere than any Irish regional urban centre (e.g. Cork, Galway, Limerick and Waterford). Its position as the largest, and capital, city of Ireland, accounts for this. Dublin contains the most substantial and continuous body of archaeological evidence of all Irish cities, along with the largest density of professional archaeologists and scholars. There may also be more ideological reasons for this, related to the galvanising force engendered by the issues at Wood Quay, which led to an increased appreciation of the value of urban medieval archaeology across the fields of archaeology, history and historical geography. The professors of medieval history in both universities in Dublin (Trinity College and UCD) were very active in the fight for Dublin’s archaeological heritage and this also raised the academic profile of the city.

The results of the Wood Quay excavations have been published, both individually, and within wider thematic works (Wallace 1985a; 1985b; 1992a; 1992b). From 1973 onwards, symposia and conferences have been held in the city, which have focused on the interpretation of its Viking and Anglo-Norman heritage (Viking Congress 1973). The first annual Friends of Medieval Dublin symposium was held in Trinity College, Dublin in 1999, and thirteen volumes of symposia proceedings have been published since
2000 (Duffy 2000-13). The volumes comprise a range of contributions from archaeologists and historians, along with a smaller number of multidisciplinary studies on various aspects of early and later medieval Dublin city (McCutcheon 2000; Lynch and Manning 2001; Murphy and Potterton 2005). A large-scale study of the relationship between the hinterland of the city, and its urban occupation, has been recently published by the Discovery Programme (Murphy and Potterton 2010). This was government-funded, and along with an earlier article on living standards within the Anglo-Norman town (Murphy and Potterton 2005), employed a multi-disciplinary approach to investigate the social reality of Anglo-Norman Dublin. Both studies represent the first holistic academic considerations of the city within its wider landscape. The studies were arranged thematically, and not strictly chronologically, but they nonetheless reveal the dynamics and forces that shaped the daily routines of medieval Dublin. They also provide a valuable research framework against which the results of urban excavations in Dublin can be assessed.

Notwithstanding the archaeological contributions outlined above, attention must be drawn to the fact that most of the publications and conferences that emanate from the study of medieval Dublin were overseen and edited by historians, and to a lesser extent, historical geographers (e.g. Clarke 1990; Duffy 2001). The majority of the articles within these published volumes are written by historians, and it is primarily historians and historical geographers who take the lead when addressing issues of urban social organisation and daily life during the medieval period (e.g. O’Brien 1993; 2004; Graham 2004). This pattern is apparent across publications from medieval towns and cities in Ireland in general, and the archaeological data is often included as a mere account that confirms the historical interpretations, as opposed to an innovative re-appraisal and presentation of archaeological results on their own merit (e.g. Walsh 2001; Coughlan 2001). Recent works have attempted to redress this balance (Potterton 2005; Murphy and Potterton 2005; 2010), and some of the monographs that present the results of urban archaeological excavations, do include thematically ordered considerations of the results (e.g. Hurley 2003a; 2003b; FitzPatrick and Walsh 2005; Walsh 2005). The quality of these discussions can be quite uneven, and conclusions are often presented in broad temporal terms with a cursory adherence to the accepted findings provided by secondary historic sources (e.g. Hurley 2003a). These discussions are often presented without the integrated analysis of all the archaeological components (structures, material culture and environmental evidence) with the result that overall interpretations of sites are made in the absence of an original, thorough and temporally-ordered appreciation of the site at hand (e.g. Hurley 2003a; 2003c).
Over the last three decades of urban archaeological work in Ireland, the excavation reports that detail the results of the excavations have come to follow a very general format, i.e. they introduce the site with a location-specific historical background, followed by a description of the structural features of the site (e.g. Hurley and Sheehan 1997; Halpin 2000). The main focus of the structural discussion largely centres on the main architectural features of the site, and the associated organic layers are less well-considered, except in the absence of significant built remains (e.g. Cleary 1997a; Shee-Twohig 1997). The conclusions to the excavations vary significantly in depth and length according to the format of the reports. The specialist contributions are commonly contained within the appendices to the main structural section and there is generally very little integration between the results of the material culture and environmental data analyses and the structural evidence, with the exception of where exact dating information (e.g. ceramics and dendrochronology) can be inferred from this evidence (e.g. Cleary and Hurley 2003; Halpin 2000).

There are also some general problems with the chronological limits used in the phasing of many urban medieval excavations. A large number of structures, stratigraphic layers and therefore artefacts have been attributed broad 13th to 14th-century dates across the published and unpublished corpus of the archaeological excavation reports (Ó Drisceoil et al. 2008, 159). In many cases, different phases of occupation on the site have been dated within a single temporal parameter even when different architectural and material culture forms have been noted on the site (e.g. Hurley and Sheehan 1995; Cleary 1997a). As a result, the nuances and processes of change within single archaeological sites are undetectable within the broad timelines that they have been attributed. This, effectively, forms a barrier to the thorough interpretation of many sites. It also negates the effectiveness of cross-comparisons between sites within the same urban area, and those further afield, as shared accurate temporal ‘hooks’ between sites cannot be successfully established. In practical terms, this has meant that the present author has had to re-evaluate the dating from most of Cork’s Anglo-Norman sites to delineate clear temporal divisions, and periods of contemporary occupation, across the city’s archaeological strata. Overall, with regard to the study of urban archaeology in Ireland, the broad dating method used so frequently, has meant that an interrogative and holistic approach to the interpretation of many sites cannot be undertaken without a complete re-evaluation of their temporal phases.

A number of state-sponsored initiatives have resulted in a more formalised approach to the study of Irish urban medieval remains. This originated with the Urban Archaeological Survey, which was established in 1982 to record known historic and archaeological information relating to Irish towns
These surveys were completed for most historic towns in the Republic of Ireland by 1996 and are regarded as essential research tools by archaeologists in the country (ibid.). Unfortunately, the surveys have been neither published nor updated since their completion, which means that they are largely currently obsolete regarding their archaeological content for towns in which significant archaeological excavation has been undertaken. The historic content of these surveys is still considered valid, and for many towns, the data contained within the historic sections represented the first attempt to synthesise a wide range of historic data relating to specific areas, and an initial step towards aligning the documentary and archaeological evidence. The quality of the architectural plans and re-construction maps of the medieval towns are still informative and pertinent.

Town walls have been the focus of academic research since the latter end of the 20th century in Ireland (Bradley 1995; Thomas 1992a), but much of this work has concentrated on identifying and delimiting the extent and morphology of town walls. Although thorough and well-researched, these volumes are now significantly out of date with regard to the archaeological content of the included towns and cities. The Irish Walled Town Network (IWTN) was founded by the Heritage Council in 2005 to identify and provide guidelines for the management of these heritage resources across the country. To date, 21 towns and villages, along with one now green-field site (Rinn Dúin), throughout Ireland are listed as ‘walled towns’ and the role of the IWTN is to unite and co-ordinate the strategic efforts of local authorities involved in the management, conservation and enhancement of historic walled towns in Ireland, both North and South (http://www.heritagecouncil.ie/irish-walled-towns/our-role). Publications which identify the upstanding and buried sections of town walls have been produced for a number of these towns (e.g. New Ross - 2008, Youghal – 2008, Fethard - 2009, Trim – 2008, Rinn Dúin - 2012). These publications deal with the morphology and dating of the town walls, and there is no real consideration of their social context or role in reinforcing the hierarchies of their relevant communities and areas. Nonetheless, the cogent identification and descriptions of these features provide a very broad research framework for the development of next-level scholarship into their social context.

Further work on urban evolution in Ireland from a historical geography perspective has been published as part of the Royal Irish Academy’s Historic Towns Atlas series. This project was established in 1981 and the aim has been to trace the topographical development of selected Irish towns, both large and small, and present the data as a series of published folders which include maps and a detailed text section. To date, Cork has not been addressed as part of the project. Towns in Munster which have been
published include Bandon (O’Flanagan 1998) and Limerick (O’Flaherty 2010).

The development of formalised research frameworks for Irish urban medieval archaeology is a very recent phase of the subject. Two appraisals of urban archaeological practice in Ireland were published in 2000 (Johnson 2000; Lambrick and Spandl 2000). Both addressed the prior development of archaeological practice and research in an Irish context, and suggested possible future research directions. The research needs addressed were concerned with the necessity to publish the results of urban archaeological excavation, the identification of structural remains noted in the documentary sources and the need for a synthesis of existing archaeological excavation from urban sites (Johnson 2000). The contemporary disconnect between the Irish and English approaches to urban archaeology is suggested by the absence of an overall recommendation with regard to the social interpretation of the urban medieval record in this report. It is disheartening to note that the earlier outlined needs (ibid.) were still being proposed in later appraisals of urban areas, prepared as part of the Irish Strategic Archaeological Research (INSTAR) programme, established in 2005. Two key urban areas, medieval Dublin and Kilkenny, are included within the INSTAR programme, and research frameworks have been devised for both these cities. The research needs identified for both Kilkenny and Dublin still comprise the necessity for publication and synthesis of archaeological results (Ó Drisceoil et al. 2008; 154-6; Simpson 2010, 97-104). The research framework for Dublin is particularly concerned with the identification of ‘missing’ monuments and structures and the physical extent of the inhabitation of the medieval town (Simpson 2010, 129-311). This illustrates the structure-centric approach which still governs much of current Irish urban medieval archaeology. The research framework for Kilkenny calls for a synthesis of the existing archaeological and historic data in order to aid with a more holistic interpretation of the social structure and evolution of the medieval town (Ó Drisceoil et al. 2008; 154-6). Overall, these frameworks serve to indicate the nature of the interpretative vacuum in Irish urban medieval archaeology, where an absence of synthesised and chronologically-ordered studies means that medieval towns are currently being assessed in an incomplete manner. The dearth of an explicitly expressed requirement for a social archaeological approach to be taken to the interpretation of Irish urban medieval archaeology in the above reports illustrates the depth of the capacity for improvement in the study of this subject. Thus, the present research comprised the first ‘next-level’ attempt to address this research need in an Irish urban archaeological context.
2.4.3 Archaeological studies on social morphology in Ireland

Contemporary with the aforementioned new interpretative wave of Irish medieval archaeology (see 2.4.1 above), has been an increased interest in the social morphology of the occupied sites of the period. The primary focus of this branch of research is the castles and monuments of rural medieval Ireland. The socio-economic, ethnic and cultural backgrounds of the occupants of the medieval rural landscape have been discussed by a number of scholars in the field (e.g. Barry 1998; O’Keeffe 1998; O’Conor 2000; 2002; Finan and O’Conor 2002.). Many of the same authors have considered the social morphology of castle sites and the formative processes that governed their origins, occupation and social contexts (e.g. O’Keeffe 2001; O’Conor and Manning 2003; Kenyon and O’Conor 2003; Sherlock 2006; 2010). The socio-economic associations of large landscape features such as deer-parks have also been addressed (Murphy and O’Conor 2006; Beglane 2010). A study of the urban settlement of the South Connaught Anglo-Norman frontier undertaken by James McKeon (2008) addressed the impact of urbanisation on the landscape in this area of Ireland. Overall, as most these studies were based on field survey, as opposed to excavation, they are largely concerned with the relationship between architecture and social morphology, and there is no real focus on material culture and dietary remains.

Some considerations of the social morphological associations of faunal studies have been put forward by various specialists in recent years. A comparative study between the eating habits (as suggested by faunal evidence) of Gaelic and Anglo-Norman sites addressed the social implications of the differences found in both assemblages (McCormick 1997). Reports on environmental remains from excavated sites occasionally include broad conclusions on the social morphology of the relevant sites (e.g. McCarthy 2003; McClatchie 2003; Murray 2004; Beglane 2009). Unfortunately, as many of these reports rely on the broad dating chronologies employed by the excavators, as noted above, there is an absence of exact temporal inferences on the social morphology of various sites and areas in this corpus. This is symptomatic of most observations on social morphology that have been made from excavated urban medieval sites in Ireland. In many cases, the social morphology of individual sites has been addressed as if the site constitutes a single chronological entity, as opposed to an evolving and changing nucleus of occupation and development. Thus, there is a clear need for a chronologically ordered, interrogative assessment of the urban medieval archaeological data to provide information on the social morphology of Irish towns and cities as they evolved during the high-medieval era. This thesis represents the first attempt to address this need in this context.
2.5 Cork

2.5.1 Introduction to Cork – topography and morphology

Cork city is situated at the intersection of a post-glacial river valley and the mouth of long, natural sheltered harbour (Fig 2.2; Devoy 2005, 7). At this junction, the River Lee flows along the base of the valley on an east-west axis. It is thought the estuarine conditions of the city formed during the post-Mesolithic period and the city area assumed its pre-development wetland form at this time (Beese 2012). The River Lee is tidal to the western edge of the current city (ibid.). The underlying morphology of the city comprises a series of estuarine islands set in an east-west river axis with steep hills rising to the north and south. The north side of the city is underlain by sandstone and siltstones of the Devonian aged ‘ORS’ (410-355 million years ago) and the southern side of the city is underlain by limestone and shale of the Carboniferous Age (355-290 million years ago) (Unitt 2003, 322). The combination of a sheltered harbour which straddled both marine and agricultural landscapes, coupled with plentiful supply of building material (both stone and timber), must have formed a significant part of the attraction for the settlement of the area in the period prior to its development into an urban centre (see 2.5.3).

2.5.2 Medieval and urban medieval archaeology in Cork

The evolution of medieval archaeology in Cork is broadly parallel with that of the rest of Ireland. Until the last quarter of the 20th century, most archaeological research in the county was focused on the prehistoric and early medieval periods. Although the county is well-served with large later medieval monuments (castles and monastic sites), archaeological studies of these sites did not progress beyond general typological descriptions until the late 20th century (e.g. Leask 1941; Sweetman 1981). A focussed study of the medieval archaeology of the county really began with the foray into the urban remains of medieval Cork city. In contrast to the genesis of this type of work in Dublin, where the National Museum of Ireland and the Office of Public Works (OPW) led the initiative, in Cork the impetus for medieval archaeological excavation was seized by the Department of Archaeology in University College Cork in the 1970s (Johnson 2000, 45). The directive for these investigations was aligned with the general contemporary pre-occupation with the larger monumental elements of the Anglo-Norman architectural legacy, along with the desire to identify the Hiberno-Norse remains of the original town, fashionable as a result of the high-profile excavations in Dublin at this time (see 2.4.2, above).
The earliest formal archaeological excavations in Cork city were undertaken at the sites of Skiddy’s Castle (1973) and Christ Church College (1974). Both of these sites featured prominently in the cultural and built heritage of the city and were depicted consistently in maps of the post-medieval and later city (see Figs 4.5; 5.2; 6.2). Thus, their excavation was approached with the idea of confirming prevailing histories, as opposed to investigating the life-ways that governed the original construction and use of these buildings. With regard to identifying the earliest Hiberno-Norse and Viking origins of the town, the information presented in the excavation report of the Christ Church site suggests that later high-medieval layers (i.e. dwarf-walled houses) were dispensed with in order to reach the earliest wooden structures that could be interpreted as dating to the earliest period, and therefore comparable with similar evidence in Dublin (e.g. see Cleary 1997a, 29-30, 56). The results of the excavations at Christ Church and Skiddy’s Castle were not published until 1997, and by that stage the original excavation director (Dermot Twohig) was deceased, and much of the site record and material culture was lost, or without contextual data (Twohig 1997, 1). Because such a lengthy period of time passed between the excavation and the interpretative stages of the Skiddy’s Castle/Christ Church project, much of the site data proved difficult to interpret and this is apparent in the tentative approach taken to many of the phasing and feature descriptions in the published volume (Cleary et al 1997).
It also appears that the excavations at Christ Church and Skiddy’s Castle were not undertaken in an appropriately-informed manner and archaeological evidence on the site was not recorded to a level that would have ensured preservation of the data. Many of the site notes were incomplete and a significant number of finds were not related to their contextual origins. Although this excavation was undertaken in the 1970s, a period during which urban archaeology in Ireland was in its infancy, there were ample similar projects under execution in England, and even Dublin (see above), at the time, which could have provided the Cork-based team with templates and guidelines. Although dissemination of archaeological material was not as fluid during the 1970s as it is in the current era of technology, there were certainly published resources (e.g. Turner 1970; Addyman and Rumsby 1971; Biddle 1971) available to the excavators which would have covered both excavation and archaeo-environmental methods and techniques. This lack of attention to contemporary, mostly British, guidelines for best archaeological practice is a relatively frequent occurrence in Irish urban archaeology and is evidenced by the inconsistency of standards in both the excavation and reporting of Irish urban archaeological sites, particularly those conducted during the 1970s and 1980s. In Cork, it may be possible to attribute this to the confidence felt by the Department of Archaeology at the UCC, who were responsible for all of the earliest excavations in the city. As a department, they had been undertaking archaeological excavation at prehistoric and early medieval sites since the 1920s, and probably did not feel the need to look outside of the city for guidelines or assistance when they had been so assured in their previous excavation efforts. The insularity of the Cork urban medieval archaeological scene, which has effectively comprised the same basic group of people since the late 1970s/early 1980s (see Fig 2.4) has possibly not been conducive to a significant shift in the excavation and publication approach in the intervening period.

With a single exception, all urban archaeological excavation in Cork during the intervening period was undertaken in advance of development. The exception was a grant-aided research excavation at Grand Parade II (Hurley 1989b; 1990). This was carried out with the intention of identifying the earliest Viking and/or Hiberno-Norse inhabitation levels of the city (Hurley 1989b, 30). This echoed the earlier research agendas in Cork’s urban archaeology, which were pre-occupied with finding structural evidence of the city’s earliest medieval occupants, and not the holistic appreciation of its medieval legacy. The excavation did not produce any structural evidence which pre-dated the Anglo-Norman occupation of the city (c.1172), and a reading of the overall excavation report almost indicates the disappointment felt by the excavation team at the failure of the original objective. The remains at the site were not significantly interpreted in the ultimate report,
and indeed this thesis is the first time that these results have been interrogated within their overall archaeological context (see 4.2.8; 5.2.10.2).

Overall, 34 full archaeological excavations have been undertaken within the area of Cork city that overlies its earliest phases of occupation and development (See Fig. 1.4; 2.3). All but three were undertaken in response to proposed development in the city. This undoubtedly impacted upon the nature of the excavation methodologies and ensuing post-excavation work. Along with full excavations, a number of test excavations have been carried out to confirm or deny the presence of archaeological stratigraphy in advance of development. In many of these instances, the archaeological works simply identified medieval levels and features to inform developers of their location and extent, and to mitigate against any ensuing damage as a result of construction works (e.g. Lane 2000; Purcell 2004; Ní Loingsigh 2007). The long-running Cork Main Drainage (CMD1998-2005) project across the city, resulted in the excavation of a 1.5-2m wide trench along most of the streets and outlying areas of the medieval core of the city (Power 1996-2002). The drainage scheme trenches were excavated to varying depths across the city, and most of the work undertaken during this project identified medieval levels across its extent (ibid.). Just two identified areas of medieval activity from the scheme have been published (Hurley and...
Trehy 2003; Power 2005) but no cohesive and thorough treatment of these excavations has yet been produced. Summarised results of all the excavation undertaken within the city have been published in the Irish Archaeological Excavations Bulletin (www.excavations.ie) but the depth of detail in these summaries varies significantly.

The publication record with regard to archaeological evidence in Cork city is greater than the other regional Irish Anglo-Norman urban centres (see Fig 2.3). This is in no doubt mostly due to the former Cork City Archaeologist, Maurice Hurley, whose prolific publication record has been instrumental in achieving this. His work has, to a large degree, enabled this research, and without his impetus in driving publication forward, the archaeological record of the city would be in a much poorer condition. Of the 34 full excavations that have been completed, and considered in this research, 25 are fully published in either monograph or journal form and two are forthcoming within the same volume (Brett and Hurley forthcoming) (Figs 2.3-2.5). The published excavation reports from Cork follow a similar format to that outlined in general for medieval archaeological reports in Ireland. The published corpus includes four monographs; two detail the results of single site excavations (The Dominican Priory - Hurley and Sheehan 1996; North Gate – Hurley and Sheehan 1997), one presents the results of the investigations at Skiddy’s Castle and Christ Church (Cleary et al 1997) and the most recent monograph is a compilation of the results of 15 excavations undertaken in the city between 1984 and 2000 (Cleary and Hurley 2003). The remaining excavation reports are contained within the Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society (JCHAS). The reports are consistent in their composition; the central archaeological narratives centre on descriptions of the main structural features at each of the sites. The information contained within the stratigraphic narratives is largely quite detailed, and accompanied by drawings corresponding to the archaeological levels under discussion.

There are varying levels of interpretation and discussion across these reports but the results of some of the excavations are presented without concluding sections (e.g. O’Donnell 2003b) (Fig 2.4). This is particularly common in the compilation monograph where a number of excavation reports simply comprise an account of the features on the site, without reference to the material culture or environmental remains (e.g. Lennon 2003). Indeed, the overall conclusions contained within the discussion sections of the publications from Cork largely omit the information from the analysis of the material culture. While this data is contained within the specialist reports, it is difficult to navigate between the different sections and consider both strands of information as part of a complementary analysis. The detail within the specialist reports is mostly quite thorough and a large percentage
of the finds are illustrated and catalogued, but many of the artefacts are discussed without reference to their contexts of origin. Suggestions regarding the functions of the small finds are proffered but no real relationship is highlighted between the various types of material culture (e.g. the utilisation connections between leather and metal artefacts, ceramic and wooden vessels). For the most part, artefactual data from the archaeological deposits is mentioned to confirm dates for the individual layers and there is no real consideration of how the material culture may contribute to an interpretation of the function of the structures uncovered, or how they reflect the anthropogenic nature of their contemporary occupation.

A definite hierarchy of importance is evident within the presentation of the material culture analysis from Cork. Ceramics are pre-eminent, (no doubt because of their perceived ability to provide dating information and evidence of trade between the Anglo-Norman town and abroad), and the importance of the various other aspects of the material culture is indicated by their positions in descending order, with environmental analyses invariably relegated to the back pages of the appendices (e.g. Hurley and Sheehan 1997; Cleary and Hurley 2003).

Fig. 2.4 Specialist reports and material culture assessments from excavated sites

The present research has utilised unpublished and archival excavation reports in the absence of published sources for archaeological investigations
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of Cork city. These reports are referred to as ‘grey literature’ and form accounts of excavations at various stages of completion. These mainly comprise stratigraphic reports (e.g. Power 1996-2002; Kelleher 2002; Lane and Sutton 2002; Ní Loingsigh 2002; 2005). These stratigraphic reports essentially consist of a sparse account of the archaeological contexts and features excavated on the site, accompanied by a location map and a selection of site plans. The stratigraphic reports do not include sections on the historical background to the excavations, or detailed interpretations of the sites or the material culture and environmental remains. The frequency of specialist analysis in the grey literature is very low, and just two of the unpublished sites contain some specialist considerations (Kelleher 2002; Ní Loingsigh 2005). The quality of the grey literature is incredibly uneven and reports have been accessed in the Archives Unit of the Department of the Environment, Heritage and Local Government and the offices of the Cork City archaeologist that did not contain location maps, site plans or specialist contributions (e.g. Power 1998; 1999). This has added to the challenges of the research, but sufficient consultation with relevant archaeologists has addressed most discrepancies.

To compound the vagueness of inference that can emanate from the interpretation of an archaeological site without due consideration of its material culture, the dating chronologies which are commonly used for sites in medieval Cork are generally very broad. As previous noted (see 2.4.2 and this section, above), there is an over-riding reliance on the broadest parameters of ceramic chronologies which means that many archaeological features and layers in the city have been dated to wide-spanning periods, e.g. late 12th to 13th century, mid-13th to mid-14th-century, or often a vague ‘13th-14th-century date (e.g. Cleary 1997; Hurley 1997 and Sheehan 1997b; Hurley and Sheehan 1996). No real attempt has been made to date layers in reference to stratigraphy with clear dates on contemporary sites, nor have the documentary sources been used to provide detailed chronological backgrounds to the sites under investigation, beyond generally accepted historical narratives. In the absence of dendrochronological or coin-derived dates, the broadest temporal terms have been applied to Cork’s archaeological phases. This means that the results of the excavations are often presented without clear temporal roots or limits, and a general appraisal of the published data does not easily yield a nuanced and cohesive, interpretation of the development of the Anglo-Norman town.

There is also an interpretative issue with the nomenclature used in the descriptive terms employed in the various published excavation reports. For example at sites in North Gate (Hurley and Sheehan 1997a), all excavated structures were referred to as ‘houses’. This term implies a domestic use for such features, which is intellectually misleading as a re-analysis of this site
for the present research has revealed that these structures had a variety of
domestic, industrial and commercial functions (see 5.2.10.4; 5.2.10.5;
5.2.11).

A sense of cohesion is currently lacking in the overall interpretation of
Cork’s urban medieval archaeology. Reports on individual excavations
undertaken in the city have been completed without reference to nearby
sites. For example, the results of an excavation at Phillip’s Lane were
presented without any consideration of the findings from the nearby site at
North Gate, c.30m east of the former site (O’Donnell 2003b). In some cases,
published accounts of excavations do not include maps which identify their
location within the city, or their proximity to nearby sites (e.g. North Gate -
Hurley and Sheehan 1997). This reflects the ‘local’ nature of urban
archaeology in Cork (Fig 2.5; see above, this section), and the fact that
perhaps a wider audience is not commonly anticipated for the results of
archaeological excavations undertaken in the city (Fig. 2.3). This echoes a
general sense of insularity which is evident across the Cork urban
archaeological published corpus, which has not generally been integrated
into a wider academic medieval narrative, either nationally or
internationally.

Fig 2.5 Archaeologists responsible for the excavations and subsequent
reports.

County Cork
Perhaps in response to the successful archaeological discoveries which were
made in Cork city from the 1970s onwards (see above, this section), a
greater amount of investigation began to be undertaken into the medieval
archaeological sites of the greater county area. This investigation was
mostly undertaken for rescue and renovation purposes (e.g. Cotter 2012; Pollock 2004). However, it did serve to place the study of local medieval monuments into a more academic sphere. The study of the late medieval tower house is an emerging theme in Cork’s medieval archaeological discourse. Increasingly the study of these monuments has become more theoretical, and the social contexts and formative intellectualities of these structures have been considered (e.g. O’Keeffe 2004; 2013; Cotter 2012). Since 1996 a series of lectures by respected academics working in the disciplines of archaeology and history have been given at the restored 16th-century tower house, and earlier Anglo-Norman caput of the Barry family, at Barrowscourt, Carrigtwohill, c.15 km east of Cork city. Ten of these lectures were published as a collective volume in 2004, and the content include some nuanced considerations of the Anglo-Norman occupation of Cork county and Munster (e.g. O’Brien 2004, O’Conor 2004, Graham 2004). A small, but growing independent scholastic movement has emerged in the county which is centred on the study of the smaller medieval towns of Cork County. Recent publications on Buttevant considered the similarity of that particular walled-town to the bastide settlements of south-west France (Cotter 2013), and forthcoming conferences on other medieval towns (e.g. Fermoy) will undoubtedly contribute to an increasing multi-disciplinary consideration of the medieval archaeology of the county, and its place in the pan – Norman/Angevin world.

2.5.3 Social morphology studies from urban medieval Cork
To date, there has been no wide-range archaeological study of the social morphology of medieval Cork. Some comments on social status and stratification can be found in the specialist reports that detail the results of the material culture and environmental remains analyses (e.g. Hurley 1990; McCarthy 2003). These observations are not commonly considered in the interpretative sections of the reports, which seem to concentrate on the various structural phases of the sites. The potential status of particular sites have been briefly mentioned in the interpretations of three stone houses from medieval Cork, however these structures were simply referred to as ‘merchant’s houses’ with no further consideration of their origin, purpose or cultural background (Cleary 2003, 38; Hurley 2003a, 162-3). Suggestions regarding trade, occupation and sometimes status have been put forward in the interpretation of various sites, but these are usually quite general, and seldom tied to a set temporal span of inhabitation (e.g. Cleary 1997a; Hurley 2003a). Two recent articles which were published in the JCHAS considered aspects of the social morphology of the high medieval town (Hurley 2012; 2013). Separately considering evidence of luxury and childhood, Hurley mined the archaeological record for relevant examples of the existence of both in the medieval and post-medieval Cork. These texts are quite general, and encompass broad time-spans of the medieval and post-medieval
periods, and as such simply confirm the presence of luxury and evidence of childhood in the Anglo-Norman town. There is no real interrogative consideration of the origins of this evidence, or a consideration of when and how medieval life processes can be holistically reflected by a combined analysis of the archaeological and historical records. Nonetheless, these articles represent a very welcome progress in the overall consideration of Cork urban medieval archaeological legacy.

The most significant considerations of the development and cultural forces at play in Anglo-Norman Cork are contained within a small number of historical discussions which deal with this period in the city (e.g. O’Brien 1985; 1993; Jefferies 1985; 2004, 48-77; Nicholls 1993). This type of historical discourse can often be characterised by its tokenistic inclusion of outdated archaeological narratives which are inserted to confirm the authors’ own conclusions on the history of Cork, as opposed to seeking out archaeological information to challenge and expand on these conclusions (e.g. Jefferies 1985, 19-20; 2004, 59-62; O’Brien 1993, 104-5). Thus, the study of the history and archaeology of Cork still exists as two separate academic entities, with minimal extant integration between the two fields to further our knowledge of the social morphology of the high-medieval period in the city. Archaeologists writing about the city appear to have been reticent about challenging these accepted historical narratives of the city’s development, and were reluctant to use the primary edited documentary sources as a complementary data-set to be assessed in conjunction with the archaeological evidence. There is no doubt that the strict temporal and economic constraints which define the commercial archaeological output have limited the depth of discussion and inference that can be extracted from the excavated evidence. Nonetheless, this reticence is also a feature of some of the state-funded and independent assessments of Cork’s medieval archaeological heritage (e.g. Hurley 2003a; Hurley 2012; Hurley 2013). The fact that much of this research has been conducted outside of a formal academically considered research framework, and by a very small group of archaeologists, may account for this lack of interrogation. The resulting deficit has left an interpretative void which this thesis will address with regards to the social archaeology of the medieval town of Cork.

2.5.4 Cork to c.1171
Although this thesis concentrates on the period following the Anglo-Norman incursion into Cork in c. 1177, it is necessary to briefly outline the history of the city in the period prior to this. The following discussion provides a background to Cork city which illustrates why it was considered a desirable location for Anglo-Norman expansion, and how the pre-existing social forces in the town would continue to shape its social morphology in
the period following the incursion and during the entire high-medieval period.

There is no physical evidence for the settlement of the area of Cork city during the prehistoric and early medieval period. A small number of Bronze Age artefacts have been recovered within the immediate environs of the city, and a 1st-century AD votive object (three decorated bronze objects known as the Cork Horns, which formed part of a headpiece) was found where the ‘river Lee meets the sea’ in 1909 (Bradley and Halpin 1993, 15-6). Thus, human activity around the harbour can be postulated from an early date. There is no archaeological evidence for the earliest recorded settlement of Cork, which was a monastery dedicated to St Finbarr, founded in either the 6th or 7th century (Bradley and Halpin 1993, 16; Jefferies 2004, 14-15). To date, this settlement has not been identified, but it has been proposed that it was located on a prominent ridge to the south of the Lee, at the later site of the Augustinian foundation known as Gill Abbey (Fig. 2.6). The monastery is thought to have moved eastwards to more open ground soon after its foundation, and was re-located at the current site of St Finbarr’s Cathedral (Thomas 1992b, 65; Fig. 2.6).

From its earliest history, the foundation at Cork was considered ‘an important monastic centre controlled by abbots of royal dynasty who were amongst the leading ecclesiastics of the land’ (Ó Córráin 1981, 328-9). The concentric topography of the streets to the south of the current church of St. Finbarr’s, forms a D-shaped relic in the townscape which may be indicative of the scale of the early medieval monastic precinct (Bradley and Halpin 1993, 17-18; see Fig. 2.6). There are debates (e.g. Bradley and Halpin 1993, 17-18; Jefferies 2004, 34-6) as to whether an independent monastic town developed around the monastery, and to what extent this town was composed of both native Irish and those of mixed Hiberno-Norse descent. There can be no doubt that the needs of the monastery were best served by a symbiotic relationship between the Hiberno-Norse and Irish settlers, with the trading contacts of the former used to both provision the monastery with imported goods and to facilitate the export generated by the agricultural surplus produced by the land holdings of the monastery.

The financial success of the monastic site made it a target for Viking attacks in the 9th and 10th centuries, and at some stage during the 9th century the potential of the Cork area for settlement was recognised by the Vikings. The exact location of this settlement cannot be conclusively established at this juncture. A documentary source mentions a Viking ‘dún’ in Cork in 848 (Bradley et al 1985, 16; AFM 848.). The death of a prominent Norseman is recorded in 867, which implies that the settlement around the ‘dún’ continued until this date at least (Bradley et al 1985, 16).
thought that the earliest Viking settlement may have fallen into ruin by the 860s and that a later settlement was re-established by the early to mid-10th
The earliest archaeological feature within the limits of the walled medieval town of Cork was identified at Grattan Street, in the north-west quadrant of the medieval town (Lennon 2003, 61-3). This comprised a curving ditch, 1m wide and 1m deep, which extended northeast-southwest over the southeast corner of the site and which enclosed a stone-and-clay platform (ibid.). A 7th- to 8th-century baluster head pin was found in a 13th-century organic layer which immediately overlay the ditch (ibid.). This residual artefact may provide a broad date range for the underlying ditch. No other artefacts or datable finds were recovered from this feature and it is unclear whether this comprised an early Viking/Hiberno-Norse feature or an unrelated early medieval site. Interestingly, the larger area of this site was known as Dún Garbháin during the medieval period (Candon 1985, 97), and it may be very tentatively suggested that this ditch in this area may relate to the earliest dún or Viking occupation of the area. The name Garbháin has been suggested to have a Norse origin (Kieran O’Conor, pers. comm.) or alternatively it may relate to a local saint, Garbhán (Candon 1985, 95). It is been located anywhere near the medieval town centre. It is possible that the original Hiberno-Norse town may have been sited either further up (west), or down (east), the River Lee. This has been noted in both Waterford and Limerick cities, where the earliest Norse-derived settlements were situated a significant distance from what eventually became the main Hiberno-Norse towns in the respective areas (Woodstown – O’Brien et al 2005; Athlunkard – Kelly and O’Donovan 1998).

None of the earliest excavated remains in Cork correspond to the dates listed in historical references to the first Viking or Hiberno-Norse settlements in this area. The references themselves are quite opaque, and in many instances it is not possible to establish whether they relate to the monastery at St Finbarr’s, the possible associated monastic town or the actual Viking or Hiberno-Norse settlement (Bradley et al 1985, 15-17). Indeed, it is not even really clear whether the monastic settlement evolved into the Hiberno-Norse town at a certain date. The relationship between the Vikings and subsequent Hiberno-Norse is difficult to determine. A Gaelic-Norse raid on the monastery is mentioned in the annals in 960 (AFM), along with a further raid carried out by either Irish or Vikings in 978 (AFM; AI) and a seemingly catastrophic Viking raid in 1012 (AI; Bradley et al 1985, 16). No further raids are recorded until 1081 when an attack carried out by unspecified persons destroyed both houses and churches in Cork (AFM; AI; ALC; Bradley et al 1985, 16). It is, of course, impossible to state whether this break in attacks is apparent because any raids undertaken in the
Fig. 2.7 Pre-Anglo-Norman Cork, c. mid-12th century (Drawing C. Gleeson)

... intervening years remain undocumented, or whether this represents a temporary cessation of attacks by the Vikings on the mid to late 11th-century settlement. Could this be because the Hiberno-Norse town became assimilated with the monastic town during this period? The historical sources state that the monastery came under the control of Brian Boru for a period during the early 11th century and that it was in the hands of the local
Ua Selbhaig family for most of that century (Gwynn and Hadcock 1970, 66; Bolster 1972, 54-5; Bradley et al 1985, 16). From the early 12th-century, it seems that the MacCarthys of Desmond were the overlords of the Hiberno-Norse town (Jefferies 2004, 37). Unfortunately, very little archaeological excavation work has been completed in the area around St Finbarr’s and within the postulated site of the associated monastic town. What little excavation has been undertaken has not penetrated deeper than the early modern layers associated with re-development of St Finbarr’s Cathedral, and the construction of this suburb during the 16th to 19th centuries (e.g. Purcell 2000; Ni Loingsigh 2004; O’Rourke 2007). Pre-development testing within the site of ‘Gill Abbey’ monastery did not reveal any evidence of archaeological significance (Lane 1995).

All of the coherent excavated archaeological evidence of the Hiberno-Norse town dates to the late 11th century. There is a cluster of dendrochronological dates, extending from 1085±5 to 1104, identified from a series of structures excavated in the South Island and the south bank of the southern channel of the River Lee. It is tempting to interpret these dates as representative of a new phase in the development of the Hiberno-Norse town. The historical sources document a series of raids and attempted raids on Cork in the years 1081, 1088, 1089 and 1098 (Bradley et al 1985, 15-16). The monastery reverted to the control of the Dál Cais c.1085 (Gwynn and Hadcock 1970, 66; Bolster 1972, 54-5; Bradley et al 1985, 16). Interestingly, the dates of the earliest excavated structures in the city correspond to this period of documented unrest and change within the monastic and/or Hiberno-Norse town. It may be possible that this urban development represents a reaction to the events which transpired during the 1080s that related to the attacks on, and changes in the administration of, the monastery at St. Finbarr’s. This suggestion raises a number of questions. Were the Hiberno-Norse moved out of the monastic town, if indeed they were ever there, and was this perhaps prompted by the Dál Cais takeover of the monastery? Did the raids of the 1080s destroy the existing settlement, and does the exposed archaeological evidence relate to the construction of a ‘new’ town to the east and south of the original settlement?

It is also possible that the earliest archaeological evidence in Cork may reflect neither of these changes. The late 11th-century development of the South Island may be as a result of a natural expansion of the existing settlement. This may have occurred because the extant town at the south of the river had outgrown both its natural and (possible) constructed defensive elements. Unfortunately, in the absence of archaeological evidence for the earlier town, we cannot establish any of this speculation as truth. It is possible, although unlikely, that earlier remains may have existed on the South Island of the city centre and that these were completely obliterated by...
the late 11th-century construction work. It is also, of course, likely that earlier remains currently exist in areas which have not to date warranted development and, therefore, archaeological excavation.

Fig. 2.8 Estuarine Marsh in Cork Harbour area. This shows the sort of wet and difficult environment of Cork City both before and after the arrival of the Anglo-Normans (photograph by permission of Dr Anthony Beese)

Two contemporary types of structural evidence are apparent in the earliest archaeological remains excavated in medieval Cork (see Fig. 3.1 for site locations). The earliest dated structures relate to possible occupation levels at 3 and 5 Barrack Street and comprise a wooden trackway (at 3) and fence (at 5), which may have formed part of a property boundary or, less likely, a domestic structure (Lane and Sutton 2003, 5-12). The dating sequence for these features overlaps with a series of revetment fences and clay deposits which have been excavated at a number of sites across the south island of the city (Ní Loingsigh 2005; O’Donnell 2003). The first clearly dated phase of house construction on the South Island (Cleary 2003; Hurley and Trehy 2003; Ní Loingsigh 2005) coincides with the dating phases for the construction of the wooden revetment fences. The earliest excavated evidence in concentrated in the south-east quadrant of the medieval town and no large-scale excavation work has been undertaken at the west of the South Island. It cannot be assumed, therefore, that the settlement which began in the last decade of the 11th century in the location was the earliest, or that it represented the genesis of the Hiberno-Norse town within the marsh.

The location of the structures at Trench 309 Washington Street (Kelleher 2002) and Hanover Street (Cleary 2003) at the western side of the original
Main Street are interesting in that they may point to a parallel sequence of development occurring in the western section of the South Island. This may have mirrored the type of construction and expansion that has been noted in the eastern half of the South Island. The timeframe of expansion seems to have been similar at both sides of the Main Street and the dates from the opposite side of the street correlate. In all, this may imply that the South Island was more or less fully occupied before the 1130s. This means that this phase of Hiberno-Norse settlement was completed in less than 40 years.

Geological analysis of the sediment underlying the South Island have indicated that the River Lee was diverted along the south and west of the island to form a canal, and provide drainage for development here (Beese 2012). The suggested date for the construction of this canal is between 1090 and 1134, which overlaps with the settlement phase suggested by the excavations (ibid.). The achievement of this level of settlement would have required large groups of people working cohesively together in a socially organised manner. The relatively quick pace of the expansion period may point to a well-developed and possibly centrally-administered, town-planning strategy and attest to some form of lordly, princely or corporate control within the settlement.

We cannot say for sure what kind of structural settlement greeted the Anglo-Normans on their arrival to Cork in 1177. Thus far, the archaeological evidence attests to it having been a primarily wood-built town. It does, however, appear to have been a well-developed (both socially and morphologically) town with an organised system of government and a sound trading network. No stone structures which can be conclusively dated to the pre-Anglo-Norman period have been uncovered during excavation work within the area of the walled town. It can be suggested that the extent of the pre-existing urban settlement comprised two separate sections: there was the monastic site of St Finbarr’s and an adjacent Hiberno-Norse settlement situated along the southern bank of the River Lee, and an associated wooden settlement on a series of clay platforms on the later site of the South Island. Both sections of this town were provisioned with churches and had functioning harbours and agricultural hinterlands. This implies the formal existence of market spaces, commerce and trading posts in the pre-Anglo-Norman town, which would have undoubtedly increased its attraction to the incoming colonists at the latter end of the 12th century.

2.6 Conclusion

This chapter has provided an introduction and consideration of the applications of social archaeology that govern the present research (2.2). In the dearth of similar work in an Irish context, it has been necessary to outline the British impact of this type of study to illustrate how it forms a pertinent reference point for the type of approach being undertaken in this
thesis (2.3). The historiography of Irish medieval, and particularly urban medieval archaeology (2.4), demonstrates the uniqueness of this type of study in this context, and how it is effectively chartering new terrain in addressing the social morphology of the Irish medieval period as a whole. The information potential of analysing urban medieval data in an interrogative, holistic and theoretically informed manner has been exemplified by British studies, and these have provided the impetus for me to move forward with my research. The following chapters comprise the results of an approach undertaken with these concepts in mind, and the first attempt to present a social archaeology of an Irish medieval urban settlement.
Chapter 3 – Late 12th to early 13th century (c. 1171-c.1205)

3b.1 Introduction
This chapter discusses the earliest period of the Anglo-Norman occupation of the city of Cork. The present writer’s re-appraisal of the archaeological and documentary evidence from this time suggested that there were two distinct phases of urban development in Cork during the c.30 years that followed the arrival of the Anglo-Normans into the Hiberno-Norse town in 1171. The first phase dates from c.1171 to c.1195 and relates to the first stages of their occupation of Cork. The second phase comprises the more politically stable period that followed the initial occupation of the town by the Anglo-Normans and dates from c.1195 to c.1205. There is a broad overlap in the archaeological evidence from both periods, but some archaeological remains from the earliest phase of Anglo-Norman engagement in Cork could be identified.

3.2 Late 12th century (c.1171 - c.1195) (Fig. 3.1)

3.2.1 Introduction
This section details the results of the analysis of the archaeological evidence from sites which can be securely dated to the last years of the 12th century (c.1171+). This is the period immediately following the Anglo-Norman arrival into Cork and comprised the earliest phase of their consolidation of the town as their administrative base within this area of Munster. The various structural, material and dietary remains outlined below attest to intensive attempts on the part of the newly-arrived Anglo-Normans to capitalise and expand upon the commercial potential of the existing Hiberno-Norse town. Rather than the accepted historical narrative (see 3.2.2, below) of a town laid to waste in the early years of the occupation, we can see clear evidence of continuity of settlement throughout the initial Anglo-Norman takeover. Existing Hiberno-Norse structures were adapted by the Anglo-Normans for their own purposes. Alongside this evidence of dispossession, the resilient nature of the primary occupants of the town is also apparent in the archaeological remains, both within and outside the area of the town that was settled by the Anglo-Normans. The present writer’s dates for the remains in this section have been closely dated to the late 12th century using the excavators’ dendrochronological dates where provided, and ceramic association in their absence.

3.2.2 Structural evidence
The Anglo-Norman incursion into Cork and its surrounding area was one incident in a wider contemporary movement of colonial expansion, from the
Fig 3.1 Excavations dating to the late 12th century
core areas of the west European feudal aristocracy to the periphery of the continent (O’Brien 2004, 38). This colonial attitude was characterised by notions of cultural and racial superiority, and the Anglo-Norman approach was framed by a desire to impose their ‘civilising’ political and religious structure on their new lands (ibid., Lilley 2000). In the eyes of contemporary Anglo-Norman society, Irish religious practices were archaic, and thus the crusading ideal could be invoked as a justification for colonisation (Bartlett 1993, 22-3; O’Brien 2004, 39). In 1154-5 Henry II was granted a papal bull, Laudabiliter, authorising him to invade Ireland to reform the church (O’Brien 2004, 39). Although the Anglo-Norman invasion in 1169 was presented as a ‘holy war’ against the pagan-like and uncivilised behaviour of the Irish, the reality was underpinned by more prosaic economic ideals. Perhaps disinherited by the rules of primogeniture, the ‘second sons’ of the Anglo-Norman feudal aristocracy sought to carve out their own political and economic identities, albeit in service to the King of England, Henry II (ibid.). The economic benefits of Anglo-Norman control in Ireland could only be realised within a feudally-organised society, and thus the imposition of Anglo-Norman legal and religious structures was critical to the development of the new colony (Bolster 1972, 103; Lilley 2000, 517). The successful development of Cork and its hinterland necessitated three factors to realise this goal: the establishment of a manorial system in the hinterland, the reform of the episcopal structure of the current town and its area, and the ‘urbanisation’ of the existing settlement around the port.

Critical to the introduction of the Anglo-Norman legal and religious systems were the acquiescence of the native Irish kings and lords, and the cooperation of the Irish Church. When Henry II arrived in Ireland in the aftermath of the initial invasion, the then king of Munster, and overlord of Cork, Dermot MacCarthy, greeted and gave submission to the Anglo-Norman ruler (MIA, 1171). It is thought that this allowed for the establishment of an Anglo-Norman garrison in Cork (Bolster 1972, 103). In 1172, Henry II convened the Synod of Cashel to instigate the reform of the Irish Church along English lines and according to the terms granted in the Laudabiliter of 1154-55 (Bolster 1972, 102-4; O’Brien 2004, 39). The Irish bishops swore fealty to the king, and pledged reform in the manner outlined (ibid.). Under these terms, the Bishop of Cork, was allowed to retain his manor (later known as the ‘Fayth’) at the south of the town, but had to declare profits and pay certain fees to the king (Bolster 1972, 109-10). Thus, by 1172, Henry II had secured secular and ecclesiastical support for the incursion, there was an Anglo-Norman presence in the town of Cork, and the King of England was its lord.

The next 20 years of Cork’s history are opaque, and the documentary sources are contradictory in their account of this period. Following the
purported establishment of a garrison in the town, which assumedly was on the South Island (see below 3.2.2), the Ostmen of the town, along with Dermot MacCarthy, launched an attack on the Anglo-Normans in the ‘harbour of Lismore’ (possibly Youghal) in 1173, where Gilbert, son of Turgarious and the Ostman mayor of Cork, was killed by Raymond le Gros, and the Irish and Hiberno-Norse army was defeated (AI; Expugnatio, 137; Orpen 1910, 329-31). From this, we may surmise that the first attempt at a garrison in the town was unsuccessful, or perhaps that the garrison in Cork had been successful, and drove any displaced Hiberno-Norse leaders of the town to fight the Anglo-Normans outside the town. Either way, following the defeat, it seems probable that the garrison’s occupation of the town continued. It must be remembered that much of the Anglo-Norman colonising process was undertaken against a background of territorial disagreements between Irish kings, which may have facilitated the expansion as the Anglo-Normans could effectively play one king off another (Bolster 1972, 103-4).

In 1175, Dermot MacCarthy’s son, Cormac, seized his father’s lands, partially because of his opposition to the garrison in Cork (Expugnatio, 165; MIA; Bolster 1972, 105). Dermot reminded Raymond le Gros of his original vow of fealty to Henry II, and pledged him ‘booty’ to assist with the recovery of these possessions (Expugnatio, 165). Cormac was killed by the Anglo-Norman in 1176, and good relations were re-established between Dermot and Raymond le Gros (ibid.). Part of the terms of Dermot’s agreement with Raymond must have involved Cork town, and Giruldus Cambrensis (Expugnatio, 165) speaks of the how ‘the morale of the King’s Garrison’ of Cork was restored, and how the Anglo-Normans in the town were able to send food supplies to Limerick. Thus relatively good relations seem to have been maintained and in 1177, Miles de Cogan and Robert FitzStephen arrived into the town with a charter declaring Cork a city of the English crown (see below, this section).

There are contrasting historical interpretations of the nature of de Cogan’s and FitzStephen’s arrival into Cork. Giraldus Cambrensis (Expugnatio, 185) presents it as a peaceful takeover during which they were greeted by an existing governor of Cork, Richard of London. Two of the annals describe a hostile and violent struggle, which culminated in the destruction of the Irish/Hiberno-Norse town and the subsequent expulsion of its primary residents (AI, 1177; AFM, 1177). Archaeologists and historians writing on Cork tend to concur with the narrative put forward in the annals (Bradley and Halpin 1993, 16-9; Jefferies 1986, 30-31, Hurley 2005a, 56-60). Conversely, the archaeological evidence, as interpreted by the present writer, aligns with Giraldus’s version of events. No clear archaeological evidence of violent plundering which dates to the latter years of the 12th
century has been uncovered in Cork city to date (see 3.2.3-6, below). Instead we can see evidence of continuity of settlement, adaptation of existing structures, and a strong degree of resilience on the part of the original occupants of the town. An interpretation which may accommodate both historical theories may therefore be put forward here.

It is possible that a violent incursion may have taken place solely within the settlement on the south bank of the River Lee. In historical arguments in favour of accepting the annals’ account, the circumstantial evidence relates to the area at the south bank of the River Lee (e.g. Jefferies 1986, 30-1). This area was the location of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, which the documentary sources suggest was ruined during the capture of the town between 1171 and 1177 (AI). This was also the setting of most of the churches and religious houses in the town during this period (see Fig. 2.7), and as such, it may not be surprising that the annalistic accounts focus on events in the precincts of these religious houses. It is feasible that those writing in the annals were more concerned with this area than that located on the islands of the marsh. Contemporary religious writers may have interpreted this location as the most significant section of the overall original settlement of Cork, as it was the seat of the bishop and the location of Cork’s primary Hiberno-Norse church, that of the Holy Sepulchre (Brooks 1936, 313-20). Unfortunately, archaeological excavation within this area is limited, and what little has been completed, reveals no evidence of a violent takeover of the settlement in the late 1170s. The nature of excavation undertaken to date in the area may have precluded the recovery of late 12th-century material. No excavation undertaken in the vicinity of Cobh Street, Red Abbey or St Finbarr’s has reached sufficient depth to expose these levels (Cleary 1996; Lane 2000; Hurley et al 2004). It is possible that future archaeological work along the south bank of the Lee may expose evidence of the nature of the Anglo-Norman takeover at this location.

Whereas the authors of the annals may have, therefore, focused most of their attention on the settlement on the south bank, Giraldus Cambrensis may have considered the islands of the marsh to be the main focus of settlement. The sources suggest that a garrison was located here since 1171 at the earliest (MIA; see above, this section). It may be that Giraldus Cambrensis’s comprehension of the takeover related solely to the actions of the citizens of this part of the town. It is conceivable that the occupants of the islands witnessed the violence and destruction of the religious houses along the south bank of the Lee at some stage between 1171-7, and acquiesced to the Anglo-Normans before their arrival on to the marsh, if not earlier as intimated by Giraldus’s account (Expugnatio, 185). This would have allowed for the preservation of their houses, possessions and livelihoods, and perhaps more fundamentally, their lives. It is therefore
considered possible that both historical interpretations of the Anglo-Norman’s arrival into, and subsequent occupation of Cork may be based on factual accounts of this period.

No structural evidence for destruction related to the purported violent takeover of the south island is apparent in the excavated archaeological data. The exact location of the garrison is also unknown although the present research has suggested that it may have been in the environs of Christ Church (See 3.2.2.3, below). No remains of this encampment can be confidentially identified in the excavations undertaken in the city to date. It is possible that the temporary nature of an encampment would leave minimal remains on the ground, and, as such, these traces would not be evident during archaeological excavation. They would also be extremely vulnerable to destruction by later construction phases.

In 1177 a charter of Henry II divided the area surrounding Cork between Miles de Cogan and Robert FitzStephen (Cork did not become a formal county until 1211-22 (Frame 1981, 43-4). In common with the colonising approach undertaken at Dublin, Waterford and Limerick, the king himself retained ownership of the town and adjacent ‘cantred of the Ostmen’ (Expugnatio, 185; Otway-Ruthven 1980, 61-3). De Cogan took the area to the west of the town, and FitzStephen was enfeoffed at the east, where he made considerable progress in imposing a manorial system in a short number of years (Otway-Ruthven 1980, 61). The cantred of the Ostmen was thought to comprise an area south of the town which extended from Cork to Crosshaven to the south-east of the town (Fig 1.1; Jefferies 1985, 15-6; O’Brien 1985, 46). This division of lands seemed to have been agreed with Dermot MacCarthy, and indeed it may have been part of the deal he made with Raymond le Gros in 1176 (see above, this section). Between 1177 and 1182 the town continued to be apportioned out to both Anglo-Norman burgesses and Anglo-Norman affiliated churches and monastic houses (e.g. Reg. St. Thomas’s Abbey, 202-5, 209-10; Brooks 1936, 313-47). Thus, the secular and religious control of the town was legislatively secured during this period and according to Giraldus Cambrensis (Expugnatio, 187), the town and kingdom was ruled peacefully for five years following 1177.

The agreement between Dermot MacCarthy and the Anglo-Norman feudal lords appeared to have been quite fragile. After Miles de Cogan was assassinated in 1182 whilst outside the town, MacCarthy led a revolt against FitzStephen and the Anglo-Norman occupants of Cork, which was quelled by the arrival of Raymond le Gros in 1182-3 (Expugnatio, 187). This was followed by another period of calm within the town, however there was trouble fomenting in the hinterland, possibly fuelled by the anger generated by John’s, the new Lord of Ireland, visit to the country in 1185. His disrespect for the Irish kings, as noted by Giraldus Cambrensis (Expugnatio,
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211), generated a feeling of unrest amongst them. By 1185, Dermot MacCarthy’s perceived continued allegiance to the English Crown may have fuelled anger in the displaced Ostman leaders of the town, who assassinated him while he was involved in a ‘parley’ with Anglo-Norman settlers in the hinterland of the town (AI). The archaeological evidence suggests (see below) that it was just the leaders of the Hiberno-Norse/Ostmen who were forcibly expelled from the town, whilst a good number of the craft-working class remained in situ (see 3.2.2.4; 3.2.2.6; 3.3.2.8, below).

The crown’s ambitions for the town of Cork were codified by the granting of the first charter to the royal town between 1185 and 1189 (O’Sullivan 1937, 282-3; Mac Niocaill 1964, 158-9; O’Brien 1985, 48-50). This conferred two key provisions onto the citizens of Cork, that of ‘free burgage’ and the right to all the franchises and free customs in the manner of Bristol (O’Brien 1985, 49-50; see Fig. 3.2, below). In the period of relative political calm within the town during the mid-1180s, the recognition provided by the charter, which rendered Cork a ‘royal’ town, may have encouraged the resettlement of further burgesses. This would have contributed to an increased feeling of security among the new settlers and afforded further opportunities for commercial development.

There is little mention of Cork in the documentary sources for the time following Dermot’s death in 1185, and most annalistic accounts of this period were concerned with the feuding between Irish families, and with Anglo-Norman expansion into the peripheries of the Cork’s hinterland. The annals suggest that these attacks continued to be undertaken from a base within the town of Cork (MIA, 1196). However, the Irish were to mount one final challenge to the Anglo-Normans in the town. In 1196, Cathal O’Conor (of Connacht) and the nobles of Munster moved to attack the town of Cork (AI; MIA). The Anglo-Normans are said to have burnt Gill Abbey and its cave sanctuary to prevent an Irish occupation of this advantageous position overlooking the south-west of the island settlement (AI, 1196). Nonetheless, the Irish were prevented from completing the attack by Donal MacCarthy, son of Dermot, who made peace with the Anglo-Normans and according to different sources was ‘put in control of his own town’ (AI, 1196) or ‘handed over the town on his own conditions to the Galls (Anglo-Normans)’ (MIA, 1196). The archaeological evidence may be suggestive of the latter (see 3.2 and 3.3). A later entry in the Annal of Innisfallen also support this, and recounts that William de Burgo, an Anglo-Norman military leader, spent the winter in Cork in 1200 (AI). The successful accord between Donal McCarthy and William de Burgo is also suggested by the fact that Cathal O’Conor sought their collective aid in securing his home province of Connacht in 1200 (AFM).
Thus, the years between 1171 and 1196 in the town comprised periods of both stability and unrest. It is difficult to determine how much of this political strife, which was largely conducted outside the town between the Irish and the Anglo-Normans, as opposed to the new burgess occupants of the town and the lower strata of Cork’s society that were not involved in military campaigns, impacted on the day-to-day urban life of Cork. There may have been periods of upset within the town during the siege of 1183 and possibly between 1171 and 1176. However, the archaeological evidence (see 3.2.2.1 – 3.2.6, below) attests to an urban phase of development and expansion that was able to continue against a background of macro-political disagreement. The period following 1196 therefore seems to have been the start of a time of assured macro-political calm for the denizens of the expanding settlement on and around the marsh.

3.2.2.1 Defensive

There is little archaeological evidence for pre-Anglo-Norman walls around the islands of the city. Bradley et al (1985, 46) argue that there is some evidence to suggest that the Hiberno-Norse town was fortified, and possibly walled, prior to the arrival of the Anglo-Normans. They suggest that the fact that it was able to be besieged by FitzStephen and de Cogan in 1177, as noted in the Annals of Inisfallen, must indicate that there was a fortified settlement there to begin with (ibid.). This has been contested as a mistranslation of the word ‘forbais’ used in the original annal entry (AI, 1177; Jefferies 2004, 44). In the edited primary source (AI), it was translated as besieged, but this has been argued as grammatically and contextually incorrect, and its real translation has been suggested as encamped (Jefferies 2004, 44), thus negating the previous argument for a formal fortification of the Hiberno-Norse town. Neither theory can be proved nor disproved at this present juncture, in the absence of conclusive archaeological evidence. It is possible that the mid-12th-century southern canal around the South Island (as noted in Beese 2012), along with the middle channel of the River Lee, formed a water-based defensive feature around the South Island during its Hiberno-Norse occupation. This may have been delimited by earthen banks surmounted by palisade fences. A low bank which contained the remains of timber posts was excavated at 40-8 South Main St (Ni Loinsigh 2005, n.p.). This remaining bank stood to a height of c.1m but it was not possible to establish whether it was a revetment feature or the base of a structural defensive element. There is no archaeological evidence for defensive features around the settlement at the southern bank of the River Lee, but obviously, that cannot eliminate the possibility that they were in place during the late 12th century.

Both the historical, and the archaeological evidence, indicates that the officially-sanctioned stone-walling of the town by the Anglo-Normans did
not commence until the 13th century at the earliest (IPR, 49; Thomas 1992b, 64). It is likely that the population did not reach sufficient mass to carry out, and indeed warrant, such a large-scale and expensive development until this period. Although there is no archaeological evidence for a late 12th-century phase of town walling and fortification, it is inconceivable that the early Anglo-Norman settlement was unenclosed or did not possess some defensive element. Cork’s first royal charter in 1189 explicitly stated the town should be enclosed, and that a place be reserved for the Lord of Ireland (John), to make a fortification (Mac Niocaill 1964, 158; O’Brien 1985, 49). In common with other early phase Norman settlements in England and Wales, it is possible that the earliest defences were of earth and timber construction (Creighton and Higham 2005, 39; O’Conor 2011, 246), and no archaeological evidence of these features has been identified to date.

The simplest explanation for this would be that the construction of the town walls during the 13th century completely obliterated any evidence of earlier earth and timber fortifications. The width of the cut for the walls foundations alone has often reached up to c.4m, thus truncating broadly and deeply into areas of earlier stratigraphy. It is also worth noting that much of the exposed town wall in Cork has not been excavated to foundation levels, limiting the prospect of exploring earlier levels of fortifications. It may be that the earliest Anglo-Norman occupation of Cork was consolidated within a central position on the south island, possibly in the area of Christ Church, where the material culture was suggestive of a military presence (see 3.2.3.1 below). They then co-opted whatever defences that were suitable around the town, and maintained an armed watch at all times. This is suggested by a charter from 1177-83 (Brooks 1936, 315, 334-5), where early burgesses were granted messuages with the maintenance of a town watch as part of their conditions of acceptance.

3.2.2.2 Administrative

During the early years of the Anglo-Norman occupation, the changeability on a macro-political level (see 3.2.1 above) may have tempered their appetite for the construction of large civic edifices. Nonetheless, commercial activity was a key focus of Cork’s daily life from the earliest phase of the Anglo-Norman occupation, as new burgesses co-opted centrally located homes and business and began trading without any apparent cessation between the new occupation and that of the previous tenants. (see 3.2.2.5 below; Fig. 3.2). They would therefore have needed a space to regulate the commercial code of the early town, and address the legal implications of John’s 1189 charter as Cork transitioned into a chartered royal town (see 3.2.1, above).
Burgesses and their rights

It has been stated that the Anglo-Norman colonization of Wales and Ireland depended upon the creation of privileged urban communities (Lilley 2000, 522). In Ireland, as in England and Wales during the previous century, new seigniorial lords and in the case of Cork, the Crown, used Norman and English urban laws to attract new townspeople and impose their authority over newly-acquired lands and people (ibid.; Graham 2004, 303). These laws were based on urban laws originally set out in the Normandy town of Breteuil, which were used as a template for Norman expansion across England and Wales, and latterly, Anglo-Norman urban development in Ireland (Hemmeon 1914, 166-72). In Ireland, the precedent for the charters of Irish boroughs was Bristol, which had originally been developed using the laws of Breteuil as a legal foundation for urban privileges (Hemmeon 1914, 170). Essentially, this saw the establishment of chartered boroughs across the colonised areas of Anglo-Norman Ireland, each with a range of privileges, liberties and immunities that could foster urban growth by freeing merchants and traders from the too rigid constraints of feudal society (O’Brien 1985, 47). These concessions granted to new boroughs essentially comprised two main incentives: first, competitive rents for tenements held in the borough, and secondly, the right of the burgesses to control their own affairs, at least to some extent (ibid.). Burgage rents were paid in money, without the burden of labour services that would have hindered a tradesman or artisan from earning a precarious livelihood (Britnell 2004, 143). Rights enjoyed by burgesses included freedom of movement into or from the borough, freedom to dispose of real property (the right to devise), i.e. their burgages, in whole or in part (Hemmeon 1914, 171; O’Brien 1985, 49-50). Thus, burgess rights meant being granted special legal or social status within a privileged community (Stephenson 1933, 143). Of course, critical to the establishment of boroughs, was the foundation of a regulated market within the town or city, which proved a means of selling an agricultural surplus and a source for imported goods (Thomas 1992a, 8). Resident townspeople and burgesses had the right to buy what they needed at the market free of toll (Britnell 2004, 143). When established, the authority of the borough, whether a lord or the Crown, could benefit from the enhanced profits generated by these new towns or cities derived from market profits, rents, tolls and levies (O’Brien 1985; 47; Graham 2004, 303).

Fig. 3.2 Burgesses and their rights in the late 12th and early 13th centuries

In common with their commercial approach, it is possible that the Anglo-Normans initially used existing and established spaces in which to perform these functions. In the absence of either archaeological evidence or historic references to administrative buildings, it is not possible to guess the location of this activity. Material culture suggestive of an administratively focused occupation at Hanover Street (see 3.2.2.5 below) may indicate that the commercial and administrative centres of the town were combined in the area around Christ Church, and the possible site of the temporary military garrison. This site is at the approximate centre of South Island, and may have been the highest and driest area of the marsh at this time. A centrally located administrative and commercial nucleus, in the shadow of a garrison, may also have presented the best defensive option for the new settlers, particularly in the apparent absence of stone walls around the town (see 3.2.2.1, above).
3.2.2.3 Infrastructural improvement

A number of infrastructural improvement works were initiated during the latter years of the 12th century. On a macro-level, this may have comprised the beginning of expansion into the North Island of the marsh. It is possible that the canal originally developed by the Hiberno-Norse around the South Island by the 1150s (Beese 2012), was extended at the east and west of the North Island at some stage in the late 12th or early 13th century. The Hiberno-Norse, having an extensive skill-set when it came to the management and adaptation of the intertidal marsh islands of the town, may have been involved in this process. It is possible that the initial Anglo-Norman population had limited areas of expertise, and were comprised originally of a military retinue, previously urban-based ‘entrepreneurs’ and probable inland inhabitants of Anglo-Norman England and Wales (O’Brien 2004, 52). The specific intertidal management of Cork’s environment was probably best directed using the expertise of the pre-existing populace. Their relevant engineering abilities, along with their artisanal skills and knowledge of the trade networks, gifted a portion of this population with sufficient economic capital to remain in situ during the early years of the Anglo-Norman occupation of the town. Although there is no archaeological evidence to date for this phase of expansion, the continued existence of the Hiberno-Norse population within the town is strongly suggested by both the structural remains and the material culture of the period (see 3.2.2.4 and 3.2.3).

Micro-infrastructural changes included the insertion of gravel pathway into the area north of the house at Trench 309 Washington Street (Kelleher 2003, n.p.). A series of further pathways and surfaces also appear to have been constructed around and between the plots at 40-8 South Main Street and Christ Church (Cleary 1997a, 30-7; Ní Loingsigh 2005, n.p.). The revetments inside the River Lee at 40-8 South Main Street were maintained during this period (Ní Loingsigh 2005, n.p.). A jetty which extended into the Lee from the southern limit of the site at 40-8 South Main Street was rebuilt and enlarged in 1197, reflecting the increased trade into the port by the end of the 12th century (Sutton 2004).

3.2.2.4 Houses/domestic occupation (Fig. 3.1; 3.3)

On the South Island, house remains that can be securely dated to this period were exposed at Hanover Street, Trench 309 Washington Street and 40-48 South Main Street. Structural remains with a potentially late 12th-century date were excavated at Christ Church and 35-39 South Main Street (Kelleher 2003, n.p.). On the south bank of the River Lee, domestic refuse deposits were identified at the rear of properties at both sides of the base of Barrack Street and along the quay front in this location (French’s Quay).
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Hanover Street
At Hanover Street, a sill-beam house (Fig. 3.3) was remodelled during the earliest phase of the Anglo-Norman occupation. The date of the remodelling, along with a cultural change of occupation manifested by the material culture (see 3.2.3), has strongly suggested that this was one of the houses occupied by Anglo-Norman burgesses during their initial phase of settlement on the South Island of Cork. The felling date for a structural beam used in this re-building was given as 1171±9AD (Cleary 2003, 41). The excavation at this site exposed the southeast section of an east-west aligned street-front house at the junction of Hanover Street and South Main Street, directly opposite the site of Holy Trinity Church (Cleary 2003, 31-41). The pre-Anglo-Norman house comprised a sill-beam structure constructed in the mid-12th century. This was built over earlier post-and-wattle structures (Cleary 2003, 31). It is therefore likely that this site was occupied from the late 12th century onwards and was an established settlement location for at least a century prior to the Anglo-Norman occupation. This long period of occupation may have rendered it attractive to the new settlers who were eager to establish a geographically-strong position in the town.

The existing Hiberno-Norse structure appears to have been adapted without destruction of the earlier sill-beam house (Fig. 3.3). This, again, reinforces the idea of a peaceful takeover of the town. The rebuilding comprised the insertion of a series of vertical posts along the south wall of the sill beam house, with the possible intention of strengthening the existing structure. This new technology, not apparent in similar excavated domestic structures from the period, is also indicative of new immigrants into the town. The excavator suggests that a door was inserted between both rooms of the house during this period (Cleary 2003, 40). If so, this may indicate that the street-fronting (eastern) room assumed a more public function in the period following the Anglo-Norman occupation of the structure. The interior alteration may point to a more intense commercial focus on the part of the new inhabitants of the site, which is reflected in the material culture associated with these layers (See 3.2.2.3 below). Thus, both the structural and material evidence suggest that this was a house that was occupied by a member (or family of) of the first wave of Anglo-Normans in the town, and the dietary evidence (see 3.2.4) supports this theory.

Washington Street
Excavation at Trench 309 Washington Street uncovered the remains of a post-and-wattle house that was continuously occupied from the mid-12th to the early 13th century (Kelleher 2003, n.p.). This was situated on the site of an earlier post-and-wattle house which was constructed in the 1120s (ibid.). As was the case at Hanover Street, it is likely that the longevity of
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Fig. 3.3 Mid- to late 12th-century houses at Trench 309 Washington Street and Hanover St

Above, late 12th century house Trench 309 Washington St, the line of the wall is apparent at C9, C8 and C25 (Kelleher 2003, n.p.)

Below, mid- to late 12th-century house at Hanover Street, and below - late 12th-century rebuilding (from Cleary 2003, 38, 41)
settlement at this site rendered it attractive to the Anglo-Normans who were looking to establish themselves at key geographic positions in the town. The house in Trench 309 was aligned east-west and faced onto South Main Street, c.30m north of the contemporary structure at Washington Street. The earlier house at the site was classified as a Type 1 post-and-wattle Hiberno-Norse house (after Wallace 1985b; Kelleher 2003, n.p.). The later structure followed a similar plan and comprised a double-walled post-and-wattle house with evidence for a side aisle (Kelleher 2003, n.p.). The walls were modified at several stages of the house’s occupation and it is very possible that some of this construction was undertaken during the period immediately following the Anglo-Norman occupation of Cork. Part of the later phase of rebuilding involved the insertion of a pathway (orientated east-west) at the south of the house (Kelleher 2003, n.p.). Along with the strengthening of the walls, this may have been added as part of the overall ‘improvement’ of the site during the initial phase of the Anglo-Norman occupation of the structure. The material culture associated with this site dates from the mid-12th to the early 13th century and includes items of both Hiberno-Norse and Anglo-Norman origin (see 3.2.3 below). The diversity of the material culture, along with the structural modifications undertaken at this time, differs from contemporary houses in the immediate area, where continued Hiberno-Norse occupation was evident (see below, this section). The remains at this site again attest to the non-destructive nature of the Anglo-Norman takeover of the area within the marsh. It is possible that displacement of the original occupants of the structure occurred, however this may have been undertaken without the destruction of the property itself. Considering the limited population of the early Anglo-Norman contingent, this was a much more economically viable method of immediately securing themselves a physical presence within the town.

Christ Church

Contemporary, albeit less closely-dated, structures were uncovered at Christ Church (Cleary 1997a, 31-7, 71-7) and 40-8 South Main Street (Ní Loingsigh 2005, n.p.). At Christ Church a number of factors impeded a more thorough understanding of the nature of the exposed remains, both during and after the excavation work (See 2.5.2). Nonetheless, a small number of wooden structures of indeterminate morphology in Areas C and H may be tentatively dated to this period (largely by means of artefact association on the part of the present writer). Two planks set on edge in Area C may have comprised the fragmentary remains of the side walls of a sill beam structure, on an east-west axis at the rear of a property fronting onto South Main Street (based on Fig. 18 in Cleary 1997a, 35). The area delimited by the planks was abutted by a gravel layer interpreted as a ‘pathway’ (Cleary 1997a, 34). The arrangement of the features at this level is similar to those at Trench 309 Washington Street where a gravel pathway
Fig 3.4 Late 12th-early 13th century post-and-wattle house at Christ Church, Area C. The present writer has highlighted (in pink) the earliest wall of the property (from Cleary 1997a, 27; 36)
delimited a late 12th-century house (c.50 north-west; see above, this section) This, along with the material culture, is strongly suggestive of a late 12th-century date for the latest phase of the occupation of this structure. The frequency of both Hiberno-Norse and Anglo-Norman-derived artefact types indicates that this structure was utilised during the transition period between c.1171 and c.1185. These features underlay a later post-and-wattle house, the earliest walls of which (F26-27) can be dated to the late 12th century (See Fig. 3.4). The later structure may have initially incorporated the earlier walls of the possible sill-beam house as side-aisle walls, but these were replaced by series of vertical posts during the late 12th/early 13th century (based on Fig. 19 in Cleary 1997a, 35 and associated material culture - see 3.2.3). The density of the stratigraphic and material culture interactions between the upper and lower structures indicated that both were used over a short period of time. The recovery of a small number of craft-related artefacts (six from associated layers), and the retrieval of ‘a large amount’ of scrap leather directly to the north of the structure, suggests craft-working during this phase (Cleary 1997a, 34). The later post-and-wattle house was a domestic structure, which may indicate that the function of the area changed during the later years of the 12th century. This possibly reflects the displacement of the original craft-working occupants of the structure, and the takeover of the site by an Anglo-Norman burgess family. Alternatively the earliest industrial function related to the possible initial military use of the nearby area, and the change in function reflects the shift from a military to a domestic focus at the site. The location of this site at the nucleus of the Hiberno-Norse town, and immediately adjacent to the main church site of the marsh settlement, Holy Trinity, rendered it attractive to the new settlers, and an advantageous position from which they could trade and administer the evolving town. Similar to the previously discussed sites, the postulated occupation at Christ Church during this period showed evidence for the continuous occupation of structures from the mid/late 12th-century into the 13th century.  

40-8 South Main Street
Many of the structures with a possible late 12th-century date at 40-8 South Main Street were only partially exposed or significantly truncated, and excavation of several of the structures produced no artefacts (Ní Loingsigh 2005, n.p.). It is apparent that there was continuous occupation of this site, and certainly of a number of the buildings, from at least the mid-12th to the early-13th century. At least four post-and-wattle houses at the site, which were constructed in the mid-12th century, produced pottery sherds with a late 12th century date (Ní Loingsigh 2005, n.p.). Unfortunately, in many instances, the nature of the structural evidence at this site was too ephemeral to allow for significant inference with regard to the nuances of settlement during this period.
The overall structural impression from the occupation of the marsh during the initial years of the Anglo-Norman colonisation of Cork appears to indicate that a relatively smooth transition of power and population occurred during the earliest years of the Anglo-Norman occupation. There is no archaeological evidence for the widespread destruction of structures during this period and the remains do not attest to a violent assault on the marsh settlement. Existing domestic and industrial structures seem to have been taken over without significant alteration. Little interior alteration was noted in the structures which dated to this period. It seems likely that where the structure was visibly re-purposed (e.g. Hanover Street), this meant that displacement of the original occupants occurred. As the method of house construction remained similar from the 1180s to the 13th century, it is very difficult to identify distinct structural signatures for changes in the cultural background of the inhabitants of the various house sites. The mixed nature of the artefacts from this period suggests that a number of the original occupants of the marsh remained in situ during the early years of the Anglo-Norman occupation (see Section 5.2.3 below). This means that the earliest population of the Anglo-Norman town of Cork was ethnically mixed, and contained cultural influences from Anglo-Norman, Hiberno-Norse and possibly, a small number of Gaelic Irish residents.

3.2.2.5 Structural evidence for craft and commerce

There is very little tangible evidence of structures associated with craft-working from this period in the town. A number of small areas of burning from Christ Church may date to this period (Cleary 1997a, 33-4). These may have related to metal-working and associated activities associated with the earliest phase of the military Anglo-Norman occupation of the South Island (see 3.2.3 below). A deposit of scrap leather may have been associated with a possible sill-beam structure in Area C (see 3.2.2.4, above). This dated to the mid- to late 12th–century occupation of the site. The archaeological evidence from the very late 12th-century onwards at Christ Church, Area C is suggestive of an initial industrial and craft-focus which transitioned into a more domestic purpose as the Anglo-Normans became more established in their new environment. In contrast to the structural remains, the material culture from the South Island offers ample evidence of craft-working and commerce, particularly that from Hanover Street (see 3.2.2.4 above), which indicates that the town was productive from the earliest phase of the Anglo-Norman occupation. This is suggested by Giraldus (Expugnatio, 165) when he mentions the supplying of Limerick from Cork in 1176. The exact structures that facilitated this movement of goods still await conclusive identification in the archaeological record, but it is probable that significant trade was organised from the commercial
nucleus around Christ Church and Hanover Street, and from the waterside at 40-8 South Main St.

3.2.2.6 Suburban settlement
The only excavated suburban sites which produced evidence of pre-Anglo-Norman occupation are located at the base (northern end) of Barrack Street. It is difficult to distinguish between the later Hiberno-Norse and post Anglo-Norman-arrival layers at these sites. Evidence of earlier activity in the area comprised the remains of a timber trackway leading (north-south) down to the river bank at the eastern side of Barrack Street. This was exposed at 3, 4 and 5 Barrack Street (Lane and Sutton 2002, n.p.; 2003, 5-12). Possible collapsed house material was uncovered at 4 Barrack Street (Lane and Sutton 2002, n.p.). This comprised the second phase of occupation at the site which may have dated to the late 12th century. A number of wood-rich deposits at this level may have represented the degraded residue of wood-built structures (ibid.). Three in situ hearths were exposed but any coherent structures that related to their use did not survive. These were not industrial hearths and were probably used for the burning of domestically-derived refuse. At the adjacent sites of 3 and 5 Barrack Street, the possible late 12th-century remains comprised a series of organically-rich clay and oyster shell layers along with a number of pits (Lane and Sutton 2003, 8-9). These may have constituted refuse deposits associated with properties fronting onto Barrack Street.

Similar refuse deposits were noted at Barrack Street and French’s Quay (O’Brien 1993, 27-49). These layers were given a general date of 12th-14th century (ibid.). It was therefore not possible for the present writer to isolate those levels which related to the 1180-90s in particular. A number of medieval structures were revealed in the French’s Quay portion of the site. These comprised part of a circular wooden trough, a timber-lined drain and a timber waterfront structure (O’Brien 1993, 33-5). The ‘trough’ or wood-lined pit was set in undisturbed estuarine clay and contained a layer of black organic sediment. The drain was connected to the north-east side of the ‘trough’ and was also cut into the estuarine clay (ibid.). There were no secure pottery associations with the drain or ‘trough’, however the excavator suggested that they predated the late 12th- to 14th century medieval dump layers as these covered the drain which was connected to the ‘trough’ (O’Brien 1993, 33). Features which cut into the estuarine clay at the east of Barrack Street dated to the 11th century and it is possible that the features at French’s Quay date to the same period.

Excavation alongside the river bank at the French’s Quay site uncovered a curving line of wooden posts set into the estuarine clay (O’Brien 1993, 35). These extended along the river bank for a distance of 4m, before turning
north to project out 5m into the former line of the river channel and
comprised three converted timbers and three round-wood trunks (ibid.).
None of the wood submitted for dendrochronological sampling proved
suitable for analysis and in the absence of associated pottery remains it was
not possible to provide a date for this post arrangement, except to say that
they predated the 12\textsuperscript{th} - to 14\textsuperscript{th}-century dump layers (ibid.). It was not
possible, however, to estimate the length of time between the construction
of the waterfront structure and the medieval dumping and suggest whether a
short or lengthy span of time elapsed between the two phases of use at the
site (ibid.).

Immediately overlying the organic layers at numbers 3-5 Barrack Street,
were a series of industrially-derived deposits which were indicative of
metal-working on the sites. The earliest of these dated to the very late 12\textsuperscript{th}
century or the early 13\textsuperscript{th} century (Lane and Sutton 2002, n.p.; 2003, 5-12).
These, by their nature, make seeking evidence for a violent attack on the
south bank of the town, problematic. If this area was sacked by the Anglo-
Normans in the 1180s, it is likely that there would be evidence of this
destruction on the ground, mainly in the form of collapsed walls and the
burnt remains of houses. Because the overlying layers in this area showed
extensive evidence of burning, it is not possible to distinguish between those
which were industrially-derived and those which may relate to the Anglo-
Norman sacking of this area. A number of collapsed walls were exposed at
the sites however it was not possible to closely-date the period of their
collapse. This neither proves, nor disproves, the accepted narrative (see
3.2.1 above) that the arrival of the Anglo-Normans was a violent episode in
the history of Cork. What can be ascertained is that this area was inhabited
prior to, and during, the early years of the Anglo-Norman occupation of the
town. The mid to late 12\textsuperscript{th}-century layers at the base of Barrack Street are
mostly indicative of domestic occupation. The industrial focus does not
appear to have begun in earnest until the very late 12\textsuperscript{th} or early 13\textsuperscript{th} century.
This area formed part of the ‘Fayth’, an episcopal borough established by
the bishop of Cork at the south bank of the River Lee (see 3.3.2.8 below).

3.2.3 Material culture
The arrival of the Anglo-Normans into Cork in 1171 had a significant
impact on the material culture of the town and its environs. The range of
commonly-recovered artefacts broadened during this period and this
illustrates the changing nature of both the population and economy of the
nascent Anglo-Norman settlement. The material culture from late 12\textsuperscript{th}-
century Cork is more sociologically informative than the structural
evidence, particularly where exact contextual references can be obtained for
the various objects. The artefacts provide evidence of industry, commerce,
occupational pursuit and in some cases, social status and ethnic origin.
These indicative attributes are not apparent when assessing the structural evidence in isolation.

3.2.3.1 Military presence

The documentary sources, as noted, indicate that the initial Anglo-Norman settlement in the town comprised a garrison situated on the south island of Cork (e.g. Expugnatio, 176; MIA, 1171). To date, it has not been possible to clearly identify the exact site of this garrison. A concentration of weapons and military-style artefacts were recovered from Areas C and H of the Christ Church excavation. This was the largest concentration of weaponry and associated artefacts to have been excavated from medieval Cork. Although a number of these items were unprovenanced, all but one of the weapons conformed to typologies dating to the 13th century or earlier (Scully et al. 1997, 169-70). The majority of the associated ceramic artefacts from these layers date to the late 12th/early 13th century and the style of the contemporary structural remains (post-and-wattle houses) conform to late 12th century typologies as exposed at nearby sites (e.g. Trench 309 Washington Street, Hanover Street and 40-8 South Main Street). It is therefore feasible that the bulk of the weaponry could have originated from a garrison occupation in this area during the late 12th century. The location of the site at the approximate centre of the Hiberno-Norse island settlement, along with its proximity to the possible pre-Anglo-Norman Holy Trinity Church (Bradley et al. 1985, 65) may have rendered it a suitable site for a temporary military base. This may have been used as a temporary fortified base during the period prior to the construction of the town wall and the more formal administrative bases at King’s and Queen’s Castles in the early 13th century (see 4.2.1).

The range of weapons at Christ Church included swords, daggers, spearheads and arrowheads (Scully et al. 1997, 169-70) (Fig. 3.4). The evidence for swords or daggers consisted of the remains of three quillons and one circular guard (ibid.) (Fig. 3.4). The quillons were dated to the 12th and 13th centuries and the circular guard was the only weapon fragment that was tentatively dated to the mid-14th century or later (ibid.). Three spearheads, which approximated to Viking types, were found in Areas C and H (ibid.). The remaining 12th- or 13th- century weapons comprised eight arrowheads, both tanged and socketed, and all but one were recovered from Area H (ibid.). The arrowheads came from projectile weapons and crossbows or some may have formed part of a small spear or javelin (ibid.). Five of the arrowheads were of a type suitable for either hunting or military purposes (ibid.). Two possible bow fragments were excavated from Area H (Hurley 1997b, 287, 306). Thus, the weapon remains from the site could have reflected either the professional (army) or leisure (hunting) pursuits of the late 12th- to 13th- century inhabitants of the site. They may also relate to
the more mundane aspects of medieval life, particularly with regard to the quillons, as daggers were frequently carried by medieval people of all social ranks. As the elite of the town were not fully established until the mid-13th century (see 5.1) it is likely that these artefacts are more reflective of military, as opposed to leisurely, pursuits.

Further artefacts from Christ Church that may be associated with soldierly activities included horse equipment and gaming pieces. The Anglo-Normans would undoubtedly have been provisioned with horses to facilitate the securing of their new stronghold. Again, much of the horse equipment was unprovenanced but its typology fell within the broad date range associated with the weaponry. The relevant finds, from both Areas C and H, include horseshoes, a spur and fittings associated with bridles, bits and decorative copper-alloy mounts for harnesses (20 artefacts - Scully et al 1997, 178-9, 186). Two wooden saddle backs were excavated from Area H (Hurley 1997b, 304). The relatively high incidence of gaming pieces (c.20) from the artefact assemblage may also be related to the original military occupation. There is strong evidence for gaming in many garrison contexts, particularly games such as chess and ‘nine men’s morris’ (Breen 1994, 46-7, 53-4). Elements from both these games were uncovered across the site, but they were more frequent in Area H (Hurley 1997m, 250-4, 302-3). At the end of the 12th century, chess was regarded as a game played by the elite, and skill at chess was regarded as one of the seven knightly accomplishments (Taylor 1991, 8). This may offer further evidence of an early Anglo-Norman garrison in this area, and the documentary sources indicate that knights were part of the initial military retinue which arrived into Cork in 1171 (e.g. Expugnation, 175-6). Nine men’s morris was played across all social strata of late 12th-century society, and by Hiberno-Norse and Anglo-Normans alike (Breen 1994, 52). As such, evidence of this game does not offer much evidence of either the ethnicity, or social status, of those who occupied this area of Christ Church during the late 12th century.

Finds of weaponry were scarce at the other late 12th-century sites from the South Island. The shaft of a lance spear was excavated from a late 12th-century house site at 40-8 South Main Street (Ní Loingsigh 2005, n.p.). An arrowhead was recovered from Hanover Street (Carroll and Quinn 2003, 285). The range of weaponry and associated artefacts from Christ Church, when compared with contemporary sites excavated to date, was much broader and cannot be down to the size of the excavated area alone. The much larger site at 40-8 South Main Street did not produce this diversity of weaponry and related military-style finds. The weapons from Christ Church also came from two relatively small areas (C and H). With the exception of one artefact, these items all fit comfortably into a late 12th-century dating typology. The absence of associated structural data may be explained by
two reasons. The first may be that the approach taken, and the nature of, the excavation, was not sufficiently nuanced, both practically and ideologically, to fully understand and expose the true chronology and typology of the exposed structural remains, thus misunderstanding their original purpose (see 2.5.3).

The second reason is that the structures erected by the first Anglo-Norman settlers may have been of a temporary nature, and thus did not leave significant traces in the ground. Without a fully-informed excavation strategy, it would not have been possible to identify, or interpret, these remains during excavation. The location of the site, in the approximate centre of the Hiberno-Norse island settlement, and adjacent to the existing town church, may have rendered it a suitable initial base for a garrison.

3.2.3.2 Commercial endeavours
Historians (e.g. Jefferies 1985; O’Brien 1985) have suggested that the early years of the Anglo-Norman occupation of Cork were more focussed on military activities than commercial endeavours, and that the economic development of the town did not commence until the early 13th century. The late 12th-century artefact assemblage contradicts this suggestion, and indicates that the establishment of a commercial base was a clear objective of the first Anglo-Norman settlers. Finds with a strong commercial accent were recovered from all of the late 12th-century sites excavated on South Island. At Hanover Street, where the structural remains suggest an early transition of occupation from Hiberno-Norse to Anglo-Norman inhabitants,
evidence of at least four craft industries was exposed. This contrasts with the earlier evidence in which just one clear craft (leatherworking) was represented. Following the arrival of the Anglo-Normans in Cork, the range of trades represented at the site comprised leatherworking (leather off-cuts and tanning waste), metalworking (crucible fragments), fishing (fish hooks) and wood-working (spoon-bit) (Gleeson 2000, 37-41; Cleary 2003, 38). The recovery of a set of folding balances along with a weight suggests that buying and selling was practiced on site during this period (Fig. 3.5). The combined range of artefacts suggests that the immediate area of the site, and possibly the structure itself, represent an early Anglo-Norman commercial hub. This aligns with the structural evidence for the division of the house into two separate rooms separated by a door, as noted above; the eastern ‘front’ room having a more public and commercial focus and the western ‘back’ used for private and domestic functions (see 3.2). The proximity of the site to the possible administrative centre of the town (see Fig. 3.1) would have rendered it an ideal location in which newcomers could pursue commerce and in turn establish an economic foothold within the developing town.

A good quantity of evidence (c. 50 artefacts) for craft and industry was apparent in the artefact assemblage from Christ Church, although not all of this could be tentatively dated to the late 12th century. Craft-related finds with a possible late 12th-century date were found at the lowest levels in Areas C and H. These related to metal-working, leather-working and wood-working (Cleary 1997a, 33-6). Stylistically, many of these finds could not be closely related to either Hiberno-Norse or Anglo-Norman chronological typologies; however, the proliferation of artefacts among the lower levels of the site do suggest that craft and commerce were practiced on the site from the earliest phase of the Anglo-Norman occupation. Evidence for late 12th-century metal-working was manifested by both the physical and artefactual remains exposed at Area C, Christ Church (ibid.). Areas of burning, along with frequent iron slag and tools were noted in this area (ibid.). The early industry in this area may have related to the military occupation as suggested above. There would have been a necessity to maintain and repair weapons in the garrison which could have been facilitated by on-site metal workers. It is difficult to state whether these skilled craftspeople arrived with the Anglo-Norman soldiers or whether the new occupiers established a working relationship with the existing Hiberno-Norse tradespeople. The frequency of Hiberno-Norse artefact distribution throughout the late 12th and early 13th-century assemblage suggests that the latter may have occurred (see 3.2.3.3 below). The act of selling either goods or labour is reflected by the recovery of a tally stick from a possible late 12th- or early 13th-century context in Area H (Hurley 1997m, 290).
No specific craft-manufacturing items were apparent in the material culture from Trench 309, Washington Street. Of the assemblage, only the ceramic material has been subject to primary analysis. The remainder remains unassessed. A finds list is provided in the appendix to the stratigraphic report (Kelleher 2003, n.p.). The finds are less varied, and generally more domestically-orientated than those from Hanover Street. A parchment pricker, a whalebone chopping (or smoothing) board and an Anglo-Norman-style gaming piece were found from the possible late 12th-century levels on the site (ibid.). The parchment pricker and the gaming piece suggest that the occupants of the house were literate Anglo-Normans. This may in-turn point to an administrative, as opposed to commercial, function for the new dwellers of this structure. The location of the site at the approximate centre of the Hiberno-Norse town would have rendered it a suitable base for the establishment of an administrative structure for the new settlement. Whalebone chopping or smooth boards are more commonly interpreted as heirloom Viking pieces. The consistent recovery of Hiberno-Norse items alongside Anglo-Norman artefacts in the late 12th-century contexts of the town is discussed below (3.2.3.3).

The excavations at 40-8 South Main Street also produced artefacts which can be related to commercial practices. These were less frequent that those found at the sites nearer the centre of the town. This may indicate that the initial commercial focus of the town was centred around the Christ Church/Hanover Street area, which may have served as the primary
economic and administrative hub of the new town. A stone weight was recovered from a post-and-wattle house at the site (Ní Loingsigh 2005, n.p.). Excavation of a further house produced a scale balance pans and a crucible sherd (ibid.). Thus, although less frequently indicated in the material culture at some of the more peripheral locations of the South Island, it can be clearly seen that commercial endeavours were undertaken across the area of the initial Anglo-Norman settlement in the period immediately following their arrival into Cork.

In the southern suburb of Barrack Street, the archaeological levels which could be most closely dated to the period immediately following the Anglo-Norman occupation did not produce significant evidence of craft and industry. Overall, the structural and artefactual data suggests that industrial practices were not undertaken on a large scale in this area until the very end of the 12th century or the early years of the 13th century (see 5.2.4 below). The contexts which could be confidently dated to this period appear to indicate a more domestic purpose for the settlement during this period, and it is possible that the suburban occupants of these houses were employed elsewhere during this period. It may also be tentatively suggested that this was the part of the town that suffered the most directly destructive impact during the Anglo-Norman invasion of Cork. This may have temporarily stripped this location of function and purpose during the period immediately thereafter.

3.2.3.3 Note on Anglo-Norman and Hiberno-Norse artefacts from the same contexts

This note is intended as an addendum to the consideration of ethnicity in the city during the early Anglo-Norman period as outlined earlier in this thesis (see 2.2.3). If the artefacts discussed in the previous sections (this chapter) have been dated correctly by the present writer then it is considered pertinent to briefly consider the artefact mix in the late 12th-century town. The arrival of the Anglo-Normans diversified and broadened the existing material culture of the Hiberno-Norse town. This can be noted in the artefact assemblages from all of the excavated late 12th-century sites on the South Island. Personal items with an Anglo-Norman cultural attachment were found in closely-dated assemblages from Hanover Street and 40-8 South Main Street. At Hanover Street, a binding-strip, which can be closely paralleled with contemporary English-styles was found from the same context which produced a scale-pan and balance along with an ear spoon and other domestic items (Carroll et al. 2003, 280; Cleary 2003, 38). A lute tuning peg was recovered from a post-and-wattle house at 40-8 South Main Street (Ní Loingsigh 2005, n.p.). Pottery, barrel-padlock keys and casket mounts recovered from both Hanover Street and Christ Church are suggestive of the movement of people into the town, complete with caskets.
to hold their personal possessions and domestic items. Nonetheless, in the midst of all these new find types, Hiberno-Norse items continued to be recovered from the same contexts and levels which produced direct evidence of the new settlers. Artefacts which were undoubtedly Hiberno-Norse in origin and use were recovered from all of the late 12th-century sites on the South Island. The excavations at Christ Church produced a plethora of finds which could only be classed as Hiberno-Norse. These came from levels with a late 12th-to early 13th-century ceramic date and comprised of Hiberno-Norse weapons, gaming pieces, craft items and personal objects (Hurley 1997l; Hurley 1997m). Excavation of a late 12th-century layer at Hanover Street produced a Hiberno-Norse-type whetstone (Cleary 2003, 38). At Trench 309 Washington Street, the whalebone chopping (or smoothing) board came from levels which also included an Anglo-Norman gaming piece and parchment pricker (Kelleher 2003, n.p.). Whalebone chopping, or more likely smoothing, boards are distinctly Viking in origin and often represent cultural ‘heirloom’ pieces on archaeological sites. The frequency of such finds suggests that their recovery cannot be explained by the cross-contamination of archaeological layers alone (See 2.5.2).

How then can we account for such a consistent recovery of Hiberno-Norse material culture in the early Anglo-Norman settlement levels? There is the suggestion mooted earlier in the thesis (2.2.3) which considers the pre-Invasion material culture connections between Ireland and the Anglo-Norman and Norman world. Another explanation is put forward below using examples from the late 12th-century town of Cork. In the case of Christ Church, it is possible that the excavation and dating strategy for the site was misinformed and the excavators did not realise that what they were digging was an earlier strata of human occupation. This theory, however, does not satisfactorily account for the contemporary recovery of find types with at least two separate cultural origins. The more likely, and simpler, explanation is that a significant amount of the original Hiberno-Norse population continued to reside on the South Island of Cork during the period immediately following the Anglo-Norman arrival into the town. The structural evidence strongly suggests that a smooth transition of control occurred on the South Island at this time (see 3.2.2). The material culture strongly aligns with this suggestion (see 3.2.3).

The identification of both Anglo-Norman and Hiberno-Norse artefacts from the same contexts may indicate that the cultural transition that took place after the Invasion was quick and that the new settlers swiftly moved in among the existing Hiberno-Norse, perhaps displacing them in some locations that were administratively and commercially advantageous. It would have been mutually beneficial for both populations to establish a commercial relationship, with the local tradespeople providing services to
the new settlers in the period prior to the large-scale arrival of burgesses. It is unlikely that the initial Anglo-Norman retinue came equipped with the full range of skills necessary to cater to all their commercial and personal needs. The existing population, which following the assassination and removal of their leaders, were likely to have been lower-status craftspeople, and not of the ruling class, and would have represented less of a reactive threat to the new administrative class. The services they could provide would have been useful to the new settlers. The material culture from this period clearly suggests that a good proportion of the original occupants initially remained on the South Island and adapted their services to cater to the new settlers and ruling class. The recovery of both Anglo-Norman and Hiberno-Norse gaming pieces from the same contexts at Christ Church may even indicate cordiality between the two cultures, who engaged with each other socially in leisurely activities such as gaming.

3.2.4 Dietary evidence

It is difficult to isolate the dietary evidence from this exact period in the Cork’s history. The faunal and archaeobotanical remains from two of the sites discussed above, 4 Barrack Street and Trench 309, Washington Street, have not been analysed. Of the remainder, just one, Hanover Street, produced an environmental assemblage that can be closely dated to the period immediately following the Anglo-Norman arrival to Cork (McCarthy 2003, 375-90; McClatchie 2003, 391-414). Dietary evidence from the remaining sites has been subject to different levels of analysis; however it is only possible to broadly estimate the chronological relationships between the results and the period at hand. At Christ Church, the faunal remains from just one house and associated deposits (F26/27, Area C, Phase 5) were assessed (McCarthy 1997, 349-60). The author of the stratigraphic report dated this house to the mid-13th century (Cleary 1997a, 33-5), however, after re-evaluating the evidence, the present writer suggests that this house was originally constructed in the late 12th century and was occupied until the mid-13th century at the latest (See 3.3.2.5 below).

It is therefore possible that at least some of the faunal remains from this house date to the earliest period of Anglo-Norman settlement, and an attempt is made below to decipher any significant findings from the analysis. Not all of late 12th-century areas of the site at 40-8 South Main Street produced environmental remains, however faunal and archaeobotanical assessments were carried out on a representative number of samples (McCarthy 2011, n.p., Lyons 2010, n.p.). The pertinent findings are discussed below. Faunal analysis was undertaken on environmental samples from Barrack Street and Frenchs Quay, but as the source contexts were dated to the ‘medieval’ period, it was not possible to isolate the results relevant to the period under discussion. None of the environmental samples
assessed from 3 and 5 Barrack Street can be closely dated to the early years of Anglo-Norman settlement on the South Island. The remains date to the period before (late 11th to mid-12th), and the period following the initial invasion phase (late 12th to early 13th century) (McCarthy 2003, 391-414, McCarthy 1999, n.p.). Therefore the findings from this site are not applicable to the following discussion.

The environmental samples from Hanover Street provide the most accurate representation of the diet eaten by the occupants of a site in Cork during the transitional period from Hiberno-Norse/Gaelic control to Anglo-Norman settlement. Both the published faunal report (McCarthy 2003, 391-414) and the unpublished datashets (McCarthy 1996, n.p.), were available to the present writer. The bone samples came from internal and external layers related to the late 12th-century occupation of the sill-beam house (ibid.). The faunal remains reflect the importance of the three main domesticated animals (cattle, sheep and pigs) in the late 12th-century diet of the town’s occupants. In all but one of the samples, cattle bones were found to be the most frequent (42.6% of total bone count), followed by pig bones (20.5% of total bone count) and the remains of sheep/goat were of tertiary importance (11.2% of total bone count) (ibid., McCarthy 1996, n.p.). The high incidence of pig bone does not compare with their representation in later Anglo-Norman assemblages, where sheep bones were more commonly second to cattle bones in importance. This high incidence does, however, correspond to percentages noted in earlier Hiberno-Norse faunal assemblages. It can be suggested that some of the faunal remains came from refuse formed during the Hiberno-Norse occupation of the structure, but how then to account for the high representation of pig bones from the later, Anglo-Norman layers?

The consistency of the percentages across all samples would appear to discount the possibility of selective bone retrieval strategies during excavation. The relatively high level of pig consumption may correspond to the eating preferences of the occupants of the house, or even reflect a glut of pork in the town during the early Anglo-Norman settlement period. It has been noted that military campaigns and garrisons during the Anglo-Norman era were provided with a ration of pigs for their own consumption, which has led to the recovery of a high proportion of pig remains from sites associated with military occupation (Albarella and Davis 1996, 20-1). The material culture from the nearby site at Christ Church is suggestive of a military occupation at this site (c. 20m south-east of Hanover Street) (see 3.2.3, above). It is likely that there was a relationship between the Anglo-Norman garrison and the early trader burgesses that arrived into the town, in the period immediately following the initial occupation of Cork. They may have shared a common source for their food, or their cultural association
would imply a shared preference for pork over lamb/mutton. It may of course, be possible, than the existing Hiberno-Norse population within the town during this period (as suggested by structural and artefactual data – See 3.2.2.4 and 3.2.3 below) influenced both the provisioning, and dietary reality, of the new settlers. The fact that the faunal remains contained bone elements from all parts of the animals consumed suggest that they were provided to the occupants of the site ‘on the hoof’. This would offer further proof, particularly with regard to the consumption of local cattle and sheep, of a functioning relationship between the town and its Gaelic hinterland during the period prior to the Anglo-Norman domination of the hinterland and food supply. The faunal remains therefore represent a more nuanced understanding of the nature of the settlement in the nascent years of Anglo-Norman control than the structural remains and material culture alone.

The identification of two methods of butchery, lateral and transverse, may offer further proof that the structure at Hanover Street was occupied by both the Hiberno-Norse and Anglo-Normans over a brief period of time. Transverse butchery was commonly practiced by the Anglo-Norman and its identification in the archaeological record is often interpreted as evidence of their presence at a site (Margaret McCarthy, pers. comm.). This links in with both the structural and artefactual evidence from the site, both of which are strongly suggestive of a rapid transition of occupation from Hiberno-Norse to Anglo-Norman. The plant remains from Hanover Street also reflect the culture of the later inhabitants. There is an increased presence of wheat in the Phase 3 samples along with the recovery of cinquefoil seed (McClatchie 2003, 405). Wheat is a grain commonly associated with Anglo-Norman settlement (McClatchie 2003, 400). Cinquefoil is a wild plant often associated with the Normans (ibid.). The plant is unsuitable for human consumption but the berries of the cinquefoil were sometimes used as part of a red dye (often for leather) and the seeds of the plant were taken as part of a mixture to treat gastrointestinal ailments during the medieval period (ibid.). Quantities of leather were recovered from Hanover Street, and these did include some tanning waste and off-cuts (Gleeson 2003, 372-3). It is possible that leather-dyeing was undertaken in the immediate vicinity of the site, but there is no structural evidence (e.g. dyeing-pits) to support this suggestion. It is more likely that the cinquefoil formed part of an Anglo-Norman ‘medical kit’ and as such, is reflective of their occupation of the site. It is not possible to establish whether this plant was brought onto the site as a personal possession, or whether it formed part of an imported consignment of Anglo-Norman items.

The dating chronology for the post-and-wattle house F26/27 at Christ Church is difficult to determine. The published report (Cleary et al 2007) and the unpublished faunal datasheets (McCarthy 1997, n.p.) are
contradictory regarding the date of the construction for the house. It is likely that the house is earlier than that suggested in the published report (reinterpreted as late 12th to early 13th century as opposed to mid-13th century) however this is difficult to establish. The nuances of the Cork ceramic-dating chronology were not fully understood during the post-excavation and publication phase of this site, and the recording strategies undertaken during the archaeological work did not result in a clear record for analysis. For the purposes of this section, I have assessed the unpublished faunal analysis results from five features (F476, F477, F480, F492 and F493). These were associated with F27, a wattle wall that produced only late 12th-century pottery, and therefore was part of the first phase of the house’s construction and occupation. Although animal remains from just five features constitute a small sample, the combined results do provide a representative sample, albeit limited, of dietary trends on the site during this period.

Of the 188 bones that represented the total bone count from these five samples, the positively-identified species were as follows: cattle bone accounted for 36% of the remains, pig bone comprised 24% and sheep were represented by just 2% of the total amount (based on unpublished datasheets). Even if some of the amount of unidentified medium-mammal sized fragments were from sheep/goat, this would not have significantly raised their representation in the assemblage. The percentage of cattle bone complies with general trends across both the Hiberno-Norse and Anglo-Norman periods in Cork, but the representation of pig bone in these contexts is the highest from contemporary sites in the early Anglo-Norman town. The small size of the sample may slightly over-represent the amount of pigs eaten during this period of occupation but the approximate ratio of pig bone is consistent across all five samples; it is the second most frequent species in four out of five contexts, and the most frequent in one sample. It therefore seems reasonable to assume that this signifies the importance of pork in the late 12th century diet at the site. The percentages in these samples present a different ratio than that noted in Hiberno-Norse assemblages (McCarthy 2003). The fact that all but one of the butchery marks noted on the animal bones from these contexts was formed using the transverse method strongly suggests that these bones derived from the Anglo-Norman occupation of the site.

The reasons for the high incidence of pork in the Christ Church samples may echo those outlined for the similar occurrence at Hanover Street (see above, this section). The suggested cultural preference, or necessity, for a high consumption of pork at that site may also apply here. The material culture for the site, particularly that as noted from Area H, indicated a military occupation in the area during the late 12th century. It was possibly
even the location of the original Anglo-Norman garrison (see 3.2.3 above). There were fewer weapons from Area C, but extensive structural evidence of metal-working and possibly, leather-working (Cleary 1997a, 40). If the occupants of Area C did form some part of an ancillary garrison retinue, e.g. metalworkers with responsibility for the maintenance of weaponry and horse equipment, it would make sense that the inhabitants of both sites shared a common food source. This may only have been for a short time following their arrival into Cork, and prior to the establishing of a strong network for the provisioning of locally-reared meat. Four juvenile animal bones (two calves, one lamb and one suckling pig) were present in the assemblage (McCarthy 1997, n.p.). A small degree of high status food consumption may be tentatively suggested on the basis of this occurrence.

The dietary evidence from 40-8 South Main Street is scarce for this period and the plant and faunal remains from just two house sites can be related to the late 12th century. The structural remains from this site suggest a continuity of settlement in this area during the transitional phase between the Hiberno-Norse and Anglo-Norman occupation of the South Island (see 3.2.2). The dietary remains suggest a reasonable level of prosperity among the occupants of the site during this period, which may account for their resilience to the new occupying force.

Fig seeds were identified in the assemblage from a street fronting house which also produced artefactual evidence of a good standard of living (Lyons 2010, n.p.). The artefact assemblage included a wooden tuning peg, the shaft from a lance spear and a copper-alloy needle (Ní Loingsigh 2005, n.p.). The material culture from this phase of the occupation indicated that varied crafts were practiced in this area (leather-working, spinning and bone-working). It was not possible to exactly link the faunal data, with the exception of one goat horn core, with this house. When viewed together, the structural, artefactual and dietary data would suggest that a single Hiberno-Norse family occupied this house from the mid-12th century until at least the very end of that century. The combined evidence suggests that their value as craftspeople, along with their established economic security, aided them in resisting displacement following the Anglo-Norman incursion. It is possible that they remained in situ throughout the transitional period, until their position became untenable with the first significant wave of burgesses at the very end of the 12th century.

The overall animal bone data from this phase of the excavation (Level 5) concurs with that noted from nearby sites, i.e. cattle bones were numerous, followed by remains of pigs and sheep bones were the third most frequent (McCarthy 1997, n.p.). The faunal evidence for this phase strongly suggested that professional bone-working, was undertaken by the residents of this area during the late 12th-century period of occupation (ibid.). A red
deer metacarpus was recovered from a nearby house (*ibid.*). In this case there was no supporting artefactual or structural data to suggest that high-status occupation of that particular structure. It is likely that the deer bone merely reflects a shared degree of economic prosperity enjoyed by the residents of this area during the late 12\textsuperscript{th} century.

### 3.2.5 Discussion - drivers for societal change during this period

#### 3.2.5.1 Geo-political drivers

The most significant driver for change during this period was the arrival of the Anglo-Normans onto the South Island of Cork and its suburban environs. The archaeological evidence strongly reflects the results of this change in occupation; however, it seems apparent that this process was undertaken in a non-destructive manner on the South Island. Existing houses and structures appear to have been modified to accommodate their new occupants (e.g. Hanover Street). New wooden houses may have been constructed rapidly at Christ Church. At Trench 309, Washington Street it was possible to see where the street-scape was formalised and amended with the addition of a well-surfaced laneway. Similar infrastructural improvements were noted at Christ Church where plots were delineated and laneways were constructed along property boundaries. Conversely the structural remains at 40-8 South Main Street did not appear to undergo significant changes during this period. This may demonstrate a degree of economic security and resilience in the face of a new occupying force. Direct evidence of a garrison associated with the initial Anglo-Norman settlers may be indicated by an assemblage of weaponry and associated horse equipment from Christ Church, particularly from Area H and to a lesser degree from Area C. The dietary remains from a selection of late 12\textsuperscript{th}-century contexts contained a ratio of pig bone consistent with its interpretation as the remains of meals supplemented by military provisioning. The leisure activities of the Anglo-Normans were signified by an increase in gaming artefacts and musical instruments. Overall, the geopolitical drivers spurred by the Anglo-Norman invasion are clearly apparent in the archaeological record. The strongest evidence was revealed when the various forms of data were assessed in unison, creating a more holistic and nuanced understanding of archaeological data from this period.

#### 3.2.5.2 Socio-economic drivers

The archaeological evidence attests to the presence of a new commercial class on the South Island during the period immediately following the coming of the Anglo-Normans in Cork. It is possible that this group arrived with, or directly after, the first military contingent of Anglo-Normans who had successfully secured their *caput* on the south island in the mid-1170s. The structural impact of their arrival can be seen in the modification
undertaken of existing structures to render them more commercially viable. The division of a house on Hanover Street into two distinctly public and private spaces was suggestive of its use as a commercial property. The material culture supported this and artefacts from these levels included a balance and scale pans along with accoutrements associated with at least four separate trades. Personal possessions with an Anglo-Norman cultural association possibly testified to the presence of new settlers, probably traders, at this location. The dietary remains also contained cultural signifiers attesting to an Anglo-Norman habitation. The new commercial endeavours were also reflected by an upgraded infrastructure within the town, and laneways and communal surfaces were improved. Both the material culture and dietary remains diversified during this period, which can be interpreted as evidence of broader economic success. This success was also mirrored by the existing Hiberno-Norse population of the town. The structural, and material remains suggest that a significant portion of the original Hiberno-Norse population remained in situ on the South Island, particularly at the southern section adjacent to South Gate Bridge. Prior to the arrival of the first wave of burgesses, their skills as craftspeople, along with their knowledge of the economic networks of the town, would have been useful and may have been required by the initial Anglo-Norman settlers. A good degree of prosperity is evident in both the structural remains, and artefact and dietary assemblage from these sites and it seemed that this Hiberno-Norse population had, initially, a mutually beneficial relationship with the new governing forces of the area. Their resilience to this imposed change, and ability to adapt their services and business practices, undoubtedly facilitated this arrangement.

3.2.5.3 Technological Drivers
The new technologies that characterised much of the rapid economic expansion of the late 12th and 13th centuries in Western Europe are not fully visible at this early stage of the Anglo-Norman settlement of Cork. The new settlers, however, did start a programme to amend and enlarge the existing water-routes around and through the marsh. This would have facilitated the accommodation of the newer, larger forms of ships which allowed for bulk commodity trading into, and out of, the nascent Anglo-Norman town. Newer forms of tools were identified in the assemblages and this improvement in the technological capacity of the town would have increased economic growth during this period.

3.2.5.4 Environmental Drivers
The low-lying, waterlogged environment of the South Island would have led the Anglo-Normans to adapt their house-building style to a type that could function within these conditions. In that regard they simply emulated, and improved upon, the prevailing house styles within the town. These were
mainly timber houses, of mostly post-and-wattle or sill-beam construction. New houses constructed during this period showed little deviation from pre-existing forms. This direct structural continuity, and willingness to adapt on the part of the new settlers, can be interpreted as another indicator of a smooth transition of settlement on the south island.

3.2.6 Social differentiation
At this early stage of Cork’s development, it is difficult to determine the exact nature of the class/societal structure that existed in the years immediately following the Anglo-Norman arrival. It can be suggested, on the basis of the archaeological evidence, that an administrative elite established themselves at the approximate centre of the existing Hiberno-Norse settlement on the South Island. This may have been led by a military retinue, who possibly inhabited the area directly south of Holy Trinity Church, on South Main Street. This also appears to have been the commercial hub of the new town, where the selling of goods and services could be carried out under the direction of a number of Anglo-Norman commercial leaders. The new elite were based where they could best redesign the landscape of the town, and plan and lay the groundwork for change. This would lead them to establish practices which would improve the overall economic viability of the town and ensure continued success as a result. It is likely that a large number of skilled Hiberno-Norse craft-workers remained on the south island, and the archaeological evidence suggests that they remained in situ at the southern end of the island. There is evidence of prosperity in this new settlement, but no conclusive evidence of significant ‘wealth’ can be surmised from archaeological data to date. Interestingly, a good degree of prosperity can be seen in the houses at the southern end of the island, in the postulated Hiberno-Norse continuity settlement. This suggests that it was the more prosperous craft-workers that remained on the South Island. Their political capital, gained through longevity of occupation and economic security, may have been useful to the new settlers in their attempts to establish a successful foothold in the town by ensuring the acquiescence of the craft-working lower strata of Hiberno-Norse society. Their access to existing trade networks, and knowledge of land management, may also have increased their value to the new settlers.

3.2.7 Brief conclusion for the late 12th century
This period of transition quickly led to an adjusted town with a strong commercial focus. This is manifested by the next phase of archaeological evidence (see 3.3 below). This early phase of Anglo-Norman occupation was characterised by a new administrative elite, who successfully embedded themselves within the society of the town, and laid the groundwork for change. Unlike the traditional historical narrative, the archaeological evidence does not indicate that this transitional period was exceptionally
traumatic, but some degree of change is undeniably present. The research has demonstrated the resilience of the existing Hiberno-Norse community and shown how they successfully adapted to the change of ‘lordship’. They recognised, and adjusted their practices to what was ultimately in their own best interest during this short period.

3.3 Late 12th to early 13th century (Fig 3.6)

3.3.1 Introduction
This section details the period which followed the establishment of an Anglo-Norman administrative centre on the South Island of Cork. This process was legally recognised by the granting of the first charter to the town between 1185 and 1189 (O’ Brien 1993, 49). This formalised the developing trade network in the town, and encouraged the immigration of new burgesses, of mainly English origin, to populate the settlement (See Fig. 3.2, above). By the last decade of the 12th century the Anglo-Norman administrative elite had successfully embedded themselves into political fabric of the town, and had taken over the bureaucratic framework of their new settlement. It had become a new centre of power, trade and commerce in the Anglo-Norman colony.

3.3.2 Structural evidence
The landscape of the nascent town of Cork changed rapidly in the last two decades of the 12th century, as the structural impact of the new Anglo-Norman settlers became increasingly apparent. Construction work during the period immediately following the Anglo-Norman arrival was largely concerned with the consolidation and the adaptation of the existing townscape into a serviceable administrative centre (see 3.2.2 above). When this base was successfully established, more large-scale construction works were undertaken, and the town began its physical transformation into an Anglo-Norman centre of regional power. This new power was reinforced by the building of infrastructural, civic and religious edifices, which together, can be interpreted as potent landscape symbols of the new rulers. Most of the evidence for this construction phase comes from historical sources, and to date, little archaeological evidence has been uncovered of the structures detailed in the written data. The dearth of archaeological evidence for the extensive construction of new houses during the late 12th to early 13th century may be explained by the low level of excavation in the street-fronting areas of sites that dated to this period.

3.3.2.1 Defensive
Again, there is no archaeological or historic evidence for the formal walling of the town at this time (see 3.2.2.1). John’s charter of 1189 called for the ‘enclosure of land of the town of Cork, except a place in the same town, which he keeps to make a fortress’ (Mac Niocaill 1964, 158; O’Brien 1985,
Fig. 3.6 Late 12th to early 13th century excavations
This gives a temporal context for first phase of walling, but the archaeological evidence does not yet support such an early period of wall construction. The construction of a new jetty at the south-western limit of the South Island in 1197 prior to the building of the town wall in this area (Ní Loingsigh 2005, n.p.), suggests that the island, at the southern end, still remained unenclosed by stone at the very end of the 12th century. It seems possible that the new burgesses were waiting until the macro-political instability (see 3.2.1) eased, before they could be encouraged to take on such a substantial municipal project. When Donal McCarthy relinquished his claim to the town in 1196 (MIA, 1196), it may have provided the impetus for such a project. This act may have been contemporarily understood as the final Irish challenge to the town, and was coeval with the growth and success of the manorial farming system in the hinterland (O’Brien 1993, 90-1). The amount of new burgess immigrants into the town was increasing exponentially (see 3.3.2.5 below), and the newly-co-opted trading network was beginning to reap substantial dividends (see 3.3.3.5 and 3.3.6 below). Thus, it is probable that the construction of both John’s ‘fortress’ or castle, and stone town walls, may not have commenced until the last few years of the 12th or first decade of the 13th century (see 4.2).

3.3.2.2 Administrative structures
Again, without archaeological or historic evidence, the locations of the administrative structures of this period remain unidentified. As continuity was apparent in the centrally-located houses of the earliest Anglo-Norman settlers, it is possible that the physical-administrative structure remained the same until the construction of the King’s Castle in the early 13th century (see 4.2) (Fig. 3.2).

3.3.2.3 Infrastructural improvement
The topographic nature of the setting of the town influenced its development during this period. The townscape comprised two islands in a marsh, demarcated by the north and south channels of the Lee at opposing ends; marshes hampered expansion at the east and west of the islands and the land rose sharply at either side of the Lee. Thus, the most viable area for development potential was the slightly dryer South and North Islands of the marsh. Significant reclamation work had already been undertaken of the South Island by the Hiberno-Norse and archaeological excavation has revealed that strong revetments were in place along the bank of the river at the south (Kelleher 2003, n.p.; Sutton 2004, Ní Loingsigh 2005, n.p.). Bridges were therefore crucial to the infrastructural improvement of the new town. The documentary sources indicate that both the South and North Islands, along with the opposing sides of the Lee, had been linked by bridges by 1190 (Reg. St Thomas Abbey, 202, 215; Brooks 1936, 322-5,
335-8). Unfortunately, we do not know what form these bridges took, or if they had associated structures, such as gate or guard towers. A charter of Miles de Cogan and Robert FitzStephen to St Tomas’ Abbey, Dublin, dating between 1177 and 1182, granted a ‘burgage beside the gate (porta) of Cork’ (Reg. St Thomas Abbey, 215). This does imply that formal, and possibly large-scale, gated-bridges were put in place during this period. In any case, their location at the entrances to the town would have emitted strong, and new, indications of the Anglo-Norman presence within the town.

The Anglo-Normans began to re-shape and re-define the parameters of the town and its internal spaces. The pre-existing spinal main street of the South Island was extended along the centre of the North Island, and this was linked by bridges to modern Barrack Street at the south and Shandon Street at the north. It may have been at this time that the North Island was formally defined along its edges by a modified canal, similar to that constructed at the west of the south island in the 1150s (Beese 2012). The improved living space that this drainage work created would have made more ground suitable for inhabitation, both domestic and religious (see 3.3.2.4 below).

Thus the streetscape took on a more typically Anglo-Norman form, in which the main street bisected the town and was lined by buildings which occupied the street frontage of long narrow plots set at right angles to the main street (Bradley et al 1985, 24-5; Johnson 2002, 2; Hurley 2002, xiv). Property boundaries became more clearly defined as the town expanded and took shape. Excavations at 11-13 Washington Street, at the northeast limit of the South Island, revealed a fence and ditch, which formed the rear property boundary of a plot facing onto South Main Street (McCutcheon 2003, 47-8). The plots themselves underwent a series of improvements during this period. Drainage trenches were exposed at Tuckey Street and Christ Church (O’Donnell 2003, 17; Cleary 1997a, 23-4, 67-71). The earliest in an extensive series of laneways which led from the main street to the rear of properties and out to the limits of the settlement, were constructed during this period (Cleary 1997a, 23-8). Excavation has uncovered evidence of wooden and gravel-surfaced laneways with a late 12th- or early 13th-century date at Christ Church, Trench 309, Washington Street, Tuckey Street, 40-8 South Main Street (Cleary 1997a, 26-8; Kelleher 2003 n.p.; O’ Donnell 2003, 19-23; Ní Loingsigh 2005, n.p.). The necessity for laneways leading to the rear of properties implies a population increase in the town during this period, as further structures were built in these areas to accommodate commercial and domestic expansion (see 3.3.3 below).

3.3.2.4 Religious
Along with the infrastructural improvements, further permanent Anglo-Norman landscape symbols began to dominate the townscape. The
foundation of several Anglo-Norman religious houses and churches across the town in the late 12\textsuperscript{th} and early 13\textsuperscript{th} century indicates the pace of urban development and the emerging wealth of the new town. On the south bank of the Lee, south of modern Douglas Street, the hospital of St John of Jerusalem was in existence by 1182 and a Benedictine priory was established by c.1191 (Bradley et al 1985, 26; O'Sullivan 1943, 11-13). The natures of the Knights Hospitallers' house of St John de Baptist at Douglas Street is not known. Different writers have estimated that it served as a guest house attached to a permanent preceptor at Mourne, Co. Cork (Bolster 1972, 134) and that it was never a regular preceptor in itself (Gwynn and Hadcock 1970, 336; Bradley et al 1985, 90-1). Nonetheless, in the Dissolution records, it is entered as ‘the hospital of St John near Cork’ with an associated, dilapidated church (White 1943, 103). This hospital was possibly located to the east of Red Abbey (see 5.2.3) and north of modern Douglas Street (see Fig. 1.1). The arrival of the Knights Hospitallers so early in the colonisation of Cork probably echoes the crusading spirit which drove Anglo-Norman expansion in Ireland, at least in name (see 3.2, above). Through administering to poor and sick during the earliest year of the Anglo-Norman occupation of Cork, these Anglo-Norman religious became part of the benign, spiritual colonisation process of the Hiberno-Norse and the Gaelic Irish that may have lived in this area (see below, this section for further discussion).

The Benedictine Priory of St John the Evangelist seems to have been located next to the Knights Hospitallers' house (see above, this section). As both were dedicated to St John, this has caused some confusion in the historical records. Founded in c.1191, it was, together with a Benedictine house in Waterford, apparently united to the Benedictine monastery of Bath by 1204 (Gwynn and Hadcock 1970, 105; Bradley et al 1985, 81). The Cork house was a hospital and priory, and its 16\textsuperscript{th}-century possessions included a hospital, a parochial church, a chapel dedicated to St Leonard and a court for the prior’s tenants on John Street (Bolster 1972, 139-40). It is impossible to establish how much of this property, or buildings, were held by the order since the late 12\textsuperscript{th} century. Again, we see that the first wave of Anglo-Norman religious orders in Cork were dedicated to pastoral care in the community, and possibly education in the case of the Benedictines. Their presence, would again, have forced the pre-existing Hiberno-Norse and Gaelic Irish population of the area to engage with the new religious of the town in a positive, and spiritual manner. They were also able, of course, to administer to the new Anglo-Norman burgesses of the town, which were arriving in greater numbers as the 13\textsuperscript{th} century began (see 4.1).

On the South Island, the existing Church of the Holy Trinity was taken over by Anglo-Norman appointed religious and a new parish church dedicated to
St Peter was functioning on the North Island by 1189 (Bradley et al 1985, 26). On the south bank of the Lee, the historical sources suggest that the Hiberno-Norse Church of the Holy Sepulchre, was taken over, and re-dedicated to St Nicholas (Reg. St Thomas Abbey, 209; Brooks 1936, 314-5; Collins 1943, 63). This was undoubtedly a politically motivated gesture to reinforce the identity and presence of the new settlers, and echoed contemporary crusading approaches of the period. St Nessan’s, at the north of the River Lee, was re-dedicated to St Catherine (Bradley et al 1985, 26). Thus, the occupants of the town, both new and old, were surrounded by different, and new, religious houses. The importance of religious rituals to people of all social classes during this period meant that all citizens of the town, both within and outside the island, would have to engage (almost daily) with these institutions. This can be interpreted as a ‘peaceful’, almost unforced, colonisation of the spiritual and ritual aspects of the townspeople’s lives, thus embedding the Anglo-Norman’s culture deeper into the psyche of the developing settlement. Indeed, excavations undertaken at the limits of what would have been the graveyard associated with St Nicholas’s Church near Cobh St (Fig. 3.7), revealed that it was used continuously as a graveyard throughout the late 12\textsuperscript{th} and early 13\textsuperscript{th} centuries (Cleary 1996, 94-111). A total of 29 burials may have dated to this period (\textit{ibid.}). As this church was used by both the Hiberno-Norse and the newly-arrived burgesses, it was not possible to establish the cultural origin of those buried in the church. Osteological analysis of the remains indicated that the buried populace were from the lower socio-economic groups (Power 1997, 86). The remains were suggestive of hard physical labour on the part of both genders, although the overall impression was that of a relatively well-fed and nourished group (\textit{ibid.}). The pathologies and physical conditions of the skeletal remains were not more representative of hardship, or trauma, than was endured on average by the lower classes in general during this period. This indicates that the population that continued to use this church seemed to have proceeded with their daily lives against a backdrop of macro-political and ecclesiastical change and adjustment.

Conversely, at least three religious institutions are largely accepted to have remained under Irish control during this period and indeed throughout the 13\textsuperscript{th} and 14\textsuperscript{th} centuries in Cork. These were St Finbarr’s cathedral and monastic site, the Augustinian Priory of St John the Evangelist (Gill Abbey) and the parish church of St. Brigid (Gwynn and Hadcock 1970, 66,167; Bradley et al 1985, 52-4, 78-9). These religious houses all lay at the south of the Lee, outside the walls of the town and adjacent to (or possibly within) the area which later became known as the ‘Fayth’ (Webster 1930, 178; see 4.2.8.4). During the 13\textsuperscript{th} century this name was applied to the feudal manor of the Bishop of Cork, later known as the manor of St Finbarr’s (\textit{CDI, i, no. 1814; Webster 1930, 178; Bradley et al 1985, 98}). The present research has
suggested that the settlement which grew up around the ‘Fayth’ was strongly native Irish or Hiberno-Norse in character, and that the population was culturally distinct from the new burgesses that started arriving into the walled town from the late 12th and early 13th century onwards. It may even have been comparable to the ‘Irish Towns’ as identified from 13th-century Limerick and Waterford (O’Rahilly 1995, 172-3; McEneaney 1980, 17). In both of these cities, a small number of ‘Ostmen’ of Hiberno-Norse residents were allowed to remain within the Anglo-Norman town centres during initial decades of Anglo-Norman rule, whilst others were allowed, or even encouraged, to build a suburban settlement outside the ‘English’ cores of the cities. In the suburb of the ‘Fayth’ in Cork, the tenants of this borough paid a separate fee farm to the town from the late 13th century, if not earlier (CDI, i, no. 1814, no. 2329). The earliest occupation of this new borough is apparent in the archaeological evidence from the late 12th and early 13th century (see 3.2.2.8 below).

Fig. 3.7 Location of Cobh Street excavation which was the site of a graveyard associated with the late 12th-century St Nicholas Church

3.3.2.5 Houses/domestic occupation
This phase of the Cork’s development had a significant impact on the wider structural landscape of the emerging town. Excavated evidence for house construction during this period is scant; it is the macro-landscape of the town that belies the more far-reaching structural changes initiated during this period of occupation. On the South Island, house remains that can be securely dated to this period were exposed at Christ Church and 40-8 South Main Street. Possible property boundaries, and associated external features, with a possible late 12th- and/or early 13th-century date were exposed at 11-
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13 Washington Street and Tuckey Street. A new phase of occupation, dating to this period, was uncovered at the base of Barrack Street. Both of the earlier houses at Hanover Street and Trench 309, Washington Street continued to be occupied during this period, however at both sites, archaeological layers dating beyond the early 13th century were completely truncated by post-medieval development.

3.3.2.6 South Island (Fig 3.6)

Christ Church
At Christ Church, a post-and-wattle house (F26/27 – See 3.2.2 and Fig. 3.4) exposed in Area C, continued to be occupied during this period, and into the early to mid-13th century (Cleary 1997a, 37-40). It does not appear to have been significantly altered during its entire period of occupation, which suggests that there were elements of familial or political continuity in the inhabitation. This may imply that the occupants enjoyed a degree of social influence which could account for their longevity at such a central location. The material culture from these later phases confirms this hypothesis (3.3.3 and 3.3.4 below). At least three later post-and-wattle and sill-beam structures in Areas C and H were dated to the mid/late 13th century by the excavators (Cleary 1997a, 100). As urban Irish ceramic analysis was in its infancy at the time of post-excavation analysis for this site (1970s-1990s), and exact chronologies for Ham Green B and Cork-type ware had yet to be established, the use of ceramic-association dating for these structures cannot be understood as definitive. This, along with the compromised approach undertaken during the excavation, and with the poor survival of the records (see 2.5.3), suggests that these houses could have dated to an earlier period of occupation at the site. It is not possible, however, to state for certain that they were constructed during the late 12th and early 13th centuries. What can be surmised, however, is that the area around Christ Church was continuously occupied from the earliest Anglo-Norman phase (1171+) and throughout the 13th century and possibly into the 14th century.

40-8 South Main Street
Two houses at 40-8 South Main Street could be dated to the period under discussion. A number of further house structures were exposed at similar stratigraphic levels, however the absence of dateable artefacts from the remains meant that a true date for their construction and habitation could not be established (Ní Loingsigh 2005, n.p.). Whereas earlier houses on the site were primarily constructed using post-and-wattle or sill-beam techniques, the structures which dated to the late 12th and early 13th century were different. One was stave-built, and comprised a re-build of an earlier post-and-wattle structure which was situated at the rear of a plot extending west from South Main Street (Ní Loingsigh 2005, n.p.). The plan of the house
was similar to earlier houses on the site, in that it was orientated east-west, with a side aisle at the south, and a central hearth \( (ibid.) \). The full extent of the east and west walls, and consequently the possible doorways, did not survive. Structurally, the design of this house echoed earlier Type 2 Hiberno-Norse houses, with one (southern) side aisle and a central hearth, however, this earlier technique was re-made with new materials, staves, as opposed to external walls with a post-and-wattle core. The similarity of form between the earlier and later houses may imply a cultural continuity in the occupation of this particular structure. The house was located at the rear of a street-fronting plot; however, it is not possible to state whether it was an ancillary structure on the same plot, and occupied by the same family, or accessed by a laneway and inhabited by a separate family. Artefacts with a clear commercial association, (e.g. ascale balance and crucible, see below Section 3.3.3.), were recovered from the floor levels within the house.

Evidence for a fully-timber framed house may be suggested by the remains of one structure with a late 12\textsuperscript{th}-to early 13\textsuperscript{th}-century date at 40-8 South Main Street. This comprises the earliest, albeit tentatively suggested, evidence of this type of structure in Cork. No walls or wall trenches survived \( (\text{Ní Loingsigh 2005, n.p.}) \). The house was situated at the street-front and was estimated to be 8m in length east-west \( (ibid.) \). It had a central hearth and the remains of wooden flooring at its eastern end \( (\text{Ní Loingsigh 2005, n.p.}) \). No craft or commercial artefacts were recovered from the interior or exterior area of the structure \( (ibid.) \). The construction of the new type of building in the street-fronting area of the plot at South Main Street may suggest a new type of occupancy in this plot. The first burgesses started to arrive into the town during the latter years of the 12\textsuperscript{th} century \( (\text{e.g. Brooks 1936, 315, 334-5}) \), and this may have resulted in a displacement of a number of occupants from key strategic locations within the marsh, such as those areas in close proximity to the South Gate Bridge.

\textit{3.3.2.7 Commercial activity}

The new commercial class which arrived with the Anglo-Normans in the 1170s continued to grow and thrive during this period. The amount of religious foundations which were established in the town during the late 12\textsuperscript{th} to early 13\textsuperscript{th} century testifies to the commercial success being enjoyed by the town as a whole during this period, as a significant portion of religious income was derived through the donations of parishioners and worshippers \( (\text{Ó Clabaigh 2012, 93-8}) \). Along with an array of artefacts and archaeological layers which attest to craft and commercial endeavours during this period, large scale infrastructural improvement also indicate the power of the emerging merchant class. The jetty extension undertaken in 1197 at the southern limit of the site at 40-8 South Main Street \( (\text{see 3.2.2.3;}) \).
Ní Loingsigh 2005, n.p.), was possibly a key infrastructural improvement at this time. This would have facilitated larger ships, and thus bulk commodity trading, in and out of the town’s harbour. The improved streetscape would also have improved commercial endeavours, and eased the movement of goods around the town.

Fig. 3.8    The Location of the ‘Fayth’ and archaeological sites discussed in the text – A – St Nicholas’s Church, B- Barrack St/French’s Quay excavations, C- 3-5 Barrack Street, D – Christ Church and excavation site and E – location of Trench 309 Washington Street (Photograph: Tomás Tyner, reproduced from Hurley 2005a, 58)
A number of sites from the South Island produced evidence of craft and industry which dated to the late 12th and early 13th century. Leather off-cuts from a possible ‘out-house’ uncovered in the Cork Main Drainage Schemes excavations at Hanover Street suggested that commercial cobbling and shoe-repair were carried out in this area (Gleeson 2000, 45). Metal-working was indicated by spreads of ash and slag in Area C of Christ Church (Cleary 1997a, 33-8). These were exposed in association with a post-and-wattle house (F26/27) in this area (ibid.; see above, Fig. 3.4). It is possible that the metal-working at Christ Church was associated with a continued military presence in this area (See 3.2.2 above). Further evidence of metal-working was evinced by a series of hearths, charred material, oxidised clay and stakeholes at the rear of a plot in Tuckey Street (O’Donnell 2003a, 18). No coherent structural plan could be gleaned from the stakeholes and post-holes at Tuckey Street. Artefacts associated with both craft and commerce were retrieved from the above sites, along with some evidence of cereal processing at Hanover Street (McClatchie 2003, 395). This demonstrates the presence of a commercial class, including artisan craft-workers, in the town during this period. The nature of the associated material culture, and its cultural implications, is discussed below (3.3.3).

3.3.2.8 The suburbs

The ‘Fayth’ (Fig 3.8)

A series of excavations conducted at either side of the northern (lower) end of Barrack Street produced the most concentrated evidence of industrial activity with a late 12th- and early 13th-century date. The earliest evidence dated to the very end of the 12th century and increased until the second half of the 13th century (See 5.4.2 below). At three sites at the east of Barrack Street (Nos 3-5 Barrack Street), extensive ash and charcoal layers were exposed, along with metal slag and hearths (Lane and Sutton 2002 n.p.; 2003). At the southern side of Barrack Street, further hearth sites and evidence of metal-working was uncovered (O’Brien 1993, 29-35).

The lowest levels of these layers dated to the late 12th century. However, the most intensive period of industry at these sites seemed to date to the early to mid-13th century (See 4.2.2.8). No clear evidence of housing was uncovered at the above sites. The small size of the trenches excavated at the east of Barrack Street (average 2m in maximum length and width - Lane and Sutton 2002 n.p.; 2003), may have impaired the interpretation of the archaeological evidence. In three out of the four trenches excavated, the exposed areas were too small to fully determine whether they were internal or external spaces. Domestic refuse was interspersed with the industrially-derived deposits at all sites, which suggested that the craft-working here was undertaken within
a wider domestic space. No coherent evidence of successive domestic floors was uncovered at any of the sites. However, it is possible that later activity and pits may have truncated earlier occupation levels. Overall, the evidence is suggestive of a series of forges or metalworking sites which fronted onto the street at the lower end of Barrack Street. When excavation plans of the sites were aligned with the topography of the immediate area, it suggested to the present writer that the domestic spaces were located at the rear of the industrial areas. This contrasts with the contemporary sites from the marsh, where houses were located at the street front and industry and craft were practiced at the rear of the properties (see 3.3.2.6, above). This may serve to reinforce the idea that craft, and artisan skills, were at the forefront of the occupation here, both physically and ideologically. This ‘quarter’ was established with a primary commercial focus, i.e. to provide a range of skilled craft-orientated services that catered to the citizenry of Cork, both within and outside of the Anglo-Norman occupation. The material culture from these indicated that, along with metal-working, bone-working and carpentry were carried out by the tradespeople in residence here.

This suggests that a number of artisans with a Hiberno-Norse or Native Irish cultural background chose to live in, or were displaced to, this area following the arrival of new burgesses onto the South Island of the town during this period. The evidence clearly shows that this displacement did not occur immediately after the Anglo-Norman arrival in the 1170s. It appears that a significant proportion of the town’s Hiberno-Norse population remained in situ for 20-30 years before leaving the Anglo-Norman town and establishing an artisan quarter immediately opposite the South Gate of the town. It is difficult to completely establish whether this transition was forced, or whether indicates a tacit acceptance of the part of the Hiberno-Norse that the town was changing, and that their individual and cultural needs were better served outside of the direct gaze of their Anglo-Normans administrators. The newly-developed quarter, was situated in the borough which later became known as the ‘Fayth’ and was overseen by the Irish Bishop of Cork. Therefore, it follows that the native Irish stewardship of this borough would have facilitated a degree of cultural preservation and continuity among the Hiberno-Norse or Native Irish artisans, that may not have been tolerated within the developing Anglo-Norman town.

Northern suburb – Shandon
Phillip de Barry was granted Shandon in 1183, but it passed into the hands of the de Prendergasts shortly afterwards (Bradley and Halpin 1993, 35). The grant references the presence of an ‘old castle’ in Shandon at the time, however this seems to have been located in a different site to the castle that was assumedly built by the de Barrys or the de Prendergasts after they assumed lordship of the borough (ibid.). There is no archaeological
evidence dating to the medieval period from Shandon. Archaeological excavation and test-trenching have been completed in the area of the borough settlement but to date, no remains have been identified.

### 3.3.3 Material culture

The transition of the South Island from a developing garrison town into a commercial hub is well-reflected by the material culture from the late 12th and early 13th centuries. The range of artefacts recovered from archaeological excavations increased during this period. As previously noted, the material culture can often provide more nuanced sociological information about the citizens of the town that the structural evidence alone. The finds from this period are indicative of a range of commercial, craft and leisure pursuits on the part of the townspeople, both Anglo-Norman and Hiberno-Norse.

#### 3.3.3.1 Military presence

As many of the military-style artefacts from Christ Church conform to typologies with a 12th- to 13th-century date range, it is reasonable to assume that they indicate a continued military presence on, or near, the site into the latter years of the 12th century at the earliest. Many of the artefacts discussed in the previous section (3.2.3) may also date to the period under current discussion. The historical sources suggest that the construction of a formal administrative, and, therefore, military base, was not undertaken until the first decade of the 13th century (AI, 1206) and it is feasible that the original military encampment in the Christ Church area remained more or less in situ until then.

#### 3.3.3.2 Commercial activity

The bulk of the material culture from this period of the town’s occupation relates to craft-working and commerce. All of the archaeological sites with a late 12th and early 13th century date produced some evidence of trade. The recovery of craft-related artefacts from areas outside those identified in the previous section (3.2.2; 3.2.3), e.g. Tuckey Street, 11-13 Washington Street and 40-8 South Main Street, would appear to indicate the increase in commerce in the town in general during this period, and possibly the expansion of Anglo-Norman-fuelled economic activity across the South Island. The identification of a new ‘artisan quarter’ at the base of Barrack Street also reflects the financial success of the emerging town, as the artefacts from the South Island indicate a continued exchange and trade with tradespeople of Hiberno-Norse and native Irish cultural origin. Within the area designated a specific ‘commercial hub’ in the previous section, i.e. the junction of South Main Street and Hanover Street, the range of craft-related items increased significantly (see below, this section). This mirrors the trade
expansion that the structural evidence indicates was happening in the town during this period.

The range of craft-related items from Christ Church was by far the broadest of the assemblage uncovered, and evinced a wide variety of occupational pursuits. Along with the structural evidence for metal-working (see 3.3.2 above), crafts as diverse as leather-working, wood-working and spinning were represented by the finds (Cleary 1997a; Hurley 1997; 1997i; 1997m; Hurley and Cleary 1997a; Scully et al 1997). The original excavators surmised that both metal-working and leather-working were carried out on site. It is not clear exactly where the other traders operated (Cleary 1997a, 40). The fact that so much material was recovered (over 100 metal artefacts and at least 319 pieces of worked leather - Scully et al 1997; O’Rourke 1997) suggests that these trades were also undertaken on, or within, the immediate vicinity of the area of excavation. Artefacts with a distinct Hiberno-Norse cultural accent were recovered from late 12th- and 13th-century layers at Christ Church. These included combs, gaming pieces and leather shoes (Hurley 1997i, O’Rourke 1997). As previously noted, this could be indicative of the continued Hiberno-Norse inhabitation of sites within the South Island, and a successful trading relationship with the artisan crafts-workers residing, in the suburbs of the town (see below).

Craft-working tools were also recovered from the late 12th to early 13th-century levels at Tuckey Street (Carroll et al 2003, 257-98; O’Donnell 2003a, 15). A significant quantity of nails and rivets (c.200 objects) from spreads of oxidised clay were suggestive of metal-working on-site (O’Donnell 2003a, 20; Cleary, K. 2003, 299). The recovery of a crucible fragment of a late 12th- or early 13th-century date would appear to corroborate this (McCUTCHEON 2003, 201). Further crucible fragments were found at 40-8 South Main Street, although significant metal-working does not appear to have been undertaken on the site until later in the 13th century (Ní Loingsigh 2005, n.p.). Buying and selling is better represented by the artefacts from this period from 40-8 South Main Street. Two out of the three structures at the site which dated to the late 12th and/or early 13th century produced scale balances and fragments of pans (Ní Loingsigh 2005, n.p.). Considering the absence of significant structural and artefactual evidence of craft-working at this site, it may be possible to surmise that those residing in these houses were merchants, as opposed to craft-workers. The proximity of the site to the newly-developed jetty on the south bank of the river would have made it a convenient location for merchants. The new building technique employed in the construction of one of these houses (timber-framed), which differed from the earlier house-building techniques on the site (See 3.3.2 above), may suggest the arrival of new Anglo-Norman
settlers in the area. The faunal remains from this particular house indicate a high standard of living on the part of the occupants (3.3.4 below). The preceding level of occupation in this plot produced evidence of Hiberno-Norse craft-working (see 3.2.2; 3.2.3, above). This was not apparent in the late 12th- to early 13th-century levels. The combined evidence therefore suggests that this was the house of a newly-arrived merchant burgess. It is likely that the original occupants of this area were among those that established the artisan quarter at the base of Barrack Street, where they continued to produce high-quality craft goods.

At least three craft-industries are represented by the material culture excavated from the five sites at the base of Barrack Street that date to this period. Metal slag was recovered from 3, 4 and 5 Barrack Street (Lane and Sutton 2002, n.p.; 2003, 8-11). Metal-working seems to have been the dominant industry at the eastern side of the street. The published monograph (Cleary and Hurley 2003), which details the results of excavations at 3 and 5 Barrack Street, does not include a discussion on metal slag from this excavation. Therefore, it is not possible to fully establish the nature of the metal, or the stage of the metal-working process, that was being undertaken in this area during the late 12th to 13th century.

The excavations at the west of Barrack Street were located in the rear of plots that would have fronted onto Barrack Street during the late 12th and 13th centuries (O’Brien 1993, 27). No metal slag from these sites is mentioned in the excavation report. The material culture at this side of the street was indicative of bone-working and carpentry, and possibly gold-working (O’Brien 1993, 39-49). A number of finds which possibly indicated the Hiberno-Norse and native Irish culture of the occupants were recovered. A double-handed iron draw blade, of the type used as a spokeshave by a carpenter or cooper and was recovered from a clay deposit containing late 12th- to 13th-century
Chapter 3

pottery (O’Brien 1993, 39). A rectangular hone stone was found immediately adjacent to the draw-blade in the same context (ibid.). This is a tool commonly associated with Hiberno-Norse or native Irish woodworking practices (ibid.). A range of worked bone and antler remains were uncovered which indicated in situ bone-working activities in the area. A number of deposits which were associated with the three hearths at Barrack Street produced quantities of waste antler, bone shavings and sawn horn core (O’Brien 1993, 31). A bone motif-piece came from a late 12th to 13th-century dump layer at the French’s Quay site (Fig. 3.9; ibid.). The piece comprised a fragment of a cow tibia bone with a single unfinished pattern of a type found on early/mid-12th-century Irish metalwork and stonemasonry of the Irish-Urnes style (ibid.). The excavator suggested that item was evidence of native Irish art-working, possibly goldsmithing, in the Hiberno-Scandinavian style of 12th-century Cork (ibid.). This may have been an heirloom piece, passed down, to maintain a pattern, and a cultural artisanal tradition among the occupants of the site.

3.3.3.3 Leisure and personal effects

Both Hiberno-Norse and Anglo-Norman gaming pieces were recovered from late 12th- and early 13th-century levels at Christ Church (Hurley 1997m, 252-4). Along with the referencing the element of cultural continuity apparent in the Hiberno-Norse finds, the gaming pieces indicate that leisure pursuits were enjoyed by the occupants of the site. The gaming pieces contained both chessmen and boards and tokens from ‘nine-men’s morris’. As previously noted, (see 3.2.3.1), during the early Anglo-Norman period in Ireland, chess was often described as game for the elite, whereas the more common board games, such as ‘nine men’s morris’ and dice games were played by the lower and middle classes. In either case, the fact that the occupants had time for leisure activities such as board games, suggests a level of financial security and prosperity in the area during this period. The chessmen could have originated from the postulated military occupation at the site, as members of the army elite would have been at least occasional visitors, or occupants of this site. It is also likely that chess was played by the aspirational ‘middle order’ of medieval society, i.e. merchant burgesses and successful artisans, emulating the pastimes of their ‘social betters’. The absence of ‘prestige items’ across the site suggest that this was the case. A number of other personal items from the site, although unstratified, may date to this period of occupation. These include stick pins and bone casket-mounts. Decorative casket mounts which were made from animal bone are not considered to have been ‘prestige’ items during the period, however, their purchase and utilisation does suggest a level of disposable income among their owners. The present writer suggests that this type of find can be associated with the evolving prosperous middle-ranking stratum of new Anglo-Norman burgess society that was emerging in the town during this
period. Stick pins, rendered in copper-alloy, were also recovered from Barrack Street and French’s Quay (Fanning 1993, 49-50). Again, these are more suggestive of a general level of prosperity than actual financial wealth on the part of the occupants of the site during the late 12th and early 13th century.

3.3.4 Dietary evidence
Just three environmental assemblages, from Tuckey Street, one structure at 40-8 South Main Street and 11-13 Washington Street, can be closely dated to the late 12th and early 13th-century phase of the town’s occupation. The environmental remains from Christ Church, 3 and 5 Barrack Street and Barrack Street/French’s Quay, cannot be closely dated to this period. The results from the analyses of these assemblages is presented as part of a general late-12th to mid-13th century discussion in the next chapter (see 4.4.4).

Of the environmental assemblages that date to the period under current discussion, just one can be directly linked with an occupied structure, that from timber-framed house at 40-8 South Main Street (Ní Loingsigh 2005, n.p.; McCarthy 2011, n.p.). The Tuckey Street assemblage could not be clearly associated with distinct occupation levels or structures, and came from a number of pits and drainage ditches, along with hearths associated with metal-working (McCarthy 2003, 375-90). The site was possibly located at the rear of a property which faced onto South Main Street during the late 12th and 13th century. At 11-13 Washington Street, the environmental remains came from a property boundary ditch at the rear of a plot which also faced onto the eastern side of South Main Street (McCurthy 1995, n.p.). At either site, the origin of the domestic refuse which accumulated in the various features cannot be stated for certain. Nonetheless, the dietary remains provide a useful overview of the general eating trends in the areas of both sites during this period.

At both sites, the faunal remains reflected the importance of the three main domesticated animals (cattle, sheep and pig) in the late 12th- and early 13th-century diet of the town’s occupants. Cattle were the dominant species at both sites, with pigs second most frequent, and the remains of sheep were of tertiary importance, although marginally so at 11-13 Washington Street (McCurthy 1995 n.p.). The high incidence of pig remains may suggest that the Anglo-Normans in the marsh continued to be provisioned with pigs from outside the town late into the 12th century. It is more likely, however, that they increased pig husbandry, both within, and in the hinterland of the town, to meet their preference for the meat of this animal over mutton and lamb. The ditch at Washington Street was constructed during the late 12th or very early 13th century (McCutcheon 2003, 47). It is therefore, likely to represent
the plot boundary of a new Anglo-Norman burgess, and therefore the remains within relate to an Anglo-Norman influenced diet. It is not possible to make this assumption with regard to the dietary remains from Tuckey Street. This was an area of the town that was the occupied by the Hiberno-Norse prior to the Anglo-Norman arrival, and properties adjacent to both sides of that at Tuckey Street continued to be lived in by Hiberno-Norse people late into the 12th century and early 13th century (3.3.2, above). It is therefore likely that this area continued to be occupied by a Hiberno-Norse group during this period, and the increased incidence of pigs to sheep (13.7% to 9.6% respectively – based on analysis of McCarthy unpublished datasheets), which is more pronounced at this site, reflects that. The practice of metal-working of the site, which had ceased by the early to mid-13th century, may offer further indication of the Hiberno-Norse inhabitation during this period at Tuckey Street. The animal and plant remains from both of these sites reflect a general level of prosperity among the occupants of the nearby areas. The assemblages contain evidence of neither wealth, nor poverty, and indicate that a good standard of living was enjoyed by the inhabitants of both sites.

The faunal assemblage from a late 12th- to early 13th-century timber-framed house at 40-8 South Main Street contained evidence of occasional high-status food consumption on the part of the occupants of the house (McCarthy 2011, n.p.). Cattle dominated the assemblage; sheep and pigs were represented in almost equal numbers (ibid.). A number of piglet and lambs bones were identified in the assemblage and these can be interpreted as evidence of high-status eating (ibid.). Both the structural and artefactual evidence from the house (3.3.2 and 3.3.3, above) indicated that this was likely to have been the residence of an Anglo-Norman merchant burgess. The dietary remains concur with this interpretation, and suggest that the inhabitants of the house were financially successful and enjoyed a good standard of living, more so than that evinced by the collected assemblages from 11-13 Washington Street and Tuckey Street.

3.3.5 Discussion - drivers for societal change during this period
3.3.5.1 Geo-political drivers
The period of political stability which followed the consolidation of the Anglo-Norman settlement on the marsh led to significant infrastructural and commercial development both inside, and outside the South Island. The archaeological and historical evidence bears clear witness to this development. The original settlement area was expanded and re-shaped in accordance with Anglo-Norman requirements. The archaeological evidence attests to the continuity of settlement of both the original occupants of the town, and the emerging sense of permanence associated with the Anglo-Norman occupation. The wider landscape of the town changed rapidly
during the last decade of the 12th century and the physical impact of a consolidated Anglo-Norman power base became apparent.

The necessity of the Anglo-Normans to strengthen and formalise their new settlement was reflected in the construction of bridges, gateways and possible early mural fortifications. Anglo-Norman symbols of power began to dominate the entrances and landscape of the new town. This period of political stability meant that the Anglo-Normans started building structures with a sense of permanence, designed for longevity of use. This can be seen in the aforementioned infrastructural improvements, but also in the streetscape, where property division along Anglo-Norman principles resulted in the formation of a more typical Anglo-Norman town. New religious foundations were established both within and outside the town, and a number of Hiberno-Norse churches were taken over by the Anglo-Norman religious orders. This allowed the Anglo-Normans to take advantage of this period of calm, and use this to embed themselves onto the ritualistic and spiritual landscape of the emerging settlement. On a more mundane level, this stability during this period allowed for a general improvement in the communal areas of the town; proper drainage trenches were dug and pathways and street surfaces were improved. This phase of calm led to a period of commercial activity in the town, which in turn, attracted new immigrant burgesses into Cork. This new wave of merchants and tradespeople had a social impact on the landscape of the town, which appears to have resulted in the displacement of a number of the original occupants of the South Island and led to the formation of a new ‘artisan quarter’ or ‘Irish town’ at the base of Barrack Street, opposing South Gate Bridge.

3.3.5.2 Socio-economic drivers
The strongest socio-economic driver during this period was the success and expansion of the emerging commercial class within the town. The political stability during the late 12th and early 13th century created an atmosphere that was conducive to commercial success. The Anglo-Norman merchants that arrived with the original wave of settlement in the 1170s continued to reside on the South Island, where they expanded their commercial base. The success of these endeavours is reflected by the increased diversity of tools and items associated with craft and trade during this period, particularly evident in the material culture from Christ Church. The general improvements in the landscape of the town (i.e. drainage, lanes) also testify to this economic success. The establishment of a series of religious foundations and parish churches across the new settlement indicate that a population was emerging that could financially sustain an expanded number of religious houses. The harbour was improved and enlarged to facilitate the increased trade in and out of the town.
The artefactual evidence shows that the range of industries in the town increased during this period, and grew to encompass economic practices beyond those evinced by the earlier material culture. A larger group of items related to leisure and personal effects from late 12th- and early 13th-century levels across the town represent an increase in disposable income enjoyed by this developing commercial class. This period of political calm, coupled with the emerging economic success of the town, attracted immigrant burgesses into the town. The effects of this immigration are apparent in all strands of archaeological evidence from this period. Newly-built houses in newly-defined plots were occupied by these burgesses. A broader range of artefacts and dietary practices reflected their financial success. A significant socio-economic impact of this immigration may have been the displacement of some of the Hiberno-Norse tradespeople from the marsh, onto the base of Barrack Street. The evidence suggests that this led to the founding of an ‘artisan quarter’ outside the South Gate of the town, populated by Hiberno-Norse craft-workers. It is possibly a number of native Irish tradespeople also conducted business in this area. The occupants of this area continued to trade with the citizens of the marsh. This is evidenced by the continued recovery of items with a Hiberno-Norse cultural accent among late 12th- to early 13th-century assemblages from the South Island.

3.3.5.3 Technological drivers
The rapid diversification of the craft-related material culture of the town may be attributed to an increased level of technological knowledge among the occupants of the South Island. This was fuelled by both immigration, and the developing ship-building industry, as larger vessels were able to transport more tools and utensils from England, Wales and France into the town. The port of the town was improved to facilitate bulk commodity trading. There was an influx of broader building techniques from England and further afield, and fully-timber framed houses were constructed on the South Island. This new technological knowledge was also evident in the infrastructural development undertaken during this period, which included bridge-building, the creation of a basic drainage system and general improvements to the street-scape of the town.

3.3.5.4 Environmental Drivers
The Anglo-Normans responded to the low-lying wet environment of the town by improving the quality of the developing land-claim across the marsh, and possibly instigating the construction of revetments and a canal along its western edge. They continued to adapt their house-building style to a type that could function within these conditions. The similarity of form between an earlier post-and-wattle house, and a late 12th-early 13th-century stave-built house at 40-8 South Main Street is evidence of this. The Anglo-
Normans used the natural topography of the town to customise the streetscape of the developing town; a natural crest along the south island was extended to form a spinal main street, from which plots extended out to the natural limits of the marsh.

3.3.6 Social differentiation

It is at this stage of the town’s development that we begin to see the emergence of different social strata and culturally distinct areas of occupation. There is still no significant evidence of an ‘elite’ class within the town, however the beginnings of a prosperous merchant class, and the germination of the future urban oligarchy, is apparent in the archaeological evidence. The administrative elite continued to reside at the approximate centre of the South Island, possibly in close proximity to Christ Church. From here, they continued to re-design the landscape of the town, and push through the type of infrastructural changes that would guarantee increasing levels of financial success. The continued recovery of military items from late 12th- and early 13th-century levels in this area suggests that the military occupation remained broadly in situ during this period. The bulk of the material culture during this period was reflective of the increasing commercial success enjoyed by the craft-workers and merchants of the town, and the military focus became of secondary importance to the economic impetus that was driving development during this period. The good quality of life enjoyed by the immigrant merchant class is evidenced through material culture, and dietary evidence, particularly at 40-8 South Main Street. It can be assumed that a new wave of middle- and high-ranking inhabitants arrived into the town as part of the foundations of new religious houses during this period. The abbots of these houses had significant cultural capital which would have been understood by the inhabitants of the town. Opposite South Gate Bridge, at the base of Barrack Street, a new ‘artisan quarter’ began to emerge. This was populated by Hiberno-Norse that had left their homes on the South Island and, possibly, native Irish that may have lived in the area of St Finbarr’s Monastery and the episcopal borough originally. The archaeological evidence indicates this area was inhabited by skilled, self-sufficient and financially stable craft-workers. This is in contrast to the idea of the ‘displaced poor’ as described by archaeologists and historians in their accounts of this period (e.g. Jefferies 2004, 52; Hurley 2005b, 64-5).

The archaeological evidence, overall, attests to the larger presence of a stable and self-sufficient craft-working class, both within, and outside the limits of the South Island of the marsh. There are definite accents of increased purchasing power at certain sites; however the majority of townsfolk appear to have been lower-ranking trades-people, craft-workers and their families.
3.4 Conclusion
This phase of the Cork’s development was characterised by the consolidation and expansion of the settlement that was taken over by the Anglo-Norman in the 1170s. From c.1189 onwards, a period of political stability in the town facilitated commercial growth and immigration. Although further displacement of the original occupants of the marsh seems to have occurred, this did not have a negative impact on commercial growth during this period. Conversely, it served to broaden the commercial depth of the nascent town and increase trade both within the town, and with traders from outside of Cork. This period saw the construction of buildings and landscape features that had a more permanent impact on the town. What had previously been a ‘wooden-town’ began the process of transitioning into a townscape framed by stone. This sense of permanence also extended onto the social and political framework of the settlement as it became more populated by Anglo-Norman burgesses and merchants, who operated within the newly-co-opted, and extended, trade network in and out of the emerging town.
Chapter 4 – Early to mid-13th century (c.1205-c.1240).

4.1 Introduction
The political stability achieved during the latter years of the 12th century allowed Cork to develop as an administrative and corporate entity in its own right. This was codified by the charter of 1189, which granted rights to the new burgesses in the town and set out a broad administrative framework for the new town, ‘in the manner of Bristol’ (O’Brien 1985, 46). Archaeological and historical evidence indicates the town expanded rapidly, and trades within Cork diversified quickly during the latter years of the 12th century. Encouraged by the rights granted in the 1189 Charter, new burgesses began to arrive into the town where they established business and traded on the newly co-opted and expanded trade network. The first half of the 13th century saw all these commercial endeavours realised into long-lasting structural improvements. Administrative buildings were established and large stone walls were constructed around the islands in the marsh. The island settlement continued to increase in size. The early Anglo-Norman settlement expanded into the North Island of the town, where burgage plots were formally delineated and quickly occupied. On the South Island, occupation extended further back from the Main Street towards the town wall. Suburban growth occurred at both ends of the marsh settlement.

The direct environs of the town were stable, and commercially viable, and thus did not pose any immediate threat to the development of the Anglo-Norman settlement on the marsh. By the 13th century Anglo-Norman families had been enfeoffed in many of the cantreds outside the town. Functioning and tactical relationships were established with the Gaelic lords who remained in situ in the greater Cork area (see 3.2.1; see Fig. 5.2 for a later map of the Anglo-Norman hinterland). A working hinterland was producing food for the town, both animals and crops, as well as providing an excess for trade. Cork was becoming the chief port of southwest Ireland during this period, and the developing town served as an important gateway for trade and commerce. Thus, the scene was set for economic prosperity and the growth of a strong town with commerce at its core. Overall, this period was one of further consolidation, expansion and commercial success.

4.2 Structural Evidence (Fig. 4.1)
4.2.1 The Castles (Fig 4.2)
We cannot fully establish the location of the base from which the early administrators of the town carried out their work, although the present research has suggested that the area around Holy Trinity Church formed at least part of the administrative nucleus of the early town (see 3.2). The administrative framework of the town became increasingly sophisticated
Fig. 4.1 Location of early to mid-13th century excavations
during the first half of the 13th century. Possibly capitalising on the securities guaranteed by the 1189 Charter, and in response to the resulting immigration of burgesses and increased trade, a series of large-scale municipal works were undertaken across the town during this period. Whereas construction during the late 12th century was more concerned with the practical (e.g. bridges, roads) and the religious, the 13th-century building related to the promotion of the town as a corporate entity in its own right. A series of stone-buildings were erected during this period that came to permanently define the townscape throughout the medieval and post-medieval periods. The Anglo-Normans were embracing the process of permanently altering the physical impact of the town of Cork.

The Annals of Inisfallen refer to a castle built by the ‘foreigners’ of Cork in 1206 (AI, 1206). This is commonly interpreted as a reference to King’s Castle, located at the north-eastern limit of the South Island of the marsh. A later reference to the burning of the ‘cloch Corcaigi’ from 1230 in the same annals has been translated as ‘the stone castle of Cork’ (AI, 1230). If this was the same castle, it suggests that the castle built in 1206 was a stone structure. If this was indeed the same castle, then it must have been rebuilt quickly as it was granted to Peter de Rivall in 1231 (CDI, i, no. 1969). King’s Castle was situated on the south bank of the mouth of the channel that separated the North and South islands of the marsh. The late medieval and post-medieval maps of Cork depict this castle as part of a pair of circular towers at the north and south of the channel that guarded the main water-gate into the town at this location (Fig. 4.2). Although these maps are generally accepted to be purely pictorial in nature, the partial excavation of a D-shaped tower on the site of the original quay-side immediately opposite of King’s Castle may suggest that the latter was a rounded keep also (Power 1996, n.p.; 1997, n.p.; 2005, 17-18). Contemporary mural royal castle towers, where the castle itself was integrated into the circuit of the town wall are known from Limerick, Dublin, Dungarvan, Carlingford and Carrickfergus (Thomas 1990a, 97). In the absence of excavation or the emergence of a contemporary depiction, we have no way of estimating the true morphology or scale of King’s Castle, Cork.

The earliest map of Cork, dated to c. 1545 at the latest depicts a D-shaped tower conjoined with a square-shaped structure along its western edge (Fig. 4.2, (A)). The ‘castle’ in this map is surrounded by a broadly rectangular courtyard/curtain wall which extends along the quays to the north, from the entrance to the town as far as the bridge between the two islands. The Pacata Hibernia map, dating from 1585-1600, represents the King’s Castle as three conjoined circular towers with gabled buildings abutting the western edge of the towers (See Fig 4.2). The Hardiman map, c.1601, shows
The castles of Cork on 16th-century maps

A) Detail of the King’s Castle c. 1545. ‘E’ on the map denotes the castle with an attached rectangular structure at the east. The tower north of ‘E’ is the site of Queen’s Castle. From ‘A plan of Cork AD 1545’ map (reproduced from Tuckey 1837).

B) Detail from the c. 1585 Pacata Hibernia Maps showing Kings Castle at the left and Queen’s Castle at the right as one approaches Cork from the east. Between the castles a water-gate into the town and the port are apparent. (map courtesy of Cork City Council)

C) Detail from the Hardiman map of Cork (c. 1585-1600) showing the King’s Castle (tower at left) apparently dwarfed by the Queen’s Castle at the right as one approached Cork from the east. The mound of earth behind the King’s Castle may be the remains of an earlier 12th-century earth-and-timber fortification, a ‘thing motte’ or simply comprise 16th-century collapse (from TCD MS 1209/46).

Fig. 4.2 The castles of Cork on 16th-century maps

the King’s Castle as a single rectangular mural tower, abutting a curved section of town wall which loops onto the south side of the quay (Fig. 4.2). A low mound is depicted immediately behind the castle in this map. This mound may be a 16th- or 17th-century feature, or it is possible that it
constituted the remains of a motte which formed the base of an earlier timber-and-earth castle which was the first royal fortification in this area, pre-dating the stone castle. In both of the late 16th-century maps, the King’s castle is dwarfed by the ‘Queen’s’ castle to the north (Fig 4.2; see below). In the late 16th century, King’s castle was described as ‘old and ruinous’ (Rep. I. P. R., ii, 474), and therefore the representation on the later maps may have been formed through an account of, rather than an accurate depiction of the remains on the ground during this period. These maps depict a time c. three to four centuries after the construction of the castle, so at best, all they can offer is a location for, and broad outline of, the nature and size of the original structure.

As previous noted (see 3.2 and 3.3), the charter of Lord John to Cork in 1189 granted all the land in the town to its citizens, with the exception of an area that the king kept ‘to make a fortress’ (MacNiocaill1964, 159). This reading suggests that the primary function of the castle was defensive. In the absence of excavation, it is impossible to ascertain whether this castle was built over an earlier Hiberno-Norse fortification, as was the case with Reginald’s Tower in Waterford (Barry 1997, 81). The interpretation of this castle as a fortress, implies that this became the new nucleus for the military occupation of Cork. The depletion in the quantity of military-associated artefacts from Christ Church during this period (see 4.2.3 below) suggests that any retinue that remained at this site transferred to the castle, or elsewhere, during the first decade of the 13th century.

It can reasonably be assumed that the King’s Castle was also constructed with an administrative element in mind. This administration may have related to the government of both law and commerce in the town, and the two were intrinsically associated during the Anglo-Norman period in the town. Later historic records show that a large percentage of crimes punished by the courts of the town were for commercial infringements (e.g. Cal. Justic. Rolls Ire., i, 269). The castle site overlooks the medieval port access point. The occupants of the castle would therefore have served as overseers of all trade into, and out of, the thriving port of Cork. The charter of 1189 had granted the citizens of Cork a range of immunities, liberties and privileges similar to those enjoyed by the burgesses of Bristol, and by extension Dublin (O’Brien 1985, 50). The 1192 Dublin Charter of Liberties set out the nature of tolls and other charges payable by merchants from outside the town (Clarke 1993, 5). As this was standard practice in Anglo-Norman ports, it is considered safe to say that it was also the case in the port of Cork. From its position at the mouth of the channel, the occupants and administrators within the castle were able to marshal the traffic into the port, collect tolls and oversee the marine activities accordingly. It is therefore possible that the King’s and Queen’s Castles operated together with
combined defensive and administrative functions. A parallel may be noted from early 13th-century Limerick, where the harbour of the Englishtown was guarded by defensive towers and entrance to the walled town was effected by means of a major quay gate (Thomas 1990a, 96-7). Although Limerick had a royal castle which was separate to these towers, it is possible that the absence of space and dry land on the marsh island of the incipient Anglo-Norman town necessitated that the area of the royal castle and port entrance be combined for ease of construction and utilisation.

Fig. 4.3  Queen’s Castle during excavation in 1997, showing the ‘arc’-shaped extent of the foundations of tower that were exposed during the Cork Main Drainage Scheme in 1997 (Photograph: Cork City Council, reproduced from Hurley 2005b, 68)

The Annals of Inisfallen reference the ‘sheriff of Cork’ on two occasions in 1211 (AI, 1211). It can be suggested that the King’s castle was the base for this sheriff, as the King’s Castle is commonly accepted as the location of the town’s gaol during the medieval period (Bradley et al 1985, 43). It was possibly the most secure location in the town during the early 13th century and it seems likely that a single site contained both the sheriff and the gaol. A 15th-century reference lists the constable of the castle and the custodian of the gaol as the same person, and there is no reason to doubt that this may have been the case for some centuries previous (ibid.). Later 13th-century references to the repair of the gaol suggest that it may have been housed in a separate building, but adjacent to the castle (ibid.). It is possible that the square/gabled building depicted abutting the western side of the castle in the
late 16th century maps, housed the gaol, while the mural tower was used by the administrators and overseers, of the early Anglo-Norman administration.

In the absence of excavation, it is impossible to establish the phases of the construction of the castle, or whether it was contemporary with the construction of the town walls in this area. The earliest historic reference to funding for the town walls dates to 1211-12 (*IPR*, 49; Thomas 1990b, 64). The excavation at Queen’s Castle indicated that the castle at that location post-dated the medieval town wall (Power 1996, n.p.; 1997, n.p.i; 2005, 17-18). At this site, excavation work revealed an ‘arc’-shaped section of the foundations of the Queen’s Castle. The section of walling was orientated north-west to south-east, and measured 1m in width at its north-western end and increased to 1.9m in width at the southeast (Power 1996, n.p). The height of this foundation wall varied from 1.2m at the northwest to 0.92m at the southeast, and it was much disturbed by the insertion of modern service trenches and sewage pipes (*ibid.*). The external face of the foundation wall was regularly coursed with limestone blocks and bonded with cream-coloured mortar (*ibid.*). Although no accurate date for the construction of Queen’s Castle was established during the archaeological investigation, the excavator suggested it was early 13th century in origin (Power 1996, n.p.; 1997, n.p.; 2005, 18). Therefore, it is probable that the same stages of construction were carried out at both castles. Although the earliest historic reference to the construction of the town walls dates to 1211, it is likely that some level of stone fortification was being undertaken during the period prior to this. After all, no reference has been identified to date which details the funding, or costs associated with the building of King’s Castle. As previously discussed, (3.3.2) it can be surmised from this historical evidence that large sections of the South Island were enclosed and fortified by the end of the 12th century. It can therefore be assumed the town wall formed a defensive element around the site of King’s Castle during its construction, as it is unlikely that the site of the castle and the entrance to the port was left unguarded during this period. The castle may have been incorporated into an existing town wall, which was improved and expanded in both width and height, during its construction.

The King’s and Queen’s Castles possibly represented the focal point for the ‘elite’ in Cork during the early 13th century. It is possible that the King’s governor of the town resided at the King’s Castle at this time, and both castles may have accommodated the Anglo-Norman nobles that passed through the town during this period.

4.2.2 Religious
The emerging wealth and social capital of the Anglo-Norman lords that settled in the hinterland of the town were also indicated by the foundation of
two new religious houses in the immediate outskirts of the town in the first half of the 13\textsuperscript{th} century. These were founded by the mendicant orders of the Friar’s Preachers (Dominicans) and the Friars Minorites (Franciscans). The arrival of these orders into Cork reflected the territorial expansion of the Anglo-Normans across Ireland, England and north-west Europe at this time, and these friars quickly secured the support of patrons to assist them in the development of their foundations in cities, towns and rural boroughs (Ó Clabaigh 2012, 2).

The Dominican Priory of St Mary was founded in 1229 by Philip de Barry, nephew of Robert FitzStephen (O’Sullivan 1943, 14; Gwynn and Hadcock 1970, 224). This was located on a small island in the marsh, adjacent to the south-west corner of the South Island, and immediately opposite St. Finbarr’s Cathedral and monastic site. The Dominican priory rapidly gained pre-eminence amongst the religious houses of Cork (Hurley and Sheehan 1995, 8). While St. Finbarr’s remained largely under the control of politically acquiescent Irish bishops, the Dominican Priory was sustained by the patronage of the Anglo-Normans. It is possible that this priory was established as a political and cultural rejoinder to the powerful monastery and cathedral at St. Finbarr’s. Its location just opposite the developing Hiberno-Norse and native Irish suburb at the ‘Fayth’ may also have been deliberate, as the priory would have presented a strong Anglo-Norman presence outside the dominion of the administrators of the town in what was quickly becoming a culturally distinct area.

Archaeological investigations in the earliest levels of the priory suggested that it was built on an area of virgin marsh and there was no evidence for an earlier wooden church within the excavated area (Hurley and Sheehan 1995, 44-6). The excavation trenches were limited in size and the early 13\textsuperscript{th}-century remains comprised a series of wall foundations that were interpreted as a stone church, a small cloister and the western section of the northern range (Fig. 4.4; Hurley and Sheehan 1995, 44-55). The earliest levels of the eastern range were not exposed during the excavation (ibid.). The church was of a simple rectangular plan, one storey high and did not exceed 9.14m in total height (ibid.). The cloister was estimated to have been c.20m by 20m in area (Hurley and Sheehan 1995, 52). The refectory was a rectangular building situated along the northern edge of the cloister ambulatory (Hurley and Sheehan 1995, 57). Unfortunately the full extent of the earliest phase of refectory was not exposed during the excavation and it was not possible to establish its original capacity and therefore determine the amount of brethren it could have accommodated. The entire religious house during this period was not thought to exceed one storey in height and it followed a similar layout to contemporary Dominican houses in Ireland (Hurley and
Sheehan 1995, 44-55). The site would also have originally included a mill and possibly an infirmary.

A series of burials, both stone-lined and unlined, were excavated across the claustral range, the cloister and within the church and chapter (Hurley and Sheehan 1995, 58-65). A number of these burials may have dated from the 13th century. However, the burial data is not grouped chronologically in either the stratigraphic report or the skeletal remains discussion (ibid.; Power 1995, 66-83). This makes it difficult to isolate key demographic trends from the various phases of use of the site as a burial ground. The skeletal remains are assessed as a ‘medieval sample’ despite the dates of internment ranging from the early 13th to the late 17th century. This absence of correlation between the various strands of data unfortunately negates a full appraisal of the human remains from this site. The results of the published skeletal analysis are too chronologically generalised to add value to the present study, and it was not possible to meaningfully isolate single burials and fit this data into the temporal parameters utilised for this thesis. The population that eventually ended up in the graveyard may have come from families of diverse wealth and even ethnicity. There were strong later
historic indications that the Dominican Abbey of St Mary’s of the Isles was regarded as an esteemed place of burial by high-status citizens of the town during the medieval period (Coleman 1902, 47). Thus, it can be assumed that a portion of these burials represented the more socially significant elite of Cork during the 13th century. Conversely, in keeping with the Dominican values of administering to the poor, the graveyard was also used by the less-well off people of the town and its environs (Power 2011, 20). This latter group may have included the low-skilled traders of the early 13th-century walled town, along with the poorer elements of Hiberno-Norse and Gaelic Irish society that carved out a bare existence at the fringes of the urban area.

The Franciscan Friary of Cork was established in Shandon, to the north-west of the northern gate to the town and the developing Anglo-Norman suburb of Dungarvan (see 4.2.6, below). Both the exact foundation date and the original patronage of the friary remain unclear. There are conflicting records for the foundation of the friary that range from 1214-1240 (O’Sullivan 1940, 3-4; Gwynn and Hadcock 1970, 246). Different historical sources list the founding patrons as Dermot MacCarthy Mór (King of Desmond), or a member of the Prendergast, de Burke or the Barry families (Bradley et al 1985, 88). The siting of the friary in Shandon, where the Prendergasts were lords at the time, suggests that these are its most likely founders (Bradley et al 1985, 86). It was recorded as the site of a provincial chapter in 1244 (O’Sullivan 1940, 6) and in 1245 the friars here received a grant of royal alms (CDI, i, no. 2776). Similar to St Mary’s of the Isle, there was a strong tradition of noble and high-status burial within the friary (AI, 1298; 1302; Bradley et al 1985, 88). The site of the friary has not been conclusively identified, and various archaeological trial excavations in the area have not revealed any evidence of the precinct and its structures (Lane 1995, McCarthy 2004). The late 16th- and early 17th-century maps depict the Franciscan Friary as slightly smaller in size, and perhaps less elegant, than the Dominican Priory at the opposing side of the town limits (see Fig. 4.5, below). However, in the absence of excavation it is not possible to speculate on the physical nature of the friary.

The rapid spread of both the Dominican and Franciscan orders in Ireland during the early 13th century reflects the increasing capital, both financial and social, of the elite Anglo-Norman settlers of Cork. The patronage of a religious house came with many benefits, and along with a personal directive governed by spiritual self-interest, the patrons gained access to the privileges that could be granted by the clergy. These may have included hospitality on visits, accommodation, palliative care, a burial spot within the monastic precinct and prayers and masses for their souls and those of their families (Power 2011, 20). Nevertheless, this patronage was also a conspicuous display of wealth, and a public demonstration of piety and
‘good living’, which served to reinforce the social and cultural capital of the benefactors in the eyes of their peers and subjects.

At the lower end of the social spectrum, it can be assumed that the rise of these religious foundations also mirrored the participation in the congregation of the artisan craft-workers and low-ranking merchants during this period. The mendicant lifestyle of the Dominicans and the Franciscans meant that these priories and friaries did not require huge endowments of land, and their houses were relatively inexpensive and cost-effective to endow, making donations to the friars particularly suitable for lower income patrons (O’Clabaigh 2012, 12). During the 13th-century, the town and suburban area of Cork was home to a large number of lower-income citizens, who would have been pleased to be able to affordably contribute, and become involved with, religious foundations such as these.

As such, the establishment of these houses continued the ‘spiritual’ colonisation of the native Irish and Hiberno-Norse in Cork during this period. The foundation of these houses by the Anglo-Norman lords strengthened the presence of a newly-expanded social stratum in the town, that of the priors and abbots of the religious houses. These men were often members of the ‘elite’ by birth, and frequently were the younger sons of the gentry (e.g. Giraldus Cambrensis), wealthy merchants and members of the urban elite. Although priors and abbots were not commonly assumed to have been very wealthy at this stage of the monastic movement they were influential members of society and carried significant cultural capital in their transactions with the populace of the town (Ó Clabaigh 2012, 2; 141-2). Their presence added another layer to the emergence of class distinctions in the town.

The monasteries and churches established by the Anglo-Normans also provided familiar focal points, with both spiritual and social functions, for the immigrant burgesses into the town during the early 13th century, and no doubt eased their transition into the culture of their new home. The construction of these buildings, along with the range of furnishings and decorative elements required therein, would have required a sizable skilled workforce of local stonemasons, carpenters and metalworkers among others. More specialised, but still local to the area, metal-smiths may have provided the plate for the monasteries. The successful completion of these buildings during the first half of the 13th century, along with the construction of a range of large-scale edifices, implies that such a workforce was in place locally. It is not possible to establish whether this workforce was drawn from the new burgesses or the resident native Irish and Hiberno-Norse craft-workers both inside and outside the marsh. Either way, the capacity to complete this construction work must reflect an increase in the general
population at this time, in no small part achieved by a new wave of immigration from England and Wales.

4.2.3 Walls
By virtue of cultural association, it may be assumed that those involved in the construction of the town wall were of Anglo-Norman extraction. The unity of purpose between fortifying the town and those who wished to live within it, suggests that only the benefactors of this building effort were utilised in its erection. Both the archaeological and historical evidence indicates that the south island of the town was completely enclosed by walls by the mid-13th century. Along with the 1211-12 reference to the walling of the town (see 4.2.1, above) there is a 1218 record of the King’s bailiff of Cork, Thomas FitzAnthony, being granted three years farm of the town in order to fortify the settlement (CDI, i, no. 842). It is not clear whether these references relate to the original construction of the town wall, or the improvement of the existing defences. As previously discussed (see 3.3.2), the substantial size and depth of the foundations of the 13th century walls may have completely truncated any earlier fortifications. Along with this, much of the exposed town wall, particularly that uncovered during discrete test trenching projects and the Cork Main Drainage Scheme was not excavated to foundation level, therefore negating the identification of earlier features (e.g. Power 1996-2001, Cleary 1996, 94-111). Substantial sections of the wall have been revealed along the limits of the south island (e.g. Hurley and Power 1981; Hurley 1985, Ní Loinsigh 2005; 2007). Here, in common with the later phases of the wall at the North Island, the town wall was built on river gravels at the extremities of the islands, without the use of a wooden raft foundation (Hurley 2005b, 66).

In general, the walls were c.2.5 m in width and the outer face of the wall was widely splayed, which was both a defensive feature and a practical way of spreading the load of the wall over a wider area (ibid.). The wall may have stood to a height of c. 6m to 7m on average (Power 1996, n.p.). Even during its construction phase, the lower section of the town wall would have been submerged in the estuarine silts and muds, and it has been suggested that up to 3m of the wall lay buried below contemporary ground level in the early to mid-13th century (ibid.). This illustrates the logistical difficulties of maintaining a wall in such conditions, where the shifting silts and muds of the estuarine environment would have caused cracks and subsidence in the structure of the town wall. In Cork, the frequency of murage records is testimony to the cost of maintaining such a structure in an area where constantly flowing tidal waters were regularly eroding the foundations of the wall (Thomas 1990b, 65). The excavations have generally revealed the ever-changing nature of the Anglo-Norman town wall as it continued to be
amended from the early 13th century onwards (see below, this section; 5.2.3; 6.2.3).

The earliest exposed section of the town wall to date was identified at 40-8 South Main Street (Ní Loingsigh 2005, n.p.). At this site, c.12.5m north of the existing quay wall, an 18m long section of the town wall was exposed (ibid.). The wall was on average 1.36-1.45m wide and survived to a height of 4m; it was mostly made of coarse red sandstone rubble with a smaller proportion of limestone (c. 10%) (ibid.). The base of the external face was battered, and a possible batter was also noted on the internal face of the wall (ibid.). Internal batters have been noted on two other exposed sections of the town wall. These comprised a possible mid-13th-century wall at Grand Parade (Hurley 1985, 69) and portions from two early quay walls with a probably early to mid-13th century date at North Gate (Hurley 1997b, 11-13; Power 1996, n.p.). While unusual in comparison with other excavated sections of the wall (as these faces did not encounter direct tidal action or serve a defensive purpose), the occasional incidences of internal battering may simply reflect a particular builder’s style during the earliest stage of the mural construction. It may also constitute a signature for the earliest phases of the town wall.

The physical evidence for mural towers on the South Island is scant. An average of seven towers, including the tower at King’s Castle, are depicted on the three 16th–early 17th-century maps of Cork (Fig. 4.5). Evidence of just one tower has been excavated on the South Island. This was ‘Hopewell Castle’ and a limited extent of its wall was exposed during the Cork Main Drainage excavation at the eastern end of Christ Church Lane (Power 1999, n.p.). The wall was curved and it was exposed for a length of 4.35m and a height of 1m (ibid.). Sherds of imported Minety-type and Ham Green B ware, as well as Cork-type ware were recovered from a sealed layer abutting the north face of this wall (ibid.). This suggests a mid-13th century date for the construction of the tower, and it may have been built in association with the town wall in this area. During excavation of the area of ‘Hopewell Castle’ in 1984 (Grand Parade I) archaeological monitoring of site clearance uncovered the line of the town wall and a stone structure that abutted its outer face (Hurley 1985, 65). Prior to the full excavation of the site, the remains of this mural tower were destroyed during unsupervised construction work (ibid.). Because the tower abutted the outer face of the wall, it is tempting to suggest that it may have been constructed contemporaneously with the town wall, as this would have been an easier build than adding an external tower to a pre-existing wall, and either breaking thorough the existing wall or working over it. On the North Island, the excavated mural towers seemed to have been contemporary with the construction phases of the town wall (see 5.2.3). This suggests that there
were a number of towers dotted around the circuit of the South Island by the mid-13th century.

The completion of the town walls had sociological implications both inside and outside of the enclosed area. The wall created the impression of secure space, thus raising the confidence of the traders and merchants of the citizens of Cork. The establishment of specific entrance and exit points to and from the town meant that it was easier to regulate trade and monitor the various levies that were imposed on merchants (Creighton and Higham 2005 44,168). It is likely that the completion of the wall provided the town with an increased sense of social cohesion, as the new settlement was more clearly delineated and its sense of place in the landscape was more defined. The regulation of the town space also created a new understanding of the social geography of the town, and fully cemented the idea that the spinal main street was the true centre of the settlement (Creighton and Higham 2005, 44-5). Thereafter, it became more financially advantageous to live on or near the main street, and the areas immediately inside the town wall became more peripheral and less desired (ibid). Earlier jetties and wharfs that may have been accessible to less well-off citizens of the town were built over and closed, thus limiting the access of those people to the commercial advantages associated with living near the water’s edge.

This may have created a stratum of ‘middlemen’ who arbitrated access rights to the river, and acted as third parties between the craft-workers and the merchants. It can be argued that this resulted in the narrowing of the range of trades practiced by the individual occupants of the town. Those burgesses and citizens who may have supplemented their craft-derived income by either fishing or selling wares along the late 12th-century wharfs, would have been prevented from continuing to do so. Therefore their occupations, if they chose to continue to live within the town, were limited to what they could achieve without easy and unregulated access to the water’s edge. This may have prompted the final exodus of the original Hiberno-Norse occupants from the South Island to the south bank of the River Lee, where access to the river was possibly less patrolled than inside the walled town, and they may have been able to continue their way of life without significant compromise. Similar to contemporary Anglo-Norman urban settlements, the completion of the town wall may also have increased the sense of ‘us and them’ in the relationship between the new Anglo-Norman settlers and the Hiberno-Norse and native Irish outside the walled town (Lilley 2000, 526). The completion of the wall reinforced the legislative differences (i.e. burgess rights) between dwellers within, and outside, the walled area. It may also have become more difficult for the residents of the ‘Fayth’ to enter the town to conduct business as the 13th century progressed and more of the town wall was completed (see 4.3.3
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below). As time went on, this had a negative impact on their overall financial circumstances as is evidenced in the archaeological evidence from the late 13\textsuperscript{th} century from Barrack Street (see 5.2.12 below).

4.2.4 The port

The port of Cork comprised the quays that were built along both sides of the central channel of the town (Fig. 4.2; 4.5). This would have been an easier port to guard than that at the jetty/wharf located at the south-east edge of the south island (see Chapter 3.3.2). All shipping traffic into the Anglo-Norman town was directed into the central channel of the marsh during this period, as part of the administrative consolidation of the town. The building of the wall around the South Island, and later in the 13\textsuperscript{th}-century around both islands appeared to have physically directed all shipping traffic into the channel that separated the north and south islands. This traffic was monitored at the marine gate, located between the King’s and Queen’s Castles, and this is likely to have been where tolls were gathered (see 4.3.1, above).

The port of Cork is first mentioned in the historical sources in 1207 (CDI, i, no. 348). Its exact location during the medieval period is not mentioned in the historical records, however the topography of the town, along with the nature of the walling suggests that it was always located along present day Castle Street, where it is shown in the 16\textsuperscript{th} and 17\textsuperscript{th}-century maps of the town (see Fig. 4.3) The increase in trade in and out of Cork during the early 13\textsuperscript{th} century would have created a thriving business hub in this part of the town. Unfortunately for archaeological purposes, no large-scale archaeological excavation has been undertaken in the area of the quays. A number of trenches were opened along Castle Street, North Main Street, Liberty Street and Paradise Place during the Cork Main Drainage Scheme works (Power 1996-7). Unfortunately, the relevant site reports made available to the present writer did not include plans of these trenches. A number of possible medieval stone walls, suggestive of large stone buildings were exposed in the approximate area of the southern quayside, around the postulated site of the connecting bridge between the two islands (Power 1996, n.p.). It is tentatively suggested that these may relate to the custom house (see below) or a 13\textsuperscript{th}-century administrative building that was constructed in this area to manage the trade and associated financial transactions involved with the port (see above). The earliest recorded name for the section of Liberty Street is ‘Fishamble Street’ (17\textsuperscript{th}-century-Johnson 2002, 73). This indicates that the area was used as a fish market, but it not possible to state whether this post-medieval use extended as far back as the early 13\textsuperscript{th} century. The location along a quieter section of the dock, at a slight remove from the larger ships and associated traffic, would have rendered it a suitable site to sell fish along the quays.
A series of possible quay walls, two of which were of clear 13\textsuperscript{th}-century date, were exposed during the Cork Main Drainage Scheme excavations of Castle Street and the junction of North Main Street and Paradise Place (Power 1996, \textit{n.p.}). The positively identified 13\textsuperscript{th}-century walls possibly formed the quays along the south-eastern edge of the North Island. Unfortunately, very limited sections of the walls were exposed and their full extent could not be ascertained. They were built primarily from limestone with some sandstone, and were irregularly coursed (\textit{ibid.}). During the early 13\textsuperscript{th} century, it seems likely that the eastern section of this channel, from the bridge connecting the islands to the King’s Castle, functioned as the main quay, and accommodated the larger ships. The western portion, beyond the bridge, may have accommodated smaller and locally owned boats. It is possible that the western limit of the channel, nearest the town limits, was used as a mill-race. The documentary sources note the grant of a mill site ‘between the town of Cork and Dungarvan’ to St. Thomas’ Abbey, Dublin in 1177-82 (\textit{Reg. St Thomas Abbey}, 215). This area was the location of a long-lasting mill (Droop’s Mill) which was in operation from \textit{c.} 1348 to 1780 (Bradley \textit{et al} 1985, 37). It is likely that this later mill was built over an earlier mill in this location to take advantage of the watercourse provided by the middle channel of the Lee.

Without full excavation of the entire extent of the 13\textsuperscript{th}-century town walls, it is not possible to ascertain whether there were other functioning quays around the south and north islands during this period. The position of two walls at Grand Parade I and a series of tidal layers enclosed by a 17\textsuperscript{th}-century addition to the town wall, suggested that an area here may have functioned as a dock or mooring point during the 13\textsuperscript{th} century (Hurley 1985, 73). The Hardiman map of 1601 (Fig. 4.5) shows a recess or dock in the wall at this location, however, no entrance into the town is portrayed at this location (\textit{ibid.}). This mooring area is located between two mural towers on the town wall; Hopewell Castle and a further tower to the south. Thus, this recess may have functioned as a safe mooring area for ships under the watchful eye of the town’s guards.

\textbf{4.2.5 Civic structures}

The construction and management of all of the aforementioned structural developments in the town must have required a sizeable, skilled and organised workforce. A formalised trading network must have existed in the town during this period, and more than likely, it was organised into guilds. Guilds were established in Dublin by the late 12\textsuperscript{th} century at the latest (Connolly and Martin 1992). Given the cultural hegemony that must have extended across the burgess migrant population in Ireland at the time, it can be assumed that guilds in Cork were already established before the Charter of Henry III in 1242 (\textit{CDI, i}, no. 2552). This granted the citizens of Cork the
Fig. 4.5 Hardiman map of Cork (c. 1585-1600). Looking west over Cork. A number of the structures discussed in the text are highlighted. A – Shandon Castle (4.2.8.2), B – North Gate Bridge (4.2.6), C – Franciscan Friary (4.2.2), D – Castles of Cork (4.2.1), E – Christ Church (4.2.8.1), F – South Gate Bridge (4.2.3), G – ‘Red Abbey’ (5.2.3), H – Dominican Priory (4.2.2) and I – St Finbarr’s (4.2.2) (from TCD MS 1209/46).
to form guilds in the same manner as the burgesses of Bristol and charter stipulated that the citizens of Cork should plead all their cases at their Guildhall (ibid.) (see 5.2.2 for further discussion). This suggests that there were a number of guildhalls at various locations across the town, again highlighting the level of structural improvement and the sophistication of purpose that was becoming more evident in the architecture of early 13th-century Cork.

Bradley et al (1985, 35) argue that at least one guildhall and the tholsel combined to serve as Cork’s main civic building during the high medieval period. This is proposed to be on the site of the later city Exchange, on the eastern side of South Main Street, opposite Liberty Street (ibid.). Archaeological excavations have been carried out in this area as part of the Cork Main Drainage Scheme (Power 1996; 1997). Again, in the absence of a broader context for the evidence, it is not possible to relate any of the medieval stone walls or wooden structures identified near the street front in this area, with the exact location of the purported guildhall or tholsel. Overall, this reiterates the level of societal sophistication that was emerging in Cork during this period. Society was becoming more streamlined, and more of the town citizens adhered to narrower occupational definitions. Along with the judicial overseers of the town, which were appointed from England, a localised political scene was beginning to emerge. The divisions of power were becoming more elaborate and the occupants of Cork began to experience, and understand the power of commerce and the role it played in determining the social strata of the early 13th-century town.

4.2.6 Suburb of Dungarvan
The escalating commercial potential of Cork began to attract increasing numbers of burgesses into the city as the 13th century progressed, and the area of the settlement expanded accordingly. The North Island, sparsely occupied until this period, was developed and partitioned into plots to accommodate the city’s new inhabitants. The North Island was referred to as the suburb of Dungarvan in twelfth century documents (Candon 1985, 95-6). The allocation of plots in Dungarvan had begun by the late 12th century and a series of charters from the last two decades of the 12th century detail the granting of several burgages to Anglo-Norman nobles and St Thomas’s Abbey, Dublin. These were located at the north of the bridge between the two islands, in the southern portion of Dungarvan (Reg. St Thomas Abbey, 202-9; Brooks 1936; Fig. 4.5).

To date, the archaeological evidence attests that the formal laying out of separate properties did not commence until the early 13th century in this area. The plots along North Main Street followed the same plan as those established on the South Island. They extended east-west at right angles to
the Main Street and measured c.6-8m in average width (Bradley and Halpin 1993, 27). Plot boundaries on the North Island which date to the first half of the 13th century have been exposed at west of the southern end of North Main Street and at the eastern side of the northern end of the street (Ní Loingsigh 2002; Hurley 1997). At St. Francis’s Car Park, a broadly east-west running rear property boundary was uncovered c. 30m west of the Main Street (Ní Loingsigh 2002, 20-2). A timber which post-dated this fence was dated dendrochronologically to 1237±9 AD (ibid.). This fence appeared to form a right angle with a north-south running fence c. 35m from the Main Street, and together both fences may have enclosed the western end of a property at the rear of North Main Street or between North Main Street and Cross Street. A paved surface was exposed at the south of the east-west running fence in Trench X of the excavation (Ní Loingsigh 2002, 28-30). This may have been a laneway, on the site of the later Peacock’s Lane referred to in the returns for St Peter’s Parish in 1766 (Johnson 2002, 66). A series of dumped deposits exposed in the test trenches excavated at the rear of the street produced artefacts with a late 12th- to 13th-century date (Ní Loingsigh 2002, 22-7). The use of these rear areas for general domestic dumping during this period suggests that the street frontage contained houses and associated commercial structures. The fact that this part of the town had already been divided into plots suggests the refuse was derived from the immediate area, as opposed to rubbish from those residing on the South Island.

A further property boundary was exposed at the north east of North Main Street. This was found in association with a street-fronting house with an early to mid-13th century date (Hurley 1995, 58-9). A number of dumped deposits which dated to the early to mid-13th century were exposed during excavations at the north eastern end of North Main Street (Hurley 1995, 51-2). One associated contemporary feature included a wicker-lined cess pit at the rear of a street fronting plot (ibid.). The excavation report does not indicate if this feature was sampled for environmental remains. This is an unfortunate omission as dietary evidence from this cess pit would have provided revealing information on the nature of the street-fronting occupation during this period of early development on the north island. This property was just north of Kyle Street, in the approximate central area of the northern marsh. The street fronting portion of this plot was not part of the development area, and as such, it was not possible to establish the density of occupation in the street front during the early and mid-13th century. The construction of a wicker lined cess-pit, and therefore a private amenity, in a plot suggests a degree of disposable income among the original occupants of the site during this period. Further evidence of dumped deposits from the early to mid-13th century on the North Island was uncovered at Grattan Street and Phillip’s Lane (Lennon 2003, 62-77;
Overall, the archaeological evidence does not indicate a high density of settlement in this particular area at this time. The remains, as a whole, indicate that the focus of development was mainly along sections of the street front, with little evidence of structures at the rear of the properties. This was in contrast to the South Island, where settlement was extending rapidly back into the rear of properties toward the town wall.

### 4.2.7 General development of the South Island

Whereas the level of expansion on the North Island seemed more staggered throughout the first half of the $13^{th}$ century, archaeological evidence indicates that the pace of development on the South Island intensified considerably. This was apparent at all of the sites at which early to mid-$13^{th}$-century layers were identified. At least four of these sites were located approximately mid-way between the $13^{th}$-century street front and the town wall. At each of these sites the archaeological layers were indicative of a rapid accumulation of deposits signifying the intensification of settlement in these areas. The location of these trenches would have been relatively marginal during the late $12^{th}$ century and their utilisation as living space points to the pressure for space that was on the street frontage as the town began to benefit from the Anglo-Norman-seeded trade and commercial expansion.

At the sites at Tobin Street, 11-13 Washington Street and Tuckey Street, an overall improvement in the delineation between plots was apparent in the early $13^{th}$-century levels (Papazian 2003; McCutcheon 2003; O’Donnell 2003a). This indicates that a more formal system of property division was being put in place, where plots were possibly being granted to new migrants who a) would not have had the prior knowledge to set out their own property in their new town, and b) suggests an influx of ‘strangers’. Previously, a more casual system of property division may have worked at the rear of properties, perhaps when the town was smaller and citizens were more familiar with each other. A new wave of immigrants and the displacement of long-standing citizens from the town may have created a sense of unfamiliarity that warranted a more formalised recognition of physical boundaries between properties. At 11-13 Washington Street, a ditch formed one aspect of the southern property boundary at the rear of a street-fronting plot during the early to mid-$13^{th}$ century (McCutcheon 2003, 47-8). This is further evidence of the general improvement of the quality of the habitation areas during this period, as a more formalised drainage system was put into place. The environment of the town continued to be wet, and liable to flooding, however the new inhabitants of the town adapted their properties to accommodate, and make the best use of, their new living spaces. The rapid accumulation of rubbish layers at the rear of the plots, as noted above, by comparison with the pace of disposal identified during the
previous periods of occupation, can also be accepted as an indicator of population growth.

The streetscape of the South Island became broader, and extended eastwards and westwards, within the limits of the town wall. The extension of the plot network, and the possible establishment of secondary properties, with separate ownership, behind those at the street front, meant that the dwellers near the street front had to travel further to dump a lot of their waste. A number of new paths were laid down between the main street and the town wall. Although they were primarily constructed to connect the main street with the town wall, a large proportion of the primary deposits in these areas were derived from domestic refuse. Layers of dumped domestic refuse with an early to mid-13th-century date were identified inside the town walls at Hanover Street, Tuckey Street and 40-8 South Main Street (Power 1999; 2000; Ní Loingsigh 2005). A timber pathway, which may have been lined with wattle panels, was uncovered at Grand Parade II, c. three-quarters of the way back from the main street to the town limits at the east (Hurley 1989, 33-4). A pathway with a similar orientation was excavated at Tuckey Street, c.25m to 30m west of Grand Parade II. Here, the remains of a fenced pathway on broadly the same axis as that at Grand Parade II was uncovered (O’Donnell 2003a, 21; Hurley 1989a, 36). At Tuckey Street, this level of fencing was dated to the early 13th-century and it was constructed over an earlier boundary line which was originally demarcated in the early to mid-12th century (O’Donnell 2003a, 15). The line of this boundary was also noted at Christ Church, Area H (Cleary 1997a, 74-5). It is, of course, also possible that the three separate fences across the sites represent two different phases of a similar property boundary, as opposed to a pathway. It is feasible, however, that routes were required to access the water’s edge, and town limits during this period.

The dumping of rubbish was encouraged in these areas, as the successive depositions of materials would have served to build up the low ground inside the wall. This process may even have taken the form of a collective municipal effort. The resulting accumulation would have contributed to the formation of platforms which would be built upon as the town continued to expand (see 5.1.10). In the north-eastern corner of the site at Grand Parade II (Level 5) an oak beam delimited an area of organic fill (F44) which was made up almost entirely of twigs (Hurley 1989b, 34). It is likely that this deposit extended north and east of the exposed area. The base of a small pit with a similar fill (F46) was cut into the estuarine clay adjacent to the east-west running fence that bisected the site (F41) (ibid.). At the nearby site at Grand Parade I, excavated in 1984, a deposit that contained a high quantity of twigs and bracken was exposed inside the town wall (Context 29 in Hurley 1985, 72). That particular context produced one sherd of early to
mid-13th century pottery, and it predated the construction of the plinth of the town wall in the mid-13th-century in this area. A similarly-composed context was also recovered at a later level (Level 4) of the excavation at Grand Parade II. It is not possible to irrefutably correlate these layers of dumping between both sites. It also cannot be stated conclusively that F44 at Grand Parade II extended east of the site as far at the line of the town wall. It is likely that both layers were formed as part of a deliberate action to overlay the wet estuarine clay in an attempt to build-up the internal surfaces of the town and render the area more suitable for human inhabitation and use.

4.2.8 Housing/domestic occupation
No particular type of house-style can be said to characterise early to mid-13th-century building techniques in Cork. Structures, both domestic and industrial or craft-related, were built using a variety of techniques. These comprised post-and-wattle constructions, sill-beam, timber-framed with a possible stone-wall foundation and houses built using earth-fast upright posts or staves. The building of houses using sill-beams or timber frames supported by dwarf-stone walls or stone post-pads is generally thought to have developed post 1200 across the UK and Ireland (Giles 2011, 167-70). Once these houses fell out of use, and if the frame and wall were dismantled, these houses would have left little impression on the ground. It is therefore likely that a larger amount of houses originally existed across the town of Cork during this period, than is represented by the excavated examples.

4.2.8.1 South Island
Christ Church
Just one early to mid-13th-century street-fronting house site on the South Island is currently known to the present writer. This was located in Area H, Christ Church (Fig 4.6; Cleary 1997a, 60). Unfortunately the inconsistency of the record from Area H meant that the true nature of the overall stratigraphy across this portion of the site could not be established (Cleary 1997a, 58). The structures from Area H in this section have been dated based on a re-consideration of the associated material culture conducted by the present writer. The remains at this site comprised sections of a post-and-wattle building which was subsequently overlaid by a sill-beam house (Cleary 1997a, 63-9; see below, this section; Fig. 4.6). Just three separate sections of the post-and-wattle house were exposed. These comprised portions of the north and south walls along with a north-south running possible dividing wall which may have separated the structure into different functional areas (Cleary 1997a, 63-4). The sequence of ceramic material from this structure overlaps with that from other closely-dated early to mid-13th-century sites (Ham Green B/Saintonge/very low incidence of possibly intrusive Redcliffe ware). Interestingly, the limits of a slag layer described
in a separate section of the report align almost exactly with the post-and-wattle walls depicted for House F24/36/37 (Cleary 1997a, 80-2). A similar occurrence of ceramic material was recovered from this slag deposit (Cleary 1997a, 81-2). Furnace bottoms were noted in this deposit (ibid.). This area was delimited on the south by clay layer with four vertically-driven posts along its northern edge (ibid.). It is likely that this related to the foundation levels of a fenced path or laneway.

If house remains and the slag layer formed part of the same feature, it is possible, that they represent a metal working area, either fully enclosed by post-and-wattle walls encased with daub, or shielded from the elements by wattle-and-daub panels. This suggests that the metal-working area was located at the street-front, in a reversal from the usual sequence observed in the living spaces from 13th-century Cork where the living space was on the street-front and the industrial/craft-working areas were at the rear of the property. This lay-out may well have constituted a remnant from the Hiberno-Norse arrangement of property, as a similar sequence has been noted at the remains on the east side of Barrack Street with the working spaces sited at the street-front (see 4.2.8.4, below). The high occurrence of Hiberno-Norse material in and around Area H from early 13th-century layers suggests that a number of Hiberno-Norse families remained on the South Island until the early to mid-13th century. The present research has suggested that most of these families relocated outside the town, possibly to the Barrack Street area within the ‘Fayth’, following the completion of the town wall (see 4.2.8.4, below).

Immediately over these features was a sill-beam house (Fig. 4.6). This respected the limits of the laneway at the south of the site. The ceramic sequence from the house suggests that this structures dates to later in the first half of the 13th century. The remains comprised sill beams which formed the north, south and east walls of the structure; the western edge was outside the limits of the excavation (F70/77 and 88) (Cleary 1997a, 64-6). Vertical uprights were driven into the ground at the corners, and midway along the side walls of the visible remains (ibid.). The exposed area of the house measured 5.2-5.4 – north-south and 4.6m east-west (ibid.). The thickness of the floor levels suggested that this house had a long period of occupation which extended until at least the late 13th century. There was no structural evidence of craft-working associated with this house nor did non-ceramic finds suggest that industry was practiced near the house. The material culture did include artefacts that could be associated with commercial activity (see 4.3.3 below). This suggests that this site was completely re-purposed before the mid-13th century. This may have been instigated by a change in ownership as a result of the relocation of the Hiberno-Norse occupants and the takeover of the site by Anglo-Norman
burgesses, *i.e.* an earlier Hiberno-Norse post-and-wattle house was replaced by a Anglo-Norman burgess-built sill-beam or timber-framed house. The focus of the site seemed to switch from production to trading, which possibly indicates that a different type of citizen now came to reside in this area.

**Fig 4.6** Sill-beam house, Area H, Christ Church (from Cleary 1997a, 65)

The remaining early to mid-13th-century house sites on the South Island can all be interpreted as the ‘second’ structure back from the street-front, at the rear of the street-fronting plots. There were exposed at Christ Church (Area C), Tuckey Street CMD and 40-8 South Main Street. These had differing functions but most were domestic premises, possibly associated with external areas of craft-working. The earlier post-and-wattle house at Area C, Christ Church (see 3.3.2.5; Fig. 3.4) possibly fell out of use during this period. The area of the house may have been used as an animal byre or a craft-working area (leather-working) for a period, prior to the construction
of a sill-beam house around the mid-13th century (based on plans in Cleary 1997a, 47-53). The remains of three post-and-wattle walls at this level may represent a basic enclosing structure to contain a byre or craft-working area (Cleary 1997, 50-1).

During the intervening period between the dismantling of the late 12th-/early 13th-century post-and-wattle house in Area C (see above) and the construction of a later sill-beam house, the quality of the ground here was improved. An east-west running drain was inserted in the south of the site and a wooden trackway was constructed along the southern boundary of the excavated area (Cleary 1997a, 40-50). It may be possible that the late 12th-/early 13th-century post-and-wattle house was purposely taken down in order to implement improvement works on the site prior to the construction of a more permanent house with a sill-beam foundation. This new building had two rooms at ground level, a paved hearth and a covered wooden drain that led from the western end of the house out to the rear of the plot, and possibly beyond to the town wall (Cleary 1997a, 54-5; see Fig. 5.6 for combined plan of this structure and its later phase). This house was possibly accessed through a doorway in the north wall which led into the easternmost room (ibid.). A number of beams which lay across the internal area of the structure were described as ‘floor planks’ on the site plans, but may equally have constituted collapsed walling (ibid.). As consistent accents of wealth were noted in both the material culture (see 4.3, below) and dietary remains (see 4.4, below) for the early to mid-13th-century occupation of the earlier house, it is possible that this improvement work was carried out by the same owners that had occupied the site since the late 12th century. The cultural background of the occupants of this house could not be conclusively identified, as both Anglo-Norman and Hiberno-Norse find-types were recovered from the internal and surrounding layers. Considering the proximity of the site to a purported military garrison in the late 12th/early 13th century, and its closeness to Holy Trinity (a church which came under quick Anglo-Norman control following the incursion), the balance of evidence suggests that this was a more comfortable location for an Anglo-Norman burgess rather than a Hiberno-Norse craft-worker. If this is the case, it is possible that these burgesses gradually began to accumulate wealth, and power, as the 13th century progressed and as a result of this undertook significant structural improvements within their property.

Another structure with a possible early to mid-13th century date was excavated in a ‘medieval backyard’ at Christ Church, Area H (Cleary 1997a, 70). The street frontage at this plot was not excavated. This building had a north-south axis, which differed from all of the other structures excavated at this site, or contemporary sites (ibid.). The structure was delimited by beams at the east and west, the north and south walls were outside the limits of the
excavation. The area enclosed measured 2.8m by 2.9m and the floor comprised ‘packed straw with some wood chips’ (ibid.). It may be the case that this was an animal byre although there is no mention of animal hair or any of the other material or environmental indicators of animal housing. The recovery of a quantity of 13th-century pottery from the straw along with a gaming board for ‘nine men’s morris’ may suggest some form of domestic use for the structure, although this is not proposed in the excavation report (ibid.). It is tempting to surmise that this was a bedding/sleeping area at the rear of street-fronting property, either attached to the main house or slightly separate. The base of a potentially similar structure was located across the baulk to the north where compact straw was again delimited by structural beams (ibid.). It is tentatively put forward that these may represent some form of 13th-century inn or bunkhouse, to provide accommodation for travellers of migrant workers in the town during this period, possibly even during the construction of the town wall. Although highly speculative, the location of the house in close proximity to both the South Gate bridge and the main commercial hub of the town would have rendered it suitable for this purpose.

Tuckey Street

Structural timbers from a sill-beam house were identified at Tuckey Street during the Cork Main Drainage Scheme excavations (Power 2000, n.p.). This was located c.20m east of the junction with South Main Street. West of the sill beam structure, an area of horizontal wattle and posts may have comprised the remains of a lane or walkway leading to the structure and further out to the town walls. The ceramic assemblage from this structure was suggestive of an early to mid-13th-century (and possibly later) occupation. The sill-beams were held in place by earth-fast posts (ibid.). The alignment of the beams suggested that this structure has two rooms on its ground floor (ibid.). Unfortunately, no information was available on the non-ceramic assemblage (if any) from this structure.

The north-western corner of a stone-footed sill-beam or timber-framed house that fronted onto a high-medieval laneway, was uncovered during the Tuckey Street excavation. Although the exact date of the structure is uncertain, the foundation trench cut an early 13th-century clay deposit at this level (O’Donnell 2003a, 23). It was not possible to establish an association between the remainder of the site and this new house. If the house did front onto the original lane at Tuckey Street, it is likely that at least some of the excavated area constituted the ‘backyard’ of the property; however it was not possible to establish this during the excavation. The erection of the boundary fence running east-west behind the house may be related to the construction phase of this stone-footed house, as the archaeological evidence shows that burgage plots were delineated for, or by, the new
settlers. The high level of industry apparent in the remains from the late 12th to the early 13th century was not continued in the early to mid-13th-century levels. In common with the sequence noted at Christ Church, Area H and 40-8 South Main Street (see above and below), this may mark the transition of settlement from Hiberno-Norse craft-worker to a immigrant Anglo-Norman burgess.

40-8 South Main Street
At 40-8 South Main Street the remains of a stave-built house and a timber-framed house were exposed at the rear of two separate plots that fronted onto South Main Street (Ní Loingsigh 2005, n.p.). At the south of the site, structural remains comprised a series of earth-fast uprights, each of which stood on a composite wooden post-pad (ibid.). It is possible that sill-beams lay between each of the post-pads although this is not suggested by the excavator. It was not possible to gauge the full extent of the structure, however at 3.5m north-south and 3.8m east-west, it is likely that this area enclosed by the post-pads represented a room rather than a complete footprint of a house (ibid.). No hearth is mentioned in the stratigraphic report and the faunal assemblage was small in quantity at just 128 bones (McCarthy 2011, n.p.). This may indicate that this structure was not the main living space of the property and had a peripheral function.

At the rear of a plot at the north of the site at 40-48 South Main Street, the remains of a probable fully timber-framed house were exposed (Ní Loingsigh 2005, n.p.). Much of this was truncated by later activity and just a clay floor (5m north-south by 3.2m east-west) and associated stakeholes survived (ibid.). The absence of wall-trenches and walls suggested that this may have been a timber-framed house supported by dry stone walls which were subsequently dismantled or cut by later development. It is also possible the timber frame lay directly on the ground surface, but the underlying wet clays and muds would possibly have made some sort of stone foundation more appropriate. Although ephemeral in nature, these remains may represent one of the earliest stone-footed timber-framed houses excavated in the city to date. The ceramic material (4.3.2 below) from the site suggested it had a long period of use, and stone-footed houses tended to survive much longer that those set into the damp ground of the city’s clays. A commercial function for the property was suggested by the material culture and the faunal assemblage contained evidence of occasional high-status food consumption (4.3.3 and 4.4.4 below). It is likely that the exposed floor area of the house represented one room of a timber-framed house of at least two storeys. It is a reasonable assumption that this was the house of an Anglo-Norman burgess. The new building technique of surmounting a timber frame on dwarf walls was probably brought over from Bristol with a
new generation of migrants. They then adapted this knowledge to their new damp environment, to which it was eminently suited.

4.2.8.2 Evidence of craft-working areas

It is likely that some of the earlier dated craft-working areas continued in use during the first half of the 13th century. This is probably true of the leather-working areas noted at Hanover Street and Christ Church, Area C (Gleeson 2000, 45; Cleary 1997a, 40). The use of metal-working areas identified at Christ Church, Area H and Tuckey Street was discontinued at some point in the first half of the 13th century. This may have related to a change in the ownership of these properties (see 4.2.8.1, above). At the northwest of the site at 40-8 South Main Street, a series of deposits indicated that metal-working was on-going in the vicinity of the site during the early 13th century (Ní Loingsigh 2005, n.p.). This area was used for metal-working into the late 13th century at least. The deposits included layers of ash, gravel, mixed clay and metal slag (ibid). No house structures could be associated with this activity, although domestic material was mixed in with these layers including quantities of animal bone and carbonised grain (McCarthy 2011, n.p.; Lyons 2010, n.p.). Items associated with craft-working were found from various sites across Cork which dated to this period, indicating that various levels of industry were on-going in the South Island at this time. It is possible that the overall level of production within the town dipped slightly during this period as the remaining Hiberno-Norse artisans relocated to the Barrack Street area (see 4.2.8.4 below). This was soon remedied by the increasing influx of new burgess tenants onto both islands of the town.

4.2.8.3 Housing/Domestic Occupation – North Island (Dungarvan)

At least two houses could be conclusively dated to the early to mid-13th century at the northern end of the North Island. A further house with a potential early to mid-13th-century date was uncovered at the south-western end of the main street. The area formed the extra-mural suburb of Dungarvan during the late 12th and early to mid-13th century. Archaeological evidence to date attests to sporadic settlement in the area during the first half of the 13th century. Investigations as part of the Cork Main Drainage scheme uncovered several layers of road metalling, the earliest of which may date to this period (Power 1996, n.p.). As the Anglo-Norman north bridge of the town was fully constructed by the end of the 12th century at the latest, it can be assumed that the current North Main Street operated as a significant thoroughfare at this time. This implies that there would have been at least a small number of houses dotted along the streetscape. This amount undoubtedly increased following the allocation of burgage plots in the area from the late 12th century onwards (see 4.2.6, above).
Kyrl’s Quay/North Main Street

At the north east of the street, work on the Kyrl’s Quay/North Main Street excavations uncovered structural remains which comprised traces of two houses c.10m east of the present street front (see Fig. 4.5). In Trench 3c of this excavation, the earlier house (House 1) was of wooden construction and was indicated by a compact organic occupation layer which overlay a gravel floor (Hurley 1995, 58). The organic layer contained two timbers which formed part of the original wooden flooring and the felling dates for the timbers were 1210AD and 1211AD (ibid.).

The remains in the trench may have related to either the eastern section of a long street-fronting house, or the western, and partial eastern section, of a second structure immediate behind a street-fronting house. This wooden house was replaced by a stone-built structure. The excavator surmised that this had been undertaken a short period after the construction of the original house (ibid.). The remains from the stone house comprised a wall, a gravel-based floor and associated occupation build-up along with some possibly related wooden features (Hurley 1995, 58-9). The wall was interpreted as an internal dividing wall of a stone house which had a minimum of two rooms behind a separate street-fronting house (Hurley 1995, 59). Alternatively, this wall may have delineated the eastern limit of a long (c.15m east-west) house perpendicular to the street front. The fact that the wall was dressed on its eastern face may confirm this.

The substantial nature of the structural remains suggests that this house must have had at least two storeys. An east-west running boundary wall was constructed during the mid to late 13th century and this resulted in the destruction of stone house (ibid.). This boundary change may imply a change in ownership, or simply a necessity to delineate the correct limits of the property prior to the arrival of a new burgess family to the south of the house. The next phase of occupation (see 5.3.2 below) saw the construction of a stone-house along the same alignment as the previous house which suggests that the property was simply rebuilt or refurbished by its original occupants. The location of both houses near the street front, along with the associated material culture (see 4.3.1; 4.3.3 below) suggests they were built for primarily commercial reasons. There was no evidence of craft-working from this later phase of occupation. This suggests that this was the house of a newly-arrived Anglo-Norman burgess trader or merchant who settled in an area that was well placed for access to the North Gate Bridge and the central channel of the town and the associated commercial centre. Archaeological evidence from the mid- to late 13th century for the northern end of the street suggests that it was a production zone for metal-working, bread and other goods. The location of the house at Kryl’s Quay/North Main Street (Fig.

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4.5) would have been an advantageous decision to reap the benefits of this commercial potential.

A second house was situated at the street front further north from those described above. Unfortunately the dates for this house could not be conclusively established, however, the balance of evidence suggests that it may date to the early/mid-13th century. The remains comprised the northern wall (0.87m east-west) and a section of clay flooring from a post-and-wattle house (Hurley 1995, 55). A possible entrance was located alongside the remnant of the northern wall, however, the excavator does not describe this further (ibid.). The house was interpreted by the excavator as either a) a subsidiary building to the rear of the houses which fronted onto North Main Street in the latter half of the 13th century or b) part of a street-fronting house from that period (ibid.). The post-and-wattle construction technique would appear to date this house to the early to mid-13th century, considering the overall architectural evidence from the town at the time (see 4.2.8.1, above). Although post-and-wattle structures were still being built during this period, they mostly tended to serve as ancillary buildings to the main house. This sequence at Kyrl’s Quay may be similar to the sequence observed at a slightly later site at Christ Church, Area H (see 5.3.2 below) where a post-and-wattle structure seemed to serve as a temporary house during or prior to the construction of a more long-lasting timber-framed house. The post-and-wattle house at Kyrls Quay/North Main Street was also overlaid by a later sill-beam house. As such, this house may represent the first, temporary building constructed by a newly-arrived burgess to keep relocation costs down while establishing their trade in their new town. The recovery of a draw-blade in the metal assemblage from this house suggests that this was the house of a craft-worker. A similar, albeit better quality, sequence of construction may be suggested by the wooden and stone houses from the same excavation described above.

St Francis Car Park
One further possible post-and-wattle house was uncovered at the street-front at the southwest of North Main Street. The remains at this site were only partially exposed and comprised a c.2m long east-west running row of stakes and wattle which were found in a compact organic layer (Ní Loingsigh 2002, 17). A high content of small animal and fish bones, along with partly decomposed twigs, straw and other plant matter was identified in this layer (ibid.). At the south of this row, an area of brown, gravelly, organic material was uncovered (ibid.). Unfortunately no datable finds were retrieved from these features. The overlying organic layer produced ceramic material with a mid-late 13th century date which implies an early to mid-13th-century chronology for the above features. If they do represent a house, it may be similar to those described above, where a post-and-wattle, or
Fig 4.7 Trench 3c, Kyrl’s Quay/North Main St (from Hurley 1995, 48 & 56) Top right (a) shows the timber floor from the early 13th-century structure, (b) depicts the dividing wall between the two rooms in the slightly later stone house and (c) show the late 13th stone house in this trench.
wooden, house was the first building constructed by a newly arrived Anglo-Norman burgess. The speed, and relatively low cost, of building such a structure would have rendered them an ideal ‘starter home’ for new migrants into the town. This would have been especially true for those without significant financial means and the fact that these people were settling at the fringes of the town during this period may imply that they were not very wealthy.

4.2.8.4 The suburbs outside the marsh

Shandon

By the early 13th century, this area was under the lordship of the de Prendergasts and seemed to be operating as a rural borough and manorial caput (see 3.2.2 and Bradley et al 1985, 94-5). It is not known if some of the de Prendergasts renovated and lived in the ‘old castle’ or ‘old fort’ (sean dún) that was mentioned in late 12th-century records of the area but it can be accepted that they had a castle in the area (Reg. St Thomas Abbey, 205; Jefferies 1985, 87). This castle is depicted on later maps of the town, and most clearly on the Hardiman Map of Cork which dates from c. 1585-1600 (Fig. 4.5). The suburb of Shandon was developed as a separate borough to the town of Cork, presumably by the lords of Shandon (Jefferies 1985, 87). The documentary sources do not mention the de Prendergasts or the Barrys among the listed urban patriciate of the town, which indicates that their manorial administration was run as a separate entity to the town, and that these lords did not interfere directly in the administration of the town. The earliest historical record of the name "Shandon" seems to be a deed of 1223-30 which mentions a burgage in Shandon (Reg. St Thomas Abbey, 138). A number of factors imply that suburban development occurred in this area. It was close to river, and the northern bridge of Cork. It was therefore proximal to the town and associated commercial potential, and located at the gateway to the fertile countryside to the north of the town. A market was operating in Shandon by the late 13th century at the latest (O’Brien 2004, 51). Most of the limestone used in the construction of the town walls and other large buildings in Cork came from north of the town. This, along with the amount of agricultural products that were being brought into the town, would have put Shandon on either side of an important economic thoroughfare. There were a number of religious houses dotted around this area, and the most important appeared to be that of the Franciscans who established their friary here in the early 13th century. Milling was undertaken in the area by both the Franciscans and at the church of St. Nessan to the northeast of Shandon (Rynne 2004, 76-9). It was also in the interest of the lord of Shandon to develop a borough in his granted area, in order to maximise financial gain and longevity of occupation from this land holding (O’Brien 2004, 59-51). Unfortunately, no high medieval remains have been uncovered to date in the borough of Shandon so we can but
speculate on the true nature of the occupation there during this period. It is reasonable to assume that the physical nature of development of Shandon to some degree mirrored that which occurred on the opposite site of the Lee at Barrack Street, or the ‘Fayth’, as the topography at both locations was similar. Here, plots extended from either side of the street which curved around the hill. It is likely that the burgesses of Shandon were Anglo-Norman culturally, which would have provided a different economic impetus for development than that at the south bank of the Lee (see below, this section).

**Barrack Street /the ‘Fayth’**

The early to mid-13th century was the most intense period of activity at Barrack Street. There was a significant accumulation of domestic and industrially-derived layers of refuse that can be closely dated to this period. As previously noted, (3.3.2) the craft-working areas fronted onto the main street along the eastern side of Barrack Street. It is possible that the domestic spaces were located at the rear of the industrial areas. This contrasts with the contemporary sites from the marsh, where houses were located at the street front and industry and craft were practiced at the rear of the properties. This may serve to reinforce the idea that craft-working and artisan skills were at the forefront of the occupation here.

At 3 Barrack Street, the early 13th-century occupation at the site was indicated by a series of ash and charcoal rich layers along with oyster shell deposits, containing a quantity of animal bone, metal slag and pottery with a late 12th- or early13th–century date (Lane and Sutton 2003, 8). A pit in the north-west corner of the trench was filled by very stony brown soil with high animal bone content, some shells, metal slag, and sherds of mid-13th-century pottery (ibid.). A collapsed stone drain lay above the pit and continued east-west along the northern edge of the excavated area (ibid.). Both the pit and drain were dated, by pottery analysis, to the early to mid-13th century. The late 12th- and early 13th–century layers recorded at the site were interpreted as representative of dumping of domestic waste, hearth and industrially-derived material. The material culture from the site was suggestive of both metal-working and bone-working (4.3.2 below).

At 4 Barrack Street (Fig. 4.8), this phase of occupation was characterised by several large deposits of hearth material which were of sufficient size to suggest industrial processes (Lane and Sutton 2002, n.p.). Three hearth sites were excavated at this level (ibid.). A wall, which may have represented an initial limit to the hearth area and two extents of rough stone cobbling were also exposed. At the west of the excavated area a further level of paving overlay an earlier shell and limestone pathway (ibid). At this level, the trackway was demarcated by a low limestone wall (ibid.). A layer of black
soil which contained pieces of hearth material covered the southern half of the site at this level and was suggested to be contemporary with the hearth spreads (ibid.). The quantities of pottery sherds and animal bones recovered from this layer led the excavators to interpret it as domestic refuse deposits which were dumped with the purpose of levelling the area surrounding the hearth spreads (ibid.). Eight copper alloy buttons were recovered from this layer (ibid.). The artefacts from this level included a quantity of 13th-century pottery, several iron knives and nails, metal slag and three large honestones (ibid.). The nature of the finds, along with the stratigraphy, suggested to the excavators that the in situ burning activity undertaken here was part of a
larger industrial process, possibly blacksmithing or general metal-working, which taking place in the wider surrounding area (ibid.).

Early to mid-13th-century structural remains at 5 Barrack Street comprised an area of paving stones and an area of stones with mortar bonding which may have been part of a collapsed wall (Lane and Sutton 2003, 10-2). Over these features, a layer of soil with a high shell and animal bone content extended over this entire trench. This layer also produced a quantity of metal slag and several sherds of pottery of late 12th- or early 13th-century date (ibid.). At the eastern end of this layer, a portion of a paved hearth extended from the section face (ibid.). The exposed section of the hearth comprised heat-shattered stones set into a semi-circular shape which was surrounded by deposits of burnt stone and charcoal rich clay (ibid.). No structural remains were excavated at the Barrack Street site at the west of the street. The only positively identified ‘features’ comprised three hearths which consisted of discrete spreads of burnt sediment, ash and charcoal above a fire-reddened surface (O’Brien 1993, 31). Excavation at French’s Quay identified a series of dumped layers containing animal bone, oyster shell and charcoal/ash sediment (O’Brien 1993, 35). The material and environmental remains indicated that bone-working, carpentry and possible gold-smithing were being practiced at this site during the first half of the 13th century (see 4.3.2 below).

The archaeological evidence attests to the significant increase in development within the borough during the early to mid-13th century. It is assumed that the Barrack Street development formed part of what was historically known variously as the “Faythe”, “le Fairgh”, “Fayd” (Bolster 1972, 158-9). This may have been derived from the “faithche”, denoting a green of Cork, mentioned in the twelfth century Aislinge Meic Conglinne (Meyer 1892, 29; Bolster 1972, 158-9; Bradley et al 1985, 96). In the Anglo-Norman period this name referred to the feudal manor of the Bishop of Cork, later known as ‘the manor of St. Finbarr’s’ (Webster 1930, 178; Bolster 1972, 159). A borough associated with this manor was first referred to in 1282 in the royal escheator’s accounts for revenues from the bishopric, which names the bishop as the patron of the borough (36th Report DKPRI, 60). There is an earlier references to the Fayth in 1262 when the account of the town of Cork included, along with the 80 marks fee farm of the town, 6 marks rent from the Fayth (35th Report DKPRI, 41). It can be reasonably assumed that this administrative recognition denoted a suburb that was well-developed by this point in time. It is highly likely that there was also a market on this green during this period. A market had certainly been established here by the late 13th century, if not earlier (O’Brien 2004, 50).
Occupation in the area of the ‘Fayth’ existed before the arrival of the Anglo-Normans, however the archaeological evidence shows that it did not have a significant or specific industrial or craft-related focus during this earlier period (See 3.2.2). The development of the area as an ‘artisan quarter’ occurred after the Anglo-Norman arrival to Cork, however, the craft-working industry here only reached its zenith from the early to mid-13th century. This may have been facilitated by an influx of Hiberno-Norse from the South Island during this period which could have created an ‘Irish Town’ in the area (see 3.3.2.8). There are at least two suggested reasons for this movement of people. The increased immigration of Anglo-Norman burgesses into the South and North Islands would have created spatial and cultural pressure on the existing Hiberno-Norse population. This, in itself, may have provided an impetus for re-location. The second reason may have been the conditions created by the completion of the town wall around the South Island of the town during the first half of the 13th century (see 4.2.3). The physical restriction of access to the water’s edge, so crucial to the Hiberno-Norse way of life (Butler 1901, 35), along with the new necessity to negotiate access to the river through intermediary ‘middle men’ may have constituted too significant a restriction of freedom for the Hiberno-Norse. This may have prompted a move to the suburb of Fayth, where they regained more control over their access to the water, and possibly, more freedom in general. It is also likely that legislation may have been enacted that legally forced out the remaining Hiberno-Norse occupants of the walled town. Although no historical records for this are known from Cork to date, a parallel may be noted from a directive purportedly issued in Waterford in 1174 where most of the Ostmen were apparently expelled from the town following a rebellion (Expugnatio, 141; Parker 1994, 30-3). This truth of this directive has, however, been called into doubt (Parker 1994, 32). By contrast, the evolution of Cork’s population may have mirrored that at Limerick, where the ‘Ostmen’ were allowed to remain in the Anglo-Norman town following the initial invasion and continued to function within, and outside the walled area of the town during the early 13th century, before a unquantifiable number, either small or large, possibly relocated to the ‘Irish Town’ which was developed outside the town (O’Rahilly 1995, 172).

The building of a stone-drain at 3 Barrack Street, along with the maintenance of the laneway noted at 4 Barrack Street suggests that there was some level of administrative and municipal control in the borough during this period. These site improvements suggest that the borough was generating enough income to provide for civic amenities such as stone-built drains and surfaced laneways. It is also possible that the residents of the street collectively paid for these improvements. If that is the case, it indicates a strong sense of community among the occupants of Barrack Street at this period. The dietary remains from the sites in the area show a
noticeable degree of self-sufficiency among the occupants of the site (see 4.4.2 below). The archaeological evidence shows that significant and diverse levels of craft-working were practiced on these sites. It is likely that the dwellers of the ‘Fayth’ continued to supply quality goods to the Anglo-Norman settlement, along with catering to their own needs and those of the surrounding borough and countryside.

4.3 Material Culture
The continuing development of Cork as a commercial centre is apparent in the material culture from the early to mid-13th-century contexts. The increased diversity of artefacts attests to the broadening of the craft-working horizon. The wider range of find-spots indicates the expansion of the town, in length and breadth, as the urban area grew to encompass more space within the walls and the newer properties in the North Island. A difference in assemblage compositions, noted in earlier periods, but starting to become more pronounced as the 13th century progressed, was the identification of assemblages from sites which were found not to contain any craft-working tools (see 4.3.1; 4.3.3, below). This indicates an increase in the delineation between professions during the periods, with clear differences emerging between the roles of producers and sellers, or artisans and merchants. This was likely to have been influenced by the growing influx of Anglo-Norman migrants, with clear cultural and professional expectations regarding their new positions, both geographic and occupational. A marked increase in both the structural and artefactual evidence from Barrack Street points to the growing success of this area as a peripheral ‘artisan quarter’ occupied by relocated Hiberno-Norse craft-workers. The military-style artefacts recovered from earlier levels in Christ Church were not as frequent during this period, and it is likely that all garrison activity was refocused to the site of the newly-constructed castle(s) at the north east of the south island (see 4.2.2). There are some indicators of higher status living evident in the early to mid-13th century material culture assemblage and class distinctions began to become more pronounced during this period.

There seems to be a contraction in the distribution of craft-related (and occupational) artefacts from sites dating to the early to mid-13th century. This apparent reduction in the assemblage may be caused by archaeological reasons. It is possible that it is a victim of the ceramic dating method; there is a significant overlap in the date ranges for the various pottery types used during the 13th century which often leads excavators to ignore the first half of the century in their chronologies of excavations and adopt a general 13th/early 14th-century description of particular levels. To combat this, the present author revised the ceramic assemblages from each site, along with other typologically dated find types, and established a ceramic chronology that can be applied to this period. I established that, in Cork city, a ceramic
assemblage that mostly comprises Ham Green B and Saintonge-green-glazed with minimal amounts of Redcliffe and Cork-type ware or Minety and South-East Wiltshire ware can generally denote an early to mid-13th century assemblage. It also quite likely that the range of sites from Cork that date to this period did not represent a good sample of industry, and that the particular areas excavated were in the wrong location for the disposal of tools and utensils. Nevertheless, where correct chronologies could be established, and where the levels from earlier and later periods were found to contain informative assemblages, this contraction in the material was still apparent. It can be tentatively suggested that this was as a result of a temporary void in the artisanal milieu of the town, caused by the relocation of the Hiberno-Norse craft-workers to the suburb of Fayth, and prior to the arrival of a large number of Anglo-Norman burgess artisans. At two of the sites assessed as part of the research on this period on the South Island (Tuckey Street and 40-8 South Main Street - see 4.3.1 below), there was a cessation of possible Hiberno-Norse craft-working during the early to mid-13th-century. This is commensurate with an increase in the industrial activity apparent at Barrack Street. It is more likely however that it reflects an expansion of industry to encompass a category of professions that did not use utensils that generally survive on archaeological sites. These may have involved trades associated with food preparation, or artisan professions that were conducted outside the home space, e.g. traders, administrators, builders, shipbuilders and stonemasons.

4.3.1 Craft and Industry

A number of sites continued to produce a range of craft-related items that reflected the increasing range of professions required to accommodate the needs of the developing town. At Christ Church, Area C, material culture associated with an ever-increasing range of professions was uncovered. Along with artefacts connected with the previously identified trades of metal-working, carpentry, leather-working and spinning, which continued throughout this period, increased evidence of textile-working was uncovered (Scully 1997, 165-90; Hurley 1997a, 239-73; Hurley 1997b, 274-311). One early to mid-13th century organic layer produced a cluster of spinning and weaving implements (Hurley and Cleary 1997, 220-1; Hurley 1997a, 257; Hurley 1997b, 284). A possible net-braiding needle and a net-float were excavated from Area C (Hurley 1997a, 270; Hurley 1997b, 291). At Tuckey Street, the earlier metal-working area ceased to be used during this period. However, diverse artefacts from the early to mid-13th century contexts indicated that craft was on-going in the vicinity of the site during this period. A number of iron nails, rivets, two awl/punches and a gouge were excavated from refuse layers at this level (O’Donnell 2003a, 23; Carroll and Quinn 2003, 266-8).
Evidence of ship-building may be indicated by a number of wooden dowels from early to mid-13th century levels at Grand Parade II (Hurley 1990, 78). Alternatively, this may suggest an rise in the construction of timber-framed houses and a commensurate increase in the amount of professional carpenters in Cork at this time. A possible draw-knife handle was recovered from a purported early to mid-13th century post-and-wattle house at the north east of the North Main Street (Kyrl’s Quay/North Main Street excavations) (Hurley 1996, 30-1). Drawknives were used by a range of medieval craft-workers including bowmakers, wheelwrights, carpenters, clogmakers, turners and joiners. It is possible that a practitioner of one of these trades occupied the post-and-wattle house during the period under discussion. The structural evidence suggested that this was the house of a newly-arrived Anglo-Norman migrant burgess (see 4.2.2). At 40-8 South Main Street, a quantity of metal slag from dumped layers denoted metal-working in the immediate vicinity of the site, possibly in its northeast area (Ní Loingsigh 2005, n.p.).

Thus, the material culture indicates that craft-working and industry continued to be practiced on the North and South islands during the early to mid-13th century. At the start of this period, it is likely that a portion of this was still being carried out by resident Hiberno-Norse. As the century progressed, and possibly following the completion of the town walls, the Hiberno-Norse relocated and it can be assumed that Anglo-Norman burgess artisans gradually took their place.

4.3.2 The ‘Fayth’
On Barrack Street, finds from both sides of the street indicate an increase in the intensity of industry in this area during the first half of the 13th century. Metal slag was uncovered across all three sites at 3-5 Barrack Street. Along with a notably large quantity of metal slag, the finds from 4 Barrack Street included knives, nails, whetstones, an incomplete iron horseshoe, four iron nails, one iron tack and unidentified iron ‘objects’ (Lane and Sutton 2002, n.p.). No specialist assessment has been undertaken on the metal slag from these sites. The recovery of an incomplete horseshoe suggests that the workers on the site were blacksmiths or may simply indicate that a horse lost a shoe in this area. Evidence of bone-working continued to originate from 5 Barrack Street and the Barrack Street/French’s Quay sites (McCarthy 2002, n.p.; O’ Brien 1993, 33-47). It is also eminently likely that the craft items discussed in the previous section (See 3.3.3 – the ‘Urnes’ style motif-piece and the draw-blade) continued to be used during this period, and that some form of carpentry, and possibly gold-smithing, were on-going in the vicinity of the site. The foundation of the nearby Dominican house at St Mary’s of the Isle and the Franciscan Priory in Shandon, along with the general expansion of the priories would imply a requirement for
skilled craftsmen for both practical and decorative aspects of their construction. The building of formal administrative stone structures on the South Island may have echoed that requirement for prestige craftsmanship and items, manufactured by skilled and reputable artisans. The requirements of both communities would appear to have been adequately served from both within, and outside, the walled town.

4.3.3 Commerce and Trade
The artefact assemblage from three separate houses from this period produced no evidence of craft-working or industry. In all cases, the structures seemed to have been built for reasons of commerce, not manufacture or production. Two were situated at the street-front, but at opposite ends of the developing town and a third was located in the rear of a plot at the southern end of South Main Street. At Christ Church, Area H, a street-fronting sill-beam house was built over an earlier area of (possibly Hiberno-Norse) metal-working (see 4.2.2, above) (F70/77 and 88) (Cleary 1997a, 64-6). The non-ceramic finds from the first level of occupation at this house were few and included an iron knife and a tally stick (Cleary 1997a, 66). Although the assemblage was small, the complete absence of any craft-related finds from an area that had previously produced consistent evidence of industry represents a notable change in focus on the part of the inhabitants. This possibly reflects new ownership, along with a shift in the profession of the occupants to either a commercial or an administrative role in the town. Slight accents of high-status living were apparent in the contemporary material culture (see below) and this structure had a long period of use, with increasing levels of wealth as the 13th century progressed (see 4.6 below). This evidence combines to suggest that this was the house of a newly arrived Anglo-Norman burgess merchant, and distinct Anglo-Norman artefact types were apparent in the slightly later material assemblage.

Similarly, a street-fronting house at Kryl’s Quay did not produce any evidence of craft working either within, or in the associated external layers (Hurley 1995, 58-9). A parchment pricker was recovered from the earlier of the two houses built at this site during the first half of the 13th century (Hurley 1996, 31-2). This implies literacy among the occupants of the house and may indicate a profession in commerce, trading or administration. The house was constructed on a newly-granted burgess plot and it seems likely that this was the house of an Anglo-Norman immigrant burgess.

The material culture from a timber-framed house at 40-8 South Main Street was more suggestive of commerce than industry. Here, the range of finds included nails, part of a lower stone of a rotary quern, leather, a scale balance and fragments of scale balance pans and a whetstone (Ní Loingsigh
2005, n.p.). The leather has not yet been assessed from this site so it not possible to state whether it showed evidence of in situ cobbling and repair. The scale balance and pans though indicate that some form of trading, either alongside, or without, craft-working was on-going in the vicinity of the site. Again, this is an area that all strands of data have suggested was re-settled by Anglo-Norman burgess newcomers during the early to mid-13th century.

The material culture from these sites links in with a narrative created from both the structural and dietary evidence across the town during this period. The gradual growth in Anglo-Norman immigrants, coupled with the relocation of the Hiberno-Norse and the increasing sophistication of the economy of the town provided opportunities for the growth of a new commercial class. This class operated independently of craft-working and manufacture and accrued significant wealth and power as the 13th century progressed.

4.3.4 Personal effects and leisure
A number of items related to the leisure time and personal effects of the early to mid-13th-century dwellers of Cork. A gaming board for ‘nine men’s morris’ was found in a sill-beam structure at the rear of a plot at Christ Church, Area H (Fig. 4.9; Cleary 1997a, 70). A set of eight copper alloy beads was identified in the assemblage from 4 Barrack Street, but they have not been assessed by a specialist to date so their function remains unknown (Lane and Sutton 2002, n.p.). Copper-alloy stick pins and combs were retrieved from multiple layers at Christ Church and 11-13 Washington Street (Scully 1997, 180-3; Carroll and Quinn 2003, 264-6). A number of bone mounts were excavated from an early to mid-13th-century layers at Christ Church (Hurley 1997b, 263). A harp tuning peg came from Area H, Christ Church (Fig. 4.10; Hurley 1997b, 259, 270). Although none of the above constitutes prestige items as such, they do point to increased levels of purchasing power on the part of the occupants of the areas from which they were retrieved. The gaming boards and musical instruments suggest that quality leisure time was a reality for some of the occupants which in turn is suggestive of financial security.
5.3.5 **Indications of status**
As outlined above, no ‘prestige’ items, indicative of great wealth, were among the material culture assemblage for this period. What is discernible, is an overall increase in the quality of life of the citizens. This was manifested by greater diversity of artefacts, and a growing frequency of items that could be considered ‘unnecessary’, and therefore be understood as ‘luxury items’. These include the personal effects and leisure items noted above. At Christ Church, the typology of the

pottery assemblage for this period expanded (Gahan *et al* 1997). This could also be a reflection of a higher quality of life among some of the occupants at this site as they broadened the range of wines and other imported items that they consumed. A more nuanced understanding of the social status of the townsfolk is apparent in the results of the analysis of the dietary remains (see 4.4.1, below).

![Fig. 4.10 Bone harp-peg from Area H, Christ Church (after Hurley 1997i, 259).](image)

4.4 Dietary Evidence
The dietary evidence from archaeological sites dating to the early to mid-13\textsuperscript{th} century attests to the good general standard of living enjoyed by the citizens of the town during this period. Information relating to the analysis of seven environmental assemblages from the South Island, and four from the Barrack Street area were available to the present author. Of these sites, three could be directly linked with structural remains from discrete houses (Christ Church and 40-8 South Main Street; see 4.2.8.1). The four assemblages from Barrack Street came from refuse deposits associated with areas used for craft-working and industry, and most likely originated from domestic occupation associated with this activity. The remaining dietary evidence was from locations peripheral to identifiable areas of domestic
occupation, and as such, simply serves as a general indication of the dietary trends during the period under discussion.

Both the archaeozoological and archaeobotanical data (where available - see 2.5.2) demonstrate that overall, a good quality diet was eaten by the citizens of Cork during this period. The frequency of the faunal remains show that meat was regularly consumed on days when it was allowed by religious decree and the three main domesticated animals (cattle, sheep and pigs) were exploited consistently and commonly for their flesh across the walled town and the suburbs at Barrack Street. The animal bones reflect the secondary economic value that was generally placed on the flesh of cattle and sheep (Margaret McCarthy, pers. comm.). Although beef and mutton came from generally older animals, it appeared to be relatively plentiful and regularly consumed. The high degree of fragmentation apparent on the bones (McCarthy 1997, n.p.) indicates that the bulk of the meat was cut up and stewed, a method which still provides the most palatable results for this type of meat. This approach also synchronises with the medieval humoral theory which decreed that the flesh of older animals was most suited to boiling (Sykes 2006, 70). Although the faunal assemblage was dominated by the remains of older animals, the evidence points to the infrequent consumption of young animals at some sites, and perhaps more commonly at others. A range of cereals and other plant foods were exploited during this period and the archaeobotanical remains reflect the increased diversity in the arable farming undertaken in the hinterland of the town.

4.4.1 The walled town

The faunal remains from early to mid-13th-century sites within the walled town, again testify to the central role that meat played in the diet of the citizens during this period. As previously noted, the three main domesticates are well represented, with fluctuating levels of frequency at different sites. At Christ Church, the faunal remains came from the early to mid-13th-century occupation of the post-and-wattle house at Area C. The bones of cattle and pig dominated the assemblage (McCarthy 1997, 346-9; McCarthy 1997, n.p.). Bones from all parts of the skeleton were present indicating that at least some slaughter and primary butchery was undertaken on, or in the immediate vicinity of the site (McCarthy 1997, 346). The most commonly retrieved cattle bone elements were vertebrae (19%, ibid.), but as these are among the most common bones in the skeleton of the animals, their frequency cannot conclusively be stated as significant. Of the vertebrae recovered from cattle, the thoracic and lumbar vertebrae, which are those nearest the more tender cuts of beef (e.g. fillet and striploin), together constituted the bulk (73% = thoracic 46% and lumbar 27%) of the vertebral remains (extracted from McCarthy unpublished datasheets). This meant that the tenderest cuts of beef were often consumed by the occupants of the post-
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and-wattle house. It must be borne in mind, however, that the modern value placed on various cuts of meat may not reflect those that were most prized during the medieval period. Nonetheless, it may be reasonable to assume that tender beef was a preferred option among cattle consumers at this time. These choice cuts may have been the most expensive and suggest a level of increased purchasing power among the occupants of this site.

It is interesting to note, however, that at the time of publication of the faunal report a higher proportion of calves (34 specimens) had been recorded in the Christ Church assemblage than in that from any other site of a contemporary date in Cork (McCarthy 1997, 352-3). This representation has not been matched by any subsequent analyses. McCarthy (1997, 353) speculates that this may be indicative of a difference in status between the main street residents and those of the nearby laneways, but she also states that the overall sample was too small to infer any definite conclusions on this possibility. Many of the calf remains came from contexts that also produced bones from other young animals, namely suckling pigs and lambs (McCarthy 1997, n.p.). Infrequent remains from wild animals were also found in assemblages from contexts that produced bones from young animals (McCarthy 1997, n.p.). These included bones from rabbits, hare and two deer tibia fragments (ibid.). The evidence for the consumption of a variety of young animals, and wild animals, may further corroborate the suggestion that a degree of high-status eating was on-going at this site during its occupation. Although rare instances of high status food consumption were observed elsewhere in the town during this period, they were more frequent among the remains from Christ Church.

The high proportion of pig remains (c.30%) in this assemblage may be as a result of the longevity of the occupation at the post-and-wattle house. The structural and artefactual evidence suggests that a single family unit lived at this site for a long period following the Anglo-Norman invasion, and initial occupation, of the South Island of the town. Earlier faunal data has shown a preference for the early Anglo-Norman settlers for pork over mutton/lamb (see 3.3.4). It is possible that the faunal evidence offers further corroboration of this longevity of occupation. The ability of a single family unit to remain at a single, centrally-located site for a period of c.50 years at this time is in itself, a statement of financial and political success.

The analysis of a small assemblage from a possible timber-framed house at 40-8 South Main Street identified a high ratio of young animal bones in the remains. These were from lambs and piglets, and their frequency suggested to the specialist that the occupants of this house ‘may have enjoyed better quality foodstuffs than other residents of the street’ (McCarthy 2011, n.p.). The structural evidence and material culture from this site suggested that it
was the house of an Anglo-Norman burgess trader or merchant (see 4.2.8.1). The faunal remains point to a high standard of living at this house. This contrasts with the assemblage from a nearby house at the site, the excavation of which produced a faunal assemblage more in line with the ‘normal’ meat consumption patterns of the period (McCarthy 2011, n.p.). This pattern is echoed in the remaining faunal assemblages, from 11-13 Washington Street, Tuckey Street Level 4 and Grand Parade II, which could not be closely associated with occupation levels (McCarthy 2003).

The ‘normal meat diet’ from this period in Cork is essentially denoted by an assemblage that almost completely comprises bones from the three main domesticates with little to no evidence of juvenile or wild animal consumption. Meat still appears to have been frequent and central to this type of diet, albeit from older animals and with less variety, both in terms of cooking and the cuts of meat consumed. Occasional wild animals, such as hare and rabbit, would have been eaten. These could have been trapped or poached quite easily in the immediate hinterland or the town, or perhaps they were given as gifts by members of the urban elite, who had easier access to such foods (Beglane 2009). The faunal remains from across the South Island indicate that small flocks of domestic fowl, both chickens and geese, were kept by the residents there. They do not occur as frequently in these sites as at those excavated at Barrack Street (see 4.4.2, below) which may imply that the citizens purchased more poultry meat from sellers within the town. This may also reflect a retrieval bias during the excavation of the sites on the South Island. However, the consistency of such a low recovery of fowl across all sites for this period may give credence to the former suggestion.

This type of ‘normal’ diet as described above can be understood as a reflection of a general sense of prosperity on the part of its consumers. It certainly does not imply levels of poverty and degradation among the craft-working class of the town during this period.

### 4.4.2 Barrack Street (in the ‘Fayth’)

The dietary evidence from four sites at Barrack Street reflected a number of agricultural and commercial trends which shaped the diet of the citizens of this suburb during the early to mid-13th century. The faunal remains assemblages from 3 and 5 Barrack Street were so identical in compositions that it seems that they came from the same house, or overall family unit.

By comparison with the trends noted in the Hiberno-Norse faunal assemblage from 3 and 5 Barrack Street, the analysis has shown that the consumption of cattle increased sharply between the periods before and after the Anglo-Norman colonisation of Cork (based on McCarthy 2003,
n.p.). This no doubt reflects the increased availability of beef in Cork during the 13th century, when the trade in cattle hides was one of the most lucrative in the town (e.g. CDI, i, no. 2552). The faunal remains from all sites on Barrack Street show that on-site butchery was common, and that the animals providing the hides were brought into town ‘on the hoof’. As the trade in hides increased, so did the amount of cattle entering the town and therefore the amount of carcasses that were available for consumption. As bone-workers, it is also likely that the occupants had working relationships with farmers or agents involved in the trading of cattle between the hinterland and the town. This may have also contributed to an increase in the amount of cattle eaten by the occupants of the site. They may even have kept a small herd near the town, or had familial relations with farmers in the hinterland of the suburb. It is likely that there was a live animal market somewhere in this suburb or within the borough of ‘Fayth’ from where these residents could procure their supply. It is probable that there was a market at this location since the 12th century at the latest (Bradley and Halpin 1993, 22). This would have meant that their supply chain for food and animal-derived raw material was not directly governed by the administrators of the walled town. This may have further enhanced the distinct and independent character of this ‘artisan quarter’ during this early to mid-13th century.

Some evidence for farrowing was evident at all the Barrack Street sites (McCarthy 1993, 43-5; 2002 n.p.; 2003 n.p.; McCarthy 2003, 377-8). The remains also show that flocks of domestic fowl were kept by the 13th-century occupants of the area (McCarthy 2002, n.p.; 2003, n.p.). The herds of pigs and flocks of birds kept by the occupants of the sites were of sufficient size and quality to allow for the occasional slaughter of younger animals. The bones from the three main domesticated animals from all four sites indicate that they were slaughtered on, or in the immediate vicinity of the areas of occupation. The faunal evidence gives an impression of self-sufficiency among the residents of the base of Barrack Street during the early to mid-13th century. Their overall meat diet seems to have been occasionally supplemented by the eating of more luxury foods, such as young animals and wild fowl in low numbers (McCarthy 1993; 44-5; 2002, n.p.; 2003, n.p.). A small number of bones from other wild animals, which may have originated from poaching in the surrounding hinterland or through gift-giving (e.g. wildfowl, deer, hare and rabbit), were noted in the bird and mammal bone assemblages from the sites. It is likely that together, these types of bones relate to rare feasting events undertaken during the 13th century. The lack of targeted animal bone sampling strategy during the excavations means the number of fish bones from the sites are vastly under-represented, but there can be no doubt that fish was consumed frequently by the occupants of all sites (e.g. Coy 1989, 26).
The over-riding impression from the analysis of the faunal and plant remains from Barrack Street is that of self-sufficiency. The dietary evidence does not present direct evidence of poverty, or conversely of wealth, among the early to mid-13th-century occupants of the sites. In all, it seems that these suburban citizens comfortably straddled the middle ground of Cork urban society during this period, and were largely self-sufficient when it came to matters of meat supply and consumption.

4.5 Discussion - drivers for societal change during this period

4.5.1 Geo-political drivers

The geo-political stability of the early to mid-13th century led to the expansion and continued commercial success of the developing colonial town. This period of relative calm afforded the Anglo-Normans the time and ability to re-shape the political landscape of Cork and its hinterland. The results of these efforts had significant structural and economic impacts on the developing town. Structurally, the newly established system of administration required physical bases from which to operate and govern. These were provided by the construction of King’s Castle on the South Island, and possibly a further castle at the south-eastern limit of the North Island, Queen’s Castle. This period of political stability gave further licence to the concept of building permanent structures which would define the physical impact of the town both within the growing colony, and to the foreign immigrants and merchants that began to arrive into the town. The structural changes that began at the end of the 12th century gathered pace, and further administrative buildings began to dominate the streetscape of the town. The most momentous constructive effort during this period was the erection of the town walls, a physical alteration of the town space that had significant structural and sociological impacts on the citizens of the developing town. The political stability also allowed for the foundation of new large religious houses, patronised by the Anglo-Norman lords whose financial gains increased in line with the commercial expansion and success of the town. A combination of the guarantees provided by relative political stability of this part of the colony, and the charter of 1189, made the town attractive for a range of new burgess immigrants and merchants, eager to capitalise on its economic potential.

The geopolitical imprint of the Anglo-Norman occupation was felt significantly in the hinterland of the Cork, where the imposition and growth of the feudal system during the first two decades of the 13th century had a substantial economic impact on the development of town. The establishment of the manorial system created a larger surplus of production than any previous agriculture practice, and this surplus was funnelled through the newly-improved and regulated port of Cork. Trade networks increased and the new citizens of the town, be they religious, Anglo-Norman or European,
brought with them the connections and knowledge to sell the results of the agricultural improvements. The physical mass of the town expanded and the extended Main Street began to take on even more of an Anglo-Norman character. Political stability and commercial success resulted in more funds being available to improve the streetscape of the town.

4.5.2 Socio-economic drivers
In common with the previous period (3.2.5.2), the most meaningful socio-economic driver during this period was the success and expansion of the strengthening commercial class within the town. This was complemented by the imposition of the feudal system, and the introduction of manorial farming in the hinterland, which helped to shape the social structure of the period, along with facilitating a rapid expansion in agricultural production. The increasing economic success of the town attracted new burgesses, which provided demographic depth to the Anglo-Norman occupation. Within the walled town, this led to citizens of Anglo-Norman cultural background being present across all strata of society, leaving no isolated and untouched class of Hiberno-Norse or native Irish in place. This meant that the original inhabitants of the town were not able to dominate any aspect of life within the town during this period. The range of crafts practiced within the walled town expanded during this period, and the town grew, both in length and breadth, to accommodate the new arrivals.

The construction of the town walls must have a provided a sense of cultural cohesion on the islands of the marsh, and this, coupled with the denial of a long-held access to the water’s edge by the original Hiberno-Norse occupants of the South Island, may have provided the impetus for the last exodus of those families from the South Island. It was during this period that the ‘artisan quarter’ at the ‘Fayth’ really began to exhibit signs of growth and commercial security. This suggests that the economic success of the early 13th-century town was of sufficient depth to accommodate a thriving craft-working community both within, and outside, the Anglo-Norman walled town.

4.5.3 Technological drivers
The technological drivers that effected change during this period are most visible in the structural legacy from early 13th-century Cork. Large scale buildings of stone were a new technological development in both Cork, and Ireland, at this time, and the erection of urban castles, walls and large administrative building must reflect the introduction of new forms of building technology into the country. The port was also developed and defined using quay walls of stone during this period. New technological innovations were also apparent in house-building practices during the early 13th century. This period saw the introduction of fully timber-framed
houses, some supported by low stone walls, into the archaeological record. The completion of the works described above must have necessitated the immigration of skilled builders from established Anglo-Norman centres in England and beyond.

While the range of technology employed in the craft-working activities in the ‘Fayth’ area remained similar in practice during this period, a growing diversity of industrial technology was gaining purpose on the industries carried out within on the islands of the marsh. New weaving and textile working developments were introduced into the town during this period and the material culture from the excavations reflects this change in technology. The results of these developments are also apparent in the faunal data as the percentages of sheep consumption began to grow as the wool industry expanded. As the 13th-century progressed, the range of professions within the walled town diversified increasingly as the citizens benefitted from technological developments introduced from elsewhere in the Anglo-Norman world.

4.5.4 Environmental drivers
During the late 12th and very early 13th century, the Anglo-Normans adapted their form of house-building and general construction to suit the low, wet environment of urban Cork. From the early 13th century onwards however, we see the Anglo-Normans adapt the environment of the town to suit their particular needs, and actively improve upon and begin to dominate the natural background of the area. The construction of the town wall permanently altered the natural environment of Cork as it diverted the course of the River Lee to a path largely followed today. The development and improvement of the new port along the central channel between the North and South Islands was further change to the existing hydrological nature of the town. The river became part of an Anglo-Norman system of fortification and commerce as the new generations of occupants began to truly use the setting of the town to define their physical presence in the landscape and further their own commercial expansion.

4.6 Social differentiation
In the previous period (see 3.6) the origins of a social divides were just becoming apparent across the sociological landscape of the developing town of Cork. By the middle of the 13th century these divisions had evolved and the social structure of the town appeared to comprise of at least four main structural groupings. At the top in terms of macro- political, financial and cultural capital, were the elite of the town and surrounding area. This group comprised the colonising lords of Corks, and those granted land both within, and outside of the town. Frequently derived from the Norman nobility of England and South Wales, this group remained in, or proximal to, positions
of power in Cork throughout the 13th century and beyond. As the 13th century continued, the original royally-appointed overlords of the town were both joined, and replaced, by a prosperous merchant class, who began to form an urban oligarchy. In fact it seems that the landed knightly class were effectively pushed out of positions of direct influence in the town as the 13th century progressed. The members of the new urban elite were drawn from a number of background and primarily included merchants and the administrators of the town. Although not quite the governors of the town in the early 13th century, they carried significant capital in their transactions with the denizens of Cork during this period.

Straddling these two social groupings in the upper strata of society were the priors and leaders of the various religious houses in Cork. Different religious leaders were relegated to different classes presumably on the bases of their familial or social connections, and the wealth and financial capital of their various houses. The third social group identifiable in the archaeological evidence from the early to mid-13th century comprised the numbers of craft-workers, both Anglo-Norman and Hiberno-Norse, who operated both inside and outside the town walls. Possibly both literate and illiterate, they nonetheless derived a good level of income from their skills as artisans and producers. Many were among the new Anglo-Norman burgesses that arrived into the town during the late 12th and 13th centuries. Structures and sites that were occupied by this category of citizen are the most frequent in the archaeological record from Cork. Overall, the evidence shows that these people enjoyed a good quality of life, with sufficient food and sturdy, warm housing. This social grouping may have included low-level clerks, involved in the lower rungs of the town’s administration. Although not represented in the archaeological record, they are listed in court documents of the later period (e.g. *Cal. Justic. Rolls Ire.*, i, 17, 95, 264), where they are referred to in a similar vein to the craft-workers of the period.

The fourth class, which is difficult to trace on the archaeological record, comprises the poorer workers of the town, who did not have trades that they could readily translate into financial gain. These probably comprised the servants, labourers maids, and low level traders who probably did not have the ‘free’ tenant status of ‘burgess’. They are possibly comparable to the cottiers who operated within the rural feudal system. It is likely that this grouping lived in small, less structurally permanent homes at the periphery of the town, without full access to burgage plots. It is also very possible that they were lodgers in the houses of the more financially successful burgesses, and as such leave no individual remains in the archaeological record. A final class of people, virtually invisible when assessing structural archaeological evidence, but occasionally noted in osteoarchaeological
assemblages, were the destitute and diseased. A common grouping in the popular narrative of the medieval period, they are infrequent in both the historical and archaeological records. This group often forms part of the common perception of the medieval urban beggar however the present research suggests that they existed at the fringes of society, and were vastly outnumbered by more successful lower-ranking townsfolk.

4.7 Conclusion
By the middle of the 13th century the town had fully transitioned from a garrison town into a burgeoning commercial entity. It was well-defined in the landscape, and protected and delimited, by high strong stone walls. The port was sheltered and guarded. Safe entry and egress could be almost guaranteed for trading-ships in and out of the harbour. The Anglo-Normans had fully supplanted the Gaelic and Hiberno-Norse political structures with their system of administration and government. As a result, the town could offer certain protections and incentives to merchants, both those living locally and the increasing amount of merchants that began to flow into the town. The town was gifted with a skilled and diverse workforce, who had the capatown to build large stone structures along with the skills to manufacture a range of quality smaller goods. At the fringes of the town, the citizens of politically acquiescent boroughs supplemented the skilled workforce of the town. These boroughs were also home to a range of elegant and thriving religious foundations. The potential of the fertile hinterland of the town had been harnessed and the markets and ports of the town appeared to be replete with high quality agricultural produce. Combined with the external demands for Irish produce elsewhere in the Anglo-Norman empire, all of the above factors created an ideal environment for a further period of sustained growth in the town. This was realised by the economic advancements of the later 13th century.
Chapter 5  Mid- to late 13th century (c. 1240 to c.1290)

5.1 Introduction
The mid to late 13th century was possibly the most sustained period of economic success during Cork’s high medieval era. Over the course of 50 or so years, the population of Cork increased and the town expanded to fill both islands on the marsh. An influx of Anglo-Norman burgesses re-shaped the industrial landscape and environment of the town. Ireland in the late 13th century has been described as a ‘receptacle which contained late 13th-century English population overflow (O’Keeffe 1998, 87), and the new technologies and industrial improvements apparent in Cork’s late 13th century archaeological record would indicate that a good number of these new burgesses came from England, and to a lesser degree, France and North-West Europe (see 5.2, below; O’Brien 2004, 54-5). The manorial centres of the Cork hinterland and wider Cork area were thriving by the mid to late 13th century (O’Conor 2004, 236-8; O’Brien 2004, 51-2). These centres must have contained tenants, both free and un-free, who were eager to migrate and try their luck in Cork, where work opportunities existed and upward social mobility was becoming a real possibility at this time (see 5.2.10.8; 5.6, below). Natural population increase among the first wave of Anglo-Norman burgesses of the town also accounted for the expanded space, and internal migration within the town by established families is also apparent in the archaeological record (see 5.2.10.8, below).

During the mid to late 13th century trade in and out of the port of Cork increased exponentially. Perhaps the best contemporary documentary expression of the commercial ambition of the burgesses and merchants of Cork can be seen in the Henry III’s 1242 charter to the town. The terms of this charter created a safer legislative climate in which to conduct trade, both on the part of the burgesses of the town, and with foreign merchants (CDI, i, no. 2552). The charter made provisions regarding debts that guaranteed that individual burgesses would not be punished for debt incurred by another (O’Brien 1985, 53-5). This would have facilitated a more confident approach to trading in the town, as individuals could no longer be held accountable for illegal transactions which were not of their own doing. The commercial property of both the burgesses of Cork, and the merchants trading with or in the town, was protected, and could not be seized by royal justices or other officers of the crown without the consent of the owners of such goods (O’Brien 1985, 53). Again, this added to the sense of financial security that could be used to incentivise increased trade in the town (ibid.).
Fig. 5.1 Location of mid- to late 13th-century excavations
In 1242, the citizens of the town petitioned the crown to grant them a charter that would bestow them with the rights to relative autonomy that had been given to Dublin in 1215 and Waterford in 1232 (Otway-Ruthven 1980, 124). This entailed the right to hold the town of the crown in free burgage on payment of a yearly fee farm rent of 80 marks, payable to the Dublin exchequer in two moieties at Easter and Michaelmas (CDI, i, no. 2552; O'Sullivan 1937, 282-3; O'Brien 1985, 51). The reality of this grant was that it allowed the burgesses of Cork to appoint their own officials, and therefore assume a good degree of responsibility for their own internal affairs (Reynolds 1977, 51). This, effectively, codified the increasing power of the burgeoning merchant class in the town, and allowed their members to advance to real positions of political control within the town. The last royal governor was Peter de Rivall, appointed in 1232 and dismissed in 1234 (CDI, i, nos 1976, 2000; Orpen 1915, 182).

The chronological origins of the municipal government are unclear. Dublin was granted the right to elect its own mayor in 1229 (Otway-Ruthven 1980, 124). The 1242 charter refers to the ‘provost’ of Cork (CDI, i, no. 2552), however, it cannot be stated for sure if the roles of ‘provost’ and mayor were commensurate at this period. The first historic record of the ‘mayor and commonalty’ of Cork dates to 1281 (CDI, ii, no. 1814). It can therefore be assumed that the administrative structure of Cork became fully realised as the second half of the 13th century commenced. This strong centralised and locally-based government, within the town, fostered a politically-stable commercial environment in which trade and commerce flourished. The successful and stable economy that this created allowed for an expansion of municipal works expressed through the completion of the circuit of the town wall, along with a series of structural improvements to the streetscapes, and living spaces, of the town. A greater sense of communality was apparent across the town (see 5.2.4-8, below), and the unity of purpose generated by the expanded financial success can be seen in the range of structural advancements made during this period.

5.2 Structural/architectural evidence (Fig. 5.1)

5.2.1 The Castles (Fig. 4.2)

It is likely that the two principal castles of the town, King’s Castle and Queen’s Castle, had duel defensive and administrative purposes during this period. Their location at either side of the main water-gate into the town, points to their role in the defence of this important access point (see 4.2.1). Considering how open the port was to visiting merchants during this period, it may be surmised however that this defensive position was largely symbolic and served a primarily aesthetic purpose. The looming presence of the castles at the port entrance to the town would also have emphasised the
power of the King, and potently displayed that Cork was a Royal town. It can then be assumed that the space and buildings which comprised both of these large towers was put to a number of complementary economic and administrative uses, and possibly toll-gathering was the most significant (see 4.2.1). It has been suggested that the King’s Castle served as a gaol and that the Queen’s Castle was more administrative in purpose (Power 2005, 18). In the absence of direct archaeological or historical evidence, it is not possible to confirm this. It is, however, commonly accepted that the town’s gaol was housed either within, or proximal to, the King’s Castle; however this has never been formally established for the medieval period (Bradley et al 1985, 43-4). A 15th-century reference states that the constable of the castle was also custodian of the gaol, which implies a geographic link between the two roles (RCH, 165: no. 100, 206, 209). It may be possible that this later record reflects a continuity of purpose for either the castle, or a building located within its precinct. As noted in the previous chapter, (4.2.1), various 16th- and 17th-century maps depict rectangular buildings at the west of the castle. The earliest map, the 1545 Plan of Cork City (Fig. 4.2 (A)) shows a square/rectangular building abutting the western edge of the King’s Castle tower, set within a courtyard (or bawn). This may be the site of the gaol, or it may have been contained within a lower room of this building or even in the tower itself. The gaol is referred to as a ‘lower room’ in a 1609 the charter of James I (Rep. IPRI, i, 622-9).

It is not known how the castles of Cork developed physically during this period. It may be assumed, however, that the economic success enjoyed by the citizens during the later 13th century was somehow reflected by improvements to these core symbolic structures of the town. The increased bureaucratic duties brought about by the Charter of 1242 must have had some impact on their day-to-day use. The tolls gathered at the port and entrances to the town included lastage (a charge imposed for landing ships), passage (imposed on passengers or goods) and pontage (a toll levied for the building and repair of bridges (O’Brien 1985, 53). Those who now assumed the role of collecting the fee farm and tolls of the town must have required a dedicated space from where they could conduct their affairs. The formal establishment of a borough court, held weekly within the guild hall of the town, must have increased the workforce of those employed to administer the various levels of justice in the town. These may also have required space within improved civic office structures.

It is also possible that either castle may have served as a residential space, either as a temporary accommodation for the mayor or provost, or for members of the Anglo-Norman elite that may have occasionally visited the town. The lords, and hereditary lords, of rural Cork seemed to have resided in their manorial capita outside of the town during this period (O’Brien
Fig. 5.2 Map of the country Cork c. 1300 showing main Anglo-Norman boroughs, and manorial centres (Cork city circled in red) (after Nicholls 1993, 161).
2004, 51-4). Cork did welcome visiting members of the nobility and the justiciary class of the country (see for example Cal. Justic. Rolls Ire., i, 63, which lists the coming visit of Walter de al Haye, locum tenens of the Chief Justiciar of Ireland), but it cannot be established where they stayed. Later references have placed some dignitaries in the abbeys and friaries of the town (Richardson and Sayles 1947, 115-20; Hurley and Sheehan 1995, 8). Nonetheless, it can be reasonably assumed that either the King or Queen’s Castle had some hospitable function during this period. It is possible that the square/rectangular building that abuts the castle in the 1545 map was, in fact, a stone hall (Fig. 4.2 (A)). There is contemporary evidence for this type of modification to urban castles at this time. A hall was constructed within the courtyard at King John’s Castle in Limerick during the later 13th century (Sweetman 1980, 209-10). A two-storey hall would have provided a space to conduct feasts and provide accommodation to guests of the town. It is logical to assume that the newly evolved and semi-autonomous town of Cork would have contained an official space for these purposes. The structural evidence has shown a significant degree of communality of place in the town during this period (see 5.2.4-8, below), and it is likely that this communality was also reflected in the castles’ function. The suggestion that the King’s Castle may have been attached to a hall does not negate the idea that a gaol was housed within its general area. The reference to the ‘lower room’ (Rep. IPRI, i, 622-9) may imply that at least some of the gaol was contained within the dungeons or basements of these buildings. It is also, of course, possible that the gaol was located elsewhere during this period.

5.2.2 Administrative structures
As previously noted (See 4.2.5), the citizens of the town were told to plead all cases at their guildhall as part of the conditions set out in the 1242 charter of Cork (CDI, i, no. 2552). As the 13th century progressed, and merchants, traders and artisans within urban communities began to enjoy the financial benefits of contemporary commercial growth, borough privileges also included the rights to form guilds. Guilds were associations of townsmen who grouped together, often united by a shared occupational role (i.e. masons), for commercial and social purposes (Giles 2011b, 396). The guilds were concerned with the protection of guildsmen at home, and abroad, against extortion, violence and outside competition (Reynolds 1977, 85). Guilds regulated the rights of different groups of merchants and artisans and the contractual arrangements between them (Britnell 2004, 148). They also controlled standards and trading procedures of craftsmen (ibid.). The guild became a body that campaigned for privileges for the town’s traders, and often, the guild president or alderman, would become a vocal spokesmen, and prominent political figure within a town or town (ibid.). In some towns and cities, the guilds were the precursors of later councils and
corporations, and by the second quarter of the 13th-century many had their own guild or meeting halls (Giles 2011b, 396). In some instances, guilds met, traded, worshipped and socialised in parish churches, cathedrals, monasteries and townhouses (Giles 2011b, 398).

It has been argued that the Guildhall and Tholsel of the town may have, in fact, comprised the same building (Bradley et al 1985, 34). This may have been located at the eastern side of South Main Street, directly opposite Liberty Street, at the site of the later exchange building (ibid.). Archaeological excavations in this general area have revealed a number of stone wall foundations that may date to the mid to late 13th century. At the corner of North Main Street and Castle Street, broadly opposite Liberty Street, the lower sections of a battered wall underlay a later tower house (Power 1996, n.p.). This was the western wall of a large stone building and was exposed for a length of 9m from north to south and for a height of 1.5m (ibid.). The base of the wall was not exposed. At the southern limit of the excavation, the wall curved in a south east direction (ibid.). This wall was associated with a black organic deposit that contained faunal remains, leather and 13th- to 14th-century pottery. The substantial nature of this wall suggests that it was part of an important structure in the late 13th-century landscape of the town. Its geographic location places this building broadly in the range of the purported site of the old Tholsel or Guildhall building. Unfortunately, in the absence of a broader context for the remains, any interpretation is conjectural. Further sections of stone walling, separate to those described above, were also excavated at this location (Power 1996, n.p.). In the absence of further evidence, it is not possible to state whether these related to civic, domestic or commercial structures in this area during the mid to late 13th century.

5.2.3 Religious

The religious houses that were founded during the late 12th and early to mid-13th centuries outside the town continued to function, and possibly grow, during this period (see 4.2.2). A reference to the granting of royal alms to the Dominicans (of St Mary of the Isles) in 1285 indicates the recognition afforded to this house, and suggests that pleasing the priors of the priory, and other religious leaders, was important to the authorities of the town (CDI, iii, no. 97). Positive relationships between the clergy and merchants were often economically and politically expedient for both parties (Ó Clabaigh 2012, 97-8). Thus, donations to the religious houses and parish churches of mid to late 13th-century Cork increased as the personal wealth of its citizens grew. This is manifested by the increase in religious foundations in the town at this time. This included the establishment of three new religious houses and an apparent increase in the parish churches of the town (see below, this section).
The absence of archaeological evidence and contemporary historical information, means that it is impossible to reconstruct the morphology of the Franciscan Friary during the mid- to late 13th century, and if it reflected the general wealth of Cork at this time. The holding of a provincial chapter in the friary in 1244 (O’Sullivan 1940, 6) suggests that it was a religious house of regional importance. In 1245 the friars received a grant of royal alms (CDI, i, no. 2776), which again indicates that this was an important, and well-recognised, foundation. Records taken during the Dissolution in 1540 noted that ‘the church and belfry could be thrown down, but all other buildings were suitable for use of the farmer (White 1943, 138-9). This suggests that the size of the late 13th-century friary was substantial and well-built. It was apparently the ‘first convent in all Ireland to be suppressed’ in 1540, when it was passed to a merchant of Cork, David Sheghan (O’Sullivan 1943, 9). Its buildings, and location on a valuable trading route north of the town, were of sufficient quality to be coveted by wealthy citizens of the town as the Dissolution took hold. It can reasonably be assumed that the a proportion of the friary buildings dated back to, at least, the 13th century, when the emerging wealth of Cork may have been reflected by donations to the fabric funds of the town’s religious houses.

The fact that the sons of the wealthy merchant elite of Cork were serving as friars in this house also points to its political and cultural importance (see 6.1 – the will of John de Wynchedon for further discussion). In contrast to the Dominican Priory of St Mary of the Isles (see below, this section), the Franciscan Minorites seemed to have been very ethnically mixed between those of Anglo-Norman and Gaelic Irish descent (Bolster 1972, 213-4; Ó Clabaigh 2012, 31-4). For most of the 13th century, there is a general impression of racial harmony among the Franciscans in houses such as this. This has been attributed to the mendicant ideal and unity of common purpose with regard to their pastoral work in the community (Ó Clabaigh 2012, 30). This relationship, however, became more fractured at the end of the 13th century (see 6.2.2). Nonetheless, it seems that a sense of calm and understanding existed between the Gaelic Irish and Anglo-Norman in the Friary at Cork from the mid- to late 13th century. It may be naïve to imagine that this unity between friars was entirely spiritually based, as the brethren who were the sons of wealthy town merchants and Gaelic Irish landowners may have forged important business alliances on behalf of their families from within the friary. In can be suggested that the choice of a religious life at this time was often a strategic political move for the younger sons of the elite, and the well-off second rank, of both cultures, as valuable economic relationships could be forged. The fact that the friars often acted as hosts for civic and political gatherings (Ó Clabaigh 2012, 112-3), meant that
opportunities for introductions to influential magnates and leaders were possible.

The Dominicans of St Mary of the Isles appeared to be the religious foundation that was most favoured by the crown and the elite of Cork during the late 13th and 14th centuries. It received 70 marks in royal alms in 1295, and in 1317 it was granted the custom of a newly-built gate (CDI, iii, no. 97; CPI, 48). There are late 14th-century references to nobility residing, and dying, at this priory (Richardson and Sayles 1947, 115-20), and it can be surmised that this royal and elite patronage of this house was also on-going throughout the 13th century. The dissolution documents of 1544 list ‘three small gardens, containing two acres, a watermill, two stangs of land, a fishing pool, half a salmon weir, three acres of arable land…ten other acres of arable, and twenty acres of arable and twenty of pasture in Galverston’ (White 1943, 139; O’Sullivan 1943, 15). It is not possible to establish when the priory acquired these properties, but it is likely that they reflect successive years of grants and patronage by the wealthy of the town.

The archaeological excavation of a small section of the priory did not find evidence of widespread structural improvements to the buildings here during the later 13th century (Hurley and Sheehan 1995). The excavators suggested that these additions were undertaken during the mid- to late 14th century (ibid.). The dating evidence from this site was inconsistent, and it is possible that the structural improvements at the priory were undertaken earlier.

Nonetheless, outside of the proliferation of new religious foundations, it cannot be established whether the increasing wealth of the town during the late 13th century was reflected by actual structural improvements to the existing religious houses of the period. It is possible that any improvements to the Dominican Priory, were cosmetic, and may have comprised decorative embellishments, wall-paintings or carvings, and plate which do not survive in the archaeological record. It may be speculatively suggested that the absence of notable structural improvement may also indicate the personal hoarding of mercantile wealth in the town at this time. As the merchants of the town grew richer, and more powerful, the relative ‘newness’ of this strength of position may have prompted them to hoard their financial gains in an effort to consolidate their position in the social structure.

At least three new religious houses were established in the town during the mid- to late 13th century. This, again, reflects the increasing personal wealth of the citizens of Cork, and, of course, the expanded population of the mid- to late 13th century. All three were located along the south bank of the Lee,
and east of the approximate area of the Fayth. Exact foundation dates are not known for the Augustinian house known as ‘Red Abbey’, and a nunnery dedicated to St John the Baptist, but both were completed by 1306 when they were mentioned in the will of John de Wynchedon (Fig. 6.4; O’Sullivan 1956).

Not much is known about the morphology, and demographics, of the Augustinian Friary. It was located at the north of Douglas Street, in close proximity to the church of St Nicholas, and the 12th-century House of the Knights Hospitallers of St John the Baptist (see 3.3.2.4; Fig. 5.3). Dissolution records noted that the church, chancel, two chapels and an old dormitory could be thrown down, but a new dormitory, a hall, a buttery, a
kitchen, a cloister, six rooms and six cellars were necessary for the famer (White 1943, 140). This must have been a relatively prominent religious house in the town, as suggested by the will of John de Wynchedon (see 6.1), a wealthy merchant of Cork, who was buried here in the 14th century. Outside of the foundation date of 1279, nothing much is known of the nunnery or convent dedicated to St John the Baptist, except that it was located near the houses of St John the Baptist and St John the Evangelist on modern Douglas Street (Bradley et al 1985, 92-3). Interestingly, the nature of request put to the King when asking permission to build the convent provides some information on late 13th-century Cork society. The then Justiciar, John Wogan, was directed to enquire if lands could be granted to Agnes de Hareford, ‘formerly a recluse of Cork, to build a nunnery (Cal. Justic. Rolls Ire., i, 154). The jurors reported that a convent was required as there was ‘no other house of nuns where Knights and other freemen in those parts may have their daughters brought up or maintained (ibid.) This request indicates that the knightly, and free, ranks of society were of sufficient mass in Cork during the mid- to late 13th century, to require formal educational spaces for their daughters. The order of the convent, whether Augustinian or Benedictine, is not known and it has been suggested that this foundation was relatively short-lived (Gwynn and Hadcock 1970, 316; Bradley et al 1985, 93).

The hospital priory of St Stephen was founded in 1277 (Gwynn and Hadcock, 348). This was located c.500m due south of the aforementioned religious houses, on a hill overlooking ‘the Fayth’. The identity of the order at the hospital priory is not known, however, is has been suggested as a foundation of the Order of the Knights of St Lazarus (O’Sullivan 1943, 13; Bradley et al 1985, 93). The priory appeared to have been mainly used as a leper hospital (O’Sullivan 1956, 89; see 6.1). The altruism, and charity, evinced by this foundation may be taken as another indicator of the prosperity of Cork during the later 13th-century, and the associated increase in population. Nonetheless, where there is urban growth, there is usually the migration of sick and destitute people, either hoping for better employment chances within the town, or seeking assistance from the urban religious establishments. This seems to have been the case at St Stephens, whose existence is a rare reminder that not all Cork citizens benefitted from the financial successes of the 13th century.

It seems that the Irish-dominated religious houses of St Finbarr’s and Gill Abbey (see 3.3.2.4) continued to thrive at this time, however not much is known about life in these foundations during the 13th century. St Finbarr’s remained the key religious site, and episcopal centre, of the area at the time, as evidenced by the holding of a cathedral chapter there in 1248 (Gwynn and Hadcock 1970, 67). Four parish churches were established across the
wider area of Anglo-Norman settlement during the mid- to late 13th century. These were St’s Mary’s Church (in Shandon), the church of St Phillip (unknown location in the southern suburbs), the church of St John (in Shandon, possibly north of the Franciscan Friary) and the church of St Laurence (in the south-west quadrant of the town) (Bradley et al 1985, 57-78). The earlier parish churches within the walled town (Holy Trinity, St Peter’s, St Lawrence’s and St John’s in Civitate – see 3.3.2.4) continued to function at this time, and ecclesiastical valuations conducted in 1302-6 suggest the Church of the Holy Trinity was the pre-eminent parish church of the walled town during the 13th century (CDI, v, 308, 319; Bradley et al 1985, 75). Each of these parish churches would have had clergy attached, including a parish priest, possibly a general cleric or a deacon, and some included recluses like the aforementioned Agnes de Hareford (at Holy Trinity, see above, this section). These clergy must have fitted in at various ranks of society, according to the prestige and patronage of their churches, and their status within the parish.

As noted, the proliferation of churches and religious houses reflects the increase in the population, and general affluence of the town at this time. To accommodate the increase in population, it is likely that a number of small secular areas of housing grew around the aforementioned Anglo-Norman religious houses. There are historic references to the vicus (village) of St John the Baptist, the vicus of St Nicholas and the vicus of St John the Evangelist (Candon 1985, 102). These villages may have been grouped together to form a general settlement around Douglas Street at the southeast of the walled town, and there are early 14th century references to the granting of messuages in this area (ibid.). A record from 1300 notes ‘the men of the street of St John the Evangelist’ (modern Douglas street) (Cal, Justic. Rolls Ire., i, 313), which suggests that a secular community was living near the Anglo-Norman foundations, and separate from any remaining Hiberno-Norse/Gaelic Irish settlement in Barrack Street (see 5.2.10, below). Thus, by the last decade of the 13th century, Cork had a thriving, religious community. All contemporary roads and approaches to late 13th-century Cork were bounded by religious houses, meaning that the wealth, and status of the town was apparent before a visitor even entered its gates. These houses were governed by both Anglo-Normans and Gaelic Irish clergy, however, the former seemed to dominate the religious landscape of the period.

5.2.4 Walls (Fig. 4.5; 5.3; 5.4)
The town wall enclosing the North Island of Cork was completed by the late 13th or early 14th century. The citizens of the town were allowed to collect murage tolls ‘to improve their wall’ in 1284 (CDI, ii, no. 2247). Along with the improvements to the walls, this revenue was to be directed to the
improvement of the port and the bridges (ibid.). It is not possible to state whether this grant was coeval with the first phase of town wall construction of the North Island, or whether it was truly directed toward improving those sections already in situ. Further murage grants were made in 1303 and 1317 (RCH, 165: no. 80; CPI, 48). Again, it is not possible to fully establish the particular phase of wall construction, or repair, that relate to these grants.

Archaeological excavations on the North Island have revealed at least 12 sections of the wall (see Fig. 5.1; Fig. 5.3), although foundation levels were not exposed at all sites. As the wall has been preserved in situ, no digging has been undertaken beneath the bottom courses of the wall. The foundation trenches for the town wall have been uncovered at a number of sites and the material culture from the lowest levels of the backfill of these trenches has provided broad dates for the construction of the wall. Unfortunately, the chronology of ceramic evidence used for dating this period (namely Saintonge highly-decorated and Saintonge polychrome) cannot be narrowed further than the late 13th or early 14th centuries, which means, in the absence of more conclusive data, that the exact date of construction cannot be determined.

Two mural turrets located on the eastern face of the wall have been dated to the mid-13th century. One was exposed at St. Peter’s Market, broadly halfway between the site of the Queen’s Castle and the northeast corner of the wall circuit (Hurley 1989a, 15-19). The second was exposed at Kryl’s Quay, at the northeast of the wall circuit (Hurley 1995a, 77). At both of these sites, layers linked with the construction and earliest use of the turrets produced associated material culture which dated to the mid-13th century (ibid.). Excavations at the lowest occupation level at St Peter’s Market, identified two walls in the southeast quadrant of the cutting. The walls, which were not bonded together, enclosed and clearly defined a wooden and stone platform (Hurley 1989a, 15). When the wood and stone were removed, excavation identified a black humus-rich deposit containing 13th-century pottery, leather shoes and wooden objects (ibid.). Together, the walls and area within, were interpreted as the foundations and lower floor level of a mural turret which was constructed in the mid-13th century and abandoned by the end of that century following a relatively short period of use (Hurley 1989a, 15-19). At Kryl’s Quay, c.150m northwards on the wall, a D-shaped mural turret was exposed. The turret was contemporaneous with the construction of the wall and it remained standing into the 18th century (Hurley 1995, 77). An organic layer was excavated immediately north of the turret. This layer was possibly associated with the construction of the tower and it contained twigs, wood, bone and pottery sherds which dated to no earlier than the mid-13th century (ibid.). It is therefore reasonable to assume that both of these towers were built between 1250 and 1300. If the turrets
were extant by the end of the 13\textsuperscript{th} century, it is likely that the town wall was fully constructed by this stage. It is therefore likely that the murage grants of the very late 13\textsuperscript{th} and early 14\textsuperscript{th} centuries were for the purposes of improving

\textbf{Fig. 5.4} Selection of images and site plans of excavations undertaken on the medieval walls of Cork.
an existing wall, amending entrances and repairing damaged areas. The rapid expansion of settlement within the North Island during the latter half of the 13th century (see below, this section) may have necessitated the construction of a wall commensurate with that on the south island. As archaeological excavation has revealed evidence of wealth and prosperity among the citizens of the North Island during the mid to late 13th century, it seems likely that they would have had the political power to argue for the enclosing of their space. The rapid abandonment of the turret at St Peter’s market may serve to illustrate how the defensive purpose of the wall faded as the later 13th century progressed (see below, this section). The town wall in the North Island was constructed from mostly limestone, with a lesser amount of sandstone (Hurley 2003, 179). Test-probes undertaken beneath the wall on the North Island indicated that it was set on a gravel bed (ibid.). The wall had an outer base batter and was generally built on three or four courses of stepped plinth below the external base batter (ibid.). Sixteenth-century maps of Cork show between seven and eight turrets situated at intervals along the northern circuit of the wall (See Fig 4.5; 5.2). In all of these maps, the wall around the north island mirrors the form and impact of that around the South Island. It seems that even if the mural towers were not necessary defensively, they were required to complete the aesthetic unity of the wall.

Given the level of political stability of the Cork area during from the mid- to late 13th century, it is worth questioning the true strategic requirement for a defensive wall during this period. Although Cork was enjoying a period of political calm, the varying levels of volatility in the pan-Norman world and beyond, may have fostered a persistent psychological need on the part of Anglo-Norman migrants to enclose their space (Higham and Creighton 2005, 43-5). Many of the citizens were new arrivals to Ireland and the initial incursion into this largely ‘foreign’ country was still within living memory. Considering the contemporary annalistic accounts of the wars between the Irish in other parts of the country during the period (e.g. AI, 1261; 1264) and the violent spectre of thievery committed by the Hibernicus or Irishmen which often loomed large in the court records of the general period (e.g. Cal. Justic. Rolls Ire., i, 183, 189, detailing accounts of theft by Irish ‘felons and robbers’), it seems reasonable to assume that the immigrant burgesses would have felt safer in their new homes when afforded the protection of a defensive enclosing wall. Nonetheless, it can also be argued that the economic success of the town would have made the need for such a measure seem less urgent.

There were a number of advantages to constructing a wall in the absence of an immediate need for consolidation and defence (Creighton and Higham
A defence circuit, either of earth and timber, or stone, was one of the unifying symbols of the pan-Norman world (Schofield and Vince 2003, 52). The enclosing of Cork may have been part of a larger statement of cultural assimilation with other walled colonial and English towns. It was also a clear expression of urban status that acted as aesthetic shorthand for the commercial success of the enclosed area. On a practical level, an enclosed port was easier to monitor with regard to trading access and egress, and thus ensure that all the customs, passage and pontage for the town could be gathered. The murage grant of 1284 demonstrates the fiscal potential of having a town wall and lists a wide range of commodities that could be levied (CDI, ii, no. 2447). The customs imposed as a result of the murage grant were used to raise revenue, and often only a small portion of this revenue was actually used for building or repair (O’Brien 1985, 60). The town walls communicated, in a very physical way, the fact that the town was ‘a distinct legal and administrative entity and….it was to be clearly differentiated…from its thoroughly feudalised surroundings’ (O’Brien 1985, 59). The walls were also part of a visual assertion of the urban autonomy won by the town and subsequently decreed in its charters (ibid.). Thus, there were numerous roles the walls of the town could play outside of a strict defensive definition. The consistent reference to the walls as ‘the defences’ in various publications relating to Cork (e.g. Hurley 2003, 171-81; Bradley et al 1985, 46-52) can perhaps be interpreted as too narrow a definition for this edifice.

The town walls were not a stationary and inert feature of life during the late 13th century. Archaeological excavation has revealed them to have had a fluid and pliant nature as sections were amended, rebuilt and broken through, as the murage grant testifies (see above). At Kyrl’s Quay, a gateway in the wall, estimated to be contemporary with its original construction, gave access to a slipway which extended south towards the town (Hurley 1995a, 80). The slipway was flanked by two stone walls and the ground level rose to the south in order to facilitate the drawing up of boats within the town walls (ibid.). Two phases were noted in the use of the slipway; the first possibly dated to the late 13th century and the later phase was probably of early 14th-century date (ibid.). In 1286, William le Ware, shipbuilder and citizen of Cork, requested a licence to break through the walls of the town to take out a boat (CDI, ii, no. 1286). A possible mooring place was identified at Grand Parade I (Hurley 1989b, 35). These three examples counter the idea of a static wall and show how the citizens of the town engaged with it during the late 13th century. According to later maps, there were at least 14 separate towers along the extent of the walls and it is likely that publicly accessible steps led up to the summit on the wall as shown on these maps (see Fig. 4.3). It must also be considered that the walls were essentially public property, maintained by the administrators of the
town. Excavation has revealed evidence of cobbled surfaces inside the town walls which may have comprised shared public spaces (Hurley 1995a, 81&83). Therefore, the citizens of the town must have had a significant spatial and personal relationship with the walls to complement the sense of societal cohesiveness that they engendered by their enclosing presence. This may have been especially true of the late 13th century, as it appears that most, if not all, of the Hiberno-Norse had left the confines of the walled town, and thus a cultural hegemony prevailed among the burgesses of the town (see 5.2.12, below).

5.2.5 The port
The Custom Rolls of the mid- to late 13th century show that merchants leaving the port of Cork paid the fourth highest total of tolls, after Dublin, New Ross and Waterford (e.g. CDI, ii, no. 1902). This indicates that this was the most financially important, and indeed the main, port of south-west Ireland during this period. It can be assumed that the quay walls evident along Castle Street during excavation continued to be used throughout this period (see 4.2.5). The 1284 murage grant specified that some monies generated be spent on improving the quay walls which were ‘so deteriorated that unless a speedy remedy is provided, the vill itself will suffer no small detriment’ (CDI, ii, no. 2247). This is both suggestive of the intensity of their use throughout the latter half of the 13th century, along with their critical importance to the commercial well-being of the town as a whole.

5.2.6 Drainage
Undoubtedly, there was a centralised authority within the town at this time, charged with the improvement of the general infrastructure of the town (see e.g. the town walls 5.2.4, above). A municipally-ordered drainage system formed part of these infrastructural advancements. The town walls also served a more prosaic function, but one that was also tied into the municipal well-being of the town. Numerous drains were excavated along the east and west-facing sections of the wall (e.g. Grattan Street, Adelaide Street and Kryl’s Quay). These would have connected with east-west running drains which led down from the plots at either side of the main street. Unlined, timber-lined and stone-built drains were used in the town during this period. Mid- to late 13th-century timber drains were excavated at 11-13 Washington Street and Christ Church, Areas C and H (McCutcheon, S. 2003, 49; Cleary 1997a, 56-7, 79). An unlined drain was used at Tuckey Street (O’Donnell 2003, 24-7). Stone-lined drains were built at 1-4 St Peter’s Avenue, Grattan Street and possibly North Gate (Hurley and Johnson 2003, 137-8; Lennon 2003, 63-5; Hurley and Sheehan 1997a, 31-3). Stone-lined drains did not appear to become the norm in Cork until late in the 13th century and early 14th century.
Interestingly, there is a correlation between stone-built drains and the houses of the wealthier burgesses during this period (see 5.2.10.8 below). This drainage system reflects the high level of municipal improvements that were on-going in the town during the period. Large-scale drainage works were put in place across the town. The work within the plots must have been undertaken by the plot-holders themselves, but those along the public laneways and their egress points in the town wall were municipal projects. This again, echoes the financial success in Cork during the late 13th century, and points to the increase of toll (tax) revenue within the town that could be directed towards public spending. This collective effort to drain the town, and thus improve living standards for a good portion of its citizens is part of the general sense of communality apparent in the structural evidence from this period. This level of communality can only be achieved in times of relative political calm and must indicate the sense of security, both real and financial, felt in the town during the latter half of the 13th century.

5.2.7 Streets and lanes

It was during this period that the Main Street of the town really assumed its role as a medieval town thoroughfare. By the end of the 13th century, the Main Street would have been lined with consecutive houses along its length at either side of the central bridge. Shop-fronts and other premises would have faced directly onto the street as the streetscape became more vibrant and diverse as the town grew commercially. The increasing revenues of the town must have brought about an improvement in the surface of this street. This would have served a number of roles. As the town was prone to flooding and could therefore get muddy, an improved street surface would have enabled the easy transportation of goods around the town. It would also have been part of the public image of the town. A boggy quagmire of a main street would not have enhanced the reputation of the town among visiting merchants.

Archaeological evidence for this improved late 13th-century surface may be apparent in a number of excavations undertaken along the line of the main street as part of the Cork Main Drainage Scheme. At North Main Street, several consecutive high medieval street-surfaces were uncovered (Power 1996, n.p.). These testify to the constant public attempts to raise the ground level of the street and help alleviate the regular flooding of the area. Layers of gravel were placed over stony foundations and a number of trenches revealed evidence of the incorporation of a drainage system into the foundations of the road (ibid.). The ceramic material from the drains suggests that they were built during the mid- to late 13th century (ibid.). An area of high-quality metalling was exposed in the street-front of a plot that was the later site of the late 15th-century Skiddy’s Castle (see below) (ibid.). This may have been part of the street-fronting area of a shop or a high-
quality home (ibid.). Trace evidence of stone-walled houses were found in the late 13\textsuperscript{th}-century layers at the future site of the 15\textsuperscript{th}-century Skiddy’s Castle (5.2.10, below). Given the longevity of plot ownership in Cork, it is possible that the Skiddy family may have owned this plot during the late 13\textsuperscript{th} or early 14\textsuperscript{th} century. As Skiddy is thought to be a Hiberno-Norse name (Butler 1901, 210), it may even be suggested that these were a successful family that moved back into the town from the ‘Fayth’ during the mid- to late 13\textsuperscript{th}-century (see 5.2.12, below). If they were always a rich merchant family, it seems feasible that the street-front outside their doors would have matched the quality within. This may indicate that powerful families maintained the street-front outside their houses, or alternatively, that they had sufficient power at municipal level to direct public funding towards the maintenance of areas that impacted on their property. Further evidence of a similar surface was found on the South Island, at the northern end of South Main Street (Power 1998, n.p.).

There is archaeological evidence for the improvement of the surfaces of laneways during the latter half of the 13\textsuperscript{th} century. It has been argued that these lanes were originally private and for use only by the property owner for access to the rear of the plots (Hurley 2003, 184). The recovery of diverse refuse, from an obviously disparate range of sources, from a number of laneway excavations would appear to indicate that at least some of these laneways were publicly accessible prior to the large scale sub-division of plots during the mid- to late 13\textsuperscript{th} century (e.g. Tuckey Street – O’Donnell 2003a and Grand Parade II – Hurley 1989b)

The population expansion of the town during this period opened up the rear of plots to development. This is even highlighted in the 1242 charter, where the burgesses were empowered by the charter ‘to build upon vacant places’ (CDI, i, no. 2552). Thus, more laneways became public thoroughfares as they provided access to both domestic structures and businesses behind the street-front during the late 13\textsuperscript{th} century (see 5.2.10 below). Archaeological excavations at Tuckey Street and Kyle Street, both medieval lanes, have uncovered evidence of street surfaces which were similar in form to those on the Main Street (Power 1998; Power 1999). The similarity in form implies that the maintenance of the laneways now fell within the gamut of the municipal authorities. This illustrates how the responsibilities of civic administration of the town broadened, and became increasing knitted into the daily fabric of life during the latter half of the 13\textsuperscript{th} century.

At the west side of the street in North Gate, a number of well-surfaced laneways led to a series of communal areas inside the wall of the town and behind the street-fronting houses (see 5.2.10.4-5, below). Extensive evidence for baking, metal-working and possibly the stabling of animals,
was noted across all of the mid- to late 13th-century levels at the site (see 5.2.11, below). There also seemed to be a strong sense of communality regarding use and access to these features. The laneways led to the rear of the burgage plots that housed the industrial units. It is also possible that the rear area of the burgage plots were owned by different proprietors than those who occupied the street-fronting houses. Over most of Area 2 at North Gate (with the exception of Level 1, Plot 1 and Level 5, Plot 4) the piece of ground between the street-fronting area and the rear of the properties were not excavated (Hurley 1997c, 20-7). This meant that it was not possible to fully investigate the relationship between the front and rear of the burgage plots, and therefore elucidate further on the exact functions of the lanes. At Level 5, Plot 4 a laneway was exposed which ran north-south immediately behind the street-fronting section of the plot (Hurley 1997c, 27). This suggests that at least some of the plots were divided and split between multiple owners. This has also been noted at other sites in medieval Cork (see 5.2.10.8, e.g. Grattan Street, Phillips’ Lane), and across Europe, where different parts of the properties were utilised for different commercial purposes (Giles 2011, 170-1; Keene 2000, 88-91). The evolution of the lanes into public spaces also mirrors the sense of communality evident in the town-space during this period, a reflection of the political stability and economic confidence of the period.

5.2.8 Public amenities

The list of amenities which were publicly provided to the citizens of the town increased during the mid- to late 13th century. Included among these were possible public latrines and cess pits along with communal bake ovens (Fig. 5.4). These features, of course, are best interpreted within the overall context of the range of municipal improvements undertaken during this period (i.e. the town wall, drainage and road maintenance). As such, they again come to underline the sense of civic enhancement felt during this period and reflect the political stability and financial success of the town.

A number of ‘bake-ovens’ were excavated at both sides of the street at North Gate (Hurley and Sheehan 1997a, 19-66). At the western side of the street, these seemed to have been accessible to the public. At the north of the site, bake-ovens were part of the earliest group of features of settlement in this area (Fig. 5.5; Area 2, Plot 1, Level 1). These were located at the rear of the street and comprised two ovens, set on re-used millstones and limestone flags and originally covered by clay domes (Hurley and Sheehan 1997a, 39-40). These were open-air ovens comparable to examples excavated from later medieval sites in Waterford (Hurley and Sheehan 1997b, 273-284). The tradition of shared publicly-accessible ovens in an urban area is well-established, and the present writer knows that this is still practiced in towns in Eastern Europe today. The amount of fuel and time
required to heat an oven to the required temperature for baking leavened and unleavened bread (c. 200-240°C) was considerable. Considering that the oven would stay sufficiently hot, or could easily maintain a high temperature, for a number of hours after initial ignition, it made sense to share the expense among a community of users. It is possible that this was the yard of a commercial baker, but the location of the ovens themselves, c. 4m apart in an open yard adjoining a laneway, most likely suggests that this space was open to the community. Other mid- to late 13th century ovens were exposed in the area and all were enclosed by stone-footed structures (Hurley and Sheehan 1997a, 50-66). It is probable that some of these were the private ovens of professional bakers.

![Fig 5.5 The bases of possible communal ovens in Area 2, North Gate (after Hurley and Sheehan 1997a, 40)](image)

Another amenity group that may have been municipally provided during this period were public latrines and cess-pits. At North Gate, a purported metal-working forge which had a short period of use during the mid- to late 13th century (see below-industrial), was possibly reused as a public latrine or cess pit for a period following its closure. The basis platform and ‘flue’ structures were modified to create a raised stone-lined pit from which cess material was recovered (Hurley and Sheehan 1997a, 52). Three stakeholes recorded around the edge of the pit may have formed part of a privacy screen over the pit. It is also possible that some of the original timber superstructure of the earlier structure remained upright during this time. It seems unlikely that this feature was contained within a backyard as a series of structures were situated adjacent to its northern edge. These structures had south-facing doorways that opened onto a laneway that appeared to abut
the platform at the west, south and east (Fig. 5.8). It is possible that all of these areas combined to form a single plot however this is not a pattern in this area, or the town in general during this period. Also, the structures adjoining the platform were built against the town wall inside the north gate of the town, which suggests that they were publicly accessible. A similarly ‘open’ space was noted on contemporary levels at the opposite side of the Main Street, inside the north-east corner of the town wall. Here an area of paving remained an ‘open’ yard throughout the late 13th and early 14th centuries (Hurley and Sheehan 1997a, 18).

A cess-pit was also identified at 40-8 South Main Street, however neither its location nor form is known by the present writer (Ní Loingsigh 2005, n.p.; Lyons 2010, n.p.). Public latrines are often located inside bridges, and were situated adjacent to at least two bridges in medieval London (Taylor 2005, 64). As bridges were often busy locations and centres of trade, it was important to have publicly accessible latrines for the use of visitors, customers and the various staff employed in these areas. The proximity to the river also meant that they could be emptied nearby. It is also likely that there were further public latrines adjacent to the central bridge of Cork. An area just north of this is commonly believed to have been the medieval market-place of the town. The Hardiman (c.1600), Pacata Hibernia (c.1585-1600) and Speed (c.1610) maps (Figs 4.5; 5.2) all show a market cross at the southern end of North Main Street. Although a series of excavations have been conducted in, and around, this area, none have identified any conclusive evidence of a market place (Ní Loingsigh 2002; Power 1999).

5.2.9 Hygiene and waste disposal

Methods used in the disposal of waste and the maintenance of general hygiene were largely improved during this period. The general practice, observed from previous periods, of dumping refuse inside the town wall and at the rear of plots continued (see 3.3.2.6). However, the increasing pressure on space at the rear of the street-front must have impacted upon the waste disposal habits of the occupants of the street-fronting houses. It is likely that improved laneway access to the limits of the town ensured that a number of occupants could keep using this space for dumping and such disposal was apparent at mid- to late 13th-century sites immediately adjacent to the town wall. These included areas at Hanover Street (Power 1999), Washington Street (Kelleher 2002), Skiddy’s Lane (O’Donnell 2003b, 82-3), Grand Parade II (Hurley 1989b) and Grattan Street/Adelaide Street (Hurley and Johnson 2003, 114-6). Dumping in these general areas would probably been encouraged, as the accumulated waste would have gradually raised the ground levels in these parts of the town, and rendered them more suitable for future development.
Fig. 5.6 Cess pit (in pink) and kiln (in blue—see 5.2.11) in Plot 2 at the east side of North Main Street at North Gate (after Hurley 1997c, 20).
It can be safely assumed that drains across the town were used for cess disposal during this period, and that the waste was carried out through the town wall into the rivers of the marsh via the slots incorporated into its construction. At 11-13 Washington Street, traces of vivionite in the fill of a mid- to late 13th-century drain indicated that it was used for cess disposal (Hurley 2003, 188). Evidence of cess was identified during the environmental analysis of a drain fill from Tuckey Street (McClatchie 2003, 394-5). Unfortunately, archaeobotanical analysis has not been undertaken on many of the drains and ditches from medieval Cork. As it can be one of the ways by which cess is identified on an archaeological site, the omission of this type of assessment means that much of the waste disposal patterns in the town cannot be fully established. Alongside this, very little archaeobotanical analysis has been undertaken on positively identified cess pits in the town. No assessment was carried out on the samples, if any, which were taken from the purpose-built cess pits at North Gate and Christ Church. This represents a significant missed opportunity to investigate dietary trends and patterns from the medieval period in Cork.

At certain parts of the town during this time, occupation continued as far back as the town walls, and this must have impacted on the access the nearby inhabitants had to these areas for the purposes of waste disposal (e.g. North Gate, Kyrls Quay see 5.2.10.3 below). In these instances it is likely that the drains and specially constructed cess-pits fulfilled the need for cess disposal. At North Gate, two separate cess-pits were excavated in mid- to late 13th-century layers at the rear of a plot (Fig. 5.6; Plot 2) that would have bounded the town wall at its eastern limit (Hurley 1997c, 19-22). In this instance, it is likely that they were a cultural import on the part of the new Anglo-Norman burgesses (see 5.1, above). It may even be argued that the necessity for cess pits within plots in the north-east quadrant of the town indicates that this was the first section of the North Island to be walled and the potential dumping ground of the marsh was ‘cut-off’ from the residents. The construction of the town wall removed access to the water’s edge at this side of the island. This meant that the occupants of the plots that did not have drains that led out through the wall, and had to either construct a cess-pit, or dispose of their cess within their property or elsewhere in the town. One can imagine that it would have been preferable to dispose of their waste within a cess-pit rather than across the area of their back-yards.

Elsewhere in the town, evidence for cess-pits becomes more frequent during this period. Again, it is likely that the completion of the town wall limited waste disposal for a number of occupants so new solutions were required to deal with these changes. At 40-8 South Main Street, archaeobotanical assessment revealed extensive evidence of cess from a late 13th-century pit (Ní Loingsigh 2005, n.p.). Communal cesspits were identified in 13th-
century layers from Christ Church. At this site, it seems that latrines, one with an associated ‘double’ toilet seat, the other with a ‘triple’ seat, were located at either side of a north-south running lane (Cleary 1997a, 60). A wooden (post-and-wattle) screen possibly shielded both areas from public view (ibid.). As these were excavated in area of the site where the inter-relationships of certain features could not be established, it was not possible to relate these cess-pits to structures. It was therefore not clear whether these were private latrines, or whether they were shared between a number of houses. The maintenance of large cess-pits would have been expensive during this period, and their construction necessitated ‘digging up the dirt, taking away the earth, finding the lime, sand and other materials’ (Taylor 2005, 65). Therefore, a substantial cess-pit may be interpreted as an indicator of relative wealth within a private property (see 5.2.10.8, below). The emptying of cess-pits may point to the presence of ‘night-soil men’ or waste collectors in the town at this time, again indicating the existence of a formal municipal authority.

Nonetheless, the evidence for cess-pits from late 13th-century sites across the city is comparatively lower than contemporary Irish cities (e.g. Waterford) and it is likely that the dumping of cess and waste on the low ground inside the town wall still continued as much as possible (Hurley 2003, 188). It is also, of course, possible that cess and similar waste was collected and used as compost in various garden plots outside the town. Historical records frequently mention multiple ownership by the same burgesses of both intra-, and extra-, mural messuages during this period (Cal. Justic. Rolls Ire. i, 37). Waste may also have been professionally collected and sold to farmers in the hinterland of the town (as practiced in contemporary London – e.g. Fay 2011, 175). General levels of hygiene may have been better than expected during this period. There are many contemporary English edicts outlining proper practices of waste disposal in urban areas (Horrox 1994, 174). Faunal analysis of bone material recovered from laneway surfaces has indicated that they were frequently swept and significant accumulations of refuse did not build up on public street surfaces during the high-medieval period (McCarthy 2003, 375). This trend was also observed at North Gate, where an ‘open’ area of paving, immediate inside the north-east corner of the town wall, appeared to have been cleaned very regularly throughout its period of uses, as there was very little build-up of occupation debris over this surface (Hurley 1997c, 18). Thus, it seems that waste disposal practices grew more sophisticated within the town as it expanded and the amount of waste ground decreased or grew more inaccessible due to development.
5.2.10 Houses/domestic occupation

5.2.10.1 Introduction

The mid- to late 13th century marked the first period of intensive domestic stone-building in the town. The earlier sense of permanence that had been established through the construction of large-scale stone-built administrative and civic edifices (see 4.2), was now echoed by the housing and associated structures being built by the citizens of the town during this period. The Anglo-Norman occupants of Cork, both those who were newly-arrived (see 5.1), and those who were possibly into their third generation of settlement in the town, began to build in stone. This undoubtedly points to their confidence in the future longevity of their occupation, along with the benefits of the town’s successful economy. The politically stable environment facilitated this confidence, and the ensuing economic development of Cork, as reflected in the high-quality housing that was being constructed during this period.

The widespread use of stone-foundations, and fully stone-built houses, brought about a contraction in the range of house-styles being constructed in the town at this time. While some of the earlier timber houses continued to be occupied (e.g. 40-8 South Main Street, see 5.2.10.2 below), all but two of the ‘new-builds’ had bases (or more) of stone. This narrowing of house-building methods suggests a number of sociological and economic trends. It may reflect the increasing cultural similarity between the residents of the town during this period. It also may indicate the presence of more formalised stone-working (masonry/house-building) guilds. The increased use of stone, a more expensive raw material than timber or post-and-wattle, is also redolent of the increasing wealth of the town at this time.

The new stone houses were either fully-stone built or comprised dwarf stone walls onto which sill-beams or timber-framed structures were laid. Structures of these types were excavated from every site that produced evidence of mid to late 13th-century occupation, with the exception of Area H, Christ Church and Trench 3a, Kyrl’s Quay/North Main Street (see 5.2.10.2, below). It appears that stone houses were being built by both the merchant (and administrative) and craft-working (producer) class across the town during this period. This, in itself, is indicative of the level of wealth that was being generated by most strata of society in Cork by the mid- to late 13th century. This is broadly contemporary with developments in stone-built house construction in Waterford and Dublin cities at the time (Hurley 2003a, 153).
5.2.10.2 South Island

Christ Church

It is certain that the south island of the Cork was densely inhabited during the mid- to late 13th century (5.1). The density of the refuse disposal inside the town wall is indicative of a large population (Grand Parade II – Hurley 1989b, see below, this section). Despite this, just six houses excavated at sites on the south island can be conclusively connected with occupation during this period. These comprise a stone-footed timber-framed structure at Christ Church, Area H, a stone-footed timber-framed structure at Christ Church, Area C, a sill-beam house at Tuckey Street (CMD), and probable stone-footed timber-framed house at 40-8 South Main Street, a stone-built house at 11-13 Washington Street and a possible stone-footed timber-framed house at Tuckey Street.

As noted in the previous chapter (see 4.2.8), just one early to mid-13th-century street-fronting property is known to the present writer. This was an earth-fast sill-beam structure excavated at Area H, Christ Church. The mid to late 13th-century occupation at the site appeared was manifested by a series of modifications to the earlier sill-beam structure (Fig. 4.6; see 4.2.8). This seems to have been a two-roomed structure at ground level, and it appears that additions to the structural foundation timbers allowed it to be raised to a building of at least two to three storeys in height, which may have comprised 4 to 6 rooms in total (Fig. 5.5). The excavated extent of the house was 6.7m east-west (the east wall of the house was outside the limits of the excavation) and the present author estimates that the original extent may have been c. 9-9.5m east-west, which would make it broadly commensurate in size with the new houses that were being built on the North Island at the time (see 5.2.10.3, below). The plans and contextual data for this phase of the excavation are incomplete (Cleary 1997, 62-70). Nonetheless, it is apparent from the plans that a series of further timbers were added to the original sill-beam foundation walls of the original house (Fig. 5.5). As no corner or mid-beam vertical posts were associated with these, it is possible that that the original vertical posts continued in use. It is more likely however, that the newer vertical posts were set onto stone post-pads which were a) not recognised by the original excavators or b) not represented on any surviving plan. These possibly facilitated the transformation of the original one-storey structure into a fully timber-framed house of two or more stories. Stones are apparent on the latest plan of the house (c. mid- to late 13th century) in the positions of two of the earlier vertical posts in the south wall of the house (Fig. 31 in Cleary 1997a, 68). These may confirm the hypothesis that this structure evolved from an earth-fast sill-beam house into a fully timber-framed structure supported by composite stone post-pads. A contemporary house from Christ Church, Area C (see below, this section) revealed evidence of a similar form of
Fig. 5.7 Modified timber-framed house at Area H, Christ Church. Extra beams were added to the original sill-beam structure to allow for more foundation support to build a taller house (after Cleary 1997a, 68)
construction and many of the later 12th and early 13th-century structures at 40-8 South Main Street had composite wooden post-pads supporting the roof-bearing vertical posts (Ní Loingsigh unpublished, see below). Thus, this style of building construction and modification was well-known in this area during this period.

Further modifications to this street-fronting house included at least three levels of internal clay flooring and the erection of an internal dividing screen (Fig. 5.7; Cleary 1997, 68-9). It appears that a separate bedding area, demarcated by a plank-and-wattle screen, was inserted into the house at some stage of the latter half of the 13th century (based on Fig. 31, Cleary 1997a, 68). This comprised an extent of compact straw in the south-west corner of the excavated area of the house. The insertion of this feature may relate to a re-purposing of this section of the house as it perhaps evolved into a more private (and domestically-orientated) room. It is possible that the western room of the house or a further ancillary building assumed a more public function during this period. A site plan of a possibly mid-13th-century phase of the area at the rear of the house depicts a post-and-plank wall (Fig. 32 in Cleary 1997a, 71), on the same alignment as that of the eastern/rear wall of the street-fronting house. It is probable that this may have formed the western wall of an ancillary building related to the occupation of the street-fronting house. A deposit of oyster shells and clay abutted this area of this building and possibly related to food refuse (Cleary 1997a, 82). Perhaps this structure at the rear served as the more public space during this period. There is evidence for the continued use of timber-built ancillary buildings in the town, even as the stone-fronting houses were increasingly rendered in stone. This is apparent at 40-8 South Main Street, where timber-built structures at the rear of properties continued to be used throughout the mid- to late 13th century. A similar trend is also evident at Area C, Christ Church, directly north of Area H, for buildings occupied during the mid to late 13th century (see below, this section).

Continuity in the artefact typology trends (see 5.3, below), the fact that the clay floors respected the walls at all levels, and the absence of evidence of exposure from the levels associated with the foundation modifications suggests that the structure in Area H may have been continually occupied by the same family group from the early to late 13th century. The archaeological evidence from the early to mid-13th century at this house suggested that the layers at that level represented an Anglo-Norman burgess ‘take-over’ of a house and craft-working site that was previously occupied by a Hiberno-Norse group (see 4.2.8.1). The material culture from the site indicates an increasing level of wealth among the occupants as the 13th century progressed (see 6.3 below). The absences of craft-working artefacts in this assemblage suggested that the occupants were involved in mercantile,
or a similar commercial, or even an administrative activity. This timber-framed structure was the latest medieval house identified at Area H.

At the rear of a plot in Area C, Christ Church, an earlier timber-framed structure continued to be occupied during the first part of this period (Fig.
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5.8; see 4.2.8.1 for description). Because of the limitations of ceramic dating, it is difficult to state the exact date at which this structure was modified or replaced. The area around the beams at the base of the timber-framed structure produced early to mid-13th century pottery while the drain and hearth produced mid/late 13th-early 14th-century ceramic material (Cleary 1997a, 55). This suggests that the building was adapted during the late 13th century, and the hearth and drain also formed part of the next phase of the building (Fig. 5.6). This phase comprised the construction of a stone-footed timber-framed house on the approximate site of the earlier structure (based on Fig. 27, Cleary 1997a, 57). It cannot be established how many of the internal features from the timber-framed house were incorporated into the new stone-built house. The hearth identified at the previous level was more centrally located in the later building and it is, of course possible, that it was contemporary with that. The drain may also have been incorporated into the floor of the newer house and it ran out under the east wall of the house (Fig. 5.6). The ceramic data would therefore date the stone-footed timber-framed house to early in the second half of the 13th century. This complies with the general trend apparent across the town during this period, where stone-footed timber-framed structures were built at the both the rear and front of plots, particularly in the north island of the town. The earlier timber-framed house was definitely a domestic space, however as very few artefacts were retrieved from this level, and the material culture included no non-ceramic finds, the nature of occupation here could not be definitively established. If the hearth does relate to this later phase, it may imply that domestic occupation continued in this area. As the street-fronting area of this house was completely truncated by later development, it was not possible to establish how this area interacted with the street-fronting property, and what the interplay of space was between the two. It is likely that the structure on the street front may have functioned as craft-working premises, and a place of business related to that activity. This division of the property is suggested by the material culture from earlier phases at the plot. If the same, related family group continued to live here, it is likely that the same form of living arrangement applied during the late 13th century. Alternatively, the settlement at this site may have comprised two related family groups that shared the plot and used the areas between the two houses and at the rear of the plot for craft-working and manufacture. The longevity of continuous settlement here would support that suggestion, as an ever expanding family would have necessitated at least two distinct domestic structures within the plot.

This was one of the earliest plots within the Anglo-Norman town to be occupied, and it seemed to have been continuously inhabited since the arrival of the Anglo-Normans in 1171. The longevity enjoyed by its occupants may have afforded them a sense of control over the size of the
plot, and it is quite likely that it retained its original size and remained one of the larger plots in the late 13th-century Cork. The dwarf-wall foundation level was described in the site notes as “the earliest of a series of house walls which followed along this line” (Cleary 1997a, 56). This suggested that this area continued to be occupied into the later 13th century and early 14th century and beyond. Unfortunately no data exists for the later walls and this basal foundation for the initial stone-footed sill-beam house is the latest medieval layer discussed from Area C, Christ Church (Cleary 1997a, 56).

**Tuckey Street**

At Tuckey Street, two walls which were interpreted as stone-footings for sill-beam or timber-framed houses were exposed along the southern limit of the site (O’Donnell 2003a, 26-8). The walls were probably coeval and dated to the mid- to late 13th- or early 14th-century occupation of the site (ibid.). No material culture remains were recovered from the foundation trenches of the walls, but one of the walls cut into layers that produced early to mid-13th-century pottery (ibid.). No deposits that could be definitively related to the occupation of this house were identified, and the organic material to the north of the house was generally degraded (ibid.). It is possible that these walls together formed the northern limit of a house that fronted onto the laneway at Tuckey Street. It is likely that the north wall of the house also served as the northern property boundary as noted at similarly located (in relation to the main street), and contemporary sites, at Kyrl’s Quay and North Gate (Hurley 1995a; Hurley and Sheehan 1997a). If this was the case, it is likely that much of the refuse associated with the occupation of this house was deposited further to the east, towards the rear end of that particular property and nearer the town wall. It is probable that drains and cess-pits were contained within the plot to facilitate refuse disposal. It is however possible that at least some of the refuse from this house was cast over the northern wall of the property during this period. The excavator interpreted much of the site at Tuckey Street as a ‘waste-ground’ during much of the 13th century.

The area appeared to have been used for general dumping during this period and it is likely that some of the sources for this refuse included the occupation of the houses fronting onto the laneway at Tuckey Street, along with those fronting on the South Main Street and those abutting fronting onto other laneways at the north (e.g. Wood’s Lane as noted at Christ Church). It is tempting to surmise that this may comprise the ‘vacant place’ within the town, referred to in the murage grant of 1284, which, if ‘built upon would confer great advantage on the vill’ (CDI, ii, no. 2247). It is unusual that such a key commercial location within the 13th-century town remained idle, situated as it was between two sites which revealed much evidence of trade and commerce in their material culture, Grand Parade II.
and Christ Church (see 5.3 below). It may be tentatively suggested that this area functioned as some sort of open ‘market-space’ or a holding space for animals destined for the market. The significant of meadow-crops identified in the archaeobotanical assemblage (e.g. buttercup, marigold - Table 12.1 in McClatchie 2003, 404), may support the suggestion that this area was used to keep animals, and these plant remains were deposited as animal faeces.

The ceramic dates from timber-built houses at 40-8 South Main Street and Tuckey Street (CMD) suggest that these houses continued to be occupied into the late 13th century. Those at 40-8 South Main Street appear to have situated at the periphery of the town, and retained a commercial purpose and Tuckey Street appeared to be a domestic property (see 4.2 and 4.3). The truncation of the late 13th- to early 14th-century layers at these sites meant that it was not possible to fully establish how settlement continued in these areas in the period following the late 13th century. It has been suggested that rather than a complete truncation of the material, a switch in building methods to stone-footed fully-timber-framed houses may have rendered all evidence of this period of occupation undetectable in archaeological layers (Ní Loingsigh 2005, n.p.). The identification, however, of trace remains from this form of housing at Christ Church and Tuckey Street implies that at least some phases of late 13th to 14th-century houses would have been apparent at 40-8 South Main Street. It therefore seems likely that the period dating to the late 13th and early 14th centuries seems to be the limit of the medieval archaeological horizon on most of the excavated sites on the south side of Cork’s medieval core.

Washington Street

The last house that can be related to the mid- to late 13th century on the South Island was located at 11-13 Washington Street (Fig. 5.9; McCutcheon 2003, 45-54). This was located in a property that faced onto a medieval laneway at present day Tobin Street. This has been interpreted as one of series of structures located within a plot which fronted onto South Main Street (Hurley 2003, 166). The morphology of the archaeological deposits, together with the nature of the material remains, however, strongly suggest that two separate (family) groups occupied this plot. The property seems to have been sub-divided early in the latter half of the 13th century and a new occupational group moved in and built the stone house at this location, c.55m to 60m east of the South Main Street frontage.

The northeast corner of a stone house was exposed at the southern limit of the site. The wall survived to roughly four courses and had a slight basal batter on its exterior face (McCutcheon 2003, 51). The wall was 0.45m in
Fig. 5.9 Stone house at Washington Street. The alignment of the north wall suggest that this house fronted onto Tobin Street (after McCutcheon 2003, 45, 51)
maximum height, 0.55m in width at the base and 0.25m at the top (*ibid.*). The wall most likely relates to a fully stone-built house as opposed to stone foundation for a fully-timber framed house. The morphology of the wall, the base batter in particular, is similar to other contemporary houses which have been conclusively identified as stone-built (e.g. Grattan Street, Lennon 2003, 66-7 – see below). The geographical location of the house within the town, at a distance from the main street, is commensurate with other fully-stone built houses on the North Island during this period, e.g. Grattan Street and Phillip’s Lane (see 5.2.10.8, below; Lennon 2003, 66-7; O’Donnell 2003b, 93-5).

The internal layers of the house comprised four floor levels with intermediary levelling deposits and occupation layers (McCutcheon 2003, 51). A final layer of burnt clay represented the destruction of the house by fire (*ibid.*). An organic layer built up against the wall of the house. This layer, along with two rubbish pits which were cut into the layer, produced a large quantity of ecofacts and datable artefacts associated with the occupation of the house (*ibid.*). At the western edge of this layer a slate and shell deposit was interpreted as a lane or surface linking Tobin Street to the south with the next lane to the north (McCutcheon 2003, 43-4). It is likely that the house had a slate roof as a layer of slate was evident in the section face of the excavation (McCutcheon 2003, 52). Although no hearth or any distinctly domestic feature was excavated within the walls of the house, the thin layers of organic silts and evidence of re-flooring indicated that this was a house and not an industrial, commercial or storage structure (McCutcheon 2003, 53). The ceramic data from the site indicates that the house was occupied into the early 14th century (McCutcheon 1995; 2003a, 216-21).

The material culture, and dietary remains, from this phase of the site indicate that this house was occupied by people of increased wealth during the late 13th to early 14th century (see 5.3-4, below). The absence of craft-working artefacts from the assemblage suggests that the inhabitants were involved in the areas of commerce or administration during the period. It is tempting to identify this structure as one of two stone houses located near Holy Trinity Church (Christ Church), listed in the bequest of John de Wynchedon of 1306 (Cahalane 1957, 37; 6.2 for further discussion). Its location, facing onto Tobin Street which formed the northern boundary of the Christ Church site, suggests that it could be described as ‘near to Holy Trinity’ during this period. John de Wynchedon was a merchant burgess, landowner and businessman who possibly lived within the Parish of Holy Trinity, and most likely within one of the two stone houses bequeathed to his sons in his will (*ibid.*; O’Sullivan 1956, 75-88). Even if the stone house at 11-13 Washington Street cannot be conclusively linked to a wealthy
merchant of Cork, its location within the general neighbourhood of such a wealthy citizen may suggest that the laneways around Christ Church were a ‘higher status’ location within mid/late 13th- to early 14th-century Cork.

*Occupation peripheral to the Main Street*

*Grand Parade I*

Evidence of domestic occupation which was peripheral to the activity along and adjacent to the main street was exposed at two sites in the south-east quadrant of the town. Both of these houses, and a similar structure in the North Island (see 5.2.10.9, below), were located, at or near, what Creighton and Higham (2005, 44) refer to as ‘dead end side street’ that terminated at the wall. These areas were not usually as fully developed and tended to be less favoured places to live within the medieval walled town (*ibid.*). At Grand Parade I, a series of clay floors was identified abutting the town wall. These floors were set over a dry clay surface that possibly related to an earlier structure in this area which pre-dated the mid-13th century line of the town wall. Over this surface, a layer of re-deposited clay with a high organic content was deliberately laid down to increase floor level (Hurley 1985, 72). Overlying this was a second floor surface. This was a layer of compacted straw, bracken, wood-shavings, horse-hair and twigs (*ibid.*). This layer was c.0.2m in depth and consisted of at least two or three re-floorings (*ibid.*). Finds from this layer were infrequent and mostly comprised pottery from the Saintonge region. A scrap of well-preserved fabric and a 13th-century bronze candlestick were also recovered from this floor level (*ibid.*). A further level of deliberate dumping overlay the second floor level. This was 0.2 m in depth and contained gravel, wood, straw and animal bones along with a quantity of late 13th- to early 14th-century pottery (Hurley 1985, 71). This deposit was probably introduced to provide a stable and dry surface for an overlying slate floor (*ibid.*). Over this, a 2.3cm layer of river sand provided a setting for a ‘carefully set layer of overlapping blue slate’ (*ibid.*). These were covered with compacted straw and together both contexts formed the completed floor surface of a possible late 13th to early/mid-14th-century structure (*ibid.*). These features were the latest high-medieval structural remains in the trench and were covered by a homogenous layer of organic soil, formed through successive rubbish deposition from the 14th to the 17th century.

The sequence of occupation at this site may be as follows. The earliest level may relate to backyard activity and possibly the stabling of animals at the fringes of the town, possibly leaning against the earliest 12th-/13th-century defences. Following the construction of the town wall, this area continued in use as a stable or workshop. By the end of the 13th century domestic space was becoming rarer in a town with a swelling population and an increasingly profitable export and trade industry. It is possible that the floors
at this site were part of a lean-to structure that may have served as a temporary home or shelter during this period. The increasing lack of domestic space may have prompted an adaptation of the space in the area for domestic purposes and the floor improved, slated and subsequently used as domestic home or for a similar domestic purpose. It may also be the case that a structure in this area was used to accommodate those guarding the town walls at this side of the town.

*Grand Parade II*

Further peripheral domestic housing was identified c.20m south-west of the above site, at the excavation at Grand Parade II (Fig. 5.1). A short period of mid-13th-century intensive rubbish disposal at this site created a relatively dry platform on which a house was constructed during the mid- to late 13th century. This house, morphologically comparable to another at St Peter’s Market (see below, 5.2.10.9), appeared to be located on, or near, the terminus of a laneway leading from the main street to the town wall. The earliest levels of domestic occupation at the site were dated to the last quarter of the 13th century (Hurley 1989b, 31). At the east of the site the primary floor of a structure was uncovered (*ibid.*). This consisted of a layer of ‘carefully-laid overlapping slates’ in the south-eastern quadrant of the site (Hurley 1989b, 31). There is no further description of the slates in the report text, but in the accompanying plan it appears that the slate floor was edged along its northern (long) limit (based on Fig. 3 in Hurley 1989b, 32). A trench, which was interpreted as a slot trench was exposed at the north-west of the slate floor and it was suggested that this delimited the floor and formed the wall of the ‘house’ on the north-western side (*ibid.*). No stake or post-holes, or evidence of a ‘robbed’ wall or sill-beam were exposed inside this trench (F18). The faunal remains contained fragments of animal bone similar in morphology to those commonly used as tempering agents in clay-built walls (McCarthy 1988, 32). Therefore, in the absence of any mural evidence, it is likely that the remains at this site are of a cob-built house. Cob-built houses have been identified in later medieval (15th-century) sites at Exeter and Norwich (Dyer 2008, 68). At Norwich the cob-built structure was a malt house, whereas the material culture and faunal remains indicate the Cork examples were domestic houses. In the rural landscape of England, cob-built houses were usually peasant homes and were often built by the tenant himself, as their construction required less specialised skill (i.e. mason and carpenters) than a stone or timber-framed house, and they were therefore cheaper to erect (Dyer 2008, 67). It may be a simplistic, yet valid, assumption that this type of house was associated with the less prosperous occupants of Cork at this time, whether burgesses, or the servants/employees of a wealthy Anglo-Norman burgess or members of the labouring class of the town. The material and faunal remains from this phase
of the houses use support this interpretation (see 5.3 and 5.4), and no evidence of high-status living was apparent in this data.

A large midden of oyster-shells occurred immediately north of the trench and a spread of grey clay (c.1.8m east-west) was exposed at its southwestern edge (Hurley 1989b, 31-2). This may have represented collapsed clay walling from the house. At the east of the slot trench, and north and south of the slate floor, a ‘turfy layer of compacted straw and wood shavings’ (F8) was exposed (Hurley 1989, 29). This was also exposed over much of the later levels of the site and it was suggested that this material was consistent with a trodden straw-covered floor (ibid.). At least eight successive layers of compacted straw were laid over the slate layer and together, these were 0.5m in depth (Hurley 1989, 31). A long-cross silver penny from the later reign of Henry III (1247 to 1272AD), was recovered from one of the compact straw floors at this level (Hurley 1986, 75). No further information is provided on the nature of these possible flooring layers. A stone-packed post hole was cut into F8 at the east of the site, north of the slate floor. This was interpreted as a possible roofing-support, inserted subsequent to the initial construction of the ‘house’ (ibid.). The floor surface of the structure was amended in the late 13th or early 14th century and c. 1m² of closely-set blue slates, many of which were slightly overlapping, survived over the earlier floors (Hurley 1989, 27-31). Further contemporary straw-floor layers and a possible slot trench were also noted at this level (ibid.).

From the structural evidence alone, especially considering the manner in which it is represented in the text (see 2.5.2 for further discussion), it is difficult to comprehend the exact nature of the occupation at this house. It can be conclusively stated that floor surfaces were exposed, however it is impossible to confirm the morphology of the structure that contained these floors. If the trench exposed at the north west of the original slate floor is interpreted as a slot trench that contained the outer wall of the house, it is difficult to explain its abrupt termination mid-way along the slate floor, and west of the compacted straw floor (F8). The fact that this trench was not fully exposed across the area of the floors may suggest that the house was orientated north-south. This would contrast with the more frequent east-west alignment of houses excavated alongside other lanes which dated to this period. The houses were often long and narrow, and aligned with the lanes, to maximise space within the burgess plots. If this property was located at the terminus of a lane, then it is possible that it may have had a different alignment; however parallels have not been noted in contemporary laneway plots excavated elsewhere in the city. One sill-beam or timber-framed structure with a north-south orientation was excavated at an early to mid-13th century backyard layer at Christ Church, Area H (see 4.2).
It is possible that this was not solely a domestic structure, and overall the remains here may have included a workshop or stable, or indeed the building may have housed aspects of all three. The slot trench may have held a low dividing wall between two sections of a structure; one, with more formal flooring may have contained a domestic occupation, and the second with rougher flooring, may have been used as a byre or workshop. The animal remains from house-floor layers appear to be consistent with kitchen-waste from domestic inhabitation, as were those from the middens and deposits excavated in the areas around the house (McCarthy 1988, 50). A small number of textile/leather-working and carpentry tools were retrieved from layers associated with the occupation of the house. This suggests that a degree of craft-working may have been undertaken, *in situ*, by the occupants of the house during the mid- to late 13th century.

5.2.10.3 North Island – Dungarvan (Fig 5.1)
A number of early to mid-13th century houses were uncovered along various sections of the street front during archaeological excavation (see 4.2). It is likely that there were many more than represented by the structural evidence, as excavation of late 13th-century structures at the rear of some plots has revealed deep accumulations of waste, more than likely generated by those living at the street front. This was the case at Grattan Street, the Skiddy’s Castle site and Phillips’ Lane (Lennon 2000, 61-77; Shee Twohig 1997, 7-9; O’Donnell 2003b, 78-98). At other sites, waste was found to have accumulated slowly over the course of the mid-13th century which suggests that the street-fronting area of those sites was not intensively settled at the time (e.g. Skiddy’s Lane – O’Donnell 2003c, 99-111). At some sites late 13th-century development occurred directly on, or close to, the estuarine silt (e.g. 1-4 St Peter’s Avenue – Hurley and Johnson 2003, 131-9; North Gate – Hurley and Sheehan 1997a, 39-41). This suggests that the street-fronting portions of those plots were not inhabited until the late 13th century at the earliest.

The sub-division of plots increased during the mid- to late 13th century. In the north-east quadrant of the town, where the area between the main street and the town wall was narrower, the original long plots seemed to have generally been subdivided into two separate properties, with maybe an occasional smaller unit at the terminus of a laneways. In the north-west quadrant, the expanse between the main street and the western limits of the town was greater, and some of these long plots were sub-divided into three, with an open space remaining adjacent to the town wall. This sub-division of plots is apparent on the archaeological record. The evidence largely relates to the longitudinal east-west division of plots, as these boundaries are more frequent than the shorter north-south property divisions. Both types of boundary divisions were delineated by laneways, wooden fences and/or
stone walls. At North Gate and 11-13 Washington Street, laneways demarcated the north-south limits of plots, and laneways that define the east-west boundaries of plots are frequent across the medieval townscape of Cork.

The rapid expansion of domestic housing on the North Island during this period has rendered it necessary to separate the archaeological evidence into two phases for the period of occupation extending from the mid- to late 13th century. These phases relate to the mid- to late 13\textsuperscript{th} century, (i.e. c. 1250-1275AD) and the late 13\textsuperscript{th} century, (i.e. c. 1275-1290/1300 AD). The next section of this chapter deals with domestic and industrial occupation that can only be dated to the late 13\textsuperscript{th}/early 14\textsuperscript{th} century. The purpose of this approach is to provide a more nuanced discussion of how settlement evolved during the last 50 years of the 13\textsuperscript{th} century.

5.2.10.4 Mid- to late 13\textsuperscript{th}-century housing and domestic occupation

Following those houses identified with an early to mid-13\textsuperscript{th}-century date, the next phase of street-fronting housing revealed through archaeological excavation was at North Gate and Kyrl’s Quay/North Main Street (Hurley and Sheehan 1997a, 18-66; Hurley 1995, 47-50).

North Gate

At North Gate the street-fronting houses were located at both the east and the west of the street, in Areas 1 and 2 (ibid.). In Area 1, at the east of the main street, late 13\textsuperscript{th}-century development occurred in Plot 2, the second plot south of the North Gate of the late 13\textsuperscript{th}-century town. The plot immediately inside the town wall, and adjacent to the gate, was paved during this period and most likely functioned as an ‘open yard’ during the late 13\textsuperscript{th} and early 14\textsuperscript{th} century (Fig. 5.6; Hurley 1997c, 19). The recovery of a stone mortar \textit{in situ} in the paving is suggestive of nearby occupation at an earlier period. The extensive dumping which occurred underneath the paving during the mid- to late 13\textsuperscript{th} century is also redolent of general occupation in the area during this period however any earlier nearby housing was not identified during the excavation. The street-fronting area of Plot 1 was not excavated, however, as the eastern section of a street-fronting house in Plot 2 was exposed at a similar distance from the street as the western extent of Plot 1, it seems unlikely that there was a private house at this location (based on Fig. 8 in Hurley 1997c, 20). The ‘open’ aspect of the yard in Plot 1 may mirror development at the west of the street, where a communal area was also identified inside the town wall (see below, this section).

In Plot 2, the remains of the street fronting house comprised a series of clay floors which was clearly delimited along its eastern edge. The construction
trench for the east wall of a later house at this site completely truncated the wall foundation of the earlier house (Fig. 5.6; Hurley 1997c, 21). By comparison with nearby houses, it seems reasonable to assume that this was a stone-footed timber-framed house (see results from Area 2, North Gate below). This house was built directly onto the naturally-deposited silt and sand, indicating that it was the first settlement within this plot. The excavated dimensions were c.4.4m north-south and 5.4m east west (ibid.). It is likely that the remains at this location represent the eastern room of a domestic house. Unfortunately the absence of walls, and the fragmentary survival of the clay floors, meant that a doorway could not be identified. A layer of oxidised clay at the south of the floor levels was underneath the location of the hearth at the later house, and it may indicate that the basic position of the hearth remained the same in both houses (based on Fig. 8 and Fig. 10 in Hurley 1997c, 20 & 27). Unlike properties in the nearby area, this phase of the backyard of the street-fronting house did not reveal evidence of industrial activity.

The rear of the property was largely made up of organic material, which contained animal bone, leather and pottery (Hurley 1997c, 22). This layer was contemporary with two cess-pits which were exposed inside the eastern (rear) limit of the property (ibid.). The construction of cess-pits on this property suggests that the town wall was upstanding by the time the site was initially occupied in the mid- to late 13th century. The earliest cess-pit was wood-lined and contained moss, straw and environmental material. The later pit was stone-built and lined with ‘well-built’ walls of dry-stone construction (ibid.). A drain extended from eastern end of the pit, presumably towards the town wall. Unfortunately, the cess material from either pit was not analysed as part of the limited archaeobotanical assessment carried out on samples from the site. The insertion of two consecutive cess-pits on a site is suggestive of increased financial means among the occupants of the house. The well-built nature of the later cess-pit in particular, indicates that this construction may have been professionally undertaken. With the exception of a single spindle whorl and some incomplete (but worn) leather shoes, no artefacts would be associated with the level of occupation. The single spindle whorl probably relates to domestic, as opposed to industrial, spinning.

Analysis of the faunal remains from the wooden cess pit produced limited evidence of high status eating and included a small number of remains from suckling pig and teal (McCarthy 1997, 155-6). A phalanx from a juvenile red deer was retrieved from a floor level within the house (ibid.). The lack of industrial evidence, both in terms of the material culture and the structural remains, along with the accents of high status apparent in the faunal assemblage, suggests that this level of the site was occupied by an
administrator, clerk or merchant. The archaeological evidence is not suggestive of an elite presence, but rather a member of a relatively prosperous burgess during the period. A wealthier occupant would most likely have left a stronger signature, most readily recognised in the faunal remains and the material culture from the site, as apparent at the positively identified in the higher status residences of contemporary Cork (see 5.2.10.8 below).

Further evidence from domestic occupation with a mid to late 13th century date was excavated at the west of North Main Street. At this site, three plots were identified descending from the northern limit of the town. The street-facing area of the first plot (Plot 1) south of the North Gate was unavailable for archaeological investigation. Work in the rear (west) of this plot revealed evidence of two communal bake-ovens (See above). Excavation in Plots 2 and 3 identified small sections of two-street fronting houses at the north and south of an east-west running laneway (Hurley and Sheehan 1997a, 4-3). Both houses were of stone-footed timber-framed construction. In Plot 2, the south wall of the house along with part of the northern return and a layer of flooring constituted the remains of the street fronting house (Hurley and Sheehan 1997, 40-1). In the backyard of this house, traces of a boundary wall between Plot 1 and Plot 2 were uncovered (ibid.). The narrow strip which contained this wall was the only section of the backyard of Plot 2 to be excavated at this level. About 3m south of the house in Plot 2, in Plot 3, the north wall and two floor levels of a street-facing house were uncovered (Hurley and Sheehan 1997a, 42). The backyard of Plot 3 was outside the area of excavation (ibid.). No material culture from the excavation can be related to the mid- to late 13th-century occupation at either house. The faunal-remains discussion from the period does not note any particular findings from either house (McCarthy 1997, 155-6). Thus, it is not possible to determine the nature of occupation at these houses. This phase of inhabitation was possibly contemporary with the use of a corn-drying kiln c. 20m west of these ovens, identified during the Phillips’ Lane excavations (see 5.2.11, below).

5.2.10.5 North Gate – late 13th-century domestic housing and associated structures
At the east of the Main Street, the nature of the occupation in Plot 2 changed during the latter years of the 13th century. The earlier occupation revealed no evidence of in situ industrial activity; however the next phase of activity was clearly associated with industrial processes. This re-purposing of the archaeological evidence suggests that the plot came into new ownership at this stage. The house noted at the previous level in this plot was covered over and a new stone-built house was constructed in the street-facing area (4.55m north-south by 5.6m east-west) (Hurley 1997c, 25). The estimated
dimensions for the original structure were 6m north-south and 10m east-west. The remains of the east wall (with a doorway threshold), flooring levels and a hearth were all the features from this house that survived within the area of excavation (ibid.). There were numerous stakeholes dotted across the floor level of the house, some of which were adjacent to the area of the hearth and may have represented a screen, spit or pot crane setting (Hurley 1997c, 26). While the greater part of the backyard area remained covered by organic layers, a stone-footed square building was constructed in the eastern portion of the ‘backyard’ (estimated dimensions: 4.8m north-south by 4.6m east-west) (Hurley 1997c, 26-7). This structure may have functioned as an industrial workshop or bakery and the remains comprised fragmentary sections of the east, south and west walls along which may have formed a stone footing for a wood or clay superstructure (ibid.). The floor was compact and comprised heavily oxidised clay which contained frequent lenses of ash and charcoal (ibid.). It seems reasonable to assume that those working in rear structure were the inhabitants of the street-fronting house although the area in between the two structures was not excavated. Therefore, it was not possible to determine to mode of access to the rear area of the property, i.e. was it private and only accessed through the main house or was there an entrance in from the ‘open yard’ at the north of the plot? Unfortunately, neither the material culture, nor the dietary evidence could provide any further information of the nature of occupation in this site, or indicate the type of industry practiced within the backyard structure.

At the west of North Main Street, the next level of occupation at the site was dated to the late 13th century. The rear sections, and possibly the entire area, of Plots 1 and 2, were combined to house a large industrial feature (see Fig 5.11; 5.2.9). This facilitated a relatively large scale, if short-lived, industrial process in this area. That process was of sufficient size to possibly warrant the merging of two plots at the rear of the Main Street in close proximity to the bridge (see 5.2.11, below). The street-fronting area of the site continued to be occupied during the late 13th century and a stone-footed sill-beam house was excavated in Plot 2. The street-fronting area of Plot 1 was not excavated at this level. A new house was built at the street front in Plot 2, which replaced the mid- to late 13th-century structure at this location. The house was also of stone-footed sill-beam construction and the remains comprised the partial remains of the west and south walls along with two floor surfaces (Hurley and Sheehan 1997a, 43). No formal hearth setting was identified in the house (ibid.). The limits of this new house transected the limits of the earlier laneway at the north of the original house, which implies that this property was rebuilt to fit in with the alteration of plot boundaries which resulted from the construction of the large industrial feature which lay in the rear of both plots. The remains of a new laneway extended east-west at the south of House 3, at the north of Plot 3 (ibid.).
5.2.10.6 Skiddy’s Castle site

Trace evidence of street-fronting occupation with a mid- to late 13th century date was discernible in the lower levels of the excavation at the site of Skiddy’s Castle (Shee-Twohig 1997, 8-25). These included the north-east corner of a possible sill-beam structure, c. 13-15m west of the modern street-front (based on Fig. 5 in Shee Twohig 1997, 8). Other remains that may date to this period of occupation included an east-west laneway (Wade’s Lane), a series of stone-lined drains with wooden bases and a paved area (Shee-Twohig 1997, 8-25). Frequent deposits of organic material were also identified along the extent of the excavated area (ibid.). Unfortunately there is no chronology for these levels nor can the material culture from the site be related to these layers and features. This evidence merely attests to the general occupation of this area during the mid- to late 13th century.

5.2.10.7 Kyrl’s Quay/North Main Street (North-east quadrant)

Further evidence of mid- to late 13th-century street-fronting occupation was excavated in several trenches at Kryl’s Quay/North Main Street. As discussed above (see 4.2), this area appeared to have been settled during the early to mid-13th century, slightly earlier than at North Gate. This may indicate that the town wall was completed earlier along the limit of the north island west of the sites here, and the delay in inhabitation at North Gate was dependent on the completion of the wall at that area.

In Trench 3a on the Kyrl’s Quay/North Main Street excavation the earlier post-and-wattle house was replaced by a house of timber-framed construction. Just the south-eastern corner of the house was evident. Along the east-wall the sill-beam was set in a foundation trench (Hurley 1995a, 55). Along the south wall, a foundation beam was set upon pad stones and possible post-pads were apparent at the south-east corner (based on Fig. 5 in Hurley 1995, 54). Approximately 3m² of the flooring, which comprised two floor levels, remained (Hurley 1995a, 55). Both floor levels and the house were covered with and surrounded by an organic accumulation (C500) which included hazelnut, moss and charcoal (Hurley 1995, 57). There is no further discussion of the content of this organic layer in the report text, nor does any sampling or environmental analysis appear to have been completed on this material. This lack of environmental analysis appears to represent a missed opportunity to fully assess the nature of the occupation at the site during this period. This is particularly pertinent if the wooden house at this level could be construed as evidence of a lower-status dwelling, as the less well-off are generally under-represented in the archaeological record (e.g. Orser 1992). The length of occupation at this house could not be established.
as all later levels were truncated by the construction of a 14\textsuperscript{th}-century stone house (see 6.2).

In Trench 3c at Kryl’s Quay, the construction of an east-west running boundary wall resulted in the destruction of the early to mid-13\textsuperscript{th}-century stone house (Fig.4.7; Hurley 1995a, 59). Sections of the same wall were identified in a trench c.10m - 15m to the east of the house, and as such, that may have formed the limits of the backyard of the property. The area between the house and possible backyard was not excavated. This wall seemed to only have had a short period of use at the street-front, and was dismantled prior to the construction of a mid-to late 13\textsuperscript{th}-century house at this location. It is difficult to determine whether this signifies a change in ownership, or the correct delineation of a plot boundary in response to a dispute. It is possible that a change in ownership, or new owners, at the north of the plot may have required a more formal division of property than had been used previously.

The later structure was a stone-house built directly over the earlier house. Again, it was not possible to state whether this was a street-fronting house or a stone building located directly behind another house. The structural remains included a north-south wall built directly on the same line as the earlier house (Hurley 1995, 59). The wall either formed an internal division of a house with a minimum of two rooms at the rear of a different street fronting house, or it comprised the eastern wall of a long (c.15m) house perpendicular to the street-front. Limestone flooring was identified in the western room which was contemporary with a gravel floor to the east of the wall \cite{ibid.}. Associated occupation debris was excavated around these features \cite{ibid.}. The alignment of the internal features between the later and earlier houses suggests that the house remained in the same ownership. With the exception of an alternation in the make-up of the boundary fence, the nature of the backyard deposits (Trench 4), that may have been associated with the street-fronting stone houses in Trench 3c, did not show significant alteration in their composition between both phases of occupation. It must be remembered that these two trenches cannot be conclusively linked as the area between the street front and Trench 4 was not excavated. Nonetheless the similarity of the boundary wall, and the location of Trench 4 at c.25m east of the main street, suggests that a proprietorial connection was likely.

Within the possible backyard areas, deposits seemed to accumulate rapidly during the mid- to late 13\textsuperscript{th} century. This was suggestive of a high density of occupation at the street front and possibly meant that a large family, or a number of families occupied the house. It may also have been used as trading premises. The mid- to late 13\textsuperscript{th}-century deposits in the backyard were mostly within a homogenous black earth with a high organic content.
The organic layers also contained a large amount of wood chips and shavings, shells, animal bone, leather and fabric (ibid.). With the exception of the leather, none of the above find types were considered in the published report. As these finds accumulated rapidly, they could have feasibly been linked with a short phase of occupation of a property either at the rear of a street-facing house (or a separate workshop area that fronted on to an adjacent alleyway). This body of material could have been a worthwhile assemblage to assess in order to determine a true reflection of the nature of the settlement in this area. These remains may have provided significant information on the type of work undertaken on the site along with the diet consumed by the occupants. For example, it is possible that the wood chips and shavings were indicative of carpentry or coothing on site, but in the absence of information or quantity this cannot be stated for certain. In the absence of structural or significant material culture, the environmental data can often shed light on a particular period of occupation. The dietary remains data could have established, beyond doubt, the quality of life of the citizens using this area for refuse disposal. At this site, the absence of structural evidence seems to have rendered this level of the trench unworthy of the consideration of the excavator, and thus, this information is lost. This is a common problem when dealing with urban medieval sites in Ireland (see 2.5.2).

One slightly macabre find can be associated with the mid- to late 13th century phase of occupation represented by the remains in Trench 4. A number of well-preserved human bone fragments were excavated from the deep layer of occupation debris (C801) in this trench. The fragments were from the skull of a young mature adult (Power 1995, 61). Pathology present on a fragment from the left orbit (cribra orbitalia) was a non-specific indicator of iron deficiency anaemia (ibid.). The suggested aetiologies for this condition included poor nutrition, general ill-health and infections (ibid.). Whether this was a general health condition of the local populace during this period is difficult to discern. No osteological remains from nearby graveyards have been excavated or examined, but analysis of the general medieval population of Cork suggests that such a degree of poor health was not typical of the period (e.g. Power 1995, 80-4). The layer that produced the skull fragments accumulated rapidly as part of refuse deposition in the back yard of a burgess plots which fronted onto North Main Street (Hurley 1995a, 60-1). The provenance of the material in this layer cannot, however, be conclusively established. The fact that this skull was not buried in consecrated ground is quite unusual for human remains of this period. It is not possible to state whether this was indicative of foul play or whether this skull was re-deposited through animal activity. It is tempting to speculate that these remains may be from one of the ‘working poor’ of Cork during this period, a member of society that could vanish without
trace. (e.g. *Cal. Justic. Rolls Ire.*, i, 152, 228 records indicate the absence of punishment for the murder of these ranks of society, which were often drawn from the native Irish *hibernicus* e.g. *Cal. Justic. Rolls Ire.*, i, 9, 59). The recovery of a large amount of animal bone from the backyard deposits suggests that this was a household that consumed meat frequently. Thus, the iron deficiency and evidence of poor nutrition evident on the skull implies that this young adult may not have been part of the family of the house, if he indeed resided there at all.

The subdivision of plots on the North Island appeared to be contemporary with the street-fronting development in some areas, and post-dated the street-fronting occupation in others. At Kyrl’s Quay/North Main Street an east-west running drain produced a dendrochronological date of 1250±9 AD (Hurley 1995, 52). This drain was associated with the development of a laneway and a new phase of housing set back from eastern side of the main street. The east-west running laneway was flanked by two stone walls, the southernmost of which was interpreted as the north wall of a stone-built house (Hurley 1995, 53). This house faced onto the alleyway at the north which suggests that it was not accessed via the street front, and as such, was set within a separate plot. Internal features were scant and comprised a possible hearth or chimney base, a possibly north-south internal wall and some traces of under-floor material and associated organic layers and silts (*ibid.*). It was not possible to establish the size of the house during the excavation. A number of artefacts associated with textile-working were associated with mid to late 13th-century layers in this trench (Hurley 1995, 51-3; see 5.3 below). These may suggest an industrial/craft-working association for the occupants of this house.

5.2.10.8 Late 13th-century higher status possible mercantile houses (Fig. 5.10)

Domestic occupation without a distinct craft-working or industrial focus was evolving in the north-west quadrant of the north island during this period. At three separate sites, late 13th-century foundations for what would become substantial stone houses were being laid at Grattan Street and Skiddy’s Lane (Lennon 2003; O’Donnell 2003b; O’Donnell 2003c). All of these structures were located between c. 40m to 60m west of North Main Street. The foundations of the houses were set in a series of organic deposits, or overlying earlier features, which suggests that they post-dated, but not significantly, the earliest phase of the intensive occupation of the street-fronting area of North Main Street in the north-west quadrant (c.1250-1275). This, along with the ceramic assemblage, suggests a date of c.1275 to c.1290 for their initial construction phases.
Fig. 5.10 Mercantile housing in the north-west quadrant of late 13th-century Cork (map drawn by present writer from Hurley 2003a, 154 and Gina Johnson’s revised map of Cork’s Lanes 2002, 189).

Grattan Street
At Grattan Street, the remains of two stone houses were uncovered (Fig. 5.10; 5.11) (Lennon 2003, 65-77). The houses did not face each other directly, but seemed to form part of a complex that shared a private courtyard. It is likely that the south-east corner of another structure in the north-west of the excavation trench is part of a third house that formed this group. Possible north-south boundary walls were located as the east and west of the house group (Fig. 5.8; 5.9). The area between the houses did not serve as a public alleyway, and contained features associated with communal domestic purposes (e.g. ovens, a water trough). The houses were situated at the north-east and south-west of this communal area. The
Fig. 5.11 Series of excavations plans outlining the development of the houses at Grattan Street. Above are the two earliest phases of the eastern house, in the middle is a plan of the courtyard and below are a plan and photograph of the western house (after Lennon 2003, 62, 66, 70, 76, 443).

similarity in the construction methods used, and the morphology of the structures, suggested that they were built contemporaneously, and possibly by the same family/occupational group.

Each house was built in two distinct phases. The northern house was initially constructed as a stone-footed timber-framed house at the east, to which a stone-walled second room was added soon after (Lennon 2003, 66; Hurley 2003a, 160-2). The stone-footed section of the house was replaced by a more substantial stone-walled structure and this functioned
simultaneously with the initial (western) stone-built structure (ibid.). At some stage in the late 13th or early 14th century, the latter room was also rebuilt to tie in better with the improved stone-walled section to the east (ibid.). The resulting building was substantial, and possibly formed the first floor of a two- or three-storey residence. The final phase of walling in the building averaged 0.6m in width and displayed a slightly batter on the outer face (Lennon 2003, 67). The completed house measured c.15m along its longest (east-west) axis and a strip, c. 1.5m in width, of the interior of all levels of the house was exposed (Lennon 2003, 65-6). Pockets of floor material survived at all levels, and a large hearth (c.1m in diameter) was exposed at the last level of high medieval occupation.

The southern house at this site was also was also of two-phase construction with an earlier section on the east and a later addition on the west side (Lennon 2003, 75). The east-west wall averaged 0.7 m in thickness and survived to a height of over 2 metres (ibid.). A rectangular feature (2.6m x 1.4m and 0.7m high) was located in the interior of the building and was incorporated into the north wall (ibid.). The floor of this feature was comprised of uneven slabs set into a bed of mortar and there was an opening of 1m at the south wall. The feature was squared externally but curved inside (ibid.). Although the excavator does not state this, it is the opinion of the present writer that this may have functioned as the base of a timber stairwell. The excavator suggested that this feature was a chimney (Lennon 2003, 75), but the absence of staining/burning would render this suggestion unlikely. It has also been suggested that this may have served as an internal cess-pit, a storage vault or a strong room (Hurley 2003a, 162-4). The interior of the building itself had been backfilled with post-medieval rubble however a number of red sandstone flags, two of which were in situ, may relate to the floor level of the medieval building (ibid.). The building was extended at some stage during the 14th century and this extension comprised a room, smaller than the original, added to the west side of the original structure (Lennon 2003, 76). This extension truncated any evidence of a western section, if one existed, to the original stone house.

A number of organic layers and miscellaneous features were located in the space between the houses in the courtyard area. Most of the excavated yard surface was south of the northernmost house. The features included a north-south aligned wall at the west of the excavation trench (Fig. 5.9). Possibly associated with this were a decayed timber structure at its west and a re-used slate surface at its east (Lennon 2003, 68-9). Although the excavator does not speculate on the function of the wall, it is possible that this may represent the back wall of a structure or yard at the rear of a property fronting on to North Main Street. The decayed timber and slate surface may relate to a lean-to outhouse, byre or stable. Other features at this level
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included a stone-lined trough (or water cistern) and a cobbled surface of limestone slabs and an associated gully (ibid.). Three shallow layers, which may originally have held planks, were excavated in the organic layer south of Room 2, House 2. A number of layers of small stones, gravel and oyster shell were interpreted as yard surfaces (Lennon 2003, 69). Two hearths, which were contemporary with these surfaces, were also excavated (ibid.). These were interpreted as outdoor bake ovens (Hurley 2003a, 162). The material culture from the courtyard/backyard area indicates that there was a temporal relationship between these yard features and the houses, particularly the late 13th to 14th-century phases of occupation.

No doorway was apparent at either house. It is possible that entrances were located in the north and south walls of each building, as noted at a broadly contemporary structure at Phillip’s Lane (see below, this section). Indeed, when the house plans were overlaid with a map of the medieval laneways in the area, the positioning of the southern house seemed to exactly mirror that of Phillips’ Lane (see Figs 5.5-7). Doorways in the gable walls of the houses would have facilitated access to the laneways and the communal backyard area. The features and location of the houses suggest that both faced onto separate laneways. This suggests that the structures and associated areas at Grattan Street were located in two conjoined plots. The ownership of multiple plots is not uncommon during this period and historical sources suggest it was quite frequent among the wealthy merchant burgesses (see 6.2; the will of John de Wynchedon – O’Sullivan 1956). A large quantity of material suggestive of high status living was identified in the artefactual and environmental assemblages for the Grattan Street site (5.4 and 5.4). The material culture strongly suggested that this was the home of one of the mercantile elite of the town. The structural layout of this house group is quite redolent of the order of communal space frequent at contemporary Anglo-Norman castle sites. This indicates that the merchants of Cork were emulating the Anglo-Norman nobility in the manner in which they ordered and organised their own (urban) domestic space.

Skiddy’s Lane

The level of deposition beneath another substantial stone structure at Skiddy’s Lane suggests that it is broadly contemporary with the houses at Grattan Street. This would date its initial phase of construction at Skiddy’s Lane to sometime between the mid and late 13th century. The recovery of a type of flat-topped crested tile, from a type that fell out of use during the late 13th-century, possibly confirms this date (Wren 2003, 238). The earliest structure was the first of two or three houses on the site. It was not possible to fully establish the exact periods of construction for the second phase of the building. The excavator dated it to the early to mid-14th century (O’Donnell 2003c, 102-3); however, this research has moved the date of
construction to the mid- to late 13th century. This is based on similarities with contemporary construction patterns and morphology in nearby areas of the town, along with the mid- to late 13th-century wealth in Cork that prompted this new phase of development in the north-west quadrant of the town. The earliest remains at Skiddy’s Lane were interpreted as the possible north and east walls of a medieval stone building, although the excavation site was too limited in size to fully expose further sections of the structure (O’Donnell 2003c, 101). The excavated dimensions of the earliest house at this site were 3.3m north-south and 8.3m east-west (ibid.). The walls averaged 0.4m in width and survived to a maximum height of c.0.32m (ibid.). The foundations of a possible dividing wall were identified at the east of the cutting (O’Donnell 2003c, 103).

As the joining areas of the various walls at this level were truncated by later features, it was difficult to establish how each of them they knitted together, and which were contemporary. It was estimated that the structure may have originally measured 7.6m north-south and 9.5m east-west (O’Donnell 2003c, 103). It is possible that the house was even larger than this, and the remains represent a similar house to that excavated at Grattan Street (see above, this section), where a two-roomed ground floor measured c.15m east-west. There was no conclusive evidence for a floor level associated with the walls although it was considered possible that an area of rough cobbled uncovered in the northeast corner of the structure may have been related to the occupation of the house (O’Donnell 2003c, 104). The structure was c.45 m west of the street front. Two large stone drains were uncovered which related to the same level as this phase of the house (ibid.). There was a significant dearth of material culture from this level of the site, most easily explained by the fact that most of the area of excavation comprised walling and rubble. The morphology and location of the earliest house at Skiddy’s Lane strongly suggests that it formed one of a series of merchants’ (or similarly high-status) houses constructed in the north-west quadrant of the town during the latter half of the 13th century.

**Phillips’ Lane**

A stone house excavated at Phillips’ Lane can also be interpreted as that of a merchant and member of the administrative class of Cork during the latter half of the 13th century. This, again, was a substantial stone-built structure situated c. 40-50m west of North Main Street. It was located west of the plots exposed during the North Gate excavations at the west of the street (see above; Fig. 5.1). The deposits underlying the stone house produced evidence of corn-drying which may connect with activity during the mid- to late 13th-century (first) phase of occupation at North Gate, where bake-ovens and a large number of mill and quernstones were identified at the west of the street-front. Therefore, a late 13th-century date is proposed for
the initial phase of construction for this house. This correlates with the ceramic chronology for the site (O’Donnell 2003b, 93-8; McCutcheon 2003).

Fig 5.12 Phillips Lane, aerial view of stone house (Cleary and Hurley 2003, 440)

The earliest structural remains at the site were the complete circuit of a stone-walled building and an associated stone-lined drain (O’Donnell 2003b, 93). The full footprint of the building was uncovered during the excavation and the exposed dimensions were 6.6m north-south and 12.15m east-west (ibid.). The house was rectangular in plan and the wall survived to 0.08m to 1.06m in height and ranged in width from 0.72m to 1.07 m (ibid.). The west wall had a slight batter on its external face and there was some evidence that the walls may have been internally rendered (O’Donnell 2003b, 93-4). The building had two opposing doorways, at the east and west of the structure. These were wide and the inner face of the south wall was provided with recesses to accommodate the open doorways (O’Donnell 2003b, 94). The doorway in the east wall, closest to North Main Street, displayed ornamentation in the form of two chamfered pieces of yellow sandstone which were uncovered at either side of the ope (ibid.). A set of steps were uncovered on the north side of the eastern entrance where they were incorporated into the external face of the east wall (ibid.). It is likely that the steps would have facilitated external access to the upper floor of the building. There was no direct evidence for an actual floor level associated with the house but the area to the east of the doorway was flagged by large sandstone slabs (O’Donnell 2003b, 95). A number of levels including a clay layer and an area of rough cobbles were interpreted as sub-floor levels.
A stone-lined drain lay to the west and seemed to have been associated with the same level as the house (ibid.). This house was amended in the early 14th century and had a long period of occupations, which possibly extended to the 17th century.

No internal hearths were uncovered during the excavation of the house nor were fireplaces, braziers or chimneys identified (Hurley 2003, 164). The opposing doorways at the east and west ends of building have been interpreted as possibly indicative of a ‘thoroughfare’ through the house which provided access solely for the property owner and his appointees (ibid.). In the absence of definite floor levels, it was difficult to conclude the function of either the earliest house, or its later extension, however it was clear that they served as the ground floors, but not basements, of properties with more domesticated functions at the upper levels. It is likely that the ground floor was a trading and business premises which had a separate access to the domestic property. This clear delineation of public and private space seemed to be a late 13th-century development in the town but it has parallels across the pan-Norman urban landscape (Giles 2011, 168-70). The desire on the part of the occupants to clearly distinguish between business and home life possibly points to their self-perception as members of the commercial elite of Cork during this period. That they were able to design and build a structure to accommodate this wish is indicative of their prosperity. Elements of the material culture and the dietary evidence suggest that this was a mercantile dwelling and that the occupants enjoyed a high standard of living (see 5.3 and 5.4 below). This was not commensurate with the ‘elite’ quality of life apparent from the evidence at Grattan Street, but the overall data indicates that they formed part of a group of wealthy citizens, which are represented in the archaeological record of this period in Cork’s history.

*St Peter’s Avenue*

These sites may offer a slightly disproportionate view of the housing choices of the wealthy during this period, and one site illustrates that the elite of the town continued to reside at the street front in certain areas. Interestingly, this site was also situated in the north-west quadrant of the town. At 1-4 St Peter’s Avenue the structural evidence for occupation was minimal and simply comprised the remains of a laneway and a lintelled drain which abutted the northern portion of a medieval backyard (see Fig. 5.1 and 5.5) (Hurley and Johnson 2003, 131-9). Nonetheless, the material culture and dietary remains from this site produced clear evidence of wealth and high-status living, almost commensurate with that noted from the occupation at Grattan Street, where the domestic space, and possibly the entire property, was situated c.50m back from the Main Street (see 5.3 and 5.4 below).
5.2.10.9 Peripheral Housing

One house was excavated in the peripheral area of north east quadrant of the town. This was identified at St. Peter’s Market, immediate west of the town wall and overlying the remains of a dismantled mural tower (see 5.2.4; Hurley 1989a, 13). The earliest occupation of the house could be dated to the mid- to late 13th century. Excavation in this trench uncovered the foundation levels and the lower courses of the walls of a cob-built house and associated habitation floor levels (Hurley 1989a, 13). The foundation level comprised a layer of limestone flags and several deposits of gravel (Hurley 1989a, 15). The excavated area was too small to be precise about the exact extent the house (ibid.). A large spread of grey-blue locally derived slates overlay the occupation levels and this may have comprised the roof of the building (Hurley 1989a, 11). The occupation layer around the house wall consisted of a trampled floor comprising straw twigs and humic material which contained late 13th- to mid-14th-century pottery (ibid.). A number of rubbish pits were cut into the occupation layers outside the house which possibly related to the period of occupation of the house (ibid.).

The location of this house at the limits of the late 13th-century town may indicate that it was the house of a less well-off member of society during this period. The use of clay or mud in the construction of the house-walls contrasts with contemporary building techniques, where dwarf-stone walls were extensively used in the foundation levels for housing across the town. The material culture and environmental remains from the house indicated that it had a domestic function, and did not serve as an animal byre or workshop. This is one of just two possible cob-built houses from the town which can be dated to this period. A possible cob-built house was excavated in a similarly peripheral location at Grand Parade II on the south island of the town (see above). Similar deposits of grey-blue slates were also exposed here, which suggests that the morphology of the houses was comparable. As previously noted (see 5.2.10.2, above), these types of homes, in certain ‘dead end’ streets of the town, can be associated with lower-status living. The occupants of this home may have been labourers, low-level traders, or the servants of established Anglo-Norman burgesses, such as those residing in the more salubrious surroundings of the nearby north-west quadrant of Cork (see 5.2.10.8, above).

5.2.11 Structural evidence of craft-working and industry

South Island

A number of archaeological excavations produced in situ structural evidence of craft-working and industry which dated to the mid- to late 13th century. On the South Island, at 40-8 South Main Street, late 13th-century deposition layers contained quantities of copper smelting slag (Ní Loingsigh 2005,
The deposit that contained the slag was found within a series of layers that indicated that metal-working was on-going in the vicinity of this site since the early to mid-13th century. No house structures could be associated with this activity, although domestic material was mixed in with these layers including quantities of animal bone and carbonised grain (McCarthy 2011, n.p., Lyons 2010, n.p.). This suggests that there was a metal-working occupational focus at one of the nearby domestic houses inside the eastern section of the town wall. No structural evidence for industrial practices was identified in the mid- to late 13th-century layers at Christ Church or other sites on the south island. The material culture from Grand Parade II and Tuckey Street (see 5.3.1, below), did indicate that craft-working (possible leather-working, textile-working and carpentry) was undertaken in the vicinity of these sites however the exact areas of industry were not identified. It is possible that these existed in the areas of the backyards that were not excavated on the South Island. It is also likely that much of the mid- to late 13th-century archaeological remains on the south island have been completely truncated by later (17th-century+) development.

The majority of the structural evidence for industrial practice during this period was excavated on the North Island. The new phase of population expansion in the area during the mid- to late 13th century was intensively industrially and commercially focussed, and reflects the rapid economic growth of Cork at this time. The earliest industrial areas from this period seem to relate to food production. A possible cereal-drying kiln was excavated at a mid- to late 13th-century layer at Phillip’s Lane (O’Donnell 2003b, 93). This comprised a setting of four large, flat red sandstone slabs which were set in heavily-oxidised clay (ibid.). Remains of charred cereal grains (wheat, oat and rye) were identified in samples from the oxidised clay (ibid.). This kiln may have coeval with the bake ovens and possible milling activity noted at the North Gate site c. 30m to the east (see below, this section).

North Island
A further kiln was identified in the third plot south of the town wall at the east side of North Main Street. This was exposed at the rear of a property and was located in the only section of the plot that was subject to archaeological excavation. The area at the north of the kiln was separated from the adjacent plot by a stone wall (Hurley and Sheehan 1997a, 22-4). The southern boundary of this area was not exposed but the area south of the kiln was cobbled during the late 13th century (Hurley and Sheehan 1997a, 28). The greater part of the exposed area in this plot contained a keyhole-type drying kiln (Fig. 5.6; Hurley and Sheehan 1997a, 22-4). The kiln was orientated east-west with a bowl to the west (ibid.). The bowl was pedestaled at its base (based on Plates 2 and 3 in Hurley and Sheehan 1997a,
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23-4). The purpose of the kiln remained unresolved as analysis of its internal contexts did not produce evidence of grain in great quantity (Hurley and Sheehan 1997ab, 23-4). An analysis of the charcoal from the kiln suggests that heat, as opposed to smoke, was the driving factor behind wood selection (Tierney 1997, 162). There was no indication in the material culture regarding the nature of the kiln, and none of the surrounding deposits produced evidence of the material that was heated or fired in the kiln. In the absence of nearby features, the kiln exists in relative isolation in the archaeological record, and simply adds to the general indications of industrial practice in the north-east of the town during the latter half of the 13th century.

North Gate
A number of oxidised layers were excavated at the North Gate. These were identified in the areas both east and west of the Main Street. In Plot 1, at the east of the street, layers of oxidised clay, ash and charcoal of indeterminate origin lay to the west of the paved ‘open yard’ area (Hurley and Sheehan 1997a, 18). Late 13th-century development in Plot 2 at the east of the street included the construction of a square stone-footed timber-framed workshop in the rear of the property (see above, this section). The internal floors and surfaces to the east of the structure were compact and heavily oxidised clay which contained frequent lenses of ash and charcoal (Hurley and Sheehan 1997a, 26-7). The material culture from this area did not assist in establishing the functions carried out in this workshop; however, again, the activity in this area reflects the intensity of industrial activities in this area of the town at this time.

The largest structure which relates to industrial practice from this period was exposed over two plots at the west of the street, immediately inside the line of the northern town wall (Fig. 5.13). The scale of the structure was potentially of sufficient size, and importance, to warrant the merging of the rear areas (at least), of two separate plots inside the North Gate (Hurley and Sheehan 1997a, 45-9). The remains in this area comprised the foundation levels of a stone platform (4.45m north-south x 4.75m east-west) with a rectangular wood-lined trough along its southern edge (ibid.). Within the stone platform was an L-shaped channel which sloped down to a splayed stone-lined pit (see Fig. 5.13) (ibid.). A series of timber beams were associated with the construction and use, of the platform, and a possible anvil block was excavated c. 3m south of the wooden trough (ibid.). Overall, these features were interpreted as the remains of a water-powered forge which included a timber basal frame of a wheel-race, an anvil block to the south of the wheel-race. The stone platform was interpreted as a furnace. It was suggested that an undershot wheel may have powered a tilt hammer at the forge (ibid.). The structure probably had a wooden superstructure and
Fig. 5.13 Location and plan/section of the large industrial feature in Area 2, North Gate (after Hurley and Sheehan 1997a, 43-4).
a roof (*ibid.*). No artefacts relating to metal-working were recovered from the layers associated with this feature.

There are a number of problems with the above interpretation. Although we must be mindful of minimalist interpretations of archaeological features (see discussion in O’Conor 1999, 193-7), and remember that only fractions of originally large structures can often survive on excavation sites, there are a number of technological and morphological issues with the interpretation of the structure as a water-powered metal working forge. The pit was interpreted as the base of a furnace. Although small traces of oxidisation were evident on the surfaces of the platform, no charcoal or slag was excavated from the surviving levels (Hurley and Sheehan 1997a, 46). A wooden beam was also used in the construction of the base of the pit, which would not have survived high degrees of burning within the pit. The excavators did not note whether the surfaces of the internal facing of the pit were oxidised or vitrified. Commonly, surfaces which have been exposed to intense heat become vitrified during their use. This is frequently observed at limekilns and similar sites where intense heat was produced. The lack of vitrification on the internal surfaces may suggest that this structure was not in fact utilised as a furnace. Large quantities of charcoal were found in layers adjacent to the ‘furnace’ however these could not be directly linked with the stone platform and may have originated elsewhere (*ibid.*).

No features, which would have facilitated the flow or water into, or out of, the wheel-race were conclusively identified at the site. A row of staves and posts, along with a row of stones and small pebbles, was suggested as the foundation levels for a head-race at the west of the possible wheel-race (Hurley and Sheehan 1997, 45). There are a number of anomalies with this interpretation. The first relates to the topography of the ground to the west of the possible ‘forge’. The medieval plot would have gently sloped westwards to the town wall at the end of the 13th century. This means that the head-race would have had to flow against the slope to reach the water wheel. This would imply a necessity for a good level of water-pressure, possibly facilitated by a weir somewhere to the west of the town and a strong conduit to feed the water to the wheel to counter such pressure. This site is on a similar alignment to that at Phillip’s Lane (Fig. 5.1; see above, this section). No feature that resembled a mill-race or water conduit was exposed at that particular site (O’Donnell 2003b, 78-98).

Along with this, the purported conduit could have interrupted the operating ‘arc’ between the ‘furnace’ and the anvil at this site, and, in the mind of the present writer, formed an inoperable obstacle to the working of a forge in this site. The location of the anvil is problematic with regard to the practicalities of the operation of the forge. It is located at the south side of
this large stone while the ‘furnace’ is at the north of the stone structure. In reality, this meant that to get a piece of molten iron from the purported mouth of the furnace to the anvil, one would have had to walk the length of the structure (4.45m), and traverse the substantial ‘water-race’. At every forge the author has studied, there is a short operating arc, usually within arm’s reach, between the furnace and the anvil. The excavators suggested that a fulcrum may have facilitated this movement, but the proffered interpretation of a fulcrum post-hole is highly problematic as it actually appears to be part of a pair of postholes on an east-west alignment (based on Fig. 17 in Hurley and Sheehan 1997, 44). It is possible that the ‘anvil’ was indeed used for that purpose, but it seems more likely that this occurred in a separate plot south of the stone platform. This may imply, of course, that a division continued during this period, with just a slight readjustment in the boundary between the two plots. It is possible that the east-west row of vertical stakes, and the context divisions apparent south of these represent an altered continuation of the earlier property boundary (Fig. 5.11).

The excavators suggested that this forge was used for metal working, and possibly, the conversion of bar iron into wrought iron (Hurley and Sheehan 1997, 48-9). Very little slag was recovered from the vicinity of the platform or the anvil and no positively identified metal-working tools were retrieved from the excavation (ibid.). The excavators did not view this as an impediment to their interpretation and gave examples of similar smithing sites which did not produce large quantities of slag (ibid.). Archaeological excavation of a series of metal-working and processing sites from a range of early medieval sites in Ireland has consistently produce high quantities of residue (slag), hearths and frequent tools (Kerr et al 2012, 35-9). The same is true of medieval metal-working sites in England (e.g. Cudworth Pasture, G.M.A.U. 1996). The lack of metallurgical residue from large early medieval Irish sites has been commonly interpreted as an indicator that metal-working was undertaken infrequently on these sites (Kerr et al 2012, 39). The postulated industrial features in this area were sizable, and it seems surprising that such involved construction would have been undertaken for a metal-working facility, which may have been in infrequent use.

The slag that was recovered from the excavation was not analysed for the purposes of the excavation report. No reasons are put forward for this. This seems to be a strange omission as it is possible to identify the stage of the metal-working process through analysis of the metallurgical residue on the site (Kerr et al 2012, 32). At the time this report was completed, slag and metallurgical analyses was at an advanced stage in English archaeological practice (e.g. Bordesley Abbey - Astill 1992). The area adjacent to the anvil was not sampled for hammerscale during the excavation as the function of the ‘large block of wood’ was not understood at the time (Hurley and
Nonetheless, the account presented in the report is not entirely convincing and the absence of significant quantities of slag and fragments from metal-working tools may suggest that this series of features may have had a different purpose altogether.

It is, however, difficult to determine the purpose of this large feature. The size and construction suggests that it did, indeed, have an industrial function. It may be possible that it formed the base of a flour-milling operation. Ten mortars and twenty-six millstones/quernstones were recovered from the site. Although many of these were retrieved from later and post-medieval structures (drains and walls), it is possible that the bulk of these artefacts were in use during the 13th-century occupation of the site. Asburgesses were often prohibited from milling their own flour, and were legally obliged to pay fees to a municipally-appointed miller, it seems unlikely that all of these millstones were for personal domestic use (Rynne 2004, 84). Hurley (1997d, 106) suggests that the occurrence of such a large number of medieval millstones and evidence for the dressing of the stones on the site may be indicative of the proximity of the water-powered mill on or close to the site, possibly located ‘near Area 2, Levels 2 and 3’. This would comply with the general area and period associated with the ‘forge’. There is no doubt that the excavators felt justified in interpreting the stone structure as the remains of a forge, however the balance of evidence also supports a different function for this feature, namely one associated with milling. The identification of a possible kiln to the west of the structure may offer further confirmation that cereal processing was on-going in this vicinity during the mid- to late 13th century (see above, this section).

The importance of food production in the medieval economy of the town would also warrant the construction of such a large-scale industrial feature. If the mill-wheel was water-powered, it is probable that the intricacies involved in sustaining such a function may account for the relatively short-period of use for this feature. It is also possible that the wheel was hand-cranked, and examples of hand-turning flour milling operations occur elsewhere in the medieval archaeological and historical record (Lucas 2006, 289).

Archaeological evidence of commercial and mercantile activities is less common in the archaeological record for this period. The historic sources document the range of commodities traded in and out of the town and mention many of the merchants that operated within Cork at this time (e.g. (CDI, ii, no. 2247). Nonetheless, this class of 13th-century society is represented in the archaeological record by their domestic properties. It can be assumed that some of these properties were also used as places to conduct business, and the remains at Phillips’s Lane and the southern house
at Grattan Street are particularly suggestive of such an arrangement (see 5.2.10.8, above). At both of these sites, a quantity of unworked flint recovered during the excavations of the 13th- or 14th-century levels was suggested to have been used as ship’s ballast (Unitt 2003, 323-4). This is strongly indicative of a mercantile and commercial link to the occupation at these locations.

5.2.12 The ‘Fayth’ (Barrack Street)

The archaeological evidence for the mid- to late 13th century at Barrack Street is indicative of an overall decline in the industry undertaken in the area during this period. At all three sites along the east of the street, 3-5 Barrack Street, the intensive use of the industrial features exposed in early to mid-13th century layers appear to cease soon before the late 13th century. At 3 Barrack Street, a refuse pit contained late 13th- to early 14th-century pottery was constructed over the earlier industrial levels (Lane and Sutton 2003, 9). At 4 Barrack Street, thick layers of dumped organic waste, which had degraded to a uniform black colour, dated from the late 13th to the 14th centuries (Lane and Sutton 2002, n.p.). Quantities of animal bone content along with particles of hearth material were excavated from these levels. The finds from this phase of occupation comprised pottery sherds, a possible 13th-century copper alloy gem-set ring brooch and a copper-alloy tavern token (Lane and Sutton 2002, 7). A similar homogenous black soil overlay the industrial levels at 5 Barrack Street (Lane and Sutton 2003, 11). This also produced late 13th-/mid-14th-century pottery (ibid.). Across the street, at the Barrack Street/French’s Quay excavation, further dumped refuse deposits were excavated (O’Brien 1993, 33-5).

The consistent identification of refuse layers without industrially-generated content from the above site points to the contraction, if not the cessation, of industry in this area at the time. The area still continued to be occupied from the late 13th century until the 17th century, but it is not possible to establish the cultural nature of the occupation in this specific area. It is possible that this relates to a period of economic decline in the Fayth. Interestingly, the records for this period show that the borough of Fayth was deficient in the payment of its farm fee in May 1281 (CDI, ii, no. 1814). The farm fee appeared to regularly lapse into arrears following this period (e.g. in 1292, CDI, ii, no. 1148). This may offer further confirmation of the financial deterioration in this area of Cork at this time. Population growth, along with the influx of Anglo-Norman immigrant burgesses into the walled town and surrounding areas, (e.g. Shandon and possibly the vici associated with Anglo-Norman-founded religious houses; see 5.2.3, above), would have increased the range of skilled trades practiced in Cork during the mid- to late 13th century.
This increased competition may have had a negative impact on businesses in the Fayth, particularly those dependent on trade with the Anglo-Normans. There also was an increased apathy towards the native Irish and the Ostmen across the Anglo-Norman colony during this period (Empey 1988, 220; Butler 1901, 205-6). It is not possible to fully establish the cultural background of those occupying Barrack Street from the late 12th to the mid/late 13th century; whether they were native Irish, Hiberno-Norse or most likely, a combination of both. Either way, the contemporary negative perception of these peoples may have prompted these inhabitants to leave this area. It is difficult to state where they went. It is probable that they simply moved further towards the manorial caput of the borough of Fayth and closer to St Finbarr’s and Gil Abbey and their associated lands. It is also likely that the wealthiest of these craft-workers moved back into the town during this period and were part of the new industrial occupation at the north of North Main Street (see 5.2.10-11). The continuation of at least two Viking or Hiberno-Norse family names, Skiddy and Coppinger, in the North Island of the town from the early 14th to the 18th century, may indicate that some of the Hiberno-Norse became wealthy enough to transcend cultural prejudices, and form part of the administrate elite of the late medieval town. There are late 13th-century records of Hiberno-Norse or ‘Ostmen’ arguing their rights to ‘English Law’ (e.g. Cal. Justic. Rolls Ire., i, 14), and it is possible that these residents of the ‘Fayth’ bought, or were granted, common law or English Law, and the rights that that entailed (see Fig. 3.2). Similar exceptions have been noted in records from contemporary Waterford (Cal. Justic. Rolls Ire., iii, 185-8). This was a dramatic move on the part of these Hiberno-Norse, as it essentially entailed a change in ethnicity. Whether this fomented anger and resentment on the part of their fellow countrymen is difficult to state. It is possible that changes in identity such as this, coupled with a general decline in economic success among other members of the community, may have contributed to the resentment towards the Anglo-Normans that was becoming increasingly evident at the end of the 13th century and the emergence of the Gaelic resurgence in the wider hinterland of the town (see 6.1; 6.7).

5.2.13 Suburban Growth

Although there is no archaeological record for late 13th-century suburban growth outside the walled town, there are a limited number of historic references to activities in these areas at this time. The borough of Shandon continued to be occupied and in 1290 the citizens of the walled town put forward a petition to discontinue a rival market that was being held in Shandon at the time (CDI, ii, no. 1290). The burgesses of Shandon were referred to as ‘the men of John de Cogan and Maurice of Rochfort’, which indicates their Anglo-Norman heritage (ibid.). There are no further references to Shandon during this period but it can be assumed that the
success of the nearby Franciscan Priory (5.2.3, above), along with general affluence of the town at this period, must have had a positive impact on the settlement in this borough. As previously noted (5.2.3, above), it is also likely that a number of small suburban settlements grew around the religious houses at the south of the walled town. There are strong historical suggestions that an independent borough or settlement had grown around the houses of St John the Baptist (Benedictine Priory) and St John the Evangelist (Knights Hospitallers) on modern Douglas Street at this time (Fig. 1.1; see 3.3.2.4 for foundations). In 1300 there was a case brought by the citizens of Cork against the men of Shandon and the ‘Street of St. John the Evangelist of Cork’ (Cal. Justic. Rolls Ire., i, 313). There are further references to the street until 1330, all of which seem to imply that it was the location of a formal community (Bradley et al 1985, 98). It is possible that this was a short-lived borough or community, created because of the lack of building space left within the walled town towards the end of the 13th century, and vacated within 50 years as the economic contraction of the later 14th century took hold (see 6. 8). Unfortunately, in the absence of archaeological or further historical evidence, we cannot speculate on either the population of this community or the nature and scale of their houses.

5.3 Material culture
The commercial success of Cork during the mid- to late 13th century is clearly apparent in the material culture from the archaeological sites which date to this period. The diversity of the overall material culture increased during this period. A wider variety of ceramic forms from a range of regions were identified, although French ware still continued to dominate the ceramic assemblages. The development of a locally produced pottery type (Cork-type ware) reflected the new technological information that was transmitted into the town via the increasing trade and interaction with foreign workers, along with the immigration of new Anglo-Norman burgesses into the town. The production of a local ware also indicates the desire on the part of the local community to produce goods that could compete with the range of wares imported from England, France and elsewhere. The retrieval of artefacts associated with record-keeping (e.g. parchment prickers) increased during this period. This, along with a rise in the amount of properties that produced no evidence for craft-working on site, demonstrates how commercial and mercantile activity expanded across the town. A wider range of highly-decorated artefacts were identified in the assemblages, indicating the escalation of wealth among the mid- to late 13th-century inhabitants of the town. The number of items associated with leisure-time and hobbies also rose, which was again reflective of the increased wealth of the population at this time. Both personal and luxury artefacts with a clear foreign provenance were more frequent in the material culture during this time, which was suggestive of both the presence of
European merchants in the town and the continuing immigration of Anglo-Norman burgesses. An overall re-appraisal of the collected mid- to late 13th-century artefact assemblage from excavated sites within the town, produced evidence of professions, industries, hobbies and social status, among the occupants of Cork at this time.

5.3.1 Craft and industry
A number of excavations produced evidence of craft-working and industry carried out by the mid- to late 13th-century occupants of the sites. This was mostly contained within the material culture assemblage. A large quantity of the artefacts that related to professions could not be linked with particular structures on the sites, and indeed much of the structural evidence for craft and industry did not produce an associated informative material culture assemblage (e.g. see North Gate, above). Nonetheless, it was possible to identify some areas which were connected with forms of craft-working and industry.

![Fig.5.14 Zoomorphic horse-headed pins from 11-13 Washington St. It is possible that they were the personal possessions of a travelling merchant (Carroll et al 2003, 272)](image)

At 11-13 Washington Street, refuse deposits, which dated to the approximate mid-13th century, produced a series of artefacts that could be associated with horses. The assemblage included two arrowheads, a hasp and buckle from horse equipment, three knives, a shears, a complete scissors and five stickpins - two of which had decorated zoomorphic pin-heads in the style of horse’s heads (Fig. 5.14; Carroll et al 2003, 257-98). This range of horse-related metal artefacts, both functional (in the form of equipment) and stylised (in the form of horse-decorated stick pins), may
indicate that the 13th-century residents of this site were involved in a horse-based occupation, perhaps a huntsman, traveller or soldier. A leather artefact, retrieved from a pit associated with the level of occupation, may offer a further clue regarding the inhabitants from this period.

This was a high-boot, of a type not frequently recovered in assemblages of this date, and where found, can be commonly associated with travelling merchant or huntsmen (Gleeson 2003, 367). In this urban instance, it can safely be assumed that this boot belonged to a merchant that travelled with a train of horses, into the rural areas, to trade with the inhabitants there. This merchant was possibly the 13th-century equivalent of the late medieval ‘grey merchants’. It is possible that this merchant needed to be armed and accompanied in their travels across potentially hostile Gaelic lands, which may account for the arrowheads which were recovered in the assemblage.

At Grand Parade II, evidence of carpentry, bone-working or leather-working was suggested by the recovery of a twist-bit, a spoon-bit and a socketed-tool from layers associated with the occupation of a possible cob-built house (Hurley 1989b, 35). This site was peripheral to both the South Main Street occupation and the ‘second phase’ of housing at the rear of the street-fronting properties, and as such, may represent the home of a lower-status craft-worker. Excavation of mid- to late 13th-century layers at Tuckey Street produced awls and punches which suggested that leather or wood-working was also practiced in an area adjacent to this site (Carroll et al 2003, 365-7). At Trenches 1 and 2 Kyrl’s Quay/North Main Street, a number of object associated with textile-working and fishing were recovered from both of the plots identified in this area. The finds included stone net-sinkers, bone weaving tools/bodkins and a spindle whorl (Hurley 1996, 39, 52-3). It is possible that the textile-working suggested by the bone tools was related to net-repair as no loom fragments or other evidence of fabric-working was noted from the assemblage. It may therefore be tentatively suggested that one of the plots was home to a fisherman and his family. The recovery of a large amount of leather off-cuts and waste, along with a number of needles from mid-13th century dump layer at North Gate (between the earlier and later town wall), indicated that professional cobbling and leather-working was on-going in the vicinity of this site.

A sizeable mid-13th-century refuse deposit which underlay a later 13th-century house at Grand Parade II produced a significant quantity of objects associated with industry during this period. The material culture included spoon-bits, horse-trappings (snaffle-bits, cheek-pieces and horseshoes), shears, tongs, wooden dowels and cloth packing fabric (Hurley 1989b, 30-3; Hurley 1990, 64-79). The range of industries that could be represented by these finds included wood-working, ship-building, blacksmithing and
fariery, importing and merchandising, butchery, bone-working, textile-working and metal-working. The faunal remains from this site were suggestive of butchery waste (McCarthy 1998, 40). A seal matrix from a petty burgess official and an amber paternoster were also retrieved from these levels (Hurley 1990, 78). Unfortunately it was not possible to link the material culture from this site with a particular occupation site or sites. The pace of dumping at this level of the excavation suggested that it was carried out under a municipal directive to raise the ground level of the town in this area. As such, the waste could have been generated from a large area of sites that lined both sides of South Main Street. The diversity within the assemblage reflects the disparate origins of the refuse material. The material culture, along with structural and dietary data, indicates that a wide range of industries were practiced within the walled town during this period. An analysis of each type of evidence individually under-represents the spectrum of manufacture and repair that was on-going from the mid- to late 13th century in Cork. Even combined, the full range of trades and professions undertaken is undoubtedly under-represented in the archaeological record. This highlights the necessity to combine all strands of data, along with the historic material, when investigating the professional nature of a urban settlement such as Cork during the high medieval period.

5.3.2 Commerce and trade
At a number of sites there was a notable dearth of artefacts commonly associated with professional craft-working. In some cases the structural remains on the sites acted as indicators of industrial activity in the absence of related material culture. At other sites, neither the structural, not the artefactual remains were indicative of in situ craft-working. It is possible that the areas of excavation did not extend to the professional areas on the sites, but a complete absence of tools and similar finds from the various assemblages may suggest that the occupants of these sites were not involved in the manufacture and repair stages of craft-working and industry. It is likely that these were the homes of merchants and similar traders, along with administrators and petty officials, and possibly the ‘clerks’ so frequently referred to in 13th-century court cases (e.g. Cal. Justic. Rolls Ire., i, 36, 36, 49). These sites became more frequent in archaeological levels that dated to the mid- to late 13th century. This reflects the increasing commercial success of the town, along with the more sizeable administrative and judiciary network, codified by the 1242 Charter of Liberties and realised by the expansion of the town as the century progressed (see 5.1, above).
The absence of craft-working tools at Grattan Street was complemented by a range of high-status objects that indicated that the inhabitants of this site enjoyed a good standard of life that was financed by commercial activities. Artefacts that could be associated with mercantile activities included a parchment pricker/stylus and flint nodules that served as ship’s ballast (Fig. 5.15; Hurley 2003b, 332; Carroll and Quinn 2003, 319; Unitt 2003, 324). The parchment pricker/stylus indicates a literate household where records of possible trade were created and kept. The ship’s ballast suggests a direct connection with the import and export of goods. Excavations at Phillips’ Lane also produced flint nodules that were interpreted as ship’s ballast (Carroll and Quinn 2003, 319; Unitt 2003, 324). Again, there was a complete dearth of craft-working tools associated with the occupation of the stone house at Phillips’ Lane (see 5.2.10.8, above). Although the artefact assemblage from Skiddy’s Lane was limited in size, the absence of craft-working implements, along with the nature of the structural evidence (see above) suggests that this was also the house of a well-off merchant. A more conspicuous absence of craft-working tools was noted at the site of stone house at 11-13 Washington Street (McCUTCHEON 2003, 50-2). This absence contrasted with the evidence from the layers immediately preceding the construction of the house. The material culture from the earlier layers suggested that a travelling merchant inhabited the plot (see above), however there was no continuation of such occupation evident in the assemblage from the later stone house (see 5.3.2, above). It is possible that the earlier merchant moved down to the ‘merchant quarter’ in North Main Street (see 5.2.10.8, above). The range of artefacts from this site indicated a degree of wealth and prosperity among the occupants of the stone house, however it was not possible to establish whether this had been generated through mercantile, or administrative/clerical activities.

A number of other sites across the city produced no evidence of craft-working, and an integrated analysis of the archaeological data (site morphology/material culture/dietary remains where available) suggested that these citizens of Cork also made their living through trade and sales. The archaeological evidence suggests that these inhabitants formed part of a prosperous middle-ranking stratum of merchants, as opposed the merchant elite that emerged during the mid- to late 13th century. Sites suggestive of the former type of occupation, included those identified at Trenches 3c and
4 Kyrl’s Quay/ North Main Street, the initial occupation of Plot 2 at the east of North Gate and the later timber-framed house in Area H, Christ Church (Hurley 1995a; Hurley and Sheehan 1997a; Cleary 1997b). At Trenches 3c and 4 of Kyrl’s Quay/North Main Street, no craft-working tools were apparent in the assemblage form the house site and the backyard levels. A parchment pricker was associated with the earlier occupation of the house (Hurley 1996, 31-2). The continuity evident in the structural remains suggests that the house-site may have remained in the same ownership (see above). It may be reasonable to assume therefore, that the earlier administrative role or mercantile trade continued to be practiced at this house during the mid- to late 13th century. Excavation of the first level of occupation of Plot 2, North Gate did not produce any evidence of craft-working, and the identification of cess-pits and accents of occasional high-status food consumption were suggestive of an initial non-craft-working occupation (see above). At Christ Church, Area H, the professional indicators found in the earlier levels (metal-working/leather-working) became absent from the archaeological record from the late 13th-century occupation of the site. Instead, a range of goods associated with an improved standard of living were identified (see above). It is possible that two tally sticks from this house represent trading and record-keeping on the part of the occupants of the site (Hurley 1997m, 287). It is in assemblages like this, that we can see the social mobility of the period, where Anglo-Norman burgesses may have started their lives in Cork as craft-workers and artisans, but progressed to financially-successful mercantile activities within a generation or two.

A number of medieval refuse layers produced archaeological evidence of trade in and out of Cork at this time. At sites at Christ Church and Grand Parade, possible mid- to late 13th-century layers produced fragments of a type of woollen cloth used as packing/caulking material during the high medieval period (Heckett and Janaway 1997, 341-2; Heckett 1985, 81-5; 1990, 84-7). Fabrics, with a distinctly foreign provenance, possibly from Flanders and Italy, were also identified at these sites (ibid.). Although the material culture from these sites cannot be associated with structural remains, or a market area, it serves to indicate the impact of trade and commerce across all levels of society during this period.

5.3.4 Personal effects and leisure
A larger range of artefacts that could be categorised as the personal effects of the citizens of the town were excavated from mid- to late 13th-century levels of the excavations. The distribution of artefacts related to the leisure time of the inhabitants (e.g. gaming pieces and instrument fragments) also increased during this period, reflecting the spread of wealth across the town.
An English-style hair pin was recovered from the timber-framed house at Area H, Christ Church (5.2.10.2: Hurley 1997m, 284). This type of pin may have been used for fastening of a particular type of head-dress fashionable in England at the time (ibid.). This suggests that it may have been the personal property of wife or daughter of an Anglo-Norman burgess, who had a cultural attachment to the wearing of this type of head-dress. The seal matrix of a ‘petty burgess’ was recovered from a refuse layer at Grand Parade II (Fig. 5.16; Hurley 1990, 78). Again, this emphasises the population expansion of Anglo-Norman burgesses in the town during the latter half of the 13th century.

A bronze candlestick was found in association with the inhabitation layer at Grande Parade I (Hurley 1985, 81). This was a type of pricket-candlestick with three folding legs designed for use by ‘travellers’ (ibid.: Hildburgh 1920, 132-4). We could possibly understand a medieval ‘traveller’ as a merchant who travelled within the wider rural hinterland, or to England and North-West Europe. Heraldric designs apparent on the candlestick may have been part of the original owner’s blazon. (Hurley 1985, 81-2; Hildburgh 1920, 133). This was recovered in association with a piece of fabric of English manufacture that was tentatively interpreted as a collar reinforcement to be worn under body armour, or part of collar or facing on a tunic (Heckett 1985, 86-7). Human hairs, from a dark-haired individual, were caught in the surface of the fabric (ibid.). Whether the candlestick can testify to the presence of a ‘traveller’ on the property is open to conjecture. It is tempting to speculate that this may have been the property of an
immigrant burgess from England. The candlestick, along with the clothing, may have travelled to Ireland with the burgess (and their family) and eventually may have been set upon a shelf in this structure, or used as a guiding light between the various structures within the property’s limits. Alternatively they may suggest some of the accoutrements of a soldier charged with guarding the town’s walls, who was based in a lean-to structure against the wall at this location.

Chess-pieces were recovered from mid- to late 13th-century layers at Tobin Street and the sill-beam/timber-framed house at Christ Church, Area H (Breen 2003, 347; Cleary 1997, 69; Hurley and Sheehan 1997a, 285). General gaming pieces were retrieved from structures at Christ Church, Areas C and H (Hurley 1997i, 247- 252; Hurley 1997m 287-9). Tuning pegs from harps and/or lutes were excavated from the stone house at Washington Street, the sill-beam house at Christ Church Area H, a general refuse area at Trenches 1 and 2, Kyls Quay/North Main Street and deposition layers associated with street-fronting occupation at 1-4 St Peter’s Avenue (Hurley and Sheehan 1997m, 287-9; Hurley 2003b, 332-3; Hurley 1995a; Carroll and Quinn 2003). Well-made needles and weaving tools in quantities suggestive of hobby-craft were uncovered at Grattan Street, Phillips’ Lane and 11-13 Washington Street (Carroll and Quinn 2003). These may have been used in tapestry making or embroidery during the leisure time of the occupants of the above houses. Overall, these objects are indicative of the greater amount of leisure time that was enjoyed by both the elite and prosperous artisans, traders and clerks of the town during this period. The ability to have leisure time to pursue hobbies such as gaming, music and weaving/needle-work, is, in itself, reflective of the increased wealth of the town during the mid- to late 13th century.

5.3.5 Indicators of higher living standards and status

The analysis of the material culture from the excavated mid- to late 13th-century sites across the town points to a general improvement in the living standards of its occupants during this period. This seemed to have been impacted upon most strata of society at the time, and no assemblage produced evidence of extreme poverty on the part of the occupants, either with regard to the material culture, or the dietary remains. The ceramic evidence in particular suggests that all citizens at the excavated sites within the town had access to wine, and good quality pots for cooking and storage (e.g. McCutcheon 2003a; 1997a; 1997b). The ceramic assemblages from some sites contained a lower range of forms and pots of multiple origins than others (e.g. Kyrl’s Quay/North Main Street, Tuckey Street, 40-8 South Main Street, the Barrack Street sites - see McCutcheon 1993; 1997a, 2003a, 2010).
At other sites, artefactual indicators of high-status living included a wide range of ceramic forms with multiple origins (McCutcheon 2003a, 200-20). The pottery assemblages from Grattan Street, Washington Street and 1-4 St Peter’s Avenue contained several examples of baking or roasting dishes (ibid.). They were most frequent in the Grattan Street assemblage, along with a diverse range of other pottery forms. The baking/roasting dishes indicated that the roasting of meat may have been commonplace in these households. Not only did roasting meat require a larger amount of fuel than was necessary to boil meat, medieval humoral theory suggested that the flesh of young animals (e.g. veal, lamb and suckling pig) greatly benefited from this form of cooking (Sykes 2006, 70). The faunal assemblages from all three sites produced evidence of the consumption of young animals, itself an indicator of increased purchasing power (see 5.2.10.8; McCarthy 1997, n.p.; 2003, 378-90)

Fig. 5.17 Aquamanile Fragment (pouring spout and partial handle) from Christ Church Area H, (Gahan et al 1997, 128)

Two aquamanilia fragments, along with the handle of a Saintonge mottled green glazed baking dish were recovered from layers associated with a timber-framed house in Area H, Phase 6 (Fig. 5.17; Gahan et al 1997, 126 and 129). These are the only potentially socio-economically diagnostic ceramic sherds in the assemblage that can be linked with a structure on this site. A number of other artefacts, potentially associated with the living standards of prosperous artisans, traders and clerks, were also recovered from layers at this level (see above). An aquamanile was a type of water-pouring vessel which was often used for the cleaning of hands at the table. Hand-washing was an essential component of religious and elite secular eating rituals during the medieval period. Although the aquamanile may have had a liturgical origin, its use was not confined to the liturgy (Barnet 2009). They were also used in the households of the nobility and those
emulating their customs, and in monastic refectories, where meals began and ended with hand washing which was also a practical consideration in a time of shared dishes and few utensils \textit{(ibid.)}. Most of the high-status aquamanilia were cast from copper alloy and it is thought that pottery versions were created for the less well-off strata of society who wanted to imitate the rituals of their social betters \textit{(ibid.)}. Conjecturally, the users of the ceramic aquamanilia may be more ‘middle ranking’ than lower status, as the use of such objects implies a level of ritual eating not commonly associated with the dietary practices of the poorest urban occupants.

Two find-types among the material (fabric) evidence may attest to social status and industry/occupation practices among the mid- to late 13\textsuperscript{th} century occupants of the site at Christ Church. The first artefact type may provide evidence of the increased purchasing power of some of the inhabitants of the area as evinced by the recovery of imported woven silk cloth pieces (Heckett and Janaway 1997, 341). These items could have come from Lucca and Florence, or even Byzantium although there is some evidence that suggests that such cloths were woven by high-status women in north-west Europe during the medieval period \textit{(ibid.)}. Unfortunately information on the provenance of the pieces on site is not provided so it is not possible to link these finds with a particular phase or structure on the site. One fragment of twill from Grand Parade II was ‘particularly fine’ and was from a high-quality product (Heckett 1990, 84). It is possible that this piece may have been a type of broadcloth, the ‘highly-valued wool cloth of the Middle Ages’ \textit{(ibid.)}. It is suggested that this may have been imported from Flanders \textit{(ibid.)}. Cork’s Charter of 1242 specifically bans the retailing of imported cloth however it is possible that the merchants did it regardless, or that the imported cloths were the clothes they wore themselves.

A number of further decorative objects were retrieved from excavations across the city. A highly decorated knife sheath was excavated at Grand Parade II (Hurley 1990, 80-2). A semi-complete scabbard, although unprovenanced, may be interpreted as an indicator of social status from Christ Church. The piece was decorated with an embossed depiction of a repeated hunting scene (O’Rourke 1997, 329). The scene comprises a ‘hunter, depicted holding a spear in one hand and a long shield in the other, is confronting a large four-legged animal, possibly a mythological beast such as a griffin’ \textit{(ibid.)}. It is possible that this piece signifies a link between the site’s occupants and the nobility during this period, as hunting was a practice restricted to those of noble birth and their invited guests (Sykes 2006). A possible fragment from a bow-shaft was recovered from a mid- to late 13\textsuperscript{th}-century layer within the timber-framed house at Area H (Hurley 1997m, 300). However, it is not possible to link the two artefacts to prove that this connection existed. The absence of faunal data from this period of
occupation means that the result of any purported hunt also cannot be identified. These finds are indicative of a highly-skilled leather-working industry in Cork during this period, along with at least social groupings, the urban elite and prosperous ‘middle rank’, of citizens that had the disposable income to purchase such goods.

5.4 Dietary evidence
The dietary evidence from the mid- to late 13th-century layers excavated across the city attests to the general improvement in the living standards enjoyed by the occupants of the walled town during that period. Unfortunately, the faunal remains from the Barrack Street sites could not be closely dated to this period as the refuse deposits which overlay the early to mid- to late 13th-century layers at the site could not be dated beyond a broad chronology relating to the late 13th and 14th century (O’Brien 1993; Lane and Sutton 2002; 2003; McCutcheon 1993; 2002; 2003a). The faunal deposits for the industrial periods at these sites were assessed as a whole, and the results are discussed in the previous dietary section (see 4.4).

Overall, the dietary evidence from these sites was indicative of a good degree of general prosperity and self-sufficiency on the part of the early to mid/late 13th century occupants of the sites.

Thus, the only dietary evidence available for the period under current discussion came from a range of sites within the walled town. Unfortunately, the environmental evidence, if it was initially sampled, from Kyrl’s Quay/North Main Street and Grand Parade I, was not submitted for specialist analysis. This is an unfortunate omission as some areas of these sites may have related to various strata of both the lower ranks of society, and the prosperous artisans, during this period. This is a group that would benefit from a greater exploration of their standards of living. The faunal and archaeobotanical remains from the mid- to late 13th-century layers at Christ Church were not analysed, nor were the animal bones from Area 1, Grattan Street. On the whole, the quantity and quality of dietary evidence from this period is quite uneven, however sufficient data exists to inform an appraisal of the remains from several sites across Cork.

Analysis of animal bones from Grattan Street and 1-4 St Peter’s Avenue identified that more meat was bought into the home pre-butchered from the various meat suppliers in the town, and less butchery was undertaken in the immediate areas of the domestic occupation (McCarthy 1991a, n.p.; 1998, n.p.; 2003, 376). Animal bones from a late 13th-century possible ‘lower class’ domestic house at Grand Parade II showed a ‘higher degree of butchery’ than those from previous levels (McCarthy 1988, 48). This suggests the butchery, as a trade, became more common as the 13th century progressed. This financial ability of the citizens to purchase pre-butchered
meat, and not slaughter animals near the home, reflects the emerging wealth of the town. The intensive hide-trade out of the town, which grew greater as the 13th century advanced, must have increased the quantity of meat available to the town. This is reflected in the increased percentages of cattle bones in the faunal assemblages from this period (e.g. McCarthy 1988; 1997; 2003). Beef and other meat would presumably have become more affordable as it grew more common. This quantity of meat and carcasses in the town would no doubt have prompted the development of the butchery trade, and the competitive pricing, along with the increased wealth of the town would have provided a greater customer base for their products. The frequency of animal bones from the mid- to late 13th-century excavations across Cork city demonstrates that general meat consumption increased during this period.

The faunal and archaeobotanical remains from Grattan Street (Area 3) and 1-4 St Peter’s Avenue constituted the best representation of a high-status diet from this period of the Cork’s medieval occupation. The present writer had access to the unpublished data sheets from the faunal analysis which enabled a more thorough assessment of the evidence than that based on the published account of the animal remains (McCarthy 2003, 375-389).

Overall, the animal bone assemblage from Grattan Street confirms what was suggested by the structural and artefactual remains from the site, i.e. that this site was inhabited by well-off residents during the late 13th and 14th centuries. In particular, the recovery of red deer and swan bones from the site suggest that the residents were either part of, or had contact with, the Anglo-Norman nobility of rural Cork. The cuts of venison possibly represented comprise a haunch and two fore-shanks of meat. In high-status society in 13th to 15th-century France and England the division of the deer carcass, and associated cuts of venison, was highly ritualised (Beglane 2010, 151). Following a hunt, the haunch would have been reserved for the lord and the fore-shank was traditionally claimed by the non-noble huntsman employed by the lord (Sykes 2007, 51; Beglane 2009, 359; 2010, 151). Given the quantity of high-status elements present in the assemblage, and the quality of the structural remains, it is unlikely that this deer came into the house through poaching. The present analysis of the archaeological remains from this site indicates that it was the dwelling of a high-status merchant, but not a hereditary Anglo-Norman lord, during the latter half of the 13th-century. Therefore it may assumed that the occupants of this house entertained, and hosted, the rural elite of the period, and feasted on food associated with the lordly way of dining. It is also possible that this venison was a gift from a lord to a valued business associate, or possibly an in-law after a successful marital match between the rural and urban elites had been made.
The quantity of other high-status animal foods recovered from the site would appear to discount poaching as an origin for the red deer and swan remains. The faunal evidence from Grattan Street points to a household that not only ate well, but ate well conspicuously. It seems that as meat eating became more common among the masses, there was pressure on the elite to diversify and expand their diets, in order to maintain a conspicuous demonstration of every-day wealth (Albarella and Thomas 2002, 30-2). The retrieval of several different species groupings within a number of separate contexts suggests that feasting was part of the social dimension of the 13th- and 14th-century occupation of the site (see above). The following table depicts a number of key contexts which were originally formed as refuse deposits emanating from food preparation and consumption on the site. The fact that each of the outlined contexts produced a range of high-status foods implies that at least some of these remains came from single episodes of dining and therefore feasting by a number of people. The table does not include fish remains as samples from the site were not sieved, and thus, a strong retrieval bias exists towards the disproportionate remains of larger fish.

**Table 5.1 – Mammal and bird remains from Grattan Street**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Context No</th>
<th>Faunal remains evidence of high-status consumption</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C699 (rubbish deposit inside Structure 4)</td>
<td>3 scapulae from 7-10 months old cattle 8 lambs Red deer radius 10 rabbit bones 6 immature chicken bones 1 small duck/teal bone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C707</td>
<td>6 lambs 3 banbh/suckling pigs 2 immature chickens Woodcock</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C572</td>
<td>1 possible calf bone 2 lambs 1 very large (wild) pig bone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C745 (yard)</td>
<td>8 lambs 1 banbh/suckling pig 2 rabbit 3 immature chickens 1 whimbrel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C698 (backyard of Structure 1/2)</td>
<td>2 juvenile cattle 7 lambs 2 banbh/suckling pig 2 red deer bones (pelvis and femur) 8 rabbit 3 immature chickens 1 curlew</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The increased purchasing power of the occupants of the site is also indicated by the variety and composition of the archaeobotanical assemblage from Grattan Street. Samples taken from the areas within and south of Houses 1 and 2 produced evidence of both every-day and exotic plants including fig, hazelnuts, blackberries, bread wheat, wheat, barley, oat and brassica (McClatchie 2003, 405-7). The recovery of a quantity of fig seeds from the site can often allow for the inference of a level of high status consumption as figs were perceived as a luxury food during the medieval and post-medieval periods in Ireland (McClatchie 2003, 400-1). The wide variety of cereal types in the assemblage, along with the relative frequency of wheat remains, would also indicate an area of high-status eating. Wheat was the preferred grain of the Anglo-Normans and would have been generally regarded as a high status grain and luxury foodstuff (McClatchie 2003, 398; Lucas 1960, 10-2).

Overall, the faunal assemblage from 1-4 St Peter’s Avenue contained the second largest range of animal bones (after Grattan Street) from the excavated high-medieval sites in Cork. This, in itself, may point to an increased level of wealth among the occupants of the site during the 13th and 14th centuries. Faunal analysis of the remains from 1-4 St Peter’s Avenue identified a majority of upper meatier limb bones which suggested that little butchery was undertaken in the immediate vicinity of the excavated area (ibid.). This, in turn, means that the occupants of the house were buying their meat pre-butchered from the various meat suppliers in the town and not undertaking further butchery at home. This offers further evidence of the prosperity of this particular household. The bones of young animals (veal, lamb, suckling pig and young fowl) were frequent at the site. These were recovered from deposits that also yielded remains from wild animals such as red deer, wildfowl (teal and lapwing), rabbit, seals and wild pig (McCarthy 1991, n.p.; 2003, 377-389). It is likely that these remains related to episodes of feasting enjoyed by the late 13th- (and early 14th-) century residents of 1-4 St Peter’s Avenue. The quantities of bones from the three main domestic animals, along with the remains from domestic fowl and fish, indicate that meat was regularly eaten by the occupants of the site (based on McCarthy...
Overall, the faunal remains from this site and the evidence from the material culture combine to indicate that this was a high-status site during the late 13\textsuperscript{th} century.

High-status foodstuffs were present, but less frequent, in the remains from Phillips’ Lane, Skiddy’s Lane and 11-13 Washington Street. Unfortunately, it was not possible to identify the contexts of origin for the animal bones from Phillips’ Lane and Skiddy’s Lane. The published report notes that post-cranial deer fragments were retrieved from both sites, along with rabbits and sea mammal from Phillips’ Lane (McCarthy 2003, 388). Without the exact contextual data, it is not considered advisable to offer further conclusions on the diet of the mid- to late 13\textsuperscript{th}-century residents of the site. The faunal evidence from the stone house at 11-13 Washington Street indicates that high-status foodstuffs were occasionally consumed by the occupants of the house. Along with the presence of a quantity of bones from the three main domesticates, the analysis identified the remains of juvenile animals (suckling pig and lamb), along with deer and woodcock (McCarthy 1991b, n.p.). This represented an increase in the variety of animals consumed between the occupation of the house, and the early period of inhabitation of the site. When assessed in connection with the analysis of the structural data, and that of the material culture of the house, this suggests a degree of wealth among the late 13\textsuperscript{th}-century occupants of the stone house.

Accents of high-status food consumption were noted in assemblages from Grand Parade II, North Gate and 40-8 North Main Street. Faunal analysis of the remains from a cess pit at the rear of Plot 2 in Area 1 at North Gate identified the remains of suckling pig, teal and a red deer phalanx (McCarthy 1997, 155-6). The absences of craft-working finds, and the nature of the archaeological remains on this particular plot, suggested that it was occupied by administrators or clerks between the mid- and late 13\textsuperscript{th} century. The infrequent recovery of relatively expensive foods, along with the presence of a good quantity of remains from the more commonly consumed animals, offered further proof of this suggestion.

The faunal remains from a mid-13\textsuperscript{th} century refuse deposit at Grand Parade provided a general insight into food consumption during this period on the South Island. Along with a large amount of primary butchery waste, the three main domesticated species (cattle, sheep and pig) were well-represented (McCarthy 1988, 30-5). High-status food consumption by the occupants of the nearby area was evinced by the recovery of the remains of suckling pigs, cetacean, post-cranial deer bones and a variety of wildfowl (\textit{ibid}). Unfortunately, the refuse from this site cannot be linked to any particular area of inhabitation. The faunal remains from these dumped layers
simply point to the emerging wealth and the improvement in general living standards, that was occurring across the South Island during this period. Accents of high-status eating were also apparent in the archaeobotanical remains from a cess pit with a mid- to late 13th-century date at 40-8 South Main Street (Ní Loingsigh 2005, n.p.; Lyons 2010, n.p.). Seeds from imported figs and grapes, along with those from locally gathered blackberries/brambles were identified in the cess-fill (Lyons 2010, n.p.). Again, this pit could not be connected to a particular area of occupation, and as such, these results simply illustrate the wide distribution of wealth across the town during this period.

The faunal remains from a number of mid- to late 13th-century pits excavated at Tobin Street have been tentatively interpreted as evidence of professional food preparation. A coin which dated to 1247-1272 was retrieved from this site (Papazian 2003, 58). The faunal analysis indicated that an organised practice of waste disposal was being used by the medieval occupants of the site, manifesting as separate pits for domestic and industrial refuse and the preferential use of different pits for different kinds of waste (McCarthy 1988, 43). It was possible to distinguish between pits that were dug to dispose of molluscan remains, fish remains and mammal/bird remains (ibid.). Large quantities of primary butchery waste were recovered from Tobin Street which suggested that butchery was carried out on, or in the immediate vicinity of, the site. A disproportionate amount of sheep skulls and pigs’ trotters were recovered from the refuse disposal pits on the site. It is possible that these reflect the personal preferences for these types of food on the part of the late mid- to late 13th-century occupants of the site. It may also be possible to attribute the consumption of these types of food to indicate a degree of poverty on the part of the occupants.

The material culture and the remaining dietary evidence contradicts this assumption of poverty however and bones from wild fowl (teal), wild birds (thrush) along with rabbit and hare were also retrieved from the excavation (McCarthy 1988, 57-60). Considering the level of organisation evidenced by the disposal of the faunal remains, it may be suggested that the trotters and sheep’s head relate to professional food preparation. Together, these ingredients can be used to make ‘head cheese’, which can be eaten on its own or baked into a pie. The consumption of sheep’s heads was a recommended cure for rickets during the medieval period and was mentioned in Piers Plowman as such (Hammond 1993, 14). Rickets was a relatively common physiological complaint during the medieval period. Therefore, it is not possible to establish whether the food preparation at this site had some ‘medicinal overtones’ or whether the occupants were concerned with general catering. The quantity of other faunal remains
demonstrates that a range of meats (beef, mutton and pork) were cooked at this site, which may suggest that this was the backyard of a medieval ‘hot food’ merchant or hostelry during the mid- to late 13th century in Cork. These were common in towns and cities of the period (Schofield and Vince 1995, 91-3, 101). It is, of course, also possible that this food preparation was connected to activity associated with Holy Trinity Church, c. 20m west of the site at Tobin Street, and may be related to the preparation of meals for the clergy in residence at that church.

The faunal and archaeobotanical remains from the remaining levels and deposits that date to this period do not reveal any further evidence of discrete wealth, or indeed poverty, among the occupants of Cork during the mid- to late 13th century. This was true of the assemblages from North Gate, 40-8 South Main Street, St Peter’s Market and the late 13th-century levels at Grand Parade II (McCarthy 1998; 1997; 2011). The three main domesticated species were well-represented and there was occasional evidence for the consumption of young animals, and even less evidence for the rare consumption of wild animals. The food remains of the poorest occupants of Anglo-Norman Cork seldom survive on archaeological sites. This is because much of their diet was based on stews formed mainly of vegetables and legumes, neither of which survives particularly well in urban archaeological contexts (McClatchie 2003, 400). The bones from the cob-built house at Grand Parade II displayed a high degree of butchery (McCarthy 1988, 40). It is possible that this reflects the total breakdown of the bones from the cheaper cuts of meat to facilitate faster, and therefore, more economical cooking. If this is the case, these remains represent a rare insight into the eating habits of the less well-off urban citizens during this period.

5.5 Discussion - drivers for societal change during this period

5.5.1 Geopolitical drivers
The overall geopolitical environment of the urban settlement at Cork remained relatively stable during this period. Although a degree of resentment towards the colonists was increasing in the some parts of the Munster and the south of Ireland (O’Brien 1993, 145-55), the hinterland and the town itself remained mostly unaffected by these issues. On a macro-level, this political calm allowed trade to continue to grow, both in an out of the town. The town was provided by a large quantity of agriculturally derived goods from a colonised and/or politically acquiescent hinterland. This indicates that the Anglo-Norman-influenced farming practices continued to operate successfully at this time. Although the construction of the town wall suggests that relations with the immediate hinterland were rather fractious, the archaeological and historical evidence suggests that the
wall actually represented economic success and social cohesion, rather than protection against a direct threat of attack.

Locally-provenanced goods were exported in great numbers from the port at Cork (e.g. CDI, ii, no. 2247). The port itself was located in what was by then, a fully walled town, which offered a practical, and aesthetic, guarantee to merchants that their goods were safe. The political calm could guarantee safe passage for visiting merchant ships in and out of the harbour. The harbour itself formed part of the Anglo-Norman hinterland, and all the lands along the approach to the town were under Anglo-Norman control during this period (O’Brien 2004, 44-7). This added to the sense of stability that protected, and encouraged, trade in and out of the port of Cork during the mid- to late 13th century. The period of reasonably stable politics in the town had significant positive repercussions for the citizens of the town. The terms of the charter of 1242 set out the broad outlines for a new administrative framework for the town. The charter also codified a number of important protection measures regarding the conduct of trade during this period.

The combined effects of these geopolitical actions and measures had significant impacts on the structural and societal landscape of the town. New buildings were constructed to house administrators and mercantile elite of the town. The earlier street-scape grew larger and more imposing. The physical alteration of the town-space by the Anglo-Normans was finalized by the completion of the town wall around both islands of the marsh. High-quality housing (both fully-stone built and timber-framed), material culture and food became more common across all strata of the town. The municipal infrastructure of the town was greatly improved. Much of the public areas and the domestic spaces within the town displayed a greater degree of communality during this period, which was again reflective of a governing sense of general political calm across the town.

5.5.2 Socio-economic drivers
The mid- to late 13th century in Cork was when the town approached its zenith as an Anglo-Norman commercial entity. During this period, the most significant socio-economic driver was the large-scale success of the mercantile class of the town. This class directed both the commerce, and increasingly, the administration of the town as the 13th century progressed towards its conclusion. Their wealth is apparent in the archaeological record. The prosperity generated by the export of goods filtered down through all strata of society. This, in turn, made the town an attractive prospect for Anglo-Norman burgesses eager to benefit from the terms they were guaranteed by the charter of 1242. Population expansion, generated from within the town and from the impact of immigration, is apparent at many sites on both the north and south islands of the town, where signatures
of the mobile and new burgesses are clearly apparent in the structural remains and material culture. New buildings styles, artefacts, and technologies were brought to the town by these new citizens. The town was physically adapted to cater for a larger population. Plots were sub-divided and new houses were built midway (or more) between the main street and the town wall. These new dwellings frequently had an industrial focus, which indicated that the new immigrants included a range of skilled artisans among their number. This influx of skilled burgess tradesmen and craft-workers may have negatively impacted on settlement in the Hiberno-Norse/Native-Irish ‘artisan quarter’ at Barrack Street in the Fayth. Evidence of industrial activity was no longer apparent in the late 13th century layers at the excavations in these areas. It is possible that their services were no longer required by the occupants of the walled town or the neighbouring vici, as the areas settled by the Anglo-Normans now had a full retinue of skilled tradespeople and craft-workers. The completion of the town wall around both islands of the marsh increased the social cohesion among the citizens, and formally codified the Anglo-Norman quasi-feudal urban divisions and way of life in this colonial town.

5.5.3 Technological drivers
The technological drivers during this period are evidenced across the archaeological record from Cork. The influx of a new range of building techniques from England and further afield permanently altered the streetscape of the town. These techniques also allowed the structural aspect of the town to reflect the affluence generated by trade and commerce during this period. The high-quality housing, administrative and religious edifices along with the large scale and involved construction evident in the town wall (and turrets/towers) were a testament to both the skill of the masons and the wealth of the town at this time. The effects of technological development in general building styles is also demonstrated by the range of infrastructural and municipal improvements carried out across the town during the mid- to late 13th century. This included an improved drainage system which facilitated better waste disposal management in the town at this time. The increase in decorative and well-finished artefacts from late 13th-century archaeological layers evinces the high degree of skill in craft-working during this period, which was informed by improved technologies in manufacture and design. The development of a locally-produced ceramic type is a direct indication of how technological knowledge from new Anglo-Norman burgesses contributed to the economic development of the town. In the hinterland, the spread and use of technological improvements in farming practices increased the agricultural output of the countryside, which in turn expanded the export quantities of the port. By the end of the 13th century, the widest range of artisans and skilled workers of the high-medieval period to date were operating in the town. The constant interaction with foreign
merchants, along with the technological knowledge that came with the new inhabitants of the town, allowed Cork to achieve a huge degree of economic success during this period.

5.5.4 Environmental drivers

With regard to the environmental drivers in operation to this period, we largely see the extension of a pattern that was established during the early to mid-13th century. The Anglo-Normans continued to alter and adapt the physical space of the town to suit their domestic and economic needs. The completion of the circuit of the town wall around both islands of the town perpetually changed how Cork was set within its riverine and estuarine environment. The flow of water around, and through, the islands was permanently adjusted, and the overall shape of the town created during this period still persists in the street-scape today (Fig. 1.3;7.1.). Although the underlying wet nature of the settled area meant that it was still susceptible to periodic episodes of flooding, the administrators and inhabitants of the town adapted their building styles to cater for this. A series of drains were inserted across the town and wetter areas of the town were used for dumping to raise the ground level and increase the land suitable for building. The process of colonising the environment of the town which was begun during the early to mid-13th century was relatively complete by the end of that century. The ultimate morphology of the developed town was largely dictated by its environment, but the occupants used these limitations to create a town that was distinctly Anglo-Norman in character.

5.6 Social differentiation

The social divisions that were just becoming apparent in the archaeological record from the early to mid-13th century inhabitation of the town became fully realised as it approached its end. This is the stage at which the mercantile and administrative elite became economically and politically powerful and the material effects of this are clearly apparent in the archaeological record. Analysis of structural, artefactual and dietary remains indicates an overall increase in living standards across all societal strata of the town. The archaeological evidence is also particularly indicative of a thriving and prosperous social grouping of prosperous artisans, traders and clerks, who seemed to be well-rewarded financially for their work in mid- to late 13th-century Cork.

5.7 Conclusion

Two shifts in population and occupation may be surmised from the archaeological and historical evidence from this period. The first related to the possible founding of an elite merchant area or ‘quarter’ in the north-west quadrant of the town, possibly in the medieval parish of St. Peters. The most frequent occurrence of high status sites is within this broad area, on a level
which was not matched by excavations at similarly-located sites elsewhere in the walled town. The second population shift occurred at Barrack Street in the Fayth where the range of industries practiced during the early to mid/later 13th century appeared to die out by the late 13th century. The archaeological evidence of occupation was less intensive from the layers that post-dated these levels, suggesting that the population of this area decreased. It is likely that the craft-workers of the ‘artisan quarter’ of Barrack Street moved either to a different locale within the extra-mural area, or some may have even migrated back into the walled town. Both of these population shifts attest, in different ways, to the widespread commercial and financial triumph that was enjoyed by the burgesses of Cork during this period. This continued into the final great phase of economic success of the high-medieval town, realised during the late 13th and early 14th century.
Chapter 6  Late 13th to early 14th century (c.1290 to c.1315)

6.1 Introduction
The period from c.1290 to c.1315 can be interpreted as the last great surge of commercial growth and affluence during the Anglo-Norman period in Cork. The great wealth and economic success that characterised the latter half of the 13th century continued until the first decade or so of the 14th century. Based on the research undertaken for this thesis, the present writer estimates that the population of the urban settlement was between 2100 and 2500 at the time, including those residing in the suburbs. It may even have been slightly higher; however, confident estimations of past populations in the absence of sound historical data are seldom advisable! Although there was some political dissent brewing at the fringes of the wider hinterland of the town, trade and commerce appeared to be relatively unaffected in Cork during this period. Indeed, the power of the town was such that the Irish perpetrators could still be brought to justice at this time (e.g. in 1299 and 1302 – Cal. Justic. Rolls Ire., i, 225, 373). In fact, the continuing political stability of the overall colony stated to be sufficiently high to allow the resources of the county to be applied to external affairs (O’Brien 1993, 102-3). This is best demonstrated by the regularity with which Ireland, and in particular Cork, was charged with provisioning the king with food and other supplies when required, most frequently for purposes of war. In 1297, the Mayor of Cork, Walter Reyth and John Wynchedon, a merchant were ‘appointed to buy wheat, oats, malt, wine, meat and fish [at Cork] for the K.’s use in the Scottish war, to be sent by sea to Skymburneys near Carlisle and to pay the freight of ships and other expenses, to further the premises and to pay the freight of ships and other expenses’ (CIRCLE, CR 27 Edw. I, no. 10). In 1300, Cork gave 260m (marks) subsidy to the king to carry on the war in Scotland, more than any other listed urban centre in Ireland (Cal. Justic. Rolls Ire., i, 302). These references show that there was still a trade and financial surplus during this period, and one which the Crown was happy to exploit.

In fact, it appears that the mayor and commonalty of the town were more concerned with threats to their commercial control from the Crown, than from any menace from within the colony at this time. In 1291, the burgesses of Cork petitioned Edward I for a confirmation of the privileges and liberties granted to them in the charter of 1242. This royal confirmation was granted upon payment of 100s to the Crown (CDI, ii, 903). The petition for the re-granting of the 1242 charter has been interpreted as a reaction to the Quo Warranto enquiries which were conducted in England from 1274 to 1294 (O’Brien 1985, 55). It is possible that the burgesses of Cork had
Fig. 6.1 Location of late 13\textsuperscript{th} - early 14\textsuperscript{th}-century excavations
witnessed the erosion of urban liberties in towns such as Bristol (with whom they had a close trading and possibly familial relationships) which was brought about by these enquiries. They therefore sought this confirmation as a guarantee of their continuing rights to the level of urban autonomy that they enjoyed for the previous fifty years (ibid.). The previous charter had, in effect, contributed greatly to a legislative and administrative environment in which they had become very wealthy, and it is a testament to its importance that they were resolute in petitioning the king to guarantee their rights. Although there were challenges to the legislative terms regarding jurisdiction of assizes of the charter in the late 1290s, the mayor and burgesses of Cork maintained their legal position, and the next confirmation of the charter was granted in 1318 (C. Ch. R., iii, 390-1; MacNiocaill 1964, 163-6; O’ Brien 1985, 55).

Their determination to continue with their relatively autonomous government of Cork also demonstrates the confidence the mayor and the urban patriciate had in their ability to govern their town to its best advantage. There may even be a creeping intransigence towards the Crown apparent in the historic records from this period as the number of fines for transgression on the part of the commonalty of Cork increased, along with the occasional arrears in their account (e.g. CDI, iii, no. 1148; v, no. 1302). Given the contemporary evidence of wealth in the town, it can be assumed that non-payment of the fee farm may have stemmed from the hoarding of monies by the town’s administrators and merchants, as opposed to a real financial deficiency. Nonetheless, this area of the colony continued to supply the Crown with provisions which demonstrates that their political allegiance was ostensibly sound, as this type of provisioning was not always the most lucrative way to trade (O’Sullivan 1937, 37).

Thus, with worries about the future of governance of the town temporarily assuaged, the citizens of Cork were free to continue their pursuit of commerce. The success of trade in and out of the port of the town exhibited no significant sign of abatement, and although the town did not seem to grow much physically during this period, the archaeological evidence still shows signatures of wealth and affluence (see 6.2.2 below). The first mention of a mint in Cork is from 1295 (O’Sullivan 1937, 41), and this seems to be accepted as the first year of issue for coins of Edward I in the town (Halpin 2004, 162; Keenan 2013, 336). Foreign traders continued to work out of the town and the historic references list merchants from Lucca (Italy) and Bayonne as the collectors of the custom at various stages between 1290 and 1315 (CDI, iii, no 830; v, no. 1302). One of the sheriffs of Cork was named Cambinus Donati, (CDI, v, no. 58). This was the family name of a number of Italian merchants who had been appointed to collect customs throughout Ireland (e.g. CDI, iii, no. 637). As the terms of the 1242
charter forbade foreign merchants from residing longer than 40 days in the town, along with his role as sheriff, it can be assumed that Donati was an Italian merchant who settled in the town, with the consent of the burgesses. Contrary to some suggestions that foreign merchants controlled most of the trade in the town at the time (e.g. O’Sullivan 1937, 40), both the historical references, and archaeological data, attest to the continued success of the local Cork merchants during this period. Although foreign merchants were charged with collecting the custom at stages between 1290 and 1310 (see above, this section), the fact that two Cork citizens were granted £300 to source and transport provisions for the King in 1297 (as noted above) illustrates their importance, and connections, within the town, its hinterland and the colonial lands at large.

The town was given a further murage grant in 1303 (CPI, 40). The grant was to last for a period of six years and was for the maintenance and repair of the town’s walls (O’Sullivan 1943, 43). Again, the request for a grant highlights how the town’s administrators wanted to hoard private wealth, but were happy to spend Crown money on the upkeep of the town. Included with the grant was a provision that half of the money generated from the murage tolls be spent on a ‘fresh-water conduit (conductum aque dulcis)’ (CPI, 40). The nature and structure of the ‘fresh-water conduit’ is difficult to establish. Assumedly it was a means of providing the town with fresh water, but it may also relate to a general improvement in the drainage and water system within the town. The ‘fresh-water’ must have been for consumption, but it is also possible that it could serve as a means of flushing out the drains within the town on a more regular basis. The archaeological evidence from North Gate bears out the latter suggestion (see below). Either way, this addition to the murage grant indicates that the centralised government of the town was still concerned with improving the general infrastructure of the town. In common with the previously discussed period (see 5.1; 5.2), this can be understood as reflective of both the prosperity within the town and a sense of communality within the citizenship, fostered by a governing sense of political stability. Thus, the outlook of the mayor and burgesses of Cork remained positive at this time. The events of the forthcoming years would appear to have challenged this sense of positivity significantly (see 6.8).

Customs increased again in 1303, with the introduction of the ‘New Custom’. This mainly concerned ‘aliens’ (foreign merchants) and imposed duties on cloth, wax and other commodities, along with the existing tolls on wool, woolfell and hides set out in the ‘Ancient Custom of 1275 (O’Sullivan 1943, 33). These ‘aliens’ were also to pay two shillings per ‘tun’ on wine in lieu of the old presage and in return the were exempt from local tolls and murage and similar charges (ibid.). This action points to the needs of the
Crown exchequer during this period, however the loss of the ‘prisage’ of wine seemed to have annoyed the administrators of Cork. In 1305 they compelled a merchant of Aquitaine to pay double duties on a ship of wine from Gascony (Cal. Justic. Rolls Ire., ii, 21). This illustrates how important the profits of trade were to the town of Cork at this time, and points to their determination to gather their dues at every opportunity.

A key document for this period of Cork’s history is the last will and testament of John de Wynchedon, dated at Cork 6 July 1306 (O’Sullivan 1956, 75-88). This must be the same John de Wynchedon who served as an appointed purveyor of provisions for the royal army in Scotland in 1297, 1299 and 1300 (CIRCLE, CR 27 Edw. I, no.101/233/8, 10; CDI, iv, no. 589; 639; O’Brien 1993, 102). In these actions his colleague was Walter Rehyt, mayor of Cork, alternatively listed in various records as Reych and Reyth (CIRCLE, CR 27 Edw. I, no.101/233/8, 10; CDI, iv, no. 589; 639). The will refers to a Walter Reich, whose son de Wynchedon ‘sponsored at the Baptismal Font’ (O’Sullivan 1956, 82). The previously documented business partnership between the pair indicates that this must be the same man. There are numerous further mentions in the will of several documented merchants and businessmen of importance in the town at the time (O’Sullivan 1956, 81-2; O’Brien 1993, 104). This illustrates the close personal bonds that existed between the various members of Cork’s administrative and mercantile elite during this period (O’Brien 1994, 104). This must have greatly strengthened their various positions of power, both individually and collectively, and allowed them to dominate the political landscape of the town with relative ease.

The will provides an insight into the personal attitude and financial holdings of a member of the mercantile elite of Cork in the very early 14th century. Predominant in the terms are a series of donations which essentially act as catalogue of the extant religious houses and churches of the period, and highlights their importance to the merchant class. In total, the testator donated funds to 17 religious houses within and without the town walls of Cork. The recipient of his largest donation, and his ultimate place of burial, was the newly consolidated Augustinian Priory popularly referred to as ‘Red Abbey’ (see 5.2.5; O’Sullivan 1956, 76). Further endowments were also granted to all the religious houses and most known churches of the town (see below 6.2.2 Religious). Donations were made to the hospital of St John the Evangelist, the leper houses at St Stephen’s and St Mary Magdalene and ‘the lepers residing by the bridge near the priory of the Friars Preachers’ (O’Sullivan 1956, 76-9). The lepers must have been residing along the South Channel of the Lee between St. Finbarr’s and the Dominican Priory (see Fig. 4.5). Although no archaeological evidence of this bridge has been found to date, it is possible that a small gate in the wall
led to a wooden bridge from the south-west of the walled town, across the channel to the Dominican Abbey (see 6.2.2, below).

There seemed to be no real discrimination between the Anglo-Norman-founded churches and the Irish foundations in the distribution of endowments in the will. Along with this demonstration of personal piety (see below, this section), the churches listed demonstrate the cultural breadth of the town during this period, which formed a much larger area that that delineated by the walls. That de Wynchedon named every church within a c.1km - 2km radius of the walled town shows that the administrative reach, and culture, of Anglo-Norman town centre, extended significantly beyond the walls at that time. The archaeological and historical data suggests that this does not imply, however, that housing extended out to the limits defined by the religious institutions. The will shows that the religious in residence at the fringes of the settlement were part of the cultural fabric of town life.

Reading through the will, it is apparent that John de Wynchedon was a man of considerable piety with a clear devotion to the workings of the Church. Familial and secular donations occupy a much smaller section of the will than the many paragraphs listing the manner in which the donations to the church should be carried out (O’Sullivan 1956, 76-83). Without calling into doubt the man’s personal religiosity, it must also be noted that much of the Church giving was not undertaken incognito. Such widespread monetary donations, while possibly allaying any fears that de Wynchedon would have had concerning the ultimate destination of his soul, also served to demonstrate his financial wealth. It would have been expected of the wealthy during this period to contribute, commensurably to their wealth, to the upkeep of the church (Ó’Clabaigh 2012, 97-8). It is expected that the generous amounts bequeathed by de Wynchedon to the Church would have helped his family to retain the esteem in which they were held by the various representatives of the Church in the town. A more personal motivation may be evinced by the fact that two of de Wynchedon’s sons were friars, one with the Friars Preachers (Dominicans at the south-west of the town) and the other with the Franciscan Minorites (Franciscans in Shandon) (O’Sullivan 1956, 80) (see 4.2.2).

This type of conspicuous religious donation would also have been noted by the townspeople, thus confirming a continued sense of social importance upon the de Wynchedon family. These endowments would also have served to ensure the enduring goodwill of the religious towards his heirs and future business prospects. Indeed, their inheritance of his various properties is dependent on their continuing financial donations to the relevant churches (O’Sullivan 1956, 79-83). Along with the associated religious benefits, there
was an economic motive behind this. Letters of reference were frequently given by orders like the Franciscans or Dominicans to merchants to introduce them to priories in other cities, who in turn would provide introductions to merchants in their locale (Ó’Clabaigh 2012, 97-8; see 4.2.2 for further discussion). Considering that foreign religious houses were frequent and important destinations for Irish agricultural exports (Rynne 2004, 85), and that the agricultural surpluses of the Irish religious landholdings were a significant source of those goods, it made sound financial sense to safeguard their goodwill.

The will provides a further insight into the actualities of mercantile wealth at the end of the 13th century in Cork. John de Wynchedon is thought to have lived in the Holy Trinity Parish of Cork where he owned two adjoining stone houses (Cahalane 1957, 37). The fact that the houses were adjoining and willed to two separate sons suggests that these were sited on two separate plots. At two sites in the North Island, Grattan Street and Phillips’ Lane, the archaeological evidence has suggested a spatial relationship between separate buildings that were situated in adjacent plots (see 5.2.10.8; 6.8). This indicates that this type of land-holding, within the walled town, may have been common among the mercantile elite. Along with these, de Wynchedon held tenements in Dungarvan and the ‘street of St John the Evangelist’, and a landed property in the Kilnagleary district of Carrigaline (ibid.). At the time of his death he was in possession of 87 acres of wheat, 100 acres of oats and 10 acres of barley and peas along with 400 wethers (castrated rams), 200 sheep, 38 oxen, 12 cows, 9 horses and 2 foals (O Sullivan 1956, 83). The quantity of animals listed in de Wynchedon’s will may well indicate that he owned a sizeable amount of pasture in the rural hinterland of Cork, possible even comparable to that of the landed Anglo-Norman rural elite. This meant that de Wynchedon may have engaged, and being seeing as having broadly equal status to the Anglo-Norman lords of the hinterland.

From the list of donations and goods in de Wynchedon’s will, we can attempt to deduce a broad representation of the distribution of wealth in the town at this time. If we accept that de Wynchedon was generally representative of his class, then it is fair to surmise that multiple property-holdings were frequent among the urban elite. This is also borne out by several property disputes of the period (e.g. Cal. Justic. Rolls Ire., i, 95). Agriculturally-productive lands were also held outside the walls of the town, from which they could no doubt provision their own houses, but also use the ample surplus for trade. The terms of the will suggest that de Wynchedon mainly resided in the town which suggests that the urban elite did not reside in the countryside. This shows the importance of actively engaging in the political scene of the town in maintaining their wealth.
Thus, the balance of historical evidence demonstrates that matters in the very late 13th and early 14th centuries continued much as they had previously, with regard to the commercial and municipal affairs of the town. The archaeological data generally supports this, and the evidence which can be conclusively dated to this period, reflects the commercial success that endured into the early 14th century.

6.2 Structural/architectural evidence (Fig. 6.1; 6.2)

6.2.1 The Castles

Unfortunately, nothing further is known of the exact nature of the administrative structures of the town at this period. The historical record make no reference to either King or Queen’s castles at this time, and the archaeological excavation of the latter does not provide any other information other than that outlined in previous chapters (see 3.3.2.2; 4.2.1; 5.2.1). It has been suggested that the Queen’s Castle was used as an administrative centre during the 13th and 14th centuries (Power 2011, 15), but little else is known archaeologically of the buildings and places where the town’s business was conducted. The breadth of the administration seemed to have increased during the late 13th and early 14th century, as the range of tolls and customs expanded. The records show that the farm of the town and the New Custom were collected by separate groups, bailiffs for the former and the latter alternated between selected mercantile groups and Crown-appointed collectors (O’Sullivan 1943, 33-4). Along with this, the judiciary sat more frequently (O’Brien 1993, 107-11). This may account for a petition to the king in 1299, for a repair of the gaol of Cork (Cal. Justic. Rolls Ire., i, 237).

The suggestion that King’s Castle and the gaol were in the same building or complex has been noted, however in the absence of excavation this cannot be established (see 3.3.2.2; 4.2.1; 5.2.1). The judiciary possibly sat in one of the castles, and the ‘hundred courts’ were conducted in various guildhalls across the town, as set out in the charter of 1242, reconfirmed in 1291 (CDI, i, no. 2247; iii, no. 902). Thus, a range of buildings was required to house the administrative bodies of the town. The location of the central government has been purported as present day Castle Street and Liberty Street, which would have constituted the area of the town that overlooked the 13th- and 14th-century port. If the market was situated at the southern end of North Main Street (as depicted on the 16th-century maps, see Fig. 6.2), it seems feasible that some of the civic buildings would have also been located in this area. As previously discussed (see 4.2.4; 4.2.5; 5.2.8), a series of substantial stone walls have been excavated in these general areas, however in the absence of a broader archaeological context for the remains, it is not
possible the surmise that they were the foundations of the aforementioned civic buildings.

![Fig. 6.2 C.1545 Map of Cork (possible market site at N denoted as ‘Cross Green’, King’s Castle as E) (from the anonymous ‘A plan of Cork AD 1545’ map -reproduced from Tuckey 1837).](image)

6.2.2 Religious
The testament of John de Wynchedon is thought to represent ‘a directory of ecclesiastical Cork in the opening years of the 14th century’ (O’ Sullivan 1956, 75). In all, the testator donates funds to 17 religious houses across the town during this period. The list of beneficiaries comprise: St Augustine’s Priory, the Church of St Finbarr, the Church of the Holy Trinity, the Dominican Priory, the Franciscan Priory, the Church of St Peter, the church of St Catherine in Shandon, the Church of St Mary in Shandon, The Church and Leper House of St Mary Magdalen, Shandon, the Church of St John the Baptist, the Church of St Brigid, the Church, Friary and Leper House of St Stephen, The Benedictine Church of St John the Evangelist, and Gill Abbey (O’Sullivan 1956, 84-7). Archaeological evidence from the period contemporary to the will relates to just two religious houses from the aforementioned list, the Dominican Priory at the southwest of the walled town, and the Augustinian Priory called ‘Red Abbey’ at the south-east (Hurley and Sheehan 1995; Sheehan et al 2004, 1-38). Unfortunately, neither the structural archaeological remains, nor the material culture, from this period attest to the significant interaction between religious and secular life in the town at this time in Cork. The historical sources reflect this relationship to a limited degree. The beneficiaries of John de Wynchedon’s
will also refer to three further friars, whose Anglo-Norman names (Ludesop, Michis. FitzAdam) (O'Sullivan 1956, 76-83), suggest that they may be the sons of other members of the contemporary mercantile elite of the town.

Records from the years 1302, 1305, 1306, 1307 indicate that regular royal grants (of 70 marks) were made to the Franciscans and Dominicans of Cork (CDI, iv, no.328; v, no. 128; 461; 578; 682). An effigy from the excavations at the Dominican Priory was given an early 14th-century date (Fig. 6.3; Stalley and Hurley 1995, 105-9). This was excavated from a secondary location and depicted a woman, wearing a long gown with vertical pleats, with a triangular purse handing at her left side (Stalley and Hurley 1995, 108-9). This was similar to an earlier effigy which was also retrieved from a secondary location (ibid.). Along with representing a conspicuous burial record, these effigies are evidence of the artistic communication which
existed between Cork and the wider Anglo-Norman world at the time. This effigy relates to similar international examples in Gothic sculpture (*ibid.*), and as such, illustrates the wealth of those who were interred within the priory, along with displaying their cosmopolitan and well-travelled credentials.

Unfortunately the relationship between the lower ranking craft-workers, traders, labourers, servants and the poorest of society and the Church is not manifested by the archaeological evidence from 13th and 14th century Cork. Perhaps the most significant testaments to that particular relationship are the skeletal remains within the churches’ precinct which reveal evidence of lower-status living, albeit that which cannot be securely dated to the period under current discussion, and as such cannot be considered with any accuracy within the context of the present research (Power 1995).

Some structural alterations which were possibly undertaken at the Dominican Priory and Red Abbey during this period may relate to structural improvements undertaken as a result of endowments from the nobles and mercantile elite of the town during this period (Fig. 6.4). The north range of the Dominican Priory was extended at some stage during the 14th century and a second storey was added (Hurley and Sheehan 1995, 28). The garth was modified and general repairs were undertaken in the refectory (Hurley and Sheehan 1995, 27-9). The excavators did not identify a date for these modifications, but it is possible that they were undertaken during the early 14th century as this seemed to be a particularly strong period for the conspicuous display of wealth among the burgesses of Cork (see 6.2.1; 6.3.2).

Although the dating sequence of the various construction phases of the priory are very vaguely presented, the layers around these structural modifications produced evidence for mid to late 13th- to early 14th-century ceramic material (McCutcheon 1995, 85). It is possible that some of the architectural stones retrieved from the excavations were added to the building at this period (Stalley and Hurley 1995b, 97-104). At Red Abbey, the architectural style of the central tower was dated to the 14th century (Fig. 6.4; Sheehan *et al* 2004, 4-6). It is tempting to speculate that the contributions of John de Wynchedon and other members of the early 14th-century mercantile elite of Cork, resulted in the construction of this grand addition to the abbey during this period. The latter years of the 13th century and the early 14th century marked the years of the ascendency of the merchants of Cork from traders and business, to positions of real power within the town. They became mayors, bailiffs, sheriffs and bishops (Bolster 1972, 1166; O’Brien 1985, 59-61), and thus their roles in the town became far more visible. This may have motivated them to make more conspicuous
charitable and religious endowments, to suit their more public roles and ensure a legacy and reputation commensurate with their wealth. This differed from their spending during the mid- to late 13th century, when some personal wealth appeared to have been hoarded individually, and there was less need to display their wealth outside their immediate home environments.

Fig. 6.4 Location of Red Abbey and its 14th-century tower from south west

6.2.3 Walls
The maintenance and repair of the town walls seemed to be a constant preoccupation of the administrators of Cork during the high medieval period. This is suggested by the frequency with which they petitioned for, and were given, murage grants. The fact that the grant of 1303, (see above 6.2.1) was for the ‘maintenance and repair’ of the walls, suggests that the full circuit was complete around both islands by this time. As archaeological and historical evidence has attested, however, the town wall was a fluid and evolving edifice, and underwent much alteration during its medieval existence. The setting of the wall on an underlying foundation of gravel and estuarine silts weakened its structure in places, and cracks and subsidence must have been frequent along its extent. Necessary repairs aside, it also must be remembered that murage grants were an important source of revenue for the town, and it cannot be assumed that all the money generated
went solely to civic and infrastructural improvements. As previously noted (see above), the murage grant of 1303 mandated that half of the revenue from the tolls be put to a ‘fresh-water conduit’ in the town (CPI, 40). The possible structural implications of this are discussed below (see 6.2.5).

Archaeological evidence indicates that there was an increase of communal space inside the walls at this time. At North Gate, a series of three lean-to structures were built abutting the internal face of the town wall, immediately west of the north gate of the town. These were adjoining stone-footed timber-framed structures (Fig. 6.5; Hurley and Sheehan 1997, 50-3). No formal entrances could be established leading into these structures, but gaps in the masonry along the south wall of each building were interpreted as doorways (ibid.). The eastern structure was the only one of these buildings that had a formal floor surface, and this comprised a buff, compacted clay (Hurley and Sheehan 1997, 52). The full internal extents of the structures were not available for excavation and it was not possible to investigate their original function. The finds from the central and western house were suggestive of an animal byre and a possible leather workshop or guards-house respectively (see 6.2.8, below). An east-west running laneway with a central stone-lined drain was contemporary with the structures (ibid.). It is possible that these buildings fronted onto a courtyard as the earlier stone platform (see 5.2.10-11) and associated surfaces were made into a broadly level area at this time (Hurley and Sheehan 1997, 52-3). The location of the structures immediately inside the town walls may point to a functional relationship with the wall or the monitoring of access into the town. It is probable that the sentries of the gate, or the guards of the town, housed their horses here. The eastern house, with the floor surface, may have served an administrative function relating to this activity. Overall, the archaeological evidence from this area is suggestive of a communal use of space, with a possible civic focus.

Excavations along the line of the town wall at Kyrl’s Quay/North Main Street revealed further evidence of public spaces inside the town wall. In trenches at the southeast of the excavated limit of the wall (see Fig. 5.3), two well-cobbled and paved surfaces were exposed (Hurley 1995a, 81-3). These were dated to the late 13th and 14th centuries, and a layer of gravel was added to one surface during the 14th-century (ibid.). The cobbled and paved areas were interpreted as yard surfaces, however, the absence of plot boundaries in these areas suggests that they were intra-mural walkways which led to a gateway in this section of the wall (Hurley 1995a, 74-7).

Considering the communally-focussed improvement to the town wall at this time, it is difficult to establish how much of this repair, following the 1303
Fig. 6.5 Laneways and communal areas inside town wall at North Gate. Possible ‘hot food’ shop highlighted (in pink) along with the laneways, communal areas and access routes (in blue) (after Hurley and Sheehan 1996a, 54-5)

murage grant, was motivated by a perceived threat from the hinterland. At this time, we see murage tolls being used towards municipal improvements, which were beneficial to the town as a whole. There is also archaeological evidence for increased communal space within the walls at this time (see above, this section). These actions are strongly suggestive of a governing sense of stability and contemporary political calm within the town. It seems more probable that the repair of the town walls in the period immediately
following 1303, was motivated by the maintenance of the aesthetic benefits of the wall for the conduct of trade, and also the ensuring the continuing sense of community and social cohesion within the town, which had proved so economically successful in the previous period.

### 6.2.4 The port

Although no structural evidence for the late 13\textsuperscript{th}/early 14\textsuperscript{th}-century port of Cork exists beyond that outlined in the previous chapters (see 3.3.2.2; 4.2.4; 5.2.5), there can be no doubt that it remained significantly in use during this period. This is attested by the many documentary records which detail the various shipments that entered, and exited the port at this time. For example, between the years 1295 and 1303 multiple shiploads of wheat, oats, wine and other victuals were shipped from the port of Cork to the king’s armies in Wales, Gascony and Scotland (e.g. *CDI*, v, no. 53). The new custom on commodities in and out of the port of Cork remained substantial in the years 1290 to 1304 (e.g. *CDI*, v. no. 201). It can therefore be surmised that activity at the port continued to be successful during the period under current discussion.

### 6.2.5 Municipal works – drainage

Both the historical and archaeological evidence attest to large-scale municipal improvement works between c.1290 and c.1315. As previously noted, the 1303 murage grant made provisions for the construction of a ‘freshwater conduit’ as part of its terms (*CPI*, 40). Archaeological evidence which can be closely dated to this period indicates the insertion of a large-scale drainage system in the area south of the North Gate at this time (Fig. 6.6; Hurley and Sheehan 1997a, 31-3, 54-5). A possible contemporary drain was excavated at St Peter’s Avenue (Fig. 6.7; Hurley and Johnson 2003, 136).

At both sides of the street, there was evidence for the deliberate raising of the entire ground area by 0.55m (max.) (Hurley and Sheehan 1997a; 54; Hurley 1997c, 31-2). This was completed using deposits of building rubble, clay and domestic refuse (*ibid.*). A series of stone-lined drains were set within this layer and the resulting ground level was flush with the capstones which ran along the top of the drains. The drains were generally constructed east-west, but they did meander to run under a series of contemporary domestic and industrial structures (*ibid.*). The drains ran downslope from the Main Street towards the town’s limits at the west and east, where they presumably connected with the town wall. The involved nature of this infrastructural improvement can be seen in the impact the drainage works had on existing structures. Most of the houses and buildings which were extant before the drainage works remained in use following the insertion of the drains. The internal surfaces of the structures were raised (using clays...
Fig. 6.6 Drainage system and layout at North Gate Area 2 post 1303, plan showing laneways and communal areas (in blue), ‘hot-food’ shop (in orange) and new drains (in pink) (after Hurley and Sheehan 1997a, 62-3).

and rubble) to a height level with the external surfaces (ibid.). The walls of the structures must have also been amended at this time to provide suitable foundations for higher houses.

Most of the excavated structures that were affected by this development were single-storey stone-footed timber-framed houses. It is possible that in these cases, the restructuring work was completed relatively quickly, as the timber-framed walls may have been removed, and re-inserted, as panels. Just one positively-identified domestic house was excavated in this area
which was occupied both before and after the insertion of the drainage system. This was a street-fronting house in Plot 2 at the west of North Main Street and it was re-built, using the earlier walls as foundations, after the drainage works were complete (Hurley and Sheehan 1997a, 57-8). No corresponding rise in ground level was noted at the adjacent site at Phillips’ Lane however very little ground surface in the area associated with the housing at this site was exposed (see 6.2.8; O’Donnell 2003b, 91-8). It is possible that the construction of a drain and a new house at the site may correspond to the drainage works and associated construction at North Gate. Certainly the relationship between the drain and the new house structure was similar to that noted at North Gate and it lay under the house floor and walls, similar to those exposed at the latter site (O’Donnell 2003b, 95-6; Hurley and Sheehan 1997, 54-9). At Skiddy’s Lane, the second phase of a stone-house at this site may relate to the period following the raising of the ground surface at North Gate (see 6.2.8; O’Donnell 2003c, 105-6). Here, drains laid in conjunction with walling were interpreted as contemporary with the rebuilding of the stone house (ibid.). The interior of the house was raised using a series of clay deposits, rough cobbles and stone, similar to that described at North Gate (ibid.; Hurley and Sheehan 1997a, 57-8; Hurley 1997b, 31).

Fig. 6.7 Lane-way and associated drain (at left) looking west at 1-4 St Peter’s Avenue (after Cleary and Hurley 2003, 443)
At St Peter’s Avenue, the existing ground level was also artificially raised to insert a drain running east-west at the south of the possible laneway (Fig. 6.7; Hurley and Johnson 2003, 137). The ceramic assemblage from the rubble deposit used to raise the ground level was of late 13th- to mid-14th century date, and the construction of this drain may have been part of the same municipal drive that prompted the development at North Gate. No further evidence of this organised system of drainage works was excavated from contemporary sites in Cork, however it is difficult to closely date a discrete drain as the dating evidence within the fill can accumulate over a long period. This is also the chronological level at which most of the archaeological material on the South Island was truncated by later development. No evidence for the associated raising of the ground surface was noted from excavations elsewhere in the city, but again, this may be as a result of the differential survival of archaeological remains across Cork’s medieval stratigraphy. Overall, the excavated evidence suggests that this phase of development may have been confined to the northern limit of the Anglo-Norman town. This may indicate that this was where its most influential citizens resided during the late 13th and early 14th century, and where there was strongest motivation for large-scale site improvement (see 5.2.10.8). As well as providing dryer ground for the wealthy inhabitants of the northwest-quadrant of the town, the new drainage system also improved the quality of life of the craft-working and artisan burgesses of Cork, indicating that a sense of social cohesion and communal well-being prevailed across the town at this time. As noted for the previous period, this collective effort had served the town well financially during the 13th century, and the citizens must have assumed this would have continued into the 14th century.

Thus, the scale and the impact of the insertion of the drainage system were significant. The level of communication involved in the instigation, and completion, of such a project indicates the success and organisational power of a strong, centralised government within the town during this period. This government could successfully manage and negotiate the disparate issues involved in the completion of such works. This suggests that the administration of the town was well organised by the late 13th and early 14th centuries. The political power they had is reflected by their ability to unite the various property and business interests in this section of the town towards a communal goal. These endeavours represented a municipally-driven effort to improve the collective working and living environments of the town’s citizens at this time.

6.2.6 Streets and laneways

There is archaeological evidence of development to the laneway system of the town during this period, and indeed the morphology of this system may
Fig. 6.8 Medieval lanes of Cork (after Johnson 2002, 189)
have been fully developed at this time (see Fig. 6.7; 6.8; Johnson 2002, 2). These lanes were constructed to allow access from the main street to properties and industrial areas between the main street and the town wall. New lanes which dated to the period c.1290 to 1310 were uncovered at the western side of the street at North Gate and St Peter’s Avenue (see Figs 6.5-7). Undoubtedly, many of the lane and street surfaces uncovered in the earlier-dated excavations continued in use at this time (see 4.2.8 and 5.2.10). At North Gate, a network of connecting laneways was constructed to facilitate access to various communal properties/structures and industrial areas at the west of the main street (Hurley and Sheehan 1997a, 50-66).

By the early 14th century these laneways extended east-west and north-south across the excavated area and delimited individual plots along their long (east-west) and short (north-south) boundaries. A number of the laneways had drains set into their bases or along their edges which indicates the contemporary infrastructural improvements to the town (see 6.2.5, above). The increase of laneways and boundaries at North Gate in particular highlights how intensively this area was occupied at the end in the late 13th/early 14th-century period. The communication involved on the part of the property owners in negotiating these new plot boundaries is also redolent of the general sense of communality apparent in the archaeological evidence elsewhere (see above). The new laneways were delimited by low stone walls, or the walls of structures, and were generally surfaced with roughly-dressed limestone slabs or limestone and sandstone cobbles (ibid.).
The quality apparent in their construction (see Fig. 6.9) is indicative of the sustained prosperity of the town at this time.

6.2.7 Public amenities

One of the most significant public amenities at this time would have been the freshwater conduit built in the years following the murage grant in 1303 (see above). It is improbable that this conduit was set in a trench dug deep in the ground (as noted at other medieval urban areas (e.g. London – Fay 2011, 174-5). This is because the underlying wet, loose estuarine silt of Cork would have collapsed inwards without significant shoring. It’s unlikely that this would have been feasible on a large scale. The present writer believes that the large-scale drainage and ground-raising works apparent at a number of sites across the North Island (see 6.2.5, above) were related to the construction of this conduit. It’s possible that the conduit comprised a lead or wooden pipe set into a number of the drains from this period. The pipe would not have occupied the entire width of the drain, which would still have allowed excess (muddy) surface water to flow away from the occupied areas. Unfortunately no indications of piping survived, however it is doubtful that a valuable substance such as lead would have been left in the ground when the conduit went out of use. It is also possible that the conduit was never fully completed, and this may account for its absence from the archaeological record.

Other public amenities at the time may have included public latrines and sanitation areas. These have not been conclusively identified in the archaeological evidence from Cork to date, but the earlier pit and platform exposed in Plots 1 and 2 in Area 2, North Gate may have been re-used for this purpose during the late 13th and early 14th centuries. Cess was recovered from the lower fill of the pit which was re-lined at this time, and three stakeholes were uncovered around the edge of the pit (Hurley and Sheehan 1997a, 50-4). These may have formed a ‘privacy screen’ around the pit.

A number of possible bake-ovens were uncovered in late 13th- and early 14th-century levels of Area 2 at North Gate (Hurley and Sheehan 1997a, 54-5, 62-4; see Fig. 6.4 and 6.5). It was not possible to establish whether the low stone walls around these ovens simply delimited their area, or whether they formed dwarf wall foundations for timber framed houses to enclose the purported bake ovens (ibid.). Laneways which ran east from the main street led back to the bake oven areas, so the structures were accessible to the public but it cannot be stated for certain whether they were commercial ventures or for the use of the community at large. Bake-ovens from an earlier period of occupation at the site (see 5.2) were thought to be communal in nature, and it is possible that there was a continuity of this practice in the general area at a later date. This would certainly comply with
the general, communal spirit suggested by other aspects of the archaeological evidence in this area (see 5.2.5, above).

6.2.8 Domestic housing

South Island

Unfortunately, there is an almost total depletion of structural archaeological evidence with a late 13th-early 14th-century date on the South Island. This seems to be the general cut-off date for significant structural remains from the period. That the area was continuously occupied following the early to mid-14th century is strongly attested by the frequency of the recovery of 14th-century+ ceramic material from deposits which overlay the earlier, high medieval material. At Area C, Christ Church the excavation notes remarked that the foundations of the latest stone-footed timber-framed house in that area (see 5.2.10.2) were the first of a series of later stone house walls (Cleary 1997a, 68-80). Unfortunately, no records of these structures were recoverable and any information these may have provided has been lost (ibid.). At Tuckey Street, two stone-wall foundations may have related to the period under current discussion, however they were not fully excavated and any associated dateable material was not recovered (O’Donnell 2003a, 17). It is probable that occupation continued at the previously discussed houses at Washington Street, Area C and Area H, Christ Church and Grand Parade II, and possibly 40-8 South Main Street (see 5.2.10.2), but there is no archaeological evidence for the construction of new houses on the South Island at this time. These houses may have existed, but the removal of the stone bases may have rendered their archaeological footprint invisible. The ceramic chronologies for the aforementioned houses do extend to the mid-14th century, and it seems possible that there was continuous occupation at these sites for a period of 20-30 years following their original construction.

North Island

On the North Island, the structural evidence for domestic occupation during the late 13th and early 14th centuries is centred on those sites at the north of the island which contained evidence of earlier housing (see 5.2). There seems to be a large amount of continuity of occupation in both the structures, and the plots, that contained evidence of domestic housing from the mid-13th-century to the early 14th century. Sites at which domestic structures were altered or constructed during the latter part of this period comprised North Gate, Phillips’ Lane, Skiddy’s Lane, Grattan Street and Kyrl’s Quay/North Main Street.

North Gate

At North Gate, three possible domestic houses were identified which dated to the late 13th/very early 14th century. At the east of the street, an earlier street-fronting house continued in use but it was altered structurally at this
time (Hurley 1997b, 28-9). There was no evidence for extensive re-flooring between this and the earlier period and the east house wall remained in use (see 5.2.10.5; ibid.). The earlier doorway in the east wall was blocked up, and a chimney breast was inserted into the new masonry, which meant that the hearth now lay at the ‘gable end’ of the building at the east (ibid.). There was a similar modification noted at a contemporary house at Kyrls Quay/North Main Street (Hurley 1995, 53). The lack of complete structural alteration at this house suggests that the house continued to be occupied by the same family group between this and the earlier period. This was also intimated by the continuity of industrial function evident in the backyard of the house (see 6.2.9, below). The insertion of a chimney breast was a structural improvement which improved the quality of life in the house, and, as such may reflect the increased prosperity of this household as the occupation continued and the family benefited from the positive financial conditions of the time. A silver penny of Edward I (1279-1307) was excavated from one of the backyard layers of the house that was associated with this level of occupation. Although the report does not specify the mint which produced the coin, it may be possible that this came from the mint that was established in Cork c.1295 (see above 6.2.1). This would date this level quite closely to the period c.1295. This was the latest domestic occupation layer exposed during excavation at the east of the main street (Hurley 1997, 31).

In Plot 2 at the west of the main street, the earlier house in Plot 2 (House 3) continued to be occupied at this time (Hurley and Sheehan 1997a, 53). This was a stone-footed timber-framed house and there were no apparent structural alterations between the mid to late 13th and late 13th-century occupation of the house (ibid.; see 5.2.10.5). In common with the contemporary house at the east side of the street (see above), this would imply a strong degree of continuity of occupation at this particular house. An enclosed ‘oven area’ (see 6.2.9, below) was located at the rear of this house, however the area between the two structures remained unexcavated and it was not possible to establish a connection between their use and occupation.

Following the raising of the ground surface undertaken c. 1303, this house was rebuilt. The earlier wall was used as the foundations for a possible stone-walled building, the rear of which was exposed during excavation (Fig. 6.5; Hurley and Sheehan 1997, 57-8). The estimated dimensions for the stone house were 6.3m north-south and 9.7m east-west (ibid.). The backyard area of the house was not excavated and so a connection between the occupation of the street-fronting house and the industrial activity/occupation at its west, could not fully established (see 6.2.9, below).
Two conjoined structures were excavated c. 15 m east of the aforementioned street-fronting house. The eastern structure comprised the remains of a stone-walled building, which was square in plan (5.8 m north-south by 5.8 m east-west) (Hurley and Sheehan 1997, 59). This house was built after the insertion of the drainage system (see above) and a drain ran broadly east-west under the northern section of the house, before turning sharply south-west in the adjacent area to the east (see fig). There was no evidence for an internal hearth, and the floor largely comprised a layer of chipped stone which continued west of the west wall, into an apparent ‘porch’ (Hurley and Sheehan 1997a, 59). The north wall of the building formed part of the southern boundary wall of an east-west running laneway which delineated Plots 1 and 2 in this area (Hurley and Sheehan 1997a, 55–9). West of the house, a probable baking area was exposed (ibid.). This shared an entrance, in the form of a possible porch, with the square stone-walled house (Figs 6.5; 6.6). The archaeological evidence suggests that this doorway opened onto a courtyard/open-yard space inside the town wall at this time. The possible backing area was delimited by stone walls, but it was not possible to conclusively state whether these simply defined the industrial area, or whether they represented the footing for a superstructure over the possible oven.

As noted, it was not possible to investigate whether there was a functional relationship between the two areas (see 5.2.10.4). The plots at the north and south of the property which in which all three structures were aligned (Plot 2) were irregularly divided, and as such, there was no uniform division of plots in the area from which a pattern of property ownership/use could be established. A re-interpretation of the archaeological remains may assist in tracing the occupational and industrial evolution of this property. The continuity in form and function between both levels, both in terms of domestic and industrial occupation, strongly suggests that this plot remained in the ownership of the same family group during the overall period. This also implies that the inhabitants of the street-fronting house also owned/rented the area which extended c. 20 m from the rear of the house. It is probable that the later developments represent an expansion of the earlier business. This may have involved some form of commercial food preparation, intimated by the possible bake-oven on the earlier level, and the oxidised layers at the rear (west) of the square house at the later level.

A number of mortars, quernstones and stone pot-boilers were retrieved from this plot which may have been used in food preparation practices on the site (Hurley 1997, 106–113). The shared access to the square house and the industrial area, in the form of a ‘porch’, along with the continuity of flooring between all three surfaces, suggests there was a functional relationship between these levels. It is possible that the later structures relate to a food
preparation and sales premises, i.e. a ‘hot food shop’ which faced onto a communal area in this part of the late 13\textsuperscript{th}-/early 14\textsuperscript{th}-century town (Fig. 6.4; see 6.2.6). This later development may represent the expansion of the original business that operated at the rear of the street-fronting house in Plot 2. Indeed, a number of artefacts associated with a more prosperous standard of living were noted from the later phase of occupation (see 6.3, below). These structures were located immediately inside the north gate of the town, in what would have been a thriving, and vibrant part of the town during the late 13\textsuperscript{th} and early 14\textsuperscript{th} centuries. Although not fully exposed, it appears that this open yard area, which was ringed with industrial and communal buildings, would have been immediately apparent to a visitor to the town as soon as they entered the northern gate at this time. Therefore, this would have been an ideal location for a hot food business. The density of the occupation (laneways and further industrial areas) around this space also strongly suggests that it was a micro-commercial hub within the early 14\textsuperscript{th}-century town.

Grattan Street
At Grattan Street, the domestic occupation continued in a similar vein from the mid/late 13\textsuperscript{th} century to the early 14\textsuperscript{th} century (see Fig. 5.11; 5.2.10.8). This was suggested by the significant chronological overlap apparent in the artefactual, and architectural remains (Lennon 2003, 65-77). This was undoubtedly a high-status house, and it continued to be amended and inhabited into the mid-14\textsuperscript{th} century at the earliest. There was no evidence for the extensive raising of ground level at this site. The structural remains show that this site was well-drained and paved from its earliest occupation, and may have not required further drainage work in the early 14\textsuperscript{th} century. It was also further away from the northern channel of the River Lee than the occupation at North Gate and Phillip’s Lane (Fig. 6.1; 5.8). The western house was amended at some point in the early 14\textsuperscript{th} century. The only dating evidence comprised the occurrence of late 13\textsuperscript{th}- to mid-14\textsuperscript{th}-century Saintonge pottery in the primary floor of the new addition room in the house. As structural improvements were on-going at a number of nearby, similar properties in the surrounding area between the late 13\textsuperscript{th} and early 14\textsuperscript{th} century, it seems reasonable to assume that development at Grattan Street was broadly contemporary.

The extension of the building comprised a room, smaller than the original, which was added to the west side of the original structure (See Fig. 5.6). This measured 6.8m east-west and the north-south wall was exposed for 3.9m (Lennon 2003, 75-7). The building stood to an excavated height of 2 m and a garderobe chute was located in the west wall on the ground floor close to foundation level (ibid.). The chute emptied into a large deep pit or channel (ibid.) which was delimited by a coarsely built wall at its western
edge (*ibid.*). At the interior, and underneath several layers of post-medieval rubble, a possible medieval organic layer covered the entire interior of the building (*ibid.*). This overlay a coarsely-paved surface of red sandstone which had been laid directly on the blue estuarine mud (*ibid.*). This paved surface respected the corners of a wall fragment which was interpreted as the base of a pier which functioned as the base of a loft support (*ibid.*). This addition to the house has been interpreted as an undercroft or basement which may have been used as a storage area by merchants who lived in the upper levels of the house (Hurley 2003a, 162-4).

The structural alteration to the western house at Grattan Street has not affected the overall interpretation of the archaeological evidence at this location. The essential function of the property remained the same from the mid/late 13th century into the early 14th century. This was a mercantile dwelling which extended over two plots c. 40-60m from North Main Street. The continuing economic success which was generated by trade in and out of Cork during this period is reflected by the extensions to the western house. The garderobe and associated channel are rare in the archaeological record of Cork, however, as most excavations of buildings from the 13th/14th century in the city only reveal the foundation levels, it is possible that many more existed that have been exposed through excavation. Nonetheless, this was a further elaboration of an already high-quality building, which must be a testament to the financial success that the inhabitants continued to enjoy into the early years of the 14th century. Again, there was a distinct lack of craft-working finds associated with this stage of the occupation. The high-quality extension which included in-house sanitation facilities can be interpreted as a further emulation of the mode of living in contemporary castle sites. This can also be seen in the communal courtyard, and the private amenities for baking and drainage first exposed in the earlier levels, which continued to be used throughout the later period of habitation. The food remains also displayed parallels with the noble and elite diet of the period (see below). There are no historical records which suggest that the contemporary nobility resided within the town, and indeed the identification of a mercantile storage facility suggests that the residents of this site were directly involved in trade at this time. The living space and behavioural parallels apparent in the archaeological evidence between this site, and those of the elite/nobility of the period signify the contact and relationships that existed between the merchants and the elite at this time.

*Skuddy’s Lane*

Further evidence of continuity of occupation and mercantile success is evident in the archaeological remains at Skuddy’s Lane. At this site, the earlier structure appeared to be re-built in the early 14th century. The floor level of the later house was raised using a series of rubble deposits, and, in
common with the North Gate sites, drains were laid in conjunction with walling were interpreted as contemporary with the rebuilding of the stone house (see 6.2.5, above; O’Donnell 2003b, 95-6; Hurley and Sheehan 1997, 54-9). This suggests that the re-building was undertaken following the insertion of the drainage system at the north of the town following the murage grant of 1303 (see 6.2.5, above). At this site, the architectural evidence comprised the remains of a stone-wall structure, which was interpreted as a replacement to the earlier stone house (O’Donnell 2003c, 105-7). The excavated dimensions of House 2 were 3.6m north-south and 10.2m east-west; the excavated dimensions of the original house were 7.6m north-south and 11m east-west (ibid.). Parts of two walls of the northern section, the west wall and the north wall, of the house survived within the area of excavation (ibid.). The two walls survived to a height of c. 1m and were constructed of roughly coursed limestone blocks over a foundation of large sandstone slabs (ibid., Hurley 2003, 167). The house floor survived over much of the excavated area. This was a cobbled surface set in clay with occasional pieces of slate set on edge as part of the surface (O’Donnell 2003c, 105-7). No datable artefacts were recovered from the walls or the internal cobbled floor (Hurley 2003, 167).

A layer of yellow mortar and concreted material was dumped in the centre of the western half of the house interior (O’Donnell 2003c, 105-7). This may have formed the level base of an internal feature of the house, or supported a paved or tiled floor which was subsequently removed. A number of features found outside the later house were interpreted as associated with the structure. These included another two walls, one of which may have formed the eastern wall of a house to the south at the west of the excavated area (O’Donnell 2003c, 106-7). A possible stone platform was exposed at the west of the excavated area (ibid.). It is possible that this formed a supportive pier for an external stairway which ran along the north and west corner of the house, leading to the upper floors.

The earlier and later house were set c. 45m west of the street frontage at North Main Street and were situated in a plot adjacent to Skiddy’s Lane to the south. Although no doorways were identified in the houses, it is probable (in the absence of any ope in the north wall of the structures) that the buildings may have opened directly onto Skiddy’s Lane at the south. If the pier noted above served as the plinth for a wooden extra-mural staircase, this would also have faced onto the laneway to the south. The structural remains at this site may be interpreted as the lowest level of a mercantile dwelling. The living quarters would have occupied the upper levels of the house. This is an emulation of contemporary merchant dwellings across Anglo-Norman Europe at this period, where the lowest floor of the building was the public space (Schofield and Vince 2003, 82). This function was
conducted by basements in other contemporary Irish towns, (e.g. Waterford – Scully 1997a; 1997b). However, as the underlying soil in Cork was so prone to collapse and subsidence, it may not have been considered advisable to attempt to construct basements within the walled town during the medieval period, particularly at levels where houses were built immediately over the estuarine clay and gravels. This may have meant that these types of buildings in Cork looked very tall, as they were essentially a storey taller that the average medieval urban house.

The small size of the excavation meant that it was not possible to determine the limits of the property at Skiddy’s Lane, or whether it extended over two plots similar to the occupation at Grattan Street and Phillips’ Lane (see above and below). The small size of the artefact assemblage from this site, which only comprised a narrow range of pottery sherds and two unidentified copper-alloy objects, meant that the interpretation of the structure was limited with regard to function and social status (McCutcheon 2003; 210-20; Carroll et al 2003a, 260-95). The small dietary assemblage did contain elements related to high-status food consumption (deer and juvenile dolphin – McCarthy 2003, 379) which suggests that the occupation at this site was relatively prosperous.

**Phillips’ Lane**

The original stone house at Phillips’ Lane was also amended during the late 13th or early 14th century. Excavations within a small area at the west of the original stone house revealed sections of the south and west walls of a stone-walled building which were built over, and incorporated a stone-lined drain (ibid.). This form of construction may mirror similar construction at North Gate to the west of the site at Phillip’s Lane, where new houses which incorporated drains were constructed in the first decade of the 14th century (see 6.2.5, above). The later house abutted the earlier house on the northwest side, and the south wall of the later house was incorporated into the west wall of the earlier structure (O’Donnell 2003b, 96-7, Hurley 2003, 164-5). The later house was 9.7m east-west and at least 7.4 m north-south, the walls measured 1.1-1.3 m in thickness and the outer face of the south wall was battered (O’Donnell 2003b, 96-7.). Part of the north wall of the earlier house was utilised to form c. half the length of the south wall of the later house and during construction, an attempt was made to match the building styles on the external angle of the walls (Hurley ibid.).

The second house was therefore interpreted to be later in construction but it was considered likely that both houses were in contemporary use (ibid.). A number of locally-derived siltstone and shale roof-slates (Unitt 2003, 323), were recovered from 13th- and 14th-century-contexts which indicated that the houses on this site were slate-roofed at the time (Carroll and Quinn 2003,
Because the construction of the second house impacted structurally on the first, it has been suggested that both buildings were within the ownership of one proprietor and may have comprised two rooms of the same house, albeit in separate burgage plots (Hurley 2003, 165). The singular ownership of adjoining properties has been noted in the archaeological evidence from Grattan Street (see above, this section), and has been historically documented in the will of John de Wynchedon (see 6.1, above; O’Sullivan 1956, 75-89). Although there was no evidence of interconnection between the two buildings at ground floor level it was probable that this could have been facilitated at upper ground floor level (ibid.). The stairway along the eastern wall of the earlier house may have been extended to provide access to the later structural addition. It is also possible that private access was facilitated via doorway leading to a laneway at the northern (unexcavated) area of the building. It has also been suggested that structural links between the two properties were achieved through agreement between separate, adjoining, property holders (ibid.). It may be likely that this was a familial relationship, and that different aspects of trade or mercantile activity were conducted in each house.

These two structures were in contemporaneous use during the 14th century. No internal hearths were uncovered during the excavation of either the complete earlier house or the partially complete second house, nor were fireplaces or chimneys identified (Hurley 2003a, 164). The opposing doorways at the east and west ends of the earlier house have been interpreted as a possible ‘thoroughfare’ through the house which provided access solely for the property owner and his appointees (ibid.). It is also probable that the ground floor of the building served as the primary office and trading/storage-and-display premises of the merchant in residence, and that the opposed doorways facilitated the easy manoeuvring of bulky products through the property. It can be assumed that the upper floors of the house were the domestic quarters of the family or families in residence at this site. Because the excavation area did not extend outside the walls of the houses, the areas of associated refuse disposal were not identified or excavated. This means that only a very limited range of artefactual and dietary material can be related to the occupation of the houses. No diagnostic indicator of wealth or status was evident in the material culture from the houses. Although a small number of high-quality artefacts were recovered from refuse layer near the town wall c.50m west of the houses. As the area between the town wall and the houses was not fully excavated along its length, it is not possible to establish whether the ownership of the house sites extended to the town wall. It is therefore not advisable to correlate the artefacts, particularly as the areas adjacent to the western town wall seemed to be consistently used for general refuse disposal at this time.
**Kyrl’s Quay/North Main Street**

The fragmentary remains of a substantial stone house, with a late 13\textsuperscript{th} to early 14\textsuperscript{th}-century construction date were exposed at Kyrl’s Quay/North Main Street. In Trench 3a, the mid-13\textsuperscript{th}-century post-pad and sill-beam house was replaced by a substantial stone house during the late 13\textsuperscript{th} or very early 14\textsuperscript{th} century. This was represented by a large stone wall (2m wide), on a north-south axis which occupied the full width of the trench (Hurley 1995a, 57). The excavator suggested that this wall was likely to have formed the outer (eastern) foundation wall of a building of two or three storeys (ibid.). The wall was set on a foundation of flat slabs which overlay a series of oak piles (ibid.). In the absence of return walls, the extent or alignment of the house was not apparent, but a series of clay and gravel layers to the west of the wall were interpreted as the floor levels of the house (ibid.). It is suggested that these remains comprised the lowest level of a ‘substantial stone-built merchant’s house or a tower house-type structure’ (Hurley 1995, 57). Little dating evidence was recovered from this the wall or the associated layers. Excavation of a spread of mortar (location undisclosed) produced a sherd of Redcliffe pottery which has a broad mid-late 13\textsuperscript{th}/mid-14\textsuperscript{th}-century date range (Hurley 1995, 58).

No diagnostic remains were apparent in the material culture or dietary evidence from the wall or its associated stratigraphy. If the interpretation of the excavator is correct, in that the house extended to the west of the wall, then the estimated long axis may have measured c.10m east-west (based on Fig. 1 in Hurley 1995, 48). This would broadly corroborate, (although slightly smaller) with the dimensions of contemporary stone houses on the North Island (see above). It is also possible that the wall at this site comprised a central, load-bearing wall, although the eastern face exhibited a slight batter. It is possible that internal floor levels to the east of the wall may have been raised to accommodate the batter however there is no record of the stratigraphy which abutted the east face. This house represents a complete change in the nature of the occupation in this area of the street-front at North Main Street. The previous house was of modest construction, and smaller than the later structure (see 5.2.10.5). The later stone wall was south of the limit of the earlier timber-framed house, which may suggest, that the property boundary was renegotiated at this time. Along with the physical structure of the building itself, this suggestion may reflect the power and wealth of the later occupants. No related backyard levels for this house were exposed so it is not possible to establish the relationship between the plot and the house. By comparison with the contemporary structure, which showed strong connections with mercantile activity, it can be assumed that this house was also inhabited by members of the mercantile elite at the end of the 13\textsuperscript{th} or beginning of the 14\textsuperscript{th} century.
There was no further evidence of construction during this period on the North Island, but occupation appeared to continue at the rear of the property at 1-4 St Peter’s Avenue (see 5.2.10.8; Hurley and Johnson 2003, 131-9). Again, there was strong continuity evident in the quality of the material culture and dietary remains, both of which indicated that the site remained occupied by citizens of relatively high status (see below). At the possible opposite end of the social scale, occupation also continued without any significant changes within the cob-built house at St Peter’s Market (see 5.2.10.9; Hurley 1989b, 20-5).

6.2.9 Structural evidence of industry/craft-working

Because of the general depletion of archaeological layers dating to the period under discussion, the archaeological evidence for industry and craft-working is fragmentary. Structural remains with an industrial connection were exposed at North Gate, but no other contemporary site produced similar evidence. This does not mean that significant industrial processes ceased during this period. These layers were at the interface between the high-medieval occupation of Cork and the later post-medieval development which completely truncated all late medieval structural evidence and associated material. Any remaining features may have been incorporated into the later structures, or mixed into the general debris and rubble that this post-medieval building generated. If we accept that the density of activity at North Gate serves as a representative microcosm of industrial processes in the town during the late 13th- and early 14th-century period, then it is possible to surmise that significant industry was on-going in the town at this time.

Archaeological excavation at the west of North Main Street, in the north-west quadrant of the town, revealed significant structural evidence of industrial activity which dated from the late 13th century to the early 14th century (and later). The archaeological work at this level uncovered sections from four separate plots that extended from immediately inside to the town wall, to c. 30 m south of the northern limit of the town (see Figs 6.4 and 6.5). At the north of the excavated area, three contiguous stone-footed structures abutted the southern face of the town wall (Fig. 6.5; see 6.2.3; Hurley and Sheehan 1997a, 50-3). These formed the northern limit of an open yard or courtyard, accessed via a laneway from the main street to the east. A possible bakery/hot-food shop was located at the southeast of the courtyard (see 6.2.8, above). This was at the rear of a street-fronting house. The areas to the east and southwest of the possible yard were unexcavated at this level (Hurley and Sheehan 1997a, 50-4). As previously noted, there was little structural evidence within the three houses inside the town wall which alluded to their original function. The finds from the central house were suggestive of an animal byre, and leather scabbards and off-cuts from the
western structure maybe indicated either a leather-workshop or accoutrements of soldierly activity (see 6.3 below). The eastern house was the only one of the three structures which contained evidence of a formal floor surface, which maybe indicated that it had an administrative function relating to the monitoring of activity at the adjacent bastion and town wall along with access to the town at the north gate.

At the east of the main street, in the second ‘plot’ south of the town wall, further evidence of unspecified industry was excavated (Hurley 1997, 29-30). This was located at the rear of a street-fronting house although, as previously noted, the area between the house and the industrial activity remained unexcavated and thus a conclusive relationship between the two areas was unconfirmed. Nonetheless, the proximity of the remains, at c.12m apart, suggests that they were related (Hurley 1997, 26 Fig. 10). Continuity was evident in both the occupation of the domestic house, and the industrial area at the rear. The earlier square stone-footed structure was repaired and re-floored at this level (Hurley 1997, 29-30). The floor comprised oxidised clay which varied in thickness and a series of re-deposited oxidised clay layers and gravel surfaces surrounded the structure (Hurley 1997b, 30-1). A penny of Edward I (1279-1307) was recovered from one of the gravel layers in this location (ibid.). The remainder of the backyard area of this plot contained organic refuse deposits, discrete stone spreads and a roughly paved surface set into a gravel layer (Hurley 1997b, 30).

Two ceramic storage vessels, complete but in shattered condition, were set into a tightly-compacted oxidised clay area to the north of industrial structure (Fig. 6.10; Hurley 1997b, 30). The possible function of these vessels in this setting was undetermined by the excavators. There are documented medieval recipes that specify the use of buried ceramic pots for distilling or fermenting ingredients for use in medical preparations.
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(Moorhouse 1978, 10). The recovery of four stone mortars from the general vicinity of this plot may give weight to the theory that some form of apothecary was working at this site (see Hurley 1997c, 108-9). There may also have been used in the preparation of domestic medications. It has also been suggested that buried pots may have served a dual role, encompassing both votive and practical purposes during the medieval period (Gilchrist 2012, 233-4). It is possible that the special deposits concealed within the buried pots formed part of a rite practiced by the occupants of the site, perhaps a quasi-religious or folk ritual which ensured good fortune and blessings for the inhabitants (ibid.). No further diagnostic material was excavated from this level.

Activity following the completion of the drainage system at the north of the North Island (post c.1303)

This area was altered in places following the insertion of a large-scale drainage system (see 6.2.5, above), and the associated raising of the ground surface all across the excavated area in Area 2, and the smaller site at Area 1.

The essential layout of the area inside the town wall remained unchanged by the ground works undertaken at the start of the 14th century and the communal nature of the ‘open yard’ persisted. At the north, the central and eastern lean-to structures adhered to their original limits and the internal layers showed a broad continuity of function between the two levels (Hurley and Sheehan 1997, 56-7). There was significant rebuilding of the structure at the west. The south wall was brought forward, to create a large rectangular stone-walled enclosure or building, which incorporated the new drainage system (ibid.). This had a hard floor of clay and crushed stone (ibid.). Unfortunately no diagnostic material culture or dietary remains were identified from this structure. The necessity to provide drainage both through, and immediately in front of, the building, may suggest that it served as an enclosure for animals or stables. No horseshoes or associated horse equipment were noted in the artefact assemblage from this structure.

At the south of this yard was the possible ‘hot-food’ shop or bakery which was located at the rear of Plot 2 (see 6.2.8, above). The third plot south of the town wall was delimited by stone walls similar to those noted in Plot 2 (Hurley and Sheehan 1997a, 60). A laneway was located east-west along the north of the plot and this led into a north-south running laneway which this facilitated access from the street to the rear of the property (ibid.). At the east of the north-south running laneway a heavily oxidised surface was excavated (ibid.). A similar area was exposed at the west of the laneway and this contained a number of post-pits and stakeholes which did not form any discernible pattern (Hurley and Sheehan 1997a, 61).
In the western section of the fourth plot, the features included two north-south running walls, a paved area and two drains (Hurley and Sheehan 1997a, 61). The paved area was interpreted, as either a), a laneway which led to the property to the south, or b) the primary level of a cobbled surface associated with an overlying oven which formed part of the next phase of the occupation at the site (ibid.). A layer of oxidised clay was exposed to the east and west of the paving (ibid.).

At the east side of the street, the industrial structure at the rear of Plot 2 was the only archaeological structural remnant for the period of occupation which followed the ground-works in the early 14th century. The structure was also re-built at this level and the re-construction consisted of new walling to facilitate the insertion of a drainage system (Hurley 1997c, 31-2). A possible doorway was suggested by a gap in the north wall (ibid.). The house was also re-floored at this level and the new flooring again comprised a thick layer of oxidised clay (ibid.). This suggests that the structure retained its industrial function during this period. An organic layer containing a large amount of gravel lay to the east and the south of House 16 (Hurley 1997b, 33). Alternate layers of oxidised clay and ash were deposited at the west of the house (ibid.). No diagnostic remains were evident in the material culture from this structure.

Overall, in the absence of diagnostic material culture remains, it is not possible to establish the nature of the industrial practices undertaken at the above sites. The extensive presence of oxidised clays across all the industrial areas simply attests to the fact that heat was required to carry out these processes. The absence of slag and metal-working scraps from these layers, particularly when other non-diagnostic ferrous and non-ferrous material survived, suggest that we can discount metal-working on a large scale across the area of excavation. Common traders who worked near medieval riverfronts included dyers, tanners, fullers, horn-workers, cloth-workers, soap-makers, weavers and fullers (Jones 1991, 25-7). The irregular retrieval of items associated with textile working from across the excavated areas at both sides of the street at North Gate may suggest that this was one of the trades practiced here. It is possible that some of the perforated wood recovered, along with undiagnostic hooks and pegs (Hurley 1997b 129; 1997c 138-9; 1997d, 142-3), from the excavations may have originally been used to form tenter racks to stretch out cloths and hides to prevent shrinkage. The large amount of hides which were exported from Cork may indicate that tanning or hide treatments were undertaken within the walled town, however the odours and materials associated with this process may have pushed this industry further from the intensively inhabited parts of the town. All of the aforementioned industries would have required quantities of fresh water, which may have been supplied via the newly-built freshwater
conduit which led from the main street down through drains into the rear of the sites and was incorporated into the fabric of the domestic and industrial structures. Although we cannot truly ascertain the exact nature of the industries practiced in the area, there can be no doubt that it was of sufficient economic value to the town to warrant the large-scale reconstruction works, and investment represented, by providing the workers here with fresh water, and better quality housing and ground surfaces.

6.3 Material Culture

There is significant continuity between the material culture from the previous period (see 5.3) and that under current discussion. Unfortunately, however, the overall artefact assemblage from the c.1290 to c.1315 is quite difficult to discern and there is a large depletion in the range and quantity of objects retrieved though excavation. There are two reasons for this. The first, again, relates to the constraints of ceramic dating chronologies, which means that layers and deposits which contained the two most common pottery types for this period (Saintonge and Cork-type) were grouped together and dated generally to the mid/late 13th to mid-14th centuries. Therefore, only the occurrence of definitive structural or artefactual chronological benchmarks (as noted at North Gate) can separate the two dates. Unfortunately this does not entirely solve the problem, and material culture groupings which can be confidently dated to the late 13th/early 14th century were often recovered from the archaeological threshold for post-medieval disturbance of layers. Therefore, it can be assumed that a significant percentage of the original body of material culture has been mixed into later layers and lost from the chronological archaeological record for ever. This problem is particular pronounced on both islands of medieval Cork, where archaeological levels from this period were almost uniformly cut by later (post medieval and modern) development. Nonetheless, some key trends could be observed in the distribution of the material culture.

Continuity of occupation was apparent at all of the sites that produced high-status and mercantile finds from the previous period. These included structures at Grattan Street, Phillips’ Lane and Skiddy’s Lane.

6.3.1 Material culture related to professional occupation

Very little evidence of industry and commerce was identified in the material culture from this period. This does not reflect a contraction in the range of crafts practiced during this period, as the structural evidence indicates a clear continuity, and in some instances an expansion, of earlier craft-working and industrial practices (see 6.2. above). As noted above, it is expected that a large percentage of the material culture from this period has been lost because of the destruction of archaeological layers caused by later delveopment. Just four groupings of artefacts from North Gate provided a
possible indication of the original function of the structures and associated ‘industrial’ layers at this site.

The organic deposits that accumulated within the deposited organic layers in the central house of the three lean-to structures inside the town wall at Area 2, North Gate produced over 400 pottery sherds in total (McCutcheon 1997b, 99). The vast majority of these sherds were Saintonge green-glazed (390 sherds) and comprised fragments from jugs (McCutcheon 1997b, 77, 99). Whether this is reflective of the original use of the house is difficult to establish. It is possible that these sherds were mixed with animal refuse in the building to enrich the manure and render the waste more suitable for spreading in the fields of the hinterland (Jones 2009, 217). The quality of the deposit with this structure was not described in the archaeological report however the building was without a floor or formal entrance and it was therefore interpreted as a pen or byre. In the absence of these features, and a hearth, it seems unlikely that this would have functioned as a tavern or meeting house and it may have been used to keep animals prior to slaughter or to house horses inside the nearby town gate. Whether this was a municipal feature or a private holding cannot be conclusively established.

Excavation of the earliest structure to the west of that discussed produced a number of leather finds that may suggest that cobbling was on-going within this structure in the late 13th and very early 14th century. Along with a number of footwear pieces, the recovery of scabbards, belts and miscellaneous worked fragments were among the material culture from this structure (Hurley 1997g, 151-3). A broader range of scrap finds can be generally interpreted as suggestive of professional practice (Gleeson 2000, 50). Two scabbard fragments from this structure were extensively decorated on the front handle and blade areas with heraldic designs (Hurley 1997g, 151). One had linear panels and stamped quatrefoil rosettes and the other had similarly outlined rectangular panels with stamped equal arm kanmé crosses and castles (ibid.). The stamped heraldic design of these artefacts was a general decorative feature of embellishment during the late 13th and mid-14th centuries, and as such cannot provide any individual information on the original owners of these pieces (ibid.). Nonetheless, these scabbards are significantly more decorated than those frequently found in the town from this period, and they may be suggestive of the increased purchasing power of their original owners.

A scabbard, and a sword to hold within it, would have been quite conspicuous on the person wearing these pieces. It is likely therefore that these objects would have constituted one of the key means of communicating status during this period. It is possible that even those folk of lesser means would have saved to afford a quality scabbard to wear on
their person. These pieces may also have been passed from generation to generation as noted with similar intricate, high-quality objects (e.g. a harness was one of the goods endowed in the testament of John de Wynchedon – O’Sullivan 1956, 83). It may also be possible that these scabbards were originally the property of soldiers and guards associated with watching the town wall and the North Gate. The recovery of the scabbards from within a byre or workshop which leaned against the town wall, may suggest that a) they belonged to a soldier or guard that used this space to keep animals, or as a storehouse or a resting place or b) this structure may have been used as a leather repair workshop for a period during the late 13th and early 14th centuries.

The possible use of the structure in Plot 2 at the east of the street as an apothecary’s has been noted (see 5.2.10.5; Fig. 6.10). The identification of two buried ceramic vessels in oxidised clay, along with the recovery of a number of stone mortars from the general area may be suggestive of some form of medicinal preparation in this vicinity (see above 6.2). It is also possible that the craft at this site was related to cloth working or the dyeing of material as similar functions may have been performed with mortars and pots in that context.

At the south of a courtyard a possible ‘hot-food’ shop, hostelry or tavern may be represented by the structural and artefactual evidence (Fig. 6.5). There was strong evidence for a continuity of function at this site, even though the structural aspect of the property was re-built following the insertion of the drainage system. The success of this business is demonstrated by a number of artefacts that indicated that the occupants of this property enjoyed a good standard of life. The material culture from all of the layers associated with both levels of occupation of the site were complementary in function, and together, could be taken as representative of a cooking endeavour at this site. A number of stone mortars, a ceramic mortar, quernstones and stone pot-boilers were retrieved from this plot which may have been used in food preparation practices on the site (Hurley 1997, 106-113; McCutcheon 1997, 83). A total of c. 400 sherds of pottery were found from layers within the possible tavern/shop and these mostly came from jugs (McCutcheon 1997, 77-85).

Further commercial activity on the site was suggested by a lead-alloy weight, recovered from a layer between both phases of construction which dated to this period (Fig. 6.11; Hurley 1997c, 126). The weight was 410g (14.5 ounces) and as such, was found not to conform to either the post-Tudor avoirdupois pound (16 ounces) or to the troy pound (12 ounces) (ibid.). When divided by either 12 or 16 (the amount of ounces in the Tower, Troy and avoirdupois pounds), the weight found at North Gate did
not correspond to a pound in weight from any standard medieval measurement category. It is commonly accepted, however, that local measurements of a pound in weight varied from between 12 and 17 ounces at the time, relative to the product being sold (Zupko 1985). Because this find was found near a baking area, it is possible that it corresponded to the assize of bread during this particular part of the late 13\textsuperscript{th} and early 14\textsuperscript{th} century. The assize of bread varied according to the fluctuating contemporary prices of grain, and it is possible that a new assize was assigned to accommodate that variance. Alternatively the weight could have been used to measure flour, dough, or goods produced at the ovens. A number of other objects from the area around this property attested to the general prosperity enjoyed by the occupants of the property, or possible those that visited the shop/tavern (see below).

![Fig. 6.11 Lead-alloy weight from Area 2, North Gate (after Hurley 1997f, 120)](image)

### 6.3.2 Indications of living standards and status
Continuity in the high quality of life enjoyed by the residents at Grattan Street was manifested by the material culture from this site. The same was true of the occupation at 1-4 St Peter’s Avenue. At both sites, the range of ceramic finds, both in terms of origin and form, was noticeably broader than contemporary sites in Cork (McCutcheon 2003, 197-221). At Grattan Street, a number of artefacts were recovered which may have related to the occupations or hobbies of the 13\textsuperscript{th}- to 14\textsuperscript{th}-century residents of the houses.
These included four weaving tools, two of which were possible pin beaters (Hurley et al 2003, 331). This suggests that weaving was undertaken by the occupants of Houses 1 and 2 during the 13th-14th centuries. The lack of a larger range of weaving equipment, and the absence of other craft-working finds from the structure, imply that weaving was a hobby, more than an occupation, of the residents of the houses. Therefore it is tentatively suggested than this may be a further indication of the increased wealth of the occupants of the houses as the women of the house may have had the leisure time to pursue such an activity.

One of the more intricate metal artefacts excavated from medieval Cork to date was recovered from an early 14th-century organic layer adjacent to the town wall of the Grattan Street excavation (Fig. 6.12). Although this object cannot be linked conclusively with the occupation of the houses, it is included in this discussion as a possible reflection of the general financial success of those using the area for refuse disposal at this time. The piece was a copper alloy mount which may have been originally affixed to the lid or side of a small marriage casket (Fig. 6.11; Ó Floinn 2003, 302-3, Fig. 6.7). The object consisted of two pieces of copper alloy which were fitted together in a roughly circular shape (ibid.). The mount was decorated with a scene which depicted a seated human figure placing a circular object, possibly a wreath, onto the head of a seated lion (ibid.). This image was interpreted as a secular representation of a medieval courtship romance which referenced the romantic tropes of the time (ibid.). It was also possible that the lion in the scene was a symbol of Christ and also stood for fidelity in love and therefore the mount would have been appropriate for a secular marriage casket (ibid.). The roman numeral for twenty-five (XXVIII) was etched onto the back of the piece, implying that this mount was one of a series of at least twenty-five that would have been used to decorate the...
casket, and therefore one of considerable size (*ibid.*). The piece was suggested to be of Continental, possibly French, origin (Ó Floinn 2003, 303). The recovery of such a high-quality and possibly imported metal artefact, which in turn may have been associated with a larger than average marriage casket, would appear to offer further proof that inhabitants of increased financial means occupied the properties excavated at Grattan Street.

The general increase in living standards enjoyed by the craft-working, artisanal and lower-rank administrator social grouping during the late 13th and early 14th century is well-represented by the material culture from North Gate. A range of artefacts attest to the good quality of life that was enjoyed by the occupants of Plot 2, the location of the possible ‘hot-food’ shop/tavern and associated domestic house at the street front. Among the objects that could be related to both phases of the occupation in this property were a Cork-type aquamanile fragment, a highly-polished parchment pricker, a copper-alloy harp tuning-peg and a bone die (McCutcheon 1997, 85; Hurley 1997c, 123; Hurley 1997f, 147). Because neither the structural, nor the faunal material from these levels produced direct evidence of high-status living, it is reasonable to assume that the above finds relate to the increased prosperity of the lower ranks of late 13th- to early 14th-century Cork. These artefacts can tell us a number of things about this level of Cork society at this time. The use of the aquamanile has been discussed in the previous chapter (see 5.3), and again in this instance, another aquamanile may reflect the social aspirations of the prosperous artisan class at this time, as they emulated the dining habits of the religious and the elite. This was also noted in the occupation of a house which was attributed a similar social status, in Christ Church, during the mid to late 13th century (see 5.3). The parchment pricker points to literacy among members of this societal class, and possibly suggests book-keeping, or even that the children of the house were formally educated (Gilchrist 2012, 148), a further indication of social aspiration. The bone die and the tuning peg both indicate that the occupants of the property had leisure time, during which they could enjoy gaming and music. It is also possible that the latter finds may have originated during the use of the square structure (post 1303) as a tavern or eating house, and as such, they may represent leisure activities enjoyed by the patrons of this establishment at the time.

It may be suggested that the absence of these types of finds from a property, such as that at St Peter’s Market, may be indicative of lower status occupation. This interpretation is, however, fraught with bias, as the differential preservation of material culture may impact significantly on the ultimate artefact assemblage from a medieval site. Nonetheless, when one takes into account the absence of a large range of ceramic finds, along with
the general dearth of finds associated with leisure and on-site craft-working, and coupled with the structural fabric of the house (cob-built) and the lack of range in the meat aspect of their diet, on the whole, is suggestive of a poorer standard of living. The dietary remains however do not conform to a perception of total destitution from this site, and show, that although the occupants may have not been financially prosperous, they still were able to afford meat regularly to supplement their diet (see 6.4, below).

**6.4 Dietary evidence**

As noted with the material culture, the dietary evidence from the late 13th and early 14th century shows a strong degree of continuity with the previous phase of occupation in the town. No great changes in the composition of the faunal assemblages from Grattan Street and 1-4 St Peter’s Avenue were noted between those from the mid to late 13th century and the period under current discussion. Therefore they were treated as a single entity for the purposes of the present research, and the faunal evidence from both sites was dated from the mid/late 13th to the early 14th century. The pertinent observations from the analysis of the dietary data from both sites are presented in the previous chapter (see 5.4). The only new dietary assemblage that could be confidently dated to the late 13th/early 14th century comprised the archaeobotanical remains from the lowest levels of the garderobe channel located in the extension to the western house at Grattan Street, and a possible 14th-century pit (see above; Lennon 2003,71-7; McClatchie 2003; 408-9- See Table 6.1).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Context/Feature No. and Level</th>
<th>Context Description</th>
<th>Archaeobotanical Evidence (ind.=indeterminate)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C831</td>
<td>Late medieval (14th century) pit fill, area unknown (unspecified in excavation report)</td>
<td>Bracken (52) Fig (104) Knotgrass (4) Dock (4) Chickweed (8) Blackberry (12) Crab-apple (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C917</td>
<td>Area 3 – Deposit in garderobe channel (C905) - early14th-century</td>
<td>Bracken (28) Hazelnut (4) Fig (240) Stinging nettle (4) Small nettle (4) Knotgrass (4) Black bindweed (20) Sheep’s sorrel (16)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Area</td>
<td>Deposit in garderobe channel (C905)</td>
<td>Plant Remains</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C920</td>
<td>early 14th-century</td>
<td>Orache (16)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Corn cockle (200)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Blackberry (20)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Crab-apple (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Grape (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bracken (16)</td>
<td>Fig (100)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pale redshank (4)</td>
<td>Black bindweed (8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sheep’s sorrel (16)</td>
<td>Knotgrass (8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Orache (20)</td>
<td>Campion (8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Blackberry (72)</td>
<td>Vetch (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Grape (4)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| C923 | early 14th-century                 | Bracken (64) |
|      |                                   | Stinging nettle (8) |
|      |                                   | Small nettle (24) |
|      |                                   | Cf. Pale redshank (8) |
|      |                                   | Orache (8) |
|      |                                   | Chickweed (8) |
|      |                                   | Corn cockle (64) |
|      |                                   | Campion (8) |
|      |                                   | Blackberry (208) |
|      |                                   | Vetch (4) |
|      |                                   | Grape (8) |
|      |                                   | Cf. Wild celery (8) |

| C926 | early 14th-century                 | Dock (24) |
|      |                                   | Fat hen (4) |
|      |                                   | Orache (4) |
|      |                                   | Blackberry (120) |
|      |                                   | Cf. Wild plum (8) |

| C929 | early 14th-century                 | Small nettle (4) |
|      |                                   | Knotgrass (4) |
|      |                                   | Pale redshank (4) |
|      |                                   | Cf. Pale Redshank (4) |
|      |                                   | Black bindweed (4) |
|      |                                   | Knotgrass gen. (24) |
|      |                                   | Cf. All-seed (8) |
|      |                                   | Fat hen (4) |
|      |                                   | Orache (12) |
|      |                                   | Chickweed (20) |
|      |                                   | Blackberry (32) |
|      |                                   | Cf. Wild cherry (8) |

The results of the analysis of these plant remains complements the continuity apparent in the faunal data, in that it provides further evidence of high-status food consumption on this site (see table). The consistent
recovery of high numbers of fig seeds, along with quantities of grape pips can be interpreted as evidence of high-status food consumption (Hall 2000, 23-42). Thus, the archaeobotanical remains from this phase of the site’s occupation comply with the general findings indicated by the structural remains and material culture, which identified this residence as a high-status and prosperous dwelling from the mid/late 13th-century into the early years of the 14th century at the earliest.

No other ‘new’ assemblage can be closely dated to this period, and overall, continuity of occupation and living standards is apparent across all strands of the dietary evidence. This is true of the material from North Gate, St Peter’s Market, Phillip’s Lane and Skiddy’s Lane where no fluctuation was evident in the data from this period. As such, the relevant material is discussed in the previous chapter (see 5.4). It was not possible to single out the faunal remains from contexts associated with the increased prosperity evident in the structural evidence and material culture from Plot 2, Area 2 North Gate (see above 6.2 and 6.3). However, the overall assessment of the animal bones from the North Gate excavation attested that a good standard of living was apparent at all of the contemporary occupations at these levels (McCarthy 1997, 156-8).

6.5 Discussion - drivers for societal change during this period

6.5.1 Geopolitical drivers

The sense of geo-political stability which fostered financial success during the mid- to late 13th century in Cork continued until the first decade or so of the 14th century. Perhaps the confidence of the town in its capacity to maintain the economic growth of the previous period was encouraged by the re-granting of the terms of the 1242 charter in 1291 (see 6.2, above). The murmurings of dissent which were occurring at the fringes of the hinterland did not appear to adversely impact on the commercial success of the town during the period as many of the dissenters could still be brought to justice at this time. Thus, the pathway that was created to facilitate the movement of agricultural goods from the hinterland out through the port of the town remained unaffected by the onset of active dissent against the Anglo-Normans in the wider colony. This is evidenced by the many shipments of food provisions from Cork to the royal army at the turn of the century, along with the sustained revenue generated by the New Custom and the murage grants around the turn of the 14th century (see 6.2 above).

Thus, conditions within the town, were still stable enough to conduct business and trade, and the archaeological evidence offers ample proof of the financial success enjoyed by the citizens at this time. The mercantile houses which were constructed during the mid- to late 13th century were extended and improved during the late 13th/early 14th century (see 6.2.8,
Thus, the elite of the town could be seen to consolidate their wealth in their properties and the results of their financial success became more visible in the landscape of the town. The consistent evidence of feasting in the dietary record from at least two of these house sites (Grattan Street and St Peter’s Avenue – see 6.4, above) is further evidence of conspicuous consumption and displays of financial status during this period. This was matched by their public displays of generosity towards the religious houses and other charitable donations, and this obvious demonstration of their affluence was probably related to their increasingly public roles in the political administration of the town (see 6.2.2, above). The continued generation of new wealth was apparent in the construction of a substantial stone house at the street front in Kyrll’s Quay/North Main Street during this period (see 6.2.8, above). The artisans and low-level administrative workers of the town benefited from the commercial success of the period, and a thriving industrial hub was identified during excavations inside the north gate of the town (see 6.2.8; 6.2.9, above).

This degree of political stability allowed the communality evident in the archaeological remains from the earlier period to remain a feature of life in the town during the late 13th/early 14th century. This is indicated by the public spaces that were created and extended during this period, along with the improvements to the civic infrastructure brought about by the murage grant of 1303 (see 6.1; 6.2.5, above). This reflects the increased political power, and administrative control that was concentrated in the hands of the mercantile elite of Cork at this time. This, alone, must have created an atmosphere of confidence, and an overall sense of political calm which allowed trade to continue to prosper in the town during this period.

6.5.2 Socio-economic drivers

The archaeological and historical data assessed for the purposes of the present research has indicated that the late 13th to early 14th century was the last sustained surge of economic growth and success enjoyed by the town of Cork during the high-medieval period (see 6.1-4, above). In common with the previous era (see 5.5.2), the most significant socio-economic driver remained the sustained success of the mercantile elite of the town. This group continued to dominate trading activities in and out of the port of Cork and, by the late 13th century, they were also in control of administrative bodies of the town. Their continued success in matters of trade filtered down through all strata of society at this time, and this is reflected by the general prosperity enjoyed by the lower-ranking craft-working and artisan class of the town (see 6.2.8-9; 6.3, above). The political control they exercised within the walled town is apparent in the civic infrastructural improvements they instigated, which improved the quality of life of ‘lesser’ members of society (see 6.2.3; 6.2.5, above). This demonstrates a unity of purpose, and a
strong degree of social cohesion in the town at this time. In the absence of archaeological evidence, it is difficult to establish whether the area of the town expanded during this period. The intensity of building, and rebuilding, apparent at the excavated sites may suggest that the urban walled area was relatively ‘full’ at this stage, and it seems that a number of new Anglo-Norman burgesses migrated into the town at this time, as evidenced by the general prosperity of Cork and the opportunities for work that entailed. These may have been burgess migrants or poorer labouring or servile non-burgess migrants. Nonetheless, the constant repetition of names in the government of the town at this time indicates that that the citizenship of Cork comprised an increasingly close, and possible closed, society by the first decade of the 14th century, particularly at the upper echelons of society (see 6.1, above).

6.5.3 Technological drivers
There is not significant evidence in the archaeological data for great technological advancements in the town at this time, with the possible exception of the construction of the new drainage system and freshwater conduit in the north of the North Island (see 6.1 and 6.2.5, above). This may have represented a relatively innovative approach to infrastructure during the period, and its completion appeared to increase the success of the industries that were accommodated by this development. The improved drainage, and access to freshwater, must also have enhanced the general quality of life enjoyed by the citizens that were located along the extent of these works. Overall, however, it may be surmised that no great degree of technological change impacted on the day-to-day professional activities of the burgesses during this period (see 6.2.8-9, above). The continuity apparent at the craft-working sites, and the domestic houses, attests to this.

6.5.4 Environmental drivers
The final phase of the successful Anglo-Norman adaptation of the environment of Cork to suit their requirements may be represented by the successful harnessing of freshwater from outside the town, to provision the needs of the citizens of the walled town in the early 14th century (see 6.2.5, above). This almost alludes to their success in transcending the original limitations posed by the wet environment of the town, by successfully using the surrounding conditions to improve the quality of life within the walled area in general. The construction of the drainage system in the North Island also reflects this. By attempting to remove the fear of perpetual flooding that must have characterised so much of the occupation of Cork during the 13th century, the citizens were refusing to allow the environment of the town the potential to negatively affect their businesses and lives. The town walls must have been complete by the period, and the new murage grant allowed the burgesses to continue to maintain their condition which was often
affected by the wet estuarine clays and gravels that lay beneath the foundations of the wall (see 6.2.3, above). Thus, the inhabitants of Cork can be seen to have fully adapted to the environment of the town by the early 14th century, and had altered, and utilised the environment to create, and define their urban space.

6.6 Social differentiation
Occupation during this period was strongly defined by the social divisions that solidified during the mid- to late 13th century in the town. The elite of the town became more conspicuous in their displays of wealth and standards of living (see 6.2.8; 6.3-4). It can be suggested that this was the period when they began to regard themselves as resembling the Anglo-Norman nobility of the hinterland (see 6.2.8, mercantile houses). This is evidenced by the structural adjustments they made within their homes, along with their diets and dining rituals, which were inspired by the practices of the contemporary nobility. Analysis of structural, artefactual and dietary remains indicates that the previously noted general rise in living standards across all societal strata of the town was sustained during this period (see 6.2.8; 6.3-4, above). In fact, the evidence suggests that the quality of life improved for the artisan class (largely comprised of traders and skilled craft-workers) at this time. The archaeological data also suggests that the poorest working residents of the walled town were by no means destitute during this period. This is indicated by the continued access to meat apparent in their diet, along with a general improvement in the housing conditions of the period (see 6.2.8; 6.4, above).

6.7 Conclusion
The archaeological data aligns with the historical records to indicate that the late 13th to early 14th century was the last period of sustained economic growth, and general wealth, in Cork during the high medieval era. A general sense of optimism still prevailed over development in Cork at this time, and structural developments at the end of the period suggest that the citizens were hopeful for their financial future as the end of the first decade of the 14th century progressed. Unfortunately a series of political, commercial and environmental challenges would make this sense of hope increasingly harder to realise as the century progressed.

This main focus of this thesis is the period following the arrival of the Anglo-Normans into Cork until c.1315. This is considered the optimum period for the synthesisisation of archaeological and historical data with regard to Cork. For the rest of the high-medieval period (until c.1350), it is not possible to satisfactorily integrate the two strands of data, as there has been a near depletion of the archaeological evidence by later development activity. All that survives are trace remains of early to mid-14th-century
occupation at four sites (see below). These features and deposits are heavily mixed with debris associated with later development. A brief summary of the intervening period is presented below, in order to close the narrative of the high medieval period in Cork.

The years between c.1315 and c.1350 were challenging for Cork’s citizens. Geo-political events in the hinterland and the wider Irish Anglo-Norman colony fractured the supply chain of surplus goods into the town for export. This period was marked by increasing violence in the hinterland, engendered by an escalation in rivalries between the Anglo-Norman dynasties and their ever increasing lineages, and the emergence of Gaelic Irish landscape entities in their own right (Nicholls 1998, 158-181; O’Brien 1993, 107-113; Frame 1984, 125). The emerging ‘rebel English’, (Gaelicised Anglo-Norman lords) who were open in their antipathy towards the Crown, included members of Cork county Anglo-Norman families among their number (O’Brien 1993, 108; Lydon 1987, 284-5). The ‘rebel English’ and their alignment with various competing Irish families during this period further fractured governmental relationships within the hinterland, and to this end, the judicial control which had been exercised in the previous period under review, seemed to dissipate (O’Brien 1993, 109). The results of these various conflicts were further compounded by a series of weather events and murrains which affected both crops, and livestock, from the early 14th century onwards (ALC, 1308; AC, 1308; Lyons 1989, 42-3). The unrest and distress caused by Bruce Invasions of Ulster in 1315-1318 and the contemporary famine reverberated throughout the Irish colony at this time (Frame 2012, 131; AI, 1315; AFM, 1318).

Thus, the ability of the hinterland to produce an agricultural surplus fluctuated significantly throughout the first half of the 14th century. The response of Cork’s merchants and administrators was to put their faith in commerce, and to strengthen the legislative protections around trade within, and out of the town. The burgesses of Cork petitioned for, and were granted, a series of charters and grants that gradually increased their urban autonomy and reinforced their role in determining the terms of trade, both within, and outside the town. Charters were granted in 1317, 1318, 1323, 1330 and 1331 (O’Brien 1985, 56-7). The terms of these charters allowed the governors of the town to supplement their trading losses with increased revenue from duties and levies. Further financial assistance was found in the formation of alliances between the trading towns of Ireland (O’Sullivan 1937, 45). Historians tend to see this period as the start of an arc of decline for Cork, from which it did not emerge until the later 15th-century (e.g. O’Brien 1985, 60-1; Clarke 2000, 168-9). The archaeological evidence also shows signs of this decline, but it does not present as pessimistically as the views of the historians.
Nonetheless, the ravages wrought by the natural disasters in the countryside must have prompted an increase in migrants to the urban settlement at Cork. The town was already relatively full by this stage, and the archaeological evidence suggests that there were little infrastructural improvements made in the town following the first decade of the 14th century. The rising population would have made the town over-crowded and put pressure on the sewage and rubbish-disposal systems. These created conditions that would have undoubtedly facilitated the rapid spread of the ‘Black Death’ when it arrived in Cork at some stage in 1349. It has been estimated that the mortality rate in Cork may have been over 40% of the population (Kelly 2001, 15). The bubonic plague is thought to have devastated the Anglo-Norman burgess community of the town, and affected people of all societal ranks. There are reports of the idle houses of the citizens being left to crumble in 1351 (Kelly 2001, 16).

The surviving archaeological evidence from the early 14th century offers a few indications of the nature of life in Cork at this time. The nature of the rubble layers at Grattan Street and Phillips’ Lane suggested that these sites were continuously occupied into the 15th century (Lennon 2003, 75-6; O’Donnell 2003, 97-8). This intimates that some of the more powerful merchant families were able to trade and maintain households during the 14th century. The artisans, traders and craft-workers may also have had some degree of sustained financial success, as evidenced by the trace remains of industrial processes which dated to this period at North Gate (Hurley and Sheehan 1997, 61-6). Some contraction is apparent in these remains however, as apparent in the shrinking size of one particular, previously successful, plot (Plot 2) at the west of the street (see 6.2.8-9). Similar trades (e.g. baking/food-preparation/general industry) appeared to continue in the area, albeit with a lesser degree of blatant success. The complete alteration of a previously wealthy site was obvious in the archaeological evidence from 1-4 St Peter’s Avenue (see 6.2.8, above). At this site, the earlier occupation had shown significant signs of wealth in the material culture and dietary remains (see 6.2.8, 5.3-4). By the mid-14th century these signatures of wealth had disappeared, and evidence of possible metal-working was uncovered on the later levels (Hurley and Johnson 2003, 134-5). Thus, the archaeological evidence attests to the negative impact of the economic climate of the early to mid-14th century on one of the wealthy urban mercantile families.

Nonetheless, the combined evidence indicates the elite and the traders of the town did not surrender easily to the insecurity generated by the volatility in the surrounding areas and frontier lands. The economic decline is clear in the archaeological evidence but there conditions during the early to mid-14th
century were still good in places, and Cork did not receive a ‘killer blow’ as noted by some historians (e.g. O’Brien 1985, 60-1). The archaeological evidence is that the merchant families embedded in the town by c.1300 weathered the storm of the 14th century relatively well, and possibly more successfully that historians commonly acknowledge. The general impression from this period is one of a reasonably united town which was actively striving to survive. The unifying factor was undoubtedly economic, and can possibly be summarised as follows: an agricultural surplus was still being generated in portions of the hinterland, and the mercantile elite and governors of the town were determined to maximise any potential return from the sale of these goods. The level of social and familial interconnection between the various merchant families also meant that they were not dependent on the vagaries of primogeniture for the survival of their unified town-space. This also implied a lower level of feuding than was on-going between the noble families in the surrounding countryside at this time. These factors combined placed the administrators of Cork in a stronger, and more secure economic position than the Anglo-Norman manorial settlers in the hinterland at this period. Within the town-space, united and surrounded by high stone walls and towers, the burgesses of Cork kept their active and legislative focus on commerce all the way through the first half of the 14th century and beyond; after all, this was where any opportunities for continued success and recovery lay.
Chapter 7

Chapter 7 – Discussion:
A social archaeology of Anglo-Norman Cork

7.1 Introduction
This chapter discusses the development of the urban settlement of Cork during the Anglo-Norman period of c.1171 to c.1315 from a social archaeological perspective. Whereas Chapters 3 to 6 integrated interpretation and analysis of the archaeological data and historical sources into the main body of the text, the following discussion distils the pertinent conclusions reached within those chapters into a consideration of the key trends and factors in societal and morphological change in Cork during this period. The ‘drivers for change’ as outlined in previous chapters are collated and assessed to identify their ‘agency’ role in Cork’s Anglo-Norman urban development. By contextualising these drivers within their historical and geographical backgrounds it has been possible to evaluate their impacts on Cork’s evolution as an Anglo-Norman town. By identifying the traces of these impacts in the archaeological record of Cork city, it has been possible to create a social archaeological narrative of the period covered by this research.

The proponents of social archaeology have been consistent in their argument for the role of ‘agency’ in the cultural evolution of past societies (e.g. Hodder 1986; Johnson 1999, Trigger 2006). This agency can be formed by the impact that politics, economic factors, cultural values and religious beliefs have on individual or collective actions (Johnson 1999; Silliman 2001; Trigger 2006). The archaeological outcome of a consideration of agency in the record can identify how individuals and groups acted meaningfully in historical and social circumstances partly of their own making and partly determined by extra-somatic factors (Wilkie and Bartoy 2000; Silliman 2001). A successful analysis will show how their actions and reactions to these circumstances, carried out within an array of rules and resources that preceded them but gave them opportunity, are indicated in the archaeology record (Silliman 2001, 192). It should reveal the cultural, and ethnic, formative processes that governed their behaviour and relationships with the material culture they left behind (Jones 1997). If social archaeology really comprises the reading of archaeological traces to perceive a deeper understanding of the past (Shanks 2004, 148), then a social archaeological approach to a particular period should be able to present a nuanced assessment of how societies acted within their personal and shared spaces, and how their actions shaped their physical and cultural imprint on their world. Both the morphology of a structure or landscape and the composition of material culture are agents, and products, of social change (e.g. O’Keeffe 1999, 10; Sherlock 2010, 137; Gilchrist 2012).
In the context of Anglo-Norman Cork, the high-resolution integrated analysis of both the archaeological and historic records (see Chapters 3-6) has provided sound empirical data which can be layered and compounded into a holistic consideration of the evidence within a social archaeological framework. This chapter comprises a consideration of the interaction between societal and morphological changes, and the dialectics within these changes, during the Anglo-Norman period between c.1171 and c.1315 in Cork. The discussion identifies how agency provided by these changes left its imprint in the material remains of the developing town. The analysis has been undertaken within an informed theoretical framework and the present writer has attempted to provide a perspective on the societal and morphological evolution of the town, while remaining cognisant of the inherent biases of the evidence (e.g. see Feinman 1997). The individuals of the past have been considered within a selective treatment of medieval ‘life-ways’ from the Anglo-Norman town. This addresses issues of gender, childhood, inequality, social status, ethnicity, families and households. The considerations are put forward from sites where the material remains resolutely indicate these aspects of Cork’s human past within temporally sound contexts.

7.2 Late 12th century (c.1171- c.1190)

7.2.1 Introduction

The occurrences of this short period are still imprinted on both the cultural and physical landscape of the city. These events were triggered by the arrival of a group of Anglo-Norman knights and an ensuing retinue of burgesses into the Hiberno-Norse town between 1171 and 1177 (see 3.2.1). The actions and re-actions to this event shaped the future evolution of Cork, and are manifested in both the contemporary archaeological and historical records.

7.2.2 Societal changes

The incursion of the Anglo-Normans into Hiberno-Norse Cork between 1171 and 1177 introduced systematic factors which instigated a number of deep societal changes in the town. These comprised changes to the pre-existing social organisation of the settlement along with alterations in social behaviour, relations and cultural values. The archaeological data demonstrates both change and continuity, but it does not reflect a violent takeover of the South Island (see 3.2.1-2). Instead, changes in social organisation were achieved through a three-pronged process which focused on the removal of the ruling secular Hiberno-Norse authorities, an accord with the Gaelic-Irish religious powers and the institution of successful commercial ventures in the town (see 3.2.2). The encampment established by the Anglo-Normans on the South Island in 1177 (AI, 1177; see 3.2.2.1)
rapidly transitioned into an administrative and commercial nucleus, from which the new occupants could consolidate and expand upon the existing space for their own purposes. New resources, both in terms of people and goods, occupied and passed through this space. Clustered at the core of the South Island were the representatives and operators of the four key retinues of the initial occupation; i.e. the administrators, the traders, the military and the religious (see 3.2.2). Thus, we see the foundations for the future urban elite of Cork, who would lead the commercial charge of the town into the 13th century and beyond. This research has suggested that a factor which was essential to this commercial charge, particularly prior to an influx of new burgesses, was the retention of sections of the pre-existing workforce of the Hiberno-Norse town, whose skills and trading contacts were necessary to the development of this new base (see 3.2.2.6).

It is difficult to discern how much this retention was sanctioned by the Anglo-Normans and how much resulted from the resilient actions of the town’s earlier population. Both the archaeological evidence and the historical sources (see 3.2.1; 3.2.2.4; 3.2.3), suggest that the more successful members of the Hiberno-Norse trading classes retained their properties at this time. They may have played a functional role in the power structure of the new Anglo-Norman base, both as artisans and active negotiators in the trading network that operated between the town and the hinterland, and the town and locations further afield. Nonetheless, the change in the social organisation of the town, codified by John’s Charter of 1189 (see 3.2.2.1), impacted on the social behaviours and relations of its original inhabitants that remained on the South Island. Their former operating systems were now being co-opted by new Anglo-Norman burgesses eager to capitalise on the commercial potential of the new settlement (see 3.2.3.2). Previous domestic and spatial freedoms were now compromised, which meant that the existing populace had to find new ways of navigating the social landscape of their home town (see 3.2.2.4). The archaeological evidence shows that they possibly achieved this by being useful and participating in the burgeoning Anglo-Norman economy (see 3.2.2.5). These actions, and methods of engagement with an occupying class, are commonly noted in the study of post-medieval and modern colonial encounters (e.g. Lockhart 1992; Gasco 2004, 92-3). Nonetheless, in spite of their continuing functionality as an ethnically distinct group, it must be noted that the prior Hiberno-Norse/Gaelic-Irish cultural values that centred on flexible livelihoods, encompassing activities on both land and sea, were now subsumed into a new economy that necessitated increased rigidity in their social and functional roles within the developing town.
7.2.3 Morphological changes

Morphological changes were effected on both a micro- and macro-level by the Anglo-Normans following their arrival into the town. The smaller changes comprised the successful adaptation of pre-existing structures at the core of the South Island which allowed the new burgesses to quickly embed themselves into the administrative and commercial fabric of the town. Infrastructural improvements to laneways and plot boundaries (see Trench 309 Washington Street and Christ Church; 3.2.2.4), must have afforded the new burgesses an increased sense of proprietorial permanence, along with upgrading the quality of the streetscape to allow for the easier movement of goods and vehicles through the town. The overall improvement in infrastructure also reflects the desire of the Anglo-Normans to properly ‘urbanise’ the space that they now inhabited, which was a central tenet of their colonial approach to Ireland and necessary to the success of the feudal system they were establishing in the hinterland (e.g. Lilley 2000). Although the new burgesses adhered to existing house-styles and adapted their building practices accordingly, improvements to the quality and fabric used in the houses were evident in the archaeological record (e.g. Hanover Street, see 3.2.2.5). Conversely, while we see morphological changes in the newly settled areas, those houses that remained inhabited by the pre-existing populace demonstrated a strong degree of continuity during this period (see Christ Church and 40-8 South Main Street; 3.2.2.5). This may attest to the economic security of the Hiberno-Norse populace at the south of the South Island, whose value in their own skills and resources gave them the resilience to find a purpose during the early Anglo-Norman development of the town.

Morphological changes to the spiritual spaces of the town, involving both the destruction and supplanting of parish churches, meant that the attributed spiritual spaces of the previous ruling system had been physically and personally disconnected from the pre-existing populace (see 3.2.2.4). Although the macro-ecclesiastical structure remained socially and morphologically unadjusted, the daily religious interaction of most of the pre-existing populace of both the town and suburbs would now have to be re-negotiated with new religious communities (see 3.3.2.4). It is possible that these new communities would have both challenged, and incorporated more folk aspects of indigenous religiosity, as part of this acculturation process, as has been observed in many post-colonial societies (see Gasco 2004, 102-3; Gilchrist 2012, 190-1).

More macro-spatial adjustments to the townscape were the physical manifestations of the political agendas of the new Anglo-Norman urban elite. The ‘little harbour’ of the Hiberno-Norse and its adjacent area were seized (see 3.2.1). This meant that Hiberno-Norse/Gaelic-Irish access to
their harbour was severed at this location. The Anglo-Normans then proceeded to re-centre the commercial and administrative focus of the town on to the South Island (see 3.2.3.2). This was a standard colonising move, previously practiced during the Norman Conquest in England in the 11th century (e.g. Hereford in Lilley 2000, 523). It was initiated in order to disenfranchise and marginalise the pre-existing townspeople (ibid.). The Anglo-Normans re-ordered the urban space to suburbanise the historic seat of power and thus afford themselves a more strategic hold on the town, for both defensive and commercial reasons. What had arguably been a Hiberno-Norse suburb, the South Island now became the new nucleus of the settlement, and the Anglo-Normans successfully flipped the existing control dynamic within the town in their favour.

7.2.4 Life-ways
The material culture from the period has produced some indicators of contemporary life-ways. Life-ways within a domestic sphere at Hanover Street, are indicated by fragments from a casket and an ear spoon, which reflect a household on the move in the late 12th century (see 3.2.4). It is tempting to ponder the reasons for this move, and the aspirations of a family as they left a former life and proceeded to adjust to a new environment. Tools in the assemblage point to a skill-set in the household, and perhaps the decision to move was motivated by long-frustrated commercial ambition in their home-place in either England or South Wales. More explicit evidence of gender is present at a nearby site. Whereas the indicators from Hanover Street are suggestive of an immigrant family, the material culture from Christ Church presents an occupation that was overwhelmingly male (see 3.2.4). Weapons, horse-equipment and gaming pieces indicates the presence of a group of soldiers, who perhaps temporarily stationed in Cork, still had a persistent appetite for the benefits of a settled existence. These would have included regular meals and drinking, gambling and varying degrees of interaction with the pre-existing population. It is possible that their presence in the town presented a threat to the women and girls of the Hiberno-Norse and Gaelic Irish settlement, who may have been used to satisfy the sexual needs of these soldiers, both against their will or perhaps for money. This was a common aspect of both new colonial encounters, and life, during volatile periods of the medieval era (e.g. Carter 1985; Gilchrist 2012, 130-1). Rape was a well-documented crime during the medieval period in the town (e.g. Cal. Justic. Rolls Ire., i, 173, 189, 317).

The impact of the colonial encounter on an individual household is evident in the archaeological record. A material example of a severed life-way is apparent in the artefact assemblage from Trench 309 Washington Street (see 3.2.2.4; 3.2.3). A whalebone chopping or smoothing board was among the Anglo-Norman level artefacts from this structure, which also produced
evidence of a literate householder in the form of a parchment pricker. These were heirloom pieces in Norse and Viking culture, and it is probable that the board had passed through several generations before it formed part of the late 12th-century equipment of a Hiberno-Norse household. Its eventual place in a distinctly Anglo-Norman assemblage suggests that the original occupants were quickly displaced from this particular house, and their previous understanding of, and connection with, their cultural heritage was permanently altered, and maybe severed for good.

By contrast, the life-way of a materially unaffected pre-existing household is indicated by the recovery of a lute-tuning peg (signifying the continued enjoyment of leisure activities) from a Hiberno-Norse house at 40-8 South Main Street (see 3.2.2.4; 3.2.3). This suggests a family that were not directly in crisis at this time. Their particular life-way was not immediately impeded by the Anglo-Norman incursion, and they may even have benefited from the change in the Hiberno-Norse social structure. Earlier evidence of children at this site (Hurley 2013, 80), indicates a continued familial group in this area, and perhaps this provided the motivation for a quick adaptation.

7.3. Late 12th century (c.1195 to c.1205)
7.3.1 Introduction
This period was the first politically stable phase of the Anglo-Norman occupation of Cork. The last decade of the 12th century started with John’s Charter of 1189 and six years later the King of Desmond, Donal MacCarthy, relinquished his claim to the town (MIA, 1196; O’Brien 1985, 46-50; see 3.2.1; 3.3.1). These events increased the confidence of the new occupants of Cork, which framed the development of the town during this period, and the settlement was reinvigorated by the legislative support from the Crown and a burgeoning feudal network in the hinterland of the town. Freed from the macro-political uncertainty which must have pervaded the first phase of the occupation, the Anglo-Normans were spurred into a new stage of consolidation and expansion conducted with an increased sense of the permanence of their new settlement. They now felt that they were in Cork to stay.

7.3.2 Societal changes
The nascent town witnessed a wide range of societal changes during this period. These were driven by a diverse set of systematic factors, which developed within a governing atmosphere of political stability. This stability meant that the terms as set out in John’s Charter of 1189, namely the guarantee of burgess rights (O’Brien 1985, 46-50), were allowed to take effect during the last decade of the 12th century. The archaeological evidence indicates that a population expansion began in the period immediately after the granting of the charter. The societal effects of this had
a significant impact on both the social organisation, and morphology of the developing town (see below, 7.3.3). The initial, and possibly rudimentary, Anglo-Norman social structure, was metaphorically ‘fleshed out’ by this new influx of burgesses. These included merchants, craft-workers and administrators who had to negotiate their place within the social and physical fabric of the new town. They achieved this by contributing to the commercial development of the town of Cork, bolstering the administrative class and opening up new trading connections from the port (see 3.3.3.2). The professional and social diversification within the new populace therefore ensured the continued commercial expansion of the town, while also consolidating the social character of their new space. The increased Anglo-Norman population created a stronger sense of identity within the town, and it became more culturally distinct as an urban space within the new colony.

The immigrant population also included a strong religious element, and the spiritual landscape of late 12th century Cork became even more Anglo-Norman in nature as a number of Anglo-Norman religious foundations were established in the space which encircled the town (see 3.3.2.4). This almost benign, but nonetheless deliberate, acculturation process which was driven by the religious expansion, represented another colonising force which resulted in effecting changes in the daily religious practices of the pre-existing population, while also proving assuredly familiar to the new burgesses. The new foundations included hospitals, churches and graveyards, thereby challenging the existing ecclesiastical social provisions, and vying for spiritual primacy among the new and old, citizens of the town (see 3.3.2.4). The leaders of the new religious orders now formed part of the growing urban elite which began to emerge in earnest during this period. The prosperity of the emerging elite is reflected in the growth of these religious houses, as much of their survival depended on endowments from their secular community. These elite continued to reside in the area around Christ Church/Hanover Street, but we also have evidence of their existence in newly improved sections of the town, in the process displacing the pre-existing occupants of these areas (see 3.3.2.6-8).

The influx of burgesses and subsequent partial displacement of the existing Hiberno-Norse must have decreased their socio-economic capital within the power structure of the developing town on the South Island. Nonetheless, the continued viability of this community was manifested by the archaeological remains from both within and outside the South Island (see 3.3.2.8). The evidence suggests that many of the Hiberno-Norse, who either left their homes voluntarily or were displaced, found a new socio-economic role in the suburb of Fayth. Here, they continued to practice their trades, and contribute to the burgeoning economy of late 12th-/early 13th-century Cork.
7.3.2 **Morphological changes**

The physical impact of the newly confident Anglo-Norman occupation was evident in the morphological changes made within the town at this time. On both a micro- and macro-spatial level, the landscape of Cork began to project the permanent intentions of the new settlers of the town (see 3.3.2.1-2). Infrastructural improvements during this period rendered the town a more attractive, and functional space in which to settle, and conduct business (see 3.3.2.3). Basic drainage systems, better ground surfaces and the upgrading of the bridge and street-network along with the expansion of a jetty on the South Island in 1197 are further indications of the growing population of the town, and their appetite and ambitions for commercial success.

Small, but significant changes were effected within the domestic spaces of the new burgesses; property boundaries were more clearly delineated, and new house-building methods were employed in response to the prevailing wet ground conditions of the South Island (40-8 South Main Street, see 3.3.2.5). Thus we see the new burgesses adapting to their environment, and responding positively to its inherent challenges (see. 3.3.2.5). Continuity of domestic settlement also appears evident in the archaeological record, both with regard to the earliest Anglo-Norman arrivals (see 3.3.2.6) and a proportion of the original Hiberno-Norse occupants of the South Island. Nonetheless, this is the first phase during which the archaeological imprint of Hiberno-Norse displacement is indicated, and it is coeval with the evidence for the beginnings of a craft-intensive occupation outside the southern bridge of the town, in the borough of the ‘Fayth’ (see 3.3.2.8). This was the earliest phase of the Hiberno-Norse/Gaelic Irish ‘artisan quarter’ whose occupants added depth to the commercial landscape of the town during the 13th century. This possible displacement of the pre-existing occupants of Cork, whether coerced or voluntary, was a macro-morphological change in the spatial order of the townscape. The process of suburbanisation instigated during the initial occupation phase was gradually, but significantly, beginning to shape the wider landscape of the town. Although this suburb is reflective of politically-sanctioned marginalisation, the archaeological evidence attests to a degree of self-sufficient prosperity among the craft-working community outside the gates.

The evolution of this Hiberno-Norse ‘artisan quarter’ is contemporary with that from other Anglo-Norman towns in Ireland (e.g. Limerick – Potter 2006, 49; Waterford - Empey 1980, 11), and as such, was part of wide ranging morphological changes that began to define the nascent settlement of Cork as a true Anglo-Norman urban space. The present writer estimates that the population was c. 800-1000 people at the time which increased the pace of morphological change. The street-scape began to resemble a typical
Anglo-Norman urban settlement, with a central spinal main street bordered by perpendicular linear plots extending back towards the town limits (see 3.3.2.3). The development of gateways and the possible construction of defensive walls gave spatial and social coherence to the urban area, while also reinforcing the hierarchical structure that drove its consolidation and continuing development. This was part of the overall erection of permanent Anglo-Norman landscape features (also including religious foundations) around parameters of the incipient town, which belied the intentions of the new settlers regarding their new urban space (see 3.3.2.1). They were there to stay, they were going to build and improve the town, they were going to be secure and offer a safe harbour to sailors and merchants and they were going to be successful in all of these goals.

### 7.3.4 Life-ways

A gendered and domestically orientated presence became evident in the previously male-dominated site at Christ Church by the end of the 12th century (see 3.3.2.5; 3.3.3). Casket fragments and stickpins (hairpins) indicates the movement of families into this area, as the past occupants either moved on, or decided to remain at this location and settle in this emerging town. The continued recovery of gaming pieces suggests that it remained a focal point for societal interaction, but at this time it may have related to mixing between families or even courtship among the newly-arrived burgesses as they attempted to create new ties, and to embed themselves into the fabric of the town (e.g. Gilchrist 2012, 153). The local movement of families is also apparent in the material culture from Barrack Street/French’s Quay in the ‘Fayth’, where the increased recovery of female personal effects, in association with heirloom craft-working pieces shows how family groups transitioned to a different part of the town and attempted to continue with their life-courses as defined by previous generations (see 3.3.2.8; 3.3.3).

### 7.4 Early to mid-13th century (c. 1205- c.1240)

#### 7.4.1 Introduction

The sense of geo-political calm that facilitated the early growth of the town during the previous period continued during the first half of the 13th century. The urban space became more clearly defined, and within it, the population grew, both in confidence and in number. During this period, both societal and morphological foundations were laid which would influence and encourage the future growth of the town. This was the first real phase of urbanisation in the settlement, and the Anglo-Norman ideal for ‘civilising’ Ireland proceeded towards a reality at this time.
7.4.2 Societal changes

The societal changes that came into effect at this time were to define the social organisation of the town during the remainder of the high-medieval era. Distinct social groupings began to emerge, supported by a strengthened administrative and structural framework (see 4.1). This increased sophistication of the social landscape was indicative of a town that was detaching itself from its previous incarnation as a ‘garrison town’ and emerging as a corporate entity in its own right. The power structure within Cork devolved socially downwards and the basic bureaucracy of the town was increasingly administered by burgesses drawn from within the town, rather than Crown-appointed town governors (drawn from the aristocratic stratum of society) and their descendants (O’Brien 1985, 60-3). Early colonial periods are often characterised by their inherent opportunities for social mobility (e.g. Lightfoot 2004, 213-7), and it seems that early 13th-century Cork was no exception. A guild system was introduced which codified the social and occupational standing of the artisans and craft-workers of the town and granted them a more permanent and potent sense of place within the new settlement (see 4.1). The administrators of the town now had physical spaces from which they could operate and manage the municipal and financial affairs of the urban space and its port. The improved port (see 4.2.4) increased the influx of both people and goods into the town, and the agricultural surplus that was being generated by the hinterland was exported to locations in Britain and Northwest Europe. These activities required a stratum of society to manage the revenue generated by the port, and translate these gains into infrastructural and municipal improvements (see 4.1; 4.2.5). The presence of foreign merchants in the town increased the range of goods utilised and enjoyed by its citizens, and the occupants of the town became more urbanised, and possibly cosmopolitan in their relationship with each other, and their wider environment.

The commercial success generated during this period meant that wealth was now becoming a factor in the sociological evolution of the town. We see the first evidence of wealth at this stage, coupled with emergence of a more clearly delineated class system in which the Anglo-Norman citizens of Cork occupied increasingly defined occupational roles (see 4.2.3 and 4.2.4). The wealth of the town is also indicated by the emergence of two new religious foundations at this time, both vying for the spiritual dominion of town’s inhabitants, regardless of cultural background or social status (see 4.2.2).

The development of the North Island as an Anglo-Norman suburb reflects the increase in new burgesses that were arriving into the town, who established homes in this area and within the South Island (see 4.2.8.1). This factor, along with the construction of the town wall (see 4.2.3), resulted in what the present writer understands to be the final displacement phase of the
original Hiberno-Norse occupants of the town to the ‘Fayth’. Developments within the walled town meant that their previous life-ways were too impeded to continue to live comfortably within this space. These families possibly moved out to the ‘Fayth’ where they continued to participate in the economy of the now-thriving settlement (see 4.2.8.4). The social cohesion amongst Cork’s inhabitants, both outside and inside the town walls became more defined during this period, and the archaeological evidence indicates that both groupings enjoyed degrees of prosperity across their social strata.

7.4.3 **Morphological changes**

The morphological changes undertaken across the town of Cork during this period were critical in shaping the future social landscape of the town. Whereas previous structural advances in the town were concerned with the basic consolidation and improvement of the urban space, the morphological alterations of the first half of the 13th century were a physical projection of Cork’s burgeoning administrative and commercial strength (see 4.2.1; 4.2.3). The micro-changes apparent in the archaeological record reveal the extent of the immigration of new burgesses into the town at this time, along with showing their process of adaptation to their new environment (see 4.2.2). New houses were constructed on both islands of the town, and the developments in house styles indicated the ambitions for permanent settlement on the part of Cork’s fresh citizens (see 4.2.8.1; 4.2.8.4). The expansion of the town into the North Island created a new suburb, but one with a far greater degree of socio-cultural security than that outside the South Gate of the town. This suburb represented success and commercial expansion, not the marginalisation of a pre-existing populace (see 4.2.8.4). The quantity of plots and plot boundaries expanded rapidly at this time. Along with reflecting the population increase, the ordered delineation of the properties was indicative of a higher degree of municipal control within the town. The municipal government of Cork became more centralised during this period and were accommodated in a range of permanent stone structures located at the new core of the developing town (see 4.2.2.3 and 4.2.2.4). This straddled the newly improved port of the town, now delimited by quay walls and functioning as a significant trading base on the south-west coast of Ireland (see 4.2.4). The historical sources indicate that guildhalls and a tholsel was established in this area during the first half of the 13th century, and the physical associations of the commercial class now began to define the urban landscape (see 4.2.5).

The most potent morphological change enacted at this time was the construction of the town wall around the South Island (see 4.2.3). The societal reverberations of its erection were fundamental to the evolution of the future social structure(s) of the town. The walls reinforced the hierarchy of both the Crown and town, and strengthened the physical and geo-political
presence of Cork in its wider landscape. The enclosing of the town gave confidence to its Anglo-Norman dwellers, and increased a sense of social cohesion among them which was crucial for the continued success of the settlement. The impact of the town wall on the remaining Hiberno-Norse residents of the town was not so positive. This new stone structure completely severed their physical connection with the sea, and multiplied the hurdles they were required to negotiate to conduct business on their own terms. This was probably responsible for the final exodus of the original occupants of the town to the borough of ‘Fayth’ and possibly further afield (see 4.2.8.4). Nonetheless, micro-morphological changes in that area indicate that a functioning degree of municipal control was active here, and the socio-economic position of the residents possibly remained relatively strong. Overall, the pace of morphological change to the townscape at this time reflects the strength, and skills, of the workforce of the town, and the increasingly organised and centralised urban government that was responsible for its direction.

7.4.4 Life-ways
Women and children become more conspicuous in the archaeological record from this period. Evidence of spinning, weaving and net-braiding, occupations associated with medieval women are particularly evident in the material culture assemblage from Christ Church (see 4.3.1). These were jobs that medieval women could do to earn a piecemeal living, or occasionally transition into a self-sufficient professional role (Gilchrist 2012, 130). In the context of the site at Christ Church, which produced irregular evidence of a good quality of life, it seems possible that that it was the latter at play and the women at this site were actively contributing to the economy of the household. The quantity of textile working implements may even suggest that it was a space where women could gather, work and interact while at the same time supplementing the income of their families.

The general increase of wealth in the town at this time must have increased the opportunities for children in the town. The increased sophistication of the craft-working organisation opened up apprenticeship places for the boys (see 4.1). The foundation of new religious houses also established a route to education and occupation for the young males of the town, and possibly some of the young women (Gilchrist 2012, 51-4; see 4.2.2). The growing diversity of trades provided more professional roles for women, particularly with regard to baking, brewing and service, which were occupations particularly associated with the urban medieval female population (ibid.).
Chapter 7

7.5 Mid- to late 13th century (c. 1240-c. 1290)

7.5.1 Introduction
The period following the granting of Henry III charter in 1242 is arguably the most economically successful time in Cork’s high-medieval history (see 5.1). The charter legitimised the societal framework of the town, granting its citizens increased financial autonomy and the power to police their own domain (O’Brien 1985, 48-56). This was granted against a background of geo-political stability which fostered a productive hinterland, the surpluses of which fed an appetite for Irish exports across the pan-Norman world. The ensuing commercial and legislative security generated a confidence among the citizens of the town that allowed the urban space to expand and reach its potential as a settlement. The societal response to this expansion created a social structure that was to have a lasting impact on the landscape of the town throughout the remaining medieval period.

7.5.2 Societal changes
The societal changes that came into effect during the previous period became more embedded into the social structure of the town during the latter half of the 13th century. The framework for social organisation that was laid down in the early 1200s was codified and expanded on following the 1242 re-granting of the charter of the town (see 5.1). This gave legislative support to the emerging mercantile elite of the town, and allowed them the power to shape the physical and social landscape of the town directly from that period onwards. The charter also broadened the range of roles within the municipal government of the town; this now included provosts, fee farm collectors, judicial overseers, sheriffs and a range of clerks to manage the daily needs of this new centralised town administration. This devolution of town-control from the Crown meant that the mercantile elite of the town could now fulfil a variety of roles within its government, but the reality seems that multiple roles may have been filled by the same group of people (see 5.1 and 6.1), thereby concentrating power in the town into the hands of a few leading families. These were drawn from the original pool of burgesses that arrived during the late 12th and early 13th century, and not it seems, from the heirs of the first Anglo-Norman lords who continued to operate from their rural manors at this time. The archaeological evidence presents a positive view of the structural impact that this government had on the town (see below), but it also attests to their wealth, and their hoarding of same, possibly with the intent of consolidating their status and engineering longevity for their heirs within the power structure of the town (see 5.2.3; 5. 2.10.4).

Among the craft-working class of the town we see more craft-specialisation, and more formalised occupational communities within the town. Immigration into the town continued. It has been argued (e.g. O’Keeffe
1998; Hennessey 1996) that the late 13th century saw substantial Anglo-
Norman (English) immigration into the rural boroughs and manors of the
Anglo-Norman nobility. Therefore, it seems likely that a sizeable amount of
new burgesses were also making their way to Cork at this time. The town
was now home to a set of self-identifying professional groups whose skills
had been used to create and shape the town-space (see 5.2.10). Many of
these were the families of burgesses that had arrived during the late 12th
and early 13th century, and they were thereby fundamentally connected to the
town. A strong degree of social cohesion among the Anglo-Norman
occupants further contributed to the sense of political calm across the town
that allowed for significant commercial progress. The wealth this generated
is evident across the archaeological record. We see the grand houses of the
mercantile elite, emulating the lordly life-ways of the contemporary nobility
(see 5.2.10.8). The prosperity of the artisan and craft-working class is also
apparent (5.2.10.7). There are also traces of the poverty at this time, and the
success of the town must have attracted less well-off migrants from the
hinterland and beyond, some of whom may not have benefited personally
from the wealth of the town (5.2.10.2; 5.2.10.9). These people may have
included the tenants of the borough of the ‘Fayth’, clustered around the base
of Barrack Street at the time (see 5.2.12). The evidence indicates that this
settlement was no longer commercially necessary to the success of the town
at this time, which prompted an egress of the craft-workers of the ‘Fayth’ to
an unknown different location (5.2.12). It is possible that a small number of
the most successful Hiberno-Norse families were able to find a home in the
North Island of the town, however the eventual fate of many of these people
is not known.

7.5.3 Morphological changes
The physical imprint of the morphological changes enacted during this
period of the town’s history is still apparent in the contemporary street-
scape (Fig. 7.1). This demonstrates how successful the instigators of these
changes were in their creation of the future identity and success of the town.
This also reflects the confidence they displayed in the physical
developments of the period and their conviction regarding their aspirations
for the settlement. The impact of the newly-centralised government is
evidence on both a micro- and macro-morphological scale. An intensive
phase of stone-built housing development on both islands demonstrated the
spending power that was enjoyed by the mercantile elite, the artisanal/craft-
working classes and the lesser town administrators of the period (see
5.2.10). This was also indicated by the expansion and improvement of
existing properties on the South Island (see 5.2.10.2).

A general improvement in the infrastructure of Cork raised the quality of
life among the burgesses of the town (see 5.2.6-7). The street and laneways
surfaces were improved and kept clean, public areas were created, and drainage systems were built in an attempt to alleviate the underlying wet conditions of Cork. These changes were the work of a newly centralised municipal government that was concerned with the general upkeep and maintenance of the town, but also with the creation of an urban space commensurate with their commercial ambitions, and reflective of the current success. The physical elements of the municipality began to increasingly dominate the street-scape at this time, and must have included upgrades to the castles of the town along with their personal places of business and collegiality (see 5.2.1-2). The religious landscape of the town

Fig. 7.1 Looking south onto the medieval core of Cork. The island settlement is apparent in the centre-ground, and the line of the old town wall is clearly delineated by a ring of streets around the old North and South Islands. Shandon and North Gate Bridge are in the foreground, and Barrack Street and the area of the ‘Fayth’ are in the background. (Photograph Tomás Tyner, reproduced from Hurley 2005b, 65)
expanded, and the citizens were now presented with more options to satiate their spiritual appetites, and offer repositories for the increasing wealth that most classes of the town were now enjoying (see 5.2.3). The increased proliferation of religious houses outside the walled town created a diffuse, permeable boundary between the town and its hinterland. The cultural breath of the town was now solidly embedded within a wider landscape, which demonstrates the stability of the relationship between the agriculturally productive hinterland and its town and its citizens.

The wealth of the town and its increasing sense of social cohesion were cemented by the completion of the circuit of the town walls around both islands of the town at this time (see 5.2.4). This was part of a general macro-spatial alteration to the town that also included the development of communal spaces and amenities for the benefit of those within the town walls (5.2.4; 5.2.6; 5.2.7). While these morphological changes had a positive impact on the citizens of the islands, the enclosing of the town reinforced the marginalisation of those residing outside its south gate. The permanent alteration of the townscape into an integrated spatial unit completed the gradual process of suburbanisation of the pre-existing populace that had been on-going since the initial Anglo-Norman incursion into the town (see 5.2.12). This now became a fringe settlement and the absence of significant industrial evidence suggests that the community at the base of Barrack Street took on a less commercially significant role than the remainder of the urban settlement. Both the historical and archaeological records attest to a depletion in the economic success of this zone, and perhaps attest to a more typical ‘fringe’ settlement, perhaps home to the poor, the lepers and other undesirable elements of the town life (5.2.12). This activity has been noted from similar suburbs from the medieval period (in Wales and Ireland e.g. Lilley 2000). It is likely that the society in the fringe community at Barrack Street in the ‘Fayth’ was becoming more fractured at this time, as the remaining populace lost their autonomy. They were now dependent on the burgesses of the town for their livelihoods, a direct contradiction of the self-sufficiency demonstrated in the archaeological record for the previous period.

7.5.4 Life-ways
The developing morphology of the town would have provided new spaces for women at this time. The success of the economy must have attracted migrants and immigrants into the town. The increase of multi-storey housing, both at the street front and along the laneways may have housed these new migrants. It is possible that many of these comprised groups of women, probably uneducated, who worked in service, or possibly in food-production roles, at this time.
Individual occupational life-ways are evident from the material culture of two sites which date to this period. The distinct personal tastes of a household were evident in the mid-13\textsuperscript{th}-century material culture from Washington Street. Here, a range of horse-related artefacts, including hasp and buckle, shears, a zoomorphic stick pins depicting horses heads were recovered from a single context (see 5.3.4). Fragments from a high leather boot, of a type commonly worn by travelling merchant during the period, suggested that these pieces were the personal property of a male who strongly identified with his professional role. He may have been a ‘grey merchant’, who travelled into the interior of the colony to trade with the Anglo-Norman and Gaelic lords, burgesses and others in the hinterland. The household of a fisherman was tentatively identified a Kyrl’s Quay/North Main Street, and implements associated with net repair were found in the refuse associated with the occupation (see 5.3.4). This provides a clear image of a family whose life revolved around the safety of the main earner, who was engaged in a dangerous occupation, possibly deep-sea fishing. It is easy to imagine the prayers and devotions offered by this family for the consistent safe return of the family member, or members, engaged in this pursuit (for a discussion on the impact of this occupation on the family of a medieval fisherman see Stallibrass 2007).

The importance of religion in the medieval life-course is infrequently indicated by the material culture from Cork. An exception was the recovery of a complete amber paternoster from a refuse dump at Grand Parade II (see 5.3.4). In a life in which religious worship played a daily role, the loss of this item must have been considerable for its original owner. An emulation of liturgical practices is suggested by the recovery of a ceramic aquamanile from Christ Church, Area H (see 5.3.5). Using this piece was possibly a socially-aspirant gesture on the parts of the occupants of the site, as they attempt to copy the dining habits of the elite and religious in their own home, albeit expressed through a much cheaper medium. Alternatively, this may represent the deliberate inviting of liturgical behaviour into the house as a means of prayer and devotion at significant periods of the family’s life-course. These may have related to celebrations of birth, marriage and possibly death, which were intrinsically linked to religious beliefs at the time (Gilchrist 2012, 169-200).

The improvement in the quality of the urban female life-way may be indicated by a series of weaving and sewing implements recovered from the stone houses at Grattan Street, Washington Street and Phillips’ Lane (see 5.3.5). In the contexts of their retrieval (see 5.2.10.8), they were suggestive of leisure-time activities. These finds attest to the emergence of new class of medieval women in the town during this period, who had the time to sew and interact with each other within comfortable and private spaces. A less
pleasant life-way for women may be tentatively suggested by the group of artefacts from the base of Barrack Street. Here, the recovery of a tavern token, and copper alloy personal effects suggested that life at the margins of the town was less regulated and possibly a more dangerous place for women at the period. It may have been the site of taverns and cheaper hostelries, and its proximity to the hospitals that administered to the poor (see 5.2.3), may have attracted vagrants to the area. Traditionally the fringes of suburban settlements were associated with illegal activities and prostitution (Lilley 2000, 520), and this may have been the life-way for some of the women in this area of the town.

7.6 Late 13th to early 14th century (c. 1290-c.1310)

7.6.1 Introduction
This was the last great period of sustained commercial success in high-medieval Cork. The town was now an established part of the pan-Norman urban network, and a fundamental element of the Irish Anglo-Norman political and economic framework. At this time, the citizens of Cork were enjoying the gains of the 13th-century financial expansion, and both the societal and morphological landscapes of the town demonstrate their responses to the socio-economic environment this created.

7.6.2 Societal changes
Societal changes were not as profound during this period as those that preceded the closing years of the 13th century. Instead we see the social organisation of the town becoming more entrenched, as each productive stratum of society consolidated their standing in the social structure. The mercantile elite grew wealthier during this period, as they continued to benefit from their powerful positions within the municipal government. By comparison with the previous period, the wealth of the elite becomes more conspicuous in the social and physical landscape of the town. Their political positions now transcended their home town and members of the elite were now being engaged in national, and international (at the time) roles (6.1). They increasingly used their financial gains to cultivate favour with both the religious and the citizens of the town (6.2.2). It is possible that this reflects a commensurate increase in wealth of the artisan and craft-working class at the time, and the elite were pushed into more conspicuous demonstrations of opulence in order to secure their continuing status in the town (see 6.3-4). Generous endowments to the church can be seen a part of continuing process to keep the powerful religious leaders on-side, in the face of challenges from newly wealthy usurpers, and possibly from outside the town (see 6.2.2). The church was a key ally for the elite, as its attitudes were essential in shaping the worldview of its contemporary congregation. The growing wealth of the lower-ranking burgesses must have increased the urban oligarchy’s appetite for more political control over the urban area, but
it seems likely that the social boundaries were becoming less permeable at this time. These citizens may have had to wait until the politically unstable years of the early to mid-14th century created fractures in the social order which they were then able to rise through (see 6.7).

There seems to have been a small degree of continued immigration into the town during this period. Although foreign merchants came and went, and the town was still part of a larger trading community, the population itself may have started to stabilise by the early 14th century. The density of housing suggested by the archaeological record has suggested to the present writer that between c.2000 and c.2500 people may have lived in the town at this time, which is a substantial amount considering that the walled town was just 14 hectares in area. It seems that what had previously been an open society, at least to new Anglo-Norman burgesses, was now becoming more closed and insular. This may not have been a negative experience for the town as an entity. It engendered increased social cohesion and the town became more unified, metaphorically and practically, in its economic outlook (see 6.1; 6.8). The degree of inter-marriage among the citizens, along with the strategic occupational roles fulfilled by the various members of the trading families (6.1), ensured collectiveness among the population that was critical to guaranteeing its future success. This fostered a strong level of communality within the walled town which was apparent in its morphology (see below, this section).

The sociology of the marginal areas of the ‘Fayth’ is difficult to detect in the archaeological record of this time (see 5.2.12; 6.3.2). Trace evidence from this period indicates continuity among the settlement in this location, in its incarnation as a marginal space (see 6.3.2). At this time, the citizens of the walled town, and those of a similar cultural background in the extra-mural area, had become ‘Cork people’. The town had evolved to its high-medieval zenith in terms of social organisation and spatial presence.

7.6.3 Morphological changes

A similarity is apparent between the societal and morphologies changes which formed the social and physical landscape of the town during this period. The morphology of the late 13th- to early 14th-century town reflects the drive towards consolidation that was apparent in the social organisation of Cork at this time. Micro-spatial changes were evident in the households of the mercantile elite and the lower-ranking traders, artisans and administrators of the period (see 6.2.8). The archaeological record shows modifications to, and an improvement of, existing house structures, but very little evidence of expansion is apparent. The citizens were utilising the physicality of their households and business premises to project their
continuing status onto the townscape, and ensure that their standing in the
town was visible to each other, and the citizenry at large.

The infrastructural changes of the period also reflect the increased social
cohesion of the settlement, and the sense of communality that was
generated, and facilitated, by these spaces and amenities. New drainage
systems and an improvement to the water-supply (see 6.2.5) ensured an
increase in the quality of life for the productive class of society.
Communality is also apparent in the spatial ordering of the townscape, and
more open areas were developed. Street-surfaces and laneways were
improved which facilitated easier routes of access through the town (see
6.2.6; 6.2.7), benefiting both trade and the daily lives of the inhabitants of
the walled town. This improved physical network can be interpreted as
indicative of the increased unity of the citizens of Cork, and as their
interpersonal relationships became more pronounced, so did the ease with
which they could navigate the town, and communicate with each other.

Morphologically, the town wall continued to present Cork as a strong,
unified corporate entity within its wider landscape (see 6.2.3). The wall
continued to be amended and repaired during this period. Within the walls,
the structure of the town was increasing in quality, with regard to both
domestic and commercial spaces (see 6.2.9). As the period under current
discussion came to its end, it is possible that the town wall was once again
regarded as a defensive feature (see 6.2.3). It is difficult to state whether the
perceived threat came from outside the town at this time, or whether the
wall was regarded as a demonstration of unified strength in the face of
gathering economic insecurity, consolidating the commercial identity of the
town in its wider trading landscape (see 6.8). The wall, and the safe harbour
at its core, was totemic to the continued commercial success of the town.
Spatially, the town had reached its peak. As its occupants prepared to me
et the challenges of the later 14th century (see 6.8), they were equipped with a
high-quality town, structurally-sound and expressive of both the individual
and collective previous successes of its occupants.

7.6.4 Life-ways
Indicators in the material culture from North Gate (see 6.3.1) suggest that
women continued to be productive in the economy of the town at this time.
The baking and food-preparation industries at this site may have contained a
largely female work-force, and the material culture from this site shows that
they contributed to a good quality of life for the households that they helped
to support. Gaming pieces were related to leisure time in the households and
possible cordiality between groups of neighbours or courtship among young
people of the community (Gilchrist 2012; 173). The ambition of this
household with regard to educating their children may be demonstrated by
the retrieval or a parchment pricker at the site (see 6.3.2). As well as bookkeeping within the property, this artefact could also relate to teaching a child to read and write, essential skills if they were going to progress beyond the artisan class and possibly enter the clergy, or secure their own place within a guild.

The marriage rituals, and their intrinsic relationship with contemporary religious iconography and practice, were manifest in a copper-alloy mount from a marriage casket. This was possibly associated with the high-status mercantile occupation at Grattan Street, and as such, may have contained the dowry of a daughter of the contemporary urban elite of Cork (see 6.3.2). This relates to the role women played in forging ties between business families of the period, and the social currency these unions brought into play. It does not reflect female autonomy or freedom of choice, but in some instances these marriages were essential to the maintenance of living standards and status in well-placed families, and represented a positive option for females at the time. The historical records do, however, indicate a certain degree of autonomy among women when it came to asserting their proprietorial rights. At least two documented court cases of this period detailed women suing for their rights of ownership to messuages inside and outside of the town (Cal. Justic. Rolls Ire., i, 15, 38).

The early to mid-14th century in Cork is often presented by historians as the beginning of a great decline in the town’s economic, and therefore societal, success (e.g. O’Brien 1985, 60-1; Clarke 2000, 168-9). The archaeological evidence doesn’t present quite such a negative picture. Although the financial challenges of the 14th century are apparent, this doesn’t imply a catastrophe, or a desertion. The town survived, and thrived again a century later, and has emerged as the second town of Ireland.

7.7 Conclusion
The above discussion has shown the rich potential of Cork’s urban archaeological record. A high-resolution analysis of the historical and archaeological data from the Anglo-Norman town produced a more nuanced narrative than had been previously credited to this phase of Cork’s past. The present research has demonstrated that the quality of the archaeological record allows for the implementation of an interrogative approach that can produce significant statements on the social archaeology of this period. This is the first time the archaeological and historical sources from Cork have been combined and collectively studied, and this thesis represents a new interpretation of the town’s history and archaeology from c.1171 to c. 1315. By using a very strict temporally-defined interrogative approach to the research, the present writer was able to identify key societal and morphological signatures in the record which were critical in shaping the
evolution of the Anglo-Norman town. By undertaking this approach within a multi-disciplinary context, it was possible to determine nuances within the evidence that had been previously undetected. The Anglo-Norman development of Cork occurred over a historically dense period of c.150 years. It was driven by a range of systematic factors which comprised prevailing geo-political, socio-economic, technological and environmental conditions which formed potent agents of change. The societal and morphological changes that were effected by these factors proceeded at various paces during this period, but collectively and accumulatively they produced a thriving town, with a clear identity and place in the contemporary landscape. A wooden garrison town transitioned into an urban space which was defined and delimited by stone edifices, and the townscape was home to a socio-economically diverse population, mainly Anglo-Norman in composition, whose fortunes and aspirations shaped the physicality of the town. By the end of the Anglo-Norman period, Cork was powerful in its morphological, political and commercial presence, and the Anglo-Norman ideal of ‘civilising’ the area had become a reality.
Chapter 8 - Conclusion

8.1 Introduction
This thesis is a high-resolution investigation of the archaeological evidence from Anglo-Norman Cork. Using a research framework informed by social archaeological theories, I have integrated the archaeological data with the contemporary sources and layered the results with considerations derived from pertinent studies within the fields of history, historical geography and archaeology. The outcome comprises a compound and temporally-ordered interpretation of the societal and morphological development of the townscape of Cork from c.1170 to c. 1315. This is the first time such a study has been completed on Anglo-Norman Cork, or in an Irish urban medieval context.

The research aim was to establish a multi-faceted understanding of Cork’s Anglo-Norman period by investigating the social morphology and life-ways of Anglo-Norman Cork. I wanted to test how much the archaeological data could tell us about the human experience of the town during this period. The synthesised approach undertaken for this study has hopefully fulfilled this aim. By setting the data within strict temporal parameters, the present writer has identified both collective and individual human agents within the late 12th-to early 14th-century town, who directed its socio-cultural and socio-economic evolution throughout the Anglo-Norman period of Cork’s history. The central research question asked what were the societal structures and the nature of social differentiation in Anglo-Norman Cork as evidenced through the archaeological record. The present study has identified the composition of these societal structures and how their reactions to drivers for change are manifested in the archaeological evidence of the period.

8.2 Key findings
The key findings from this study relate to different elements of the social archaeology of Cork during the Anglo-Norman period. The diverse nature of the findings is a reflection of the breadth of information that can be garnered through the research approach undertaken for this thesis.

8.2.1 The quality of the outcome
An interrogative analysis of the existing archaeological and historic data has identified a far more nuanced representation of Cork’s Anglo-Norman period that has been previously recognised in published studies of the city (e.g. Hurley 2003; Jefferies 2004). It has been possible to trace the socio-economic and cultural evolution of the Anglo-Norman town in a detailed and multi-faceted manner. This shows the potential of the existing archaeological record to act as a significant resource for the study of past
development. The present research has demonstrated that the archaeological data is undoubtedly more potent when assessed as part of a multi-disciplinary approach which considers input from the fields of history and geography. By layering these sources, it was possible to determine temporal parameters that allowed for a coherent synthesis of data. Within these set periods, the various drivers for change that determine societal structure and progress were identified in the archaeological evidence. The compound result was a comprehensive understanding of the development of the urban settlement of Cork during the Anglo-Norman period.

8.2.2 The Anglo-Norman take-over of the Hiberno-Norse town
The results of the analysis of this period of Cork’s history (c.1170-1196) have challenged the accepted narrative that the transition from Hiberno-Norse to Anglo-Norman control was exceptionally traumatic for the pre-existing lower-status citizens of the town. It had previously been determined that these occupants were banished from the town in the immediate wake of the Anglo-Norman incursion (Jefferies 1985; Jefferies 2004; Hurley 2005). The present research has shown strong evidence that the Hiberno-Norse artisan class continued to exist and work, and possibly benefit from the new occupation. This may have happened through the forming of relationships (both economic and possibly marital) with the new administrators and occupants of the town. It is very likely that the skillset of the Hiberno-Norse (both in craft and engineering) and knowledge of trade-networks and the local area would have been appreciated and utilised by the new Anglo-Norman inhabitants, particularly during the years prior to the immigration of skilled Anglo-Norman burgesses from England and North-West Europe to the town.

8.2.3 The societal structure of medieval Cork
Archaeological evidence can undoubtedly attest to the existence of social hierarchies within Anglo-Norman Cork. When the data was assessed as part of a multi-disciplinary approach, the development and evolution of these hierarchies was apparent, along with indications of the period during which they were at their most successful. The research determined the archaeological and historic signatures of five social strata within the society of the Anglo-Norman town as it reached its economic zenith in the latter half of the 13th century.

These five identified strata comprised:
1. The Nobility/Anglo-Norman Elite— these were Anglo-Norman nobility and knights, that were enfoeffed in the hinterland of the town and beyond. In the early years of the Anglo-Norman occupation they ruled over the town but as the town became more autonomous during the 13th century, they no longer dictated its political or commercial affairs.
2. The Mercantile Elite/Urban Patriciate – this was the social grouping that permeated social boundaries from the early 13th century onwards, and who ultimately decided the fate of the town. They were largely comprised of successful merchant burgesses who lived within the walled town. This group also included the high-ranking members of the clergy.

3. Skilled craft-workers and administrators – this grouping comprised the members of the artisanal guilds, high-ranking clerks and educated members of the clergy of the town. They played an active role in the town’s lower-level administration, and lived generally prosperous lives.

4. The working poor – this stratum includes lower level craft-workers, traders, those in service and similar movable trades. Their signature on the record was not as strong as the previous two groups, but they are apparent in the evidence nonetheless.

5. The poor, the infirm and the destitute – this group consists of the least economically successful grouping of the town, who did not lead independent lives. Their archaeological signature is faint and they mostly survive as vague references in the historic sources and through the establishment of hospitals to treat their ailments.

8.2.4 Living standards of the lower-ranking artisanal and lesser merchant burgesses

The results of the archaeological analyses conclusively identified a good standard of life among the artisans, craft-workers, lesser merchants and administrators of Cork’s Anglo-Norman society. These are the people that are seldom represented in the Irish documentary sources. The research findings challenged the popular media-driven narrative of the ‘medieval malnourished poor’, and indicate that a majority among Cork’s mid-13th- to early 14th-century lower-ranking citizens were prosperous, self-sufficient and had a good quality of life, some disposable income and time for leisure activities. Many were literate and socially aspirant for their offspring.

8.2.5 Spatial considerations of the Anglo-Norman town

The evolution of Anglo-Norman Cork can be traced through an analysis of the micro- and macro-spatial ordering of the town’s structures and landscape. Different spaces had diverse uses and occupational associations. They reflected the social entities that created, moulded and utilised these spaces. The way these spaces evolved over time can be used, separately and collectively, to trace the socio-cultural and socio-economic development of Cork during the Anglo-Norman period.

8.3 Limiting factors

A number of limiting factors presented hurdles to be overcome during the research process. These involved both qualitative and practical aspects of the data-set and comprised:
1. There were qualitative issues with a number of excavation reports analysed for the purposes of the research. The standard across the published resource was uneven. The differing levels of interpretation of both individual features, and entire sites meant the present writer had to completely re-interpret, or interpret for the first time, the archaeological remains from a good proportion of the Cork’s archaeological record. The quality of the illustrations within the reports resulted in difficulties when integrating the textual descriptions and depictions of the archaeological evidence. There was also a noted absence of integration between the stratigraphic discussions and the results of the specialist analyses. In many cases, it was not possible to match contextual information between these separate sections. The unpublished excavation reports also had significant qualitative discrepancies. On a practical level, a number of these were missing plans, figures and information outside the basic stratigraphic descriptions. The fractured nature of Irish commercial archaeology following the Celtic Tiger implosion has negatively impacted on the quality of the existing record. In some cases the archaeological information from particular sites is housed in several different locations by different people and organisations, and unfortunately some material has been lost forever.

2. The second limiting factor relates to the current legislative standing of the post-excavation record. Table 8.1 outlines the current legal and policy guidelines that govern the submission and publication of archaeological excavation reports. Unfortunately these guidelines are not enforced. In a legal situation that makes the archaeological licensee (site director) responsible for the archive, and the developer/funder remains detached from the outcome, the archaeological material usually suffers. This has been a particular profound effect of the Irish construction ‘bust’, and developer-funding has not materialised, or it has been re-directed by archaeological companies to meet demands (i.e. wages) unrelated to the post-excavation process. In terms of the current research, this meant that results of one excavated site in the city could not be accessed, and that no post-excavation work, with the exception of a basic stratigraphic summary, had been completed on one further site (4 Barrack Street). At least three more unpublished sites contained little more than the stratigraphic report and an analysis of ceramic material (St Francis’s Car Park, Trench 309 Washington Street, Cork Main Drainage Scheme excavations). Interestingly the latter two sites were funded by the local Cork City Corporation. This indicates that neither government-led, nor private funding has been prioritised for the adequate post-excavation analysis of archaeological investigations. Grants from the Heritage Council of Ireland and University College Cork have allowed for the recent and forthcoming publications of sites that remained
unassessed since 1984 (Cleary and Hurley 2003; Brett and Hurley forthcoming).

3. The means of accessing unpublished excavation reports is arduous. The National Monuments section of the Department of Environment, Heritage and Local Government retains copies of all completed excavation reports at its office in Dublin. Regardless of publication status, excavation reports produced prior to 1999 are the copyright of the licence holder and cannot be quoted without permission from the author/s (Johnson 2000). Reports submitted after May 1999 are subject to the Policy and Guidelines on Archaeological Excavation issued by the Department, which state that 'after a period of three years from the completion of the on-site phase of an excavation the Department may decide without consultation to provide access to the final report'. The National Monuments and Historic Properties Service states that consultation of excavation reports held in their offices is offered 'solely to allow archaeologists to look at unpublished material in order to plan meaningful excavation strategies for nearby or analogous sites (ibid.). It is also possible to access this information for research purposes, however, permission from the original authors must be granted before these reports can be cited in an academic work. This can be logistically difficult in the absences of forwarding addresses and current contact details for the relevant archaeologists.

4. The accepted chronologies for the high-medieval period have proved far too broad to be used to provide a nuanced analysis of the archaeological evidence. The majority of Cork’s, and indeed Ireland’s, urban medieval excavations have been designated ‘13th/14th-century’ dates. This is a consistent feature of most Irish urban medieval excavations, and as such, has made direct comparisons between the evolution of such sites problematic, and in most cases, impossible. The stratigraphic results from just a single site (Tuckey Street - O’Donnell 2003a) were discussed according to the temporal periods as utilised in this research. The presented a challenge to the present writer with regard to re-contextualising the almost complete archaeological data-set of Anglo-Norman Cork within series of set temporal parameters.

5. The final limiting factor and perhaps the largest practical challenge of the research, was the size of the archaeological record. The volume of material was over 5,000 separate pages of text and graphics. This had to be disentangled and re-integrated as part of the research. The task of decoding such a large volume of data, that had to be broken apart and re-built, was at times, overwhelming. Determining a coherent narrative from this data was time-consuming and occasionally difficult, but the present writer hopes that the archaeological record for this period of Cork’s history now has been given a clearer structure and framework.
8.4 Future research directions

The quality of the outcome of the present research has suggested a number of future research directions which could potentially employ the type of high-resolution approach undertaken for this thesis. In the absence of similar previous studies in Ireland to date, the entire Irish medieval excavation dataset can considered suitable for such research.
It would be useful to complete this type of research on the remaining Anglo-Norman-founded towns of Ireland. This would investigate the evolution of, and the socio-economic and potentially ethnic factors that shaped, the development of these towns. Such studies would sit comfortably within existing research frameworks in England, particularly with regard to establishing settlement patterns and urban hierarchies, and explore the role of consumerism and craft-specialisation in 12th to 14th-century England and Europe (see Condron et al. 2002, 27-32 for further urban research themes).

Employing the model used in this thesis to address the regional, and national, urban landscapes of medieval Ireland could also provide evidence of regional variations in both the form and functions of these towns, and identify specific local dynamics (whether political, religious, agricultural or geographic) which impacted their foundation and subsequent development. Although the indicators used in this model are specific to Cork (see Appendices 1-3), with research they can be amended for other towns. A good discussion of the general potential of the various branches of archaeological evidence is put forward by Whyman and Perring (2002). Aspects from the discipline of historical geography, particularly those focussed on the intricacies of medieval town-plan analysis (e.g. Lilley 2007) would provide added information on both the physicality, and physical development, of the medieval towns and could be usefully integrated into the research model. A study such as this can establish evidence of wealth, status and even ethnicity, and can identify the physical influences of these factors on the house styles, material culture and streetscapes of individual Irish Anglo-Norman towns. Within a very temporally-specific framework, meaningful comparisons can then be made within and between separate towns and regions.

This approach can be widened to investigate how these differences are manifested by the archaeological evidence from the medieval town, hinterland and country in Ireland and thus contribute a research theme which is very prominent in the current study of medieval English archaeology (e.g. Perring 2002; Dyer and Giles 2007). Pertinent publications have addressed the development of urban and rural domestic houses and castles (Pearson 2007; Creighton 2007), material and environmental culture from both town and country (Egan 2007; Albarella 2007) and the influence of the agriculture of the hinterland on archaeological remains within the town (Finch 2002, 107-109). These are all questions that could be asked of Irish medieval archaeology, and as a key element of this research has been its strict temporal parameters, a study using the present methodology could potentially answer the queries outlined, and also identify how the archaeological evidence changed and evolved throughout the medieval period in Ireland.
The temporally-defined, synthesised and analytical approach used in this thesis would also yield significant findings on the social morphology of single sites. These could include monastic settlements, manorial boroughs, rural settlements and castle sites. On a local level, it would be valuable to integrate social archaeological studies of the material culture and structural remains from single sites and the excavated small urban settlements (chartered towns and boroughs) that are located in the hinterland of Cork with the material from the city. This could provide information of the nature of the relationships and socio-cultural interactions that defined the social and morphological elements of the Anglo-Norman trading networks in the Cork region.

Outside of Dublin (for a history-based discussion see Purcell 2005), the archaeological of the Irish medieval suburb is rarely addressed. The present writer considers that their identity and character remain under-interpreted in Irish medieval archaeology. There are a number of moderately well-documented medieval suburban areas in Ireland (e.g. Waterford, Kilkenny and Limerick) in which archaeological excavations have been undertaken. A study similar to that used in the present research could yield important data on the socio-economic and ethnic factors which shaped the growth of these suburbs and it would be interesting to investigate whether similar developmental trajectories are apparent between these areas and that suggested by the current work in Cork. This would include social archaeological analyses of immediate hinterland of the Anglo-Norman town in Ireland, and any archaeological and historical evidence of the religious institutions, hospitals and extra-mural industries associated with these areas. The power of suburbanisation as a colonising tool of the Anglo-Normans has previously been discussed (see 7.3.2; 7.3.2 and Lilley 2000), and the outcome of this on the socio-economic and cultural nature of the resulting suburbs (the nature of which are colourfully outlined by Rawcliffe 2007, 251-2 and Lilley 2000), would comprise an interesting avenue of study in an Irish context.

On a practical level, it would be easier to facilitate the type of approach undertaken in this study if excavation material was digitally accessible with a centralised permission system. This would de-personalise access to the archaeological record, which is too important on a national level to be in the custodianship of a single individual or archaeological company. The present author would recommend that this record be jointly established and curated by the National Monuments Service with the Department of Arts, Heritage and the Gaeltacht and the National Museum of Ireland as these are the bodies responsible for evaluating and granting excavation licence applications.
8.5 Final conclusion
The quality of the outcome of this research has fulfilled a long-held belief on the part of the present writer regarding the potential of the archaeological record. Having spent 10 years in the commercial sector, actively engaging with the archaeological resource, I have been aware of the finality and destructive nature of archaeological excavation. This has furnished me with a large amount of respect for the written record that comprises the only tangible representation of a lost archaeological entity. The only way to justify the destruction of the past is to maximise the amount of information that this process generates. Archaeology is created by the human experience, both at its inception as a material creation, and its interpretation after its physical presence is no longer whole. As archaeologists, we have a duty to value the record that we create, and utilise all the resources at our disposal to present a legible, comprehensive and sympathetic treatment of the people and realities that shaped our past. Although decoding and untangling the archaeological evidence can be an arduous process, the outcome is valuable and important. This thesis has demonstrated a new approach to the interpretation of the archaeology of Irish Anglo-Norman urbanism, and that which shaped the city of Cork in particular. The research completed has revealed unanticipated nuances in the archaeological and historical records, and has effectively re-written the story of the Anglo-Norman Cork.
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Abbreviations


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CDI = Sweetman, H.S. (ed.), *Calender of Documents relating to Ireland, 1171-1307* (5 vols) (Dublin 1905-14).

C. Ch. R = *Calendar of the charter rolls [...]*, 1226–1516, 6 vols (PRO, London, 1903-27)


CPR = *Calendar of the patent rolls [...]*, 1232–{1509}, 53 vols (PRO, London, 1891–1971)

CPI = *Chartae, privilegia et immunitates, being transcripts of charters and privileges to cities, towns, and other bodies corporate, [...] 1171–1395* (pr. for RCI, Dublin, 1829–30; published, 1889)


IPR = Davies, O. and Quinn, D.B. *The Irish pipe roll of 14 John, 1211-1212* (Dublin, 1941).
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Appendix 1  Structural indicators of social differentiation

A.1.1 Structural Evidence – Urban Elite/Oligarchy Occupation

Present research model outlines structural indicators for high ranking merchants and members of the urban elite as follows:

- **Location** – within the city walls.

- **Proximity to commercial centre** - either on or near the Main Street of the city, with easy access to the commercial areas of the town and possibly the city churches.

- **Plot size** – Large and well-defined.

- **Morphology and materials** – usually stone-footed sill beam or stone-walled with foundations that supported several storeys, particularly post the mid-13th century.

- **Area Plan** – at least two ground floor rooms in house, often with additional associated units with separate functions.

- **Well paved/cobbled outside areas.**

- **Private amenities** (e.g. bake-ovens, garderobes).

- **Well-serviced sites** which benefitted directly from municipal facilities for drainage and sewage disposal.

- **Longevity of use** – relatively long periods of occupation (often over 50 years) facilitated by security of position through financial and political means.
Appendix 1

A.1.1a

Examples from Cork, grouped according to closest date range for the construction and occupation of the remains

Date: Late 12\textsuperscript{th} and early 13\textsuperscript{th} century

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Urban elite and prosperous mid-ranking merchants</th>
<th>Structural Indicators</th>
<th>Site (and comments)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
|                                                 | 1. Location – within city walls, close to southern gate of the city  
2. Close to contemporary commercial centre of the city, South Main Street  
3. Street-fronting location  
4. Large house size suggesting by substantially sized hearth | 40-8 South Main Street, Cork  
(Ní Loinsigh 2005, n.p.)  
No finds recovered from the house (ibid) | |

Early 13\textsuperscript{th} century and later

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Urban elite, governors of the city and Anglo-Norman lords.</th>
<th>Structural Indicators</th>
<th>Site (and comments)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
|                                                          | 1. Location – within city wall, at main shipping entrance to the city at Castle Street  
2. Close to possible ‘Tholsel’ and commercial/administrative centre  
3. Substantial stone-built structure | Foundation level of Queen’s Castle  
Primarily defensive structure which may have also have contained accommodation for elite visitors (Power 2005, 18). | |
### Mid-13th-century

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>High Middle Class</th>
<th>Structural Indicators</th>
<th>Site (and comments)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
|                   | 1. Rear of property fronting on to South Main Street and close to the approximate centre of the developing town and Christchurch.  
  2. Plot appears to be relatively large and well-defined  
  3. Longevity of use which may have denoted security of familial position, both economically and politically. | **Christchurch, Area C, Phase 5**  
Separate post-and-wattle structure at rear of property c. 20m east of South Main Street, so within the confines of the street fronting property (Cleary 1997a, 35).  
May comprise separate eating hall for feasting/entertaining/sleeping. (Higher status mostly denoted by artefacts and dietary evidence). |

### Mid to late 13th-century

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prosperous mid-ranking merchant burgess or administrator</th>
<th>Structural Indicators</th>
<th>Site (and comments)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
|                                                          | 1. Street-fronting property, close to the approximate centre of the developing town and Christchurch.  
  2. Plot appears to be relatively large and well-defined.  
  3. Longevity of site use which may have denoted security of familial position, both economically and politically. | **Christchurch Area H, Phase 6** (Cleary 1997, 67-75)  
Sill-beam house, with two possible rooms at street front.  
Well-defined boundary and associated walkways Possible internal wooden floor (Stronger indicators of status from artefacts). |
|                                                          | 1. Street-fronting house in newly settled suburb of Dungarvan at northern end of North Main Street.  
  3. Large property size with cess-pit at rear | **North Gate, Area 1, Plot 2** (Hurley 1997c, 21)  
Floor levels from stone-walled street fronting house, back yard with wicker-lined cess pits. |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Urban Elite/High-ranking merchant class</th>
<th>Structural Indicators</th>
<th>Site (and comments)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 1. c. 50-60m west of North Main Street, possible fronting onto (current) Morley’s Lane. 2. Substantial stone-built house with well-defined boundaries. 3. Flagged and paved floor. 4. Well-drained site. 5. Possible internal staircase. 6. Nearby the later commercial centre of town 7. Long period of use | | Grattan Street, Area 3  
(Lennon 2003, 75-6) Stone building of at least two rooms at ground level and the foundation wall was of sufficient width (c. 1m) to support several storeys. Two-phase construction which may have occurred quickly. |
| 1. c. 40m west of North Main Street, fronting onto Coleman’s Lane 2. Substantial stone-built house with well-defined boundaries 3. Associated cobbled yard which contained bake-ovens 4. Well-drained site 5. Proximal to later commercial centre of town 6. Long period of use | | Grattan Street, Area 1  
(Lennon 2003, 65-6, Hurley 2003 160-2) Substantial stone-built house which rapidly replaced an earlier timber-framed building. Two-rooms at ground level having walls would have supported further storeys. Possible wooden floor within Room 2. House seemed to have private courtyard with bake-ovens and troughs, and lean-to outhouse at east of site. |
| 1. Large, well-defined property 2. Substantial stone-built house with at least two floors 3. Possible store | | Phillip’s Lane  
(O’Donnell 2003b, 91-3) Large, well defined property, possibly fronting onto Phillip’s |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Appendix 1</strong></th>
<th><strong>Room/cellar/commercial premises on ground floor</strong>&lt;br&gt;4. Rough cobbles as floor base&lt;br&gt;5. Well-drained site&lt;br&gt;6. Slated roof&lt;br&gt;7. Long period of use&lt;br&gt;8. Architectural stone used in construction.</th>
<th><strong>Lane, property may have extended from mid-way back from the Main Street to the city wall.</strong>&lt;br&gt;Possible commercial premises with two entrances (oppositing E and W gable walls) at ground floor, domestic space overhead.&lt;br&gt;Chamfered doorway. (architectural stone)&lt;br&gt;(No organic deposits were exposed outside the house, limited by size of excavated area)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1. Stone-built house fronting onto Tobin Street&lt;br&gt;2. Slate roof&lt;br&gt;3. Proximal to commercial centre and Christchurch&lt;br&gt;4. Well-drained site</td>
<td><strong>11-13 Washington Street</strong>&lt;br&gt;(S. McCutcheon 2003, 50-2)&lt;br&gt;House built on apparently new plot established to front onto Tobin Street, change from previous boundaries and previous use.&lt;br&gt;Re-purposing site implies a level of wealth and power.&lt;br&gt;Stone houses near Christchurch mentioned in will of John de Wynchedon (1306).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1. Rear of property fronting onto North Main Street, near commercial centre and location of other high-status properties and St Peter’s Church.&lt;br&gt;2. Well drained site (lintelled drain running along property boundary at north of site).</td>
<td><strong>1-4 St Peter’s Avenue</strong>&lt;br&gt;(Hurley and Johnson 2003, 131-9)&lt;br&gt;No structural remains of house, but location and drainage facilities suggest house with well-off occupants.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1. Street fronting property&lt;br&gt;Stone-footed house at north</td>
<td><strong>Site of Skiddy’s Castle</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Side of Wade’s Lane  
2. Well-drained site | (Twohig 1997, 2-21) Not much information as report quality is limited. Stone wall (with possible batter.) Adjacent to area of street front with high-quality surface exposed in Cork Main Drainage Excavation (Power, C. 1997, n.p.). No dietary data but artefacts broadly similar to those at Grattan Street and St Peter’s Avenue. |
|---|---|
| 1. Street fronting stone house.  
2. Two rooms at ground level.  
3. Limestone flooring.  
4. Long period of use. | **Kyrl’s Quay/North Main Street Trench 3c** (Hurley 1995, 58-9) (Possible earlier mid-13th century construction date, continued to be occupied until at least the mid-14th century). Notes: Existing boundary of site was re-adjusted to build this property, implying financial power. No artefacts could be linked with site and no environmental analysis completed. |

### Late 13th-early 14th

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Urban elite/wealthy merchant class</th>
<th>Structural Indicators</th>
<th>Site</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1. Substantial stone wall, footing for 2-3</td>
<td><strong>Kyrl’s Quay/North Main Street, Trench 3a</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Storey house at street front. 2. Complete re-purposing of site after previous occupation.</td>
<td>(Hurley 1995, 55-7) Substantial stone wall, E-W at street front. Re-purposing of site may imply an increased level of purchasing power on the part of the occupants. (Just one artefact – a possible socketed tool - could be linked with this site, limitations of the report, no dietary remains analysed) (Hurley 1995, 39)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Large, well-defined property. 2. Substantial stone-built house with at least two floors. 3. Possible store room/cellar/commercial premises on ground floor. 4. Rough cobbles as floor base. 5. Well-drained site. 6. Slated roof. 7. Long period of use. 8. Architectural stone used in construction.</td>
<td><strong>Phillip’s Lane</strong> (O’Donnell 2003b, 91-3) Large, well defined property, possibly fronting onto Phillip’s Lane, property may have extended from mid-way back from the Main Street to the city wall. Extended during the very early 14\textsuperscript{th} century, possibly in contemporaneous use with adjacent new structure to east. Possible commercial premises with two entrances (opposing E and W gable walls) at ground floor, domestic space overhead. Chamfered doorway (architectural stone) No organic deposits were exposed outside the house, limited by size of excavated area.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. c.50-60m west of North Main Street, possible fronting onto (current) Morley’s Lane. 2. Substantial stone-built house with well-defined boundaries. 3. Flagged and paved floor. 4. Well-drained site. 5. Possible internal staircase.</td>
<td><strong>Grattan Street, Area 3</strong> (Lennon 2003, 75-6) Stone building with at least two ground-floor rooms which may have had several storeys. Two-phase construction which may have occurred quickly, extending during early-mid 14\textsuperscript{th} century to include garderobe and cess pit.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
|   | 6. Proximal to later commercial centre of town.  
|   | 7. Long period of use.  
|   | 8. Garderobe and stone-lined cess pit.  
|   | 9. Area associated with commerce (storage room/cellar).  
|   | 10. Well-drained site.  
| 1. Stone-built house fronting onto Skiddy’s Lane, c. 45m from the street front.  
| 2. Well-drained site.  | Skiddy’s Lane  
|   | O’Donnell 2003c, 100-2  
|   | Relatively substantial stone-built house in similar location to contemporary high-status dwellings.  
|   | Rebuilt during this period.  
|   | (limited artefacts)  
| (or prosperous mid-ranking family) |   |
A1.2 Structural Evidence – prosperous artisan/craft-working occupation

Present research model outlines structural indicators for this social grouping occupation as follows:

- **Location** – generally within the city walls, can be exceptions in suburbs, e.g. Barrack Street.
- **Proximity to commercial centre** - either on or near the Main Street of the city, with easy access to trading areas.
- **Plot size** – Relatively large but generally lower quality boundary definitions.
- **Morphology and materials** – stone-footed house, which supported either a sill-beam (late 12th to early 13th century) or a timber frame (early 13th century+) structures with foundations that may have supported a first floor, particularly from the early 13th century onwards.
- **Area Plan** – often a single-roomed lower floor with additional associated units to the rear of the site used for craft/industrial and domestic purposes.
- **Outside areas** are generally roughly paved, with either gravel or clays with occasional stone paving/cobbling.
- **No private amenities** (bake-ovens, garderobes) but near public amenities, particularly in north side of the city.
- **Unevenly serviced sites** which often did not benefit directly from municipal facilities for drainage and sewage disposal.
- **Longevity of use** – varying periods of occupation, more frequent boundary changes and house re-building, however some sustained periods of occupation are evident.
- **Structural evidence of craft-working and industry** (workshops, byres).
A.1.2a

Examples from Cork, grouped according to closest date range for the construction and occupation of the remains

Late 12th-century

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'Artisan' Class</th>
<th>Structural Indicators</th>
<th>Sites (and comments)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| (Prosperous)    | 1. Street fronting sill beam house at core of town during transitional period between Hiberno-Norse and Anglo-Norman settlement. 2. Well-maintained site. | **Hanover Street** (Cleary 2003, 26-31)  
House was renovated (construction date 1171±9 dendrochronological date) during early Anglo-Norman occupation period. House site seems to have been re-purposed during the transitional period, evidence of both craft-working and commercial activity. Prime location during this period. Form of house changed slightly during transition, aisle added and rooms separated to back and front, front room possibly used for business purposes. |
| (Prosperous)    | 1. Street fronting post and stave house at core of town during transitional period between Hiberno-Norse and Anglo-Norman settlement. 2. Well-maintained site. | **Trench 309 Washington Street** (CMD) (Kelleher 2003 n.p.)  
Structure possibly rebuilt during early Anglo-Norman period (may have been burnt during transition), on exact site and layout of earlier Hiberno-Norse house. Slightly back (c. 1.5m) from street front with possibly short pathway leading to door. External pathway/surfacing improved during early Anglo-Norman period. No craft-working apparent at site but excavated area was limited in size, may have been built for commerce/administrative work. |
Street fronting house in early developing Anglo-Norman commercial near to South Gate Bridge. (status more indicated by limited range of artefacts and archaeobotanical remains) |

(prosperous lower middle class)
### Appendix 1

| maintained site | Christchurch  
| (Cleary 1997, 58-64)  
| House set just back from street-front, possible evidence for forge/metalworking area immediately off the street, in front of post and wattle structure (similar to site at 4 Barrack Street). |

| Suburban Site at south of city | No. 4 Barrack Street  
| (Lane and Sutton 2002 n.p.)  
| Few remains, timber staves possibly associated with Hiberno-Norse or Gaelic Irish house. |

| French’s Quay  
| (O’ Brien 1993, 27-49)  
| Dumped layers at rear of house. |

#### Late 12th to early 13th century

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>‘Artisan’ class</th>
<th>Structural Indicators</th>
<th>Sites (and comments)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 1. Rear of property fronting onto South Main Street  
| 2. Evidence of post-and-wattle workshop. | Hanover Street (Cork Main Drainage Scheme)  
| (Power 1996 n.p.)  
| Remains of post-and-wattle backyard workshop in rear of property fronting on to South Main Street  
| Directly north of site excavated excavated by UCC (Cleary 2003, see above). |

| 1. Post-and-wattle structure at rear of property fronting onto South Main |
| Christchurch, Area C  
| (Cleary 1997, 27-32)  
| Post-and-wattle structure at rear of property (ash layers, slag etc) interpreted as evidence of metal working. |
| Street. 2. Evidence of craft-working. | Christchurch, Area H, Phase 4 (Cleary 1997, 69-71)  
No further distinctive property features but artefacts hint at soldierly/military occupants. |
|---|---|
| 1. Street-fronting sill-beam structure. | Tuckey Street (O’Donnell 2003a, 17-22)  
Hearths, stakeholes, possible post-pit. Deposits of clay and ash. Deposits of compact gravel with slag, vitrified stone, oxidised clay and charred material. |
| 1. Rear of property possibly fronting onto South Main Street or Tuckey Street.  
2. Well defined property boundary with stake fence. | 40-8 South Main Street (Ní Loingsigh 2005, n.p.)  
Houses/structures at rear of property fronting onto South Main Street. One post and wattle and one stave-built. |
| 1. Post-and-wattle structure at rear of property fronting onto South Main Street.  
2. Evidence of craft-working. | No. 3 Barrack Street (Lane and Sutton 2003, 5-12)  
Ash/charcoal layers. Waste layers from metal-working. Domestic layers include oyster shell, animal bone and hearth material, all dumped alongside industrial refuse. |
| 1. Evidence of craft-working.  
2. Property fronting onto Barrack Street. | No. 4 Barrack Street (Lane and Sutton 2002, n.p.)  
Two hearth sites adjacent to N-S running trackway (at west), possible metal working. No structures. Domestic refuse deposits also. |
Three hearth sites and burnt sediment. Domestic refuse. No structures. |
| 1. Evidence of craft-working. | No. 5 Barrack Street (Lane and Sutton 2003, 5-12) |
### Early-mid-13th century

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>‘Artisan’ Class</th>
<th>Structural Indicators</th>
<th>Site (and comments)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Stone house near street-front of newly developed suburb of city (Dungarvan).</td>
<td><strong>Kryl’s Quay/North Main Street Trench 3a</strong> (Hurley 1995, 57) Possible 2-roomed stone house near to street-front and associated yard. Wooden flooring (1210 and 1211 AD). Boundary adjusted at end of this period which may or may not relate to a short period of occupation. (no high status finds) (Possible new burgess settler)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Street-adjacent property in suburb of city on Barrack Street. 2. Evidence of craft-working. 3. Rough external paving. 4. Long period of use.</td>
<td><strong>No. 4 Barrack Street</strong> (Lane and Sutton 2002, n.p.) Area of metal working adjacent to N-S running laneway. Three hearth sites and rough area of cobbling in situ area of burning. Long period of use, up to 60-70 years, possible commencing very late 12th century and up until mid-13th century. Possible stone wall of workshop.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Mid to late 13th century

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>‘Artisan’ Class</th>
<th>Structural Indicators</th>
<th>Sites (and comments)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Rear of property that faced onto South Main Street.</td>
<td><strong>11-13 Washington Street</strong> (S. McCutcheon 2003, 45-60) No real structural features. Pits, E-W drain. Property boundary covered over during this period, or at the end of this period of use. (status suggested by artefacts)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Rear of property that faced onto South Main Street.</td>
<td><strong>Tobin Street</strong> (Papazian 2003, 55-60) No real structures. Disposal pits, separate pits for disposal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
of different types of animal bone refuse.
(dated by coin association 1247-1272)
(status suggested by faunal remains)

| 1. Mural occupation at east side of city wall, possible turret. 2. Stone-built with internal wood and stone built floor platform (?) | St Peter’s Market
(Hurley 1986, 15-19)
Possible mural turret occupied for a short period during the latter half of the 13th century. Possibly located near an opening in the city wall, suggested by possibly dam to the south of the potential turret. Some evidence of domestic faunal waste. (Were guards in residence?) |
| 1. Located midway between North Main Street and the city wall (at east) | Kyrl’s Quay/North Main Street, Trenches 1 and 2, Plot 1
(Hurley 1995, 51-2)
Backyard deposits. Wooden drain and revetment (less well-built that immediate plot to south) |
| 1. Located midway between North Main Street and the city wall (at east). 2. Stone-built structure which possibly fronted onto alley. 3. Well-dressed stone wall. 4. Internal chimney breast. 5. Stone drain with wooden base 6. Long period of use. | Kyrl’s Quay/North Main Street, Trenches 1 and 2, Plot 2
(Hurley 1995, 51-2)
Wooden base of drain dated to 1250±9 House fronting onto alleyway in similar location to slightly later higher status houses in Grattan Street and Phillip’s Lane. Well-dressed wall in house however insufficiently excavated to determine whether this was domestic or industrial, no faunal remains. |
| 1. Area at rear of South Main Street. 2. Evidence for craft-working. | Christchurch, Area C
(Cleary 1997, 32-3)
Post and wattle structure possibly associated with leather-working. Outside area unpaved, planks and rough trackways. |
| 1. Area at rear of street-fronting | Christchurch, Area H
(Cleary 1997, 70-1)
Sill-beam structure/outhouse/possible sleeping quarters. |
| 1. Area at rear of street-fronting | North Gate, Area 1, Plot 3
(Hurley 1997b, 28-30) |
property at northern end of North Main Street.
2. Evidence for craft-working/industry.

Backyard at rear of street-fronting property.
Drying kiln, possibly for cereal but archaeobotanical analysis inclusive, it did determine that primary function of kiln was to provide heat, not smoke.

1. Area at rear of street-fronting property at northern end of North Main Street, fronting onto laneway
2. Evidence for craft-working/industry

Phillip’s Lane
(O’Donnell 2003b, 61-7)
Backyard at rear of street-fronting property
Drying kiln, cereal remains uncovered, site in general vicinity of communal ‘bake ovens’ in area west of North Gate.
Oxidised clay in Cutting 2.

### Mid to late 13th-century

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>‘Artisan’ Class</th>
<th>Structural Indicators</th>
<th>Site</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1. Area at rear of street-fronting property at northern end of North Main Street, accessed by communal laneways. 2. Evidence for craft-working/industry.</td>
<td>North Gate (Hurley 1997b, 28-30) Area 1, Plot 2 Stone-walled house Area 2, Plots 1 and 2 (Hurley and Sheehan 1997a, 39-42) Stone-footed timber-framed structure at street-front in Plot 2, rear of plots combined to facilitate construction of possible industrial facility (or public latrine).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Late 13th/early 14th century

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>‘Artisan Class’</th>
<th>Structural Indicators</th>
<th>Site</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1. Area at rear of street-fronting property at northern end of North Main Street, accessed by communal</td>
<td>North Gate Area 2, Plot 1 Hurley and Sheehan 1997, 42-9 Plot boundaries re-established and access at north of property provides access to communal area with serious of lean-to structures against</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laneways</td>
<td>City wall which may have been byres/stables/craft-structures</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 1. Street-fronting site and backyard at rear of street-fronting property at northern end of North Main Street, fronting onto laneway. 2. Evidence for craft-working/industry. | North Gate  
**Area 2, Plot 2**  
(Hurley and Sheehan 1997a, 42-9)  
Property boundary re-established. Stone-footed timber-framed house continued to be occupied. Roofed structure at rear of property, included area of burning, suggested to be bake oven. Yard surface, may have been accessible to the public at rear of outhouse.  
**Area 1, Plot 2**  
(Hurley 1997b, 28-30)  
Stone-built house at street front truncated. New drainage works and raising of ground level at this period, also noted at western side of the street. Workshop at rear of property repaired and continued in use, evidence of oxidisation, charcoal and ash layers. Paving in ‘backyard’ with two ceramic vessels set into the paving. Dated by coin association 1279-1307 AD. |

**Early 14th Century**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'Artisan' Class</th>
<th>Structural Indicators</th>
<th>Site</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
|                 | 1. Street-fronting site and backyard at rear of street-fronting property at northern end of North Main Street, fronting onto laneway. 2. Evidence for craft-working/industry | North Gate  
**Area 1, Plot 2**  
(Hurley 1997b, 28-30)  
Stone-house at street front truncated. New drainage works and raising of ground level at this period, also noted at western side of the street. Workshop at rear of property repaired and continued in use, evidence of oxidisation, charcoal and ash layers. Paving in ‘backyard’ with two ceramic vessels set into the paving. |
### Appendix I

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prosperous</th>
<th>North Gate Area 2, Plot 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Street-fronting site and backyard at rear of street-fronting property at northern end of North Main Street, fronting onto laneway. 2. Evidence for craft-working/industry.</td>
<td>(Hurley and Sheehan 1997a, 42-9) Stone-house at street front re-built, retaining wall from previous period. New drainage works and raising of ground level at this period. Roofed workshop (bake-oven?) at rear of property repaired and continued in use, evidence of oxidisation, charcoal and ash layers. Laneway well-defined at north of property. May have had long period of occupation. <strong>Area 2/Plot 4</strong> New ground level and drainage system Accessed by walled laneway. Oxidised areas and structures at rear of plot where were accessed by laneway. <strong>Area 2/Plot 3</strong> New ground level and drainage system Accessed by walled laneway. Oxidised areas and structures at rear of plot where were accessed by laneway. <strong>Area 2, Plot 1</strong> New ground level and drainage system. Communal area with variety of structures accessed by walled laneway, located immediately inside North Gate of city.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A1.3 Structural Evidence

Present research model outlines structural indicators for labouring class and ‘working poor’ occupation as follows*:

- Location – generally within the city walls, however this cannot be conclusively stated.
- Distance from commercial centre – generally at a distance from the Main Street, usually at least one, if not two plots, removed from the Main Street, at peripheral locations near areas of waste ground.
- Plot size – Small and less-well defined than those nearer the Main Street.
- Morphology and materials – Often of post-and-wattle construction, later sill-beam or cob-built, but more commonly constructed from wood than higher status structures.
- Area Plan – Single-roomed ground floor with possible ‘lean-to’ ancillary units to the rear of the site used for craft/industrial and domestic purposes.
- Outside areas are generally roughly paved, with either gravel or clays with occasional stone paving/cobbling.
- No private amenities (bake-ovens, garderobes) and possibly not close to public amenities.
- Unevenly serviced sites which often did not benefit directly from municipal facilities for drainage and sewage disposal.
- Longevity of use – varying periods of occupation, more frequent boundary changes and house re-building, however some sustained periods of occupation are evident.
- Structural evidence for small scale craft-working and industry (workshops, byres).

*Although there are only two houses in the category, an evaluation of all the relevant evidence has suggested these criteria for establishing the status of this type of site.
### Late 13\textsuperscript{th}-century

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Labourer/servant/ lower status burgesses of the unfree tenants of more successful burgesses</th>
<th>Structural Indicators</th>
<th>Site (and comments)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 1. Peripheral location from Main Street.  
2. Clay/mud-built house. |  | Grand Parade II  
(Hurley 1989, 31-3)  
Clay/mud built house on fringes of the city of South Island, situated c. ¾ way between main street and city wall. Area around structure not paved and access path poor quality. |

### Mid- to late 14\textsuperscript{th} century

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Labourer/servant/ lower status burgesses of the unfree tenants of more successful burgesses</th>
<th>Structural Indicators</th>
<th>Site (and comments)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 1. Peripheral location from Main Street.  
2. Clay/mud-built house. |  | St Peter’s Market  
(Hurley 1986, 13)  
Clay/mud built house on fringes of the city on North Island, adjacent to city wall. |
Appendix 2 – Material culture indicators of social differentiation

A2.1 Urban Elite/Oligarchy/Wealthy Merchant occupation

Present research model outlines artefactual indicators for high-ranking occupation as follows:

- **Ceramics** - wide range of ceramic types and forms, with frequent imported vessels, evidence of the range of wines consumed by the household, ceramic assemblages contain forms which emulate those used in the dining rituals of the elite (e.g. aquamanile, elaborate condiment and serving dishes)

- **Wood** – writing implements (e.g. parchment prickers indicating good levels of literacy), highly-decorated caskets for holding valuable goods

- **Metal** – jewellery and decorative ornaments, pieces from musical instruments, elaborate knives and other tableware, objects related to horse/pony ownership and hunting pursuits

- **Stone** – good quality architectural stone pieces from doorways and window fittings

- **Bone and antler** – well-crafted gaming pieces, particularly chessmen

- **Leather** – Well-made shoes and sheaths/scabbards which were discarded without being repaired or significantly worn

- **General** – Items which would have conveyed wealth quite visibly, quality clothing fabrics and personal ornaments along with decorative household furniture and tableware

- **General** – combinations of artefacts which indicate that leisure time was frequent for the occupants of the site, e.g. embroidery/sewing equipment, musical instruments, chess pieces
Mid-late 13th century

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Established Anglo-Norman merchant family</th>
<th>Artefactual Indicators</th>
<th>Site (and comments)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(No faunal remains from this site)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mid- to late 13th-century

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Urban Elite</th>
<th>Artefactual Indicators</th>
<th>Site</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1. Ceramics - wide range of ceramics, large amount of</td>
<td>Grattan Street, Area 3 (Lennon 2003, 75-6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ceramics – baking dishes, wide range of</td>
<td>Ceramics – baking dishes, wide range of</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

394
### French Ware, baking dishes.
2. Absence of craft-working tools.
3. Items related to trade/shipping.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grattan Street, Area 1</th>
<th>Cunning Street, Area 1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 1. Wide range of ceramics, large amount of French ware, baking dishes  
2. Items associated with literacy or commerce.  
3. Items associated with hobbies/leisure time. | French Ware, baking dishes.  
2. Absence of craft-working tools.  
3. Items related to trade/shipping.  
4. Types and forms (2+ baking dishes, also jugs, pégau, cooking ware) McCutcheon 2003, 201, 216-7).  
No apparent craftworking tools.  
Unworked flint nodules which may be ship’s ballast relating to merchant in residence (Carroll and Quinn 2003, 305).  
(Note – no faunal or archaeobotanical remains analysed from this level.) |

### Late 13th to early 14th

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>High Ranking Merchants</th>
<th>Artefactual Indicators</th>
<th>Site</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 1. Wide range of ceramics.  
2. Items associated with hobbies and leisure time.  
3. Decorative items.  
4. Items associated with shipping and trade.  
5. Absence of craft-working implements. | Phillip’s Lane  
(O’Donnell 2003b, 91-3).  
Wide range of ceramic types (including baking dishes, pégau, jugs - McCutcheon 2003, 197-235)  
Metal  
(Carroll and Quinn 2003, 257-298)  
Fine copper alloy pin.  
Candleholder.  
Decorated mount.  
(Hurley, Carroll and Quinn 2003, 329-346)  
Hobby-weaving tools (3+).  
Roof slates.  
(Unitt 2003, 322-3)  
Unworked flint nodules (ship’s | |
Appendix 2

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Notes – occupants of site were well off, did not live as extravagantly as those at Grattan Street, as least as manifested by artefacts and dietary data, also could be accident of excavation location and retrieval methods)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 1. Wide range of ceramics. | **11-13 Washington Street**  
(McCutcheon 2003, 197-235)  
(Carroll and Quinn 2003, 257-298)  
(Hurley, Carroll and Quinn 2003, 329-346)  
Wide range of ceramics.  
Knives.  
Needles and weaving tools (4+) - not enough to suggest craft-working.  
Hasp from chest or box.  
Harp-tuning peg.  
Roof slates |
| 2. Items associated with hobbies and leisure time. |   |
| 3. Decorative items. |   |
| 4. Items associated with commerce. |   |
| 5. Absence of craft-working implements. |   |
| 1. Wide range of ceramics | **1-4 St Peter’s Avenue**  
(McCutcheon 2003, 197-235)  
(Carroll and Quinn 2003, 257-298)  
(Hurley, Carroll and Quinn 2003, 329-346)  
Wide range of ceramic types and forms, notably larger than average amount of imported French Ware, forms included lamp/chafing dish, baking/roasting dish, *louvre*, and condiment dish.  
Copper alloy needle and weaving tools, not enough to suggest professional craft-working.  
Harp tuning peg |
| 2. Items associated with hobbies and leisure time. |   |
| 3. Decorative items. |   |
| 4. Items associated with commerce. |   |
| 5. Absence of craft-working implements |   |
| 1. Wide range of ceramics | **Site of Skiddy’s Castle**  
(Gahan *et al* 1997, 108-129)  
(Scully 1997, 1645-190)  
(Hurley 1997c, 239-250)  
Wide range of ceramic types and forms, including condiment dishes, candlestick and baking dish |
<p>| 2. Items associated with hobbies and leisure time |   |
| 3. Decorative items. |   |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Appendix 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 4. Items associated with commerce.  
5. Absence of craft-working implements.  
6. Items associated with horse ownership. | Scale-pan  
Weaving tools (2)  
Horse equipment – rowel/prick spur and harness mount  
(most finds unstratified but broadly date to this period) |
| 1. Wide range of ceramics  
2. Items associated with hobbies/leisure time  
3. Decorative items  
4. Items associated with shipping/trade  
5. Absence of craft-working implements | Phillip’s Lane (O’Donnell 2003b, 91-3)  
McCutcheon 2003, 197-235  
Carroll and Quinn 2003, 257-298  
Hurley, Carroll and Quinn 2003, 329-346  
Wide range of ceramic types  
Fine copper alloy pin  
Candleholder  
Decorated mount  
Hobby-weaving tools (3)  
Roof slates  
Unworked flint nodules (ship’s ballast)  
(Notes – occupants of site were well off, did not live as extravagantly as those at Grattan Street, as least as manifested by artefacts and dietary data, also could be accident of excavation location and retrieval methods) |
| 1. Ceramics-wide range of ceramics, large amount of French Ware, baking dishes.  
2. Absence of craft-working tools.  
3. Items related to trade/shipping. | Grattan Street, Area 3  
(Lennon 2003, 75-6)  
Ceramics – baking dishes, wide range of types and forms  
(McCutcheon 2003, 201, 216-7)  
(McCutcheon 2003, 197-235)  
(Carroll and Quinn 2003, 257-298)  
(Hurley, Carroll and Quinn 2003, 329-346)  
Possible associated decoration copper alloy mount from ‘marriage casket’.  
No apparent craftworking tools.  
Unworked flint nodules which may be ship’s ballast relating to merchant in |
residence (Carroll and Quinn 2003, 305).
(Note – Just archaeobotanical remains analysed from this level)
A2.2 Artefactual Evidence – Artisan and craft-working occupation

Present research model outlines artefactual indicators for ‘artisan’ class occupation as follows:

- **Ceramics** – moderate range of ceramic types and forms, with less frequent imported vessels, infrequent forms which emulate those used in the dining rituals of the elite (e.g. aquamanile, condiment and serving dishes)

- **Wood** – items used for craft purposes and commercial objects indicating a lower frequency of literacy, e.g. tally sticks

- **Metal** – tools and craft items

- **Stone** – whetstones and hones, net weights for fishing, and loom weights for weaving

- **Bone and antler** – basic gaming pieces, needles, weaving tools used for commercial sewing/weaving and net repair

- **Leather** – Well-made shoes and sheaths/scabbards which showed evidence of repair and longevity of use

- **General** – Items indicative of modest but stable living, e.g. copper-alloy jewellery items, petty burgess seals, good quantity and range of domestic and industrial equipment

- **General** – less common combinations of artefacts which indicate that leisure time was not a priority for the occupants of the site, e.g. embroidery/sewing equipment, musical instruments, chess/gaming pieces
### Late 12th-century

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>‘Artisan’ Class</th>
<th>Artefactual Indicators</th>
<th>Site</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(prosperous)</td>
<td>1. Leisure/musical equipment.</td>
<td><strong>40-8 South Main Street</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Ní Loingsigh 2005, n.p.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Lute -tuning peg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Possible lance spear.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1. Moderate range of ceramic forms.</td>
<td><strong>Hanover Street</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. Frequent craft-working items.</td>
<td>(McCutcheon 2003, 197-235)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. Items associated with buying and selling of goods.</td>
<td>(Carroll and Quinn 2003, 257-98)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Hurley, Carroll and Quinn 2003, 329-46)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Good variety of finds from this period.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Scale pan and balance.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>At least 4 industries represented by</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>artefacts: crucibles (metalworking),</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>leather offcuts (cobbling), spoon-bits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(carpentry), fish hook (fishing).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Finds imply a hive of craft and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>commercial activity.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Domestic artefacts also present, not</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>just used as a business premises.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1. Moderate range of ceramic forms.</td>
<td><strong>Trench 309, Washington Street</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. Infrequent gaming/leisure pieces.</td>
<td>(Kelleher 2003, n.p.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. Items associated with commerce.</td>
<td>Transitional finds, possibly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>indicative of commercial pursuit in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>early Anglo-Norman period.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Anglo-Norman gaming piece.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Parchment pricker.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Whalebone chopping board.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Brass stickpin.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1. Evidence of craft working.</td>
<td><strong>Christchurch</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Gahan <em>et al</em> 1997, 108-29)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Scully 1997, 165-90)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Hurley 1997c, 239-50)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Artefacts associated with metal-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>working recovered</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>A spear was also uncovered along</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>with contemporary weapons (13+)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>from adjacent areas of site, maybe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
suggestive of military presence at the site.  
(Possible continuation of Hiberno-Norse occupation at this site, as suggested by metal-working artefacts)  
(Dating unreliable for a lot of this site)

| 1. Evidence of craft-working. | **French’s Quay**  
(McCarthy 1993, 43-5)  
(O’Brien 1993, 29)  
(Gahan 1993, 37)  
Waste from bone-working, motif piece with Irish Urnes-style decoration, possible suggestive of Hiberno-Norse or Gaelic Irish occupation.  
Good range of pottery forms. |

### Late 12th to early 13th-centuries

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lower Middle Class</th>
<th>Artefactual Indicators</th>
<th>Site</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 1. Evidence of craft-working | **Hanover Street**  
(Gleeson 2000)  
Leather offcuts, waste from cobbling and shoe repair (maybe continued into 13th century).  
Also artefacts with Hiberno-Norse overlap. |
| 1. Evidence of craft-working | **Christchurch, Area C**  
(Gahan et al 1997, 108-29)  
(Scully 1997, 165-90)  
(Hurley 1997c, 239-50)  
Post-and-wattle structure at rear of property (ash layers, slag etc). Metal-working tools (20+). |
| 1. Street-fronting sill-beam structure. | **Christchurch, Area H, Phase 4**  
(Gahan et al 1997, 108-29)  
(Scully 1997, 165-90)  
(Hurley 1997c, 239-50)  
No further distinctive property features but artefacts hint at soldierly/military |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Appendix 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>occupants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weapons, knives, arrowheads, spears, gaming equipment (10+) possibly associated with Anglo-Norman soldiers (Nine Mens Morris etc.). (Also finds with Hiberno-Norse overlap)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Items associated with craft-working and industry.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tuckey Street</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(O’Donnell 2003)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(McCutcheon 2003, 197-235)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Carroll and Quinn 2003, 257-98)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Hurley, Carroll and Quinn 2003, 329-46)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crucible fragments.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nails and rivets (200+) (Cleary, K 2003, 299).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Items associated with craft-working and industry.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>40-8 South Main Street</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(Ni Loingsigh 2005, n.p.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scale balance and pans and crucible fragments suggestive of metal-working.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Items associated with craft-working and industry.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. 3 Barrack Street</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(McCutcheon 2003, 197-35)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Carroll and Quinn 2003, 257-98)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Hurley, Carroll and Quinn 2003, 329-46)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Metal slag (large quantity)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Red deer antler fragments (less frags than adjacent site)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Items associated with craft-working and industry.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Barrack Street (1989)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(O’ Brien 1993, 39)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Gahan 1993, 37-8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Double-handed draw blade and sharpening stone – possibly used for carpentry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bone working waste</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rotary Quern</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(possible Hiberno-Norse or Gaelic Irish influence on site)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Items associated with craft-working and industry.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. 5 Barrack Street</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(McCutcheon 2003, 197-235)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Carroll and Quinn 2003, 257-98)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Hurley, Carroll and Quinn 2003, 329-46)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Early to mid-13\textsuperscript{th} century</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>‘Artisan’ Class</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mid to late 13\textsuperscript{th} century</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>‘Artisan’ of mid-ranking merchant/trading class</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 1. Good range of ceramic artefacts. | **Tobin Street**  
(McCutcheon 2003, 197-235)  
(Carroll and Quinn 2003, 257-98)  
(Hurley, Carroll and Quinn 2003, 329-46)  
(Breen 2003, 347)  
Chess-piece |
|---|---|
| Kyrl’s Quay/North Main Street, Trenches 1 and 2, Plot 1  
(McCutcheon 1995, 43-5)  
(Hurley 1995, 27-78)  
(Hurley 1996, 26-63)  
Net sinkers.  
Tools associated with fabric/net repair and production (5+).  
Spindle whorl.  
Large needles.  
(Possibly associated with fishing/net repair, site located near slipway in City Wall). |
| 1. Good range of Kyrl’s Quay/North Main |

Scissors and shears, both of a type associated with professional use.  
Two stick pins with zoomorphic, stylised horse-shaped heads.  
Horse equipment – hasp and buckle from horse harness.  
Rushlight holder.  
High leather boot, from a type often associated with travellers/huntsman/soldier.  
(Finds may indicate occupant that was employed to work with horses, possible a ‘grey merchant’. Horse theme seems to run through finds from this period, right down to personal ornaments and are indicative of modest prosperity).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Successful ‘artisan’ class</th>
<th>Artefactual Indicators</th>
<th>Site (and comments)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
|                           | 1. Good range of ceramic artefacts. 2. Possible craft-working/occupational items. 3. Located immediate inside (and west of) the northern gate to the city. | **Street, Trenches 1 and 2, Plot 2**  
(McCutcheon 1995, 43-5)  
(Hurley 1995, 27-78)  
(Hurley 1996, 26-63)  
Harp-tuning peg |

Late 13\textsuperscript{th} to early 14\textsuperscript{th} century

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Successful ‘artisan’ class</th>
<th>Artefactual Indicators</th>
<th>Site (and comments)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
|                           | 1. Good range of ceramic artefacts. 2. Possible craft-working/occupational/commercial items. | **North Gate, Area 2, Plot 1**  
(McCutcheon 1997b, 75-101)  
(Hurley 1997d-k, 106-153)  
Pottery mortar. Possible original find-spot of a series of mortars and quernstones. Cobbling waste including highly decorated scabbard. Lots of broken pottery (400+ sherds) in House 5 (possible byre, maybe used for preparation of compost). Overall, a communally accessed and used area of craft and industry located immediately inside the northern gate of the city. |
|                           | 1. Good range of ceramic artefacts. 2. Possible craft-working/occupational/commercial items. | **North Gate Area 2, Plot 2**  
(McCutcheon 1997b, 75-101)  
(Hurley 1997d-k, 106-53)  
Ceramic assemblage contained possible Cork-type aquamanile sherd. Highly polished parchment pricker. |
A2.3 Material Culture
Present research model outlines artefactual indicators for lower class occupation as follows*:

- Ceramics - limited range of ceramic types and forms, with less frequent imported vessels
- Wood – items used for craft purposes and commercial objects indicating a lower level of literacy, e.g. tally sticks
- Metal – tools and craft items
- Stone – whetstones and hones, net weights
- Bone and antler – basic gaming pieces, needles, weaving tools used for commercial sewing/weaving and net repair
- Leather – Poor quality shoes and sheaths/scabbards which showed evidence of repair and longevity of use
- General – Small range of overall artefacts, maybe because many of the original objects were made of wood which did not survive
- General - Rare evidence of leisure pursuits, or poor-quality gaming pieces and rudimentary musical instruments

* Although there were no areas identified using these indicators, an evaluation of all the relevant evidence has suggested these criteria for establishing the status of this type of site.
Appendix 3 – Dietary Indicators of social differentiation

A3.1 Dietary Evidence – Urban Elite/Oligarchy/Wealthy merchant occupation

Present research model outlines dietary indicators for high middle class occupation as follows:

• Faunal remains
  – Wide variety of animals consumed.
  – Very frequent remains of young animals, e.g. suckling pigs, calves, lambs, goslings.
  – Frequent recovery of wild mammals and wild fowl, (deer, rabbit, woodcock) sourced through hunting or gift-giving by the Anglo-Norman elite.
  – Evidence of frequent feasting.
  – Evidence for the roasting of meats.
  – High quality of butchery apparent, meat often purchased already butchered.
  – Frequent recovery of best quality meat-bearing parts of the animal.
  – Presence of rare animals in faunal assemblage, e.g. whale pieces, dolphins and seals.
  – wide range of fish consumed.

• Plant Remains
  – Wide variety of plants consumed.
  – Frequent wheat consumption, more so that the other grains.
  – Exotic seeds present, e.g. figs and grapes.
  – Evidence of exotic spices e.g. mustard seeds.
A3.1a Examples from Cork, grouped according to closest date range for the construction and occupation of the remains

**Mid-13th century**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prosperous Merchant</th>
<th>Dietary Indicators</th>
<th>Site</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1. Wide variety of animals consumed.</td>
<td><strong>Christchurch Area 5, Phase 6</strong> (McCarthy 1997, 349-357) (McCarthy 1997d)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. Young animals (calves, lambs and suckling pig).</td>
<td>Pig second most common animal, which during this period may be an indicator of higher status eating, or external provisioning of pork to feed soldiers (tentatively suggested!), or consumption with Hiberno-Norse influence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. Deer tibia fragments.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4. Rabbit bone.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5. Prime meat-bearing bones most well represented.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6. Rare animal bone - cetacean vertebra.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7. Evidence of occasional feasting.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Mid to late 13th century**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prosperous merchant or administrator of the city’s government</th>
<th>Dietary Indicators</th>
<th>Site</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1. Consumption of young animals.</td>
<td><strong>North Gate, Area 1, Plot 2 (House 14)</strong> (Hurley 1997c, 21) (McCarthy 1997b, 155) Piglet bones found in conjunction with teal bones. Deer phalanx and roasted bone fragments.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. Wild animals recovered.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. Evidence for roasting of meat.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Urban Oligarchy</th>
<th>Faunal – 1. Wide range of animals consumed. 2. Young animals.</th>
<th><strong>Grattan Street, Area 1</strong> (Lennon 2003, 65-6) (McCarthy 2003, 375-89) (McCarthy 1991b)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Faunal</td>
<td>Phillip’s Lane Cutting 3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 1. Wide range of animals.  
2. Wild animals. | (O’Donnell 2003b, 91-3)  
(McCarthy 2003, 375-89) |

Archaeobotany  
1. Wide range of plants.  
2. Evidence of ‘exotics’.  
3. Frequent wheat remains.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Faunal</th>
<th>11-13 Washington Street</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 1. Wide range of animals.  
2. Wild animals.  
3. Young animals. | (McCarthy 2003, 375-89)  
(McCarthy 1991a) |

(Note – occupants of site were well off, did not live as extravagantly as those at Grattan Street, as least as manifested by artefacts and dietary data, also could be accident of excavation location and retrieval methods)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Faunal</th>
<th>1-4 St Peter’s Avenue</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 1. Wide range of animals exploited.  
Evidence of veal, lamb and suckling pig.  
Hare and deer (femur) consumption.  
Wildfowl – woodcock. | |

Archaeobotany – Very frequent fig, wheat, bread wheat and possible mustard seeds. (McClatchie 2003, 400-1)
### Late 13th to early 14th century

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wealthy merchant class</th>
<th>Dietary Indicators</th>
<th>Site</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Faunal                  | 1. Wide range of animals  
2. Wild animals | **Phillip’s Lane Cutting 3**  
(O’Donnell 2003b, 91-3)  
(McCarthy 2003, 375-89) |
| Archaeobotany           | 1. Wide range of plants.  
2. Evidence of exotic plants. | Wide range of animals.  
Pig-breeding stock.  
Horse-bones (not butchered).  
Cinquefoil seed (imported plant, possibly had medicinal use in this contexts).  
(Notes – occupants of site were well off, did not live as extravagantly as those at Grattan Street, as least as manifested by artefacts and dietary data, also could be accident of excavation location and retrieval methods) |
| **Urban Oligarchy**      | Archæobotanical Remains  
1. Wild range of plants.  
2. Presence of exotics. | **Grattan Street, Area 3**  
(Lennon 2003, 75-6)  
All samples came from the garderobe and included a substantial amount of fig seeds, grape and evidence of cereal crops. |
| **Possible prosperous**  | Faunal –  
1. Wide range of | **Skiddy’s Lane**  
(McCarthy 2003, 375-89) |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>merchant</th>
<th>animals.</th>
<th>Deer bone (unspecified).</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2. Wild animals.</td>
<td>Bone from immature dolphin.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A3.2 Dietary Evidence – ‘Artisan’ class occupation

Present research model outlines dietary indicators for prosperous artisans and mid-ranking merchant occupation as follows:

- **Faunal remains**
  - Relatively wide variety of animals consumed.
  - Infrequent remains of young animals, e.g. suckling pigs, calves, lambs, goslings.
  - Infrequent recovery of wild mammals and wild fowl, (deer, rabbit, woodcock) sourced through gift-giving by the elite or poaching.
  - Sporadic evidence of feasting.
  - Infrequent evidence for the roasting of meats, common evidence for stewing and boiling of meat.
  - Recovery of all parts of the animal, indicating that the less choice cuts of meat were also consumed, may also suggest that whole or semi whole animals were butchered on, or within the site (this is more common in the houses outside the city walls in Barrack Street).
  - Very low occurrence of rare animals such as whales/dolphins etc.

- **Plant Remains**
  - Moderate variety of plants consumed.
  - Less frequent wheat consumption, more focus on other grains such as oats and barley.
  - Infrequent recovery of exotic seeds present, e.g. figs and grapes.
  - Rare occurrence of exotic spices e.g. mustard seeds.
A3.1a Examples from Cork, grouped according to closest date range for the construction and occupation of the remains

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>‘Artisan’ Class</th>
<th>Dietary Indicators</th>
<th>Site</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(Prosperous)</td>
<td>Archaeobotanical-1. Rare exotic plants.</td>
<td>40-8 South Main Street (House 10 in report) (Lyons 2010, n.p.). (McCarthy 2011 n.p.) Rare fig seed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1. Good representation of three domesticated species. 2. Primary butchery waste.</td>
<td>Hanover Street (Rose Cleary) (McCarthy 2003, 375-89) (McCarthy 1996, n.p.). Good representation of animal bones, all parts of the animal present, on-site or nearby butchery. Two types of butchery apparent in remains, may illustrate the transitional nature of occupation during this period. Archaeobotanical remains have high frequency of hazelnut, indicative of period and possible Hiberno-Norse influence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Archaeobotanical remains – no exotics</td>
<td>Hanover Street CMD (McClatchie 2003, 391-414) Archaeobotanical study suggests cereal processing was on-going within this site.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Late 12th to early 13th centuries

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>‘Artisan’ Class</th>
<th>Dietary Indicators</th>
<th>Site</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(Prosperous)</td>
<td>Archaeobotanical remains – no exotics.</td>
<td>Hanover Street CMD (McClatchie 2003, 391-414) Archaeobotanical study suggests cereal processing was on-going within this site.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 1. No wild animals and high-status foods | **Tuckey Street** (*O’Donnell 2003*)  
(McCarthy 2003, 375-89)  
(McCarthy 1997c *n.p.*)  
(McClatchie 2003, 391-414)  
Higher incidence of pigs than sheep, may reflect the timeframe, may indicate a Hiberno-Norse influence or provisioned food for military presence. Plant remains could be indicative of fodder for animals. |
| 2. Primary butchery waste | |
| 3. Archaeobotany – no exotics, more barley and oat than wheat. | |

| 1. No wild animals and high-status foods.  
2. Primary butchery waste. | **40-8 South Main Street (Houses 9 and 15?)**  
(Lyons 2010, *n.p.*)  
(McCarthy 2011 *n.p.*)  
Higher incidence of pigs than sheep, may reflect the timeframe, may indicate a Hiberno-Norse influence. |

| 1. Good representation of three domesticated species.  
2. Primary butchery waste. | **No. 3 Barrack Street**  
(McCarthy 2003, 375-89)  
(McCarthy 1999, *n.p.*)  
(McClatchie 2003, 391-414)  
Dietary remains show no distinct evidence for poverty or wealth. Kept own flock of domestic fowl. General picture is self-sufficient site, possibly provisioned whole animals from hinterland, or kept animals, certainly kept a flock of domestic fowl. Possible Hiberno-Norse or Gaelic Irish presence on the site. |

| 1. Good representation of three domesticated species.  
2. Primary butchery waste.  
3. occasional high-status eating | **Barrack Street (1989)**  
(McCarthy 1993, 42-6)  
(McCarthy 1989, *n.p.*)  
Animals slaughtered on, or in the vicinity of the site. Occasional young animals consumed. Pelvis bone from fallow deer Rabbit bone Occasional episodes of feasting. Wildfowl. General picture is of very self-sufficient site, possibly provisioned whole animals from hinterland, or kept animals, certainly kept a flock of domestic fowl Possible Hiberno-Norse or Native Irish presence on the site. |

| 1. Good representation of | **No. 5 Barrack Street**  
(McCarthy 2003, 375-89) |
Appendix 3

| three domesticated species. | (McCarthy 1999, *n.p.*)  |
| Primary butchery waste.   | (McClatchie 2003, 391-414) |
| Increase of cattle consumption during this period. General picture is self-sufficient site, possibly provisioned whole animals from hinterland, or kept animals, certainly kept a flock of domestic fowl. Possible Hiberno-Norse or Gaelic Irish presence on the site. |  |

Mid- to late 13th century

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>‘Artisan’ Class Dietary Indicators</th>
<th>Site</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Good representation of three main domesticated species. 2. Infrequent young animals consumed. 3. Infrequent wild animals.</td>
<td><strong>11-13 Washington Street</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(McCarthy 2003, 375-89)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(McCarthy 1991a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(McClatchie 2003, 391-414)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Good representation of domesticated species, with higher incidence of pig. May indicate personal preference or slightly higher status food consumption. Very occasional high-status food consumption in form of suckling pig and venison (1 deer radius). If the occupant was employed to work with horses or trading with them in the hinterland, maybe they had contact with the elite and therefore access to occasional high status foods.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Good representation of three main domesticated species. 2. Infrequent young animals consumed. 3. Infrequent wild animals.</td>
<td><strong>Tobin Street</strong></td>
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<td>(McCarthy 2003, 375-89)</td>
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<td>(McCarthy 1988)</td>
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<td>(McClatchie 2003, 391-414)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Good representation of main domesticated species. Large amount of sheeps heads and pigs’ trotters. Could imply there were used together to make ‘head-cheese’, savoury jellies and pie-fillings. Sheep’s heads often had medicinal use as purported treatment for rickets. Also can be a peasant food.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Large quantity of primary butchery waste.
Very occasional high status food, rabbit, 3 teal bones and 1 thrush bone.
May suggest a cook/butcher was in residence or simply reflect personal taste for offal on the part of the occupants.
A3.3 Dietary Evidence

Present research model outlines dietary indicators for labourer/servant/un-free burgess/‘working poor’ occupation as follows*:

- Small variety of animals consumed.
- Very rare occurrence of the remains of young animals.
- Little or no evidence for the consumption of wild mammals and wildfowl.
- No evidence for feasting events.
- No evidence for the roasting of meats, all meats appeared to have been stewed or boiled.
- Recovery of all parts of the animal, indicating that the less choice cuts of meat were also consumed, may also suggest that whole or semi whole animals were butchered on, or within the site (this is more common in the houses outside the city walls in Barrack Street).
- No occurrence of rare animals such as whales/dolphins etc.

- Plant Remains
  - Small variety of plants consumed.
  - Infrequent evidence of wheat consumption, more focus on other grains such as oat and barley.
  - No evidence exotic seeds present.
  - No occurrence of exotic spices.
  - Evidence for the consumption of low-grade plants, often interpreted as ‘Famine Foods’ in modern times, e.g. charlock.
  - Frequent evidence of cess deposits in and around the dwelling areas.
  - Plants associated with waste ground found near the dwelling areas.

* Although there were no areas identified using these indicators, an evaluation of all the relevant evidence has suggested these criteria for establishing the status of this type of site.