

URBAN ARCHAEOLOGY SURVEY

PART XV

COUNTY CLARE

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## LIST OF CONTENTS

List of Figures.....	2
Acknowledgements.....	4
General Introduction.....	5
Introduction to Co. Clare.....	12
Bunratty.....	15
Ennis.....	44
Killaloe.....	92
Bibliography.....	118

## LIST OF FIGURES

- Fig. 1. County Clare: Location map of towns and boroughs.
- Fig. 2. Aerial view of Bunratty from east (Courtesy Cambridge Aerial Coll).
- Fig. 3. Bunratty Castle from S.
- Fig. 4. Bunratty Castle: outline floor plans.
- Fig. 5. Bunratty Castle: shiela-na-gig in great hall.
- Fig. 6. Bunratty Castle: detail of plaster ceiling in SE tower chapel.
- Fig. 7. Bunratty parish church from south.
- Fig. 8. Ground plan of Bunratty parish church.
- Fig. 9. Bunratty parish church: east window in south wall.
- Fig. 10. Bunratty: zone of archaeological potential.
- Fig. 11. Moland's view of Ennis 1703 (Photo: NLI)
- Fig. 12. Outline map of Ennis showing the principal archaeological features.
- Fig. 13. Ennis: John Cruce wall plaque.
- Fig. 14. Ennis: Jacobean style chimneys on house at the corner of Abbey St. and Francis St.
- Fig. 15. Ennis: Jacobean style chimneys on house at corner of Parnell St. and Chapel Lane.
- Fig. 16. Franciscan Friary, Ennis, from SE.
- Fig. 17. Plan of Franciscan Friary, Ennis.
- Fig. 18. East wall of south transept, Franciscan Friary, Ennis.
- Fig. 19. Cloisters of Franciscan Friary, Ennis, from SE.
- Fig. 20. Figure of St Francis, west wall of crossing tower, Franciscan Friary, Ennis.
- Fig. 21. The Creagh tomb (1843), Franciscan Friary, Ennis, incorporating fragments of the MacMahon tomb (c.1470).
- Fig. 22. Canopy of the MacMahon tomb (c.1470), Franciscan

Friary, Ennis.

- Fig. 23. Resurrection panel from MacMahon tomb.
- Fig. 24. Ennis: ground plan of tower house in the Old Ground Hotel.
- Fig. 25. Ennis: zone of archaeological potential.
- Fig. 26. Aerial view of Killaloe from SE (Courtesy Cambridge Aerial Coll.)
- Fig. 27. St. Flannan's Oratory, Killaloe, from SW.
- Fig. 28. Ground plan of St. Flannan's oratory.
- Fig. 29. Early Christian cross-slab in St. Flannan's Oratory, Killaloe.
- Fig. 30. St. Flannan's Cathedral, Killaloe, from SW.
- Fig. 31. Plan of St. Flannan's Cathedral, Killaloe.
- Fig. 32. Romanesque arch in St. Flannan's Cathedral, Killaloe.
- Fig. 33. Ogham/Rune Stone in St. Flannan's Cathedral, Killaloe.
- Fig. 34. Early Christian cross-slab in St. Flannan's Cathedral, Killaloe.
- Fig. 35. Cross (12th cent.), St. Flannan's Cathedral, Killaloe.
- Fig. 36. Font (13/14th cent.), St. Flannan's Cathedral, Killaloe.
- Fig. 37. St. Molua's church, moved from Friar's Island to its present position at Killaloe in 1930.
- Fig. 38. St. Molua's church: ground plan and section.
- Fig. 39. Killaloe: zone of archaeological potential.



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## GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Towns pose one of the most formidable problems faced by archaeology today. Lived in and occupied over long periods of time, and often covering quite large areas, they are the most complex form of human settlement that we know of. Deep archaeological deposits have accumulated in most towns as a result of the long period of occupation and, accordingly, towns are among the most important areas of our heritage. However, towns are also the homes of modern communities, and are the centres of present-day business, industry and cultural life. The requirements of modern life has brought considerable change to many towns with extensive road widening, building schemes, housing estates and industrial development. The demolition of buildings and the digging of deep foundations has brought about irrevocable change in the appearance of towns, and change, in this century, means more thorough destruction than anything that has gone before. The problem for archaeology is not one of preservation, although this may be desirable, but of recording standing buildings and archaeological levels before they are destroyed. The unfortunate truth is that what is not recorded now has little chance of ever being recorded later.

By its nature archaeology is concerned with the past of ordinary people. The fragmentary building remains, pottery sherds and scraps of worked stone or wood which the

archaeologist discovers cannot be used to reconstruct political movements or great administrative changes. These parts of our past can only be glimpsed from documents, from what people who were alive at the time have observed themselves or heard related. Archaeological data, however, can tell us a great deal about the everyday life of ordinary people and the quality of that life in terms of the technological and economic resources of the particular time and place in question.

Urban archaeology may be defined as the study of the evolution and changing character of urban communities from their earliest origins until modern times; more especially it is concerned with the reconstruction of the natural and human environment within which and as part of which human actions take place. A methodical definition such as this, however, should not obscure the fact that urban archaeology is fundamentally concerned with the past of ordinary citizens, of the form of their houses and streets, of the business of their markets and workshops, of the style and arrangement of their churches, of health and disease, of the variety of cultural, religious and economic activity; in short, it is concerned with the life and death of communities ancestral to our own.

#### Development of Urban Archaeology

For long the study of the urban past has largely been the preserve of historians, sociologists and geographers and it

is only recently that the potential of archaeology to uncover the past has been realised. Part of the reason for this is the general lack of awareness that almost all towns have archaeological deposits. This stems in part from the incomprehension of the ordinary man-in-the-street that a town which is lived-in can have archaeological deposits at all: purely because it is lived in, one tends to think that everything of past ages, unless it is visibly standing has been swept away. In part it also stems from the fact that the construction on a vast scale of buildings requiring deep foundations has only occurred recently, and it is only as a consequence that archaeological deposits have come to light. It is also due to the fact that, in previous centuries, archaeological methods and techniques were not advanced enough to take advantage of opportunities even if they did arise. Until relatively modern times the buildings of one generation have been constructed upon the foundations of the last. As structure replaced structure the ground level rose slightly and over the centuries, in cities such as Dublin, considerable depths of archaeological deposits have accumulated.

It was at Novgorod in Russia that the potential of urban archaeology was first revealed. There, organic remains were found in large quantities and it became possible to reconstruct entire streetscapes and to chronicle the changes which happened in them as one generation succeeded the next (Thompson 1967). Gradually as excavation took place in England and Germany it became apparent that the rich

archaeological material in towns was not just a side-light on urban life but it could contribute greatly to our understanding of the archaeology of entire periods and regions. In Ireland the first scientific excavations were commenced at Dublin Castle in 1961 and excavations were to continue in Dublin for the next twenty years. The interest aroused by the High Street and, later, the Wood Quay excavations was widespread and it created an interest in the archaeology of other towns. To date, excavations have taken place in about twenty Irish towns.

Urban sites are important to the archaeologist for a number of reasons. Firstly, in all towns archaeological deposits form the earliest archive. Only a handful of Irish towns are referred to prior to 1200 AD and it is only during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries that references become anyway common. Yet the urban life of many towns has continued unbroken since the twelfth or early thirteenth century, while the origins of others lie in the Viking, Early Christian and Prehistoric periods. Even when references occur they rarely throw much light on daily life and tend to be more concerned with political and administrative events. Indeed, most individual properties within towns have no documentation relating directly to them until the late-seventeenth or early-eighteenth century. To all intents and purposes, then, individual sites within towns may have remained completely prehistoric, in so far as they have no documentation, until the seventeenth century or later. Accordingly, archaeological excavation is important if one is



to gain any knowledge of the initial period of a town's foundation or of how a particular area evolved and was used.

Secondly, towns usually possess a much greater depth of stratigraphy than any other type of archaeological site. Stratified deposits are important because they preserve the sequence of developments on a particular site and the wealth of finds associated with urban sites means that it is usually possible to date both structures and layers quite closely. This is particularly important because it makes it possible to establish tight chronologies for artefacts.

Thirdly, the archaeology of a region cannot be understood without knowing what happened to the towns within it. Each town is a unique expression of the history of its area and the destruction of its archaeology would leave an irreplaceable gap in knowledge of the evolution of the region.

The recovery of this information is threatened, however, by the increasing redevelopment and gradual expansion of our cities and towns. It is very difficult to foresee the effects of this redevelopment when the extent of archaeological deposits is generally not known to the Planning Authority and it has happened in the past that the archaeological significance of a site has only become apparent when building work was about to commence. It is important then that the areas containing archaeological deposits should be identified if the potential of this important part of our heritage is to be realised.

## Purpose and Aim of the Present Survey

The Urban Archaeology Survey was established with monies allocated for the purpose by the Minister for Finance in 1982. Its purpose was to compile a corpus of archaeological information on Ireland's towns and to present it in such a way that it could be used effectively by the archaeologist, urban planner, property developer, or interested layman. In this regard the survey has been guided by a submission prepared by the Royal Irish Academy on Urban Archaeology which recommended that the report should have four aims:

1. "To evaluate critically the archaeological potential, both above and below ground of the listed towns".
2. "To emphasise areas where the archaeological deposits could be preserved by the judicious use of new building techniques and the presentation of open spaces, etc."
3. "To assess the level of destruction of the original townscape".
4. "To measure the effects of urban expansion on originally rural archaeological sites".

The chronological cut-off point beyond which material would not be included was 1700 AD.

The identification of sites which were urban centres before 1700 AD is not without difficulties. In many cases such an identification is dependent on the survival of documentary evidence. However, it was felt that it was better

to follow the existing work of Graham (1977) and Martin (1981) rather than impose new criteria. Accordingly the sites which are included here are those for which there is evidence of their status as boroughs prior to 1700 AD.

In the reports the material is presented as follows: the situation of the site is outlined and a brief account of its archaeological and historical background is provided. This is followed by an archaeological inventory which endeavours to catalogue both extant sites and those which are known from documentary sources. Although the amount of information on each town may vary the catalogue follows the same format for each entry, firstly detailing the information on streets and street pattern, and following this with an account of the domestic buildings, market places and economic features such as quays and industrial areas. The seigneurial castle and town defences are described next together with the religious buildings of the town. The evidence for suburbs and activity outside the walls is then outlined and the inventory concludes with a summary of the archaeological excavations and a list of the stray finds. The inventory is followed by an assessment of the archaeological potential of the site.

## INTRODUCTION TO CO. CLARE

The present urban network of the county developed in relatively recent times and there are only three centres in the county which claim the attention of the urban archaeologist, Bunratty, Ennis, and Killaloe.

Killaloe is well known for its monastery and perhaps, even more so, for the famous Ua Briain fort of Kincora. References in Icelandic sagas and in early Anglo-Norman documentation place it beyond doubt that it was an urban centre prior to the coming of the Normans. Despite the fact that the Normans were responsible for the present name of the county, their urban impact was slight, and was effectively confined to the foundation of one borough, Bunratty, which was established about 1250.

The exact duration of the urban settlement at Bunratty is unknown but it does not appear to have lasted more than a century and it was described as in ruins by 1321. It was a substantial settlement, nonetheless, with a sizeable population and it was enclosed within its own defensive ramparts.

The foundation of Ennis in the late sixteenth century marks the beginning of the modern urban network that characterizes the county. Some form of settlement seems to have existed at Scariff, where iron-working was being carried

out, by the close of the seventeenth century and it is likely that there was a settlement at Ennistimon by this time also. Both sites were clearly overshadowed by Ennis, however, and their development into towns seems to have occurred largely during the eighteenth century.

Newmarket-on-Fergus is a good example of an eighteenth century estate town and was laid out, in much of its present form, by 1768. Kilrush may have seventeenth century origins but its present layout owes much to the Vandeleur family who rebuilt much of the town in the early nineteenth century. Kilkee and Miltown Malbay both developed in the nineteenth century as resort towns designed to accomodate Limerick's leisured classes. In more recent times these older urban centres have continued to grow and only one new town, at Shannon, has been established.

This report provides an account of the archaeological remains in the towns and borough's of Clare which were founded by 1700, and it provides an assessment of their importance to archaeological research. It outlines the areas where archaeological deposits are likely to survive and highlights each town's potential to increase our knowledge of the development of urban life in Ireland. Finally, recommendations are made as to how this potential can be best realized. In the map outlining the zone of archaeological potential the following colour code is used:

Pink: the zone of archaeological potential.

Red: extant archaeological monuments.



Purple: sites of known monuments.

Uncontrolled redevelopment can destroy a town's fragile archaeological heritage and it is the hope of this report that the recommended steps will be taken in order to ensure that urban development and archaeological research may go forward together.

## BUNRATTY

Bunratty is located on the Limerick-Ennis road at the point where it crosses the mouth of a small river, the Bunratty or Owenogarney river, flowing into the Shannon estuary. The placename is derived from Bun Raite, "the mouth of the Raite". The site was of considerable strategic importance during the Middle Ages because the passage of ships on the Shannon could be controlled from here.

## ARCHAEOLOGICAL & HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The district in which Bunratty is situated was known in the Middle Ages as 'Tradraighe' or 'Traderry'. The Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaibh, a twelfth century work, states that c.960 "the foreigners (Vikings) of all north Mumhan assembled around Tratraighe, and they raised a fortifying bank all round Tratraighe, and they proposed to render all Tratraighe one garrison, and from it to conquer the whole of north Mumhain and Ui Conaill" (Todd 1867, 61). In Todd's (1867, cx, n.3) view this fortification was erected at Bunratyy. Apart from this possible Viking settlement, however, there is no evidence of any significant settlement at Bunratty until the middle of the thirteenth century. Tradery was granted to Arnold Keting before 1199, the year in which he returned it to King John (Sweetman 1875-86, i, no. 106) and it was

retained by the crown throughout the first half of the thirteenth century (Orpen 1911-20, iv, 53-4). The first evidence of effective Anglo-Norman settlement, however, occurs after 1248 when Tradery was granted to Robert de Muscegros (Sweetman 1875-86, i, no. 3126). He seems to have established an immediate settlement at Bunratty. A castle was under construction in 1251 and in 1253 he was granted the right to have a vill, with weekly market and yearly fair, in his land of "Bunraty" (Sweetman 1875-86, ii, no. 155), while a parish church was in existence by 1256. The settlement may have been destroyed in the course of upheavals in the early 1270s when Brian Rua O Briain, king of Thomond, attacked the Anglo-Norman settlements (Orpen 1911-20, iv, 64-5). In 1275 a later Robert de Muscegros was forced to surrender the castle of Bunratty to the king "to be held against Irish rebels" until the restoration of peace (Sweetman 1875-86, ii, no. 1167), and in 1276 de Muscegros reached an arrangement with the king under which Bunratty and Tradery were granted to Thomas de Clare (Sweetman 1875-86, ii, nos. 1202-4, 1223-4).

The fourteenth century Cathreim Toirdelbaig suggests that Bunratty was largely rebuilt, perhaps refounded, by de Clare. After recording the erection of a stone castle at Bunratty in 1277, the Caithreim adds: "this settlement then he, with common English so many as by bribes and purchase he was able to retain, proceeded to inhabit" (O'Grady 1929, ii, 7-8). This settlement had borough status. No charter survives but on de Clare's death in 1287 an extent of the manor of Bunratty was drawn up which noted that the burgesses of the

vill held 226 burgages, paying 13l. 6s. annual rent (Sweetman 1875-86, iii, no. 459, pp. 207-8). The extant also noted a hundred court, a shambles worth 3s. yearly, fairs worth half a mark yearly, a watermill, a fish-pond, and a (rabbit) warren.

Throughout the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries Bunratty continued to be exposed to Ui Briain attacks. The castle seems to have held out against these but the borough, in spite of having been enclosed by a "broad-based high-crested rampart" (O'Grady 1929, ii, 8), must have suffered serious disruption. The Caithreim contains an account of a siege of Bunratty by Toirrdelbach O Briain dated 1305, but which MacNamara (1913-15, 233-4, 257) dates c.1285. It notes that O Briain burned the "outer premises" and the "goodly town" before laying siege to the castle itself although he later lifted the siege (O'Grady 1929, ii, 31). Toirrdelbach besieged the castle again in 1298 but the siege was raised by the justiciar, John de Wogan (Sweetman 1875-86, iv, no. 474, p. 223; no. 521, p. 269), and there seems to have been another siege in 1299 (MacNamara 1913-15, 258). Bunratty was the scene of a battle fought in 1311 between William de Burgh and Richard de Clare allied to two opposing Ui Briain factions in which de Clare was victorious (AI; Gilbert 1884, ii, 339; O'Grady 1929, ii, 44). In 1314 Bunratty was burned in de Clare's absence by Muirchertach O Briain (AI; O'Grady 1929, ii, 73), and the most serious blow of all came in 1318 with the defeat and death of Richard de Clare at the battle of Dysert O'Dea. After the battle,

Muirchertach O Briain came to Bunratty and, according to the Caithreim, found that de Clare's widow had fled, leaving the town "deserted, empty, wrapped in fire" (O'Grady 1929, ii, 129). This was a major setback although the Anglo-Norman colony at Bunratty struggled on for a few more years. The castle continued to be garrisoned and some reconstruction of the deserted borough was attempted. In 1321 an inquisition taken on the death of Richard de Clare's son and heir, Thomas, stated that "the remaining houses below the precinct of the castle are delapidated and in ruins and cannot be reckoned as dwellings ... the lands of the lordship are waste and out of cultivation for the past three years; neither are there any free tenants or others dwelling in Thomond ... with the exception of a few dwellers in the town, who are beginning to rebuild in the same town which was burned and destroyed in the day when Lord Richard de Clare was slain" (MacNamara 1913-15, 249). Any attempt at reconstruction, however, must have been finally brought to an end by the destruction of the castle in 1332, and although the castle was rebuilt there is no evidence for the existence of the borough in the later Middle Ages.

#### ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVENTORY

1. SITE OF BOROUGH
2. DOMESTIC HOUSES



3. TOWN DEFENCES
4. HARBOUR
5. POSSIBLE MOTTE
6. CASTLE
7. PARISH CHURCH
8. MISCELLANEOUS

1. SITE OF BOROUGH

The complex of monuments at Bunratty is situated on a hillock which Westropp (1917, 14-15) described as being surrounded by marshes on the south, west and north. In his time it was still isolated at high tides forming a naturally defensive location. The borough was situated in this area, most likely on the high ground north and west of the castle.

2. DOMESTIC HOUSES

Hunt (1958-61a, 88-9) records the discovery of a possible brick-and-timber built house, dating to the sixteenth/seventeenth century, NW of the castle.

3. TOWN DEFENCES

The natural hillock forming the borough site was enclosed by a bank and ditch, whose outline survived quite clearly in Westropp's time. The ditch was cut into the base of the hill and it left "a band like an outer bank all round ...36 feet to 48 feet wide" (Westropp 1917, 15). Much of the

ditch on the north and west was filled in, although its line was marked by a band of iris and rushes. Today, traces of the bank survive on the north-west where it is 1.5 m high and 2 m wide with an internal ditch 1.5 m deep and 3 m wide. The bank has been removed on the south-west but the ditch, 4 m wide and 2 m deep, survives.

The Caithreim account of Thomas de Clare's rebuilding of Bunratty in 1277 states that he enclosed the settlement with a "broad-based high-crested rampart, running from the stream (Bunraty river) to the sea, [i.e. the Shannon]" (O'Grady 1929, ii, 8). Westropp (1917, 14-15) suggested that the earthworks dated ultimately to the fortification of Tradery by the Vikings and that they merely have been restored by de Clare in 1277.

#### 4. HARBOUR

One of the most important factors in the siting of the castle was its accessibility to ships and it seems likely that the castle had a harbour on the adjacent Bunratty river. The Cathreim contains a poetic reference to "Bunratty of the wide roads, oared galleys and safe harbour" (O'Grady 1929, ii, 122), and in describing Toirdelbach O Briain's siege of the castle, notes that he erected a plank bridge ("claidroichead") "which spanned its sea-channel to the opposite shore", in order to prevent ships from reaching the castle (O'Grady 1929, ii, 31).

The site of the harbour is unknown but presumably it was somewhere along the west bank of the river and possibly fairly close to the castle.

#### 5. POSSIBLE MOTTE

There is a rectangular mound on high ground north west of the castle which Westropp (1917, 14-15) suggested may have been the original motte castle. This was excavated by Hunt (1958-61a) who considered it to be post 16th century in date. The long axis of the mound, which is 3 m high, is north-south and it measures 11.7 E-W by 18 m N-S on top. The base measures 23 m E-W by 30 m N-S. Westropp noted two ditches and a "bailey". Landscaping has since removed all evidence for the ditches but the sub-rectangular lawn, south of the mound, which is raised about 1-3 m above surrounding ground level is presumably the remains of the "bailey". Although the ground on which this mound is built is higher than that on which the castle is built, the ground on the opposite side of the road to the west of the Castle Hotel and church is even higher and would possibly have been a better position for a motte. Hunt (1958-61b, 105) suggested that this was the site of the first castle.

#### 8. CASTLE

The origins of the earliest castle at Bunratty are probably to be found in a grant by the king to Robert de

Muscegro's in 1251 of 30l. a year for two years "to enable him to fortify his castles of Tradery and Ocorm'" (Sweetman 1875-86, i, no. 3126). Bunratty is the most likely site for the castle of Tradery (Orpen 1911-20, iv, 60; MacNamara 1913-15, 228). In 1252 and 1253 de Muscegro's received permission to take 260 oak trees from the royal forests apparently in order to fortify his castles (Sweetman 1875-86, ii, nos. 51, 155-6; MacNamara 1913-15, 228). The indications are that this castle was replaced by one of stone in 1277. Excavations have disproved the suggestion made by MacNamara (1913-15, 227, 256, 298 n.87) and Westropp (1913-15, 315-16) that a mound north of the present castle represents a motte built by de Muscegro's (Hunt 1958-61). Hunt (1958-61, 103) suggested that the motte stood on higher ground west of the present castle, near the church but there is no evidence for this. Ryan (1981, 12-13) has reported the recent discovery of a motte and bailey castle at Clonmoney West, about 2 klm west of Bunratty castle but it cannot be demonstrated that this was de Muscegro's' original motte castle either.

O'Donovan (AFM, iii, 428, n.1) noted a record of the erection of the castle of Bunratty in 1277 by Thomas de Clare, in the Dublin "Annals of Inisfallen" and this is supported by the Cathreim, which describes de Clare's construction of "a castle of dressed stone, girt with thick outer wall, containing a roofed impregnable donjon and having capacious limewhited appurtenances" (O'Grady 1929, ii, 7-8). This account agrees well with a description in the inquisition taken on the death of Thomas de Clare in 1321:

"there is a fortress in which is a large tower, the walls whereof are sufficiently good, but not built up [to the top] nor roofed: near the tower is a good stone chamber with a cellar filled up with stones, and there is another chamber adjoining the same, a sort of 'open space' (platea) entirely covered over with planks; a stone kitchen, in which are a cistern and an oven, is joined to the chamber and the tower" (MacNamara 1913-15, 249). From this it would seem that the castle had a large keep with outbuildings surrounded by a curtain wall. Further information on the castle is provided by the accounts of royal officials in the period 1287-99, when the castle was in the king's hands. In 1289, £11. 10s. 8d. was spent in making 25.5 perches (about 140 yards) of a fosse around the castle with a palisade, and also a fosse for the mill, and £5 3s. 9d. was spent in "covering the big tower" and the chamber near the river, buying new locks for the gate, and raising a wooden tower beyond the gate, and repairing houses within the castle (MacNamara 1913-15, 237). In 1292-3 Henry le Waleys, sheriff of Limerick, spent a further £10 on repairs to the castle (37 RDKPRI, 51-2), and in 1299 the escheator, Walter de Haye, spent £7 0s. 0d. on "repairs of the castle, a certain stone chamber and other houses (37 RDKPRI, 239). These repairs may have been occasioned by the attacks on the settlement c.1285, in 1298 and 1299. The description of the keep, in the 1321 inquisition, as "not built up, nor roofed" suggests that the castle, like the town, was burned in the wake of the battle of Dysert O'Dea in 1318. The castle was not abandoned,



however. The escheator's accounts for 1318 include wages paid to "5 men-at-arms with 5 caparisoned horses, 12 hobelars and 78 footmen ... remaining in the garrison of Bonrat Castle, to protect it and the parts adjacent after the death of Richard de Clare" (42 RDKPRI, 21). Since the period covered by this account begins with the precise date of the battle, it would appear that this considerable garrison was de Clare's own. Custody of the castle was given to John le Poer, baron of Dounyll, until the coming of age of Richard de Clare's heir, and William de Hamptoun was appointed constable of the castle (42 RDKPRI, 20). In 1326 the constable, Herbert de Sutton, was instructed to deliver its custody to James de Bello Fago (Tresham 1828, 37: no. 141) and in 1327 it was noted that the castle was part of the inheritance of Robert de Clifford, then a minor for whom it was being held by Margaret de Badlesmere, a sister of Richard de Clare (Sayles 1979, 128-9; MacNamara 1913-15, 250). Further details of the garrison of the castle are recorded in 1330, when Arnalde Outlawe was paid wages for himself, eleven men-at-arms and forty-eight footmen "remaining as a garrison in the castle of Bonrath by order of the Deputy ... for 21 days" (43 RDKPRI, 43-4).

The castle, "which by the judgement of many was impregnable" says Clyn, was captured by Muirchertach O Briain and MacConmara (Butler 1849, 24). Clyn states that the castle was not merely captured but destroyed and this is supported by a set of Dublin annals (Gilbert 1884, ii, 377). The castle was briefly regained from Irish hands and it was rebuilt and repaired by the justiciar, Sir Thomas de Rokeby, in 1353

(Gwynn and Gleeson 1961, 335, 365; MacNamara 1913-15, 252). Its frontier position, however, is highlighted by the fact that in 1355-6, Thomas FitzJohn FitzMaurice was imprisoned in Limerick castle where he was charged with losing Bunratty castle to the Irish (Tresham 1828, 64: no. 148).

The history of the castle in the later Middle Ages is obscure. MacNamara (1913-15, 263-4) suggests that the present castle was built by Maccon, son of Sioda MacConmara, chief of Clann Cuilein, who died c.1444, and by his son Sean Finn, chief from 1444-67. It is not clear how, or when, the castle passed from MacConmara to O Briain hands. MacNamara (1913-15, 265-7) thought that this may have occurred c.1500, but Gwynn and Gleeson (1961, 432) suggest that the patronage of the church of Bunratty was in O Briain hands by 1444, which casts doubts on MacNamara's reconstruction of the castle's history. In 1558 Bunratty was described as one of the "chief towns" of Thomond, along with Clonroad and Clare castles (AFM), but MacNamara (1913-15, 269) suggests that Donnchadh O Briain, 4th earl of Thomond (1581-1624) and Henry, the 5th earl (1624-39), were the first earls to make Bunratty their main residence. In 1570, during the rebellion of Conchobhar, 3rd earl of Thomond, Bunratty had been taken and garrisoned for the crown by the earl of Ormond (Hamilton 1860, 430-2), but it was restored to O Briain in 1574 (12 RDKPRI, 126: no. 2434). In 1646 the earl of Thomond quartered a Parliamentary regiment at Bunratty (Hogan 1936, 198-203), when the garrison totalled 1200 men (Mahaffy 1901, 460). It was captured, however, by the Confederate Catholics, after a long siege

(MacNamara 1913-15, 289-309). Subsequently Bunratty was never lived in by the earls of Thomond. In 1656 it was leased to John Cooper and thereafter it passed to a number of tenants (MacNamara 1913-15, 311-13).

### Description

The castle is situated on low ground west of the Bunratty river. It is a large rectangular keep, consisting of a central block with four corner towers. The central block has three floors while the corner towers have five floors. The masonry consists of roughly coursed rubble limestone with limestone quoins and jambs. Stylistically the structure is of late fifteenth century date. It is entered now at first floor level.

### Ground Floor

The present entrance is through a flat lintelled passage in the west side of the north wall. The passage opens into a long rectangular round barrel vaulted chamber lit by three widely splaying slits with stepped sills in the east wall. The south wall has a splayed flat lintelled slit in the west side and a door and small mural chamber have been inserted into the east side. A blocked passage with round vaulted roof to the north is now in use as a modern store-room. There are chambers in each of the towers at this level but they are only accessible through trap-doors from the first floor. The chamber in the south east tower is known as the "dungeon" and

has a stone bench on the east, south and west walls.

#### First Floor: the Paved Hall

The present entrance is from a wooden staircase and drawbridge, evidence for which was discovered in the reconstruction, through a pointed chamfered limestone door in the N wall. This opens into a small hall with rounded vault and murder hole. Opening to the NE and NW towers are passages through pointed chamfered doors. The main chamber or 'paved hall' has a pointed barrell vault which rises through two floors and is lit from the east and west by two twin-light ogee-headed windows, and a triple light in the south wall. In the NE angle there is a hatch opening to a chamber which is built in the thickness of the wall between the main keep and the NE tower. Between the two windows in the east wall there is an inserted 16th century stone fireplace with moulded frame. Above the mantelpiece on the south side is the remains of an earlier chimney-hood.

The NE tower has three chambers which are now in use as a kitchen. The central one (D1.1) has a pointed vault and is lit from the N and E by flat lintelled slits. To the south there is a passage which led originally to the garderobe.

Opening from the N splay of the southern window in the east wall is a mural passage lit by a flat lintelled slit with the murder hole/chute which opens into the middle window in the east wall of the ground floor. Opening from the east side of the south splay of the same window is a passage which

leads to the rooms in the SE tower. The layout of the chambers in the towers is fairly similar throughout the castle. This includes one central chamber with an angled flat lintelled passage to a garderobe chamber lit by angle loops. In this tower the short passage is lit by a NE angle loop and by a flat lintelled slit in the N wall. The main chamber is now a men's toilet and is lit from the east by a flat lintelled slit. The garderobe to the NW, which still serves this function, is lit by a SW angle loop. Opening from the west side of the south splay of the same window is a flat arched doorway leading to a spiral stairs which divides; one section leads to the dungeon in the ground floor of the SE tower; the other section is blocked off but would have led to the second floor of the tower. The stairs to the dungeon are lit by narrow splayed loops in the N and S walls.

The SW tower has a similar layout and is a ladies Toilet. The main chamber, which has a pointed vault, is reached through a flat lintelled passage which opens from the S splay of the window in the west wall. The passage is lit by a NW angle loop and the main chamber is lit by flat lintelled slits in the south and west walls. The garderobe is lit by a SE angle loop. The NW tower also has a similar layout and is now used as a cold room. The original garderobe has been blocked up although the flat lintelled window can be seen externally.

Level between the First and Second Floors

The corner towers rise through a second level which is not reflected in the Paved Hall. There is a small hall and a wooden gallery in the thickness of the north wall. Access is obtained by a spiral stair in the west end of the north wall. The hall, which includes the mechanics of the drawbridge, and the gallery which overhangs the paved hall, is lit by a flat lintelled slit in the N wall. A passage to the NE tower is lit by angle loops to the W and N.

The NE tower has three chambers, similar to that on the floor below, with the exception of window seats in the main chamber and a chimney in the SE wall of the chamber built between the tower and the main keep. The original pointed roof survives.

The SE tower is reached via a spiral stairs which opens from the N splay of the south window in the Great Hall on the third floor. The passage is lit by a flat lintelled slit in the east wall and by an angle loop to the NE. The main chamber has a round vault and is lit from the E and S by flat lintelled splayed slits. There are wall cupboards in the west end of the south wall and the south end of the west wall. The garderobe in the NW angle is lit from the S.

Access to the SW tower is also from a window splay in the Great Hall. Its layout is similar to that on the floor below and to the SE tower although it has a pointed vault.

The chamber in the NW tower, known as the "Captains Quarters", is reached via the spiral stairs in the north

wall. The passage is lit by NE and SW angle loops. The garderobe opening to the N from the passage is lit by a splayed slit in the E wall and the main chamber is lit from the N and E by widely splayed flat lintelled slits. There is a fireplace in the west end of the south wall and the pointed vault has a decorated plaster ceiling, in bad repair, with thistle and foliage motifs set in diamond shaped cartouches.

#### Second Floor: the Great Hall

Access is from the spiral stair in the west end of the N wall, through a pointed chamfered door. The room has a modern timber roof, based on Dunsoghly castle, and is lit by five high twin-light ogee-headed windows in the east, south and west walls. They have rounded rear arches and the window in the south wall has plaster work with Renaissance foliage patterns. The northern window in the east wall has some medieval armorial glass included which is probably not of Irish origin. The two northern windows have window seats, but both are probably modern. There are traces of plaster work high on the south wall but no complete designs survive. Incorporated into the N wall is a rectangular chamber with pointed vault (partly rebuilt) lit by a flat lintelled slit to the N and with a hatch opening onto the Great Hall. Opening from the northern ends of the E and W walls are mural stairs.

The NE tower has only two rooms on this floor; the garderobe and the main chamber. The chamber has a pointed

vault which has largely been repaired with brick but the windows on the north and east wall incorporate medieval armorial glass and have window seats. The SE tower is entered from the S splay of the south window in the E wall. It has one room which functions as the chapel. There is a hatch or opening from the south end of the east wall of the Great Hall into the chapel. The chapel is lit from the east by a three light ogee-headed window with flat lintelled rear arch and an external rectangular hood moulding, and from the south by a flat lintelled slit which has window seats. There is a wall press in the south end of the east wall and an ogee-headed piscina niche in the east end of the south wall. The spandrels of the niche are decorated with foliage designs. The ceiling is pointed and has plaster work of thistles and foliage in geometric panels. Opening from the west wall of the chamber is a spiral stair which provided access to the chaplains bedroom on the mezzanine floor above. The stairs are lit by a SW angle loop. Opening eastwards from the short passage into the chapel is a mural stairs which also provides access to the mezzanine floor above. It is lit by an angle loop to the north.

The SW chamber is similar to that on the floor below with a pointed vault and is lit by two flat lintelled windows in the south and west walls. Parts of the SW angle and the window splays appear to be rebuilt. There is a wall cupboard in the west end of the north wall. A mural stair from the west side of the passage into the chamber leads to the floor above.



The NW tower is entered through a chamber which is incorporated in the angle between the tower and the main keep. It has a pointed roof and is lit by a small flat lintelled slit in the N wall. The tower has a small garderobe and the main chamber has a large inserted segmental fireplace with a rectangular embattled pediment in the NW angle. There is a wall cupboard in the south end of the west wall and a splayed cupboard in the east wall. The room is lit from the west and north by flat lintelled slits.

#### Level between the Second Floor and the Roof

This level is represented in the four corner towers and in the north solar which was built over the north wall and on an external arch crossing between the NE and NW towers. The north solar is reached from the Great Hall via the spiral stair in the NE and NW angle. It is a large rectangular room with a reconstructed wooden ceiling based on fragments of the original which are said to have survived. It is lit by two widely splayed twin-light ogee-headed windows with rounded rear arches, and window seats. Traces of plaster remain in the eastern one. The east wall has a hatch looking into the chamber known as the Earl's Chapel in the NE tower and there is a blocked doorway to the south of the hatch. The S wall has a hatch which opens onto the Great Hall and a very large fireplace of dressed limestone masonry with sloping chimney breast. The mantle piece has a simple geometric pattern of half circles reconstructed from fragments of the original. It is evidently an insertion, however, because it is too big for

the room and cuts across corbels some 4m above the ground. There are two small wall presses in the west end of the wall and an English wooden screen of fifteenth century date with gallery has been inserted about 1m in front of the west wall. This chamber rises through two floors but probably originally had a gallery at the higher level where the present screen has been placed because there are also corbels in the north and west walls. There is a blocked door to the NW tower high on the W wall.

The NE tower houses the Earl's Chapel and a garderobe. The chapel is lit by flat lintelled slits in the north and east walls into which stained glass has been inserted. The inserted ceiling is a painted wooden canopy in black, red, green, yellow and white with pendent openwork mouldings. The floor is tiled with worn large red/brown quarry tiles. At the S end of the east wall there is an undecorated limestone piscina. Most of the furniture in the Earl's Chapel is from the Gort collection.

The SE tower has the chaplain's bedroom which is entered through a door in the north wall and lit by rebuilt slits in the east and south walls. There is a second spiral stair from the Great Hall in the angle between the south wall of the keep and the west wall of the tower which provide access to a small chamber in the south wall and to the chapel on the fourth floor. The small chamber has an oculus which overlooks the Great Hall and is lit from the south by a small splayed slit. In the SW tower is a chamber called the south solar

bedroom and a garderobe lit by a NE angle loop. The chamber is lit from the south and west by deeply splayed flat lintelled slits with window seats. The floor is paved with crude oblong tiles/bricks. The north wall has a large inserted fireplace in soft white stone decorated with foliage and flowers. The chimney breast and sides are of oak carved with Renaissance swags and foliage.

The north-west tower houses the Earl's bedroom. Access is directly from the west side of the north solar. It is lit from the west and north by splayed flat lintelled slits. It has a modern wooden ceiling and the floor is paved with worn tiles. There is a wall cupboard in the south end of the west wall and a recess in the south wall. In addition to the spiral stair descending to the Great Hall there is a narrow wooden spiral stair ascending to the fifth floor incorporated into the angle between the keep and the tower.

#### Roof Level

The NE tower has one room known as the Earl's Pantry. It is lit from the east by a wide single light flat lintelled window with a relieving arch above. There are two wall cupboards in the west wall, an angle cupboard in the NE angle and a stepped cupboard in the south wall. There is a chimney in the north wall and the room has a modern wooden ceiling. The west wall of the SE tower has been removed in order to make a larger room of the south solar which is built over the south wall and on an arch which stretches from the SE tower

to the SW tower. A small section of the east end of the SE tower has been blocked with a modern partition to allow for a modern toilet and kitchenette off the south solar. The SE chamber was originally lit by rectangular flat lintelled windows in the east and south walls. The south solar is furnished in Tudor style with a painted canopied wooden ceiling. The room is lit by a six-light rectangular window with rectangular hood moulding. The inserted glass contains several coats of arms. The undecorated limestone fireplace may be original. The SW chamber is lit by two rectangular flat lintelled windows (partly reconstructed) in the south and west walls. There is an inserted limestone fireplace in the north wall. A door in the east end of the north wall opens onto the roof. The NW tower has a room known as the 'Children's bedroom'. Access is by the wooden stairs from the fourth floor. It has a modern wooden ceiling, replacing a former brick ceiling, and is lit from the west and north by splayed flat lintelled slits. Two doors open from the south wall; one to the wall walk and the other to the wooden stairs. Another door opens to the roof over the north solar from the east splay in the window in the N wall. A fourth door opened onto a gallery overlooking the north solar. The wall walk and stepped parapet are rebuilt and largely modern reconstruction.

Sheela-na-gig

Now mounted in the north splay of the north window in the east wall of the Great Hall to which it was removed from a

room at the top of the SW tower. The figure is carved in false relief on a rectangular block of polished black limestone. The arms of the seated figure reach down behind the splayed legs to open the vulva. She has pendulous breasts and the mouth is open displaying the teeth. Dims: H.36 W.61.

Date Stone 1597

Mounted in the same window splay as the sheela-na-gig is a trapezoidal stone carved in relief with the date 1597 in a pointed niche over a row of rounded arcades. The spandrels and top of the niche are decorated with foliage designs. Dims: H.31 W.55-48 of stone

Head

A polished head of black limestone, supposed to have been found when the castle was being refurbished, is placed in the window embrasure at the south end of the ground floor. It is of a male with close cut hair, the eyes and mouth are carved in low relief and the ears stand out from the side of the head. Dims: H.28 W.26 T.27.

## 7. PARISH CHURCH

The earliest evidence for the existence of this church is in 1256 when the priest Peter was appointed perpetual vicar (Sheehy 1962, ii, 247-8). The 1288 extent of the manor noted that "the advowson of the church of Bunratty, with 10 adjacent chapels belonging thereto, is of the gift of the

lord of Bunratty, and is worth £10 to the parson and vicar" (Sweetman 1875-86, iii, no. 459, pp. 207-8). In the ecclesiastical taxation of 1302-6, however, the church was valued at only six marks (Sweetman 1875-86, v, p. 301). The patronage of the church was apparently in O Briain hands by 1444 (Gwynn and Gleeson 1961, 432), and by 1463 the revenue of the parish was sufficient for it to be divided and a new parish formed at Kilnasoolagh (Gwynn and Gleeson 1961, 300). The church was rebuilt in the early seventeenth century by Donnchadh O Briain, 4th earl of Thomond, who bequeathed in his will of 1317 "as much glasse as will glaze the wyndowes of the church of Bunratty newly edified by me" (MacNamara 1913-15, 226, n. 7).

#### Description

This early seventeenth church is a small overgrown ruined building, measuring 26.5 by 8m internally. The masonry consists of uncoursed rubble limestone with dressed limestone quoins. There is a batter on all walls but it is more pronounced on the east and west walls.

The east gable stands to a height of about 6.5m and some coping stones are still in situ. The wall has a splayed flat lintelled window with chamfered limestone jambs and the internal rounded arch consists of tooled wedge shaped stones. The window has been reduced in size by building up the sill. There is a small wall cupboard at the south end of the wall.

The north wall is some 3.5m high. There is a blocked

triple-light ogee-headed window with chamfered limestone jambs and shallow tooled spandrels in the centre of the wall. Close to the east end is an inserted pointed doorway with tooled limestone jambs and pointed rear arch.

The south wall stands to a height of about 3.5m. Close to the east end is a single light ogee-headed window with chamfered limestone jambs. It is splayed internally with a flat lintelled rear arch. The spandrel on the east is decorated with a spiral within a circle and that on the west has a rosette set in a trefoil. To the west of the window is a blocked segmental headed doorway. In the centre of the wall is another single light ogee-headed window with chamfered limestone jambs and hollow spandrels. The window is splayed internally and the rear arch is also flat lintelled. Towards the west end is a pointed doorway with tooled and chamfered limestone jambs and a segmental rear arch. Above the door externally is an arch of limestone voussoirs above which is a shallow rectangular wall niche, possibly for a dedication plaque. Close to the south end of the wall is a triple light rectangular window with chamfered limestone jambs and mullions. It is deeply splayed internally with segmental rear arch in brick and has a rectangular hood moulding externally.

The west gable is about 9m high and retains some coping stones in situ on the north side. It is otherwise featureless.

## MILL

The 1288 extent of the manor of Bunratty refers to a watermill, worth 2s. a year (Sweetman 1875-86, iii, no. 459, p. 207-8). This presumably was the same mill for which a fosse was dug and the pool enlarged in 1289 (MacNamara 1913-15, 237). The 1321 inquisition reported that at that date "the castle mill is inefficient and of no use save to the inhabitants of the castle" (MacNamara 1913-15, 249). All of this indicates that the mill stood within the castle enclosure, or more likely on the Bunratty river, adjacent to the castle. No surface trace survives.

## PIGEON HOUSE

Wall fragments survive SW of the church. Westropp (1917, opp. p.14) shows the western one of these as a circular structure and labels it the Pigeon House. The surviving portion is 3m high, limestone built, but very ruined.

## ARCHAEOLOGICAL STRAY FIND

Bronze ribbed spearhead. BM W.G.1615.

## ARCHAEOLOGICAL PROBLEMS AND POTENTIAL

Bunratty is an example of a deserted borough and its importance to archaeological research lies in the fact that it is the only example of an Anglo-Norman borough in County



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Clare, and consequently was the most important Anglo-Norman settlement in the county. The significance of the ford in prehistoric and Viking times may mean that evidence of earlier periods may also survive.

The borough appears to have been occupied for less than a century but the traces of its defences indicates that it was originally of considerable importance. Documentary records of the site are few and in the future archaeological excavation is likely to be the principal means by which additional knowledge can be obtained.

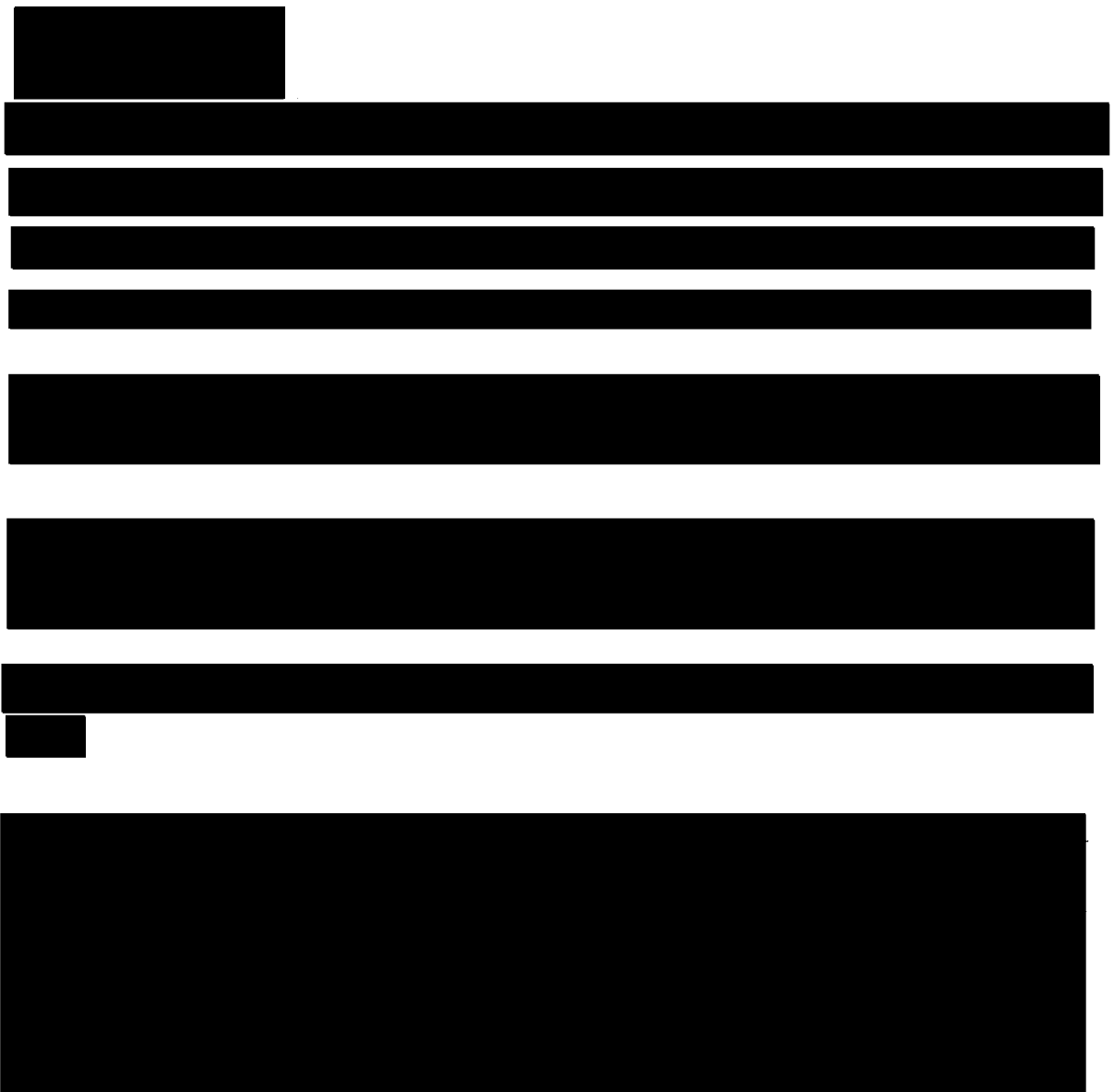
Many opportunities for excavation have been lost in recent years because the area has been subject to continued redevelopment. A hotel was built beside the mound, regarded by some as a possible motte, and the area has been landscaped. The size of the mound seems to have been reduced because its present height is much less than that described by Hunt and Westropp. Part of the north end of the mound was also removed to provide a pathway around the south end of the hotel and a steep section-face is exposed in which animal bone is present.

A new road was cut through the site of the borough, while a folk park and several private houses have been built close to the castle. The construction of the hotel and the new road removed all evidence of the borough's defensive bank on the north of the settlement. The new ring road runs quite close to the site of this bank and ditch, on the south and southwest, and the opportunity to investigate this area has

also been lost.

#### Area of Archaeological Potential

The shaded portion of the accompanying map (Fig. 10) delimits the area of archaeological potential within Bunratty, following the outline of the defensive enclosure and showing its surviving remanant on the west. In the absence of archaeological excavations nothing can be said about the depth of archaeological deposits.



[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

## ENNIS

Ennis, the county town of Clare, is located in fertile low-lying ground in the centre of the county, on the main road from Limerick to Galway. It stands on the river Fergus and as its name Inis suggests, it was originally an island in the river. In fourteenth century documents the name is given a variety of more extensive forms: Inis Chluana Ramfada is an allusion to the nearby O'Briain stronghold of Clonroad (O'Grady 1929, ii, 34), but the forms Inis an Laoigh (O'Grady 1929, ii, 2) and Inis Mac nInill (AI sub 1306; O hInnse 1947, 105) are more difficult to explain.

## ARCHAEOLOGICAL & HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The borough of Ennis was a seventeenth century creation but its origins go back to the thirteenth century with the foundation of two important settlement foci. The first of these was the castle of Clonroad (Cluain Ramhfada), which was the main residence of the O Briain kings of Thomond in the medieval period and was built in the period between 1210 and 1270. This residence and associated settlement presumably provided the impetus for the establishment of a Franciscan friary on a nearby island, possibly in the 1240s, but most likely in the 1280s, and it could be said that the modern town of Ennis owes its existence to this friary. The late sixteenth century, from c.1570, saw the establishment of

effective English control in Thomond and the dissolved friary became the centre of English government in the area. This resulted in the expansion of settlement around the friary at the end of the sixteenth century and ultimately in the creation of the borough in the early seventeenth century.

In the 1570s and 1580s English government activity seems to have been concentrated in the friary itself and it is not clear when settlement first began to expand beyond the friary precincts. This may have occurred at an earlier date, in the Middle Ages, but from the last quarter of the sixteenth century it is clear that the settlement had expanded beyond the friary. In 1570 there was a castle, belonging to the earl of Thomond, at "the Inche" (Hamilton 1860, 430, 432). By 1595 a county gaol had been constructed (16 RDKPRI, 277: no. 5965), and in 1600 it was recorded that Hugh O'Donnell "plundered the entire of Ennis, except the monastery" (AFM).

In 1609 Donnchad, earl of Thomond, received a grant of a weekly market and two yearly fairs at Ennis (O Dalaigh 1985, 18), and in 1613 the borough of Ennis was incorporated (Frost 1893, 604; Weinbaum 1943, 209-10). O Murchadha (1984, 65-6) suggests that the first half of the seventeenth century saw "considerable numbers of English settlers" coming to Ennis, and engaging in commerce and a variety of trades. In 1641 about 150 of the town's English inhabitants took refuge in Ballyalia castle, an indication of its population (O Murchadha 1984, 66). It is clear from Dineley's view and Brigdall's description (O Dalaigh 1987, 17, n.12) that by the

early 1680s Ennis was a substantial town with much of its modern street pattern in position. Brigdall records a population of 600 in the early 1680s (O Murchadha 1984, 67) and this is probably more reliable than the total of 267 in the 1659 census (Pender 1939, 188)

#### ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVENTORY

1. STREETS & STREET PATTERN
2. MARKET PLACE
3. DOMESTIC HOUSES
  - EARL OF THOMOND'S HOUSE
  - LENTHALL'S INN
4. CIVIC BUILDINGS
  - COURTHOUSE
  - GAOL
5. BRIDGE
6. MILL
7. CASTLE
8. FRANCISCAN FRIARY
9. SITES IN THE IMMEDIATE VICINITY
  - CLONROAD CASTLE
  - TOWER HOUSE AT OLD GROUND HOTEL
10. MISCELLANEOUS

1. STREETS & STREET PATTERN

Thomas Moland's map of Ennis, prepared as part of a

survey of the earl of Thomond's estates in 1703 (O Dalaigh 1987, 12) shows the town's basic Y-shaped street pattern, composed of the modern Abbey Street, Parnell Street and O'Connell Street. The siting of the courthouse, built before 1641, on the Market Square, at the junction of these three streets indicates that this street pattern was in existence before 1641. The tower house, in the Old Ground Hotel, could also be significant in determining the date when the street pattern was established. It may be the castle referred to in 1570, or the gaol erected between 1592 and 1595, and if so it would indicate that the street pattern is of sixteenth century date. Many of the lanes running east and west from Abbey St., Parnell St. and O'Connell St. such as Arthur's Row, Quin's Bow, Cooks Lane, Chapel Lane or Curtain's Lane are probably coeval with the Y-street plan.

A reference in 1681 to "the stone causeway leading to Clonroad" clearly refers to the present Francis Street, but Moland's map shows that this was still a tree-lined causeway without any buildings.

## 2. MARKET PLACE

This was originally located at what is now O'Connell Square, at the junction of the three streets that made up the original town (O Dalaigh 1985, 18; 1986, 6). Much of the eastern part of the present square was occupied by the courthouse, and the market place consisted of a triangular widening of the main axis along what is now Abbey Street, and



Parnell Street/ High Street. A market cross stood here until 1711 when it was removed for use as building material (O Dalaigh 1985, 19).

### 3. DOMESTIC HOUSES

Moland's map of 1703 shows that domestic houses lined all of the streets of the town, from the bridge to the Market Square, on Abbey Street, from the Market Square to what is now the Old Ground Hotel in O'Connell Street, and from the Market Square to Wood Quay on Parnell Street. This had probably been the case from the early seventeenth century but it is only in the 1680s that we get information on housing in Ennis. In 1682-5 Brigdall noted that there were some 120 houses in Ennis, of which a score were slated and the rest thatched (Westropp 1895, 138; O Dalaigh 1987, 13). A rental of the town for 1681 gives further evidence of the type of housing in use: one tenant was required to build a house of one-and-a-half storeys, of lime and stone, floored with boards, and with glazed windows. Others were required to build houses 50 feet long, 18 feet wide, and 18 feet high, and 40 feet by 18 feet by 14 feet respectively (O Murchadha 1984, 67). As O Murchadha suggests this deliberate planning of house form indicates that the overall town layout was planned as well. It is quite possible that many of Ennis' houses may still retain a 17th century core but these are difficult to identify because of later alterations, changes in roof-form, and the addition of new chimneys.

## CRUCE HOUSE

A three storeyed house of three bays on the east side of Abbey St., between the grounds of the Franciscan Friary and Queens Hotel. It was divided into two houses in the 18th century (O'Dalaigh 1987, 14). Internally the house has been extensively altered but simple plaster cornices of late 17th/18th century date survive (Garner 1981, 26). The lower rooms are now in use as small shops, while the upper floors are in poor condition. The west gable is intact together with its coping stones and the stone eaves course can be seen behind the modern gutters along the front wall. The west stack may be hidden under modern cement. Inserted in the front wall at the south end of the house is a rectangular plaque with the following inscription in relief:

THIS HOVSE/ W-AS BILT IN/ THE YEARE/ OF OVR LORD/ GOD  
1658 BY/ IOHN CRUCE

Westropp 1899, 369

## EARL OF THOMOND'S HOUSE

This was a stone house described in 1680 as "an old decaying house", and in 1763 as "situated within the great gate of the Abbey of Saint Francis". O Dalaigh (1987, 14) suggests that this house stood opposite the friary church on the west side of Abbey Street, but originally within the friary precinct.

## LENTHALL'S INN

This is clearly shown on Dineley's 1681 sketch as a large

two storeyed building of four bays, with dormer windows in the gabled roof and a tall chimney stack on the south gable. O Dalaigh (1984, 3) points out that this is probably the building indicated on Moland's map as standing on the west side of the Market Square, opposite the courthouse.

#### STACPOLE HOUSE

A plaque from a house in Parnell St., which was at Edenvale House in 1900 but is now missing, bore the inscription

THIS HOUSE WAS BUILT AND FINISED BY GEORGE STACPOLE  
MERCHANT IN THE YEAR ANNO DOMINI 1687

Westropp 1889, 48; Mems Dead iii, 38

#### ABBEY STREET

Spellissy (1987, 80) notes that in 1681 John Cruce was required to build a house next to his own, 40ft long, 18ft broad, and 14ft high. This site is now occupied by the house Queen's Hotel, Abbey Street.

#### ABBEY ST. / FRANCIS STREET

There are two diagonally set Jacobean style chimney stacks in the southern gable of the house on this corner. The house is two storeyed and the line of the original steep pitched roof can be seen below the stacks. The house is divided into shops but a fireplace protrudes from the south wall on the ground floor below the stacks. It is covered over by modern shop fittings.

#### CHAPEL LANE

The houses on both sides of this lane are stone built, of three floors and generally of four bays. They have medium size rectangular windows on the 2nd floor but small windows on the 3rd floor. They have narrow stone eaves courses and steep gables. Although all of them have been altered and had brick chimneys inserted they probably date to the late 17th century.

#### O'CONNELL STREET

Maurer's Jewellers and Brogan's Public House, between Quin's Row and Cooks Lane, are of 17th century date. They were probably originally one house like the John Cruce house with stacks in each gable. One triple row Jacobean style chimney stack is visible on the south gable of Maurers; the other two stacks are cemented over.

#### PARNELL ST./ CHAPEL LANE

There is a triple row of diagonally set Jacobean style chimney stacks in the gable of the three storeyed house on the west corner of Chapel lane and Parnell St. It has been suggested by O'Dalaigh that this house was depicted on Moland's map (1987, 13).

#### PARNELL ST.

A stack in the west gable of the house three doors to the west of the previous example appears to be of 17th form, but it has been reduced in size.

#### 4. CIVIC BUILDINGS

##### COURTHOUSE

The holding of courts was the principal administrative function to which the friary was put after 1570 and these were still being held in 1617 (Jennings 1934, 21). By 1641, however, a new courthouse had been built. O Dalaigh (1986, 5) suggests that this may have been constructed before 1628 when the Franciscans returned to the friary. The courthouse was built on the east side of the market place, on the site of the present O'Connell Monument (O Dalaigh 1986, 5; Kelly 1981, 20). Dineley's sketch of 1681 represents it as an L-shaped, gabled building of two or three floors, but unfortunately the front is not visible. Moland's (1703) depiction shows it with a cupola over the roof and an arched facade of three bays at the front. As O Dalaigh (1987, 13) points out this may be a reliable representation in view of the fact that the courthouse also incorporated an exchange, and there are references to traders keeping stalls "under the courthouse" (O Dalaigh 1986, 6). The courthouse was replaced by a new building c.1735-45, which was itself demolished in 1852 (O Dalaigh 1986, 8, 11).

##### GAOL

The presence of a courthouse necessitated the provision of a gaol. As long as the courts were held in the friary, it was the obvious place for the gaol, and the lease of the friary to James Naylande in 1585 specifically required him to provide a gaol there for the use of the courts (15 RDKPRI,

116: no. 4738). It appears, however, that a gaol was built outside of the friary before the end of the sixteenth century. In 1592 it was noted that the county of Clare had been without a shire gaol since its formation but that there was an offer from Patrick morgan to build a gaol at Ennis if he were given its constablenesship (16 RDKPRI, 206: no. 5276). This plan must have been carried into effect because on Morgan's death in 1595, Roland Delahide was appointed "constable of the gaol lately erected in the town of Inish" (16 RDKPRI, 277: no. 5965). Kelly (1973-4, 66) states that this gaol was located in Arthur's Row, a laneway off O'Connell Street, but the evidence for this statement is unclear. The location, adjacent to the courthouse is a likely one, but the courthouse itself was not built until after 1617 at least, and Kelly's statement cannot be regarded as authoritative.

O Dalaigh (1985, 19) states that a new gaol was built on the site of the old Town Hall (now part of the Old Ground Hotel) later in the seventeenth century. He further suggests that this is the large building shown on Moland's map of 1703, straddling the roadway at the south end of what is now O'Connell Street (O Dalaigh 1987, 13). A central arch allowed traffic to enter the town as if the structure was a gatehouse. It is difficult to know exactly how this structure should be interpreted and it is somewhat surprising that the tower house still standing on the site is not represented.

## 5. BRIDGE

Moland's map of Ennis shows a bridge crossing the river Fergus on the site of the modern New Bridge, opposite the friary. O Dalaigh (1987, 14) suggests that since there is no mention of the bridge in either Brigdall's or Dineley's accounts in the 1680s, it must have been erected subsequently. It was demolished in 1835.

## 6. MILL

Among the appurtenances of the friary leased to James Naylande in 1569 were "a water-mill, salmon weir and eel weir upon the river Fergus" (11 RDKPRI, 220: no. 1465). O Dalaigh (1987, 15) suggests that these were located at the NW end of the town, at the north end of Cornmarket Street, where the main commercial mills of Ennis were located up to modern times, and where a salmon and eel weir existed until the early years of the present century.

## 7. CASTLE

Two references are known to a castle in Ennis. The first occurs in 1570 when it was noted that the earl of Ormond had captured the earl of Thomond's castles of "Cloynerawde" and "the Inche" (Hamilton 1860, 430-2). The second reference occurs in 1672, when John Cooper leased to Donough O'Brien of Leamaneh "a small castle or turret in Ennis, parcel of the late Abbey of Ennis ... together with its entry and the small

piece of land adjoining 'the usuall slipp or place for a bote reserved or excepted'" (Ainsworth 1961, 373: no. 1143). This castle was clearly located near the river and probably in the area of the friary precinct. This may be the same castle as that referred to in 1570 but this cannot be assumed. It is possible that the other castle should be identified with the tower house at the Old Ground Hotel but it is impossible to be certain of this.

#### 8. FRANCISCAN FRIARY

A considerable amount of confusion and uncertainty exists over the foundation date of this friary (Gwynn and Hadcock 1970, 249; Gwynn and Gleeson 1961, 268-72). AFM and a number of other seventeenth century sources date its foundation to the 1240s but the mid-fourteenth century Cathreim Toirdelbach attributes it to Toirrdelbach O Briain, king of Thomond from 1277 to 1306 (O'Grady 1929, ii, 32). In an apparent reference to the friary it states that after his capture of Clonroad c.1284, Toirrdelbach built "the first stonework" in "mur innse", to the west of Clonroad (O'Grady 1929, ii, 26). This is supported by annalistic entries for 1306 which state that Toirrdelbach died and was buried in "the church he built for the brother at Inis Mac nInill" (AI; O hInnse 1947, 105), and by Leask's view that the earliest surviving parts of the friary date to c.1285 or later. While there may possibly have been a Franciscan community at Ennis from the 1240s it seems that the effective foundation of the friary took place in the



1280s under the patronage of Toirrdelbach O Briain, who was building the castle of Clonroad at the same period.

The Cathreim Toirdelbagh gives a poetic description of the friary in the early fourteenth century:

"the monastery of Ennis, diversely beautiful, delectable: washed by a fish-giving stream; having lofty arches, walls lime-whited; with its order of chastity and their golden books, its sweet religious bells; its well-kept graves, home of the noble dead; with furniture of both crucifix and illuminated tomes, both friar's cowl and broidered vestment; with windows glazed, with chalice of rare workmanship" (O'Grady 1929, ii, 32)

Mathghamhan Caoch MacConmara, who was buried at Ennis in 1349, is recorded as having built the refectory and sacristy of the friary (FitzMaurice and Little 1920, 142). In 1350, according to Wadding, an indulgence was granted on behalf of the friary, while in 1375 the guardian recieved royal authorisation to buy bread, grain and victuals in other parts of Ireland, because of the poverty of the friary and the scarcity of grain and victuals there (FitzMaurice and Little 1920, 142, 157-8). Wadding adds that the choir was built by "Morina" Ni Bhriain, wife of Terence (?Toirdelbach) MacMathgamhain, who died in 1472 but it is difficult to reconcile this with the surviving remains of the choir, which are largely thirteenth century in date (FitzMaurice and Little 1920, 82).

There is no evidence of any disruption of the friary prior to 1569, when James Naylande was granted a lease of the site and appurtenances of the "monastery of grey friars of Inche of Clonramata" (11RDKPRI, 220: no. 1465). Courts were held by Sir Edward Fitton, the president of Connacht, in 1570 and 1571 (AFM), and again in 1577 and 1585 (AFM). Naylande's lease of the friary was renewed in 1585 with provisions that "the Governor of Connacht may keep assize and sessions there; that a gaol for prisoners be kept there by lessee, at his own cost; and that any of the queen's privy council or commissioners may lodge there whenever they have occasion to travel thither" (15 RDKPRI, 116: no. 4738). The friary became the effective centre of English government in Thomond and landowners in Clare held their lands "of her Majesty's house or manor of Inesh" (Morrin 1862, 137, 360). The late sixteenth century courts may have been held in the vaulted sacristy or chapter-house, north of the chancel (O Dalaigh 1986, 5). In 1589 the friary was leased to Donnchad O Briain, 4th earl of Thomond, who was credited with ensuring the preservation of the friary buildings by the Franciscan historians Mooney (1617) and Matthews (1629) (Jennings 1934a, 60; 1934b, 152-3). Mooney noted that while the assizes of the county were being held in the friary church, and other buildings of the friary were being used by the English for the purposes of the court, the buildings themselves had not been altered (Jennings 1934b, 60; Westropp 1895, 137). In 1629 the church was in use as the protestant parish church (Jennings 1934b, 152-3).



The friary was the principal burial place of the kings (and later earls) of Thomond (Jennings 1934a, 60; 1934b, 152). In 1654 Wadding noted that the tomb of the O Briain earls of Thomond "constructed of polished marble under a vaulted roof" was located in the chapel of St. Michael, while the tombs of the MacMathgamhna and O Briain barons of Inchiquin were in the choir (FitzMaurice and Little 1920, 82; Westropp 1895, 137). The will of Murchad O Briain, 1st earl of Thomond, directed that his body should be buried in the tomb he had made in the choir (Ainsworth 1961, 501). In 1617 Mooney noted that Daniel Neyland, protestant bishop of Kildare, had a tomb made for himself "of well-worked marble, in the friary, from which his body was later ejected by a friar" (Jennings 1934a, 60-61).

O Dalaigh (1987, 14) suggests that the friary may have had a fortified precinct, judging from the reference in 1763 to the "great gate of the Abbey", and within which the earl of Thomond's house and the "small castle or turret", mentioned in 1672, probably stood.

### Description

The ruined remains consist of the church, and parts of the east, north and west range of the cloister.

### The Church

The walls stand to a height of about 10m and gables to 15m stand, their original height.

### The Chancel

The east wall of the chancel has a splayed, pointed five light window of late 13th/early 14th century form. The two outer lights are separated from the inner three by triangular piers while the inner three graduated lancets are divided by chamfered mullions decorated with banded shafts internally. The jambs and arches are chamfered both internally and externally and there are traces of plaster on some of the rear arches and splays. Banded shafts decorate the triangular piers and terminate in dog-tooth ornamented capitals from which spring the moulded rear arches of the three embrasures. The gable is set back above the east window for roofing and there is a small flat arched rectangular window in the centre of the gable. The wall is battered externally and there is a rectangular buttress with a rounded moulding at present ground level on the SE angle. There is a blocked late opening under the north light close to the north wall.

The north wall, which is plastered, has four large wall memorials built against its internal face. Between the two eastern tombs is a round arched chamfered limestone doorway with flattened rear arch opening to the N sacristy. Close to the tower there is a blocked window which probably had three lights. It has chamfered limestone jambs internally and externally and a pointed rear arch. Inserted into the W end of this is a small pointed window with chamfered limestone jambs.

The south wall has five splayed pointed windows. The three

eastern ones are double lancets while the fourth is a graduated triple lancet. The fifth was originally a twin-light but was blocked by the insertion of the crossing tower and a small flat lintelled window with external splay window was inserted in the east end of the blocking. The second window is partly blocked by a 15th century tomb. The lights are separated by limestone mullions which have slender roll mouldings internally and are chamfered externally. The tops of the mouldings were enriched with foliage or heads which are now very damaged. A head can be seen on the second window from the east and a floral moulding on the W side of the triple light (Harbison 1977, 41). The jambs and arches are chamfered and stepped externally while the inner jambs have concave chamfers with the exception of the 1st window from the E which has a straight chamfer. The rear arches retain small amounts of plaster. Below the first window from the east is a double piscina with shallow floral basins and central drainage holes. The surrounds have a small filleted moulding and they have cusped pointed arches.

#### The Nave

The north wall has been considerably altered since the thirteenth century. An original double lancet was blocked by the insertion of the tower and a second double lancet close to the tower has a pointed rear arch with chamfered limestone jambs and a damaged central mullion. It is set high in the wall and its sloping sill is intact. There are four shallow fifteenth century limestone wall niches with pointed, pinnacled and crocketed canopies inserted in the east end of



the wall but all are either damaged, partly blocked, or have later memorials inserted into them. There is a small double splayed single light window inserted under the thirteenth century window close to the tower. It is round headed and is rebated for glazing. The external splay is finely tooled as is the arch. Internally the rear arch is missing and a 17th century wall memorial was inserted. Two large pointed windows with tooled limestone jambs were inserted into the wall at a later period and close to the west end a modern blocked door and a chamfered round arched wall niche can be seen on the external wall face.

The south wall retains no features of the 13th century. Inserted behind the west support of the tower is a 15th century single light ogee-headed window with flat lintelled rear arch and chamfered limestone jambs. Higher in the wall and further to the west is a small blocked opening with one chamfered limestone jamb on the E. West of this two large pointed arches open onto the south transept. The responds, central supporting pillar and soffit ribs are all chamfered. The soffit ribs rest on tapering corbels; the eastern one of which terminates in a spray of foliage. The NW chamfer of the central pillar has a geometric knot and a foliage design (Harbison 1977, pl.iv: 1). West of the transept is a shallow round arched tomb niche similar to those on the N wall. It has moulded jambs and a pointed canopy pinnacled, finialed and crocketed. Close to the west end is an inserted doorway. The lower external jambs are tooled and chamfered and one side has a head set upside-down as a stop while the other has

a pyramidal stop. Inserted into the west end of the wall is a large single light pointed window with tooled outer jambs and pointed rear arch similar to the late windows in the south wall. The arch of another can be seen above the western arch of the transept which suggests that the arch into the transept was closed up after the 17th century and a window inserted into the blocking.

The west wall has a triple light window with three rounded lights in the lower register and switch line tracery above. The rear arch is pointed with chamfered limestone jambs. Below the window is a round arched doorway with multi-moulded jambs externally. The rear arch is missing and the jambs are dressed. There is a rounded moulding and a low concave batter at the base of the wall externally.

#### Crossing Tower:

Built of dressed evenly coursed limestone masonry, this rises from four piers and has a high groined vault over the crossing. There were four floors above. The tower was rebuilt from the top of the second floor in the 18th century when crenellations and corner pinnacles were added.

The arches into the nave and chancel have soffit ribs resting on tapering corbels, decorated with leafy sprays on the south-west and north-east and affronted birds in low relief on the north-west. There is a single roof line on the east wall of the tower but two roof lines on the west indicating that the nave was roofed at different levels after the fifteenth century. There are openings to the north and

south from the tower; that on the south is a small pointed door with chamfered jambs (now partly of concrete) while that on the north is a large rectangular opening which may be set into an original 13th century doorway as the single jamb fragment with a rounded filleted moulding suggests. Access to the first floor of the tower was from the east range through a narrow round arched door with flat linteled rear arch. A similar door on the south wall allowed access from the wall walk of the south transept's former east aisle. The mural stairs on the lower floors of both the north and south walls are lit by narrow splayed flat lintelled slits.

The plan of the first floor has a sub-rectangular shape because of the protruding spiral stairs at the SE angle. It is lit from the east and west by flat arched and lintelled windows; internally the openings are smaller than they are externally because the lintels are stepped. The western one is blocked at the base while the eastern one has a stepped sill. There is a pivot hole at the top of the window and at the base for supporting a shutter. There are flat arched doorways to the stairs in the north and south walls and a third door opens in the SE angle to the stairs for the 2nd floor. This is missing but was supported on ledges in the north and south walls and on corbels over the SE angle one of which is carved with a small head. The chamber was entered through a flat arched doorway in the SE angle and the room is lit from the west end of both north and south walls by flat arched and lintelled windows. The third floor is completely supported on corbels in the north, south and south-east



angles. The spiral stairs in the SE angle is lit by five narrow splayed flat lintelled slits with sloping sills. The third floor chamber, which is of 18th century date, is lit by three pointed triple light windows in the north, west and south walls and a twinlight in the east wall in fifteenth century style. All have sloping sills and pointed rear arches. The tower had a fourth floor which was supported on corbels in each wall and access would have been by an internal wooden stairs. This has been removed.

#### South Transept

This consists of an aisle with three chapels on the east side. The chapels vary in depth; the two northern ones being 2m in depth in contrast with the southern one which is 3.4m deep. The foundations of an external wall with cross walls links the east wall of the southern chapel with the tower but appears to be later. The chapels were covered by vaults supported on rectangular pillars, one of which survives between the first and second chapel from the north and on tapering corbels in the south wall of the transept and the external south wall of the nave. The east wall is some 5m high and while parts of the inner facing are missing, others are rebuilt. There are three windows; that on the north is a three light ogee-headed window with cusped quatrefoiled tracery above the lights. The rear arch is pointed and plaster remains on jambs and rear arch. The splays and internal jambs are not dressed. The window in the centre chapel is pointed with three rounded lights in the lower register and switch line tracery above. The jambs are

chamfered and rebated for glazing and the rear arch is pointed. The splays and rear arches have no dressed stone. The window in the southern chapel is similar and both have pointed hood mouldings externally. Both windows also contain several re-used jambs and mullions from other similar style windows.

The south wall is some 9m high at its apex but is 4m high at the eastern end. It is pierced by two large triple lights. The cusped round headed lights are separated by chamfered limestone mullions in the lower register with switch line tracery above. The rear arches are pointed and the splays consist of dressed blocks of limestone while the rear arch jambs have rounded mouldings. The southern chapel had a double piscina with two small rectangular basins. The piscina had a rectangular hood moulding, moulded jambs and a miniature groined vault. The west wall is 6m high and featureless apart from a rebuilt section at the north end and a buttress on the south end of the wall

The plaster on the east and west faces of the pillar between the arches of the south transept has a number of incised boats (Harbison 1977, 41).

### *Sacristy*

This thirteenth century structure is located on the north side of the chancel, and a tower was added to the NE angle in the fifteenth century. The sacristy is built of roughly coursed rubble limestone with dressed limestone quoins,

windows and door jambs. The ground floor is 13th century in date while the 1st and 2nd floors were probably added in the 15th century. It is unroofed and the west wall of the ground floor is missing. The ground floor has a barrel vault with traces of wicker work centering and three chamfered limestone ribs which are supported on chamfered pilasters and bases which protrude from the north and south walls and are linked by a chamfered string course. The east wall has a splayed pointed twin-light window with pointed rear arch. The central mullion is chamfered externally and has a rounded shaft internally. The rear arch and jambs have concave chamfers and pyramidal stops. There is a round-headed doorway with one stone of a chamfered arch at the north end of the wall leading into the tower on the north east angle of the sacristy. There are four round arched recesses with chamfered limestone jambs in the north wall. The upper sections of the jambs of the second recess from the east are missing and the western recess is smaller than the others. The south wall has three similar recesses but the middle one is blocked and in use as the Creagh vault. An opening into the chancel of the church between the 2nd and 3rd recess from the east was noted above.

Access to the first floor would have been via the spiral stairs in the angle between the north wall of the sacristy and the east range. Modern access is by a stairs which has been built onto the north wall of the church. The east gable on the 1st floor is c.5m high and most of the internal face has been rebuilt while the west and south walls are c.1.5m

high. There is a tall mullioned and transomed rectangular window - possibly 17th century - in the east wall. The jambs are chamfered and rebated for glazing as are the mullions and transoms and there is a concave chamfered hood moulding externally. Two sill stones of an earlier wider window can be seen below the sill of the present window. A door, with modern arch, opened from the north end of the wall to the tower. The west splay of an opening remains in the centre of the north wall and there is a wall cupboard towards the east end. A row of corbels in the north wall indicate that there was a second floor which was possibly removed when the tall east window was inserted.

#### Cloister

The foundations and some of the columns survive, and part of the west and north arcade have been rebuilt by O.P.W. The arcade consisted of pointed arches supported on chamfered dumb-bell or sugar barley piers. Every second pier was buttressed internally with chamfered limestone supports. The roofing line for the south and north ambulatory can be seen in the south wall of the north range and on the north wall of the nave.

#### East range

Only the north and east wall of the ground floor and part of the first floor of a narrow two storeyed building remain. The foundations of part of the west wall survive and a short section of the south wall has been reconstructed. The east wall has been refaced but originally had an opening and a

splayed twin-light ogee-headed window with flat lintelled rear arch at the north end of the wall. To the east there was a similar single-light window which is now blocked and at the south end of the wall there is another single light window. The rear arches are all rebuilt. The north wall has a wide splayed blocked opening. The first floor was supported on corbels which can be seen in the east wall and on a ledge in the north wall. At first floor level there was a splayed opening at the north end of the east wall and there was a splayed ogee-headed single-light window with tooled limestone jambs and flat lintelled rear arch in the west end of the north wall. Access to the first floor was by a spiral stairs in the angle between the east range and the sacristy.

#### North range

This three storeyed building is unroofed, the west and part of the north walls are missing as are the floors. The windows had rectangular hood mouldings but these have all been hacked off. The east wall of the ground floor has a four-light flat lintelled window with chamfered mullions, jambs and transoms. There is a modern feeding trough in the external face of the wall and a second one in the window sill. Only half of the north wall survives and this has a rebuilt rectangular opening and a recess. The south wall has three wide openings, which are probably not original and have been blocked up with architectural fragments from the friary.

The second floor has a splayed rectangular twin-light window with flat lintelled rear arch flanked by two similar



single light windows in the east wall. The north wall has a further two similar windows and the south wall had five. Two of these have been enlarged. The jambs where they survive are chamfered. The third floor had a similar layout and a similar number of windows although the south wall is largely rebuilt and the windows are all bricked up.

#### West Range

The west range was probably two storeyed but it appears to be rebuilt above ground floor level. It has been in use as a public house and now a restaurant for very considerable period and plans do not appear to exist of the structure. Some of the internal walls are very wide and the owner says that there are "ovens" in the north wall. There is a passage-way between the nave and the south side of the west range and a wall links the two structures. There is a modern door set into this wall.

#### North Tower

The base is battered externally to a height of about 1m and there is a dressed limestone splay and the springing stone of a high arch on the NW angle of the tower. Access to the ground floor is via a flat lintelled passage which runs east/west from the north east end of the sacristy. A second doorway opens south to the graveyard and the passage is lit from the south by a rectangular flat-lintelled slit with chamfered jambs. The passage opens into a narrow chamber orientated north/south with a pointed vault and wicker work centering. It is lit by a splayed flat lintelled slit in the

east wall. Opening to the west off this chamber is another small badly lit chamber with a barrel vault and wicker work centering. It is lit from the south by two narrow flat lintelled slits. One opens into the passage opposite the window in the south wall of the passage and the other opens through the thickness of the wall above the passage. There is a third similar slit in the north wall. There is a small wall cupboard in the west wall and a fireplace with tooled support for a chimney breast in the west end of the north wall.

The first floor is unroofed and access is from the first floor of the sacristy. The north and south walls stand to a height of 2.5m and the east and west gables to a height of 4m. It is lit from the east by a small rectangular window with chamfered limestone jambs and rebuilt rear arch. At the south end of the wall is a fireplace but the surrounds and jambs have been removed. There were also splayed windows in the north and south walls but jambs and arches are missing. The west wall has a narrow single light ogee-headed window with chamfered jambs and flat lintelled rear arch in the centre of the wall.

#### Architectural Fragments

A large quantity is stored in the north tower. Others are lying on the ground in the transept.

#### Decorative Panels

St. Francis. 15/16th century

Rectangular limestone panel, carved in deep false relief, set into the west face of the tower's NW pier. It shows St. Francis under a pointed moulded canopy which is pinnacled and crocketed. The figure wears the Franciscan habit and is tonsured. His upraised right hand is marked with the stigmata as is the right side of his chest. He holds a cross staff in the left hand.

Dims: H.96 W.41 T.33.5

Our Lord's Pity. 15/16th century

Rectangular limestone plaque carved in deep false relief, set into the W face of the east respond of the east arch to the south transept. It depicts Christ in an ogee-headed panel under a rectangular hood-moulding, and it displays the symbols of the Passion.

Dims: H. 48 W. 40

O'Farrell 1980.

Loose corbels.

Two thirteenth/fourteenth century corbels decorated with heads are set under the canopy of the Royal tomb. One is male, the other female (Harbison 1977, 39-40)

Tombs

Creagh/MacMahon. 15th cent.

Fragments of a fifteenth century tomb accredited to the MacMahons have been incorporated into the 19th century Creagh tomb which stands at the east end of the north chancel wall and into another table tomb close by. It consisted of a table



tomb with five Passion panels, two figurative panels and a pointed groined canopy above. The Passion and figurative panels are carved in limestone and form the end and side panels of the Creagh Tomb. They are based on designs from alabaster tables and include an archbishop and The Betrayal of Christ on the west end, the Flagellation, Crucifixion and Entombment on the south side and the Resurrection and a female figure on the east end (Hunt 1974, 121-2). The canopy of three arches, which was in poor condition, has been rebuilt over a table tomb close by. It is supported on four pillars one of which is of sugar barley type. The vault of the canopy was groined and although the ribs are largely missing two floriated roof bosses survive. Three pointed arches are crocketed, finialed and pinnacled and over the central arch there is a depiction of St John's Head in a dish.

Dims: H. 58.5 W.80 of panels

Hunt 1974, 121-5, Pls. 235-42; 1975, 35-6

Tomb Canopy. 15th cent.

Inserted into the south wall of the tower is a pointed limestone arch of openwork flame-shaped tracery. It is supported on moulded, chamfered jambs which incorporate a figurative panel. Both panels are rectangular with figures carved in false relief under pointed crocketed niches. On the left is a bishop, and on the right the Virgin and Child. Hunt (1974, 126) has suggested that this arch may have been part of the altar tomb together with the Apostle panels below.

Dims: of panels: H.40 W.25 (est)

W. of arch 246

Westropp 1895, 152; Hunt 1974, 127, Pls. 246-7.

Apostle Panels. 15th cent.

Four panels, depicting the twelve apostles and Christ are mounted on the wall at the back of the Creagh tomb. The figures are carved in false relief in unornamented rectangular panels which probably formed the side and end panels of an table tomb. Hunt (1974, 126) and Westropp (1895, 135-54) suggest that the canopy under the tower may belong with these figures and the dimensions of both pieces are reasonably close. From left to right the figures are SS. Philip, Paul, Andrew, John, Simon, Peter, Christ, SS. James Major, Matthew, James Minor, Bartholomew, Thomas, Matthias.

Dims: L.244 H.60

Hunt 1974, 125-6

Inchiquin Tomb. 15/16th cent.

Partly blocking the second window from the east in the south wall of the chancel. It protrudes 22cm from the wall and the table is missing. The canopy has five groined vaults with floriated bosses and floral decoration in relief in the external spandrels. The internal side walls of the upper part of the canopy have branches of foliage in low relief while the canopy supports a dado/pediment decorated with an arcade of cusped ogee-headed panels. A stone incorporated into the back of the tomb has an incised kidney shaped design and may have been part of a grave slab originally.

Westropp, 1895, 150-1; Gilmore 1981.

Crucifixion panel. 15/16th cent.

Mounted on the wall under the Royal canopy is a fragment of a limestone panel showing the left arm of a Latin cross with the arm of Christ. It was part of a large crucifixion panel, possibly the end panel of a tomb.

Dims: H.44 W. 31 D.7

Harbison 1977, 42

Cross-slab. 15/16th cent.

Set into the sacristy floor is a very worn tapering limestone slab with an incised cross rising from a stepped base. The cross-head is completely worn.

Dims: L.173 W. 60-41

Grave slab. 16th cent.

Fragment of a limestone grave slab lying in a niche in the south wall of the nave. It has a Roman lettered inscription in low false relief:

TEIG O BR../ NIEL C./ EIG Mc T ../ H. Mc .M/ VELLY Mc  
./ rOGG

Dims: H.90 W.39 T.15

Westropp 1895-7, 37; 1898-1900, 369.

O'Hehir. 1621.

Fossiliferous limestone wall-plaque on the north wall of the nave. Incised inscription in Roman capitals, now very worn:

QVISQUIS ERIS + QUI TRANSIERIS/ STA PERLEGE FLORA SUM  
QUOD/ ERIS FUERAMQUE QUOD ES PRO ME PRECOR/ ORA QUOD

CINIS ET PULVIS QUOD SO/ RDIDA TERRA SUPERTAS QUOD  
REDIS/ IN CINERES NON MEMINISSE NOCET GEN39/ ORATE PRO  
ANIMA LAURENTII O'HEHIR DE DROMKARHIN QUI HUNC tUMULU M  
FIERI / FECIT PRO SE ET SUIS SUCCESSORIBUS / ANNO DNI  
16[21]

Dims: H.48 W.60

Westropp 1895-7, 36.

Diermit MacConsidin. 1631

Limestone wall-plaque, incised in Roman capitals, on the west  
end of the nave's north wall. There is a small celtic cross  
in false relief on the left side of the inscription:

DIERMITIVS MAC CONSIDIN PRO/ SE ET SVIS POSTERIS HVNC  
TVMV/ LVM FIERI FECIT ANNO 1631 EST COMMVNE MORI MORS  
NVLLI/ PARCIT HONORI DEBILIS ET FORTIS/ VENIVNT AD  
FVNERA/ MORTIS

Dims: H.56 W.100

Westropp 1895-7, 37; 1898-1900, 369.

Teige O'Kerin. 1685.

Limestone wall-plaque, incised in Roman capitals, on the  
north wall of the nave beside the tower. Inscription:

HERE LYES THE BODY OF TEIGE O/ KERIN OF GLEYN WHO DYED  
THE/ 26 OF IANVARY IN THE YEARE/ 1685/ THIS STONE WAS  
SET VP BY THADY/ KERIN SON TO THE SAID TEIGE/ VIXISTI  
FAELIX MORIERE BEATIOR/ IN HVNC SPES TIBI VITA FVIT MORS  
TIBI MVNVS ERIT



Dims: H. 163 W.79 D.14

Westropp 1895-7, 36

MacNamara and Lee. 1686.

A plain limestone sarcophagus with an attached wall memorial on the north wall of the chancel. The sarcophagus rests on a moulded base and the inscribed wall plaque is flanked by pilasters supporting free-standing obelisks. The surface of the plaque is in poor condition and much of the coat of arms and inscription have flaked off. The arms on the upper part of the plaque are in low false relief and the inscription below it is in incised Roman letters. The arms are divided per pale with two arrow heads and a crescent in chief above a lion rampant dexter impaling three boars heads between a chevron. There is a helmet above and an arm holding a lance.

Inscription:

hic jacent jacoBUS MACNEMara et uxor eius/ heleNA LEe DE  
ENNIS quorVM/ FiliuS PRImOGENITVS/ IOANNES MACNEMara/ De  
limeriCK HOC MONVMENTVM eRExIT illis sibi/ eT HEREDIBVS  
SVIS ANNO DNI/ 1686/ vIVE MEMOR MORTIS QVi SeMPER  
vivERE/ PoSis qViDquid ADEST TRANSit quOD manet/ ECCE  
VENit MISEREMINI mei MIS/ EREMIni MEI SALTEM VOS AMICI  
vos mei job X 1 9

Dims: H. 100 L. of sarcophagus 207 T.93

Plaque H. 87 W. 91

Westropp 1895-7, 38

Eugene Considin. 1686.

Limestone wall plaque, incised in Roman lettering, mounted on the external south wall of the nave beside the modern entrance. Inscription:

DOM/ EVGENIVS CONSIDIN CELEBR/ IS STIRPS NOMINIS HVIVS  
PRO/ SE PROQVE SVIS HANC OLIM/ STRVCTVRAM AT VRNAM POST  
DE/ STRVCTA FVIT CROMVELLI MA/ RTE FVRENTIS ET REPARATA/  
PIO IACOBO REGE SECVNDO ALT/ ERO AB EVGENIO IVNIOR  
ISTIR/ PISE EIVS DEM HIS PROFVNDE PRECE/ S LECTOR MORTIS  
QVE MEMENTO/ ANNO DOMINI 1686

Dims: H. 53 W.69

Westropp 1895-7, 36

Heraldic plaque. 17th cent.

Limestone fragment, mounted on the wall under the east window, decorated in false relief with mantling, a helmet, a torse, and an arm brandishing a dagger. Westropp (1895-7, 37) suggests that it is the crest of the O'Briens.

Dims: H.68 W.41 T.13

Pieta

Fragment of a free standing stone pieta, on the ground close to the O'Brien tomb on the south side of the chancel. The centre part of Christ's torso, with hands crossed over the thighs, and the knees of the Virgin survive. She wears a full gown which falls in deep V-shaped folds over her knees and she holds Christ's arm in her left hand.

Dims : H.36 W.48 D.32

Hunt 1975; Harbison 1984, 13-14.

#### Missing monuments

The Hickman memorial, described by Westropp (1895-7, 39) is now missing.

### 9. SITES IN THE IMMEDIATE VICINITY

#### CLONROAD CASTLE

Clonroad was the main residence of the O Briain kings of Thomond from the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries. The date at which they took up residence at the site is unclear, however, and it is not known if there was any previous settlement on the site. The 14th century Cathreim Toirdelbagh contains two apparently conflicting statements. It credits Donnchad Cairprech O Briain, king of Thomond 1210-42, with building "a circular hold and residence ("flaithisdad circallda") ... on the north bank of the Fergus, abreast of Inishalee, at this day called Clonroad" (O'Grady 1929, ii, 2), but elsewhere his son Conchobhar, king of Thomond 1242-68, is described as "the first that in this place [i.e. Clonroad] constructed a permanent stronghold with earthworks ("longport comnaide criad") (O'Grady 1929, ii, 5-6, 11). Gwynn and Gleeson (1961, 194, n.5) state that the O'Briain royal residence moved from Limerick to Clonroad in 1216, which supports the view that Donnchad Cairprech O Briain was responsible. One possible explanation may lie in the fact that Donnchad's residence is said to have been built on the north bank of the Fergus, whereas the later medieval castle is generally regarded as having stood on the south bank (O

Dalaigh 1987, 15). Perhaps Conchobar O Briain was the first to settle on the latter site.

The Caithreim also notes that Toirdelbach O Briain, king of Thomond 1277-1306, captured the 'longport' of Clonroad from Toirrdelbach Og, son of Brian Rua O Briain, apparently in 1284 and that he built a castle there (O'Grady 1929, ii, 26). In renewed warfare between O Briain factions, Clonroad was burned by Diarmait Cleirech O Briain in 1311 (O'Grady 1929, ii, 45). Little is known of Clonroad in the later medieval period, but in 1553 Donnchad O Briain, 3rd earl of Thomond, was attacked at Clonroad by his brothers Domhnaill and Toirdelbach, and forced to take refuge in "a tower which was in the town", while the attackers "burned and plundered the town, and slew many persons" (AFM). Donnchad has been credited in an early 17th century source with beginning the construction of the "caisleán geal" of Clonroad, which was completed by his successor, Conchobar O Briain (O Dalaigh 1987, 16); it may be that this rebuilding was a response to the raid of 1553. In 1570 Clonroad was captured and garrisoned by the earl of Ormond (Hamilton 1860, 430, 432). MacNamara (1913-15, 269) and O Dalaigh (1987, 16) suggest that with the accession of Donnchad, 4th earl of Thomond, in 1581, Clonroad was superseded by Bunratty as the earl's principal residence, and thereafter it declined in importance. O Dalaigh (1987, 16) suggests that the castle may have been in ruins by the late seventeenth century, although Dineley's sketch of 1681 indicates otherwise. It was finally demolished by 1730 (O Dalaigh 1987, 16-17).



Dineley's (1681) sketch of Clonroad castle shows it as consisting of a tower-house, probably of fifteenth century date to which a large six-bay mansion was attached, quite possible the "caisleán geal" built in the 1550s, by the 2nd and 3rd earls, as O Dalaigh (1987, 16) suggests. Other buildings can be seen within the bawn which is surrounded by a curtain wall with an arched opening defended by a machicolation.

The account of the raid on Clonroad in 1553 makes it clear that there was a substantial settlement associated with the castle, and by 1703 Moland could still record "a few shops", and the holding of two annual fairs there (O Dalaigh 1987, 16). O Dalaigh (1987, 15) states that whereas the castle was located on the south bank of the Fergus the main settlement was on the north bank. Dineley's drawing shows two bridges crossing the Fergus opposite the castle.

#### TOWER HOUSE AT OLD GROUND HOTEL

A rectangular structure measuring 7.5 by 5.2m. Most of the building is hidden by modern plaster and wall board but the original masonry appears to consist of large blocks of evenly coursed limestone. The floors above first floor level have been removed. The ground floor is now so altered by being in use as store-rooms, kitchen and the hotel reception area, that the original layout is difficult to ascertain.

The first floor has a barrel vault. The east wall is stepped 70cm below the vault creating a ledge 15cm wide.

Towards the west of the vault is a line of wall in the roof plaster 60cm wide, indicating a former division within the room. It was lit from the south by a segmental headed window under the vault in the east end of the wall. The window is slightly splayed and the rear arch is flat lintelled although the vault has a pointed arch above the window. A similar but smaller pointed arch occurs towards the west end of the wall. There is a wide modern doorway below this arch. The west wall has a wide flat-arched modern wooden-framed doorway in the centre of the wall. There is another flat lintelled opening in the west end of the north wall and two double splayed modern openings to the east. Above the more easterly opening is a pointed arch set into the vault, similar and opposite to the window in the south wall, which might indicate a larger window in this position. A large carved limestone fireplace dated 1553 from Lemeneagh Castle has been set into the centre of the east wall (Ua Croinin and Breen 1987, 46-7).

#### 10. MISCELLANEOUS

##### Quern stone

The upper stone of a rotary quern was found at Drumbiggle in 1982 and has been deposited in Dysert O'Dea Castle Museum. It is decorated with three latin crosses. A small section is missing from one side.

#### 11. LIST OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL STRAY FINDS

Bronze winged axe and bronze socketed gouge. BM W.G. 1569,

1590.

Gold bracelet. NMI 1930: 532. Taylor 1980, Co. Cl. 9.

Amber bead with an ogham inscription. Macalister, Corpus, i, 57-8.

Two bronze stick pins. ROM Toronto. JRSAL 106 (1976), 75-88: nos. 33, 65.

Wooden vessel and gaming board with thirty-five pegs. From Jail Street, Ennis. NMI 1942: 89, 95.

Coin hoard, deposited c. 1280-5. NMAJ 12 (1969), 28; PRIA 66 C (1968), 247.

Bulla of Innocent VIII (d.1492). From Ennis abbey. BM 1854. 7-14.306.

Coin hoard, deposited in 1570s or 1580s. NMAJ 12 (1969), 32.

Bronze tripod vessel. NMI 1901:71.

## ARCHAEOLOGICAL PROBLEMS AND POTENTIAL

### The Problems

Ennis is important to archaeological research for two reasons. Firstly, during the middle ages, it was the site of a friary which probably acted as the core of some form of village settlement under the control of the Ua Briain. Secondly it is important as an example of a sixteenth/

seventeenth century plantation town.

The core of Ennis's street pattern retains its sixteenth/seventeenth century layout. This continuity suggests that it may be possible to discover the nature of the original road surface at various times? Streets are important archaeologically and should be investigated if at all possible because they permit not only an examination of their surfaces but also allow the results of excavations on one side of a street to be linked with those on the other. This enables the reconstruction of entire streetscapes in the manner which has proved so successful at Novgorod in Russia.

There is no trace above ground of the Ua Briain castle of Clonroad, but it is known that fragments of medieval walling survived at the rear of Clonroad House until at least 1946. The present owner of Clonroad House recalled that stones of medieval character were dug up beside the house which were subsequently taken away by Mr John Hunt, but their present whereabouts is unknown. There are no medieval stones in the grounds of Clonroad at present although if, as Spellissy suggests (1987, 76), the present house is built on the site of the castle then some walls or features may be incorporated into Clonroad House. Historically, the castle is important because it is one of the best documented residences of a Gaelic noble throughout the middle ages. It was evidently a substantial stone structure and although no traces survive above ground today its foundations almost certainly survive below ground.

The handful of surviving seventeenth century houses and house fragments are important because they are among the very few houses of this date remaining in any Irish town. It is quite possible that the remains of other houses lie concealed behind modern facades. But stone houses of this form were probably always few in number and the majority of structures would have been of wood. Nonetheless, with correct excavation, the form and layout of wooden buildings can be discovered. It is important to know what sort of buildings the early inhabitants of Ennis lived in and how these changed through time. Only when such houses have been found can assessments be made of the impact of native Irish, British and continental building techniques on Ennis' craftsmen. A great deal of information about changes in building methods and fashions can also be derived from stratified sites in which the remains of successive houses are preserved. The castle within the Old Ground Hotel seems to have been a domestic residence of medieval date, and it is possible that other domestic evidence, of a rural character may survive in its vicinity.

The Franciscan Friary (a national monument in state care) was the most important religious building within the town and its structure survives in very good condition. The church, of course, was only part of a much larger precinct which contained many buildings including a castle, and a gatehouse. It is an area which should be rich in archaeological deposits, as the finding of the papal bulla indicates. Another religious site existed in what is now Kilrush road,

where the first edition Ordnance Survey maps show a large enclosure, and the street name Garraunakilla preserves the memory of the former existence of an ecclesiastical site. The size and form of the enclosure would suggest that this was of pre-Norman date.

### Archaeological Potential

Archaeology does not consist solely of excavation nor does it stop at ground level. The archaeological evidence for Ennis' past comprises all the physical remains of man's activities on the site of the town, from its first use until the present day. The surviving street pattern, property boundaries and standing buildings constitute the uppermost levels of the archaeological stratigraphy, and all are relevant to the study of the town's past. Documentary evidence also plays a role in reconstructing the history of early Ennis, but for the wide range of human activity omitted from the written accounts and for the early periods without documentation archaeology is our only source of information. The evidence of archaeology and topography, of architecture and of documents, is complementary; each gains from the existence of the others and the unrecorded destruction of one form of evidence not only removes part of a town's archive but also diminishes the usefulness of those which are preserved.

The survey of its archaeology indicates that the site of the town has been the scene of human activity in Early

Historic, Medieval and post-Medieval times. Both documentary sources and the known archaeological remains indicate that the town has been occupied continuously since c.1580, and there may have been an earlier village settlement around the friary. With the exception of the Franciscan friary, the tower-house in the Old Ground Hotel, and the four surviving remains of seventeenth century date, all other standing archaeological remains have been removed. Although the destruction of buildings above ground has been substantial, the street pattern of the seventeenth-century town is largely intact and archaeological deposits are likely to exist over a wide area of the town. Accordingly there is the strong likelihood of recovering house foundations, refuse pits, industrial areas, and workshops.

The extent and depth of the archaeological deposits is unknown and accordingly it is difficult to gauge the amount of destruction which has occurred. Redevelopment has taken place along the north side of Arthur's Row, while the area behind the street frontage of O'Connell St., Parnell St. and Market St. has been cleared for car parking and possibly redevelopment. This is an area which is potentially of archaeological importance.

#### ARCHAEOLOGY, PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT

It is evident from the foregoing that archaeology is an important means of learning about Ennis' past and of understanding the character and detailed form of the town



today. This is more than just an academic pursuit because without an appreciation of the factors which have shaped Ennis' present character, steps taken to conserve that character will not be wholly effective, or worse, features basic to its unique identity may be unwittingly destroyed.

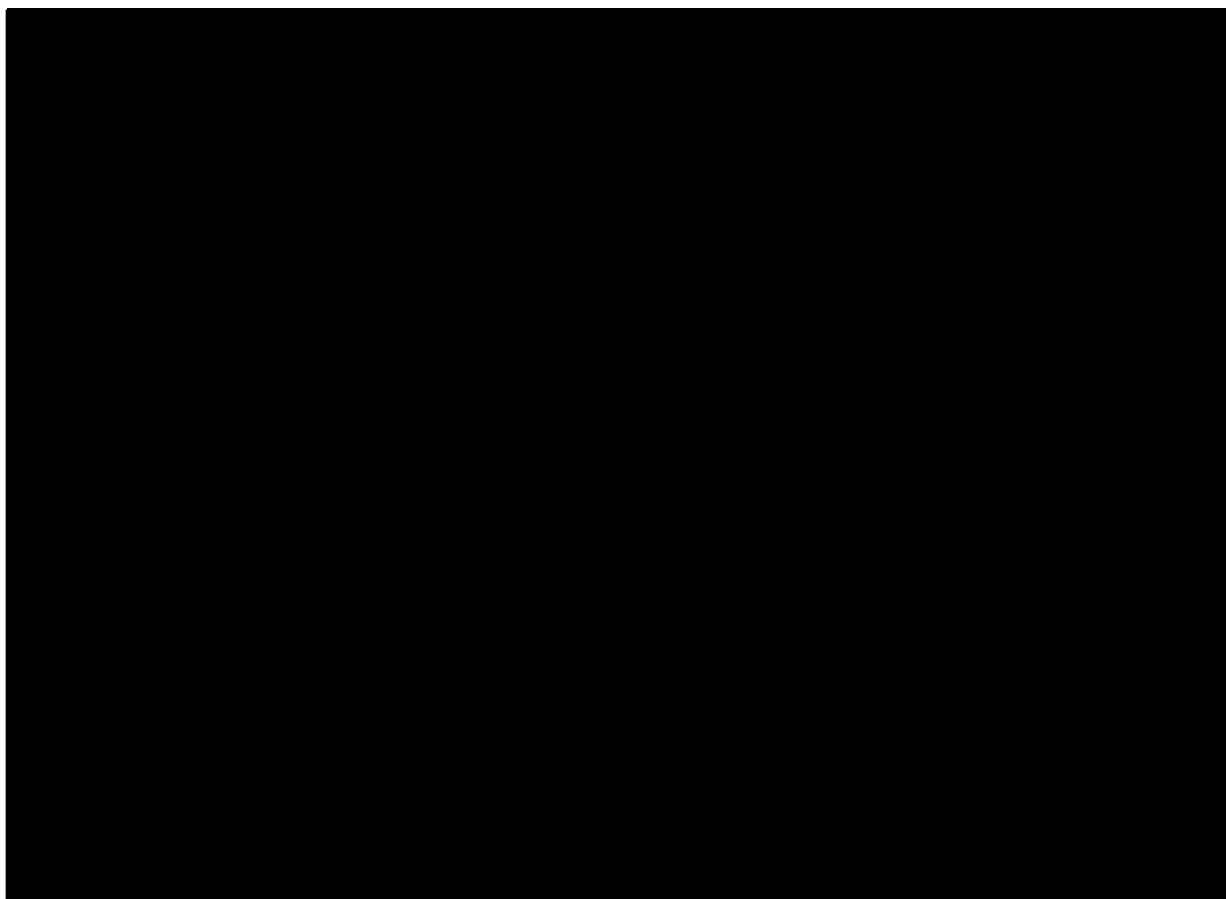
The protection of buried archaeological evidence presents serious problems for not only is there the pressure of redevelopment and the high value of urban properties with which to contend, but the sites themselves are often difficult to define or evaluate; their full archaeological potential may only become apparent when an excavation is undertaken in advance of development or by observations made while development is in progress. The friary alone enjoys statutory protection as a scheduled National Monument but because of the difficulties of scheduling urban properties, other sites within Ennis are unlikely to be given this protection. It is crucial, therefore, that a concerted effort should be made to safeguard its archaeological heritage and that adequate provision is made for investigation in advance of any redevelopment. This is best achieved by making the realisation of Ennis' archaeological potential one of the objectives of its development plan. The objective may then be achieved by judicious use of planning constraints and by conditions attached to planning consents.

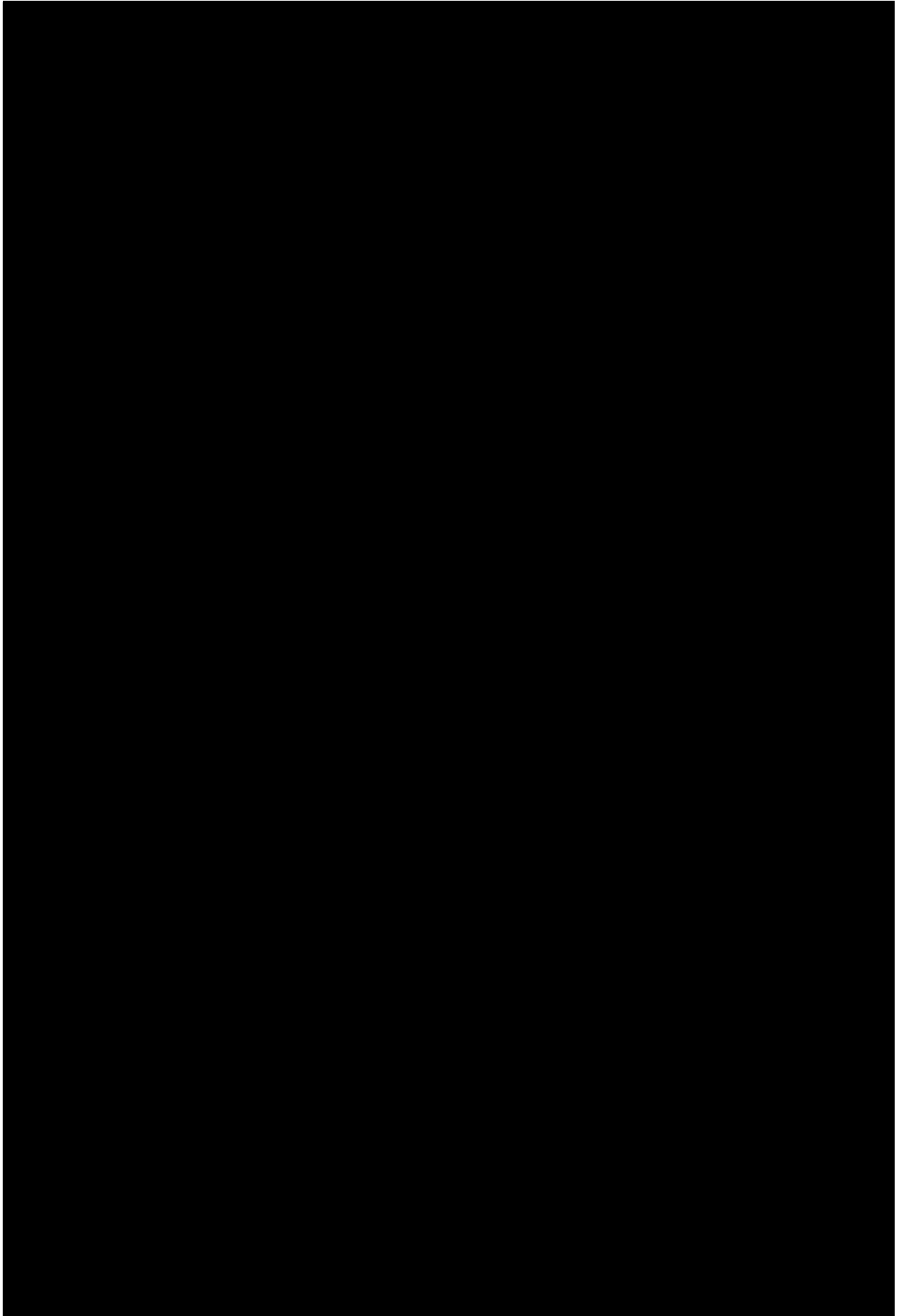
#### Area of Archaeological Potential

The shaded portion of the accompanying map delimits the



area of archaeological potential within modern Ennis. In the absence of archaeological excavations within this area, however, little can be said of the extent and depth of archaeological deposits. The shaded area is based on the known extent of the town by 1700, with the inclusion of the area around the Garraunakilla church site on the south. West of the town, an area around the mill sites is shaded, while on the east the shaded area comprises the site of Clonroad castle, the bridges associated with it, and an area in its vicinity which allows for the possible area of a settlement associated with the castle. The mill site was cleared of buildings in 1986 and should be excavated in advance of redevelopment.





[REDACTED]

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## KILLALOE

Killaloe is a small market town situated on rising ground at the western end of an old fording point (now submerged) across the Shannon, at the southern end of Lough Derg. The name is derived from Cell-da-Lua, "the church of do-Lua (Molua)", preserving the memory of an early church foundation which, together with the adjacent secular site of Kincora (Ceann coradh, "head of the weir"), was the origin of the modern settlement.

## ARCHAEOLOGICAL & HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Although both the ecclesiastical and secular settlements may have been in existence from the sixth century, the growth of Killaloe as an important settlement began in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries with the rise of the local Dal gCais dynasty, and particularly Brian Boruma, to national prominence. Ceann coradh was Brian's chief residence and he also patronised Cell-da-Lua. Dal gCais influence and patronage continued during the later eleventh and early twelfth centuries when Cell-da-Lua became one of the most important church sites in Munster and eventually, at the Synod of Raith Bressail in 1111, it became the centre of a large diocese. During the reign of Muirchertach Ua Briain (1086-1119), however, Limerick became the main residence of the Ua Briain kings.

In 1016 Cell-da-Lua and Ceann Coradh were "plundered and demolished" by the men of Connacht (Chron. Scot. sub 1014; A. Clon. sub 1009; AFM sub 1015). In 1050 it was the venue for an assembly of the chieftains and clergy of Munster, called together by Donnchad, son of Brian Boruma, to legislate against lawlessness caused by food shortages (AFM). In 1061 Cell-da-Lua was burned by Aed Ua Conchobair, king of Connacht, during an attack on Ceann Coradh (AI; Chron. Scot. sub 1059; A. Clon.; AFM sub 1062). It was burned again in 1081 (AI; ALC) and in 1084 by the Ui Ruairc of Conmaicni (AI; AFM). In spite of these attacks, however, Cell-da-Lua seems to have flourished at this period. Gwynn (1958-61, 27, 30-1) suggests that the oldest part of the annals of Inisfallen was copied there c.1092, and that it was an important centre of literary activity during the later eleventh century. Killaloe was burnt by Toirrdelbach Ua Conchobair in 1116 and it was burnt again in 1142 (AFM), 1154 (AFM) and 1185 (ALC, AU), and it is somewhat surprising to find a reference to the borough of "Kildalowe" in the latter year.

Henry II had granted the Ua Briain kingdom of Limerick, of which Killaloe formed part, to Philip de Braose in 1177 but his attempt to take possession failed (Orpen 1911-20, ii, 33, 38-9). In 1185 Prince John granted five and a half cantreds of this kingdom, including the borough of "Kildalowe" to Theobald Walter and Ranulf de Glenville (Orpen 11911-20, ii, 102; Gwynn and Gleeson 1961, 176). The existence of the borough at this period is difficult to explain because there is no evidence for any Anglo-Norman



presence before 1185. Indeed Killaloe seems to have remained firmly outside of Anglo-Norman control until the second decade of the thirteenth century. In 1207 "the English of Meath and Leinster with their forces went to Killaloe to build a castle there, near the Borowe, and were frustrated of their purpose, did neither castle nor other thing worthy of memory, but lost some men and horsed in theire journey, and soe returned" (A. Clon.). O'Kelly (1962, 13-14) suggested that the secondary structure at Beal Boru, north of Killaloe, was an unfinished motte dating to this raid. The evidence then would suggest that the borough of Killaloe was in existence before the coming of the Anglo-Normans to Clare, and from references to it in Icelandic sagas it might be suggested that it was a borough settlement dependent on Viking Limerick.

The first effective Anglo-Norman intrusion in Killaloe occurred in 1216, when the justiciar, Geoffrey de Marisco, erected a castle there "and forced the inhabitants to receive an English bishop" (A. Clon.). The bishop was in fact his nephew, Robert Travers, and AFM adds that he also built a house at Killaloe "by force". This initiative was aimed primarily at establishing control of the cathedral and bishopric of Killaloe, rather than at introducing a secular settlement, but even this failed, because Travers was deposed by the Pope in 1221 (Orpen 1911-20, iv, 55; Otway-Ruthven 1968, 87-9). There is no evidence that the Anglo-Normans ever regained control of Killaloe, and the subsequent history of the borough is obscure.

# ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVENTORY

1. SITE OF BOROUGH
2. STREET PATTERN
3. DOMESTIC HOUSING
4. BRIDGE
5. CEANN CORADH
6. CASTLE
7. CHURCH SITE OF CELL-DA-LUA

ST FLANNAN'S ORATORY

ST FLANNAN'S CATHEDRAL

ST FLANNAN'S WELL

8. OTHER FEATURES

BEAL BORU

ST. MOLUA'S CHURCH

9. LIST OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL STRAY FINDS

1. SITE OF BOROUGH

The topographical constrictions of the locale indicate that the borough would have been located on the low ground in the vicinity of St Flannan's cathedral, and perhaps stretching uphill towards the site of Ceann Coradh.

2. STREET PATTERN

The street pattern seems to have evolved along the routeway leading eastwards from Ceann Coradh to the bridge



(or fording point). The curving line of John St/ Bridge St may delimit the original boundary of the ecclesiastical enclosure of Cell da Lua.

### 3. DOMESTIC HOUSING

No pre 1700 domestic housing has been identified in the town.

### 4. BRIDGE

In recounting the visit to Ceann Coradh of Mael Morda mac Murchadha, king of Leinster (1003-14), the Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaibh refers to him mounting his horse at the east end of the plank-bridge ("clair") of Killaloe (Todd 1867, 145). This might be considered as evidence for a bridge at Killaloe in the early eleventh century but since the source itself is a twelfth century document it is quite likely to be anachronistic. The earliest contemporary reference to a bridge at Killaloe is the construction of a "droichet" by Toirrdelbach Ua Briain in 1071 (AI). Almost one hundred years later, in 1171 the bridge was destroyed in a raid on Killaloe by either the Ui Maine or Ui Conchobair (AFM). No further references are known to the bridge in the Middle Ages but one was evidently in existence in 1599 when it was destroyed by Hugh O'Donnell (Atkinson 1895, 501-2). Westropp (1911-12, 203) has suggested that two "peel-towers" were erected at either end of the bridge during the fifteenth century and he added that the remains of one "standing in the river at the

Clare end of the great weir" was removed in the nineteenth century.

## 5. CEANN CORADH

Westropp (1911-12, 194-8) suggested that the Dal gCais forebears of Brian Boruma were settled in the Killaloe vicinity, at Cragliath, from the sixth century. He suggested that the fort there, known as Grianan Lachtna, is referred to in an account of a hosting to Cragliath by Fedelmid MacCrimthainn, king of Munster 820-47, that the fort of Boruma (Beal Boru) is first referred to in an annalistic entry for 877, and that the fort of Ceann Coradh is first referred to in an account of a campaign in Munster in 941 by Muirchertach mac Neill, king of Aileach. Accordingly he argued that Ceann Coradh was in existence before Brian Boruma's time. The account of Muirchertach's campaign (Morthimpeall Eireann Uile), however, is now known to be of twelfth century date, and its statements cannot be taken as authoritative, particularly when AI states that Brian built ("doronta") the fort ("cathir") of Ceann Coradh in 1012.

In 1016, after Brian's death, Ceann Coradh was attacked and destroyed by the men of Connacht (Chron. Scot. sub 1014; AFM sub 1015), and the account of this attack in A. Clon. (sub 1009) states that the "Connaught men broke downe Killaloe and Kyn Korey (king Bryan his mannor house) and tooke away all the goodes therin". In 1061 Aed Ua Conchobair, king of Connacht, "burned Cill-Dalua, and demolished the

fortress (dun) of Cenn-coradh, and ate the two salmon that were in the well of Cenn-coradh, and the well was afterwards closed up by him" (Chron. Scot., sub 1059). Ceann Coradh continued to be an important Ua Briain residence, nevertheless, even after Muirchertach Ua Briain had made Limerick his capital. This is indicated by the recorded deaths at Ceann Coradh or Cell-da-Lua of Toirrdelbach Ua Briain in 1086 (AU), Muirchertach Ua Briain in 1119 (O hInnse 1947, 11; AFM), and Conchobar Ua Briain in 1142. In 1114, during the power struggle between Muirchertach Ua Briain and Diarmait, his brother, the latter brought Muirchertach "from his sick-bed to his own encampment ("longport"), from Limerick to Killaloe, under guard" (O hInnse 1947, 3). This longport is presumably Ceann Coradh. In 1116 Toirrdelbach Ua Conchobair "demolished" Borumha and burned Ceann Coradh, an act which Westropp (1911-12, 202) regarded as terminating occupation at these two sites. This is unlikely, however, because of the known death of Conchobar Ua Briain at Ceann Coradh in 1142.

Westropp (1911-12, 202-3) suggested that Ceann Coradh occupied the high ground at the west end of the modern town on which St Flannan's (R. C.) church now stands. A weir extended across the river Shannon at this point until modern times, and it seems to be the most likely location.

## 6. CASTLE

In 1216 the justiciar, Geoffrey de Marisco succeeded in



erecting a castle at Killaloe in connection with his attempt to install Robert Travers as bishop there (A. Clon.; AFM). The latest known reference to this castle is in 1231 when royal assent to the election of Donnchad, bishop of Killaloe, required an undertaking from him not to commit the castle to "the king's enemies, who would destroy it" (Sweetman 1875-86, i, no. 1908). Westropp (1911-12, 202-3) has suggested that it was built on the site of Ceann Corradh.

#### 7. CHURCH SITE OF CELL-DA-LUA

The origins of this church are obscure. It is traditionally said to have been founded in the late sixth or early seventh century by Molua or Lua, who was succeeded by Flannan (Gwynn and Gleeson 1961, 5-10). Gwynn and Hadcock (1970, 86), however, feel that the tradition that Molua was the founder is open to question, and that Flannan may have lived in the eighth century. Indeed it has been suggested that the original foundation was on Friar's Island, 1 klm south of the town, and that it was only moved to Killaloe at a later date (Gwynn and Gleeson 1961, 12-13). The location of the church, at the foot of Ceann Coradh certainly favours such an interpretation and the most likely date for such a move is the late tenth century when Ceann Coradh first began to achieve prominence. The earliest direct reference to Cell-da-Lua occurs in 991 (AI; Gwynn and Gleeson 1961, 5, n.3) and it may be that this period saw a transformation in the history of what was until then a relatively insignificant

church foundation.

The Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaibh states that Brian Boruma erected the church of Cell-da-Lua (Todd 1867, 139), and the annals record a number of raids and burnings during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. In 1116 they specifically mention that "Cell-Dalua, with its church ("tempall") was burned" (ALC; AU; AFM). Muirchertach Ua Briain was buried in the church in 1119 (O hInnse 1947, 11; AFM) as was Conchobair Ua Briain, leth-ri of Thomond, in 1142 (O hInnse 1947, 29; Chron. Scot.; A. Clon. sub 1134).

No contemporary records are known of the medieval cathedral. The cathedral allegedly built by Domhnall Mor O Briain c.1182 is possibly represented by the Romanesque doorway inserted into the south wall of the present building (Leask 1955-60, i, 151). Gwynn and Gleeson (1961, 168-9) suggest that this newly built cathedral may have been seriously damaged or destroyed in the attack on Killaloe by Cathal Carrach O Conchobair in 1185, resulting in the construction of a new cathedral c.1200-25 (Leask 1955-60, ii, 54-5). The building seems to have been in serious decay by 1611 when it was included in a list of ruined cathedrals to be re-edified (Brewer and Bullen 1873, 155). In 1622, however, John Rider, bishop of Killaloe, reported that "the quire of it is in very good repaire, and adorned with a new pulpit, and with many new, faire and convenient slates: and ye roof well timbred and slatted, and ye church well glassed ... But for ye body of ye said church, it belongs to ye

parishioners to build, who have brough all theyr materialls in place, erected theyr scaffolds, and I hope this summer it will be finished" (Dwyer 1878, 129-30).

#### ST FLANNAN'S ORATORY

This is situated some 20 m north of the cathedral and is c.1.5m below the present ground level of the churchyard. It was a simple nave and chancel church but the chancel is now missing. It is built of yellow and brown sandstone masonry, roughly coursed with no dressed quoins. The masonry has recently been repointed and the steeply pitched roof repaired. The church stands on a plinth 20cm high. The nave measures 10 by 6m internally and there are traces of plaster of uncertain date on the walls. The east wall has an undecorated round headed chancel arch 2m wide and 3m high with a projecting chamfered abacus under the arch. The N and S walls have a small pointed window, directly opposite one another towards the E end of the wall. Each window has a splayed embrasure with pointed rear arch and stepped sills. The west wall has a battered round arched doorway 1m wide and 2.5m high with a projecting chamfered abacus at the top of each jamb. Externally the door is of three orders. The inner order is plain; the middle order is supported by short round columns standing on modern bases and has worn capitals which are decorated with animal and foliate carvings. The arch has a round roll moulding with a double hollow behind. The outer order has plain jambs. Above the abacus the arch is composed of two roll mouldings with a hollow moulding between.

Externally there is a roll hood moulding with very worn traces of dentil decoration. The nave is roofed by a barrel vault 7m high with a loft above. This is covered by a pointed vault and is lit by an opening in the east and west gables. In the east gable, which is some 9m high, there is a battered window with pointed arch and in the west gable there is a battered window c.1.5m high with round arch. A square opening in the barrel vault immediately inside the west wall provides access from the nave to the loft. The only remains of the chancel, which had an internal width of 4.00m, are short traces of the north and south walls projecting from the east end of the nave to a height of 2m.

#### Monuments

13/14th cent. figure.

Mounted on the north wall of the oratory is the lower half of a small figure carved in high relief on a tapering dressed shaft of yellow sandstone. The shaft expands at the base and below this there is a tenon. The sides are undecorated apart from an incised border close to the front face. The figure is dressed in a flared skirt which reaches below the knees and appears to hold a sword or dagger in the two hands. The lower legs and feet are very worn and the outer 3cms of the skirt appear to be glued onto the stone.

Dims: H.31 W.14-21 Depth 8

#### Early Christian Cross Slab

Two fragments, discovered at St. Flannan's well in 1934, are

mounted on the north wall. The fragmented tapering slab of yellow sandstone is incised with a double line ringed cross. The head of the slab consists of a Latin cross with expanded square centre and rectangular terminals enclosed by a ring. The hollows of the ring are slightly recessed. The bottom of the lower section has a tenon and there is a rectangular section cut out of the lower left corner to a depth of 3cm.

Dims: Upr section H.67 W.49 T.10

Lr section H.56 W.45 T.8-9

#### Romanesque carved stones

On a modern stone bench in the oratory: (1) a dressed rectangular block of yellow sandstone, decorated with conjoined lozenges on two faces; (2) two possible jambs, decorated with pellets, scrolls, and a foliage pattern. (3) a block of yellow sandstone with a flat recessed groove; (4) a moulded base or capital of grey limestone; (5) key-stone of yellow sandstone, decorated with a fan-shaped design of opposed scrolls; (6) small section of a round column of yellow sandstone; (7) a sub-triangular fragment of yellow sandstone; (8) keystone decorated with deeply cut chevrons.

#### ST FLANNAN'S CATHEDRAL

The fact that the main church of Killaloe is not dedicated to Do-Lua has for long been recognized as a problem. Gwynn and Gleeson (1961, 11-12) pointed to possible evidence that it was originally dedicated, like Limerick, to St Mary. The evidence lies in a seventeenth century document,



however, but already in 1622 it was known by its dedication as to Flannan (Dwyer 1878, 129).

### Description

The cathedral consists of a nave and chancel with transepts and a crossing tower. The masonry consists of roughly coursed yellow and purple sandstone with dressed angle buttresses; there is much evidence for rebuilding, however, and for the re-use of cut stone in the structure. The chancel is marginally longer than the nave and the south transept is larger than the north. The north transept is cut off from the church by a cross wall and is largely rebuilt and restructured internally while the south transept is closed off by a glass screen and organ.

The CHANCEL is dominated by the tall graduated three light window in the east wall. The two outer lights are pointed while the centre one is rounded and they are all splayed with sloping sills and triangular piers between the lights. The external jambs have roll mouldings and a conjoined hood moulding with upturned stops. Internally the window has a pointed frame of three orders. The jambs are moulded and the inner jambs have foliated capitals. The outer order of the arch is moulded, the second order has a fish-bone design while the inner order has an undercut lozenge pattern. There are rounded shafts on the nibs of the piers which rise from the base of the frame to the soffit of the arch and are topped by capitals with stiff leaf foliage.

The outer roll moulded jamb runs half way down the window and then becomes a string course which runs horizontally along the N and S walls of the chancel to the crossing tower. The jamb mouldings at the base of the window form a sill across the entire width of the east wall and support two matched piscinae on either side of the window. The inner piscina on either side is taller than the outer one; they have pointed chamfered arches, moulded jambs and damaged trumpet capitals. The corners of the east wall are buttressed and the angles have three-quarter columns.

The north and south walls have four evenly spaced splayed narrow lancets with sloping sills and pointed rear arches. The windows closest to the tower are c.1.5m shorter than the other three and they have stepped jambs externally. The chancel is plastered internally and no details of the stonework are visible except for the string course at cornice level which links each window and is decorated with an inverted pear shaped corbel supporting the roof. The corbels are elaborately carved with foliate, figurative and geometric patterns while the terminals or stops have foliage, knots, abstract designs, a human head and a horse. Towards the west end of the north wall externally there is evidence for a long low structure in a roof-line which is c.5m above the ground and has two undecorated supporting corbels. Between the second and third window on the south wall externally there is a small blocked round arched opening high in the wall.

The NAVE has a modern roof internally and the west end of

the north and south walls are rebuilt. Close to the the tower there are two narrow splayed lancets with sloping sills and pointed rear arches in both north and south walls. They have stepped and chamfered jambs externally but the rear arches and internal jambs would appear to be rebuilt. There is an inserted round arched door with chamfered jambs opening to the graveyard in the west end of the north wall. Close to the west end of the south wall is an inserted Romanesque door, described further below. The west wall has a pointed door with moulded banded shafts and a pointed hood moulding above. The banded shafts and hood moulding terminals had floriated capitals but these are almost worn away. There is a narrow lancet above the door with sloping sill and pointed rear arch. The west wall extends a short distance to the south which suggests the former presence of a south porch as there is no evidence for a south aisle. There are buttresses, similar to those of the east wall, on the NW angle and on the face of the wall at the junction of the west and south walls.

The TOWER is squat and has two floors, access to which is not possible at present. The crossing arch has two chamfered diagonal ribs and pointed chamfered arches open to the centre aisle and transepts. Each arch has a soffit rib supported on corbels similar to those in the chancel.

The SOUTH TRANSEPT is re-roofed although the original roof line can be seen in the south wall of the tower. Internally a flattened modern roof is built with plaster-board, the walls are heavily repointed and the

internal jambs and arches of the windows are rebuilt. The east wall has a mural passage leading to a spiral stair, now blocked, in the angle between the transept and the chancel. Access is from the south end of the wall through a pointed chamfered door. The outer skin of the north end of the wall has a twinlight window of equal sized lancets separated by a triangular pier. Externally it has a moulded pointed frame which is rebuilt at the base. Internally each lancet is flanked and surmounted by roll mouldings. A roll moulding on the nib of the pier has a foliated capital. The pointed rear arch on the inner skin of the wall has been rebuilt but the pointed hood moulding survives, although damaged, and consists of banded mouldings with foliated capitals. The capital on the north is carved in low relief while that on the south has stiff leaf foliage. The south wall has a narrow lancet with stepped and chamfered jambs externally and a half splay internally. The pointed rear arch and sloping sill are rebuilt. The west wall is lit by two similar rebuilt lancets with sloping sills and pointed rear arches.

The NORTH TRANSEPT, which is largely rebuilt, is now two floored with two large rooms, a modern stairs, kitchen and bathroom. The lower room is wood panelled and the upper room is white washed and the roof has a flat modern ceiling. The east wall has a blocked splayed rectangular window immediately below the roof and the splay of a second window can be seen close by. Two wide lancets were inserted to light the ground floor room. The north wall has a narrow splayed lancet, probably original, high in the wall while closer to

the ground there is evidence for two smaller windows. One is rectangular with chamfered jambs while the sill only of the second window remains. The ground floor is lit from the west by one pointed window and the upper floor by two similar windows. There is a modern round arched opening in the west wall beside the north wall of the nave and another blocked opening at ground level.

#### Romanesque Door

Inserted in the west end of the nave's south wall. Externally there are ten voussoirs with very worn Romanesque decoration while internally the door consists of four orders with a plain rounded hood moulding above. The jambs, capitals and arches, although badly damaged, are carved in high relief with geometric, foliate and animal carvings. The arch of the inner order consists of deeply cut chevrons and roll mouldings decorated in low relief with flowers and foliage. The left jamb and capital are concrete replicas of the right ones. The jamb has a foliage design with an animal head gripping a moulding at the base of the jamb and the rounded edge moulding terminates under the capital in two/three animal heads back to back. The arch of the second order had a concave chamfer with edge roll mouldings and alternating heads and animals in relief. None is complete. The jambs are deeply cut with roll moulded edges and chevrons which meet at the angle forming a lozenge shape. The inner surface of the chevron is filled with foliage designs in false relief. The soffit and outer surface of the arch of the third order



are decorated with chevrons filled with formalised foliage designs. The jambs consist of rounded colonettes decorated with lozenges containing formalised foliage sprays. The arch of the outer order has a roll moulding along the edge and was deeply cut to give a hexagonal pattern emphasised by pelleting. The jambs are similarly carved but the pattern is an oval design and foliage motifs occur in the spaces between the hexagonal and oval shapes. The capitals are all decorated with trumpet patterns with back to back C-scrolls or animals above. The moulded bases of the jambs are also decorated with foliage

Dims: W. of opening 116 H. 262

W. across door 288

#### Early Christian cross slab

Tapering sandstone slab with an incised double line ringed cross on steps, set into the floor as a threshold stone under the Romanesque door. The upper right corner is missing and it is broken in two. The area in the cross head between the ring and the arms is recessed and there is an incised H with a small Latin cross above in the centre of the shaft.

Dims: L. 170 W. 54-46

#### Early Christian cross-shaft

Set in the floor between the jambs of the Romanesque door. It has an interlace pattern of spirals and is outlined on the visible edge by a worn rounded moulding. There are a number of holes in the piece indicating that it was once used as a window jamb.

Dims: L. 105. W. 22

#### Romanesque Stone

Set into the wall on the right side of the passage into the north transept is a block of sandstone with a band of raised whorls bordered by a double incised line on one edge. It may have been the lower jamb of a door.

Dims: L.52 W.20

#### Gable finial

Heart-shaped gable cross outlined by a moulding which expands down one face and may have been carved with a head, placed at the west end of the nave. It is very weathered.

Dims: H. 84 W. 72 D.22.

Leask 1957-60, i, 46

#### High Cross. ?12th cent.

Disc-headed cross with vestigial upper arms and upper shaft, mounted on a tall tapering shaft at the west end of the nave. It was brought here from Kilfenora in 1821 (Spellissy 1987, 122). It depicts Christ in high relief.

Dims: H. c.400 W.48-40 Depth c.13

#### Ogham/ rune stone

Rectangular block of dressed sandstone, at the west end of the nave. Found in 1916 in the cemetery wall. The ogham inscription is in two lines on the narrow face and reads BENDAC(H)T AR TOREQRIM. The runic inscription occurs on a wide face and reads: THURGRIM RISTI KRUS THINA (Thorgrim carved this cross). On the opposite face is a small figure in relief

in a rectangular panel. The edges of the stone are moulded and the piece may have been part of a larger monument, perhaps a high cross.

Dims: H.68 W.47 T 22

Macalister 1928-9.

Font. 13/14th cent

Square sandstone font, on a modern mushroom shaped pedestal, in the south transept. It has a straight sided basin with blocked central drainage hole and the lip of the vessel is damaged on one corner. It was originally designed to stand on four corner supports and the corners of the basin were carved into demi-capitals with rounded mouldings on the lower edge. There may also have been a large central support but the modern base obscures any evidence for that. Only one face was decorated in false relief with an equal armed cross with expanded terminals. The centre of the cross has a double lozenge pattern which contains a pointed quatrefoil. The top of the outer lozenge terminates in two leaves while foliage designs surround the cross except for a section in the upper right corner which remained uncut.

Dims: H.35 W.57 T.54

D. of basin 18 W. 41 by 37

Westropp 1893, op. p. 194, 198

John Roan. 1692.

Plain slab resting on a concrete tomb chest at the east end of the church. It has an incised Roman lettered inscription at one end of the slab:



HIC JACET CORPVS JOH/ ANNIS ROAN.S THEOLOI/ DOCTORIS  
LAONENSIS EPISC/ OPI QVI OBIIT 5 DIE SEP/ TEMBRIS AN  
DOMIS 1692

Dims: L.161 W.86 T.13

#### ST FLANNAN'S WELL

This is situated due east of St. Flannan's Cathedral in the garden at the rear of the Allied Irish Bank. The well has a modern concrete surround and is overgrown. A shiela-na-gig is built into the wall on the right side of the well. She is carved on a small block of sandstone and the head and feet are missing.

#### 8. OTHER FEATURES

##### BEAL BORU

In 1207 an unsuccessful attempt was made by "the English of Meath and Leinster" to erect a castle at Killaloe "near the Borowe" (A. Clon.). O'Kelly (1962, 13-14) has suggested that the secondary structure at Beal Boru may be an unfinished motte dating to this expedition. Excavation revealed evidence of primary occupation in the eleventh century.

##### ST MOLUA'S ORATORY

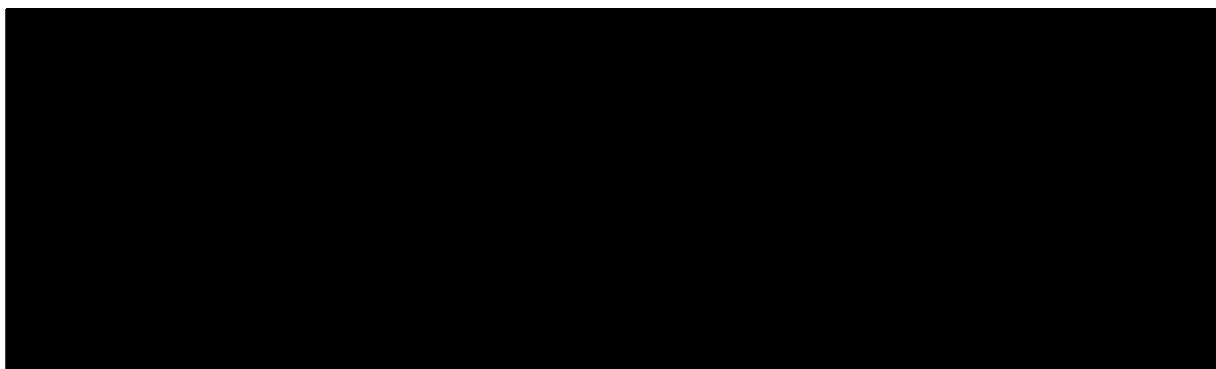
This church was removed from Friar's Island to the grounds of

St. Flannan's R.C. Church in 1930.

#### 9. LIST OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL STRAY FINDS

The National Museum of Ireland houses 1156 stone axeheads labelled as being from the river Shannon at Killaloe, which is a clear indication of the importance of the ford in prehistoric times. In addition the museum houses 144 stone net-sinkers, 8 bronze spearheads, 2 bronze daggers, 4 bronze rapiers, 3 bronze swords, 2 bronze sickles, 1 bronze chisel, 1 iron sword, 1 bronze spear-butt, 1 silver penannular brooch, 2 bronze ring-pins, and 2 bronze bells. The British Museum houses a slate trial-piece, while the Royal Ontario Museum has two bronze stick pins. Some of the river finds are labelled as from Kincora and probably came from the vicinity of the weir, but the majority of the finds presumably came from the stretch of river between Killaloe and Beal Boru. A number of finds are more exactly localized and these alone are listed here:

1. Stone axehead. Found in the mortar of a wall at the back of St Flannan's Catholic Church, Killaloe. JRSAL 91 (1961), 116.
2. Polished stone axehead. From a yard in Abbey Street, Killaloe. NMI 1974:100.
3. Bronze sword. Found in river Shannon near Canal Head, Killaloe. NMI 1934: 72. Eogan 1965, 49.



4. Bronze sword. Found in river Shannon near old sluice gates at Killaloe. NMI 1934: 197. Eogan 1965, 15.
5. Bronze ring-pin. Found in river Shannon near the bridge at Killaloe, on the uprstream side near the Clare bank. NMI 1912: 12.
6. Coin hoard deposited c.1275-85. Found in the churchyard at Killaloe. NMAJ 12 (1969), 28.
7. A large iron die. Found in the church of Killaloe. Alnwick castle coll.

#### ARCHAEOLOGICAL PROBLEMS AND POTENTIAL

Although Killaloe is quite a small town by modern standards it has a special importance for archaeological research because of the evidence for a borough there prior to the arrival of the Normans. Indeed, with the exception of the Viking towns of Dublin, Wexford, Waterford, Cork and Limerick, it is the only Irish town so-described prior to the coming of the Normans. Its significance lies then in the fact that it appears to represent a native Irish attempt at urbanism, almost certainly modelled on the Viking style of town, such as nearby Limerick. It is an unusual situation of the combination of royal site, cathedral church, and bridging point.

#### Area of Archaeological Potential

The construction of St Flannan's Church in the nineteenth century probably destroyed much of the archaeological deposits at Kincora (Ceann Coradh), but it is unlikely that it could have destroyed all. Elsewhere throughout the town archaeological deposits have been removed along the street frontage but it is likely that some deposits remain in the gardens at the rear and in those areas which have not been built on. The accompanying map (Fig. 39) delimits the area of archaeological potential at Killaloe, showing the traditional site of Kincora, but also highlighting an alternative possible site to the east of the church. The most likely site of the early settlement lies between the fort and the cathedral. The zone also includes an area around the fort and cathedral, to allow for possible associated settlement.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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- Mems Dead Journal of the Association for the Preservation of  
the Memorials of the Dead Ireland.
- NMAJ North Munster Antiquarian Journal
- PRIA Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy.
- RDKPRI Report of the Deputy Keeper of Public Records,  
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- UJA Ulster Journal of Archaeology

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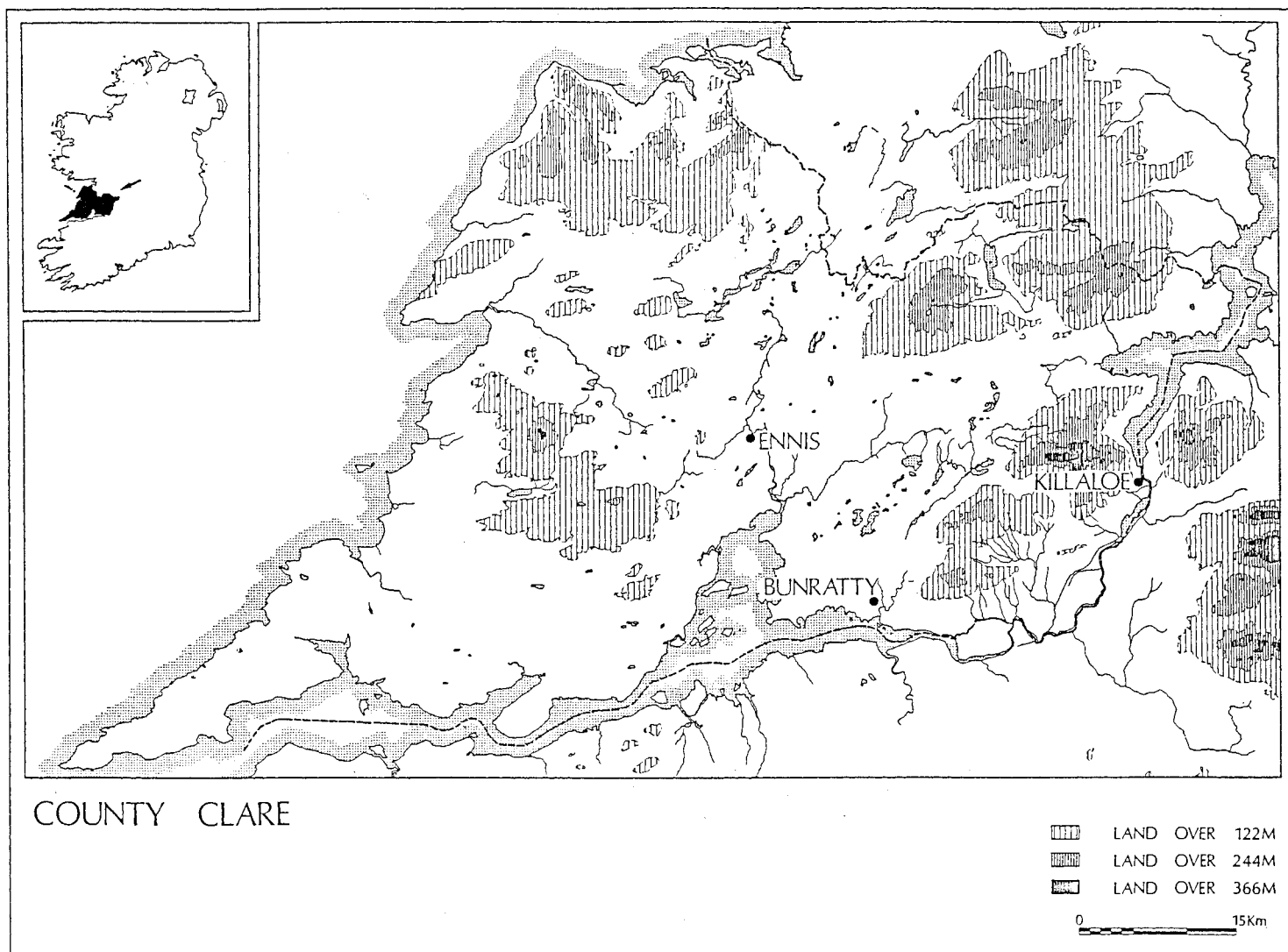


Fig. 1. County Clare: Location map of towns and boroughs.

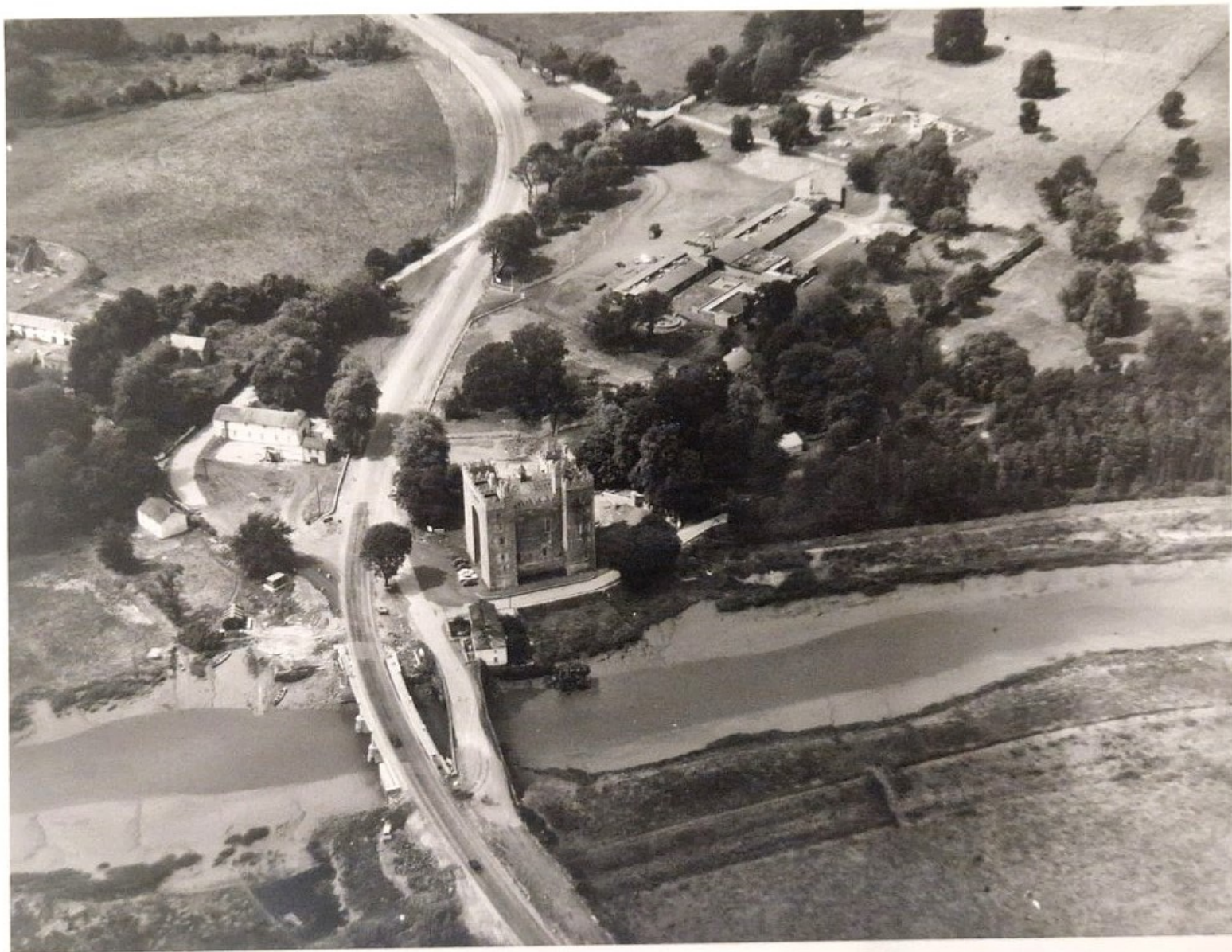
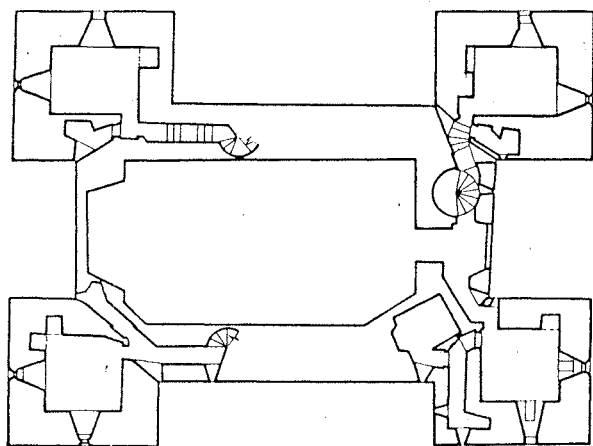


Fig. 2. Aerial view of Bunratty from east (Courtesy Cambridge Aerial Coll).

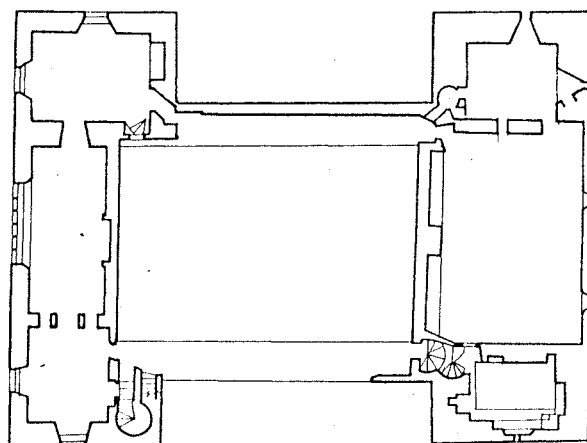




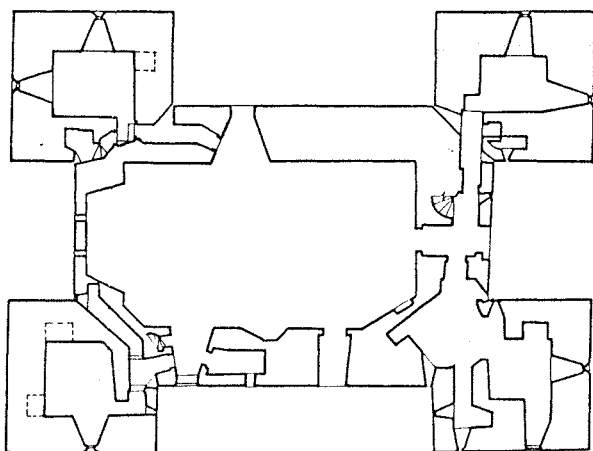
Fig. 3. Bunratty Castle from S.



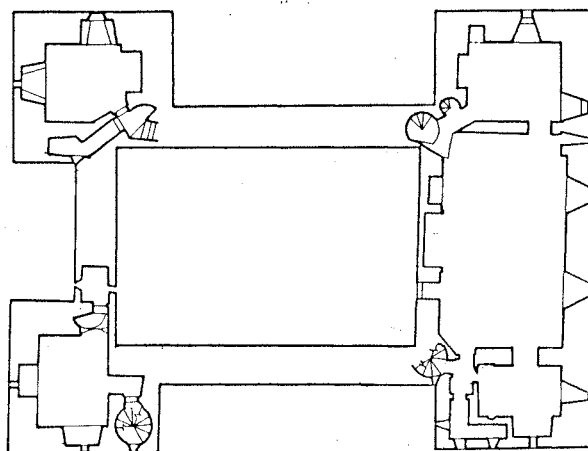
SECOND FLOOR PLAN



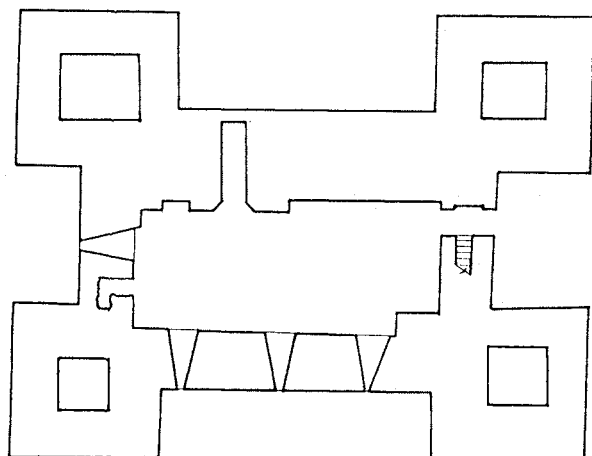
FIFTH FLOOR PLAN



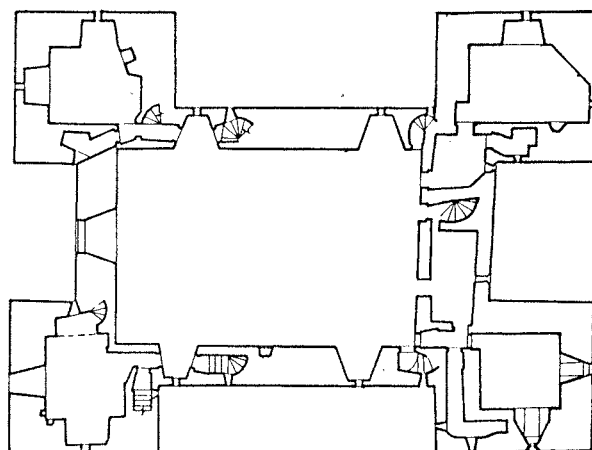
FIRST FLOOR PLAN



FOURTH FLOOR PLAN

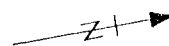


GROUND FLOOR PLAN



THIRD FLOOR PLAN

0 Metres 15



## BUNRATTY : BUNRTTY CASTLE

Fig. 4. Bunratty Castle: outline floor plans.





Fig. 5. Bunratty Castle: shiela-na-gig in great hall.



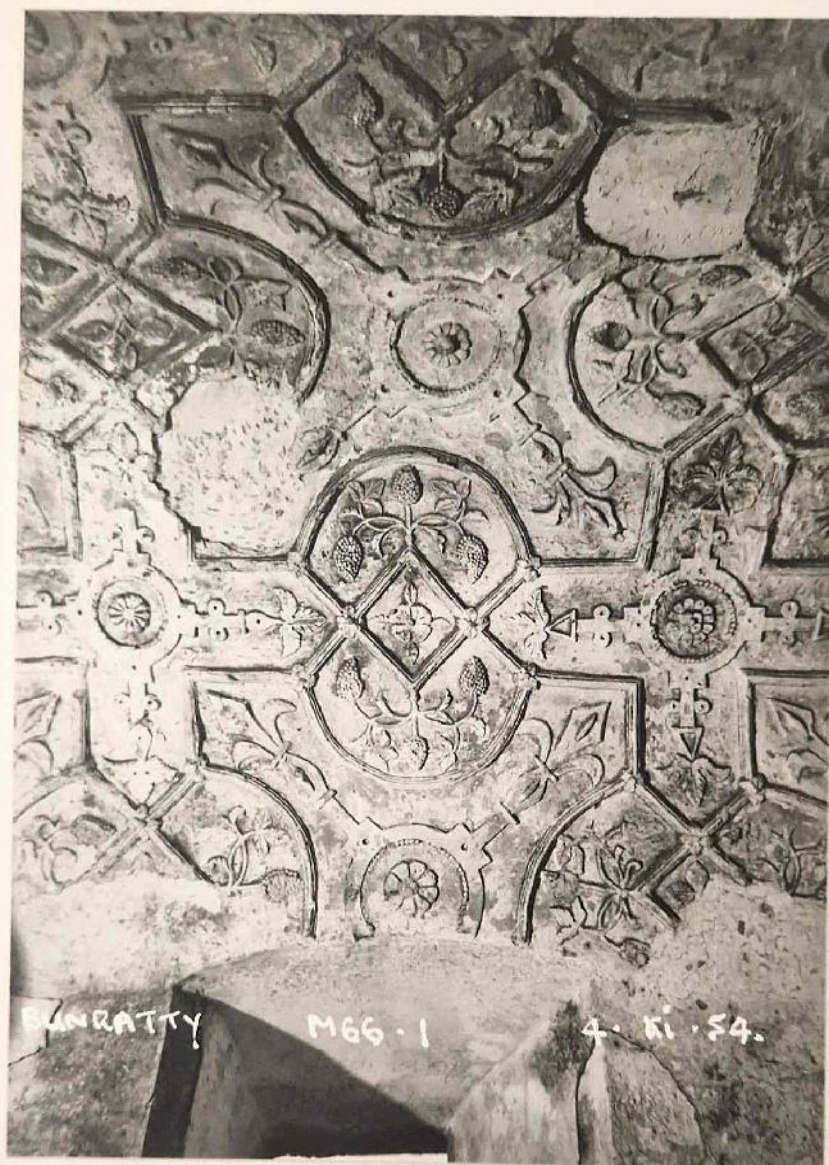


Fig. 6. Bunratty Castle: detail of plaster ceiling in SE tower chapel.





Fig. 7. Bunratty parish church from south.

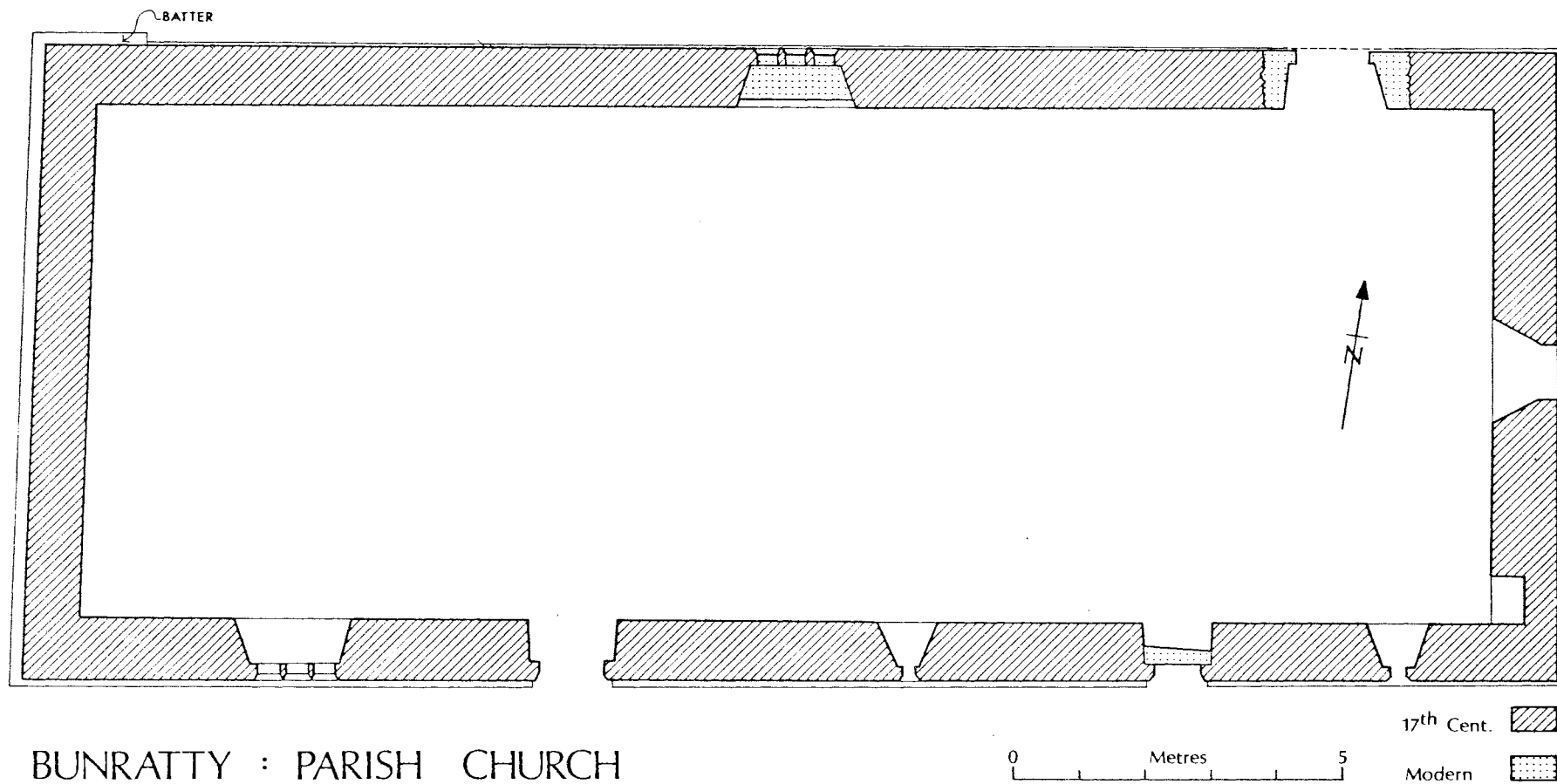


Fig. 8. Ground plan of Bunratty parish church.



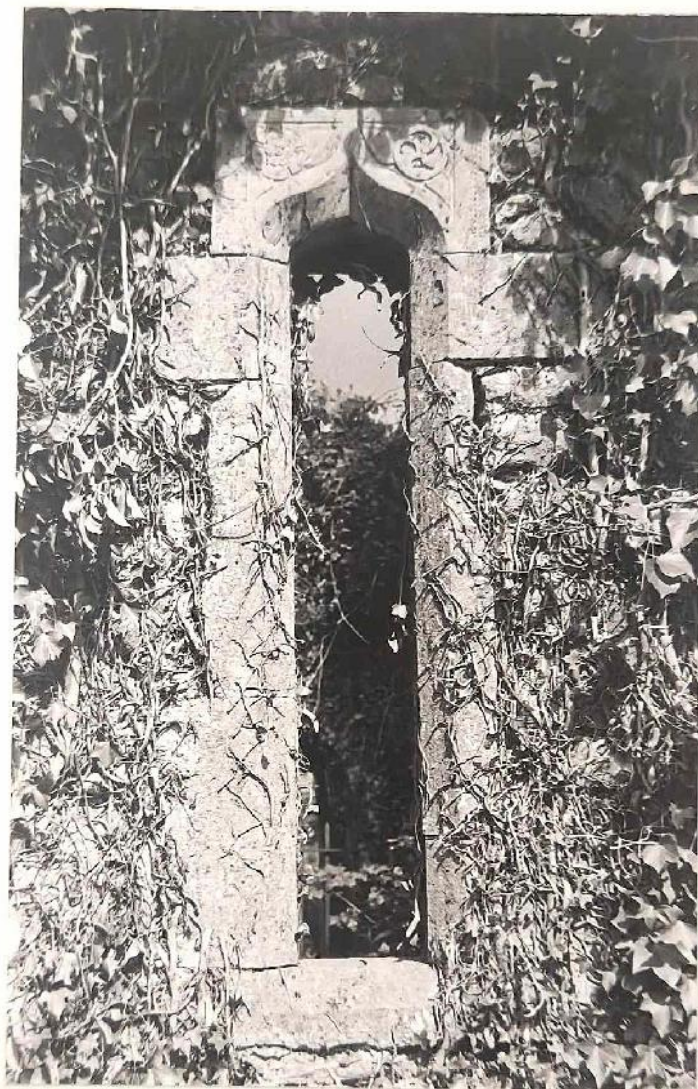


Fig. 9. Bunratty parish church: east window in south wall.





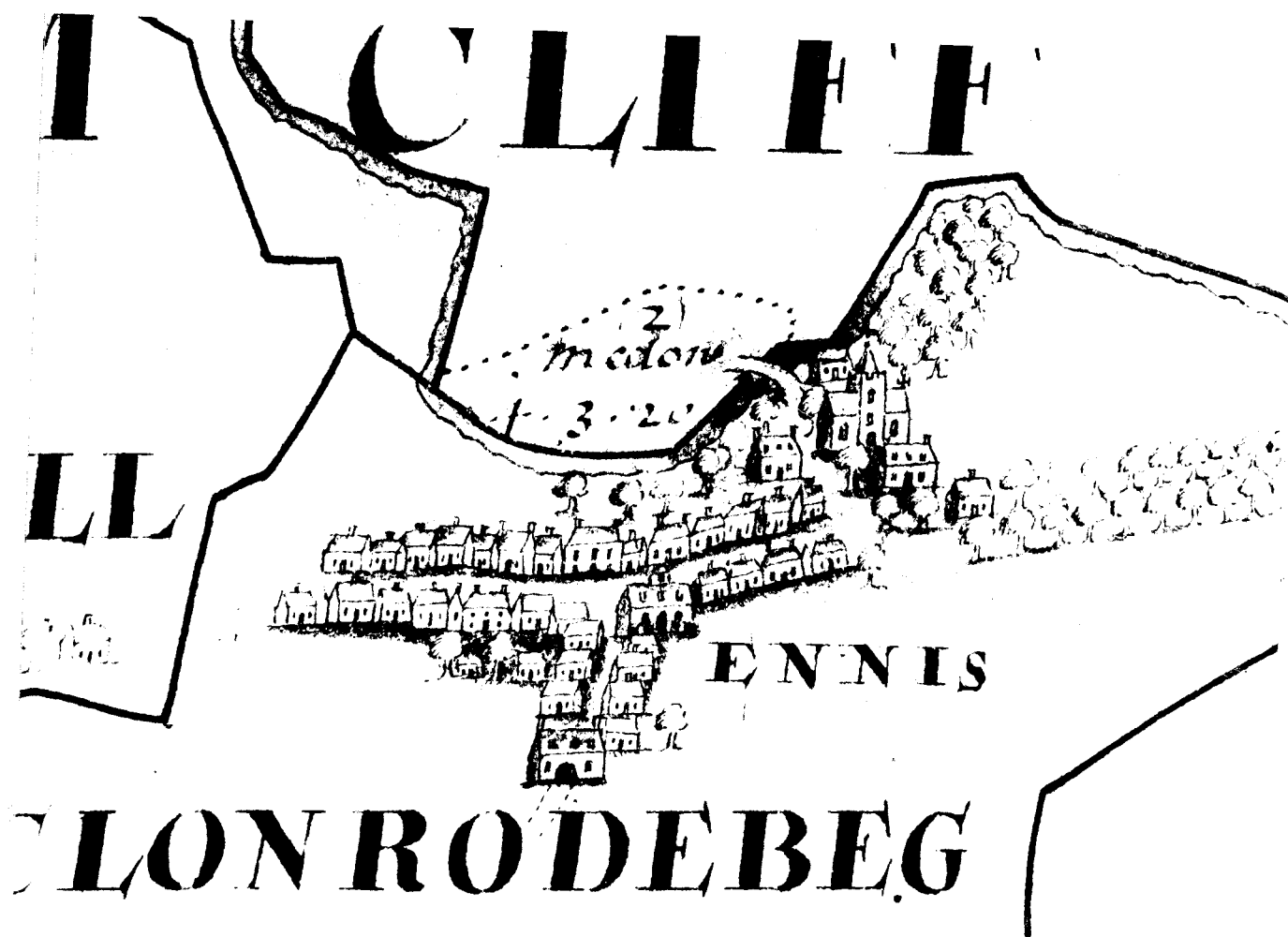


Fig. 11. Moland's view of Ennis 1703 (Photo: NLI)

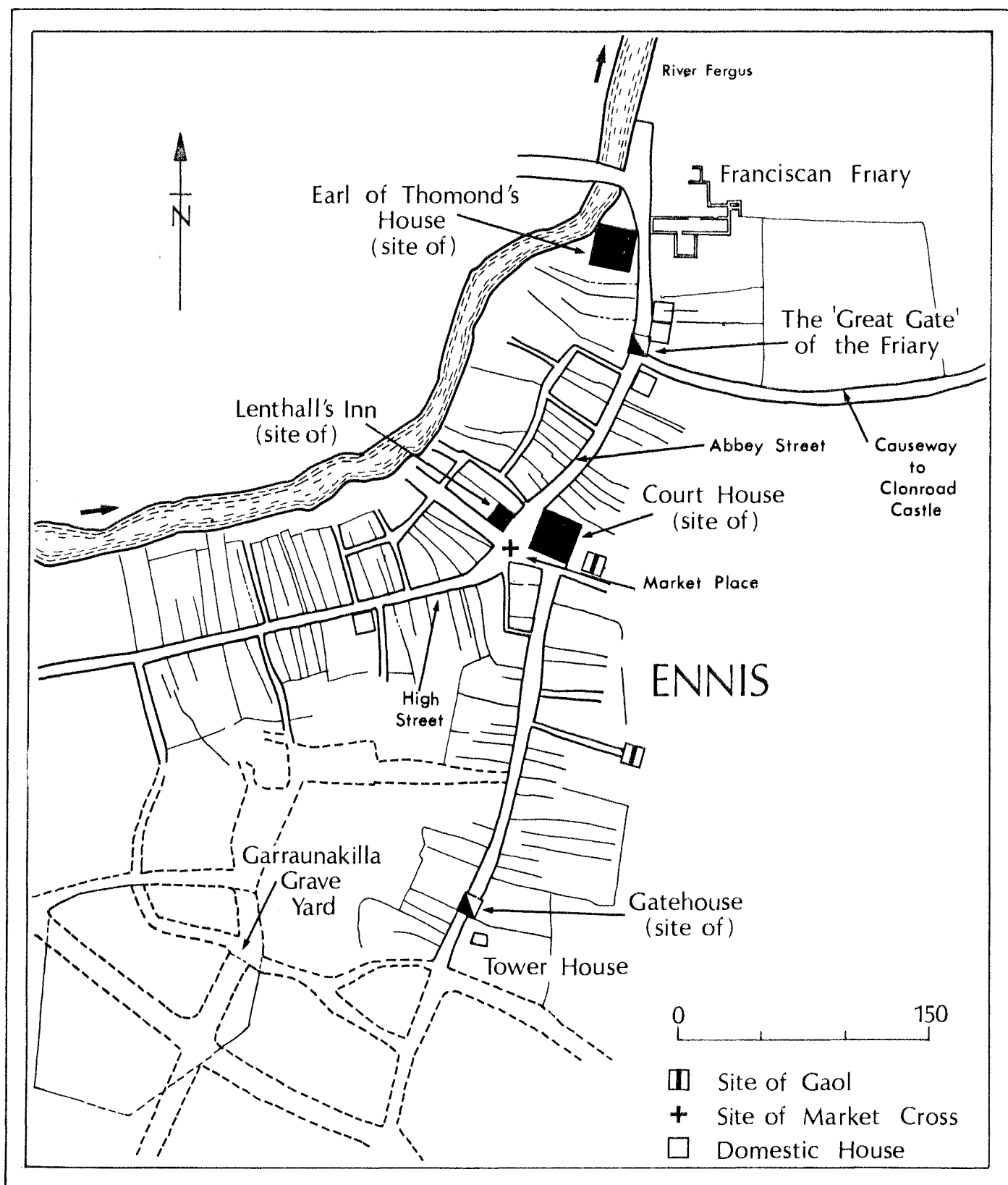


Fig. 12. Outline map of Ennis showing the principal archaeological features.



Fig. 13. Ennis: John Cruce wall plaque.





Fig. 14. Ennis: Jacobean style chimneys on house at the corner of Abbey St. and Francis St.

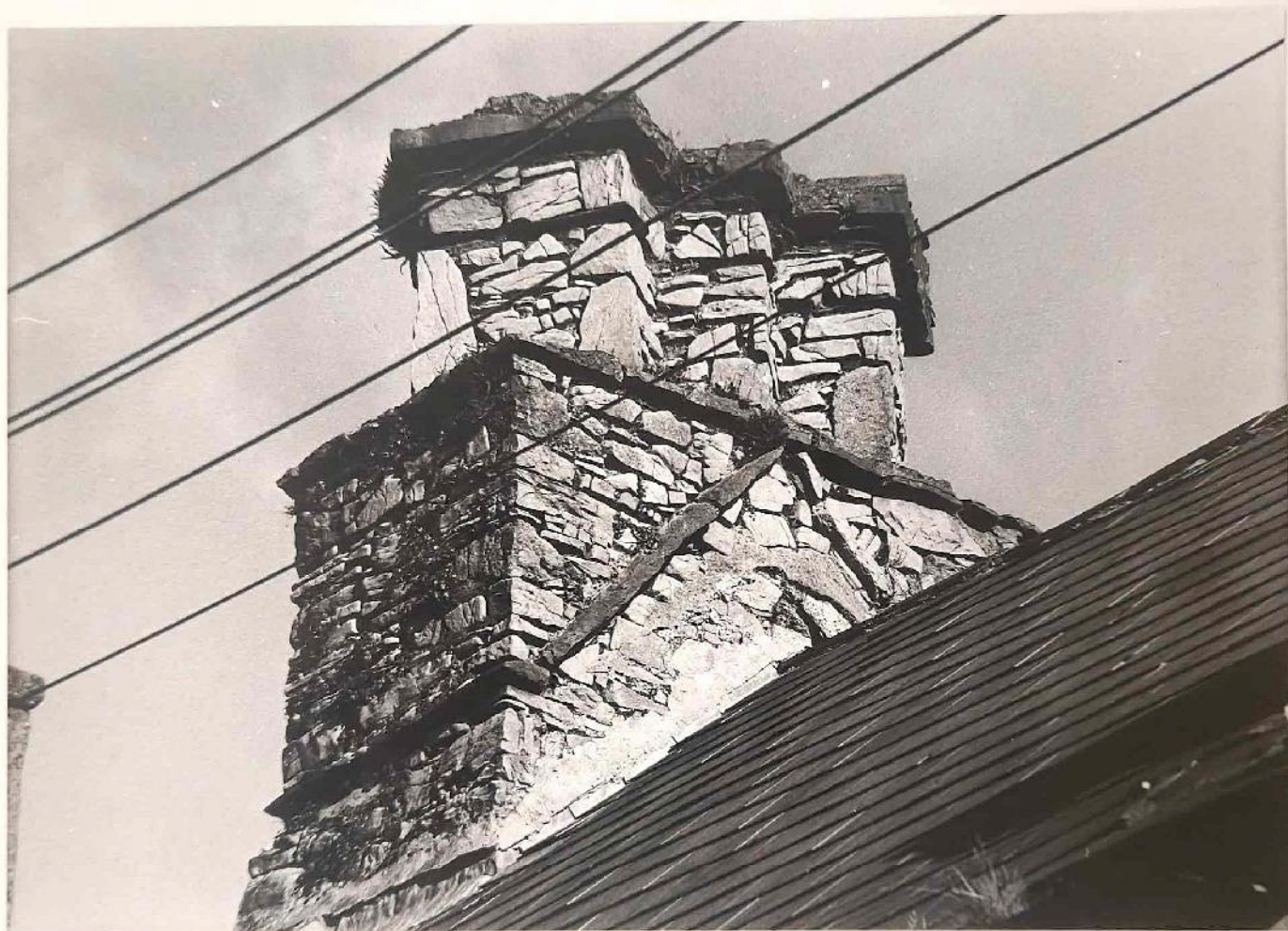


Fig. 15. Ennis: Jacobean style chimneys on house at corner of Parnell St. and Chapel Lane.



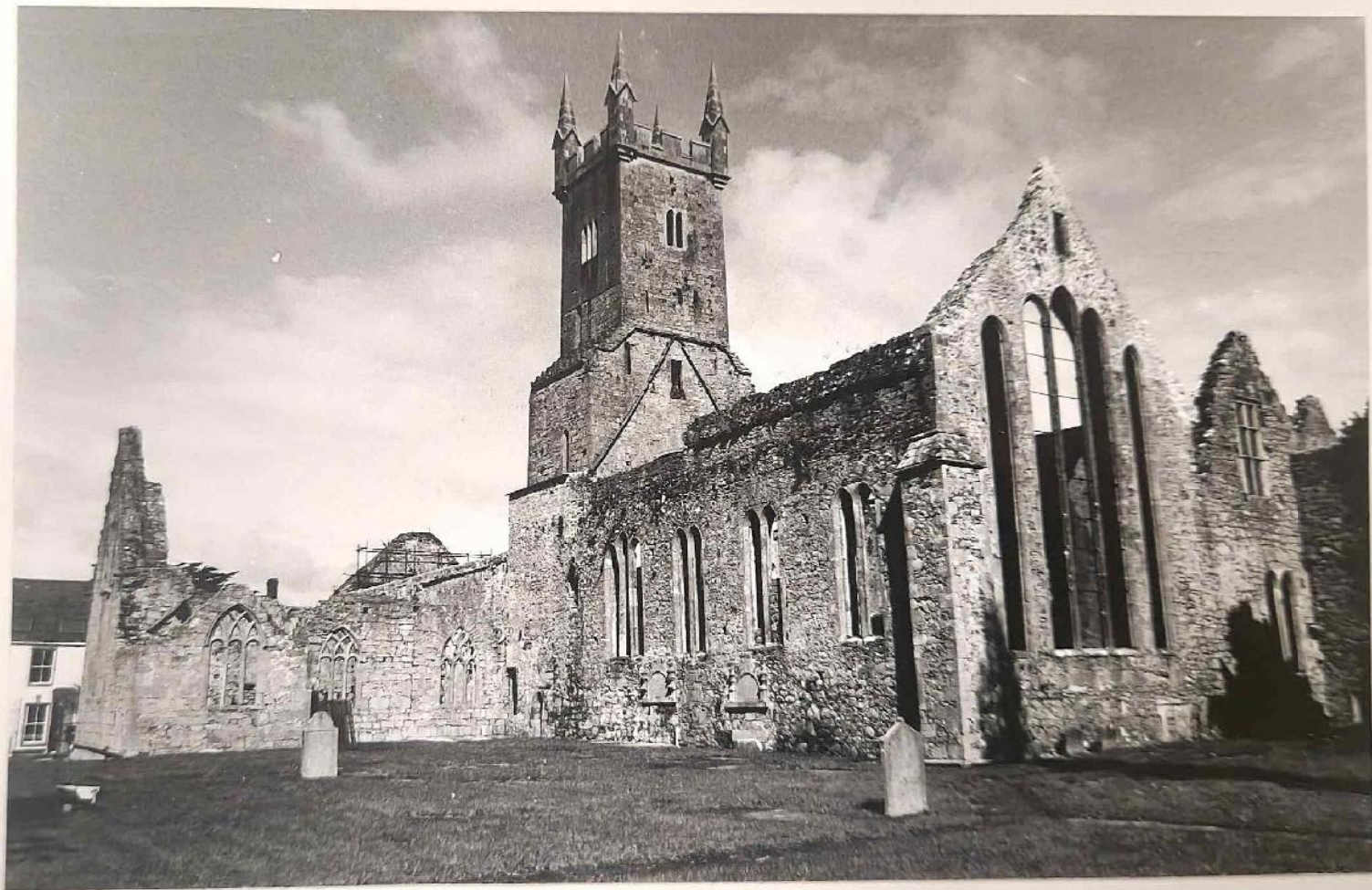


Fig. 16. Franciscán Friary, Ennis, from SE.

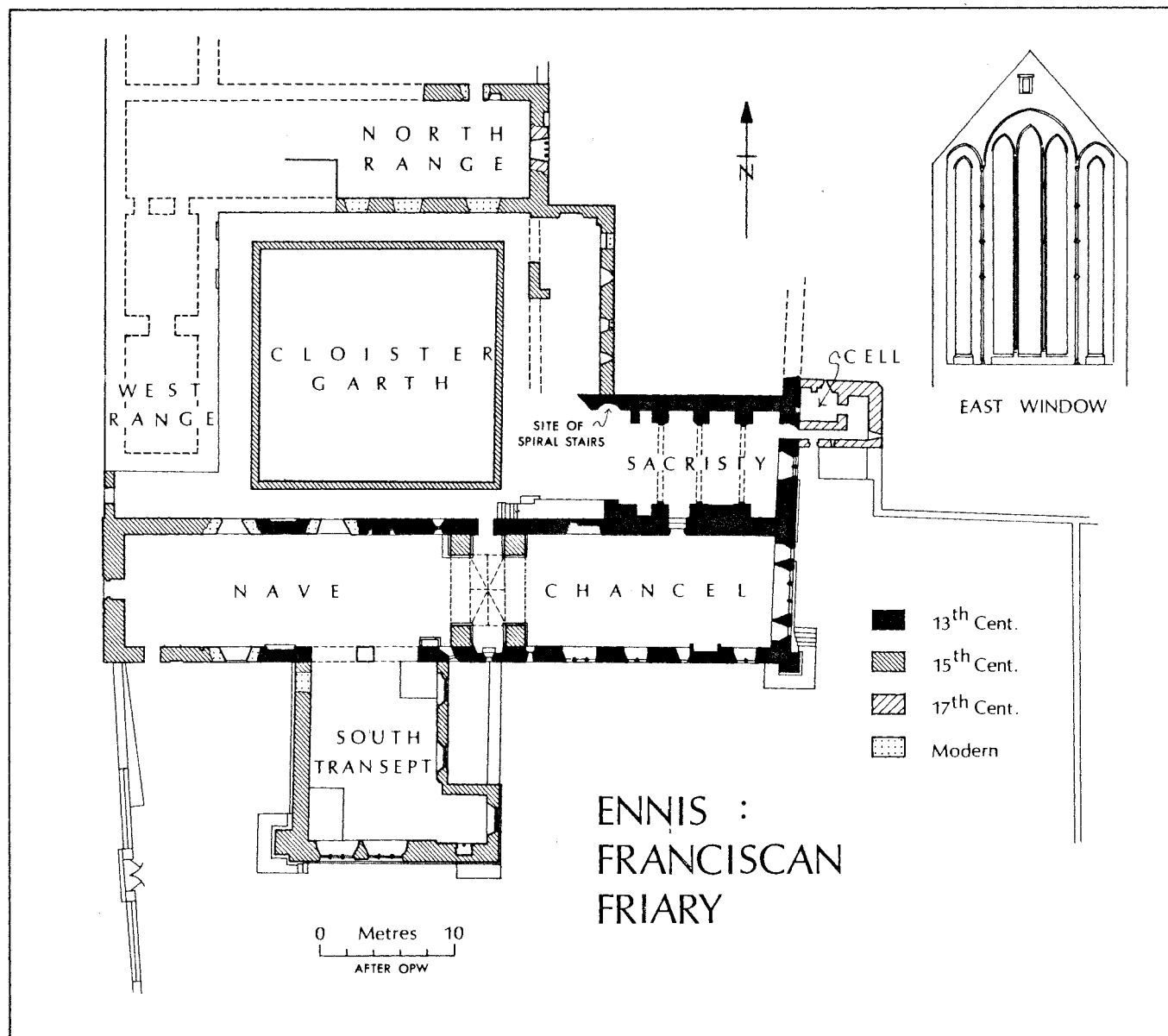


Fig. 17. plan of Franciscan Friary, Ennis.



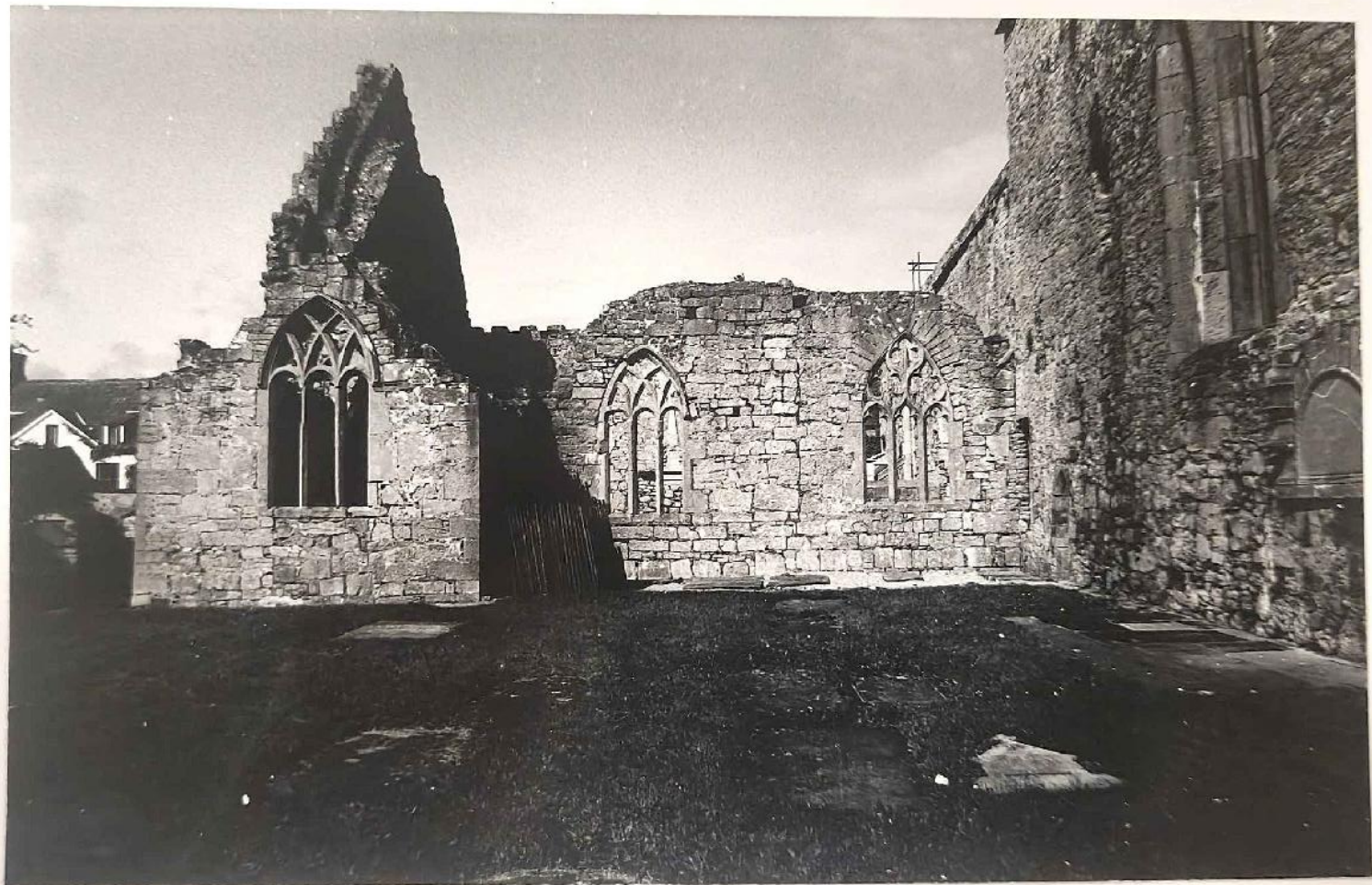


Fig. 18. East wall of south transept, Franciscan Friary, Ennis.



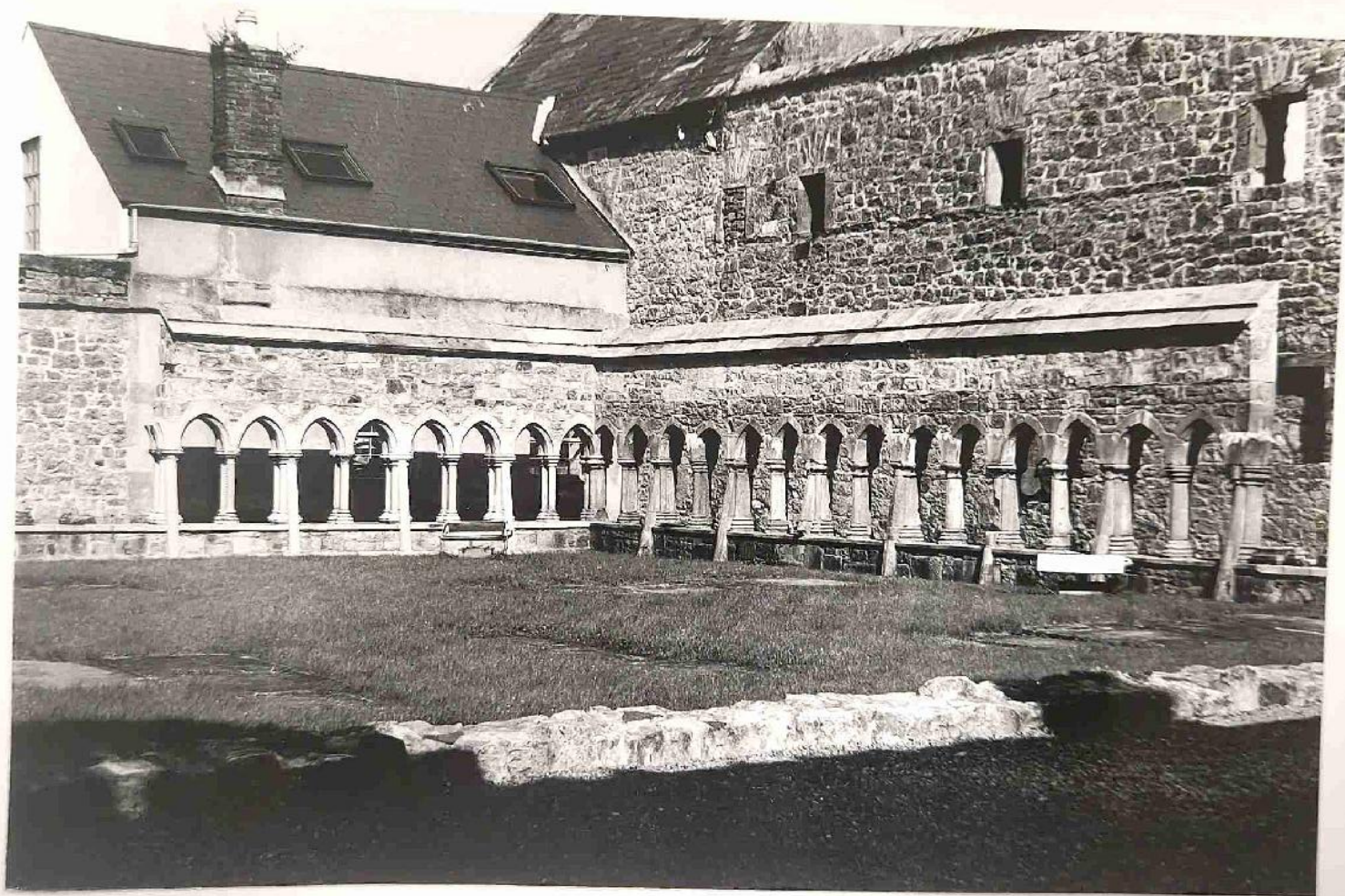


Fig. 19. Cloisters of Franciscan Friary, Ennis, from SE.



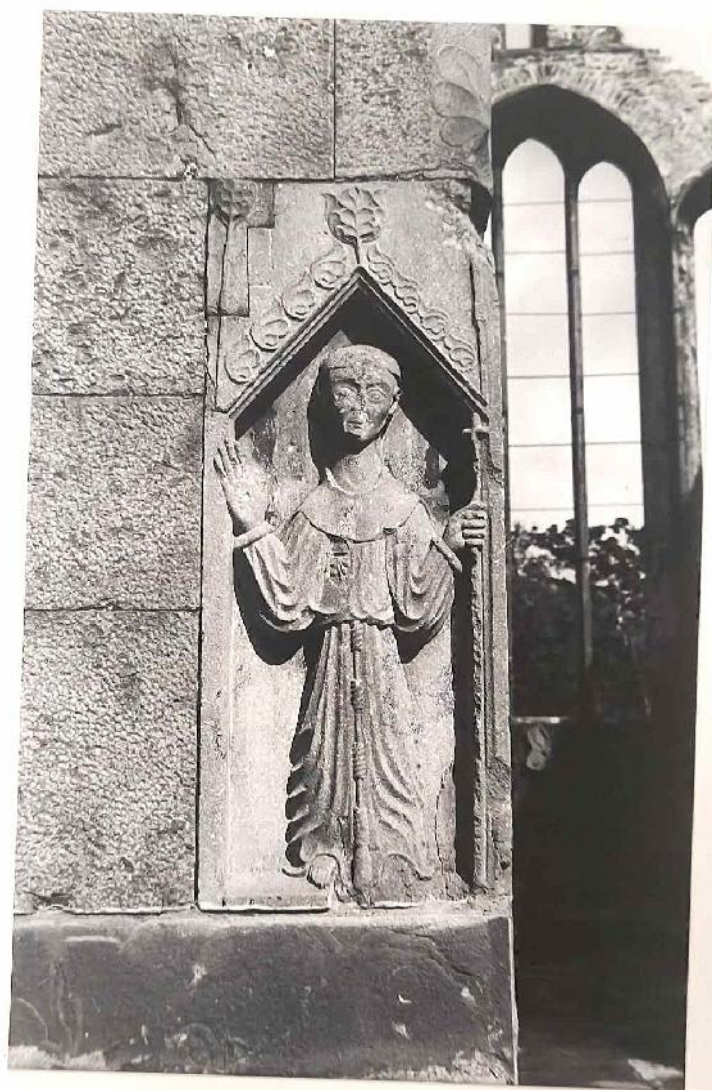


Fig. 20. Figure of St Francis, west wall of crossing tower, Franciscan Friary, Ennis.



Fig. 21. The Creagh tomb (1843), Franciscan Friary, Ennis, incorporating fragments of the MacMahon tomb (c.1470).



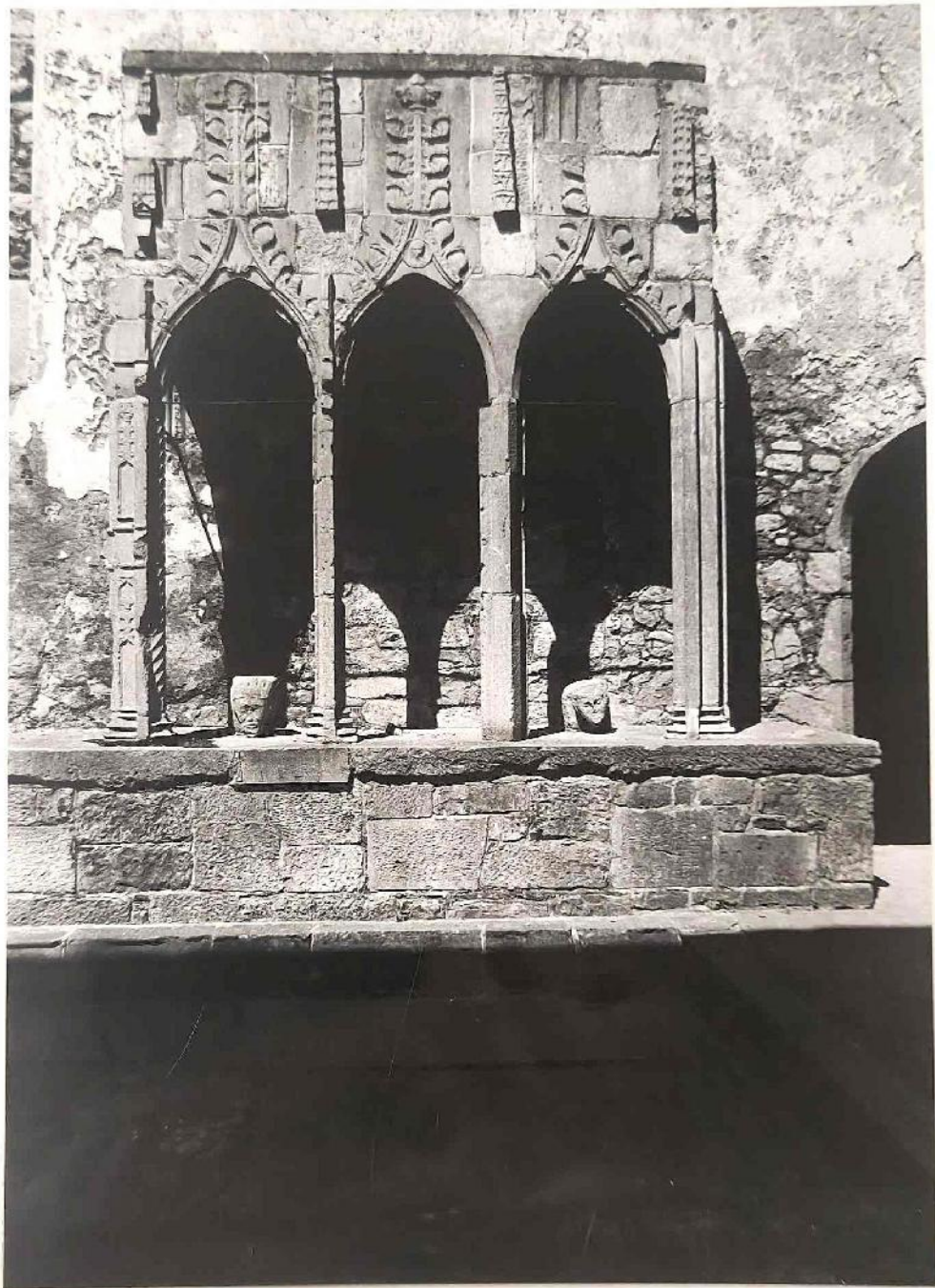
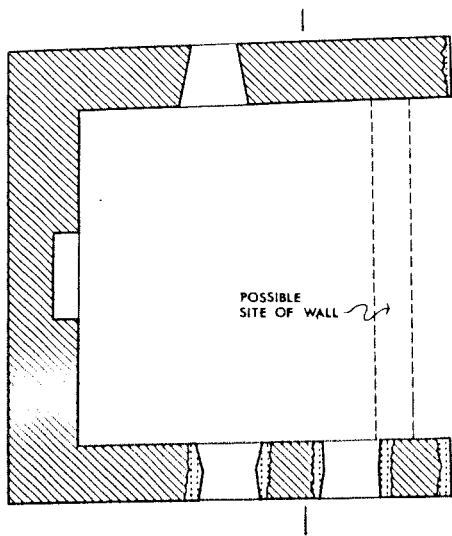


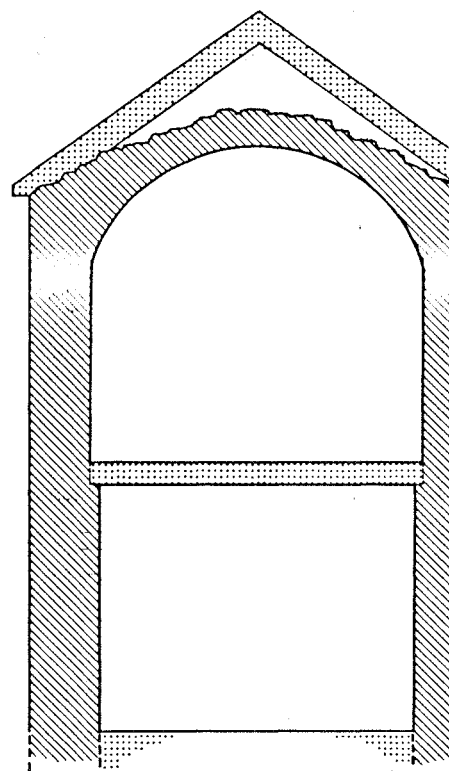
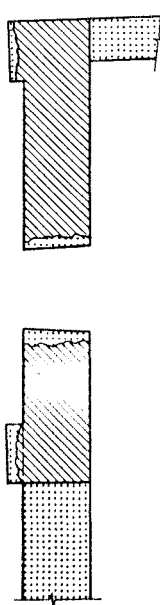
Fig. 22. Canopy of the MacMahon tomb (c.1470), Franciscan Friary, Ennis.



Fig. 23. Resurrection panel from MacMahon tomb.

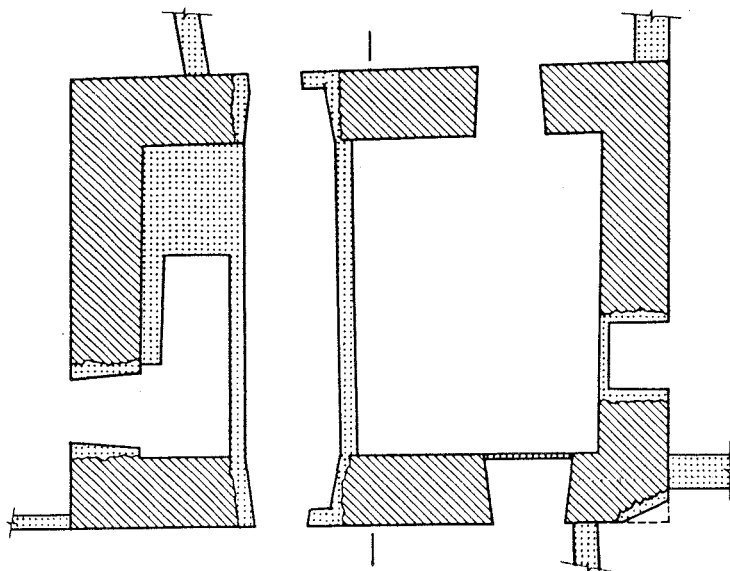


FIRST FLOOR PLAN



SECTION

0 Metres 5



GROUND FLOOR PLAN

ENNIS :  
TOWER HOUSE

Fig. 24. Ennis: ground plan of tower house in the Old Ground Hotel.







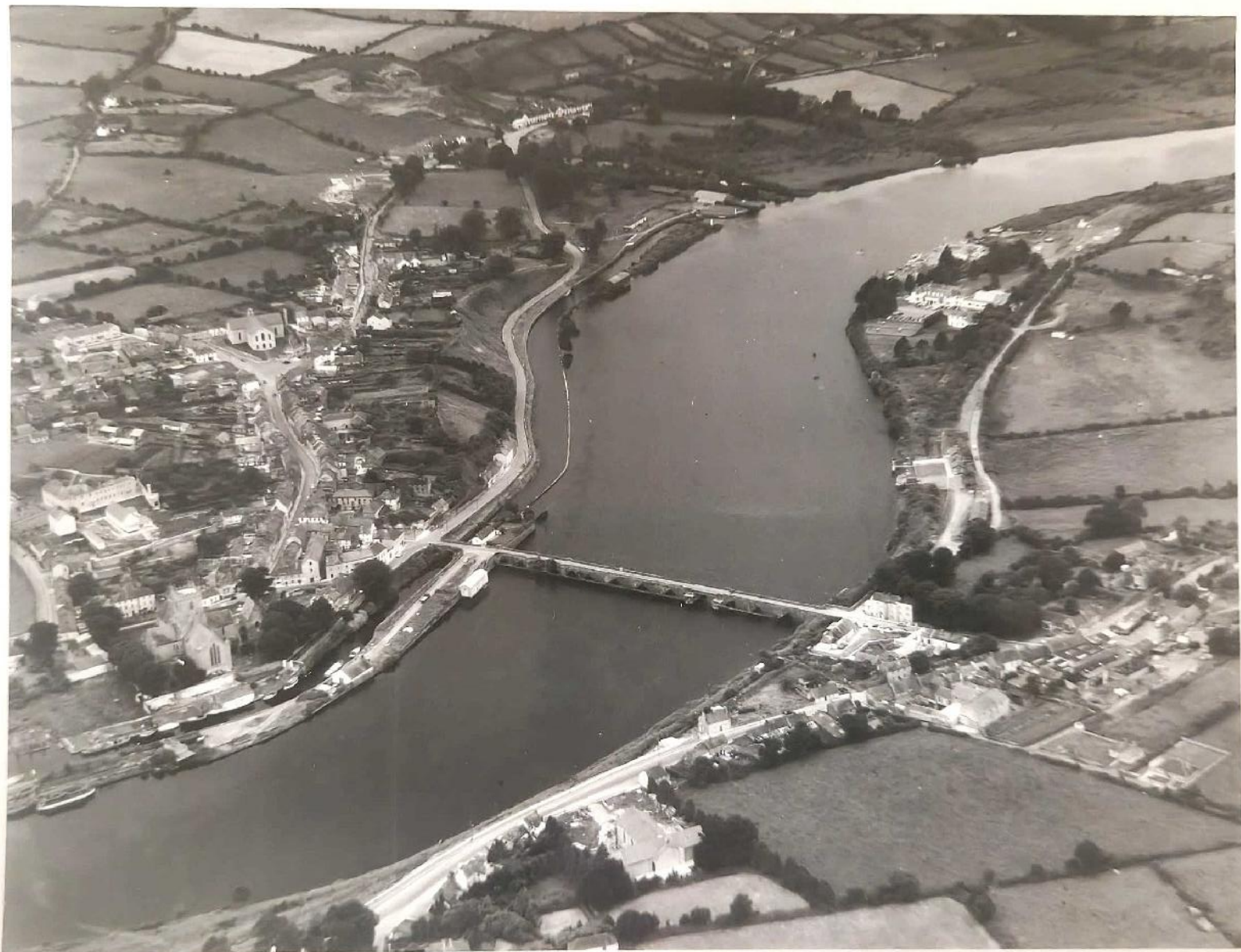


Fig. 26. Aerial view of Killaloe from SE (Courtesy Cambridge Aerial Coll.)

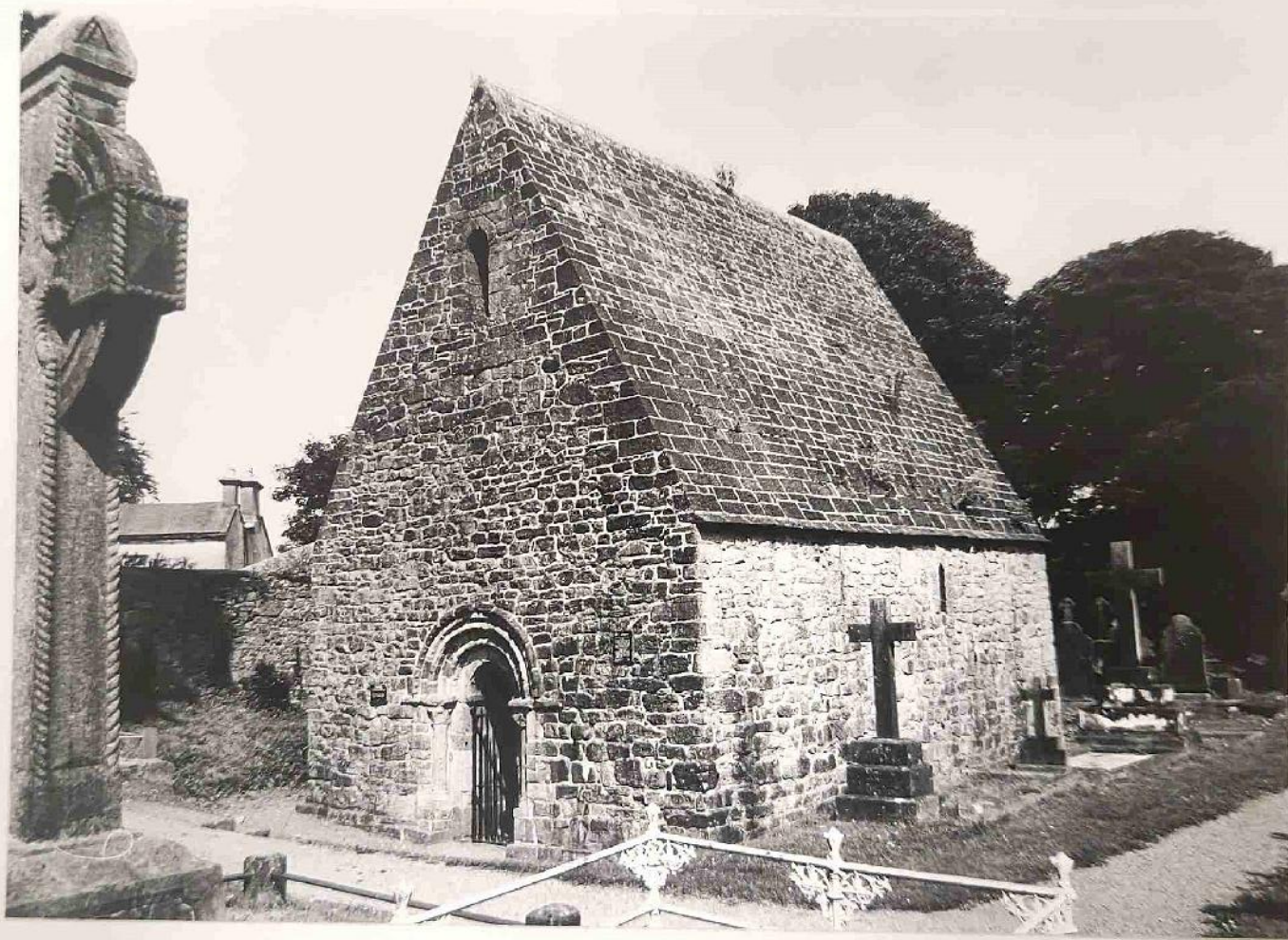


Fig. 27. St. Flannan's Oratory, Killaloe, from SW.



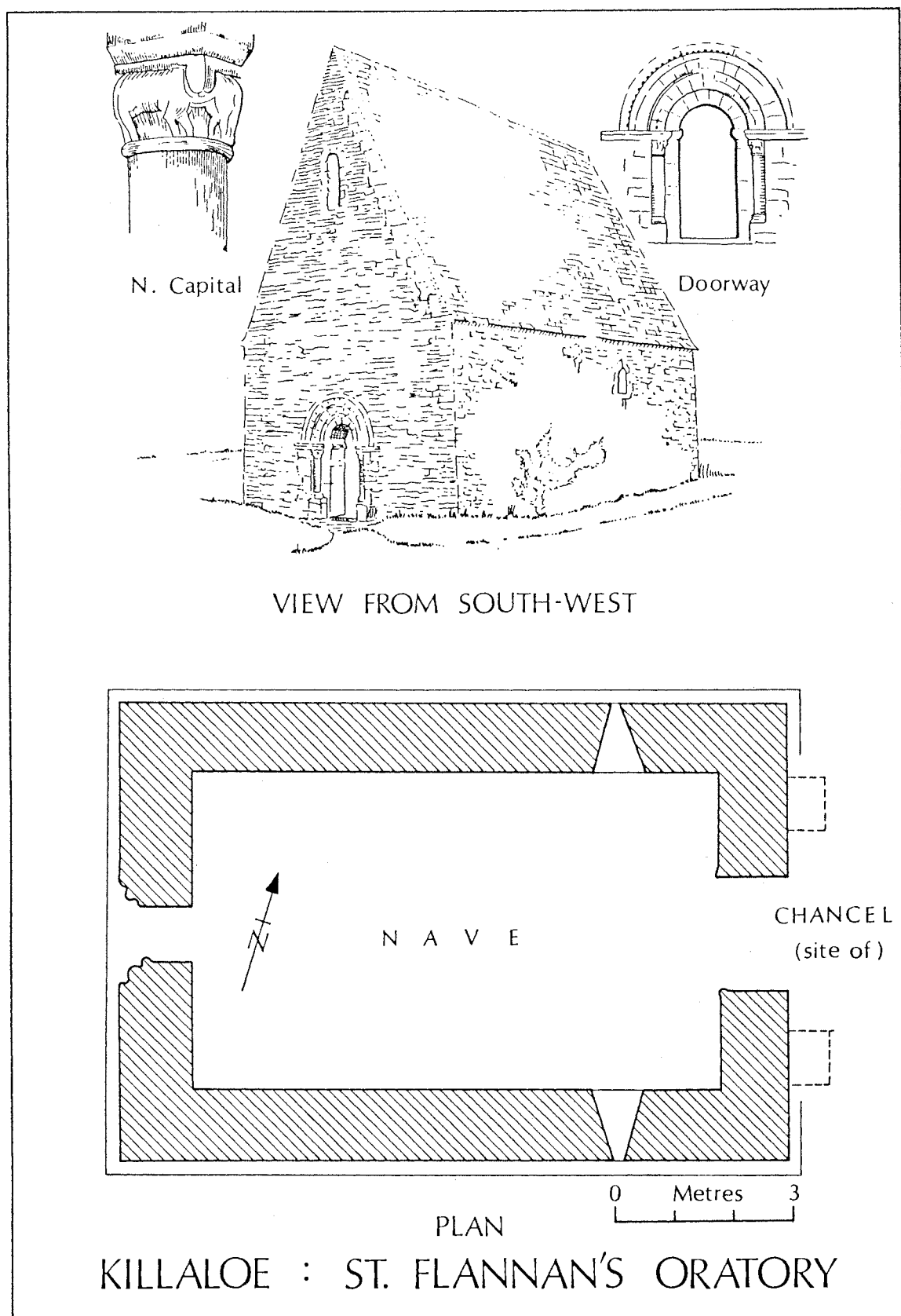


Fig. 28. Ground plan of St. Flannan's oratory.

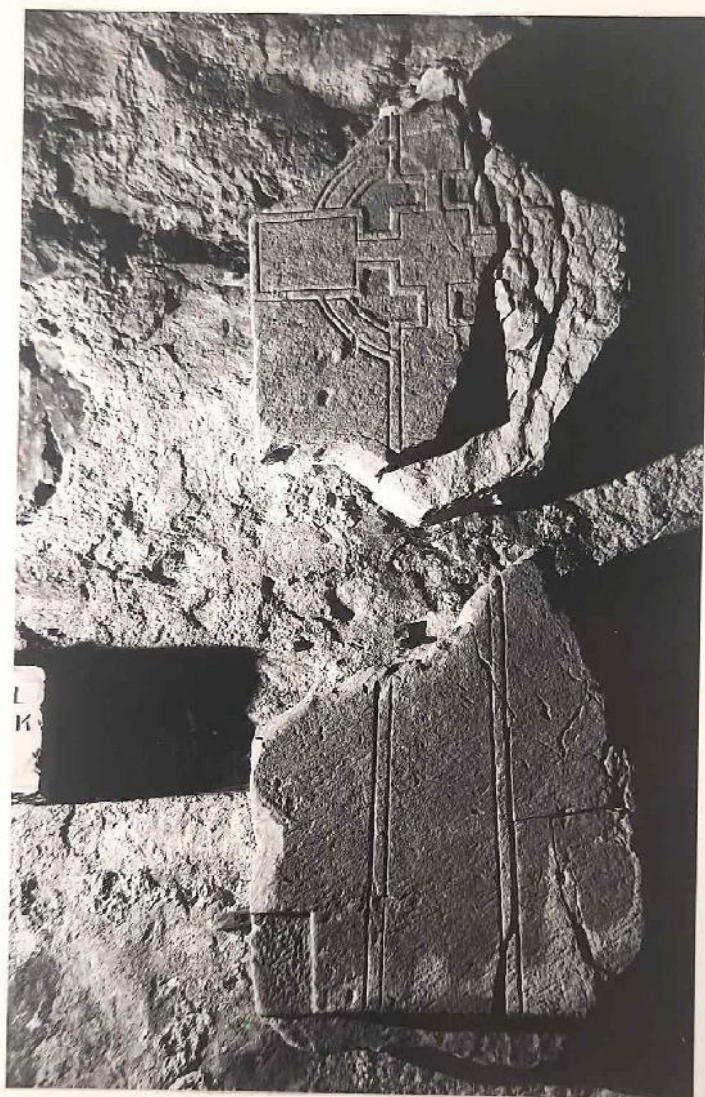


Fig. 29. Early Christian cross-slab in St. Flannan's Oratory, Killaloe.





Fig. 30. St. Flannan's Cathedral, Killaloe, from SW.



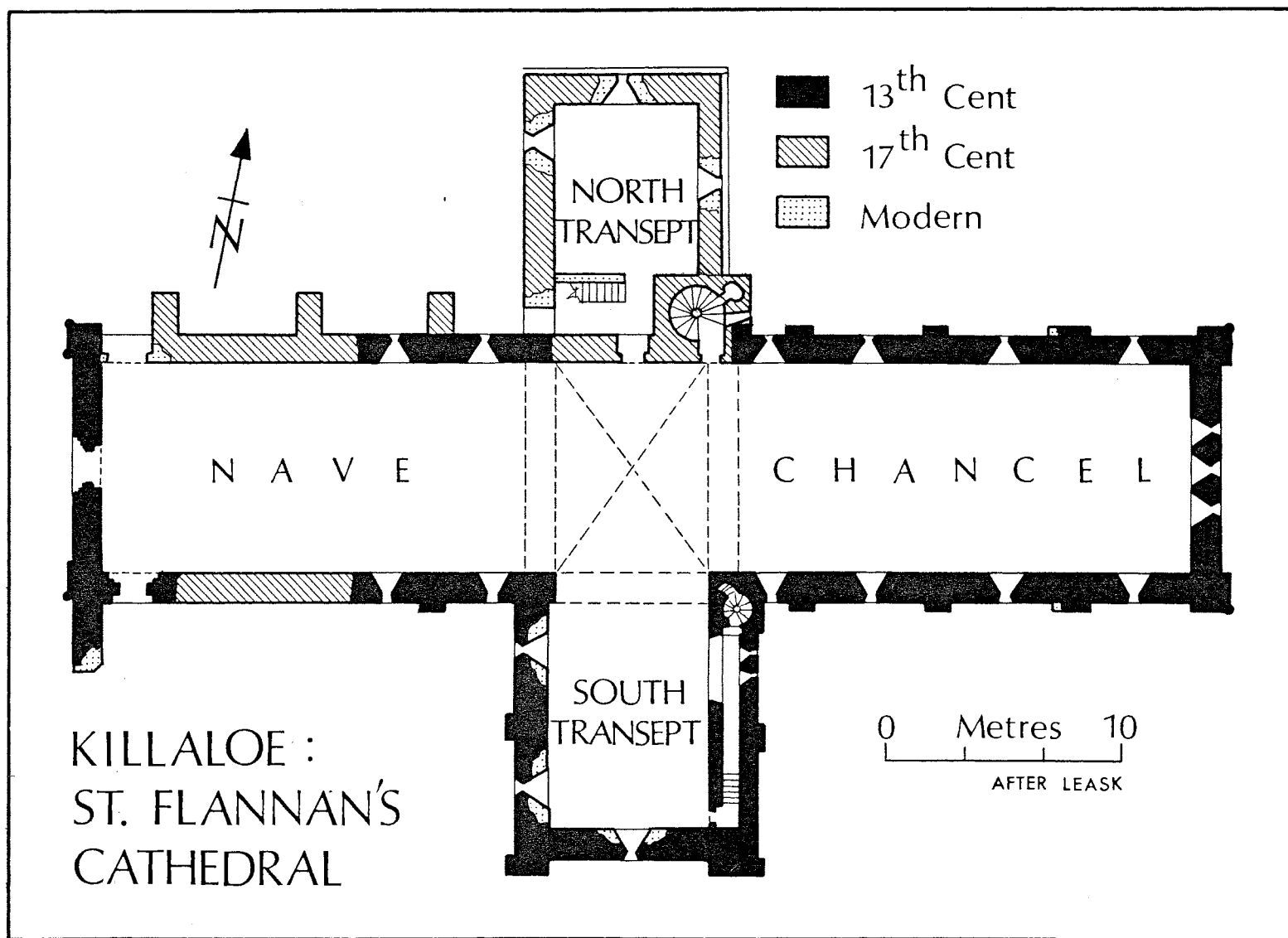


Fig. 31. Plan of St. Flannan's Cathedral, Killaloe.



Fig. 32. Romanesque arch in St. Flannan's Cathedral, Killaloe.





Fig. 33. Ogham/Rune Stone in St. Flannan's Cathedral,  
Killaloe.

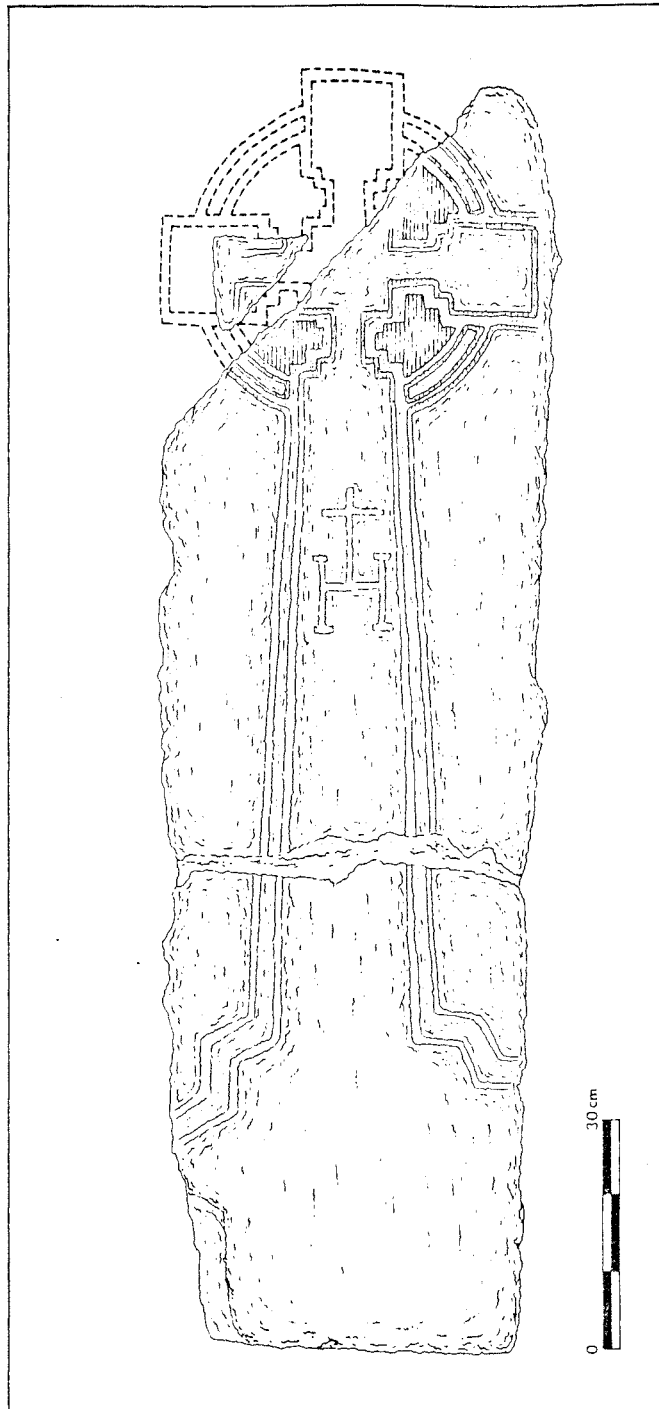


Fig. 34. Early Christian cross-slab in St. Flannan's Cathedral, Killaloe.



Fig. 35. Cross (12th cent.), St. Flannan's Cathedral, Killaloe.



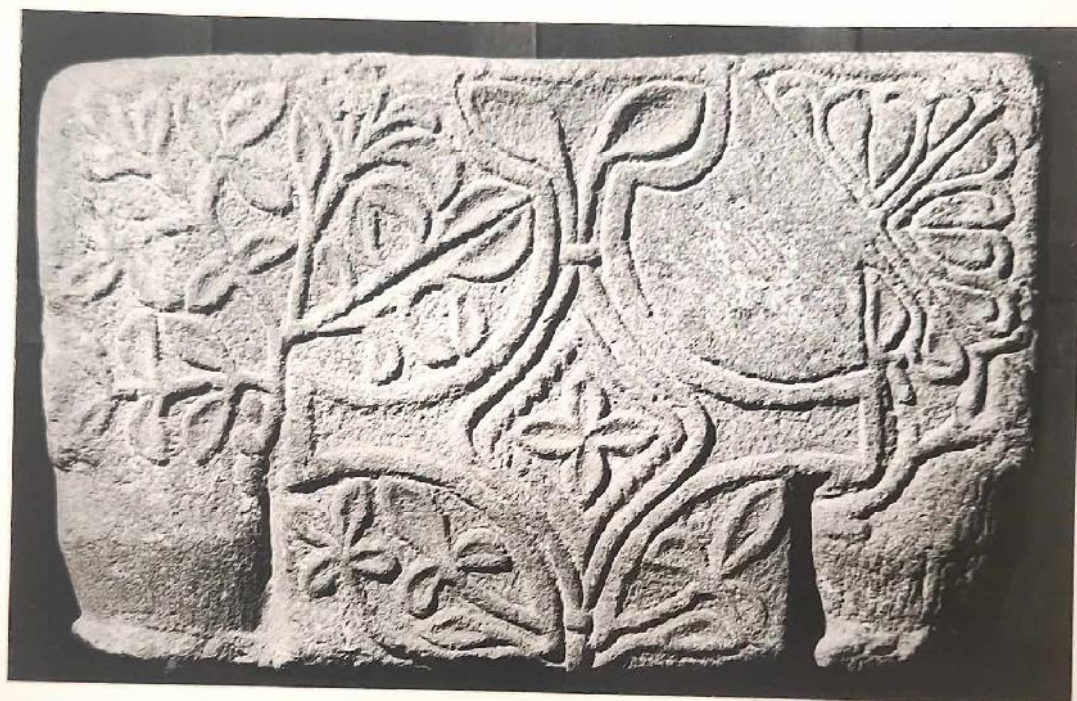
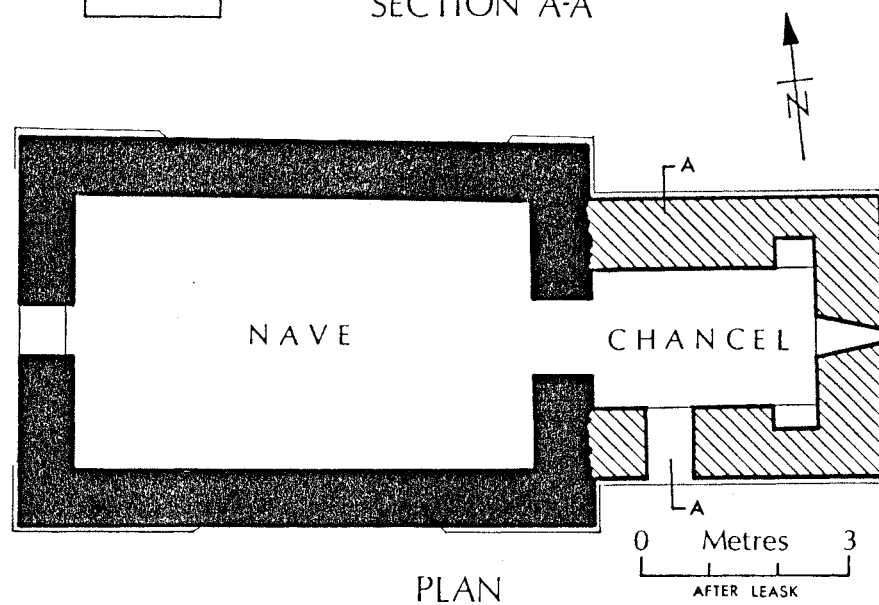
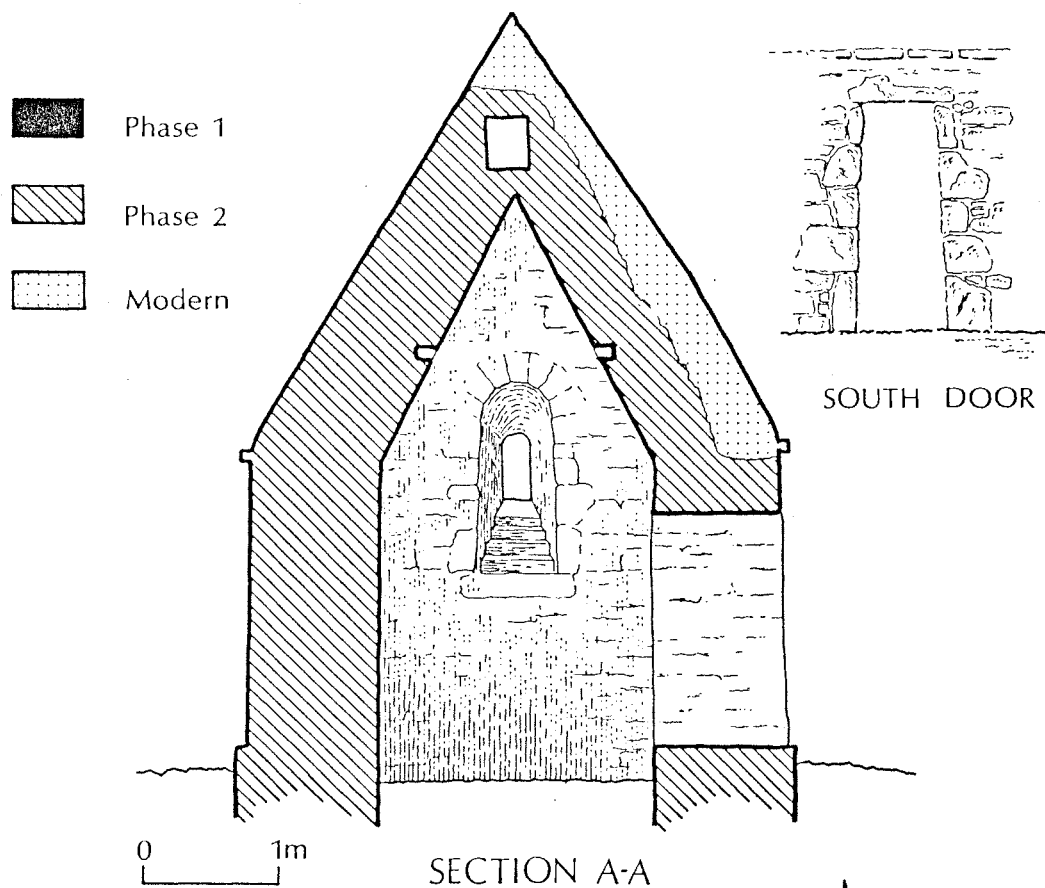


Fig. 36. Font (13/14th cent.), St Flannan's Cathedral, Killaloe.



Fig. 37. St. Molua's church, moved from Friar's Island to its present position at Killaloe in 1930.



KILLALOE : ST MOLUA'S CHURCH

Fig. 38. St. Molua's church: ground plan and section.



