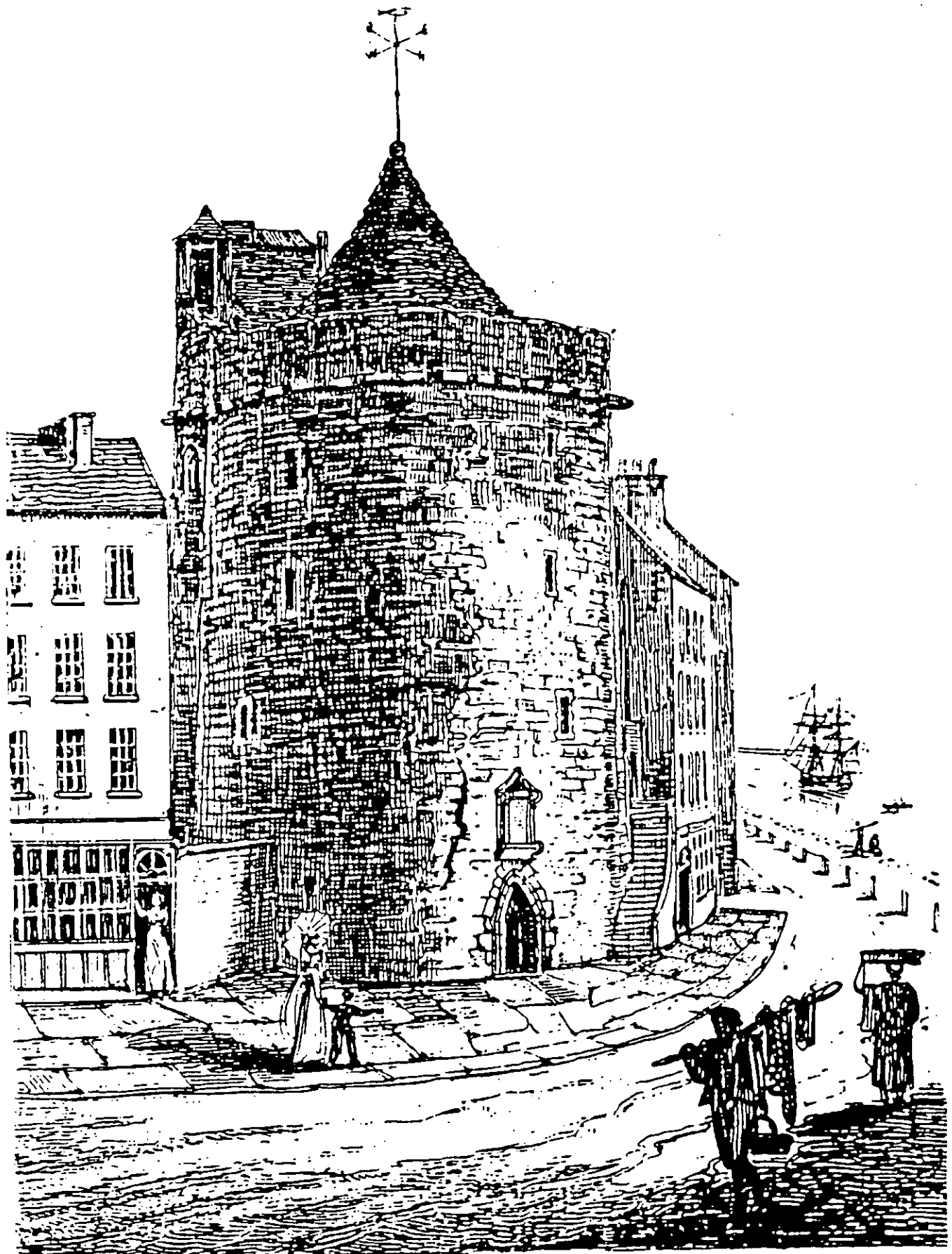


COUNTY WATERFORD



THE URBAN ARCHAEOLOGY
SURVEY

URBAN ARCHAEOLOGY SURVEY

PART XIII (i)

COUNTY WATERFORD

by

JOHN BRADLEY

ANDREW HALPIN

AND

HEATHER A. KING

A REPORT COMMISSIONED BY THE OFFICE OF PUBLIC WORKS

[Date of release: 1989]

LIST OF CONTENTS

List of Figures.....	xii
Acknowledgements.....	xvi
General Introduction.....	xvii
Introduction to Co. Waterford.....	xxiv
 AFFANE.....	 1
Archaeological Inventory.....	2
Site of Borough.....	2
Market Place.....	2
Mill.....	3
Castle.....	3
Parish church.....	4
Miscellaneous.....	4
Archaeological problems and potential.....	5
Recommendations.....	5
 DUNGARVAN.....	 7
Archaeological Inventory.....	13
Site of the Viking settlement.....	14
The Anglo-Norman Town.....	15
Streets and Street Pattern.....	15
Market Place.....	15
Guild Hall.....	16

Domestic Houses.....	16
House 1: Castle Street.....	17
House 2: "Barry's Stores".....	18
Wall plaques.....	19
Mills.....	19
Port.....	19
Custom House.....	21
Bridge.....	21
Town Defences.....	21
Castle.....	24
St Mary's Parish Church.....	30
Monuments.....	33
Augustinian Friary.....	34
Architectural fragments.....	38
Monuments.....	39
St Brigid's Hospital.....	40
Miscellaneous.....	40
Souterrain.....	40
16th cent. window head.....	40
St. Catherine's Well.....	40
St. Brigid's Well.....	41
Motte "Cromwell's Mount".....	41
McGrath's Castle, Abbeyside.....	41
List of archaeological stray finds.....	42
Archaeological problems and potential.....	43
Recommendations.....	51

KILMEADAN.....	53
Archaeological inventory.....	55
Site of Borough.....	55
Mills.....	55
Castle.....	56
St Mary's Parish Church.....	57
Archaeological problems and potential.....	57
Recommendations.....	58
 KINSALEBEG.....	 60
Archaeological inventory.....	62
Site of Borough.....	62
Mill.....	62
Ferry.....	63
Castle.....	63
St. Mary's Parish Church.....	63
Monuments.....	64
St Bartolomew's well.....	65
Archaeological problems and potential.....	65
Recommendations.....	66
 LISMORE.....	 68
Archaeological Inventory.....	74
Site of borough.....	74
Market place.....	75
Domestic Houses.....	75
Freeschool and Almshouse.....	76

Mills.....	77
Castle.....	78
St Cartagh's early monastic site.....	86
St Cartage's cathedral.....	87
Transitional remains.....	88
The Robinson church.....	90
The 19th century church.....	92
Architectural fragments.....	92
Monuments.....	93
St John's church.....	96
St Mary's church.....	96
Teampal Chriost.....	96
St Brigid's Leper Hospital.....	97
Miscellaneous.....	97
Motte.....	98
St Cartage's well.....	98
Mounds.....	98
Beehive huts.....	99
Excavations.....	99
List of archaeological stray finds.....	100
Archaeological problems and potential.....	101
Recommendations.....	103
 STRADBALLY.....	 106
Site of borough.....	108
Mill.....	108
St James's parish church.....	108
Monument.....	111

Miscellaneous.....	111
Archaeological problems and potential.....	112
Recommendations.....	113
 TALLOW.....	 115
Archaeological inventory.....	119
Streets and street pattern.....	119
Domestic houses.....	120
Market House.....	120
Court House.....	120
Prison.....	121
Mills.....	121
Borough defences.....	123
Parish church.....	123
Monuments.....	125
Miscellaneous.....	125
Archaeological problems and potential.....	126
Recommendations.....	127
 WATERFORD.....	 129
Archaeological & Historical Background.....	129
Viking Waterford.....	129
Anglo-Norman Waterford.....	133
Post-Medieval Waterford.....	140
Archaeological inventory.....	145
Streets and street pattern.....	146
Market places.....	151

Market House.....	152
Guildhall/ Tholsel.....	152
Market cross.....	154
Stocks.....	155
Conduits.....	155
Burgage plots and property boundaries.....	156
Domestic houses.....	157
Aylward house.....	160
Bishop's palace.....	160
Black Boy Inn.....	161
Chancellor's residence.....	161
John Collyn's houses.....	161
Deanery.....	162
Frank house.....	162
King John's house.....	163
Lincoln house.....	163
Residence of the chaplains of St Saviour's...	163
Precentor's residence.....	164
Shops.....	164
Treasurer's residence.....	164
Other houses.....	165
Houses north of the cathedral.....	165
House A.....	165
House B.....	166
House C.....	166
House D.....	166
Other house traces.....	167
House plaques.....	167

Quays.....	168
Custom House.....	172
Almshouses.....	173
Dean Collyn's Almshouse.....	173
St Michael's Almshouse.....	173
Free School.....	173
Industrial Areas.....	174
Caldebec mill.....	174
St John's mill.....	175
Bricken's mill.....	175
Barronstrand mill.....	176
Mint.....	177
Prisons.....	179
Bridges.....	180
Town defences.....	182
St Martin's Gate.....	190
Tower 1.....	191
Colbeck Gate.....	192
Towers 2 & 3.....	193
Reginald's Tower.....	194
Ring Tower Gate.....	200
Goose's Gate.....	200
Tower 5.....	201
Great 'Key' Gate.....	202
Gates 6 & 7.....	202
Tower 6.....	202
Arundell Gate.....	203
Gate 9.....	204

Our Lady's Gate.....	204
Tower 7.....	206
Tower 8.....	207
Tower 9.....	207
St John's Gate.....	207
Fortified dock.....	209
Watch Tower.....	209
Bowling Green Gate.....	212
Double Tower.....	213
Tower 12.....	215
French Tower.....	216
Tower 14.....	218
Newgate.....	218
Tower 15.....	219
Tower 16.....	219
Tower 17.....	219
St Patrick's Gate.....	221
Tower 18.....	222
Tower 19.....	223
Beach Tower.....	224
Tower 21.....	225
Tower 22.....	225
Barronstrand Gate.....	226
Castle.....	226
St Patrick's Fort.....	227
Cathedral Church of the Holy Trinity.....	230
Architectural fragments.....	238
Monuments.....	238

Artefacts.....	242
St Brigid's Church.....	242
St John's Church (Hospitallers).....	243
St Mary's parish church.....	245
Monuments.....	246
St Michael's parish church.....	247
St Olave's parish church.....	248
St Patrick's parish church.....	249
St Peter's parish church.....	250
St Stephen's parish church.....	251
St Thomas' church.....	252
Augustinian priory of St Catherine.....	252
Benedictine priory of St John the Evangelist...	254
Dominican priory of St Saviour.....	259
Architectural fragments.....	264
Effigial fragments.....	264
Wooden statue.....	265
Franciscan Friary.....	265
Architectural fragments.....	275
Medieval floor tiles.....	276
Monuments.....	277
Hospital of the Holy Ghost.....	288
Medieval statues.....	288
Hospital of St Mary Magdalen.....	290
Hospital near St John's Gate.....	290
St Stephen's Leper Hospital.....	291
Suburbs.....	292
Miscellaneous.....	295

Archery Butts.....	295
Fort at Kilculliheen.....	295
Font/ piscina.....	296
Manuscripts and Civic Regalia.....	296
List of archaeological stray finds.....	297
Archaeological problems and potential.....	298
The problems.....	299
Archaeological potential.....	302
Archaeology, planning and development.....	304
Area of archaeological potential.....	306
The City Draft Development Plan 1988.....	306
Excavation.....	307
Recommendations.....	309
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	311

LIST OF FIGURES

- Fig. 1. County Waterford: Location map of boroughs and towns.
- Fig. 2. Affane: zone of archaeological potential.
- Fig. 2a. Dungarvan: zone of archaeological potential
- Fig. 3. Aerial view of Dungarvan from the southwest (Cambridge Aerial Coll.).
- Fig. 3a. Dungarvan: outline plan of the main archaeological features.
- Fig. 4. Dungarvan: house 1 (Castle St) from NE.
- Fig. 5. Dungarvan: house 2 ("Barry's Stores"): ground plan and south elevation.
- Fig. 6. Dungarvan: house 2 ("Barry's Stores"). The quoins of the NW angle belong to the late medieval house.
- Fig. 7. Dungarvan: Window and hoodmoulding in S wall of House 2 ("Barry's Stores").
- Fig. 8. Dungarvan: ogee-headed window in S wall of House 2 ("Barry's Stores").
- Fig. 9. Dungarvan: house plaque in Church Street dated 1615.
- Fig. 10. Dungarvan castle: gatehouse from NW.
- Fig. 11. Dungarvan Castle: circular tower from E.
- Fig. 12. Dungarvan Castle: vaulted roof of circular tower.
- Fig. 13. Dungarvan Castle: keep from SE.
- Fig. 14. Gable of St. Mary's parish church, Dungarvan, from W.
- Fig. 15. Dungarvan: Augustinian Friary: ground plan.
- Fig. 16. Dungarvan: Augustinian Friary from SW.
- Fig. 17. Dungarvan: Augustinian Friary from E.
- Fig. 18. Dungarvan: N door in chancel of Augustinian Friary.
- Fig. 19. Dungarvan: Motte known as Cromwell's Mount, at Gallowshill, from N.
- Fig. 20. Dungarvan: McGrath Castle, Abbeyside (Photo: Lawrence Coll., NLI).

- Fig. 21. Kilmeadan: zone of archaeological potential.
- Fig. 22. Ground plan of Kilmeadan castle.
- Fig. 23. Kilmeadan castle from W.
- Fig. 24. Kinsalebeg: zone of archaeological potential.
- Fig. 25. Lismore: zone of archaeological potential.
- Fig. 26. Aerial view of Lismore from the south (Cambridge Aerial Coll.)
- Fig. 27. Plan of Lismore in 1773 by Bernard Scale (NLI: ms. 7217).
- Fig. 28. Aerial view of Lismore Castle from SW.
- Fig. 29. Lismore Castle: ground plan.
- Fig. 30. Plan of Lismore Castle c.1640.
- Fig. 31. Romanesque arch incorporated into Lismore Castle's entrance gate.
- Fig. 32. Lismore Castle: 17th century windows in NW corner block.
- Fig. 33. Basement support pillars under the chapel (now the ballroom), probably 17th cent.
- Fig. 34. Lismore Castle: Riding House from S.
- Fig. 35. Lismore Castle: SW corner tower of western garden.
- Fig. 36. Lismore: St. Carthagh's Cathedral. View of chancel's south wall showing a pillaster of the transitional building on the bottom right, the chancel of the nineteenth century church and part of Robinson's south transept.
- Fig. 37. Lismore: St. Carthagh's Cathedral. Detail of transitional work on chancel.
- Fig. 38. Lismore: St. Carthagh's Cathedral. Detail of transitional work on chancel's S wall.
- Fig. 39. Lismore: St. Carthagh's Cathedral. Detail of Robinson window.
- Fig. 40. Lismore: St. Carthagh's Cathedral: Early Christian slab.
- Fig. 41. Lismore: St. Carthagh's Cathedral: Early Christian slab.

- Fig. 42. Lismore: St. Carthagh's Cathedral: Early Christian slab.
- Fig. 43. Lismore: St. Carthagh's Cathedral: Early Christian slab.
- Fig. 44. Lismore: St. Carthagh's Cathedral. Architectural fragments.
- Fig. 45. Lismore: St Carthagh's Cathedral. Detail of McCraith tomb.
- Fig. 46. Lismore: St Carthagh's Cathedral. Detail of McCraith tomb.
- Fig. 47. Stradbally: zone of archaeological potential.
- Fig. 48. Stradbally: St. James' Church from S.
- Fig. 49. Stradbally: St. James' Church. Internal view looking east.
- Fig. 50. Stradbally: St. James' Church: ground plan.
- Fig. 51. Stradbally: St. James' Church. Window in S wall.
- Fig. 52. Stradbally: residential tower attached to St. James' Church, from SE.
- Fig. 53. Stradbally: St. James' Church. 14th cent grave slab.
- Fig. 54. Tallow: zone of archaeological potential.
- Fig. 55. Map of Tallow in 1774 by Bernard Scale (NLI ms. 218).
- Fig. 56. Tallow: aerial view from the south.
- Fig. 57. Waterford: zone of archaeological potential.
- Fig. 59. Outline map of Waterford showing the principal medieval streets.
- Fig. 60. Outline map of Waterford showing the burgage plot pattern reconstructed from the 19th cent. O.S. maps superimposed on the street plan shown by Phillips (1685).
- Fig. 61. Aerial view of Waterford from the west (Cambridge Aerial Coll.)
- Fig. 62. Aerial view of Waterford from the NE (Cambridge Aerial Coll.)
- Fig. 63. Door of seventeenth century house built on the site of St. Stephen's Hospital.

- Fig. 64. Outline map of Waterford showing the location of the known pre-1700 houses and almshouses.
- Fig. 65. Window of seventeenth century house built on the site of St. Stephen's Hospital.
- Fig. 66. Plan of Waterford Fort in 1626 (TCD).
- Fig. 67. Outline plan of the town walls of Waterford.
- Fig. 68. St. Martin's Gate, Waterford, from SW.
- Fig. 69. Reginald's Tower, Waterford, from E.
- Fig. 70. Reginald's Tower: floor plans.
- Fig. 71. Waterford, watergate in course of excavation, from south.
- Fig. 72. Waterford, mural tower 10, 'the Watch Tower', from SW.
- Fig. 73. Waterford, mural tower 11, 'the Double Tower', from SW.
- Fig. 74. Waterford, mural tower 13, 'the French Tower', from west.
- Fig. 75. Waterford, mural tower 13, 'the French Tower', from east (interior).
- Fig. 76. Waterford, mural tower 17 in the de la Salle grounds from W.
- Fig. 77. Waterford, town wall in the de la Salle grounds, from E.
- Fig. 78. Waterford, mural tower 20, 'the Beach Tower', from SE.
- Fig. 79. Outline map of Waterford shoing the location of the principal medieval churches and religious houses.
- Fig. 80. Christ Church Cathedral, Waterford, ground plan showing the line of the present cathedral (1779) superimposed on the outline of the medieval building (after Harris).
- Fig. 81. 13th century pier of Christ Church Cathedral, Waterford.
- Fig. 82. 13th century capital with fleur-de-lys ornament, Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin.
- Fig. 83. 16th cent. window head, Christ Church Cathedral, Waterford.

- Fig. 84. End panel of Rice tomb, Christ Church Cathedral, Waterford.
- Fig. 85. Side panel of 16th century table tomb, Christ Church Cathedral, Waterford.
- Fig. 86. 16th century female effigy, Christ Church Cathedral, Waterford.
- Fig. 87. Armorial Plaque, Christ Church Cathedral, Waterford.
- Fig. 88. 16/17th cent. grave slab, Christ Church Cathedral, Waterford.
- Fig. 89. 16th cent. grave slab found in Lady Lane. Possibly from St. Mary's Church.
- Fig. 90. St. John's (Benedictine) Priory, ground plan.
- Fig. 91. Ground plan of the Franciscan Friary, Waterford.
- Fig. 92. East window of Franciscan friary, Waterford.
- Fig. 93. External view of the chancel south wall, Franciscan Friary, Waterford.
- Fig. 94. Franciscan Friary, Waterford, Lady Chapel, looking W.
- Fig. 95. Tomb of Jon Lea and Helen Walsh (1597), Franciscan Friary, Waterford.
- Fig. 96. Statues in Holy Ghost Hospital, Waterford:
(a) Romanesque Virgin and Child; (b) 13th century female saint; (c) St. Catherine, 15th cent.;
(d) St. Stephen, 15th/16th cent.
- Fig. 97. Arms of the city of Waterford (1593), Reginald's Tower.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It is a pleasure to thank all who helped in the course of this work. The survey was financed by the National Parks and Monuments Branch of the Office of Public Works and I am delighted to thank the staff of that branch for their constant help. In particular thanks are due to the Director, Mr Noel Lynch, his predecessor, Mr. John Berkery, and to Mr. John Mahony; Mr. Jim Cotter and Mr. Michael Conroy have been of great help in dealing with the finances.

Special thanks are due to Professor George Eogan, Dept. of Archaeology, University College Dublin for his constant support and advice in the course of the survey.

For their help at specific towns and borough sites we wish to thank the following. At Affane, Mr O'Donnell of Affane House. At Dungarvan, Jim Shine, Ciaran Tracey, William Fraher, Fr. Brennock o.s.a., George Horsom, Mr Lawrence Walsh, Ms Gay Morrissey, Mrs Kiely. At Lismore, His Grace the Duke of Devonshire, the Most Hon. the Marquess of Hartington, Dean Gilbert Mayes, Dean William Bowder, and Mr and Mrs Burton. At Stradbally, Mrs Chessnutt and Mr Wymond Symes. At Waterford, Dean W. B. A. Neill, Rev. David Neilands, Fr Ambrose (Franciscan Friary), Sr Dymphna (Holy Ghost Hospital), David Coulter (Christ Church Cathedral), Br Pascal Gunning (Dominican Friary); Anthony McElroy, Terry O'Sullivan, Seamus Ryan, Eddie Russell and Stephanie Taheny, of Waterford Corporation; Mr Bolger, owner of the seventeenth century house on the site of St Stephen's Hospital; Terence Kearney, owner of the Franciscan Friary sacristy); Mr Widger (owner of St Michael's church); Maurice Hurley, Ben Murtagh, Claire Walsh, Sarah Stevens, Celie O'Rahilly, Will Forbes, and Andy Gittins.

We wish to thank Mr. John Wallace for preparing the accompanying figures and Mr Conor McDermott for his help in assembling the report.

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. WATERFORD

County Waterford has a special importance for the urban archaeologist. It is one of the very few counties which was affected by every major phase of town development in Ireland. Lismore traces its origins back to the days when it was a monastic town; Waterford itself, and probably Dungarvan, were founded by the Vikings; the Anglo-Normans established boroughs at Affane, Kilmeadan, Kinsalebeg, and Stradbally; while Tallow was founded in the plantation^{period}, a time when Lismore was also replanned. Between them, these eight sites constitute the locations of importance to urban archaeology in the county (fig. 1).

The urban history of the county has a twofold origin lying in the development of Lismore into a monastic town on the one hand and the foundation of the Viking town of Waterford on the other. The nature of the Viking settlement at Dungarvan remains unknown. It is doubtful that it was a town prior to 1170 and it is more likely that it was a small maritime village. Waterford more than doubled in size with the coming of the Anglo-Normans, and they were to establish an urban network across the county. Dungarvan developed into a port. The Anglo-Norman hold on County Waterford began to loosen in the mid fourteenth century and there is a clear decline in the boroughs of Affane, Kilmeadan, Kinsalebeg (probably abandoned after the Black Death of 1349), and

Stradbally.

The late sixteenth century witnessed the determined effort by the English to conquer the Gaelic held lands of the county and hand in hand with conquest came colonization. Sir Walter Raleigh attempted to plant parts of the county with English settlers but it was the settlements founded by Richard Boyle, the first earl of Cork, which were the most successful. In the early years of the seventeenth century the borough of Tallow was established while Lismore, Boyle's principal residence, was replanned and its former prominence was restored.

This report provides an account of the archaeological remains at each of these sites and an assessment of the town or borough's importance to archaeological research. It outlines the areas within the towns where archaeological deposits are likely to survive and highlights the potential of these sites to increase our knowledge of the development of urban life in Ireland. Finally, recommendations are made as to how this potential can be best realised. Each town is provided with a map outlining its zone of archaeological potential in which the following colour code is used:

Pink: the zone of archaeological potential.

Red: extant archaeological monuments.

Purple: sites of known monuments.

Affane, Kilmeadan and Kinsalebeg are now deserted, Stradbally has shrunk in importance, Lismore and Tallow have

largely remained static, but Dungarvan and Waterford are expanding towns where modern redevelopment can threaten archaeological deposits. Uncontrolled redevelopment at any of these sites will destroy the fragile archaeological heritage of Waterford's historic towns 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.

AFFANE

Affane is located on low-lying ground in the Blackwater valley in west Waterford, at the junction of the river Blackwater with its tributary the Finisk. The name is derived from Ath Mheadhain ("middle Ford") because it is a fording point on the Blackwater, and this geographical factor almost certainly accounts for the presence of the medieval settlement there.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL & HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The evidence that Affane was an Anglo-Norman borough rests on its inclusion, in 1300, in a list of towns and boroughs which contributed to a subsidy being raised for the Scottish wars (Mills 1905, 304; Berry 1907, 231). Subsequently it was also one of a number of "towns" whose communities brought charges of fraudulent conduct against the king's keeper of measures and weights (Mills 1905, 316). Further evidence that Affane was a settlement of some importance comes in 1312 when Geoffrey MacTravene was found guilty of killing Henry Sygyn 'in the town of Athmethan in the house of Matthew the carpenter' (Wood, Langman and Griffith 1955, 261). There was also a church at Affane from at least the beginning of the fourteenth century (see below) while a castle and mill attested later may also date from

this period. Little more is heard of Affane until 1565 when it was the scene of a battle fought between the earls of Ormond and Desmond (AFM; Butler 1967) and it may be deduced that the importance of the settlement declined in the later medieval period. The census of Ireland of 1659 returned the relatively high population of 104 for Affane (Pender 1939, 335).

ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVENTORY

1. SITE OF BOROUGH
2. MARKET PLACE
3. MILL
4. CASTLE
5. PARISH CHURCH

1. SITE OF BOROUGH

Affane today is deserted but it is likely that the medieval settlement was located in the area north of the river Finisk and located between the site of the church and the site of the castle both of which are indicated on O.S. Co. Waterford sheet 29.

2. MARKET PLACE

Markets were held during the last century and until early in this century on the wide section of the road immediately

in front of and to the east of the church. The sub-triangular field to the north of Affane House Lodge and on the east of Boheraneghera is locally called the Market Field.

3. MILL

A mill at Affane is referred to in 1614 (Grosart 1886, i, 62) but no trace of one is now visible.

4. CASTLE

No contemporary references to a castle at Affane are known, but in 1841 O'Donovan described the remains of a building which, he noted, was rather a strong dwelling house than a military castle (O.S. Letters Co. Waterford, 133). He stated that 'only parts of the east and west ends and fragments of the south wall remain, from which it can be ascertained that it was forty five feet in length and nineteen feet seven inches in breadth. Its walls are four feet in thickness and built of small stones grouted' (ibid). Walton (1977,4) suggests that this was the castle or stonghouse of the Greatrake family. The castle is marked on the 1st ed. O.S. maps but only the site is indicated on the revised sheets of 1927. It was located just inside the east wall of Mount Rivers estate. No trace of the castle survives but fragments of a 19th century gatelodge remain immediately inside the gate.

5. PARISH CHURCH

The earliest reference to a church at Affane occurs in the ecclesiastical taxation of 1302-6 when 'Athmethan' was valued at 6l 16s 4d (Sweetman 1875-86v, 305). By the 16th century, at the latest, the church was a chapel of the mother church of Dungarvan. This is specifically noted in 1551 (8th Rep. DKPRI, 112: No 812 - 'Aghemeane') and implied in 1537 when the church of 'Amane' along with Dungarvan was united to the Crown, having previously been held by Keynsham abbey in England (Vesey 1765, i, 166-8). Affane presumably passed to Keynsham as a chapel of Dungarvan, which was granted to Keynsham in 1413 (Tresham 1828, 204: no.37). Smith (1746, 44) noted that the church of Affane was 'in repair and constant service' in 1746. Power (1937, 227) stated that the site of the ancient church could be traced to the south of the modern C of I building, itself now ruined, and suggested that the original patron of the parish was St. Carthage or Mochuda.

The present ruined Church of Ireland is in a rectangular graveyard in which there are no pre 1700 monuments. There is no trace of the building noted by Power and the 'site' of the earlier church is marked on the O.S. sheet as being in the field to the west of the graveyard but no trace of it survives above ground.

6. MISCELLANEOUS

A sub-rectangular enclosure is located in the angle between the Finisk and Blackwater rivers to the SW of the

site of the castle. Its function is unclear.

•

ARCHAEOLOGICAL PROBLEMS AND POTENTIAL

Affane is an example of a deserted medieval borough. The archaeological and documentary data indicates that the borough was the scene of human occupation between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries. Documentary records of Affane are relatively few, however, and in the future archaeological excavation is likely to be the principal means by which additional knowledge of its past can be obtained. Due to its relatively isolated situation there has been little disturbance to archaeological deposits within the borough.

Area of Archaeological Potential

The shaded portion of the accompanying map (Fig. 2) delimits the area of archaeological potential within Affane. Its extent is based on the likely location of the borough between the site of the castle and the former parish church together with an area around this, forming a penumbra or fall-out zone. In the absence of archaeological excavations nothing can be said about the depth of archaeological deposits.





DUNGARVAN

Dungarvan is a market and port town situated at the head of a large natural harbour where the Waterford to Cork road crosses the Colligan river. The name is derived from Dun Garbhan (Garban's Fort) although some uncertainty has been expressed by Power (1952, 128) as to whether 'Dun' is the correct prefix or not. The name Garbhan has been interpreted as indicating the existence of a pre-Norman settlement on the site but this is by no means certain. The old suggestion made by Colgan that there was an ecclesiastical site here before the coming of the Normans is similarly lacking evidence (Gwynn and Hadcock 1970, 382).

ARCHAEOLOGICAL & HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Dungarvan was already a place of some importance by 1175, when in the Treaty of Windsor, Henry II reserved for himself all the land between it and Waterford (Orpen 1911-20, i, 350). Royal accounts for Dungarvan in 1234-5 and 1260-1 include receipts from the Ostmen there (35 RDKPRI, 36, 39), while in 1329 Walter McGilmuri, a well established Ostman name in Waterford, was named as a burgess of Dungarvan

(Curtis 1933-43, i, 259: No 605). These Ostman references suggest that the reason for Dungarvan's importance in 1175 was the existence there of a Viking settlement, which Curtis (1929-31, 14) has suggested was a trading colony.

Dungarvan was held by the Crown from 1175 and became a Royal Honor in 1204, when it was surrendered to King John by Domhnall Ua Faelain, King of the Deisi (Sweetman 1875-86, i, No 223; Curtis 1929-31, 12). The borough was evidently in existence by this time, as is shown by the inclusion of five burgages at Dungarvan in Meiler FitzHenry's foundation charter to Great Connell priory, which was confirmed by John in 1205 (Sweetman 1875-86i, no. 273) but was probably granted in 1202 (Gwynn and Hadcock 1970, 177). Since he also presented his clerk to the church of Dungarvan in 1203 (Sweetman 1875-86i, No. 184) it is possible that Meiler FitzHenry, who was justiciar from 1198, may have founded the borough of on behalf of the King.

Dungarvan received a royal charter, granting it the laws of Breteuil, from John in 1215 (Sweetman 1875-86, i, No 578) by which date a royal castle was also in existence there (see below). In 1242 Henry III granted Dungavan a yearly fair (ibid, No 2569) and Curtis (1929-31, 12) notes that the exchequer returns for 1262-3 indicate that it was a town of considerable wealth and prosperity. A long association with the FitzGeralds of Desmond seems to have begun in 1259 when John FitzThomas FitzGerald was granted the lands of Decies, with custody of the castle of Dungarvan (Sweetman 1875-86,

ii, No. 629). An inquisition taken on John FitzThomas' death in 1282 noted that he held the vill of Dungarvan, for which the burgesses paid a yearly rent of £13 17s 4d (ibid ii, 425-26), indicating a total of about 277 burgages. It is not clear however, how the the borough came into FitzGerald hands - a point which was to resurface later. John FitzThomas' heir Thomas FitzMaurice FitzGerald received a new grant of the lands of Decies, with custody of Dungarvan castle, in 1292 when it was discovered that the original grant of 1259 lacked legal force (ibid iii, 1051). An inquisition taken on his death in 1299 again noted that he received £13 13s 4d burgage rent from the burgesses of Dungarvan (ibid iv, 263) and he is thought to have founded an Augustinian friary there c.1290 (see below).

On his creation as earl of Desmond in 1329 Maurice FitzThomas FitzGerald was granted the advowson of the church of Dungarvan which until then had been held by the Crown, and was pardoned an annual rent of 200 marks called the 'Dungarvan rent' (P.R.O. 1891, 436). Following the earl's submission to the government in 1346, his lands at Dungarvan were apparently forfeited, and their custody granted to the justiciar John Morice, along with that of the castle (Tresham 1828, 51: no.32). In 1369 Dungarvan was granted to the lord lieutenant, William of Windsor (P.R.O. 1913, 222) and to John Stanley, the lieutenant in 1399 (P.R.O. 1903, 171). In 1394-5 the King had commanded the earl of Desmond to demonstrate his right to Dungarvan, which had originally formed part of the the Royal demesne (Tresham 1828, 153: No 3) but an

inquisition of 1421 noted that on his death in 1399 the earl held 'the manor and town of Dungarvan in capite' (Curtis 1933-43, iii, 32). The inquisition also noted that the revenues of Dungarvan were worth no more than 100s yearly (compared with a rent of 200 marks (2660s) payable in 1329 and 1369) because it was 'wasted by the Irish enemies of the King' (ibid). This drastic and serious deterioration in the value of the town, and by implication in its prosperity may have been due, to some extent, to the uncertainty over the the legal title to the lordship of Dungarvan.

The first sign of recovery in Dungarvan's fortunes seems to have come in 1463, when parliament made a new grant of the castle and town of Dungarvan to the earl of Desmond for sixty years. The grant noted that Dungarvan was 'from ancient time the greatest ancient honour belonging to the King in this land, which by war and trouble and for want of English government is for the greater part utterly destroyed' (Berry 1914, 55-59). At the same time the town itself was granted the liberties of the honour of Clare in England and customs as levied in England, with a market every day of the week, the customs of which were to be spent on building and repairing the town walls (ibid). These measures seem to have had some effect in restoring the prosperity of the town and it is possible that it was enclosed by a stone wall at this time. Further legal disputations over the lordship were to follow. Although in 1485 it was noted that Edward IV (1461-83) had granted Dungarvan to the earls of Desmond in perpetuity (Quinn 1941, 24), Henry VIII in 1528 claimed that

the earl wrongly held it, and granted custody of the manor and castle to Piers Butler, earl of Ossory, provided that he could recover them from the earl of Desmond (Curtis 1933-43iv, 127; Morrin 1861, 3). In 1535 Butler's son James, along with the lord deputy, Sir William Skeffington, besieged and captured Dungarvan (Brewer and Bullen 1867, 76, 79) and the manor and castle were united to the Crown forever by Act of Parliament in 1543 (Vesey 1765, i, 237-8).

Gerald, the 15th earl of Desmond, briefly renewed his claim to Dungarvan before surrendering it to Lord Deputy FitzWilliam in 1574 (AFM) but the town seems to have been in royal hands from 1535 onwards, being held for the Crown by constables such as James Walshe appointed in 1550 (8th Rep. DKPRI, 85: No. 558). Desmond made another attempt to regain Dungarvan in his rebellion of 1579-82 as is shown by the complaint in 1584 from the portreeve to Lord Burghley of 'the dreadful cruelty they suffered at the hands of the rebels' and added that the town walls had been 'spoiled by Desmond in his rebellion' (Hamilton 1867, 510). The castle was apparently seriously damaged and its importance steadily declined thereafter (see below). The fact that a pardon was issued in 1583 to the provost, eight burgesses, as well as other inhabitants of Dungarvan (13RDKPRI, 200, No. 4115) suggests that the townspeople were in some way implicated in the revolt.

By this date Dungarvan was again in decline. The trades of the inhabitants listed in the 1583 pardon were mainly

unskilled and agriculturally based, such as fishermen, yeomen, butchers etc. and although one goldsmith is mentioned, the lack of mercantile trades or skilled crafts is striking. Collectors of wine duty for the port continued to be appointed in the late 16th - early 17th centuries (see below), but there is little evidence for serious foreign trade at this time. In 1611 Robert Cogan described Dungarvan as 'a very poor fisher town' and also noted that its trade consisted mainly of the distribution of locally caught fish at an estimated value of £1,000 per annum (Brewer and Bullen 1873, 175). Dungarvan was granted to George Thorneton in 1604 (Erck 1846-52, i, 158) and it received a new charter of incorporation as a borough from James I in 1610 (ibid ii, 713-24). In 1618 it was bought over by Richard Boyle, Earl of Cork (Grosart 1886, i, 182). In 1642 the castle, and presumably the town was taken over by the Confederates (Fitzpatrick 1911, 66, 123-24), but they were recaptured later in the year by Sir William Saintleger, lord president of Munster, with great slaughter and destruction. Boyle noted that the 'suburbs' of the town were burned, and some two hundred inhabitants killed (Grosart 1886, i, 182), while Vigors, an eyewitness accompanying Saintleger, noted that 'wee tooke it (the town) within three hours fight, and burned most of the houses which were Thatched' (Fitzpatrick 1912, 94-5). It is not clear, however, whether Vigors is referring to the town proper or to Abbeyside. If it is the latter then this could explain Boyle's reference to 'suburbs'. Vigors notes estimates of the the death toll from two to four

hundred but suggests that two hundred was the maximum figure. Another contemporary account noted that 'the Lord President of Munster hath burned Dungarvan to the ground' (Buckley 1902-5, 78). Smith (1746, 85-6), however, states that the town was again taken by the Confederates, who plundered it and held the castle until 1647, when they surrendered it to Lord Inchiquin. A contemporary account of Inchiquin's capture of Dungarvan refers to it as 'a sea-towne well walled and fortified, and one of the Rebels chiefe ports in Munster, a receptacle for their pyrats and Dunkirk friggots' (Buckley 1899, 158). It states that Inchiquin had to negotiate the surrender of the town 'finding that after foure dayes constant battery with four battering pieces, that they could make no assaultable breach, and that though we had taken one castle by storme neere the town by which they secured their water' (Buckley 1899, 158-9). Both this account and Inchiquin's remarked on the ability of the castle to withstand a seige (see below). Smith (1746, 86) states that the town was beseiged and captured by Cromwell in 1649. The census of Ireland of 1659 returned a population of 213 for the town, with a further 44 on Abbeyside (Pender 1939, 341).

ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVENTORY

1. SITE OF VIKING SETTLEMENT
2. THE ANGLO-NORMAN TOWN
3. STREETS & STREET PATTERN

4. MARKET PLACE
GUILD HALL
5. DOMESTIC HOUSES

6. INDUSTRIAL AREAS
7. TOWN DEFENCES
8. CASTLE
9. ST. MARY'S PARISH CHURCH
10. AUGUSTINIAN ABBEY
11. ST BRIGID'S HOSPITAL
12. MISCELLANEOUS

MCGRATH'S / ABBEYSIDE CASTLE
MOTTE / CROMWELLS MOUNT

1. SITE OF VIKING SETTLEMENT

The townland of Shandon (old fort) to the north of the medieval town may be the site of the original Viking settlement. The townland is largely located on a raised spur of land overlooking the river Colligan and in this respect its location is similar to the setting of Annagassen, Co. Louth. Quarrying work in 1917 to the north of Shandon House uncovered a very fine 10th-11th century bone trial piece with Jellinge decoration was discovered in 1917 (Ryan 1983,152). The O.S. 1st ed. maps note the site of a chapel to the south of Shandon House.

The pattern of development at other towns occupied by the

Vikings, however, shows a clear sequence of succession between the Viking and Anglo-Norman settlements. It may well be that the Viking settlement at Dungarvan was succeeded by the Anglo-Norman town and that the Shandon trial piece came from a rural settlement outside Dungarvan. Only excavation work at both of these sites will answer this question.

2. THE ANGLO-NORMAN TOWN

3. STREETS & STREET PATTERN (Figs. 3-3a)

The street pattern of the medieval town is substantially the same today as was shown on the mid-eighteenth century map of the town by Charles Frozell 1760. It shows the town as a rectangular walled enclosure with a linear street pattern based on the main east-west street, Parnell St which was then called Market St. The street expanded at the east end to form a triangular market place and forked to create Castle St and Quay St. Small lanes including River Lane, Power's Lane and Kennedy's Lane, ran from the street to the quays on the north side. The castle was located in the north east corner and the parish church was outside the town walls to the south. The plot boundaries are still substantially similar today to those on the Frozell map.

4. MARKET PLACE

The market place was located in the triangular expansion at the east end of the Parnell Street.

GUILD HALL

A charter of 1610 instructed the corporation to erect a stone guild-hall as soon as possible (Erck 1846-52, ii, 713-24) and a town hall was in existence by 1642 when its capture is recorded (Grosart 1886, v, 207). The building is depicted at the east end of the market place in Frozell's map of 1760. It has recently been restored for use as a library and exhibition centre. It may incorporate seventeenth century masonry behind the face which dates to c.1700).

5. DOMESTIC HOUSES

There is only very scant documentary information on domestic housing in Dungarvan prior to 1700. The 1299 extent of the lands of Thomas FitzMaurice FitzGerald refers to 'a stone house beyond the [castle] gate in ill condition and badly roofed' (Sweetman 1875-86, iv, 261). Vigors' account of Saintleger's capture of Dungarvan in 1642 notes that he 'burned most of the houses which were Thatched and burned likewise a stately stonehouse, well slatted, of one Mr Hoare's adjoining the Towne' (Fitzpatrick 1912, 94-9). An account of 1647 noted that the town contained only 'twenty poor tiled houses' (Buckley 1901, 167-8).

Most of the buildings within the original walled area of the town are of 18th and 19th century date. Two houses, however, have features which suggest that they were built prior to 1700.

HOUSE 1: CASTLE STREET (fig. 4)

On the south side of the east end of Castle St are the remains of a two storeyed medieval house, probably of 15th/16th century date. It is built of uncoursed rubble masonry consisting of limestone and red and yellow sandstone with some roughly dressed long and short quoins also of mixed stone. Only the N, S and E walls remain. The west wall was taken out and the building lengthened westwards. The internal dimensions are 12.6 by 8.9m. The building faced onto the street and originally had a door in the centre of the wall with a rectangular slit on the east side. The roof was supported on corbels - one survives at the east end of the north wall and there may have been an internal stone stairs at the west end of the building as there are some protruding stones internally in the north wall. The first floor has the lower parts of the jambs and the sill of a narrow window also at the east end. The house is now used as a store by Irish Tanners and is roofed with galvanize.

The north wall stands to a height of 4m although the external upper 1.5m and the western end is largely rebuilt. The original pointed doorway in the centre of the wall is blocked as is the splayed window on the east. The first floor has one original window at the east end. The south wall is not accessible due to the storage of goods against it. The east wall is 6m high but the gable is not complete. At first floor level there is a narrow rectangular opening with chamfered sandstone jambs and flat lintelled rear arch.

HOUSE 2: "BARRY'S STORES" (fig. 5-8)

This building is located on the corner of Quay St and Church St. It is probably late 16th or early 17th century date although its present appearance is that of the 18th or 19th century because of the conversion of the building into a store. This conversion involved raising the roof, inserting rectangular windows on each floor in the N, W and S walls, changing the front of the building to three bays and the removal of the west wall to allow for an extension. The building is at present four floored but it was originally two storied. It is built of evenly coursed limestone with long and short quoins on the NW and SW angles which do not rise above the present third floor. The external dimensions are 18.9m by 9.55m; the south wall is 1.15m thick.

The chamfered lower jambs of a door remain in the centre of the south wall. This wall also retains two of the original ogee-headed single light windows - one on the ground floor and one at first floor level together with one other window, possibly a twin light with rectangular hood mould. Inserted high on the north wall is a corbel. The building is at present (1988) being converted for use by Mr George Horsom as commercial units and a small excavation has recovered the foundations of the west wall, two large spud stones in the centre of the building which may have supported roof timbers together with some small finds of 17th date.

WALL PLAQUES (Fig. 9)

A rectangular limestone quoin on the N corner of No. 21 Church St. facing Bath St. has a raised panel bearing the following Gothic lettered inscription with interlaced capitals in false relief:

PATRICKE GOUGH A. H. 1615

The date is in the lower left-hand corner and the a hand, which holds either a pen or a chisel, is placed between Gough and A. The house itself appears to be of much later in date.

Dims: H.48 W.124

Decorated face H.34 W.111

6. MILLS

In 1212 Thomas Bluet sheriff of Waterford, accounted for £29 4s spent 'constructing two mills at Dungarvan' (Davies and Quinn 1941, 49). The 1282 extent of Dungarvan noted four mills there, worth £28 13s 4d a year (Sweetman 1875-86, ii, 4260). More details are provided in the 1299 extent, which noted that 'a mill on the west side of Dungarvan on the new water, and two mills on the east side on a branch of the sea' worth £3 6s 8d yearly (ibid iv, 263). The exact location of these mills in the modern town, however, is not clear.

7. PORT

The port of Dungarvan, located on the south of the Colligan estuary and along the north side of the town where

there is a good depth of water and shelter from the open sea, must be at least as old as the town itself. The earliest documentary evidence for the port, however, only occurs in 1244 when the Justiciar was ordered to deliver one of the king's galleys to the "good seamen" of Dungarvan for them to trade with (Sweetman 1875-86, i, No.2691). In 1343-4 and again in 1375 Dungarvan was one of a number of ports in which watch was kept for royal officials or soldiers seeking to leave Ireland without authorisation (Tresham 1828, p. 44: no.44; p. 95: no.204). The level of trade in the port no doubt declined greatly in the later medieval period and by 1537 it consisted primarily of fish with some hides, although there are references to wine, salt, beans and woollen mantles (Hore and Graves 1870, 216-7).

In the post medieval period Dungarvan was one of the Irish ports for which collectors of duty on wine imports were appointed - Henry Davells in 1571 (12 Rep. DKPRI, 26 No.1667), Edward Waterhouse in 1579 (13th Rep. DKPRI 111, No.3515) Thomas Molinex 1591 (16th Rep. DKPRI 194, No.5681), Dudley Norton in 1597 (17th Rep. DKPRI 46, No. 6041) and William Llewellen and Edward Stout in 1627 (Morrin 1863, 235). In 1611 Robert Cogan, echoing the report of 1537, noted that Dungarvan's trade consisted almost entirely of fish and hides, but says nothing about imports (Brewer and Bullen 1873, 175). Dungarvan was one of twenty Irish ports approved as landing places for merchandise by the Commissioners of Excise in 1662 (Mahaffy 1905, 593), but in 1664 it ranked only twentieth of twenty-one Irish ports in terms of customs

raised (Mahaffy 1907, 460-61).

CUSTOM'S HOUSE

The existence of a customs house is implied by the fact that the 'Custom House Key' was specified as the place for the unloading of merchandise in Dungarvan in 1662 (Mahaffy 1905, 593). This was presumably located on Davitt's Quay near the Fish Market.

8. BRIDGE

In 1308 the citizens of Dungarvan received a grant of pontage for three years, on the grounds that they were 'bound to make a bridge in the said town, nevertheless ... they are poor and the bridge rather lacks charges for its repair' (Wood, Langman and Griffith 1955, 55). Pontage was still being collected in 1326-35 and in 1335-8 (44th Rep. DKPRI 25, 39). The proposed bridge presumably was intended to link the town with Abbeyside, where the Augustinian friary had been founded c.1290. It is likely that the modern bridge and causeway marks the site.

9. TOWN DEFENCES

There is no definite evidence that Dungarvan was enclosed prior to 1463, when on its 'reincorporation, the town was granted the same customs as Bristol to be spent on building and repairing the walls of the town (Berry 1914, 55-9). It

may well be that the walls which are attested at a later date were first constructed at this time, although a description by the inhabitants of Dungarvan in 1537 of the customary dues relating to the construction of the walls may indicate that they were still under construction at this late date. They stated that 'the Constable of the Castell paieth the masons their wages for makeing the towne walls or repaering thereof, and the burgeses of the towne fynde mete and drinke to the masons doing reparations upon the said walles, and the Comons of the towne there fynde workemen at their oun costs, and charges to make mortar and cary stone, and the Lord to fynde a lighter or bote, and also horses to carry stones from the said lighter' (Hore and Graves 1870, 217). By 1559 the walls were in sufficient need of repair for the Lord Deputy to be instructed by the Queen to grant licence to import 200 quarters of wheat and malt from England, and such liberties as the town of Wexford had to 'the inhabitants of Dongarvan, who have promised to repair the walls of that town' (Brewer and Bullen 1867, 284). In 1584, the town sought licence to import 3,000 quarters of wheat 'towards the re-edifying of their walls, spoiled by Desmond in his rebellion' (Hamilton 1867, 510). In the previous year the townspeople had been instructed 'to erect a stone wall sixteen feet high and four, or at least three feet thick or a sufficient deep foss with a high bank round the western part of the town where the Queen's castle is situate' (13RDKPRI 200, No.4115). It is not clear whether this also represents repairs following the Desmond rebellion of 1579-82 or whether the particular sector

referred to, which seems to be the port frontage, had not been enclosed by this time. Smith (1746, 83) noted that 'each angle of the town wall was defended with towers and bastions, and the gates with guard houses many of which still remain'. The walls are shown in the view of Dungarvan included by Smith (1746), in which part of the defences in the vicinity of the castle are visible, and in a map of 1760 by Charles Frozell published in Power (1911, 6) in which the outline of the walls is clearly visible. An indication of the strength of the defences is provided by the contemporary account of Inchiquin's capture of Dungarvan in 1647, which describes Dungarvan as 'a sea-towne well walled and fortified' and states that 'after foure dayes constant battery with four battering pieces...they could make no assaultable breach' (Buckley 1899, 158).

As shown by Frozell the town walls delimit a rectangular area bounded on the north and east by the sea, on the south by the eastern arm of Emmet Street, and on the west by the eastern side of St Augustine Street and Campbell's Lane. There were circular towers at the angles. No remnants of this wall survive. The extrusion of a house on the corner of Emmet St. and St Augustine St. may preserve the line of one of the corner bastions but the house itself is modern. Recent mechanical excavations for house foundations at the corner of Jacknell St and Church St revealed no trace of the wall but some sherds of 17th century pottery were picked up.

Tracey (1983, 9-10) has suggested that a N/S ridge to the

west of the motte at Gallowshill (see below) may have formed part of a defensive rampart running roughly N-S, and cutting off the promontory on which Dungarvan is sited. The suggestion remains unproven.

10. CASTLE (Figs. 10-13)

The earliest reference to the royal castle of Dungarvan occurs in 1215 when King John granted its custody to Thomas FitzAnthony (Sweetman 1875-86, i, Nos. 576, 584). For most of the thirteenth century it was held for the Crown by keepers such as Richard de Burgh in 1226 (ibid, i, No. 1462), Peter de Rivall in 1232 (ibid, i, No. 1976), Walter de la Haye in 1273 (ibid, ii, Nos. 996, 999), William of London in 1276 (ibid, ii, No. 1242) and John de Baskerville in 1281 (ibid, ii, No. 1839). Significant works seem to have been in progress around the middle of the century. In 1257 payment of £50 to carpenters making 'Bretach and other works' and 'eight score diggers sent thither' was recorded (McNeill 1934, 291). The sheriff's accounts for Dungarvan in 1262-3 record 40 marks delivered to the wardens of the works at the castle, to be spent on the works, 50s spent on 'ten thousand shingles purchased for covering the said castle' and 68s 'spent in the building of a house which he made to be built afresh within the same castle' (Curtis 1929-31, 4). In 1277 Walter de la Haye, sheriff of Waterford, was paid £104 13s 9d 'in connection with his custody of the Castle of Dungarvan and works there' (36 RDKPRI, 38). In spite of these works

however, the 1299 extent of Dungarvan described the castle as 'in bad repair, unroofed, and nearly levelled to the ground'; it also noted a new tower unroofed in the castle (Sweetman 1875-86 iv, 261). Custody of the castle had been granted to Thomas FitzMaurice FitzGerald in 1284 (ibid ii, No 2231) and it seems to have remained in the hands of the FitzGerald's of Desmond for the rest of the Middle Ages. In 1537 the townspeople of Dungarvan noted that the earls of Desmond held the castle through Constables (Hore and Graves 1870, 202, 219).

The castle was taken over by the earl of Ossory and the Lord Deputy after negotiations with the earl of Desmond's constable in 1535 (Brewer and Bullen 1876, 76), and thereafter it reverted to being a royal castle. In 1548 Matthew King received a royal commission for works at the castle (Hamilton 1860, 87) and in 1553 he claimed to have spent at least £243 16s 4d 'in building and repairing the Castle of Dungarvane' (Morris 1861, 317). These works may have included refurbishing the castle for artillery, as in 1550 James Walsh had been appointed constable of the castle 'with the services of eight gunners' (8 RDKPRI 85, No.558). The castle seems to have been seriously damaged in the Desmond rebellion which began in 1579, and in 1580 it was described as being 'in extreme ruin' (Hamilton 1867, 207). The repair of 'the two forts and Her Majesty's house at Dungarvan' was ordered in 1582 (ibid, 339) and the castle was garrisoned for the remainder of the sixteenth century with a standard garrison of a constable, a porter, three archers and fifteen

footmen (13 RDKPRI 202, No. 4130; 16 RDKPRI 259. No 5893; 17 RDKPRI 50, No. 6070). It could still be described as 'a Most ruinous place' in 1592 (Hamilton 1890, 49), but it was fit to be garrisoned in the 1640s when it still presented a considerable obstacle to Crown forces. The castle was taken and garrisoned by Confederate forces in 1642 (Fitzpatrick 1911, 66, 123-4) and when Sir William Saintleger recaptured the town later that year it resisted his attack for two days, before the garrison surrendered (Fitzpatrick 1912, 94-5; Grosart 1886, v, 207). The castle was again taken and garrisoned by the Irish until recaptured by Lord Inchiquin in 1647 (Smith 1746, 85-6). However the castle was on this occasion taken by negotiation rather than by force and a contemporary account noted that 'if we had carried the town by storm, the castle within it might well have been justified against us and would have probably cost much blood in the acquiring' (Buckley 1899, 159). Inchiquin's own description of Dungarvan as 'so strong that ..an army no better provided than we were might have been kept out of it until their own wants within should enforce their surrender' (McNeill 1943, 241) may well refer to the castle rather than the town in general.

The 'prison of Dungarvan' is first referred to in 1290 (Sweetman 1875-86, iii, 313). This was probably located in the castle, as the escape of Domnall mac Brian Ruad O'Briain, Donnchad mac Feidlimid Mac Carthaig and Cuilen mac Cuilen O Cuilen, from the castle in 1296 (A.I) and of Reginald de Stapiltoun from the castle in 1338 (53 RDKPRI, 37) suggest.

The castle also seems to have been functioning as a gaol in 1593, when Henry Greene, the vice-constable was pardoned for the escape of a prisoner committed to the gaol (16 RDKPRI 215: No 5776). In 1610, however, the town's new charter from James I instructed the corporation to erect 'one strong stone-house to serve as a gaol' (Erck 1846-52, ii, 713-24). The location of this gaol is unclear.

Description

The castle is situated in the NE corner of the town. It was used until 1987 as a Garda barracks and although it is now abandoned it survives in good condition. It consists of a sub-rectangular enclosure with a gate-house at the SE angle, a circular tower in the SW angle and a polygonal keep in the NW angle; these features are of 13th century date. There is evidence for 16th/17th century work in the form of gun-loops. The masonry consists predominantly of grey limestone with some red, brown and yellow sandstone.

Gatehouse

This structure consists of two D-shaped towers, surviving only to first floor height, linked by a vaulted passage. The entrance arch, of yellow sandstone, is pointed and chamfered, and leads into a passage 3.35m wide which has a pointed vault ranging in height between 4.5 and 5.75m. Immediately inside the entrance arch is a portcullis groove and a murder hole. The ground floor chamber of the N tower, measuring 2.7 by 6.7m, was originally entered from the north side of the

passage. Over the first floor is a barrel vault. A projecting turret at the NW angle provided access to the curtain wall. The S tower, which has a projecting turret at the SW angle, is in poor condition and lacks the vault over its first floor. The east wall is a replacement (?18th cent.) and has an opening with a stairway leading to the wall walk. These stairs occupy the site of a passage 1m wide which originally connected the gatehouse with the curtain wall at first floor level.

The SW Angle Tower

This circular tower of three floors is 11m high and has an external diameter of 10.7m. The base batter begins at a height of 2.5m and expands to a width of 50cm at the base. There is a projection on the E which contained a spiral stairs. The ground floor chamber, which has a diameter of 6m, is entered on the east through a segmentally arched door. The chamber has three blocked arrow-loops and has a domed vault with wattle centering. Four tapering openings in the vault indicate the presence of small mural chambers, with loops, in the space behind the vault. The first floor chamber has four openings with segmental arched recesses, three of which were probably originally embrasures for loops. That at the E end contains a modern window, that to the S is largely blocked by a modern fireplace and chimney but also incorporates a loop; that on the W contains a modern gun-loop and a chimney flue; while that to the N is a doorway, partly original, communicating with the wall-walk on the curtain wall. Opening

off this on the west is a mural chamber with a gun-loop in the north wall. The walls are set back c. 3.00m above this floor.

The Keep

This twelve-sided structure, in the NW angle of the enclosure, is in poor repair. The original full height is unclear but clear evidence survives for two floors and possibly the remains of a third. The polygonal sides are of unequal length and the longest is the N wall.

The ground floor probably consisted originally of two vaulted chambers but only that on the N side is accessible. It consists of a long barrel vaulted chamber orientated E/W, measuring 17.44 by 5.22m, with traces of plank centering in the roof and a cobbled floor. The N wall is pierced by two widely splaying embrasures. Only a sillstone remains from the original loops which were replaced by gun-loops in the 16th/17th century. A small chamber with a pointed barrell vault is situated at the E end of the N wall. A modern inserted stairs gives access to the first floor. Set into the S side of the keep are two small modern chambers whose brick roofs protrude above the first floor.

The first floor is overgrown with vegetation and only the west and north walls survive to any appreciable height. I. the west wall is a pointed vaulted wall passage, providing access to a small chamber which originally had arrow loops but which were subsequently altered into gun loops. From here

the wall walk leading south to the circular tower.

The Curtain Wall

The original curtain wall is intact on the S and W sides where it is 1.7-1.9m thick and 8m high. The wall-walk is at a height of 5.6m and there is an external base batter rising to a height of 2m. The S wall contains nine blocked arrow loops, in addition to gun loops, at wall walk level. Lower in the wall there are five corbels at a height of 3.5m; these appear to be modern insertions and one of the corbels is the base of a cloister column similar to those in the Augustinian friary. The E curtain wall survives for some 12.5m and stands to a height of 5m but it has been greatly interfered with by modern buildings and chimneys. The N side is a modern rebuilding, 3m high and 70cm thick.

11. ST. MARY'S PARISH CHURCH (fig. 14)

This church is first mentioned in 1203 when Meiler FitzHenry's clerk, David, was presented to it (Sweetman 1875-86, i, No. 184) and its dedication to the Blessed Virgin Mary is recorded in 1318 (Tresham 1828, p. 23: no. 88) and 1403 (ibid, p. 170: no. 65). It was clearly a church of considerable wealth and importance. Its chapels are referred to as early as 1205 (Sweetman 1875-86, i, No.272) and in 1234 it was noted that the chapels of the lands of John d'Evreux, William Wallensis and others belonged to it (ibid, No.2165). In the 16th century thirteen annexed chapels, and the tithes

of over one hundred townlands were listed among its appurtenances (Vesey 1765, i, 166-8; 8 RDKPRI 112, No. 512). A further indication of the church's prestige was the status of its rectors, including Geoffrey de Turville, archdeacon of Dublin, presented in 1228 (Sweetman 1875-86, i, No. 1574) and Master William of Kilkenny, archdeacon of Coventry, presented in 1251 (ibid, No 3191) and elected bishop of Ely in 1254 (ibid ii, No.423).

The advowson of the church was held by the Crown until 1318, when it was granted briefly to the archbishop of Cashel (Tresham 1828, p. 23: no. 88). In 1329 it was granted to the earls of Desmond (PRO 1913, 222) who granted it to the abbey of Keynsham in England in 1413 (Tresham 1828, p. 204: no. 37). In 1537 the parsonage and church of Dungarvan were restored to the Crown by Act of Parliament (Vesey 1865, i, 166-8).

In 1537, also, the inhabitants of Dungarvan stated that the parsonage was 'a faire house' and had six tenants or tenements; it had no land, but had the 'tylling' (?tithing) of sixteen parish churches and was valued at one hundred marks per annum (Hore and Graves 1870, 218-19). They also added that the vicar had built twenty houses on the churchyard ground, from which he extracted rent for his own use. Mary Boulter, an inhabitant of Dungarvan in 1642, stated that during the takeover of the town by the Confederates:

'the vicker's house was burnt....and ye said Rebels went into ye Church of Dungarvan and burnt there the

Comunion Table, the pulpitt and all the seats in the aforesaid church, and made it a stable for their horses, and a prison for the stript protestants' (Fitzpatrick 1910, 144).

Writing in 1746 Smith described the church as 'a large building with an high steeple' was added that it had been demolished by Cromwell. Fraher suggests that the church in use throughout the eighteenth century may have been the restored chancel and an illustration of 1775, by Scale, shows a large east window with switchline tracery and three twin-light Y-traceried windows in the south wall (reproduced in Fraher 1983, 45).

Description

The west gable wall is all that survives of this thirteenth century parish church. It is in the graveyard to the south of the town and west of the modern Church of Ireland. Built of roughly coursed rubble sandstone and conglomerate it is 9.8m in length, 1m thick and some 10m high. The apex of the gable is missing but the wall may have been up to 12m high originally. The original width of the building is not clear as the returns are not present. The wall has five circular opes splaying from 1.1m internally to 30cms externally with dressed and chamfered yellow sandstone jambs. Three opes are about 3m above ground level and the remaining two are placed in the intervening spaces some 6m above ground. Internally there is a ledge above these

openings.

Architectural fragments

A chamfered limestone window head with holed spandrel is in use as grave-marker to the south of the church.

Dims: H.34 W.68 D.23

A fragment of dressed stone with a rebate lies partly buried to the SE of the church wall. Exposed dims: 46 x 34cm.

Monuments

Graveslab fragment. 15/16th cent.

Placed at the head of a grave S of the church, it is now deeply buried in the ground to the south of the church.

Limestone. Marginal Gothic inscription in false relief: ..E
QUI OBIIT..

Dims L. 50 (min) W. 44 T. 11.

Edward Stephenson. 1610.

Eighty years ago this slab lay within the site of the nave but the overgrown condition of the graveyard makes it impossible to locate. It was decorated with a cross in relief and a marginal inscription:

HIC JACET EDVARDVS/ STEPHENSON EX NOBILE ET ANTIQVA QVAM
ANGLORVM QVAM HYB/ ERNORVM STIRPE/ NATVS OBIIT AN/
(?1610) DIE 2 NOV/ EMBRIS

Coleman 1910-12, 636.

Robert Drefers. 1685.

Wedge-shaped sandstone headstone near the vestry door. Roman inscription: 1685/ ROBERT DRE/ FERS BVRAL/ P[lace].

Buckley 1910-12, 441-2

Cross-slab. ?17th cent.

East of the church wall. Limestone. Celtic cross.

Visible dims: 80 x 50cm.

12. AUGUSTINIAN FRIARY (Figs. 15-18)

This friary was founded c.1290 and the founder was almost certainly Thomas FitzMaurice FitzGerald, lord of Desmond and Decies, and ancestor of the earls of Desmond (Gwynn and Hadcock 1970, 299). Little is known of the friary's history. At the dissolution in 1541, it was stated that the friary church was serving as the parish church, presumably for Abbeyside (White 1943, 347). The friary was leased to James Walshe, constable of the castle in 1551 (8 RDKPRI, 112: no. 812) and it was in ruins by 1654 when the Civil Survey described it as 'the Walls of an old Abby ruined and destroyed wch formerly did beare ye denomination of St. Augustines Abby' (Simington 1942, 37). This destruction may have taken place during Saintleger's attack on Dungarvan in 1642, as Vigors specifically records that the town on Abbeyside was burned (Fitzpatrick 1912, 94-6).

Description

The remains of the friary are situated in a sub-rectangular graveyard on the north side of the Colligan estuary opposite the town of Dungarvan. It consists of a ruined chancel, probably dating to the thirteenth century, with an inserted fifteenth century crossing tower at the W end. The ground floor of the crossing tower is used as the porch of the modern R.C. church which was built onto the north side of the tower. The masonry consists of roughly coursed rubble limestone and sandstone with sandstone jambs and quoins.

The Chancel

The internal ground level is raised about 1m above the level of the ground outside as a result of burials. The east gable stands to its full height of about 9m and the north and south walls some 5m high internally. There was a large splayed pointed window with pointed rear arch in the east wall which is now lacking all its tracery except for a few stones of the outer and inner chamfered jambs. There is a ledge internally above the window and a small splayed rectangular window in the apex with chamfered jambs and segmental headed rear arch. There are four put-log holes, spaced about 1m apart, on either side of the window and the ends of the walls are buttressed to a height of 2.5m above present ground level.

The modern church is built on the foundations of the west end of the north wall while the east end of the wall has a multi-moulded round arched doorway with chamfered soffit rib

springing from tapering corbels and a rounded ornamental moulding. There is a damaged pyramidal shaped pinnacle on top of the hood moulding and a fragment of a second pinnacle at the base of the east side of the moulding with a vine leaf terminal. The west side is obscured by a burial. The external jambs of the door are chamfered and pick-dressed. The S wall is pierced by three pointed windows of differing sizes and is buttressed externally between the windows. The windows are all splayed and had pointed rear arches. Only the eastern one is complete. They are all lacking their chamfered outer and inner arches and most of the jambs with the exception of eight stones in the eastern internal jamb of the middle window, four stones in the internal arch and all of the western internal jambs in the western window. Between the two eastern windows there was a triple sedilia which is now lacking all its dressed stone. Two tapering corbels have been inserted into the back of the niche. The west wall had a high pointed arch opening into the tower but this is now blocked and the lower 6.00m of the wall appears to be refaced.

The Tower

This four floored structure is some 16m high and is built of roughly coursed rubble with limestone quoins. The lower parts of the walls have been refaced externally while the internal ground floor walls are heavily plastered. Externally the roof line of the original chancel and nave is represented by coping stones in the E and W walls of the tower.

Internally the floors above the first floor are missing and

the lower part of the access turret with spiral stairs in the NW angle is now incorporated into the fabric of the modern church. Two narrow loops which provided light onto the stairs can be seen in the west wall. There is a string course above the 2nd floor and a drainage course over the 3rd floor above which the tower is stepped outwards slightly. The stepped parapets, with niche on the N wall, and roof are modern.

The ground floor has a ribbed vault with one pointed arch remaining open to the modern church. The transverse ribs and liernes are octagonally chamfered and the eastern and western soffit ribs are chamfered and rise from tapering corbels. Present access to the 1st floor is from the gallery in the S end of the modern church. A new doorway was opened in the W end of the N wall adjacent to the original entrance which can be seen blocked in the W splay of this opening. The original door had dressed limestone jambs. To the east is a blocked lintelled opening. Some of the facing stones of this wall above the opening are missing. The room was lit from E, S and W; on the east is a splayed single light flat lintelled window with chamfered sandstone jambs. Two voussoirs over a flat rear arch survive and the sill consists of cement. The S wall has two openings; the lower one is blocked but is a rectangular flat lintelled opening which would have opened onto the transept while the upper one, which is inserted, is a flat lintelled splayed window with chamfered limestone and sandstone jambs. It is filled with cement and its external jambs may be re-used from the lower opening. The west wall has a wide splayed pointed window with chamfered limestone

jambs and flat lintelled rear arch. The sill is modern. Some of the facing stones from the inside N end of the wall are missing.

The 2nd floor was supported on a ledge in the W wall, on corbels in the S and N walls and by timbers set into the E wall. It was lit from the E by a lintelled parallel sided opening with chamfered sandstone jambs, and from the S by a splayed ogee-headed window with chamfered limestone jambs and flat lintelled rear arch. There are no features in the W wall and there is a splayed lintelled narrow opening in the N wall which is blocked. Access to this floor and the 3rd floor must have been by an internal wooden stairs as the NW turret did not continue to this level.

The 3rd floor was supported on corbels in the S and N walls and timbers set in mortice holes in the W and E walls. It is lit from the E and N by a splayed single-light ogee-headed window with chamfered limestone jambs and segmental rear arches and from the W and S by similar twin light windows.

Architectural Fragments

The former presence of a cloister is indicated by three moulded limestone bases or capitals. One is placed under the modern cross attached to the south external wall of the tower while the other two are set one above the other high in the S wall of the modern church close to the W side of the tower. A similar base is inserted into the S curtain wall of

Dungarvan castle. A sandstone capital is set into the S wall of the church below the cloister fragments. It may be decorated with stiff leaf foliage in low relief. A sandstone colonette with capital and moulded base is built into the south end of the west wall of the tower close to the ground. It may have been a jamb for a niche/sedilia or perhaps a respond for cloister arcade.

Monuments

McGrath slab. 15th cent.

Limestone. Under the N door in the chancel. Marginal Gothic inscription in false relief:

HIC IACT DONALD MACRAT/ QI OBIIT XXV11 DIE MES MARTI
ANNO DIO MCCCC [septuagesimo]/ ORATE [pro
sibi....]P[ro]PI[cietur deus ...Q

Dims: L. 194 W. 105

FitzGerald 1913-16, 365-7.

Head of a bishop.

Sandstone. Carved on two of the jamb stones of the 2nd window from the south on the west wall of the modern church. The carving is very fresh and may be post 1700 in date.

Heraldic plaque. Prob. 17th cent.

Mounted in the middle of the external west wall of the modern church is a rectangular limestone panel with a heater shaped shield in relief. The shield has an animal in the center between two scallop shells. The animal appears to be

mythological as it has a dog-like head, clawed feet and the mane of a lion.

Dims: H.c.60 W.c.55cm

13. ST BRIGID'S HOSPITAL

Gwynn and Hadcock (1970, 351) note the existence of this hospital but nothing is known of its history. Its site may be indicated by the Civil Survey of 1654 which refers to 'the spittle' located west of three fields which were bounded by the strand to the north, the highway to the south and 'ye castle land' to the east (Simington 1942, 40-1).

14. MISCELLANEOUS

Souterrrain

This was located in the late 70s or early 80s under the Decies Service Station on the Cork road to the SW of St Mary's R.C. church.

16th century window head.

The head of a chamfered twin-light ogee headed limestone window with hollow spandrels is set over a modern holy water piscina in the west wall of St. Augustine's church in St. Augustine St.

Dims: H.37 W.62 D.21

St. Catherine's Well, Abbeyside

This is also called 'Toberacaut' (FitzGerald 1913-6, 367).

St Brigids Well

Located in a marshy field in Fairlane Td. to the north of St. Brigid's Well Brewery. It is encircled by a large stone surround.

Motte "Cromwell's Mount" (Fig. 19)

Flat pudding bowl shaped mound c.9m high, situated NW of the town on high ground, called Gallowshill, with excellent views in all directions. Lewis (1837, i, 580) calls it Cromwell's Mount but although possibly used to mount cannon in the Cromwellian period it was probably originally built as a motte. Traces of a bailey were noted on the NE and some finds of medieval pottery in disturbed contexts discovered when houses were being built on the bailey (Tracey 1983). The mound has basal dimensions of 37m (N-S) by 32m (E-W) and tapers to a slightly oval top measuring 11.5 (N-S) by 9.5 (E-W). There is a ditch on the S and E which is some 7m wide but no trace of the ditch can be seen on the NW. The mound is now in the middle of a housing estate and the NE edge of the mound is only 5.00m away from the houses on that side.

McGrath's Castle, Abbeyside (Fig. 20)

This tower house, now destroyed, is referred to in the Civil Survey of 1654 as a 'smale castle formerly called Mac Craghs Castle wch is stronge and defensible and now possessed by Capn James Oldfield' (Simington 1942, 38). It was described by O'Donovan in 1841 as a 'lofty square building measuring on the outside thirty eight feet from east to west and thirty one feet six inches from north to south and its walls are

well grouted and eight feet in thickness; it is six stories high and had two stone arches supporting two of its floors. The quoin stones are chiselled sand stones and all the windows are narrow and quadrangular and formed of chiselled sandstones. Its east side is destroyed to the ground but the other sides are in good preservation and not less than ninety feet in height' (O.S. Letters Co. Waterford, 90).

15. LIST OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL STRAY FINDS

Sword pommel of deerhorn (Iron Age). From Colligan River. NMI S.A. 1898:2. Raftery 1983, 93.

Hoard of Anglo-Saxon, Hiberno Norse and French coins, deposited c. 1000 A.D. Found at Knockmaon, above Dungarvan harbour. Whereabouts uncertain. Dolley 1966, 57,38.

Settlement finds from Shandon, Dungarvan. NMI 1932; 7022-36: C6:15

Trial-piece with Jellinge decoration. NMI 1947: 237. Ryan 1983, 152.

Coin hoard, English and Scottish, the latest coin being of Henry VI, the latest Scottish of Robert II, found at Dungarvan in 1841. Numismatic Chronicle 1840-41, 194.

Over one hundred silver coins, Anglo-Irish and English, the latest being of Elizabeth (1580) found at Colligan near Dungarvan in 1841. Numismatic Chronicle 4(1841-3), 208; Vol.8, 170 (London); British Numismatic Journal 8(1911),200.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL PROBLEMS AND POTENTIAL

The Problems

Dungarvan is important to archaeological research for two reasons. Firstly because it was the site of a Scandinavian settlement and secondly because of the important Anglo-Norman town which developed there. The Shandon trial-piece and the coin hoard from Knockmaon provide clear evidence for Viking activity at Dungarvan but the nature of the settlement there is unknown. Was it a small town, a village, or simply a group of farmsteads? The actual location of the Viking settlement itself is not properly established. The Shandon trial piece and the settlement finds from there which are in the National Museum of Ireland may indicate that the original Viking settlement was outside the town to the north. On the other hand the evidence from virtually all other Viking settlement sites in Ireland shows a continuity into Anglo-Norman times. For this reason one would expect that the modern town occupies the site of the Viking settlement.

There is no doubt about the location of the Anglo-Norman town of Dungarvan and it is clear that the core of the medieval town still survives within the present town. Archaeologically Anglo-Norman Dungarvan is important as an example of an average sized medieval port and market town. Larger towns, such as Cork and Dublin, have been the subject of detailed archaeological and historical research but little is known of the smaller, more typical, towns. It is a good

example of an Anglo-Norman town, with a linear street plan and with much of its burgage plot pattern still distinguishable. Archaeologically, the early years of the town's growth in Anglo-Norman times are of particular importance because these provide the key to understanding the manner in which the settlement grew, whether on virgin soil or by adapting to a pre-existing Viking settlement. The thirteenth century was evidently a period of considerable prosperity and it is likely that this will be reflected in surviving archaeological deposits.

The medieval street pattern still survives, based on Parnell St, Castle St, and Quay St with the little lanes running back from it to the site of the former town wall. This is a pattern which should be maintained and not interfered with if at all possible.

Out of the many thousands of houses that were built over the centuries in Dungarvan only two survive from the period prior to 1700, one in Castle St, the other, known as "Barry's Stores", at the corner of Church St and Quay St. Both of these were in poor condition at the time of inspection but "Barry's Stores" is being sympathetically renovated at present and its medieval features are being retained. Stone-built houses, like these, were probably rare in medieval and seventeenth century times but it is to be expected that the wooden foundations of the more common timber dwellings will be preserved in places across the town.

The port area of the medieval town was presumably sited

in the sheltered harbour just north of the castle. It is quite possible that archaeological deposits containing remnants of wharves and quays, similar to those found at Dublin and Drogheda, survive here.

There is no trace of the town defences today although eighteenth century maps clearly indicate their former course. The course outlined above needs to be checked and it should also to be borne in mind that the medieval defences may have been larger than that shown on Frozell's map. The basis of this suspicion lies in the strange exclusion of the parish church from the walled area of the town. This is a very unusual practice in medieval Ireland.

Dungarvan was the site of an important seigneurial castle throughout the Middle Ages. It was one of a handful of royal castles in medieval Ireland and substantial parts of this major thirteenth century building still survive.

The ruins of St. Mary's, the old parish church of Dungarvan, today constitute little more than a curiosity. In the Middle Ages, however, it was one of the major parish churches in County Waterford. It evidently had an extensive churchyard because the vicar there, in 1537, built 20 houses within it. It may well be that the churchyard extended across the area known as The Park to the sea on the east. The fact that the Augustinian Friary was constructed in Abbeyside rather than in the area of Grattan Square is interesting. It suggests that there was a suburb on the east side of the estuary by the end of the thirteenth century. The

architectural features and size form only one aspect of religious houses, however, and the excavation of the medieval cemetery, which has have been attached to the friary or the parish church, would provide otherwise unobtainable information about health, disease, diet and mortality rates.

Archaeological Potential

Archaeology does not consist solely of excavation nor does it stop at ground level. The archaeological evidence for Dungarvan's past comprises all the physical remains of man's activities on the site of the town, from Scandinavian times until the present day. The 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 Dungarvan but for the wide range of human activity omitted from the written accounts and for the early periods when documentation is slight 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 town has been the scene of human activity from the eleventh century.

The standing buildings of pre-1700 date comprise the castle, the gable of St. Mary's, the Augustinian friary at Abbeyside, and two domestic houses. Otherwise the destruction of buildings above ground has been total. Archaeological deposits are likely to survive, nonetheless, particularly behind the street frontages.

ARCHAEOLOGY, PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT

It is evident from the foregoing that archaeology is an important means of learning about Dungarvan's 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 Dungarvan's 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. 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

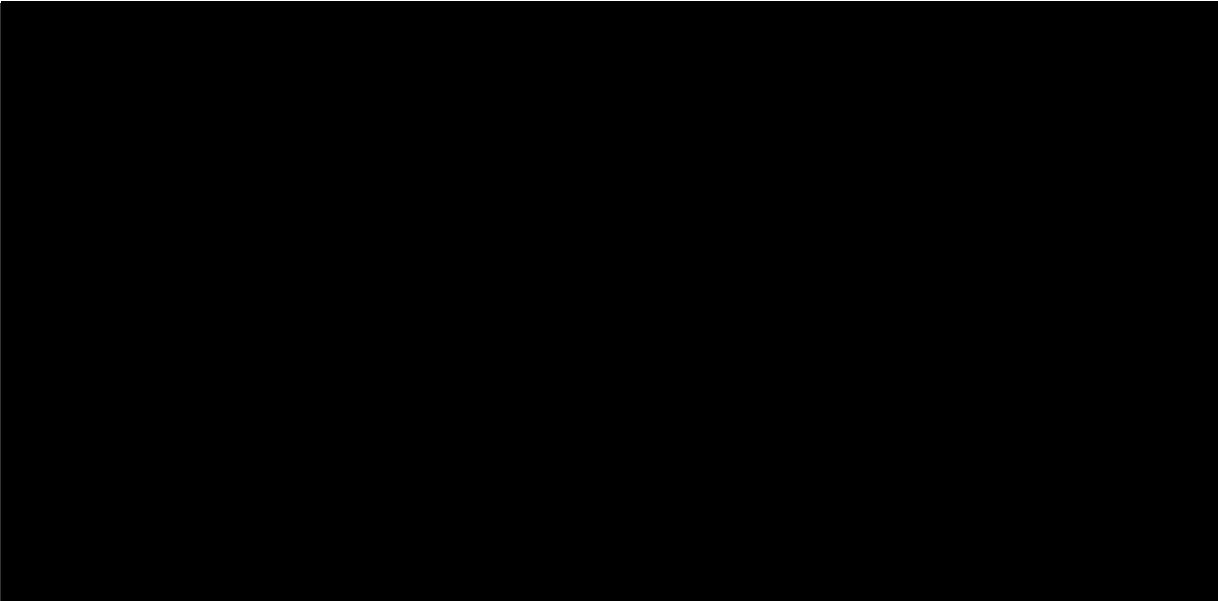
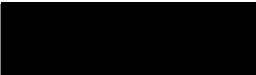
best achieved by making the realisation of Dungarvan's archaeological potential one of the objectives of its development plan. The objective may then be achieved by judicious use of planning constraints and by conditions attached to planning consents.

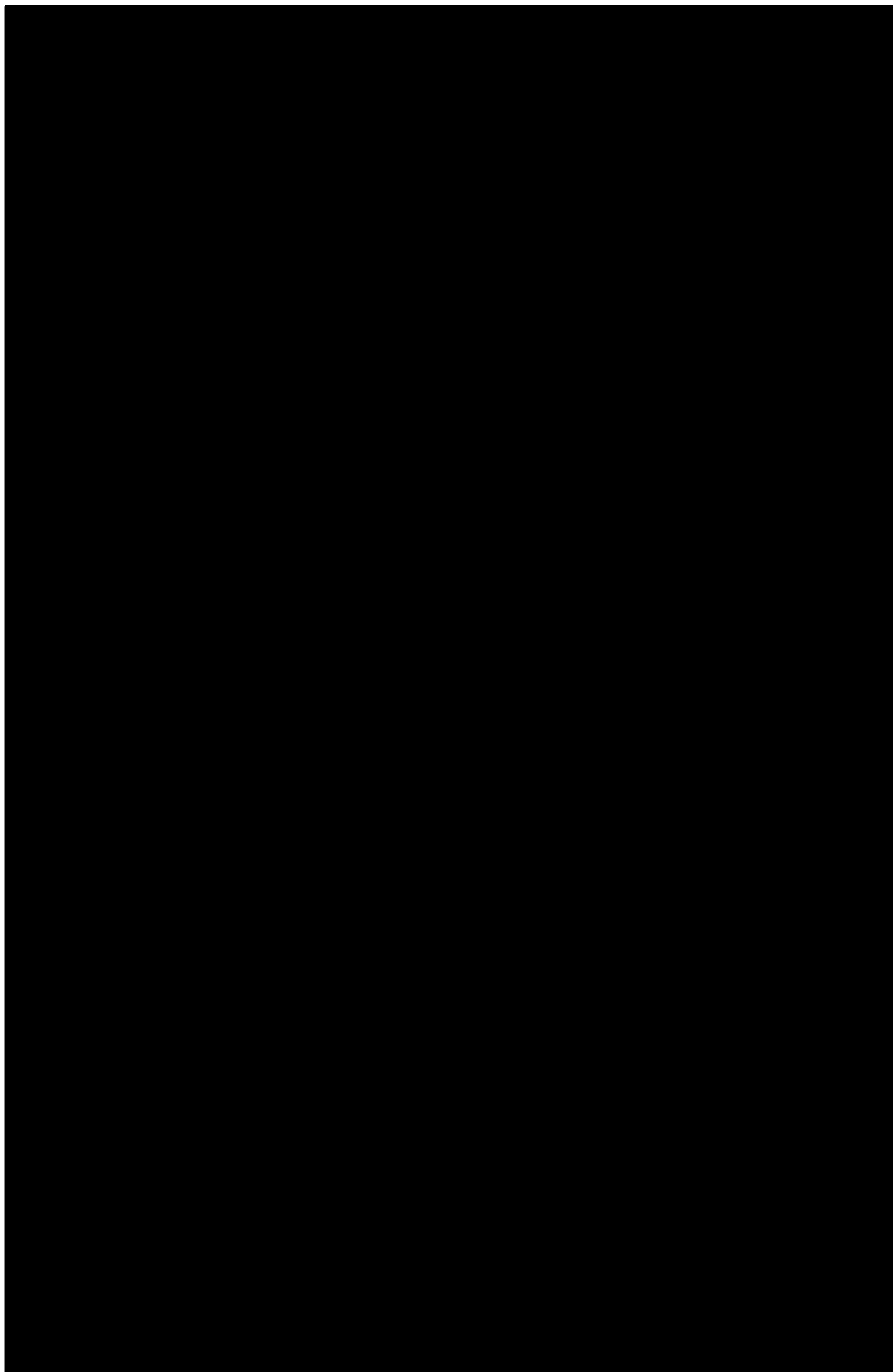
Area of Archaeological Potential

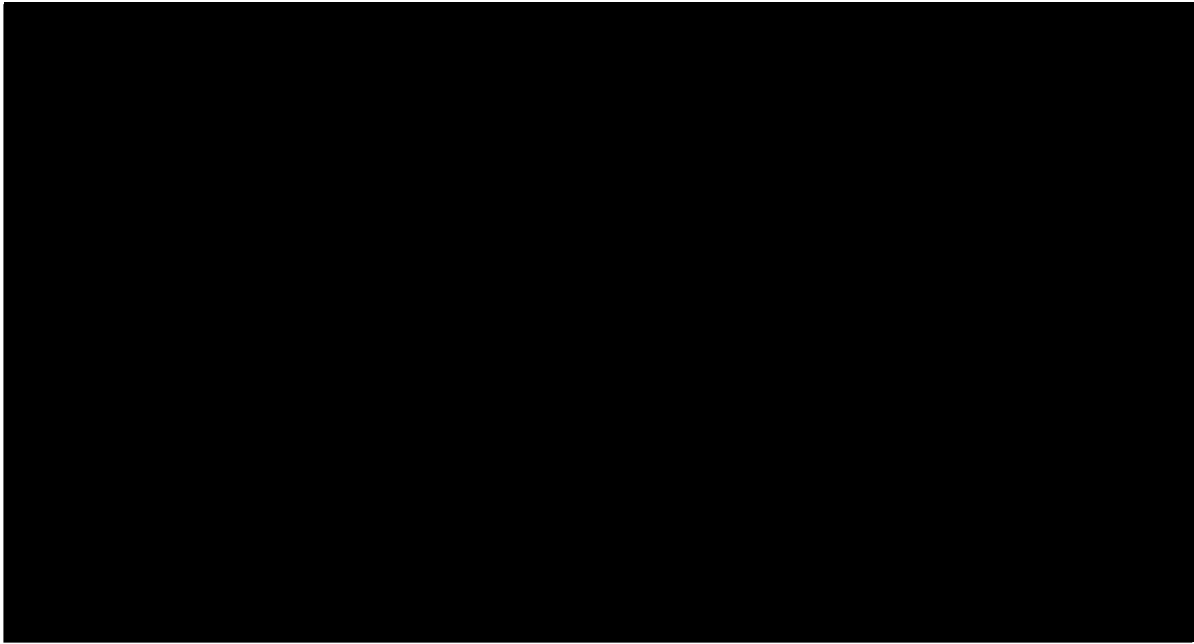
The shaded portion of the accompanying map (Fig. 2a) delimits the area of archaeological potential within modern Dungarvan. This comprises primarily the area of the medieval town, to the east of Grattan Square and an area around the Castle and Augustinian Friary in Abbeyside. West of the town, between Grattan Square and Gallowshill, a large area has been shaded because of the possibility of finding (1) early settlement associated with the motte, (2) possible Scandinavian settlement, or perhaps even (3) prehistoric evidence associated with the N-S ridge running to the west of the motte at Gallowshill ("Cromwell's Mount") which Tracey (1983, 9-10) has suggested may be an enclosing rampart cutting off the entire promontory of Dungarvan. Within this area, west of Grattan Square, it is appropriate to conduct simple watching briefs when the occasion arises. North of the town an area in Shandon has also been shaded because of the possibility of discovering here the remains of the Viking settlement from which the fine bone trial piece, now in the National Museum of Ireland, is derived. Within this area, also, simple watching briefs are the most appropriate means of dealing with potential archaeology unless a large

industrial or commercial project, disturbing much ground, is envisaged. In that case it would be more appropriate to follow the procedure recommended for the medieval town.

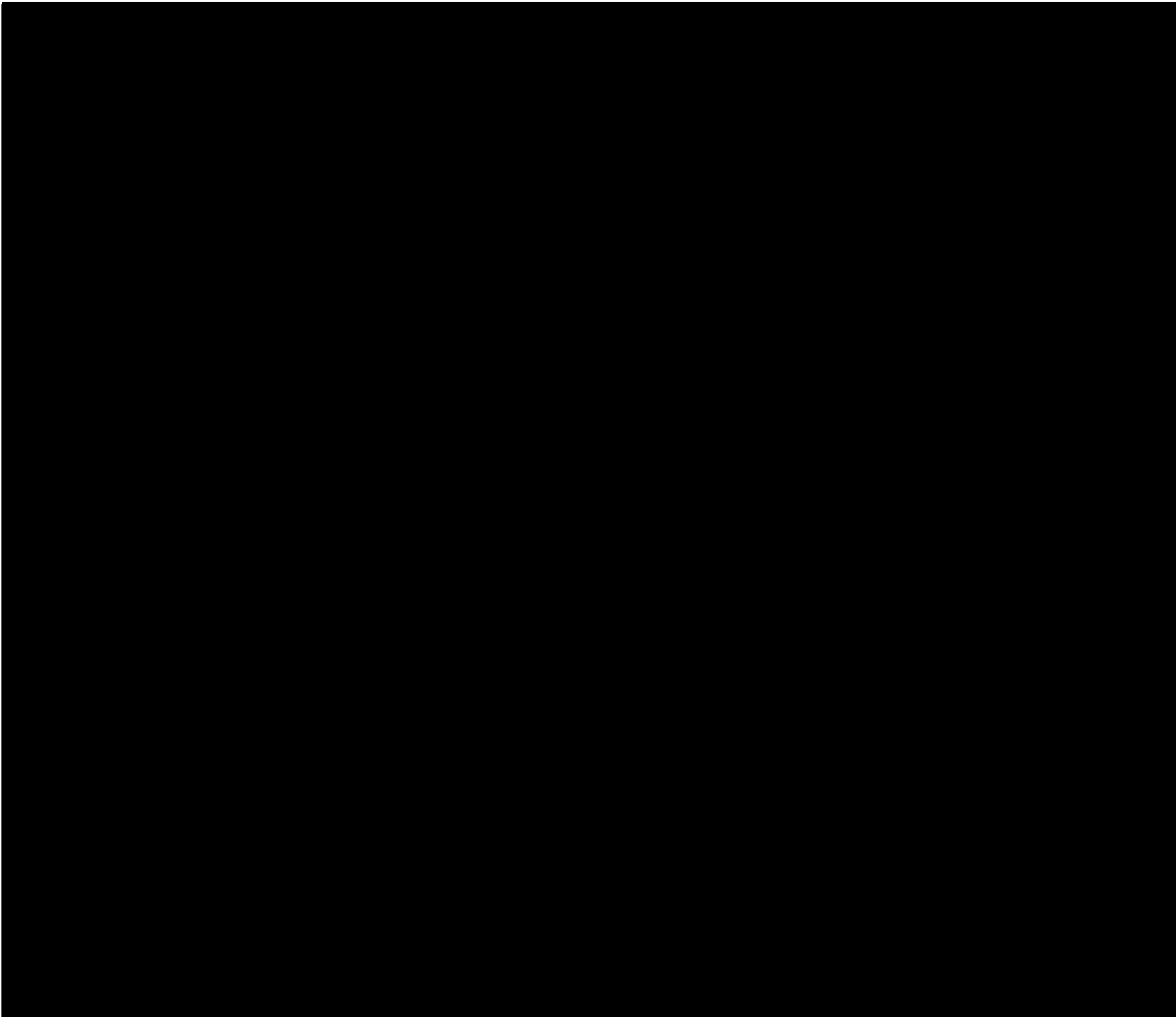
In the area of the medieval town, east of Grattan St, the main disturbance to archaeological deposits has occurred along the street frontage as a result of the rebuilding of houses here in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Elsewhere, however, deposits are likely to survive and there is the strong likelihood of recovering house foundations, sections of the town wall, refuse pits, industrial areas, and workshops of medieval and seventeenth century date. In recent times the simple greatest threat to the archaeology of Dungarvan has come from pipelaying along Church St and it is proposed to continue this in Parnell St and Friary St. This work should reveal evidence of former street surfaces in addition to artefacts.

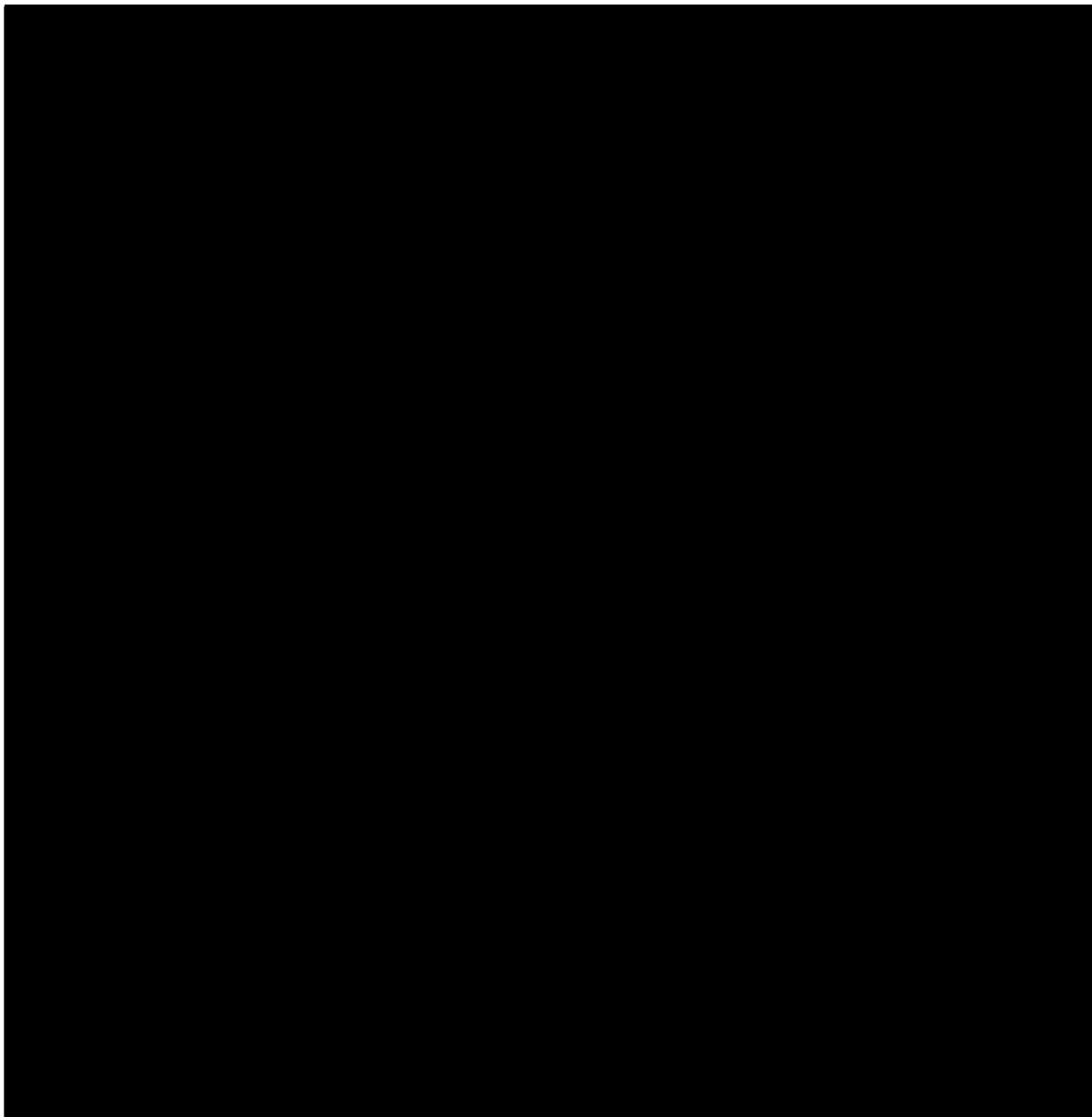






[REDACTED]





KILMEADAN

The townland of Kilmeadan is located on low-lying ground overlooking the river Suir, some six miles west of Waterford city. The name comes from Cill Mhiadain, apparently derived from a church connected with Ide or Ita (Power 1952, 370) but O'Donovan could find no record of such a church, nor indeed of the saint (O.S. Letters Co. Waterford, 52).

ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

In the medieval period Kilmeadan was the site of a borough which received a charter from Henry III (1216-72) granting it the laws of Bristol, of more likely Breteuil. This emerges from a remarkable petition of the burgesses of Kilmeadan dating to the reign of Edward I (1272-1307) in which they seek a new charter because the original one had accidentally been eaten by a pig! (Sweetman 1875-86iii, No.1179). It would thus appear that Kilmeadan was originally part of the Royal demesne, but, at some later date it must have been granted to John FitzThomas FitzGerald, because an inquisition taken on the latter's death in 1282 includes the manor of 'Kilmidan' with 100l yearly, among his possessions; it also notes that after John's death Prince Edward granted Kilmeadon to Walter de la Haye (Mills 1914, 297-8) and this probably took place in 1285, when Walter was granted free warren in his demesne lands of 'Kilmydan' together with a

weekly market there (Sweetman 1875-86, iii, No 131). The borough continued to function into the early years of the fourteenth century; in 1300 'Kilmydan' was one of the towns and boroughs which granted a subsidy (in this case 100s) to the king for the Scottish wars (Mills 1905, 304,; Berry 1907, 231) while in 1305 the community of the burgesses brought an unsuccessful case claiming exemption from service in juries and assizes (Mills 1914, 2-3). Thereafter nothing more is known of the borough, or of how long it survived.

The manor was stated to have been granted by Walter de la Haye to Herberd de Mareys in 1306 (Mills 1914, 297-98), but seems to have passed into the hands of the Poer family by 1328, when Clyn recorded the death of John, son of Benedict le Poer 'lord of Rahtgormocke and Kylmyden' (Butler 1849, 19). It remained in Poer hands for the remainder of the Middle Ages and John Poer, for instance, is referred to as 'lord of Kylmydan' in 1487 (Curtis 1933-43, 261, No. 271).

The Civil Survey of 1654 noted of Kilmeadan that 'this towne hath the Royalties of a Courte Leete and Courte Barron with other priviledges accustomed to a Mannor And was enjoyed by John Power of Dunhill Esq.' (Simington 1942, 138). The castle of Kilmeadan was apparently destroyed by Cromwell in 1649 and the manor given to planters, eventually passing to the Ottrington family (Rylands 1824, 76-77; Ainsworth and MacLysaght 1958, 86). The Census of Ireland of 1659 returned a population of 62 for Kilmeadan (Pender 1939, 345).

ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVENTORY

1. SITE OF BOROUGH
2. INDUSTRIAL AREAS
3. CASTLE
4. PARISH CHURCH OF ST.MARY

1. SITE OF BOROUGH

The castle of Kilmeadan is located on flat ground on the west bank of the Suir while the church is on high ground over half a mile away to the west. It is likely that there were two areas of occupation here, one located close to the castle on the banks of the Suir and the other centred on the church, the bridge of Kilmeadan and the mill race on the river Dawn.

2. INDUSTRIAL AREAS

In 1700 John Otterington leased to Stephen Worthevale 'the grist mill of Killmeadane' (Ainsworth and Mac Lysaght 1958, 86). This mill may well have had a medieval origin. At least three mills are shown on the 1st ed. of the O.S. map including tuck mills and an 'old' mill at the southern end of the disused mill race. The latter mill may have been that leased by Stephen Worthevale. No surviving traces remain of these mills.

3. CASTLE (Fig. 22-3)

Cromwell is said to have destroyed the Poer's castle at Kilmeadan in 1649 (Ryland 1824, 76-7). This castle was apparently replaced by 'the mansion house of Killmeadane' referred to in Otterington's lease of 1700 (Ainsworth and Mac Lysaght 1958, 86), later known as 'Old Court' (Power 1952, 370). Smith (1746, 95) stated that 'Kilmeaden-house is built upon the foundation of an antient castle, which was boldly erected on the bank of the river Suir' and in 1841 O'Donovan noted 'the ruins of an old mansion called the Old Court, to which there was a castle attached' (O.S. Letters, Co. Waterford, 52).

Three fragmentary walls of a narrow three storied tower stand on a stepped plinth on the west bank of the river Suir. It is built of rubble masonry and there are no dressed stones or dateable features. Its size suggests that it was a corner tower of a larger structure and the ground to the south, west and north has a series of earthworks with no definite pattern but which may represent fallen masonry. The walls, which were plastered externally and internally, stand to a max. height of c.9m. The east wall has slight remains of splayed windows on each floor. To the south is a sunken platform revetted on the north and west by a stone wall which may have formed part of an ornamental garden.

4. PARISH CHURCH OF ST.MARY

This church is first attested in 1275-6 (Hogan 1930, 181) and the dedication to the Blessed Virgin Mary is recorded in 1459 (Twemlow 1921, 379). The advowson of the church was noted as belonging to the Crown in 1291 (Sweetman 1875-86, iii, No.831) and 1292 (ibid No. 1053), but in 1300 in a dispute between the King and the parson of Kilmeadan, judgement was given that the parson had the right of presenting to the vicarage (Mills 1905, 313-4). In the ecclesiastical taxation of 1302-6 the church and vicarage were valued at 21 marks 12s (Sweetman 1875-86v, 304). The church was united to the capitular mensa of the diocese of Waterford in 1459 (Twemlow 1921, 379). Power (1894-8, 171) stated that 'a fragment of the western gable ... stood to the right of the present pathway to the church, not far from the entrance gate' while Mulholland (1980, 46) suggests that the modern church incorporates fragments of the medieval building. There is no trace of the fragment mentioned by Power and as the church was redecorated in 1979 no trace of stonework can now be seen.

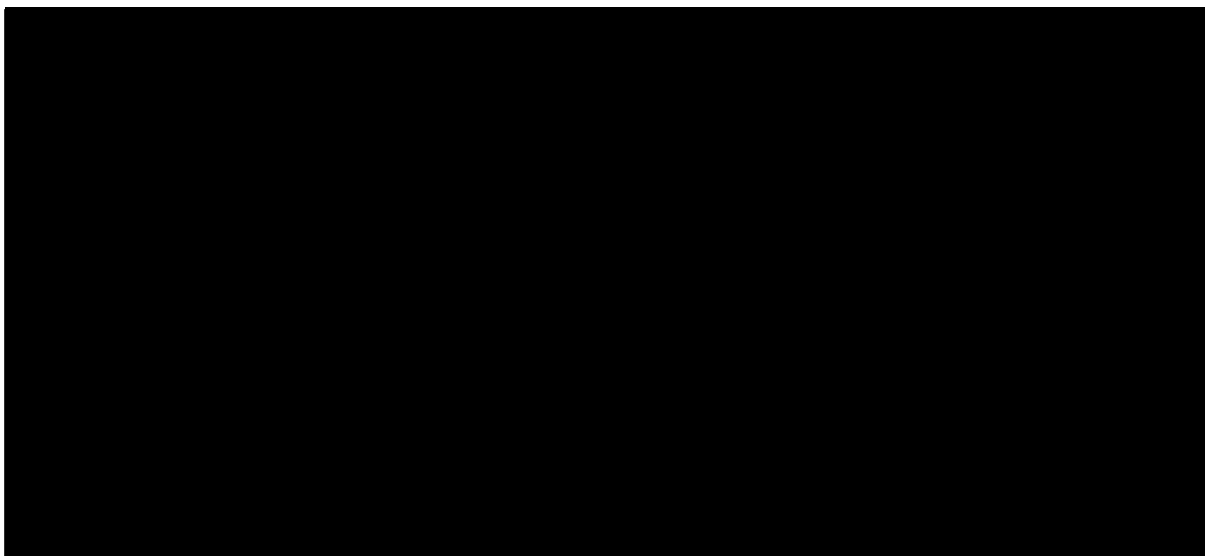
ARCHAEOLOGICAL PROBLEMS AND POTENTIAL

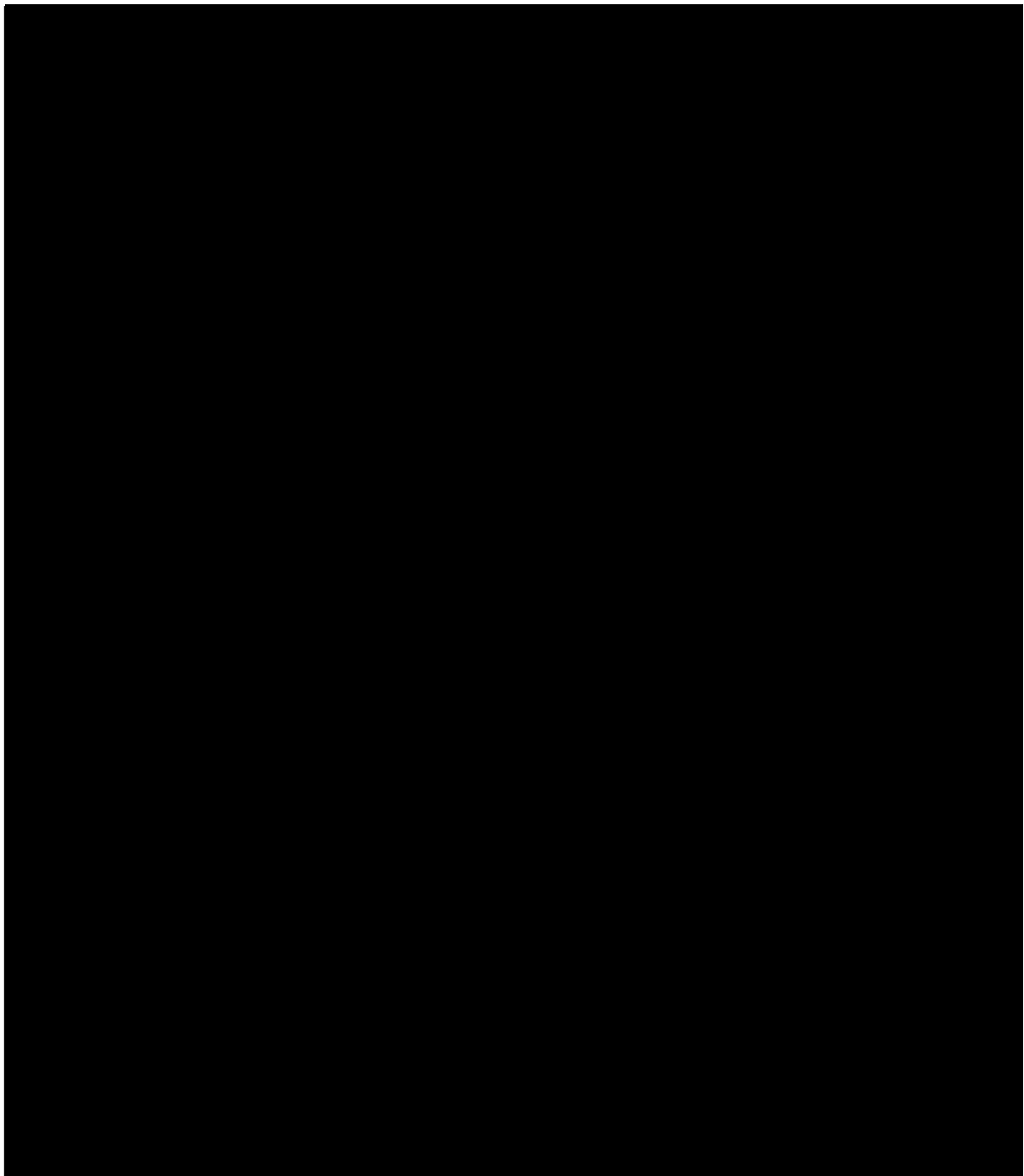
Kilmeadan, like Affane, is an example of a deserted medieval borough. The archaeological and documentary data indicates that the borough was the scene of human occupation during the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries.

Documentary records of the site are relatively few, however, and in the future archaeological excavation is likely to be the principal means by which additional knowledge of its past can be obtained. Due to its relatively isolated situation the disturbance of archaeological deposits has been limited but the cutting of the railway line through the site of the castle and close to the site of the medieval church must have damaged deposits along its route.

Area of Archaeological Potential

The shaded portion of the accompanying map (Fig. 21) delimits the area of archaeological potential within Kilmeadan. Its extent is based on the likely location of the borough around the old parish church and the castle. In the absence of archaeological excavations nothing can be said about the depth of archaeological deposits.





KINSALEBEG

Kinsalebeg survives today not as the name of a townland but as a parish occupying the the extreme south-east corner of the county. It is situated at the head of Youghal Bay where the River Blackwater enters the sea and directly opposite the town of Youghal. The name, Ceann tSaile ('the head of the tide') is derived from its siting and the suffix beag was added to distinguish it from Kinsale, Co. Cork (Power 1952, 95).

ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

In the medieval period, Kinsalebeg was the site of a borough, which formed part of the manor of Inchiquin (O'Brien 1982, 23, 24: map). The manor was granted to the FitzGeralds by Robert Fitzstephen in the late twelfth century (ibid, 21). It passed to Thomas de Clare on his marriage to Juliana, daughter of Maurice FitzGerald, in 1275, and eventually to Giles de Badlesmere, heir of the de Clares after the extermination of the male line in the early fourteenth century (ibid 22). O'Brien (1982, 22) suggests, however, that the manor was effectively held by Maurice FitzThomas, 1st earl of Desmond, between 1321 and 1346. An Inquisition taken in 1348, after the death of Giles de Badlesmere, noted twenty-four burgages held by twenty-four burgesses, and rendering 34s 4d yearly to the lord of the manor of Inchiquin

at 'Kynsall' (Kinsalebeg) along with 'pleas and perquisites of the hundred extended at 12d yearly and a ferry over the water at 34s 4d' (PRO 1916, 131). The manor was subsequently partitioned between Giles' four sisters and Kinsalebeg passed to John, son of Giles' sister Margaret, and John, Lord Tiptoft. At this date the burgages of Kinsalebeg were said to be waste, and yielded nothing (O'Brien 1982, 23). In 1368 the manor was divided between William of Windsor and the Earl of Ormond (ibid 23) and in 1392-3 it was noted that William had up to his death, been seized of half the burgages of 'Kynsale' (Graves 1877, 326). Whether this indicates that the borough was still functioning at this date is unclear, but it is the last known reference to the borough.

Circa 1408 Kinsalebeg in its entirety was granted to James, son and heir of the earl of Ormond (Curtis 1933-43, iv, 178: No 218; O'Brien 1982, 23) but the manor of Inchiquin, presumably including Kinsalebeg, was acquired from the Butlers by the earls of Desmond between 1429 and 1462 (O'Brien 1982, 23).

Practically nothing is known of the post-medieval history of Kinsalebeg. The Census of Ireland of 1659 returned populations of six for 'Kinsalebegg' townland, and fifty-eight for 'Pilltowne' townland (Pender 1939, 333), while in 1654 the Civil Survey had noted that 'the Mannor of Pilltowne hath ye priviledge of a Courte Leete and a Courte Barron being ye propty of Sr Nicholas Welsh aforesaid and possessed by ye Earle of Corcke' (Simington 1942, 31). When

the Manor of Pilltown was established at Kinsalebeg, and how it came into the hands of the Walsh family are not known.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVENTORY

1. SITE OF BOROUGH
2. MILL
3. FERRY
4. CASTLE
5. PARISH CHURCH OF ST MARY.
6. ST BARTHOLOMEWS WELL

1. SITE OF BOROUGH

The settlement here was probably located in one of two areas, either close to the site of the castle and mill in Pilltown or centred on the church and the ferry point in Prospecthall Td. There are no visible earthworks in either area but a sherd of medieval pottery was picked up in the field west of the castle at Pilltown.

2. MILL

The Civil Survey of 1654 noted 'a mill worth £10 by ye yeare in Pilltown townland' (Simington 1942, 30). There is a disused corn mill in Pilltown which may be on the site of the medieval mill.

3. FERRY

The antiquity of the ferry crossing is evident fromt the reference to a ferry at Kinsalebeg in 1348 (PRO 1916, 131). It was presumably located at Ferry Point in Prospecthall Td. (Power 1952, 99).

4. CASTLE

In 1654 the Civil Survey noted 'an old battered castle with a large baune' in Pilltown townland (Simington 1942, 30). The site of a castle is marked on O.S. sheet 37 but there is no evidence for a structure there now.

South of the castle site are the remains of a large bawn. The enclosing walls run down to the estuary and the remains of a building, with two vaulted chambers, are centrally located within it. It may date from the late seventeenth century.

5. PARISH CHURCH OF ST MARY

The earliest reference to this church occurs in the ecclesiastical taxation of 1302-6, where the church of 'Kynsale' was valued at 121 (Sweetman 1875-86, v, 305). The dedication to the Blessed Virgin Mary is recorded in 1470 (Twemlow 1933, 794), although in 1841 O'Donovan, in noting St. Bartholomew's well, suggested that Bartholomew was the original patron of the parish. The church was noted as a perpetual vicarage in 1403 (Bliss and Twemlow 1904, 595), and

in 1470 a papal indulgence was granted to aid the repair of the church; the text of this indulgence stated that the church was:

'notable among the parish churches of those parts, that therein there were many magnates and noble parishioners, that it was decently and honourable built, and that it was provided with pavements and other ornaments'
(Twemlow 1933, 794)

This would suggest a church of some wealth and prestige but yet it seems to have been a chapel of Dungarvan by 1537 (Vesey 1765, i, 166-8) and certainly was by 1551 (8 RDKPRI 112: No 812). Its absorption into Dungarvan possibly followed in the wake of the takeover of Kinsalebeg by the earls of Desmond around the middle of the 15th century.

By 1746 it was noted that 'the church... though not long since roofed, is going (for want of repair) into decay (Smith 1746, 73), although it is not clear whether this referred to the medieval church or a later building. Power (1894-8, 200) located the medieval church just to the north of the modern church but no trace of it now survives.

Monuments

Elizabeth Lancaster. 17th cent.

This slab was noted at the SE angle of the present church. It has a blank shield in the centre of the slab and a marginal inscription in Roman capitals:

SVB HOC MARMORE IACET SEPVLTVS CO/ RPVS ELIZABETHAE
PVDICAE CARAE VXORIS [IOHANNIS LANCA]STER PRAECENTs
LISMORENs/ FILIA EDWARDI HARRIS AEQVITIS/ AVRATI VNIVS
IVSTICIARII DNI REGIS/ CAPITALIS PLACII HIBERNIE, QVAE
OBIT 8 NOVEMBRIS....

Coleman 1913-16, 371.

6. ST BARTHOLOMEWS WELL

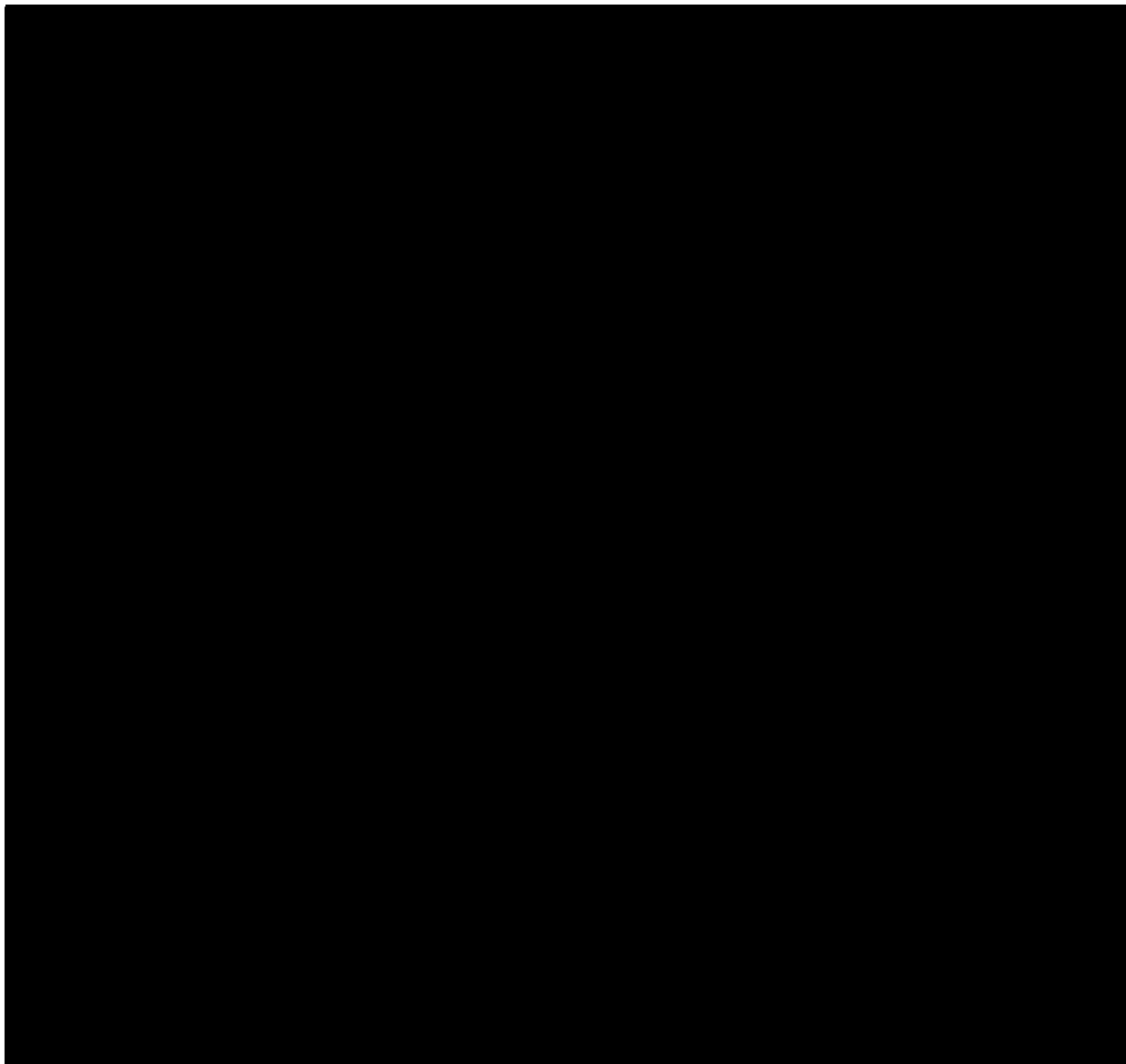
This is located on low-lying ground beside the estuary in Moore Td. to the NE of Prospecthall and about halfway between the church and the site of the castle. It has a stone built surround with stone seats on one side and a niche over the well with a modern metal cross inscribed St. Bartholomew.

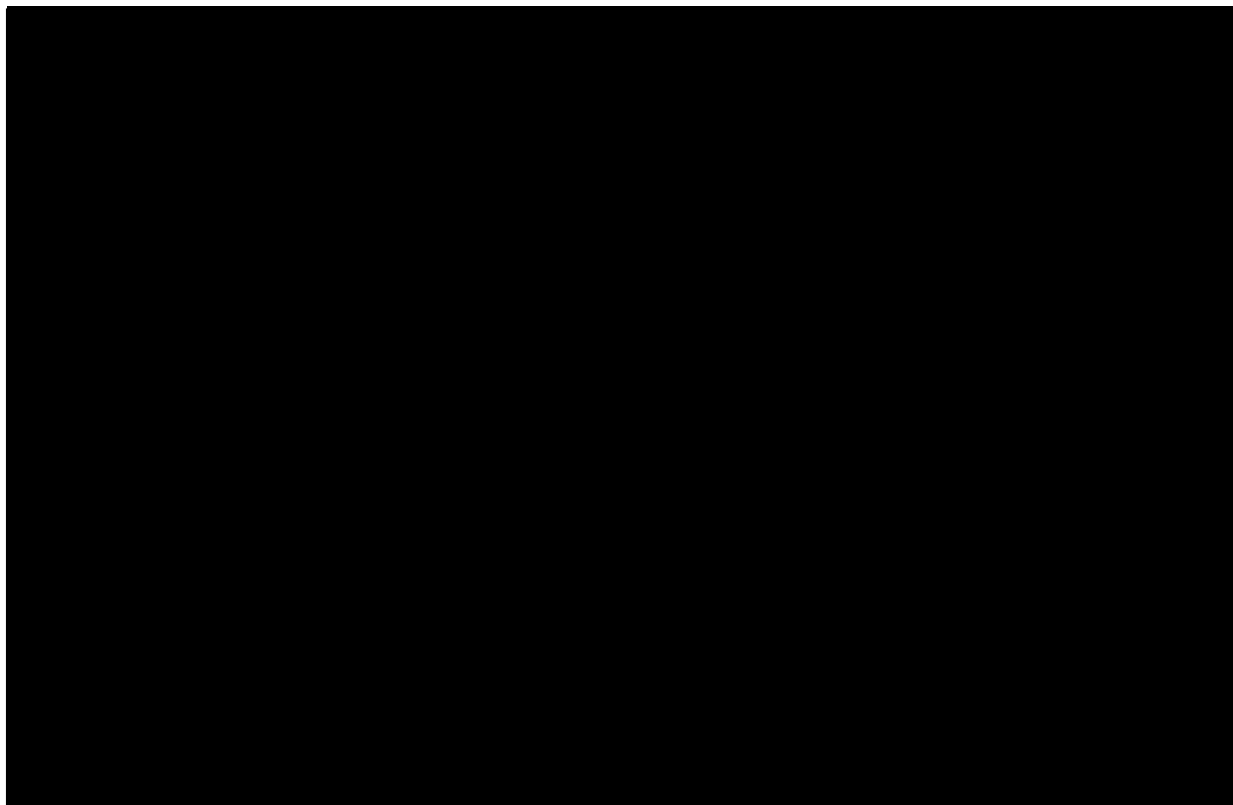
ARCHAEOLOGICAL PROBLEMS AND POTENTIAL

Kinsalebeg, like Kilmeadan and Affane, is an example of a deserted medieval borough. The archaeological and documentary data indicates that the borough was the scene of human occupation during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Documentary records of the site are relatively few, however, and in the future archaeological excavation is likely to be the principal means by which additional knowledge of its past can be obtained.

Area of Archaeological Potential

The shaded portion of the accompanying map (Fig. 24) delimits the area of archaeological potential within Kinsalebeg. Its extent is based on the likely location of the borough around the site of the castle. In the absence of archaeological excavations nothing can be said about the depth of archaeological deposits.





LISMORE

The town of Lismore is situated on the river Blackwater at the foot of the Knockmealdown mountains, in west County Waterford, at the point where the main road from Waterford to Fermoy crosses the Blackwater. The name is derived from Lios Mor ("the great fort").

ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Lismore was the site of an important early monastery, founded by Carthach or Mo-chuda on his expulsion from Rahan, Co. Offaly in 636 (Gwynn and Hadcock 1970, 91; AI sub 638). The recorded deaths of the abbots Iarnlach, in 700 (AU sub 699) and Colman, son of Fionnbharr, in 703 (AU sub 702; Radner 1978, 51) provide early evidence for the functioning of the monastery. The Annals of Inisfallen record the deaths of many abbots and coarbs of Lismore from Colman Ua Litain (d. 730) to Gilla Mo-Chutu Ua Rebachain (d. 1129) while three bishops are noted prior to the synod of Rathbreasail in 1111: Ronan in 763, Cormac mac Cuilennan in 920 and Cinead O Con Minn in 958.

Gwynn and Hadcock (1970, 91) describe Lismore as 'one of the great religious centres of Ireland from an early date', and this view is supported by frequent annalistic references. The frequency of Viking raids provide a further indication of Lismore's importance. It was plundered or burned in 833 (AI;

AU sub 832) 867 (AI; Todd 1867, 33) 883 (AI; Todd 1867, 29), 915 (Chron. Scot., sub 914; AFM sub 913) and, presumably by Vikings, in 978 (AU). In 987 Brian Boruma 'took the hostages of Les Mor' in a hosting (AI); Gwynn and Hadcock (1970, 91) interpret this as the establishment of control over the monastery by Brian Boruma, and Lismore probably remained largely under Ui Briain control until the early twelfth century when the Mac Carthaig also figured as patrons (Byrne 1987, 29). In 1093 Muirchertach O Briain, king of Munster, made peace with his brother Diarmait and entered into a covenant with him before the nobles of Munster and over some relics specially brought from Armagh, at Lismore (Gwynn and Hadcock 1970, 91), while in 1116 Muirchertach himself on being struck with disease, seems to have entered the monastic community of Lismore (ibid). This was echoed in 1127 when Cormac Mac Carthaig, on being deposed as king of Desmond, retired to Lismore where he is said to have built twelve churches (O hInnse 1947, 17, 27, sub 1126). In 1165 Toirrdelbach O'Briain, king of Thomond, on being deposed by his son, came 'to the house of Diarmaid son of Cormac [Mac Carthaigh] at Lismore' to seek help (O hInnse 1947, 43, sub 1164; AI). This involvement in secular politics no doubt benefitted Lismore greatly, but it also had its drawbacks, such as in 1121 when the monastery was plundered by Toirrdelbach Ua Conchobair, king of Connacht (AI; AU). It is likely also that some of the burnings of Lismore recorded in 1095 (AFM), 1113 (AI), 1116 (AFM; AU; A.Conn), 1125 (AI), 1135 (O hInnse 1947, 25), 1138 (AFM; A.Conn.), 1152 (O

h-Innse 1947, 35) and 1157 (O h-Innse 1947, 39; AFM) were related to Lismore's political involvement.

At the synod of Rathbreasail in 1111 the diocese of Lismore or Waterford was established. Gwynn and Hadcock (1970, 91) suggest that the importance given to Waterford in the new diocesan arrangements may have been due, in part, to the continuing survival of a monastic tradition at Lismore. Nevertheless, the deaths of bishops of Lismore are recorded in 1113 and 1119 (AI) while Maol Iosa O hAinmire, bishop of Waterford and Lismore, died at Lismore in 1135 (AFM; A. Tig.). From the later twelfth until the mid fourteenth century Lismore was a separate diocese from Waterford. The bishop of Lismore from 1152, Christian O Conairche, was Papal legate and under his auspices a major synod of the bishops of southern Ireland was held at Lismore in 1166 (A.I).

The importance of Lismore was reflected in the buildings of the monastery. A stone church (daim liac) is referred to in 1051 (AI; AU) while the account of the synod of 1166 states that the assembled bishops blessed the church ('tempul') at Lismore (AI). This indicates the consecration of a new cathedral presumably the great church (Teampull Mor) of Lismore referred to in 1173 (O h-Innse 1947, 59, sub 1174). It is clear from contemporary and later sources that there were several churches in Lismore and tradition puts the figure at at least twenty (Smith 1746, 53). In 1157 both the houses (teagh) and the churches of Lismore were burned (O h-Innse 1947, 39) and in 1207 the burning of Lismore 'with

its churches' is recorded (AI). There are also indications of a substantial shrine or mausoleum. In 1129, on the death of Cellach, archbishop of Armagh, at Ardpatrick, Co. Limerick, his body was brought to Lismore and buried i n-ailaidh in [n]a n-espcop, 'in the tomb of the bishops' (AU; A. Conn). No trace of these early churches and buildings survives although Flood (1898, 236) stated less than a century ago that the field to the left (i.e. north ?) of the avenue leading to Lismore Castle was known as 'the relic', i.e. reilig and presumably marked the position of a church site. Power (1952, 51) identified this as Reilig Mhuire, St Mary's Church. Flood (1898, 236) also noted that bones were found in 1891 in 'the spot now called the 'New Walk'...especially... outside the gateway leading to Lismore Villa' as well as the existence of two beehive chambers, one in the Grove and the other 'near the Cathedral on the banks of the Blackwater' (Flood 1899, 17-18).

Because of the importance of Bishop O'Conairche as papal legate, Lismore was closely involved in the events of the Anglo-Norman invasion and in 1171 Henry II visited the legate there (Gwynn and Hadcock 1970, 92). In 1173, however, Lismore was attacked and plundered by Anglo-Norman forces under Raymond le Gros and a tribute of 1,000 marks was levied on the bishop (O h'Innse 1947, 59, sub 1174; Scott and Martin 1978, 137). The Anglo-Normans plundered Lismore again in 1178 (O h-Innse 1947, 67) and its importance declined greatly after the resignation of Bishop O'Conairche in 1179 (Gwynn and Hadcock 1970, 92). In the early thirteenth century,

indeed, the diocese of Lismore was threatened with annexation by the bishops of Waterford and the dioceses were eventually united in 1363.

From the late twelfth century there was a manor and vill at Lismore of which the bishops were lords (Sweetman 1875-86, ii, 236). The reference to Lismore's marketplace in a document dating to between 1179 and 1189 (Gilbert 1889, 213) probably indicates that the pre-Norman monastery also had a secular settlement associated with it. A borough was clearly in existence at Lismore in the late 16th century and most likely it was established in the late twelfth or thirteenth century. Because of the scarcity of information on Anglo-Norman Lismore, however, it is impossible to trace the origins of the borough precisely.

There is an almost total lack of information on Lismore between the thirteenth and early sixteenth centuries but post-medieval documents provide information on the borough which presumably reflects conditions existing there in the medieval period. The earliest evidence for the borough occurs in a document of 1565 which refers to 'a house and garden called Loutaghs burgage' (Ainsworth and MacLysaght 1958, 92). In 1605 it was noted that the town had a weekly market and two annual three-day fairs, and that 'the provost of the town ... was annually elected by the Lord of the manor from among the burgesses' (Ir. Rec. Comm. 1830, 66: No xliii).

Both the castle and the cathedral were seriously damaged during the Desmond rebellion of 1579 and it is likely that

the borough also suffered. In 1590 the bishop granted the manor of Lismore to Sir Walter Raleigh (Erck 1846-52, i, 298) but following his attainder for treason the manor was granted, in 1604, to Sir Richard Boyle, later earl of Cork (Ir. Rec. Comm. 1830, 41: No xxi). It was to remain in the hands of the Boyles, and of their heirs, the Dukes of Devonshire, until modern times. The borough clearly continued to function under Boyle's patronage. In 1621, for instance, his diary noted a jury at a trial being composed of 'the best burgesses of Lismoor' (Grosart 1886, ii, 8) while the portreeve or provost of the town is referred to in 1643 (ibid v, 227). The latter reference occurs in an account of an attack on the town by Confederate forces who, according to Boyle, 'entred the town of Lismoor, burnt moste of the thatched howses and cabbens in the town, even to the owt gate of my castle...burnt my Almes howses; killed...about sixty of my irishe tenants .. and hurte many more' (ibid v, 227). Presumably the town suffered further damage in the Confederate's unsuccessful seige of 1645, which left the castle in ruins. The 1659 Census of Ireland returned a population of 156 for Lismore (Pender 1939. 340).

ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVENTORY

1. SITE OF BOROUGH
2. MARKET PLACE
3. DOMESTIC HOUSES
4. FREESCHOOL AND ALMSHOUSES
5. INDUSTRIAL AREAS.
6. CASTLE
7. ST CARTHAGE'S CATHEDRAL & EARLY CHRISTIAN SITE
CHURCH OF ST JOHN
CHURCH OF TEAMPAL CHRIOST
CHURCH OF ST MARY
8. ST BRIGID'S LEPER HOSPITAL
9. MISCELLANEOUS
MOTTE
WELLS
BEEHIVE HUTS
ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXCAVATIONS
10. LIST OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL STRAY FINDS

1. SITE OF BOROUGH (pp. 26-7)

The borough appears to have developed along both sides of present Main St. although apart from the presence of narrow plot boundaries, indicating a burgage plot pattern, no medieval buildings actually survive.

2. MARKET PLACE

The grant of the church of St. John to St. Thomas' abbey, dating to 1179-89, states that the church was located in the market-place ('in mercato') of the vill of Lismore (Gilbert 1889, 213). This suggests that the marketplace was located within or beside the old monastery and consequently it may indicate direct continuity between the pre-Norman monastic settlement and the medieval borough.

In the post-medieval times Lismore had a weekly market (Ir. Rec. Comm. 1830, 66: No. xliii) and in 1604 it was stated that this market was 'houlden at the markett crosse of Lismore' (Erck 1846-52, i, 94). It cannot be said, however, whether this market place was in the same loction as that referred to in 1179-89 or not. The site of the market place is not known but it may have been on the level ground to the south of the cathedral in the present-day North Mall.

3. DOMESTIC HOUSES

Information on domestic housing in Lismore is very scant. The dovecot of Christiana le Waleys, referred to in 1314 (Wood, Langman and Griffith 1955, 314) was presumably attached to a house but no details are given. The 'house and garden called Loutaghs burgage' referred to in 1565 was presumably the residence of the family of Richard fitz David de Louto, alias Loutagh (Ainsworth and Mac Lysaght 1958, 92) but again no details of the house are given. Neither are any

given of the five houses, owned by the Vicars Choral of the Cathedral and held by various tenants which were granted to George Isham in 1597 (17 RDKPRI 43: No 6034). The account of the attack on Lismore in 1643 notes that 'moste of the thatched howses and cabbens in the town' were burned (Grosart 1886, v, 227). These were presumbaly the houses of the 'irishe tenants' of whom about 60 were killed, but no doubt other forms of housing existed in the town as well.

The reference, in 1643, to thatched houses being burnt up to the gate of the castle suggests that the town was located closer to the castle than today. It is likely that it was in the area of the present yew garden and where the modern road over the bridge now is.

4. FREESCHOOL & ALMSHOUSES

In 1633 Richard Boyle, earl of Cork, ordered the erection of a 'new free school with Lodgings for the School master & Ussher, and an almeshouse for owlde decaied soldiers, at Lismoor' (Grosart 1886, iv, 7). The school was dedicated in 1636 and six almshouses were opened (ibid , 207). Both the school and the almshouses were built as a unit and they were burned together during the Confederate attack on Lismore in 1643 (ibid v, 227). They were apparently rebuilt by 1653 when Gostelow noted 'a very fair and strong built Schole house with Almeshouses on both sides of it' at Lismore (ibid v, 244-45). Cox, writing in 1687, attributed this rebuilding to the the 2nd earl of Cork (Day 1902, 81).

The row of low two-storied stone built almshouses at the east end of Main St are thought to date from the 17th century but they have been modernised recently and apart from the stone walls at the rear of the houses there is nothing to suggest from the front that they are of such an early date. The Scale map places Boyle's almshouses immediately to the south of these buildings.

5. MILLS

A watermill and watercourse at Lismore were among the appurtences of the manor granted to Sir Walter Raleigh (Ir. Rec, Comm. 1830, 66, : No. xliii) and in 1592 Raleigh granted them to Robert Caroe (Morris 1862, 325n). Nothing further is known of this mill, but in 1637 the earl of Cork commissioned a millwright 'to erect & fynishe for me a new watermill near my pidgeon house at Lismoor' (Grosart 1886, v, 39). The watermill was to be placed in one of the two turrets being built for the earl (ibid, 40). These two turrets are possibly those at the east end of the enclosed garden east of the castle, beside the river, shown on the view of Lismore published by Smith (1746). Only the western of these two towers still stands and it does not appear to have been used as a pigeon house and it is also too high above the river to have functioned as a watermill.

6. CASTLE (Figs. 29-35)

Lismore was clearly of strategic significance to the Anglo-Normans. The 'Song of Dermot and the Earl' states that Henry II planned to build a castle there in 1171, but postponed it (Orpen 1892, 195: ll. 2667-7). A castle was built there by Henry's son, John, on his arrival in Ireland in 1185 (Scott and Martin 1978, 235). This castle was destroyed, with the loss of 60-80 men, by Cuilen Ua Cuilen and Ua Faelain in 1189 (AI). The death notice of Domhnall Mor Mac Carthaigh, king of Desmond, in 1206, however, attributes destruction of the castle of Lismore to him (AI; O h-Innse 1947, 85) although this may possibly refer to a later attack. The castle was clearly rebuilt and by the early thirteenth century it was held by the bishops of Lismore. In 1218 it was claimed by the Bishop of Waterford, who was attempting at the time to annexe the diocese of Lismore (Sweetman 1875-86, i, No. 851). No further details of the history of the castle in the medieval period are known, but it seems to have remained in the hands of the bishops until 1590, when the bishop granted it to Sir Walter Raleigh.

The castle was 'defaced' by Desmond's supporters in 1579, having apparently been left unguarded (Hogan and O'Farrell 1959, 222) and although it was garrisoned by crown forces from 1600 (Atkinson 1905, 363, 369) it was apparently still 'broken and burned' and 'ruinous' in 1601, when Myler McGrath, archbishop of Cashel complained of being beaten up there by English soldiers (Atkinson 1905, 340, 342). Indeed

it would appear that the damage done in 1579 was not really put right until Richard Boyle, earl of Cork, carried out an extensive series of the works there between 1621 and 1638.

Boyle's diaries provide an excellent account of these works. Some work was done before 1614 (Girouard 1964, 338), and in 1615 Boyle commissioned four 'armes & crests with the borders in ffree stoans' one of which was to be set up in Lismore (Grosart 1886, i, 76). The bulk of the work seems to have begun about 1621, however, in which year Boyle was building a new 'brewhouse, bakehouse & washhowse' in the castle (Grosart 1886, ii, 5). In 1622 work was in progress on a 'new bwylding at Lismoor between my gatehowse, and my upper Turrett' and on a 'new stable there, to extend between the sam Turrett & my howse' (ibid ii, 45). Girouard (1964, 338) identifies the 'new bwylding' as the range between the gatehouse and the south-west tower and the new stables presumably formed the west range, between the south west tower and the main residential quarters on the north side. Apparently one consequence of the 'new bwylding' on the south was that Boyle felt it necessary to raise the height of the gatehouse by an extra storey. In 1623 he commissioned his carpenter to remove the roof and replace it after the extra storey had been added (Grosart 1886, ii, 70; Girouard 1964, 338). Work was also in progress on the new residential quarters, as in 1622 Boyle had commissioned a plasterer 'to seale with fretwork my study, my bed chamber & the nursery at Lismoor, and to make and wash them with Spanish white' (Grosart 1886, ii, 50) and commissioned Geoffrey Tarrant 'to

frett the chapple at Lismoor' (ibid, 65). Work on the chapel continued in 1623, when Boyle paid joiners for 'wainskotting my chapple at Lismoor' and paid John Jackson for 'making the pulpett, and doing thother carved worck in my chapple .. and breaking down the walles for the windoes' (ibid, 95). Girouard (1964, 338-9) states that Boyle largely rebuilt the principal living wing of the castle, the north range, in at least two stages in 1628-30 and again in 1630-38.

From about 1626, Boyle also turned his attention to the grounds and outbuildings of the castle. In 1626 he noted the enclosing of his orchard and garden with 'a wall of 2 ffoot & a half thick, and xii foot high of Lyme and ston & 2 Turretts at each corner, one at the western end thereof' (Grosart 1886, ii, 185-6), the upper garden walls which still survive (Girouard 1964, 338). At the same time he was also building 'a stable for 6 coach horses, a coach-howse, a slaughter howse etc' (Grosart 1886, ii, 186) and a 'pidgeon howse of brick in my parck, the walls to be xviii foot high, fforty ffoot long and twenty ffoot broad, with a partition of brick in the myddle, for the pidgeons to bwyld in on bothe sides thereof' (ibid, 193). In 1627 Boyle noted that he had commissioned bricklayers 'to make & burne brick, to enclose me a garden with brick wall in my parck' and 'to make me a wall about the grownd laid owt for my orchard & garden in my parck, to be ten foot high, from the ffowndacon of stone, all of brick, brick & half thick' (ibid, 215, 224). This apparently refers to the same garden enclosed in 1626 and may concern internal walls. In 1631-32 Boyle built the outer

gate-house, known as the 'riding-house' and the wall connecting it with the castle (Girouard 1964, 338-9). In 1637 Boyle commissioned a millwright 'to erect & fynishe for me a new watermill near my pidgeon house at Lismoor' and commissioned masons 'to wall in the ground under my howse at Lismoor for an orcharde, and to raise me 2 Turrets; in thone of which my new water Mill is to be placed' (Grosart 1886, v, 39-40). In 1638 Boyle was installing fishponds in his demesne, at Glenmorrishmeen (ibid 52) and this seems to have brought the major period of work at Lismore to a close.

The secure and prosperous conditions that made such work possible were shattered by the outbreak of rebellion in 1641. By 1643 increasing insecurity is reflected in Boyle's installation of 'great yron grates' at the entrance to Lismore castle. He noted that he had installed at the 'great owt gate' an iron grate which with chains hooks and so on weighed over one and half tons, another at the 'back gate' weighing over 1300lbs, another at the 'garden door' and a fourth 'to the Tarras (terrace) of the Turrett at thend of my stable end' (Grosart 1886, v, 219). In the same year the castle sucessfully withstood a seige of eight days by Confederate forces. Boyle noted that the attackers:

began their battery from the churche to the easte of Lismoor howse, and made a breach into my brew-house, which Capn Broadripp and my warders, being about 150, repaired stronger with earth than it was before, and they shott there till the Thursday 27, & never durst

attempt to enter the breach: My ordenance and muskett shot from my castle did soe apply them; then they removed their battery to the south west side of my castle, and continewed beatin against my orchard walls but never adventured into my orchard, my shott from my Turrets did soe continewally beat, and cleer the curteyn of the walle (ibid 230)

In 1645, however, the castle was again attacked and this time captured and burned by the Confederates under Lord Castlehaven (Smith 1746, 55n; Girouard 1964, 340). At the time of the Civil Survey of 1654, the castle was described as 'ruinated' (Simington 1942, 7) but in 1687 Cox, who noted that the castle had been burned by the Irish in 1645, stated that it had been re-edified by the then (2nd) earl of Cork (Day 1902, 81). However further neglect in the first half of the eighteenth century led to a return to ruin (Girouard 1964, 340) and this explains Smith's (1746 56?) incorrect comment that 'most of the buildings remain in ruins since they were destroyed in the Rebellion'.

During rebuilding work in 1814 the Book of Lismore and the Lismore crozier were found in the castle but it is unclear whether these were walled up in a medieval or seventeenth century wall (Ryan 1983 170-1; O'Neill 1984, 46-7). The nineteenth century rebuilding removed much of the medieval and seventeenth century features in the castle, but an impression of the castle's early seventeenth century appearance can be gained from representations such as a

sketch of c.1640 (reproduced in Girouard 1964, 339) and from the view of Lismore published by Smith (1746). These clearly show the multi-gabled Jacobean style range of two floors, with a dormer above, and mullioned windows running between the corner towers, which were possibly medieval but were also given a Jacobean treatment.

A seventeenth century survey of the castle (Guinness 1971, 280) indicates that by 1640 the courtyard plan of the castle was already in existence. The plan depicts four wings of two storeys with dormers around a large rectangular courtyard with two four-storeyed towers at each corner, an enclosed bawn with two corner turrets to the SE and a walled roadway leading south from the castle along the east side of the bawn to an outer gate. This gatehouse (called the Riding House) consists of a round arched gate flanked by two rectangular towers of three storeys with one storey over the arch.

There is no clear evidence for any structure at the castle which can be dated earlier than the seventeenth century and, although the castle was largely rebuilt in the 19th century, this would appear to have consisted of additions to the towers and upper floors which were ruined, the refacing of some walls and restructuring of the interior. The 17th century castle was built of roughly coursed limestone, shale and some sandstone with dressed limestone quoins while later work is of dressed limestone from Derbyshire (Guinness 1971, 287). Original seventeenth century windows with hood

mouldings can be seen in two walls (an external south wall and an internal west wall) in the NW corner buildings. The central block of this corner was probably the 'house' which Boyle referred to. The 'chapple' which was being worked on in 1623 was beside this house in the north range and is the ballroom today. This room is supported on octagonal piers in the basement below. The upper floors of this range are completely modernised but the basement floor has several barrell vaulted chambers which are of 17th century date while the north wall, which was built on the edge of the incline above the Blackwater, is 2.1m thick and heavily battered. The NE tower or Flag tower was badly ruined by the 18th century (Guinness 1971, 280) and although it is rebuilt the original masonry with gun loops can be seen up to 2nd floor level on the the south and up to 1st floor level on the east. Extending from this tower there is a wall with gun loops running east and then north to a small circular turret with gun loops overlooking the Blackwater. Sections of the lower courses of the east range are probably of 17th century date but the external walls have been refaced. The SE tower to 2nd floor level is also 17th century in date and there are narrow loops in the N wall at each level. The south range and the south end of the west range have also been refaced and substanially restructured internally. The circular tower (known as the Norman tower) is said to be earlier than the 17th century but there is no evidence to support this view. It is about 18m high, with four floors, and is built of roughly coursed slate and limestone (as is the adjacent wall

to the south in the west range). It is without vault and has gun loops in all floors. The original entrance was from the east but a new opening was made on the N side and the room is now in use for a generator. There is no sign of this tower on the 1640 survey so it may have been added in the late 17th century.

The enclosed garden or bawn to the SE was laid out in 1626 (Guinness 1971, 283) and is still intact. The enclosing wall is 1.20m thick with wall walk and gunloops in the crennallations. There are circular turrets on the NW and SW corners which are approx. 6m high with bee-hive shaped vaults over the ground floor. They are built of roughly coursed slate with limestone and some sandstone.

Romanesque arch. (fig. 31)

An arch of two orders decorated with chevron ornament is incorporated in the outer gateway of the castle and may originally have come from St. Mary's Church. (see below)

Boyle arms. 17th cent.

Built into the stonework above the Romanesque arch of the gatehouse is a rectangular plaque of sandstone. The achievement of arms is enclosed in a moulded frame. The arms, on a heater shaped shield, are impaled with mantling, an animals head as crest and two human heads above the motto: GODS PROVIDENCE IS OUR INHERITANCE 1615. The arms are dexter per bend (originally argent and gules for Boyle) and sinister

four fleur-de-lys quarterly. This is probably one of the 'armes & crests with the borders in ffree stoans' which Boyle commissioned for his castle in 1615 (Grosart 1886, 76).

7. ST CARTHAGH'S CATHEDRAL & EARLY CHRISTIAN SITE

The 'great church' of Lismore referred to in 1173 (O h-Innse 1947, 59: sub 1174) was apparently consecrated during the synod of 1166 (AI), but practically nothing else is known of the medieval cathedral. It is referred to as 'the cathedral of St.Mocod' in 1597 (17 RDKPRI 43: No 6034) and in 1605 as 'the cathedral church of St. Carthage otherwise Mowdi' (Ir. Rec. Comm. 1830, 66 No. xliii). The cathedral seems to have been very seriously damaged during the Desmond rebellion of 1579, when the castle also was damaged. In 1633 Richard Boyle, earl of Cork, stated that the cathedral 'was demolished by Edmond Ffitz Gibbon, called the white Knight, and other traitors in [the] Late Rebellion of Mounster' (Grosart 1886iv, 6-7). The cathedral seems to have been in ruins from 1579 onwards, and in 1633 Boyle decided:

to have the Ruyns of the boddie and Ile of the Church cleered, and to have the same new bwilt and reedified as fair or fairer than ever it was before

He had already rebuilt the chancel of the cathedral at a cost of £217 14s 9d 'and put a new Rooffe covered with slatt, & plaistered and glazed, the[n] furneshid it with seated pues and pulpit (ibid, 6-7). Apart from the chancel however,

nothing seems to have been done to rebuild the cathedral. In 1638 Boyle noted that he had begun:

pulling down of the Ruyns of the owld defaced chappels of Lismoor...with a godly resolucon to rebwild the demolished cathedrall church of Lismoor, and mansions for the ffive vickers chorals, at my own chardges (ibid v, 46)

He did not live to achieve his purpose, however. In 1653 Walter Gostelow visiting Lismore, stated his belief that Boyle 'really intended to rebuild the church' (ibid v, 244-5) implying that he did not do so. The new nave and transepts of the cathedral were finally rebuilt, to the design of the architect Sir William Robinson, from 1679 onwards (Loeber 1977-79, 290, 296). Stanhope, writing between 1682 and 1685, noted that 'the body of that Cathedrall is now re-edifying and likely to prove a very faire and comely fabrick' (Walton 1987, 30)

Possible Early Ecclesiastical Enclosure

There is the hint of a monastic enclosure in the curving boundary created by the east side of Church Lane and the property boundary to the North of this. It may have continued at the rear of the properties on the south side of Main St.

The Cathedral (Figs. 36-46)

The Cathedral is a cruciform building in which three main

architectural phases are present. The first is transitional, dating from the early thirteenth century and is confined to the south wall of the chancel and the south arch of the crossing, the supports of which are original but the actual arch is a replacement. The second phase dates to 1679 when the nave, transepts and chancel north passage were built to the designs of Sir William Robinson. The third phase occurred in the early nineteenth century, commencing with the rebuilding of the chancel in 1811 by Richard Morrison and concluding with the construction of the west tower by J. and R. Pain in 1827.

The Transitional Remains (Figs. 26-38)

These consist of a section of the chancel's south wall with an exposed length of 11m and the southern part of the crossing. The masonry of the chancel wall consists of coursed limestone and sandstone rubble. Some of the sandstone is dressed, however, and is probably derived from an earlier building. The external face of the south wall rises from a sandstone plinth which is placed on a mortared foundation 1.05m high. Immediately above the plinth is a string course of D-shaped section. Two rounded pilasters rise from below the string course. These are of sandstone, 5.87m apart, and have a round base set on a rectangular plinth. A print in Harris's Ware (1754) shows three lancets at the eastern end of the south wall. The pilasters originally rose between the lancets to a string course which linked the external label mouldings of the lancets where they terminated in human

heads. Similar pilasters are shown marking the SE angle of the chancel. The print shows a fourth lancet in this wall but whether it formed part of this sequence or was a later addition is unclear. The western pilaster is 20cm high above the base; the eastern 1.6m. Some of the stones forming the eastern pilaster were found by Dean Mayes and replaced by him there. There is no trace of the lancets shown by Harris.

The south arch of the crossing is pointed but only the piers appear to be transitional in date. The chamfered arch probably belongs to the Robinson building. Only the west face of the SE pier survives and its mouldings consist of one main and two supplementary shafts. Each of the shafts is a filleted roll rising from a circular base. The supplementary shafts are linked by wave mouldings and are separated from the main shaft by a chamfered pillarette. The capitals show floral motifs and have round abaci. On top of the chamfer on the NW side of this pier is a face mask with almond shaped eyes, pointed ears, and bared teeth from which a tongue drops. Of the SW pier only the eastern face and part of the N face survive. The mouldings are similar to those on the SE pier but the capitals differ. The main shaft has a clustered capital while the supplementary capitals are decorated with nailhead. Only portions of the N section of the pier survive, essentially only the wave mouldings and depressions. From the stonework itself it is evident that the rolls were knocked off during the seventeenth century alterations. Neither capitals nor bases survive of this section.

The Robinson Church (figs. 36, 39)

In 1679 Sir William Robinson was commissioned to design the nave and transepts of the cathedral. No work was conducted on the chancel because it had been roofed in 1633 by Robert Boyle, earl of Cork. The Robinson design was simple enough. It consisted of a nave with three lights on the north and south walls, a door in the west wall and transepts with a light on the east and west walls, a door giving access from outside and a light above. For this he was paid 10 guineas.

The masonry consists of coursed limestone and sandstone rubble with sandstone quoins and jambs. A basal course with concave moulding marks a plinth on which the church is built, and a moulded string course (cyma-recta) beneath the wall plate decorates the exterior. The string course beneath the wall plate is absent from the west end, the north end of the north transept, and the south end of the south transept where it is concealed by a porch.

The north transept (now St Columba's chapel) has a round headed door with an eroded outer label. The external jambs have a cyma recta moulding and the plinth terminates in a similar moulding beside it. There is a slight internal splay. The door is now blocked and forms the reredos for the altar. The window above the north door was remodelled in the nineteenth century when a pointed arch was put on and a three light window with cusped tracery formed. The east and west windows are identical and consist of a two light round headed window with a roundel above. They are splayed internally and

externally have a label with concave moulding.

In the crossing Robinson re-used the remains of the old piers on the south side but those on the north side are to his design. They are of semi-octagonal plan and rise from a base with a concave molding set on a plinth. The top of the pier is also moulded. The north transept arch is pointed and chamfered and consists of a semi-hexagonal central shaft flanked by two outer chamfers. The arch of the south transept is similar but rises from the transitional piers. By contrast the arch of the nave is round and is formed by a large centrally placed roll flanked by two chamfers.

The south transept is similar in design to the north transept. A neo-Gothic style porch was added in the early nineteenth century, however, at which time the door was also changed from round to pointed. Externally however the Robinson windows differ from their counterparts on the north transept by having a rectangular surround of ashlar masonry.

The north and south walls of the nave are identical in that they are lit by three windows. Originally these were round headed like those of the transept but their heads were removed during the nineteenth century and replaced by pointed ones. The sills were also replaced at this time. Externally the windows of the south wall have a rectangular surround but this is absent on the north wall. The west wall originally had a large door and this is visible internally although its jambs have been removed and it is now blocked. There is no trace of a west window but the construction of the west tower

in 1827 may have removed all trace of it.

The Nineteenth Century Church

The appearance of the church today is essentially that of the nineteenth century. The chancel was commenced in 1811 and is lit by a five light east window with three quatrefoil lights in the apex. The north and south walls have three lancets each and internally there are blanks for two others, making a row of five on each side. A corridor was built along the north side of the chancel together with a library and robing room. On the south the organ gallery was constructed. Internally the low plaster ceilings with their ribbed vaulting were inserted; that on the chancel with its floriated bosses and human heads is particularly attractive. The chancel ceiling dates to the period 1812-14 and nave ceiling and windows to 1827.

Architectural Fragments

Collected at the west end of the nave there are ten pieces of carved and dressed stone providing evidence for building in Romanesque and Gothic styles. Four are of yellow sandstone and the others are limestone. One piece has a row of whorls and square billets somewhat like the decoration on the Romanesque church at Ardfert. There is a small capital with thirteenth century stiff leaf foliage while another fragment has early trumpet pattern. There is also a small roughly shaped stoop of uncertain date.

Monuments (figs. 40-46)

Six early Christian slabs now mounted on the west wall of the nave. These were found under the tower in the early nineteenth century.

No. 1. Roughly rectangular sandstone slab with incised inscription above an equal armed cross in a circle with short floriated expansions for upper shaft and arms. A small section of the lower shaft survives but the lower part of the slab is broken. The upper third of the stone is undressed. The inscription is BENDACHT FOR ANMAIN COLGEN.

Dims: H. 104 W. 42 T. 5(min)

Macalister 1949, 108

No. 2. Sub-triangular slab of limestone with incised inscription SUIBNE M(ac) CONHUIDIR and Iona style cross with pointed lower shaft below.

Dims: H. 54 W. 42-18 T. 4(min)

Macalister 1949, 108

No. 3. Square shaped slab of limestone with an incised inscription which is placed on either side of a Latin cross with semi-circular bar terminals: BENDACHT FOR AN(main) MARTAN. Macalister suggests that it is mounted on a chalice.

Dims: H. 43 W. 35 T. 4 (min)

Macalister 1949, 108

No. 4. Rectangular sandstone slab with a Latin cross and an incised inscription which runs along the top of the slab and down one side: OR DO DONNCHAD. The Roman letters D and C have

been added above the transom.

Dims: H. 95 W. 38 T. 5(min)

Macalister 1949, 108

No. 5. Fragment of the sandstone head of a small free-standing unpierced ringed cross with incised inscription: OR DO CORMAC P[re]s[B]yte[R].

Dims: H. 17 W. 19 T. 5(min)

Macalister 1949, 108.

No. 6. Rectangular sandstone slab, possibly a corbel, with a seated figure holding an open book on which there is a crudely incised Roman lettered inscription: IN ME[n]SAM DOMINI IERUSALEM DET ARMA ET CORONAS AURH. There may have been a Latin cross with splayed terminals at the beginning of the inscription. The top of the figure is damaged but the facial features are realistically drawn with age-lines shown around the mouth, nose and eyes. There appear to be teeth in the partly open mouth and the figure wears a long tunic to the ankles.

Dims: H. 58 W. 23 T. 12

Henry 1937, 306-7; Macalister 1949, 109

McCragh Tomb. 1557

This highly ornamented box tomb of limestone is standing at the north-west end of the nave of the cathedral. It consists of a covering slab resting on four decorated panels. The slab is ornamented in false relief with the symbols of the four evangelists in the corners, an eight armed fleur-de-lys cross in the centre of the slab flanked by the arms of the Virgin

and the symbols of the Passion in heater shaped shields, a depiction of St Gregory and one of the Ecce Homo. Marginal Gothic inscription:

HOC OPUS FIERI FECERUT/ JOHES MCRAUGH & UXOR SUA
KATHERINA THOME PNDYRGAST SIBI ET/ POSTERIS SU[is q]UI
IN IPSO/ SEPELIENDI SUT ANO DO 1548.

On the concave moulding under the slab there is a series of grotesques, floriated bosses and animals in relief. The sides and one end panel have depictions of the apostles in ogee-headed niches embellished with foliage and the other end panel has a crucifixion. The pilasters separating the niches are also decorated with figures or foliage.

Hunt 1974, 232-3.

Edward Nicholas. 17th cent.

Limestone slab set into the floor of the tower. Incised Roman inscription:ln1:lm15

HEARE LYETH ENTERED [the] BODY OF/ EDWARD [Ni]CKHOLAS, [w]HO
DECEASED/ THE 15TH DAY OF May ..., LATE QVARTER/ MASTER TO THE
TROOP OF THE RIGHT/ HONORABEL ROGER, EARLE OF O[r]RERY,/ LORD
PRESIDENT OF MVNSTER./ ELIZABETH WIFE OF THE DECEASED/ FOR
THE MEMORY OF HVR DEARE HVS/ BAND HATH CAVSED THIS
INSCRIPTION/ TO BE GRAVEN VPON THIS MONEMENT.

FitzGerald 1913-16, 372.

Seals and altar plate. 17th cent.

Three 17th century seals are recorded. Some church plate is also dated to 1663.

Maffett 1901-3, 477

ST. JOHN'S CHURCH

In a document of 1179-89 Felix, bishop of Lismore, granted to St. Thomas' Abbey in Dublin the church of St. John located in the market place of the vill of Lismore (Gilbert 1889, 213). Nothing more is known of this church, which presumably was one of the twenty churches said by Smith (1746, 53) to have existed at Lismore.

ST MARY'S CHURCH

Power (1952, 51) notes the site of Reilig Mhuire (St. Mary's Graveyard) in the position "now occupied by the shrubbery on the left of the main entrance to the castle". This may indicate the existence of a church dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary at or near this spot and it may explain the presence of the Romanesque arch which is now incorporated into the main gatehouse of the castle. The site is on high ground and there is evidence for overgrown earthworks.

TEAMPAL CHRIOST

Another of the churches of Lismore, quite possibly survivals of the pre-Norman monastery, was 'the chapel called Tamplechreest or Tamplechreestie' leased to Sir Walter Raleigh by the Dean of Lismore in 1591 (Ir. Rec. Comm. 1830, 42: No. xxi). This is clearly the 'ancient building at

Lismore, called Christ Church' which was noted in an inquisition of 1597 as having just been converted into a dwelling house (Flood 1906, 108). It was granted, along with its cemetery, to George Sherlock in 1597 (17 RDKPRI 73, No. 6169) after which nothing further is known of it.

8. ST BRIGID'S LEPER HOSPITAL

Gwynn and Hadcock (1970, 354) refer to this foundation as 'one of the earliest leper hospitals in Ireland and possibly with Culdee connections till the twelfth century'. Since its master was termed prior, this was presumably the 'dissolved priory of Lismore' which was the subject of an enquiry concerning the Crown's rights thereto in 1627 (Mahaffy 1900, 257). In 1634 a complaint was made that the earl of Cork had taken 'all the lands belonging to the Lepers or Lazar House of Lismore' and it was stated that 'the prior of this house is overseer of all the lepers in the Kingdom and used to attend Divine service in the Cathedral' (Mahaffy 1901, 49). It thus seems to have been an important foundation, but nothing more is known of its history.

9. MISCELLANEOUS

Motte. Ballyea West Td.

This impressive monument is situated on a sand ridge about a half mile west of the town. It sits on top of a steep wooded rise above the Blackwater with good views to the N, E and W

but overlooked by higher ground on the south. The motte is some 10m high (although it rises over 20m above the Lismore Rd to the E) and has a flat summit measuring 12m (N-S) by 13.2m (E-W). It is enclosed by a ditch with external bank. A sub-rectangular shaped bailey, 33m (N-S) by 18.5m (E-W) lies to the south. This is enclosed on the NW, W and SW by two ditches, c.5m wide and 2m deep, separated by a bank 5m wide and 2m high. The ground falls very steeply away on the NE, E and SE. The ditch separating the motte from the bailey is some 6m wide. There is a circular depression towards the N end of the bailey 4m in diameter and 1m deep.

Wells

There was a well dedicated to St. Carthagh which is now located under the gate lodge of the castle (Killanin and Duignan 1962, 354) while the well known as Tobar na Ceardchan is used on St. Carthagh's pattern day and is now called St. Carthagh's Well.

Mounds

There are two mounds close to the town which may be two of the three mounds which Lewis (1837, 283) mentions as having been built by the Earl of Cork in the 17th century. The first is a low earthen mound 2.5m high, in a housing estate to the east of Park's Road and south of The Hall (on Waterford sheet XX1:13 it is shown in an open field). It is now surrounded by houses but was originally sited on level ground with good views in all directions. The mound is roughly circular and has

a flat top with no obvious features. It is 21m wide E-W by 20m N-S at the base and 8m by 8.5m on top. There are no visible surrounding banks or ditches but there is a slight slope on the south side which may have been an access point. The second is a circular mound situated on a low rise in Deerpark North to the east of the town and south of Bothar na Naomh. It has fair views in all directions although very overgrown. The top of the mound slopes markedly from N to S and is approx. 7m in diameter. Below the top of the mound on the N, W and SW there is a crescent shaped bank expanding from 1m to 4m wide. The mound is approximately 5m above ground level on the E and 8m on the west. The basal dimension (N-S) is 45m. There is no evidence for a ditch.

Bee-hive huts

Bee-hive chambers have been found near The Grove and another near the cathedral on the Banks of the Blackwater (Flood 1899, 17-18).

Archaeological Excavations

Ussher (1869-98) reports on stratigraphy observed in 1891, during the cutting of a deep drainage trench along the road leading from the Courthouse to the bridge, between the castle and the cathedral: a 'layer of rushes and peat' at least 18 inches deep was observed beneath a layer of 'earth and stones', 2 feet deep; several 'oak piles, tapering to a long point' were noted, driven vertically into the peat, at intervals of several feet; bones of cattle, sheep, pig and

deer, antler tines (some cut) oyster shells, burned stones and two human skeletons (reported on by Cunningham and Browne 1896-98) were noted.

Flood (1898, 236) states that 'numerous bones were disinterred' in 1891 'in the spot now called the 'New Walk' .. especially outside the gateway leading to Lismore Villas'. This property is situated on high ground to the south east of the castle. The owner states that the garden is full of large stones as if some other building had been pulled down before her house was built. This may be the site of an early church.

The area to the NW is called Teampuileen and it too may be an early church site because as bones have also been found there.

10. LIST OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL STRAY FINDS

1. "Curious antique shields". Found at Lismore. Cat. Sirr. Coll. (1841), 10: No 5-6
2. Bronze palstave. Found near Lismore. NMI 1968:328.
3. Bronze rapier (Group 3). From Lismore. NMI 1968:237. Burgess and Gerloff 1981, 58: No.444
4. Bronze terminals. From Lismore. Brit. Mus. 1853. 10-13.3.
5. Bronze stick pin. Found near Lismore. Royal Ontario Mus. Pryor 1976, 75-88: No.36
6. Lismore crozier. Found in Lismore Castle. NMI L 1949:1.

Mahr and Raftery 1932-41, ii, 159-60, Pl. 93: 1-3; Pl. 94.

7. Brass figure of Christ from 14th cent. crucifix from Lismore. Brit. Mus. 1853. 6-17.1.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL PROBLEMS AND POTENTIAL

Lismore is important to archaeological research for three reasons. Firstly, it was the site of the most important pre-Norman monastery in Waterford; secondly, it was an Anglo-Norman borough; thirdly as an example of a plantation town.

The documentary sources indicate that the early monastery was important from the eighth until the twelfth centuries. From the archaeological point of view, however, there are many problems with this early phase of Lismore's history. Elementary features such as the extent of the monastery remain unknown. There are hints of the existence of many churches, such as one still finds at Glendalough and Clonmacnoise, but the definite evidence is lacking. And as to whether Lismore functioned as a monastic town, like Armagh and Kildare, both history and archaeology remain silent. Were there houses and workshops attached to the monastic site such as are known from Armagh and Kildare or was it a purely ecclesiastical settlement.

The fact that the Anglo-Normans were attracted to Lismore from the initial years of the invasion indicates the

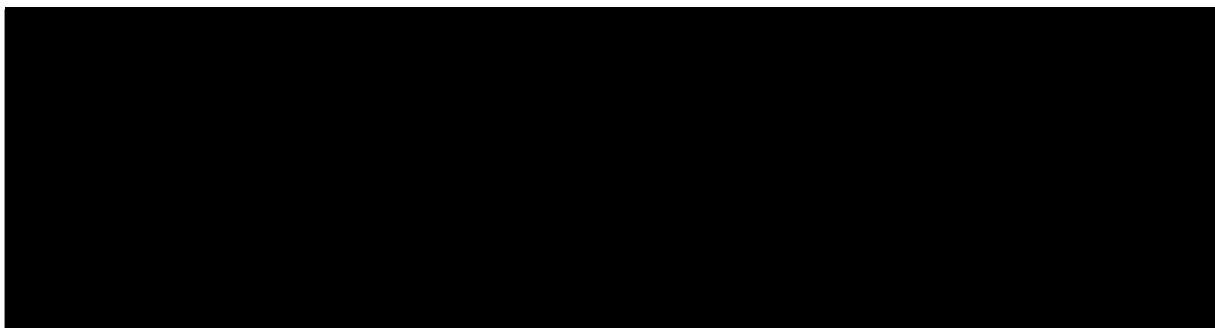
importance of the settlement during the twelfth century. After the thirteenth century, however, the settlement virtually falls out of the historical record. It is not known whether it was an incorporated village community or simply a cluster of huts around the cathedral. Did the borough extend beyond the old monastic site? Was the borough established outside the monastery? Were there many new colonists or did the indigenous inhabitants survive the invasion?

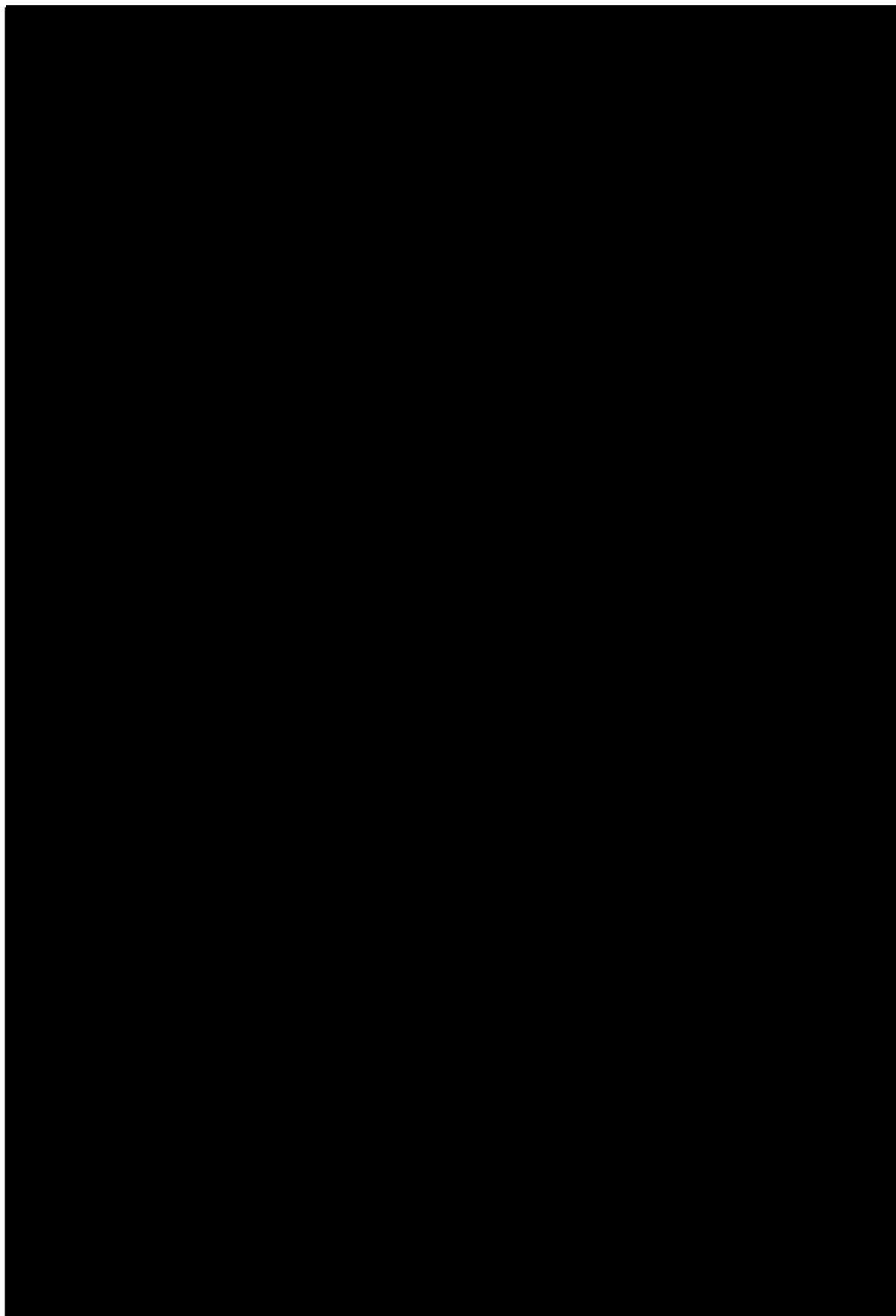
The town as it stands today effectively displays the layout and characteristics of the plantation town established by the earl of Cork in the early years of the seventeenth century. Little is known, however, of the early years of this phase in the town's history. What was the form of the first plantation houses? Were they of English inspiration or did they follow local styles? How did the new town integrate with the older medieval settlement? The answers to these and other questions simply remain unknown.

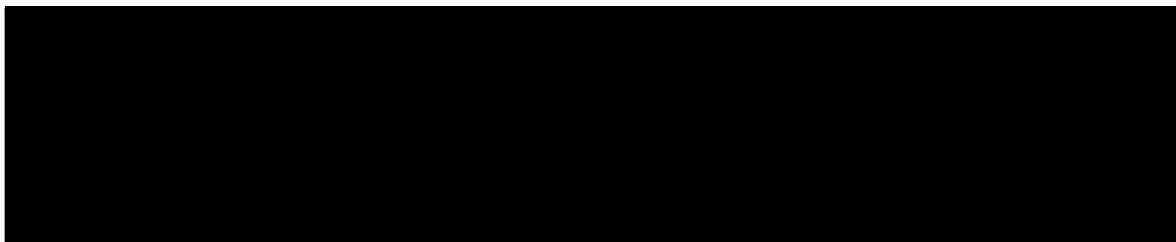
This state of ignorance does not have to continue, however. Archaeological deposits undoubtedly survive in Lismore which hold the key to these questions. The documentary references to the town are few and limited for the period before 1700 and in the future it is archaeology which is likely to shed most light on Lismore's past. In order to do this, however, its archaeological resources must be protected and husbanded.

Area of Archaeological Potential

The shaded portion of the accompanying map (Fig. 25) delimits the area of archaeological potential within modern Lismore. The core of the historic town is the castle-cathedral axis but the shaded area is extended beyond this to include the likely extent of the early monastery. Within this area archaeological deposits are likely to survive and there is the strong likelihood of recovering house foundations, early church sites, refuse pits, industrial areas, and workshops of medieval and seventeenth century date. In the absence of archaeological excavations it is impossible to say anything about the depth of archaeological deposits. In the immediate future one should note that plans have been passed to construct a new school to the west of the cathedral. This is a sensitive archaeological area where deposits from early times possibly survive and test excavations should certainly be carried out in advance of any redevelopment. One should also note that the sand ridge on which the motte stands is being exploited extremely close to the motte itself.







STRADBALLY

Stradbally is located just inland from the Waterford coast, off the road from Tramore to Dungarvan. The name is derived from Sraid Bhaile ('the street town') and its origin presumably relates to the establishment of the Anglo-Norman borough on the site. The name is given as 'Stradbalydouyn' in 1298 (Sweetman 1875-86, iv, 260) as Stradebaly Mc Cartan' in 1336 (44 RDKPRI, 59) and as 'Stradbally Colgyn' in 1338 (Curtis 1933-43, i, 304: no. 717).

ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The borough of Stradbally is first attested at the end of the thirteenth century, and it is not clear when, or by whom, it was first established. From the late thirteenth century it seems to have been held in part by the FitzGeralds of Desmond. In 1298 an inquisition on the death of Thomas FitzMaurice FitzGerald noted that the burgesses of 'Stradbalydouyn' rendered 12s 1d to him yearly, along with 6s 8d as perquisites of court (Sweetman 1875-86, iv, 260), while in 1338 the auditors of the earl of Desmond noted the receipt of accounts of Martin Poer, reeve of Stradbally Colgyn which included 30s 9d of rent from the burgesses of the town both for pleas and perquisites of the hundred court there (Curtis 1933-43, 304: No. 717). This may indicate that the earls had

increased their stake in Stradbally since 1298, as it seems to have had other proprietors as well. In 1302 Reginald de Dene 'held a fourth part of the town of Stradbally of the King in capite' (Mills 1905, 402), while in 1336 it was noted that Thomas de Dene held tenements, part of a mill, a weir and perquisites of court at Stradbaly Mc Cartan (44 RDKPRI, 59). In 1382 it was noted that Alan Furlang held a burgage in 'Stradeballi' of the King in capite (Tresham 1828, p. 111: No. 62). Since these tenants were held directly from the king, it may be that the borough was originally a royal creation.

The latest reference to the borough of Stradbally occurs in 1382 (see above) and nothing is known of its later medieval history. The settlement seems to have survived, however, because in the Civil Survey of 1654 Stradbally was described as 'a County Towne with a greate many howses' (Simington 1942, 73). The Census of Ireland of 1659 returned a population of 30 for the townland of 'Stradballymore' (Pender 1939, 336).

ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVENTORY

1. SITE OF BOROUGH
2. MILL
3. PARISH CHURCH OF ST JAMES
4. MISCELLANEOUS

1. SITE OF BOROUGH

The medieval borough was probably centered on the present village which has a linear (T-shaped) street pattern and long narrow burgage plots fronting onto the streets. None of the houses, however, are of pre-1700 date and it is possible that the village was replanned in the seventeenth or eighteenth century.

2. MILL

A mill at Stradbally is referred to in 1298, when it was worth 40s annually (Sweetman 1875-86, iv, 260) and it is also mentioned in 1336 (44th rep. DKPRI 59). The site of this mill, however, is not known

3. PARISH CHURCH OF ST. JAMES (Hqs. 48-53)

The existence of this church is implied by a document of c.1280-90 which is witnessed by Sir Willllam, vicar of Stradbally (Curtis 1933-43, i, 96: No.242). In the ecclesiastical taxation of 1302-6 the church was valued at 16l annually (Sweetman 1875-86, v, 306). The rectory of Stradbally was listed among the possessions of the Augustinian Priory of Inistioge, Co. Kilkenny on its dissolution in 1541 (White 1943, 187), but there is no record of when, or how, the priory acquired the rectory. The church was in ruins by 1746 (Smith 1746, 45).

The church is located SW of the village in a large rectangular graveyard. The single-aisled building consists of a nave and chancel with presbytery on the N of the chancel and a modern extension at the W end. The remains, which appear to be largely 16th century in date, may consist of a thirteenth century nave with later chancel and presbytery. The masonry consists of roughly coursed mixed rubble. The E wall stands to its original height of c.8m, the S and N walls to 3m while the W gable is only 1.5m higher. Considerable build-up has occurred within the church due to burials and the sill of the windows in the S wall are now 60cm above present ground level. Plaster still remains on the internal walls.

The east wall of the chancel is battered and buttressed on either end and has one small splayed single-light round headed window with chamfered jambs. It has a rounded rear arch with plank centering, upright voussoirs and a sloping sill. Above the window there is a ledge for the roof timbers. The north wall which is leaning into the church has a broken opening to the presbytery and a window, close to the east end, similar to that in the east wall. The rear arch, however, is lintelled. The south wall is buttressed externally and has a similar window in the same position as that on the N wall, although the sill stone is a re-used mullion from a twin-light window. Further to the west there was a similar window which is now lacking its western jambs and part of the splay.

The chancel arch is missing and uneven fragments of the

crossing wall survive on both sides. The nave was lit from N and S by single-light windows close to the east end and there were opposing entrances toward the west end. The window in the N wall is missing its jambs, arch and sill but the upright voussoirs of the rear arch are intact. The N door has a pointed arch, undressed jambs and a rounded rear arch of upright voussoirs. There is a bar hole 1.3m deep in the stepped splay which is now 30cm above ground level. The S wall is battered to a height of 1m and its window is lacking arch, jambs and sill although one curved splay survives; the rear arch was flat lintelled. Immediately to the W there is a small wall cupboard. The door on this wall has a round arch of upright voussoirs with one side splayed and the other side right angled. There is a small piscina 54cm above ground level to the east of the door. The west wall is featureless apart from a buttress on the NW angle.

The three floored presbytery which was built onto the west end of the N wall of the chancel is extremely ruined. Only the N wall stands to its original height of c.8-9m while the E and west walls are 70cm high at the southern end. The N and E walls are slightly battered. The ground floor may have had an entrance from the east but the south end of the wall is missing. There is a gaping hole in the N wall. The west wall has a flat lintelled mural stairs with plank centering, lit by narrow flat lintelled slits. The only remaining features at first floor level are a flat lintelled doorway from the stairs in the west end of the N wall, a splayed flat lintelled narrow window in the centre of the N wall and

single N splays for windows in the E and W walls. At second floor level the N wall is featureless but there are put-log holes for roof timbers in the three walls. The external west side of the NW angle is battered inwards as the mural stairs did not extend above the first floor and there was no necessity for the thickness in the wall.

Monuments

Fourteenth century grave slab

Tapering sandstone slab with chamfered edges, at the NE end of the nave. The top right and lower left edges are damaged. It is decorated in low false relief with two crosses, one ringed and one diamond headed flanked by geometric and abstract patterns including marigolds within a circle, curvilinear, spiral and S designs. The upper edge and left chamfer of the slab have an incised Lombardic lettered inscription: ISABELLA GAL ... IACET ...

Dims: L. 186 W. 77-64 T. 16

Mems Dead iii (1895-7, 160-5).

4. MISCELLANEOUS

Ringfort sites.

Two large ring-forts are shown on the O.S. 1st ed. maps to the NW and SW of the village. Both are now ploughed out. One lay SE of the Mercy Convent and the other to the SW of Stradbally Church on the slope above Woodhouse. According to

Lewis (1837, ii, 578) the latter was called Torc Raith. If these settlements were functioning into the twelfth century they may explain why the Anglo-Normans established a borough here.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL PROBLEMS AND POTENTIAL

The archaeological and documentary data indicates that Stradbally was a borough of importance between the thirteenth and the sixteenth centuries. Documentary records of Stradbally are relatively few, however, and in the future archaeological excavation is likely to be the principal means by which additional knowledge of its past can be obtained. Apart from house rebuilding on the street front there has been little disturbance to archaeological deposits within the borough.

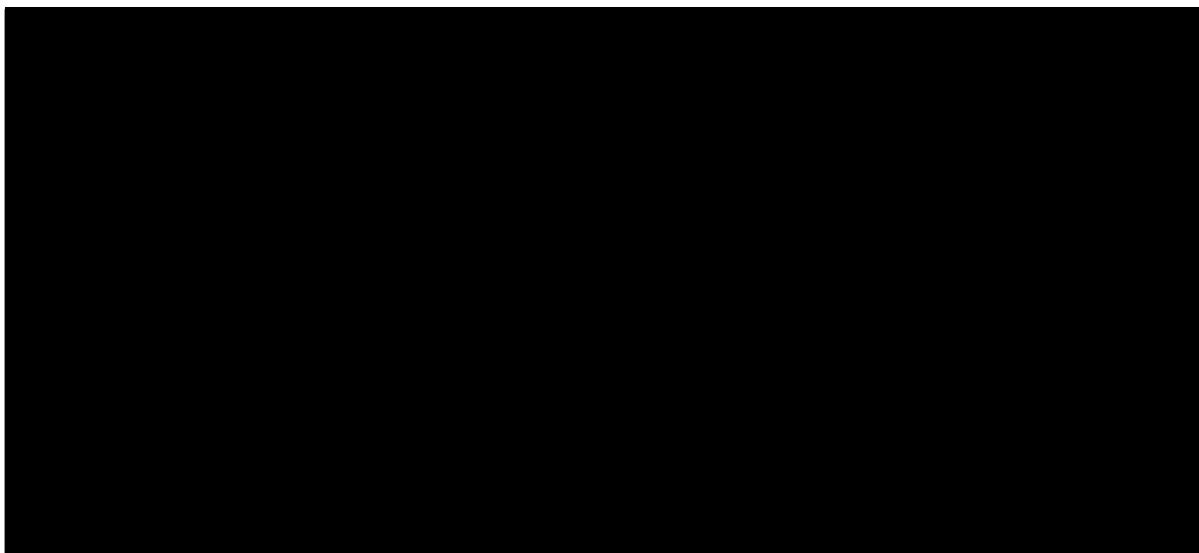
Area of Archaeological Potential

The shaded portion of the accompanying map (Fig. 47) delimits the area of archaeological potential within Stradbally. Its extent is based on the likely location of the borough as represented by the present village, including an area to the SW around the medieval parish church. The map also includes the sites of the two ringforts noted in the nineteenth century; although the surface features at both sites have been removed it is quite likely that archaeological deposits still survive below ground in these

locations. In the absence of archaeological excavations nothing can be said about the depth of archaeological deposits.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]



TALLOW

Tallow is a small town located just off the river Bride, a tributary of the Blackwater, and close to the main road from Lismore to Fermoy. The name is derived from tulach, meaning a hill or a mound. The full name, Tullach an Iarainn ("the mound of the iron"), is derived from the ironworks located there in the seventeenth century. In the medieval period, however, Tallow is referred to as 'Tolaghrath' or 'Tylaghrath', presumably derived from Tulach Ratha ("the mound of the fort").

HISTORICAL AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL BACKGROUND

A possible reference to a church at Tallow in 1199 (see below) hints at the possibility of an early, and quite probably pre-Norman, settlement there. By 1295, however, a significant settlement was clearly in existence as is indicated by the fact that the justiciar of Ireland held court there (Mills 1905, 15, 71; Orpen 1911-20iv, 49). In 1299 Tolaghrath was one of a number of market towns and ports in which men were appointed to enforce the Statute of False Money by the Sherriff of Cork (Mills 1905, 265), and it was one of a number of towns whose communities brought charges of fraudulent conduct against the king's keeper of measures and weights in 1300 (Mills 1905, 316). Thus although there is no definite evidence of borough status, it is clear that there

was at Tallow at this date a settlement with a clearly identified and autonomously functioning community, and in which significant commercial activity was taking place.

Little more is known of the origins or history of this settlement. In 1302 it was noted that the manor of 'Tylaghrath' was apparently held by Jordan de Exeter (Mills 1905, 378, 409), but in the same year an inquisition noted that Reginald de Dene held 'half of the town of Tylauchrath, in Co. Cork, of the heir of Thomas de Clare' (ibid, 403). This suggests that Tallow formed part of the manor of Inchiquin, which was granted to the FitzGeralds by Robert FitzStephen in the late twelfth century, and it passed to Thomas de Clare on his marriage to Juliana, daughter of Maurice FitzGerald, in 1275 (O'Brien 1982, 21-2). The later medieval history of Tallow is obscure, but the parish church clearly continued to function, and a reference to it as a 'decayed town' in 1587 suggests that the settlement survived, albeit on a reduced scale, throughout the period.

In 1587 the 'decayed town of Tollowe' among other forfeited lands of the Earl of Desmond, was granted to Sir Walter Raleigh (16 RDKPRI 40: No.5046). Raleigh was responsible for a plantation of the area, including what must have amounted to a refounding of the town of Tallow. In 1598, when the town was destroyed by the Irish, it was described as:

a great town, all English, man, woman and child, where there were about three score householders, thirty good

shot, and in all about six score able men' (Atkinson 1895, 326)

This description would suggest that it had a total population of several hundred. The report goes on to state that the inhabitants abandoned the town and that 'the enemy came after, and burned all to the ground' (ibid). This is confirmed by Henry Smyth, who in the same year reported 'the English town of Tallow burnt and spoiled, and all their goods lost' (Ibid, 330).

In 1604 Tallow was granted to Sir Richard Boyle, later earl of Cork (Ir. Rec. Comm. 1830, 42: No. xxi) who rebuilt the town again as an English plantation. A major factor in the growth of the town was an iron industry which Power (1977-8, 33) states that Boyle had established by 1608. In 1613 the town received a royal charter of incorporation (Weinbaum 1943 223; Smith 1746, 63). Boyle, as lord of the manor, controlled the corporation and appointed the officers, such as the sovereign in 1632 (Grosart 1886, iii, 165) and the recorder and town clerk in 1630 (ibid, 58). Tallow also became a legal center, and Boyle's diary noted the holding of the first assizes there in 1618 (ibid, 199). It was presumably around this time that Boyle built a courthouse and prison in the town. Boyle also built a market house and by 1622 he was receiving the accounts of the fairs and markets held there (Grosart 1886, ii, 59). A variety of trades were being practised. In 1621 Boyle 'compounded with Mr Green of Tallagh to be the comon beer and ale brewer for that town'

(ibid, ii, 15), while in 1622 he presented Lady Carew with a gift of 'a pair of Tallagh knyves' (ibid, ii, 41) indicating the existence of a cutlery manufacturer in the town. By 1622 Boyle's new town could be described as:

a fair and handsome market town .. consisting of about one hundred and fifty houses, all inhabited with English of several trades, where he hath likewise erected two iron mills, by which many people are set awork (Dunlop 1924, 142)

In the same year Boyle mustered his English tenantry before government officials at Tallow, and noted them as 'all englishe well horsed and armed 720 ffoot and 215 horse' (Grosart 1886, ii, 54). Although all of these tenants were not necessarily inhabitants of Tallow the references to 150 houses there suggests a population of at least 600-900. In 1659 the Census of Ireland returned a population of 105 for 'Tallough Towne', but this census clearly does not give total population figures (Pender 1939, 339).

Although Tallow was apparently fortified in 1641 there is no evidence that it was attacked during the rebellion. The Civil Survey of 1654, however, refers to Tallow as 'a town formerly incorporated' (Simington 1942, 16) which may suggest that there had been a serious decline in the town's fortunes. If this were so then Tallow must have made a good recovery because Stanhope, writing between 1682 and 1685, described it as:

a fair and Market town, wel built and populous, scituate
... neare the River Bride, by which it has the
conveniency of importing and Exporting all sorts of
goods by and from Youghall (Walton 1987, 30)

In 1687 Cox described it as 'a populous and flourishing towne
of considerable trade by reason the river Bride is navigable
up almost to Tallow bridge' (Day 1902, 82).

ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVENTORY

1. STREETS & STREET PATTERN
2. DOMESTIC HOUSES
3. MARKET HOUSE
4. COURT HOUSE.
5. PRISON
6. INDUSTRIAL AREAS
7. TOWN DEFENCES
8. PARISH CHURCH
9. MISCELLANEOUS

1. STREET PATTERN (figs. 55-6)

The street plan of Tallow is cross-linear, formed by two
intersecting streets. The market place was probably on the
north side of the cross roads in the centre of the town.

2. DOMESTIC HOUSES

The number of houses in Tallow was estimated at sixty in 1598 (Atkinson 1895, 326) and at one hundred and fifty in 1622 (Dunlop 1924, 142) but no information on the type of housing in use is given in the documentary sources. There are several stone built three storeyed houses, particularly on Convent St and Main St, with small windows which appear to be of eighteenth century date. There is a four storeyed stone built house on the south side of West St. with a batter on its N wall. It is possible that the core of some of these houses may be of seventeenth century date.

3. MARKET HOUSE

Ryland (1842, 342) quotes an apparently contemporary document stating that the earl of Cork built a market-house at Tallow. This is confirmed by Smith (1746, 64) who implies that Boyle's market-house was still to be seen in his day. On analogy with the courthouse this market house was probably built around or shortly before 1620. According to Scale's map (fig. 55) this long rectangular building was located in the centre of the Market Place opposite West St.

4. COURT HOUSE

A document quoted by Ryland (1824, 342) states that Boyle built a 'sessions-house' at Tallow. Nothing else is known of this building, but it was presumably completed by 1618, when

Boyle's diary notes the holding of the first assizes at Tallow (Grosart 1886, i, 199). A house fronting onto the east side of Convent St is labelled Court House on the present ed. of the O.S. maps but this was known as the Gaol on the Scale map. It has been radically altered in recent years and there is no evidence that it was a pre-1700 structure.

5. PRISON

Boyle is also credited with the erection of a strong prison at Tallow (Ryland 1824, 342) and Smith (1746, 64) noted that the 'manor gaol' built by Boyle was still to be seen in his day. It was presumably built at the same time as the court-house it served.

6. MILLS

Iron mills

Tallow was the center of an important iron industry established by Boyle. A survey of 1622 noted two iron mills 'by which many people are set awork' in Tallow (Dunlop 1924, 142). The mills were apparently in operation by 1608, and continued in production until c.1685 (Power 1977-78, 33). An indication of the mills' importance can be got from Power's (1952, 58) statement that within seven years Boyle 'exported from Tallow 21,000 tons of bar iron at £15 per ton'. The resulting total of £378,000 was an enormous sum of money in seventeenth century terms. Besides exporting raw iron, Boyle

also seems to have established a cutlery trade in the town, to judge from his record of having presented 'a pair of Tallagh knyves' to Lady Carew in 1622 (Grosart 1886, ii, 41). The mills had apparently ceased production for want of fuel by 1687, when Cox noted that:

near Tallow there has been for many years an iron forge, where very good iron (and great quantities of it) was made but the woods being decayed, I suppose the forge also must stand still for want of fewell (Day 1902, 82).

Traces of the iron works were noted by Power in 1952. He stated that Forge lane was an old road leading to the site of the ancient smelting works, and that slag, clinkers and other remains of the works were 'so abundant that the fences are partly built of them' (Power 1952, 60-?). Power also noted 'Muileann an Iarainn, 'the iron mill', as the site of one of the earl of Cork's factories in the townland of Limekiln Close (ibid, 60).

Other mills

A mill in the town of 'Talaghrath' apparently part of the seigneurial demesne of John de Exeter is recorded in 1305 (Mills 1914, 99). In 1614 Richard Boyle, earl of Cork, bought the lease of 'Tallagh mylles' from a Mr Rosier (Grosart 1886, i, 49); this was presumably the successor of the 1305 mill. In 1620 Boyle's diary noted that William Blak, 'the myller of Tallagh', was to pay him £40 for licence to sell his lease of the mills there (ibid, 242). This is an indication that the mills were of considerable value.

A saw mill (marked mill on the Scale map, fig. 55) is located SW of the town on a mill race attached to the river Glenaboy but only fragmentary walls of this, probably a post-1700 building, survive.

7. TOWN DEFENCES

In 1746, Smith noted that Tallow:

was never encompassed by a wall, nor was it a place of any defence; but in the rebellion of 1641, an entrenchment was cast up around it, having four gates or entrances, all made at the expense of the said Earl [of Cork], who maintain'd in it a garrison of 100 foot' (Smith 1746, 64).

In fact these defences were not erected prior to 1643, when Boyle allowed money to his sons 'to mak an entrenchment about my Town of Tallaghe' (Grosart 1886, v, 221). Power (1952, 61) noted that an alternative name for Forge Lane was Ramp, a name possibly derived from rampier or rampart. There is no trace of any ditch or bank enclosing the town. A bank, west of St Catherine's Church and close to the junction of the mill race with the Glenaboy river, is probably the result of drainage works.

8. PARISH CHURCH

'Tulachratha' is among a list of churches confirmed to the bishops of Cork by Innocent III in 1199 (Sheehy 1962, i,

109), but a difficulty arises in identifying this as Tallow because in the later medieval period Tallow belonged to the diocese of Lismore (eg. Twemlow 1933, 668). Nevertheless in view of its location on the Cork-Waterford border it is possible that the 1199 reference alludes to Tallow. This raises the possibility of a pre-Norman church site there.

No further references to Tallow are known until 1469, when the vicarage of the parish church of 'Tollacrahy' was united to the Augustinian Abbey of Molana, by papal decree (Twemlow 1933, 668). The rectory of 'Tullaghrathe' was among the possessions of Molana leased to John Thickepennye in 1571 (12 RDKPRI 29: No. 1687). The church benefitted from Richard Boyle's rebuilding of Tallow in the early seventeenth century. In 1616 Boyle bestowed £7 15s 'to have the Church of Tallagh galleried round about' (Grosart 1886, i, 138-9), and in 1625 he noted his intention 'to enlardg the church of Tallagh (which at my own chardges I galleryed abowt) by adding a newe chancell therunto' (Grosart 1886, ii, 163). An apparently contemporary document quoted by Ryland (1824, 342) states that Boyle built a new church and chancel at Tallow.

Power (1912, 194) stated that the foundations of an ancient church measuring some 40 feet by 22 feet, were traceable in the churchyard. Today the graveyard is very overgrown, however, and there are no traces of an earlier structure although the ground around the church is higher than the foundations of the existing building which is now closed.

Monuments

According to Power (1912, 194) there was a slab here dating to 1630. This has not been located.

John Whittington. 1635.

Broken slab said to have been located close to the N wall of the church. This was not found. It had the following inscription:

THOUGH LIFE HATH THEE LEFT YET/ LIVEST THOU EVER AND
DETH HATH/ HIS DU YET DIEST THOU NEVER. HERE LIETH THE
BODY/ OF JOHN WHITTINGTON/ THE SONNE OF MALLIN/
WHITTINGTON BURID THE/ 2 DAY OF AGUST IN THE/ YERE OF
OUR LORD/ 1635

Mems Dead ix (1913-16), 168

9. MISCELLANEOUS

Tower House.

There is a fine four storeyed FitzGerald castle on the high ground overlooking the town to the NW. It has pointed barrel vaults over first and third floors and large dressed limestone chimneys on the upper floors. Garderobe in the SE corner, and window seats in the twin light ogee-headed windows at fourth floor level. It is unroofed and the fourth floor is overgrown.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL PROBLEMS AND POTENTIAL

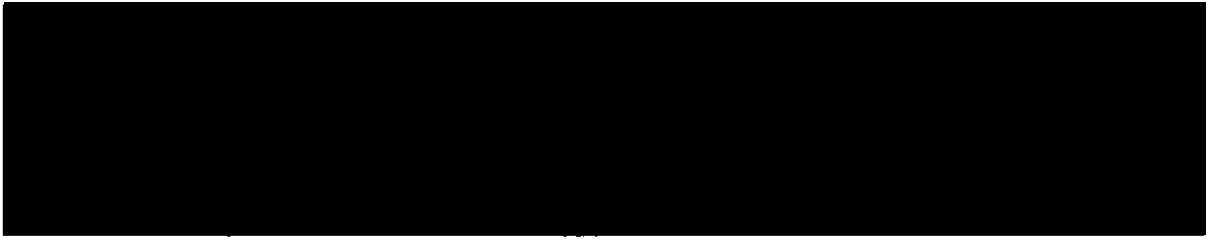
Tallow is the only example of a seventeenth century plantation town in the county. Documentary sources indicate that it was a settlement of some importance in the thirteenth century and there is a possibility that it may have been the site of a pre-Norman ecclesiastical settlement. The documentary evidence for Talow prior to 1700 is restricted, however, and in the future archaeological excavation is likely to be the principal means by which additional knowledge of its past can be obtained.

Area of Archaeological Potential

The shaded portion of the accompanying map (Fig. 54) delimits the area of archaeological potential within Tallow. Its extent is based in large part on the built-up area of the town shown in Scale's map (fig. 55). Within this area archaeological excavation is likely to uncover features of the seventeenth century town, such as refuse pits and workshops, while the possibility of uncovering earlier Anglo-Norman evidence also exists. In the absence of archaeological excavations nothing can be said about the depth of archaeological deposits. Apart, however, from house rebuilding on the street frontage there has been little disturbance to archaeological deposits within the borough.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]



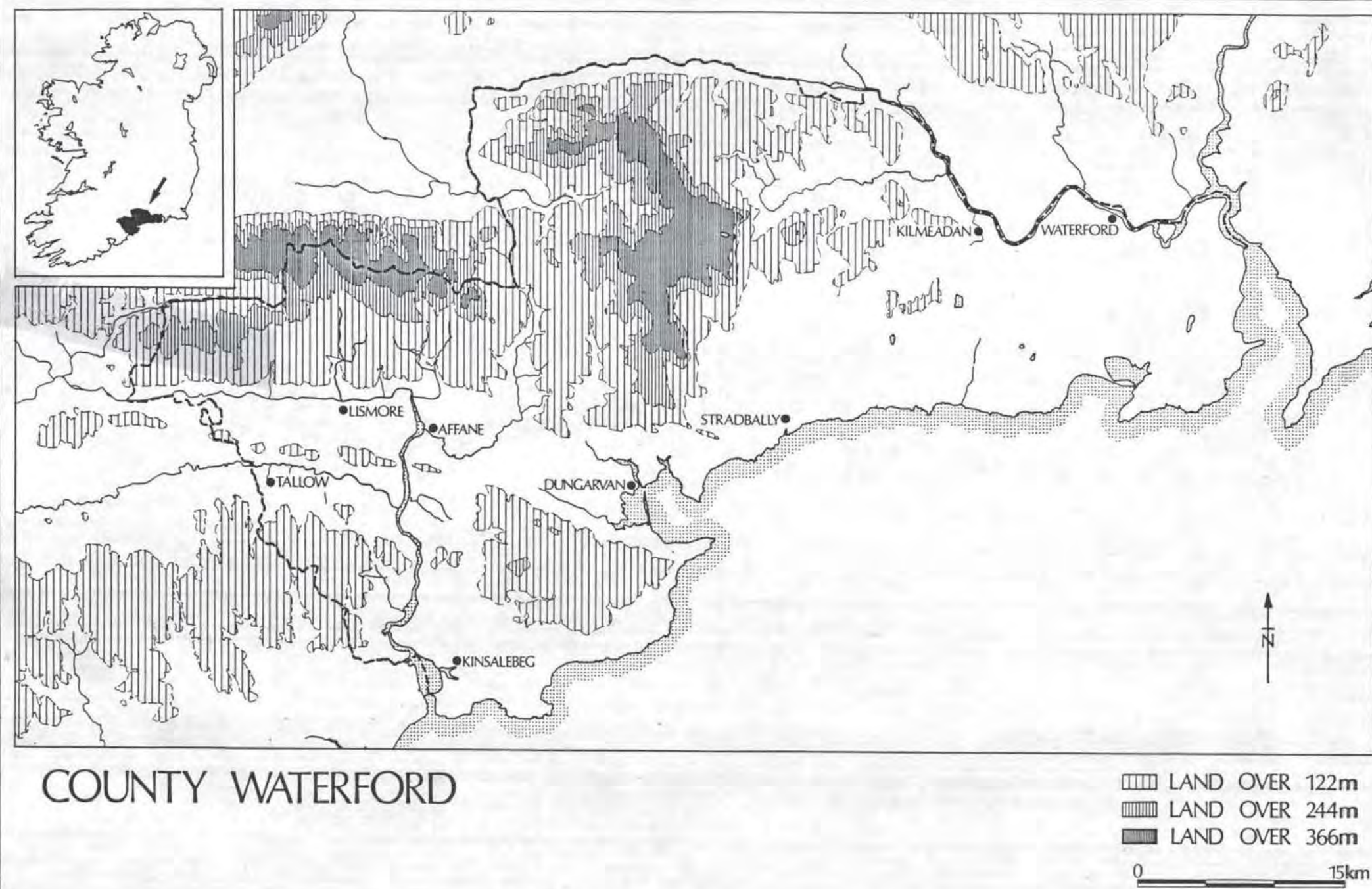


Fig. 1. County Waterford: Location map of boroughs and towns.

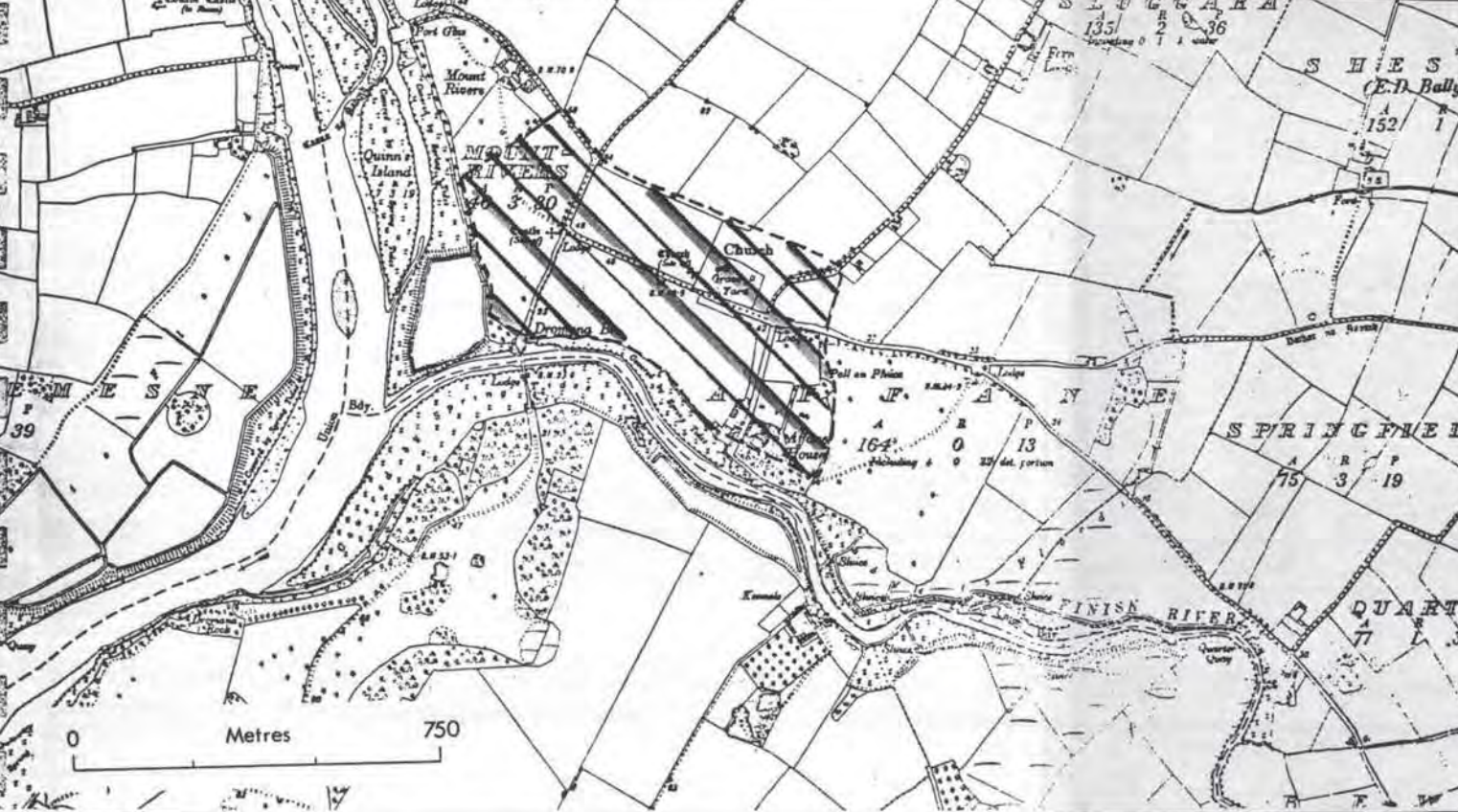


FIG. 2: Affane: zone of archaeological potential.



YAMUCK EAST

IL A

PARKNACAPPUL

D

SHANDON

PARKEENALOUGH

PARKEENAFLUCH

IL RUSH

(Power)

S

GALLOWSMILL

Gallow Hill

St. David's Well

Bolding Store

DUNGARVAN

DUNGARVAN

(Urban District)

ABBEYSIDE

CLONMARTY

BORDEEN

RINGNASILLOE

AREA OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL POTENTIAL
HATCHED GREEN

Cumragh Point



Fig. 3. Aerial view of Dungarvan from the southwest
(Cambridge Aerial Coll.).

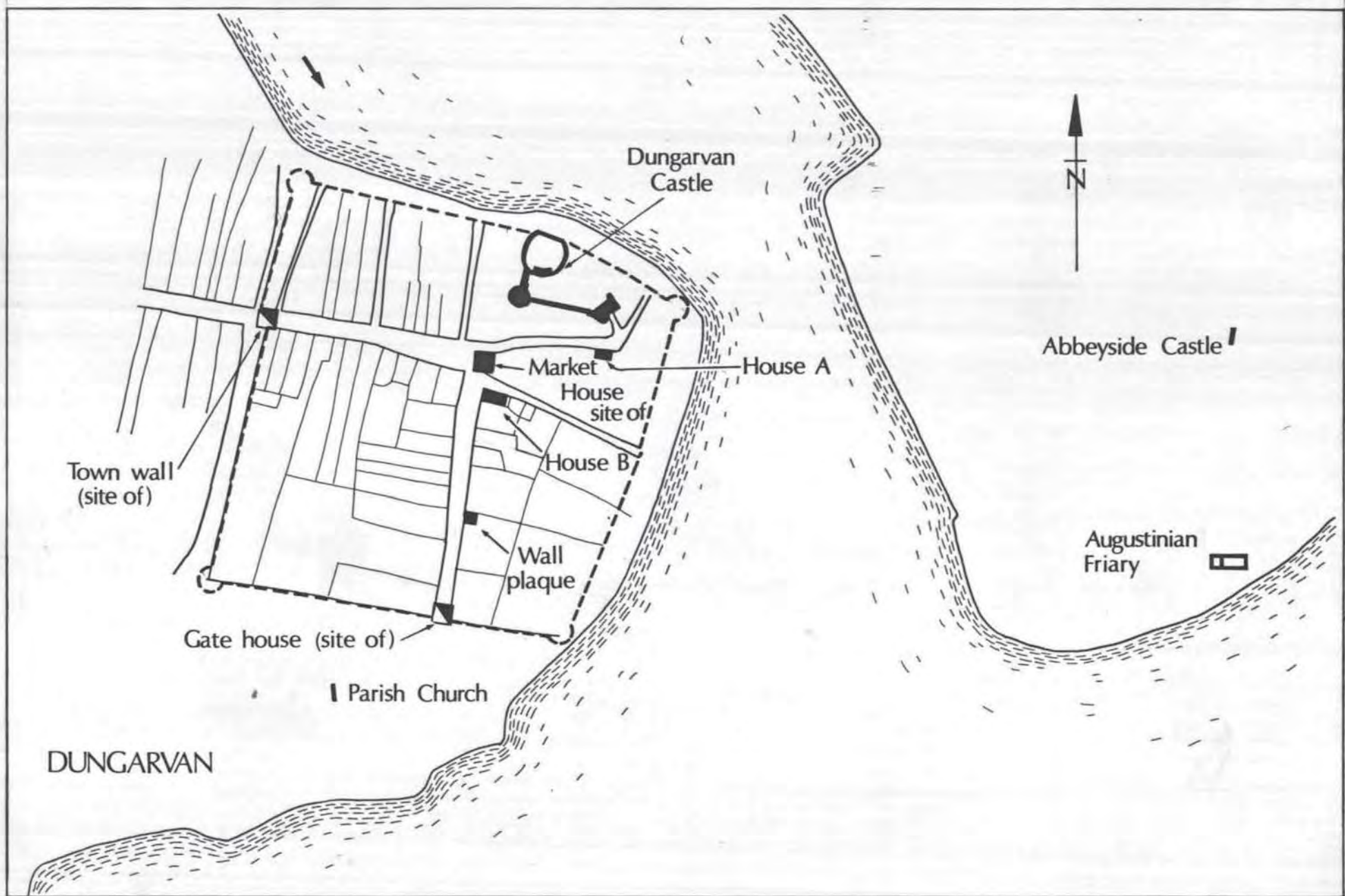


Fig. 3a. Outline map of Dungarvan showing the principal archaeological features.



Fig. 4. Dungarvan: house 1 (Castle St) from NE.

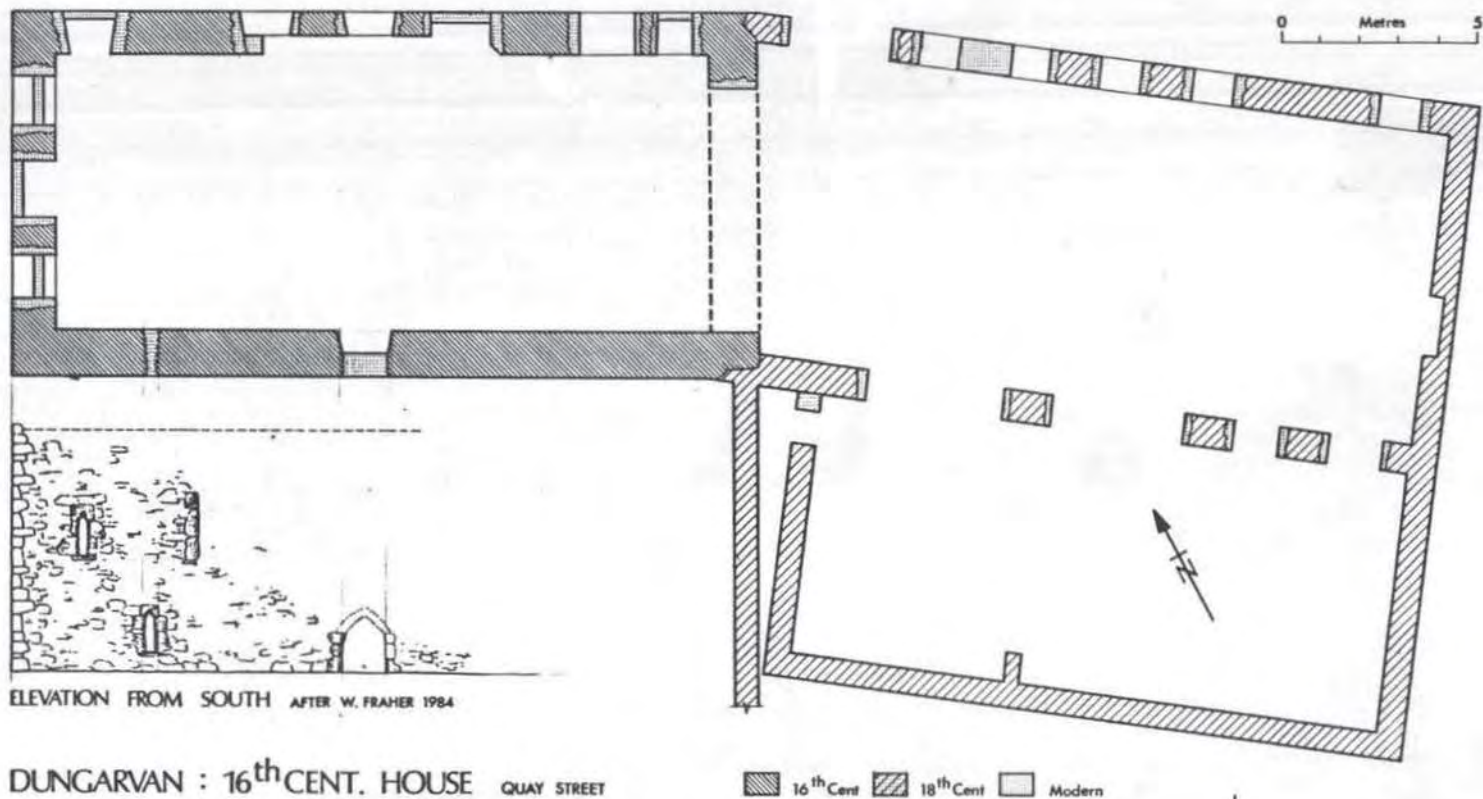


Fig. 5. Dungarvan: house 2 ("Barry's Stores"): ground plan and south elevation.



Fig. 6. Dungarvan: house 2 ("Barry's Stores"). The quoins of the NW angle belong to the late medieval house.



Fig. 7. Dungarvan: Window and hoodmoulding in S wall of House 2 ("Barry's Stores").



Fig. 8. Dungarvan: ogee-headed window in S wall of House 2 ("Barry's Stores").



Fig. 9. Dungarvan: house plaque in Church Street dated 1615.



Fig. 10. Dungarvan castle: gatehouse from NW.



Fig. 11. Dungarvan Castle: circular tower from E.



Fig. 12. Dungarvan Castle: vaulted roof of circular tower.

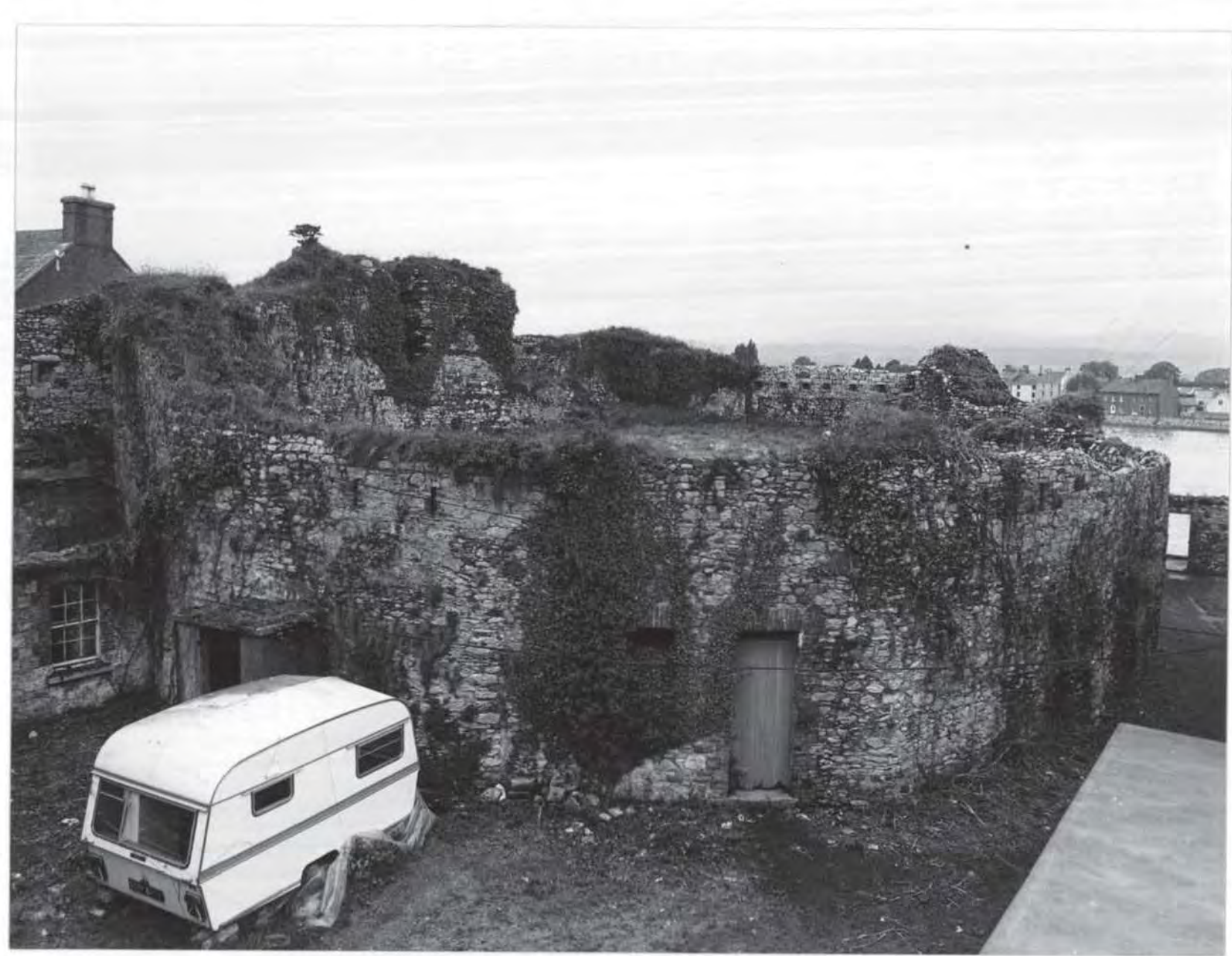


Fig. 13. Dungarvan Castle: keep from SE.



Fig. 14. Gable of St.Mary's parish church, Dungarvan, from W.

DUNGARVAN : AUGUSTINIAN FRIARY

15th Cent Modern

0 Metres 5



MODERN CHURCH

TOWER : FIRST FLOOR PLAN

SITE OF
NAVE

TOWER

CHANCEL

TOMB RECESS UNDER

GROUND PLAN

Fig. 15. Dungarvan: Augustinian Friary: ground plan.

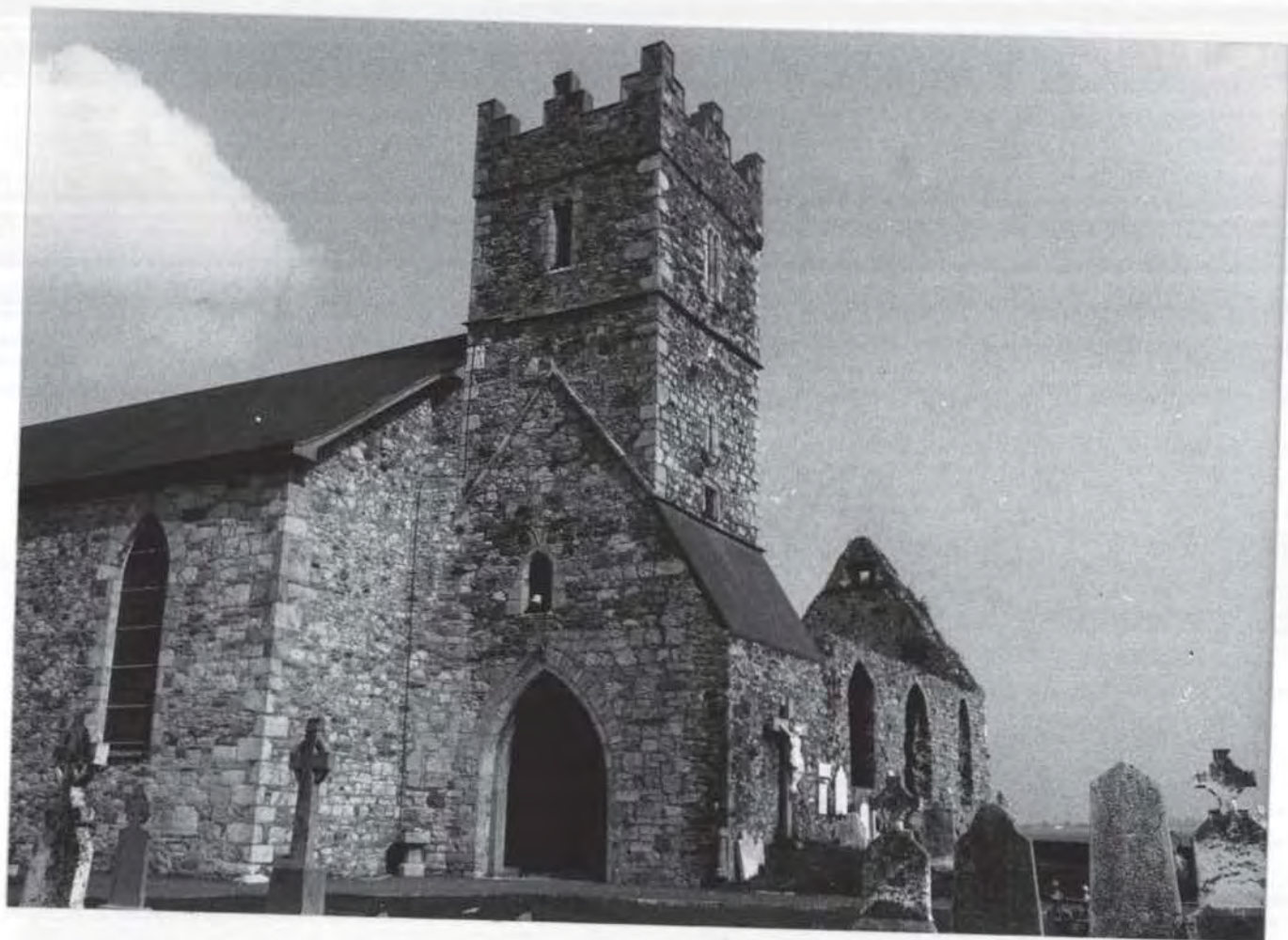


Fig. 16. Dungarvan: Augustinian Friary from SW.

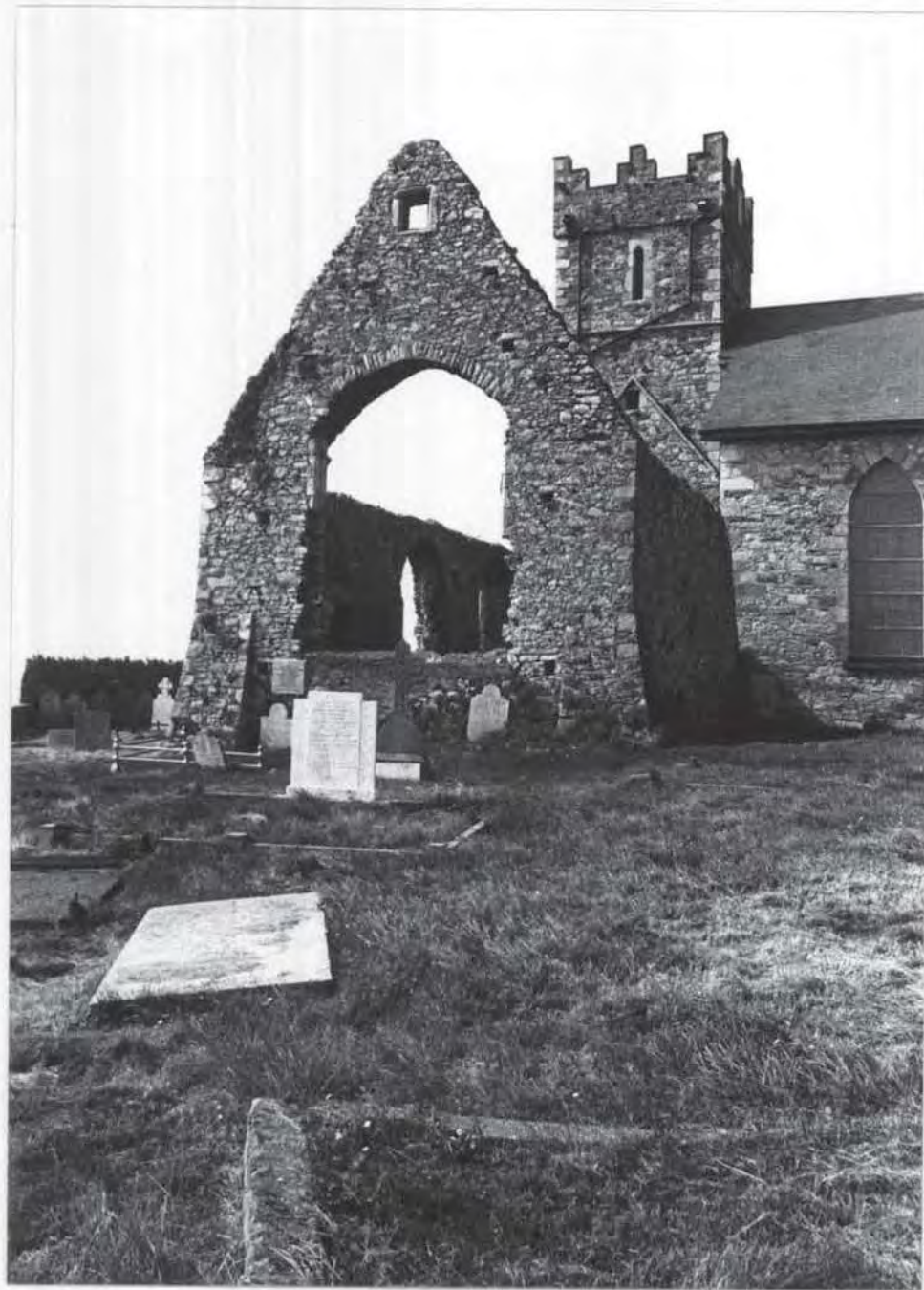


Fig. 17. Dungarvan: Augustinian Friary from E.



Fig. 18. Dungarvan: N door in chancel of Augustinian Friary.



Fig. 19. Dungarvan: Motte known as Cromwell's Mount, at Gallowshill, from N.



CASTLE RUINS.DUNGARVAN.3597.W.L.

Fig. 20. Dungarvan: McGrath Castle, Abbeyside (Photo: Lawrence Coll., NLI).

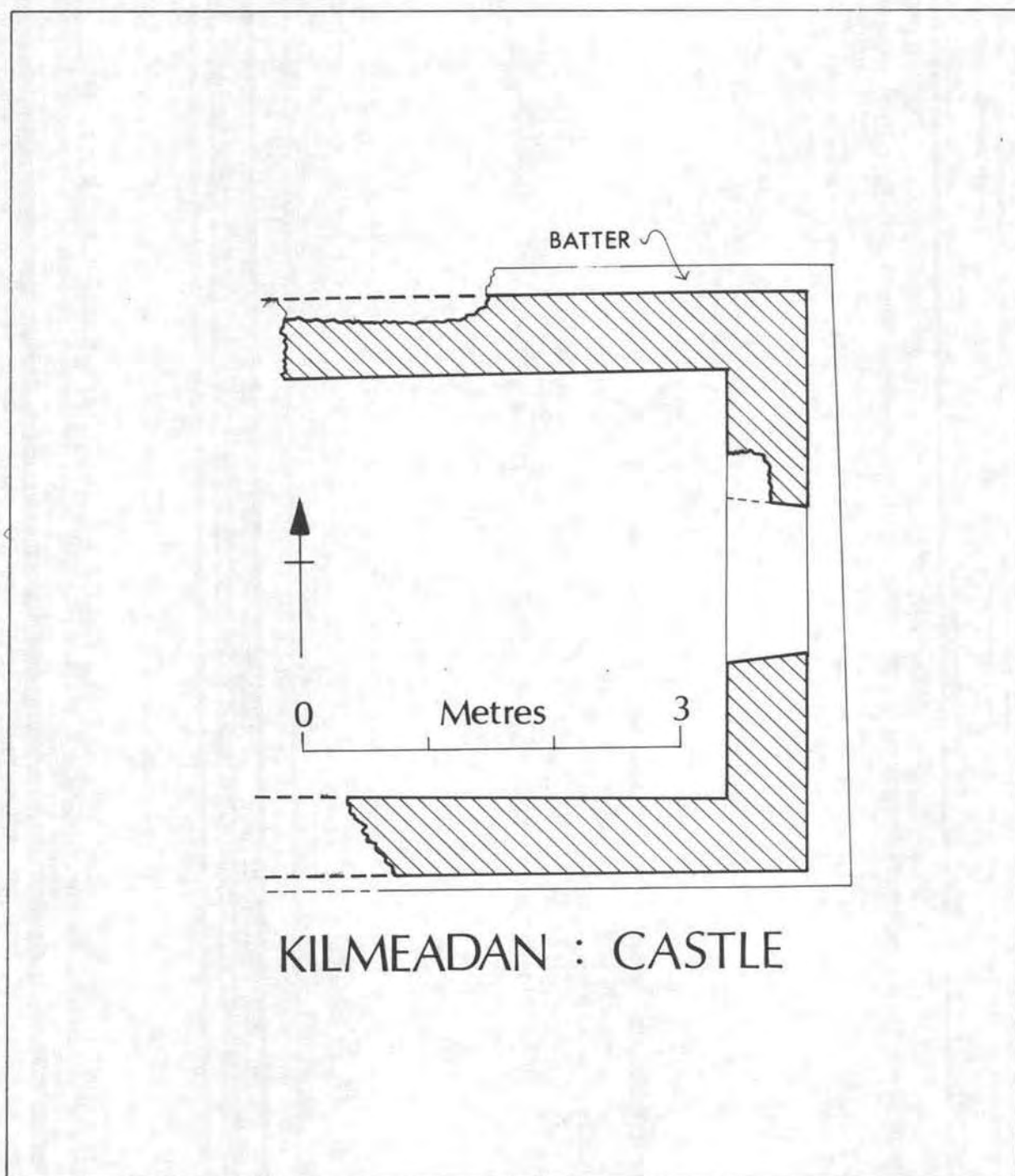
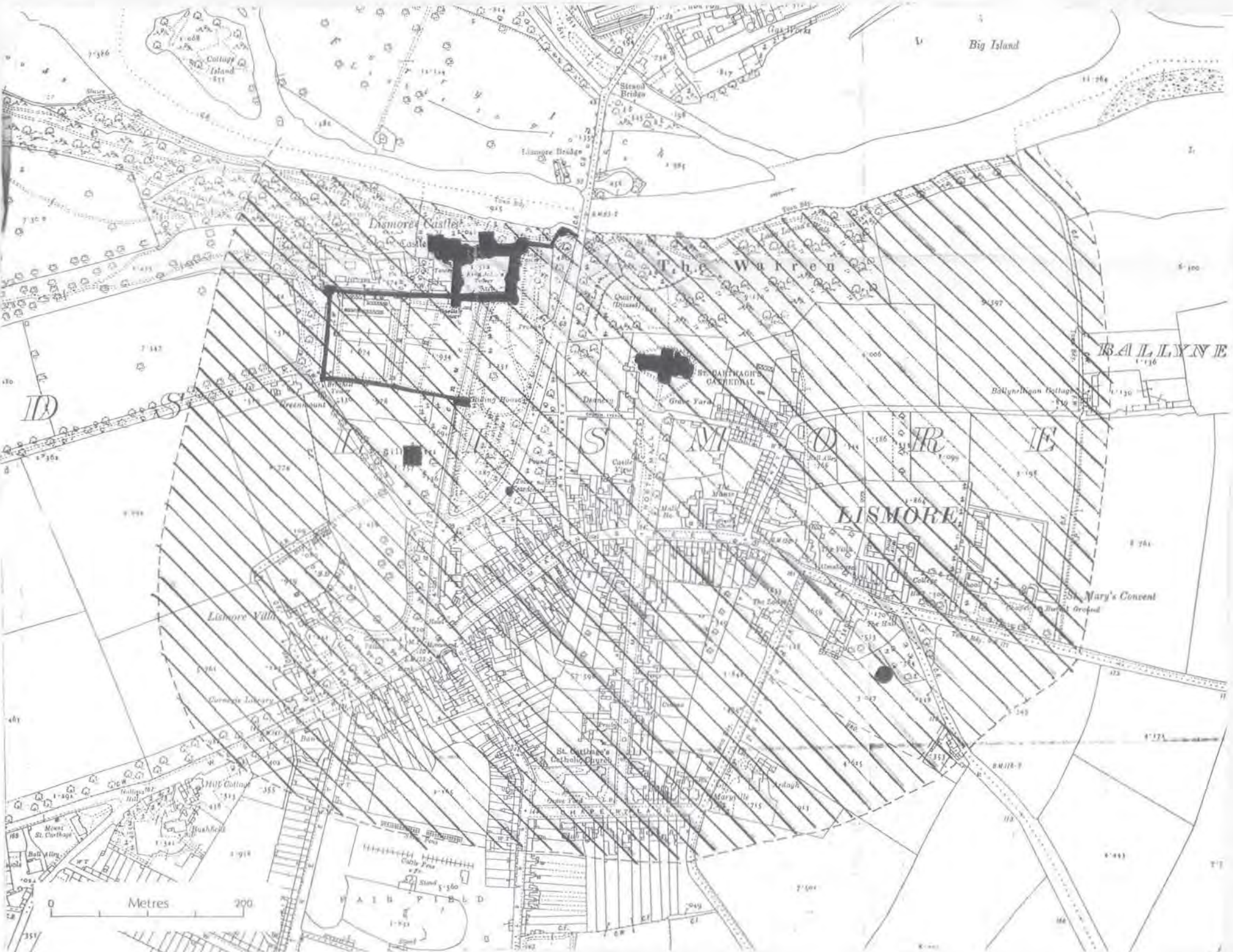


Fig. 22. Ground plan of Kilmeadan castle.



Fig. 23. Kilmeadan castle from W.



Big Island

BALLYNE

LISMORE

St. Mary's Convent

Lismore Castle

The Warren

ST. DANIEL'S CATHEDRAL

ID

Metres 200



Fig. 26. Aerial view of Lismore from the south (Cambridge Aerial Coll.)



Fig. 28. Aerial view of Lismore Castle from SW.

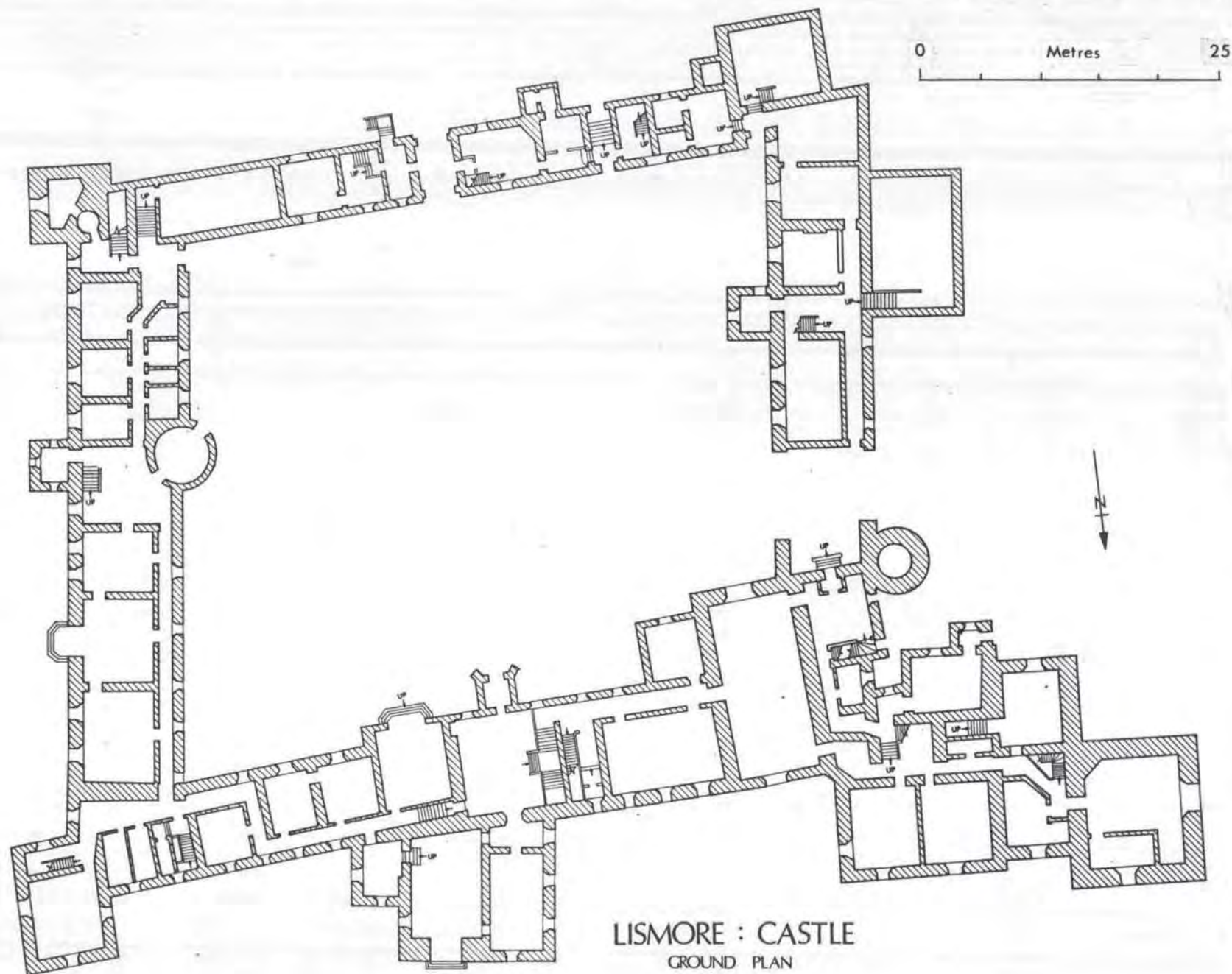


Fig. 29. Lismore Castle: ground plan.

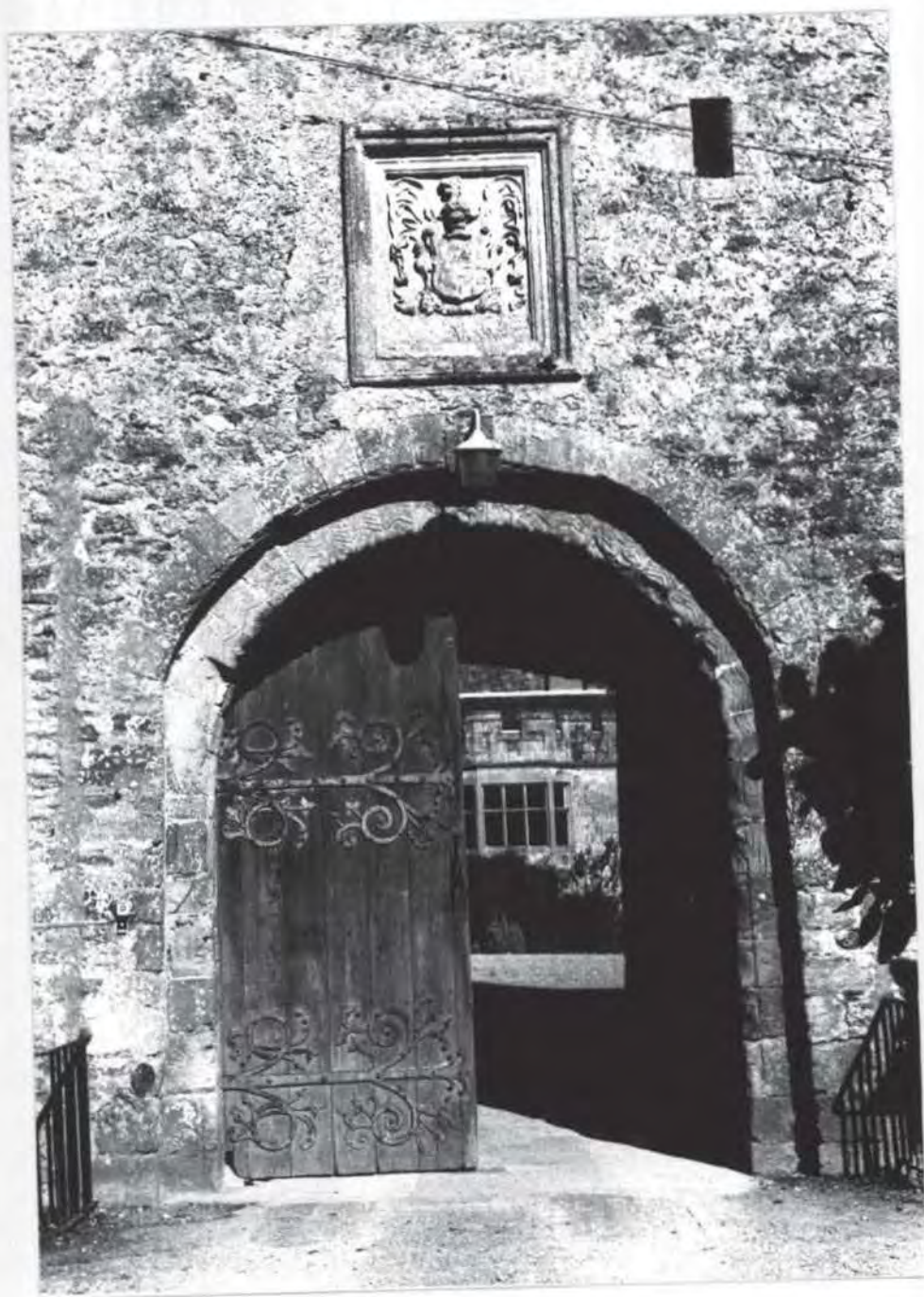


Fig. 31. Romanesque arch incorporated into Lismore Castle's entrance gate.

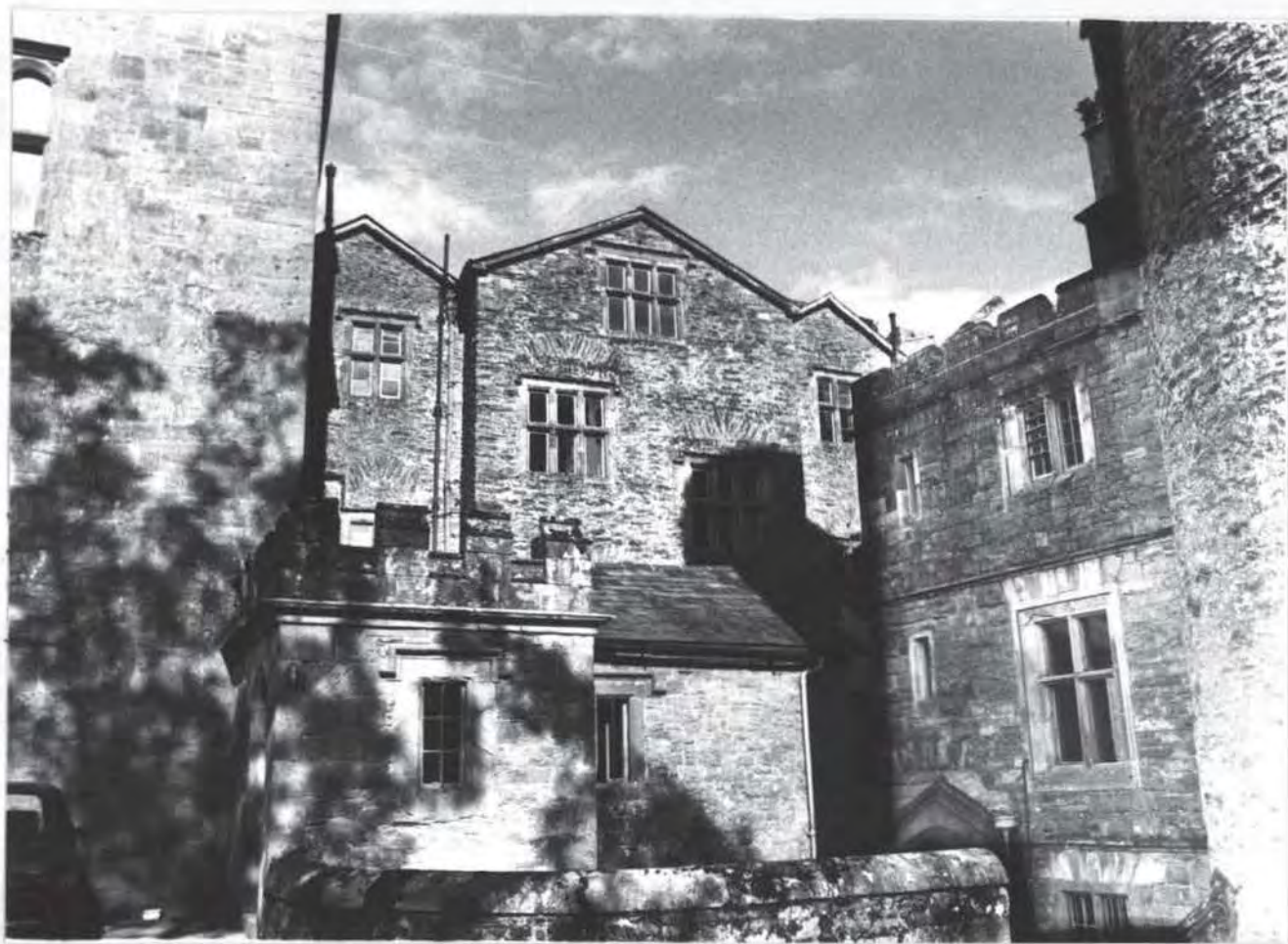


Fig. 32. Lismore Castle: 17th century windows in NW corner block.



Fig. 33. Basement support pillars under the chapel (now the ballroom), probably 17th cent.



Fig. 34. Lismore Castle: Riding House from S.



Fig. 35. Lismore Castle: SW corner tower of western garden.



Fig. 36. Lismore: St. Carthagh's Cathedral. View of chancel's south wall showing a pillaster of the transitional building on the bottom right, the chancel of the nineteenth century church and part of Robinson's south transept.

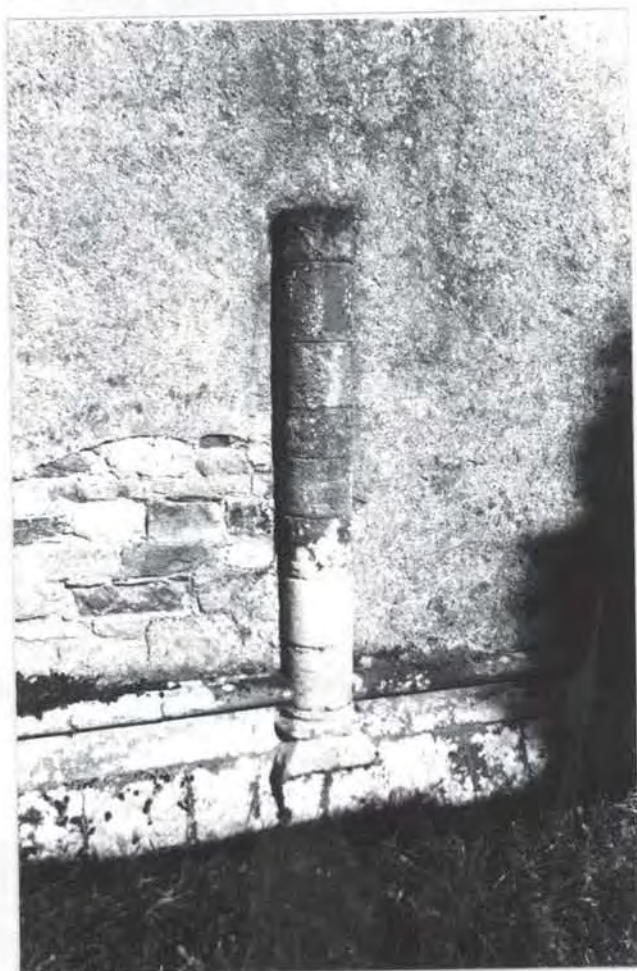


Fig. 37. Lismore: St. Carthagh's Cathedral. Detail of transitional work on chancel.

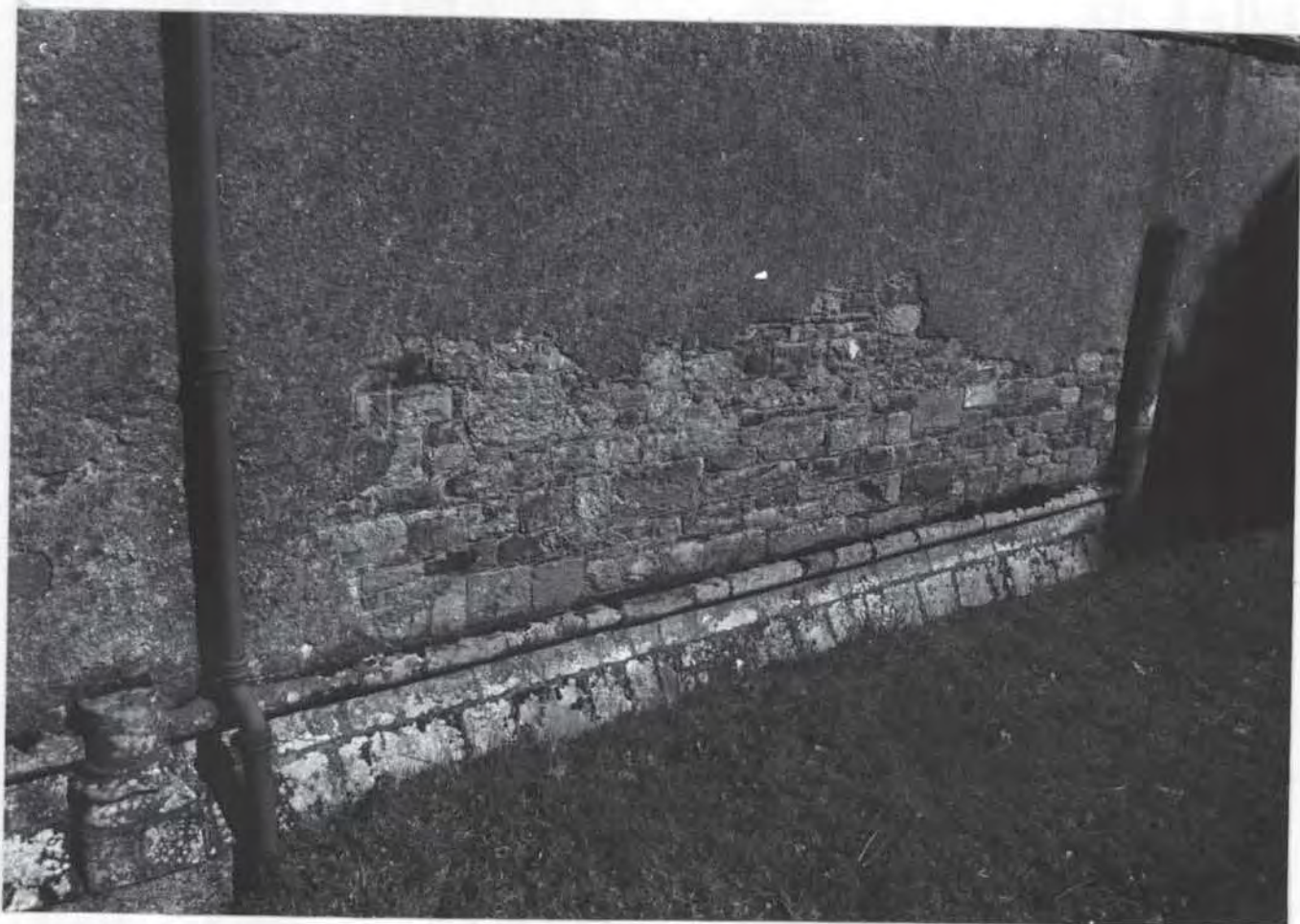


Fig. 38. Lismore: St. Carthagh's Cathedral. Detail of transitional work on chancel's S wall.

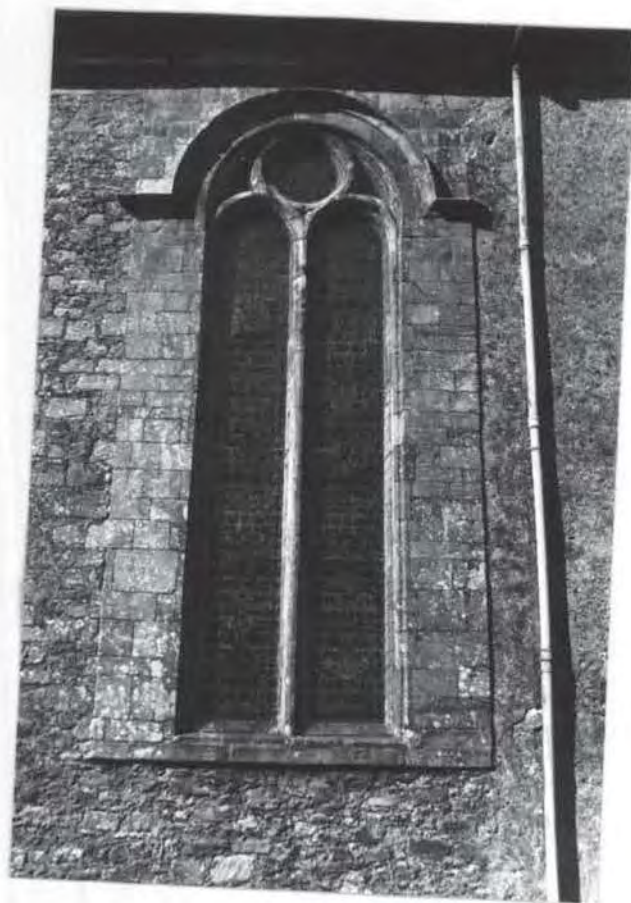


Fig. 39. Lismore: St Carthagh's Cathedral. Detail of Robinson window.



Fig. 40. Lismore: St. Carthagh's Cathedral: Early Christian slab.



Fig. 41. Lismore: St. Carthagh's Cathedral: Early Christian slab.

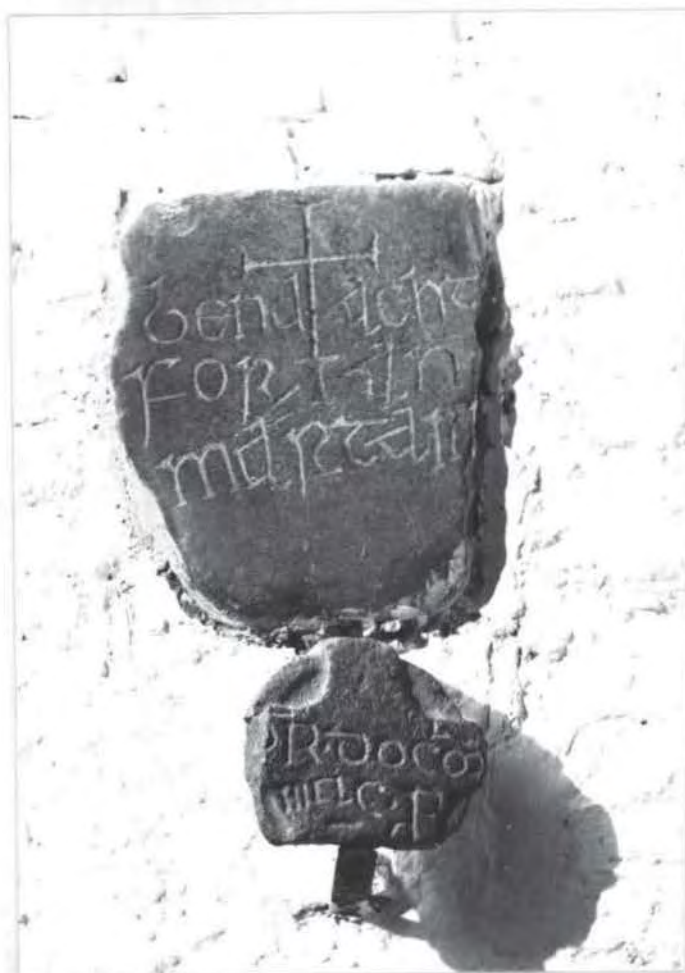


Fig. 42. Lismore: St. Carthagh's Cathedral: Early Christian slab.



Fig. 43. Lismore: St. Carthagh's Cathedral: Early Christian slab.



Fig. 44. Lismore: St. Carthagh's Cathedral. Architectural fragments.



Fig. 45. Lismore: St Carthagh's Cathedral. Detail of McCraith tomb.



Fig. 46. Lismore: St Carthage's Cathedral. Detail of McCraith tomb.



Fig. 48. Stradbally: St. James' Church from S.



Fig. 49. Stradbally: St. James' Church. Internal view looking east.

STRADBALLY : PARISH CHURCH

16th Cent. (phase 1)
 16th Cent. (phase 2)
 Modern

0 Metres 5

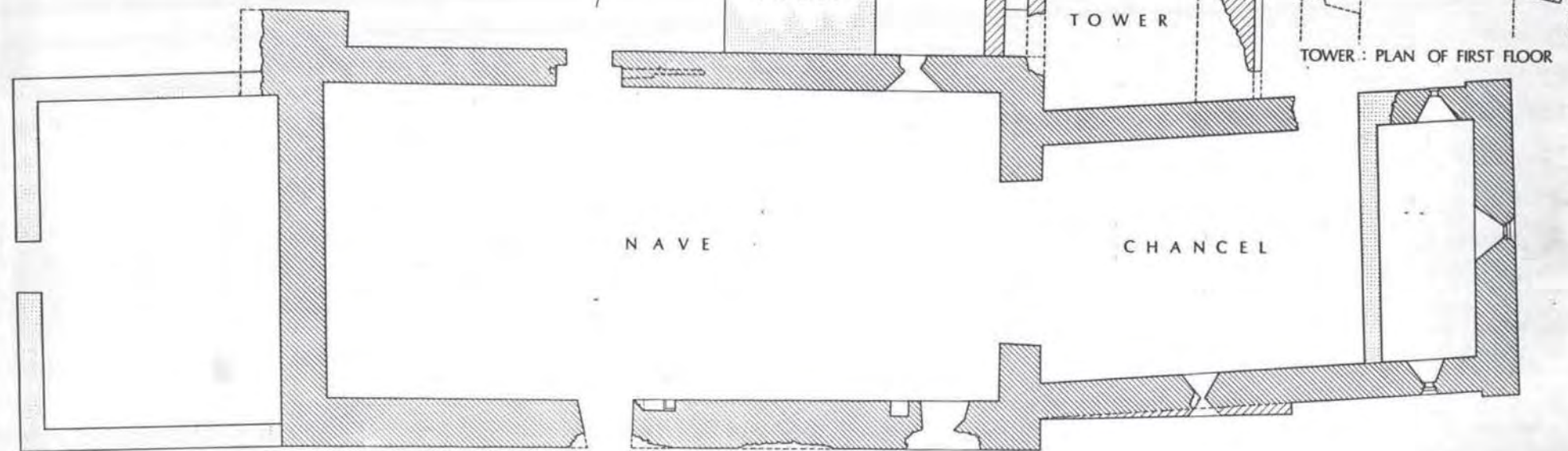


Fig. 50. Stradbally: St. James' Church: ground plan.

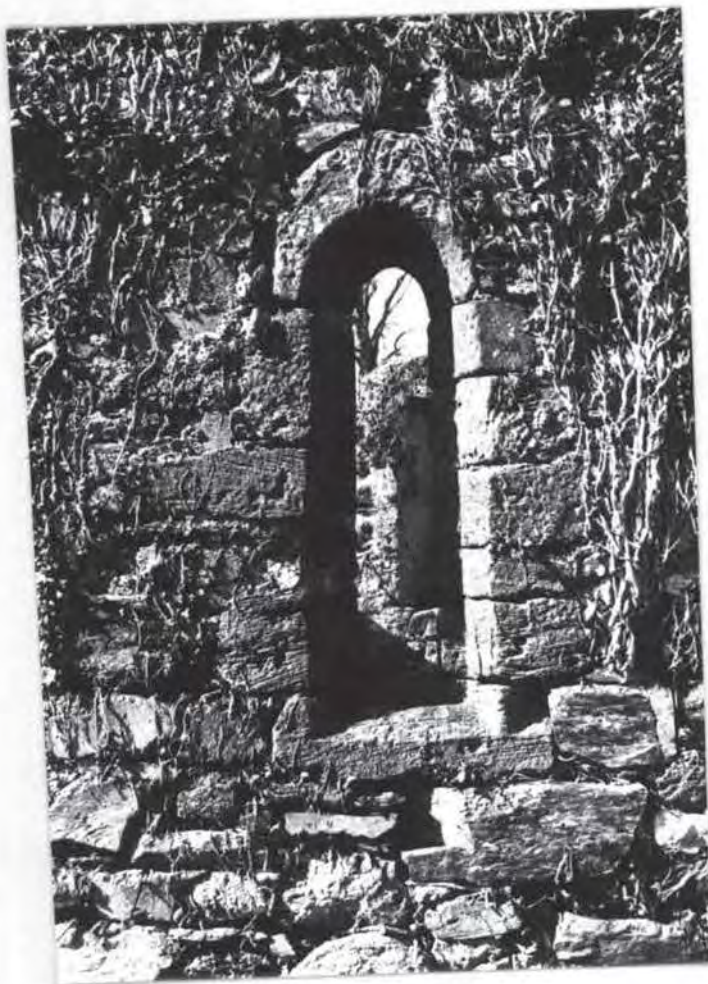


Fig. 51. Stradbally: St. James' Church. Window in S wall.



Fig. 52. Stradbally: residential tower attached to St. James' Church, from SE.



Fig. 53. Stradbally: St. James' Church. 14th cent grave slab.

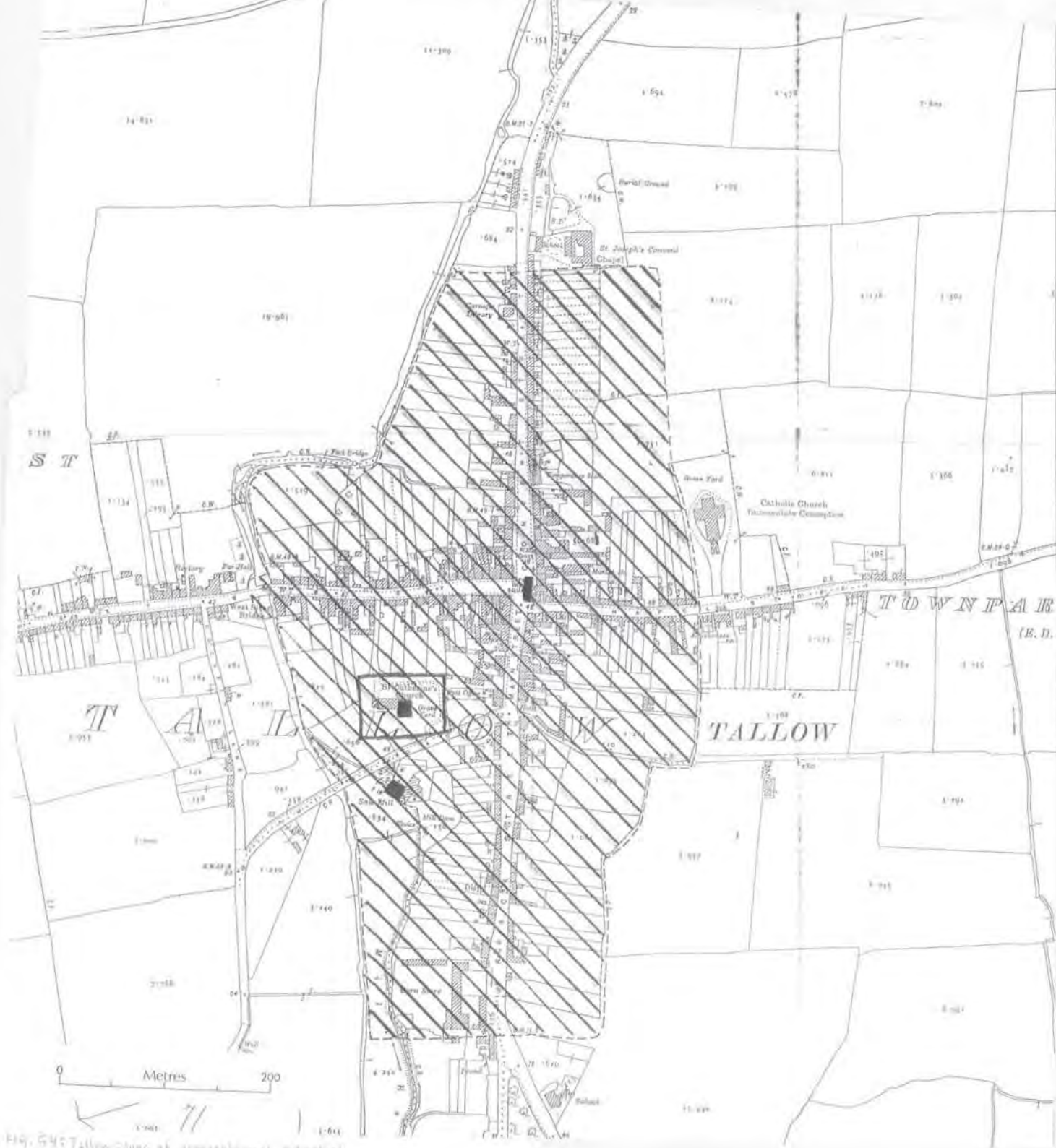


Fig. 545 Tallow - Town of Immaculate Conception.

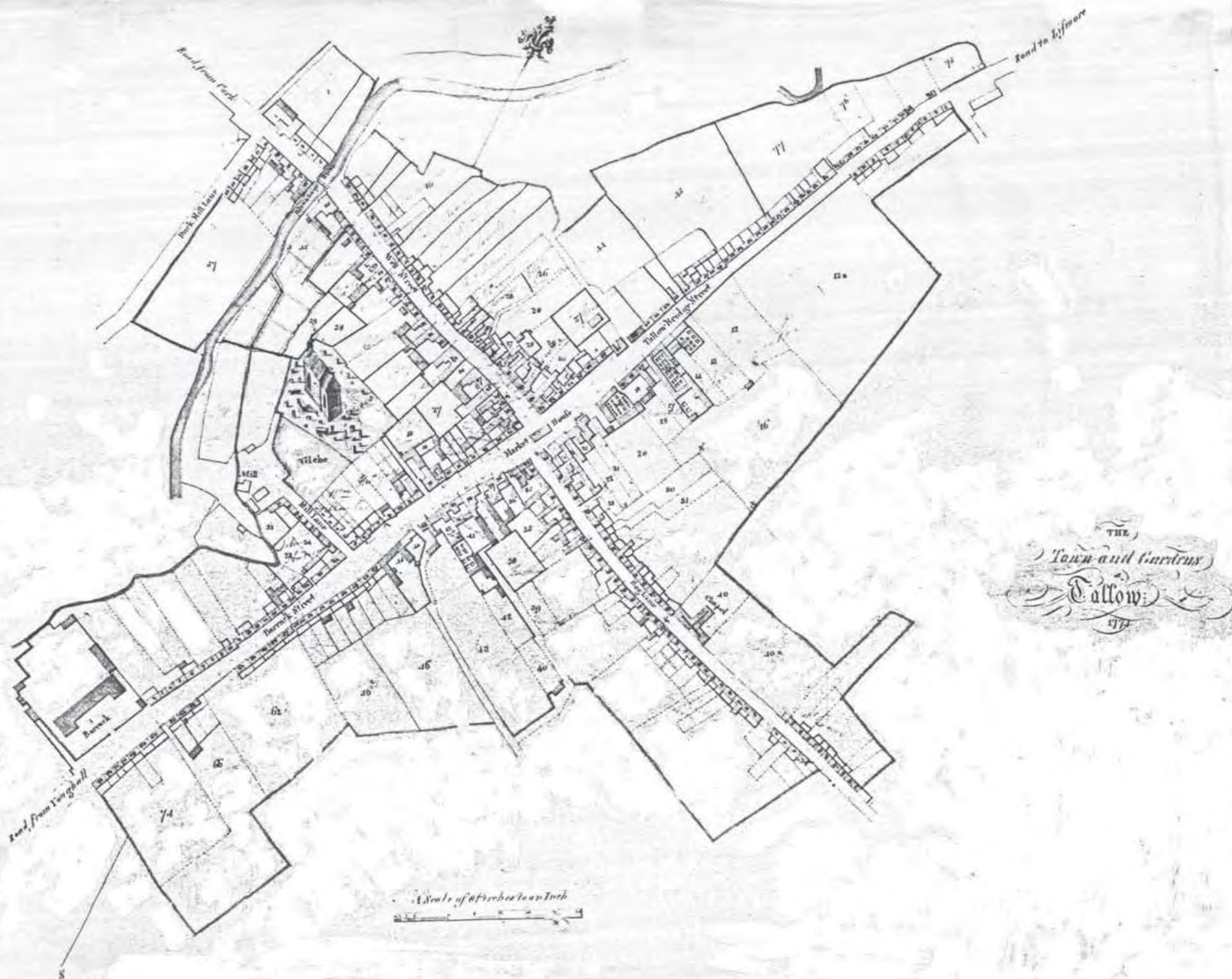
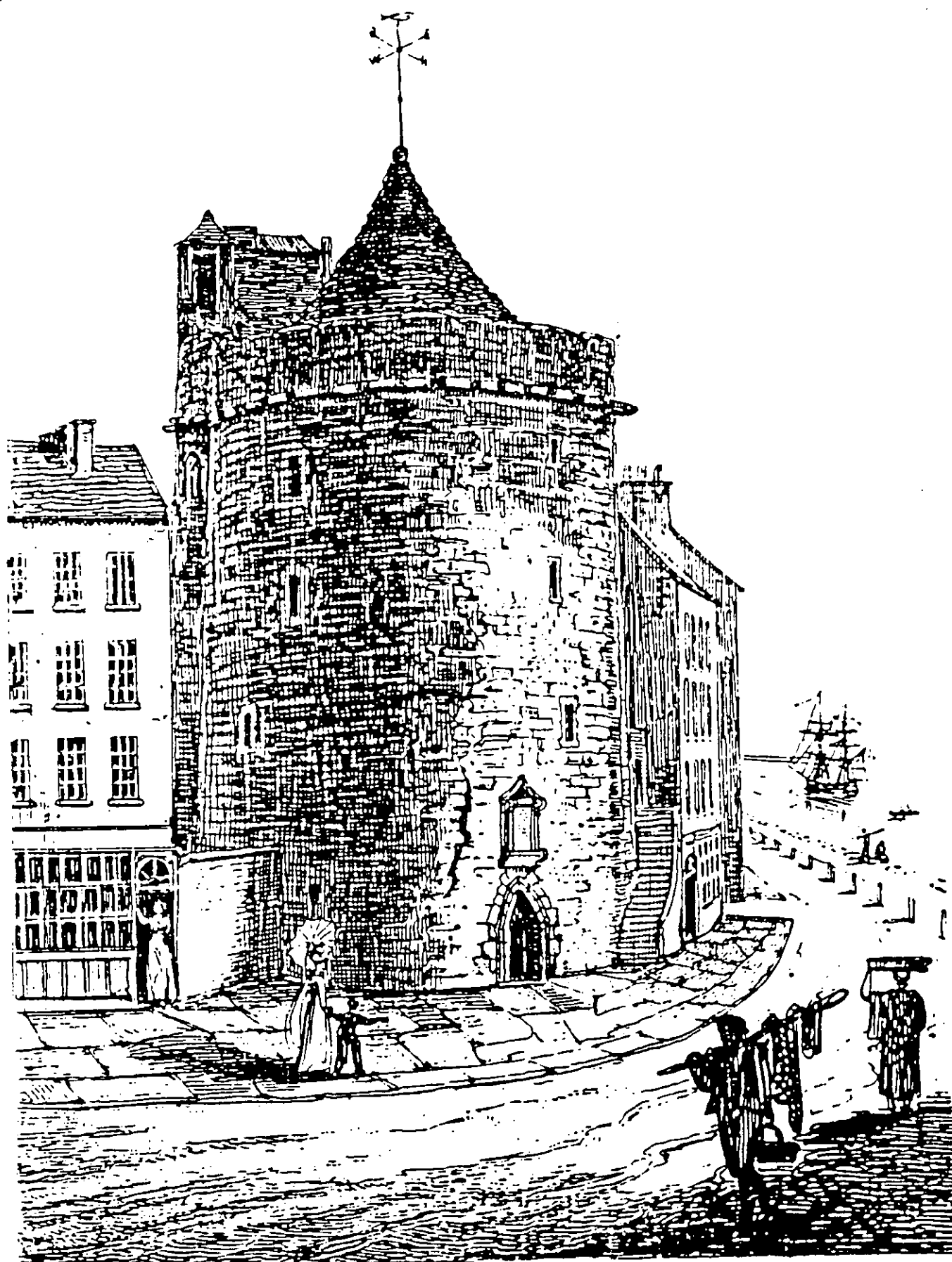


Fig. 55. Map of Tallow in 1774 by Bernard Scale
(NLI ms. 218).



Fig. 56. Tallow: aerial view from the south.

WATERFORD CITY



THE URBAN ARCHAEOLOGY
SURVEY

URBAN ARCHAEOLOGY SURVEY

PART XIII (ii)

WATERFORD CITY

by

JOHN BRADLEY

ANDREW HALPIN

AND

HEATHER A. KING

A REPORT COMMISSIONED BY THE OFFICE OF PUBLIC WORKS

[Date of release: 1989]

LIST OF CONTENTS

WATERFORD.....	129
Archaeological & Historical Background.....	129
Viking Waterford.....	129
Anglo-Norman Waterford.....	133
Post-Medieval Waterford.....	140
Archaeological inventory.....	145
Streets and street pattern.....	146
Market places.....	151
Market House.....	152
Guildhall/ Tholsel.....	152
Market cross.....	154
Stocks.....	155
Conduits.....	155
Burgage plots and property boundaries.....	156
Domestic houses.....	157
Aylward house.....	160
Bishop's palace.....	160
Black Boy Inn.....	161
Chancellor's residence.....	161
John Collyn's houses.....	161
Deanery.....	162
Frank house.....	162
King John's house.....	163
Lincoln house.....	163
Residence of the chaplains of St Saviour's...	163

Precentor's residence.....\.....	164
Shops.....	164
Treasurer's residence.....;	164
Other houses.....	165
Houses north of the cathedral.....	165
House A.....	165
House B.....	166
House C.....	166
House D.....	166
Other house traces.....	167
House plaques.....	167
Quays.....	168
Custom House.....	172
Almshouses.....	173
Dean Collyn's Almshouse.....	173
St Michael's Almshouse.....	173
Free School.....	173
Industrial Areas.....	174
Caldebec mill.....	174
St John's mill.....	175
Bricken's mill.....	175
Barronstrand mill.....	176
Mint.....	177
Prisons.....	179
Bridges.....	180
Town defences.....	182
St Martin's Gate.....	190
Tower 1.....	191

Colbeck Gate.....	192
Towers 2 & 3.....	193
Reginald's Tower.....	194
Ring Tower Gate.....	200
Goose's Gate.....	200
Tower 5.....	201
Great 'Key' Gate.....	202
Gates 6 & 7.....	202
Tower 6.....	202
Arundell Gate.....	203
Gate 9.....	204
Our Lady's Gate.....	204
Tower 7.....	206
Tower 8.....	207
Tower 9.....	207
St John's Gate.....	207
Fortified dock.....	209
Watch Tower.....	209
Bowling Green Gate.....	212
Double Tower.....	213
Tower 12.....	215
French Tower.....	216
Tower 14.....	218
Newgate.....	218
Tower 15.....	219
Tower 16.....	219
Tower 17.....	219
St Patrick's Gate.....	221

Tower 18.....	222
Tower 19.....	223
Beach Tower.....	224
Tower 21.....	225
Tower 22.....	225
Barronstrand Gate.....	226
Castle.....	226
St Patrick's Fort.....	227
Cathedral Church of the Holy Trinity.....	230
Architectural fragments.....	238
Monuments.....	238
Artefacts.....	242
St Brigid's Church.....	242
St John's Church (Hospitallers).....	243
St Mary's parish church.....	245
Monuments.....	246
St Michael's parish church.....	247
St Olave's parish church.....	248
St Patrick's parish church.....	249
St Peter's parish church.....	250
St Stephen's parish church.....	251
St Thomas' church.....	252
Augustinian priory of St Catherine.....	252
Benedictine priory of St John the Evangelist...	254
Dominican priory of St Saviour.....	259
Architectural fragments.....	264
Effigial fragments.....	264
Wooden statue.....	265

Franciscan Friary.....	265
Architectural fragments.....	275
Medieval floor tiles.....	276
Monuments.....	277
Hospital of the Holy Ghost.....	288
Medieval statues.....	288
Hospital of St Mary Magdalen.....	290
Hospital near St John's Gate.....	290
St Stephen's Leper Hospital.....	291
Suburbs.....	292
Miscellaneous.....	295
Archery Butts.....	295
Fort at Kilculliheen.....	295
Font/ piscina.....	296
Manuscripts and Civic Regalia.....	296
List of archaeological stray finds.....	297
Archaeological problems and potential.....	298
The problems.....	299
Archaeological potential.....	302
Archaeology, planning and development.....	304
Area of archaeological potential.....	306
The City Draft Development Plan 1988.....	306
Excavation.....	307
Recommendations.....	309
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	311

WATERFORD

The city of Waterford, the sixth largest in Ireland, is situated on the river Suir just above its entry into Waterford harbour. The name is a corruption of the original Norse name, given as 'Vethra fjorthr' by Killanin and Duignan (1967, 454). Its meaning is uncertain. Power (1952, 381) interpreted it as 'snug haven' while Todd (1867, 292) translated it as 'weather haven'. The Irish name, Port Lairge, occurs in early annalistic references. Todd (1867, 292) suggested that it was derived from Laraig, a tenth century Viking. As its name indicates, Waterford is a Viking foundation, later developing into one of the most important towns of Anglo-Norman and post-medieval Ireland.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Viking Waterford

There is no evidence for any significant pre-Viking settlement at Waterford. Although the foundation of Viking Waterford is generally dated to the tenth century (Killanin and Duignan 1967, 454; Barry 1983, 43) there are indications that Waterford, like the other Norse settlements of Dublin, Cork and Limerick, may have ninth century origins. In 858 AFM

record the defeat of 'the fleet of Port Lairge' by Cearbhall mac Dunlaing of Osraighe at Achadh-mic-Erclaighe, while in 888 the defeat and slaughter of 'the foreigners of Port Lairge, Loch-Carman and Teach Moling' by Riagan, son of Dunghal, is recorded (AFM). Most interesting of all, is an eleventh century account of the coming to Port Lairge of a Norse group led by Hona and Tomrir Torra, and their being attacked by the men of Munster who drove them into 'a small place with a small fortification ('cloch dhaingean') around it', and eventually defeated them (Radner 1978, 109-11). Thus Smith's statement (1746, 113) that 'the foundation of this city is commonly ascribed to Sitricus in the year 853' may not be totally without foundation.

Nevertheless there was undoubtedly a very significant burst of activity at Waterford in the early tenth century, possibly reflecting the refounding or expansion of the settlement. This phase began in 912 when AFM (sub 910) record that 'the foreigners arrived in Ireland, and took up at Port Lairge'. The most significant year in the early history of Waterford, however, is 914 when several annals record the arrival of a large new Norse fleet at Waterford Harbour (AU sub 913; Chron. Scot. sub 913). The new arrivals erected a stronghold ('long port') at Port Lairge (AFM), and plundered northern Osraighe (Radner 1978, 181). The arrival of more Norse forces, and further plundering in Munster, are recorded in 915-17 (AU, sub 914-16; AFM sub 913-15). This is also the picture given in the Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaibh (Todd 1867, 27, 31, 39-41), which names the leaders of this Viking

activity as the Earl Ottir and Ragnall, grandson of Imar, from whom the later Viking Kings of Waterford were descended (ibid 293-96); see also AU sub 916).

Details of the subsequent history of the Viking settlement are scarce. The fleet of Port Lairge came overland to Loch Gur in 926 (AI), and were slaughtered by the men of Munster and Limerick in 927 (AI). In 984 Waterford was apparently the venue for a meeting between Brian Boruma and 'the sons of Aralt' (perhaps Harold of England) to plan an attack on Dublin (AI). Waterford was burned in 1031 (AI) and in 1037 it was even more destructively burnt probably by Diarmait mac Mael na mBo, king of Leinster (AI; AFM). Another king of Leinster, Donnchad mac Domnall Remar, attacked Waterford in 1088, but annalistic sources differ as to the outcome. One late source (Gilbert 1884, ii, 250) states that Waterford was burned by the men of Dublin in 1088 (Donnchad was also king of Dublin), whereas AI state that 'Enna, son of Diarmait [king of Ui Cheinnselaig] and the nobles of Desmumu [were] in the fortress (dun) and the Laigin failed to take it'. Perhaps the sources can be reconciled by suggesting that the stronghold held out against attack, while the rest of the town was burned. The town was burned again in 1111 (AU; A. Conn.) and in 1137 another major attack is recorded, again with conflicting accounts of the outcome. AFM state that Waterford was attacked by the combined forces of Leinster and Thomond, assisted by the 'foreigners of Ath-Cliath and Loch Carman, who had two hundrd ships on the sea' and that the attackers 'carried off with them the hostages of Donnchadh

Mac Carthaigh, of the Deisi, and of the foreigners of Port Lairge'. A pro-MacCarthaigh source, however, states that the attackers were 'met at Waterford by Cormac Mac Carthaigh and turned away' (O hInnse 1947, 25-7). Byrne (1987, 25) interprets this attack as an unsuccessful attempt by Diarmait Mac Murchada to gain control of Waterford, and suggests that Waterford was more successful than Dublin in retaining its independence. However, references to the Mac Carthaigh of Desmond defending the town against Leinster attacks in 1088 and 1137 suggest that they were exercising some control over it at this period.

By the eve of the Anglo-Norman invasion, Viking Waterford seems to have been a substantial town. It was walled, with a strikingly regular street pattern and was dominated by the structure known as Ragnall's tower, probably part of the 'dun' referred to in 1088, which in turn was possibly the successor of the 'longport' of 914. Christianity had come to Waterford, probably in the eleventh century, and the first bishop was consecrated in 1096 (Gwynn and Hadcock 1970, 100). This presumably provides an initial date the cathedral of Holy Trinity, although it may have existed prior to this time as a simple church. Other likely Viking period churches in Waterford were St. Olaf's, St. Peter's and St. Brigid's. The statement that seven hundred people were killed by Richard de Clare and Diarmait Mac Murchada in their capture of Waterford in 1170 (AFM), even if not absolutely reliable, must give some indication of the size of the Viking town while the reference to 'Gillemaire, the officer of the fortress (Dun)'

who was captured in the attack (ibid) seems to be evidence of the existence of organised government within the town.

Anglo-Norman Waterford

Because of its proximity to the coast of south Wales Waterford was heavily involved in the events surrounding the Anglo-Norman invasion of Ireland in 1169-70. In 1170 Raymond le Gros, on first landing at Baginbun, was attacked by the men of Waterford and the Deisi but he defeated them (Scott and Martin 1978, 57-9; O hInnse 1947, 53 sub 1167; Orpen 1892, 105-11). Later that year Raymond's lord, Richard de Clare, better known to later ages as Strongbow, and Diarmait mac Murchada beseiged the city and captured it, apparently with great slaughter (Scott and Martin 1978, 65-7; AI; AFM). Henry II landed at Waterford in 1171, and received there the submissions of Diarmait Mac Carthaig, king of Desmond and Domnall Mor Ua Briain, king of Thomond (AI; O hInnse 1947, 51, sub 1172). On his departure for Dublin, Henry left Robert FitzBernard at Waterford with a sizeable garrison (Scott and Martin 1978, 95) and when he finally returned to Britain in 1172, Henry left in Waterford a garrison of forty knights (ibid, 105). The city was apparently securely held by the Anglo-Normans, but following the Anglo-Norman defeat at Thurles in 1174, there was a serious uprising of the Ostmen inhabitants of Waterford in which the Anglo-Norman governor and some two hundred others were killed (AI; O hInnse 1947, 59, sub 1175). The Anglo-Normans managed to retain control of

the town, however, (Scott and Martin 1978, 141) and this control was never seriously threatened again.

The revolt of 1174 probably lies behind an account, recorded in 1311, of a war between the Ostmen and the burgesses of Waterford, in which many of the latter were killed (Wood, Langman and Griffith 1955, 186-87). This account states that having attempted to prevent Henry II from entering Waterford, the Ostmen were expelled from the city after its capture, but were permitted to build a town 'now called the town of the Ostmen of Waterford' outside the walls (ibid). An inquisition of c.1224 (Nicholls 1972, 110) confirms that there was both a 'King's town' and a 'town of the Ostmen' at Waterford. No surviving documents, however, locate this town of the Ostmen but in 1311 it was described as being 'in the suburbs of Waterford' (Wood, Langman and Griffith 1955, 177). It seems most likely that it was located immediately outside the walled city, to the west, and that this was the origin of the walled western suburb of the later medieval town, which was clearly regarded as an entity separate from the city proper as late as the seventeenth century. Despite the revolt of 1174, the Ostmen apparently enjoyed quite favourable status under the Anglo-Normans. In 1283 it was noted that the king's Ostmen at Waterford had been entitled to the same legal status as the English by charter of Henry II, who died in 1189 (Sweetman 1875-86, ii, No.2134). The 1311 account of the Ostmen revolt stated that this privilege was granted by Henry II to certain Ostmen who had remained loyal to the English during the revolt (Wood,

Langman and Griffith 1955, 186-7). The Ostmen were also taken into the King's protection by Henry III in 1234 (Sweetman 1875-86, i, No. 1958) and in 1234 it was noted that the tenants of the vill of the Ostmen held the advowson of their own church, for which they paid 7s yearly to John FitzThomas, lord of Decies (ibid ii, 426). A petition of one of the Ostmen of Waterford in 1290 stated that there were 'nearly 400' Ostmen there at that date (ibid iii, 305).

Following the expulsion of the Ostmen, the walled city proper was probably resettled with Anglo-Norman settlers. It was retained by the Crown as a royal city, and received a series of charters from later monarchs. Within the framework of this royal patronage Waterford developed into one of the most important and prosperous towns in medieval Ireland. According to Lydon (1979, 5), indeed, it was the second city of medieval Ireland after Dublin. When Waterford received its first charter is uncertain: a controversial charter of King John, dated 1205, was considered a forgery by Orpen (1911-20, iv, 314), but recently McEneaney (1984, 7-11) has argued that John actually did grant a charter in 1215 (not 1205) which was later tampered with. In 1207, however, John made an order protecting the liberties of the citizens of Waterford, granted to them by the King's charter (Sweetman 1875-86, i, No.350) while in 1195 references occur to the Provost of Waterford and to a burgage in the city (Gilbert 1884, ii, 99). Taken in conjunction with the fact that the Ostmen had a charter of Henry II, this suggests that the reinstated 1215 charter was not, in any case, the first

charter to be granted but was preceeded by a charter of Henry II.

The city was also granted an eight-day annual fair not later than 1204 (Sweetman 1875-86, i, No. 226). In terms of physical development, the city proper seems to have reached its full extent within the walls by c. 1235, and by the fifteenth century (when records become available but possibly much earlier) both the city and the western suburb were enclosed by a circuit of walls on which some fifteen gates and twenty-three mural towers are attested. Suburban settlement was taking place outside the walls by c. 1220, at the latest, while the number of ecclesiastical foundations is a further indication of the wealth of the city. Apart from the cathedral, there were three parish churches within the city proper and three more in the walled western suburb. Augustinian and Benedictine priories had been founded before 1200. The military orders of the Templars and Hospitallers each had churches there by c. 1224, while the Dominican and Franciscan friars had established houses there by 1250. A royal mint was set up in the late 13th century, and the city had achieved the dignity of being governed by a mayor by 1285 when it entered into a commercial and political alliance with Dublin, Cork, Limerick and Drogheda (Gilbert 1870, 196-97).

The prosperity and growth of Waterford was based almost entirely on its position as a major sea-port. This was already evidenced in Viking times but during the Anglo-Norman period it was greatly enhanced by its proximity to British

ports, particularly Bristol. Waterford was the landing point of every reigning king of England who visited Ireland in the Middle Ages: Henry II in 1171 (O hInnse 1947, 51 sub 1172), John in 1210 (ibid 87) and Richard II in 1394 (ibid 153). Graham (1977, 39-41) has deduced, on the basis of customs returns from Irish ports between 1276 and 1333 that the ports of Waterford and New Ross between them accounted for over 50% of total Irish trade in this period, while McEneaney (1979, 20-21) suggests, on the basis of prisage returns, that Waterford was the main port for the import of wine in the later 13th century. This trading supremacy was again due largely to royal patronage. John's charter of 1215 ordered that all ships entering Waterford harbour must unload at Waterford (Ir. Rec. Com. 1829, 13-14) a privilege which was the cause of a prolonged dispute, lasting until the late 14th century, with New Ross, Waterford's great commercial rival (McEneaney 1979). Waterford also played a prominent role in the Crown's military campaigns of the 13th century. In 1241 Henry III commanded the men of Waterford to build and equip two galleys for his use (Sweetman 1875-86, i, No.2532) and, probably in compensation for this, ordered the justiciar to deliver two of the King's galleys to the men of Waterford for their use in trade in 1244 (ibid, No. 269). When in 1254, an Irish expedition was being planned to aid the king's campaign in Gascony, it was ordered that 'all the ships found in Ireland capable of carrying sixteen horses or more' should rendezvous at Waterford to be equipped and provisioned (ibid ii, no. 310). Waterford's trading links were by no means

confined to England, and the range of her contacts is well illustrated in an account of 1327 of the robbery at sea of four merchants from 'Dynaunt in Almain' (Dinant, Belguim) who came to Waterford and loaded a ship of Henry Godale of 'Hamelok' (Helmsley, Yorkshire) with merchandise for Bruges in Flanders (P.R.O. 1891, 155), and also by a reference in 1538 to 'four Portingall ships, coming laden with wine from Spain to Waterford' (Brewer and Bullen 1871, 474).

Waterford suffered apparently serious fires in 1252 (Butler 1849, Clyn:8), 1272 (recte 1273?) and 1283 (Butler 1849, Dowling:15-16). The damage caused by the 1273 and 1283 fires led to the renewal of murage grants in 1291 and may have prompted the grant of a nine-day yearly fair in 1280 (Sweetman 1875-86, ii, No.1693). With the general decline of centralised authority in Ireland in the 14th century, Waterford experienced increasing isolation and insecurity, as well as economic decline. Attacks by neighbouring magnates, Anglo-Irish as well as Gaelic and apparently by foreign fleets are frequently recorded. In 1368 the men of Waterford fought a battle at 'Clonecomanmore' against the Poers and O'Driscolls in which the mayor, sheriff, justice of the peace, thirty-six citizens and sixty merchants, both strangers and Englishmen, were slain on the Waterford side (Brewer and Bullen 1871, 470-71). In 1375 the citizens noted that as a result of this slaughter 'the county round is despoiled, burned and destroyed up to the walls and .. there are no ships or barges in the city', and they appealed for the granting of additional customs, or relief of their

fee-farm payments (PRO 1916, 145). In 1377 the King noted that he had granted the city the custom called the 'coket' for ten years to pay for the repair and fortification of the city and quay, and having been informed that Spanish and other enemies were attacking the city from the undefended riverside, ordered the citizens to carry out the work (Tresham 1828, p. 101: no.46). Following serious complaints by the citizens about repeated attacks by the Poers and other rebels, the king in 1400 permitted them to assemble forces to defend themselves (ibid., 158: no. 103), but by 1430 the citizens claimed that Waterford was 'wasted' by the attacks of Irish enemies, English rebels and Bretons, Scots and Spaniards by sea, and that the town walls were ruinous in many places (PRO 1907, 68). In 1442 the city was said to be so impoverished by these attacks that the citizens were abandoning it (PRO 1908, 58), and in 1447 it was described as 'for the greater part deserted and laid waste' by attacks of the Poers, 'Walshmen', 'Graunteyns' and 'Datens' prompting Parliament again to authorise the citizens to raise forces to attack their enemies (Berry 1910, 83-85). Waterford was also caught up in outside political contests. In 1462, during the conflict between the earls of Ormond and Desmond, the city was captured by Ormond (A.Conn.) while in 1495 it was besieged for eleven days by Perkin Warbeck aided by the earls of Desmond and Lincoln with, allegedly, a force of 24,000 men (Brewer and Bullen 1871, 472). Even allowing for a certain exaggeration by the citizens in the accounts of the hardship they were suffering, it is clear that conditions were

markedly less secure and less favourable to prosperity in the later fourteenth and fifteenth centuries than they had been in the thirteenth. Lydon (1979, 12-13) suggests that Waterford may have recovered somewhat in the fifteenth century, and the fact that the city could withstand Warbeck's eleven-day seige and eventually send a force to pursue him as far as Cornwall (Brewer and Bullen 1871, 472) says a lot for its continuing prosperity and strength.

The Post-Medieval City

Little is known of Waterford in the sixteenth century, but the indications are that this was a period of relative prosperity and stability for the city. In 1567 Sir Henry Sidney noted that 'this cittie of Waterforde mucche florisssheth and I suppose was never in better estate since it was buylded' (Buckley 1909, 75), and at about the same date Ortiz described Waterford as 'the richest town in Ireland, after Dublin', stating that it 'contains nearly a thousand houses' and 'is surrounded by a stone wall ...with seventeen towers and cannon on them', and that it traded with Gallicia, Portugal, Andalusia and Biscay' (ibid, 75). Ortiz' assessment of Waterford as the second city of Ireland was echoed by other writers in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. In 1617 Moryson described Waterford as 'a rich and well-inhabited city, esteemed the second to Dublin' (Falkiner 1904, 216), while Sir George Carew, in 1595, stated that 'there is more shipping in that harbour than in any other

part of Ireland' (Brewer and Bullen 1869, 130). In 1611 Robert Cogan judged it 'the second (city) for trade in this Kingdom (after Dublin) by reason of the commodiousness of the river for bringing in and dispersing all things up the river' (Brewer and Bullen 1873, 175). He estimated the value of Waterford's exports and imports at £30,000 p.a. and described them as 'friezes, rugs, coin, hides, tallow, woolfells, piperstaves etc. which they transport into Spain, and make their return in wine, iron, salt and English wares from Brystoll fair twice a year' (ibid). Thus Cogan supports Ortiz in pointing to strong trading links between Waterford and Spain as well as with England, France and Portugal. Although the import and export trade no doubt continued to be the backbone of Waterford's economy, there is also evidence for a range of local trades which presumably helped contribute to the city's prosperity and growth. Guilds of weavers, shoemakers and cordwainers had been established in 1485-86 (Gilbert 1885, 319-20), and a new guild of glovers and shoemakers was incorporated in 1594 (ibid, 272), followed by a guild of tailors, saddlers, hat makers, haberdashers, hosiers, 'broducers' and button-makers in 1626 (ibid 272), and another guild of 'cotners, shermen, tuckers, clothiers and diers' in 1632 (ibid 273). References occur to Waterford goldsmiths in 1578 and 1581 (13 RDKPRI 106, No.3496; ibid., 135 no. 3693). Guilds of hammermen and of tailors were incorporated in 1656 and 1657 respectively (Pender 1948-50, 45, 49) and Pender (1953-56, 13) states that there were four main guilds in the city in the second half of the seventeenth

century: hammermen, cordwainers, carpenters and merchant tailors. A printing press was established in Waterford by the Confederate Catholics in 1643 and there may possibly have been a press there in the mid-sixteenth century (Dix 1914-16).

The prosperity recorded in late sixteenth and early seventeenth century Waterford was undoubtedly facilitated by the improvement of government control in Ireland under the Tudor monarchs. During the seventeenth century, however, the traditionally close relationship between Waterford and the English government was to be disturbed by the city's continuing adherence to Roman Catholicism. This, together with the religious and political conflicts which dominated Irish history in the seventeenth century, was to have a severely detrimental effect on the fortunes of the city. Religious tension first came to a head in 1603, when the restoration of Catholic worship in Waterford, in anticipation of the accession of James I, brought the city into confrontation with the lord deputy, Mountjoy (Clarke 1976, 189). The continued election of Catholic civic officers eventually led to the revoking of the city's charters and liberties in 1618 (Brewer and Bullen 1873, 337-38). The outcome of this development is seen in Luke Gernon's statement in 1620 that Waterford 'was famous for merchandise, but her high stomacke in disobeying the state, deprieved her of her magistrate, and now she is in the governemt of a souldyer' (Falkiner 1904, 351-2). The fact that he refers to Waterford's fame in merchandise in the past tense suggests

that there had been a decline. Another result of the religious tension is reflected in a Royal Visitation of the diocese in 1615, which noted that the city's churches were 'in such a state of ruin that anyone that would see them would easily be led to imagine there was no religion whatsoever professed in this city' (Anon 1902-5b, 106). The city's priveleges and legal status were restored by charter of Charles I in 1626 (see Table I) and substantial economic recovery is indicated by Sir William Brereton's statement in 1635 that 'this town is reputedly one of the richest towns in Ireland' (Falkiner 1904, 400-01). However, continuing tension is evident in Brereton's following remarks: 'most of the inhabitants Irish, not above forty English, and not one of these Irish goes to church' while he also notes that neither the cathedral nor any of the churches were in good repair (ibid, 400-01).

National conflicts began to affect Waterford in the 1640s. In 1642 the city, which had been held for a time by Irish forces, was recaptured by Sir Christopher Loftus (Buckley 1897, 97-9). The town was beseiged by Cromwell in 1649 but his nine-day seige was unsuccessful. A contemporary noted that the Lord Lieutenant [Ormonde] had ferried 1,500 men into the city who, along with the citizens, were 'resolved to die or defend that city' (Gilbert 1899. 104-5). However, in 1650 the city was surrendered to Cromwell's successor, Ireton (Smith 1746, 151-5; Pender 1939b, 77) and in the succeeding years a new Protestant ascendancy was introduced. By 1656 the Protestant controlled city council

were planning to expel all Catholics from the city (Pender 1947b, 164, 168-9). The effect on the city of these upheavals is difficult to gauge, but may perhaps be reflected in the discrepancy between Ortiz' statement that Waterford contained nearly one thousand houses in the later sixteenth century (see above) and the total of three hundred and sixty houses recorded in the survey and valuation of the city of c.1663-4 (Pender 1946b, 108). A decline in Waterford's position as a trading post is also apparent. By 1664 Waterford ranked only fourth, behind Dublin, Cork and Galway, in a list of customs and excise returns for Irish ports (Mahaffy 1907, 460-1) accounting for only 7.5% of the total returns compared with 24% recorded in similar calculations for 1276-1333 (Graham 1977, 41). However, by 1668 Waterford had improved to third place, with 9% of the total (Mahaffy 1908, 672-73). The 1659 Census of Ireland returned a total population of 1,647 for the city and liberties of Waterford (Pender 1939, 350), although Pender (1946, 12) feels that the total of 950 recorded for the city (excluding the liberties) is too low and suggests (Pender 1946b, 108) a figure of about 1,800 on the basis of the 360 dwelling houses noted in 1663-64. In 1687 Bishop Brennan estimated the population of the city at 5,000 (Pender 1946, 12).

ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVENTORY

1. STREETS AND STREET PATTERN
2. MARKET PLACES
3. MARKET HOUSE
4. GUILDHALL/THOLSEL
5. MARKET CROSS
6. STOCKS
7. CONDUITS
8. BURGAGE PLOTS AND PROPERTY BOUNDARIES
9. DOMESTIC HOUSES
 - BISHOP'S PALACE
 - CHANCELLOR'S RESIDENCE
 - DEANERY
 - FRANK HOUSE
 - PRECENTOR'S RESIDENCE
 - RESIDENCE OF CHAPLAINS OF ST. SAVIOURS
 - SHOPS
 - TREASURER'S RESIDENCE
10. QUAYS
11. CUSTOM HOUSE
12. ALMSHOUSES
13. FREE SCHOOL
14. INDUSTRIAL AREAS
15. MINT
16. PRISONS
17. BRIDGES
18. TOWN DEFENCES

19. CASTLE
20. FORT
21. CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF HOLY TRINITY
22. ST. BRIGID'S CHURCH
23. ST. JOHN'S CHURCH (HOSPITALERS)
24. ST. MARY'S PARISH CHURCH
25. ST. MICHAEL'S PARISH CHURCH
26. ST. OLAVE'S PARISH CHURCH
27. ST. PATRICK'S PARISH CHURCH
28. ST. PETER'S PARISH CHURCH
29. ST. STEPHEN'S PARISH CHURCH
30. ST. THOMAS' CHURCH
31. AUGUSTINIAN PRIORY OF ST. CATHERINE
32. BENEDICTINE PRIORY OF ST. JOHN THE EVANGELIST
33. DOMINICAN PRIORY OF ST. SAVIOUR
34. FRANCISCAN FRIARY
35. HOLY GHOST HOSPITAL
36. HOSPITAL OF ST. MARY MAGDALEN
37. HOSPITAL NEAR ST. JOHN'S GATE
38. ST STEPHEN'S LEPER HOSPITAL
39. SUBURBS
40. MISCELLANEOUS
41. LIST OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL STRAY FINDS

1. STREETS AND STREET PATTERN (Figs. 59-62)

The Viking and Anglo-Norman parts of Waterford display a difference in their street pattern. The Viking city has a

chequered street pattern based on three E-W streets, High St., Peter St. and Lady Lane, with three or four N-S crossing streets: Henrietta St., Keyser St./ Olaf St./ St Francis Place, Exchange St. and Arundle Sq./ Bakehouse Lane. In the western suburb the street pattern is much less regular, based on a main N-S route consisting of John St., Michael St., Broad St., and Barronstrand St. with several other streets opening off it, mainly to the west.

These street patterns are likely to be of early date, but unfortunately there is very little documentary evidence available. High St., then known as 'Both strete' is referred to in a document dating to the beginning of the thirteenth century (Gilbert 1889, 391), while John Street is referred to in two early fourteenth century sources (Sweetman 1875-86, v, 305; Mills 1914, 121). The late fifteenth century Register of the chantry chapel of St. Saviours (Mac Niocaill, 1966) contains references to most of the other major streets of the town in the period c.1440-80. The other main source of information on Waterford's street pattern is a survey of c.1663-4 (Simington 1942, 215-85) which along with the major streets, provides references to most of the minor streets and lanes in the city. It also indicates the existence of 'New Streets', one of which (ibid, 239) is clearly the modern New St. off John St., while the other (ibid, 259) is probably the modern Bailey's New St., presumably laid out after the dissolution of the Franciscan friary by David Bailey, who was granted the great garden of the friary. It was already being referred to as 'David Bailey's New St.' in 1796 (Lahert 1986,

23).

Information about the actual streets themselves is even rarer, but a document of 1467 noting that the 'gouts' of two houses on High St. ran along the street 'always to the south of the channel' and then north along Henrietta St. to the river (Mac Niocaill 1966, 164) gives some evidence for sanitary facilities. A corporation resolution of 1662, forbade the use of carts and wagons with iron-bound wheels within the city because 'much hurt is done to the pavements and greate danger of breakeing down the common shores and gouts with much prejudice to the conduite pipes' (Pender 1964, 8, No. 43). This clearly indicates that by the mid seventeenth century Waterford had paved streets with shores, drains and other facilities. The streets were also furnished with various public monuments such as the market cross, as well as stocks and conduits.

WATERFORD STREET NAMES

Date	Modern	Medieval	Source
Early XIII	High St.	Bothstrete	Gilbert 1889, 391
1302-6	John St.	St John St.	Sweetman 1875-86, v, 305
1441	Stephen St	Street leading to the church	MacNiocaill 1966, 169
1449	Michael St	of St Stephen St Michael St.	MacNiocaill 1966, 168
1466	Chairman's Arch/	the highway leading to the	MacNiocaill 1966, 166

	Bailey's New Street	house of the friar's minor	
1468	Peter St.	St Peter St.	MacNiocaill 1966, 166
1468	Lady Lane	St. Mary St.	Mac Niocaill 1966, 166
1468	Barronstrand St	the highway leading from the gate called 'Arundellis gate' towards Barranstown	MacNiocaill 1966, 165
1476		Barranstroon street	ibid, 210
1469	Henrietta St	the highway leading from the cathedral church towards the quay	MacNiocaill 1966, 172
1663-4		Christ Church Lane	Simington 1942, 254
1474	Little Patrick Street	the highway leading from Arundell's Gate towards St Patrick's well	MacNiocaill 1966, 199
1663		Litt[l]e St. Patrickes streete	Pender 1964, 19: no. 98
1474	Spring Garden Alley	the old highway formerly leading from St. Martin's tower towards the church of St John the Evangelist	Mac Niocaill 1966, 202
1475	Patrick St	the highway leading from the high cross towards St. Patrick's Gate	MacNiocaill 1966, 204
1476	Little Barronstrand Street	the two high-ways leading from Arundell's gate and the pillory	MacNiocaill 1966, 210

		towards Barronstroon tower	
1482	Jenkin's lane or Carrigeen Park	the highway leading to the tower called 'Baker's tour'	MacNiocaill 1966, 142
1693		Jenkins Lane	Pender 1964 305: no. 1946
1571	Exchange St south of High St.	Cokes' street	12 RDKPRI, 48: no. 1823
1577	Arundel Sq. (west side)	the milkestreet	13 DKPRI 49: no. 3120
1663-4	Arundel Lane	Arundes Lane	Simington 1942, 262
	Bakehouse Lane	Bake house Lane	ibid, 224
	Arundel Sq (East side)	Trinity Lane	ibid, 224
	Colbeck St.	Coldpeck Lane	ibid, 254, 277
	Conduit Lane	Conduit Lane	ibid, 251-3
	Custom House Quay/ Parade (S. side)	Key Streete	ibid, 255-7
	Cathedral Lane or Gladstone St	St Georges	ibid, 240
	John's Lane	St. Johns Lane	ibid, 239
	Keyser St	Kempoon Lane	ibid, 226
	Olaf Street	St. Olaves Lane	ibid, 279
	Greyfriars (W side)	Abbey lane	ibid, 249
	Bailey's New St.	Nue Streete	ibid, 259
	New St.	Nue Streete	ibid, 239
1667	Great George's St.	the Kings St.	Ainsworth McLysaght 1958

3. MARKET HOUSE

In 1678, while markets were being held outside the city walls, the city council permitted the garrison of the city to make use of 'the old markett house nere the great Key gate' for a guard house (Pender 1964, 178: No. 1306). This building was presumably located at the north end of Exchange St., quite possibly on the site of the 18th century Exchange, but nothing else is known about it. A weigh house, referred to in 1618, was also located 'nere the Key gate' (Grosart 1886i, 191) and it was almost certainly associated with the market house.

4. GUILDHALL/ THOLSEL

Although Henry III's charter of 1232 (Sweetman 1875-86, i, no.1958) contains a formulaic reference to the city's Guildhall, the earliest specific reference to this building may be the record in 1291-93 of £92 10s 8d allowed to Maurice Russell, sheriff of Waterford, 'for a place bought in Waterford city and a house built thereon as a courthouse' (37 RDKPRI,51). It appears from later references that the city courthouse was located in the Guildhall or at least formed part of the same complex of buildings.

The Guildhall was the place where regulations for the government of the city were enacted by the citizens in their 'dernihundred' (Gilbert 1885, 292, dated 1382; 336, dated 1599), where the election of the mayor and bailiffs of the city took place (ibid, 315), and where the city council met (Pender 1947, 160-63, 167, 170; Pender 1964, 312). The

location of council proceedings is also given as the Tholsel (Pender 1947, 153, 167, 170; Pender 1964, 73-4), but this is clearly the same building as also was the Town Hall (Pender 1964, 32: No 214; 63: No 387) located on Peter St. (Simington 1942, 269). When, in 1617, the earl of Thomond and Sir William Jones summoned the Corporation of Waterford before them in order to revoke the city's liberties on behalf of the king they did so at the Tholsel, in 'the Guild Hall..being the chief place where they formerly held their sessions and jail deliveries' (Brewer and Bullen 1873, 337-38). Thus it appears that the Tholsel, Guild Hall and Town Hall were either alternative names for the same building, or else part of the same complex of buildings which also included the city courthouse.

The site can be located on the basis of a 1577 grant to George Moore of 'a stone house in the city of Waterford called the Ould Courtehaus, adjoining the Guild Hald of the city on the west, the Milkestreet on the east, S. Peters street on the south' (13 RDKPRI, 49: no 3120). There is a problem, however, in so far as this grant indicates that the Guildhall stood on the north side of Peter St., whereas the 1673 map, reproduced by Ryland (1824), locates it on the south side of Peter St. In this map it is depicted as a tower-like structure with a tall spire and large traceried window. The precise location remains uncertain, then, but clearly the Guildhall stood at the extreme west end of Peter St.

In 1670 the City Council leased to William Dapwell 'the cellar under the Tholsell .. he to keep a publique beam, weights and scales that will weigh halfe a tunne at an end' (Pender 1964, 65: No.402), probably for the use of the nearby market on Broad St. Another structure probably associated with this complex was the town clock, attested in the 1670s when John Towell was its keeper (Pender 1964, 71: No 436; 141: No.1005; 206: No 1443). In 1680 and 1695 repairs were ordered to 'the faines [weather vanes?] over the town clock and Black Fryers' (ibid 205: No. 1431; 326 No.2043).

5. MARKET CROSS

The earliest reference to a market cross in Waterford occurs in regulations passed in 1475-76 forbidding the dumping of refuse in the ditches of the town walls 'from the marckette crosse unto Arondelis gate' (Gilbert 1885, 312). The 1673 map of Waterford reproduced by Ryland (1824) shows the cross as a large canopied structure on a stepped base, standing at the junction of Broad St. with Patrick St./ Peter St. A city council order that 'the steps about the Cross be mended' in 1685 (Pender 1964, 258. No. 1697) tends to confirm the accuracy of the 1673 depiction. The repair of 'the Markett Cross' was ordered in 1696 (ibid., 327: No.2046), but the cross was removed in 1750 (Lahert 1986, 25).



6. STOCKS

A public stocks or pillory was located at the same site as the market cross. It is first referred to in 1476 (MacNiocaill 1966, 210), and the latest reference occurs in 1662, when the city council ordered that 'the publicke stocks at the Cross shall supply all the parishes in the towne' (Pender 1964, 5: No.22).

7. CONDUITS

A feature of Waterford's street furniture were two 'conduits', probably public fountains, mentioned in 17th century sources. One of these was located in Peter St. (Pender 1964, 32: No. 214), and the location of the other is variously given as Conduit Lane (Simington 1942, 262) and 'High streete crosse' (Pender 1947, 174-5) because it stood at the junction of High St. and Conduit Lane. The earliest contemporary reference to the conduits occurs in 1657 (Pender 1947, 174-5) but Smith (1746, 197) noted that 'the old Conduit in High-street, at the corner of a lane called Conduit Lane was erected in 1591, as appears from the date on the front of it'.

The conduits formed part of an elaborate system of waterworks, comprising 'conduits, cisterns and pipes, of such importance that keepers were regularly appointed by the corporation (Pender 1964, 12, No. 64). This system was clearly quite extensive, because in 1670 the city council prohibited the slaughtering of cattle and keeping of swine in Stephen's St. on the grounds that it was polluting the water

in the conduits (ibid 77: No. 491). This suggests that the 'ancient reservoir' on the east side of Stephen St, noted by Power (1943, 133) formed part of the conduit supply system. Power stated that the reservoir was itself supplied with water through a rock-cut tunnel running seventeen feet below ground in the direction of the town wall to the west, and that the tunnel, which is five feet in average height, was reached from the surface where it crosses under Stephen St. by a stone spiral staircase. Concern to protect the pipes feeding the conduit led to the prohibition of iron-shod cart wheels in the city in 1662 (Pender 1964, 8: No. 43). The pipes of the High St. conduit, however, were damaged in the demolition of Arundell castle in 1698 (Pender 1964, 345: No. 2116; 347: No.2124). The replacement of these pipes with new ones was ordered in 1700 (ibid, 358: No. 2164).

8. BURGAGE PLOTS AND PROPERTY BOUNDARIES (Fig. 60)

Surviving evidence suggests that the properties in the city were laid out in long narrow plots. Within the area of the Viking town, these were mainly orientated N-S, fronting onto the three principal E-W streets, while in the walled western suburb they were predominantly orientated E-W because of the N-S alignment of its main streets. The thirteenth century laws of Waterford stipulated that every burgage in the city should measure sixty-four feet in width (MacNiocaill 1964, 3), but it is not clear to what extent this was reflected in practice. It is clear, however, that many

properties occupied the entire width of the block in which they were located. Contemporary documents describe properties extending from High St. to the river Suir, or rather to the city wall (Tresham 1828, 181: No. 29, dated 1401-2; Curtis 1933-43, v, 276: no 287, dated 1576), from Chairman's Arch or Bailey's New Street to the Suir (MacNiocaill 1966, 194-5, dated 1471) and from Peter St. to Lady Lane (ibid, 166, dated 1468); in the western suburb, properties extending from Michael St./John St. to the old west wall of the Viking town and to Spring Garden Alley are also mentioned (ibid, 139-40, 168, 179, 196).

A document of 1466 (ibid, 159) provides evidence for the maintenance and regulation of property divisions. It notes that a dispute arose between John Collyn and Thomas Neell over a wall erected by Collyn between their adjoining properties, which extended from High St. on the N, to the cemetery of St. Olave's church, on the S. Neell claimed that the whole wall stood on his property, while Collyn claimed that only half its width was on Neell's property. The four city surveyors were called into adjudicate, and they found in Collyn's favour.

9. DOMESTIC HOUSES (Figs. 63-6)

Information on domestic housing in Waterford in the medieval period is scant. Stone houses are attested, such as the stonehouse 'opposite the Friar's minor' mentioned in 1320 (42 RDKPRI, 21) while the stone building known in the

seventeenth century as King John's House (see below) may also have been a house of early date. In 1388-9 the city passed a regulation that 'no messuage nor shop be coverid with strawe, hay or herbage, within the wallis of the saide citie' and that all buildings so roofed be thrown down (Gilbert 1885, 292-3). Although this regulation was reimposed in the seventeenth century, there is evidence that it was generally respected, at least in the city proper, and this is also supported by references to tiled houses in 1471 and 1570 (MacNiocaill 1966, 195; 12 RDKPRI, 18: No.1621). Post medieval evidence points to the popularity of timber framed houses in Waterford and this trend is probably reflected in a document of 1481 which notes that carpenters had begun to build, in timber, a house on land owned by the chapel of St. Saviour (MacNiocaill 1966, 153). Stone houses were probably always more common, however, and the Register of St. Saviours also records that 'masons begon to labour uppon the hous be eest seynt Peter is cherche yarde' in 1470 (ibid 170-171).

The survey and valuation of Waterford of c.1663-64 (Simington 1942, 215-85) provides a wealth of information on housing in the post medieval city. It lists five hundred houses and ancillary buildings. Pender (1946b, 108) calculated three hundred and sixty 'occupied residential buildings' which were distinguished on grounds of construction (whether stone walled or 'cage built', i.e. timber framed) and roofing (whether slated or thatched). The survey highlights a contrast in the quality of buildings within the area of the Viking town and in the walled western

suburb. Within the area of the Viking town, 55% of houses were stone walled, 45% were timber framed and all were slated. In the western suburb, however, 92% of houses were stone walled and only 8% were timber framed, while 21% were thatched and 78% slated. Thus it appears that even at this late date there was a generally superior standard of housing in the old town. The timber-framed house seems to have been a high status building, and the highest concentrations occurred on Milk St. (now on the extreme west side of Arundel Sq.) with 77% of recorded buildings being timber framed, High St (75%), Peter St (42%), and Key St (probably running inside the quay walls at the north ends of Exchange St., Keyser's Lane and Henrietta St. 39%). The prohibition on thatched roofs within the old town (or 'within the old walls', as it is referred to) was re-enforced in 1670 (Pender 1964, 82, No.515). The contrast between the two parts of the city is neatly borne out by two grants of land made by the city council at this period. In the first, in 1668, a plot of land thirty feet by twenty-five feet in John St. was leased, on condition that the lessee 'build a thatched house of the length and bredth aforesaid' (ibid 65, No. 407); in the second, in 1670, a plot in Peter St. was granted on condition that the grantee 'expend twenty pounds sterling in building a tyled house with a chimney, two storyes high' (ibid, 66: No.412).



AYLWARD HOUSE

Smith (1746, 196) refers to the 'antient' house of the Aylward family in John St, adjoining St. Michael's churchyard. He noted that the family arms were carved on the chimney piece in the 'great room' and on the side of the street gate.

BISHOP'S PALACE

The medieval bishop's palace was clearly located adjacent to the cathedral, and it is reasonable to suggest that it stood on or near the site of the modern palace which is now occupied by Waterford Corporation. This emerges from an account of a dispute in 1309 between John le Botiller and Bartholomew de Kerdif which notes that as John marched around the cathedral cemetery he spotted Bartholomew 'standing in the gate of the bishop's court' (Wood, Langman and Griffith 1955, 140). Nothing else is known of the history of the palace, apart from evidence of rebuilding in the first half of the seventeenth century. In 1615 the Mayor of Waterford reported that the bishop had taken materials from the ruined church of St. Peter 'to buyld his owne howse' (Power 1911a, 52-3 n.(b)). In 1660 Boyle stated that 'the howse called Bishops Court' had been rebuilt by Bishop Atherton between 1636 and 1641 (Rennison 1927, 43; 1928, 87 n.97) but this may be a mistaken reference to the rebuilding of 1615.

BLACK BOY INN

The Black Boy Inn, referred to in the survey of c.1663-4 stood 'at the lower corner of 'Corrigeen', opposite Stephen St. on Patrick St. (Anon 1902-5, 91-2). The S wall of this inn can be seen at the rear of 20 Patrick St. It has a blocked window and a large stone fireplace.

CHANCELLORS RESIDENCE

The residence of Henry Gilis, chancellor of the cathedral at the time of the founding of St. Saviours chapel, cannot be precisely located, but it was clearly situated in the angle between Henrietta St. and Chairman's Arch. It apparently occupied one plot on the east side of Henrietta St. and was approached by a lane which was two plots east of Henrietta St. (MacNiocaill 1966, 201, 171-2). This may well be the lane opening south off modern Coffee House Lane. The Chancellor's residence was presumably located on the west side of this lane.

JOHN COLLYN'S HOUSES

In 1467 John Collyn, founder of the chapel of St. Saviours, built two houses on High St. These probably stood on the two adjoining plots on the north side of St Olave's churchyard which were granted to St. Saviours in 1466 (MacNiocaill 1966, 158-63, 164). In 1470 he built a stone house on Peter St. (ibid, 170-1). This stood on the plot immediately east of St. Peters churchyard which was granted to St. Saviours by James Rice in 1468 (ibid, 166).

DEANERY

The medieval deanery was located on the east side of the cathedral and almost certainly occupied the site of the modern deanery. This is demonstrated by a grant of 1468 of a chamber located on the north side of the deanery which was bordered on the east by the deanery garden and on the west by the cathedral cemetery (MacNiocaill 1966, 146, 155-6). Another grant of 1469 relates to the plot of land on the east side of the cathedral cemetery, which adjoined the deanery to the east (ibid, 173). An undated sixteenth century document states that Richard Lumbard, the dean, had rebuilt the upper floor of the great chamber of the deanery, furnished it and that it was brightly lit (ibid, 146). The 1468 grant reserved the cellar below the chamber to the north of the deanery for the use of the dean and chapter. This 'cellar' is almost certainly part of the undercroft reported by Hore (1849-51) and recently excavated by O'Rahilly. A description of the undercroft is given by Lumley (1983).

FRANK HOUSE

Among the possessions of the Hospitallers in Waterford was 'a house called Temple Inn frank house', which was granted by them to Nicholas Cosyn in 1450, and confirmed to him in 1476-77 (Morrissey 1939, 525). Its location is unknown, but it may have been near the church of St. John.

KING JOHN'S HOUSE

The survey of c.1663-4 noted 'the stone walls of a ruined house caled Kinge Johns' on Peter St. (Simington 1942, 250). Smith (1746, 123) stated that this building was the palace in which King John resided on his visit to Waterford in 1210, and noted (ibid, 186) that during the construction of the Widows Apartments on the site (immediately west of the cathedral) 'many remains of King John's house were observed, as foundations, vaults &c'. Whether the association with King John is correct or not, it certainly seems that this was a medieval building of some importance.

LINCOLN HOUSE

On the removal of the front wall of a house in Henrietta St. in 1883, a fireplace, apparently of Kilkenny limestone, dated 1627 and with the arms of the Lincoln family, was revealed (JRSAI 17, 1885-6, 392-3). It is now held in Ardmore by Mrs Maeve Lincoln.

RESIDENCE OF CHAPLAINS OF ST SAVIOURS

This 'chamber with solar above' lay immediately north of the deanery and south of 'the King's highway leading to the house of Friars Minor' [Bailey's New St.] and was granted by James Rice to John Collyn, founder of St. Saviours, in 1468 (Mac Niocaill 1966, 155-56). It had a stone stairs, presumably projecting externally, referred to in 1469 (ibid, 173).

PRECENTOR'S RESIDENCE

This was located on the north side of Bailey's New St./Chairman's Arch, between the lane leading to the chancellor's residence, to the west, and the Franciscan friary to the east (MacNiocaill 1966, 194-5).

SHOPS

In 1470 John Collyn built a number of 'both chambers' [shops] for the support of the chaplains of St. Saviours. These were located in the eastern part of the cathedral cemetery, and were clearly fairly substantial structures, having cellars and garderobes with cisterns at their base (MacNiocaill 1966, 170). It seems likely that these chambers were built on a plot of waste ground granted to Collyn by James Rice in 1469. This plot, apparently twelve feet in width, was located immediately west of the deanery and extended from the porch of the deanery, on the south, to the stone stairs of the residence of the chaplains of St. Saviours, on the north (ibid, 173).

TREASURER'S RESIDENCE

In 1469 the residence of the Treasurer, one of the main dignatories of the cathedral, was located immediately west of another messuage, which in turn was immediately west of the north entrance to the cathedral churchyard, on Peter St. (MacNiocaill 1966, 181).

OTHER HOUSES

Houses north of the Cathedral

The buildings situated between the cathedral cemetery and Chairman's Arch, comprising both 'mansions' and 'shops' seem to have been largely held by ecclesiastics in the late fifteenth century, at least. An almshouse founded by John Collyn c.1478, may have been located here (see below) and at least two chaplains, John Brown and Robert Gede, resided in separate properties here in 1480 (Mac Niocaill 1966, 166, 218).

House A (Figs. 64-5)

A seventeenth century two storeyed house still survives in the grounds of the former St. Stephen's Hospital (later St. Stephen's Brewery and now P. Kiely Ltd., Soft Drinks Distributors). It is a rectangular building, 11.8m in length and 7.25m in width, orientated E-W. The interior is filled with rubbish and it is divided N-S by a modern partition wall. It is built of undressed, uncoursed red sandstone with dressed limestone door and window jambs and has a galvanised roof resting on brick gables. The surviving height of the original walls is c.3.5m. The building was entered on the south side through a segmental headed doorway dated 1632, 1.38m high and 1m wide. To the east and west of the door there were twin-light rectangular windows with chamfered jambs. The eastern window is missing its central mullion and

only one jamb of the western one survives. The west wall is featureless apart from a modern door to a loft in the gable. The east gable has a three-light mullioned window and set into the north wall internally there is a large limestone chimney breast, of which only half is visible with IHS and 32, presumably part of a datestone of 1632. Visible dimensions are L. 123 and H. 140 cm.

House B

There is a barrel vaulted chamber off Conduit Lane (at the rear of 87-8 Coal Quay) in the premises of Waterford Electrical Wholesale Ltd. It is built of brown slate with plank centering and measures 2.2m high, 12m in length and 4.25m wide. It is entered through an opening, 1.86m wide, in the N wall and there is an opening in the E wall with sloping sill. It is of 17th cent. date or earlier.

House C

Between Blackfriars Lane and the remains of the Dominican Frairy is part of a seventeenth century house, now heavily plastered over. The rectangular chimney, however, indicates the presence of remains of of seventeenth century date.

House D

Three walls of a late medieval house survive on the north

side of Little Michael St. It is 4-5m high and built of roughly coursed rubble with quoins of mixed stone. It has evidence for much alteration but one 16th/17th century window survives in the east wall of the first floor and another in the west gable.

Other house traces

Prior to excavations on the High St. / Peter St. block a number of standing buildings had dressed stone, mullions and jambs incorporated into the stonework. The demolition of Nos. 7, 8, and 9 Broad St. revealed medieval window mullions and jambs (M. Hurley pers. comm.).

A large three storeyed stone built house on the south side of Bachelors Walk between O'Brien's St. and Steven St. may be of late 17th century date. It has two large chimneys to the front and rear and is now owned by the E.S.B.

Some walls, possibly of a 17th century building, survive at the rear of 8/9 Stephen St., off Alexander St.

House plaques

A plaque with a coat of arms dated 1519 was found in the ground at the Shambles, High St. and was set up in the wall of O'Sullivan's, High St. It is now at O'Sullivan's, Ballinaneesagh, Cork Rd.

Egan's Waterford, p.381.

10. QUAYS

The medieval quays of Waterford were located on the south bank of the Suir between Barronstrand St. to the west and Henrietta St. to the east, on the site of Coal Quay, Custom House Quay and the Parade. Despite the wealth and importance of Waterford's maritime trade, however, there is very little information available on the actual quays themselves in the medieval period. The only significant record of the medieval quays is a document of 1377 in which the king instructed the mayor and bailiffs of Waterford to see to the repair and fortification of the quay, noting that various Spanish and other enemies were attacking the city from the river because it was not fortified on that side (Tresham 1828, 101: No.46). This seems to indicate that there was no wall along the riverside of the city at this time, although in 1217 the king had commanded the justiciar to 'give the vacant space between the river and wall of the city of Waterford, on the river bank, to any persons who will dwell there' (Sweetman 1875-86, i, No. 763). Perhaps this order referred to the area between the city wall and John's river, to the east (see below: Suburbs). A wall was clearly in existence along the quayside by 1477-8, however, when the corporation ordered 'all the gates by all the keyes of the citie' to be shut at night, and ordered the owner of each gate to make a grate of iron to protect it (Gilbert 1885, 312-3). This regulation, addressed to 'eache man that is owne of the keyes of the said citie' (ibid, 313) makes it clear that the quays were seen as the property of private citizens, and this is borne out by

references to quays belonging to private houses in 1545 (Curtis 1933-43, iv, 285: no 350) and again in 1603 (ibid vi, 177: no. 145). No information on the quays themselves in the medieval period is available, but post medieval descriptions indicate that they were extremely impressive and substantial, and this was probably the case at an earlier date also.

Two early seventeenth century descriptions of Waterford single out the quays for special mention. In 1620 Luke Gernon noted that:

'[Waterford's] beauty is in the key, for the wall of the towne, extending for neare half a mile along the water, between that and the water, there is a broad key maynly fortified wth stone and stronge piles of timber, wheer a shipp of the burden of 1,000 tunnes may ryde at anchor' (Falkiner 1904, 351-2).

In 1635 Sir William Brereton described the quay as:

'not only the best and most convenient quay which I ever found in Ireland, but it is as good a quay as I have known either in England or observed in all my travels. A ship of three hundred may come close to these quays. This quay is made all along the river side without the walls, and divers fair and convenient buttresses made almost twenty yards long, which go towards the channel' (ibid, 400).

These buttresses were piers extending into the river and are clearly shown on seventeenth century maps such as that

reproduced by Ryland (1824) dating to 1673, and Phillips' dating to 1685. There were five piers in all, one just east of Barronstrand St., marking the western limit of the quays, and the other four between Exchange St. and Henrietta St., the last being slightly to the east of Henrietta St. Stanhope, writing in 1682-5, described the quays as:

in Length five hundred yards all built with Hewen stone and well paved from End to End. In some places its breadth is twelve yards or thereabouts. To this Key there are built five most excellant Miles or Peers which stretch forward into the River about fortie foot in length ... at each of the Miles head a Ship of five hundred tun will lie afloat, and may safely take in her lading and discharge her freight with Ease (Walton 1987, 31-2).

Further references to the piers occur in 1682, when the city council ordered that 'the great Key head shalbee speedily repaired .. as also the west side of the piere at Gooses Gate (at the N end of Henrietta St); as also the pavement of the Key from the gunn to the west slipp of the Key' (Pender 1964, 216: no.1500), and in 1694 when it ordered that 'the pieres of the Key and great dock before the customhouse be cleared and repaired forthwith (ibid, 314: no.1993). This 'great dock' seems to have been located between the piers between Exchange St. and Keyser St.; by 1696 it was obsolete, and the council ordered 'that Sherif Lewis have forty pounds sterling out of the revenue for filling up the dock near the new

customhouse, building a cross wall six foot at least thick in the bottom, five in the middle, and four foot thick at the topp, a sufficient common shore with posts, rings, paving and other requisits' (ibid, 331: No.2063). Smith's map of 1745 (in Smith 1746) shows this central area of the quay filled in, and other parts were subsequently filled in as the quay frontage was extended out into the river.

The primary focus of the quays was between Barronstrand St., on the west, and Henrietta St., on the east, but gradually this was extended. Eastward extension began in the sixteenth century. In 1542 David Balief [Bailey] was granted the garden of the Franciscan friary with 'a new quay outside the city walls' (7 RDKPRI, 61: no. 307). This area may not have functioned commercially, however, until around 1659, when the city concil ordered that:

'ye new wharfe by ye Easte gate next ye common storehouse [at the north end of Henrietta St.?] and from Morgans Key eastward unto ye old privy shalbe a wharfe and place for all manner of wood, timber and faggots to be landed and sold there, and noe where else; and same shalbe caled ye Wood key or wharffe' (Pender 1948-50. 40. no.71)

The Hospital of the Holy Ghost, on the site of the friary was obliged to keep this wharfe from 'Lincoln gate unto ye Tower or Ring gate [Reginald's Tower] cleane from swine that lye there' (ibid). Further expansion of the quays took place in 1700, when Alderman Ivie was permitted 'to make an addition

to the west end of the Key without Barrystrand gate as far in length and bredth as the same can be conveniently built' (Pender 1964, 358: no.2166).

11. CUSTOM HOUSE

This building, an integral part of the port of Waterford, is first referred to in the seventeenth century. In c.1663-4 a reference to a 'large house... used as the custome house' on Key street (Simington 1942, 270) suggests a temporary arrangement, but nothing is known of an earlier Custom House. A new Custom House was in existence by 1696 (Pender 1964, 331: No. 2063), probably the one shown on Smith's map of 1745 and situated approximately on the site of the present Custom House on Custom House Quay. The older Custom House clearly was not located on the same site, as it continued in existence after the construction of the new building. Thus in 1697 the city council ordered 'that the cellar of the old customhouse be made use of by the markt people to keep their corn dry' (ibid, 340: No.2095), and in 1699 the council decided to 'sett the old customhouse for a year' (ibid, 351: no.2141). The older building was located, however, in the same area as its successor, on Key street (probably south of, and parallel to, Custom House Quay) and close to Exchange St. on the site of the corn market.



12. ALMSHOUSES

Dean Collyn's Almshouse

John Collyn, dean of the Cathedral and founder of St. Saviour's Chapel, was also founder of the almshouse or 'hous for Goddes pepill' which was located beside the cathedral churchyard. It was probably founded in 1478, the date of the 'statutes of the Goddes men hous besides the Trinite cherch' in the Register of St. Saviour's (MacNiocaill 1966, 215-17). In this document Collyn states that he had 'made xii beddes alowe for xii Goddes men' in the almshouse, and he assigned the rent of a shop situated to the west of the almshouse to be used for its maintenance (ibid, 215). This almshouse is presumably the 'house of paupers' referred to in a post 1520 document in the Register (ibid, 145). Its precise location is not recorded, but it may well have been located at the west end of the row of buildings between the cathedral and Chairman's Arch, where 'Dean's Almshouse' is marked on the 1871 O.S. 5-foot map.

St. Michael's Almshouse

The will of Nicholas Ley, dated 1585, bequeathed 20s to 'the poore sistren of St. Michael's poore House' (Carrigan 1906-7, 69). This was presumably an almshouse located near St. Michael's church, but nothing else is known of it, or of its location.

13. FREE SCHOOL

This school, which is frequently referred to in the late

seventeenth century Waterford archives was located in the Cathedral churchyard, according to Smith (1746, 189).

14. INDUSTRIAL AREAS

The best attested industrial activity in medieval Waterford is milling. Two main watermills are recorded, while two others, first attested in the seventeenth century, may also be of medieval date.

Caldebec/ Colbeck Mill

This mill was located at the mouth of a small stream which ran just outside the walls of Waterford on the east, joining the Suir at Reginald's tower. Maps of 1673 (in Ryland 1824) and 1685 (by Philips) show the mill just south-east of Reginald's tower, and the site of the mill, and its pool to the south, are now occupied by the Mall. The mill seems to have belonged originally to the Knights Templars, whose church of St. Brigid was located nearby and it was probably one of the 'mills in Waterford' granted to them by Henry II (d. 1189) and confirmed to them by John in 1199 (Sweetman 1875-86, i, no. 85). Henry's original grant, produced by the Templars in a dispute with the abbot of Dunbrody in 1290, granted them 'mills on the water near Waterford, which water is called Polwaterfoure, mills on the water near Waterford, which water is called Innermictam' (ibid, iii, no.666, p.329). The mill is first specifically referred to in a document of c.1224, which notes that 'after the mill of Caldebec had been built, the pool close to St. Katherine's

gate was restricted and damaged and the small stream which used to flow from the Templars' pool to ...[missing] is obstructed' (Nicholls 1972, 109-10). In 1326 the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in Ireland granted their mill of 'Caldebek' to Walter le Deveneys (McNeill 1932, 4, 16). Presumably the mill had passed to the Hospitallers on the dissolution of the Templars in 1313. The 1541 dissolution extent of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in Ireland includes the 'passage of the water at Waterford, with a Watermill called Colepeks Mylle' (White 1943, 100). The mill was leased to George Wisse in 1563 (11 RDKPRI, 91: no.527) and granted to Edmond Medhoppe in 1621 and to Sir James Ware in 1630 (Morris 1863, 562), the latest recorded reference.

St John's Mill

This mill is shown on the map of 1673 (in Ryland 1824) as standing on the west side of John's Bridge and on the south bank of John's river. It is presumably the 'mill of St. John', valued at half a mark and the property of the Benedictine priory of St. John, referred to in the 1302-6 taxation of the diocese of Waterford (Sweetman 1875-86, v, no.725, p. 305). In 1479 the mill 'neare the bridge of St. John the Evangelist' belonged to John Butteler and Nicholas Madiane (Morrissey 1939, 807). The mill is referred to again as late as 1698 (Pender 1964, 348: no. 212).

Bricken's Mill

The Civil Survey of 1654 refers to 'the ruines of a water mill called Brickens Mill' (Simington 1942, 176). Its

location cannot be precisely determined, but it was clearly located in the vicinity of Ballybricken Green, and probably in the Summerhill Park area, north of Gracedieu Road.

Barronstrand Mill

In 1663 a reference occurs to 'the mill att Baristrands bridge', belonging to the city but rented to Matthew Johnson (Pender 1964, 46, no. 342). It was referred to in 1693 as 'Barronstrands mill and house and garden, lime ki[ln], etc' (ibid 304: no. 1946), and is shown on the 1673 map (in Ryland 1824) as standing on a stream outside the wall to the north of Barronstrand gate, on the present Meagher's Quay.

There is also evidence for a variety of other domestic industrial sites. The street referred to as 'Cokes street' in 1571 (12 RDKPRI, 48: no. 1823) and 'Cooke Lane' in c.1663-4 (Simington 1942, 240) most likely derives its name from the presence there of cooks' or bakers' shops; this is now the street east of Arundel Square. Bakehouse Lane may have a similar origin, especially since a reference occurs in c.1663-4 to a 'common bakehouse caled Sherlocks Oven' there (Simington 1942, 249).

Tanning was an important industry, and in 1576 shoemakers in Waterford were permitted to tan hides and leathers, because of insufficient tanners to meet the demand. In 1591 Piers Graunt, a merchant, was licensed 'to erect a tan house at the Magdalens near the city of Waterford' (16 RDKPRI, 160: no. 5557). This was probably located on the site of the

modern County and City Infirmary (see below: Hospital of St. Mary Magdalen). The Survey and valuation of c.1663-4 notes five tanneries on John St. (Simington 1942, 232-34) and another on the unidentified Pierces' Lane.

Several limekilns are recorded. In 1466 a reference occurs to one at the quay, located beside the lane leading to the residence of Henry Gilis, chancellor of the cathedral (MacNiocaill 1966, 180). This residence was apparently located between Henrietta St. and the Franciscan friary (ibid, 198, 217-18). The dissolution extent of the friary in 1541 refers to 'le lymekyll' (White 1943, 350), but there is nothing to suggest that this is the same one; indeed, it appears to have been located east of the friary. Other limekilns on Kempson Lane (now Keyser St.) and John St. are referred to in c.1663-4 (Simington 1942, 226, 237).

The survey and valuation of c.1663-4 notes seven 'malt houses' in Waterford, three on John St., one on Michael St., two on Barronstrand St. and one on Pierce's Lane (Simington 1942, 233, 236, 261, 263, 272). In addition there were three 'brew houses', two on Peter St. and one on Trinity Lane (ibid, 222, 224-5).

15. MINT

There is some evidence to suggest that Waterford was the site of a Viking mint. In his final paper, Dolley (1987, 826) suggested that his Phase IV coins 'represent an ephemeral

coinage at Waterford c.1065 under the aegis of Diarmait mac Mael na mBo'. The earliest solidly attested mint, however, was established in 1281, while Stephen de Fulborne, bishop of Waterford, was Treasurer of Ireland. In that year Alexander of Lucca was instructed to 'coin the King's money at Dublin and Waterford' (Sweetman 1875-86, ii, no. 1785) and exchequer rolls noted the delivery by the Treasurer of £200 at 'the mint, Waterford' (ibid No. 1815). In 1282 the keepers of the mint of Waterford accounted for £1,350 'old money received at the beginning of the Mint' and for £1,435 and other sums in new money delivered to the Treasurer (ibid, no. 1938). Dolley (1987, 820-21) states that the mint was closed in 1282, reopened in 1294 and closed again in 1295. The next evidence for a mint in Waterford occurs in 1463, when parliament agreed to the request of the citizens of Waterford that groats, pennies, half-pennies and farthings 'be struck and made in the city of Waterford at a place called Dondory, otherwise called Raynoldis tour [Reginald's tower]' (Berry 1914, 131). A reference in 1490 to 'the mints of the cities of Dublin and Waterford' (PRO 1914, 299) is the latest evidence for the existence of a mint there.

It is clear that the fifteenth century mint was located in Reginald's Tower. No location is recorded for the thirteenth century mint, but a reference of c.1284-85 to 'the houses erected on the soil of the Bishop of Waterford, [by] the justiciary, out of the King's money, for the use of the Mint' (Sweetman 1875-86, iii, no.2: p.9) suggests that it was located near the cathedral and bishop's palace, which were

close to Reginald's tower.

16. PRISONS

The existence of a royal prison in medieval Waterford is confirmed by records such as the censure of the mayor and bailiffs for allowing the escape of two prisoners from 'the prison of the town' in 1311 (Wood, Langman and Griffith 1955, 177), and of the escape of John, son of Reymund, from 'the Kings prison' in 1313 (ibid, 284), as well as the appointment of justices for gaol delivery in Waterford in 1375 and 1381 (Tresham 1828, 99: no. 276; 114: no 185). The most likely location of such a prison was Reginald's tower. In 1487 the citizens of Waterford were granted the right to have their own prison (PRO 1914, 176, 224). It is not recorded whether a new prison was erected in pursuance of this, but clearly by the seventeenth century a number of prisons were in existence.

In 1635, Sir Willaim Brereton noted 'a most convenient prison that I ever saw for the women apart, and this is a great distance from the men's prison' (Falkiner 1904, 401). When this womens' prison was built is not known, but it was out of use by 1697 when the city council ordered that it 'bee walled upp to prevent nuisance' (Pender 1964, 337: no. 2083).

In 1656 the city council ordered 'that ye house wherin ye Hospitall women live in Ladie Church yard be appointed as ye Bridewell house of this citty' (Pender 1947, 163). In 1659,

however, a reference occurs to 'ye little lane turneing (off Broad St) into Lady Lane by ye Bridewell' (Pender 1948-50, 42: no.73). This apparently locates the Bridewell at the west end of Lady Lane, rather than in St Mary's churchyard which was at the east end of the street. Perhaps the site at the west end of the street was subsequently chosen instead of the building in St. Mary's churchyard proposed in 1656. It seems that there was no purpose-built men's prison at this date, for by the early 1670s Gabriel Grantham, the city marshal, was renting his own house to the city for use as the city gaol (Pender 1964, 72: no. 444; 137: no.971). By 1676-77, however, a new city gaol was under construction (ibid 164: no. 1184; 165: no. 1190).

Another gaol was 'the goale at John's gate' that is, the gatehouse itself which was being rented by the corporation to the county of Waterford in 1669 (ibid 364: no. 2174) and which was still functioning as the County Gaol in 1746 (Smith 1746, 188-9).

In 1672 Thomas Adamson was given charge of the 'house of correction' in the city (ibid, 96, no: 625) and in 1684 Adamson, described as 'master of the house of correction', was authorised by the city council 'to have a place made up in the cellar for madd people committed to him' (ibid, 248: no. 1648). The location of this institution is unknown, but it was possibly connected with the 'hospitall at John's gate', part of which was also leased to Adamson in 1672 (see below: Hospitals).

17. BRIDGES

There is no evidence for a bridge across the Suir at Waterford in the medieval period, although Smith (1746, 200) records claims of the existence of such a bridge and notes that 'not many years since there have been several piles and other pieces of this work discovered in the river'.

The only bridge in medieval Waterford for which there is good evidence is John's bridge. It carried John Street, always the main approach road to the city, over John's river. It is probably the 'old bridge' referred to in a grant of John, count of Morton, dating not later than 1199, in which he gave to the hospital of St. John of Waterford 'the water opposite the church of St. Catherine [i.e. John's river] as far as the old bridge' (PRO 1908, 282). Evidently the bridge was already old in the late twelfth century, and may well have been of pre-Norman origin. It is referred to as the south bridge in 1299-1300 (Ir. Rec. Comm. 1829,39), as 'the bridge of St. John' in 1471 (MacNiocaill 1966, 190) and as 'the bridge of St. John the Evangelist' in 1479 (Morrissey, 1939, 807). When further information becomes available in the seventeenth century, it is clear that the bridge formed part of a complex of defensive structures linked to St. John's gate. The 1673 map (in Ryland 1824) shows gate and bridge connected by a passage flanked by battlemented walls. Phillips' map of 1685 shows the passage spanning a much wider John's river, extending as far north as John's gate, and indicates a drawbridge at the south end of the bridge. These

details are confirmed by contemporary references. The 'bridge and wall without St. John's gate' is referred to in 1674 (Pender 1964, 135: no. 945), 'the passage between St. John's gate and drawbridge' in 1681 (ibid, 207: no. 1446). It appears that St. John's gate had an outer barbican (see below: Town Defences) and this may be the 'passage' referred to. The present bridge is twin-arched and pointed and possibly late sixteenth or seventeenth century in date. Ben Murtagh informs us that there are also concealed arches, probably of medieval date.

The 1673 map (in Ryland 1824) also indicates what appears to be a bridge spanning the mill pool of Caldebec mill (on the site of the Mall) roughly in the area of the junction of modern Lombard St. with the Mall. The presence of Colbeck gate would seem to require the existence of a bridge at this point, and this may be the 'old bridge' which Theod. Jones was required to 'build' (i.e. repair) as a condition of the renewal of his lease of 'Lumbards marsh' in 1697 (Pender 1964, 338: no.2085).

18. TOWN DEFENCES (Figs. 67-78)

From the first erection of a 'longport' in 914 (AFM) it is likely that Waterford was fortified with defences of some sort, but at what date the first stone walls were built is not clear. Giraldus Cambrensis' account of the Anglo-Norman capture of Waterford in 1170 suggests that the town was walled before the Anglo-Normans arrived and it is perhaps

this wall (or its predecessor?) which has been uncovered during recent excavations between Peter St. and Lady Lane. This is a well-built wall standing to a height of just over 1m above a plinth. Giraldus relates that Raymond le Gros:

'noticed a small building which hung down from the town wall on the outside by a beam. He ... sent in armed men to cut down the aforesaid beam. When it had been cut down, the building immediately collapsed, and with it a considerable part of the wall. The invaders...rushed into the city and won a most bloody victory' (Scott and Martin 1978, 65-7)

Giraldus also refers to the existence of 'Raghenald's [Reginald's] tower' (ibid, 67). Moore's excavations on the site of Martin's Gate suggested that the first construction of a wall in that area took place c.1200, before which the west side of the city had been defended by an earthen bank and ditch, but the dating evidence available to him was not very precise (see Moore 1984,257-8). The alignment of this wall with that found in the more recent excavations, however, suggests that it may run outside the line of the Viking stone defences and that there may have been a succession of defensive constructions in this area similar to the evidence found at Fishamble Street, Dublin.

It is clear however, that the Anglo-Normans did carry out extensive work on the town's defences in the early 13th century. In 1211-12 Thomas Bluet, sheriff of Waterford, accounted for 56s spent on 'a new grange and gate and

bretesche beyond the gate', and he owed £144 5s 8d 'from the aid for fortifying Waterford' (Davies and Quinn 1941, 49). This suggests that murage grants had already been granted to Waterford, although King John's charter of 1215, which granted the town murage as the citizens of Waterford had it (Ir. Rec Comm. 1829, 13-14) is the first of a long series of murage grants (See Table 3). A series of murage grants followed in the period 1224-46. There may have been some abuse of these, as the grants of 1236 and 1243 specify that two overseers were to be appointed to ensure that the monies raised 'are solely employed on the enclosure of the city'. Nevertheless it seems that the enclosed area of the old city had reached its full extent during this period. Reginald's tower is attested by the late twelfth century, and Colebeck, St. Martin's and Arundell gates by c.1224. The site of the Dominican priory, north of Arundell gate, was enclosed by 1235, when it was referred to as 'a void place within the walls of their city' (PRO 1906, 94). Archaeological confirmation of this activity comes from Moore's excavation at St Martin's gate, which revealed that the gate was first constructed in the early thirteenth century. The only area of uncertainty is the river frontage, where there is evidence to suggest that it was not enclosed in 1377 (see above: Quays).

The date of the enclosure of the western suburb remains unknown. Although it is generally suggested that this also took place in the early thirteenth century (eg. Barry 1983, 43; Mc Eneaney 1984, 6; Power 1943, 119), there is a lack of documentary evidence, and the earliest evidence occurs in the

late fifteenth century Register of St. Saviours which contains references to Barronstrand gate in 1471 (MacNiocaill 1966, 195), St. Patrick's gate in 1475 (ibid, 204) and 'the gates of the suburbs of the city' in 1476 (ibid, 209).

Murage grants apparently ceased in 1246, but the burning of Waterford in 1272 (recte 1273?; Butler 1849: Dowling, 15) and again in 1283 (ibid, 16) clearly damaged the city's defences and in 1290 the citizens petitioned the king to renew murage 'to repair the walls and gates of the city which hath been twice burnt' (Sweetman 1875-86, iii, no. 622: p.309). Accordingly murage was restored from 1291 to 1295, and again from 1311-1326. From 1356 onwards, murage of some form was permanently granted to the city for the maintenance of the walls. The citizens could refer to the expences they had incurred in 'repairing the ancient walls of the city, which were fallen through their weight' in 1375 (PRO 1916, 145), but in 1399 the lord lieutenant was complaining of how little the citizens of Waterford had done to enclose the city, in spite of the monies granted to them (Graves 1877, 266-67). Again, in 1430, the citizens claimed that as a result of attacks by various enemies, 'the ditches, walls and towers, gates and portcullises are so old and ruinous in many places as to be all but fallen to the ground' (PRO 1907, 68). These testimonies of decay may explain why the city was said to be unenclosed and unfortified on the river side in 1377. There certainly seems to have been a riverside wall in 1477, however (see above: Quays), which may have been built or rebuilt in the intervening years.

The medieval defences were described in the mid sixteenth century by Ortiz, who noted that Waterford:

is surrounded by a stone wall with seventeen towers, and cannon on them' (Buckley 1909, 75)

Various additional fortifications were constructed in the post medieval period, and especially in 1590-92. An artillery blockhouse was erected beside Reginald's tower around 1551, or 1560-8 (see below). In 1590, in response to fears of a Spanish invasion, the government set about the construction of major new fortifications at Waterford (Kerrigan 1985, 16-19), which took the form of earthworks outside the walls on the west, south and southeast of the city. The fortifications on the west side of the city are shown on Jobson's map of 1591, and were described in 1590 by Nicholas Lombard, a citizen of Waterford, who noted that:

a trench with a ditch over the same hath been begun indented-wise from the round tower next by north my garden right over Saint Thomas' Hill into the Windmill place westward, and from thence southward near unto Corner Castle, standing over Mr Wise's garden, but neither ended nor joined together in any manner defensible, neither any sconce or other defensible work built upon the same, and yet the citizens have given 10,000 men's labour to help that work (Hamilton 1885, 369-70).

This work also involved the construction of the first fort on

the site of the later St. Patrick's fort (see below). Further earthworks were erected outside the walls on the southeast, surrounding St. Catherine's abbey, and on the south bank of John's river around John's Bridge (Kerrigan 1985, 17-19). These are shown on a map, probably of c.1590, reproduced by Kerrigan (1985, 18). In 1598 the earl of Ormond echoes Lumbard's assessment of these fortifications as an expensive failure, noting that:

the fortification made at Waterford is to small purpose, though very chargeable. With half the cost a better defence might be made (Atkinson 1895, 9)

They had a short lifespan. In 1642 a citizen, Laurence Hooper, noted that the townsmen had begun:

to throw downe the works without St. Patrick's & Our Lady's gate, being ye west & south-west side of ye sd Cittie, wch workes wer there made ye last warrs (Fitzpatrick 1910, 141)

and the earthworks are absent on all later maps, although the 1673 map (in Ryland 1824) shows a much smaller earthwork outside the walls on the south-west, between St. Patrick's gate and Newgate (see also Smith 1746, 142). There is no record of when this earthwork was constructed, but it may well have been in 1642, when Hooper also noted that the citizens:

have bin labouring to scoure ye trenches ye outside, and on ye inside they have beene casting up a rampier

against the wall (FitzPatrick 1910, 141).

By the late seventeenth century, the walls were being seen as obsolete and the gates as a nuisance to traffic and their destruction was beginning. The demolition of Barronstrand Gate was proposed in 1686, but does not seem to have been carried out because in 1700 it was again ordered that the gate be demolished and rebuilt 'large and fitt for coaches or any carriage to goe through' (Pender 1964, 358: no. 2166). Colebeck gate was enlarged in 1696, Arundell gate was demolished in 1695-6 to make way for a new courthouse, Gooses's gate was enlarged in 1696-7 and permission to demolish the tower of Our Lady's gate was granted in 1698 (see below). Parts of the wall itself were being demolished in 1695 (Pender 1964, 330: no. 2055), in 1696 at St John's gate (ibid 332: No. 2063) and in 1698 at the quays (ibid, 345: no. 2114), while in 1700 the partial destruction of the tower at the west end of the quays ('Turgesius' tower') was authorised (see below). In 1712 Thomas Milles, bishop of Waterford, complained that the corporation had 'pulled down the city walls, and filled up the town ditches' (Quane 1959, 90).

Some fifteen gates and twenty-three mural towers are attested in the circuit of the walls. The majority of the towers were concentrated on the west and south-west sides and were scarcer on the north, defended by the Suir, and on the east and south-east, defended by marshy ground and John's river. A fosse outside the walls is frequently referred to,

but this was presumably unnecessary on the north and east sides. It is definitely attested on the west side of the old city where 'the King's fosse' is referred to in the late fifteenth century (MacNiocaill 1966, 168, 179; Gilbert 1885, 312) and on the south-west side of the western suburb, where a lease map of 1794 labels the area outside the wall, immediately north of the French tower as the 'City Ditch' (Carroll 1984, 16-17). Smith (1746, 142) states that there was no fosse, because of the rocky ground, to the north of this area, between 'Newgate' and the 'Beach tower'. The fosse on the west side of the city proper had an external fence or hedge, referred to in 1471 (MacNiocaill 1966, 196). In spite of the enclosure of the western suburb, the wall along the west side of the old city remained in use right up to the seventeenth century. It is clearly shown on Jobson's (1591) map, and is inferred by Brereton's reference to the city as 'double-walled' in 1635 (Falkiner 1904, 401) and Stanhope's reference in 1682-85 to 'severall fair and large Streets lying between the innermost and outmost walls' (Walton 1987, 30). Stanhope, indeed, reveals that even in the late seventeenth century the citizens were aware that the western suburb was a late enclosure, by referring to 'the New Wall, being that which is outmost' (ibid, 30-31). In the same way, the walls of the old city are referred to as 'the old walls' in an order prohibiting thatched roofs in 1670 (Pender 1964, 82: no.515).

Many of the gates of the city were protected by iron 'grates', possibly a reference to portcullises. Portcullises

are referred to, though not in connection with any specific gate, in 1430 (PRO 1907, 68) and Moore's excavations at St. Martin's gate revealed that it originally had a portcullis. In 1477-78 the owners of the gates leading to the quays were ordered to install 'a grate of yren' in their gate (Gilbert 1885, 313). One gate, St John's, seems to have had an outer barbican, and Stanhope's statement in 1682-5 that 'two faire and strong portcalls or gatehouses, one on the Southern part of the City, the other on the Western part, give entrance into the Citty from those Quarters' (Walton 1987, 31) suggests that St. John's and St. Patricks were the principal gates of the city.

Description

ST MARTIN'S GATE (Gate 1) *Fq. 68*

This gate is first referred to in an inquisition of c.1224 but the document itself relates to the justiciarship of Meiler Fitzhenry, i.e. between 1198 and 1208 (Nicholls 1972, 109). This indicates a terminus ante quem of 1208 for the gate. When next referred to, in 1474 and 1481, it is called 'St Martin's tower' and the road which led from it to St. John's Church was by then apparently disused (MacNiocaill 1966, 139, 202). This could suggest that it was no longer functioning as a gate. In the Civil survey of 1654 it is referred to as 'Martin's tower now called the greene Tower' (Simington 1942, 180). It is referred to as 'the Greene

tower' in 1669 (Pender 1964, 364: no.217) but as 'St. Martin's tower' in 1675 (ibid 142: no.1020) and in 1678, when the repair of a breach in the tower was ordered (ibid 174: no. 1271).

The 1673 map (in Ryland 1824) shows the tower as a large multi-bayed building of three floors, while Philips' 1685 map shows it as having an L-shaped plan. The excavations undertaken by Moore (1983, 50-61), however, revealed two circular towers, c.1.6m high, with a portcullis, flanking a narrow passage. A section of wall, with external batter, running east was also revealed. This is 1.8m thick and it survived to a height of 1.6m. The wall appears to have run into the tower but may also have continued across the back (north) of the east tower. This section of wall links up with another section of wall, c.22m in length, which runs along the north side of Spring Garden Alley. It is c.4m high and consists of roughly coursed large blocks of red and yellow sandstone, red conglomerate and slate with slate pinnings. Internally the ground level is c.2.5-3m higher than externally.

TOWER 1

A map of of c.1590 (reproduced in Kerrigan 1985, 18) indicates a mural tower somewhere between St. Martin's and Colbeck gates. Its precise location is uncertain. There is however, a rectangular window, 113 by 41cm, with chamfered jambs of possible Dundry stone with barholes in jambs and

lintel, some 3m above ground level in this section of wall (in Mr Ted Foley's premises). This may indicate the position of the tower. The wall along Spring Garden Alley is between 4.5 and 6m high with slight external batter and there are said to be two pointed loops in the wall which is covered by ivy at present. Internally the gardens at the rear of Lady Lane are at the same level as the top of the wall which has been built up with brick at one point to provide a ball alley. At the east end of Spring Garden Alley there is supposed to be a return in the wall, possibly connected with Colbeck gate, which is now covered in.

COLBECK GATE (Gate 2)

The gate of 'Coldebec' is referred to in an inquisition of c.1224, which relates to events during the justiciarship of Geoffrey de Marisco, 1215-21 (Nicholls 1972, 109). A terminus ante quem of 1221 is established for the gate, but since one of its main functions was to provide access to and from the priory of St. Catherine, which was in existence before 1200 (see below), it may be of much earlier date. The inquisitions of c.1224 also refer to a St. Katherine's Gate (ibid, 109-10), which may well have been an alternative name for this gate. No further references to the gate are known until the later seventeenth century, when it was still functioning, with the upper chambers of the gatehouse being used as a place of detention and as an arms store. City officials were ordered to be detained in the chamber at

'Colebeck castle', referred to as 'the chamber of Green-cloth' by Smith (1746, 170-71), for various misdemeanours in 1670 (Fender 1964, 70: no.432) and 1672 (ibid 93: no.600). In 1680 the city council ordered that 'the ammunition belonging to this citty shalbee put in the garrett of Colebeck castle '(ibid, 204: no.1430) and in 1699 that 'the citty armes be brought... into the citty store at Colebeck castle (ibid, 355: no.2152). Pressure of traffic led to a decision 'to alter the front of Colebecks castle to make the passage higher' in 1696 (ibid, 331-33: no.2063, 2068) and a record of expenses on 'Colebeck gate' in 1697 (ibid 336: no. 2078) suggests that this was done.

The gate was located on Colbeck Street, which gave access from Lady Lane, the southernmost of the three main streets of the walled city, to the suburb of Caldebec on the southeast, between the city and John's river. The 1673 map (in Ryland 1824) depicts the gate as a large battlemented structure of two floors, although its shape is unclear. Phillip's 1685 map, however indicates that it had twin round or D-shaped towers flanking the entrance passage.

TOWERS 2 & 3

The map of c. 1590 reproduced by Kerrigan (1985, 18) indicates two mural towers between Colbeck gate and Reginald's tower. One of these may be the turret located in the Theatre Royal (Lumley 1983, 5) but the is location of the other is unknown.

The wall is missing above ground from Colbeck's Gate to approx. within 20m on the east side of Reginald's tower although the base of the wall may be retained below the wall in front of the offices of Waterford Corporation (the former Bishop's Palace) and to the rear of the Town Hall. A section c.15m in length, 1.7m thick and 3m high survives in Reginald's Bar. Only the interior face is accessible and both ends and the top have been levelled. Near each end of the wall there is a large opening with segmental pointed arches. Both are blocked.

REGINALD'S TOWER (Tower 4) Figs. 69-70

This structure occupies a unique place in the defences of Waterford and was clearly far more than just a mural tower, fulfilling a role, in fact, closer to that of a royal castle. It stands apart from the other defences in being of undoubted pre-Norman origin. Giraldus' account of the Anglo-Norman capture of Waterford in 1170 notes the capture of the Hiberno-Norse leaders of Waterford in 'Raghenald's tower' (Scott and Martin 1978, 67). Its central military importance at this date is illustrated by Giraldus' comment that in the Ostmen revolt of 1174, the Anglo-Normans were able to retain control of the city 'because they still held Ragnall's tower' (ibid. 141). It seems likely that 'Reginald's tower' was the focal point of the original Hiberno-Norse stronghold or Dun, referred to in accounts of the attack on Waterford in 1088 (AI) and the Anglo-Norman attack of 1170 (AFM). This is

suggested by the alternative name of 'Dondory' applied to Reginald's tower in 1463 (Berry 1914, 131). The name 'Dundery' survives as late as 1680 when it was apparently applied to the whole area of the walls between Reginald's tower and the cathedral / Bishop's palace complex (Pender 1964, 187: no. 1372). The name seems to preserve the memory of the 'dun' which was located in this area. The location of Reginald's tower, commanding the confluence of the river Suir and the branch of John's River which later powered Coldebec mill, was ideal for the location of the primary Viking stronghold.

It seems likely that Reginald's tower derives its name from Ragnall mac Gillemaire, a leading figure in the Hiberno-Norse government of Waterford up to 1170. Giraldus states that Ragnall was one of the leaders of Waterford captured by the Anglo-Normans in 'Raghenald's tower' (Scott and Martin 1978, 67) while AFM notes the capture of 'Gillemaire, the officer of the fortress' in the same event. A remarkable document of 1311 states that a certain notable named Reginald MacGillemory was hanged for attempting to impede the landing of Henry II at Waterford in 1171 (Wood, Langman and Griffith 1955, 186-7), and it seems that, as Orpen (1892, 278-9) suggested, this Reginald MacGillemory is the Ragnall of Giraldus' account and the Gillemaire of AFM. The 1311 document also states that Reginald resided at 'Renaudescastel near the port of Waterford, where now is an old deserted moat' (Wood, Langman and Griffith 1955, 186-7). It is possible that this refers to Reginald's tower itself,

in which case the reference to 'an old deserted moat' would suggest that the present tower was not built by 1311. However this seems unlikely, particularly in view of the suggestion in the 1311 document that 'Renaudescastel' was situated across the Suir from 'the land of Dunbrody' (ibid, 186).

In the Anglo-Norman period, it is likely that Reginald's tower fulfilled the role of royal castle in Waterford (see above: Castle), and it may well have acted as the royal prison (see above: Prisons). As early as 1171 Henry II committed Robert FitzStephen there for safekeeping (Scott and Martin 1978, 93). In 1463 parliament authorised the minting of coins in Waterford 'at a place called Dondory, otherwise called Reginald's tower' (Berry 1914, 131) and it is possible that the late 13th century Waterford mint was also located here (see above: Mint). By the end of the fifteenth century the tower had been equipped with artillery for the defence of the port, and its importance is reflected in an account of Perkin Warbeck's attack on the city in 1495 which notes that Warbeck's ships, attacking the town from the river 'bulged or drowned with the ordinance shot out of Dondore' (Brewer and Bullen 1871, 472). In the seventeenth century the tower is generally referred to as the 'Ring Tower' (eg. Pender 1964, 78: no.496; 317: no. 2010; 351: no. 2139). This name may be related to the half moon outwork or blockhouse built onto the tower to the east in the sixteenth century. This may be the blockhouse whose erection was authorised in 1560 (Brewer and Bullen 1867, 296) and whose construction was noted in 1568 (Morrin 1861, 515), but Kerrigan (1985, 15-6) considers that

it was built around 1551. In 1682-5 Stanhope described the tower and blockhouse:

The Lower Platform lying neare the River is well fortified with seavan or Eight great gunns, well mounted. The upper Part of the Tower is also furnished with severall brasse guns of great length, which commands the adjacent countrey on all sides (Walton 1987, 32)

Smith (1746, 172) states that the blockhouse was dismantled in 1711.

Description

Four floored circular tower with a parapet above. Access to all floors is via a spiral stairs in the SW thickness of the wall. The masonry shows signs of many alterations, but basically consists of blocks of sandstone with small pieces of slate, roughly coursed, in the first three floors; and large blocks of sandstone and limestone for the third floor and parapet. The interior has been refurbished, the floors are modern and the walls plastered. The tower is of 13th/early 14th century date and the parapets were added, perhaps in the 15th century.

The ground floor chamber is 6.95m in diameter. Opening off it are five round headed embrasures, facing NE, E, SE, SSW and W and there is a mural chamber to the NW. The tower is at present entered through a door set into the E

embrasure. The windows of the NE, SE and SSW embrasures are blocked up, but large rectangular openings (now blocked) are visible externally in the NE and SE embrasure and a gun loop with chamfered limestone jambs in the SSW embrasure. The west embrasure contains a modern door but there may originally have been a door here communicating with the back of the town wall because the rear arch continues through the depth of the embrasure and holes in the adjacent walls would have served as bar-holes. The spiral stairs are entered through a door with a pointed rear arch in the south side of this embrasure. The mural chamber in the NW is entered by a small door with pointed rear arch, and it contains two embrasures with segmental rear arches, each containing a loop. The chamber itself has a pointed vaulted roof.

First floor: The spiral stairs between the ground and first floors is lit by a small splayed loop facing SW. A break in the wall close to the loop may have been a door. The first floor chamber is presently entered via a rectangular door in the south wall of the W embrasure but a blocked segmental arched door just south of this seems to have been the original entrance. This chamber is 6.95m in diameter internally; opening off it are five large round headed embrasures to the NE, E, SE, SSW and W and a mural chamber to the N. Set within the NE, E, SE, and SSW embrasures are rectangular windows with segmental rear arches, splayed internally. The SE window has no dressed jambs; the E window has dressed unchamfered limestone jambs while the NE and SSW windows have yellow sandstone jambs. The mural chamber to the

N is entered via a round arched door; it is roofed by a round barrell vault and contains two splayed loops, one of which is set within a round arched embrasure. The opening of the W embrasure has a rectangular door and externally one can see a large round arched doorway. This may have been an original doorway communicating with the wall-walk of the town wall as the round rear arch runs through its full depth.

Second floor: The spiral stairs between 1st and 2nd floors is lit by a rectangular window and a partly blocked loop, facing SW. The 2nd floor chamber is reached via a flat-lintelled mural passage, with two blocked loops in the S wall and a rectangular recess in the E wall, through a rectangular door in the N wall. The chamber is 8.5m in diameter; opening off it are four round headed embrasures to the N, ENE, SSE, and W and a mural chamber to the NE. The rear arch of the W embrasure is unplastered, revealing wattle centering. Each embrasure contains a rectangular window with chamfered limestone jambs; that in the N embrasure is splayed internally. The mural chamber to the NE is entered through a rectangular door; it has a flat lintelled roof and two splayed loops in the external wall.

Third floor: This is now represented by a balcony supported on corbels which are probably original. The spiral stairs between the 2nd and 3rd floors is lit by a rectangular window and above it a splayed loop facing SW. The 3rd floor chamber is entered via a small landing with splayed rectangular window in the W wall, through a rectangular door in the E

wall. Opening off the 3rd floor are three round headed embrasures to the N, SE and WNW. Set within each of these is a splayed rectangular window with chamfered limestone jambs.

Wall walk: The stairs between the 3rd floor and the wall walk is lit by a splayed loop facing SW. The wall walk is reached from the stairs via a straight flat lintelled passage through a rectangular door with a splayed loop immediately inside it. The parapet is 1-1.5m high although higher in the SW quadrant because of the stairs and passage. The tower is covered by a modern domed roof.

RING TOWER GATE (Gate 3)

A gate at or near Reginald's tower is attested in seventeenth century documents. 'Ring gate' is referred to in 1659 (Pender 1948-50, 40: no.71) and in 1682 the city council ordered the repaving of 'Ring tower gate' (Pender 1964, 216:no. 1500). The gate was probably located at the end of Bailey's New St. and if so was presumably opened at the time the street was laid out in the mid sixteenth century. Like the other quay gates, it seems to have been a simple opening in the wall without a gatehouse.

GOOSE'S GATE (Gate 4)

The gate located at the north end of Henrietta St. (called 'Goose Gate Lane' on Smith's map of 1754) is clearly the 'Goose his Gate' referred to in 1657 (Pender 1947, 173) and

may be the 'Easte gate' or 'Lincoln gate' referred to in 1659 (Pender 1948-50, 40: no.71). No earlier references are known, but this gate, along with gates 5, 6 and 7, are presumably the 'gates by all the keyes of the citie' on which irongrates were ordered to be placed in 1477-8 (Gilbert 1885, 312-3). Goose's gate was enlarged and widened in 1696-7 (Pender 1964, 331: no.2063; 335: no. 2078). The 1673 map (in Ryland 1824) and Phillip's 1685 map suggest it was a simple opening in the wall.

TOWER 5

The 1673 map (in Ryland 1824), Phillip's map of 1685 and Place's view of 1698 all show a large, two storied square tower at the north end of Henrietta St., beside Goose's gate. This is almost certainly the tower referred to in 1467 as 'the tour of the counseyll' which was clearly located on, or to the east of, what is now Henrietta St. (MacNiocaill 1966, 164). In 1657 it is referred to simply as 'ye Tower in which Mr Housgoe lately dwelth' (Pender 1947, 173). It may well be the 'Castell called the Staire Key Castell' referred to in c.1663-4 as being on Key Street (Simington 1942, 270), because it was located at the junction of Key St. with modern Henrietta St., and there is no evidence for any other tower or castle on this street. Modern O.S. maps label the site as that of 'Keysers Castle' but this name does not occur in any contemporary documents.

GREAT "KEY" GATE (GATE 5)

The gate at the north end of modern Exchange St. was almost certainly that referred to as the 'great Key gate' (e.g. Pender 1964, 362: no 2174 dated 1669; 142: no. 1017, dated 1674) because it was the means of communication between the quay and the corn market, market house, Custom house etc. Nevertheless the 1673 map and Phillip's (1685) map suggest that, like the other quay gates, it consisted of a simple arched opening in the wall.

GATES 6 & 7

The 1673 and Phillip's (1685) maps show two simple gates in the wall at the north end of Conduit Lane and roughly midway between Conduit Lane and Exchange St. respectively. One of them is presumably the 'Ferry gate' referred to in 1694 (Pender 1964, 317:no.2010), most likely that at the end of Conduit Lane, as Scale's 1764 map of Waterford shows a 'Ferry Boat Slip' on the quay at this point.

TOWER 6

The tower at the north-west angle of the walled old city, although attested on seventeenth century maps, is not definitely mentioned in any record before 1700. In that year Joseph Ivie was authorised 'to pull downe the castle at the west end of the Key levell with the towne wall' (Pender 1964, 358: no. 2166). Modern O.S. maps label the site as that

of 'Turgesius Castle' probably based on Smith (1746, 169) who referred to it as 'Turgesius Tower'. This name, however, does not occur in any contemporary documents. The Ryland (1673) map depicts it as a battlemented tower of three floors, while Phillip's (1685) map shows it as of rectangular plan.

ARUNDELL GATE (Gate 8)

The gate of 'Aremdel' is first referred to in a document of c.1224 (Nicholls 1972, 109), and as 'Arondelis gate' it is mentioned in 1475-6 (Gilbert 1885, 312). In the seventeenth century the corporation made use of the upper chambers of the gatehouse for a variety of purposes. On the dissolution of the corporation by royal officials in 1617, the officials noted that they had the city's charters and insignia:

brought unto a chest of theirs in Arundell Tower, where all their writings are (Brewer and Bullen 1873, 338)

The storage of arms and ammunition in 'Arundell castle' was ordered by the city council in 1663 and 1680 (Pender 1964, 20:no.107; 188: no. 1381). In 1695, however, the corporation agreed to make the site of the gatehouse available for the construction of a new county courthouse (ibid 325: no. 2037), and it had clearly been demolished by 1696, when compensation was paid for damage caused by its demolition (ibid 328: no. 2051; 329: no.2054).

The Ryland (1673) map depicts the gatehouse as a large,

rectangular, battlemented structure of two floors, and its rectangular plan is confirmed by Phillip's (1685) map. The gate gave access from Broad St., via a small lane, to High St. and in the absence of definite evidence for gates at the west ends of Peter St. and Lady Lane before the seventeenth century, it may have been the only gate on the west side of the old city in the medieval period.

GATE 9

The existence of a gate where Peter St. crossed the west wall of the old city might be expected, and seems to be indicated on Phillip's (1685) map, which shows two rectangular structures flanking the street as it does for other gates. No references to such a gate are known, however. The Ryland (1673) map depicts a tower-like structure of two floors, with spire above, on the south side of the street, which may be part of a gatehouse, but is labelled as the Guild Hall. There is a wide north wall of a building c.7.00m high on the west side of Cycle Revival, i.e. on the north side of Peter St. to the south of Homecare Store, which has limestone quoins and two blocked loops. It may have been part of the town wall or of the gatehouse.

OUR LADY'S GATE (Gate 10)

The earliest reference to this gate occurs in 1642, when Laurence Hooper notes the removal of:

the works without St. Patrick's & Our Lady's gate, being
ye west & south-west side of ye sd cittie (Fitzpatrick
1910, 141)

The reference is enigmatic, however, since the earthworks in question seem to have been on the west side of the walled suburb, rather than of the city proper where Our Lady's gate was located. The gate is referred to again in 1675 (Pender 1964, 154: no. 1108) and repairs to 'Our Ladyes gate' and 'Lady lane gate' are recorded in 1683 and 1697 (ibid, 232: no.1570; 336: no.2078). In 1698 the city council ordered that the mayor:

shall have the tennancy of the round tower by Ladyes gate or that it shalbe lawful for him or any other too pull it down for stones to the barracks (ibid, 345: no. 2118)

It is not known whether this tower was actually demolished at this date, but the reference is interesting in that it confirms Phillip's (1685) map, which indicates a single round tower on the north side of Lady Lane, at the side of the gate. This suggests that the gate may originally have consisted of twin round towers flanking an entrance passage.

THE WALLED WESTERN SUBURB

There is a section of wall running SE from St. Martin's Gate between Spring Garden Alley and Parnell St. which is c.110m in length. It is 2-3m high and 95-100cm wide and

consists of roughly coursed large blocks of slate, red and brown sandstone, conglomerate and slate pinnings. There is a 20m stretch of wall in the convent garden to the SE with traces of a wall walk. At either end of this section there are blocked flat lintelled loops visible externally. There is also some re-used cut stone in this area. The wall is only 60cm wide here but much of it may be missing on the interior which is plastered over. It has an external batter. 25m further S is another stretch of wall, c.35m in length, in St Joseph's School yard which is 2.25m high internally and 95cm wide. Above it there is another 2m of modern wall. At intervals of 5-6m there are four blocked openings, presumably loops, and at the S end of the wall the splay of a fifth one. Externally, in the back garden of No.21 Parnell St., the wall is 2m high (with 2m of modern wall above) and it has an external batter. The roughly dressed jambs of three of the loops, which are 75-85cm high, are visible. It is probable that the wall survives between Nos. 21 and 22 on the N side of Parnell St.

TOWER 7

Phillip's (1685) map indicates a round tower on the wall approximately where modern Parnell St. crosses it.

The wall probably survives between the long hall of Charlie's Furniture Store and the CYMS Hall on the S side of Parnell St., although it is not visible, but at the rear of St John's R.C. Church the wall is 3m high although largely

rebuilt. Near the Hall, externally, is a blocked loop with limestone jambs now at ground level while in the Renault yard, Waterside, the wall is 5.5m high, although the upper 2m may be modern, with a slight batter at the base. It has a blocked splayed opening, 1.75m high and 1.5m wide, of uncertain date. The masonry here is largely of uncoursed limestone and slate. The wall turned almost 90 degrees at Waterside to run SW towards John's gate. It can be seen in the west gable of 23 Waterside and may be incorporated in Nos.21-29 Waterside.

TOWER 8

Phillip's (1685) map indicates a round tower on the wall where it met modern Waterside, although located some yards back from the modern street frontage.

TOWER 9

The map of c.1590 reproduced by Kerrigan (1985,18) indicates a mural tower, apparently located between Tower 8 and St. John's Gate. Its precise location, however, is uncertain.

ST. JOHN'S GATE

This was apparently the most elaborate of the city's gates and perhaps the most important, as the road which passed through it was probably the main land route into the city. No

definite references are known before the 1660s (Simington 1942, 234; Pender 1964, 364: no. 2174), but Smith (1746, 188-89) noted that the arms of Henry VIII (1509-47) were mounted on the outside of the gatehouse, and its existence is implied by a 1476 grant of land on the 'highway toward Kilbarry [Johnstown or Manor St] ... outside the gates of the suburbs of the city' (MacNiocaill 1966, 209). Stanhope, in 1682-5, noted that both this gate and St. Patrick's gate were 'supposed to be built by King John' (Walton 1987, 31). The gatehouse was used as the county gaol in the 17th and 18th centuries (see above: Prisons).

The map of c.1590 reproduced by Kerrigan (1985, 18) depicts this as a large, twin-towered gatehouse with an external barbican also flanked by twin round towers. Phillip's (1685) map shows a gatehouse with twin round towers flanking the entrance passage, but does not appear to indicate a barbican. The existence of a barbican may be confirmed, however, from references to 'the passage between St. John's gate and drawbridge' in 1681 and to 'the bridge and wall without St. John's gate' in 1674 (Pender 1964, 207: no.1446; 135: no.945). The Ryland (1673) map depicts a passage with battlemented walls running between gate and bridge, which may represent the barbican.

The wall appears to have run SW along the boundary between 35 and 36 John St. and is visible at the NE corner of the fortified docking area which is described next.

FORTIFIED DOCK (Watergate) Fig. 71

This structure, recently excavated by Murtagh, was an enclosed and fortified dock with access for boats from John's river. No contemporary references to it are known, although it is clearly indicated on the Ryland (1673) map.

It is a sub-oval enclosure, c.14m NW/SE and 10.5m SW/NE internally. The walls are 1.4m thick but only survive to present ground level except in the NW corner where they survive for about 2m above ground and have two splayed flat lintelled loops, one of which is now blocked. Below ground level there are four large round arched openings, also blocked, c.3m wide, and facing SW, NE with two facing SE.

The wall may have run across the back of the fort as it re-appears in the NW corner where it is 1.55m wide and has a strong external batter. West of the fort the wall is at its full height of 4m above ground level although the excavations by Murtagh showed that the original ground level was 1.5m below present ground level. The overhanging wall walk, c.85cm wide, occurs at 4.2m above original ground level. There is a parapet 1.1m above this in which limestone predominates, and an extra 1m of modern masonry above this again. Below the wall walk there are three splayed loops some 1m above original ground level which are blocked externally.

THE WATCH TOWER (Tower 10) Fig. 92

This tower, still standing on the east side of Manor St., is

popularly known as the 'Watch tower' but this name does not occur in any contemporary sources.

Description

This circular tower projects from an angle in the walls on the south side of the town. There are extensive views from three sides but it is overlooked by higher ground on the W. It consists of four floors with stepped parapet and a wall walk above. The masonry is mainly of mixed limestone, red and brown sandstone and conglomerate roughly coursed, while there is a definite break above the 2nd floor level with green slate becoming the predominant material. All windows have dressed limestone jambs.

The ground floor is entered through a non-splayed doorway in the NW which is now missing its arch having been heightened due to the build-up of 1m of debris internally. In the NE side of the embrasure there is a rectangular opening to the stairs which rise in the thickness of the wall to the upper floors. In the ground floor chamber there are three splayed embrasures with flattened segmental rear arches facing NE, SE and SW; the outer faces of the former two have been broken away, while the latter one is blocked.

The first floor, approached by a mural stairs, is supported on corbels projecting on all sides of the internal walls. It is lit by a splayed rectangular loop to the NE and a cruciform loop to the E, in the N wall, through a rectangular door on the EW with limestone jambs. The chamber

has two splayed embrasures with segmental rear arches, facing WSW and WNW. Both are fitted with cruciform gun-loops; the former having, in addition, a semi-circular opening at the base.

The second floor is also supported on corbels and is approached via the mural stairs which continue around the wall to the SE and S. The stairs are lit by splayed rectangular loops to the SE and S. The room is entered through a rectangular door with limestone and conglomerate jambs on the S. The chamber has two splayed gun loops with semi-circular bases and flattened segmental rear arches facing SW and ESE; an unsplayed embrasure with garderobe to the ENE; and a rectangular door to the N. This door gives access to the stairs rising in the thickness of the wall to the NE, and also to a short passage on the W leading down two or three steps through a flat lintelled opening in the external wall to the wall walk of the town walls to the W.

The third floor is supported on a ledge c.20cm deep and is approached through a modern brick arched door from the mural stairs. Opposite the door, in the external wall, there is a deep splayed loop. Within the chamber there are four splayed flat lintelled loops facing E, S, SSW and W.

Access from the 3rd floor to the parapet is not clear. It may have been by an internal wooden ladder. The parapet rises above a drainage course and has stepped crenellations rising to 1.75m. The tower was rebuilt and reroofed in 1988.

West of the Watch Tower is a stretch of wall 4m long and 1m thick at the base surviving to a height of 7m beside the tower but descending in two steps to 5m with wall walk at 4m.

BOWLING GREEN GATE (Gate 12)

This gate is first referred to as 'Bowling green gate', from the presence of a bowling green outside the walls, in 1674 (Pender 1964, 135: no. 945). In 1681 when repairs were ordered to 'Bowling green gate and iron grate thereof' (ibid 207: no. 1446), suggesting that it may have had a portcullis. It is called 'Close gate' in 1698 (ibid 350: no. 2138). The gate stood on modern Manor St. Although the Ryland (1673) map depicts it as a simple opening in the wall, Phillip's (1685) map suggests that it had a rectangular gatehouse.

The town wall to the west of Manor St. is 8.6m high externally. It falls in three steps to 6.8m which is its height at the rear of 89 Manor St. (now demolished). The masonry is mixed and roughly coursed. Any external batter is so slight as to be negligible. A number of blocked loops are visible externally; three are at ground level, one at the rear of 89 Manor St., one beside the Double Tower and one in between which was subsequently widened into a window, and now blocked. The splayed embrasure of the loop near the Double Tower can be partly seen. Another three loops occur at the top of the wall.

DOUBLE TOWER (Tower 11) *Fig. 93*

This tower still standing on Castle St. on the west side of Manor St. is popularly known as the 'Double tower' but this name does not occur in any contemporary sources.

It is a rectangular two floored tower with parapet and wall walk built of mixed stone, limestone, sandstone and slate very roughly coursed with limestone quoins above the first floor. It is orientated NW/SE on the town wall and is some 10m high, 6.95m in length and 3.9m in width. There is a basal batter on all walls and the tower has much evidence for alterations, both internally and externally. At present the tower is divided by a N/S crossing wall into a rectangular chamber 3.4m E/W by 2.3m N/S internally to the east and a narrow passage to the west which contains a dog-leg stairs rising from first floor level to the wall-walk. It seems, however, as if the crossing wall and the stairs are later insertions because the stairs are not bonded into the north and south walls of the tower and they block a loop in its S wall.

The ground floor chamber has two splayed openings in the north wall, one with a crude pointed arch in slate, the other lacking its arch. In the S wall there is a splayed loop which is blocked by a straight stairs rising to the stair passage at first floor level; and to the west of the N/S crossing wall a round arched doorway. In the N/S dividing wall there is a large broken opening with an almost flat arch above.

The first floor is missing but the main chamber has a splayed flat lintelled door, now blocked, in the north wall and possibly another blocked opening in the NE corner. In the west wall (the dividing wall) there is a rectangular doorway through which the stair passage is entered from the stairs rising up against the south wall of the main chamber. Above the first floor there is a pointed barrel vault with traces of wattle centering; corbels in N and S walls below the vault probably held beams on which the vault was turned.

In the stair passage the stairs rise up the south wall, they are missing on the west wall but reappear on the N wall and continue up the E, S and W walls to the wall walk above the barrel vault. The stair passage is lit by three flat lintelled splayed loops in the south wall at first floor level, in the north wall, and again in the south wall just below wall walk level; the one at first floor level was originally a rectangular window with dressed limestone jambs but was narrowed by the insertion of a jamb of red conglomerate. In the west wall above first floor level there is a blocked rectangular doorway probably leading to a wall walk on the town wall to the west.

The wall to the west of the 'Double Tower' is 4.50m high but was originally c.6.5 high as can be seen from a break in the west wall of the tower. The wall in this area has largely been rebuilt but an arch at 3.5m above ground may indicate an original opening corresponding to one inside.

Between Towers 11 and 12 there is a projection in the

wall which is clearly not original, but is shown on Phillip's (1685) map and is probably the 'Rampier' referred to in c.1663-4 (Simington 1942, 231 240, cf. 'The Rampart' on Smith's 1745 map). Its origins and purpose may be indicated by Hooper's statement in 1642 that the citizens had dug trenches which they had filled with gunpowder and covered over, in the bowling green located in this area, in order to protect a 'weak place in the wall' (Fitzpatrick 1910, 141). The projection built onto the wall may have been intended as a further protection for this weak spot.

This 'rampier' projects at right angles, i.e. south, from the line of the original wall 2.8m west of the tower for a length of 6.25m. It then turns parallel to the original line of the town wall for 44m before turning N again, presumably to rejoin the town wall. This wall is 4m high with no external batter; the side walls at the E and W ends are 1m thick but the S wall is only 55cm thick; however the ground level internally is c.3m above external ground level and may conceal a thicker wall. Three phases of masonry can be seen; the lowest 1-1.50m is of mixed brown sandstone, slate, limestone etc.; above this there is a layer 1-2m thick of red sandstone and above this there is a more mixed stone. The upper courses are clearly rebuilt. Only 2.4m of the west return is original; the rest is modern.

TOWER 12

Phillip's (1685) map depicts a mural tower, apparently of

round plan, between Towers 11 and 13, just west of the 'Rampier'.

The wall NW of the 'rampier' is missing although traces of the return of the original wall can be seen in the east side of the French tower at the west end of Castle St. and show that it was c.7m high

FRENCH TOWER (Tower 13) *Fig. 74-5*

This tower, still standing at the west end of Castle St., is popularly known as the 'French tower' but this name does not occur in any contemporary references. The tower can almost certainly be identified with the 'Corner Castle' referred to in 1590 as 'standing over Mr Wise's garden' [the lands of St. John's priory?] in Lumbard's description of the new fortification of Waterford (Hamilton 1885, 369-70).

Access is not possible at present to this tower which is a crescent shaped structure c.11m high, 8.70m E/W by 7.1m N/S externally. To the S and E at the base there is a plinth 105cm high and 30cm wide. The masonry consists of large blocks of red sandstone and conglomerate, roughly coursed with smaller blocks of yellow sandstone and slate more common in the upper floors. The ground floor is featureless externally apart from a blocked modern opening to the west and a low, broad blocked segmental arched opening to the S. On the concave interior face of the tower there is a large segmental arched opening apparently on both ground and first

floors. This is now filled with modern masonry at ground floor level and at first floor level a central pier separates two rectangular doorways. The first floor is featureless externally apart from a double splayed flat lintelled loop now blocked to the S. The second floor has a rectangular opening with dressed limestone and sandstone jambs on the internal face and 8-9 small loops with dressed limestone and sandstone jambs evenly spaced around external face. The third floor has three loops externally facing N, S and SE along the west wall of the town. They are c.75-100cm high and have roughly dressed sandstone jambs.

The town wall running N from the French Tower to the site of Newgate on the west of Brown's Lane is about 100m in length, 4.5m high internally, 6.5m high externally, and 1m wide. It is well preserved with masonry similar to that elsewhere although the top of the wall is missing. The wall has a slight external batter and there are sections of internal batter. About 60m N of the French tower the wall steps 1.5m out to the W. The first 6m of wall to the north of this appears to be modern, or largely rebuilt, and is probably on the site of a mural tower (Tower 14). South of this the wall is punctuated by five flat lintelled splayed loops and three others, now blocked, regularly spaced at intervals of 5m. N of the mural tower site no loops are visible although two blocked openings can be seen and the wall stands to a height of about 5.5m. Some 20m south of Newgate St. the wall angles slightly to the W; just at the angle, in the yard of Singer Sewing Centre, is a wide splayed

flat lintelled opening now blocked c.2-5m above the ground; the wall here is c.6m high.

TOWER 14

Phillip's (1685) map depicts a rectangular structure, presumably a mural tower, projecting on the inside of the wall near the north end of Brown's lane; the Ryland (1673) map appears to confirm this.

NEWGATE (Gate 13)

No references to Newgate in any pre-1700 documents are known. References to New St. in c.1663-4 (Simington 1942, 239), however, may indicate that there was a gate in existence here at that time, although it is not depicted on seventeenth century maps.

On the north side of Newgate St. the wall is practically intact until about 25m south of Bachelor's Walk, where it is replaced by a modern wall. The wall forms the division between properties on Stephen St. and O'Brien St. and is incorporated as the W wall of a long building behind the properties fronting onto Stephen St. Viewed externally (from O'Brien St. side) the wall is c.3m high (but with up to 3m of modern masonry added in places), strongly battered and formed mainly of large blocks of red sandstone and conglomerate, roughly coursed, with slate pinnings etc. Again it seems as if the ground level inside the wall is up to 2m

below external ground level. The wall here is c.1.50m thick at the base (including the batter of c.50cm).

TOWER 15

Ryland (1673) and Phillip's (1685) maps indicate a rectangular mural tower on the north side of Newgate St.

TOWER 16

The Ryland (1673) and Phillip's (1685) maps indicate a rectangular mural tower about midway along Stephen St., roughly where the wall is now cut by Bachelor's walk.

TOWER 17 (Fig. 76)

No definite contemporary references are known to this tower, still standing in the de la Salle school grounds.

It is a small D-shaped tower of three floors opening west off the town wall. The masonry consists predominantly of large blocks of roughly coursed red and yellow sandstone with conglomerate for the lower 5m and smaller pieces of limestone and slaty stone above. The external height is 11m. Access is now from the top of the town wall through a broken opening in the S wall to the first floor. The original entrance to the ground floor, which is now inaccessible, may have been through the round arched doorway, now blocked and plastered over, on the east side of the wall. The only external

features are relieving arches in the S and W sides. There is possibly a third one on the N side, obscured by modern plaster. Below these two arches are blocked modern openings, but quite possibly denote the site of original embrasures.

Access into the first floor from the top of the town wall is through a broken opening which was presumably an original door. This gives access to a mural passage in the east wall, lit by a splayed loop at the north end. There is a rectangular door with dressed limestone jambs opening into the main sub-circular chamber in the west wall. This was supported on rough corbels in the walls below. The chamber has large flat arched unsplayed embrasures facing SW, W and NW; set within these are cruciform gun-loops with dressed limestone jambs, splayed embrasures and flat rear arches. The NW embrasure also serves as a door to a flight of stairs rising to a mural passage in the east wall lit by two rectangular loops at the north and south ends. At the south end of this passage a further stairs rises through the thickness of the south wall to the 2nd floor chamber. The second floor was originally supported on rafters as there are put-log holes in the walls on all sides. It is entered from the stairs in the south wall via a rectangular door with dressed limestone jambs. A narrow loop with splayed flat lintelled embrasure occurs on the west side and there was probably another on the north but the wall here has collapsed. The 2nd floor was roofed by a domed vault, now largely collapsed, which was supported on a ledge all the way around. The form of centering is unclear. The stairs in the

south wall continue above the 2nd floor to wall walk level, and are lit by small splayed rectangular windows on the south and west sides. There is no trace of battlements or parapet.

The wall, of similar masonry as elsewhere, between Bachelor's Walk and Patrick St. is c.70m long and 2.2m thick (Fig. 77). It is 6m high to the north of Tower 17 and 4.50m high to the south of it. The external ground level is 1.25m higher than the internal. Apart from Tower 17 this stretch of wall contains twelve recesses on its internal face at 5m intervals. Of these, six are north of the tower and six are to the south. Each seems to have had a flat lintelled, splayed loop set centrally within it. The six recesses north of the tower have pointed arches and one displays traces of wattle centering. The inner face of the wall has collapsed for c.25m north of the tower and also for the last 5m south of Patrick St. Three blocked, segmentally headed arches are visible immediately north of Bachelor's Walk but this stretch of wall has been much interfered with. Between these arches and Tower 17 three blocked loops are visible externally, suggesting the other three recesses which are not visible internally as the wall is plastered over. It is also worth noting that the gardens at the back of Mayors Walk (E side) are 3m higher than the open space immediately outside the town wall which may indicate the town fosse.

ST. PATRICK'S GATE (Gate 14)

First attested in 1475 (MacNiocaill 1966, 204) St. Patrick's

Gate was, along with St. John's Gate, one of the two main entrances into the city. Stanhope in 1682-85 noted that it was 'supposed to be built by King John' (Walton 1987, 31). Like St. John's gate it was an elaborate structure. Phillip's (1685) map depicts it as a very large rectangular building with a series of three gates, and this is confirmed by contemporary references to 'the main gate of St. Patricks and iron grate' in 1681 (Pender 1964, 207: no. 1446) and to 'the inward and outward gates of St. Patrickes' in 1683 (ibid, 232: no. 1570).

TOWER 18

The Ryland (1673) and Phillip's (1685) maps depict a mural tower at the junction of the north boundary of St. Patrick's churchyard with the wall, although the former seems to depict a round tower while the latter depicts a rectangular tower.

The wall to the north of the site of St Patrick's Gate runs along the west side of St. Patrick's churchyard towards the north-east bastion of the 17th century fort. It is 2.5-5m in height and the masonry is similar to that elsewhere. A number of blocked arches are visible. The best example occurs 6m north of the west wall of the churchyard. It is a large segmental arch with undressed voussoirs, 4.5m wide but is now blocked up. South of the arch the wall appears to have been rebuilt, and is 84cm thick but at the arch itself it is 1m thick. 25m north of this there is another blocked opening, 2.2m wide. 10m north again is a blocked arch, the top of

which is missing but the surviving returns indicate a rounder arch than the first one, some 2.15m wide. The wall here is 2m thick. At the west end of St. Patrick's churchyard the wall contains two very large arches, now blocked, with dressed limestone voussoirs which look fairly recent. The arch to the south is 6.2m wide and that to the north is 3.75m wide. At the south end of the south arch the arch is 2.06m deep before blocking which may indicate the thickness of the town wall.

TOWER 19

The Ryland (1673) and Phillip's (1685) maps depict a round tower where the north bastion of St. Patrick's Fort joined the wall, to the rear of modern King's Terrace. Confirmation of the shape comes from the fact that this is probably the 'round tower next by north my garden' referred to by Lumbard in 1590 (Hamilton 1885, 369-70), although Pynnar's (1626) drawing of St Patrick's Fort actually depicts it as rectangular. There is one splay and the lintel of a loop in the town wall at the N end of the garden of No. 4 King's Tce. which may have been a loop in the tower as it is narrow on the N (external) side and splays from the south.

The town wall to the west of tower 20 runs along the top of the escarpment and the total height is 9.5m of which the first 5m is rock outcrop. It is largely obscured by vegetation.

BEACH TOWER (Tower 20) *Fig. 98*

This tower, still standing near the north end of Jenkin's Lane, is known today as the 'Beach Tower'. This name does not occur in any contemporary documents, but this tower, or tower 19, is presumably the 'Bakers tour' referred to in 1482 (MacNiocaill 1966, 142).

It is a rectangular, two floored tower built on rock outcrop against the north side of a rocky escarpment 6m high which runs NW/SE across the NW quadrant of the town. It is 6m above ground on the SW, 12m on the SE and 14.25 on the NW and NE. It measures 6.3m by 4.9m. The masonry is mixed sandstone, limestone, conglomerate, and slate, very roughly coursed. The upper 3m is mainly green slate. The tower has a parapet and wall walk and is surmounted by a modern water tank. It is entered on the SW side at first floor level through a rectangular door with dressed limestone jambs leading into a mural passage in the NW wall containing a dog-leg stairs to the wall walk. Another rectangular door with dressed limestone jambs on the east side of the passage gives access to the first floor chamber which has a pointed barrel vault. The floor was supported on corbels in the NE and SW walls. A large embrasure, partly blocked, in the SW wall may be an original feature; other internal features are obscured by modern plaster. The only external feature visible is a probable blocked loop/window in the NE wall. Below this there is another floor/basement which is now approached from external ground level on the NE by a modern door. Externally

a blocked section of wall below a flattened segmental arch on the SE side may denote an original window.

The mural stairs at first floor level rises through the NW and NE walls to the wall-walk. It is lit by a splayed loop with dressed limestone jambs in the NW wall and a tall cruciform angle loop with dressed limestone jambs in the north angle. The original wall walk is obscured by modern masonry connected with the water tank.

North of Tower 20 there is a break in the wall but then it continues in a NE direction. Here it is 1.25m thick and 6-7m high externally.

TOWER 21

The Ryland (1673) and Phillip's (1685) maps indicate a rectangular tower standing just north of Great Georges St., at its junction with O'Connell St. This tower, or tower 22, may perhaps have been the 'Barranstroon' tower referred to in 1476 (MacNiocaill 1966, 210) which is apparently to be distinguished from Barronstrand gate.

TOWER 22

The Ryland (1673) and Phillip's (1685) maps depict a round tower located probably on the lane between Nos 65 and 66 Meaghar's Quay, but c.30m south of the modern street frontage. This may be the 'Strong's castle' referred to in

1669 (Pender 1964, 361: no. 2174), as the survey and valuation of c.1663-4 refers to a house on 'Barristron [Barronstrand] in the lane leadinge to Stranges Castell' (Simington 1942, 226).

BARRONSTRAND GATE (Gate 15)

'Baranstroon gate' is first referred to in 1471 (MacNiocaill 1966, 195). The gate was ordered to be 'made anew' in 1686 (Pender 1964, 263: no. 1725), but this apparently was not done, because in 1700 orders were given to 'pull downe Barystrand gate and build it large and fitt for coaches or any carriage to goe through' (ibid, 358: no. 2166). It is not known whether this was done. The Ryland (1673) and Phillip's (1685) maps indicate that this gate was a simple arched opening in the wall, without any gatehouse.

19. CASTLE

Two references to a 'castle of Waterford' are known. In 1215 King John granted the custody of 'the castle of Waterford' to Thomas Fitz Anthony (Sweetman 1875-86: nos 576, 584), while in 1345-6 the escape of Margaret, daughter of Edmund le Poer, from the 'castle of Waterford' is recorded (Tresham 1828, 50: no.100). There is no other evidence, however, for the existence of a royal castle at Waterford and these references probably refer to Reginald's tower, which clearly played a central role in the city's defensive system

(see above: Town Defences).

20. ST. PATRICK'S FORT (Fig. 66)

This large fort or citadel on the west side of the city was built in 1625-6 by Sir Thomas Rotheram and Captain Nicholas Pynnar, but its origins apparently go back to 1590. In 1625 Rotheram and Pynner stated that 'the best place to build the fort was at St. Patrick's Gate, where Captain Yorke began one' (Mahaffy 1900, 2), and this suggests that the fort was first commenced by Captain Edmund Yorke, who was put in charge of strengthening Waterford's fortifications in 1590 (Hamilton 1885, 356). This is supported by a statement recorded in the Visitation of 1615 to the effect that St. Patrick's church was plundered by the soldiers of the fort 'about the beginning of his Mate reigne', i.e. 1603 (Power 1911a, 53: n. (c)). This fort is presumably the one intended in the Lord Deputy's statement in 1592 that:

the principal fort is kept without any new charge by 50 of Captain Dowdall's company ... but with your favour it has been reported to me that 400l will scarce finish that fort (Hamilton 1890, 43)

It clearly remained unfinished, however, and in 1603 Sir Arthur Chichester was appointed to direct the erection of citadels in Waterford and Cork (Erck 1846-52, i, 14). In 1605 Chichester noted that 'Sir Josias Bodley went hence long since, instructed for erecting the citadel of Waterford and

Cork' (Russell and Prendergast 1872, 341) and indeed Bodley's plan of the proposed fort, dating to 1605 or 1613, still survives (Loeber 1977-79, 44; Pl.6). Nevertheless in 1613 Chichester could state that Waterford had 'neither fort nor castle in the King's hands' and remained 'in the same state as when they last expelled the King's forces' (Russell and Prendergast 1877, 455), and he was urging the King and Council 'to revive a former Motion ... for the building of two Citadels or forts, the one at Waterford the other at Cork (Edwards 1938, 140, 150).

Nothing more was done, however, until 1624 when the Council of War for Ireland recommended 'that new citadels and forts be erected, one at Waterford ...' (Russell and Prendergast 1880, 512). An account of 'Waterford Forte' by Captain Nicholas Pynnar, apparently dating to 1624, sets out the condition of the work begun by Yorke in 1590 or by Bodley in 1603-05:

The fort of Waterford is nothing neere finished. The walls wherof are all of stone and lyme but not built to half the height, there is no moate at all about it, and nothing finished but only the gate house. There is a frame for a house of tymber of 100 foote long to lodge 100 soldiars sett with a roofe but not slated; so that now it is all rotten and reddy to falle (as I am informed) (ffrench 1899, 151)

In 1625 Pynnar and Sir Thomas Rotheram were appointed to build new citadels at Waterford, Cork and Galway (Russell and

Prendergast 1880, 569), and in 1626 it was reported that 'the forts at Waterford and Cork are now fairly tenable' (Mahaffy 1900, 154). Also in 1626 Pynnar reported that:

Waterford is also all ready to the placing of the parapet. It has a good foundation on flat rock and is well built. The gate is of hewn stone and there is a good lodging in it with a chimney covered with slate. The wall is of 6 feet of stone and 25 feet of earth, and the bulwark filled with earth to the height where the ordnance must be placed. I have made a well, put up the frame of a stone and lime house that will lodge 120 men, and taken into the fort three castles of the town walls of which I have roofed two. I have floored three rooms in one and use another for a store-house, whilst the third is a lodging for the officers. I have mounted some guns on a wooden platform and they overlook the town, but there is no moat dug for want of money (Mahaffy 1900, 183)

The fort presumably was in use throughout the seventeenth century, and in 1698 the mayor of Waterford informed the council that 'part of the ground or garden on the west end of St. Patrick's churchyard' was wanted in order to build new barracks in the fort (Pender 1964, 347: no. 2123).

Waterford Garda Barracks now occupies the fort but many alterations have occurred to the original structure. The north bastion of the fort survives complete although the masonry, which consists of small blocks of mixed sandstone,

conglomerate, limestone and slate, is not as well coursed as that of the medieval town wall. The visible corner has limestone quoins and the NW face fronting onto King's Terrace is 3m high, 1.75m wide and has a base batter.

21. CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF THE HOLY TRINITY (Figs. 79-88)

Although the earliest reference occurs in a document of c.1195 (Curtis 1933-43i, 7: no.14), this cathedral is almost certainly a pre-Norman foundation, and can be compared with the churches of similar dedication at Viking Dublin and Cork. It was presumably the first church of Hiberno-Norse Waterford, and its elevation to cathedral status may have occurred in 1096, when Mael Iosa O hAinmire was consecrated as first bishop of Waterford at Canterbury (Gwynn and Hadcock 1970, 100). The document of c.1195 refers to the dean, as well as the bishop of Waterford, and indicates the existence of a cathedral chapter by that time.

From the beginning of the thirteenth century, the see of Waterford was occupied by Anglo-Norman bishops. The cathedral was endowed with lands for the support of twelve canons and twelve vicars by King John, between 1199 and 1216, according to an inquisition of 1463 (Gwynn and Hadcock 1970, 100; Smith 1746, 173). This Anglo-Norman patronage made possible the construction of a new cathedral in the thirteenth century which ranked with the Dublin cathedrals as the finest in Ireland. Occasional later medieval references to the cathedral suggest that the favourable conditions of the

thirteenth century did not continue. The cathedral's belfry collapsed, or was knocked, c.1374, and had to be rebuilt. In 1375 the citizens petitioned the king for extra customs to help repay:

their great costs in making their belfry of the Blessed Trinity, (which has now been thrown to earth for a year to the great comfort of their enemies) (PRO 1916, 145)

By 1463 an inquisition noted that the lands with which King John had endowed the cathedral, for the support of twelve canons and twelve vicars, were so destroyed by Irish enemies that they could barely support the four principal dignatories (Smith 1746, 173; Gwynn and Hadcock 1970, 100). Patronage continued, however. Edward IV (1461-85) granted the cathedral £16 13s 4d from the annual fee farm of the city, and this was extended in perpetuity by Henry VII in 1492 'on account of the poverty of the cathedral church of Holy Trinity' (PRO 1927, 269-70). Wealthy citizens of Waterford also patronised the cathedral. The chapels of St. Saviours and SS. James and Catherine were endowed in 1468 and 1482, respectively. Extensive renovations were apparently carried out by the bishop and dean in 1522, perhaps necessitated by the neglect of the later fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. A document of 1614-26 notes that they had:

adorned the church exceedingly (Ispecially th quire and the roof of the Church) with gould & Curious imagery as appeareth by their names and the yeare in the entry of the Quire doore (Buckley 1913, 38)

Another indication of neglect around this date is the description in 1523-4 of one of the chapels of the cathedral as 'of long time ... greatly decaied'.

In 1615 the clergy of the cathedral numbered fifteen, a dean, four dignatories, four prebendaries, four chaplains, an organist and an econome, but these also acted as clergy for the other parish churches of the city and were mostly absentees (Anon 1902-05b, 106). The cathedral suffered two major losses of its adornments in the post medieval period. The cathedral's silver plate, candlesticks, chalices, censers, cruets, a cup, a cross, a monstrance etc. amounting to 784oz. were sold by the dean and chapter to the corporation in 1577. A lawsuit followed in 1637, when the corporation were ordered to replace them (Graves 1852-3, 76-7). Worse was to follow in 1651, when Cromwellian forces took Waterford and seized and sold the brass furniture of the cathedral. This consisted of:

one great Eagle of Massy Brasse, one Pellican of Massy Brasse to support the Bibles in the said Church, two great standing Candlesticks, about man's height, of Massy Brasse, one fonte to be ascended unto by three degrees or stairs of Massy Brasse, the pedestall and pillors upon which the fonte did stand of Massy Brasse; the cover to the said ffonte being of Massy Brasse ... [along with] all the Eschocheons and Atchements of the ancient Tombes' (Graves 1852-3, 78)

The cover of the font was 'about three foot in diameter'

(ibid, 79) and the font itself was also made of brass (ibid 80, 81). Also seized were 'three holy water pots of Brass' and 'one Branched Candlesticke' (ibid, 80), and 'a lardge vessell of Massy Brass, with the Lumberts armes on it, wherein charcole usually was kept' (ibid, 81). The brass was apparently 'hid up in a vault underground in Christ's Church' prior to the seizure (ibid, 80) and the total weight of brass seized was estimated at ten to twelve cwt (ibid, 80-81). The 'great paire of Organs' of the cathedral were also pulled down (ibid 80). Indications of significant decay come from a city council resolution of 1674 that 'the east end of the quire shalbee forthwith walled and fenced from damage by weather' (Pender 1964, 134: no.940) and Smith's (1746, 174) statement that Rice's chapel, the chapter house and another chapel on the north side of the cathedral had been recently removed. The cathedral itself was demolished between 1773 and 1779 (Ryland 1824, 145).

A number of chapels within, or attached to the cathedral are attested. Of these, the one for which most evidence survives, in the form of its register, is the chapel of St. Saviour, which was founded by John Collyn, dean of the cathedral, in 1468 (MacNiocaill 1966, 146). Collyn himself laid the foundation stone in 1468 while Robert Poer, bishop of Waterford, consecrated two altars in the chapel, dedicated to St. Saviour and to St. John the Evangelist, in 1470 (ibid, 170, 183). The chapel received extensive endowments, detailed in its register, and became the centre for important civic functions. In 1483 it was noted that on the day of the

election of the Mayor and bailiffs of the city, the members of the city council were to attend a solemn sung mass of the Holy Ghost in St. Saviours ('the chapell of Jesus beside the Trinite chirche') before going to the Guildhall for the elections (Gilbert 1885, 315; MacNiocaill 1966, 141). Harris' (1739) plan of the cathedral, supported by references in the register (eg. MacNiocaill 1966, 141, 146), indicate that the chapel was located on the south side of the cathedral at the west end.

The Register of St. Saviours also possesses details of the foundation of another chapel, built by James Rice, a prominent citizen. It was dedicated to St. James Major and St. Catherine, after Rice and his wife Catherine, and was consecrated by the bishop of Ossory in 1482, the year after the foundations were first laid (MacNiocaill 1966, 209). Harris' (1739) plan locates this chapel on the north side of the cathedral near the east end. The chapel had been recently removed in 1746 (Smith 1746, 174); so too had another chapel on the north side of the cathedral.

A fourth chapel is referred to in 1523-4, when the city council ordered a duty of a half penny on every £1 of merchandise exported from Waterford to pay for the upkeep of a priest in the 'marchaunt cheapell [merchant chapel] of the pittie rode within the cathdral church, whiche of long time have greatly decaied' (Gilbert 1885, 328-9).

The fifth chapel is Our Lady's Chapel, first referred to in the will of Francis Lumbard, in 1590, which directed that

his body be buried in 'our Lady's Chapel in Christ Ch. of Waterford' (Carrigan 1906-7, 69). In 1674 the city council accepted responsibility for the repair and upkeep of this chapel (Pender 1964, 127: no.865). This led to the replacement of slates and defective timbers in the roof that year (ibid, 128: no. 879; 130: no. 892) and the glazing of the windows in 1688 (ibid 280: no. 1817). Four other chapels, held by private citizens and dedicated to St John the Evangelist, St. Nicholas, St. Catherine and St Anna were noted by Boyle in 1660 (Rennison 1928, 88-89).

Several altars are also referred to in the cathedral. The altar of St. John the Baptist is mentioned in 1312, when a breviary and a chalice were stolen from a chest in front of it (Wood, Langman and Griffith 1958, 250). In 1485-6 the newly established guilds of weavers and of shoemakers and cordwainers were required to maintain lights of twelve tapers before the altars of SS. Martin and Blaise, respectively (Gilbert 1885, 319-20). In 1492-3 it was noted that the city maintained tapers 'before the ymage of Saynte Otheran' (ibid.,324), which was presumably located in the cathedral although it is not specified. Other information on books, vessels and vestments bequeathed to the cathedral is to be found in two wills of John Collyn, dated 1468 and 1471 (MacNiocaill 1966, 148-50; 192-4). Among the few treasures of the cathedral to survive to the present day, the most important are the set of fifteenth century vestments (MacLeod 1952, 85-98; Buckley 1897, 41-3) while Power (1938, 5) has also published a relic-shrine of the true Cross dated 1620.

Burials within the cathedral were apparently so common that they had to be regulated. In 1484-5 the city council ordered that no-one should have a grave dug within 'the Trinite Chirche' without licence, and that the offenders were to 'repaire the same againe withe tyle stones' (Gilbert 1885, 317). Unauthorised burial was again prohibited in 1683 and burial charges were set out for freemen of the city and for foreigners (Pender 1964, 230: no. 1558). It was also ordered that:

none be suffered to bury their dead in any part of the cathedrall church or outstalls or Ladys chappel belonging to the corporacion, but shall at their own cost and charges provide paveing stones and mortor to make the ground even with the other pavement (ibid, 235: no. 1581)

A number of burial monuments in the cathedral were noted by Smith (1746, 175-9) before their destruction. These include the effigy of Richard Anckel, bishop of Waterford, dated 1446, in a tomb niche in the south wall of the choir (ibid, 178); the stucco mural monument of William Clusius, a merchant of Bruges, dated 1545, on one of the piers of the north nave arcade (ibid, 175-6); the graveslab of Francis Lombard and Katherine Walsh, dated 1590, 'near the East end of the Cathedral' (ibid 178); the graveslab of Patrick White and Anastacia Grant, dated 1592, in the chancel (ibid, 179); the monument of Elizabeth Christmas, dated 1677, in a chapel on the north side of the nave (ibid, 177-78); and the monument

to Daniel Burston, dean of Waterford, dated 1678, 'on a Copper Plate fixed on the outside of the South Wall' (ibid, 179). Drew (1894-5, 195) dismissed Ryland's claim that the burial monuments of the medieval cathedral were buried in a vault beneath the modern one.

The Ryland (1673) and Phillip's (1685) maps indicate that the cemetary of the cathedral occupied the entire area of modern Cathedral Square, and had two main entrances, one on the north side opposite Henrietta St. and the other on the west opposite Lady Lane. The north entrance, leading onto Peter St., is probably the 'cemetary gate towards the tholsel' referred to in 1309 (Wood, Langman and Griffith 1955, 139), since the tholsel was on Peter St. The other entrance mentioned in this account, leading towards the house of Eymer le Gascoyn, is presumably the west entrance, and the west entrance itself is specifically referred to 1469 (MacNiocaill 1966, 173).

A trapdoor near the south entrance of the cathedral permits access to the floor of the medieval cathedral beside one of the moulded pillars which is c.1.50m in height. The medieval crypt presumably lies below this floor. Gathered in this area are a number of worked stones from the pillars, including 13th century fleur-de-lis capitals from the medieval building (Fig. 82)

Architectural Fragments

15th century corbel

Sandstone corbel or wall panel which was in the crypt and is now in the cathedral depicts an angel in long flowing tunic holding a shield with three birds and a crown above.

Dims: H.32 W.27 T.28

Window head. 15th/16th cent. (Fig. 83)

A triple-light ogee-headed window with hollow spandrels lies close to the south door of the cathedral. Its findspot is unknown, however.

Dims: L.171 H.26.5 T.25

Monuments

Effigial slab. 13th Cent.

A fragment of a tapering limestone slab with the head of a 13th century male figure resting on a single cushion in relief.

Dims: L.37 W.62-69 T.18

Hunt 1974, 234

James Rice. c.1482-5 (Fig. 84)

This monument of Kilkenny limestone consists of a large free standing table tomb on the north side of the nave. The mensa has a cadaver lying in an open shroud in high relief with a Gothic lettered marginal inscription in low relief. The side panels are decorated with named figures as follows: on the west end, Margaret of Antioch, the Virgin Mary with the

Infant, and Catherine of Alexandria; on the south side the Apostles Matthias, Jude, Simon, Matthew, Bartholomew, and Philip; on the east side Edward the Confessor, the Trinity, Patrick; on the north side the Apostles James Minor, Thomas, John, James Major, Andrew and Peter. The ends of the side panels have narrow niches with angels holding shields and the spandrels of all panels have small animals and foliage designs. The inscription is:

HIC JACENT JACOBUS RICE QUONDAM CIVIS ISTIUS CIVITATIS
ET FUNDATOR [isti]US CAP[elle et katerina broun uxor]
EIUS QUISQUIS ERIS, QUI TRANSIERIS STA PERLE[genda]
PLORA SUM QUOD ERIS, FUI QUOD ES PRO ME PRECOR ORA EST
NOSTRA SORTIS [transire] PE[r ostea] MORTIS NOSTRE
CRISTE TE PETIMUS MISERERE QUAESUMUS QUI VENISTI
REDIMERE PERDITOS NOLI DAMNARE REDEMPTOS

Dims: L. 244 H. 82 W. 98

Rae 1970; Hunt 1974, 234-5.

Two fragments of medieval tombs. (Fig. 85)

Two fragments of limestone slabs: one is the centre-part of a dog foot-rest and the other shows two feet resting on an animal. They were in the crypt and are now in the cathedral.

Dims: L.23 W.21

L.52 W.24 T.17 (of both pieces).

Thomas Grant & Elizabeth Walsh. 1555.

Worn and cracked rectangular limestone slab set on the ground externally at the SE corner of the cathedral. It is decorated

in false relief with a marginal inscription in Roman capitals, two coats of arms and a fleur-de-lys cross with barred knop on steps. The arms are on the upper half of the slab and the left coat is larger than the right. The left depicts three lions rampant statant while the right one has an engrailed shield with three arrows between a fess. The inscription is:

HIC JACET THOMAS GRANT/ Q OBIIT 2 DIE MENSIS MAI ANO
1555 ET ELIZABET WALSH VXOR/ EIVS Q OBIIT 16 DIE MENSIS
APRILIS 1557 M. C. ETIAM A... D. PETRVS GRANT FILIVS/ ET
ANASTA/ SIA WALSH VXOR EIVS Q. OBIIT 4 FEBRVARI 1579

Dims: L. 183 W. 80 T. buried.

Effigy of a knight. 16th century

Limestone mensa on the south side of the cathedral mounted on a modern stone table. The rectangular slab depicts a knight with head resting on a single cushion and feet on a dog in high relief. The face is damaged. The side panel below may belong to it.

Dims: L. 216 W. 74 T.29

Hunt 1974, 235

Side Panel. 16th cent.

The side panel, in two sections, is decorated in relief with ogee panels containing foliage, an heraldic plaque of Butler or le Poer and another plaque with the symbols of the passion. The spandrels are filled with foliage and a crowned female head. The lower left corner is missing. It is on the

north side of the cathedral behind the Rice monument.

Dims: L. 228 H. 64 T. 9

Hunt 1974, 235

Female effigy. 16th cent. (Fig. 86)

This rectangular limestone slab, of which only the upper half survives, is on the south side of the cathedral. It depicts a woman with hands joined on the breast in a V-necked, pleated and belted gown with poke sleeves over a tunic. The face has been recarved and her head now rests on a single cushion.

Dims: L.113 W.63 T.26

Hunt 1974, 235.

Armorial plaque. 16th cent. (Fig. 87)

Close to the south door of the cathedral is a rectangular limestone plaque decorated in high relief with a coat of arms: three roses between a chevron impaling three arrows between a chevron, and an inscription in Gothic lettering 'SUES MEA IN DEO EST'.

Dims: H.53 W.40 T.20

Grave slab. 17th cent. (Fig. 88)

Limestone slab of modern coffin shape is set in the ground externally at the SE corner of the cathedral. It has a worn marginal Gothic lettered inscription and an eight armed fleur-de-lis cross with barred knop on a rounded calvary. The calvary has flames in the centre in false relief. The incised inscription begins HIC JACET... The slab was re-used in the 18th century.

Dims: L. 204 W. 20-70-58

17th/18th cent. slab

Fragment of a rectangular limestone slab set in the ground externally at the SE corner of the cathedral. It is decorated in false relief with the symbols of the Passion, inc. cross, ladder, spear, sponge, flails, hammer and pincers, a basket, three dice, crown of thorns, garment and the ear.

Dims: L.78 W.53.

Late 17th/18th cent. grave slab

Limestone fragment in two pieces set in the ground externally at the SE corner of the cathedral. It is decorated in false relief with an achievement of arms. The motto is very worn but the helm, a unicorn and the mantling are in good condition. The arms are a shield quartered with four birds and three cockle shells between a chevron.

Dims: L.132 W. 104.

Artefacts

Among the objects on display in an exhibition case in the cathedral is an iron dagger, a bronze sword, five medieval floor tiles (Eames and Fanning 1988, 76), a 16th century seal and some 17th century bibles.

22. ST BRIGID'S CHURCH

The earliest reference to this church occurs in an inquisition of c.1224, which stated that the king had granted

the church of St. Brigid at Waterford to the Knight's Templars (Nicholls 1972, 110). It evidently passed into the hands of the Knight's Hospitallers after the dissolution of the Templars in 1313, and it was noted as part of the possessions of the dissolved Hospitallers in 1577, when it was granted to George Moore (13 RDKPRI 22: no. 2978). This grant referred to it as 'a hermitage with a little garden called S. Brides in Colbeckes', and the description of it as a hermitage suggests that by this date it was a relatively small unimportant church. It was located in 'Colbeckes' ie. Caldebec, which is described as an island in this document, and this suggests that in the thirteenth century the church of St. Brigid was the focal point of the Knights Templar's holdings in Waterford, which also included the watermill of Caldebec (see above : Industrial areas). Indeed, the land of Caldebec is probably the 'small marsh between the Kings houses and the sea near Waterford' which was granted to the Knights Templars by Henry II not later than 1189. The most likely location of the church is either on the west side of Catherine Street (between Parnell St and Grubb's Lane) or on the east side of Catherine St (between the Mall and Beau St). Its dedication to St. Brigid suggests that the church may have been a pre-Norman foundation.

23. ST. JOHN'S CHURCH (HOSPITALLERS)

This church is first referred to in 1212, when Innocent III confirmed the possessions of the Hospital of St. John of

Jerusalem in Ireland and included among them 'St John's, Waterford' (McNeill 1932, 140). An inquisition of c.1224 noted that the church of St. John in Waterford had been given to the Hospitallers by the king, in whose gift it was (Nicholls 1972, 110). No later direct references to the church are known although references to the Hospitallers holdings in Waterford continue until the Dissolution (eg. Morrissey 1939, 825; White 1943, 100).

A number of incidental references enable an approximate location to be suggested for the church. An early thirteenth century document locates the church on 'Bothstrete' ie. modern High St. It refers to a plot of land on 'Bothstrete' situated before the church of St. John, and between the plot of Walter the cleric and the corner plot (Gilbert 1889, 391). This is confirmed by a reference in 1407-8 to a plot of land situated 'in leynth from Bothstrete in the north unto the land of Saint John of Jerusalem in the south' (Gilbert 1885, 329). A lease of 1571 relates to a garden bounded by 'Cokes' street' on the east, by Peter St. on the south, and by 'the tenement and back gate of S. John's' on the north (12 RDKPRI 48: no. 1823). This Cokes' street' is presumably the same as the 'Cooke Lane' referred to in a survey of c.1663-4, which clearly joined High St. (Simington 1942, 229), and it seems likely that this street was the southern continuation of what is now Exchange St., between High St. and Peter St. Thus it would appear that the church of St. John was located immediately west of this street, between High St. on the north and Peter St. on the south, but not directly fronting

onto either street.

24. ST MARY'S PARISH CHURCH

The earliest known reference to this church ('the church of blessed Mary') occurs in a will of John Collyn dated 1468 (MacNiocaill 1966, 151). It is referred to as parochial in 1474 (ibid, 201) but little else is known of its history. The burial of a Franciscan friar, Fr. John Luker, in 1597, is recorded (Jennings 1934b, 184), and in 1690 the will of Beale Madan requested that he be buried in 'our Ladyes Church' (Carrigan 1906-10, 26).

Phillip's 1685 map depicts the church as having a simple rectangular plan, but the Ryland (1673) map shows it with a steeple, having a tall spire, between nave and chancel, and this is supported by a reference in c.1663-4 to a house 'wch joynes to our Lady church Steeple' (Simington 1942, 278). Excavations on the site of the church in 1906 revealed the south wall of the church and the cemetery (J. Wat. SE Ire Archaeol. Soc. 10, 1907, 155-6, 334) and Power (1908, 113-5) noted three stick-pins, one of bone and the other two of bronze, which were found in connection with an internment, at a depth of twelve feet in that year. The modern Franciscan friary is built on the site and there are a number of monuments which have turned up in the area which may have come from the medieval church.

Monuments possibly associated with the church.

Grave slab. 1582. (67.89)

Found in Lady Lane and now kept in the corporation yard at Bolton St. It is decorated in false relief with a four-armed fleur-de-lis cross on steps with two supports on either side of the shaft and a circle around the transom. On either side of the cross there is a hammer and pincers which may be either the symbols of the Passion or tradesmen's tools. Above the cross there is an INRI and below the barred knop 'KM 1582 KB'. The edges are chipped and the upper right corner is missing.

Dims: L.166 W.85 T.10

Grave slab. 1613.

Fragment of a limestone slab with inscriptions in two types of lettering, in the shrubbery SW of the Franciscan church. The marginal inscription in Gothic is 'USTINET O MILIS' and the Roman lettered inscription in the centre of the slab is: EVS/ T. VLT/ 1613. There is a Tudor rose in front of the date.

Dims: H.45 W.55 T.9

Grave slab. 1649.

Small fragment of a conglomerate slab inscribed in relief with IHS/ M and 1649 is in the shrubbery to the SW of the modern Franciscan church.

Dims: H.26 W.42 T.9

Red sandstone head. ?15th cent.

In the shrubbery to the SW of the Franciscan church. Weathered head with the eyes depicted by sockets, the mouth

as a hole, the nose in low relief, and it has short ridged hair.

Dims: H.38 W.33 T.15

25. ST. MICHAEL'S PARISH CHURCH

The earliest reference to this church occurs in 1449, when the cemetery of the church is also referred to (MacNiocaill 1966, 168). It is described as parochial in 1479-80 (Morrissey 1939, 755). The church was ruinous by 1615, when the Mayor of Waterford promised a Royal Visitation of the diocese to repair it (Anon 1902-05b, 114). In the same year it was noted that:

this Church was within these ten yeares exceedingly well repayred by the parishioners, and the wyndoes glased, but the Deane [of the cathedral] being Patron .. neglected the reparacon of the chancell, and the decay that now is of the rest is occasioned hereby (Power 1911a, 54 n. (d))

In 1746 it was described as 'a long time in ruins' (Smith 1746, 181). Both the Ryland (1673) and Phillip's maps depict it as a small simple rectangular building.

A fragment of the west gable of this church still stands at the rear of Mr Widger's, victualler, between Michael St. and Spring Garden Alley to the north of Little Michael St. The stonework consists of uncoursed rubble, mixed as elsewhere in Waterford, with two bell-cotes which have

pointed limestone surrounds. It is approx. 6m high, 3.7m in width and the wall is c.80cms thick.

26. ST OLAVE'S PARISH CHURCH

The earliest evidence for the existence of this church, and also for its parochial status, is a reference to 'the paroche of Saynte Olave' in 1407-8 (Gilbert 1885, 329), but its dedication suggests that the church is of pre-Norman origin. The cemetery of the church is referred to in 1466 (MacNiocaill 1966, 159) and in 1535 it is referred to as 'St. Towloke's churchyard' (Curtis 1933-43, iv, 165: no.199). The church was ruinous in 1615 (Anon 1902-5b, 106, 114), and in the same year the mayor of Waterford stated that:

this church in the late Bushopp's [?Miler Magrath, 1582-1607] tyme was well repayred and a pulpitt and seate placed in it .. after partlie by reason that the Bells did hang neere the Chancell the same began to decay .. the Chancell fell, and the whole Church after by reason of the ruynes thereof' (Power 1911a, 52n, (a))

Despite the mayor's promise to repair it (Anon 1902-05b, 114) nothing seems to have been done. In c.1640-50 it was described as:

in part, decayed and fallen and will become an utter ruin unless speedily repaired; it is now neglected by all except the little children who have turned it into a playground

This description comes from the petition of a group of Flemish Catholics in Waterford who were seeking to have the church- which they proposed to repair and re-roof assigned to them (P. 1910, 73-4). There is no evidence, however, that anything was done and it seems that the church remained in this condition until around 1677, when it was clearly being rebuilt. In that year the city council decided to meet the bishop of Waterford 'in order to find out some way to relieve the said parish [of St. Olaf] in the building their parish church' (Pender 1964, 165: no. 1195). Once rebuilt, the church was apparently used for civic, as well as parochial, purposes. In 1684 the city council requested the bishop 'that the sermon every Lord's day afternoon may be in Christ Church, there wanting room in St. Olaves' (ibid 244:no. 1623). The mayor and council had their own pew in the church, referred to in 1685 and 1688 (ibid 250:no.1659; 280: no. 1817). The church was rebuilt again in 1734 (Smith 1746, 180). The Ryland (1673) and Phillip's (1685) maps depict the church as a simple rectangular building.

Eight metres of the west wall, including a pointed doorway, of the medieval church are incorporated in the 18th century structure. The wall is unplastered and the fabric is red sandstone with chamfered sandstone jambs. The door is 192cm high and 122 wide.

27. ST PATRICK'S PARISH CHURCH

This church is first referred to in 1468 (MacNiocaill

1966, 151) and is recorded as parochial in the same year (ibid, 165). The dedication suggests, however, that it may be of much earlier date. St. Patrick's well (the location of which is uncertain, but it was clearly close to the church) is referred to in 1474 (ibid, 199). The church was ruinous in 1615; in that year it was noted that c.1603, the soldiers of St Patrick's Fort had:

pulled down the Tymbers of it and tooke away the seate and burned them for fire but there is a pulpitt and there was a table and seate and upon the decay of the Chancell all was spoyled by the souldiors (Power 1911a, 53: n.(c))

Also in 1615 the mayor of Waterford stated that repairs were underway at St Patrick's (Anon 1902-05b, 114-5). In 1746 the church was described as 'in repair and constant service' (Smith 1746, 40). Pynnar's (1626) drawing of St. Patrick's fort, supported by Phillip's (1685) map, shows the church to have been a twin-aisled rectangular building. There are no pre 1700 remains or monuments on the site.

29. ST. PETER'S PARISH CHURCH

This church is first mentioned in 1314 (Wood, Langman and Griffith 1955, 314) but recent excavations have shown that it is much older. A document of 1468 attests to the church's parochial status, and to the existence of its cemetery (MacNiocaill 1966, 166). The church was ruinous in 1615 (Anon

1902-05b 106, 114). In that year it was stated that:

my Lo: Bushopp whoe now is [John Lancaster] tooke of the
Timbers and other stuffe hereof to buyld his own howse
... This decay of the Chauncell wch occasioned the ruine
of the rest was also in the late Bushopps [Miler
Magrath] lyme' (Power 1911a, 52-3, n.(b))

The church was described as 'a long time in ruins' by Smith
(1746, 181). The Ryland (1673) and Phillip's (1685) maps
depict the church as a simple rectangular building.

Archaeological excavation in 1986-7 uncovered the
foundations of a twelfth century stone built church with an
apse at its east end. During the thirteenth century a large
nave was added to this building but, probably during the
fifteenth century the chancel and apse were demolished and a
simple rectangular church was created. Aisles were added to
this building in the seventeenth century (Archaeol. Ireland
ii, no. 1 (1987), 18-19).

29. ST. STEPHEN'S PARISH CHURCH

This church is first mentioned in 1441 (MacNiocaill 1966,
169), although the suggestion of a much earlier date for the
associated hospital (see below) raises the likelihood of a
similarly early date for the church. It is described as
parochial in 1479 (MacNiocaill 1966, 219). Unlike many of the
other parish churches, St. Stephen's was noted as 'well
repaired' in 1615 (Power 1913, 115). Walton 1977, 23) notes

an inquisition of the Cromwellian period, stating that masons had removed the tombstones from St. Stephen's church for use as paving stones in a house. The church was described as 'a long time in ruins' by Smith (1746, 181). The Ryland (1673) and Phillips (1685) maps depict the church as a simple rectangular building.

30. ST. THOMAS' CHURCH

The only known reference to this church occurs in 1301, when the sheriff's account for the city includes 5s owed by Richard de Barry 'for treasure trove found in the court of the house of St. Thomas the evangelist (38th Rep. DKPRI, 49).

The church was situated outside the town to the NW. It had a Romanesque chancel arch (illustrated in JRSAI 42 (1912), 265) which was demolished in 1967 (Lumley 1978, 3).

31. AUGUSTINIAN PRIORY OF ST CATHERINE

This priory was founded by one of the Ostmen of Waterford according to Ware (Gwynn and Hadcock 1970, 197). While no actual details of its foundation are known, the priory was certainly in existence before 1200, because 'the church of St Catherine' is mentioned in a deed of John, when he was count of Morton, and so it cannot be later than 1199 (PRO 1908, 282). Moreover, the 'Jordan, prior of Waterford' referred to in c.1195 (Curtis 1933-43, i, 7:no.14) was possibly prior of St. Catherines. In 1290 it was noted that

King John was reputed to be the founder, or at least a benefactor. In that year the priory was granted the deodands due to the king in Ireland 'for the relief of the state of the priory of St.Catherine of Waterford, and for the completion of a house there, begun as is said by John, formerly King of England' (Sweetman 1875-86, iii, no.656). Little is known of the later history of the priory, but by 1537 the community consisted of a prior and three canons who were 'at suche divisyon that they separte themselves asundre & have divided their Revenues in two Porcyons contrary to the rules of their pfesion & sore ruin of their place' (Hore and Graves 1870, 204). The priory was dissolved in 1539, and the extent prepared in 1541 noted that 'the church is still standing, and can be thrown down' (White 1943, 341-42).

The priory was leased to James Sherloke in 1540 (7th Rep. DKPRI 85, No.530), to Patrick Sherlock in 1576 (13 RDKPRI 16: no. 2938) and to John Lye in 1597 (17 RDKPRI, 46: no. 6039). Gwynn and Hadcock (1970, 197, 305) suggest that the monastery was refounded by Augustinian friars in 1629. The ruins of the priory were still standing at the time of the Civil Survey (Simington 1942, 191-2) and are shown on a map of 1673 (in Ryland 1824). Ryland (1824, 121) noted that substantial remains of the priory had survived until 'a few years since', when they had been partly demolished to make way for a bridge over the John's River; however, 'an arched or vaulted room and a small portion of the foundation' still survived at that date.

The priory was located in the area now occupied by the Courthouse on Catherine St. It is depicted in a map of c1590 (reproduced by Kerrigan 1985, 18) as a complex of buildings in four ranges, around a cloister garth. On the side nearest the town (the north side) is what is probably the church, which had a central crossing tower.

32. BENEDICTINE PRIORY OF ST JOHN THE EVANGELIST

This house had its origin in a late twelfth century hospital of St. John which is first referred to in a charter dated c.1190 by Gwynn and Hadcock (1970, 108), in which John, count of Morton, takes into his protection the brothers of his alms house and hospital of St John of Waterford (PRO 1908, 282; Ir. Rec. Comm. 1829, 9). The wording suggests that John had actually founded the hospital, in which case John's visit to Waterford in 1185 is perhaps the most likely occasion. The hospital was evidently a joint foundation, of brothers and sisters, because in 1203 letters of protection were issued to the 'friars and sisters of the Hospital of St. John of Waterford' (Sweetman 1875-86, i, no. 173). The hospital was united to the Benedictine priory of Bath in or before 1204 when a Royal confirmation noted the terms of the union (ibid, no. 220). It stated that Peter, the master of the hospital was to be prior of the new priory of Waterford subject to the prior of Bath, while the monks of the hospital were to be monks of Bath. Other articles governing the maintenance of the infirmary and of the monks, brothers and

sisters, are also mentioned. The priory is referred to in 1299-1300 as 'the congregation of friars, monks and laybrothers ('conversorum') of the hospital of St John (Ir. Rec Comm. 1829, 39), but the 'sisters' of St. John's are again attested in 1468 (MacNiocaill 1968, 153). An indication of the priory's prestige in the thirteenth century is provided by the fact that priors were elected bishops of Waterford in 1227, 1232 and 1255 (Gwynn and Hadcock 1970, 108; Sweetman 1875-86, i, no.1996).

Because of its connection with Bath the priory was dissolved at the relatively early date of 1536, when its community consisted of 'one regular monk, four sisters and three brethern, popularly called 'the Brethern and Sisters of St. Leonard'. These were then translated to other monasteries (Anon 1902-05b, 117). The possessions of the priory at this date included the priory buildings and cemetery, the 'chapel of the Virgin Mary of the Castle', St. John's mill (see above: Industrial Areas) and another mill called Watkyn's mill (ibid 117; Archdall 1786, 703).

An inquisition of 1557 makes it clear that the chapel of St. Leonard also belonged to the priory (Power 1896, 2). After the dissolution, in 1538-9, the site of the priory was granted to William Wise (7 RDKPRI, 39: no.72). The church, which had been parochial before the dissolution, continued to function as a parish church, with the incumbent living in a house known as the Vicar's Hall close by the cemetery (Power 1896, 92). In 1615 it was noted that the church was in good

repair, although there was 'a little ruine in the Chancell' (Power 1913, 115) while a mid seventeenth century document stated that the church was still roofed and in good repair, with glazed windows (Power 1896, 92). It was in ruins, however, by 1746 (Smith 1746, 41,181).

Two chapels belonging to the priory, and dedicated to the Virgin Mary of the Castle, and St. Leonard, respectively, are attested. Of these the chapel of St. Leonard is something of an enigma, as it is referred to at times as if it were a separate house with its own community. Thus, in the earliest known reference, the 'Infirm of the House of St. Leonard, Waterford' are mentioned in 1316-17 (42 RDKPRI, 26), while the 'hospital of St. Leonard' and the 'brothers and sisters of St. Leonard' are referred to in 1468 (MacNiocaill 1966, 151,157). It is also referred to alongside, and apparently separate from, St. John's. For example in a document of 1468 in which Robert Botyller, the prior, and the brothers and sisters of St. John's agreed to make John Collyn a brother of St. Leonards (ibid, 153). Nevertheless, it seems most likely that the title of St. Leonards for some reason became an alternative title for the hospital and community of St. John's priory, as was suggested by Gwynn and Hadcock (1970, 108) and seems to be indicated by the inquisition of 1536 (Anon 1902-5b, 117). In 1468, Robert Botiller, the prior of St. John's, stated that the income of St. Leonard's had been diminished by his predecessors and by the priors of Bath, so that it was necessary to reduce the community, through natural wastage, from the then level of eight brothers and

sisters to four, which was its former complement (MacNiocaill 1966, 154-5). This statement can apparently be applied to the priory as a whole. Nothing is known of the other chapel, of the Virgin Mary of the Castle, but it is possible that the dedication of this chapel is preserved in the 'hospital of our Ladie in St John's' referred to in a will of 1626 (Carrigan 1906, 151).

The map of 1673 (in Ryland 1824) depicts the church of St. John's as a large structure with a tower and steeple at the junction of nave and chancel. The existence of a tower is confirmed by Smith (1746, 181).

Description (Fig. 90)

The ruins of St John's are situated in an angle between John St. and Manor St. at the south end of the town. They consist of an undifferentiated thirteenth century nave and chancel church with a fifteenth/ sixteenth century chapel or sacristy to the south at the east end. Overall length 24.15m by 16.7m wide. The masonry of the thirteenth century fabric is predominantly of brown slate and sandstone with some grey and red conglomerate roughly coursed; the SE and SW exterior angles have chamfered quoins of yellow sandstone or Dundry stone. The north wall of the nave is missing while the east wall is largely modern rebuilding and the west wall is probably also rebuilt. The east wall stands to a height of c.6m but the gable is missing. Apart from the SE return the internal face is missing and is replaced by modern masonry

while the external faces are obscured by modern buildings and vegetation. The north wall is largely missing, only 8m at the east end surviving, and the extreme east end of this is modern internally. There is one, blocked, splayed embrasure with dressed sandstone jambs, now missing its rear arch, visible internally, but not externally; this was undoubtedly a lancet similar to those in the south wall. Below it is the top of a pointed arch, now blocked, but probably a door. The south wall stands practically to its full height, c.7m, and has two pointed lancets with chamfered jambs of yellow sandstone (that to the east is missing its arch); the rear arches are pointed and have dressed sandstone mouldings. Below the window to the east at ground level, is a blocked door with segmental arch while a wider blocked opening is visible below the window to the west. To the east of the eastern window a string course occurs at the level of the base of the window, but does not occur to the west of the window. A tapering buttress occurs c.2m west of this window, while the last 5.25m of the wall to the west is strongly battered throughout. Internally corbels which supported the roof are visible at the top of the wall.

The west wall stands to a height of c.5.5m but the gable is missing. The north end of the wall is missing, while the internal face is modern. Externally, the lowest 2m of the wall is 40cm thicker than the rest and does not seem to be a batter. A blocked segmental/pointed door is visible externally. The masonry of this wall has a higher amount of red sandstone and conglomerate than the north, south and east

walls suggesting that it is of later (uncertain) date.

The south chapel or sacristy measures 6.25m by 4.75m internally. It is built onto the south wall of the chancel and is entered at present through a large broken opening in the south wall. The masonry is mixed, red conglomerate, red and yellow sandstone etc., roughly coursed. The SE and SW angles have roughly dressed quoins of conglomerate, limestone and sandstone. The east and west walls are c.4.5m high; at the south end of the east wall at ground level is the top of a flat segmental arch, probably a door. A broken opening, now blocked near the north end of the west wall, may have been a window. The south gable is almost complete, c.6.5m high. Two blocked narrow pointed windows stand one above the other in the south wall; the lower one is missing its mouldings but has a segmental/pointed arch; the upper has chamfered jambs of limestone and sandstone.

33. DOMINICAN PRIORY OF ST SAVIOUR

Gwynn and Hadcock (1970, 231) following Ware, state that the Dominicans arrived in Waterford in 1226, but the origins of this priory are indicated by a document of 1235 in which Henry III granted the citizens of Waterford permission to construct a building for the use of the Dominicans 'in a void place within the walls of their city in which in ancient times there was an old tower' (P.R.O 1906, 94; this differs from the text in Sweetman 1875-86i, no. 2249, which gives 'a small field' instead of 'an old tower'). The reference to 'an

old tower' on the site recalls the reference to 'a tower, now very old and decrepit, opposite the church of the friars preachers within the walls' which according to an inquiry of 1311, was the residence of the Ostman Gerald Macgillemory in 1170-71 (Wood, Langman and Griffith 1955, 186-87).

Apart from this indication of when it was built, little else is known of the priory's history up to its dissolution in 1540. Archdall (1786, 703) however, notes that general chapters of the Dominican order were held there in 1277, 1291 and 1309. The buildings of the priory, as recorded in 1541, included the church, chancel and belfry, our Lady's chapel, the dormitory, the chapter house, the library, the kitchen, a store, a bakehouse, 'a hall called le greate hall with its upper rooms and other appurtenances', 'a hall called le lytyll hall, with a kitchen, an upper room and the 'killhowse', a hall called le Baron is hall with three upper rooms' ['cellars' in Archdall], 'a chamber called le doctors chamber' and various other chambers, the cemetery, three small gardens etc, (Archdall 1786, 703; White 1943, 351-2). It was noted in 1541 that 'the aforesaid buildings were in ruins and of no value .. but the hall and other premises were found of the annual value .. of 5l 6s 8d (Archdall 1786, 703). The priory was leased to James White in 1540 (7 RDKPRI 47: no. 152) and granted to him in perpetuity in 1543 (ibid 66: no. 351) but it was surrendered by Nicholas White in 1574 (12 RDKPRI 126: no. 2440) and granted to Sir Anthony St. Leger in 1599 (Gwynn and Hadcock 1970, 231). Lumley (1977, 21) states that the priory was being used as a courthouse for

holding assizes from 1617 onwards, and this is also indicated in 1675 (Pender 1964, 155: no. 1113) when it was the cause of a dispute between the city and county of Waterford (ibid Nos. 1104, 1113). The county surrendered their interest in the priory to the city in 1695 (ibid 325: no. 2037), but it was again functioning as the county courthouse in 1746 (Smith 1746, 182).

Description

This undifferentiated nave and chancel building with crossing tower is built of uncoursed rubble sandstone, limestone, conglomerate and shale. It is in poor condition and it is difficult to ascertain what the original masonry consisted of as every wall has been rebuilt or refaced and one can see dressed stones, chamfered stones and fragments with mouldings incorporated at every level in all walls. The building may have had chamfered sandstone quoins although these are only present now in the south end of the west wall and where window jambs and arches survive. There is evidence for a south aisle at the west end of the south wall.

The chancel is largely ruined and the east wall is missing while the north wall stands to a height of c.7m. It is largely rebuilt and several carved stones are included in the fabric. Modern brick built chimneys are inserted into the wall indicating the former presence of two floored houses within the building. The south wall is also missing apart from 3m adjoining the tower. It is c.3m high.

The fabric of the nave also includes many pieces of worked stone indicating a considerable amount of repair. The north wall of the nave probably had five narrow pointed lancets with dressed sandstone jambs, pointed rear arches and sloping sills but these are all blocked. Only the first from the west retains its original form. Close to the east end of the wall there are two blocked round arched recesses below the windows 1.95m in length and 95cm above present ground level while a third recess, close to the west end is 45cm wide and 20cm above ground level. Inserted between the 2nd, 3rd and 5th windows from the west are wide rectangular openings which are now blocked with brick.

The south aisle was entered through two large pointed arches resting on a drum shaped pillar with simple moulded capital. The western arch, which is blocked, has a chamfered soffit rib and rests on a capital of Early English stiff leaf foliage. Only a few stones of the 2nd arch remain and the remainder of the wall is patched and several fragments of drum shaped piers, window jambs etc. can be seen among the masonry. The west wall is 10m high, the gable is intact and there is a ledge above the window. There is an inserted round arched limestone door (possibly 18th century) with hood moulding and jambs decorated with a sugar barley twist. The top of the door cuts a sandstone string course at 2.95m above ground level. The pointed west window, with chamfered sandstone jambs externally was inserted into a wider original window of which only a few of the earlier chamfered jambs remain on the internal N side. The south side of the wall is

patched with stones, cement and brick.

The Tower

The masonry of the four floored tower consists of coursed limestone at the base of the west and internal walls with roughly coursed rubble limestone, sandstone and conglomerate elsewhere. The coping stones for the nave and chancel gables, the quoins and the mouldings of the 3rd floor windows are limestone. The mouldings of a door on the west side of the 1st floor and the stairwell window on the east side of the first floor are of sandstone and the head of a window on the east side is decorated with zig-zag and concave mouldings. High pointed arches open into the nave and chancel with chamfered soffit ribs on the north and south sides rising from tapering corbels. There is an off-centre blocked round arch in the south wall with another blocked opening above. Access to the first floor was via a dog-leg stairs in the N and E walls and opened from the north side of the tower. It has been revamped as a chimney. This part of the tower was used as a two storey building as there are two fireplaces, one above the other and one of which blocks the original stairs. At first floor level the stairs opens into a large embrasure in the east wall with traces of plank centering; the window or door of this embrasure is missing. In the south wall is a blocked rectangular door with flat lintelled rear arch. In the west wall there is a large pointed door set into a large splayed embrasure with segmental rear arch and traces of plank centering. In the north wall there is a large

splayed embrasure with segmental arches and traces of plank centering; it is blocked and no trace is visible externally.

Access to the 2nd and 3rd floors must have been by internal ladder. The east and west walls of the 2nd floor are featureless while the west wall has a small wall cupboard. The north wall has a large splayed embrasure with traces of plank centering. The floor is supported on a ledge in the E and W walls. Externally on the east wall there is a recessed niche with a rectangular holed stone in the centre. The third floor was supported on corbels in the east and west walls and has embrasures with twin-light windows in each wall. These windows have chamfered jambs, mullions and transoms with chamfered rectangular hood mouldings above. The window on the east is ogee headed with hollow spandrels and a concave moulded hood moulding. There is an external string course between the 2nd and 3rd floors and a drainage course at parapet level.

Architectural fragments

A large number of pieces of cut stone have been incorporated into the walls of the church. Most are derived from arches and windows. One piece, inside the gate at the east end of the north wall, appears to be a weathered moulding with a face mask.

Effigial fragments

Two pieces derived from a limestone female or ecclesiastical effigy are present. Both show folds of a garment. These

appear to be the pieces which Lumley (1977, 23) suggested were part of a knightly effigy.

Dims: a) H.26 W.26 T.13

b) H.41 W.15 T.13

Wooden Statue

Small statue of the Virgin and Child is in a glass case in the modern church of the Dominicans at O'Connell St. It is said to have been brought to Waterford from Spain in the early 17th century and given to the Dominicans. It is from the Seville school and retains all of its original polychrome.

Dims: H. 35cm

MacLeod 1947, 125

34. FRANCISCAN FRIARY

Details of the foundation of this friary are obscure. The seventeenth century historians Mooney (in 1618) and Matthews (in 1629) suggest that it was founded by 1240 by Hugh Purcell, who was later buried at the right-hand side of the high altar (Jennings 1934a, 80-81; 1934b, 146-7), but this lacks contemporary authority. The friary was in existence by 1245, however, when it was included in a royal grant of alms (Sweetman 1875-86, i, no. 2776). Gwynn and Hadcock (1970, 260) note that provincial chapters of the Franciscan order were held in the friary in 1317 and 1469, and Mooney (1964, 77) states that Richard II received the submission of Toirdelbach O Conchobair Donn and other Irish chiefs, there in 1395. In the dissolution extent of the friary dated 1541,

the church was descibed as 'very necessary for the comfort, defence and convenience of the city' and other buildings listed are a large and a small hall, 'a bakehouse with a chamber called John Ambrose is chamber and 'le lymekyll', another chamber with an upper room, a chamber called 'le hie chamber' and the kitchen (White 1943, 350). An inquisition of 1540 described the buildings of the friary as 'a church and steeple ... a cemetary, hall, six chambers, a kitchen, two stables, a bake-house, four cellars' etc. (Archdall 1786, 704).

The friary was leased to the city of Waterford in 1541 (7 RDKPRI 49:no. 169), and the Hospital of the Holy Ghost was established in the nave in 1545 (see below). In 1542 David Balieff, or Bailey, was granted 'the great garden of the friars minor of Waterford, and a new quay outside the city walls, with appurtenances to the water of the Suir' (7 RDKPRI, 61: no.307), and it seems that he subsequently laid out Bailey's New Street in this 'great garden'. A residence of friars was re-established in 1612, and a chapter held there in 1615 (Jennings 1934b, 146-7), although it is not clear whether this was actually in the old friary. Mooney, in 1618, noted that the friary church was intact, that burials were carried out in it, and that the celebration [of mass] and preaching were somtimes performed there. By this time, however, the Hospital of the Holy Ghost had been established on 'a raised floor over the whole nave and chapel' while the precinct and gardens had been filled with new plots and secular houses (Jennings 1934a, 80-81).ln1

Information survives relating to a number of chapels, altars and tombs of the friary church. In 1635 Wadding noted the tombs of the Powers, barons of Dunhill and Kilmeadon, in the Lady Chapel (Walton 1977, 22). A manuscript of c. 1550-1650, probably based on an original friary register, refers to the chapels of St. Francis, of the Poers and of the Blessed Virgin Mary (the lady chapel), to the altars of the Three Kings, of St. Clare and of St. Apollinaris and to the statue of St. Christopher, in the friary church (Walton 1973; 1977, 23). Of some seventy monuments listed in the manuscript not one, however, survives today. The survey of Waterford of c.1663-4 notes the presence of 'the Walsteads of a Chapple called St Anthonies Chaple now a garden' on the site of the friary, apparently close to the town wall (Simington 1942, 281).

The 1871 O.S. 5 foot map of Waterford shows what appears to be the outline of the cloisters of the friary (not labelled as such) on the north side of the church, where the Methodist church now stands. In the construction of this Methodist church in 1883, part of a pavement of incised floor tiles and various architectural fragments were discovered (JRSAI 17 (1885-6), 393).

Description (Fig. 91-4)

The surviving remains consist of an undifferentiated nave and chancel church with south aisle/Lady Chapel, a sacristy on the north side and a later tower inserted between the nave

and chancel.

The Chancel

The masonry in the chancel consists of a brown slaty stone uncoursed without dressed quoins. The east gable is complete, c.10m in height. The east window consists of three tall graduated lancets; externally these have chamfered jambs and sills of Dundry stone. Internally they are splayed with pointed rear arches (with possible traces of plank centering) and sloping sills. The rear arches, in Dundry stone, are multi-moulded with five rolls and four hollows and a conjoined hood moulding rising from worn floral stops; each window was flanked by a shaft with, on either side, the inner and outer roll mouldings of the rear arch and simple capitals; however, only the tops survive. Above the central lancet is a rectangular window (blocked) with chamfered jambs of Dundry stone and the wall is set back internally above this.

The north wall, which stands to its full height of c.7m, has evidence for several alterations. The upper half of the east end is rebuilt as is the west half of the wall which serves as the south wall of a house with two blocked segmentally headed openings (of uncertain date) and a modern window in between. The south wall, which is also 7m high, has three twin-light windows, all splayed with pointed chamfered rear arches of yellow sandstone. In each case the springing stones of the rear arch have been replaced in grey limestone. The jambs of the splays are undressed. The windows have all

been replaced. The east window has twin-light ogee-headed lights with hollow spandrels, chamfered jambs, mullions and sills all in grey limestone and a rectangular sandstone hood moulding. The central window has pointed lights with chamfered jambs (which are alternatively of limestone and sandstone) mullions and sills in grey limestone. The west window also has pointed lights. Most of the west light is original in yellow/brown sandstone; the mullion is in grey limestone and the east light is alternatively in grey limestone and yellow sandstone. Between the windows externally are two stepped buttresses, the one to the east is very fragmentary. Most of this south wall has been rebuilt and west of the east window the masonry changes to mixed sandstone, limestone and slate, roughly coursed. Below the east window there is a recess which had two pointed niches.

The Nave

The north wall stands to its full height of c.7m and the masonry was originally green/brown slate although the lower courses (to a H. of 2.5m) have been refaced in mixed sandstone, limestone and slate. High up in the wall there are three blocked windows with pointed chamfered rear arches in yellow sandstone (a fourth window occurs within the piers of the tower). Below these windows are a blocked single-light window with chamfered sandstone jambs and a modern rear arch, a blocked acutely pointed opening, 1.55m high with chamfered arch and jambs in yellow sandstone internally, and a tall segmentally arched tomb niche which was probably a 17th

century insertion. West of this, at a lower level than the first three windows, is a blocked twin-light double cusped pointed window with chamfered sandstone jambs, arches and mullion. Internally it has a modern segmental rear arch, undressed, but has chamfered sandstone jambs with pyramidal stops at the base. West of this window the wall has been rebuilt in mixed sandstone, slate, conglomerate and the top of a blocked round headed arch is visible at ground level. Toward the east end of the wall is a wall niche close to the ground, one jamb of which is decorated with a filleted roll moulding and capital in Dundry stone.

The west wall may be completely rebuilt. The masonry is of mixed sandstone, slate and conglomerate, roughly coursed. There is no gable and the wall stands to a height of c.7m. Externally there is a low (c.60cms) batter and traces of a buttress at each end. The NW corner has some quoins of roughly dressed limestone, sandstone and conglomerate, but the south end of the wall is broken and clearly extended further south to enclose the south aisle externally. The west door (2.6m high) is pointed with dressed yellow sandstone jambs with a heavy angle roll moulding. Internally it splays with segmental rear arch which is undressed as are the jambs. Above this door is another door with sandstone mouldings of similar character, presumably the entrance to the Holy Ghost Hospital. However, this door is on the internal wall face and it splays externally with pointed rear arch and dressed sandstone jambs on the external splays.

The south wall stands to a height of c.7m and the masonry is predominantly green brown slaty stone roughly coursed. In the wall is an arcade of three large pointed arches, c.6-6.5m high which originally gave access to a south aisle but are now blocked (the blocking is mixed sandstone, conglomerate and slate similar to the masonry in the west wall). The west arch is smaller than the other two (4.2m wide and 6m high) and preserves its dressed, chamfered sandstone mouldings. The other two arches are larger (5.5m wide 6.5m high) and have chamfered mouldings of sandstone and limestone on the piers; the heads of the arches may have been rebuilt.

The Tower

The tower, of five floors with parapet and stepped battlements, is c.24.5m high. The masonry is predominantly grey limestone, roughly coursed up to the level of the apex of the gable line of nave and chancel (13.8m); above this there is mainly red sandstone and conglomerate. However dressed limestone quoins occur throughout. A string course occurs above 2nd floor level above which the external walls are set back c.20cms all around.

Ground floor: the four openings have tall pointed arches with dressed chamfered limestone jambs, c.7m high to the E and W, and c.6m high to the N and S. Above the centre of the tower is a vault with dressed chamfered limestone ribs resting on round bases with triple mouldings. The NW base has a rope moulding while the NE and SE have nail-head type decoration; the SW base has incised chevron ornament and as they overhang

the jambs of the piers the undersides have floral decoration. At the junction of the ribs there is a floriated boss. The vault has traces of plank centering. In the south wall of the tower there are the jambs of a blocked door above which is a blocked segmentally arched window; in the north wall is a large splayed blocked doorway with segmental rear arch: the N end of the NE pier of the tower has been recessed to avoid blocking this door.

First floor: access to upper floors seems to have been through a rectangular door and mural stairs in the east wall but this is now inaccessible. The east wall has a narrow ogee-headed window with very worn jambs of yellow sandstone or Dundry stone possibly chamfered originally. Above this a large rectangular opening with dressed limestone jambs occurs just below the apex of the gable line of the chancel. The south wall has a rectangular doorway, apparently a modern insert, and a small rectangular window near the E end. The W wall has a large pointed doorway with dressed limestone jambs. The N wall is obscured by a modern house.

Second floor: the east wall is featureless; the south wall has two rectangular windows with limestone jambs; that to the west is plain, while that to the east is chamfered. The west wall has a rectangular window with chamfered limestone jambs. The north wall is obscured.

Third floor: the east wall has a small rectangular window with limestone jambs; the south wall has a wide rectangular window with dressed limestone jambs; the west wall is

featureless and the north wall is obscured. There is a twin-light pointed window with chamfered limestone jambs, mullions and transoms in the N. S, E and W walls of the fourth floor. The parapet has stepped crenellations.

Sacristy

This is built onto the east end of the north wall of the chancel. It is 8m by 4m internally and is at present used as the store for a glazier. It is built of uncoursed rubble sandstone, shale and limestone with sandstone jambs in the east window. It is plastered internally and few features are visible and has a modern wooden roof. The east wall which slopes from 5m on the south to 4m on the north has a single blocked lancet. The sill stone and lower part of the chamfered jambs survive externally. The window was widely splayed internally. A modern opening (4m wide) at the E end of the north wall may be an enlarged original opening as one splay survives on the west side. The south wall is 5m high and has two large wall niches, one has a round arch, the other a pointed arch and there is a small wall cupboard toward the east end. The west wall, which has a similar slope to the east wall, has a chamfered jamb and a sill, which is probably a blocked window, high in the north corner.

Lady Chapel

The chapel is now the private garden of 10 Bailey's New St., although owned by OPW. It measures 13.2m E/W and 8.8m N/S and is built of uncoursed rubble sandstone, limestone and

slate with dressed sandstone quoins and jambs, mouldings and capitals. Traces of plaster remain on all walls. The ground level internally is only 70cm below the sill of the east window.

The east gable is intact, c.9m high, with coping stones in situ (some are probably replacements). The pointed east window is of four lights; the two central ones taller and of the same height and they have a circular light above. The mullions and jambs are chamfered externally but have rounded mouldings internally. The rear arch jambs are chamfered. There is a small wall cupboard with plastered interior on the north side of the wall and a ledge above the window. The external east and south walls at the SE corner are buttressed but the top of the buttress is now only 40cm above ground level.

One of the pointed arches in the north wall to the nave is outlined by slaty voussoirs which would appear to be a rebuilding of the arch. A circular column with moulded capital and nailhead decoration with a further chamfered drum-shaped column can be seen midway along the north wall. There is a blocked opening into the tower to the east of this column. The south wall was lit by at least two windows; one close to the east end is a pointed triple light window. It was probably originally a graded lancet but only the springing stones of the two outer lights remain; the rest has been reconstructed in cement. The outer jambs are chamfered and the pointed rear arch and jambs have a double rounded and

concave moulding. 90cm from the west end of this wall a rounded moulding can be seen protruding through the plaster and probably indicates the jamb of a second window. 60cms west of the east window is a moulded pier with chamfered capital which may have been a support for a niche. The west wall stands to a height of c.4m and it has two large pointed chamfered arches with soffit rib. Both are blocked; the south one with cement and brick the north one with rubble in which there are at least two re-used stones with rounded mouldings. The outer jambs of the south arch rest on a chamfered base; the soffit rib rises from a moulded capital. The two arches rested on a quatrefoil shaped pier with moulded capitals decorated with nailhead. The soffit rib of the northern arch is not visible.

Architectural fragments

A number of cut, dressed and moulded stones are set into the fabric of the walls of the Lady Chapel, including the sandstone head of an ogee-headed window and a piece with nail-head decoration, indicating rebuilding and refacing of the walls. Five other stones are collected in the niche in the east wall. The garden of the Lady Chapel, when dug, also produces cut stone.

Architectural fragments in the Nave and Chancel

Heraldic shield

Limestone heater shaped shield with a coat of arms (three birds between a chevron) is mounted under the west window in

the north wall of the nave.

Dims: H. 22 W. 25 T. 6(min).

Flower shaped boss

Under the crossing tower.

Limestone corbel with owl

On the east pier on the north side of the tower.

Dims: H. 26 W. 20 T. 20

Limestone corbel

Set into the north side of the east window with a half-human/half animal figure with fleur-de-lys tongue, tail and penis in relief. The lower half wears shoes but the ears are small and pointed.

Dims: H. 24 W. 17

Limestone corbel

Decorated with a hen in relief on south side of the east window. The head is slightly damaged.

Dims: H. 24 W. 18

A quoin stone at the top of the south side of the east gable externally appears to be the re-used head of a single light ogee-headed window. The springing stone of the E gable on the south side externally is decorated on its south face with a row of nail head decoration.

Medieval Floor Tiles

There are 25 tile fragments set into the north wall of the tower (Bradley 1983, 40-41: Eames and Fanning 1988, 76).

Monuments

In addition to the following list three grave slabs, of Peter Walsh (1622), Christopher Sherlock (1639) and Thomas Meyler/Isabela Walsh (17th cent), recorded by Ryland and others are now missing (see Mems Dead ii (1892-4), 218, 368; *ibid.* vi (1904-6), 159; Power 1894-5, 218; J. Wat. & SE Ire. Archaeol Soc. v (1899), 196-8).

13th/14th century grave slab

Tapering sandstone slab with a very defaced surface set against the north wall of the nave. It originally had an incised fleur-de-lys cross with a marginal inscription in Lombardic lettering. The slab was re-used and an incised two-line Roman lettered inscription was added to the top end of the stone 'PECSE (?ROOT) / SA WY(?XI)'.
Power 1894-5, 217.

Cornelius Hurley. 1582.

Rectangular limestone slab, in two pieces with a section missing from the centre, placed against the north wall of the nave. It is decorated with an eight armed fleur-de-lys cross with barred knop and stepped calvary. Below the head of the cross is a sun, moon and axe and the Roman letters T.M. Gothic marginal inscription, the capitals of which are elaborated with knots:

HIC JACET CORPUS/ CORNELII HURLEY ANRIFABRI QUI FATO
CONCESSIT, QUARTO EDUS JANUARIUS AD/ 1582 ET JOANNE/
NAISH UXORIS EIS Q VITAM MO[rtalem] MUTAVIT ANNO A

VIRGINEO PARTU

Dims: L.216 W.73 D.17

Garstin 1907-9, 190-1, Pl. opp. 190; Power 1894-5, 216; Mems
Dead vi (1904-6), 158

Agnes Lumbard. 1570.

Rectangular limestone slab with worn surface and missing the lower right corner. Set against the north wall of the chancel. It is decorated with a Roman lettered marginal inscription, a coat of arms (Walsh impaling Lumbard) in false relief. Inscription:

HI[c] IACET HONES/ TISIME FAME MVLIER AGNES LVMBARD
QVONDAM VXOR E/ DVARD WALSH [obiit]/ 4 DIE OCTOBRIS ANO
DOI 1570 ET ANO ETATIS SVE 26 CVI 9 AIE ET C.

Dims: L. 196 W. 73 T. 11

Power 1894-5, 218.

John Lea. **1597.** (64.95)

Rectangular limestone slab with worn surface and one cracked corner on the north side of the west wall of the tower. It is decorated with a Gothic lettered marginal inscription, a coat of arms in false relief and two incised figures in late 16th century costume. The heater shaped shield has two coats of arms; a shield with a chevron impaling another with three arrows between a chevron (Walsh). The male figure on the left wears a long tunic with a cloak and holds a staff in his right hand. He faces his wife who wears a long skirted gown with short sleeves and a collar and who has a short flicked

out hairstyle. Her hands are clasped at the waist. The inscription is:

HIC JACENT JOHANES LEA/ FILIVS NICOLAI QVONDAM CIVIS
CIVITATIS WATERFORDIA QVI/ OBIIT ANO 1597 [die men]SIS/
7 OCTOBER ET HELEN WALSH VXOR EJUS QUAE OBIIT ANO DI
1597

Dims: L. 196 W. 98 T. 12

Power 1894-5, 217; Hunt 1974, 262; Mems Dead vi (1904-6),
158.

Wodlocke slab. 16th cent.

Narrow limestone slab in two pieces with lower left corner cut off and a section missing from the centre right side. Set against the north wall of the chancel. It is decorated in false relief with a Roman lettered marginal inscription:

HIC IACENT CORPORA MELCHIO/ WODLOCKE QVI/ OBIIT ... ET
ELIISI ... NT VXORIS EIVS QUAE ..

The lower corner was apparently deliberately cut before the slab was inscribed and the inscription is unfinished.

Dims: L. 165 W. 58 T. 11

Mems Dead ii (1892-4), 369.

Grave slab. ?16th century.

Rectangular slab of fossiliferous limestone in three pieces. Set against the north wall of the chancel. Its only decoration is five lines of a Gothic lettered inscription in false relief which is now illegible. The centre line has only

one word and a band of foliage:

PATRITIUS TUMULO/ LATET HOC COGNOMIE/ MOBL../ CORPORA
TERRA PREMIT/ SPIRITUS ASTRA PETIT

Dims: L. 187 W. 71 T. 14

Power 1894-5, 219; Mems Dead ii (1892-4), 368.

Thomas Wise. 1604.

Rectangular limestone slab with damaged surface, in two pieces, on the south side of the east wall of the tower in the chancel. Decorated in low false relief with a Gothic lettered marginal inscription, a fleur-de-lys cross encircled by a crown of thorns and resting on a rounded calvary flanked by the sun and moon and the symbols of the Passion. On the left side of the stem of the cross are the pincers, carpenters plane, hammer, nails, ladder, spear and sponge-cup on a stick, pillar and ropes. On the right side is a large elaborated IHS and below are the arms of Wise (three chevrons) and on the right side the arms of the Walsh family (three phaens between a chevron). The inscription is:

HIC JACENT [cor]PORA THOME WISE/ AC MABELLA WALSH
RELIGIONE JUSTA AC[?] PIE[ta]TE NON PAUPERES CHARITATE/
CONSPICUORUM. QUI LEGIS PRO IP/ SIS PRECOR ORA REFERES
M[er]CEDEM TUA OBIIT THOMAS 19 JULI 1604 MABELLA 8 MAY

Across the calvary some letters in Gothic are incised: INSOIN
AIMI.

Dims: L. 202 W. 87 T. 14

Power 1894-5, 219.

Richard Walsh. 1610.

Rectangular slab of fossiliferous limestone, cracked in two with chipped edges and a piece missing from the middle right side, set against the north wall of the nave. It is decorated in false relief with a marginal Gothic lettered inscription and a coat of arms above a skull. The arms are three arrows per chevron impaling three chevrons and the inscription is:

HIC JACET RECARDUS/ WALSH CIVIS WATERFORDIENSIS QUI
PREFUIT HUIC XE - NODOCHIO 12/ ANOS MUNERE EJUS/ ET
MAGNA IN PAUPERIS CHARITATE OBIIT ... MAII 1610

Dims: L.191 W.69 D.15

Power 1894-5, 217; Mems Dead vi (1904-6), 158.

Philip Devenish. 1620.

Long narrow slab of fossiliferous limestone with chipped edges and worn surface, set against the north wall of the chancel. It is decorated with a debased fleur-de-lis cross on steps with skull and crosses bones below. The upper part of the cross and inscription are in false relief; the remainder is incised. There is a heart shaped device above the cross. Marginal inscription in Roman capitals:

HIC JACET/ PHILLIPPIVS DEVENEIS QVI OBIIT 4 OCTOBERIS/
1620/ ET ELLENA GOVF VXOR EIS

Dims: L. 182 W. 46 T. 14

Power 1894-5, 218; Mems Dead vi (1904-6), 159.

Robert Lincoln. 1630.

Rectangular limestone slab set on the ground against the north wall of the nave. It is very worn and was re-used in the 18th century. The original decoration consisted of a large diamond headed fleur-de-lys cross enclosed in a circle and set on a rounded calvary flanked by the symbols of the Passion and two coats of arms. The symbols include a sponge, a rod, pincers, three nails, a ladder, hammer, scourges, the pillar with ropes, a cock, the seamless garment and a spear. There is a skull and crossed bones at the base of the calvary. The arms are very worn and the inscription is:

HIC JACET ROBERTUS LINCOL/ FILIUS GUILIELMI CIVIS
CIVITATIS WATERFORDIAE QUI OBYT 25 JAN/ UARY ANNO DOMINI
1630/ ET UXOR EIUS MARGARITA BROWNE QUAE OBIIT..

The 18th century inscription refers to a Rev. Josia Franqueforr who died in 1797.

Dims: L.250 W.120 T.20

Power 1894-5, 216; Mems Dead vi (1904-6), 160.

Grave slab. 1639

Rectangular limestone slab. Incomplete, in seven pieces. Set under the south side of the tower. It is decorated in low false relief with a marginal Roman lettered inscription, a fleur-de-lys cross with an IHS in the centre flanked by the sun, moon, symbols of the Passion and coats of arms. The symbols of the Passion include the flowering rod, spear, stick, cup and crown of thorns. The inscription survives in part on two sides of the slab:

... MERCATOR QVI OBIIT/ 5 DIE MAII A DNI 1639 E VXOR
EJVS ANAST[as]/

Dims: L. 186 W. 102 T. 14

Power 1894-5, 218; Mems Dead vi (1904-6), 159.

John Skiddy. 1641.

Large rectangular limestone slab with worn surface and chipped edges, set against the north wall of the chancel. It is decorated in low false relief with a diamond headed fleur-de-lys cross with barred knop on a stepped calvary flanked by the sun, moon, symbols of the Passion and two coats of arms. There is a marginal Roman lettered inscription. The symbols of the Passion include the pillar with ropes, cock and pot, ladder, crown of thorns, thirty pieces of silver, a bag? and an urn. The left coat of arms has three bells between a chevron with a star on the chevron and the right one has three roses between a chevron. Inscription:

HIC JACET IOHANES SKYDAEVS CIVIS QVONDAM ET/ MAIOR HVJVS
CIVITATIS/ WATERFORDIAE QVI OBIIT 16 OBER 1641 ET
IOHANNA/ WHYTE EIVS VXOR/ QVAE OBIIT []

Dims: L. 210 W. 110 T. 18

Power 1894-5, 219; Mems Dead ii (1892-4), 217.

Matthew Grant. c.1650.

Limestone monument in poor condition, set in a niche on the north wall of the nave. It consists of an inscribed panel set on a moulded base flanked by two pilasters. The apron

supports a further panel which had an elaborate achievement of arms (now almost obliterated) which in turn was flanked by inverted pyramidal shaped pillars and scrolls. Between the pillars and scrolls are small coats of arms. The left one has the initial C.S. below it and the right one which has an eagle displayed has the letters C.P below. The upper section has an incised sun-burst flanked by tapering obelisks. The inscription is:

[hic jacet] MATTHAEUS [grant] CIV[is] W/
[aterfor]DIENSIS QUI OBI[it/ .die ano ../.. et] UXOR
EIUS CATH[erina. skidy ./ quae ob]IIT 12 OCTOBRIS ANO
1627../ [cather]INA POR[ter quae obiit] ../ QUI PER
[misericor]D[iam] ../ QUI/ LAZARUM...TAS ../ TID V M T
../ QVI MET

Dims: Overall W.220 H.300

Power 1894-5, 216

Neale O'Neill. 1690.

Rectangular slab of fossiliferous limestone with worn inscription and missing its top right corner. Set against the north wall of the chancel. It is decorated in relief with an incised marginal inscription, an achievement of arms (O'Neill impaling Molyneux) and a skull and crossed bones.

Inscription:

HERE LYES THE BODY OF S. NEAL O'NEILLE BARRONET OF
KILLILAG IN/ THE COUNTY OF ANTRIM WHO DYED THE 8TH OF
JULY IN THE/ YEAR 1690 AT THE AGE OF 32 YEARS AND SIX

MONTHS. HE/ MARRIED THE SECOND DAUGHTER OF THE LORD
VISCOUNT/ MOLYNEUX OF SEFTO[n] IN LANCASHIRE IN ENGLAND

Dims: L. 195 W. 82.5 T. 10.5

Power 1894-5, 219; Mems Dead ii (1892-4), 218; ibid, iii
(1895-7), 169.

James Lynhem. 1692.

Rectangular limestone slab with small surface cracks and one
broken corner, on the ground of the chancel close to the east
wall of the tower. It has a three line Roman lettered
inscription in the centre:

JAMES LYNHEM & ELIZ/ ABETH SHRLOK ALIES/ LYNHEM'S STONE
1692

Dims: L. 219 W. 94 T. 20

Power 1894-5, 218; Mems Dead vi (1904-6), 159.

Cross-slab. 16th/17th cent.

Rectangular slab of conglomerate with worn surface and
missing its lower end. Set against the north wall of the
chancel. It has chamfered edges and an incised double line
fleur-de-lis cross within a circle with a circular knop and
rounded calvary. There are some incised strokes on the right
side which are probably the remains of an inscription.

Dims: L. 204 W. 100 T. 23

Power 1894-5, 219.

N. Colton. 17th cent.

Worn rectangular limestone slab with chipped edges set

against the north wall of the nave. Decorated in false relief with a Roman lettered marginal inscription and a fleur-de-lys cross on steps. There is a small shield in the top left corner with a ?lion rampant and there may have been a second one in the top right corner. The inscription is:

N. COLTON/ GOLDSMITH & J CONRY/ HIS WIFE/ PRAY FOR/
THEIR SOVLES HERE THEY LYE

Dims: L. 152 W. 61 T. 17

Power 1894-5, 217; Mems Dead vi (1904-6), 159.

Michael Hore. 17th cent.

Rectangular limestone slab with chipped edges and cracked surface on the south side of the west wall of the tower in the nave. It is decorated in false relief with a marginal Roman lettered inscription, a diamond shaped fleur-de-lys cross with barred knop and rounded calvary flanked by the sun, moon, symbols of the Passion and two coats of arms. The letters I. A. M. B. are in the terminals of the cross head and a skull and crossed bones are incised below the calvary. The symbols of the Passion include the pillar with ropes on which the cock is standing, the flowering rod, the scourges, hammer, pincers, nails, dagger, a Latin cross encircled by the crown of thorns, ladder, spear and the cup on a stick. The shaft of the cross incorporates the thirty pieces of silver. The left coat of arms has mantling with a small demi-figure above while the left shield has the arms of the Walsh family. Inscription

HIC JACET MICHAEL HORE/ CIVIS QVONDAM ET MERCATOR
CIVITIS WATERFORD/ IAE QVI OBIIT [] ET ANASTACIA
WAILSH VXOR EIVS QVI OBIIT []

Dims: L. 204 W. 95 T. 14

Power 1894-5, 217.

Walsh slab. 17th cent.

Rectangular limestone slab with worn and cracked surface and missing the lower right corner. Set against the N wall of the chancel. Decorated in very low false relief with a Gothic lettered marginal inscription, a fleur-de-lys cross on steps, a skull below and two coats of arms; that on the left has three phaens between a chevron while that on the right is obliterated. Most of the inscription is also illegible: C I / EI... QVI OBIIT .. O I / O.D. O

Dims: L. 189 W. 81 T. 18.

William Gall et al. 17th cent.

Worn rectangular limestone slab with chipped upper edge and part of the lower edge missing. Set against the north wall of the chancel. It is decorated in false relief with a Roman lettered marginal inscription and a Latin cross encircled with a crown of thorns. The transom of the cross has INRI.

Inscription:

WILLALII GALL/ IOHNE GALL/ MARGERET DOFF IN THE DOMINE/
SPERAVI/ NO COFODO[r]/ [i]N [e]TERNV ALSO N WALSHE

Dims : L. 173 W. 82 T. 16

Power 1894-5, 216; Mems Dead vi (1904-6), 159.

35. HOSPITAL OF THE HOLY GHOST

This was incorporated by royal charter in 1545, with a master, Henry Walshe, three or four secular priests as brethern, and at least sixty sick and infirm poor people, of both sexes, from the city (7 RDKPRI, 75 no. 431). The hospital was granted the Franciscan friary church (ibid, no. 434), and in 1618 Mooney noted that a raised floor had been built over the nave and chapel and that sixty paupers had beds there, men and women in separate places (Jennings 1934a, 80-81). Power (1894-95, 206) stated that the wooden beams on which the hospital rested, laid across the nave, ten to twelve feet above the ground, were still in position at the end of the nineteenth century. He also noted that the Walsh family retained the right to provide the master of the hospital up to the Cromwellian period, which accounts for the number of Walsh memorials now in the nave of the Franciscan Friary.

Monuments in the new Holy Ghost Hospital

Medieval Statues (fig. 96)

There are six wooden statues, one stone head and one **alabaster figure in the Board room of the modern Holy Ghost Hospital** which came from the medieval Hospital and the Franciscan Friary. They are all coated with a dull cream coloured paint. They have been described by MacLeod (1946, 89-100).

1. An early 13th century Romanesque style Virgin and Child

Dims: H. 80 W. 22 D. 14

2. 13th century female saint

Dims: H. 107 W. 21 D. 19

3. 15th/16th century statue of the resurrected Christ

Dims: H. 160 W. 60 D. 61

4. 15th/16th century statue of John the Baptist.

Dims: H. 89 W. 31 D. 19

5. 15th/16th century statue of St Stephen.

Dims: H. 57 W. 20 D. 12

6. 17th century statue of a bishop (?St Patrick)

Dims: H. 162 W. 54 D. 45

7. Stone head of John the Baptist. 15th cent.

Dims: H. 25 W. 19-16 D. 13

8. 15th century alabaster figure of St. Catherine

Dims: H. 59 W. 25 D. 13

Wooden Statue of Virgin and Child. 17th cent.

The origins of this statue are unknown. It was found in Bailey's New St. and may have come from the Holy Ghost Hospital. It is now in the modern Franciscan Friary. The Virgin holds a small figure of Christ in her left arm while the right arm is out-stretched. Both figures wear belted tunics and the Child holds an orb in His left hand while the right hand is raised in blessing. The statue has been extensively repaired with both figures having new heads

attached. The back of the statue is hollowed and it is stained dark brown.

Dims: H. 115 W. 44

MacLeod 1947, 131.

Power (1894-5, 220) states that there was also a medieval painting and a chalice with the inscription: GALFRIDUS FANNINGE, ME FIERI FECIT IN HONOREM BEATAE VIRGINIS MARIAE, LONDON ANNO 1640, from the hospital.

36. HOSPITAL OF ST. MARY MAGDALEN

The chapel or hospital of St Mary Magdalen originally belonged to St. Stephen's hospital according to an inquisition of 1661, by which date it had been converted into a dwelling house by Alderman John Heavens (Pender 1939b, 83-4). 'Maugdaline Church, at Waterford' is referred to in 1579 (Carrigan 1907, 5), while in 1591 Piers Graunt was licensed 'to erect a tan house at the Magdalens near the city of Waterford' (16 RDKPRI, 160: no. 5557). Gwynn and Hadcock (1970, 357) and Power (1937, 309) state that this chapel or hospital was probably located on the site of the modern County and City Infirmary.

37. HOSPITAL NEAR ST JOHN'S GATE

The survey of Waterford of c.1663-4 lists three hospitals on John St. One is described as 'a house stone walls and slated beinge used as a hospital for poor widdowes'

(Simington 1942, 271), the second is referred to as 'Bryvnes Hospitalle' (ibid), and the third is described as a 'large house stone walls and slated lying inwards from ye street .. used formerly as almes or hospitall house and ye present possseor thereof aledged he did still keepe seveall orphans therein' (ibid, 282). The locations of the hospitals cannot be defined more precisely, with the exception that the first one, being used for poor widows, can probably be identified with the 'hospitall at John's gate wherein the widdow Crafford lives' which the city council in 1673 ordered to be 'converted to its antient use for the habitation of poor widdowes' (Pender 1964, 121: no. 832). This building was clearly of at least two floors, with attic above and cellars below. This emerges from the fact that in 1672 the Mayor of Waterford was leased 'the low roomes' and 'the lofts', while the 'middle roomes' were occupied by Widow Crawford (ibid, 100-101, nos. 659, 664), and Thomas Adamson was leased 'the upper garretts' and 'one cellar now possessed by Alderman Bolton' (ibid, 157: no. 1132). The fact that the mayor had 'the use and possession of the said low roomes to the town wall' suggests that the hospital abutted the walls at St John's Gate. The hospital was leased to Adamson in 1693 'for keeping it in repaire (saving poor widdowes habitacons there)' (ibid, 331: no. 2062).

38. ST STEPHENS LEPER HOSPITAL

Attached to St. Stephen's church was a hospital, first

referred to in John Collyn's will dated 1468, in which he bequeathed 3s 4d to 'the infirm of St. Stephen's (MacNiocaill 1966, 151). During a visitation by Dr Daniel Burston, dean of Waterford, in 1670 however, the master and clerk of the hospital stated 'we have heard that King John, sometimes King of England and lord of Ireland, was founder of the lazear or leperhouse of St. Stephen's (Pender 1964, 80-81: no. 506). Gwynn and Hadcock (1970, 356) state that the hospital was founded after 1185 and confirmed to the poor of the city by King John. The 1670 inquisition noted that the Master of the hospital was appointed by the corporation, and the inmates at that date were two men and three women, all lepers, and one servant (ibid). The survey of c.1663-4 noted on the site:

a house stone walls and slated being the hospitall house and a large plott of wast ground about ye same where the ould Leper house stood (Simington 1942, 282)

This house is still standing and is described above under Domestic Houses.

39. SUBURBS

It is likely that during the course of the tenth to twelfth centuries the Viking town expanded from east to west incorporating extra-mural settlement, as it progressed until the walled triangular area which is identified today as the Viking town was created. Nonetheless the first true suburb was the Anglo-Norman addition to the Viking town which has

been discussed above under streets and town defences as an integral part of the medieval city. This western addition was evidently part and parcel of the Anglo-Norman town by the mid thirteenth century. Attention is devoted here to areas which lay outside the walled Anglo-Norman town.

Surprisingly, there is no evidence for any significant suburban settlement outside the city to the south or to the west, where the main land routes entered it, before the seventeenth century. The only significant suburban settlement attested is to the east, in the area between the town walls and John's river. This area was known as 'Caldebec' (possibly from Caladh Beag, 'the small harbour, or marsh?') later corrupted to Colbeck. The Knights Templars had lands here, probably granted to them before 1189 by Henry II, on which the church of St. Brigid and Caldebec mill stood (see above). The Augustinian priory of St. Catherine founded by c. 1195 was also in this area. It is probably to be identified with the:

vacant space between the river and wall of the city of Waterford, on the river bank

which the king commanded the justiciar to give to any persons willing to live there, in 1217 (Sweetman 1875-86, i, no.763). Secular settlement evidently occurred there in the early thirteenth century. An inquisition of c.1224 noted that Meiler FitzHenry when justiciar (1198-1208) had given part of the King's land near St. Catherine's to Richard Reimund and others, to erect curtilages, and stated that curtilages had

already been built outside St. Catherine's (i.e. Caldebec?) gate (Nicholls 1972, 109-10). It was also noted that William Norensis had had a house built on a piece of common land outside the gate of Caldebec by or for the justiciar, Geoffrey de Marisco (1215-21) for the defence of the city (ibid, 109). This presumably was the house of which the custody was given to Richard de Burgh in 1225 (Sweetman 1875-86, i: no 1319). The land of Caldebec was the subject of a dispute between the bishop of Waterford who claimed it, and H. Long who then held it, in the justiciarship of Meiler FitzHenry, 1198-1208 (Nicholls, 1972, 109). In 1228 the justiciar was commanded to give the bishop possession (Sweetman 1875-86, i, no.1615). Little is known of the area in the later medieval period, but a reference to gardens in 'an island called Colbeckes' in 1577 (13 RDKPRI, 22: no. 2978), together with the houses, plots and gardens shown on the 1673 map (in Ryland 1824) demonstrate that the area was still settled in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

On the east side of John's river, in the area bounded by George's Quay, and Canada St., was Lombard's Marsh, referred to in the Civil Survey of 1654 (Simington 1942, 180). There is no evidence of any settlement there before 1697, when a lease of 'Lumbards marsh' was renewed, on condition that the leasee should 'build the old bridge and make the bankes fitt for the mayor and councill to walk upon' (Pender 1964, 338: no. 2085). The reference to banks suggests that the area was being reclaimed. Lombard's weir referred to in 1495 (Brewer and Bullen 1871, 472) was probably located nearby.

West of the city, around Ballybricken Green, suburban settlement is attested in the seventeenth century. Markets were apparently held on Ballybricken Green in the 1670s, following a government directive that markets and fairs be held outside the walls in the main Irish towns (Gilbert 1899, 256), and 'the marketthouse ... without St. Patrick's gate' is referred to in 1680 (Pender 1964, 187: no.1386). Also in this area was a watermill called Bricken's Mill (see above: Industrial areas) and various cabins and other buildings, including a Malthouse, are referred to between 1669 and 1685 (Pender 1964, 111: no.751; 261: no.1714-15; 360-61: no.2174).

40. MISCELLANEOUS

Archery Butts

In 1564 John Lewes was pardoned on a charge 'that he, while shooting arrows at the Shortcourse, shot one beyond the bound called a butt, which struck Matthew, son of Peter Ailwarde, of Waterford, in the head, and killed him' (11 RDKPRI, 104: no. 648). The Civil Survey of 1654 locates 'Shortcourse' between Ballybricken green (to the north) and 'Lisdowgen' green (ie. Barrack St.) to the south (Simington 1942, 178), probably in the area now occupied by Trinity Square and Shortcourse.

Fort at Kilculliheen

During the strengthening of Waterford's fortifications in response to the threat of a Spanish invasion in 1590, a fort

was erected on the north bank of the Suir opposite Waterford, in Killculliheen at a place called 'the Rock' (Hamilton 1885, 347-48). In the same year Nicholas Lombard stated that:

there is also, where the rock in Kykkelehen side was ever thought noisome unto this city, a wall of four feet thick built about the same, more defensible for the rock and noisome for the city than ever the same was (ibid 369-70)

The fort had a short lifetime, however, and in 1625 Rotheram and Pynnar, referring to 'the old fort across the river' noted that 'we inspected it and found nothing but the walls and a very rocky floor inside' (Mahaffy 1900, 3).

Font /piscina

A small font is set into the wall in the back garden of 51 High St.

Manuscripts and Civic Regalia (Ag. 97)

Waterford has a number of pre-1700 charters and manuscripts. The principal illuminated manuscript is the fourteenth century Charter Roll (Henry and Marsh-Michelli 1987, 785-6) which is kept in Reginald's Tower. The Register of the City of Waterford (1566) is also kept by the Corporation (Gilbert 1882-4, iv). Here also are two civic swords and a cap of maintenance. There is also a large stone plaque dated 1593 with the city arms and the motto:

INTACTA MANET SCUTI WATERORDIAE

41. LIST OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL STRAY FINDS

The National Museum of Ireland also holds a Greek bronze helmet which was "found in a scrapyard in Waterford".

Gold torc. From Waterford. Brit. Mus. 1849.3-1. 24.

Gold finger ring. ?Viking. Brit. Mus. 1849. 3-1.20. Boe 1940, 105, Fig. 72.

Bronze penannular brooch. From Waterford. Brit.Mus. 1888. 7-19. 108.

Two bronze pins and one bone pin. From Lady Lane, Waterford. NMI 1948: 20-22.

Two bronze stick-pins. Found at a depth of 10ft in Barronstrand St in 1885. Whereabouts now unknown. J. Wat. & SE Ire. Archaeol. Soc. 1908, 113-5.

Three fragments of chainmail. From Reginald's Tower. NMI Wk. 10; Wk. 149; Wk. 150.

Medieval potsherd (strap handle). Found in spoil heap in disused graveyard of St. Michael's Church off Lady Lane. NMI 1972: 150

Four floor tiles. From Franciscan Friary, Waterford. NMI M1948: 76-9; JRSAI ii (1852-3), 201

Iron rowel spur. Apparently found in Reginald's Tower (?17th cent.). NMI Wk 93.

Silver reliquary. Found near Waterford. NMI R1819

ARCHAEOLOGICAL PROBLEMS AND POTENTIAL

The Problems

Waterford is important to Irish archaeological research of all periods since its foundation as a Viking town. There are no indications that the site of the future city was occupied prior to the coming of the Vikings and it was doubtless because of its sheltered situation on a promontory overlooking a natural harbour that attracted the Vikings to it. Archaeological excavations have revealed that it is the most significant Viking site in Ireland, outside of Dublin, and it was clearly one of the most important trading centres of pre-Norman Ireland. The Anglo-Normans expanded the area of the town considerably and by the end of the thirteenth century the Waterford was the most important port in the south-east of Ireland. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the city witnessed new growth with the reclamation of marshland on the east and west of the city. Waterford offers an exceptional opportunity of studying the changing fortunes of an Irish town from its foundation as a Viking port, through varying periods of expansion and contraction under the influence of Anglo-Norman, Elizabethan, and Cromwellian societies until the present day.

The beginnings of the Viking town are obscure. The conventional date for the initiation of settlement at Waterford is 914 but ninth century references to the "fleet of Waterford" suggest that a longphort settlement may have

existed for some time before 914. The likely location of the earliest settlement lies in the vicinity of Reginald's Tower, an area which was formerly known as Dundory. Excavations in this area are of the highest priority because of their potential to shed light on the very beginnings of the Viking town. In this regard, the mechanical removal of archaeological deposits on the site of the Deanery Garden, which occurred in 1987, constituted the destruction of an irreplaceable resource and a terribly tragic loss both to Waterford and to the nation.

Despite the many alterations which occurred over the centuries in Waterford the ancient street pattern survives remarkably well and it is important for the historic image of Waterford that this pattern should not be interfered with. In terms of the ancient street surfaces themselves, nothing is known about them in Anglo-Norman and post-medieval times. Streets should be examined if at all possible because they permit 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.

The city's location on the Suir estuary gave its quays a special significance. The original quays were probably established during the Viking period, yet virtually nothing is known of the form, date or size of the first quayside or its successors.

A substantial amount of knowledge concerning Waterford's

Viking housing has been acquired as a result of recent excavations in the city. It remains to be established, however, whether certain areas were wealthier than others. In Dublin, for instance, it is clear that Fishamble Street was a wealthier area than High Street in Viking times. Is this situation repeated in Waterford? It is evident from the mid seventeenth century Civil Survey that social distinctions were reflected at that time in the quality of the housing in various parts of the city. It is important to determine what the comparative wealth of other areas within the city was, in order to obtain an accurate image of relative wealth within the Viking town. For the Anglo-Norman and late medieval periods, however, our knowledge of housing is still very scant. Only four fragmentary houses of pre-1700 date survive within the city (Houses A-D, above) and these need to be protected.

The importance of excavating dwellings has been demonstrated in Dublin where much fresh information on the impact of native Irish, British and continental building techniques on Dublin's craftsmen has come to light. This is information which was unobtainable from any documentary source. Changes in building methods and fashions can also be derived from stratified sites in which the remains of successive houses are preserved. In this regard Waterford has exceptional potential in allowing the comparison of Viking, Anglo-Norman and English building styles and fashions.

The course of the town defences in Waterford's Viking and

Anglo-Norman core can be established from seventeenth century maps but it is still important to check the line where possible by excavation to determine whether it is correct or not. Much remains to be discovered about the periods of construction, the variations in building, and the forms of both mural towers and gatehouses. The Lady Lane excavations, for instance, were unable to determine whether the stone wall was constructed in Hiberno-Norse or Anglo-Norman times. The question of whether or not the entire Viking town was enclosed by a stone wall is also undetermined. The recent discovery of the Viking town wall running parallel to Bakehouse Lane indicates that at least the western flank of the town was so enclosed. On analogy with Dublin it is likely that these defences were preceded by earthen defences and the discovery of these is particularly important because it will give a clue to the growth rate and expansion of the town.

It is unlikely that the opportunity will arise to excavate on the site of either Holy Trinity Cathedral or St Olave's Church but the opportunity could occur at the sites of the many parish churches and religious houses of the medieval city. The widespread attention caused by the discovery of the original St Peter's Church indicates the importance of these church sites. It is also important to remember that the extent of churchyards around Holy Trinity and St Olave's was originally more extensive than it is today and that any work in the vicinity of these buildings is likely to uncover ancient burials.

Our knowledge of the location of many of these churches is imprecise, and we know very little about their form, size or character. It is also worth remembering that the architectural features and extent are only one aspect of the archaeology of religious houses and the excavation of a medieval cemetery, such as that conducted at York, can provide otherwise unobtainable evidence about health, disease, diet, and mortality rates.

The extent of settlement outside the walls has not been established but it is clear that there was a medieval suburb at "Caldebec", in the Mall, Lombard St and Tower St area, during the thirteenth century. In the seventeenth century settlement began to expand into the Ballybricken Green area, west of the city. The reclamation of Lombard's Marsh, in the George's Quay, William St, Canada St area does not appear to have commenced until the very end of the seventeenth century. Excavation in the suburbs is important because it will reveal the contrast between buildings within and without the wall, and accordingly provide social information on the people living there.

Archaeological Potential

Archaeology does not consist solely of excavation nor does it stop at ground level. The archaeological evidence for Waterford's past comprises all the physical remains of man's activities on the site of the city, from its first occupation to 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 Waterford, 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 Viking, Anglo-Norman, Late Medieval and Post-Medieval times. Both documentary sources and the known archaeological remains indicate that the town was occupied continuously from the early tenth century AD (and perhaps the mid ninth) into the post-medieval period. An enormous amount of the city's pre-1700 building fabric, however, has been demolished in the course of time. The only remains which survive above ground are St Patrick's Fort, the Benedictine priory of St John's, the Dominican and Franciscan Friaries, fragments of four pre-1700 domestic houses, substantial portions of the town wall, and parts of the foundations of Holy Trinity Cathedral.

It can be seen then that the destruction of buildings

above ground has been substantial but the street pattern of the medieval and post-medieval city has survived almost intact. Excavations have shown that archaeological deposits are likely to exist over a wide area of the city. Accordingly there is every likelihood of recovering structural evidence such as house foundations, refuse pits, industrial areas, and workshops, in addition to artefactual and environmental evidence, throughout the area occupied by the old city.

The deepest archaeological deposits are likely to be in the area occupied by the Viking town. It is the deposits of this period which stand the best chance of being well preserved simply because it was the first deposit to be laid down and is consequently the deepest. Anglo-Norman layers fare next best but for the seventeenth century, when Waterford occupied a larger horizontal area than ever before, a smaller amount of archaeological stratigraphy survives. The areas with the highest potential for survival, then, are those in the Viking-Medieval core but the chances of uncovering ditches and similar buried features on the seventeenth century periphery should not be overlooked. Deep deposits are likely to survive along the quayside where, on analogy with Dublin and Drogheda, wooden quayside structures are likely to be preserved below the water table.

ARCHAEOLOGY, PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT

It is evident from the foregoing that archaeology is an important means of learning about Waterford's 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 Waterford's 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 Franciscan Friary (the "French Church") is the only structure within the city to enjoy statutory protection as a scheduled National Monument but because of the difficulties of scheduling urban properties, other sites within Waterford are unlikely to be given this protection in the future. A number of sites have been listed in the Waterford development plans, however, and although almost all are buildings of later date it is a heartening sign for the future and shows the increasing environmental consciousness of Waterford's core. Only a concerted effort at local and central government level, however, can safeguard Waterford's archaeological heritage and it is crucial that this should be initiated immediately. Only then can adequate provision be made for investigating archaeological sites in advance of any redevelopment. This is

best achieved by use of planning constraints and by conditions attached to planning consents.

Area of Archaeological Potential

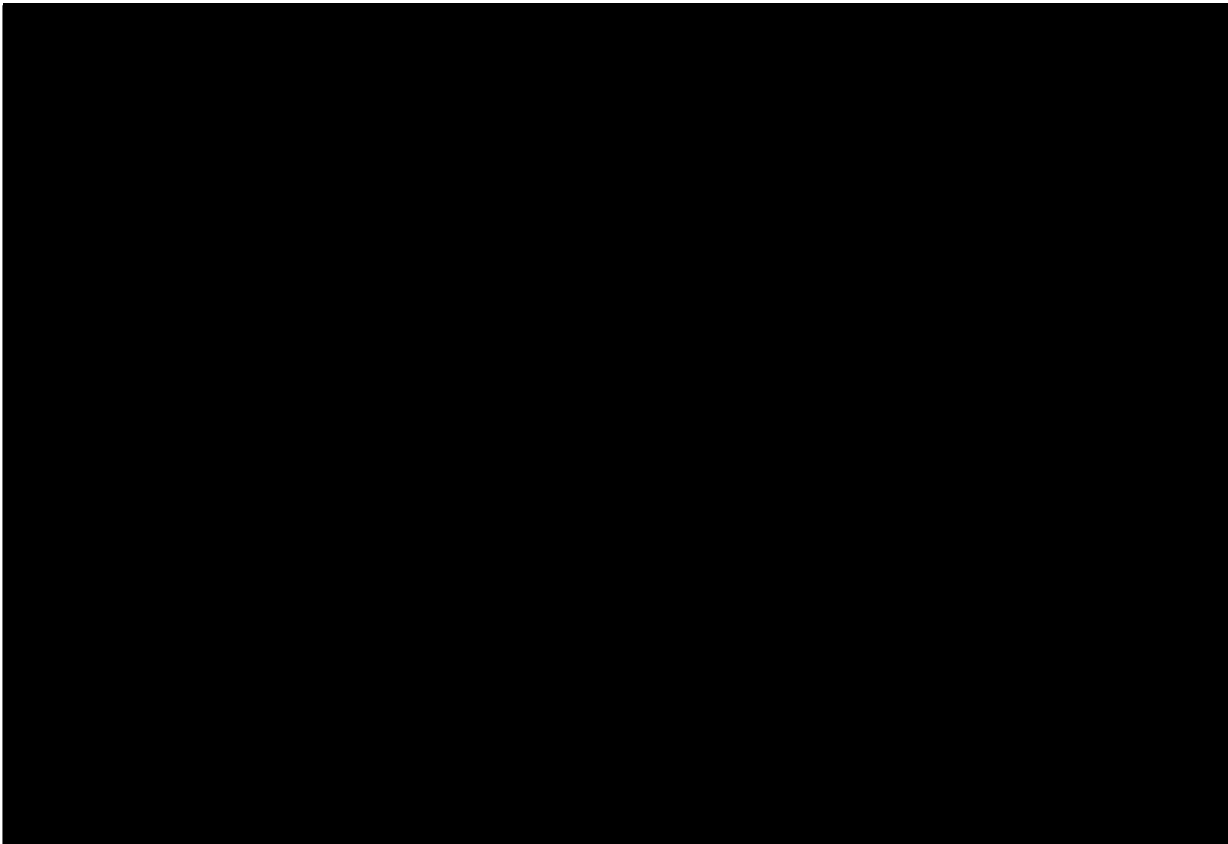
The shaded portion of the accompanying map (Fig. 57) delimits the area of archaeological potential within modern Waterford. The excavations within the city have demonstrated the existence of rich archaeological deposits. It is likely that these deposits exist over the whole area of the old city, and in the medieval suburb of "Caldebec", with the exception of destruction along some of the street frontages caused by rebuilding and the construction of cellars in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. This disturbance of the archaeological layers may well be superficial, however, and confined to the uppermost layers.

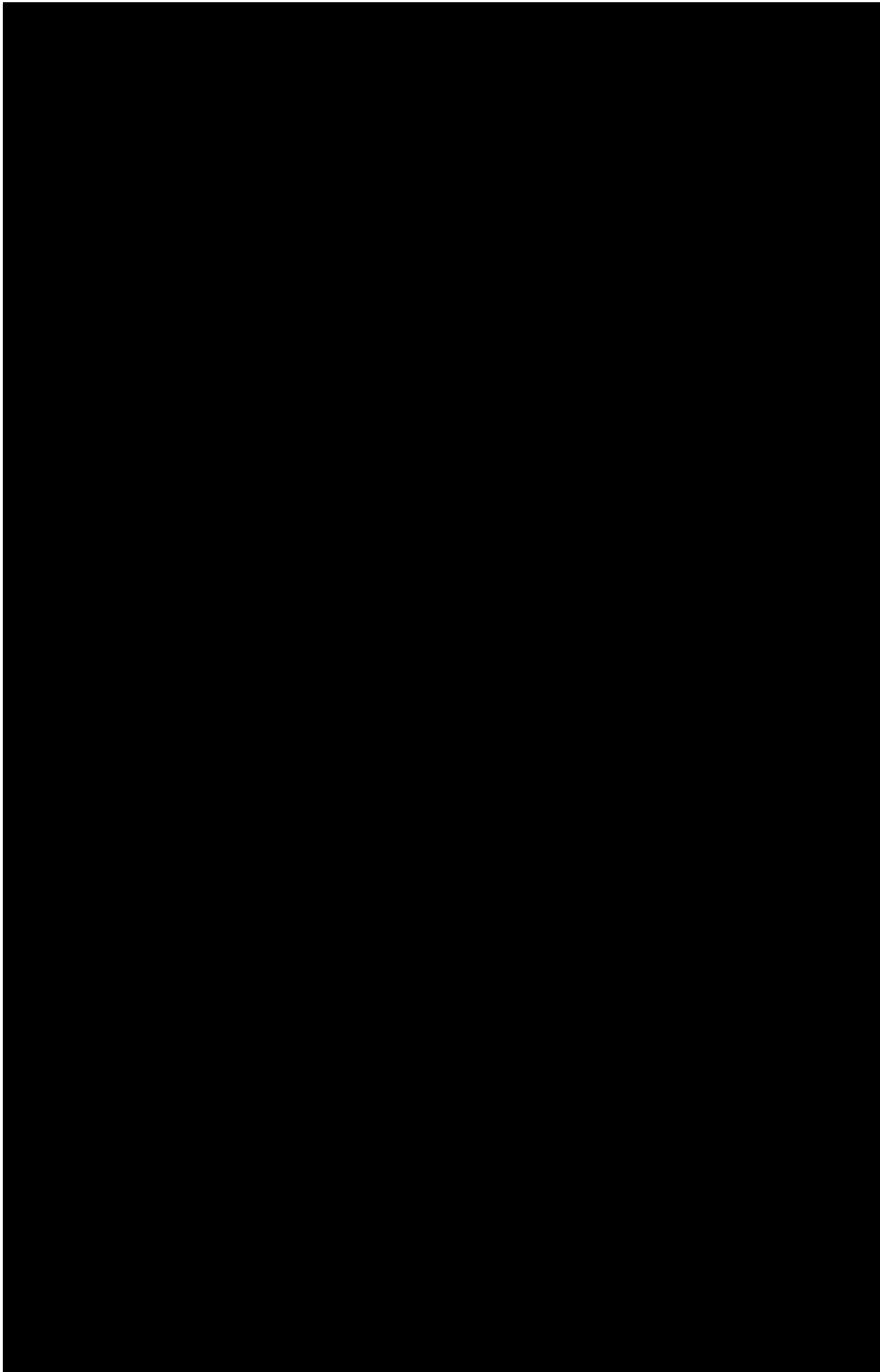
The City Draft Development Plan 1988

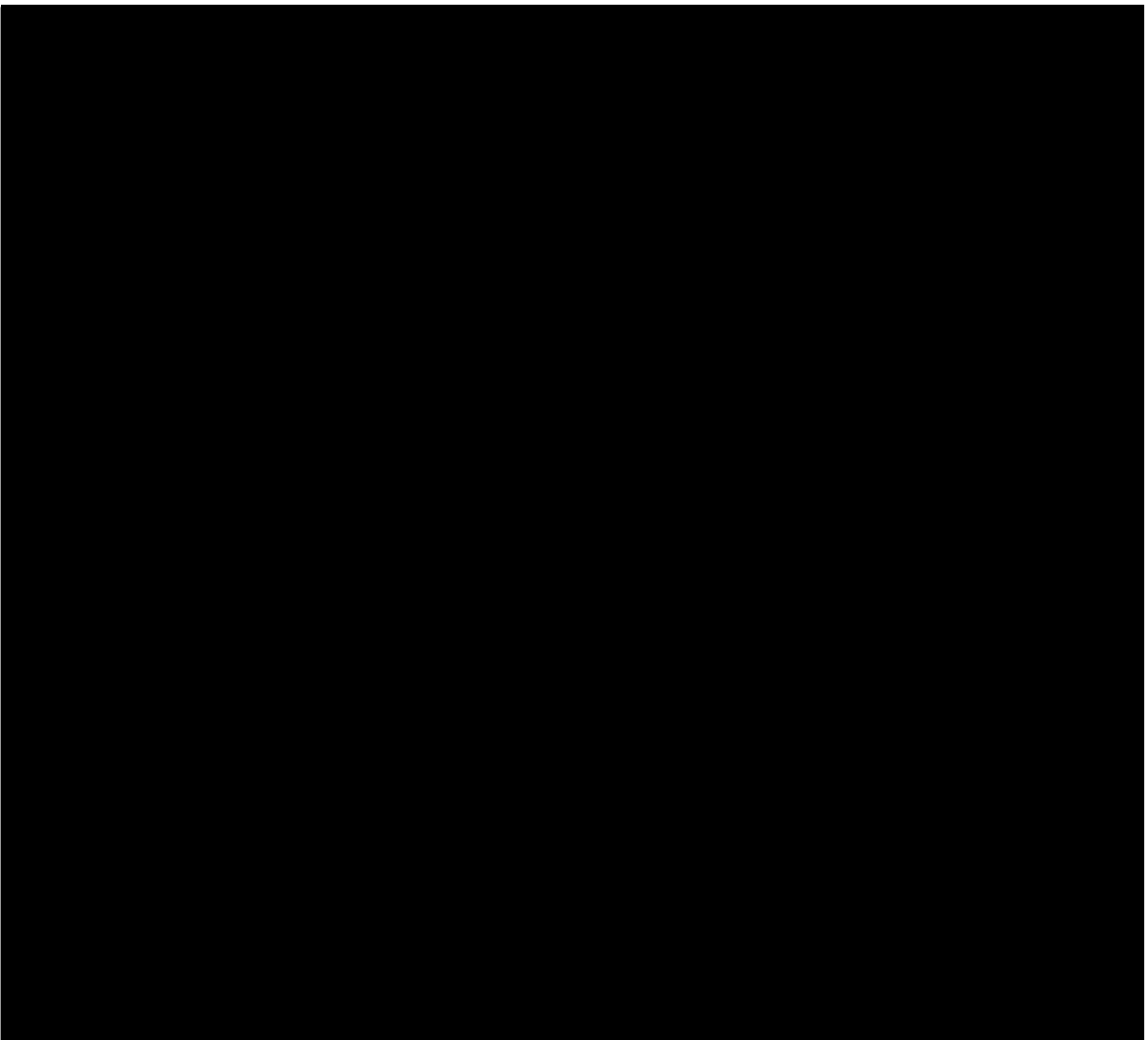
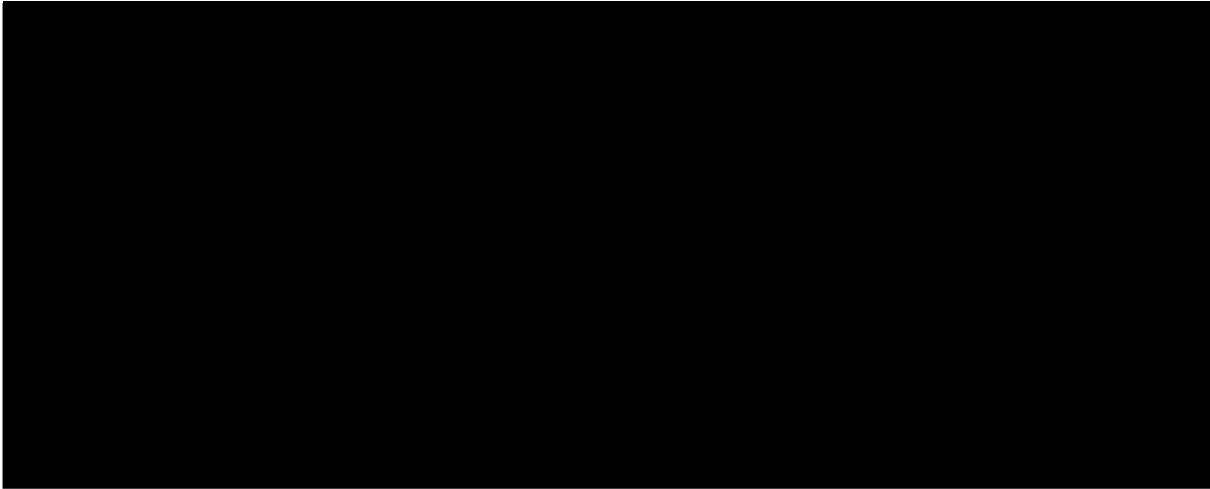
The draft plan includes an archaeological section (7.11-12) which defines a zone of archaeological potential and stipulates that the "Office of Public Works will be notified of developments within this area which are likely to uncover archaeological deposits" (7.12). These are important developments and their implementation should signally help to preserve the surviving features of ancient Waterford and it should also improve the process of recording archaeological evidence prior to its removal, by regularizing and regulating it. The area of archaeological potential given in this

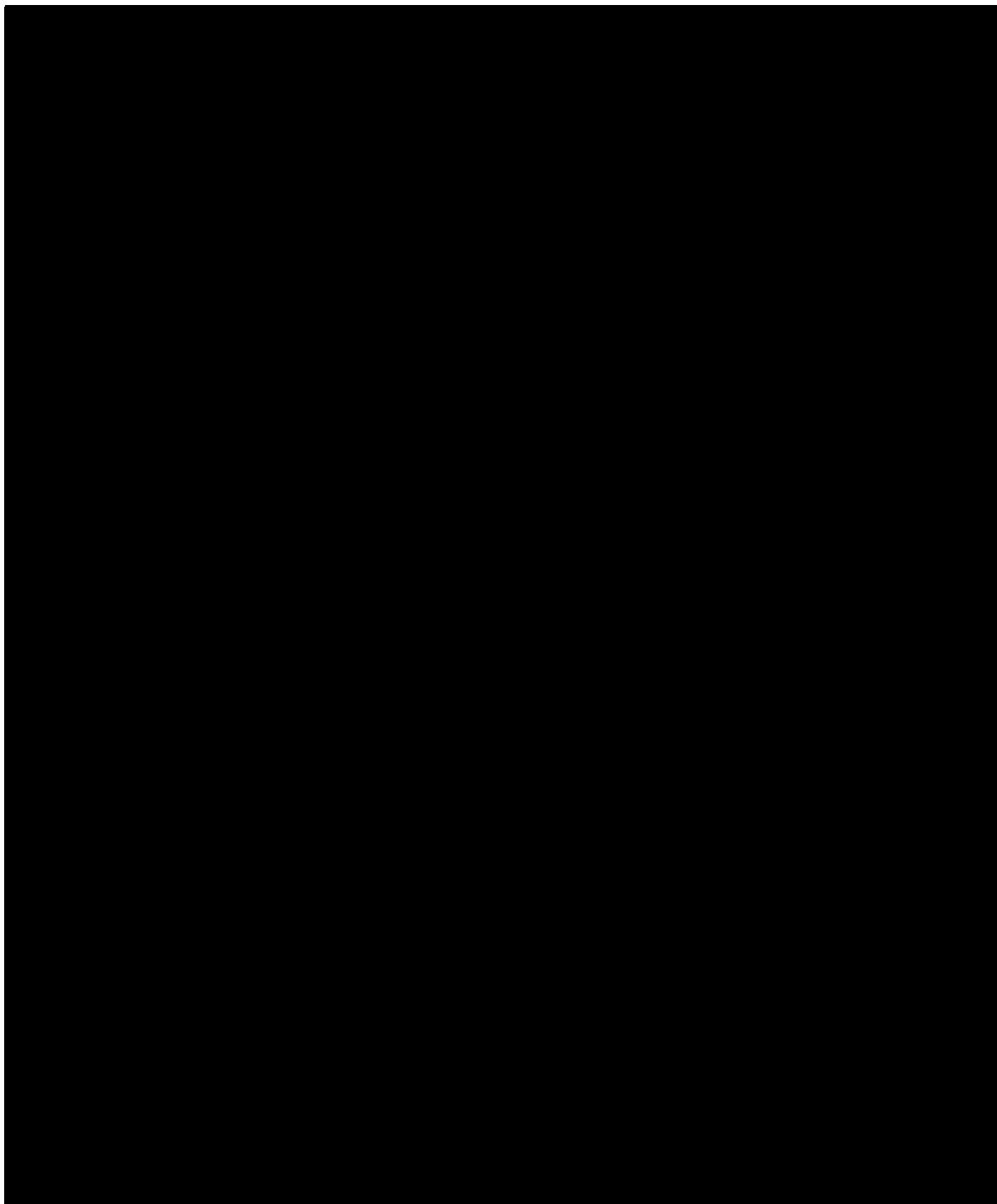
report, however, is larger than that outlined by the development plan which ignores some of the suburban areas which were established outside the walls of Waterford by 1700.

Thirty four areas of the city have been listed for urban renewal (pp 66-9) and twenty of these fall within the zone of archaeological potential. It is important that all of these areas should be investigated archaeologically in advance of redevelopment (as envisaged by section 7.12). These are numbered R1-8, R10, R13, R14-22, R28, R30 and comments on their archaeological importance have already been forwarded under the aegis of the National Monuments Advisory Council.









BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abbreviations

Irish Annals

- A. Clon.: Annals of Clonmacnoise, ed. D. Murphy, Dublin 1896.
- AFM: Annals of the Four Masters, ed. J. O'Donovan, 7 vols. Dublin 1851.
- AI: Annals of Inisfallen, ed. S. MacAirt. Dublin. 1951.
- A. Tig.: Annals of Tigernach, ed. W. Stokes, Revue Celtique 16 (1895), 374-419, 17 (1896), 6-33, 119-263, 337-420, 18 (1897) 9-59, 150-97, 267-303.
- AU: Annals of Ulster, ed. W. M. Hennessy and B. MacCarthy, 4 vols. Dublin 1887-1901.

Journals

- JCHAS Journal of the Cork Historical & Archaeological Society
- JRSAI Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland.
- JWSEIAS Journal of the Waterford and South East of Ireland Archaeological Society
- PRIA Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy.
- RDKPRI Reports of the Deputy Keeper of Public Records of Ireland.
- UJA Ulster Journal of Archaeology.

Other Abbreviations

- NLI National Library of Ireland
- NMI National Museum of Ireland
- PROI Public Record Office of Ireland
- RIA Royal Irish Academy

- Ainsworth, J. T. and MacLysaght, E. 1958.
"Survey of documents in private keeping, second series",
Anal. Hib. xx, 1-393.
- Anon. 1902-5a.
"Old Waterford", JWSEIAS viii, 30-7, 90-5.
- Anon. 1902-5b.
"Documents illustrating the history of Waterford", JWSEIAS
viii, 103-19.
- Anon. 1907.
"Waterford inquisitions", JWSEIAS x, 45-7.
- Archdall, M. 1786.
Monasticon Hibernicum.
- Armstrong, E. C. R. 1907.
"Church plate in Lismore cathedral", JRSAI xxxvii (1907),
91-2.
- Atkins, R. 1894-5.
"Old Waterford, its history and antiquities", JWSEIAS i
(1894-5), 20-38, 49-65.
- Atkinson, E. G. 1895.
(Ed.) Calendar of the State Papers relating to Ireland: Jan.
1598 - March 1599. London.
- Barry, T. B. 1983.
"The archaeological potential of Waterford", Decies 23, 43-9.
- Berry, H. F. 1907.
(ed.) Statutes and Ordinances and Acts of the Parliament of
Ireland King John to Henry V. Dublin.
- Berry, H. F. 1910.
(ed.) Statute Rolls of the Parliament of Ireland King Henry
VI. Dublin.
- Berry, H. F. 1914.
(ed.) Statute Rolls of the Parliament of Ireland 1-12 Edward
IV. Dublin.
- Boe, J. 1940.
Norse Antiquities in Ireland. Part III of Shetelig, H. (ed.)
Viking Antiquities in Great Britain and Ireland (Oslo).
- Bradley, J. 1983.
"Medieval floor tiles from the Franciscan Friary, Waterford",
Decies 24, 40-1.
- Brewer, J. S. and Bullen, W. 1867.
(Eds.) Calendar of the Carew Manuscripts 1: 1515-74. London.
- Brewer, J. S. and Bullen, W. 1869.

(Eds.) Calendar of the Carew Manuscripts 3: 1579-1600.
London.

Brewer, J. S. and Bullen, W. 1871.
(Eds.) Calendar of the Carew Manuscripts 5: Miscellaneous.
London.

Brewer, J. S. and Bullen, W. 1873.
(Eds.) Calendar of the Carew Manuscripts 6: 1603-24. London.

Brooks, E. St. John. 1936.
(Ed.) Register of the hospital of S. John the
Baptist....Dublin. Dublin.

Buckley, J. 1897.
"An account of the taking of Waterford in 1642", JWSWIAS,
iii, 95-9.

Buckley, J. 1899-1905.
"Tracts illustrative of the civil war in Ireland of 1641,
etc.", JWSEIAS v (1899), 67-73, 154-9, 183-9; JWSEIAS vi
(1900), 159-64; JWSEIAS vii (1901), 166-72; viii (1902-5),
18-23, 76-9.

Buckley, J. 1910-12.
"Dungarvan churchyard", Mems Dead viii, 441-2.

Buckley, J. 1913.
"Monumenta sepulchralia", JWSEIAS xvi, 36-9.

Burgess, C. and Gerloff, S. 1981.
The dirks and rapiers of Great Britain and Ireland. Munich.

Butler, G. 1967.
"The battle of Affane (1565)", Ir. Sword viii, 33-47.

Butler, R. 1849.
(ed.) The Annals of Ireland by ... Clyn and ...Dowling.
Dublin.

Byrne, F. J. 1987.
"The trembling sod: Ireland in 1169", in A. Cosgrove (ed.) A
New History of Ireland ii (Oxford), 1-42.

Carrigan, W. 1906-10.
"Old Waterford wills", JWSEIAS ix, 150-3, 209-16; x (1907),
69-72; xi (1908), 91-6; xii (1909), 7-14, 123-7, 168-72; xiii
(1910), 26-8.

Carrigan, W. 1907.
"The ancient temporalities of the united dioceses of
Waterford and Lismore", JWSEIAS x, 1-10.

Carroll, J. S. 1977.
"The walls and defences of Waterford", Decies 4, 16-18; *ibid.*
5, 6-10.

- Carroll, J. S. 1984.
"Aspects of 18th and early 19th century Waterford city from 23 corporation lease maps", Decies 27, 14-21.
- Clarke, A. 1976.
"Pacification, plantation and the Catholic question 1603-23", in A New History of Ireland, iii, 187-232.
- Coleman, J. 1910-12.
"Dungarvan churchyard", Mems dead viii, 635-6.
- Coleman, J. 1913-16.
"Kinsalebeg churchyard", Mems dead ix, 371.
- Cunningham, D. J. and Browne, C. R. 1896-8.
"On some human remains recently discovered near Lismore", PRIA xx, 552-8.
- Curtis, E. 1929-31.
"Sheriffs accounts of the honor of Dungarvan, Twescard in Ulster and of County Waterford, 1261-63", PRIA xxxix C, 1-17.
- Curtis, E. 1933-43.
Calendar of Ormond Deeds. 6 vols. Dublin.
- Davies, O. and Quinn, D. B. 1941.
(eds) The Irish pipe roll of 14 John, 1211-12. Supplement to UJA 4.
- Day, R. 1902.
(ed.) "Regnum Corcagiense or 'A description of the kingdom of Cork'", JCHAS viii, 65-83, 156-79.
- Dix, E. R. McC. 1914-16.
"Printing in the city of Waterford in the seventeenth century", PRIA xxxii C, 333-44.
- Dolley, M. 1966.
The Hiberno-Norse coins in the British Museum. London.
- Dolley, M. 1987.
"Coinage to 1534: the sign of the times" in A. Cosgrove (ed.) A New History of Ireland, ii (Oxford), 816-26.
- Drew, T. 1894-5.
"The Danish Christchurches of Dublin and Waterford", JWSEIAS, i, 194-7.
- Dunlop, R. 1924.
"An unpublished survey of the plantation of Munster in 1622", JRSAI liv, 128-46.
- Eames, E. S. and Fanning, T. 1988.
Irish Medieval Tiles. Dublin.

Edwards, R. D. 1938.

"Letter-book of Sir Arthur Chichester, 1612-1614, in the library of Trinity College, Dublin", Anal. Hib. viii, 3-177.

Erick, J. C. 1846-52.

(ed.) A repertory of the inrolments of the patent roll of chancery in Ireland commencing with the reign of King James I, vol. 1, parts 1-2.

Falkiner, C. L. 1904.

Illustrations of Irish history and topography, mainly of the seventeenth century. London.

French, J. F. M. 1899.

"Southern forts in 1624", JWSEIAS v, 151-3.

FitzGerald, W. 1913-16.

"Dungarvan: the Augustinian abbey burial ground", Mems dead ix, 365-7.

FitzGerald, W. 1913-16.

"Lismore: St. Carthagh's Cathedral", Mems dead viii, 371-82.

FitzMaurice, E. B. and Little, A. G. 1920.

Materials for the history of the Franciscan Province of Ireland AD 1230-1450. Manchester.

FitzPatrick, T. 1910-12.

"Waterford during the Civil War", JWSEIAS xiii (1910), 88-102, 140-50; xiv (1911), 14-26, 56-71, 123-38, 151-68; xv (1912), 6-23, 71-96, 138-53.

Flood, W. H. G. 1898.

"St Carthage of Lismore", JWSEIAS iv, 228-37.

Flood, W. H. G. 1899.

"The university of Lismore", JWSEIAS v, 3-20.

Flood, W. H. G. 1906.

"Lismore during the reign of Queen Elizabeth", JWSEIAS ix, 107-11.

Flower, R. 1931.

"Manuscripts of Irish interest in the British Museum", Anal. Hib. ii, 292-340.

Fraher, W. 1983.

"St Mary's Church of Ireland, Dungarvan", Decies 22, 44-8.

Gilbert, J. T. 1870.

(Ed.) Historic and municipal documents of Ireland A.D. 1172-1320. London.

Gilbert, J. T. 1882.

Facsimiles of the National Manuscripts of Ireland, vol. iv, pt. 2. London.

- Gilbert, J. T. 1884.
(Ed.) Chartularies of St Mary's Abbey, Dublin.
- Gilbert, J. T. 1885.
"Archives of the municipal corporation of Waterford", 10th report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, London, Appendix, part v, 265-339.
- Gilbert, J. T. 1889.
Register of the Abbey of St Thomas the Martyr, Dublin. London.
- Girouard, M. 1964.
"Lismore Castle, County Waterford", Country Life, 6 Aug. 1964, 336-40; *ibid.* 13 August 1964, 389-93.
- Graham, B. 1977.
"The towns of medieval Ireland" in Butlin, R. A. (ed.) The Development of the Irish Town (London), 28-59.
- Graves, J. 1852-3.
"The ancient fabric, plate and furniture of the cathedral of Christ Church, Waterford", JRSAL ii, 75-83.
- Grosart, A. (ed.) 1886.
The Lismore Papers. 1st ser., 5 vols.
- Grosart, A. (ed.) 1887-8.
The Lismore Papers. 2nd ser. 5 vols.
- Guinness, D. and Ryan, W. 1971.
Irish houses and castles. London.
- Gwynn, A. and Hadcock, R. N.
Medieval Religious Houses: Ireland. London.
- Hamilton, H. C. 1867.
(Ed.) Calendar of the State Papers relating to Ireland 1574-85. London.
- Hamilton, H. C. 1885.
(Ed.) Calendar of the State Papers relating to Ireland 1588-92. London.
- Hamilton, H. C. 1890.
(Ed.) Calendar of the State Papers relating to Ireland 1592-6. London.
- Hansard, J. 1870.
The history, topography and antiquities of the county and city of Waterford. Dungarvan.
- Harbison, P. 1969.
The Axes of the Early Bronze Age in Ireland. Munich.

- Henry, F. 1937.
"Figure in Lismore Cathedral", JRSAL lxvi, 306-7.
- Henry, F. and Marsh-Micheli, G. 1987.
"Manuscripts and illuminations 1169-1603", in A. Cosgrove (ed.), A New History of Ireland ii, 781-815.
- Hogan, E. 1878.
(Ed.) The Description of Ireland ... in Anno 1598. Dublin-London.
- Hogan, J. 1930.
"Miscellanea of the Chancery, London", Anal. Hib. i, 179-218.
- Hogan, J. and O'Farrell, N. 1959.
The Walshingham letter-book or register of Ireland, may 1578 to December 1579. Dublin.
- Hore, E. N. 1849-51.
"Description of an ancient crypt beneath the Deanery House, Waterford", JRSAL i, 413-15.
- Hore, H. J. and Graves, J. (eds.) 1870.
The social state of the southern and eastern counties of Ireland in the sixteenth century. Dublin.
- Hunt, J. 1974.
Irish Medieval Figure Sculpture. Dublin-London.
- Irish Record Commission 1829.
Chartae Privilegia et Immunitates: from henry II to 18 Richard II.
- Irish Record Commission 1830.
Irish Patent Rolls of James I. Facsimile ed. Dublin 1966.
- Jennings, B. 1934.
"Brevis synopsis Provinciae Hiberniae Ff Minorum", Anal. Hib. 6 (1934), 139-86.
- Kerrigan, P. 1985.
"The fortification of Waterford, Passage and Duncannon 1495 to 1690", Decies 29, 13-23.
- Killanin, M. and Duignan, M. 1967.
The Shell Guide to Ireland. London.
- Lahert, R. 1986.
"A glossary of old Waterford street names", Decies 33, 21-35.
- Lewis, S. 1837.
A Topographical Dictionary of Ireland. 2 vols. London.
- Loeber, R. 1977-9.
"Biographical dictionary of engineers in Ireland 1600-1730", Ir. Sword xiii, 30-44, 106-22, 230-55, 283-314.

- Lumley, I. W. J. 1977.
"A brief history and description of St Saviour's friary, commonly called Blackfriars, Waterford", Decies 6, 19-23.
- Lumley, I. W. J. 1978.
"Vanishing Waterford: a record of recent destruction and present threat", Decies 9 (1978), 3-14.
- Lumley, I. W. J. 1983.
"The deanery 'crypt', Waterford: a preliminary investigation", Decies 24, 4-7.
- Lydon, J. 1979.
"The city of Waterford in the later middle ages", Decies 12, 5-15.
- Macalister, R. A. S. 1945.
Corpus Inscriptionum Insularum Celticarum, vol. 1. Dublin.
- McEneaney, E. 1979.
"Waterford and New Ross trade competition, c.1300", Decies 12, 16-24.
- McEneaney, E. 1984.
"King John and the city of Waterford", Decies 26, 5-12.
- MacLeod, C. 1946.
"Medieval figure sculpture in Ireland: statues in the Holy Ghost Hospital, Waterford", JRSIAI lxxv, 167-82.
- MacLeod, C. 1947.
"Some late medieval wood sculptures in Ireland", JRSIAI 77, 53-62.
- MacLeod, C. 1952.
"Fifteenth century vestments in Waterford", JRSIAI lxxxii, 85-98.
- McNeill, C. 1932.
(Ed.) Registrum de Kilmainham. Dublin.
- McNeill, C. 1934.
"Harris: Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis", Anal. Hib. vi, 248-450.
- McNeill, C. 1943.
The Tanner Letters. Dublin.
- MacNiocaill, G. 1966.
"Registrum cantariae S. Salvatoris Waterfordensis", Anal. Hib. xxiii, 135-222.
- Mahaffy, R. P. 1900.
(Ed.) Calendar of the State Papers relating to Ireland: 1625-32. London.

Mahaffy, R. P. 1903.
(Ed.) Calendar of the State Papers relating to Ireland:
Adventurers for Land 1642-59. London.

Mahaffy, R. P. 1907.
(Ed.) Calendar of the State Papers relating to Ireland:
1663-65. London.

Mahaffy, R. P. 1908.
(Ed.) Calendar of the State Papers relating to Ireland:
1666-69. London.

Mahr, A. and Raftery, J. 1932-41.
Christian art in ancient Ireland. 2 vols. Dublin.

Martin, G. 1981.
"Plantation boroughs in medieval Ireland, with a handlist of
boroughs to c.1500" in Harkness, D. and O'Dowd, M. (eds.) The
town in Ireland (Belfast), 23-53.

Mills, J. 1905.
(Ed.) Calendar of Justiciary Rolls Ireland 1295-1303. Dublin.

Mills, J. 1914.
(Ed.) Calendar of Justiciary Rolls Ireland 1305-07. Dublin.

Mooney, C. 1964.
"The Franciscans in Waterford", JCHAS lxix, 73-93.

Moore, M. 1983.
"City walls and gateway at the site of St Martin's Castle",
Decies 23, 50-61.

Morrin, J. 1861.
(ed.) Calendar of the Patent Rolls of Ireland Henry VIII to
Elizabeth. vol. 1.

Morrin, J. 1862.
(Ed.) Calendar of the Patent Rolls of Ireland 18-45
Elizabeth. Vol. 2. Dublin.

Morrin, J. 1863.
(Ed.) Calendar of Patent Rolls of Ireland Charles I. Dublin.

Morrissey, J. F. 1939.
(ed.) Statute rolls of the Parliament of Ireland 12/13- 21/22
Edward IV. Dublin.

Mulholland, J. 1980.
"A checklist of Church of Ireland places of worship in County
Waterford", Decies 14 (1980), 43-9.

Nicholls, K. W. 1972.
"Inquisitions of 1224 from the miscellanea of the Exchequer",
Anal. Hib. xxvii, 103-12.

O'Brien, A. F. 1982.

"The settlement of Imokilly and the formation and descent of the manor of Inchiquin, Co. Cork", JCHAS lxxxvii, 21-6.

O'Donovan, J. 1851.

See AFM.

O hInnse, S. 1947.

(Ed.) Miscellaneous Irish Annals A.D. 1114-1437. Dublin.

Orpen, G. H. 1892.

(ed.) The Song of Dermot and the Earl. Oxford.

Orpen, G. H. 1911-20.

Ireland under the Normans. 4 vols. Oxford.

Otway-Ruthven, A. J. 1968.

A History of Medieval Ireland. London.

Pender, S. 1939.

(Ed.) A census of Ireland c.1659. Dublin.

Pender, S. 1939b.

"Cromwellian Waterford", JCHAS xliv, 75-88.

Pender, S. 1946.

"Studies in Waterford history I", JCHAS li, 10-26.

Pender, S. 1946a.

"Studies in Waterford history I", JCHAS li, 10-26.

Pender, S. 1946b.

"Studies in Waterford history II", JCHAS li, 108-25.

Pender, S. 1947a.

"Studies in Waterford history III", JCHAS lii, 18-29.

Pender, S. 1947b.

"Studies in Waterford history IV: the old council books of the Corporation of Waterford, volume i", JCHAS lii, 149-77.

Pender, S. 1948-50.

"Studies in Waterford history V: the old council books of the Corporation of Waterford, volume ii", JCHAS liii, 39-59; liv (1949), 25-30; lv (1950), 31-45.

Pender, S. 1953-56.

"Studies in Waterford history X-XIV: the guilds of Waterford, 1650-1700", JCHAS lviii (1953), 67-76; lix (1954), 11-21; 89-100; lx (1955), 33-46; lxi (1956), 123-7.

Pender, S. 1964.

(ed.) The council books of the Corporation of Waterford 1662-1700. Dublin.

Power, P. 1894-8.

"The ancient ruined churches of Co. Waterford", JWSEIAS i (1894-5), 133-41, 162-72, 247-53; ii (1896), 2-15, 195-208; iii (1897), 3-12, 72-91, 216-70; iv (1898), 83-95, 195-219.

Power, P. 1896.

"The priory, church and hospital of St John the Evangelist, Waterford", JWSEIAS ii, 81-97.

Power, P. 1911a.

"Waterford city churches", JWSEIAS xiv, 49-55.

Power, P. 1911b.

"An old map of Dungarvan", JWSEIAS xiv, 103-7.

Power, P. 1912.

Parochial history of Waterford and Lismore during the 18th and 19th centuries. Waterford.

Power, P. 1913.

"Material condition of the churches of Waterford", JWSEIAS xvi, 114-21.

Power, P. 1937.

Waterford and Lismore: a compendious history of the united dioceses. Dublin-Cork.

Power, P. 1938.

"The Cistercian abbeys of Munster", JCHAS xliiii, 1-11.

Power, P. 1943.

"The town walls of Waterford", JRSAL lxxiii, 118-36.

Power, P. 1947.

"The Jesuits in Waterford", Studies xxxvi, 271-82.

Power, T. 1977-8.

"Richard Boyle's ironworks in county Waterford", Decies 6 (1977), 26-30; 7 (1978), 30-5.

Power, P. 1952.

The placenames of Decies. Cork.

P.R.O. 1906.

Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem 3: 20-28 Edw I. London.

P.R.O. 1907.

Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem 4: 29-35 Edw I. London.

P.R.O. 1908.

Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem 5: 1-9 Edw II. London.

P.R.O. 1910.

Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem 6: 10-20 Edw II. London.

- P.R.O. 1914.
Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem 7: 1-9 Edw III. London.
- P.R.O. 1916.
Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem 8: 10-20 Edw III.
London.
- Pryor, F. 1976.
"A descriptive catalogue of some ancient Irish metalwork in the collections of the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto", JRSAI cvi, 73-91.
- Quane, M. 1959.
"Waterford Corporation Free School", JCHAS lxiv, 82-103.
- Quinn, D. B. 1941.
"Guide to English financial records for Irish history 1461-1558, with illustrative extracts, 1461-1509", Anal. Hib. x, 1-69.
- Radner, J. N. 1978.
(ed.) Fragmentary annals of Ireland. Dublin.
- Raftery, B. 1983.
A catalogue of Irish Iron Age antiquities. Marburg.
- Rennison, W. H. 1927-31.
"Joshua Boyles accompt of the temporalities of the bishopricks of Waterford", JCHAS xxxii (1927), 42-9, 78-85; xxxiii (1928), 42-7, 83-92; xxxv (1930), 26-33; xxxvi (1931), 20-5.
- Russell, C. W. and Prendergast, J. P. 1877.
Calendar of the State Papers relating to Ireland: 1611-14.
London.
- Ryan, M. et al. 1983.
Treasures of Ireland. Dublin.
- Ryland, R. H. 1824.
The history, topography and antiquities of the county and city of Waterford. London.
- Scott, A. B. and Martin, F. X. 1978.
(eds.) Expugnatio Hibernica: The Conquest of Ireland by Giraldus Cambrensis. Dublin.
- Sheehy, M. P. 1962.
(ed.) Pontificia Hibernica: medieval papal chancery documents relating to Ireland, 640-1261. 2 vols. Dublin.
- Simington, R. C. 1942.
(Ed.) The Civil Survey 6: Co. Waterford. Dublin.
- Smith, C. 1746.
The antient and present stat of the county and city of

Waterford. Dublin.

Sweetman, H. 1875-86.

Calendar of Documents relating to Ireland. 5 vols. London.

Todd, J. H. 1867.

(ed.) War of the Gaedhill with the Gall. London.

Tracey, C. M. 1983.

"Gallowshill, Dungarvan: a report in the site and recent finds", Decies 22, 4-14.

Tresham, E. 1828.

Rotulorum Patentium et Clausorum Cancellariae Hiberniae
Calendrium Hen II - Hen VII. Dublin.

Twemlow, J. A. 1904.

(ed.) calendar of the papal registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland: 6 (1404-15). London.

Twemlow, J. A. 1906.

(ed.) calendar of the papal registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland: 7 (1415-27). London.

Twemlow, J. A. 1909.

(ed.) calendar of the papal registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland: 8 (1427-31). London.

Twemlow, J. A. 1933.

(ed.) calendar of the papal registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland: 12 (1458-71). London.

Ussher, R. J. 1896-8.

"Discovery of human and other remains, with materials similar to those of a crannoge, high above the present valley of the Blackwater between Lismore Castle and Cathedral", PRIA xx, 550-8.

Vesey, F. 1765.

The statutes at large, passed in the parliaments held in Ireland. 8 vols. Dublin. Vol. 1: 1310-1612.

Walton, J. C. 1973.

"A list of early burials in the French Church, Waterford", JRSAI ciii, 70-7.

Walton, J. C. 1977a.

"A check-list of the castles of Co. Waterford", Decies 6 (1977), 3-6.

Walton, J. C. 1977b.

"Notes on burials in the French Church", Decies 4, 19-22; ibid. 5, 22-5.

Walton, J. C. 1987.

"Two descriptions of Waterford in the 1680s", Decies 35,

27-32.

Weinbaum, M. 1943.

British Borough Charters 1307-1660. Cambridge.

White, N. B. 1943.

Extents of Irish monastic possessions 1540-1. Dublin.

Wood, H., Langman, A. E. and Griffith, M. C.. 1955.

(eds.) Calendar of the justiciary rolls of Ireland ... 1-7
Edward II.

The following data entries were supplied to me by Muiris de Buil  ir (March 2001). Each entry had its own file and was part of an integrated GIS package designed by Ed Bourke for Waterford City. It has not proved possible to locate the associated map images. For convenience the individual files have all been brought into one.

P. Walsh, 14 August 2001.

Waterford City

MARKET PLACES

A marketplace, attested in the seventeenth century at least was the corn market on Exchange St. This is evidently morphologically from its representation on seventeenth century maps as well as from references to the 'wey house neer the Key gate' in 1618 (Grosart 1986, i, 191) and the 'old markt house nere the great Key gate' in 1678 (Pender 1964, 178 No. 1306). The Quay Gate in question was at the north end of Exchange St. This corn market was paved in 1680 (ibid, 1;88: No. 1375; 192: No. 1399).

MARKET PLACES

Broad St. functioned as a market place of the Anglo-Norman town in view of its morphology and the known presence there of the market cross and public stocks. It is mentioned as a market place in a City Council order of 1659.

MARKET PLACES

A market place, presumably on Ballybricken Green, is indicated by a reference to 'the markt house...without St. Patrick's Gate' in 1680 (Grosart 1886, 187: No. 1368)

MARKET HOUSE

In 1678, the City Council permitted the garrison of the city to make use of 'the old markt house nere the great Key Gate' for a guard House (Pender 1964, 178: No. 1306). This building was presumably located at the north end of Exchange St., quite possibly on the site of the 18th century Exchange, but nothing else is known about it.

GUILDHALL/THOLSEL

Henry III's charter of 1232 (Sweetman 1875-86, i, no. 1958) contains a formulaic reference to the city's Guildhall, but the earliest specific reference to this building may be the record in 1291-93. It appears from later references that the city courthouse was located in the Guildhall or at least formed part of the same complex of buildings. The Guildhall was the place where regulations from the government of the city were enacted by the citizens in their 'dernhundred' (Gilbert 1885, 292, dated 1382; 336, dated 1599), where the election of the mayor and bailiffs of the city took place (ibid, 315), and where the city council met (Pender 1947, 160-63, 167, 170; Pender 1964, 312). The location of council proceedings is also given as the Tholsel (Pender 1947, 153, 167, 170; Pender 1964, 73-4), but this is clearly the same building as also was the Town Hall (Pender 1964, 32: No. 214; 63: No. 387) located on Peter St. (Simington 1942, 269). When, in 1617, the Earl of Thomond and Sir William Jones summoned the Corporation of Waterford before them in order to revoke the city's liberties on behalf of the king they did so at the Tholsel, in 'the Guild Hall'. Thus it appears that the Tholsel, Guild Hall and Town Hall were either alternative names for the same building, or part of the same complex of buildings which also included the city courthouse. The site can be located on the basis of a 1577 grant to George Moore of 'a stone house in the city of Waterford called the Ould Courteous, adjoining the Guild Hall of the City on the west, the Milkestreet on the east, S. Peter's Street on the south (13 RDKPRI, 49 no. 3120). There is a problem, however, in so far as this grant indicates that the Guildhall stood on the north side of Peter St., whereas the 1673 map, reproduced by Ryland (1824), locates it on the south side of Peter St. In this map it is depicted as a tower-like structure with a tall spire and large traceried window. The precise location remains uncertain, then, but clearly the Guildhall stood at the extreme west end of Peter St. In 1670 the City Council leased to William Dapwell 'the cellar under the Tholsell....he to keep a publique beam, weights and scales that will weigh halfe a tun at an end'. (Pender 1964, 65: No. 402), probably for the use of the nearby market on Broad St. Another structure probably associated with this complex was the town clock, attested in the 1670's when John Towell was its keeper (Pender 1964, 71: No. 436: 141: No. 1005: 206: No. 1443). In 1680 and 1695 repairs were ordered to 'the faines [weather vanes?] over the town clock and Black Fryers' (ibid 205: No. 1431: 326 No. 2043).

MARKET CROSS

The earliest reference to a market cross in Waterford occurs in regulations passed in 1475-76 forbidding the dumping of refuse in the ditches of the town walls 'from the marktette crosse unto Arondelis Gate' (Gilbert 1885, 312). The 1673 map of Waterford reproduced by Ryland (1824) shows the cross as a large canopied structure on a stepped base,

standing at the junction of Broad Street with Patrick St./Peter St. A City Council order that 'the steps about the Cross be mended' in 1685 (Pender 1964, 258 No. 1697) tends to confirm the accuracy of the 1673 depiction. The repair of 'the Markett Cross' was ordered in 1696 (*ibid.*, 327: No. 2046), but the cross was removed in 1750 (Lahert 1986, 25).

STOCKS

A public stocks or pillory was located at the same site as the market cross. It is first referred to in 1476 (MacNiocaill 1966, 210), and the latest reference occurs in 1662, when the city council ordered that 'the publicke stocks at the Cross shall supply all the parishes in the towne' (Pender 1964, 5: No. 22).

CONDUITS

A feature of Waterford's street furniture were two 'conduits', probably public fountains, mentioned in the 17th century sources. One of these was located in Peter St. (Pender 1964, 32: No. 214), and the location of the other is variously given as Conduit Lane (Simington 1942, 262) and 'High streete crosse' (Pender 1947, 174-5) because it stood at the junction of High St. and Conduit Lane. The earliest contemporary reference to the conduits occurs in 1657 (Pender 1947, 174-5) but Smith (1746, 197) noted that 'the old Conduit in High-street at the corner of a lane called Conduit Lane was erected in 1591, as appears from the date on the front of it'.

CONDUITS

Probably the 'ancient reservoir' on the east side of Stephen St. noted by Power (1943, 133) formed part of the conduit supply system. The reservoir was itself supplied with water through a rock-cut tunnel running seventeen feet below ground in the direction of the town wall to the west, and that the tunnel, which is five feet in average height, was reached from the surface where it crosses under Stephen St. by a stone spiral staircase. The pipes of the High St. conduit, however, were damaged in the demolition of Arundell Castle in 1698 (Pender 1964, 345: No. 2116: 347: No. 2124). The replacement of these pipes with new ones was ordered in 1700 (*ibid.*, 358: No. 2164).

AYLWARD HOUSE

Smith (1746, 196) refers to the 'antient' house of the Aylward family in John St. adjoining St. Michael's churchyard.

BISHOP'S PALACE

The medieval bishop's palace was clearly located adjacent to the cathedral and it is reasonable to suggest that it stood on or near the site of the modern palace which is now occupied by Waterford Corporation. Nothing else is known of the history of the palace, apart from evidence of rebuilding in the first half of the seventeenth century. In 1615 the Mayor of Waterford reported that the bishop had taken materials from the ruined church of St. Peter 'to buyld his owne howse' (Power 1911a 52-3 n. (b)). In 1660 Boyle stated that 'the howse called Bishop's Court' had been rebuilt by Bishop Atherton between 1636 and 1641 (Rennison 1927, 43: 1928, 87 No. 97) but this may be a mistaken reference to the rebuilding of 1615.

BLACK BOY INN

The Black Boy Inn, referred to in the survey of 1663-4 stood 'at the lower corner of 'Corrigeen', opposite Stephen St. on Patrick St.' (Anon 1902-5, 91-2). The S wall of this inn can be seen at the rear of 20 Patrick St. It has a blocked window and a large stone fireplace.

CHANCELLORS RESIDENCE

The residence of Henry Gilis, chancellor of the cathedral at the time of the founding of St. Saviour's chapel, cannot be precisely located, but it was clearly situated in the angle between Henrietta St. and Chairman's Arch. It apparently occupied one plot on the east side of Henrietta St. and was approached by a lane which was two plots east of Henrietta St. (MacNiocaill 1966, 201, 171-2). This may well be the lane opening south off modern Coffee House Lane. The Chancellor's residence was presumably located on the west side of this lane.

JOHN COLLYN'S HOUSES

In 1470 John Collyn built a stone house on Peter St. (MacNiocaill 1966, 170-1). This stood on the plot immediately east of St. Peter's churchyard which was granted to St. Saviours by James Rice in 1468 (*ibid.*, 166).

DEANERY

The medieval deanery was located on the east side of the cathedral and almost certainly occupied the site of the modern deanery. This is demonstrated by a grant of 1468 of a chamber located on the north side of the deanery which was bordered on the east by the deanery garden and on the west by the cathedral cemetery (MacNiocaill 1966, 146, 155-6). Another grant of 1469 relates to the plot of land on the east side of the cathedral cemetery which adjoined the deanery to the east (*ibid.*, 173). An undated sixteenth century document states that Richard Lumbard, the dean, had rebuilt the

upper floor of the great chamber of the deanery (*ibid*, 146). The 1468 grant reserved the cellar below the chamber to the north of the deanery for the use of the dean and chapter. This 'cellar' is almost certainly part of the undercroft reported by Hore (1849-51) and recently excavated by O'Rahilly. A description of the undercroft is given by Lumley (1983).

FRANK HOUSE

Among the possessions of the Hospitallers in Waterford was 'a house called Temple Inn frank house', which was granted by them to Nicholas Cosyn in 1450, and confirmed to him in 1476-77 (Morrissey 1939, 525). Its location is unknown, but it may have been near the church of St. John.

KING JOHN'S HOUSE

The survey of c. 1663-4 noted the stone walls of a ruined house called 'Kinge Johns' on Peter St.. (Simington 1942, 250). Smith (1746, 123) stated that this building was the palace in which King John resided on his visit to Waterford in 1210, and noted (*ibid*, 186) that during the construction of the Widows Apartments on the site (immediately west of the cathedral) 'many remains of King John's house were observed, as foundations, vaults &c'. Whether the association with King John is correct or not, it certainly seems that this was a medieval building of some importance.

LINCOLN HOUSE

On the removal of the front wall of a house in Henrietta St. in 1883, a fireplace, apparently of Kilkenny limestone, dated 1627 and with the arms of the Lincoln family, was revealed (JRSAI 17, 1885-6, 392-3). It is now held in Ardmore by Mrs. Siobhan Lincoln.

RESIDENCE OF CHAPLAINS OF ST. SAVIOURS

The residence lay immediately north of the deanery and south of 'the King's highway leading to the house of Friars Minor' [Bailey's New St.] and was granted by James Rice to John Collyn, founder of St. Saviours, in 1468 (MacNiocaill 1966, 155-56). It had a stone stairs, presumably projecting externally, referred to in 1469 (*ibid*, 173).

PRECENTOR'S RESIDENCE

Located on the north side of Bailey's New St./Chairman's Arch, between the lane leading to the chancellor's residence, to the west, and the Franciscan Friary to the east (MacNiocaill 1966, 194-5). SHOPS In 1470 John Collyn built a number of 'both chambers' [shops] for the support of the chaplains of St. Saviours. These were located in the eastern part of the cathedral cemetery, and were clearly fairly substantial structures, having cellars and garderobes with cisterns at their base (MacNiocaill 1966, 170). It seems likely that these chambers were built on a plot of waste ground granted to Collyn by James Rice in 1469. This plot, apparently twelve feet in width, was located immediately west of the deanery and extended from the porch of the deanery, on the south, to the stone stairs of the residence of the chaplains of St. Saviours, on the north (*ibid*, 173).

TREASURER'S RESIDENCE

In 1469 the residence of the Treasurer, one of the main dignatories of the cathedral, was located immediately west of another messuage, which in turn was immediately west of the north entrance to the cathedral churchyard, on Peter St. (MacNiocaill 1966, 181).

HOUSE A

A seventeenth century two storeyed house still survives in the grounds of the former St. Stephen's Hospital (now P. Kiely Ltd., Soft Drinks Distributors). It is a rectangular building, 11.8m in length and 7.25m in width, oriented E-W. The interior is filled with rubbish and it is divided N-S by a modern partition wall. It is built of undressed, uncoursed red sandstone with dressed limestone door and window jambs and has a galvanised roof resting on brick gables. The surviving height of the original walls is c.3.5m. The building was entered on the south side through a segmental headed doorway dated 1632, 1.38m high and 1m wide. To the east and west of the door there were twin-light rectangular windows with chamfered jambs. The eastern window is missing its central mullion and only one jamb of the western one survives. The west wall is featureless apart from a modern door to a loft in the gable. The east gable has a three-light mullioned window and set into the north wall internally there is a large limestone chimney breast, of which only half is visible with IHS and 32, presumably part of a datestone of 1632. Visible dimensions are L. 123 and H. 140cm.

HOUSE B

There is a barrel vaulted chamber off Conduit Lane (at the rear of 87-8 Coal Quay) in the premises of Waterford Electrical Wholesale Ltd. It is built of brown slate with plank centring and measures 2.2m high, 12m in length and 4.25m wide. It is entered through an opening, 1.86m wide in the N wall and there is an opening in the E wall with sloping sill. It is of 17th century date or earlier.

HOUSE C

Between Blackfriar's Lane and the remains of the Dominican Friary is part of a seventeenth century house, now heavily plastered over. The rectangular chimney, however, indicates the presence of remains of seventeenth century date.

HOUSE D

Three walls of a late medieval house survive on the north side of Little Michael St. It is 4-5m high and built of roughly coursed rubble with quoins of mixed stone. It has evidence for much alteration but one 16th/17th century window survives in the east wall of the first floor and another in the west gable.

HOUSE TRACES

Prior to excavations on the High St./Peter St. block a number of standing buildings had dressed stone, mullions and jambs incorporated into the stonework. The demolition of Nos. 7, 8 and 9 Broad St. revealed medieval window mullions and jambs (M. Hurley pers. comm). A large three storeyed stone built house on the south side of Bachelor's Walk between O'Brien's St. and Steven St. may be of late 17th century date. It has two large chimneys to the front and rear and is now owned by the E.S.B. Some walls, possibly of a 17th century building, survive at the rear of 8/9 Stephen St., off Alexander St. QUAYS The medieval quays of Waterford were located on the south bank of the Suir between Barronstrand St. to the west and Henrietta St. to the east, on the site of Coal Quay, Custom House Quay and the Parade. Despite the wealth and importance of Waterford's maritime trade, however, there is very little information available on the actual quays themselves in the medieval period. The only significant record of the medieval quays is a document of 1377 in which the king instructed the mayor and bailiffs of Waterford to see to the repair and fortification of the quay, noting that various Spanish and other enemies were attacking the city from the river because it was not fortified on that side (Tresham 1828, 101: No. 46). This seems to indicate that there was no wall along the riverside of the city at this time. A wall was clearly in existence along the quayside by 1477-8, however, when the corporation ordered 'all the gates by all the keyes of the citie' to be shut at night, and ordered the owner of each gate to make a grate of iron to protect it (Gilbert 1885, 312-3). This regulation, addressed to 'eache man that is ownere of the keyes of the said citie' (ibid, 313) makes it clear that the quays were seen as the property of private citizens and this is borne out by references to quays belonging to private houses in 1545 (Curtis 1933-43, i.v. 235: no. 350) and again in 1603 (ibid vi, 177: no. 145). Post medieval descriptions indicate that the quays were extremely impressive and substantial, and this was probably the case at an earlier date also. In 1620 Luke Gernon noted that: '[Waterford's] beauty is in the key, for the wall of the towne, extending for neare half a mile along the water, between that and the water, there is a broad key maynly fortifyed with stone and stronge piles of timber' (Falkiner 1904, 351-2). In 1635 Sir William Brereton described the quay as: '...made all along the river side without the walls, and divers fair and convenient buttresses made almost twenty yards long, which go towards the channel' (ibid, 400). These buttresses were piers extending into the river and are clearly shown on seventeenth century maps (reproduced by Ryland (1824) dating to 1673, and Phillips dating to 1685). There were five piers in all, one just east of Barronstrand St., marking the western limit of the quays and the other four between Exchange St. and Henrietta St., the last being slightly to the east of Henrietta St. Stanhope, writing in 1682-5: 'To this Key there are built five most excellant Miles or Peers which stretch forward into the river about fortie foot in length...' (Walton 1987, 31-2). Further references to the piers occur in 1682, when the City Council ordered that 'the great Key head shalbee speedily repaired.. as also the west side of the pier at Gooses Gate (at the N end of Henrietta St); as also the pavement of the Key from the gunn to the west slipp of the Key' (Pender 1964, 216: No. 1500), and in 1694 when it ordered that 'the pieres of the Key and great dock before the customhouse be cleared and repaired forthwith (ibid, 314: No. 1993). This 'great dock' seems to have been located between the piers between Exchange St. and Keyser St; by 1696 it was obsolete, (ibid, 331: No. 2063). Smith's map of 1745 (in Smith 1746) shows this central area of the quay filled in and other parts were subsequently filled in as the quay frontage was extended out into the river. The primary focus of the quays was between Barronstrand St., on the west, and Henrietta St. on the east, but gradually this was extended. Eastward extension began in the sixteenth century. In 1542 David Balief (Bailey) was granted the garden of the Franciscan Friary with 'a new quay outside the city walls' (97 RDKPRI, 61: no. 307). This area may not have functioned commercially until around 1659. Further expansion of the quays took place in 1700, when Alderman Ivie was permitted 'to make an addition to the west end of the Key without Barrystrand gate as far in length and breadth as the same can be conveniently built' (Pender 1964, 358: No. 2166).

OLD CUSTOM HOUSE

The old Custom House was clearly not located on the same site as the new Custom House, as it continued in existence after the construction of the new building. The older building was located, however, in the same area as its successor, on Key Street (probably south of and parallel to, Custom House Quay) and close to Exchange St. on the site of the Corn Market.

DEAN COLLYN'S ALMSHOUSE

John Collyn was also founder of the almshouse which was located beside the cathedral churchyard. It was probably founded in 1478 (MacNiocaill 1966, 215-17). This almshouse is presumably the 'house of paupers' referred to in a post 1520 document in the Register (*ibid*, 145). Its precise location is not recorded, but it may well have been located at the west end of the row of buildings between the cathedral and Chairman's Arch, where 'Dean's Almshouse' is marked on the 1871 O.S. 5- ft. map. FREE SCHOOL This school is frequently referred to in the late seventeenth century Waterford archives and was located in the Cathedral Churchyard, according to Smith (1746, 189).

CALDEBEC/COLBECK MILL

This mill was located at the mouth of a small stream which ran just outside the walls of Waterford on the east, joining the Suir at Reginald's tower. Maps of 1673 (in Ryland 1824) and 1885 (by Philips) show the mill just south-east of Reginald's tower; and the site of the mill, and its pool to the south, are now occupied by the Mall. The mill seems to have belonged originally to the Knights Templars, whose church of St. Brigid was located nearby and it was probably one of the 'mills in Waterford' granted to them by Henry II (d. 1189) and confirmed to them by John in 1199 (Sweetman 1875-86, i, no. 85). The mill is first specifically referred to in a document of c. 1224 (Nicholls 1972, 109-10). In 1326 the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in Ireland granted their mill of 'Caldebek' to Walter Le Deveneys (McNeill 1932, 4, 16). Presumably the mill had passed to the hospitallers on the dissolution of the Templars in 1313. The mill was leased to George Wisse in 1563 (11 RDKPRI, 91: no. 527) and granted to Edmond Medhoppe in 1621 and to Sir James Ware in 1630 (Morris 1863, 562), the latest recorded reference. ST. JOHN'S MILL This mill is shown on the map of 1673 (in Ryland 1824) as standing on the west side of John's Bridge and on the south bank of John's river. It is presumably the 'mill of St. John' and the property of the Benedictine priory of St. John, referred to in the 1302-6 taxation of the diocese of Waterford (Sweetman 1875-86, No. 725, P. 305). In 1479 the mill belonged to John Butteler and Nicholas Madiane (Morrissey 1939, 807). The mill is referred to again as late as 1698 (Pender 1964, 348: no. 212).

BRICKEN'S MILL

The Civil Survey of 1654 refers to 'the ruines of a water mill called Brickens Mill' (Simington 1942, 176). Its location cannot be precisely determined, but it was clearly located in the vicinity of Ballybricken Green and probably in the Summerhill Park area, north of Gracedieu Road.

BARRONSTRAND MILL

In 1663 a reference occurs to 'the mill att Baristrands bridge', belonging to the city but rented to Matthew Johnson (Pender 1964, 46 no. 342). It was referred to in 1693 (*ibid* 304: no. 1946), and is shown on the 1673 map (in Ryland 1824), as standing on a stream outside the wall to the north of Barronstrand gate, on the present Meagher's Quay.

TANNERY HOUSE AT THE MAGDALENS

In 1591 Piers Graunt, a merchant, was licensed 'to erect a tan house at the Magdallens near the city of Waterford' (16 RDKPRI, 160, No. 5557). This was probably located on the site of the modern County and City Infirmary.

LIMEKILNS

Several limekilns are recorded. In 1466 a reference occurs to one at the quay, located beside the lane leading to the residence of Henry Gilis, chancellor of the cathedral (MacNiocaill 1966, 180). This residence was apparently located between Henrietta St. and the Franciscan Friary (*ibid*, 198, 217-18). The dissolution extent of the friary in 1541 refers to 'le lymekyll' (White 1943, 350), but it appears to have been located east of friary. Other limekilns on Kempson Lane (now Keyser St.) and John St. are referred to in c. 1663-4 (Simington 1942, 226, 237).

MALT HOUSES/BREW HOUSES/BREWERIES

The survey and valuation of c.1663-4 notes seven 'malt houses' in Waterford, three on John St., one on Michael St., two on Barronstrand St. and the one on the unidentified Pierce's Lane (Simington 1942, 233, 236, 261, 263, 272). In addition there were three 'brew houses', two on Peter St. and one on Trinity Lane (*ibid*, 222, 224-5). MINT There is some evidence to suggest that Waterford was the site of a Viking mint. In his final paper, Dolley (1987, 826) suggested that his Phase IV coins 'represent an ephemeral coinage at Waterford c. 1065 under the aegis of Diarmait mac Mael na mBo'. The earliest solidly attested mint, however, was established in 1281, while Stephen de Fulborne, bishop of Waterford, was Treasurer of Ireland. In that year Alexander of Lucca was instructed to 'coin the King's money at Dublin and Waterford' (Sweetman 1875-86, ii, no. 1785) and exchequer rolls noted the delivery by the Treasurer of $\text{œ}200$ at 'the mint, Waterford' (*ibid* No. 1815). In 1282 the keepers of the mint of Waterford accounted for $\text{œ}1,350$ 'old money received at the beginning of the Mint' and for $\text{œ}1,435$ and other sums in new money delivered to the Treasurer (*ibid*, No. 1938). Dolley (1987, 820-21) states that the mint was closed in 1282, re-opened in 1294 and closed again in 1295. The next evidence for a mint in Waterford occurs in 1463, when parliament agreed to the request of the citizens

of Waterford that groats, pennies, half-pennies and farthings 'be struck and made in the city of Waterford at a place called Dondory, otherwise called Raynoldis tour (Reginald's tower)' (Berry 1914, 131). A reference in 1490 (PRO 1914, 299) is the latest evidence for the existence of a mint there. It is clear that the fifteenth century mint was located in Reginald's Tower. No location is recorded for the thirteenth century mint, but a reference of c. 1284-85 (Sweetman 1875-86, iii, no. 2: p. 9) suggests that it was located near the cathedral and bishop's palace, which were close to Reginald's tower.

PRISONS/THE BRIDEWELL

In 1635, Sir William Brereton noted 'a most convenient prison for the women apart, a great distance from the men's prison' (Falkiner 1904, 401). When this womens' prison was built is unknown, but it was out of use by 1697 when the city council ordered that it 'bee walled up to prevent nuisance' (Pender 1964, 337: No. 2083). The Bridewell was apparently located at the west end of Lady Lane (Pender 1948-50, 42: No. 73) rather than in St. Mary's Churchyard which was at the east end of the street (Pender 1947, 163). Perhaps the site at the west end of the street was subsequently chosen instead of the building in St. Mary's Churchyard proposed in 1656. It seems that there was no purpose built men's prison at this date. By 1676-77, a new city gaol was under construction (Pender 164: no. 1184; 165: no. 1190).

JOHN'S BRIDGE

There is no evidence for a bridge across the Suir at Waterford in the medieval period, although Smith (1746, 200) records claims of the existence of such a bridge. The only bridge in medieval Waterford for which there is good evidence is John's Bridge. It carried John Street, always the main approach road to the city, over John's River. It is probably the 'old bridge' referred to in a grant of John, Count of Morton, dating not later than 1199 (PRO 1908, 282). Evidently the bridge was already old in the late twelfth century, and may well have been of pre-Norman origin. It is referred to as the south bridge in 1299-1300 (Ir. Rec. Comm. 1829, 39), as 'the bridge of St. John' in 1471 (MacNiocaill 1966, 190) and as 'the bridge of St. John the Evangelist' in 1479 (Morrissey, 1939, 807). When further information becomes available in the seventeenth century, it is clear that the bridge formed part of a complex of defensive structures linked to St. John's Gate. The 1673 map (in Ryland 1824) shows gate and bridge connected by a passage flanked by battlemented walls. Phillips' map of 1685 shows the passage spanning a much wider John's River, extending as far north as John's Gate, and indicates a drawbridge at the south end of the bridge. These details are confirmed by contemporary references (Pender 1964, 135: no. 945 and 1964, 207: no. 1446). It appears that St. John's Gate had an outer barbican. The present bridge is twin-arched and pointed and possibly late sixteenth or seventeenth century in date. Ben Murtagh informs that there are also concealed arches, probably of medieval date.

ST. MARTIN'S GATE

This gate is first referred to in an inquisition of c.1224 but the document itself relates to the justiciarship of Meiler Fitzhenry, i.e. between 1198 and 1208 (Nicholls 1972, 109). This indicates a terminus ante quem of 1208 for the gate. When next referred to, in 1474 and 1481, it is called 'St. Martin's tower' and the road which led from it to St. John's Church was by then apparently disused (MacNiocaill 1966, 139, 202). The 1673 map (in Ryland 1824) shows the tower as a large multi-bayed building of three floors, while Phillips' 1685 map shows it as having an L-shaped plan. The excavations undertaken by Moore (1983, 50-61), however revealed two circular towers, c.1.6m. high, with a portcullis, flanking a narrow passage.

TOWER 1

A map of c.1590 (reproduced in Kerrigan 1985, 18) indicates a mural tower somewhere between St. Martin's and Colbeck gates. Its precise location is uncertain. There is however, a rectangular window, 113 by 41 cm., with chamfered jambs of possible Dundry stone with barholes in jambs and lintel, some 3m. above ground level in this section of wall (in Mr. Ted Foley's premises). This may indicate the position of the tower.

COLBECK GATE

The gate of 'Coldebec' is referred to in an inquisition of c. 1224, which relates to events during the justiciarship of Geoffrey de Marisco, 1215-21 (Nicholls 1972, 109). A terminus ante quem of 1221 is established for the gate, but since one of its main functions was to provide access to and from the priory of St. Catherine, which was in existence before 1200, it may be of an earlier date. It was still functioning in the later seventeenth century when the upper chambers of the gatehouse was used as a place of detention and as an arms store. Pressure on traffic led to a decision 'to alter the front of Colebecks castle to make the passage higher' in 1696 (Pender 1964, 331-33: no. 2063, 2068) and a record of expenses on 'Colebeck gate' in 1697 (ibid 336: no. 2078) suggests that this was done. The gate was located on Colbeck Street, which gave access from Lady Lane, the southernmost of the three main streets of the walled city, to the suburb of Caldebec on the southeast, between the city and John's river. The 1673 map (in Ryland 1824) depicts the gate as a large battlemented structure of two floors, although its shape is unclear. Phillip's 1685 map, however indicates that it

had twin round or D-shaped towers flanking the entrance passage.

TOWERS 2 & 3

The map of c. 1590 reproduced by Kerrigan (1985, 18) indicates two mural towers between Colbeck Gate and Reginald's Tower. One of these may be the turret located in the Theatre Royal (Lumley 1983, 5) but the location of the other is unknown.

REGINALD'S TOWER

This structure occupies a unique place in the defences of Waterford and was clearly far more than just a mural tower, fulfilling a role, closer to that of a royal castle. It stands apart from the other defences in being of undoubted pre-Norman origin. Its central military importance is illustrated by Giraldus' comment that in the Ostmen revolt of 1174, the Anglo-Normans were able to retain control of the city 'because they still held Ragnall's tower' (Scott and Martin 1978, 141). It seems likely that 'Reginald's tower' was the focal point of the original Hiberno-Norse stronghold or Dun, referred to in accounts of the attack on Waterford in 1088 (AI) and the Anglo-Norman attack of 1170 (AFM). The name 'Dundery' survives as late as 1680 when it was apparently applied to the whole area of the walls between Reginald's tower and the cathedral/Bishop's palace complex (Pender 1964, 187: no. 1372). The name seems to preserve the memory of the 'dun' which was located in this area. It seems likely that Reginald's tower derives its name from Ragnall mac Gillemaire, a leading figure in the Hiberno-Norse Government of Waterford up to 1170. A remarkable document of 1311 states that a certain notable named Reginald MacGillemorey was hanged for attempting to impede the landing of Henry II at Waterford in 1171 (Wood, Langman and Griffith 1955, 186-7), and it seems that, as Orpen (1892, 278-9) suggested, this Reginald MacGillemorey is the Ragnall of Giraldus' account and the Gillemaire of AFM. In the Anglo-Norman period, it is likely that Reginald's Tower fulfilled the role of royal castle in Waterford, and it may well have acted as the royal prison and it is possible that the late 13th century Waterford mint was also located here. By the end of the fifteenth century the tower had been equipped with artillery for the defence of the port. In the seventeenth century the tower is generally referred to as the 'Ring Tower' (eg. Pender 1964, 78: no. 496; 317: no. 2010; 351: no. 2139). This name may be related to the half moon outwork or blockhouse built onto the tower to the east in the sixteenth century. This may be the blockhouse whose erection was authorised in 1560 (Brewer and Bullen 1867, 296) and whose construction was noted in 1568 (Morris 1861, 515, but Kerrigan (1985, 15-6) considers that it was built around 1551. Smith (1746, 172) states that the blockhouse was dismantled in 1711. It is a four floored circular tower with a parapet above. Access to all floors is via a spiral stairs in the SW thickness of the wall. The masonry shows signs of many alterations, but basically consists of blocks of sandstone with small pieces of slate, roughly coursed, in the first three floors; and large blocks of sandstone and limestone for the third floor and parapet. The interior has been refurbished, the floors are modern and the walls plastered. The tower is of 13th/early 14th century date and the parapets were added, perhaps in the 15th century. The ground floor chamber is 6.95m. in diameter. Opening off it are five round headed embrasures, facing NE, E, SE, SSW, and W and there is a mural chamber to the NW. The tower is at present entered through a door set into the E embrasure. The windows of the NE, SE AND SSW embrasures are blocked up, but large rectangular openings (now blocked) are visible externally in the NE and SE embrasure and a gun loop with chamfered limestone jambs in the SSW embrasure. The west embrasure contains a modern door but there may originally have been a door here communicating with the back of the town wall because the rear arch continues through the depth of the embrasure and holes in the adjacent walls would have served as bar-holes. The spiral stairs are entered through a door with a pointed rear arch in the south side of this embrasure. The mural chamber in the NW is entered by a small door with pointed rear arch, and it contains two embrasures with segmental rear arches, each containing a loop. The chamber itself has a pointed vaulted roof. First Floor: The spiral stairs between the ground and first floors is lit by a small splayed loop facing SW. A break in the wall close to the loop may have been a door. The first floor chamber is presently entered via a rectangular door in the south wall of the W embrasure but a blocked segmental arched door just south of this seems to have been the original entrance. This chamber is 6.95m. in diameter internally; opening off it are five large round headed embrasures to the NE, E, SE, SSW and W and a mural chamber to the N. Set within the NE, E, SE, and SSW embrasures are rectangular windows with segmental rear arches, splayed internally. The SE window has no dressed jambs; the E window has dressed unchamfered limestone jambs while the NE and SSW windows have yellow sandstone jambs. The mural chamber to the N is entered via a round arched door; it is roofed by a round barrel vault and contains two splayed loops, one of which is set within a round arched embrasure. The opening of the W embrasure has a rectangular door and externally one can see a large round arched doorway. This may have been an original doorway communicating with the wall-walk of the town wall as the round rear arch runs through its full depth. Second Floor: The spiral stairs between 1st and 2nd floors is lit by a rectangular window and a partly blocked loop, facing SW. The 2nd floor chamber is reached via a flat-lintelled mural passage, with two blocked loops in the S wall and a rectangular recess in the E wall, through a rectangular door in the N wall. The chamber is 8.5m. in diameter; opening off it are four round headed embrasures to the N, ENE, SSE, and W and a mural chamber to the NE. The rear arch of the W embrasure is unplastered, revealing wattle centring. Each embrasure contains a rectangular window with chamfered limestone jambs; that in the N embrasure is splayed internally. The mural chamber to the NE is entered

through a rectangular door; it has a flat lintelled roof and two splayed loops in the external wall. Third Floor: This is now represented by a balcony supported on corbels which are probably original. The spiral stairs between the 2nd and 3rd floors is lit by a rectangular window and above it a splayed loop facing SW. The 3rd floor chamber is entered via a small landing with splayed rectangular window in the W wall, through a rectangular door in the E wall. Opening off the 3rd floor are three round headed embrasures to the N, SE and WNW. Set within each of these is a splayed rectangular window with chamfered limestone jambs. Wall Walk: The stairs between the 3rd floor and the wall walk is lit by a splayed loop facing SW. The wall walk is reached from the stairs via a straight flat lintelled passage through a rectangular door with a splayed loop immediately inside it. The parapet is 1-1.5m. high although higher in the SW quadrant because of the stairs and passage. The tower is covered by a modern domed roof.

RING TOWER GATE

A gate at or near Reginald's Tower is attested in seventeenth century documents. 'Ring gate' is referred to in 1659 (Pender 1948-50, 40: no. 71) and in 1682 (Pender 1964, 216: no. 1500). The gate was probably located at the end of Bailey's New St. and if so was presumably opened at the time the street was laid out in the mid sixteenth century. Like the other quay gates, it seems to have been a simple opening in the wall without a gatehouse.

GOOSE'S GATE

The gate located at the north end of Henrietta St. (called 'Goose Gate Lane' on Smith's map of 1754) is clearly the 'Goose his Gate' referred to in 1657 (Pender 1947, 173) and may be the 'Easte gate' or 'Lincoln gate' referred to in 1659 (Pender 1948-50, 40: no. 71). No earlier references are known, but this gate is presumably one of the 'gates by all the keyes of the citie' on which iron grates were ordered to be placed in 1477-8 (Gilbert 1885, 312-3). Goose's gate was enlarged and widened in 1696-7 (Pender 1964, 331: no. 2063; 335: no. 2078). The 1673 map (in Ryland 1824) and Phillip's 1685 map suggest it was a simple opening in the wall.

TOWER 5

The 1673 map (in Ryland 1824), Phillip's map of 1685 and Place's view of 1698 all show a large, two storied square tower at the north end of Henrietta St., beside Goose's Gate. This is almost certainly the tower referred to in 1467 which was clearly located on, or to the east of, what is now Henrietta St. (MacNiocaill 1966, 164). It may well be the 'Castell called the Staire Key Castell' referred to in c.1663-4 as being on Key Street (Simington 1942, 270), because it was located at the junction of Key St. with modern Henrietta St., and there is no evidence for any other tower or castle on this street. Modern O.S. maps label the site as that of 'Keysers Castle' but this name does not occur in any contemporary documents.

GREAT "KEY" GATE

The gate at the north end of modern Exchange St. was almost certainly that referred to as the 'great Key gate' (e.g. Pender 1964, 362: no. 2174 dated 1669; 142: no. 1017, dated 1674) because it was the means of communication between the quay and the corn market, market house, Custom House etc. Nevertheless the 1673 map and Phillip's (1685) map suggest that, like the other quay gates, it consisted of a simple arched opening in the wall. GATES 6 & 7 The 1673 and Phillip's (1685) maps show two simple gates in the wall at the north end of Conduit Lane and roughly midway between Conduit Lane and Exchange St. respectively. One of them is presumably the 'Ferry gate' referred to in 1694 (Pender 1964, 317: no. 2010), most likely that at the end of Conduit Lane, as Scale's 1764 map of Waterford shows.

TOWER 6

The tower at the north-west angle of the walled old city, although attested on seventeenth century maps, is not definitely mentioned in any record before 1700. The Ryland (1673) map depicts it as a battlemented tower of three floors, while Phillip's (1685) map shows it as of rectangular plan.

ARUNDELL GATE (GATE 8)

The gate of 'Aremdel' is first referred to in a document of c. 1224 (Nicholls 1972, 109) and as 'Arondelis gate' it is mentioned in 1475-6 (Gilbert 1885, 312). In the seventeenth century the corporation made use of the upper chambers of the gatehouse for a variety of purposes; the city's charters and insignia and arms and ammunition. In 1695, however, the corporation agreed to make the site of the gatehouse available for the construction of a new county courthouse (Pender 1964, 325: no. 2037), and it had clearly been demolished by 1696, (ibid 328: no. 2051; 329: no. 2054). The Ryland (1673) map depicts the gatehouse as a large, rectangular, battlemented structure of two floors, and its rectangular plan is confirmed by Phillip's (1635) map. The gate gave access from Broad St., via a small lane, to High St. and in the absence of definite evidence for gates at the west ends of Peter St. and Lady Lane before the seventeenth century, it may have been the only gate on the west side of the old city in the medieval period.

GATE 9

The existence of a gate where Peter St. crossed the west wall of the old city might be expected, and seems to be indicated on Phillip's (1685) map, which shows two rectangular structures flanking the street as it does for other gates. No references to such a gate are known, however. The Ryland (1673) map depicts a tower-like structure of two floors, with spire above, on the south side of the street, which may be part of a gatehouse, but is labelled as the Guild Hall. There is a wide north wall of a building c. 7.00m high on the west side of Cycle Revival, i.e. on the north side of Peter St. to the south of Homecare Store, which has limestone quoins and two blocked loops. It may have been part of the town wall or of the gatehouse.

OUR LADY'S GATE (GATE 10)

The earliest reference to this gate occurs in 1642. The gate is referred to again in 1675 (Pender 1964, 154: no. 1108) and repairs to 'Our Ladyes gate' and 'Lady lane gate' are recorded in 1683 and 1697 (ibid, 232: no. 1570; 336: no. 2078). Phillip's (1685) map, indicates a single round tower on the north side of Lady Lane, at the side of the gate. This suggests that the gate may originally have consisted of twin round towers flanking an entrance passage. It is not known whether this tower was demolished in 1698.

FORTIFIED DOCK (WATERGATE)

This structure, recently excavated by Murtagh, was an enclosed and fortified dock with access for boats from John's river. No contemporary references to it are known, although it is clearly indicated on the Ryland (1673) map. It is a sub-oval enclosure, c. 14m NW/SE and 10.5m SW/NE internally. The walls are 1.4m thick but only survive to present ground level except in the NW corner where they survive for about 2m above ground and have two splayed flat lintelled loops, one of which is now blocked. Below ground level there are four large round arched openings, also blocked, c.3m wide, and facing SW, NE with two facing SE.

TOWER 7

Phillip's (1685) map indicates a round tower on the wall approximately where modern Parnell St. crosses it.

TOWER 8

Phillips (1685) map indicates a round tower on the wall where it met modern Waterside, although located some yards back from the modern street frontage.

TOWER 9

The map of c. 1590 reproduced by Kerrigan (1985, 18) indicates a mural tower, apparently located between Tower 8 and St. John's Gate. Its precise location, however, is uncertain. ST. JOHN'S GATE This was apparently the most elaborate of the city's gates and perhaps the most important, as the road which passed through it was probably the main land route into the city. No definite references are known before the 1660s (Simington 1942, 234; Pender 1964, 364: no. 2174), but Smith (1746, 188-89) noted that the arms of Henry VIII (1509-47) were mounted on the outside of the gatehouse, and its existence is implied by a 1476 grant of land (MacNiocaill 1966, 209). Stanhope, in 1682-5, noted that both this gate and St. Patrick's gate were 'supposed to be built by King John' (Walton 1987, 31). The map of c. 1590 reproduced by Kerrigan (1985, 18) depicts this as a large, twin-towered gatehouse with an external barbican also flanked by twin round towers. Phillip's (1685) map shows a gatehouse with twin round towers flanking the entrance passage, but does not appear to indicate a barbican. The existence of a barbican may be confirmed, from references to the 'passage between St. John's gate and drawbridge' in 1681 and to 'the bridge and wall without St. John's gate' in 1674 (Pender 1964, 207: no. 1446; 135: no. 945). The Ryland (1673) map depicts a passage with battlemented walls running between gate and bridge, which may represent the barbican.

THE WATCH TOWER (TOWER 10)

This tower, still standing on the east side of Manor St. is popularly known as the 'Watch tower' but this name does not occur in any contemporary sources. This circular tower projects from an angle in the walls on the south side off the town. There are extensive views from three sides but it is overlooked by higher ground on the W. It consists of four floors with stepped parapet and a wall walk above. The masonry is mainly of mixed limestone, red and brown sandstone and conglomerate roughly coursed, while there is a definite break above the 2nd floor level with green slate becoming the predominant material. All windows have dressed limestone jambs. The ground floor is entered through a non-splayed doorway in the NW which is now missing its arch having been heightened due to the build-up of 1m of debris internally. In the NE side of the embrasure there is a rectangular opening to the stairs which rise in the thickness of the wall to the upper floors. In the ground floor chamber there are three splayed embrasures with flattened segmental rear arches facing NE, SE and SW; the outer faces of the former two have been broken away, while the latter one is blocked. The first floor, approached by a mural stairs, is supported on corbels projecting on all sides of the internal walls. It is lit by a splayed rectangular loop to the NE and a cruciform loop to the E, in the N wall, through a

rectangular door on the EW with limestone jambs. The chamber has two splayed embrasures with segmental rear arches, facing WSW and WNW. Both are fitted with cruciform gun-loops; the former having, in addition, a semi-circular opening at the base. The second floor is also supported on corbels and is approached via the mural stairs which continue around the wall to the SE and S. The stairs are lit by splayed rectangular loops to the SE and S. The room is entered through a rectangular door with limestone and conglomerate jambs on the S. The chamber has two splayed gun loops with semi-circular bases and flattened segmental rear arches facing SW and ESE; an unsplayed embrasure with garderobe to the ENE: and rectangular door to the N. This door gives access to the stairs rising in the thickness of the wall to the NE, and also to a short passage on the W leading down two or three steps through a flat lintelled opening in the external wall to the wall walk of the town walls to the W. The third floor is supported on a ledge c. 20cm deep and is approached through a modern brick arched door from the mural stairs. Opposite the door, in the external wall, there is a deep splayed loop. Within the chamber there are four splayed flat lintelled loops facing E, S, SSW and W. Access from the 3rd floor to the parapet is not clear. It may have been by an internal wooden ladder. The parapet rises above a drainage course and has stepped crenellations rising to 1.75m. The tower was rebuilt and reroofed in 1988.

BOWLING GREEN GATE

This gate is first referred to as 'Bowling green gate' in 1674 (Pender 1964, 135: no. 945). In 1681 when repairs were ordered to 'Bowling green gate and iron grate thereof' (ibid 207: no. 1446), suggesting that it may have a portullis. It is called 'Close gate' in 1693 (ibid 350: no. 2138). The gate stood on modern Manor St. Although the Ryland (1673) map depicts it as a simple opening in the wall, Phillip's (1685) map suggests that it had a rectangular gatehouse.

DOUBLE TOWER (TOWER 11)

This tower still standing on Castle St. on the west side of Manor St. is popularly known as the 'Double Tower' but this name does not occur in any contemporary sources. It is a rectangular two floored tower with parapet and wall walk built of mixed stone, limestone, sandstone and slate very roughly coursed with limestone quoins above the first floor. It is orientated NW/SE on the town wall and is some 10m high, 6.95m in length and 3.9 in width. There is a basal batter on all walls and the tower has much evidence for alterations, both internally and externally. At present the tower is divided by a N/S crossing wall into a rectangular chamber 3.4m E/W by 2.3m N/S internally to the east and a narrow passage to the west which contains a dog-leg stairs rising from first floor level to the wall-walk. It seems, however, as if the crossing wall and the stairs are later insertions because the stairs are not bonded into the north and south walls of the tower and they block a loop in its S wall. The ground floor chamber has two splayed openings in the north wall, one with a crude pointed arch in slate, the other lacking its arch. In the SW there is a splayed loop which is blocked by a straight stairs rising to the stair passage at first floor level; and to the west of the N/S crossing wall a round arched doorway. In the N/S dividing wall there is a large broken opening with an almost flat arch above. The first floor is missing but the main chamber has a splayed flat lintelled door, now blocked, in the north wall and possibly another blocked opening in the NE corner. In the west wall (the dividing wall) there is a rectangular doorway through which the stair passage is entered from the stairs rising up against the south wall of the main chamber. Above the first floor there is a pointed barrel vault with traces of wattle centering; corbels in N and S walls below the vault probably held beams on which the vault was turned. In the stair passage the stairs rise up the south wall, they are missing on the west wall but reappear on the N wall and continue up the E, S and W walls to the wall walk above the barrel vault. The stair passage is lit by three flat lintelled splayed loops in the south wall at first floor level, in the north wall, and again in the south wall just below wall walk level; the one at first floor level was originally a rectangular window with dressed limestone jambs but was narrowed by the insertion of a jamb of red conglomerate. In the west wall above first floor level there is a blocked rectangular doorway probably leading to a wall walk on the town wall to the west.

TOWER 12

Phillip's (1685) map depicts a mural tower, apparently of round plan, between Towers 11 and 13, just west of the 'Rampier'.

FRENCH TOWER (TOWER 13)

This tower, still standing at the west end of Castle St., is popularly known as the 'French Tower' but this name does not occur in any contemporary references. The tower can almost certainly be identified with the 'Corner Castle' referred to in 1590 as 'standing over Mr Wise's garden' [the lands of St. John's priory?] in Lumbarde's description of the new fortification of Waterford (Hamilton 1885, 369-70). The tower is a crescent shaped structure c. 11m high, 8.80m E/W by 7.1m N/S externally. To the S and E at the base there is a plinth 105cm high and 30cm wide. The masonry consists of large blocks of red sandstone and conglomerate, roughly coursed with smaller blocks of yellow sandstone and slate more common in the upper floors. The ground floor is featureless externally apart from a blocked modern opening to the west and a low, broad blocked segmental arched opening to the S. On the concave interior face of the tower there is a large segmental arched opening apparently on both ground and first floors. This is now filled with modern masonry at ground floor level and at first floor level a central pier separates two rectangular doorways. The first floor is featureless

externally apart from a double splayed flat lintelled loop now blocked to the S. The second floor has a rectangular opening with dressed limestone and sandstone jambs on internal face and 8-9 small loops with dressed limestone and sandstone jambs evenly spaced around external face. The third floor has three loops externally facing N, S and SE along the west wall of the town. They are c. 75-100cm high and have roughly dressed sandstone jambs.

TOWER 14

Phillip's (1685) map depicts a rectangular structure, presumably a mural tower, projecting on the inside of the wall near the north end of Brown's lane; the Ryland (1673) map appears to confirm this. NEWGATE (GATE 13) No references to Newgate in any pre-1700 documents are known. References to New St. in c. 1663-4 (Simington 1942, 239), may indicate that there was a gate in existence here at that time, although it is not depicted on seventeenth century maps.

TOWER 15

Ryland (1673) and Phillip's (1685) maps indicate a rectangular mural tower on the north side of Newgate St.

TOWER 16

The Ryland (1673) and Phillip's (1685) maps indicate a rectangular mural tower about midway along Stephen St., roughly where the wall is now cut by Bachelor's walk.

TOWER 17

No definite contemporary references are known to this tower, still standing in the de la Salle school grounds. It is a small D-shaped tower of three floors opening west off the town wall. The masonry consists predominantly of large blocks of roughly coursed red and yellow sandstone with conglomerate for the lower 5m and smaller pieces of limestone and slaty stone above. The external height is 11m. Access is now from the top of the town wall through a broken opening in the S wall to the first floor. The original entrance to the ground floor, which is now inaccessible, may have been through the round arched doorway, now blocked and plastered over, on the east side of the wall. The only external features are relieving arches in the S and W sides. There is possibly a third one on the N side, obscured by modern plaster. Below these two arches are blocked modern openings, but quite possibly (UNREADABLE) of original embrasures. Access into the first floor from the top of the town wall is through a broken opening which was presumably an original door. This gives access to a mural passage in the east wall, lit by a splayed loop at the north end. There is a rectangular door with dressed limestone jambs into the main sub-circular chamber in the west wall. This was supported on rough corbels in the walls below. The chamber has large flat arched unsplayed embrasures facing SW, W and NW; set within these are cruciform gun-loops with dressed limestone jambs, splayed embrasures and flat rear arches. The NW embrasure also serves as a door to a flight of stairs rising to a mural passage in the east wall lit by two rectangular loops at the north and south ends. At the south end of this passage a further stairs rises through the thickness of the south wall to the 2nd floor chamber. The second floor was originally supported on rafters as there are put-log holes in the walls on all sides. It is entered from the stairs in the south wall via a rectangular door with dressed limestone jambs. A narrow loop with splayed flat lintelled embrasure occurs on the west side and there was probably another on the north but the wall here has collapsed. The 2nd floor was roofed by a domed vault, now largely collapsed, which was supported on a ledge all the way around. The form of centering is unclear. The stairs in the south wall continue above the 2nd floor to wall walk level, and are lit by small splayed rectangular windows on the south and west sides. There is no trace of battlements or parapet.

ST. PATRICK'S GATE (GATE 14)

First attested in 1475 (MacNiocaill 1966, 204) St. Patrick's Gate was, along with St. John's Gate, one of the two main entrances into the city. Stanhope in 1682-85 noted that it was 'supposed to be built by King John' (Walton 1987, 31). Like St. John's gate it was an elaborate structure. Phillip's (1685) map depicts it as a very large rectangular building with a series of three gates, and this is confirmed by contemporary references to 'the main gate of St. Patricks and iron grate' in 1681 (Pender 1964, 207: no. 1446) and to 'the inward and outward gates of St. Patrick's' in 1683 (ibid, 232: no. 1570).

TOWER 18

The Ryland (1673) and Phillip's (1685) maps depict a mural tower at the junction of the north boundary of St. Patrick's churchyard with the wall, although the former seems to depict a round tower while the latter depicts a rectangular tower.

TOWER 19

The Ryland (1673) and Phillip's (1685) maps depict a round tower where the north bastion of St. Patrick's Fort joined the wall, to the rear of modern King's Terrace. Confirmation of the shape comes from the fact that this is probably the 'round tower next by north my garden' referred to by Lumbard in 1590 (Hamilton 1885, 369-70), although Pynnar's

(1626) drawing of St Patrick's Fort actually depicts it as rectangular. There is one splay and the lintel of a loop in the town wall at the N end of the garden of No. 4 King's Tce. which may have been a loop in the tower as it is narrow on the N (external) side and splays from the south.

BEACH TOWER (TOWER 20)

This tower, still standing near the north end of Jenkin's Lane, is known today as the 'Beach Tower'. This name does not occur in any contemporary documents, but this tower, or tower 19, is presumably the 'Bakers tour' referred to in 1482 (MacNiocaill 1966, 142). It is a rectangular, two floored tower built on rock outcrop against the north side of a rocky escarpment 6m high which runs NW/SE across the NW quadrant of the town. It is 6m above ground on the SW, 12m on the SE and 14.25 on the NW and NE. It measures 6.3m by 4.9m. The masonry is mixed sandstone, limestone, conglomerate, and slate, very roughly coursed. The upper 3m is mainly green slate. The tower has a parapet and wall walk is surmounted by a modern water tank. It is entered on the SW side at first floor level through a rectangular door with dressed limestone jambs leading into a mural passage in the NW wall containing a dog-leg stairs to the wall walk. Another rectangular door with dressed limestone jambs on the east side of the passage gives access to the first floor chamber which has a pointed barrel vault. The floor was supported on corbels in the NE and SW walls. A large embrasure, partly blocked, in the SW wall may be an original feature; other internal features are obscured by modern plaster. The only external feature visible is a probable blocked loop/window in the NE wall. Below this there is another floor/basement which is now approached from external ground level on the NE by a modern door. Externally a blocked section of wall below a flattened segmental arch on the SE side may denote an original window. The mural stairs at first floor level rises through the NW and NE walls to the wall-walk. It is lit by a splayed loop with dressed limestone jambs in the NW wall and a tall cruciform angle loop with dressed limestone jambs in the north angle. The original wall walk is obscured by modern masonry connected with the water tank. TOWER 21 The Ryland (1673) and Phillip's (1685) maps indicate a rectangular tower standing just north of Great Georges St., and its junction with O'Connell St. This tower, or tower 22, (WAW00077), may perhaps have been the 'Barranstroon' tower referred to in 1476 (MacNiocaill 1966, 210) which is apparently to be distinguished from Barronstrand gate. TOWER 22 The Ryland (1673) and Philip's (1685) maps depict a round tower located probably on the lane between Nos 65 and 66 Meagher's Quay, but c.30m south of the modern street frontage. This may be the 'Strong castle' referred to in 1669 (Pender 1964, 361: no. 2174), as the survey and valuation of c. 1663-4 refers to a house on 'Barristron [Barronstrand] in the lane leading to Stranges Castell' (Simington 1942, 226).

BARRONSTRAND GATE (GATE 15)

'Baranstroon gate' is first referred to in 1471 (MacNiocaill 1966, 195). The Ryland (1673) and Philip's (1685) maps indicate that this gate was a simple arched opening in the wall, without any gatehouse.

TOWN DEFENCES & THE WALL

From the first erection of a 'longport' in 914 (AFM) it is likely that Waterford was fortified with defences of some sort, but at what date the first stone walls were built is not clear. Giraldus Cambrensis' account of the Anglo-Norman capture of Waterford in 1170 suggests that the town was walled before the Anglo-Normans arrived and it is perhaps this wall (or its predecessor?) which has been uncovered during recent excavations between Peter St. and Lady Lane. This is a well-built wall standing to a height of just over 1m above a plinth. Moore's excavations on the site of Martin's Gate suggested that the first construction of a wall in that area took place c. 1200, before which the west side of the city had been defended by an earthen bank and ditch, but the dating evidence available to him was not very precise (see Moore 1984, 257-8). The alignment of this wall with that found in the more recent excavations, however suggests that it may run outside the line of the Viking stone defences and that there may have been a succession of defensive constructions in this area similar to the evidence found at Fishamble St., Dublin. It is clear however, that the Anglo-Normans did carry out extensive work on the town's defences in the early 13th century. King John's charter of 1215 which granted the town murage as the citizens of Waterford had it (Ir. Rec Comm. 1829, 13-14) is the first of a long series of murage grants. A series of murage grants followed in the period 1224-46. It seems that the enclosed area of the old city had reached its full extent during this period. Archaeological confirmation of this activity comes from Moore's excavation at St. Martin's gate, which revealed that the gate was first constructed in the early thirteenth century. The only area of uncertainty is the river frontage, where there is evidence to suggest that it was not enclosed in 1377. The date of the enclosure of the Western Suburb remains unknown. Although it is generally suggested that this also took place in the early thirteenth century (e.g Barry 1983, 43; Mc Eneaney 1984, 6; Power 1943, 119), there is a lack of documentary evidence, and the earliest evidence occurs in the late fifteenth century Register of St. Saviours which contains references to Barronstrand gate in 1471 (MacNiocaill 1966, 195), St. Patrick's gate in 1475 (ibid, 204) and the gates of the suburbs of the city' in 1476 (ibid, 209). Murage grants apparently ceased in 1246, but the burning of Waterford in 1272 (recte 1273?; Butler 1849: Dowling, 15) and again in 1283 (ibid, 16) clearly damaged the city's defences and in 1290 the citizens petitioned the king to renew murage 'to repair the walls and gates of the city which hath been twice burnt' (Sweetman 1875-86, iii, no. 622: p.309). Accordingly murage was restored from 1291 to 1295

and again from 1311-1326. From 1356 onwards, murage of some sort was permanently granted to the city for the maintenance of the walls. In 1430, the citizens claimed that as a result of attacks by various enemies, 'the ditches, walls and towers, gates and portcullises are so old and ruinous in many places as to be all but fallen to the ground' (PRO 1907, 68). These testimonies of decay may explain why the city was said to be unenclosed and unfortified on the river side 1377. There certainly seems to have been a riverside wall in 1477, which may have been built or rebuilt in the intervening years. Various additional fortifications were constructed in the post medieval period, and especially in 1590-92. In 1590, in response to fears of a Spanish invasion, the government set about the construction of major new fortifications at Waterford (Kerrigan 1985, 16-19), which took the form of earthworks outside the walls on the west, south and southeast of the city. The fortifications on the west side of the city are shown on Jobson's map of 1591, and were described in 1590 by Nicholas Lombard, a citizen of Waterford. Further earthworks were erected outside the walls on the southeast surrounding St. Catherine's abbey, and on the south bank of John's river around John's Bridge (Kerrigan 1985, 17-19). These are shown on a map, probably of c. 1590, reproduced by Kerrigan (1985, 18). They had a short lifespan and the earthworks are absent on all later maps, although the 1673 map (in Ryland 1824) shows a much smaller earthwork outside the walls on the south-west, between St. Patrick's gate and Newgate (see also Smith 1746, 142). There is no record of when this earthworks was constructed, but it may well have been in 1642. By the late seventeenth century, the walls were being seen as obsolete and the gates as a nuisance to traffic and their destruction was beginning. The demolition of Barronstrand Gate was proposed in 1686, but does not seem to have been carried out because in 1700 it was again ordered that the gate be demolished and rebuilt 'large and fitt for coaches or any carriage to goe through' (Pender 1964, 358: no.2166). Colebeck gate was enlarged in 1696, Arundell gate was demolished in 1695-6 to make way for a new couthouse, Gooses's gate was enlarged in 1696-7 and permission to demolish the tower of Our Lady's gate was granted in 1698. Parts of the wall itself were being demolished in 1695 (Pender 1964, 330: no: 2055), in 1696 at St. John's gate (ibid 332: No. 2063) and in 1698 at the quays (ibid, 3345: no. 2114), while in 1700 the partial destruction of the tower at the west end of the quays ('Turgesius' tower') was authorised. In 1712 Thomas Milles, bishop of Waterford, complained that the corporation had 'pulled down the city walls, and filled up the town ditches' (Quane 1959, 90). Some fifteen gates and twenty three mural towers are attested in the circuit of the walls. They majority of the towers were concentrated on the west and SW sides and were scarcer on the N, defended by the Suir, and on the east and SE, defended by marshy ground and John's river. A fosse outside the walls is frequently referred to but this was presumably unnecessary on the N and E sides. It is definitely attested on the west side of the old city where 'the King's fosse' is referred to in the late fifteenth century (MacNiocaill 1966, 168, 179; Gilbert 1885, 312) and on the SW side of the western suburb, where a lease map of 1794 labels the area outside the wall, immediately north of the French tower as the 'City Ditch' (Carroll 1984, 16-17). Smith (1746, 142) states that there was no fosse, because of the rocky ground, to the north of this area, between Newgate and the 'Beach tower'. The fosse on the W side of the city proper had an external fence or hedge, referred to in 1471 (MacNiocaill 1966, 196). In spite of the enclosure of the western suburb, the wall along the west side of the old city remained in use right up to the seventeenth century. It is clearly shown on Jobson's (1591) map, and is inferred by Brereton's reference to the city as 'double-walled' in 1635 (Falkiner 1904, 401) and Stanhope's reference in 1682-85 to 'severall fair and large Streets lying between the innermost and outmost walls' (Walton 1987, 30). Stanhope, indeed, reveals that even in the late seventeenth century the citizens were aware that the western suburb was a late enclosure, by referring to 'the New Wall, being that which is outmost' (ibid, 30-31). In the same way, the walls of the old city are referred to as 'the old walls' in an order prohibiting thatched roofs in 1670 (Pender 1964, 82: no. 515) In 1477-78 the owners of the gates leading to the quays were ordered to install 'a grate of yren' in their gate (Gilbert 1885, 313). One gate, St. John's, seems to have an outer barbican, and Stanhope's statement in 1682-5 that 'two faire and strong portcalls or gatehouses, one on the Southern part of the City, the other on the Western part, give entrance into the Citty from those Quarters' (Walton 1987, 31) suggests that St. John's and St. Patricks were the principal gates of the city. THE WALL A section of wall, with external batter running east from the circular towers defined at St. Martins's gate was revealed in the excavations undertaken by Moore (1983, 50-67). The wall is 1.8m thick and survived to a height of 1.6m. The wall appears to have run into St. Martin's tower but may also have continued across the back (north) of the east tower. This section of wall links up with another section of wall c. 22m in length, which runs along the north side of Spring Garden Alley. It is c. 4m high and consists of roughly coursed large blocks of red and yellow sandstone, red conglomerate and slate with slate pinnings. Internally the ground level is c. 2.5-3m higher than externally. The wall along Spring Garden Alley is between 4.5 and 6m high with slight external batter and there are said to be two pointed loops in the wall. Internally the gardens at the rear of lady Lane are at the same level as the top of the wall which has been built up with brick at one point to provide a ball alley. At the east end of Spring Garden Alley there is supposed to be a return in the wall, possibly connected with Colbeck gate, which is now covered. The wall is missing above ground from Colbeck's Gate to approx. within 20m on the east side of Reginald's tower although the base of the wall may be retained below the wall in front of the offices of Waterford Corporation (the former Bishop's Palace) and to the rear of the Town Hall. A section c. 15m in length, 1.7m thick and 3m high survives in Reginald's Bar. Only the interior face is accessible and both ends and the top have been levelled. Near each end of the wall there is a large opening with segmental pointed arches. Both are blocked. There is a section of wall running SE from St. Martin's Gate between Spring Garden Alley

and Parnell St. which is c. 100m in length. It is 2-3m high and 95-100cm wide and consists of roughly coursed large blocks of slate, red and brown sandstone, conglomerate and slate pinnings. There is a 20m stretch of wall in the convent garden to the SE with traces of a wall walk. At either end of this section there are blocked flat lintelled loops visible externally. There is also some re-used cut stone in this area. The wall is only 60cm wide here but much of it may be missing on the interior which is plastered over. It has an external batter. 25m further S is another stretch of wall, c. 35m in length, in St. Joseph's School yard which is 2.25m high internally and 95cm wide. There is another 2m of modern wall. At intervals of 5-6m there are four blocked openings, presumably loops, and at the S end of the wall the splay of a fifth one. Externally, in the back garden of No. 21 Parnell St., the wall is 2m high (with 2m of modern wall above) and it has an external batter. The roughly dressed jambs of three of the loops, which are 75-85cm high, are visible. It is probable that the wall survives between Nos. 21 and 22 on the N side of Parnell St. The wall probably survives between the long hall of Charlie's Furniture Store and the CYMS Hall on the S side of Parnell St. although it is not visible, but at the rear of St. John's R.C. Church the wall is 3m high although largely rebuilt. Near the Hall, externally, is a blocked loop with limestone jambs now at ground level while in the Renault yard, Waterside, the wall is 5.5m high, although the upper 2m may be modern, with a slight batter at the base. It has a blocked splayed opening, 1.75m high and 1.5m wide, of uncertain date. The masonry here is largely of uncoursed limestone and slate. The wall turned almost 90 degrees at Waterside to run SW towards John's gate. It can be seen in the west gable of 23 Waterside and may be incorporated in Nos. 21-29 Waterside. The wall appears to have run SW along the boundary between 35 and 36 John St. and is visible at the NE corner of the fortified docking area. The wall may have run across the back of the fort (fortified dock/Watergate) as it re-appears in the NW corner where it is 1.55m wide and has a strong external batter. West of the fort the wall is at its full height of 4m above ground level although the excavations by Murtagh showed that the original ground level was 1.5m below present ground level. The overhanging wall walk, c. 85cm wide, occurs at 4.2m above original ground level. There is a parapet 1.1m above this in which limestone predominates, and an extra 1m of modern masonry above this again. Below the wall walk there are three splayed loops some 1m above original ground level which are blocked externally. West of the Watch Tower is a stretch of wall 4m long and 1m thick at the base surviving to a height of 7m beside the tower but descending in two steps to 5m with wall walk at 4m. The town wall to the west of Manor St. is 8.6m high externally. It falls in three steps to 6.8m which is its height at the rear of 89 Manor St. (now demolished). The masonry is mixed and roughly coursed. Any external batter is so light as to be negligible. A number of blocked loops are visible externally; three are at ground level, one at the rear of 89 Manor St., one beside the Double Tower and one in between which was subsequently widened into a window, and now blocked. The splayed embrasure of the loop near the Double Tower can be partly seen. Another three loops occur at the top of the wall. The wall to the west of the 'Double Tower' is 4.5m high but was originally c. 6.5 high as can be seen from a break in the west wall of the tower. The wall in this area has largely been rebuilt but an arch at 3.5m above ground may indicate an original opening corresponding to one inside. Between Towers 11 and 12 there is a projection in the wall which is clearly not original, but is shown on Phillip's (1685) map and is probably the 'Rampier' referred to in c. 1663-4 (Simington 1942, 231, 240, of 'The Rampart' on Smith's 1745 map). Its origins and purpose may be indicated by Hooper's statement in 1642 that the citizens had dug trenches which they had filled with gunpowder and covered over, in order to protect a weak place in the wall' (Fitzpatrick 1910, 141). The projection built onto the wall may have been intended as a further protection for this weak spot. The 'rampier' projects at right angles, i.e. south, from the line of the original wall 2.8m west of the tower for a length of 6.25m. It then turns parallel to the original line of the town wall for 44m before turning N again, presumably to rejoin the town wall. This wall is 4m high with no external batter; the side walls at the E and W ends are 1m thick but the S wall is only 55cm thick; however the ground level internally is c. 3m above external ground level and may conceal a thicker wall. Three phases of masonry can be seen; the lowest 1-1.50m is of mixed brown sandstone, slate, limestone etc.; above this there is a layer 1-2m thick of red sandstone and above this there is more mixed stone. The upper courses are clearly rebuilt. Only 2.4m of the west return is original; the rest is modern. The wall NW of the 'rampier' is missing although traces of the return of the original wall can be seen in the east side of the French Tower at the west end of Castle St. and show that it was c. 7m high. The town wall running N from the French Tower to the site of Newgate on the west of Brown's Lane is about 100m in length, 4.3 high internally, 6.5m high externally, and 1m wide. It is well preserved with masonry similar to that elsewhere although the top of the wall is missing. The wall has a slight external batter and there are sections of internal batter. About 60m N of the French Tower the wall steps 1.5m out to the W. The first 6m of wall to the north of this appears to be modern, or largely rebuilt, and is probably on the site of a mural tower (Tower 14). South of this the wall is punctuated by five flat lintelled splayed loops and three others, now blocked, regularly spaced at intervals of 5m. North of the mural tower site no loops are visible although two blocked openings can be seen and the wall stands to a height of about 5.5m. Some 20m south of Newgate St. the wall angles slightly to the W; just at the angle, in the yard of Singer Sewing Centre, is a wide splayed flat lintelled opening now blocked c. 2-5m above the ground; the wall here is c. 6m high. On the north side of Newgate St. the wall is practically intact until about 25m south of Bachelor's Walk, where it is replaced by a modern wall. The wall forms the division between properties on Stephen St. and O'Brien St. and is incorporated as the W wall of a long building behind the properties fronting onto Stephen St. Viewed externally (from O'Brien St. side) the wall is c. 3m high (but with up to 3m of modern masonry added in places), strongly battered and formed mainly of large

blocks of red sandstone and conglomerate, roughly coursed, with slate pinnings etc. Again it seems as if the ground level inside the wall is up to 2m below external ground level. The wall here is c. 1.5m thick at the base (including the batter of c. 50cm). The wall of similar masonry as elsewhere, between Bachelor's Walk and Patrick St. is c. 70m long and 2.2m thick. It is 6m high to the north of Tower 17 and 4.50m high to the south of it. The external ground level is 1.25m higher than the internal. Apart from Tower 17 this stretch of wall contains twelve recesses on its internal face at 5m intervals. Of these, six are north of the tower and six are to the south. Each seems to have had a flat lintelled, splayed loop set centrally within it. The six recesses north of the tower have pointed arches and one displays traces of wattle centering. The inner face of the wall has collapsed for c. 25m north of the tower and also for the last 5m south of Patrick St. Three blocked, segmentally headed arches are visible immediately north of Bachelor's Walk but this stretch of wall has been much interfered with. Between these arches and Tower 17 three blocked loops are visible externally, suggesting the other three recesses which are not visible internally as the wall is plastered over. It is also worth noting that the gardens at the back of Mayors Walk (E side) are 3m higher than the open space immediately outside the town wall which may indicate the town fosse. The wall to the north of the site of St Patrick's Gate runs along the west side of St. Patrick's churchyard towards the north-east bastion of the 17th century fort. It is 2.5-5m in height and the masonry is similar to that elsewhere. A number of blocked arches are visible. The best example occurs 6m north of the west wall of the churchyard. It is a large segmental arch with undressed voussoirs, 4.5m wide but is now blocked up. South of the arch the wall appears to have been rebuilt, and is 84cm thick but at the arch itself it is 1m thick. 25m north of this there is another blocked opening, 2.2m wide. 10m north again is a blocked arch, the top of which is missing but the surviving returns indicate a rounder arch than the first one, some 2.15m wide. The wall here is 2m thick. At the west end of St. Patrick's churchyard the wall contains two very large arches, now blocked, with dressed limestone voussoirs which look fairly recent. The arch to the south is 6.2m wide and that to the north is 3.75m wide. At the south end of the south arch the arch is 2.06m deep before blocking which may indicate the thickness of the town wall. The town wall to the west of tower 20 runs along the top of the escarpment and the total height is 9.5m of which the first 5m is rock outcrop. North of Tower 20 there is a break in the wall but then it continues in a NE direction. Here it is 1.25m thick and 6-7m high externally. **ST. PATRICK'S FORT** This large fort or citadel on the west side of the city was built in 1625-6 by Sir Thomas Rotheram and Captain Nicholas Pynnar, but its origins apparently go back to 1590. In 1625 Rotheram and Pynner stated that 'the best place to build the fort was at St. Patrick's Gate, where Captain Yorke began one' (Mahaffy 1900, 2), and this suggests that the fort was first commenced by captain Edmund Yorke, who was put in charge of strengthening Waterford's fortifications in 1590 (Hamilton 1885, 356). In 1626 Pynner reported that: 'Waterford is also all ready to the placing of the parapet. It has a good foundation of flat rock and is well built. The gate is of hewn stone and there is a good lodging in it with a chimney covered with slate. The wall is of 6 feet of stone and 25 feet of earth, and the bulwark filled with earth to the height where the ordnance must be placed. I have made a well, put up the frame of a stone and lime house that will lodge 120 men, and taken into the fort three castles of the town walls of which I have roofed two. I have floored three rooms in one and use another for a store-house, whilst the third is a lodging for the officers. I have mounted some guns on a wooden platform and they overlook the town, but there is no moat dug for want of money' (Mahaffy 1900, 183). The fort presumably was in use throughout the seventeenth century. Waterford Garda Barracks now occupies the fort but many alterations have occurred to the original structure. The north bastion of the fort survives complete although the masonry, which consists of small blocks of mixed sandstone, conglomerate, limestone and slate, is not as well coursed as that of the medieval town wall. The visible corner has limestone quoins and the NW face fronting onto King's Terrace is 3m high, 1.75m wide and has a base batter.

CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF THE HOLY TRINITY

Although the earliest reference occurs in a document of c. 1195 (Curtis 1933-43i, 7: no. 14), this cathedral is almost certainly a pre-Norman foundation, and can be compared with the churches of similar dedication at Viking Dublin and Cork. It was presumably the first church of Hiberno-Norse Waterford, and its elevation to cathedral status may have occurred in 1096, when Mael Iosa O hAinmire was consecrated as first bishop of Waterford at Canterbury (Gwynn and Hadcock 1970, 100). The document of c. 1195 refers to the dean, as well as the bishop of Waterford, and indicates the existence of a cathedral chapter by that time. From the beginning of the thirteenth century, the see of Waterford was occupied by Anglo-Norman bishops. The Anglo-Norman patronage made possible the construction of a new cathedral in the thirteenth century which ranked with the Dublin cathedrals as the finest in Ireland. Occasional later medieval references to the cathedral suggest that the favourable conditions of the thirteenth century did not continue. The cathedral's belfry collapsed, or was knocked, c. 1374, and had to be rebuilt. By 1463 an inquisition noted that the lands with which King John had endowed the cathedral, were so destroyed by Irish enemies that they could barely support the four principal dignitaries (Smith 1746, 173; Gwynn and Hadcock 1970, 100). Patronage continued, however. Wealthy citizens of Waterford also patronised the cathedral. The chapels of St. Saviour and SS. James and Catherine were endowed in 1468 and 1482, respectively. Extensive renovations were apparently carried out by the bishop and dean in 1522, perhaps necessitated by the neglect of the later fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Indications of significant decay come from a city council resolution of 1674 that 'the east end of the quire shalbee forthwith walled and fenced from damage by weather' (Pender 1964, 134: no. 940) and Smith's (1746, 174) statement that Rice's

chapel, the chapter house and another chapel on the north side of the cathedral had been recently removed. The cathedral itself was demolished between 1773 and 1779 (Ryland 1824, 145). A number of chapels within, or attached to the cathedral are attested. Of these, the one for which most evidence survives, in the form of its register, is the chapel of St. Saviour, which was founded by John Collyn, dean of the cathedral, in 1468 (MacNiocaill 1966, 146). The chapel received extensive endowments, detailed in its register, and became the centre for important civic functions. Harris' (1739) plan of the cathedral, supported by references in the register (e.g. MacNiocaill 1966, 141, 146), indicate that the chapel was located on the south side of the cathedral at the west end. The Register of St. Saviours also possesses details of the foundation of another chapel, built by James Rice, a prominent citizen. It was dedicated to St. James Major and St. Catherine, consecrated by the bishop of Ossory in 1482, the year after the foundations were first laid (MacNiocaill 1966, 209). Harris' (1739) plan locates this chapel on the north side of the cathedral near the east end. The chapel had been recently removed in 1746 (Smith 1746, 174); so too had another chapel on the north side of the cathedral. A fourth chapel is referred to in 1523-4. The fifth chapel is Our Lady's Chapel, first referred to in the will of Francis Lumbard, in 1590. In 1674 the city council accepted responsibility for the repair and upkeep of this chapel (Pender 1964, 127: no. 865). This led to the replacement of slates and defective timbers in the roof that year (*ibid*, 128: no. 870; 130: no. 392) and the glazing of the windows in 1680 (*ibid* 230: no. 1817). Four other chapels, held by private citizens and dedicated to St. John the Evangelist, St. Nicholas, St. Catherine and St. Anna were noted by Boyle in 1660 (Rennison 1928, 88-89). The Ryland (1673) and Philip's (1685) maps indicate that the cemetery of the cathedral occupied the entire area of modern Cathedral Square, and had two main entrances, one on the north side opposite Henrietta St. and the other on the west opposite Lady Lane. The north entrance, leading onto Peter St., is probably the 'cemetery gate towards the tholsel referred to in 1309 (Wood, Langman and Griffith 1955, 139), since the tholsel was on Peter St. The other entrance mentioned in this account, is presumably the west entrance, and the west entrance itself is specifically referred to 1469 (MacNiocaill 1966, 173). A trapdoor near the south entrance of the cathedral permits access to the floor of the medieval cathedral beside one of the moulded pillars which is c. 1.5m in height. The medieval crypt presumably lies below this floor.

ST BRIGID'S CHURCH

The earliest reference to this church occurs in an inquisition of c. 1224, which stated that the king had granted the church of St. Brigid at Waterford to the Knight's Templars (Nicholls 1972, 110). It evidently passed into the hands of the Knight's Hospitallers after the dissolution of the Templars in 1313, and it was noted as part of the possessions of the dissolved Hospitallers in 1577, when it was granted to George Moore (13 RDKPRI 22: no. 2978). The description of it as a hermitage suggests that by this date it was a relatively small unimportant church. It was located in 'Colbeckes' i.e. Caldebec, which is described as an island in this document and this suggests that in the thirteenth century the church of St. Brigid was the focal point of the Knights Templar's holdings in Waterford, which also included the watermill of Caldebec. The land of Caldebec is probably the 'small marsh between the Kings houses and the sea near Waterford' which was granted to the Knights Templars by Henry II not later than 1189. The most likely location of the church is either on the west side of Catherine Street (between Parnell St and Grubb's Lane) or on the east side of Catherine St (between the Mall and Beau St). Its dedication to St Brigid suggests that the church may have been a pre-Norman foundation.

ST. JOHN'S CHURCH (HOSPITALLEERS)

This church is first referred to in 1212, when Innocent III confirmed the possessions of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in Ireland and include among them 'St John's, Waterford' (McNeill 1932, 140). An inquisition of c. 1224 noted that the church of St. John in Waterford had been given to the Hospitallers by the king, in whose gift it was (Nicholls 1972, 110). No later direct references to the church are known. A number of incidental references enable an approximate location to be suggested for the church. An early thirteenth century document locates the church on 'Bothstrete' i.e. modern High St. It refers to a plot of land on 'Bothstrete' situated before the church of St. John, and between the plot of Walter the cleric and the corner plot (Gilbert 1889, 391). This is confirmed by a reference in 1407-8. A lease of 1571 relates to a garden bounded by 'Cokes' street' on the east, by Peter St. on the south, and by 'the tenement and back gate of St. John's' on the north (12 RDKPRI 48: no. 1823). This Cokes' street is presumably the same as the 'Cooke Lane' referred to in a survey of c. 1663-4, which clearly joined High St. (Simington 1942, 229), and it seems likely that this street was the southern continuation of what is now Exchange St., between High St. and Peter St. Thus it would appear that the church of St. John was located immediately west of this street, between High St. on the north and Peter St. on the south, but not directly fronting onto either street.

ST. MARY PARISH CHURCH

The earliest known reference to this church (the church of blessed Mary) occurs in a will of John Collyn dated 1468 (MacNiocaill 1966, 151). It is referred to as parochial in 1474 (*ibid*, 201) but little else is known of its history. Philip's 1685 map depicts the church as having a simple rectangular plan, but the Ryland (1673) map shows it with a steeple, having a tall spire, between nave and chancel, and this is supported by a reference in c. 1663-4 to a house 'which

joynes to our Lady church Steeple' (Simington 1942, 278). Excavations on the site of the church in 1906 revealed the south wall of the church and the cemetery (J. Wat. SE Ire Archaeol. Soc. 10, 1907, 155-6, 334). The modern Franciscan friary is built on the site and there are a number of monuments which have turned up in the area which may have come from the medieval church.

ST. MICHAEL'S PARISH CHURCH

The earliest reference to this church occurs in 1449, when the cemetery of the church is also referred to (MacNiocaill 1960, 168). It is described as parochial in 1479-80 (Morrissey 1939, 755). The church was ruinous by 1615, when the Mayor of Waterford promised a Royal Visitation of the diocese to repair it (Anon 1902-15b, 114). In 1746 it was described as 'a long time in ruins' (Smith 1746, 181). Both the Ryland (1673) and Philip's maps depict it as a small simple rectangular building. A fragment of the west gable of this church still stands at the rear of Mr Widger's, between Michael St. and Spring Garden Alley to the north of Little Michael St. The stonework consists of uncoursed rubble, mixed as elsewhere in Waterford, with two bell-outes which have pointed limestone surrounds. It is approximately 6m high, 3.7m in width and the wall is 0.80m thick.

ST. OLAVE'S PARISH CHURCH

The earliest (UNREADABLE) of this church, and also for its parochial status, is a reference to 'the parochie of Saynte Olave' in 1407-8 (Gilbert 1885, 329), but its dedication suggests that the church is of pre-Norman origin. The cemetery of the church is referred to in 1466 (MacNiocaill 1966, 159) and in 1535 it is referred to as 'St. Towloke's churchyard' (Curtis 1933 - 43, iv, 165: No. 199). The church was ruinous in 1615 (Anon 1902 - 5b, 106, 114), and it seems that the church remained in this condition until around 1677, when it was clearly being rebuilt. In that year the city council decided to meet the bishop of Waterford 'in order to find out some way to relieve the said parish (of St. Olaf) in the building their parish church' (Pender 1964, 165: No. 1195). Once rebuilt, the church was apparently used for civic, as well as parochial purposes. The church was rebuilt again in 1734 (Smith 1746, 180). The Ryland (1873) and Phillip's (1685) maps depict the church as a simple rectangular building. Eight metres of the west wall, including a pointed doorway, of the medieval church are incorporated in the 18th century structure. The wall is unplastered and the fabric is red sandstone with chamfered sandstone jambs. The door is 192cm high and 122 wide.

ST. PATRICK'S PARISH CHURCH

This church is first referred to in 1468 (MacNiocaill 1966, 151) and is recorded as parochial in the same year (ibid, 165). The dedication suggests, however, that it may be of much earlier date. St. Patrick's well (the location of which is uncertain, but it was clearly close to the church) is referred to in 1474 (ibid, 199). The church was ruinous in 1615: in that year the Mayor of Waterford stated that repairs were underway at St. Patrick's (Anon 1902 - 05b, 114 - 5). In 1746 the church was described as 'in repair and constant service' (Smith 1746, 40). Pynnar's (1626) drawing of St. Patrick's fort, supported by Phillip's (1685) map, shows the church to have been a twin-aisled rectangular building. There are no pre 1700 remains or monuments on the site.

ST. PETER'S PARISH CHURCH

This church is first mentioned in 1314 (Wood, Langman and Griffith 1955, 314) but recent excavations have shown that it is much older. A document of 1468 attests to the church's parochial status, and to the existence of its cemetery (MacNiocaill 1966, 166). The church was ruinous in 1615, (Anon 1902 - 05b 106, 114). The church was described as 'a long time in ruins' by Smith (1746, 181). The Ryland (1673) and Phillip's (1685) maps depict the church as a simple rectangular building. Archaeological excavation in 1986 - 7 uncovered the foundations of a twelfth century stone built church with an apse at its east end. During the thirteenth century a large nave was added to this building but, probably during the fifteenth century the chancel and apse were demolished and a simple rectangular church was created. Aisles were added to this building in the seventeenth century (Archaeol, Ireland ii, no. 1 (1987), 18-19).

ST. STEPHEN'S PARISH CHURCH

This church is first mentioned in 1441 (MacNiocaill 1966, 169), although the suggestion of a much earlier date for the associated hospital (see below) raises the likelihood of a similarly early date for the church. It is described as parochial in 1479 (MacNiocaill 1966, 219). Unlike many of the other parish churches, St. Stephen's was noted as 'well repaired' in 1615 (Power 1913, 115). The church was described as 'a long time in ruins' by Smith (1746, 181). The Ryland (1673) and Phillips (1635) maps depict the church as a simple rectangular building.

ST. THOMAS' CHURCH

The only known reference to this church occurs in 1301. The church was situated outside the town to the NW. It had a Romanesque chancel arch (illustrated in JRSAI 42 (1912), 265) which was demolished in 1967 (Lumley 1973, 3).

AUGUSTINIAN PRIORY OF ST. CATHERINE

This priory was founded by one of the Ostmen of Waterford according to Ware (Gwynn and Hadcock 1970, 197). While no actual details of its foundation are known, the priory was certainly in existence before 1200, because 'the church of St. Catherine' is mentioned in a Deed of John when he was Count of Morton, and so it cannot be later than 1100 (PRO 1908, 282). In 1290 it was noted that King John was reputed to be the founder, or at least a benefactor. Little is known of the later history of the priory, but by 1537 the community consisted of a prior and three canons. The priory was dissolved in 1539, and the extent prepared in 1541 noted that 'the church is still standing, and can be thrown down' (White 1943, 341-42). The priory was leased to James Sherlock in 1540 (7th Rep. DKPRI 35, No. 530), to Patrick Sherlock in 1576 (13 RDKPRI 16: no 2938) and to John Lye in 1597 (17RDKPRI, 46: No. 6039). Gwynn and Hadcock (1970, 197, 305) suggest that the monastery was refounded by Augustinian Friars in 1629. The ruins of the priory were still standing at the time of the Civil Survey (Simington 1942, 191-2) and are shown on a map of 1673 (in Ryland 1824). Ryland (1824, 121) noted that substantial remains of the priory had survived until 'a few years since', when they had been partly demolished to make way for a bridge over the John's River; however, 'an arched or vaulted room and a small portion of the foundation' still survived at that date. The priory was located in the area now occupied by the Courthouse on Catherine Street. It is depicted in a map of c.1590 (reproduced by Kerrigan 1985, 13) as a complex of buildings in four ranges, around a cloister garth. On the side nearest the town (the north side) is what is probably the church which had a central crossing tower.

BENEDICTINE PRIORY OF ST. JOHN THE EVANGELIST

This house had its origin in a late twelfth century hospital of St. John which is first referred to in a charter dated c. 1190 by Gwynn and Hadcock (1970, 108), in which John, Count of Morton, takes into his protection the brothers of his alms house and hospital of St. John of Waterford (PRO 1908, 282; Ir. Rec. Comm. 1829, 9). The wording suggests that John had actually founded the hospital, in which case John's visit to Waterford in 1185 is perhaps the most likely occasion. The hospital was evidently a joint foundation, of brothers and sisters, because in 1203 letters of protection were issued to the 'friars and sisters of the Hospital of St. John of Waterford' (Sweetman 1875-86, i, No. 173). The hospital was united to the Benedictine Priory of Bath in or before 1204 when a Royal confirmation noted the terms of the union (ibid, No. 220). An indication of the priory's prestige in the thirteenth century is provided by the fact that priors were elected Bishops of Waterford in 1227, 1232 and 1255 (Gwynn and Hadcock 1970, 108; Sweetman 1875-86, i, No. 1996). Because of its connection with Bath the priory was dissolved at the relatively early date of 1536. After the dissolution, in 1538-9, the site of the priory was granted to William Wisc (7 RDKPRI, 39: No. 72). The church which had been parochial before the dissolution, continued to function as a parish church, with the incumbent living in a house known as the Vicar's Hall close by the cemetery (Power 1896, 92). In 1615 it was noted that the church was in good repair (Power 1913, 115), while a mid seventeenth century document stated that the church was still roofed and in good repair, with glazed windows (Power 1896, 92). It was in ruins, however, by 1746 (Smith 1746, 41, 181). Two chapels belonging to the priory, and dedicated to the Virgin Mary of the Castle, and St. Leonard, respectively, are attested. Of these the Chapel of St. Leonard is something of an enigma, as it is referred to at times as if it were a separate house with its own community. Nothing is known of the other chapel, of the Virgin Mary of the Castle, but it is possible that the indication of this chapel is preserved in the 'Hospital of our Ladie in St. John's' referred to in a will of 1626 (Carrigan 1906, 151). The map of 1673 (in Ryland 1824) depicts the Church of St. John's as a large structure with a tower and steeple at the junction of nave and chancel. The existence of a tower is confirmed by Smith (1746, 181). The ruins of St. John's are situated in an angle between John Street and Manor Street at the south end of the town. They consist of an undifferentiated thirteenth century nave and chancel church with a fifteenth/sixteenth century chapel or sacristy to the south at the east end. Overall length 24.15m. by 16.7m. wide. The masonry of the thirteenth century fabric is predominantly of brown slate and sandstone with some grey and red conglomerate roughly coursed; the SE and SW exterior angles have chamfered quoins of yellow sandstone or Dundry stone. The north wall of the nave is missing while the east wall is largely modern rebuilding and the west wall is probably also rebuilt. The east wall stands to a height of c. 6m. but the gable is missing. Apart from the SE return the internal face is missing and is replaced by modern masonry while the external faces are obscured by modern buildings and vegetation. The north wall is largely missing, only 8m. at the east end surviving, and the extreme east end of this is modern internally. There is one, blocked, splayed embrasure with dressed sandstone jambs, now missing its rear arch, visible internally, but not externally; this was undoubtedly a lancet similar to those in the south wall. Below it is the top of a pointed arch, now blocked, but probably a door. The south wall stands practically to its full height, c. 7m. and has two pointed lancets with chamfered jambs of yellow sandstone (that to the east is missing its arch); the rear arches are pointed and have dressed sandstone mouldings. Below the window to the east at ground level, is a blocked door with segmental arch while a wider blocked opening is visible below the window to the west. To the east of the eastern window a string course occurs at the level of the base of the window, but does not occur to the west of the window. A tapering buttress occurs c. 2m. west of this window, while the last 5.25m. of the wall to the west is strongly battered throughout. Internally corbels which supported the roof are visible at the top of the wall. The west wall stands to a height of c. 5.5m. but the gable is missing. The north end of the wall is missing, while the internal face is modern. Externally, the lowest 2m. of the wall

is 40cm. thicker than the rest and does not seem to be a batter. A blocked segmental/pointed door is visible externally. The masonry of this wall has a higher amount of red sandstone and conglomerate than the north, south and east walls suggesting that it is of later (uncertain) date. The south chapel or sacristy measures 6.25m. by 4.75m. internally. It is built onto the south wall of the chancel and is entered at present through a large broken opening in the south wall. The masonry is mixed, red conglomerate, red and yellow sandstone etc., roughly coursed. The SE and SW angles have roughly dressed quoins of conglomerate, limestone and sandstone. The east and west walls are c. 4.5m high; at the south end of the east wall at ground level is the top of a flat segmental arch, probably a door. A broken opening, now blocked near the north end of the east wall, may have been a window. The south gable is almost complete, c. 6.5m high. Two blocked narrow pointed windows stand one above the other in the south wall; the lower one is missing its mouldings but has a segmental/pointed arch; the upper has chamfered jambs of limestone and sandstone.

AUGUSTINIAN PRIORY OF ST. CATHERINE

This priory was founded by one of the Ostmen of Waterford according to Ware (Gwynn and Hadcock 1970, 197). While no actual details of its foundation are known, the priory was certainly in existence before 1200, because 'the church of St. Catherine' is mentioned in a Deed of John when he was Count of Morton, and so it cannot be later than 1100 (PRO 1908, 282). In 1290 it was noted that King John was reputed to be the founder, or at least a benefactor. Little is known of the later history of the priory, but by 1537 the community consisted of a prior and three canons. The priory was dissolved in 1539, and the extent prepared in 1541 noted that 'the church is still standing, and can be thrown down' (White 1943, 341-42). The priory was leased to James Sherlock in 1540 (7th Rep. DKPRI 35, No. 530), to Patrick Sherlock in 1576 (13 RDKPRI 16: no 2938) and to John Lye in 1597 (17 RDKPRI, 46: No. 6039). Gwynn and Hadcock (1970, 197, 305) suggest that the monastery was refounded by Augustinian Friars in 1629. The ruins of the priory were still standing at the time of the Civil Survey (Simington 1942, 191-2) and are shown on a map of 1673 (in Ryland 1824). Ryland (1824, 121) noted that substantial remains of the priory had survived until 'a few years since', when they had been partly demolished to make way for a bridge over the John's River; however, 'an arched or vaulted room and a small portion of the foundation' still survived at that date. The priory was located in the area now occupied by the Courthouse on Catherine Street. It is depicted in a map of c.1590 (reproduced by Kerrigan 1985, 13) as a complex of buildings in four ranges, around a cloister garth. On the side nearest the town (the north side) is what is probably the church which had a central crossing tower.

BENEDICTINE PRIORY OF ST. JOHN THE EVANGELIST

This house had its origin in a late twelfth century hospital of St. John which is first referred to in a charter dated c. 1190 by Gwynn and Hadcock (1970, 108), in which John, Count of Morton, takes into his protection the brothers of his alms house and hospital of St. John of Waterford (PRO 1908, 282; Ir. Rec. Comm. 1829, 9). The wording suggests that John had actually founded the hospital, in which case John's visit to Waterford in 1185 is perhaps the most likely occasion. The hospital was evidently a joint foundation, of brothers and sisters, because in 1203 letters of protection were issued to the 'friars and sisters of the Hospital of St. John of Waterford' (Sweetman 1875-86, i, No. 173). The hospital was united to the Benedictine Priory of Bath in or before 1204 when a Royal confirmation noted the terms of the union (ibid, No. 220). An indication of the priory's prestige in the thirteenth century is provided by the fact that priors were elected Bishops of Waterford in 1227, 1232 and 1255 (Gwynn and Hadcock 1970, 108; Sweetman 1875-86, i, No. 1996). Because of its connection with Bath the priory was dissolved at the relatively early date of 1536. After the dissolution, in 1538-9, the site of the priory was granted to William Wise (7 RDKPRI, 39: No. 72). The church which had been parochial before the dissolution, continued to function as a parish church, with the incumbent living in a house known as the Vicar's Hall close by the cemetery (Power 1896, 92). In 1615 it was noted that the church was in good repair (Power 1913, 115), while a mid seventeenth century document stated that the church was still roofed and in good repair, with glazed windows (Power 1896, 92). It was in ruins, however, by 1746 (Smith 1746, 41, 181). Two chapels belonging to the priory, and dedicated to the Virgin Mary of the Castle, and St. Leonard, respectively, are attested. Of these the Chapel of St. Leonard is something of an enigma, as it is referred to at times as if it were a separate house with its own community. Nothing is known of the other chapel, of the Virgin Mary of the Castle, but it is possible that the indication of this chapel is preserved in the 'Hospital of our Ladie in St. John's' referred to in a will of 1626 (Carrigan 1906, 151). The map of 1673 (in Ryland 1824) depicts the Church of St. John's as a large structure with a tower and steeple at the junction of nave and chancel. The existence of a tower is confirmed by Smith (1746, 181). The ruins of St. John's are situated in an angle between John Street and Manor Street at the south end of the town. They consist of an undifferentiated thirteenth century nave and chancel church with a fifteenth/sixteenth century chapel or sacristy to the south at the east end. Overall length 24.15m. by 16.7m. wide. The masonry of the thirteenth century fabric is predominantly of brown slate and sandstone with some grey and red conglomerate roughly coursed; the SE and SW exterior angles have chamfered quoins of yellow sandstone or Dundry stone. The north wall of the nave is missing while the east wall is largely modern rebuilding and the west wall is probably also rebuilt. The east wall stands to a height of c. 6m. but the gable is missing. Apart from the SE return the internal face is missing and is replaced by modern masonry while the external faces are obscured by modern buildings and vegetation. The north wall is largely

missing, only 8m. at the east end surviving, and the extreme east end of this is modern internally. There is one, blocked, splayed embrasure with dressed sandstone jambs, now missing its rear arch, visible internally, but not externally; this was undoubtedly a lancet similar to those in the south wall. Below it is the top of a pointed arch, now blocked, but probably a door. The south wall stands practically to its full height, c. 7m. and has two pointed lancets with chamfered jambs of yellow sandstone (that to the east is missing its arch); the rear arches are pointed and have dressed sandstone mouldings. Below the window to the east at ground level, is a blocked door with segmental arch while a wider blocked opening is visible below the window to the west. To the east of the eastern window a string course occurs at the level of the base of the window, but does not occur to the west of the window. A tapering buttress occurs c. 2m. west of this window, while the last 5.25m. of the wall to the west is strongly battered throughout. Internally corbels which supported the roof are visible at the top of the wall. The west wall stands to a height of c. 5.5m. but the gable is missing. The north end of the wall is missing, while the internal face is modern. Externally, the lowest 2m. of the wall is 40cm. thicker than the rest and does not seem to be a batter. A blocked segmental/pointed door is visible externally. The masonry of this wall has a higher amount of red sandstone and conglomerate than the north, south and east walls suggesting that it is of later (uncertain) date. The south chapel or sacristy measures 6.25m. by 4.75m. internally. It is built onto the south wall of the chancel and is entered at present through a large broken opening in the south wall. The masonry is mixed, red conglomerate, red and yellow sandstone etc., roughly coursed. The SE and SW angles have roughly dressed quoins of conglomerate, limestone and sandstone. The east and west walls are c. 4.5m high; at the south end of the east wall at ground level is the top of a flat segmental arch, probably a door. A broken opening, now blocked near the north end of the east wall, may have been a window. The south gable is almost complete, c. 6.5m high. Two blocked narrow pointed windows stand one above the other in the south wall; the lower one is missing its mouldings but has a segmental/pointed arch; the upper has chamfered jambs of limestone and sandstone.

DOMINICAN PRIORY OF ST. SAVIOUR

Gwynn and Hadcock (1970, 221) following Ware, state that the Dominicans arrived in Waterford in 1226, but the origins of this priory are indicated by a document of 1220 in which Henry III granted the citizens of Waterford permission to construct a building for the use of the Dominicans. Apart from this indication of when it was built, little else is known of the priory's history up to its dissolution in 1540. The buildings of the priory, as recorded in 1541, included the church, chancel and belfry, our Lady's chapel, the dormitory, the chapter house, the library, the kitchen, a store, a bakehouse, 'a hall called le greate hall with its upper rooms and other appurtenances', 'a hall called le lytyll hall, with a kitchen, an upper room and the 'killhowse', a hall called le Baron is hall with three upper rooms' ('cellars' in Archdall, (1786)), 'a chamber called le doctors chamber' and various other chambers, the cemetery, three small gardens etc., (Archdall 1786, 703; White 1940, 351-2). It was noted in 1541 that 'the aforesaid buildings were in ruins and of no value .. but the hall and other premises were found of the annual value .. of 51 6s 8d (Archdall 1786, 703). The priory was leased to James White in 1540 (7 RDKPRI 47 No. 152) and granted to him a perpetuity in 1543 (ibid 66: No. 351) but it was surrendered by Nicholas White in 1574 (12 RDKPRI 126: No. 2440) and granted to Sir Anthony St. Leger in 1599 (Gwynn and Hadcock 1970, 231). Lumley (1977, 21) states that the priory was being used as a courthouse for holding assizes from 1617 onwards, and this is also indicated in 1675 (Pender 1964, 155: No. 1110). The county surrendered their interest in the priory to the city in 1695 (ibid 325: no. 2037), but it was again functioning as the county courthouse in 1746 (Smith 1746, 182). This undifferentiated nave and chancel building with crossing tower is built of uncoursed rubble sandstone, limestone, conglomerate and shale. It is in poor condition and it is difficult to ascertain what the original masonry consisted of as every wall has been rebuilt or refaced and one can see dressed stones, chamfered stones and fragments with mouldings incorporated at every level in all walls. The building may have had chamfered sandstone quoins although these are only present now in the south end of the west wall and where window jambs and arches survive. There is evidence for a south aisle at the west end of the south wall. The chancel is largely ruined and the east wall is missing while the north wall stands to a height of c. 7m. It is largely rebuilt and several carved stones are included in the fabric. Modern brick built chimneys are inserted into the wall indicating the former presence of two floored houses within the building. The south wall is also missing apart from 3m. adjoining the tower. It is c. 3m. high. The fabric of the nave also includes many pieces of worked stone indicating a considerable amount of repair. The north wall of the nave probably had five narrow pointed lancets with dressed sandstone jambs, pointed rear arches and sloping sills but these are all blocked. Only the first from the west retains its original form. Close to the east end of the wall there are two blocked round arched recesses below the windows 1.95m. in length and 95cm. above present ground level while a third recess, close to the west end is 45cm. wide and 20cm. above ground level. Inserted between the 2nd, 3rd and 5th windows from the west are wide rectangular openings which are now blocked with brick. The south aisle was entered through three large pointed arches resting on a drum shaped pillar with simple moulded capital. The western arch, which is blocked, has a chamfered soffit rib and rests on a capital of Early English stiff leaf foliage. Only a few stones of the 2nd arch remain and the remainder of the wall is patched and several fragments of drum shaped piers, window jambs etc. can be seen among the masonry. The west wall is 10m. high, the gable is intact and there is a ledge above the window. There is an inserted round arched limestone door (possibly 18th century) with hood moulding and jambs decorated with sugar barley twist. The top of the door cuts a sandstone string

course at 2.95m. above ground level. The pointed west window with chamfered sandstone jambs externally was inserted into a wider original window of which only a few of the earlier chamfered jambs remain on the internal N side. The south side of the wall is patched with stones, cement and brick.

THE TOWER

The masonry of the four floored tower consists of coursed limestone at the base of the west and internal walls with roughly coursed rubble limestone, sandstone and conglomerate elsewhere. The coping stones for the nave and chancel gables, and quoins and mouldings of the 3rd floor windows are limestone. The mouldings of a door on the west side of the 1st floor and the stairwell window on the east side of the first floor are of sandstone and the head of the window on the east side is decorated with zig-zag and concave mouldings. High pointed arches open into the nave and chancel with chamfered soffit ribs on the north and south sides rising from tapering corbels. There is an off-centre blocked round arch in the south wall with another blocked opening above. Access to the first floor was via a dog-leg stairs in the N and E walls and opened from the north side of the tower. It has been revamped as a chimney. This part of the tower was used as a two storey building as there are two fireplaces, one above the other and one of which blocks the original stairs. At first floor level the stairs opens into a large embrasure in the east wall with traces of plank centering; the window or door of this embrasure is missing. In the south wall is a blocked rectangular door with flat lintelled rear arch. In the west wall there is a large pointed door set into a large splayed embrasure with segmental rear arch and traces of plank centering. In the north wall there is a large splayed embrasure with segmental arches and traces of plank centering; it is blocked and no trace is visible externally. Access to the 2nd and 3rd floors must have been by internal ladder. The east and west walls of the 2nd floor are featureless while the west wall has a small wall cupboard. The north wall has a large splayed embrasure with traces of plank centering. The floor is supported on a ledge in the E and W walls. Externally on the east wall there is a recessed niche with a rectangular holed stone in the centre. The third floor was supported on corbels in the east and west walls and has embrasures with twin-light windows in each wall. These windows have chamfered jambs, mullions and transoms with chamfered rectangular hood mouldings above. The window on the east is ogee headed with hollow spandrels and a concave moulded hood moulding. There is an external string course between the 2nd and 3rd floors and a drainage course at parapet level.

FRANCISCAN FRIARY

Details of the foundation of this friary are obscure. The seventeenth century historians Mooney (in 1618) and Matthews (in 1629) suggest that it was founded by 1240 by Hugh Purcell, who was later buried at the right-hand side of the high altar (Jennings 1934a, 80-81; 1934b, 146-7), but this lacks contemporary authority. The friary was in existence by 1245, however, when it was included in a royal grant of alms (Sweetman 1875-86, i, no. 2776). Mooney (1964, 77) states that Richard II received the submission of Toirdelbach O Conchobair Donn and other Irish Chiefs, there in 1395. In the dissolution extent of the friary dated 1541, the church was described as 'very necessary for the comfort, defence and convenience of 'the city' and other buildings listed are a large and a small hall, 'a bakehouse with a chamber called John Ambrose is chamber and 'le lymekyll', another chamber with an upper room, a chamber called 'le hie chamber' and the kitchen (White 1943, 350). An inquisition of 1540 described the buildings of the friary as 'a church and steeple ... a cemetery, hall, six chambers, a kitchen, two stables, a bake-house, four cellars' etc. (Archdall 1786, 704). The friary was leased to the City of Waterford in 1541 (7 RDKPRI 49: no. 169), and the Hospital of the Holy Ghost was established in the nave in 1545. In 1542 David Balieff, or Bailey, was granted 'the great garden of the friars minor of Waterford, and the new quay outside the city walls, with appurtenances to the waters of the Suir' (7 RDKPRI, 61: no. 307), and it seems that he subsequently laid out Bailey's New Street in this 'great garden'. A residence of friars was re-established in 1612, and a chapter held there in 1615 (Jennings 1934b, 146-7), although it is not clear whether this was actually in the old friary. Mooney, in 1618, noted that the friary church was intact, that burials were carried out in it, and that the celebration (of mass) and preaching were sometimes performed there. By this time, the Hospital of the Holy Ghost had been established on 'a raised floor over the whole nave and chapel' while the precinct and gardens had been filled with new plots and secular houses (Jennings 1934a, 80-81). Information survives relating to a number of chapels, altars and tombs of the friary church. In 1635 Wadding noted the tombs of the Powers, barons of Dunhill and Killmeadon, in the Lady Chapel (Walton 1977, 22). A manuscript of c. 1550-1650, probably based on an original friary register, refers to the chapels of St. Francis, of the Poers and of the Blessed Virgin Mary (the Lady Chapel), to the altars of the Three Kings, of St. Clare and of St. Apollinaris and to the statue of St. Christopher, in the friary church (Walton 1973, 1977, 23). Of some seventy monuments listed in the manuscript not one survives today. The survey of Waterford of c.1663-4 notes the presence of 'the Walsteads of a Chapple called St. Anthonies Chapple now a garden' on the site of the friary, apparently close to the town wall (Simington 1942, 281). The 1871 O.S. 5 foot map of Waterford shows what appears to be the outline of the cloisters of the friary (not labelled as such) on the north side of the church, where the Methodist church now stands. In the construction of this Methodist church in 1833, part of a pavement of incised floor tiles and various architectural fragments were discovered (JRSAI 17 (1885-6), 393). The surviving remains consist of an undifferentiated nave and chancel church with south aisle/Lady Chapel, a sacristy on the north side and a later tower inserted between the nave and chancel.

THE CHANCEL

The masonry in the chancel consists of a brown slaty stone uncoursed without dressed quoins. The east gable is complete, c. 10m. in height. The east window consists of three tall graduated lancets; externally these have chamfered jambs and sills of Dundry stone. Internally they are splayed with pointed rear arches (with possible traces of plank centring) and sloping sills. The rear arches, in Dundry stone, are model moulded with five rolls and four hollows and a conjoined sand moulding rising from worn floral stops; each window was flanked by a shaft with, on either side, the inner and outer roll mouldings of the rear arch and simple capitals; however, only the tops survive. Above the central lancet is a rectangular window (blocked) with chamfered jambs of Dundry stone and the wall is set back internally above this. The north wall, which stands to its full height of c. 7m., has evidence for several alterations. The upper half of the east end is rebuilt as is the west half of the wall which serves as the south wall of a house with two blocked segmentally headed openings (of uncertain date) and a modern window in between. The south wall, which is also 7m. high has three twin-light windows, all splayed with pointed chamfered rear arches of yellow sandstone. In each case the springing stones of the rear arch have been replaced in grey limestone. The jambs of the splays are undressed. The windows have all been replaced. The east window has twin-light ogee-headed lights with hollow spandrels, chamfered jambs, mullions and sills all in grey limestone and a rectangular sandstone head moulding. The central window has pointed lights with chamfered jambs (which are alternatively of limestone and sandstone; mullions and sills in grey limestone. The west window also has pointed lights. Most of the west light is original in yellow/brown sandstone; the mullion is in grey limestone and the east light is alternatively in grey limestone and yellow sandstone. Between the windows externally are two stepped buttresses, the one to the east is very fragmentary. Most of this south wall has been rebuilt and west of the east window the masonry changes to mixed sandstone, limestone and slate, roughly coursed. Below the east window there is a recess which had two pointed niches.

THE NAVE

The north wall stands to its full height of c. 7m. and the masonry was originally green/brown slate although the lower courses (to a H. of 2.5m.) have been refaced in mixed sandstone, limestone and slate. High up in the wall there are three blocked windows with pointed chamfered rear arches of yellow sandstone (a fourth window occurs within the piers of the tower). Below these windows are a blocked single-light window with chamfered sandstone jambs and a modern rear arch, a blocked acutely pointed opening, 1.55m. high with chamfered arch and jambs in yellow sandstone internally, and a tall segmentally arched tomb niche which was probably a 17th century insertion. West of this, at a lower level than the first three windows, is a blocked twin-light double cusped pointed window with chamfered sandstone jambs, arches and mullion. Internally it has a modern segmental rear arch, undressed, but has chamfered sandstone jambs with pyramidal stops at the base. West of this window the wall has been rebuilt in mixed sandstone, slate, conglomerate and the top of a blocked round headed arch is visible at ground level. Toward the east end of the wall is a wall niche close to the ground, one jamb of which is decorated with a filleted roll moulding and capital in Dundry stone. The west wall may be completely rebuilt. The masonry is of mixed sandstone, slate and conglomerate, roughly coursed. There is no gable and the wall stands to a height of c. 7m. Externally there is a low (c. 60cms.) batter and traces of a buttress at each end. The NW corner has some quoins of roughly dressed limestone, sandstone and conglomerate, but the south end of the wall is broken and clearly extended further south to enclose the south aisle externally. The west door (2.6m. high) is pointed with dressed yellow sandstone jambs with a heavy angle roll moulding. Internally it splays with segmental rear arch which is undressed as are the jambs. Above this door is another door with sandstone mouldings of similar character, presumably the entrance to the Holy Ghost Hospital. However, this door is on the internal wall face and it splays externally with pointed rear arch and dressed sandstone jambs on the external splays. The south wall stands to a height of c. 7m. and the masonry is predominantly green brown slaty stone roughly coursed. In the wall is an arcade of three large pointed arches, c. 6.65m. high which originally gave access to a south aisle but are now blocked (the blocking is mixed sandstone, conglomerate and slate similar to the masonry in the west wall). The west arch is smaller than the other two (4.2m. wide and 6m high) and preserves its dressed, chamfered sandstone mouldings. The other two arches are larger (5.5m. wide 6.5m. high) and have chamfered mouldings of sandstone and limestone on the piers; the heads of the arches may have been rebuilt.

THE TOWER

The tower, of five floors with parapet and stepped battlements, is c. 24.5m. high. The masonry is predominantly grey limestone roughly coursed up to the level of the apex of the gable line of nave and chancel (13.8m.); above this there is mainly red sandstone and conglomerate. However dressed limestone quoins occur throughout. A string course occurs above 2nd floor level above which the external walls are set back c. 20cms. all around. Ground Floor: the four openings have tall pointed arches with dressed chamfered limestone jambs, c. 7m. high to the E and W, and c. 6m. high to the N and S. Above the centre of the tower is a vault with dressed chamfered limestone ribs resting on round bases with triple mouldings. The NW base has a rope moulding while the NE and SE have nail-head type decoration; the SW base has incised chevron ornament and as they overhang the jambs of the piers the undersides have floral decoration. At the

junction of the ribs there is a floriated boss. The vault has traces of plank centring. In the south wall of the tower there are the jambs of a blocked door above which is a blocked segmentally arched window; in the north wall is a large splayed blocked doorway with segmental rear arch. The N end of the NE pier of the tower has been recessed to avoid blocking this door. First Floor: access to upper floors seems to have been through a rectangular door and mural stairs in the east wall but this is now inaccessible. The east wall has a narrow ogee-headed window with very worn jambs of yellow sandstone or Dundry stone possibly chamfered originally. Above this a large rectangular opening with dressed limestone jambs occurs just below the pitch of the roof of the chancel. The south wall has a rectangular doorway, apparently a modern insert, and a small rectangular window near the E end. The W wall has a large pointed doorway with dressed limestone jambs. The N wall is obscured by a modern house. Second Floor: the east wall is featureless; the south wall has two rectangular windows with limestone jambs; that to the west is plain, while that to the east is chamfered. The west wall has a rectangular window with chamfered limestone jambs. The north wall is obscured. Third Floor: the east wall has a small rectangular window with limestone jambs; the south wall has a wide rectangular window with dressed limestone jambs; the west wall is featureless and the north wall is obscured. There is a twin-light pointed window with chamfered limestone jambs, mullions and transoms in the N, S, E and W walls of the fourth floor. The parapet has stepped crenellations. Sacristy This is built onto the east end of the north wall of the chancel. It is 8m. by 4m. internally. It is built of uncoursed rubble sandstone, shale and limestone with sandstone jambs in the east window. It is plastered internally and few features are visible and has a modern wooden roof. The east wall which slopes from 5m. on the south to 4m. on the north has a single blocked lancet. The sill stone and lower part of the chamfered jambs survive externally. The window was widely splayed internally. A modern opening (4m wide) at the E end of the north wall may be an enlarged original opening as one splay survives on the west side. The south wall is 5m. high and has two large wall niches, one has a round arch, the other a pointed arch and there is a small wall cupboard toward the east end. The west wall, which has a similar slope to the east wall, has a chamfered jamb and a sill, which is probably a blocked window, high in the north (UNREADABLE).... Lady Chapel The chapel is now the private garden of 10 Bailey's New Street, although owned by O.P.W. It measures 13.2m. E/W and 8.8m. N/S and is built of uncoursed rubble sandstone, limestone and slate with dressed sandstone quoins and jambs, mouldings and capitals. Traces of plaster remain on all walls. The ground level internally is only 70cm. below the sill of the east window. The east gable is intact, c. 9m. high, with coping stones in situ (some are probably replacements). The pointed east window is of four lights; the two central ones taller and of the same height and they have a circular light above. The mullions and jambs are chamfered externally but have rounded mouldings internally. The rear arch jambs are chamfered. There is a small wall cupboard with plastered interior on the north side of the wall and a ledge above the window. The external east and south walls at the SE corner are buttressed but the top of the buttress is now only 40cm. above ground level. One of the pointed arches in the north wall to the nave is outlined by slaty voussoirs which would appear to be a rebuilding of the arch. A circular column with moulded capital and nailhead decoration with a further chamfered drum-shaped column can be seen midway along the north wall. There is a blocked opening into the tower to the east of this column. The south wall was lit by at least two windows; one close to the east end is a pointed triple light window. It was probably originally a graded lancet but only the springing stones of the two outer lights remain; the rest has been reconstructed in cement. The outer jambs are chamfered and the pointed rear arch and jambs have a double rounded and concave moulding. 90cm. from the west end of this wall 'a rounded moulding can be seen protruding through the plaster and probably indicates the jamb of a second window. 60cms. west of the east window is a moulded pier with chamfered capital which may have been a support for a niche. The west wall stands to a height of c. 4m. and it has two large pointed chamfered arches with soffit rib. Both are blocked; the south one with cement and brick the north one with rubble in which there are at least two re-used stones with rounded mouldings. The outer jambs of the south arch rest on a chamfered base, (UNREADABLE).... from a moulded capital. The two arches (UNREADABLE)... shaped pier with moulded capitals decorated with nailhead. The soffit rib of the northern arch is not visible.

HOSPITAL OF ST. MARY MAGDALEN

The chapel or hospital of St. Mary Magdalen originally belonged to St. Stephen's Hospital according to an inquisition of 1661, by which date it had been converted into a dwellinghouse by Alderman John Heavens (Pender 1939b, 33-4). Gwynn and Hadcock (1970, 357) and Power (1937, 302) state that this chapel or hospital was probably located on the site of the modern County and City Infirmary.

HOSPITAL NEAR ST. JOHN'S GATE

The survey of Waterford of c.1663-4 lists three hospitals on John Street. The locations of the hospitals cannot be defined more precisely, with the exception that the first one, being used for poor widows, can probably be identified with the 'hospitall at John's Gate wherein the widdow Crafford lives' which the City Council in 1673 ordered to be 'converted to its antient use for the habitation of poor widdowes' (Pender 1964, 181: No. 832). This building was clearly of at least two floors, with attic above and cellars below. The fact that the mayor had 'the use and possession of the said low roomes to the town wall' suggests that the hospital abutted the walls at St. John's Gate. The hospital was leased to Adamson in 1693 'for keeping it in repaire (saving poor widdowes habitacions there)' (ibid 331: no. 2062).

ST. STEPHENS LEPER HOSPITAL

Attached to St. Stephen's Church was a hospital, first referred to in John Collyn's will dated 1468, (MacNiocaill 1966, 151). During a visitation by Dr. Daniel Burston, dean of Waterford, in 1670 however, the master and clerk of the hospital stated 'we have heard that King John, sometimes King of England and Lord of Ireland, was founder of the lazar or leperhouse of St. Stephen's' (Pender 1964, 80-81: No. 506). Gwynn and Hadcock (1970, 356) state that the hospital was founded after 1185 and confirmed to the poor of the city by King John. The survey of c.1663-4 noted on the site: '...a house stone walls and slated being the hospitall house and a large plott of wast ground about ye same where the ould Leper house stood (Simington 1942, 282). This house is still standing.

ARCHERY BUTTS

The Civil Survey of 1654 locates 'Shortcourse' between Ballybricken green (to the north) and 'Lisdowgen' green (i.e. Barrack St.) to the south (Simington 1942, 178), probably in the area now occupied by Trinity Square and Shortcourse.

FORT AT KILCULLIHEEN

During the strengthening of Waterford's fortifications in response to the threat of a Spanish invasion in 1590, a fort was erected on the north bank of the Suir opposite Waterford, in Killculliheen at a place called 'the Rock' (Hamilton 1885, 347-48). The fort had a short lifetime, and in 1625 Rotheram and Pynnar, referring to 'the old fort across the river' noted that 'we inspected it and found nothing but the walls and a very rocky floor inside' (Mahaffy 1900, 3).

FONT/PISCINA

A small font is set into the wall in the back garden of 51 High St.

HOUSES NORTH OF THE CATHEDRAL

The buildings situated between the Cathedral Cemetery and Chairman's Arch, comprising both 'mansions' and 'shops' seem to have been largely held by ecclesiastics in the late fifteenth century, at least. At least two chaplains, John Brown and Robert Gede, resided in separate properties here in 1480 (MacNiocaill 1966, 166, 218).

JOHN COLLYN'S HOUSES

In 1467 John Collyn, founder of the chapel of St. Saviours, built two houses on High St. These probably stood on the two adjoining plots on the North side of St. Olave's Churchyard which were granted to St. Saviours in 1466 (MacNiocaill 1966, 158-163, 164).

NEW CUSTOM HOUSE

This building, an integral part of the port of Waterford, is first referred to in the seventeenth century. In c. 1663-4 a reference to a 'large house... used as the custome house on Key Street (Simington 1942, 270) suggests a temporary arrangement, but nothing is known of an earlier Custom House. A new Custom House was in existence by 1696 (Pender 1964, 331: No. 2063) probably the one shown on Smith's map of 1745 and situated approximately on the site of the present Custom House on Custom House Quay.

ST. MICHAEL'S ALMHOUSE

This was presumably an almshouse located near St. Michael's Church, but nothing else is known of it, or of its location.

TANNERIES

The Survey and valuation of c. 1663-4 notes five tanneries on John St. (Simington 1942, 232-34) and another on the unidentified Pierces' Lane.

PRISONS/REGINALD'S TOWER

The existence of a royal prison in medieval Waterford is confirmed by records such as the censure of the mayor and the bailiffs in 1311 and 1313 (Wood, Langman and Griffith 1955, 17, Tresham 1828, 99: No. 276; 114, No. 185) as well as the appointment of justices for gaol delivery in Waterford in 1375 and 1381 (Tresham 1828, 99: no. 276; 114: no. 185). The most likely location of such a prison was Reginald's tower. In 1487 the citizens of Waterford were granted the right to have their own prison (PRO 1914, 176, 224). It is not recorded whether a new prison was erected in pursuance of this, but clearly by the seventeenth century a number of prisons were in existence.

PRISONS

Another gaol was 'the goale at John's gate' that is, the gatehouse itself which was being rented by the corporation to the county of Waterford in 1669 (ibid 364: no. 2174) and which was still functioning as the County Gaol in 1746

(Smith 1746, 188-9). In 1672 Thomas Adamson was given charge of the 'house of correction' in the city (ibid, 96, no. 625) and in 1684, Adamson was authorised by the City Council 'to have a place made up in the cellar for madd people committed to him' (ibid, 248: no. 1648). The location of this institution is unknown, but it was possibly connected with the 'hospitall at John's gate', part of which was also leased to Adamson in 1672.

BRIDGE

The 1673 map (in Ryland 1824) also indicates a bridge spanning the mill pool of Caldebec bill (on the site of the Mall) roughly in the area of the junction of modern Lombard St. with the Mall. The presence of Colbeck gate would seem to require the existence of a bridge at this point, and this may be the 'oldbridge' which Theod. Jones was required to 'build' (i.e. repair) as a condition of the renewal of his lease of 'Lumbards marsh' in 1697 (Pender 1964, 338: no. 2085).

HOSPITAL OF THE HOLY GHOST

This was incorporated by royal charter in 1545. The hospital was granted the Franciscan Friary Church (7RDKPRI, 75 no. 434), and in 1618 Mooney noted that a raised floor had been built over the nave and chapel and that sixty paupers had beds there, men and women in separate places (Jennings 1934a, 80-81). Power (1894-95, 206) stated that the wooden beams on which the hospital rested, laid across the nave, ten to twelve feet above the ground, were still in position at the end of the nineteenth century. He also noted that the Walsh family retained the right to provide the master of the hospital up to the Cromwellian period, which accounts for the number of Walsh memorials now in the nave of the Franciscan Friary.

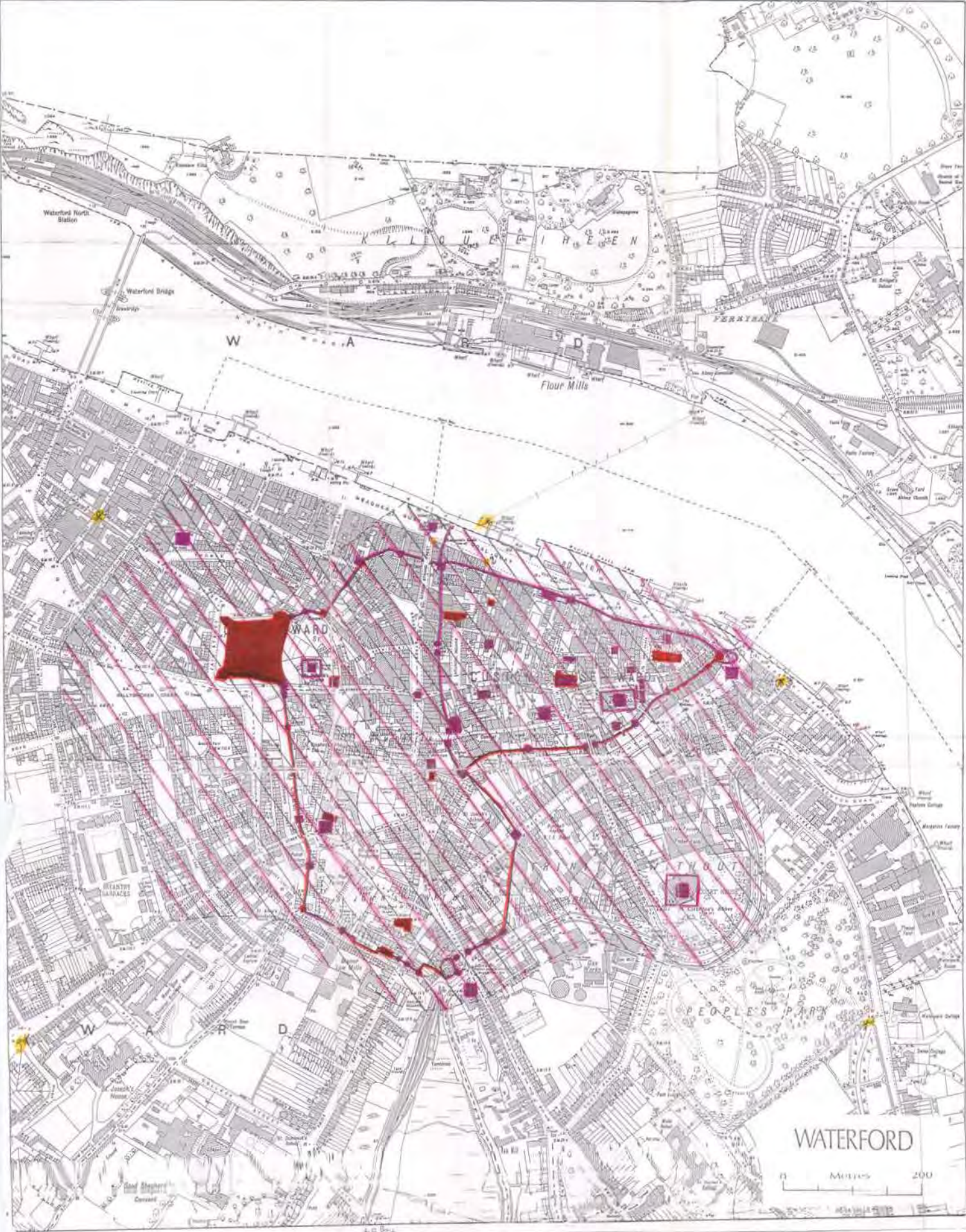
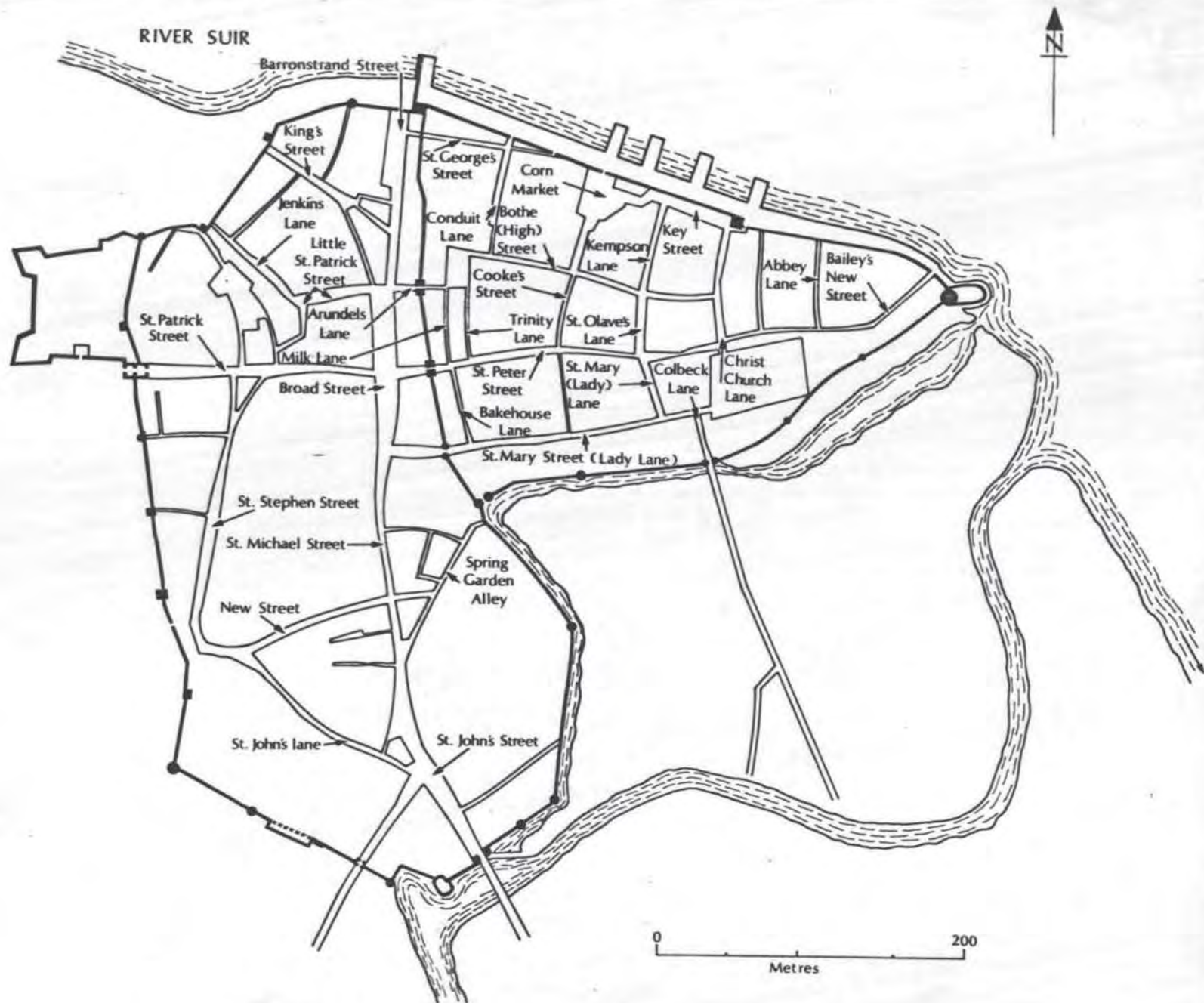


Fig. 58. Waterford: Zone of archaeological potential.



WATERFORD

Fig. 59. Outline map of Waterford showing the principal medieval streets.

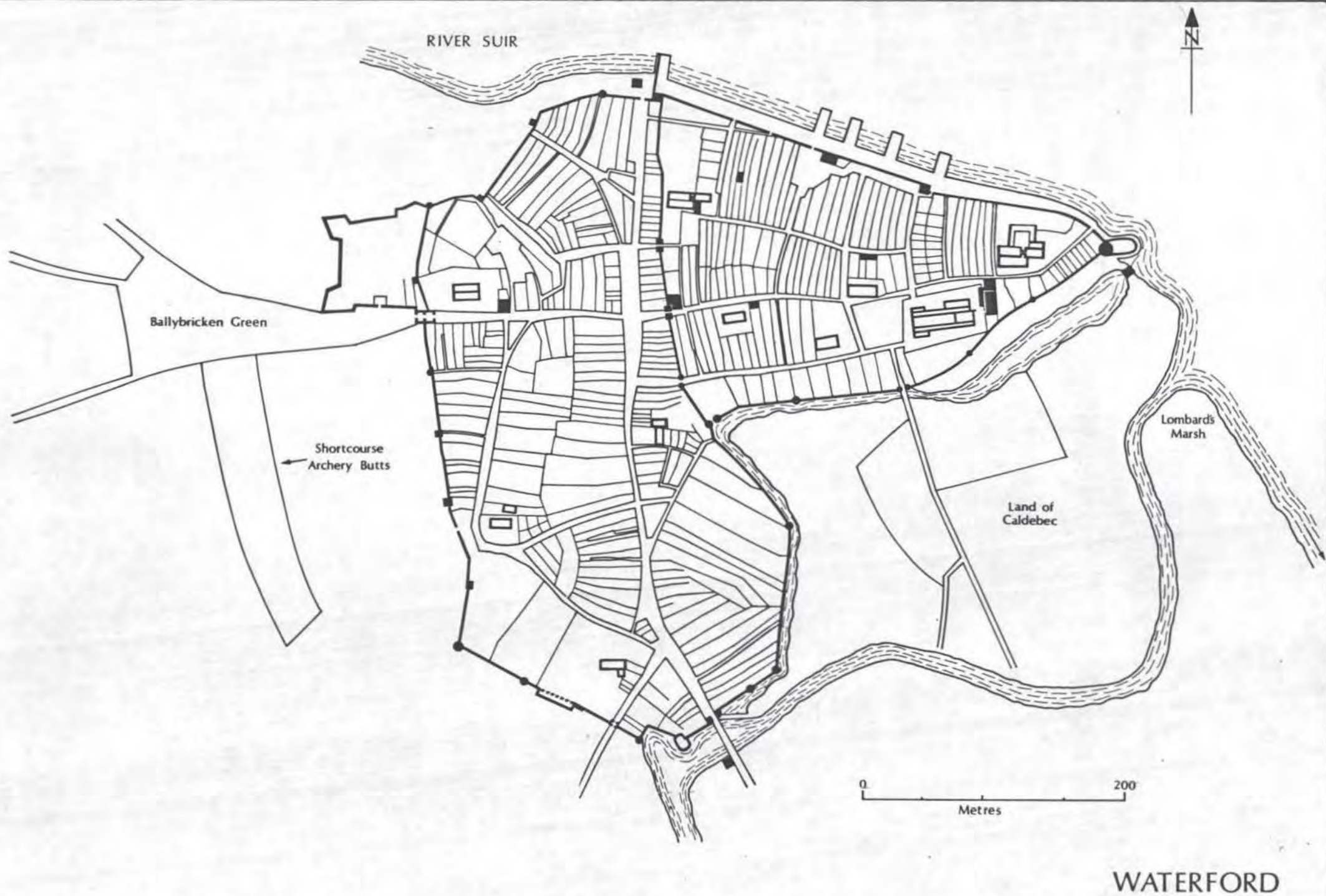


Fig. 60. Outline map of Waterford showing the burgage plot pattern reconstructed from the 19th cent. OS maps superimposed on the street plan shown by Phillips (1685).

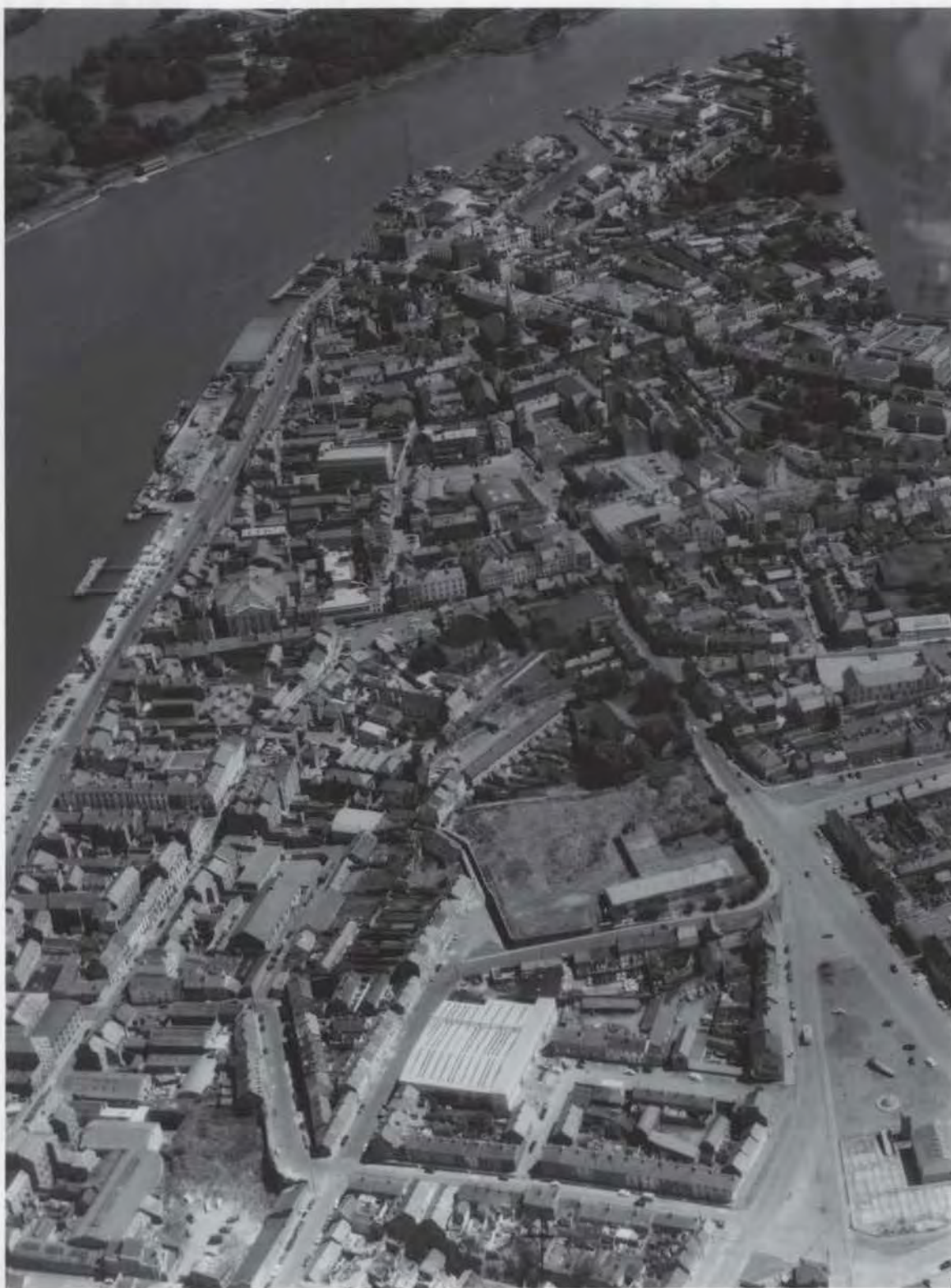


Fig. 61. Aerial view of Waterford from the west (Cambridge Aerial Coll.)

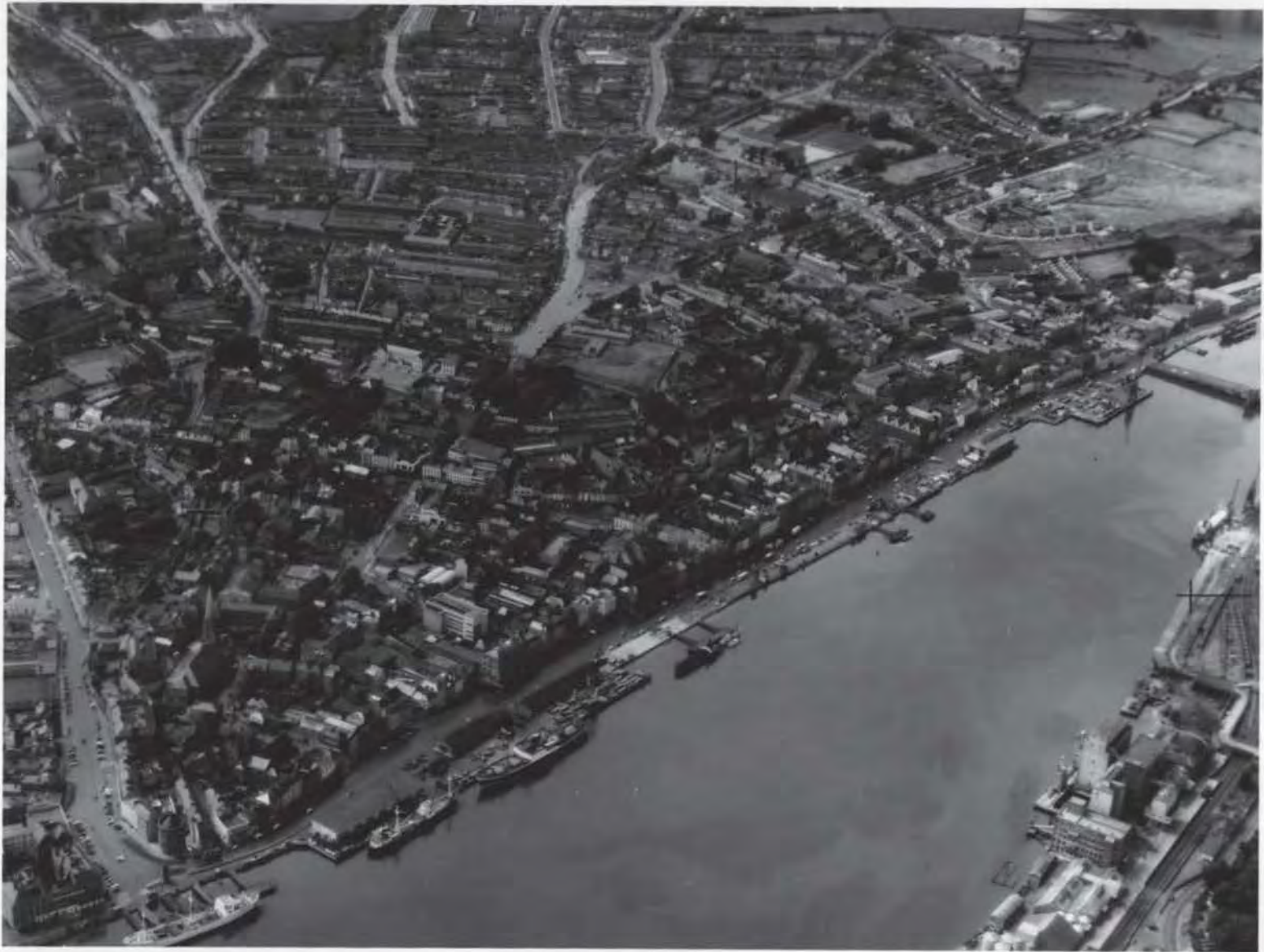


Fig. 62. Aerial view of Waterford from the NE (Cambridge Aerial Coll.)



Fig. 63. Door of seventeenth century house built on the site of St. Stephen's Hospital.

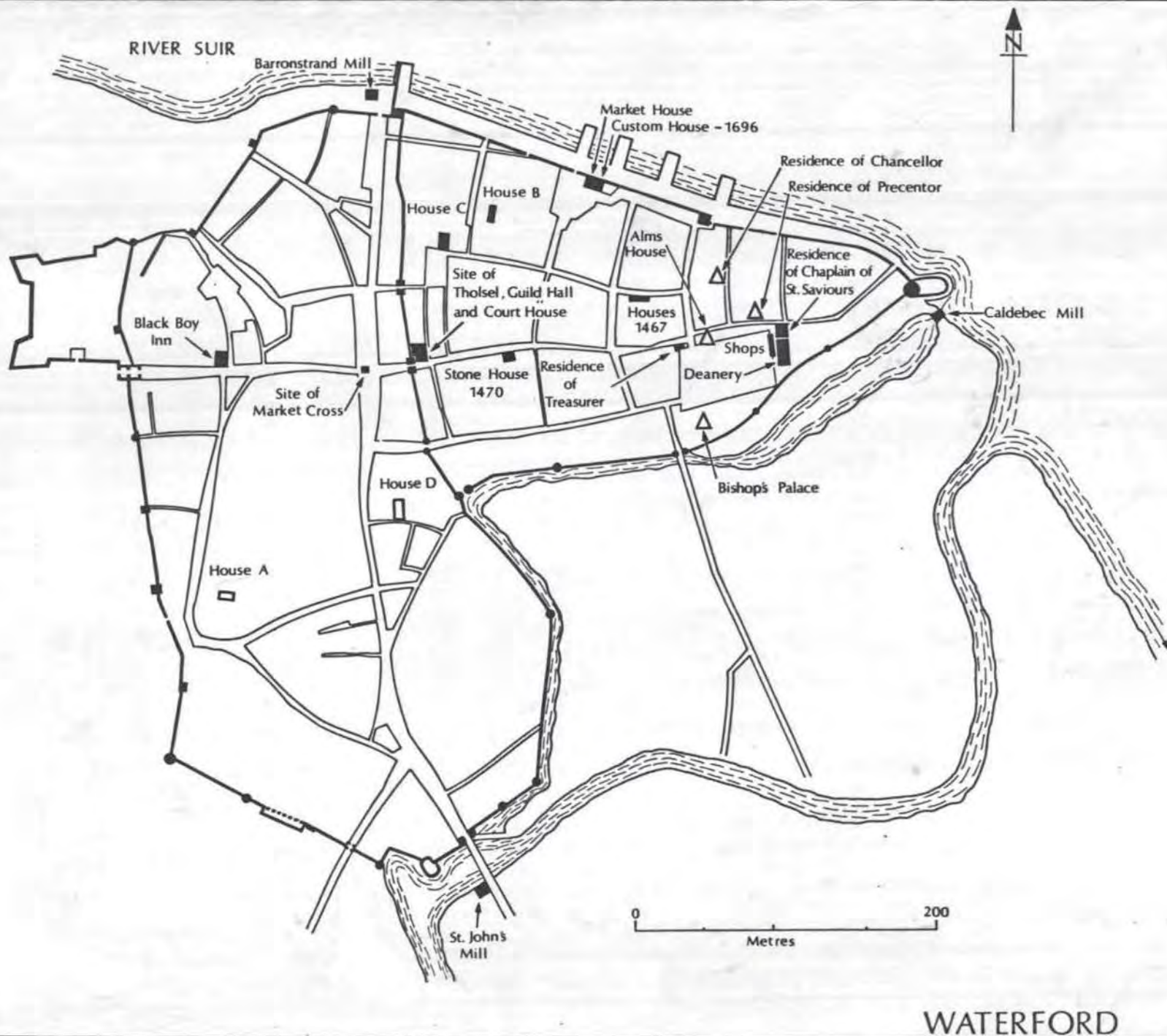
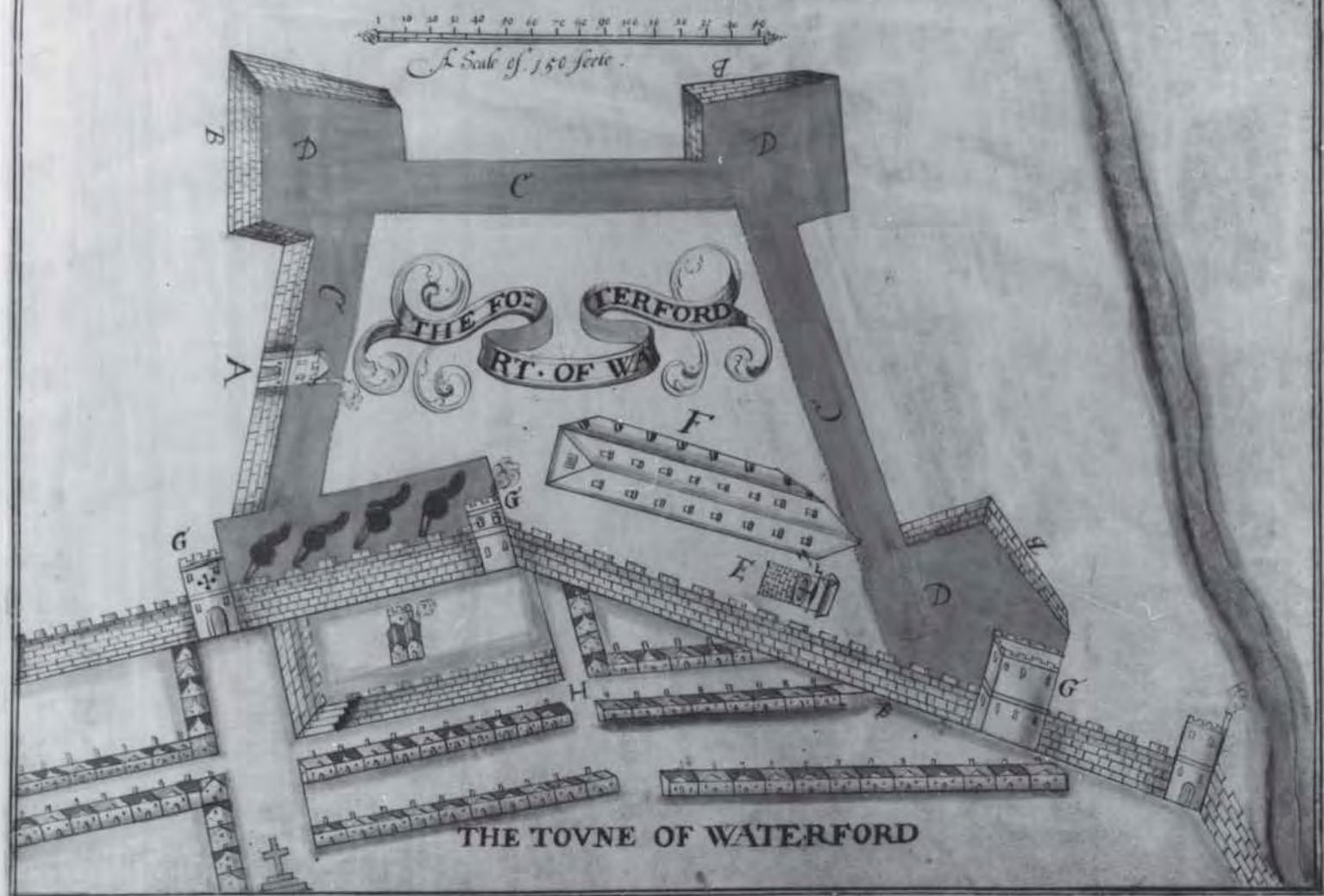


Fig. 64. Outline map of Waterford showing the location of the known pre-1700 houses and almshouses.



Fig. 65. Window of seventeenth century house built on the site of St. Stephen's Hospital.



Forte at Waterford

The Report of Captain Nicholas Pymer, how farre South he hath proceeded towards the Smothering of the Forte at Waterford, as appoynted by his L^{ty} to the Counsell of Warre dated the 26. of Decemb^r 1626

- It is first of all woods, stones and Lymes, being to the Dargett, founded upon a flatter Rocke.
- A The Gate is first of all built of good stones, with a Lodging in it, towards the flatter.
 - B The Walls of the Fort are 6 feet high of stone.
 - C A Rampart with 20 feet high.
 - D The Bulwarks are filled with earth, being 10 feet high.
 - E A Well cut out of the Rocke within the Fort.
 - F A House framed within the Fort of 100 feet long and 20 feet wide, the gables ends of the House are all of Lymes and stones. It is a store, and a place for the powder, and will hold 120 men. Being round it about 13 feet square.
 - G Taken into the Fort 3 Castles, being belonged to the Town, they are useless, and have no use in them for a store of Munition.
 - H The Town of Waterford.



Fig. 66. Plan of Waterford Fort in 1626 (TCD).

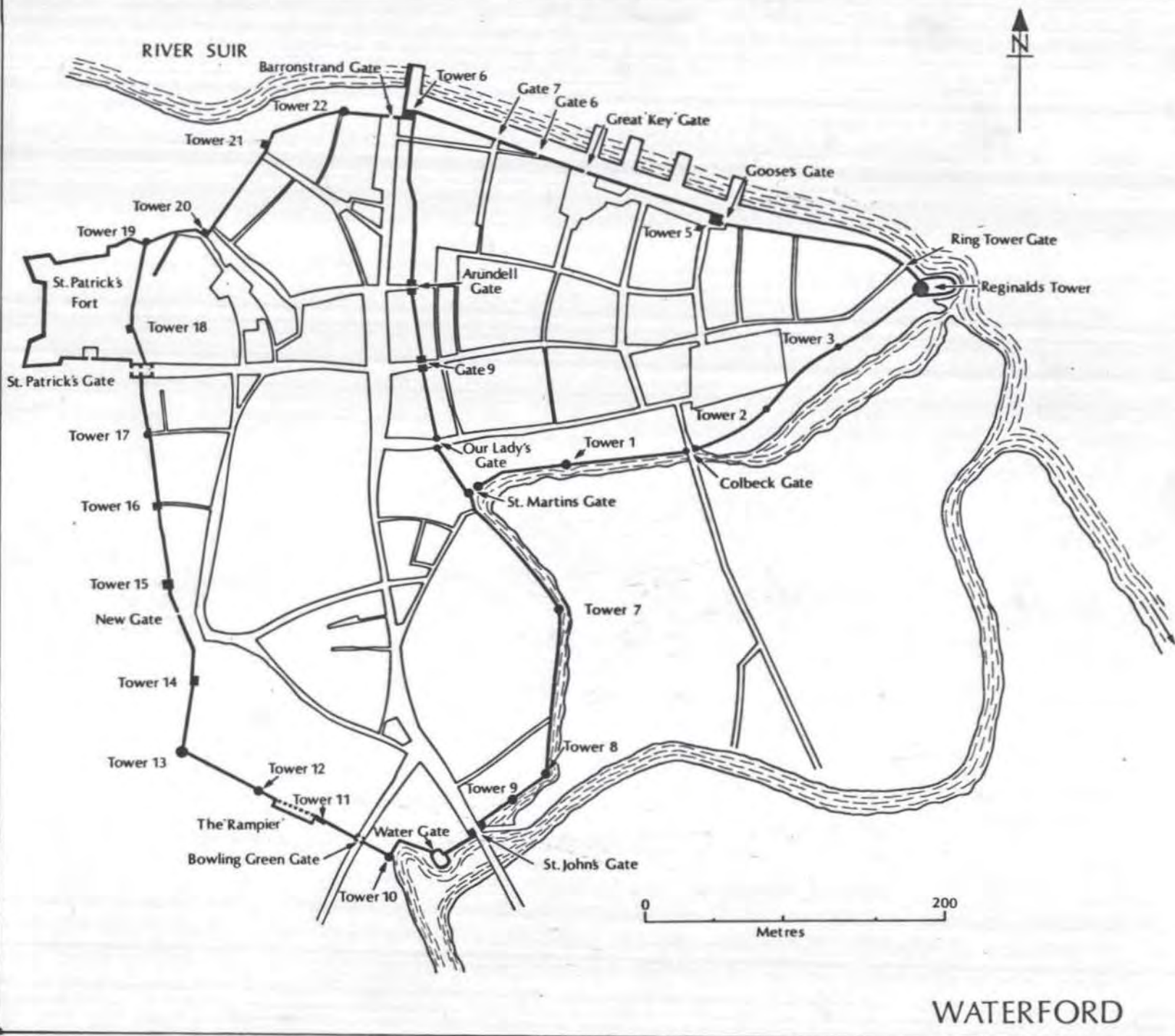


Fig. 67. Outline plan of the town walls of Waterford.



Fig. 68. St. Martin's Gate, Waterford, from SW.

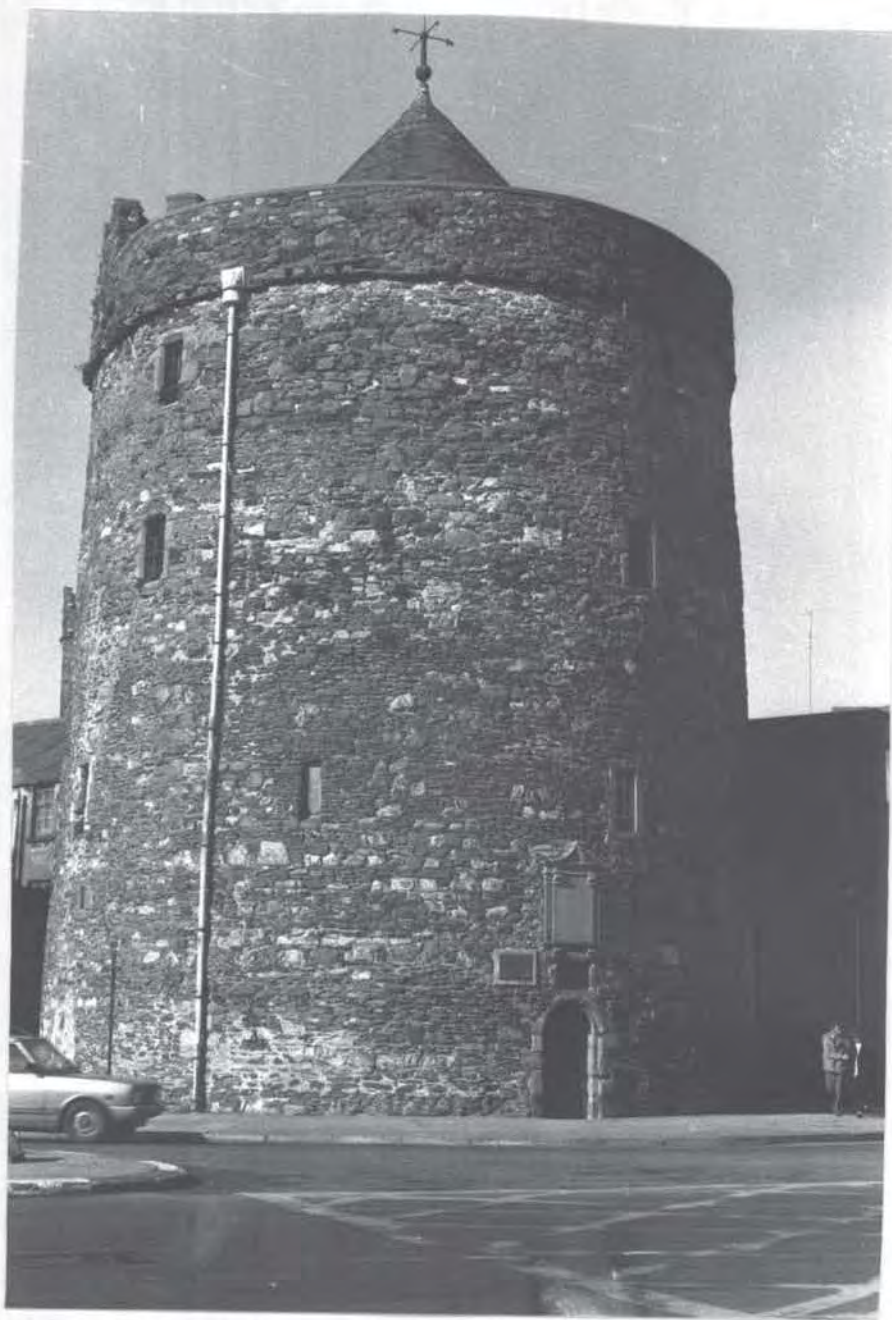


Fig. 69. Reginald's Tower, Waterford, from E.

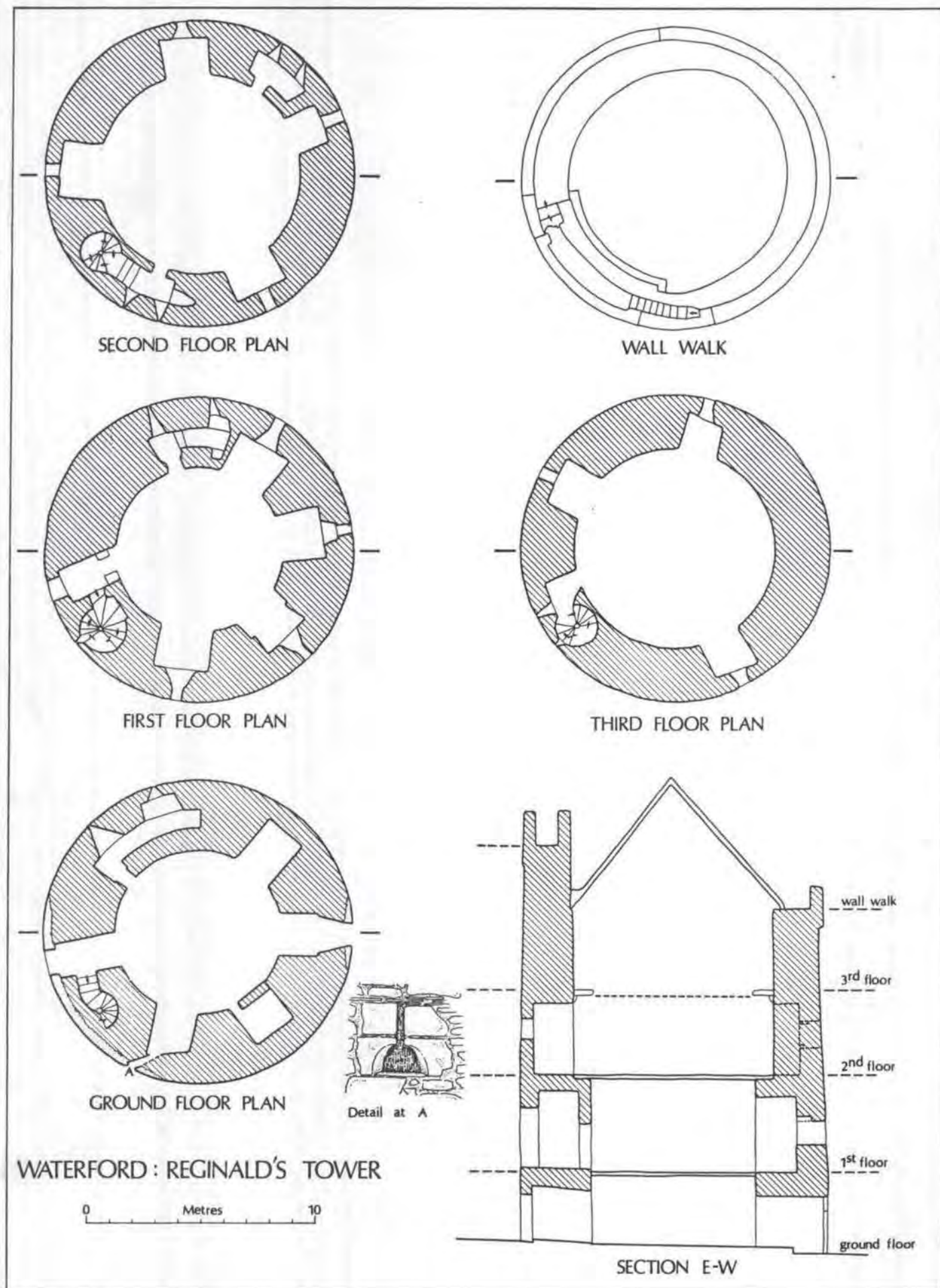


Fig. 70. Reginald's Tower: floor plans.



Fig. 71. Waterford, watergate in course of excavation, from south.

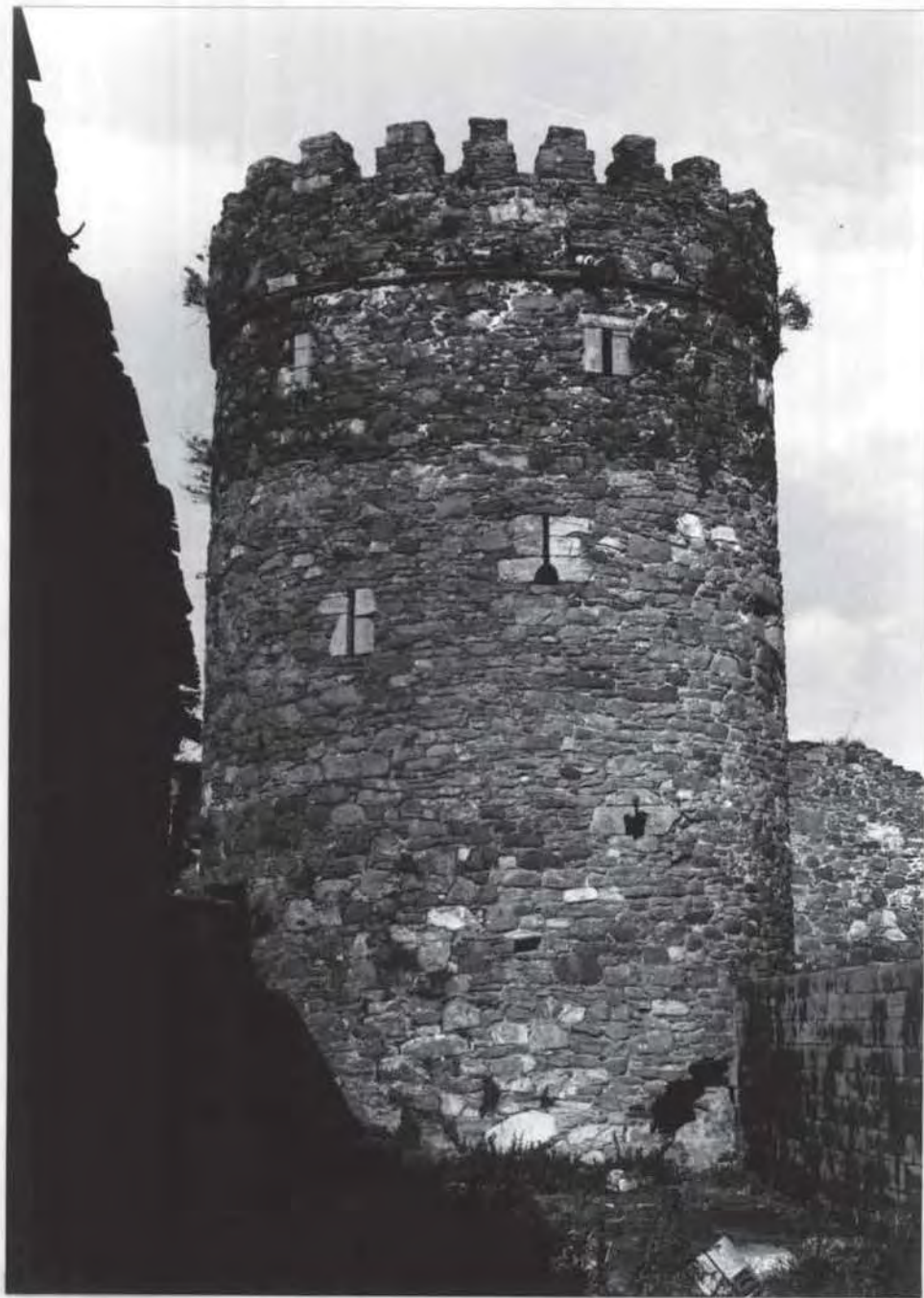


Fig. 72. Waterford, mural tower 10, 'the Watch Tower',
from SW.



Fig. 73. Waterford, mural tower 11, 'the Double Tower',
from SW.



Fig. 74. Waterford, mural tower 13, 'the French Tower', from west.

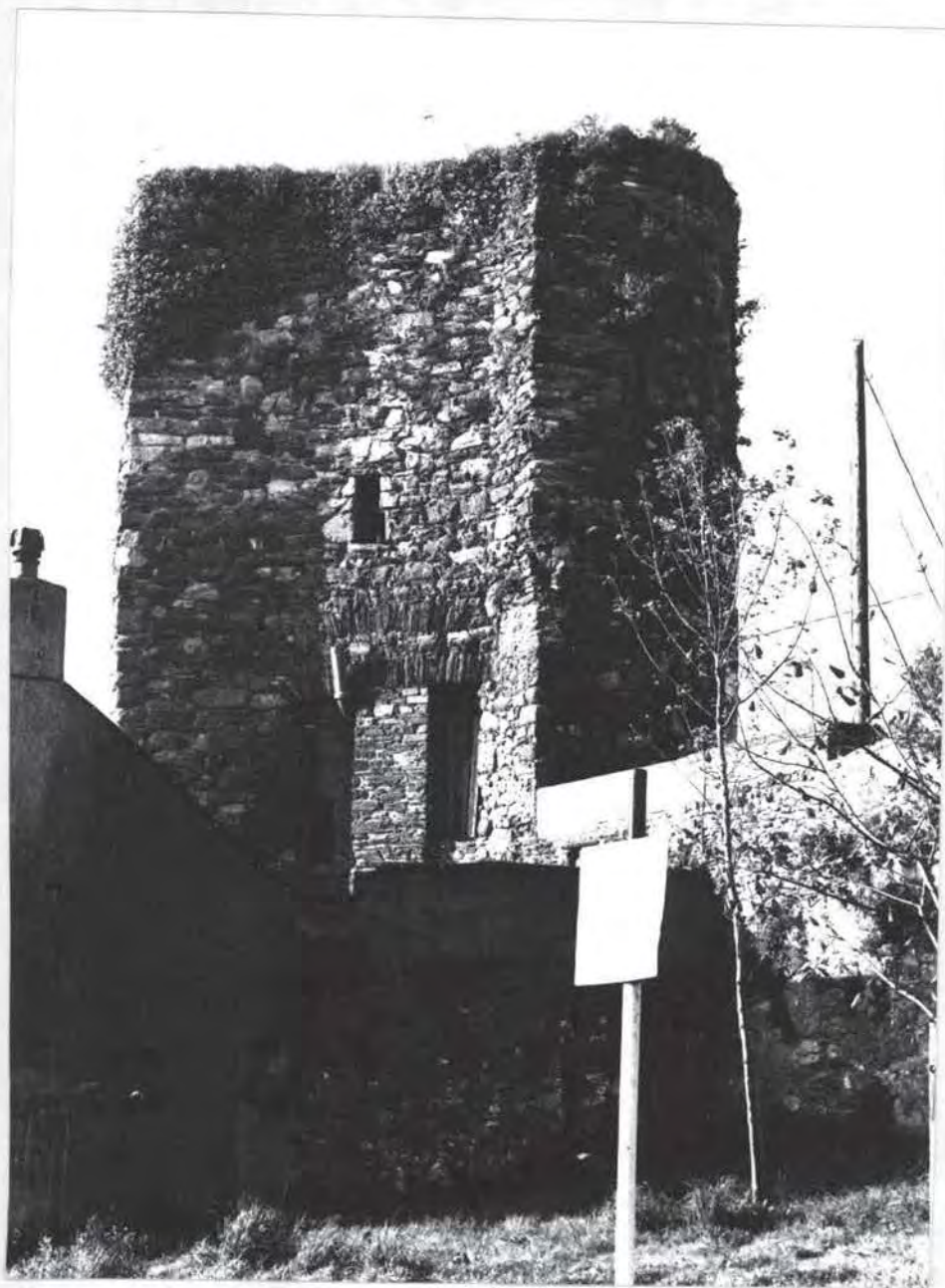


Fig. 75. Waterford, mural tower 13, 'the French Tower',
from east (interior).

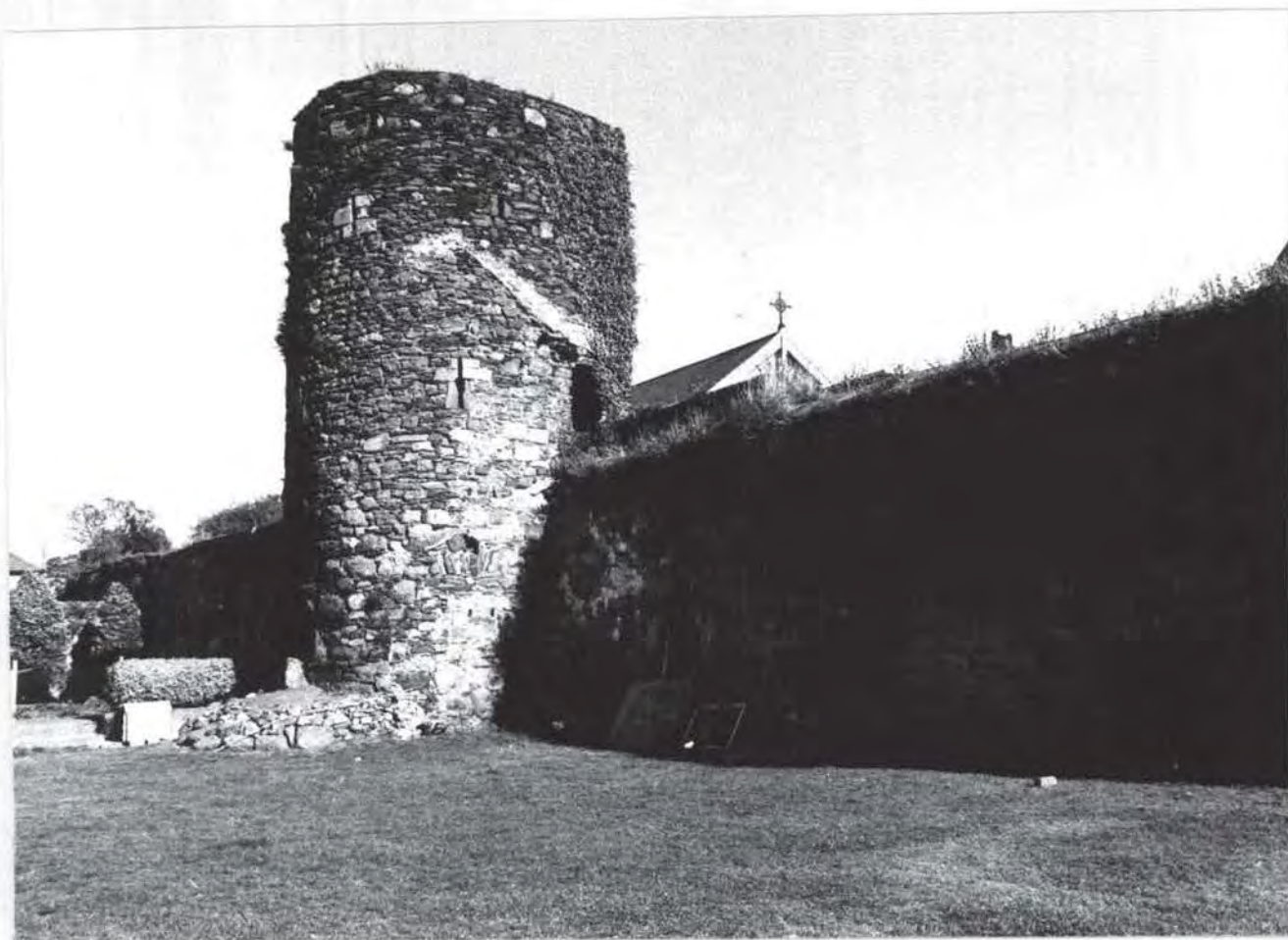


Fig. 76. Waterford, mural tower 17 in the de la Salle grounds from W.



Fig. 77. Waterford, town wall in the de la Salle grounds,
from E.

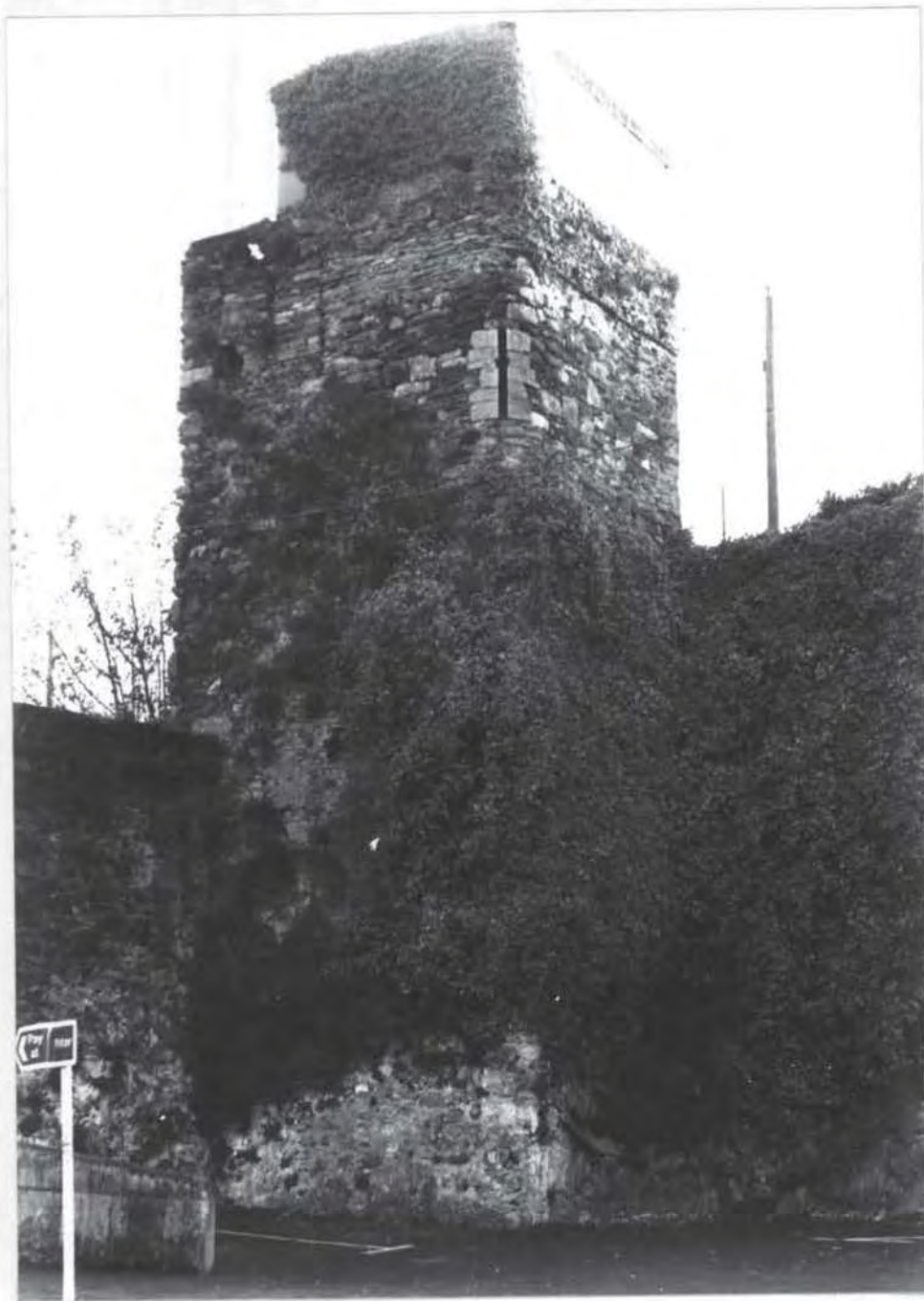


Fig. 78. Waterford, mural tower 20, 'the Beach Tower',
from SE.

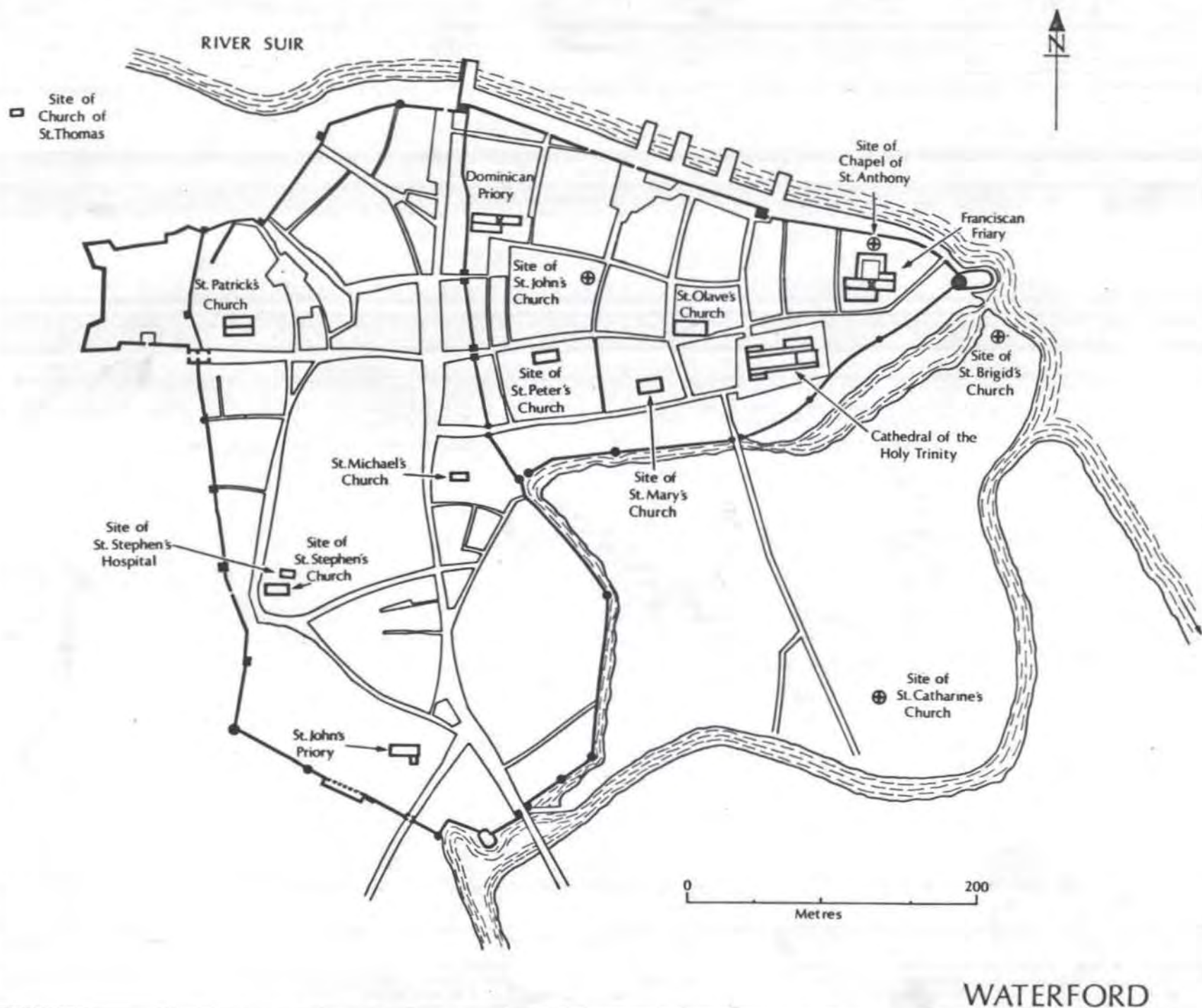
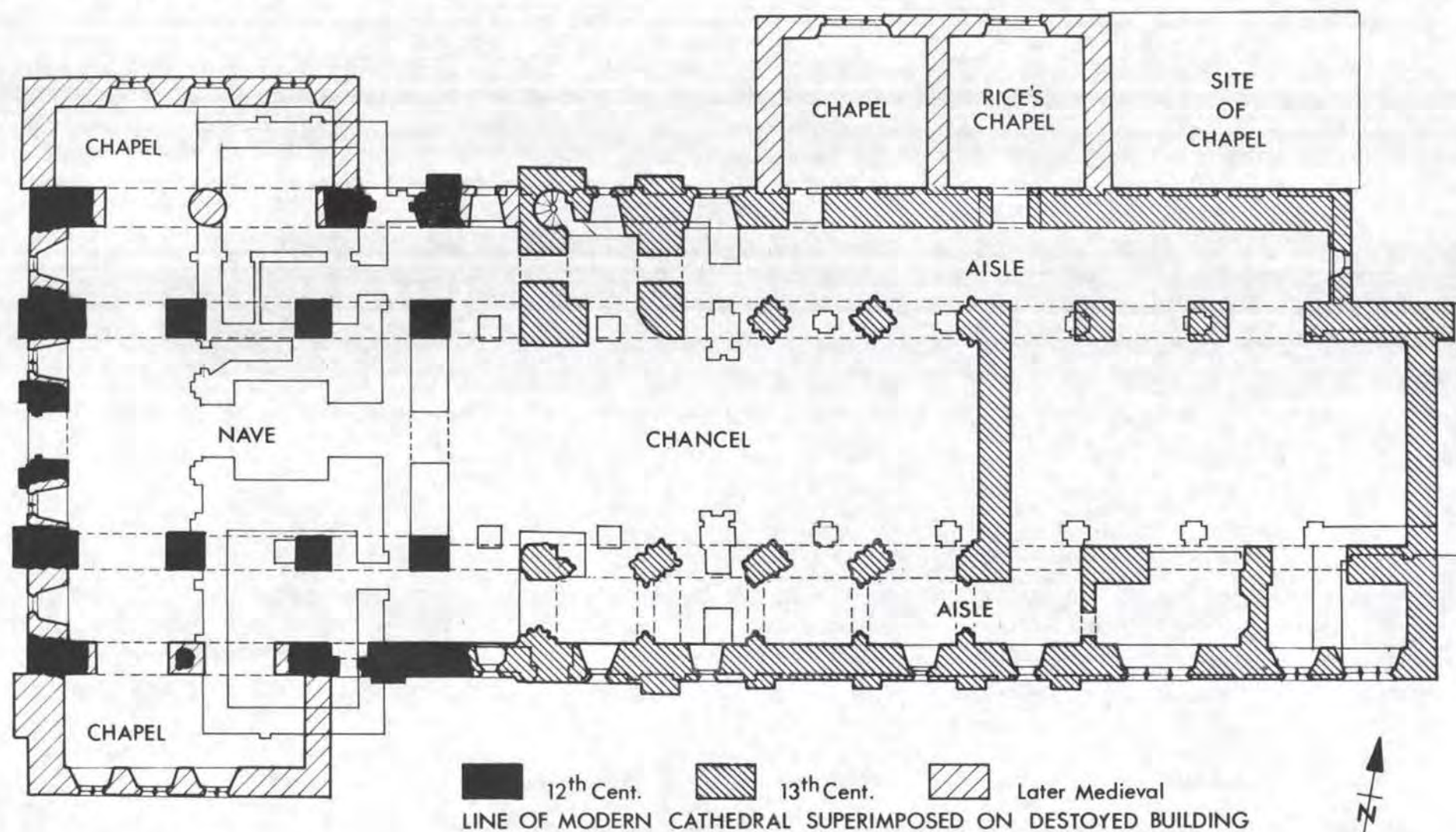


Fig. 79. Outline map of Waterford showing the location of the principal medieval churches and religious houses.



WATERFORD : CATHEDRAL

Fig. 80. Christ Church Cathedral, Waterford, ground plan showing the line of the present cathedral (1779) superimposed on the outline of the medieval building (after Harris).



Fig. 81. 13th century pier of Christ Church Cathedral, Waterford.



Fig. 82. 13th century capital with fleur-de-lys ornament,
Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin.



Fig. 83. 16th cent. window head, Christ Church Cathedral, Waterford.



Fig. 84. End panel of Rice tomb, Christ Church Cathedral, Waterford.



Fig. 85. Side panel of 16th century table tomb, Christ Church Cathedral, Waterford.



Fig. 86. 16th century female effigy, Christ Church Cathedral, Waterford.



Fig. 87. Armorial Plaque, Christ Church Cathedral, Waterford.

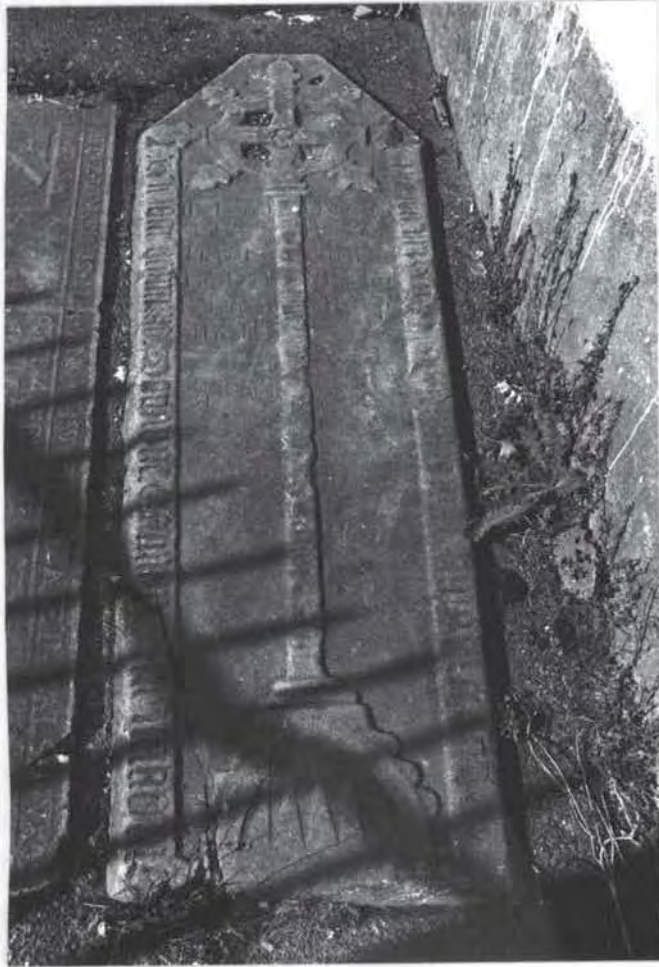


Fig. 88. 16/17th cent. grave slab, Christ Church Cathedral, Waterford.



Fig. 89. 16th cent. grave slab found in Lady Lane. Possibly from St. Mary's Church.

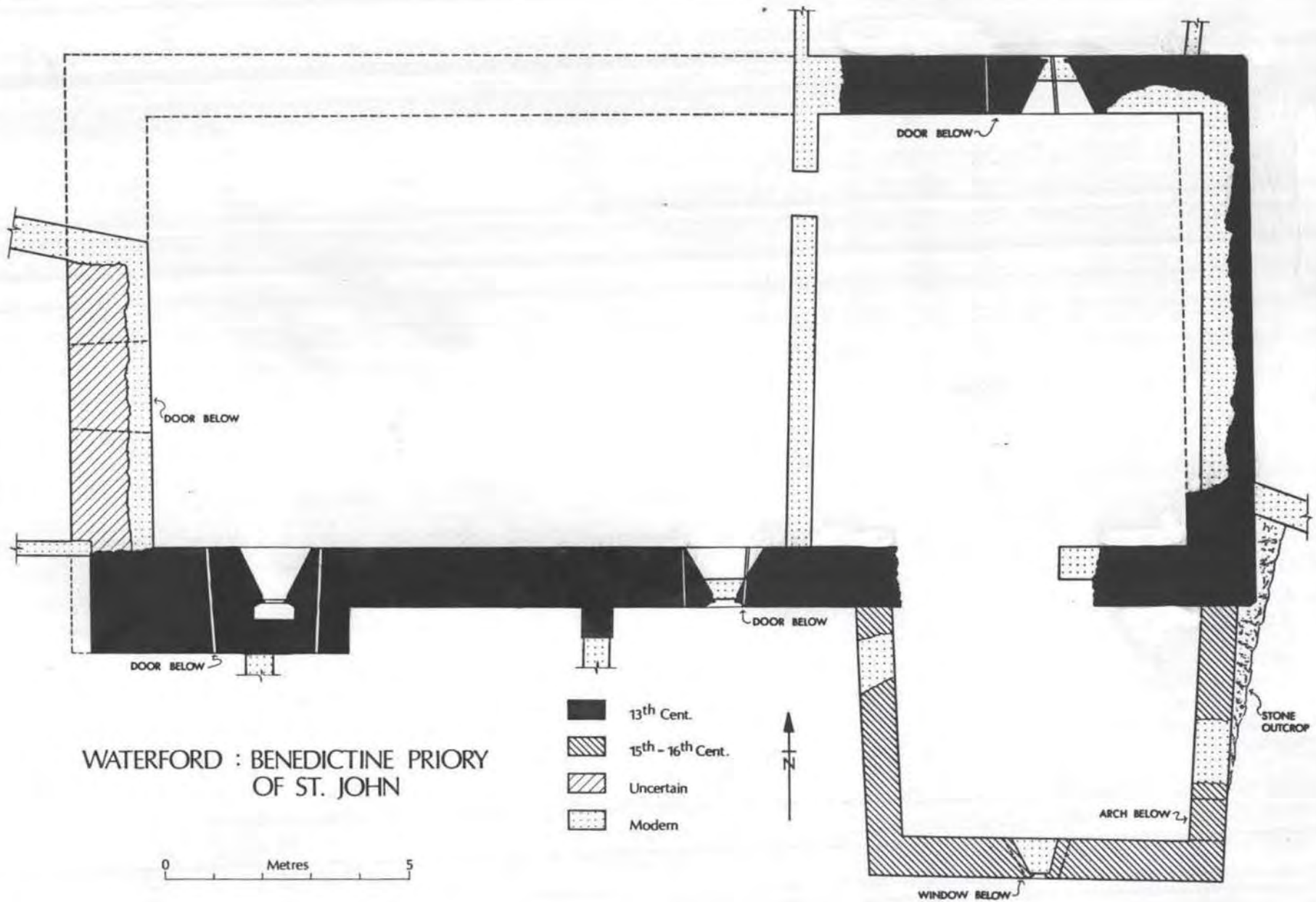


Fig. 90. St. John's (Benedictine) Priory, ground plan.

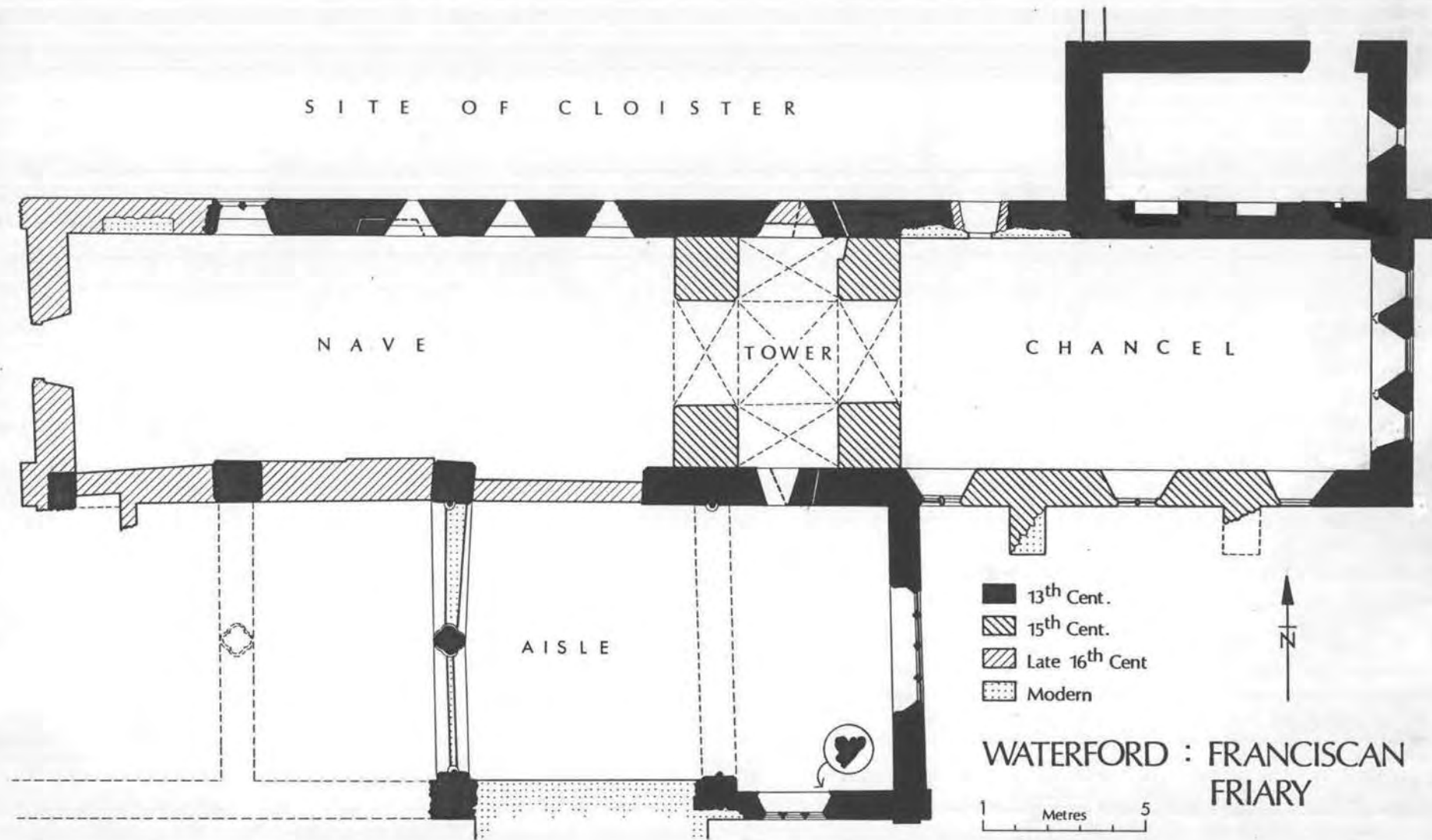


Fig. 91. Ground plan of the Franciscan Friary, Waterford.



Fig. 92. East window of Franciscan friary, Waterford.



Fig. 93. External view of the chancel south wall, Franciscan Friary, Waterford.



Fig. 94. Franciscan Friary, Waterford, Lady Chapel,
looking W.



Fig. 95. Tomb of Jon Lea and Helen Walsh (1597), Franciscan Friary, Waterford.

(a)



(b)



(c)



(d)



Fig. 96. Statues in Holy Ghost Hospital, Waterford:
(a) Romanesque Virgin and Child; (b) 13th century female saint; (c) St. Catherine, 15th cent.;
(d) St. Stephen, 15th/16th cent.



Fig. 97. Arms of the city of Waterford (1593), Reginald's Tower.