

# THE RURALIA XII CONFERENCE

Transitions and Transformations in the Medieval and Early Modern Countryside  
Wandel und Transformation im mittelalterlichen und frühneuzeitlichen ländlichen Raum  
Transitions et Transformations des Campagnes Médiévales et Modernes



Kilkenny (Ireland)  
11th – 17th September 2017

**RURALIA**

The Jean-Marie Pesez Conferences on Medieval Rural Archaeology

The RURALIA XII conference in Kilkenny, Ireland is organized by Niall Brady, Terry Barry, Mark Gardiner, Kieran O’Conor, Geraldine Stout and Claudia Theune. A special thanks goes to Peter Hinterdorfer, University of Vienna, for his constant help.

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# RURALIA

The Jean-Marie Pesez Conferences on Medieval Rural Archaeology

<http://www.ruralia.cz>

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**Venue:**

Main conference:

Newpark Hotel Kilkenny, Castlecomer Road, Kilkenny, Ireland

Tel: +353 56 7760500; Email [reception@newparkhotel.com](mailto:reception@newparkhotel.com)

[www.flynnhotels.com/Newpark\\_Hotel\\_Kilkenny/index.html](http://www.flynnhotels.com/Newpark_Hotel_Kilkenny/index.html)

Post conference:

Clonalis House, Castlerea, County Roscommon, Ireland

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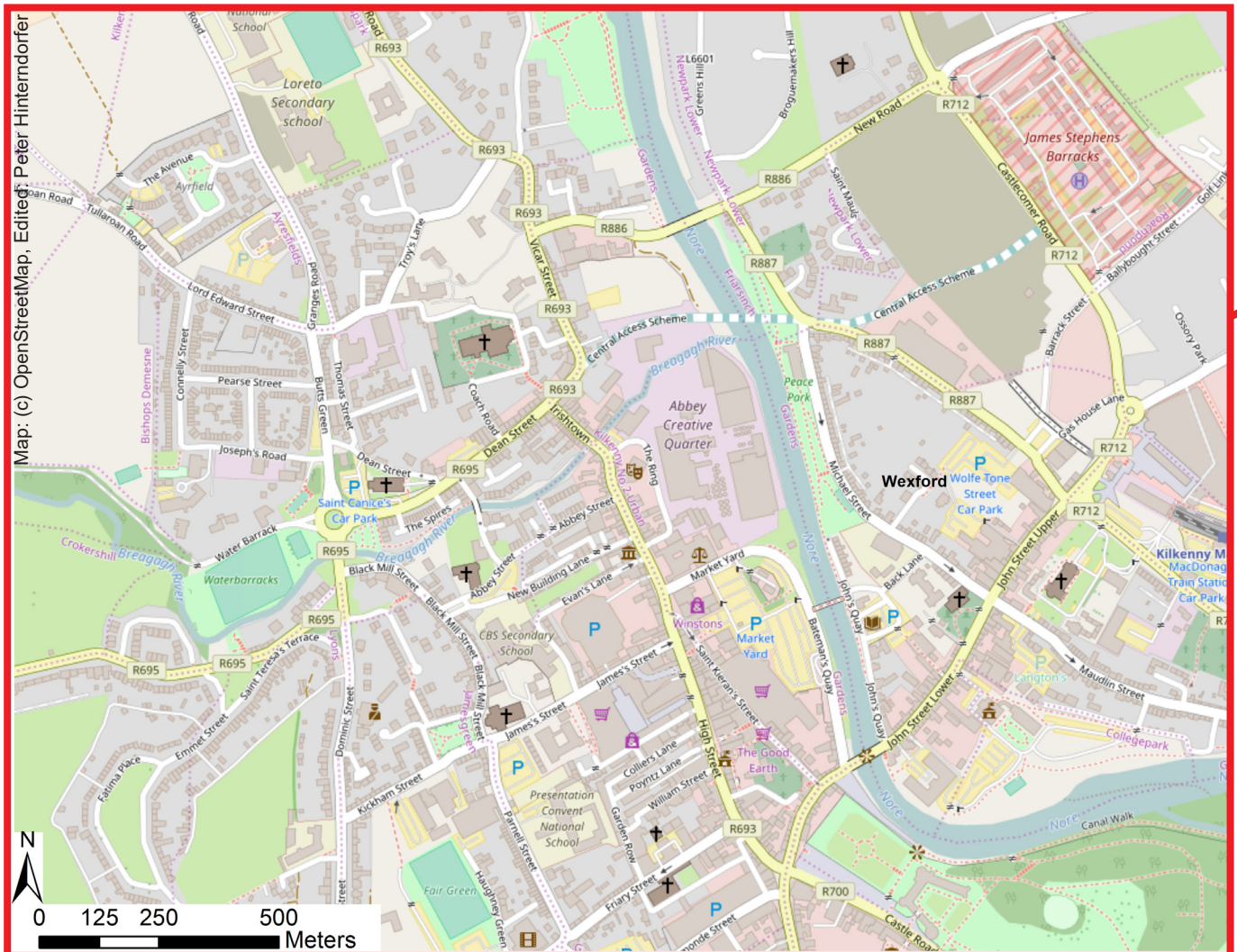
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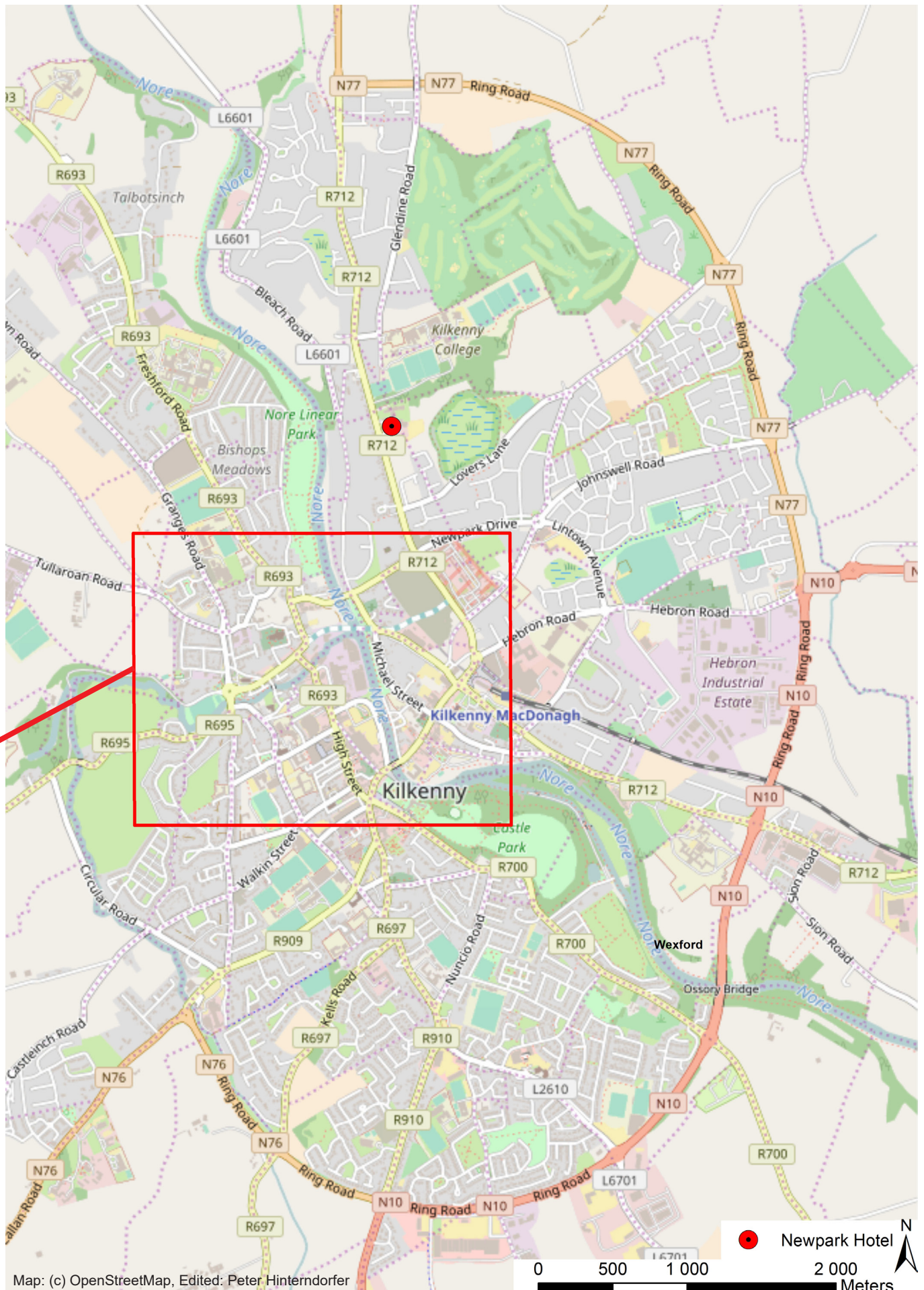
Scheduled departures every 2 or 3 hours, Dublin Airport to the Newpark Hotel, Kilkenny, costing €15 per person one way, and taking 2 to 2.5 hours depending on traffic. See <http://jjkavanagh.ie/>

**By Rail:**

There is currently no direct rail link to Dublin Airport. Taxi and bus services are available to most train stations throughout the Dublin area. Dublin Bus serves Heuston rail station, from where there is a direct train service to Kilkenny, costing approx. €25 per person and taking 2 hours. See <http://www.irishrail.ie/>

Kilkenny train station is a 5-minute car journey from the Hotel





Map: (c) OpenStreetMap, Edited: Peter Hinterndorfer

	Morning	Lunch	Afternoon	Evening
<b>Monday 11th Sept.</b>	Arrival	12:00: Registration, arrival	15.00: Welcome 15.30: Lectures 17.30: Walking tour in Medieval Kilkenny	19.00: Heritage Council Reception Bishop's Palace Kilkenny
<b>Tuesday 12th Sept</b>	8.30: Lectures	12:00: Lunch	13.00: Poster Presentation 14.30: Lectures	19.00: Dinner Newpark Hotel 20.30: Committee Meeting
<b>Wednesday 13th Sept</b>	9.00: Lectures	12.30: Lunch	14.00: Excursion Newtown Jerpoint Jerpoint Abbey	19.00: Kilkenny County Council Reception; Medieval Mile Museum, Kilkenny
<b>Thursday 14th Sept</b>	8.30:Excursion Co. Wexford Tintern Abbey, Clonmines	12.30: Lunch	14:00: Excursion Co. Wexford Harrylock Millstone Quarry; Baginbun; Slade Castle	19.00: Conference Dinner Newpark Hotel
<b>Friday 15th Sept</b>	9.00: Lectures	12:00: Lunch	13.00: Lectures Final remarks 14.30: Main conference close 14.45: Departure to Roscommon	17.00: Clonmacnoise 19.30: Arrival Clonalis 20.00: Dinner Clonalis
<b>Saturday 16th Sept</b>	10.00: Excursion Co. Roscommon Rathcroghan, Carns, Tulsk	13.00: Lunch: Mayor's Reception at Tulsk, Rathcroghan Heritage Center	14.30: Excursion Co. Roscommon Ballintober	20.00: Dinner Clonalis
<b>Sunday 17th Sept</b>	10.00: Excursion Co. Roscommon Roscommon Abbey Roscommon Castle	13.00: Lunch Roscommon 14.00: Departure		



**MONDAY, 11th SEPTEMBER**Morning  
& Lunch**Arrival and registration (12.00)**

Afternoon

15.00–15.30

**Welcome (Representatives of the Kilkenny County Council, the Heritage Council, the President of RURALIA, the Head of the Organising Committee)****Panel 1:**

15.30–17.00

**Transitions and transformation after the Roman Empire**  
**Chair: *Niall Brady****Rotili, Marcello (Italy)*

Transformations of settlements for agricultural production between Late Antiquity and Early Middle Ages in Italy

*Groenewoudt, Bert and Van Lanen, Rowin (The Netherlands)*

Post-Roman demographic dynamics in the Rhine-Meuse delta (The Netherlands). Towards evidence-based reconstructions

*Auf der Maur, Christian (Switzerland)*

Settlement development of an early medieval habitat at Sursee (Canton of Lucerne, Switzerland); exogene and endogene characteristics of an early elite?

Late Afternoon

17.30–19.00

**Walking tour of Medieval Kilkenny**

Evening

19.00

**Heritage Council Reception, Bishop's Palace, Kilkenny****TUESDAY, 12th SEPTEMBER**

Morning

**Panel 2:**

08.30–10.30

**Transitions and transformations in southern Europe from the Early Medieval Period to the High Middle Ages**  
**Chair: *Rainer Schreg****Carboni, Francesca and Vermeulen, Frank (Belgium)*

Deciphering transformations of rural settlement and land-use patterns in central Adriatic Italy between the 6th and the 12th century AD

*Corsi, Cristina (Italy)*

Beyond the borders: transformations, acculturation and adaptation between Latium and Campania during the Lombard Period (6th–10th c.)

*Algería Tejedor, Walter and Soler Sala Maria and Sancho I Planas, Marta (Spain)*

Mountain communities in the Catalan Pyrenees: 25 years of archaeological research

*Bolòs, Jordi (Spain)*

Not so dark centuries: changes and continuities in the Catalan landscape (6th–12th centuries)

Coffee Break  
10.30–11.00

**Panel 3:**

11.00–12.00 **Colonisation and further development**  
**Chair: *Christiane Bis-Worch***

*von Doesburg, Jan (The Netherlands)*

The winds of change: settlement decline in the coastal landscapes of the Northern Netherlands

*Legut-Pintal, Maria (Poland)*

Late medieval transformation of rural landscape. Case study from terra Nizensis, Silesia, Poland

Lunch  
12.00–13.00

**Poster Presentation (Alphabetic Sequence)**

13.00–14.30 *Beres, Mária (Hungary)*

Some characteristic features of the rural towns of the Hungarian Plain during the 16th–18th centuries

*Bosino, Nicola (Italy)*

Rural settlement and economy in Campania (South Italy) between Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages

*Cordero Ruiz, Tomás (Portugal)*

Change and continuity in rural Early Medieval Hispania. Comparative multidisciplinary approach to the countryside's of Egitania (Idanha-a-Nova, Portugal) and Emerita (Mérida, Spain)

*Holata, Lukáš (Great Britain)*

Settlement abandonment in Dartmoor (England): New appraisal in light of land-use transformations and the wider context of settlement evolution

*Lafaye, Annejulie (Ireland)*

Mendicant friaries and settlement development in Ireland: the foundations of the Augustinian Hermits in Cos Mayo and Sligo

*Newman, Caron (Great Britain)*

The Anglo-Scottish Western March. A landscape in transition, 14th–17th century

*Newman Richard (Great Britain)*

Understanding earthworks and building form in Northern England: shedding new light on post medieval transformations of the medieval rural landscape

*Prata, Sara (Portugal)*

Transition and change in the early medieval countryside in central Portugal (Castelo de Vides's territory c. 500–800 A.D.)

*López, Esteban and Díaz, Ignacio and Retamero, Félix (Spain)*

One land, two peasantries: Moriscos and Christians in the upper Genal Valley, Malaga (16th–18th centuries)

*Sárosi, Edit and Wilhelm, Gábor (Hungary)*

Settlements, authority and commerce during the Ottoman rule in the central part of Hungary

*Theune, Claudia (Austria)*

Climate change and economic development in the Alps in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Period

*Vargha, Mária (Hungary)*

The Christianisation of Medieval Hungary: the transformation of the Countryside

*Verspay, Johan (Netherlands)*

Brabant in Late Middle Ages: the transformation of a rural landscape

*Virgili, Antoni and Kirchner, Helena (Spain)*

The impact of the Catalan conquest of Tortosa on the agrarian landscape: new channels and watermills (Tortosa, Spain)

*Welinder, Stig (Sweden)*

The long-term history of a deserted farm

Afternoon

**Panel 4:**

14.30–16.00 **Transitions and transformations due to political, social and economic structures in the Middle Ages, Part 1**

**Chair: *Eva Svensson***

*Nowotny, Elisabeth (Austria)*

Change in rural settlement in eastern Central Europe from the Early to the Later Middle Ages

*Janeš, Andrej and Hirschler-Maric, Ivana (Croatia)*

The transformation of settlements in eastern Slavonia in the period from the 12th to the 15th century

*Klír, Tomáš (Czech Republic)*

Rural settlements in Bohemia in the “Age of Transition” (14th to 16th century)

Coffee break

16.00–16.30

16.30–18.00 **Transitions and transformations due to political, social and economic structures in the Middle Ages, Part 2**

**Chair: *Frode Iversen***

*Schreg, Rainer (Germany)*

Late medieval deserted settlements in Southern Germany as a consequence of long-term landscape transformations

*Takács, Miklós and Rácz, Tibor Ákos (Hungary)*

Interpreting the landscape in the middle parts of the Carpathian Basin in the 8–13th c. AD: The effects of the political events on contemporary settlement structures

*Ødegaard, Marie (Norway)*

Assembling in times of transitions – the case of cooking pit sites

Evening

19.00–20.00 **Dinner at Newpark Hotel**

20.30–22.00 **Committee Meeting**

## WEDNESDAY, 13th SEPTEMBER

Morning

**Panel 4:**

9.00–10.00 **Transitions and transformations due to political, social and economic structures in the Middle Ages, Part 3**  
**Chair: Mark Gardiner**

*Makarov, Nikolaj (Russia)*

Suzdal, the core area of North-Eastern Rus': the rise and transformation of rural settlement network from 900 – 1350 AD

*Svensson, Eva (Sweden)*

Crisis or transition? An environmental justice perspective on Scandinavian outland use in the Viking Age and Middle Ages

Coffee break  
 10.00–10.30

**Panel 5:**

10.30–12.30 **Transitions and transformations from Medieval to Modern Times from a longue durée perspective**  
**Chair: Miklós Takacs**

*Hansen, Jesper (Denmark)*

Land organizational changes on Funen, Denmark, from 500-1200 AD

*Zatykó, Csilla (Hungary)*

Causes and effects in human landscape interaction in medieval Hungary

*Duma, Paweł and Piekalski, Jerzy and Łuczak, Anna (Poland)*

Kopaniec in Izera Mountains. An example of unusual transformation of villages after the period of the Thirty Year's War (1618–1648) in Silesia

*Franzén, Ådel V. (Sweden)*

Resources, relations and rights. Conflicting views on the small farm Bollarp

Lunch  
 12.30–13.30

Afternoon

14.00–18.00 **Excursion to Newtown Jerpoint, Jerpoint Abbey**

Evening

19.00 **Kilkenny County Council Reception; Medieval Mile Museum, Kilkenny**

**THURSDAY, 14th SEPTEMBER**

All-day

8.30–18.00 **Excursion to Co. Wexford: Tintern Abbey, Clonmines, Harrylock Millstone Quarry, Baginbun and Slade Castle**

Evening

19.00 **Conference Dinner**

**FRIDAY, 15th SEPTEMBER**

Morning

**Panel 6:**

9.00–10.00 **Transitions and transformations in Modern Times**  
**Chair: *Tomáš Klír***

*Kühtreiber, Thomas and Tarcsay, Gábor and Zorko, Michaela (Austria)*

From tilling to stock farming: indoor breeding as promoter for the development of multi-wing farmsteads in Eastern Austria?

*Campbell, Eve (Ireland)*

Disappearing villages: post-famine landscape reorganisation at Keem, Achill Island

Coffee break  
10.00–10.30

**Panel 7:**

10.30–12.00 **The impact of religious institutions on land-use and settlement patterns**  
**Chair: *Piers Dixon***

*Stevens, Paul (Ireland)*

The Role of the church in the expansion of the economy in Ireland, AD 400–1100

*Tente, Catarina (Portugal)*

No smoke without fire. Burning and changing settlements in 10th-century central-northern Portugal

*López Quiroga, Jorge (Spain)*

The making of the early medieval rural landscape in Galicia (Northwest of the Iberian Peninsula, 500–1000 A.D.)

Lunch  
12.00–13.00

**Panel 8:**

13.00–14.30 **Settlement development after catastrophes**  
**Chair: Claudia Theune**

*Lewis, Carezza (Great Britain)*

New evidence for the impact of the Black Death on rural settlements in England from archaeological test-pit excavation

*Iversen, Frode (Norway)*

The event of AD 536 and its impact on rural settlements in Scandinavia

*Claudia Theune (on behalf of the organizing committee)*

Final remarks and discussion

**Main conference close**

Afternoon

14.45 **Departure to post-conference field excursion to Co. Roscommon via Clonmacnoise**

**SATURDAY, 16th SEPTEMBER**

All-day

10.00 **Excursion in Co. Roscommon: Rathcroghan, Carns, Tulsk, Ballintober**

Lunchbreak

13.00 **Rathcroghan Heritage Centre with Cathairloch for Roscommon**

**SUNDAY, 17th SEPTEMBER**

Morning

10.00 **Excursion in Co. Roscommon: Roscommon Town, Abbey and Castle**

Lunchbreak

13.00 **Roscommon**

Afternoon

14.00 **End of conference and departure**

## ABSTRACTS

### PANEL 1 – TRANSITIONS AND TRANSFORMATIONS AFTER THE ROMAN EMPIRE

#### PAPERS

#### **Transformations of settlements for agricultural production between Late Antiquity and Early Middle Ages in Italy.**

*MARCELLO ROTILI*

From the third-fourth century the progressive decline of the *villae rusticae* and family farms, as a consequence of the economic and demographic crisis, led to the formation of settlements on the hills in which was gathering a large part of the peasant population. This important aspect of the transformation of the Roman world has been highlighted by the archaeological research which showed the structures of these villages, or sometimes just the graves of their inhabitants. Excavations have also highlighted, particularly in the Italian regions of Friuli, Tuscany and Campania, that the phenomenon intensified especially in the fifth and sixth centuries, when were founded villages of huts and poor houses (Montella, Sant ,Angelo dei Lombardi): the living standards were lined to those of elsewhere in Europe. There is no evidence to claim that the wooden building spread is a reflection of the presence of German populations in Italy (Lombards, for instance): the new settlement patterns and social groupings they express derived primarily from changes in society and economy of the Late Antiquity. The *curtis* was a significant example of the reorganization of production relationships.

#### **Post-Roman demographic dynamics in the Rhine-Meuse delta (The Netherlands). Towards evidence-based reconstructions.**

*BERT GROENEWOUDT & ROWIN VAN LANEN*

Some myths connected to compelling episodes in history are remarkably persistent. There can be little doubt that the abandonment of the Roman limes along the river Rhine (around AD 270) had profound implications, that it triggered major changes. However, what notions are based on facts, and what is mere fiction? Until recently it was generally believed that during the fifth century the present-day Netherlands were largely depopulated. That has turned out to be a myth. Recent evidence-based reconstructions have demonstrated that the historical reality (as far is demography is concerned) was much more complex. New settlement (and landscape) data point to a surprising degree of regional and temporal diversity in post-Roman population dynamics. These data will be presented and interpreted. First general patterns will be discussed, than one area (part of the Rhine-Meuse delta) will be studied in detail. The time-frame will be the period AD 250–750.

#### **Settlement development of a early medieval habitat at Sursee (Canton of Lucerne, Switzerland), exogene and endogene characteristics of a early elite?**

*CHRISTIAN AUF DER MAUR*

The small town of Sursee lies on the banks of the river Sure, northern outflow of he lake of Sempach. Since roman times, it plays an important role as intersection of local traffic routes and



place with centralistic significance. After being continuously settled in the late roman period, the settlement gains new territory in the 6th century AD. The transformation in building from stone- to woodwork has achieved its peak. The ribbon-built settlement with pavement, farmyards and regulated branch of the river Sure reveals a highly structured society. The early wooden church of Saint George was founded by members of a local elite. Since its tombs don't have any grave goods, the local habitants are considered romanesque which is confirmed by the use of wheel made ceramic. If they are part of either a autochthonous or immigrated people, can't be defined easily. The kind of ceramic reveals connections to the hinterlands of Basel and the region of the Upper Rhine. A generation later, the church was newly built in stonework: the founder was buried in a stone-built grave with few grave goods. New elements are coming up with the 7th century AD: germanic tradition of grave goods spreads in cemeteries in surrounding areas of Sursee. Isolated burial grounds with weapons and equestrian equipment emerge within the late 7th century AD. An equestrian with its equipment was buried by the church of Saint George as well. They are evidence of a rising elite: do they take part of the historical Alemannic people? Further evidence of a seigneurial society are infrastructures such as the construction of paved roads.

## **PANEL 2 – TRANSITIONS AND TRANSFORMATIONS IN SOUTHERN EUROPE FROM THE EARLY MEDIEVAL PERIOD TO THE HIGH MIDDLE AGES**

### **PAPERS**

#### **Deciphering transformations of rural settlement and land-use patterns in central Adriatic Italy between the 6th and the 12th century AD**

*FRANCESCA CARBONI & FRANK VERMEULEN*

The proposed paper tackles the challenging integration of new archaeological methods of landscape survey, associated pottery studies and in depth regional-historical research, focusing on the Marche region, in Adriatic Italy. It addresses the aspects of the “long durée” transition between the Early to High Middle Ages, discussing the evolution of rural settlements and landuse patterns and of administrative and economic catchment areas, in connection with the evolution and shift of urban sites and central places. This examination is mainly based on the results of the geoarchaeological project conducted by a team of Ghent University in the Potenza valley (MC, Le Marche, Italy), since 2000. The conclusions of this case study have been integrated in a wider picture, considering the historical, political and environmental features of different river valleys which form the Marche district, which partly comprises the ancient regions Picenum and Umbria. This allows to present a regional synthesis of change through time from the period following the Lombard conquest (AD 580) to the Medieva Communal age, which marked the stabilisation of the regional settlement system and the onset of new solutions to the impact of centuries of intensive agricultural exploitation in the river landscape during Roman times.

#### **Beyond the Borders: transformations, acculturation and adaptation between Latium and Campania during the Lombard Period (6th–10th c.)**

*CHRISTINA CORSI*

With the arrival of the Lombards in the Italian peninsula (AD 568), the region between Lazio and Campania, geographically characterised by the presence of the Garigliano and Volturno river valleys flowing into the Tyrrhenian Sea, starts to be configured as a “borderland”. Indeed, more than a real frontier, this wide area, comprised between the Roman towns of Aquinum and Capua, will play the role of a buffer zone, between the Lombard Duchies of Spoleto and Benevento and

the Duchy of Rome, which, being part of the Byzantine Exarchate of Ravenna, was practically ruled by the popes of Rome.

A revision of former studies and a new season of research brought to light a composite reality, where conversion of economic activities, transformations of settlement patterns, acculturation phenomena, alteration of the social and ethnical composition and changes in the communication networks occur, in towns as well as in the countryside.

We will present and discuss these new data and changes, focusing on the period comprised between the infiltration and settling of the Lombards, during the last thirty years of the 6th century AD, and the arrival of the Carolingians from the beginning of the 9th and through the 10th centuries.

### **Mountain communities in the Catalan Pyrenees: 25 years of archaeological research**

*WALTER ALEGRÍA TEJEDOR & MARIA SOLER SALA & MARTA SANCHO I PLANAS*

Since 1992 the archaeological research team led by Dr. Marta Sancho i Planas has carried out different archaeological interventions in medieval digs comprised between the 5th and 15th centuries. These digs are located in the pre-Pyrenees, a mountainous zone placed between the plains of western Catalonia and the Pyrenees, with altitudes comprised between 350 and 1700 meters. The rivers, which run from north to south, go through different mountain ranges and create an abrupt relief, with tall escarpments and canyons. The great variety of natural resources in the area allowed the settling of small communities that, during the Middle Ages, evolved and adapted to the feudal model that became fully established since the 11th century.

The research carried out in these 25 years comprises five sites with different chronologies and characteristics: Els Altimiris, a monastic community from the final 5th century to the beginning of the 9th century; Sant Martí de les Tombetes, a high medieval settling (6th–9th centuries), active until the 13th century; Fabregada, an iron and steel factory site with a chronology comprised between the 10th and 14th centuries; Vilavella del Castellet, a mountain settling from the 11th–13th centuries and the Castle of Mur, a feudal fortress from the end of the 10th century to the end of the 13th, with a sporadic occupation in the 15th.

The analysis of these sites, together with the territorial studies, has allowed us to define the settling dynamics of the area between the 5th and 11th centuries, that is, from the end of the Late Antiquity organization model to the consolidation of feudalism.

### **Not so dark centuries: changes and continuities in the Catalan landscape (6th–12th centuries)**

*JORDI BOLÒS*

This paper aims to show the effect on land settlements and use of the different transitions between the year 500 and 1200 in Catalonia, quite similar to those undergone by many other Mediterranean European countries. Recent studies have given a new insight into the importance of continuities and novelties brought about by transformations at the end of the Roman Empire, the Islamic or Frank conquest or the changes from the year 1000. Case studies from the Pyrenees, eastern and western Catalonia show how the landscape was transformed on such issues as population, use of the land or organization of road network. In order to comprehend these changes, we need to get closely acquainted with the new settlements (e.g. Medieval vilars, Islamic almúnies), the new cultivated spaces (French: combes, terraces), irrigation channels, and, after the year 1000, ecclesiastic villages or towns built around castles (French: village castral), new towns (vilanoves) or scattered farms. Certainly, the descriptive studies of landscape carried out in the last few years have provided further insight into these realities. Likewise, the current design of atlases of the

counties of Carolingian Catalonia has made it possible to pour onto these maps all the information from thousands of documents written before the year 1000.

## PANEL 2 – POSTERS

### **Rural settlement and economy in Campania (South Italy) between Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages**

*NICOLA BUSINO*

Archaeological researches led in the last thirty years have reached important results about settlement dynamic in Campanian rural contexts. This Italian region of the South is characterized by different geomorphology that passes from the coastal sectors to the inland mountainous ones. By observing material evidences about settlements shrinking at the end of the Roman Age and the renewal at the end of the Early Middle Age (X-XI century), we can overtake and complete the traditional written data models, mainly focused on institutional and politics circumstances but aimed also to territorial dynamics like the phenomenon of castles' development ('incastellamento'). According to the pottery evidence, it has been also understood how economy left again in the Late Middle Age: connection and exchanges of objects were based on open trades and markets that operated again on a larger scale. And some of the contacts with Arab culture could be maybe seen within new technologies in pottery production.

### **Transition and change in the early medieval countryside in central Portugal c. 500 – 800 A.D**

*SARA PRATA*

Lately we have seen a growing academic interest on matters regarding early medieval countryside throughout the Iberian Peninsula. So far, the data concerning the centuries between the dismantlement of the Western Roman Empire and the Muslim occupation is still scarce, however, several patterns start to emerge in a patchwork of shifting landscapes.

This presentation will focus chiefly on the findings from recent field surveys and excavations, carried out within a research project on the territory of Castelo de Vide. However, the results of this micro-scale analysis are to be presented and understood within the framework of changes in early medieval rural settlements of western Iberia (c. 500 – 800 A.D.).

Present findings show evidence of a complex process of readaptation throughout the post-roman centuries. The transition between medium roman villas to small scale valley settlements result in severe changes in the management of local resources and economic activities.

This new countryside is shaped through a network of intricate small and medium farmsteads in which production scale and focus shifts. I will present the manifestations of these transformations into the archaeological record and argue both its causes and consequences.

### **Change and continuity in rural Early Medieval Hispania. Comparative multidisciplinary approach to the countryside's of Egítania (Idanha-a-Nova, Portugal) and Emerita (Mérida, Spain).**

*TOMÁS CORDERO RUIZ*

This investigation is concerned with the analysis of the social and economic complexity of rural communities of the territories of Egítania (Idanha-a-Velha, Portugal) and Emerita (Mérida, Spain)

during the Early Medieval period. The working hypothesis that we propose as the basis of our research, product of the work carried out in the Emerita territory, establishes that the Early Medieval countryside was organised in a complex system of settlements which varied from one region to another of the Iberian Peninsula. This world would have been more or less hierarchically structured by the superposition of the ecclesiastical, administrative and legal networks, which would have joined the territories and cities. It would have been a varied map in which the rural communities would have been interwoven, defined, as well, by their heterogeneity. In this way, studies incorporating comparisons between different historic areas are necessary to the best knowledge of our past. The present work aims to compare the change and continuity of the Emerita territory in Early Medieval period, the heart of the old Lusitania in this time, in the Egítania region in the same period.

### **PANEL 3 – COLONISATION AND FURTHER DEVELOPMENT**

#### **PAPERS**

#### **Winds of change: settlement decline in the coastal landscapes of the Northern Netherlands**

*JAN VAN DOESBURG*

In the 11th century the fenlands behind the coastal zone of the Northern Netherlands were reclaimed and colonized. Driving forces behind these reclamations were ecclesiastical institutions and members of the regional elite. The colonists had to cope with difficult environmental conditions. The fenlands were wet and in several areas due to peat shrinkage (soil subsidence) occupation shifted several times to higher grounds. During the course of the occupation other areas were flooded by the sea and a layer of clay was deposited. As a reaction to this the inhabitants build artificial dwelling mounds. Different settlement patterns emerged, and both dispersed and nucleated settlement. Some areas were completely abandoned in the late medieval period. The lecture focus on the archaeological manifestation of the colonization process of these fenlands and differences in settlement development. Furthermore it will address some of the mechanisms explaining differences between areas.

#### **Late medieval transformation of rural landscape. Case study from terra Nizensis, Silesia, Poland.**

*MARIA LEGUT-PINTAL*

Late medieval colonisation and transformation of settlement network of the lands located east of the Elbe river is considered a milestone in urban planning, but it is also a great phenomenon in the terms of rural planning. The processes taking place during the organisation of villages system, especially within the borders of present Poland, are definitely less known, explored and documented than the development of urban network. The aim of the presentation is to show the results of the studies of the transformation of villages and settlement network in the region of Nysa, located in the southern borderland of historical Silesia, held by the bishops of Wrocław. Because of the plenitude of written documents, archaeological data and well preserved villages layout, this region appears to be perspective for the studies of crucial problems related to villages transformation in the period of establishing the feudal economy: the ownership of the land, reorganising the old settlement network, grubbing the forests for locating new settlements, development of parish

system, relations between villages, towns and castles, etc. The results of the analysis, based on a wide variety of sources, aided by GIS software, should be interesting from the perspective of studies on development of medieval settlement network.

### **PANEL 3 – POSTERS**

#### **The impact of the Catalan conquest of Tortosa on the agrarian landscape: new channels and watermills (Tortosa, Spain).**

*ANTONI VIRGILI & HELENA KIRCHNER*

From the evidence contributed by the written documentation produced by the conquest of Tortosa in 1148, and by means of archaeological surveys, it has been possible to determine the boundaries of several farmland areas linked to Madīna Ṭurṭuša, the Andalusian city, and to rural settlements located on both riversides of the Ebro River. A detailed work of mapping has been done to describe how these cultivated areas were organised. The modern hydraulic techniques as the big canals built in both riversides and the flow regulation of the river by means of big hydroelectric dams have intensively transformed the agrarian landscape. Nevertheless, it is still possible to recognise the ancient boundaries and plot morphology of some of the cultivated areas and the remains of drainage channels, irrigation channels coming not from the river but from the mountains, and dry agriculture areas. The Catalan conquest and colonisation produced several landscape changes well described in the written documentation. One of them was the building of new channels for provide water supplies to new watermills.

### **PANEL 4 – TRANSITIONS AND TRANSFORMATIONS DUE TO POLITICAL, SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC STRUCTURES IN THE MIDDLE AGES**

#### **PAPERS**

#### **Change in rural settlement in eastern Central Europe from the Early to the Later Middle Ages**

*ELISABETH NOWOTNY*

The topic will be approached with focus on the region of today's Lower Austria, also taking into consideration the surrounding regions. The development will be outlined through early medieval to late medieval times, with emphasis on early medieval to High Middle Ages.

At some times the impact of political changes and new land organization become apparent in settlement patterns; on the contrary archaeology may reveal economic continuity in (politically) turbulent times. Social change is reflected in the development of settlement forms, in concrete terms their differentiation (settlements in the lowlands, fortified, central sites, suburbia, villages with residence of a ruler). Also transformations of house forms will be a topic. Recent excavations and their analysis revealed further evidence of the transition from the dominance of sunken dwellings to the dominance of ground level buildings and further on to the integration of detached buildings with different functions into one single building. Also there has been shed new light on the beginnings of farm type structures. These changes and transformation in the agrarian economy are effected by each other; the latter are more challenging to be trace by archaeologists.

### **The transformation of settlements in eastern Slavonia in the period from the 12th–15th century**

*ANDREJ JANEŠ & IVANA HIRSCHLER MARIĆ*

During large scale rescue excavations on the future highways in eastern Croatia a great amount of features related to medieval settlements were excavated. This area was a part of the southern edge of the medieval Kingdom of Hungary. The researched settlements were dated from the early medieval period till the early Modern Period. A pattern can be seen on sites that were dated to the High Middle Ages (12th – 13th century) with rare dispersed features, mostly pits and hearths. Another pattern can be seen on sites featuring settlements dated from the 13th/14th till the first half of the 16th century, a pattern of bigger dwellings consisting of post-holes combined with pits, hearths and ovens. These dwellings represent a variety of presumed house types, from single spaced with reminiscence of earlier periods to multi-spaced house types with a croft. The earlier pattern will be shown on examples like Josipovac Punitovački – Veliko polje I site (10th – 13th century) and the other on examples like the site of Stari Perkovci – Sela (14th – 15th century), to show the changes that occurred in medieval Slavonia from the Arpad era to the Late Middle Ages and put them in the context of the medieval Hungarian kingdom.

### **Rural settlements in Bohemia in the “Age of Transition” (14th–16th century).**

*TOMÁŠ KLÍR*

Agrarian history describes Early Modern Bohemia as a very heterogeneous land comprised of areas differing extremely not only in their social-economic characteristics and demographic behaviour but also in development dynamics and in the degree of integration in market exchange. Paradoxically, the knowledge of the medieval origin of this diverse social and economic pattern stays very unsatisfactory, although it is a crucial historical process taking place all across Europe and preparing the way for early modern economic growth of some regions. The paper addresses this question and presents the results of the recent cross-disciplinary research project (2012–2016) based on new archaeological, ecological and written evidence and sophisticated tools such as GIS software.

### **Late medieval deserted settlements in Southern Germany as a consequence of long-term landscape transformations**

*RAINER SCHREG*

The huge number of deserted late medieval settlements in Southern Germany has been explained by the consequences of epidemics, feuds and economic crisis. However, based on an ecological perspective we need to ask, how the late medieval crisis was embedded in long-term landscape transformations. Looking back to the early medieval settlement landscape, we recognize fundamental changes in land use practices, which were hardly visible in the written record. It can be taken for sure, that the formation of the medieval village and the related introduction of an open field system had a major impact on the medieval landscape and the interaction between men and nature. These changes may be at the heart of the late medieval crisis several generations later. This paper reviews current evidence of long-term effects of high medieval village formation on the late medieval crisis several generations later and explains the theoretical background how to trace connections between two processes separated by centuries. The paper will therefore present a distinct case study from southern Germany, but with basic theoretical reconsiderations how to understand long-term transformation.

## **Interpreting the landscape in the middle parts of the Carpathian Basin in the 8–13th c. AD: the effects of the political events on the contemporary settlement structures**

*MIKLÓS TAKÁCS & TIBOR ÁKOS RÁCZ*

The fragmentary, partially neglected, but also partially overestimated archaeological source material of the 8-13th c. Carpathian Basin was subject to various historical interpretations. However, in the scholarly literature we can find only sporadic reflections on the question how the major political events, the Hungarian conquest and the foundation of the Christian monarchy – likely to bring about deep demographical, ethnical and social changes – are mirrored in the contemporary settlement structures. A need for an overview is confirmed by the fact, that a considerable part of the results was published only in national languages. We can highlight several negative trends in the archaeology of the 8-13th c. Carpathian basin, first of all the emphasis put on the evaluation of contemporaneous graveyards disadvantaging the achievements of settlement archaeology and the forced ethnical attributions, not only concerning some specific types of sites, but also special types of artefacts too.

We will make an essay of evaluation of the early medieval archaeological remains of the Carpathian Basin in order to fill the gap between the scarcity of data and the historical interpretations. We propose a two-level approach:

In the first section we shall focus on the transformations of the landscape. The territorial spread of the cemeteries and settlements of the 8-13th c. on small or middle-sized maps will be analyzed, with the aim of monitoring and interpreting the topographical changes on a regional or even interregional basis. Though an adaption to the natural environment of the closer or wider surroundings was significant, there are very few signs denoting the intention of changing the landscape in the first half of the analysed period. Major changes appear after the turn of the millennium, and this process most likely got impetus in the 12th and 13th c.

In the second section we shall concentrate on several chosen sites of a sample area, interpreting the maps of settlement excavations, with an aim to register the differences of the settlement structures in various chronological phases. According to the results of field surveys and large scale excavations the Pest Plain and the Danube Bend – both regions lying in the central part of the Carpathian Basin – were intensively populated in the 10th century. In the ceramic material of the 10th century sites of the M0 motorway (Maglód No. 1, Ecser No. 6, Ecser No. 7, and Vecsés No. 67) – though in a small proportion – more archaic elements also occur, having their parallels in the 9th century. These features can be basically observed in the technology of the ceramic production and the surface treatment techniques, but even more in the decoration. Can these archaic marks be attributed to the ceramic production of the Hungarians, or they rather reflect the pottery traditions of the 9th century local population? How can we separate from each other the 9th and 10th century materials? Is it possible to define archaeologically the first Hungarian settlements in the Carpathian Basin? In the second section we shall search for the origins of the 10th century settlement network, the autochthonous and newly introduced components of the material culture, the evidences of cultural continuity and the signs of change connected to the Hungarian conquest.

### **Assembling in times of transitions – the case of cooking pit sites.**

*MARIE ØDEGAARD*

This paper will investigate archaeological traces of large-scale gatherings from the Roman Iron Age and Migration Period (AD-1-600) in Scandinavia, so-called specialized cooking pit sites. While known over large geographical areas reaching as far as northern Germany, South-Scandinavia and southeast Norway these sites are relatively rare. In the last decade, large cooking pit sites have been interpreted as remains of assembly sites (Old Norse thing). The sites go out of use in

the 7th century, corresponding to several large-scale social changes in Northern Europe. Focusing on sites from eastern Norway, this paper aims to explore what happened when the cooking pit sites went out of use and what the sites can reveal about socio-economic transformations in the transition between the early and late Iron Age, c. 600 AD.

### **Suzdal, the core area of North-Eastern Rus': the rise and transformation of rural settlement network from 900 to 1350 AD**

*NIKOLAJ MAKAROV*

As elsewhere in Europe, rural settlement structures in Medieval Rus' present a controversial picture of continuity and transformations in spatial organization of the sites and cultural landscapes. Late Viking age proves to be a period of the formation of the new settlement network on the vast territories of Rus'. This network survived in the XII-XIII –th cc. in many regions and constituted the background of the later growth and settlement expansion to the periphery. However, different regions display different patterns of development, often with significant changes of settlement structures and site locations.

Suzdal region in the Upper Volga, known as the core area of North Eastern Rus', with more than 350 medieval dwelling sites surveyed in the recent decades, is of special interest in the context of rural settlement research. The most important elements of the Viking age settlement network in Suzdal were the sites which are now defined as «large unfortified settlements». These extensive sites, with the area from 4 to 15 ha, with the evidence of trade, craft production and agrarian activities, prosperity and high social status of a number of the settlers were concentrated in a considerably small region with fertile soils. Later development in the XII-th –XIV-th cc in Suzdal is marked with the rise of the small hamlets and the decline or shift of a number of the «large unfortified settlements», but a considerable part of these sites survived and some of them were transformed into parish centers.

The paper discusses environmental, economic and social factors which effected settlement organization in Suzdal from 900 to 1350 AD and shaped nucleated settlement pattern.

### **Crisis or transition? An environmental justice perspective on Scandinavian outland use in the Viking Age and Middle Ages**

*EVA SVENSSON*

Interdisciplinary investigations in Swedish forested areas have produced the somewhat unexpected results of an INCREASE in agrarian activities during the late medieval, agrarian crisis. To understand the unexpected phenomenon, the complex economy of outland using communities and the social structures of the local communities have to be taken into account. In fact the increase in agrarian activities appears to have been an effect of a crisis in non agrarian outland use, primarily bloomery iron production and hunting around AD 1200-1250. These activities had been carried out as minor, rural industries with the aim of producing goods for markets outside the local society.

As similar downturns in commodity production for a market have been detected in other parts of northern Europe, they appear to be part of a larger structural change. Here is put forward that the drivers of the structural change were the rising powers of the king, nobility, ecclesiastical institutions and the Hanseatic League in the 13th century, and that there was an increased competition for the natural resources of the outland use.

This paper will focus the competition for the outland use resources, the changed market conditions and the peasants' resistance from an environmental justice perspective.



**PANEL 4 – POSTERS****The Anglo-Scottish Western March. A landscape in transition, 14th to 17th century***CARON NEWMAN*

Cumbria can be seen as a region in which the medieval landscape remains highly legible in the modern landscape, a view supported by the Historic Landscape Characterisation project. In particular, areas of medieval nucleated settlement with extensive commonfield systems are identifiable from 19th century and modern maps. There are some areas however where this is not so, such as along the Scottish border. Recent fieldwork is now revealing a much more complex picture of the medieval landscape and its transformation in the early modern period. Along the border, it appears that the medieval settlement and agrarian pattern was transformed in the early 17th century, and that evidence for this survives as significant archaeological features within the landscape. Evidence includes extensive areas of rigg and furrow, former field systems and settlement remains. Fieldwork has demonstrated that parts of this landscape also went through considerable modification in the later medieval period and the extent and distribution of settlement and field systems continued to ebb and flow for the next 300 years.

**Understanding earthworks and building form in northern England: shedding new light on Post Medieval transformations of the medieval rural landscape***RICHARD NEWMAN*

Archaeologists specialising the medieval and early modern landscape have long engaged in describing, classifying and analysing earthworks and changing building forms. Many earthwork sites have been identified as shrunken as deserted medieval settlements and some of these have received designation as scheduled monuments. Often, such identification and designation has been undertaken without clear understanding of much of medieval and early modern settlement in northern England. In particular, the differences between settlement in upland areas and those in Champion districts have regularly been misunderstood. As elsewhere, nonnucleated settlements have been frequently ignored or misunderstood, and this has led to inappropriately interpreted designated settlement sites. Misunderstandings abound, too, in relation to the development of medieval dwellings into post medieval houses. This paper will look at recent research that has challenged some traditional interpretations and proposes a more nuanced view of the transition from medieval to early modern settlement and houses. Examples will be taken from north Lancashire, Cumbria and Northumberland.

**Settlement abandonment in Dartmoor (England): new appraisal in light of land-use transformations and the wider context of settlement evolution***LUKAS HOLATA*

Dartmoor is one of the best documented tracts of countryside in the whole of England. Over 130 deserted settlements are known and they were abandoned not only in the Later Middle Ages, but also in the Early Modern period. As a reason for this, general economic and environmental deterministic factors have been mentioned, with regard to the marginal character of this area (limiting especially arable cultivation). However, based on more recent researches both in England and the Continental Europe, these original statements are not considered as an explicit explanation. The abandonment of rural settlement is now perceived in the context of wider transformations of

land-use. In this sense, data from excavations and fieldworks have been brought together in my research, supplemented by other sources (especially LiDAR data, HLC, palaeoenvironmental data) and analysed in GIS. Changes in settlement patterns within wider transformations of land-use in a *longue durée* perspective are contextualised and the cultural and environmental context of settlement evolution (and extinction) is explored to determine the impact of various factors on the communities. This approach enables to (re)assess the reasons for changes in the settlement pattern from a different perspective. The poster will summarise the most fundamental outcomes.

### **Brabant in Late Middle Ages: the transformation of a rural landscape**

*JOHAN P.W. VERSPAY*

The Late Middle Ages were an important period of transformation in the history of Brabant (NL&BE). In almost all social fields considerable changes occurred. We see the rise of the central authority of the Duke of Brabant and the formation of an administrative infrastructure, changing property relations, the rise of cities and markets and the construction of monumental churches. Notable developments can also be seen on a local scale. Besides changes in the administration, archaeological observations also indicate that there was a transformation of the agricultural landscape in which settlements were relocated and that the landscape was rearranged, restructured and extended. In addition to this, it is possible to detect a change in farming practices which is, amongst other things, reflected in the forming of convex fields and the man-made soils which have come a characteristic element of the Brabandic landscape. Simultaneously with the relocation of settlements, it is possible to see a striking change in the house building tradition from the traditional boat-shaped construction to the rectangular 'Hallehuis' (aisled-house). All in all, the developments in the Late Middle Ages seem to form the base of the landscape design as we have known up until the post-WWII landscape reform. This transformation of the Brabandic rural landscape is subject of my Phd research and this paper will present some preliminary results.

## **PANEL 5 - TRANSITIONS AND TRANSFORMATIONS FROM MEDIEVAL TO MODERN TIMES FROM A LONGUE DURÉE PERSPECTIVE**

### **PAPERS**

#### **Land organizational changes on Funen, Denmark, from 500-1200 AD.**

*JESPER HANSEN*

The origin and formation process of the structures which still characterize large parts of rural Denmark has for more than a hundred years played a central part in general theory building concerning the early and high medieval period.

Since the beginning of the 1980s, an overall consensus has characterized the debate among Scandinavian scholars, supporting a theory suggesting that the basic structure of modern time settlement is to be seen as a result of a general restructuring of farms and villages in the centuries around the turn of the millennium. A comprehensive regional study from Funen carried out by the author between 2006 and 2015, however, shows significant deviations compared with the generally accepted theory. In repeated cases, the micro level of village structure as well as the macro level of the villages' resource boundaries appears to be considerably older. The time around 600 AD stand out as crucial for the structure we still today see reflected on Funen. It will be argued that simple obligations bound to land resources, rather than people, is to be regarded as an important ingredient when explaining the markedly change in an organizational shift in the early middle ages.

## Causes and effects in human landscape interaction in medieval Hungary

CSILLA ZATYKÓ

Palaeoenvironmental studies of the past decades, often being accompanied with historical, and archaeological investigations, have already yielded sufficient amount of data to draw a more general picture of the basic environmental and landscape changes in medieval Hungary. According to the common view, changes in climate, hydrology and vegetation had influence on human settlement strategies, settlement patterns and agrarian techniques to various extents. It is also widely accepted that several methods of landscape exploitation applied by village communities caused significant alterations in the environment around them.

Looking at the environmental dynamics and the changes in settlement behaviors side by side, it often seems plausible to consider them as causes and effects of an ever-going interaction, regardless the sometimes indistinct extent of their correlation. This paper, focusing on the region of South-Transdanubia (Hungary), attempts to shed light on the possible effects and causes of changes in the medieval landscape (vegetation, anthropogenic impacts, hydrology) and settlement dynamics (settlement pattern and settlement structure, woodland management, agrarian techniques). After a brief overview of the state of the environmental research of medieval Carpathian Basin, this paper aims to examine this complex interaction from a longer perspective between the 11th and 17th centuries.

## Kopaniec in Izera Mountains. An example of unusual transformation of villages after the period of Thirty Year's War (1618–1648) in Silesia

PAWEŁ DUMA & JERZY PIEKALSKI & ANNA ŁUCZAK

Located far away from the main communication roads, a mountain village Kopaniec (south-western Poland; Izera Mountains), unlike all other Silesian villages, avoided destruction and depopulation during Thirty Year's War (1618-48). After this period the village developed intensively. New buildings and residential plots were founded on previously unused forest areas, located on 700 m a.s.l. Settlement pattern changes within fields and plots with residential buildings are visible till today. Borders of former fields can be recognized by remaining of stone walls which in Poland appeared relatively rarely.

The findings from LIDAR, GIS studies and the traditional excavation method were used in developing a description of the village within its natural environment, its internal structure and evolution, started during the late medieval period and continuing until modern times.

The purpose of the study focusing on the village of Kopaniec was to record features of the historical culture landscape formed in a specific mountain setting. A special focus of the study was the deserted domestic enclosure no. 143. By analyzing this particular example, we can clearly notice, how different was the way of husbandry system in modern times, from the one in late Medieval.

## Resources, relations and rights. Conflicting views on the small farm Bollarp

ÅDEL V. FRANZÉN

Three distinct periods of demographic growth can be identified in Sweden; 700-1350 AD, 1500-1630 and after ca 1750. On the small farm Bollarp situated in the Småland Upplands these periods has been clearly identified through archaeological excavations and also the intermediate periods of desertion. The remote setting of the place made Bollarp a land-reserve, suitable for arable farming husbandry and forging. In times of demographic decrease the area was used for meadows, pasture, coppice and woodland to neighboring farms. A soldier's croft was the last

settlement in Bollarp between 1810 and 1950. Due to the dynamic changes in land use over a period of ca 1000 years, ownership and disposal rights became fairly complex.

During the 17th and 18th century a legal process took place in order to solve conflicts concerning boundaries and the rights to use and ownership to Bollarp. In documents from the local court different contemporary voices gives their view on Bollarp from 1550 and onwards. By using tools from historical geography, time-geography and concepts from the Property-rights school, the results from the case-study Bollarp can be applied in a wider sence.

## PANEL 5 – POSTERS

### **Climate change and economic development in the Alps in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Period**

*CLAUDIA THEUNE*

Climate research has shown that extended periods of high temperatures occurred in the Alps in the high and late Middle Ages (950-1350). For the late Middle Ages and the Modern Period, extended periods of continuously low temperatures between 1450 and 1860 are to mention, during which the Alpine glaciers expanded.

Since prehistoric times communities settled in the alpine marginal landscape engaged in agriculture, husbandry but equally in the exploitation of the rich mineral resources found in the Alps. Peasants, craftsmen, tradesmen and various authorities were involved in the complex economic processes on various levels.

In order to sustain mining throughout the year it was necessary to assure the continuous supply of the people working in the mines with food, clothes, tools and work materials. In the high and late Middle Ages the exploitation of gold deposits in the Tauern started, but also some economic declines and revivals can be determined for the following periods.

Pastures located on altitudes as high as 2000m were used for husbandry, where cattle, sheep and pig were herded during the short summer period and dairy production was conducted. Excavations have confirmed medieval transhumance in the Alps on various altitudes and various times, starting from the 12th century on, again changes in the intensity can be observed through the times. In this presentation it will be discussed whether the fluctuations in temperature impacted on the different Alpine economy activities during the middle ages and early modern times.

### **The long-term history of a deserted farm**

*STIG WELINDER*

The history of the deserted farm Eisåsen, Berg p. Jämtland, Sweden, will be presented. It was a corn-producing and cattle-breeding farm AD 1200–1400. Before and after that time period the area of the farm was used in various ways.

The farm and its neighbour farms display expansion and desertation or change during the time span AD 200–1900. A main question is why some farms survived the medieval crisis while others did not. Flexible economy is a key concept.

**PANEL 6 – TRANSITIONS AND TRANSFORMATIONS IN MODERN TIMES****PAPERS****From tilling to stock farming: indoor breeding as promoter for the development of multi-wing farmsteads in Eastern Austria?***THOMAS KÜHTREIBER & GÁBOR TARCSAY & MICHAELA ZORKO*

The ethnographic research on housing culture in the early 20th century hypothesised, that the traditional farmstead types of Eastern Austria had their origin in the Middle Ages. In contrast the archaeological investigations in medieval abandoned villages revealed only simple plots. Thus we still have a gap of knowledge, how and why the quite homogenous and elementary rural architecture before 1500 developed to regionally very diversified and complex farmstead types. Based on this desideratum, the authors conducted several research projects upon post-medieval rural settlement in the last five years. In peculiar archaeological and geographical investigations in abandoned villages of the military training area of Allentsteig (Lower Austria).

The region became colonised in the 12th/13th centuries, founding over 40 villages. Between 1939 and 1961 the local population was forced to leave their homes due to the installation of the military training ground. 2013-2015 a pilot project focussing on four villages revealed new insights into the long term development of both settlements and single farmsteads.

The arrangement of post medieval rural architecture around a central court with 2-4 wings was detected as the result of adding stable and storage buildings to the older core houses. This process took place over centuries and became even more dynamic in the 18th/19th century. More and more wooden buildings were replaced by massive architecture.

Based on this evidence the paper fosters the socioeconomic processes behind this changes, which led to a enduring change of the rural settlement and housing culture in Eastern Austria.

**Disappearing villages: post-famine landscape reorganisation at Keem, Achill Island***EVE CAMPBELL*

In 1838, the valley of Keem, in Achill Island, Co. Mayo, was the site of a substantial settlement cluster of 40 buildings surrounded by c.45 acres of cultivated infield. Today little remains of the settlement apart from low, barely discernible building footprints.

The disappearance of the settlement is closely linked with the acquisition of the lease on the townland by Charles Cunningham Boycott c.1855. Boycott embarked on an extensive programme of landscaping at Keem, sweeping away the vernacular settlement cluster, and laying out an 'improved' geometrical field system. He constructed a stone house in the valley, and demolished the settlement, using its stone to build his field walls.

The story of Keem is part of a much bigger picture of post-Famine landscape change in Ireland, characterised by the disappearance of vernacular settlement clusters and the associated rundale system, and the imposition of 'improved' landscapes, consolidated ladder holdings and vast tracts of grazing. This was a violent and dramatic process, compared by scholar Kevin Whelan to the enclosure movement in England. Drawing on excavations and survey undertaken by the Achill Archaeological Field School since 2009, this paper will explore Keem as a case study of post-Famine landscape reorganisation in Co. Mayo.

**PANEL 6 – POSTERS****Settlements, authority and commerce during the Ottoman rule in the central part of Hungary***EDIT SÁROSI & GÁBOR WILHELM*

The Ottoman Period (1541-1699) is represented as a strikingly different, individual period in most historical and archaeological surveys and often interpreted as a strikingly new chapter in the history of Hungary. Yet, such sharp, well-defined changes are rarely identifiable in settlement history. Instead, the transformations in the pattern of settlement can be mostly detected as long-term tendencies, or processes, which are strongly interconnected with long term socio-economic changes and varying ecological factors beside special historical situations. The present paper intends to present both the continuous features and the process of transformation in the context of the settlement and road network, with a special attention to the commercial contacts of the central Hungarian territories. The essay is supplemented with the case study of the deserted village Révfülopp, which was once among main commercial ferry- and crossing sites in the middle Danube Valley near Solt and opposite Dunaföldvár, and whose history and archaeological legacy had been explored in the last few years.

**PANEL 7 – THE IMPACT OF RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS ON LAND-USE AND SETTLEMENT PATTERNS****PAPERS****The role of the church in the expansion of the economy In Ireland, AD 400–1100***PAUL STEVENS*

This paper summarises my current doctoral research, which explores the impact and role of the church—particularly ecclesiastical and monastic settlements—in the economic transformations of Irish society, AD 400-1100. Set against the backdrop of a general lack of appraisal of the archaeological evidence, especially since the 1980's, my research investigates how Irish 'monasteries' ultimately became an economic powerhouse and a force for wide-ranging change. Taking multiple case studies and utilising a GIS-database to manipulate archaeological data, the research project will illustrate this shortfall, and probe evidence for how the church was engaged in consumption, distribution and production, on an un-imagined scale and scope.

**No smoke without fire. Burning and changing settlements in 10th-century central-northern Portugal***CATARINA TENTE*

In the last 10 years several settlements dated to the 10th century have been under excavation in the central-northern Portugal (Guarda and Viseu). They all share the same characteristics: small in area, built with perishable materials including palisades, and occupied by kin-groups. An intriguing feature it that all were destroyed, around the same time (end of the 10th century), by a fire that lead to their abandonment and a dramatic change in the settlement patterns. This paper aims at discussing the available field record and to point out some of the causes and

consequences of the mentioned fires. Clearly, changing socio-political scenarios in a frontier zone between Christians and Muslims and the emerging lordship systems in the region are avoidable contexts to understand the mentioned events.

### **The Making of the early medieval rural landscape in Galicia (Northwest of the Iberian Peninsula, 500–1000 A.D.)**

*JORGE LÓPEZ QUIROGA*

After the end of Roman rule in Galicia, taking place, slowly but gradually, a series of changes which led to the creation of a different network of settlement and landscape that by 1000 A.D. acquire its almost definitive features that will remain throughout the Middle Ages and early modern times. The Galician territory has been basically a rural landscape; even during the Roman rule the Roman towns were practically limited to Lugo and Braga. One of the key elements in this transformation was undoubtedly linked with the Christianization process that led to the construction of a churches network (progressively associated to funerary spaces) by the secular and ecclesiastical elites, and to some extent to the making of a 'Christian landscape'. The crystallization of this network of settlement and this new landscape is not only a result of the exercise of power by the elites at a regional and territorial level, but also the consequence of the emergence of local elites and the activity of peasant communities of which now we begin to have some archaeological evidences showing their mark on the forms and types of rural habitat and landscape.

## **PANEL 7 – POSTERS**

### **The Christianisation of Medieval Hungary – the transformation of the countryside**

*MÁRIA VARGHA*

The proposed paper focuses on what kind of patterns are identifiable in the spatial analysis in the process of Christianisation of the countryside of Medieval Hungary, and thus, in the formation of the parish system. Archaeologically, this problem centres on the foundation of churches, the establishment and development of churchyard cemeteries compared to field cemeteries and the settlement system.

Using archaeological sources for researching the process of Christianisation in this area is absolutely valid, mainly in consequence of the lack of other sources that can say direct information about the conversion of the rural population. In case of Hungary, despite that the process of Christianisation and church organisation is well researched and has been reconstructed using mainly written sources, given their paucity in this period, only the emergence of the most important bishoprics and archbishoprics are known while parishes (local churches), the smallest, but in a way the most important element of the church system, are not.

Although historians have made many relatively successful attempts to reconstruct this process there are still some areas needing more comprehensive examination. It has not proved possible to reconstruct the parish system from the poor written sources even though these smaller entities encompassed the commoners who made up the largest segment of the population, thus playing a significant role in the process of Christianisation and church organisation. The proposed interdisciplinary research would result in the better and deeper understanding the process of Christianisation, revealing issues about the masses of people and of the unknown, smallest, but most numerous units of it, namely parishes, and with that, the development of institutionalised Christianity.

### **Some Characteristic Features of the Rural Towns of the Hungarian Plain during the 16th–18th Centuries**

*MARIÁ BERES*

Great Hungarian Plain, the central lowland area of the country, was under Turkish occupation for a century and a half from the middle of the 16th century. The Hungarian landed classes however were keen to maintain their jurisdiction over their serfs working the land in the occupied territories. This way the so called triple-tax-system was born, where besides the Habsburg State Apparatus and the new Turkish landowners, the Hungarian landowners also collected their share of taxes. Following the ravages of the Mongolian hords and the settling-in of considerable numbers of Cumanian tribesmen on the plain, and because of the effects of the so called Little Ice-Age, people from smaller villages of the Great Plain started to move to settlements with better local conditions and possibilities from as early as the end of the 13th century. This trend continued and gained momentum during the Turkish occupation. The emergent rural towns annexed the land belonging to the abandoned villages and incorporated it into their commonly owned and used land. The rural townspeople used these great expanses of uninhabited land mainly for raising cattle in the open and, to a lesser extent, for arable farming – all with the consent of the distant Hungarian landowners, and later also of their Turkish counterparts, who all received their share from the proceeds. Cattle so raised and fattened on the Hungarian Plain were traded at the markets of Italy, Austria, Bohemia, Moravia and the southern German states.

How can we explain the dynamic development of the rural towns of the Hungarian Plain despite the burden of triple taxation, and what led to the considerable fall in their populations by the beginning of the 18th century? What were the environmental conditions during the 16th–18th centuries, and what sort of system of land tenure did the rural towns use? What sort of settlement structure served the agricultural production, and what do we know about the division of labour? What were the circumstances that influenced agricultural production and what were the changes that these brought in? What effect did these changes have on the natural environment and the settlement structure?

An attempt is made in this paper to answer these questions with respect to a particular region of the plain, in part using new data from the writer's own archaeological investigations (topographical surveys, settlement excavations, analysis of archaeological material)

### **Mendicant friaries and settlement development in Ireland: the foundations of the Augustinian Hermits in Co. Mayo & Sligo**

*ANNEJULIE LAFAYE*

Recent research on mendicant settlements has underlined their crucial place in the landscapes of medieval Ireland, both urban and rural. The establishment of friaries in existing towns, newly founded boroughs or rural environments throughout the medieval period was the product of both the friars and their orders' identity and role as mendicants, and of their benefactors' own spiritual, economic and political strategies with regards to territorial and social control, in a colonial context. But as often with the study of mendicant settlements in Ireland, the focus has stayed mostly on Franciscan and Dominican foundations, as they left most of the material remains scattered throughout the country's modern landscape. In this paper, I propose to focus on a group of fourteenth and fifteenth century foundations by the Augustinian Hermits, located in the western counties of Mayo and Sligo. I will look at why they took place where they did and how they compare to the data collected on the Franciscans and Dominicans in the east and south of the country, in terms of the extent of the friars' involvement in the foundations, the role of benefactors, and their impact on the local landscape, particularly regarding settlement development in what were very rural environments.



### **One land, two peasantries: Moriscos and Christians in the Upper Genal Valley, Malaga (16th–18th centuries)**

*IGNACIO DÍAZ & ESTEBAN LÓPEZ & FÉLIX RETAMERO*

Although there is a vast amount of bibliography concerning the Andalusí population who lived under Christian domination after the Medieval Iberian conquests (so-called mudéjar and morisco), studies regarding the agricultural practices developed in areas populated by Muslim and new Christian settlers is relatively rare.

In the Upper Genal Valley, a majority of native peasants coexisted with –mainly– Castilian settlers that had established in the area with great difficulties between the military conquest in 1485 and the expulsion of the moriscos in 1571.

Based on the analysis of written documents and on archaeological surveys, this study explores the conditions of this coexistence by focusing on their agricultural practices. Specifically, it analyses the location and management of cultivated fields, both irrigated and non-irrigated, as well as of non-cultivated areas. Issues such as segregation, resistance and productive choices are also discussed in the light of the gathered data.

## **PANEL 8 – SETTLEMENT DEVELOPMENT AFTER CATASTROPHES**

### **PAPERS**

#### **New evidence for the impact of the Black Death on rural settlements in England from archaeological test-pit excavation**

*CARENZA LEWIS*

The Black Death is known to have killed millions as it swept across Europe and Asia in the 14th century AD, but its impact has hitherto been difficult to assess due to a lack of robust, scalable contemporary data. Over the last decade, archaeologists from the Universities of Cambridge and Lincoln (UK) working with thousands of members of the public have completed 2,000 small archaeological ‘test pit’ excavations in more than 50 rural villages, towns and hamlets in eastern England, unearthing tens of thousands of pottery sherds. Analysis of this material is allowing developments in the pattern, plan and density of settlements to be reconstructed (Lewis 2014), and particularly striking is the evidence for change after the 14th century (Lewis 2016). The test pit pottery data have not only convincingly demonstrated that across this large region the population overall was reduced by around 45% after the Black Death, but has also revealed exactly where the impact of this contraction was most and least severely felt. This can be reconstructed at a range of scales: plot by plot, street by street, settlement by settlement and region by region, creating a more nuanced and better informed understanding of the response of rural communities to the new circumstances of their post-apocalyptic world.

One great strength of this approach is that it can potentially be deployed anywhere, and the paper will conclude by considering the potential for similar work in other parts of Europe, and indeed beyond.

*References:* Lewis, C. 2016. ‘Disaster Recovery? – New archaeological evidence from eastern England for the impact of the ‘calamitous’ 14th century’ *Antiquity* Volume 90, Issue 351: 777-797. DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.15184/aqy.2016.69>. - Lewis, C. 2014. ‘The Power of Pits: Archaeology, outreach and research in living landscapes’ in K. Boyle, R. Rabett and C. Hunt (eds) *Living in the Landscape*. Cambridge, McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research Monograph. pp 321-338.

**The event of AD 536 and its impact on rural settlements in Scandinavia***FRODE IVERSEN*

AD 536 is a poignant date in European history, and marks the advent of a series of documented environmental changes that affected societies throughout Europe in various ways. Sudden and severe climate deterioration led to vast crop failure and was followed by plague in the following decades. By investigating archaeological and climatic data from the centuries AD 500-800 across Scandinavia, this paper seeks to address a range of topics related to human response to changes and disasters from a medieval perspective. A great number of large-scale archaeological excavations in Southern Scandinavia during the last decades have generated a huge scientific material (settlements, production sites, etc. with associated archaeobotanical material) for further research. In particular, Iversen will discuss the elite response on the events and the following transition of Scandinavian manors and their subordinated settlements.



## EXCURSIONS

### MONDAY 11th SEPTEMBER

#### Medieval Kilkenny

Cóilín Ó Drisceoil, Managing Director of Kilkenny Archaeology, a nationwide archaeological and heritage consultancy, and expert on Kilkenny city, will guide RURALIA through the streets of Ireland's second medieval city. Time is limited so we will only get to see some of the many highlights, but Cóilín will whet appetites to encourage delegates to visit the city in more detail when time allows over the coming days.

*CÓILÍN Ó DRISCEOIL ET AL: Abstract from: The Kilkenny Archaeological Project and An Chomhairle Oidhreachta/ The Heritage Council. Kilkenny 2008*

Kilkenny is a compact, walled riverside city whose surviving castle and cathedral, abbeys and churches, Town Walls, townhouses and streets all shape the only example of an Irish medieval city to remain wholly intact.

#### Early medieval Kilkenny

Between the 8th-12th century the Kilkenny area became a focus for settlement, as indicated by the 21 ringforts that are recorded within a 2km radius of the city. Finds from the excavation were suggestive of a high-status, wealthy site. However, the earliest sustained settlement in what is now Kilkenny city can be traced to a pair of Early Medieval monastic sites which occupied gravel hills, 1km apart. The older site was the monastery of Domhnach Mór, now St. Patrick's graveyard, in the south of the modern city, which may have its origins in the 5th century AD. Evidence for cereal cultivation in its environs in the 9th century has recently been documented.

The other monastery, in the north, was Cill Chainningh, the church of Canice and this grew in influence to the extent that by the twelfth century it had become the principal ecclesiastical power in Leinster outside Dublin. A substantial monastic town appears to have developed in its wake, though there is still little known of its topography despite much of this area having been archaeologically investigated in recent years. In common with many Early Medieval monastic foundations Cill Chainningh was defined by concentric circular ditched enclosures and the outermost of these can be inferred from the curving street-pattern of Vicar Street, St. Canice's Place, Dean Street and Thomas Street. This outer enclosure closely followed the edge of the original river-banks of the Nore and Breaghagh and archaeological excavations on the north side of the latter have demonstrated that the foreshore was not reclaimed here until the late 12th –early 13th century. The total extent of the monastic site can thus be estimated to have been c.300m x 225m (c.15.5 acres). This was quite modest in comparison to other contemporary monasteries though Kilkenny was considered to have been of sufficient size and status to have been worth attacking and burning in 1085 and again in 1114. In 1146 the Annals of the Four Masters note that Gillaphadraig, the grandson of Donnchadh, lord of Osraighe, was killed by the O'Braenains, by treachery, in the middle of Cill-Cainnigh'. That Kilkenny could be described as having a middle' may again indicate the presence of a sizeable settlement at this time and this is also alluded to the Song of Dermot and the Earl which describes the arrival in 1169 of the first contingent of some 200 Anglo-Norman adventurers under Maurice de Prendergast: The English at Kilkenny/Remained that night/With great joy and in great commotion.../To their hostels they returned/Where they

were before lodged'. Although the Song may be exaggerating somewhat Kilkenny clearly had the resources in 1169 to accommodate a large band of soldiers and also presumably their camp followers.

### **Medieval Kilkenny (1169–c.1550 AD)**

Four years after the 1169 Anglo-Norman invasion an earth-and-timber castle was constructed by Richard de Clare (Strongbow) on a hill overlooking the river Nore at the south end of Kilkenny. Following Domhnaill O'Brien's attack in 1174 it was evacuated, to be replaced c.1190 by another similar structure. In c.1199 Strongbow's brother-in-law, William Marshal, acted to make Kilkenny the principal town in his lordship of Leinster and by co-incidence a dispute between Marshal and King John – for doing homage to Philip II of France for his lands in Normandy – led to the lord of Leinster leaving England in 1207 for Leinster and until 1213 he stayed in exile at Kilkenny, raised the large quadrangular stone castle and developed the city and liberty of Kilkenny. With the end of the Marshal lineage in 1248 Kilkenny castle and the newly divided lordship of Leinster passed to the de Clare earls of Hereford and Gloucester, and onto the Despencers in 1317 before being sold to James Butler, third earl of Ormond in 1391. The Ormond purchase of Kilkenny castle was to profoundly dictate the fortunes of the town for the next half a millennium. Kilkenny, like the majority of the new Anglo-Norman boroughs flourished and prospered during the 13th – mid-14th centuries. The city's populace was made up of some 300 burgesses with free-tenants, artisans and servants forming the remainder of its 2,500 – 4,000 inhabitants. Kilkenny, as seat of the lordship of Leinster, became the chief market place for the hinterland and this resulted in the development of a wealthy merchant class whose power and influence helped to shape the medieval town to such an extent that by the middle of the thirteenth century Kilkenny was the largest inland town in Ireland. It was a thriving, prosperous place with all the attributes of a typical European medieval urban settlement: a charter of rights, a castle, Town Walls, a parish church, a cathedral, religious houses, bridges, streets, mills, market places and burgage plots. Kilkenny's success as a town led to a steep rise in its population and the rapid expansion of the urban area. To begin with, the town extended into the flood-plains of the rivers Nore and Breagagh and then into a series of suburban developments, at least five of which have been documented. In the case of the suburbs of Irishtown (around St. Canice's church) and Donaghmore, they were pre-existing Early Medieval centres and were given the status of separate boroughs. Three new 'green-field' suburban developments were also promoted, one on the west side of the city outside the Walkin's gate/St. James's Gate, a second to the south of the castle - the 'Flemingstown', and the third – St. John's – on the east side of the river Nore.

A period of dramatic climatic deterioration and bad harvests was recorded all over Britain and Ireland in 1315 and 1317. A general decline in the Anglo-Norman population of South Leinster occurred as a consequence of the wars that followed the Bruce invasions (1315–18) and the 'Black Death' of 1348–9. Kilkenny in the fourteenth century also experienced a period of rapid economic depression which led to the desertion of the suburbs and the abandonment of the countryside by the Anglo-Normans. The decimation of Kilkenny's suburban population is best exemplified by destruction in the mid- 14th century of the extra-mural churches of St. James and St. Nicholas: there was nobody living outside the walls to utilise the edifices. In 1349 a law was enacted to prohibit the payment of higher wages to certain workers who were taking advantage of the situation to ask for better remuneration. In 1366 parliament met in Kilkenny to pass the infamous 'Statutes of Kilkenny'. The century prior to 1500 had seen in Kilkenny, and throughout much of the late medieval Anglo-Norman colony, a period of consolidation and economic revival despite the intermittent assaults of the Gaelic MacMurroughs and O'Carrolls. The city, as capital of the Ormond lordship, became entrenched in the everlasting feuds between the Old English barons, be they Desmond, Talbot or Kildare. Kilkenny was attacked on numerous occasions: 1407 saw a skirmish with the O' Carrolls, in 1430 nearly all the men of the town' were killed in a battle with Talbot and in 1461 Desmond invaded the city and it was captured and looted. Despite these

depredations the protection brought about by Ormond and shrewd alliances with royalty allowed the town to function in the context of what has been termed a 'second Pale'. The Late Medieval period saw the re-building and modification of much of the city's building stock. Its churches, abbeys and townhouses were added to and the result was the 'town of towers'. The Town Walls of Kilkenny were also substantially rebuilt, repaired and improved at this time with moneys obtained through the granting of murage charters. In the fifteenth century the Corporation began to rent out towers, gates, parts of the curtain-wall and ramparts as a revenue-generating scheme; this has resulted in an important set of documentary records that provide details regarding the form and architecture of the Town Walls of Kilkenny. The Dissolution of the Monasteries, which established Henry VIII as head of both the Church of England and the Church of Ireland, was a bonanza for Kilkenny's well-to-do merchants. Lands formerly in the possession of the monastic orders such as St. Francis's Friary, the Black Abbey and the Hospital of St. Mary Magdalen, were granted to the 'sovereign and burgesses' (ie. the ruling oligarchy) of the town, instigating a development boom on a scale not seen since the thirteenth century. As a consequence Kilkenny with a population of some two thousand and a thriving economy saw itself at the vanguard of a major transformation of Ireland when the country, as Mac Lysaght puts it, finally shook itself free of the Middle Ages and became in its essentials the modern world we know to-day'.

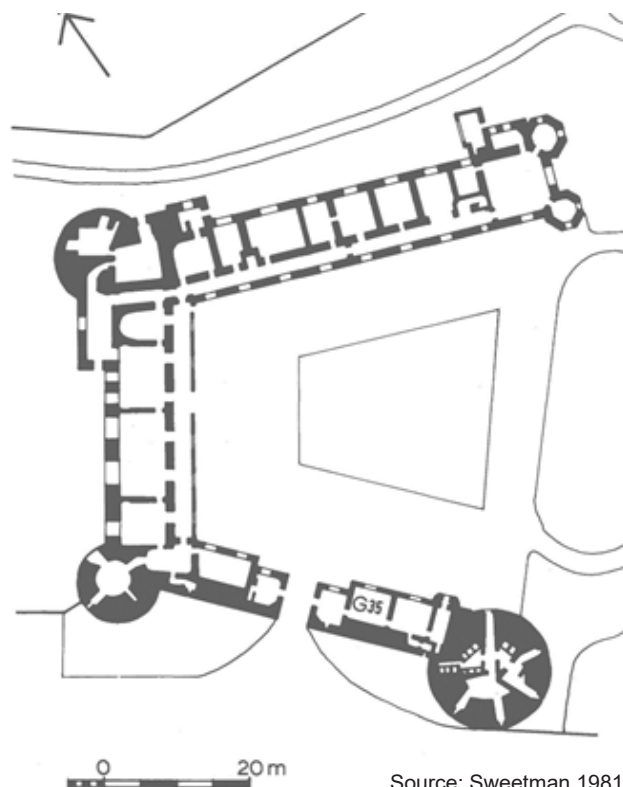
### **Post-Medieval Kilkenny**

Notwithstanding the occasional attack such as that visited upon Kilkenny by O'More in 1573, Kilkenny, at the heart of the Ormond lordship, was rather shielded from the turmoil that affected much of the rest of the country after 1550.. This was chiefly as a consequence of the strong ties the Butler Ormonds enjoyed with the English court, and their dexterous business and political manoeuvrings. It was in this context that a small exclusive ruling class of some fifteen Catholic Old English families out of a population of some 2000 emerged to control the town until the Cromwellian attack in 1650. The surnames of ten of the most influential families have been immortalised in the well-known couplet: Archdekin, Archer, Cowley, Langton, Lee, Knaresborough, Lawless, Ragget, Rothe and Shee The influence of Thomas Butler, the tenth earl of Ormond (c.1531-1614), on the history of Kilkenny cannot be overstated. A cousin of Queen Elizabeth I, he has been described as a great lord who had also been a good lord'. The earl's status in the Elizabethan court made him one of Ireland's most powerful and prominent figures, a standing which was used to good effect to protect and enrich Kilkenny in addition to transforming its architecture. Thomas was supported enthusiastically by the local gentry who benefited greatly from his power, no more so than when Kilkenny was raised to the dignity of a city in 1609: the first mayor was Robert Rothe and thirteen of the eighteen aldermen were either Archers, Rothes or Shees.

## Kilkenny Castle

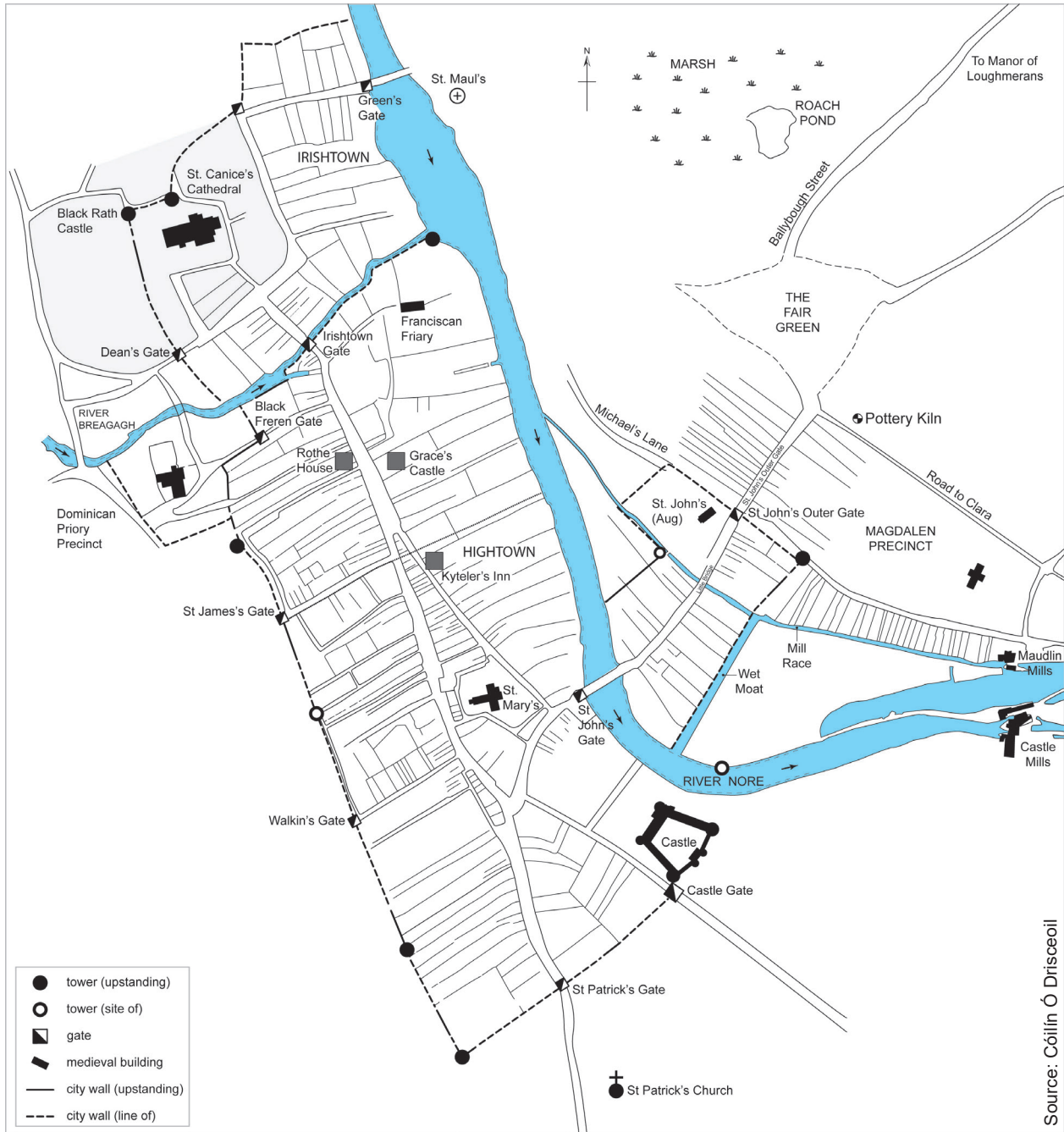
*P. DAVID SWEETMAN: Abstract from: Some Late Seventeenth- to Late Eighteenth-Century Finds from Kilkenny Castle. Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy: Archaeology, Culture, History, Literature, 81C (1981), pp. 249-266.*

A Norman fortification appears to have been built on or near the site of Kilkenny Castle in Strongbow's time. It is mentioned in the Annals of Tigernach and in the Dublin Annals of Innisfallen under the year 1137. A stone castle was built, almost certainly by William Marshall, early in the thirteenth century, possibly on the site of Strongbow's Motte. It is likely that it was built, or that building was begun, between the years 1207 and 1213 when Marshall came to live in Ireland and made Kilkenny his principal seat. This type of keepless castles is generally characteristic of the second half of the thirteenth century. It was described in 1307 as 'a castle in which are a hall, four towers, a chapel, a mote and divers other houses'. Three towers remain which have been much altered at various times but especially in the seventeenth century by the insertion of large windows and between 1826 and 1854 by the addition of battlements in a castellated Neo-Gothic style. The ownership of the castle remained in the hands of the descendants of William Marshall until 1391 when the Butlers bought most of the property. The earldom of Carrick was conferred on Edmond Butler in 1315 and that of Ormonde on his son in 1328. The chief seat of the Butlers was transferred from Gowran to Kilkenny in 1391 and continued there until 1935. Cromwell attacked the castle in 1650 and caused considerable damage to the structure. After the restoration of James, the first duke of Ormonde, to his lands in 1652 he effected considerable repairs and virtually transformed the building into a French chateau. In 1715 the second duke of Ormonde was accused of conspiring against the crown. He went to France and joined the Stuarts; his estates in England were forfeited, but the attainder did not apply to his Irish property. The castle remained empty for about thirty years and the estates were bought by his brother the earl of Arran. Arran died in 1758 and the estates passed to his cousin, John Butler of Kilcash, died childless in 1766. His first cousin Walter who succeeded him occupied the castle until he died in 1783. Substantial repairs and remodelling of the structure were carried out by Robertson commencing in the year 1826, and the castle as it is seen to-day is largely the result of this work. It ceased to be a residence after 1935 and in 1969 it was taken into State care.



Source: Sweetman 1981.

*Groundplan of Kilkenny Castle.*



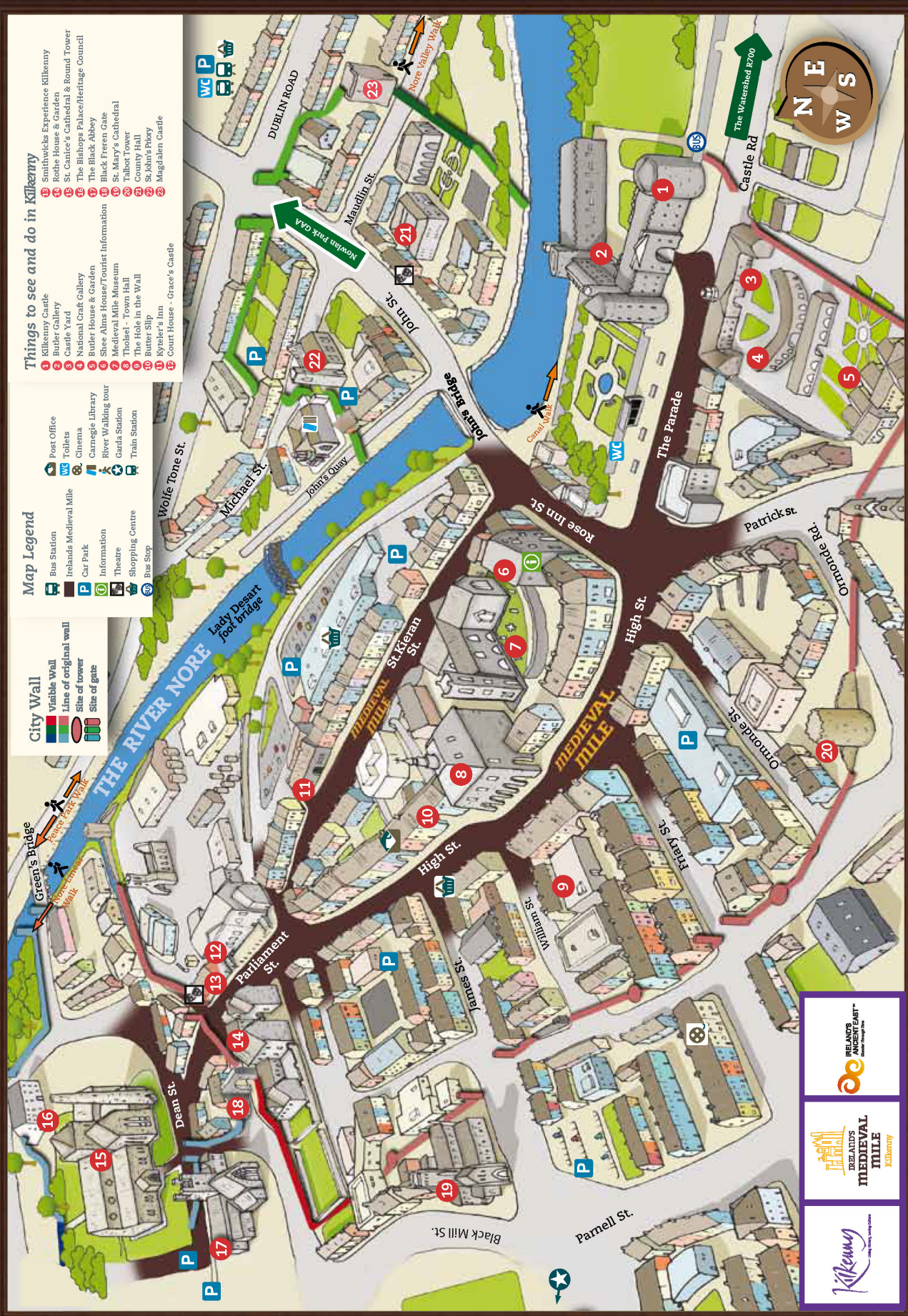
Map of Medieval Kilkenny.

Reference:

Cólín Ó Drisceoil, John Bradley, Richard Jennings, Leah McCullough, John Healy, The Kilkenny Archaeological Project and An Chomhairle Oidhreachta/ The Heritage Council. Kilkenny 2008  
 P. David Sweetman and J. G. Hurst, Some Late Seventeenth- to Late Eighteenth-Century Finds from Kilkenny Castle. Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy: Archaeology, Culture, History, Literature, 81C (1981), pp. 249-266.



Source: [http://visitkilkenny.ie/kilkenny\\_medieval\\_mile](http://visitkilkenny.ie/kilkenny_medieval_mile)

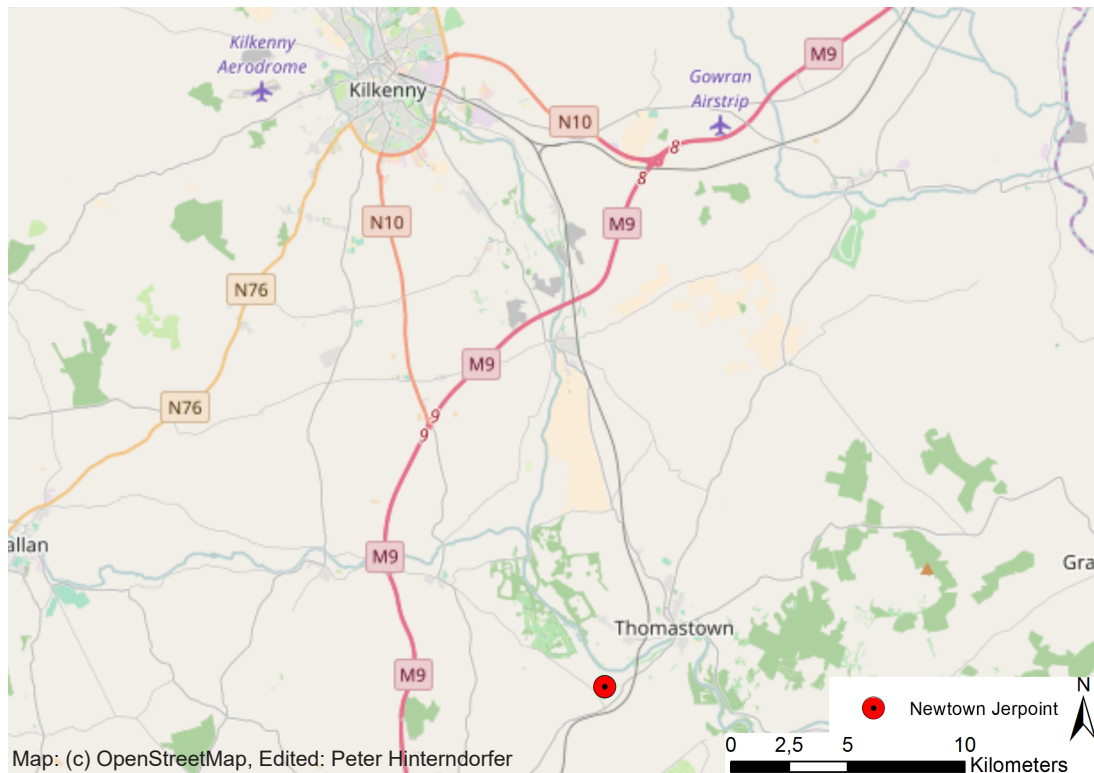


- ### Things to see and do in Kilkenny
- 1 Kilkenny Castle
  - 2 Smithfields Experience Kilkenny
  - 3 Butler House & Garden
  - 4 St. Canice's Cathedral & Round Tower
  - 5 Castle Yard
  - 6 The Bishops Palace/Heritage Council
  - 7 The Black Abbey
  - 8 Black Friars Gate
  - 9 Black Mary's Cathedral
  - 10 Tabor Tower
  - 11 County Hall
  - 12 St. John's Priory
  - 13 Magdalen Castle
  - 14 Kyriac's Inn
  - 15 Court House - Grace's Castle
  - 16 National Craft Gallery
  - 17 Butler House & Garden
  - 18 Stree Alms House/tourist information
  - 19 Medieval Mile Museum
  - 20 The Hotel in the Wall
  - 21 Butler Slip
  - 22 Kyriac's Inn
  - 23 Court House - Grace's Castle

- ### Map Legend
- Bus Station
  - Inlandis Medieval Mile
  - Car Park
  - Information
  - Theatre
  - Shopping Centre
  - Bus Stop
  - Post Office
  - Toilets
  - Cinema
  - Garnegie's Library
  - River Walking tour
  - Garda Station
  - Train Station

- ### City Wall
- Visible Wall
  - Line of original wall
  - Site of tower
  - Site of gate

WEDNESDAY 13th SEPTEMBER

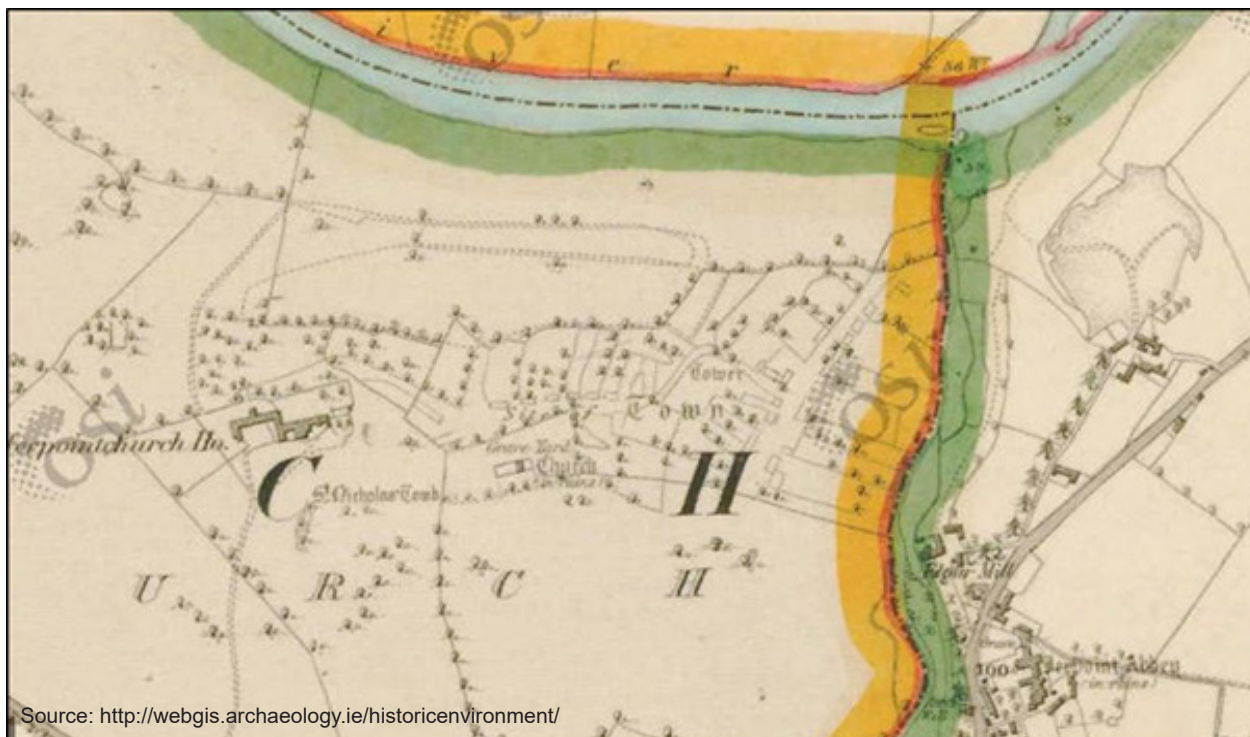


### Newtown Jerpoint, Deserted Settlement, Co. Kilkenny

*JULIAN MUNBY ET AL.: Abstract from: Oxford Archaeology, Newtown Jerpoint, Co. Kilkenny, Conservation Plan*

Newtown Jerpoint is owned privately and is managed as Jerpoint Park. Newtown Jerpoint is a site of great importance within Irish Archaeology as it is one of the best preserved Deserted Medieval Village sites in the country. There are many standing earthwork features across this large river valley location. The site has been re-surveyed in recent years.

The following is taken from the reference below. Jerpoint was a manor of William Marshal, Earl of Pembroke, who took possession of his Irish lands in 1192, and was present in Ireland 1207-13 when much of his activity in Kilkenny was concentrated. The new town of Jerpoint was most likely created in this decade by William Marshal's tenant in Knocktopher, Griffin fitz William (Carew), brother of Raymond le Gros, who was succeeded in turn by his three sons, Gilbert, Matthew, and Raymond. In the May 1247 feodary, Matthew son of Griffin (or Reymund son of Griffin in another version) held  $1\frac{3}{4}$  knight's fees at Knokechnoker and Nova Villa. This would imply that the place had been sub-ifeudated rather than being a demesne manor of the Earl Marshal. The church of Newtown (with the tithes of Oldtown) was confirmed to St John's Priory in Kilkenny by the young Marshal in the 1220s (and not, as earlier thought, c. 1211). It was named nova villa de Jeriponte, implying a new foundation rather than suggesting the existence of an 'old' town which does in fact exist as a townland in Jerpoint parish. It was located between the south bank of the River Nore and the west bank of the River Arrigle, across from Jerpoint Abbey on the east. The town grew to the south of the bridge that crossed the shallow meeting point of the two rivers, to the northwest of the abbey. In 1374, there was a royal grant of 'pontage murage and pavage' to Jerpoint, addressed to the provost and community of the town, for the 'repair of bridge on the Nore next the town and for support and repair of the tower and gate at the south end of the bridge for resisting our enemies and rebels crossing the bridge by day or night'. It granted the right to collect customs on goods



*Detail from Ordnance Survey First Edition 6-inch map (1839), which recorded the property plots and principal features surviving.*

coming, carried or crossing over the bridge for ten years, and has an instructive list of goods that can be compared with those for Kilkenny. The moneys were to be spent only on the bridge, tower and gate by witness of the Bishop of Ossory and Abbot of Jerpoint. A reference in 1420 implies that Newtown Jerpoint remained in place as one of the small group of towns of secondary importance in the county.

It is thought that the town was deserted at some time in the 17th century, though this cannot be certain. In discussing 'desertion', a distinction must be made between the existence of the 'town'; the continued use of the church; the survival of the bridge; the persistent use of the place by inhabitants of a shrinking village or hamlet; and its final desertion. Records of the church continue into the 17th century. The most likely scenario is that the town declined in the late 16th century, surviving into the early 17th century as a hamlet, and finally becoming extinct by the early 18th century. The site was shown on the first edition Ordnance Survey six-inch map of Kilkenny, published in 1839, and unusually, the burgage plot and house ruins were outlined with some care. Newtown Jerpoint is situated in a plain demarcated by a brow of hills on the south and west and rivers along the north and east. The site slopes gently down from the south-west to the north-east. The remains consist of banks and ditches in rectangular shapes, aligned along an east-west strip and a north-south strip. Standing remains of buildings include St Nicholas' Church which dates from the 13th-15th century, and a secular stone-built tower of medieval date. Although historically distinct, the town can be seen in the context of Jerpoint Abbey and Thomastown as neighbouring monastic and urban institutions.

Remains of the town show that it consisted of a north-south street leading from the bridge, and an east-west street with house platforms on either side. Remains of the house platforms survive, together with the standing remains of a tower and a church. It is possible to make out the sites of 22½ burgage plots, if that was indeed the total number present in 1289; there could be more, but perhaps not very many. The burgage plot boundaries are essentially preserved as slight banks, ditches and edges of terraces stepping down to the next terrace. Only those plots ranged along the east side of the main north-south street resemble classic burgage plots in length or regularity, with those on the north side of the east-west street to a lesser extent. As often in towns, there is something of a hiatus around the road junction, but the plots are not so well defined.



*Plan of deserted settlement, streets and house plots.*

A number of the house platforms remain as stone piles which may retain evidence for the construction of the houses of the town. Hollows filled with nettles might mark the locations of previously removed house platforms. While the sites of many of the houses exist, they are less well defined. The streets may have been surfaced in some way, perhaps even with drainage ditches to one side. They now survive as longitudinal hollows bordered by rectangular terraces and areas bordered by burgage plots, a number of which contain the remains of collapsed walls from past structures and thus have an irregular front edge.

An archaeological excavation outside the west end of the farm and just north-west of Belmore House in 1973, revealed two significant structures dating from the early 13th to mid-14th centuries which were built on an artificial alluvial platform. The first structure was a large rectangular mud-walled house with two rooms. The second was a much more substantial stone-built two-storey structure which may have been a dwelling or a barn. The plan of the first structure is similar to that of the remains of some of the house-platforms preserved in the Town Field.

Underwater survey in 2012 confirmed the presence of the medieval bridge, and indicated that it was repaired in the 1600s.

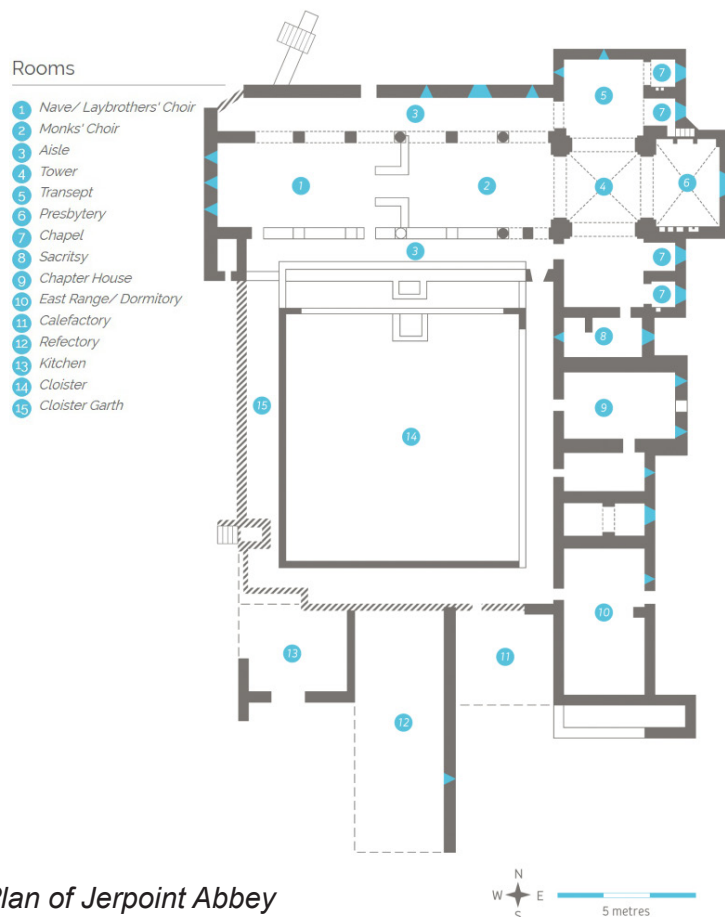
Reference:

Oxford Archaeology, Newtown Jerpoint, Co. Kilkenny, Conservation Plan (Heritage Council 2007).  
[http://www.heritagecouncil.ie/content/files/newton\\_jerpoint\\_conservation\\_plan\\_2007\\_5mb.pdf](http://www.heritagecouncil.ie/content/files/newton_jerpoint_conservation_plan_2007_5mb.pdf)

## Jerpoint Abbey

NIALL BRAY

Jerpoint Abbey was built by the Cistercians as a daughter house of the abbey of Baltinglass (fd. 1148) in the 1160s. The abbey is a National Monument in the ownership of the State. The lands in which it stand were within the kingdom of Osraige (approximate to the modern diocese of Ossory) was ruled by Donnchad Mac Gilla Pátraic until his death in 1162. The kingdom was then divided between the northern part, ruled by his eldest son Domnall Mac Gilla Pátraic (d.1185) and the southern part ruled by another Domnall (d.1176), the son of Cerball Mac Gilla Pátraic. It is thought that Domnall Mac Gilla Pátraic founded the monastery. This is supported by a charter of John, lord of Ireland and count of Mortain, c.1192 to Jerpoint Abbey confirming the lands previously granted by Domnall, king of Osraige. In addition, it is stated that the grant happened before Richard de Clare ('Richard FitzGilbert', 'Strongbow') (a. 1127–76) earl of Pembroke and Strigoil, arrived in Leinster in 1170. Architectural evidence also supports this date. The monastery is a well-preserved example of the Cistercian monastic plan, with fine remains of the 12th-century church, a 15th-century crossing tower, and an important cloister arcade with sculptures dating from 1390-1400, and some remains of the domestic buildings. It belongs to a small group of Irish Cistercian churches that combine influences from both Burgundian and West Country English sources. Jerpoint was the mother house of Killenny, Co. Kilkenny (fd. c. 1185, now destroyed) and Kilcooly, Co. Tipperary (c. 1184). The church, dating mainly from c. 1160-1200 is still relatively intact and its 15th-century crossing tower dominates the surrounding landscape. Preserved within the church is an important collection of sculpted tombs, including carvings of saint and apostles associated with the 16h-century O'Tunney 'School' of sculptors. The reconstructed 14th- or 15th-century sculptured cloister arcade is unique in the context of Cistercian cloister arcades for its rich array of quirky sculptures.



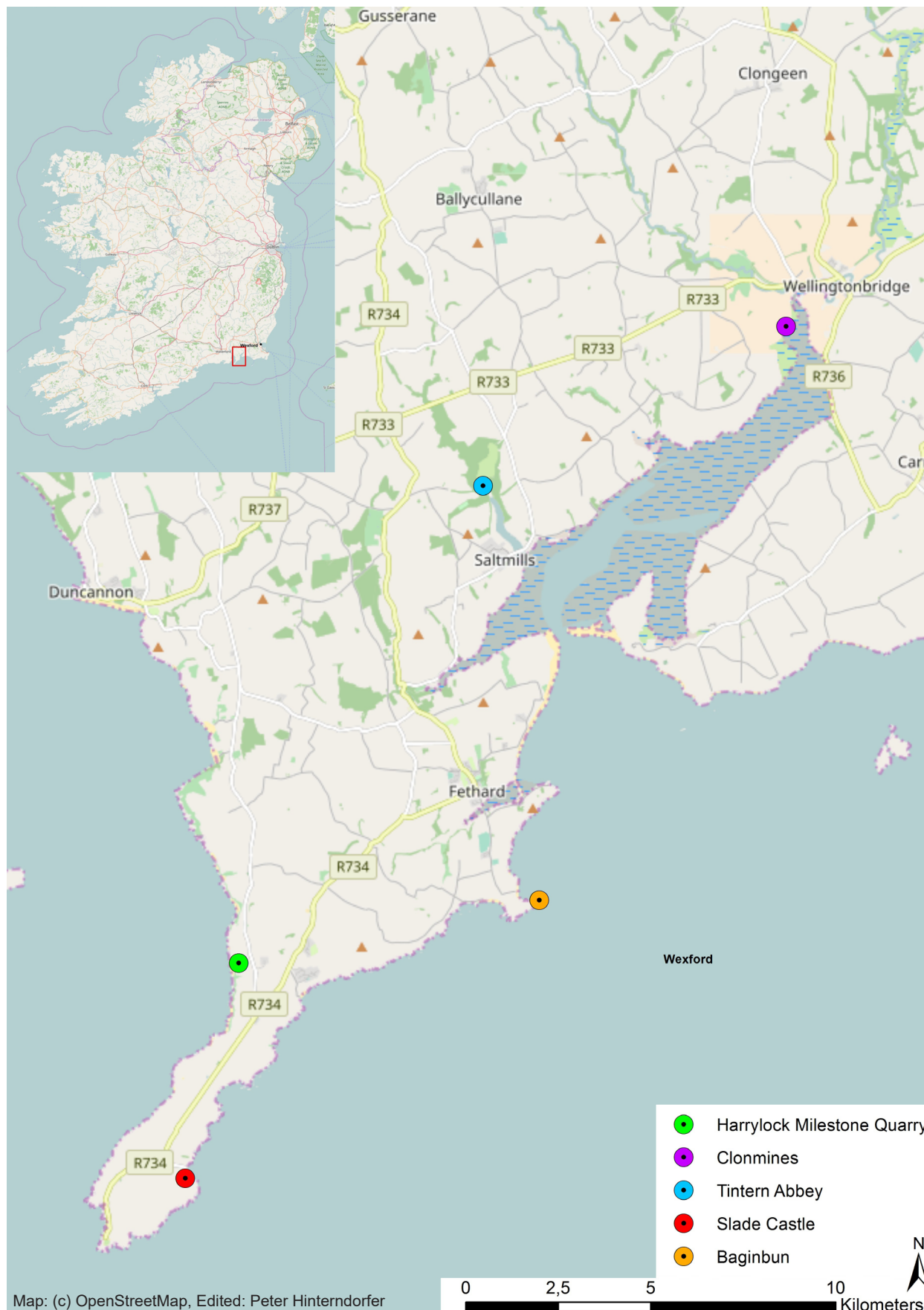
During the 15th century, the abbey was very wealthy, with local possessions including land, cottages, mills and fisheries. By the time of the Dissolution, only the abbot and five monks remained, all of whom received pensions. The monastic possessions were granted to the Butler family of Kilkenny. In 1540, the abbey was dissolved and the property was granted to James Butler, earl of Ormond. The abbot, Oliver Grace surrendered on 18 March of that year and was granted a pension. In 1542, James Butler (d.1546), 9th earl of Ormond was granted four monastic foundations – the Cistercian abbeys of Jerpoint and Duiske (Graignamanagh), the Augustinian priory of Kells and the Augustinian friary of Callan.

Reference:

[www.monastic.ie/history/jerpoint-cistercian-abbey/](http://www.monastic.ie/history/jerpoint-cistercian-abbey/)

THURSDAY 14th SEPTEMBER

Excursion to Co. Wexford



## The Hook Peninsula, Co. Wexford

Located in south Wexford, this region was the first to be conquered by the Anglo-Normans and its landscape was shaped by the establishment of two Cistercian abbeys, Tintern and Dunbrody in the Middle Ages. Our guides include Dr Breda Lynch, Arnaud de Volder and Dr Niall Colfer.

### Clonmines

*GERALDINE STOUT (INTRODUCTION), PAUL MURPHY & ARNAUD DE VOLDER (GEOPHYSICS)*

Clonmines is one of the finest examples in Ireland of a deserted medieval borough. William Marshal founded the town of Clonmines early in the thirteenth century. Surviving remains combine with a spectacular location to evoke a sense of atmosphere, colour and intimacy of a medieval town. The quality and quantity of its buildings testify to the town's former importance. The surviving remains include an Augustinian Priory, two tower houses, a fortified church, the parish church of St Nicholas and the ruins of a seventeenth century house. Clonmines is located on private land. On entering the gate, the fortified parish church of St Nicholas is the first building on the right. It consists of a nave and chancel with a tower. An unusual building resembling a small tower house is located within the precincts of the parish church. The Augustinian Priory was founded in 1307 and enlarged in 1385, when fortifications were added. The remains consist of a nave and chancel with south aisle. A late tower was inserted at the east end of the nave. The top of the tower has a stepped parapet with lookout platforms at two corners. North of the church are the remains of a rectangular enclosure with a slender tower in the northwest corner. A gatehouse is attached to the west end of the church. North of the priory is a rectangular tower house known as the Black castle. Another towerhouse is now part of the modern farmhouse. Fragments of a fortified house, possibly of seventeenth century date lies west of the priory.

The demise of the town by the end of the seventeenth century was related to its failure to compete economically with the more successful ports of New Ross and Wexford. The population of merchants and artisans who depended on trade and commerce for their existence had no reason to stay and Clonmines became a ghost town.

Over time, the abandoned houses of the townspeople, built of clay and wood disappeared. Only the high status stone residences and institutional buildings survived to mark the site of what had been a bustling medieval centre.



Source: Clifer 2004

*Location map of Clonmines deserted medieval borough.*

A total of 119 20m x 20m grid squares were surveyed (22 partially) using a handheld Geoscan FM-36 Fluxgate Gradiometer with sampling intervals of 0.25cm.

The survey made visible striking clusters of anomalies, which appear to represent streets, various precincts, burgage plots, possible wall footings of structures, boundaries and enclosures. Parallel linear anomalies probably represent drainage ditches at either side of a main street through the town, which ran north-south from the entrance of the 'Abbey Field' for c.240m past the eastern sides of the upstanding 17th century fortified house gable and 'Black Castle' tower house. The results suggest that this street was roughly 10m wide, a similar width to the east-west running laneway being used today to access the modern farm at Clonmines. It is likely that both routeways formed a junction at a point just outside the 'Abbey Field' gateway.

Two other streets running east-west were also identified in the survey. Both were perpendicular to the 'main' street mentioned above and were each c.5m wide. These two streets terminated at points that contained significant landmarks in the town i.e. 'Black Castle' tower house and the corner tower of the friary precinct wall. This enhanced the urban feel of the town while also suggestive of town planning. The east-west routeways mentioned above are each separated by similar distances 60m-70m, which further indicates that the town was laid out in a planned fashion. Traces of at least 30 possible dwellings have been identified from this survey along with a similar number of burgage plots, all tightly packed along the 'main' street mentioned above. The burgage plots measure c.60m-70m in length and c.4.5m-6m wide.

The majority of burgage plots appear on the western side of the 10m wide street while larger precincts and structures seem to have been stretched along its eastern side running down to the shoreline of Bannow Bay.

The survey results exceeded initial expectations and provide ample evidence that Clonmines functioned as a thriving economic and social hub in this part of southwest county Wexford during the later medieval period.

#### Reference:

Colfer, B. 2004 *The Hook Peninsula* Cork University press  
 Summary of Results from a Magnetic Gradiometer Survey Conducted at Clonmines in 2012.  
 Paul Murphy & Arnaud de Volder

## **Tintern abbey**

### *GERALDINE STOUT*

Tintern abbey, one of the most powerful medieval Cistercian foundations in Ireland, lies on the western shore of Bannow Bay in Co. Wexford. The abbey was founded in 1200 by William Marshall (d.1219), the 1st earl of Pembroke, in fulfillment of a vow to found an abbey if he landed safely ashore after a treacherous sea crossing from Pembroke in western Wales. Its name, Tintern de Voto means 'Tintern of the Vow', referring to Marshal's pledge. It was a daughter house of Tintern Major, from Monmouthshire in Wales, the second Cistercian abbey founded in Britain and first in Wales, and so was also known as Tintern Minor or Tintern Parva, meaning 'little Tintern'. The abbey was colonized with monks from Tintern Major and received endowments that included 30 carucates of land (about c. 9,000 statute acres), although by 1536, it has been estimated that Tintern's land holdings would have amounted to more than 50 carucates (c. 15,000 statute acres). The abbots of Tintern were peers and sat in parliament until 1447 when they were exempted from future attendance due to the costs of rebuilding the abbey. The abbey was dissolved by Henry VIII in 1536 and it passed into the possession of the Colclough family, who held it until the 1950s. It passed into the care of the Commissioners of Public Works in 1963. Excavations and conservation work were carried out between 1982 and 2007, with further work carried out after a fire in the visitors' centre and tea rooms in the summer of 2012.





Source: Collier 2004

*Aerial view of Tintern Abbey.*

The main surviving structures at Tintern abbey are the church, with its nave, chancel, crossing tower and south transept chapels – these had been converted to domestic use by the Colclough family. The conventual buildings did not survive, save for the gateway from the west cloister range, which was included in a later coach house. A short stone bridge with crenelated parapet spans the Tintern River, with a second bridge and 18th century mill house at the mouth of the river on the L4041 Curraghmore to Tintern road. The woodlands around Tintern abbey, the estuary of the Tintern River and Bannow Bay are significant nature reserves, home to protected wildfowl, whiskered bats and deciduous beech.

#### Reference

<http://www.monastic.ie/history/tintern-cistercian-abbey/>

Lynch, A. 2010 Tintern Abbey, Co. Wexford: Cistercians and Colcloughs. Excavations 1982-2007. Government Publications Dublin

## Slade Castle and seventeenth century estate village

*GERALDINE STOUT*

Slade Castle is located on the only natural landing place on the peninsula. This four-storey tower house survives to battlements with good quoins and slightly battered walls. A pointed doorway, protected by machicolation and murder hole, leads through a lobby to the vaulted ground floor. A mural stairs leads to a loft. A spiral stairs rises to the first floor, which has two rectangular windows with seats, a fireplace and garderobe with a spy-hole for the stairs. The spiral stairs continues to the third floor, which is covered by a second vault, and on to the parapet, which has stepped crenellations. A further half storey, with a look out platform on top, contains the machicolation. A later fortified house is attached to the corner of the tower house. The complex is maintained as a National Monument.

The old village at Slade was to the south within the bawn of the castle known as ‘the square’. In the late 7th century William Mansell, a political refugee from the Gower peninsula in south Wales built a row of slated houses to the north of the inlet for his tenants. He also constructed a new pier and beside it established a salt works, in a range of buildings with remarkable roofs of corbelled stone.



He may have built the salt works with the intention of supplying the flourishing Newfoundland fishery, which depended for much of its supplies on the hinterland of Waterford Harbour.

*Reconstruction of Slade village.*

Source: Colfer 2004

### Reference

Colfer, B. 2004 *The Hook Peninsula*. Cork University Press

Colfer, B. 2013 *Wexford Castles: Landscape, Context and Settlement*. Cork University Press

## Millstone quarry, Harrylock

*GERALDINE STOUT*

This is one of six millstone quarries identified by Dr Niall Colfer in this region. This industry reached its zenith during the post-medieval period (AD 1550-1850). The first known reference to Harrylock quarry in the townland of Templetown was in the Loftus papers of 1736 when ‘Templetown mill and part of Houeland with the millstone quarry’ formed part of a marriage agreement between

Nicholas Loftus and Mary, Hume of Fermanagh. Here millstones were extracted from Old Red Sandstone bedrock. The hardness of the conglomerate, as well as the pebbles within the stone, resulted in a grinding surface that did not polish or wear easily. This maintained a coarse working face, which aided the cutting of the cereal. It also provided pieces of rock that were large enough to provide a millstone free of flaws.

A double-ended handpick was used to quarry a circular trench around the selected piece of sandstone which was marked using a compass with one point placed in a small hole created in the centre point of the intended millstone.



Source: Colfer 2004

Triangular wedge pits were made under the intended millstone into which wooden pegs were inserted. The incoming tide, poured into the trench causing the pegs to swell and the resulting pressure split the rough out millstone from the underlying bedrock. This method leaves the circular remains of the trench or dish visible in the bedrock as well as the wedge pits and scar of the removed preform.

A natural jetty at Harrylock was used for boats to get as close to shore as possible to load the millstones. At low tide the millstones were moved to the side of the jetty and on rising tide they were strapped to the underside of the boats.

#### Reference

Colfer, N. 2016 'Ballyhack millstones: turning stone into bread in post-medieval Ireland' in Ian W. Doyle & Bernard Browne (eds.) *Medieval Wexford: Essays in memory of Billy Colfer*. Four Courts Press.

*Millstone quarry at Harrylock.*

## Baginbun, Co. Wexford

KIERAN O'CONNOR

Two defensive earthworks can be seen on Baginbun Head today. The first one (Site 1), which is cut by the modern laneway leading onto the headland, originally consisted of two banks and ditches. This linear earthwork, which is 214m long, cut the headland at Baginbun off from the mainland to the north. The second earthwork (Site 2) can be seen on the eastern side of the headland at a spot known as Baginbun Point and can be defined in archaeological terms as a bivallate promontory fort that seems to be of at least two phases.

These two sites have been subjected to some analysis. It would appear that the initial occupation of the headland, which commenced in either late prehistoric or early medieval times, consisted of a promontory fort on Baginbun Point (ie the first phase of Site 1), which was known by the 12th century at least as Dundonuil (ie Donal's Fort). Strongbow (Richard de Clare, earl of Striguil), soon to become the first Anglo-Norman lord of Leinster, sent a small vanguard over to Ireland in May

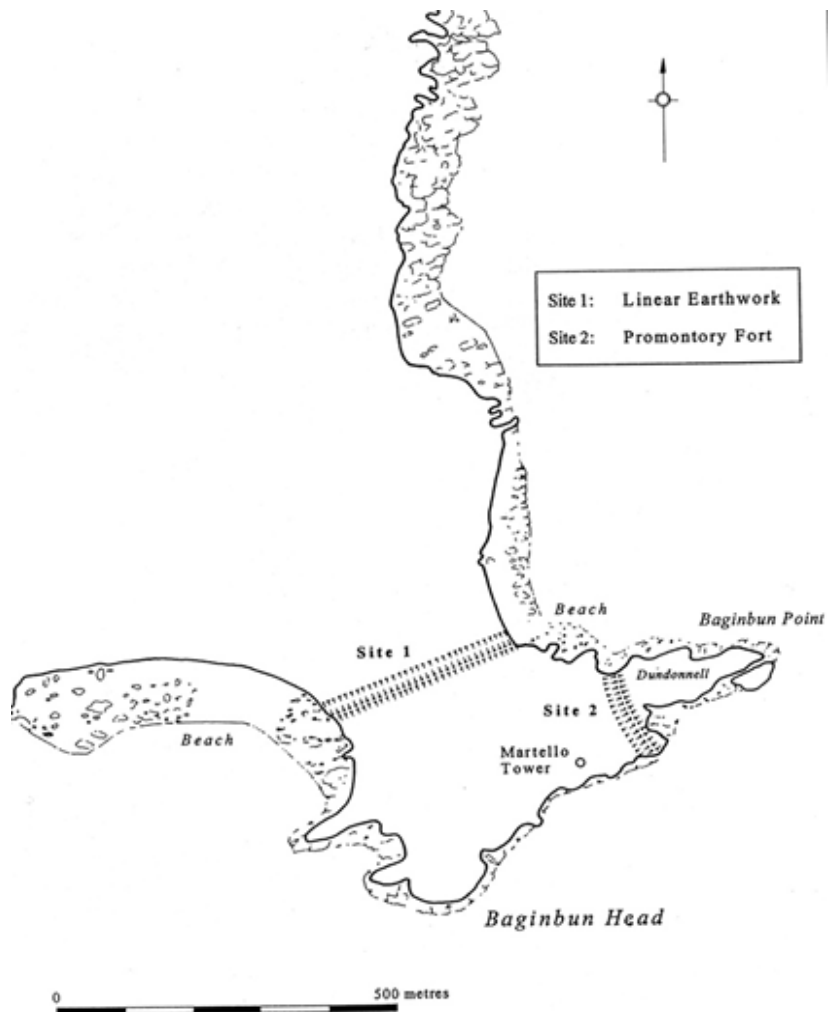
1170 under Raymond le Gros, which landed at Baginbun. It is believed that Raymond immediately re fortified the then deserted promontory fort (Site 2). This was the correct thing to do as he was then attacked by a combined force of Irish and Waterford Hiberno-Norse. This force was heavily defeated by le Gros - the Waterford City contingent in particular losing many of its leaders.

Raymond and his men stayed at Baginbun for three months after the battle, up until Strongbow arrived with his main force in late August 1170. The latter landed near Waterford and immediately took that city in a short but bloody siege. This was a major event in the Anglo-Norman conquest of eastern Ireland. It is suggested that in the three months prior to Strongbow's landing, Raymond and his men constructed the linear earthwork (Site 1) that cut the whole of Baginbun Head off from the mainland. It is felt that the headland (which is sited in a strategic location close to the mouths of navigable rivers) was chosen to act as a large and secure campaign fortress for Strongbow and his force of at least 1500 men.

Reference:

O'Connor, K. 2003. 'A reinterpretation of the earthworks at Baginbun, Co. Wexford', in Kenyon, J.R. and O'Connor, K. (eds), *The medieval castle in Ireland and Wales*, 17-31. Dublin: Four Courts Press.

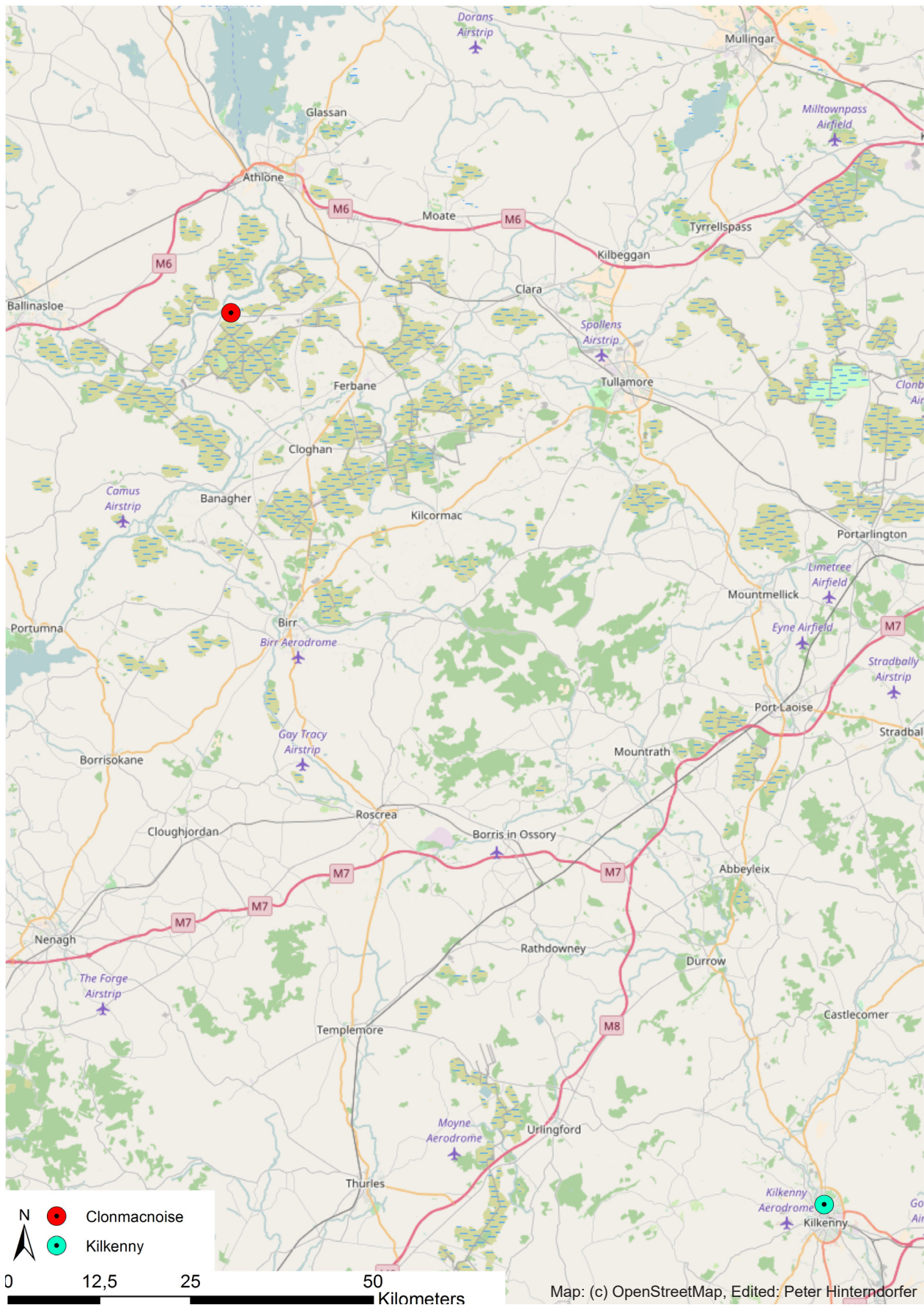
Orpen, G.H. 1898. 'Site of Raymond's fort, Dundonnolf, Baginbun. *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 28, 155-60.



Plan of Baginbud Head.

Source: O'Connor 2003.

FRIDAY 15th SEPTEMBER



**Clonmacnoise, Co. Offaly***NIALL BRADY*

Clonmacnoise, Co. Offaly, is located at the centre of Ireland, on the River Shannon south of Athlone, some 120km northwest of Kilkenny. The site is famous as an early monastic town, but it also has a fine ruined medieval castle. A Visitor Centre at the site focusses on the history of the monastery, while the castle is almost ignored. This is in part because of the dilapidated nature of the castle site, making it unsafe for tourists, but its absence from the formal history of Clonmacnoise speaks to how the early medieval period's story is triumphant over the later period. This is well worth a discussion.

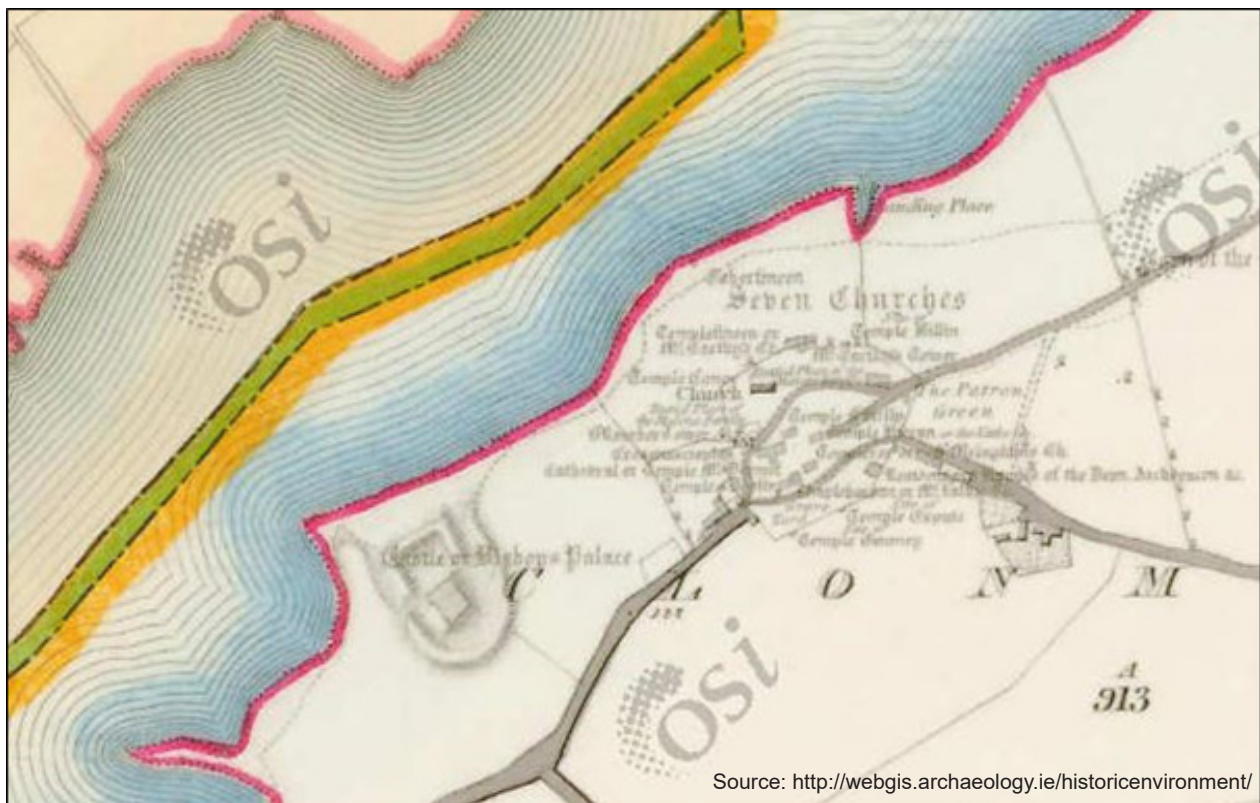
Founded by St Ciarán in the mid-6th century, it became a great centre of religion and learning, visited by scholars from all over the world. Many historical manuscripts, including the 11th century Annals of Tighernach and the 12th century Book of the Dun Cow, were written here.

The monastic site features three high crosses, a cathedral, seven churches and two round towers. There are early medieval cross slabs and the 9th-century Cross of the Scriptures. The graveyard surrounding the site continues to be in use.

Excavations have helped to reveal the complex nature of the site, and indicate the town that the monastery became, revealing a large vallum or ditch the envelopes the landward side of the site, measuring 6m wide and 4m deep, and enclosing an area c. 500m in diameter.

Excavations underwater, in turn, have revealed the remains of a timber bridge dating to the early 9th century, just downstream of the monastery, along with a series of dug-out canoes of log boats along the former shoreline in front of the monastery.

- **Teampall Ciarán** is one of only six extant examples of the unique architectural type of the early Irish shrine chapel.



*Detail from OS First edition 6-inch map showing extent of monastic site and medieval castle in the mid 1800s.*

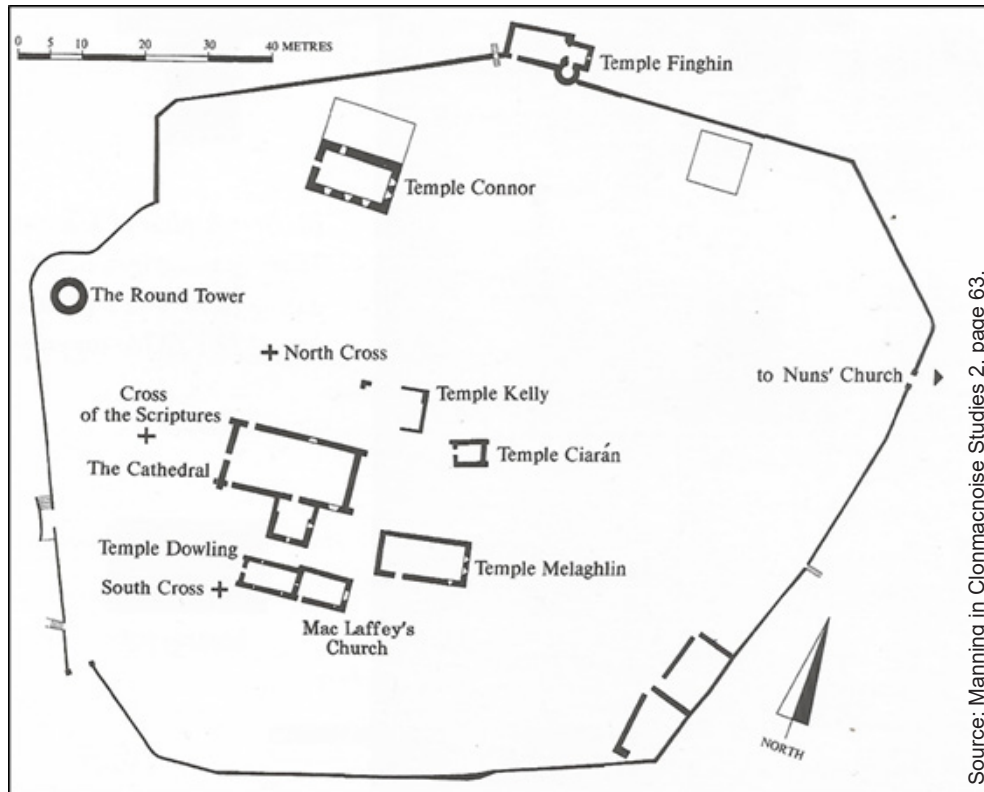
- The cathedral **Teampall McDermot**, is located at the heart of the complex, and was built by Flann mac Maeleachlainn, (high king of Ireland 879-916) and Colmán (abbot of Clonmacnoise, d.926) as recorded in the annals in 909.
- The **Cross of the Scriptures** is a representative example of the 10th-century Irish high crosses ornamented with multi-figural panels, considered to be the finest expression of monumental stone carving from the decline of the Roman Empire to the revival of sculpture in 11th-century Europe with the beginnings of the Romanesque style. The representation of Flann and Colmán, or their ancestors Diarmait mac Cerbaill and Ciarán, driving in the corner post of the church, is a unique representation on an Irish scriptural cross of either a contemporary scene, or one from the founding saint's life.
- The **round tower** at Clonmacnoise built on high ground in the north-west corner of the monastic complex and to the north-west of the cathedral, is a 12th-century tower, dated by annalistic evidence to 1124 when it was finished by Gillachrist Ua Maoileóin, successor of Ciarán, and Toirdelbach Ua Conchobar, king of Connacht, and aspirant to the high kingship of Ireland. It is 5.6m in diameter at the base and tapers evenly towards the present top which is just over 19m high, but is missing about one third of its original height and its conical cap. It was struck by lightning in 1135 and the reconstructed upper three metres probably dates to the later medieval period. It is composed of well-shaped rectangular grey limestone blocks (which were quarried at the nearby Rocks of Clorhane) to the level of the bell-storey windows where the late medieval work uses smaller and more irregular stone.
- The **Nun's Church** was completed by Derbforgaill (1109-93) in 1167. Daughter of the king of Mide (Meath), and wife of Tigernán Ua Ruairc of Bréifne, Derbforgaill's abduction by the king of Leinster, Diarmait Mac Murchada, during a raid in 1152 has, since the 12th century, been seen as one of the key reasons for the arrival of the Anglo-Normans in Ireland, and the end of the Gaelic order. The church one of the only three Hiberno-Romanesque churches in Ireland which have a documentary dating, and is therefore very important in elucidating the chronology of the style.
- **Temple Finghin** is unusual in showing the integration of a round tower, thought to date from around 1160-70, into the plan of what would otherwise have been a reasonably standard bicameral building, despite a south doorway rather than the almost universal west doorway.
- Located to the east of the cathedral, **Teampall Rí** is interesting in showing the continuing association of the Ua Maeleachlainn kings of Mide, with Clonmacnoise, even after their aspirations to power were much diminished. It is of two periods: the earliest being Transitional in style and dating to the early 13th century with modifications in the later medieval period. It has fine late 12th/early 13th century east windows.

Clonmacnoise has the largest and most remarkable collection of pre-Norman cross-slabs in Europe. Over 600 have been catalogued ranging in date from the 8th-12th century. The slabs are almost all made of sandstone (sourced in all likelihood from nearby Bloomhill) and are elaborately carved with crosses demonstrating that here was a school of craftsmen at Clonmacnoise carving these slabs over a number of centuries. Generally the stone is not shaped or dressed but is carved on a natural and sometimes uneven surface. Almost a third of the Clonmacnoise cross-slabs have an inscription asking for a prayer for the person commemorated; some individuals can therefore be identified in Irish chronicles, thus giving dates to the slabs. The inscriptions are in Irish in what is known as Insular script, requesting a prayer to be said for a named individual.

Archaeological excavation in the north-west corner of the New Graveyard uncovered an Ogham stone, the oldest stone monument on the site, starting a longer-term project that revealed the complexity of settlement, including evidence for earlier Iron Age settlement dating to c. 300BC and four main phases of activity.

The uppermost strata were of the 11th century and 12th century, characterised by flagged and cobbled areas, pits, well shafts and post holes, below which was the main occupation phase, dating to the 9th and 10th century.

The main feature of this period is a metalled road or street more than 18.5m in length and about 3m in width running southward from the low-lying callows adjacent to the Shannon toward the core of the monastic site. On either side of this road there was evidence for round houses about 7m



Source: Manning in Clonmacnoise Studies 2, page 63.

*The old graveyard at Clonmacnoise with its churches.*

in diameter, sub-rectangular structures, corn-drying kilns, hearths for cooking and metalworking, a possible boat slip and a quay. There is also an earlier phase dating to the 7th and 8th century consisting mainly of stake holes, spreads of burnt soils and charcoal.

The castle at Clonmacnoise situated to the west of the monastic site is a royal castle that was built in 1214 by the Justiciar of Ireland, John de Gray, to control the Midlands. The masonry elements consist of a hall keep with an attached inner ward which has a gatehouse at its north-west corner. The massive earthen defences include an outer ward defined by a bank, an external fosse and a barbican to the west. The lack of any later architectural features suggests that it was destroyed during the Gaelic resurgence in the late 13th or early 14th century.

#### References:

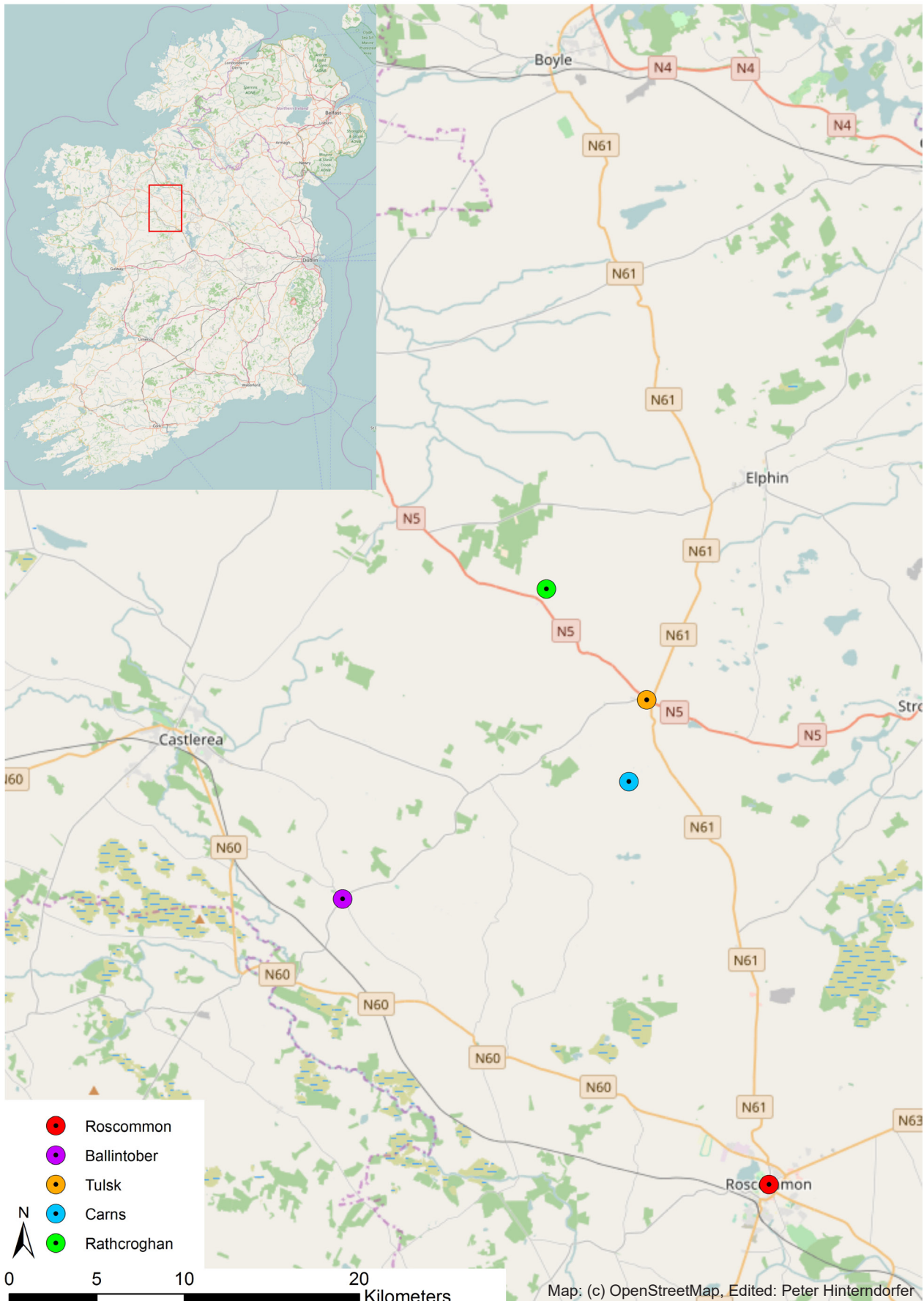
Heather King, ed., Clonmacnoise Studies, 1 (1998) and 2 (2003), (Wordwell, Bray).

Kieran O'Connor and Con Manning, 'Clonmacnoise Castle', in Clonmacnoise Studies, 2 (2003), 137-166.

The Monastic City of Clonmacnoise and its Cultural Landscape Candidate World Heritage Site Draft Management Plan, 2009-2014 (NMS, OPW, 2009). <http://www.ahrrga.gov.ie/app/uploads/2015/08/Clonmacnoise-Draft-Management-Plan.pdf>.



SATURDAY 16th SEPTEMBER AND SUNDAY 17th SEPTEMBER



The post-conference excursion will now focus on the archaeology of north Roscommon, a landscape that remained largely outside the direct control of the King throughout the medieval period, and within the ancestral heartlands of the O'Conor kings of Connacht.

## Rathcroghan

NIALL BRADY

Rathcroghan is a landscape rather than a single site, but we will visit the principal earthen mound of the complex. Like many of the sites we will visit today, the medieval and early modern horizons are but later phases on a series of monuments whose origins lie in prehistory.

The wider Rathcroghan landscape stretches for several kilometres and occupies an area of slightly raised land on a landscape outcrop that is otherwise surrounded by lower-lying bog, wetland, and boulder clay countryside. The differences in contours today are not striking, but we should be able to appreciate this when we visit the principal mound, led by guide Daniel Curley of the Rathcroghan Visitor Centre.

The source of what follows is taken by the records of the National Monuments Service and was prepared by Michael Moore. The principal mound (SMR RO022-057010) lies within a larger ceremonial enclosure measuring c. 360m in diameter (RO022-057012-), that is filled with a series of barrows and standing stones above ground, and a plethora of related features under the surface, as determined by geophysical survey.



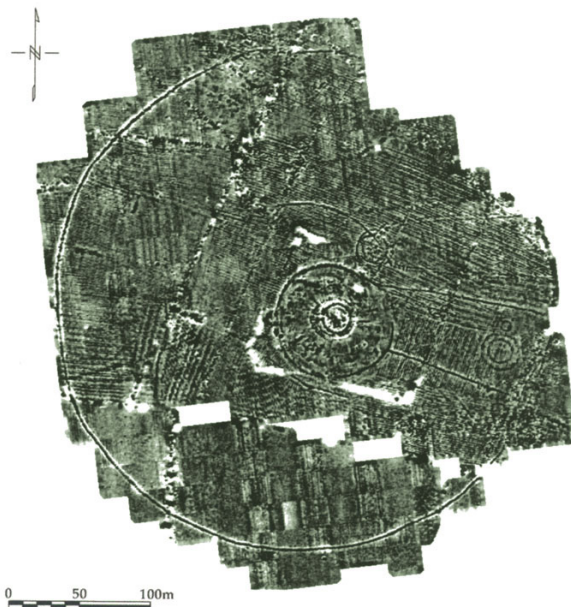
Rathcroghan. Gabriel Beranger, watercolor, 1779.

The site was named 'Rathcroghan' by the antiquarian Charles O'Connor who thought it was an inauguration place of the O'Connor kings, but there is no evidence to support this. The name, which was renowned as the cemetery of Kings, is more properly applied to the prehistoric barrows of a wider district, largely to the S and E of this mound, but within c. 1.5km of it. The mound is a circular slightly domed, grass-covered platform (diam. of top 65m E-W; 65m N-S; diam. of base c. 90m E-W; c. 85m N-S; H c. 3.5m at NE to c. 6.5m at S). Ramps rise up the sides at W and E, giving access to the summit where historically there was a small barrow (RO022-057011).



*Rathcroghan.*

Source: NUIG



*Gradiometry survey of and around Rathcroghan.*

Source: NUIG

Geophysical survey confirms that the mound is largely artificial, although built on a slight N-S glacial ridge which may lie on the W side of the mound (Waddell et al. 2009, 178-82, 193-4). One of the most deeply buried features is a discontinuity of a resistant material, probably bedrock, at the perimeter of the mound. This may represent a large, wide ditch creating an enclosure (diam. c. 80m) (ibid. 182). Within this, and perhaps related to it, are two concentric walls, now buried deep within the mound. Both appear to be composed of stone, but the inner (ext. diam. c. 22m) is not as deeply buried as the outer (ext. diam. c. 30m), suggesting that it is on a rise (ibid. 183-5). Their function is not known, but they are likely to have defended a settlement originally.

These walls survive to a height of c. 2m, and were crucial to the raising of the mound to something near its present height, creating a platform on which a series of structures were built.

These consist of a complex of overlapping circular enclosures close to the surface. There is a large enclosure composed of a double ring of post-pits (ext. diam. 32m; int. diam. 28m). The area within has anomalies consistent with post-pits, but whether this represents a roofed structure is uncertain. Within this, but placed to the E of centre is a second enclosure (diam. 22m) composed of a single slot-trench or fosse with an distinct entrance at WNW. There are also traces of a third enclosure eccentrically placed between the other two, and there is a possible fourth within them all. The NE quadrant in every instance is poorly defined, and there may be entrance features in this sector. The high magnetic susceptibility values recorded suggest that some of these features, perhaps the double post-ring, might have been burnt. Just to the NE of these is a single slot-trench (diam. 12m). (ibid. 162-7, 175-7).

The E and W ramps may have played a role in the later use of the mound. The E ramp in particular seems to connect the E sector of the structures beneath the surface on the summit with the avenue (RO022-057093-) extending off to the ESE of the mound (ibid. 174). A detailed topographical survey of the mound surface notes a slight platform (diam. c. 30m) circumscribed by faint traces of a bank in the surface of the mound, which is likely to represent a barrow-like feature on which the mound (RO022-057011-), noted in the 18th century, was built. This survey also records rill-like features radiating from the centre (ibid. 156-8, 176-7).

Outside the central features within the summit there are more nebulous traces of circular features, particularly to the SE, SW and NW (ibid. 167-171). Encircling the mound close to its base, and probably relating to its final period of use, is a slot-trench feature (diam. 85m E-W; 81m N-S) which may have had a palisade with a narrow entrance at E or a retaining wall for the mound. Evidence of a wide concentric outer feature, perhaps a fosse, were found outside this at SE (ibid. 162-4, 172-4).

The mound is just E of the centre of the ceremonial enclosure (RO022-057012-), and a number of other monuments that relate to the mound are within the ceremonial enclosure. The standing stone (RO022-057006-) is c. 100m to the NW with mound barrow (RO022-057007-) c. 40m to its SE, and standing stone (RO022-057008-) is c. 100m to the N. Barrows (RO022-057013-) and (RO-022-057014-) are c. 70m to the E, and barrows (RO022-056015-; RO022-056016-) are c. 60m and c. 75m SSE and SE of the mound respectively.

In addition, geophysical survey recorded a previously unsuspected enclosure (RO022-057085-) and its associated double linear feature or ceremonial avenue (RO022-057094-) immediately NE of the mound. There are also two ditch-like features converging on the mound from the E forming another avenue (RO022-057093-). The entire area of the ceremonial enclosure (RO022-057012-), but not the mound, was cultivated with lazy-beds in small plots of c. 0.4 ha at a later time.

Reference:  
www.archaeology.ie

## Carns

### *NIALL BRADY*

Situated some kilometres southeast of Rathcroghan, Carns continues the wider landscape tradition and is an area filled with monuments and features from prehistory that celebrate a ritualised landscape. There are also more recent elements, and from here we can discuss the medieval and early modern transformations that have occurred.

The source of what follows is taken by the records of the National Monuments Service and was prepared by Michael Moore. The mound of Carns (SMR RO028-069001) sits on a rock-outcrop rise towards the E end and at the highest point of the broad WNW-ESE Carnfree ridge. Traditionally it is the burial place of Fraech, son of Conall Cruachna, who was a contemporary of Queen Meave.

It is a circular grass-covered cairn (diam. of base 10.2m N-S; 11m E-W; H 1.7m E-S to 2.2m generally), which has a slightly dished top (diam. 6-7.5m) sloping down to the E, and has some facing stones (H 0.7-1m) and spill N-E-SW (original diam. c. 7m).

The cairn was the inauguration site (RO028-069003-) of the O'Conors from the late 12th century, and probably earlier, into the 15th century. The rite is known in detail and required the participation of the abbots of twelve churches and the leaders of the principal Connachta tribes. The inauguration stone, which is of uncertain authenticity, was removed c. 1840 and is now at Clonalis House.

The cairn is within a ceremonial enclosure (RO028-069002-) and a mound barrow (RO028-251----) is c. 90m to the SE.



*Carnfree.*

Source: Martina Cleary



Source: Discovery Programme.

*Ortho image of Tusk, highlighting the principal monuments.*

Limited geophysical survey identified horizontal surfaces inclined to the E within the cairn, and its dished surface is thought to indicate a ceremonial or inaugural function, which may have been a medieval adaptation

Reference:  
[www.archaeology.ie](http://www.archaeology.ie)

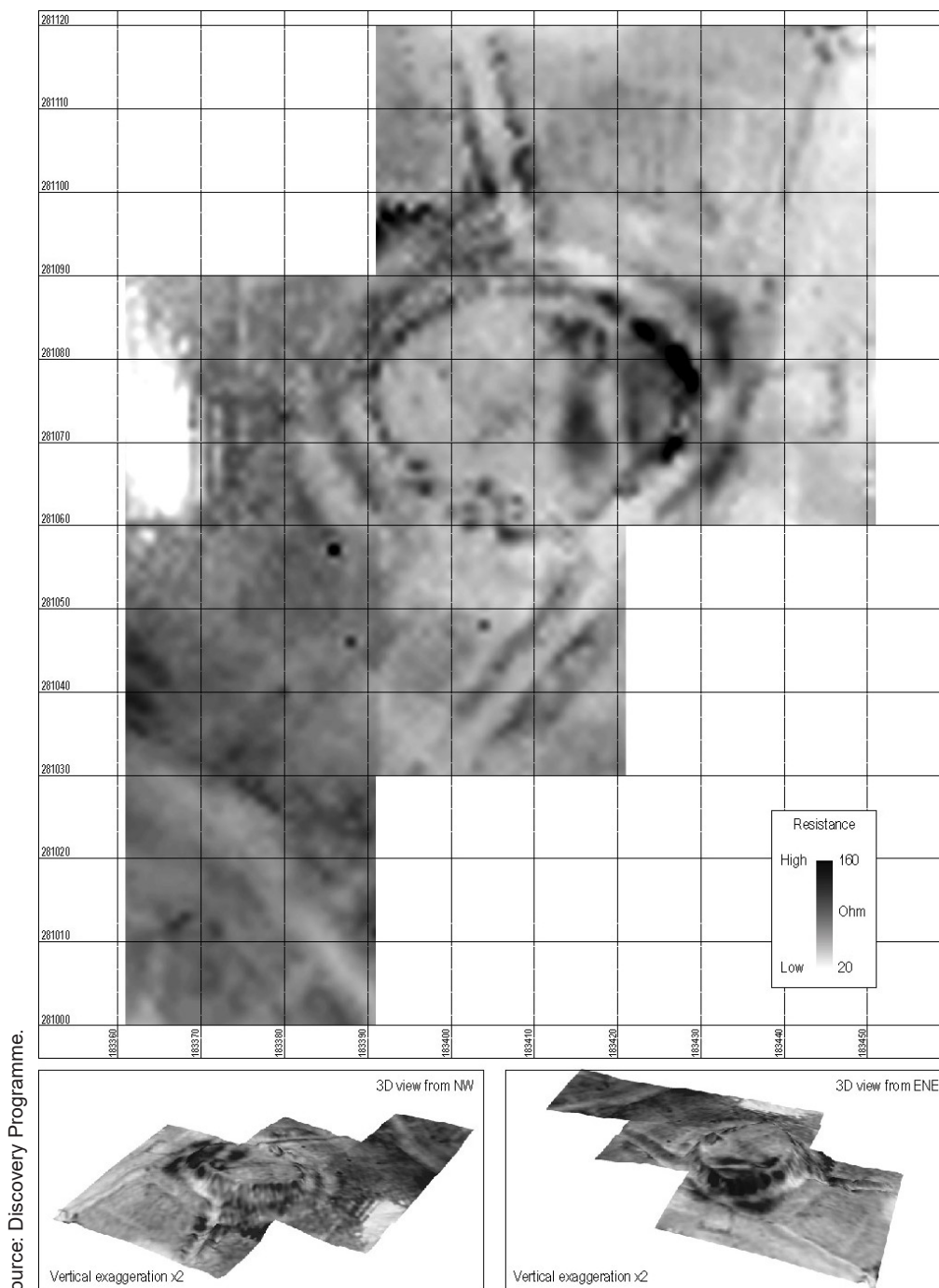
## **Tusk**

### *NIALL BRADY*

To understand the settlement of Tusk, it is necessary to strip away the 20th-century features and roads, and to try to imagine the pre-drained landscape, where the field to the north of the village would have been wetland. What emerges is a sense to which the present-day settlement has developed on a narrow finger-like extension across the wetland, linking the landscape of Rathcroghan to the west with points to the east. Following detailed excavation of Tusk Fort and wider study of the village area, it is clear that Tusk served as the eastern access point to Rathcroghan; in a

sense, this location was a portal into Cruachan. There are several sites within the village, and we will look at two: Tulsk Fort and Tulsk Priory.

**Tulsk Fort** is a raised earthen mound not quite circular in plan and measuring 55m in diameter. It is classified as a 'raised ringfort', which is a variation on the common ringfort or rath monuments, which served as enclosed homesteads for the free elements of society in early medieval times. While most ringforts are defined by an enclosing low perimeter bank and external ditch, the raised ringfort is where the interior has been elevated to create a platform surface across the interior. They are generally thought to be later in the series, mainly dating to the 10th/11th centuries. Excavation of Tulsk Fort took place between 2004-09 as a research exercise focused on



*Resistance survey of Tulsk Fort.*

examining the nature of settlement and cultural identity in the later medieval period. At this time, Tulsk was the centre or caput of the O'Conor Rua, and it remained to see what role Tulsk Fort played in that sequence.

A series of horizons was uncovered, revealing a busy timeline. At its core and underneath the ringfort element is a sequence of strata that date from the early Neolithic period (3300 cal BC) and include late Neolithic (2700 cal BC) and Iron Age (200 and 0 cal BC/AD) levels. The medieval horizons begin with the ringfort proper as an un-raised fort. The perimeter bank and external ditch were revealed, and C14 determinations of the late 7th century are associated. The recovery of an infant burial dating to 8th century may represent a foundation burial event. A corn-drying kiln was identified, dating to the 9th century. The site is then raised and subsequently it is developed further and extended, creating its slightly elliptical plan. The interior space is transformed, with the creation of an eastern focus. A ditch is cut across the interior, isolating the eastern edge. Some timelines are missing in the sequence, and so the High Medieval period was not revealed clearly, but the Late Medieval and Early Modern periods were exposed.



Source: Discovery Programme.

*Aerial view of the excavations at Tulsk Fort, showing the late medieval tower and hall.*

A stone tower was built on top of the eastern section, and the internal and external ditches were recut to facilitate this in the early 15th century, transforming the site into that of a small castle, at a time when Tulsk was the caput for the O'Conor Roe. Further change is revealed when part of the external ditch is filled in to facilitate construction of a rectangular hall to the east. These elements then fall into disrepair or were pulled down; the tower is levelled and the internal ditch filled in and used as a midden in the 16th century. The interior appears to be filled with housing, perhaps supported on stone slabs. A cellar is constructed and coins found in a deposit next to its burned thatched roof indicate this occurred in the late 1500s. By this time, Tulsk had become a small garrison for English forces, and the Governor of Connacht, Sir Richard Bingham, stayed here for a time. His rule across the province is remembered for its brutality. He wrote several letters to London from Tulsk, describing his efforts to retain control of the province, while also

complaining that he needed more funds to do so. This final chapter in the history of Tusk Fort is best appreciated by understanding that the fort had become part of the garrison defences of this small village.

**Tusk Priory** is a Dominican foundation from 1348, comprising nave and chancel with a south chapel. Interesting features include the circular pier into the south chapel, which is of the Boyle school of masonry. The chancel end was remodelled in the early modern period, when the site was used as part of the garrison of Tusk.

Survey of the graveyard and its immediate surrounding help to situate the priory within its landscape.



Source: Discovery Programme.

*Plan of Tusk Priory and graveyard.*

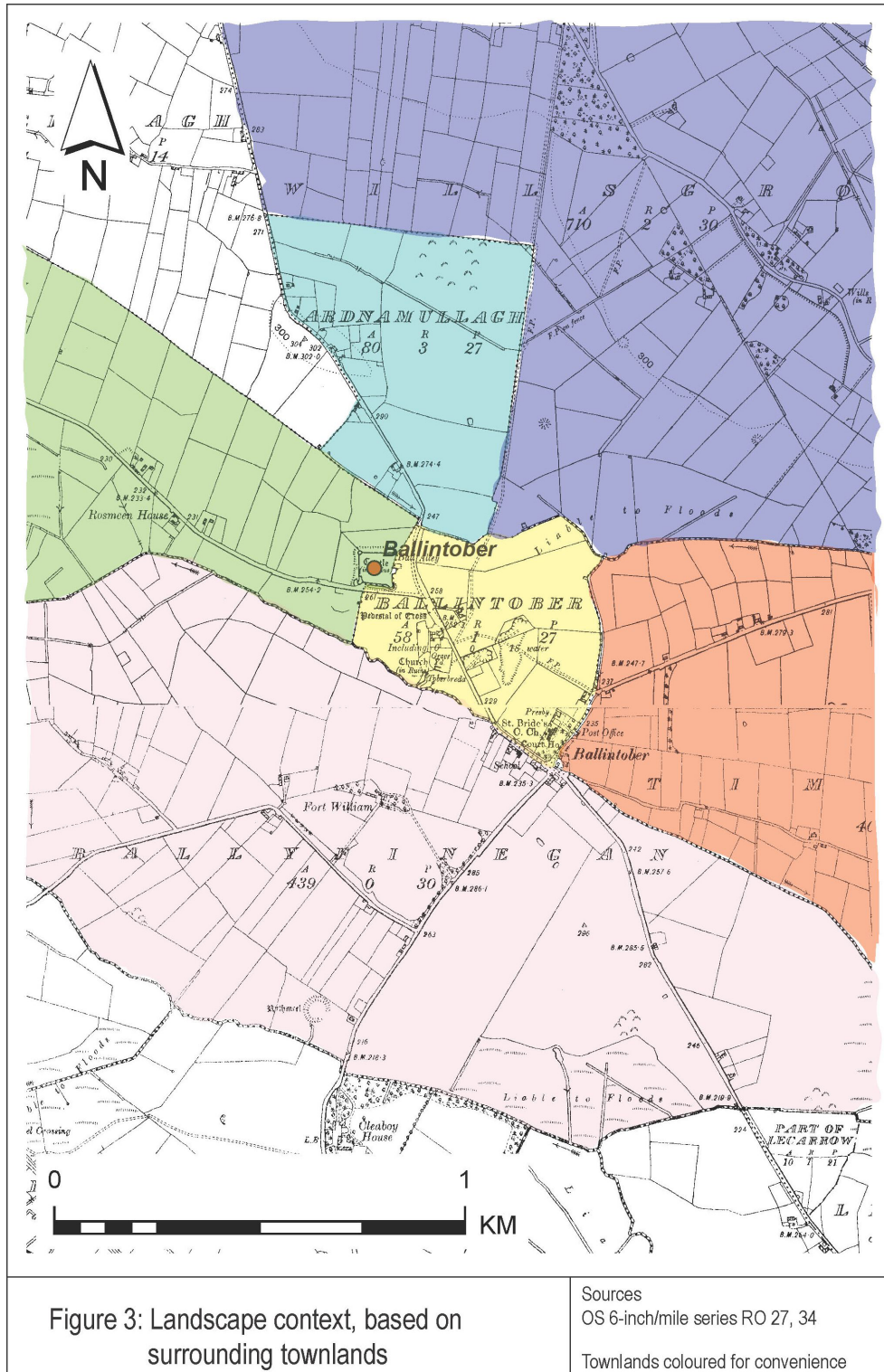
A cloister is located to the north, which extended west and outside the present boundary wall, reaching towards the river.



Reference:  
Niall Brady in: Discovery Programme Reports 7 (2005).

**Ballintober**

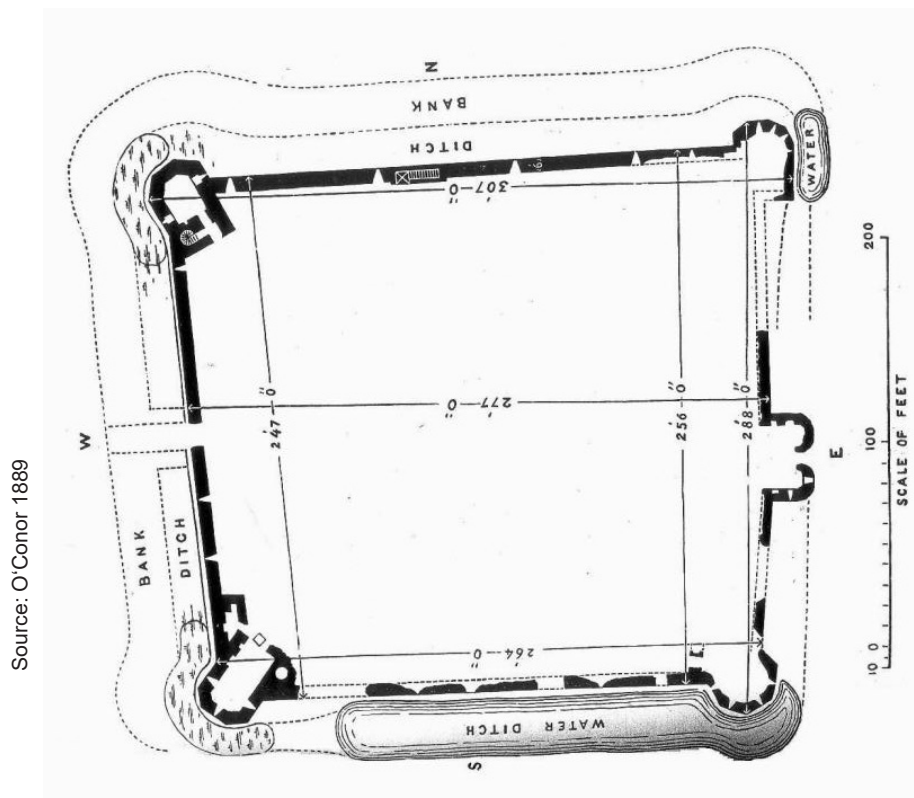
*NIALL BRADY*



*Ballintober, landscape context.*

Ballintober Castle is an example of a 'keepless castle', and is one of several Anglo-Norman castles still standing in Roscommon, including the royal castles at Rindown built from 1227, and at Roscommon built from 1269.

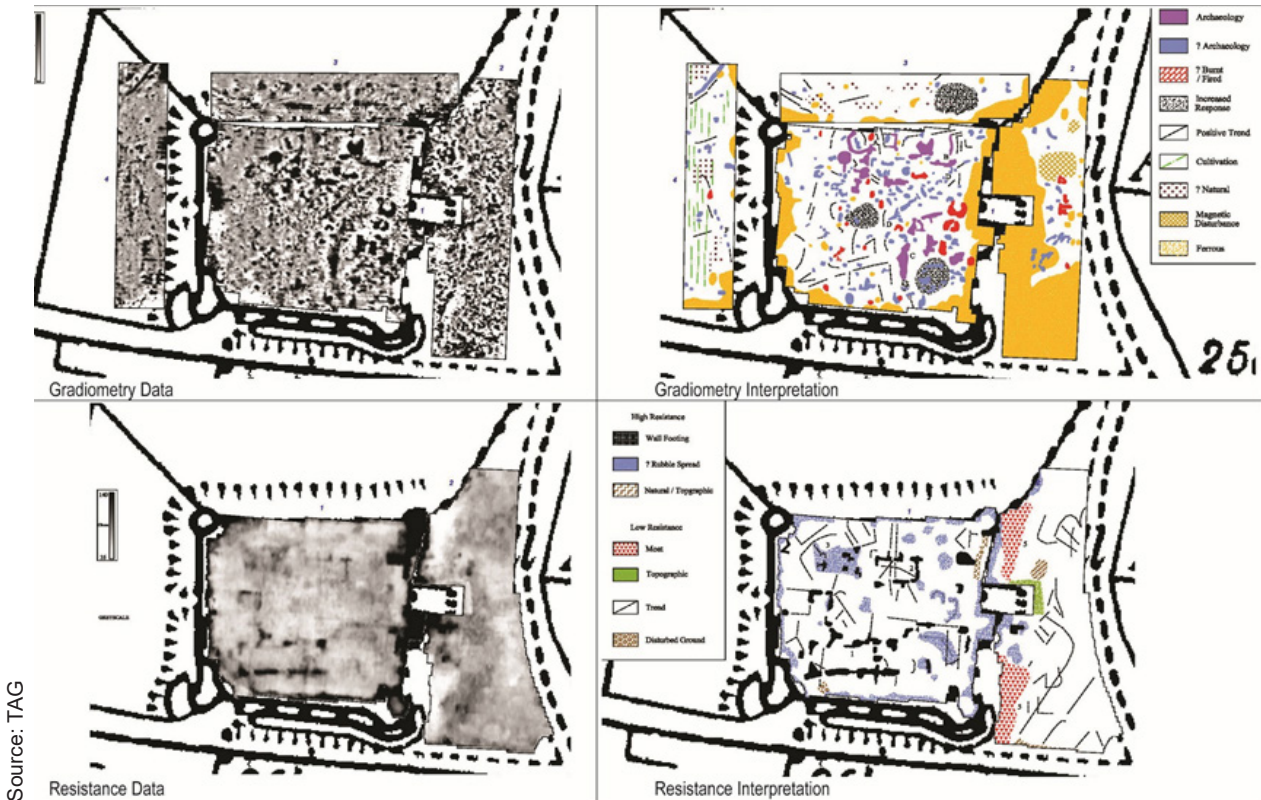
However, by the 1380s the castle was lost to the De Burghs and it passed to the O'Conors, who remained in residence there until quitting the site in the 1700s. The story of Ballintober is not simply about the castle; it is also about its community and how both developed and transformed in the course of the late medieval and early modern periods. The site is currently being studied as part of the Castles in Communities, Medieval Ireland Past and Present, archaeological and anthropological research and field-school project.



*Ground plan of Ballintober Castle.*

The castle complex consists of an irregular square-shaped area that measures approximately 74m North/South by 81m East/West. It is enclosed by a perimeter wall which is ruined but stands in places more than 4m high externally above its base batter. There are four corner towers, which appear to be all polygonal in plan, although the extent of overgrowth today obscures the detail particularly on the southeast tower. A double-bastioned entrance on the east wall has two protruding rounded towers. A corresponding gap in the west wall may have accommodated a postern gate. The walled area lies within a substantial external ditch that survives on the north, south and west sides, and also in the southeast corner. The west side retains indications of a counterscarp bank. A handball alley has been built to the north of the entrance towers on the east side, and landscaping appears to have buried much of the ditch on this side. The castle structure is overgrown by ivy, which in places is very well established.

Geophysical resistance and ground penetrating radar survey of the castle interior has revealed an arrangement of features within the open space that is not entirely in symmetrical alignment with the standing perimeter walls. The features that stand around this open space include one long hall-like building in the southwest quadrant and one smaller building in the northeast quadrant. The chronological association of these features and the open space they define remains unknown, and



*Ballintober Castle, geophysical survey results 2008.*

while the features appear to be stone structures, there is no indication yet for direct or chronological associations between these features and the surrounding greater complex.

Gradiometry survey, in turn, presents a further sequence of anomalies that appear to relate to activities conducted within the interior, and may reflect pre-castle usage. As a site that was only built in the early 1300s, it would be in keeping to discover earlier strata. It is also clear that during its three or four centuries of occupation, the castle complex was inhabited by many groups and was a contested place. Excavation within the castle has revealed the returning wall of the southeast corner tower, as expected. In contrast, the returning wall of the northeast corner tower has yet to be identified. In its place, excavation has revealed a wall that turns south. Below that is an earlier stone structure. An occupation surface was exposed at a low level, lying directly on a cobbled floor.

A third cutting has been along the eastern perimeter wall, revealing a sequence of structural elements and activity that pre-dates construction of the wall elements.

Work has also taken place outside the standing castle, east of the site. Geophysical survey shows clear evidence for the remains of a deserted settlement, complete with a main road and property plots that extend from the roadway at right angles, in a herring-bone pattern. Individual houses and structures are evident, while the data sets indicate subtle narratives suggesting multiple-use episodes. Further east and south, survey on the shores of the turlough reveals a sequence of possible wetland sites.

#### Reference

Niall Brady in: [www.sites.google.com/view/irelandcastlesincommunities/library](http://www.sites.google.com/view/irelandcastlesincommunities/library)

GRADIOMETER IMAGE OF DESERTED SETTLEMENT



This map depicts gradiometer data overlaid to the east of the castle. It measures the localized variations in the earth's magnetic field caused by disturbances (anomalies) that extend below the surface of the earth. Darker areas indicate a greater magnetic contrast compared to the surrounding soil showing anomalies representing potential cooking hearths, pits, fence posts, building foundations, and non-ferrous metals. The solid white areas indicate interference due to modern iron material such as wire fences and power poles. The pattering is consistent with a village settlement.

Source: Castles in Communities

Ballintober: Gradiometry survey results 2016, showing deserted settlement.

## Roscommon

*NIALL BRADY*

The fieldtrip ends with a visit to Roscommon town, and includes two sites of interest: Roscommon Abbey and Roscommon Castle.

By the middle of the 13th century, Roscommon town was a flourishing entity under the active patronage of the O'Connor kings. It was principal hub in the O'Connor kingdom, which had suffered shrinkage under the pressure of Anglo-Norman advances, aimed at subduing the larger province as their final goal in the colonization of Ireland. Felim O'Connor, however, was an able person and managed to retain control of his lands and his influence. He had a correspondence with the English king, and famously visited the English court. Felim was to all intents and purposes a European king of his time; he acted as such and was respected as such. He died in 1265 and is buried in Roscommon Abbey, and his sarcophagus reveals this international narrative.

### Roscommon Abbey

*NIALL BRADY*

The Dominican Abbey of Roscommon was founded in 1253 as a priory under the patronage of King Felim O'Connor. It was the first priory to be founded under Gaelic patronage, and was built in four years. The standing remains are ruined, but include a nave and chancel, south transept and south chapel. The building history is clearly evident in the wall fabrics, which show the transition from tall narrow lancet windows in the east and west gable ends to large open traceried windows.



Source: Discovery Programme.

*Roscommon Priory, reconstruction showing the new town layout.*

It was renovated in the 15th century. The site area is curtailed on its north side, but there is a larger open space to the south of the church. The undulations betray the presence of a cloister here with attendant buildings, and this detail was imaged in geophysical survey.

The sarcophagus of King Felim O'Conor is preserved in a niche within the chancel on its north wall. The king's international perspective is remembered in the manner in which he is buried; he is not shown in traditional Irish dress, but wears a tunic and has a posture that is in keeping with continental effigies.

On the side panels is a sequence of armoured warriors, representing the Gallowglass mercenaries that frequently were hired by such kings to support their efforts.

In 1570, the priory and its possessions were confiscated by the Crown, and in 1573 the priory was leased to Sir Thomas le Strange, constable of Roscommon Castle.

Reference:

Kieran O'Conor and Brian Shanahan, Roscommon Abbey, a visitor's guide (Roscommon County Council).



Source: online open source

*Image of warrior figure on side panel of Felim O'Conor's sarcophagus*

## Roscommon Castle

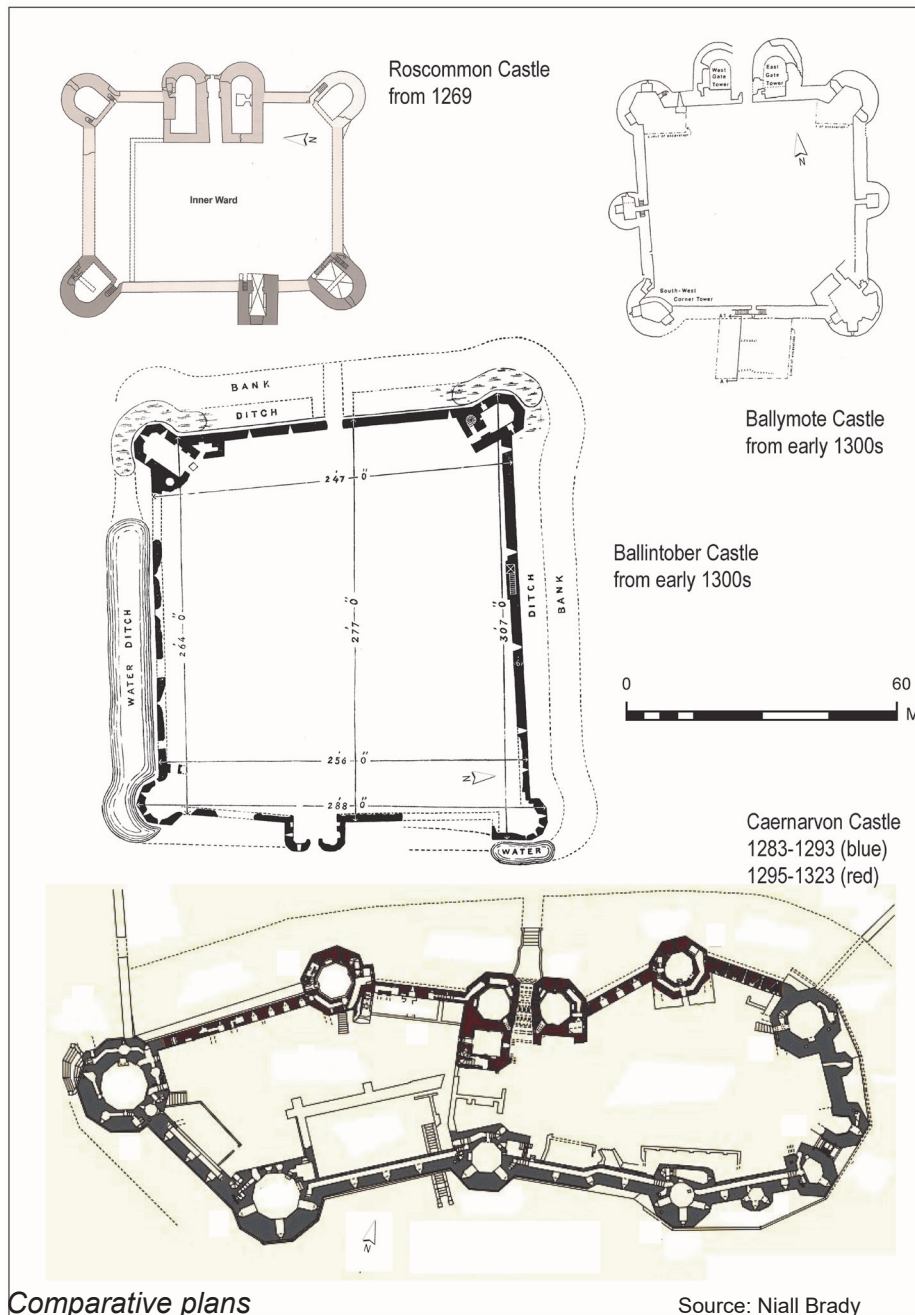
*NIALL BRADY*

While Roscommon town had thrived under the lordship of Felim O'Conor, Henry III became more directly involved following Felim's death in 1265. Felim's son Aedh (anglicised Hugh) had been ruling with his father and became the new O'Conor king, but his was a troublesome relationship with Anglo-Norman authority and it was not long before the Justiciar, Robert d'Ufford, was charged with the task of bringing further control to the region. In 1269, he began building Roscommon Castle. The Irish annals explain that this was possible by way of a muted excuse, as Aedh 'was sick of a disease at this time'. It has been suggested that the new castle was built directly in front of O'Conor's crannog residence on Loughneane, and this underscores the impact of the Justiciar's message to O'Conor.

Roscommon Castle is a keepless castle, and provided the essential plan for Ballintober Castle. It comprises an enclosed rectangular space that measures 53m by 38m internally and is defined by corner towers and a double-bastioned gate along one long side. The castle had an outer ward measuring 110m by 110m in size which extended outside all but the west side of the castle, and was defined by an external fosse and an internal wall. The west wall looked out onto a lakebed and had a postern gate. The Justiciar's men proceeded to build a new town close to the castle in the 1270s. It was planned and laid out to the south of the castle, between it and the pre-existing Irish town.

Connacht remained an active frontier. The new town of Roscommon was harried by the O'Conors, and as early as 1270 Aedh O'Conor raided and assaulted the castle. It was a pattern to be repeated on many occasions through the late 13th and early 14th centuries. Aedh died in 1274, and what stability he and his father Felim had effected during their combined reigns was quickly lost as competing O'Conors vied to become king of Connacht.

In its early days the castle was attacked and burned several times by Gaelic forces before construction was completed in 1290. These works included the construction of a curtain wall around the castle and a large twin towered gatehouse. During the 15th century possession



moved between various factions of the O'Connor's. In 1577 the castle was granted to Sir Nicholas Malby (Governor of Connaught), who kept a force of 50 foot soldiers stationed within it. Malby transformed the castle into an imposing, four-storey Renaissance-style house. From 1645 to 1652 the castle was occupied by Confederate Catholics, but was dismantled after surrendering to the Cromwellians. The site is maintained by the state, and reveals sequences of stabilization measures that are of historic interest in their own right to those who are interested in the conservation and protection of such standing ruins.

Reference:

Margaret Murphy and Kieran O'Connor, Roscommon Castle, a visitor's guide (Roscommon County Council, 2008).

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